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The editing of the second part of the Third Ṭabaqah
of Ibn Sa'd's *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*, being
'those who witnessed the battle of al-Khandaq,
and those who embraced Islam between al-Khandaq and
the conquest of Mecca.'

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Name of Student:
Mohammad Al-Abdeh

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The importance of Ibn Sa'd's *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* in Islamic literature lies in the fact that it was the first work of its kind to have reached us in complete form. Since *al-Ṭabaqāt* by his mentor al-Wāqidī (130-207 H) is forever lost *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* is thus the most ancient surviving document of its kind, while its first chapter dealing with *Sīrah* is ranked second after *Ibn Iṣḥāq's* seminal work.¹ The importance of *al-Ṭabaqāt* can also be attributed to the scientific methodology of Ibn Sa'd (168-230 H) which is noteworthy for its objectivity, thorough research, unfailing scrutiny of lineages, eloquence of presentation, and proper *isnād*. For this reason many of the historians who succeeded him relied on his work and referred to him in their writings. Moreover, scholars of Ḥadīth regard him as a trustworthy authority on Ḥadīth, not to mention that he was an expert on the status of narrators of Ḥadīth. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (831-902 H), for example, affirms that he was an authority in this field.²

Continuing the tradition of his mentor al-Wāqidī one finds in *Al-Ṭabaqāt* geographical details as well as containing detailed accounts of the social, scientific and economic activities of the early centuries of Islamic history. It notes, for example, that the formal codification of Ḥadīth was ordered by the governor of Egypt 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (d. 285 H)³ and records governors' salaries in the early centuries.⁴ Moreover, it contains the longest list of early Muslims from the cities of Baṣra in chronological order of the date of their embracing Islam.⁵ It also contains the most exhaustive details of the Arabic tribal delegations that met the Prophet Muḥammad and embraced Islam.⁶ All in all, this book is of a degree of accuracy which makes it a crucial text for the understanding of Islamic history.⁷ By editing the missing section of the work we are contributing to the advancement of the historiography of the first generation of Islam.

Because Muslims still maintain a deep respect for the Companions of the Prophet, Ibn Sa'd's book takes on a contemporary significance. The Companions lived with the Prophet and learned Islam from him complete and unadulterated, and it is they who transmitted his *Sunnah*. Because of this they have become a

paragon of virtue to be admired and emulated; *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* helps Muslims in this task. This being so, there has been a tendency in Muslim societies throughout the ages to view history as being made by great men, as opposed to great ideas, movements, or parties. The individualist streak of histories such as Ibn Sa'd's had a tremendous impact on the historiography of the arts and sciences, so that we have *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibā'* by Suleimān b. Ḥasan al-Andalūsi, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā'* by Muḥammad b. Salam al-Jumaḥi, and *Ṭabaqāt al-Nuḥāt* by Abi Bakr al-Zabidi. While this helped to preserve the names of important people in their respective fields, it often meant that Muslims attach themselves gratuitously to individuals while simultaneously neglecting areas of common participation and team-work.

Today, the widely available *al-Ṭabaqāt* is the one which was printed in Beirut many times by Dār Ṣādir, itself a photo-copy of Leiden's. However, it suffers from many shortages even after the great efforts which have been devoted by orientalists to it (see note 64). This is due to the then sole reliance on only one manuscript. There are typographical mistakes, and an occasional spelling mistakes with regard to names. Some of the missing parts in the MS Berlin have been researched and edited by relying on the Istanbul MS Aḥmad III, including the *ṭabaqah* of al-Ṭabī'in who resided in Medina,⁸ the missing part on the junior Companions, and the missing part of the fourth *ṭabaqah*.⁹

Due to the significance of *al-Ṭabaqāt*, and in order to complete the great historical project first undertaken by Ibn Sa'd I saw it fit to focus on the editing of the third *ṭabaqah*, which is that of the Prophet's Yemeni Companions who embraced Islam in the time between the battle of al-Khandaq and the conquest of Mecca. The edited section starts from page 286 of the printed fourth volume of the *Ṭabaqāt* which is contained in the sixth and seventh volumes of Aḥmad III manuscript in Istanbul. It contains 65 biographies of the third *ṭabaqah* of the Prophet's Companions representing the first generation of Islam and therefore of particular interest. In undertaking this task, the text relied on is the Istanbul MS Aḥmad III, 2835/7, compared with the incomplete Berlin MS WE 349.

This thesis is divided into two parts: the first provides a full account of the study and the second is an edition of the text. The first part is in turn divided into four chapters, of which the first chapter deals with the life of the author, his upbringing, his trips abroad, his knowledge, his beliefs, scholars' views about him, his mentors, his students and his published works. The second chapter deals with the following: Firstly, the methodology of the author, his presentation of scientific material, his accuracy and his knowledge in differentiating between various testimonies, his thorough evaluation technique, and his detailed examination of small details of his subjects' biographies. Secondly, a comparison with similar works by other authors and a discussion of the material he relied upon in his work and a. Thirdly, an analysis of the edited text; his shortcomings such as his classification of junior companion as seniors.

The third chapter deals with the following: firstly, authenticating the text through contextual analysis and comparative study. This method proves conclusively that the edited text is indeed that of Ibn Sa'd. Secondly, a description of the edited text. Thirdly, the special importance of the edited part of the text. Fourthly, the methodology.

The second part is dedicated to the editing of the text, explanation of the foreign words, and commentary on some ambiguous statements, in addition to the necessary indexes.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor the late Dr Mattock of the University of Glasgow for his attention and direction from which I benefited a great deal, and to Dr. Siddiqui for her kind perseverance in seeing this doctorate to its completion.

CHAPTER ONE

The biographers of Ibn Sa'd and their sources

The oldest biography which has reached us of Ibn Sa'd is what is mentioned in *al-Ṭabaqāt* itself.¹⁰ However, this biography is, beyond any doubt, not the author's work since it contains the date of his death and burial. It seems to be the work of one of his students, most likely al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Fahīm al-Baghdādī (211-289 H), who is quoted by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in *Tarīkh Baghdād*. This biography is very concise, not exceeding a few pages, and as such less than satisfactory.

The second biography is in Ibn Abī Ḥātim's (240-327 H) *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl*, which like the first, is very concise. In this biography, Ibn Abī Ḥātim mentions the date of his death and quotes Ibn Sa'd himself. In the fourth century after the Hijra, Ibn Sa'd's name appears in Ibn al-Nadīm's (?-438 H) book *al-Fihrist*, the third *maqālah*, which is allocated to narrators, lineage experts, and biographers. Ibn al-Nadīm says that he was one of al-Wāqidī's companions and accuses him of composing his books based solely on the works of his teacher; he fails to mention Ibn Sa'd's *al-Ṭabaqāt*, but mentions instead another book called *Akhhār al-Nabī*.¹¹ Another biography is cited in *Tarīkh Baghdād* by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (392-463 H), where his name, family names, descendants, teachers, students and statements about his authority are recorded.¹² All later recorded biographies, whether written by Ibn al-Athīr (555-620 H), Ibn Khallikān (608-681 H) or Ibn Ḥajar (773-852 H), are mere repetitions with no additional material. It is worth mentioning the distinctive nature of al-Dhahabī's (673-748 H) writing in *Siyar A'lām al-Nūbalā'* where he does not just rely on his predecessors but records his own opinion.¹³

In modern times, interest in Ibn Sa'd has been revived, especially by orientalist. The German orientalist Otto Loth published a paper on *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Sa'd* in 1869,¹⁴ and it was noted by Josef Horowitz.¹⁵ Moreover, the German

orientalist Sachau and others published *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Sa'd* in Leiden, Holland. Iḥsān 'Abbās recounts Ibn Sa'd's biography in the introduction of the Beirut edition of *Ṭabaqāt*, which is a mere photocopy of the Leiden edition. Finally, Shākir Muṣṭafā regards him as amongst the pioneers of the Medina school of historians – itself a major Arab school of history- in his *al-Tārīkh al-'Arabī wa al-Mu'arikhūn*.¹⁶

Ibn Sa'd's full name, Lineage and Character

Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Manī' al-Zuhrī,¹⁷ Abū 'Abd-Allāh, was born in 168H in Basra and died in Baghdad in 230H. He was known as Ibn Sa'd, and as *Kātib al-Wāqidi* (writer of al-Wāqidi), or *Ṣāhib al-Wāqidi* (companion of al-Wāqidi), as he spent a large part of his life as a writer for the historian Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi (130-207 H). Although some sources argue that he was al-Zuhrī's *mawla** the majority of sources affirm that one of his forefathers was *mawla* to Bani Hāshim, namely al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Ubayd-Allāh b. al-'Abbās - the great grandfather of the Abbasids. This, of course, does not mean that Ibn Sa'd himself was a *mawla*; in fact he himself no longer had ties with the Abbasids. Nevertheless this ancient relationship between an ancestor of Ibn Sa'd and the forefather of the Caliphs did not mean any favouritism on Ibn Sa'd's part towards them. As for his attribution to Bani Zuhra that would appear to be inexplicable.

Surprisingly, his students and biographers have failed to provide a complete and satisfactory account of his life, travels, behaviour and social ties. In contrast, Ibn Sa'd has depicted in his writing a detailed picture of his studied personalities including their behavioural and physical descriptions.

Through a critical analysis of his writing and his objectivity and affiliation with the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn (170-208 H) in the trial of the creation of the Qur'an, where religious scholars were put to the test and which will be discussed

**Mawla*: according to Arabic terminology means 'assistance', but in historical lexicon refers to 'kinship'. There are two types of *mawla*, the first is that of a prisoner or slave who is freed but maintains a relationship with the master; the second comes about from a contract between a non-Arab Muslim and an Arab tribe by which he becomes part of the tribe and enjoys its social support and protection.

at some length later, one can envisage him as a quiet character and a knowledge seeker. He also seems to have had a disposition towards solitary retreats, and a disposition against teaching and amassing followers and students.

Ibn Sa'd's upbringing and scientific journeys

Ibn Sa'd was born in Basra, where he received his initial education. Available references do not reveal much about his childhood and upbringing, or about his family and its influence on him, nor does he write about himself in this regard in *al-Ṭabaqāt*. However, these references disclose that he travelled, like other students, during his youth to Medina in 189 H,¹⁸ and later to Kufa and Baghdad, with the objective of gathering all statements relating to the era of both the Prophet and his Companions and the Tābi'ūn. It seems that he managed to collect a great deal of information and as such he was known as a prolific narrator and writer. During his stay in Kufa, he learned the science of Qur'ān recitation from Muḥammad b. Sa'dān al-Ḍarīr (d. 231 H), Tafsīr and Ḥadīth from Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ (129-197 H). He was also taught during his stay in Medina by Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd al-Zuhrī (d. 208 H), and Ma'n b. 'Īsā (d. 198 H), a student of Imām Mālik (93-179 H).

Ibn Sa'd finally made Baghdad his permanent residence where he learned from his mentor al-Wāqidī, worked for him as a writer, and benefited much from his books.

Ibn Sa'd's Literary and Academic Environment

Ibn Sa'd grew up in Basra, a town located in the south of Iraq. This town was first established to serve as an administrative and military centre for the Islamic conquests. During Ibn Sa'd's lifetime, it evolved to become a recognised centre of academia, reaching a degree of expansion and population increase such that

towards the end of the first century after the Hijra it numbered half a million souls.¹⁹

Many Companions settled in Basra, including Anas b. Mālik (15-93 H), 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn (?-53 H) and Abū Buruzah al-Aslamī (?-65 H). This in fact represented the beginning of the scholastic trend that culminated in the rise amongst the generation of Tābi'ūn of the likes of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (21-110 H) and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (33-110 H). Another factor which assisted the intellectual development of Basra was its proximity to Persia and the shores of India. As a consequence, it became a place where Arabic, Islamic, Indian and Persian cultures met. It was from here that both the trends of Sufism and the Mu'tazilah began.

During this century after the Hijra, the principles of many disciplines including Tafsīr, Arabic Grammar and History were laid. Basra played a big part in shaping these sciences and even outshone other Islamic cities. Amongst its notable scholars of that period were al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (100-170 H), who produced *al-'Ayn* - the first linguistic dictionary for Arabic.²⁰ There were also the other linguists Sibawayh and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215 H). From amongst the Ḥadīthists were Ismā'īl b. 'Alī (d. 193 H). The historians and biographers included 'Abd al-Mālik b. Hishām (d. 208 H), who abridged *al-Sīrah* of Ibn Ishāq, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī (135-225 H) who wrote extensively on history and 'Amr b. Shibbah, a poet, hadīthist, and a faqīh (d. 262 H),²¹ and Khalifa b. Khayat (160-240 H) who was an historian, Hadithist, and a contemporary of Ibn Sa'ad. As for literature, 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (150-255 H) stands out as the most famous of the many Arab writers in Basra.

Later on Ibn Sa'd moved to Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate which was experiencing an unrivalled academic and scientific revival. This was due to the practice of the Abbasid Caliphs to encourage scientific inquiry and intellectual debates. The establishment of *Bayt al-Ḥikmah* by the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (149-193 H) as a library and translation centre was the culmination of these efforts. The Caliph al-Ma'mūn was also particularly interested in *Bayt al-Ḥikmah*, and staffed it with specialist writers and translators headed by Ḥunayn b.

Ishāq (194-260 H). By now Baghdad's intellectual progress began to compete with Basra. This is because it too had some of the most notable scholars in a variety of disciplines. Amongst them were the scholars of Ḥadīth Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (164-241 H) and Yahya b. Ma'īn (158-233 H), the historians al-Haytham b. 'Adī (130-207 H), the genealogist al-Zubayr b. Bakār (172- 256 H), and al-Wāqidī - the mentor of Ibn Sa'd. It was during these times that the conflict between the Mu'tazilah school of thought and that of Aḥl al-Ḥadīth was at its fiercest.

The rivalry between the three cities of Baghdad, Basra and Kufa resulted in the expansion of knowledge and academia, and later specialisation. Kufa was distinguished for its Fiqh scholars and poets; Basra in the Arabic language and literature, and also theological debates. Over time, Baghdad rose to its historic prominence and surpassed the other two cities.

In such a scientific milieu lived Ibn Sa'd, and therefore it was not surprising that he had a grasp of many disciplines. Indeed *al-Ṭabqāt* shows his knowledge and active participation in many disciplines, e.g. Fiqh, literature, genealogy, geography, urbanisation and culture. Evidently, such an environment was very conducive to seeking knowledge and perseverance in that endeavour.²²

Ibn Sa'd's rank and reputation amongst scholars

Ibn Sa'd was described as a man of great knowledge, and as a prolific writer. The great historian Ibn al-'Imād (1032-1089 H) calls him *al-imām al-ḥibr al-ḥāfiẓ*²³ and rightly so it seems. There is little doubt that he was an avid knowledge seeker who was very diligent in seeking the company of religious scholars and in the collection of references. This is evident in *al-Ṭabaqāt*, which contains more than four thousand biographies-itself a living testament to his deep understanding of history. Ibn Sa'd rightly regarded these men and women from amongst the *Ṣaḥābah* and the *Tābi'īn* as the product of Islam's first formative school -that which was led by the Prophet himself, and therefore a key to understanding Islam itself as it was practised, and the attitude of Muslims thereafter.

His objective writing in the field of the *Sīrah* was the beginning of more writing about *Shamā'il* (noble traits of the Prophet) and *dalā'il al-nubuwwah*, (signs and evidence of the prophethood). Ibn Sa'd's comprehension of genealogy increased to a point where, although he relied on Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (?-204 H), he had in fact eclipsed him in knowledge. Moreover, he did not confine himself to rely on oral statements alone, but rather relied on written statements also. This is demonstrated by his oft repeated statement: "I looked into the books of Mūsa b. 'Uqbah, Hishām al-Kalbī and 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Ammārah al-Anṣārī" (?-215 H). It seems that he used to record what he read from others as manifested in the following statement: "what we have written is taken from 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Ammārah al-Anṣārī"²⁴ or in writing: "and we have not come across his name or lineage in *Kitāb al-Anṣār*"²⁵ On other occasions, he refrained from narration preferring instead to quote others by writing: "It was mentioned by Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ..."²⁶

Ibn Sa'd's knowledge was not confined to the science of Ḥadīth and the biographies of people but extended to include other fields. He learnt the art of *al-Qirā'āt* (recitation of the Qur'ān) from Ruwaym b. Yazīd (d. 211 H), and *Ḥurūf* (the seven different ways of Qur'ān recitation) from his mentor al-Wāqidi and was also linked to the linguist Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī. Above all, he was an historian who was critical with transmitted statements and subjected the transmitter to thorough investigation. And he was well placed to pass judgement on the narrator as well as the text, be it of approval or disapproval, through his mastery of the Hadithist science of *Jarḥ wāl Tā'dil*. This tested the precision and truthfulness of a narrator through a research of their history, and if it was found that he had been at any stage unreliable or dishonest his accounts would be rejected. Although Ibn Sa'd's excellence in this field of passing judgement is accepted, he was not of the same calibre as other great experts like 'Alī b. al-Mudaynī (161-234 H) and Yaḥya b. Ma'īn. Nevertheless, his authority was fully acknowledged by Ibn Ḥajar who wrote often in *Fath al-Bārī*: "Ibn Sa'd said that..." and "Ibn Sa'd affirmed that..."²⁷ Another example of his involvement in this science was his statement that Imam

al-Awzā'ī “was a sound and trusted authority”²⁸ and that Zifr b. al-Hudhayl was not.²⁹ Al-Dhahabī, however, disagreed with him regarding Zifr.

Another sign of Ibn Sa'd's precision and fairness in examining texts was his abstention from comment on his mentor, al-Wāqidī, be it negative or positive. Rather, he was satisfied instead by commenting that he “was an expert in the sciences of *al-Maghāzī* (battles), peoples and their different languages.”³⁰ The accusation by Ibn al-Nadīm that he plagiarised al-Wāqidī's work is unfounded as there are many sound and undisputed references other than those of al-Wāqidī in Ibn Sa'd, such as the *al-Maghāzī* of Mūsa b. 'Uqbah (?-141 H) and Ibn Ishāq (?-151 H). Indeed, *al-Ṭabaqāt* is a real testimony to his great knowledge in the sciences of genealogy, linguistics and biography.

Though he quoted some weak ḥadīth authorities such as al-Wāqidī, other scholars, nonetheless, regarded Ibn Sa'd as a sound authority. No criticism was mounted against him except what has been narrated by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (392-463 H) that Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī (156-236 H) transmitted a single ḥadīth narration on the authority of Muḥammad b. Sa'd, regarding which Yaḥya b. Ma'īn rejected as being weak. In fairness, al-Khaṭīb indicated in his statement that Ibn Ma'īn's criticism was not directed at Ibn Sa'd but at his mentor al-Wāqidī: ‘Muḥammad b. Sa'd, as far as we are concerned, is a sound authority and his narrations are the ultimate testimony, for he tries his utmost to investigate his reports.’³¹ Al-Dhahabī gives him credit him by saying his sincerity is unblemished;³² Ibn Ḥajar indicates that ‘he was one of greatest *Ḥuffāẓ* who has accepted nothing without proper investigation.’³³ Ibn Khillikān writes: ‘He was one of the most noble men’, and that he authored with brilliance and objectivity a large book about the *Ṭabaqāt* of the Prophet's Companions.³⁴

An interesting tale involves Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Ibn Sa'd whereby the former used to borrow documents from the latter. The one who mentioned this story said it would have been more beneficial if Imām Aḥmad had heard from him in person.³⁵ This leads to the question: why did Ibn Ḥanbal decline to be his

student? It seems likely that the reason lies in al-Wāqidī and his reputation as a weak authority on Ḥadīth transmission.

It is important to mention that Ibn Sa'd was amongst the neutrals and was not known to favour the Umayyads, nor was he accused of inclinations towards the Shī'a. In his biographies for example, he recount in detail the political or religious inclination of each person with strict neutrality and objectivity, allowing the reader to form his own judgement. This could be said more of Ibn Sa'd than his mentor al-Wāqidī, who in his biographies showed willingness to please the Abbasids by erasing the name of al-'Abbās from the list of prisoners at the battle of Badr.³⁶ Ibn Sa'd however explicitly includes al-'Abbās in the list of prisoners despite the negative shadow it may cast on the ruling dynasty.³⁷ His objectivity can also be seen in his biography of Ḥammād b. Zayd, who is of the sixth *ṭabaqah* of the Tabi'īn of Basra. He wrote that Hammād was: "Uthmānī," meaning he had supported the Umayyads.³⁸ Similarly, Ibn Sa'd comments on the biography of Ja'far b. Sulaymān al-Ḍab'ī: "He was a trustworthy person but suffers from a weakness of in the narration of Ḥadith, and he was inclined towards the Shī'a."³⁹

Ibn Sa'd and the trial of the creation of the Qur'ān.

Ibn Sa'd was tested by what is known in Islamic history as *al-miḥnah*, meaning the predicament which centred on a religious belief to do with the creation of the Qur'ān, adopted by the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn as the state ideology. In 218 H, al-Ma'mūn wrote a letter to his governor Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm instructing him to put all religious scholars under his authority to the test. The Caliph took this ideology from al-Mu'tazilah, an ideology evolved around the denial of God's attributes. This denial could be attributable to the debates and discussions that took place between Christian and Muslim theologians of the time. One of the Christian scholars Yuḥannā al-Dimashqī, argued that if the words of God were eternal, then Jesus, as himself a word of God, has the attribute of God. Al-Mu'tazilah, as a result of this, became disillusioned. This is because whoever believes in the

existence of God's attributes also believes that they are also as eternal as God, and this is in reality admitted the existence of many Gods, or at least things that are beside him, which contradict the belief in God's uniqueness of primal existence. This question made al-Mu'tazilah convinced of the rejection of God's attribute of speech and thus insisted on the creation of the Qur'ān, rather than co-existence with God.⁴⁰

Ibn Sa'd was among the seven scholars who were summoned and put to the test by the Caliph. Ibn Sa'd, on this matter, acquiesced, as other scholars did, in the view of the Caliph. But some scholars such as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Muḥammad b. Nūḥ, and al-Buwayṭī, a disciple of al-Shāfi'ī, maintained their rejection of this novelty. Those who agreed with it were exposed to criticism from the experts on the Ḥadīth. Those experts, however, refrained from criticising Ibn Sa'd. This could indicate their belief that Ibn Sa'd's acquiescence was out of fear for his life and not out of conviction.

The Tutors of Ibn Sa'd

Ibn Sa'd narrated the oral traditions of the Prophet on the authority of many prominent and respected experts of Ḥadīth and historians including Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Mukhlid al-Shaybānī (Abū 'Āṣim al-Nabīl), Yazīd b. Hārūn, 'Affān b. Muslim, and Hushaym b. Bashīr. A researcher recorded around 239 authorities mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt*.⁴¹ However, the number of authorities increased to 259 once previously unknown parts of *al-Ṭabaqāt* had been edited.⁴²

Ibn Sa'd mentions in the third *ṭabaqah*, on the subject of examination, scholars whose names are not mentioned either in the printed or edited parts of *al-Ṭabaqāt*. He mentions 'Abd-Allāh b. Bakr al-Salamī, 'Ubayd-Allāh b. Ṣafrār, Muḥammad b. Samā'ah al-Ramlī and Muḥammad b. 'Ar'arah b. al-Barrand. Thus, the total number of Ibn Sa'd's authorities reaches 263, which itself is a living testimony to the diversity of Ibn Sa'd's knowledge, highlighted by the fact that some of his authorities were experts on the science of Ḥadīth, biography and

specialists in the domain of jurisprudence, grammar and lineage. In view of this, I will mention briefly some of his tutors whose names are mentioned in the third *ṭabaqah*.

1- Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidī (130-207 H). Born in Medina where he received his education, he travelled later to Baghdad and to the city of Raqqa in the north of Syria. He returned after a short period of time to Baghdad where he settled permanently. In Baghdad, he was appointed as a judge, a position he held until his death. He was renowned for his great affection for history and Sīrah and once said “Whenever I met the Prophet’s Companions’ sons, I would always ask them, have you ever heard one of your parents saying anything about the battles he fought? Or do you know where he was buried? If he imparted to me knowledge about a certain place, I personally would go there to further investigate.”

Al-Wāqidī devoted all his time to the study of history, a fact noted by Ibn Sa’d who wrote: “he was a scholar in *maghāzī*, Sīrah, conquests and the scholars’ differences on Ḥadīth”⁴³

Al-Wāqidī wrote many books including *al-Ṭabaqāt*, which was never found, and which inspired Ibn Sa’d to write his own. There were also other books which have never been found, but which are mentioned by scholars of the second and third Hijri century. These are *Maqatal al-Ḥusayn*; *Kitāb al-Jamal*; *Kitāb al-Riddah*; and *Kitāb Ṣiffīn*. It seems likely that these were small booklets. and did not reach us except *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, which was edited in three volumes by Marsden Jones. A complete manuscript of *al-Maghāzī* is lodged in the British Museum.⁴⁴

It is no surprise at all that Ibn Sa’d relied heavily on al-Wāqidī since he was one of his students and benefited a great deal from his books. Ibn Sa’d himself was registered as often saying in his writing ‘al-Wāqidī said’, in reference to al-Wāqidī’s books, and that he quoted him around 73 times in this *ṭabaqah* alone.

Despite the brilliance of al-Wāqidī, many great authorities such as al-Bukhārī, Ibn al-Madīnī, al-Nisāī and al-Dhahabī note his unreliability in Ḥadīth narrations.⁴⁵ Al-Bukhārī comments that al-Wāqidī is unreliable in the narration of

Ḥadīth,⁴⁶ but his knowledge in matters of history and *maghāzī* is an authority in the eyes of Ḥadīth experts. Al-Dhahabī says “he is an undisputed authority in conquests and biographies.”⁴⁷ Al-Wāqidī narrated history on the authority of the people of Medina and he personally inspected various battle sites. However, scholars make it clear that an accommodation of errors in history and biographies is possible but the smallest error cannot be tolerated in Ḥadīth.

All sources for the biography of al-Wāqidī have concluded that he was a beneficent man to an extent that his generosity brought him financial hardship and forced him to leave Medina for Baghdad where he received the care and protection of the powerful and well-connected al-Barāmīkah family, and also that of the Caliph al-Rashīd himself. He was later appointed as a judge in the eastern sector of Baghdad.

2- ‘Affān b. Muslim (134-220 H). He was a *mawlā* of ‘Azrah b. Thābit al-Anṣārī, raised in Baṣra but lived and died in Baghdad. Al-Bukhārī and Ibn Mu‘īn narrated Ḥadīth on his authority and he was one of those who were put to the test in the *miḥnah* concerning the creation of the Qur’ān during the reign of the Caliph Ma’mūn. He stood firm in his belief and answered those who forced him to submit to their view by reciting the 112th chapter of the Qur’ān: “Say: he is God, the one and only”. His allocated financial assistance was terminated as a punishment for his stand. Ibn Sa’d, Abū Hātim and Ibn Ma‘īn have all agree that he is a sound authority and describe him as “a perfectionist, very accurate in his writing and rarely erring.”⁴⁸ The number of *aḥādīth* related by Ibn Sa’d on his authority totalled thirty-four.

3- Al-Faḍl b. Dukayn (130-219 H) He was called Abū Na‘īm from Kufa and was a *mawlā* to the house of Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayd-Allāh al-Taymī. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Zuhayr b. Ḥarb and Muḥammad b. Sa’d all narrated Ḥadīth on his authority. Even al-Bukhārī narrated Ḥadīth on his authority and he was of one his principal teachers. He was an authority on Ḥadīth and passed the test of the creation of the Qur’ān where he refused to follow others but answered back by

saying “I was in Kufa where more than 700 scholars say the Qur’ān is the word of Allāh, and it is far easier for me to lose my head than to say what you want.”⁴⁹

His narration of Ḥadīth is related and accepted by the six greatest scholars of this discipline and others; he has an inclination to value Imām ‘Alī over Imām ‘Uthmān, but without extremism and defamation.⁵⁰ Ibn al-Nadīm records that he has many books such as *al-Manāsik* and *Masā’il fi al-Fiqh*.⁵¹ Ibn Sa’d quotes him 29 times in this *ṭabaqah*.

4- Abū Dawūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 203 H). He was Sulaymān b. Dawūd al-Ḥāfīz al-Baṣrī, one of the Ḥadīth narrators on whose authority many eminent scholars such as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd and Muḥammad b. Sa’d relate Ḥadīth. He says of himself, “I could relate thirty thousand *aḥādīth*”. Al-Nisā’ī regards him as one of the most trustworthy scholars,⁵² and Ibn Sa’d considers him “a sound authority relating a great number of *aḥādīth*, but he may err.”

5- ‘Ubayd-Allāh b. Mūsa (120-213 H). He was the son of the Kufan scholar al-Mukhtār and the first who classified *al-Musnad* according to the narrating companions. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal narrates a few *aḥādīth* on his authority and Ibn Mu‘īn says he is trustworthy in Ḥadīth, where his narrations are mentioned in the six books. He was a noted reciter of the Qur’ān and held some affection for the Shī‘ah, but acknowledged the seniority of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. On the other hand, he never permitted anyone to step into his house if he carried the name of Mu‘āwiyah.⁵³

6- Sulaymān b. Ḥarb al-Wāshīḥī (d. 224 H). Ibn Sa’d said: “He is trustworthy, relating a great number of *aḥādīth* and he held the post of judge in Mecca but after his dismissal he returned to Basra where he died.”⁵⁴

7- Ma‘n b. ‘Īsa (d. 198 H). He was al-Imām al-Ḥafīz Abū Yaḥya al-Madanī, one of the most notable of Imām Mālik’s Companions. Ibn Sa’d said of him “he is a sound authority, relating a great number of *aḥādīth*, and he records Ibn Mālik’s edicts. He was nicknamed al-Qazzāz, for he was a trader and a silk manufacturer.”⁵⁵

8- Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar (called Abū 'Umar al-Ḥawḍī). 'Alī b. al-Madīnī said “the trustworthiness of Abū 'Umar was a matter of consensus amongst the people of Baṣra.”

9- Muḥammād b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Anṣārī. He was descended from the line of Ibn Mālik and was regarded by al-Nisā'ī as “an acceptable authority.”

The students of Ibn Sa'd

It is not recorded in the books of biography that Ibn Sa'd had a great number of students. Unlike his counterparts, he did not devote time to teaching and establishing circles of knowledge. Of the well known students of his were the following:

1- Aḥmad b. Yaḥya al-Balādhurī. He is the well-known historian and author of the famous books *Futūḥ al-Buldān* and *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*. He is described by al-Dhahabī as “an eloquent writer and poet”,⁵⁶ and by Ibn al-Nadīm as “one of the translators from the Persian language to the Arabic.”⁵⁷ He died in 279 H.

2-Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd b. Nāṣiḥ (?-278 H), a hadithist and linguist from Baghdad,⁵⁸ nicknamed Abū Usayda. His narrations, according to al-Dhahabī, suffer from flaws.

3- Al-Ḥarith b. Muḥammad b. Abū Usāmah from Baghdad (186-282 H). He was a *mawlā* of Banū Tamīm and the author of the famous *al-Musnad*, which he did not classify either according to the names of the Companions or the subjects of jurisprudence.⁵⁹ Through him al-Ṭabarī came to know *al-Ṭabaqāt*,⁶⁰ and through him Ibn Sa'd's manuscript of *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* reached us. Al-Dāraquṭnī regards him as trustworthy, and Ibn Ḥibbān ranks him in the class of trustworthy scholars.

4- Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Fahhām (211-289 H). He is also one of those through whom *al-Ṭabaqāt* has reached us. However, he added more biographies to it such as the biography of his mentor Ibn Sa'd. He had vast knowledge and was an expert in the science of lineage and men.⁶¹

5- Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunyā (208-281 H). He was the author of many books on ascetic (*zuhhād*) issues, biography and history, and through him a copy of the *al-Ṭabaqāt* reached the Maghrib and al-Andalus.

6- Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī (214-317 H). He was the author of *al-Sunnan*,⁶² covering all jurisprudence schools and *al-Musnad*.

Ibn Sa'd's publications

1- *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*.⁶³ It is also known as *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*,⁶⁴ consisting originally of fifteen volumes but published in nine volumes with indexes in Leiden,⁶⁵ and reprinted in Beirut (2ed) 1975-1960 under the supervision of Iḥsān 'Abbās. This edition is a mere copy of the European one except for the deletion of footnotes and differences between manuscripts. These editions suffer from lack of material in many parts such as the *ṭabaqah* of the Ṭābi'ūn in Medina, the fifth *ṭabaqah* of junior Companions, and the third *ṭabaqah* of Companions who embraced Islam after the battle of al-Khandaq - which is the subject of this research.

2- *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣaghīr*: This is mentioned by Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Nadīm⁶⁶, al-Dhahabī,⁶⁷ al-Ṣafadī,⁶⁸ and Fuat Sezgin,⁶⁹ who says that "It seems that this book was authored before the *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*." However, a different opinion suggests that this could be a summary of *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*.⁷⁰

3- *Kitāb al-Tarīkh*. This is mentioned by al-Dhahabī⁷¹ and al-Kattānī.⁷²

4- Ibn al-Nadīm is alone in mentioning that he had a book called *Akhhār al-Nabī*. However, Horowitz is of the opinion that this book was separate from *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* but added later by Ibn Ma'rūf al-Khashshāb to form its first and second chapters around the year 300 H.⁷³

5- *al-Zukhruf al-Qaṣrī fī Tarjamat Abī Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*. This was attributed to Ibn Sa'd. But the truth is that this book was authored by al-Dhahabī who says in his biography of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: "I have a separate biography of al-Baṣrī in a book I named *al-Zukhruf al-Qaṣrī*."⁷⁴

The death of Ibn Sa'd

The consensus of all books written about Ibn Sa'd is that he died in 230 H in Baghdad. Al-Dhahabi says that he passed away on Sunday, the 4th of Jumada al-Thani⁷⁵ and was laid to rest in Bab al-Sham cemetery.⁷⁶

Second chapter

The methodology of Ibn Sa'd in *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*

The word *ṭabaqah* (pl. *ṭabaqāt*) in the Arabic language means 'group of people'. It also refers to resemblance, and the *ṭabaqāt* of people are their class or ranks. The use of this term came to mean a group of people who are contemporaries and are similar in age. In the Islamic heritage another term, which is very close to the meaning of *ṭabaqah*, is *qarn* which can be translated as 'generation', as in the Prophetic ḥadīth: "The best of my community is my generation (*qarnī*), and then those who will come after them, and then those who will come after them."⁷⁷ The ḥadīth refers to the generation of the Companions of the Prophet and then the Tābi'īn. It is due to this above usage that Rosenthal sees the system of classes (*ṭabaqāt*) as an authentic Islamic division, and indeed the first division in Islamic historical thought.⁷⁸ In this regard al-Dhahabī sets ten-years as the extent of a *ṭabaqah*, but Ibn Sa'd classifies the Companions into five classes, and sub-divides every class according to the date of embracing Islam, and according to lineage. However, when Ibn Sa'd includes the geographical element, and records the residence of some Companions in the newly-conquered cities, he discounts the element of lineage.

The classification of rank by Ibn Sa'd was not accidental but followed a strict method of prioritization based on time, lineage, and place. This was partly borrowed from a system established by the second Caliph 'Omar b. al-Khatāb, which gave precedence in the distribution of state wealth to those who embraced Islam the earliest and witnessed the battle of Badr. 'Omar's system also took note of lineage; the closest to the Prophet's the more noble it was regarded to be and more worthy of aid. We find therefore that for Ibn Sa'd the first priority for establishing rank is seniority in Islam followed by the quality of lineage. It is interesting to note that in his classification of the ranks of the Tābi'ūn, Ibn Sa'd also takes into account the issue of age, and so the first rank is of those who met

the senior Companions. The second is of those who met the second rank of the Companions. Similarly, the first class of the *Tābi'ī-at-Tābi'ūn* is of those who met the first class of the *Tābi'ūn*, like Sa'd b. al-Musayyib. A third factor is added which is particularly useful for Ḥadithists wishing to investigate the plausibility of narrations, and that is residency. Priority was given to those who lived in Medina because they were nearest to the society founded by the Prophet and most likely to learn his teachings unadulterated, followed by those who live in the Arabian Peninsula, followed by Iraq. This method served well the science of Ḥadith as it enabled investigators to accurately assess the likelihood of a *Tābi'ī* meeting a Companion and transmitting a Ḥadith from him. It is very likely that one of Ibn Sa'd's objectives was to serve the science of Ḥadith by making it easier to ascertain who can be trusted with respect to narration.

After relating the Prophetic biography (*Sīrah*) in the first two volumes, Ibn Sa'd reviews the ranks of the Companions and then those who came after them. He divides the whole work into two parts: one part for men and the other for women. The division between the two sexes is based more on technical factors to do with ease of classification rather than any gender bias. The only noticeable difference between the ranking of men and women is that Ibn Sa'd places all the females in a single *ṭabaqā*, which almost suggests that the science of Ḥadith amongst women died with the first generation of Islam. Through historical investigation this does not appear to be the case; nevertheless it remains an interesting question as to why Ibn Sa'd satisfied himself with only one *ṭabaqā* for women. Though Ibn Sa'd deviates slightly from the fore-mentioned Caliph 'Omar's system by beginning with the daughters of the Prophet as opposed to his wives, in every other respect his method of prioritization for women is exactly that adopted for men.

The first rank of Companions is of those who witnessed the battle of Badr (*al-Badriyyūn*). The second is of those who had been Muslims for some time, witnessed the battle of Uḥud and subsequent battles, migrated to Abyssinia, but did not witness the battle of Badr. The third is of those who witnessed the battle

of al-Khandaq and subsequent battles. It also includes those who embraced Islam between this battle and the conquest of Makkah. The fourth rank is of those who embraced Islam at the conquest of Makkah and thereafter. The fifth rank consists of the Companions who were very young at the time of the Prophet's death, but memorized what they were told of him.

Moreover, within the same rank, Ibn Sa'd takes into account elements such as time, lineage, and status. This is illustrated in the first rank of the *al-Badriyūn*, where he begins by classifying the Prophet Muḥammad first, then his nearest relatives from Banū Hāshim and their clients, and then those belonging to Banū 'Abd-Manāf. After completing the biographies of the Muḥājirūn, their allies and clients, he relates the biographies of the Anṣār, first from al-Aws and then al-Khazraj. After completing the Companions, he lists the biographies of the Tābi'ūn, and herein he introduced a new element of definition, which is the geographical one. Thus, he begins with those residing in Medina, as it was Islam's first capital, then the other major regions and cities of the Arabian Peninsula, of Mecca, al-Ṭā'if, Yemen, al-Baḥrayn. He then moves to the east: Kufa, Basra, Wāṣiṭ, Baghdad, Khurasān, al-Rayy, and Hamadān. He follows this by focusing on al-Shām, then Egypt and rest of Africa, and then al-Andalus. However, his reports from al-Andalus are very few. The time scale is from that of the Companions, through that of the Tābi'ūn, up to the age of the author.⁷⁹

Ibn Sa'd adds another dimension in his study of the Tābi'ūn which is that of high level of narration. For example, in the classes of Medina he places first those who narrated Ḥadīth on the authority of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, then those who narrated on the authority of 'Alī and 'Uthmān, and then the rest of the Companions. He also differentiates between those who heard Ḥadīth from the companion personally, and those who read it in the Companion's own writings. He places actual hearing above that of reading, and he adheres to this principle throughout the whole book.⁸⁰

This geographical division has benefited researchers into the traditions of Islamic knowledge in different cities. In this field one encounters the school of

‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and ‘Abd-Allāh b. Mas‘ūd and their students in Kufa, and that of Anas b. Mālik, Ibn Sīrīn, and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in Basra. This division highlights the centres wherein a large number of Companions and their students resided. Hence, each one of Medina, Mecca, Kufa, and Basra, followed by al-Shām and Egypt, have a larger share of such people than the rest of the Muslim world’s cities and regions. This method also helps in pointing out the actual Tābi‘ūn who met the likes of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, and this information is essential for scholars of Ḥadīth and Fiqh.

Yet this method causes Ibn Sa’d to repeat himself. For example, a companion is from amongst the Badriyūn, a scholar of Fiqh, and resided in Kufa. In such a case Ibn Sa’d lists him thrice, as is the case with Abū Mūsa al-Ash‘arī.⁸¹ Salmān al-Fārisī is also listed thrice: in the second *ṭabaqah* of the Companions, in the *ṭabaqah* of the Companions who lived in Kufa, then with those who resided in al-Madā’in.⁸² Similarly, he lists one of the Tābi‘ūn twice: once in the *ṭabaqah* of the Tābi‘ūn of Kufa who narrated Ḥadīth from ‘Umar, ‘Alī and Ibn Mas‘ūd, and secondly among those who narrated from ‘Alī and Ibn Mas‘ūd, but not from ‘Umar. Ibn Sa’d tries to deal with this repetition by lengthening the biography in one of the instances and shortening it in another. On some occasions he lists new information on subsequent occasions.

Although Ibn Sa’d adheres to his arrangement of the classes by time, place, and lineage, he also includes a thematic arrangement that does not conform to his stated system. In this regard he singles out a chapter for the twelve Nuqabā’ of Anṣār,⁸³ and he concludes the class of the Badriyūn with the biographies of those who are said to have witnessed Badr but without a clear-cut proof to that effect.⁸⁴

Comparative analysis between Ibn Sa’d and other authors.

Of the books that raise interest in this respect is *al-Ṭabaqāt* for the historian and narrator Khalifa b. Khayāt (? – 240 H) who was a contemporary of Ibn Sa’d yet whose style and methodology differs in many ways. He included all the Companions in one *ṭabaqā* and selected lineage as the single criteria for ranking

them, disregarding seniority in Islam and other factors employed by Ibn Sa'd. For example, the uncle of the Prophet al-'Abbās is ranked second after the Prophet by Ibn Khayāt⁸⁵ while Ibn Sa'd, who divided the Companions into five *ṭabaqāt*, placed al-'Abbās only in the second *ṭabaqā*. Khalifa b. Khayāt stressed lineage so much so that he traced it back to several generations before Islam, but he did also appreciate the importance of the narration of Ḥadith to the status of a Companion, and so he strove where possible to locate a Ḥadith that was narrated by the Companion in question. In further contrast with Ibn Sa'd he did not include any information such as physical appearance, personal details, and character traits in his biographies. Despite these differences between the two historians, they both agree on the importance of *Lūqia*, or meeting, between the senior *Tābi'īn* and the Companions in the science of Ḥadith.

It is worth mentioning that those who differed from Ibn Sa'd were not restricted to his peers like Ibn Khayāt, but included also his own disciples like the renowned historian Aḥmad b. Yūḥyā al-Balādhri (? – 279 H) who compiled the book *Ansāb al-Ashraf*. Like Ibn Khayāt he relied principally on lineages, for example the highest rank belongs to those from the Prophet's clan of bani Hāshim, then bani 'Umayya, then the rest of the clans of Quraysh, after which he moves on to other Arab tribes mentioning something of their details. Al-Balādhri's book⁸⁶ glorifies the Arab clans whose warriors spread the message of Islam to the world, thereby placing them at the heart of the Islamic civilisation.

Many books were written well after Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Khayāt but adopted the *ṭabaqāt* structure. The narrator Mūsliḥ b. Ḥajāj compiled his own book also entitled *al-Ṭabaqāt*, in which he restricts himself to chronicling the Companions and the *Tābi'īn* without actually producing biographies for them. He was satisfied by just mentioning names, both male and female, and ranked these according to the significance of their place of residence, beginning with Medina, then Mecca, then Kufa, then Basra, and so forth. In the 8th Century the narrator and historian Muḥammad b. Aḥmād Al-Dhahabī (673-748 H) compiled his book entitled *Siyar*

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says 'this is according to the *Isnād* of Iraq, but our *Isnād* is that the first battle was Mirissī'.⁹⁰ When he speaks of the descent of Ibn Umm Kulthūm he says 'As for the people of Medina, they believe his name was 'Amr.'⁹¹

Ibn Sa'd applies criticism to the text itself. In the account of the fraternising of al-Mundhir b. 'Amr with Abū Dhar al-Ghifārī he says: 'How could it be like that? The Prophet (*peace be upon him*) fraternised with his Companions before the battle of Badr, and on that particular day Abū Dhar was away from Medina and never witnessed Badr.'⁹² In the Biography of Firās b. al-Naḍr he says: 'But Mūsa b. 'Uqbah and Abū Mi'shir confused him with al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith who was an infidel and was killed at Badr. His son Firās embraced Islam, migrated and was killed at the battle of Yarmūk'.⁹³ He criticises the account of the Prophet weeping at his mother's grave in Mecca when he conquered it: 'For the grave of the Prophet's mother is not in Mecca but in al-Abwā'.

2. Ibn Sa'd's approach goes into the most minute detail when he investigates a character. He speaks about paternal and maternal relations. He refers to male and female descendants and to those who died during their father's lifetime. He describes the moral characteristics, physical characteristics, type of clothing worn, colour of turban, whether hair was dyed or not, etc.

3. In some narrations he gathers all the references into one, especially if the texts are convergent. This is to avoid an overload of references on the one hand, and on the other to provide elaborate details. For instance, he tells the story of the Prophet Muḥammad sending an envoy, Buraydah b. al-Ḥaṣīb al-Aslamī to the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. In it he quotes al-Wāqidī, Abū Ma'shar al-Sandī and Mūsa b. 'Uqbah, saying 'their accounts intermingle'. However, this method can actually cause confusion; where unverifiable sources are mixed with reliable ones, to the extent that the latter are obscured, making it difficult to establish whether or not the account is true.⁹⁴

4-The method of narration used by Ibn Sa'd, along with others of the same school, take the form of, 'We were told', if heard directly from his mentor; if he read aloud a book for his mentor, he would narrate the content of the book by

saying 'We were told'. The mentor would give his disciple a book and give him permission to narrate on his behalf. Some of the books by Ibn Sa'd's mentors which cannot be found are *Kitāb al-Manāsik* by al-Faḍl b. Dikkī, *Kitāb al-Farāi'd* by Yazīd b. Hārūn and *al-Musnad* by Abū Dawūd al-Tilāsī. His mentor al-Wāqidī wrote many books, among them the lost *al-Ṭabaqāt*. Ibn Sa'd makes reference to some of these books, but without mentioning them by name.

5. Ibn Sa'd is very selective about resources. When the matter concerns Medina or the Prophet's biography he prefers to resort to the historians from Medina, whilst he ignores genealogists and the reports from Kufa. When 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī mentions that Khallād witnessed Badr, Ibn Sa'd comments that 'Muḥammad b. Ishāq, Mūsā b. 'Uqbah and Abū Ma'shar do not mention this, hence I do not believe it can be proven, and they are better informed about the Prophet's biography than anybody else.⁹⁵

6- He contributes to the Prophetic Biography when he explains in a special chapter the indications of the Prophecy as well as Muḥammad's attributes as explained in the Torah and the Bible. This forms the beginning of a new dimension in the Prophet's biography. Later on, the 'indications' are referred to as are recorded as *al-Dalā'il*, and the Prophet's morals and physical characteristics are referred to as *al-Shamā'il*, i.e. 'merits'.

7. The author is criticised for the following:

a. Too much detail when investigating a character. He provides many reports focusing on individual characteristics or an incident, whilst failing to narrate anything of material value about other personalities, simply mentioning them by name. The reason for this may be the excess of information available to him, or the high status of a particular personality. An example of this is the prolonged investigation into Anas b. Mālik in this studied part.⁹⁶

b. His scanty reports on Egypt, North Africa and Andalus; he collected what he could without travelling to these countries or trying to elicit information from those who had settled there.

c. Sometimes giving only the first name of the source he refers to; he writes, for example in the present part, 'narrated by Sa'id'.⁹⁷ However, who is the Sa'id he is referring to among his mentors? Is it Sa'id b. Sulaymān, a narrator of Yemen and Basra, or Sa'id b. 'Āmir, a narrator of Badr and the people of Madina, or Sa'id b. Manṣūr, a narrator of Medina, from the Tābi'ūn? In addition, he sometimes writes: "We were told by Muḥammad b 'Abd Allāh', without mentioning the rest of the name.⁹⁸

Ibn Sa'd's sources in this category of Companions

When expounding on this category of the Prophet's Companions, Ibn Sa'd relies on an impressive sixty-eight scholars. In particular, he draws enormously on his mentor al-Wāqidī's abundant writings. When Ibn Sa'd quotes him he uses such forms as "He told us", or 'He informed us'. On occasions he writes, 'Al-Wāqidī said', and in this case he may be referring to his books. Undoubtedly, he made use of al-Wāqidī's books, so much so that Ibn al-Nadīm accused him of compiling his own material by merely copying the works of al-Wāqidī. This is untrue, for in fact out of 381 narrations he reports only 73 by al-Wāqidī, which form 19% of his references. Other narrations are on the authority of Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Anṣārī (36), Ibn Muslim (34) and al-Faḍl b. Dukīn (29). Further to these is a second group on whom he relies a dozen times or fewer, including: Muslim b. Ibrāhīm al-Farāhidī (12), Hishām Abū al-Walīd al-Taylīsī (9), Yazīd b. Hārūn (12), 'Amr b. 'Āṣim al-Kilābi (8), 'Ārim b. al-Faḍl (9), 'Ubayd-Allāh b. Mūsa (8). There is a third group on each of whom he relies once only.

Most of his mentors in this field are reliable, including Rawḥ b. 'Ubādah, Khallād b. Yaḥya, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Tā' and 'Amr b. 'Āṣim. Except for al-Wāqidī, who is not regarded as a reliable authority in the discipline of Ḥadīth, the rest of the narrators that Ibn Sa'd relies on more than others are reliable. These include 'Affān b. Muslim, al-Faḍl b. Dukīn, Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Anṣārī, Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, and Yazīd b. Hārūn.

It is noticeable, as is mentioned above, that Ibn Sa'd is selective and accurate. When he discusses at length the scholar Anas b. Mālik and the Medina period he resorts to specific sources. Whereas when he writes about the Basra period he uses different sources altogether. However, if he does not find any substantial material about a person mentioned in Medina, he admits that he could not find his name in *Kitāb al-Anṣār*. This would suggest that he relied not only on word of mouth but also on books and documents.

Analytical Study of the Investigated Text

1. Ibn Sa'd divides the Prophet's Companions into five categories. The third category is of those who witnessed the battle of al-Khandaq, as well as those who embraced Islam from the time of al-Khandaq to the conquest of Mecca. In his approach he concentrates on period and lineage. With regards to lineage, Ibn Sa'd begins with the most esteemed branches first, and so he mentions the tribe, its most esteemed branches, then the lesser ones, their descendants, their allies and their *Mawālī*. The question is: In these terms, does he adhere to his methodology for this third category? We will see that, save for a few instances to be mentioned later, he does. He begins with the tribe of Khuzā'ah, whose lineage goes back to Qaḥṭān, which belongs to the Yemeni 'southern Arabs'.⁹⁹ Then he moves on to the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, who are also the descendants of Qaḥṭān. He deals first with the al-Aws tribe and their allies, and then al-Khazraj tribe, starting with Bani al-Najjār, followed by Bani Ḥārith, then Bani Sā'idah. With each tribe he mentions their allies and their clients. Finally, he mentions some Anṣār whose origins he could not find in *Kitāb al-Anṣār*, as well as the Jews of Bani al-Naḍīr and Qurayzah who embraced Islam and became the Anṣār's allies.

There is one exception to the rules Ibn Sa'd set for this category. Al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr was a young Companion of the Prophet who was born in the first year of the Hijra and who did not witness the battle of al-Khandaq. Moreover, al-Nu'mān was born in a Muslim household, and therefore cannot be

placed in the ranks of those who 'embraced' Islam. It would seem more appropriate if he were placed in the fifth *ṭabaqah*, with the young Companions such as 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Zubayr, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. In his biography of al-Nu'mān Ibn Sa'd writes that he was the first-born of the Anṣār, and that the Prophet died when he was still young according to the narration of the people of Medina, which is more accurate than that of the narration of the people of Kufa, who claimed he was older.¹⁰⁰

2. It should be noted that the Companions who were young men of sixteen years or so at the time of the battle of al-Khandaq are considered by Ibn Sa'd to belong to this category, e.g. Abū Bashr al-Māzinī who participated in al-Khandaq as young man. Also, there is Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī who was deemed too young to fight in the battle of Uhud, which means that he was around sixteen at al-Khandaq. There is also Sahl b. Sa'd who was nine on the arrival of the Prophet at Medina. Therefore, he is considered to be one of the Anṣār's young men, who embraced Islam along with their parents.

3. He provides very accurate information about the Prophet's Companions and the age they lived in. For instance, he writes that Abū Yazīd al-Anṣārī is one of the six who collated the Qur'ān during the Prophet's lifetime.¹⁰¹ He also gives invaluable documented information about Anas b. Mālik and the relationship between the Tābi'ūn and the Companions. In this context he writes how Thābit al-Banānī used to kiss Anas's hand, explaining that it was "a palm that had touched the Prophet's palm." Moreover, he refers to the different kinds of food people used to consume.¹⁰² He elaborates on the biography of Anas, so much so that it covers sixteen pages of manuscript out of 55 pages that make up the seventh chapter. Furthermore, important information about Zayd b. Thābit fills nine pages of manuscript. He alludes to Zayd's learning of the Hebrew and Syriac languages so that he could read to the Prophet the correspondence he used to receive. In addition to that, he mentions how Zayd collated the Qur'ān when Abū Bakr, the first Caliph, was in power. He then refers to his relationship with the third Caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and Zayd's attempt to defend him before his

death. He does something similar in his biographies of 'Abd-Allāh b. Salām, Zayd b. Arqam and 'Imrān b. al- Haṣīn. In these biographies he introduces thorough information which benefits historians and ḥadīthists alike and provides a realistic picture of the period and the life of the Companions. In his detailed description of their daily lives he alludes to the fact that they were apt to make errors, even though they are regarded to have belonged to a preferred generation.¹⁰³ Most of these biographies in this part are concerned with al-Anṣār and especially Bani al-Najār.

4. In spite of Ibn Sa'd's objectivity and accuracy, he has errs in a few instances. In the biography of al-Fuḍayl b. al-Nu'mān¹⁰⁴ he refers to him as belonging to the Banū Salamah tribe of al-Anṣār. Since he could not find his origin in the al-Anṣār lineage, he took him for al-Ṭufayl b. al-Nu'mān. However, this al-Ṭufayl witnessed the Battle of Badr and he was martyred at al-Khandaq.¹⁰⁵ In fact Ibn Sa'd refers to him as one of the people of Badr. In reality, al-Fuḍayl b. al-Nu'mān was from the tribe of Aslam, not from Banū Salamah, and he was killed in the battle of Khaybar.

There is another mistake with regard to the period of the expedition to Bi'r Ma'ūnah. In his biography of Sahl b. 'Āmir he writes: "He was killed at Bi'r Ma'ūnah in the beginning of the thirty-second month of the Hijra." Then in the biography of 'Ubaydah b. 'Amr b. Muḥsin he writes: "He was killed at Bi'r Ma'ūnah in the beginning of the thirty-sixth month of Hijra'. But there is no doubt that this expedition took place at the beginning of the fourth year of the Hijra. Another mistake occurs when he writes in the biography of Mu'ādh b. al-Ḥārith, "He was killed at the battle of Yawm al-Ḥarra (36 H), during Mu'āwiyah's caliphate." However, the truth is that he was killed during Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah's caliphate.¹⁰⁶

Sometimes he writes in an ambiguous way: 'Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl citing Anas said...' The reader would think that Ḥamīd was narrating on the authority of Anas, but the fact is Anas had already died by that time. What he means is that Ḥamīd tells us that Anas kept a bundle of musk in his coffin.¹⁰⁷ Likewise, when citing

‘Imrān b. Muslim on the authority of Anas, he means to write about Anas and not to narrate on his authority.¹⁰⁸

Chapter 3

Authentication of the Text

The authenticity of this manuscript - the part of the third Category Companions - and its authorship by Ibn Sa'd is beyond any doubt for the following reasons:

- All biographers who studied Ibn Sa'd like al-Dhahabī¹⁰⁹ and Ibn Khallikān¹¹⁰ mention his book *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* and refer to it in their own books. Ibn Khallikān says that it was 15 volumes.
- *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* itself contains a biography of Ibn Sa'd which is beyond doubt based on information provided by his disciple Ibn Abū Fahīm who reports on his mentor's death. Moreover, he writes: "Ibn Sa'd is the author of *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*,"¹¹¹
- *Isnāds* mentioned in the first page of *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* reveal that it was compiled by Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd b. Manī' al-Kātib, narrated by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad b. Abū Usāmah al-Tamīmī. Furthermore, Part Seven of *al-Ṭabaqāt*, which forms the largest part of the current study, reveals in the first page that it was compiled by Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad b. Sa'd, narrated by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Fahm.
- Some narrations appearing in the printed part of the manuscript match exactly the manuscript, as is shown by the following narration about the inquiry of the sons of Anas b. Mālik to their father: "O Father! Would you speak to us the way you speak to strangers?"¹¹²
- Many notable authors reference to *al-Ṭabaqāt*, and particularly the third *ṭabaqah*, indicates their dealing with it. In the biography of 'Abd-Allāh b. Salām, as an example, al-Dhahabī writes, "Muḥammad b. Sa'd said: His name was al-Ḥuṣayn, but the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) changed it to 'Abd-Allāh. His descendants go back to the sons of Yūsuf the son of Ya'qūb (Peace be upon them), and he was an ally of the Qwāqilah Tribe."¹¹³ This account is found verbatim in the biography of 'Abd-Allāh b. Salām in the manuscript.¹¹⁴ Ibn Ḥajar also cites this particular

text from Ibn Sa'd.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, in his biography of Fuḍayl b. al-Nu'mān, Ibn Ḥajar repeats Ibn Sa'd's words. He writes: "And so we found him in the Battle of Khaybar. We traced his descent from Banū Salamah but we could not find it. I would think he erred here and meant al-Ṭufayl b. al-Nu'mān."¹¹⁶ But in the manuscript we find, 'I would think he was just a sham'. The meaning is almost the same but it indicates that Ibn Ḥajar did study this part of the manuscript.

In the biography of Abū Sa'd b. Wahb al-Naḍarī, Ibn Ḥajar writes, "Ibn Sa'd produced a ḥadīth by al-Wāqidī supported by Usāmah b. Abū Sa'd, and he mentioned it." The text itself can be found in this part of the manuscript.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, In the biography of Abū Sa'd b. Faḍālah al-Anṣārī, Ibn Ḥajar wrote: "Ibn Sa'd mentioned it in the People of Khandaq *ṭabaqah*."¹¹⁸

- Ibn Sa'd divided The Prophet's Companions into five *ṭabaqāt*. The printed part does not comprise the third *ṭabaqah*. In the fourth volume of the printed part he speaks about the second *ṭabaqah*: 'those who did not witness the Battle of Badr but were of the early Muslims.' However, biographers from the orientalist, who specialised in the study of Categories, used a title, on page 252, such as: 'Companions who embraced Islam before the Conquest of Mecca.' Since they believed there was a lot missing and have not lay hand on the third's Library manuscript (Ahmed), they started with Khālīd b. al-Walīd. The orientalist Julis Libert, in his introduction to the edition of the fourth *ṭabaqah* and after looking into Wettssein's manuscript (number 349) wrote that 'The manuscript is incomplete, big portions are missing in the beginning, middle and end.' This is true, especially in the third *ṭabaqah*. Nevertheless, Ahmed The Third's Library manuscript, Volume 6: leaf 67, speaks about 'The third *ṭabaqah* from Muhājirīn and Anṣār who witnessed the al-Khandaq Battle and after...' In leaf 191, and after an account of the life of Qays b. al-Miḥsir, he says, 'The Yemeni tribes such as Azd b. al-Gawth'. He then launches into the biography of Bisr b. Abū Sufyān. In leaf 251: Volume 6, he also says, 'Moreover, the third category of the Anṣār who witnessed al-Khandaq and the subsequent events from the Aws...'

-In this part about the third *ṭabaqah*, Ibn Sa'd's way of presenting narrations and material is similar to his presentation of the rest of the *ṭabaqāt*: He gives the name of the person, his sons, wives, the lineage of his forefathers, his moral and physical characteristics, details about his clothing and dyeing, as he does when he speaks about Anas b. Mālik and Abū Barzah al-Aslamī.

- We notice also in this part that he repeatedly mentions his mentors whom he speaks about in the rest of the categories, e.g. al-Faḍl b. Dakin, 'Ubayd-Allāh b. Mūsa, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Anṣārī. As in the other parts, he keeps on referring to his mentor al-Wāqidī.

Copies of the Manuscripts and their Description

In my study of this part of the third *ṭabaqah* of the Prophet's Companions, I relied on a principal copy from Ahmad III's Library in Istanbul. Its number is 2835/7, in a collection dates back to the seventh century H.¹¹⁹ This particular part can be found at the end of the sixth Volume from leaf 191 to the end of the volume, leaf 274. Most of it is printed and begins with the Biography of Bisr b. Sufyān. The entire seventh Volume of the manuscript consists of 55 leafs, totalling 110 pages, 18cm x 12cm. Each page has 17 lines. It is a good copy. The first page of the manuscript refers to its author. In the right hand corner of the second page you can see a stamp indicating the library's ownership of the manuscript. The script is vocalised *nasikh*. At the end of the seventh Volume he mentions the fourth *ṭabaqah* of those who embraced Islam at the Conquest of Mecca and after. The titles of the biographies are written in large script in the middle of the page, e.g. Bisr b. Sufyān or Abū Barza al-Aslamī. Occasionally, clarification about a particular word is provided in the margin by the transcriber, but these are few.¹²⁰

As indicated in the first page of Part Seven, the one who narrates the first two sections is al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Fahm. However, we find the narration of al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abū Usāmah in the first part of the manuscript.¹²¹

The seventh part is divided into smaller parts ranging between nine to ten pages. It is indicated in the upper left-hand corner as follows: The Second of the Seventh *ṭabaqah* or the third of the Seventh *ṭabaqah*, and so on.

The Isnād of the Seventh Part is presented as follows:

- Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr.
- Written By: Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Manī' al-Kātib.
- Narrated by: Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh, citing from the author.
- Narrated by: Abū al-Ḥassān Aḥmad b. Ma'rūf al-Khashāb, citing from Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Fahm.
- Narrated by: 'Umar Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Ḥayawiyah, citing Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Ma'rūf Al-Khashāb.
- Narrated by: Abū Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī, authorised.
- Narrated by: al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī, authorised by Abū Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Jawharī.
- Narrated by: 'Abd Allāh b. Dahbul b. Kart citing Judge Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī.
- Narrated Abū al-Hajjaj Yūsuf b. Khalīl b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Dimashqī, citing 'Abd Allāh b. Dahbul.
- Yūsuf b. Khalīl al-Dimashqī (d. 648 H.) is the last narrator in this copy and he is as reliable as the rest of the narrators. The first narrator, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Fahm (d. 289 H), is acknowledged as reliable by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.¹²² Aḥmad b. Ma'rūf al-Khashāb (d. 321 H.) is reliable also.¹²³ Muḥammad b. Ḥayawiyah (d. 382 H) is a reliable and pious person.¹²⁴ As for al-Jawharī (d. 454 H), he was described by al-Dhahabī as 'The Sincere'.¹²⁵ Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Dhahabī authenticated al-Anṣārī (d. 535 H).¹²⁶

Ibn Dahbal (d. 595 H) is cited by al-Ḍiyā' al-Maqdisī; he (Ibn Dhbal) cites Abū Bakr al-Anṣārī and his account aroused no criticism or credibility either way,

and Yūsuf b. Khalīl who was described as resourceful, knowledgeable and a strong participant in authentication by al-Dhahabī.¹²⁷

This copy was read for al-Ḥāfiẓ Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī whose narration was validated by some copies of *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* (Leiden and Beirut). His own work is a reliable source and Ḥāfiḍh. He died in the year 705H.

I refer to the Istanbul MS as 'M'. The other MS is Berlin Wettsrein 349. The handwriting is almost illegible and it is incomplete. It begins with 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn's Biography without mentioning the beginning of the Yemenis, and concludes with Muḥsin b. Abū Qays b. al-Aslat. The scribe provides very few comments in the margin. The comments are also divided into parts, for instance he says in the left-hand corner of the page 'the fourteenth'. This MS is referred to as 'B'.

The Importance of the Text under Investigation

The importance of the part edited here of the third *ṭabaqah* of the Companions lies in importance of the work as a whole. For, as we mentioned earlier, it is one of the oldest Islamic reference works that we have; it expounds on the Prophet's life, his Companions, and those who came after them, up to the author's own time. In fact, researching into this part will bridge the gap in the printed *ṭabaqat*.

This part contains biographies of various notable Companions such as 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn, Anas b. Mālīk, Abū Barzah al-Aslamī, Qays b. Sa'd, 'Abd-Allāh b. Salām and Zayd b. Thābit, who was entrusted with the collation of the Qur'ān during Abū Bakr's period. It also contains very good authenticated information about the economic and social life of the Companions, the kind of clothing they wore, the type of furniture in their houses, their personal characteristics, etc. It also provides an insight into their customs and the etiquette which they adhered to, which distinguished them and their disciples as well.

Moreover, it provides invaluable documented information regarding the relationship between Anas b. Mālīk and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, between Qays b. Sa'd and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, between 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn and Abū Barzah al-Aslamī, and

'Ubayd-Allāh b. Zayd, Iraq's governor, in addition to information about Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī and the Battle of al-Ḥarra in Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah's time. It thus furnishes us with a picture of the political life of the period.

Method of Research

1-I have used the Istanbul MS, which is a complete copy, as the principal manuscript. and which is a complete copy. I used the Arabic modern writing in transcribing the manuscript. However the transcriber, as an example missed out the vowels in writing some names - Othmn (Othman), Mo'wiyah (Moawiyah), Al-H'rth (Al-Harith), A'ishah (Aishah). So I used the modern conventional way of spelling.

2- I have compared the Istanbul MS with the available part of the incomplete Berlin MS, which does not contain all the biographies.

3. I have verified the text with other books about lineage such as *Jamharat Nasab al-'Arab* by Ibn Ḥazm and *Nasab Quraysh* by al-Zubayrī. Furthermore, I have verified it with different biographies such as *Wafiyāt al-A'yān*, *Siyar a'lām al-Nubalā'*, *Asad al-Ghabah*, etc. In my edition, I have also relied on specialised books on biography, so that I could clarify any ambiguity, such as *al-Maghāzī* of al-Wāqidī and *al-Durar* of Ibn 'Abd-Allāh.

4. I have referred to various books attesting the credibility of narrators (*Kutub al-Rijāl*) to confirm the correctness of the names, such as *Taqrīb al-Tabdhīb*, *Asmā' al-Du'afā' wal Matrūkīn*, and *Ṭabqāt al-Asmā' al-Mufradah mina al-Ṣaḥābah wa al-Ṭabi'īn*.

5. When I could not read the script of an entry I copied it exactly as it appeared and provided the various readings that were possible. This occurred very rarely.

6. I have explained the obscure vocabulary items and commented on them when necessary.

7. I have used modern punctuation marks.

8. I have not edited the whole of the third *ṭabaqah* of the Yemenis who embraced Islam between the battle of al-Khandaq and the Conquest of Mecca. I have edited a part of the work missing from the printed text, beginning with the Yemeni *ṭabaqah* from Azd and the Khuzā'iyīn which starts with Bishr b. Sufyān. This *ṭabaqah* was not included in the Leiden copy, presently the only available printed copy. Some biographies are in the Leiden text but incomplete, so I have completed them from the MS. I have corrected the mistakes I have come across in the printed text and also established their authenticity, e.g. Imrān b. Husayn's biography and Abū Barzah al-Aslamī's biography.

9. I provided two brackets for commenting in the margin of each page, and I gave a serial number without brackets for each text with one margin at the end of the text.

10. I have numbered the biographies serially. There are 65 biographies altogether.

Notes:

- ¹ Muṣṭafā, Shākir. *Al-Ṭarīkh wa al-Mu'arrikhīn* (Dār al-'Ilm Lil-Malāyīn, Beirut, 1983) Vol. 1, p 167.
- ² al-Sakhāwī, *al-I'lān bi al-Taba'īkh liman Dhamma al-Ṭarīkh*, ed. by Franz Rosental, (Beirut, n.d.)
- ³ al-Khaṭīb, M. *al-W'ajīz fī 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*. (Mu'asasat al-Risālah, Beirut, 1985) p.74
- ⁴ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* Vol. 4, p.261. He mentions that the salary of the governor of Egypt 'Amr b. al-'Ās was 200 Dinars
- ⁵ al-'Alī, Ṣāliḥ. *Ṭanzīmāt al-Baṣrah*. (Dār al-Ṭalīfah, Beirut, 1969) p.65
- ⁶ al-'Umari, Akram. *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyah al-Ṣaḥīḥah*. (Maktabat al-'Ulūm, Medina, 1993) Vol. 2, p541.
- ⁷ 'Abbās, Iḥsān, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, Introduction.
- ⁸ Maṣṣūr, Ziyād. A publication of the Islamic University. (Medina, 1983)
- ⁹ al-Sulamī, Muḥammad. A publication of Umm al-Qura University. (Mecca, 1993)
- ¹⁰ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 7, p 364.
- ¹¹ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*. (Dar al-Ma'rifah, Beirut, n. d). p.145
- ¹² al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ṭarīkh Baghdād*, vol. 5, p. 321. (Beirut, n.d)
- ¹³ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*. Edited by Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūṭ et al. (Beirut, 1981).
- ¹⁴ Otto Loth, 'Ursprung und Bedeutung der Tabakat, vornehmlich der Ibn Sa'd. *Zeitschrift der Deutsche Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. (1869, vol. 32, pp593-614). Otto Loth also has a complete book on Ibn Sa'd: *Das Classenbuch des Ibn Sa'd*. (Leipzig, 1959) See also Mūsa, 'Izz al-Dīn. *Ibn Sa'd wa Ṭabaqātuh*. (Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmi, Beirut, 1987) p10.
- ¹⁵ J. Horowitz, *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophets and its Authors*. (1928). Translated into Arabic by Ḥusayn Naṣār as *al-Maqbāz al-Ūla wa Mu'alifihā*. p 126.
- ¹⁶ Muṣṭafā, Shākir. *Al-Ṭarīkh al-'Arabī wa al-Mu'arrikhīn*. (Dar al-'Ilm Lil-Malāyīn, Beirut, 1938). Vol. 1, p166.
- ¹⁷ For more information on Ibn Sa'd's biography, see:
- His own student in *al-Ṭabaqāt*, Vol.7, p 364.
 - Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p 145.
 - Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*. Vol. 3, p10
 - Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ṭarīkh Baghdād*, Vol. 5, p 321.
 - Ibn Khallikan, *W'affiyāt al-A'yān*, Vol. 4, p351.
 - Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, Vol.10, p 664.
 - *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmiyyah*, Vol. 3, p 946.
 - Fu'ād Afram al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif*, Vol. 3, p178.
- ¹⁸ *Al-Ṭabaqāt* Vol. 3, p364, and also in *W'affiyāt al-A'yān*, (Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, n.d) Vol. 3, p 473.
- ¹⁹ al-'Alī, Ṣāliḥ. *Tatawwur al-Ḥarakah al-Fikriyyah fī Ṣaḍr al-Islām*. (Beirut, 1983) p. 32.
- ²⁰ Al-Zarkalī, *al-A'lām*, (Beirut, 1989) Vol. 2, p. 314
- ²¹ Amīn, Aḥmad. *Duḥā al-Islām* (Beirut, no date) Vol. 2, p.316. also: Shākir Muṣṭafā. *Al-Ṭarīkh al-'Arabī wa al-Mu'arrikhīn*. (Dar al-'Ilm lil Malāyīn, Beirut, 1938). Vol. 1, p184 - 189.
- ²² The Qur'ān stresses the importance of seeking knowledge to the extent that the term "ilm", and its derivatives is mentioned 624 times there.
- ²³ Ibn Al-Imād. *Shadharat al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab*. (Damascus, 1986) vol. 3, p139.
- ²⁴ Ibn Sa'd. *Al-Ṭabaqāt*. Vol 3, p 513.
- ²⁵ See page 79 of the edited Arabic text.
- ²⁶ See page 88 of the edited Arabic text.
- ²⁷ Ibn Ḥajar. *Fath al-Bārī*. (al-Maktabah al-Salafiyyah, Cairo, 1407 H) Vol 8, p 82.
- ²⁸ Al-Dhahabī. Vol. 7, p.109.
- ²⁹ Ibn Sa'd. Vol 6, p 387.
- ³⁰ Ibid. Vol 7, p 335.
- ³¹ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. Vol 5, p 321.
- ³² Al-Dhahabī, *Miḡān al-'Iḍāl*. Ed. 'Alī al-Bijāwī. (Dār al-Fikr, Beirut, n.d) Vol 3, p 560.
- ³³ Ibn Ḥajar. *Tabdhīb al-Tabdhīb*. (Dar al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, Cairo, 1993) Vol 9, p 182.
- ³⁴ Khallikān, Ibn. *W'affiyāt al-A'yān*. (Beirut, n.d) Vol 4, p 351.
- ³⁵ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. Vol 5, p 322

- ³⁶ al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb Al-Maghāi*, ed. Marsden Jones ('Ālam Al-Kitāb, Beirut 1965), p.138
- ³⁷ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt*, Vol. 4, p.12
- ³⁸ Ibn Sa'd. Vol 7, p. 286.
- ³⁹ Ibid, p.288.
- ⁴⁰ Jad'an, Fahmi. *al-Miḥnah*. (Amman, 1989) p. 22.
- ⁴¹ Mūsa, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Umar. *Ibn Sa'd wa Ṭabaqātuh*. See also M. al-Salamī, as above.
- ⁴² 'Izz al-Dīn Mūsa edited the part relating the classes of Tābi'īn who were from Medina, published by the Islamic University of Medina.
- ⁴³ Sa'd, Ibn. Vol 5, p 314.
- ⁴⁴ Mustafa, Shākir. Vol. 1, p165.
- ⁴⁵ Regarding al-Wāqidi, see Ibn Hajar's *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p 498. Also al-Dhahabī's *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'* Vol 9, p 454.
- ⁴⁶ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. Vol 3, p14.
- ⁴⁷ Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz* . Vol.1, p 348.
- ⁴⁸ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*. vol 10, p.242. Also *Ibn Sa'd*, vol 7, p336, and Ibn Al-'Imād, vol 3, p 96.
- ⁴⁹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. Vol 12, p 349.
- ⁵⁰ *Mizān al-'Itidāl*. vol 3, p 350.
- ⁵¹ Al-Nadīm, Ibn. *Al-Fihrist*, p 317.
- ⁵² Al-Dhahabī, Vol 9, p 378.
- ⁵³ Ibid. Vol 9, p.556.
- ⁵⁴ Ibn Sa'd. Vol 7, p 300.
- ⁵⁵ Al-Dhahabī. Vol 9, p 304.
- ⁵⁶ Al-Dhahabī. Vol 13, p 162.
- ⁵⁷ Al-Fihrist. p164.
- ⁵⁸ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Vol 4, p 258. Also *al-Dhahabī*, Vol 13. p 193
- ⁵⁹ al-Dhahabī, Vol. 13, p.388.
- ⁶⁰ *Fihrist Tarīkh al-Ṭabarī*. Vol 10, p 388. Also Ibn Sa'd, vol.1. p 19.
- ⁶¹ Ibn Sa'd. Vol 7, p 364. Also Ibn al-'Imād. vol 3, p 347.
- ⁶² Al-Fihrist. p 325.
- ⁶³ Sezgin, Fuat. *Tarīkh al-Turāth*, vol 1, p 481. This title was confirmed by the volumes of the Istanbul manuscript. Also in other references like *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*. Vol 10. p 664.
- ⁶⁴ Al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa al-Lughāt*. Vol. 1, p 6.
- ⁶⁵ 1904-1928. The first volume was edited by E. Mittwoch and E. Sachau, the second by J. Horowitz, the third by J. Horowitz and E. Sachau, the fourth by J. Lippert, the fifth and sixth by K. V. Zettersteen, the seventh by B. Meissner and E. Sachau, the eighth C. Brockelmann. Then E. Sachau listed an index of names, places, Qur'ānic verses, hadīth and poetry as a ninth volume.
- ⁶⁶ Al-Fihrist. p 112.
- ⁶⁷ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*. Vol 10. p 664.
- ⁶⁸ *Al-Wāfi bil Wafiyāt*. Vol 3, p 88.
- ⁶⁹ Sezgin, Fuat. *Tarīkh al-Turāth*. (Riyadh, Imām Ibn Sa'ūd University publication, 1983) vol 8, p 482.
- ⁷⁰ Mūsa, 'Izz al-Dīn. *Ibn Sa'd wa Ṭabaqātuh*. (Beirut, 1987) Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī. p. 25.
- ⁷¹ Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Ibar fī Akhbār man Ghabar*. (Kuwait, 1963) Vol 1 p. 407.
- ⁷² *Al-Risālah al-Mustatrafah*. (Beirut, Dār ak-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1400 H) p 104.
- ⁷³ Horowitz, J. *Al-Maghāzī al-Ūla*. p 127. This book was published in its entirety under the title: *Ibn Saad, Biographien Muhammads, Seiner Gefahren Islams bis zum Jahre 230 der flucht*, as mentioned in *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmiyyah*. 1933. Vol 1, p 207.
- ⁷⁴ *Tadhkirat al-Huffādh*. Vol.1 p 72.
- ⁷⁵ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*. Vol 10. p 666.
- ⁷⁶ Al-Bustānī. *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif*. Vol 3, p 178.
- ⁷⁷ Al-Albānī. Naṣir al-Dīn, *Ṣaḥīḥ Abī Dawūd*. (Riyadh, 1989).
- ⁷⁸ Al-'Alī, Ṣāliḥ. (tr) *Ilm al-Ta'rikh 'inda al-Muslimīn*. (Beirut, Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1983) p 133.
- ⁷⁹ The fact that Ibn Sa'd made the whole Islamic World the subject of his study, and was not subject to personal or regional prejudice, shows his broadness of horizon and comprehensiveness of outlook.
- ⁸⁰ Ibn Sa'd. Vol. 7, p 156.
- ⁸¹ Ibid., vol. 2, p 344; vol. 4, p 105; and vol. 6, 16.
- ⁸² Ibid., vol. 4, p 75; vol. 6, p 216; and vol. 7, p 318.
- ⁸³ Ibid., vol. 3, p 603.

- ⁸⁴ Ibid., vol. 3, p 623.
- ⁸⁵ Khalifa b. Khayāt, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Akram 'Umari, (Riyadh, 1980)
- ⁸⁶ Aḥmad b. Yihyā al-Balādhri, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd-Allah, (Cairo, n.d.)
- ⁸⁷ The text. p. 90.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 62.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 67.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 81.
- ⁹¹ Ibn Sa'd. Vol 4, p. 205.
- ⁹² Ibid., vol. 4, p 17.
- ⁹³ Ibid., vol. 4, p.122.
- ⁹⁴ See: al-'Alī, Ṣāliḥ. *Tatawwur al-Harakah al-Fikriyyah*, p.35. And also Muṣṭafa. Shākir, *al-Tarīkh wal Mu'rikhīn*. Vol 1, p.165.
- ⁹⁵ Ibn Sa'd, Vol 3, p. 627.
- ⁹⁶ See p. 74 of the text regarding the biography of Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī.
- ⁹⁷ The edited Arabic text. p 55.
- ⁹⁸ Ibid., p 64.
- ⁹⁹ According to Ibn Ḥazm, the tribe of Khuzā'ah from the sons of Qam'ah b. al-Yās b. Muḍar belongs to the Tribe of 'Adnān and not Qaḥṭān. This is based on the account that the Prophet saw some people from Aslam contesting in archery and addressed them by saying, 'Shoot, you Sons of Ismā'īl; your father was a good archer.' Undoubtedly, the Aslam were closely related to Khuzā'ah, because Aslam b. Afṣa b. 'Āmir was the brother of Ḥay b. 'Āmir b. Qam'ah b. al-Yās b. Muḍar. Besides, Aslam, Mālik and Malakan, the sons of Afṣa b. 'Āmir associated themselves with Khuzā'ah, therefore all of them belonged to Khuzā'ah. For more information see *Jamharat Ansāb al-'Arab*. (Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1983)
- ¹⁰⁰ The edited Arabic text. p. 91.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 97.
- ¹⁰² Ibid., p. 52.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 39.
- ¹⁰⁴ Al-Wāqidī wrote in *al-Maghāzī* that he was martyred at Khaybar, and that he was an Arab from Aslam. Vol 2, p. 700
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibn Ḥajar. *al-Iṣābah*. Ed. by al-Bijāwī, 'Alī. (Cairo, n.d) Vol. 3, p. 524. *Al-Durar*, ed. by Shawqī Ḍayf. (Cairo, n.d.) See also the text, p. 103.
- ¹⁰⁶ The edited Arabic text. p.41
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 69.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 65.
- ¹⁰⁹ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*. Vol. 10, p. 664.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*. Vol 7, p. 351.
- ¹¹¹ Ibn Sa'd. Vol 7, p. 364
- ¹¹² Ibid., Vol 7, p 14.
- ¹¹³ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*. Vol 2, p 414.
- ¹¹⁴ The edited Arabic text. p 104.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibn Ḥajar. *al-Iṣābah*. Vol 4, p 118.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid., vol 5, p 377. See also the text, p 103.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid., vol 7, p173. See also the text, p 123.
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid., vol 7, p 172.
- ¹¹⁹ Sezgin, Fuat. *Tarīkh al-Turāth al-'Arabī*, vol. 1, p 481.
- ¹²⁰ Like the use of the term 'Arndj' which means black.
- ¹²¹ See the photocopy of the first page of the first volume. P.19
- ¹²² al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Tarīkh Baghdād*. Vol. 8, p 92.
- ¹²³ Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 160.
- ¹²⁴ Ibid., Vol 3, p 121.
- ¹²⁵ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, Vol. 18, p 68.
- ¹²⁶ Ibid., Vol 20, p 25.
- ¹²⁷ Ibid., Vol. 23, p.15.

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