



Al-Jarallah, Sulaiman Muhammad (1991) The origins of Ḥadīth: a critical appraisal of a Western approach to the subject. PhD thesis

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/6832/>

Copyright and moral rights for this thesis are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

The Origins of *Ḥadīth* :
A Critical Appraisal of a Western
Approach to the Subject

Sulaiman Muhammad Al-JarAllah
Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies
University of Glasgow

thesis submitted for the degree of Ph. D. in the
Faculty of Arts at the University of Glasgow
1412 / 1991

© SULAIMAN MUHAMMAD AL-JARALLAH 1991

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Praise be to Allāh first and last, who has enabled me to complete this thesis.

I should like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University, Riyadh, which sponsored my scholarship to the University of Glasgow. Its help and support is much appreciated. I owe special gratitude to the faculty of Uṣūl al-Dīn and the department of al-Sunnah wa-ʿUlūmhā for their initial suggestion of this scholarship and for the cooperation they have shown during all stages of my study. The help of a number of persons in this institution deserves to be mentioned: The former Dean *al-Shaykh* ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Rūmī; the present Dean of the faculty, Associate Professor Dr. Fāliḥ al-Ṣughayyir; the assistant Dean of Graduate Studies, Associate Professor Dr. Nāṣir al-ʿUmar; the former heads of the department of al-Sunnah wa-ʿUlūmhā, Professor Muḥammad Adīb al-Ṣāliḥ and Associate Professor Musfir al-Dumaynī; and the present head of this department, Dr. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tuwayjiri.

I wish to thank the Secretary General of the University, associate Professor Dr. Muḥammad al-Sālim, for his encouragement and assistance.

I am thankful to Professor John Mattock, my supervisor, the head of the department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, for the help and assistance he has offered me during the period of my study.

I wish also to thank Dr. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maṭrūdi, who first introduced me to Professor Mattock; his kindness and help is much appreciated.

I am grateful to my wife and children, Muḥammad, Rayyā and Aḥmad for their patience, and support during the past six years.

Finally, and most importantly, I am greatly indebted - which is far too weak a word - to my parents for their unfailing encouragement and their most generous care and support, which have sustained me always.

CONTENTS

Abstract	7
Table of transliteration	9
List of abbreviations	10
Introduction	12
Part one	
The evidence for the origins of <i>ḥadīth</i> transmission	20
I. <i>Awā'il</i> reports as evidence	22
The significance of the <i>awā'il</i> reports	22
A discussion of the <i>awā'il</i> reports in Juynboll's argument	24
<i>Awā'il</i> reports unfavourable to Juynboll's argument	28
II. Juynboll's hypothesis of the growth of <i>ḥadīth</i>	47
<i>al-Khulafā' al-rāshidūn</i> and their materials in <i>Tabaqāt Ibn Sa'd</i>	47
The <i>musnads</i> of the four Caliphs in <i>ḥadīth</i> collections	57
III. The prophetic <i>sunnah</i>	74
Juynboll's concept of the late appearance of the prophetic <i>sunnah</i>	74
An examination of the evidence of his chronology	77

The authority of the prophetic <i>sunnah</i> in early texts	82
The early meaning of the term <i>al-sunnah</i> (pl. <i>al-sunan</i>)	92
‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz and the prophetic <i>sunnah</i>	96
IV. Early <i>ḥadīth</i> activities	103
The activities of the Companions	108
The activities of the Successors	118
Juynboll's evaluation of the status of three Successors in the transmission of <i>ḥadīth</i>	133
V. <i>Ṭalab al-‘ilm</i>	147
A discussion of Juynboll's proposal of the beginning of the second century as a date for the first <i>ṭalab</i> <i>al-‘ilm</i> journeys	147
Chronology of the <i>ṭalab al-‘ilm</i> journeys	154
The <i>ḥajj</i> journey	161
Movement between provinces	167
Part two	
Aspects of <i>ḥadīth</i>	179
I. The <i>quṣṣāṣ</i> and the <i>fuqahā</i>	180
<i>al-Quṣṣāṣ</i> in the first century	180

<i>al-Fuqahā</i> : A discussion of Juynboll's thesis that their opinions are raised to the level of 'prophetic sayings'	185
II. The <i>isnād</i>	210
Juynboll's chronology of the beginning of the <i>isnād</i>	210
The <i>isnād</i> and its association with the <i>fitnah</i>	210
A scrutiny of Juynboll's theory concerning 'the date of the great <i>fitna</i> '	214
<i>Isnāds</i> in the early sources	246
An examination of Juynboll's examples for the hypothesis of the growing back of the <i>isnād</i>	256
III. Characteristics of <i>ḥadīth</i>	268
<i>Ḥadīth</i> and regionalism	268
Local remarks	268
Anas b. Mālik's material between two centres	270
Juynboll's theory of the 'age trick'	273
<i>Ḥadīth</i> in Egypt and Khurāsān and its association with Iraq	277
IV. The authenticity of <i>ḥadīth</i> : A discussion of two <i>mutawātir ḥadīths</i>	288
<i>Niyāḥah</i>	289

<i>The man kadhaba ‘alayya ḥadith</i>	304
V. Juynboll and his predecessors	329
Conclusion	352
Appendix	359
Bibliography	395

ABSTRACT

A number of modern Western writers have discussed in more or less detail the origins of *ḥadīth*. One of them is G. H. A. Juynboll, who claims that he adopts a new approach and comes up with new conclusions regarding the subject. His main theory is that the prophetic *ḥadīths* which are to be found in later *ḥadīth* collections are, mainly, a development of the products of the early authorities. The beginning of the transmission of *ḥadīth*, according to him, came into existence as late as toward the end of the first century.

This thesis is an examination of Juynboll's approach to the subject. It consists of two parts; the first part investigates the following five issues, which Juynboll adduces to support the above chronology:

1. *Awā'il* evidence;
2. The chronology of the growth of traditions;
3. The origin of the concept 'prophetic *sunna*';
4. The earliest development of the *ḥadīth* centres;
5. A tentative chronology of *ṭalab al-ʿilm*.

The second part deals with various aspects of the early *ḥadīth*, as Juynboll visualizes it, which are discussed in the

first chapter of his *Muslim tradition* and other associated articles. In this part a scrutiny is made of the study of two *mutawātir ḥadiths* in which Juynboll attempts to prove that even *tawātur* gives no guarantee of the authenticity of *ḥadith*. Finally, a comparison is made of Juynboll's views on the subject with those of his predecessors.

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

ك	›	ك	k
ل	b	ل	l
ت	t	م	m
ث	th	ن	n
ج	j	ه	h
ح	h	و	w
خ	kh	ي	y
د	d	ة	t / h
ذ	dh	اَ	a
ر	r	اِ	i
ز	z	اُ	u
س	s	اَ / اِ / اِ	ā
ش	sh	اِ	i
ص	s	اُ	ū
ض	ḍ	اُ	aw
ط	t	اِ	ay
ظ	ẓ		
ع	‘		
غ	gh		
ف	f		
ق	q		

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Abū Dawūd = *Sunan*.
- Abū Zurʿah = *Tārikh*.
- al-Bukhārī = *Ṣaḥīḥ*.
- al-Dārimī = *Sunan*.
- Ḥilyah* = Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*
- Ibn Abī Shaybah = *Muṣannaf*.
- Ibn Mājah = *Sunan*.
- Ibn Saʿd = Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabir*.
- al-ʿIlal* = Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-ʿIlal wa maʿrifat al-rijāl*.
- Khalifah = Khalifah b. Khayyāṭ, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*.
- al-Maʿrifah = al-Fasawī, *Kitāb al-maʿrifah wa-al-tārikh*.
- al-Muḥaddith* = al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*
- Muslim = *Ṣaḥīḥ*.
- Musnad* = Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*.
- al-Muṣannaf* = ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*.
- al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* = Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*.
- al-Nasāʾi = *Sunan*.
- Origins* = Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*.

- al-Riḥlah* = al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi, *al-Riḥlah fi ṭalab al-ḥadīth*.
- Siyar* = al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aṣṭāḥ al-nubalā*.
- al-Ṭayālisī* = *Musnad*.
- Tahdhīb* = Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*.
- al-Tirmidhī* = *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*.
- Tradition* = Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*.

INTRODUCTION

One of the latest Western writers to concern himself with the origins of the transmission of *ḥadīth* is G. H. A. Juynboll. His most important work on *ḥadīth* is his *Muslim tradition: Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early ḥadīth*. In the first chapter of this book, which is entitled "A tentative chronology of the origins of Muslim tradition", he formulates his hypothesis on the origins of *ḥadīth*. He believes that although some materials may come from the time of the Prophet, *ḥadīth*, in general, originated in the generation of the Successors. In his summary of this chapter, he raises three questions which he thinks should be asked in connection with the early *ḥadīth* and he gives his answers to them:

" 1. Where did a specific *ḥadīth* originate?

Probably in the region where the traditionist mentioned at the Successor's level in its *isnād* operated. (This answer may apply to the majority of traditions listed as 'sound' in the so-called canonical collections; in later, not canonized, collections we encounter traditions which may not be so easy to identify

as to region of origin since wholesale *isnād* fabrication had become sophisticated enough to disguise a *ḥadīth*'s provenance more or less successfully.) The chance that we are able to conclude that a certain *ḥadīth* originated in the region where the Companion of its *isnād* resided - if that is different from the Successor's region - is remote in view of the fact that the historicity of the link between Companion and Successor appeared the most difficult of all to establish." (*Tradition*, p.71)

" 2. When did a specific *ḥadīth* originate?

. . . at the earliest sometime during the lifetime of the Successor of the *isnād* or later, as was probably the case with Egyptian *ḥadīths*; or earlier, as can be proved in a few isolated cases with evidence from other sources. . . . But the overall majority of allegedly the most ancient traditions is likely to have originated at the earliest in the course of the last few decades of the first century (700s-720s), when for the first time the need for traditions became generally felt. The *isnād* as institution had just come into being and slowly but gradually the concept *sunnat an-nabi* began to eclipse the *sunna* of a region or of a (group of) person(s)." (*Tradition*, p.72-73)

" 3. Who may be held responsible for bringing a tradition into circulation?

. . . If *isnāds* have any historical value at all - and those that were not fabricated in their entirety have that, but how shall we ever be able to prove in the case of every single *isnād* that it was not fabricated? - it is again in most cases the Successor who can be held responsible as the earliest likely candidate. But as the investigation into the growth of traditions may have shown, the first major growth of *ḥadīth* occurred several decades after the turn of the first century/750s and later, a time when most of the Successors were already dead, something which makes the following tier in the *isnāds*, the so-called class of 'Successors of Successors', into even more likely candidates. What is more, there is always the possibility, as the case of Ḥasan al-Baṣri made abundantly clear, I think, that pupils, or anonymous persons using those pupils' names, contemporaneous or from a later period, simply inserted his name in otherwise fictitious *isnāds* in order to support those 'traditions' they sought to bring into circulation."(*Tradition*, p. 73)

In Juynboll's view, the materials that were circulated during the first century, especially those of the *quṣṣāṣ* whose work, according to him, foreran the transmission of *ḥadīth*, and those of the *fuqahā* and the *ulamā*, were developed to be prophetic *ḥadīth*. Fabrication of *ḥadīth* did start, as he

says, immediately after the prophet's death, if not even before. The above mentioned are considered, in Juynboll's thesis, as the earliest materials which preceded the transmission of *ḥadīth*. In his own words, he says: " During the prophet's lifetime most of his followers can be assumed to have talked about him. After his death the only people who continued to do so in a way that may be construed as foreshadowing the standardized and regulated *ḥadīth* transmission of, say, the last few decades of the first century/700s-720s, when, as was perhaps demonstrated above, the earliest *ḥadīths* provided with *isnāds* came into circulation, were the *quṣṣāṣ*.

Parallel with this phenomenon we find *fuqahā'* and also *ʿulamā'*, the former formulating their own ideas about how life should be approached in the light of the new religion, the latter mainly pointing to formulations of this sort arrived at by others. . . . The activities of *fuqahā'* and *ʿulamā'* also developed into what later came to be called *ḥadīth* transmission.

The first stories (*qiṣaṣ*, *aḥādīth*) related by the *quṣṣāṣ* probably contained *tarhīb wa-targhīb* and *faḍā'il/mathālib* elements. The contents of the statements and opinions disseminated by the *fuqahā'* and to a certain extent also those spread by the *ʿulamā'* will probably have comprised facts and

features, as well as enjoinders and prohibitions, pertaining to the new religion, in other words, materials of a legal/ethical nature with a sometimes strong religious flavouring, which was probably directly inspired by more or less successfully preserved memories of what the prophet had said and done, or derived from the spirit of the revelation which Muḥammad said that he had received from God.

Fabrication or forgery, that is the deliberately falsely ascribing of invented texts (*matns*), often taking the form of dicta, maxims or slogans, of distinctly anti-Islamic, or un-Islamic, or purely socio-political, or doctrinal, or otherwise objectionable - or, in many cases, perfectly unobjectionable - tenor to revered authorities, whose respectability was expected to guarantee these texts' acceptance, had begun probably almost immediately after the prophet's death, if not on a small scale even already during his lifetime." (*Tradition*, p.74)

Expressing his doubt over the *ḥadiths* which are contained in the *ḥadith* collections as only a reflection of the sayings and opinions of the Companions and Successors which by means of *rafʿ* were raised to the level of prophetic sayings, he says: "We have seen that the need for traditions traced all the way back to Muḥammad only began to be emphasized under 'Umar

II (reigned 99-101/717-20) and that only as a consequence of this emphasis what was known as reports containing the personal opinions of Companions or Successors became 'raised to the level' of a prophetic saying, no doubt in order to lend them more prestige. It is therefore impossible to dismiss the assumption that any 'prophetic' tradition from a canonical collection may have started life as the personal opinion of a Companion or a later authority especially if we find this same tradition also somewhere else with an *isnād* ending in that Companion or, for that matter, any other old authority other than the prophet himself."(*Tradition*, p. 72)

In this chapter, Juynboll adduces various arguments, in order to prove that the earliest origins of *ḥadīth* transmission only began to exist toward the end of the first century, concentrating on the five following matters:

1. *Awā'il* evidence;
2. The chronology of the growth of traditions;
3. The origin of the concept 'prophetic *sunna*';
4. The earliest development of the *ḥadīth* centres;
5. A tentative chronology of *ṭalab al-ʿilm*.

My thesis will be confined to the first chapter and other associated articles plus an examination of chapter three of the

book in which he attempts to prove how even *tawātur* gives no guarantee of the authenticity of *ḥadīth*, a chapter which provides a practical application of his theory of the late origin of *ḥadīth*.

I have divided my thesis into two parts. In the first part, which consists of five chapters, I have examined, in the same order, the five issues which, Juynboll contends, support his hypothesis of the late origin of *ḥadīth*. In the second part, I have dealt with some aspects of *ḥadīth* which are discussed in Juynboll's work:

Juynboll's thesis of the *quṣṣāṣ* and the *fuqahā'* as the two main categories whose materials constituted the developing *ḥadīth* transmission;

the beginning of *isnād* and its association with the *fitnah*, with some focus on the idea of the 'growing backwards' of the *isnād*;

the two *mutawātir ḥadīths* chosen by Juynboll to demonstrate how even *tawātur* cannot guarantee the authenticity of *ḥadīth*;

A discussion of Juynboll's evidence for some features of the early *ḥadīth*, in particular local character and the 'age trick'.

Finally I have compared Juynboll's findings and views with those of his predecessors, and then I give my conclusions.

At the end of the thesis I list, in an appendix, the names and

origins of the *ḥadīth* transmitters used in determining the origins of *isnāds*. A bibliography is given in which the works and sources which I have used and consulted in this study are arranged in alphabetical order.

The main reason which motivated me to choose Juynboll's approach to the subject is his claim of having formulated new views on it. He declares that, in doing his research, although he was influenced by the work of some modern Writers, in particular Goldziher and Schacht, he did not expose himself to the influence of his predecessors until his research was complete. The research, he says, led him to take a point of view regarding the origins of *ḥadīth* between those of "Muslim and western scholarship". "As I see it, the sources appear to have provided me with sufficient evidence to maintain a position between the extremes".(*Tradition*, p. 1)

My primary intention here is not to establish the authenticity of *ḥadīth*, as such, but to assess Juynboll's approach to it and to discuss it with respect to the direction from which Juynboll approaches it.

PART ONE

THE EVIDENCE FOR THE ORIGINS OF
HADĪTH TRANSMISSION

PREAMBLE TO PART I.

In the present part are discussed the five issues, in five chapters, which have been mentioned in the introduction, in which Juynboll approaches the origins of the transmission of *ḥadīth* and proposes the date of its beginning as late as towards the end of the first century. These chapters are:

1. *Awā'il* reports as evidence;
2. Juynboll's hypothesis of the growth of *ḥadīths* ;
3. The prophetic *sunnah* ;
4. Early *ḥadīth* activities;
5. *Ṭalab al-ʿilm*.

My examination of these issues and Juynboll's approach to them has led me to a different conclusion.

CHAPTER ONE

A *WĀ'IL* REPORTS AS EVIDENCETHE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE *A WĀ'IL* REPORTS

The first evidence that Juynboll adduces to support his view that the transmission of *ḥadīth* only began at a late date is the *awā'il* reports on the subject. He says of this type of material: "... they constitute a pretty consistent genre of historical data which hardly ever give reason for profound scepticism. Exaggeration, in other works on early Islamic history a well known feature, which makes the historical data contained in them so difficult to assess, is almost totally lacking in *awā'il* literature".(1) Juynboll produces no examples to show in what respects the *awā'il* literature differs from 'other works on early Islamic history', as far as exaggeration is concerned, nor does he offer any reasons why this should be so. My point here is not to dismiss the significance of the *awā'il* reports, but to inquire why they should be considered more valuable than these other works. The *awā'il* reports concerning the transmission of *ḥadīth* are ascribed to later

scholars, who sometimes present contradictory accounts.(2) Juynboll says, in appraisal of the early reports, "... I realize that it is difficult to accept that all those early reports are to be considered historically true, or that the details in each one of them should be taken as factually correct. But I maintain that, taken as a whole, they all converge on a description of the situation obtaining in the period of history under scrutiny which may be defined as pretty reliable".(3) So in view of this statement, some of the *awā'il* reports are not to be totally accepted.(4) However, Juynboll does not discuss the historical reliability of individual *awā'il* reports, or indicate what his criteria are for this.

However, supposing that we accept that the *awā'il* evidence is significant in determining the origin of *ḥadīth*, how far does this evidence support Juynboll's view of the late beginning of its transmission. After an examination of his treatment of this issue, one is bound to conclude that these reports do not disprove the early beginning of the transmission of *ḥadīth*. In fact, some of the *awā'il* reports, which do not figure in Juynboll's argument, would suggest the opposite of his view .

A DISCUSSION OF THE *AWĀ'IL* REPORTS IN JUYNBOLL'S ARGUMENT

Juynboll begins this section by adducing the *awā'il* reports regarding the first *quṣṣāṣ* whose activities, according to him, foreshadowed the transmission of *ḥadīth*. He also alludes to the activities of the early *fuqahā'* whose personal opinions, he believes, later developed into prophetic *ḥadīth*. These he considers to be the two main categories of material that were the predecessors of the *ḥadīth* literature. In part two a full discussion will be devoted to this, and in chapter 4 of this part an extensive investigation of *ḥadīth* activities among the Companions and the Successors will be presented.

Except for the three reports concerning *isnād*, which will be discussed below, the *awā'il* reports adduced in Juynboll's argument deal mostly with the introduction of *ḥadīth* to various conquered regions, and with the development of the organization and compilation of *ḥadīth* material. For example, he mentions reports regarding those who were the first, during the second century or later, to compile organized *ḥadīth* collections whether with a general or a particular orientation: *musnad* collections and *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.(5) This kind of

report has no relevance, in my view, to the issue of the early or late beginning of the transmission of *ḥadīth* ; the question here is whether or not the material in the first structured collections can be shown to exist before the time of the authors of these collections. The abundant material concerning the activities of the Companions and Successors in oral and/ or written transmission of the *ḥadīth* , and the reasonable amount of material that suggests that the writing down of *ḥadīth* had already begun during the Prophet's lifetime,(6) may surely be taken as evidence that the transmission of *ḥadīth* was a notable feature of the first century. What, then, is the relevance of the reports regarding the first compilers of organized collections of *ḥadīth* to the early beginning of its transmission? Moreover, other *awā'il* reports which will be given below, suggest that activity concerned with *ḥadīth* did indeed take place at an early date.

However, despite the fact that many of the *awā'il* reports have no value as evidence for the late beginning of the transmission of *ḥadīth*, it may be argued that some of them are relevant. Let us examine here some examples other than those that will be adduced on the subject of *isnād* later.

Juynboll refers to an *awā'il* report which describes al-Bukhāri (d. 256) as the first to compile a *ṣaḥīḥ* collection; he

says, " that means that more than one and a half centuries had elapsed since the *isnād* had come into existence before a compilation was made that was generally considered sound".(7)

This report concerns the first collection to be exclusively devoted to sound *ḥadiths*. Others argue that Mālik (d. 179) was the first to compile a collection of sound *ḥadīth* .(8) In any case, whether it was Mālik or al-Bukhārī who was the first, it makes no difference to the authenticity of the *ḥadīth*, provided that their material descended by *isnād* in oral and/or written transmission. Another of Juynboll's reports is that which describes al-Naḍr b. Shumayl (d. 204) as the first to propagate (*azhara*) the *sunnah* in Marw and the whole of Khurāsān.(9) In fact, the context of this report makes it clear that *sunnah* here is not meant to refer to *ḥadīth* material. It is the opposite of *bid'ah*, "innovation". Khurāsān was well-known for the innovative ideas that appeared there, for example, the Jahmiyyah.(10) Al-Naḍr is described in a report as being an adherent of *sunnah*.(11) Moreover, in the *rijāl* lexica, one encounter numerous earlier transmitters and scholars engaged in *ḥadīth* transmission who settled in Khurāsān or spent some time there. In addition to mentioning some Companions who went there, Ibn Sa'd gives the names of their successors who were there, among whom are Abū

Mijlaz (d. between 100 and 109), ‘Aṭā’ al-Khurāsānī (d. 135), Yaḥyā b. Ya‘mur (d. 129), and ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181).(12) al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (d. 105) went to Khurāsān, where he resided and related *ḥadīth*.(13) Al-Sha‘bī, the famous Successor, stayed in Khurasān ten months.(14) ‘Alqamah b. Qays, a Kufan Successor (d. 62-73), was in different parts of Khurāsān for some years .(15) Naṣr b. ‘Imrān (d. 124-128), a Basran Successor, lived in Nisābūr, then Marw, and finally died in Sarakhs. (16)

Another example is that which Juynboll quotes from *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*: "Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb, who died in 128/745 at the age of seventy-five, was reputedly the first to introduce traditions of any sort into Egypt. He is also credited with having been the first to discuss *ḥalāl wa-ḥarām* matters and issues of a more general nature".(17) Let us examine this report in the source to which Juynboll refers us:

قال ابن سعد : كان مفتي أهل مصر في زمانه ، وكان حليما عاقلا وكان أول من أظهر العلم بمصر والكلام في المحلل والمحرام ومسائل .

Ibn Sa‘d says: " He was the *mufti* of the people of Egypt in his time; he was prudent and intelligent, and he was the first to propagate *al-‘ilm* in Egypt and discussion of *al-ḥalāl wa-al-ḥarām* and legal questions." (18)

In this context the word *al-ilm* here means علم الفقه. al-Suyūṭī cites this report when he describes Yazid as the first to propagate علم الفقه in Egypt.(19) While Juynboll here makes the word *ilm* in this passage refer to 'traditions of any sort', he translates it elsewhere as "knowledge" in the wider sense.(20) In fact, in one place he asserts that it refers to historical reports rather than *ḥadīth*.(21) At any rate, even assuming that we accept Juynboll's interpretation of this statement, we find that the report, which does not appear in the *Ṭabaqāt*, is hardly consistent with what Ibn Saʿd says there concerning Yazid b. Abī Ḥabīb. Listing the transmitters who were in Egypt, Ibn Saʿd mentions first some of the Companions who settled there, among them ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, who is well known for his activities in the transmission of *ḥadīth*.(22) After this Ibn Saʿd mentions those who were so engaged after these pioneers, divided into various tiers according to their period. Yazid b. Abī Ḥabīb comes at the beginning of the third tier.(23)

AWĀʾIL REPORTS UNFAVOURABLE TO JUYNBOLL'S ARGUMENT

In the same sources which Juynboll consults, there are various *awāʾil* reports indicating the early origins of *ḥadīth* or

contradicting Juynboll's view regarding this. However, since some of these are mentioned, but left out of account, by Juynboll, and others are not mentioned at all, it seems appropriate to examine some of them here.

There is an *awā'il* report that al-Sha'bi said:

أول من كذب على رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - عبد الله بن سبأ

" the first who put lies in the mouth of the Prophet was 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' (d. c. 40).(24) It would be in contradiction to the ideas held by Juynboll that fabrication and forgery most probably began immediately after the death of the Prophet, if not before.(25)

In his argument to show the late use of *isnād*, Juynboll adduces a report attributed to Ibn Sirin, which runs : (26)

ولم يكونوا يسألون عن الإسناد فلما وقعت الفتنة قالوا : سموا لنا رجالكم ،
فينظر الى أهل السنة فيؤخذ حديثهم وينظر الى أهل البدع فلا يؤخذ حديثهم

Juynboll maintains that by the word *fitnah* in this report is meant the civil strife between the Umayyads and Ibn al-Zubayr.(27) Moreover he holds the view that Ibn al-Zubayr's revolt is "the first event of this kind generally referred to as *fitna*."(28) " The term *fitna* for the civil war ensuing from the killing of 'Uthmān came into use only at a relatively late date, probably several decades after 110/728, the year in which

Ibn Sirin died.”(29) In his article " The date of the great *fitna* ", Juynboll adduces an *awā'il* report, which occurs in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, attributed to Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab. This report runs :(30)

وقال الليث عن يحيى بن سعيد عن سعيد بن المسيب " وقعت الفتنة الأولى - يعني مقتل عثمان - فلم تبق من أصحاب بدر احدا ، ثم وقعت الفتنة الثانية - يعني الحرة- فلم تبق من أصحاب الحديبية أحدا ، ثم وقعت الثالثة فلم ترتفع وللناس طباخ .

Juynboll dismisses this report. He says: "the report is an obvious forgery. Not only does Sa'īd (d. between 93/ 712 and 100/ 718) appear in numerous spurious *isnāds*, but also the factual content of the remark is unfounded."(31) However, in an excursus to his later article " Muslim's introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*", he does again discuss this report. He finds another version of it appearing in an earlier source, 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*. This report runs : (32)

معمّر عن يحيى بن سعيد عن ابن المسيب قال : ثارت الفتنة الأولى فلم يبق ممن شهد بدرا أحد ، ثم كانت الفتنة الثانية فلم يبق ممن شهد الحديبية أحد . قال وأظن لو كانت الثالثة لم ترتفع وفي الناس طباخ .

The explanatory remarks which appear in the later version are not found in the earlier. Juynboll understands from this report that, when the first *fitna* occurred, there was

no one alive of those who had fought at the Battle of Badr. The explanatory remark in al-Bukhārī's version contradicts, he thinks, what we know to be the case, that "when ʿUthmān was murdered, quite a few of those who fought at Badr were still alive". So in view of the version of ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*, Juynboll believes that the explanatory remarks are a later insertion. "And taken thus, without the *idrāj*, the words *fa-lam tubqi min āṣḥāb Badrin aḥadan* constitute in actual fact a quite accurate dating of *al-fitna al-ūlā*", which he takes to mean Ibn al-Zubayr's *fitnah*, because all those who had fought at Badr were dead before the *fitnah* of Ibn al-Zubayr occurred.(33) Concluding his argument regarding this report, Juynboll says: "It is safe, I think, to assume that the incorrect, and therefore misleading, *idrāj, yaʿnī maqtal ʿUthmān*, can be dated roughly to the time between the years of death of the compilers, that is ʿAbd ar-Razzāq b. Hammām for the older version who died in 211/827 and, for the later version, Bukhārī who died in 256/870. It is true that there are many unambiguous reports in which the first *fitna* in Islam is identified with the political upheaval resulting from ʿUthmān's murder, reports which are also listed in ʿAbd ar-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*, but the mere fact that a report indicating Ibn az-Zubayr's coup as the first *fitna* has survived at all leads

me to believe that in actual fact that is what at least the Muslims of the first/seventh and possibly the first few decades of the second/eighth century considered it to be."(34)

Below, I will explain how neither the dating of this remark nor the analysis of this report made by Juynboll are any longer tenable. However, be that as it may, this report is still attributed to the same person, Sa'id b. al-Musayyab; this attribution was one of the two reasons which enabled Juynboll to label the later version as an obvious forgery in his first discussion of it. The other unambiguous reports which Juynboll alludes to are also attributed to authorities who lived during the first century. We may cite some of them here:

- الزهري قال : ... وكان يعد في العرب حتى ثارت الفتنة الاولى خمسة ، يقال لهم ذوو رأي العرب ومكيدتهم ، يعد من قريش معاوية وعمرو ...

"...Until the time when the first fitnah erupted, five persons among the Arabs were considered worthy to be called ' those who judge and plan for the Arabs!' From Quraysh, Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr were included ..." (35)

- قال الزهري : ... أما بعد ، فان الفتنة الاولى ثارت وأصحاب رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ممن شهد بدرا كثير .

- al-Zuhri said: "... then, the first fitnah erupted and there

were many of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) who had fought at Badr" (36)

- أخرج ابن سعد عن خالد بن سمير عن موسى بن طلحة - يصف ابن عمر - :
... والله ما استفزته قريش في فتنتها الأولى. فقلت في نفسي : إن هذا
ليزري على أبيه في مقتله .

Ibn Sa'ad narrated, on the authority of Khālid b. Samir, that Musā Ibn Ṭalḥah described Ibn 'Umar : "... By Allah, Quraysh could not provoke him in its first *fitnah*. I said to myself: ' This man is blaming his father for his death'."(37)

- أخرج أحمد أن حبيب بن مسلمة أتى قيس بن سعد بن عبادة في الفتنة
الأولى وهو على فرس ...

- Aḥmad narrated that Ḥabib b. Maslamah came to Qays b. Sa'ad b. 'Ubādah during the first *fitnah*, riding a horse... (38)

- حذيفة بن اليمان يصف قتل عثمان : أما إنها أول الفتن .

- Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān describes the murder of 'Uthmān:
"Indeed, it was the first of the *fitan*."(39)

- عن مرة الطيب قال : لما كانت الفتنة الأولى عصمه الله منها ... فلما كانت
فتنة ابن الزبير عصم منها ...

- Murrah al-Ṭayyib said: "When the first *fitnah* occurred, Allāh protected him from [taking part in] it, and when the *fitnah* of Ibn al-Zubayr occurred, he was protected from [taking part in] it."(40)

Turning back to Ibn al-Musayyab's report, the words

وقعت الفتنة الأولى - يعني مقتل عثمان - فلم تبق من أصحاب بدر احدا

do not mean that when the *fitnah* occurred all those who had fought at Badr were already dead. One of the commentators on this report, al-Dāwūdi, thought it meant that when ʿUthmān was killed, all those who fought at Badr were also murdered at that time. Therefore, it was wrong to consider the first *fitnah* as the one of ʿUthmān; It would be rather the one in which al-Ḥusayn was killed. al-Qisṭillānī and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī dispute this because there was no one alive from *al-Badriyyin* at that time. They say that it does not mean that they were killed between the time of the killing of ʿUthmān, but it means that they had died between the *fitnah* at the killing of ʿUthmān and the *fitnat al-Ḥarrah*.(41)

Juynboll's dating for the explanatory remarks, we shall see, is no longer tenable. The remark on *al-fitnah al-ūlā* appears in *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ* of Mālik (Shaybānī's version),(42) a source which is earlier than the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq:

وقعت الفتنة - يعني فتنة عثمان فلم يبق من أهل بدر أحد ، ثم وقعت فتنة
الحرّة فلم يبق من أصحاب الحديبية أحد ، فإن وقعت الثالثة لم يبق با لناس
طبّاخ .

But the crucial question is whether it is justifiable for Juynboll to conclude that remarks that appear in al-Bukhārī are later insertions, because he finds a version of the report that appears in an earlier source where there is no mention of

these remarks. In fact, we find that the version of 'Abd al-Razzāq does appear in a late source, later than al-Bukhārī, just as it appears in *al-Muṣannaf*, without the explanatory remarks.(43) The report appears in early sources in various versions. e.g. :

- يحيى بن سعيد عن يحيى بن سعيد عن سعيد بن المسيب قال : وقعت يعني الفتنة ولم يبق من أهل بدر أحد . وقال يحيى مرة أخرى : لم يبق من المهاجرين أحد. العلل ٢ / ١٩٢ (٩٩٢)

- يحيى بن سعيد عن يحيى بن سعيد أن سعيد بن المسيب قال : وقعت فتنة عثمان فلم يبق من المهاجرين أحد ووقعت الحرة فلم يبق من أهل الحديبة أحد ، ووقعت الثالثة فلم ترتفع وفي الناس طباخ . ٢ / ١٥٣-١٥٤ (١٠٠٢)

- ... سليمان بن بلال ، عن يحيى بن سعيد قال : سمعت سعيد بن المسيب يقول وقعت الفتنة الأولى - يعني فتنة عثمان - فلم يبق من أصحاب بدر أحد ، ثم وقعت الفتنة الثانية - يعني فتنة الحيرة - فلم يبق من أصحاب الحديبة أحد ، وأنى وقعت الثالثة لم ترتفع وبا لناس طباخ . تاريخ المدينة المنورة ٤ / ١٢٧٤

- زهير بن حرب قال ، حدثنا سفيان بن عيينة ، عن يحيى بن سعيد ، عن سعيد بن المسيب قال : وقعت فتنة الدار بمثله . ٤ / ١٢٧٤

Finally, the explanatory remarks derive not from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab himself but from his pupil, Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd.(44)

Dealing with the recording of *ḥadīth*, Juynboll adduces *awā'il* reports regarding those who made organized collections who died in the middle of the second century and later. He comments on this that "it appears that a long time had elapsed since the last few decades of the first/seventh century when the *isnād* probably came into existence".(45) There seems to be no connection between the existence of *isnād* and the first organized collections. Nevertheless, there is a famous *awā'il* report which describes al-Zuhri (d.124) as the first to record *al-ʿilm*.(46)

- عن مالك بن أنس قال : أول من دَوّن العلم ابن شهاب .

So, if we add this report to Juynboll's conviction that *isnād* began late in the first century, and his acceptance of the report concerning al-Zuhri being the first to make consistent use of *isnād* ,(47) we find a clear indication that *isnād* and recording the *ḥadīth* go hand-in-hand from the beginning. Juynboll is an aware of the above report. He cites it, but not in the *Awā'il* section, and says that al-Zuhri " is recorded to have been the first to make an organized collection of all the *ʿilm* he could find."(48) Furthermore, Juynboll himself mentions the two reports side by side when he speaks about al-Zuhri somewhere else: " ... Zuhri was allegedly the first to make a systematic collection of *ḥadīth* and all other *āthār* while

making consistent use of *isnāds*. Born in 50/670, 51/671 or between 56/676 and 58/678, we may therefore assume that he started his activities absolutely not earlier than 70/689 and most probably several - perhaps ten - years later."⁽⁴⁹⁾

In addition to this *awā'il* report, Juynboll also neglects in the *awā'il* argument the highly significant one regarding the writing down of the *ḥadīth* during the prophet's lifetime:

- أخرج الخطيب من طريق عطاء عن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص ، أنه قال :
يا رسول الله إنا نسمع منك أحاديث ، أفتأذن أن أكتبها ؟ قال : نعم . فكان
أول ما كتب .

- 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-Āṣ said : " oh Messenger of Allāh, w hear *aḥādīth* from you, will you permit me to write them down? He said : Yes. Thus, it was the first to be written down. This can also be read : it was the first that he wrote down.⁽⁵⁰⁾

There are also reports regarding the first to compile the biography of the Prophet. One report describes 'Urwah (d. 94) as the first to compile *Maghāzī*.⁽⁵¹⁾ Another report gives al-Zuhri as the first to compile *Siyar*.⁽⁵²⁾ In other report, however, it is said that Ibn Ishāq was the first author in this genre.⁽⁵³⁾

In dealing with the *awā'il* pertaining to the examination

and criticism of *isnād*, Juynboll disregards various reports.

He adduces a report in which al-Shaʿbī (d. 103-10) is credited with being the first to examine the transmitters of *ḥadīth*. He says: "The first systematic examination of informants ever recorded is reported to have occurred in Kūfa when Shaʿbī (d.103-10/721-8) interrogated ar-Rabiʿ b. Khuthaym as to his informant regarding a certain *ḥadīth*.(54) However, Ibn Hibbān consider ʿUmar(d. 23) and ʿAlī (d. 40) as the first. Commenting on the practice of them interrogating the transmitters, he says:

وهذان أول من فتشوا عن الرجل في الرواية ، وبحثا عن النقل في الأخبار ،
ثم تبعهم الناس على ذلك .

" These two were the first to examine the man in the narration and to investigate the transmission of the reports; other people then followed them in this".(55) In another source, Abū Bakr is considered as the first to do this .(56)

Al -Ḥākim enumerates those who showed concern to prevent fabrication on the authority of the Prophet; he records Abū Bakr as the first, then ʿUmar, then ʿAlī, then ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās then ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar(57)

وأول من وقى الكذب عن رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - أبو بكر الصديق - رضي الله عنه - ، لما جاءت الجدة تسأله ميراثها... ثم عمر بن الخطاب - رضي الله عنه - ... ثم عليّ بن أبي طالب- كرم الله وجهه - ... ثم

عبد الله بن عباس - رضي الله عنهما ... ثم عبد الله بن عمر ... وأما التابعون
وأتباع التابعين فمن بعدهم من أئمة المسلمين فقد عدّوا وجرّحوا رواة الحديث
، ودوّن كلامهم في التاريخ ، ونقل إلينا بنقل العدل عن العدل .

Juynboll proposes a date for al-Shaḅī's incident: the year of the death of al-Rabiḅ (d. 61) ' or only a short time earlier'. With respect to this he says: "Ar-Rabiḅ is said to have died after the battle of Karbalāḅ of 61/680, so the conversation, if it is assumed to be historical, must have taken place prior to that date. In view of Shaḅī's alleged date of birth, given as 20 - which makes him either eighty-three or ninety when he died - or 31, which makes him seventy-two or seventy-nine at the time of his death, and in view of the fact that so many traditionists pretended to be older than they were in reality - a common practice of especially Kūfan transmitters (. . .) - I think that it is safe to say that it took place in the same year or only a short time earlier.

Taking Shaḅī's alleged time of death as the point of departure, which is given as 103/721 or 110/728, or sometime between these two dates, and assuming he was in his sixties or, at most, in his seventies when he died, that suggests that he was born in 40/660 or a little later. This would make him a man in his early twenties when he interrogated ar-Rabiḅ. This is not an unreasonable proposition, when we read in his

tarjama that he 'did not reach (in Arabic: *lam yudrik*) [the time when] Ḥāsim b. Ḥadī [was still alive].' This Ḥāsim died in 40/660 according to Ibn Ḥajar (*Tahdhib*, v, p. 49). And that traditionists did not usually begin collecting *ḥadīth* before the age of twenty (. . .) is furthermore in the case of Shaḥbi supported by the information that he allegedly did not hear traditions with Samura b. Jundab, who died in 58/678 or 60/680 in Baṣra or Kūfa."(58)

Despite all the sources and reports which assert that al-Shaḥbi's birth took place either in 19, 20 or 31,(59) Juynboll contends that it was in '40/660 or a little later'. In part two I have dealt with Juynboll's theory of the 'age trick', but if he accepts that al-Shaḥbi might have died in his seventies, as he suggests in the passage, he could have been born in 31. To support his proposition for the date of birth of al-Shaḥbi, he cites Ibn Ḥajar's quotation in *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*. In fact, this statement, which is only partially quoted in *Tahdhib*, comes from Abū Ḥātim, who states clearly in the same passage that al-Shaḥbi saw Ḥalī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40).(60) At any rate, interrogation of transmitters is recorded in various reports in which early Companions applied it to their informants, as the *awā'il* reports, mentioned above, point out and attribute the initiation of this practice to them. The Successors followed

them in this and we find Successors not only questioned other Successors about their material, as al-Shaḥbī did, but also Companions. For instance, ḥAbidah with ḥAlī b. Abī Ṭālib,(61) Marwān b. al-Ḥakam with Yūsuf b. ḥAbd Allāh b. Salām,(62) Saḥid b. al-Musayyab with Saḥd b. Abī Waqqāṣ,(63) ḥUrwah b. al-Zubayr with Abū Ḥumayd al-Sāḥidi,(64) and ḥAbd al-Raḥmān b. ḥAbd Rabb al-Kaḥbah with ḥAbd Allāh b. ḥAmr b. al-ḥĀṣ.(65)

Juynboll also quotes a report in which Shuḥbah b. al-Ḥajjāj (d.160) is given as the first critic of *isnād*. He further says: "Since Shuḥba allegedly occupied himself with collecting traditions for the last thirty years or so of his life, we can assume the starting date of systematic *rijāl* criticism in Islam to be about 130/747."(66) In fact, the report which Juynboll alludes to is not about collecting *ḥadīths* but propagating them:

(67) ومات شعبة وله خمس وسبعون سنة وحدث نحواً من ثلاثين سنة

Shuḥbah started collecting *ḥadīth* in his early life. It is reported that he heard *ḥadīth* from al-Ḥakam b. ḥUtaybah (d. 113-115), ten years before Sufyān did so.(68) Qatādah (d. 117-118) even used to ask Shuḥbah about his own *ḥadīth*.(69) However, other *awā'il* reports give other earlier people, and, indeed, one puts Shuḥbah in third place. These also are known

to Juynboll.(70) One of them describes Ibn Sirin (d.110) as "the first to criticise the transmitters and to distinguish between the reliable ones and the others."(71) In another report, Ibn al-Madīnī (d.234) is recorded to have said: " we do not know of anyone prior to Muḥammad b. Sirin that scrutinized the *ḥadīth* and examined the *isnād*. Then there were Ayyūb and Ibn ʿAwn; then there was Shuʿbah, then Yaḥyā b. Saʿd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. Maḥdī]."(72)

In conclusion, from the foregoing it becomes clear that the *awāʾil* reports adduced by Juynboll do not affect the question of the early existence of *ḥadīth*. Indeed, if we take the *awāʾil* evidence at face value, it appears rather to indicate that *ḥadīth* had early origins.

NOTES

1. *Tradition*, p. 11.
2. See , for example, the reports below regarding the first critics of *isnād*.
3. *Tradition*, p. 6.
4. See for example, the discussion of some of the *awā'il* reports below.
5. See *Tradition*, p. 21-22.
6. See, for example, Azami, *Studies in early Hadith literature*, in particular pp. 28 ff. Sezgin, *Tārikh al-turāth al-ʿarabi* 1 1. See, also, chapter three for the activities of the Companions and the Successors in the transmission of *ḥadīth*.
7. *Tradition*, p. 21.
8. See al-Kattāni, *al-Risālah al-mustaṭrafah*, p. 4-5.
9. *Tahdhib* 10, p. 437-438 . *Tradition*, p. 23.
10. al-Tirmidhī 4, p. 611 no. 240.
11. *Tahdhib* 10, p. 437.
12. See Ibn Saʿd 7 2, pp. 99 ff.
13. Id. 6, p. 211(19).
14. Id. 6, p. 173 (4).
15. *Tahdhib* 8, p. 278. He resided in Khwārazm for two years and went to Marw and stayed there for a while.
16. *Tahdhib* 10, p. 432.
17. *Tradition*, p. 22-23.
18. *Tahdhib* 11, p. 318-319.
19. al-Suyūṭi, *al-Wasā'il fi musāmarat al-awā'il*, p. 103 no. 752. al-Suyūṭi attributes this report to al-Dhahabi, *Tārikh*. In *Tārikh al-Islām* 5, p. 185, al-Dhahabi mentions, with a brief addition, a report similar to the one that appears in *Tahdhib* and ascribes it to Abū Saʿid b. Yūnus.
20. See *Tradition*, p. 80 note (7). He says: "... the first to propagate 'knowledge' in Egypt ..."
21. See *Tradition*, p.237. speaking about Yazid, Juynboll says: "He was the first to

introduce *‘ilm* into Egypt ... which means in this context not *ḥadīth* but historical reports of any purport ..."

22. See Ibn Sa‘d 7 2, p. 188-99. See also the *awā’il* report below describing ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr's writing down the prophetic *ḥadīth* as either the first that was written or the first that he wrote.
23. See Ibn Sa‘d 7 2, p. 199-202.
24. al-Suyūṭi, *al-Wasā’il fi musāmarat al-awā’il*, p. 101.
25. See *Tradition*, p. 12, p.74.
26. al-Nawawi, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi-sharḥ al-Nawawi* 1, p. 84.
27. See *Tradition*, p. 17-19.
28. "The date of the great *fitna*", p. 158.
29. *Ibidem*, p. 158-159.
30. al-Bukhārī 7, p.323, *maghāzi* (12).
31. "The date of the great *fitna*", p. 150.
32. *al-Muṣannaf* 11, p. 358-359 no. 20739.
33. See "Muslim's introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*", p. 305.
34. *Ibidem*, p. 305-306.
35. *al-Muṣannaf* 5, p. 463.
36. *al-Muṣannaf* 10, p. 120-21 no. 18584. Also *Sunan Sa‘id* 2, p. 368 no. 2953.
37. Ibn Sa‘d 5, p. 121 (11).
38. *Musnad* 3, p. 422.
39. Ibn Abi Shaybah 14, p. 113 no. 17768. See also No. 17769. Ibn Shabbah, *Tārikh al-Madinah al-munawarah* 4, p. 1247.
40. *Ḥilyah* 4, p. 162.
41. See *Irshād al-sāri* 6, p. 274. *Fath al-Bāri* 7, p. 325.
42. p. 343 no. 991.
43. al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* 4, p. 448.
44. See *Fath al-Bāri* 7, p. 325.
45. *Tradition*, p. 21.
46. *Ḥilyah* 3, p. 363 ; al-Suyūṭi, *al-Wasā’il fi musāmarat al-awā’il*, p. 100 no. 728. Although Juynboll is aware of this report, see *Tradition* p. 34, he does not adduce it in the *awā’il* argument.
47. See *Tradition*, p. 18-19.
48. *Id*, p. 34.

49. Id, p. 41.
50. al-Khaṭīb, *Taqyid al-‘ilm*, p. 81. see for numerous reports concerning his activity in writing down the *ḥadīth*, pp. 74-85.
51. al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām* 4, p. 31. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Wasā’il fi musāmarat al-awā’il* p.102 no. 744.
52. al-Kattānī, *al-Risālah al-mustatrafh*, p. 80.
53. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Wasā’il fi musāmarat al-awā’il* , p. 102, no. 745.
54. See *Tradition* p. 19-20. He refers us to a report that appears in *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*.
- ... ابراهيم بن سعيد الجوهري ، ثنا يحيى بن سعيد عن اسماعيل بن أبي خالد عن الشعبي عن الربيع بن خيثم، قال : من قال لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له ، له الملك وله الحمد يحيى ويميت وهو على كل شيء قدير . فله كذا وكذا وسمى من الخير . قال الشعبي فقلت من حدثك ؟ قال عمرو بن ميمون ، وقلت : من حدثك؟ فقال : أبو أيوب صاحب رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - . قال يحيى بن سعيد : وهذا أول ما فتش عن الإسناد. ص ٢٠٨
55. Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Majrūḥin*, p. 28. Juynboll adduces this report and the following one earlier in the same section. See *Tradition*, p. 17.
56. See al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* 1, p. 2.
57. al-Ḥākim, *al-Madkhal fi ‘ilm al-ḥadīth*, p. 46.
58. *Tradition*, p. 20.
59. See, for example, *Tārikh Baghdād* 12, p. 227 . *Tadhib* 5, p. 68-69.
60. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-al-ta‘dil* 6, p. 322.
61. Ibn Mājah 1, p. 59 *muqaddimah* no. 167.
62. Abū Zur‘ah, p. 313 no. 585.
63. al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmi‘* 1, p. 120 no. 109.
64. Muslim 3, p. 1465, *Imārah* (7) no. 29.
65. Ibn Abī Shaybah 15, p. 5-6 no. 18956.
66. *Tradition*, p. 20.
67. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 356.
68. *Tadhib* 4, p. 344.
69. Ibidem.
70. See *Tradition*, p.18, note 24.
71. Ibn Rajab, *Sharḥ ‘ilal al-Tirmidhi*, p. 63
- وابن سيرين - رضى الله عنه - هو أول من انتقد الرجال وميّز الثقات من غيرهم .

72. Ibidem.

كان ممن ينظر في الحديث ويفتش عن الإسناد ، لا نعلم أحدا أول منه : محمد بن سيرين ثم كان أيوب وابن عون ثم كان شعبة ثم كان يحيى بن سعيد وعبد الرحمن .

CHAPTER TWO

JUYNBOLL'S HYPOTHESIS OF THE
GROWTH OF ḤADĪTH

In the second section of his first chapter, "The chronology of the growth of traditions", Juynboll investigates the material of the four Rightly Guided caliphs in the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Saʿd as compared with their *musnads* in some of the earliest *ḥadīth* collections.(1) He reaches two main conclusions:

In Ibn Saʿd's *tarjamahs* of these caliphs, there is hardly any material transmitted on their authority which could be considered as a *ḥadīth*; they relied almost entirely on their own personal judgement rather than following the example of the Prophet.

A comparison of their *musnads* in the earliest *ḥadīth* collections suggests that it was in Iraq that the *aḥādīth* developed and significantly increased in number.

**AL-KHULAFĀʾ AL-RĀSHIDŪN AND THEIR MATERIAL IN
ṬABAQĀT IBN SAʿD**

Juynboll details his findings in Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaqāt* concerning the first three caliphs. These findings are not

entirely in agreement with mine.

On Abū Bakr Juynboll says : "Reading through Ibn Sa'd's *tarjama* of Abū Bakr and other occurrences in the *Ṭabaqāt*, we hardly find any material that eventually emerges as a *ḥadīth*."

(2) I have found thirteen *ḥadīths* on his authority, six of which are repetitions, enlargements or abridgements.(3)

On ʿUmar he says: " In an early historical source, such as Ibn Sa'd's, it appears that ʿUmar hardly figures in traditions relating sayings of the prophet which can also be traced to the classical *ḥadīth* collections".(4) In fact, I have found twenty-two *ḥadīths* which could be traced in the *ḥadīth* collections, six of which are repetitions, etc .(5) On ʿUthmān he says: "Although the number of people who allegedly transmitted material from him is large, not one prophetic tradition - legal or other - on his authority is listed in the *Ṭabaqāt* with the exception of the famous dictum *Man qāla ʿalayya mā lam aqul* etc."(6) This is not the case; there is one legal one and some others. In addition to the one mentioned, I have found six, one of which is a repetition.(7) Juynboll does not tell us about the material on ʿAli in Ibn Sa'd. However, I have found on his authority sixteen *ḥadīths*, four of which are repetitions, etc .(8) My findings represent the caliphs' *ḥadīths* only in their own *tarjamahs* and in other sections of the *Ṭabaqāt* which I

have consulted for other purposes. If the whole of Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt* were to be examined, the number might be found to be greater. This said, the question may well be asked as to what the significance of the occurrence or non-occurrence of such *ḥadīth* material in the *Ṭabaqāt* is. To it I would feel bound to reply that I see no connection between the growth of *ḥadīth* in the way in which Juynboll envisages it and such material in Ibn Sa'd. The *Ṭabaqāt* is a historical work, as Juynboll knows, and it is not to be expected that *ḥadīth* material should be present there, unless it is relevant in some way to the events or the actual biographies which Ibn Sa'd deals with. This, in fact, is exactly the case with the *ḥadīths* that do occur there.

From his findings, Juynboll draws the conclusion that these caliphs were guided by their own personal judgement rather than scrupulously following the Prophet's example. Commenting on 'Umar's *tarjamah* in Ibn Sa'd, Juynboll says: "In all there are just a few reports in which 'Umar referred to a decision of the prophet or where he explicitly followed his example".(9) On the other hand, commenting on 'Uthmān, he says: "As far as Ibn Sa'd is concerned, 'Uthmān seems to have relied solely on his own judgement. If he was inspired by the prophet, this does not show in the *Ṭabaqāt*, a source in which

we would have expected to encounter at least a few references to his having copied the prophet's example, if that had been his custom."⁽¹⁰⁾ How many references does Juynboll need to suggest that the caliphs followed the prophet's example? Even if we pass over the contradiction between these two comments, the question arises as to why Ibn Sa'd should give space to accounts indicating that the caliphs acted according to the example set by the Prophet, any more than to accounts indicating or implying that the caliphs took decisions on problems brought to them contradicting those of the Prophet. It is hardly to be expected that the caliphs should recite a *Qur'ānic* verse or refer to an action of the Prophet in every situation they have to deal with. Since we do not encounter either in Ibn Sa'd reports indicating that the *Qur'ān* played a decisive role in their decision making, we might equally well assume that they relied exclusively on their own personal judgement rather than following the *Qur'ān*.

Finally, we have to consider whether or not Juynboll fairly represents the accounts of the caliphs in Ibn Sa'd in claiming that they relied almost exclusively on their own judgement. As far as Abū Bakr and 'Umar, at least, are concerned, he does not. There are several accounts in Ibn Sa'd which depict these two caliphs as meticulous followers of the Prophet rather

than anything else.

In Abū Bakr's speech just after assuming office, he says:

" Oh people, I have been given authority over you, but I am not the best of you. But the *Qūr'ān* was revealed and the Prophet (ﷺ) established *al-Sunnah* ; he taught us and we learned ...Oh people I am a follower not an innovator. So if I do right aid me and if I deviate correct me".(11) Ibn Sirīn says: " There was none after the prophet who feared the unknown more than Abū Bakr, and there was none after Abū Bakr who feared the unknown more than ʿUmar. Abū Bakr was confronted with a problem for which he could find no principle in the book of Allāh and no suggestion in the *Sunnah* ; so he said; I will apply my own judgement (*ra'y*)(12) After having appointed ʿUmar as his successor, Abū Bakr prayed for him to be among the rightly guided caliphs who followed the guidance of the Prophet and his pious followers.(13) Ibn Saʿd also mentions various reports concerning the controversy about the prophet's legacy where Abū Bakr followed the Prophet's words and actions.(14) Aḥmad mentions a version of this story where Abū Bakr said: "I shall not cease doing anything that the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ) used to do; I fear that if I fail to do something that he commanded, I shall go astray."(15) All of

these reports appear in Ibn Sa'd but Juynboll does not mention them.

We may also refer here to a significant report, in another source, illustrating the practice of Abū Bakr in dealing with a problem. He would first search in the *Qur'ān* and then in the prophetic *sunnah*. If he did not find anything relevant there, he would ask the community if they knew any prophetic *sunnah* on that topic. If he was still unsuccessful, he would consult the most prominent men; if they agreed upon a decision, he would apply it.(16)

Juynboll also quotes some passages from Ibn Sa'd on 'Umar. He feels that they "... describe 'Umar as an authoritarian *primus inter pares* rather than a blindly obeyed despot whose every word and action become law".(17) These passages from the *Tabaqāt*, however, appear to me to be either misinterpreted or irrelevant to Juynboll's inference. Juynboll says: "In his *tarjama* there are only a few references to activities where he set standards that later developed into legal prohibitions and injunctions. For example, he was the first to condemn wine-drinkers to eighty stripes and to make the fasting of Ramaḍān incumbent upon all Muslims".(18) He misinterprets part of this report. It does not deal with the fast of Ramaḍān, but with certain prayers that ought to be

voluntarily performed during the nights of Ramaḍān(19) but are not 'incumbent upon all Muslims'. It is hardly necessary to say that the fast of Ramaḍān was established during the Prophet's lifetime.(20) In other sources, for example, in the earlier work, Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa*, we learn that the practice of *qiyām Ramaḍān* was established by the prophet himself in the first place and revived by ʿUmar.(21) On the punishment for drinking wine, it is merely the number of lashes that ʿUmar laid down; the punishment had been inflicted by the prophet himself. ʿUmar consulted the people on the question of the number of lashes, and one of the Companions suggested that the lighter of the punishments specified for *qadhf* in the *Qurʾān* should be applied.

Commenting on a report of ʿUmar's stressing, on his deathbed, the importance of the *ṣalāt*, Juynboll says: "Of all religious rites he thought the *ṣalāt* most important".(22) It seems to me that in the light of the numerous verses in the *Qurʾān* and of the sizeable number of prophetic *ḥadiths* on the subject, there is no need to point out who was the first to think that the *ṣalāt* was most important. Interestingly enough, we learn from the same reports concerning the stabbing of ʿUmar, in which ʿUmar makes his statement, that those who were present when ʿUmar was stabbed performed their prayer

immediately, despite the shock of this assault, because they were afraid that the time of the prayer would pass. This, of course, occurred before ʿUmar made his statement, indicating quite clearly the importance that the Muslims placed on *ṣalāt*. Juynboll also says: "There are indeed numerous instances when, under a variety of different circumstances and in many different situations, he is alleged to have performed certain *ṣalāts*, without these reports being meant in the first place as descriptions of exemplary behaviour zealously imitated by his followers." (23) It is difficult to see the force of this remark, since the references he gives are all to ordinary prayers. (24) Juynboll mentions a report that appears in Ibn Saʿd in which ʿUmar uses the word *sunnah* which he takes to mean "the normative behaviour of a good Muslim in the widest sense of the word". (25) In the next section, I give evidence which demonstrate that the word *sunnah* used by the Companions means the prophetic *sunnah*.

Next Juynboll deals with ʿUmar and the concept of the prophetic *sunnah*. He badly misinterprets one report concerning ʿUmar in regard to this matter. There will be a detailed discussion of this in the following section. Juynboll refers to two reports in Ibn Saʿd to prove that ʿUmar was not in favour of the prophetic *ḥadīth* being spread or written

down. In fact, these reports show ʿUmar's caution about the *Qurʾān* and the *ḥadīth*.⁽²⁶⁾ Other reports strewn throughout the historical sources reflect this. For example, after taking command ʿUmar said: "Tell little on the authority of the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ), unless it relates to some practical matters."⁽²⁷⁾ Muʿāwiyah, the first Umayyad caliph, is reported to have said, "Oh people beware of all *ḥadīths* of the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ) other than those that were mentioned during ʿUmar's reign; he used to make the people fear God [in this matter]".⁽²⁸⁾ ʿUthmān once said: "It is not permissible for anyone to transmit a *ḥadīth* that he did not hear during the time of Abū Bakr or ʿUmar. I was not prevented from telling about the Messenger of Allāh by not having the most retentive memory among the Companions for what he said; however, I heard him say: 'He who claims that I said what I did not say has already settled in his place in Hell'."⁽²⁹⁾ ʿUmar himself is reported to have said: "If someone hears a *ḥadīth* and transmits it as he heard it, he will be safe."⁽³⁰⁾

In his discussion, Juynboll refers to reports in Ibn Saʿd of ʿUmar following the prophet's example, but he says, "there are just a few." In fact there are some other reports in Ibn Saʿd that he does not mention,⁽³¹⁾ but Ibn Saʿd is not the only source that one may turn to in order to trace such reports.

Numerous reports which are similar to these occur in many sources; in these ʿUmar is represented as an caliph who was very anxious to follow the Prophet's example whenever possible.(32) However, the number of these reports is irrelevant, in my opinion. It is one of the essential teachings of the *Qurʾān* that the Prophet's exemplary behaviour should be imitated. It is not necessary for the caliphs, as I have said above, to declare that they are following the *Qurʾān* or the Prophet in every action they take. ʿUmar once wrote a letter to Abū Mūsā, his governor in Kufah, telling him that he commanded them to do what the *Qurʾān* commanded, and prohibited them from doing what the Prophet prohibited them from.(33) In another report, he advised Shurayḥ, the famous Iraqi judge, to decide in accordance with the *Qurʾān*; if he found nothing relevant there, then in accordance with the prophetic *sunnah*; if he found nothing in either of these, then according to the judgement of the upright; if there was no precedent by which they could judge, he should either proceed according to his own opinion or refrain from deciding. The latter course was preferable.(34)

Another feature of ʿUmar, associated with the previous one, is that he acquired the reputation of being one who sought other people's opinions, in particular those of the Companions,

on both legal and administrative issues when there were no precedents in either the *Qurʾān* or the *sunnah*. Reports of such instances as this occur frequently in the various sources, including Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaqāt*. One report says: "If the people disagree on a matter, consider how ʿUmar decided on it, for he never decided on a matter that had not been previously decided on, without consultation".(35) Ibn Saʿd has a number of other reports of ʿUmar's consultations.(36)

THE MUSNADS OF THE FOUR CALIPHS IN ḤADĪTH COLLECTIONS

Juynboll makes a detailed comparison of the number of the *ḥadīths* of the four rightly guided caliphs in selected early *ḥadīth* collections. These are *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ* of Mālik and the *Musnad* of al-Ḥumaydi, which are considered as Ḥijāzi collections, and the *Musnad* of al-Ṭayālisi, and the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, which are considered as Iraqi collections. He finds that the number of prophetic *ḥadīths* transmitted through the caliphs is small in the two Ḥijāzi collections. On the other hand, the *ḥadīths* transmitted through them in the two Iraqi collections is relatively large. He accordingly comes

to the conclusion that it was in Iraq that *ḥadīth* originated and gradually increased.

However, these collections cannot be considered as representing the whole of their authors' material, let alone the whole of the material that was current in their authors' time.(37) None of the compilers wrote an introduction to his book, saying that it contained all that he had. In fact, there is evidence to show that their collections comprise only small part of the authors' material. (38)

Mālik is reported to have said: "I wrote with my own hand 100,000 *ḥadīths* .(39) He first included 9000 or 10,000 of them in *al-Muwaṭṭa'*; he later reduced that number gradually to the present number.(40) One famous scholar, Aḥmad b. Sāliḥ, saw the original drafts of Mālik's books and found there approximately 12000 *ḥadīths*.(41) Mālik himself states clearly, according to various reports, that he did not relate all the *ḥadīths* that he had obtained .(42) *Al-Muwaṭṭa'* itself differs in its different versions in the number it contains; one version, Abū Muṣ'ab's, has about 100 *ḥadīths* more than the others.(43) A comparison of the caliphs' material in the two versions of the *Muwaṭṭa'* which are available to us now, that of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā and that of al-Shaybānī is instructive. The only *ḥadīth* of Abū Bakr in the former version does not appear in the

latter, and, while there are three prophetic *ḥadīths* on the authority of ʿUthmān in Yaḥyā's version, only one is found in al-Shaybānī's version.

Al-Ḥumaydī in Ḥijāz is compared in the *sunnah* field with Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in Iraq. Al-Bukhārī, one of his pupils, praises his knowledge in *ḥadīth*; he is reported to have said that al-Ḥumaydī was the Imām in *ḥadīth*.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Ibn Saʿd describes him as a reliable authority who acquired a great many *ḥadīths*.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Al-Shāfiʿī, who was accompanied by al-Ḥumaydī when he went to Egypt, credited al-Ḥumaydī with memorizing, on the authority of Ibn ʿUyaynah alone, 10,000 *ḥadīths*.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Al-Ḥumaydī compiled another book entitled, *al-Nawādir*; this has, unfortunately, not survived, but seems to have contained *ḥadīths* that are not included in the *Musnad*.⁽⁴⁷⁾ We also find *ḥadīths* on his authority recorded by some of his pupils in their collections which are not included in his *Musnad*.⁽⁴⁸⁾ It is apparent, from these various considerations, that al-Ḥumaydī's *Musnad* cannot be considered as a comprehensive collection of al-Ḥumaydī's *ḥadīths*.

To indicate the proliferation of *ḥadīths* in Iraq, Juynboll makes a comparison between al-Ṭayālīsī's *Musnad* (d. 203) and Aḥmad's *Musnad* (d. 241). In fact, there is evidence to

suggest that the author of the former *Musnad* is not al-Ṭayālīsī but a later scholar from Khurāsān who compiled only what one of al-Ṭayālīsī's pupils, Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, transmitted from him.(49) According to Abū Nuʿaym, Abū Masʿūd al-Rāzī (d.258) was the compiler of the *Musnad* .(50) However, even if al-Ṭayālīsī was the real author, in reading through his *tarjamah* in *rijāl* works, we find that his *Musnad* represents only a very small part of the material that he possessed. He was renowned for his ability to memorize a huge number of *ḥadīths*.(51) When he was in Iṣfahān, 40,000 *ḥadīths* are said to have been written down on his authority, transmitted by memory.(52) He boasted that he could relate 30,000 *ḥadīths* consecutively, and that he had memorized 12,000 *ḥadīths* on the authority of ʿUthmān al-Barri; since no one in Basrah was interested in hearing them, he went to Iṣfahān to spread them there.(53) He tells us that he wrote on the authority of 1000 masters.(54) Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, the transmitter of *Musnad al-Ṭayālīsī*, informs us that, when al-Ṭayālīsī was in Iṣfahān, he dictated from memory 100,000 *ḥadīths*.(55)

Although the *Musnad* of Aḥmad contains a large amount of the prophetic *ḥadīth*.(56) being one of the largest collection of *ḥadīth*, it does not, as pointed out above,(57) represent all the material Aḥmad possessed. A comparison between the

Musnad of Aḥmad and other *ḥadith* collections of the same period, including *musnad* collections which contain far less material, as will be shown below, indicates that a comparison of this kind is not an appropriate method for gauging the growth of *ḥadith*.

Juynboll compares books that differ in their purposes. The *Muwaṭṭaʿ* and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim are arranged according to various subjects, with Mālik concentrating particularly on legal matters, and they are greatly concerned with the authenticity of the *ḥadith*. The purpose of the *musnad* collections, on the other hand, is to list the *ḥadith* of each Companion separately, regardless of their subject matter or their authenticity.(58) Aḥmad, in particular, tries to make his *Musnad* an authoritative reference work that may be referred to in case of dispute concerning a *ḥadith*.(59) If Mālik or Muslim do not mention a *ḥadith* this does not indicate that the *ḥadith* did not exist or they did not know it.

To test the method applied by Juynboll for charting the growth of *ḥadith*, I have applied it to some other *ḥadith* collections, of the same period as those to which he applies it. The outcome of this application indicates that the method is of no use.

Before giving my findings, I shall summarize Juynboll's, in the following table.

	Ḥijāzī Collections		Iraqi Collections		
	the <i>Muwatta'</i> of Mālik (d. 179)	the <i>Musnad</i> of al-Ḥumaydi (d. 218)	the <i>Musnad</i> of al-Ṭayālsī (d. 203)	the <i>Musnad</i> of Aḥmad (d. 241)	the <i>Saḥiḥ</i> of Muslim (d. 261)
Abū Bakr	1	7	9	79 (38)	5
ʿUmar	18 (15)	25	62	304 (123)	
ʿUthman	3	4	15 (14)	131 (57)	17 (16)
ʿAli	5	21	92	819 (450)	

* The figures between bracket indicate the number of prophetic *ḥadīths* without repetition abridgements or enlargements.

* The count made by Juynboll of the prophetic *ḥadīths* in the sources is not invariably correct; for example those related by Aḥmad via Abū Bakr, without repetition etc. and Abū Bakr's own sayings, actually amount to 28, not 38.

Thus, because the number of prophetic *ḥadīths* traced back through the Caliphs' in the two Ḥijāzī collections is small, whereas a gradually increasing number is found in the two

Iraqi collections, Juynboll is convinced that the prophetic *ḥadīth* originated and underwent its first major growth in Iraq.

As I have pointed out above, these collections cannot be taken as a true representation of their authors' total material, let alone of all the material that circulated in their time. In the course of the second half of the second century numerous works on *ḥadīth* were produced, which unfortunately have not survived; if they had, we should have a better picture of the situation concerning the compilation of *ḥadīth* at that time.(60) Ibn Wahb, a famous scholar, originally from Egypt, who associated with Mālik from 148 till his death, more than thirty years later,(61) was well known for his activity in preserving the Ḥijāzī and Egyptian *ḥadīths*.(62) According to his pupil, Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, he related 100,000 *ḥadīths*. Abū Zur'ah, a famous critic, looked into 30,000 *ḥadīths* from Ibn Wahb's material, without finding a single one which had no basis.(63)

Al-Muwaṭṭa' and Humaydi's *Musnad* are only two of the few earliest *ḥadīth* collections which have come down to us; we should not judge from them the entire body of *ḥadīth* of their time. As we have seen, the number of the prophetic *ḥadīths* in Muslim traced back through the two caliphs for

whom Juynboll gives figures is very small: for Abū Bakr five and for ʿUthmān seventeen with one repetition; in fact without the repetitions the number for ʿUthmān turns out to be only nine.⁽⁶⁴⁾ This certainly cannot represent all of the material traced back through them at that time, not only as regards other authors but also as regards Muslim himself.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The question that should be asked here is rather why the number shrinks from seventy-nine in Aḥmad to five in Muslim and from one hundred thirty-one in Aḥmad to nine in Muslim. Any explanation is likely to apply equally to Mālik.

To support my view that to use a few particular *ḥadīth* collections to judge the entire body of the prophetic *ḥadīth* at that time is not an appropriate method, I have made a detailed investigation of the prophetic *ḥadīths* traced back through the caliphs in other early *ḥadīth* collections at the same time of Juynboll's collections.

If we compare with *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ* similar works from Iraq, *al-Āthār* of Abū Yūsuf (d. 182) and *al-Āthār* of al-Shaybānī (d. 189), we find that the number of prophetic *ḥadīths* traced back through the caliphs is less in the latter two than in the former.

In Abū Yūsuf there is nothing for Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān, only three for ʿUmar,⁽⁶⁶⁾ and also three for ʿAlī with one

further repetition.(67) In al-Shaybānī the case is worse. There is nothing for Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān and only one each for ʿUmar(68) and ʿAlī.(69) These works do not represent either the amount of material available at that time or the material of the authors themselves. For instance, in his other work *al-Kharāj*, Abū Yūsuf gives three *ḥadīths* for Abū Bakr,(70) six, with one further repetition for ʿUmar,(71) only one for ʿUthmān (72) and five with one further repetition for ʿAlī.(73) The material in *al-Kharāj* is different from that in *al-Āthār*.

In al-Yaman, a centre which, like Egypt, 'owed a great deal to Medinese successors', as Juynboll believes,(74) the great scholar ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211), engaged in *ḥadīth* activities. The two most important of his works are *al-Muṣannaf* and *al-Jāmiʿ*. The former has survived but not the latter. However, it is highly probable that it contained material different from that in *al-Muṣannaf*; al-Kattānī describes it as a large collection, and most of the material in it is to be found in the 'six books'.(75) I have examined the eleven volumes of *al-Muṣannaf* in search of the prophetic *ḥadīths* traced back through the four Caliphs' in it. The outcome corroborates my hypothesis. There are five *ḥadīths* for Abū Bakr,(76) sixty-four for ʿUmar, of which twenty-five are repetitions, abridgements or enlargements,(77) thirteen for ʿUthmān, of which six are

repetitions, etc.(78) and ninety-two for 'Ali, of which forty are repetitions, etc.(79) This, however, does not represent the entire material that 'Abd al-Razzāq possessed. As indicated above, he had other works, which almost certainly contained additional material. Aḥmad, a pupil of 'Abd al-Razzāq has in his *Musnad ḥadīths* on the authority of the caliphs which he heard directly from 'Abd al-Razzāq, but which cannot be found in *al-Muṣannaf*. For instance, he mentions two *ḥadīths* in the *musnad* of Abū Bakr which are not found in *al-Muṣannaf*.(80)

In two *Musnad* collections compiled at the same time as Aḥmad's, the number of the prophetic *ḥadīths* traced back through the caliphs is very small in comparison with that in Ahmad's *Musnad*. In *Musnad Al-Ṣaḥabah*, compiled by Aḥmad's contemporary, Ibn Abi Shaybah (d.235), who is not merely Iraqi but specifically from Kufah, we find nineteen *ḥadīths* for Abū Bakr,(81) sixty-six for 'Umar,(82) thirty-five for 'Uthmān,(83) one hundred seventy for 'Ali.(84) In *al-Muntakhab*, a *Musnad* compiled by 'Abd b. Ḥumayd (died 249, one decade after Aḥmad), the number is not only very small in comparison with that in Aḥmad's *Musnad*, but it is also small, for some of the caliphs, in comparison with that in the earlier collections, *al-Ṭayālisi* and 'Abd al-Razzāq. He gives seven for

Abū Bakr,(85) thirty- seven for ʿUmar,(86) eighteen for ʿUthmān(87) and thirty-four for ʿAlī.(88) A definitive example of such variations between different works of the same author may be seen in two works of the later al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385). (89)

Finally, I compared the material in ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Musannaf* with that in Ḥumaydī's *Musnad* and Aḥmad's *Musnad* for the two caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān.(90) I found that while none of the five *ḥadīths* of Abū Bakr in ʿAbd al-Razzāq could be traced in Ḥumaydī, who died one decade after ʿAbd al-Razzāq, all except one are in Aḥmad. Excluding the repetitions, there are seven *ḥadīths* on the authority of ʿUthmān in ʿAbd Al- Razzāq. Only one of them appears in Ḥumaydī. However all of them are found in Aḥmad. All of the eleven *ḥadīths* have Ḥijāzi *isnāds* except one. This seems to suggest that Iraq has nothing to do with the explanation of the sizeable number of *ḥadīths* in Aḥmad's *Musnad*, and that the small number in the two Ḥijāzi collections is to be attributed to the particular purposes that their compilers had in mind.

NOTES

1. See *Tradition*, p. 23ff.
2. *Tradition*, p. 24.
3. 2 2, p. 85 (19), p. 86 (3) (9) (19) (25), p. 71(4) (15) (18), p. 84-85. 3 1, p. 123 (6), p. 155 (13), p. 298 (19).
4. *Tradition*, p. 25.
5. 2 1, p. 74 (4). 2 2, p. 37 (12), p. 85 (22). 3 1, p. 126 (22), p. 128 (17), p. 148 (19), p. 195 (22), p. 199 (1), p. 201 (14), p. 211 (8), p. 215 (18), p. 241 (27), p. 242 (23), p. 251 (15), p. 263 (7) (19). 6, p. 65 (16), p. 75 (7), p. 100 (5), p. 102 (5), p. 111-112, p. 113 (2) (5).
6. *Tradition*, p. 28.
7. 2 2, p. 85 (24), p. 100 (15). 3 1, p. 46 (14) (21), p. 47 (9), p. 48 (4), p. 177-78.
8. 1 2, p. 175 (26). 2 1, p. 51. 2 2, p. 36-37, p. 100 (21) (25), p. 101(5) (10) (13) (21). 3 1, p. 13 (20), p. 19 (14), p. 22, p. 73 (24), p. 100 (10), p. 130 (2). 6, p. 170 (9).
9. *Tradition*, p. 26.
10. *Tradition*, p. 28.
11. Ibn Sa'd 3 1, p. 129 (19).
أما بعد أيها الناس قد وليت أمركم ولست بخيركم ، ولكن نزل القرآن وسنّ النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - السنن. فعلمنا فعلمنا ... أيها الناس ، إنما أنا متبع ولست بمبتدع فإن أحسنت فأعينوني وان زغت فقوموني.
12. Ibn Sa'd 3 1, p. 126 (2).
عن محمد بن سيرين قال : لم يكن أحد بعد النبي أهيب لما لا يعلم من أبي بكر ولم يكن أحد بعد أبي بكر أهيب لما لا يعلم من عمر ، وإن أبا بكر نزلت به قضية لم نجد لها في كتاب الله أصلا ولا في السنة أثرا ، فقال : أجتهد رأيي ، فان يكن صوابا فمن الله وان يكن خطأ فمني وأستغفر الله .
13. Id. 3 1, p. 142 (26).
... واجعله من خلفائك الراشدين يتبع هدى نبي الرحمة وهدى الصالحين بعده ، واصلح له رعيته
14. 2 2, p. 86 (3, 9, 19, 25).

15. *Musnad* 1, p. 166-67 no. 25.

لست تاركا شيئا كان رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - يعمل به الا عملت به واني أخشى ان تركت شيئا من أمره أن أزيغ

16. *al-Dārimi* 1, p. 53-54 *muqaddimah* (20) no. 163.

كان أبو بكر اذا ورد عليه الخصم نظر في كتاب الله ، فان وجد فيه ما يقضى بينهم قضى به ، وان لم يكن في الكتاب وعلم من رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - في ذلك الامر سنة قضى به . فان أعياء خرج فسأل المسلمين ، وقال : أتاني كذا وكذا ، فهل علمتم أن رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - قضى في ذلك بقضاء فرما اجتمع اليه نفر كلهم يذكر من رسول الله- صلى الله عليه وسلم- فيه قضاء ، فيقول أبو بكر : الحمد لله الذي جعل فينا من يحفظ على نبينا. فإن أعياء أن يجد فيه سنة من رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - جمع رؤوس الناس وخيارهم فاستشارهم ، فاذا اجتمع رأيهم على أمر قضى به

17. *Tradition*, p. 26.

18. *Tradition*, p. 25.

19. *Ibn Sa'd* 3 1, p. 202 (9).

وهو أول من سنّ قيام شهر رمضان وجمع الناس على ذلك وكتب به إلى البلدان وذلك في شهر رمضان سنة أربع عشرة ، وجعل للناس بالمدينة قارئين ، قارئاً يصلي بالرجال وقارئاً يصلي بالنساء ، وهو أول من ضرب في الخمر ثمانين .

20. The date of the introduction of the practice was 18 months after the *hijrah*. See *Ibn Sa'd* 2 2, p. 8 (19).

21. See for various reports on this, *Mālik's Muwaṭṭa'* 1, pp. 113-15 no. 1, 2, 3, 4, *al-ṣalāt fi Ramaḍān* (1).

22. *Tradition*, p. 25.

23. *Tradition*, p. 25-26.

24. These citations are :

3 1, p. 205 (22) كان عمر بن الخطاب يحب الصلاة في كبد الليل يعني وسط الليل

p. 216 (9) ... قال أبو هريرة ، فلقيته في صلاة العشاء الآخرة فسلمت عليه

p. 217(12) ...فصلى الفجر وما يستبين الناس قراءته من غلبة البكاء

p. 225 (18) ... لقد كان يصلي بالناس العشاء ...

p. 261 (11) أوصى عمر بن الخطاب عبد الله ابنه عند الموت فقال يا بني عليك بخصال الإيمان

... وإسباغ الوضوء في اليوم الشاتي وتعجيل الصلاة في يوم الغيم ...

25. *Tradition*, p. 26.

26. The first report says that ‘Umar was intending to write down the *sunnah*, but he spent a month praying to God for guidance. Then, one day, the decision was finally made, and he said : “ I thought of a people who wrote a book; they devoted themselves to it and abandoned the book of Allāh.”(3 1, p. 206(4).) There is a longer version of this report in which ‘Umar consults the Companions in the matter and they advise him to write down the *sunnah*. ‘Umar is reported finally to have said “... By Allāh, I will never confuse the book of Allāh with anything else”. (See ‘Abd al-Razzāq 2,p.257-58 no. 20484).

In the second report, ‘Umar is asked about some matter and replies: “But for my being apprehensive of either adding to the *ḥadīth* or detracting from it, I should relate it to you. (Ibn Sa‘d 3 1,p.210(4).) This is an abridgement of a report in which ‘Umar asks another companion to relate this *ḥadīth*. (See Musnad 1, p. 246 no. 210.) (Shākir's edition).

27. *al-Muṣannaf* 2, p. 262 no. 20496.

28. Abū Zur‘ah 1, p. 545 no. 1478.

29. Ibn Sa‘d 2 2, p. 100.

30. Abū Zur‘ah, p. 546 no. 1481.

31. See for example, 3 1, p. 201(14), 207 (19), 215 (12), 248 (1).

32. In Aḥmad's *Musnad*, a source on which Juynboll relies heavily for *ḥadīths* transmitted by ‘Umar, there are numerous reports giving this picture. e. g. no. 82, 91, 100, 112, 117, 131, 183, 189, 207, 227, 238, 253 ... see also for more instances, in another source, ‘Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*, in which ‘Umar is reported to have sought or returned to, the prophet's legal decision on various legal issues e.g. 9, p. 385 no. 17706, p. 397-98 no. 17764. 10, p. 58-59 no. 18343, p. 61 no. 18353, p. 327 no. 19261.

33. *al-Muṣannaf* 2, p. 213 no. 20356.

34. *al-Nasā’i* 8, p. 231, *adab al-quḍāt* 11.

35. Ibn Sa‘d 2 2 p. 100 (6). See also *al-Ma‘rifah* 1, p. 457.

36. See for that, 3 1, p. 212 (6), p. 216 (15), p. 217 (17) p. 221 (20) (27). Yaḥyā b. Ādam, *al-Kharāj*, p. 42 no. 103, p. 43 no. 105. Abū Yūsuf, *al-Kharāj*, p. 130, 135.

37. A complaint was made to al-Layth b. Sa‘d (d. 175), the famous Egyptian *muḥaddith* who was contemporary with Mālik, that a *ḥadīth* was sometimes heard from him which was not in his books; he replied that: “If I were to write down

everything that I remember, this *markab* would not be large enough [to carry it]. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib* 8, p. 463.

38. According to Ibn Ḥajar, there is a large number of *ḥadiths* related by Mālik in al-Dāraquṭni's *al-Gharib*, which are not found in *al-Muwattaʿa*. Similarly, there is a large number of *ḥadiths* in Ibn Ḥanbal's *al-Zuhd* which are not in his *Musnad*. See *Taʿjil al-manfaʿah*, p. 8.

39. al-Suyūṭi, *Tartib al-madārik* 1, p. 133. See also al-Suyūṭi, *Tanwir al-ḥawālik* 1, p. 6.

40. al-Suyūṭi, *Tartib al-madārik* 2, p. 73. al-Suyūṭi, *Tanwir al-ḥawālik* 1, p. 6. Another report says it was 4000 *ḥadiths* or more.

41. al-Suyūṭi, *Tartib al-madārik* 1, p. 133.

42. See for example, al-Suyūṭi, *Tartib al-madārik* 1, p. 186. For various reports on the authority of various of his pupils confirming this see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Tamhid* 1, p. 67. al-Khatib, *al-Jāmiʿ* 2, p. 109 no. 1323.

43. See al-Suyūṭi, *Tartib al-madārik* 1, p. 9.

44. al-Subki, *Ṭabāqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyah al-kubrā* 2, p. 141.

45. *Tahdhib* 5, p. 215-16.

46. al-Subki, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyah al-kubrā* 2, p. 140.

47. For example, al-Bukhāri mentions a *ḥadith* of ʿAli, on the authority of his master, al-Ḥumaydi, which does not appear in al-Ḥumaydi's *Musnad*. However, it is included in his book *al-Nawādir*. See *Fath al-Bāri* 6, p. 213 no. 3112 and p. 215.

48. For example, Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifah wa-al-tārikh*.

49. See al-Kattāni, *al-Risālah al-mustaṭrafah*, p. 46.

50. *Siyar* 9, p. 382.

51. See, for example, his biography in *Tahdhib* 4, p. 182-186.

52. *Siyar* 9, p.382. *Tahdhib* 4, p. 183.

53. *Siyar* 9, p. 383.

54. al-Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffaz* 1, p. 321.

55. *Tahdhib* 4, p. 186.

56. It contains between 30,000 and 40,000 . See Shākir's edition 1, p. 23.

57. See note 38 . See also Shākir's edition 1, p. 21-22.

58. See al-Kattāni, *al-Risālah al-mustaṭrafah* , p. 46.

59. See *al-Musnad* editad by Shākir 1, p. 30-31.

60. Among these collections are *Muṣannaḥ Ḥammād b. Salamah* (d. 167) *Muṣannaḥ*

Waki' (d.197) *Jāmi' al-Thawri* (d. 161) *Jāmi' Ibn 'Uyaynah* (d. 198) *Jāmi' 'Abd al-Razzāq* (d.211), in addition to the *Muṣannaḥ* of the last-named. See al-Kattāni, *al-Risalah al-mustaṭrafah* p. 30-31.

61. *Tahdhib* 6, p. 74.

62. Id. 6, p. 72.

63. Ibidem.

64. Juynboll relies on the numeration of the editor, Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqi who gives a separate number to each version of the *ḥadith* on ablution. However, al-Ḥumaydi in *al-Jam' bayn al-Ṣaḥiḥayn* considers the various versions as one *ḥadith*. See, Ibn Hubayrah, *al-Ifṣāḥ 'an ma'āni al-ṣiḥāḥ* 1, p.227-29.

65. It is said that he compiled a large *Musnad*. See *Tahdhib* 10, p. 127. al-Kattāni, *al-Risalah al-mustaṭrafah*, p. 46.

66. *al-Āthār* no. 70, 535, 1052.

67. Ibidem no. 4, 5, 67, 958.

68. No. 8.

69. No. 278.

70. pp. 6, 10, 151.

71. pp. 51, 55, 89, 115, 115-116, 125, 129.

72. p. 15.

73. p. 20, 77, 129, 130, 165, 190.

74. See *Tradition*, p.43.

75. See al-Kattāni, *al-Risalah al-mustaṭrafah*, p. 31.

76. No. 6534, 9774, 14569, 20554, 19832.

77.142, 763, 765, 988, 987, 1074, 1077, 2309, 3967, 4275, 4278, 5292, 5293, 5294, 5636, 6038, 6675, 6680, 6692, 7207, 7595, 7874, 7879, 8693, 8945, 9033, 9034, 9035, 9152, 9758, 9772, 9985, 10022, 10046, 10354, 10399, 10400, 10401, 12526, 13329, 13364, 14541, 14854, 14883, 15922, 15923, 15924, 15925, 16572, 16573, 17237, 17781, 17782, 17783, 18040, 18718, 19365, 20045, 20369, 20524, 20674, 20710, 20944, 20063.

78. No. 34, 124, 125, 139, 140, 141, 643, 2008, 2009, 5636, 5995, 10381, 18702, 20401.

79. 57, 120, 121, 122, 123, 153, 218, 219, 602, 603, 604, 623, 788, 789, 1102, 1371, 2027, 2192, 2193, 2539, 2567, 2822, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2836, 2876, 2904, 2903, 2993, 4229, 4569, 4626, 4772, 4806, 4807, 4823, 4904, 5636, 6238, 6267, 6311, 6312, 6314, 7487, 6795, 6879, 6880, 7077, 7703, 7757, 7987, 7890, 9936.

9975, 9994, 10791, 10792, 11450, 12450, 12542, 13601, 13437, 13543, 13545, 14032, 14006, 13946, 13987, 13354, 14383, 15352, 15589, 18007, 17107, 18508, 18650, 18652, 18653, 18657, 18677, 19003, 19373, 19393, 19476, 19480, 19828, 19939, 19964, 20051, 20074.

80. See Aḥmad's *Musnad* no. (66), (74) (Shākir's edition).

81. p. 14 B.

82. p. 27 B.

83. p. 31 A.

84. p. 56 B.

85. 1, p. 17.

86. 1, p. 38.

87. 1, p. 99.

88. 1, p. 117.

89. For instance, only seven *ḥadīths* on the authority of Abū Bakr appear in *Sunan al-Dāraquṭni* (see 1, p. 19, 34. 2, p. 32, 89, 113. 3, p. 106. 4, p. 219). However, in *al-ʿIlal*, there are eighty-one *ḥadīths*. The number, without the repetitions and Abū Bakr's own sayings, turns out to be forty-four (see the first volume)

90. I chose these two because their material is easy to handle.

CHAPTER THREE
THE PROPHETIC *SUNNAH*

JUYNBOLL'S CONCEPT OF THE LATE APPEARANCE OF THE
PROPHETIC *SUNNAH*

The chronology of the origin of the concept 'prophetic *sunnah*' is another issue which Juynboll adduces in his study to support his theory. In this section, he discusses what he calls "the approximate date of origin of the narrowing down of the concept *sunna*, formerly comprising the *sunna*, or exemplary behaviour, of the prophet as well as his most devoted followers, to the exemplary behaviour of the prophet only".(1) He holds the idea that the term *sunnat al-nabi* is a later concept, as late as the end of the first century. He says: "I think that the time when the concept *sunna* began to be exclusively identified with *sunnat an-nabi* is to be set in a time some six or seven decades later, that is toward the end of the first century of the Hijra".(2) At the end of his argument on this issue, he says: "... traditions came relatively late into existence together with, and probably also because of, the

concept *sunna* being narrowed down to *sunnat an-nabi* only as late as toward the end of the first/seventh century."(3) Before I go through Juynboll's considerations in supporting this view, there is a question that should be asked here, i.e. how significant the date of the origin of the term *sunnat al-nabi* is for the dating of the *ḥadith* material. M.M Bravmann devotes an extensive chapter to the concept *sunnah* in his book, *The spiritual background of early Islam*. In this chapter, he contends " that the concept *sunnat Rasūli-llāh* " the *sunnah* of the prophet" is a very early and genuine Islamic idea and that it cannot be considered as based on later doctrinal considerations..."(4)

Juynboll is aware of this study, and he comments on it as follows: "For an account of the *sunnat an-nabi* having allegedly been established during the prophet's lifetime, see M.M. Bravmann, *The spiritual background of early Islam*, pp. 123-98, especially pp.168ff. M.M. Bravmann holds the view that, originally, *sunna* meant: procedure ... ordained, decreed, instituted, introduced into practice (by a certain person or - less frequently - by a group of definite persons), and that its meaning ' custom of the community ' must be considered as secondary (p. 155). I do not dispute this".(5) So if Juynboll is in agreement with the view that *sunnah* is a practice established

by individuals, what difference do the questions of whether the example of the Companions as well as that of the Prophet himself was described by the term *sunnah* until the late first century, and whether the term *sunnat al-nabi* already existed from an early date, make to that of the early existence of *ḥadīth*. But Juynboll does not mean only the late coming into existence of the term *sunnat al-nabi* but also the lateness of its authority. Apart from the other evidence that may be readily gleaned from various sources,⁽⁶⁾ indicating the early authority of the '*sunna*, or exemplary behaviour, of the prophet', it is one of the most essential concepts of the *Qurʾān*. Although the term *sunnat al-nabi* does not appear in the *Qurʾān*, it is well known that the legislative authority of the prophet and his example is already established in the *Qurʾān*. People are enjoined to adhere to the Prophet's example and to pay full obedience to him in his commands or his interdictions.⁽⁷⁾

My aim here is to approach the question of the early existence of the prophetic *sunnah* only with respect to the direction from which Juynboll approaches it.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE OF HIS CHRONOLOGY

Now let us scrutinize Juynboll's considerations for his chronology of this issue. The main evidence he adduces to support his argument of the late coming into existence of the concept "prophetic *sunnah*" is a report concerning ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, which appears in Ibn Saʿd. He says: "In the foregoing, while dealing with the *ḥadīth* material traced back to ʿUmar, I mentioned a report in which ʿUmar, on his deathbed, enumerated where the muslim community should look for the solution to its problems, namely the Qurʾān, the *muhājirūn*, the *anṣār*, the desert dwellers and finally the *ahl adh-dhimma* (cf.p.26 above). It was pointed out that the concept *sunna* was conspicuously absent from this enumeration. Where we would have expected it to be mentioned, namely immediately after the Qurʾān, we find instead the two major contingents of the prophet's followers".(8) In the passage to which he refers us to, he writes: "The *sunna* of the prophet, a concept emphasized for the first time by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al ʿAziz rather than by the prophet himself or his immediate followers, is conspicuously absent in a report in which ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb on his

deathbed made certain recommendations: in case of difficulties his followers should resort to the, Qurʾān, the *muhājirūn*, the *anṣār*, the people of the desert and, finally, the *ahl al-dhimma*".(9)

Juynboll argues that "if the concept *sunna* had already been exclusively identified with *sunnat an-nabi* by the year 23/644, when ʿUmar allegedly made this statement, he would have used this expression and not *muhājirūn* and *anṣār*, which is, as perhaps demonstrated above, a much wider concept. Differently put, it is significant that ʿUmar did not use the term *sunnat an-nabi*, if the term *sunna* had developed into this limited specification already by the time he made this statement ."(10) However, if one has recourse to Ibn Saʿd, it is difficult to see how Juynboll reaches his interpretation. In fact, the report is not about recommendations as to where the Muslim community should resort or look for solutions to its problems. The sense of the recommendation, as is quite clear both from this version and from another version that appears also in Ibn Saʿd, is to remind the community to take care of those mentioned. The two versions runs as follows:

فقال: أوصيكم بكتاب الله فإنكم لن تضلوا ما اتبعتموه. وأوصيكم بالمهاجرين فإن الناس يكثرون و يُقْتلون، وأوصيكم بالأنصار فإنهم شِعب

الاسلام الذي لجأ إليه ، وأوصيكم بأعراب فإنهم أصلكم ومادّتكم.. قال
شعبة :- (أحد رجال السند) ثم حدثني مرة أخرى فزاد فيه: فإنهم أصلكم
ومادّتكم وإخوانكم وعدو عدوكم، وأوصيكم بأهل الذمة فإنهم ذمة نبيكم
وأرزاق عيالكم، قوموا عني.

"I commend to you the book of Allāh, for you will not go astray as long as you follow it. And I commend to you the *Muhājirīn* because people may overestimate or underestimate. And I commend to you the *Anṣār* because they were the sanctuary Islam resorted to. And I commend to you *Aʿrāb* (the Bedouins) because they are your origin and your constituent element [in a variant version] they are your origin, constituent element, brethren and the enemy of your enemy. And I commend to you *ahl ad-Dhimma* because they are your Prophet's compact and the livelihood of your children. Leave me!".(11)

In the other version, from which the *Qurʾān* is absent, the sense of the recommendation is clearer.

ثم قال عمر : أوصى الخليفة من بعدي بتقوى الله والمهاجرين الأولين أن يحفظ لهم حقهم وأن يعرف لهم حرمتهم، وأوصيه بأهل الأمصار خيرا فإنهم رداء الإسلام وغيظ العدو وجباة المال أن لا يؤخذ منهم إلا فضلهم عن رضى منهم وأوصيه بالأنصار الذين تبوءوا الدار والايمان أن يقبل من محسنهم ويتجاوز عن مسيئتهم، وأوصيه بالأعراب خيرا فإنهم أصل العرب ومادة الإسلام، وأن يؤخذ من حواشي أموالهم فيرد على فقرائهم، وأوصيه بذمة الله

وذمة رسوله أن يوفى لهم بعهدهم وأن لا يكلفوا إلا طاقتهم وأن يقاتل من ورائهم .

"I commend to the caliph after me the fear of God, and that he maintain the rights of *al-Muhājirūn al-Awwalūn* and acknowledge their privileged position (*hurmatahum*); and I commend to him to be good to the people of the *amṣār* (the provinces?), for they are the aid of Islam, the (cause of the) anger of the enemy and the reservoir of funds, if only their surplus is taken, by their consent; and I commend to him the *Anṣār*, "who settled in the territory and the faith", to receive from those of them that do good and to turn a blind eye to those of them that do ill; and I commend to him to be good to the *Aḥrāb* (the Bedouins), for they are the origin of the Arabs and the constituent element of Islam, and that a levy should be made on their more modest prosperity and given to their poor; and I commend to him the (people guaranteed) protection of God and that of his Prophet, that he may fulfil to them the compact made with them, and that they may not have imposed on them more than they can bear, and that he should combat those beyond them." (12) Not only does Juynboll misinterpret this report, in enlisting its support for his argument, but he also overlooks a highly significant report in

which ʿUmar refers to the concept "*prophetic sunnah*". This occurs in Ibn Saʿd, on the same page as the recommendation just discussed. In this report, in which ʿUmar addresses his people in the final year of his reign,(13) regarding the appointment of his successors, he is reported to have said: "Oh Allāh, I ask you to bear witness upon the governors of the provinces; for I sent them only that they might teach the people their religion and the *sunnah* of their Prophet ...(14)

اللهم إني أشهدك على أمراء الأمصار فإني إنما بعثتهم ليعلموا الناس دينهم
وسنة نبيهم ويعدلوا عليهم ويقسموا فيئهم بينهم ويرفعوا إليّ ما أشكل
عليهم من أمرهم .

Another significant report in Ibn Saʿd is one in which ʿUmar is recorded to have said [to someone who visited him from Iraq]:

إني لم أستعمل عليكم عمالي ليضربوا أبشاركم وليشتبوا أعراضكم
ويأخذوا أموالكم ولكني استعملتهم ليعلموكم كتاب ربكم وسنة نبيكم. فمن
ظلمه عامله بمظلمة فلا إذن له عليّ ليرفعها إليّ حتى أقصه منه. فقال عمرو بن
العاص : يا أمير المؤمنين : رأيت إن أدب أمير رجلا من رعيتة أتقصه منه،
فقال عمر، ومالي لا أقصه منه وقد رأيت رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم -
يُقصّ من نفسه ...

"I have not appointed my governors over you to beat your skins or to abuse your dignity or take your money. I have

appointed them to teach you the book of your Lord and the *sunnah* of your Prophet ..." (15)

THE AUTHORITY OF THE PROPHETIC *SUNNAH* IN EARLY TEXTS

It hardly seems that Juynboll can justify, from 'Umar's recommendation, the statement: "one is undoubtedly on safe ground when concluding that, if the concept *sunna* had already been exclusively identified with *sunnat an-nabi* by the year 23/644, when 'Umar allegedly made this statement, he would have used this expression and not *muhājirūn* and *anṣār*, which is, as perhaps demonstrated above, a much wider concept." (16)

There are numerous reports in which the Prophet, the first four caliphs, and some of his devoted Companions, especially those who were considered among the legal experts, stress the authority of the "prophetic *sunnah*." It may be appropriate here to give a selection of these reports in order to demonstrate how early the authority of the prophetic *sunnah* was :

- قال رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - تركت فيكم أمرين لن تضلوا ما مسكتم بهما، كتاب الله وسنة نبيه .

The Prophet said " I left with you two things; you will never go astray as long as you adhere to them: the book of Allāh and the *sunnah* of his Prophet .(17)

- عن أنس أن أهل اليمن قدموا على رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - فقالوا يا رسول الله : إبعث معنا معاذ بن جبل يعلمنا كتاب ربنا وسنة نبينا...

The people of al-Yaman came to the Mesenger of Allāh (ﷺ) and said: " O' Mesenger of Allāh, send with us Mu'ādh b. Jabal in order to teach us the book of our Lord and the *sunnah* of our Prophet..."(18)

- فعليكم بسنتي وسنة الخلفاء المهديين الراشدين تمسكوا بها ...

The Prophet said " You must have my *sunnah* and the *sunnah* of the rightly guided caliphs and adhere to it ..." (19)

- ... فمن رغب عن سنتي فليس مني ...

"He who turn away from my *sunnah* is not of me (is not following me)".(20)

- ... أمراء يكونون بعدي، لا يهدون بهديي ولا يستنون بسنتي ...

" There will be govenors after me who will not follow my guidance or comply with my *sunnah* ."(21)

- أخرج ابن سعد خطبة أبي بكر بعد ولايته وفيها : ... ولكن نزل القرآن
وسنّ النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - السنن فعلمنا فَعَلِمْنَا ...

"...But the *Qur'ān* was revealed and the Prophet established
al-sunan, and he taught us and we learned..."(22)

- عن ميمون بن مهران قال : كان أبو بكر إذا ورد عليه الخصم نظر في كتاب
الله فإن وجد فيه ما يقضى بينهم قضى به وإن لم يكن في الكتاب وعلم من
رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - في ذلك الأمر سنة قضى به، فإن أعياه
خرج فسأل المسلمين ، وقال أتاني كذا وكذا، فهل علمتم : أن رسول الله -
صلى الله عليه وسلم - قضى في ذلك بقضاء ، فرجما اجتمع إليه نفر كلهم
يذكر من رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - فيه قضاء، فيقول أبو بكر:
الحمد لله الذي جعل فينا من يحفظ على نبينا، فإن أعياه أن يجد فيه سنة من
رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - جمع رؤوس الناس وخيارهم
فاستشارهم ، فإذا اجتمع رأيهم على أمر قضى به .

If someone brought a dispute to Abū Bakr, he used to look
in the book of Allāh [for a solution (verdict)]. If he found in it
something that would solve the dispute, he would make his
decision accordingly. If there was nothing in the book, but he
knew a *sunnah* on the authority of the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ)
on the matter, he would decide accordingly. If he still could not
find a solution he would go out and ask the Muslims saying: "I
have been faced with such and such [a matter]. Do you know if
the Messenger of Allāh gave any decision on this?" Sometimes

the whole of the group would come to him agreeing on a decision of the Messenger of Allāh on it. Then Abū Bakr would say: " Praise belong to Allāh who put among us those who remember our Prophet's practice." If he could still not find a *sunnah* of the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ) on the matter, he would gather together the chiefs and nobles of the people and consult them, and if they agreed upon a decision he would to apply it.(23)

- أخرج مالك حديث الجدة وفيه : ... فقال لها أبو بكر : مالك في كتاب الله شيء وما علمت لك في سنة رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - شيئاً فأرجعي حتى أسأل الناس ...

Abū Bakr said to her [a grandmother, who came to him demanding her share of an inheritance] : " There is nothing for you in the book of Allāh and I do not know of anything for you in the *sunnah* of the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ). Go back, until I ask the people..."(24)

- عن شريح أن عمر بن الخطاب كتب إليه : " إن جاءك شيء في كتاب الله فاقض به، ولا يلتفتك عنه الرجال، فإن جاءك ما ليس في كتاب الله فانظر سنة رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - فاقض بها، فإن جاءك ما ليس في كتاب الله، ولم يكن فيه سنة من رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - فانظر ما إجتمع عليه الناس فخذ به، فإن جاءك ما ليس في كتاب الله، ولم يكن في سنة رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ولم يتكلم فيه أحد قبلك، فاختر أي

الأميرين شئت ، إن شئت أن تجتهد برأيك ثم تقدم فتقدم ، وإن شئت أن تتأخر فتأخر ، ولا أرى التأخير إلا خيرا لك ."

Umar wrote to his famous judge Shurayh advising him of how to apply his judgement. In this report, he enumerates the authorities which Shurayh should go to when he encounters any matter. These are the book of Allāh, then the *sunnah* of the Prophet, then the *ijmā*, then his personal judgement.(25)

- قال عمر في وصف علي بن أبي طالب : ... أما إنه أحراهم إن كان أن يقيمهم على سنة نبيهم - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ...

Umar describes Ali "... indeed, he is the most appropriate one to rule them according to their Prophet's *sunnah* (s) "(26)

- عن أبي موسى قال : قال عمر : إن نأخذ بكتاب الله - تعالى - فإن الله - عز وجل - أمر بالتمام، وإن نأخذ بسنة رسوله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - فإن رسول الله لم يحل حتى بلغ الهدى محله.

Umar said " if we take what is in the book of Allāh, and if we take what is in the *sunnah* of the Messenger of Allāh..."(27)

- عن عمر بن الخطاب قال : ... يا أيها الناس : ألا إن الرجم حد من حدود الله فلا تحدثن عنه فإنه في كتاب الله وسنة نبيكم - صلى الله عليه وسلم - وقد رجم رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ورجم أبو بكر ورجمت ...

"... O' people! Stoning is a *ḥadd* of Allāh, so do not turn

away from it. It is in the book of Allāh and in the *sunnah* of your Prophet (ﷺ). The Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ) stoned, Abū Bakr stoned and I have stoned . . .".(28)

- أخرج الطيالسي عن الصبي بن معبد أنه أهلّ بالحج والعمرة جميعا فذكر ذلك لعمر فقال : هديت لسنة نبيك - صلى الله عليه وسلم - .

Umar said to al-Ṣabi b. Maʿbid, who performed the *hajj* and the *umrah* together, " You have been guided to the *sunnah* of your Prophet ". (29)

- أخرج ابن سعد : أن عمر بن الخطاب لما حُضِر قال : " ...إن أستخلف فسنة وإلا أستخلف فسنة، توفي رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ولم يستخلف، وتوفي أبو بكر فاستخلف، فقال علي : فعرفت والله أنه لن يَعدِلَ بسنة رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم -."

Umar said on his deathbed:" if I appoint a successor, this is a *sunnah*, and if I do not, this is also a *sunnah*. The Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ) died without appointing a successor. But when Abū Bakr died he did appoint a successor." Ali said:"I knew that he would not treat anything else as equal to the *sunnah* of the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ)." (30)

- أخرج عبد الرزاق قصة مبايعة عثمان عن طريق المسور بن مخرمة وفيها قول عبد الرحمن بن عوف مبايعة عثمان : ... عليك يا عثمان عهد الله وميثاقه ودمته ودمته ودمته رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - أن تعمل بكتاب

الله وسنة نبيه - صلى الله عليه وسلم - وبما عمل به الخليفتان من بعده، قال :
نعم فمسح على يده فبايعه ثم بايعه الناس ...

In this report, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b.‘Awf made ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān to swear, after he was elected as caliph, that "... he would act by the book of Allāh and the *sunnah* of his Prophet and the practice of the two caliphs after him ..." (31)

- قال علي بن أبي طالب عند مخالفته عثمان بن عفان في نهيه عن المتعة في الحج : ... لم أكن أدع سنة رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - لقول أحد من الناس ...

‘Alī justified himself when he refused to obey ‘Uthmān's prohibition of *al-mut‘ah* during the pilgrimage, by saying: "... I would not desert the *sunnah* of the Messenger of Allāh(ṣ) on the word of anyone. . .". (32)

- قال علي بن أبي طالب حين أقام الحد على شراحة : ... أجلدها بكتاب الله، وأرجمها بسنة نبي الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم -.

‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said, after he applied the punishment to a woman who committed adultery,: "I flogged her as in the book of Allāh and I stoned her as in the *sunnah* of the Prophet. (33)

- أخرج أحمد عن عمران بن حصين قال : ... نزل القرآن وسن رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - السنن ، ثم قال : إتبعونا، فوالله إن لم تفعلوا تضلوا .

‘Imran b. Huṣayn said: "The *Qur’ān* was revealed and the

Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ) established *al-sunan*. Then he said:

"Follow us; by Allāh, if do not, you will go astray."(34)

- أخرج ابن ماجة عن عمرو بن العاص قوله : لا تفسدوا علينا سنة نبينا
محمد - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ...

Amr b. al -Āṣ said: "Do not spoil for us the *sunnah* of our
Prophet (ﷺ)..."(35)

- قال ابن مسعود لرجل سأله عن شيء : ... ما سألتمونا عن شيء من كتاب
الله - تعالى - نعلمه أخبرناكم به، أو سنة من نبي الله - صلى الله عليه
وسلم - أخبرناكم به ولا طاقة لنا بما أحدثتم ...

Ibn Mas'ūd said to someone asked him about a matter:

"Provided that you ask us about something in the book of
almighty Allāh that we know about we shall tell you, or
something in a *sunnah* from the Prophet of Allāh (ﷺ) we shall
tell you ... "(36)

- قال ابن مسعود : ... ولو أنكم صليتم في بيوتكم كما يصلي هذا المتخلف
في بيته لتركتم سنة نبيكم، ولو تركتم سنة نبيكم لضللتم ...

Ibn Mas'ūd said " ... If you prayed in your houses as this
stay-behind does, you would abandon the *sunnah* of your
Prophet, and if you abandoned the *sunnah* of your Prophet
you would go astray..."(37)

- قال ابن عباس في حواره مع الحرورية : أرأيتم إن قرأت عليكم من كتاب الله المحكم، وحدثتكم من سنة نبيه - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ما لا تنكرون أترجعون ؟ قالوا : نعم ...

Ibn ‘Abbās, in his argument with al-Ḥarūriyyah, said: " Tell me, if I read to you from the infallible book of Allāh and relate to you from the *sunnah* of His Prophet (ﷺ) what you can't deny, will you come back ?" They said : " Yes ..." (38)

- قال ابن عباس : من أحدث رأيا ليس في كتاب الله ولم تمض به سنة من رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - لم يدر على ما هو منه إذا لقي الله عز وجل .

Ibn ‘Abbās said : " He who produces an opinion that is not in the book of Allāh and does not occur in the *sunnah* of the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ) does not know what he will get when he meets almighty Allāh.(39)

- قال ابن عباس : إنما هو كتاب الله وسنة رسوله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - فمن قال بعد ذلك شيئا برأيه فما أدري أفي حسناته يجده أم في سيئاته ...

Ibn ‘Abbās said : " There is only the book of Allāh and the *sunnah* of his Messenger (ﷺ). As for anyone who says anything thereafter, from his own judgment, I do not know whether he will find it counted among his good deeds or his evil deeds.(40)

- عن أبي صالح قال : لقي أبو سعيد الخدري ابن عباس فقال : رأيت ما تفتي في الصرف، أشيء وجدته في كتاب الله أم سنة من رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ...

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudri met Ibn ʿAbbās and said: I have seen your *fatwā* on " *sarf* " (exchange). Is it something you have found in the book of Allāh, or a *sunnah* from the Messenger of Allāh ...?(41)

- عن عبد الله بن دينار أن عبد الله بن عمر كتب إلى عبد الملك بن مروان يبايعه فكتب إليه: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. أما بعد لعبد الله عبد الملك أمير المؤمنين سلام عليك فإني أحمد إليك الله الذي لا إله إلا هو. وأقر لك بالسمع والطاعة على سنة الله وسنة رسوله فيما استطعت.

In this report, Ibn ʿUmar wrote a letter to the Umayyad caliph: " . . . And I affirm to you that I will hear and obey, according to the *sunnah* of Allāh and the *sunnah* of his Messenger, in so far, as I am able."(42)

- أخرج أحمد قول ابن عمر : أفرسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - أحق أن تتبعوا سنته أم سنة عمر ...

Ibn ʿUmar said: " Is it the *sunnah* of the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ) that is more worthy to be followed or the *sunnah* of ʿUmar ? . . . " (43)

In the light of the large number of reports which I have come across in the sources, a selection of which have already

been given,(44) it seems to me to be strange that Juynboll should say: "In sum, although the concept *sunnat an-nabi* occasionally emerges in the earliest sources, in the vast majority of cases we find merely *sunna*, with or without the definite article, while the contexts do not make clear to whom and/or to what region the *sunna* in question is ascribed".(45) He gives us no information as to what sources he relies on in drawing this general conclusion. What is certain, however, is that, regardless of the comparative frequency of occurrence, the concept *sunnat al-nabi* emerges in numerous reports in the sources, and not just "occasionally".

THE EARLY MEANING OF THE TERM *AL-SUNNAH* (pl. *AL-SUNAN*)

In addition to *sunnat al-nabi*, there is ample evidence to suggest that *al-sunnah* (pl. *al-sunan*) refers, in the early first century, to the prophetic *sunnah*, especially when used by the Companions.

It is used by the prophet himself.(46) ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn, a Companion who went to Basrah to teach the people there, says: " The *Qurʾān* was revealed and the Messenger of Allāh (ṣ) established *al-sunan*. Then he said: Follow us; by Allāh, if you do not you will go astray".(47)

‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb refers to the practice of the Prophet in the punishment of adultery in the same context as the determining of the *farā'id* and the establishing of the *sunan*.(48)

There are a number of reports that show clearly that *al-sunnah* is used to refer to the prophetic *sunnah* by both Companions and Successors. Ibn ‘Abbās was asked about a particular gesture during the prayer. He replied that it was *al-sunnah*. When those who had raised the question appeared unsatisfied, Ibn ‘Abbās said: "It is your prophet's *sunnah*."(49) Again, he once preached at such great length that the people feared that they might miss the time of the *maghrib* prayer. On being repeatedly reminded of this, Ibn ‘Abbās said: "Are you telling me what the *sunnah* is?" He then referred to a practice of the Prophet as authority for his own conduct.(50) A further example is that of al-Ḥajjāj, the notorious governor of Iraq, making the pilgrimage with the Companion Ibn ‘Umar and his son, Sālim, one of the greatest *fuqahā* in al-Madīnah. al-Ḥajjāj asked Ibn ‘Umar what one should do in the *mawqif* on the day at ‘Arafah. Sālim said: "If you want to know the *sunnah*, pray at midday on the day at ‘Arafah." His father confirmed this: "He is right, they used to combine the prayers of *al-zuhr* and *al-‘aṣr* in the *sunnah*." Asked if the Messenger

of Allāh did that, Sālim replied: "Would they follow anything but his *sunnah* in that?"(51)

In ḥAbd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* there are two reports on the authority of Ibn al-Musayyab, the prominent Successor in al-Madinah. In the first, he is reported to have seen someone performing prayer repeatedly after the dawn, and to have told him not to do so. The man asked: "Will Allāh punish me for the *ṣalāt* ?" Ibn al-Musayyab replied: "No, but he will punish you for acting contrary to the *sunnah*." In the second report, Ibn al-Musayyab quotes the Prophet to the effect that: there is no prayer after the *nidā* except the two *rak'ahs* of *Fajr*.(52) The implication is that Ibn al-Musayyab meant the prophetic *sunnah* when using the term *al-sunnah*.

ḥUrwah b. al-Zubayr once reported a *ḥadīth* pertaining to the prayer of the eclipse on the authority of the Prophet. Al-Zuhri then told ḥUrwah how his brother, Ibn al-Zubayr, performed this prayer in a different way. ḥUrwah's reply was: "Because he has mistaken the *sunnah*."(53)

Abū al-Zinād is quoted in one report as mentioning a well known precept established by the Prophet as an example of *al-sunan*.(54) When we look closely into the report of al-Zuhri quoted by Juynboll, it clearly emerges that the application of the term *sunnah* to material from the Companions is a later

practice. "A significant report attributed to Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān (d. 140/758 or later) describes how Zuhri went about it: 'Ibn Shihāb and I', said Ṣāliḥ, 'were looking for *ʿilm* and we agreed to record the *sunna*.(55) Thus we wrote down everything we heard about the prophet. Then Zuhri said: " Let us write down what we can find attributed to his Companions". But I said: " No, that is not *sunna* ". Zuhri, however, insisted that it was and recorded this also.' Added Ṣāliḥ ruefully: 'I did not record it, so Zuhri became a successful traditionist, whereas I did not.'

"(56) If such an application had been general at that time, Ṣāliḥ would not have argued in the way he did. Al-Zuhri himself is recorded as describing the practices of the prophet as *al-sunnah*.(57)

The foregoing evidence indicate that *al-sunnah/al-sunan* was applied in the early first century to the prophetic *sunnah*, and that it was probably during the period of the Successors that it first came to be used of material from the Companions as well.

But whether *al-sunnah/al-sunan* refers to the exemplary behaviour of the Companions as well as that of the Prophet or not, it does not affect, in my opinion, either the existence or the authority of the term *sunnat al-nabi* as early as during the Prophet's own lifetime.

‘UMAR B. ‘ABD AL-‘AZIZ AND THE PROPHETIC *SUNNAH*

In the light of the foregoing pages, it seems to me strange to claim that the *sunnah* of the prophet is "a concept emphasized for the first time by ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz rather than by the prophet himself or his immediate followers." Juynboll dismisses the concern of the Prophet's successors with the prophetic *sunnah*.(58) As quoted above, he considers ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz to be "the first man to apply himself to the concept *sunnat an-nabi* more than to *sunnas* ascribed to other persons or localities." Interestingly enough, Juynboll's findings adduced as arguments demonstrate that ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz was concerned with the other *sunan* equally with the prophetic *sunnah*.(59) Juynboll stresses that "‘Umar II, more than any ruler before him, was determined on granting the *sunna* of the prophet a position as guiding principle in importance only second to the Qur’ān. He is considered to be the first theoretician of the *sunna*."(60) In fact, I do not dispute that ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz was important in the history of the prophetic *sunnah*; what I question is the view that he was the first person to be concerned with it. Juynboll's argument seems to rest on very

slender premises and to disregard a considerable quantity of contrary evidence. In claiming that 'Umar II "is considered to be the first theoretician of the *sunna*", he refers us to a passage in 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī's *Uṣūl al-dīn*. In this passage, al-Baghdādī is using *al-sunnah* in its sense as the opposite of *bid'ah*, rather than in the sense under discussion here. In any case, 'Umar II is specified only as *awwal mutakallimi ahl al-sunnah min al-Tābi'in*. To clarify this, I shall quote the passage: (61)

"أول متكلمي أهل السنة من الصحابة علي بن أبي طالب لمناظرته الخوارج في مسائل الوعد والوعيد، ومناظرته القدرية في القدر والقضاء والمشية والاستطاعة. ثم عبد الله بن عمر في كلامه على القدرية وبراءته منهم ومن زعيمهم المعروف بمعبد الجهني."

ثم قال : " وأول متكلمي أهل السنة من التابعين عمر بن عبد العزيز وله رسالة بليغة في الرد على القدرية . ثم زيد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب ، وله كتاب في الرد على القدرية من القرآن ثم الحسن البصري وقد ادعته القدرية ، فكيف يصح لها هذه الدعوى مع رسالته إلى عمر بن عبد العزيز في ذم القدرية ومع طرده وأصلا عن مجلسه عند اظهار بدعته ، ثم الشعبي وكان أشد الناس على القدرية . ثم الزهري وهو الذي أفتى عبد الملك بن مروان بدماء القدرية."

Apart from the evidence of the *Qur'ān* and the *ḥadīth* in which the authority of the Prophet and his *sunnah* is

emphasized, we have seen how his followers, and in particular the four first caliphs, are recorded in various reports as emphasizing the authority of the "prophetic *sunnah*" as second only to that of the *Qurʾān*. The reputation which ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz gained with regard to the "prophetic *sunnah*" is not because he was absolutely the first person to concern himself with it, but because the Umayyad caliphs before him had been rather less concerned. This is the reason for his being called the fifth of *al-Khulafāʾ al-Rāshidīn*.(62)

NOTES

1. *Tradition*, p. 30.
2. *Ibidem*.
3. *Id*, p. 39.
4. *The spiritual background of early Islam*, p. 168.
5. *Id*, p. 30 footnote (95).
6. See, for example, the reports given below and also Bravmann's study alluded to above.
7. See, for example, the *Qurʾān* 7:157, 3:32, 33:21, 59:7, 4:65.
8. *Tradition*, p. 30-31.
9. *Id*, p. 26.
10. *Id*, p. 32.
11. *Ibn Saʿd* 3 1, p. 243 (23).
12. *Ibn Saʿd* 3 1, p. 245-46.
13. We learn from the following report, which is that of the recommendation, that this happened a week before the attempt on his life . See 3 1, p. 243 (13).
14. *Ibn Saʿd* 3 1, p. 243 (10).
15. *Ibn saʿd* 3 1, p. 201 (12).
16. *Tradition*, p. 32.
17. *al-Muwattaʿ* 2, p. 899 *qadr* (1) no. 3 and *Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Jamīʿ bayān al-ʿilm* 2, p. 24.
18. *al-Ṭayālisi*, p. 272.
19. *Abū Dāwūd* 4, p. 201 *sunnah* (6) no. 4607. *al-Tirmidhi* 5, p. 44 *ʿilm* (16) no. 2676. *al-Dārimi* 1, p. 44 *Muqaddimah* (16) no. (96).
20. *al-Bukhārī* 9, p. 104, *nikāḥ* (1) no. 5063. *Muslim* 2, p. 1020, *nikāḥ* (1) no. 5.
21. *al-Muṣannaf* 11, p. 345 -46 no. 20719.
22. *Ibn Saʿd* 31, p. 129 (19).
23. *al-Dārimi* 1, p. 53-54 *muqaddimah* (20) no. 163.
24. *al-Muwattaʿ* 2, p. 513 *farāʾiḍ* (8) no. 4. *Abū Dāwūd* 3, p. 121 *farāʾiḍ* (5) no. 2894.

25. al-Dārimi 1, p. 55 *muqaddimah* (20) no. 169. al-Nasā'i 8, p. 231 *adab al-quḍat* (11).
26. *al-Muṣannaf* 5, p. 448.
27. al-Ṭayālisi p. 13 no. 58.
28. al-Ṭayālisi p. 6 no. 16. *Musnad* 1, p. 23.
29. al-Ṭayālisi p. 12 no. 49, 50 also *Musnad* 1, p. 189 no. 83. Ibn Sa'ad 6, p. 100.
30. Ibn Sa'ad 3 1, p. 248 (1).
31. *al-Muṣannaf* 5, p. 477-78.
32. *Musnad* 2, p. 263-64 no. 1139. al-Dārimi 1, p. 395 *manāsik al-ḥajj* (78) no. 1929. al-Bukhāri 3, p. 421-22 *ḥajj* (34) no. 1563, al-Nasā'i 5, p. 148.
33. *Musnad* 2, p. 94 no. 716, p. 150 no. 839 (Shakir's edition).
34. *Musnad* 4, p. 445.
35. Ibn Mājah 1, p. 673 *ṭalāq* (33) no. 2083.
36. al-Dārimi 1, p. 44-45 *muqaddimah* (17) no. 102.
37. *al-Muṣannaf* 1, p. 061 no. 1979, *Musnad* 1, p. 415, Muslim 1, p. 453 *al-masājid* (44) no. 257.
38. *Musnad* 10, p. 158 no. 18678 also al-Bayhaqi, *al-sunan al-Kubrā* 8, p. 179.
39. al-Dārimi 1, p. 53 *muqaddimah* (20) no. 160.
40. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-ilm* 2, p. 26.
41. *al-Muṣannaf* 8, p. 117-18 no. 14546.
42. *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, 2, p. 983 *bay'ah* (1) no. 3. See also *al-Muṣannaf* 6, p. 6 no. 9823. al-Bukhāri 13, p. 193, *aḥkām* (43) nos. 7203, 7205.
43. *Musnad* 2, p. 95.
44. See for more reports in which the concept *sunnat al-nabi* emerges: *Musnad* 2, p. 3, p. 56-57, p. 124. 1, p. 280, p. 351, p. 247-48, p. 121. *al-Muṣannaf* 2, p. 65 no. 2506. 5, p. 34 nos. 8898, 8899. 1, p. 321 no. 1233.
45. *Tradition*, p. 32.
46. أحق القوم أن يؤمهم أقرؤهم لكتاب الله ، فإن كانوا في القراءة سواء فأعلمهم بالسنة
al-Muṣannaf 2, p. 389 no. 3809.
 - من حذيفة قال : حدثنا رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - حديثين ، قال : رأيت أحدهما وأنا أنتظر الآخر ، حدثنا أن الأمانة نزلت في جذر قلوب الرجال ونزل القرآن وعلموا من السنة ...
al-Muṣannaf 11, p. 157 no. 20194. al-Bukhāri 11, p. 333, *raqā'iq* (35) no. 6497; 13, p. 249 *ittiṣam* (2) no. 7276.

- عن أنس بن مالك قال : جاء ناس الى النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - فقالوا : أن ابعث معنا رجلا يعلمونا القرآن والسنة فبعث إليهم سبعين رجلا من الانصار يقال لهم القراء ... "

Musnad 3, p. 270. *Muslim* 3, p. 1511, *imārah* (41) no. 147.

قال أبو موسى الأشعري : ... إن رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - خطبنا فبين لنا سنتنا وعلمنا صلاتنا ...

Muslim 1, p. 303, *ṣalat* (16) no. 62.

47. *Musnad* 4, p. 445.

48. *Ibn Sa'd* 3 1, p. 242 (3).

أيها الناس قد فرضت لكم الفرائض وسنت لكم السنن ، وتركتم على الواضحة ثم صفق يمينه على شماله إلا أن تضيكوا بالناس يمينا وشمالا ثم إياكم أن تهلكوا عن آية الرجم وأن يقول قائل لا نجد حدين في كتاب الله فقد رأيت رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - رجم ورجمنا بعده ... "

49. *al-Muṣannaf* 2, p. 192 no. 3035. *Muslim* 1, p. 380-81 *masājid* (6) no.32.

قلنا لابن عباس في الإقعاء على القدمين ، قال : هي السنة ، فقلنا : إنا لنراه جفاء بالرجل ، قال ابن عباس : بل هي سنة نبيك - صلى الله عليه وسلم - .

50. *Muslim* 1, p. 491, *ṣalāt al-musāfirin* (6) no. 57.

... عبدالله بن شقيق قال: خطبنا ابن عباس يوما بعد العصر حتى غربت الشمس وبدت النجوم، وجعل الناس يقولون : الصلاة ، الصلاة . قال : فجاءه رجل من بني تميم لا يفتر ولا ينثني الصلاة الصلاة، فقال ابن عباس: أتعلّمني بالسنة ؟ لا أم لك ثم قال: رأيت رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - جمع بين الظهر والعصر والمغرب والعشاء .

51. *al-Bukhārī* 3, P. 513 *ḥajj* (89) no. 1662.

عن ابن شهاب قال: أخبرني سالم أن الحجاج بن يوسف - عام نزل بابن الزبير- رضي الله عنهما - سأل عبدالله - رضي الله عنه-: كيف تصنع في الموقف يوم عرفة؟ فقال سالم: إن كنت تريد السنة فجهر بالصلاة يوم عرفة، فقال عبدالله بن عمر: صدق إنهم كانوا يجمعون بين الظهر والعصر في السنة. فقلت لسالم : أفعل ذلك رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم -؟ فقال سالم: وهل يتبعون بذلك إلا سنته.

52. See *al-Muṣannaf* 3, p. 52-53 no. 4755, 4756.

53. *al-Bukhārī* 2, p. 533-34, *kusūf* (4) no. 1046 .

54. *al-Bukhārī* 4, p. 191, *ṣawm* (41).

وقال أبو الزناد: إن السنن ووجوه الحق لتأتي كثيرا على خلاف الرأي، فما يجد المسلمون بدا من اتباعها. من ذلك أن الحائض تقضي الصيام ولا تقضي الصلاة .

55. Juynboll wrongly quotes the word as singular. It is, in fact, plural both in the source he quotes and in other sources. See Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jamiʿ* 1, p. 76. Ibn Saʿd 2, p. 135 (19). *al-Maʿrifah* 1, p. 637. Abū Zurʿah , p. 412.

56. *Tradition*, p. 34-35

57. *al-Muṣannaf* 1, p. 379-80 no.1485. 11, p. 15.

58. *Tradition*, p. 32.

59. See *Tradition*, p. 34.

60. *Tradition*, p. 35.

61. *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, p. 307.

62. See Ibn al-Jawzi, *Sirat ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, p. 59-60.

CHAPTER FOUR

EARLY ḤADĪTH ACTIVITIES

At the beginning of the section on "the earliest development of the *ḥadīth* centres", Juynboll says: "In the following I should like to concentrate on the earliest development of *ḥadīth* transmission and collection as carried out in the various centres. It is hoped to demonstrate that during the last two or three decades of the first century of the Hijra/the 700s-720s A.D. the interest for *ḥadīth* slowly increased in the separate administrative centres of the Islamic empire.

It is on purpose that these centres are referred to as 'separate'. One overall characteristic of *ḥadīth* evolution in its earliest stages deserves to be emphasized before anything else. In the beginning there was little or no contact between the centres especially if they were far apart."

He goes on to say: "In this investigation into this early development I have come to recognize that the vast majority of *isnāds*, as far as their three oldest transmitters are concerned, can be considered as being particular to one centre. At a somewhat later stage, say, during the first few decades of the second century/the 720s-750s A.D., contacts do seem to

have been established between centres and we witness the emergence of *isnāds* that can be labeled as being particular to more than one centre".(1) He classifies the oldest *ḥadīth* transmitters into four main categories according to their provinces: Ḥijāzī, Egyptian, Syrian and Iraqi. In each one he simply mentions the names of various Companions and Successors who were, "allegedly", active in these centres.

He does not seem to establish his claim "that during the last two or three decades of the first century of the Hijra/the 700s-720s A.D. the interest for *ḥadīth* slowly increased," nor does he make a convincing case for the regional character of the *ḥadīth isnāds* in these centres. One thing should be mentioned here first regarding his investigation, namely that, he appears to neglect the abundant information in the sources concerning the activities of these Companions and Successors in the transmission of *ḥadīth* and dismisses their part in *ḥadīth* activities. On the other hand, he does consider the sparse information in the sources regarding the activities of the *quṣṣāṣ* during the first century, believing that it is their works that foreshadow the transmission of *ḥadīth*.(2) However, if anything should be supposed to have foreshadowed the transmission of *ḥadīth*, it is, in my opinion, logically the work of those who are recorded

as having engaged in *ḥadīth* activities rather than that of the *quṣṣāṣ*. While enumerating the important figures among the oldest transmitters in the various centres, Juynboll considers also the information describing some of them in the sources as *fuqahā*, (3) a term which, according to him, refers to those who based their advice upon individual judgement (*ra'y*), whereas the term *ulamā* refers to those who consulted precedents including the example of the Prophet.(4)

If we accept, for the sake of argument, Juynboll's definition of the term *fuqahā*, we can hardly ignore the information describing the same figures in the same sources as *ulama* and the numerous reports illustrating their activities in both collecting and propagating *ḥadīth* material. It is surprising then to see Juynboll claiming that during the first century " *fiqh* and *ilm* were only occasionally combined in one and the same person".(5) In fact, all those mentioned in Juynboll's work as great *fuqahā* are described also as *ulamā*.(6)

This disparity between neglecting the information concerning *ḥadīth* activities in the first century and considering all other information concerning other activities seems to me anomalous.

After extensive reading in the same historical works that

Juynboll relies on, I have come to the conclusion that if we take at face value the information relating the kinds of activities during the first century, we see *ḥadīth* activities predominating from the first half. To support this view I shall rehearse a cross section of the information pertaining to *ḥadīth* activities during the first century and the involvement of the Companions and the Successors in it, concentrating on those mentioned in Juynboll's work.

It is well established that, after the Prophet's death, the Companions of the Prophet spread out into the expanding Islamic world. Some of them were officially appointed in the various centres to instruct the people there in the new religion.

ʿUmar, the second caliph, who reigned between 13 and 23, sent the three Companions, Muʿādh, ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit, and Abū al-Dardaʾ for this purpose to al-Shām, where they remained until their deaths.(7) He also sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghunm al-Ashʿari to al-Shām,(8) ʿImrān b. Ḥusayn and ʿAbd Allāh b. Mughaffal to Basrah,(9) and ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd to Kufah, for the same purpose.(10)

After the Prophet's death, the Companions were widely sought for their *ʿilm*. Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68), the young

Companion, was concerned to collect prophetic *ḥadīth* from other Companions immediately after the Prophet's death.⁽¹¹⁾ The son of ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit, al-Walid, who was born during the Prophet's lifetime, and died during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān(d.86), and his grandson, ʿUbādah, are reported as having come to the *Anṣār*, probably from al-Shām,⁽¹²⁾ for the purpose of seeking *ʿilm* from them while they were still alive.⁽¹³⁾ When Abū al-Salīl al-Qaysī approached Ṣilah al-ʿAdawī in order to learn from him, he told him that he was behaving as he himself had done in approaching the Companions of the Prophet in order to learn from them.⁽¹⁴⁾ Qays b ʿIbād (d. after 80) who came to al-Madinah from Basrah during ʿUmar's reign⁽¹⁵⁾ said: "I went to al-Madinah in search of *ʿilm* and *sharaf*."⁽¹⁶⁾ Masrūq (d.62), a prominent Kufan Successor, tells us that he sat with the Companions of the Prophet [to learn from them] and found them to vary in their knowledge.⁽¹⁷⁾ He went to al-Madinah for that reason.⁽¹⁸⁾ The pupils of Ibn Masʿūd would travel from Kufah to al-Madinah to learn from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭab.⁽¹⁹⁾ Zirr b. Ḥubaysh (d. 81-83) came with a group from Kufah to al-Madinah during ʿUthmān's reign, swearing that the only thing that induced him to go there was the chance of meeting the Companions of the Prophet. He

frequented Ubayy b. Ka'b and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf.(20) Abū al-ʿĀliyah al-Riyāḥī (d. after 90) said: "We used to hear *al-riwāyah* in Basrah on the authority of the Companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ) but we were not satisfied without going to al-Madinah and learning it from their mouths".(21)

Many more examples will be given either below or in the following section. How important the role was that the Companions and Successors played in the transmission of *ḥadīth* will appear from what follows.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMPANIONS

The involvement of the Companions, in various centres, in *ḥadīth* activities, especially of those on whose authority a considerable quantity of *ḥadīth* is transmitted, is something that features largely in the various sources. Ibn Abī Laylā (d. 83) (Kufah) who engaged in the transmission of *ḥadīth*, when asked for his opinion about the *qaṣaṣ*, replied: "I found that Companions of the Prophet (ﷺ) would sit with one another, each of them relating to the other what he had heard. They would not allow any *Khaṭīb* to sit with them.(22)

The Companion Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī said: "When the Companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ) sat down talking to

each other, their conversation would be about *al-fiqh* but they asked someone to read a *sūrah* of *Qurʾān* ."(23) Abū Saʿid himself was involved in this activity. Ibn ʿAbbās enjoined his son and his *mawlā* ʿIkrimah to go to Abū Saʿid to hear his *ḥadīth*.(24) Abū Saʿid advised his pupils to study the *ḥadīth* with one another.(25)

Ibn ʿAbbās, one of the youngest Companions, who is reputed for his expertise in *fiqh*, is one of the key figures in *ḥadīth* activities. After the Prophet's death, he went to the Companions asking them about the prophetic *ḥadīths*. He made a considerable effort to collect them.(26) The most devoted pupils of his were the well known Successors, Mujāhid, Tāwūs, Saʿid b. Jubayr, ʿAṭāʾ, Jābir b. Zayd and ʿIkrimah, who were recorded as being both *muhaddithūn* and *muftūn*.(27) Among those who are reported to have recorded his *ḥadīth* were Saʿid b. Jubayr(28) and ʿAmr b. Dinār.(29) Ibn ʿAbbās's *mawlā*, Kurayb (d. 98), had a great deal of material from him.(30) Ibn Jurayj (d. 150) paid great attention to Ibn ʿAbbās's *ḥadīth*. He did his utmost to collect it.(31) Once, Ibn ʿAbbās went with Muʿāwiyah (d. 60) for pilgrimage, where Muʿāwiyah had his own entourage, and Ibn ʿAbbās had one consisting of those who sought *ʿilm*.(32)

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh promulgated his *ḥadīth* in the two main Ḥijāzī centres, Makkah and al-Madinah. He had a circle in the mosque where people learned *ḥadīth* on his authority.(33) Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir (d. 114-118) and ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqil (d. after 140) used to write down [*ḥadīth*] from him.(34) During the time that he spent in Makkah, he held *ḥadīth* sessions for scholars and transmitters; when they left the session, they would study and memorize his *ḥadīth*. Among these were the famous Makkan Successors, ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ and Abū al-Zubayr.(35)

ʿĀʾishah, the beloved wife of the Prophet, through whom a large number of prophetic *ḥadīths* were transmitted, was famed for her knowledge of the prophetic *sunnah* and the large number of the Prophet's *ḥadīth* that she possessed. The two Caliphs, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, used to ask her about *al-sunan*.(36) When the Companions of the Prophet had doubts concerning something, they would ask ʿĀʾishah, in whom they would find *ʿilm*.(37) She was also praised for her knowledge of *farāʾiḍ* (i.e. inheritance), on which the prominent Companions referred to her.(38) ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr, a nephew of ʿĀʾishah, felt, four years before

‘Ā’ishah's death, that if she died, he would not regret that there was anything about which he had not asked her.(39) When she was in Makkah, she was visited regularly by the two Makkan Successors ‘Aṭā’ and ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr.(40)

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ is well known for his having written down *ḥadīth*. He asked the prophet to permit him to write what he heard from him, and the Prophet permitted him to do so.(41) An *awā’il* report, mentioned above, gives this episode as the first occasion of the writing down of *ḥadīth*.(42) Ibn ‘Abbās praised his *‘ilm* and said that he used to ask the Prophet about *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* issues.(43)

Zayd b. Thābit was well-known for his wide knowledge.(44) He is reputed to have preserved the *farā’id* in writing.(45) Once he went to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the governor of al-Madinah, who asked him about some prophetic *ḥadīths*; in replying, he cited a prophetic *ḥadīth* recommending the spreading of the Prophet's *ḥadīth*.(46)

Ibn ‘Umar, the son of the second caliph, was one of the Companions who gave legal advice and who engaged in the transmission of *ḥadīth* from the death of ‘Uthman.(47) He

was very meticulous in relating a *ḥadīth* on the authority of the Prophet, for fear of addition or diminution.(48) He was very keen to familiarize himself with the Prophet's sayings and actions.(49) In one report, Nāfi', his *mawlā*, tells us that Ibn 'Umar used to look carefully at his notes before he came out to speak to the people.(50) Ibn 'Umar was a frequent visitor to Makkah, where he held a circle in the mosque.(51) He was also asked for *fatwās* during the pilgrimage and on other occasions.(52) Sa'īd b. Jubayr used to go twice a year to Makkah for the *umrah* and the *ḥajj*,(53) on which occasions he would hear *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbās and write it down.(54)

The famous Abū Hurayrah, on whose authority the greatest number of *ḥadīth* were transmitted, is extremely well known for his activities in transmission. During his three years companionship with the Prophet he enthusiastically memorized what he heard from him.(55) He said that he did not know any one of the Companions who memorized more prophetic *ḥadīth* than he.(56) His fellow Companions conceded his exalted status as far as the knowledge of prophetic *ḥadīth* was concerned.(57) He was most influential in the diffusion of the *ḥadīth* throughout the Islamic world. He used to hold

ḥadīth sessions before the *Jumu'ah* prayer.(58) When Ibn 'Umar was asked if he could fault anything that Abū Hurayrah related, he said: "No. but he is brave and we are cowardly." Abū Hurayrah said: "Is it my fault if I have remembered and they have forgotten?"(59) The place in which he sat to relate *ḥadīth* was close to 'Ā'ishah's quarters, and he once asked her if she had found fault with anything that he said; she did not contradict anything that he had said, but remarked: "The Messenger of Allāh did not present one *ḥadīth* after another as you do."(60) Bashir b. Ka'b used to write down what he heard from Abū Hurayrah, and when he was about to leave for Basrah again, he would read his notes to Abū Hurayrah in order to make sure that he had not made any mistakes.(61) Abū Hurayrah spent a whole night relating *ḥadīth* on the authority of the Prophet for those who congregated in a particular place to hear him while he was in Damascus.(62) Ibn Sirin, one of the best pupils of Abū Hurayrah tells us that Abū Hurayrah held a *ḥadīth* session every Thursday.(63)

In al-Shām there were a number of Companions who were involved in *ḥadīth* activities. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, the governor of Egypt (64) from 60 until his death, between 82

and 86, sent a letter to Kathir b. Murrah (d. between 70 and 80), who had found in Himṣ seventy of those who had taken part in the battle of Badr, asking him to write down for him only *ḥadiths* that he had heard from Companions of the Prophet except for Abu Hurayra's, since he already had all of the latter's material.(65) We have alluded above to the Companions Abū al-Dardā', 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit and Mu'ādh b. Jabal, who were appointed officially as instructors in al-Shām. A famous Syrian Successor, Abū Idris al-Khawlāni (d. 80) tells us that he was able to meet, and obtain material on the authority of, Abū al-Dardā', 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit and Shaddād b. Aws, but that Mu'ādh b. Jabal had already died.(66)

Wāthilah b. al-Asqa' (d. 83-85) was a Companion whose *ḥadiths* had a modest circulation in the *ḥadith* collections. He went to Syria after the Prophet's death and he is thought to have been the last Companion to die in Damascus.(67) He used to dictate *ḥadiths* to people, who would write them down in his presence.(68) The well known Syrian Successor Makḥūl went with Abū al-Azhar to Wāthilah asking him to relate *ḥadith* to them on the authority of the Prophet.(69) Wāthilah did not concern himself with the

verbatim text of the *ḥadīth*, but said that it would be sufficient if he related the gist of the *ḥadīth*.(70)

‘Abd Allāh b. Busr (d 88-96), who settled in Ḥimṣ, also engaged in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. It is reported by one of his pupils that he used to relate *ḥadīth* until just before the time of prayer.(71)

One more *ḥadīth* activist who deserves to be mentioned here is Abū Umāmah, who was born during the Prophet's lifetime.(72) Sālim b. ‘Āmir (d. 130), the Syrian transmitter, said: " We would sit with Abū Umāmah and he would relate to us numerous *ḥadīths* on the authority of the Messenger of Allāh (ṣ)." Then he would say: "Understand what you have heard and then transmit it on our authority."(73)

In Basrah, there were a number of Companions who engaged in *ḥadīth* activities. The Basran Successor, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jawshan al-Ghaṭafāni said that he found eighteen Companions in the Basrah Mosque.(74) At the head of them was Anas b. Mālik, the servant of the prophet, who also sought prophetic *ḥadīth* from older Companions.(75) He remained there until his death. His devoted pupil, Thābit,

says that he accompanied Anas for forty years.(76) The sons of Anas complained to their father that he did not relate to them as much *ḥadīth* as he did to the outsiders.(77) He was once asked if a *ḥadīth* that he had just related was from the Prophet. This annoyed him, and he said: " By Allāh, we have not heard all of what we have related to you directly from the Prophet, but we (the Companions) trust one another."(78)

‘Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn, who was sent to Basrah by ‘Umar to instruct its people, was a *ḥadīth* activist there. He was seen, by Hilāl b. Yūsuf, a Kufan Successor who went to Basrah, relating *ḥadīth* to a circle.(79) One Companion, Hishām b. ‘Āmir complained that some Successors neglected him to go to hear *ḥadīth* from ‘Imrān and other Companions.(80) However, despite the activities of ‘Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn in the transmission of *ḥadīth*, he seems to have been one of those who opposed the writing down of the *ḥadīth*.(81)

Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘ari was a governor of ‘Umar in Basrah, where he taught the *Qurʾān* and *al-Dīn*.(82) when he discovered that his son wrote down *ḥadīth* on his authority, he had the writings destroyed and advised him to receive [*ḥadīths*] in the traditional manner [to memorize them].(83) In

a report reflecting the keen interest in the transmission of *ḥadīth*, a Basran transmitter says: One of the Prophet's Companions came to us, and people would gather around him; if there were very many of them, he would go up into the roof of house and relate [*ḥadīths*] from there.(84)

Of course, Kufah, from its establishment, was a centre to which many Companions went or settled in. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abi Laylā (d.82), the Kufan Successor, was able to meet 120 Companions from the *Anṣār* in the Kufah mosque, each of whom, when asked to relate a *ḥadīth* or to give a *fatwā* would claim that any of the others was more competent to do so than himself.(85)

Ibn Mas‘ūd, who was sent to Kufah as an instructor, as we have mentioned above, used to hold a session every Thursday, which he would open with the words: *إن أحسن الحديث: كتاب الله وخير السنن سنن محمد -صلي الله عليه وسلم- وشر الأمور* "محدثاتها...".(86) He was aided by his pupil ‘Alqamah in teaching the people the *Qurʾān*. After they had finished, they would discuss the chapters of *al-manāsik* and *al-ḥalāl wa-al-ḥarām*.(87)

Al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, who was originally from al-Madinah, then settled in Kufah and died there in 72,(88) said: "Not all of what we related to you did we heard from the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ); we heard it from our Companions, but we do not lie."(89) His *ḥadīth* session was apparently an organized class, as Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī, a well known Iraqi Successor, tells us that they used to sit one behind the other in this class,(90) and we learn from another report that al-Barā's pupils used to write down his material with reed pens on their hands.(91)

A group of people used to come to Salmān al-Fārisī (d.33-37) to hear his *ḥadīth*.(92) When he obtained money, would buy meat with it and invite the *muhaddithūn* to eat with him.(93)

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SUCCESSORS

The lively *ḥadīth* activities already during the first century may be represented by two reports. First, that mentioned above of the Companion Ibn 'Abbās's being accompanied by an entourage of those who sought *ilm* during the pligrimage he performed with Mu'āwiyah (d. 60).(94) The second is a report of Ibn Sirin's being recorded as saying: "I

came to Kufah before *Jamājim* [the battle in 82] and I saw there 4,000 people who were in search of *ḥadīth*."(95)

Some of the Successors would meet regularly in order to exchange and discuss their material. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abi Laylā (d.82) asked his fellow ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ukaym (d. during the rule of al-Ḥajjāj) to come to study the *ḥadīth* because that was the way in which it would survive.(96) Ibn Abi Laylā, once, met ‘Abd Allāh b. Shaddād b. al-Hād (d 81-82), a Madinan Successor who used to come to Kufah, who was *kathir al-ḥadīth*.(97) then they discussed the *ḥadīth*.(98) The famous Kufan Successors, Ibrāhim al-Nakha‘ī (d. 96), Abū al-Duḥā (d. 100) and al-Sha‘bī (d. 103-110) used to meet in the mosque in order to discuss *ḥadīth*.(99) Shutayr b. Shakal once met Masrūq (d. 62-63); a group of pupils of *ḥadīth* came to them, and Shutayr said to Masruq: "these people have come to hear something; now, either you should relate some *ḥadīth* and I should corroborate you or I should relate some and you should corroborate me."(100) The Basran Successors, Abū ‘Uthmān al-Nahdī (d. 95 or later), Abū Naḍrah(d 108 or 109), Abū Mijlaz (d. between 100 and109) and Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥriz used to study the *ḥadīth* and the *sunnah* and when someone suggested the reading of a *sūrah* from the *Qur’ān*, they thought this was no better than what they were

doing.(101) When the Makkan Successor ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ and his fellows came out from the Companion Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 73-78) they discussed his *ḥadīth*.(102) Qabiṣah b. Dhū‘ayb (d 86-89), the Madinan Successor who later settled in Syria reported that, until the end of Mu‘āwiyah's caliphate (d.60), he and others, among them some prominent Madinan Successors, namely ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr, Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, and ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Utbah, would gather in a circle in the mosque during the night. Qabiṣah said that he would sit with the Companion Zayd b. Thābit, and then he and Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān would hold sessions with Abū Hurayrah; however, their fellow ‘Urwah was in a better position than they, because he had access to ‘Ā’ishah, the Prophet's wife, in her room(103) [she was his aunt].

The activities of a number of Successors in the transmission of *ḥadīth* have already been mentioned, in connection with those of the Companions. However, in working through the sources, I found it an immense task to trace and record all the information dealing with the Successors in this field. Thus, I have confined myself to a number of the Successors, who are called the *fuqahā’*: Those who, in Juynboll's view, constitute a group who formulated their own

ideas which in the course of time became the prophetic *ḥadīth* either through their own endeavours or at the hands of their pupils or other anonymous persons.

First of all, all the *fuqahā'* mentioned in Juynboll's work are also described in the sources as *ʿulamā'*, (104) a term which indicates, in Juynboll's interpretation, those who referred to precedents and examples including those of the Prophet.

Dealing with Madinan *isnāds*, Juynboll mentions some of the major transmitters of *ḥadīth* among the Madinan Successors who are described as *fuqahā'* in the sources. While Juynboll accepts their reputation as an experts in matters of *fiqh*, he dismisses their contribution to the transmission of *ḥadīth*. However, the sources contain ample material demonstrating their knowledge and activities in this field as well. Abū al-Zinād enumerates in one report some of the prominent Madinan Successors who were considered both to be among the *fuqahā'* of the Madinans and among those who had knowledge of *al-sunan*: Saʿid b. al-Musayyab, al-Qāsim b. Muhammad, ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Khāriyah b. Zayd, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh and Sulayman b. Yasār. (105)

One of Sa'id b. al-Musayyab's best pupils, al-Zuhri, was asked from where Sa'id b. al-Musayyab acquired his knowledge. He said: "From Zayd b. Thābit, and he would also sit with Sa'id b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Ibn 'Abbās, and Ibn 'Umar. He had access to the wives of the Prophet (ṣ), 'Ā'ishah and Umm Salamah, and he heard *ḥadīth* from 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 'Alī, Ṣuhayb, and Muhammad b. Maslamah. Most of his prophetic *ḥadīths* are on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, to whose daughter he was married. He further received *ḥadīth* from the Companions of 'Umar and 'Uthmān. It was said that there was no one who had more knowledge of all the decisions of 'Umar and 'Uthmān than he.(106) Ibn al-Musayyab himself said that there was no one still alive who was more knowledgeable concerning the decisions of the Prophet, Abū Bakr and 'Umar than he.(107) He specialized in 'Umar's material. So he was called the transmitter of 'Umar.(108) He was anxious to discover and collect material connected with 'Umar; in fact, he became such an authority that 'Umar's son, 'Abd Allāh, used to consult him concerning some of the actions taken by 'Umar.(109) Sa'id frequented the well known Companions, Sa'id b. Abī Waqqās and Abū Hurayrah.(110) He was praised by one of his pupils as being the most knowledgeable of people concerning *al-āthār*, and as having

great insight in his opinions.(111) Ibn al-Musayyab would travel for days and nights in search of one *ḥadīth*.(112)

Although he was one of the Successors who were not in favour of the *ḥadīth* being written down, he permitted one of his pupils to do so, because the latter had a bad memory.(113) In one report, a man came to him and asked him about something; Sa'īd dictated the answer to him. When the man asked him his own opinion, Sa'īd told him this also, which the man also wrote down. When Sa'īd was told of this, he tore up the paper.(114)

‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr

There has already been mentioned a report in which ‘Urwah and other Successors held a circle during the night exchanging their material.(115) He made considerable efforts in collecting *ḥadīth* from the Companions.(116) Describing the extensive *ḥadīths* he had on the authority of ‘Ā’ishah, he claimed four years before her death that if she were to die then he would not regret that she might still possess a *ḥadīth* that he did not have.(117) His books were burnt on the day of *al-Ḥarrah*, which caused him great sadness.(118) He was very concerned with the diffusion of the *ḥadīth*. Once he sent to al-Zuhri asking him to meet him, in order to relate to him a

ḥadīth which contained *sunnah*.(119) He urged his sons to ask him about *ḥadīth*,(120) and he studied and compared the material that they had.(121) Ḥurwāh asked his son Hishām if he had written down *ḥadīth* material. When he said he had, Ḥurwāh asked him if he had compared his material with his source; when he said that he had not, Ḥurwāh said: "Then you have not written it down."(122)

Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad enumerates in a report the Companions whom he frequented and sat with in order to hear and learn *ḥadīth* on their authority. These were well known for their activities in the transmission of *ḥadīth*, namely, Ḥaishah, Ibn Ḥabbās, Abū Hurayrah, and Ibn Ḥumar.(123) He was considered one of the three Successors who was most knowledgeable concerning Ḥaishah's *ḥadīth*.(124)

Abū Salamah b. Ḥabd al-Raḥmān would select a boy from the *kuttāb* to accompany him to his home, where he would dictate to him *ḥadīths* to write down for him.(125)

ḤIkrimah *Mawlā* Ibn Ḥabbās was taught the *Qurʾān* and the *sunan* by his master, Ibn Ḥabbās.(126) He tells of

himself that he searched for *‘ilm* for forty years.(127) He was well known for his extensive travelling around the Islamic world; he disseminated his *ḥadīths* in the provinces he visited.(128)

Nāfi‘, The *Mawlā* of Ibn ‘Umar (d. 117-120/735-738).

His transmission on the authority of Ibn ‘Umar was widely recognized. His best pupil, Mālik, did not care to hear a *ḥadīth* on the authority of Ibn ‘Umar from any one else if he had heard it from Nāfi‘.(129) His material on the authority of Ibn ‘Umar was preserved in writing.(130) He would hold *ḥadīth* sessions at which his pupils read to him and wrote down the *ḥadīths*.(131) When, on one occasion, he was told that they wrote down his *‘ilm*, he requested them to bring it to him for correction.(132) ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz sent him to Egypt to teach its people the *sunnah*.(133)

‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d.114) was also one of those who stand out as experts in matters of *fiqh*. He was also one of the *ḥadīth* activists in Makkah. He met 200 Companions,(134) the most important of whom were Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Ā’ishah, Abū Hurayrah and Ibn ‘Abbās. When Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh came to Makkah, ‘Aṭā’ and his fellows attended

his *ḥadīth* sessions, and when they left him they studied his *ḥadīth*.(135) ‘Aṭā’ and the other Successor ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr (d. 68) used to come to ‘Ā’ishah, when she was living in the vicinity of the holy mosque.(136) He held sessions where *ḥadīths* were recited to him to authenticate.(137) His son, Ya‘qūb, said that he had not seen his father memorizing anything as thoroughly as the *buyū‘* (commercial transactions).(138) ‘Aṭā’ travelled to al-Madinah, thus enhancing his status in comparison with that of his fellow Makkan Successors.(139)

It is been remarked above that a number of Companions settled in al-Shām at an early date. In addition to the Syrian Successors who were active in *ḥadīth*,(140) there were other *ḥadīth* activists who came from outside al-Shām and settled there.(141) There is a report indicating that the *muḥaddithūn* in al-Shām would gather in a circle in which they exchanged *ḥadīth* material.(142) Among the Syrian Successors is the well known Abū Idrīs al-Khulānī (d. 80), who informs us that he associated with the Companions Abū al-Dardā’, ‘Ubādh b. al-Ṣāmit, and Shaddād b. Aus and received material on their authority.(143) Having once related a *ḥadīth* about whose authority he was questioned, he said:(144)

لَا نَأْ قَدْرَ عَلَى إِلَّا سَنَادَ مَنِي عَلَى الْحَدِيثِ .

Makḥūl, the most famous Syrian *faqih*, was also a *ḥadīth* activist. He travelled the world in search of *ʿilm*.(145) In various reports, Makḥūl is represented as having held sessions at which *ḥadīths* were studied and read to him.(146) He seems to have organized his material in writing.(147)

The oldest, best known and respected of the Kufan Successors were the pupils of the famous Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd (d. 34).(148) They were reputed for their knowledge and reliability in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. One of the Kufan transmitters, Mughirah b. Muqsim (d. 133-136), said that no *ḥadīth* was accepted unless it was on the authority of the companions of ʿAbd Allāh [b. Masʿūd].(149) In another report, he is recorded as saying that the soundest *ḥadīth* is according to the transmission of the companions of ʿAbd Allāh.(150) The younger Successor, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (d. 96), enumerated in one report some of the companions of ʿAbd Allāh who taught the people the *Qurʾān* and the *sunnah*: ʿAlqamah (d. 61-73), al-Aswad (d. 74 or 75), ʿAbidah (d. c. 70), Masrūq (d. 62 or 63), al-Ḥārith b. Qays (d. c. 40), ʿAmr b. Shuraḥbil (d. 63).(151) The pupils of ʿAbd Allāh did not confine themselves to their master, but would also travel from Kufah to al-Madīnah to acquire *ḥadīth* from

‘Umar,(152) and from ‘Ā’ishah.(153)

al-Aswad b. Yazid was an adherent of ‘Umar and ‘Alqamah of ‘Abd Allāh, but when they met they did not disagree with each other.(154) The strong adherence of ‘Alqamah to Ibn Mas‘ūd caused Ibn Mas‘ūd to say that anything he had read or knew, ‘Alqamah had read or knew as well.(155) Ibn Mas‘ūd and ‘Alqamah would teach the people how to read the *Qur’ān*, and when they had finished that, they would study material on *al-manāsik* and *al-ḥalāl wa-al-ḥarām*.(156) The great concern of ‘Alqamah with *ḥadith* appears in his advice: أَطِيلُوا كَرَّ الْحَدِيثِ لَا يَدْرُسُ (157) He asked his fellow, Masrūq, to write for him *al-naẓā’ir*, so that he might consider them and then erase them.(158)

Masrūq also engaged in *ḥadith* activities, as we have already seen in various reports. He is recorded in one report as having associated with the Companions of the Prophet, and having discovered the variety of their knowledge.(159) Al-Sha‘bī is recorded as having said that he did not know anyone who was more widely travelled than Masrūq.(160) He went to al-Madinah where he found the Companion Zayd b. Thābit to be one of the most deeply rooted in *‘ilm*. (161) Masrūq was much sought after by students of

ḥadīth.(162)

‘Āmir b. Shurāḥīl al-Sha‘bī (d 103-110), who was known for his knowledge of *ḥadīth* as well as his expertise in *fiqh*, made considerable efforts in the diffusion of *ḥadīth*. Makḥūl, the Syrian Successor, is recorded as having said that he had never set eyes on anyone who was more knowledgeable with regard to any *sunnah māḍiyah* than al-Sha‘bī.(163) Al-Sha‘bī advised his audiences to write down whatever they might hear from him.(164) He used to gather with two of his colleagues in the mosque to study and memorize the *ḥadīth*.(165) The Basran transmitter ‘Āṣim al-Aḥwal says that they read to ‘Āmir [al-Sha‘bī] a *ṣaḥīfah* written on the authority of Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh. Al-Sha‘bī told them that he had already heard all that from Jābir himself.(166) In another report, ‘Āṣim says that they read to al-Sha‘bī *ḥadīths* concerning *fiqh* and he gave his approval of them.(167)

Ibrāhīm al-Nakha‘ī, who was one of the greatest *fuqahā’* in Kufah, is praised for his knowledge of *ḥadīth*. Al-A‘mash, his devoted pupil, says that he could never mention a *ḥadīth* to Ibrāhīm without his relating it to him or adding to

it.(168) He approached the *ḥadīth* in a critical spirit.(169) He was one of those who related the sense of the *ḥadīth* rather than its precise form.(170) He was principally concerned with its legal aspects. (171) Al-Aḥmash asked him to give his *isnād* when he related *ḥadīths* on the authority of Ibn Masʿūd. Ibrāhīm said that if he omitted the links it meant that he had heard it from more than one of Ibn Masʿūd's companions.(172) Ibrāhīm was one of those who objected to *ḥadīth* being written down.(173) He is reported to have written some down, in his youth, on the authority of ʿAbidah, who, however, expressed a wish that his own writings should not be kept after his death.(174) Although some pupils gathered around Ibrāhīm in a circle in which he may have transmitted *ḥadīths*, (175) it was never his intention to hold formal *ḥadīth* sessions. (176)

Abū Ishāq al-Sabīʿī tells of himself that he used to frequent the two Companions, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and Rāfiʿ b. Khadij.(177) He used also to attend al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib's sessions. (178) When asked how Abū al-Aḥwaṣ used to relate *ḥadīth*, he said: " he would pour them upon us in the mosque, saying: "ʿAbd Allāh says ... ʿAbd Allāh says ... "(179) Al-Aḥmash was pleased with his meetings with Abū Ishāq

because he received *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibn Mas‘ūd in them. (180)

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is a key figure, in Basrah, in *ḥadīth* transmission. Shu‘bah asked one of his reliable pupils, Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī, if he had transmitted 1,000 *ḥadīths* on the authority of al-Ḥasan. Ayyūb said that he had, plus a further 1,000 and then a further 1,000.(181) Al-Ḥasan seems to have held *ḥadīth* sessions regularly, and one of his pupils told him that it was difficult for him to attend, to hear *ḥadīth* directly from him; he accordingly asked his permission to read with him his *ḥadīths*, which he received from others, and to relate them, on his authority, with the formula *ḥaddathani*.(182) The great amount of time that al-Ḥasan devoted to the *muḥaddithūn* is reflected in Thābit al-Bunānī's saying: (183)

لولا أن تصنعوا بي ما صنعتكم بالحسن محدثتكم أحاديث مؤنقة. ثم قال :
منعوه القائلة ، منعوه النوم .

His *ḥadīths* were recorded in writing. (184) His pupil, Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl , says that he borrowed al-Ḥasan's books and copied them.(185) In one report, al-Ḥasan says that he has consulted his books.(186) His son, ‘Abd Allāh says his father burnt his books, of which only one *ṣaḥīfah* escaped, at the end of his

life. (187) However, two features marked his method of *ḥadīth* transmission: The one is that he is said to have been more concerned for the content of the *ḥadīth* than for the exact form; (188) the other is the relating of *aḥādīth mursalah*, not only omitting the Companions, but also sometimes omitting other links, including his pupils.(189)

Muḥammad b. Sirin heard *ḥadīth* directly from the two famous Companions, Ibn ʿUmar and Abū Hurayrah.(190) He went to Kufah, before the battle of Jamājim, where he found 4,000 searching for *ḥadīth*.(191) On this journey he met ʿAbidah, ʿAlqamah, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abi Laylā.(192) He says that when he went to Kufah there were five scholars there, ʿAbidah, ʿAlqamah, Masrūq, Shurayḥ and al-Ḥārith al-Aʿwar.(193) He says that he used to approach ʿAbidah with the *aṭrāf* [of *ḥadīths*] and ask him about them.(194) His strong association with the Kufans made him an authority on their *ʿilm* ; it was for this reason that Ibn ʿAwn sought his opinion on the abundant *ʿilm* that he heard in Kufah.(195) During Ibn al-Zubayr's period, Ibn Sirin went on the *ḥajj*; on this occasion he heard [*aḥādīth*] both from Ibn al-Zubayr and from Zayd b. Thābit.(196) Ibn Sirin was concerned to relate *ḥadīth* in the precise form in which he had received them.(197)

JUYNBOLL'S EVALUATION OF THE STATUS OF THREE SUCCESSORS IN THE TRANSMISSION OF ḤADĪTH

In dealing with Basrah, Juynboll dismisses the part played by three Successors in the transmission of ḥadīth. In this discussion it appears that he does not take the relevant information at face value but rather takes account of any piece of information which may go in the direction of his view and turns a blind eye to, and puts aside, any other contradictory information.

On al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Juynboll says: "Here the theory is proposed that he is one of those early devout Muslims reputed for his insight in all matters of pious behaviour whose advice was sought in so many problems concerning *fiqh* as well as faith that he became known as an overall expert, but that his activities in the transmission of ḥadīths, if anything at all, are at best minimal. Strong supporting evidence for this theory is found in an *argumentum e silentio*, which was already adduced by others, namely that early treatises attributed to Ḥasan do not contain any ḥadīths, even in contexts where these would have fitted admirably. Therefore, it is surely not far wrong to infer from this that, even if appropriate traditions had already been brought into circulation at the time Ḥasan wrote his epistles, he either did not know about

them - which is at best unlikely - or he left them deliberately unmentioned - which is even more unlikely. Either way he cannot possibly be identified with *ḥadīth* transmission on any measurable scale, if at all. But as his fame spread, a rapidly increasing number of people falsely claimed, especially after his death, that they had heard traditions with him."(198)

Regardless of the controversy about the authenticity of the treatises ascribed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, *ḥadīths* are not absent from all of them . In the *risālah* ascribed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, entitled *Faḍā'il Makkah wa al-sakan fihā*, there are 32 *ḥadīths*. The editor of this *risālah* points out that there is another *risālah* , entitled *Farā'id al-dīn*, which is ascribed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, consisting of *Qur'ānic* verses and *ḥadīths* on 54 *fariḍahs*.(199) In his treatise to the Umayyad caliph, although *ḥadīths* do not occur, the concept of the *sunnat al-Nabī* appears:

" وقد أدركنا يا أمير المؤمنين السلف الذين عملوا بأمر الله ، ورووا حكمته
واستنوا بسنة رسوله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ... فما ترك الله للعباد بعد
الكتاب والرسول حجة " الحسن البصري ص ٣٢٢

" وذكر من ذلك ما لا ينكره أمير المؤمنين ، بل يعرفه ويعرف تصديقه في
كتاب الله وسنة رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - " ص ٣٢٧

However, it is not necessary that such small treatises should contain the relevant *ḥadīths*. We find, for example,

that al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321) who compiled important *ḥadīth* collections (200) does not relate one single prophetic *ḥadīth* in his dogmatic treatise, *al-ʿAqīdah al-Ṭaḥāwiyyah*, though he makes allusion to the relevant *ḥadīths* in general.

In a footnote, Juynboll adduces the following as an additional argument: "Moreover, in the epistles ascribed to Ḥasan collected in *Jamharat rasāʾil al-ʿarab*, pp. 378-391, there is not one tradition either. Whether or not these epistles are genuinely Ḥasan's is open to doubt.(201) In fact, these are merely *rasāʾil waʿziyyah* in which there is not one *Qurʾānic* verse either.

Examining the position of the three Successors, al-Ḥasan, ʿIkrimah and Qatādah, in the transmission of *ḥadīth*, Juynboll concentrates on the information undermining their activities in this field. For all three Successors he neglects the part of their reliable pupils in transmitting materials on their authority. On the other hand, he considers the part of unreliable transmitters and holds them responsible for the material recorded on the authority of the Successors. On al-Ḥasan, he says: "Over the years I have collected the names of some 380 people who are alleged to have heard traditions with Ḥasan, culled from a number of different sources. That the vast majority of these were inexperienced transmitters appears

from the overall defectiveness characterizing most Ḥasan al-Baṣri *isnāds*. This resulted in his *tarjama* in the *rijāl* works, notably the one in Ibn Ḥajar's *Tahdhīb*, turning out to be an on the whole very unfavourable one, not at all commensurate with a man of his stature and renowned piety. Very many cases of *samāʿ* were questioned and surely Ḥasan al-Baṣri should once and for all be exonerated of these critical allegations.

Moreover, the list of alleged pupils of Ḥasan reveals crowds of shadowy, probably fictitious figures as well as a great many notorious forgers, propagandists of the *qadar* doctrine and otherwise 'unreliable' transmitters. (For a representative cross section of those so-called pupils, see Appendix I.)"(202) The appendix contains, as Juynboll says, "A cross section of Ḥasan's most notorious pupils in alphabetical order". And the material of al-Ḥasan which is recorded on the authority of the reliable transmitters is, Juynboll believes, in fact, not their work but the work of 'anonymous people', who used their names. He says: "In any case, the few alleged pupils of Ḥasan, who were generally considered reliable - and even that epithet is extremely rare - can, therefore, not be held responsible for the hundreds of sayings supported by Ḥasan *isnāds*. Their names might

simply have been inserted by otherwise anonymous people."(203)

According to Juynboll, many of al-Ḥasan's pupils are accused of transmitting *mursalāt* on the authority of al-Ḥasan; in fact, this was a feature of al-Ḥasan's transmission. In this regard Juynboll says: "Many alleged pupils of Ḥasan did not even bother to mention the name of the Companion from whom Ḥasan was supposed to have heard the prophetic saying. This resulted in large numbers of *mursalāt*. . . . What is more, in many instances even the prophet himself is not mentioned. It seems feasible that a sizable number of 'traditions', in whose *isnāds* Ḥasan's name appears, are in reality his own utterances moulded after his death into prophetic sayings with the help of sometimes seemingly sound but in most cases clumsily fabricated *isnāds*."(204) He gives a list of sayings ascribed to al-Ḥasan in one source and to the prophet in other sources - a phenomenon which has been discussed in the second chapter- and several of Ḥasan's *mursalat*.

In 'Ikrimah's case, although his *tarjamah* in *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib* is full of reports both favouring him and not favouring him, (205) Juynboll cites only some of those which undermine his activities in *ḥadīth* transmission. Discussing

‘Ikrimah's pupils, Juynboll believes that "as was the case with Ḥasan *isnāds* discussed above, later anonymous forgers are likely to have profited from ‘Ikrimah's fame and may have brought material into circulation in which ‘Ikrimah himself had no part at all." He then gives several pupils of ‘Ikrimah, mentioned in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, whose *ḥadīths* on the authority of ‘Ikrimah are suspicious in one way or another. After giving them, he says: "And then there are listed numerous totally untrustworthy alleged pupils of ‘Ikrimah of whom it is not said *expressis verbis* that they put forged material into ‘Ikrimah's mouth but who may be safely assumed to have done just that."(206)

On Qatādah, Juynboll says:" Another Successor of the stature of the aforementioned Baṣran transmitters is Qatāda b. Di‘āma (d. 117/735). An analysis of his *tarjama* in the *Tahdhīb*, especially of his alleged pupils, yields results so similar to the ones obtained in the analysis of ‘Ikrimah's that we can dispense with it here."(207) Qatādah's *tarjama* in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* abounds with reports pointing to the ability and reliability of Qatādah in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. A quick glance at the *tarjama* of ‘Ikrimah and Qatādah in, for example, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, reveals some of the best *ḥadīth* transmitters as being among their pupils.(208)

NOTES

1. *Tradition*, p. 39.
2. See the next chapter for a discussion of the activities of the *quṣṣāṣ*.
3. In this section he stresses his view that the legal decisions of these *fuqahā* in the course of time were raised to the level of prophetic sayings, a theory which will be discussed in the next chapter.
4. See p. 33 and p. 74.
5. *Tradition*, p. 33.
6. See, for example, their *tarājim* in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib* and other sources.
7. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 114. Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, p. 13, 23.
8. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 309.
9. Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p. 5 (5). p. 8 (6).
10. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 533-34.
11. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 121 (13), (22). p. 123 (22). also al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 1, p. 158-159 no. 214-217.
12. See *Tahdhib* 11, p. 137.
13. Muslim 4, p. 2301, *Zuhd* (18) no.74.
14. Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p. 97 (16).
15. *Tahdhib* 8, p. 400.
16. *al-ʿIlal* 2, p. 18 no. 115. *al-Maʿrifah* 10, p. 445.
17. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 542.
18. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 116 (19). *al-Maʿrifah* 1, p. 484.
19. al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 1, p. 123 no. 117.
20. *Ḥilyah* 4, p. 181-182.
21. Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p. 82 (2).
22. Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, *al-Bidʿa wa al-nahy ʿanhā*, p. 19.
23. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 125 (21). Abū Zurʿah p. 553 no. 1506.
24. *Siyar* 5, p. 253.
25. Abū Zurʿah p. 539 no. 1458.
26. See al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 1, p. 158-159. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 121 (13), (22), p. 123

- (22). See also 2 2, p. 123 (26) where he is found writing down details of the Prophet's practice, on the authority of Abū Rāfi'.
27. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 112 no. 466.
28. Ibn Saʿd 6, p. 179 (22). Abū Zurʿah p. 619 no.1771. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 606 no. 881.
29. Abū Zurʿah p. 513 no. 1359.
30. Ibn Saʿd 5, p. 216 (15).
31. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 363 no. 2295.
32. *Siyar* 3, p. 351.
33. *Tahdhib* 2, p.43.
34. *Siyar* 4, p. 55
35. See *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 22-23. Ibn Saʿd 5, p. 354 (6) (10). *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 44-45 no. 2012.
36. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 126 (12), (16).
37. Id, p. 136 (6).
38. *al-Maʿrifah* 1, p. 489. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 126 (9).
39. *al-Maʿrifah* 1, p. 489.
40. Ibn Saʿd 8, p.47 (4).
41. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 125 (9), (12). See al-Kaṭib, *Taqyid al-ʿilm*, p.74-85 for various reports illustrating his engagement in writing down the *ḥadith*.
42. al-Khaṭib, *Taqyid al-ʿilm*, p. 81.
43. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 124 (9).
44. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 116. *Tahdhib* 3, p. 399.
45. *al-Maʿrifah* 1, p. 486.
46. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 164-165.
47. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 124 (20).
48. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 125 (1).
49. al-Māliki, *Riyaḍ al-Nufūs* 1, p. 61-62.
50. *Siyar* 3, p. 238.
51. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 32.
52. See *al-Maʿrifah*, 1, p. 491, and al-Māliki, *Riyaḍ al-Nufūs*, 1, p. 61-62.
53. *Siyar* 4, p. 325.
54. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 606 no. 881.
55. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 740.

56. *Siyar* 2, p. 599. See also 2, p. 617 for a report demonstrating the capacity of Abū Hurayra's memory on the authority of the prophet among the companions.
57. *Ibidem* 2, p. 271, where Ibn ʿUmar Says : ... You frequented the Messenger of Allāh more than we and you know more of his *ḥadith*. See also Abu Zurʿah , p. 545 no. 1480.
58. Ibn Saʿd 5, p. 227 (14).
59. *Siyar* 2, p. 608.
60. *Siyar* 2, p. 607.
61. See *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 826. *al-Muḥaddith* p. 538 no. 702.
62. al-Khaṭīb , *al-Jāmiʿ* 2, p. 58 no.(1172).
63. *Id.* 2, p. 57 no.(1165).
64. *Tahdhib* 6, p. 356.
65. *Siyar* 4, p. 46-47.
66. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 719.
67. *Tahdhib* 11, p. 101.
68. al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 2, p. 55 no. (1153). *Siyar* 3, p. 386.
69. Ibn Saʿd 7 11, p. 129 (15).
70. *Siyar* 3, p. 385.
71. Abu Zurʿah p. 214 no. 177.
72. See *Tahdhib* 1, p. 263-264.
73. *Siyar* 3, p. 361.
74. Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p. 166 (9).
75. al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 2, p. 160 no. 1486, where he met Muʿadh and asked him, to relate to him some of the prophetic *ḥadiths*.
76. al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārikh al-kabir* 2 1, p. 160.
77. Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p. 14 (6).
78. Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p. 13 (4).
79. Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p. 5 (21).
80. See Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p. 17 (3), (7).
81. Abū Zurʿah, p. 555 no. 1512.
82. *Siyar* 2, p. 381, 383.
83. *Siyar* 2, p. 390.
84. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 196 no. 1051.
85. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 817. Abu Zurʿah p. 670-671.

86. al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 2, p. 8 no. 1014. Also 2, p. 54 no. 1164.
87. *Siyar* 4, p. 55.
88. *Tahdhib* 1, p. 425.
89. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 634. In another report al-Barāʾ tells us that it was not possible for all of the Companions to hear all of the prophetic *hadiths*. Accordingly, those who were present passed them on to those who were absent. *al-Muḥaddith* p. 235 no. 133.
90. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 71 no. 197.
91. *Ibidem* 1, p. 75 no. 224.
92. Abū Khaythamah, *al-ʿIlm* p. 9-10 no. 19.
93. Ibn Saʿd 4 1, p. 64 (8).
94. *Siyar* 3, p. 351.
95. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 408 no. 428.
96. Ibn Saʿd 6, p. 76 (15).
97. See *Tahdhib* 5, p. 251.
98. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 579.
99. *Siyar* 4, p. 522.
100. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 179 no. 30.
101. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 178 -179 no. 29.
102. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 22-23. Ibn Saʿd 5, p. 354 (6).
103. *Siyar* 4, p. 424.
104. See note (6).
105. See Abū Zurʿah, p. 406 no. 940.
106. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 129 (21).
107. *Id.* 5, p. 89 (11) (15).
108. *Id.* 5, p. 89 (24).
109. *al-Maʿrifah* 1, p. 468.
110. *Id.* p. 470.
111. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 130 (3).
112. *Id.* 2 2, p. 130 (15).
113. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Jāmiʿ* 1, p. 73.
114. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Jāmiʿ* 2, p. 144.
115. *Siyar* 4, p. 424.
116. *Siyar* 4, p. 424.

117. Ibidem.
118. *al-Muṣannaf* 11, p. 425 no. (20902). Ibn Saʿd 5, p. 133 (20).
119. Abū Zurʿah, p.413 no. 972.
120. *al-Maʿrifah* 1, p. 552.
121. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 827.
122. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Jāmiʿ* 1, p. 77.
123. *Siyar* 5, p. 55.
124. Id. 5, p. 56.
125. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 269 no.(1590).
126. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p.133 (19).
127. *Siyar* 5, p.14.
128. See the fifth chapter of this part. al-Ṭabari(3, p. 2485) says:
 وكان عكرمة جوالا في البلاد ، قدم البصرة فسمع منه أهلها ، والكوفة فحمل عنه كثير من بها ،
 واليمن فكتب عنه بها كثير من أهلها ، والمغرب فسمع منه به جماعة من أهله ، والمشرق فكتب عنه به .
129. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib* 10, p. 413.
130. *Siyar* 5, p. 98.
131. See Abū Zurʿah p. 364, p. 369.
132. *Siyar* 5, p. 99.
133. Abū Zurʿah , p. 628 no. 1808.
134. *Tahdhib* 7, p. 200
135. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 44 no. 20. al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 1, p. 233 no. 453.
136. Ibn Saʿd 8, p. 47 (4).
137. Abū Zurʿah, p. 369. See also *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 422 no. 465 where Ibn Jurayj, his devoted pupil, asks him in what form he would describe the manner in which he transmitted material to him.
138. Ibn Saʿd 5, p. 345 (11).
139. *Siyar* 5, p. 82.
140. For example, Jubayr b. Nufayr (d. 75-80), Kathir b. Murrah (d. 70-80) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghunm al-Ashʿari (d. 78).
141. Abū Zurʿah mentions some of those who came there during ʿAbd al-Malik's rule (between 65-86) p. 501-502 no. 1314, al-Qāsim b. Mukhaymirah, Muslim b. Yasār, Abū Qilābah, ʿUqbah b. Wisāj. ʿAbdah b. Lubābah, Khālid b. Durayk.
142. See *Siyar* 4, p. 358.

143. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 719.
144. Abū Zurʿah, p. 317 (594).
145. See *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 412-13 no. 2694.
146. See for example Abū Zurʿah, p. 365, p. 369, p. 274.
147. See Abū Zurʿah, p. 395 no. 896 in which the Syrian transmitter, Saʿid b. ʿAbd al-ʿziz (d. 167) receives Makḥūl's book on the pilgrimage from the best of Makḥūl's pupils; al-ʿAlā b. al-Ḥarīth (d. 136).
148. See for Example *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 576-577.
149. *al-ʿIlal* 2, p. 18 no. 119.
150. *al-ʿIlal* 2, p. 19 no. 120.
151. *Siyar* 4, p. 65.
152. al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 1, p. 123 no. 117.
153. Ibn Saʿd 6, p. 202 (9 ff.). In this report the son of al-Aswad b. Yazid was the correspondent of his father and his fellows to ʿĀishah.
154. Id. p. 48 (27).
155. *Tahdhib* 8, p. 278.
156. *Siyar* 4, p. 55.
157. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 307 no. 1866.
158. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 555.
159. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 542.
- لقد جالست أصحاب محمد - صلى الله عليه وسلم- فوجدتهم كالأخاد، والأخاد يروي الرجل، والأخاد يروي الرجلين والأخاد يروي العشرة، والأخاد يروي المائة، والأخاد لو نزل به أهل الأرض لا صدرهم، فوجدت عبد الله من ذلك الأخاد
160. Abū Zurʿah, p. 652 no. 1937.
161. Id. p. 654 no. 1944.
162. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 179 no. 30.
163. Ibn Saʿd 6, p. 177 (12). ما رأيت أحدا أعلم بسنة ما ضية من الشعبي.
164. *al-Maʿrifah* 3, p. 237.
165. *Siyar* 4, p. 522.
166. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 430 no. 483. See also *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 276.
167. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 826. عرضنا على الشعبي أحاديث الفقه فأجازها.
168. Abū Khāyṭamah, *al-ʿIlm*, p. 18, no. 63.

169. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 607. قال الأعمش : كان إبراهيم صيرفيا في الحديث
170. Ibn Saʿd 6, p. 190 (6).
171. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 607. إني لأسمع الحديث فأخذ ما يؤخذ به وأدع سائرهم .
172. Ibn Saʿd 6, p. 190 (10).
- قلت لإبراهيم إذا حدثتني عن عبد الله فأسند ، قال : إذا قلت قال عبد الله فقد سمعته من غير واحد من أصحابه ، وإذا قلت حدثني فلان ، فحدثني فلان .
173. See Ibn Saʿd 6, p.189 (6, 22), 190 (16).
174. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p.76 no. 230. Abū Zurʿah p.655 no. 1952.
- كنت أكتب عند عبدة فقال : لا تخلدني عنى كتاباً .
175. Abū Zurʿah, p. 470 no. 1218.
176. Ibn Saʿd 6, p.190 (7) (23) (27).
177. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 164 no. 851.
- كنت كثير المجالسة لرافع بن خديج ، وكنت كثير المجالسة لابن عمر .
- see also *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p.623.
178. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 71 no. 197.
179. Ibn Saʿd 6, 126 (17). *al-Maʿrifah* 3, p. 209.
180. Ibn Saʿd 6, p. 239 (17). كنت إذا اجتمعت أنا وأبو إسحاق جئنا بحديث عبد الله غضاً .
181. *al-ʿIlal* 2, p.13 no.63.
182. *al-Muḥaddith*, p.427 no. 473. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 828.
183. Ibn Saʿd 7 2, p. 4 (8).
184. Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p.116 (4).
- ... حميد قال : كان علم الحسن في صحيفة مثل هذه وعقد عفان بالإبهامين والسبابتين
185. Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p. 126 (19). *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 89.
186. *al-Maʿrifah* 3, p.227. Abū Khaythamah, *al-ʿIlam*, p.18 no. 66.
- إن لنا كتباً نتعامدها
187. Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p. 127 (10).
188. Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p. 115 (27). See al-Khaṭīb, *al-Kifāyah*, p. 186. al-Kaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 2, p. 32 no. 1093.
189. *Tahdhib* 2, p. 270. See also *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 36. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Tamhid* 1, p. 57-58.
190. Ibn Saʿd 7 1, p. 141 (2). *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 205.

191. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 408 no.428. *al-ʿIlal* 2, p. 17 no. 107.
192. *al-Muḥadith*, p. 231.
193. Waki, *Akhbār al-Quḍāt* 2, p. 228.
194. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 263 no. 1527.
195. Ibn Saʿd 7 2, p. 25 (6).
196. *Tahdhib* 9, p. 215
197. Ibidem. كان ابن سيرين يحدث بالحديث على حروفه .
198. *Tradition*, p. 49f
199. See *Faḍāʾil Makkah* p. 8-9.
200. *Mushkil al-āthār, Sharḥ maʿāni al-āthār*.
201. p. 49, footnote 184.
202. *Tradition*, p. 50.
203. *Tradition*, p. 52.
204. *Tradition*, p.51.
205. See *Tahdhib* 7, p. 263- 273.
206. *Tradition*, p. 57.
207. *Tradition*, p. 58.
208. See, for Ikrimah, 7, p. 264 and, for Qatādah, 8, p. 352.

CHAPTER FIVE

ṬALAB AL-ʿILM

A DISCUSSION OF JUYNBOLL'S PROPOSAL OF THE
BEGINNING OF THE SECOND CENTURY AS A DATE FOR
THE FIRST ṬALAB AL-ʿILM JOURNEYS

In this section, Juynboll presents another and final argument in support of his hypothesis regarding the late date of the beginning of the transmission of *ḥadīth*. He holds the idea that *ḥadīth* activities in the various centres were not more than regional. He believes that the chronology of the *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys supports this view. Proposing a date for the beginning of this activity Juynboll says: "This argument concerns the *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys and the relatively late date when this activity became the general practice. If it can be proved, as will be attempted in the following pages, that the earliest data on *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys cannot be traced back to a time earlier than the beginning of the second century/ the 740s-750s, this constitutes, surely, additional evidence for the overall regional character maintained in the various *ḥadīth* centres during the first hundred years or so

after the prophet's death".(1) In fact, after scrutinizing Juynboll's evidence and sources, I have found it extremely difficult to see how he establishes this chronology for the *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys. In this discussion we will see that not only are the data on which Juynboll relies merely selective reports but also that they do not even support his view. The earliest data on *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys negates the "regional character" of this activity, as do also other factors. But before presenting this material, we should examine Juynboll's evidence. He says: "I found one unambiguous *awāʿil* report indicating who was the first traveling *ḥadīth* collector. It is this same Maʿmar b. Rāshid. Furthermore, Rāmahurmuzi gives a concise list of *ṭabaqas* of *ḥadīth* travelers in which he mentions ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) as the first traveler of the first *ṭabaqa*. In his *tarjama* we read that he started collecting *ḥadīths* in the year 141/758. But in ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn (d. 151/768) we encounter a *ḥadīth* traveler who started his search for traditions allegedly ten years earlier in 131/750. All these data point, as mentioned above, to a time well into the second century".(2)

With respect to the *awāʿil* report, Juynboll selects it from a book devoted intirely to the *ṭalab al-ḥadīth* journeys, i. e. *al-*

Riḥlah fi ṭalab al-ḥadīth, which abounds with reports referring to a time much earlier than Juynboll proposes. But besides this fact, the report under discussion cannot be taken into account as supporting his proposed chronology.

The report, which is ascribed to Ibn Ḥanbal, runs: "... He travelled in search of *ḥadīth* to al-Yaman. He was the first to travel."(3) Although this version may suggest that Maʿmar b. Rāshid was the first travelling *ḥadīth* collector, I found another version recorded by al-Nasāʿi in *al-Kunā*, which states specifically: "... He was the first to travel to al-Yaman."(4) Ibn Ḥanbal himself mentions, in another report, that the companions of Ibn Masʿūd used to travel from Kufah to al-Madinah in order to learn and hear *ḥadīth* from ʿUmar (d. 23). In another version of this report ʿAlqamah (d. 62-73) and al-Aswad (d. 74-75) are mentioned in particular.(5)

Also Juynboll refers us to the work of al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*. When we consult this work we find that the title referred to categorizes those who visited a number of different provinces in their travels.(6) Moreover, previous to this list, al-Rāmahurmuzī mentions various reports which represent some of the prominent Successors who flourished during the first century as having engaged in this kind of activity. In particular, these reports contain the names of

Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94/), Abū Qilābah(d.104 or later), Abū Ma'shar al-Kūfi (d.119-20), the famous companion, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh (d. after 70), al-Sha'bi (d. 103 -110), Masrūq (d. 62 or 63).(7) Furthermore, after giving the list, al-Rāmahurmuzī names some of those who travelled to just one province. Among these are some who are much earlier than Ibn al-Mubārak, for example, Muḥammad b. Sirin (d. 110) and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (d.124).(8) In the case of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Awn, I consulted the *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, to which Juynboll refers us; however, I found that we do not "encounter a *ḥadīth* traveler who started his search for traditions allegedly ten years earlier in 131/750" as Juynboll says, but perhaps half a century earlier. The report there says: " He heard [*ḥadīth*] in al-Madinah from al-Qāsim (d.106) and Sālim (d.106), in Basrah from al-Ḥasan (d.110)and Ibn Sirin (d.110), in Kufah from al-Sha'bi (d. 103-110) and al-Nakha'i (d. 96), in Makkah from 'Aṭā'(d.114) and Mujāhid(d.101-104), in al-Shām from Makḥūl (d.112-118) and Rajā' b. Ḥaywah (d.112).(9) So Ibn 'Awn's journeys must have taken place prior to the dates of the deaths of these Successors. Thus it means that Ibn 'Awn must have begun his journeys at the latest by the end of the first century. What may, perhaps, have caused Juynboll to think that Ibn 'Awn

started his search for *ḥadīth* in 131/750 is a misreading of a report concerning the beginning of his propagating his material, which has nothing to do with his search for *ḥadīth*.⁽¹⁰⁾

After giving these reports, Juynboll argues away two reports showing the engagement of two Successors in *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys. He says:

"It is true that there is also a reference to the Syrian Successor Makḥūl (d. between 112/730 and 118/736) as having made extensive journeys in search of knowledge, but perhaps Makḥūl constitutes one more example of that class of Successors, who were at the same time well-known *fuqahāʾ*, whose personal opinions were in the course of time 'raised to the level' of prophetic traditions (. . .), as is also substantiated by the numerous cases of *samāʿ* from Companions which are doubted.

Besides, the term *ʿilm* in Makḥūl's alleged statement (*ṭuftu ʿl-arḍa kullaha fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* (i. e. I roamed the world in search of knowledge) may, moreover, for a change very well be interpreted as referring to something other than *ḥadīths*. *ʿIlm* in this context should rather be identified with *fatwās*, *qaḍāʾ* 's or, simply, *raʾy*. This can be substantiated with various quotations from the *tarjama* of an older *faqīh*, Masrūq

b. al-Ajda' (d. 63/683) from Kūfa. In this *tarjama* Sha'bi is recorded as having said that he had never set eyes on someone who was *aṭlab li 'l-ilm* (i. e. more widely traveled) than Masrūq. Here *ilm* definitely must refer to something other than *ḥadīth*, if we want to harmonize that with Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Ijli's statement who reported that Masrūq was one of the *fatwā* givers and Ibn Sa'd's brief description of him (*lahu aḥādīth ṣāliḥa*) which is tantamount to saying that he allegedly transmitted a few traditions of passing quality mainly of religious - not legal - tenor." (11)

A distinction can hardly be made, at this early period, between the terms *faqīh* and *mufti*, on the one hand, and *muḥaddith*, on the other. We have already seen, in the previous chapter, the participation of the great early *fuqahā'* in the activities of *ḥadīth*. Masrūq and Makḥūl are no exception. They are recorded in various reports as fully involved in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. So the word *ilm* should be interpreted in the context of these report. Moreover, there is a report that comes just after al-Sha'bi's remark in which Masrūq is recorded as one of the companions of Ibn Mas'ūd who taught the people *al-sunnah*.(12) So Juynboll should take into account this report when he harmonizes al-Sha'bi's remark with the other two reports.

Makhūl, in a report, tells in some detail of his journey. In this report an example of the *‘ilm*, which Makhūl was looking for, is given. It is a prophetic *ḥadīth* : (13)

عتقت بمصر فلم أدع بها علما إلا حويت عليه فيما أرى ، ثم أتيت العراق فلم أدع بها علما إلا حويت عليه فيما أرى ، ثم أتيت المدينة فلم أدع بها علما إلا حويت عليه فيما أرى ، ثم أتيت الشام فغربلتها ، كل ذلك أسأل عن النفل فلم أجد أحداً يخبرني عنه ، حتى مررت بشيخ من بني تميم يقال له : زياد بن جارية جالسا على كرسي ، فسألته ، فقال : حدثني حبيب بن مسلمة قال : شهدت رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - : نفل في البداءة الربيع ، وفي الرجعة الثلث .

Nevertheless, even supposing that the significance of these reports were indisputable, what about the considerable number of reports which are to be found in the sources on which Juynboll relies in his study, but which he ignores ? In fact, these reports clearly demonstrate that *ṭalab al-‘ilm* journeys constituted general practice as early as the time of the Companions. In the following, I will present the data on the *ṭalab al-‘ilm* journeys and on other factors which testify to the strong contact between the centres during the first century.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ṬALAB AL-ʿILM JOURNEYS

Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (d. 50 or later)

He travelled to ʿUqbah b. ʿĀmir (d.58) in Egypt to hear a *ḥadīth* from him.(14)

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 73-78)

He travelled for a month to al-Shām in order to hear one *ḥadīth* from ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays (d. 54).(15)

Jundub b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī (d. between 60 and 70)

He went to al-Madinah in search of *ʿilm* where he found the people in the Prophet's Mosque in groups exchanging *aḥādīth* (*yataḥadathūn*). (16)

The companions of Ibn Masʿūd

They used to travel from Kufah to al-Madinah in order to learn and hear *ḥadīth* from ʿUmar (d. 23). In another version of this report ʿAlqamah (d. 62-73) and al-Aswad (d. 74-75) are mentioned in particular.(17)

ʿAlqamah b. Qays al-Nakhaʿī (d. 62-73)

He was the most intimate of Ibn Masʿūd's companions. He and his fellow, al-Aswad, used to travel with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.(18) He said that he prayed behind ʿUmar for two years.(19) When he went to ʿUmar, other people asked him to memorize *riwāyah* from him for them.(20) Also it is recorded

that he went to al-Shām, where he entered the mosque of Damascus and sat with the Companion Abū al-Dardā'.(21)

Masrūq b. al-Ajda' (d. 62 or 63)

Al-Sha'bi records that he had never known anyone who travelled more widely in search of *ilm* than Masrūq.(22) In another report, Masrūq is reported to have travelled for a *ḥarf*.(23) He went to al-Madinah, where he found the Companion, Zayd b. Thābit, who was firmly rooted in *ilm*.(24)

al-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiyah al-Kindī

He travelled from al-shām to al-Madinah in order to meet 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.(25)

'Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī (d. 74 or later)

He was originally from Yaman. He went with Mu'ādh b. Jabal to al-Shām, stayed with him until his death, and then settled with Ibn Mas'ūd in Kufah.(26)

Abū Baḥrayyah al-Kindī (d. 77)

He went to al-Shām to meet the Companion Mu'ādh b. Jabal.(27)

Qays b. 'Ibād (d. after 80)

He went to al-Madinah in search of *ilm*.(28)

Arbidah al-Tamimi

He is reported to have said : I went to any country in which I heard that there was *ilm*.(29)

Zirr b. Ḥubaysh (d. 81-83)

He travelled with a delegation of Kufans to al-Madinah during the caliphate of ʿUthmān. The reason for his visit was simply to meet and learn from the Companions of the Prophet. He attached himself to Ubayy b. Kaʿb and ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. ʿAʿwf.(30)

ʿAbd Allāh b. Fayrūz al-Daylamī (d. around 80)

He travelled from Palestine to al-Ṭāʾif to hear a *ḥadīth* from the Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. (31)

Khaythamah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. after 80)

He went to al-Madinah where he met Abū Hurayrah. He told him that he came from Kufah in order to ask for good things (*altamis al-khayr*). (32)

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abi Laylā (d. 83)

There is a statement attributed to him in which he says that he travelled throughout the *Amṣār*. (33)

Abū al-ʿĀliyah al-Riyāḥī (d. after 90)

He is recorded as having said: " We used to hear *al-riwāyah* in Basrah on the authority of the Companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ṣ), but we were not satisfied until we traveled to al-Madinah and we heard it from their own mouths".(34) In another report, he states that he used to travel for days in order to hear *riwāyah* from someone.(35)

He recited the *Qurʾān* to Ubayy b. Kaʿb who lived in al-Madinah.(36) He had been in al-Shām with Abū Dharr.(37)

Saʿid b. al-Musayyab (d. after 90)

He said that he would travel days and nights in search of one *ḥadīth*.(38) He used to go regularly to Abū Hurayrah in Dhū al-Ḥulayfah.(39)

ʿUbayd Allāh b.ʿAdī b. al-Khiyār (d. at the end of the reign of al-Walid)

He travelled from al-Madinah to Iraq to hear a *ḥadīth* from ʿAlī (d.40).(40)

Saʿid b. Jubayr (d. 95)

He was a Kufan Successor, but he is known for his adherence to two most important Companions who lived in Hijāz : Ibn ʿUmar and Ibn ʿAbbās. When the Kufans disagreed on various matters, he would write them down, and then go to Ibn ʿUmar to ask him about them.(41) On one occasion, they disagreed about one particular verse, so he travelled to Ibn ʿAbbās, to ask him.(42) ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 92-100), the Madinan Successor, said that when Saʿid used to pass by_ perhaps on his way to the *ḥajj* _ he would be questioned about the *farāʾiḍ* and other things.(43)

Shaqiq b. Salamah al-Asdi (d. during the reign of ʿUmar b.ʿAbd al-ʿAziz)

He went to al-Shām where he heard [*ḥadīth*] from Abū al-Dardā'.(44)

Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsa (d. 104)

His father sent him to al-Madīnah to learn from the Companion 'Abd Allāh b. Salām (d.43).(45)

Abū Qilābah (d. 104-107)

He is a Basran Successor who moved to Syria and settled there. He is recorded as having said that he once stayed in al-Madīnah three days waiting for someone to come there, in order to hear a *ḥadīth* from him.(46)

'Āmir b. Shurāḥil al-Sha'bi (d. 103-10)

He once related a *ḥadīth* to someone and told him that he was giving it to him for nothing, even though people travelled to al-Madīnah for something less important than this *ḥadīth*.(47) He went to Makkah in order to meet a Companion of the Prophet because of three *ḥadīths* which were mentioned to him.(48) Al-Sha'bi is recorded in some reports as demonstrating the importance of the journeys for *ṭalab al-'ilm*.(49)

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110)

He travelled to Kufah to meet the Companion Ka'b b. 'Ujrah.(50) When he went to Makkah, people there, among whom were some prominent Ḥijāzi Successors, sat him in a

chair and gathered around him to hear him relate [ḥadīth].(51)

Muḥammad b. Sirīn (d. 110)

He travelled to Kufah where he met the prominent Kufan Successors, ʿAbidah, ʿAlqamah, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā.(52) He heard [aḥādīth] from Abū Hurayrah in al-Madinah.(53)

Makḥūl al-Dimashqī (d. 112-118)

He roamed the *amṣar* in search of ʿilm,(54) visiting Egypt, Iraq, al-Madinah, and al-Shām.(55) In his travelling he met some of the famous Successors, for example, Saʿid b. al-Musayyab,(56) al-Shaʿbī(57) and Shurayḥ.(58)

ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114)

He went to al-Madinah, which gave him, when he returned to Makkah, higher status than his Makkan fellows, ʿAmr b. Dinār, Mujāhid and others.(59)

Qatādah b. Diʿāmah al-Sudūsī (d. 117)

He went to Kufah to al-Shaʿbī.(60) He also went to al-Madinah, where he asked who was the most knowledgeable among its people concerning divorce, and he was told that it was Sulaymān b. Yasār.(61)

Ḥumayd b. Hilāl al-ʿAdawī al-Baṣri

He travelled from Basrah to Kufah to meet Abū al-Aḥwaṣ.(62)

Abū Miṣhar al-Kūfi (d. 120)

He went from Kufah to Basrah to hear a *ḥadīth* from the Basran transmitter Abān b. Abī ‘Ayyāsh.(63)

Busr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī (al-Shāmi) (d. around 120)

He used to travel to the various *amṣār* in order to hear one *ḥadīth*.(64)

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (d. 124)

He travelled to al-Shām to meet ‘Aṭā’ b. Yazid, Ibn Muḥayriz and Ibn Ḥaywah.(65) He commuted between Ḥijāz and al-Shām for forty-five years.(66) Al-Zuhri himself was sought out by other transmitters from various centres.(67)

‘Amr b. Dīnār (d. 126)

He went to al-Madīnah in order to meet al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (d. 100).(68)

Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr (d. 132)

He was an expert in *ḥadīth* of Ḥijāz. He was originally from Basrah, but he settled in al-Yamāmah.(69) He travelled to al-Madīnah in order to meet the sons of the Companions who were there.(70) It is said that he stayed in al- Madīnah ten years in order to engage in *ṭalab al-‘ilm*.(71)

‘Aṭā’ al-Khūrasānī (d. 135) went to al-Madīnah, but most of the Companions were already dead.(72)

THE ḤAJJ JOURNEY

An important factor, touched on by Juynboll only in passing (the same is true also of the next factor that we mention), which contributed to the diffusion of the *ḥadīth*, already during the first century, was the use of the occasion of the *ḥajj* or of making the *ʿumrah*. Scholars from all over the Islamic world had the opportunity to gather in Makkah, which enabled them both to meet the Ḥijāzī scholars and to meet each other and exchange their material. Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī (d. 131), speaking about his predecessors, said: "They used to make the *ḥajj* in order to meet each other".(73) Ayyūb himself, when he returned from Ḥijāz, used to urge his pupils to memorize what he brought from there.(74)

A good reflection of *ṭalab al-ʿilm* activities during the *ḥajj* can be seen in two reports. Ibn ʿAbbās once performed the *ḥajj* accompanying the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiyah (d.60); Muʿāwiyah had his entourage and Ibn ʿAbbās had his of those who sought *al-ʿilm*.(75) The other report represents Ibn ʿAbbās as being surrounded by groups of his pupils during the nights of the *ḥajj*.(76)

Some of the Successors made many pilgrimages during their lifetimes. al-Aswad b. Yazid al-Nakhaʿī(d. 74-75), who

performed either the *ḥājj* or the *‘umrah* 80 times,(77) had a close contact with ‘Ā’ishah, to whom he would send his son as a go-between.(78) Abū ‘Uthmān al-Nahdī (d.95-100), who lived first in Kufah and then in Basrah, performed either the *ḥajj* or the *‘umrah* 60 times.(79) He once performed the *ḥajj* with the principle of meeting Abū Hurayrah in order to hear directly from him one *ḥadīth*, which had already been related to him by someone else.(80) Sa‘id b. Jubayr(d.95), from Kufah, used to go to Ḥijāz twice a year, once for the *ḥajj* and once for the *‘umrah*.(81) ‘Alī b. al- Ḥusayn(d. 92-100) said that Sa‘id used to pass by [al-Madinah], where he would be questioned about *farā’iḍ* and other matters.(82) If the Kufans had disagreed on any a matter, Sa‘id wrote it down, in order to ask Ibn ‘Umar about it when they met.(83)

Such journeys facilitated meetings in which Companions and Successors from different regions discussed and learned *ḥadīths*.

‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr was advised by his aunt, ‘Ā’ishah, to meet the Companion ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr, who passed them on his way to the *ḥajj*, to profit from the large amount of *‘ilm* he had on the authority of the Prophet. ‘Urwah did this, and he also met him on the next *ḥajj*, to check a one particular *ḥadīth* .(84)

A number of Kufan Successors discussed one particular matter throughout their journey to perform the *ḥajj*. When they arrived, one of their number, ‘Alqamah al-Nakha‘i was deputed to ask ‘Ā‘ishah about it, and she obliged with a *ḥadīth* on the subject.(85) When the people of Kufah learnt that the Successor ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī al-Hudhayl was going to Makkah, they composed a list of questions in a *ṣaḥīfah* and gave it to him. Ibn ‘Abbās held a *majlis* at Makkah, in which he answered these questions.(86) Ṭāwūs (d. 106) and ‘Amr b. Dinār(d. 126), both Ḥijazi Successors, once found themselves sitting with a man from Basrah, called Bashir b. Ka‘b al-‘Adawī . Ṭāwūs said: "I saw this man come to Ibn ‘Abbās and relate [*ḥadīth*] to him, upon which Ibn ‘Abbās said : 'It is as if I heard the *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurayrah'."(87) After performing the *ḥajj*, a group of women (probably from Syria) went to al-Madīnah and then they visited Ṣafiyyah bint Ḥuyay (d. 50), one of the Prophet's wives, to question her concerning various matters. They also found a group of women from Kufah , present for the same purpose.(88)

There are numerous further references in the sources which depict the importance of the *ḥajj* and the *‘umrah* in the diffusion and exchange of *ḥadīth*. In the following some examples of scholars either teaching or learning *‘ilm* in

connection with this journey are given.

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ (d. 63)

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr was seen, in the shadow of the Ka‘bah, relating *ḥadīth* on the authority of the Prophet to crowds of people round him.(89)

‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Juzay (d. 85-88)

Abū Ḥanīfah went on the *ḥajj* with his father in the year 93. He saw there the Companion ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Juzay surrounded by people to whom he was relating *aḥadīth* on the authority of the Prophet.(90)

Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab (d. after 90) (al-Madinah)

When the Iraqi Successor Maymūn b. Mihrān (d.117) came to al-Madinah, he asked who was the most knowledgeable *faqīh* among its people. He was advised to go to Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab. He questioned him as if he was already familiar with the *ḥadīths* available there.(91) In another report, we find that Sa‘id was also sought out by Basran transmitters who came to al-Madinah after performing the *ḥajj* .(92) Whenever ‘Ali b. Zayd b. Jad‘ān went to Makkah, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī would ask him to question the Madinan scholar Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab about some matters.(93)

‘Amr b. Dinār (d. 126) (Makkah)

Abū Ja‘far al-Bāgir (d. 114-118) said that what motivated him to perform the *ḥajj* was to meet ‘Amr b. Dinār.(94) The Yamāni Successor Ṭāwūs, who performed forty pilgrimages during his life,(95) advised his son, ‘Abd Allāh, that when he arrived at Makkah, he should frequent ‘Amr b. Dinār because of the knowledge that he had had from the other scholars.(96)

‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114) (Makkah)

Scholars used to gather around the Makkan Successor ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, during the *mawāsīm*, learning from him.(97)

Bajalah b. ‘Abdah al-Tamīmī (Basrah)

‘Amr b. Dinār heard him during the *hajj* in the year 70 near the steps of Zamzam, relating *ḥadīth* to ‘Amr b. Aws (d.90) (al-Ṭā‘if) and Jabir b. Zayd (d.93-103) (Basrah).(98)

al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) (Basrah)

When he came to Makkah, people gathered round him while he sat and related [*ḥadīth*] to them. Among those who attended this session were the famous Makkan Successors Mujāhid , ‘Aṭā’, Ṭāwūs, and ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb.(99)

Muḥammad b. Sirīn (d. 110) (Basrah)

He performed *ḥajj* during Ibn al-Zubayr's period (65-74)

in which he heard [*ḥadīth*] from him and from Zayd b. Thābit.(100)

Sālim b. Abī al-Jaʿd (d.97-101) (Kufah)

He used to relate *ḥadīth*, in the holy mosque, on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās.(101)

al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtaybah (d.113-115) (kufah)

He was seen in al-Khif mosque, where the scholars resorted to him.(102)

Umay b. Rabīʿah (Kufah)

He performed the *ḥajj* in the year 100. On this occasion, he met al-Ḥasan, ʿAṭāʾ, and Ṭāwūs. (103)

Jāmiʿ b. Shaddād (d. 127 or 128) (Kufah)

He went to Makkah for the *ḥajj* and inquired who was the most knowledgeable of the people of Makkah. He was told to frequent Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d.94).(104)

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (d. 124) and **Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir** (d. 130 or later) were seen sitting in the holy mosque studying *al-ʿilm*.(105)

Thawr b. Yazid al-Shāmi and **al-Awzāʿi**, both from al-Shām, went on the *ḥajj* in the year 105 and people heard [*aḥādīth*] from them during that time. (106)

Al-Layth b. Saʿd (d. 175) (Egypt)

He went on the *ḥajj* in the year 113. On this occasion, he

heard [*aḥadith*] from various scholars. Among them were Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, Ibn Abi Mulaykah, ‘Aṭā’, Abū al-Zubayr, Nāfi‘, ‘Imrān b. Abi Anas.(107)

MOVEMENT BETWEEN PROVINCES

The following is a list of Companions and Successors who transferred from one province to another for various reasons.

Mu‘ādh b. Jabal (d. 18)

The Prophet sent him to al-Yaman.(108) After the Prophet's death, he went to al-Shām, where he died.(109)

Abū Hurayrah (d. 57-59)

He visited Kufah.(110) He also visited Damascus in which he was requested by the *muḥaddithūn* to relate to them prophetic *hadiths*.(111)

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās (d. 68)

He spend his youth collecting *‘ilm* in al-Madinah.(112) He was the ruler of Basrah for ‘Ali (d. 40).(113) Then he went to Ḥijāz and settled in Makkah.(114) He finally resided in al-Ṭā‘if for one or two years until his death.(115)

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 73-74)

He took part in the conquests of Egypt and Persia,(116) having been in Syria.(117)

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ (d. 63)

He was in al-Shām, Egypt and Kufah.(118) He had estates in Egypt and al-Ṭā’if.(119)

al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib (d. 72)

He was originally from al-Madinah, but, he settled in Kufah and died there. (120)

Abū al-Ṭufayl, ‘Āmir b. Wāthilah (d. 85)

He settled in Kufah and then in Makkah. (121)

‘Alqamah al-Nakha‘i (d. 61-73) (Kufah)

He spent two years in Marw.(122)

Qabiṣah b. Dhu’ayb (d. 86-89) (al-Madinah)

He moved to Syria, probably after the battle of Ḥarraḥ (64), and died there.(123)

Abū Salamah b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 94 or 104) (al-Madinah)

He visited Kufah. (124) He also visited Basrah during the rule of Bishr b. Marwān. (125)

Abū Rāfi‘ al-Madani Nufay‘ b. Rāfi‘ al-Ṣā’igh (d. after 90) (al-Madinah)

He settled in Basrah. (126)

‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr (d. 94) (al-Madinah)

He lived in Makkah for nine years with his brother ‘Abd

Allāh b. al-Zubayr (64-73);(127) he is reported once to have invited the Makkans to attend and hear *ḥadīth* from him.(128) He also went to Egypt, where he stayed for seven years and married.(129)

◌Ikrimah Mawlā Ibn ◌Abbās (al-Madīnah)

He settled in Makkah then in al-Madīnah. He travelled extensively in Khurāsān, al-Shām, Yaman, Egypt, Ifriqiyyah, and Iraq, in all of which scholars and *muḥaddithūn* came to learn and to hear *aḥadīth* from him.(130)

Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān (d. 101) (al-Madīnah)

He was one of the best pupils of Abū Hurayrah.(131) He was from al-Madīnah but he used to go to Kufah frequently for commercial reasons.(132) The famous Kufan transmitter al-A◌mash heard 1000 *ḥadīths* from him.(133)

Mujāhid b. Jabr (d.101-104) (Makkah)

He was known for his extensive travelling.(134) It is said that at the end of his life he settled in Kufah .(135)

al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (d.105)

He settled in Khurāsān, where the people heard [*ḥadīth*] from him.(136) He met Sa◌id b. Jubayr in al-Rayy and received *tafsīr* on his authority. (137)

Sālim b. ◌Abd Allāh b. ◌Umar (d. 106) (al- Madīnah)

He came to Syria three times during the rule of the three Umayyad caliphs, ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Walid and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz.(138)

al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) (Basrah)

He was a *kātib* for al-Rabiʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, the governor of Muʿāwiyah in Khurāsān, who died in the year 51.(139)

ʿĀmir b. Shurāḥīl al-Shaʿbī (d. 103-110) (Kufah)

He fled from al-Mukhtār to al-Madinah where he stayed for eight or ten months accompanying the companion ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar.(140) A Kufan transmitter said that he stayed with al-Shaʿbī in Khurāsān for ten months.(141) In another report , we learn that he was with ʿAlqamah in Marw for two years.(142)

Rajāʿ b. Ḥaywah (d. 112) (al-Shām)

He arrived in Kufah accompanying Bishr b. Marwān. Abū Ishāq al-Hamdānī and Qatādah heard [*ḥadīth*] from him on his arrival.(143)

ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Hurmuz al-Aʿraj (d. 117) (al-Madinah)

He moved away to Egypt at the end of his life and died there.(144)

Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qūrazi al-Madani (d.117-120)
(al-Madinah)

He settled first in Kufah where he was greatly admired,(145) then in al-Madinah.(146)

ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb as-Sahamī (d. 118)

He settled in al-Ṭāʾif, but he used to come frequently to Makkah and disseminate *ʿilm*.(147)

Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit al-Kūfī (d.119) (Kufah)

He came to al-Ṭāʾif, where it is said that the people were delighted as if a prophet had come to them.(148)

Nāfiʿ Mawla Ibn ʿUmar (d.117-120) (al-Madinah)

ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz sent him to Egypt to teach them *sunnah*.(149) He also appointed him to collect the *ṣadaqat* of al-Yaman. (150)

Abū Ishāq al-Sabīʿī (d. 126-29) (Kufah)

He was in Khurāsān during Muʿāwiyah's (d. 60) caliphate. (151)

Abū Zurʿah, in a report, mentions some of the scholars who came to Syria and settled there during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86).(152) These are:

al-Qasim b. Mukhaymirah (d. 100) (Kufah)

- Muslim b. Yasār (d.100-101).(153) (Basrah)
- Abū Qilābah (d. 104-107) (Basrah)
- ‘Uqbah b. Wasāj (d. 82-83) (Basrah)
- ‘Abdah b. Abi Lubābah (d. 127).(154) (Kufah)
- Khālid b. Durayk al-Shāmi
- al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥurr (d. 133 in Makkah).(155) (Kufah)

NOTES

1. *Tradition*, p. 66.
2. *Tradition*, p. 66-67.
3. *al-Riḥlah*, p.94. ... رحل في الحديث إلى اليمن ، وهو أول من رحل ...
4. *Siyar* 7, p. 7
ما أضم أحداً إلى معمر إلا وجدت معمرًا أطلب للحديث منه ، هو أول من رحل إلى اليمن.
5. See al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmi'* 1, p.123 no. 117 and Ibn Ṣalāḥ, p. 210.
6. He entitles this list : الراحلون الذين جمعوا بين الاقطار p. 229.
7. See p. 223-224 no. 111-116.
8. See p. 231-32.
9. 5, p. 347.
10. Ibidem. ... لأنه لم يحدث إلا بعد موت أيوب ، ومات ابن عون سنة احدى وخمسين ومائة بعد موت أيوب بعشرين سنة .
11. *Tradition*, p. 67.
12. *Tahdhib* 10, p. 110.
13. Abū Zur'ah, p. 328 no. 630. Abū Dāwūd 3, p. 80 no. 2750.
14. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 118-120 no. 34. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'* 1, p. 93-94.
15. al-Bukhārī 1, p. 173, *ilm* (19) . Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'* 1, p. 93. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 110 no. 31. There is another report in which Jābir is recorded as saying that he went to Egypt. p. 113 no. 32. However, the editor is inclined to think that he went to Syria.
16. Ibn Sa'd 3 2, p. 61 (20).
17. See note 5.
18. *Siyar* 4, p. 57.
19. Ibidem.
20. *al-Ma'rifah* 1, p. 438.
21. *Siyar* 4, p. 56.
22. Ibn Abi Shaybah 8, p. 731-32 no. 6179. Abū Zur'ah, p. 652 no. 1937. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'* 1, p. 94.

23. Ibn Abi Shaybah 8, p. 732 no. 6180. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'* 1, p. 94.
24. Ibn Sa'd, 2 2, p. 116 (19). Abū Zur'ah, p. 654 no. 1944. *al-Ma'rifah* 1, p. 484.
25. Ibn Sa'd 7 2 p. 155 (2).
26. See *al-Ma'rifah* 1, p. 234, *Siyar* 4, p. 158.
27. Ibn Sa'd 72, p. 153 (17).
28. *al-'Ilal* 2, p. 18 no. 115. Ibn Abi Shaybah 8, p. 732 no. 6183. *al-Ma'rifah* 1, p. 445. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'* 1, p. 94.
29. *al-'Ilal* 2, p. 146 no. 938.
30. *Ḥilyah* 4, p. 181-82. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 92 no. 20.
31. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 135 no. 47. In another report, he followed the Companion from al-Madinah to Makkah, where he found him on his estate *al-Wahṭ*; see p. 137 no. 48.
32. *Ḥilyah* 4, p. 351.
33. al-Dārimi, 1, p. 114 *muqaddimah* (47) no. 570. Ibn Sa'd 71, p. 82 (2). *al-Riḥlah*, p. 93 no. 21. Also Abū Zur'ah, p. 612 no. 1741.
34. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 93 no. 22.
35. *Siyar* 4, p. 207.
36. *Siyar* 4, p. 209.
37. al-Dhahabi, *Tārikh al-Islām* 2, p. 152.
38. Ibn Sa'd 5, p. 89 (8). *al-Ma'rifah* 1, p. 468-69. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 223 no. 111. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 127 no. 41, p. 128-29 no. 43, 44. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'* 1, p. 94.
39. *al-Ma'rifah* 1, p. 468-69. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 128 no. 42.
40. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 130 no. 45.
41. Ibn Sa'd 6, p. 180 (1). *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 329 no. 364.
42. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 139 no. 49.
43. Ibn Sa'd 5, p. 160 (5) and 6, p. 180 (9).
44. Ibn Sa'd 6, p. 69 (10).
45. Ibn Sa'd 6, p. 187 (11), (6).
46. Ibn Sa'd 7 1, p. 134 (22). al-Dārimi, *muqaddimah* (47) no. 568 1, p. 114. *al-Ma'rifah* 2, p. 166. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 144-145 no. 53, 54. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 223 no. 112.
47. al-Ḥumaydi 2, p. 339 no. (768). Ibn Abi Shaybah 8, p. 732 no. 6181, 6182. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 140-41 no. 50. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'* 1, p. 92-93.

48. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 224 no. 115.
49. See *al-Riḥlah*, p. 142, 96. *Ḥilyah*, 4, p. 313. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘* 1, p. 95.
50. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 143 no.52.
51. Ibn Sa‘d 7 1, p. 115 (5). *Siyar* 4, p. 571.
52. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 231.
53. *al-‘Ilal* 1, p. 86 no. 305.
54. *al-‘Ilal* 1, p.412-13 no. 2694.
55. See Ibn Sa‘d 7 2, p. 160 (19). Abū Zur‘ah, p. 328 no. 630.
56. Ibn Sa‘d 2 2, p. 130 (5). *al-‘ilal* 1, p.412-13 no. 2694.
57. Ibn Sa‘d 7 2, p. 160(91). *al-Ma‘rifah* 2, p. 604.
58. Ibn Sa‘d 7 2, p. 161 (1). *al-Ma‘rifah* 2, p. 603.
59. *al-Ma‘rifah* 1, p. 443. *Siyar* 5, p. 82.
60. *al-‘Ilal* 2, p. 238 no. 1715.
61. Ibn Sa‘d 2 2, p. 132 (24).
62. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 232.
63. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 148 no. 58. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 223 no. 113.
64. *al-Dārimi* 1, p. 114 *muqaddimah* (47) no. 569 . *al-Ma‘rifah* 2, p. 386. Abū Zur‘ah, p. 344 no. 692. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 147-48 no. 57. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘* 1, p. 95.
65. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 231.
66. See Abū Zur‘ah, p. 409 no. 948. *al-Ma‘rifah* 1, p. 636.
67. See for example, *al-Ma‘rifah* 2, p. 688. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 232.
68. *al-Ma‘rifah* 1, p. 543.
69. *al-Ma‘rifah* 1, p. 621.
70. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 231.
71. *Siyar* 6, p. 31.
72. *Siyar* 6, p. 141.
73. *al-‘Ilal* 1, p. 369 no. 2346. ²كانوا يحجون للقي
74. *al-‘Ilal* 1, p. 140 no. 676.
75. *Siyar* 3, p. 351.

قال يزيد بن الا صم خرج معاوية حاجا معه ابن عباس فكان لمعاوية موكب ولا بن عباس موكب من يطلب العلم .

76. Ibn Sa'd 2 2, p. 122 (19) عن عائشة أنها نظرت إلى ابن عباس ومعه الحلق ليألي الحج وهو يسئل عن المناسك فقالت هو أعلم من بقي بالمناسك.
77. *Siyar* 4, p. 51.
78. *al-Ma'rifah* 2, p. 777. Ibn Sa'd 6, p. 202 (9).
79. *Tahdhib* 6, p. 278.
80. *al-Riḥlah*, p. 132-133 no. 46.
81. *Siyar* 4, p. 325.
82. Ibn Sa'd 5, p. 160 (5).
83. Ibn Sa'd 6, p. 180 (1).
84. See al-Bukhārī, 13, p. 282, *al-i'tiṣām* (7) no. 7307. Muslim, 4, p. 2059 *al-ilm* (5) no. 14. Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr al-Thaqafi met Anas, Mālik, 1, p. 337 *ḥajj* (13) no.43. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b.Yazid met Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī, al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmi'*, 1, p. 121 no. 112.
85. *Muṣannaf* 4, p. 190 no. 8441.
86. *al-Ma'rifah* 2, p. 816.
87. Id. p. 93.
88. Ibn Abi Shaybah 8, p. 127-28 no. (3873). Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* 6, p. 337.
89. Ibn Abi Shaybah 15, p. 5-6 no. 18956.
90. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'* 1, p. 45.
91. *Tahdhib* 10, p. 391. Ibn Sa'd 2 2, p. 130 (7).
92. Ibn Sa'd 2 2, p. 130 (9,11).
93. *al-'Ilal* 2, p. 270 no. 1941.
94. *Siyar* 5, p. 302.
95. *Tahdhib* 5, p. 9.
96. Ibn Sa'd 5, p. 353 (7).
97. Id. 7 2, p. 163 (4).
98. *al-'Ilal* 2, p. 17 no. 103.
99. Ibn Sa'd 7 1, p. 115 (8) . *Siyar* 4, p. 5 71.
100. See *Tahdhib* 9, p. 215.
101. *al-Ma'rifah* 2, p.101-102.
102. *Tahdhib* 2, p. 433.
103. *al-'Ilal* 1, p. 422 no. 2774.
104. Ibn Sa'd 2 2, p. 133 (2).
105. Abū Zur'ah 2, p. 720-721 no. 2299.

106. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p. 366 no. 2317.
107. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 142, 443.
108. Ibn Saʿd 7 2, p. 114 (11), *al-Maʿrifah* 1, p. 234.
109. *al-Maʿrifah* 1, p. 234.
110. *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 740.
111. *Siyar* 2, p. 599.
112. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p.121 (13). *al-Khaṭīb, al-Jāmiʿ* 1, p. 158-59 nos. 215-217 .
113. *al-Dhahabi, Tārikh al-islām* 3, p. 35.
114. Id. 3, p. 35-36.
115. Id. 3, p.36. *Tahdhib* 5. p. 278.
116. *al-Dhahabi, Tārikh al-islām* 3, p.177. *Tahdhib* 5, p. 330.
117. *Tahdhib* 6, p. 462.
118. *Khalifah*, p. 36.
119. Ibn Saʿd 7 2, p. 190. *al-Dhahabi, Tārikh al-islām* 3, p. 38.
120. Ibn Saʿd 4 2, p. 83 (10). *Tahdhib* 1, p. 425.
121. *Khalifah*, p. 30.
122. Ibn Saʿd, p. 62 (10).
123. Ibn Saʿd 5, p. 131. *Tahdhib* 8, p. 346-347.
124. Ibn Saʿd 5, p. 116 (2). *Tahdhib* 12, p. 117.
125. Ibn Saʿd 5, p. 115 (26).
126. *Tahdhib* 10, p. 472. *Siyar* 4, p. 414.
127. *Siyar* 4, p. 432.
128. Abū Khaythamah, *al-ʿIlm*, p. 10 no. 23.
129. *Tahdhib* 7, p. 185. *Siyar* 4, p. 423.
130. See *al-Ṭabari, Tārikh* 3, p. 2485. Ibn Saʿd 5, p. 213 (16) (20) (24) (26). *al-Maʿrifah* 2, p. 7, 8. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Tamhid* 2, p. 31, 33. *Siyar* 5, p. 15,30.
131. He is recorded as having said that there was no one who related on the authority of Abū Hurayrah but that he knew whether he was honest or not. Ibn Saʿd 5, p. 222 (11).
132. Ibn Saʿd 6, p. 158 (2), 5, p. 222 (9). *Siyar* 5, p. 36.
133. *Siyar* 5, p. 36.
134. *Siyar* 4, p. 452.
135. Ibidem.
136. Ibn Saʿd 6, p. 211 (19).

137. *Ibidem* p. 210 (17).
138. *Siyar* 4, p. 465.
139. *Tahdhib* 3, p. 243.
140. *Ibn Sa'd* 6, p. 172-173. *Siyar* 4, p. 297.
141. *Ibidem*, p. 173 (4).
142. *Ibidem*, p. 62 (10).
143. *Siyar* 2, p. 368-69.
144. *Siyar* 5, p. 70. *Tahdhib* 6, p. 291.
145. *al-ʿIlal* 2, p. 361 no. 2533.
146. *Tahdhib* 9, p. 420.
147. *Siyar* 5, p. 165.
148. *al-ʿIlal* 2, p. 361 no. 2534.
149. *Siyar* 5, p. 97.
150. *Ibidem* , p. 98.
151. *Ibn Sa'd* 6, p. 219 (20).
152. *Abū Zurʿah*, p. 501-502 no. 1314.
153. In *Siyar* 4, p. 358, there is a report of his and other Successors' being in a *ḥadīth* circle in al-Shām.
154. It is recorded that he met Ibn ʿUmar in al-Shām. *Tahdhib* 6, p. 462.
155. *Tahdhib* 2, p. 262.

PART TWO

ASPECTS OF ḤADĪTH

CHAPTER ONE

THE *QUṢṢĀṢ* AND THE *FUQAHĀ**AL-QUṢṢĀṢ* IN THE FIRST CENTURY

The *qāṣṣ* (pl. *quṣṣāṣ*) is also known as *wā'iz* and *mudhakkir*.(1) Such a person acted as an exhortatory and minatory preacher, drawing upon all the material available to him, the *Qur'ān*, the *sunnah*, *āthār* and poetry, to convey his message.(2) Describing the contents of the *qāṣṣ*, Pedersen says: "the information about the older *quṣṣāṣ* shows that their activity consisted in interpreting the *Qur'ān* and *ḥadīth*, enforcing law, and impressing people with fear and hope. This is *tadhkir* or *wa'z*".(3)

In Juynboll's study, the activities of the *quṣṣāṣ* are considered to be the forerunners of the transmission of *ḥadīth*. He takes the *awā'il* reports concerning the first *quṣṣāṣ* as "the earliest indications of people spreading stories which in the course of time became known as *ḥadīth*."(4) He summarizes his views about this: "During the prophet's lifetime most of his followers can be assumed to have talked about him. After his

death the only people who continued to do so in a way that may be construed as foreshadowing the standardized and regulated *ḥadīth* transmission of, say, the last few decades of the first century/700s-720s, when, as was perhaps demonstrated above, the earliest *ḥadīths* provided with *isnāds* came into circulation, were the *quṣṣāṣ*."(5) He also says: "The first stories (*qiṣaṣ*, *aḥādīth*) related by the *quṣṣāṣ* probably contained *tarhīb wa-targhīb* and *faḍā'il/mathālib* elements."(6) He believes that the *quṣṣāṣ* played an extremely important role in early Islam.(7)

Passing over any exaggeration of the role the *quṣṣāṣ* played in early Islam, I see no reason to believe that only the activities of the *quṣṣāṣ* foreshadowed the transmission of *ḥadīth*. If the sources tell us little about the *quṣṣāṣ* in the first century, they tell us more about the engagement of the Companions and the Successors in *ḥadīth* activities;(8) thus, if anything is to be considered as foreshadowing what Juynboll calls "the standardized and regulated *ḥadīth* transmission", it is these activities.

Having said that, I would disagree with the deep significance Juynboll puts on the *quṣṣāṣ* activities in early Islam. according to the *awā'il* evidence, the phenomena of the *quṣṣāṣ* is a new one in Islamic life. There is a report which

dates it toward the end of 'Umar's reign(d.23).(9) Another report dates it during *al-fitnah* (35-40).(10) So because it was a new practice in Islamic life, *quṣṣāṣ* activities, generally speaking, had not found a favorable reputation either with the the Companions or with the older Successors, in particular those who were called '*ulamā*' and *fuqahā*', who were involved in the transmission of the *ḥadith*.(11) The lack of this activity among the Companions is illustrated in a report attributed to one of the prominent Successors, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abi Laylā(d. 82), who was asked for his opinion on the *qaṣaṣ*. He says: (12)

أدرکت أصحاب محمد -صلى الله عليه وسلم- يتجالسون ويحدّث هذا بما سمع ويحدّث هذا بما سمع ، فأما أن يجلسوا خطيباً فلا .

There are various reports demonstrating the disapproval of the Companions of the *quṣṣāṣ* activities. They considered it as something contrary to the path of the Prophet and his Companions. Among those who condemned these activities we find 'Alī, Ibn Mas'ūd, 'Ā'ishah, Ibn 'Umar, Ṣilah b. al-Ḥārith, Anas b. Mālīk, Khabbāb, Umm al-Dardā'.(13) 'Umar is reported to have allowed the first *qāṣṣ* in Islam, Tamīm al-Dāri, to be a *qāṣṣ* ; he hesitated at first and admonished him continuously.(14) There are other reports which show his objection to activities of the *quṣṣāṣ*.(15)

The unfavorable reputation of the activities of the *quṣṣāṣ* among the Companions, is supported by the fact that this sort of *quṣṣāṣ* is rare among them. We find only two or three Companions in the sources who are said to practise *qaṣaṣ*. Although the activities of the *quṣṣāṣ* increased, in the course of time, in importance among the public, and their ranks had been entered by a number of Successors who engaged in *ḥadīth* activities, particularly younger Successors,⁽¹⁶⁾ the notorious reputation of the *quṣṣāṣ* grew among the *‘ulamā’* and *fuqahā’*. Mu‘āwiyah b. Qurrah (d. 113) describes the position of the *qāṣṣ* during the generation of the Successors: "When we saw someone *yaquṣṣu*, we used to say ' He is *ṣāḥib bid‘ah*".⁽¹⁷⁾ Not only did most of the Successors who are called *‘ulamā’* and *fuqahā’* not engage in *quṣṣāṣ* activities, but some of them were reported actually to condemn and disapprove of the activity of the *quṣṣāṣ*. Among these we find ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā (d. 83) Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. after 70), Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab (d. 94), Ibrāhīm al-Nakha‘ī (d. 96), ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d.101),), Abū Qilābah (d. 104), , al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad(d.106), Khārijah b. Zayd b. Thābit (d. 100), Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 106)), Abū Bakr .b. Ḥazm (d. 110-120), Maymūn b. Mihrān (d.117).⁽¹⁸⁾

However, some of the more reliable *quṣṣāṣ* had the

admiration of some of those who were not in favour of *qaṣaṣ* activity.(19) And as I have mentioned above, some *muḥaddithūn* also engaged in this activity.(20)

Of course, in the above evaluation of the activities of the *quṣṣāṣ*, I do not dispute the fact that there were among the *quṣṣāṣ* some who abused *ḥadīth* in one way or another. In fact, their order, especially at a later time, was considered to be one of those which was responsible for the circulation of bogus *ḥadīth*.(21) What concerns us here is the special reputation that they gained, the important role that they played in early Islam, and the claim that their material could be taken as "foreshadowing the standardized and regulated *ḥadīth* transmission, of, say, the last few decades of the first century/700s-720s ...". In fact, if anything is to be taken as foreshadowing the transmission of *ḥadīth*, it is, in my view, the activities of the Companions and the Successors in this field. There is no reason, in my opinion, to emphasize the activities of the *quṣṣāṣ* on the one hand and to overlook the activities of the Companions and the Successors in the transmission of *ḥadīth* on the other hand.

AL-FUQAĤĀ

A DISCUSSION OF JUYNBOLL'S THESIS THAT THEIR OPINIONS ARE RAISED TO THE LEVEL OF 'PROPHETIC SAYINGS'

Apart from transmitters' errors and other reasons which cause a saying of the Prophet to be attributed to a Companion or to a Successor and vice versa,(22) it is a well known fact that a Companion or a Successor might relate a prophetic *ḥadīth* on the authority of the Prophet on one occasion and give it as a *fatwā* on another, without mentioning the Prophet.(23) It was a general practice for the first *fuqahā* in Islam, among both the Companions and the Successors, to use precedents as *fatwās* in solving problems presented to them. The finding of a report, containing a piece of advice or a legal decision attributed to a Companion or to a Successor, and in another report attributed to the Prophet, does not mean it is, automatically, raised to "the level of a prophetic saying".

When ʿUmar sent some Companions to the provinces, he prevented them giving *fatwās* according to their own opinions.(24) Some Companions adhere mostly to previous

examples in giving *fatwās*, but others employ their own judgement in *fatwās* if there are no such previous example. For instance, Sulayman b. Yasār describes to us the behaviour of the two Companions, Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn ʿUmar:(25)

– كنت أقسم نفسي بين ابن عباس وابن عمر فكنت أكثر ما أسمع ابن عمر يقول: لا أدري بوابن عباس لا يرد أحدا ، فسمعت ابن عباس يقول : عجباً لابن عمر ورده الناس ، ألا ينظر في ما يشك فإن كانت مضت به سنة قال بها وإلا قال برأيه.

A confirmatory report concerning Ibn ʿAbbās is found In Ibn Saʿd:

– كان ابن عباس إذا سئل عن الأمر ، فإن كان في القرآن أخبر به ، وإن لم يكن في القرآن وكان عن رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم- أخبر به ، فإن لم يكن في القرآن ولا عن رسول الله وكان عن أبي بكر وعمر أخبر به ، فإن لم يكن في شيء من ذلك اجتهد رأيه

In sum, in the case of a *ḥadīth* traced back to the Prophet as well as to Companions or to Successors, attribution to the later authorities might be the secondary stage, either through their giving the prophetic *ḥadīth* as a *fatwā* or for the other reasons alluded to above. Juynboll, in his study, understands the situation in a different way and gives some examples to support this. He believes that the prophetic *ḥadīths* regarding *ḥalāl wa ḥarām* matters "were mainly the products of individual judgement on the part of the first legal minds Islam

produced; later these juridical opinions seem to have been remoulded into *ḥadīths* going back to the prophet". (*Tradition*, p. 17) To support this view, he puts forward examples of statements and practices attributed to a number of the early *fuqahā* in some reports which are attributed to the Prophet in other reports. After giving examples in the case of Sa'id b. al-Musayyab, Juynboll says: "I maintain that it is Sa'id b. al-Musayyab who is to be credited with these legal decisions (which sometimes take the form of maxims) rather than the prophet or a Companion as mentioned in the *ḥadīth* collections compiled some hundred and fifty years later. It must be assumed that, at this early stage, *fiqh* did not yet mean insight in matters permissible and forbidden as verbally dictated by the new religion, but as *ad hoc* problem solving, at most inspired by it. In other words, revelation, which was in due course also to include the example set by Muḥammad, had not yet become identical with religious law.

The reason why these legal decisions should be considered, in the first instance, as being the products of Sa'id's own juridical insight, rather than as being traceable back to previously set examples, lies in the mere fact of them being quoted as Sa'id's decisions at all. A legal decision that indeed does go back to the prophet or one of his Companions **simply**

does not require being put into the mouth of Sa'id as also being a product of the latter's reasoning. The numerous instances where Sa'id is credited with juridical opinions definitely point to one conclusion only. He thought of the solution to the problem in these terms first, before this decision was moulded into a saying attributed to authorities preceding Sa'id. There is indeed no necessity whatsoever for crediting Sa'id with merely having repeated a legal opinion of his predecessors, be they the prophet or one or more of his Companions." (*Tradition*, p.16)

Before examining these examples, I propose first to consider statements by various Successors and followers as to their actual practice in the matter, and then to present a number of examples supporting this from *Muṣannaf 'Abd al-Razzāq*.

Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith

He served for a long period in *qaḍā'*, in which he was praised for his knowledge.(26) He was in favour of following *al-sunnah* rather than *qiyās*. He says:(27)

ان السنة سبقت قياسكم فاتبعوا ولا تبتدعوا فإنكم لن تضلوا ما اخذتم

با الأثر

He states clearly that he followed *al-athar*.(28) Ibrāhīm al-

Nakha'ī, one of his pupils, tells us that Shurayḥ used to base his judgements on those of ʿAbd Allāh [b. Masʿūd].(29)

Saʿid b. al-Musayyab

According to one of Saʿid's pupils :(30)

جل ما أخذ به سعيد بن المسيب من القضاء وما كان يفتي به عن زيد بن ثابت.

On being asked about a particular matter, he said:(31)

اختلف فيه أصحاب رسول الله-صلى الله عليه وسلم-ولا أرى لي معهم قولا.

Abū al-Zinād asked Saʿid about the case of a man who cannot afford to maintain a wife. Saʿid said that they should divorce. Abū al-Zinād then asked him if this was *sunnah*. Saʿid said that it was.(32) Ibn ʿUmar was asked about some matter. He gave an answer and told his questioner to go to Saʿid and ask him the same question. The man did so, and Saʿid gave him the same *fatwā* as Ibn ʿUmar had done. When Ibn ʿUmar was informed of this, he said: " Well, I told you that he was an *ʿālim*.(33)

ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr

His son, Hishām, who was also a *faqih* and a *muḥaddith*, said that he had never heard his father give a decision on any matter according to his own judgement.(34) ʿUrwah insisted

on following *al-sunnah*.(35)

Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar

He was approached for a *fatwā* on a particular matter. He told his questioner that he had heard nothing concerning the matter لم أسمع في هذا بشئ. The man said: "I will accept your opinion". Sālim told him: "I may give you an opinion and, then, when you have gone away, I may come to a different opinion, at a time when I cannot reach you".(36)

ʿIkrimah Mawlā Ibn ʿAbbās

He said: I have not spoken according to my own opinion [on any matter] but two ...(37)

ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ

He was cautious about giving his own opinion as a *fatwā*. He was once asked about a matter, on which he said: I do not know. He was then asked: Why not give your opinion on it? So he said:(38) إني أستحيي من الله أن يدان في الأرض برأيي

When ʿAṭāʾ pronounced on any matter, Ibn Jurayj, his devoted pupil, would ask him if what he had said was *ʿilm* or *raʾy*. If it was *athar* he would say *ʿilm*, but if it was *raʾy* he would say *raʾy*.(39)

Ibrāhim al-Nakha'ī

Al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubayd Allāh asked him if he had heard [as *athar*] everything concerning which he gave *fatwās*. He said: 'No, but I have heard [*āthār*] and I have produced an analogy for those things that I have not heard from those things that I have heard.(40) One of his pupils, al-A'mash, said that he had never heard Ibrāhim reporting anything according to his own opinion.(41)

Muḥammad b. Sirīn

He used not to give his own opinion as a *fatwā*, unless it was based on some report that he had heard.(42) He said: they would consider someone to be on the right path, as long as he followed *al-athar*.(43) He was once asked about *al-mut'ah bi-al-'umrah ilā al-ḥajj* (combining the *'umrah* and the *ḥajj* in a particular way). He said: 'Umar b. al-Khattāb and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān disliked this practice; if their disapproval was based on *'ilm*, they were more knowledgable than I. If it was based on *ra'y*, their *ra'y* was better than mine.(44)

Qatādah b. Di'āmah al-Sudūsi

Qatādah was once asked by one of his pupils concerning a particular matter. He said: "I do not know". His questioner

then asked him to give his opinion; Qatādah told him that he had not used *ra'y* for forty years. He was fifty years old at that time.(45) In another report, he declared that he had not given a *fatwā* based on *ra'y* for thirty years.(46)

al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri

al-Ḥasan was asked by Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān if he gave *fatwās* to the people according to what he had heard from others or according to his own opinion. He told him that not all his *fatwās* were based on what he had heard, but that his opinion was better for them than their own opinion.(47)

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri

He was told by the well known *faqih* Rabī'at al-Ra'y: 'When you give the people your opinion, inform them that it is just your opinion; and when you give them something from the *sunnah*, inform them that it is *sunnah*, in order that they may not think that it is your opinion.(48)

Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyāni

He was asked about a matter concerning which he said that he had heard nothing. Then he was asked to give his opinion on

it. He said that his *ra'y* was inadequate to deal with it.(49)

In the following, I shall quote examples from *al-Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq, one of the great early *ḥadīth* collections. In this book, the materials from the Companions and the Successors are given, in addition to the prophetic *ḥadīth*. From these examples, we shall see that the early *fuqahā'* would repeat earlier material verbalism in giving their *fatwās*, without attribution.

al-Muṣannaf abounds with reports traced to 'Aṭā', the greatest *faqīh* of his time, in Makkah, on the authority of Ibn Jurayj. Ibn Jurayj is considered to be one of the first authors to compile a collection of *ḥadīth*, and to have been the best pupil of 'Aṭā', whom he frequented for 17 years.(50) 'Abd al-Razzāq, in his turn, is regarded as a reliable source for Ibn Jurayj.(51)

*- ابن جريج قال سأل انسان عطاء فقال : أشرب وأتوضأ من ماء يكون في ظرف ولم يدبغ ؟ قال أنكي ؟ قال : نعم وليس بميتة ، قال : لا بأس بذلك .

(١٨٢) ٦١/١

- عن ابن جريج عن عطاء أن النبي- صلى الله عليه وسلم- قال : إذا دبغ جلد

الميته فحسبه فلينتفع به . (١٨٦) ٦٢/١

- ابن جريج قال : سمعت عطاء يقول : سمعت ابن عباس يقول : كانت شاة داجنة لإحدى نساء النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم- فماتت، فقال النبي -صلى الله عليه وسلم- أفلا استمتعتم بإهابها . (١٨٧) ٦٢/١-٦٣

-ابن جريج عن عطاء عن ابن عباس قال : أخبرتني ميمونة ، أن شاة ماتت فقال النبي-صلى الله عليه وسلم- الا دبغتم إهابها ؟ (١٨٨) ٦٣/١

- ابن جريج قال سمعت عطاء يسأل عن اولاد الضأن قال اتدبغ ؟ قال : نعم ، قال : فحسبه البسوه . (٢٠٠) ٦٥/١

- ابن جريج ، قال عطاء : ما نستمتع من الميتة إلا بجلودها إذا دبغت فإن دباغها طهوره وذكاته . (٢٠١) ٦٥/١

- ابن جريج قال سأل إنسان عطاء عن صوف الميتة فكرهه ، وقال : إني لم أسمع أنه يرخص إلا في إهابها إذا دبغ . (٢٠٧) ٦٧/١

*-عن ابن جريج عن عطاء قال، سمعت أبا هريرة يقول :إذا صليت فإنك تناجي ربك فلا تبصق أمامك ولا عن يمينك ولكن عن شمالك فإن كان عن شمالك ما يشغلك فابصق تحت قدميك . (١٦٨٠) /١ ٤٣٠

- معمر عن الزهري عن حميد بن عبد الرحمن عن أبي هريره أن رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم- رأى نخامة في قبلة المسجد فحكها بمدرة أو بشئ، ثم قال :إذا قام أحدكم إلى الصلاة فلا يتنخمن أمامه ولا عن يمينه ،فإن عن يمينه ملكا ،ولكن ليتنخم عن يساره أو تحت قدمه اليسرى.(١٦٨١) ٤٣٠/١

-معمر عن همام بن منبه أنه سمع أبا هريرة يقول :قال رسول الله -صلى الله

عليه وسلم-إذا قام أحدكم إلى الصلاة فلا يبزق أمامه ، إنه يناجي الله ما دام في مصلاه ولا عن يمينه فعن يمينه ملك، ولكن ليبصق عن يساره أو تحت رجليه. (١٦٨٦) ٣١/١-٤٣٢

-عن ابن جريج قال: قال لي عطاء: ليبصق الرجل في الصلاة عن يساره فإن لم يجد مكانا فليرفع رجليه اليسرى فيبصق تحتها. (١٦٩٣) ١ / ٤٣٤

-أورد أحاديث أخرى مرفوعة

*-عن ابن جريج عن عطاء قال سمعت ابن عباس يقول: إذا أوتر أول الليل فلا يشفع بركعة وصلى شفعا حتى يصبح، قال:فكان عطاء يفتي يقول: إذا أوتر من أول الليل ثم استيقظ بعد فليصل شفعا حتى يصبح. (٤٦٨٥) ٣ / ٣٠-٣١

*-عن ابن جريج عن عطاءقال :التكبير في الصلاة يوم الفطر ثلاث عشرة تكبيرة....قلت له: إن يوسف بن ماهك أخبرني أن ابن الزبير كان لا يكبر إلا أربعا في كل ركعة سواء، يكبرهن في كل ركعتين، سمعنا ذلك منه ، فقال عطاء إن الذي أخذت هذا الحديث عنه هو والله أعلم من ابن الزبير ،قلت:من؟ قال:ابن عباس.(٥٦٧٦)٣/٢٩١

*-عن ابن جريج قال:أخبرني أبو الزبير أنه سمع ابن عمر وسأله عبد الرحمن بن أيمن مولى عروة : كيف ترى في رجل طلق امرأته حائضا ؟ فقال : طلق عبد الله بن عمرفليراجعها فردها ولم يرها شيئا ، فقال :إذا طهرت فليطلق أو ليمسك .(١٠٩٦٠) ٦/٩-٣١٠

-عن ابن جريج قال قلت لعطاء: طلقها حائضا؟ قال :يردها حتى إذا طهرت طلق أو أمسك .(١٠٩٦٢) ٦ / ٣١٠

-عن ابن جريج قال: قلت لعطاء يطلقها حائضا، قال: لا تعتد بها ، لتستوف ثلاث حيض، قلت: فطلقها ساعة حاضت ، قال : لا تعتد بها ،قال: بلغنا أن النبي- صلى الله عليه وسلم- قال : لابن عمر : ارددها حتى إذا طهرت فطلق أو أمسك . (١٠٩٦٩) ١١/٦ -٣١٢

*-عن ابن جريج قال سألت عطاء عن رجل طلق بعد الفداء، قال :لا يحسب شيئا، من أجل أنه طلق امرأة لا يملك منها شيئا ،فردّه سليمان بن موسى ،فقال عطاء: اتفق على ذلك ابن عباس وابن الزبير في رجل اختلع امرأته ثم طلقها بعد الخلع فا تفتقا على أنه ما طلق بعد الخلع فلا يحسب شيئا ، قال : ما طلق امرأته ، إنما طلق ما لا يملك . (١١٧٧٢) ٦ / ٤٨٧

*-عن ابن جريج قال : قلت لعطاء:أرأيت إن نفاه بعد ما تصنعه ؟ قال :ويلا عنها والولد لها ، قلت : أولم يقل النبي -صلى الله عليه وسلم - : الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر ؟ قال : نعم ، إنما ذلك لأن الناس في الإسلام ادعوا أولادا ولدوا على فراش رجال فقالوا :هم لنا ، قال النبي -صلى الله عليه وسلم-: الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر . (١٢٣٦٩) ٧ / ٩٩

-أ خبرنا ابن جريج قال قلت لعطاء : أم ولد ميسرة -مولى ابن زياد - تزعم أن ولدها ليس من ميسرة ، قال : لا ، الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر ، فقال له ، ابن عبيد ابن عمير :أفلا يدعى له القافة ؟ قال : الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر . قال ابن جريج : وأقول أنا : إذا قالت الحرة كذبت وضربت . (١٢٣٨١)

١٠٢ / ٧

-عن ابن جريج قال :سمعت عبد الله بن عبيد يسأل عطاء عن رجل ، أنكح أمته عبدا له فولدت له فادعى السيد بعض أولادها فقال :لا دعوى له ، الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر . (١٢٨٦٢) ٧ / ٢١٨

*-أخبرنا ابن جريج عن عطاء أن ابن عباس وابن عمر وغيرهما قالوا : يصيب الرجل وليدته إذا دبرها إن أحب . قال ابن جريج: وسمعت عطاء يقوله .
١٤٧/٩ (١٦٦٩٦)

Examples of other early *fuqahā* :

Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī

*- معمر عن أيوب عن نافع قال: جاء رجل إلى ابن عمر فقال: إن أبا سعيد أفتاني أن الذهب بالذهب والورق بالورق لا زيادة بينهما قال نافع : فأخذ عبدالله بن عمر بيد الرجل وأنا معهما ، حتى دخلنا على أبي سعيد فقال ابن عمر : زعم هذا ، حدثته بحديث عن النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم- في الصرف . قال : نعم سمعت رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم- يقول- بأذني هاتين وأبصرت بعيني هاتين-، أنه قال: الذهب بالذهب... (١٤٥٦٤) / ٨ / ١٢٢

Uqbah b. Amir al-Juhani

*-...عن أبي سعيد اليحصبي أن عقبة بن عامر الجهني سأل النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم- فقال: إن أختي نذرت أن تمشي حافية غير مختمرة قال مرها فلتركب ولتختمر ولتصم ثلاثة أيام . وبه كان يفتي . (١٥٨٧١) / ٨ / ٥٠-٤٥١

Abū Salamah b. Abd al-Rahmān

*-معمر عن يحيى بن أبي كثير عن أبي سلمة بن عبدالرحمن قال :سئل ابن عباس وأبو هريرة عن رجل توفي عن امرأته فوضعت قبل أن تمضي لها أربعة أشهر ، فقال ابن عباس :تعتد آخر الأجلين ، فقال أبو سلمة : فقلت : إذا وضعت حملها فقد حلّ أجلها ،قال أبو هريرة :أنا مع ابن أخي ، يعني أبا سلمة ، فأرسل ابن عباس وأبو هريرة إلى أم سلمة وهي في حجرتها ، وهم في

المسجد ، يسألونها عن ذلك ...

ثم ذكرت قصة سبيعة بنت الحارث وقول النبي -صلى الله عليه وسلم- لها:
إذا وضعت حملك فقد حلّ أجلك. (١١٧٢٣) ٦ / ٤٧٤

Sa'id b. Jubayr

*- معمر عن الأعمش عن سعيد بن جبير قال: ما أحد أصبر على الأذى من الله،
يدعون له ولدا وهو يعفو عنهم، ويدعون له صاحبا وشريكا وهو يرزقهم ،
ويدفع عنهم ، قال: قلت :من حدثك هذا ؟ قال: أبو عبدالرحمن السلمي عن أبي
موسى الأشعري عن النبي -صلى الله عليه وسلم- . (٢٠٢٧٣) ١١ / ١٨٢

Qatādah b. Di'āmah al-Sudūsi

*- معمر عن قتادة أن عليا قال : إذا خيّرهما فاخترته فهي واحدة وهو أملك
بها، وإن اختارت نفسها فهي واحدة وهي أحق بنفسها ، وكان قتادة يفتي به.
(١١٩٧٤) ٧ / ٩

*-معمر عن قتادة قال : سئل عمر عن رجل طلق امرأته في الجاهلية تطليقتين
وفي الإسلام تطليقة ، فقال عمر: لا أمرك ولا أنهاك، فقال عبد الرحمن بن
عوف لكني أمرك ليس طلاقك في الشرك بشيء ، قال معمر : وكان قتادة
يفتي به ، يقول: ليس طلاقك في الشرك بشيء . (١٢٦٨٩) ٧ / ١٨١

al- Ḥasan al-Baṣri

*- معمر عن سمع الحسن يقول : إن خيرها فاخترت زوجها فهي واحدة وله
الرجعة عليها . (١١٩٧٨) ٧ / ١٠

-معمر عن سمع الحسن يقول : إن خيرها فاخترت زوجها فهي واحدة ،
يرفعه الحسن إلى زيد بن ثابت ، وكان الحسن يفتي به ويقول: هو أملك بها ،

وإن اختارت نفسها فهي ثلاث يرفعه الحسن إلى زيد بن ثابت، وكان الحسن يفتي به حتى مات. (١١٩٧٩) ١٠/٧

*-معمّر عن قتادة عن الحسن قال : أوحى إلى النبي -صلى الله عليه وسلم- ثم قال : خذوا خذوا قد جعل الله لهن سبيلا ، الثيب بالثيب، جلد مائة والرجم ، والبكر بالبكر جلد مائة ونفي سنة ، قال : وكان الحسن يفتي به . (١٣٣٠.٨) ٣١.٧

An examination of Juynboll's examples

The first examples that Juynboll adduces to support his argument, which are sufficient for us to examine here, are those of Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab. He asserts that: "Many traditions, later appearing in collections with *isnāds* containing his name, can be traced also in other sources as utterances of himself that do not go back to persons older than himself". Then he gives his examples:

" E.g. (1). The legal maxim *lā ṭalāqa qabla 'n-nikāḥ* (i.e. no divorce before the [concluding of] the marriage), ascribed to ḌAli, Abū Bakr b. ḌAbd ar-Raḥmān, ḌUbayd Allāh b. ḌAbd Allāh b. ḌUtba, Abān b. ḌUthmān, ḌAli b. Ḥusayn, Sa'īd b. Jubayr, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, Sālim b. ḌAbd Allāh, ḌAṭā' b. Abi Rabaḥ, ḌĀmir b. Sa'īd, Jābir b. Zayd, Nāfi' b. Jubayr, Muḥammad b. Ka'b, Sulaymān b. Yasār, Mujāhid, al-Qāsim b.

‘Abd ar-Raḥmān, ‘Amr b. Harim, Sha‘bi, ‘Urwa b. az-Zubayr, Shurayḥ, Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān, Ḥasan al-Baṣri, ‘Ikrima as well as Ibn al-Musayyab (see Bukhārī, *ṭalāq* 9, = ed. Krehl, III, p. 463) is also listed as a prophetic tradition in Ibn Māja, *ṭalāq* 17 (= ed. M. F. ‘Abd al-Bāqī, II, p. 660);

(2). The precept *idhā aqbalati ‘l-ḥayḍatu tarakati ‘ṣ-ṣalāt* (i.e. when [a woman] feels that her period has started, she abandons performing the *ṣalāt*), ascribed to Ibn al-Musayyab (Abū Dāwūd, *ṭahāra* 109, = ed. M. M. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, I, p. 76) is found in a slightly different version in a prophetic saying, e.g. Nasā‘ī, *ḥayḍ* 2, = ed. Ḥ. M. al-Mas‘ūdi, I, p. 181 *passim*;

(3). The legal maxim *lā nikāḥa illā bi-waliyyin* (i.e. no marriage without a guardian) is listed as a prophetic tradition (Tirmidhī, *nikāḥ* 14, = ed. M. F. ‘Abd al-Bāqī, III, pp. 407ff.) and also as a ruling of various *fuqahā* among the Successors such as Sa‘id, but also Ḥasan al-Baṣri, Shurayḥ and Ibrāhīm an-Nakha‘ī (*ibidem*, p. 411);

(4). The legal maxim *al-walad li ‘l-firāsh* (i.e. the child belongs to the marital bed), allegedly transmitted with Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab in the *isnād* between Zuhri and Abū Hurayra, is on the other hand, according to a report of the *awā‘il* genre, a rule of the pre-Islamic judge Aktham b. Ṣayfi, cf. E.I. 2, s.v. (Kister) and Ibn Bāṭish, *Ghāyat al-wasā‘il ilā ma‘rifat*

al-awā'il, 1, p. 184;

(5). Dārimi, *wuḍū'* 85 (= p. 109) lists a number of precepts concerning the ablutions of the *mustahāḍa* ascribed to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab. Although many ablution precepts exist traced back to the prophet, this precept of Sa'īd has remained unambiguously ascribed to him;

(6). In Mālik we often find *mursal* traditions and also Sa'īd's own statements preceded by the same texts as prophetic sayings, e.g. *ṣalāt* 60 and 61, = ed. M. F. 'Abd al-Bāqī, pp. 94f. On the whole, precepts formulated by Sa'īd are very numerous in the *Muwaṭṭa'*.

In al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Kifāya*, p. 404, last few lines, we read a statement in which it is implied that all the *marāsīl* of Ibn al-Musayyab were in the course of time brought into circulation with perfect *isnāds* via other people. On p. 405 we find a statement to the contrary."

In fact, I have examined all of the six examples that he gives, but I have found none that bears out his assertion that "many traditions, later appearing in collections with *isnāds* containing his name, can be traced also in other sources as utterances of himself that do not go back to persons older than himself". In the following a discussion of these examples in order of number corresponding to those of Juynboll:

1. This utterance is ascribed, as appears from Juynboll's quotation, to persons either older than Sa'id, i. e. 'Alī (d. 40), and Shurayḥ (d. around 80) or contemporary with him, for example, 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr (d. 94), Sa'id b. Jubayr (d. 95), and Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith (d. 94). When I consulted Ibn Mājah, a source which Juynboll refers us to, to see this legal maxim as a prophetic *ḥadīth*, I found no *isnāds* of the three *ḥadīths* mentioned there that contain Sa'id's name. However, we do not need to compare these two canonical collections; the legal maxim can be traced, as being ascribed to the prophet, as well as to the companions and the successors, in two of the earliest *ḥadīth* collections. See, *al-Muṣannaf* 6, p. 415 ff. Ibn Abī Shaybah 5, p. 15ff.

2. There is no need to trace the precept, which is ascribed to Sa'id b. al-Musayyab in Abū Dāwūd, in Nāsā'i to find it as a prophetic *ḥadīth*; it appears in Abū Dāwūd himself as a *ḥadīth* ascribed to the Prophet (see *ṭahārah*, no. 282, 283, 285. 1, p. 74-75). However, not one of the *isnāds* that relate this *ḥadīth* to the Prophet has Sa'id's name as a transmitter. Moreover, this precept is ascribed to other Successors, in slightly different words, or at any rate in the same sense: to 'Ā'ishah and al-Ḥasan (Dārimi, *ṭahārah* (83), no. 795, 799.

1,166-167), to Sālim (or al-Qāsim)(see Ibn Abi Shaybah,1, p. 128). I found one version of this report ascribed to Sa'id, with the indication that it did not represent his *ra'y*. on being asked about *al-mustaḥaḍah* , he said: 'O son of my brother, there is no one left who is more knowledgable concerning this than I ... (al-Dārimī, *ṭahārah* (83) no. 792 .1, p. 166)

3. The prophetic *ḥadīth* is listed as a ruling of various Successors in Tirmidhī, as Juynboll mentions, but Tirmidhī gives it as a ruling of various Companions as well, in the same place. Tirmidhī's words indicate that the ascription of this maxim to Companions and Successors is no more than a reflection of their issuing *fatwās* based on the prophetic *ḥadīth*. As a *fatwā*, it is ascribed not only to persons contemporary with Sa'id, but to some of those who were older than he. Furthermore, Sa'id's name is not included in the *isnāds* going back to the Prophet.

After mentioning the prophetic *ḥadīths*, al-Tirmidhī says:

والعمل في هذا الباب على حديث النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - " لا نكاح إلا بولي " عند أهل العلم من أصحاب النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - منهم عمر بن الخطاب وعلي بن أبي طالب وعبد الله بن عباس وأبو هريرة وغيرهم . وهكذا روي عن بعض فقهاء التابعين أنهم قالوا : لا نكاح إلا بولي ، منهم سعيد بن المسيب والحسن البصري وشريح وإبراهيم النخعي وعمر بن عبد العزيز

وغيرهم . وبهذا يقول سفيان الثوري والأوزاعي وعبد الله بن المبارك ومالك والشافعي وأحمد وإسحق .

4. This example is, in fact, not one of an utterance ascribed to Sa'id in one source and to the Prophet in another. Al-Zuhri transmits this *ḥadīth*, from the Prophet, on the authority of Sa'id and other Successors, i.e. Abū Salamah, on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, and 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr on the authority of 'Ā'ishah. Also there are other channels, in which Sa'id and al-Zuhri do not appear.(see for example, *Muwaṭṭa'*, *aqḍiyah* (21) no. 20 . 2, p.739. *al-Muṣannaf* 7, p. 442-43, no. 13818, 13819, 13821. 4, p.148 no. 7277. *al-Tirmidhi*, *waṣāyā* (5), no. 2120, 2121).

5. The precept of the ablution of the *mustahāḍah* attributed to Sa'id which Juynboll says "has remained unambiguously ascribed to him" is also ascribed to others in various reports on the same page of al-Dārimi, specifically to 'Ā'ishah, Ibn 'Umar, 'Aṭā', al-Ḥasan, and al-Awzā'i.

6. This example does not represent "Sa'id's own statement preceded by the same texts as prophetic sayings". These two numbers, in *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, *ṣalāt* 60 and 61, are two versions of a *mursal* prophetic *ḥadīth*, but they are preceded by two

versions of a prophetic *ḥadīth* in the same sense with full *isnāds*, *ṣalāt* 58 and 59. Moreover, these two *isnāds* do not include the name of Saʿid.

٥٨- أيوب بن أبي تميمه السخثياني ، عن محمد بن سيرين عن أبي هريرة ؛
أن رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم- انصرف من اثنتين

٥٩- داود بن الحصين ، عن أبي سفيان مولى ابن أبي أحمد ؛ أنه قال سمعت أبا
هريرة يقول : صلى رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - صلاة العصر

٦٠- ابن شهاب ، عن أبي بكر بن سليمان بن أبي حثمة ؛ قال: بلغني أن رسول
الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ركع ركعتين

٦١- ابن شهاب ، عن سعيد بن المسيب ، وعن أبي سلمة بن عبد الرحمن ، مثل
ذلك .

Juynboll's comment on the statement, which appears in al-Khaṭīb's *Kifāyah*, regarding Saʿid's *marāsīl* is incorrect, in my opinion. He says that " it is implied that all the *marāsīl* of Ibn al-Musayyab were in the course of time brought into circulation with perfect *isnāds* via other people". In fact this statement runs:

لان مراسيل سعيد تتبعت فوجدت كلها مسانيد عن الصحابة من جهة غيره

This means that the *marāsīl* of Saʿid are found as *muttaṣilah*

on the authority of the Companions through other transmitters. Having said this, the argument here is about Sa'id's own statements as developed into prophetic sayings, not about *mursal ḥadīths* developed into *muttaṣil*.

It appears from these examples that decisions that are attributed to Ibn al-Musayyab are also attributed to other Successors from more than one centre; why, then, should these be taken as Ibn al-Musayyab's own products ?

NOTES

1. See Pedersen, "The Islamic Preacher", p. 226, 231.
2. Tamim al-Dāri says, replying to 'Umar when asked about his *qaṣaṣ*,
 أقرأ عليهم القرآن وأمرهم بالخير وأنهاهم عن الشر see *Siyar* 2, p. 447. Ma'mar saw 'Aṭā'
 al-Khurāsāni (d. 135) using *al-sunan* in his *qaṣaṣ*. See *al-Muṣannaf* 3, p. 220 no.
 5403.
3. "The Islamic Preacher", p. 237.
4. *Tradition*, p. 11.
5. *Tradition*, p. 74.
6. *Ibidem*.
7. "On the origins of Arabic prose", p. 165.
8. See a cross section of their activities demonstrated above.
9. See Abū Hilāl al-Askari, *al-Awā'il* 2, p. 113.
10. Ibn Abi Shaybah 8, p. 746 no. 6241. See also 14, p. 114 where Ibn Sirin made
al-Khawārij responsible for initiating this activity.
11. We find, later, some younger Successors who engaged in *ḥadīth* activities and
 entered the ranks of the *quṣṣāṣ*, for example, Sa'īd b. Jubayr, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri,
 and Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quradhi. See Ibn Abi Shaybah 8, p. 744-745 nos. 6235,
 6240.
12. Ibn Waḍḍāh, *al-Bida' wa al-nahy 'anhā*, p. 19.
13. See Ibn Wahb's *Jāmi'*, pp. 75-77. Ibn Abi Shaybah 8, pp. 746-49. *al-Bida' wa
 al-nahy 'anhā*, pp. 16-23. *al-Bā'ith 'alā al-khalāṣ*, pp. 138-141.
14. *al-Awā'il* 2.13.
15. See Ibn Abi Shaybah 8, p. 746 no. 6242, p.748 no. 6250.
16. See note (11) above.
17. *al-Bida' wa al-nahy 'anhā*, p. 21. كنا إذا رأينا الرجل يقص قلنا هذا صاحب بدعة .
18. see Ibn Wahb's *Jāmi'*, p. 75-76. *al-Muṣannaf* 3, p. 222 no. 5411 Ibn Sa'd 5, p.
 148 (2). Ibn Abi Shaybah 8, p. 743 no. 6232. p. 748 no. 6251. *al-Bida' wa al-nahy
 'anhā* pp. 19, 21, 22. *Ḥilyah* 2, p. 287.

19. Ibn Abi Sbaybah 8, pp. 743 no. 6232. *al-Muṣannaf* 3, p. 218 no. 5395.
20. Among them are al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri, Saʿid b. Jubayr, Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraḍi. See, for instance, Ibn Abi Shaybah 8, p. 744-45.
21. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Majrūhin* 1, p. 71-74. Ibn al-Jawzi, *al-Mawḍūʿāt* 1, p. 44 ff.
22. See, for example, al-Ḥākim, *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadith*, p. 21. al-Khaṭib, *al-Kifāyah*, p. 417-18.
23. See al-Khaṭib, *al-Kifāyah*, p. 417.
24. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 117 (5).
25. al-Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* 1, p. 38-39. For the second report, see Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 120 (17).
26. *Siyar* 4, p. 102.
27. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ* 2, p. 137. In an early source, this saying appears in a story:
- ... عن الشعبي قال : شهدت شريحاً وجاءه رجل من مراد فقال يا أبا أمية مادية الأصابع ؟ قال : عشر عشر ، قال : يا سبحان الله أسواء هاتان ، جمع بين الخنصر والإبهام ، فقال شريح : يا سبحان الله أسواء أذنك ويدك ، فإن الأذن يواربها الشعر والكمة والعمامة فيها نصف الدية ، وفي اليد نصف الدية ، ويحك إن السنة سبقت قياسكم ، فاتبع ولا تبتدع فإنك لن تضل ما أخذت بالأثر . سنن الدارمي ٥٩/٨
- المقدمة (٢٢) رقم ٢٠٤
28. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ* 2, p. 34. Also Ibn Saʿd 6, p. 94 (13).
- إنما اقتني الأثر فما وجدت في الأثر حدثكم به .
29. *Siyar* 4, p. 103.
30. Ibn Saʿd 2 2, p. 116.
31. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ* 2, p. 29.
32. al-Shāfiʿi, 2, p. 65 no. 212.
33. Abū Zurʿah p. 404 no. 931.
34. *al-Maʿrifah* 1, p. 550. ما سمعت أبي يقول في شيء قط برأيه
35. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ* 2, p. 138. السنن السنن، فإن السنن قوام الدين
36. Id. p. 32.
37. *al-Maʿrifah*, 2, p. 10. قال عكرمة: ما قلت برأبي إلا في اثنتين ...
38. al-Dārimi, 1, p. 45 *muqaddimah* 17, no. 108.
- قال عبد العزيز بن ربيع: سئل عطاء عن شيء ، قال : لا أدري ، قال : قيل له ألا تقول فيها برأيك ؟ قال :
إني أستحيي من الله أن يدان في الأرض برأبي .

39. Ibn Sa'd, 2 2, p. 134 (5).

كان عطاء إذا حدث بشئ ، قلت :علم أو رأي ؟ فإن كان اثرا قال : علم ، وإن كان رأيا قال : رأي.

40. id. 2, p. 608-609.

قلت لإبراهيم : كل ما تفتي به سمعته ؟ قال: لا ، ولكن سمعت فقتست ما لم أسمع بما قد سمعته .

41. Abū Zur'ah, p. 668 no. 2015. *al-'Ilal*, 2, p. 360 no. 2518. *Hilyah*, 4, p. 222.

ما سمعت إبراهيم يقول برأيه في شئ قط

42. *al-'Ilal* 2, p. 360 no. 2517. أنه كان لا يقول برأيه إلا شيئا سمعه

43. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'* 2, p. 137 . كانوا يرون أنه على الطريق ما دام على الأثر .

44. Id. 2, p. 31.

سئل عن المتعة بالعمرة إلى الحج قال: كرهها عمر بن الخطاب وعثمان بن عفان فإن يكن علما فهما أعلم مني وإن يكن رأيا فرأيهما أفضل .

45. Ibn Sa'd 7 2, p. 1 (6). *al-Ma'rifah*, 2, p. 280. *Musnad Ibn al-Ja'd*, 1, p. 522 no. 1057.

أبو هلال محمد بن سليم الراسبي قال :سألت قتادة عن مسألة فقال :لا أدري ، فقلت : قل برأيك ، قال : ما قلت برأبي منذ أربعين سنة . فقال ابن كم هو يومئذ ؟ قال: ابن خمسين سنة.

46. *Musnad Ibn al-Ja'd* 1, p. 523 no. 36. *Siyar* 5, p. 273.

أبو عوانة قال سمعت قتادة يقول : ما أفتيت برأبي منذ ثلاثين سنة .

47. Ibn Sa'd 7 1, p. 120 (21). Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'* 2, p. 60.

أرايت ما تفتي الناس أشيئا سمعته أم برأيك ؟ فقال الحسن: لا والله ما كل ما تفتي به سمعناه ، ولكن رأينا خير لهم من رأيهم لأنفسهم .

48. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'* 2, p. 144-45.

قال ربيعة لابن شهاب : يا أبا بكر إذا حدثت الناس برأيك فأخبرهم أنه رأيك بوإذا حدثت الناس بشئ من السنة فأخبرهم أنه سنة لا يظنوا أنه رأيك.

49. Ibn Sa'd 7 2, p. 14 (24).

سئل أيوب عن شئ فقال :لم يبلغني فيه شئ فقال قل فيه برأيك ، فقال: لم يبلغه رأي

50. *Tahdhib* 4, p. 403-4.

51. *Tahdhib* 6, p. 312.

CHAPTER TWO

THE *ISNĀD*JUYNBOLL'S CHRONOLOGY OF THE BEGINNING OF THE *ISNĀD*

The *isnād* is one of the two main features of the *ḥadīth*; the other being the *matn*. It is essential to the transmission of *ḥadīths*; without it, *ḥadīths* are regarded as worthless. Juynboll does not believe that the *isnād* was used in the transmission of the *ḥadīth* material earlier than the last few decades of the first century. In discussing the origin of the *isnād*, he suggests a definite date: "...the birth of the institution of the *isnād* is accepted as having taken place sometime in the late sixties or early seventies ...";(1) however, in the conclusion of his first chapter, he says: "Scrutiny of informants gave way to the creation of the institution of the *isnād* probably at the earliest in the late seventies of the first century (the late 690s)".(2)

THE *ISNĀD* AND ITS ASSOCIATION WITH THE *FITNAH*

The main evidence Juynboll adduces to support this chronology is "the saying attributed to Muḥammad b. Sirin (d.

110/728): 'They [sc. the traditionists] were not used to inquiring after the *isnād*, but when the *fitna* occurred they said: Name us your informants. Thus, if these were *ahl as-sunna* their traditions were accepted, but if they were *ahl al-bida'* their traditions were not accepted.'"(3) Juynboll contends that by the word *fitnah* in this report is meant the conflict between the Umayyads and Ibn al-Zubayr. He devotes a separate study to an attempt to prove this interpretation. Before I consider his arguments for this view, I shall refer to two reports which he mentions as substantiating his arguments.

With respect to the first, he says: "To Ibn Ma'in (d.233/848) is ascribed a remark concerning al-A'mash, who allegedly never heard traditions before the *fitna*. Since al-A'mash lived from 59-61 (679-681) until 145/762, we again have here a context in which the concept *fitna* and tradition transmission are mentioned in one breath, in which by *fitna* definitely the one of Ibn al-Zubayr is meant."(4) In fact, from another remark ascribed to Abū Dāwūd, we learn that by *fitnah* here is meant Ibn al-Ash'ath's *fitnah* and not Ibn al-Zubayr's.(5)

The other report is an *awā'il* report, ascribed to Mālik b. Anas, in which he says: *أول من أسند الحديث ابن شهاب*. Regarding this report Juynboll says: "The verb *asnad* in this context admits of two interpretations. Firstly it may mean that Mālik indicated Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhri, who lived from ±50/670 until 124/742, as the first who made consistent use of *isnāds*; secondly, it can be explained as indicating Zuhri's consistent search for *isnāds* going back all the way to the prophet, *isnāds*, in other words, which are *musnad*; interpreted thus it may be taken to mean that he consistently looked for *isnāds* that were *marfū'*. This latter interpretation is, however, somewhat difficult to harmonize with the statement al-Ājurri has made on the authority of Abū Dāwūd as-Sijistāni concerning Zuhri's methods. It is alleged in this remark that Zuhri had collected in all 2,200 traditions half of which were *musnad*. Taken literally this might mean that he only found 1,100 *musnad* traditions, but the question may be asked why he collected the other 1,100 if he was supposedly not interested in them. That he indeed was also on the look-out for non-*musnad* traditions is borne out by a statement of Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān (d. after 140/758) as reported by Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 154/770) in which Zuhri's

search for sayings attributed to Companions is explicitly attested.

To conclude from this that it was Zuhri who was the first to make consistent use of *isnāds*, as I suggested in the first interpretation above, seems the more appropriate. In view of Zuhri's lifespan - he was born in 50 - it seems more likely, therefore, to consider the *fitna* alluded to in the statement of Ibn Sirin as the one resulting from the conflict of Ibn az-Zubayr and the Umayyads."⁽⁶⁾

Indeed, I would agree with Juynboll in dismissing the second interpretation but the first one seems to me unlikely too. In fact, al-Zuhri was one of those who related *mursal ḥadīths*. Some critics considered his *mursalāt* as worthless.⁽⁷⁾ Mālik, in one report, said that al-Zuhri used to relate on Ibn 'Umar's authority without mentioning his informant.⁽⁸⁾ According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the famous commentator on *al-Muwatta'*, Mālik relates there 132 prophetic *ḥadīths* on the authority of al-Zuhri. In 15 of these, al-Zuhri does not mention the authorities that link him to the prophet.⁽⁹⁾ On the other hand, Mālik relates 80 prophetic *ḥadīths* on the authority of Nāfi', the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar, who was older than al-Zuhri. All of these *ḥadīths* are *muttaṣilah* except one

(no. 618), which , however, according to other versions, is also *muttaşil* .(10)

At any rate, even if we accept Juynboll's interpretation of Mālik's statement, it denotes the consistent use of the *isnād* but not its initiation.

A SCRUTINY OF JUYNBOLL'S THEORY CONCERNING 'THE DATE OF THE GREAT *FITNA*'

Turning back to the report of Ibn Sirin mentioned above, it is Juynboll's conviction that by the word *fitnah* in this report is meant Ibn al-Zubayr's conflict with the Umayyads and not the civil war ensuing from the killing of ʿUthmān in 35. To justify this view, Juynboll makes a separate study of the chronology of the term *al-fitnah* in an attempt to prove that the first *fitnah* that came to be known by this term is the one of Ibn al-Zubayr, and that, consequently, the word *fitnah* in Ibn Sirin's statement cannot be interpreted as that which ensued from the killing of ʿUthmān.(11) The following is a brief summary of Juynboll's article.

He traces the word *fitnah* in connection with the killing of ʿUthmān in various reports which appear in early sources. He orders them according to the dates of the death of their

authors. These works are:

Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr by Ibn Saʿd (d.230)

Nasab Quraysh by al-Muṣaʿb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muṣʿab
al-Zubayri (d.236)

Tārīkh Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ (d.240)

Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d.241)

al-ʿUthmāniyyah by al-Jāḥiẓ (d.255)

al-Futūḥ by Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfi (d. after 252)

Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī (d. 256)

Then he refers to sources which, as he says, "were mostly
historical texts". These are:

al-Maʿārif, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, and *Taʿwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*
by Ibn Qutaybah (d.270)

Ansāb al-ashrāf by al-Balādhuri (d.279)

al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl by al-Dinawari (d.282)

Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbi (d.284)

Tārīkh al-Ṭabari (d.310)

Kitāb al-tārīkh al-majmūʿ ʿalā al-taḥqīq wa al-taṣḍīq by

Saʿīd b. Biṭriq (Eutychius)(d.328)

Kitāb al-ʿunwān by Maḥbūb al-Manbijī (Agapius) (d.350)

Murūj al-dhahab by al-Masʿūdi (d.345)

Juynboll concludes from his consideration of these reports

that " Evaluating the reports with the word *fitna* given so far I venture to say that not a single one originated in the time as suggested by the sources, but have all come into existence at dates relatively close to the death dates of the compilers of these sources , whereas in the Christian sources the word does not occur in the context under discussion. That means, I hazard to say, that the connotation ' civil war ensuing from the killing of 'Uthmān ' of the word *fitna* originated not earlier than the latter half of the second century of the Hijra. Of almost every report cited above can be said without a reasonable doubt that it came into existence after the 'Abbāsids had come to power.'"(12)

Then he reviews most of the above mentioned sources, and others,"to compare the occurrence of the word *fitna* in the connotation 'civil strife after 'Uthmān's killing' with its occurrence in different connotations and contexts". His finding is "that in the history of Islam the first political event that is most often called the *fitna* is the revolt of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr against the Umayyad caliphs. But inasmuch as other disturbances, earlier as well as later, also came to be called *fitna*, I propose to give a detailed list of occurrences of the word."(13)

There is a counterargument which was raised against this chronology by Josef van Ess. He published a *risālah* ascribed to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah (d.95+), in which the word *fitnah* occurs in connection with the killing of ʿUthmān. He thinks that this may undermine Juynboll's proposal of the late date, as late as the latter half of the second century, at which the civil war ensuing from the killing of ʿUthmān was to be called by the term *fitnah*. Juynboll tries to rebut this elsewhere. However, before discussing the counterargument and Juynboll's reply to it, it should be said that it is the way in which Juynboll treats his sources that invalidates his theory rather than anything else. I base my argument on the following considerations:

First, before detailing his sources, Juynboll says: "In the following we shall try to trace the evolution of the word *fitna* as used in the accounts of the turmoil around ʿUthmān's death on the basis of the earliest sources available.

The sources will be dealt with here in the order of the dates of their authors' deaths. This is done merely for reasons of efficiency. In most cases it is impossible to ascertain the age of a report. The only evidence that such a report offers is that it is definitely not later than the year of death of the

writer who inserted it in his book."(14) In his enumeration, he mentions 15 reports in which the word *fitnah* appears in connection with ʿUthmān's killing. He dismisses all of them, but he differs in the way he evaluates each report. Some he dismisses simply as forged prophecies of a common kind. Others he dismisses because the word *fitnah*, which appears in them, is not in the context of the civil war ensuing from the killing of ʿUthmān. Even though Juynboll has grave doubt concerning the value of the *isnād*, he adduces an argument based on *isnād* in relation to certain reports. At any rate, his reasons for dismissing the reports are arguable.(15) In view of his different method of the evaluation of these reports, I cannot follow his conclusion that "not a single one originated in the time as suggested by the sources, but have all come into existence at dates relatively close to the death dates of the compilers of these sources". To judge from the above quotation, by which he introduces his sources, he appears to consider all these reports as products of the ʿAbbāsid period because they appear in sources dating from that time. This being so, there would seem, in any case, no good reason for his considering them on other grounds, before dismissing them.

On the other hand, in dealing with the occurrences of the

word *fitnah*, in various sources, with other connotations, an investigation which causes him to regard Ibn al-Zubayr's *fitnah* as "being the first event of this kind generally referred to as *fitna*", Juynboll does not apply the same criticism as he does to the reports referring the term to ʿUthmān. Moreover, all of the reports, that he considers to refer to Ibn al-Zubayr's *fitnah* also appear first in ʿAbbāsīd sources. Thus, if first appearance in ʿAbbāsīd sources is the sole reason for dismissing the reports referring to the ʿUthmān *fitnah*, the same should apply to reports referring to Ibn al-Zubayr's *fitnah* since they also appear first in much the same sources. While Juynboll does not admit, in his argument, one single report which he accepts as referring to the event ensuing from the killing of ʿUthmān as a *fitnah*, he adduces any allusion in these sources to any other *fitnah*, from "the *fitna* shortly after ʿAli's death" onwards.

Secondly, he does not consider all the reports that appear in the sources he consults. So, supposing that we accept all the arguments by which he dismisses the significance of certain reports, what about the unmentioned ones, which number far more than the 15 that he discusses? For example, the first source he consults is the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn

Sa'd. He says: "Ibn Sa'd gives two reports concerning the killing of 'Uthmān in which the word *fitna* occurs"; he refers to these two reports and dismisses them.(16) However, there are also in Ibn Sa'd the following additional reports:

-أخبرنا عفان بن مسلم ومسلم بن إبراهيم قالوا نا الأسود بن شيبان قال نا أبونوفل ابن أبي عقرب قال :كان عمار بن ياسر من أطول الناس سكوتا وأقله كلاما وكان يقول عائذ بالله من فتنة، قال :ثم عرضت له بعد فتنة عظيمة . ٣-
١٨٣/١ سطر ١٣

- اسماعيل بن ابراهيم عن أيوب عن محمد قال : قال رجل ما أحد منا أدركته الفتنة إلا لو شئت لقلت فيه غير ابن عمر ٤-١/٦ سطر ٢٣

-أخبرنا روح بن عبادة قال حدثنا الأسود بن شيبان قال حدثنا خالد بن سمير عن موسى بن طلحة قال : يرحم الله عبد الله بن عمر ...والله ما استفزته قريش في فتنتها الأولى ، فقلت في نفسي إن هذا ليزري على أبيه في مقتله.
١٢١/٥ سطر ١١

-أخرج عن قيس الخارفي قال :سمعت عليا يقول على المنبر سبق رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم -وصلى أبو بكر وثلاث عمر ثم لبستنا فتنة فهو ما شاء الله . ٨٩/٦ سطر ١١

-وقال بعض أهل العلم أن كعب بن سور لما قدم طلحة والزبيروعاثشة البصرة دخل في بيت وطين عليه وجعل فيه كوة يناول منها طعامه وشرابه اعتزالا للفتنة ...٧-١/٦٥ سطر ٢٤

-أخرج ابن سعد من طريق زهير بن قيس البلوي ، عن علقمة بن رمثة البلوي أنه قال :بعث رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم -عمرو بن العاص إلى البحرين...إن لعمره عند الله خيرا كثيرا ،قال أبو بكر قال زهير : فلما كانت الفتنة قلت أتبع هذا الذي قال فيه رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم- ما قال فلم أفارقه. ٧-٢/١٩٢

Thirdly, tracing the word *fitnah* in connection with the killing of 'Uthmān in what he calls " historical texts" , Juynboll suggests that the occurrences that he mentions are all that there are in the sources. This is not the case. I shall cite Juynboll's comments on each of these sources and then give the reports that he does not mention.

" Balāduri (d.279/892) has a report in which the plural *fitan* is used" (p. 151)

al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*

ساق خبرا في بيعة علي وفيه: " وبعث إلى وهب بن صيفي الأنصاري ليبايعه فقال: إن خليفي وابن عمك قال لي : قاتل المشركين بسيفك فإذا رأيت فتنة فاكسره ...ص ٢٠٧

...فلم يزل واليا على الكوفة [أي أبو موسى الأشعري] حتى كتب إليه علي من ذي قار " يأمره أن يستنفر الناس فثبطهم وقال : هذه فتنة ، فوجه علي حينئذ عمار بن ياسر مع الحسن بن علي إلى الكوفة لا يستنفر

قال أبو مخنف : وبعث علي من الربذة ... فجعل أبو موسى : يخذلهم ويأمرهم بالمقام عنه ويحذرهم الفتنة ، ولم ينهض معه أحد ... ص ٢٢٤

قالوا: وقام علي حين ظهر وظفر [على القوم] خطيباً فقال يا أهل البصرة قد عفوت عنكم فإياكم والفتنة فإنكم أول الرعية [كذا] نكث البيعة وشق عصا الأمة . ص ٢٦٤

وقال الشاعر في يوم الجمل ويقال هو عثمان بن حنيف :
شهدت الحروب فشيببني فلم أر يوماً كيوم الجمل
أشد على مؤمن فتنة وأقبل منه لخرق بطل
فليت الظعينة في بيتها وياليت عسكر لم يرتحل ص ٢٧٠

... عن عبد الوهاب الزبيري عن أشياخه قالوا : لما وقعت الفتنة لم يكن أحد من قريش أعفا فيها من عمرو بن العاص ، أتى مكة فأقام بها ، فلم يزل كافاً حتى كانت وقعة الجمل ... ص ٢٨٣-٢٨٤

... الأ سود بن شيبان قال سمعت الحسن يقول - وذكر الفتنة - : إن القوم نعسوا نعسة في دينهم . ص ٢٣٩

... وقال سعد بن أبي وقاص : أنا أحق الناس بهذا الأمر ، لم أشرك في دم عثمان ولم أحضر شيئاً من هذه الأمور الفتنة [كذا] ص ٣٤٤
... قال : إن ابنك لرجل صدق لكنك قد غمسته في الفتنة... ص ٣٥٠ القائل أبو موسى الأشعري لعمر بن العاص

... فقال لهم صعصعة { للخوارج } : أذكركم الله أن تجعلوا فتنة العام مخافة
فتنة عام قابل... ص ٣٥٤

ذكر قصة اجتماع الثلاثة نفر من الخوارج بمكة ، وفيها " ... فتذاكروا أمر
إخوانهم الذين قتلوا بالنهروان وقالوا : والله مالنا خير في البقاء بعدهم فلو
شرينا أنفسنا فأتينا أئمة الضلال والفتنة فأرحنا العباد منهم ... ص ٤٩٠

"Dinawari (d.282/895) mentions the word *fitna* once in
connection with 'Alī" (p.151)

al-Dinawari, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*

أورد خبر تثبيط أبي موسى أهل الكوفة من الدخول في الفتنة ، أول ما
أرسل علي إليهم ليستنهضهم :

... أيها الناس إن الفتنة إذا أقبلت شبّهت وإذا أدبرت تبينت ، وإن هذه
الفتنة الباقرة لا يدرى من أين تأتي ، ولا من أين تؤتى شيموا سيوفكم
وانزعوا أسنة رماحكم واقطعوا أوتار قسيكم والزموا قعور البيوت ...
ص ١٤٥

- فجمع معاوية إليه أشراف أهل بيته فاستشارهم في أمره فقال أخوه عتبة
بن أبي سفيان : استعن على أمرك بعمر بن العاص ، وكان مقيماً في ضيعة
له من حيز فلسطين ، قد اعتزل الفتنة ... ص ١٥٧

- أورد في سياق مداولة الحكمين " قال أبو موسى : ويحك يا عمرو ، إن
المسلمين قد أسندوا إلينا أمراً بعد أن تقارعوا بالسيوف وتشاكوا بالرماح ،
فلا نردّهم في فتنة." ص ٢٠٠

"Ya'qūbi (d.284/897) does not have the word *fitna* in his account of the killing of 'Uthmān in his *Tārīkh*"(p. 151)

Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbi

بعد أن ساق خبر النهروان سنة ٣٩ قال: ولما قدم علي الكوفة قام خطيباً فقال : ... أما بعد أيها الناس ، فأنا ففقت عين الفتنة ولم يكن ليجتري عليها أحد غيري ، ولو لم أكن فيكم ما قوتل الناكثون ولا القاسطون ولا المارقون ... ٢٢٥/٢

- ... ووجه معاوية إلى الحسن المغيرة بن شعبة وعبد الله بن عامر بن كريز وعبد الرحمن بن أم الحكم وأتوه وهو با لمدائن نازل في مضاربه ثم خرجوا من عنده وهم يقولون ويسمعون الناس ، إن الله قد حقن بابن رسول الله الدماء وسكن به الفتنة وأجاب إلى الصلح ... ٢٥٥/٢

" Ṭabarī (d.310/923) has the word in two reports"(p. 151)

Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī

... فغشي الناس علياً فقالوا نبايعك فقد ترى ما نزل بالإسلام وما ابتلينا به من ذوي القربى ، فقال علي : دعوني والتمسوا غيري فإننا مستقبلون أمراً له وجوه وله ألوان لا تقوم له القلوب ، ولا تثبت عليه العقول ، فقالوا : ننشذك الله ألا ترى ما نرى ألا ترى الإسلام ألا ترى الفتنة ألا تخاف الله ... ٣٠٧٦/١

- ... ولما رجع سهل بن حنيف من طريق الشام وأتته الأخبار ورجع من رجع ، دعا علي طلحة والزبير ، فقال : إن الذي كنت أحذركم قد وقع يا قوم ، وإن الأمر الذي وقع لا يدرك إلا بإماتته ، وإنها فتنة كالنار كلما سعرت ازدادت واستنارت... ٣٠٨٩/١

- ... عن الشعبي قال : بالله الذي لا إله إلا هو ما نهض في تلك الفتنة إلا ستة بدريين ما لهم سبع أو سبعة ما لهم ثامن. ٣٠٩٥/١

- ... عن أبي عمرة مولى الزبير قال : لما بايع أهل البصرة الزبير وطلحة قال الزبير : ألا ألف فارس أسير بهم إلى علي فإما بيته وإما صبحته لعلي أقتله قبل أن يصل إلينا فلم يجبه أحد ، فقال : إن هذه لهي الفتنة التي كنا نحدث عنها ، فقال له موله أتسميها فتنة وتقاتل فيها ... ١ / ٣١٣٧

يقول أبو موسى الأشعري للكوفيين - بعد أن أتاه ابن عباس والأشتر يستنهضانه لمناصرة علي - " ... فأما إذ كان ما كان فإنها فتنة صماء ... فاغمدوا السيوف وأنصلوا الأسنة واقطعوا الأوتار وأووا المظلوم والمضطهد حتى يلتئم هذا الأمر وتنجلي هذه الفتنة . ١ / ٣١٤٦

- ... وقام أبو موسى فقال أيها الناس ... إن الفتنة إذا أقبلت شبهت وإذا أدبرت بينت ، وإن هذه الفتنة باقرة كداء البطن تجري بها الشمال والجنوب والصبا والدبور ... استنصحنوني ولا تستغشوني وأطيعوني يسلم لكم دينكم ودنياكم ويشقى بحر هذه الفتنة من جناها ... ١ / ٤٨-٣١٤٩ وانظر أيضا ص ٣١٥٣

- أن عبد خير الحيواني قام إلى أبي موسى ... هل تعلم أحداً خارجاً من هذه الفتنة التي تزعم أنها هي فتنة إنما بقي أربع قرون ، علي بظهر الكوفة وطلحة والزبير بالبصرة ومعاوية بالشام وفرقة أخرى بالحجاز لا يجبي بها فن ولا يقاتل بها عدو فقال له أبو موسى : أولئك خير الناس وهي فتنة ... ١ / ٣١٥٢

- قال أبو موسى -مخاطباً عمرو بن العاص في التحكيم - : ... ان ابنك رجل صدق ، ولكنك قد غمسته في هذه الفتنة . ١ / ٣٣٥٦

- ... عن نافع مولى ابن عمر قال : ... فقال عبد الله بن عمر : لا والله لا أرشو عليها شيئاً أبداً ، وقال يا ابن العاص ، إن العرب أسندت إليك أمرها بعدما تقارعت بالسيوف وتناجرت بالرماح فلا تردنهم في فتنة . ١ / ٥٦-

"...al-Mas'ūdī, ... (345/956), did not use it either"(p.152)

al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*

"... وكاتب علي من الربذة أبا موسى الأشعري ليستنفر الناس فثبطهم أبو

موسى ، وقال : إنما هي فتنة ... " ٣٠٨ / ٤

- وخرجت امرأة من عبد القيس تطوف في القتلى فوجدت ابنين لها قد قتلوا

وقد كان زوجها واخوان لها فيمن قتل قبل مجيء علي البصرة فانشدت :

شهدت الحروب فشيببني فلم أر يوماً كيوم الجمل

أضراً على مؤمن فتنة وأقتله لشجاع بطل

فليت الظعينة في بيتها وليتك عسكر لم ترتحل ٣٣٣-٣٢ / ٤

ساق ما قاله علي لما الحوا عليه في تحكيم أبي موسى وفيه " ... إنما عهدكم

بعبد الله بن قيس بالأمس وهو يقول ألا إنها فتنة فقطعوا فيها أوتاركم

وكسروا قسيكم ... " ٤٠٨ / ٤

- وفي سنة أربعين اجتمع بمكة جماعة من الخوارج فتذاكروا الناس ما هم فيه

من الحرب والفتنة فتعاهد ثلاثة منهم علي قتل علي ومعاوية وعمرو بن

العاص ... ٤٢٦/٤

- وكان سعد وأسامة بن زيد وعبد الله بن عمر ومحمد بن مسلمة ممن قعد عن

علي بن أبي طالب وأبوا أن يبايعوه وغيرهم ممن ذكرنا من القعد عن بيعته

وذلك أنهم قالوا انها فتنة ومنهم من قال لعلي أعطنا سيوفاً نقاتل بها معك

فاذا ضربنا ... ٤٣/ ٥

Fourthly, there are other early sources in which the word *fitnah* appear to mean the one connected with killing of 'Uthmān:

Mālik b. Anas (d. 179), *al-Muwattaʿ* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī

- أخبرنا يحيى بن سعيد أنه سمع سعيد بن المسيب يقول : وقعت الفتنة - يعني فتنة عثمان فلم يبق من أهل بدر أحد ، ثم وقعت فتنة الحرة فلم يبق من أصحاب الحديبية أحد ، فإن وقعت الثالثة لم يبق با لناس طباخ . ص ٢٤٣ (٩٩١)

Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211), *al-Muṣannaf*

- معمر عن الزهري قال ... وأمر الوليد بن عقبة ثم شهد على الوليد فجلاه ونزعه ، وأمر سعيد بن العاص مكانه ، ثم قال الناس ونشبووا في الفتنة فحجج سعيد بن العاص ثم قفل من حجة فلقية خيل العراق فرجعوه من العذيب وأخرج أهل مصر عبد الله بن سعد بن أبي سرح وأقر أهل البصرة عبد الله بن عامر بن كريز فكان كذلك أول الفتنة حتى إذا قتل عثمان -رحمه الله - بايع الناس علي بن أبي طالب ... فلم يزل بعوثهما وعمالهما يختلفون إلى المدينة ومكة حتى قتل علي -رحمه الله تعالى - ثم اجتمع الناس على معاوية ، ومروان وابن البختري يغلبان على أهل المدينة في تلك الفتنة ... وكانت مصر في سلطان علي بن أبي طالب فأمر عليها قيس بن سعد بن عبادة الأنصاري ... وكان قيس من ذوي الرأي من الناس إلا ما غلب عليه من أمر الفتنة ، فكان معاوية وعمرو بن العاص جاهدين على إخراجه من مصر... فأمرت شرطة الخمسين قيس بن سعد ، وتعاهدوا وتعاقدوا على قتال معاوية وعمرو بن العاص حتى يشترط لشيعة علي ولمن كان اتبعه على أموالهم ودمائهم وما أصابوا من الفتنة ... وكان يعد في العرب حتى ثارت الفتنة الأولى خمسة يقال لهم ذوو رأي العرب ومكيدتهم يعد من قريش معاوية وعمرو ويعد من الأنصار قيس بن سعد ... ٥ / ٤٥٦ - ٤٦٣ (٩٧٧.)

- عن معمر قال أخبرني الزهري أن سليمان بن هشام كتب إليه يسأله عن امرأة خرجت من عند زوجها ... قال الزهري فكتبت إليه : أما بعد فإن الفتنة الأولى ثارت وأصحاب رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ممن شهد بدرأً كثير فاجتمع رأيهم على أن لا يقيموا على أحد حداً في فرج استحلوه بتأويل القرآن ... / ١٠ . ٢٠-١٢١ (١٨٥٨٤)

- معمر عن الزهري قال : ثارت الفتنة ودهاة الناس خمسة ، يعد من قريش معاوية وعمرو ، ويعد من الأنصار قيس بن سعد ، ويعد من المهاجرين عبد الله بن بديل بن ورقاء الخزاعي ، ويعد من ثقيف المغيرة بن شعبة . / ١١ . ٣٥٠ (٢٠٧٢٦)

- معمر عن أيوب عن ابن سيرين قال : ثارت الفتنة ، وأصحاب رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - عشرة آلاف لم يخف منهم أربعون رجلاً ، قال معمر : وقال غيره : خف معه - يعني علياً - مئتان وبضعة وأربعون من أهل بدر ، منهم أبو أيوب وسهل بن حنيف وعمار بن ياسر . / ١١ . ٣٥٧ (٢٠٧٣٥)

- معمر عن يحيى بن سعيد عن ابن المسيب قال : ثارت الفتنة الأولى فلم يبق ممن شهد بدرأً أحد ، ثم كانت الفتنة الثانية فلم يبق ممن شهد الحديبية أحد ، قال : وأظن لو كانت الثالثة لم ترفع وفي الناس طباخ . / ١١ . ٣٥٨-٣٥٩ (٢٠٧٣٩)

Sunan Sa'id b. Manşūr

- اسماعيل بن ابراهيم قال نا أيوب عن محمد بن سيرين قال : قال رجل : ما منا أحد أدركته الفتنة إلا لو شئت لقلت فيه غير ابن عمر . / ٢ . ٣٧٥ (٢٩٧٤)

- عبد الله بن المبارك قال أنا معمر عن الزهري قال : كتب إليه سليمان بن هشام يسأله عن امرأة لحقت بالحرورية وفارقت زوجها ، وشهدت على قومها بالشرك وتزوجت فيهم ثم رجعت تائبة ، فكتب إليه الزهري وأنا شاهد : أما بعد فإن فتنة الأولى ثارت وأصحاب رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم - ممن شهد بدراً كثيراً فرأوا أن يهدرو أمر الفتنة ولا يقام فيها حد على أحد من فرج استحله بتأويل القرآن ... ٢ / ٣٦٨ (٢٩٥٣)

Muṣannaf Ibn abi Shaybah

- ... عن ابن عمر قال : لم يقص زمان أبي بكر ولا عمر ، إنما كان القصص زمن الفتنة . ٨ / ٧٤٦ (٦٢٤١)

- ... عن حذيفة ، فذكر قتل عثمان قال : إما إنها أول الفتن . ١٤ / ١١٣ (١٧٧٦٨)

- ... عن حذيفة قال : رأيت يوم الدار كانت فتنة يعني قتل عثمان فإنها أول الفتن وأخرها الدجال . ١٤ / ١١٣ (١٧٧٦٩)

- ... عن محمد أن رجلاً من أصحاب النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - قال : ما أدركت الفتنة أحداً منا إلا لو شئت أن أقول فيه لقلت فيه إلا عبدالله بن عمر ٧٠ / ١٥ (١٩١٤٠)

- كان الحارث بن سويد في نفر فقال إياكم والفتن فإنها قد ظهرت ، فقال رجل : فانت قد خرجت مع علي ، قال : وأين لكم إمام مثل علي ١٥ / ٧٦ (١٩١٥٨)

- ... ميمون بن سياه عن جندب بن عبد الله ، أنه قال في الفتنة : إنه من انبجس له أردته ١٥ / ٧٦ (١٩١٦٠)

- ... عن شريح قال : ما أخبرت ولا استخبرت مذ كانت الفتنة ، قال له مسروق : لو كنت مثلك لسرني أن أكون قدمت ، قال شريح : فكيف بأكثر من

ذلك ، ما في الصدور ، وتلتقي الفئتان وإحداهما أحب إلي من الأخرى ١٥ / ١٢٢ (١٩٢٧٩)

-... سمعت أبا وائل يقول : لما قتل عثمان قال أبو موسى : إن هذه الفتنة

فتنة باقرة كداء البطن ... ١٥ / ٢٦ - ٢٢٧ (١٩٥٤٩)

- ... عن أبي نضرة قال : ذكروا علياً وعثمان وطلحة والزبير عند أبي سعيد

فقال : أقوام سبقت لهم سوابق ، وأصابتهم فتنة فردوا أمرهم إلى الله ١٥ /

٢٧٥ (١٩٦٤٧)

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-ʿIlal*

- ... عن الحسن عن الأسود بن سريع ، وكان أول من قص في هذا المسجد ،

وكان يسمى حماد ربه فلما وقعت الفتنة انطلق إلى فارس حتى مات بها ... ١

/ ٢٨١ (١٦٧٩)

-... إيوب عن محمد بن سيرين قال : هاجت الفتنة وأصحاب رسول الله -

صلى الله عليه وسلم- عشرة ألف فما خف فيها منهم مائة بل لم يبلغوا

ثلاثين . ١٩٦/٢ (١٣٦٩)

Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ḥabib al-Hāshimī al-Baghdādī

(d.245), *al-Muḥabbar*

ثم مات معاوية لهلال رجب من سنة ستين وهو ابن سبع وسبعين سنة

وكانت ولايته تسع عشرة سنة وثمانية أشهر من ذلك الفتنة أربع سنين

وشهران واثنان وعشرون يوماً. ص٢١

Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī (d. 350 or after 362),

Kitāb al-wulāt wa- Kitāb alquḍāt

- عن ابن شهاب قال : كانت مصر من جيش علي فأمر عليها قيس بن سعد

وكان من ذوي الرأي والبأس إلا ما غلب عليه من أمر الفتنة فكان معاوية

وعمر وجاهدين أن يخرجاه من مصر فتغلب على أمرها ... ص ٢٠-٢١
 -... عن علي بن الحارث بن عثمان بن قيس بن أبي العاص ، أخبره أن جده
 عثمان ولاء عمر بن الخطاب - رضي الله عنه - القضاء بمصر ... حتى توفي
 بعد قتل عثمان - رضي الله عنه - في الفتنة . ص ٢٠٦

Ibn Shabbah (d.262), *Tārikh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah*

- وقتل عثمان رحمه الله ووقعت الفتنة وهم الفريقان أن يتحاربوا ... ٣ /
 ١٠٦١

- عن زيد بن وهب قال : كنا عند حذيفة - رضي الله عنه - فقال : ما تعدون
 قتل عثمان - رضي الله عنه - فيكم ، أتعدونه فتنة ؟ قلنا : نعم . قال : هي
 والله أول الفتن ، وآخرها الدجال ٤ / ١٢٤٧

- عن زيد بن وهب قال : قال لنا حذيفة - رضي الله عنه - : أي الفتن تعدون
 أول ؟ فسكتنا ، فقال : أول الفتن الدار وآخرها الدجال ٤ / ١٢٤٧

- سعيد بن عامر قال حدثنا هشام عن محمد قال : وقعت الفتنة وبالمدينة
 عشرة آلاف أو قال أكثر من عشرة آلاف من أصحاب رسول الله - صلى الله
 عليه وسلم - فما دخل الفتنة منهم كلهم (إلا) ثلاثين ٤ / ١٢٧١

- محمد بن حاتم قال حدثنا ابن عليه عن أيوب عن محمد قال : هاجت
 الفتنة وأصحاب رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - عشرة آلاف فما خف
 فيها منهم مائة . (قيل) لا يبلغون ثلاثين ٤ / ١٢٧١

- ... سليمان بن بلال ، عن يحيى بن سعيد قال ، سمعت سعيد بن المسيب يقول
 : وقعت الفتنة الأولى - يعني فتنة عثمان - فلم يبق من أصحاب بدر أحد ،
 ثم وقعت الفتنة الثانية - يعني فتنة الحيرة - فلم يبق من أصحاب الحديبية
 أحد ، وأنى وقعت الثالثة

لم ترتفع وبالناس طباخ ٤ / ١٢٧٤

- ... سفيان بن عيينة عن يحيى بن سعيد عن سعيد بن المسيب قال : وقعت

فتنة الدار بمثله ٤ / ١٢٧٤

- ... عن ابن عمر - رضي الله عنهما قال : نزلت علينا الآية " ثم إنكم يوم القيامة عند ربكم تختصمون " وما ندري ما نفسرها حتى وقعت الفتنة ،
فقلنا هذا الذي وعدنا أن نختصم فيه ٤ / ١٢٩٤ .

Tārikh Abū Zurʿah al-Dimashqī (281)

- حدثنا أبو مسهر قال : وكانت الفتنة خمس سنين ص ١٨٧ (٩٩)

Wakiʿ, Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Ḥayyān (d.306), *Akḥbār al-Quḍāt*

- ... عن الزهري ؛ أن أبا بكر وعمر لم يكن لهما قاض حتى كانت الفتنة ، فا
ستقضى معاوية . ١ / ١٠٥

Juynboll summarizes the counterargument of Van Ess to his hypothesis concerning the chronology of the *fitnah*, which he defends as follows :

" In *Arabica*, XXI, 1974, pp. 20-52. J. van Ess published an early (probably first/seventh century) *risāla* attributed to Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya (d. circa 100/719) on the *irjā* doctrine, in which the word *fitna* occurs in a paragraph introducing the period immediately after Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. After ʿUmar the Islamic community, in Ḥasan's view, entered upon a time of *fitna* (Van Ess: *Anfechtung*)'promised' by God, in which the *ahl al-furqa al-uwal* (Van Ess: *die erste Protagonisten der Spaltung*) were described as people "severing old bonds of allegiance and striking up new ones". Then, in *Arabica* , XXII, 1975, p. 49, he stated that, if the authenticity of this *risāla* was accepted as being a genuine product of the first/seventh century, the thesis as presented two years previously in my *Arabica* paper was no longer tenable, its supporting evidence being mainly based upon the relatively late, probably post-Umayyad, time of origin of those sources in which the term *fitna* was for the first time used for the civil war following the killing of ʿUthmān.

Although Van Ess's argument has a lot to commend it, I

maintain that the passage from the *Kitāb al-irjā* can be approached in a way that does not undermine my initial hypothesis.

The word *fitna* in the passage under discussion refers to the period *immediately following* ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's reign. In other words, as from the *beginning* of the reign of ʿUthmān the period is characterized by *fitna*. This usage can also be found in the words *fi 'l-fitna fi zamān ʿUthmān* which we sometimes find.

A further description of this period is given in the words *yufāriqu rijālun ʿalayhi rijālan wa-yuwāli rijālun ʿalayhi rijālan*. This description, in my view, pertains to ʿUthmān's reign itself (23/644_35/656) and not especially to the period commencing twelve years after ʿUmar's death following ʿUthmān's murder, as Van Ess apparently took it to mean. 'People severing old bonds and striking up new friendships' should be taken to apply to those factions in the empire which originated *during* ʿUthmān's reign, not after. ... The use in this context of *fitna* is reminiscent, in my opinion, of the common Qurʾānic usage of the word, 'tribulation' or 'confusion', rather than 'civil war'. To be sure, there is no record of 'civil war' *during* ʿUthmān's reign, only after. If Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b.

al-Ḥanafiya had had the civil war ensuing from ʿUthman's murder in mind when he used the word *fitna*, he surely would have mentioned ʿUthman's name as a third in the row after Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. It should also be borne in mind that, if the author of this *risāla* had meant with the qualification *fitna* the period following ʿUthmān's murder, he would automatically have implicated ʿAlī, his own grandfather, as one of the major protagonists in the drama that followed, even if he had not explicitly pointed at his grandfather as also partly responsible for ʿUthmān's death and the ensuing period of grave unrest. In my view, by leaving ʿUthmān as well as ʿAlī unmentioned he indicates that his *Geschichtsbild* of the earliest development of Islam underwent its first major change (for the worse) from the date that ʿUmar's reign came to an end in 13/644."⁽¹⁷⁾

In fact, the paragraph which Juynboll refers us to does not introduce the period "immediattely following ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭab's reign". Indeed, it is about the attitude which al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah took and advised the others to take toward the two caliphs, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and what he calls *ahl al-furqa al-uwal*, i.e. ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr. There is an element in the paragraph

which relates to the civil war ensuing from the killing of ʿUthmān . Juynboll alludes to a report where the period of the reign of ʿUthmān is described, as he thinks, by the word *fitnah*. He considers this *fitnah* as different from the one in the context of the civil war ensuing from the killing of ʿUthmān. In fact, this is precisely one of the type of reports which characterizes both the unrest that brought about the death of ʿUthmān and the civil war ensuing from his killing by the term *fitnah*. This report runs:

أن مصعب بن عبد الرحمن بن عوف ومعاذ بن عبيد الله التيمي وأبو جعفويه بن شعوب الليثي اتهموا بقتل ابن هبّار أخي بني أسد ، وكانوا أصابوه في الفتنة في زمان عثمان فلما اجتمع الناس على معاوية ... أخبار القضاة

١٢١/١

On top of this, Juynboll seems to misunderstand the purpose of this *risālah* and the meaning of the words '*ahl al-furqa al-uwal*'. In his *tarjamah*, al-Dhahabi mentions information which explains this:

وقال يحيى بن سعيد عن عثمان بن ابراهيم بن حاطب : أول من تكلم في الإرجاء الحسن بن محمد كنت حاضراً يوم تكلم وكنت في حلقة مع عمي وكان في الحلقة جندب وقوم معه فتكلموا في عثمان وعلي وطلحة وآل الزبير فأكثروا ، فقال الحسن : سمعت مقالتيكم هذه ولم أر مثل أن يرجأ عثمان وعلي وطلحة والزبير فلا يتولوا ولا يتبرأ منهم ثم قام فقمنا وبلغ أباه محمد بن الحسن ما قال فضربه بعضاً فشجه وقال لا تولى أباك علياً ! قال وكتب الرسالة التي ثبت فيها الإرجاء بعد ذلك .

Al-Dhahabī goes on to say:

الارحاء الذى تكلم به معناه أنه يرجئ أمر عثمان وعلى إلى الله فيفعل فيهم مايشاء ، ولقد رأيت أخبار الحسن بن محمد فى مسند على رضى الله عنه ليعقوب بن شيبه فأورد فى ذلك كتابه فى الارحاء وهو نحو ورقتين فيها أشياء حسنة وذلك ان الخوارج تولت الشيخين وبرئت من عثمان وعلى فعارضتهم السبائية فبرئت من أبى بكر وعمر وعثمان وتولت علياً وأفرطت فيه وقالت المرجئة الأولى نتولى الشيخين ونرجئ عثمان وعلياً فلا نتولاهما ولانتبراً منهما.

In the following, I cite the relevant passage from the *risālah* of al-Ḥasan.

وإنما كانت هذه الأمة كبعض الأمم التى مضت قبلها ، جاءها نذير منها ودعاها بما يحييها ويصح لها وجه وأدى الذى عليه من الحق فاستجاب له مستجيبون وكذب به مكذبون فقاتل من كذب به بمن استجاب له حتى أحلّ حلال الله وحرّم حرامه وعمل بطاعته.

٥- ثم نزل بهذه الأمة موعول الله الذى وعد من وقوع الفتنة يفارق رجال عليه رجالا ويوالى رجال عليه رجالا ، فمن أراد أن يسائلنا عن أمرنا ورأينا فإننا قوم الله ربنا والإسلام ديننا والقرآن إمامنا ومحمد نبينا ، إليه نسند ونضيف أمرنا إلى الله ورسوله ، ونرضى من أئمتنا بأبى بكر وعمر ونرضى أن يطاعا ونسخط أن يعصيا ونعاضد لهما من عادانا ، ونرجى منهم اهل الفرقة الأولى . ونجاهد فى أبى بكر وعمر بالولاية ، فإن أبى بكر وعمر لم تقتل فيهما الأمة ولم تختلف فيهما ولم تشك فى أمرهما ، وإنما الإرجاء فيمن عاب الرجال ولم يشهده .

Juynboll refers us to a variant of Ibn Sirin's report, in *al-Kifāyah* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, which he believes to

substantiate his view:

"... on the basis of another version of the Ibn Sirin report we can prove with a reasonable degree of certainty that he was not talking about an event which happened before he was born or sometime during his infant years, but that he was indeed referring to an event which occurred during his own adult lifetime. We are indeed fortunate in that we have a variant of the report in which the words *fa-lammā waqaʿati ʾl-fitna* are replaced by *ḥattā waqaʿati ʾl-fitna* and that this latter version has a parallel in which we find *ḥattā kāna bi-akharatin* (or *bi-ukhratin*). These last words which, like the actual mention of the *fitna*, are supposed to indicate the precise time for the *isnād* to have been introduced as a new means of checking the reliability of transmitted reports, can be rendered: "...they were not used to inquiring after the *isnād* until recently. *Bi-akharatin* or *bi-ukhratin* is a seemingly rare expression, for which I could not find many *Belegstellen*. But together these intimate a vague sort of time indication in the recent past. That this moment is situated in the recent, rather than a distant, past is unambiguously substantiated by the loci referred to in Lane, s.v. and Th. Nöldeke, *Belegwörterbuch zur klassischen arabischen Sprache*, bearbeitet von Jörg Kraemer,

Berlin 1952, s.v. In other words, Ibn Sirin himself says that his fellow traditionists were not given to inquiring after *isnāds* until the *fitna* broke out, that is until a short time ago. On the basis of this parallel it is out of the question, it seems to me, to interpret the word *fitna* in Ibn Sirin's statement as referring to anything but Ibn az- Zubayr's revolt." (18)

In my opinion, if anything, regarding Ibn Sirin's report would support the opposite of Juynboll's view, it is the variant which he refers us to. The sense of 'recently' for *bi-akharatin* (or *bi-ukhratin*) is not the only, or indeed the primary one. In *Lisān al-ʿArab* 1, p.30, we find :

جاءَ أُخْرَةٌ وَبِأُخْرَةٍ بِفَتْحِ الْخَاءِ وَأُخْرَةٌ وَبِأُخْرَةٍ ؛ هذه عن اللحياني بحرف وبغير حرف أي أَخْرَ كل شيء . وفي الحديث كان رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - يقول : بِأُخْرَةٍ إِذَا أَرَادَ أَنْ يَقُومَ مِنَ الْمَجْلِسِ كَذَا وَكَذَا أَي فِي آخِرِ جُلُوسِهِ . قال ابن الأثير : ويجوز أن يكون في آخِرِ عمره وهو بفتح الهمزة والحاء ومنه حديث أبي هريرة لما كان بِأُخْرَةٍ ، وما عرفته إلا بِأُخْرَةٍ أَي آخِرًا .

In a variant of this report, which appears on the same page as the above variant, there are words that Juynboll does not mention, which indicate the distant past rather than the recent past. These are: كان في زمن الأول (in another source: كان في الزمان الأول).

The following are the variants of Ibn Sirin's report in *al-Kifāyah* and, earlier, *al-ʿilal* of al-Tirmidhi:

- ... اسماعيل بن زكريا عن عاصم عن ابن سيرين قال : كان في زمن الاول الناس لا يسألون عن الاسناد حتى وقعت الفتنة فلما وقعت الفتنة سألوا عن الاسناد ليحدث حديث اهل السنة ويترك حديث اهل البدعة.

" During the first period, until the *fitnah* occurred, people would not ask about the *isnād*. When, however, the *fitnah* occurred, they did ask about the *isnād*, so that the *ḥadiths* of the people of the *sunnah* might be transmitted and those of the people of the *bid'ah* might be ignored."(19)

-... جرير عن عاصم قال سمعت ابن سيرين يقول كانوا لا يسألون عن الاسناد حتى كان بأخرة فكانوا يسألون عن الإسناد لينظروا من كان صاحب سنة كتبوا عنه ومن لم يكن صاحب سنة لم يكتبوا عنه.

" They would not ask about the *isnād* until later: Then they asked about the *isnād*, so that they might investigate. They wrote down on the authority of those who adhered to the *sunnah*, and they did not write down on the authority of those who did not adhere to the *sunnah*."(20)

-... إسماعيل بن زكريا عن عاصم عن ابن سيرين قال : كان في الزمان الاول لا يسألون عن الإسناد فلما وقعت الفتنة سألوا عن الإسناد لكي يأخذوا حديث أهل السنة ويدعوا حديث أهل البدع .

" During the first period , people would not ask about the *isnād*. However, when the *fitnah* occurred, they did ask about it, in

order to acquire the ḥadīths of the people of the *sunnah* and reject those of the people of the *bidaʿ*." (21)

Finally, why can it not be assumed that Ibn Sirin was referring to an event that had occurred before his birth or just after? We have seen already, above, reports on his authority in which he refers to the *fitnah* ensuing from the killing of ʿUthmān by the simple term *al-fitnah*. On the other hand, I have found a report in which he calls that of Ibn al-Zubayr *fitnat Ibn al-Zubayr*: (22)

... عن ابن سيرين قال : قال لي عبيدة وأنا بالكوفة ، وذلك قبل فتنة ابن الزبير: ... قال : فلما قدمت البصرة وقعت فتنة ابن الزبير .

The last thing that Juynboll discusses in his excursus is the interpretation of the term *ahl al-bidʿah/al-bidaʿ* in Ibn Sirin's report. He believes that this is a later term, describing definite groups of people who shared 'similar innovative ideas'. Thus, he thinks that the term in Ibn Sirin's report refers to one or more particular groups of people who lived during his own time, such as the Qadarites, the Khārijites and the Rāfiḍites because there was no such group that was characterized by its beliefs at the time of the *fitnah* ensuing from the killing of ʿUthmān:

" The use of the word *ahl* followed by the genitives *sunna*

and *bidaʿ* may suggest that Ibn Sirin – and, indeed, also others who used this *iḍāfa* – referred to two *groups* of people, be they loosely defined. Every student of early Islamic history will be struck by the frequently recurring 'categorization' of certain (groups of) persons mentioned in the sources. It is as if this tendency for 'categorization' precipitated the nomenclature: *ahl* of such and such, *aṣḥāb* of so and so. However, this 'categorization tendency', which I think will have been detected by many others working in this field, precludes the characterization of, for example, the *ahl al-bidaʿ* as a heterogeneous multitude of anonymous individuals who, at one time or another, upheld one or more innovative ideas of no matter what purport. I rather think that Ibn Sirin had one particular group of people in mind, or a few groups, who harboured similar ideas. Ibn Sirin's use of *ahl as-sunna* versus *ahl al-bidaʿ* suggests that we have here his 'polarized' view on the Muslim society of his days. The *ahl al-bidaʿ* may very well have been those people who had one, or a few, distinct *bidʿas* in common and who, as a consequence, were felt by Ibn Sirin to be a danger to society. One finds the earliest individual innovators mostly referred to as *mubtadiʿ*.

The *bidʿas* propagated by the *ahl al-bidaʿ* as referred to

in the Ibn Sirin report admit of the following assumptions:

It is probable, in my opinion, that Ibn Sirin alluded to those politico-religious *bid'as* of the Qadarites, the Khārijites and the Rāfiḍites such as came into being during his lifetime. The order (Qadarites, Khārijites, Rāfiḍites) is not arbitrary but borne out by an account of the *ahl al-bida' wa 'l-ahwā'* in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Al-kifāya fi 'ilm ar-riwāya* (p. 120), where we find the same order. Taken literally this means that the Qadarites are taken to be at least contemporaneous with the Khārijites, if not even earlier. And from that can be inferred that with Khārijites here is not meant also the Khārijites of the first period, who deserted from 'Alī's army in protest at the latter's compliance with Mu'āwiyā's suggestion to install an arbitration committee. It seems, moreover, possible to indicate a time during which these *ahl al-bida'* came to be felt as constituting a 'group'. " (23)

I cannot agree with this view; as early as the time of the *fitnah* that ensued from the killing of 'Uthmān there were indeed distinct groups of people who shared 'one or more similar, innovative ideas'. We find the sources tracing the origins of the three group, alluded to by Juynboll back to the time of the fourth caliph, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, in particular, the

Khawārij and the Rāfiḍah. The Khawārij not only deserted ʿAli but also began to formulate their own heresies at that time. In a passage adduced in the first chapter, we have seen ʿAli b. Abī Ṭalib regarded as *awwal mutakallimī ahl al-sunnah min al-ṣahābah*, because of his debate with al-Khawārij and al-Qadariyyah:

أول متكلمي أهل السنة من الصحابة علي بن أبي طالب لمناظرته الخوارج في مسائل الوعد والوعيد ، ومناظرته القدرية في القدر والقضاء والمشيمة والاستطاعة. ثم عبد الله بن عمر في كلامه على القدرية وبراءته منهم ومن زعيمهم المعروف بمعبد الجهني.

There is a report in which Ibn Sirin accuses the Khawārij of being the first to practise *qaṣaṣ*.⁽²⁴⁾ In another report we have seen *qaṣaṣ* and the *fitnah* ensuing from the killing of ʿUthmān mentioned in the same breath.⁽²⁵⁾ In this report Ibn ʿUmar says:

لم يقص على عهد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ولا أبي بكر ، ولا عمر ، وإنما كان القصص حين كانت الفتنة

In another variant of this report:

لم يقص على عهد رسول الله ، ولا أبي بكر ، ولا عمر ، ولكنه شيء أحدثوه ، بعد عثمان .

The other distinctive group of *ahl al-bidaʿ* generated from this *fitnah* is *al-Rāfiḍah* or *al-Shiʿah*. The most

extreme of *al-Rafīḍah* is *al-Saba'iyyah*, a group which takes its name from the name of its leader, 'Abd Allāh b. Saba'. There are two *awā'il* reports pertaining to him: he was the first to propagat *al-rafd* during 'Alī's time,(26) and he was the first to put lies in the mouth of the prophet.(27)

It is implied, in Ibn Sirīn's report, in my opinion, that there is a connection between the occurrence of the *fitnah* and *ahl al-bida'*, and while we find such considerable *bida'* resulting from the first *fitnah*, no such *bida'* came into existence as a result of the conflict between the Umayyads and Ibn al-Zubayr. And it is also implied in this report that it is the consistent demand for the *isnād* that was created after the *fitnah*, whatever the *fitnah* is, not the initiation of the *isnād*.

ISNĀDS IN THE EARLY SOURCES

To demonstrate "the idea that *isnāds* have a tendency to grow with time in soundness" , Juynboll selects a few examples of *ḥadīths* that appear in an early source, Ibn Wahb's (d.198) *Jāmi'* , with defective *isnāds*, and compares those with their appearance with perfect *isnāds* in one or more later works. Before examining these examples, it seems appropriate to give the following account.

Apart from the transmitters' errors, there are different factors which cause the *isnād* to be defective or otherwise, as appears in the following examples :

- ثنا اسماعيل ثنا محمد بن اسحق حدثني مكحول أن رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - قال : إذا صلى أحدكم فشك ...

قال محمد بن اسحق : وقال لي حسين بن عبدالله هل أسنده لك فقلت : لا فقال : لكنه حدثني أن كريبا مولى ابن عباس حدثه عن ابن عباس قال : جلست إلى عمر بن الخطاب فقال يا ابن عباس : إذا اشتبه على الرجل في صلاته ... فبينما نحن على ذلك إذ جاء عبد الرحمن بن عوف ... فقال سمعت

رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - يقول هذا الحديث. مسند أحمد ١/١٩٣

- ثنا محمد بن جعفر ثنا شعبة وحجاج قال حدثني شعبة ، قال حجاج : قال سمعت عقبة بن وساج عن أبي الأحوص ، عن عبد الله عن النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - أنه قال : فضل صلاة الرجل في الجميع على صلاته وحده خمس

وعشرون درجة ، قال حجاج : ولم يرفعه شعبة لي وقد رفعه لغيري ، قال أنا أهاب أن أرفعه ، لأن عبدالله قلما كان يرفع إلي النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - . مسند أحمد ١ / ٤٢٧

- قيل لسفيان : إن ابن مهدي رواه عنك عن رقبة عن بيان عن الشعبي قال : صدق ابن مهدي حدثني رقبة عن بيان عن الشعبي ، ثم سمعته من بيان فرمما حدثت به كذا وربما حدثت به كذا . - يعني وشهادة المحتبي - . المعرفة ٢ / ٨١٥

As we can see from the above examples, transmitters might on one occasion transmit a *ḥadīth* in a defective form, while on another occasion they might do so with a complete *isnād*.

It is true that the sources tell us of transmitters who, intentionally or unintentionally, abused the *isnāds* of *ḥadīths*, but they also tell us of others who were scrupulously careful with both *ḥadīth* and *isnād*. It is surely not fair to reject all the material of the reliable transmitters because of the bad ones.(28)

At any rate, the existence of a defective *isnād* for a *ḥadīth* does not necessarily imply the absence of other sound or uninterrupted *isnāds* for the same *ḥadīth*, at the same time. In the early sources of the second century, the material of the Prophet is put side by side with that of the Companions and the Successors, in one place. In these collections, *ḥadīths*

appear with sound as well as defective *isnāds*. A *ḥadīth* can be found, in the same collection, in different forms, attributed to a Companion or a Successor, instead of to the Prophet, with different *isnāds*. The following, examples are from ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf* :

Ma‘mar relates the following *ḥadīth* through different channels: Once on the authority of al-Zuhri – Abū Hurayrah as *munqaṭi‘* (al-Zuhri did not hear *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayrah), another time as a *mursal*, on the authority of Ibn Ṭawūs – his father, and the third time as *muttaṣil*, on the authority of Hammam b. Munabbih – Abū Hurayrah:

* - معمر عن الزهري عن أبي هريرة قال : قال رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - : اتركوني ما تركتم فإنما هلك من كان قبلكم بكثرة مسائلهم واختلافهم على أنبيائهم فما نهيتكم عنه فاجتنبوه وما أمرتكم به فاعملوا منه ما استطعتم . (٢٠٣٧٢)

- معمر عن ابن طاووس عن أبيه ، أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لأصحابه : اتركوني (٢٠٣٧٣)

- معمر عن همام بن منبه عن أبي هريرة عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم مثله (٢٠٣٧٤) ٢٢./١١

Ma‘mar relates a *ḥadīth* with full *isnād*, on the authority of Qatādah and ‘Uthmān al-Jazari, on the authority of Miqsam, on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās(no. 9394); on another occasion,

he relates it on the authority of Qatādah and ‘Uthmān al-Jazari directly from the Prophet (no. 9728). Also ‘Abd al-Razzāq mentions part of it as *mursal* through another channel (no. 9390):

* - عن إسرا نيل بن يونس قال : أخبرني أبو الهيثم عن إبراهيم التيمي ، أن النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - صلب عقبة بن أبي معيط إلى شجرة ، فقال : أمن بين قريش ؟ قال : نعم ، قال : فمن للصبية ؟ قال : النار ٢٠٥/٥ (٩٣٩٠) - عن معمر عن قتادة قال ، وأخبرني عثمان الجزري عن مقسم عن ابن عباس قال : فادى النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - بأسارى بدر ، فكان فداء كل واحد منهم أربعة آلاف ، وقتل عقبة بن أبي معيط قبل الفداء ، فقام إليه علي بن أبي طالب ، فقتله صبراً ، قال : من للصبية يا محمد ، قال : النار . ٢٠٦/٥ (٩٣٩٤)

- أخبرنا معمر عن قتادة وعثمان الجزري قالا : فادى رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ... بنحوه ٣٥٢/٥ (٩٧٢٨)

‘Abd al-Razzāq mentions a *ḥadīth* of Ma‘mar in two forms: in one as *mursal*, on the authority of Qatādah _ al-Ḥasan; in the other as having the link between al-Ḥasan and the Prophet in the *isnād* :

* - عن معمر عن قتادة عن الحسن قال : أوحى إلى النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ثم قال : خذوا خذوا قد جعل الله لهن سبيلا ، الثيب بالثيب جلد مائة والرجم ، والبكر بالبكر جلد مائة ونفي سنة ، قال : وكان الحسن يفتي به . ٣١٠/٧ (١٣٣٠٨)

- عن عبدالله بن محرز عن حطان بن عبد الله الرقاشي عن عبادة بن الصامت

قال : كان رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - إذا نزل عليه تربد لذلك وجهه
قال : فأنزل عليه ذات يوم ، فلقى فلما سري عنه قال : خذوا عني ، قد جعل
الله لهن سبيلا ، الثيب بالثيب جلد مائة ، ثم رجم بالحجارة ، والبكر بالبكر
جلد مائة ثم نفي سنة . ٣٢٩/٧ (١٣٣٥٩)

- عن معمر عن قتادة عن الحسن عن حطان بن عبدالله عن عبادة بن الصامت
مثله . ٣٢٩/٧ (١٣٣٦.)

Ma'amar and al-Thawri transmit a *ḥadīth* on the authority of
Ayyūb _ Abū Qilābah _ 'Imrān. With another *isnād*, Ma'amar
relates it on the authority of another *shaykh*, with an
additional transmitter appearing between Abū Qilābah and
'Imrān:

* - عن معمر والثوري عن أيوب عن أبي قلابة عن عمران قال اعترفت امرأة
... ٣٢٥/٧ (١٣٣٤٧)

- معمر عن يحيى بن أبي كثير عن أبي قلابة عن أبي المهلب عن عمران بن
حصين ان امرأة من جهينة اعترفت ... ٣٢٥/٧ (١٣٣٤٨)

'Abd al-Razzāq mentions a *ḥadīth* on the authority of
Ma'amar _ al-Zuhri _ Nudbah ...; he then notes that another
shaykh of his, Ibn Jurayj, relates this *ḥadīth* on the authority
of al-Zuhri with a transmitter intervening between him and
Nudbah:

* - معمر عن الزهري عن ندبة مولاة لميمونة قالت : دخلت على ابن عباس
وارسلتني ميمونة إليه ... ٣٢١/١ (١٢٣٣)

- وذكره ابن جريج عن ابن شهاب عن حبيب مولى عروة عن ندبة. ٢٢١/١. (١٢٣٤)

Abd al-Razzāq gives the following prophetic *ḥadīth*, through two of his *shaykhs*, Ma‘mar and Ibn Jurayj, in various forms, with sound as well as defective *isnāds*. In one of these *isnāds* the *ḥadīth* appears as Abū Hurayrah's own saying:

* - عن ابن جريج قال سمعت عطاء يقول سمعت أبا هريرة مراراً يقول :
العين تزني ... (١٢٦٨٠)

- عن ابن جريج قال أخبرني ابن طاووس عن أبيه قال ... قال وما أعلمه إلا
كان يخبره عن ابن عباس. (١٢٦٨١)

- عن معمر عن ابن طاووس عن أبيه قال : قال رسول الله -صلى الله عليه
وسلم-... (١٢٦٨٢)

- عن معمر عن الزهري وقتادة ، وعن رجل عن عكرمة عن أبي هريرة ، وعن
أبي هارون عن أبي سعيد الخدري عن النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم -
مثله. (١٢٦٨٣)

- عن معمر عن همام بن منبه أنه سمع أبا هريرة يقول قال : رسول الله -صلى
الله عليه وسلم -... (١٢٦٨٤)

- أخبرنا ابن جريج عن القعقاع بن حكيم أن أبا صالح حدثه أنه سمع أبا هريرة
-رضي الله عنه- يقول : قال رسول الله ... (١٢٦٨٨) ٧ / ٤١٤ - ٤١٧

The following, examples of *ḥadīths* appear in two collections of the same period; in one of these they have sound or uninterrupted *isnāds* while in the other they have

defective *isnāds* :

Mālik gives the following *ḥadīth* as *mursal* : Hishām b. ‘Urwah – his father – the Prophet. Abū Yūsuf relates the same *ḥadīth* in different forms, with defective as well as perfect *isnāds*. In one of them the link between ‘Urwah and the prophet is mentioned :

* - هشام بن عروة عن أبيه أن رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - قال : من أحيا أرضاً ميتة فهي له وليس لعرق ظالم حق . موطا مالك ٧٤٣/٢ الأفضية - باب ٢٤ - (٢٦)

- أخرجه أبو يوسف من عدة طرق مرفوعاً متصلاً ومرسلاً ، وموقوفاً . من ضمنها :

- هشام بن عروة عن أبيه عن عائشة - رضي الله عنها - عن رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - قال : من أحيا أرضاً ميتة فهي له وليس لعرق ظالم حق . الخراج ص ٦٤

Wakī mentions the following *ḥadīth*, in *al-Zuhd*, as *munqati‘*, while Ibn al-Mubārak mentions it with a full *isnād* :

* - محمد بن عبد الله العقيلي عن أبي سلمة الحمصي قال : قال رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - : ثلاث أكلات أو ثلاث لقمات يقمن صلب ابن آدم ، فإن غلبته نفسه ، فثلاث لطعام وثلاث لشراب وثلاث لنفسه . الزهد لوكيح ٣٠٢/١ - ٢٠٣ (٧٥)

- اسماعيل بن عياش قال أخبرنا أبو سلمة الحمصي وحبيب بن صالح عن يحيى بن جابر الطائي عن المقداد بن معديكرب قال : سمعت رسول الله - صلى الله عليه - ما ملا آدمي وعاء شراً من بطن ، بحسب ابن آدم أكل يقمن صلبه

فإن كان لا محالة فثلث طعام وثلث شراب وثلث لنفسه . الزهد لابن المبارك
ص ٢١٣ (٦.٣)

The link between Nāfi' and Abū Bakr in the *isnād* in *al-Muwaṭṭa'* is absent in the *isnād* in *al-Muṣannaf* :

* - عن نافع أن صفية بنت أبي عبيد أخبرته أن أبا بكر الصديق ، أتى برجل
قد وقع على جارية بكر فأحبها ثم اعترف على نفسه با لزنا ولم يكن أحسن
فأمر به أبو بكر فجلد الحد ثم نفي إلى فدك . الموطأ - كتاب الحدود - باب ٢ -
حديث ١٣ - ٨٢٦/٢

- أخبرنا عبيد الله بن عمر عن نافع قال : جاء رجل إلى أبي بكر فذكر له أن
ضيفا له افتض أخته ، استكرها على نفسها فسأله فاعترف بذلك فضربه أبو
بكر الحد ، ونفاه سنة إلى فدك ولم يضربها ولم ينفها لأنه استكرها ثم
زوجها إياه أبو بكر ، وأدخله عليها . مصنف عبدالرزاق (١٢٧٩٦) ٢٠٤/٧

The *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik is an obvious example of this
phenomenon. It is related in several versions by different
pupils. They differ, sometimes, not only in the inclusion or
exclusion of various *ḥadīths* but also in the *isnāds* that they
give for particular *ḥadīths* . The following are examples from
Musnad al-Muwaṭṭa' :

- عن ابن شهاب عن سعيد بن المسيب عن أبي هريرة أن رسول الله - صلى
الله عليه وسلم - قال ، إذا قلت لصاحبك انصت والامام يخطب فقد لغوت .

ليس في رواية المكي لصاحبك . هذا في رواية ابن وهب وابن القاسم ومعن وابن عفير . وليس عند القعنبى الا خارج الموطا ، ولا هو عند ابن بكير وهو مرسل عند ابي مصعب . ص ٣٦

- عن ابن شهاب عن ابي سلمة بن عبدالرحمن عن معاوية بن الحكم السلمي قال : قلت لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أموراً كنا نصنعها في الجاهلية ... هذا في الموطا عند ابن وهب وابن القاسم وابن عفير وابن يوسف وليس عند القعنبى ولا ابن بكير ولا ابي مصعب . ص ٤١-٤٢

- ابن وهب قال أخبرني مالك بن أنس ويونس بن يزيد عن ابن شهاب عن حميد بن عبدالرحمن عن ابي هريرة عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال من انفق زوجين في سبيل الله ... هذا في الموطا عند ابن وهب وابن القاسم ومعن وابن بكير وابن عفير وابن يوسف و ابي مصعب وابن برد وابن المبارك الصوري ويحيى بن يحيى الأندلسي ، وليس هو عند القعنبى ، ولم يقل فيه ابن بكير عن ابي هريرة ورواه مرسل . ص ٤٣-٤٤

- عن ابن شهاب عن سالم عن ابيه أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال : ان بلا لا ينادي بليل فكلوا واشربوا حتى ينادي ابن ام مكتوم . قال ابن شهاب : وكان ابن ام مكتوم رجلاً اعمى لا ينادي حتى يقال له اصبحت اصبحت . لفظهما سواء . هذا في الموطأ عند القعنبى مسنداً ، قال فيه عن سالم عن ابيه . وعند غيره عن سالم فقط ، وقد رواه في غير الموطا عبد الرزاق وابن ابي اويس وابن نافع ومطرف وابو قررة ومحمد بن حرب وزهير بن عباد وكامل بن طلحة فقالوا فيه عن سالم عن ابيه كما قال القعنبى . ص ٤٥

- ابن شهاب عن عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن عتبة عن عبد الله ابن عباس ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم سئل عن فارة سقطت في سمن فقال خذوها

وما حولها من السمن فاطرحوه . هكذا قال فيه معن والقعنبي عن ابن عباس ، وفي رواية يحيى بن يحيى الأندلسي عن ابن عباس عن ميمونة زوج النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم . ورواه غيرهم مرسلًا ولم يذكرُوا ابن عباس . ص ٥٧

- ابن شهاب عن عبيد الله بن عبد الله عن ابن عباس قال مر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بشاة ميتة هذا في الموطأ عند ابن القاسم وابن وهب ومعن وابن عفير ويحيى بن يحيى الأندلسي وابن برد عن ابن عباس مسندًا وأرسله غيرهم فلم يذكرُوا ابن عباس . ص ٥٧-٥٨

- ابن شهاب عن عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن عتبة عن ابن عباس عن عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لا تطروني كما أطري عيسى بن مريم إنما أنا عبد فقولوا عبد الله ورسوله . هذا عند القعنبي دون غيره . ص ٥٨

In the third century, another type of compilation came into existence: works on *ḥadīth* restricted, for the most part, to prophetic *ḥadīths* with uninterrupted *isnāds*, such as the *Musnad* of Aḥmad and the 'six books'. The *ḥadīths* just cited are found in these later works with their *muttaṣil isnāds*.

There is no need to list further examples similar to those mentioned above; Juynboll's examples are adequate evidence that the existence of a defective *isnād* does not imply the absence of a perfect one at the same time.

AN EXAMINATION OF JUYNBOLL'S EXAMPLES FOR THE HYPOTHESIS OF THE GROWING BACK OF THE *ISNĀD*

We shall now examine Juynboll's examples, to see how far they support his argument of the growing back of the *isnād*.

Juynboll says: " the idea that *isnāds* have a tendency to grow with time in soundness can very well be substantiated with abundant material from Ibn Wahb's *Jāmi'* in comparison with that very same material in later iraqi collections."(29) On this sentence, Juynboll gives the following footnote: "One *isnād* from two Iraqi collections compared with one another must suffice here. The *isnād* in Ibn Abi Shayba, III, p. 389: Aswad b. Ḍāmir - ShuḌba - Qatāda - SaḌid b. al-Musayyab - Ibn ḌUmar - prophet also occurs in Ibn Ḍanbal, I, p.50, with ḌUmar b. al-KhaḌḌāb inserted between Ibn ḌUmar and the prophet."(30)

First of all this comparison is between contemporary works, *Musnad AḌmad* (d.241) and *MuḌannaf Ibn Abi Shaybah* (d. 235), and not, as Juynboll suggests, between an early source and a later Iraqi collection. AḌmad, in the reference given, relates this *Ḍadith* on the authority of MuḌammad b. JaḌfar (d. 192-94) and Ḍajjāj [b. MuḌammad

al-Miṣṣiṣi] (d. 206), on the authority of the same Shuḥbah. Both are contemporaries of Aswad b. Ḍāmir (d. 208), the *Shaykh* of Ibn Abī Shaybah. So this insertion, if conceded, has to be explained by something other than by the growing back of the *isnād* in course of time. This example confirms the idea that the existence of a defective *isnād* for a *ḥadīth* does not necessarily imply the absence of a sound or uninterrupted one for the same *ḥadīth* at the same time. However, I consulted a manuscript of *Muṣannaf Ibn Abī Shaybah* and I found that the absence of ḌUmar in the *isnād* appearing in the published edition of the *Muṣannaf* is merely a typographical error, and ḌUmar is, in fact, present in Ibn Abī Shaybah's *isnād*.(32)

Giving his examples from Ibn Wahb's *JāmiḌ*, Juynboll says:

"It seems appropriate to give here a short selection of these traditions from the *JāmiḌ* with their *isnāds*, defective or otherwise, to corroborate the above thesis:

1. (*Mursal* from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) 'One of the characteristics of the *munāfiq* is that . . . when he transmits traditions [or tells a story?], he lies' (p. 66). This is also found e.g. with a seemingly sound *isnād* in Bukhārī, *imān* 24 = 1, pp. 16f.) and Muslim, *imān* 107-8 (1, p. 78).

2. (*Mursal* from Zuhri) 'Lying, whether in jest or seriousness, is never condoned' (p 67). Cf. Ibn Māja, *muqaddima* 7, (= 1, p.

18), Dārimī, *riqāq* 7 (P 364) and Ibn Ḥanbal, I, p. 410, with seemingly sound *isnāds* on the authority of ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd.

3. (*Mursal* from Zayd b. Aslam) 'God will not look . . . at a mendacious *imām* (on the Day of Judgement)' (p. 72). Cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, II, p. 433, and Nasāʾi, *zakāt* 77 (v, p.86) with seemingly sound *isnāds* on the authority of Abū Hurayra.

4. (*mursal* from Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān) The prophet used to be aware of mendacity in some of his Companions and he continuously confronted them with it until they repented (p. 73). As is to be expected, this tradition can no longer be traced in the canonical collections.

5. (*Munqaṭiʿ*, Shabīb b. Saʿid – Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj – unknown – Samura b. Jundab – prophet) 'He who relates from me a tradition of which he thinks (variant: of which it is thought) that it is a lie, that man is one of the liars (p. 73).' In Tirmidhī, *ʿilm* 9 (v, pp.36f.) we find, interestingly enough, the same tradition with a seemingly sound *isnād* going back to al-Mughira b Shuʿba. Then Tirmidhī adds the following:

. . . this tradition is also transmitted by Shuʿba from al-Ḥakam b. ʿUṭayba from ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Abi Laylā from Samura from the prophet, as well as with the *isnād* : al-Aʿmash and Ibn Abi Laylā - al-Ḥakam - ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Abi Laylā - ʿAli - prophet. The first *isnād* [i.e. the one on the authority of Samura] is the sounder of the two in the eyes of the tradition scholars.

Then, after a while, Tirmidhī goes on:

I asked Dārimi: 'Does this tradition pertain to him who relates a tradition the *isnād* of which he knows to be faulty? Or when someone relates a *mursal* tradition, and someone else makes it *musnad* (i.e. fills in a Companion), or when someone transmutes the *isnād* (into something else), would the abovementioned tradition pertain to these too?' 'No', said Dārimi, 'this only pertains to him who relates a tradition of which it is not known whether it can be traced to the prophet at all. I am afraid that a man who relates a tradition like that is meant in the abovementioned prophetic saying.'

It is not difficult to guess what happened eventually to the *isnād* as found in Ibn Wahb, and Tirmidhī's words may well be considered as reflecting the hesitation on the part of those traditionists responsible for making this *isnād* 'sounder' by inserting between Shu'ba and Samura the names of al-Ḥakam and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā.'"(31)

The following comments may be made on the corresponding sections of this passage:

1- a. There appears to be a lacuna between pp. 67 and 70 (where two pages, presumably originally left blank, contain entirely extraneous matters) in the *kadhib* section of Ibn Wahb's *Jāmi'*. Juynboll does not indicate this.

b. Ibn Wahb mentions this *ḥadīth*, on the authority of the Prophet, with an *isnād* beginning with the name of al-Qāsim b. 'Abd Allāh, but because part of the page is missing, we do not

know if it is an uninterrupted *isnād* or not. (See p. 70)

c. al-Ḥasan does not appear in any of the *isnāds* in the collections of Bukhārī or Muslim.

d. We find, for example, that this *ḥadīth*, besides appearing with sound *isnāds*, appears with a *mursal isnād* on the authority of al-Ḥasan in a late source, *Ṣifat al-munāfiq* by al-Firyābī (d. 301) (p.51, no.21), because this is a source, like Ibn Wahb's *Jāmiʿ*, which contains both sound and defective *ḥadīths* traced to the Prophet, to the Companions and to the Successors. al-Firyābī cites this *ḥadīth* with an uninterrupted *isnād* in which Ibn Wahb appears. (p.48, n.11)

2. This is not *mursal*. It is part of a saying recorded as being al-Zuhri's own words, i. e. *Maqtūʿ*. However, I suspect that the mention of Ibn Shihāb in the *isnād* is incorrect .

الليث بن سعد عن ابن العجلان عن عون بن عبدالله عن ابن شهاب انه قال
ماحلّ ...

Both Ibn ʿAjlān and Ibn Shihāb are pupils of ʿAwn b. ʿAbd Allah, the son of Ibn Masʿūd (See *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib* 8, p. 172). All the variants of this report that I have collected are on the authority of Ibn Masʿūd. Ibn Wahb mentions the rest of the *ḥadīth* in different words in two other *ḥadīths*. One is given as a prophetic *ḥadīth* with an uninterrupted *isnād* on

the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd (p. 73). The other is given as a saying of Ibn Mas'ūd related by Mālik b. Anas with a defective *isnād* (p. 70). This is exactly as it appears in the *Muwaṭṭa'* (2, p. 989, *al-kalām* 7, n. 16). The version that appears in Ibn Ḥanbal is recorded as Ibn Mas'ūd's own words:

– عفان ثنا شعبة قال أبو اسحاق أنا عن أبي الأحوص قال : كان عبد الله يقول : إن الكذب لا يصلح منه جد ولا هزل وقال عفان مرة : جد ولا يعد الرجل صبيا ثم لا ينجز له. قال وإن محمدا قال لنا : لا يزال الرجل يصدق حتى يكتب عند الله صديقا ولا يزال الرجل يكذب حتى يكتب عند الله كذابا .
٤١./٨

It appears in a longer version in a work contemporaneous with Ibn Wahb's *Jāmi'*, the *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211).

معمر عن أبي اسحاق عن أبي الأحوص عن ابن مسعود قال : انما هما اثنتان الهدي والكلام ... ألا وإن شر الروايا روايا الكذب ألا وإن الكذب لا يصلح في جد ولا هزل ، ولا أن يعد الرجل صبيه ثم لا ينجز له ، ألا وإن الكذب يهدي إلى الفجور وإن الفجور يهدي إلى النار وإن الصدق يهدي إلى البر وإن البر يهدي إلى الجنة وإنه يقال للصادق صدق وبر ويقال للكاذب كذب وفجر وإني سمعت رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - يقول : إن العبد ليكذب حتى يكتب كذابا ، ويصدق حتى يكتب صديقا ثم قال : إياكم والعضة أترون ما العضة النميمة ونقل الأحاديث . ١١٦/٨ (٢٠٠٧٦)

Al-Dārimī relates all of this version of 'Abd al-Razzāq as *marfū'* through another channel, on the authority of Abū Ishāq. Ibn Mājah also relates it as *marfū'*, but with a

different *isnād*, which is described by al-Buṣayrī as weak.
 ‹Abd al-Razzāq has another report in which the words formerly attributed to the Prophet are attributed to Ibn Masʿūd himself :

– عن معمر عن جعفر بن برقان قال : قال ابن مسعود : كل ما هو آت قريب ...
 وأحسن الهدى هدى محمد رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ... قال معمر :
 قال غير جعفر عن ابن مسعود : وخير ما ألقى في القلب اليقين ... ألا وشر
 الروايا روايا الكذب ، ألا وإن الكذب يعود إلى الفجور ، والفجور يعود إلى
 النار ألا وعليكم با لصدق فإن الصدق يعود إلى البر وإن البر يعود إلى الجنة
 واعتبروا في ذلك إنهما ألفان يقال للصادق يصدق حتى يكتب صديقا ، ولا
 يزال يكذب حتى يكتب كذابا ، ألا وإن الكذب لا يحل في جد ولا هزل ولا أن
 يعد الرجل منكم صبيه ثم لا ينجز له ... ١٥٩/١١ - ١٦٠ (٢٠١٧)

The first part of Ibn Ḥanbal's report occurs in another source, contemporary with Ibn Wahb, the *Musnad* of Ibn al-Mubārak (d.180)

– شعبة عن عمرو بن مرة قال سمعت أبا عبيدة يقول : قال عبد الله : الكذب لا يصلح منه شيء في جد ولا هزل ... ص ٤٩١-٤٩٢ (١٤٠٠)

3. We find this *ḥadīth* in an early source, Ibn Ṭahmān (d. 168) :

– عن عمر بن سعيد الكوفي عن سليمان عن أبي حازم عن أبي هريرة قال : قال رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم - ثلاثة لا يكلمهم الله ولا ينظر إليهم يوم القيامة ولا يزكيهم ولهم عذاب أليم ، ملك كذاب وعائل مستكبر وشيخ زان . ص ١٧٠ (١٢٢)

While al-Nasā'ī, in his *al-Sunan* relates it with the *isnād* Ibn ʿAjlān – his father – Abū Hurayrah in his *al-Sunan*, in his *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* he relates it with the same *isnād* as that in Ibn Ṭahmān, al-Aʿmash – Abū Hāzim – Abū Hurayrah.
(p. 93 A.)

4. Ibn Wahb presents this in two forms, one as *mursal*, the other as *muttaṣil* :

يحيى بن أيوب عن ابن عجلان أن رسول الله - عليه السلام - كان يعرف الكذبة من بعض أصحابه فما يزال عنه معرضاً ساخطاً عليه حتى يعرف أنه قد تاب منها . ص ٧٣

- محمد بن مسلم عن أيوب السختياني عن ابن سيرين عن عائشة زوج النبي - عليه السلام - قالت : ما كان شيء أبغض عند أصحاب رسول الله - صلى الله عليه - من الكذب وما جرب منه رسول الله من أحد من شيء وإن قل فيخرج له من نفسه حتى تحدث له توبة. ص ٧١

It also appears in Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī, on the authority of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, in whose *Muṣannaf* it does, in fact, appear in the same form as in the *Musnad Aḥmad* (*al-Muṣannaf* 11, p. 158 no. 20195).

مسند أحمد - ثنا عبد الزاق أنا معمر عن أيوب عن ابن أبي مليكة أو غيره أن عائشة قالت : ما كان خلق أبغض إلى أصحاب رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - من الكذب ، ولقد كان الرجل يكذب عند رسول الله - صلى الله عليه

وسلم - الكذبة فما يزال في نفسه عليه ، حتى يعلم أن قد أحدث منها توبة .

١٥٢/٦

سنن الترمذي - يحيى بن موسى عن عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن أيوب عن ابن

أبي مليكة عن عائشة قالت : ما كان خلق أبغض إلى رسول الله - صلى الله

عليه وسلم - من الكذب ، ولقد كان الرجل يحدث عند النبي - صلى الله عليه

وسلم - بالكذبة فما يزال في نفسه حتى يعلم أنه قد أحدث منها توبة . ٣٤٨/٤ .

(١٩٧٣) كتاب البر والصلة (٤٦)

Al-Bayhaqī in *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* mentions both the

uninterrupted *isnād* of Ibn Wahb and that of ‘Abd al-Razzāq,

citing them respectively as links in the two *isnāds*. (see 10, p.

196)

5. This *ḥadīth* appears in the *musnad* of al-Ṭayalisi (d. 204), a

contemporary of Ibn Wahb, on the authority of al-Mughirah b.

Shu‘bah and Samurah b. Jundub, with *isnāds* the same as

those in al-Tirmidhi.

- شعبة قال أخبرني الحكم عن ابن أبي ليلى عن سمرة بن جندب قال : قال

رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - من روى عني حديثا يرى أنه كذب فهو

أحد الكذابين . الطيالسي ص ١٢١ (٨٩٥)

- شعبة عن حبيب بن أبي ثابت قال سمعت ميمون بن أبي شبيب يحدث عن

المغيرة بن شعبة أن النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - قال : من روى عني حديثا

وهو يرى أنه كذب فهو أحد الكذابين . الطيالسي ص ٩٤-٩٥ (٦٩٠)

The remark of Ibn ʿAdi concerning Shabīb, of which Juynboll quotes part, may explain the defective *isnād* in Ibn Wahb's *Jāmiʿ* :

عن ابن عدي : ولعل شبيبا لما قدم مصر في تجارته كتب عنه ابن وهب من حفظه فغلط ووهم وارجو ان لا يتعمد الكذب وإذا حدث عنه ابنه أحمد فكأنه شبيبا آخر . يعني وجود. تهذيب التهذيب ٤ / ٣٠٧

NOTES

1. *Tradition*, p. 19.

2. *Id.* p. 75.

3. *Id.* p. 17-18.

4. *Id.* p. 18.

5. *Siyar* 5, p. 407.

قال أبو داود : طلب منصور الحديث قبل وقعة الجماجم ، والأعمش طلب بعد الجماجم

6. *Tradition*, p. 18-19.

7. See Ibn Rajab, *Sharḥ ʿIlal al-Tirmidhi* p. 176. For representative examples of al-Zuhri's *mursalāt*, see Abū Dāwūd, *al-Marāsil*.

8. *al-ʿIlal* 1, p.112 no.465 . *al-Tamhid* 1, p. 37.

كنا نجلس إلى الزهري وإلى محمد بن المنكدر فيقول الزهري : قال ابن عمر كذا وكذا فإذا كان بعد ذلك

جلسنا إليه فقلنا له الذي ذكرت عن ابن عمر من أخبرك به ؟ قال ابنه سالم

9. See Ibn ʿAbd al-barr, *Tajrid*, p. 116 and pp. 152-155 no. 479-493.

10. *Id.* p. 170 ff no. 539-618.

11. See " The date of the great fitna".

12. p. 152.

13. p. 152.

14. p. 145.

15. An example of this may be seen in my discussion of one of these in the first chapter.

16. See " The date of the great fitna", p. 145-146.

17. Excursus to his article "Muslim's introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*", p. 303-304.

18. *Id.* p. 307-308.

19. al-Khaṭīb, *al-Kifāyah*, p. 122.

20. *Ibidem*.

21. Ibn Rajab, *Sharḥ ʿIlal al-Tirmidhi*, p. 62.

22. *Muṣannaf ʿAbd al-Razzāq* 11, p. 366-67 no. 20757.

23. p. 309-310.

24. Ibn Sirin, when asked about sitting with the *quṣṣāṣ*, says :

لا أمرك به ولا أنهاك عنه ، القصص أمر محدث أحدثه هذا الخلق من الخوارج

Ibn Abi Shaybah 14, p. 114 no. 17774.

In a another version of this report:

سأل رجل محمد بن سيرين عن القصص ، فقال : بدعة ! إن أول ما أحدث الحرورية القصص .

Ibn al-Jawzi, *al-Quṣṣāṣ wa al-mudhakkirin*, p.344 no. 196. See also p. 177 no. 26

أول من قصّ الحرورية أوقال الخوارج .

Ibn al-Jawzi explains away the reports of Ibn ʿUmar and Ibn Sirin, in favour of the report of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's permitting *qaṣaṣ* to Tamim al-Dāri:

إنما أشار ابن عمر وابن سيرين إلى اشتهاار القصص وكثرتة ، وإلا فقد روينا أن عمر أذن لتميم الداري في القصص .

25. See Ibn al-Jawzi, *al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-al-mudhakkirin*, p. 176 no. 24, 25.

26. al-Suyūṭi, *al-Wasāʾil*, p. 117 . أول من أظهر الرفض ابن سبأ في أيام علي .

27. al-Suyūṭi, *al-Wasāʾil*, 101.

أول من كذب على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عبد الله بن سبأ.

28. In *Tahdhib* 1, p.291, Abū Ṣāliḥ and al-Aʿraj, two of the best pupils of Abū

Ḥurayrah, say: ليس أحد يحدث عن أبي هريرة إلا علمنا صادق هو أم كاذب

29. *Tradition*, p. 115.

30. *Ibidem*, p. 115 footnote 88.

31. *Tradition*, p. 115-16.

32. See a microfilm of a manuscript of Muṣannaf Ibn Abi Shaybah, 1, preserved in Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd University, Riyād.

CHAPTER THREE

CHARACTERISTICS OF ḤADĪTH

ḤADĪTH AND REGIONALISM

LOCAL REMARKS

Adducing an argument for his thesis of "the overall regional character" of the various centres, Juynboll gives some selective reports in which remarks denoting local rivalry are exchanged between centres. He believes that local character dominated the early *ḥadīth* transmission and "in the course of the second half of the second/eighth century, also after the *ṭalab al-ʿilm* ... had gradually lost its purely local character and was on an ever increasing scale carried out in more than one centre, the sharp edges of the rivalries described in the above gradually disappeared. So it was Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) who is reported to have said: 'I do not care where a tradition comes from, be it Kūfa, Baṣra or Syria, as long as it is sound'."(1)

Apart from the *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys and other evidence which attest the strong contact between centres during the first century, remarks and reports, displaying the *ḥadīth*

interchange between centres, abound in the sources. At any rate, the significance of the reports which are mentioned in Juynboll's argument is disputable. For example, he comments on the attitude of Mālik b. Anas towards the Iraqis that "he decidedly had his doubts concerning even his most famous fellow transmitters. Thus he is reported to have said about Sufyān ath-Thawri: 'I hope that he has been *ṣāliḥ*. ... his words do not admit of an interpretation more favourable or positive than: I hope his traditions were harmless in the sense that they did not create too much confusion.'"(2) In fact, even assuming that Juynboll's interpretation of this remark is accurate, there are other reports in which Mālik is recorded as making remarks in favour of Sufyān and other Iraqi transmitters:

- وقال مالك : كانت العراق تجيش علينا بالدرهم والثياب ثم صارت تجيش

علينا بالعلم منذ جاء سفيان . تهذيب التهذيب ١١٥/٤

- وقال مالك بن أنس : كان الناس عندنا هم اهل العراق حتى وثب انسان

يقال له حماد فاعترض هذا الدين فقال فيه برأيه .تهذيب التهذيب ١٨/٣

- ... قال مالك بن أنس للثوري : ياأبا عبد الله ، من خلفت بالعراق ؟ قال :

فكرهت أن أذكر له أهل الكوفة ، قال : فقلت له: تركت بها أيوب ويونس بن

عبيد وابن عون والتيمي قال : فقال لي : ذكرت الناس . ابو زرعة ص ٤٧٥

- بلغنا أنهم قالوا لمالك : إنك تتكلم في حديث أهل العراق ، وتروي مع هذا عن أيوب ، فقال : ما حدثتكم عن أحد إلا وأيوب أوثق منه . سير أعلام النبلاء

٢٤/٦

On a report concerning the material of the transmitter Ma‘mar b. Rāshid, Juynboll says: " The controversy Medina/Iraq is apparent in the suggestion that what Ma‘mar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770) transmits from Baṣran or Kūfan transmitters should be rejected, whereas what he produces from Zuhri and other Medinans can be considered quite reliable."(3) The report which is referred to runs :(4)

وقال ابن ابي خيثمة سمعت يحيى بن معين يقول اذا حدثك معمر عن العراقيين فخالفه الا عن الزهري وابن طاوس فان حديثه عنهما مستقيم فاما اهل الكوفة واهل البصرة فلا وما عمل في حديث الاعمش شيئا .

This remark was made by an Iraqi scholar who died in 233 regarding the material of an Iraqi transmitter, who moved to al-Yaman and settled there.

ANAS B. MĀLIK'S MATERIAL BETWEEN TWO CENTRES

To attest the regional character, Juynboll gives his account of Anas' material in Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa'*: " And although Anas b. Mālik's alleged traditions from the prophet are 'claimed' by both Medina and Baṣra - he supposedly lived many years in

each centre, although it is impossible to ascertain exactly when he lived where (.....) - it is a striking fact and a highly significant one, I think, that examination of Anas's traditions in the *Muwaṭṭa*' tells us that Medina's 'claim' to Anas rests on various Medinese Successors in Anas *isnāds*, such as Zuhri, Sharik b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abi Namir, Ishāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abi Ṭalḥa and al-'Alā' b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān. However we also encounter in the *Muwaṭṭa*' various Iraqi Anas *isnāds* with Successors such as the Baṣran Ḥumayd at-Ṭawil and the Kūfan forger 'Amr b. Shamar (cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, Iv, nos. 1075 and 1096). If, for the sake of argument, Anas is held responsible for all this diverse material, the simple - but nonetheless inevitable - question why he has not instructed his Baṣran pupils in the same traditions as his Medinan ones, or for that matter his Medinan pupils in the same material as his Baṣran ones, remains unanswered. Even if we accept Anas' traveling up and down between Baṣra and Medina as historical, his alleged activities in *ḥadīth* transmission are doubtful in the extreme, something for which Anas himself is not to blame, only those countless transmitters who falsely claimed to have heard traditions with him. In sum, the dichotomy between Iraqi material traced back via Anas to the

prophet and Medinan/Syrian material traced back via Anas to the prophet cannot satisfactory be explained, if the historicity of Anas as transmitter of prophetic traditions is maintained.”(5)

In fact, all Anas's pupils in the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* are Madinans(6) except one, who is the Basran transmitter Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl. Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl is not considered among Mālik's masters or Anas's pupils.(7) But even assuming that he was one of Mālik's masters, where are the other Iraqi ones in the *Muwaṭṭaʿ*? Juynboll does not explain what he means by the dichotomy between the Iraqi and the Madinan material of Anas in the *Muwaṭṭaʿ*. He seems to wonder why the *ḥadīths* which are related by the Madinan Successors on the authority of Anas are not related by the Basran transmitter in the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* as well, and vice versa. If this is the case, it can also be said that there is an internal inconsistency in the material of the Madinan Successors themselves because the material of each of them, in the *Muwaṭṭaʿ*, on the authority of Anas, is different from that of the others.

JUYNBOLL'S THEORY OF THE 'AGE TRICK'

One of the features that Juynboll claims to characterize the *ḥadīth* transmission is lying about one's age. Speaking about the Successors of Iraq, he says: " Even more so than was the case with Successors from the other centres dealt with so far, a surprisingly large percentage of Iraqi Successors supposedly lived to such a ripe old age that I have developed the theory that lying about one's year of birth must have been common practice. Living conditions in seventh and eighth century Iraq cannot have been easy and simply do not admit of the supposition that the vast majority of tradition transmitters died at an age considerably more advanced than the average age reached by males living in the twentieth century in, for example, the West. This deceit is what I have come to call the 'age trick'; it deserves, I think, a short digression, because so many Iraqi Successors as well as later transmitters, also from other centres, resorted to it."(8)

Discussing the *tarjama* of Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī, in an earlier article, Juynboll says: " He was born in 29 or 32 and died between 126 and 129, which makes him at least 91 or at most 97 years of age when he died. At this point the question

is justified: why select such a long-lived traditionist? The answer is simple: because there are hardly any transmitters who did not die at a ripe old age. In a recent study the average age of early Islamic scholars was fixed at 78 lunar years, that is 75 or 76 solar years. One of the very rare transmitters who died at an age corresponding with what we might expect to be the average life span of males in those days in that part of the world --namely at about 50-- was the famous Ibrāhim al-Nakha'i. The vast majority of transmitters, dying at such advanced ages, may have pretended to be much older than they were in reality in order to establish at least the probability that they could have met certain masters. In so doing, they were able to claim the coveted status of Successor rather than that of Successor of a Successor.

It is my conviction that by means of this age trick a large number of Successors under the traditionists undeservedly enjoyed the privileges that went with this status."(9)

However, despite the strong conviction that Juynboll holds over his theory of the 'age trick', he does not provide his argument with explicit figures to support the claim that "the vast majority of tradition transmitters died at an age

considerably more advanced than the average age reached by males living in the twentieth century in, for example, the West." In his discussion of the case of Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'i, he mentions 6 Kufan Successors and one Basran who reached the age of one hundred or more, suggesting that they are representative examples. (See Tradition, p. 61) In fact, it is easy to counter these examples by others who died in their forties or fifties. For example, Sa'īd b. Jubayr (d. 95 at the age of 49),(10) Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Nakha'i (d. 96 at the age of about 50),(11) Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Taymī (d. 92 or 94, at the age of less than 40),(12) Qatādah b. Di'āmah al-Sudūsi (d. 117-118 at the age of 56 or 57),(13) Abān b. Sāliḥ b. 'Umayr (d. 110+ at the age of 55),(14) Sa'īd b. 'Ubayd al-Sulamī al-Kūfi (d. after 100 in middle age),(15) Zayd b. Abī Unaysah al-Jazari (d. 119 or 124 at the age of 36).(16)

Interestingly enough, in the study which Juynboll refers us to, for the statement that " the average age of early Islamic scholars was fixed at 78 lunar years, that is 75 or 76 solar years" an age which he does not accept as an average age for males at that time, we find that the author of the study sees nothing odd in this: " On the basis of one hundred and fifty biographies in which both birth and death dates are supplied,

it can be affirmed that the average lifespan of the individuals in these two works was 78 years. As these are lunar years, however, a correction must be made for solar reckoning; and this correction yields an average lifespan of 75 solar years. And this, in fact, is what would be expected of a group of men all of whom survived infancy and childhood and who did not have to cope with cigarette smoking, air pollution, military service, and nervous tension born of modern life."(17)

Looking into the average age of the males of some Western countries, we find that 75 as an average age is not 'considerably more advanced' but rather, for some of them, it is about the same. The expectation of life at birth in Iceland in 1987-88 was 74.58, in Sweden in 1987 was 74.16, and in Switzerland in 1987-89 was 73.90. (18) The average age of scholars would, in any case, normally be higher than that of the male in general.

ḤADĪTH IN EGYPT AND KHURĀSĀN AND ITS ASSOCIATION WITH IRAQ

With respect to the situation in Egypt, Juynboll says: "In Egypt the transmission of traditions came relatively late into full swing with the well-known ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa (d. 174/790) who, with his pupil ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 198/813), can rightly be considered as the originators of *ḥadīth* circulation in the province, but with the consideration that the bulk of their material was supposedly gathered in various Iraqi *ḥadīth* centres and *not* in Egypt itself. When we scrutinize, for example, Ibn Wahb's *Jāmiʿ*, it appears that a large percentage of the *isnāds* is Iraqi judging by the provenance of the transmitters at the Successors' level or the one following that.(19)

However, I have examined the *isnāds* of a full chapter from Ibn Wahb's *Jāmiʿ*, the same chapter which Juynboll investigates in his argument on the *ḥadīth mutawātir*, the *kadhib* chapter. There are 43 *isnāds* in this chapter. Only 11 of these turn out to be Iraqi, 7 of which are on the authority of two Basran transmitters who used to visit Egypt, i.e. Jarir b. Ḥāzim,(20) and Shabīb b. Saʿīd,(21) and one on the authority of

a Hijāzi transmitter, i.e. Muḥammad b. Muslim;(22) there are two others which, at the Successor's level, are Madinan but, at the subsequent level, are Iraqi. However, one is on the authority of the Basran transmitter Yaḥyā b. Sallām, who settled in Egypt, and the other on the authority of the Egyptian al-layth b. Saʿd.

- ١- جرير بن حازم عن شعبة بن الحجاج ان سعد بن أبي وقاص قال
 «Irāqi
- ٢- جرير بن حازم قال سمعت الحسن بن ابي الحسن يقول : قال رسول الله - صلى الله عليه «Irāqi
 وسلم-
- ٣- معاوية بن صالح عن بحير بن سعد او عامر بن جشيب عن خالد بن معدان يرفعه قال
 Shāmi
- ٤- يحيى بن سلام عن عثمان بن مقسم عن نعيم بن المجر عن ابي هريرة قال
 Madani «Irāqi قال رسول الله
- ٥- سعيد بن ابي ايوب عن جعفر بن ربيعة عن ابن شهاب انه قال
 Madani Miṣri
- ٦- الليث بن سعد عن عقيل عن ابن شهاب عن ابي هريرة ان النبي عليه السلام قال
 Madani Miṣri
- ٧- مسلمة بن علي قال قال زيد بن ميسرة
 Shāmi
- ٨- قال واخبرني ايضا عن سعيد بن بشير عن قتادة يرفعه قال
 «Irāqi
- ٩- قال وقال قتادة قال ابو الاسود الديلي
 «Irāqi
- ١٠- الليث بن سعد عن ابن العجلان عن عون بن عبد الله عن ابن شهاب انه قال
 Madani «Irāqi
- ١١- ابن لهيعة عن ابي الاسود انه سمع عروة بن الزبير يقول
 Madani
- ١٢- ابن سمعان قال حدثنا ابن شهاب وابو الحويرث ومحمد بن ابي بكر بن حزم انه بلغهم
 Madani
 عن رسول الله
- ١٣- مالك بن انس عن صفوان بن سليم ان رسول الله عليه السلام سئل ...
 Madani
- ١٤- هشام بن سعد عن عبد الوهاب بن بخت عن سليمان بن حبيب المحاربي انهم
 Shāmi Hijāzi
 دخلوا على ابي امامة الباهلي
- ١٥- سفيان الثوري يحدث عن ابي اسحق الهمداني عن الأحوص عن عبد الله بن مسعود «Irāqi

- ١٦- مجلان عن رجل من موالى عبد الله بن عامر بن ربيعة العدوي عن عبد الله بن عامر انه Madani
قال دعنتني اُمي يوما ورسول الله عليه السلام قاعداً في بيتنا ...
- ١٧- مالك وعبد الله بن عمر عن عمر بن عبد الرحمن بن دنان عن عمر بن الخطاب انه قال Madani
- ١٨- مالك بن انس من عبد الله بن مسعود انه قال Madani
- ١٩- قال واخبرني انس بن مالك ان رسول الله عليه السلام قال
- ٢٠- سليمان بن بلال عن يحيى بن سعيد قال Madani
- ٢١- واخبرني القاسم بن عبد الله ان رسول الله عليه السلام قال Madani
- ٢٢- اسامة بن زيد عن صالح بن كيسان عن سعد بن ابراهيم عن ابي سلمة بن عبد الرحمن Madani
ان رسول الله عليه السلام قال
- ٢٣- داود بن عبد الرحمن عن ابن خثيم عن شهر بن حوشب عن أسماء ابنت يزيد Shāmi Makki
الأشعري أنها قالت سمعت رسول الله عليه السلام ...
- ٢٤- محمد بن مسلم عن ايوب السخيتاني عن ابن سيرين عن عائشة زوج النبي عليه السلام 'Irāqi
- ٢٥- مالك عن صفوان بن سليم عن عطا بن يسار ان رجلاً قال لرسول الله عليه السلام ... Madani
- ٢٦- وسمعت سفیان بن عيينة يحدث عنهم بنحو ذلك أيضا Madani
- ٢٧- سليمان بن بلال عن كثير بن زيد عن أم ولد محرز بن زهير رجل من اسلم من اصحاب Madani
النبي عليه السلام انها كانت تسمع محرزاً يقول
- ٢٨- ابن لهيعة عن ابي الأسود عن عبد الله بن رافع عن ابي هريرة ان رسول الله عليه السلام Madani
- ٢٩- ابن لهيعة عن ابي قبيل [حبي بن هاني] قال سمعت رجلاً يقول انه سمع عبد الله بن Mişri
عمرو بن العاص يقول
- ٣٠- جرير بن حازم عن بهز بن حكيم عن ابيه عن جدّه قال سمعت رسول الله عليه السلام 'Irāqi
- ٣١- حفص بن ميسرة عن زيد بن اسلم ان رجلاً قال لرسول الله عليه السلام ... Madani Shāmi
- ٣٢- حفص بن ميسرة عن زيد بن اسلم ان رسول الله عليه السلام قال Madani Shāmi
- ٣٣- هشام بن سعد عن زيد بن اسلم عن ابيه انه قال Madani
- ٣٤- عمرو بن الحارث ان سهل بن عقيل حدثه ان اسمعيل النبي ... Mişri
- ٣٥- جرير بن حازم عن مجالد بن سعيد عن قيس بن ابي حازم قال سمعت ابا بكر الصديق ... 'Irāqi

- ٣٦- ابراهيم بن نشيط عن قيس بن رافع عن عبد الرحمن بن جبير عن عبد الله بن عمرو بن Miṣri
العاص
- ٣٧- ابن لهيعة عن الحارث بن يزيد عن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص ان رسول الله عليه السلام Miṣri
- ٣٨- موسى بن عليّ عن ابيه عن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص قال Miṣri
- ٣٩- ابن لهيعة عن ابن هبيرة عن ابي عبد الرحمن [الحبلي] عن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص Miṣri
- ٤٠- يحيى بن ايوب عن ابن عجلان ان رسول الله عليه السلام ... Madani Miṣri
- ٤١- شبيب بن سعيد عن شعبة بن الحجاج عن منصور وسليمان عن ابي وايل عن عبد الله بن Irāqi
مسعود ان رسول الله عليه السلام قال
- ٤٢- واخبرني ايضاً عن شعبة عن من حدثه عن سمرة بن جندب ان النبي عليه السلام قال Irāqi
- ٤٣- واخبرني ايضاً عن روح بن القاسم عن عاصم بن بهدلة عن المسيب بن رافع عن ابن مسعود Irāqi

On Khurāsān, Juynboll says: " It is likely that, when we encounter an *isnād* with predominantly Khurāsānian transmitters, the material it supports hails from the time and/or environment of the *rāwī* mentioned at the Successor's level, or the tier above that, which, in the case of a Khurāsānian *isnād*, will most likely turn out to be from Baṣra or Kūfa."(23) He does not, however, offer any examples to support this general statement.

I have examined representative *isnāds* of material of a Khurāsānian scholar, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181), who is well known for his activities in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. In this scrutiny, I investigated the first part of his published

Musnad, which contain 83 *isnāds*. Judging by the next two transmitters after the Companion, only 22 *isnāds* turn out to be from Basrah or Kufah. There are 9 of which the first transmitter after the Companion is non-Iraqi, but the subsequent transmitter is either from Basrah or Kufah. The remaining *isnāds* are Hijāzi and to some extent Shāmi or Egyptian, and there is one Yamāmi.(24)

- Madani Baṣri ١- معمر بن راشد عن الزهري عن أنس بن مالك
- Hijāzi ٢- المثنى بن الصباح عن عمرو بن شعيب عن أبيه عن جده
- Shāmi ٣- حماد بن سلمة عن أبي سنان الشامي عن عثمان بن أبي سودة عن أبي هريرة
- Baṣri ٤- حماد بن سلمة عن ثابت عن أبي رافع عن أبي هريرة
- Madani ٥- مالك بن أنس عن عبيد الله بن عبد الرحمن عن سعيد بن يسار عن أبي هريرة
- ٦- ابن لهيعة عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب أخبره أن أبا سالم الجيشاني أتى أبا أمية في منزله Miṣri فقال إنني سمعت أبا ذر
- ٧- عبد الحميد بن بهرام نا شهر بن حوشب حدثني عبد الرحمن بن غنم عن أبي مالك الأشعري Shāmi
- ٨ - عبد الحميد نا شهر بن حوشب نا عائذ الله قال عبد الحميد وهو أبو إدريس عن معاذ بن Shāmi جبل
- ٩ - عبد الحميد نا شهر بن حوشب حدثني أبو ظبية أن شرحبيل بن السمط دعا عمرو بن Shāmi عيسة السلمي
- ١٠ - شعبة حدثني أبو عمران الجوني قال سمعت رجلاً من قريش يقال له طلحة قال Madani Baṣri قالت عائشة
- Baṣri ١١ - شعبة حدثني أبو عمران الجوني عن عبد الله بن الصامت أن أبازر
- Baṣri ١٢- شعبة عن حميد الطويل عن أنس بن مالك
- Madani ١٣- يحيى بن عبيد الله قال سمعت أبي يقول سمعت أبا هريرة يقول
- Kūfi ١٤- الحسن بن عمرو الفقيمي عن الشعبي قال سمعت النعمان بن بشير

- 15- عيينة بن عبد الرحمن الغطفاني عن أبيه عن أبي بكره
Başri
- 16- يحيى بن عبيد الله قال سمعت أبي يقول سمعت أبا هريرة
Madani
- 17- بهز بن حكيم عن أبيه عن جده
Başri
- 18- يحيى بن عبيد الله قال سمعت أبي يقول سمعت أبا هريرة
Madani
- 19- يحيى بن عبيد الله قال سمعت أبي يقول سمعت أبا هريرة
Madani
- 20- عبيد الله عن نافع عن ابن عمر
Madani
- 21- سفيان بن علي بن الأقرع عن أبي حذيفة رجل من أصحاب عبد الله عن عائشة
Kūfi
- 22- يحيى بن أيوب أن عبيد الله بن زحر حدثه عن علي بن يزيد عن القاسم عن أبي أمامة أن
Shāmi
عمر بن الخطاب
- 23- ابن لهيعة نا الحارث بن يزيد عن جندب بن عبد الله أنه سمع سفيان بن عوف
Kūfi Mişri
القاري يقول سمعت عبد الله بن عمرو
- 24- سعيد بن يزيد الرشك عن معاوية العدوية قالت سمعت هشام بن عامر
Başri
- 25- موسى بن عبيدة عن عبيد الله بن عبيدة عن سهل الساعدي
Madani
- 26- هشام بن عروة عن أبيه قال سمعت عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص
Madani
- 27- حماد بن سلمة عن علي بن زيد عن أنس بن مالك
Başri
- 28- معمر بن يحيى بن أبي كثير عن زيد بن سلام عن جده قال سمعت أبا أمامة
Shāmi
- 29- الليث بن سعد حدثني أبو هاني الخولاني عن عمرو بن مالك حدثني فضالة بن عبيد
Mişri
- 30- شعبة عن قتادة عن أنس بن مالك
Başri
- 31- رشدين بن سعد حدثني عمرو بن الحارث عن أبي يونس مولى أبي هريرة أنه سمع أبا
Mişri
هريرة
- 32- معمر أنا الزهري عن السائب بن يزيد عن عبد الله بن السعدي قال قال عمر بن
Madani Başri
الخطاب
- 33- هشام بن سعد عن قيس بن بشر التغلبي قال كان أبي جليسا لأبي الدرداء بدمشق ، وكان
Shāmi
بدمشق رجل من أصحاب النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - من الأنصار يقال له ابن الحنظلية
- 34- سليمان بن المغيرة قال سمعت سعيد الجريري يحدث عن أبي نضرة عن أسير بن جابر قال
Başri
كنا نجلس بالكوفة إلى محدث لنا . . . فقال عمر : إن رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ...

- ٣٥- عبد الملك بن أبي سليمان عن عطاء عن أبي هريرة
Maki Kūfi
- ٣٦- مكرمة عن طمضم بن جوس قال . . . فقال أبو هريرة
Yamāmi
- ٣٧- أبو معشر المدني حدثني محمد بن كعب القرظي حدثني عبد الله بن دارة مولى عثمان
Madani
بن عفان عن حمران مولى عثمان قال مرت على عثمان ...
- ٣٨- يحيى بن عبيد الله قال سمعت أبي يقول سمعت أبا هريرة
Madani
- ٣٩- هشام بن الغاز عن أبي النضر أنه حدثه قال سمعت واثلة بن الأسقع
Madani Shāmi
- ٤٠- اسماعيل المكي يحدث عن الحسن عن صعصعة بن معاوية قال لقيت أبا هريرة فقال
Başri
- ٤١- الأوزاعي حدثني المطلب بن حنطب المخزومي حدثني عبد الرحمن بن أبي عمرة الأنصاري
Madani
قال حدثني أبي
- ٤٢- هشام بن يحيى بن أبي كثير عن هلال بن أبي ميمونة عن عطاء بن يسار عن رفاعة
Madani
الجهني
- ٤٣- معمر عن الزهري حدثه أن محمود بن الربيع ... قال سمعت عتبان بن مالك
Madani Başri
الأنصاري
- ٤٤- إسماعيل بن عياش ثنا عمرو بن قيس أنه سمع عبد الله بن بصر
Shāmi
- ٤٥- معمر عن أبي إسحاق عن الأغر عن أبي هريرة وأبي سعيد
Kūfi
- قال : وجدت الزبير أيضا عن صفوان عن عطاء بن يسار عن أبي هريرة ...
Madani
- ٤٦- ابن أبي ذئب عن سعيد المقبري عن أبي إسحاق مولى عبد الله بن الحارث عن أبي هريرة
Madani
- ٤٧- سفيان عن صالح بن زيهان مولى التوأمة أنه سمع أبا هريرة
Madani Kūfi
- ٤٨- المبارك بن فضالة عن الحسن حدثني أنس بن مالك
Başri
- ٤٩- شعبة عن عاصم بن عبيد الله عن عبد الله بن عامر بن ربيعة عن أبيه
Madani
- ٥٠- حماد بن سلمة عن ثابت البناني عن سليمان مولى الحسن بن علي عن عبد الله بن
Madni Başri
أبي طلحة عن أبيه
- ٥١- سفيان عن عبد الله بن السائب عن زاذان عن ابن مسعود
Kūfi
- ٥٢- ابن لهيعة حدثني بكر بن سوادة أن رجلا حدثه عن ربيعة بن قيس حدثه أنه سمع عقبة بن
Mişri
عامر الجهني
- ٥٣- يث بن سعد حدثني عبد ربه بن سعيد عن عمران بن أبي أنس عن عبد الله بن نافع بن
Madani

العمياء وعن ربيعة بن الحارث عن الفضل بن عباس

- Madani ٥٤- معمر أنه سمع الزهري يحدث عن أبي الأحوص عن أبي ذر
- Madani ٥٥- يونس عن الزهري قال سمعت أبا الأحوص مولى بني كثير يحدثنا في مجلس ابن مسعود المسيب وابن المسيب جالس أنه سمع أباذر ...
- Hijazi ٥٦- ليث بن سعد عن ابن أبي مليكة حدثه عن يعلى بن مملك أنه سأل أم سلمة
- Hijazi Mişri ٥٧- ابن لهيعة عن الحارث بن يزيد عن زياد بن نعيم الحضرمي عن مسلم بن مخراق قال قلت لعائشة
- Madani ٥٨- معمر عن الزهري عن سالم بن عبد الله عن أبيه
- Kūfi ٥٩- إسماعيل بن أبي خالد عن قيس بن أبي حازم عن عبد الله بن مسعود
- Madani ٦٠- يونس عن الزهري أخبرني السائب بن يزيد أن شريحاً الحضرمي
- Makki Mişri ٦١- ابن لهيعة عن أبي الزبير عن جابر
- Shāmi Başri ٦٢- هوف بن المهاجر أبي مخلد عن أبي العالية حدثني أبو مسلم قال سألت أبا ذر
- Madani ٦٣- عبید الله بن عمر عن سعيد المقبري عن أبي هريرة عن النبي
- Makki ٦٤- الحسن بن ذكوان عن سليمان الأحول عن عطاء عن ابن عمر
- Başri ٦٥- سليمان التيمي أن رجلاً حدثه قال قيل لعبيد مولى رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم -
- Kūfi ٦٦- مالك بن مغول عن مقاتل بن بشير العجلي عن شريح بن هاني قال سألت عائشة
- Madani ٦٧- ابن لهيعة حدثني حبان بن واسع عن أبيه عن سعد بن المنذر الأنصاري
- Kūfi قال وحدثني رجل من الأنصار قال حدثني أبو قيس الأودي عن الهذيل بن شرحبيل عن مسروق من عائشة
- Madani ٦٨- محمد بن عجلان عن عامر بن عبد الله بن الزبير عن عمرو بن سليم عن أبي قتادة
- Mişri ٦٩- ابن لهيعة حدثني الحارث بن يزيد أخبرني كثير الأعرج قال كنا بذئ الصواري ومعنا أبو فاطمة الأزدي
- Shāmi ٧٠- يحيى بن أيوب عن عبید الله بن زحر عن علي بن يزيد عن القاسم عن أبي أمامة عن أبي أيوب الأنصاري قال ...
- Kūfi ٧١- شعبة بن منصور عن زر عن يسيع عن النعمان بن بشير وأخبرني سفيان نحواً منه

- ٧٢- عبيد الله بن عمر عن سعيد المقبري عن عمر بن أبي بكر بن عبد الرحمن بن الحارث بن Madani
هشام عن أبيه أن عمار بن ياسر
- ٧٣- زائدة بن قدامة نا السائب بن حبيش الكلاعي عن معدان بن أبي طلحة اليعمرى قال : قال Shāmi
لي أبو الدرداء
- ٧٤- ابن أبي ذئب عن سعيد المقبري عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة
Madani
- ٧٥- أسامة بن زيد عن سعيد المقبري عن أبي هريرة
Madani
- ٧٦- مالك عن الزهري عن حميد بن عبد الرحمن عن أبي هريرة
Madani
- ٧٧- سعد بن سعيد الأنصاري أن القاسم بن محمد حدثه عن عائشة
Madani
- ٧٨- يحيى بن عبيد الله قال : سمعت أبي يقول سمعت أبا هريرة
Madani
- ٧٩- شعبة ولم يذكر الخبر عن عمرو بن مرة قال سمعت عمرو بن ميمون يحدث عن عبد الله بن Kūfi
ربيعة السلمي وكان من أصحاب النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم- عن عبيد بن خالد السلمي وكان من
أصحاب النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم-
- ٨٠- عبيد الله بن عمر عن خبيب بن عبد الرحمن عن حفص بن عاصم بن عمر عن أبي هريرة
Madani
- ٨١- الأعمش عن الشعبي قال سمعت النعمان بن بشير ...
Kūfi

NOTES

1. *Tradition*, p. 65.
2. *Tradition*, p. 64.
3. *Tradition* p. 64.
4. *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib* 10, p. 245.
5. *Tradition*, p. 67-68.
6. In addition to those mentioned in the quotation, there are ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazid al-Anṣārī, Sa‘id b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ruqaysh, Yaḥya b. Sa‘id, Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr al-Thaqafi, ‘Amr *Mawlā* al-Muṭṭalib, Rabi‘ah b. Abi ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.
7. The source which Juynboll refers us to tells us (in no. 1075) that ‘Amr b. Shamar related *ḥadith* on the authority of Ja‘far b. Muḥammad (d. 148), Jābir al-Ju‘fi (d. 127-32), and al-A‘mash (d. 148). This means that he was a contemporary of Mālik. In no. 1096 it is mentioned that the same transmitter is sometimes referred to as ‘Amr b. Abi ‘Amr in order to give the impression that he is ‘Amr b. Abi ‘Amr *Mawlā* Abi al-Muṭṭalib.
8. *Tradition*, p. 46.
9. "On the origins of Arabic prose", p. 170.
10. *al-Muḥaddith*, p. 357 no. 296.
11. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrib al-Tahdhib*, p. 95 no. 270.
12. *Siyar* 5, p. 61.
13. *Tahdhib* 8, p. 355.
14. Ibn Sa‘d 6, p. 235 (1). *Tahdhib* 1, p. 94-95.
15. *Siyar* 5, p. 9.
16. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrib al-Tahdhib*, p. 222 no. 2118.
17. Richard W. Bulliet, p. 200.
18. See Demographic Yearbook 1989, United Nations.
19. *Tradition*, p. 44.
20. See *Tahdhib* 2, p. 72.
21. *Id.* 4, p. 306-307.

22. See *Tahdhib* 9, p. 444.

23. *Tradition*, p. 62.

24. See *Musnad 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak* 1, pp. 3-47.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE AUTHENTICITY OF ḤADĪTH:

A DISCUSSION OF TWO MUTAWĀTIR ḤADĪTHS

In chapter three of *Muslim tradition*, Juynboll puts under investigation two *mutawātir ḥadīths*. In this investigation, he tries to attest the late origin of *ḥadīth* and to designate Iraq as the place which is responsible for the fabrication of these *ḥadīths*. Another purpose of this study is to prove the "conclusion that *tawātur* as such is no guarantee for the historicity of a *ḥadīth's* ascription to the prophet." (1) In his own words: "In Muslim terminology the *ḥadīths* containing a prohibition of *niyāḥa* can be considered *mutawātir*, the most common reference to it being the maxim: 'the deceased will be punished by the lamenting [or in a variant: *bukā'* = weeping] of his relatives over him.' This dictum sounds like a slogan and is mentioned in a great many different contexts. Sometimes it occurs separately; at other times it is preceded by a preamble and/or followed by a sequel.

Another *mutawātir* tradition, even more famous and allegedly reported by a vast number of Companions, runs: 'He who [deliberately] tells lies about me, will have to seek for

himself a place in Hell.' "(2)

NIYĀḤAH

With regard to the first tradition, Juynboll suggests that *niyāḥah* is a Iraqi concept . His investigation reveals that almost all the *ḥadīths* which contain " a derivative of *NWH* " are headed by Iraqi *isnāds*, with a few Syrian and Egyptian. He investigates the existence of the term *NWH* in the early historical sources, the *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, *Maghāzi al-Wāqidī*, and *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Saʿd*. It is found once in Ibn Hishām and twice in al-Wāqidī, in the account of the death of Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He is inclined to attribute the appearance of this term in these two sources to the eventual settling of their authors in Iraq. In Ibn Saʿd, he finds several reports with Madinan *isnāds*, concerning Ḥamzah's death; in only one report, the *isnād* of which is " wholly defective", does the *NWH* root occur. In the remaining reports only *bukāʿ* is banned. The other occurrences of *niyāḥah* in Ibn Saʿd in which it is forbidden are all headed by Iraqi or Syrian *isnāds*: "In the earliest historical sources it is difficult to ascertain where Ibn Ishāq received the information containing derivatives of *NWH*. In view of his having left Medina at an early age he might

have been exposed to the term in reports circulating in his new - Iraqi - surroundings. The same consideration applies to Wāqidi, who also made use of collective *isnāds*. The occurrences of the term in Ibn Saʿd, however, justify the conclusion that this collector mainly relied on chains of Iraqi or Syrian transmitters heading statements with *NWH* derivatives. The few Medinese or untraceable *isnāds* in Ibn Saʿd supporting reports that dealt with weeping at burials do not contain derivatives of *NWH* and the one and only that does - the one going back to Ibn al-Munkadir - is defective to the extent that it cannot possibly be considered to constitute conclusive evidence so as to undermine all the other evidence unequivocally pointing in the direction of Iraq, and also to a limited extent to Syria and Egypt, as the breeding ground of the concept *niyāḥa*."(3)

This result, according to Juynboll, is borne out by the case in the collections of *ḥadīth* also, where almost all the *isnāds* in which *niyāḥah* occurs are Iraqi - and to some extent Syrian and Egyptians. He says: "I think the overall conclusion is justified at this stage that *niyāḥa* in all its forms is an Iraqi concept and, therefore, cannot be attributed to the prophet. If it was practised at all in Medina - and I see no reason why not

- It was at any rate never referred to in Medinese traditions."⁽⁴⁾ He goes on to say: " I do not believe that- apart from a few Syrian and Egyptian *isnāds* - all the *isnāds* heading *niyāḥa* traditions being Iraqi is a mere coincidence. The only practice referred to in Medinese traditions was weeping (*bukā*). This was felt to be something definitely different from bewailing (*niyāḥa*), as appears explicitly from a few traditions and as is implied in the numerous *rukhaṣ* traditions (.....). These different customs were perhaps something typical of the mourning practices of the conquered people. It is likely that the Arab women, who accompanied their husbands to the conquered territories, were heavily influenced by the indigenous women who must have formed the overall majority. It was they who set the fashion and their mourning practices, gradually adopted by everyone, may have roused the anger or the irritation of the conquering Arabs. If we lend credence to *awā'il* information, we can even fix a date for *niyāḥa* to have come so much into vogue as to be recorded, namely the abovementioned report about Qaraza b. Ka'b. Unfortunately the year of his death is not certain. It is safe to say, however, that it is not unreasonable to set as *terminus post quem* 40 A.H., that is two decades or so after the founding of the city of

Kūfa and some thirty years after the death of the prophet."(5)
The following remarks may be made concerning this discussion:

First, In fact, it is only the one prophetic saying mentioned above in the quotation from Juynboll which is considered by some *muḥaddithūn* to be *mutawātir*. They mention it with the variant: *bukā* = weeping ان الميت يعذب ببكاء الحي عليه (6)

This *ḥadīth* appears with *isnāds* from both regions, Ḥijāz and Iraq.(7)

However, let us assume, for the sake of argument, that the prohibition of *niyāḥah* is *mutawātir* because of the various *ḥadīths* associated with it; does this reflect only the Iraqi factor, as Juynboll thinks? It is not our purpose here to prove that the *niyāḥah ḥadīths* are *mutawātir* or not but rather to evaluate the method adopted by Juynboll to prove that they are no more than the invention of the Iraqi *ḥadīth* circle. But first of all, I think that it is contrary to historical fact to suggest that the *niyāḥah* customs were something to which Arab women were exposed only on accompanying their husbands into the 'conquered territories'. *Niyāḥah*, in various forms, was a practice of the Arabs during the *Jāhiliyyah*.

Secondly, Juynboll differentiates in his investigation between *niyāḥah* and *bukā'*. He thus sets aside all *ḥadīths* headed by Madinan *isnāds* in which *bukā'* occurs, even when they describe the same events as those in which the term *niyāḥah* appears. For example, there is an event mentioned in the works of Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidi in which a derivative of *NWH* is used, something which Juynboll believes they learned from their new Iraqi environment. The same event appears with a Madinan *isnād* in Ibn Sa'd, with the word *bukā'* instead of *niyāḥah*, representing, in Juynboll's view, a different practice.(8)

(قال ابن اسحاق : و مر رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - بدار من دور الانصار من بني عبد الأشهل وظفر فسمع البكاء والنوائح على قتلاهم ، فذرفت عينا رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - فبكى ، ثم قال " لكن حمزة لا بواكي له " فلما رجع سعد بن معاذ وأسيد بن حضير إلى دار بني عبد الأشهل أمرا نساءهم أن يتحزمن ثم يذهبن فيبكين على عم رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم -) سيرة ابن هشام ٥٠/٣

- (حتى طلع على بني عبد الأشهل ، وهم يبكون على قتلاهم ، فقال : لكن حمزة لابواكي له . فخرج النساء ينظرن إلى سلامة رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - فكانت أم عامر الأشهلية تقول : قيل لنا قد أقبل النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ونحن في النوح على قتلانا ، فخرجنا فنظرت إليه فإذا عليه الدرع كما هي فنظرت إليه فقلت : كل مصيبة بعدك جلل . مغازي الواقدي ص

- ... أسامة بن زيد عن نافع عن ابن عمر قال لما رجع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم- من أحد سمع نساء بني عبد الأشهل يبكين على هلكاهن فقال لكن حمزة لا بواكي له قال فاجتمع نساء الا نصار عنده فبكين على حمزة ورقد رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم- فاستيقظ وهن يبكين فقال ياويحهن إنهن هاهنا حتى الآن مروهن فليرجعن ولايبكين على هالك بعد اليوم . ابن سعد ٣-

(٦) ١٠/٨

It is true that there are a few reports in which a distinction between *niyāḥah* and *bukā* exists, but this does not mean that *niyāḥah* is not *bukā*. In *Muḥjam maqāyis al-lughah* (9) we find:

نوح . النون والواو والحاء ، أصل يدل على مقابلة الشيء للشيء ... ومنه النوح
والمناحة: لتقابل النساء عند البكاء .

In fact, in these reports, a distinction is made merely between ordinary *bukā* and the *bukā* of *niyāḥah*. (10)

Thirdly, Juynboll does not state on what basis he defines the origin of the *isnāds* in this investigation. However, in other places he declares that he ascribes *isnāds* to their origin on the basis of the Successors or the subsequent stage. Concerning Egyptian *isnāds*, he says: " When we scrutinize, for example, Ibn Wahb's *Jāmi*, it appears that a large percentage of the *isnāds* is Iraqi judging by the provenance of the transmitters at the Successors' level or the one following

that."⁽¹¹⁾ In his investigation of the *isnāds* of *niyāḥah ḥadīths*, he describes an *isnād* that appears in Ibn Abī Shaybah as "purely Medinan".⁽¹²⁾ In this *isnād* the *shaykh* of Ibn Abī Shaybah is Kufan and the next two transmitters are Madinans.

This *isnād* runs:

حدثنا ابن نمير { كوفي } ثنا هشام بن عروة { مدني } عن ابيه { مدني } عن عائشة

However, on another occasion, a different judgement is made on an *isnād* that appears in Ibn Saʿd, which, Juynboll claims, supports his thesis that the derivatives of *NWH* only appear with Iraqi *isnāds*. He says: " The report *kullu nāʾiḥatin tukadhhabu illā Umm Saʿd* is headed by an Iraqi *isnād* ".⁽¹³⁾

In fact, it is as the same as the previous one; the *shaykh* of Ibn Saʿd is Iraqi and the next two transmitters are Madinans.

This *isnād* runs :⁽¹⁴⁾

أخبرنا الفضل بن دكين { عراقي } قال نا عبد الرحمن بن سليمان الغسيل { مدني } عن عاصم بن عمر بن قتادة { مدني } عن محمود بن لبيد .

Applying the same method of judging the origin of *isnāds* " by the provenance of the transmitters at the Successors' level or the one following that" to Juynboll's sources, I have found the reality to be different. Here are Juynboll's findings concerning the sources and my own examination of them.

Ṭabaqāt Ibn Saʿd

" We find quite a few more reports in Ibn Saʿd in which *niyāḥa*

in one form or another is forbidden. All these reports concern mourning practices over persons other than Ḥamza and are supported by Iraqi and Syrian *isnāds*."(15) The reports which Juynboll refers us to are:

- سفيان بن عيينة عن ابن ابي حسين عن مكحول قال دخل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو معتمد على عبدالرحمن بن عوف وابراهيم يجود بنفسه فلما مات دمعت عينا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ... انما ننهي الناس عن النياحة وأن يندب الرجل بما ليس فيه... ١-٨٨/١ (١٠. فما بعده) مكي شامي

-... محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن أبي ليلى عن عطاء عن جابر بن عبد الله الأنصاري عن عبد الرحمن بن عوف قال اخذ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بيدي فا نطلق بي الى النخل الذي فيه ابراهيم فوضعه في حجره وهو يجود بنفسه فذرفت عيناه فقلت له اتبكي يا رسول الله أولم تنه عن البكاء قال انما نهيت عن النوح عن صوتين احمقين فاجرين ... ١-٨٨/١ (١٩ فما بعده) كوفي مدني

- ... الزهري عن سعيد بن المسيب قال : لما توفي ابو بكر اقامت عليه عائشة النوح فبلغ عمر ، فجاء فنهاهن عن النوح على ابي بكر فأبين أن ينتهين فقال لهشام بن الوليد أخرج إلى ابنة أبي قحافة فعلاها بالدرة ضربات فتفرق النوائح حين سمعن ذلك وقال تردن أن يعذب أبو بكر ببكائكن إن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال : إن الميت يعذب ببكاء أهله عليه . ٣-١٤٨/١ (١٨) مدني

Two reports to which he refers are, in fact, not critical of *niyāḥah* :

-محمد بن ربيعة الكلابي عن طلق الأعمى عن جدته قالت : كنت أنوح أنا وأم كلثوم بنت علي عليّ عليه السلام . ٣-١/٢٥(٢٢)

- ... علي بن ثابت عن سعيد بن صالح قال رأيت أبا وائل يستمع إلى النوح ويبكي . ٦٨/٦ (٢٦)

He refers us to reports in Ibn Saʿd 8, pp. 2ff. regarding the exegesis of a *Qurʾānic* verse. These are mostly Iraqi, but one of them, which refers to the practices of *niyāḥah*, is Madinan :

- ... الحجاج بن صفوان المدني عن أسيد بن أبي أسيد البراد عن امرأة من المبايعات قالت : فيما أخذ علينا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان لا نعصيه فيه من المعروف ، ان لا نخمش وجهها ولا نشق جيبا ولا ننشر شعرا ولا ندعو ويلا . ٢/٨ (٣)

Commenting on a particular *isnād* in Ibn Saʿd, which contains a derivative of *NWH* , Juynboll says: " There is only one *isnād* left to be discussed that, but for one wholly unknown transmitter , might have been a Medinese one." (16) This *ḥadīth* is:

-اخبرنا محمد بن عمر قال نا مالك بن أبي الرجال عن أبيه عن عائشة قالت ... وأقاموا النوح وأبو بكر يغسل ويكفن فأمر عمر بن الخطاب بالنوح ففرقن ... ١٤٨/١-٢ (٢٤)

By the 'unknown transmitter' Juynboll means Mālik b. al-Rijāl. In fact, he is a known transmitter and he is one of the *shaykhs* of al-Wāqidi, who received this *ḥadīth* from him, with this

isnād, in his *Maghāzī*. (17)

Musnad al-Ṭayālisi

" Every *isnād* supporting a saying concerning weeping and bewailing appears to be Iraqi." (18) The following appear in

Musnad al-Ṭayālisi:

- ... قتادة عن سعيد بن المسيب عن ابن عمر عن عمر بن الخطاب أن النبي -صلى الله عليه وسلم - قال : إن الميت يعذب بما لنياحة عليه في قبره . ص ٤ بصري مدني

-... عن علقمة بن مرثد عن أبي الربيع عن أبي هريرة عن النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - قال : أربعة من أمر الجاهلية لن يدعهن الناس ، ... والنياحة على الميت .. ص ٣١٥ (٢٣٩٥) كوفي مدني

- نافع بن عمر الجمحي ورباح بن أبي معروف سمعا عن ابن أبي مليكة قال : أتيت عائشة فذكرت لها ما قال ابن عمر وابن عباس عن عمر ، أن الميت يعذب ببكاء أهله عليه فقالت : والله إنك لتخبرني عن غير كاذب ولا متهم ... ص ٢١٠ (١٥٠٥) مكي

Muṣannaf Ibn Abi Shaybah

" In the *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abi Shayba (d. 235/849) we find an impressive series of traditions, with sound as well as defective *isnāds*, dealing with *NWH* as well as *BKY* derivatives, prohibitions of various grades of severity as well as other

reports in which certain forms of weeping or wailing are found to be permissible. The vast majority of *isnāds* is Iraqi. One is Meccan, one is Medinan/Syrian, in which we encounter Muḥammad b. Ishāq - no derivative in either of *NWH*! - and one is purely Medinan again without a derivative of *NWH*. " (19)

The following *isnāds* are found in Juynboll's source :

- ... قتادة عن سعيد بن المسيب عن ابن عمر عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال الميت يعذب في قبره بالنياحة ص ٣٨٩ بصري مدني

- ... سعيد بن عبيد عن عبادة بن الوليد بن عبادة عن ابن عمر قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ، من نوح عليه فانه يعذب بما نوح عليه يوم القيامة . ص ٢٨٩ كوفي مدني

- ... الأعمش عن أبي صالح عن أبي هريرة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان مما بالناس كفرا النياحة والطعن فى الانساب . ص ٣٩٠ كوفي مدني

- ... سفيان عن زيد بن اسلم ، ولا يعصينك في معروف ، قال لا يشقن جيبا ولا يخمشن وجها ولا ينثرن شعرا ولا يدعون ويلا . ص ٣٩٠ كوفي مدني

- ... ابن ابي ليلى عن عطاء عن جابر ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال انما نهيت عن النوح . ص ٣٩٠ كوفي مكّي

- محمد بن بشر حدثنا عبد الله بن نافع عن عبد الله ان حفصة بكت على عمر فقال مهلا يا بنية الم تعلمي ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال ان الميت ليعذب ببكاء اهله عليه . ص ٣٩١ كوفي مدني

- ... الا عمش عن أبي صالح عن ابن عمر قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان الميت ليعذب ببكاء الحي . ص ٢٩١ كوفي مدني

The following *isnād* is that which Juynboll designates as Madinan/Syrian.(20) In fact, there is no Syrian transmitter in it.

- عبد الله بن نمير ثنا محمد بن اسحاق عن عبد الرحمن بن القاسم عن ابيه عن عائشة قالت لما أتت وفاة جعفر عرفنا في وجه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الحزن فدخل عليه رجل فقال يا رسول الله ان النساء يبكين قال فارجع اليهن فأسكتهن فان ابين فاحث في وجوههن التراب ، قالت عائشة فقلت في نفسي والله لا تركت نفسك ولا انت مطيع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم . ص ٢٩٢ مدني

- ... ابن أبي ليلى عن عطاء عن جابر قال اخذ النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بيد عبد الرحمن بن عوف ... فقال له عبد الرحمن تبكي يا رسول الله اولم تنه عن البكاء قال انما نهيت عن النوح ... ص ٢٩٢ كوفي مكي

-...أسامة بن زيد عن نافع عن ابن عمر قال رجع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يوم أحد ... فجئن نساء الا نصار فبكين على حمزة فرقد فاستيقظ فقال ياويحهن انهن لها هنا حتى الآن مروهن فليرجعن ولا يبكين على هالك بعد اليوم . ص ٢٩٤ مدني

- ... عطاء بن السائب ثنا عكرمة قال كان ابن عباس يقول ، احفظوا هذا الحديث ان احدى بنات النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم كانت في الموت فوضعها

رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم على يديه ووضع رأسها على ثدييه وهي تسوق حتى قبضت فوضعها وهو يبكي قال فصاحت ام أيمن فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم او لا اراك تبكي عند رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قالت ولا ارى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يبكي قال اني لم ابك ولكنها رحمة .
ص ٢٩٤ كوفي مدني

Muṣannaf ‘Abd al-Razzāq

" A scrutiny of *bukāʾ/niyāḥa* traditions in ‘Abd ar-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*, III, nos. 6667-92 yields *exactly* the same results!".
(21) In fact, the following *isnāds* are to be found in the reference given:

- سفيان بن عيينة عن ابن أبي حسين عن مكحول قال : دخل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ... إنما أنهى الناس عن النياحة ، وأن يندب الميت بما ليس فيه ... (٦٦٧٢) مكي شامي

- ابن جريج قال : أخبرني عبد الله بن أبي مليكة قال توفيت ابنة لعثمان بن عفان بمكة ... فقال عبد الله بن عمرو بن عثمان وهو مواجهه : ألا تنهى عن البكاء ؟ فإن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال : إن الميت ليعذب ببكاء أهله عليه ... (٦٦٧٥) مكي

- معمر قال سمعت شيخا يقال له أبو عمر قال : سمعت ابن عمر يقول وهو في جنازة رافع بن خديج وقام النساء يبكين على رافع ، فأجلسهن مرارا ، ثم قال لهن : ويحك ، إن رافع بن خديج شيخ كبير لا طاقة له بالعذاب ، وإن الميت يعذب ببكاء أهله عليه . (٦٦٧٨) بصري مدني

- معمر عن الزهري عن ابن المسيب قال : لما مات أبو بكر بكى عليه ، فقال
عمر : إن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: إن الميت يعذب ببكاء الحي ...
(٦٦٨٠) مدني

- ابن عيينة عن عمرو بن دينار قال : لما مات خالد بن الوليد اجتمع في بيت
ميمونة نساء يبكين ، فجاء عمر ومعه ابن عباس ومعه الدرة ... (٦٦٨١) مكّي

- معمر عن الزهري قال : ثلاث لا يدعهن الناس أبدا : الطعن في الأحساب ،
والاستسقاء بالأنواء ، والنياحة . (٦٦٨٧) بصري مدني

- عبد الله بن عمر عن نافع عن ابن عمر أن حفصة استأذنت على أبيها ، فقال
لن عنده : قوموا ، فدخلت ، فبينما هي عنده أغمي عليه ، فبكت ، فقال :
أعلمت أولم تسمعي أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال : إن الميت ليعذب
ببكاء الحي . (٦٦٩٢) مدني

- معمر عن أيوب عن عكرمة قال : ... فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم للأنصار
خيراً، ونهاهم عن النياحة . (٦٦٩٤) بصري مدني

- ابن جريج قال : أخبرت خيراً رفع إلى أبي عبيدة بن الجراح صاحب رسول
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ... فليبكين أبا الربيع ما دام بينهن ، فإذا وجب فلا
يبكينه ... (٦٦٩٥) مكّي

Musnad Ahmad

" Again all traditions in which derivatives of *NWH* occur have

Iraqi *isnāds* and there is one particularly defective Syrian *isnād* with the word *nawḥ*."(22)

- ... علقمة بن مرثد عن أبي الربيع عن أبي هريرة قال : قال رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم أربع من أمر الجاهلية لن يدعهن الناس النياحة ...
٢٩١/٢ وانظر ايضا ٤١٤-٤١٥ ، ٤٥٥ ، ٥٣١ ، كوفي مدني

- ... الأعمش عن أبي صالح عن أبي هريرة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ثنتان هما بالناس كفر نياحة على الميت وطعن في النسب . ٤٤١/٢
وانظر ايضا ٤٩٦ كوفي مدني

- ... سعيد بن عبيد عن عبادة بن الوليد بن عبادة عن ابن عمر قال قال رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - : من نيح عليه فإنه يعذب بما نيح عليه يوم القيامة . ٦١ /٢ كوفي مدني

- ... سليمان بن سليم عن عمرو بن شعيب عن أبيه عن جده قال جاءت أميمة بنت رقيقة إلى رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - تباعه على الإسلام ...
ولا تنوح ولا تبرجي تبرج الجاهلية الأولى . ١٩٦ /٢ شامي حجازي

- ... قتادة عن سعيد بن المسيب عن ابن عمر عن عمر -رضي الله عنهما- عن النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - قال : الميت يعذب في قبره بالنياحة عليه .
٢٦ /١ بصري مدني

Juynboll further says: "A thorough study of the six canonical and various other collections yields the following final results. All the traditions from the sunnite collections in which a derivative of *NWH* occurs have Iraqi *isnāds* with the

exception of a few Syrian and Egyptian ones."(23) In fact, the Hijāzī *isnāds* that are referred to above are to be found both in the six and in later *ḥadīth* collections.

It is apparent, from the foregoing quotations, that Juynboll pursues both of the words *niyāḥah* and *bukā'* in some sources while in others, he pursues *niyāḥah* only.

THE MAN KADHABA 'ALAYYA ḤADITH

In his dealing with the *man kadhab 'alayya ḥadīth*, Juynboll discusses its occurrence and non-occurrence in *ḥadīth* collections. He finds that it does not exist in non-Iraqi collections, or that it does but in an insignificant way. "The earliest source in which this tradition occurs is Ṭayālisi's *Musnad*",(24) as Juynboll says, which is an Iraqi collection. The *isnāds* of this *ḥadīth* increased with time in later Iraqi collections. From this investigation, Juynboll reaches the conclusion that this *ḥadīth* originated in Iraqi *ḥadīth* circles. The method which Juynboll applies in investigating this *ḥadīth* is to trace its occurrence in particular *ḥadīth* collections, sometimes in works that are now no longer complete, a method which in view of the following examination cannot be considered.

al-Nasā'i

He first examines the non-Iraqi collections. The first source examined is *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, on which he says : " Indeed, in the *Sunan* of Nasā'i (d. 303/915), who lived - and gathered *ḥadith* - for most of his life in Egypt, we do not find it. This is all the more astonishing if we take the following considerations into account.

It is reported that as a young man Nasā'i went to study *ḥadith* with various masters in Khurāsān but that he, already early in life, settled definitively in Egypt. It is self-evident that collecting all the names of those who reputedly were his masters from vague allusions all over the *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb* of Ibn Ḥajar would take far too much time, but it seems fit to name here three from Khurāsān and one from Iraq, Qutayba b. Sa'īd from Balkh, Aḥmad b. Naṣr and Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Rāhawayh both from Nisābūr, and Abū Shu'ayb Ṣāliḥ b. Ziyād from Sūs. This last *shaykh* was born in Khūzistān and settled later in Raqqa. Among his masters there are two who also emerge in *isnāds* supporting the *man kadhaba* tradition. About Qutayba b. Sa'īd (d. 240/854) and Ishāq Ibn Rāhawayh (d. 238/852) we know that they allegedly transmitted traditions from several transmitters who appear in *isnāds* of *man*

kadhaba traditions, and the same goes for three masters of the masters of Aḥmad b. Naṣr (d. 245/860). Even so, through these feasible channels the *man kadhaba* tradition did not reach Nasāʾi in spite of the fact that in the *Jāmiʿ* of Tirmidhī, who died some twenty-three years before him in 279/892, the whole isnād Qutayba b. Saʿid - al-Layth b. Saʿd - Zuhri - Anas - prophet, with the *man kadhaba* saying, is listed. Differently put, at least thirty years before Nasāʾi died, and probably much longer, as we shall see, there circulated an *isnād* headed by his master Qutayba b. Saʿid, supporting the *man kadhaba* tradition, which Nasāʾi either never received from his master, because it was falsely attributed to the latter after the former had left for Egypt, or which the pupil rejected because he did not trust it. In actual fact, as we saw above, the *man kadhaba* tradition, together with its probably older variant *man qāla ʿalayya mā lam aqul* etc., is already attested in an Iraqi collection compiled by someone who died almost one hundred years before Nasāʾi, namely Ṭayālisi (d. 203/818). Six of the eight *isnāds* in his *Musnad* heading the tradition in its different readings have Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d.160) in common. This traditionist is also a link in traditions Nasāʾi might have received through his master Aḥmad b. Naṣr

(.....). On top of all this there are *isnāds* with ‘Abd Allāh b. Lahī‘a, a key figure in the development of *ḥadīth* in Egypt. He claimed to have heard it from an Iraqi master But it is also true, on the other hand, that Nasā‘i spurned Ibn Lahī‘a’s traditions because he did not trust him.”(25)

In his *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, al-Nasā‘i gives this *ḥadīth* through seven masters; one of them is Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Rāhūyah, and in four of them Shu‘bah appears as transmitter: (26)

– أخبرنا اسماعيل بن مسعود ثنا خالد عن شعبة عن منصور . وأخبرنا محمد بن بشار ثنا يحيى عن شعبة حدثني منصور قال سمعت ربي يقول سمعت علياً يقول : قال رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم - : لا تكذبوا علي فإنه من يكذب علي يلج النار. وقال محمد : من كذب . تحفة الأشراف ٣٧٠/٧-٣٧١ (١٠٠٨٧)

– أخبرنا محمد بن عبد الأعلى ثنا خالد عن شعبة أنا جامع بن شداد سمعت عامر بن عبد الله بن الزبير يحدث عن أبيه أنه قال للزبير مالي لا أراك تحدث عن رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - شيئاً ، قال: ما فارقت منذ أسلمت ولكني سمعته قال من كذب علي فليتبوأ مقعده من النار . تحفة الأشراف ١٧٩/٣ (٣٦٢٣)

– أخبرنا اسحق بن إبراهيم أنا اسماعيل بن إبراهيم ثنا عبدالعزیز. وأخبرنا عمران بن موسى ثنا عبد الوارث ثنا عبد العزيز عن أنس بن مالك قال سمعت رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - يقول من تعد علي كذبا فليتبوأ

مقعه من النار . قال عبد الوارث في حديثه : سمعت رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول . تحفة الأشراف ٢٧٢/١ ، ٢٧٩ ، (١٠٠٢) ، (١٠٤٥)

- أخبرنا علي بن حجر أنا اسماعيل عن سليمان التيمي ثنا أنس بن مالك قال : قال رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - : من كذب علي فليتبوأ مقعه من النار متعمدا . قال ثنا أنس هكذا مرتين ثم حدثنا مرة أخرى قال قال رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - من كذب علي متعمدا فليتبوأ مقعه من النار . تحفة الأشراف ٢٣٤/١ (٨٩.)

- وأخبرنا محمود بن غيلان ثنا أبو داود ثنا شعبة قال أخبرني أبو حصين قال سمعت أباصالح عن أبي هريرة قال : قال رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - : من كذب علي متعمدا فليتبوأ مقعه من النار . تحفة الأشراف ٤٢٦/٩ (١٢٨٣٩)

al-Shāfi'ī

Al-Shāfi'ī, who is a Ḥijāzī collector, gives this *ḥadīth*, in his *Risālah*, (27) in variant forms, with four *isnāds*. His masters in these *isnāds* are two Ḥijāzīs, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Darāwardī and Yaḥyā b. Sulaym, and one Syrian, ‘Amr b. Abī Salamah al-Tinnīsī. Juynboll disregards these *ḥadīths* mainly because it is incomprehensible to him that Mālik does not mention this *ḥadīth* in his *Muwatṭa*’, bearing in mind its importance, since the *shaykhs* of these transmitters in these *isnāds* are also among Mālik's *shaykhs*. On the responsibility of al-Darāwardī of introducing this *ḥadīth*

into Ḥijāz, Juynboll remarks " Whether it is he or someone using his name who is to be held responsible for introducing the dictum in the Ḥijāz cannot be established ..." (28)

Musnad al-Ḥumaydi

On the Ḥijāzi source, *Musnad al-Ḥumaydi*, He makes the following comment :

"Another Ḥijāzi collector, ‘Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydi (d. 219/834), lists the *man kadhaba* saying only once with the following defective but highly relevant *isnād*: Ḥumaydi - Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna - *man lā uḥṣī* ‘an Abi Hurayra - prophet (11, no. 1166). Ḥumaydi had been Ibn ‘Uyayna's best pupil and had reputedly attended his *hadīth* sessions for seventeen years. It is, indeed, astonishing that Ḥumaydi does not list a more perfect *isnad* for the *man kadhaba* saying, if we realize that he had also been a pupil of Shāfi‘i and ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Muḥammad ad-Darāwardī. Through these channels he apparently did not receive it. Besides, Ibn ‘Uyayna's remark on how he allegedly learned of the saying also deserves to be commented on. In the time of Bukhāri (d. 256/870) only four *isnāds* going back to Abū Hurayra were in circulation, via the Successors Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān, Kulayb b. Shihāb, Muslim b.

Yasār and Abū Salama. Although all these emerge repeatedly in *isnāds* of Ibn ʿUyayna, and although he only left Kūfa, where he was born, in order to settle definitively in Mecca in 163/780 (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, IV, p. 122), the *man kadhaba* saying had apparently not yet reached him via a 'sound', Iraqi or Medinese, *isnād*. His words *man lā uḥṣī* seem to convey the opposite of what they say and may well be interpreted as indicating that Ibn ʿUyayna was at the time still unable to substantiate the saying with a less 'defective' *isnād*. It is as if he had caught a rumour that a saying of this content had recently been brought into circulation and that it was deemed imperative that every self-respecting *muḥaddith* should participate in its transmission. Sufyān was indeed very much concerned with falsehood in traditions as appears unmistakably from his contempt for Jābir b. Yazid al-Juʿfī (d. +130/748), who had been actively spreading forged traditions in Kūfa several decades before Sufyān moved to Mecca (cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, II, p.49)." (29)

I shall quote this *ḥadīth* as it appears in *Musnad* al-Ḥumaydi:

– حدثنا الحميدي قال ثنا سفيان وحدثني من لا أحصي (٢) عن أبي هريرة أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال من كذب علي متعمداً فليتبوأ مقعده من

(٢) كذا في ظ "وحدثني من لأحصي" وفوق أحصي علامة تدل على أنه يحتاج إلى التصحيح .

Two things invalidate Juynboll's comment . First, it appears from this *isnād* that it is al-Ḥumaydi, not Ibn ʿUyaynah, who says: *وحدثني من لأحصي*. Secondly, the editor of the *Musnad* points out that, in the manuscript, there is a remark on the word *uḥṣī* which indicates that there is something requiring correction there.

Also, from the case of al-Nasāʿī and the case of al-Ḥumaydi, it is clear, I think, that the occurrence or non-occurrence of such a *ḥadīth* in a particular book is not an appropriate method of judging whether or not its author knew of the *ḥadīth* or whether or not it and its *isnāds* existed at that time. We have seen that, while al-Nasāʿī does not mention it in his *Sunan*, he gives it with several *isnāds* in *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*. al-Shāfiʿī presents it with four *isnāds*, but al-Ḥumaydi mentions it, in his *Musnad*, with only one defective *isnād*, as Juynboll thinks, although he had "been a pupil of Shāfiʿī and ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. Muḥammad ad-Darāwardī."

Ibn Wahb

The published fragment of Ibn Wahb's *Jāmi'* contains about 14 chapters, one of which is the *kadhib* chapter in which the *man kadhab ḥadīth* does not occur. From the absence of this *ḥadīth* Juynboll draws the following conclusion:

" 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197/813) devotes a lengthy chapter in his *Jāmi'* to *kadhib* traditions. Again we observe the peculiarity that the *man kadhaba* tradition is not listed among the circa forty(!) traditions of this chapter, although a few Companions who, according to Iraqi collections, are reported as having transmitted the saying also occur in Ibn Wahb's *isnāds* of this chapter. A brief count yields the result that twenty transmitters from *man kadhaba* reports listed elsewhere also appear in this *kadhib* chapter. "(30)

Juynboll goes on to say: " If the *man kadhaba* tradition had circulated in Iraq during the time that Ibn Wahb practised his profession as traditionist in Egypt, and compiled this *kadhib* chapter, roughly during the latter half of the second century - and let us not forget that it does occur various times in Ṭayālīsī's *Musnad*, probably compiled at about the same time - it is all the more astounding that it is not included in the *Jāmi'*. Since the number of traditions with *kadhib*

regarding the transmission of traditions in this chapter is considerable, we might even venture to conclude that, if Ibn Wahb had started putting it together a few years later, this, what I am almost inclined to call, *dernier cri* in vilifying mendacious transmitters would have reached him, and would subsequently have headed the list of similar, but as yet less harsh, traditions in this chapter. On the other hand, we have to take into account also - albeit with reservations (.....) - that Nasā'ī, who died more than one hundred years later, does not have it either." (31) To conclude his argument regarding the existence of this *ḥadīth* in Ibn Wahb, Juynboll says: "Summing up, it seems safe to say that the saying began to circulate in Egypt not earlier than towards the end of the second century A.H. in any case, and possibly not earlier than towards the end of the third century A.H. In spite of the alleged activities in transmitting traditions of people who settled in Egypt as described above, it took one of the most famous sayings ascribed to the prophet two, maybe three, centuries to reach a province conquered less than half a century after his death." (32)

In fact, in view of *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* and the argument regarding Ibn Wahb's work, these conclusions find hardly any

justification. In none of the *ḥadīth* collections compiled according to subject that I have seen is the *man kadhab ḥadīth* mentioned in the *kadhib* chapter. For example, none of the 'six books', or any of the works similar to the *Jāmi'* of Ibn Wahb, such as *Muṣannaf 'Abd al-Razzāq* and *Muṣannaf Ibn Abi Shaybah*, give this *ḥadīth* in the *kadhib* chapter.(33) Ibn Abi al-Dunyā gives 87 *ḥadīths* in connection with the concept *kadhib* in *Bāb dhamm al-kadhib*, in which the *ḥadīth* does not appear . (34)

Concerning Juynboll's remark that "the number of traditions with *kadhib* regarding the transmission of traditions in this chapter is considerable", it is only one *ḥadīth*, or possibly two if we count that, on the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd, which runs: بحسب المرء كذباً ان يحدث بكل ماسمع

In the fragment of Ibn Wahb's *Jāmi'*, a *ḥadīth* of the *man kadhab* nature, which Juynboll does not mention, exists in the chapter just before the *kadhib* chapter. This *ḥadīth* is : (35)

وأخبرني يحيى بن حميد عن قرّة بن عبد الرحمن عن ابن سمعانرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال ثلاثة لا يريحون ريح الجنة رجل كذب عليّ ورجل كذب ل او رايت ما لم يرى ورجل ادعا لغير ابيه .

Ibn al-Jawzi gives this *ḥadīth* in a different version with a different *isnād* in his account of the *ṭuruq* of the *ḥadīth man kadhab*. (36)

In a manuscript containing some of Ibn Wahb's *ḥadiths* entitled *Musnad Ibn Wahb*, preserved in al-Zāhiriyyah,(37) I have found three versions of this *ḥadith* which Ibn Wahb related from two of his Egyptian masters and one Syrian:

- اخبرني يحيى بن ايوب عن بكر بن عمرو عن عمرو بن أبي نعيمة عن أبي عثمان الطنبذي رضيع عبد الملك بن مروان قال سمعت أبا هريرة يقول قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من قال علي ما لم أقل فليتبوأ بيّتا في جهنم ومن أفتا بغير علم فان اثمه على من افتاه ومن أشار على أخيه بأمر يعم ان الرشد في غيره فقد خانه . ١٦٥ أ

- اخبرني سعيد بن أبي أيوب عن بكر بن عمرو عن عمرو بن أبي نعيمة عن أبي عثمان مسلم بن يسار عن أبي هريرة ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه قال من قال علي ما لم أقل فليتبوأ مقعده من النار ومن استشار اخوه فإشار عليه بغير رشد فقد خانه ومن افتا بفتيا غير ثبت فانما اثمه على من افتاه . ١٦٨ أ

- واخبرني مسلمة بن علي عن زيد بن واقد عن حزام بن حكيم سمعت انس بن مالك يقول سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول حدثوا عني كما سمعتم ولا حرج الا من افترا على كذب كذبا متعمدا ليضل الناس بغير علم فليتبوأ مقعده من النار. ١٦٥ ب

al-Ṭabrāni, in his *Juzʿ* of the *ṭuruq* of this saying, relates the first two of these *isnāds* through different pupils, the first of whom mentions only the first part.(38) He also relates the saying on the authority of Anas, with an *isnād* in which Ibn Wahb occurs but in a different succession.(39) Ibn Ḥanbal gives

Sa'id b. Abi Ayyūb's *ḥadīth* with the same *isnād*, but on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd, in his *Musnad*. (40)

In another manuscript containing some of Ibn Wahb's *ḥadīths*,⁽⁴¹⁾ the *man kadhab* exists :⁽⁴²⁾

– أخبرني ابن لهيعة عن ابن هبيرة قال سمعت شيخاً يحدث أبا تميم الجشاني أنه سمع قيس بن سعد بن عبادة وهو على مصر يقول أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال من كذب علي متعمداً فليتبوأ مقعده من جهنم أو بيتاً إلا ومن شرب الخمر اتا عطشاناً يوم القيامة وكل مسكر حرام وإياكم والغبيرا . قال ثم سمعت عبدالله بن عمرو يقول مثل ذلك فلم يختلفا إلا في مضجع أوبيت .

Juynboll doubts the authenticity of this manuscript, but he comments on this *isnād*, which also appears in *Musnad Aḥmad*, featuring Ḥasan b. Musā as a pupil of Ibn Lahī'ah, that "the third oldest link is a *majhūl*, one *shaykh* from Ḥimyar. The most striking feature is that, but for Ibn Lahī'a, no transmitter of this *isnād* figures in the *Jāmi'*."⁽⁴³⁾ In fact, in addition to Ibn Lahī'ah, Ibn Hubayrah also figures in the published fragment of the *Jāmi'*, one of his appearances being in the *kadhib* chapter. (44)

Another *ḥadīth*, that Juynboll discusses, in the *isnād* of which 'Abd Allah b. Wahb occurs, is one that appears in Aḥmad's *Musnad* : (45)

– هارون بن معروف قال ثنا ابن وهب أخبرني عمرو أن هشام بن أبي رقية حدثه قال سمعت مسleme بن مخلد وهو قاعد على المنبر يخطب الناس وهو

يقول يا أيها الناس أما لكم في العصب والكتان ما يكفيكم عن الحرير وهذا رجل فيكم يخبركم عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم . قم يا عقبة فقام عقبة بن عامر وأنا أسمع فقال إني سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول من كذب علي متعمداً فليتبوأ مقعده من النار وأشهد أنني سمعته يقول من لبس الحرير في الدنيا حرمه أن يلبسه في الآخرة .

On this *ḥadīth* Juynboll says:

" This *isnād* also supporting the *man kadhaba* tradition but without preamble or sequel is once more found in the *Kitāb al-mawḍūʿāt* of Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597/1200) with, instead of Hārūn b. Maʿrūf, Baḥr b. Naṣr b. Sābq. These *isnāds* are purely Egyptian. The Companion ʿUqba settled in Egypt and became Muʿāwīya's governor. In this function he was succeeded by the other Companion of this *isnād* (incidentally lacking in Ibn al-Jawzī), Maslama b. Mukhallad (d.62/682). Among the transmitters who heard traditions with him we do find Hishām b. Abī Ruqayya, but this man is nowhere else dealt with, in other words: he is a *majhūl*. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, the next transmitter, was held in high esteem by Ibn Wahb who credited him with the best memory of all the 370(!) *shaykhs* of whom he had been a pupil. It is, therefore, all the more astonishing that the whole *isnād* does not occur in the *Jāmiʿ*. This *isnād* with, instead of Hishām and Maslama, Abū ʿUshshāna as master of Ibn Wahb is also listed in Ibn al-

Jawzī. It is hard to say when and how these *isnāds* came into existence. If they predate 197/813, the year of his death, we must conclude that Ibn Wahb's *Jāmi'* in the edition we have was compiled before the *man kadhaba* tradition reached him. If they do not - and we still have the non-occurrence of the tradition in Nasā'i to account for! - they are probably the handiwork of Hārūn b. Ma'rūf and/or Baḥr b. Naṣr or of one or more persons using their names."⁽⁴⁶⁾ A few remarks may be made on this passage. Hishām b. Abi Ruqayyah is not a *majhūl*. His *tarjamah* does occur in the *Rijāl* works.⁽⁴⁷⁾ 'Uqbah b. 'Āmir and 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith do figure in various *ḥadiths* in the *Jāmi'*.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Abū 'Ushshānah is not a master of Ibn Wahb, but rather he is a master of Ibn Wahb's master, 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Abū Ḥanīfah and the *man kadhaba* saying

Juynboll then turns his attention to the Iraqi collections. The saying occurs in the *Musnad* of Abū Ḥanīfah several times but Juynboll dismisses the involvement of Abū Ḥanīfah in the transmission of *ḥadith*: "I venture to discard all the *man kadhaba* traditions with Abū Ḥanīfah in the *isnād* as fabrications that began to circulate perhaps as long as two

hundred years after his death".(50) Despite this, Juynboll puts these *isnāds* under examination, an examination which needs to be commented on.

Juynboll says " The *isnāds* seem sufficiently interesting for a brief analysis. The first *isnād* runs: Abū Ḥanifa - al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd - father - grandfather - prophet. Although many of Abū Ḥanifa's *ra'y* decisions are eventually ascribed to Ibn Masʿūd, al-Qāsim is not listed among Abū Ḥanifa's masters. The second *isnād* runs: Abū Ḥanifa - ʿAṭiyya b. Saʿd al-ʿAwfi - Abū Saʿid - prophet. ʿAṭiyya, a weak transmitter, often mentioned Abū Saʿid without specifying which Abū Saʿid he meant. He attempted to create the impression that he alluded to Abū Saʿid al-Khudri instead of Abū Saʿid al-Kalbī from whom he had it. The third *isnād* runs: Abū Ḥanifa - Abū Ruḥba Shaddād b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān - Abū Saʿid - prophet. Abū Ruḥba is nowhere listed in the biographical dictionaries, and it is perhaps permissible to see this name as a misreading of the name Abū Dhūba or Dhawba which occurs in a comparable *isnād* in Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-āthār*. In that *isnād* Abū Saʿid is called in full: al-Khudri. The editor of the *Āthār* mentions in a note that Abū Dhūba is perhaps one and the same as Abū

Rawq, which is the *kunya* of one ‘Aṭiyya b. al-Ḥārith, who, in turn, is then again confused with ‘Aṭiyya b. Sa‘d of the second *isnād* dealt with above. The fourth *isnād* runs: Abū Ḥanifa - Sa‘id b. Masrūq - Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd at-Taymī - Anas - prophet. Just as in the fifth *isnād* (Abū Ḥanifa - Zuhri - Anas - prophet) the saying was allegedly transmitted by Anas on the authority of whom many *isnāds* supporting the *man kadhaba* tradition occur in all the canonical collections, while these two, different from all the others, only occur in this *Musnad*. Indeed, the same is true for all the other *isnāds* analysed here. The last one is particularly defective, because Zuhri and Abū Ḥanifa are nowhere listed as having had a master-pupil relationship.”(51)

Some of these remarks are actually erroneous.

- a. al-Qāsim is listed among Abū Ḥanifah's masters.(52)
- b. Shaddād b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān is found in some of the *Rijāl* Works. (53) Discussing the name of Abū Ruḥba, Juynboll refers to a "comparable *isnād* in Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-Āthār*". In a footnote on this sentence, he says: " ... the *man kadhaba* saying does not occur in it anyhow." (54) In fact, the 'comparable *isnād*' heads the *man kadhaba* saying : (55)

- حدثنا يوسف عن أبيه عن أبي حنيفة عن أبي ذوبة عن أبي سعيد الخدري -
 رضي الله عنه- عن النبي -صلى الله عليه وسلم - أنه قال : من كذب علي
 متعمداً فليتبوأ مقعده من النار .

c. al-Zuhri and Abū Ḥanifah are indeed " listed as having had a master - pupil relationship".(56)

The *Jāmiʿ* of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb

The *man kadhaba* saying does not exist in the incomplete edition of the *Jāmiʿ* of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb which is available to Juynboll. So from this and the occurrence of a version of the *bukāʾ ḥadīth* in this source, Juynboll reaches the following interesting conclusions: " In the *Jāmiʿ* of ar-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb there is no trace of the dictum but in the *bukāʾ* tradition cited above (...) we do find the verb *kadhaba*. It bears distinct similarities to the *ḥadīth* from the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* scrutinized above (...) and runs: 'When ʿĀʾisha was informed that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar had said: "The dead will be punished with the weeping of his fellow tribesmen", she said: "May God forgive ʿAbd Allāh, *he did not lie* but he must have forgotten or he must have made a mistake. perhaps he heard what the Messenger of God said when he passed [the funeral of] a Jewish women whose relatives wept over her... etc.' (Italics mine). Perhaps we are justified in considering this report, just like its counterpart - though with different *isnād* - in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, as foreshadowing or reflecting the harsh tone of later versions in

which injunctions and prohibitions are emphasized with threats of Hell. Differently put, the evolution of the term *kadhaba* from 'inadvertently not telling the truth' to 'lying intentionally' is witnessed in its initial stages in this *bukā'* tradition into which, as is so often the case in the somewhat later collections, the concept of 'lying' is introduced for additional accentuation of the sinfulness of this behaviour. And I think we are also justified in determining, with the non-occurrence of the complete dictum in this collection in mind, a *terminus post quem* for its emergence in Iraq. Unfortunately, we do not know exactly when ar-Rabi' died, but it must have been in the course of the second half of the second century. And another regrettable circumstance is that his collection does not seem to have come down to us complete. At the end of the two volume edition (p. 394) a third volume is announced. It is not verifiable what that might have contained." (57)

There is grave doubt concerning the authenticity of the *Jāmi'* of al-Rabi'. Daw b. Sālim Miskin gives convincing evidence that this *Jāmi'* is a work forged by its redactor, al-Warjalānī (d. 570).(58) However there is a complete edition of the *Jāmi'* of al-Rabi', in which the saying exists in two *ḥadīths* with two *isnāds* : (59)

— أبو عبيدة عن جابر بن زيد عن ابن عباس عن رسول الله -صلى الله عليه

وسلم- قال: " من كذب علي متعمداً فليتبوأ مقعده من النار "

- الربيع عن يحيى بن كثير عن عطاء بن السائب قال : كنا عند عبد الله بن الحارث فقال : أتدرون لمن قال رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - " من كذب علي متعمداً فليتبوأ مقعده من النار. " قال : قلنا لا ، ... فلذلك قال رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم - " من كذب علي متعمداً فليتبوأ مقعده من النار .

Musnad al-Ṭayālisi

The next source that Juynboll deals with is *Musnad al-Ṭayālisi*, a source which he considers " the earliest source in which this tradition occurs", despite the occurrence of it in al-Shāfi'i. This saying occurs in it 7 times, five of the *isnād* being headed by Shu'bah as a master of al-Ṭayālisi.(60) From the absence of this *ḥadīth* from the incomplete edition of al-Rabi's *Jāmi'* available to him and the occurrence of it in al-Ṭayālisi, Juynboll draws the conclusion that " the *man kadhaba* dictum must have come into circulation in Iraq sometime between the two death dates of ar-Rabi' b. Ḥabib (.....) and Ṭayālisi, in other words, sometime in the course of the second half of the second century A.H. Responsible for the dictum are probably the various pupils - or people using their names - of the key figures, or 'common links' (.....), in the *man kadhaba isnāds*, such as Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d.160/777), active in Baṣra and

Kūfa, Abū ʿAwāna al-Waḍḍāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 176/792), active in Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa (d. 174/790), active in Egypt although the majority of his masters and many of his pupils were Iraqi." (61)

As we have seen, this *ḥadīth* does exist in the *Jāmiʿ* of al-Rabiʿ b. Ḥabīb. But supposing that it was introduced between the death dates of these two authors, how are the *ḥadīth* transmitters to be held responsible for circulating this *ḥadīth* in the various centres of Islāmic world, when the dates of their deaths are about the same as that of al-Rabiʿ?(62) On the one hand, Juynboll considers "ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa(d. 174/790), active in Egypt", as one of the possible figures to have circulated this *ḥadīth*; on the other hand, he holds the view that it was being circulated in Egypt "not earlier than circa 190/806". (63)

One conspicuous feature of Juynboll's investigation of this *ḥadīth* that appears in the various quotations above, is that he accuses the various *ḥadīth* collectors, either the authors of the *ḥadīth* collections or their *shaykhs*, of mendacity because of the relating of this *ḥadīth* something which cannot be justified.

In actual fact, from the foregoing discussion, it appears

that it is only in the *Muwaṭṭa'* that this *ḥadīth* does not exist. And we know that, in addition to the two versions of the *Muwaṭṭa'* available to us now in print, there are many more which vary in their contents. But even if this *ḥadīth* does not exist in any of these versions, the *Muwaṭṭa'* does not contain all the *ḥadīths* that Mālik had, let alone reflect the *ḥadīth* material at his time, as discussed in the first chapter. While this *ḥadīth* is found with a variety of *isnāds* in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad (d. 241), it is not found in some later *ḥadīth* collections, for example, *Sunan al-Nasā'i* (d. 303), *Sunan al-Dāraquṭni* (d. 385), and it appears only once in *Sunan Abi Dāwūd* (d. 275).

NOTES

1. See *Tradition*, pp. 96-133.
2. *Tradition*, p. 97.
3. *Tradition*, p. 102.
4. *Tradition*, p. 106-107.
5. *Tradition*, p. 106-107.
6. See *al-Azhār al-mutanāthirah*, p. 20-21 no. 43. *Qaṭf al-azhār al-Mutanāthirah*, p. 123 no. 44. *Ithāf dhū al-faḍā'il al-Mushtahirah*, p. 96. In *Nazm al-Mutanāthir*, p. 79, al-Kattāni alludes to the variant *niyāḥah*.
7. See, for example, the *isnāds* of this *ḥadīth* in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad 1, p. 26, 36, 38, 39, 41-42, 45, 47, 50, 51, 2, p. 31, 61, 134, 4, p. 245, 252, 255, 437, 5, p. 106, p. 39, 57, 107, 281.
8. See *Tradition*, p. 99-102.
9. 5, p. 367.
10. See, for example, the reports in Ibn Sa'd below.
11. *Tradition*, p. 44.
12. *Tradition*, p. 105.
13. *Tradition*, p. 107 footnote (52).
14. See Ibn Sa'd 3 2, p. 7-8.
15. *Tradition*, p. 101.
16. *Tradition*, p. 101.
17. See his *tarjamah* in Ibn Sa'd, p. 466 no. 40. al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārikh al-kabir* 7, p. 313. *al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dil* 8, p. 216. *Ta'jil al-manfa'ah*, p. 256.
18. *Tradition*, p. 104.
19. *Tradition*, p. 105.
20. See *Tradition*, p. 105.
21. *Tradition*, p. 105, note 39.

22. *Tradition*, p. 105.
23. *Tradition*, p. 106.
24. *Tradition*, p. 108.
25. *Tradition*, p. 109-110.
26. p. 77.
27. pp. 394-395 no. 1090-93.
28. See *Tradition* p. 112-113.
29. *Tradition*, p. 113-14.
30. *Tradition*, p. 114.
31. *Tradition*, p. 115.
32. *Tradition*, p. 118.
33. al-Muṣannaf 11, p. 158-162. Ibn Abi Shaybah 8, p. 590-593. Bukhāri 10, p. 507 *al-Adab* (69). Muslim 4, p. 2011-2013, *al-birr* (27,28,29) al-Tirmidhi 4, p. 347-348, *al-birr* (46). Abū Dāwūd 4, 297-298.
34. See pp. 485-546 no. 468- 596.
- 35.p. 60.
36. See Ibn al-Jawzi, *al-Mawḍūʿāt* 1, p. 75.
37. See Sezgin 1 3, p. 144.
38. See p. 38 a.
39. See p. 41 a.
40. 2, p. 321.
41. No. 3497 in Chester Beatty.
42. p. 20.
43. *Tradition*, p. 118.
- 44.p. 72.
45. 4, p. 156.
- 46.*Tradition*, p. 117.
47. For example, al-Bukhāri, *al-Tārikh al-kabir* 8,p.192 no.2668. Ibn Abi Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa al-taʿdil* 9,p.57 no. 336. Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt* 5, p. 501. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tajil al-manfaʿah* p. 432 no. 1136.
48. See the index of the printed text.
49. See Ibn al-Jawzi 1, p. 68. *Tahdhib* 3, p. 71-72.
50. *Tradition*, p. 124. See, for this discussion of Abū Ḥanifah and the transmission of ḥadith, pp. 119-124.

51. *Tradition*, p. 122-23.
52. See al-Mizzi, *Tahdhib al-Kamāl* 3, p. 1415.
53. See, Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt* 4, p. 357. *Tarjil al-manfa'ah*, p. 174-175.
54. *Tradition*, p. 123 no. 130.
55. *al-Āthār*, p. 207 no. 922.
56. See, al-Mizzi, *Tahdhib al-Kamāl* 3, p. 1415.
57. *Tradition*, p. 124-25.
58. See *al-Ḥadith bi Ifriqiyyah* 2, pp. 497-517 and in particular pp. 514-17.
59. See 2, p. 74-75 no. 738, 739.
60. Nos. 80, 107, 191, 342, 362, 2084, 2421.
61. *Tradition*, p. 128-29.
62. *Tradition*, p. 128-29.
63. See *Tradition*, p. 118.

CHAPTER FIVE

JUYNBOLL AND HIS PREDECESSORS

In the introduction to his book, Juynboll declares that, in formulating his ideas regarding the origins of *ḥadīth*, he has not exposed himself to the influences of his predecessors, and has done his research, as he says: "without constantly comparing my findings with those of either Oriental or western scholars until after it was all over." (See *Tradition*, p. 1) In the following, I will compare Juynboll's views and conclusions on the origins of the *ḥadīth* transmission with those of his predecessors. This will show us how heavily Juynboll has been influenced by his predecessors' views concerning the subject, especially by those of Goldziher and Schacht.

The general conception of Goldziher concerning *ḥadīth* transmission is: "The Prophet's pious followers have reverently repeated the enlightening sayings of the master and have endeavoured to preserve for the edification and instruction of the community everything that he said, both in public and in private, regarding the practice of the religious obligations prescribed by him, the conduct of life in general, and social behaviour, whether in relation to the past or the future. When

the rapid succession of conquests led them to distant countries, they handed on these ḥadīths of the Prophet to those who had not heard them with their own ears, and after his death they added many salutary sayings which were thought to be in accord with his sentiments and could therefore, in their view, legitimately be ascribed to him, or of whose soundness they were in general convinced. These ḥadīths dealt with the religious and legal practices which had been developed under the Prophet and were regarded as setting the norm for the whole Islamic world. They formed the basic material of the ḥadīth, which vastly increased during subsequent generations because of factors which will be described in the following chapters.

In the absence of authentic evidence it would indeed be rash to attempt to express the most tentative opinion as to which parts of the ḥadīth are the oldest original material, or even as to which of them date back to the generations immediately following the Prophet's death. Closer acquaintance with the vast stock of ḥadīths induces sceptical caution rather than optimistic trust regarding the material brought together in the carefully compiled collections. We are unlikely to have even as much confidence as Dozy regarding a

large part of the ḥadīth, but will probably consider by far the greater part of it as the result of the religious, historical and social development of Islam during the first two centuries.

The ḥadīth will not serve as a document for the history of the infancy of Islam, but rather as a reflection of the tendencies which appeared in the community during the maturer stages of its development." (*Muslim Studies* 2, p. 18-19)

Juynboll also takes a sceptical attitude towards the authenticity of the ḥadīth and believes that ḥadīth transmission is, as a whole, only a reflection of the activities of other elements which were to be developed to constitute the ḥadīth literature. Summarizing his views, he says: "This study does not deny that in all probability the prophet's statements and/or activities may have, at least partially, been reported by one or more of his followers, but it may have become apparent from the foregoing pages that I am sceptical as to whether we will ever be able to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that what we have in the way of 'sound prophetic traditions' is indeed just that what it purports to be." (*Tradition*, p. 71) He continues that: "We have seen that the need for traditions traced all the way back to Muḥammad only

began to be emphasized under 'Umar II (reigned 99-101/717-20) and that only as a consequence of this emphasis what was known as reports containing the personal opinions of Companions or Successors became 'raised to the level' of a prophetic saying, no doubt in order to lend them more prestige. It is therefore impossible to dismiss the assumption that any 'prophetic' tradition from a canonical collection may have started life as the personal opinion of a Companion or a later authority..." (*Tradition*, p. 72) "The earliest stages of *ḥadīth* transmission", as Juynboll visualizes them, are explained in the following : " During the prophet's lifetime most of his followers can be assumed to have talked about him. After his death the only people who continued to do so in a way that may be construed as foreshadowing the standardized and regulated *ḥadīth* transmission of, say, the last few decades of the first century/700s-720s, when, as was perhaps demonstrated above, the earliest *ḥadīths* provided with *isnāds* came into circulation, were the *quṣṣāṣ*.

Parallel with this phenomenon we find *fuqahā'* and also *ʿulamā'*, the former formulating their own ideas about how life should be approached in the light of the new religion, the latter mainly pointing to formulations of this sort arrived at by

others. ... The activities of *fuqhā* and *ulamā* also developed into what later came to be called *ḥadīth* transmission.

The first stories (*qiṣaṣ*, *aḥādīth*) related by the *quṣṣāṣ* probably contained *tarhib wa-targhib* and *faḍā'il/mathālib* elements. The contents of the statements and opinions disseminated by the *fuqahā* and to a certain extent also those spread by the *ulamā* will probably have comprised facts and features, as well as enjoinders and prohibitions, pertaining to the new religion, in other words, materials of a legal/ethical nature with a sometimes strong religious flavouring, which was probably directly inspired by more or less successfully preserved memories of what the prophet had said and done, or derived from the spirit of the revelation which Muḥammad said that he had received from God. Fabrication or forgery, that is the deliberately falsely ascribing of invented texts (*matns*), often taking the form of dicta, maxims or slogans, of distinctly anti-Islamic, or un-Islamic, or purely socio-political, or doctrinal, or otherwise objectionable - or, in many cases, perfectly unobjectionable - tenor to revered authorities, whose respectability was expected to guarantee these texts' acceptance, had begun probably almost immediately after the prophet's death, if not on a small scale even already during his

lifetime." (*Tradition*, p. 74)

Even the two *mutawātir ḥadīths*, which Juynboll investigates to testify that *tawātur* itself " is no guarantee for the historicity of a *ḥadīth's* ascription to the prophet", and it was in Irāq that they were fabricated, have already been indicated as alleged forgeries by Goldziher.(See for the *niyāḥah ḥadīth Muslim Studies* 1, p.229, and for the *man kadhaba ḥadīth Muslim Studies* 2, p. 127)

According to Juynboll, the material, that foreran the transmission of *ḥadīth* was the work of the *quṣṣāṣ*. Their material consisted of *tarḥīb wa targhib* associated with *faḍā'il wa mathālib* : "... the earlist origins of standardized *ḥadīth* cannot be traced back earlier than, at most, to the seventies or eighties of the first century. What had preceded this was, as we have seen above, still unstructured and still unstandardized material of edifying contents (*quṣṣāṣ, tarḥīb wa-targhib*) or with a political slant (*faḍā'il/ mathālib*)."
(*Tradition*, p. 23) The material concerning *ḥalāl wa ḥarām* is something from a later time: "The likelihood that these *qiṣaṣ* will have comprised also the genre of *ḥalāl wa-ḥarām* is slight in view of the fact that legal thinking on the basis of

individual judgement as well as precedent in Islam is a development of somewhat later times..." (*Tradition*, p. 12. See also p. 15)

The same concept was arrived at by Goldziher; describing the situation under the Abbāsids, he says: "The public recognition and stimulation of conduct corresponding to the sunna both in private life and in public administration and law was naturally accompanied by a freer development of the study of the traditions of the Prophet than was possible under the Umayyads. At that period such research was, so to speak, only in a latent state and was hardly in touch with everyday life. Only now was there an investigation on a large scale of the *ḥalal wa-ḥarām*, the allowed and forbidden, of the ritual and legal ordinances. An attempt was made to produce documents carrying the Prophet's signature, for all the details of the relations of religious and social life. Previously this had not been done to such an extent. Considering that Mālik b. Anas in the middle of the second century was able to produce only 600 sayings of the Prophet relating to legal life, it becomes evident how little was done in this direction under the Umayyads. It seems that the activities of the party of the pious were mainly concerned with the cultivation and

production of moral and ascetic teachings as well as those sayings which stood in some relation to the political situation, their views about it, and their hope for a speedy overthrow of the existing godless circumstances. At least it appears as if sayings of this kind, more than legal traditions, were the ones to have penetrated to wider circles of the people."(*Muslim Studies* 2, p. 76-77. See, for Goldziher's view on the *quṣṣāṣ* and their material, p. 151 ff.)

The other part of Juynboll's thesis on the early origins of *ḥadīth* is that the opinions and sayings of the early *fuqahā'* and *ʿulamā'* are 'raised to the level of prophetic sayings': "*ḥalāl wa-ḥarām* . . . were mainly the products of individual judgement on the part of the first legal minds Islam produced; later these juridical opinions seem to have been remoulded into *ḥadīths* going back to the prophet. (*Tradition*, p. 17) On one occasion, he says: "... it is more than likely that the bulk of traditions in the transmission of which these early *fuqahā'* were supposedly instrumental, started life as legal opinions of these *fuqahā'* themselves who merely expressed their own personal judgement. These opinions or legal advices were in the course of time 'raised to the level' (in Arabic: *marfūʿ*) of

prophetic sayings, when the emphasis on the concept *sunnat an-nabi* had eclipsed *sunan* of Companions and Successors."

(*Tradition*, p. 42)

Goldziher pointed this out: " A phenomenon particularly worthy of notice shows how light-heartedly moral sayings which were not his were ascribed to Prophet. It is not at all rare in the literature of traditions that sayings are ascribed to the Prophet which for a long time circulated in Islam under the authority of another name. So-called *aḥādith mawqūfa*, i.e. sayings traced back to companions or even successors, were very easily transformed into *aḥādith marfū'a*, i.e. sayings traced back to the Prophet, by simply adding without much scruple a few names at random which were necessary to complete the chain. This was also often practised in the field of legal traditions." (*Muslim Studies* 2, p. 148) Schacht believes that the ascription to the Successors was the 'starting point', later these were projected back to the Companions then to the Prophet: "In the course of polemical discussion, doctrines are frequently projected back to higher authorities: traditions from Successors become traditions from Companions, and traditions from Companions become traditions from the Prophet. Whenever we find, as frequently happens, alleged opinions of

Successors, alleged decisions of the Companions, and alleged traditions from the Prophet side by side, we must, as a rule and until the contrary is proved, consider the opinions of the Successors as the starting-point, and the traditions from the Companions and from the Prophet as secondary developments, intended to provide a higher authority for the doctrine in question. When the opinion of a Successor coincides with a tradition, it would be unwarrantable to conclude, in the absence of an explicit reference or some other positive indication, that he knew and followed it."(*Origins*, p. 156-57)

Summarizing his view regarding the "legal maxims", he says:

". . . as a rule they are earlier than traditions, and they gradually take on the form of traditions. They date, generally speaking, from the time of the first primitive systematization of Muhammadan law in the first half of the second century A.H., but often represent a secondary stage of doctrine and practice. ... The legal maxims reflect a stage when legal doctrine was not yet automatically put into the form of traditions."(*Origins*, p. 188-89) In a footnote on the last sentence, he says: " I do not exclude the possibility that some legal maxims may be older than the second century A. H., or may even go back to the pre-Islamic period, but this cannot be

assumed but must be positively proved in each case, . . . " (p. 189 footnote (1))

Although Goldziher holds the view that " The rise of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty is thus the time when the movement to establish the sunna as a science and as the standard of life received official recognition." (*Muslim Studies* 2, p. 75), he attributes the first official recognition to the Umayyad caliph, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz : " The rule of ʿUmar II, who had imbibed the spirit of the sunna in Medina, is but a short episode in the religious history of the dynasty to which he belonged. He might be called the Hezekiah of the Umayyad house. He attempted to give practical effect to the quiet work of theologians of the first century. The catchword sunna attained official importance during his rule and he endeavoured to give it recognition in the outlying provinces of the empire."(Id., p. 43) Elsewhere he also stresses the emphasis that ʿUmar II put on the *sunnah* : " ʿUmar, who was always zealous to establish the sunna in all matters, ..." (Id., p.29) " and ʿUmar II who was imbued with pious Medinian ideas and who inaugurated the real era of religion which later flourished under the sponsorship of the

‘Abbāsids, ...” (Id., p. 39)

Discussing ‘the origin of the concept ‘prophetic sunnah’, Juynboll believes that ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz is “ the first man to apply himself to the concept *sunnat an-nabi* more than to *sunans* ascribed to other persons or localities ...” (see *Tradition*, p. 34) He says: “ The *sunna* of the prophet, a concept emphasized for the first time by ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz rather than by the prophet himself or his immediate followers, ...” (*Tradition*, p. 26) “ ... ‘Umar II, more than any ruler before him, was determined on granting the *sunna* of the prophet a position as guiding principle in importance only second to the Qur’ān.” (*Tradition*, p. 35)

There is no significant difference between Schacht's concept of the growth of *ḥadith*, in particular legal ones, and Juynboll's. With respect to legal *ḥadiths*, Schacht says: “ One of the main conclusions to be drawn from Part I of this book is that, generally speaking, the ‘living tradition’ of the ancient schools of law, based to a great extent on individual reasoning, came first, that in the second stage it was put under the aegis of Companions, that traditions from the Prophet himself, put into circulation by traditionists towards the middle of the

second century A.H., disturbed and influenced this 'living tradition', and that only Shāfi'ī secured to the traditions from the Prophet supreme authority. The aim of Part II is to show that a considerable number of legal traditions, which appear in the classical collections, originated after Mālik and Shāfi'ī ..." (*Origins*, p. 138) He also says: " The aim of the present chapter is to provide a firm starting point for the systematic use of traditions as documents for the development of legal doctrine, by investigating the growth of legal traditions in the literary period, roughly from A.H. 150 to 250, between Abū Ḥanīfa and the classical collections of traditions, with a few extensions into the first half of the second century. The evidence presented here is only the most significant part of what could be collected, and the most important result is that whereas the growth of legal traditions from the Prophet went on over the whole period, it was particularly vigorous in the fifty years between Shāfi'ī and the classical collections, a result which can be ascribed to the joint influence of Shāfi'ī and the traditionists. The evidence must, in the nature of things, be cumulative, and whilst care has been taken to verify the presence or absence of the traditions in question in or from the sources available, an occasional oversight or the

well-known incompleteness of our sources does not invalidate the general conclusions. 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."(*Origins*, p. 140) Schacht considers the absence of *ḥadīths* in a treatise ascribed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as an indication of the late appearance of *ḥadīths*: "Although the dogmatic treatise of Ḥasan Baṣrī is not concerned with matters of law, it is appropriate to begin with it, because it shows that even dogmatic traditions which are, generally speaking, earlier than legal ones, hardly existed at the time of its composition, that is, in the later part of the first century A.H. There is no trace of traditions from the Prophet, and the author states explicitly: 'Every opinion which is not based on the Koran, is erroneous.' " (*Id.* p. 141)

Both Schacht and Juynboll considers that *ḥadīth* came late but, while Schacht believes that it began to be circulated "towards the middle of the second century A.H.", Juynboll makes it somewhat earlier, "toward the end of the first/seventh century". In his discussion of the growth of *ḥadīth*, Juynboll compares the respective number of *ḥadīth*

that are traced back to the first four caliphs in four of the early *ḥadīth* collections, which were compiled in the same period as that suggested by Schacht as a likely one for the major growth of *ḥadīth*. And in the summary, he says: "But as the investigation into the growth of traditions may have shown, the first major growth of *ḥadīth* occurred several decades after the turn of the first century/750s and later . . .". Also he infers the same conclusion, as Schacht does, from the absence of *ḥadīths* in the treatise ascribed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and in others. (See *Tradition*, p. 38-39, 73)

In the same way as Schacht associates al-Shafi'ī, who "identified the '*sunna* of the Prophet' with the contents of traditions from the Prophet to which he gave, not for the first time, but for the first time consistently, overriding authority..." with the growth of *ḥadīth*, Juynboll associates 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz who is "the first man to apply himself to the concept *sunnat an-nabi* ..." with the growth of *ḥadīth*. Concluding his argument regarding the late origins of the prophetic *sunnah*, he says: "... traditions came relatively late into existence together with, and probably also because of, the concept *sunna* being narrowed down to *sunnat an-nabi* only as late as toward the end of the first/seventh century." (*Tradition*, P. 39)

In the conclusion to his first chapter, he says: "We have seen that the need for traditions traced all the way back to Muḥammad only began to be emphasized under 'Umar II (reigned 99-101/717-20) and that only as a consequence of this emphasis what was known as reports containing the personal opinions of Companions or Successors became 'raised to the level' of a prophetic saying, no doubt in order to lend them more prestige." (*Tradition*, p. 72)

As has been discussed in the chapter on *Isnād*, the first entry of *isnād* into the transmission of *ḥadīth*, according to Juynboll, is in about "the late sixties or early seventies", in another place, he says, "the late seventies". This view is also held by Joseph Horowitz. James Robson in his review of the views of Western writers on the *Isnād*, summarizes Horowitz's opinion in his article "Alter und Ursprung des *Isnād*", that "His conclusion is that the first entry of the *isnād* into the literature of Tradition was in the last third of the first century." ("The *isnād* in muslim tradition", p. 19. See also Horowitz, in *Islamic Culture* 1927, 1, p. 550, who says: "Isnād in its primitive form was then - somewhere about the year 75 A. H. - already established...)" Also the interpretation of the

word *al-fitnah* in Ibn Sirin's report, which, Juynboll contends, refers to the conflict between Ibn al-Zubayr and the Umayyads, was already suggested by Robson. Robson refers to Schacht's argument in dismissing Ibn Sirin's report as "spurious" because "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" (*Origins*, p. 36-37), and says: "I have grave doubts about this. There certainly was a civil war at the time mentioned, but it was not the first. There was the civil war between 'Ali and Mu'awiya which produced a breach in Islām which exists to the present day, but it is perhaps too early a period to consider. More likely is the civil war which arose when 'Abdallah b. al-Zubair set himself up as Caliph. In the *Muwatta'* Mālik tells of Ibn 'Umar wishing to go to Mecca during the *fitna*. He says that if he has difficulty in getting into Mecca, he will act as the Prophet did when he was prevented from visiting the Ka'ba in the year of the truce of Hudaibiya. The circumstances would fit the years 64 or 72 when 'Abdallah was besieged in Mecca. As Ibn Sirin is said to have been born in 33, he would be old enough to

speak with authority on what happened at that period." ("The *isnād* in muslim tradition". p. 21-22)

One of Schacht's theories on the origins of *ḥadīth* is " that *isnāds* have a tendency to grow backwards,". Juynboll emphasises this, in his study, and he comments on the examples he gives to support " the idea that *isnāds* have a tendency to grow with time in soundness" that " this information is an attempt at putting in a different light and rewording Schacht's thesis ' . . . that *isnāds* have a tendency to grow backwards' (*Tradition*, p. 115)

The view of Juynboll on the chronology of the criticism of the *isnād* and the idea that it is applied to the *isnād* but not to the *matn* is about the same as that of Goldziher. With respect to this, Goldziher thinks : " Less attention is paid to the contents of the tradition itself than to the authorities in the *isnād*. Belief in the authenticity of a *ḥadīth* stands or falls with their reliability"(*Muslim Studies* 2, p. 134), and "traditions are only investigated in respect of their outward form and judgement of the value of the contents depends on the judgement of the correctness of the *isnād*. . . . Nobody is

allowed to say: 'because the *matn* contains a logical or historical absurdity I doubt the correctness of the *isnād*.' (Id., p. 140-141) On the chronology of the criticism of the *isnād*, he says: " It seems to have been in the time of Ibn ʿAwn (d. 151), Shuʿba (d. 160), Abd Allāh b. Mubārak (d. 181) and others of their contemporaries that criticism of the authorities begins" (Id., p. 135)

In regard to this, Juynboll says: " Scrutiny of informants gave way to the creation of the institution of the *isnād* probably at the earliest in the late seventies of the first century (the late 690s). The *isnād*, if found 'sound', was thought to guarantee the authenticity of the *matn* it supported. This scrutiny of *isnāds* resulted in an increasingly sophisticated criticism which developed in the course of time into a separate science, whose birth can be dated to at least half a century after the birth of the *isnād*.

But *ḥadīth* criticism, mainly confined to *isnād* criticism, came too late to become an adequate tool for sifting the material that could genuinely be ascribed to the oldest authority of its *isnād* from that which could not thus be ascribed. And apart from its having come too late to the rescue of the developing *ḥadīth* literature, it suffered from two

serious, interrelated shortcomings both pointing to its naivete:

.....

(2) the near-absence of the application of suitable criteria for probing *matns.*" (*Tradition*, p. 75)

According to Juynboll, *ḥadīth* developed independently in the various Islamic centres at its early stage. Then with the rising of *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys the local character disappeared. Introducing his section on 'the earliest development of the *ḥadīth* centres', Juynboll says: " It is hoped to demonstrate that during the last two or three decades of the first century of the Hijra/the 700s-720s A.D. the interest for *ḥadīth* slowly increased in the separate administrative centres of the Islamic empire.

It is on purpose that these centres are referred to as 'separate'. One overall characteristic of *ḥadīth* evolution in its earliest stages deserves to be emphasized before anything else. In the beginning there was little or no contact between the centres especially if they were far apart. In other words, in each centre there circulated different *ḥadīths*."(*Tradition*, p. 39) He also says: " The proliferation, collection and codification of *ḥadīths* in the different centres occurred, at least during the

first century, largely on a local scale. Until the middle of the first half of the second century (about 740) the centres were characterized by - among various other individual features - an overall regionalism which, only with the onset of *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys, gradually disappeared."(*Tradition*, p. 75-76)

Although Goldziher does not give a specific date for the beginning of *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys, he indicates the local character of the early *ḥadīth* and the impact of *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys on it. With respect to this, he says: "In the beginning of its development the *ḥadīth* had local character. It had its origin in Medina and from there was carried to all provinces of Islam. On the other hand there is a large part of it which developed independently in the provinces. The pious in all lands circulated sayings of the Prophet, partly such as were current as prophetic teachings at the cradle of the sunna and partly such as only developed in the provinces in support for some doctrine which grew up in particular circles there. The Muslim critics themselves point out the local character of many *ḥadīth*. If theologians of a particular province wished to fill the gaps in the tradition of their home, they had no other recourse but travel to gain the opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the *ḥadīths* of other

provinces." (*Muslim Studies* 2, p. 164) He also says: "These journeys also yielded important results for the practical development of the ḥadīth in Islam. Because of the ever increasing amount of journeys for the ṭalab, theologians succeeded in inserting the particular provincial traditions into the general, more and more uniform, framework of the ḥadīth." (Id., p. 166)

Goldziher points in *Muslim Studies* to the phenomenon of forgers who claimed the status of Companions in a much later age, i.e. from the fourth century onwards. With respect to this he says: "Yet another sort of imposter must be mentioned in this context. This will show that Joseph Balsamo had predecessors some centuries before him in Asia. We are referring to the *muḥammariin*, the long-lived ones. They belong to the chapter of the inner history of the ḥadīth, for the adventurers called *muḥammariin* recited traditions from direct contact with the Prophet. In this they had an easier task than other inventors of ḥadīths, who also had to invent an *isnād* which brought their saying into contact with the Prophet. The 'long-lived ones' pretended to be 'companions of the Prophet' and therefore had no need to devise connecting chains

between their information and Muhammed's communication. Thus they escaped fault-finding criticism if they were fortunate in obtaining credence for their claim of having had personal contact with the Prophet. We shall see that they often succeeded in finding gullible audiences for their swindle." (2, p. 159)

Juynboll, in turn, posits a similar situation, only, this time, with regard to most of the Successors: "The vast majority of transmitters, dying at such advanced ages, may have pretended to be much older than they were in reality in order to establish at least the probability that they could have met certain masters. In so doing, they were able to claim the coveted status of Successor rather than that of Successor of a Successor.

It is my conviction that by means of this age trick a large number of Successors under the traditionists undeservedly enjoyed the privileges that went with this status. ("On the origins of Arabic prose" p. 170)

CONCLUSION

To contend that the transmission of *ḥadīth* began as late as towards the end of the first century, Juynboll discusses it in a number of arguments, concentrating on the five issues which have been investigated in part I. Quite apart from the significance of these arguments in supporting this chronology, I have found that the data and information adduced in them are based, generally speaking, on a selective approach, and that some texts and references are being misused.

Even supposing that we accept the *awā'il* reports as evidence for determining the early or late origins of the transmission of *ḥadīth*, we have seen that most of those that are adduced in Juynboll's argument, in no way affect the question. On the other hand, there are other significant reports which point to the early origins of the transmission of *ḥadīth* but they are left unquoted or put aside in Juynboll's argument.

To demonstrate his theory of the evolution of *ḥadīth*, Juynboll discusses the *tarājim* of the first four caliphs in the

Ṭabāqāt Ibn Saʿd, and the number of *ḥadīth* traced back on their authority in four of the early *ḥadīth* collections. With respect to the former, I see nothing in Ibn Saʿd that positively indicates that the four caliphs, in fact, relied on their own judgement rather than following the prophet's example. Moreover, the *Ṭabaqāt* is abused, as previously explained. Further, in a detailed investigation, I have shown how it is not an appropriate method to trace the *ḥadīth* transmitted on the authority of these caliphs in the four early collections in order to establish that, having originated in Iraq, it was later rather than earlier that *ḥadīth* assumed the bulk that it finally attained. I have made a similar comparison with other early collections, which corroborates the above view.

Juynboll believes that the prophetic *sunnah* is a later concept and associates its appearance with that of the transmission of *ḥadīth*. He claims that it is a concept which came into existence "only as late as towards the end of the first/seventh century". In the relevant chapter, I have explained how Juynboll not only bases his argument on a selective approach, but also sometimes abuses his evidence in order to support his theory. In the same chapter I have provided evidence pointing to the early origins of the prophetic

sunnah; Bravmann has also adduced evidence that attests that the prophetic *sunnah* " is a very early and genuine Islamic idea".

The various sources that are available to us now abound with information regarding the engagement of Companions and Successors in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. Such data is disregarded by Juynboll; instead he considers the scattered information regarding the *quṣṣāṣ* as indicating what foreshadowed the transmission of *ḥadīth*. In actual fact, as I have said above, if anything should be supposed to have foreshadowed the transmission of *ḥadīth*, it is, in my opinion, logically the work of those who are recorded as having engaged in *ḥadīth* activities rather than those of the *quṣṣāṣ*.

There is sufficient information to demonstrate to what a great extent *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys were already undertaken during the first century. This kind of activity, and other factors, contributed to the interchange of *ḥadīth* material between the centres. Not only does Juynboll depend on a few selective reports to attempt to establish the beginning of the second century as the earliest period for *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys, but it can be shown that these reports do not, in fact, support his case.

In chapter two, we have discussed the activities of the *quṣṣāṣ* and of the early *fuqahā* in early Islam. As for the former, Juynboll considers their material as the forerunner of the transmission of ḥadīth. As I have pointed out, in view of the great deal of information concerning the involvement of the Companions and the Successors in the transmission of ḥadīth, it is their activities, if anything, that should be taken as foreshadowing the transmission of ḥadīth. In fact, the *quṣṣāṣ* did not play 'such an important role' in early Islam. *Quṣṣāṣ* were rare among the Companions. Moreover, such activities of the *quṣṣāṣ* were condemned by some of them. In addition, not only did most of the Successors, in particular among the *ulamā* and *fuqahā*, also not engage in such activities, but a number of them, too, greatly disapproved of them.

In Juynboll's thesis, because of the concern of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz with the prophetic *sunnah*, towards the end of the first century, materials which were circulated on the authority of the Companions or later authorities were raised to the level of prophetic sayings by the Successors or their followers, or indeed anonymous persons. In fact, although there were some ḥadīth transmitters who, intentionally or

unintentionally, raised sayings of Companions or Successors in this way, there were other transmitters who were scrupulous concerning the text of the *ḥadīth* and its *isnād*. Beside this, it was a common practice of Companions, and later authorities, to cite a precedent as a *fatwā* without attribution while on other occasions they would relate it with attribution to its authority.

After the Prophet's death, people were questioned regarding their transmissions on his authority. In a report of Ibn Sirin it is stated that the use of the *isnād* became necessary after the *fitnah*. Juynboll interprets this term in this report as referring to the *fitnah* of Ibn al-Zubayr rather than that ensuing from the killing of ʿUthmān, on the grounds that the latter was still not known by the term *fitnah* in the time of Ibn Sirin. In the chapter on *isnād*, I have explained that Juynboll's inference comes from misuse of the sources and the texts, and that no external evidence is required to invalidate it.

By adducing examples, from *Jāmiʿ Ibn Wahb*, of reports that appear in it in a defective form, although in other later collections they appear with perfect *isnāds*, Juynboll attempts to buttress Schacht's theory that ' *isnāds* have a tendency to grow backwards'. In fact, it is not necessarily the case that

the appearance of a defective *isnād* in one source implies that a perfect *isnād* did not exist at the same time. Juynboll's own examples provide good evidence of this.

Apart from the dubious significance of the arguments and evidence that Juynboll adduces to support his thesis of the late coming into existence of the *ḥadīth*, there are other considerations which undermine Juynboll's approach to the subject. He treats the sources and references in an eclectic and selective manner. Almost every argument, that he adduces to support his hypothesis is based on selective information. Further, he sometimes abuses evidence for the sake of the argument.

There is inconsistency between the inferences Juynboll makes concerning certain characteristics of the *ḥadīth* and the evidence and examples with which he purports to support them. This is clear, for instance, in the case of the examples of Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, which Juynboll adduces as evidence that " many traditions, later appearing in collections with *isnāds* containing his name, can be traced also in other sources as utterances of himself that do not go back to persons older than himself", and in that of his theory that Egyptian and Khurāsānian *ḥadīth* hail from Iraq, on 'the Successors' level or

the one following that'. An examination of representative *isnāds* from both centres gives a different conclusion.

Juynboll uses some of the criticisms which are made by the *ḥadīth* critics themselves to the transmission of *ḥadīth*, such as *rafʿ*, *tadlīs*, *irsāl*, and the omission of one stage in *samāʿ* between Successors and Companions, to dispose of the whole of early *ḥadīth* transmission. However, in fact, there are contrary indications of the authenticity of *ḥadīth*, which do not appear in Juynboll's argument. It seems only natural that there should be such criticisms of certain *ḥadīths*; it would be highly suspicious if there were not. However, it cannot be regarded as a reason for dismissing all as spurious, or suspicious.

The comparison of Juynboll's views with those of some of his western predecessors show us how heavily Juynboll is influenced by them. Despite his claim that he has not exposed himself to their influences, in fact, in the main views he holds regarding the origins of *ḥadīth*, he does take theirs as a starting point in approaching the subject.

APPENDIX

A list of *ḥadīth* transmitters, together with the provinces with which they are associated, is given here, to facilitate tracing of *isnāds*

- أبان بن عثمان بن عفان . مدني ، مات سنة ١٠٥ .

تقريب التهذيب ٨٧ (١٤١)

- إبراهيم بن نشيط الوعلاني ويقال الخولاني مولاهم أبو بكر المصري . توفي ١٦٣

تهذيب التهذيب ١٧٥/١ (٣٢٠)

- إبراهيم بن يزيد التيمي الكوفي . قال أبو داود مات ولم يبلغ أربعين سنة ، وقال غيره

مات سنة (٩٢) ، وقال الواقدي مات سنة (٩٤).

تهذيب التهذيب ١٧٦/١

- إبراهيم بن يزيد بن قيس النخعي ، أبو عمران الكوفي . ذكره ابن سعد في الثانية من

الكوفيين . مات سنة ست وتسعين وهو ابن خمسين أو نحوها .

ابن سعد ٨٨/٦-١٩٩ ، تقريب التهذيب ٩٥ (٢٧٠)

- أسامة بن زيد الليثي مولاهم أبو زيد المدني .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٨٠/١-٢١٠ ، التقريب ٩٨ (٣١٧)

- إسحاق بن عثمان بن يعقوب الكلابي أبو يعقوب البصري .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٣/١-٢٤٤

- أسلم العدوي مولاهم . قال العجلي : مدني ثقة من كبار التابعين ، قال أبو عبيد توفي سنة

(٨٠) وقال غيره وهو ابن (١١٤) ، وقيل مات بين الستين والسبعين .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٦٦/١

- أسلم بي يزيد أبو عمران التجيبي المصري . قال ابن يونس : كان وجيها بمصر .

الجرح والتعديل ٣٠٧/٢ (١١٤٦) ، تهذيب التهذيب ١/ ٢٦٥ (٤٩٩)

- اسماعيل بن ابي خالد الاحمسي مولاهم . قال العجلي : كوفي تابعي ثقة وكان طحانا . مات

سنة ١١٤٥ او ١٤٦ .

تهذيب التهذيب ١/٩١-٢٩٢

- اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن عطية البصري .

تهذيب الكمال ١/١٠٤ ، تهذيب التهذيب ١/٣١٣

- اسماعيل بن عيَّاش بن سلَّيم العنسي أبو عتبة الحمصي . مات سنة ١٨١ أو ١٨٢ وله بضع

وسبعون سنة .

تقريب التهذيب ١٠٩ (٤٧٣)

- اسماعيل بن مسلم المكي أبو اسحاق البصري . سكن مكة ولكثرة مجاورته قيل له المكي

وكان فقيها مفتيا .

تهذيب التهذيب ١/٣١-٣٣٣

- أسيد بن أبي أسيد البراد المديني .

ابن سعد ٢٤٤ (٢٥٢) ، تهذيب التهذيب ١/٤٣-٢٤٤

- أوس بن عبد الله الربيعي . بصري . مات سنة ثلاث وثمانين .

تقريب التهذيب ١١٦ (٥٧٧)

ب

- بَجَالَة بن عبدة التميمي العنبري البصري . ذكره الجاحظ في نساك اهل البصرة ، وقال

مجاهد بن موسى مكي ثقة .

تهذيب التهذيب ١/٤١٧-٤١٨

- بحير بن سعيد السحولي أبو خالد الحمصي .

تهذيب التهذيب ١/٤٢١

- بشر بن قيس التغلبي . قال صاحب تاريخ حمص كان جليسا لأبي الدرداء بدمشق ، ومنزله
بقنسرين .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٥٦/١

- بكر بن سؤادة بن ثمامة الجذامي أبو ثمامة المصري . مات سنة بضع وعشرين ومائة.

تقريب التهذيب ١٢٦ (٧٤٢)

- بكر بن عمرو المعافري المصري .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٨٦-٨٥/١

- بكير بن عبد الله بن الأشج القرشي مولاهم ، أبو عبد الله ويقال أبو يوسف المدني ، نزيل
مصر . قال العجلي : مدني ثقة لم يسمع منه مالك شيئا خرج قديما الى مصر فنزل بها . قيل
في وفاته : ١١٧ ، ١٢٠ ، ١٢٢ ، ١٢٧ . ذكره خليفة في الطبقة الرابعة من المدنيين وأعاد ذكره في
الطبقة السادسة منهم .

ابن سعد ٣٠٨ ، خليفة ٢٦٣ ، ٢٦٨ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٤٩٣-٩١/١

- بهز بن حكيم بن معاوية بن حيدة أبو عبد الملك القشيري . مات قبل ١٦٠ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٩٩-٩٨/١ ، تقريب التهذيب ١٢٨ (٧٧٢)

ث

- ثابت بن أسلم البُناني أبو محمد البصري . مات سنة بضع وعشرين ومائة وله ست
وثمانون .

تقريب التهذيب ١٢٢ (٨١٠)

ج

- جامع بن شداد المحاربي أبو صخرة الكوفي . مات سنة ١٢٧ ويقال ١٢٨ .

تقريب التهذيب ١٢٧ (٨٨٨)

- جرير بن حازم بن زيد بن عبد الله الأزدي أبو النضر البصري . قال العجلي : بصري ثقة .
ذكره ابن سعد في الخامسة من أهل البصرة ، وذكر عن ابنه وهب أنه ولد سنة خمس وثمانين
في خلافة عبد الملك ، وتوفي سنة سبعين ومائة . وذكره خليفة في الثامنة من أهل البصرة .

ابن سعد ٧-٢/٣٦ ، خليفة ٢٢٣ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٢/٦٩-٧٢

- جُعْثَلُ بن هاعان بن عمرو أبو سعيد الرعيني ثم القتباني المصري . قال ابن يونس : كان
عمر بن عبد العزيز بعثه إلى المغرب ليقرئهم القرآن ، وكان أحد الفقهاء ، وكان قاضي الجند
بافريقية لهشام ، وتوفي في أول خلافته قريبا من سنة ١١٥ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/٧٩

- جعفر بن ربيعة بن شرحبيل بن حسنة الكندي أبو شرحبيل المصري . قال ابن يونس توفي

سنة ١٣٦

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/٩٠

- جندب بن عبد الله الوالبي الكوفي . قال العجلي : كوفي تابعي ثقة .

تعجيل المنفعة ٧٤ (١٤٨)

ح

- الحارث بن يزيد الحضرمي أبو عبد الكريم المصري . عقل مقتل عثمان . قال ابن يونس توفي
ببرقة سنة (١٣٠)

تهذيب الكمال ١/٢٢١-٢٢٢ تهذيب التهذيب ٢/١٦٣

- حبان بن واسع بن حبان بن منقذ بن عمرو الأنصاري المازني المدني .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/٧٠-١٧١

- حبيب بن أبي ثابت الكوفي . قال العجلي : كوفي تابعي ثقة . قال أبو بكر بن عياش وغيره
مات سنة (١١٩) وقيل غير ذلك .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/٧٨-١٧٩

- حجاج بن صفوان بن أبي يزيد المدني .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/٢٠٢

-حزام بن حكيم بن حزام بن خويلد . روى عن أبيه ، وعنه عطاء بن أبي رباح وزيد بن ربيع .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/ ٢٤٢

- الحسن بن ذكوان أبو سلمة البصري .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/ ٢٧٧-٢٧٦

- الحسن بن زيد بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب الهاشمي أبو محمد المدني .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/ ٢٧٩

- الحسن بن عطية بن سعد العوفي . قال ابن قانع مات سنة ١٨١ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/ ٢٩٤

- الحسن بن عمرو النقيمي التيمي الكوفي . قال ابن سعد توفي في أول خلافة أبي جعفر .

وقال خليفة بن خياط مات (١٤٢)

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/ ٣١٠

- حفص بن عاصم بن عمر بن الخطاب . ذكره مسلم في الطبقة الأولى من أهل المدينة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/ ٤٠٢-٤٠٣

- حفص بن ميسرة العقيلي أبو عمر الصنعاني . سكن عسقلان . قال أحمد والبخاري

والنسائي : انه من صنعاء الشام . وقال أبو حاتم : انه من صنعاء اليمن . قال أبو القاسم :

وهو أشبه .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/ ١٩-٤٢ ، تقريب التهذيب ١/ ١٨٩

- الحكم بن عتيبة أبو محمد الكندي الكوفي . مات سنة ١١٣ أو بعدها وله نيف وستون .

تقريب التهذيب ١٧٥ (١٤٥٣)

- حكيم بن حزام بن خويلد القرشي الأسدي أبو خالد المكي . اسلم يوم الفتح . توفي سنة ١٥٤

أو بعد ذلك .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/ ٤٧-٤٤٨ ، تقريب التهذيب ١٧٦ (١٤٧٠)

- حكيم بن معاوية بن حيدة القشيري .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢/ ٤٥١

- حماد بن سلمة بن دينار البصري أبو سلمة . مات سنة ١٦٧ .

تقريب التهذيب ١٧٨ (١٤٩٩)

- حمران بن أبان مولى عثمان . قال معاوية بن صالح عن يحيى بن معين : حمران من تابعي أهل المدينة ومحدثيهم . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الثانية من أهل المدينة من التابعين ، وقال : وتحول إلى البصرة فنزلها . قيل في وفاته ٧١ ، ٧٥ ، ٧٦ .

ابن سعد ٢٠٩/٥ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٢٤-٢٥

- حميد بن أبي حميد الطويل ، أبو عبيدة البصري . مات سنة ١٤٢ ويقال ١٤٣ وهو قائم يصلي ، وله خمس وسبعون .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٣٨-٤٠ ، تقريب التهذيب ١٨١ (١٥٤٤)

- حميد بن عبد الرحمن الحميري البصري .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٤٦

- حميد بن عبد الرحمن بن عوف الزهري المدني . قيل في وفاته ٩٥ وقيل ١٠٥ ورجح ابن حجر في التقريب القول الثاني .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٤٥-٤٦ ، تقريب التهذيب ١٨٢ (١٥٥٢)

- حميد بن هانىء أبو هانىء الخولاني المصري . قال ابن يونس توفي سنة (١٤٢) .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٥٠-٥١

- حَيَّ بن يُوْمِن بن حجيل بن جريج أبو عَشَّانة المصري . قال ابن يونس : توفي سنة (١١٨) .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٧١-٧٢

- حبي بن هانىء بن ناضر بن يمنع أبو قبيل المعافري المصري وقيل اسمه حي والاول اشهر . قال ابن يونس : مات بالبرلس سنة (١٢٨) .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٧٢-٧٣

خ

- خالد بن معدان الكلاعي أبو عبد الله الشامي الحمصي . ذكره ابن سعد في الثالثة من أهل الشام وقال كان ثقة . قال وأجمعوا على أن خالد بن معدان توفي سنة ثلاث ومائة في خلافة

يزيد بن عبد الملك . وذكره خليفة في الثانية من أهل الشامات وقال : مات سنة ثمان ومائة .

ابن سعد ٧-٢/١٦٢ ، خليفة ٣١ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣/١٨-١٢٠

- خبيب بن عبد الرحمن بن خبيب بن يساف الأنصاري الخزرجي ، أبو الحارث المديني . مات سنة ١٢٢ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/١٣٦

د

- داود بن الحصين الأموي مولاهم أبو سليمان المدني . مات سنة ١٣٥ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٨١-١٨٢

- داود بن عبد الرحمن العطار العبدي ، أبو سليمان المكي . ولد سنة ١٠٠ ومات سنة ١٧٤ أو

١٧٥ . ذكره ابن سعد وخليفة في الخامسة من أهل مكة .

ابن سعد ٥/٣٦٥ ، خليفة ٢٨٤ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣/١٩٢

ذ

- ذر بن عبد الله بن زرارة المرهبي الهمداني أبو عمر الكوفي .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٢١٨

ر

- رباح بن أبي معروف بن أبي سارة المكي .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٢٣٤-٢٣٥

- ربيعة بن الحارث بن عبد المطلب بن هاشم الهاشمي . ابن عم النبي صلى الله عليه وآله

وسلم . له صحبة . قال أبو القاسم الطبراني : توفي سنة ٢٣ . قال خليفة والعسكري وغيرهما

مات بالمدينة في أول خلافة عمر واركه ابن حبان مثل الطبراني .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٥٣-٢٥٤

- ربيعة الرأي ابن أبي عبد الرحمن أبو عثمان . ذكره ابن سعد في الرابعة من أهل المدينة .
وقال محمد بن عمر : توفي ربيعة بن أبي عبد الرحمن بالمدينة سنة ست وثلاثين ومائة .
ابن سعد ٢٠-٢٢٤ (٢٢٥)

- رشدين بن سعد بن مفلح المهري أبو الحجاج المصري . ولد سنة عشر ومائة ومات سنة ١٨٨ .
تهذيب التهذيب ٢٧٩-٧٧/٣

- روح بن القاسم التميمي العنبري أبو غياث البصري . قال ابن حبان : مات قبل الحجاج بن
أرطاة سنة احدى وأربعين ومائة وكان حافظا متقنا . قال ابن حجر : وقرأت بخط الذهبي ،
مات سنة نيف وخمسين .

تهذيب الكمال ١ / ٤٢٠ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٢٩٩-٩٨/٣

ز

- زاذان أبو عبد الله ويقال أبو عمر الكندي مولاهم الكوفي . قال خليفة : مات سنة (٨٢) .
وقال العجلي : كوفي تابعي ثقة .
تهذيب التهذيب ٣ / ٣٠٢-٣٠٣

- زائدة بن قدامة الثقفي أبو الصلت الكوفي . مات سنة ١٦٠ وقيل بعدها .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣ / ٢٠٦-٢٠٧ ، تقريب التهذيب ٢١٢ (١٩٨٢)

- زياد بن ربيعة بن نعيم بن ربيعة الحضرمي المصري . قال ابن يونس وينسب إلى جده . مات
سنة خمس وتسعين .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣ / ٦٥-٢٦٦ ، ٢٨٨ ، تقريب التهذيب ٢١٩ (٢٠٧٣)

- زياد بن نعيم الحضرمي = زياد بن ربيعة بن نعيم

- زيد بن أسلم العدوي المدني أبو أسامة ويقال أبو عبد الله المدني الفقيه مولى عمر . ذكره
خليفة في الطبقة الرابعة من المدنيين وقال توفي سنة ست وثلاثين ومائة أو نحوها . وقيل
في وفاته غير ذلك .

ابن سعد ٢١٤-٢١٦ (٢١٩) ، خليفة ٢٦٣ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣ / ٩٥-٣٩٧

- زيد بن أبي أنيسة أبو أسامة الرهاوي ، كوفي الأصل غنوي مولاهم . وقا ابن سعد : كان

يسكن الرها ومات بها وكان ثقة كثير الحديث فقيها راوية للعلم . ولد ٩١ ومات ١١٩ وقيل ١٢٤
وقيل ١٢٥ . ذكره ابن حبان في الثقات وقال مات سنة (١٢٥) وهو ابن (٣٦) سنة وكان فقيها
ورعا .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٩٧-٣٩٨

- زيد بن سلام بن أبي سلام الدمشقي .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٤١٥-٤١٦

- زيد بن واقد القرشي أبو عمر ويقال أبو عمرو الشامي الدمشقي . مات في سنة ١٢٨

تهذيب الكمال ٨/٤٥٧ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٢٦-٤٢٧

س

- سالم بن أبي أمية التيمي زبو النضر المدني . مات سنة تسع وعشرين ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٣١-٤٣٢

- سالم بن أبي الجعد الأشجعي مولاهم الكوفي . ذكره ابن سعد في الثانية من أهل الكوفة ،

وذكره خليفة في الثالثة وقال ، مات في خلافة عمر بن عبد العزيز . قيل في وفاته : ٩٧ ، ٩٨ ،

١٠٠ ، ١٠١ .

ابن سعد ٦/٢٠٢ ، خليفة ١٥٦ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٤٣٢-٤٣٣

- السائب بن حبيش الكلاعي الحمصي .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٤٤٦

- السائب بن يزيد بن سعيد الكندي . قال ابن حجر : مات سنة احدى وتسعين ، وقيل قبل

ذلك ، وهو آخر من مات بالمدينة من الصحابة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٥٠-٥١ تهذيب التهذيب ٢٨٨ (٢٢٠٢)

- سعد بن إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن عوف الزهري . كان قاضيا للمدينة . ذكره ابن سعد في

الرابعة من أهل المدينة . قيل في وفاته ، ١٢٥ ، ١٢٦ ، ١٢٧ ، ١٢٨ .

ابن سعد ٢٠٢-٢٠٥ (٧٧) تهذيب التهذيب ٣/٦٣-٤٦٥

- سعد بن سعيد بن قيس بن عمرو الأنصاري . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الخامسة من التابعين من أهل المدينة . توفي سنة ١٤١ .

ابن سعد ٢٣٨ (٢٤٦) تهذيب التهذيب ٧٠/٣-٤٧١

- سعيد بن إياس الجريري أبو مسعود البصري . توفي سنة ١٤٤ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٧٠/٤

- سعيد بن أبي أيوب الخزاعي مولاهم أبو يحيى المصري . قال ابن يونس : ولد سنة مائة وتوفي سنة (١٦١) ، وقيل سنة (٦٦) وسنة احدى اصح . ذكره ابن سعد في الرابعة من أهل مصر ، وأورده خليفة في الثالثة من أهل المغرب .

ابن سعد ٧-٢/٢٠٣ ، خليفة ٢٩٦ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٨-٧/٤

- سعيد بن بشير الأزدي ويقال البصري مولاهم الشامي . أصله من البصرة ويقال من واسط . ذكره ابن سعد في الخامسة من أهل الشام وقال : كان من أهل البصرة فتحول إلى الشام فنزل دمشق وكان قدريا ومات بدمشق سنة سبعين ومائة . وذكره خليفة في الرابعة .

ابن سعد ٧-٢/١٧١ ، خليفة ٣١٦ ، تهذيب التهذيب ١٠٠/٤

- سعيد بن أبي سعيد واسمه كيسان المقبري أبو سعد المدني . مات في حدود ١٢٠ وقيل قبلها وقيل بعدها .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤-٣٨/٤٠ ، تقريب التهذيب ٢٣٦ (٢٣٢١)

- سعيد بن عبيد الطائي أبو الهذيل الكوفي .

تهذيب التهذيب ٦٢/٤

- سعيد بن أبي عروبة البصري . ذكره ابن سعد في الخامسة من أهل البصرة وقال : وكان ثقة كثير الحديث ثم اختلط بعد في آخر عمره . وأورده خليفة في السادسة من أهل البصرة . توفي سنة ١٥٦ وقيل ١٥٧ وقيل غير ذلك .

ابن سعد ٧-٢/٣٣ ، خليفة ٢٢٠ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٦٤-٦٣/٤

- سعيد بن فيروز وهو ابن أبي عمران أبو البختري الطائي مولاهم الكوفي . وقال هلال بن خباب كان من أفاضل أهل الكوفة . قال أبو نعيم مات في الجماجم سنة (٨٣)

تهذيب التهذيب ٧٢-٧٣/٤ ، تقريب التهذيب ٢٤٠ (٢٣٨٠)

- سعيد بن يسار أبو الحُبَاب المدني . قال الواقدي مات سنة (١٦) وقيل سبع عشرة ومائة وهو ابن ثمانين سنة . وقال العجلي : مدني ثقة .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٠٢/٤-١٠٣

- سفيان بن عوف القاري بالتشديد حليف بني زهرة . قال ابن يونس في المصريين : يروي عن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص .

تعجيل المنفعة ١٥٥ (٣٨٢)

سفيان بن هاني المصري أبو سالم الجيشاني ، حليف لهم من المعافر . شهد فتح مصر ووفد على علي وروى عنه

تهذيب التهذيب ١٢٣/٤ (٢٠٩)

- سلمان الأغر أبو عبد الله المدني مولى جهينة . أصله من أصبهان . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الثانية من أهل المدينة من التابعين .

ابن سعد ٢١٠/٥ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣٩/٤-١٤٠

- سلمة بن صهيب الهمداني الأرحبي أبو حذيفة الكوفي .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٤٨/٤

- سليم بن جبير ويقال ابن جبيرة الدوسي أبو يونس المصري . مولى أبي هريرة . توفي ١٢٣ .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٦٦/٤

- سليمان بن بلال التيمي القرشي مولاهم المدني ، أبو محمد ويقال أبو أيوب . ذكره ابن سعد في السادسة من أهل المدينة وقال : وكان يفتي بالبلد ، وولي خراج المدينة ، وتوفي بالمدينة سنة اثنتين وسبعين ومائة في خلافة هارون وكان ثقة كثير الحديث . وذكره خليفة في الثامنة وقال ، مولى القاسم بن محمد ، يكنى أبا محمد . وقال البخاري عن هارون بن محمد المزني مات سنة سبع وسبعين ومائة .

ابن سعد ٢١١/٥ ، خليفة ٢٧٥ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٧٥/٤-١٧٦

- سليمان بن حبيب المحاربي أبو أيوب الداراني . القاضي بدمشق . ذكره ابن سعد في الثالثة من أهل الشام وقال : وكان قليل الحديث ، توفي سنة ست وعشرين ومائة .

ابن سعد ٧-٢/١٦٣ ، خليفة ٣١٢ ، تقريب التهذيب ٢٥٠ (٢٥٤٤)

- سليمان بن سليم الكناني مولاهم أبو سلمة الشامي القاضي الحمصي . قال صاحب تاريخ

حمص : مات سنة سبع واربعين ومائة .

تهذيب الكمال ١/٥٢٩ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٤/٩٥-١٩٦

- سليمان بن طرخان التيمي أبو المعتمر البصري . نزل في التيم فنسب إليهم . مات سنة

١٤٣ وهو ابن سبع وتسعين .

تقريب التهذيب ٢٥٢ (٢٥٧٥)

- سليمان بن قيس اليشكري البصري . قال أبو حاتم : جالس جابرا وكتب عنه صحيفة

قال البخاري : يقال انه مات في حياة جابر بن عبد الله وقال أبو داود : مات قبل جابر

في فتنة ابن الزبير . قال العجلي : بصري تابعي ثقة . وذكره البخاري في فصل من مات

ما بين السبعين إلى الثمانين .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤/١٤-٢١٥

- سليمان بن أبي مسلم المكي الأحول .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤/٢١٨

- سليمان بن المغيرة القيسي مولاهم أبو سعيد البصري . مات سنة ١٦٥ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤/٢٢٠-٢٢١

- سليمان بن مهران الأسدي الكاهلي ، أبو محمد الكوفي ، الأعمش . ولد سنة ٦١ ومات سنة

١٤٧ أو ١٤٨ .

تقريب التهذيب ٢٥٤ (٢٦١٥)

- سليمان بن موسى الأموي مولاهم أبو أيوب ويقال أبو الربيع ويقال أبو هشام الدمشقي

الاشدق . قال سعيد بن عبد العزيز : سليمان بن موسى كان أعلم أهل الشام بعد مكحول .

ذكره ابن سعد وخليفة في الثالثة من أهل الشام .

ابن سعد ٧-٢/١٦٣ ، خليفة ٣١٢ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٤/٢٦-٢٢٧

- سليمان الأحول = سليمان بن أبي مسام المكي .

- سليمان الهاشمي . مولى الحسن بن علي رضي الله عنهما .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٣٢/٤

- سهل بن عقيل الأنصاري . يروي عن عبد الله بن هبيرة ، روى عنه الليث بن سعد .

الثقات ٤٠٦/٨

ش

- شبيب بن سعيد التميمي الحبطي أبو سعيد البصري . قال ابن المديني : ثقة كان يختلف في تجارة إلى مصر وكتابه كتاب صحيح . وقال ابن يونس في تاريخ الغرباء : مات بالبصرة سنة ست وثمانين ومائة فيما ذكره البخاري .

تهذيب الكمال ٥٧١/٢ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣٠٦/٤-٣٠٧

- شداد بن عبد الرحمن القشيري أبو روبة البصري .

ثقات ابن حبان ٣٥٧/٤ وانظر ٣٥٨/٤ ، تعجيل المنفعة ١٧٤-١٧٥

- شرحبيل بن السمط بن الاسود الكندي أبو يزيد ويقال أبو السمط الشامي . مختلف في صحبته . وذكر خليفة أنه كان عاملاً لمعاوية على حمص نحو من عشرين سنة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣٢٢-٣٢٣/٤

- شريح بن هاني بن يزيد العارثي المذحجي أبو المقدم الكوفي . ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ، ولم يره . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الأولى من تابعي أهل الكوفة قال خليفة : قتل مع ابن أبي بكر بسجستان سنة ثمان وسبعين .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣٠/٤-٣٣١

- شعيب بن محمد بن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص الحجازي السهمي . وقد ينسب إلى جده . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الثانية من تابعي أهل المدينة . ذكره خليفة في الطبقة الأولى من أهل الطائف .

ابن سعد ١٨٠/٥ ، خليفة ٢٨٦ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣٥٦/٤-٣٥٧

- شهاب بن عباد العبدي العصري البصري .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣٦٨/٤

- شهر بن حوشب الاشعري الشامي . اختلف في وفاته على أقوال : ٩٨ ، ١٠٠ ، ١٠١ ، ١١١ ، ١١٢

. ذكره ابن سعد وخليفة في الطبقة الثانية من أهل الشام .

ابن سعد ٧-١٥٨/٢ ، خليفة ٣١٠ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٦٩/٤-٣٧٢

ص

- صالح بن كيسان المدني أبو محمد أو أبو الحارث . مات بعد سنة ١٣٠ أو بعد ١٤٠ .

تقريب التهذيب ٢٧٣ (٢٨٨٤)

- صالح بن نبهان المدني ويكنى أبا عبد الله مولى التوأمة . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الثالثة

من التابعين من أهل المدينة . مات سنة خمس - أوست - وعشرين ومائة .

ابن سعد ١٤٩ (٥٧) ، تقريب التهذيب ٢٧٤ (٢٨٩٢)

- صفوان بن سليم المدني القرشي الزهري مولاهم . ذكره ابن سعد وخليفة في الطبقة الرابعة

من المدنيين . مات سنة ١٣٢ وله ٧٢ سنة . وقال أبو عيسى الترمذي مات سنة (٢٤) .

ابن سعد ٣٢٤ (٢٢٦) ، خليفة ٢٦١ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٤/٢٥-٤٢٦

- صفوان بن عيسى الزهري أبو محمد البصري . مات سنة مائتين وقيل قبلها بقليل أو

بعدها .

تقريب التهذيب ٧٧٢ (٢٩٤٠)

- ضمضم بن جوس ويقال ضمضم بن الحارث بن جوس الهفاني اليمامي . وذكره ابن سعد في

فقهاء أهل اليمامة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤/٤٦٢

- طلحة بن عبد الله بن عثمان التيمي المدني .

تهذيب التهذيب ٥/١٨

ع

- عاصم بن بهدلة وهو ابن أبي النجود الأسدي مولاهم الكوفي أبو بكر المقرئ . مات سنة
١٢٨ .

تقريب التهذيب ٢٨٥ (٣٠٥٤)

- عاصم بن رجاء بن حيوة الكندي الفلسطيني .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤١/٥

- عاصم بن عبيد الله بن عاصم بن عمر بن الخطاب العدوي المدني . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة
الرابعة من التابعين من أهل المدينة .

ابن سعد ٢٢٥ (١٠٢) ، تهذيب التهذيب ٤٦/٥-٤٩

- عاصم بن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الأوسي الأنصاري أبو عمر المدني . ذكره ابن سعد
وخليفة في الثالثة من المدنيين . مات بعد العشرين ومائة .

ابن سعد ١٢٧-١٢٨ (٣٢) ، خليفة ٢٥٨ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٥٣/٥-٥٤

- عامر بن جشيب أبو خالد الحمصي . ذكره ابن سعد في الرابعة من أهل الشام .

ابن سعد ٧-١٦٧/٢ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٦٢/٥

- عامر بن سعد بن أبي وقاص الزهري المدني . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الأولى من أهل
المدينة وأورده خليفة في الثانية من المدنيين . توفي سنة ١٠٤ وقيل غير ذلك .

ابن سعد ٢٤/٥-١٢٥ ، خليفة ٢٤٣ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٦٣/٥-٦٤

- عامر بن عبد الله بن الزبير بن العوام الأسدي أبو الحارث المدني . مات سنة ١٢١ .

تقريب التهذيب ٢٨٨ (٣٠٩٩)

- عباد بن عبد الله بن الزبير الأسدي المدني . قال الزبير بن بكار : كان عظيم القدر عند أبيه
وكان على قضائه بمكة ، وكان يستخلفه إذا حج ، وكان أصدق الناس لهجة . ذكره ابن سعد
وخليفة في الثالثة من أهل المدينة .

ابن سعد ١٠٦ (١٠) ، خليفة ٢٥٦ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٩٨/٥

- عباد بن منصور الباجي أبوسلما البصري القاضي .

تهذيب التهذيب ١.٥-١.٢/٥

- عبادة بن الوليد بن عبادة بن الصامت الأنصاري المدني .

تهذيب التهذيب ١١٤/٥

- عبد الله بن رافع المخزومي أبو رافع المدني . مولى أم سلمة زوج النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

. أورده ابن سعد وخليفة في الثانية من المدنيين .

ابن سعد ٢١٩/٥ ، خليفة ٢٤٦ ، تهذيب الكمال ٦٨.٢/٢ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٢.٦/٥

- عبد الله بن زياد بن سليمان بن سمعان المخزومي أبو عبد الرحمن المدني .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢١٩/٥ - ٢٢١

- عبد الله بن السائب الكندي ويقال الشيباني الكوفي .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٣.٥/٥

- عبد الله بن سعيد بن أبي هند الفزاري مولاهم أبو بكر المدني . مات سنة بضع وأربعين

ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٣٩/٥ ، تقريب التهذيب ٣.٦ (٤١٤)

- عبد الله بن الصامت الفخاري البصري . وقال العجلي : بصري تابعي ثقة . وذكره البخاري

في الأوسط في فصل من مات ما بين السبعين إلى الثمانين .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٦٤/٥

- عبد الله بن طاوس بن كيسان اليماني أبو محمد . مات سنة ١٣٢ .

تقريب التهذيب ٢.٨ (٢٣٩٧)

- عبد الله بن أبي طلحة واسمه زيد بن سهل الأنصاري النجاري المدني . حنكة النبي صلى

الله عليه وآله وسلم لما ولد . توفي بالمدينة سنة أربع وثمانين .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٦٩/٥

- عبد الله بن عامر بن ربيعة العنزي أبو محمد المدني . حليف بني عدي ولد في عهد النبي

صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم . مات سنة بضع وثمانين .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٧٠-٢٧١/٥ ، تقريب التهذيب ٣.٩ (٢٤.٢)

- عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن أبي حسين النوفلي المكي . ذكره ابن سعد وخليفة في الثالثة من أهل مكة .

ابن سعد ٢٥٧/٥ ، خليفة ٢٨٣ ، تهذيب الكمال ٧٠٣ /٢

- عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن معمر الأنصاري النجاري أبو طُوالة المدني . كان قاضي المدينة في زمن عمر بن عبد العزيز . توفي ١٣٤ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٩٧/٥

- عبد الله بن عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن أبي مليكة التيمي المدني . مات سنة ١١٧ .

تقريب التهذيب ٣١٢ (٣٤٥٤)

- عبد الله بن عبّيدة بن نَشيط الرُبَذي . قال الواقدي : مات سنة ثلاثين ومائة ، قتلته الحرورية بقُديد . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الرابعة من التابعين من أهل المدينة .

ابن سعد ٢٢٦ (٢٣١) ، تهذيب التهذيب ٢٠٩/٥-٣١٠ ، تقريب التهذيب ٣١٣ (٣٤٥٨)

- عبد الله بن عثمان بن خُثَيم القاريّ المكي أبو عثمان . ذكره ابن سعد في الثالثة من أهل مكة . مات سنة ١٢٢ .

ابن سعد ٢٥٨/٥ ، تقريب التهذيب ٣١٣ (٣٤٦٦)

- عبد الله بن عمر بن حفص المدني أبو عبد الرحمن العمري . ذكره ابن سعد في الخامسة من التابعين من أهل المدينة . وذكره خليفة في السادسة والسابعة من أهل المدينة . مات سنة ١٧١ وقيل بعدها .

ابن سعد ٢٦٧-٢٦٨ ، خليفة ٢٦٩ ، ٢٧١ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٢٦/٥-٢٢٨ ، تقريب التهذيب ٣١٤ (٣٤٨٩)

- عبد الله بن مالك بن أبي الأسحم أبو تميم الجيشاني الرعيّني المصري . أصله من اليمن . ولد هو وأخوه سيف في حياة النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم وهاجر زمن عمر . وقال ابن يونس : قرأ القرآن على معاذ باليمن وشهد فتح مصر .

الثقات ٤٩ /٥ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣٧٩/٥-٢٨٠

- عبد الله بن نافع الصائغ أبو محمد المدني . مولى لبني مخزوم . ذكره ابن سعد في السابعة

من أهل المدينة . توفي ٢٠٦ وقيل ٢٠٧ .

ابن سعد ٢٢٤/٥ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٥١/٦-٥٢

- عبد الله بن نافع العدوي مولاهم المدني . ذكره ابن سعد في الخامسة وذكره خليفة في السابعة من المدنيين .

ابن سعد ٤٠٩ (٢٤٣) ، خليفة ٢٧٤ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٥٣/٦

- عبد الله بن نافع بن العمياء . قال ابن المديني : مجهول .

تهذيب التهذيب ٥٠/٦

- عبد الله بن هبيرة بن أسعد السبائي الحضرمي أبو هبيرة المصري . ذكره ابن سعد في الثانية من أهل مصر وقال : له أحاديث وتوفي في خلافة يزيد بن عبد الملك . وذكره خليفة في الأولى من أهل المغرب . قال ابن يونس : ولد سنة الجماعة ومات سنة ست وعشرين ومائة .

ابن سعد ٧-٢٠١/٢ ، خليفة ٢٩٣ ، تهذيب الكمال ٧٥٠/٢ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٦١/٦-٦٢

- عبد الله بن وهب بن مسلم القرشي مولاهم أبو محمد المصري . ولد ١٢٥ ، وتوفي بمصر ١٩٧ . ذكره ابن سعد في الخامسة من المصريين ، وذكره خليفة في الخامسة من أهل المغرب .

ابن سعد ٧-٢٠٥/٢ ، خليفة ٢٩٧ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٧١/٦-٧٤

- عبد الله بن يزيد المعافري أبو عبد الرحمن الحبلي المصري . توفي بإفريقية سنة مائة . وقال أبو بكر المالكي في تاريخ القيروان : بعثه عمر بن عبد العزيز إلى إفريقية ليفقههم فبث فيها علماً كثيراً ومات بها ودفن بباب تونس .

تهذيب الكمال ٧٥٧/٢ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٨١/٦-٨٢

- عبد الحميد بن بهرام الغزاري المدائني . وقال حرب عن أحمد : ثقة كان يكون بالمدائن .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٠٩/٦-١١٠ ، تقريب التهذيب ٣٢٣ (٣٧٥٣)

- عبد ربه بن سعيد بن قيس بن عمرو الأنصاري النجاري المدني . مات سنة ١٣٩ أو ١٤٠ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٦/٦-١٢٧

- عبد الرحمن بن جبير المصري . وقال ابن يونس : كان فقيهاً عالماً بالقراءة ، شهد فتح مصر . توفي ٩٧ وقيل ٩٨ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٥٤/٦-١٥٥

- عبد الرحمن بن جوشن الغطفاني البصري .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٥٥/٦

- عبد الرحمن بن سليمان بن عبد الله بن حنظلة الأنصاري الأوسي أبو سليمان المدني المعروف بابن الفسيل . ذكره ابن سعد في الساسة من المدنيين وقال : وكان عبد الرحمن قد أتى الكوفة وأقام بها وروى عنه الكوفيون . مات سنة ١٧٢ .

ابن سعد ٤٦٩ (٤٠٦) ، تهذيب التهذيب ٨٩/٦ - ١٩٠ ، التقريب ٣٤٢ (٣٨٨٧)

- عبد الرحمن بن أبي عمرة الأنصاري النجاري . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الأولى من أهل المدينة من التابعين .

ابن سعد ٦٠/٥ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٦/٢٤٢ - ٢٤٣

- عبد الرحمن بن غنم الأشعري . مختلف في صحبته . وقال العجلي : شامي تابعي ثقة من كبار التابعين . توفي ٧٨ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٦/٢٥١ - ٢٥٠

- عبد الرحمن بن معاوية بن حديج الكندي التجيبي ، أبو معاوية المصري القاضي . توفي سنة ٩٥ .

الثقات ١٠٤/٥ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٦/٧١ - ٧٢

- عبد الرحمن بن معاوية بن الحويرث الأنصاري الزرقي . أبو الحويرث المدني . مات سنة ١٣٠ وقيل ١٢٨ وقيل ١٣٢ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٦/٧٢ - ٧٣

- عبد الرحمن بن مل بن عمرو أبو عثمان النهدي . سكن الكوفة ثم البصرة أدرك الجاهلية واسلم على عهد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم وصدق اليه ولم يلقه . قال ابن المديني : هاجر إلى المدينة بعد موت أبي بكر ووافق استخلاف عمر فسمع منه ولم يسمع من أبي ذر مات سنة خمس وتسعين ، وقيل بعدها ، وعاش مائة وثلاثين سنة وقيل أكثر .

تهذيب التهذيب ٦/٧٧ - ٧٨

- عبد العزيز بن محمد بن عبيد الدراوردي أبو محمد الجهني مولاهم المدني . مات سنة ست وأربع وثمانين ومائة .

تقريب التهذيب ٣٥٨ (٤١١٩)

- عبد الملك بن حبيب الأزدي ، ويقال الكندي أبو عمران الجوني البصري . مات سنة ثمان وعشرين ومائة وقيل بعدها .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٨٩/٦ ، تقريب التهذيب ٣٦٢ (٤١٧٢)

- عبد الملك بن أبي سليمان العزمي . وذكره ابن حبان في الثقات وقال ربما أخطأ ، وكان من خيار أهل الكوفة وحفظانهم ... مات في ذي الحجة سنة خمس وأربعين ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٩٨-٩٦/٦

- عبد الوهاب بن بخت الأموي مولى آل مروان أبو عبيدة ويقال أبو بكر المكي . سكن الشام ثم المدينة .

تهذيب الكمال ٨٦٩-٦٨/٢ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٤٤٦-٤٤/٦

- عبدة بن أبي لبابة . توفي ١٢٧ .

سير أعلام النبلاء ٢٢٩/٥

- عبيد الله بن زُحْر الضمري مولاهم الافريقي . ولد بافريقية ، ودخل العراق في طلب العلم .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٣-١٢/٧

- عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن عتبة بن مسعود الهذلي ، أبو عبد الله المدني . مات سنة أربع وتسعين وقيل سنة ثمان وقيل غير ذلك .

تقريب التهذيب ٢٧٢ (٤٣٠٩)

- عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن موهب أبو يحيى التيمي المدني .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٦-٢٥/٧

- عبيد الله بن عمر بن حفص العمري المدني أبو عثمان . توفي سنة ١٤٧ وقيل غير ذلك .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٠-٢٨/٧

- عثمان بن أبي سودة المقدسي . قال ابن سميع في الطبقة الرابعة عثمان بن أبي سودة مولى عمرو بن العاص فلسطيني .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٢١-٢٠/٧

- عثمان بن مقسم البري أبو سلمة الكندي البصري . أورد ابن حجر قول ابن حبان : عثمان

البري من موالى كندة من أهل الكوفة روى عنه البصريون وغيرهم . مات بعد الثوري .

لسان الميزان ٤ / ١٥٨-٥٥ (٣٦٤)

عروة بن الزبير بن العوام بن خويلد الأسدي أبو عبد الله المدني . مات سنة أربع وتسعين على الصحيح ، ومولده في أوائل خلافة عثمان .

تقريب التهذيب ٢٨٩ (٤٥٦١)

- عطاء بن أبي رباح القرشي مولاهم أبو محمد المكي . ذكره ابن سعد وخليفة في الثانية من أهل مكة . قيل مات سنة ١١٤ وقيل بعد ذلك .

ابن سعد ٤٤/٥-٢٤٦ ، خليفة ٢٨٠ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٧/١٩٩-٢٠٣

- عطاء بن أبي مسلم الخراساني . نزيل الشام . ذكره ابن سعد فيمن كان بخراسان بع الصحابة من الفقهاء والمحدثين وقال : وكان ثقة وءتى الشام فروى عنه الشاميون . وذكره خليفة في الثالثة من أهل الشام . ولد سنة ٥٠ ومات سنة ١٣٥ وذكر خليفة أنه مات ١٣٣ .

ابن سعد ٧-٢/١٠٢ ، خليفة ٣١٣ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٧/١٢-٢١٥

- عطاء بن يسار الهلالي أبو محمد المدني ، القاص مولى ميمونة زوج النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم . مات سنة ٩٤ وقيل ١٠٣ أو ١٠٤ . قيل توفي بالاسكندرية .

تهذيب التهذيب ٧/١٧-٢١٨

- عطية بن سعد بن جنادة العوفي الكوفي . ذكره ابن سعد في الثانية وخليفة في الرابعة من أهل الكوفة . مات سنة ١١١ .

ابن سعد ٦/٢١٢-٢١٣ ، خليفة ١٦٠ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٧/٢٤-٢٢٦

- عقبه بن مسلم التجيبي أبو محمد المصري القاص امام المسجد العتيق بمصر . قال العجلي : مصري تابعي ثقة . توفي قريبا من سنة عشرين ومائة .

الثقات ٥/٢٢٨ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٧/٤٩ - ٢٥٠

- عَقِيل بن خالد بن عقيل الأيلي أبو خالد الأموي مولى عثمان . ذكره ابن سعد فيمن كان بأيلة ، وذكره خليفة في الثانية من أهل المغرب . سكن المدينة ثم الشام ثم مصر . مات ١٤٤ وقيل ١٤١ .

ابن سعد ٧-٢/٢٠٦ ، خليفة ٢٩٥ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٧/٥٥-٢٥٦

- عكرمة بن عمار العجلي أبو عمار اليمامي . بصري الأصل . مات سنة ١٥٩ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٦١/٧-٢٦٣

- علقمة بن مرثد الحضرمي أبو الحارث الكوفي . وقال خليفة بن خياط : توفي في آخر ولاية

خالد القسري على العراق .

تهذيب التهذيب ٧٨/٧-٢٧٩

- علي بن الأقرع بن عمرو بن الحارث الهمداني الوادعي أبو الوازع الكوفي .

تهذيب التهذيب ٨٣/٧-٢٨٤

- عُلَيَّ بن رباح اللخمي المصري . أغزاه عبد العزيز بن مروان افريقية ورابط بها إلى أن مات .

مات سنة ١١٤ وقيل ١١٧ .

سير أعلام النبلاء ١٠١/٥-١٠٢

- علي بن زيد بن عبد الله بن زهير بن عبد الله بن جدعان التيمي البصري أصله حجازي .

وهو المعروف بعلي بن زيد بن جدعان . مات سنة ١٢١ وقيل قبلها .

تقريب التهذيب ٤٠١ (٤٧٣٤)

- علي بن أبي طلحة الهاشمي أبو الحسن . أصله من الجزيرة وانتقل إلى حمص . ذكره ابن سعد

في الطبقة الثالثة من تابعي أهل الشام ، وذكره خليفة أيضا في الثالثة وقال حمصي ، وذكر

أن وفاته سنة ١٢٠ ورجع ابن حجر أنها سنة ١٤٣ .

ابن سعد ٧-١٦٤/٢ ، خليفة ٣١٢ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٧/٣٢٩-٣٤١

- علي بن يزيد بن أبي هلال الرلهاني ويقال الهلالي أبو عبد الملك ويقال أبو الحسن الدمشقي

. ذكره البخاري في الأوسط فيمن مات في العشر الثاني بعد المائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٩٦/٧-٣٩٧

- عمر بن أبي بكر بن عبد الرحمن بن الحارث بن هشام المخزومي المدني .

تهذيب التهذيب ٧/٤٢٩

- عمر بن فرّوخ العبدي أبو حفص البصري القتاب .

تهذيب الكمال ٢/١٠٢١ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٧/٤٨٨

- عمرو بن أوس بن أبي أوس الثقفي الطائفي . مات بعد التسعين من الهجرة .

تقريب التهذيب ٤١٨ (٤٩٩١)

- عمران بن أبي أنس القرشي العامري المصري ، ويقال مولى أبي خراش السلمي . مدني نزل الإسكندرية . وقال ابن يونس : قدم الاسكندرية سنة مائة ، وكان سماع الليث منه بالمدينة ، توفي بالمدينة سنة سبع عشرة ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٢٣/٨

- عمرو بن الحارث بن يعقوب الأنصاري مولاهم المصري . أصله مدني . مات قديما قبل الخمسين ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٤/٨-٦١ ، تقريب التهذيب ٤١٩ (٥٠٠٤)

- عمرو بن أبي سلمة التنيسي أبو حفص الدمشقي . مولى بني هاشم . قال ابن يونس : كان من أهل دمشق ، قدم مصر وسكن تنيس حدث عن الاوزاعي وعن مالك بالموطن ، كان ثقة ، توفي بتنيس سنة ثلاث عشرة وماتين ، وقال مرة سنة (١٤) .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٣/٨-٤٤

- عمرو بن سليم بن خلدة الانصاري الزرقي . قال العجلي : مدني تابعي ثقة . مات سنة أربع ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٤/٨-٤٥

- عمرو بن شعيب بن محمد بن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص القرشي السهمي أبو ابراهيم ويقال أبو عبد الله المدني ويقال الطائفي . وقال أبو حاتم سكن مكة وكان يخرج الى الطائف . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الثالثة من التابعين من أهل المدينة ، وذكره خليفة في الثانية من أهل الطائف وقال مات سنة ثمان عشرة ومائة .

ابن سعد ١٢٠-١٢٢ (٢٧) ، خليفة ٢٨٦ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٤٨/٨-٥٥

- عمرو بن عبد الله أبو إسحاق السبعي الكوفي . مات سنة تسع وعشرين ومائة وقيل قبل ذلك .

تقريب التهذيب ٤٢٣ (٥٠٦٥)

- عمرو بن عبسة بن عامر السلمي ، أسلم قديما بمكة وكان أخا أبي ذر لأمه . وقال الحاكم أبو

أحمد : نزل الشام وقال غيره مات بحمص .

تهذيب التهذيب ٦٩/٨

- عمرو بن أبي عمرو ، مولى المطلب المدني أبو عثمان . مات بعد الخمسين ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٨٤-٨٢/٨

- عمرو بن قيس بن ثور بن مازن الكندي ، أبو ثور الحمصي . مات سنة أربعين ومائة وله مائة سنة .

تقريب التهذيب ٤٢٦ (٥٠٩٩)

- عمرو بن مالك الهمداني المرادي أبو علي الجنبي المصري . مات سنة ١٠٣ وقيل ١٠٢ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٩٦-٩٥/٨

- عمرو بن مرة بن عبد الله الجملي المرادي أبو عبد الله الكوفي الأعمى . مات ١١٦ وقيل ١١٨ .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٠٣-١٠٢/٨

- عمرو بن ميمون الأودي أبو عبد الله ويقال أبو يحيى الكوفي . أدرك الجاهلية ولم يلق النبي

- صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم - . قال العجلي : كوفي تابعي ثقة . مات سنة ٧٤ وقيل ٧٥ .

تهذيب التهذيب ١١٠-١٠٩/٨

- عمرو بن أبي نعيمة المعافري المصري .

تهذيب التهذيب ١١١-١١٠/٨

- عمير بن إسحاق القرشي أبو محمد ، مولى بني هاشم . ذكر ابن سعد في الطبقة الثانية

من أهل البصرة عمير بن إسحاق ، وقال : كان من أهل المدينة فتحول إلى البصرة فنزلها ...

ابن سعد ٧-١٦٠/٨ ، تهذيب التهذيب ١٤٣/٨

- عوف بن أبي جميلة العبدي الهجري أبو سهل البصري ، المعروف بالأعرابي . مات سنة ١٤٦

أو ١٤٧ .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٦٧-٦٦/٨ ، تقريب التهذيب ٤٣٣ (٥٢١٥)

- عوف بن مالك بن نضلة الجشمي أبو الأحوص الكوفي . قال النسائي في الكنى : كوفي ثقة .

قيل قتلته الخوارج أيام الحجاج بن يوسف .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٦٩/٨

- عوف بن مالك الأشجعي . صحابي مشهور ، من مسلمة الفتح ، وسكن دمشق ومات سنة ثلاث وسبعين .

تقريب التهذيب ٤٣٢ (٥٢١٧)

- عون بن عبد الله بن عتبة بن مسعود الهذلي أبو عبد الله الكوفي . ذكره البخاري فيمن مات بين عشر ومائة إلى عشرين ومائة .

تهذيب الكمال ١٠٦٦/٢-١٠٦٧ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٧١/٨-١٧٣

- عيسى بن سنان الحنفي أبو سنان القسلي الفلسطيني . سكن البصرة في القسامل فنسب إليهم . قال أبو زرعة : مخلط ضعيف الحديث وهو شامي قدم البصرة .

تهذيب التهذيب ١١/٨-٢١٢

- عيينة بن عبد الرحمن بن جَوْشَن الغطفاني الجوشني أبو مالك البصري . مات في حدود الخمسين ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٤٠/٨-٢٤١ ، تقريب التهذيب ٤٤١ (٥٣٤٣)

ف

- الفضل بن دكين ، أبو نعيم الملائي الكوفي الأحول . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة السابعة من الكوفيين ، وذكره خليفة في التاسعة . مات بالكوفة سنة تسع عشرة ومائتين .

ابن سعد ٧٩/٦-٢٨٠ ، خليفة ١٧٢ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٧٠/٨-٢٧٦

ق

- القاسم بن عبد الرحمن الشامي ، أبو عبد الرحمن الدمشقي . مات سنة ١١٢ ويقال ١١٨ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٢/٨-٢٢٤ ، تقريب التهذيب ٤٥٠ (٥٤٧٠)

- القاسم بن عبد الله بن عمر بن حفص العمري المدني . ذكره البخاري في الأوسط فيمن مات بين الخمسين إلى الستين ومائة . ذكره ابن سعد في السادسة من أهل المدينة وذكره خليفة في

ابن سعد ٣١٣/٥ ، خليفة ٢٧٢ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٢٢٠/٨-٢٢١

- قتادة بن دعامة بن قتادة السدوسي البصري أبو الخطاب . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الثالثة من تابعي البصرة وذكره خليفة في الرابعة . مات سنة يضع عشرة ومائة .

ابن سعد ٣-١/٢ ، خليفة ٢١٣ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٥١/٨-٣٥٦ ، تقريب التهذيب ٤٥٣ (٥٥١٨)

- قيس بن بشر بن قيس التغلبي الشامي . من أهل قنسرين .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٨٥/٨

- قيس بن أبي حازم البجلي أبو عبد الله الكوفي . مات بعد التسعين أو قبلها ، وقد جاز المائة وتغير .

تقريب التهذيب ٤٥٦ (٥٥٦٦)

- قيس بن رافع القيسي الأشجعي أبو رافع ويقال أبو عمرو المصري . مدني الأصل .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٩١/٨

ك

- كثير بن زيد الأسلمي ثم السهمي مولاهم أبو محمد المدني . ذكره ابن سعد في الخامسة من تابعي المدينة ، وذكره خليفة في السابعة من أهل المدينة وقال : مات في آخر زمن أبي جعفر .

ابن سعد ٢٣-٤٢٤ ، خليفة ٧٢-٢٧٣ ، تهذيب التهذيب ١٣/٨-٤١٥

- كثير بن قليب بن موهب الصدفي المصري الأعرج . شهد فتح مصر .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٢٥/٨

ل

- الليث بن سعد الفهمي أبو الحارث المصري . ولد سنة ٩٤ ، وتوفي سنة ١٧٥ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٥٩/٨-٤٦٥

- مالك بن أبي الرجال : مالك بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن حارثة النجاري . ذكره ابن سعد في الساسة من المدنيين .

ابن سعد ٤٦٦ (٤٠١) ، التاريخ الكبير ٢١٣/٧ ، الجرح والتعديل ٢١٦/٨ (٩٦٢) ، تعجيل المنفعة ٢٥٦

- مالك بن مفل الكوفي أبو عبد الله . مات سنة تسع وخمسين ومائة على الصحيح .

تقريب التهذيب ٥١٨ (٦٤٥١)

- مبارك بن فضالة بن أبي أمية أبو فضالة البصري . مولى زيد بن الخطاب . مات سنة ١٦٦ على الصحيح .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٨/١-٣١ ، تقريب التهذيب ٥١٩ (٦٤٦٤)

- المثني بن الصباح اليماني الابناوي أبو عبد الله ويقال أبو يحيى المكي أصله من أبناء فارس . نزيل مكة . مات سنة تسع وأربعين ومائة . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الرابعة من أهل مكة .

ابن سعد ٣٦١/٥ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣٥/١-٣٧ ، تقريب التهذيب ٥١٩ (٦٤٧١)

- مُجَالِد بن سعيد بن عمير الهمداني أبو عمرو ويقال أبو سعيد الكوفي . مات سنة أربع وأربعين ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٩/١-٤١ ، تقريب التهذيب ٥٢٠ (٦٤٧٨)

- محمد بن أبي بكر بن محمد بن عمرو بن حزم الأنصاري المدني ، أبو عبد الملك القاضي . مات سنة ١٣٢ .

تقريب التهذيب ٤٧٠ (٥٧٦٣)

- محمد بن بشر الفرافصة العبدي أبو عبد الله الكوفي . توفي ٢٠٣ .

تهذيب التهذيب ٧٣/٩-٧٤

محمد بن أبي حميد الأنصاري أبو إبراهيم المدني . يلقب حماد .

تهذيب الكمال ١١٩١/٣ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣٢/٩-١٣٤ ، تقريب التهذيب ٤٧٥ (٥٨٣٦)

- محمد بن شجاع الثلجي الفقيه البغدادي الحنفي . وقال زكريا الساجي : محمد بن شجاع كذاب ، احتال في إبطال الحديث نصرة للرأي . مات سنة ست وستين ومائتين عن ست وثمانين سنة .

ميزان الإعتدال ٧٧/٣-٥٧٩

- محمد بن صالح بن دينار التمار أبو عبد الله المدني ، مولى الأنصار . ذكره ابن سعد في السادسة من المدنيين ، وأورده خليفة في السابعة منهم . مات سنة ثمان وستين ومائة .

ابن سعد ٤٤٧-٤٦ (٣٧٥) ، خليفة ٢٧٣ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٢٥/٩-٢٢٦ ، تقريب التهذيب ٤٨٤ (٥٩٦١)

- محمد أبو الرجال : محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن حارثة ويقال بن عبد الله بن حارثة الأنصاري أبو الرجال ، كنيته أبو عبد الرحمن . ذكره ابن سعد في الرابعة من المدنيين .

ابن سعد ٨٧-٢٨٨ (١٧٦) ، تهذيب التهذيب ٩/٩٥-٢٩٦

- محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن نوفل الأسدي ، أبو الأسود المدني . مات سنة بضع وثلاثين ومائة . ذكره ابن سعد في الرابعة من المدنيين .

ابن سعد ٢١٢-٢١٣ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٩/٣٠٧-٣٠٨

- محمد بن عجلان المدني القرشي . ذكره ابن سعد في الخامسة من المدنيين وخليفة في السادسة منهم . مات سنة ثمان وأربعين ومائة أو تسع وأربعين .

ابن سعد ٥٤-٣٥٦ (٢٦٩) ، خليفة ٢٧٠ ، تهذيب الكمال ٣/١٢٤٢-١٢٤٣ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٩/٤١-٢٤٢ تقريب التهذيب ٤٩٦ (٦١٣٦)

- محمد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب الهاشمي ، أبو جعفر الباقر . قال العجلي : مدني تابعي ثقة . وذكره النسائي في فقهاء أهل المدينة من التابعين . مات سنة بضع عشرة ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٩/٣٥٢-٣٥٠ ، تقريب التهذيب ٤٩٧ (٦١٥١)

- محمد بن كعب بن سليم بن أسد أبو حمزة القرظي المدني ، وكان قد نزل الكوفة مدة . ولد سنة أربعين على الصحيح ومات سنة عشرين ومائة وقيل قبل ذلك .

تقريب التهذيب ٥٠٤ (٦٢٥٧)

- محمد بن مسلم بن سوسن الطائفي . يعد في المكين .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٤٤/٩

- مسلم بن مخراق . مولى عائشة ، حجازي سكن مصر .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٣٧/١٠

- مسلم بن يسار المصري ، أبو عثمان الطنبذي ويقال الإفريقي . قال ابن يونس ، قال يحيى

بن عثمان بن صالح : توفي مسلم بن يسار بإفريقية زمن هشام بن عبد الملك .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٤٢-٤١/١٠

- مسلمة بن عُلَيِّ بن خلف الخشني ، أبو سعيد الدمشقي البلاطي . كان يسكن البلاط قرية من

قرى دمشق . وقال ابن يونس : قدم مصر فسكنها وحدث بها ولم يكن عندهم بذاك في الحديث

. توفي بمصر قبل سنة تسعين ومائة .

تهذيب الكمال ١٣٢٩/٣-١٣٣٠ ، تهذيب التهذيب ١٤٧-٤٦/١٠

- مسلمة بن مخلد الأنصاري الزرقي . سكن مصر وكان واليا عليها أيام معاوية . مات سنة

اثنتين وستين . قال الواقدي : رجع إلى المدينة أيام معاوية فمات بها . وقال ابن حبان : مات

بمصر . وقال ابن عبد البر : كانت مدة ولايته على مصر وإفريقية ست عشرة سنة .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٤٨/١٠-١٤٩ ، تقريب التهذيب ٥٣٢ (٦٦٦٦)

- المسيب بن رافع الأسدي الكاهلي ، أبو العلاء الكوفي الأعمى . قال العجلي : كوفي تابعي

ثقة . وقال ابن أبي عاصم وغيره : مات سنة خمس ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٥٢/١٠

- مصعب بن نوح الأنصاري .

التاريخ الكبير ٣٥٣/٧ (١٥٢٢) ، تعجيل المنفعة ٤٠٤

- المطلب بن عبد الله بن المطلب بن حنطب المخزومي . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الثالثة من

التابعين من أهل المدينة .

ابن سعد ١١٥ (٢١) ، تهذيب التهذيب ١٧٩-٧٨/١٠

- معاذة بنت عبد الله العدوية ، أم الصهباء البصرية . امرأة صلة بن أشيم .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٥٢/١٢

- معاوية بن صالح الحضرمي الحمصي ، أبو عمرو وقيل أبو عبد الرحمن . قاضي الأندلس .
قال أحمد : خرج من حمص قديما وكان ثقة . ذكره ابن سعد فيمن كان بالأندلس .

ابن سعد ٢٠٧/٢-٧ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٢٠٩/١-٢١٢

- معاوية بن قررة بن إياس المزني أبو إياس البصري . مات سنة ثلاث عشرة ومائة وهو ابن
ست وسبعين سنة .

تقريب التهذيب ٥٢٨ (٦٧٦٩)

- معدان بن أبي طلحة ويقال ابن طلحة الكناني اليعمري الشامي . ذكره ابوسعد ومسلم
وخليفة في الطبقة الأولى من أهل الشام .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٢٨/١

- معمر بن راشد الأزدي البصري . سكن اليمن . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الثالثة فيمن كان
باليمن ، وقال : وكان من أهل البصرة فانتقل فنزل اليمن . وذكره خليفة في الرابعة من أهل
اليمن . مات سنة ١٥٤ وقيل غير ذلك .

ابن سعد ٢٩٧/٥ ، خليفة ٢٨٨ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٤٣/١-٢٤٦

- مقاتل بن بشير العجلي الكوفي .

تقريب التهذيب ٥٤٤ (٦٨٦٦)

- مطور أبو سلام الأسود الحبشي الأعرج الدمشقي ويقال النوبي . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة
الأولى من تابعي أهل الشام . وقال العجلي : شامي تابعي ثقة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٩٦/١

- المنذر بن مالك بن قطعة العبدي العوفي البصري ، أبو نضرة . مات سنة ثمان أو تسع
ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٠٢/١-٢٠٣ ، تقريب التهذيب ٥٤٦ (٦٨٩٠)

- منصور بن المعتمر الكوفي ، أبو عتاب . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الرابعة من أهل الكوفة ،
وذكره خليفة في الخامسة منهم . مات سنة اثنتين وثلاثين ومائة .

ابن سعد ٢٣٥/٦ ، خليفة ١٦٤ ، تهذيب التهذيب ١٢/١-٢١٥ ، تقريب التهذيب ٥٤٧ (٦٩٠٨)

- مهاجر بن مَخلد ، أبو مَخلد ويقال أبو خالد ، مولى البكرات .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٢٣/١.

- مهران بن أبي عمر العطار أبو عبد الله الرازي .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٢٨-٢٧/١.

- موسى بن عبيدة بن نشيط الربذي ، أبو عبد العزيز المدني . توفي سنة ثنتين وخمسين

ومائة وقال ابن سعد وغيره مات سنة ثلاث وخمسين .

تهذيب التهذيب ٣٦٠-٥٦/١.

- موسى بن عمير القرشي ، أبو هارون الكوفي . سكن بغداد . قال أبو حاتم : ذاهب الحديث ،

كذاب .

تاريخ بغداد ٢٠/١٣-٢١ (٦٩٨٤) ، تهذيب الكمال ١٣٩١-١٣٩٢ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣٦٤/١-

٣٦٥

- ميمون بن مهران الجزري أبو أيوب الرقي ، الفقيه ، نشأ بالكوفة ثم نزل الرقة . ولي الجزيرة

لعمر بن عبد العزيز . مات سنة سبع عشرة ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٠/١-٩٠ ، تقريب التهذيب ٥٥٦ (٧.٤٩)

ن

- نافع بن جبير بن مطعم النوفلي ، أبو محمد ويقال أبو عبد الله ، المدني . مات سنة تسع

وتسعين .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٠٥-٤٠٤/١.

- نافع بن عمر بن عبد الله الجمحي المكي . وقال ابن سعد عن شهاب بن عباد : مات بمكة سنة

تسع وستين ومائة . وذكره ابن حبان في الثقات وقال مات بفتح سنة تسع وستين ومائة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٠٩/١.

- نافع مولى ابن عمر ، أبو عبد الله المدني . مات سنة سبع عشرة ومائة أو بعد ذلك .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٢/١-٤١٤ ، تقريب التهذيب ٥٥٩ (٧.٨٦)

- النضر بن عبد الرحمن أبو عمر الخزاز الكوفي .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٤٢-٤١/١ .

- نعيم بن عبد الله المجرم مولى آل عمر بن الخطاب . ذكره ابن سعد في الثانية من المدنيين .

ابن سعد ٢٢٧/٥ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٤٦٥/١ .

- نفيح بن رافع الصائغ أبو رافع المدني ، نزيل البصرة . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الأولى من

أهل البصرة وقال : خرج من المدينة قديما وكان ثقة .

تهذيب التهذيب ٤٧٢/١ .

•

- هشام بن أبي رقية . مصري .

التاريخ الكبير ١٩٢/٨ (٢٦٦٨) ، الجرح والتعديل ٥٧/٩ (٣٣٦) ، الثقات ٥٠١/٥ ، تعجيل المنفعة

٤٣٢ (١١٣٦)

- هشام بن سعد المدني أبو عباد ويقال أبو سعد القرشي مولاهم . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة

السادسة من المدنيين وقال : ومات بالمدينة في أول خلافة المهدي ، وذكره خليفة في السابعة .

ابن سعد ٤٤٦-٤٥ (٣٧٤) ، خليفة ٢٧٤ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٣٩/١١-٤١

- هشام بن عروة بن الزبير بن العوام الأسدي ، أبو المنذر وقيل أبو عبد الله . ذكره ابن سعد

فيمن كان ببغداد من الفقهاء والمحدثين ممن نزلها وقدمها فمات بها وقال: ووفد على أبي جعفر

المنصور بالكوفة ولحق به ببغداد فمات بها وذكره خليفة في السادسة من المدنيين ، ثم

أعادته فيمن نزل بغداد . ولد سنة ٦١ ، ومات سنة ١٤٦ وقيل ١٤٥ أو ١٤٧ .

ابن سعد ٦٧/٢-٧ ، خليفة ٢٦٧ ، ٢٢٧ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٤٨/١١-٥١

- هشام بن الغاز بن ربيعة الجرشي ، أبو عبد الله ويقال أبو العباس الدمشقي . نزيل بغداد .

ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الخامسة من أهل الشام ، وذكره خليفة في الرابعة . مات سنة بضع

وخمسين .

ابن سعد ١٧١/٢-٧ ، خليفة ٣١٦ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٥٥/١١-٥٦ ، تقريب التهذيب ٥٧٣ (٧٣٠٥)

- هلال بن خباب العبدي ، أبو العلاء البصري . سكن المدائن ومات بها . ذكره ابن سعد فيمن

كان بالمداثن من المحدثين والفقهاء ، وقال : كان أصله من أهل البصرة ثم نزل المداثن ومات بها في آخر سنة أربع وأربعين ومائة . وذكره خليفة في أهل المداثن .

ابن سعد ٧-٦٦/٢ ، خليفة ٢٢٥ ، تهذيب التهذيب ٧٧/١١-٧٨

- هلال بن علي بن أسامة ويقال هلال بن أبي ميمونة ، وهلال بن أبي هلال العامري ، مولاهم المدني . قال الواقدي : مات في آخر خلافة هشام بن عبد الملك .

تهذيب التهذيب ٨٢/١١

و

- واسع بن حبان بن منقذ الأنصاري المازني المدني . قال أبو زرعة : مدني ثقة .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٠٢/١١

ي

- يحيى بن أيوب الغافقي ، أبو العباس المصري . ذكره ابن سعد في الرابعة من أهل مصر وذكره خليفة في الثالثة من أهل المغرب . مات سنة ثمان وستين ومائة .

ابن سعد ٧-٢٠٤/٢ ، خليفة ٢٩٦ ، تقريب التهذيب ٥٨٨ (٧٥١١)

- يحيى بن سعيد بن قيس الأنصاري المدني ، أبو سعيد القاضي . ذكره ابن سعد في الخامسة من المدنيين ، وذكره خليفة في السادسة وأوردا في وفاته أنها سنة ١٤٣ وقال ابن حجر : مات سنة أربع وأربعين أو بعدها .

ابن سعد ٣٥-٣٣٧ (٢٤٤) ، خليفة ٢٧٠ ، تقريب التهذيب ٥٩١ (٧٥٥٩)

- يحيى بن سليم القرشي الطائفي ، أبو محمد ويقال أبو زكريا المكي . قال ابن سعد : طائفي سكن مكة . وقال البخاري عن أحمد بن محمد بن القاسم بن أبي بزة : مات سنة خمس وتسعين وهو مكي كان يختلف إلى الطائف فنسب إليه .

تهذيب التهذيب ٢٢٧-٢٦/١١

- يحيى بن سلام البصري . نزل مصر .

الجرح والتعديل ٤-٢/١٥٥ (٦٤٢)

- يحيى بن عباد بن عبد الله بن الزبير بن العوام المدني . ذكره ابن سعد وخليفة في الرابعة من المدنيين وقال ابن سعد : ومات قديما وهو ابن ست وثلاثين سنة .

ابن سعد ٢٣-٢٣٤ (١١١) ، خليفة ٢٥٩ ، تهذيب التهذيب ١١/٢٤-٢٣٥

- يحيى بن عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن موهب التيمي المدني .

تهذيب التهذيب ١١/٥٢-٢٥٤

- يحيى بن أبي كثير الطائي مولاهم ، أبو نصر اليمامي . ذكره ابن سعد في أهل اليمامة

وقال : مولى لطيء كان من أهل البصرة فتحول إلى اليمامة . وذكره خليفة في الرابعة من

أهل البصرة . مات سنة اثنتين وثلاثين ومائة وقيل قبل ذلك .

ابن سعد ٥/٤٠٤ ، خليفة ٢١٥ ، تقريب التهذيب ٥٩٦ (٧١٣٢)

- يزيد بن أوس ، كوفي .

تهذيب التهذيب ١١/٣١٥

- يزيد بن عبد الله الشيباني ، أبو عبد الله الكوفي ، مولى الصهباء بنت هبيرة .

تهذيب التهذيب ١١/٤٣-٢٤٤

- يزيد بن عمرو المعافري المصري .

الجرح والتعديل ٩/٢٨١ (١١٨٣) ، الثقات ٧/٦٢٥ ، تهذيب التهذيب ١١/٣٥١

- يزيد بن ميسرة بن حلبس الدمشقي . يكنى أبا ميسرة ويقال أبو حلبس ويقال أبو يوسف .

الجرح والتعديل ٩/٢٨٨ (١٢٢٧) ، تعجيل المنفعة ٤٥٤

- يزيد بن أبي يزيد الضبعي مولاهم ، أبو الأزهر البصري الدراع ، المعروف بالرشك . مات سنة

١٢٠ بالبصرة .

تهذيب التهذيب ١١/٧١/٣٧٢

- يسيع بن معدان الحضرمي ويقال الكندي الكوفي ، ويقال فيه اسيع .

تهذيب التهذيب ١١/٢٨٠

- يونس بن يزيد الأيلي . ذكره ابن سعد فيمن كان بأيلة .

ابن سعد ٧-٢/٢٠٦

- يعلى بن مملك . حجازي .

تهذيب التهذيب ١١/٤٠٥

الكنى

- أبو إسحاق ، هو مولى عبد الله بن الحارث الهاشمي ، حجازي . روى عن أبي هريرة في فضل

الذكر . وعنه سعيد المقبري .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٢/٨

- أبو الأسود الديلي ويقال الدولي البصري . ذكره خليفة في الطبقة الأولى من أهل البصرة .

مات سنة تسع وستين .

ابن سعد ٧/٧٠ ، خليفة ١٩١ ، تقريب ٦١٩ (٧٩٤٠)

- أبو بكر بن عبد الرحمن بن الحارث بن هشام القرشي المدني . قال ابن سعد : ولد في خلافة

عمر . مات سنة أربع وتسعين ، وقيل غير ذلك .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٢/٣٠-٣١ ، تقريب التهذيب ٦٢٣ (٧٩٧٦)

- أبو بكر بن محمد بن عمرو بن حزم الأنصاري النجاري المدني القاضي . مات سنة عشرين

ومائة وقيل غير ذلك .

تقريب التهذيب ٦٢٤ (٧٩٨٨)

- أبو الجوزاء البصري = أوس بن عبد الله الرُبَعي .

- أبو حازم الأشجعي ، سلمان الكوفي . يقال إنه جالس أبا هريرة خمس سنين . مات على

رأس المائة .

سير أعلام النبلاء ٨/٥ ، تقريب التهذيب ٢٤٦ (٢٤٧٩)

- أبو الربيع المدني .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٢/٩٤

- أبو سالم الجيشاني = سفيان بن هاني المصري .

- أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن بن عوف الزهري المدني . مات سنة أربع وتسعين أو أربع ومائة ، وكان مولده سنة بضع وعشرين . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الأولى من أهل المدينة من التابعين .

ابن سعد ٥/١١٥-١١٧ ، تقريب التهذيب ٦٤٥ (٨١٤٢)

- أبو سلام الدمشقي = مطور .

- أبو صالح ، مولى أم هانيء بنت أبي طالب . باذام ويقال باذان . ذكره ابن سعد في الطبقة الثانية من تابعي أهل المدينة .

ابن سعد ٥/٢٢٢ ، تهذيب الكمال ١/١٣٧ ، تهذيب التهذيب ١/١٦-٤١٧

- أبو طعمة الأموي ، مولى عمر بن عبد العزيز ، اسمه هلال . شامي ، سكن مصر . وقال أبو حاتم : أبو طعمة قارئ مصر ، روى عنه ابنا يزيد بن جابر .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٢/١٣٧

- أبو ظبية ويقال أبو طيبة السلفي ثم الكلاعي الحمصي .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٢/٤٠-١٤١

- أبو عطية الوادعي الهمداني الكوفي . مات في حدود السبعين .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٢/٦٩-١٧٠ ، تقريب التهذيب ٦٥٨ (٨٢٥٣)

- أبو عمران الجوني = عبد الملك بن حبيب البصري .

- أبو كبشة السلولي الشامي . ذكره ابن زرعة الدمشقي في الطبقة الثانية من تابعي أهل الشام .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٢/٢١٠

- أبو النضر = سالم بن أبي أمية التيمي .

- أبو يزيد المدني ، في أهل البصرة .

تهذيب التهذيب ١٢/٢٨٠

- أبو يونس المصري ، مولى أبي هريرة = سليم بن جبير .

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ‘Abd b. Ḥumayd, *al-Muntakhab*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-‘Adawi Shalbāyah, Kuwait 1405/1985.
- ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan‘āni, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A‘zami, Beirut 1403/1983.
- Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, Beirut 1398/1978.
- al-‘Ilal wa ma‘rifat al-rijāl*, ed. Ṭal‘at Qawj Bikit and Ismā‘il Jarrāḥ Awghali, Istanbul 1987.
- Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, *Jamharat rasā’il al-‘Arab fi ‘uṣūr al-‘arabiyyah al-zāhirah*, Cairo 1356/1937.
- Abū Dawūd, *Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Din ‘Abd al-Ḥamid, n. p. n. d. (Dār iḥyā’ al-sunnah al-nabawiyyah).
- al-Marāsīl*, ed. Yūsuf ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar‘ashli, Beirut 1406/1986.
- Abū Dawūd al-Ṭayālisi, *Musnad*, Hyderabad 1321.
- Abū Hilāl al-‘Askari, *al-Awā’il*, ed. Walid Qaṣṣāb and Muḥammad al-Miṣri, Riyadh 1400/1980.
- Abū Khaythamah, Zuhayr b. Ḥarb al-Nasā‘i, *Kitāb al-‘ilm*, ed.

Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Din al-Albāni, Beirut/Damascus
1403/1983.

Abū Ḥanifah, *Kitāb musnad ḥibr al-umamah wa-imām al-a'imah
al-imām al-a'zam Abū Ḥanifah al-Nu'mān*, Cairo 1327.

*Musnad al-Imām Abi Ḥanifah bi riwāyah al-Imām al-
Ḥaṣkafi*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan Maḥmūd, n. p. n. d.

Abū Ḥanifah al-Dinawari, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. 'Abd al-
Mun'im 'Āmir, Cairo 1960.

Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahāni, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā' wa ṭabaqāt al-
aṣfiyā'*, Beirut 1400/1980.

Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *al-Amwāl*, ed. Muḥammad
Khalil Harrās, Qatar n. d.

Abū Yūsuf, *al-Āthār*, ed. Abū al-Wafā, Beirut n. d.
al-Kharāj, Cairo 1352.

Abū Zur'ah al-Dimashqi, *Tārikh*, ed. Shukr Allāh b. Ni'mat
Allāh al-Qawjāni, Damascus 1980.

Azami, Mohammad Mustafa, *Studies in early ḥadith literature
with a critical edition of some early texts*, Indianapolis
1978.

al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol v, ed. S. D. F. Goitein,
Jerusalem 1936.

Ansāb al-ashrāf, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdi,
Beirut 1394/1974.

- al-Baghdādī, ‘Abd al-Qāhir, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1346/1928.
- al-Balkhī, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd, *Qabūl al-akhbār wa ma‘rifat al-rijāl*, Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyyah, MS. Cairo I, 77.
- al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, Beirut n. d.
- Bayyūmi, Muṣliḥ Sayyad, *al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri ...*, n. p. 1980.
- Bravmann, M. M., *The spiritual background of early Islam. studies in ancient Arab concepts*, Leiden 1972.
- al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* vide Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bāri. al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, Beirut 1407/1986.
- Bulliet, Richard W., "A quantitative approach to medieval Muslim Biographical dictionaries", JEHSO 13.
- Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, ed. A. J. Wensinck and others, Leiden 1936-1988.
- al-Dāraquṭni, *al-‘Ilal al-wāridah fi al-aḥādith al-nabawiyyah*, ed. Maḥfūz al-Raḥmān Zayn Allāh al-Salafi, Riyadh 1405/1985.
- Sunan*, ed. al-Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Ḥāshim Yamāni al-Madani, Cairo 1386/1966.
- al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, ed. al-Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Ḥāshim Yamāni al-Madani, Fayṣal Ābād 1404/1984.
- Ḍaw’ b. Sālim Miskīn, *al-Ḥadith bi Ifriqiyyah min al-qarn al-sādis ilā al-qarn al-thāmin al-hijri*, unpublished thesis of

The Islamic University of Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud,
Riyadh, 1405/1406.

al-Dhahabi, *Mizān al-ʿitidāl fi naqd al-rijāl*, ed. ʿAli b. Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, Beirut 1382/1963.

Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūt and others, Beirut 1402/1982.

Tārikh al-Islām, Cairo 1368.

Ess, Josef Van, "Das Kitāb al-irgāʾ des Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya", *Arabica* XXI, 1974, pp. 20-52;

"Nachträge und Verbesserungen zu meinem Aufsatz in *Arabica*, XXI (1974), seite 20 ff.", in *Arabica* XXII, 1975, pp. 48-51.

al-Fasawī, Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, *al-Maʿrifah wa al-Tārikh*, ed. Akram Diyāʾ al-ʿUmari, Beirut 1401/1981

al-Fayrūz Ābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1353/1935.

al-Firyābī, Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *Ṣifat al-munāfiq*, ed. Badr al-Badr, first edition, n. p. 1405/1985.

al-Ghāfiqī al-Mālikī, Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh, *Musnad al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī, MS. 16 ḥadīth.

Goldziher, Ignaz, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S. M. Stern, translated from the German by C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern, London 1967-71.

- al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī , *Kitāb maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*. ed. Muʿazzam Ḥusayn, Hyderabad 1397/1977.
- al-Madkhal fi ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, ed. James Robson, 1372/1953.
- al-Mustadrak ʿala al-ṣaḥīḥayn*, Beirut n. d.
- al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, *Faḍāʾil Makkah wa-al-sakan fihā*, ed. Sāmi Makki al-ʿĀni, Kuwait 1406/1986.
- Horowitz, J, "The earliest biographies of the prophet and their authors", *Islamic Culture*, I, 1927, pp. 535-59, II, 1928, pp. 22-50, 164-82, 495-526.
- al-Ḥumaydī, Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, *al-Musnad*, ed. Ḥabib al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓami, Beirut/Cairo n. d.
- Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm wa-faḍlih ...*, Beirut 1398/1978.
- Tajrid al-Tamhid limā fi al-Muwaṭṭaʾ min al-maʿāni wa-al-asānid*, Cairo/ Beirut 1350.
- al-Tamhid limā fi al-Muwaṭṭaʾ min al-maʿāni wa-al-asānid*, ed. Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Kabir al-Bakri and others, Morocco 1387/1967.
- Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akḥbāruhā*, Leiden 1920.
- Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim al-Shaybānī, *al-Awāʾil*, ed. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-ʿAjāmī, n. d. (Dar al-Khulafāʾ)

- Ibn Abi al-Dunyā al-Baghdādī, *al-Şamt wa ādāb al-lisān*, ed. Najm Abd al-Raḥmān Khalaf, Beirut 1406/1986.
- Ibn Abi Ḥātam, *al-Jarḥ wa-al-ta'dil*, Hyderabad 1371-1952.
- Ibn Abi Shaybah, *al-Kitāb al-Muşannaf fi al-aḥādith wa al-āthār*, ed. Abd al-Khāliq al-Afghāni, India 1399/1979.
- Musnad al-Şaḥābah*, Topkapi Sarayi, MS. 290.
- Ibn Asākir, *Tārīkh Madinat Dimashq*, ed. Shukri Fayşal, Rūḥiyyah al-Naḥḥās and Riyāḍ Abd al-Ḥamid Murad, Damascus 1402/1982.
- al-Awā'il*, ed. Walid Qaşşāb and Muḥammad al-Mişri, Riyadh 1400/1980.
- Ibn Atham al-Kūfi, *al-Futūḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Abd al-Mu'id Khān, Hyderabad 1388-89/1968-1969.
- Ibn Qutaybah al-Dinawari, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat Ukkāshah, Cairo 1388/1969.
- Ibn Ḥabīb al-Hāshimi, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Else Lichtenstaedter, Beirut n. d.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalāni, *Fath al-Bāri bi-sharḥ Şaḥiḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. Abd al-Aziz b. Abd Allāh b. Bāz (vols 1,2, and 3), Cairo 1380.
- al-Işābah fi tamyiz al-Şaḥābah*, ed. Ali Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, Cairo 1383.
- Lisān al-mizān*, Beirut 1390/1971.

Taʿjil al-manfaʿah bi zawāʿid rijāl al-Aʿimmah al-arbaʿah, Beirut n. d.

Taqrib al-Tahdhib, ed. Muḥammad ʿAwwāmah, Beirut 1408/1988.

Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, Hyderabad 1325-27.

Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-majrūḥin*, ed. ʿAziz Bey al-Qādiri al-Naqshabandi, Hyderabad 1390/1970.

al-Thiqāt, Hyderabad 1393-1403/1973-1983.

Ibn Hishām, *Sirat al-Nabi (ṣ)*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Din ʿAbd al-Ḥamid, 1356/1937.

Ibn Hubayrah, *al-Ifṣāḥ ʿan maʿāni al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, ed. Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad, first volume, Doha, Qatar 1406/1986.

Ibn al-Jaʿd, *Musnad*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muḥdi b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-Hādī, Kuwait 1405/1985.

Ibn al-Jawzi, *al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-al-mudhakkirin*, ed. Muḥammad Luṭfi al-Ṣabbāgh, Beirut 1403/1983.

al-Mawḍūʿāt, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, al-Madinah al-Munawwarah 1386/1966.

Sirat ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, ed. Muḥibb al-Din al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1331.

Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, n. p. 1395/1975.

Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab al-muḥīṭ*, ed. Yūsuf Khayyāl and

- Nadīm Marʿashli, Beirut n. d.
- Ibn al-Mubārak, ʿAbd Allāh. *al-Zuhd*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿzamī, n. p. n. d. (*Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah*)
al-Jihād, ed. Nazih Ḥammād, Jiddah 1403.
- Musnad al-Imām ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak*, ed. Şubḥi al-Badrī al-Sāmarrāʾi, Riyadh 1407/1987.
- Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbali, *Sharḥ ʿIlal al-Tirmidhi*, ed. Şubḥi al-Sāmarrāʾi, Beirut 1405/1985.
- Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabir*, ed. Eduard Sachau, Leiden 1905-17. (plus final part of vol 5, ed. Ziyād Muḥammad Maṣṣūr, al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah 1403/1983).
- Ibn al-Şalāḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth (Muqaddimat Ibn al-Şalāḥ)*, ed. Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, Aleppo 1350/1931.
- Ibn Shabbah, Abū Zayd ʿUmar b. Shabbah al-Numayri al-Baṣri, *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-munawwarah*, ed. Fahim Muḥammad Shaltūt, n. d. n. p.
- Ibn Ṭuhmān, *Mashyakhat Ibn Ṭuhmān*, ed. Muḥammad Ṭahir Mālik, Damascus 1403/1983.
- Ibn Waḍḍāḥ al-Qurṭubī, Muḥammad, *al-Bidaʿ wa-al-naḥy ʿanhā*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, Damascus 1400/1980.
- Ibn Wahb, *Le djāmiʿ d'Ibn Wahb*, ed. J. David-Weill, Cairo 1939.

Musnad, al-Zāhiriyyah, MS. *Majmūʿ* 40 pp. 156-172.

Fraqment of titleless work on *ḥadīth*, Chester Beatty, MS. 3497.

Ibn Zakariyyā, Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris, *Muʿjam maqāyis al-lughah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1389/1969.

Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri: siratuhu shaṣiyyatuhu taʿālimuhu wa-ārāʾuhu*, first edition 1952.

al-ʿIrāqī, Abū al-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn, *al-Bāʿith ʿala al-khalāṣ min ḥawādith al-quṣṣāṣ*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṣabbāgh, published in *Aḍwāʾ al-Shariʿah* 1393, pp. 81 ff.

ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, al-Qāḍī, *Tartib al-madārik wa taqrib al-masālik ...*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭabkhi, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṣahrāwī, Rabat 1383/1965 .

al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa al-tabayin*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1395/1975.

al-ʿUthmāniyyah, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1374/1955.

Juynboll, G. H. A., *Muslim tradition: Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early ḥadīth*, Cambridge 1983.

"Muslim's introduction to his *Ṣaḥiḥ* translated and annotated with an excursus on the chronology of *fitna* and *bid'a*", *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam* V, 1984, pp. 263-311.

"On the origins of Arabic prose : Reflections on authenticity", *Papers on Islamic history. Studies on the first century of Islamic Society*, ed. G. H. A. Juynboll, Carbondale 1982, pp.161-75.

"The date of the great *fitna*", *Arabica* XX,1973,pp.142-159.

al-Kattāni, *Naẓm al-mutanāthir min al-ḥadith al-mutawātir*, Beirut 1400/1980.

al-Risālah al-mustaṭrafah ..., Cairo n. d.

Khalifah b. Khayyāt, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-ʿUmari, Riyadh 1402/1982.

Tārīkh, ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-ʿUmari, Najaf 1386/1967.

al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad ʿAjjāj, *al-Sunnah qabla al-tadwin*, Cairo 1391/1971.

al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi, *al-Jāmiʿ li akhlāq al-rāwi wa ādāb al-sāmiʿ*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥān, Riyadh 1403/1983.

al-Kifāyah fi ʿilm al-riwāyah, Hyderabad 1357.

al-Riḥlah fi ṭalab al-ḥadith, ed. Nūr al-Din ʿItr, Beirut 1395/1975.

Taqyid al-ʿilm, ed. Yūsuf al-ʿIshsh, 1974.

Tārikh Baghdād, Cairo 1349/1931.

Maḥbūb al-Manbijī (Agapius), *Kitāb al-ḥunwān*, Beirut 1907.

Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʿād ḥAbd al-Bāqī, n. p. n. d.

al-Muwaṭṭaʿ of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, ed. ḥAbd al-Wahhāb ḥAbd al-Laṭīf, 2nd impression.

a fragment of Ibn Ziyād's version, ed. Muḥammad al-Shādhilī al-Nayfar, Beirut 1400/1980.

al-Mālikī, Abū Bakr ḥAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs fi ṭabaqāt ḥulamāʿ al-Qayrawān wa Ifriqiyyah*, ed. Bashir al-Bakkūsh, Beirut 1403/1983.

al-Masʿūdi, *Les prairies D'or [Murūj al-dhahab]*, ed. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courtelle, Paris 1861.

al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fi Asmāʿ al-rijāl*, ed. ḥAbd al-ḥAziz b. Rabāḥ and Aḥmad Yūsūf Daqāq (copy of a manuscript preserved in Dār al-kutub al-Miṣriyyah), Damascus/Beirut.

Tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi-maʿrifat al-aṭrāf, ed. ḥAbd al-Ṣamad Sharaf al-Din. (al-Dār al-qayyimah)

Muḥammad Kurd ḥAli, *Rasāʾil al-bulaghā*, Cairo 1365/1946.

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʿād ḥAbd al-Bāqī, Beirut n. d.

al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, Murat Buhari, Istanbul, MS. 71.

Sunan al-Nasā'i bi sharḥ al-Suyūṭi wa-ḥashyat al-Sindi,
Beirut 1348/1930.

al-Nawawī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi sharḥ al-Nawawī*, n. p. n. d.

Pedersen, J., "The Islamic preacher: wā'iz, mudhakkir, qāṣṣ",
Ignace Goldziher memorial volume, Budapest 1948, 1, pp.
226-51.

al-Qisṭllānī, Shihāb al-Din Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Irshād al-*
Sārī li sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Cairo 1323.

al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayn al-rāwi wa-al-*
wā'i, ed. Muḥammad 'Ajjāj al-Khaṭīb, Beirut 1391/1771.

Robson, James, "The *isnād* in Muslim tradition", *Glasgow*
University Oriental Society Transactions, XV (1955), pp.
15-26.

Sa'id b. Biṭriq (Eutychius), *Kitāb al-tārikh al-majmū' 'alā al-*
taḥqiq wa al-taṣdiq, Beirut 1909.

Sa'id b. Manṣūr, *al-Sunan*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zami,
1387/1967.

Schacht, J., "A revaluation of Islamic Traditions", *Journal of*
the Royal Asiatic Society, (1949), pp. 143-54.

The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence, Oxford 1950.

Sezgin, F., *Tārikh al-turāth al-'arabi*, translated into Arabic by
Maḥmūd Fahmī Hijāzī and 'Arafah Muṣṭafā, Riyadh
1403-1404/1983-1984.

- al-Shāfi'i, *al-Risālah*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, n. p. n. d.
- al-Sunan al-maṭhūrah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭi Amin Qalʿaji,
Beirut 1406/1986.
- Tartib Musnad al-Shāfi'i*, red. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Sindi,
Beirut 1370/1951.
- al-Shaybāni, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *al-Āthār*, 1407.
- al-Subki, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah al-kubrā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ
Muḥammad al-Ḥulw and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥi,
n. p. 1383/1964.
- al-Suyūṭi, *Tanwir al-ḥawālik sharḥ ʿala Muwaṭṭa' Mālik*,
Cairo n. d.
- al-Wasā'il fi musāmarat al-awā'il*, ed. Muḥammad al-
Saʿid b. Baysūni Zaghlūl, Beirut 1406/1986.
- al-Ṭabarāni, *Ṭuruq ḥadith man kadhaba ʿalayya*, al-
Zāhiriyyah, MS. *majmūʿ* 81 pp. 29-48.
- al-Ṭabari, *Tarikh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, ed. M. J. De Goeje,
Leiden 1879-1881.
- al-Ṭaḥāwī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Salamah, *al-ʿAqidah al-
Ṭaḥāwiyyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bāz,
Riyadh 1408.
- Mushkil al-āthār*, ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muʿid Khān,
Hyderabad 1388/1968.

Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār, ed. Muḥammad Zuhri al-Najjār,
Beirut 1399/1979.

al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir
(vols 1 and 2) Muḥammad Fuʿād ʿAbd al-Bāqī (vol 3) and
Ibrāhīm ʿAṭwah ʿAwad (vols 4 and 5), Cairo 1937-1978.

United Nation, Demographic Yearbook 1989 forty-first issue,
New York 1991.

Wakīʿ, Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Ḥayyān, *Akḥbār al-quḍāt*,
Beirut n. d.

Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ, *al-Zuhd*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd al-
Jabbār al-Firyawāʿī, al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah
1404/1984

al-Wāqidi, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, London 1966.

Wensinck, *Miftāḥ kunūz al-sunnah*, translated from English
by Muḥammad Fuʿād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, Lāhūr n. d.

Yaḥyā b. Ādam al-Qurashī, *al-Kharāj*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad
Shākir, Cairo 1347.

al-Yaʿqūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb, *Tārīkh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma,
Leiden 1969.

Zayd b. ʿAlī, *Musnad*, Beirut 1410/1981.

