STUDIES IN EARLY ḤADĪTH LITERATURE

WITH A CRITICAL EDITION OF SOME EARLY TEXTS

BY

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KØBENHAVNS UNIVERSITET
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SEMITISK FILOLOGI
To my father,
who diverted my course of study from Mathematics to Hadith, but did not live long enough to share the joy of the first fruit.
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I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. R. B. Serjeant, who first introduced me to the University of Cambridge while he was at London University, and later on agreed to supervise my research; Professor A. J. Arberry, who gave me his time generously and offered me much useful advice and assistance, and wrote the foreword for this work; H. H. Shaikh ‘Ali b. ‘Abd Allāh Al-Thānī, the former Ruler of Qatar and H. H. Aḥmad b. ‘Ali Al-Thānī, the Ruler of Qatar, whose personal interest in Arabic manuscripts gave me the opportunity to discover many most valuable ones; while the compilation of this work is due to H. H. Shaikh Qāsim b. Ḥamad Al-Thānī, Minister of Education, who granted me a generous period of leave for study and ordered the Public Library, Doha, to supply all the available material, on the subject. His personal interest ensured that there were no official hindrances to the study: to Professor Muhammad Ḥamidul-lāh, for advising me to benefit from the experience of Western scholars and supplying me with many invaluable microfilms; to Shaikh Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, who placed his extensive knowledge of rare manuscripts at my disposal; to Miss Malak Hanān, who kindly copied some passages for me from Tārīkh Dimashq and supplied the photo-copies of various important manuscripts; to Shaikh Ahmad al-Mānī, Cultural Attaché, Sa‘udī, Embassy, Cairo, and Mr. Fuwad Sayyed of Egyptian Library Cairo for supplying some important microfilms; to Mr. Ma‘īn for translating some chapters of the French version of Muh. Stud. by Goldziher; to Maulana Sa‘id Ahmad Akbarabadi, Dean of the Faculty of Theology, Muslim University Aligarh, for his sincere advice and supervision of my first research work; to Mr. Martin Hinds of the Middle East Centre, and Miss J. Thompson of the University Library Cambridge for correcting my English; to Mr. M. A. Baig, Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. Barnes for typing this manuscript; to Mr. Z. Baig and Mr. K. S. Bashir Ahmad of the Eastern Bank, Doha, for going through the proof and indexing the book, to Mr. Adil Aqil of Dar al-Irshad, Beirut, and Mr. Gebrail Fatté of Catholic Press, Beirut, for the service they have rendered in printing this book; and finally to Mr. Abdul Badi‘ Saqar the Director and all the staff of the Public Library, who supplied me with all the required materials, and to Mr. Zuhair al-Shāwish for publishing the book.

FOREWORD

Pembroke College,
Cambridge.
16 February 1967.

No doubt the most important field of research, relative to the study of Hadith, is the discovery, verification, and evaluation of the smaller collections of Traditions antedating the six canonical collections of al-Bukhari, Muslim and the rest. In this field Dr Azmi has done pioneer work of the highest value, and he has done it according to the exact standards of scholarship. The thesis which he presented, and for which Cambridge conferred on him the degree of Ph.D., is in my opinion one of the most exciting and original investigations in this field of modern times.

Professor A. J. Arberry
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PERIODICALS.

E.I. : Encyclopaedia of Islam.
J.A.S.B. : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
I.C. : Islamic Culture.
M.W. : The Muslim World.

BOOKS.

A.D. : Abū Dāwūd, Sunan.
Aghānī : Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī.
Amwāl : Ibn Sallām, Amwāl.
Annales : Al-Ṭabarī, Annales.
A.Y. : Abū Yūṣuf, Ṭabarī.
Bagh. : Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh Bagdādī.
Bāji : Al-Bāji (in manuscript).
Bayān : Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Jāmi'.
BU : Al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ.
BTK : Al-Bukhārī, Ṭārīkh Kābir.
BTS : Al-Bukhārī, Ṭārīkh Ṣaḥīḥ.
Daraqūṭnī : Daraqūṭnī, Sunan.
Darāzī : Sunan.
Dūlābī : Dūlābī, al-Kunā.
Faqīh : Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ṣaḥīḥ (Ms.).
Fasawī : Al-Fasawī, Tārīkh (Ms.).
Fischer : Al-Dhahabi, Biographien, ed. by Fischer.
Guillaume : The Traditions of Islam.
Hanbal : Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad.
Ḥusayn : Al-Dhahabi, Tadhkīrat al-Ḥusayn, Ṣaḥīḥ (Ms. and printed).
Ḥāl : Ibn Ḥanbal, Ḥāl (Ms. and printed).
Ibn : Abū Khairamah, Ibn (Ms.).
Imām : Al-Samʿāni, Die Methodik.
Iṣābah. : Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah.
Iṣām : Al-Dhahabi, Tārīkh Iṣām.
Iṣṭāb : Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Iṣṭāb.
Ja'd : Al-B. Ja’d, Musnad (Ms.).
Jāmi' : Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Jāmi‘ (Ms.).
Kāmil : Ibn 'Adi, Al-Kāmil (Ms.).
Khairamah : Ibn Abū Khairamah, Tārīkh (Ms.).
Kharaj : Abū Yūṣuf, Kharaj.
Khazrajāt : Al-Khazrajāt, Khulāṣat Tahdhib.
Khuza'imah : Ibn Khuzaimah, Ṣaḥīḥ (Ms.).
Kifāyah : Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Kifāyah.
Law : Schacht, Introduction to Islamic Law.
Madkhal : Al-Ḥākim, al-Madkhal.
Majūrān : Ibn Ḥibbān, Al-Majūrān (Ms.).
Mālik : Malik b. Anas, Muwaṭṭa’.
Mārifah : Al-Ḥakim, Mārifah.
Mashāḥīr : Ibn Ḥibbān, Mashāḥīr.
Mīzān : Al-Dhahabi, Mīzān al-Tūdāl.
MU : Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, Ṣaḥīḥ.
Mustadrak : Al-Ḥākim, Al-Mustadrak.
Nas : Nasā‘, Sunan.
Nubalā : Al-Dhahabi, Sīyar a‘lām al-Nubalā’ (Ms. and printed).
Qāsārānī : Ibn al-Qāsārānī, Al-‘Ism a‘lā rīḍāl.
Rāmūrūmūz : Al-Rāmūrūz, al-Muhaddith (Ms.).
Raz : Ibn Abū Ḥātim, Al-‘Iṣārāh.
Risālah : Shafi‘ī, Al-Risālah.
Sa'd : Ibn Sa‘d, Tābaqāt.
Sharaf : Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Sharaf (Ms.).
Sharh 'Iṣāl : Ibn Ṣa‘ib, Sharh ‘Iṣāl (Ms.).
Tahd. : Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdīb.
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INTRODUCTION

Hadīth literature is the richest source for the investigation of early Islamic History. It provides material for an understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries.

Hadīth is also the repository of the Sunnah of the Prophet, which is the second principal source of Islamic legislation.

Western scholars have devoted much more time to Islamic literature, history and other subjects than to Hadīth. The first and the last significant attempt was made by Ignas Goldziher. He published the result of his research, Muhammedanische Studien, in 1890. Since then it has been the fundamental source for the study of Hadīth in the West. After the lapse of three-quarters of a century, Professor Schacht tried to investigate the legal ahādīth. Apart from this there are some articles and a few books which have dealt with the subject in passing. There is only one book in English relating to the subject: The Traditions of Islam by A. Guillaume, which contains no original idea and draws mostly on Goldziher's work. Since the publication of the work of Goldziher, many valuable manuscripts of the first and second century of the Hijrah have been discovered and some of them have been published. Quite obviously, many theories and conclusions of Goldziher now need to be changed or modified. Had he been aware of these documents, he would, most probably, have formed some other theories.

Apart from his translation of Mishkāt, Professor Robson contributed several valuable articles in this field. He was able to modify some traditional ideas of Western scholars but he himself was influenced by Professor Schacht's recent works, in particular The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence. Had it not been so, he might have been able to contribute much more.

Professor Schacht's way of thinking concurs with that of Margoliouth and Goldziher and carries their theories still further, without paying any attention to recent discoveries of manuscripts.
or research. In this connection I would like to borrow the expression of Professor Gibb. He writes in the Preface to Mohammedanism, describing the need for a new work on Mohammedanism instead of a revised edition of the original work of Professor D. S. Margoliouth. "Between one generation and the next, the bases of judgment necessarily suffer some change. They are modified firstly in the material or scientific sense, by the discovery of new facts and the increase of understanding which result from the broadening and deepening of research. If this were all, it might well be met by minor additions or alterations in the text. More important, however, is the change in the spiritual and imaginative sense. Every work of this kind reflects not only the factual knowledge but also the intellectual and emotional limitations of its period, even when every effort is made to eliminate prejudices and prejudice. No generation in our changing world sees the problems of life, society, or belief in terms of the thought or values of the previous generation; and the gulf which separates the outlook of 1911 from the outlook of 1946 is one which has rarely been equaled in so short a space of human history." Since the writing of this preface another twenty years have elapsed, yet Professor Schacht still thinks in terms of Goldziher and Maroliouth.

Most Western scholars have praised Professor Schacht's works and have paid very high tribute to him. But much attention does not seem to have been paid to the method of Schacht's research, or to checking his conclusions and relevant references. The conclusions of the present study are in marked contrast to his. So, inevitably I have had to check and investigate his results. It is not my intention to study his work critically and in detail, nor have I sufficient time to do this. But it seems that a thorough study would reveal weaknesses in his work.

My work, as it stands, consists of two parts. The first part comprises eight chapters and five appendices.

First, there is a brief survey of the literary activities in Pre- and Early Islamic Arabia. Then follows a discussion of whether or not the recording of the hadith was permitted by the Prophet. Later on a comprehensive survey of the pre-classical Hadith literature is attempted.

The third chapter, covering some one hundred and fifty pages, provides information about the thousands of books circulating among scholars in the pre-classical period. It records also the common practice of utilizing written documents. This proliferation of books raised the number of hadith from a few thousand to three-quarters of a million. Muḥaddithūn had their own terminology, such as Ḥadīthānā, Ḥadīthānā, aḥādīth Muḥaddithānā, etc. as well as their own method of numbering Hadith which has not been fully understood by recent scholars of the east and west, consequently it has given rise to considerable confusion.

In this context the method of education in early Muḥaddithūn circles, their ways of handling the documents and the criteria for it was not sufficient for a document to be genuine in its material; was not sufficient for a document to be genuine in its material; it must also be obtained through the proper method. This is clear from Appendix III the Nuskhah of Zubair bin 'Adi. This booklet is classified as Nuskhah Muḥaddithūnā, yet about one quarter of its contents are to be found in the Sahīh works of Bukhārī and Muslim, and a good many in other classical collections.

In Chapter V, the writing materials and the problems of authorship and other related subjects are discussed.

Chapter Six and Seven are based to a great extent on the conclusions of the second part of my work.

The sixth Chapter deals with insīdūd, its beginning and its authenticity. The seventh Chapter deals with the authenticity of Hadith.

In Appendix No. 1, I have tried to explain the meaning of the terms Akhbaranā, Ḥadīthānā, etc. The evidence collected there makes it clear that these terms were used as a means of transmitting hadith from one man to another, either in the form of books, or by dictation or reading from a written work, or by recitation. Oral transmission of Hadith and aural receiving is only one of several methods.

There were about a dozen manuscripts at my disposal whose authors belong to the early half of the second century, the editing of which would have presented no major difficulties. Later, it was found necessary to confine the work to one and to study it exhaustively in order to achieve some concrete results. I chose the smallest one which is derived from Abū Hurairah, who has been unjustly criticised by some modern scholars. A search was made for these
materials among the printed works of hadith and in some manuscripts.

As a result dozens, and even hundreds, of references were found for a single hadith. The spread of hadith, the increasing numbers of narrators and the variety of their localities provide more than sufficient proof for the acceptance of the method of isnād as genuine and as commencing from the very early days of Islam, and not in the second and third centuries of the Hijrah.

In this connection some theories of Schacht are scrutinized, and the effort of modern scholars in the criticism of Hadith is assessed.

In Part Two, there is an edited version of Suhail’s manuscript. Two other important manuscripts are included, one of them belonging to Nafi’ (d. 117), and the other to al-Zuhri (d. 124). As these were the sources utilized by Malik in his work Musawa’ at, only references to Musawa’ at or the works of their two colleagues Sufyan b. ‘Uyaynah and Juwairiyah b. Asma’ are given. They provide scope for a further study of Malik’s sources as well as an opportunity to examine the method of handling the materials: e.g., to what extent these works were true to the original word(s) and, if changes were made, then to what extent the sense was affected by such changes.

In Chapter 8, the manuscripts and their authors are discussed. There is a lengthy discussion about al-Zuhri and some modern scholars have attacked him severely without any justification. This chapter shows the lack of any basis for the charges made against him and proves that they are historically impossible to substantiate.

Finally, the work is somewhat lengthy; there were many important issues needing clarification without which further progress in the study of Hadith was almost impossible. The work, therefore, has had to be extended as it would hardly have been possible to eliminate some chapters without damaging its unity. In doing so I have sought as much brevity as was possible.

PREFACE

In October 1966, this dissertation was submitted to the University of Cambridge for the degree of Ph.D. Since then a great deal of new material has come into my possession, which I intended to utilize with a view to extending the work. At the same time, I have been asked by many a scholar to publish the findings of my research as early as possible, and to devote my time to the clarification of other important issues. Utilization of new material would, no doubt, have entailed further delay in the publication of this thesis; hence this work is going to the press in its original form with a few additions and alterations here and there, particularly with regard to the language.

Now that I am free from the work of revision, I hope soon to be able to discuss the weakness of Schacht’s Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence which I have dealt with, as briefly as the subject and space allowed, in chapters vi and vii of this book, which undoubtedly needs further investigation.

This dissertation is, most probably, the first work of its kind in this field of study and it is hoped that it will open new horizons for further research and help eliminate many prevalent misunderstandings that have resulted from a lack of proper understanding of the true nature of the Hadith literature.

By its very nature, this book (particularly some of its chapters) follows an expanding area of research on the subject and does not claim to be the final word. It shall always be my endeavour to improve and enlarge upon this subject and to cooperate with those who have similar aims and interests. I shall, therefore, be grateful to the scholars and readers for their suggestions and criticisms for further improvement.

Public Library
Doha, Nov. 1967

M.M.A.
PART ONE

CHAPTER I

LITERARY ACTIVITIES IN PRE- AND EARLY ISLAMIC ARABIA

THE ART OF WRITING IN PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA.

It is said that at the time of the advent of Islām, there were only seventeen persons in Makkah who knew how to write. This statement sounds strange in view of the fact that Makkah was a cosmopolitan city, a barter-market and a junction of caravan routes. The figure limiting the learned persons to seventeen appears, therefore, to be an underestimate.

Schools and Other Literary Activities in Pre-Islamic Arabia.

In Pre-Islamic Arabia there were some schools, for example, in Makkah, al-Ṭa‘īr, Anbār, Ḥirah, Dumat al-Jandal, Madīnah, and in the tribe of Hudhaiq, where boys and girls learned together the skills of reading and writing.

There were some literary activities as well. Tribes used to record the poems of their tribal poets, and sometimes even historical

1. Ibn ‘Abd Rabhi, Ḥaqd, iv, 157; Bālāḏūrī, Futūh, 580; Ibn Qutaibah, Mukhtalif al-Hadīth, 566; see also Sa’d, iii, i, 77; 148; compare with Lammens, Mecque, pp. 103-145.
2. Bālāḏūrī, Futūh, 579.
5. Ibn Ḥabīb, Muhabbat, 475.
7. Ibn Qutaibah, ‘Uṣūn al-Akhbār, iv, 103; see also al-Maḏāni, Amthāl, ii, 47.
8. Nāṣir al-Asad, Maṣādir al-Shī‘r al-Jāhil, pp. 107-133. Especially, pp. 122-133 where he has collected some 20 references from different poems for Studies -
incidents. There were some occasional writings, such as promissary notes, personal letters and tribal agreements. There was also some religious literature, e.g., The Book of Daniel, which is mentioned in several sources, books of wisdom and tables of genealogy. Was there any translation of the Bible in the early days of Islam? Ruth says, "According to Barhebraeus the gospels had been translated into Arabic for Amīr 'Amr b. Sa'd by John I ... who came to the Archebiscopal Throne in A.D. 631 and died in 648. Is the Amīr referred to 'Amr b. Sa'd al-Ashdak ... who was put to death 70/690 ... "8. The statement of Barhebraeus and the suggestion of Ruth cannot be accepted. The father of 'Amr was born in 624 A.D. This means that 'Amr was born about 640 A.D., if not later, and thus he was only eight years old when the Bishop, John I, died; and a book of such a nature could not have been translated for a child not more than eight years old. Another argument against the acceptance of the statement of Barhebraeus is that it was the period of 'Umar 634-644 A.D., which covered the time of John I, and it is hard to believe that this could happen in his time. He himself had a copy of Daniel and was rebuked for it by the Prophet, and later on 'Umar himself once beat the man who copied Daniel. The attitude of the community towards reading other Scriptures was no less harsh than that of 'Umar.11

So, summing up, it is possible that the verses containing prayers were translated; otherwise we find that Waraqa b. Naufal

the recording of poetry in Pre-Islamic Arabia; see also Krenkow, The Use of Writing for the Preservation of Ancient Arabic Poetry. A volume of Or. St. presented to E.G. Browne, pp. 261-68.

1. Nāṣir al-Asad, op. cit., 165.
2. Ḥamidullāh, Waḥāṣiq, No. 181, Clause 10.
3. Aghānī, ii, 180; v, 118.
5. Taqyīd, 51-52.
7. Nāṣir al-Asad, op cit., 165; see also Sa'd, iv, i, 32-3. Aghānī, iv, 237.
8. It gives a hint for their recording of the tribal genealogy.
12. Taqyīd, 56-57. But for the fair treatment of Scripture see Isābah, No. 8431.

used to write the Bible in al-‘Ibrāhīmīyah. However, all this written material was not such as to foster a popular desire for literacy, and generally the people did not feel any necessity to learn to read and write.

### The Art of Writing in Arabia in Early Islam

**Read in the name of thy Lord who created,**
**Created Man of a blood-clot**
**Read and thy Lord is Most Bounteous,**
**Who taught by the Pen,**
**Taught Man, that which he knew not.**

This is the first revelation made by God to the Prophet Muhammad. There is no record to show that he ever studied reading and writing; and it is generally believed that he remained illiterate throughout his life. Therefore, this very first revelation gives a clue to the forthcoming activities of the Prophet in the field of education.

### Educational Policy of the Prophet

The Prophet was quite aware of the importance of education. This is why, before he migrated to Madīnah, he sent Muṣ'ab b.

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1. BU, *Bad* al-Wahiy, 1, see also, *l'īsīm, 25. Tawhīd, 51, but in some other rīwāyāt the word al-‘Arābiyah occurs instead of al-‘Ibrāhīmīyah. As he knew both languages, he might have written in both languages or this might be and old discrepancy in copying the text. For more details see Kilgour, *The Gospel in many years*, pp. 10-11 where it is mentioned that, "The first version of Christian Scripture in Arabic dates from the eighth century ..." Also, M.J. de Goeje, *Quotations from the Bible in the Quran and the Tradition* where he agrees with Nöldeke that, "No Arabic version of the Bible, or parts of the Bible, existed either in the time of the Prophet or at the time of the fathers of the Mohamme-
dan church". *Semitic Studies*, p. 185, in memory of Rev. Dr. A. Kohut, Berlin, 1897.

2. Al-Qur'ān, xcvi, 1-5.

3. Nicholson, in his book, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 151, says, "The question whether the Prophet could read and write is discussed by Nöldeke ... who leaves it undecided ... It appears that he [the Prophet] wished to pass for illiterate, with the object of confirming the belief in his inspiration: "Thou" (Muhammad) "wrt not used to read any book before this (the Koran) nor to write it with thy right hand; else the liars would have doubted (Koran, xxix, 47)." The above-quoted verse by Nicholson gives the impression that the Prophet never read or wrote anything in the past; therefore, there could be no question of wishing to pass for illiterate with the object of confirming the belief in his inspiration.
‘Umair and Ibn Umm Maktūm to teach his few followers\(^1\). After his arrival at Madinah, the Prophet, first of all built a mosque, part of which was meant for a school, and from the very early days ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣa‘īd b. al-‘Ās was appointed to teach the pupils how to write\(^2\). He was killed in the battle of Badr. However, the victory of Badr brought a good number of prisoners of war and, ‘...Ransoms for the prisoners of Badr varied; for some of them, the ransom was to teach children how to write’\(^3\).

There were also other people appointed as teachers of writing\(^4\).

In the second year of the Hijrah at least one new school was opened\(^5\). There were nine mosques in the city of Madinah\(^6\), and most probably they were used as schools as well.

The most important and interesting thing in this field is the sermon of the Prophet regarding his educational policy. He ordered the illiterate and literate to co-operate with each other and admonished those who did not learn from their neighbours and those who did not teach their neighbours. Furthermore, he threatened with punishment those who would not learn\(^7\). It looks as if special significance was given to the art of writing. In a hadith which is recorded by many compilers, the teaching of writing is described as the duty of a father towards his son\(^8\).

Deputations arriving from outlying distance were given into the custody of Madinities, not only for the provision of board and lodging but also for education. The Prophet used to ask them questions to discover the extent of their learning\(^9\).

**Education of Non-Madinities.**

Sending teachers outside Madinah was one of the main features of the policy of the Prophet; at least forty of the teachers who were on their way to Bi‘r Ma‘ūnah were murdered\(^1\). Many others were sent to Najrān\(^2\) and the Yemen\(^3\). In the ninth year of the Hijrah a man was appointed to organise education in the Yemen\(^4\). The other factor, which helped in the diffusion of knowledge, was the influence of the ahādith of the Prophet, according to which un-paid teaching is the duty of every learned man, and withholding knowledge is a punishable sin. In contrast mention of many rewards for both teachers and students is made in other ahādith\(^5\).

**The outcome of the Educational Policy.**

As a result of this policy education spread so fast that very soon after the Hijrah, the Qur‘ān prescribed that every transaction on credit, however small its amount, should be written down and attested by at least two witnesses\(^6\).

Another proof of this achievement is the long list of secretaries who wrote for the Prophet permanently or occasionally. They number about fifty\(^7\). Many of them were engaged in special sectors such as correspondence with tribal chiefs, keeping account of Zakāt and other kinds of taxes, agricultural products, etc.\(^8\), with, perhaps, one chief secretary who used to carry out the job of any absentee\(^9\) and who was the seal-keeper of the Prophet, responsible for answering letters and other business matters within three days\(^10\). In

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1. Balādhuri, Ansāb, i, 375.
2. Sa‘d, iii, 299.
3. Ḥanbal, iii, 212; iv, 397; Dīlāb, Al-Kunā, i, 19.
4. Anwāles, i, 1852-3.
5. See: for free teaching, Ḥanbal, v, 315; for Rewards of Learning, Ḥanbal, iv, 239; 240; 154; v, 196; ‘Ilm, 2b; for Punishment for the Hiding of Knowledge, Tirmidhi, ‘Ilm, 3. For more details, see Ḥanudullāh, Educational System in the Time of the Prophet, I.C., 1939, pp. 48-59.
7. Al-Kattānī, Tarāhit Idāriyah, i, 115-117, where forty-two names are mentioned, few more could be added from the list from al-Wathā‘q al-Siyāsah.
the effort to correspond with non-Arabs even foreign languages and their scripts were learnt.

Many books have been written on the secretaries of the Prophet which throw light on the Secretarial side of the government of the Prophet. Writing was taught to women and many names are given of women who knew how to write.

There are also several instances of interesting advice given by the Prophet on the art of letter-writing, revision after completion, dotting ambiguous letters, and drying writings by means of sand.

**ARABIC LITERATURE IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE hijrah.**

The literature of the early days of Khilafah and the early Umayyad period either perished long ago or was incorporated in the encyclopaedic literature of the Abbasid period.

From the scanty material at our disposal we may sketch a variety of subjects covered by the writers in the period referred to, both non-religious and religious.

**Non-religious subjects:**
1. Poetry.
2. Proverbs.
3. Pre-Islamic History.

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1. Hanbal, v, 186; Balādhusi, Futūḥ, 583; Sijistānī, Masāḥif, 3; Qalqashandi, Subḥ al-Ash, i, 165.
2. For detail see Kattānī, op. cit., i, 124-25.
3. Sa’d, viii, 220; Balādhusi, Futūḥ, 580-81.
4. For examples: Advice of the Prophet on: Revising after Writing, Sūfī, Adab al-Kutāb, 165.
   For Dusting of Letters, Ibn Mājah, Adab, 49; see also Maidānī, op. cit., ii, 47. "Dotting Ambiguous Letters, Jāmī, 55b; see also Sūfī, op. cit., 57; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, op. cit., iv, 173. For Early Invention of Discritical Dots see, Far-rā, Maqām al-Qurān, i, 172-3; A. Grohman, from The World of Arabic Papyri, p. 82; G. C. Miles, Early Islamic Inscriptions near Ta'if in the Hijāz, J.N.E.S., 1948, p. 240; Nāisir al-Asad, op. cit., 34-41. For sending outside Madīnah, Sijistānī, op. cit., 19, 19.
   For revising after copying, Hanbal, iv, 216.
   For copying as a trade, Dūlābī, i, 155-6; Sijistānī, op. cit., 130-1.
5. See infra, Ibn 'Abbās, Uai b. Ka'b, Sa'id b. Jubair, Qatādah in the third chapter of this work.
6. See chapter iii of this work.
7. See infra, Jāhr b. 'Abd Allāh, and Abū Rāfî, in chapter III.
8. See infra, Zaid b. Ṭāḥā, al-Sha'b, Ibn 'Abbās, in the third chapter and al-Zuhri, in the eighth chapter.
9. See infra, p. 45; 49; 58.
10. See for example, T. Kābir, iii, 176.
11. See infra, 'Amr b. Shu'aib, p. 44.
Prophet, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet’s letters in a very early period. Interest in historical writing was not confined to the biography of the Prophet, as is shown by the compilation of the history of the battle between ‘Ali and Mu‘āwiyyah.

All the above-mentioned subjects and many others were covered by authors who were born within the lifetime of the Prophet and were historically connected with him. Furthermore, all these topics are Islamic in their very nature and are written in prose, not in poetry.

Goldziher and Nicholson’s conception of this literature.

Professor R. A. Nicholson, quoting Goldziher’s Muhamedanische Studien, II, p. 203 sqq., says, “Concerning the prose writers of the period [the Umayyad Dynasty] we can make only a few general observations, inasmuch as their works have almost entirely perished. In this branch of literature the same secular, non-Muhammadan spirit prevailed which has been mentioned as characteristic of the poets who flourished under the Umayyad dynasty, and of the dynasty itself.” He further quotes from Goldziher the names of two scholars who were encouraged by the court of Damascus to historical studies—they are, ‘Abd b. Sharyah and Wahb b. Munabbih, then gives two more names of Maghāzī writers: Muṣāb b. ‘Uqba b. Ishaq. Later, he mentions al-Zuhri as collecting the Hadith, and Kitābu ‘l-Zuhd (Book of Asceticism) by Asad b. Mūsā (749 A.D.).” Quoting Goldziher’s Muhamedanische Stud., II, p. 72 f, J. Schacht says, “Goldziher has pointed out that those traditions that were current in the Umayyad period, were hardly concerned with law but rather with ethics, asceticism, eschatology, and politics.” This assumption, which was put forward by Goldziher and is accepted by Schacht and other scholars, is based on a misconception of the literary history of the Umayyad period, and perhaps the latter conception of Goldziher is based on the copy of Kitāb al-Zuhd by Asad b. Mūsā, which is mentioned by him, but which does not belong to the period referred to. Asad b. Mūsā was born in the early Abbasid period in 132 A.H. and died in 212 A.H.

Goldziher’s conception of the early writings and literatures of the Umayyad period is a natural outcome of his observance of the religious conditions of that time. It is not the purpose of the present study to criticize his work Muhd. Studien, which is thought to be an indispensable work for the study of Hadith. Nevertheless, as he is a scholar of good repute, a mistake which he commits necessarily misleads a number of other scholars. And, as it is the only serious work, apart from Schacht’s on hadith, it becomes necessary in some vital issues, to look at Goldziher’s conclusions.

Before commenting any further on Goldziher’s work, it would be better to bring together his deductions, with the relevant references provided by him. Following is a summary of his conception of Islam with regard to the first century after the Hijrah.

Goldziher’s conception of early Muslim Community.

1. The Muslim community’s sheer ignorance of Islam as a religious practice as well as a dogma.
2. Islam was unable to incorporate its customs within a systematic ideology.

The basis of Goldziher’s conclusions—His references and deductions.

1. The people were fighting in the name of Islam, and even built mosques, yet in Syria they did not know that only five prayers a day were an obligatory duty, and for this knowledge they had to refer to an old Companion of the Prophet (p. 30/3).

References:
1. Taḥd., I, 260.
2. For example see his remarks on al-Zuhri concerning the mosque of Jerusalem, and their impact on the following writers:
   b) Guillaume, Traditions of Islam, 47-8.
4. The first number denotes the page of Muh. Stud. and the second number to the references of Goldziher.
6. And what can one expect of religious knowledge from a generation in which the people stood in the pulpit reading poetry and believing that it was the Qur'an (30/7).

7. The official influence and activity in the fabrication of Hadith goes back to a very early period. The alleged instruction given by Mu‘awiya to al-Mughārah, to denounce ‘Ali and his followers, to drive them away and not to listen to them as a source of ahadith, always to praise ‘Uthmān and his followers, to have close contact with them, and to listen to them as a source of abādīth, was an official statement to encourage the production and diffusion of ahadith hostile to ‘Ali and in favour of ‘Uthmān. (35/1).

The first drawback in the setting of this picture is the complete omission of any reference which could shed some light on educational activities in early days.

Moreover there are many important issues based on the book al-'Uyūn wa al-Hadā‘iq by an unknown author, as well as on some other Shi‘ite sources, which he should have read critically for anti-Umayyad sentiments, to appreciate their true value.

Furthermore, he takes a single incident and enlarges it to cover the whole century as well as the entire dynasty. It is difficult to agree with him on any of these issues.

If one were to utilize the technique of Goldziher’s research and his method of generalization, one might draw the following picture of 20th-century Europe:

1. Western Society is so corrupt that it uses holy churches for unholy purposes.1

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1. Drugs were passed at the meeting of church youth club. Daily Mirror, Apr. 17, 1967.
2. People are so demoralised that they force 8 to 10 year old girls to earn their living as whores.

3. There is no security, society being infested with gangsters and racketeers, and people live in constant danger to life and property.

4. They are so cruel that they practice infanticide.

The obvious absurdity of these conclusions is sufficient to demonstrate the invalidity of Goldziher’s technique of research and his method of generalization.

Even if we were to accept his generalizations, it would be almost impossible to follow him to his extreme conclusions, because the references provided by him do not justify his assumptions.

AN ANALYSIS OF GOLDSZIHER’S REFERENCES AND DEDUCTIONS.

I shall now discuss Goldziher’s deductions in their numerical order as referred to in the preceding pages. Every student of Islamic law is aware of the difference of opinion of the scholars regarding the Prayer of Witr, whether it is a wajib prayer, or a Sunnah one, etc. This difference exists even today, and the same kind of argument is used by the scholars up to now. Can we assume that the whole Muslim world is ignorant of the fact that there are only five prayers a day? Furthermore, the Syrians used to go to Makkah for the pilgrimage and according to Goldziher, ‘Abd al-Malik, being afraid of political upsets in the time of Iban al-Zubair, wanted to prevent them from pilgrimage. There must have been a considerable number of them otherwise ‘Abd al-Malik would not have been afraid of them.

So the Syrians who attended Hajj every year did know the prayer — Salat — with certainty. So how can one suggest, on the basis of the above-mentioned text, that the Syrians did not know the numbers of the daily prayers?

4. See for example: (a) Al-Fiqh ‘alá al-Madhahib al-Arba’ah, 246-250.

The second quotation is even more irrelevant to his conclusion. According to Ibn Sa’d, Malik b. al-Huwairith was ordered by the Prophet to teach the people how to pray. Therefore, he probably went to various mosques to show the correct performance of Salah. Not only the heading of al-Bukhari gives this impression, agreeing with IBN Sa’d, but even the wording of the statement itself confirms this. He prayed only to give an example to those present, not at an obligatory prayer-time, nor to find fault with those who were praying and to accuse them of mistakes. It is a very strange conclusion that if someone teaches, then the whole community must be ignorant; yet if there is no mention of the educational and instructional activities of that period Goldziher accuses the ruling dynasty of secular and non-Muhammadan spirit.

3. Bani ‘Abd Ashhal lived in Madinah or in its suburbs. This was the tribe of Sa’d b. Mu’adh. Abu Ra’i’ says that the Prophet used to visit Bani ‘Abd Ashhal after the ‘Asr prayer and speak to them; sometimes the meetings and discussions even continued until the Maghrib prayer.

In this case a number of these people must have known how to pray. This tribe was not in too remote a desert to have been unable to find an Imam and to find only one slave to lead the prayers. This tribe was in the very heart of Madinah, of which Goldziher himself has a good opinion. Would it not be more reasonable to interpret this incident to mean that even the client of a tribe could be the Imam in prayer if he was equipped with sufficient knowledge of Islam?

4. This statement is a mursal one. Its authenticity is challengeable. Even if it is an authentic statement, it was a single incident. How could an isolated instance be used as inclusively as is suggested by Goldziher? There were more than fifty famous companions who had settled down in the city. Among them were Abü Mûsâ al-Ash‘arî, Anas b. Malik, Qa‘îshah b. al-Mukhârîq, etc. Al-Hasan al-Hasîrî says that ‘Abd Allah b. Mughfa’il was one of the

1. Sa’d, vii, 1, 29-30.
4. Tkhîrî, 1, 66a.
ten who were sent by 'Umar b. al-Khattāb to teach the Basrites. Therefore, even if it had happened, it should not be used for generalization.

5. The conclusion is irrelevant. The Arab society with whom the Prophet was dealing was pagan. The new religion and its method of worship were totally new to these people and, as there were no precedents, they had to learn everything however trivial it might otherwise appear. This particular case concerns the Companions of the Prophet who were learning from him, so it cannot be taken as a proof of general ignorance of Islamic conceptions.

6. Quotation No. 6 implies that the Governor, 'Utbah b. al-Nahhās al-'Ijli, did not know the Qur'ān, and was so ignorant that he recited poetry maintaining that it was a part of the Qur'ān. The statement seems to be doubtful. As Ibn al-Kalbī, the narrator of this incident, had Shi'ite tendencies, and the same may be said of 'Awānāh, while 'Utbah was 'Uthmānī and pro-Umayyad, the whole story appears doubtful. The other reason for doubt is the age of 'Utbah bin al-Nahhās al-'Ijli.

At the time of the assassination of the Caliph 'Uthmān (d. 35), 'Utbah was the governor of Hulwān. Al-Mughīrah, while going to see Mu'āwiya in 45 A.H., appointed 'Utbah governor of Kufah. After this date, he is not mentioned by Tabari. In the year 11 A.H., he took Part in the Riddah War. Therefore it would be safe to assume that he must have been at least twenty years of age at that time, and that if he lived to the common age of about sixty years, he might have died somewhere about 50 A.H.

'Awānāh, most probably, might have been born somewhere about 85 A.H. and could not have been in a position to criticize the governor till he was fifteen or twenty years of age. Bearing all this in mind, one could only assume that this event took place at the beginning of the second century, when 'Utbah was probably one hundred and ten years of age. It is questionable that a man of such an age could be appointed a governor even supposing that he lived that long.

7. It is a well-known fact that there had been wars between Umayyads and Alids. Every government, even now in every country, employs people who are thought to be loyal to the regime, and suppresses rebels. Similar measures were taken by the Umayyads. But in the entire quotation there is neither an official nor an unofficial statement alleging fabrication of the ahādīth and the diffusion of them. Mu'āwiya says, "denounce 'Ali, and those who assassinated the Caliph 'Uthmān, and pray for 'Uthmān ..." etc. There seems to be nothing wrong in this attitude, except for his denunciation of 'Ali. There is not a single word giving the slightest hint of any fabrication of ahādīth.

Going through Goldziher's references, one reaches the conclusion that his picture of the religious knowledge and practice of the first century of the Hijrah is incomplete and unbalanced. Therefore, his other conclusions, on the above-mentioned assumptions, are baseless. He is quite wrong in his belief that prose writing in the Umayyad period was secular and non-Muhammadan. The bulky literature of Hadith in the Umayyad period, as is shown in the third Chapter of the present study, compels us to reject this assumption. The claim is based on incomplete knowledge of the period and the arbitrary judgment that religious people were against the Umayyads. If a few incidents can be given to prove that the pious were against them, a more lengthy list could be provided of those who worked for the Umayyads and by any standard the Abbasids were no better, if not much worse, than the Umayyads. It is the duty of a historian to be more cautious when he writes on the Umayyads, as the entire literature available for the subject is the product of the anti-Umayyad period.

Other Forms of Literary Activity.

At the time of the Prophet, people used to copy whatever he dictated. Many Companions had copies of his letters dispatched to different people. It is not clear whether this was done under his instruction or on a personal initiative.

There were some kinds of records kept even at the time of the Prophet. Once he ordered a statistical list to be made of those who embraced Islam. The list contained some 1,500 names.

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1. Nuβālā', ii, 345; the other member of the team was 'Imrān b. Ḥusayn, Nuβālā', ii, 363.
2. Annales, i, 3058.
3. Annales, ii, 72.
5. Führst, 91, where his death is mentioned in 147 A.H.
6. BU, Jihād, 181.
Those who were recruited for any military expedition even in the time of the Prophet were also registered. It was 'Umar who introduced the system of registers at the state level and this may be reckoned as the beginning of systematic official records. He had all the treaties with the tribes or foreign governments preserved in a box, Tābi’īn.

There was a house attached to Caliph 'Uthmān’s house for the preservation of Qīrṭās. Marwān was hidden there by Fātimah bint Sharīk, and thus his life was saved while the Caliph 'Uthmān was assassinated. It might have been a state-paper depository. Later on Ṭabarī mentions Bait al-Qarātis (State-Paper House) in connection with the assassination of 'Amr b. Sa‘īd, in 69 A.H. Towards the end of the first century, Qīrṭās was even distributed to governors for official use.

PRIVATE—PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

In the middle of the first century of the Hijrah, we find a man called 'Abd al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Jumaḥt, who established a public library which contained Kurrasāt (books) on various subjects, different kinds of games and a place to hang the mantles. People were free to use the library for reading or for amusement.

At the same time there was the library of Ibn Abū Lailā, which contained only the Holy Qur‘ān and people gathered there for recitation.

There is another library mentioned in the possession of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyyah; but it is not the earliest record of anything like a public library as was supposed by Krenkow, because the libraries of 'Abd al-Ḥakam and Ibn Abū Lailā most probably existed at an earlier date than this library.

There may have been some other libraries which are unknown to us because this information is scattered far and wide.

2. Maqrīzī, Khatat, i, 295.
3. Balādhūrī, Ansāb, i, 22.
5. Ibn 'Abdal-Ḥakam, Siyayat 'Umar b. 'Abd al-‘Azīz, p. 64.
7. Sa‘īd, vi, 75.
CHAPTER II

RECORDING OF "AHĀDĪTH": AN ARGUMENT

According to the general belief, ahādīth were orally transmitted at least for one hundred years. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was the first who asked Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥāzim, al-Zuhri and others to collect ahādīth and al-Zuhri was the first who recorded them. On the authenticity of this statement, there are differences of opinion among orientalists. Muir accepts it with the remark that there are no authentic remains of any such compilation of an earlier date than the middle of the 2nd century of the Hijrah. While Guillaume in referring to this statement says, "The hadith must be regarded as an invention?", Ruth also refers to Guillaume and some other scholars who doubt the trustworthiness of the report. Goldziher and Schacht have rather harsh opinions. Schacht says, "On the tendency underlying this spurious tradition, see Goldziher, Muh. Stud. II, 210 f., and Mirzā Kazem Beg, in J.A., 4th Ser., XV, 168".1

He further says, "Hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards".2

It is not strange that Schacht should maintain this attitude regarding the authenticity of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's statement, because he believes that almost all the legal ahādīth were invented long after the death of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, and, therefore, there cannot be a question of transmitting ahādīth orally, let alone recording them.

The general belief in the late recording of ahādīth and oral transmissions for more than 100 years was due to the information provided by the muhaddithūn themselves.

The names of the earliest compilers in hadith provided by muhaddithūn belong to the mid-second or the later half of the 2nd century of the Hijrah.3

It is not clear who was the first who furnished this information, but later on all the scholars, even al-Dhahabi and Ibn Ḥajar, repeated the old statement without scrutinizing it, even though they themselves had provided ample evidence in their writings against this common belief.

This theory of the recording of hadith in the 2nd century was the result of many misconceptions:

1. Misinterpretation of the words: Tadwīn, Tasnīf and Kitābah which were understood in the sense of recording.

2. The terms Ḥaddathānā, Akhbarānā, 'An, etc., which were generally believed to be used for oral transmissions.

3. The claim of the powers of unique memory of the Arabs, so that they had no need to write down anything.

4. Ahādīth against recording ahādīth.

2. Schacht, Introduction to Islamic Law, 34; see also. Origin, 149.
These points will be discussed systematically.

1. **Meaning of Tadwiin.**

*Tadwiin* and *Tasniif* do not mean writing down. According to Taj al-'Arūṣī, "Dawān means a collection of Booklets, *al-Dawān Muṣṭama* 'al-Suhuf. Tadwiin means collection (Dawāwanuṭu, Tadwiṇuṭu, Jamā'ahuṭu), and Tasniif means classification according to the subjects.

The statement that "أول من دون العلم ابن شهيد الزهري" was mostly understood and generally translated as meaning that the first who wrote down *ahādīth* was al-Zuhri; but he was neither the first recorder of *ahādīth* nor the first compiler or composer, as we shall see later on.

2. The term *Haddathanā, Akhbaranā* and 'An etc., and their meanings will be discussed in appendix No. 1.

3. **Unique Memory.** It is a fact that all human beings do not have equal powers of memory or ability. Any human capacity can be improved by exercise to a certain extent. Arabs used to recite their poems from memory; they may thus have developed this power. There might have been some people with an excellent memory while others had a bad one. Therefore, to claim that depending on their powers of memory they did not need to write things down is disputable. At the same time it is also wrong to doubt the powers of memory. I have found a rare example of this in the memory of Mr. Stanley Adams about whom the Times reports, "His acute business sense and remarkable memory — after one reading of the stock exchange list he was reputed to be able to quote every price — led to many appointments over a vast range of business interests". Churchill's memory is another example.

4. **The ahādīth against writing down the ahādīth.**

In *Taqyīd al-'Ilm*, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī deals with the subject of the recording of *ahādīth* at length concerning whether or not it was prohibited by the Prophet. The first part of the book is mainly concerned with the disapproval of writing; and the first chapter of this part mainly contains *ahādīth* from the Prophet, forbidding writing of anything except the *Qurān*.

In the second chapter he mentions the names of 6 Companions who disapproved the recording of the *ahādīth* of the Prophet. They are:

- Abū Saʿīd al-Khudri.
- Abd Allāh b. Masʿūd.
- Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.
- Abū Hurairah.
- Abū Allāh b. `Abbas.
- Abū Allāh b. `Umar.

In chapter 3, he provides a list of Successors which contains 12 names of persons who were supposed to be against writing down *ahādīth*. They are:

- Al-Aʾmash.
- Abīdah.
- Abū al-`Āliyāh.
- Amr b. Dmār.
- Al-Dhāḥak.
- Ibrāḥīm al-Nakhaʾī.
- Abū Idrīs.
- Mansūr.
- Muḥammad b. Sīrin.
- Muḥarrak.
- Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad.
- Ubayd Allāh b. `Abd Allāh.

In part two, chapter 1, he gives the names of al-Ashʿarī, Ibn Masʿūd and Ibn `Awn who were against writing of Hadith besides the name of the Caliph `Umar b. al-Khaṭīb, who consulted the Companions over the recording of the hadīth officially and after their full support he disapproved of it. But almost all of them had written down *ahādīth* and in many cases had sent them to others. Full details will be found in the third chapter of this work, under

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1. See infra, appendix No. 1.
the very name of the scholars who are supposed to be against the writing of ḥadīth.

There now remain ḥadīth from the Prophet which forbid writing down of Hadīth1, and these need investigating.

The Prophet and the Writing of Ahadīth.


The hadīth of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī had two different versions. One of them is transmitted by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zaid2. The authorities agree unanimously that he was a weak narrator, and according to al-Ḥakīm and Abū Nuʿaim he transmitted even false ahādīth; and in the words of Ibn Ḥibbān, "He used to reverse ahādīth, without knowing it, and put the full inād for interrupted ones, so he deserved to be abandoned"3. Therefore, the hadīth of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī transmitted by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zaid is weak and unacceptable.

The same 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zaid occurs in the hadīth of Abū Hurairah4. Therefore, this hadīth is also weak and unacceptable. The third companion is Zaid b. Thabit. His hadīth is Mursa. The transmitter from Zaid is al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Allāh who did not meet Zaid5. So, this hadīth is not acceptable. Furthermore, hadīth from Zaid has two versions. In one of them, his disapproval of the writing of hadīth is based on the order of the Prophet6, while in another statement it is said that he disapproved of it because the written materials were his personal opinions7. Therefore, this statement does not confirm his disapproval of the recording of the ahādīth of the Prophet.

Now there is only one hadīth transmitted by Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, which reads, "Do not write from me anything except the Qurʾān and whoever has written anything from me other than the Qurʾān should erase it"8. Even this hadīth, which is transmitted by Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī on the authority of the Prophet, is disputed among scholars. According to al-Bukhārī and others, it is the statement of Abū Saʿīd himself, that is erroneously attributed to the Prophet9. But it seems to be a hadīth coming from the Prophet, and it actually meant that nothing should be written with the Qurʾān on the same sheet, because this might lead someone to conclude that sentences or words written in the margin or between lines belonged to the Qurʾān10. It should be remembered that this order was given in the period when the Qurʾān was being revealed and when the text itself was incomplete. Otherwise, there does not appear to be any sound reason to forbid the writing of ahādīth.

The Prophet himself sent hundreds of letters. Many of them were very lengthy, containing the formulae for prayers and worship11. According to the Qurʾān the Prophet’s conduct and deeds should be followed by the community12. The Qurʾān itself demands a record of credit transactions13. Therefore, it looks as if there were no general instructions not to record the ahādīth, though it might have been explained by some of the scholars in this way.

On the other hand there is clear evidence to show that the Prophet approved of recording ahādīth. Further, we find that quite a number of Companions recorded ahādīth and among them were those people who were responsible for transmitting hadīth which forbade its recording14. Bearing all this in mind one arrives at the conclusion that the Prophet’s disapproval of writing ahādīth most probably meant the writing of the Qurʾān and non-Qurʾānic material on the same sheet15 because that might have led to misun-

1. Taqyid, pp. 29-32; Muṣṭafā, i, 63.
2. Ibn Ḥajar, Fath al-Bārī, i, 208; see also al-Yāmānī, al-Anwār al-Kāfī, 43; also Rāhāk, 37b. He says that if the tradition is Mahfūz, then it was in the early days of Hijrah.
4. See for detail, Hamidullāh, al-Wazāfāʾiq al-Siyāsyyah, pp. 3-283 where he has given the ample references.
5. Sūrat, xxixii, 21.
7. See infa. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, p. 43-4; An Ansārī, p. 50. Abū Shāh, p.40.

1. Taqyid, 29-32; MU, Zuhd 72; Bayān, i, 63.
2. Ibn Ḥajar, Fath al-Bārī, i, 208; see also al-Yāmānī, al-Anwār al-Kāfī, 43; also Rāhāk, 37b. He says that if the tradition is Mahfūz, then it was in the early days of Hijrah.
4. See for detail, Hamidullāh, al-Wazāfāʾiq al-Siyāsyyah, pp. 3-283 where he has given the ample references.
5. Sūrat, xxixii, 21.
7. See infa. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, p. 43-4; An Ansārī, p. 50. Abū Shāh, p.40.
understanding. There is another theory that people were forbidden to write down hadith in early days because all attention should be paid to the Qur'an and its preservation, and that later on, when there was no danger of neglecting the Qur'an, the previous order was abrogated and permission was given to write hadith.

Among the scholars, Sayed Rashid Riḍa held an opposite theory. In his conception, the writing of hadith was allowed in the early days of Islam and was forbidden at a later period.

This was the natural outcome of his view of the legal value of the hadith. In his theory, the Prophet did not mean to make his hadith an everlasting legal source or part of Din. Therefore the Prophet forbade the writing down of the hadith. This order was strictly observed by the Companions. So, the Righteous Caliphs did not write, let alone consider publishing hadith. Moreover the senior Companions were even against the imparting of Hadith. The Successors did not have any Sahih from the Companions and they recorded only when they were asked to do so by the Governors. Rashid Riḍa describes all hadith coming from the Prophet and the Companions in favour of the recording of hadith, however authentic they may be, as defective and weak or designed to serve a special purpose. Whereas, in fact, there are among them hadith which were universally accepted among the scholars as authentic. Meanwhile he gathers all the defective, weak, Mursal and Maqṣūr hadith, even those that had nothing to do with the midrash of writing, and treats them as authentic and in the sense of interdiction.

It is not the aim of the present study to explore the legal validity of the Sunnah. But going through the historical data and the cross-references to hundreds of statements one finds oneself bound to reject Riḍa’s hypothesis totally. The theory is based on superficial study of hadith literature. No scholar can find a single authentic hadith forbidding the writing of hadith save the one of Abū Sa’īd al-Khudrī, and even this is challenged by scholars of the stature of al-Bukhārī.

A glance at the 3rd chapter of this work would be sufficient to refute Rashid Riḍa’s claim that the Companions and the senior Successors did not copy out hadith.

Even if we accept Rashid Riḍa’s verdict that the hadith were copied out by the order of the Caliph, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, it was not blasphemy. The Qur’an itself was copied out and published by order of the Caliph ‘Uthmān. He sent four copies of the Qur’an to the provincial capitals, so that the people should recite strictly in accordance with them. If these copies were meant for mass education they would have been insufficient by any standard. Therefore, even the learning of the Qur’an was based on memorizing and private copying. The task was carried out by both means: by government appointed teachers and by volunteer scholars. The same method was adopted for the diffusion of hadith. Hence the assumption of Rashid Riḍa that the Righteous Caliphs and the Companions did not write down hadith or make any arrangement for their publication has no real basis.

**Misinterpretation of Early Scholars’ Statements.**

There have been many scholars who copied hadith but sometimes disliked doing so. They gave reasons for their attitudes which were not based on the Prophet’s order and in many cases the reasons were omitted. Sometimes when the statements were given in full they were interpreted as against writing, without any serious consideration.

**Some examples:**

1. It is reported that Ibrāhīm al-Nakha’ī was against writing; the reason he gave for his dislike was: “whoever writes depends on

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2. Rashid Riḍa, Review on early compilation, Al-Manār, x, 767.


4. Rashid Riḍa, op. cit., 768.


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1. Ibn Hārīr, Fatḥ al-Bārī, i, 208.

2. This figure is accepted by Abū Rayyāh, op. cit., 206, so I am taking this hypothesis for further discussion.


4. e.g. Abū al-Dardā’, Nubalā, ii, 2.

5. e.g. Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulami, ‘Ilā, i, 37.

6. Sā’d, iii, 1, 201; Ḥanbal, i, 48.
it”\(^1\). Early scholars considered books had stores of knowledge\(^2\); and the best store was one which was kept in memory and could be utilized anywhere and at any time.

2. The name of ‘Amir al-Sha’bi has been given in the lists of those against writing\(^3\). If one reads his statement carefully one must reach the conclusion that al-Sha’bi was not against writing. We have two of his statements on the subject. In one of them he says, “I neither wrote with black on white nor did I ask any man to repeat a hadith twice to me.”\(^4\) The purpose of this statement is to show his great power of memory so that he never needed to ask anyone to repeat a hadith, and to hear it only once was sufficient for him to memorize it. The statement has no connection with the subject of recording of hadith. In another statement he advises his students to write down everything they hear from him, if they did not have paper they were even asked to write on walls\(^5\).

Therefore, to present these two statements in such a way as to prove that he was first against writing and then in its favour\(^6\) is extremely ingenious as an explanation but extremely doubtful as an argument.

Summing up the argument, al-Khatib describes reasons for disliking recording\(^7\). He gives several reasons but there is no evidence that the interdiction of writing was based on any Prophetic order. Many scholars who disliked writing at one time or another purely on personal prejudice, nevertheless committed hadith to writing.

The hadith related from the Prophet concerning the interdiction of writing were precautions required by a specific set of circumstances motivated by the care, lest the Qur’an be mixed with non-Qur’anic material. The writing of hadith by a vast number of Companions\(^8\) is itself a proof that the prohibition of writing of hadith (if any) was neither a general, nor a permanent order.

1. Sa’d, vi, 189.
2. Taqyîd, 58.
3. Taqyîd, 48, footnote by Eche; Muhammad ‘Ajjâj, al-Sunnah Qabî al-Tadwîn, p.323.
5. Taqyîd, 100.
7. Taqyîd, 57.
8. For detail of their writings, see infra, 3rd chapter.

In the 2nd and 3rd chapters of the 2nd part of al-Taqyîd, al-Khatib gives some examples of those who wrote down hadith but ordered that these be erased on their death. He also gives examples of those who regretted having erased the hadith.\(^1\)

In the 3rd part, al-Khatib gives details of hadith coming from the Prophet in favour of recording; then he provides the list of Companions, Successors and others who recorded hadith.\(^2\) It is hoped the next chapter of this work will be more comprehensive than al-Khatib’s in this respect.

Before concluding this chapter, one need mention only one more point. Going through all these statements on the writing of the Hadith or its interdiction, Goldz hints deduced from them a strange conclusion. In short, that there were two groups in the early days of Islam; a) Ahl al-Hadith, who were pro-Hadith, and b) Ahl al-Râî, who were anti-Hadith. Ahl al-Râî forged traditions relating to the interdiction of writing; so that they could prove untrustworthiness of the Hadith and get rid of it. This was against the interest of Ahl al-Hadith, so they invented hadith in favor of recording, to prove its trustworthiness\(^3\).

A glance at the names of the scholars — who are said to be against writing — is sufficient to refute this conclusion of Goldz. The most famous Scholars, who were supposed to be extremists against writing, were Ibn Sirîn and ‘AbîRahâ who were muhaddithîn. Among the most famous Fuqahâ’ who wrote down and were in favour of recording of the hadith were Ahl al-Râî as Hammad, Ibrahim, Al-A’mash, Al-Zahrî, Abû Hanifah, Abû Yusef, Malik and Al-Thuurî. Secondly there were no Fuqahâ at that time without a sound knowledge of hadith. A muhaddith might not have been a Fiqh, but a Fiqh was — at that time — a muhaddith versed in the science of analogy.

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1. Taqyîd, 58-63.
2. Taqyîd, 64-113.
3. Goldz, Muḥd Stud, ii, 194 sqq. as quoted by Y. Eche, Taqyîd, margin note 16.
CHAPTER III

PRE-CLASSICAL "HADITH" LITERATURE

Before giving details of the literary activities of the early Muhaddithūn, it is necessary to discuss the problems with which the chapter is concerned.

1. The terms of Nuskhah, Sahifah, Kitāb, Risālah etc., and their meanings.

2. Classification of literary period.

3. Methods employed to establish dates of birth and death of scholars.

THE TERM Kitāb, Nuskhah, etc.

The word Kitāb generally has two meanings, a letter or a book. In many cases the context helps to make clear a possible ambiguity as to whether it means a book or a letter. In some cases even context does not give any clue. As a general rule we may decide that whenever this word occurs in reference to the Companions’ writings – with a few exceptions e.g. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, Ibn ‘Abbās, Jābir etc., – it may be taken in the sense of a letter, while in the writings of the Successors, it should be taken as meaning a book1, except where the context suggests another meaning. I do not mean that the word Kitāb when translated as a ‘letter’ means a personal letter unrelated to educational activities. These letters were, in fact, the genesis of the later work.

Nuskhah and Sahifah.

These two words were used, it appears to me, synonymously. Al-Dhahabi says, Hammām has a famous Nuskhah from Abū Hurairah – "Nuskhah Mashhūrah"1, while the same work is mentioned by the name of Sahifah Hammām2.

Nuskhah.

This word means "copy" and perhaps the word is derived from the very practice of copying out ahādīth from teachers’ books. It is interesting to note that they sometimes use two words: Al-Asl and Nuskhah. Ibn Bashkuwāl describes ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad as saying, "He did not lend his Al-Asl (original books), and if someone requested him persistently, then he used to give it to a scribe who copied it and revised it, then handed it to the borrower"4. One more example may be added to clarify this point. Abū Jafar says that Ibn Lahī’ah brought his books before the scholars and dictated to the students. Some of them were good at writing while others committed many mistakes. Later Ibn Lahī’ah did not produce his books. So anyone who wanted ahādīth from him used to go to his students to copy out the book and to read it to Ibn Lahī’ah. Therefore, the ahādīth of anyone who found a correct copy of the book were correct, otherwise there were many discrepancies6.

Ibn Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī says that Ibn Wahb and Ibn al-Mubārik used to follow the original books – Uṣūl – of Ibn Lahī’ah, while others used to write down from copies – Nusakh –3.

Thus the word Nuskhah may have derived from the fact that the students used to copy out from teachers’ books. As it was copied on sheets – Sahifah or Suhuf – the word Sahifah was employed as well. Sahifah was known to Arabs even before Islām6.

1. Huffaz, i, 89.
2. See Sahifah Hammām, edited by M. Hamidullah. For further example of synonymous usage, Tahd., xi, 253, and 254 for Sahifah/Nuskhah of Ibn Mauhāb.
4. Fasawī, iii, 136b.
6. Nāṣir al-Asad, Musūdīr al-Shi‘r, pp. 70–71; 133.
word is also used in the Qur’ān, e.g., Suhuf Ibrāhīm wa Muṣā. Though the word originally means a sheet, yet it was not used in its strict sense and was sometimes employed for a booklet. The Sahifah of Ḥammām, for instance, contains 138 ahādīth and covers a space of 18 pages in print. There are ample references describing the number of ahādīth contained in a certain Sahifah. There was another famous Sahifah of Ḥabd allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, called al-Sahifah al-Sadīqah, which consisted of hundreds of ahādīth, which, obviously, could not be written on a single sheet. Therefore, the word Sahifah or Nuskah means a book or booklet.

Kurāsah. This word means a booklet or a note-book.

Risālah.

This word also means a letter as well as a book. We find a reference to the word Risālah in the statement of Ibn Srīn, saying that the Risālah of Samurah to his son contained much knowledge. The portion of this Risālah, which is still preserved in Mu’jam of al-Ṭabarānī, indicates that the Risālah was a lengthy one. Another book which bears the name of Risālah is that of al-Shāfi‘ī, which covers some 600 pages. On the basis of these facts, therefore, in this chapter the terms Sahifah, Risāla, Huskhah and Kitāb will be translated as ‘book’. The nature of the books in most cases is not specified. A book might contain 5 or 500 or 5000 ahādīth.

1. The Qur’ān, Sūrah 87, verse 18, 19; for further usage see Fuwād Ḥabd al-Bāqī, Mu’jam al-Muťahhars, p. 403.
3. See for example: (i) Nuskah of Bishr from Zubair about 150 ahādīth, Miṣān, i, 316. (ii) Nuskah of Muḥarrah about 100 ahādīth, Kāmil, i, 316b. (iii) Nuskah in the possession of Ibn Maḥdt containing 4 ahādīth, Kāmil, i, 36a.
4. ‘Alī, Sunnah Qudr al-Tadwin, pp. 349-50, giving a number of 1,000 ahādīth, citing Usd al-Ghābah, but his reference does not agree with his deduction, see Usd al-Ghābah, iii, 233.
5. Tahd., iv., 236.

Information concerning pre-classical hadith literature and the method of its arrangement in this chapter.

As a general rule, the books are recorded under the names of the scholars from whom the students derived their written collections. Usually the method by which the material was collected by the students is not disclosed, whether the students copied it out from particular books or recorded from dictations or lectures, or compiled their collections from memory in the later periods. This last method was very rare and wherever a reference has been found to this practice, it has been described as such.

In short, where a student is described as having written ahādīth of a certain scholar, his name is listed under the name of that scholar.

Here I have tried to utilize the explicit references to writings or written records, without utilizing the logical approach.

One point remains to be clarified in this context. There is not a single chapter in any book dealing with ahādīth where one may find references to the early books on ahādīth. The books are mentioned here and there, especially when the scholars criticize someone or compare two Scholars, A and B. Then sometimes they say that ‘A’ was Sahib Kitāb. This means that ‘B’ was famous for his memory while ‘A’ depended mainly on books; meanwhile, whether or not ‘B’ was in possession of books is not disclosed. In this statement ‘Kāna Sahib Kitāb’ does not mean that he had only one book, he might have had 10 or 20 books, but in this context it is only used in the sense of dependence upon the book. Yet according to English it must be translated to mean ‘he had a book’. Wherever a sentence of this type occurs in this chapter, it usually has the meaning that the man depended on books. Where the context requires any other meaning it has been specified.

The classification of the literary period.

I have tried to cover the literary activities concerning hadith up to about 150 A.H. The main point of interest in confining the period of research within this limit relates to the fact that during this period books began to appear in voluminous quantities. The pattern of composing books changed from the mere recording of ahādīth at random or composing of booklets on a single topic, to cumulative writings incorporating scores of topics in one book e.g.
one of the dates has been arbitrarily chosen. It is doubtful whether, if I had investigated all the statements of their births and deaths, I would have been able to reach any definite conclusion. Moreover, as I shall be dealing with what amounts to about 500 Scholars such an investigation would be excessively lengthy as well as fruitless.

If only the date of death is given, I have either subtracted from it 60 to 65 years as an average span of a man’s life, to establish the approximate date of birth. Or I have gone through the names of his teachers and tried to recognize the one who died earliest and then subtracted 20 from this date as being the average age for the beginning of the study of ḥadith. In most cases the Scholars must have been born much earlier than the assumed dates, but there is no adequate means of ascertaining the actual dates. For example, if a man narrated ḥadith from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110), we may say with a fair amount of confidence that the man was born about 90 A.H., as according to the customs of the time, they usually began to learn ḥadith in their twenties. Moreover, such a student would not necessarily have gone to a teacher on his death-bed. He might have attended the lectures well before the death of his teacher and may have accompanied him for years.

This supposition cannot be contradicted on the basis of the practice of the later periods when people began to take children as young as 2 and 3 years to listen to the reading of certain books, because those books had been compiled a long time before and it became a fashion to have an authority to transmit them with Ḥisnād Aḥīt.

Where no date of birth or death of a Scholar is available, the above mentioned method is utilized to establish an approximate date of birth, i.e. going through his teachers to find out an approximate birth date then adding about 65 years to obtain a rough date of his death. So, if a man transmitted from Nāfi’ (d. 117) then the Rāwī may have been born about 95 A.H. and have lived to (95 + 65) about 160 A.H.

1. See infra, chapter iv, pp. 197-8.
2. See for example Qāsim b. Ja’far heard Kībūb al-Sunan for the first time while he was in this second year. Kīfayāt, 64.
I. WRITINGS OF AND FROM THE COMPANIONS

1. ABŪ AYYÛB AL-ÂNSÂRĪ, Khâlid b. Zaid (d. 52 A.H.).
   The following derived ḥāḏīth from him in written form:
   1. His nephew, Abû Ayyûb wrote down some ḥāḏīth and
      sent them to his nephew.²
   2. Another member of his family Ayyûb b. Khâlid b. Ayyûb
      related a collection of ḥāḏīth from his father who
      related them from his grand-father. The collection consists
      of 112 ḥāḏīth.³
   It is not clear whether the collection was made by Abû Ayyûb himself, by his son, or by his grand-son.

   It is said that he wrote down 500 ḥāḏīth of the Prophet. Later on he was reported to have burnt them saying that he might
   have heard these ḥāḏīth from men who, he thought, were trustworthy, but who, as a matter of fact, were not.⁴ Al-Dhahabi
   describes this statement as false. In fact Abû Bakr was the man most closely attached to the Prophet. Had he wanted to make
   a collection of ḥāḏīth, he would not have needed a medium be-
   tween him and the Prophet. Many scholars have quoted this
   statement without examining its authenticity or referring to its
   refutation. It is quoted by Abû Rayyah as evidence against the
   writing down of ḥāḏīth.² Had it been authentic, it would have
   been a proof of early writing of ḥāḏīth, as the burning of the
    Sinkāf was for quite different reasons. It implies also that at the
   time of writing he did not know the interdiction of the Prophet.

1. Khazraji, 86.
2. Hanbal, v. 413.
5. Husayn, i, 5; where he says, La Yasîh other scholars also rejected its
6. Hamidullâh, Sahîh Hammûm, 28-9; Gûmi, Tadrîs al-Hadhîth, 285;
   ‘Ajîj, al-Sunnah qabî al-Tadrîs, 305-90; Abû Rayyah, Adwûr ‘alî al-Sunnah,
   42.
7. Abû Rayyah, op. cit., 42.
8. ABÚ BAKRAH AL-RHÂQAQI, Nufai’ b. Masrûh (d. 51 A.H.).
   He sent a letter to his son, the Governor of Sijistan, which
   contained the Prophet’s sayings relating to the business of justice.
   He joined the Prophet at Khaibar in the year 7 A.H. He had no
   occupation or any interest other than gaining knowledge. He
   lived in Madinah depending upon the Prophet for his food and
   other necessities. He accompanied the Prophet for four years. This is the period between his arrival at Khaibar and the death
   of the Prophet. According to some other statements he accompanied
   the Prophet for three years. He was sent to Bahrain with ‘Alî
   al-Haḍramî. Thus, if we subtract this period of absence from four
   years, it becomes three years.
   According to Abû Rayyah he accompanied the Prophet for
   only 21 months. He thinks that ‘Alî remained as Governor of
   Bahrain till he died during the Caliphate of ‘Umar, who then
   appointed Abû Hurairah in his place. But historical facts are against
   this assumption. ‘Alî himself was discharged from his duties, and
   in 9 A.H. the post was filled by Abû b. Sa‘îd. Most probably
   Abû Hurairah also left the office at that time and returned to...
Madīnah. We find him at the end of the year 9 A.H. at Makka in the pilgrimage. This is the claim of Abū Hurairah, and his statement is attested to by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās as well. So there is no sound reason to reject this statement and to believe that 'Alī held the office continuously. Even if 'Alī had held the office, there would not have been any logical obligation to prevent Abū Hurairah's departure from 'Alī.

Here, it is better to clarify two more points raised by Abū Rayyāh, who charged Abū Hurairah with favouring the Umayyads, yet was unable to produce any authentic hadīth from Abū Hurairah against 'Alī and in favour of the Umayyads. Abū Rayyāh himself gives us hadīth transmitted by Abū Hurairah in favor of 'Alī and against the Umayyads. If we go through the Nuskhah of Suhaib, hadīth No. 14, we find Abū Hurairah giving 'Alī a place even higher than 'Umar in the battle of Khaibar. Thus, it is inconceivable that he was against 'Alī. To interpret all these hadīths, as is done by Abū Rayyāh, is in the sense that he circulated them in order to blackmail Mu'āwiyah is ridiculous. Equally ridiculous is the claim of Abū Rayyāh and others in which they state that Abū Hurairah used to eat with Mu'āwiyah and to pray with 'Alī, as it was historically impossible.

Abū Rayyāh doubts Abū Hurairah's honesty and bases his verdict on the practice of 'Umar, as he distributed the money which he brought from Bahrain. But this was the usual practice of 'Umar with many other Governors.

Abū Hurairah lived only three years with the Prophet, yet he transmitted more hadīth than any other Companion. According to Ibn al-Jauzī, there are 5374 ḥadīth transmitted by him in the Musnad Baqī and 3848 ḥadīth in the Musnad of Ibn Hanbal. According to Ahmad Shākir, after substracting repeated hadīth, there remain 1579 ḥadīth transmitted by Abū Hurairah.

In a period of three years he observed and learnt some 1500 traditions, which are a mixture of verbal and practical Sunnah. This does not seem to be a large number, although both in his life-time as well as in the later period he was charged with having transmitted a vast number of hadīth. Yet all those who have criticized him, have praised him one time or another.

We are not sure whether or not he had any written collection of ḥadīth in his early life, but mention is made in a later period of the books he had in his possession:

1. Ḥasan b. 'Amr al-Damaři saw many books of ḥadīth in Abū Hurairah's possession.

2. It is said that Bashīr b. Nakī made his collection, copying the book of Abū Hurairah, but the Isnād of this statement is somewhat defective.

The following derived hadīth from him in written form:

1. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān. He had almost all the Abū Hurairah in written form.

2. Abū Šāliḥ al-Sammān. He transmitted from Abū Hurairah and others. Al-A'mash wrote down 1000 ḥadīth from him and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i (d. 96) made his collection of Abū Hurairah's ḥadīth through al-A'mash-Abū Šāliḥ-Abū Hurairah. It is not mentioned whether or not Abū Šāliḥ himself had any

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1. Balādhurī, Ansāb al-Ashraf, i, 383; Khaithamah, iii, 76a.
2. Khaithamah, i, 76b.
4. Ibid., 125, 142.
5. Abū Rayyāh, op. cit., 126.
9. Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-Buldān, i, 257. For other examples, see 'Umar's practice with Sa'd b. Abū Waqqas; Sa'd, iii, ii, 105; and with Khālid b. Walid, Nubalā, i, 273; and with Abū Musa al-Askārī, Ibn 'Abd Rahmān, 'Iṣād, i, 52; and with Abū Ḥārith b. Ḥurr, ibid.; and with Mu'āwiyah b. Jabal, Nubalā, i, pp. 325-6.

2. See e.g. Ibn 'Umar's saying, Sa'd, iv, i, 63; Taḥāb b. Ubaib Allāh's saying, Ḥalī, i, 72. See also the saying of 'Aishah where she objected to his method of imparting traditions, not the traditions themselves, Ibn Ḥabbān, Ṣaḥīḥ, i, 101.
3. Ibn Hajar, Faḍḥ al-Bārī, i, 217; al-Kattānī, Ṣāḥīḥ, ii, 246; 'Iṣād, 120a.
5. Sa'd, vii, ii, 157; erroneously Ḥabībullāh mentioned it under 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. See Sahibah Hammām, 39.
6. Ja'd, 80.
7. 'Iṣād, i, 140.
written collection, but his son Suhail had a written collection from him. Therefore, most probably Abū Ṣalih had a written collection from Abū Hurairah.


4. Basht b. Nahīk. He made his collection from Abū Hurairah, and presented the book to him and even obtained Abū Hurairah’s permission to transmit it.

5. Hammām b. Munabbih. He transmitted from Abū Hurairah a Ṣaḥīḥ book which has been edited and published.

6. Marwān b. Ḥakam. He made a collection of Abū Hurairah’s aḥādīth. It was copied by Abū al-Za’zā’a.

7. Muḥammad b. Ṣuṭrīn. The book was written on an old parchment, and it began: “This is what Abū Hurairah imparted to us: Abū al-Qāsim (The Prophet) said so, Abū al-Qāsim said so. There were circles after every ten aḥādīth. There were sayings of Abū Hurairah separately”. The book was in the possession of Yāḥyā b. Ṣuṭrīn, because in his later days Muḥammad b. Ṣuṭrīn did not like to have any sort of books.

8. Sa’d al-Maqibrī. Muḥammad b. ‘Ajjān had the book of Sa’d which he had compiled from Abū Hurairah.


5. Abū Mūsā al-Asḥā’ī. ‘Abd Allāh b. Qais (d. 42). It is reported that he was not in favour of writing down hadīth. He even erased the writing of his students.


6. Abū Rāfi‘ (d. before 40 A.H.)

The following derived aḥādīth from him in written form:

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās. He used to go to Abū Rāfi‘ and ask him about the Prophet’s deeds and sayings on certain occasions. Then he or his slaves would write the answers.

Abū Bakr b. ‘Abbās al-Rahmān b. Hīzhām. Abū Rāfi‘ gave him a booklet (Kitāb) which described the Prophet’s method of commencing prayers and invocation of God.

7. Abū Sa‘d al-Khudrī. Sa’d b. Malik (d. 74 A.H.). Abū Sa‘d is the main narrator of a hadīth from the Prophet which forbade the writing down of hadīth. He did not agree with his students who wanted to make written collections of aḥādīth, but he himself transcribed aḥādīth. Once he was informed about a Fatwā (legal decision) of Ibn ‘Abbās which was against the Prophet’s hadīth; then he said to his informer: “We shall write to him, then he will not give these decisions to anybody”. It is not known whether or not he wrote but Ibn ‘Abbās later changed

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1. Mīrān, iii, 85.
2. ‘Ilal, i, 162; ‘Ilal, i, 43; Abū Khaithamah, ‘Ilm, 11a; 11b; Fasawī, iii, 264b; ‘Ilal Tirmidhī, ii, 239; Rāmīhurmüz, 63b; Kifāyah, 275; Tāqūd, 101; Jāmi‘, 138b; Sharh ‘Ilal, 54b; 60b; Isām, iii, 345; Tahd., i, 470.
5. Fasawī, iii, 14b; ‘Ilil, 173; Jāmi‘, 56b.
6. Thiqāt, 599; Tahd., ix, 342.
7. Maqrīzī, 250b; Tahd., xi, 254; see also page 253.
8. Isā‘āb, No. 3193.
9. Rāmīhurmüz, 36b; Tāqūd, 39-41.
10. ‘Ilal, iv, 396; 414.
11. Khalīfah, Tabaqat, i, 19; see also Isā‘āb, No. 2948.
15. Mū, Zuhd, 72; Tāqūd, 29-33.
18. Hanbal, iii, 60.
his Fatwā. Had he written the letter, it would probably have referred to the Prophet’s hadith.


He heard the sermon of the Prophet at Mecca in 8 A.H., on the occasion of its conquest. He requested the Prophet to have this sermon taken down in written form. The Prophet ordered someone: "Write it for Abū Shāh".


Al-Ḥasan b. Ṣābir asked him about the recording of hadith and he approved of it.

Al-Ḳusaym al-Shamī, perhaps, recorded aḥādīth from him.


He was a cousin of the Prophet. He was known for a keen mind and love of knowledge. After the death of the Prophet he asked one of his Ansārī friends to join him in seeking knowledge. This man laughed at him and left him. So Ibn ‘Abbās devoted himself to learning.

Ruth states that "he is one of the few Meccans reputed to have been able to write before the days of Islām?", though he was born in the Islamic period.

He used to sit outside the doors of the Companions in very hot and windy weather. When they saw him, they would say: "O cousin of the Prophet...if you had sent someone we would have come to you". The usual reply of Ibn ‘Abbās was, ‘No, I must come to you’. Then he used to ask for aḥādīth.

He was so eager for knowledge that he would ask as many as 30 Companions about a single incident.

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1. Hanbal, II, 238; BU, ‘Ilm, 39; Luqtaḥ, 7; Dayāt, 6; MU, Ḥajj, 447; Tirmidhī, ii, 110; A.D. hadith, No. 4550; Muntaqū, No. 508; Rāhmūn, 34a; Kifāyah, 55; Ḥāʾī, No. 3028.
2. Ḥāʾī, No. 1237.
3. Saʾd, vi, 172; Dārīmū, 1, 127; Taqīyyīt, 98.
5. Ḥāʾī, No. 1588; Isābāh, 4781.
6. Saʾd, ii, 121; Fasawwī, 173a; Ṭ kabīb, v, 139a. Isābāh, II, 323, No 4781; Jamiʾ, 24a.
8. Saʾd, ii, 121; Fasawwī, 173a.
The following derived *ahādīth* from him in written form:

2. ‘Amr b. Dīhār.
5. ‘Ikrīmah. He transmitted the commentary on the Qur’ān as well.
7. Mujāhid.
8. Najdah, a Kharijīte. He asked certain questions and Ibn ‘Abbās answered them saying that people were accusing him of correspondence with a Kharijīte, “If I were not afraid of hiding the knowledge (and of the severe punishment) I would not have replied to him.”

10. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Awfā (d. 86).

The following derived *ahādīth* from him in written form:

Sālim, the scribe of ‘Abd Allāh. Ibn Abū Awfā, wrote to ‘Umar b. Ubaidullāh, recording some *ahādīth*. Sālim made a copy of them and transmitted them.

Sālim provided a copy of those *ahādīth* for one of his friends on request.

1. Ibn Sa‘īd, v, 216.
2. Fasawi, iii, 5b; Zur‘ah, 78b.
5. Fuhrist, 34.
6. Sa‘īd, v, 216; Khaitamah, iii, 111 a-b.
7. Fuhrist, 35; Dhahabi, Taṣfīr wa al-Mufassirūn, i, 104, quoting Ibn Taymiyyah.
8. Amrūd, 333-33; Hanbal, i, 224; 248; 294; 308; MU, Jiḥād, 137-141; Nas, ii, 177; Muntaqqā, *ahādīth*, No. 1085; 1086; Zanjua’mah, 124 a-b; Marwazi, al-Sunnah, 44; Tabarī, v, 159 a-b.
9. Sa‘īd, v, 179; ‘Ilt, i, 50; 394; Fasawi, ii, 166b; Zura‘ah, 119a; Darimi, i, 128; Taqṣīr, 102. Rāmhmuzi, 35a; 35b. Tawwīs Testifies Sa‘īd’s writing in the presence of Ibn ‘Abbās, Rāmhmuzi, 35b.
11. MU, Jiḥād, 20; al-Qasara‘i, 189; Tahdī, iii, 431.

‘Umar b. ‘Ubaidullāh. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Awfā wrote some *ahādīth* of the Prophet regarding the law of war and sent them to ‘Umar.


He embraced Islam before his father and emigrated to Madinah after 7 A.H. He knew the Hebrew language as well, found some books of Al-Kīṭāb at Yarmūk and used to read them and even transmitted some knowledge from them. Perhaps he studied these books with Sarjī of al-Yarmūk, a Kīṭāb in his early days.

His Literary Activities.

He came to know that Companions of the Prophet were writing *ahādīth*. This information aroused his curiosity and he began to write everything he heard from the Prophet. Some of his colleagues objected to his writing down everything, because sometimes the Prophet might have been in an angry mood and he might have uttered something which was not necessarily meant for the record. On this point ‘Abd Allāh requested the Prophet’s permission to write and made the point clear asking whether he could record everything at every stage. He was told he could.

He named his book al-Ṣahīḥ al-Sādiqah. He wrote some *ahādīth* which were taught by the Prophet to Abū Bakr at the
there should not be any discrimination between the recording of Tashahhud and other aḥādīth.

His son brought a book and swore by God that it was his father’s book in his own hand-writing.


He transmitted a large number of aḥādīth, and was so strict in relating them that he did not allow the order of a word to be changed even though it would not have altered the meaning.

He was very famous for strictly following the Prophet’s path, even in insignificant matters. Therefore his actions were taken as a model.

He did not take part in political crises and prayed behind anyone of the victorious, yet never agreed with their manners, and even rebuked al-Ḥajjāj in the presence of thousands of men.

He had books. One Kitāb which belonged to ‘Umar, and was in his possession, was read to him by Nafi’ several times. Once when a man asked him to write down all the aḥādīth for him, ‘Abd Allah replied that it was too much for him to write.

Then he gave the man a piece of advice for his behaviour.

The following derived aḥādīth from him in written form:

Jamil b. Zaid al-Ṭa’i. He went to Madīnah, perhaps after the death of Ibn ‘Umar, and collected his aḥādīth from various sources.

Nafi’ client of Ibn ‘Umar.

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1. Bayān, i, 72. See also I Bukhari, Juz’ al-Qirāt, 12.
2. Sa’d, iv, 137.
3. Sa’d, iv, 106.
5. Sa’d, iv, 106; see also Sa’d, iv, 114; 116.
6. Sa’d, iv, 110; 125.
7. Sa’d, iv, 117.
8. BK, i, i, 325; Bāji, 97b; Jami’, 101a; Nubalā’, iii, 160.
9. Amwāl, 393; Zanjuwah, 134b.
11. BK, i, ii, 215; Jamī’ Saw Ibn ‘Umar, Sa’d, iv, 128.
12. Hanbal, ii, 29; see also Bagh., x, 406; Islām, v, 11.
Sa‘īd b. Jubair¹.
`Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān².
`Abd al-Malik b. Marwān³.
‘Ubaid Allāh b. ‘Umar⁴.
‘Umar b. ‘Ubaid Allāh⁵.
One of his friends in Syria⁶.

It is said that he was against the transcription of hadīth⁷. This assumption is based on the statement of Ibn Jubair that he was asking Ibn `Umar some questions which were written in a booklet; had Ibn `Umar known it, it would have been the end of their relations⁸. But it is a mere impression of Ibn Jubair while Ibn `Umar’s practice is quite against this assumption⁹.

`Abd Allāh b. `Utbah derived ahādīth from him in written form:

Ibn Al-Zubair wrote a letter to him concerning some legal decisions and quoted ahādīth of the Prophet in it¹¹.

16. ‘Āishah, Umm Al-Mūminīn (d. 58)¹².

A very large number of ahādīth is transmitted by her. It is certain that she knew how to read; but it is difficult to say whether or not she knew how to write. It is mentioned many times that she was asked questions and wrote answers; but the word Katabat might be used even if the letters were dictated by her.

She transmitted two letters, – Kitābān – of the Prophet which were found in the case of his sword¹³.

The following derived ahādīth from her in written form:
Mu‘awiyah. He wrote to ‘Ā’ishah several times asking her to write down some ahādīth for him and she sent them to him in written form¹.

‘Urwhah, her nephew. He used to write down her ahādīth².

Zayd b. Abū Sufyān. He wrote to her asking for some ahādīth. We know her answer; but it is not clear whether she wrote it or not³.


He was one of the scribes of the Prophet. The Prophet once dictated to him and he wrote on a large piece of parchment on both sides⁵.

He had a Sahīfah from the Prophet which is mentioned in various statements, such as those of:

Abū Juhaifah⁶.
Abū al-Tufail⁷.
Al-Ashtar⁸.
Al-Hārith b. Suwaid⁹.
Jariyah b. Qudāmah¹⁰.
Qais b. ‘Abbād¹¹.
Ṭāriq b. Shihāb¹².

1. Hanbal, i, 87; Khaithahah, III, 44b.
2. Kifayah, 205.
3. MU, Maj, hadīth, No. 369 (p.959).
5. Imāh, 12; Rāhmurmoz, 76a.
6. Hanbal, i, 79; A.D. hadīth, No. 4530; Muntajī, No. 794; Nas, ii, 241; Tawwāq, i, 42b.
7. Hanbal, i, 118; 152; Khaithahah, iii, 34a.
8. Hanbal, i, 119; Dāraquṭnī, 336b.
9. Hanbal, i, 151.
11. Anwāl, 185; Mutadi, ii, 141.
12. Hanbal, i, 100; for further reference to Sahīfah see BU, IIm, 39; Jizyah, 10; Farā’id, 21; Fīsām, 5; Dīyāt, 24; MU, Maj, 467; Ilq, 20; Zanjūwāth, 65b.
He had the *Kitāb* of the Prophet on Zakāt and Taxation¹ and encouraged students to write down *ahādīth*.²

The following derived *ahādīth* from him in written form:

'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās who had the legal decisions of 'Ali in written form³.

'Āṣa' b. Abū Ribāh⁴.

Al-Hārith b. al-Awar⁵.

Hasan b. 'Ali who had 'Ali's legal decisions in written form⁶.

Hujr b. 'Adī⁷.

Khīlās b. 'Amr al-Ḩajari⁸.

Mujāhid⁹.

Al-Sha'ībî¹⁰.

Suwā'id b. Mugrin¹¹.

18. 'Amr b. Ḥazm (d. after 50)¹².

He was appointed by the Prophet as a governor of Najrān¹³.

He had a letter (*Kitāb*) from the Prophet containing the times of the prayers, methods of prayer, ablution, booty, taxation, zakāt, Dīyāt etc.¹⁴.

He edited the letters of the Prophet, which were transmitted by his son and have been published with the book of Ibn Ṭūlūn¹⁵.

1. Hanbal, i, 141; BU, Khums, 5; Taqyid, 88-89.
2. Sa'd, vi, 116; 'Ilal, i, 42; Taqyid, 89.
3. MU, Muqaddimah, 13-14.
4. Khaithamah, iii, 24b; Raż, Introduction, 130; Sharh 'Ilal, 62b.
5. Sa'd, vi, 116; Rāmīhumzū, 35a.
6. 'Ilal, i, 104.
7. Sa'd, vi, 154.
8. Kāmil, i, 327a; Bājī, 55a; Miṣān, i, 658; Islām, iii, 364; Raż, i, ii, 402; Tahdī, iii, 176-177; see also 'Ilal, i, 114; Baihāqī, Sunan, vi, 43.
11. Shāfī'i, al-umm, vii, 158.
13. Isābāh, ii, 525, No. 5812.
15. Ibn Ṭūlūn, 'Ilām al-Sūtūn 'an Kutub Sayyid al-Mursalin, 48-52. There have been other attempts to collect the letters of the Prophet, e.g. 'Ur-wah, in Zanjūwāh, 67b-71a, also Ibn 'Abbās, see Zaidī, Nasb al-Rāyāh, iv, 420, they were not left and abandoned as was alleged by Margoliouth in his work *Early Development of Muhammedanism*, p. 20.


He was ten years old when the Prophet moved to al-Madīnah and served the Prophet his entire life in this city.

There is a long list of his students who transmitted *ahādīth* or made their own collection from him. As he lived till the end of the first century of the Hijrah his circle of students became very wide. Some false books and *ahādīth* are also attributed to him.

He advised his sons to write *ahādīth* of the Prophet and to learn them. He used to say, "We do not value the knowledge of those who have not written it down"¹⁷. Here knowledge means *ahādīth* of the Prophet.

**His Books.**

Hubairah b. 'Abd al-Rahmān says, "When Anas b. Malik imparted the *ahādīth* many people gathered and he brought books and gave them to the people saying, 'I heard these *ahādīth* from the Prophet, then I wrote them down and read them to him"¹⁸."

The following derived *ahādīth* from him in written form:

Very many students wrote from him in al-Wāṣīt.¹⁹

'Abd Allāh b. Dīnār had a lengthy book from him²⁰.

'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umar²¹.


Humaid²³.

Ibrāhīm b. Hudbah had a *Nuskhah*—book—from him²⁴.

1. Isābāh, No. 277.
2. Sa'd, vii, 14. Rāmīhumzū, 34b; 'Ilm, 10a; Shara'f, 56b; Taqyid, 96.
3. Taqyid, 96.
4. Wāṣīt, 38; Fasawī, 363a; Rāmīhumzū, 34b, where his reading to the Prophet is not mentioned.
6. Ma rifjāh, 10.
7. Thaqāf, 438.
8. Anwār, 532, 3.
9. Isā, 90; Jāmi', 117b; see also Majrūhīn, 23b.
10. Ma rifjāh, 9.

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   He wrote a letter to ‘Umar concerning inheritance contrary to the Caliph’s opinion. He quoted the Prophet’s letter to this effect.\(^1\)

   Qa‘īs b. al-Haitham derived ahādīth from him in written form.
   Al-Dāhhāk wrote him a letter which contained ahādīth from the Prophet.\(^3\)
   Only these ahādīth were transmitted through him in the Musnad of Ibn Ḥanbal.

25. Fāṭimah Daughter of the Prophet (d. 11 A.H.).
   She wrote down some ahādīth of the Prophet.\(^4\)

   The following derived ahādīth from her in written form:
   Abū Salamah. He wrote down her ahādīth as she dictated.\(^6\)
   Usamah b. Zaid. His wife Fāṭima sent him a letter describing the condition of the Prophet.\(^5\)

   He advised his sons and nephews to write down ahādīth and had a book.\(^8\)
   It is not clear whether it contained ahādīth only from ‘Alī or from someone else as well.

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1. Ibn Majah, ḥadīth, No. 2642; see also, Risālah of al-Shāfi‘ī, 426; Muntagā, No. 966; Hamadhullāh, Waṭā‘iq, No. 228.
3. Hanbal, vii, 453, see also Isābah, ii, 199, Usd al-Ghābah, iii, 37.
6. Hanbal, vi, 413; M. T., Tālāq, 39, pp. 1114-1121; Sa‘d, viii, 200-1.
7. Sa‘d, iv, 47.
9. ‘Ilāl, 97b; Kifayah, 229.
10. ‘Ilāl, i, 104.
28. Ţībān b. Malik (died in the time of Mu‘awiyyah). He was imparting ahādīth, and Anas b. Malik was so impressed by some of them that he told his son to write them down.

29. Jābir b. ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Amr (16 B.H. - 78). He was the last of the companions who died in al-Madīnah and was the compiler of a booklet on Pilgrimage. Many students made their collections of ahādīth from him. Among them were:

   Abū Ṣufyān.
   ‘Aṭā.
   Ḥāṣan al-Baṣrī.
   Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.
   Muḥammad b. ‘Alī.
   Muḥammad b. Muslim, Abū al-Zubair (d. 126). He had two books from Jābir, one transmitted by al-Lait b. Sa‘d, and the other he had heard himself from Jābir.
   Muḥāṣīd.
   Qatādah b. Dī‘āmah.
   Al-Sha‘bī.
   Sulaimān b. Qais al-Yashkūf (d. 70-80). He wrote a Suhfīyah from Jābir. Later on it was transmitted by many scholars. Wahb b. Munabbih.

30. Jābir b. Samurah (d. 74). He wrote down some ahādīth and sent them to ‘Āmir b. Sa‘d.


   Ibn ‘A‘īd had books from him.
   Tawīs transmitted some of Mu‘ādh’s judgement from a book.

33. Mu‘āwiyah b. Abū Ṣufyān (d. 60 A.H.). He wrote a letter to Marwān and related a hadīth from the Prophet. He asked several companions e.g.: ‘Ā‘ishah and Mughfīrah to write down ahādīth for him.
   He had literary tastes and ordered ‘Ubaid b. Shariyah narratives about Pre-Islamic History and poetry etc. to be written down.
   He used to teach the people ahādīth of the Prophet, and wrote to Abdur Rahman b. Shībl asking him to teach the people ahādīth of the Prophet.

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2. MU, Imān, 54, Rāmūhmaz, 35a, Taqiyyār, 94-5.
4. Tahd., ii, 43.
5. Ḥufẓ, i, 37.
6. Kāmil, ii, 113b; Rāmūhmuz, 35a; Islām, vi, 90; Mūṣān, ii, 484.
7. ‘Istāl, 120a; Rāzī, ii, 475; Muḥāṣīd, 342.
8. BU, BUYU', 112. Hanbal, iii, 326.
11. Kāmil, ii, 113b; Rāmūhmuz, 35a, Taqiyyār, 104.
12. Tahd., iii, 442; Ibn Ḥajar, Tabaqāt al-Mudallisīn, 21; see also,
   Fasawī, ii, 16b; iii, 41a; 139a.
13. Sa‘d, v, 544; Fasawī, iii, 269a.
14. BTK, iv, 186; Fasawī, III, 204b; 81b; Rāzī, ii, i, 136; iii, ii, 135;
   Sharḥ ‘Istāl, 36a; Tahd., viii, 353.
15. Rāzī, ii, i, 136.
34. **Al-Mughîrah b. Shu‘bah** (d. 50).  
Mu‘awiyyah asked Mughîrah to write some *ahâdîth* for him.  
So he wrote them down and sent them to Mu‘awiyyah.

After his death a booklet (Sabîfah) was found attached to his  
sword containing *ahâdîth*.

36. **Al-Nu‘mân b. Bashîr** (64 A.H.).  
The following derived *ahâdîth* from him in written form:  
Qais b. al-Haitham. Al-Nu‘mân wrote some *ahâdîth* and sent  
them to him.  
Hâlib b. Salîm, scribe of al-Nu‘mân, wrote some *ahâdîth*  
of al-Nu‘mân and sent them to his son Yazîd b. Nu‘mân.  
Dâhiçar b. Qais.

He had a statement of the Prophet in writing concerning the  
sanctuary of al-Madînah.

38. **Sa‘d b. ‘Ubadah** (d. 15).  
Sa‘d knew the art of writing even in Pre-Islamic days.  
He collected *ahâdîth* in a book; later on a *hadîth* from this book  
was transmitted by a member of his family.

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1. Isâbâh, No. 8181.  
2. BU, Adhâm, 155; Da‘wât, 12; Qadir, 12; Zakât, 53; Ittâám, 3; MU,  
Agâhâh, 13; Musâqâd, 155-261; Nas, i, 197; A.D. hadîth, No. 1500; Hanbal, iv,  
245; 247; 249; 250; 254; Dūlîbî, ii, ii; İç, ii, 317; Tawsat, i, 216b.  
4. Râmîhurmusâ, 56a.  
6. Hanbal, iv, 277.  
8. Ibn Khuzaimah, 193b.  
10. Hanbal, iv, 141; see also Hamidullah, al-Wathâ’iq al-Siyânyah, p. 21.  
12. Sa‘d, ii, ii, 142.  
13. Hanbal, v, 285; Tkabîr, iii, 85a; see also Thqâlî, 336; Masâhibîr, 130;  
Ibn Hajar Ta‘rîj al-Manfa‘ah, 36; 314.

Salamah b. Dmar, Abû Hâzim collected Sahl’s *ahâdîth* which  
were transmitted by Ibn Abû Hâzim.

40. **Salman al-Farisi** (c. 32).  
He wrote some *ahâdîth* and sent them to Abû al-Darda‘.

41. **Samurah b. Jundub** (d. 59).  
He wrote his *ahâdîth* and later on they were transmitted by  
many scholars.  
The following derived *ahâdîth* from him in writing:  
Al-Hasan al-Baṣîr. He also transmitted Samurah’s book.  
It is not clear whether or not he obtained this book from  
Samurah.  
Sulaimân b. Samurah. He transmitted a lengthy book from  
his father. A part of this work is still preserved in *Mu‘jam  
al-Kabîr* of al-Tabarânî.

42. **Subbah al-Aslâmîyah**.  
The following derived *ahâdîth* from her in written form:  
‘Amr b. ‘Utbah.

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1. Khazrajî, 133.  
2. Kâmîl, iii, 9; see also Râzî, ii, 382; Ibn Hajar, Hâdy at-Sâri‘, ii,  
183; Tabâd., vi, 333.  
3. Isâbâh, No. 3357.  
5. Isâbâh, No. 3475.  
6. ‘Ilal, i, 322; Fasawi, iii, 269a; Sa‘d, vii, i, 115; Nas, i, 205; Bajî 8a‘  
Tabâd., ii, 267; 269. See also, Tkabîr, iii, 208-215 where a portion of this work  
is preserved.  
7. Tabâd., iv, 236.  
8. A.D. hadîth, No. 1562; Dâraqûtî, 214.  
Māraq, ‘Amar b. ‘Utba and Māraq wrote to her asking for the ahādīth of the Prophet regarding ‘Iḍādat. She wrote a letter to them giving a full account of events and relevant teachings of the Prophet.\textsuperscript{1}

43. Shaddād b. Auss b. Thābit (17 B.H. - 58)\textsuperscript{2}.

He was a nephew of the poet Ḥassān b. Thābit.

On his way to pilgrimage he dictated ahādīth to two of his companions.\textsuperscript{3}

44. Shamghūn al-Asdī, al-Anṣārī.

He had some books (Ṣuḥuf). He was the first to write on both sides of papyrus which he pressed and sewed together.\textsuperscript{4}

45. Ubai b. Ka‘b (d. 22)\textsuperscript{5}.

One of the oldest companions of the Prophet, he was famous for his Qur'ānic knowledge.

The following transmitted his books or made their own collections from him:

Rufai‘ B. Mihrān (d. 91). He transmitted a lengthy book of commentary on the Holy Qur'ān from Ubai b. Ka‘b.\textsuperscript{6}

Samurah and ‘Imrān differed about some actions of the Prophet concerning prayer; then they wrote to Ubai who in turn confirmed Samurah’s sayings.\textsuperscript{7}


It is said on the authority of ‘Urwa that ‘Umar wanted to have ahādīth written and compiled under the patronage of the Government. He consulted the Companions who unanimously agreed to his proposal. However, he reconsidered the matter thoroughly and then disapproved of it.\textsuperscript{8} According to Yā‘lī b. Ja‘da, he even sent a circular demanding that everyone who had written a collection should burn it.\textsuperscript{9} Somewhat similar to this, is a statement of al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad.\textsuperscript{10} All these three statements are Murṣal. The links between ‘Umar and the narrators are unknown.

The transmitters of ‘Urwa’s statement are:


It is now clear that al-Firaybī’s colleague, Qabiṣah did not mention Ibn ‘Umar, nor did the other pupils of Ma‘mar or any other student of Al-Zuhurt. Therefore, it was al-Firaybī who inserted the name of Ibn ‘Umar erroneously. Hence, it is a murṣal hadith and the authority of this statement is questionable. The other point is that, although schools had been established for the teaching of the Holy Qur’ān, and teachers had been sent here and there, yet written copies of the Qur’ān were not provided for these centres. Therefore it is difficult to believe that ‘Umar would have given priority to the recording of the ahādīth while the sacred book itself needed attention.

Nevertheless, if we accept the statement without any argument, as a genuine one, then it would be clear that the writing of hadith was not considered to be against the order of the Prophet, otherwise these Companions would not have agreed unanimously with ‘Umar on the subject.

It is also incorrect to say that he did not want anything to be written except the Qur’ān. He asked the governor of Kufah to

\textsuperscript{1} Ibn Mājah, hadith, No. 2028; see also BU, Maghūṣi, 10; MU, Ṭalāq, 341; Kifāyah, 337; Tahā, viii, 75.

\textsuperscript{2} Isābah, No. 3847.

\textsuperscript{3} Nubalā, ii, 333.

\textsuperscript{4} Isābah, No. 3921.

\textsuperscript{5} Ģisābah, No. 32.

\textsuperscript{6} Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, al-Tafsīr al-Mafṣūr, i, 115, quoting Ibn Taymiyyah.

\textsuperscript{7} Ḥanbal, v, 7.

\textsuperscript{8} Taqiyūd, 49; see also, Sa‘d, iii, i, 206.

\textsuperscript{9} Taqiyūd, 52-3.

\textsuperscript{10} Taqiyūd, 52.

\textsuperscript{11} Taqiyūd, 49-51.

See for details, Shibli Nu‘mānī, al-Fārūq, pp. 371-75.
write down certain poetry\(^1\), and even allowed Ansār to write down their poems of the Islamic and Pre-Islamic periods\(^2\). He introduced the system of registers in official business\(^3\).

It is assumed that he was against the imparting of ahādīth\(^4\), and detainted Ibn Mas‘ūd, Abū Dharr and Abū al-Dardā’, as they imparted ahādīth in great number\(^5\).

The number of ahādīth narrated by them are 848, 280 and 179 respectively\(^6\). The last two numbers are very small. 'Umar himself sent Ibn Mas‘ūd\(^7\) and Abū al-Dardā’ as teachers to Kufah and Damascus respectively, and praised the former very much. It is also reported that he advised Companions to reduce the imparting of ahādīth, for the sake of the Qur‘ān, and in the same statement he informed them about ablution. It looks as if he suggested they should impart ahādīth regarding practical life\(^9\), and not to tell the stories of war (Maghāzi) which might have been a very interesting subject of Qur‘ān in those days. As he sent instructors to teach the Qur‘ān and Sunnah to the people\(^10\), how could he have forbidden the people from learning Sunnah? On the other hand it is also reported that he encouraged the writing of ahādīth\(^11\).

He used to quote ahādīth from the Prophet in his official letters\(^12\). Furthermore, it looks as if he collected several documents from the Prophet, concerning financial matters and taxation, and put them together\(^13\). This was, later on, in the possession of Ibn 'Umar and was read to him by his servant Nāfī', several times\(^14\).

47. Usaid B. Ḥuḍair\(^1\).

He wrote some legal ahādīth of the Prophet and sent them to Marwān\(^2\).

48. Wāthilah B. al-Asqua‘(22 B.H. - 83)\(^3\).

He dictated ahādīth to his pupils\(^4\).

49. Zaid B. Arqam (d.66)\(^5\).

He wrote down ahādīth in a letter and sent them to Anas b. Malkā\(^6\).

50. Zaid B. Thabit (d.45).

He learnt Hebrew and other languages and used to write for the Prophet in Arabic and non-Arabic languages as well\(^7\). It is reported that he was against the writing down of ahādīth. When Marwān wrote down his ahādīth without his knowledge, he imparted a hadith from the Prophet in which the recording of ahādīth was prohibited\(^8\). But the narrator of this hadith is al-Muṣṭalb b. Ḥanṭab, who never saw Zaid, so it is invalid. Meanwhile there is another narrator Al-Sha‘bī who claims that the written material was not the ahādīth of the Prophet, but the personal opinions and decisions of Zaid, so he said, “Marwān, excuse me, it is my opinion”\(^9\). This might be the case, but it is difficult to accept because we have positive evidence of his attitude contrary to what has been said e.g.

On the request of the Caliph 'Umar, he wrote his judicial opinion concerning the share of grand-fathers in inheritance and handed it to 'Umar\(^10\).

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1. Annates, iii, 2359.
2. Aghāhī, iv, 140-1.
4. 'Ilāh, i, 62-3.
5. Mustadrak, i, 110.
7. Sa‘d, vi, 7; Fasawi, iii, 166b.
10. Hanbal, i, 48; Sa‘d, iii, i, 201; 243.
11. Taqīyīd, 88; Mustadrak, i, 106.
12. Bu, Lībā‘, 25; Mu, Lībā‘, 12; 14; Hanbal, i, 28; 36; 46; 50; Darāqutnī, 461.
14. BTK, i, i, 218.

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1. Isābah, No. 539.
2. Hanbal, iv, 226.
4. Nubalā‘, iii, 259; Imām, 13; Mizān, iv, 145; Jamī‘. 113b see also Ibn Muflih, Adab Shar ‘iyah, ii, 125, cited by Eche in the margin of Taqīyīd, 99.
5. Tahd, iii 395.
6. Hanbal, iv, 370; 374; Tirmidhī, ii, 230; see also, Tahd., iii, 394.
7. Sa‘d, ii, ii, 115.
8. Taqīyīd, 33.
9. Nubalā‘, ii, 313; Sa‘d, ii, ii, 117.
He compiled the first book on *Farā'id*; the book was transmitted by Qābiṣah and his own son Khārijah b. Zaid, and its introductory page is still preserved in *Mu'jam* of al-Ṭabarānī.

The following derived *ahāḍīth* from him in written form:

Abū Qilābah.

Unnamed students. Kathīr b. Șalt saw people writing in his presence.

Kathīr b. Aflah. He used to record the lectures of Zaid.

II.

WRITINGS OF AND FROM THE FIRST CENTURY SUCCESSORS

1. Abru b. Ưthmān (c. 20 - 105).

He is one of the earliest compilers of *al-Maghāzī*. Al-Mughīra h b. 'Abd al-Rahmān had a copy of this book, which was read to him, and he advised his sons to learn it.

2. 'Abd Allāh b. Hurμuz (c. 40 - c. 100).

He transmitted *ahāḍīth* from Abū Hurairah and wrote *ahāḍīth* which he sent to Tāmīm al-Jaishānī.

3. 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad b. 'Alī Abū Ḥāshim (c. 50 - 99).

He transmitted *ahāḍīth* from his father (d. 73) etc.

1. *Fasawī*, ii, 148b; *Nubālā*, ii, 312.
2. 'Ibt, i, 236.
5. Kāmil, i, 208b.
6. Khathmah, iii, 6b.
9. Sa'd, v, 156; Fischer, 76.

Muhammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbāh had his books.

4. 'Abd Allāh b. Rabah al-Ansāri (c. 10 - about 90).

He transmitted from Ubai b. Ka'b (d. 22).

The following derived *ahāḍīth* from him in writing:

Abū ‘Imrān.

'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabar b. Azdī.

5. 'Abd Allāh b. Sakharah al-Azdī (c. 1 - c. 65).

He transmitted *ahāḍīth* from 'Umar (d. 23) etc.

'Abd al-Kari'm b. Abū al-Mukhrāq derived *ahāḍīth* from him in written form.

6. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd (c. 25 - c. 79).

He transmitted a few *ahāḍīth* from his father (d. 33) and from 'Ali etc. His son Ma'n had a book written by him which contained *ahāḍīth* and sayings of Ibn Mas'ūd.

7. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Aidh (c. 1 - c. 80).

He transmitted from Mu'adhd b. Jabal (d. 18) and his books were very much respected in Ḥimṣ. He went to Iraq where many students of al-Kufah and al-Baṣrah derived *ahāḍīth* from him in writing.
8. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ghānim (c. 1 - 78)2.

Maiṣarah had ahādīth from him in written form2.


Sulaimān al-Tāmī had ahādīth from him in written form4.

10. 'Abdād b. 'Amr al-Salmānī (c. 10 B.H. - 72)5.

He had many books, but was afraid that someone might make some mistakes in dealing with them; so on his death-bed he willed that they should either be burnt or erased6. He ordered one of his students, Ibrāhīm, who was writing in his presence, not to retain any book from him permanently7.

There is a conflicting statement of Ibrāhīm in which it is reported that he not only disliked writing but also the reading of books8. Yet the same person — Ibrāhīm — says that he used to have Aṭrāf and ask 'Abdād those ahādīth9. Furthermore, Shu'Rāḥī used to write him if he had some difficulties10. On considering these statements, one arrives at the conclusion that he was not against the writing of ahādīth. It is quite possible that at certain times and in certain cases he disapproved of it, because methods of teaching were always changing.


He used to write down ahādīth12.

1. Tahd., vi, 226.
2. Tayy, 103.
3. Sa'd, vii, ii, 17; 'Ilā, i, 394; Rāmānhūmūzī, 51a. Ḥuffār, i, 82.
5. Sa'd, vii, i, 135; vii, ii, 17; 'Ilā, i, 77; 295; 394; BU, Tib, 26; Zura'h, 71b; Fasāwī, iii, 24a; 27a; Kāmīf, i, 208b; Rāmānhūmūzī, 51a; Kifāyāh, 257; 352; Ḥuffār, i, 82.
7. Tahd., xi, 270.
9. 'Ilā, i, 247; Baghr, i, 218.
11. Tahd., v, 75.
12. Tāhrīr, v, 97 a-b about 1½ pages.
13. Sa'd, vi, 178; Tahd., v, 68.
said that he never wrote anything nor asked anyone to repeat ahadith¹, as if a single hearing were sufficient to memorize them. Naturally, he forgot much². Accordingly, he advised his students to write down everything and if the materials were not available, to write even on the wall³.

At present we have references to his work as follows:
Kitab al-Farâ'id — book on inheritance⁴,
Kitab al-Jarâhāt⁵,
Kitab al-Talâq⁶.

Sadaqat. He dictated three scrolls about Sadaqat and Farâ'id⁷ and had a collection of ahadith concerning Law - Fiqh - which were read to him⁸. It is not clear whether it was one of his above mentioned works or something else. Probably he had a book of al-Maghâzí as well⁹.

   He had a book which was read by 'Umar b. Ishâq b. Yâsîr¹¹.

17. Al-Dâhîk b. Mu'âhîm (c. 40 - 105)¹².
   He had a commentary on the Qur'ân¹³ and dictated the book on al-Manâsik to Hüsain b. 'Aqîl¹⁴.

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1. Sa'd, vi, 174; Râzî, iii, i, 323; Râmhurmazî, 36b; Bagh., xii, 229; Tahd., vi, 67.
2. Bagh., xii, 229.
3. Sa'd, vi, 174; 'Ilm, 11b; Râmhurmazî, 35b; 36a; Taqyid. 100.
4. Fasâwî, iii, 252b; Râzî, iv, i, 41; Tahd., ix, 177; See also 'Ilad, i, 340, Bagh., xii, 232.
5. Bagh., xii, 232.
6. Râmhurmuzî, 78a; 78a-b; Jâmi', 189a.
7. 'Ilal, i, 340.
8. 'Ilal, 153b, Kifâyîh, 264; see also Râmhurmuzy, 44a;
9. Bagh., xii, 230; see also Tahd., x, 40; Râzî, iv, i, 361.
12. Tahd., iv, 454.
13. Fihrist, 34; see also Râzî, i, ii, 319.
14. 'Ilal, i, 43.

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18. Dhâkwan Abû Šâlîh al-Sammân (c. 20 - 1011).
   He was Mawla of Juwairiyah bint Qais.
   The following derived ahadith from him in writing:
   Al-A'mash derived 1000 ahadith from him in writing³.
   Suhail son of Dhakwan wrote down ahadith from him⁴.

19. Hârîth b. 'Abd Allâh al-A'war (c. 15 - 65)³.
   He wrote down ahadith from 'Ali b. Abû Ta'lib⁵ and had many books⁶. The following derived ahadith from him in writing:
   'Abd al-A'la al-Thâlibî⁶.
   Abû Ishâq al-Sabîr⁹.

20. Hûbbân b. Jâzi al-Sulami (c. 35 - c. 100)¹⁰.
   He transmitted ahadith from Abû Hurairah and others.
   Mutarrif b. 'Abd al-Rahmân had a Nuskhah from him¹¹.

   He met Abû Bakr (d. 13).
   The people of Başrah derived ahadith from him in writing¹³.

   He was against writing ahadith and is reported to have
Numerous scholars of the Yeman and of the eastern zone of the Caliphate.1

   His students wrote ahādīth from him3.

   ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān asked him to write ahādīth5. It is not clear whether or not he fulfilled the request, but most probably he did.

   He wrote ahādīth in the form of a book which was kept covered7.
   Bahār b. Sa‘id had a book from him8.

   He transmitted ahādīth from Ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 33) etc.10. It is mentioned that he used to read books11.

   Yahyā found a book containing ahādīth from Lāhiq13.

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1. Annales, Supt., iii, 2485.
2. Sa‘d, vii, i, 133. Here his death is mentioned 103; but according to al-Bukhārī and Ibn Hībbān, it is 93 A.H. See Tāhād., ii, 38.
3. Sa‘d, vii, i, 131.
6. Tāhād., iii, 119.
7. Hujjaf, i, 81; Tāhād., iii, 119.
11. Rāzā, iii, ii, 175; Tāhād., viii, 432.
   He transmitted from Nu'mān b. Bashir etc. Makhlūl and al-
   Azza'ī related from him1.

   The following derived ahādith from him in writing:
   Al-Ḥakam (d. 115)4.
   'Uthmān al-Mushāhid wrote two Sahīfah from him relating to
   al-Maghāzī5.

31. Muṣādhah Bint 'Abd Allāh al-Adwiyyah (c. 20 - 83)6.
   She transmitted ahādith from 'Ali (d. 40) etc.
   Yazīd al-Rashīd had her ahādith in written form, and Shu'bah
   copied out her books from Yazīd's copies7.

32. Muḥṣīth b. Sumai (c. 10 - c. 80).
   He transmitted ahādith from 'Umar, Abū Mas'ūd etc.8 and
   had books9.

33. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib - Ibn al-Ḥanāfiyyah (c. 15 -
   73)10.

   'Abd al-A'lā b. 'Amīr al-Tha'labī transmitted a book from
   him in writing11.

   He compiled a commentary on the Qur'ān which was copied
   by many scholars3.
   The following derived ahādith from him in writing:
   Abū Yahyā al-Kunāsī4.
   Al-Ḥakam b. 'Utaibah5.
   Ibn Abī Najīb6.
   Ibn Juraij7.
   Ibn 'Uaynah8.
   Mayyāb b. Sāri10.
   Al-Qāsim b. Abū Bazzah11.

35. Muḥammad b. Jubair (before 100 A.H.)12
   Abū Bakr wrote ahādīth from him13.

   The following transcribed ahādīth from him:
   Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ḥazm15.
   Ṭahlāh b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Aifi16.

1. Ṭahd., x, 296.
2. Fasawi, iii, 268b; Khitaibah, iii, 58b; Jami', 136a.
3. Ṭahd., x, 289.
4. Ja'd 23; Ḥal, i, 192; Fasawi, iii, 183a; Khitaibah, iii, 31a; Rāzi, In-
   trod., 130; Ṭahd., 11, 434; x, 289.
5. Ḥal, 119b; i, 5.
6. Ṭahd., ii, 452 (footnote).
8. Ṭahd., x, 255.
9. Ṭahd., x, 255.
10. Ṭahd., ix, 354 with great controversy about his death from 73 to 93.
11. Ḥal, 129b; i, 227; Fasawi, iii, 262a; Rāzi, Intro., 71;
12. Ṭahd., vi, 94.
13. Ṭahd., x, 43.
14. Ḥal, i, 44; Khitaibah, iii 27a; Ṣaqqād, 105.
15. Ṣaqqād, 105.
16. Ḥal, i, ii, 330, Mashāhīr, 146; Ṣaqqād, 585; Ṭahd., ii, 434.
17. Ṣaqqād, 506, 585; Mashāhīr, 146; Ṭahd., vi, 54; see also Khitaibah,
   iii, 31b.
18. Ṣaqqād, ii, 200; iv, ii, 51; Kifayah, 215; Ṭahd., vi, 54.
19. Ṣaqqād, 506, 585; Mashāhīr, 146.
20. Ṣaqqād, 220b.
21. Ṣaqqād, 505, 585; Mashāhīr, 146.
22. Ṭahd., ix, 91-2.
23. Ṣaqqād, i, 39.
24. Ṭahd., ii, 335.
25. Ṭahd., iii, 39.
26. Ṣaqqād, 63b.
37. Rufai b. Mhrn. Abū al-‘Ākīyah al-Riyah (10 B.H. - 90). He was born in the pre-Islamic era. He wrote a commentary on the Qur’ān and had ahādīth concerning prayer, divorce, and the pilgrimage (Manāṣik) in writing. He encouraged Abū Khaladah to write his ahādīth.


39. Sa‘īd b. Jumair al-Asdī (46 - 95). He used to write ahādīth and the knowledge of Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn ‘Umar etc. He compiled a commentary on the Qur’ān which was transmitted by the following scholars:
- Abī al-Malik b. Marwān
- ‘Aṣār b. Dīnār
- ‘Azrāh
- Al-Dāhhak
- Qatada

40. Salim b. Abī al-Ja‘d (c. 15 B.H. - 100 A.H.). He used to write ahādīth.

41. Sulaimān b. Qais al-Yashkurī (c. 30 between 70-80). He transmitted from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī etc., He used to write ahādīth.


43. Shaqiq b. Salama b. Asdī (7 B.H. after - 82 A.H.). Sufyān al-Thaurī had his ahādīth in written form. Sufyān was not a pupil of Shaqiq. He might have obtained this collection from his father who was a pupil of Shaqiq.

44. Sharāḥīl b. Shurahbīl (c. 1 A.H. - c. 60). He died in the reign of Mu‘āwiyyah (60 A.H.). His students wrote ahādīth from him.

45. ‘Ubaid Allāh b. Abī Rāfi (c. 15 - c. 80). He was the scribe of the Caliph ‘Ali and transmitted ahādīth from him and others. He composed a book on the war between ‘Ali and Mu‘āwiyyah.

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1. Tāhā, iii, 285.
3. ‘Irāl, 176b; Jāmi‘, 189b.
4. Rāmāhurūzī, 32b.
5. Tāhā, iv, 73.
6. Amārūl, 11.
8. Sa‘īd, vi, 179.
11. Rāzi, iii, i, 332; Miṣān, iii, 70; Tāhā, viii, 198.
12. Sa‘īd, vi, 186; Fasawī, iii, 326b; Jāmi‘, 57b.

1. Bāgī 156b.
2. Sa‘īd, vi, 203; Khatthamah, iii, 88a; 155a; Rāmāhurūzī, 35b; Tāqūfī, 108; 109; Shahr ‘Irāl, 33a.
3. Tāhā, iv, 213.
4. Tāqūfī, 108.
5. Tāhā, iv, 371. See also Bagh., xi, 59.
6. Khurṣdān, 187. See also Rāzi, iii, i, 9; Bagh., 59.
7. Tāhā, iv, 362.
10. Tāqūfī, 221; Tāhā, iv, 319.
11. Tīqūfī, 221.
12. Tāhā, vi, 10-11.
13. Tīfī, Fihrist, p. 202, see for quotations from this work in Sunnī sources, e.g. Tākārī, i, 109b; 215b; 227b; 282a-b.
Here are some extracts of the headings in this book collected from the first volume of al-Tabarani's al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, which gives some idea of the nature and size of the work.

The names of the Persons who were killed in the battle of Badr. I, 38a.

Those who were killed in the battle of al-Yamamah from Al-Anṣār. I, 40a; 85a; 89b; 93b.

Those who were killed in the battle of Ḥunain from Quraish. 89a-b.

Those who were killed in the battle of Jisr al-Madīr. I, 93b.

The Quaraishites who were killed in the battle of Khaibar. I, 99b.


Those who were murdered at Bi’r Ma‘mah. I, 24a etc.

Battle of Khandaq. I, 95b.

Battle of Ajnādīn. I, 93b.

Al-Ṭabarāni has preserved some lengthy passages from this work as well.

This book has been transmitted by various students and it was quite possible that it differed according to the transmitter, as compilers always adds new material and revises the previous work. The following versions can be traced:

Abū al-Aswād — 'Urwah.

Hishām b. 'Urwah — 'Urwah².

Al-Zuhra — 'Urwah³.

Yahyā b. 'Urwah — 'Urwah⁴.

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1. See for example: al-Ṭabarāni, Anānas, i, 1180; 1224-5; 1284-8; 1634-6; 1654; 1669-70. See also i, 1529; 1534; 1549 and 1551.

2. See for extracts, e.g. Hanbal, ii, 320; al-Baladhurī, Futḥah, 41; 83; 96; Tabarāni, al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, as mentioned above.

3. Hanbal, vi, 212; Anānas, as quoted under footnote No. 1, of this page.

4. Hanbal, iv 323-26; 328-31; BU, Mughāṭī 35; Ahkām 26; T'kabīr x, 243a-244b; Anānas, i, 1529; 1534; 1549; 1551.

5. Anānas, i, 1185, 1188.
Apart from the Sirah work, the following derived ahadith from him in writing:

‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. 1
Hishām, his son. 2
Hubaira. 3

49. YAHYĀ B. AL-JAZZĀR AL-U'RĀNĪ (C. 20 - C. 80).
He transmitted from ‘Ali (d. 40) etc. 4
Al-Ḥakam b. ‘Utaibah had his ahadith in writing. 5

III. WRITINGS OF AND FROM SCHOLARS COVERING LATE FIRST AND EARLY SECOND CENTURIES

1. ‘ABD B. ABū LUBĀBĀH AL-GHĀDIRĪ (C. 50 - AFTER 123). 6
He transmitted ahadith from Ibn ‘Umar (d. 74) etc. Qatādah wrote ahadith and sent them to him. 7 It is reported that he disliked the writing of ahadith. 8

His father was one of the group of younger Companions.
‘Abd al-Ghafūr b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Wasiqī transmitted a Nuskhah from him. 9

3. ‘ABD ALLĀH B. ABū BAKR B. ḤAZM AL-ANSĀRĪ (65 - 135). 10
He wrote down some ahadith and sent them to Ibn Juraij. 11 It seems that ‘Abd Allah had a book on al-Maghāzī which was transmitted by his nephew ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr. 12

It is said that he did not write down ahadith, but according to ‘Uthmān b. Abū Shaibah his book was perfect. 14 It is possible that he was not in favour of writing traditions in lectures, but that one could memorize what was said in the lecture and later write down from memory. Perhaps this was his own practice too.
He wrote to Naḍī asking for ahadith and received them in written form. 15

The following derived ahadith from him in writing:
Haudhah b. Khalifah. 16
Isma‘īl. 17
Khalid b. Ḥarīth. 18
Mu‘ādh b. Mu‘ādh. 19
Muḥammad b. Abū ‘Adī. 20
Salīm b. Akhdār. 21
Yaḥyā al-Quṭṭānī. 22

5. ‘ABD ALLĀH B. BISHR AL-KĀTIB (C. 50 - C. 115).
He transmitted from ‘Urwa al-Bārīqi, the first judge of Kūfah. 23
Shu‘bah wrote ahadith from him. 24

6. ‘ABD ALLĀH B. BURAIDAH AL-ASLĀM (15 - 115). 25
Husayn al-Mu‘allim was invited by Maṭar-al-Warrāq to write down ‘Abd Allah’s ahadith, and so they attended the lecture. 26

1. Tahd., v. 347-8; Khazarajī, 177.
2. Rāhmurmuz, 36b.
3. Tahd., v. 349.
4. BTK, iii, i, 3; MU, Jihād, i; Balādhurī, Ansāb, i, 342; Mustadrak, 1, 15.
5. Sa‘īd, vii, ii, 80.
6. Ḥalīl, i, 379.
7. Rāzī, Introd. 248; iv, ii, 150.
8. Rāzī, Introd. 248; iv, ii, 150.
9. Ḥalīl, 98a.
10. Ḥalīl, i, 379.
11. Rāzī, Introd. 248; iv, ii, 150.
14. Tahd., v, 158.
Al-Ḥussain b. Wāqid al-Marwazī transmitted a *Nuskhah* from him\(^1\).

7. 'Abd Allāh b. Dhakwān - Abū al-Zinād (64 - 130)\(^2\).
   He had a book\(^3\) and compiled many works\(^4\).
   The following derived *ahādīth* from him in writing:
   'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū al-Zinād. He transmitted from his father Kītāb al-Fuqahāʾ al-Sab'ah\(^5\).
   Mālik had a *Ṣahih* from him\(^6\).
   Al-Mughirah\(^7\).
   Shu'ayb b. Abū Ḥamzah\(^8\).
   Sufyān\(^9\).
   Warqā\(^10\).

8. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Isā b. Abū Lailā al-Ansārī (c. 65 - 135)\(^11\).
   He transmitted from his grandfather Ibn Abū Lailā (d. 83).
   Zaid b. 'Alī wrote down some *ahādīth* from him\(^12\).

9. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl (c. 55 - 142)\(^13\).
   He transmitted from Ibn 'Umar (d. 74) etc. 'Ubaid Allāh b.
   'Amr al-Raqī had his book\(^14\).

10. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hurmuz al-A'raj (c. 40 - 117)\(^15\).
    He transmitted from Abū Hurairah (d. 59) etc.

The following derived *ahādīth* from him in writing:
Anonymous\(^1\).
Abū Zinād\(^2\).
'Ikrīmah\(^3\).
Nāfi' al-Qārī\(^4\).
Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb\(^5\).
Al-Zhurrā\(^6\).

11. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Sāḥib (c. 35 - 118)\(^7\).
    He transmitted from 'Ā'ishah (d. 57) and others.
    Jābīr b. Zaid wrote *ahādīth* from him\(^8\).

12. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Ansārī (c. 50 - 117)\(^9\).
    On the command of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz he wrote the
    *ahādīth* from 'Amrah b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, Qāsim b. Muḥammad
    and others\(^10\). When his son was asked about these books he stated
    that they were lost\(^11\).

13. Al-'Āṣ b. Abū al-Rahmān (c. 50 - 139)\(^12\).
    He transmitted from Ibn 'Umar (d. 74) etc. and had
    *Nusakh*\(^13\) which were famous in al-Madīnah\(^14\). He used to say

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1. Ma'rifah, 165.
2. Tahdīh, v, 204.
3. Tahdīh, v, 205; Imlā, 173; Thaqīf, 507; Mashāhīr, 135.
4. See, Sa'id b. Mansūr, Sunan iii, i, 2-12; Abd ur Razzā Musannaf,
   viii, 338.
5. Tahdīh, vi, 172; Bagh., x, 230; see also Imlā, 173.
7. 'Ilal, 109a.
8. Zun'ah, 67b.
10. Miṣān, ii, 133; see also Rāzī introduction 154; Tahdīh, xi, 114; 'Ilal,
    166a; Miṣān, iv, 332.
12. 'Ilal, 97b.
15. Tahdīh, v, 291.

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1. Sa'd, v, 209
2. Rānnūrūn, 77b; Jāmi', 56b; Imlā, 173; see also Kāmil, i, 316b; iii,
   117a-b.
3. Fasāwī, ii, 209b.
4. Kāmil, ii, 326.
5. Kifāyah, 355. Someone put a book in his trustee which contained
   *ahādīth* from al-'A'raj.
7. Tahdīh, vi, 181.
10. Fasāwī, ii, 216a; 132a; Rāzī, introd. 21; iv, ii, 337; Fischer 90; see
    also 'Ilal, i, 12; Taqīyīd, 105-6; Darimī, i, 126; Sa'd, viii, 355.
11. Tahdīh, xi, 39.
   He had books⁴.

15. ‘Ali b. Yazīd al-Ashārī (c. 50 - about 110)⁵.
   He had many books⁶.
   ‘Ubaid Allah b. Zahr transmitted a *Nuskhah* from him⁷.

   He had books which were utilized by his son and grandson.
   The following derived *ahādīth* from him in writing:
   Al-A’mash⁹.
   ‘Abd al-Ghaffār b. al-Qāsim¹⁰.
   ‘Abd al-Kabīr b. Dnr¹¹.
   Isrā‘i‘l¹².
   Nūh b. Abū Maryam¹³.
   Shu‘bah¹⁴.
   Yūnus¹⁵.

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1. Ibn Qutaibah, *Ma‘ārif* 491.
2. Kāmil, i, 316b.
8. *‘Ilal*, i, 104; Rāmīhurmuzī, 37a; *Taqyīʿ*, 112.
11. Fasawī, iii, 49a; *Tahd.*, i, 262.
15. *Tahd.*, vi, 30. He was over 70 years when he died.
16. Fasawī, iii, 5b.
17. Sa‘d, v, 353; Khattamah, iii, 34b; Fasawī, iii, 5a.
18. Sa‘d, vii, ii, 42.
19. *‘Ilal*, i, 20; Zur‘ah, 72a; 91a; Khattamah, iii, 35a; *Jāmil*, 144.
20. Sa‘d, vii, ii, 42.
21. Ja‘d, 213; Rāzī, introd. 34; ii, i, 226; Kāmil, i, 32a; Kifāyāh 60; 231; see also *‘Ilal*, i, 20; Zur‘ah, 72a; Khattamah, iii, 35a.
22. Fasawī, iii, 233a-b.
23. Majūzī, 237b.
26. Khazrajī, 32; *Tahd.*, i, 541.
27. *‘Ilal*, i, 384.
He compiled a commentary on the holy Qur’ān2.
Ibn Jura’i had the commentary on the Qur’ān from him in writing3.

He encouraged students to transcribe ahādīth and even helped them in their writings with paper and ink etc.5.
The following derived ahādīth from him in writing:
Anonymous6.
Hasḥah b. ‘Aqīl7.
Hishām b. Ḥassān8.
Ibn Jura’i9.
Quis b. Sa’d11.
Ya’qūb b. ‘Aṭā’12.
Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb. ‘Aṭā’ wrote ahādīth and sent them to him13.

The following derived ahādīth from him in writing:
Sundūr3.
Haḍahā4.
Husainā5.

He transmitted from Abū Hurairah (d. 59) etc., and wrote some ahādīth for Ya’qūb al-Ashājī7.

He wrote ahādīth in great quantities. According to Ibn Sa’d, he was a collector of Hadīth9.
The following transcribed ahādīth from him:
‘Abd al-Ṣamad. He had incomplete memoranda from Ayyūb, and completed them after Ayyūb’s death10.
‘Abd al-Wā’īth. He wrote Ayyūb’s ahādīth from memory after the death of his teacher11.
Ḥamīlā b. Zaidā12.
Ḥusain b. Wāqīd (d. 159)13.
Ibn ‘Ulayyah14.

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2. Ḥāji Khalīfah, Kashf al-Zunūrīn, 453.
3. Khairāmah, ii, 40a; _ilal Tirmidhi_, ii, 239; Kifāyah, 315: Sharḥ 'ilal, 59a; Tahd., vii, 214.
5. Rāshī, 35b. See also, Dārimī, i, 125.
8. Fasāwī, iii, 274b; see also Tahd., xi, 37.
10. Tahd., x, 214.
11. Tahd., vii, 244.
12. Rāzī, i, ii, 593; Tahd., iii, 329; see also Rāzī, introd. 39.
13. BU, Buṣār, 112; Tafsīr Anā’am 6.
14. Rāzī, introd., 39; i, ii, 593; Tahd., iii, 329.
Ibrahîm b. Yazîd (d. 150).  
Mâlik b. Anas.  

25. Ḥâbib b. Sâlim al-Ansârî (c. 40 - c. 110).  
He transmitted from Abû Hurairah (d. 59) etc.  
The following transcribed ahâdîth from him:  
Qatâdah. Ḥâbib sent him some ahâdîth in written form.  
Yazîd b. Nu’mân. Ḥâbib wrote down some ahâdîth and sent  
them to Yazîd.  

26. Ḥâbib b. Abû Thâbit (c. 45 - 119).  
He wrote only one hadith.  

27. Ḥâfis b. Sulaimân al-Tamîmî al-Minqarî (c. 65 - 130).  
He had books which were read by Ash’ath b. ’Abd al-Malik.  

Shu’bah had some ahâdîth from him in writing.  

29. Ḥammâd b. Abû Sulaimân (c. 60 - 120).  
He transmitted from Anas b. Mâlik (d. 93) and others.  
The following transcribed ahâdîth from him:  
Abû Hanîfah.  
Ḥammâd b. Salamah.  

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1. Mayrûhîn, 33b.  
2. Baṭîr, 24a; Tahd., i, 398.  
3. Tahd., ii, 184.  
4. Nas, ii, 89; see also Ḥanbal, iv, 276.  
5. Ḥanbal, iv, 273.  
6. Sa’d vi, 224; Tahd., ii, 179.  
7. Sa’d, vi, 223.  
9. Sa’d, vii, ii, 35.  
11. Kifâyah, 220; Baṭîr, ix, 260; Islâm, vi, 193.  
12. Tahd., iii, 17.  
13. Râzî, iv, 1, 450.  

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1. Ḥishâm.  
Shu’bah.  

He transmitted from very many companions and got many  
books from them. He himself had many books. He used to write  
to Ibn Al-Musayyab whenever he was confronted with difficult  
problems.  

He dictated his commentary on the Qur’ân to his pupils and  
even wrote ahâdîth for the people.  
The following derived ahâdîth from him in written form:  
Anonymous.  
Anonymous.  
Ḥâfis al-Minqarî.  
Ḥaushab b. ’Aqîl.  
Ḥishâm b. Ḥassân al-Azdi.  
Ḥishâm b. Ziyâd.  
Ḥumaid b. Abû Ḥumaid al-Ṭawfî.  
Ḥusain Abû Sufyân b. Ḥusain al-Wâṣîfî. Ḥasan dictated to  
him.  
Khalîl b. ‘Abd.  

31. **Hishām b. Urwah (61 - 146)**
   His father instructed him to copy *ahādīth* and to revise them. The following transcribed *ahādīth* from him:
   
   Anonymous.
   
   Ibn Juraij.
   
   Ja‘far b. Rabi‘ah.
   
   Khalid b. al-Haririh.
   
   ‘Laith b. Sa‘d Hishām wrote some *ahādīth* for him.
   
   Ma‘mar. His *Sahīh* from Hishām had only four *ahādīth*.
   
   Nūh b. Abū Maryam.
   
   ‘Ubaid b. Al-Qaisim transmitted a forged *Nuskhah* from him.
   
   Yahya.

32. **Husain b. Abī al-Rahmān al-Sulami (43 - 136)**

   The following wrote *ahādīth* from him:
   
   ‘Alī b. ‘Askim.
   
   Husayn. He wrote down nearly all the *ahādīth* of Husain.

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2. Sa‘d, vii, i, 127; ‘*Iral*, i, 89; *Annales, Dhil*, iii, 2492.
3. Razi, iv, ii, 58.
4. *Tahd.*, xi, 51; see also *Mizan*, iv, 302.
9. Nas, i, 66.
13. *Mizan*, iii, 21; *Tahd.*, vii, 73.
14. *Basawi*, iii, 43a; Khaithamah, iii, 138b; 141a.
15. *Tahd.*, ii, 382; Khazraj, 73.
17. *Wasi‘*, 74.
37. ISHĀQ B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. ABŪ FAWWAH (C. 50 - 144)10.
   He saw Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān.
   Al-Layth b. Saʿīd transmitted a large Nuskhah from him2.

38. IVĀS B. MUʿĀWIYA (D. 122)9.
   'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Azīz wrote down ahādīth from him4.

39. JAMIL B. ZAID AL-TĀʾI AL-BASIRI (C. 50 - 120).
   He saw Ibn 'Umar, while on the pilgrimage3. After the death of
   Ibn 'Umar, he went to al-Madīnah and wrote down his
   ahādīth6. He had no opportunity to hear them from Ibn 'Umar.

40. JAWWĀB B. 'UBAID ALLĀH AL-A'WAR AL-TAIMI (C. 50 - C. 120).
   He transmitted from al-Hārith b. Suwaid al-Taimi7 and others.
   Sufyān al-Thauri found him in Jurjān, but did not write from him,
   and later he wrote Jawwāb's ahādīth from one of his
   students8.

41. KHĀLED B. ABŪ 'IMRĀN AL-TUBHI (C. 60 - 129)9.
   The following derived ahādīth from him in written form:
   Al-Layth b. Saʿīd, Khalid sent ahādīth to him in writing10.
   Yāhya b. Saʿīl. Khalid sent some ahādīth to him in writing11.
   Anonymous. He had a book from Khalid12.

42. MAIMŪN B. MIHRĀN, ABŪ AYYUḤ AL-RAQQĪ (17 - 117)13.
   Jaʿfar b. Burqān transmitted a Nuskhah from him14.

   2. Kāmil, i, 118a.
   3. Tāqrib, i, 87.
   5. Tahdh., ii, 114.
   6. 'Ilal, i, 168; 237; BTK, i, ii, 215; Taʾjīl, 73; Tahdh., ii, 114.
   7. Tahdh., i, 121.
   8. Rāzī, introd., 80-81; i, i, 556; see also, Mizān, i, 426.
   9. Tahdh., iii, 111.
   10. Annales, iii, 2374.
   12. 'Ilal, i, 232.
   13. Tahdh., x, 392.

43. MAHKUL AL-SHAMI (C. 55 - 118)11.
   According to Ibn al-Nadim, he compiled Kitāb al-Sunan and
   Kitāb al-Masāʾil fi Al-Fiqh2. There is another reference to one of
   his works — Kitāb al-Hajj3.
   The following transcribed ahādīth from him:
   'Amr b. Abū al-Walid5.
   Rukn b. 'Abd Allah al-Shami6. He transmitted a Nuskhah
   from him which was mostly false.
   'Ubaid Allah b. 'Ubaid al-Kalaʾī7.
   Al-'Alaʾ b. al-Hārith8.

44. MANSŪR B. AL-MU'TAMAR (C. 50 - 132)10.
   It was understood that he was against the writing down of
   ahādīth11. During his early education he depended on memory
   only, but later on he regretted it12. A collection of 800 ahādīth in
   his class is mentioned13.
   The following wrote ahādīth from him:
   'Abīthāb b. Ḥumaid and his fellows. They had a book from
   Mansūr containing 800 ahādīth14.
   Jarīr B. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd15.
The following derived *ahadith* from him in writing:

- `Abbas b. Ḥasan transmitted a *Nuskhah* from al-Zuhri⁷.
- `Abd al-Rahmān b. Namirah al-Yāḥṣūbī. He was the scribe who came with Ibn Hisām, and al-Zuhri dictated to them. He had a *Nuskhah* from al-Zuhri⁵.
- `Abd al-Razzāq b. `Umar. He wrote from al-Zuhri, and later lost the book; then he gathered *ahadith* of al-Zuhri from various sources. Therefore he is a weak narrator of al-Zuhri⁷.
- ʿAlī b. ʿAttāq. Wāqidī saw a *Ṣaḥīḥah* from al-Zuhri in the family of ʿAlī b. ʿAtīq⁸.
- Ayyūb b. Mūsā had a book from al-Zuhri⁹.
- Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī had a book from him¹⁰.
- Hushaim b.BASHÍR al-Sulami. He wrote a *Ṣaḥīḥah* from al-Zuhri in Makkah¹³.

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1. `Thaʿālīb, 571.
2. Jaʿād, 192; Kifayah, 319; Rāzi, ii, ii, 357-8; Tahdī, iv, 465.
3. Zurʿah, 62a; 150a; Tahdī, vi, 241.
4. Tahdī, vi, 165.
6. Tahdī, vi, 295; see also Fasawi, iii, 124b.
7. Fasawi, ii, 275b; Zurʿah, 53b; Rāzi, iii, i, 39.
13. Kāmil, i, 31b; Mīzān, iv, 308. Tahdī, xi, 60. It contained 300 traditions.
Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, Ibn Abī Dh'īb. Al-Zuhrī wrote some ahādīth and sent them to him who in turn transmitted them.

Muhammad b. Ishāq.

Muhammad b. al-Walīd al-Zubaidī.

Mūsā b. 'Ubialah al-Rabzī. Yahyā b. Ma'm said that his transmission from al-Zuhrī is by Munāwawālāh.

Mūsā b. 'Uqbah. Ibn Ma'm used to say, "The book of Mūsā b. 'Uqbah from al-Zuhrī is the most correct book of all.'

Rabi'a al-Ra'i. He had ahādīth of al-Zuhrī in writing.

Ruzaiq b. Ḥukaim. Al-Zuhrī wrote down some ahādīth and sent them to him.


Shu'āb b. Abū Ḥanīfah. He was the scribe of al-Zuhrī, and wrote for the Caliph as well. Ibn Ḥanbal saw his books and praised them highly.

Sufyān b. Ḥusain al-Wāṣīfī. Ibn Ḥibbān said that he mixed up the pages of al-Zuhrī's book and hence he was a weak transmitter.

Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah. He wrote from al-Zuhrī while he was quite a young man.

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1. Kifāyah, 266.
2. Ibn Ḥajar, Tabaqāt al-Mudallisīn, 4; see also Tkbir, iv, 198.
3. Tahd., i, 296.
5. Kāmil, i, 213a.
6. Fasawī, ii, 18b; iii, 138a.
7. Fasawī, iii, 308a-b.
8. 'Ilt, i, 305; Fasawī, iii, 264a; 308b; Zurr’ab, 68b; Rāzī introd. 205.
9. Ta’awwāt, i, 46.
10. Tahd., x, 220; Bukhārī, Du‘afā’ Sahīh, 33.
11. Rāzī, introd. 260; Kāmil, i, 360b; iii, 57a.
12. Dāraqutnī, 442.
Suyfân b. Sa‘îd al-‘Thaurî. Al-Zuhri gave him a book but he did not transmit it because he did not hear it from al-Zuhri. Sulaimân b. Kathîr al-‘Abbâsî. He had a Sahîhah from al-Zuhri, but according to Ibn Hibbân, his Sahîhah was not in correct order.  


‘Ubaid Allâh b. Abû Ziyâd al-Ru‘shâfî. When al-Zuhri went to al-Ru‘shâfah, he followed him and there he heard his aḥâdîth and wrote them down.  

‘Ubaid Allâh b. ‘Umar. He borrowed the book of al-Zuhri from Malik b. Anas, and went with him to read it to al-Zuhri; al-Zuhri also handed him a Nuskhah to copy it and to transmit it.  

‘Uqail b. Khâlid al-Ailî. He used to accompany al-Zuhri wherever he went. He wrote the book from al-Zuhri and later on the book was in the possession of his nephew.  


Yahyâ b. Abû Unaisah. Students used to read from his book in al-Zuhri’s lecture.  

Yazîd b. Abû Hâbîb. Al-Zuhri wrote down aḥâdîth and sent them to him who in turn transmitted them.  

49. Muḥammad b. Muṣlim b. Taḍrus (c. 50 - 126).  

He transmitted aḥâdîth from Jâbir (d. 73) etc. He memorized Jâbir’s aḥâdîth well. He had two books from Jâbir, only one of which he had heard from him.  

The following wrote aḥâdîth from him:  


Hushaim.  

Ibn Jurajjî.  

Al-Laith b. Sa‘îd.  

Nûh b. Abû Maryam.  

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1. ‘Ilt., i, 23; Bâji, 15a; Taḥd., viii, 256; iv, 307; xi, 450; 451; see also Kâmîl, i, 130b; ii, 83b.  

2. Fașawî, iii, 508a-b; see Tawâsat, i, 124; Tirmidhî, ‘Ilt., ii, 239.  


5. Fașawî, iii, 214a; Hujjaz, i, 97.  

6. Taḥd., ix, 442.  

7. Khâthamah, iii, 35b; Taḥd., ix, 441.  

8. Kâmîl, iii, 38a.  


10. Fașawî, i, 151; iv, 75; Mu‘âassin, iv, 38; Taḥd., ix, 441.  


12. Kâmîl, iii, 38a; Jâmî’, 162b; Taḥd., ix, 442.  

13. Ma’rifah, 164.
50. **Muhammad b. Sirin (33 - 110)**.

It is reported that he was against the writing down of hadith and did not allow books to be kept in his house. On the other hand, we find that Ibn ‘Aun — who reported Ibn Sirin’s dislike of books — himself related that he used to read books to Ibn Sirin. Furthermore, he reported that once Ibn Sirin informed him of a certain Kitāb which was in the possession of Ibn Jubair’s family and asked him to go to Ziyād b. Jubair and read it. Apart from this, Ibn Sirin used to attend the lecture of ‘Abidah with ‘Airāf — the partly written hadith. There are other reports concerning his agreement with the writing of hadith for the sake of memorizing only. In another report he is described as dictating hadith to Hishām, who wiped them out after memorizing them.

A book has been reported in the possession of his brother Yahyā b. Sirin. According to the available descriptions, it appears that the book was written by Ibn Sirin himself. Either in his early age he agreed to the writing down of hadith and abandoned this practice in later days, or his statement was misunderstood, or both. In his later days, it looks as if he disliked mixing with people or having any kind of social contacts. When Al-Zu‘aytī went to see him, he did not allow him to sit down, and asked him to depart after the salat. So it is quite possible that he gave up his books and cut off his relationships with people. One of his statements quoted by al-Khatīb in Kifāyāh, was that one should not read any book, except from one’s own teacher. The same idea is maintained by Waki’ who said that students should not look in other people’s books lest they remember some hadith from the book before receiving it through proper channels and later relate it as if they had heard them from the authority.

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1. Tahd., ix, 216.
2. Rāmīhurrūzī, 36b; Taqīyīd, 46, 48.
3. ‘Ilāt, i, 255; 144b; see also Sa’d vii, i, 141.
4. Ibn Wahib; Jami’, 76.
5. Amrādīsī, 99.
6. ‘Ilāt, i, 387.
7. Sa’d, vii, i, 141; Rāmīhurrūzī, 36b.
8. Rāmīhurrūzī, 36b; 36b-37a; Miṣrūzī, iv, 297.
9. Fasawi, iii, 14b; Jami’, 56b; Imlā, 173.
10. Tahd., vi, 240.

These kinds of mistakes had already been committed by the scholars. This statement of Ibn Sirin perhaps was partly reported and it was thought that he was against the writing and keeping of books.

The following transcribed hadith from him:

Al-Auzā’un transmitted a Nuskhah from him, though he did not read it to Ibn Sirin.

Hishām b. Hassān.

Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh al-BAṣrī transmitted a Nuskhah from him.

Yahyā b. Sirin had the book of his brother, Muḥammad.

50. **Muhammad b. Ziyād al-Qurashi (c. 35 - c. 120)**.

He transmitted from Abū Hurairah, ‘A‘ishah (d. 58) etc.

Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān had a Nuskhah from him.

52. **Makhrīq b. Khalīfah (c. 65 - c. 130)**.

He transmitted hadith from Ṭāriq b. Shihāb (d. 83).

‘Abidah b. Ḥumaid had a Nuskhah from him.

53. **Musa b. Uqbah (c. 60 - 141)**.

He compiled a book on al-Maghāzī which was very trustworthy and famous among scholars. An extract from the work has been published and a small chapter is still preserved in

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2. Thaqāt, 519; Tahd., vi, 240.
3. Rāmīhurrūzī, 36b; Kūmil, i, 8a; Miṣrūzī, iv, 297.
4. Kūmil, ii, 30b; There were two students who transmitted from it. Sālim: 1 - Al-Walīd and 2 - Zahrā’ b. Muhammad ibn 30b.
5. Fasawi, iii, 24b; Jami’, 56b; Imlā, 173.
6. Tahd., ix, 169.
7. Ma‘rīj, 164.
8. Tahd., x, 67.
9. ‘Ilāt, i, 384.
10. Tahd., x, 362; he saw Ibn ‘Umar (d. 74).
11. Hujjāz, i, 133.
12. Rāzi, iv, 1, 154; 155; Tahd., x, 361; 362.
Amāli of Ibn al-Šā'īd. He mostly depended on al-Zuhri, but added new materials from other sources. This book was transmitted at least by two persons: 1) His nephew Isma‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uqbaḥ, 2) Muḥammad b. Fulaḥ. The following derived ahādīth from him in written form:

Fudayl b. Sulaimān.
Ibn Lahi‘ah.
Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān.
Isma‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uqbaḥ.
Muḥammad b. Fulaḥ.
Yūsuf b. Khālid.

54. Mutarrif b. Ṭarīf al-Ḥārith (c. 60-133).
He transmitted from ‘Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Abū Lailā. His book was perfect.

He served Ibn ‘Umar (d. 74) for more than 30 years and was an authority on the ahādīth of Ibn ‘Umar. He had ahādīth of Ibn ‘Umar in writing, and used to dictate to students and asked them to bring their notes for correction. Even scholars wrote to him asking for ahādīth and in turn he sent them ahādīth in writing. If he did not know the answer, he responded that he did not know. Scholars unanimously agree on his trustworthiness.

The following wrote ahādīth from him:
‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar.
‘Abd Al-‘Azīz b. Abū Ruwād transmitted a forged Nuskhah from Nāfī.
Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī.
Ibn Jurājī.
Khalīd b. Ziyād.
Al-Laith b. Sa‘d.
Mālik b. Anas.
Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān.
Mūsā b. ‘Uqbaḥ.
Sākrī.
Shu‘ayb b. Abū Ḥamzah.
‘Ubaid Allāh b. ‘Umar.

2. For example see, A'mal al 1, 2901; 2998; 3073; 3103; 3137; ii, 1231.
4. Tkaibih, i, 82a; 89a; quoting the work.
5. Fasawi, iii, 275b.
6. Hanbal, v, 185.
8. Sachau, op. cit.
9. Tkaibih, i, 82a; 89a; 95b.
10. Fasawi, iii, 275b.
11. Tahd., x, 173.
12. Tahd., x, 173.
15. Hanbal, ii, 29; Iṣa‘i, v, 11; see also Bagh., x, 406.
16. Zur‘ah, 50a; Khathmah, iii, 115a; see also Fasawi, iii, 220b; Rāmūrmauz, 76a; Imlā, 13.
17. Imlā, 78.
18. Imlā, 13; Kifayah, 302.
19. Imlā, 13; Imlā, 78.
20. Musnad, x, 177.
21. Thiqāt, 451; Tahd., iii, 90.
22. Kifayah, 279.
23. Masähīr, 190.
24. Tahd., ix, 300.
25. Kāmil, i, 104a; Bagh., vi, 223; Kifayah, 267.
26. Fasawi, iii, 41a.
27. Zura‘ah, 67a; 67b; see also Kifayah, 214.
28. Masähīr, 190; see also Kifayah, 267.
56. **Al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Shāmī (c. 40 - 112)**

The following wrote ḥadīth from him:

- 'Alt b. Yazīd b. Abū Hilāl transmitted a large book — *Nuskhah Kabīrah* — from him.2
- Bishr b. Numair al-Qushārī transmitted an untrustworthy *Nuskhah* from him.3

57. **Qatādah b. Dfāmah al-Ṣaddāsi (61 - 117)**

He transcribed ḥadīth and compiled a commentary on the *Qurʾān*. When he was asked about the writing of ḥadīth, he gave his full support; he even quoted a verse from the *Qurʾān* to this effect.4

The following derived ḥadīth from him in writing:

- Abū 'Awānah.5
- Abū Hilāl al-Rāsiq.6
- Al-Auza'ī7
- Hammād b. Anū al-Jāḍ.8
- Hammād b. Salamah.9
- Hammām b. Yaḥyā.10
- Al-Hārith b. Jarīd.11

Hishām al-Dastawa‘ī. It is said that he had 10,000 ḥadīth from Qatādah.12

58. **Kabīrah b. Farrūkh al-Ta‘mī (c. 65 - 136)**

He transmitted from Ibn Abū Lailā (86) etc. and wrote ḥadīth which he sent to Al-Laith.9

59. **Raja b. Ḥaiwah (c. 20 - 112)**

He transmitted from Abū al-Dardā‘ (d. 34), and had ḥadīth in writing.10

60. **Ruqābah b. Miṣqalāh al-‘Abdī al-Kūfī (c. 65 - 129)**

It is said that he transmitted from Anas b. Malik (d. 93).

Abū Ḥamzah al-Sukkari transmitted a *Nuskhah* from him.13

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1. Taḥd., viii, 324.
2. Taḥd., vii, 396.
3. Miẓān, i, 326.
4. Qīṣārāt, 422-3.
5. Fihrist, 34, where Ibn Nadm mentions 2 persons who transmitted this work. See also Sa‘d, vii, ii, 33.
8. Kāmil, iii, 78a; see also Sa‘d, vii, ii, 2.
9. Hanbal, iii, 223; Mu‘, Salāt, 13; Rāmīrūmīzī, 48b.
10. Maqrīzī, ii, 134; Taḥd., iii, 5.
11. Rāmīrūmīzī, 61a; Kīfāyah, 196.
12. Sa‘d, vii, ii, 33; *Ta‘līf*, 166b; Hanbal, ii, 127; 306; BU, Buṭtī, 46;
Fasawi, iii, 40b; Bāji, 167a; Kīfāyah, 220; Jāmi‘, 100a.
14. *Ta‘līf*, i, 313; *Tākīb*, i, 202b; see also, Miẓān, i, 57; Taḥd., i, 156.
61.  Sa‘d b. Iyās al-Jurairī (c. 60 - 144)².
    He transmitted from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Bakrah (d. after 80) and others.
    The following derived ahādīth from him in writing:
    Ibn Abū ‘Adī³.
    Ibn ‘Ulayyah⁴.
    Sālim b. Nūh⁵.

    The following transcribed ahādīth from him:
    Shu‘bah.
    Sulaymān ‘Al-Thaurī.
    Many Iraqians⁷.

    He transmitted from Abū Hurairah (d. 59) etc.
    Ahmad b. Khāzīm al-Mu‘āfarī transmitted a Nuskha from Sālih⁹.

64.  Shu‘bah b. Dīnār al-Hashimi (c. 50 - c. 115).
    A client of Ibn ‘Abbas, he died in the reign of Hishām, b. ‘Abd al-Malik (105 - 125)¹⁰.
    He had a book¹¹.

65.  Simak b. Ḥarr al-Kūfī (c. 55 - 123)¹².
    He transmitted from Jābīr b. Samurah (d. 73). Muhammad b. Sawār wrote down Simak’s ahādīth from Hammad b. Salamah².

66.  Simak b. al-Walīd, Abū Zumail (c. 50 - c. 120)³.
    He transmitted from Ibn ‘Abbās (d. 68) etc.
    Many Iraqians wrote ahādīth from him⁴.

67.  Salamah b. Kuhail (47 - 121)⁵.
    Hammad b. Salamah wrote from him⁶.

    He wrote ahādīth⁸. Even his Shaikh Ibrāhīm (d. 96) copied from him⁹. He used to dictate ahādīth to students¹⁰.
    The following derived ahādīth from him in writing:
    Abū ‘Awānah¹¹.
    Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh and others¹².
    Abū Mu‘awiyah. He was a blind man and memorized A‘mash’s ahādīth, so that he used to dictate after finishing the lesson¹³.
    Ḥafṣ b. Ghyāth¹⁴.
    Hushaimi¹⁵.

1.  Mushṭabīh, 149.
2.  Tahd., iv, 6.
4.  Rāzi, i, i, 154.
5.  Kifāyah, 236; Mizān, ii, 113; Tahd., III, 443, where it is printed erroneously al-Jazrī.
7.  Masḥahir, 136; Tahd., III, 464; see also Rāzi, ii, i, 79.
10.  Tahd., iv, 347.
11.  Fasāwī, iii, 275a.
12.  Bagh., ix, 11; Râmurmuzī, 17.
14.  Râmurmuzī, 17; see also Bagh., ix, 11.

1.  ‘Ib., iv, 234.
2.  Ja’d 439.
3.  Tahd., iv, 235.
4.  Masḥahir, 123.
5.  Tahd., iv, 156-7.
6.  ‘Ib., i, 344; Fasawī, ii, 243b.
8.  ‘Ib., 80; ‘Ib., i, 140.
9.  ‘Ib., i, 140.
10.  Bagh., ix, 11; Râmurmuzī, 17.
13.  Kāmil, i, 275b; Tahd., ii, 416.
71. Sulaimān b. Yasār (34-107)
He had a book which was transmitted by Bukair. Later, this book was in the possession of his son Makhrimah.

72. Ṭalḥah b. Ṣalih, Abu Sufyān (c. 50 - c. 110)
He transmitted from Ibn 'Abbās (68).
Al-A'mash transmitted a Sahīfah from him which contained 100 hadiths.

73. Thābit b. Aslam al-Bunārī (c. 40 - 127)
According to his statement he followed Anas b. Mālik (d. 93) for 40 years. He wrote hadith from the authorities and trustworthy Shuyūkh.
Ja'far b. Sulaimān wrote hadith from him.

74. Thābit b. 'Ajlān (c. 65 - c. 130)
He transmitted from Abū Umāmah (d. 81) etc.
Baqiyyah had Thābit's hadith in written form as did Ḥammād b. Salama.

75. Thawr b. Abū Fakhtah (c. 50 - c. 120)
He transmitted from Zaid b. Arqan (d. 65) etc.
The following derived hadith from him in writing: 'Abdīlah b. Ḥumaid had a Naskhah from him.
Iṣra'il.

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1. Rāhmunuzī, 37a.
2. Fasawi, iii, 270b; Sa'd, vi, 239; Bagh., ix, 11.
3. Fasawi, iii, 264b; Rāzī, i, 506; Rāhmunuzī, 55b; Kifīyah, 71; Bagh., ix, 10.
4. BTK, i, i, 74.
5. Fasawi, iii, 274a.
6. Ma'rūjah, 164.
7. Madkhal 36.
8. Bagh., xii, 468; 469.
9. Iṣām, vi, 77.
11. Ma'rūnah, ii, 225.
14. Iṣām, vi, 73.
15. Sa'd, vii, ii, 80.
16. 'Iṣāl, 158a; see also Rāhmunuzī, 35b.
1. Tahd., iv, 229.
2. Tahd., x, 70, 71; Miẓām, iv, 81; see also 'Iṣāl, 171a.
4. Tahd., iv, 224.
5. Tahd., ii, 3.
6. Kāmil, i, 196b.
8. Tahd., ii, 10.
9. Rāzī, intro. 271; i, i, 455; Tahd., ii, 10.
10. Ḥady as-Sa'dī, i, 23.
12. Thawr., ii, 36.
13. 'Iṣāl, i, 198b.

He wrote a book and sent it to Al-Laith b. Sa‘d, who transmitted it, though he did not read the book to ‘Ubaid Allāh2.

77. ‘Umārah b. Juwayrīn, Abū Hārūn (c. 55 - 134)3.

He transmitted from Ibn ‘Umar (d. 74) etc. but was an untrustworthy narrator. He had a book4.

78. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Āsim al-Asdī (128)5.

He transmitted from Anas b. Malik (d. 93) etc. Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh had a Nuskhah from him6.

79. ‘Uthman b. Ḥadīr al-Himyari (c. 45 - c. 110).

He transmitted from Ibn ‘Abbās (d. 68) etc.7

Students in Al-Ḥijāz wrote from him8.

80. Wahb b. Munabbih (34-114)9.

He compiled many books.

The following are mentioned as his works:


_Qiṣṣa al-Anbiyā‘*11.

_Qiṣṣa al-Akhbār*12.

81. Yazīd b. Abān al-Raqqāshi (c. 50 between 110-120)2.

‘Uṣayr b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz wrote some ahādīth from him3.


He was the Faqīḥ of Damascus, and had books5.

His son Khalīl transmitted a book—*Kitāb al-Masā‘il*—from him6.


He wrote ahādīth, even from his own students8.

The following wrote ahādīth from him:

Ibn Lahi‘ah wrote some of his ahādīth9.

Al-Laith b. Sa‘d had a Nuskhah from him, which was transmitted by Yahyā b. Bukair, Qutaibah, Zaghbah and Yazīd b. Wahb etc.10.


He transmitted from Abū Hurairah (d. 59).

Shu‘bah wrote 100 ahādīth from him11.

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1. *Bagh.*, i, 416.
3. Rāhmūmuzī, 35b.
5. Kāmil, i, 309a.
6. Zur‘ah, 150a; see also *Tahd.*, xi, 346, where the book is mentioned with the interpretation of it, but Abū Zur‘ah does not explain this way, and as his book was transmitted by his son, here it must mean book in its ordinary sense.
8. Fischer, 82-3; see also *I’tal*, 142b.
10. Kāmil, i, 315a; *Mīṣrīn*, i, 636; see also *Tahd.*, iii, 110.
11. Rāzi, iv, ii, 269.

Translated by al-Najjār, i, 252.

85. Zaid b. Aslam. Client of Ibn 'Umar (c. 40-136)\(^1\).

He transmitted from Abū Hurairah, 'Ā'ishah etc.\(^2\).

The following derived *ahādīth* from him in writing:
'Abd al-Raqlūn b. Zaid transmitted a *Tafsīr* from him\(^3\).
Hāsh b. Maisarah al-'Uqailī\(^4\) read a book to Zaid.
Sa'id b. Abū Ayyūb had a book from him\(^5\).

86. Zaid b. Rufai' (c. 60 - c. 125).\(^6\)

He transmitted from Abū 'Ubaidallāh b. 'Abd Allah b. Mas'ūd (d. 82)\(^7\).

The following derived *ahādīth* from him writing:
'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yūsuf\(^7\).
Ḥammād b. 'Amr al-Naṣibī. It is said that he took the book from 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, and transmitted it on the authority of Zaid\(^8\).

87. Zubaid b. al-Ḥārith al-Ayāmī (c. 60 - 122)\(^9\).

'Isāb. Yūnus had Zubaid's book\(^10\).

IV. WRITINGS OF AND FROM THE EARLY SECOND CENTURY SCHOLARS

1. Abān b. Abū 'Ayyāsh (c. 70 - 138)\(^11\).

He transmitted *ahādīth* from Anas b. Malik (d. 93) and others.
Salm al-'Alawi saw him writing from Anas\(^12\), so he advised

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1. *Tahd.*, iii, 396.
3. *Huffaz*, i, 119; see also *Fihrist*, 33.
4. Rāzī, i, ii, 187.
7. *Bagh.*, viii, 154; *Mīzān*, i, 598.
8. *Bagh.*, viii, 154; *Mīzān*, i, 598.
10. *Kifāyah*, 142-3; see also Rāmhurmuzi, 67b.

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Ḥammād b. Zaid to attend Abān's lectures\(^1\), but Sh'ubbah discredited Abān\(^2\).
The following derived *ahādīth* from him in writing:
Abū 'Awāmah. He brought a book to Abān, which contained his *ahādīth* and those of others. Abān did not notice this and read them all\(^3\).
'Alī bin Mushir wrote about 500 *ahādīth* from him\(^4\).
Ghālib b. 'Ubaid Allāh\(^5\).
Hāshih al-Zayyāt wrote about 500 *ahādīth* from him\(^6\).
Ibn Juraij\(^7\).
Ibrāhīm b. Tāhmān had a collection of *ahādīth* from him\(^8\).
Ma'mar had a collection, which was in the possession of 'Abd al-Razzāq. Later, Yahyā b. Ma'in copied it, although he knew it was unauthenticated, in order to be aware of these false *ahādīth*\(^9\).

2. Abān b. Taghlab al-Kūfī (c. 80-141)\(^10\).

He transmitted from 'Ikrimah (d. 105) and others and had many books (Nusakh)\(^11\).


He transmitted from Hasan (d. 110) and Qatādah, etc. Mūsā b. Ismā'īl and others transmitted from him. Many students assembled at the lectures of Mūsā, and everyone of them had

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1. *Kamil*, i, 137; ii, 24b; *Mīzān*, i, 10.
2. *Kamil*, i, 137; *Mīzān*, i, 11-12.
3. Rāzī, i, ii, 295.
4. *Mīzān*, i, 12; *Tahd.*, i, 100.
6. *Mīzān*, i, 12; *Tahd.*, i, 100.
11. *Kamil*, i, 141a; *Tahd.*, i, 93. (In *Tahd*, his death is printed 241, instead of 141 which is wrong).
He transmitted from ‘Ata’ b. Abū Rabah (d. 117) etc.1.

His book was perfect4.
Students in Baghdād had ḥadīth from him in writing5.

11. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Husain (c. 75-c. 140).
He transmitted from Nafi’ b. Jubair (d. 97) and others6.
Shu‘aib b. Abū Hamzah had his ḥadīth in written form.
This book came into the hands of Abū al-Yamān7.

12. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Labīd (c. 140)8.
He transmitted from Abū Salamah b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān etc.
Al-Thauri and many students in al-Kūfah wrote ḥadīth from him9.

Many students wrote adīth from him in Baghdād11.

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1. Tahd., vi, 106.
2. Bagh., vii, 96.
3. Tahd., v, 281.
5. Bagh., x, 7.
6. Tahd., v, 293.
7. Tahd., ii, 442. See also Al-Mustadrak, i, 68.
8. Tahd., v, 372.
9. Thiqāt, 244.
10. Bagh., x, 18; see also Tahd., v, 351.
11. Bagh., x, 16.

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1. Fasawi, iii, 281b.
3. Tahd., v, 127.
4. Mizān, ii, 385; Tahd., v, 127.
5. Tahd., vi, 98.
7. Tahd., vi, 344.
8. Bagh., x, 438.
9. Bagh., x, 439; Huffār, i, 201; Tahd., vi, 344; see also Razzī, iii, i, 53.
11. Tahd., vi, 344.
12. Mizān, ii, 627.
13. Kūmil, i, 316b.
15. Mizān, iii, 430.
14. 'Abd Allah b. Shubrumah (72-144).

He transmitted *ahādīth* from Anas.
He had a book¹.

15. 'Abd Allah b. al-Husain, Abū Ḥarīb (c. 70 - c. 130)².

He transmitted from Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i (d. 96) and others.

The following derived *ahādīth* from him in writing:

Anonymous³.
Fuṣail b. Maisarah⁴.
People of Baṣrah wrote from him⁵.

16. 'Abd Allah b. Idris (110-192)⁶.

He used to write *ahādīth* after memorizing them⁷.

He was a close friend of Malik who utilized ‘Abd Allah’s sources in his *Muwatta*⁸.

Al-Ḥasan b. Rabī’⁹ and Yahyā b. Ḍam wrote from him¹⁰.

17. 'Abd Allah b. Ja'far b. Nuṣair al-Sadī (c. 105-178)¹¹.

He transmitted from ‘Abd Allah b. Dinār (d. 127).
Bahz had a *Kurraṣah* from him¹².

18. ‘Abd Allah b. Laḥi'ah (96-174)¹.

It is said that his books were burnt².

The following wrote *ahādīth* from him:

Anonymous — a number of students⁴.
Ibn Mahdī⁵.
Ibn Ma‘in⁶.
Ibn al-Mubārak⁷.
Ibn Wahb⁸.
Laḥi'ah b. ‘Isā⁹.
Qutaibah b. Sa‘id¹⁰.
Uthmān b. Sa‘līh¹¹.
Yahyā b. Bukair¹².

19. ‘Abd Allah b. al-Qāsim Ruṣain (c. 70 - c. 130).

He transmitted from Ibn al-Musayyab (d. 93) etc.¹³ and Mu’tamār had his *ahādīth* in writing¹⁴.


He transmitted from Ayyūb al-Sikhtayānī (d. 131) but lost his books¹⁶.

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1. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Bayān*, i, 76.
3. Kāmil, ii, 124a; *Tahd.*, viii, 300.
4. Kāmil, ii, 124a; *Tahd.*, viii, 300; see also Hanbal, iv, 193; 399; *Muṣann*, ii, 407; *Kifāyah*, 236.
5. Mashāʾīḥ, 198.
7. 'Ilt, 177b.
10. Hanbal, i, 418.
15. Fasawi, iii, 136b; *Tahd.*, v, 376.
16. Fasawi, iii, 136b; *Tahd.*, v, 376.
18. Rash, ii, 146; 147b; *Tahd.*, v, 374.
19. Rash, ii, 147-8; *Tahd.*, v, 376.
24. 'Ilt, 158a.
25. *Tahd.*, v, 211.

He transmitted from al-Zuhri (d. 124) etc. He is accused of collecting books from here and there, and transmitting them without the permission of their authors. According to Sa‘id b. ‘Abd al-Azīz, in Iraq, students added additional material to ‘Abd Allah’s books and handed them to him. When he read them they proclaimed him a liar.

Al-Walīd b. Muslim wrote a book from him.


In the very beginning of his studentship, he went to ‘Aṭā b. Abī Rabī‘ah to learn Hadith; in turn he was directed to learn the Qur’an and al-Farahīdā. After possessing himself of these requirements he joined the circle of ‘Aṭā and accompanied him for 17 years.

His memory was somewhat weak, but his books were highly esteemed.

He worked hard to collect the ahādīth of Ibn ‘Abbās, and claimed that no one had worked like him.

He used to show his book to other scholars to hear their advice and to gain additional material.

It seems that he used to write drafts before making final copies.

1. Tahd., v, 229.
3. A.D. Hadith no. 1582.
5. Tahd., v, 255.
6. Tahd., v, 327.
7. Ma‘rīfah, 165.
10. ’Ila‘, 150b; Thahd., xi, 226.
11. Mashhāhir, 137; Tahd., vi, 82.
12. Mashhāhir, 137.
It is also said that he was one of the first to compile books. According to Ibn Nadim, he compiled Kitāb al-Sunan; the other sources give the names of Kitāb al-Manāsik and Kitāb al-Tafsīr as well. There may have been some other books whose titles are not mentioned.

The following derived ḥādīth from him in written form:

'Abd Allah b. al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī.

'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz6.

Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad al-A'war7.


Hishām b. Yūsuf9.

Ibn Lahi'ah10.

Ibn al-Mubārak11.


Mūsā b. Ṭariq14.

Muslim b. Khalīd15.

Nūh b. Abū Maryam16.

1. Bağh., x, 400; Ḩuffāẓ, i, 153.
2. Fihrist, 226.
3. Khaithamah, iii, 39b; Kāmil, i, 38a.
5. Ahmad Shākir, intro. to Al-Risālah, p. 7.
6. Rāzī, iii, i, 64; Kāmil, i, 392b; at-Mustadrak, ii, 169; Bāji, 20a; Mizān, ii, 649; Ahmad Shākir, Introd. Al-Risālah, p. 7.
7. 'Ilt, i, 237; 349; Bağh., vii, 257; Kifāyah, 251; 290; Jāmi', 109a; Tadh., ii, 205; iv, 244.
8. Sa'd, vii, ii, 80.
9. Ḥanbal, v, 119; Khaithamah, iii, 56b; Majrūḥ, 24a; At-Madhkhal, 39; Tadh., xi, 57.
12. Ḩuffāẓ, i, 113; Ḥāmīs, vi, 97.
13. 'Ilt, i, 370.
14. Ṣagā'ī, ii, 42.
16. Ma'rifah, 164.
Ṣadaqah b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Samīn. He wrote 1500 aḥādīth from al-Auzā‘ī.
‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥidī.
Al-Walid b. Mazādir.
Al-Walid b. Muslim al-Dimashqī.

33. ‘Aḥī al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmalāh (c. 80-145)7.
He wrote aḥādīth8 and had a book9.
Yahyā b. Sa‘īd had a book from him10.

34. ‘Aḥī al-Raḥmān b. Thābit b. Tha‘bān (75-165)11.
He went to Baghdād, where students wrote aḥādīth from him12.

He had two books; only one of them was read to the authority14.

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1. Rāzī, iv, i, 69-70; Mīzman, iv, 19.
2. Kifayah, 322; Sakhawī, Mughāthīh, 218.
3. Mīzman, ii, 310.
4. Zur‘ah, 150a; Rāzī, ii iim im 122; Tahd., vii, 479.
5. Rāzī, introd. 205; iii, i, 29; iv, ii, 18; Kifayah, 302; Tahd., xi, 151.
8. Khāthimah, iii, 141b; Tahd., vi, 161.
10. Dūlāh-Kunā, i, 190-1.
11. Tahd., vi, 151.
13. Tahd., vi, 298; see also Mīzman, ii, 599.
14. BTK, iii, i, 363; BTS, 179; Mīzman, ii, 599.
36. ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafi (c. 100 - c. 160).

He transmitted hadith from al-Zuhri (d. 124) but lost his books.


He transmitted hadith from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ṣuhaib (d. 130). His book was perfect, and was the final authority if scholars differed about some hadith of his teachers.

The following derived hadith from him in written form:

‘Abd al-Ṣamad,

38. ‘Abī Dābah b. Ḥumayd al-Tāmī (107-190).

He had a book.

Many students wrote hadith from him.


He transmitted from Muḥammad b. Jubair etc.

He had a book which contained hadith from Muḥammad b. Jubair b. Muṭ‘im (d. 100) and papers from other scholars, relating
to the History of Makkah and the ka‘bah. It appears that al-Miswar b. Makhramah had compiled some works on the Sīrah and the early history, and perhaps later his work was transmitted by his daughter Umm Bakr. Ibn Sa‘d quotes the work through her nephew, ‘Abd al-Rahmān son of Miswar also transmits it.

40. Abī Bakr b. Abū Sabrah (c. 100-162).

The following derived hadith from him in writing:


He lived for a long time, so that the younger generations wrote from him. His books were perfect.

Yahyā b. Yahyā derived hadith from him in writing.

42. Abī Bakr b. Khāzim al-Misrī (c. 85 - c. 150).

He transmitted from ‘Atā‘ b. Abū Rabah, etc.

He had a book which was known to scholars and was even read to al-Dhahabi.

43. ‘Alī b. ‘Āsim b. Ṣuhaib al-Wasiti (105-201).

He was a rich man, hence he was able to employ many scribes who wrote hadith for him. In the copying of the

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1. Tahd., vi, 175. There are other dates given about his birth and death; see Māṣūḥk, 142b.
2. Bagh., x, 215; Tahd., vi, 175.
4. Tahd., vi, 309.
5. Tahd., vi, 310.
7. Muslim - Tawārikh, 5b.
9. Tahd., vii, 82.
10. Tahd., vii, 82.
11. Tahd., vii, 82.
original books many errors were made, and for this reason he was discredited. He had three Mustamly in his lectures; and the number of students was enormous.

44. ‘Ali b. Mubarak al-Hunaṭ (c. 105 - c. 165).
   
   He transmitted from Yahyā b. Abū Kāthīr (d. 129) etc.4.
   
   Ḥārūn b. Ismā‘īl had a book from him3.

   
   He transmitted from Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā (d. 104) etc.7.
   
   He buried his books, which were perfect8.

   
   Ibn ‘Uyaynah wrote a large book from him, and then gave it away to someone.10

47. ‘Ammār b. Mu‘awiyah al-Dhuń (c. 70-133)11.
   
   ‘Abdulah b. Ḥumaid b. Ṣuhaib had a Sahifah from him12.

   
   ‘Abdulah b. Ḥumaid had a Mushkah from him14.

1. Bagh., xi, 447-8; Tahd., viii, 945; see also Mīzān, iii, 135.
2. Bagh., xi, 454.
3. Bagh., xi, 454; where 30,000 are mentioned; see also Mīzān, iii, 135.
4. Tahd., vii, 375.
5. Rāzī, iv, ii, 87.
8. Tahd., vii, 384.
9. Mīzān, iii, 129; Tahd., vii, 324.
10. Mīzān, iii, 129; Tahd., vii, 323-4; see also Rāzī, iii, i, 186.
11. Tahd., vii, 407; Ibn Khatib al-Dahahah, Tuhfah, 156.
13. Tahd., viii, 82. He died after Abū Ishāq (d. 127).
14. ‘Ibl, i, 384.

49. ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith al-Ansārī (90-149)9.
   
   Ibn Wahib had a book from him2, and wrote some of his aḥādith for Ibn Mahdi3.

   
   He transmitted from al-Sabī‘ī etc.
   
   Hannād wrote down aḥādith from him in quantity5.

   
   Ibn ‘Uyaynah wrote a book from him7.

   
   Mālik b. Anas used to praise him. He said that Anas had heard aḥādith and had transcribed them, but that the only weakness he had was that he had presented his books to Iraqis8.

53. Artāt b. al-Mundhir (c. 70-162)10.
   
   He saw Abū Umāmah al-Bāhil (d. 81)11.
   
   Al-Jarrāḥ b. Mulaih al-Bahrānī had a Mushkah from him, containing some 20 aḥādith12.

   
   He transmitted from Ibn Siṭin and others and had a book14.
The following derived *ahādīth* from him in writing:

Al-Anṣārī, 1
Haudhah b. Khlīfah, 2
Muḥammad b. Maisarah, Abū Salamah, 3

55. **Ashfāḥ b. Sawwār al-Kindī (c. 80-136)** 4

He transmitted from al-Sha'īb and others.
The following wrote *ahādīth* from him:

Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid, 5
Haṣṣ b. Yhayāth, 6

56. **'Āsim v. Kulaib al-Kūfī (c. 70-137)** 7

'Abd Allāh b. Idris had his *ahādīth* in writing 8

57. **'Āsim b. Muḥammad v. Zaid al-Umari (c. 100 - c. 160)**

He transmitted from Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī (d. 120) etc. 9

Ibrāhīm b. Sa'id had a book from him 10

58. **'Āsim b. Rājā' b. Ḥaiwah al-Kindī (c. 90 - c. 150)**

He transmitted from his father (d. 112) 11

Many Iraqis wrote from him 12

59. **'Āsim b. Sulaimān al-Ahwal (c. 70-142)** 13

He transmitted from Anas (d. 93) etc.

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2. Sa'd, vii, ii, 80.
3. Bāji, 68b; Tāhdt, ix, 124.
4. Tāhdt, ix, 353.
5. 'Ibt, i, 195; Rāzī, i, 431; Bāji, 36b.
6. Tāhdt, v, 56.
7. Hanbal, i, 418.
8. Tāhdt, v, 57.
10. Tāhdt, v, 41.
12. Tāhdt, v, 43.
13. Ibn Ma'in, Tārīkh, 82b.

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60. **'Āsim b. 'Umar al-'Umarī (c. 105 - c. 170)**

He transmitted from 'Abd Allāh b. Dmār (d. 127) etc. 4

He had a book, titled *al-Nāsikh wa al-Mansūkh* 5

62. **Al-Aswād b. Shaibān (c. 90-165)** 6

He transmitted from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) and others 7

'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī had *ḥadīth* from him, in writing 8

62. **'Aṭṭāf b. Khālid (91 - c. 150)** 9

His book was perfect 10

Mukhallad b. Mālik had a book from him 11

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1. 'Ibt, i, 195; Rāzī, i, 431; Bāji, 36b.
2. Hanbal, iii, 111.
3. Baihaqī, Sunan, ii, 56.
5. Rāzī, iii, i, 347.
6. Tāhdt, i, 339.
7. Tāhdt, i, 339.
8. 'Ibt, 179b.
10. Kāmil, ii, 335b.
11. Kāmil, ii, 336b; Mīzān, iii, 69; Tāhdt, x, 77.
63. Ayyūb b. Khāut (c. 90 - c. 150)².
   He transmitted from Qatādah, etc. His book was imperfect².
   Ḥusain b. Wāqid wrote aḥādīth from him³.

64. Ayyūb b. Mūsā b. 'Amr b. Sa'id b. Al'ās (c. 75 - 132)⁴.
   He transmitted from Naḍi and others.
   'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar took a book from him. This book was read to al-Zuhri, 'Aṭā' and Makhtūl. It contained regulations for blood money⁵.

65. Ayyūb b. 'Utabah al-Yamānī (c. 100-160)⁶.
   He transmitted from Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr (d. 129) and others. He went to Baghdad without his books, and there he imparted aḥādīth from memory, hence he made many mistakes⁷. His books were, however, perfect⁸.

66. Bāhi b. Sa'id al-Saḥimsī (c. 80-160)⁹.
   He transmitted from Khālid b. Maḍān (d. 103) and others.
   Baqiyyah b. al-Walid¹⁰ read the book of Bāhir to Shu'bah who was very pleased¹¹.

   He transmitted from al-Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) etc.

The following transmitted his books:
   Ḥarīth b. Muslim¹.
   Muḥammad b. Muṣ'ab al-Qarqasānī².
   'Umar b. Sahih³.
   Yazīd b. Zurai⁴.

68. Bāhz b. Ḥakīm al-Qushairī (c. 80 after 140)⁵.
   He transmitted a Nuskhah from his father, who in turn transmitted from the grandfather of Bāhz⁶.
   The following had his books:
   Al-Ansārī⁷.
   Makkī b. Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī⁸.

69. Baqarr b. Wā'il b. Dāwūd (c. 90 - c. 130).
   He died earlier than his father⁹ who had a book from him¹⁰.

70. Baqiyah b. al-Walid al-Kalā'y (110-196)¹¹.
   He wrote from everyone without discrimination¹², and Ibn Thaubān wrote aḥādīth from him¹³.

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1. Msān, i, 298.
2. Msān, i, 298.
3. Msān, i, 298.
4. Msān, i, 298.
5. Islām, vi, 43.
6. Islām, vi, 42.
7. Islām, vi, 43.
8. Ma'rūfah, 165.
12. Bagh., vii, 125; Tahd., i, 474.
13. Tuyūd, 110.
71. **Bukair b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ashājī** (c. 70-127)

He transmitted from Ibn al-Musayyab and others.

The following had his books:

Makhrimāh b. Bukhair. He did not read these books to his father.

Al-Laith b. Sa'dī.

72. **Dāwūd b. Abū Hind** (c. 75-139)

He had books and wrote a commentary on the *Qurʾān*.

The following wrote *ahādīth* from him:

Adī b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān transmitted a *Nuskhah* from him.

Al-Ansārī had written a large number of *ahādīth*.

73. **Dāwūd b. al-Husayn al-Umawi** (c. 70-135)

Ibrāhīm b. Abū Yahyā had a large *Nuskhah* (book) from him.

74. **Dāwūd b. Nusair al-Tāt** (c. 100-160)

He buried his books, probably about 140 A.H.

75. **Dāwūd b. Shābūr al-Makkī** (c. 80 c. 140).

He transmitted from Mujāhidī.

Shu'bāh wrote his *ahādīth*.

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1. *Annales*, iii, 2501.
2. *Ilt*, i, 91; 282; Fasawi, iii, 318a; Khaitamah, iii, 145a; *Thiqāt*, 609; Rāzī, iv, i, 365; 364. (There is a single quotation that he heard from his father, see Rāzī, iv, i, 364; *Mūḏīn*, iv, 81; *Tahd.,* x, 70.
3. *Tahd.*, viii, 465; *Mūḏīn*, iii, 423; see also Bāqī, 33b; *Tahd.,* i, 493.
4. *Tahd.*, iii, 204.
5. *Thiqāt*, 455; *Tahd.*, iii, 204.
7. *Thiqāt*, 575; Rāzī, iii, i, 3.

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76. **Ḍimā b. Ismāʿīl** (97-185)

The following derived *ahādīth* from him in writing:

Abū Mūsā had his book.

Muḥammad al-Iskandarānī.

77. **Dīrār b. Murrah al-Kūfī** (c. 70-132)

His book was in possession of Tamīm b. Nāṣīḥ.

78. **Al-Fudail b. Mūsārah** (c. 85 - c. 145).

He transmitted from al-Sha'bi etc.

Mu'tamār b. Sulaimān had a book from him.

79. **Ghailān b. Jāmi** (c. 80 - 132)

He had a book.

80. **Ḥārīb b. Abū Ḥabīb al-Harmī** (c. 90-162)

He transmitted from Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110) and others.

The following wrote *ahādīth* from him:

Dāwūd b. Shabibī.

Yahyā b. Sa'idī.

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1. *Tahd.*, iv, 459; *Tagrib*, i, 374.
2. *Maddkhāl*, 44; *Kīfīyah*, 133.
7. *Ilt*, 158a.
9. *Ilt*, i, 342.
The following scholars transmitted his books or wrote down his ahādīth:

'Abd al-Wahid b. Ghayath al-Basri
d.'Affan. Hammād dictated to him.

'Amr b. 'Āsim al-Kilābī wrote more than 10,000 ahādīth from him.

Anonymous, a large number. Yahyā b. Ma'in heard Hammād's book from 18 of the latter students in order to separate the mistakes of Hammād from those of his students.

Anonymous person.

Ḥajjāj b. al-Minhāl transmitted Musnad of Hammād.

Hudbah b. Khalīd b. al-Aswad had two copies of his books.

Ibn al-Mubārak.

Muḥammad b. al-Šāfi'i.

Mūsā b. Isma'il al-Tabūdhaki's grandfather.

Al-Šāmi.

Sulaimān b. Ḥarb.

Wahb.

Yahyā b. Ḍurra had 10,000 ahādīth from Hammād.

Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān.

Zaid b. 'Auṭ.

1. Ṭahd., ii, 418.
2. Kāmil, i, 284a; Ṭahd., ii, 419.
3. Ṭahd., ii, 401.
4. Rāzi, ii, 173; Mīzān, i, 558.
5. Ṭahd., iii, 70.
6. Ṭahd., v, 375; See also about his book, Rāmhurmuẓ, 48a-b; Kifāyāt, 315.
7. Ṭahd., ii, 100.
8. Ma'rūfah, 164; Ṭahd., ii, 200.
9. Ṭahd., ii, 430.
11. Ḥujjāz, i, 183.
12. Ḥujjāz, i, 182. See also about his books Ṭahd., iii, 13.
98. Hishām b. Ḥassān al-Qurdūsī (c. 90-148).  
He transmitted from Ibn Sirīn (d. 110) etc.  
The following derived ḥaddith from him in writing:  
Abū 'Awānah.  
Abū Juzayr al-Qasāb.  
Hārūn b. Abū 'Īsā.  
Iṣmā'īl b. 'Ulayyah.  
Rauh b. 'Ubādah.  
Sallām b. Abū Muṭṭah.  
'Uthmān b. 'Umar borrowed his book from Rauh.  
Yazid b. Zubayr.  

He wrote a large number of them about 10,000 of them from Qatadah alone.  
The following wrote ḥaddith from him:  
'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Āṭā' al-Khaffāf.  
Iṣmā'īl b. 'Ulayyah.  

100. Ḥumayd b. Ziyād, Abū Sakhār (c. 80-189).  
He transmitted from Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān (d. 101).
The following derived \textit{ahādīth} from him in writing:
Ibn Lahit\'ab\textsuperscript{1} and Ibn Wahb\textsuperscript{2} transmitted a \textit{Nuskhah} each from him.

\textbf{101.  Ḥasān b. Abū Ja'far al-Jufrī (c. 95-161)\textsuperscript{3}.}
He transmitted from Nāfi\textsuperscript{4} (d. 117) etc.\textsuperscript{4}.
Ibn Mahdī had Ḥasan's \textit{ahādīth} in writing\textsuperscript{4}.

\textbf{102.  Al-Ḥusain b. Qais al-Rahbī (c. 85 - c. 150).}
He transmitted from 'Ikrimah (d. 105) etc.\textsuperscript{6}.
'Ali b. 'Āṣim had a book containing al-Rahbī's \textit{ahādīth}.
Later on Abū 'Awānah borrowed this book from 'Ali b. 'Āṣim.\textsuperscript{7}

\textbf{103.  Al-Ḥusain b. Wāqid al-Marwāzī (c. 90-159)\textsuperscript{8}.}
He transmitted from 'Abd Allāh b. Buraidah (d. 115) and compiled a commentary on the \textit{Qur'ān}\textsuperscript{9}.

\textbf{104.  Hushaim b. Bashir al-Wāṣṣī (104-183)\textsuperscript{10}.}
He compiled many books\textsuperscript{11}. Ibn al-Nadim gives us the names of three of them: \textit{1) Kitāb al-Sunan} — \textit{2) Kitāb al-Tafsīr} — \textit{3) Kitāb al-Qirā'āt}\textsuperscript{12}.

The following wrote \textit{ahādīth} from him:
'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā\textsuperscript{13}.

\textsuperscript{1}  Kāmil, i, 240b.
\textsuperscript{2}  Kāmil, i, 240b.
\textsuperscript{3}  Tahd., ii, 260.
\textsuperscript{4}  Mīrzā, i, 483.
\textsuperscript{5}  Māstānā, 81b.
\textsuperscript{6}  Tahd., ii, 364.
\textsuperscript{7}  Kāmil, i, 270b.
\textsuperscript{8}  Tahd., ii, 374.
\textsuperscript{9}  Fīhrīst, 34.
\textsuperscript{10}  Tahd., xi, 62.
\textsuperscript{11}  Māstānā, 177.
\textsuperscript{12}  Fīhrīst, 228.
\textsuperscript{13}  Bagh., vi, 195.
108. IBRĀHĪM b. MUHAMMAD b. ĀL-ḤĀRĪTH AL-FAẒĀRĪ (C. 100 - 188)\(^1\).

He transmitted from Ābū Ishāq al-Sabī‘i (d. 124) and others. He began to write ahādīth when he was 28 years old\(^2\). Al-Shāfi‘i saw his book and then compiled his own following al-Fazārī’s methods\(^3\).

One of his books, Kitāb al-Siyar, is still preserved in the al-Qarawiyīn Library at Fez\(^4\). This was transmitted by:

Maḥbūb b. Mūsā\(^5\).
Mu‘awiyah b. ‘Amr al-Azdi\(^6\).
Al-Musayyab b. Wādiḥ\(^7\).

According to Ibn al-Nadīm, as quoted by Ibn Ḥājar, Ibrāhīm was the first to make an Astrolabe in Islam, and he compiled a book on this subject\(^8\).

109. IBRĀHĪM b. MUHAMMAD b. ĀBŪ YAHYĀ AL-ASLAMI (C. 105 - 184)\(^9\).

He transmitted from al-Zuhārī (d. 124) and others. In order to prevent his ahādīth from being transcribed, Ibn Ḥanbal stated that he used to enter other scholar’s ahādīth in his own books\(^10\).

He compiled al-Muwaṭṭa’ which was much larger than that of Mālik b. Anās\(^11\).

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1. Tahd., i, 152.
2. Tahd., i, 153.
3. Tahd., i, 152.
4. Zirikli, x, 8. I saw this book on my visit to al-Qarawiyīn. See also, Liste de manuscrits arabes précieux, exposés à la Bibliothèque de l’Université Quaranovyme a Fès, p. 33, MSS. NL.
5. Rāzi, iv, i, 386.
6. Sa’d, vii, ii, 82; Rāzi, iv, i, 386.
7. Rāzi, iv, i, 386.
8. Tahd., i, 153, quoting al-Führst, but Ibn al-Nadīm gives the name of Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb. According to al-Zirikli’s research, it was Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī (c. 180) who made Astrolabe see, Zirikli, vi, 181.
10. Rāzi, i, 126.
11. Husaynī, i, 224; Tahd., i, 159; Kāmil, i, 78a.

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110. IBRĀHĪM b. SA’D (108 - 184)\(^12\).

He transmitted from his father, al-Zuhrī, etc. and had 17,000 ahādīth from Ibn Ishāq, excluding al-Maghāzī\(^4\). Shu‘bah encouraged people to copy from Ibrāhīm\(^5\).

The following derived ahādīth from him in writing:

Ahmad b. Hanbal\(^6\).
Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb had his book on al-Maghāzī\(^7\).
Al-Faḍal b. Yahyā. Ibrāhīm sent him his book on al-Maghāzī\(^8\).
Ibn Ishāq had a book from him\(^9\).
Nūḥ b. Yazi\(^10\).
Sa’d B. Ibrāhīm had his books and transmitted them\(^11\).
Ya’qūb b. Ibrāhīm transmitted al-Maghāzī from his father\(^12\).

It is not clear whether this book al-Maghāzī was Ibrāhīm’s father’s work, or the work of Ibn Ishāq. He transmitted other books as well from his father\(^13\).

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1. Kāmil, i, 78a; Mīzān, i, 59.
2. Kāmil, i, 75a; Tahd., i, 158-9.
3. Tahd., i, 122.
4. Bagh., vi, 83; Mīzān, i, 35; Tahd., i, 122.
5. Kāmil, i, 88a.
6. Mīzān, iii, 82.
7. Sa’d, vii, ii, 91.
8. Rāzi, i, 1, 70.
10. Tahd., x, 489.
11. Sa’d, vii, ii, 83.
12. Sa’d vii, ii, 84.
13. Sa’d, vii, ii, 84; see also for books of Ibrāhīm Mīzān, i, 34; Tahd., i, 123.

Iṣṭāq b. Rāhwaih said that no one had more ahādīth than Ibrāhīm in Khurāṣān2. He was not only a transmitter of his teachers' traditions, but was also a compiler of many books3. According to Ibn al-Nadīm he compiled:

Kitāb al-Sunan.
Kitāb al-Ma‘āqīb.
Kitāb al-‘Idām.
Kitāb al-Tafsīr4.

Ibn al-Mubārak says, “His books were perfect”5.

The following derived ahādīth from him in writing:

Hāfṣ b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Rāshid al-Sulami. He was the scribe of Ibrāhīm b. Tāhmān7 and transmitted a book from him8. This book was transmitted later on by his son Aḥmad9 and is still preserved in Zāhiriyah Library, Damascus.

Khalīl b. Nazār transmitted a Nuskhah from him10.

Muḥammad b. Sābiq. He wrote from Ibrāhīm in Baḥdād11.


He transmitted from al-Sābīn (d. 127) etc. The following derived ahādīth from him in writing:
‘Ali b. Ja`d wrote from him when he came to Baḥdād2.
Yazīd b. Zuray‘ had a book from him3.

113. ‘Ikrimah b. ‘Ammār al-‘Iṣlī (c. 80 - 159)4.

He transmitted from Hirmās, whom he met in 102 A.H.5, and had a book6.

The following wrote ahādīth from him:
Bishr b. al-Sarrī7.
Fadl b. al-Rabī8.
Sufyān al-Thawrī9.
Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Qasīfī saw him dictating ahādīth to al-Fadl b. Rabī, but Yahyā did not have writing materials so he missed the lecture. Later he and his son Muḥammad wrote down ‘Ikrimah’s ahādīth from the dictation of Bishr10.

114. ‘Imrān b. Abū Qudāmah al-‘Ammī (c. 70 - c. 140)1.

He transmitted from Anas b. Mālik (d. 93) etc.11 and Yahyā b. Qasīfī wrote from him12.

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1. Tahd., i, 129.
2. Tahd., i, 129.
3. Tahd., i, 139; see also Rāzī, introd. 270; i, i, 108; Bagh., vi, 107; Bajjī, 68b.
4. Fihrist, 228.
5. Bajjī, 17a.
6. Rāzī, introd. 3-4.
7. Rāzī, i, ii, 175.
8. Tahd., ii, 405; see also Tawsat, i, 273a; for a part of this work.
9. Rāzī, i, i, 48.
10. Tahd., iii, 123.
115. 'IMRĀN B. HUḌAIR AL-SADDŪṢĪ (c. 75 - 149)1.

He transmitted from Abū 'Uṭmān al-Nahḍī (d. 95).

Rauh b. ' Ubādah had a book from him, which was borrowed by ‘Uṭmān b. ‘Umar2.

116. 'ISA B. ABŪ 'ISA, ABū JA'FAR AL-TAMĪMĪ (c. 100 - c. 160)3.

Hashim b. al-Qāsim wrote from him4.

117. ISMĀ’IL B. ABū KHĀLID AL-AḤMAṢĪ (c. 70 - 146)5.

He transmitted from Abī 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Awwā (d. 86) etc.

According to al-'Ījlī he had 500 aḥāḍīth.

The following derived aḥāḍīth from him in writing:

ISMĀ’IL b. AYYĪSH. WAKI’ says: “ISMĀ’IL took from me the Aṭāf of Ibn Abū Khalīd, but I found him imperfect in the reading of it”7.

WAKI’8.

YAHYĀ b. Sā’id, and from him Ibn Ḥanbal9.

118. ISMĀ’IL B. AYYASH (102 - 181)10.

He wrote a large number of aḥāḍīth. He was a weak transmitter as far as Hijāzīt were concerned because he lost the book he had from his Hijāzīt Shuyūkh11.

He compiled many books, e.g., Musannaf12, Kitāb al-Fītān13 etc.

The following wrote aḥāḍīth from him:

‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak1.

Al-Ḥakam b. Nafi’, Abū al-Yamān. He wrote down all the books of Ismā’il twice and sold the first copy for 30 dinars12.

A large number of other students who are unnamed in Yahyā b. Ma’ın’s statement. Yahyā saw Ismā’il sitting on a roof, reading about 500 aḥāḍīth from his book every day. After reading, students would take the book and copy from it every day until night13.

Yahyā b. Ma’ín14.

119. ISMĀ’IL B. IBRĀHĪM AL-ASDI, IBN ‘ULAYYAH (110 - 193)9.

He transmitted from Ayyūb, Yahyā al-Anṣārī and others.


‘Ali b. Abī Hāshim, the scribe of Ibn ‘Ulayah wrote aḥāḍīth from him. He had the books from Ibn ‘Ulayah. Abū Zakariya saw these books in ‘Ali’s possession a long time before the death of Ibn ‘Ulayah16.

120. ISMĀ’IL B. MUṢLIM AL-MAKKI (c. 80 - c. 145).

He transmitted from ‘Āmir b. Wāthilah (d. 100) and others9.

Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī wrote aḥāḍīth from him10.

1. Baḥr., vii, 125.
4. Baḥr., xi, 144.
5. Taḥd., i, 291.
6. Taḥd., i, 291.
7. Taḥd., i, 292.
8. Taḥd., i, 324.
9. ‘Iḥāṣ, i, 183; 151b.
10. Taḥd., i, 325.
11. Taḥṣīḥ, 42; Baḥr., vi, 226; Taḥd., i, 323.
12. Rāzī, i, 192; Taḥd., i, 324; see also Ḥafṣūz, i, 230.
13. Rāzī, ii, ii, 211.

2. Faṣawī, iii, 133a; Baḥr., vi, 224.
3. Ja’d, 451; Kūmil, i, 104a; Baḥr., vi, 222.
4. Mizān, i, 244.
5. Khazraji, 27; Taḥd., i, 276-7.
6. Mizān, i, 217; Ḥafṣūz, i, 295; Taḥd., i, 276; see about his book from Ayyūb. Zuruḥ, 76a.
7. Fūhrī, 227.
8. Baḥr., xii, 10.
9. Taḥd., i, 331.
10. Sā’d, vii, ii, 34; Taḥd., i, 333.
121. ISMA‘IL b. SÂLIM ABU YAHYÂ AL-ÂSrá (C. 70 - C. 135).

He transmitted from Ibn al-Masayyab (d. 93) and others1 and had books which were seen by Shu‘bah2.

122. ISMA‘IL b. SUMAI‘ AL-ÂHÂNÂF (C. 75 - C. 140).

He transmitted from Anas b. Mâlik (d. 93) and others3.

Jarir b. ‘Abd al-Hamîd derived ahâdîth from him in writing, then abandoned him because Ismâ‘il was described as a Khârijî4.

123. ISRA‘IL b. YÚNUS b. ABU ISHAQ AL-SÁBÎ (100 - 160)5.

He transmitted from his grandfather and others. He memorized the ahâdîth of his grandfather and was as perfect in them as if they were a Sûrah of the holy Qur’ân6. Abû Ishâq al-Sabi‘i dictated ahâdîth to his grandson Isrâ‘îl7. He complained that his grandson Isrâ‘îl filled the house with books8.

Ibn Hanbal says that Isrâ‘îl had a book9.

The following wrote ahâdîth from him:

Hujain b. al-Muthannâ and very many other students in Baghdad10.

Yahyâ b. Adam. He says: “We used to write from his memory”11. It means that when he dictated to Yahyâ, he did not use the book for dictation, but dictated from memory. At the same time, we find him using the book when he dictated to Hujain and his colleagues.

1. Tahd., i, 301.
2. Bahg., vi, 214; Tahd., i, 302.
3. Tahd., i, 305.
4. Dâlúabi, ii, 93; Kâmîl, i, 101b; Tahd., i, 305.
5. Tahd., i, 263.
6. Râzi, i, i, 330; Bahg., vii, 21; Tahd., i, 261.
7. Râzi, i, i, 330; Tahd., i, 262; Bâji, 27b.
9. Bahg., vii, 23; Bâji, 27b; Tahd., i, 262.

124. JÂBIR b. YAZÎD b. AL-HÂRÎTH AL-JU’FÎ (C. 70 - 128)1.

Zuhair had a collection of Jâbir’s ahâdîth2.

125. AL-JA‘D b. ‘ABD AL-RAHMÂN b. ÂUS (C. 70 - after 144)3.

He transmitted from the Companion Sa‘îb b. Yazîd (d. 91) and others.


126. JÂFAR b. BURQÂN AL-KILÂBÎ (C. 90 - 150)5.

He transmitted from Nâfî’ (d. 117) etc.

Miskîn b. Bukair wrote ahâdîth from him6.

127. JÂFAR b. AL-HÂRÎTH AL-WASÎTÎ (C. 110 - C. 170).

He transmitted from Mansûr b. Zâdîn (d. 129) etc.7.

Muhammad b. Yazîd al-Wasîthi transmitted a Nuskhah from him8.

128. JÂFAR b. MA‘MûN AL-TAMÎMÎ (C. 75 - C. 140).

He transmitted from ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. Abû Bakrah (d. 96) etc.9.


129. JÂFAR b. MUHAMMAD b. ‘ALÎ b. ‘HUSAIN (80 - 148)11.

He had many books12.
Al-Afjas and Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān wrote ḥadīth from him.

130. Ka'far b. Sulaimān al-Ḍubāy (c. 100 - 178)².
He transmitted from Thabit al-Bunānī (d. 127) etc.
‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanānī wrote from him³.

He wrote ḥadīth from al-Ash'ath⁵, Mansūr, Mughfrāh and very many others⁶. His books were perfect⁷.
The following derived ḥadīth from him in writing:
‘Abd al-Rahmān⁸.
Ibrāhīm b. Ḥāshim wrote 1500 ḥadīth from him⁹.
Muhammad b. 'Isa's brother¹⁰.
Shāhān¹¹.
Sulaimān b. Ḥarhī¹².

132. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim (90 - 175)¹³.
He had a book¹⁴ and Al-Laith b. Sa'd transmitted a lengthy book¹⁵ from him.

133. Juwairīyah b. Aṣmā (c. 95 - 173)¹⁶.
He transmitted from Nāfi' (d. 117) and others² and dictated ḥadīth to 'Affān b. Muslim³.
His book which was derived from Nāfi' was transmitted by his nephew 'Abd Allāh, and is still preserved⁴.

134. Kahmas b. al-Ḥasan al-Tamīmī (c. 85 - 149)⁵.
Mu'tamar b. Sulaimān had a book from him⁶.

135. Kāthīr b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Awf (c. 85 - c. 155)⁷.
He transmitted a Nuskhah on the authority of his father from his grandfather. This Nuskhah contains many faulty ḥadīth³⁸. He wrote some ḥadīth and sent them to Mālik⁹.

136. Kāthīr b. Zaid al-Isalmī (c. 80 - 158)¹⁰.
He transmitted from 'Umar b. Abd al-'Azīz (101) etc. and many books were transmitted from him¹¹.

Many students wrote ḥadīth from him¹³.

He transmitted from al-Dāhḥāk (d. 105) etc.¹⁴.
Many Iraqis and Khurasanites wrote from him¹⁵.

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2. Tahd., ii, 97.
3. Hanbal, vi, 337.
4. Tahd., ii, 76.
5. Tahd., ii, 76.
7. Tahd., ii, 75; see also Rāzi, i, i, 431; Mizān, i, 394.
8. Baḥgh., vii, 257; Mizān, i, 395.
10. Rāzi, iv, i, 39.
14. Ja'd, 418; Rāzi, i, i, 505; Tahd., ii, 70.
15. Kāmil, i, 207b.

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1. Tahd., ii, 125.
2. Hūfūz, i, 209.
4. Sāhid All, Ms. Istanbul.
5. Tahd., viii, 450.
6. 'Ilt., 158a.
8. Tahd., viii, 423.
12. Tahd., iii, 151.
14. Tahd., iii, 123.
15. Māshāhīr, 198.

Studies - 10
139. Khalid b. Mihran al-Hasidh (c. 80 - 141). He wrote only lengthy ahadith and wiped them out after he had memorized them.


141. Khalid b. Yazid al-Jumahi (c. 80 - 139). Al-Laith b. Sa'd had books from him, which he transmitted without reading them to Khalid.

142. Kharijah b. Musab al-Sarakhsi (70 - 168). He transmitted many books from scholars and had a large number of books. He was perhaps the compiler of some of these.

143. Khusayf b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jazari (c. 70 - 137). He had many books (Nuskhah). Yahya b. Sa'id wrote from him.

144. Laith b. Abi Sulaim (c. 80 - 143). Hammad b. Ja'd had a Sahifah from him. Ibn Idris wrote his ahadith.

1. Tahd., iii, 121.
2. Ja'd, 149; Ramhuruzi, 37a; Mizan, i, 643.
3. Tahd., iii, 127.
4. Tahd., iii, 127.
5. Tahd., iii, 129.
6. Fa'sawi, iii, 263b; Kifayah, 344.
7. Tahd., iii, 78.
8. Marifah, 165.
9. Tahd., iii, 78.
10. Tahd., iii, 78.
11. Tahd., iii, 144.
12. Kamal, i, 329a; Tahd., iii, 144.
13. Razi, i, 403.
15. Razi, i, 134; Mayruhin, 86b; Tahd., iii, 5.
16. Ramhuruzi, 37a; see also *Hajat*, 177b.


146. Maimun b. Musa al-Mar'i (c. 90 - c. 150). He transmitted from Hasan al-Basri (d. 110) etc. and had a book. He transmitted from al-Basri (d. 110) etc. and had a book.

147. Malik b. Anas (93 - 179). He is one of the authorities on ahadith. He began to learn ahadith by writing. It seems that he wrote from all his teachers and did not depend on mere memorizing. Ibn 'Uyaynah said that the scholars follow Malik in testifying the narrator. If Malik had written from him, they would write from him. Once a student asked Malik about a certain scholar, and he asked the student whether he found this man's name in his book. He replied: "No". Then Malik said: "Had he been trustworthy, you would have found his name." Almost all his workings and decisions were recorded by his keen pupils.

4. See Ibn Abi Dh'ib, in this chapter.
5. Tahd., viii, 360.
8. Tahd., x, 392.
9. Tahd., x, 393.
10. Daraquzni, Ahadith Musawat'aha 7; see also Tahd., x, 8.
13. Razi, *introd.* 26; see also Humaidi, Jadhawat al-Muqtabis, p. 229, where it is mentioned that Malik forbade people to write everything they heard from him.
He used to correct the books of his students. Ibn Wahb says:
— "Malik used to read my book, and whenever he found a
mistake, he erased it and rewrote it correctly". 1

His book al-Muwatta’ has been published time after time,
and hundreds of students read it. The book has some 15 versions.
Later on, al-Daraqutni compiled a book, giving all the different
versions of the book 2. It was thought that this was the first book
compiled in Hadith or Fiqh, but now, fortunately, we have some
of Malik's sources at our disposal.

148. MA'MAR B. RASHID (96 - 153) 3.

He wrote ahadith and, according to Ibn Nadim, he compiled
a book on al-Maghazi, but, perhaps it was the work of al-Zuhri
with some of his contributions. He is said to be one of the earliest
compilers of ahadith 4 and compiled al-Jami’ which is still
preserved 5. A book of Tafsir is also mentioned 6; it is not clear
whether it was his own work or that of Qatadah, his teacher; most
likely the latter.

The following transcribed ahadith from him:
‘Abd al-Razzaz wrote 10,000 ahadith from him 8.
Ibn al-Mubarak 10.

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1. Ibn Wahb, Jami’, introd., xv.
2. Daraqutni, Ahadith Muwatta. According to Ibn Nasi al-Din 83,
students transmitted Musawwa; see al-Kauthari, introduction to Ahadith
Muwatta’ by Daraqutni, p. 5.
3. Hujf, i, 171-2; Miszin, iv, 154; Tahd., x, 245. He was older than al-
Thauri (b. 97) only one year. See Razi, iv, i, 256.
4. Fihrist, 94.
5. Hujf, i, 172.
6. Al-Kattani, al-Risalah al-Mustatrafah, 41; for its manuscript, see Faid
Allah Affendi, Istanbul MSS, No. 541; as a portion of Musannaf, ‘Abd al-
Razzaz, Murad, Mulla, 591; also in Isma’il Saitib, collection No. 2164,
Ankara, as cited by Hamidullah, in Sahih Hamidin, footnote 43. See also
Ibn al-Khair, Fihrist, 129. Dr. Fuad Sargin has edited it and perhaps it is under
print.
7. ‘Ilat, i, 377.
8. Miszin, iv, 154; Hujf, i, 171.
10. ‘Ilat, i, 377.
154. **AL-MUGHIRAH B. MIQSAM AL-DABBÎ (C. 70-136)**

It is reported that he was born blind.

According to Ibn al-Na'im, he compiled a book on inheritance.

The following wrote *ahādīth* from him:

- Ibn Fudil
- Jarîs
- Sulaimân

155. **MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLAH B. 'ULÂTHAH (C. 100-163)**

He wrote *ahādīth*.

156. **MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. ABU LAILÂ (C. 75; 148)**

He compiled a book, titled *Musannaf Ibn Abu Lailä*, which was transmitted by 'Issâ b. al-Mukhtar.

He had many Nuskhahs.

157. **MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. BAILAMÂN (C. 80-140)**

He transmitted a semi-forged *Nuskhah* from his father and sent *ahādīth* in writing to al-Thaurf who transmitted them.

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1. Râzî, iv, 1, 383.
2. *Tahd.*, x, 211; according to some other historians, he died in 172. See *Tahd.*, x, 212.
5. Jâmi', 146a.
7. *Tahd.*, x, 210; see also Râzî, iv, i, 382.
11. Râzî, iv, 1, 504; *Tahd.*, x, 220.
158. **Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, Ibn Abū Dhī‘b (80–158)**.[1]

He compiled a book called *al-Muwatta*‘ before Mālik.[2] Ibn al-Nadīm records that he compiled a book called *Kitāb al-Sunan*, which contained the books of the sacred laws, e.g. prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, etc.[3] It is not clear whether it was the same *al-Muwatta*‘ or another work. It seems that the work existed until a few centuries later. Yūsuf b. Muhammad transmitted this book from Abū Ṭahār in the fifth century.[4] He used to read his book to students.[5]

The following transcribed *ahadith* from him:

‘Abd Allāh b. NaⱠ[6].

‘Abd Allāh b. Salamah al-Atyās. He used to copy these *ahadith* after the lecture from Yahyā’s book.[7]

‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Khaṣṣāf[8].

Al-Laith b. Sa‘d[9].

Rauḥ[10].


159. **Muhammad b. ‘Amr b. Waqqās al-Laithī (c. 80–144)**.[12]

He would not transmit *ahadith* until he was sure the students would write them, saying that they might make mistakes[13]. Most of his students transmitted *Nuskhahs* from him[14].

The following derived *ahadith* from him in writing:

Ḥammād b. Ja‘d b. al-Baṣṭār[15].

Ibn Abū 'Adī[1].

Yazīd b. Zuray[2].

160. **Muhammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār (c. 80–151)**.[3]

He transmitted from Abū Salamah b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān (d. 100) and met Ibn al-Musayyab (d. 93) and Anas b. Mālik (d. 93). He had a number of books.[4] Utilizing the extensive available material he compiled a voluminous biography of the Prophet[5]. Once the original text of this book existed in at least 15 versions[6]. The book survived in the versions of Ibn Hishām. Of late, original copies have been discovered[7]. Although these manuscripts are incomplete, they provide sufficient material for research and perhaps would lead to changes in many theories.—

The following derived *ahadith* from him in writing:

Bakr b. Sulaimān[8].

Ibrahīm b. Sa‘d had 17,000 *ahadith* from Ibn Iṣḥāq besides al-Maghāzī[9].

Jarī[10].


Yahyā b. Sa‘d[12].

Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb[13].

Ziyād b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bakkār[14].

Abū Uwais[15].

1. Fāsawi, ii, 11b; Ṭahd., ix, 306.
2. Jāmī‘, 188a.
5. Kifayat, 299.
6. A.D. *Ḥadīth* No. 2042.
10. *Ṭalā*, i, 109; Bagh., viii, 404.
12. *Ṭahd.*, ix, 376.
13. Rāshīd al-Din Muḥarrar, 38a; Jāmī‘, 102a.
14. Kāmil, ii, 83a; *Ṭahd.*, ix, 376.
15. Rāzī, i, ii, 134; *Maṭāḥib*, 86b; *Ṭahd.*, iii, 5.
He transmitted from Simāk b. Ḥarb (d. 123) etc.  
He had many books which were originally correct, but later many erroneous additions were made.  
The following wrote *ahāḍith* from him:  
Ishāq b. Inrāhīm.  
Many students in al-Yamāmah and Makkah.

162. **Muhammad b. Juḥādah al-Kūfī** (c. 70-131).  
He transmitted from Anas (d. 93) etc.  
The following wrote *ahāḍith* from him:  
‘Abd al-Warīth.  
Al-Ḥasan b. Abū Ja‘far.

163. **Muhammad b. Maimun. Abu Ḥamzah al-Sukkāri** (c. 100-166).  
He transmitted from al-Sab‘ī (d. 127) and others.  
The following wrote *ahāḍith* from him:  
‘Alī b. Ḥasan b. Shaqīq.  
He heard *Kitāb al-Salāt* from Abū Ḥamzah.  
Ibn al-Mubarak says that his books were perfect.

164. **Muhammad b. Maisarah** (c. 90 - c. 150).  
He transmitted from Qatādah (d. 117) etc.  
Mu‘ādh b. Mu‘ādh and Yalīyā b. Sa‘īd derived *ahāḍith* from him in writing.

165. **Muhammad b. Muslim al-Ṭā‘īf** (c. 105-177).  
He transmitted from ‘Amr b. Dinar (d. 126).  
His books were perfect.  
Al-Thaurī wrote from him.

166. **Muhammad b. Rāshid al-Makhūlī** (c. 90 - after 160).  
He transmitted from Makhlūl al-Shāmī (d. 112 or 118).  
Al-Walīd b. Muslim had a book from him.

167. **Muhammad b. Sālim al-Hamdānī** (c. 80 - 140).  
He compiled a book on intercalation and had books which, according to Ḥafṣ, belonged to his brother.

The following wrote *ahāḍith* from him:  
Yazīd b. Ḥarūn.

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1. *Ilat*, i, 369; Kāmil, iii, 48 a-b.  
2. *Ilat*, i, 369; Rāzī, iii, ii, 219; Kāmil, iii, 48 a-b; Mīzān, iii, 496; *Tahd.*, ix, 89.  
4. Rāzī, iii, ii, 220; *Tahd.*, ix, 89.  
5. *Tahd.*, ix, 92.  
6. *Ilat*, i, 144.  
7. Kāmil, i, 256b; *Tahd.*, ii, 260.  
10. Rāzī, *introd.*, 270; Bājī, 68 b; *Tahd.*, ix, 487.

He transmitted from Simāk b. Ḥarb (d. 123) etc.
He had many books which were originally correct, but later many erroneous additions were made.
The following wrote ḥadīth from him:
Ishaq b. Ināhīm.
Many students in al-Yamāmah and Makkah.

162. Muhammad b. Juhādah al-Kūfī (c. 70-131)

He transmitted from Anas (d. 93) etc.
The following wrote ḥadīth from him:
‘Abd al-Wārith.
Al-Hasan b. Abū Ja‘far.

163. Muhammad b. Māmun, Abū Hamzah al-Sukkarī (c. 100-166)

He transmitted from al-Sabī‘i (d. 127) and others.
The following wrote ḥadīth from him:
Ibn al-Mubārak says that his books were perfect.

1. 'Ilat, i, 369; Kāmil, iii, 48 a-b.
2. 'Ilat, i, 369; Rāzi, iii, ii, 219; Kāmil, iii, 48 a-b; Mūqān, iii, 496; Tahd., ix, 89.
4. Rāzi, iii, ii, 220; Tahd., ix, 89.
5. Tahd., ix, 92.
6. 'Ilat, i, 144.
7. Kāmil, i, 256b; Tahd., ii, 260.
8. Tahd., ix, 487.
10. Rāzi, introd. 270; Bāji, 68 b; Tahd., ix, 487.

164. Muhammad b. Maisarah (c. 90 - c. 150).
He transmitted from Qatādah (d. 117) etc.
Mu‘adh b. Mu‘ādh and Yahyā b. Sa‘īd derived ḥadīth
from him in writing.

165. Muhammad b. Muslim al-Tā‘īf (c. 105-177)
He transmitted from ‘Amr b. Dmār (d. 126).
His books were perfect.
Al-Thauri wrote from him.

166. Muhammad b. Rashid al-Makhuli (c. 90 - after 160)
He transmitted from Makhlīl al-Shāmi (d. 112 or 118).
Al-Walid b. Muslim had a book from him.

167. Muhammad b. Sa‘īd al-Hamdānī (c. 80 - 140).
He compiled a book on inheriting and had books which, according to Ḥafṣ, belonged to his brother.
The following wrote ḥadīth from him:
Yazid b. Harūn.

1. Tahd., ix, 123.
2. Kāmil, iii, 98a; Bāji, 68b; Tahd., ix, 124.
3. Kāmil, iii, 98a; Bāji, 68a b; Tahd., ix, 123.
5. Mūqān, iv, 40; Tahd., ix, 444.
7. Tahd., ix, 160.
8. Rāzi, i, 221.
10. Rāzi, iii, ii, 272; Tahd., ix, 176. See also Kāmil, iii, 52a; Tahd., ix, 177.
11. 'Ilat, i, 81; Dālābī, i, 198; Kāmil, iii, 51b; Tahd., ix, 176.
168. Muhammad b. ʿUbayd al-Ghanawi (c. 70 – c. 135).
   He transmitted from Saʿīd b. Jubair etc.1.
   Sufyān al-Thauri had a book from him2.

169. Muhammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿArzāmī (c. 90-155)3.
   He had many books4 which were lost.
   His son5 and his nephew6 each transmitted a Nuskhah from him.

170. Muhammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abū Ṭaft (c. 70 – c. 130).
   He transmitted from his father who was a scribe of ‘Ali (d. 40)7.
   His son transmitted a Nuskhah from him8.

171. Muhammad b. al-Walid al-Zubaydi (76-146)9.
   ʿAbd Allāh b. Sallim al-Ash‘ari had his books10.
   Muhammad b. Harb had a Nuskhah from him11.

172. Muḥājīd b. Saʿīd b. ʿUmār (c. 80-144)12.
   He had a book on the biography of the Prophet13. The book possibly belonged originally to al-Sha‘bī, with some contributions from Muḥājīd.
   The following wrote ahādīth from him:

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1. Tadh., ix, 209.
3. Tadh., ix, 323.
4. Majrūḥīn, 1981; Sharḥ al-ʿIlāl, 73a; Muḥān, iii, 636; Tadh., ix, 323.
5. Kāmil, iii, 28a.
7. Tadh., vii, 101
10. Rāzī, iii, i, 8.
11. Tadh., iv, 188.
12. Tadh., x, 40.
13. Rāzī, iv, i, 361; Tadh., x, 40.

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Sufyān b. ʿUmaynah1.
Wahb b. Jarir2.

173. Muqāṭīl b. Sulaimān (c. 90-150)3.
   He transmitted from Nafī (d. 117) etc.
   He compiled many books and a commentary on the Qurʿān4.

174. Muqāṭīl (c. 70 – c. 130).
   He transmitted from Anas B. Mālik.
   Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūbah transcribed from him5.

   He had a book7.

   His book was perfect8.

   Abū al-ʿAswad, al-Naḍr b. ʿAbd al-Jabbar9 derived ahādīth from him in writing:

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1. ʿIlāl, i, 233.
2. Rāzī, iv, i, 3611.
3. Tadh., x, 284.
4. Rāzī, iv, i, 354; Tadh., x, 279. See also al-Sahmi, Tārikh Jurjān, p. 127, for commentary on 500 verses only, for his other works on the Quranic Science, see Ziriẓi, viii, 206.
5. Muḥān, iv, 175.
7. Muḥān, iv, 142; Ḥishāj, Ḥady al-Sārī ii, 236; Tadh., x, 228.
8. Tadh., x, 409.
10. Tadh., x, 412.
11. Rāzī, iv, i, 440; Tadh., x, 441.
178. **Al-Nahhās b. Qahm al-Qaṣī (c. 70 - c. 140).**

He transmitted from Anas b. Malik (d. 93) etc.¹.

Yahyā b. Saʿīd wrote from him².

179. **Najīb b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sindi (c. 90-170)³.**

He was ʿAsʿad b. Sahh b. ʿHubaif (d. 100).

He compiled a book on *Al-Maghāzi*⁴ and his book was one of the sources of Ibn Saʿīd².

The following transmitted this book:

Ḥajjāj⁵.

Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad⁶.

Muḥammad b. Najīb⁸.

180. **Nuʿaim b. Maisarah (c. 105-175)⁹.**

He transmitted from Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīl (d. 127).

The following derived *ahādīth* from him in writing:

Ibn al-Mubārak¹⁰.

Students in Ray and Marw wrote down from him¹¹.

181. **Nuʿman b. Thābit, al-Imām Abū Ḥanīfah (80-150)¹².**

He used to write *ahādīth* and imparted only what he remembered by heart¹³.

¹. *Tahd.*, x, 678.
². *Rāzī*, iv, i, 511; *Tahd.*, x, 478.
³. *Tahd.*, ix, 421.
⁴. Fasawi, iii, 325a; *Tahd.*, x, 422; see also Ḥusayn, i, 212.
⁵. Saʿīd, ii, I, i.
⁷. Saʿīd, vii, ii, 79.
⁸. *Tahd.*, ix, 488; see also Bagh., viii, 376.
⁹. *Tahd.*, x, 467.
¹⁰. *Tahd.*, x, 467.
¹¹. Thqāt, 616.
¹³. *Tahd.*, x, 450.

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The following wrote *ahādīth* from him:

Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaibānī⁶.

Ibn al-Mubārak².

182. **Qais b. al-Rābiʿ al-Asadi (c. 100-167)³.**

He had many books⁴.

Abū al-Walid wrote 6,000 *ahādīth* from him⁵.

183. **Qād b. Saʿd (c. 70-119)⁶.**

He transmitted from ʿAbd al-Jabīr (d. 95) et.

The following derived *ahādīth* from him in writing:

Ḥammād b. Salamah⁷.

ʿAqbah⁸.

184. **Qurrah b. Khālid al-Saddūsī (c. 90-155)⁹.**

ʿAli Abū Naṣr had his *ahādīth* in writing¹⁰.

185. **Al-Rābiʿ b. Ṣabīḥ al-Sādī (c. 90-160)¹¹.**

He transmitted from Abū Ḥasan (d. 110) etc.

It is said that he was the first who compiled books in Al-Basrah¹².

186. **Saʿd b. Saʿd b. Qais al-Anṣārī (c. 75-141).**

He transmitted from Anas (d. 93) etc. and made mistakes when he transmitted from memory¹³.

². *Itt.*, 158b.
⁴. BTS, 192; *Maqāmāt*, 25b; *Al-Madkhat*, 42; Bagh., xii, 460; Miẓan, iii, 394; see also Ḥusayn, i, 205; *Tahd.*, viii, 394; 393.
⁵. Bagh., xii, 458; Miẓan, iii, 396; *Tahd.*, viii, 395.
⁶. Miẓan, iii, 397; *Tahd.*, viii, 397.
⁷. *Itt.*, 139b; Fasawi, iii, 44a; 274 a-b; Miẓan, i, 592; *Tahd.*, iii, 15.
⁸. *Tahd.*, vii, 244.
¹⁰. Al-Mustaadtrak, 1, 161.
¹². *Tahd.*, iii, 248; Rāmīhurmuzi, 78b; Miẓan, ii, 41.
¹³. Mashāḥir, 136.
187. **Sa'id b. 'Abd Allah b. Jura'j** (c. 95 - c. 160)\(^1\).
He transmitted from Na'īf (d. 117) etc.
He gave Haushab b. 'Aqīl a book\(^2\).

188. **Sa'id b. 'Abū 'Arubah** (c. 80-156)\(^3\).
It is said that he had no books; but we know from several sources that he wrote *ahādīth* of Qatādah\(^5\). However, he is one of the earliest compilers and wrote many books\(^6\) e.g.:

A Commentary on the Qur'ān\(^7\).

*Kiāb al-Sawan*\(^8\).

*Kiāb al-Manāsik*\(^9\).

The following wrote *ahādīth* from him:

'Abd al-'A'la al-Shāmī\(^10\).

'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alā' al-Khaffāf\(^11\).

Ghundar\(^12\)

Ibn Abū 'Adī\(^13\).

Ibrāhīm b. Sa'dah\(^14\).

'Imrān al-Qāsīr\(^15\).

Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm\(^16\).

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2. *Kāmil*, i, 301b.
4. Rāzī, ii, i, 55; Mīzān, ii, 153; *Huffāz*, i, 160; *Tahd.*, iv, 63.
5. See supra Qutadah.
6. Kāmil, ii, 49b; Mīzān, ii, 151.
7. *Ilat*, 166 a.
10. Kāmil, i, 227a-b; ii, 49b; see also Manuscript of *Kiāb al-Manāsik*
    al-Zāhiriyyah Lib. Damascus.
11. *Sa'd*, vii, ii, 76; Hanbal, iii, 232-3; *Bagh.*, xi, 22; Kāmil, ii, 49b;
    *Tahd.*, vi, 451.
12. Kāmil, ii, 48b; *Tahd.*, iv, 65; see also *Ilat*, 147a.
13. *Ilat*, i, 412; 97b.
14. *Ilat*, i, 92.
15. Taqyīd, 113; Jāmi' 44b.
16. *Ilat*, i, 412; 97b.
He lost his book; later a copy of the work was brought to him from al-Madīnah.
Gundar had a copy of his book.

197. Ṣalm b. ‘Ajlān al-Aftas (c. 70-132).
He had a commentary on the Qur’ān. Scholars praised his work.

198. Shāhab b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Tamīmī (c. 90-164).
He transmitted from Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) and had a commentary on the Qur’ān. It is not clear whether it was his own work, or of one of his teachers’ of which he was only a transmitter.
His book was a perfect one.
Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā wrote his ahādīth.

199. Shāqqī b. Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī (c. 90-153).
He compiled a book on asceticism.

He was a milkman. In his early days he used to write ahādīth and thus collected a great deal of them, and later compiled many books. His books were perfect.

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1. Ja‘d, 402; Fasawi, iii, 41a; Taḥdī, iv, 411.
2. Ḥatīl, 144a.
3. Taḥdī, iii, 442.
5. Taḥdī, iv, 374.
6. Sa‘d viii, ii, 79; see also Rāzī, i, ii, 64.
7. Rāzī, ii, i, 356; Taḥdī, i, 272; Miẓān, ii, 285; Ibn Ḥajar, Ḥadīṣ al-Sārī, ii, 174; Taḥdī, iv, 373; 374.
10. Rāzī, iv, i, 188.
11. Taḥdī, iv, 335.
12. Taḥdī, ix, 200.
13. Shāqqī, ii, 417—where about 30 parts of volumes of his works are mentioned.
14. Taḥdī, ix, 284; see also Masha‘īr, 170; Kifāyah, 223; Miẓān, ii, 274.
He committed mistakes when he transmitted *ahādīth* from memory.  
The following transmitted *ahādīth* from him:

- 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr al-Mausilī.
- 'Abdullah b. Mubārak.
- Haḍāj b. Muhammad.
- Al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb.
- Ishāq.
- Al-Marzūqi.
- Many students of Wāsīt.
- Yazīd.
- Ḥātim b. Ismā'ī'īl.

201. *Shu'āb b. Abū Ḥamzah* (c. 90-162)\(^2\).

He wrote *ahādīth* for the Caliph Ḥishām from the dictation of al-Zuhrī. His books were perfect and were in a very good hand writing. He did not allow anyone to utilize his books, but on his death-bed he gave permission to:

Bishr and al-Ḥakam b. Nafi to transmit these books on his authority.\(^16\)

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1. Mashhār, 170; Bagh., ix, 284.
3. *Ibl*, 126 a.
4. Mīzān, iii, 82.
5. *Ibl*, 113 b.
6. Abū Nu'aim, Tārikh Istabān, i, 298.
7. Wāsīt, 34.
8. *Ibl*, 127 a.
9. Wāsīt, 34.
10. *Ibl*, 34.
12. *Tahd.*, iv, 352. When he died he was over 70.
13. Rāzī, ii, 345; Ḥuffaz, i, 200; *Tahd.*, iv, 351.
15. Zur'ah 67 b; see also, *Tahd.*, ii, 442; *Ibl*, 107 a-b.
16. *Ibl*, 107 a-b; Rāzī, i, 359; Kifāyah 322; 330; Mīzān, i, 581-2.

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202. *Shu'bah b. al-Ḥajāj al-Azādī* (83-160)\(^1\).

He studied poetry in his early life, and afterwards turned his attention to *ahādīth*. He was a very keen learner and was not content to learn *ahādīth* only once. He himself wrote *ahādīth*. He used to watch Qatada's mouth, when he said, he wrote it, otherwise not. His masters wrote for him as well, but according to Ibn Hanbal, the number of his writings was not great. Shu'bah usually memorized *ahādīth*. He was believed to be the first who criticized the *Ismād* and narrators in Iraq. It seems that he even compiled books.\(^9\)

The following derived *ahādīth* from him in writing:

- 'Abbād b. Habib, 10.
- 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān, 11. He used to dictate *ahādīth* of Shu'bah to Abū Nūh. It is not clear whether he dictated from memory or from a book.

Abū Dāwūd al-Tayālīsī, 12.
Abū al-Walīd al-Tayālīsī, 13.
Aḍam b. Abū Iyāś, 14.

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2. Bagh., ix, 257.
4. See for his writing Ja'd, 6; Kifāyah, 220. Hanbal, i, 107; Bagh., ix, 260.
5. Ja'd, 118-119; Bāji, 6a; Madkhal, 21; Kifāyah, 164.
6. Ja'd, 97; see supra under Mans ur.
7. Sharh *Ibl*, 38 b; Bagh., ix, 259.
8. Thaqāt, 494.
11. *Ibl*, i, 64; Bagh., 264-5.
12. Bagh., ix, 25; Mīzān, ii, 204. In some manuscript of Mīzān, he dictated Shu'bah's *ahādīth* from memory.
13. *Ibl*, i, 383; Jāmi', 53 a; see also Kifāyah, 241.
14. Rāzī, i, 268; *Tahd.*, i, 196.
15. Bagh., ix, 256; Ḥuffaz, i, 176; see also his Musnad which covers about one hundred pages for the *ahādīth* of Shu'bah.
16. Rāzī, i, 268.

His studies began in early childhood. Al-Shamlī has preserved the advice of Sufyān’s mother regarding the writing down of āhādīth and the effect of knowledge on personal morals and behaviour.

According to some statements, he transmitted less than ten percent of what he had collected. He was very frank and even blunt with rulers. He did not accept any kind of assistance or money from others and led a life of poverty. Sometimes he had to sleep without food.

When orders for his arrest were given by the Caliph Al-Mahdī, he fled from Mecca to Bāṣrah and the last few years of his life (115-161) were spent in hiding. He was such a keen learner that even in the days of his hiding, he contacted scholars and learnt from them, while teaching others. He used to go through his books to refresh his memory. He imparted āhādīth from memory. If he had any doubt about his memory he asked students not to write them, and sometimes said that as he had not seen the books for years, he should not be asked that sort of āhādīth. He asked his pupil Yahyā to fetch his book from Al-Kūfah. Yahyā replied that he was afraid for his life, so how could he dare to go and fetch the books. Once, being afraid of some trouble, he hid his books in a cell. Later, when they were brought out, it was found that there were nine heaps of them each reaching in height to the chest of the man. He asked his students to bring
their books to revise and correct them. It is reported that he asked someone to erase his books. Ibn al-Nadim mentioned some of his works:

-Al-Jāmi’ al-Kabīr.
-Al-Jāmi’ al-Ṣaghīr.
-Al-Farā’id.
-Kiāb Risālah.

The following wrote ḥadīth from him:
‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr.
‘Abd Allāh b. al-Walīd.
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī.
‘Abd al-Razzāq al-San’ānī.
Abū Mihrān.
Abū Nu‘aim.
Al-Fārābī.
Ghassān b. ‘Ubayd al-Azdī.
Hayyāj b. Bustām al-Burjumī.
Hishām b. Yūsuf al-San’ānī.
Al-Hūṣain b. al-Walīd al-Nisābūrī.
Ibn Abī ‘Uthmān.
Ibn al-Mubārak.

1. Ja’d, 245; 246; Rāzī, introduction, 80.
2. Thaqāf, 484; Rāzī, introduction, 116.
3. Fīhrīṣ, 225.
5. Tahd., vi, 70.
6. Sa’d, vi, 259.
7. Fasawi, ii, 243a.
8. Ma’rīfah, 165.
10. Rāzī, iv, 120; al-Sam‘ānī, Anṣāb 427.
11. Bagh., xii, 327.
12. Ma’rīfah, 165.
13. ‘Ilāl, i, 371; Fasawi, ii, 241a; Tahd., xi, 57; Rāzī, iv, ii, 71.
16. Bagh., ix, 156; Hufzh., i, 184; Tahd., iv, 113.

204. SUFYYĀN b. ‘UYAYNAH (107-198)15.

He began to write ḥadīth when he was fifteen. He wrote many ḥadīth for Ayyūb al-Sakhīyānī. It is said that his ḥadīth amounted to 7000, and yet he had no books. But we know that he wrote ḥadīth from al-Zuhrī, ‘Amr b. Dinār, etc. Moreover, he

1. Rāmūhrūz, 37a; 76a; Kīfayāt, 70.
2. Bagh., v, 403; 405; Mīzān, iii, 595; Tahd., ix, 255.
3. Tahd., x, 164.
4. Rāzī, iv, i, 164.
5. Tahd., x, 164.
6. ‘Ilāl, 116b; Ma’rīfah, 165.
7. Rāzī, iv, i, 120; Sam‘ānī, Anṣāb, 427.
10. Sa’d, vii, ii, 72; ‘Ilāl, 117a; Fasawi, ii, 241a; Bagh., x, 312;
Hufzh., i, 284; Tahd., vii, 35.
12. Rāzī, Introd. 66.
13. Ja’d, 245; ‘Ilāl, 54; Rāzī, introd. 67; 246-8; Sa’d, vi, 259.
14. Ja’d, 246; Rāzī, introd. 80.
15. Tahd., iv, 119-120.
17. Rāzī, Introd. 50.
18. Bagh., ix, 179.
'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abū Ḥāzim was entrusted with Sulaimān’s books which were in his possession after the compiler’s death. 

'Abd al-Ḥamīd transmitted a large Nuskhah from him. Ibn Abū Uwais. 

'Ubayd b. Abū Qurrah. 

Yahyā b. Yahya. 

205. Sulaimān b. Muḥirah al-Qaṣī (c. 90-165). 

He transmitted from al-Hasan (d. 110) etc. 

Abū Da’wūd al-Tayalīsī wrote ṣaḥīḥ from him, and Ibn Ḥanbal had this book. 

209. Sulaimān b. Qār al-Ta’mī (c. 100 - c. 160). 

He transmitted from al-Sabī’ (d. 127) etc. and had books. 


The following wrote ṣaḥīḥ from him: 

Sufyān al-Thaurī. 

Yahyā b. Sa’īd al-Qattān. 

Many Iraqi scholars. 

2. Bagh., ix, 175. 
3. Rāmīrūmuzi 32a; Bagh. xi, 362. 
4. ‘Ilt., i, 87. 
5. See al-Humaydī, Musnad which draws mostly on the traditions of Ibn ‘Uwayn. 
6. Fasawī, ii, 7a; Rāzī, Introd. 50. 
7. Tahd., iv, 264 (according to Ibn Qānī’i). 
8. Tahd., iv, 263. 
10. Suṭūr, Tahdīl al-Rāwīl, 42; See also Jāmi‘, 194a. 
11. Rāmīrūmuzi, 49 a-b. 
12. Khairamah, iii, 141b. 
13. Tahd., iv, 198. There are many other dates ranging from 129 to 142. 
15. Tahd., iv, 176. 
211. 'Ubaid Allah b. Abu Ziyad al-Shami (c. 75-158).
   He had books, which were transmitted by:
   Abu Manl?, son of 'Ubaid Allah and
   Hajjaj the grandson of 'Ubaid Allah.1

212. 'Ubaid Allah b. 'Amr Abu al-Raqiqi (101-180)?
   'Amr b. Qusaij al-Raqiqi3 and Zakariya b. 'Adi al-Ku?fi4
   wrote ahadith from him.5

213. 'Ubaid Allah b. Ayad al-Saddusi (c. 100-169)?
   He had a Sahifah.6

214. 'Ubaid Allah b. 'Umar b. Hafs al-'Umar (c. 80-145)7.
   He had many books8. The following transcribed ahadith from him:
   'Ubaid Allah.9
   'Aqbah b. Khaliq11.

1. Isl?m, vi, 246.
2. Tahd., vii, 43.
5. Tahd., vii, 4.
7. Tahd., vii, 40.
8. Tahd., v, 328.
10. Tahd., v, 328.
11. R?z?, Introd. 68; see also R?z?, iii, i, 310; Ja'd, 234.
224. ʿUbayr b. Ḥumayd al-Ḍabī (c. 85 - c. 105).

He transmitted from ‘Ikrimah (D. 105) etc. 1 and wrote ḥadīth in a very good number 2.

225. ʿUthmān b. Miqṣam al-Burri (c. 95 - after 160) 3.

He transmitted from Qatādah (c. 114) and had a book 4.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Mukhallad wrote from him 5.


He was a slave of ‘Atā’, who bought him to carry the books and ink for his son Yazīd 7.

It is said that he knew how to read, but did not know how to write, so he employed someone to write ḥadīth for him 8. He read ḥadīth from the book 9, and sometimes, when he related them memory he committed mistakes 10, but his books were perfect 11.

The following derived ḥadīth from him in written form:

Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik 12.

Yahyā b. Ḥammād 13.

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1. Tahd., vii, 490.
2. Tahd., vii, 492.
3. Tahd., vii, 454.
6. Mizān, ii, 476; Ḥuffāẓ, i, 216; Tahd., v, 376.
7. Tahd., vii, 256.
12. Kāmil, i, 143a; Tahd., 209.
14. Bukhari in his Tarikh, see Hanbal, ii, 248 (Shakir’s edition)

footnote 1098
He transmitted from al-Zuhri (d. 124) etc.1 and had books2.

He transmitted from al-Hasan (d. 110) etc.
Yaḥyâ b. Sa‘îd wrote from him4.

229. Wâsit b. 'Abd al-Hârîth (C. 90 - C. 150).
‘Abd Allâh b. Kharâsh transmitted a Nuskhah from him5.

‘Affân had 4,000 ahâdîth from him in writing7.

He used to transmit ahâdîth, even from the books which he had not read to their authors9. He used to write ahâdîth and send them to inquirers10.

He was aware of the importance of revising after copying11.
The following derived ahâdîth from him in writing:
‘Alî b. Mubâarak al-Hunâ’î had two books from him12.

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1. Tâhîd, xi, 149.
2. Tâhîd, xi, 149; see also BTS, 197. He did not read from his own book.
3. Tâhîd, xi, 105.
8. Tâhîd, xi, 269.
10. See e.g. Hanbal, v, 309; MA, Nikâh, 37.
11. Imlâ, 78.
12. "Ilal, i, 189; Fasâwî, iii, 318b; Râzî, iii, 203; Bûjî, 126; Tâhîd, vii, 376; Ibn Hajar, Ḥadîy al-Sârî, ii, 197; Khazrajî, 134.

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1. Fasâwî, iii, 128b; see also, Zuru‘ah, 150a; Râzî, introd. 186; Râmûr-mûrî, 47b; Kifâyah, 321; Tâhîd, vi, 241.
2. Râzî, i, i, 253; Tâhîd, i, 409.
3. "Ilal, i, 106b; Mi‘zî, ii, 29; Tâhîd, iii, 213.
4. Hanbal, i, 225; v, 309; BU, Adhûn, 22; MA, Nikâh, 37.; Khaitamah, iii, 59a; Nas, ii, 283; Kâmil, i, 291a; Dâraqûtînî, 442.
5. Muyîlîh, 96a.
6. Fasâwî, iii, 269b; Khaitamah, iii, 58b; see also, Taqiyûd, 110; 111.
7. Tâhîd, x, 209.
8. Râzî, ii, i, 356.
10. Ibn Hajar, Ḥadîy at-Sârî, ii, 221; Tâhîd, xi, 187.
12. Râzî, introd. 343.
13. Râzî, introd. 343.
15. Fasâwî, ii, 217b.

Studies - 12

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1. Al-Auza‘î wrote thirteen books from him.
Ayyûb b. ‘Urbah.
Daḥtham b. Qurrah al-Yamamî.
Hishâm al-Dastawî‘î.
Khalîl b. Qurran.
Ma‘mar.
Mu‘âwiyyah b. Sallâm.
Shaḥbâs b. ‘Abd al-Rahmân.

His book was perfect, but his memory was weak10.

233. Yaḥyâ b. Ḥamzah al-Dimashqî (103-183)11.
The following wrote ahâdîth from him:
Anonymous12.
Muḥammad b. ‘Ā‘idh13.

He transmitted from Anas b. Malik (d. 93) etc.
In his early life he did not write ahâdîth, but depended on memory15. When his students collected his ahâdîth and brought
them back to him in written form, he disapproved of them looking at the volume. Later, they read to him, and he confirmed that those were his ḥadīthīn.

Later, he wrote ḥadīth and sent them to his students. The following wrote ḥadīth from him:

235. Ya‘lā b. Ḥakīm (c. 70 - before 130). He transmitted from Ibn Jubair (d. 95), etc.
He wrote down some ḥadīth and sent them to Ayyūb. Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr wrote down his ḥadīth and sent them to Hishām.

1. Fasawi, ii, 217b; Tahd., xi, 222.
2. See e.g. Amwāl, 393; 395.
3. Fasawi, ii, 218a; Bagh., xi, 20; Hūṣūf, i, 293; Miṣān, ii, 681; Tahd., vi, 450.
4. Ra‘ī, introd. 178; i, ii, 138, Sharh ‘Ilal, 42a; see also Hūṣūf, i, 207.
5. Amwāl, 393; 395.
6. ‘Ilal, 192.
7. ‘Ilal, 129b; Ra‘ī, i, 1, 192; Tahd., i, 324.
8. BTS, 4; Ra‘ī, i, 193; Kāmil, i, 107b.
9. Ra‘ī, introd. 38-9; Kāmil, i, 213a.
10. Taqyīd, 111.
11. Tahd., v, 257.
12. Tahd., xi, 222.
15. MU, Buyū‘, 113.
16. Hanbal, i, 225; Dāraquṭnī, 442.
240. Yūnūs b. Yazīd al-A ḥ lī (c. 95-159)1.
He transmitted from Nāfi‘ (d. 117), etc.
His books were perfect2.
The following wrote ahādīth from him:
Shabīb b. Sa’īd5.
241. Yūsuf b. Ṣuḥaib al-Kūfī (c. 85 - c. 150).
He transmitted from al-Sha‘bī (d. 104), etc.6.
Muṣ‘ab b. Sallām had his ahādīth in disorderly form7.
He transmitted from ‘Adi b. Arṭūt (d. 102)10.
Mu‘āwiyah b. Sallām derived ahādīth from him in writing.
He handed the book of Zaid to Ḥ alī b. Abū Kāthīr (d. 124)11.

1. Tahd., xi, 452.
2. Bāji, 178b; Rāzī, iv, ii, 248; Tahd., xi, 450; Khazraji, 380; see also Kāmil, i, 33b.
4. Kāmil, i, 33 b.
5. Rāzī, ii, i, 359; Tahd., iv, 307.
7. ‘Ila, 162b; Tahd., x, 161.
8. Tahd., iii, 419.
10. Tahd., iii, 415.
11. Zur‘ah, 52a; Fasawi, iii, 268b; Tahd., iii, 415; Kifāyah, 347; see also Mīzān, iv, 403.

244. Za‘idah b. Abū Rauqād (c. 105 - c. 170).
He transmitted from Thābit al-Bunānī (d. 127), etc.1.
‘Ubaid Allāh b. ‘Umar al-Qawārīrī wrote down all his ahādīth2.
245. Za‘idah b. Qudāmah (c. 100-160)3.
He was the compiler of many books, e.g.:
Kitāb al-Sunan.
Kitāb al-Qirā‘āt.
Kitāb al-Tafsīr.
Kitāb al-Zuhd.
Kitāb al-Manāqib4.
Mu‘āwiyah b. ‘Amr al-Azdī transmitted his books5.
He transmitted from ‘Amr b. ḫār, etc.6 and had a book.7
The following derived ahādīth from him in writing:
Rauh. Zakariyyā dictated to him from the book8.
He transmitted from Anas b. Mālik (d. 93) etc.10.
Muhammad b. Khālid al-Duhni11 and Yazīd b. Hārūn12 each transmitted a Nuskhah from him.

1. Tahd., iii, 305.
2. Rāzī, i, i, 613; al-Sahmi, Ṭarīkh Jurjān, 513; Tahd., iii, 305.
5. Sa‘īd, vii, i, 82.
6. Tahd., iii, 328.
7. Sa‘īd, v, 362; Khairamah, iii, 40 b; Bāji, 58a; Tahd., iii, 329.
8. Ḥanbal, iv, 390.
10. Tahd., iii, 368.
He transmitted from al-Zuhri (d. 124) and others.
Mālik, Ibn Jurayj and Ḥammām, etc. transmitted from him.
He did not learn from any teacher, except in the form of dictation.
Zam‘ah had a book from him.

He transmitted from Anas b. Mālik (d. 93)7.
Bishr b. Ḥusain al-Isbahānī transmitted a Nuskhah from him which contained about 150 aḥādīth and were wrongly attributed to him8.
Sufyān al-Thaurī wrote 50 aḥādīth from him.

When he heard a haddith twice, he used to make a sign meaning that the work was finished.
He had a book10.

Muḥammad b. Muzāhim al-Marwazī transmitted a Nuskhah from him.
Shaddād b. Ḥakīm al-Balkhī also transmitted a Nuskhah from him.

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1. Tadh., iii, 369.
2. Dullūb, i, 7.
3. Fasawi, ii, 217 a.
4. Thūgūt, 193.
5. Qasārānī, 150.
6. Kāmil, i, 161a; Rāzī, i, 366; Mīzān, i, 316.
8. Tadh., iii, 352.
9. ‘I‘tīd, 351; Ḥuffūs, i, 211.
10. Rāzī, i, 589.
11. Mīzān, ii, 71.
12. Ma‘rifah, 164.

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CHAPTER IV
TAḤ-MMUL AL-‘ĪLM

THE LEARNING AND THE TRANSMITTING OF ḤADĪTH IN THE FIRST AND THE SECOND CENTURIES OF ISLAM.

According to the Qur‘ān, a group should remain behind even in the time of war, to gain sound knowledge in religion so that they may preach to their folk when they return.

Learning at least a portion of the Qur‘ān and the aḥādīth of the Prophet is obligatory for every Muslim. In response to this requirement, there was an outburst of educational activities in the entire Islamic world. For many centuries, in the educational history of Islam, the word Knowledge — ‘Ilm — was applied only to the learning of aḥādīth and related subjects.

In this chapter a sketch of the educational method of the early centuries of Islam will be drawn. It should be clear that this is only a sketch. As there were no organized universities and colleges with fixed curricula and definite methods of instruction, all activities could take any shape the tutors preferred. The manner, even of a single teacher and a single student, would differ from time to time and from place to place. Therefore, any kind of generalization of the method, and any restriction to a certain practice would be dangerous and misleading.

The Teachers.

The Prophet called himself a teacher, and used to sit with the Companions in a circle to teach them. His words and deeds...
were carefully watched by his Companions and were recited by them with the help of each other till they memorized them\(^1\).

As it was not possible for every Companion to be with the Prophet on every occasion, they came to an agreement between themselves to attend his circle in shifts\(^2\). It was a common practice among them to inform absentees about the Prophet's sayings and deeds\(^3\). This was not only the agreement among them but was also the command of the Prophet. The Companion Sulaimān was so embarrassed by his absence which was due to his residence on a far off piece of land given to him by the Prophet, that he requested him to take the land back from him\(^4\).

Memorizing the *ahādīth* of the Prophet in early days.

Some Companions made their memoranda of *ahādīth* in the life of the Prophet and some others made their collections later on\(^5\). However, it was a common practice among them to recollect the *ahādīth* of the Prophet either individually or with each other’s help\(^6\). The same practice continued in the time of the Successors\(^7\).

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1. Fāqiḥ, 132a.
2. See for example, ‘Umar’s agreement with an Ansarite, Sa’d, viii, 136.
3. *Ilt*, 96b; Khāithamah, iii, 53b; Rāmhurruzūz, 15b; Mustadrak, i, 95; 127; where it is mentioned that the attendants used to inform absentees about the Prophet’s *Hadīth*. The Prophet specifically told the Companions to do so. See,Sharaf, 11a; 11b.
4. Amsūl, 272-3; Zanjūwāl, 100a.
5. For details of the Companions’ writings see supra, chapter iii.
6. For personal recollections, e.g., see: Abū Hurairah, *Jāmi‘*, 181b-182a;
   For group recollections, e.g., see:
   Abū Mūsā and ‘Umar, Fāqiḥ, 132a; see also *Jāmi‘*, 46b as cited by ‘Abū Jājā, *Sunnah Qasī al-Tardīn*, 160.
   For Companions’ advice to recollect *ahādīth*, see:
   1. Abū Sa’d al-Khudrī, *Zur‘ah*, 95; Mustadrak, i, 94; Sharaf, 56a;
   2. ‘Alī b. Abū Tālib, Mustadrak, i, 95; Sharaf, 55a;
   3. Ibn ‘Abbās, Sharaf, 56a;
   4. Ibn Mas‘ūd, Mustadrak, 1, 95; Sharaf, 55b.
7. See as example:
   1. ‘Alqamah, *‘Ilm*, 7a; Sharaf, 57a;
   2. Abū al-‘Aliyāh, Sharaf, 57a;
   3. Ibn Abī Lailā, Sa’d, vi, 76; Sharaf, 57a;
   4. Ibn ‘Irīn, *‘Ilm*, 9a;
   5. Ibrāhīm, *Jāmi‘*, 109a;

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The appearance of the books.

In the middle of the first century of the Hijrah, books of *ahādīth* compiled from the teachers’ lectures began to appear, of which one of the earliest mentioned was the book of Bāshīr b. Naḥk and Hammām, the pupils of Abū Hurairah\(^1\). The books of Ibn ‘Abbās and Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, etc., belong to the same period.

The *Aṣrāf* system and its effect.

According to the sources now available, in the third quarter of the first century of the Hijrah a new technique was employed in the learning of *hadīth*, which was called *Aṣrāf*, which meant copying only a part of *ahādīth*.

The earliest recorded usage of this method—so far as I know—was that of Ibn Sīrīn in the lecture of his teacher ‘Abdālah al-Salmānī (d. 72 A.H.\(^2\)). The practice continued in the traditionists’ circles\(^3\). Later on many books were compiled according to this technique and were used as a concordance by the early scholars\(^4\).

The *Aṣrāf* method was a very important step towards the writing of *ahādīth*. It contained three main issues:

A student’s knowledge of a *hadīth*, gained by some source before attending the lecture.

The writing down of *ahādīth* in part before attending the lectures.

The effort to gain *hadīth* from a higher narrator in the chain of transmitters and non-satisfaction with the material gained from the lower source.

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2. *Ilt*, i, 387.
3. See for example:
   1. Ḥammād b. Abū Sulaimān, *Fasawi*, iii, 83a;
   2. Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ayyūb, *Tahd.,* i, 324;
Until the end of the third quarter of the first century of the Hijrah, a pattern was almost fixed for the learning and teaching of hadith which flourished in the second and third centuries.

The curricula of education in the first century.

It looks as though, in the very early days, there were only two methods of learning hadith: either to associate oneself with one of the scholars, or to attend the lectures which were regularly held. The Companions of the Prophet used oral transmission, dictation, and even reading from a book; yet it is not clear whether or not they used to impart hadith according to subjects, or only narrated on their personal choice, or whether the discussion was conducted on a certain topic which was raised by someone.

Perhaps the earliest record of a classified diffusion of hadith is the method of Ibn ‘Abbas and ‘Urwah. It appears that these scholars used to revise hadith among themselves according to subjects; hence, it was not an open lecture. So, in the above two instances, they did not transmit hadith completely, nor its proper wording; they only referred to it by mentioning its essential aspects. Therefore, they forbade students to learn traditions by this method.

Teaching of hadith according to Shuyukh.

The common practice of the second century was the teaching of hadith according to shuyukh they came from. Once Yahya asked al-Fallas whence he was coming. He replied, “From the lecture of Mu‘adh”. Then he asked whose Hadith was he transmitting? al-Fallas replied that he was imparting the Hadith of ‘Awn... It is understood from this conversation that the teacher used to impart hadith according to their teachers. This method seems to be easy and natural. As the early scholars made their memoranda or books from the lectures of the Companions and the first generation of the Successors, naturally they might have kept the notes of every teacher separately.

The description of books available to us at present makes the matter quite clear. Here are a few examples:

Mujahid says, “I went to Ḥammād b. ‘Amr and requested him to bring the book of Khuṣāif. Then he brought the book of Ḥuṣain”.

Al-Qawārī says that he went to ‘Abd al-Wārīth, accompanied by ‘Affān. ‘Abd al-Wārīth enquired of them what they wanted. Then they asked him to bring the book of Ibn Juḥādah.

Once al-Thauri said that he would bring the book of the best man of al-Kūfah. The students thought that he meant the book of Maḥṣūr, but he produced the book of Muḥammad b. Sūqāh.

Ibn Ḥanbal discussed a hadith which was transmitted on the authority of Ibrāhīm from Hushaim from Ya‘lā b. ‘Aṭā’, so he asked al-Athram to go to ‘Abd Allāh b. Mūsā and to look up in his book this particular hadith as he had heard that it was noted there. Al-Athram said that he went to the house of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mūsā, and his books from Hushaim were brought to him. He then searched the books of Hushaim, in particular for the hadith of Ya‘lā, but did not find it. He further said that he found the hadith of Ya‘lā in the books of Hushaim in one place, and that there was no reference to the hadith for which he was looking.

There are a good many references which give sufficient ground to maintain that the general practice of the teaching of hadith was to impart hadith of one Shaikh at one time, and to keep hadith of every Shaikh separately.

1. See for detail supra, p. 41; 50.
2. Supra Ibn ‘Abbas, and ‘Urwah, in the third chapter.
3. See the revising of Shu’bah and Ibn Idris, Rāzī, ii, i; 112.
5. Tahd, i, 398.

2. ‘Ilt, i, 144.
3. Rāzī, iii, ii, 281.
5. See for examples:
The Method of Teaching.

For the teaching of ahādīth, the following systems were generally employed:

1. Oral recitation,
2. Reading from books,
3. Questions and answers,
4. Dictation.

A. Oral recitation of ahādīth by the teacher. This practice began to decline from the second half of the second century, though it persisted to a much lesser extent for a long period. Mostly students were attached to a certain teacher for a very long time, until they believed to be authorities on his ahādīth. Sometimes they were called Rāwi or Sāhib of so and so1. Even if regular meetings were held for the teaching, only a few ahādīth were taught in one lesson, say about three or four2.

1. See for Rāsaʾ:
   3. Harmalāh b. Yahyā of Ibn Wuhayb, Miẓān, i, 472;
   4. Humaid of Sufyān b. Ḥabīb, Tahdī, iv, 107;
   5. Qaṣī b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān of Sa’d b. Ibrāḥīm, Thaqāt, 584

2. For a very limited number of students for teaching, see:
   1. Abū al-Ayyārah had no more than 3 students at one time. Ibn, 5;
   2. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣunabahāh had only 2 students at a time, Fassawi, iii, 112b.

3. For the quantity of ahādīth in one lecture, see:
   1. Abū Qilābah only 3 ahādīth, Jāmi, 37b;
   2. Abū al-Wailid only 3 ahādīth, Jāmi, 37b;
   3. Māʾārash about 3 or 4 ahādīth, Jāmi, 37b; 45a;
   4. Ayyūb, about 5 Jāmi, 45a;
   5. Māʾārash, "We used to learn one or two ahādīth, Jāmi, 45a;
   6. Mansūr about 3 ahādīth, Ilāl, i, 362; Fassawi, iii, 213b;
   7. Qatādah, 1 or 2, sometimes even half, Jāmi, 45a; 46a;
   8. Shuʿbāh learnt only 100 ahādīth from ‘Amr b. Dānār in 500 meetings Jāmi, 37b;
   9. Sulasīmān- al-Taimī. He taught only 5 ahādīth; Bāji, 155a;
   10. al-Zuhārī. He advised students to learn 1 or 2 ahādīth daily and said that those who learnt a lot forgot a lot. Jāmi, 45a.

B. Reading from books.

1. Reading by the teacher, from his own book1, which was much more preferred.

2. Reading by the teacher from the student’s book, which was either a copy2 or a selection from his own work3. This method had a great many pitfalls for the teachers who did not memorize their ahādīth. Many students and scholars played tricks, inserting ahādīth here and there into the teacher’s ahādīth and handing the book to the teacher for reading, to examine the soundness of his knowledge and memory. Failing to recognize the additional material, they were denounced and were declared untrustworthy4.

3. Reading to the teacher. Another method was that the book was read by the students5 or by a certain man called

1. See for example:
   ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak. Tahdī, v, 384; Jāmi, 100a;
   Ibn Hanbal. Imām, 47;
   Mālik b. Anas. He read al-Muwatta to Yahyā. Imām, 8-9;
   Shuʿbāh b. Abū ʾAmr b. Ḥabīb, 674;
   Zuhair b. Muhammad, Rāzī, i, 590; Bāji, 59a.

2. See for the examples of the reading from students’ books:
   Abū b. Ayyūb. See supra, 107;
   ‘Abd Allāh b. ʿAzīz al-Dārāwīdī. Rāzī, ii, ii, 396; Tahdī, vi, 354;
   ‘Azīz b. ʿAjlūn, Bagh, xii, 325;
   Ibn Jurajj. Kifāyah, 258;
   Rishdān b. Saʿd. Tahdī, iii, 279;
   Suwaid b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Rāzī, ii, i, 238.


4. See for the selection of materials, e.g.:
   Abū Awānāh’s trick with Abān. See supra Abān, p. 107.
   Shuʿbāh’s trick with Abān b. Ayyūb. ‘Ajlūn, Jāmi, 18a;
   Harth al-Naqqal with Ibn Mahdīh. Jāmi, 18a;
   B. ʿAjlūn and Ghiyāth with Ibn Abū ʾAjlūn. Bagh, xii, 325;

5. See e.g., reading of:
   ʿAṣim al-Ahwāl to al-Shaʾbīl. Ilāl, 153b; Rāmūnī, 44a;
   Kifāyah, 264;
   Ibn al-Mubārak to Maʿmar. Ilāl, i, 377;
   Ibn Mahdī to Mālik b. Anas. Ilāl, i, 354;
Sometimes they read the same book more than once.1.

C. Questions and answers. In this way students read a part of the tradition and the teacher read it in full.2.
D. Dictating the ahādith. Apart from the Prophet’s dictations\(^1\) and his early Companions’ infrequent dictations of ahādith\(^2\), perhaps Wathilah b. Asqa’\(^3\) (d. 83) was the first who held classes for dictation\(^4\). This method was not encouraged in the early days, because in this way a man was able to gather much knowledge in a very short time without much effort. It seems that al-Zuhri was the first to depart from this attitude. About the end of the first century we find him dictating ahādith, a method which he followed during the rest of his life\(^5\).

There were certain extremists who disliked dictating or did not allow writing down\(^6\), and there were others who did not transmit ahādith until the students wrote them down\(^6\). Some of them even refused to dictate ahādith if the students used wooden boards for writing, because they could erase it\(^7\). There were some others who wrote down ahādith and after memorizing, wiped them out\(^8\). Others used to learn by heart and after memorizing wrote them down\(^9\). It seems, after comparing with the other methods of the teaching of ahādith, that these were rare and uncommon practices.

From the second century onwards, besides the usual method of

1. Rāhmūnī, 75a; Ḳamī, 12; see also al-Wathā‘i q al-Siyāṣiyah by Hamīdūllāh.
2. Nubalā, ii, 333; Rāhmūnī, 35a; Ḳamī, ii, 113b.
3. Ḳamī, 13; Jāmī, 113b; Ḳamīn, iv, 145.
4. Rāhmūnī, 39b; Fischer, 69; Ibn Kathīr, Bida‘y, ix, 342; 345.
5. See Sulaimān b. Ṭārkhan, Bajr, 155a.
8. See for examples: Khālid al-Hadhāh, Ja’d, 149; Ḳamīn, i, 643; Ayyūb. Fasāwi, iii, 67a; Masṣūq. Khathamaham, iii, 183b; Ḳalāl, i, 43.
9. See for examples: Aμaša. Rāhmūnī, 37a; Targūd, 112; see also, Ḳalāl, i, 104; 360 Abū Abd Allāh b. Ḳirdā. Rāhmūnī, 37a; 77a-b; see also Ḳalāl, 177b; Abū al-Wārin. Fasāwi, iii, 37b; Ḳamīn b. Ṣalāmāh. He wrote down Qāsid book from memory. Fasāwi, iii, 44a; Fasāwi, 37a; Rāhmūnī, 37a; Khālid, Mu‘ādhdh and Qaṭān and Shu‘bā’h traditions. Rāzi, i, ii, 325; Sulaimān b. Ḳirīj, 241; Wkrit and al-Thauri’s traditions. Fasāwi, ii, 23a; Yābū al-Qaṭān. Rāhmūnī, 77a; al-Thauri and ‘Umar b. Dhar’s traditions. Ja’d, 233-4.
or from memory. In some cases the students refused to write ahādīth while being dictated from memory, yet it seems that it was the fashion of the time to rely on memory in transmitting or dictating ahādīth. Perhaps it was a matter of prestige and reputation. This practice resulted in many mistakes owing to the inherent deficiencies of memory. They had to go through their books to refresh their memories, and in many cases when they were uncertain they did not dictate.

The Mustamīls.

The dictation method, due to large audiences, gave rise to a new type of work for certain people who were called Mustamīls. They used to repeat the words of the Shaikh in a loud voice to the audience.


2. e.g., Yâhîyâ b. Ma‘rîn. Ilt, 122a; 124a.


Selection of a Writer.

As all the students could not write rapidly, sometimes a fast writer was chosen to take down ahâdîth, while others watched him writing, lest he should make any mistake. Later, either they borrowed the books or copied them in the presence of the owner. In the literary circle a class of scribes or Warrâqûn was found for the purpose of copying, which gave rise to the trade in books.


2. For the following the writing of the scribe, see:  ‘Abî al-Razzâq and Hishâm b. Yûsuf. Kifâyâh, 239;  Ma‘mar, Ibn Jurayj, al-Thaurî and their watching of Shu’bah’s writing. Kâmîl, ii, 107b; Ilt, 14; Mîzân, ii, 341;  Yazîd b. Ismâ‘îl and his colleagues. Majrûhûn, 115b.


— See for those who did not lend books:  Abî Qaṣînân. Dâlîbî, ii, 87; Bağh., xii, 199; Tahd., viii, 114;  Hammâm and Ibn Abî ‘Arûbah. Sa‘îd, vii, ii, 33;  Muhammad al-SuKKARî. He had the advice of al-Thaurînot to lend. Jâ’d, 240;  Abî Usâmâh. Tahd., iii, 3.

— For those who asked mortgage for lending, see, e.g.:  Ibrahim b. Maimûn al-Šâ‘îgh. Ilt, 178;  Yâhîyâ b. Sulaîm. Ilt, 105b; Mîzân, iv, 384. See also Tahd., xi, 226.

It is mentioned that Hammām b. Munabbih used to buy books for his brother Wahb, but, perhaps, these books were non-Arabic.

The employment of scribes for writing hadith.

The early record of employment of people to write down or to sell a book on hadith, goes back to the later days of the Umayyad dynasty.

The correction of written copies.

It seems that the scholars were aware of the importance of revision after copying.

After copying or dictating, the copies were corrected either by the students with each other's or under the supervision of their masters.

2. For copying of the traditions see:
   Abū Zakariyya. Bagh., viii, 302;
   'Abdur Razzaq b. Hammām al-Ṣa'ūdī. Khaihatamī, iii, 574a;
   'Ali b. 'Asim. Bagh., xi, 448; Tahd., vii, 345;
   Abū Mu‘āwiyah, the blind, Rāzī, iii, ii, 247;
   'Abī b. Yazīd. He had a slave to carry the books, ink, etc. of his son to the Shuyūkh. Wâṣīf, 135; Bāji, 171b.
   There were scribes of the Qur'ān even in the time of 'Ali. See Dīlābī, i, 155-6;
3. See for examples:
   Aḥfash and his sayings. Kifāyah, 237-8;
   'Urwa and his sayings: 'Iḥl, 102b. Wāṣīf, 168; Rāmhmuzārī, 64b;
   Kifāyah, 237; Imlā, 79;
   Yahyā b. Abī Khaṭīr and his sayings. Rāmhmuzārī, 64b; Kifāyah, 237; Imlā, 79.
4. See for examples:
   Hammād and his fellows. Kifāyah, 71;
   Ibn 'Uyaynāh and his fellows in al-Zahiri's dictation. Rāmhmuzārī, 8a;
   Jarīh and his fellow. Fasawī, iii, 264b; Rāzī, i, i, 506.
5. See for examples:
   Ayyūb. 'Iḥl, i, 24; Fasawī, iii, 69b; Kifāyah, 240;
   'Azraḥ correcting in the presence of Ibn Jubair (d. 95); Khaihatamī, iii, 178b;
   Hajjāj b. Muhammad. 'Iḥl, i, 381;
   Nāfi' asked his students to bring the books for correction; Jāmi', 138b;
   Imlā, 78;

The writing materials.

Wooden boards seem to have been used mostly for writing dictations and taking notes, and fair copies were made later. Sometimes abridged words were used to save time and space.

Students: their ages.

First, they learned the Qur'ān, mostly by heart. Many scholars used to examine new students in the Qur'ān. They also learned some other subjects such as Islamic Law, religious practices, grammar, etc. Usually they joined Muḥaddithīn's circles around the age of twenty.

Shābāh and Ghundar. Fasawī, iii, 95b; Tahd., ix, 97;
Bṣāfīn al-Tharīf, corrected books of Za‘idah. Jā’d, 246; Rāzī, Introduction, 80. He asked Yahyā al-Qattān to bring his books for correction but Yahyā disagreed, Jā’d, 245; Rāzī, Introduction, 80;
'Urwa. Imlā, 78;
al-Qāsim b. Muhammad (d. 105) asked his son to watch Tallhah who was writing al-Qāsim's traditions. Tallhah said that if he wanted to lie, he would not have come there. Al-Qāsim said that he had not implied thus, but to help him if he omitted by mistake. Rāmhmuzārī, 63b.
1. For writing on wooden boards and other materials and making fair copies later on, see:
   'Abd al-Ṣamād and his book from Ayyūb. Fasawī, iii, 37b;
   Abū al-Walīd al-Tayālisī's book of Shu'bah, Jāmi', 53a;
   Ahmad b. Sāliḥ and his method of making fair copies, Fasawī, iii, 136b;
   Ibn Jarraz and his method. Jāmi', 188a;
   Sa‘īd b. Jubair and his copying. Rāmhmuzārī, 77b; Tajaddud, 103;
   Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān and his errors due to his fair copy making. Fasawī, iii, 127b; Ibn Hajar, Haḍī al-Sa‘īr, ii, 171;
   Hasan al-Baṣṭī says, "One who joins the learning circle without a wooden board is like the one who joins battle without a weapon". Jāmi', 155a.
3. See for examining new students in the Qur'ān who wanted to join traditionists' circles:
   A'mash examines, Rāmhmuzārī, 9a; see also, Jāmi', 105 a-b;
   'Āṣa' b. Abū Rabāb, Bagh., x, 401-2;
   Auzā' examines. Jāmi', 9b;
   Ibn al-Mubārak examines. Rāmhmuzārī, 9b;
   Yahyā b. al-Yamān examines. Jāmi', 9b;
4. Students in the time of the Successors were about twenty years of age.
Education in *ahādīth* was free. Only a few scholars charged some money but they were denounced for this practice.

The students' relations with their teachers were based on reverence and respect. Some of them used to help or serve their tutors, but there were tutors who did not accept any kind of service, lest it might be taken as service in return for teaching.

In many cases the teachers helped their students financially, and it was quite common to offer meals to them. An odd phenomenon of the education in *hadīth* was the continuous traveling of students and scholars to collect *ahādīth*. Perhaps journeying was an essential part of studentship. Al-Khaṭṭābī al-Baghdādi wrote when they started learning traditions; Rāmūrūmuz, 6a.

Zuhrī said about Ibn ‘Uyaynāh that he was the youngest student he had ever seen, and was fifteen years old. Rāmūrūmuz, 6a;
Mūsā b. Ishāq says the Kufans sent their sons to learn traditions when they were twenty. Rāmūrūmuz, 6b;
al-Thaurī and Ābū al-Abwas, give 20 years to begin tradition study. Rāmūrūmuz, 6b;
The Syrians began to write at 30. Kifāyah, 55;
The Barītis began to learn when they were only 10; Kifāyah, 55;
Ibn Hanbal started when he was only 16. ‘Iltāl, 141b. However in later periods it was not observed. Al-Dābārī transmitted ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s book, and when ‘Abd al-Razzāq died he was not more than 7 years old (Kifāyah, 64). It was said that if a child could discriminate between a cow and a donkey he could start learning traditions (Kifāyah, 65). It was at the time when the texts were fixed, and learning meant transmission of a book through *inṣād* ‘Ālī. On the other hand, especially in the second century, many scholars were weakened in their traditions from certain teachers on the grounds of their youth at the time when they wrote down from them; e.g. ‘Amr al-Bairūsī is weak in the traditions of al-Auza‘ī as he was young when he wrote down from him (Rāzī, i, 268; Mīzān, iii, 290). See for similar charges against Ibn al-Madīnī in Mīzān, iii, 82.; against Ibn Ābū Shaiḥāb, Mīzān, iii, 82.; and against Hāshām b. Ĥassān, Kifāyah, 54.

1. For serving a teacher, al-Zuhrī, *infra*, chapter viii.
2. For refusing any service, Ibn Idrīs, *Tāmi‘*, 85b.
3. For offering money; al-Zuhrī, *İslām*, v, 137;
Hasan b. ‘Amrāh, Mīzān, i, 514; Ābū Ḥanīfah, offered money to Ābū Yūsuf.
4. For offering meals, e.g.:
   - A’māsh, *Baghth*, ix, 11;
   - Anas b. Mālik, Hanbal, iii, 250;
   - Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ayyāsh, *Huffūz*, i, 230;

a book on this subject, and the biographies of *Muhaddithīn* are full of the stories of their journeys, but this subject is not a part of the present study.

**The Number of Students.**

There are references to hundreds of teachers from whom al-Thaurī, Ibn al-Mubārak, al-Zuhrī, etc. had written down *ahādīth*. In the works of biographers we find a long list of teachers and students of eminent scholars. As an example, let us take only one scholar, al-Zuhrī. We do not know precisely how many students wrote from him, and how many attended his lectures. However, we have at least fifty references to his students who made their written collections from him. The growing number of transmitters resulted in the tremendous growth of *ahādīth*. The books grew so voluminous that it was difficult to handle them.

Therefore, to avoid chaos and discrepancies, Shu‘bah advised writing the famous *ahādīth* through a reference to the famous scholars. Nevertheless, the numbers of a few thousand *ahādīth* reached about three quarters of a million in the mid third century.

Many modern scholars — being unaware of the nature of this material — were perplexed by their immense number, and thus reached very strange conclusions. In Appendix No. II, there is a detailed discussion to clarify this issue.

**School buildings.**

From the very days of the Prophet, mosques were used as schools, a practice which still persists in the Muslim world. There are references occasionally to *Kuttāb* or *Maktāb*, or to the houses which were used as schools, yet it does not seem that separate buildings were built for this purpose in the early days.

The classes were usually held in mosques, sometimes in teacher’s houses and sometimes, if the numbers of the audiences were very great, in a public place.

2. *İmām*, 58.
3. See supra p. 4; also Ernest Diez, art., *Masjid*. The Mosque as an Educational Centre, *E.I.*, iii, i, 352.
4. For the early reference to the Kuttāb see: ‘Ilm, 7a; Sa‘d, iv, i, 59;–Hanbal, i, 389; Ibn Habīb, *al-Muhabbar*, 477; Khithamāh, iii, 98b; *Thiqāt*, 296-7; Rāmūrūmuz, 7b; al-Qasārānī, 27: *Tawd*, vii, 276; viii, 337.
CHAPTER V

THE BOOK

Material for Writing.

At first the Qur'ān was recorded on scraps of parchment, leather, tablets of stone, ribs of palm branches, camel ribs and shoulder-blades and pieces of wooden board1. Qirāṭ, papyrus, was known to Arabs even before Islam. The word Qirāt is used in the Qur'ān2 and even in pre-Islamic poetry3. It is not clear whether or not this material was utilized in the very early days for the recording of the Qur'ān or hadith. There are, however, references to papyri which came into use after the conquest of Egypt. As early as 35 A.H., there is a reference to Bait al-Qirāt as an annexe to the house of Caliph 'Uthmān4.

Leather and papyrus were usually used in the early days and gradually paper replaced them to a large extent. Whether or not paper was known to the Arabs in the early days of Islam is disputable. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, paper was introduced for the first time into the Islamic world after the conquest of Samarqand through Chinese slaves5. Ibn al-Nadīm, however, mentions that he himself saw a book written on Khūrāsān paper belonging to a very early period of Islam6. Yet he is not sure and gives a contradictory statement later in his book7. According to Shaikh ʻInāyatullāh, "The Chinese paper was imported by the Arab traders engaged in maritime trade with the Far East; but

the introduction of the art of paper-making itself into the Muslim world is due to an accident of war"8. Unfortunately he does not give any reference in support of his statement. However, at the end of the second century, paper was used even in Egypt, the homeland of papyrus, for writing purposes9.

It looks as if loose sheets of papyrus were used for writing in early days. The Companion Shamsīn is reported to be the first who wrote on both sides of papyrus, and pressed them and sewed them together10. It does not mean that the practice of loose sheets came to an end. There are many references, even in later periods, where unsewn sheets are mentioned11.

As for the shape of the book, we find, besides the words Kitāb and Sūhuf, the words Dāfīr, Kurrāsah, and Dīwān. Words like Dāfīr, Dīwān, Kurrāsah, Sāhīfah, Kitāb, express, perhaps, the flat shape of the written material something like a book in its form, while words like ʻTāmār and Dār, which are also found in references, express the form of scrolls.

Qalqashandi says that Dār in the general usage of the word "أَرْضِ" and one or more words of the form of the word ʻ عَلَىٰ 's, which means a rectangular paper consisting of joined pieces. In his own time it contained twenty pieces of paper stuck together. Therefore, most probably, it was kept in the form of a scroll.

The Method of Writing on Paper.

In early days, the scholars had every teacher's ahādīth in separate books or sheets or whatever it might be. In this case they

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2. For example see *Risālah of al-Shāfi`i*. Introduction by Ahmad Shākir, pp. 17-22.
3. *Isâba*, No. 3921.
4. See e.g., the book of Ya`qūb al-Qummi and Ibn Hanbal, Rāzī, iii, 232; *Tahdَ*, ix, 129.
7. E.g., *Tawass*, i, 4b, in the Dīwān of Zuhri, in his own handwriting.
used to note some information about the narrator. Once Abu Zūrailah said that the books of Ibn Ḥanbal did not contain information about the scholars from whom he had heard on the first pages, while Abu Zūrailah himself, could not manage without such information.

It seems that the complete isnād was introduced only in the very beginning of the book. In the following part of the book every hadith was written with only higher part of isnād, or the isnāds were eliminated altogether leaving only the material. By this method they economized time, space and labour. There is, however, an example of quite a different type. Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Miṣṣīṣī had a book from al-Auza’ī in which he wrote the complete isnād with every hadith, even including his own name. Al-Dhahabi described this method as foolish. The description of Ismā’īl b. Abu Khalīl’s books which was in the hands of Ibn Ḥanbal shows that they mostly used only the earlier authorities of the isnāds in the middle of the book. This saved the scholars time and space, but it had some disadvantages. The full isnād was given on the top of the page or scroll, and every transmission of the book from one transmitter to another demanded an extra entry, not at the bottom but right on the top. As the papers or papyri were brittle, the upper portion easily wore out, so that students in many cases were unable to know whose ahādīth those were. Likewise, one often finds references to the mixing of ahādīth, e.g., Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīl mixed up books of ʿAṣīm and Ashʿath. The same was the case in the books which were set in order by Ibn ʿUyaynah. Abu Ṣallih, the scribe of al-Lith, brought a Dajjāl told from whom those ahādīth were related. He was told that those were the ahādīth of Ibn Abu Dhiʾbah. An incident of this nature is also reported about Khalīl al-ʿAbd where the name of the final authority was erased.

1. Ţūzī, introd. 296.
3. For a detailed description of this book, see Ila', i, 183; see for another example, Madkhal, 34.
4. Ila', i, 195.
5. Tahdīd, i, 165.
6. Ţūzī, ii, ii, 87.
7. Ţūzī, i, ii, 364.

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī says that the scholars have many famous Nisākh, each of which contains a number of ahādīth. The students could transmit a single hadith from anywhere in the book giving a complete isnād as it was mentioned in the first hadith. Ibn Ma’in was asked whether or not it was allowed to write down the complete isnād with every hadith, with reference to the ahādīth of Warqa b. Abd al-Muʾtahhir from Ibn ʿAbd al-Najih b. Mujāhid, where the complete isnād was given in the beginning of the book. Yahyā replied, “It is right.” Wāqī‘ was asked a similar question: a teacher said at the beginning of the book “Sufyān b. Mansūr,” and later he only said “from Mansūr”; now, is it right to say the complete isnād with each hadith. He replied it was correct to do so.

1. Kīfīyah, 214.
4. e.g., books of Abū ʿAwānah, Faṣawī, III, 48a, Ţūzī, iv, ii, 40, Tahdīd, xi, 117.
5. Ila', i, 383. See also Kīfīyah, 241.
6. Rāmūrmazī, 77b; Jāmi‘, 56b; Imlā‘, 173.
ten ḥadīth. Students used to copy books before attending the
lecture of their teachers. Therefore, when a ḥadīth was read to
them in class they put an "okay" mark on it. In many cases they
listened to certain ḥadīth more than once, hence they put different
signs and various numbers of dots to show the number of times
the traditions were read. Khalid b. `Abd Allāh al-Ṭabḥīn wrote
ḥadīth and could not read them to the authority. Later, when his
son began to impart them he was told, "Even your father did not
hear these ḥadīth."4

The Theft of Material.

Since in those days there was no system of copyright, material
from any book could be utilized in composing a book or imparting
ḥadīth, but it was against the literary custom of the period.

Every student, before utilizing any verbal or written material,
had to obtain it through proper channel - ḫanāqāh - otherwise it was
thought to be forgery or theft of material. There are many refer-
ences to men said to be Ṣāriq al-Ḥadīth.5

Adding External Material in the Body of a Book.

Most of the people who listened to ḥadīth and copied them
out had their own books. Students felt at liberty to include ad-
ditional material even in a fixed text to clarify some obscure word,
or their own opinion or some such thing. As any additional mate-
rial would have a completely different isnād or the name of the
 inserter, there was no danger of spoiling the text. In Appendix IV
of this book there appears a very explicit and clear example of
this sort,6 wherein the copyist added two lines even before com-
pleting the sentences. There is another example of Abū Sa`īd, the
transmitter of the book Al-Muhājīb, where he adds two lines.7

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1. Fasawi, iii, 14b; Imlāl, 173; Jāmi', 56b.
2. Supra, p. 190.
3. See supra, p. 191.
5. See for example:
   Muhammad b. Jābir b. Sa`ūd, Mughūlīn, 203b;
   Muhammad b. Yāsīr, Rāzī, iv, i, 129;
6. Appendix No. iv.

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There is clear evidence of this nature in Sahih of al-Bukhārī,
where al-Firabrī adds extraneous material, giving his isnād.8

Books and the Problem of Authorship.

The problem of the authorship of works compiled in the
eyear days is common to all literature. This phenomenon is found
in Jewish and Christian literatures as well. But Islamic literature
gives a definite ascription to all the documents, in contrast with
many other scriptures, where it is difficult to find the reference to
the source.9

Muslim writers, as a matter of preference and style, referred
to the author, rather than to the works, a practice which persisted
for centuries. A close examination of Muwātta' of Mālik b. Anas
and his material incorporated in later books reveals this method.
The method was not confined to ḥadīth literature; it was applied
even to history and other Arabic literatures in general. In short, all
literature used the same pattern of Muḥaddithīn in transmitting
knowledge. For example, we take one statement from Tabaqāt
Khālīfah b. Khayyāḥ (240) from which al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī fre-
cently quotes. We find him quoting from the book, and referring
to the author, giving full isnād going back to Khālīfah, but not
mentioning the name of the work. We can trace this system in the
entire product of Muslim literature. In the early days, it appears
that if they utilized some material without receiving it through
proper isnād, they referred to the book without giving the isnād.10

In many cases even when they referred to a title, they were
not so precise in giving the authorship. For instance Maghāzī of Ibn

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1. BU, i, 407; ii, 107. For other examples see A.D. Tr. No. 2386; MU,
   Sunāt, 63, p. 304.
   Aland Kurt, The Problem of anonymity and Pseudonymity in Christian Litera-
   ture of the First Two Centuries, p. 5. Russell, D. S. The Method and Message
   of Jewish Apocalyptic, pp. 127-139.
   38, No. 2, p. 465.
4. Sprenger, J.A.S.B. 1850, p. 109; it seems that it was the trend of early
   Christian literature as well; see B. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript,
   p. 198.
6. Al-Azdī, Tarīkh al-Mausil, 174; 177; Khaṣḥamah, iii, 147a.
Ishāq is a well-known work. The book was transmitted by a number of transmitters. One of the transmitters was Salamah b. al-Faḍl al-Abrash. In many cases the work was attributed to him, as he was the transmitter of the work. Yahyā b. Ma’in says, “There is a man in Baghdad called Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ’ab who transmits Kitāb of Salamah from Ibn Ishāq”1. The same scholar Yahyā in another statement describes Salamah b. al-Faḍl as a trustworthy man. Yahyā himself had written on his authority, and his books on the Maghāzī were most complete and there was no book more complete than his2.

It would be useful to add one more statement in this connection, as it concerns the same man, Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ’ab. It reads thus “Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ’ab transmitted the book of Ibn Ishāq from Salamah b. al-Faḍl”3.

Now it is clear that the work actually belongs to Ibn Ishāq. At some time it was attributed to Salamah as he was his transmitter, and at another time to the real author.

The commentary of Mujāhid on the Qur’ān is a well-known work4. Ibn Abī Najīḥ was one of the transmitters of this book5 from whom Warqā transmitted it6.

Once when Yahyā was asked whether he preferred the commentary of Warqā or of Shaibānī, he replied that he preferred the commentary of Warqā because it was transmitted from Ibn Abī Najīḥ from Mujāhid7.

The same book was attributed to Ibn Abū Najīḥ in the statement of Ibn Ḥanbal8. Thus it becomes clear in this statement that the work belonged to Mujāhid, but it was attributed to Ibn Abū Najīḥ as he was the transmitter of the works and sometimes was even attributed to the Warqā as he was the second man in the chain of transmitters.

Here is the last, but not least important example of this kind. Sharḥ al-Muṣafādīyāt belongs to al-Qāsim b. Muhammad al-

Anbārī and was erroneously attributed to his son. — C. J. Lyall states in the introduction to Sharḥ al-Muṣafādīyāt, “The preface to our edition states clearly that the commentary is to be regarded as the work of Abū Muhammad al-Qāsim (b. Muhammad b. Bashbār) al-Anbārī; and this is placed beyond doubt by the colophon of the Leipzig fragment, which is reproduced at the end of the text, p. 884. Notwithstanding this, the commentary is generally cited under the name of the son, Abū Bakr Muhammad, commonly known as Ibn al-Anbārī (so in the Führer, p. 75, the Khuzāmah, Ḥājjī Kalīfah, the Lisān al-ʿArab and the Tāj al-ʿArūs). The preface shows that this is a mistake. The son’s function was merely to publish what had been compiled by his father, occasionally adding a note by his own hand”1.

Summing up, it was the style of the period that they mostly referred to the author, and not to the work. In many cases one work was attributed to more than one person: to the real author, to the first transmitter of the book, and even to the second transmitter.

In this connection, L. Zolondek’s approach is very sound where he says, “I strongly suspect that a work of Ibn Ḥabīb which has an almost identical title, Kitāb man summa bi Baytān qālahū (F. 106, 28-29) was nothing else than a second of Ibn al-Kalbi’s works . . . It would seem that the works listed for these transmitters with identical titles are not really independent works, but mere editions of the earlier works of their teachers”2. In the present research, not a single reference has been made where the book is attributed to one of the teachers of the real compiler, or any higher authority.

Schacht and the Authenticity of Musā b. ‘Uqbah’s authorship of Maghāzī.

At this stage, it is worthwhile looking at the Kitāb al-Maqṣūr by Musā b. ‘Uqbah. We do not know at the moment of the independent copy of Musā’s work. It is either in the form of the works of historians like Tabari; Baladhurī, etc. A form of extracts which were published by Sachau4 of Ibn al-Ṣaḥīḥ.

1. Bagh., vi, 179.
2. Rāzī, ii, i, 169.
3. Bagh., vi, 179. See also Rāzī, i, i, 139.
4. See for detail, supra, Mujāhid in Chapter iii.
5. Thugāt, 506; Mushāḥir, 146; Rāzī, ii, ii, 203.
6. Rāzī, iv, ii, 51; Khathāmah, iii, 36b; Tahd., xi, 114.
7. Bagh., xii, 486.
8. Tahd., xi, 114.

1. Lyall, Introd. xiv.
2. L. Zolondek, The Sources of the Kitāb viii, p. 302 footnote.
3. See supra, Musā b. ‘Uqbah, p. 96.
In his article on Mūsā b. ‘Uqbah’s Kitāb al-Maghāzī, J. Schacht discusses the authorship of the work. In his words, ‘Mūsā claimed that he derived his information from Zuhūr ... Yahyā b. Ma‘īn (d. 233) regarded the work of Mūsā b. ‘Uqbah which is derived from Zuhūr, as one of the most correct of these books on Maghāzī ... It is therefore unlikely that the Kitāb al-Maghāzī in its original form contained traditions from authorities other than Zuhūr’; [but it has additional material Nos. 8, 9, 10 and 19, and so it seems] to be additions made to the original work ...’.

About the remaining material he says, ‘Mūsā himself had ascribed to Zuhūr traditions which he could not possibly have received from him ...’; ‘These additions may have been made either by Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uqba, or by the next transmitter of the text ...’; ‘Ismā‘īl, and it is safe to assume that Ismā‘īl was its only transmitter’. Bukhārī’s transmission of Nos. 5 and 6 through Muḥammad b. Fūlāh does not prove that the Maghāzī was transmitted from Mūsā to Bukhārī in this way, but only two stories from K. al-Maghāzī were transmitted to him. The names of Mūsā’s teachers and students grew in number as the number of spurious iṣnāds and traditions grew. Therefore, the whole standard biography of Mūsā in the later works is without documentary value. In this respect he advises us to compare the standard biographies of Mūsā with the relevant entries in Ibn Sa‘d and Bukhārī’s Tārikh.

It appears, therefore, that we are not on solid ground about the authorship of the Maghāzī of Mūsā. What is necessary to discuss at the moment is not the authenticity and trustworthiness of Mūsā, but the authorship of the Maghāzī. It seems that all the difficulties about the relevant document come from Schacht’s adherence to only one statement of Ibn Ma‘īn with his arbitrary comments, while he ignores or overlooks all the other statements. Let us see the references to Mūsā’s Maghāzī. Mālik b. Anas, who died

some fifty-five years earlier than Yahyā b. Ma‘īn, refers to the Maghāzī without mentioning al-Zuhūr. Ibn Ma‘īn refers to Mūsā’s adaptation of al-Zuhūr which means that Mūsā depended to a large extent on al-Zuhūr. The wording of Ibn Ma‘īn does not confine its sources to al-Zuhūr. Therefore, any material in this book coming from sources other than al-Zuhūr belongs entirely to Mūsā. Schacht thinks that when Mūsā relates from Naḍīr or Salīm or others, al-Zuhūr is invariably the intermediary between Mūsā and these persons. But why should it be so? If we accept the statement that Mūsā saw Ibn ‘Umar (d. 74) — and we have no reason to reject it — still giving him a normal life of sixty-five years, he must have been born about 75-80, since he died about 140.

Salīm (d. 106), Naḍīr (d. 117) and Mūsā all belong to Madīnah and at the time of the deaths of Salīm and Naḍīr, Mūsā should have been at least between 26 and 37 years, and, according to the biographers, he was 40-55 years old. What sound reason, then, do we have to think that he could not get direct information from these authorities and must have obtained it from al-Zuhūr? Was there any custom that restricted learning to one teacher, to the exclusion of all others, or were Naḍīr and Salīm worthy of less respect than al-Zuhūr, so that Mūsā ignored them? In the circumstances, the claim that Mūsā was not the author of the work appears baseless. It is worthwhile noting that Mūsā had Naḍīr’s traditions in writing to which Ibn al-Mubārak was witness. The statement that the work was transmitted only through his nephew is a mere assumption and contrary to the fact.

When Bukhārī transmits through Muḥammad b. Fūlāh, it could be suggested — as Schacht did — that he transmitted only two stories. Unfortunately for Schacht’s theory, al-Ṭabarānī has preserved quotations from the book explicitly through Muḥammad b. Fūlāh. Other quotations are preserved by Baladhurī in Anṣāb al-Aṣḥāf where immediate narrators from Mūsā are Wuhābī, al-Dārāwīdī and al-Mundhirī b. ‘Abd Allāh. Some further quota-

5. Schacht, op. cit., 293.
7. Schacht, op. cit., 299.

1. Rāzī, iv, 1, 154; Tahd., x, 361.
2. Tahd., x, 361-2.
4. Māshahīr, 80, where Ibn Hibbān says that Mūsā died in 135 A.H.
5. Kāmil, i, 104a; Bugh., vi, 223; see also, Kīfayāh, 267.
6. Tkbhr, iii, 38b; 46a.
7. Baladhurī, Anṣāb, i, 98; 224, 469, 569.

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tions could be provided from the *Annales* of al-Ṭabarî. Therefore, on what reasonable grounds can one suggest that Ismā‘îl was the only narrator! One makes no sense by trying to cast doubt on the names of Mūsâ’s authorities or his students provided by his standard biographer on the basis of al-Bukhārî’s *Tārikh* and Ibn Sa‘d’s work. Have these two authors taken any responsibility to record all the names? In spite of the value of these books, they have their own limitations, e.g., Ibn Sa‘d describes *Maghāzî* of Abān b. ‘Uthmān, not in the biography of Abān but somewhere else1. Ibn Sa‘d utilized the History of Abū Ma‘shar, but did not mention the work in Abū Ma‘shar’s biography and devoted only three lines to him2.

Here are other examples from Ibn Sa‘d and Bukhārî’s works pertaining to the *ahādīth* of earlier scholars.

Two eminent scholars of the mid-second century of the Hijrah, Shu‘bah (d. 160) and Sufyān al-Thauri (d. 161) are described in both the works.

Ibn Sa‘d (d. 230) gives only nine lines — in the printed edition — for the biography of Shu‘bah3 and over two pages for Sufyān al-Thauri4, omitting all the references to the earlier’s teachers and students and providing only two names of the latter’s teachers and about ten names of his students; while Bukhārī (d. 256), describing Shu‘bah as Ṯāhir al-mustafâ fi al-hadîth5, devoted only eight lines5, giving three or four names of his teachers and about the same number for his students. For Sufyān he has devoted almost one page6 — in the printed edition — naming four or five persons each as his teachers and students.

Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241), on the other hand, gives about 150 names as teachers of Shu‘bah. Furthermore, he gives forty-five names from whom Shu‘bah alone transmitted and ninety-seven names for Sufyān as such.7

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1. See biography of Abān. Sa‘d, v, 112-3 while the book is mentioned in v, 156.
2. Sa‘d, v, 309.
4. Sa‘d, vi, 257-60.
5. BTK, ii, ii, 245-6.
6. BTK, ii, ii, 93-4.
7. Tlal, i, 160-165.

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1. Schacht, op. cit., 299.
CHAPTER VI

ISNĀD

The Beginning of Isnād.

Isnād seems to have been used casually in some literatures in the Pre-Islamic period, in a vague manner, without attaching any importance to it. The isnād system was also used — to some extent — in transmitting pre-Islamic poetry. But it was in the Hadith literature that its importance culminated till it was counted a part of the religion. The advantage of the system was utilized to the full, and in some cases to extravagant limits, for documenting the Hadith literature, the storehouse of the Sunnah. The Sunnah of the Prophet being a basic legal source, it was natural to deal with these documents with utmost care. Thus with the introduction of isnād, a unique science, ‘Ilm al-Jarh wa al-Ta’dil — the knowledge of invalidating and declaring reliable — came into existence for the valuation of isnād and ahadith.

The Beginning of Isnād in Hadith Literature.

We have seen in the fourth chapter that it was the common practice among Companions — even during the life of the Prophet — to transmit the traditions of the Prophet. Some of them had made special arrangements to attend the Prophet’s circle by turns and to inform each other of what they had heard and seen in the presence of the Prophet.

1. Mishna, the fathers, 446.
3. MU, introduction, pp. 14-16.

In informing their fellows they would have naturally used sentences like ‘the Prophet did so and so’ or ‘the Prophet said so and so’. It is also natural that one of them who had gained knowledge at second hand, while reporting the incident to a third man, might have disclosed his sources of information and might have given the full account of the incident. There are ample references of this kind in the Hadith literature.

These methods, which were used in the early days for the diffusion of the Sunnah of the Prophet, gave birth to isnād, and were the rudimentary beginning of this system.

An important early statement about Isnād.

Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110) says, ‘They did not ask about the isnād, but when civil war — Fitnah — broke they said ‘Name to us your men’; those who belong to Ahl al-Sunnah, their traditions were accepted and those who were innovators their traditions were neglected’.

This statement gives the impression that the isnād were used even before the Fitnah, but the narrators were not so particular in applying it. Sometimes they employed it and, at others, neglected it; but, after civil war, they became more cautious and began to enquire about the sources of information and scrutinize them. At the end of the first century the science of the isnād was fully developed. Shu’bah used to watch the lips of Qatādah, in the lecture, to discriminate between his first and second-hand information. There are ample references to asking and enquiring about the isnād in the first century of the Hijrah.

Orientalists and Isnād.

Among the orientalists there have been differences of opinion about the beginning of isnād. According to Caetani, ‘Urwaib (d. 94), the oldest systematic collector of traditions, as quoted by Tābarī, used no isnād and quoted no authority but the Qur’ān. Caetani, therefore, holds that in the time of ‘Abd al-Malik (c. 70-80), more than sixty years after the Prophet’s death, the practice of
giving isnād did not exist. So, he concludes that the beginning of
the isnād system may be placed in the period between ‘Urwh and
Ibn Ishāq (d. 151). In his opinion the greater part of the isnād was
put together and created by traditionists belonging to the end of
the second century, and perhaps also by those belonging to the
third.

Sprenger has also pointed out that the writing of ‘Urwh to
‘Abd al-Malik does not contain isnād and it was only later that he
was credited with it.

The quotations from the writing of ‘Urwh to ‘Abd al-Malik are
preserved not only in Ṭabarī but in many classical collections of
Hadīth as well which are earlier than Ṭabarī. In one of the
quotations, through the same isnād which is utilized by Ṭabarī, we
find ‘Urwh quoting his authority ‘Ā’ishah. The main difficulty
which arises in searching for the sources of ‘Urwh is the lack of
original work existing in a separate form. The available material
is only in the form of quotations. It was left to later scholars to
quote certain lines from the work as they were wanted. ‘Urwh
had personal contact with most of the Companions; so his author-
ity must have been a single name or the very person who was
present at the incident. Hence, the isnād consisted of a single name.
And it is easy to omit or overlook a single man’s name in quoting.
The other versions of his work, especially the one transmitted by
Zuhri, have isnāds. ‘Urwh even uses composite isnāds in the
writing, as well as the single one.

Horovitz, who has studied the problem of isnād, has an-
swered the arguments of Caetani and other scholars thoroughly in
his article Aller und Ursprung des Isnād. He points out that those
who denied the use of isnād by ‘Urwh did not notice all his is-
nāds. Furthermore he argues that there is a difference between
what one writes when one is asked questions and what one does
within learned circles. His conclusion is that the first entry of the
isnād into the literature of tradition was in the last third of the
first century. But as ‘Urwh also uses composite isnāds, the use of
single isnād in writing must have been earlier than this period
and the use of the single isnād in oral transmission of traditions much
earlier than that.

A Scottish scholar, J. Robson, who has studied the subject at
some length, says, “It is during the middle years of the first
century of Islam that one would first expect anything like an isnād.
By then many of the Companions were dead, and people who had
not seen the Prophet would be telling stories about him. It might
therefore naturally occur to some to ask these men for their
authority. The growth of a hard and fast system must have been
very gradual.” He concludes, “We know that Ibn Ishāq, in the first
half of the second century, could give much of his information
without an isnād, and much of the remainder without a perfect one.
His predecessors would almost certainly be even less particular than he in
documenting their information. But we are not justified in assuming
that the isnād is a development of Zuhri’s period and was unknown to
‘Urwh. While the developed system had a slow growth, some element of
isnād would be present from as early a period as people could demand it.”

Professor Schacht and Isnād.

Recently Schacht has dealt with the legal traditions and their
development. In his opinions isnāds are the most arbitrary part
of traditions. They were developed within certain groups who traced
back their doctrines to early authorities. Commenting on
Schacht’s criticism, Professor Robson says, “The criticism levelled
at the isnād is very thoroughgoing, and some strong arguments
are brought forward to suggest that the use of isnād is a late
development: but one hesitates to accept it to the full extent...
Schacht is dealing primarily with legal traditions, a sphere where
his argument may apply more closely than elsewhere, as changing
conditions and the development of legal thought must have de-
manded new regulations; but one wonders whether the argument
is not too sweeping.”

1. J. Robson, The Isnād in Muslim Traditions, Glasgow Univ. Oriental
2. Robson, op. cit., 19.
3. See for example Hanbal, iv, 326; 328-331.
4. Hanbal, vi, 212.
4. This is a well summarised theory of Schacht by Robson, op. cit., 20.
Schacht’s approach to the subject and its weakness will be discussed later on. At the moment only one of his statements requires immediate attention. He says, “It is stated on the authority of the Successor Ibn Sirin that the demand for and the interest in isnāds started from the civil war (Fitna), when people could no longer be presumed to be reliable without scrutiny; shall we see later that the civil war which began with the killing of the Umayyad Caliph Walid b. Yazid (A. H. 126), towards the end of the Umayyad dynasty, was a conventional date for the end of the good old time during which the Sunna of the Prophet was still prevailing; as the usual date for the death of Ibn Sirin is A. H. 110, we must conclude that the attribution of this statement to him is spurious. In any case, there is no reason to suppose that the regular practice of using isnāds is older than the beginning of the second century A.H.” But his whole argument is based on his arbitrary interpretation of the word Fitnah. The assassination date of Walid b. Yazid has never been a conventional date in Islamic history and was never reckoned as the end of the ‘good old time’. This title is given only to the Period of four righteous Caliphs.

Furthermore, there were many Fitnāhs before this date. There was the civil war between Ibn al-Zubair and ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān about 70 A.H. But the biggest of all was the civil war between ‘Ali and Mu‘āwiyah, which produced a breach among Muslims which exists to the present day. Ṭahā Ḥusain has described it rightly as the most fierce quarrel known in Islamic History.

So, on what grounds does the word Fitnah need to be interpreted in the sense of the civil war after the killing of Walid b. Yazid? To take the word arbitrarily in this sense is equal to interpreting it as the Fitnah of Tartar and Halaku. Schacht takes this word in the sense which suits him, without any historical justification, to prove his own theory. This, of course, is logically absurd.

Professor Robson inclines to take the word in the sense of the Fitnāh of Ibn al-Zubair, considering the birth date of Ibn Sirin, as well as the occurrence of the word Fitnah, in the text of Mawdū’i Malīk which refers to this period. The present research indicates that it should be taken back to the first and the most dangerous civil war in the history of Islam. For this suggestion, there are the following reasons:

1. Professor Robson has pointed out that at the middle of the first century, when many of the Companions were dead and people who had not seen the Prophet would be telling the story of the Prophet, someone would naturally ask them to name the authority. If we accept the status of the Prophet as it is shown in Robson’s statement — which is quite unfair — this is possibly what might have occurred.

Yet before reaching this stage, there was a great upheaval in the fourth decade. Most likely, the first fabrication of traditions began in the political sphere, crediting and discrediting the parties concerned. In the well-known work of Al-Shaukānī, concerning spurious and similar traditions we find:

42 spurious traditions about the Prophet
38 spurious traditions about the first three Caliphs
96 spurious traditions about ‘Ali and his wife Fāṭimah
14 spurious traditions about Mu‘āwiyah

Therefore, it looks as if the spurious traditions began to originate for political purposes and about the period of the war between ‘Ali and Mu‘āwiyah, and continued later on as a counter-attack on the Umayyad dynasty. The traditionists and other scholars found it necessary from that time onwards to be more cautious in selecting their authorities.

2. The second reason for this assumption is the statement of Ibn Sirin itself. There is no reason whatsoever to discredit it and challenge its authenticity. Ibn Sirin’s wording suggests that he relates a practice earlier than his own period. He uses the words “They did not ask”, “they said ‘Name to us your men’”, “were accepted”, etc. He does not use the first person of the personal pronoun in a period when its usage was common. So it seems that he points to a practice in very early days. Furthermore, he says ‘they did not ask’, which implies that the practice of isnād was in existence, but people did not usually inquire, and it was left to the transmitter whether or not to disclose his sources.

1. Œrin, 36-37.
2. Ṭahā Ḥusain, ‘Utbūn, 5. See also Nicholson, List Hist., 193.

1. Al-Shaukānī, Al-Fawā'id al-Majmū'ah, pp. 320-408.
2. As quoted on page 213 of this book.
Material for the study of Isnād.

Perhaps a lot of confusion in the study of isnād is due to the selection of the material for research of this kind. Professor Robson says: "Horovitz has reminded us that there are three sources for the sayings and doings of the Prophet, viz. Ḥadīth (Tradition), Sīra (Biography of the Prophet), and Tafsīr (Qurʾān commentary), the ground-element in all being a pronouncement introduced by a chain of witness; and Lammens has rightly insisted the Sīra and Ḥadīth are not distinct sources, as did Horovitz". So, Professor Robson inclines to accept the view of Lammens, while Horovitz wants to draw a line between Sīra and Ḥadīth. Horovitz's approach seems to be much more natural in this context. There is a difference in the very nature of Sīra (Biography) and the documentation of Ḥadīth.

In Ḥadīth any single statement can be put together with any other statement of quite a different subject without causing much perplexity. But Sīra, being a biography, requires a flow and continuance of episode. Therefore compilers of biography put together their different sources to knit a complete story, while the same authors and the same authorities, when transmitting traditions of other than biographical nature, do not put into practice the biographical method. Therefore, from this angle, there is a difference between Ḥadīth and Sīra literature, and so Sīra is not a proper subject for the study of the system of isnād. Until now most of the research on isnād has been carried out in the biographical literature.

Schacht and the study of Isnād in legal literature.

Schacht has studied the Muwatta' of Mālik, Al-Umm of al-Shafi'i, Muwatta' of al-Shaibānī, etc., works which belong to legal science. He has imposed the results of his study on the entire Ḥadīth literature, as if the Ḥadīth literature does not exist at all and as if it does not have an independent footing of its own.

It seems quite clear that he has not paid much attention to the nature of a legal work. A lawyer, a judge or a Muftī, whenever he gave his verdict, was not bound to give the full documents to support his verdict. When a scholar writes to a certain scholar, he may make only slight allusions to his references, so his colleague can recall the necessary items to his mind.

These were the methods used by the prominent lawyers of the early centuries of Islam. Though most of the writings of that period are not available in separate form, yet we still have a few legal books which belong to the second century A.H. A glance at their methods of quoting traditions would reveal this fact very much. Shafi'i has utilized the material from Muwatta' of Mālik, and Abū Yūsuf has utilized the work of Ibn Ishaq and others. Here are a few examples which show their method in quoting traditions.

Methods of quoting traditions by early lawyers*

1. A.Y. — 1.1. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . U.S.¹
2. A.Y. — 1.1. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . the Prophet³
   1.1 . . . . S.Y. . . . . A.J. . . . the Prophet⁴
5. A.Y. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . N wrote to Ibn 'Abbās⁹
   A.Y. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . N wrote to Ibn 'Abbās¹⁰

¹ In these quotations of isnāds abbreviations are used.
3. Abū Yūsuf, 90.
5. Abū Yūsuf, 21.
7. Abū Yūsuf, 35.
8. Abū Yūsuf, 5-6.
10. Abū Yūsuf, 38.

2. For early practice of this sort see 'Urwa and his Composite Isnād, Hanbal, iv, 323-26.
It reads: فَإِنَّ اعْطَىِ رَسُولُ اللهِ الْسَّلَّمُ الْقَالِ فيِ الْأَقْبَالِ دَلَّتِ سَنَةَ الْبَيْنِ عَلَىِ ۗ إِنَّ النَّيْسَةَ ... But we find a complete isnād in al-Umm and in his immediate source Muwatta' Malik:


10. Shafi'i says, “And Ibn 'Umar transmitted Salāt al-Khauf from the Prophet without mentioning any isnād. But we find a complete isnād in al-Umm and his immediate authority the Muwatta' :

Malik — Nafi' — Ibn 'Umar — the Prophet

Malik — Nafi' — Ibn 'Umar — the Prophet

11. He mentions in the Risālah the Tawāf performance of 'Umar after the morning prayer and some other ritual activities without giving any isnād, saying only: ١٦

وَقَدْ دَهَّبَ بَعْضُ اصْحَابِ الْنَّارِ يُلْهَيْنَ بِالْخَطَّابِ تَلْوَى عَدَّ الصَّحِيحِ

But in his immediate authority Malik there is a complete isnād: Malik — Ibn Shihab — ʿUmmad — 'Abd al-Rahmān, who performed Tawāf accompanying 'Umar.

12. In another place, Shafi'i says explicitly, “Every Hadith I have copied out (meaning in his books) with Munqati' isnād, I have heard it with complete isnād or transmitted by well-known authorities relating to well-known authorities. But I disliked quoting a Hadith which I did not memorize well. I lost some of my books but have verified what I have remembered from what is known to scholars; I have made it brief, being afraid of its volume, and have given only what will be sufficient, without exhausting all that can be known about the subject.”
The above evidence and its implications.

In the writings of early Scholars, mostly in non-tradition literature, the following features are very common:

The cutting of isnāds and their confining to the least possible quotations to serve the purpose, as the complete isnād and ample references would make the work bulky.

The omission of the complete isnād and quotation direct from the highest authority.

The use of isnād by Abū Yūsuf reveals that he uses the complete isnād, cuts it off, puts the anonymous word رجع, while he himself has mentioned the exact name a few pages earlier.

The use of the word Al-Sunnah and other words derived from it to mention the practice of the Prophet, without giving the text or isnād, as the Hadith in question was well-known to the scholars.

The conclusion.

Summing up the argument, the literature of legal science or the Sirah work is inadequate for the study of the traditions and isnāds and their ‘growth’.

Hadith is a complete subject by itself with a good many subsidiary branches. It is totally wrong, even unscientific, to study Hadith as a subject in the legal books. Therefore, any conclusion about the traditions, their transmission, or the isnād system, etc., based on the study of legal literature would be faulty and unreliable.

Flourishing of Isnāds in the later period.

It is the common phenomenon of isnād system that as we go further the number of transmitters increases. Sometimes a tradition transmitted by one companion acquires ten students in the next generation, in the class of Successors and, in their turn, these ten students have in some cases twenty or thirty students belonging to different countries and provinces.

Here are a few examples:

Tradition No. 3 (1).

This tradition is transmitted by at least ten Companions. Available sources at the moment provide some details about the chains of transmission for seven Companions out of ten. These seven Companions belong to three different places:

4 out of 7 Companions who transmitted this Hadith belong to Madinah.
1 belongs to Syria.
2 belong to Iraq.

The Companion Abū Hurairah has at least 7 students who transmit this tradition from him.

4 students out of 7 belong to Madinah.
2 students belong to Egypt.
1 student belongs to Yemen.

The students who transmitted from these seven students of Abū Hurairah are at least twelve in number.

Their localities are as below:
1 out of 12 belongs to Syria.
5 belong to Madinah.
1 belongs to Kufah.
1 to Makkah.
1 to Ta’if.
1 to Egypt.
1 to Yemen.

1. Exm. No. 6; 8-12.
2. Ex. 1-3.
3. Ex. 5.
4. Ex. 8, 9.
If we take other Companions and their students who transmitted this tradition into account, then the number in the second generation goes up to at least sixteen and in the third generation up to at least twenty-six, and their localities are as below:

The Transmitters from the Companions.

9 out of 16 belong to Madînah.
1 belongs to Makkah.
2 belong to Egypt.
2 to Başrah.
1 to Ḥims.
1 to Yemen.

Those who transmitted in turn from these authorities are twenty-six.

9 out of 26 belong to Madînah.
4 belong to Makkah.
2 belong to Egypt.
1 to Başrah.
1 to Ḥims.
1 to Yemen.
2 to Kûfah.
3 to Syria.
1 to Wâsîṭ.
1 to Ṭâ’if.
1 is of a locality unknown to me.
3 of the 26 scholars transmitted from more than one source.

This tradition is quoted by Ibn Ḥanbal nine times on the authority of Abû Hurairah and thirteen times on the authorities of six other Companions.

Tradition No. 4.

This tradition is transmitted by seven other Companions. These traditions agree with Abû Hurairah’s tradition in general.

9 students transmitted this tradition from Abû Hurairah.
5 out of 9 belong to Madînah.

2 belong to Egypt.
1 to Yemen
One I have been unable to trace
There are ten students who transmitted this tradition from the students of Abû Hurairah.

4 out of 10 belong to Madînah.
1 belongs to Egypt.
1 to Yemen.
2 to Kûfah.
1 to Makkah.
1 to Ṭâ’if.

The number of transmitters of similar tradition from the different Companions would increase to fourteen and the number of their students to fifteen.

There is only one narrator, Abû Sa‘îd, who transmitted from two Companions, ‘A’îshah and Abû Hurairah. No other student of ‘A’îshah is known to me who transmitted this tradition from her.

There is only one transmitter, al-Zuhri, amongst ten who transmitted from two authorities.

Ibn Ḥanbal has quoted this tradition eight times on the authority of Abû Hurairah.

Tradition No. 7.

At least thirteen students of Abû Hurairah transmitted this tradition from him.

8 out of 13 belong to Madînah.
1 belongs to Kûfah.
2 belong to Başrah.
1 to Yemen.
1 to Syria.

There are sixteen scholars who transmitted this tradition from the students of Abû Hurairah.

6 out of 16 belong to Madînah.
4 belong to Başrah.
2 to Kūfah
1 to Makkah.
1 to Yemen.
1 to Khurāsān.
1 to Ḥimṣ.

Two of these transmitters narrate this tradition from more than one authority. They are al-Zuhrī and al-A'amash. The same tradition is transmitted by four other Companions, namely Ibn 'Umar, Jābir, 'Ā'ishah and 'Alī, and taking into account their students, the numbers of the second generation of transmitters increase from thirteen to sixteen and in the third generation from sixteen to eighteen. Some of the students of Abū Hurairah also transmitted the same tradition from other sources than Abū Hurairah.

There is quite a different channel for this tradition in Shi‘ite sources.

Ibn Ḥanbal has endorsed this tradition at least fifteen times on the authority of Abū Hurairah.

Tradition No. 8.

This tradition is a lengthy one. A good many scholars have transmitted it in parts. Ibn Ḥanbal has endorsed it at least twenty-four times. It would be tedious to study the complete isnāds and their final shapes in the period of the classical authors. Confining the discussion only to the third generation of narrators of this tradition, who mostly belong to the first half of the second century of the Hijrah, the following feature appears:

Abū Hurairah has at least eleven students who transmitted this tradition, one part or another of it.

The analysis of their homes is as below:
9 out of 11 belong to Madīnah.
1 to Baṣrah.
1 to Kūfah.

They in turn have twenty-two students.
9 out of 22 belong to Madīnah.
1 belongs to Makkah.

4 to Kūfah.
5 to Baṣrah.
1 to Wāsiṭ.
1 to the Hijāz.
1 to Khurāsān.

The other feature is that not all the Medinites or Basrites or Kufis are the students of one single man.

Nine Medinites have obtained their knowledge from seven different Medinites.
3 out of 5 Basrites have transmitted from one Basrite.
1 Basrite has transmitted from a Madnite.
1 Basrite has transmitted from another Medinite.

Five of the students of Abū Hurairah have more than one student. The localities of their students are as follows:
1. 1 Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Madanī has five students.
2 out of 5 belong to Madīnah.
1 to Makkah.
1 to Kūfah.
2. Ibn al-Musayyab al-Madanī has four students.
2 out of 4 belong to Madīnah.
1 to Kūfah
1 to Baṣrah.
3. Al-Maqburi has two students:
One from Madīnah and the other from the Hijāz. His precise city is unknown to me.
4. Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Madanī has three students.
one each from Baṣrah, Wāsiṭ, and Khurāsān.
5. Ibn ʻIṣrā al-Baṣri has three students.
All of them from Baṣrah.

In later parts of the isnād the localities of the narrators would appear more and more mixed and from different provinces.
There are at least seven other Companions who have transmitted this tradition from the Prophet. If their transmitters are added to Abū Hurairah's transmitters, the number would increase.

This single tradition of Abū Hurairah is endorsed by Ibn Ḥanbal at least twenty-four times.

Furthermore, the tradition is preserved in the collections of A'mash (d. 148), Ibn Juraij (d. 150), and Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān (d. 168), who are transmitters of this tradition from the students of Abū Hurairah.

The same tradition is found in Shi'ite, Zaidi, and Ibāדי sources.

Tradition No. 10.

This tradition is transmitted by only two students of Abū Hurairah and each of them has only one student. There are eight other Companions who transmit this tradition from the Prophet. The number of the students of all these Companions reaches twenty and they in turn have twenty-five students of different provinces. This tradition is endorsed by Ibn Ḥanbal only once on the authority of Abū Hurairah.

Tradition No. 11.

This tradition is transmitted by only one student of Abū Hurairah. He is Abū Ṣalih, who has only one student, his son Suhail who in turn has four students. This tradition is endorsed by Ibn Ḥanbal three times on the authority of Abū Hurairah.

No other transmitter of this tradition is traceable. Perhaps, Abū Hurairah is the only one who transmitted this tradition from the Prophet.

Tradition No. 27.

There are nine students who transmitted this tradition from Abū Hurairah.

6 out of 9 belong to Madīnah.
1 to Baṣrah.
1 to Makkah.
1 to Syria.

Their students in turn reach twelve.
6 out of 12 belong to Madīnah.
1 belongs to Yamāmah.
1 to Tustar.
1 to Baṣrah.
1 to Syria.
1 is untraceable.

This tradition is endorsed eight times by Ibn Ḥanbal, on the authority of Abū Hurairah.
The same tradition is transmitted by twenty-one Companions.
10 out of 21 belong to Madīnah.
6 belong to Baṣrah.
2 belong to Kufah.
1 to Knurāsan.
1 to Ḥims.
1 to the tribe of 'Abd al-Qais.
Their students reach fifty-eight in number.
11 out of 58 belong to Madīnah.
13 belong to Baṣrah.
13 belong to Kufah.
1 to Syria.
3 to Makkah.
1 to Egypt.
2 to Marw.
1 to Bahrain.
1 to Yemen.
12 are unknown to me.

If we go one step further towards these scholars' students, we find the number increases to seventy-four.
12 out of 74 belong to Madīnah.
18 belong to Baṣrah.
1 to Yamāmah.
5 to Makkah.
1 to Tustar.
1 to Syria.
15 to Kufa.
1 to Wasit.
2 to Yemen.
1 to Tafa.
1 to Egypt.
1 to Jazrah.
1 to Khurasan.
14 are unknown to me.

One of them, Shubah, has transmitted from seven authorities; Zuhair, Salamah, Hammad, and Qatada, each from three authorities, and Qurras from two authorities.

Shiite, Zaidi and Ibad sources quote this tradition through their own channels.

The common feature of a good many traditions in the early part of the second century A.H. is the great number of transmitters who belong to different provinces and countries. We have for example seen in tradition No. 27 some seventy-four students belonging to a dozen different places. It was hardly possible for all these persons to consult each other so as to give a similar form and sense in transmitting a particular tradition. So if a particular tradition is transmitted by so many persons with a similar form and sense, then its genuineness cannot be questioned, as the trustworthiness of the individuals has been vouched for by their contemporaries. It is a general practice that if a man's honesty is proved by his dealing with the people, then his words are accepted as a true statement unless it is proved otherwise by facts. For the past generation with whom personal contact is impossible one needs to rely to a large extent on the testimony of contemporary sources. The standard fixed by the traditionists from the early days was that if someone tells a lie in his personal life, though he was honest in the transmitting of traditions, his traditions would not be accepted. They criticized their fathers, brothers, friends and close relatives. And, perhaps, it was the highest possible standard that could be set for documentation of any source. Therefore, there is no good reason to reject the testimony of the contemporaries.

Hadith literature offers an opportunity for further satisfactions. The other method to test their trustworthiness and honesty is by cross-references to the statements of scholars. The method was employed by traditionists in early days. Ayyub (d. 131) says that if one wants to know the mistake of his teacher he ought to frequent other teachers as well. Ibn al-Mubarak (d. 181) says that to reach an authentic statement one needs to compare the words of scholars with each other. When Ibn 'Uyaynah delivered his lectures on traditions, he was questioned by students whenever he differed from his colleague Malik. Hammad b. Salamah committed some mistakes. His pupils, transmitting his books, committed some more. Yahya b. Ma'in collected the records from eighteen students of Hammad to discriminate between the errors of Hammad and his students.

The same method can be utilized to compare the statements of later authorities; then going one step back to compare their teachers' statements till we reach the Prophet. If in a number of cases this method works and gives satisfactory results, it will provide confidence as a whole in the traditionists' literature. The present research provides sufficient grounds to accept this literature as a whole. The study also indicates the early beginning of the isnad system in Hadith. Abu Hurairah died in 58 or thereabouts, but there are other Companions who died earlier than Abu Hurairah and their traditions are also transmitted through an isnad. As it is found in many cases that 5, 6, 10, or more students belonging to different countries transmit a tradition from one Companion and they provide an isnad going back to the Prophet, their statement should be accepted as authentic. We even find that some early companions, e.g., 'Umar and 'Uthman, e.t.c., transmitting traditions gave as their immediate authorities not the Prophet but some other Companions. Had the system of isnad not existed, it would not have been possible for them to transmit this way.

1. Darimi, i, 153.
3. See for examples, Hujamaa, 226, 238, 281, 934.
4. Supra, 129.

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1. Musam, iv, 364.
Rebuttal of Schacht's theory of the spread of Isnāds.

Professor Schacht has formulated a theory to detect the date for the forgery of Hadith. Professor Robson has commented on the method and conclusions of Schacht, paying him very high tribute for his achievements. It reads,... “This is a very valuable contribution to the study of the development of Tradition, for it not merely suggests a date when certain traditions became attributed to the Prophet, but gives a certain value to the chain of authorities, suggesting that the latter part of the chain is genuine, whereas the earlier part which goes back to the Prophet is fictitious”.

Schacht describes his method as follows:

“These results regarding the growth of isnāds enable us to envisage the case in which a tradition was put into circulation by a traditionist whom we may call N.N., or by a person who used his name, at a certain time. The tradition would normally be taken over by one or several transmitters, and the lower, real part of the isnād would branch out into several strands... But N.N. would remain the (lowest) common link in the several strands of isnāds (or at least in most of them), allowing for his being passed by and eliminated in additional strands of isnāds (or at least in most of them), allowing for his being passed by and eliminated in additional strands of isnāds which might have been introduced later)...

“The case discussed in the preceding paragraph is not hypothetical but of common occurrence. It was observed, though of course not recognized in its implications, by the Muhammadan scholars themselves...

“A typical example of the phenomenon of the common transmitter occurs in Ikh. 294, where a tradition has the following isnāds:


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1. Origins 171-2. For the cases of anonymity in isnād see, supra, p. 222.
lines, we have to remember that this is a single case. It does not appear that Professor Schacht has made any thorough investigation of 'isnāds' of a considerable part of legal traditions necessary to put forward a theory of this nature, let alone his investigation of all of them or most of them. A theory of such common application is unacceptable on such a meager evidence. It seems that he has two kinds of measurements for research. To formulate a theory, he uses the term ‘common occurrence’¹, basing his research on a few examples that suit his theory; and if there are cases which cover 99% of the subject that refute his theory, then he uses the word ‘occasionally’² to minimize their effect. This dual standard of argument shows his prejudice and bias and consequently jeopardizes the conclusions of his whole research.

Moreover, even if it happens that there are some cases where a tradition is transmitted through a variety of lines of authorities and has a common transmitter at a certain age, the conclusion of Schacht would still be invalid. Because the edited work of Suhail makes it clear that dozens of scholars, belonging to different countries, transmitted a single tradition from one source while a few of them such as al-Zuhri, Shu’bah etc., transmitted it from more than one. If we find a scholar like al-Zuhri who is the only narrator from one source or more, in some cases, his trustworthiness has been established, there is no reason to suspect someone, even to charge him with forgery, on the basis that he is the sole authority who has transmitted a tradition and no other source for the same tradition is traceable, as is done by Schacht, is nonsense. For this kind of charge one should have some solid positive ground. It is doubtful if we apply the same standard to any other literature of the world, we would be able to prove its authenticity. However, traditionists themselves were aware of this kind of problem and its implications and they have given the proper place to everything according to its merits. Here is an example. Dhababī says³:

... فاتنر أول شيء النص صاحب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الكبار والصغار، ألا إلا وقد أمر بسجعه، فما قال له: هذا الحديث لا يتابع عليه، وكذلك التابعون,

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1. *Origins*, 172
Schacht and the authenticity of Iṣnāds.

"... The iṣnād constitute the most arbitrary part of the traditions... [And] it is common knowledge that the iṣnād started from rudimentary beginnings and reached perfection in the classical collections of traditions in the second half of the third century A.H. ... The iṣnāds were often put together very carelessly. Any typical representative of the group whose doctrine was to be projected back on to an ancient authority, could be chosen at random and put into the iṣnād... The following are further examples of the general uncertainty and arbitrary character of iṣnāds".

The present study shows quite different phenomena of the iṣnād. Now, it is beyond doubt that the system of iṣnād began from the time of the Prophet. The scholars differed from one to another in utilizing the system. At the end of the century it had reached almost its peak. The numbers of transmitters of one tradition and their different localities make it difficult to imagine the theory of "projecting back". It was not that perfection extended into the time of classical collection, as maintained by Schacht, but in the words of Fouad Sezgin, who studied Bukhārī in this context, "He [Bukhārī] can, in fact, be regarded as the first person to seriously shake the authority of the iṣnād".

In the thousands of traditions transmitted by Malik or other scholars, Professor Schacht picks out the faulty cases to formulate a theory. This is the main feature of his research. Even the references provided by him tend to refute his theory. For example, where he points out Malik's mistakes, referring to Zurqānī, he does not quote the complete paragraph. For Zurqānī has also pointed out that even Malik's student, Shafi'i, checked his fault. The scholars, comparing Malik's Ḥadīth with several of his colleagues, found him faulty. And as seven out of eight scholars were almost agreed and unanimous in their actual Ḥadīth against Malik, thus the mistake was checked. If it were a common practice to attach

2. Origin, 163.
4. He says, "The iṣnāds were often put together carelessly" (Origin, 163) and says in the footnote see: significant examples above, p. 53f and below, p. 263. This example is given by Schacht in Origin, p. 263.
5. Zurqānī, 1, 70.
isnāds to forged Ahadīth it would have been impossible to check and remove the discrepancy. The fact that checking was and could be done shows that a fictitious isnād was very rare and almost impossible to remain undetected. It cannot be denied that every scholar commits mistakes in copying at one time or another, but these cases cannot be accepted as the only relevant material for research.

Argument concerning Schacht's examples of the arbitrary character of Isnāds.

1. He refers to ‘Umar’s prostration after the recitation of a certain chapter from the Qurān which is related by ‘Urwa, and which has a ‘Muqadda’ isnād’. He says, ‘Bukhārī has a different, uninterrupted isnād. But old copies of the Muwatta’ have ‘and we did it together with him’, which is impossible in the mouth of ‘Urwa. This, of course is the original text of the Muwatta’...

   This shows that the formulation of the text of the tradition came first, the isnād was added arbitrarily and improved and extended backwards later2. It does not appear on what authority Professor Schacht thinks that this ‘of course’ is the original text of the Muwatta’. The most famous commentator on the Muwatta’, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (d. 463 A.H.) has not seen anything of this sort. Here is the text:

   ان عمر بن الخطاب قرأ حسنة وهو على المنبر فقل فسجد فسجد الناس معه. هكذا الرواية الصحيحة وهي التي عند ابن عمر, ويقع في نسخ وجدنا معه... ثم قرأها يوم الجمعية الأخيرة فيها الناس للسجود. فقال على رسول... فلم يسجدوا ومثله يسجدوا.

   Zurqānī says that this is the correct version and in some copies ‘wa safadā ma‘ahā’, but there is no reference to the ‘old copies’. After all every Arabist would reach the conclusion in this case that this was due to the scribe’s mistake who dropped a single letter sin in وسجد الناس معه س from وسجد الناس معه س which was sufficient to make all these versions. Moreover, if it had been the original text as it is assumed

   1. Schacht himself has committed mistakes in his book, for example when he mentions that Ibrāhīm confirms certain things by pointing out the absence of any information on the matter from the Prophet (Orig. 60), and refers to A.Y. 349-52. But A.Y. 349-50 have explicit statements contrary to this claim.

   2. Origins. 164.

by Schacht, and ‘Urwa had used the first person personal pronoun plural number, most likely he would have changed the structure of the whole of the next sentence and it would have been

فِيَّا لِلسجْدَ... فِلَمْ نسجْدَ... ومثلنا أن نسجْدَ.

Furthermore, as Mālik transmits this tradition on the authority of Hishām, if it were a case of forgery, they would not have been so foolish as to make such a blunder because both of them were clever scholars. Therefore to cast doubt on the isnād of Bukhārī, basing it on a discrepancy of the text which occurred in later centuries is wrong and unacceptable.

2. Another Example.

   ‘A significant example of the arbitrary creation of Isnāds occurs in TR. II 6 (a) and (b). Here we have first three versions of an Iranian tradition that ‘Ali ‘said, or gave orders to say prayers over the tomb of Sahl b. Ḥunaif. [He is mistaken here; there is only one version to this effect.]. The prayer over the tomb was an Iranian invention, but did not become prevalent in Iraq... Nor did it become prevalent in Medina, although a tradition from the Prophet in its favour found currency there. The isnād of this tradition uses the son of Sahl... It is Mursal; the isnād was later completed by inserting Sahl himself and by creating new isnāds through other companions’2. If the prayer over the tomb was an Iranian invention, as assumed by Schacht, and later on the traditions were fabricated, both in Medinite and Iranian circles, going back to the Prophet, then why did it not become prevalent either in Iraq or in Medina? How did the Iranians convince their opponents, Medinites, to invent a tradition in their favour? What impossibility is there if the Prophet had prayed on the tomb once or twice in his life, and this was taken by ‘Ali?

   Schacht did not quote Zurqānī completely. Zurqānī says that all the transmitters of the Muwatta’ agree unanimously that it is a Mursal tradition but Mūsā b. Muḥammad transmitted from Mālik with full isnād. Mūsā is Mātruk — abandoned — Sufyān b. Ḥusain, transmitting this tradition through al-Zuhri, provides a complete isnād, and the scholars unanimously held that Sufyān is

   1. The wordings in the brackets are the notes of the present writer.

   2. Origins. 165.
a weak narrator from al-Zuhri. Thus the correct conclusion is that this is a Mursal tradition. It means that the scholars have checked this mistake and did not accept it, yet Zurqānī adds that the tradition itself is authentic and transmitted by many Companions with authentic isnāds. It proves that they judge everything on its own merits; even if the text is correct, it is not accepted with a false isnād.

Example 3.

Schacht notices that the editor of Āthār Abū Yūsuf ‘has collected in the commentary the parallels in the classical and other collections; a comparison shows the extent of the progressive completion, improvement, and backward growth is isnāds’.

A few examples already collected from Abū Yūsuf and Shāfi‘ī’s writings show the method of handling their documents. They were more content with the subject matter referred to it in the easiest way, but it was the duty of traditionist as specialists in the subject to guard it by every means. So, it is fundamentally unscientific to carry a research in isnād through law books as it has been clear from Abū Yūsuf’s own writings.

Example 4.

Professor Schacht gives another example, where he thinks a Mursal tradition was awarded a full isnād, and quotes, “But Ṭahāwī remarks that the most reliable of Mālik’s companions, including Qa‘bābī and Ibn Wahb, relate it with an imperfect isnād, that is, mursal”. The learned Professor misunderstood here, the text of Ṭahāwī. Ṭahāwī speaks only of the tradition transmitted by the students of Mālik. Some students of Mālik transmitted it with full isnāds, but his famous students transmitted it as Munqatū. He does not speak about the traditions coming through different channels other than Mālik.

Example 5.

“The first tradition from the Prophet in favour of the Medinese doctrine, and the only one known to Mālik, in Mursal... In Mecca, the tradition was provided with an uninterrupted isnād of Meccan authorities... This was the only additional version which Shāfi‘ī knew when he wrote TR. III, 15 in the same paragraph the document of Sa‘d (d. 15) is mentioned, see Umm vii 112, and Schacht has overlooked it. When he wrote Ikh. 346, he knew a further version with a Medinese isnād, relating it from the Prophet on the authority of two Companions. In Umm vi, 273 ff. he quotes the following additional versions”. Professor Schacht, afterwards, gives those other versions. Two of them are transmitted through Darāwirdi, and so Schacht thinks that either Darāwirdi or someone who utilized his name was responsible for this.

We cannot say that Mālik knew about this case. Even without discussing it in detail, the case of Shāfi‘ī is much clear. He gives nine versions in Umm, vol. vi, 273, in vol. vii (Tr. III, 15). Therefore it is incorrect to say that when he wrote Tr. III, 15, he knew only one additional version, because Tr. III, 15, has two versions and because it makes a part of vol. vii, while Shāfi‘ī has given in vol. vi, nine versions. Naturally he would have composed vol. vi, earlier than vol. vii. Furthermore, Shāfi‘ī says that he has lost some of his books and aimed at conciseness, so has given only what would be sufficient, without exhausting all that can be known on the subject.

To conclude the discussion on the ‘arbitrary character’ of isnāds, only one more case is examined.

Example 6.

Schacht says, “We sometimes find that isnāds which consist of a rigid and formal chain of representatives of a school of law and project its doctrine back to some ancient authority, are duplicated by others which go back to the same authority by another way. This was intended as a confirmation of the doctrine of the school by seemingly independent evidence. A Medinese example is:

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1. Zurqānī, ii, 11.
2. Origin. 165.
3. Supra. 219-22.
4. Supra. 219-20.
5. Origin. 166.
6. Ṭahāwī, Ma‘ānī al-Āthār, ii, 265.

3. Shāfi‘ī, Risālah, 431. This is well-known to Prof. Schacht, see Origin. Preface, vii.

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I.U.—A.Q.—his father—the opinion of 'Uthmān, Zaid and Marwān (Tr. III, 89(a)).

The interruption in the isnād above Qāsim was remedied, and A.Q. eliminated, in: Mālik—Yahyā—Qāsim—Furāṭiṣa—'Uthmān (Maw. ii, 151 [see 152]); finally there appeared: Mālik—Ibn Abī Bakr—b. ʿAmir—'Uthmān, with a composite anecdote (Maw. ii, 192)”1.

Professor Schacht reverses the case. He says that the interruption of the above-mentioned isnād was remedied and A.Q. was eliminated in Mālik. But Mursal isnād occurs in Shafi‘i’s book al-Umm, VII, 224. Mālik had compiled his work some forty or fifty years earlier than Shafi‘i’s work. If we accept Schacht’s statement, then we would have to wait till after the death of Shafi‘i for the compilation of Muwatta”!!! which actually existed some fifty years before Shafi‘i’s work. So, according to Professor Schacht, the mistake was remedied before it was ever committed. The whole problem which is described in these two Hadith is that they report the act of the Caliph ’Uthmān, that he covered his face in the time of pilgrimage to save himself from the scorching heat. What impossibility do we face, if two men have seen him in the pilgrimage doing this!!!

Difficulties in the ‘Projecting Back’ theory of Schacht.

All scholars, even of one city, differ in their fame. Every student wants to attach himself to the most respectable authority of his time. In the second century a good deal of literature was available about the Kharijites. The mastery of many scholars had been accepted, while others had been denounced. Why did not all the students choose the most respected personality and put their traditions in his mouth and link them with the most reliable isnād? Why did they choose weak and Mātrāk personalities so often?

The other difficult problem we face is the existence of quite a number of traditions common in form and sense in the traditionist literature of different Muslim sects, e.g., Sunnī, Zaidi, Shi‘ite and Kharijite, etc.2, who had split off only thirty years after the death of the Prophet. Had all the legal traditions been fabricated in the second and third century A.H., there could not be a single tradition common to sources of these different sects. Schacht’s explanation is historically unacceptable. He says, “for a considerable period, and during the second and the third centuries A.H. in particular, the ancient sects remained in a sufficiently close contact with the Sunnī community, for them to adopt Muhammadan law as it was being developed in the orthodox schools of Law, introducing only such superficial modifications as required by their own political and dogmatic tenets”1. How can one accept this theory while the pages of history are full of war? The continually fought each other with the sword, condemning their opponents as out of Islam, rejecting their beliefs and ideas and abusing each other from the pulpits of mosques. All these circumstances make it hard even to suggest a close relation with the Sunnī community only for borrowing legal ideas!

His claim that the isnāds were duplicated by others which go back to the same authority by another way providing independent evidence to confirm the doctrine, is absurd. As it has been shown earlier, the transmitters of a single tradition, in so many cases, belong to a dozen different countries and thus their meetings and agreement on this sort of fabrication was almost impossible.

Professor Robson, commenting on Schacht’s theory of the improvement of isnād, points out that, “Traditionists themselves have drawn attention to certain men who have a reputation for taking traditions which go back only to Followers or Companions and giving them a complete isnād back to the Prophet... But we have seen that there is reason to believe that the same thing has been done with traditions which are accepted everywhere. Why were some men blamed for acting dishonestly while others were allowed to do the same thing without any attention being drawn to the fact? I feel sure that this was not because they were cleverer and more able to conceal their handiwork. It was rather that they were working within schools which had certain principles to establish”2.

Professor Robson may be sure, but he does not provide any basis for his hypothesis. If he had taken a few names who are ac-

1. Origin. 260; see also Schacht, Foreign Element, J.C.L.I. Law, 1950, 13 also Law. 16.
2. Robson, Muslim Tradition, op. cit., 100.

1. Origin. 169 (some abbreviations are used in copying the names in this passage).
2. This phenomenon has been noticed by Nallino.
cused of this kind of practice, had examined their traditions which are supposed to have been improved in this way and had found some common fact of scholastic dispute, then it could be a tenable theory. Otherwise there can be no value in maintaining a theory without any base. There is a very famous tradition كلام رأى وكلكم سلش عن ربيه with full isnāds and transmitted by many Companions. Ibn 'Uyaynah used to transmit this tradition Mursal. All of his students transmitted it Mursal, while Ibrāhīm b. Bashshār transmitted it with full isnād and on this basis the scholars ‘weakened’ him, saying: ليس بالفنين 1. The tradition in question does not have any political or religious basis but an ethical one. What scholastic feeling can one find in it?

There is another tradition concerning zakāt: that it is not due till the year ends. It is transmitted as an aṭhar of Ibn 'Umar2 and is accepted among all lawyers. Someone has transmitted it as going back to the Prophet, which was rejected, and it is accepted as the words of Ibn 'Umar and as a basis for Zakāt taxation. The scholars charged someone of this practice after making comparisons between the notes of different students of one teacher and then tracing them back and comparing their materials. Sometimes they collected fifteen and twenty versions of one work to compare for mistakes and discrepancies3.

Schacht and the Isnād of Mālik and Nāfi’.

Professor Schacht has cast suspicion on the isnād of Mālik — Nāfi’ — Ibn 'Umar and has challenged its authenticity on two grounds:

On the age of Mālik.

Relation of Nāfi’ with Ibn 'Umar as he was the client. In his own words: ‘But as Nāfi’ died in A.H. 117 or thereabouts, and Mālik in A.H. 179, their association can have taken place, even at the most generous estimate, only when Mālik was little more than a boy. It may even be questioned whether Mālik, whom Shāfi’ī charged elsewhere with concealing imperfections in his isnāds, did not take over in written form traditions alleged to come from Nāfi’4. He says in the footnote that, ‘Nothing authentic is known of Mālik’s date of birth’5.

Professor Schacht treats the case in reverse. Instead of giving the birth date of Mālik to show how old he was when Nāfi’ died, he gives the death date of Mālik claiming nothing authentic is known of his date of birth and gives the impression, even in writing, that he was little more than a boy. Had he consulted any bibliographical work he would have found that most of the scholars, even those who were born a little earlier than Mālik, state that he was born in 93 A.H.; a few put it in the early months of 94 A.H., a few in 90 A.H. and a few in 97. But there is no one who maintains any date later than this. So, Mālik was at least twenty years old, if not twenty-four or twenty-seven, when Nāfi’ died. He transmitted in the Muwatta’ from Nāfi’ only eighty traditions of the Prophet, which covers about fifteen pages6 in the printed text of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr. Other aṭhar transmitted by Mālik on the authority of Nāfi’, are not taken into account; if we give an equal number to those from the Prophet, then it would be some thirty pages. The teacher Nāfi’ and the student Mālik both lived in one city till Mālik was twenty-four years old, which makes it difficult to say that he might not have learned these thirty pages from his teacher. Schacht’s omission of Mālik’s birth date in this argument can lead only to erroneous conclusions.

The other point raised by Schacht is that Nāfi’ was a client of Ibn 'Umar. But if a man is being accepted amongst his contemporaries and among the later authorities as most trustworthy, then why should he be dishonest? If a statement of a father about his son or vice versa, or a wife about her husband or a friend about a friend or a colleague about a colleague is always unacceptable, then on what sources could a biography possibly be written? Nāfi’ was not the only scholar who transmitted from Ibn ‘Umar, but there were students in great numbers, and the scholars always

1. Macrūn, I, 23.
3. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Intiqā' 10; Mashhār, 140; Zuruqūnī, commentary on Muwatta’ i, 5.
tried to cross-check each other’s statements. If there had been falsification of the sort suggested by Schacht, it would have been impossible that all the other scholars should have kept quiet about him. To claim that hundreds of thousands of scholars spent their lives making forgeries in collusion and produced this vast literature with all biographical details is to show an utter disregard for human nature.

Professor Robson has said in this context, “Was the family isnād invented to supply apparent evidence for spurious traditions, or did genuine family isnāds exist which later served as models? It seems better to recognise that they are a genuine feature of the documentation, but to realize that people often copied this type of isnād to support spurious traditions. Therefore, while holding that family isnāds do genuinely exist, one will not take them all at face value”.

It is always the case that the genuine thing exists first, and forgery follows. It is quite right that all the family isnāds should not be taken as genuine ones. The traditionists, as is obvious from their biographical works, were aware of this fact, and there is no lack of references where they denounce this sort of isnād; e.g. (1) Ma’mar b. Muḥammad and his transmission from his father, (2) ‘Isa b. ‘Abd Allāh from his father, (3) Kāthīr b. ‘Abd Allāh from his father, (4) Mūsā b. Maṣūf from his father, (5) Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh from his father, etc.

**Final Conclusion.**

Summing up the discussion one reaches the following conclusions.

The isnād system began in the lifetime of the Prophet and was used by Companions in transmitting the traditions of the Prophet.

Political upheavals in the fourth decade gave birth to the forgery of traditions in the political sphere, to credit or discredit certain parties. So, scholars became more cautious and began to scrutinize, criticize and search for the sources of information. The use of isnād, therefore, became more and more important.

Orientalists have not chosen the right field for the study of isnād. The writings of Abū Yūsuf and Ṣaḥḥāf clearly show the inadequacy of law books for the study of isnāds.

The nature of Sunnah work is far from being merely documentary; for this reason the study of isnād or Ḥadith ought to be carried out in its own literature.

The examples supplied by Schacht tend to refute his own theory. The phenomena of isnād, the numbers of transmitters belonging to scores of provinces, thoroughly invalidate the theory of “projecting back”, “artificial creations” and similar statements.

There does not seem to be “any sort of improvement in isnād”. Traditionists themselves have checked for this sort of fault. To maintain that they were criticized when they served opponents’ scholastic interests is only an assumption without historical evidence. The documents positively refute this theory.

There is no reason whatsoever to discredit the isnād of Mālik—Nafi’—Ibn ‘Umar.

All the “family isnāds” are not genuine, and all the “family isnāds” are not spurious.

According to traditionists, a correct document was wrong and unacceptable unless it came through a proper channel.

There is no reason to reject the isnād system. It is proved that it has every element which can command the acceptance of the system as a whole.

Traditionists have taken the utmost care to check errors and discrepancies with sincerity.

The literature still provides sufficient ground for research, and all reasonable methods may be applied to test it.

3. *Majālis* 228b; for other people see in *Majālis* under their names or *Mīṣān al-Fīdāl* by Ḍhahābī, for these sort of remarks.
CHAPTER VII

AHĀDĪTH

THE AUTHENTICITY OF ḤADĪTH.

It has already been shown that the great number of transmitters of traditions, belonging to different provinces and countries, and the constant checking of discrepancies at every stage, leaves very little room for forgery in isnād.

The second part of this work contains the text of three early manuscripts which were the primary sources of Mālik for his Muwaffa'. The primary sources of Bukhārī viz. 'Abd al-Razzāq, Ḥumaidī and others are in our hands. Even the earliest sources of Shuyūkh, viz. Al-Thaurī, Ibn Jurajj and al-A'mash are at our disposal. Cross-checking of traditions in these sources in various stages gives us sufficient basis to accept them as genuine, especially when we bear in mind the literary activity of scholars of the pre-Classical period, which has been described in the third chapter of this work. It gives us more confidence when we find that the students used to check their teachers in the class-room, referring to the teachers' colleagues and their documents.

Schacht and the authenticity of Hadith.

The result of Professor Schacht's study contradicts the conclusion of the present study. In Chapter VI, it has been explained that the study of Ḥadīth and isnād in legal or Sirah books would lead to wrong conclusions. Schacht has outlined the sketches of the early legal activities of the first and second centuries of the Hijrah, and has provided some examples of "forged traditions". In this chapter we shall at first examine the picture drawn by him of early legal activities, and then we shall look into his illustrations.

An Outline of Early Legal Activities of the First and Second Centuries A.H. as given by Professor Schacht.

The Prophet, in Madiinah, "Became a 'Prophet-Lawgiver' ... his authority was not legal but, for the believers, religious and, for the lukewarm, political".

The Caliphs (632-62) "were the political leaders of the Islamic Community... but they do not seem to have acted as its supreme arbitrators... the caliphs acted to a great extent as the lawgivers of the community".

"The first caliphs did not appoint Kāds... The Umayyads... took the important step of appointing Islamic judges or Kāds".

"...From the turn of the century onwards (c. A.D. 715-20) appointments of Kāds as a rule went to 'specialist'... the specialists from whom the Kāds came increasingly to be recruited were found among those pious persons whose interest in religion caused them to elaborate, and individual reasoning, an Islamic way of life".

"As the groups of pious specialists grew in numbers and in cohesion, they developed, in the first few decades of the second century of Islam, into the ancient schools of Law".

"The ancient schools of law shared... the essentials of legal theory... The central idea of this theory was that of the 'living tradition of the school' as represented by the constant doctrine of its authoritative representatives... It presents itself under two aspects: retrospective and synchronous. Retrospectively it appears as Sunna or 'Practice' (Aimal)..."

"Nevertheless, the idea of continuity inherent in the concept of sunna, the idealized practice, together with the need to create

1. Law., 11.
2. Ibid., 15.
3. Ibid., 16.
4. Ibid., 24.
5. Ibid., 26.
6. Ibid., 28.
7. Ibid., 29-30. It is wrong to say, as described by Schacht, Origin, 58, that the old concepts of Sunnah was the customary of generally agreed practice and the place was filled in later systems by the Sunnah of the Prophet. The word Sunnah of the Prophet is used by the Prophet, Abī Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Ali See Wensinck, Concordance, vol. ii, 555-8, Yaqībī, History, ii, 104. For the usage of the word in the first century Mu'tazila writings see al-Muntaq, Tabaqat al-Mu'azzil, 19. See also Tabari, Annales, i, 3166, 3299, 3044.
some kind of theoretical justification for what so far had been an instinctive reliance on the opinions of the majority, led, from the first decades of the second century onwards, to the living tradition being projected backwards and to its being ascribed to some of the great figures of the past. The Kufians were the first in attributing the doctrine of their school to Ibrahim al-Nakha'i. The Medinemese followed suit..."

"The process of going backwards for a theoretical foundation of Islamic religious law... did not stop at these relatively late authorities,... [but was taken back to and] directly connected with the very beginnings of Islam in Kufa, beginnings associated with Ibn Mas'ud..."

"The movement of the Traditionists... in the second century of the Hijra, was the natural outcome and continuation of a movement of religiously and ethically inspired opposition to the ancient schools of law". "The main thesis of the Traditionists... was the formal "traditions"... deriving from the Prophet superseded the living tradition of the school... The Traditionists produced detailed statements or 'traditions' which claimed to be the reports of ear-or eye-witnesses on the words or acts of the Prophet, handed down orally by an uninterrupted chain (Isnad) of trustworthy persons. Hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic". All "the ancient schools of law, offered strong resistance to the disturbing element represented by the traditions which claimed to go back to the Prophet". And, "Traditions from the Prophet had to overcome a strong opposition on the part of the ancient schools of law..."

1. Law, 31.
2. Ibid., 32.
3. Ibid., 34.
4. Law, 34.
5. Ibid., 35.
6. Origin, 57. This conception is entirely wrong. The over-ruled authority of the Sunnah of the Prophet and as the basic source of law is a rule accepted by all from the earliest days of Islam. See for details, Shafi'i, Umm, vii, 250; Sibbi', Sunnah, 160; al-Basri, al-Mu'tazili; al-Mu'tamad, 377-387; Kayybi, Intisar, 89, 98; 135-6, 137; Ibn Umar's saying, Hanbal, ii, 95; for the sayings of Abu Hanifah see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Intiqal, 145; and for Auzai, Abu Yusuf, 37, 46.

The main reason for this wrong conclusion of Schacht is his unscientific method of research. He utilizes the polemic writings of scholars, mainly Shafi'i's accusation of his opponent, to define the legal doctrines of Shafi'i's

"It is safe to assume that Muhammedan law hardly existed in the time of the historical Sha'bi", (d. 110). "Ibrahim al- Nakha'i of Kufa (d. 95 or 96 A.H... did no more than give opinions on questions of ritual, and perhaps on kindred problems of directly religious importance... but not on technical points of law".

Schacht's Conception of the Nature of Law in Islam.

It seems as if Schacht is fundamentally wrong in the conception of the function of the Prophet Muhammed as a legislator. To say that the Prophet in Madinah became a "prophet-lawgiver" and simultaneously claim that his authority was not legal is a statement with misleading implications. He ignored the Qur'an totally in this context. Had he gone through it, he would have found the clear divine legislative authority of the Prophet. Furthermore, the earliest written document of "the Constitution of Medina" gives him the supreme authority in all their disputes and his decision was the final one. He has the highest judicial authority according to the Qur'an. Law in Islam has a divine origin. Kharjites parted from 'Ali, on his setting up of a human tribunal as they believed it was against the divine word, loudly protesting that "judgment belongs to God alone". All the community was and is bound to judge according to the law revealed by God, otherwise they would no longer remain Muslims. Therefore it was the prime duty of the Prophet as well as the Caliphs to promulgate the law and administer justice according to it. As law in Islam has a divine origin, so is the administration of justice a

while ignoring the writings of those scholars and their own expression of their attitudes towards the Sunnah of the Prophet. See, Origin, 11, 28, 35, 88, 259.

1. Origin, 230 footnote 1; for the date of his death, see Origin, General Index, 347.
2. Law. 27.
3. The Qur'an, vii, 157; lix, 7.
5. See for example; Al-Qur'an, iv, 58, 65, 105; xxiv, 51; xlii, 15.
8. The Qur'an, v, 44-9; xii, 40; xxxiii, 36.
Divine ordinance and a practice of the Prophet which ought to be followed. There are references to the Companions who were sent as Qādis by the Prophet. Meanwhile, the governors of the Prophet were ordered to administer justice and were given clear instructions to dispense justice impartially. A very good list of the early Qādis appointed by ‘Umar and the other early Caliphs could be provided, even now, from the available sources. Therefore Schacht’s claim that the Prophet’s authority was not legal and that the first Caliphs did not appoint Qādis and that the conception of Islamic way of life is the production of pious persons’ individual reasoning, is absurd and contrary to facts. The Caliph ‘Uthmān even built a separate building for the Court of Justice with the name Dār al-Qādā. Professor Schacht does not give us any reason as to what compelled early scholars of the first century to confine themselves to ritual decisions. Did no dispute occur among them for 100 years? Did they not buy or sell, which could cause some misunderstanding, so that they had to go to the court?

Schacht’s ‘ancient schools of law’ and the birth of an opposition party in their chronological setting.

Abū Ḥanifah died in 150. His clear statement about the over-ruling authority of the Sunnah of the Prophet goes back to about 140 A.H.? We have been told that in the life of Sha‘bī, d. 110, Islamic law did not exist. Between 110 and 140, there remain only thirty years for the following activities:

- Birth of ancient schools of law.
- Growth of the schools and ideas of consensus.

2. Sa‘d, iii, ii, 121.
6. See also Coulson, A History of Islamic Law, 64-5.
7. Dhahabi says that in 143 A.H. Abū Ḥanifah and others compiled the book. For the doctrine of Abū Ḥanifah regarding the over-ruling authority of Sunnah, see Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, al-İntiqā, 142, 143, 144; Nu‘mān, Siyās al-Nu‘mān, 124; Shaibānī, ‘Aṯār almost every page; Abū Zahrah, Abū Ḥanīfah, 275-7: Bagh. xiii, 368; see also, Orig., 28.

AHĀDĪTH

Projecting back of ideas, for example by Iraqi, to the higher authority, Al-Nakha‘ī.

Further projecting to an older authority than Al-Nakha‘ī such as Mārṣūq.

Further projecting to the oldest authority such as Ibn Mas‘ūd.

Projecting back to the Prophet as a last resort.

Birth of opposition group, (traditionists).

Their fabrications of Hadith with full details of the life and decisions of the Prophet as well as of the Companions.

The opposition’s fight with the ancient schools, and the loss of ground by ancient schools and the establishment of the over-ruling authority of the Sunnah.

Meanwhile one must bear in mind that an opposition party comes into existence after a considerable time from the birth of the opposed party, especially if this is quite a new thing. A mere thirty years for all these activities is inconceivable, and thus Schacht falls back on the theory of living traditions.

Now, it is obvious that the legal activities of the first centuries and the birth of the opposition party is unacceptable in their chronological setting as described by Schacht.

Schacht and “The Growth of Legal Traditions in the Literary Period”.

According to Schacht “…The best way of proving that a tradition did not exist at a certain time is to show that it was not used as a legal argument in a discussion which would have made reference to it imperative, if it had existed”.

There are many problems which need to be solved before accepting this theory.


First of all one has to observe the contradictory statements of Schacht. He says that two generations before Shafi‘i, reference to the tradition of the Prophet was the exception. Furthermore,

1. Orig., 140.
2. Ibid., 3.
according to him, all these ancient schools of law offered strong resistance to the traditions of the Prophet. In view of the above statements what would have made reference to traditions of the Prophet imperative even if they existed. Either his two earlier statements are wrong, or his whole chapter is irrelevant for the purpose.

2. The theory against human nature.

The other fundamental objection to this theory is that this is against human nature. Who can claim that he has all the knowledge of the subject and nothing is missing. Therefore, if a tradition is not quoted by a certain scholar, how does it prove that it did not exist?


Moreover, Schacht gives the title of ‘The Growth of Legal Tradition’, yet he fills it up mostly with a number of ritual traditions. The other drawback is that he has put the ᾄθαρ of Successors and Companions under the name of Traditions. When he speaks about the ‘Sunnah’ he translates it as “the living tradition of ancient schools” and when he speaks about the legal decision of the scholars, then he puts them under the aegis of tradition, which causes more chaos and does not give a fair picture of the subject.

Argument about Schacht’s examples of the growth of legal traditions.

Example 1.

Let us examine a few of his examples in this chapter. He says: “The evidence collected in the present chapter has been chosen with particular regard to this last point, and in a number of cases one or the other of the opponents himself states that he has no evidence other than that quoted by him, which does not include the tradition in question. This kind of conclusion e silentio is furthermore made safe by Tr. VIII, 11, where Shaibānī says: ‘[this is so] unless the Medinese can produce a tradition in support of their doctrine, but they have none, or they would have produced it’. Commenting on this statement, Schacht says: ‘We may safely assume that the legal traditions with which we are concerned were quoted as arguments by those whose doctrine they were intended to support, as soon as they were put into circulation’.”

Here is the original text: قال أبو حنيفة كل شيء يصabo به العبد من بذ أو رجل... فهو من قبيله على مدار ذلك... وقال أهل المدينة في موضعه عبد نصف عشر منة... فإنكما أبو حنيفة في هذه الخلافة الأربعة قالا فكانا سري ذلك ما تقص من غاية. قال محمد بن الحسن كيف جاز لأهل المدينة أن يتحكمو في هذا فيختارا هذه الخلافة الأربعة من بين الخلاف... في ينبغي أن ينص الناس ولا يتحكمو في يقولوا يقول ما قلت من شيء إلا أن يأتي أهل المدينة فإذا قالا من هذا بئس فثقب له. وليس عدهم في هذا أثرا يفوقون به بين هذه الأشياء. فلما كان نحن جامعا عليه فيما من آثارهم فلما لم يكن هذا فيغيئي الأحوال فإنا أن يكون هذا على ما قال أبو حنيفة…

The first striking fact in the whole discussion is that there is neither a reference to the tradition from the Prophet nor to any other authority. The whole discussions concerns the decision of Abū Ḥanīfah about certain kinds of injuries to slaves and their compensations. The Medinite scholars agree with Abū Ḥanīfah in some cases and disagree in others. Al-Shaibānī, arguing with the Medinities, asks what is the reason for their discrimination in certain matters. Why do they follow Abū Ḥanīfah’s decision only half-way? Have they any ᾄθαρ to this effect? Let them bring it out; then the Iraqis would follow them in their discrimination. But they have nothing of this sort, so people need to be just...

It is astonishing how Professor Schacht was able to involve the tradition and its forgery in this context.

Example 2.

He says:

Traditions later than ‘Ḥasan Baṣrī’.

There is no tradition in the treatise ascribed to Ḥasan Baṣrī. His statement would be valid if it could be proved that: Ḥasan Baṣrī was the actual author of the work.

He cannot be ignored of any tradition.

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1. Ibid., 57.
2. Professor Schacht denies the existence of certain traditions, and they are on the same page referred to by him. See Origin. 60. Compare with A.V., 349-52.
But when the authenticity of the work is challenged, and Schacht himself does not accept it as the work of Hasan, then what reason does he have for his hypothesis? It might have been written by a member of Ahl al-Kalām or by any heretic or by anyone, but how would the consequences involve Hasan Baṣrī and forgery of Ḥadīth.

Example 3.

"Tradition originating between "Ibrāhīm Nakha'i" and Ḥammād".

...Ibn Masʿūd did not follow a certain practice... But there is a tradition in favour of the Practice polemically directed against the other opinion. The same tradition with another Iraqi ḍiṣūd occurs in Tr. II, 19 (t)"1.

The tradition concerns the prostration after the reciting of certain verses from Sūrah Sād. It is reported that Ibn Masʿūd did not prostrate, but another tradition transmitted by Abū Ḥanīfah—Ḥammād—ʿAbd al-Karīm—says the Prophet prostrated after reciting the verses from the Sūrah Sād, and also Ibn ʿUyaynah—Ayyūb—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās—the Prophet did2. ʿUmar—his father—Ibn Jubaib—Ibn ʿAbbās—the Prophet did3. These statements go quite contrary to Professor Schacht’s assumption.

It is not a legal tradition but a purely ritual tradition.

Nobody can claim that Ibn Masʿūd knew all the traditions and missed nothing.

There is no contradiction between these two traditions; one of them is a personal practice of a Companion who did not know the Prophet prostrated. The practice of the Prophet is reported by three different channels. How could the Iraqis persuade the Makkans, Ibn ʿUyaynah to fabricate and transmit traditions to this extent?

This tradition and similar ones shake the theory of Schacht. He says, "The name of Ibn Masʿūd is usually an indication of the prevailing doctrine of the school of Kūfah"4. And "Ibn Saʿd (vi, 232) identified Ḥammād’s own doctrine with what Ḥammād put under the aegis of Ibrāhīm..."5.

And "Judging from ʿAthār A.Y. and ʿAthār Shaib, which are the main sources of Ibrāhīm’s doctrine...traditions transmitted by Ibrāhīm occur mostly in the legal chapters... and hardly at all in those devoted to purely religious...matters"6.

If Ibrāhīm and Ibn Masʿūd were the source for the doctrine of the Kūfian school, as claimed by Schacht, then what was the necessity of attributing statements and practices to them which the Kūfians rejected themselves? Why did they not put their positive doctrine in their sponsor’s mouth? If the Kūfians were unscrupulous and exploiting the names of these scholars, then why did they not keep quiet and erase the traditions, instead of weakening the personalities and damaging the prestige of their sponsors to the extent that those scholars were ignorant of certain traditions from the Prophet?

Professor Schacht points out that hardly any tradition from Ibrāhīm relates to purely religious matters. This is quite wrong. For example, the first chapter of A.Y. —Al-Wuḍū’— is counted, and 29 ʿAṭḥār out of 53 belong to Ibrāhīm.

Schacht has misreported the wording of Ibn Saʿd to blame Ḥammād. Ibn Saʿd reports Ibn Shaddād saying that he saw Ḥammād writing in the (lecture) of Ibrāhīm. He further reports on the authority of Al-Battī that when Ḥammād decided according to his opinion he was right and when he reported from an authority other than Ibrāhīm, he made a mistake4.

It means he was a good Muftis, and had sufficient knowledge of Ibrāhīm’s doctrine and had even written from him, but when he transmitted from authorities other than Ibrāhīm, he made a mistake4. There is no mention of forgery.

It is suggested by Schacht—"Ḥammād transmitted traditions which had recently come into circulation, from the Prophet and from various Companions of the Prophet. These outside traditions, which did not belong to the ‘Living Tradition’ of the school and

1. Origin, 141.
2. A.Y. 207.
4. Shaibāni, ʿAṭḥār, 72.

2. Ibid., 238-9.
3. Ibid., 234.

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often contradicted it and Ḥammād’s own doctrine, were the result of the rising pressure of the traditionists on the ancient school of law”.

But the problem is much more complicated than this statement suggests.

When late Kufan scholars Ḥammād etc. related Ṭḥārī from ʿAbd al-Muqtadī riv only were really transmitted by them or were ascribed to them falsely as suggested by Schacht. In the second hypothesis, if the Kufans attributed certain traditions to their patrons and acted against them as they often did, it would mean that they themselves weakened the personalities of their sponsors by showing their ignorance. Consequently, it would mean that they cut the very branch on which they rested, and perhaps Ḥammād and Kufan scholars were wiser than this.

Therefore, what their scholars ascribed to certain authorities must have been taken from them.

According to Schacht, until 110 A.H. there was hardly any “Muḥammadan law”. Ten or twenty years, which Ḥammād had at the beginning of the second century, was not sufficient even to lay the foundation of the ancient schools of law. Hence the existence of any traditionist movement against recently born or perhaps unborn schools, in such an early stage, is almost impossible. The theory of the rising pressure of the traditionist on the ancient schools of law is totally imaginary and, therefore, unacceptable.

Example 4.
“Tradition Originating between Mālik and the Classical Collections”.

“Mālik adds to the text of a tradition from the Prophet his own definition of the aleatory contract mutāmās...” [and] the same definition appears as a statement of Mālik... But this interpretation has become part of the words of the Prophet in ʿAbd al-Qadr and Ṣalmān”.2

The early traditionists were quite aware of this kind of discrepancy. In every Usul al-Hadith work one finds a chapter on Mudajj, where problems of this sort are discussed. As far as this particular tradition is concerned, Ṣalmān has given the exact

tradition transmitted by Mālik without any additional materials from Mālik’s commentary. The additional material similar to Mālik’s statement occurs in a tradition transmitted by ‘Uqail—Ibn Shihab—ʿAmir b. Saʿd—ʿAbū ʿAbd al-Khadrī.

The commentators of the book have discussed this sentence, collecting all the material relative to this tradition. Some scholars describe it as the wording of Ibn ʿUayn, but Ibn ʿAla has argued this point and says that this is the commentary of ʿAbū ʿAbd al-Khadrī. Hence, Mālik himself might have taken this definition.

Example 5.
Here is another example of forgery and falsification provided by Professor Schacht.

He makes the startling statement, “That the ‘Practice’ existed first and traditions from the Prophet and from Companions appeared later, is clearly stated in Mud. iv, 28, where Ibn Qāsim gives a theoretical justification of the Medinese point of view. He says: ‘This tradition has come down to us, and if it were accompanied by a practice passed to those from whom we have taken it over by their own predecessors, it would be right to follow it. But in fact it is like those other traditions which are not accompanied by practice. [Here Ibn Qāsim gives examples of traditions from the Prophet and from the Companions.] But these things could not assert themselves and take root...’”

“The practice was different, and the whole community and the Companions themselves acted on other rules. So the traditions remained neither discredited [in principle] nor adopted in practice, ... and actions were ruled by other traditions which were accompanied by Practice’... ‘The Medinese thus oppose ‘practice’ to traditions’”. An unwarranted remark! Ibn Qāsim’s whole discussion is based on the point that there are two sorts of traditions: one group which is accompanied by the practices of the Companions and the Successors, and another group which is not accompanied by any sort of practice. So, if there were a conflict between these two groups, then the one accompanied by the prac-

2. Origin. 63.
article contradicting the opinion of the earlier scholar Sachau. He describes it thus: “The contents of the extracts are the kind of traditions we should expect about the middle of the second century...[Tradition] No. 6 tries to mitigate, in favour of the ruling dynasty, the episode in which its ancestor 'Abbās, fighting against the Prophet, was captured by the Muslims and had to be ransomed; No. 9, which denies privileges in penal law to the descendants of the Prophet, is anti-Alid; No. 10 praises the Anṣār and, by implication, the pro-Abbasid party in Medina”.

“'Abbāsīd traces are unmistakable; the strong anti-Alid tendency and, particularly, the favourable attitude to the Caliphat of Abū Bakr even point to a period somewhat later than the very first years of 'Abbāsīd rule. It would hardly be possible to consider Mūsā himself the author...”.

Before the discussion it is better to note the Arabic text for easy reference.

Tr. No. 6.
 قال ابن شهاب: “كنا بن مالك إن رجلاً من الأنصار استدعى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقالاً: اللننا يا رسول الله فلترك لنا اجتناب عباس فبدله. قال: لا والله ولا تذروا درماً.”

Tr. No. 8.
 ثنا إسماعيل بن الابراهيم بن عقبة قال سالم بن عبد الله قال عبد الله بن عمر فقال بعض الناس في امرأة أسماء فقام رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال: “و ان تعبوا في امرأة اسماء قد كنت تغنم في امرأة سليمة من قبله. إن الله ان كان بكلام لامرأة كأن كان لاحب الناس في حفظ النحل فكأن على...”.

Tr. No. 9.
 قال موسى قال سالم بن عبد الله قال عبد الله بن عمر ما كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم رضي الله عنها.

Tr. No. 10.
 قال موسى بن عقبة حداثي عبد الله بن الفضل وهم سلم بن مالك يقبل حزنت

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3. Ibid., 290.

1. Origin, 60, where he refers to A.Y. 349-52...
2. No. 10. Praises the Anṣār and by implication the pro-
‘Abbāsid party in Medina, and then would be anti-‘Alid as well. But
the same tradition is repeated by Shi‘ite theologians, tradition-
ists and commentators, time after time. It is doubtful that the
Shi‘ites, who denounced all the Companions of the Prophet except
a few and expelled them from Islam, were so unaware that they
quoted this tradition time after time and only Professor Schacht
was able to notice this anti-‘Alid element.

Guillaume found it anti-Umayyad, as they are condemned for
the slaughter at al-Harra. But who would praise any army or
government in the world who slaughtered the population in this
way?

Moreover, the Anṣār gave the Prophet shelter when his own
tribe tried to kill him and he was forced to migrate from his birth-
place, Mecca. The Anṣār defended him, fought with him, offered
sacrifices of lives and wealth for his mission. So, if he would not
have praised them, he would have been ungrateful. Why do we
have to wait until the mid-second century for this tradition to be
born, particularly when there are verses in the Qur‘ān1 in praise
of them?

Furthermore, one does not find sentences in praise of Anṣār
in this tradition. The Prophet asks God for the pardon of these
people. It is a very simple matter. The Prophet was commanded
—according to the Qur‘ān2—to ask pardon of God for the people.

3. No. 9 is anti-‘Alid as it denies the privilege in penal law
to the descendants of the Prophet. But where has the Prophet
himself acquired a privilege in penal law, and where has he said
that he was above the law? We find that he offered himself for the Qidās.
What sources have we, where the Prophet or his descendants are
described as being above the law? Is it not the superiority of
the law and the equality of subjects that is the right thing? So where
is the anti-‘Alid element in it? ‘Alī himself never claimed that he was
above the law.

Furthermore, as a matter of fact it is not a separate tradition
but a part of No. 8. Sachau was misled, due to the occurrence of

1. Al-Majšī, Bihār xxv, 159–60; Tābrāzī, Marnā’ al-Bayān v, 18-20;
see also Ibn Abā Ḥadīd, Nuhaj al-Balūghah, ii, 252.
2. The Qur‘ān, ix, 100, 117.
3. The Qur‘ān, iii, 159.
the isnād twice as well as the word Rasul Allāh, and so he split one tradition into two. Professor Schacht follows him without proper attention. In this case Tradition No. 9 does not refer to any penal law’s privilege or its condemnation. It refers simply to the case of Usāmah: when the Prophet said that Usāmah was the dearest of all he did not exempt from it even his own daughter Fātimah. Tayyilī transmitted a tradition from Hammād from Mūsā b. ‘Uqbah. It reads:

كان رسول الله يقول «اِسْتَحْبَّة النَّاس إلى وَلَد بَنَة فاطمة وَلَبِنَة هَرَس» 1814

This is another question of love, whether he loved Usāmah more than his daughter or vice-versa, because the relation of love has many aspects. So it could not be taken as an anti-Ali sentiment.

Professor Schacht has later on discussed this ‘fictitious isnād’ of Tr. No. 8 and some other relative problems. To him, error is not human nature and everything is ‘projected back’!

This extract is not an original work, but a work copied and recopied and just an extract. At the time of editing no other copy was available, so any discrepancy occurring in one copy in due course would remain in other copies. Even the great scholar Sachau has made a blunder in copying the text and has changed the complete tradition from a positive to a negative sense. In No. 12 he has copied: ان نات أيده الذين بالرجل الغائر... while it is quite clear in the manuscript ان نات أيده الذين بالرجل الغائر. So there is always a possibility of miscopying, and it becomes more likely when the same word such as ‘Uqbah occurs with the name of two narrators. The later part of No. 9 is a part of No. 8, and No. 9 has complete isnād, such is the case of No. 8 where the scribe committed an error. Hence, in this case Schacht’s remarks are rendered irrelevant.

To say that no one has transmitted the work of Mūsā except his nephew has been proved wrong historically. Now, there are two documents still existing which have Traditions No. 8 and 9 as one complete incident. One of them is as old as Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm. It is transmitted by Ibrāhīm b. Tāhım directly and is a part of Ibrāhīm’s collection1 and another is Al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360 A.H.) who has preserved this tradition transmitting through Abū ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Mukhtar from Mūsā b. ‘Uqbah2.

Therefore, in criticizing the earlier scholars we must be more cautious, as most of the early sources are unavailable. The arguments of Schacht and the discussion in this chapter make it clear that the method, mood and generalization from a single incident serve, in the long run, neither research nor scholars.

Some further examples.

Schacht, in his article “Foreign elements in ancient Islamic law”, says that “There is a maxim in Islamic law that ‘the child belongs to the [marriage] bed’. This maxim, which was intended to decide disputes about paternity, has been regarded, on insufficient evidence, as an authentic rule of pre-Islamic Arab practice, but Goldziher has shown that it had not yet prevailed in the middle Umayyad period, say about A.H. 75. In the middle of the second century, it had been put into the mouth of the Prophet, but it is, strictly speaking, incompatible with the Koranic rulings regarding paternity, and in Islamic law as it exists the maxim, though often quoted, is never taken at its face value... It is likely that the maxim, which agrees neither with old Arab custom nor with the Koran, but has its parallel in the Roman legal maxim... penetrated from outside into Islamic discussions, though it did not succeed in modifying positive law”.

The statement is based on misunderstanding of the tradition and on eliminating half of it. This tradition is transmitted by more than twenty Companions, the number of their students and localities and growth of isnāds being tremendous. Their agreement to forge this tradition and put it in the mouth of the Prophet is impossible. The tradition is also transmitted by Zuhri (d. 124) and is part of the manuscript edited with the present work.

The wording of the tradition is: اَلْوَلَّد النَّارِش وَالْإِعْتُرَاح الحِجْر. It is not

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4. For detail of transmitters see infra, Arabic Section, Ahādīth Abī al-Yamān notes on Tr. No. 2.
clear why Schacht did not mention the complete Hadith. It is hardly possible that Roman law punishes the adulterer with stoning to death—the penalty which is mentioned in this Hadith.

The tradition has unanimously been accepted amongst all the Muslim sects. Mu’āwiyah was denounced on the basis of this tradition when he accepted Ziyād b. Abīh.

To say that it is against Qur’anic law—as claimed by Schacht—means that such an expounder has neither a clear idea of the Qur’anic Law of ‘Iddah, nor of the tradition, nor of its meaning, nor yet of the time when this tradition was announced by the Prophet.

The Prophet announced this tradition in 8 A.H. at Makkah after the victory. There arose a case of paternity, and two people differed about a child. Then to put an end to the old custom, and to uproot it and to promulgate the new law, this maxim was announced.

As for Goldziher’s showing that it had not yet prevailed about 75 A.H., examination shows that Goldziher was misunderstanding the text. He refers to Arqāt b. Zufar who was born on the bed of Zufar and it was assumed that his real father was Drār, and so there was some trouble about his paternity. When he grew up his father wanted to take him back but did not succeed. It means that the boy was given the Nasab of the man upon whose bed he was born.

Furthermore, this incident most probably occurred in the early days of the Prophet, as Arqāt was born at that time. It is clear from his discussion with ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān where it is stated that he was too old and had lost interest in everything, even in life itself. Therefore this man was neither born about 75 A.H., nor did the case of paternity arise at that time, but this date is when he was awaiting death, after a long life of 80 or 90 years.

Another example: “Mutilation as a punishment for coin-clippers and counterfeiters is advocated by spurious ‘traditions’ quoted in Baladhuri, ibid 470. R.S. Lopez, in Byzantium, xvi,

445 ff, has suggested a Byzantine origin. If this is correct, it would be a case of proposed adoption of a judicial practice which existed in the conquered territories.”

In Baladhuri, there are references to the practice of Marwān and Abān b. ‘Uthmān who punished coin-clippers by flogging or chopping off the hand. But there is no tradition: neither spurious nor authentic. Thus his statement is wrong. Furthermore, if they punished, and Romans also used to punish this crime, then to claim that it might have been taken from them is ridiculous. It is doubtful whether any government would reward the coin-clippers for their “fine-art” and “handskill”. It is natural that every government would punish them.

Wensinck as the critic of tradition of five pillars of Islam on material ground — a refutation.

The standard of criticism of Hadith on material grounds, as is shown, is very poor, unreasonable and based on sheer ignorance. The same standard is demonstrated by Wensinck, in his work ‘Muslim Creed’. He discusses the authenticity of the tradition of Five Pillars of Islam. In his imagination it must be the work of Companions many decades later, after the death of the Prophet, when the Muslims felt the need to make a formula of their creed, i.e., Shahādah. As the tradition of five pillars contains Shahādah it cannot be an authentic saying of the Prophet. Wensinck knew quite well that this Shahādah is the part of Tashahhud which every worshipper has to recite after every two Rak‘ah. Instead of modifying his theory in the light of this knowledge he produced another theory that the Salāt was also standardized after the death of the Prophet.

The command for prayer occurs about 99 times in the


2. Wensinck, Muslim Creed, 32. See also p. 19. He says, “Theory and practice, as they were developed during some decades after Muhammad’s death, allowed the leading powers in spiritual matters to express the essentials of Islam in traditions of which the confession of faith (Shahādah) and the enumeration of the five pillars of Islam are the most important.”

Qur‘ān, and in traditions it amounts to thousands. So it is inconceivable that the Prophet only ordered them and did not teach the prayer and left it to Companions to standardize it. But the trouble does not end here. The prayer in Islam is collective, five times a day. The passages in the Qur‘ān refer to and command the collective prayers, and even show the actual practice. So, in 1 or 2 A.H. Adhān was introduced, and there is no reason whatsoever to reject the very early existence of this system. The Qur‘ān itself refers to Adhān. This very Shahādah forms the part of Adhān and the part of Igāmah which is recited before the commencing of actual prayers. It is not clear at what date Professor Wensinck would like to introduce this system into Islam. If it is accepted that Adhān was introduced in the lifetime of the Prophet, as it actually was, the entire hair-splitting argument about forgery of the tradition of five pillars becomes nonsense, and all the deductions and theories based on that theory need to be radically revised.

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CHAPTER VIII

DESCRIPTION OF THE EDITED TEXTS

THE MANUSCRIPTS AND THEIR AUTHORS.

At the beginning of my research I had photocopies of the following invaluable manuscripts:

*A‘mash* (d. 148), his traditions transmitted by Wakti.
Ibn Iṣḥāq (d. 151) a portion of *al-Maghāzī*.
Ibn Juraij (d. 150), his traditions.
Ibn ‘Ākhmān (d. 168), first part of his traditions.
Naḥi‘, client of Ibn ‘Umar (d. 117), his traditions.
Suhail b. Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 138), his *Nuskhah*.
Al-Tha‘urf (d. 161), Part I of his traditions.
Yāzīd b. Abū Ḥabīb (d. 128), his traditions transmitted by al-La‘ith.
Zubair b. ‘Adī (d. 135), a forged copy.
Al-Zuhurt (d. 124), his traditions transmitted by Shu‘aib.

These fragments contain more than 1,000 traditions. I intended to edit all of them. As time passed I realized that it would be almost impossible to edit all these traditions on the standard which was set for the work. Therefore the smallest was chosen, which contained only 48 traditions, which were derived from Abū Hurairah. All the traditions of this *Nuskhah* have the same *ilsād*.

Suhail — his father Abū Ṣāliḥ — Abū Hurairah.
The Method of Editing

In editing the work of Suhail the following method has been adopted for every tradition:

To trace the different students of Abū Hurairah who transmitted this particular tradition.

To trace the different students of Abū Ṣāliḥ who transmitted the same tradition from him.

To trace the different students of Suhail who transmitted the same tradition from him.

Later on, it is attempted to discover whether or not some other Companions of the Prophet transmitted hadith on the subject.

If there were other Companions who transmitted traditions on the subject, then the channels of the narrations are traced down mostly to the third rank in isnād.

A comparison between the wording of the different students of Abū Hurairah — in general terms — has been made.

Finally, the evidence of other Companions is added to compare — in wider issues — with the traditions of Abū Hurairah.

The names of the narrators of the traditions are mostly given to the third rank in the isnāds.

An attempt has been made to find those people who transmitted particular traditions from more than one source.

I have also attempted to find out how many times Ibn Hanbal has endorsed this particular tradition in his Musnad on the authority of Abū Hurairah and how many times on the authority of others.

Notes on the references. For the most part, the method of Wensinck in the Concordance has been followed except where the volume numbers and pages, or the numbers of the tradition, are given. Not all the books adopt the method of the Concordance, so, in some cases, there are certain discrepancies in numbering the chapters.

The reasons for confining the names of transmitters to the third rank of isnāds are:

It would add to the volume of material very much if we go any further.

Most of these people belong to the early half of the second century of the Hijrah. Therefore, it would be useful to find out how a certain tradition flourished and the numbers of narrators with their localities, to see whether it was practically possible — at that time — to fabricate a tradition and attribute it to the Prophet or a certain authority.

Other Manuscripts.

Besides the Naskah of Suhail, there are two other manuscripts which have been added to the second part of the work. One of them belongs to Nafi' and the other to Al-Zuhri.

Nafi' and Al-Zuhri were both the most important sources of Maliki for his book, Muwatta'. Therefore, only the references to Muwatta' are given to check the method of narration and transmission. The text, thus, would provide valuable material for the further study of the subject by comparing different narrators of Nafi' and Al-Zuhri's students.

The study reveals the degree of scrupulousness and adherence to the original text.

The third manuscript in this series has the traditions of Al-Zubair b. 'Adi. According to Ibn Hibbān it is a forged Naskah and therefore its traditions cannot be taken as genuine. A photocopy of the manuscript is attached, with footnotes showing several Ahadīth of this Naskhah which occur in the classical collections of Al-Bukhari and Muslim. This reveals the fact that when the traditionists described certain traditions as forged, it did not necessarily mean that the materials were spurious. It only implies that the method of receiving the documents was improper according to their standards. The subject matter may or may not be false.

Naskah of Suhail.

Authorship.

It is entitled on the first page.

جزء فيه نسخة عبد العزيز بن اغتاف البحري عن يحيى بن أي صالح عن أبيه

1. See supra, p. 182; Mizān, 1,316.
But at the end of the \emph{Juz’} is written: 

\textit{آخر نسخة سهيل بن أبي صالح.}

The early writers were not so precise in describing the authorship. The work belongs to Suhail, because:

None of the biographers has mentioned ‘Abd al-‘Aziz as author of any book.

Al-Dhahabi, quoting Ibn ‘Adi, has described Suhail as having many \textit{Nuskhah}. He had a \textit{Nuskhah} from his father.

Suhail sent the traditions of his father in writing to Wuhaib.

Comparison of the wordings of Suhail’s students shows that the wording of this manuscript tally with that of Wuhaib. There are a few other features common to Wuhaib’s \textit{Nuskhah} and that of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, e.g.

1. Tr. No. 9 Wuhaib and ‘Abd al-‘Aziz transmitted: 
2. Tr. No. 17. Suhail was informed by ‘Ubaid Allah that Abu Sahih added one more sentence in this particular tradition. Two students of Suhail, namely Hammad and al-Zuhri, did not mention this incident. Two other students of Suhail, Jarir and Khalid, mentioned it with a difference in the wording of conversation, but the wording of Wuhaib and ‘Abd al-‘Aziz is the same.

3. Tr. No. 18. Three students of Suhail, namely Hammad, Jarir and al-Thauri who transmitted this tradition, inserted the name of ‘Abd Allah b. Dinar, between Suhail and his father, and only Wuhaib and ‘Abd al-‘Aziz inserted the name. In the same tradition there is the word 

\textit{شذك} and this is not found in Wuhaib’s work. This word even suggests the late reading of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz to Suhail because Suhail became mentally weak and thus, perhaps, he doubted. So, the word \textit{شذك} was used by ‘Abd al-‘Aziz.

4. There are traditions transmitted from Suhail only by his two students, Wuhaib and ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, e.g., 6, 10, 13.

A part of the \textit{Nuskhah} of Wuhaib is preserved by Ibn Hanbal in \textit{Musnad} ii, 388-9, who transmitted it on the authority of ‘Aflan.

Summing up, the early scholars have mentioned books—\textit{Nuskhah}—in possession of Suhail, and as he had the \textit{Nuskhah} from his father and as he wrote down his father’s traditions and sent them to Wuhaib and as the wording of these two \textit{Nuskhahs} and some very uncommon features are found only in these two \textit{Nuskhahs}, and as at the end of the manuscript is given 

\textit{نسخة سهيل بن أبي صالح}, so it is almost certain that the work was copied by Suhail, and ‘Abd al-‘Aziz was no more than a narrator. Most probably these two \textit{Nuskhahs} were either copied from the original of Suhail, or the \textit{Nuskhah} of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz was copied from the \textit{Nuskhah} of Wuhaib.

\textbf{Authenticity of the Work.}

All of its traditions have been transmitted through different channels and have been quoted time after time in all the works on traditions.

\textbf{The Chain of Transmitters of the Nuskhah.}

The \textit{Nuskhah} was copied out at the end of the sixth century of the Hijrah, as it is obvious from the first line of the manuscript. The chain of the transmitters from the author to the last transmitter is as follows:

Abu al-Futuhi Yusuf b. al-Mubarak (527-601).  
Abu Bakr Muhammed b. ‘Abd al-Baqir al-Bazzi (442-535).  

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Nubali}, xvii, 157, Photo-copy, Zahiriyah Library.
\item \textit{Lsah}, v, 241-2; Ibn ‘Asakir, \textit{Tarih Dimashq}, xv, 293b; \textit{Nubali}, xii, 150-1.
\item \textit{Bagh}, i, 356; \textit{Sam‘ani}, \textit{Ansab}, 558; \textit{Nubali}, xi, 162.
\end{enumerate}
Abū al-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Umar al-Ḥarbī (296-386)\(^2\).
Abū 'Ubayd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abdah b. Ḥarb (218-313)\(^2\).
Ībrāhīm b. al-Hajjāj (c. 155-233)\(^2\).
'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Mukhtar (c. 110 - c. 170)\(^4\).
Suhail\(^6\).
Abū Ṣaʿīd\(\text{"Abū Ṣaʿīd"}\).
Abū Hurairah

The Nuskhah has an uninterrupted chain, and the narrators are trustworthy, except Muḥammad b. 'Abdah b. Ḥarb (d. 313) who was a Hanafi and Chief Justice of Egypt, and a great patron of the Hanafi scholar, Abū Ja'far al-Ṭahāwī. His character has been criticized. Hanafi sources are not available to examine the charges. There are scholars who have explained that the charges were unfair.\(^7\)

He is a very late narrator and the work has been absorbed in much earlier collections, he does not create any difficulty in its acceptance, though the traditionists may not agree.

The Location of the Manuscript.

The original manuscript belongs to al-Zāhiriyah Library, Damascus, no. Majmū' 107, Folio 155-160. It was dedicated to al-Madarasah al-Dīyā'iyah. The fragment is a part of a big volume which contains many other works.

The size of the original book is 18 cm. X 13 cm., and the writing covers a space of about 15 cm. X 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) cm. It looks as if the manuscript was copied out in 588 A.H. as the date appears in the beginning of the Nuskhah. The date is confirmed from the reading certificate written in 598 A.H. The copy was made from an older manuscript which had the reading certificates in 455 A.H. as well as 533 A.H.

The work contains several readings and autographs of the

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1. Bagh, xii, 41, Sam ānī, Ansāb, 162a; Nubalā, x, 281.
2. Miẓān, iii, 634; Ibn Ḥajar, Raf al-İsr, 514-6; Printed with el-Kindī
Bagh, ii, 379; Nubalā, ix, 246-7; Luân, v, 272-3.
3. Rāzī, i, i, 93; Taḥdīb, i, 113; Taqrib, i, 33.
4. BTK, iii, ii, 24; Taḥdīb, vi, 355; Taqrib, i, 512.
5. See supra, p. 170.
6. See supra, p. 65.

eminent scholars of the 7th and 8th century of the Hijrah, and has the reading date in 677 A.H. and 687 A.H.

The Second Manuscript.

The Authorship of the Work.

According to Ibn Ḥibbān, 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar had a Nuskhah from Nāfī'. It is not clear how it was written. The sources describe how Nāfī' had the traditions of Ibn 'Umar in written form. Nāfī' dictated traditions to his students and also sent them in writing. It is not clear whether 'Ubayd Allāh copied it himself or wrote in dictation, or whether or not he showed it to Nāfī' to correct it, as Nāfī' asked students to bring their copies for corrections.\(^1\)

'Ubayd Allāh was a very great authority on the traditions of Nāfī'; and Mūsā b. 'Uqbah, the famous historian, brought the book containing Nāfī's traditions to 'Ubayd Allāh to read, as he had not read those traditions to Nāfī'\(^2\).

Authenticity of the Work.

It has not been edited thoroughly and only references to Mālik's Musawaṭ are provided, yet it is almost certain that all its contents would be found in classical literature.

The Transmission of the Nuskhah.

This Nuskhah has reached us through the following channels:
Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Silāfī (472-576)\(^3\).
Murshid b. Yaḥyā, Abū Ṣaʿīd (c. 430-517)\(^4\).
'Ali b. Muḥammad, Abū al-Qāsim (350-443)\(^5\).

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1. For details see supra, Nāfī' in the third Chapter, pp. 96-7
4. Ibn 'Imād, Shadhīrāt, iv, 57.
5. Nubalā, xi, 137.
The Third Manuscript.

Ahādīth Abū al-Yaman...

The Authorship of the Work.

The work undoubtedly belongs to al-Zuhri, though it is entitled Juz' Fīh Ahādīth Abū al-Yaman.

Abū al-Yaman did not even read these traditions to his teacher Shu’aib, who gave him permission to transmit on his authority when he was on his death-bed.

Shu’aib was the scribe of al-Zuhri, who was sent by the Caliph Hishām to write traditions for him from al-Zuhri. Al-Zuhri dictated traditions to him and thus he wrote them for Hishām, and most probably made a copy of them for himself. Abū al-Yaman borrowed these books from the son of Shu’aib.

Ibn Hanbal had seen Shu’aib’s books and was very much impressed by their neatness and the beautiful handwriting.

The Authenticity of the Work.

Shu’aib has a very good reputation among traditionists. Most of the traditions of the Nuskhah are found in the Sahih work of al-Bukhārī.

As the source of these traditions is al-Zuhri, who has been gravely accused by some modern scholars, his life and character need thorough investigation, which will be carried out after the description of the Nuskhah.

The Transmission of the Nuskhah.

This Nuskhah was copied out in 519 A.H., and through the following channel it reaches its compiler:

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār3.

1. Nubalā', x, 217.
2. Ibn ‘Asākir Tārīkh Dimashq, xiii, 280b; nothing known about his birth date or death.
3. BTK, ii, i, 25; Rāzī, ii, i, 129; Taḥdīth, iv, 207-8; Taqrib, i, 327.
4. Sa’d, vii, ii, 173; BTK, ii, i, 224; Rāzī, ii, i, 341; Taḥdīth, iv, 347-8; Taqrib, i, 351.
5. Supra, p. 172.
Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Karābiṣī.
‘Ali b. Muḥammad al-Ḥakkānī (c. 200-292).²
Al-Ḥakam b. Nāfi‘. Abū al-Yamān (138-222).³
Shu‘ā‘īb b. Abū Ḥamzah (c. 85-162).⁴
Al-Zuhri.⁵

The original manuscript belongs to al-Zāhiriyyah Library, Damascus, which bears No. Majmū‘ 120, Folio 68-87. This small portion is a part of a big volume.


Ahādīth Abū al-Yamān begins from Folio 70a and ends at Folio 80a.

The size of the volume is 16.5 cm by 10.5 cm and the writing space approximately 15 cm by 9 cm.

The manuscript was copied in 519 A.H. and was read to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Shirāzī in the same year. The manuscript was read to him again in the same year in the Public Library of Shirāz. It has more than twenty reading certificates and perhaps the last certificate is dated 732 A.H.

It was dedicated by the famous traditionist al-Hāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ghafrīn to—for perhaps at Madrasah—al-Diyā‘īyah at Qāṣiyyūn.


He was one of the most celebrated traditionists and one of the early writers in the history of Islamic literature.

It is reported that his grandfather, ‘Abd Allāh b. Shihāb, fought on the side of the polytheists against the Prophet at Badr and Uḥud⁷.

His father, Muslim b. ‘Ubaid Allāh, was on the side of Ibn al-Zubair against the Umayyad dynasty⁸. He transmitted traditions from Abū Hurairah⁹.

His Education.

It seems that al-Zuhri was very poor in his early days and his family was dependent upon him⁴. He was a gifted child; poverty could not prevent him from learning. His memory was excellent, so that he was able to memorize the whole Qur’ān within three months. Later, he devoted his time to the study of poetry and genealogy, favourite subjects of Arabs. He memorized a great deal of the poetry⁶ and was himself a poet⁷. Probably he was in his twenties when, due to a certain incident, he turned to the study of the traditions⁸. He transmitted only two traditions⁹ directly from Ibn ‘Umar while he lived with him in the same city for twenty-four years. Had he been interested in the subject a little earlier or had he been a liar, he would have related many more than two traditions from Ibn ‘Umar. He was a very keen learner and active student. He used to serve his teacher ‘Ubaid Allāh so that he was thought to be his servant.⁰ He also accompanied Ibn al-Musayyab for a long period of at least seven years. In his early life he was very selective regarding his teachers. He studied mostly under the famous scholars of Muḥāfiẓ families, e.g., ‘Urwa, ‘Ubaid Allāh, ‘Abd Allāh b. Tha‘libah, etc.

Historians have preserved many interesting testimonies of his colleagues about him. Abū Zinād says, “I used to go about with al-Zuhri, who had tablets and sheets of paper with him, for

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2. Ibn Qutaibah, op. cit., 472.
3. Thiqāt, 333.
4. Abū Nu‘aym, Hilyah, iii, 367; Islām, v, 139.
5. Khathāmah, iii, 123b; BTC, i, i, 220; Islām, v, 137; Ibn Kathir, op. cit., ix, 341.
6. Aḥānī, iv, 248.
7. Marzubānī, Mu‘jam al-Shu‘rā, 413.
10. Abū Nu‘aym, op. cit., iii, 362; Islām, v, 137.
which we laughed at him, but he used to write down all he heard\textsuperscript{11}. Shāliḥ b. Kaisān and al-Zuhrī learnt together. Al-Zuhrī suggested that they write traditions. So they wrote all that came from the Prophet. Ibn Kaisān adds, "Furthermore, he (al-Zuhrī) suggested that we should write down what had come from the Companions\textsuperscript{s}, because it was also Sunnah. I said, 'It was not Sunnah', so he wrote down and I did not. Eventually he succeeded and I failed\textsuperscript{12}. Ma'amār reports of his teacher, al-Zuhrī, that he sometimes even wrote on the soles of his shoes\textsuperscript{13}. It appears that he collected books in quantity and used to spend his time with them. His wife used to say, 'I swear by God, these books are harder for me to bear than three co-wives'\textsuperscript{14}.

His Reputation and Place in the Traditionists' Circle.

'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz admired him, and advised people to attend his study circle and make use of his knowledge\textsuperscript{5}. The traditionists agree unanimously that he was an authority on Sunnah and a most trustworthy scholar\textsuperscript{6}.

His Literary Career.

1. The Maghāzi of the Prophet.

Undoubtedly he compiled a book on the Maghāzi. However, it is difficult to say whether the method he employed in compiling the work was originated by him or he followed someone else. If we compare him with 'Urwa, we find that al-Zuhrī uses a somewhat different style. Al-Zuhrī collected information about incidents from various sources, then instead of passing on the material in the form of separate statements with the name of their transmitters, he wove them all into a full, complete and comprehensive statement of incidents. Here is a quotation: 'Al-Zuhrī related to me on the authority of 'Aqīqamah b. Waaqi‘ās,..., Sa‘īd, 'Urwa b. al-Zubair and 'Ubaid Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubah.

\textsuperscript{1} Zur'ah, 61b; Jāmi‘, 155a; H睫毛, i, 96.
\textsuperscript{2} Sa‘īd, ii, i, 135; Zur’ah, 61b; Khaitamah, 123b; Bāji, 94a; Taqyīd, 107; Jāmi‘, 156a; Fischer, 67-8; Ibn Kathīr, op. cit., ix, 344.
\textsuperscript{3} Taqyīd, 107. See for further information about his zeal of learning; Khaitamah, 123b; Ra‘ī, iv, i, 73; Runhurmuqī, 32b; Jāmi‘, 183a; Istām, v, 148; Fischer, 67, 69; Ibn Kathīr, op. cit., ix, 341.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibn Khallīkān, op. cit., i, 451; Abū al-Fida, Ṭārīkh, i, 204.
\textsuperscript{5} Istām, v, 136, 144.
\textsuperscript{6} Mashāhir, 66; and any biography dealing with the Traditionists.

Al-Zuhrī said, every one of them related a portion of this Hadith, and some of them had more information than others. I have collected for you all that has been related to me by them\textsuperscript{11}. On the other hand the work of 'Urwa transmitted by al-Zuhrī has a composite isnād of two men, Marwān and Miswar. As none of these works is available in its original form, it is difficult, even dangerous, to make any definite comment on their method of compilation. 'Urwa, perhaps, originated this style and later on it was developed by al-Zuhrī.

It looks as if the work of al-Zuhrī was mainly planned on the scheme of 'Urwa. Some quotations, as well as headings of the chapters of both works, have been preserved by al-Ṭabarani in his Mu‘jam Kābih, and mostly they are placed side by side. It is quite clear from the quotations that the work of al-Zuhrī was very extensive. The headings, for example, read as below:

Names of the persons who attended 'Uqbah B. 'Abd Allāh\textsuperscript{9}.

Names of the persons who were killed in the battle of Badr\textsuperscript{9}, and of Uḥud\textsuperscript{2}, and of Khandaq\textsuperscript{2}, and of Ajnādīn\textsuperscript{3}.

He gives full details of different tribes who joined the war. The work has been preserved in quotation form in several sources\textsuperscript{4}. In his work, Mūsā b. 'Uqbah has included almost the whole work of al-Zuhrī, so that Yahyā b. Ma‘in said that the best on al-Maghāzi was the book of Mūsā from al-Zuhrī\textsuperscript{9}.

There are a few pages published with Jāmi‘ of Ibn Wahab, which appear to be a part of al-Zuhrī’s work on the Maghāzi\textsuperscript{9}.

2. The Sīrah.

Al-Iṣfahānī reports that Khālid al-Qasrī asked al-Zuhrī to compile a book on the Sīrah\textsuperscript{10}. It is not clear whether the request

1. Annales, i, 1518.
2. Tabārī, i, 38b, 45a, 118a.
3. Ibid., i, 40b.
4. Ibid., i, 45a.
5. Ibid., i, 52a.
6. Ibid., i, 89b.
7. See for example, al-Balādhuri, Ansāb al-Asbāb, i, 158, 441, 454, 545, 549, 550, 552; Fu‘ādat, 24, 28, 31; Ḥsanbh, vi, 194-197.
8. Tabārī, x, 362.
was fulfilled and whether the book referred to, which has just been mentioned, was in response to al-Qasri’s request or an independent work.

3. Memoranda about the Umayyad Caliphs.
   He compiled some historical memoranda about the Umayyad Caliphs; a chronological list of the births, deaths, and extents of their reigns. Al-Ṭabarî has preserved two quotations from this work.

4. A Book on Genealogy.
   He also compiled a book on the genealogy of his tribe.

5. The Book on Nāsikh and Mansūkh.
   From the statement of al-Ḥāzimi, it seems as if al-Zuhri compiled a work on the subject of Nāsikh and Mansūkh Hadith as well.

6. The Collection of Traditions.
   He was asked by ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz to write traditions. After being copied out, these books were sent to different cities. A lengthy quotation from the work on the subject of taxation is preserved by Abū ‘Ubaid al-Qasim b. Sallām. It is obvious from the quotation that these three pages are a small portion of a lengthy book.

7. His Other Literary Activities.
   He dictated, twice, four hundred traditions to one of Hishām’s sons.

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3. Al-Ḥāzimi, Al-Fītâb, 3.
5. ‘Ajīb, Sunnah, p. 494.
7. Rāmhurmuzī, 39b; Fischer 69; Ibn Kathir, op. cit., ix, 342.

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8. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik sent two scribes to him who accompanied him for one year to write from him.

9. More than fifty of his students had his traditions in writing.

Further he had ‘ready-made collections of Hadith’ which were given by him to many scholars and students.

10. In the later period, it looks as if the collections of Hadith on the authority of al-Zuhri were made for most of the nobles of the Caliph’s palace. Shu‘aib b. Abū Hamzah was employed for this purpose. There is a statement of Ma’amir which confirms this. According to his report, the books of al-Zuhri were brought on ponies after the assassination of al-Walîd.

Al-Zuhri’s Relations with his Students.

He was very generous to the needy. Having been very poor in his early life, he knew what poverty meant. So when he had some income, he did not accumulate the money and always tried to help the poor. Al-Laith b. Sa’d, a very generous man himself, describes al-Zuhri’s generosity saying: ‘I have not seen a man more generous than Ibn Shihāb. He used to help everyone who came to him, and if he had nothing left, he used to borrow’.

Al-Zuhri and the Equality of Students.

Though he had been very selective in his teachers, yet he was himself fair to all his students. He did not make any kind of discrimination between the rich and the poor. When he dictated traditions to Hishām’s son, he related at once the same traditions to other students.

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1. Abū Nu‘aym, op. cit., iii, 361; İslâm, v, 143.
2. See supra, 88-93.
3. Kifāyah, 319; İslâm, v, 149.
4. Tahd., iv, 351-2; İslâm, v, 151.
5. Fasawī, ii, 146a; see also Kâmîl, i, 18a; İslâm, v, 141.
6. Fischer 70. For more details see İslâm, v, 138, 141, 150; Fischer 73.
7. İslâm, v, 148.
Al-Zuhri and the Diffusion of Knowledge.

It was the general attitude of that time that the teachers could hardly be brought to speak. The students had to accompany them and when their teachers spoke, they wrote it down or memorized it. Al-Zuhri says: "People used to sit with Ibn 'Umar, but none dare call upon him till someone came and asked him. We sat with Ibn al-Musayyab without questioning him, till someone came and questioned him; the question roused him to impart Hadith to us or he began to impart at his own will."

Quite contrary to the pattern of the time, al-Zuhri was very approachable as a teacher. It looks as if he followed, in his early days, the method of his teachers. He did not want to communicate his knowledge very freely, but later flexibility appeared in his attitude. Walid b. Muslim informs us that when al-Zuhri came out of 'Abd al-Malik's meeting, he sat near the pillar and called the traditionists, "O people, we forbade you something which we delivered to those (Amirs). Come here, I will relate to you."

His Attitude towards the Writing of Hadith.

He, like other Successors, wrote down the traditions for his own use, but was not in favour of making them public. One who wants to learn must strive, and the students should not be given any 'ready-made' knowledge in the shape of books or regular dictations.

The first change in his attitude came when he was asked by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz to write the traditions, and later on he was persuaded by Hisham.

Abu al-Mulaih says, "We could not strive to write in the meetings (lectures) of al-Zuhri, till Hisham compelled him, then he wrote for Hisham's sons and then the people wrote tradition..." This incident as well as al-Zuhri's reaction is found in the following statement of al-Zuhri: ممّر عن الراهي قال: كما تكره كتاب العلم حتى أكره عليه هلال الأراء وأراه أن لا يصح أحد من المسلمين "We had an aversion to recording knowledge, till these Amirs forced us to do it; then we were of the opinion that we should not withhold it from any of the Muslims." Dr. A. Sprenger translates this statement as follows: "Zohry said according to Ma'mar: 'We disapproved of writing down hadiths to such an extent, that we induced also those chiefs (who are not mentioned) to disapprove of it, but at last we saw that no Muslim forbids writing.' The translation is not clear, and it gives a different interpretation. Guillaume's conclusion is rather strange. He says, 'If any external proof were needed of the forgery of tradition in the Umayyad period, it may be found in the express statement of Al-Zuhri: These princes have compelled us to write Hadith. The text makes it quite clear that the statement has nothing to do with forgery.

There is another statement of Ma'mar regarding al-Zuhri's permission to Ibrahîm b. al-Walid al-Umayt to transmit a book on his authority.

This statement of Ma'mar and the previous statement of al-Zuhri about pressure from the Amirs to write down traditions, led Goldziher to deduce that, though al-Zuhri was a scrupulous man, yet he sometimes came under Umayyad pressure to such an extent that he gave permission to transmit books on his authority, without having read them; thus the Umayyads succeeded in circulating the traditions in their favour on the authority of al-Zuhri!

This whole story is based on misunderstanding of the term 'Arad. In the term of traditionists when a student reads to his teacher it is called 'Arad عرض حدث and when a teacher reads to students it is called Haddathâ.

There is the statement of 'Ubaid Allah b. 'Umar who describes how the people brought books to al-Zuhri who, after looking into them, turning the pages, used to say, "This is my tradition... accept them from me.""
Therefore, it is not the case, as understood by Goldziher, that the Umayyads exploited al-Zuhri in this way. Was it not possible for them to add traditions to their books after reading to al-Zuhri? Had they been eager to do this, they might have done something to al-Zuhri's dictations, especially when it was written by their own employed scribes, without bringing the book to him for his permission. Therefore, to examine this kind of forgery there should be some other methods, and the permission of al-Zuhri does not provide a new instance of forgery. It is also strange that not a single tradition is transmitted in Ibrahim's name.

As a matter of fact, these statements concerning the transmission of books, without being read or being read by students, have their own problems of a quite different nature.

In early days, the traditionists preferred to listen to their teachers, and it was the best method for learning and transmitting traditions. To read to the teachers was a second-class method for learning the traditions and the word Haddathanā may not be used in this case. The idea prevailed to such an extent that al-Ṭahāwī had to write a book in the fourth century Hijrah to refute this and to prove that both methods were equally valid.¹

There was also the problem of receiving the books without reading. If a teacher gave a book to his students, without its being read in his presence, or someone brought the book to his teacher, asking his permission to transmit it without its being read, would this kind of transmission be lawful and should it be permitted? Some professors rejected this sort of permission while others approved of it and al-Zuhri belongs to the second group². It is called Munāwalah. ‘Ubayd Allah describes the practice of al-Zuhri that he used to look into books and turning the pages here and there used to permit them to transmit the traditions on his authority.

Al-Zuhri’s Educational Activities in His Last Days.

In the last days he became tired and it affected his activities. He gave books to some students and did not read to them nor did he allow them to be read³. Afterwards he retired from teaching⁴. This was perhaps only a year or so before his death.

Al-Zuhri and his Critics.

He has been accused of three things by some traditionists.

Irsāl or Tadlis.

It is reported, as the saying of Yahyā al-Qattān, that al-Zuhri’s Mursaṣl was like wind. As he was hāfiz, he could have given the name of his authority if he had wished, but sometimes he did not name his authorities⁵. Therefore, there must have been some defect in the isnād. This charge requires a thorough study of his Mursaṣlā, because sometimes he transmitted only the Maṭn and at another meeting he mentioned isnāds when the students asked him⁶. Perhaps the charge was based on deduction instead of an actual enquiry into the materials. Therefore, Ahmad sharply refutes this charge⁷.

Not Transmitting from Mawāli.

He was told that people blamed him for not transmitting traditions from Mawāli. He replied that he did transmit traditions from them, but when he found the same traditions in the families of Muḥajirīn and Ansār he did not transmit from other sources⁸. Naḍl, client of Ibn ‘Umar, also complained that al-Zuhri learnt traditions from him, then went to Sa‘īd and confirmed whether or not he had heard those traditions from his father. Later, he related them on the authority of Sa‘īd⁹.

He is also accused of using black colour for dyeing his hair, so one of the scholars did not write from him.

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1. Chester Beatty, MSS. No 3415.
2. Khaithamah, iii, 39a; Kifāyah, 326, 329; see also The Practice of Malik Fasawi, iii, 263a; Kifāyah, 327; and sometimes Malik disliked it. Kifāyah, 316.

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1. Fischer, 69-70; Isām, v, 149; see also Fasawī, iii, 308a-b.
2. Isām, v, 149.
3. Isām, v, 149.
4. ‘Ital, i, 82; Khaithamah, iii, 126a.
5. Fasawī, ii, 231b.
6. Zara‘ah, 61b; Rāhurmūzi, 41b; Jāmī, 15a. Muslim has given a list of Mawāli scholars from whom al-Zuhri transmitted traditions. See Muslim, Rijāl ‘Uraiah, p. 11, where more than twenty Mawālies are named as his teacher.
7. Fasawī, ii, 216a; Jāmī, 15a; Huffuz, i, 88. See also Kāmil, i, 292a.
3. The gravest charge against him is his co-operation with the ruling family. There were many great scholars who cooperated with the government and held offices, e.g., al-Sha'bī, Hasan al-Baṣrī, Qābihah and others. Therefore, it cannot be a charge against someone that he accepted an office in the government, provided that his conduct was right.

Goldziher and some other modern scholars charged him with falsification of traditions for the benefit of the Umayyads. Therefore his relation with the Umayyads needs investigation.

**Al-Zuhri and the Umayyads.**

**Al-Zuhri and Marwān.**

It is said, “When still quite a youth, he had paid his respects to Marwān”2. This statement is refuted by an early historian, Yahyā b. Bukair3. Historical circumstances did not provide a chance for this kind of visit.

Marwān became Caliph in 64 A.H., reigning only for nine to ten months4. In such a short period, he had to fight three battles and had to send many expeditions. Meanwhile al-Zuhri’s father was against Marwān, on the side of Ibn al-Zubair5 who was at the climax of his power at that time. Al-Zuhri was then between seven and fifteen years of age. He could not have been independent of his father at such an early age; also it was not easy to take a journey from al-Madinah to Damascus, especially in those days. Had he been there he could not have achieved anything. Therefore, all the historical facts are against this hypothesis.

**Al-Zuhri and ‘Abd al-Malik.**

Undoubtedly he was attached to the Caliph’s court from the time of ‘Abd al-Malik to Hishām’s6. It is also true that he had been heavily in debt several times, that was paid off by Caliphs, yet his relation with the Caliphs was not always smooth. It was impossible for him to make a false statement or to remain quiet on certain occasions. Walīd asked him about a saying, in circulation at that time in Syria, “God writes down only the good deeds of Amīrīs and does not record any bad deed”. He replied that this was (Bāṭil) a false statement, and proved it quite wrong. Walīd said, “these people mislead us...”2.

Once Hishām asked a certain question concerning the name of a person mentioned in the Qur’ān but who was not named precisely. Al-Zuhri said, “It was ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubai b. Salūl”. The answer was against the wish of Hishām. He told al-Zuhri, “You lie, it was ‘Ali’. On this occasion al-Zuhri became so furious that he rebuked Hishām and even his father. He said, “By Allāh, if a voice from Heaven proclaimed that Allāh had permitted lying, still I would not lie...”3.

Not only this, but Hishām had to listen calmly to al-Zuhri. He used to denounce al-Walīd for his bad character, and asked Hishām to dismiss al-Walīd from Wīliyat al-‘Ahd. Al-Walīd swore that if he had a chance, he would kill al-Zuhri4. Al-Zuhri himself was aware of this danger, and was ready to flee to the Byzantine Empire, in the event of al-Walīd’s inheriting the Caliphate5. He did not give any special privileges to his princely student while teaching him traditions6. Therefore, it would be unfair to history, to deduce from al-Zuhri’s relation with the Umayyad dynasty, that he was a tool in their hands, and that they exploited his name, fame and knowledge to circulate false traditions in their favour.

**Did Al-Zuhri Provide a Substitute for the Pilgrimage? Refutation of Al-Ya‘qūbī and Goldziher.**

The most crucial point is the statement of the Shi‘ite historian, al-Ya‘qūbī who said that ‘Abd al-Malik, for certain political reasons, prevented the Syrians from al-Hajj, because Ibn

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1. Fischer, 72; Goldziher, Muh. Stud. ii, 35 sq; Guillaume, 48.
3. Islām, v, 147.
4. Abūlīsā, Tārikh i, 194; Annales, ii, 578; Mas‘ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahāb, v, 207.
5. Ibn Qutaiybah, Ma‘ārif, 472.
6. Islām, v, 140.
al-Zubair was imposing his Bai‘at upon them. ‘Abd al-Malik quoting a tradition from al-Zuhri, gave them a substitute for al-Hajj; the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and al-Tawaf around the Rock. So he built the Dome, and tawaf continued in the Umayyad dynasty. According to Goldziher, it was left to the theologian al-Zuhri to legalize and justify this action.

Goldziher reached this conclusion relying, for the most part, on al-Ya‘qubi’s statement, but it needs much more careful study, because its implications and consequences are far-reaching. Many other scholars, depending upon al-Ya‘qubi, have established misleading opinions about al-Zuhri.

Apart from al-Zuhri’s meeting with ‘Abd al-Malik which did not take place earlier than 81 A.H., it is better to judge this statement on its own merits.

Palestine in 67 A.H. was out of ‘Abd al-Malik’s control. The Umayyad had been in Mecca on the occasion of the pilgrimage in the year 68 A.H. Therefore if ‘Abd al-Malik had prevented the people from al-Hajj it would have been after 68 A.H., when he might have thought about a substitute for al-Hajj and declared that the Rock and Jerusalem were as sacred as Mecca. As he began to build the Dome on the Rock in 69 A.H., he might have announced his decree on the substitute for al-Hajj on the authority of al-Zuhri in the beginning of the year 69 A.H.

At this time al-Zuhri was somewhere between ten and eighteen years of age. It is inconceivable that a mere child of ten or a boy of eighteen had already achieved such a great fame and respect — not in his native land al-Madinah, but far away in the anti-al-Madinah region, Syria — that he was able to cancel the divine obligatory order of al-Hajj and was in a position to command a substitute. Moreover there were many Companions of the Prophet at that time in Syria. Why did ‘Abd al-Malik not exploit them? Their authority and the respect they commanded were far greater than that of al-Zuhri, a boy of ten to eighteen years, and the Syrians would have heard them with more reverence. If these Syrian scholars were anti-Umayyads, then their sayings and protests must have come to us through their pupils or Abbasid historians, but there seems to be no record of such protests. If they were pro-Umayyad and worldly people who would not have protested for the sake of the Prophet, then they would have protested at being slighted, because this ‘honour’ of fabrication was given to someone else, their authorities were challenged, and they were not given full respect.

Further, how could those religious-minded people who agitated against ‘Abd al-Malik’s prevention of al-Hajj agree on such a false deed and accept it? Was the whole population of Syria so foolish that they were mocked by ‘Abd al-Malik and al-Zuhri so easily? According to al-Ya‘qubi, this practice as a substitute for al-Hajj continued during the Umayyad period, but he himself describes how from 72 A.H. onwards al-Hajj ceremony was performed under the governorship of the Umayyad. So this ‘Anti-Meccan’ Caliph, ‘Abd al-Malik, went to Mecca for al-Hajj in 75 A.H. as did other Umayyad Caliphs.

Apart from this, the building of the Rock was completed in 72 A.H., and at that time Mecca was under al-Ḥajjaj’s control, who was nothing more than ‘Abd al-Malik’s governor. According to al-Ya‘qubi himself, al-Hajj was performed in 72 A.H., under the governorship of al-Ḥajjaj. Thus there would have been no necessity to make a substitute for al-Hajj, and there would have been no need to continue this practice during the Umayyad dynasty, which was as good as putting an effective weapon in the hands of anti-Umayyad elements.

Moreover, the wording of al-Zuhri, quoted by ‘Abd al-Malik and given by al-Ya‘qubi, does not mention, or even suggest the

2. Goldziher, Muh. Stud., ii, 35; Guillaume says: ‘the inventor is Al-Zuhri, Guillaume, 48.
4. B.T.S. 93 read with Annates ii, 1052.
5. Ya‘qubi, History, ii, 321; Caetani, chron., Islamica 786; Mas‘udi, Muruqṭ-Dhaḥab, v, 225.
sacredness of the Rock and its Tawaf and so on. The statement of al-Zuhri only gives the mosque of Jerusalem as a special privilege. This mosque has been given a special place even in the holy Qur'an. Besides all this, this tradition is not transmitted only by al-Zuhri, but by many others such as:

Hishām — Nafi — Ibn 'Umar.


Qusaym — Qaz'ah — Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī.

Abān b. Tha'lībah — 'Atiyah Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī.


Yazīd b. Abū Maryam — Qaz'ah — 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, and so on.

Therefore, how did the credit for this "fabrication" and theological enterprise go to al-Zuhri alone, who did not see 'Abd al-Malik earlier than 81 A.H.? It is better to quote here J. Horovitz's conclusion about this Ḥadīth. He says: "Whatever one may think about the authenticity of the Ḥadīth, there is no ground whatever to doubt but that al-Zuhri really had heard the Ḥadīth from the mouth of Sa'id ibn al-Musaiyab..."10

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1. Ibid., ii, 311.
2. The Qur'an, Sūrah xvii, Isrā'. All the commentators and historians unanimously agree that the Sūrah is Meccan. Even if it could be proved that the mosque al-aqṣā was in al-Yirāna, according to Guillaume in his article in AnSuratus xvii, 329-36, yet Jerusalem, being first qiblā, has its holiness.
3. Ṭawṣat, ii, 305a.
4. Ibid., i, 210a; Tsaghrî, 97-8.
5. Ibid., i, 261a, Fasa'wī, iii, 89a.
6. Ṭawṣat, ii, 3a.
7. Fasa'wī, iii, 89a.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., 89a-b; for further reference in the classical literature see Wensinck, Concordance.
10. Horovitz, op. cit., 36. See also Ruth, A.S.L., vol. iii, 243; she agrees with Horovitz, saying, "One would rather agree with Horovitz that whereas at the behest of the Caliphs he departed from his former reticence and dictated traditions, this innovation does not prove that he invented traditions in their
ted that particular tradition, but if the student read to his teacher then he would use the term *ihnabbarān*ā. In general this difference was not strictly observed.

Here are some examples collected from the classical books to investigate the meaning of this word which will explain the word and its usage in the science of traditions.

1. Bukhārī relates a tradition from ‘Amr who in turn relates from Muhammad b. Ja’far from Shi’b b. ‘Abd Allāh. Bukhārī does not give the complete Hadith and leaves a blank space in the book, quoting his teacher ‘Amr, saying, “In the book of Muḥammad was a blank space”’. Yet the word *Haddathanā* is used throughout the chains (isnād) without any reference to the book.

2. The two above-mentioned channels are given by Muslim one after the other on one page. In the isnād of the first Haith there is no mention of writing, while the second one explicitly admits a written record. In this case even the word *‘an*, instead of *Haddathanā*, is used which is much inferior to the latter one.

3. ‘Umar wrote a Waqf testimony for his Khaibar land. The testimony was transmitted as a written document, but the word *‘an* is used for its transmission.

4. Al-Mughirah wrote traditions and sent them to Muʾāwiyyah. These traditions were related by Maṣṭur ‘an al-Shaʾbī ‘an Warrād — he was the scribe who wrote down the traditions — ‘an Al-Mughirah, without giving any hint of what they recorded. The same traditions were related by Ibn Ashwā ‘an al-Shaʾbī with details of the incidents.

1. See for details, Qasim, *Qawā'id al-Ṭabaqāth*, 207-8; or any similar work.
3. MU, *Buwayt*, (pp. 1181).
4. MU, *Waṣiyat*, (pp. 1255).
5. MU, *Ajdiyāt*, (pp. 1341).

5. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ahmad b. Hanbal describes this Hadith, saying, “My father said, ‘then I suffered from something in the lecture of Abū Khaṭṭāb; then I wrote Tamām al-Hadith’ ...”. Here is an example of taking traditions by dictation, yet the word *Haddathanā* is used throughout the isnād.

6. Here is a very interesting remark. It shows that Ibn Hanbal had a copy of al-Jazari’s traditions and went to read them to his teacher ‘Abd al-Ṣamad who asked him to correct the name and so he did. ‘Amr b. Shinb, the earlier transmitter of this tradition, imparted it from books. Now it appears that in every stage of the transmission of this tradition, a book was employed, yet for the narration the word *Haddathanā* is used without referring to the book.

7. Yazid says that this tradition was written in his book from Thābit al-Bunārī from Anas; then Humaid rejected the word Anas and approved of Thābit only. Here is a written source, copied before it was read to the teacher, transmitted with the usual word *Akhbaranā*.

8. Hammām says, “I found [a tradition] in my book from Bashir b. Nahik and I do not think it is from him but from al-Naḍr b. Anas”; the same isnād is repeated by Ibn Hanbal only.
after three lines with the same expression of doubt, but without mentioning the book.\(^1\)

9. ‘Abd al-Razzāq asked Yahyā b. Ma‘īn to write only a single tradition, while he dictated to him from memory — without any book — Yahyā replied, “Never, not a single word”\(^2\). The method of imparting the traditions is dictated from the book, but it is not mentioned in Yahyā’s traditions when he imparted them.

10. Here the word Haddathānā is used for the reading of the teacher from the book to his students\(^3\).

11. Ibn Ḥanbal is quoting the tradition of Waki‘ from his book al-Musannaf, which is a lengthy one. He took many traditions from this book, but perhaps only once he did refer to this work, otherwise always referring to the author.\(^4\)

12. Yahyā informs us that ‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs dictated to him from his book\(^5\). Here the book is employed for transmitting the traditions in dictating, yet the word Haddathānā is used for this purpose.

13. Tirmidhi says that some scholars criticized ‘Amr b. Shu‘ail’s traditions because he related them — in their opinion — from his grandfather’s book without being read in his presence\(^6\). Here a book is used but the word employed for its transmission is ‘an.

14. Here the book is employed for imparting the traditions with the use of the usual term Haddathānā.\(^7\)

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2. Hanbal, iii, 297.
3. Hanbal, v, 10.
4. Hanbal, i, 308.
5. Hanbal, i, 418.
6. Tirmidhi, i, 43.

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Appendix I

مسند بن مسعود حديثاً.” يأبى عبد الله بن داود عن الامام… يكرون العادة… قال مسند قلت لعبد الله بن داود: يكرون العادة، قال هكذا هو ولكن وجدته في كتاب هكذا.

15. In this statement we find a minor mistake of the copyist, who copied the hadith instead of the book. The teacher read it as it was written. When a student wanted to correct him, he was assured by his teacher that the remark was right but the teacher read it according to what was written in the book. Here is a use of the book with the usual term Haddathānā.

16. Abū Dāwūd transmitted a portion of the booklet of Samarrah, in different chapters of his Sunan without mentioning the book and employing the usual term Haddathānā.\(^8\) أخبرنا محمد بن مكي قلنا حديثاً أبى عبد الله عن هذا من كتبه… وحدثنا ابن أبي عبيدة عن حديث...

17. In this statement al-Nasa‘i gives an example of a Ḥadīth which was read to students twice by the teacher, once from memory and once from the book. Had there been no variation, perhaps he would not have mentioned this practice.

شعبة عن قدامه عن الحسن عن حجة قال صلى الله… قال أبو عبد الرحمن الحسن عن حجة كتاب.

18. The term ‘an is employed to transmit the traditions, while according to the author these traditions were handed down to al-Ḥasan in the form of a book. محمد بن مسعود عن سفيان عن بلال بن بشير… قال أبو عبد الرحمن هذا حقيقة، ليس من حديث بلال وعلل سفيان قال حدثناكما أنفست الألف فصار بيان.

19. A tradition was transmitted on the authority of Muḥammad b. Maṇṣūr — Ṣufyān — Baγay b. Bishr. Al-Nasa‘i says that this tradition does not belong to Baγay, and perhaps Sufyān said, “Haddathānā Ḥanān [it was reported to me by two persons]”, and the letter Alif was dropped from the book, eventually becoming Baγay. He supported his argument by another tradition which

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1. A.D., i, 106.
2. A.D., i, 182; 353; ii, 128.
3. Nas, i, 45.
4. Nas, i, 205.
5. Nas, i, 329.
reads, "Haddathānā Rajulān". This error could only take place if the book was used for copying and reading and was without dots and other diacritical signs, yet there is no mention of the book and the usual method ‘an is used for imparting.

20. There is another example of discrepancy in the text explained by al-Nasā'i. A tradition is transmitted by three channels and their ultimate source is Ibn Abī Dharr, but one of the narrators related it on the authority of Ubai b. Sa'īd. al-Nasā'i says, “The correct reading is Abī Dharr Ubai b. Sa'īd and it seems that the word Dhar was dropped from the book and was read Ubai.”

21. Ahmad b. Hanbal, speaking about Ibn al-Mubārak, says that he used to transmit traditions from the book, but if we go through the traditions transmitted on his authority we may never find a reference to the book.

22. Ibn Hanbal says that Shu‘bāh used to read in Baghdad. There were four students who used to write in the lectures. One of them was Abū Ahmad b. Abī Rahmān. When Abū Ahmad was asked, he affirmed the statement and said that he had a very high speed of writing. He further added, “I used to write and the people used to copy from me. Shu‘bāh came to Baghdad. He imparted traditions in forty lectures... I attended twenty of them. I heard two thousand traditions and missed twenty lectures” in this statement Abū Ahmad uses the word heard, though he took these traditions by means of dictation and wrote them down. So the word Haddathānā gives half of the picture.

23. Whenever Zuhair b. Mu‘āwiyyah heard a tradition twice from his teacher he wrote down ‘finished the task’ كتب عليه فرغت 8.

Now here are two further examples of this kind.

24. The Muwatta' of Mālik b. Anas is a well-known book. The book was entitled by the author himself, not like most of the early books which did not have any titles save the names of their compilers, e.g., the book of ‘Urwhah, the book of Qatādah, etc.

The authors of the classical books utilized the material of the Muwatta' freely, referring to Mālik without mentioning the book. Here is an example of one tradition regarding ablution with seawater, taken from the Muwatta' with its quotations in the classical books.

1. Haddathānā Yahyā ‘An Mālik ‘An Ṣafwān... 1
3. Aḥharanā Qutaibah ‘An ‘An 3
5. Haddathānā Ḥishām Thanā Ḥaddathānā 5
6. Qutaibah ‘An 6
7. Ma‘n Haddathānā ‘An 6
8. Abū Salama ‘An 7

In all the above cases the traditions were transmitted, not orally, but through the book, yet referring to the author only.

25. Al-Maghāzī of Ibn Ishāq is a well-known book. The text was established and the book was titled by the author himself. The book was transmitted by several pupils of Ibn Ishāq.

Now we may compare the version of Ibn Ḥishām with that of Muhammad b. Salamah 9 (see Appendix No. iv). There are very minor differences here and there as are usually found between two manuscripts of the same work, except for one main variation only in isnād which is quite different and reads as follows: ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī — al-Nufailī — Muhammad b.

1. Mālik, Tahārah, 12.
2. A.D., Tahārah, 41.
3. Nas, Tahārah, 47.
4. Dārūmī, i, 186.
5. Ibn Majah, i, 136.
6. Tirmidhī, Tahārah, 52.
8. There were at least 15 versions of this work. See Guillaume, The Life of Muhammad, intro., p. xix.
9. For the version of Ibn Salamah see Rāzī, i, i, 169; Kūmil, ii, 27a; Mīzān, ii, 192; Bogh., vi, 179; Tahārah, 153-4; ix, 129.
Salamah — Ibn Ishaq. The date goes back to 454 A.H. when the manuscript was read to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi.

It is inconceivable that such a large book should have been transmitted orally for five centuries and that students had to memorize the whole book instead of writing it down.

Therefore, if any isnād bears the usual term Ḥaddathānā, Akhbaranā, ‘An, etc., it does not necessarily mean that the traditions were transmitted orally and no books were used. In fact it indicates only the current methods of that time for the handling of documents: by means of copying from a book or dictation from a written source, etc.

Summing up the discussion, the terms Ḥaddathānā, Akhbaranā, ‘An, etc., were employed to indicate only the current methods of documentation, which took several forms, e.g.,

Copying from a written document.
Writing from a written source through dictation.
Reading of a written document by the teacher.
Reading of a written document by a student.
Transmitting a document orally and recording by students.
Transmitting a document orally and its being received by students aurally.

The only common key point between all these methods is the permission of the Shaikh to students to utilize the information. Those who utilized the material without permission were called ‘Ṣāriq al-Hadith’.

APPENDIX II

THE PROBLEM OF ENORMOUS NUMBERS OF ḤADĪTH.

In Chapter III, we have already seen a sketch of the educational activities on the subject of hadith.

There are references to hundreds of teachers from whom al-Tauri, Ibn al-Mubarak, al-Zuhri, etc., had written ḥadīth. In the works of biographers we find a long list of teachers and students of eminent scholars. There are at least fifty students of al-Zuhri who made their written collections from him1. If, on an average, every one of them had written only five hundred traditions from him, then this number would have been 25,000. If we go one step further and assume for example that every student of al-Zuhri had only two or three students, then this number of traditions might have increased at the end of the second century to some 75,000, and in the time of Bukhāri and his contemporaries they would have been in hundreds of thousands.

Thus, the numbers of a few thousand ḥadīth reached about three quarters of a million in the mid third century.

According to Ibn Ḥanbal’s statement, over 7,000,000 traditions were sound, of which 6,000,000 were memorized by Abū Zur‘ah2.

Al-Bukhāri claimed that he made his collection of traditions out of six hundred thousand3. His book contains only 7,397 Ḥadīth with repetition, and only 2,602 Ḥadīth without repetition4.

1. Supra, al-Zuhri, in the third chapter.
3. Bagh., ii, 8, 14. Other traditionists also gave an enormous number which they memorized or wrote down. I discuss only one case of al-Bukhāri to clarify the problem.
The actual number of traditions preserved in the Sīhāh and the other collections is only a small fraction of the body of the traditions described above. This is a puzzling problem. Many scholars have been perplexed, and so have reached very strange conclusions. Guillaume says "Bukhārī’s biographer says that he selected his material from no less than 600,000 Hadith. If we allow for repetitions which occur under different heads, he reduced this vast number of forgeries or dubious reports to less than 3,000 Hadīth. In other words, less than one in every 200 traditions which circulated in his day could pass his test".1

The problem consists of (a) Hadīth and (b) enormous numbers and their implications.

(a) Hadīth in the terms of some traditionists, means utterances, deeds and tacit approval of the Prophet, while in definitions of other scholars it covers utterances, deeds, legal decisions and tacit approval of the Prophet as well as those of Companions and the Successors.2

(b) As for the problem of enormous numbers, every channel of transmission is counted as a separate Hadīth. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdi (d. 198) says, “I have thirteen traditions from al-Mughirah transmitting from the Prophet, concerning ‘al-mash ‘ala al-Khuffain’”. It is quite obvious that al-Mughirah is reporting a single action or habit of the Prophet. It does not matter how many times this action was repeated. It would be reported as a single action. As this single action is reported to ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Mahdi from thirteen channels, he counts them as thirteen traditions.

The first four centuries of the Hijrah were the golden age for the science of tradition, and the number of transmitters grew tremendously. Ibn Khuzaymah (d. 311) gives some thirty isnāds for one Hadīth in one chapter, concerning the single act of ‘Ā’ishah, for cleansing the cloth. Meanwhile it is obvious that there might have been many other channels of transmission which were unknown to him. Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261) cites the names of a great number of transmitters, when he argues about certain points, especially when there is a mistake committed by some transmitters. For example, he gives thirteen traditions concerning the single incident of Ibn ‘Abbās and his tahajjud prayer. In the prayer, he stood on the left of the Prophet and then the Prophet pulled him to his right side. Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād related on the authority of Kuraib, that Ibn ‘Abbās stood on the right side of the Prophet, but he was placed on the left. On this occasion Muslim gives thirteen isnāds — making thirteen Hadīth — contradicting Yazīd’s statement. Further, he does not give the complete isnād and their full growth until his time. He mostly gives the details of channels until about 130 A.H. Had he given the complete comprehensive isnād flourishing in his own time, they might have grown to fifty traditions at least.

Growth and development of isnād in the third century.

There have been some traditionists who claim that they had every Hadīth from one hundred channels, and many others who have written every Hadīth from twenty or thirty channels. So we may now infer what the real numbers of the traditions were which were described as 600,000. Another point is that they were not purely traditions of the Prophet, but the sayings of the Companions and the Successors and their legal decisions as well; the word ‘Hadīth’ covers all these subjects and matters in some scholars’ terms.

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1. Guillaume, Islam, 91; a similar idea is maintained by Ahmad Amin, Fajar al-Islam, 211-12; Muir, Mahomet, xxxvii; see also J. Robson, Traditions in Islam, M.W., voi. xli, pp. 101-1; Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, p. 146; Gibb, Mohammedanism 79, Haikal, Hayāt Muhammad, p. 49.

2. Tahāwī, Kashshāf, 279; Qasimī, al-Tahāthīd 61; Suyūṭi, Al-jīfah 3; Subbā, Mustafāhāt 3; Sakhāwī, Mughīth 4.

3. Jurjānī, Risālah, 1; see Tahāwī, Kashshāf, 279; Suyūṭī, Tādirī, quoting al-Tībī, 6; Sakhāwī, Mughīth, 12, “predecessors called them Hadīth”; Gilānī, Tuzwīn 57; for early usage of this word for the sayings other than the Prophet see Hassan b. ‘Imārah’s discussion with al-Zuhīr, ‘Iṣlām, v, 149.


1. See Appendix No. V, photocopy of the MSS. of Sahih of Ibn Khuzaymah, page related to this subject.

2. Muslim. Tamyız, fol. 6b-7a; for more examples see fol. 10a; 11 channels; fol. 11b; 17 channels; these isnāds are shown in the mid-second century as they flourished, not at the time of Muslim, who was a century later.


4. Madkhal, 9; and it is quite possible, at least 50 students transmitted al-Zuhīr’s book, so within 25 years’ time his traditions might have grown 30 or 40 times, see also Mayrūhin, 10a; Jam‘ 165a; Miṣā‘in, i, 35.
The True Numbers of the Traditions.

What is the real number of authentic traditions? The exact number is unknown, but according to Sufyān al-Thaurī, Shu'bah, Yahyā al-Qārīn, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī and Ibn Ḥanbal 4,000 Ḥadīth only⁴. The statement is incomprehensible. Gilānī is inclined to a number of less than 10,000 Ḥadīth, based in his statement, on the quotation from Tāhir al-Jazāʾiri, who in turn was quoting al-Ḥakīm al-Nishābūrī⁵. This is apparently a misinterpretation of al-Ḥakīm’s attitude. He gives an estimate of less than 10,000 Ḥadīth for the first-class authentic traditions which are transmitted according to al-Bukhārī and Muslim b. al-Hajjāj’s stipulation. Furthermore he himself objects to this number, saying, “How can it be said that his [Prophet] traditions do not reach 10,000 traditions when 4,000 Companions... have transmitted traditions from him, who associated with him for more than twenty years...”⁶.

It is said that the Musnad of Ibn Ḥanbal consists of some 40,000 Traditions, and without repetition it would be about 30,000⁴, but there has not been any research so far.

Al-Bukhārī, his Sahih, and other Traditions.

Al-Bukhārī did not claim that what he left out were the spurious, nor that there were no authentic traditions outside his collection. On the contrary he said, “I only included in my book al-Jāmi’ those that were authentic, and I left out many more authentic traditions than this to avoid unnecessary length”⁷. He had no intention of collecting all the authentic traditions. He only wanted to compile a manual of Ḥadīth, according to the wishes of his Shaikh Ishaq b. Rāhwaih⁸, and his function is quite clear from the title of his book “Al-Jāmi’, al-Musnad, al-Sāḥīh, al-Mukhtasar, min umūr Rasūl al-Allāh wa Sunanīhi, wa ayyamīh”⁹. The word al-Mukhtasar, ‘epitome’, itself explains that al-Bukhārī did not make any attempt at a comprehensive collection.

Now it is clear that when traditionists give enormous numbers for the traditions, they mean channels and sources of their transmission, and do not mean real numbers of Ḥadīth. But when they give small figures, saying: “Al-Zuhār has 1,000 Ḥadīth, or al-Qāsim has 200 Ḥadīth” they most probably mean Ḥadīth as a subject matter not counted according to its isnād.

Does ‘Unauthentic’ Mean a False Statement?

Traditionists, at first, look into the isnād and if it is defective, they call the Ḥadīth defective, without scrutinizing the subject matter; because a Ḥadīth, according to their criteria, cannot be authentic unless both its parts are perfect.

Authentic matter with false isnād is a false statement. This will be clear from Appendix III. This appendix — which is a collection of traditions, transmitted by Bishr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥusain on the authority of Zakariyya b. ʿAdi from Anas b. Malik from the Prophet — is called spurious, though about one quarter of the traditions of this collection are found in Bukhārī and Muslim’s Sahīh collections, and are called authentic. The only reason for discarding them is that it is maintained that Zakariyya did not hear all these traditions from Anas, and they are falsely attributed to him.

Therefore, if the scholars say that 200,000 Ḥadīth were not authentic, it does not mean that they were spurious. It only means that their isnāds are questioned while the subject itself may or may not be false.

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4. Shākir, Commentary on Sunyūtī’s alfiyah, pp. 218-222, Shākir gives the estimate of the early scholars of 30,000 to 40,000; perhaps the first number indicates traditions without repetition. For the average of repetitions see, infra, Arabic Section.
5. Bihār, 9b; also Ibn Ḥajar, al-Ṣāri’, 18, 18; also Bagh., 18, 8-9.
6. Ibn Ḥajar, op. cit., 18; Bagh. ii, 8.

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1. See for the priority of isnād criticism, Robson, Materials of Tradition, M.W., vol. xii, p. 166; Guillaume, 55.
A page from al-Maghâzi of Ibn Ishâq with the corresponding printed text in the Sîrat of Ibn Hishâm.
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PART TWO
The Edited Texts
شهر بـ حمـبـ عـبد الرحمـن بـن عمـر بـن خارجة ، حـمـ 4/ 1866-7 و 1867، موافق 1 مـايـ 1887.

9 - يوجد الحديث في مصدر زيـد، منـسـد زيـد 332.
3 - حشر مـ.Sql 304/3.
10 - في مصدر إبراهيم كذلك.

ذكـرـ شـارـع مـسنـد الـريح بدلاً عن ابن عـبد البرد. قـد لـدـى العـديد بـصـمة وعـشرين نـفساً مـسنـد

ال الصحابة.

مـقارنة الـرواـيات:

لاقـتـ الروايات لـفـقـه وسـمـع. إلـان أـكثر الـرواـيات ذكرـت:

الـوـنـد قـدـصاق وـالـأـمـرـ الحـجر. وذكـرت بعض الـرواـيات القـطـر.

الأولى فقط كـا ورـدت في روایة الآضل بدل الحجر.

أسماء الـرواـيات:

الطبقة الأولى:
1 - أيوب خليل 2 - أيوب أمامة الهاشمي 3 - أيوب مسعود
4 - عبـداء بـن الأحـمـد 5 - غـسان 6 - عائـشة
7 - عـبد الله بـن عمر 8 - عـبد البهـر 9 - عـمر بـن خارجة.

الطبقة الثانية:
1 - أيوب زيد 2 - أيوب رفعت 3 - أيوب سلمة
4 - علي المـبـيـم 5 - سماحـي بـن بـحيـب 6 - رياح
7 - حـميـش بـن سـلام 8 - شـعب
9 - عـبدة بـن زـيد 10 - عـبد الرحمـن بـن عمـر 11 - عـمر.

الطبقة الثالثة:
1 - أسامة بـن عـباس 2 - الحسن بـن سـعد 3 - سلـاص
4 - الزهـري 5 - مشـرـب بـن عـباس 6 - عـمر بـن شـعب
7 - عـبد بـن عـبيد 8 - نـور بـن عـبد بـن زـيد
9 - عـبد بـن زـيد 10 - عـبد بـن عـبيد.

رواية بالآضل من شـيخ، في الطبقة الثالثة يروى الزهري عن أكثر من شخص وتكبب الرواية الوحيد.

عـبرة.

أذروج في مـسنـد ابن حنـبل:

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1. أبو رافع.
2. سأب سلمة.
3. أبو عبيد.

الشواهد:

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2. سأب سلمة.
3. عم حمل السلم.
4. عبيد بن كعب.
5. أباه.
6. عم رضوان.
7. عم خالد.
8. عمرو بن خارجة.

الحديث رقم 2/ الحديدي 286/1107.

الط أربعاء المأمون.

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تعليقات على أحاديث أبي اليمان

أنا هبرة قال: سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: «إذا اشتد الحر، فأبردوا من الظهر. فان شدة الحر من فح جهم.»

71- حديثه أبو اليمان أحمد بن عمرو شعيب عن الزهري: قال أبو سلمة أن آباه حبرة قال: سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: «إذا أقيمت الصلاة فلا تأتوها شعوب، وإنها تمشى وعليكم السكينة، فما أدركم مصلوا وما فائكم فأتموا.»

72- حديثه أبو اليمان أحمد بن عمرو شعيب عن الزهري: أن حبرة أن آباه حبرة أخبرهما أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: متي المهجر إلى الصلاة كمثل الذي يغلي البذلة ثم الذي على أثره كالذي يغلي البذلة ثم الذي على أثره كالذي يغلي الدجاجة ثم الذي على أثره كالذي يغلي البذلة.

آخر أحاديث أبي اليمان

وصل الله على محمد وآله وأصحابه
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.

59 - حديثاً أبو اليمان أخبرني شعب عن الزهري أخبرني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن أن أبا مالك النبي أخبره عن عبد الرحمن بن عوف أنه سمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول : "أنا الرحمن وأنا خلقك الرحم".

60 - حديثاً أبو اليمان أخبرني شعب عن الزهري أخبرني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن أن أبا هريرة قالت سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول للشروزي : "عليكم بهذه الحجة السوداء، فإن فيها شفاء من كل شيء إلا السام تعيش الموت".

61 - حديثاً أبو اليمان أخبرني شعب عن الزهري أخبرني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن أن عائشة زوج النبي ﷺ حين أمر الله أن يخرج أزواجه. قالت عائشة فدأها في رسول الله ﷺ فقال : "أني ذاكر لك أمرك، فلا عليك لست متعجل حي نسأل بأيوب. قالت وقد علم أن أبي يل ي يكون لأماني بفراق. قالت ثم قال رسول الله ﷺ أن الله تعالى قال : "يأيها النبي قل أزواجه إن كنت تردن الحياة الدنيا إلى تمام لا يزيد. قالت : "فقلت له : ففي هذا أستأمر أبي؟ قلتي أريد الله ورسوله والدار الآخرة".

62 - حديثاً أبو اليمان أخبرني شعب عن الزهري أخبرني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن أن أبا سعيد الخدري قال : بينما كنت عند رسول الله ﷺ وهو يقسم قسمًا، آتاه ذو الخويصرة وهورجل من بني تميم. فقال : يا رسول الله يعدل.

63 - حديثاً أبو اليمان أخبرني شعب عن الزهري أخبرني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن قال قال أبا هريرة : "سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول : "والله الذي لا تغفر وأنت أنوب في اليوم أكثر من سبعين مرة".

64 - حديثاً أبو اليمان أخبرني شعب عن الزهري أخبرني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن وعبد الله بن عبد الله بن عبيد الله بن عبد الملك بن مسعود أنهما يحدثان أنهما سمعاً أبا هريرة يقول : قال رسول الله ﷺ وهو في مجلس عظم من المسلمين:

65 - حديثاً أبو اليمان أخبرني شعب عن الزهري أخبرني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن وعبد الله بن عبد الله بن عبيد الله بن عبد الملك بن مسعود أنهما يحدثان أنهما سمعاً أبا هريرة يقول : قال رسول الله ﷺ وهو في مجلس عظم من المسلمين:

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67 - حديثاً أبو اليمان أخبرني شعب عن الزهري أخبرني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن قال قال أبا هريرة : "سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول : "والله الذي لا تغفر وأنت أنوب في اليوم أكثر من سبعين مرة".
السماء الدنيا فيقول من يدعوني فستجيب له ، من يستغفري فأعفه ،
من يبكي فأعلمه حتى الفجر »

50 - حدثنا أبو الراجل البيضاني شعباب عن الزهري آخر كن أبى سلمة بن عبيد الرحمان .
曰 قال رسول الله ﷺ :  أرسلانا النبأما فيكم ؛ فلقال الهاج :  هل تعلم أن أبى هريرة قال :  في قسم يقسم به . فقال الهاج :  لا أرجو أن أرى هذين النبلاء من أميرهم وأمر المسلمين . ففرغ السماء عند ذلك يقف الليل به . فآذب الهاج في رسول الله ﷺ :  لا تخبرونا على موسي . فكان الناس يرفعون فأكون أول من يقيق ، فإذا موسي باطل بجانب العرش . فلا أري أن يكون فيهم صدق فافق قلبي ، أم كان من استثناء (1) الله تعالى .

51 - حدثنا أبو الراجل البيضاني شعباب عن الزهري آخر كن أبى سلمة بن عبيد الرحمان .
曰 قال رسول الله ﷺ :  لا تقوم الساعة حتى تقتله فثنان دعاهما واحد .

52 - حدثنا أبو الراجل البيضاني شعباب عن الزهري آخر كن أبى سلمة بن عبيد الرحمان .
曰 قال رسول الله ﷺ :  سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول :  من أطاع الله ومن أعصى أميره فقد عصى ، من أطاع الله ومن أعصى أميره فقد عصى ، من أطاع الله ومن أعصى أميره فقد عصى ، من أطاع الله ومن أعصى أميره فقد عصى ، من أطاع الله ومن أعصى أميره فقد عصى ، من أطاع الله .

53 - حدثنا أبو الراجل البيضاني شعباب عن الزهري آخر كن أبى سلمة بن عبيد الرحمان .
曰 قال رسول الله ﷺ :  سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول :  النصر والخليفة في الفدادين أهل الوبر والسكنين في أهل الغم . والإيمن . والإيمن . والإيمن . والإيمن . والإيمن . والإيمن .

54 - حدثنا أبو الراجل البيضاني شعباب عن الزهري آخر كن أبى سلمة بن عبيد الرحمان .
曰 قال رسول الله ﷺ :  سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول :  إذا أصر كان النصر بالبغداد ، والبدر في البدر .

55 - حدثنا أبو الراجل البيضاني شعباب عن الزهري آخر كن أبى سلمة بن عبيد الرحمان .
曰 قال رسول الله ﷺ :  اقتعد إلى ثلاثة مساجد ، إلى المسجد الحرام ، ومسجدكم هذا ، وإليه .

(1) في الإصل . حتى أقتعد .
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة المقدمة.

33- حذلت أبو اليمان آخرني شهيب عن الزهري قال سمعت سعيد بن المسبب يقول: إن الجهرة التي تمنعها للطرازية فلا يحل عليها أحد من الناس، والسائبة التي كان يسيرون بها لأنهم لا يحمل عليها شيء. قال: وقال أبو هريرة: سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: رأيت عمرو الخزاعي يبرح قصيبة في النار وكان أول من سيب السباق . وذكر الحديث.

34- حذلت أبو اليمان آخرني شهيب عن الزهري آخرني سعيد بن المسبب أن طعم البحر ما سبه منه فتزوّد في السفر ثم هذه الآية أحل لكم صيد البحر وطعامه ماعاً لكم والسيرة) قال سعيد بن الم interp: ما كان عريضاً، وطعامه ما يتزود به السيرة.

35- حذلت أبو اليمان آخرني شهيب عن الزهري قال: قال سعيد بن المسبب نزلت هذه الآية . ولكن جعلنا مواياً لما ترك الولدان والأقرانيون، في الدين كانوا يتنبؤ رجالا غير أبناءهم وبرئتهم. فألزم الله عز وجل لهم أن يجعلهم نفسياً في الوصية، ورد الله المراد إلى الموالي في الرحم والقصبة، وأي أن يجعل للمعدين مبرزاً من أدعاه وتبناه ولكن جعلهم نفسياً في الوصية مكان ما تعاقدوا واي عليه في المراث الذي ردوه عليهم فيه أمرهم.

36- حذلت أبو اليمانآخرني شهيب عن الزهري آخرني سعيد بن المسبب وسلمه بن سيراع أن السنة في هائلين الذين ذكر الله فيها نشورمره وإعراضاً عن أمراه في قوله وإن أمراه خاف من بعله نشوراً أو أعراضاً إليه كان الآتينين. وأثر عليه قال: من الحق أن يعرض عليها أن تبطنها أو تستقر عندنا ما كانت عليه من أثر في القسم من نفسه ومثله، فان استقرت عندنا على ذلك وكرحت أن تبطنها، فلا حرج عليه فيما أثره عليها به من ذلك.

37- حذلت أبو اليمان آخرني شهيب عن الزهري آخرني سعيد بن المسبب أن أيها هريرة قال سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: «دخل الإلهة من أمي زمرة هم سبعون ألف نضي، ووجوههم إضاءة القمر ليلة البدر». فقام عكاشة بن
هشام وعياش بن أبي ربيعة والمستعدين من المؤمنين، اللهم اشهد وطائلك
مضر واجعلها كسرى فوضف. ثم يقول: «الله أكبر».  
21-حدثنا أبو يحنا آخرأن شعيب عن الزهرى آخر أن سعيد بن المسبب
وأبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن أن أبا هريرة قال: سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول:
وقد تفضل صلاة الجمع صلاة أحدكم وحده قد لا يذره وعشرة جزءًا،
واتمنى ملاككًا في الفجيرة وال ولكني المدح في صلاة الفجر،
ثم يقول: أبا هريرة: اقرأوا إن شئتم: «إن قران الفجر كان مشهورًا».  
22-حدثنا أبو يحنا آخرأن شعيب عن الزهرى آخر أن سعيد بن المسبب
وأبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن أن أبا هريرةٍ عمرو بن العاص قال:
لأترونوا أن أبا هريرة قال: سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: لا تقموا حتى تضطرب
الساعة في ذري الخلاص وذرو الخلاصة وذرو الخلاصة لا كلام لا يكاد
يعدون (1) في الجاهلية.
27-حدثنا أبو يحنا أن شعيب عن الزهرى (175) حديث سعيد
بن المسبب أن أبا هريرة عن عمر بن الخطاب ﷺ المقطون في الدنيا على منابر نور
يوم القيامة بين يدي الرحمن لما أُفقدوا في الدنيا.  
29-حدثنا أبو يحنا أن شعيب عن الزهرى آخر أن سعيد بن المسبب
وعظاه بن يزيد الليثي أن أبا هريرة أخبره أن الناس قالوا: يا رسول الله
هل ترى ناكم يوم القيامة؟ فقال رسول الله ﷺ: هل ترى ناكم في القمر؟
ليلةدرك ليس دونه سحاب؟ قالوا: يا رسول الله ﷺ: إنك ترونهم, 
وذكر الحديث بطمر.  
30-حدثنا أبو يحنا أن شعيب عن الزهرى آخر أن سعيد بن المسبب
(1) في الأصل: بعثون

(1) في الأصل: وقرن القرآن الفجيرة كان مشهورًا.
- الابناء الذي عليها - قالت زينب، فقلت، يا رسول الله: أنك وفينا.

17- حدثنا أبو الوليد آخرني شعب عن الهجري أخبرني عروة بن الزبير أن زينب بنت أي سلمة وهم أمهم سلمة زوج النبي ﷺ، ذكرته أن أمها أمهما أمرت بالثأر إلى بعد بني مالك أقدم من بعضها، كما أن أن الله تعالى قد قال: "بلى، أن رسول الله ﷺ، وما من رسول الله ﷺ من دون الناس.

13- حدثنا أبو الوليد آخرني شعب عن الهجري أخبرني عروة بن الزبير أن عائشة قالت: قال رسول الله ﷺ "ما من مصيبة تقضيه المسلم إلا كفر الله عنه بها حتى يوكلها شياها".

14- حدثنا أبو الوليد آخرني شعب عن الهجري أخبرني عروة بن الزبير عن عائشة قالت: جاءت أمراً رفاعة القرشي إلى رسول الله ﷺ، وأنها صاحبة عندربي، بكر قالت: يا رسول الله: إن كنت تحب رفاعة فطلبتي فت طالق (73) فتزوحت بعدة عقد حسن الزبير، وإن ما نعه يا رسول الله: إلا مثل الهدية، وأخذت هدية من جلبيها، قالت فسمع خالد بن سعد قولاً بالله، لم يدعه به. فقالت: يا آبا بكر، أنته دنيا بعدك، يا رسول الله ﷺ، وقالت لا والله ما يزيد رسول الله ﷺ على الله، وقالت قالت: وفعله أن ترجعي إلى رفاعة؟ لا حتى يتوقف عملك وتمبيح خلقه، وتمرت بذلك.

15- حدثنا أبو الوليد آخرني شعب عن الهجري أخبرني عروة بن الزبير أن عائشة كانت تقول: «حرموا من الرضاعة ما تكون من النسب».

16- حدثنا أبو الوليد آخرني شعب عن الهجري عن عروة بن الزبير أن زينب بنت أي سلمة حديث أن خربه بن سفيان حدثته عن زينب بن حشن أن رسول الله ﷺ دخل عليها فراعا يقول لا إلا الله وبل المعبود من شرف أقرب. فتح اليوم من ردم ياجوج ومأمون مثل هذه وحلة، بأسمه
قد استنادوا أن قومهم قد كذٌبهم وما هو بالظن. وقالت: أجعل عمري
قد استنادوا بذلك. قال: فقلت: فعلها وظنه أنهم قد كذبوا. فقالت: معاذ
الله. لم تكون الرسول لتستناد ذلك بربها. قال: فقلت: ما هذه الآية؟ قالت: هم اتباع
الرسول الذين آمنوا به وصان لهم طال عليهم البلاش واستغرق عنهم النصر
حتى إذا استجاب الرسول من قومهم وظنه أن أتباعهم الذين آمنوا بهم قد
كذبٌبهم جاءهم الله نصر الله عن ذلك (1).

9- حدثنا أبو اليمان أخبرني شبيب عن الزهري قال كان عرَوَى بن
النمير يحدث أنه سأل عائشة عن قول الله تعالى: «و أن خفتم...» فالتكلّكوا في
الписать فأكملوا ما طلب لكم من النساء منى، وثلاث ورابع، فإن خفتم لا
تعلوا فواحدة أو ما ملكت أيادكم). قالت عائشة رضي الله عنها وعن
أبيها هي السيدّة تكن في جحر ولي فيها غبر في جاها وما يبرد أن يتزوجها
(273/1) بل ينعيها من نساءّها. فقالت: فهؤلاء الأسال علمه أن يقتصر فهم في أكان
الصداق. وأمرنا نخطف من 사عال بن الناءم. قالت عائشة: ثم استقفي الناس
النادر، لنستلعر في النساء، قال الله تعالى: «و أن خفتم...» فيه الآية.
قلت: إنك خفتم في هذه الآية أن يكون لها ما تلخيصها وبعثها في كلا الصداق. وإذا كانت مرغوبة
عنها في جملة وأمال تكرهه وتمسوها غيرها من النساء...
قالت عائشة: كأنها تكرهها حين يبرغها عنها، وليس لها أن ينكحها.
إذا رغوا فيها إلا أن يقتصر لها ويطرها. هؤلاء الأسال.

10- حدثنا أبو اليمان أخبرني شبيب عن الزهري حدثني عرَوَى بن الزهير
أن عائشة قالت: استنادنا سأل آخر أبي فيسح، بعد ما أنزل الحجاب فقدت
له: لا أذكر لك حتى استناد رسول الله ﷺ. فأن أبا أبي الفيصلي ليس هو
أرضع، ولكن أن الرسول نصح به وصان عنهم البلاش واستغرق عنهم النصر
حتى إذا استجاب الرسول من قومهم وظنه أن أتباعهم الذين آمنوا بهم قد
كذبٌبهم جاءهم الله نصر الله عن ذلك (1).

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الحديث النبوي – 10
في هذه ميّة دعائي نبوي . وواضـر الـثبيـرة التي بين الالـه واتّي عليها من الأصاحـب .

5 ـ حديثنا أبو اليمان أومني شعيب عن الزهرى المختصـرة عروة بن الزبير أن عائشة قالت لقاء رأيت رسول الله ﷺ فقوم على نافذة حيدرية والحياة يلبسون بالحبار في المسجد فان لستي بدردها لكي أنظر إلى شعبه ثم يقوم من أجل حتى آكون أنا الذي املّ فانصرف . فاقرأوا قدر الجاربة الحديدة

الس الحريصة على الله .

6 ـ حديثنا أبو اليمان أومني شعيب عن الزهرى المختصـرة عروة بن الزبير أن عائشة قالت كان أبو بكير على جادة عشرين وسقا من ماله . فلما حضرته الوفاة جلس فاحظة ثم تشهد ثم قال: أنا أحد الناس إلى غبي على فريق مني لم يرو لات (77/77) ﷺ . وأنا كنت أجلس جدادة عشرين ومما ما ولا . فوسرت الله وأنه كنت جدته واحتزته ولكن أنا هو الهم مال مال والرث والثمن هو الحراك والثواب فقاطلت : قلت أي إبتن إسماء مال سواء ؟ فقال: دو بন بنت حارجة . أراها جارية . قالت : لو أعتناني باين ما بدردها إلا كأنا أرى بنت الملك . فاتّي ، قالت : أما ملكة ما يزد دعه مقتراً . فانه يوم مفتوح . قالت : قال أبو بكير وهو يقول نفسه : أي بني ليس كذلك ، ولكن قولبي : وجاءت سكرة

المزور بالحق ذلك ما كنت منه تحييد .

7 ـ حديثنا أبو اليمان أومني شعيب عن الزهرى قالت كأن عروة

الزبير يقول برد من جنف الحلي الناجل في حياتها ما برد من جنف الميت وصيته عند وفاته .

8 ـ حديثنا أبو اليمان أومني شعيب عن الزهرى المختصـرة عروة بن الزبير أن سأل عائشة عن قول الله تعالى ـ حتى إذا استغفر الرسول وظناً أنهم قد كذبوا ، اكذروا أم كذبوا . قالت بل كذبوا . قال : قلت : ﷺ .

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أخبرنا الشيخ الإمام الحاكم أبو منصور عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن أحمد بن يحيى الشرابي بقراني عليه في صفر سنة تسع عشرة وخمسين.

قال给我们的先知的阁下，他的儿子哈桑的儿子遗嘱中包含以下内容。

الشاهد الصفار قرأ عليه في شهر رمضان سنة ست واربعين واربعين.

قال أنا أبو الفضل محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن خمروية الكرايسي في أبو الحسن على محمد بن عيسى الخزاعي الحكاني تأكلو اليدار الحكم بن نافع، أخبرني شخيب بن أبي حمزه.

1- 사건 الرهرو حدث عدوت بن الزبير أن عائشة زوج النبي محمد، أولى بالله أن Ing قالت: كان عنة بن أبي وقاص عهد إلى أخوه سعد بن أبي وقاص أن يقبض إليه ابن وليدة زمعة. وقال عنة أن ابنه.

فقال لما قدم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من الفتح أخذ صعد بن وليدة زمعة، فقابل به إلى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، وقابل لديه عبد بن زمعة. فقال سعد يا رسول الله هذا ابن أخي عم، فهناك ينهو بابه أن ابنه. وقال عبد بن زمعة يا رسول الله هذا أخبني زمعة، وولد على فراش، فهناك ينهو بابه أن ابن وليدة زمعة، فذاذ يشبه الناسعت أخني أي وقاص. فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لك يا عبد بن زمعة، من أجل أنه ولد على فراش أخني وقاص. وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم.
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تعليقات على أحاديث عبد الله بن عمر

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لا يبيع أحدكم على بيع أخيه ولا يطلب على خاطبة أخيه حتى يأتى له:

122 - حديثي عمر نا سليمان نا شعبان نا عبد الله عن نافع أن عبد الله كان يقول: «أي رسول الله ﷺ من مواضيع الناس أن يحب بغير أذن أربابه، يقول: أجيب أحدكم أن يؤتي إلى مضربة أي فيها طعاماً فيكره بها فيدخل ما فيها من الطعام؟ فلما ضروع مواضعهم فيها طعام أحدكم فلا يحتين أحد ماضيائه أحد».

123 - حديثي حسان نا سليمان نا شعبان نا عبد الله عن نافع أن عبد الله أذن ليلة وهو يضعان بالعش النافع في ليلة باردة، فقال صلى الله عليه وسلم:

» وأحل ليس الخمر والذهب لأنثى أي وحرم على ذكرها.«

124 - حديثي حسان نا سليمان نا شعبان نا عبد الله عن نافع أن عبد الله قال:

» الليلة والبرية والبيئة ثلاث.«

125 - حديثي حسان نا سليمان نا شعبان نا عبد الله عن نافع أن عبد الله أخرجه أن عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه خلفه على امرأته، وكانت قد طالت يوم النحر بالبيت ثم حاضت بعد أن طالت يوم النحر.

126 - حديثي حسان نا سليمان نا أبو الوليد بن مسلم نا عبد الله بن العلاء

127 - حديثي حسان نا سليمان نا أبو الوليد بن مسلم نا عبد الله بن العلاء

128 - حديثي حسان نا سليمان نا أبو الوليد بن مسلم نا عبد الله بن العلاء

(1) في الأصل: بصيانة، وما ذكرنا من «صحب سلم».

(2) في الأصل: بصحيان، جبيل قريب من مكة.

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أخبره أن رجلا سأل رسول الله ﷺ، وهو على المنبر، فقال: يا رسول الله ما ترى في أكل البيت؟ قال: لا أكله ولا أحرمه.

116- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان تأبض عن عبد الله عن نافق أن عبد الله أخبره أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: كل من يفتي أخاه بما يفعله في بيته، ويكون خيارا.

117- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان تأبض عن عبد الله عن نافق أن عبد الله أخبره (1/ 48) أن رسول الله ﷺ قال:

118- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان تأبض عن عبد الله عن نافق أن عبد الله أخبره: أن عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر رضي الله عنه أخبره أن أم سلمة زوج النبي ﷺ أخبرته: أنها سمعت رسول الله ﷺ وهو يقول:

119- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان تأبض عن عبد الله عن نافق أن عبد الله أخبره أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: لا ينفع أن يبرخ في أمة الفضيلة، وإنما يجرج في بطله نار جهنم.

120- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان تأبض عن عبد الله عن نافق أن عبد الله أخبره أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: لا ينفع أن يبرخ في أمة الفضيلة، وإنما يجرج في بطله نار جهنم.

121- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان تأبض عن عبد الله عن نافق أن عبد الله أخبره أن رسول الله ﷺ (1/ 48) قال:

122- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان تأبض عن عبد الله عن نافق أن عبد الله أخبره أن رسول الله ﷺ (147/ 48) قال: لا ينفع أن يبرخ في أمة الفضيلة، وإنما يجرج في بطله نار جهنم.

123- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان تأبض عن عبد الله عن نافق أن سلمة أخبره أن مولى أم حبيبة زوج رسول الله (1/ 48) أن رضي الله عنها أخبره أن أم حبيبة رضي الله عنها أنه تلى أن رسول الله ﷺ قال:

124- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان تأبض عن عبد الله عن نافق أن عبد الله أخبره أن رسول الله ﷺ (1/ 48) قال:

125- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان تأبض عن عبد الله عن نافق أن عبد الله أخبره أن رسول الله ﷺ (1/ 48) قال:

130- كلمة "رسول ﷺ سلفت من الأصل."
أن عبد الله يقول: «من أفترض في رمضان وهو مريض ثم مات قبل أن يقضي فيلعنه كل يوم أفترضه مسكيًّا، كما من حسنة.»

97- حدثني عمر بن سهيل بن حمزة عن نافع: «أن عبد الله كان يئف عن القبلة والخروج.»

98- حدثني عمر بن سهيل بن حمزة عن نافع: «أن عبد الله كان يصدق المرأة من بنتي وبنات أخي التلميذ، فيجعل لها قربا من أربعمائة دينار حلياً.»

99- حدثني عمر بن سهيل بن حمزة عن نافع: «سألت نافع عن زكاته فقال: عبد الله يقول: ليس فيه زكاة.»

100- حدثني عمر بن سهيل بن حمزة عن نافع: «أن عبد الله ويحيد عليه الحول.»

101- حدثني عمر بن سهيل بن حمزة عن نافع: «أنه كانت عند عبد الله أمور اليوم، يليهم فستنفها وترزها في الملل ثم يخرج صدقاتها من إعالتهم.»

102- حدثني عمر بن سهيل بن حمزة عن نافع: «أن جيشاً غنموا في زمان رسول الله (1:145) طعاماً وعسلاً، فلم يؤخذ منهم الحمس.»

103- حدثني عمر بن سهيل بن حمزة عن نافع: «أن عبد الله وليمة: أن رسول الله (1:146) فرض زكاة الفطر صاعاً من كبر أو صاعاً من شعير عن العبد والحتر والذكر والأنثى والصغير والكبر، قال نافع: فعدل الناس ذلك بنفسهم من الخطأ.»

104- حدثني عمر بن سهيل بن حمزة عن نافع: «أن عبد الله أن رسول الله (1:147) في البيوت حتى تبوا صلاتها، ونبي عن الزراعة، ونبي عن الجزاء، ونبي عن الفضائل.»
47 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا طلُق العبد الحرة فطالله ثمانية، وتحتد ثلاثاً، وإذا طلق الحر انتم فطالله ثمانية، وتحتدان انتمانين.
48 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن أبي ربيعة.
49 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
رجل جاء إلى عبد الله فقال: أتي طلعت أمتي ثلاث، وهي حائض. قال: عصيت
ربك وفارقتك أمر الله.
50 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
51 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
52 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
53 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
54 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
55 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
56 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
57 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
58 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
59 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
60 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
61 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
62 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
63 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
64 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
65 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
66 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
67 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
68 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
69 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
70 - حدثني عمرو بن سليمان نأب الله عن نافع: أن
عبد الله بن رباح قال: "إذا نكح الرجل عن طلعته، فليس بيدف فراق بينهما.
عبد الله بن عمر كان يقول: "إذا طلقت المرأة تطليقة أو تطليقين فانها لا تخرج إلا بآذان زوجها حتى تعثر على نفسها".

79- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان بن علي بن عبد الله عن نافع: "أن عبد الله بن الزبير طلق امرأته له ثم كتبها قرية من سنة ثم أتى بعد ذلك بالطلاق فเศفت فقال قال: "حتى تفقد عمها"، فذكر ذلك لعبد الله بن عمر فقال: "بص ما صنع ابن الزبير لبيكم إنها، فقال عبد الله بن عمر: "لا عدلا عليها إما إذا عقدت يوم الزواج أو طلقت.

80- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان بن علي بن عبد الله عن نافع: "أن عمر قبض أخته عامر بن عمر بعد ما طلقها، فقامت تجدها الشموس بنت أبي عامر فانطلقت به، فذكر ذلك لمعمر فلحقه على فرس فاراد أن يبرع الغلام منها. ف علينا (1) فتساءلنا إلى أبي بكر الصديق رضي الله عنه في ذلك فامرأته أبا بكر (2) أن يدع الغلام عند أمه (1/144) فتكون هي تحتضنه.

81- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان بن علي بن عبد الله عن نافع: "أن سليمان بن يسار أخبره أن ابن الأحوص في عهد معاوية رضي الله عنه بالثام طلق أمرأته ثم طلق مرات فمات في آخر حيتان لم تظهر منها بعد أفشت معاوية بن أبي سفيان إلى زيد بن ثابت بأنه عن ذلك فقال له زيد: "لا ترته ولا يرته. وقد بسطت منه، بردي منها".

قال نافع: وكان عبد الله بن عمر يقول: "مثل ذلك.

82- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان بن علي بن عبد الله عن نافع: "أن عبد الله بن الزبير أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: "فرقع بين رجل وامرأته من الأنصار، فقذف أمرأته فاقتلاها وفرقع بينهما".

83- وقالت عائشة: "مثل ذلك" وقال ابن عباس لابي هريرة: "طالت الفتوى.

84- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان بن علي بن عبد الله عن نافع: "أن عبد الله بن الزبير أن زيد أبى معذرتنا أنها اختلفت من زوجها على عهد عثمان رضي الله عنه، فذهب عمها معاذ بن عفان إلى عثمان فقال: "أن ابنته قد اختلفت من زوجها اليوم أفتنقل؟ فقال عثمان: "نعم ننقل، فليس عليها عدة، غير أن لا تنتخب حتى تحض حفصة واحدة. فقال عبد الله: "فعثمان أكبرنا وأعلمنا".

85- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان بن علي بن عبد الله عن نافع: "أن عبد الله كان يقول: "إذا الولى منها زوجها، إذا مرت أربعة أشهر فلا تصلح له أن يمسكها إلا كما أمره سيفانه، إما يمسكها بعرف، أو يرحمها بالحبان.

86- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان بن علي بن عبد الله عن نافع: "أن عبد الله بن الزبير أن ابن الأحوص اختلفت من زوجها بكل شيء لها، وبكل ثوب عليها إلا درعها. فلم يذكر عليها عبد الله.

87- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان بن علي بن عبد الله عن نافع: "أن عبد الله كان يقول: "لك كم حقيقة مثاني واحدة وثانيين ولا تأتي إلا أن تكون أمرأة طلقتها زوجها قبل أن يسمها فحبها فرضتها، فان لم يكن فرض لها إلا المتعة.

88- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان بن علي بن عبد الله عن نافع: "أن عبد الله كان يقول: "إذا طلقت المرأة بالله فإنها تأتي المسجد ولا تثبت إلا في بيتها.

89- حدثني عمرو بن سليمان بن علي بن عبد الله عن نافع: "أن
49 - حديثي عمرو نا سليمان نا شيعب نا عبد الله عن نافع: أن عبد الله كان يصلي وهو مريض وهو جالس لا يرفع إلى جاهله شيئاً، ولكنه يؤمن برأسه. وذلك إذا غلب فلم يستطع أن يسجد وهو جالس.

50 - حديثي عمرو نا سليمان نا شيعب نا عبد الله عن نافع: أن عمر رضي الله عنه لم يكن يكرر الناس في الصلاة حتى بعدم الصنوف وينقلل بذلك رجاء.

51 - حديثي عمرو نا سليمان نا شيعب نا عبد الله عن نافع: أن عبد الله كان يقول: "إذا وضع أحدهم جهته إلى الأرض فليضع فكه فيه، وإذا رفع رأسه فليرفعهما، فإن اليدين تسدبان كما يسجد الوجه.

52 - حديثي عمرو نا سليمان نا شيعب نا عبد الله عن نافع: أن عبد الله كان ليلة بكمة صبي، وكمة صغيرة فاقتراها ثم إنه انكشف الفم ورأى عليه، ففعله بواحدة، ثم صلى ركعتين، ثم فلم جلس يصلي نافع واحدة.

53 - حديثي عمرو نا سليمان نا شيعب نا عبد الله عن نافع: أن عبد الله كان يقصر الصلاة ما لم (141 ب) يجمع اقامة.

54 - حديثي عمرو نا سليمان نا شيعب نا عبد الله عن نافع: أن عبد الله عن نافع: أن عبد الله أقام بكمة عشرأ يقصر الصلاة.

55 - حديثي عمرو نا سليمان نا شيعب نا عبد الله عن نافع: أن عبد الله كان يقول: "صلاة الخوف أن يقوم الإمام ويقوم طلقة واحدة ويقوم طلقة بين بين العدو ثم صلى (2) ركعتين، ثم ينسف فيقوم مقام أخرى. وتأتي الطلقات الأخرى فيصلي بكمة ركعتين ثم صلى الإمام، ثم ثم الطلقاتان لأنهما ركعتا ركعتا.

56 - حديثي عمرو نا سليمان نا شيعب نا عبد الله عن نافع قال: (1) في الآلث آلة "صل".

57 - حديثي عمرو نا سليمان نا شيعب نا عبد الله عن نافع: أن عبد الله كان يصحبذا دائما معه الصلاة.

58 - حديثي عمرو نا سليمان نا شيعب نا عبد الله عن نافع: أن عبد الله كان يفعل الشفقة.
الحياة: أن عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه كان إذا خرج إلى الصلاة ناديًّا في المسجد فقال: أياكم و الحمد، وإن كان يقول: ارتقدوا في أعلاه المسجد.

29 - حديثٌ عمرو بن سليمان ناشيدُهَا على الله عز وجل أن ناعدُهَا على الصلواتِ جمع صلاة الصبح قبل طول صوم الفجر ثم عاد للصلاة بعد طول الفجر.

30 - حديثٌ عمرو بن سليمان ناشيدُهَا على الله عز وجل أن ناعدُهَا على الصلواتِ جمع صلاة الفجر في اليوم وليلة عصره، وقد دخل أذربيجان ستة أشهر يقرؤهم في الصلاة.

31 - حديثٌ عمرو بن سليمان ناشيدُهَا على الله عز وجل أن ناعدُهَا على الصلواتِ جمع صلاة الفجر في اليوم وليلة عصره، وقد دخل أذربيجان ستة أشهر يقرؤهم في الصلاة.

32 - حديثٌ عمرو بن سليمان ناشيدُهَا على الله عز وجل أن ناعدُهَا على الصلواتِ جمع صلاة الفجر في اليوم وليلة عصره، وقد دخل أذربيجان ستة أشهر يقرؤهم في الصلاة.

33 - حديثٌ عمرو بن سليمان ناشيدُهَا على الله عز وجل أن ناعدُهَا على الصلواتِ جمع صلاة الفجر في اليوم وليلة عصره، وقد دخل أذربيجان ستة أشهر يقرؤهم في الصلاة.

34 - حديثٌ عمرو بن سليمان ناشيدُهَا على الله عز وجل أن ناعدُهَا على الصلواتِ جمع صلاة الفجر في اليوم وليلة عصره، وقد دخل أذربيجان ستة أشهر يقرؤهم في الصلاة.

35 - حديثٌ عمرو بن سليمان ناشيدُهَا على الله عز وجل أن ناعدُهَا على الصلواتِ جمع صلاة الفجر في اليوم وليلة عصره، وقد دخل أذربيجان ستة أشهر يقرؤهم في الصلاة.

(1) في الإصل اخْتُصِّرَ.
قال: «صليت مع رسول الله ﷺ، يبني (138 ب) سجتين حتى هلك، ثم مع عمر رضي الله عنه حتى هلك. ثم مع عثمان رضي الله عنه صدراً من خلافته».

24 - حدثني عمر بن سليمان نا شعبت نا عبيد الله عن نافع عن عبد الله: «كان إذا خرج إلى مكة صلى في مسجد الشجرة، وإذا رجع صلى بُ Rifle الحالة بطن الوادي، وابت به حتى يصلي».

25 - حدثني عمر بن سليمان نا شعبت نا عبيد الله عن نافع عن عبد الله: «كان إذا قدم من مكة دخل عشة المدينة، وإذا قدم مكة بات بذي طوي، فلم يدخل إلا بكرة، كما كان يدخل رسول الله ﷺ».

26 - حدثني عمر بن سليمان نا شعبت نا عبيد الله عن نافع عن عبد الله: «إن عمر بن رسول الله ﷺ كان يصلي في الظاهرة والنظر ثم يخط بعده الصلاة».

27 - حدثني عمر بن سليمان نا شعبت نا عبيد الله عن نافع عن صفية بنت أبي عبد أن عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه كتب إلى أمير الاجتاد بأمره أن يصلوا الصحابة والتجار بادية مشتقة، وظهر إذا زالت الشمس، أن يكون كل شيء مظلمة، والعصر والشمس مرتفعة بضاءة قليلة. قال: ما يسير الرأب (139/139 فرسخ في، والمغرب حين غرب الشمس وينظر إلى الليل والعشاء حين يضيء الشفق، فإن شعُّام فيما يبكيهم وينثى ثلاث الليل ألا، لا تتشغلوا في الصلاة. فمن ردد بعد فلا أردق الله عينيه. ثم من ردد فلا تنزح الله عينيه. ثم من ردد فلا أردق الله عينيه».

28 - حدثني عمر بن سليمان نا شعبت نا عبيد الله عن نافع: أن عبد الله كان يقصر الصلاة إلى خير.

وأنه أخبره سالم: إنه قصر مرة إلى ذات النصب، وهي على أربعة برد.

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۱۲ - حديثي عمر وثنا سليمان ثنا شهيب ثنا عبد الله عن عبد الرحمن عن القاسم عن عمر رضي الله عنه قال لاهل مكة: ما لكم ما اهل مكة يقدم الناس محرمين من تجار وأئمة مدنون. إذا رأيت المحال فاحموا.

۱۳ - حديثي عمر وثنا سليمان ثنا شهيب ثنا عبد الله عن نافع عن عبد الله ابن عمر رضي الله عنهما أنه رجاء سأل رسول الله ﷺ عن صلاة الليل فقال: يعني أخرجكم بالليل مثوى مثوى فإذا ختي أن يصبح يصل واحدة فلتون له ما قد صلى.

و قال: أجعلوا آخر صلاتكم بالليل ورتوه.

۱۴ - حديثي عمر وثنا سليمان ثنا شهيب ثنا عبد الله عن نافع عن عبد الله اسرع السير مرة فجمع بين المغرب والعشاء بعد ما غاب النفق بساعة فكلمه في ذلك فقال (۱۳۷، ب): أي رأيت رسول الله ﷺ يصنع ذلك شاهد به السير.

۱۵ - حديثي عمر وثنا سليمان ثنا شهيب ثنا عبد الله عن نافع عن عبد الله أخبره أنه سمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول:

أن الذي فتوحه صالة العصر كأوأ وتر ماله وأهله.

۱۶ - حديثي عمر وثنا سليمان ثنا شهيب ثنا عبد الله عن نافع عن عبد الله كان صلى على بعير السمحة أيضا توجه به، ويجب أن رسول الله ﷺ كان بصنع ذلك.

و وذكر أن ابن عمر كان يوتر عليه.

۱۷ - حديثي عمر وثنا سليمان ثنا شهيب ثنا عبد الله عن نافع عن عبد الله أخبره أنه سمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول:

إذا جاء أحدكم إلى الجماعة فلا يجلس.

(۱) تكره كلمة وقال مرتين. اظهر سبب في الصفحة ۶۷۶ بالجزء الإنجليزى

۱۱۵
الجزء من حديث عبيد الله بن عمر

من رواية أبي سعيد عمرو بن أبي زرعة،
عن سليمان بن عبد الرحمن عن شهاب بن أسداق عنه.

ما رواه أبو أحمد عبد الله بن عثمان بن عبد الله بن الناصص بن شجاع الفقيه - المعروف بابن المفسر - وعن أبي القاسم الفارسي، وعن الشيخ العدل أبو صادق مرشد بن يحيى بن القاسم المدني، وعن الشيخ الفقيه الإمام الحافظ أبو طاهر أحمد بن محمد السلفي الأصهري، رضي الله عنه وارضاه وجعل الجنة نزله وامائاه بحمد ربه وكرمه.

سماح للقاضي المكي أبي الحرم مكي بن عبد الرحمن بن عتق بن أبي سعيد العدل، ولولده التجرب معين الدين أبي القاسم عبد الرحمن سبط الشيخ الإمام الحافظ المسموع عليه، رضي الله عنه.

1 - عن نافع أن عبد الله بن عمر: لم يكن بري بأبًا أن يغض الرجل.

(1) في الأصل، بعده خط متأثر قبل أن يخلق.

الحديث النبوي - 8

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جدول بين أحاديث نسخة سهيل بن أبي صالح ووزرها في مسند ابن حنبل

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>رقم الحديث في نسخة سهيل</th>
<th>عدد مرات وردته في مسند ابن حنبل</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

أحاديث
عبد الله بن عمر
عن سهيل

108
رسوم بيانيةٌ
للمحترِم الأخادِيث عنِ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وتفع أسبابها إلى الطبقة الثالثة
الحديث رقم (48)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:
1 - أبو صالح - أبو يونس.
2 - تلاذ أبو صالح - مهيل. حكها:
عبد العزيز بن أحمد الصلح
يعقوب
17/6/4 هـ، زكاة 90.
3 - تلاذ أبو يونس: حمزة بن الحارث. حكها 91.

الشواهد:
1 - أبو موسى الأشéri - حارثة بن وهب.
2 - أبو موسى الأشéri - بريدة - أبو بردة - حكها.
3 - حارثة بن وهب - مشروق بن خالد - حكها 32/4/5.
4 - زكاة 96.

مقارنة الروايات:
تفق الرواة مع وفقًا إلى حد كبير، إلا أنه ورد في رواية حارثة تصدروا فانه يأوي عطيف زمن.
لم يذكرنا قسم الساعة ...

أسماء الرواة:
الطبقة الأولى:
1 - أبو هريرة
2 - أبو موسى
3 - حارثة بن وهب
4 - بريدة

الطبقة الثانية:
1 - أبو بردة
2 - أبو صالح
3 - أبو يونس
4 - مشروق بن خالد.

الطبقة الثالثة:
1 - بهيل
2 - سهيل
3 - شعبان

الرواية عن أكثر من شيخ: لا توجد.
وروده في مسند ابن حنبل: مرة واحدة عن طريق أبي هريرة ومرة واحدة عن طريق الآخرين.
الحديث رقم (67)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1 - أبو طلحة: 2 - أم حبيبة 3 - أم سلمة 4 - عائشة.
(1) أبو طلحة: عبد الله بن عبد الله - ابن عباس - عنهم. 
(2) أم حبيبة: زيد بن أبي حبيب - عراة - سالم بن عبد الله - أبو بكر.
(3) أم سلمة: حزيد - سالم الباحث - عنهم. 
(4) عائشة: ابن جريج - بناثر - عنهم.

مقدمة الروايات:

الرواية في النحو، وكذلك في الكلمات إلى حد كبير. وتقدم تأثير مثل: "كلب" أو "جرس" و"جرس ولا كلب" أو "كلب ولا جرس"...

أسماء الرواية:

الطائفة الأولى:
1 - أبو حمراء
2 - بني عمر
3 - أبو سلمة
4 - بني محمد

الطائفة الثانية:
1 - أبو الزبير
2 - أبو سلمة
3 - أبو السعد
4 - أبو بكر

الطائفة الثالثة:
1 - بني مسلم
2 - بني عبد الله
3 - بني علي
4 - أبعد بن عبد الله

رواية عن أكثر من شيخ:
ابن جريج يردو عن أكثر من شيخ.

وروده في مسندر ابن حنيل:
10 - مرات عن طريق أبي ظهيرة، ومرتين عن طريق الآخرين.

111
الطريقة الثالثة:

1. سهل.
وروده في مسند ابن حنبل: 3 مرات.

الحديث رقم (44)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1. أبوصلاح.

ثلاثية أبي صلاح: سهل وثني.

1 - حمد.

2 - عبد العزيز بن الختار.

الشواهد:

276/2 حكم.

مقارنة الروايات:

لم أجد له مثاباً ولا مشابهاً.

أسماه الرواة:

الطريقة الأولى:

1 - أبو هريرة.

الطريقة الثانية:

2 - أبوصلاح.

1 - أبو عتابع.

الطريقة الثالثة:

2 - الإعlef.

1 - محمد بن عمر.

رواية عن أبى هريرة: لا توجد.

وروده في مسند ابن حنبل: مرة واحدة.

الحديث رقم (46)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1 - أبوصلاح.

ثلاثية أبي صلاح: سهل وثني.

1 - أبو عتابع.

343/2 حكم.

302 م باس.

237 حكم.

112/2 حكم.


50 predominates.

445.

50 1/2 276.

1 - حمد.

2 - عبد العزيز بن الختار.

3 - عبد العزيز بن محمد.

الآخر.

وروده في مسند ابن حنبل: مرة واحدة.

الحديث رقم (45)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1 - أبوصلاح.

ثلاثية أبي صلاح: محمد بن عمر.

1 - 272.

272 ب.

276/2 حكم.

101 م باس.

445.

99
أسماء الرواية:

الطبقة الأولى:
1- أبو هريرة.
2- زيد بن خالد الجهني.
3- سهيل.
4- عبد الملك بن أبي سفيان.

الطبقة الثانية:
1- أبو صالح.
2- أبو الأحواض.
3- عبد الله.

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:
لا يوجد.

وروده في مسند ابن حنبل:
لا يوجد.

الحديث رقم (367)

الأبواب:

رواية عن أبي هريرة:
1- أبو صالح.

الأسس:

376/2 - حديث:
جم 2.
375/3 - حديث:
جم 2.
372/4 - حديث:
جم 2.
368/5 - حديث:
جم 2.
388/6 - حديث:
جم 2.
312/7 - حديث:
جم 2.

الشواهد:
لا يوجد.

مقارنة الروايات:
لا يوجد.

أسماء الرواية:

الطبقة الأولى:
1- أبو هريرة.

الطبقة الثانية:
1- أبو صالح.

الرواية عن أبي هريرة في مسند ابن حنبل:
لا يوجد.

الرواية عن أبي هريرة في مسند ابن حنبل:
لا يوجد.

الرواية في مسند ابن حنبل:
لا يوجد.

وروده في مسند ابن حنبل:
لا يوجد.
الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1 - أبو صاغر - أبو العلاء.

9 - معطاة بن يسارية
10 - ميسرة بن سهل
11 - زيد بن أسلم
12 - يزيد بن أم سهل
13 - عبد الحكيم بن المختار
14 - أبو سلمة بن أبي بكر

الكلام:

(1) أبو الوليد الآشوري: عبد الله بن محمد بن غرير - نفان بن يسارية - يميين. ط2/331
(2) إبراهيم: عمرو بن عقبة - سالم - يميين. هل. ط1/248
(3) أحمد بن الحارث: محمد بن حبان - عمرو - يميين. ط1/418
(4) معاذ بن زياد: الأخضر بن عبد الرحمن - أبو سلمة - يميين. ط1/188/4. يميين 60
(5) إبراهيم بن النبي: محمد بن عبد الرحمن - أبو الطفيل - يميين. ط1/170/4. يميين 60
(6) الصحابي: منصور بن عبد الله - عبد الرحمن بن سهل - يميين. ح2/13/3. يميين 140
(7) حكيم بن بالله: عمرو بن عبد الله - يميين. ط1/12/4. يميين 60
(8) الحكيم بن بالله: حسن بن عبد الله - يميين. ط1/12/4. يميين 60
(9) أحمد بن الحارث: معطاة بن يسارية - يميين. ط1/13/3. يميين 60
(10) محمد بن حبان: يميين. ط1/12/4. يميين 60

مقارنة الروايات:

حتى الرواة في المعه وكذلك في الكلمات. أسماء الرواة:

الرواية الأول:

1 - أبو الوليد الآشوري
2 - أبو سلمة
3 - إبراهيم
4 - الحكيم بن بالله
5 - معاذ بن زياد
6 - موسى بن عبد الرحمن
7 - إبراهيم بن الحارث

الرواية الثاني:

1 - أبو سلمة
2 - أبو صاغر
3 - مسعود بن عقبة
4 - إبراهيم بن زياد
الروايات المتناقضة في المناخ وكذلك مقاربة في الكلمات.

أسماء الرواية:

- أبو هريرة
- سلمة بن حلف
- عثمان

مقارنة الروايات:

- أسماء بن زيد
- أبو نسيم بن زيد
- أبو عبد الرحمن بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن نسيم بن

الرواية عن آخر من شيخ: أبو حبيب محمد بن المكتدر يوسف بن آخر من شيخ.

الحديث رقم (39):

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1. أبو سلمة: تلائم أبي حبيب:
   - المحرم: 10
   - الإغفال: سبع
   - طه: 30

2. سليمان بن أبي إسماعيل:
   - حديث: 3
   - سبأ: 4
   - بني تميم: 5

3. سليمان بن أبي إسماعيل:
   - حديث: 2
   - سبأ: 3
   - بني تميم: 5

الشواهد:

1. أبي مالك الإشري
2. أبا هريرة
3. الحكم بن الحارث

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الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

الحديث رقم (379)

الطفيحة الثانية:
1- أبو صالح
2- محمد بن يحيى
3- محمد بن بن سلم.

الطفيحة الثالثة:
4- مسلم بن عبيد الله،
5- يحيى بن مسلم.
6- عبد الله بن يحيى.
7- محمد بن حرب،
8- محمد بن يحيى.
9- عبد الله بن أبي سعيد.
10- عائشة.

رواية عن أكثر من شيخ:

الله تعالى.

وردت في مقدمه على آخر من شخ.

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الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

الحديث رقم (379)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1- أبو صالح
2- عبد الله بن سلم.
3- محمد بن حرب,
4- جبريل.
5- حماد,
6- سفيان.
7- عبد المطلب بن محمد,
8- مصر.
9- هام.
10- وخض.

الشهادات:
1- أبو إبراهيم الخديوي
2- أبو عبيد الله،
3- أبو بن أبي هريرة.
4- جبريل,
5- حماد.
6- سفيان.
7- عبد المطلب بن محمد.
8- مصر.
9- هام.
10- وخض.

مقارنة الروايات:

رواية مقتروحة في الموارك والذكاء في الكلمات إلى حكير جدا.

أسماء الرواة:
1- أبو عبد الله
2- عبد الله بن حليفة.
3- أبو سعيد الخديوي.
4- جبريل.
5- حماد.
6- سفيان.
7- عبد المطلب بن محمد.
8- مصر.
9- هام.
10- وخض.

الرواية الأولى:
1- أبو عبد الله
2- عبد الله بن حليفة.
3- أبو سعيد الخديوي.
4- جبريل.
5- حماد.
6- سفيان.
7- عبد المطلب بن محمد.
8- مصر.
9- هام.
10- وخض.

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الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1 - أبو صالح:
تلاماة أبي صالح: مسجد وعنه:
399/2

2 - أبو معاذ:
تلاماة بعث على علماً من بلال المأمون من بلال:
373/2

3 - أبو حمزة:
تلاماة أبا حمزة:
343/2

4 - محمد بن عمرو:
تلاماة محمد بن عمرو:
332/2

الاختلاف:
لا أعرف له محبوباً ولا شاهداً.

مقارنة الروايات:
الرواية متفقون في المعنى إلى حد كبير في اللفظ أيضاً.

أسماء الرواية:

الطبقات الأولى:
1 - أبو هريرة.

2 - سعيد بن سهيل.

التقاطع:
1 - أبو صالح.

2 - سعيد بن سهيل.

الرواية:
4 - القاسم بن محمد.

الطبقات الثالثة:
1 - سهيل.

وروده في مسند ابن حنبل: 4 مرات عن طريق أبي هريرة.

الحديث رقم (37)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1 - أبو صالح:
تلاماة أبي صالح: مسجد وعنه:
441/2

2 - أبو حمزة:
تلاماة أبو حمزة:
379/2

3 - سعيد بن سهيل:
تلاماة محمد بن عمرو:
343/2

4 - القاسم بن محمد.

الطبقات الثالثة:
1 - أبو صالح.

2 - سعيد بن سهيل.

3 - زيد بن أسلم.

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وروده في مسجد ابن حنبل: 9 مرات عن طريق أبي هريرة.

الأثر رقم (34)

الرواية عند أبي هريرة: 1 - أبو صالح

الأخذ من أبي صالح:
1 - الأمش
2 - بلال
3 - حكيم
4 - محمد بن عروين
5 - سفيان
6 - سناب
7 - زيد بن سعد
8 - سفيان
9 - عبد المطلب

اسماء الرواى:
1 - أبو صالح
2 - أبي صالح
3 - عبد الله بن عباس
4 - خالد
5 - عبد الله بن عباس
6 - الخالد
7 - عثمان بن عفان
8 - عبد الرحمن بن عوف

مقارنة الروايات:
1 - جاء في مسجد ابن عباس.
2 - جاء في بلدة اليمن.
3 - جاء في مسجد ابن عباس.

الرواية عند أبي هريرة متفقون في المنهج في الإتفاق إلى حد كبير جداً. أما رواية جابر
وعبد الله بن عباس تتفق كلتاها مع رواية أبي هريرة في محل المشى.

أسماء الرواية:
1 - أبو صالح
2 - أبي صالح
3 - عبد الله بن عباس
4 - الخالد
5 - عبد الرحمن بن عوف

87
الحديث رقم (31)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة: 1 - أبى صالح

الشواهد:

م - أخذه خالد بن الصلاحي

مقارنة الروايات:

الرواية متفقون في المتن، وكذلك في أكثر الاختلاف.

47
الروايات:

أسماء الرواة:

الطبقة الأولى:
1. أبو بكر
2. عيسى بن مالك
3. ابن عساب

الطبقة الثانية:
1. أبو يحيى الزهري
2. أبو سعيد الطاروسي
3. أحمد بن زيد
4. عبد الرحمن بن أبي عمر
5. محمد بن زياد
6. أحمد بن عمرو بن جعفر
7. أبو بكر الصديق
8. حسان بن هشام
9. أحمد بن الحسن بن علي
10. علي بن أبي طالب
11. عبد الله بن عبيد
12. علي بن أبي طالب
13. حمزة بن عبد الله
14. أبي بكر الصديق
15. علي بن أبي طالب
16. أبو ذر الغفاري
17. أبي هريرة
18. علي بن أبي طالب
19. أنس بن مالك
20. غير
21. غير
22. غير
23. غير
24. غير
25. غير
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78. غير
79. غير
80. غير
81. غير
82. غير
83. غير
الشاهد :
1 - أبو عبد الرحمن السني في حديثه :
2 - ابن عمر 
(1) أبو عبد الرحمن السني : زياد بن أبي حبيب
(2) أبو بصرة النفاري : زيد بن عبد الله
(3) طلق بن عبد الله
1374

الروايات :
ןلا أعد ما لم يشبع ولا شاهد

مقارنة الروايات :

après les mêmes, ils diffèrent.

أسماء الرواة :

الطبقه الأولى :
1 - أبو هريرة
2 - أبو بصرة النفاري
3 - ابن عمر
4 - زيد بن عبد الله
5 - م꺼يلة
6 - أسعد

الطبقه الثانية :
1 - أبي صالح
2 - عبد الله
3 - زياد بن أبي حبيب
4 - معاذ بن ميمون
5 - معاذ بن نافع
6 - سعيد بن نافع
7 - هلال بن حذافة
8 - سفيان
9 - عبد المطلب بن الهمار

الحديث رقم (29)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة :

1 - معاذ بن ميمون
2 - أبو بصرة النفاري

رواية عن أبيا هريرة :

1 - أبو صالح
2 - معاذ بن نافع
3 - سفيان بن ميمون

رواية عن أبي الصمدة :

1 - معاذ بن ميمون
2 - أبو بصرة النفاري
3 - أبو صالح

الأصل :

48

حم.

499/2

6

24

8

27

377

 потом.

6

11

8

9

10

14

12

14

17

28
الحديث رقم (28)

وروده في مسند ابن حبان: 5 مرات عن طريق أبي هريرة و 4 مرة عن طريق الآخرين

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

تلقيها أبي صالح: سهيل وضعه: 
1 - البرادروري 
2 - معاذ بن عبد الله 
3 - سليم 
4 - جعفر 
5 - عبد الله بن عبيد

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الطريقة الثالثة:

1 - ابن جربة الثالث
2 - ابن سيرين البصري
3 - ابن المطلب
4 - سعد بنックスه
5 - أبو أنف
6 - أبو يعرفي
7 - أبو نور
8 - أبو النصر
9 - أبو عبيد
10 - أبو النور
11 - أبو النصر
12 - أبو العكر
13 - أبي بشر
14 - أبو البصري
15 - اسم الله
16 - عبد الله بن الزبير
17 - عمر بن أبي مخضن
18 - ابن ثني بن عبد الله (أحمد الأعضاء)
الشواهد:

1. أبو عبد الملك بن الحارث بن عبد الله: روى عنه: 1/110، 4/111.
2. أبو عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن حرب: روى عنه: 1/110، 4/111.
5. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: روى عنه: 1/110، 4/111.

العائلة:

1. أبو عبد الملك بن الحارث بن عبد الله: عم عبد الله بن حارث.
2. أبو عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن حرب: عم عبد الله بن حارث.
3. أبو زيد بن أبي وقاص: عم عبد الله بن حارث.
4. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: عم عبد الله بن حارث.
5. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: عم عبد الله بن حارث.
6. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: عم عبد الله بن حارث.
7. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: عم عبد الله بن حارث.
8. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: عم عبد الله بن حارث.
9. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: عم عبد الله بن حارث.
10. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: عم عبد الله بن حارث.

المنشأ:

1. أبو عبد الملك بن الحارث بن عبد الله: جد عبد الله بن حارث.
2. أبو عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن حرب: جد عبد الله بن حارث.
3. أبو زيد بن أبي وقاص: جد عبد الله بن حارث.
4. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: جد عبد الله بن حارث.
5. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: جد عبد الله بن حارث.
6. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: جد عبد الله بن حارث.
7. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: جد عبد الله بن حارث.
8. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: جد عبد الله بن حارث.
9. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: جد عبد الله بن حارث.
10. أبو سفيان بن عبيد الله: جد عبد الله بن حارث.
الحديث رقم (27)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1 - أبو سعيد المغفر
2 - ابن سيرين
3 - أبو صالح
4 - بدر
5 - السني...
6 - الزهري...
7 - عثمان بن عبد...
8 - مماد...
9 - عبد...
10 -...
11 -...
12 -...

الروايات متنقلة في المحيط وكذلك في الألفاظ.

أساس الرواة:

الثقة الأولى:

1 - أبي هريرة
2 - أبي بن كعب
3 - أبو سعيد المغفر
4 -...
5 -...
6 -...
7 -...
8 -...

الثقة الثانية:

1 - أبو صالح
2 -...
3 -...
4 -...
5 -...
6 -...
7 -...
8 -...
9 -...
10 -...
11 -...
12 -...
13 -...
14 -...
15 -...
16 -...
17 -...
18 -...
19 -...
20 -...

المقارنة:

- (4) أبو سعيد المغفر:
  - تفاسر بن مرزوق - علامة الم존 - عنه. حسب 205/4
  - عبد بن محمد بن يوسف - عنه. حسب 276/2
  - بالله بن عبيد الله بن رفاعة - عنه. حسب 296/7
  - وليان - سالم بن أيوب - مسند بن طالحة - عنه. حسب 277/5
  - 286/4
  - أبو محمد الأصفهاني - عنه. حسب 247/4

- (5) عبد الله بن المغفر:
  - إشتيت - الحسن - عنه. حسب 57/4
  - الأثار - الحسن - عنه. حسب 222/4
  - أبو جعفر - سامس - عن. حسب 142/7
  - عمار بن سيد - خياط - عن. حسب 56/4
  - جربير بن حازم - ذائع - عائشة - وعن. حسب 88/4

ملحوظة: يوجد ملي مختصر لهذا الحديث في مصدر آخر من الكتائب 173/3
الحدث رقم (٢٦)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

١ - أبان سعيد الخدري
٢ - جارب
٣ - عبد الله بن أبي بكر
٤ - محمد بن الحارث
٥ - رضوان
٦ - عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن
٧ - سفيان
٨ - نافع

الرواية عن أبي سعيد:

١ - محمد بن أبي بكر
٢ - علي بن أبي طالب
٣ - عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص
٤ - سفيان

المعلووق:

١ - عبد الله بن محمد بن عمرو بن السائب
٢ - سفيان
٣ - عبد الله بن علي
٤ - إبراهيم بن يحيى
٥ - علي بن أبي طالب
٦ - عبد الله بن علي
٧ - عبد الله بن عبد الله بن السائب
٨ - سفيان

أسام الرواية:

الطغبة الأولى:

١ - أبو سعيد
٢ - جارب
٣ - محمد بن عبد الرحمن
٤ - سفيان
٥ - نافع

الطغبة الثانية:

١ - عبد الرحمن
٢ - سفيان
٣ - عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن
٤ - سفيان
٥ - نافع
٦ - علي بن عمرو
٧ - سفيان

الرواية عن أكثر من شيخ:

١ - أبو سعيد الخدري
٢ - عبد الله بن أبي بكر
٣ - عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص
٤ - سفيان
٥ - عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن
٦ - سفيان
٧ - نافع

فإن الرواية نسبت إلى محمد بن عبد الرحمن في الطغبة الأولى.

الرواية في الطغبة الثانية:

١ - سفيان
٢ - عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن
٣ - عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص

وروده في المسند:

١ - مرات عن طريق أبي هريرة.
٢ - مرات عن طريق أبي سعيد الخدري.
٣ - مرات عن طريق عبد الله بن أبي بكر.
٤ - مرات عن طريق عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن.
أسماء الرواة:

الثقة الأولى:
1 - أبو هريرة.
2 - علي.
3 - علي بن الحسين.
4 - عبد الرحمن.
5 - حسين.
6 - علي.
7 - أبو عمرو.
8 - أبو بكر.
9 - معاذ.
10 - عمرو.
11 - محمد.
12 - جعفر.
13 - عبد الرحمن.

الثقة الثانية:
1 - أبو صالح.
2 - علي.
3 - علي بن أبي حنيفة.
4 - عبد الرحمن.
5 - محمد.
6 - علي.
7 - محمد.
8 - أبو بكر.
9 - عمر.
10 - عمرو.

الثقة الثالثة:
1 - سهل.
2 - معاذ.
3 - عبد الله.
4 - علي.
5 - علي.
6 - علي.
7 - محمد.
8 - عبد الرحمن.
9 - عبد الله.
10 - علي.

رواية عن أكثر من شيخ:

وروده في مسند ابن حنبل: 5 مرات عن طريق أبي هريرة و 8 مرات عن طريق الآخرين.

الحديث رقم (24)

رواية عن أبي هريرة:

1 - يقال: أبي صالح - حديث: سهل - عنه:
نقول: 18.

الشواهد:

1 - حديث: علي بن الحسين.
2 - حديث: أبي سعيد.
3 - حديث: أبو بكر.
4 - حديث: عثمان.
5 - حديث: علي.
6 - حديث: أبي بن عبد الله.
7 - حديث: عبد الرحمن.
8 - حديث: علي.
9 - حديث: محمد.
10 - حديث: علي.

مقارنة الروايات:

الروايات متقاطعة في المنهج والاظتفاق المحدكور، بدأوا واحتفل الرواة في عدد 24 هل هو التسجيل أو التلقين، أو التوفيق.
أسماء الرواة:

الثقة الأولى:
1 - أبو هريرة
2 - أبو سعيد الخدري
3 - جبرين مهمن
4 - عثمان بن أبي معاس
5 - علي بن أبي طالب

الثقة الثانية:
6 - عبد الله الأعراف
7 - عبد الله بن أبي مسعود
8 - نافع بن زرارة
9 - أسعد
10 - هلال

الثقة الثالثة:
11 - عبد الله بن بلال
12 - عبد الله بن سهل

مقارنة الروايات:
الرواية متفق، في المنهج والحديث في الألفاظ.

أسماء الرواة:

الثقة الأولى:
2 - أسهل بن مالك
3 - أسهل بن سعد السعد

الثقة الثانية:
4 - أبو صالح
5 - أبو سحاح
6 - أسعد بن بلال
7 - عبد الله بن أبي بكر

الثقة الثالثة:
2 - ابن الزناد
3 - ابن أبي دق
4 - أسهل بن مالك

الحديث رقم (432): الرواية عن أبي هريرة

الثقة الأولى:
1 - أبو صالح

الثقة الثانية:
2 - أسعد بن بلال
3 - بشر بن بلال

الثقة الثالثة:
2 - أبو الزناد
3 - أبو صالح
4 - أسهل بن مالك

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مقارنة الروايات:

فقرة الأول:
1- أبو هريرة
2- ابن ماجه
3- البخاري
4- مسلم
5- الترمذي
6- أبا داود
7- الأنصاري
8- الحاكم
9- ابن حبان
10- أيوب

قرارات الروايات:

إختلف الروايات في توقيت نزول السحاتة وتعالى إرسال الدابة فذكر بعضهم:
1- مسلم
2- البخاري
3- الترمذي
4- مسلم
5- ابن ماجه
6- البخاري
7- البخاري
8- البخاري
9- البخاري
10- البخاري

الحديث نبوي (56)
الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

الحديث رقم (21)

(2) اسم:
- الشامخ بن إسماعيل - عمر - ابن
- ابن عمه - عبد المزید - ابن
- عبد الوارث - عبد العزيز - ابن
- رجاء - هلال - ابن سريان - رجاء
- معاذ - عبيد الله بسم الله - معاذ

ملحوظة: يوجد هذا الحديث في مصادر أخرى أيضا:
- أبو عبيدة - حارث بن زيد - أبو هريرة

مقارنة الروايات:

الروايات المشتركة في شفاعة الأطفال المبتين. ووردت الزيد في بعض الروايات وهو لا نتداع الناز. إلا عليه القول، وذكرت بعض الروايات ثلاثة أطفال بينما اضافت الاتنين اثنين أيضا.

أسماء الرواة:

الطائفة الأولى:
- أبو هريرة
- أبو سعيد الخدري
- أبو الفضل السلمي
- ابن معمر
- رجاء
- معاذ

الطائفة الثانية:
- أبو زرعة
- أحمد
- أبو بكر بن حزم
- أبا الميصر
- عمر بن عامر
- عبد الرازق
- أبو وايل

الطائفة الثالثة:
- مطلق بن مطعم
- الزهري
- عبد الرحمن
- أحاسين
- عثمان بن حكيم
- محمد بن أبي بكر
- علي بن عبد الرحمن
- علي بن عبيد الله

الرواية عن أبى هريرة:

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1 - أبو صالح
2 - محمد بن أبي عائشة
3 - سعيد
4 - كلام
5 - رجاء بن حفصة
6 - إسماعيل بن عائشه
7 - إسماعيل بن عائشة
8 - رجاء
9 - معاذ
10 - عبد الله بن سهيل
11 - عبد الله بن سهيل
12 - عبد الرحمن
13 - عبد الرحمن
14 - أحمد
15 - أبي عبيدة
الحديث رقم (19)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:
1- أبي سفيان
2- عمرو بن عبد الرحمن
3- سليمان
4- حفص بن عاصم
5- حفص بن عامر
6- عبد الله بن الحارث
7- عبد الله بن حذافة
8- حفص بن عامر
9- حفص بن عاصم
10- عمرو بن عبد الرحمن
11- عبد الرحمن بن الحارث
12- عمرو بن أبي سفيان
13- سليمان

الرواية عن أبي سفيان:
1- تلايميد
2- عمرو بن عبد الرحمن
3- عبد الرحمن بن حذافة
4- عبد الله بن الحارث
5- حفص بن عاصم
6- عمرو بن أبي سفيان
7- سليمان
8- عبد الرحمن بن الحارث
9- حفص بن عامر
10- حفص بن عامر
11- حفص بن عامر
12- حفص بن عامر
13- حفص بن عامر

الشاهد:
1- عمرو بن عبد الرحمن
2- عبد الله بن حذافة
3- عبد الله بن الحارث
4- سليمان
5- حفص بن عاصم
6- حفص بن عاصم
7- حفص بن عاصم
8- حفص بن عاصم
9- حفص بن عاصم
10- حفص بن عاصم
11- حفص بن عاصم
12- حفص بن عاصم
13- حفص بن عاصم

مقارنة الروايات:
الروايات منهجية في معاها وسجانية إلا حد كبير في الناظرة

الرواية الأولى:
1- أبي هريرة
2- عبد الله بن الحارث

الرواية الثانية:
1- علي بن أبي طالب
2- عمرو بن عبد الرحمن
3- عبد الله بن الحارث
4- حفص بن عاصم

الرواية الثالثة:
1- سليمان
2- عمرو بن عبد الرحمن
3- عبد الله بن الحارث
4- حفص بن عامر
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>اسم الرواة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الطبقة الأولى</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1- أبي هريرة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- يزيد بن السلام</td>
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<td>3- سعد بن أبي واقف</td>
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<td>4- رائد بن حبيش</td>
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<td>5- هلال</td>
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<td>6- علي بن حذافة</td>
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<td>الطبقة الثانية</td>
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<td>1- أبو صالح</td>
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<td>2- عثمان بن عامر</td>
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<td>3- عمر بن عبد الملك</td>
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<td>4- عبد الله بن عبد الله</td>
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<td>5- علي بن سعد</td>
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<td>6- علي بن عامر</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**مقارنة الروايات**

لم يجد أداة من الصحابة من روى هذا الحديث بهذا السياق، وروى أبو عمر جزءاً منه الجد.

**الرواية عن أبي هريرة:**

- **الحدث رقم (18):**
  - وروده في مسنده ابن حبل 5 مرات عن طريق أبي هريرة و 4 مرات عن طريق الآخرين.
الحديث رقم (17)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة :
1 - أبو صاخ ص - عليه بعث التحية - عمرة على الحرم.

1 - صالح

أ - سهيل وعنه :

1 - حمد

2 - اللزدي

3 - عبيد بن زيد بن المختار

Lite-Text Translation

The translation is not possible due to the nature of the content which is a page from a book written in Arabic.
الطريقة الثالثة:

1 - مهبل.
2 - حماد.
3 - بري.
4 - معمر.
5 - شعبة.
6 - أبو إسماع.
7 - لبيب بن أبي سلم.
8 - أحمد بن أبي عبد الله.
9 - عثمان.
10 - أبي صالح الأعرج.
11 - قاسم بن عبد الله.
12 - هشام.
13 - عبد بن عبد الرحمن.
14 - عمرو بن يشوع.
15 - إسماعيل بن أبي عبد الله.
16 - أبو سلمة.
17 - عبد بن محمد.
18 - زهير.
19 - النافع.
20 - حمزة.
21 - مسند بن حليل.
22 - أبو صبي.
23 - هلال.

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1 - أبو صلخ.
2 - نرار.
3 - تلايمه.
4 - براه.
5 - أوين.
6 - عبد الله بن دينار.
7 - برهة.
8 - عثمان.
9 - غالب.
10 - عبد الله بن الحارث.
11 - عبد الله بن عثمان.
12 - عبد الله بن أحمد.
13 - عبد الله بن أحمد.
14 - عبد الله بن أحمد.
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16 - عبد الله بن أحمد.
17 - عبد الله بن أحمد.
18 - عبد الله بن أحمد.
19 - عبد الله بن أحمد.
20 - عبد الله بن أحمد.

المقارة الروايات:

أصحاب الرواية:

1 - أبو صلخ.
2 - أبان.
3 - أبو جهان.
4 - خالد بن الوليد.
5 - عثمان.
6 - يزيد بن أبي سفيان.
7 - عبد الله بن الحارث.
8 - عبد الله بن عثمان.
9 - علي.
10 - معيق.

الرواية الثانية:

1 - أبو صلخ.
2 - محمد بن رياض.
3 - عبد الرحمن بن سبته.
4 - أبو سفيان.
5 - سعيد.
6 - ومعمر.
7 - ملك.
8 - وهب.
9 - عقبة.
10 - أبو بكر.

مطهرة 245، انظر أيضاً طهارة 245.

5 - أبو سلمة.
6 - عبد بن عبد الرحمن.
7 - تلايمه.
8 - جلط.
9 - عبد الله بن الحارث.
10 - عبد الله بن الحارث.
11 - سعيد.
12 - معمر.
13 - ملك.
14 - وهب.

54
الواء عن أبي هريرة:
1 - أبو صالح
2 - محمد بن زياد
3 - تلاميذ أبي صالح: سهل وعونه.
4 - جبريل.
الحديث رقم (١٦) الرواة عن أبي هريرة:

١ - عبد الله بن إسحاق - أبو حنيفة - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٢ - علي بن عبيد الله - الشافعي - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٣ - علي بن سعيد الحنفي - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٤ - علي بن سفيان - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٥ - أبي يعلى - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٦ - عبيد الله بن عبد الله - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٧ - عبد الله بن عبد الله - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٨ - عبد الله بن أحمد - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٩ - عبيد الله بن هلال - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.

أما الرواية عن كل من ذلك، فقد جاءت مرتين، وهما:

١ - عبد الله بن إسحاق - أبو حنيفة - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٢ - علي بن عبيد الله - الشافعي - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٣ - علي بن سعيد الحنفي - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٤ - علي بن سفيان - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٥ - أبي يعلى - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٦ - عبيد الله بن عبد الله - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٧ - عبد الله بن أحمد - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٨ - عبد الله بن عبد الله - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
٩ - عبيد الله بن عبد الله - بن - الإمام المبرز - أبو صلح.
الرواية عن أبي هريرة: 
أبو صالح:
1- تلامذة أبي صالح: مسلم وعده:
م. البخاري: 3/228, 3/231, 4/341, 4/410, 4/441;
4-4/500, 4/458, 4/419, 4/475, 4/418;
16-16/243, 31-31/248.

الرواية عن أبي هريرة: 
أبو بكر:
1- تلامذة أبي بكر:
لم يوجد تلامذة.

المقارنة بين الطرق:
لا يوجد اختلاف في الطرق.

وروده في مسند ابن حنبل:
عن طريق أبي هريرة: 3 مرات.

المقارنة:
لا يوجد اختلاف في الطرق.

الرواية عن أبي بكر:
1- تلامذة أبي بكر:
للم شهادة ولا متنا. 

الرواية عن أبي بكر:
لا يوجد اختلاف في الطرق.

وروده في مسند ابن حنبل:
عن طريق أبي بكر: 3 مرات.

المقارنة:
لا يوجد اختلاف في الطرق.

الرواية عن أبي بكر:
1- تلامذة أبي بكر:
لم يوجد تلامذة.

المقارنة:
لا يوجد اختلاف في الطرق.
الحديث رقم (10)

الرواة عن أبي هريرة:
1- أبو سلمة. 2- أبو صالح.
3- كلا من أبي سلمة وعمرو بن عبيد الله.
4- عمرو بن أبي خليفة.
5- تلايمية.
6- ناسر.
7- تلايمية.
8- معاذ بن عمرو.
9- علي بن أبي طالب.
10- مجاهد.
11- calendula.
12- ابن عباس.
13- أبي سفيان.
14- أبي داود.
15- عبد الله بن عبيد الله.
16- عبد الله بن عمر.
17- الراوي.
18- وقاص.
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95- وقاص.
96- وقاص.
97- وقاص.
98- وقاص.
99- وقاص.
100- وقاص.

مقارنة الروايات:

اختلاف الرواية في كلمة واحدة من بعدهم: "من أدرك ركوب من مصر"، وقال:
أكبرهم: "من أدرك ركوب من مصر فقل أدركه".
1- أبو سلمة وعمرو بن عبيد الله.
2- عمرو بن أبي خليفة.
3- محمد بن عمير.
4- علي بن أبي طالب.
5- مجاهد.
6- ناسر.
7- تلايمية.
8- وقاص.
9- وقاص.
10- وقاص.
11- مجاهد.
12- عبد الله بن عبيد الله.
13- عبد الله بن عمر.
14- الراوي.

أسماء الرواية:

الطبقات الأولى:
1- أبو سلمة.
2- عبد الله.
3- أبو بكر.
4- ناسر.
5- تلايمية.
6- وقاص.
7- عبد الله بن عمر.
8- عبد الله بن عثمان.
9- حسان بن ثابت.
10- أبي سفيان.
11- آدم.
12- علي بن أبي طالب.
13- محمد.
14- علي بن أبي طالب.
15- محمد.
16- عبد الله.
17- عبد الله.
18- حسان.
19- حسان.
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99- حسان.
100- حسان.

الرواية عن أكثر من شيخ: بينون أن زيد بن الفرخزاد وهو الوحيد الذي يعرف خلفا في ركوب من مكة، وكان له ميدان آخر في ركوب من مكة، وقد روى الزهري عن أبي سلمة، وكان له ميدان آخر في ركوب من مكة.

ورده في مسند بن حنبل: (أربع) مرات عن طريق أبي بكر، ومرة واحدة عن طريق معاذ.

44
مقارنة الروايات:
لم يعد من خرج هذا السياق بهذا السياق في معرفة واحد. وهو في الواقع مأخوذة عن عدة أحاديث خاصة بالصيام، ففصل في موضوع واحد لموضوع وقائعها المؤلوقة مع اجزاء وذكروا ها هي وَهَنَا. وَدُورَهُما جارياً من هذا الحديث والبعض الآخر جزءاً من حديث روته في بعض الروايات زيادة والهيئة بعشر أمثالاً من السياقات الفاصلة. كما وردت كلمة: "يهم القيامة"، وخلو فمن الصالح أطيب.
عندما "يهم القيامة"، وهذه الزيادة لا تُرد في النص.
ملحوظة:
الشام� رقم 8 مصدر شامي، والشامام رقم 9 مصدر زيدي، والشامام رقم 10 مصدر إبراهيم.
أسماء الرواة:
الطغة الأولى:
1- أبو حربة.
2- أبو جعفر.
3- أبو سعيد.
4- علي بن أبي طالب.
5- علي بن أبي طالب.
6- علي بن أبي طالب.
7- علي بن أبي طالب.
8- علي بن أبي طالب.
9- علي بن أبي طالب.
10- محمد بن عبيد.
11- سعيد المعيالي.
12- عمر بن بدر.
13- عبد الله الباج.
14- عبد الله الحارث.
15- محمد بن عبيد.
16- محمد بن زياد.
17- محمد بن زياد.
18- محمد بن زياد.
19- محمد بن زياد.
20- محمد بن زياد.

الطغة الثانية:
1- أبو الأسوس.
2- أبو أسوس.
3- أبو أسوس.
4- حي الله.
5- حي الله.
6- حي الله.
7- حي الله.
8- حي الله.
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19- حي الله.
20- حي الله.

الطغة الثالثة:
1- أبو الزناد.
2- أبو محمد.
3- أبو عبد الله.
4- أبو عبد الله.
5- أبو عبد الله.
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20- أبو عبد الله.
الشواهد:

1. أبو سعيد الخدري.
2. ابن مسعود.
3. بشير الخصوصية.
4. مولى.
5. عبد ابرهيم بن عبد الحليم.
6. عبد القدير بن عبد الله.
7. عبد العزيز بن عبد الله.
8. عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله.
9. عبد الوهاب بن عبد الله.
10. عبد الرحيم بن عبد الله.

11. تلاشية محمود بن سيرين.
12. مولى.
13. مولى.
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20. مولى.

الأسلاك:

1. سهل وعنة.
2. الدوازي.
3. نجمة.
4. المتع.
5. المعلل.
6. المعلل.
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20. المعلل.

ال khoá:

1. علي بن زياد.
2. بكر.
3. سليم.
4. النهر.
5. الود.
6. بن سليم.
7. بن حكيم.
8. بن عبد الله.
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المنصوب:

1. موسى.
2. عبد الله.
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19. عبد الله.
20. عبد الله.
أسماء الرواة :
الطائفة الأولى :
1 - أبو حريرة.
2 - ابن عمر.
3 - جابر.
4 - عقبة بن نافع.
5 - عثمان.
6 - أبو عبيدة.
7 - أسعد.
8 -ثنى.
9 - هذه.
10 - أبو وهب.
11 - أبو بكر.
12 - أبي ذا السعد.
13 - سعد.
14 - ابن كلثوم.
15 - محمد بن جعفر.
16 - همام.
17 - خالد بن مالك.
18 - عبد الله بن شقيق.
19 - محمد.
20 - تلاامية.
21 - محمد.
22 - عباس.
23 - علي.
24 - حمزة.
25 - سعيد.
26 - معاذ.
27 - علي.
28 - زيد.
29 - عبد الله.
30 - عبد الكريم.
31 - عثمان.
32 - سعيد.
33 - عبد الرحمن.
34 - عبد الرحمن.
35 - عبد الرازي.
36 - عبد الرحمن.
37 - عبد الرحمن.
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100 - تلاامية.

الرواية عن أبي هريرة :
الحديث رقم (8)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة :
1 - أبي سهل.
2 - أبو حمزة.
3 - ابن السبأ.
4 - الامام.
5 - عبد الكريم.
6 - لسان.
7 - عبد الله.
8 - عبد الله.
9 - عبد الرحمن.
10 - محمد.
11 - موسى.
12 - عبد الرحمن.
13 - أحمد.
14 - يوسف.
15 - محمد.
16 - علي.
17 - عمر.
18 - الزبير.
19 - سهيل.
20 - محمد.
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100 - تلاامية.

مقارنة الروايات :

الروايات كثيرة متناقضة في حل اليد قبل ادخالها في الآتاء . لكن بعضها يذكر العمل ثلاث مرات .
بيتا الأخرى لا تذكر أي عدد .

ملحوظة :

الشأن رقم 5 مصدر ثري . ويوجد هذا الحديث في مصدر إيضاحاً أيضاً .
أبو عبيد - جابر - أبو هريرة - مسند الربيع 28/1 .

38
الحديث رقم (7)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة :
1 - أبو رضوان.
2 - أبو مريح.
3 - أبو سلمة.
4 - ابن المسيب.
5 - أبي بكر.
6 - عبد الله بن شقيق.
7 - عبد الله بن ماجه.
8 - رضوان.
9 - بلال.
10 - علي.

ال(ro) : سلمان رضي الله عنه.
(ro) : عائشة رضي الله عنها.
(ro) : عبد الله بن عمر.
(ro) : محمد بن سلام.
(ro) : عبد الله بن سلام.
(ro) : عبد الله بن زيد.
(ro) : عبد الله بن ماجه.
(ro) : عبد الله بن إسماعيل.

مقارنة الروايات :
1 - الرواية عن أبي هريرة : يوجد بعض الاختلاف في الألفاظ، أما من حيث المحتوى فلا.
2 - الرواية عن الصحابة الآخر : ذكروا في بعض الروايات القصة بحسب ما ورد.

ملحوظة : المصنف رقم 7/ مصنف شيخ.

أسماء الرواية :
الطائفة الأولى :
أبو هريرة.
أبو سلمة.
أبو بكر.
أبو عمر.

الطائفة الثانية :
أبو الأشع.
أبو سلمة.
أبو عمر.

الطائفة الثالثة :
أبو زيد.
أبو بكر.
أبو عمر.

رواية عن أكثر من شيخ : نزوى يروي عن كل من ابن المسيب وعمرو بن عبد العزيز.
وروده في مسنداً حنيف : نزوى مرتبة على طريق أبي نصرية، ومرة واحدة عن طريق الآخرين.
الحديث رقم (63)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1 - مسلم.
2 - أبو صعب.
3 - عبد الملك بن مروي.
4 - عبد الله بن إسحاق.
5 - هم بن نسيب.
6 - تلاذم أبي صالح: مذهب وعنه: 

الؤلؤية: 296/24.
1 - حمادي بن سل mát.
2 - عبد المطلب بن محمد.
3 - عبد المرزوق بن المختار.
4 - تلاذم ابن الأحر: جمع بن بكر.

الشواهد:

1 - ابن مسعود.
2 - سلمان.
3 - عائشة.
4 - علي بن أبي طالب.

1 - ابن مسعود: سلمان بن يزيد - عن أبي الجعفر.
2 - سلمان: هم بن نسيب.
3 - عائشة: بنت عبد المطلب - عن - 155/1/2.
4 - علي بن أبي طالب: سلمان بن عبد الله - عن - 218/1.
5 - ابن الهاشمي: حبيب - عن - 208/1.

الروايات كلها منقوطة في المتن وتكون موحدة الألفاظ.

ملحوظة:
نهاة الحديث الخامس صغير شعب.

أسماء الرواة:

الطبقة الأولى:

1 - أبو هريرة.
2 - ابن مسعود.
3 - سلمان.
4 - عائشة.

الطبقة الثانية:

1 - أبو صعب.
2 - سالم بن عبد الله.
3 - الخرطوم.
4 - رجلاء غير مسمين.

الطبقة الثالثة:

1 - حمادي بن سلمان.
2 - احمد بن بكر.
3 - سلمان بن عبد الله.
4 - سليمان بن يزيد.
5 - سالم بن عبد الله.

وروده في مسندر ابن حنبل: (ثلاثة) مرات عن طريق أبي هريرة.
الروايات عن أبي هريرة:

1 - يزيد بن النفي
2 - أبو صالح

المقدمة:

3 - مقارنة عامة الروايات عن الصحابة الأخر: لا نريد بالروايات المربعة عن الصحابة الآخرين بسياق أبي هريرة، لكن الروايات المذكورة عن سبعة من الصحابة تنفق مع رواية أبي هريرة على فضيلة التأبين.

أسماء الرواة:

ال피ئة الأولى:
1 - أبو هريرة
2 - أبو موسى الأشمري
3 - ابن عباس
4 - يزيد بن مالك
5 - سمع بن مالك
6 - عائشة
7 - سمع بن جندب

ال피ئة الثانية:
1 - أبو عبان
2 - أبو صالح
3 - أبو سفيان بن عبد الله الرقادي
4 - أبو بكر الصديق
5 - حسان
6 - سمع
7 - عبد الرحمن بن جعفر
8 - زيد
9 - نسيب

الفيئة الثالثة:
1 - الزهري
2 - üç الشبة
3 - الأشع
4 - حرب بن عمار
5 - حرب بن مالك
6 - حرب بن عمر
7 - جعفر
8 - علي بن أبي سفيان
9 - يزيد بن أبي سفيان
10 - يونس

رواية عن آخر من شيخ: يوجد راوي واحد - أبو صالح - شريك بين عائشة وأبي هريرة. وكذلك لم يرو عنه عائشة ابنه سهيل بن أبي صالح، وروده في مسند ابن حبان: 84 (ثاني) مرات عن طريق أبي هريرة، و3 (ثلاث) مرات عن طريق الآخرين.

الحديث رقم (5)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:
1 - يزيد بن النفي
2 - أبو صالح

المقدمة:

1 - الروايات عن أبي هريرة: اتفقت الرواية على قول المماليك في آن من آن بعد تراث الإمام (ولا الالفاظ). وجود الاتفاق في بعض الكلمات أدأ إلى الالتفات في القصة، هي تودي المماليك ويبقى الإسلام والروايات إذا آمن الأفام فاستندوا إلى بعض كلام أبي هريرة. جزء من هذا الحديث الخاص بالتأبين فقط.
مقافلة الروايات:

الأروايات عن أبي هريجة:
1- أبو سلمة.
2- أبي صالح.
3- أبو عنان.
4- أبو يونس.
5- سفيان.
6- جابر.
7- أيوب.
8- هميم.
9- هميم بن منبه.
10- ثلاثة أبي سعيد:
   - الزهري وعنه الزبير.
   - محمد بن عمرو.
   - ثلاثية أبي سحاح.
   - الأشعري.
   - مسجد وعنثة.
   - صف.
   - عمرو بن المغيرة.
11- سهيل وعنه:
   - عبد العزيز بن المختار.
   - معاوية.
   - سلمان بن يالد.
   - عراد.
   - تلابيد أبي عقبة.
12- تلابيد أبي سعيد.
13- عمارة.
14- ابن المنبه.
15- حماد بن عثمان.
16- هميم بن سهيل.
17- أسعد بن مشك.
18- سفيان.
19- ابن صبرة.
20- سفيان.
21- مصعب بن عبيد.
22- نافع.
23- مؤذن.
24- عائشة.
25- أبو بكر.
26- علي.
27- عمر.
28- عبد الله.
29- عبد الرحمن.
30- عبد مناف.
31- ابن عمير.
32- علي.
33- يحيى.
34- وهيب.
35- سعيد.
36- عمرو.
37- مصعب.
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لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
المقدمة:

(1) - أنس بن مالك : ليس بن سعد - عقيل - الزهري - عنه

معدل 175/2 ب، بعثده 429/8.

(2) - سعيد بن عبد الله : محمد بن سلمة - ومنه - الإمام

حكم 300/3, ذهاب 57.

مقارنة الروايات:

1 - الروايات عن أبي هريرة:

لم يجده مشهورًا في هذه الرواية. وروى من
سليم عدة أشخاص، منهم بعض روايتي كلما قدر
رجل سما، بينما في الأخرى
لم ترد كلمة حول بعض الأحاديث كلهام، حتى تكلم إليهم. تفق
رواية تذكر في كتاب الرواية، وكذلك أنفقوا في الميمنة.

2 - أعمام الروايات:

الروايات الأخرى من الصحابة الآخرين تتفق مع رواية أبي
هريرة على استُحباب إطلاع على القرب، كما تفق رواية حقيبة بن عامر في التقليد
على الجزور على القبار.

أسماء الرواية:

الطائفة الأولى:

1 - أبو عبد الله.
2 - أبوبكر.
3 - مالك.
4 - عمرو بن حزم.
5 - عقيل بن عامر.

الطائفة الثانية:

1 - أبو الزبير.
2 - أبو ربيعة.
3 - مالك بن عبد الله.
4 - الفارابي بن عبد الله.
5 - عبد الله بن حذافة.

الطائفة الثالثة:

1 - بلال بن رباح.
2 - سيمان.
3 - عبد الرحمن بن حذافة.
4 - صف.
5 - عبد الله بن يحيى.

الرواية عن أكثر من شيخ:

لا يوجد رجل واحد بين رواية هذه الأحاديث يروي عن
أكثر من شيخ.

وروده في مسندر ابن حنبل:

1 - أربع مرات عن طريق أبي هريرة.

الحديث رقم (3)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة:

1 - أبو بكر.
2 - أبو صالح.
3 - علي.

تلاحم أبي صالح:

1 - جريج.
2 - سعدي.
3 - عمارة.
4 - علي بن أبي طالب.
5 - أحمد.
6 - محمد بن سلمة.
7 - محمد بن عبد الرحمن.

م. العامية 169.

1737.

م. العامية 379.

م. العامية 1686.

م. العامية 75.

الاستفادة 2.
التعليقات على نسخة سهل
الحديث رقم (1)

الرواية عن أبي هريرة: أبو صالح تلاه أبو صالح سهيل وعنه:

1 - جبريل
2 - حماد
3 - خالد
4 - سفيان
5 - شريك
6 - عبد العزيز بن أبي حامد
7 - عبد العزيز الداروري
8 - عبد العزيز بن المختار الأصل
9 - وهيب

الم穿过:

(1) - أبو مرزوق الدوسي: سهيل بن عبد الله - واثلة بن الأشع - عه. جنائز 72,
(2) - جابر: ابن حريج، أبو الزبير - عه. جنائز 98، الكشاف 1/87
(3) - عقيلة بن عامر: الله بن سعد - زيد بن أبي جعفر - مارق بن عبد الله - عه. جنائز 45
(4) - أبو هلال - أبو بكر بن حزم - النجهر بن عبد الله السلمي - عه. جنائز 105

45 - حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار قال: سهيل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة قال: أي رسول الله؟ ناس من أصحابه فقالوا: يا رسول الله إذا نجده في أنفسنا شيء يعتزم عند أحدنا أن يتكلم به.

قال: «أوقف وجدته» قالوا: نعم. قال: «ذاك صريح الإيمان».

46 - حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، سهيل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة قال: قال رسول الله ﷺ:

«لا تصبح الملاكهة رفقة فيها جرّس ولا كلب».

47 - حدثنا عبد العزيز، سهيل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة.

قال: قال رسول الله ﷺ:

«لا تقوم الساعة حتى يقاتل المسلمون اليهود فقتلهم المسلمون حتى يختيرون».

48 - حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، سهيل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة قال: قال رسول الله ﷺ:

«لا تقوم الساعة حتى يأتي الرجل بركاء ماء فلا يجد من يقبلها منه».

49 - حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، قال: سهيل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه.

«إذا تكلمت يوم الجمعة فقد لغوت وألفت».

آخر نسخة سهيل بن أبي صالح.

(1) - يهتم الأصل مكرر.
في غفر في ذلك اليوم لكل عبد لا يشرك بالله شيئًا إلا امرأةً كأن بينه وبين أخيه شحانةٌ (1). يقول: انظروا هدين حتى يصط لماً. 


(159 ب) في هريزة عن النبي ﷺ قال:

و من أخذ شيراً من الأرض يغفر حدث طرقه من سبع أرضين.

فيقول: حديث عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهيل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن

(1) في هريزة عن النبي ﷺ قال:

مر رجل من المسلمين يحمل شوكة في الطريق فقال: لأميان هذا الشوكة

عن الطريق، لا يغفر رجلاً - مسماً يعني - غفر له.

فيقول: حديث عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهيل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن

(1) في هريزة عن النبي ﷺ قال:

لا تجعلوا بيوتكم مقابر، فإن السيطان يفر من البيت الذي نقرأ فيه

صورة البلاء.

فيقول: حديث عبد العزيز بن المختار، قال، نا سهيل بن أبي صالح عن

(1) في هريزة قال: قال رسول الله ﷺ:

ليس السماء ان لا تتمروا ولكن السماء ان تتمروا ولا تنتب

الأرض شياً.

فيقول: حديث عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهيل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن

(1) في هريزة قال: قال رسول الله ﷺ:

لا تقوم الساعة حتى يتم الناس مطرًا لا يكن منه مبرم المدر ولا يكن

منه بيت الشعر.

(1) في الأمل (شعبة).
الوراة والأنجيل والقرآن، أعود بك من شر كل ذي شر، أن أتخذل بناصتي، أن أتحشر في الله، وأن أشرك بسلاس فيك، وأن نفر في الأذار، فليس وقتك فيي، وأن لا ت 들어وني في الصوم، وأخذ مني أخلاقي، وشاذ مني ذوقك، وشاومني عن أمه.

27 حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة عن النبي ﷺ قال: 

ب ما اجتمع قوم قبل فترقوا عن غير ذكر الله إلا كأنما تفرقوا عن جيفة حمار، وكان ذلك المجلس عليهم حمرة.

28 حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة عن النبي ﷺ قال: إذا تأم أحدكم وفي يده عمر فلم يفصر، فأصابه شيء، فلا يلوم من إلا نفسه.

29 حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة عن النبي ﷺ قال:

إن الله ملائكة سبارة، يبعون مجالس الذكر فإذا وجدوا مجالسًا فيه، ذكرت ما تعلمه من الناس، ومن شهد الحج أو أي سمي، تأخذهم، فالله، لهما، من، أين يجتمع؟ يقولون: جنات عين عداد الله، في الأرض يسحنون ويكرون ويعمرون ويهون بهم ويسعونهم.

30 حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة عن النبي ﷺ قال:

هنا تباغثوا ولا تتدبروا ولا تناصروا وكونوا عباد الله إخوانًا.

31 حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة عن النبي ﷺ (58 ب) أنه كان يقول إذا ذكر إلى فرائه: اللهم رب السماوات ورب الأرض ورب كل شيء، فقلب الحب والمؤن، منزل
قال في المذهب: "أذكر كلام الله نعمَّ الله له ما فاتكم ولم يدرككم من نعمة الله إلا من قال مثل ما قال، ونبيهم في دير كل صلاة وتحذوي وتكبرن ثلاثاً وثلاثيناً، أحد عشر أحد عشر أحد عشر".

فِي حَدِيثِ نُورُولاَهٖ، يُصَلِّي الله عَلَيْهِ، قُلَّ: "ذَلِكَ فِي تُوْلْيَاءِ اللَّهِ ۖ فَأَلْهَمُوهُمَا نَفَاطِمَ الْكَرْمِ، وَنَسَبُوهُمَا سُلْطَانَ الْمُلُكِ، وَأَنْتَ عَلَيْهِمَا بِنَدوُنِي لَحَقٌّ عَلَى مَنْ عَلِمَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمَا بَعْثَهُمَا، وَعَلِيمٌ بِمَا كُنَّاهُمَا، وَكَانَ مَا كَانَتْ يَقُولُونَ لَهُمَا، يُشْفِقُونَ فِيهِ عَلَى نَفْسِهِمَا، وَيَثْبُتُونَ عَلَى مَعْمَارِيَةٍ، وَكَانَ مَا كُنَّاهُمَا مِنْ نَكَّاحٍ، وَمَا كُنَّاهُمَا مِنْ نَكَّاحٍ".

18 - حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهيل بن أي صالح عن أبيه عن

22 - حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار قال: نا سهيل عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة عن النبي ﷺ قال:

"يُذَلِكَ فِي ذُلْكَ الْعُمَلَ، وَيَقْرِبُونَ إِلَى السَّماَءَ الْمَلَكَ مِنْ يَدِيِّهِ، وَيَعْنُونَ فِي هَذِهِ الْعِبَادَةِ".

23 - حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار قال: نا سهيل بن أي صالح عن أبيه عن

19 - حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهيل بن أي صالح عن أبيه عن

20 - حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهيل بن أي صالح عن أبيه عن

"لَئِنْ أَقْضِيْنَا لَهُمَا نَفَاطِمَ الْكَرْمِ، وَنَسَبُوهُمَا سُلْطَانَ الْمُلُكِ، وَأَنْتَ عَلَيْهِمَا بِنَدوُنِي لَحَقٌّ عَلَى مَنْ عَلِمَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمَا بَعْثَهُمَا، وَعَلِيمٌ بِمَا كُنَّاهُمَا، وَكَانَ مَا كُنَّاهُمَا مِنْ نَكَّاحٍ، وَمَا كُنَّاهُمَا مِنْ نَكَّاحٍ".

21 - حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهيل بن أي صالح عن أبيه عن

إِنَّ لاَهِمَةً لَا نَلْهَمُوهُمَا، وَلَا مَلَكَةً لَا نَمَلْكُوهُمَا، وَلَا نَدْلِيَةً لَا نَدْلِيْهِمَا "ذَهَبَ أَهَلُّ النَّارِ بِالذَّنُورِ بِالذَّنُورِ، وَإِذَا أَوْتَيْنَاهُمَا فَقَالُوا: "ذَهَبَ أَهَلُّ النَّارِ بِالذَّنُورِ بِالذَّنُورِ".

25 - حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار، نا سهيل بن أي صالح عن أبيه عن

النبي ﷺ قال:

"(1) هكذا في الأصل
(2) في الأصل "يُذَلِكَ فِي ذُلْكَ الْعُمَلَ".
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
2 - حديث عبد العزيز بن المختار قال: طه هريرة أن النبي ﷺ قال:

"إذا رفعتم في الخصب فأعطوا الابن حقهما من الأرض، وإذا سافرت في الجبل أو السنة فأسرعوا السير، وإذا أردتم أن تحرموا فنتحوا عن الطريق، فإنها مأوى الهواء."

3 - حديث عبد العزيز بن المختار قال: طه هريرة أن النبي ﷺ قال:

"إنيما الإمام ليؤم به، فذاك كبر فكبكروا، وإذا قال: سمع الله من حمدته فقولوا: اللهم ربا لك الحمد، وإذا سجدوا ولا تسجدوا حتى يسجدوا، وإذا رفعوا ولا ترفعوا حتى يرفعوا.

4 - حديث عبد العزيز بن المختار: طه هريرة أن النبي ﷺ قال:

"أنا مولاي محمد بن عمرو ليلة الله يبعث في نفتي، والداماد في حلبي، والغمر في محلة، والجزء في قلبي، والجناح في حميتي، والخليل في مهني.

5 - حديث عبد العزيز بن المختار: طه هريرة أن النبي ﷺ قال:

"إذا تكلمت يوم الجمعة فقد غمرت وألمت."

1 - عن خالد بن عبدazoleة عن النبي ﷺ قال:

"أن يجلس أحدكم على حمرة فتحرق ذباب حتى يلقى الشهاد اليمين لـه من أن يجلس أو يطأ على غير رجل مسلم."
جزاء فيه نسخة عبد العزيز بن المختار البصري عن سهيل بن أبي صالح عن أبيه عن أبيه هريرة رواية أبي عبد الله محمد بن عده عن إبراهيم بن الحجاج عنه رواية أبي الحسن علي بن عمر بن محمد بن الحسن الحربي عنه رواية أبي الحسن محمد بن أحمد بن محمد بن حسنون الزرنيع عنه رواية أبي بكر محمد بن عبد الباقي بن محمد بن عبد الله الباز عنه رواية أبي الفتح يوسف بن المبارك بن كمال الحكيم عنه عماء محمد بن عبد الغني المدني ولاحوته تفعه الله بع.

13

راموز الصفحة الأخيرة من مخطوطة نسخة سهيل بن أبي صالح

The End of The Nuskhah of Suhail
عالم الموطن
الطابلي حكم المند
الطابلي المجمع الصغير
الطابلي المجمع الأوسي
الطابلي المجمع الكبير
ابو عوانة المند
الفسيروي التاريخ
الكشي عبد بن حميد الكشي
المختب من المند
الليث نسخته عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب
سلم بن الحجاج الصحيح
المستدرك الحاكم البصيري المستدرك على الصحيحين
الريعي المند
الريعي المند
المتى بن جراح. المتنقي
الإشار إلى رقم الحديث
المتنقي الم คน من السن
أبو يعلى الموصلي المند
ذكراها في الشاهد بالأسانيدي وتعني بها الراوي الأول
للحدث وهو غالباً الصحابي

***
الندو عن حرم الإسلام وسنة رسوله عليه الصلاة والسلام.

وأنا أرجح بكل تلقى بناء من طبيعته ان يساهم في خلعة الموضوع والله من وراء القصد.

قطر الدوحة نوفمبر 1967م
شعبان 1387 هـ

حمد مصطفى الاعظمي
لقد شكلوا في جمع السنة، وزعموا أنها كانت تنقل شافها لقرنين عديدة، هذا لابن الاعتماد عليها. وجاء مستشرق مشهور مثل البرونسوير جوزيف شاخت أفاد أن مجموعة الأحاديث النبوية - وخاصة التقليدية منها - عبارة عن أقاويل ملفقة اختصرها العلماء المسلمون في القرن الثاني والثالث الهجرين، وما الأسانيد التي استعملها المحدثون فيما بعد إلا بعض مختارات القرنين المذكورين.

ولعل أخطر ما في هذه الآليات البائرة والدعاوى الهمدانية، أنها اتخذت صورة البحث العلمي وبينشرى على سبيل المعرفة بالإسلام، شبهات وتقييمات وتلقيقات. لا تثبت على النقد والتحصيص.

لكنها تروج عند السطحيين والفارغين، وتفتقر معجبي المنتزهين بكل ما جاء من الشرب والخربين. فلا يعود إلاTesla - من المسلمين - من يرد دعاوياً تستنكرها ذاتها تقدم البهام stmt منهم من يبتها، ويبنيها لنفسه على أنها من منبتات أفكاره. وهو في الواقع إلا مقال أحد، لا أصل له ولا أبتكار.

هذا كانت الحاجة ماسة إلى البحث في أمور السنة، وفيجب أن نغمض من تاريخها. ورد الأمور التي نصبتها الصحيح. ولا شك أن الموضوع واسع ومنتبه ولا يستطيع كتاب واحد مجرد واحد أن يوصف حقًا، هذا يجبر أن أتخذ جانبيًا واحدًا من جوانب الموضوع المتعددة، فربت أتخذ أكثراً في تاريخ تدون الحديث ومبدأ الأسانيد وما يتعلق بها من الموضوعات الفرعية الأخرى، لأبين قيمة ما أنجزها علماء المسلمين في الماضي، ويدلنا دعوى المنهجين في الحاضر، متبناها في كل آله أن البحث العلمي، بعيداً عن روح الاستشراق.

وكان من توفيق الله أن أكتشفنا في دواوين المخطوطات التفسيرية المجاهدة - الأسف - نسخية حديثة أنفها العلماء في بداية القرن الثاني منها نسخة سهلة ابن أبي صالح، ونسخة عبيد الله بن عمر وغيرهما. وقد أدى هذا الاكتشاف
أجمع المسلمون - منذ ثلاثة عشر قرناً حتى الآن - على أن شريعة الإسلام مصدر رهن أساسين هما القرآن الكريم والسنة المطهرة، فالقرآن هو الأساس، والسنة شرسة ومثبتة؛ يقول الرسول ﷺ: "فإني أقنعتك بالله وحرصت على الأمر والعمل، وأبلغتك العهد ما نزل إليهم ولعلهم ينكرون".

وهذا كان ما يفي به الرسول من شرع، وأوجب الطاعة والامتثال، كالأقران، وكلاهما وحي من الله ﷺ عز وجل: "وما ينطق عن الهوى. إن هو إلا وحي يوحى: "يمن بلغ الرسول فقد أطاع الله".

وما زال الأمر كذلك حتى زحف الاستعمار على بلد الإسلام فاستذل أنفسهم، وأدبياً واقتصادياً ونفسياً في اللامع البارد للغرب، وضعفت الأقسام بالجامعات والكليات للدراسات الشرقية والاسلامية، وتحقيقها بأناس من أسماع أعيان.

فكان بعضهم - وهم قلة قليلة - خصصاً للبحث، وآن لم يصدمهم التوفق في كثير من الأحيان وذلك لبعدهم عن روح الشرق ووجهه وداره، وكان هناك آخرون أهمهم "تلميذ المسلمون" بمعتقداتهم وأفكارهم، واقتراحهم الطعن في الإسلام مباشرة وتشويه جماله. لكنهم لم يتآمر مرجعه، لذلك اعتمد الآخرون على أسلوب خفي: هدف التشكيك الدائم في أصول الإسلام.

وقد نال هؤلاء الحديث النبوي بتصبيح كبير من هذا الهجوم، فكتبوا في الحديث يعود تشكيك بعض من الاصطلاح والتهم والتحريفات نتيجة سوء الفهم أو سوء الفهم أو هما معاً.
كلمات من كلمة في النطق والكتابة

أعمال ومراجعات

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