

... *Lā taqra'ū l-qur'āna 'alā l-muṣḥafīyyīn wa-lā taḥmilū  
l-'ilma 'ani l-ṣaḥafīyyīn* ...

## Some Notes on the Transmission of *Ḥadīth*

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*In memory of my brother Dr. Isaac Kister.*

The question of whether it is permissible to record, in writing, the utterances of the Prophet, caused a heated debate already in the early period of Islam. The reports concerning the subject are divergent and even contradictory. A scrutiny of these reports may shed some light on the development of social perceptions, in so far as the transmission of *ḥadīth* is concerned.

Several traditions state that the Prophet permitted some of his Companions to write down his utterances. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar says that he was in the court of the Prophet with a group of Companions; he was the youngest among them. The Prophet said: "Whoever tells lies about me, let him be placed in his abode in Hell."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., different versions of this tradition: Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Kashfu l-astār 'an zawā'idi l-bazzār*, ed. Ḥabību l-Raḥmān al-A'zamī (Beirut, 1399/1979), I, 112–17, nos. 204–17. Al-Quḍā'ī, *Musnad al-shihāb*, ed. Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Silafī (Beirut, 1407/1986), I, 324–31, nos. 547–66, and see the references of the editor.

Al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-shāmiyyīn*, ed. Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Silafī (Beirut, 1409/1989), I, 137, nos. 218, 142, no. 227; see the references of the editor. Al-Sayyid al-Haytham b. Kulayb al-Shāshī, *al-Musnad*, ed. Maḥfūz al-Raḥmān Zayn (al-Madīna al-munawwara, 1410), I, 96–101, nos. 33–42; 245, no. 206; 249–50, nos. 215–16; 320–23, nos. 283–89; II, 80, no. 598; 116–18, nos. 642–47; and see *ibid.* the references of the editor; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr, sharḥu l-jāmi'i l-ṣaghīr* (Beirut, 1391/1972), VI, 214–15, no. 8993, and see the references of the editor, *ibid.* Al-Qāḍī 'Iyād al-Yaḥṣubī, *al-Ilmā' ilā ma'rīfati uṣūli l-riwāya wa-taqyīdi l-samā'*, ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr (Cairo, 1389/1970), 11, 12; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fathu l-bārī, sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī* (Cairo, 1300, repr. Beirut), I, 178–81; and see al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz* (Hyderabad, 1375/1955), I, 3–4. And see I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, transl. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, ed. S.M. Stern (London, 1971), II, 127.

Al-Suyūṭī, *Jam'u l-jawāmi'* (Cairo, 1978), II, 53; 'Alī b. al-Ja'd al-Jauharī, *Musnad al-Ja'dī*, ed. 'Amir Aḥmad Ḥaydar (Beirut, 1410/1990), nos. 140, 337, 541, 560, 817, 1428, 2045, 2067. And see the different versions of the *ḥadīth*: *man kadhaba 'alayya muta'ammidan fa-l-yatabawwa' maq'adahū mina l-nār* in Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī l-Zabīdī's *Laṭīf l-la'ālī l-mutanāḥira fī l-aḥādīthi l-mutawāṭira*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Beirut, 1405/1985), 261–82, no. 61. And see this utterance thoroughly analysed by M. Muranyi in his article: "Man ḥalafa 'alā minbarī athīman," *Die Welt des Orients* (1987): 92, 131. And see Abū l-Qāsim Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *Ṭuruq ḥadīth man kadhaba 'alayya muta'ammidan*, ed. 'Alī Ḥasan 'Alī 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and Hishām b. Ismā'īl al-Saqqā ('Ammān, 1410/1990).

Later, Ibn 'Umar asked the people how they transmitted traditions about the Prophet and how they made efforts to report the Prophet's utterances after they heard his words. They laughed and said: "O son of our brother, everything we heard from the Prophet is already recorded with us in writing."<sup>2</sup>

A similar tradition is reported by Rāfi' b. Khadīj:<sup>3</sup> he asked the Prophet whether he would be permitted to write down the utterances heard from him. The Prophet gave his permission and remarked: "There is nothing bad in it," *uktubūhā wa-lā ḥaraj*.<sup>4</sup>

Abū Hurayra is said to have abstained from recording the utterances of the Prophet. This can be deduced from his statement that there was nobody (scil. from among the Companions of the Prophet -k) who surpassed him in the knowledge of *ḥadīth* except 'Abdallah b. 'Amr,<sup>5</sup> for the latter used to write down the traditions while Abū Hurayra did not.<sup>6</sup>

It is significant that the first tradition permitted by the Prophet to be written in the *ṣaḥīfa ṣādiqa* of 'Abdallah b. 'Amr is said to have been an official letter addressed by the Prophet to the people of Mecca.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil fī du'afā'i l-rijāl, al-muqaddima*, ed. Ṣubḥī l-Badrī l-Sāmarrā'i (Baghdād, n.d.), 48; al-Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāsil*, 378, no. 361.

<sup>3</sup> On him, see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamayīzi l-ṣaḥāba*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī (Cairo, 1392/1972), II, 436-37, no. 2528.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil, al-muqaddima*, 48. And see another version of the story in Ibn al-Ḥājj, *al-Madkhal* (Beirut, 1972), IV, 288; quoted from Abū Dāwūd's *Sunan*. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Shāhīn, *Nāsikhū l-ḥadīthi wa-mansūkhūhu*, ed. Samīr b. Amīn al-Zuhrī (al-Zarqā', al-Urdunn, 1408/1988), 470, no. 626; and see the references of the editor.

<sup>5</sup> 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ

<sup>6</sup> 'Abdallah b. 'Adī, *al-Kāmil, muqaddima*, 48; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamayīzi l-ṣaḥāba*, IV, 194, no. 4850; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifati l-aṣḥāb*, ed. 'Alī al-Bijāwī (Cairo, 1380/1960), III, 957, no. 1618; al-Taḥāwī, *Sharḥ ma'āni l-āthār*, IV, 318-19; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, I, 106; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī (Cairo, 1382/1963), II, 567, no. 4879; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fathū l-bārī*, I, 184-85; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-faḍlihi* (al-Madīna al-munawwara, n.d.), I, 70; and see *ibid.*, I, 72 *sup.*, 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ says that two things stimulate him in his desire for life: the scroll dictated to him by the Prophet, *al-ṣaḥīfa al-ṣādiqa*, and the estate of Waḥṭ. See this report: al-Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāsil bayna l-rāwī wa-l-wā'i*, ed. Muḥammad 'Ajjāj al-Khaṭīb (Beirut, 1391/1971), 365-67, nos. 319-24; and see the references of the editor. And see Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī: *al-Madkhal ilā l-sunani l-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Dīyā'u l-Raḥmān al-A'zamī (Kuwayt, 1405/1984), 412-13, nos. 748-51, and see the references of the editor; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lāmi l-nubalā'*, ed. As'ad Ṭalas (Cairo, 1962), III, 58 and vol. II, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, p. 432. A peculiar statement of Ka'b (al-Aḥbār) says that Abū Hurayra knew more about the Torah than any man who did not read the Torah; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, II, 432.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Abī 'Āṣim al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-awā'il*, ed. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-'Ajāmī (al-Kuwayt, n.d.), 98, no. 140. Al Ḥasan b. 'Arafa mentions in his *Juz'*, MS Chester Beatty 4433, fol. 141a, from the *ṣaḥīfa al-ṣādiqa* a supplication which the Prophet advised Abū Bakr to utter in the morning and evening.

The letters of the Prophet seem to have been especially appreciated. This is emphasized in the utterance of Muḥammad b. Sīrīn:<sup>8</sup> "Had I decided to write [these things] down [in] a book, I would record in writing the letters of the Prophet."

The letters of the Prophet addressed to kings, rulers, governors and tribal chiefs are the earliest documents reflecting the problems of the nascent Muslim community, the policy of the Prophet towards his supporters and foes, his tactics and his military resolutions.

Mujāhid (d. 104 H) one day visited 'Abdallah b. 'Amr and noticed a scroll under his head. 'Abdallah refused to allow him to peruse the scroll, *tamanna'a alayya*, asserting that it was the *ṣaḥīfa ṣādiqa* which the Prophet had dictated to him when they were alone.<sup>9</sup>

The servant of the Prophet, Anas b. Mālik, is said to have been in possession of scrolls which contained the utterances dictated to him by the Prophet.<sup>10</sup>

There is a report recorded on the authority of Abū Juḥayfa which mentions a *ṣaḥīfa* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. 'Alī is said to have asserted that the *ṣaḥīfa* contained only the prescriptions concerning the payment of the bloodwit, the freeing of prisoners, and the order not to kill a Muslim for (the crime of) killing an unbeliever.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, VII, 194

<sup>9</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, III, 58, inf.

Al-Suyūṭī, *Jam'u l-jawāmi'*, II, 525 sup.; al-Fāsi, *al-Iqd al-thamīn fī ta'rīkhi l-baladi l-amīn*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1385/1966), V, 225.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Rāmḥurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddīth al-fāsil*, 367, no. 325; and see the references of the editor. And see the tradition in Bayhaqī's *al-Madkhal ilā l-sunani l-kubrā*, 415, no. 757 with the important correction of *majāll* instead of *mikhilāt*; and see the references of the editor.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 71. And see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr = Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āyi l-qur'ān*, ed. Maḥmūd and Aḥmad Shākir (Cairo, 1958), XIII, 135–36, no. 15150, containing the *taḥrīm al-madīna*. . . . See also Abū Ya'lā al-Mausilī, *Musnad*, ed. Ḥusayn Salīm Asad (Beirut-Damascus, 1404/1984), I, 228–29, no. 263; and see the references of the editor and his comments. Al-Suyūṭī, *Jam'u l-jawāmi'*, II, 56, 60, 63.

It is evident that this statement is attributed to 'Alī in order to refute the belief held by some of his adherents that the *ṣaḥīfa* contained God's decree about the inheritance of the caliphate by 'Alī and his descendants. 'Abdallah b. al-Mubārak al-Marwazī, *al-Juz' al-thālith min musnad abī 'abd al-raḥmān 'abdallah b. al-mubārak*. . . , MS al-Zāhiriyya 18, majmū'a, fol. 121b: . . . *fa-qāla: mā 'ahida ilaynā rasūlu llāhi, ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam, shay'an lam ya'hadhu ilā l-nāsi kāffatan*. It is not rare to find in a collection of traditions a refutation of a claim put by opponents into the mouth of the claimant; see I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 114–15.

'Alī is said to have allowed Abū l-Shah to copy from this *ṣaḥīfa* the injunctions concerning the payment of bloodwit, the payment of charity, *ṣadaqa*, and other religious obligations; see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lāmi l-nubalā'*, III, 58; and see the discussion on this subject: Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fathu l-bārī*, I, 182–83.

Another case of a piece of writing, a *ṣaḥīfa*, sent by 'Alī to 'Uthmān is recorded in Ibn Ḥazm's *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūli l-aḥkām*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Azīz (Cairo, 1398/1978), I, 396. 'Alī stated that a certain spot to which 'Uthmān sent his tax

Another *ṣahīfa* is said to have been kept in the sheath of the Prophet's sword. It contained a curse on people who steal the land of their neighbours by changing the boundary markings and a curse on those who deny the favours granted them by forging their genealogy and by attaching themselves falsely to tribal factions.<sup>12</sup>

Sulaymān al-Yashkurī, when staying in Mecca, wrote a *ṣahīfa* dictated by the Companion of the Prophet Jābir b. 'Abdallah. The *ṣahīfa* remained after his death in the house of his mother in Baṣra. She was asked by the people of Baṣra to lend it to them, but she refused. She only allowed some people to read the *ṣahīfa*. Among those who came and read the *ṣahīfa* was the famous Qur'ānic commentator, Qatāda.<sup>13</sup>

Abū l-Naḍr stated that he memorized this *ṣahīfa* of Jābir b. 'Abdallah with greater concentration than the Sūrat al-Baqara.<sup>14</sup>

The commentator of the Qur'ān, Mujāhid, is said also to have transmitted traditions from the *ṣahīfa* of the Companion of the Prophet Jābir b. 'Abdallah.<sup>15</sup>

Ibn Jurayj is said to have brought a *ṣahīfa* to Hishām b. 'Urwa and asked him for permission to transmit, on his authority, the traditions heard from him and written down in the *ṣahīfa*. Hishām b. 'Urwa granted him the permission.<sup>16</sup>

Abū Hurayra seems, at some stage, to have been given the permission to write down the utterances of the Prophet. One day he approached the Prophet and complained that he was forgetting the numerous utterances. The Prophet advised him: "Get help by your right hand," *ista'in bi-yamīnika*, i.e., write down the utterances with your right hand.<sup>17</sup>

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collectors, *su'āt*, is a *ṣadaqa* of the Prophet. This statement, of course, made it necessary for 'Uthmān to recall the tax collectors.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 71, inf. Cf. the tradition recorded by Abū Ya'lā al-Mausilī, *Musnad*, VIII, 197, no. 4757: ... *wajadtu fī qā'imī sayfi rasūli llāhi (ṣ) kitāban*...; and see *ibid.* I, 424, no. 562.

<sup>13</sup> Al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 279.

<sup>14</sup> Al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 278, inf.

<sup>15</sup> See al-Fasawī, *Kitāb al-ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-'Umarī (Beirut, 1401/1981), III, 11.

<sup>16</sup> Al-Fasawī, *Al-ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 824; and see the references of the editor.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn Shāhīn, *Nāsikhu l-ḥadīth*, 469, no. 625; and see the references of the editor. 'Abdallah b. 'Adī, *op. cit.*, *muqaddima*, 49, and see the references of the editor; on other cases of the Prophet's permission to write his utterances, see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 72-75. And see the report saying that Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab permitted 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥarmala to note *ḥadīth* in writing because of his weak memory: Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Ahmad Muḥammad Nūr Sayf (Makka al-mukarrama, 1399/1979), II, 346, no. 950; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, II, 556, no. 4848. And see I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* II, 183, 184.

As for the injunction *qayyidū l-'ilma bi-l-kitāb* see: al-Ḥākīm, *al-Mustadrak*, I, 106, reported on the authority of the Prophet and transmitted by Anas b. Mālik. Ibn Shāhīn, *Nāsikhu l-ḥadīth*, 466, no. 624, and see the references of the editor.

A book of traditions transmitted by Abū Hurayra is mentioned in a report of 'Alī b. al-Madīnī. The book was in the possession of Yahyā b. Sīrīn.<sup>18</sup> It was written on old vellum, *kitāb fī raqqin 'atīq*, and preceded by the sentence: *hādihā mā ḥaddathanā abū hurayra, qāla abū l-qāsim. . .* Every *ḥadīth* ended with the sentence *hādihā ḥadīth abī hurayra* and was separated by a line which was followed by a sentence *qāla abū hurayra. . .* Every line of separation was marked by the word 'āshīratun, surrounded by dots.<sup>19</sup>

The servant of the Prophet, Anas b. Mālik, used to transmit the traditions of the Prophet. When the listeners swarmed around him, he used to bring forth some scrolls and handed them over to the listeners.<sup>20</sup>

He said that he had heard the traditions from the Prophet, had written them down, and had read them aloud in front of the Prophet, 'arada 'alayhi, and the Prophet had given his approval to transmit them.<sup>21</sup>

Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī admitted that the traditions transmitted by Sālim b. Abī l-Ja'd were more accurate because he used to record them, while he (i.e., Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī) merely memorised them.<sup>22</sup>

A tradition recorded by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal says that the Prophet permitted to write down his injunctions concerning the sacred area, the *ḥaram* of Mecca, which he issued on his conquest of the city.<sup>23</sup>

The traditions about the recording of *ḥadīth* at the time of the Prophet vary as to whether the Prophet permitted or prohibited to do that.<sup>24</sup>

The Companions of the Prophet were in the habit of circulating the utterances of the Prophet among themselves. Some of them used to write them down, like 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.<sup>25</sup>

After the death of the Prophet, some of the Companions recorded the traditions, others did not. Ibn Rajab provides us with important in-

<sup>18</sup> Because Muḥammad b. Sīrīn did not like to keep a book of *ḥadīths* in his abode; see al-Fasawī, *Al-ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 54, 59.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Fasawī, *Al-ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 54–55.

<sup>20</sup> See above note 10 concerning the emendation by Muḥammad Ḍiyā'u l-Raḥmān, who reads *majāll*; this emendation should be applied to this text as well, and the word to be read thus instead of *mujālis*.

<sup>21</sup> 'Abdallah b. 'Adī, *op. cit.*, *Muqaddīma*, 49.

<sup>22</sup> 'Abdallah b. 'Adī, *op. cit.*, *Muqaddīma*, 50.

<sup>23</sup> Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, 1373/1953), XII, 232–35, no. 7241, and see *ibid.*, the abundant references and notes to this *ḥadīth*; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān*, I, 70; al-Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāsil*, 363, no. 314, and see the references of the editor; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, VII, 202, no. 1090; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Madkhal ilā l-sunani l-kubrā*, 411, no. 745; and see the references of the editor.

<sup>24</sup> The different reports are mentioned in Ibn Rajab's (d. 795 H) *Sharḥ 'itali l-tirmidhī*, ed. Ṣubḥī l-Sāmarrā'ī (Beirut, 1405/1985), 49–50.

<sup>25</sup> See above, note 6.

formation about the first collections of *ḥadīth*. In the initial period after the death of the Prophet, at the time of the Companions and the generation following the Companions, namely the *tābi'ūn*, the collections were not divided into chapters according to subject; the purpose of those collections was merely to preserve, in script, the traditions of the Prophet. In the following generation, that of the *tābi'ū l-tābi'in*, the collections were arranged according to subject, *ṣunnifat al-taṣānif*; some scholars recorded the utterances of the Prophet, others collected the sayings of the Companions.<sup>26</sup>

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr gives an interesting exposition on the evolution of ideas concerning the writing down of the traditions and utterances of the Prophet. The natural disposition of the Arabs, he says, was revealed by the fact that they preserved the sayings of the Prophet in their memory. . . . They were granted this disposition and were equipped with the gift of an unusual memory; they would not forget what they heard. The men who were endowed with this rare capacity of memory were Arabs, among whom were people like al-Zuhri, al-Sha'bī and Ibn 'Abbās. Times have changed, however, and people nowadays do not possess this faculty of memory. Had the utterances of the Prophet not been written down, many traditions would have been lost. The Prophet gave permission to write down the knowledge of the traditions, 'ilm, and a group from among the Companions did so.<sup>27</sup>

The injunction of the Prophet concerning the recording of *ḥadīth* was formulated in a brief sentence: "Do not write anything on my authority except the Qur'ān; whoever has written anything else on my authority should erase it."<sup>28</sup>

'Alī is said to have enjoined people who were in the possession of pieces of writing to erase them. "People perished," he said, "because

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Rajab, *op. cit.*, 50.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 69-70.

<sup>28</sup> See the different versions in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's, *Taqyīd al-'ilm*, ed. Yūsuf al-'Ishsh (Dār ihyā'ī l-sunnati l-nabawiyya, 1974), 29-35. Ibn Shāhīn, *Nāsikhū l-ḥadīth*, 471, no. 629; and see the references of the editor and his notes. See I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 184. And see Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Khālīq Khān al-Afghānī (Hyderabad, 1386/1966), I, 293: . . . *fa-qāla abū sa'īd: kunnā lā naktubu shay' an illā l-qur'āna wa-l-tashahhuda*; and see *ibid.*, 294: 'an ibni mas'ūdīn qāla: mā kunnā naktubu fī 'ahdi rasūli llāhi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam min al-aḥādīthi illā l-istikhārata wa-l-tashahhuda; and see the report of Ṭāwūs ibn Abī Khaythama Zuhayr b. Ḥarb al-Nasā'ī's *Kitāb al-'ilm*, ed. Muḥammad Nāsir al-Dīn al-Albānī (Beirut, 1403/1983), 11, no. 27: . . . 'an ṭāwūs qāla: in kāna l-rajulu yaktubu ilā bni 'abbāsīn yas'aluhu 'ani l-amri, fa-yaqūlu li-l-rajuli lladhī jā'a bi-l-kitāb: akhbir ṣāhibaka bi-anna l-amra kadhā wa-kadhā, fa-innā lā naktubu fī l-ṣuḥūfi illā l-ras'ila wa-l-qur'āna; "ras'īl" is rendered by the editor: *ya'nī latīd kāna rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) kataba bihā ilā ba'di l-ashkhāsi wa-l-qabā'ili*. And see Ibn al-Jawzī, *Akhbār ahli l-rusūkh fī l-fiqhi wa-l-taḥdīth bi-miqdāri l-mansūkh mina l-ḥadīth*, ed. Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd (Cairo, n.d.), 13-14, no. 8.

they followed the traditions of their scholars and abandoned the Book of their God.”<sup>29</sup>

‘Alqama and al-Aswad brought a written piece to Ibn Mas‘ūd, asserting that it contains a “good tradition,” *ḥadīth ḥasan*. But Ibn Mas‘ūd ordered it be erased and said: “The hearts are vessels; keep them for the Qur’ān only.”<sup>30</sup>

One tradition couples the prohibition against recording the Prophet’s utterances with the permission to transmit the stories of the Banū Isrā’īl: Abū Hurayra was sitting in the courtyard of the Prophet with some other Companions and was writing down the utterances of the Prophet when the Prophet came and, looking at their work, forbade them to do that. He gave them, however, permission to tell the traditions of the Banū Isrā’īl.<sup>31</sup>

Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī is said to have been asked to write down the traditions transmitted by him; he refused and said that *ḥadīths* should not be set down in *maṣāḥif*; the Prophet issued his utterances and the Companions kept them in their memory. The people of *ḥadīth* should merely keep in memory what the transmitters tell them.<sup>32</sup>

The aversion to write down the *ḥadīth* went together with the aversion to the reading of the Qur’ān from a written book without keeping the words in memory. A saying of the people of the *ḥadīth* which won wide circulation was as follows:

*lā taqra'ū l-qur'āna 'alā l-muṣḥafiyyīn wa-lā taḥmilū l-'ilma 'ani l-ṣaḥafiyyīn*, “Do not read the Qur’ān to people who rely on Qur’ān codices, and do not carry further the *ḥadīth* knowledge which you obtain from people who use scrolls.”<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm*, I, 64, sup.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm*, I, 66, inf.; and see *ibid.*: Abū ‘Ubayd explains that Ibn Mas‘ūd assumed that the written piece was taken from the People of the Book, *ahlu l-kitāb*, and did not like to see it.

<sup>31</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-‘itidāl*, II, 265, no. 4868. And see the utterance of the Prophet forbidding writing anything on his authority except the Qur’ān and demanding that *ḥadīths* already committed to writing be erased, at the same time encouraging people to transmit the traditions of the Banū Isrā’īl. The same utterance warns against transmitting deceitful traditions, which would be punished with torture in Hell. See Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Kaṣḥfu l-astār ‘an zawā’idi l-bazzār*, I, 108–109, no. 194. And see *ibid.*, I, 109, no. 195, Abū Burda was requested to bring to his father written down traditions, which he had heard from him. The father ordered to erase the written traditions saying: “You have to memorize the traditions as we did when we heard them from the mouth of the Prophet.” Also see the story concerning the traditions written down by Abū Burda and erased by his father: al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lāmi l-nubalā’*, II, 280, 287.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm*, I, 64.

<sup>33</sup> I.e., people who read the scrolls, or dictated from the scrolls, without mastering the knowledge of the traditions by heart –k. See al-Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 211, no. 101; and see the references of the editor; the opinion of Yaḥyā (b. Ādam)

Mālik b. Anas gave an opinion concerning a trustworthy transmitter, who presented a book of traditions which he had heard, but was unable to keep them in memory. Students of *ḥadīth*, according to Mālik b. Anas, should disregard this transmitter.<sup>34</sup>

Ibn al-Jauzī reports on the authority of Ibn Qutayba a significant explanation for the change in the Prophet's prohibition to write down the *ḥadīth*. The Prophet initially forbade to write his utterances, but when the *sunan* increased in number and exceeded the quantity that could be kept in memory, the Prophet allowed to write them down.<sup>35</sup>

The high honour accorded to the memorization of *ḥadīth* goes hand in hand with the low standing of written *ḥadīth*. Al-Auzā'ī formulated it in the following saying: "This knowledge, 'ilm, was an honourable thing when it came from the mouths of men who collected and carried it in memory together with others; when it got written down in books, it lost its light, *dhahaba nūruhu*, and became the possession of unworthy people."<sup>36</sup>

Hushaym (d. 183 H) gave a succinct definition of the proper people of *ḥadīth*: he who does not know the *ḥadīth* by heart cannot be counted as among the people of *ḥadīth*; such a man comes (to attend the assembly of *ḥadīth* people -k) with a large book that looks like a document of manumission.<sup>37</sup>

It is evident that "a scholar with a large book" is one who dictates *ḥadīth* to students because he does not know the traditions by heart.

The main argument against recording the utterances of the Prophet was the desire to avoid creating another book, a book of prophetic *ḥadīth*, for fear that it might be considered equal to the Qur'ān. One of the Companions of the Prophet, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, was asked by Abū Naḍra to dictate a tradition of the Prophet transmitted by him. He refused, however, arguing that he was not going to transform the dictated utterances into a Qur'ān.<sup>38</sup> As mentioned above, orthodox men avoided writing down the collected utterances of the Prophet. Abū Bakr is said to have collected five hundred utterances; after consideration he ordered

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is indeed of some interest: *kānū yuḍā' 'ifūna mā yūjadu fī l-kutub*, "people treated the traditions recorded in books as weak," Ibid., 212 sup. And see Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil, al-muqaddima*, 246. And see this advise in al-Fasawī's *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 412.

<sup>34</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya fī 'ilmi l-riwāya* (Hyderabad, 1357), 227; and see ibid., 227-29 other stories of *ḥadīth* scholars who transmitted from books.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn al-Jauzī, *Akhbār ahli l-rusūkh*, 14.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 68 sup.; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Madkhal ilā l-sunanī l-kubrā*, 410, no. 741, and see the references of the editor.

<sup>37</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya*, 228; Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil, al-muqaddima*, 154.

<sup>38</sup> 'Abdallah b. al-Mubārak, *al-Musnad*, 142, no. 232, and see the references of the editor; Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī, *al-Madkhal ilā l-sunan al-kubrā*, 405-406, nos. 725, 727, and see the references of the editor.



the collection to be burned.<sup>39</sup> 'Umar is said to have intended to write down the traditions of the Prophet; however, he changed his mind fearing that it would bring forth a book in addition to the book of God.<sup>40</sup> One report says that 'Umar wrote to the garrison cities (*al-amṣār*) enjoining them to erase the records of the traditions written down by some people.<sup>41</sup> 'Umar, who is said to have tried to restrict the number of the traditions reported on the authority of the Prophet, threatened that he would banish Abū Hurayra to the territory of Daus if the latter did not refrain from transmitting a great number of *ḥadīth* utterances.<sup>42</sup> While transmitting prophetic traditions after 'Umar's death, Abū Hurayra admitted that 'Umar would have severed his head if he transmitted these traditions during his lifetime.<sup>43</sup> 'Umar is said to have enjoined the transmitters of *ḥadīth* to confine themselves to traditions which have to do with the observance of ritual duties, *aqillū l-riwāyata 'an rasūli llāhi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam illā fīmā yu'malu bihi*. Here Abū Hurayra recalls the angry reaction of 'Umar against the transmission of *ḥadīths* of the kind narrated by him after the caliph's death.<sup>44</sup>

'Umar's inclination to limit the transmission of *ḥadīth* was submitted to harsh criticism by Ibn Ḥazm. In a series of arguments based on quotations culled from early collections of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, Ibn Ḥazm refutes 'Umar's utterances against the transmission of *ḥadīth*. He also refutes similar utterances of Mālik b. Anas, mentioning the fact that Mālik himself collected a large number of traditions. In some of his arguments, Ibn Ḥazm goes as far as stating that such restrictions on the transmission of sound *ḥadīth* are tantamount to *kufr*.<sup>45</sup>

Early transmitters of *ḥadīth* were divided as to their opinion concerning the reliability of utterances transmitted by Abū Hurayra. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar states that he did not reject any tradition transmitted by Abū Hurayra; "he was courageous, [*ijṭara'a*]," he said, "we were faint hearted

<sup>39</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, I, 5.

<sup>40</sup> See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 64; Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī, *al-Madkhal ilā l-sunanī l-kubrā*, 407, no. 731, and see the references of the editor; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taqyīdu l-'ilm*, 49–51; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, XI, 257–58, no. 20484.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 65.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lāmi l-nubalā'*, II, 433. Cf. Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, *Faḍlu 'ilmi l-salaf 'alā l-khalaf* (Cairo, n.d.), *Maktabāt al-kulliyāt al-azhariyya*, 23 the opinions of al-Auzā'ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal: *qāla al-uzā'ī: al-'ilmu mā jā'a bihi aṣḥābu muḥammadīn ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam, fa-mā kāna ghayra dhālika fa-laysa bi-'ilmīn. wa-kadhā qāla l-imāmu aḥmad, wa-qāla fī l-tābi'ina anta mukhayyarun, ya'nī mukhayyarān [sic] fī kitābatihī wa-tarkihī; wa-qad kāna al-zuhrī yaktubu dhālika, wa-khālafahu ṣāliḥu bnu kaysān, thumma nadīma 'alā tarkihī kalāma l-tābi'īn.* (On the differences between the opinions of al-Zuhrī and Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān see below, note 50).

<sup>43</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, II, 433.

<sup>44</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, XI, 262, no. 20496.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūli l-aḥkām*, I, 311–23.

[*jabunnā*].”<sup>46</sup> Another report says that people used to transmit from the traditions recorded by Abū Hurayra only utterances concerning Paradise and Hell.<sup>47</sup> It is significant that the soundest traditions of Abū Hurayra were transmitted by al-Zuhrī.<sup>48</sup> It was, again, ‘Umar who enjoined people who went out to Irāq to reduce the number of traditions which they transmitted.<sup>49</sup>

The scope which traditions should cover was not defined. Šāliḥ b. Kaysān and al-Zuhrī worked together collecting traditions on *sunan*; they collected the *sunan* of the Prophet. They were not, however, in agreement as to the *sunan* of the Companions. Šāliḥ b. Kaysān did not consider it appropriate to transmit the *sunan* of the Companions, as this was not a *sunna* in his opinion. Al-Zuhrī, however, wrote down both the *sunan* of the Prophet and of the Companions. “He won the day,” says Šāliḥ, “and I lost [*ḍayya‘tu*].”<sup>50</sup>

There was a need to draw a line between the Qur’ān and the *ḥadīth*. Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī warns the transmitters from turning the collected *ḥadīths* into a “book,” a kind of Qur’ān; “learn by heart what we transmit as we did with the Prophet,” he said.<sup>51</sup>

Stories about other peoples who collected the sayings and utterances of their prophets, sages, and saints were used as warnings for the believers. ‘Umar asked the Prophet to grant him permission to write down the stories circulated by Jews and Christians, *inna nāsan mina l-yahūd wa-l-naṣārā yuḥaddithūna bi-aḥādītha, a-fa-lā naktubu ba‘ḍahā*. The Prophet refused to give his permission and explained that Jews and Christians had become too deeply involved in writing: “I brought you a faith white and pure; were Moses alive he would have to follow me.”<sup>52</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām*, II, 437.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., II, 438.

<sup>48</sup> See ibid., II, 438.

<sup>49</sup> ‘Abdallah b. al-Mubārak, *al-Musnad*, 139–40; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, II, 433.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, XI, 258, no. 2487; and see this report: Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh, tahdhīb*, VI, 281; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* (Beirut-al-Riyāḍ, 1966), IX, 344; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Bayān faḍl al-‘ilm*, II, 187; Ibn Khalfūn al-Andalusī, *Asmā‘u shuyūkhī l-imām mālik b. anas*, ed. Muḥammad Zaynham Muḥammad ‘Azb (Cairo, n.d.), 154; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilyat al-auliyyā’*, III, 360 inf.–361 sup. al-Suyūṭī, *Jam‘u l-jawāmi‘*, II, 813.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm*, I, 64; and compare the report of Abū Burda about his father who erased the traditions transmitted by him, arguing that traditions should be transmitted orally and learnt by heart as he and his generation had done: al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Cairo, 1957), II, 280, 287 ult.; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm*, I, 65–66.

<sup>52</sup> Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī, *Bustān al-‘arifīn* (Cairo, 1348), 4, ult.–5 sup. And cf. Abū Bakr b. Abī ‘Āṣim al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-sunna*, ed. Muḥammad Naṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (Beirut, 1400/1980), I, 26–27, nos. 47–50. Cf. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm*, I, 65: The Banū Isrā‘īl went astray because of the written scriptures which they inherited from their fathers. And cf. above, no. 29.

Knowledge of *ḥadīth* should be kept in memory. Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad said in a verse: "Knowledge is not what is contained in a book case, knowledge is only that which is contained in the heart."<sup>53</sup>

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr explains the reasons which brought about the dislike of writing down *ḥadīth*. A collection of *ḥadīth* should not be like a Qur'ān, for a collected volume impedes the way of oral transmission. People would then rely on the book and neglect to learn by heart the transmitted knowledge.<sup>54</sup>

A *ḥadīth* attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib says that 'Alī was told that people engaged in *ḥadīth* and abandoned the Qur'ān. Then, the angel Jibrīl descended to the Prophet and predicted that his community would fall in temptation after his death<sup>55</sup> and would leave the Qur'ān. When asked about the way of escape, the angel answered: "The revealed Qur'ān"; he repeated this three times.<sup>56</sup>

A similar prediction is recorded on the authority of al-Ḍaḥḥāk: "Time will come," he said, "when the *ḥadīths* will increase until the book of the Qur'ān will be abandoned, covered with dust, with nobody looking at it."<sup>57</sup>

This warning is given in the traditions attributed to Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī and other Companions of the Prophet, recorded in al-Khaṭīb's *Kitāb taqyīd al-'ilm*.<sup>58</sup>

It was Shu'ba, a scholar with deep insight and a committed searcher of truth in this field,<sup>59</sup> who spoke out against the activities of the transmitters of *ḥadīth*: "It is better to sit in the company of Jews and Christians than to sit with you," he said addressing these transmitters. He accused them of departing from the recollection of God, *dhikru llāh*, and from prayer, and called upon them to desist from their activities.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 68: *laysa bi-'ilmīn mā ḥawā l-qimaṭru: mā l-'ilmu illā mā ḥawāhu l-ṣadru*. And see Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb* (Cairo, 1351/1932), II, 17 sup.; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Madkhal ilā l-sunani l-kubrā*, 410.

<sup>54</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 68; and see *ibid.*, the saying of a scholar of *ḥadīth*: *lā taktubū fa-tattakilū*.

<sup>55</sup> Scil. by being engaged in learning *ḥadīth* -k.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh dimashq*, (*Tahdhīb*), VII, 348.

<sup>57</sup> Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Kitābu l-zuhd* (Beirut, 1398/1978), 213.

<sup>58</sup> Taqyīd, 36-40; and see Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh dimashq*, VI, 14: ... *turīdūna an taj' alūhā maṣāḥifa*. ... And see the warning of Shu'ba (d. 160 H) stating that *ḥadīth* distracts the believers from recalling the name of Allah, *dhikru llāh*, and the obligatory prayers. Shu'ba asks the believers to refrain from busying themselves with *ḥadīth*: Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, *al-Ta'rīkh*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Nūr Sayf (Makka al-mukarrama, 1399/1979), II, 255, no. 4276; al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 284; Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyatu l-auliyā'*, VII, 156.

<sup>59</sup> See al-Shiblī, *Maḥāsīn al-wasā'il*, 330: ... *awwal man takallama fī l-rijāli shu'ba*; and see *ibid.*, the reports concerning the permissibility of examination of the validity of the traditions and the truthfulness of the transmitters, 331

<sup>60</sup> Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil*, *muqaddīma*, 125. And see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Mukhtaṣar naṣīḥati ahli l-ḥadīth*, 31, inf.: ... *mālik b. anas qāla li-bnay akhīhi abī bakrīn wa-*

Some scholars, however, pointed out the utility of dissemination of *ḥadīth* for a better understanding of the Qur'ān and of the ritual practices.

'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn justifies the study and the transmission of *ḥadīth* by saying that *ḥadīth* may serve as a tool to explain many ritual practices not included in the Qur'ān.<sup>61</sup>

The opinions of the scholars of *ḥadīth* as to the importance of tradition for the understanding of the Qur'ān and for establishing the prescribed ritual practices are clearly reflected in the report of Abū Naḍra. It is true, said 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn, that the prescribed prayers were mentioned in the Qur'ān, but the number of *rak'as* in every prayer was only specified in the *ḥadīth*.<sup>62</sup>

It was because of the importance of *ḥadīth* that the believers should be careful not to transmit traditions of dubious transmitters.

The famous scholar of *ḥadīth*, Shu'ba, said that one should only record well-known traditions related by well-known scholars, *uktubū l-mashhūr 'ani l-mashhūr*.<sup>63</sup>

The Prophet is said to have told the believers to pay attention as to the persons with whom they talked and from whom they derived their faith, *unzurū man tujālisūna wa-'an man ta'khudhūna dīnakum*. At the end of time, Satans will appear in the garb of people of *ḥadīth*, using the formulae *ḥaddathanā* and *akhbaranā*; people should, therefore, be cautious and inquire about the names of those persons and their fathers.<sup>64</sup>

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*ismā'ila bnay abī uwaysin: arākumā tuḥibbāni hādḥā l-shā'na wa-taṭṭubānihi. qālā: na'am. qāla: in aḥbābūmā an tantafī'ā bihi wa-yanfa'a llāhu bikumā fa-aqillā minhu wa-tafaqqahā.*

<sup>61</sup> Abdallah b. al-Mubārak, *Musnad*, 143, no. 233; and see references of the editor.

<sup>62</sup> Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, XI, 255, no. 20474.

<sup>63</sup> Umar b. Aḥmad b. Shāhīn, *Ta'rīkh asmā'ī l-thiqāt mimman nuqila 'anhumu l-'ilm*, ed. Aḥar al-Mubārakpūrī (Bombay, 1406/1986), 78.

<sup>64</sup> Al-Nāzilī, *Maḥza' al-khalā'iq*, 15; Shirawayh b. Shahridār al-Daylamī, *Firdausu l-akḥbār*, ed. Fawwāz Aḥmad al-Zimīrī and Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim bi-llāh l-Baghdādī (Beirut, 1407/1987), I, 144, no. 358; and see the references of the editors. And see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (Beirut, 1377/1958), VII, 194: ... Ibn Sīrīn: *inna hādḥā l-'ilma dīnun fa-nzurū 'an man ta'khudhūnahu*.

Cf. Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil*, *Muqaddima*, 227-29: "My people will perish for three vices — the *'aṣabiyya*, the *qadariyya* and the transmission of *ḥadīth* on the authority of an unreliable transmitter," said the Prophet.

And cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Jam'ū l-jawāmi' = al-Jāmi' al-kabīr* (Cairo, 1978), I, 904, sup.: *lā taqūmu l-sā'atu ḥattā yamshī iblīsū fī l-ṭuruqi wa-l-aswāqi yatashabbahu bi-l-'ulamā' i yaqūlu ḥaddathanī fulānu bnu fulānin 'an rasūli llāhi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam bi-kadhā wa-kadhā*. And see al-Suyūṭī, *Jam'ū l-jawāmi'*, I, 1012: ... *yakūnu fī ākhiri l-zamān dajjālūna kadhābūna ya'tūnakum mina l-aḥādīthi bimā lam tasma'ū antum wa-lā ābā'ukum, fa-iyyākum wa-iyyāhum lā yuḍillūnakum wa-lā yaftinūnakum*.

The prediction about forgers and Satans walking in the streets and markets, claiming false knowledge, quoting the *isnāds* of “reliable” scholars and transmitting forged traditions, reflects, truly, the situation during the period of decline when forgers of *isnāds* did not hesitate to appear in the market place and disseminate invented traditions.

The flood of traditions circulating in the Muslim community in the early period is said to have aroused the concern of ‘Umar, who tried to curb the activity of these transmitters. According to a report, ‘Umar ordered to detain in Medina three Companions of the Prophet because of their efforts to disseminate the numerous *ḥadīths* of the Prophet. The detained persons were Abū Dardā’, Ibn Mas‘ūd, and Abū Dharr.<sup>65</sup>

Ibn Ḥazm refutes this report with great vigour.<sup>66</sup> ‘Umar, as mentioned above, is said to have enjoined limiting the number of *ḥadīths* transmitted by the Companions.<sup>67</sup> An utterance attributed to the Prophet recommends reducing the number of transmitted traditions: “It is sinful enough to transmit everything which a man has heard,” said the Prophet.<sup>68</sup>

In an interesting passage al-Dhahabī draws a line between the old times of the righteous ‘Umar and his own time. In ‘Umar’s time, transmitters were prevented from circulating large amounts of traditions, even though they were people of truth and righteousness, and the *ḥadīth* itself was reliable. Now people transmit strange traditions and unknown stories, *riwāyat al-gharā’ib wa-l-manākīr*, provided with long chains of *isnād*, containing many groundless opinions and mistakes. Some of these people transmit forged traditions, groundless stories, *abāṭīl*, and untenable doctrines concerning the essentials and ramifications of religious law, *al-mustahīl fī l-uṣūl wa-l-furū’*, stories of asceticism and atrocious and bloody civil wars, *malāḥim*.<sup>69</sup>

An early development, connected with the social standing of the scholars of *ḥadīth* and their ambitious striving to gain recognition and respect in the Muslim community, brought about the appearance of a special branch which originated on the margin of *ḥadīth* literature: treatises and books examining the reliability of the transmitters of *ḥadīth*, which contain praises for the righteous and reliable transmitters of traditions.

<sup>65</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, II, 249; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, I, 7; the list of the detained includes three names: Ibn Mas‘ūd, Abū Dardā’ and Abū Mas‘ūd al-Anṣārī. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Sharaf aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, 87, no. 190.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūli l-ahkām*, I, 316

<sup>67</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lāmi l-nubalā’*, II, 433.

<sup>68</sup> Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, I, 112; ‘Abdallah b. al-Mubārak, *al-Musnad*, 10, no. 19, and see the references of the editor; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr*, IV, 551, no. 6236; and see the version in al-Qayrawānī, *al-Jāmi’*, 149 of a similar utterance attributed to Mālik: *laysa yaslamu rajulun ḥaddatha bi-kulli mā samī‘a wa-lā yakūnu imāman abadan*.

<sup>69</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lāmi l-nubalā’*, II, 433.

Compilations dealing with faults, vices and deficiencies of scholars of *ḥadīth* also came into being. The beginning of this branch of *ḥadīth* scholarship is traced back to the very early period of Islam.<sup>70</sup>

‘Alī b. al-Madīnī (d. 234 H) interpreted the utterance of the Prophet: “there will remain a steadfast group of people who will fight for the cause of truth...” as referring to the people of *ḥadīth*; they care for the implementation of the Prophet’s customs and protect the knowledge, ‘*ilm*, i.e., the knowledge of *ḥadīth*. Were it not for their activity, one would not be able to find any trace of the *sunan* of the prophets in the books of the Mu‘tazila, the Jahmiyya, the Rāfiḍa, (i.e., the Shī‘a –k), and the schismatic *ahl al-ra’y*.<sup>71</sup> Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir states that the word *rāwiya* was used exclusively to denote the transmitters of poetry; the transmitter of *ḥadīth* was named ‘*ālim*.<sup>72</sup> A significant tradition reported on the authority of the Prophet says that the Prophet named the people of *ḥadīth* “Caliphs,” successors of the Prophet. “They transmit my *ḥadīths* and my *sunna* and teach them to the people,” the Prophet said.<sup>73</sup> Knowledge of *ḥadīth* endowed the scholar a high position in society. The *ḥadīth* scholar al-A‘mash explained his success in society in unequivocal terms: “Were it not for the [knowledge] of Qur‘ān and *ḥadīth*, I would have been a greengrocer in Kūfa, selling onions.”<sup>74</sup> Reading the traditions of the Prophet was considered a kind of worship. According to one tradition the reader of *ḥadīth* will be granted forgiveness of sins as if he were a reader of the Qur‘ān.<sup>75</sup> A gifted and able scholar who memorised 100,000 *ḥadīths*, including their *isnāds*, gained the honorific title *al-ḥāfiẓ*.<sup>76</sup> According to the Prophet, he who trans-

<sup>70</sup> See al-Shiblī, *Maḥāsīnu l-wasā’il fī ma‘rifati l-awā’il*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnjī (Beirut, 1412/1992), 330–31: ... *awwalu man fattasha ‘an amri l-muḥaddithīn wa-jānaba l-ḍu‘afā’a wa-l-matrūkīn shu‘batu bnu l-ḥajjāj*. ... Some scholars traced back the history of testing the reliability of the transmitters to the Prophet himself; see *ibid.*, 330 inf.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn ‘Adī, *al-Kāmil, muqaddīma*, 195. And see the different versions of this interpretation in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s *Sharaf aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, 26–27, nos. 46–51. Cf. al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā’*, 26.

<sup>72</sup> Al-Rāmḥurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 180, no. 34.

<sup>73</sup> Al-Rāmḥurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 163, no. 2; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Sharaf aṣḥābi l-ḥadīth*, 30–32, nos. 58–59; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-ladunniyya* (Cairo, 1328), V, 304; al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī, *al-Ilmā’*, 17. Niẓām al Mulḥ, Abū ‘Alī l-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, *Juz’ fīhi majlisāni min amālī l-ṣāhib*, ed. Abū Ishāq al-Ḥuwaynī l-Atharī (Cairo, 1413/1993), 53, no. 22. And see *ibid.*, 41, no. 11: ... *sami‘tu al-shāfi‘ī radiya llāhu ‘anhu yaqūlu: “Idhā ra’aytu rajulan min aṣḥābi l-ḥadīth fa-kannī ra’aytu rasūla llāhi ṣallā llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam.”*

<sup>74</sup> Cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Sharaf aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, 135, no. 320; Ibn ‘Adī, *al-Kāmil, al-muqaddīma*, 112.

<sup>75</sup> Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkhu l-khamīs* (Cairo, 1283), I, 219, inf.; it is noteworthy that some distinguished scholars got the honourable title *amīru l-mu‘minīna fī l-ḥadīth*; see *ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> Al-Zurqānī, *al-Mawāhib al-ladunniyya*, V, 304.

mits forty traditions concerning the *sunna*, will stand among a chosen group of scholars and *fuqahā'* on the Day of the Resurrection.<sup>77</sup> According to some traditions, the reading of *ḥadīth* is not inferior to the reading of a Qur'ānic sūra.<sup>78</sup> We can even find a tradition which states, outright, that the words of the Prophet, in matters of faith, are on the same level as revelation.<sup>79</sup> Another tradition formulated the standing of the *ḥadīth*, in relation to the Qur'ān, as a revelation granted to the Prophet by God, being, like the Qur'ān, the Word of God.<sup>80</sup> One tradition says that the reading of a *ḥadīth* has a reward superior to voluntary prayer<sup>81</sup> and voluntary fasting.<sup>82</sup> The transmitters of *ḥadīth* should be scrupulous of their ritual purity when communicating traditions. They should act with dignity during transmission and refrain from reporting traditions while walking or standing on a road.<sup>83</sup> Mālik b. Anas and Layth b. Sa'd never touched books of *ḥadīth* except after attending to their ritual purity.<sup>84</sup>

The initiation of a young scholar in order to join the circle of *ḥadīth* was a serious event. The mother of Mālik b. Anas dressed him in especially nice clothes before sending him off to attend his first *ḥadīth* lecture.<sup>85</sup>

The atmosphere of *ḥadīth* lectures was solemn and serious. The lecture was sometimes accompanied by marks of awe such as sweating and trembling on the part of the transmitter. Being emotionally affected, the transmitter of *ḥadīth* was often unable to quote the exact words of a tradition, and could only state that the wording is similar, but not

<sup>77</sup> See al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā'*, 12–13.

<sup>78</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Sharaf aṣḥābi l-ḥadīth*, 83, no. 180; al-Rāmḥurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 178, no. 29.

<sup>79</sup> See 'Alī b. Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūli l-aḥkām*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Azīz (Cairo, 1398/1978), I, 135; and see *ibid.*, 136: ... *wa-l-dhikru ismun wāqī'un 'alā kullī mā anzala llāhu 'alā nabiyyihi min qur'ānin au min sunnatin waḥyun yubayyinu bihā l-qur'āna* ...

<sup>80</sup> See Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥāwī li-l-fatāwā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1378/1959), I, 471: ... *wa-ammā hal yajūzu an yuqāla "al-aḥādīthū kalāmu llāhi" fa-na'am, bi-ma'nā annahā min 'indī llāhi* ...; and see *ibid.*, 472, sup.: ... *wa-qāla ḥassān b. 'aṭīyya: "kāna jibrīl yanzilu 'alā l-nabiyyi, ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam, bi-l-sunnati kamā yanzilu bi-l-qur'āni."*

<sup>81</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Sharaf*, 84–85, nos. 182–85.

<sup>82</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Sharaf*, 85–86, nos. 186–88.

<sup>83</sup> Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāḥib*, V, 304; and see al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī, *al-Ilmā'*, 50.

<sup>84</sup> Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī, *Tartību l-madārik wa-taqrībū l-masālik li-ma'rifati a'lām madhhab mālik*, ed. Aḥmad Bakīr Maḥmūd (Beirut, 1387/1967), I, 161; and see *ibid.*, I, 155: ... *kāna mālik idhā jalasa li-l-ḥadīth tawadda'a wa-jalasa 'alā ṣadri firāshihī wa-sarraḥa liḥyatahu wa-tamakkana fī julūsihi bi-waqārin wa-hayba. Thumma ḥaddatha, fa-qāla lahu fī dhālika, fa-qāla: uḥibbu an u'azzima ḥadītha rasūli llāhi* ...; and see *ibid.*, 179.

<sup>85</sup> Al-Rāmḥurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 201, no. 80.

exact.<sup>86</sup> The inability to transmit exactly the traditions was a well-known phenomenon. It is not surprising, then, that the Prophet is said to have given permission to transmit the meaning of the tradition, even if the transmitter added or omitted some expression. One should only be careful not to prohibit a permissible deed or allow a prohibited deed.<sup>87</sup>

The high opinion accorded to *ḥadīth* made it necessary to use special measures in order to eliminate unreliable transmitters, tendentious scholars and even forgers of *ḥadīth*. The most commonly adopted measure was the *isnād*, the chain of transmitters. The transmitters, or *musnidūn*, had to be noble, sincere, just and truthful people. During the first period of Islam, before the *fitna*, transmitters of *ḥadīth* were not concerned about *isnād*; people were decent and truthful and did not transmit untrue traditions. In the early period of Islam, the respect for a noble and righteous transmitter was so high that a student of *ḥadīth* did not dare ask the master from whom he had received the tradition.<sup>88</sup> At a later time, people started to inquire about *isnāds* in order to ensure that those suspected of *bid'a* did not infiltrate into the ranks of *muḥaddithūn* and did not include innovations in their transmission.<sup>89</sup> Ibn al-Mubārak

<sup>86</sup> See 'Abdallah b. al-Mubārak, *al-Musnad*, 140, nos. 227–28, and see the references of the editor. Cf. the interesting argumentation of Wāthila b. al-Asqa' as to the permissibility of the transmission of the tradition *bi-l-ma'nā*, comparing it with the transmission of the Qur'ān in al-Ṭabarānī's *Musnad al-shāmiyyīn*, ed. Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salafī (Beirut, 1409/1989), II, 368, no. 1510; and see the references of the editor. Al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, I, 111; al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, I, 817; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr* (n.p., 1400/1980), IX, 129–33, nos. 8612–27; al-Shāshī, *al-Musnad*, I, 394, II, 194, no. 762; Khaythama b. Sulaymān al-Aṭrābulī, *Min ḥadīth khaythama* . . . , ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām al-Tadmūrī (Beirut, 1400/1980), 167. See also the tradition related about the Companion of the Prophet, 'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd, in al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's *al-Ilmā'*, 177: Ibn Mas'ūd sometimes refrained for a whole year from mentioning the expression *qāla rasūlu llāhi ḡalla llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama*. When he uttered this formula he would tremble and transmit the tradition saying: so or so, or a similar wording, *aw ḥākadhā aw ḥaḡwahu aw shibḡahu*; and see the copious references of the editor.

<sup>87</sup> Al-Nāzilī, *Mafza' al-khalā'iq*, 13, ult.: . . . *qālū: yā rasūla llāhi, innā nasma'u minka l-ḥadītha wa-lā naqdiru 'alā ta'diyatihi. Fa-qāla: lā ba'sa bihi in zidtum au naqaḡtum idḡa lam tuḡillū ḡarāman wa-lam tuḡarrimū ḡalālan wa-aḡabtumu l-ma'nā*. And cf. al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 19: 'Amr b. Dīnār used to transmit the prophetic tradition *'alā l-ma'nā*, while Ibrāhīm b. Maysara used to transmit according to what he heard; this way of transmission is called *'alā l-lafḡ*; and see the references of the editor.

<sup>88</sup> See, e.g., al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 18: *qāla qatāda: wa-llāhi in kunnā la-nahābuhum an nas'alahum mimman sami'ta*.

<sup>89</sup> See, e.g., al-Rāmḡurmuzī, *al-Muḡaddith al-fāḡil*, 208 inf.–209 sup.; Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil, al-muḡaddīma*, 194. There were, however, some reservations as to the measures taken with regard to checking the reliability of those constituting an *isnād*: al-Shāfi'ī states that the evidence of people with sectarian leanings, *ahl al-ahwā'*, may be accepted; but the evidence of people of the Shi'ī *khafḡābiyya* should be rejected, because they approve of false evidence, *al-shahādātu bi-l-zūr*, given by their adherents. See Ibn ḡalāh, *al-Muḡaddīma*, 228–29; but see *ibid.*, the contradictory opinions



stated that were it not for *isnād*, anyone could say what he wanted.<sup>90</sup> The *ḥadīth* should not deal with injunctions touching upon Islamic law. God, therefore, prevented the *muḥaddithūn* from finding a report based with an *isnād* on the authority of the Prophet or his Companions concerning such matters.<sup>91</sup> Al-Zuhrī used severe language to reprimand the *muḥaddith* Ibn Abī Farwa, who reported traditions without *isnāds*.<sup>92</sup> The increase in the number of *isnāds*, and in particular artificial and forged *isnāds* which were made to show the veracity or reliability of a *ḥadīth*, undermined people's confidence in the voluminous collections of *ḥadīth*. Yahyā (b. Ma'īn -k) is said to have invoked against the scholars who quoted complicated traditions with elaborate *isnāds*: "May God punish these people who take care of the *isnād* traditions because they have made the people lie."<sup>93</sup>

The political struggles within the Muslim community, which began a short time after the death of the Prophet, the clashes between the different ideological factions like the Shī'a and the Khawārij, the rise of the *madhāhib*, the struggle between the *mawālī*, and the Arab population — all these factors brought about the development of a rich *ḥadīth* literature in the very early period of Islam. The events which took place during the life of the Prophet, and in the stormy period after his death, were duly recorded in the books of the *sīra*, the *maghāzī*, the *riḍḍa* and the books of *ta'riḫh*. These books were usually arranged in the form of *ḥadīth* collections and the different reports were usually furnished with

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of other scholars who refuse the evidence of a bad innovator, a *mubtadi'*. And cf. 'Abdallah b. Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *Kitābu l-jāmi'*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Ajfan and 'Uthmān Biṭṭīkh (Beirut-Tunis, 1402/1982), 147: *qāla ma'n b. 'isā: sami'tu mālikan yaqūlu: lā yu'khadhu l-'ilmu 'an arba'atin wa-yu'khadhu 'amman siwāhum: lā yu'khadhu min mubtadi'in yad'ū ilā bid'atihi, wa-lā 'an saftihin mu'linin bi-l-safahi, wa-lā 'an man yakhdhibu fī aḥādīthi l-nāsi wa-in kāna yaşduqu fī aḥādīthi l-nabiyyi ḡallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam wa-lā 'an man lā ya'rifu hādihā l-sha'n; and see another version of the utterance of Mālik, provided by the editors, ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> Al-Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 209, no. 96. Ibn al-Mubārak is even more outspoken: The *isnād* is a part of faith, *al-isnād mina l-dīn*; were it not for the *isnād* anyone could say whatever he wanted; see Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil*, *al-muqaddima*, 194-95; and see Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Muqaddimatu bni l-ṣalāh wa-maḥāsini l-iṣṭilāh*, ed. 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān, (=Bint al-Shāṭi') (Cairo, 1396/1976), 378.

<sup>91</sup> Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil*, *muqaddima*, 195: *wa-qāla ghayruhu: (in the text: ghayr -k) abā llāhu an yaj'ala sunnatan au shar'atan fī aḥkāmi l-muslimīna 'inda l-muḥaddithīna fa-mana'ahumu llāhu an yajidū 'an aḥābihihim atharan 'ani l-nabiyyi (ṣ) wa-aḥābihi bi-asānīdihim.*

<sup>92</sup> Ibn Ṣalāh, *al-Muqaddima*, 378, notes, from al-Bulqīnī's *Maḥāsini* and Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-majrūhīn mina l-muḥaddithīn wa-l-ḡu'afā' wa-l-matrūkīn*, ed. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyid (Beirut, n.d.), I, 131: ... *fa-ja'ala ibn abī farwa yaqūlu: qāla rasūlu llāhi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam, fa-qāla l-zuhrī: qātalaka llāhu, yā bna abī farwa, mā ajra'aka 'alā llāhi 'azza wa-jalla! alā tusnidu ḥadīthaka, alā tusnidu ḥadīthaka! Tuḥaddithunā bi-aḥādītha laysa lahā khuṭum wa-lā azimmatun!*

<sup>93</sup> Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil*, *al-Muqaddima*, 244: ... *fa'ala llāhu bi-hā'ulā'i ladhīna yaḥlubūna l-musnad wa-fa'ala, ḥamalū l-nāsa 'alā l-kadhīb.*

*isnāds*. The prolific collections of *ḥadīth* recorded a wealth of utterances of the Prophet. A special kind of *ḥadīth* originated in that period: traditions reporting on the virtues of cities, regions, countries, races, tribes and Islamic personalities. These traditions were contrasted with stories concerning the vices and deficiencies of places, tribes, cities and groups. Cities, regions and tribes vied with one another regarding their relative superiority, and the importance of the prominent personalities associated with them.

In the realm of *ḥadīth*, the main competing parties were Syria, Irāq, Ḥijāz, the Yaman, Persia and Egypt.<sup>94</sup>

The tradition of Irāq was especially subjected to criticism. Al-Bayhaqī provides a list of the most admired personalities of Islam who censured the *ḥadīths* transmitted by the people of Irāq.<sup>95</sup> Al-Zuhrī was quite outspoken about the Irāqī *ḥadīth*: "If you hear an Irāqī *ḥadīth* discard it again and again."<sup>96</sup> Alī b. Abī Ṭālib addressed the people of Kūfa and bade them to ask about the words of God and the utterances of the Prophet, because *ahlu l-bayt*, the family of Abū Ṭālib, were more familiar with the words of God and the utterances of the Prophet, while the people of Kūfa were more familiar with lies about God and about the Prophet.<sup>97</sup> Hishām b. 'Urwa advised Zuhayr b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī: "If an Irāqī tells you a thousand traditions, throw nine hundred ninety nine of them away and have your doubts as to the veracity of that which remains."<sup>98</sup> Ja'far al-Šādiq relates about his father that he was requested by a dignified and old man in the *ḥijr* of the Ka'ba to tell him about the origin of the Ka'ba. The old man was asked about his residence, and replied that he was from Syria. The father of Ja'far al-Šādiq then said: "When our *aḥādīth* go to Syria they come back sound, when they go to Irāq they return altered, with additions or omissions."<sup>99</sup> Al-Auzā'ī gave a clear opinion about the differences between the tradition of Syria and al-Madina and that of Irāq. The Caliphs resided in Syria; when they were in distress, *baliyya*, they asked the opinion of the scholars of Syria and of Madina. The *aḥādīth* of Irāq never went across the walls of their houses, says al-Auzā'ī, and asks: "So when did the scholars of Syria

<sup>94</sup> See, e.g., al-Bayhaqī, *Ma'rifatu l-sunan wa-l-āthār*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaqr (Cairo, 1389/1969), I, 63–78.

<sup>95</sup> *Ma'rifatu l-sunan*, I, 63: Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, Ibn 'Amr (probably 'Abdallah b. 'Amr), 'Ā'isha, Ṭawūs, al-Zuhrī, Hishām b. 'Urwa, Mālik b. Anas "and others."

<sup>96</sup> Al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 757; and see another version of al-Zuhrī's saying, *ibid.*, 760: *idhā awghala al-ḥadīth hunāka, ya'nī l-'irāq, fa-rdud bihi*.

<sup>97</sup> Al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 759.

<sup>98</sup> Al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 757.

<sup>99</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb fīhi dhikru mā warada fī bunyāni l-ka'bati l-mu'azzama*, MS Leiden Or. 560, fol. 162a.

transmit the traditions of the *khawārij* of 'Irāq?'<sup>100</sup> The well-known *muḥaddith* Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd<sup>101</sup> stated that but for the traditions pouring in from the East, which are to be discarded, he would not record *ḥadīth* nor would he allow to write it down.<sup>102</sup> Another *muḥaddith* formulated his opinion about the 'Irāqī *ḥadīth* in a peculiar way: "If you see Sufyān al-Thaurī, ask God for Paradise, but if you see an 'Irāqī [scholar -k] ask God's protection from his wickedness."<sup>103</sup> Shī'ī historians provide some reports about the persecutions of the Umayyad Caliphs and their governors against the descendants of 'Alī and their adherents. The preachers, *khutabā'*, used to curse 'Alī on the pulpits according to the orders of Mu'āwiya. Ziyād b. Abīhi (= Ziyād b. Sumayya), Mu'āwiya's governor in 'Irāq, carried out atrocious tortures against the followers of 'Alī, cut their hands and legs and put out their eyes with a hot iron. Mu'āwiya sent letters to the governors in which he ordered them to favour the adherents of 'Uthmān. He also sent them gifts, and granted them land property. According to the instructions of the Umayyad rulers, the adherents of 'Alī were banned from being witnesses in court and were even removed from the list of people entitled to payments from the treasury, the *'aṭā'*. The governors made it unlawful to circulate the virtues of 'Alī, and ordered instead to circulate the virtues of the *ṣahāba* while diminishing the position of 'Alī and even reviling him.<sup>104</sup> The attacks against the great 'Irāqī scholar Abū Ḥanīfa were no less malicious. Ḥammād b. Salama states: "No person born in Islam was more harmful to Islam than Abū Ḥanīfa."<sup>105</sup> 'Ammār b. Zurayq, a Kūfan scholar, stated: "If you are asked about a religious practice and are not clear as to the right answer, say the opposite of the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa and your opinion will be right."<sup>106</sup> When Ḥammād b. Zayd heard about the death of Abū Ḥanīfa he said: "Thank God who swept the interior of the earth with his corpse."<sup>107</sup> There were, however, some cases in which the 'Irāqī practice was approved of. When some people discussed in a council whether drinking *nabīdh* was permissible, the people of 'Irāq held the view that the drinking of *nabīdh* was lawful, while those of the Ḥijāz were rigorous and opposed them. The 'Irāqī scholars quoted the fact

<sup>100</sup> Al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 363.

<sup>101</sup> On him, see al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, III, 31.

<sup>102</sup> Al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 762.

<sup>103</sup> Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil, al-muqaddima*, 135 inf.-136 sup.

<sup>104</sup> See 'Alī Khān al-Madanī l-Shīrāzī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-raḥī'a fī ṭabaqāt al-shī'a*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bahr al-'ulūm (Najaf, 1381/1962), 5-8.

<sup>105</sup> Al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 783, 789 and an enlarged version *ibid.*, 785; Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā'i l-rijāl* (Cairo, 1405/1985), II, 672, his *kunya*, *abū ḥanīfa*, is in this saying deliberately changed into "*abū jīfa*."

<sup>106</sup> Al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 277, 785, and see the references of the editor.

<sup>107</sup> Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, (Beirut, 1387/1967), VI, 159.

that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb approved of drinking *nabīdh* because people ate camel's meat and nothing can help the digestion of this meat better than *nabīdh*.<sup>108</sup>

A few examples may suffice to expose the cautious attitude of the people of *ḥadīth* towards officials, servants in the offices of the rulers and chiefs of tribal factions recognized by the governors, the '*urafā*'. Mālik b. Anas disliked Abū l-Zinād because he was a *kātib* of the Umayyads.<sup>109</sup> Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī was a policeman and an '*arīf*' of his people.<sup>110</sup> Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn asked Abū Zur'a al-Dimashqī concerning the reliability of Abū 'Ā'idh who was appointed to supervise the collection of taxes. Abū Zur'a replied that it was permissible to write down Abū 'Ā'idh's traditions.<sup>111</sup> The famous scholar of *ḥadīth* Hushaym b. Bashīr al-Sulamī, a righteous and pious person, was a student of al-Zuhrī. He wrote down his traditions when he met him in Mecca, but the piece of writing, the *ṣaḥīfa*, was lost and Hushaym transmitted al-Zuhrī's traditions from memory. He was highly respected as a reliable person; Ma'rūf al-Karkhī saw the Prophet in a dream. He addressed Hushaym who stood in his presence and greeted him saying, "May God reward you on behalf of my community, *jazāka llāhu ta'ālā 'an ummatī khayran*."<sup>112</sup> The grandfather of Hushaym, al-Qāsim and the father of the famous scholar Shu'ba were partners in the building of the palace, *qaṣr*, of al-Ḥajjāj in Wāsiṭ.<sup>113</sup> Abū 'Amr b. 'Ubayd was a policeman in the police force of al-Ḥajjāj, he was "a sharp thief," *shiṣṣ*.<sup>114</sup> There were, however, some Umayyad functionaries who were righteous and pious. Such a person was 'Ubaydullah b. 'Iyād b. Laqīṭ. He was a reliable transmitter of *ḥadīth* and had a *ṣaḥīfa* which contained traditions. He was in charge of digging a ditch in Kūfa and used to come to the place in order to inspect the work of digging. When a person came to him and asked for the *ṣaḥīfa*, he used to

<sup>108</sup> Al-Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 255–57, no. 164. And see Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 485, no. 2371: al-A'mash was told about a person who refrained from drinking *nabīdh*. "May God curse him, said al-A'mash; leave him until colic kills him." And see *ibid.*, III, 396, no. 1923: Burayda b. Sufyān was suspected of drinking wine in Medina. He drank, in fact, *nabīdh*, but the people of Medina named the *nabīdh* wine, *khamr*.

About camels meat see M.J. Kister, "Land Property and Jihād," *JESHO* 34: 298–300; and see especially 300, notes 128–29.

<sup>109</sup> Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 305, no. 1110.

<sup>110</sup> Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 359, no. 2661; and see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhību l-tahdhīb*, VI, 277–78, no. 546, s.v., 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mull al-Nahdī: he was an '*arīf*' of his people.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn Shāhīn, *Ta'rīkh asmā' i l-thiqāt*, 159 ult.–160 sup., no. 61.

<sup>112</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhību l-tahdhīb*, XI, 59–64, no. 100. Hushaym died in 183 H.

<sup>113</sup> Ibn Shāhīn, *Ta'rīkh asmā' i l-thiqāt*, 195, no. 23.

<sup>114</sup> Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 386, no. 4631=IV, 328, no. 4631.

lend him the piece of writing and thus enabled him to copy the traditions and to read before him the traditions he had copied.<sup>115</sup>

Some groups of people among them, e.g., the Bedouins, were disliked as transmitters of *ḥadīth*. The inferiority of the Bedouins in *ḥadīth* is clearly reflected in several utterances attributed to the Prophet or to one of his Companions. They were circulated in the period when the influence of the Bedouin tribes and their military power declined. According to a tradition reported by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the Prophet forbade Bedouins to marry Muhājirī women. Al-Ḥasan, however, remarked that if a Bedouin dwells with his Muhājirī wife in a garrison city, *miṣr*, there is nothing bad about that.<sup>116</sup> If a Bedouin emigrates from the Arab peninsula, returns to his Bedouin dwellings, and stays there for more than two months, he reverts to his Bedouin status.<sup>117</sup> A tradition transmitted on the authority of the Prophet denies a Bedouin permission to give evidence against a man dwelling in a village (or city -k).<sup>118</sup> Hospitality is an obligation incumbent upon Bedouins, not upon village people, said the Prophet.<sup>119</sup> Commentators of the Qur'ān, in explicating verse 97 of Sūrat al-Tauba: *al-a'rābu ashaddu kufran wa-nifāqan wa-ajdaru allā ya'lamū ḥudūda mā anzala llāhu 'alā rasūlihi wa-llāhu 'alīmun ḥakīmun*, express a harsh view of Bedouins. As the verse defines their inferiority in comparison to the believers, the conclusions to be drawn are that they should be denied a share in the booty and revenues of the conquered property, *lā ḥaqqa lahum fī l-fay'i wa-l-ghanīma*. They are called upon to leave their places and move to the centres of the Muhājirūn; if they do this, they will be granted the rights of the Muhājirūn. If they refuse to move, they will earn the status of "Bedouins of the Muslims," *yakūnūna ka-a'rābi l-muslimīn*, and will not receive a share of the booty and revenues. Further, argues al-Qurṭubī, they are not permitted to be *imāms* for sedentary people, *ahl al-ḥādīra*, because of their ignorance of the *sunna* and the remoteness of the mosques in which their Friday

<sup>115</sup> Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 381, no. 1305; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb l-tahdhīb*, VI, 4, no. 5.

<sup>116</sup> Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *al-Marāsīl*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Izz al-Dīn al-Sayrawān (Beirut, 1406/1986), XXX, 6:146. And see another aspect of this tradition in Ibn Abī Shayba's *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. 'Āmir al-'Umarī l-A'zamī (n.p., n.d.), reprint, IV, 346. Some scholars disliked the marriage of a Bedouin with a Muhājirī woman, fearing that he would take her out from the *miṣr* and lead her back to the Bedouin dwellings.

<sup>117</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Maṭālibu l-'āliya bi-zawā'idi l-masānīdi l-thamāniya*, ed. Ḥabīb l-Raḥmān al-A'zamī (Beirut, 1407/1987), III, 202-203, no. 3257: ... *man badā akthara min shahrāyni fa-hiya a'rābiyatun*; and see *ibid.*, no. 3258: ... *al-badāwa shahrāni, fa-man zāda fa-huwa ta'arrubun*; and see *ibid.*, no. 3259: ... *man badā jafā*. And see Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *al-Marāsīl*, 175, XLVII, 5.

<sup>118</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Jam'u l-jawāmi'*, I, 882: ... *lā tajūzu shahādātu badawiyīn 'alā ṣāhibi qaryatin*.

<sup>119</sup> Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil*, I, 271.

prayer, *al-jum‘a*, is performed.<sup>120</sup> The decline of *ḥadīth* scholarship is described in a statement of al-Auzā‘ī, which alludes to the low status of Bedouins: “This knowledge, ‘ilm, was noble through the meetings of (noble –k) men; when this knowledge became embedded in books you can find it with a slave and a Bedouin.”<sup>121</sup>

Another group of people who were looked down upon were the Nabaṭ, the descendants of the population of the Sawād of ‘Irāq, who worked in tilling the soil,<sup>122</sup> and evidently made considerable progress in their knowledge of Arabic and *ḥadīth*. This was watched with dislike by some Muslim scholars. Sufyān al-Thaurī got angry when he saw the Nabaṭs writing down the traditions of the Prophet and the colour of his face changed. When asked about this, he said: “Knowledge [scil. of *ḥadīth* –k] was with the Arabs and the chiefs of the people. When knowledge [i.e., *ḥadīth*] leaves them and passes to the Nabaṭ and to the lowest classes of the people, the *sifla*, the faith of Islam will be distorted.”<sup>123</sup>

Ibn al-Ḥājj reports that some of the pious ancestors used to weep when they saw the Nabaṭ reading ‘ilm, (i.e., the *ḥadīth* –k), because knowledge that is acquired by unworthy people would be spoiled.<sup>124</sup>

The feeling of repugnance towards the Nabaṭ is even traced back to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. ‘Umar is said to have entered the market (evidently of Medina –k) where he saw mostly Nabaṭ. When people later gathered around him, he spoke about the presence of the Nabaṭ in the market and blamed those around him for deserting it, leaving the market to the Nabaṭ. They argued that the conquests which God empowered them to accomplish enabled them to do without markets, *inna llāha ‘azza wa-jalla qad aghnānā ‘ani l-aswāqi bi-mā fataḥa bihi ‘alaynā*. ‘Umar however warned them that if they continued to act in this way their men will be dependent on Nabaṭī men and their women on Nabaṭī women.<sup>125</sup>

A tradition attributed to the Companion of the Prophet, Ibn Mas‘ūd, advised the believers to have nothing to do with the Turks as long as they leave the believers alone, and not to stay in the vicinity of the Nabaṭ because they are the disease of religion, *āfatu l-dīn*. If they duly pay the *jizya*, the believers should debase them. If they manifest belief in Islām,

<sup>120</sup> Al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi‘ li-aḥkāmī l-qur‘ān* (Cairo, 1387/1967), VIII, 231 inf.–232.

<sup>121</sup> Ibn ‘Adī, *al-Kāmil, al-muqaddima*, 145.

<sup>122</sup> See the *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v., “Nabaṭ.”

<sup>123</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm*, I, 161; and see al-Ṭarṭūshī, *Kitāb al-ḥawādīth wa-l-bida‘*, 72.

<sup>124</sup> Ibn al-Ḥājj, *al-Madkhal*, II, 85; and see Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ al-Qurṭubī, *Kitāb al-bida‘*, ed. Maria Isabel Fierro (Madrid, 1988), 213, XI, 44: ... *fa-innī samī‘tu rasūla llāhi ṣallā llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam yaqūlu: lā yazālu l-dīnu mu‘tadīlan ṣāliḥan mā lam yuslim nabaṭu l-‘irāqi, fa-idhā aslamat nabaṭu l-‘irāqi adghalū fī l-dīni wa-qālū fīhi bi-ghayri l-‘ilmi; fa-‘inda dhālika yuhdamu l-islāmu wa-yanthaliḥu.*

<sup>125</sup> Ibn al-Ḥājj, *al-Madkhal*, II, 85.

*fa-idhā azharū l-islām*, read the Qur'ān, learn Arabic, sit on a garment in councils, *ihtabau fī l-majālis*, and hold conversations in which they dispute with other men, then flee away from their country as soon as possible, *fa-l-haraba, al-haraba min bilādihim*.<sup>126</sup>

Traditions about the poor contain conflicting views. The utterances of the Prophet about the weak and poor are usually favourable. A tradition attributed to the Prophet says that God caused this community to gain victory, *innamā naṣara llāhu hādhihi l-ummata*, because of their weak, as they made invocations, prayed and carried out acts of devotion.<sup>127</sup> A well-known tradition warns against sitting in the company of the sons of the rich, as they constitute a greater temptation than virgins.<sup>128</sup> A respected traditionist is blamed for his relating reports of rich transmitters; he defends himself by stating that he has always tried to establish the righteousness of the reporter.<sup>129</sup> Listing the vices of the *muḥaddithūn*, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī speaks of scholars who devote their collections to people of honour and wealth while ignoring the poor and the destitute, who are in their view unworthy of this material. Such scholars will be placed in the third layer of Hell.<sup>130</sup> Poverty is a grace of God. The Prophet invoked God and asked Him that people who like the Prophet should not gain property, *māl*, and children; as for the people who hate him, the Prophet invoked God to grant them children and property. "Poverty reaches people who love me sooner than water running from

<sup>126</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī (Cairo, 1382/1962), III, 272, no. 6403.

<sup>127</sup> Al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, II, 26; and see another version *ibid.*, 27. And see al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunanu l-kubrā*, III, 345. The Prophet was blamed by one of his Companions for dividing the booty among the poor Muhājirūn, *fuqarā' al-muhājirīn*, and he replied: *hal tunṣarūna illā bi-ḍu'afā'ikum*, al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 531. And see al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-shāmiyyīn*, I, 335–36, no. 590: *abghūnī fī ḍu'afā'ikum fa-innakum innamā tunṣarūna bi-ḍu'afā'ikum*; and see the references of the editor. Cf. Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyatu l-auliyya*, V, 365; Ka'b al-Aḥbār: When the poor servants of God complain to Him about their destitution they are answered: "Rejoice and do not be sad, because you are the chiefs of the rich and you will outstrip the others to Paradise on the Day of Resurrection." And see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥāwī*, I, 566: "Do favours for the poor before their victory will come"; see *ibid.*, 566: the poor will enter Paradise five hundred years before the rich. And see Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *Kitābu l-fitan*, MS Br. Library, Or. 9449, fol. 64a about the period before the end of time in which the beggars, *al-ṣa'ālīk*, and the people of the lowest class will prevail, *thumma li-l-ṣa'ālīk wa-siflati l-nāsi daulatun fī ākhiri l-zamān*. The Prophet is said to have invoked God asking for victory, by the virtue of the beggars of the believers: al-Suyūṭī, *Jam' u l-jawāmi'*, II, 257. See also the conversation of the poor with God on the Day of Resurrection; they will enter Paradise seventy years before the other believers: al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, I, 293.

<sup>128</sup> Shīrawayh b. Shāhidār al-Daylamī, *Firdaus al-akhbār*, V, 209, no. 7628; and see the references of the editors.

<sup>129</sup> Ghulām Tha'lab, *Juz'*, MS Chester Beatty 3495, fol. 97b–98a.

<sup>130</sup> Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūtu l-qulūb*, II, 15

the top of a mountain to its foot," said the Prophet.<sup>131</sup> The Prophet himself is said to have asked God to be granted the love of the poor and enjoined his Companions to love them. He bade 'Ā'isha to bring the poor near to her and to show them her love. Sufyān al-Thaurī wrote to one of his friends urging him to love the needy and to help them gain religious and worldly advantages and profits.<sup>132</sup> A tradition transmitted by al-Zuhrī and heard by some of his acquaintances says: "The worst food is the food of the rich." Al-Zuhrī amended the tradition: The Prophet said, "The worst food is the food of a dinner party." In another version of this tradition reported by Abū Hurayra, the Prophet added an explanation: "... a dinner-party to which the rich are invited and from which the poor are barred." The acquaintance, Sufyān, drew a deep breath of relief: his father was a rich man. An additional phrase says: "And he who does not accept the invitation disobeys God."<sup>133</sup> There were ascetic and pious circles who adopted such favourable traditions about the poor. The poor were chiefs in the council (of *ḥadīth* -k) of Sufyān al-Thaurī, the rich were humiliated in this council.<sup>134</sup>

The idea that one should memorize the *ḥadīth* following the manner of the Companions of the Prophet, was strengthened by utterances of *ḥadīth* scholars who emphasized that one should choose noble people, *al-ashraf*, as reliable transmitters of *ḥadīth*. In this spirit was formulated an utterance of Shu'ba: "Transmit on the authority of nobles, because they do not lie."<sup>135</sup> Al-Auzā'ī emphasizes that only knowledge derived from utterances of the Companions, that is to say *ḥadīth*, is true knowledge; every knowledge not stemming from one of the Companions is, in fact, not knowledge.<sup>136</sup> A similar expression is recorded in the same source on the authority of al-Sha'bī: "Take with both hands what is transmitted to you in the name of the Companions of the Prophet, but piss on any report transmitted on private opinions, *ra'y*."<sup>137</sup> The idea that traditions should be transmitted orally and should not be recorded, was

<sup>131</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār wa-tafṣīl al-thābiti 'an rasūli llāhi (ḡ) mina l-akhbār, Musnad 'abdi llāhi bni'abbās*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, 1402/1982), I, 279, no. 467; and comp. *ibid.*, nos. 483—85, 496—97, 500, 503, 510, 514—15. And see al-Mu'āfā b. 'Imrān, *Kitābu l-zuhd*, MS. Zāhiriyya, *ḥadīth*, 359, fols. 237b–240a. Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Hāwī*, I, 579–80; Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Iḥāfu l-sādati l-muttaqīn* (Cairo, 1311), repr. Beirut, VIII, 147.

<sup>132</sup> Abū l-Faraj Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Rajab, *Kitāb ikhtiyār al-awlā fī sharḥ ḥadīth ikhtiyāmi l-mala' i l-a'lā*, MS Firenze 197, fol. 39b–40a.

<sup>133</sup> Al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, II, 737–38; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Tajrīdu l-tamḥīd li-mā fī l-muwaṭṭa' mina l-ma'āni wa-l-asānīd* (Beirut, n.d.), 144, no. 459.

<sup>134</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taqdimatu l-ma'rifa li-kitābi l-jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl* (Hyderabad, 1271/1952), 97; and see 100 sup.

<sup>135</sup> Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyatu l-awliyā'*, VII, 155 inf.; Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil, al-muqaddīma*, 115, 250 and cf. *ibid.*, 109 the utterance of al-A'mash.

<sup>136</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 160, II, 29.

<sup>137</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 160.



coupled with the idea that the transmitter should speak the utterances orally, and not read them from a book; he could merely check the text before he recites it in order to avoid mistakes. Reciting the traditions in front of an audience, without relying on a written text during recitation, was an early practice followed in the reading of the Qur'ān. Nevertheless, some scholars held the opinion that the chosen of the community used to read from a written text. This was a common custom and people have held it since the beginning of Islam.<sup>138</sup> Other scholars favoured the practice of reading the Qur'ān orally; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī insisted that the Qur'ān should be recited orally, not from a written text, *muṣḥaf*, as was the practice of Jews and Christians.<sup>139</sup> The recitation of the Qur'ān without references to a written text is linked with a biblical story recorded in the very early *Tafsīr* of 'Abd al-Razzāq and known as "The conversation of Moses with God," the "*munājāt mūsā*".<sup>140</sup> Moses came down from the Mount of Sīnā with the Tablets. In the Tablets there was a talk of a people who would be the best one, and Moses asked God to make his people the one chosen. God refused, and said that that grace would be granted to the community of Muḥammad. Another feature of the chosen people would be that their Gospels will be in their hearts, *anājiluhum (wa-) ḥikmatuhum fī ṣudūrihim*.<sup>141</sup> As mentioned, God refused and promised to grant it to the people of Muḥammad.

<sup>138</sup> This was the opinion of al-Zuhrī; this was also the opinion of Ibn Sirīn, Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and al-Layth b. Sa'īd. See al-Ṭurtūshī, *al-Ḥawādīth wa-l-bida'*, 55.

<sup>139</sup> Al-Ṭurtūshī, *al-Ḥawādīth wa-l-bida'*, 55; see also the discussion of the subject in al-Sijistānī's, *Kitābu l-maṣāḥif*, Mu'assasat Qurṭuba li-l-nashr wa-l-tauzī' (Dār Sayf li-l-ṭibā'a, n.d.), 189-94.

The early *ḥadīth* scholar, 'Abdallah b. Wahb, d. 197 H, records in his *al-Jāmi' fī 'ulūmi l-qur'ān*, ed. Miklos Muranyi (Wiesbaden, 1992), fol. 1b, ll. 6-16 a significant story of a debate in the mosque of the Prophet concerning the miracles of prophets. The hypocrite 'Abdallah b. Ubayy b. Salūl asked the Companions about the miracle of the Prophet. The Prophet, encouraged by Jibrīl entered the mosque and quoted ten graces which God granted him exclusively. One of these exclusive graces was the revelation of the Qur'ān. Mūsā, says the Prophet, was granted the Tablets, 'Isā was granted the Injīl, Dāwūd was given the Zabūr. In contradistinction to other prophets, the Prophet was sent to all the peoples of the world and to the *jinn* as well. Being an *ummī*, God granted him His Word, the Revelation, *wa-inna llāha laqqānī kalāmahu*.

It was, indeed, the Qur'ān, orally communicated to the Prophet by Jibrīl. Cf. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī, *Unmūdhaj jalīl fī as'īlatin wa-ajwibatīn min gharā'ibi āyi l-tanzīl*, (= *Tafsīr al-Rāzī*), ed. Muḥammad Riḍwān al-Dāya (Beirut-Damascus, 1411/1990), 158-59: ... *wa-qīla: innamā qāla "wa-fī nuskhatihā" li-anna llāha ta'ālā laqqana mūsā 'alayhi l-salāmu l-taurāta, thumma amarahu bi-kitābatihā, fa-naqalahā min ṣadrihi ilā l-alwāḥi fa-sammāhā nuskhatan*.

<sup>140</sup> On this subject, see the important article of J. Sadan, "Some Literary Problems Concerning Judaism and Jewry in Medieval Arabic Sources," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon (Jerusalem-Leiden, 1986), 353-98

<sup>141</sup> But see al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* (Tehran, 1378), XIII, 173 ... *innī ajidu fī l-alwāḥi ummatan kutubuhum fī ṣudūrihim yaqra'ūnahā*. ... And see Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, V, 386: ... *maṣāḥifuhum fī ṣudūrihim*.

In contrast to the Jews who recite the Bible from a Book, the people of Muḥammad would recite the Torah keeping it in their hearts, i.e., by memorising it.<sup>142</sup> In the second part of the story, recording the commentary on the verse *fa-sa-aktubuhā li-lladhīna yattaqūna*, ‘Abd al-Razzāq gives the tradition reported by Nauf al-Bikālī.<sup>143</sup> When Moses came with a deputation of the Banū Isrā’īl, God informed him that He intended to place the *sakīna* in the hearts of the people, make them read the Torah with their tongues, ‘*alā ḡahri alsinatihim*, and turn the Earth into places of prayer, *masājid* — they would pray in every place in which prayer may be performed.<sup>144</sup> The Banū Isrā’īl refused this offer and said that they would only pray in the *kanīsa*. Further, they said that they were unable to bear the *sakīna* in their hearts and demanded to put the *sakīna* in the *tābūt*, the Ark of the Covenant; they also refused to read the Taurāh orally, ‘*an ḡahri alsinatinā*. The grace of God was, therefore, granted to the people of Muḥammad. Moses, disappointed, complained to God saying that the grace and benefits to be granted to the deputation of the Banū Isrā’īl were given to others. Then Moses asked God to grant him the prophethood of “their people,” but God stated that the Prophet would be “from them,” *nabiyyuhum minhum*. Moses ultimately asked to be just “one of them,” but was answered by God that he would not reach them, *innaka lan tudrikahum*, i.e., he would not live long enough to reach the period of Islam.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>142</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīru l-qur’ān*, ed. Muṣṭafā Muslim Muḥammad (al-Riyāḍ, 1410/1989), II, 236–37.

<sup>143</sup> See on him Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb l-tahdhīb*, X, 490, no. 880; and see al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb* (Hyderabad, 1383/1963), II, 289, no. 557; he was the son of Ka‘b al-Aḥbār’s wife, and belonged to the *tābi‘īn*.

<sup>144</sup> With the exclusion of a bath and a privy –k.

<sup>145</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, II, 238. Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘u l-bayān ‘an tafsīri l-qur’ān* (= *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*), ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākīr and Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr (Cairo, 1958), XIII, 156, verse 156 of *Sūrat al-a‘rāf*. Qatāda comments that the graces mentioned in the verse will be granted the believers, the followers of the Prophet Muḥammad (157, no. 15205); and see, e.g., 161, no. 15216: “... *fa-sa-aktubuhā li-lladhīna yattaqūna*” is explicated by Sa‘īd b. Jubayr as referring to the community of the Prophet; Mūsā says: “*laytanī khuliqtu fī ummati muḥammadīn*.” Ṭabarī records the tradition reported by Nauf al-Ḥimyarī about the delegation of the seventy men of the people of Moses led by him to the meeting place appointed by God. God announced to Moses and the delegation: *sa-aj’alu lakumu l-arḍa masjidan wa-ṭahūran, wa-aj’alu l-sakīnata ma’akum fī buyūtikum wa-aj’alukum taqra’ūna l-taurāta ‘an ḡahri qulūbikum, yaqra’uhā l-rajulu minkum wa-l-mar’atu wa-l-ḡurru wa-l-abdu wa-l-ḡaghīru wa-l-kabīru*. The delegation refused to pray in an open space and insisted to pray only in their places of prayer, in the *kanā’is*. They refused to read the Torah by heart and insisted to recite the verses of the Book, reading the passages from a written text, *lā nurīdu an naqra’ahā illā naẓaran*. God then decided to grant these graces and privileges the people of the Prophet Muḥammad. In another passage recorded on the authority of Nauf (p. 162, no. 15218) Moses wished to be the prophet of the guided community, but God refuted his wish and granted the privileges to the community of the Prophet Muḥammad.

And see the privileges granted the community of Muḥammad by God, as recorded in the tradition transmitted by Qatāda (d. 118) in 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī, *al-Wasīf fi tafsīri l-qur'āni l-majīd* = *Tafsīr al-Wāḥidī*, ed. 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Maujūd, 'Alī Muḥammad Mu'awwad, Aḥmad Muḥammad Ṣira, Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Jamal (Beirut, 1415/1994), II, 418.

And see: Ayyūb b. Abī Tamīma al-Sakhtiyānī, (d. 131 H) *al-Aḥādīth*, MS Zāhiriyya, majmū'a 4/2, (fol. 34a-48b), fol. 41a-b; but this passage of the *Munājāt mūsā* had been inserted in the MS and is recorded on the authority of Abū Nu'aym (al-Isfahānī, d. 430 H); cf. 'Alī b. Balabān al-Maqdisī, *al-Maqāsidu l-saniyya fi l-aḥādīthi l-ilāhiyya*, ed. Muḥyī l-Dīn Mustawin and Muḥammad al-'Īd al-Khaṭrāwī (al-Madina al-munawwara — Damascus-Beirut, 1408/1988), 442-43; and see *ibid.*, 365-66: ... *wa-man ummatu muḥammadīn, yā rabbī? qāla: ummatuhu l-ḥammaḍūna yaḥmadūna ṣu'ūdan wa-hubūtan wa-'alā kulli ḥālin, yashuddūna ausāfahum wa-yuṭāḥhirūna aṭrāfahum, ṣā'imūna bi-l-nahār, ruḥbānun bi-l-layl, aqbalu minhumu l-yasīr fa-udkhiuluhumu l-jannata bi-shahādati an lā ilāha illā llāhu wa-anna muḥammadan rasūlu llāhi; qāla: yā rabbī, ij'alnī nabīyya tilka l-ummati. qāla: nabīyyuhā minhā. qāla: yā rabbī, ij'alnī min ummati dhālika l-nabīyyi. qāla: laqad istaqdamta wa-sta'khara, yā mūsā, wa-lākin sa-ajma'u baynaka wa-baynahu fi dāri l-jalāl. ...* And see 'Alī b. Balabān, *op. cit.*, 442-43. 'Abd al-Majīd al-'Adawī, *al-Tuḥfatu l-marqīyya fi l-akhbāri l-qudsiyya wa-l-aḥādīthi l-nabawiyya* (Cairo, 1369/1950), 50-51; the tradition is traced to Wahb b. Munabbih. Cf. al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, XCIX, 186, no. 1. And see a peculiar Shī'ī tradition recorded in Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī's, *al-Jawāhir al-saniyya fi l-aḥādīthi l-qudsiyya* (Baghdād, 1384/1964), 59: ... *wa-kāna fimā nājahu an qāla lahu: yā mūsā, lā aqbalu l-ḡalāta illā liman tawāḍa'a li-'azamatī wa-alzama qalbahū khaufī wa-qaṭa'a nahārahū bi-dhikrī wa-lam yabīṭ muṣirran 'alā l-khaṭī'a wa-'arafa ḥaqqā auliyyā'ī wa-aḥibbā'ī. fa-qāla mūsā: yā rabbī, ta'nī bi-auliyyā'ika wa-aḥibbā'ika ibrahīma wa-ishāqa wa-ya'qūba? fa-qāla ta'ālā: hum kadhālika, yā mūsā, illā annī aradtu man min ajlihi khalaqtu ādama wa-hawwā'a wa-l-jannata wa-l-nāra. fa-qāla mūsā: yā rabbī, wa-man huwa? qāla: muḥammadun aḥmadu, shaqaqtu ismahū min ismī, li-annī anā l-maḥmūdu. fa-qāla mūsā: yā rabbī, ij'alnī min ummatihī. fa-qāla: yā mūsā, anta min ummatihī idhā 'arafta manzilatahu wa-manzilata ahli baytihi; inna mithlahū wa-mithla ahli baytihi fiman khalaqtu ka-mithli l-firdausi fi l-jināni lā yaybasu waraḥuhā wa-lā yataghayyaru ṭa'muhā, fa-man 'arafahum wa-'arafa ḥaqqahum ja'altu lahu 'inda l-jahli ḥilman wa-'inda l-zulmati nūran ujjibhu qabla an yad'ūnī wa-u'ṭīhi qabla an yas'alanī. And see *ibid.*, 66: ... *'ani l-riḍā 'an ābā'ihī 'an rasūli llāhi (ṣ) qāla: inna mūsā sa'ala rabbahu fa-qāla: yā rabbī, ij'alnī min ummati muḥammadīn, fa-auḥā llāhu ilayhi: yā mūsā, innaka lā taṣīlu ilā dhālika.**

Cf. Mercedes Sanchez Alvarez, *El Manuscrito miscelaneo 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Paris* (Madrid, 1982), 253-61, [Rekontamiento de Mūcā]. As for the sentence: *ij'alnī min ummati muḥammadīn*, see al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, XIII, 344, no. 27. See also the report of Nauf al-Bikālī in al-Qurtubī's *Tafsīr*, VII, 297-98; cf. *ibid.*, the significant sentence: ... *wa-aj'alukum taqra'ūna l-taurāta 'an zahri qulūbikum, yaqra'uhā al-rajulu minkum wa-l-mar'atu wa-l-ḥurru wa-l-'abdu wa-l-ṣaḡīru wa-l-kabīru.*

See Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-auliyyā'*, V, 385-86: ... *anna mūsā nazara fi l-taurāt, fa-qāla: yā rabbī, innī ajidu fi l-taurati ummatan maṣāḥifuhum fi ṣudūrihim yalbasūna thiyāba ahli l-janna. ...* and cf. *al-Munājāt al-kubrā li-sayyidinā mūsā 'alayhi l-ḡalāt wa-l-salām fi l-akhkām wa-l-waṣāyā wa-l-mawā'iz* (Cairo, 1375/1956), 24, inf.: *yā rabbī, innī ajidu fi l-awāḥi ummatan anājūluhum fi l-ṣudūri yaqra'ūnahā, fa-j'alhum ummatī. ...*; cf. *Munājāt mūsā*, MS from the library of the late S.M. Stern, fol. 17a: ... *qāla mūsā: yā rabbī innī ajidu fi l-taurāt ummatan kitābuhum fi ṣadrihim, yaqra'ūna zāhīran (!) wa-ghayruhum mina l-umami yaqra'ūna kutubahum nazaran fi l-maṣāḥif, fa-j'alhum ummatī. ...*

The other offer which Banū Isrā'īl rejected was the permission to pray anywhere on Earth; every place on Earth would be considered a *masjid*, a place of prayer and prostration.<sup>146</sup>

See al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*—*Jāmi' u l-bayān 'an ta'wīli āyi l-qur'ān*, XIII, 123–25, nos. 15132–33; cf. the sentence: ...*wa-kāna man qablahum yaqra'ūna kitābahum naẓaran, hattā idhā rafa'ūhā lam yaḥfazū shay'an wa-lam ya'rifūhu*...; and see *ibid.*, 123, no. 15131: the wrath of Moses was caused by the fact that he found in the Tablets the virtues of another people, not of Banū Isrā'īl.

Al-Māwardī, *Tafsīr*—*al-Nukat wa-l-uyūn*, ed. Khaḍir Muḥammad Khaḍir (Kuwayt, 1402/1982), II, 62. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīru l-qur'āni l-'aẓīm* (Beirut, 1385/1966), III, 225–26. *Idem*, *Shamā' ilu l-rasūl*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid (Cairo, 1386/1967), 114–15. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr* (Cairo, 1314), III, 129. Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh dimashq, tahdhīb*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān (Beirut, 1399/1979), V, 264–65. Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Badā' i' al-fawā'id* (Beirut, n.d.), repr., IV, 78. Cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā fī ajwibati l-yahūd wa-l-naṣārā* (Beirut, n.d.), 127–28. Al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, LVII, 317–18.

See a fragment of the *Munāyāt mūsā*, recorded by Ma'mar on the authority of al-Zuhrī: Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-auliyā*, III, 375–76 and see the note of Abū Nu'aym: *hādihā ḥadīthun gharīb min ḥadīthi l-zuhriyyi, lam naktubhu illā min ḥadīthi rabāhi bni ma'mar, wa-rabāh wa-man fauqahu 'udūlun, wa-l-jabābiri fī ḥadīthihi linnun wa-nakāratun*; cf. this version on the authority of al-Zuhrī in Ibn Abī 'Āsim al-Shaybānī, *Kitābu l-sunna*, ed. Muḥammad Naṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (Beirut, 1400/1980), I, 305–306, and see the notes of the editor. And see the *ḥadīth* quoted from the *Sunna* of Ibn Abī 'Āsim in al-Dhahabī's *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, II, 159–160, no. 3280, s.v., Sa'īd b. Mūsā al-Azdi.

<sup>146</sup> Al-Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd al-Baghawī, *al-Anwār fī shamā' ilu l-nabiyyi l-mukhtār*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Ya'qūbī (Beirut, 1409/1989), I, 8–9, nos. 7–9, and see the copious references of the editor. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣā' iṣ al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harrās (Cairo, 1386/1967), III, 154, 186. Ibn Bābūyah al-Qummī, *al-Khiṣāl*, ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, (Tehran, 1389), I, 201, no. 14. Ibn Khuzayma al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-A'ẓamī (Beirut, 1391/1971), II, 6–7, nos. 788–91. Al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr* (Beirut, 1391/1972), IV, 438–39, nos. 5880–83: (a) *fudḍiltu 'alā l-anbiya' bi-sittin*... (b) *fudḍiltu 'alā l-anbiya' bi-khamsin*... (c) *fudḍiltu bi-arba'in*... (d) *fudḍiltu bi-arba'in*... *bi-arba'ina*. *Idem*, I, 566–68, no. 1174: ...*u'fītu khamsan lam yu'ṭahunna aḥadun*... *wa-ju'ilat li al-arḍu masjidan wa-ṭahūran, fa-ayyumā rajulin min ummati adrakathu l-ṣalātu fa-l-yuṣalli*...; and see the comments of al-Munāwī: ...*masjidan, maḥalla sujūdin wa-lau bi-ghayri masjidin wuqifa li-l-ṣalāti, fa-lā yakhtaṣṣu bi-maḥallin, bi-khilāfi l-umami l-sābiqati, fa-inna l-ṣalāta lā taṣiḥḥu minhum illā fī mawāḍi'a makhṣūṣatin, min nahwi bay'atin au kanīṣatin, fa-ubīhat al-ṣalātu lanā bi-ayyi maḥallin kāna*... Najm al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, *al-Qand fī dhikri 'ulamā' i samarqand*, ed. Muḥammad al-Fariyābī, al-Marba' (Su'ūdiyya, 1412/1991), 368, no. 667: ...*ju'ilat li al-arḍu masjidan*... And see al-Suyūṭī, *Jam' u l-jawāmi'*, I, 392, II, 522. Cf. Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī, *Dhammu l-muwawwisīn*, ed. Abū l-Ashbāl al-Zuhayrī Hasan b. Amīn Āl Manduh (Cairo, Jīza, 1407), 33: ...*wa-qāla 'alayhi l-ṣalātu wa-l-salām: ju'ilat li al-arḍu kulluhā masjidan wa-ṭahūran fa-ḥayḥtumā adrakatka l-ṣalātu fa-ṣalli*.

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Naysābūrī, *al-Ausaṭ*, ed. Abū Ḥammād Ṣaghīr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ḥanīf (Riyāḍ, 1405/1985), II, 11–12, nos. 505–507. See no. 505: *fudḍiltu 'alā l-nāsi bi-thalāthin: ju'ilat li al-arḍu kulluhā lanā masjidan wa-ju'ilat turbatuhā lanā ṭahūran*... and see no. 507: ...*wa-ju'ilat li kullu arḍin tayyibatīn masjidan wa-ṭahūran*; and see the note of the author: "*qāla abū bakrīn: wa-fī hādihā l-ḥadīthi dalīlun 'alā anna l-ladhī yajūzu an yutayammama bihi mina l-arḍi al-ṭayyibu dūna mā huwa minhā najisun*."

The idea that the “whole earth is a place of prayer and prostration,” a *masjid*, for the believer seems to have survived in the Muslim community. It remained similar to the concept of pure faith, free from dependence on sumptuous mosque buildings, erected by kings and rich donors.<sup>147</sup> The idea that a mosque should be a modest building, not put up for profit or for parading luxury, or in order to vie with sanctuaries of other religions, was expressed in a seminar in Cairo in 1989, following the presentation of the Aga Khān Awards for Architecture. A famous builder and architect, Abdel Wahed al-Wakil was accused of trying to transplant Western and Judaeo-Christian ideas about “sacred art” into Islam. The point made by his critic, the Moroccan Professor Mahdi al-Mandjara, as summarized by Neal Ascherson,<sup>148</sup> was that Islamic architecture was not sacred: the mosque was just a place of praying and teaching. “Islam came to desecralise the material world and to make the immaterial sacred instead.” Further, he stated that “politics and reactionary movements were behind the attempt to give the mosque a significance it should not have.” The discussion in this seminar is instructive for seeing how the idea that the “whole earth is a *masjid*,” a place of prayer and prostration for the Muslim believer, has lived on to the present day.

The end of the first century of Islam was a period of profound change in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. The Umayyad rulers did their best in order to gather around them scholars of *ḥadīth* who would support their ideas concerning authority and government control, basing themselves on traditions attributed to the Prophet, whether authentic or forged. The rulers did not refrain from using various stratagems in order to have the *ḥadīths* of the Companions of the Prophet recorded.<sup>149</sup> Those who

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The *ḥadīth* mentioned above in the version: *u'tītu khamsan lam yu'tahunna aḥadun qablī...*, recorded by Ibn Ḥazm, is preceded by a note of the author, who writes: “we are not permitted to follow a religious law, *sharī'a*, which existed before the Prophet.” Ibn Ḥazm argues that the prophets preceding Muḥammad were sent to their peoples and their prescriptions of the religious law, the *sharā'ī'*, were incumbent merely on the peoples to whom they were sent. See Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, n.d.), I, 65, no. 102.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Hidāyatu l-ḥayārā fī ajwibatī l-yahūd wa-l-naṣārā* (Beirut, n.d.) 77, ll. 2-3, 84.

Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, III, 125, ll. 4-5.

<sup>147</sup> See M.J. Kister, “‘A Booth Like the Booth of Moses’: A Study of an Early Ḥadīth,” *BSOAS* 25(1962): 150-55; repr. “Variorum,” *Studies in Jahiliyya and Early Islam* (London, 1980), no. VIII.

<sup>148</sup> “Islamic Visions, Ancient and Modern,” *Observer*, Sunday, 22 October 1989.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 63: When Zayd b. Thābit visited the court of Mu'āwiya, he was asked about a tradition of the Prophet; Mu'āwiya ordered a man of his court to write down his reply. Zayd b. Thābit reminded Mu'āwiya of the Prophet's prohibition to write down his utterances and Mu'āwiya ordered the tradition be erased.

Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lāmi l-nubalā'*, II, 431: Marwān ordered a scribe to sit behind a curtain and write down clandestinely the traditions transmitted by Abū Hurayra.

kept company with governors were sharply condemned by pious scholars of *ḥadīth*, who stated that a scholar of *ḥadīth* loses part of his faith when he enters the court of a ruler. There was only one exception: the rule of the pious 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz; the orthodox scholars of *ḥadīth* gladly cooperated with the righteous Caliph. Al-Zuhrī says, probably with some satisfaction, that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz ordered to write down the *sunan* of the Prophet; he and others wrote them down, *fakatabnāhā*, and the written documents, the *dafātir*, were dispatched to the provinces, each province getting a *daftar*.<sup>150</sup> At the same time, the Abbasids developed their claims for the caliphate.<sup>151</sup> It was natural that new elements from among the population were called to take part in the discussion concerning the rights of the different candidates for the rule and control of the Muslim Empire. There were some changes in the way the reliability of different groups of people was evaluated. Orthodox scholars warned that one should be cautious concerning the traditions of poor *muḥaddithūn*. Shu'ba was the scholar who expressed this in plain words: "Do not record the traditions reported by the poor, because they lie to you." A note attached to the utterance mentions that Shu'ba himself was at that time poorer than a dog.<sup>152</sup> It is noteworthy that the critical attitude towards the Bedouins changed entirely. In contrast to the former assertions as to the bad character of the Bedouins, Shu'ba states that the Bedouins do not lie in questions of *ḥadīth*.<sup>153</sup> The Prophet predicted that there would be violent civil wars after his death; the best people in these wars would be the Muslims of the desert, *muslimū ahli l-bawādī*, who had no blood on their hands and did not touch forbidden property.<sup>154</sup>

It is evident that an essential change took place in the opinions of the scholars of *ḥadīth* towards the Bedouins. They are the righteous people, untainted by spilled blood or wealth. They, of course,

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Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh dimashq, tahdhīb*, VI, 59 inf.: Marwān ordered one of his *mawālī*, Sālim b. al-Zu'ayzi'a, to write down the utterances of the Prophet transmitted by Abū Hurayra, who was seated behind the throne of Marwān; Sālim carried out the order of Marwān. After a year, Marwān invited Abū Hurayra to his court and asked him about the traditions which he transmitted a year ago; he repeated them exactly. Marwān attempted to test him and sent him a hundred dīnars. Later, he sent him a messenger and asked Abū Hurayra to give the hundred dīnars back, claiming that he had intended to send them to another person. Abū Hurayra apologized, saying that he had already spent the money, but asked to detract the sum from his payment of 'aḡā'.

<sup>150</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān*, I, 76.

<sup>151</sup> See, e.g., 'Alī Khān al-Madanī al-Shīrāzī, *al-Darajātu l-rafi'a*, 132-39.

<sup>152</sup> Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil, al-muqaddima*, 247; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyatu l-auliya'*, VII, 147, mentions that he was sustained by his nephew and his son in law.

<sup>153</sup> See Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil, al-muqaddima*, 250.

<sup>154</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-shāmiyyīn*, II, 394, no. 1562: *sa-yakūnu ba'dī fitanun shidādun, khayru l-nāsi fihā muslimū ahli l-bawādī lladhīna lā yatanaddauna min dimā'i l-nāsi wa-amwālihim shay'an*.

need to obtain the required knowledge of *ḥadīth*. It is not surprising that al-Zuhrī is said to have gone many times to visit the dwellings of the Bedouins to teach them *ḥadīth*.<sup>155</sup> The strong injunction against teaching knowledge of Muslim law to ruffians and people of the lowest classes, formulated in the saying of Makhūl: “*tafaqquhu l-ra'ā'i fasādu l-dīn wa-tafaqquhu l-siflati fasādu l-dunyā*,”<sup>156</sup> totally lost its importance.

The new trend found its expression in the well known saying of al-Zuhrī: *qad akrahanā hā'ulā'i l-umarā'*. . . . This saying was given several contradictory interpretations.<sup>157</sup> It may, however, be remarked that an expression resembling to some extent that of al-Zuhrī, can be traced to an earlier authority. In a story reported by Shahr b. Ḥaushab<sup>158</sup> about his journey to Syria at the time of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, he mentioned that he met Nauf (obviously al-Bikāh) and 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. When Nauf noticed 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, he cut short the transmission of a *ḥadīth* in which he was engaged. 'Abdallah encouraged him to continue, but Nauf refused, saying 'Abdallah was a Companion of the Prophet and it was more appropriate that he should transmit traditions. 'Abdallah said that: “These *umarā'* prevented us from transmitting *ḥadīth*,” *inna hā'ulā'i qad mana'unā 'ani l-ḥadīth-ya'nī l-umarā'*. When Nauf beseeched him, he agreed to tell those present a *ḥadīth* about the apocalyptic events preceding the advent of the *Dajjāl*.<sup>159</sup>

We have here a phrase reminiscent of al-Zuhrī's expression. The difference in time between the two phrases is interesting: 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ died ca. 70 H. Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī died in 124 H. 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ was prevented from transmitting traditions, al-Zuhrī had an aversion to writing them down, but was compelled to do it. In both cases we have an interference on the part of the Umayyad *umarā'*. The formulation of al-Zuhrī's statement deserves notice: *kunnā nakrahu kitāba l-'ilmi ḥattā akrahanā 'alayhi hā'ulā'i l-umarā'u, fa-ra'aynā an lā namna'ahu aḥadan mina l-muslimīna*.<sup>160</sup> The logical construction of the statement of al-Zuhrī is incoherent: the fact

<sup>155</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* (Beirut-Riyāḍ, 1966), IX, 345.

<sup>156</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 160 inf.; al-Ṭarṭushī, *al-Ḥawādith wa-l-bida'*, 72.

<sup>157</sup> See T. Ivanyi, On the Linguistic Methods of I. Goldziher, *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection: 1951-1976* (Budapest, 1978), 109-110. Sezgin's attempt in GAS I, 74 and 281, to correct Goldziher's reading and translation is far fetched. I would like to thank Dr. Miklos Muranyi for drawing my attention to this article and providing me with an offprint.

<sup>158</sup> See on him Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh-tahdhīb*, VI, 345-46; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb l-tahdhīb*, IV, 369-72, no. 625.

<sup>159</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, XI, 377, no. 20790. Al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, (Hyderabad, reprint al-Riyāḍ, n.d.), IV, 486-87.

<sup>160</sup> Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī, *al-Madkhal ilā l-sunani l-kubrā*, 409, no. 739.

that the *umarā'* compelled him to write down the *ḥadīth* does not imply that he had to dictate the *ḥadīth* to others.<sup>161</sup>

It would be too simple to suppose that al-Zuhrī was angry at the fact that he had to gather traditions for the Caliph. He used to visit the court of the Caliph and received marks of respect and attention at the court. He was highly esteemed as a colleague and the mere mention of a scholar by him was considered a recommendation of that scholar to the Caliph.<sup>162</sup> The large number of traditions left by al-Zuhrī after his death and found in his home and the numerous traditions of al-Zuhrī found in the library of Mālik b. Anas,<sup>163</sup> bear evidence to the fact that al-Zuhrī wrote down *ḥadīth*, and not in negligible numbers. The great number of students that he had, and the books of *ḥadīth* to which he often granted his consent, even without reading the text, imply that al-Zuhrī did not refrain from writing and dictating *ḥadīth*. The construction of the sentence: ... *akrahanā 'alayhi hā'ulā' i l-umarā'u, fa-ra'aynā an lā namna'ahu aḥadan mina l-muslimīn*. . . , "We had an aversion to the recording of knowledge, i.e., the *ḥadīth*, until these amīrs compelled us to it, and we then considered it right not to prevent anyone of the Muslims to write down *ḥadīth*" — is rather vague. It is not absolutely clear what the phrase "*fa-ra'aynā*..." implies. A rare case of this kind is probably the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "*kuntu nahaytukum 'an ziyārati l-qubūr, fa-zūrū l-qubūra, fa-innahā tuzahhidu fī l-dunyā wa-tudhakkiru*

<sup>161</sup> See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ṭaḡyīdu l-'ilm*, 107; and see the copious references of the editor. And see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān*, I, 77: . . . *istaktabanī l-mulūku fa-aktabtuhum, fa-stahyaytu llāha idh katabahā l-mulūku allā uktibahā li-ghayrihim*. And see *ibid.*, I, 76: . . . *kunnā nakrahu kitāba l-'ilmi ḥattā akrahanā 'alayhi hā'ulā' i l-umarā'u, fa-ra'aynā an lā namna'ahu aḥadan mina l-muslimīna*. And see this version: 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, XI, 258, no. 20486. A similar version is recorded in Abū Nu'aym's *Ḥilyatu l-auliyyā'*, III, 363: *kunnā nakrahu l-katb ḥattā akrahanā 'alayhi l-sulṭān, fa-karihnā an namna'ahu l-nāsa*. And *ibid.*, 363: Abū l-Mulayḥ: *kunnā lā naṭma'u an naktuba 'inda l-zuhrī ḥattā akraha hishāmun al-zuhriyya fa-kataba li-banīhi, fa-kataba l-nāsu l-ḥadīth*. Another tradition, *ibid.*, 361, says that Hishām sent al-Zuhrī two scribes who wrote down traditions dictated by him for his son during the course of a year.

<sup>162</sup> See Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, IX, 345, *inf.*: Al-Zuhrī was asked at the court about Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab and gave a favourable opinion about him; when Zuhri came to Medina and greeted Ibn Musayyab, he did not reply. When asked about his uncouth behaviour he answered: "You mentioned me to the Banū Marwān." The reaction of Ibn al-Musayyab indicates that al-Zuhrī was highly esteemed at the court of the Caliph and that the pious Ibn al-Musayyab was vexed about it, fearing that he might be invited to the court. See the comprehensive article of M. Lecker on the political and cultural activities of al-Zuhrī, in his "Biographical Notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī," *Sixth International Colloquium: From Jāhiliyya to Islam* (Jerusalem, 1993).

<sup>163</sup> See Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyatu l-auliyyā'*, III, 361 and al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Tartībū l-madārik wa-taqrībū l-masālik li-ma'rīfati a'lām madhhab mālik*, ed. Aḥmad Bakīr Maḥmūd (Beirut, 1387/1967), I, 149. And see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqātu l-kubrā, al-qismu l-mutammin*, ed. Ziyād Muḥammad Maṅṅūr (al-Madīna al-munawwara, 1408/1987), 170; and see the copious references of the editor.



*l-ākhirā*.<sup>164</sup> The *fa* in *fa-zūrū* denotes a reversal of the prohibition to visit graves into a positive injunction to visit them. In our case, the order to write *ḥadīth*, which the speaker deplores, is followed by the *fa* of *fa-ra'aynā*, which may be explained: "and as a result of the ruler's command and of the fact that we were compelled to write *ḥadīth*, we came to the conclusion that we shall not prevent any Muslim from writing of the *ḥadīth*." The only assumption which may be put forward is that the *ḥadīths* which Zuhri was bidden to write down for the sons of the Caliph were of an official character. They may have touched upon events which affected peoples' opinions, such as those connected with the role of some Qurashī enemies of the Prophet who later embraced Islām and became virtuous believers.<sup>165</sup> Other *ḥadīths* which may fall into this category are those that contain unknown injunctions of the Prophet concerning the women and children of enemies put to death,<sup>166</sup> or the Prophet's injunction against killing hypocrites who pray and utter the *shahāda*,<sup>167</sup> or the behaviour of tax collectors in cases of attempted bribery,<sup>168</sup> or the rules of *jizya* levied from the Zoroastrians.<sup>169</sup> These kinds of traditions seem to be the reason why al-Zuhri was vexed and decided to change his manner of transmission, permitting every Muslim to write down *ḥadīth*.

A puzzling case of such a tradition is recorded in Ibn Ḥazm's *al-Ihkām fī uṣūli l-ahkām*.<sup>170</sup> Al-Zuhri records a document of the Prophet concerning the *ṣadaqa*. It begins with the phrase: "*hādhihi nuskhatu kitābi rasūli llāhi [s] lladhī kataba fī l-ṣadaqa*." The document was in the possession of the family of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Al-Zuhri provides additional details: The document was read to him by Sālim b. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar and he learnt it by heart. This document was copied by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz from the text of 'Abdallah b. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar and Sālim b. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar when he was the amīr of Medīna; he then ordered his officials to act according to this document. The later Caliphs continued to order the implementation of the document until Hishām b. Muḥammad b. Hānī ordered to copy the document and to send it to all of his governors and ordered them to act according to the document.<sup>171</sup> Ibn Ḥazm criticizes sharply the fact that this document was granted legal authority. The document is, in fact, a sheet, *ṣahīfa*, not provided with proper *isnāds*. Besides, only eighty years after the death of the

<sup>164</sup> Al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr* (Cairo, 1391/1972), V, 55, no. 6430.

<sup>165</sup> See, e.g., the story of Ṣafwān b. Umayya and his wife, the daughter of al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, and their conversion to Islām: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Tajrīdu l-tamhīd*, 152–53, nos. 482–83, and see *ibid.*, 152, no. 478.

<sup>166</sup> See, e.g., Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Tajrīdu l-tamhīd*, 147, no. 468.

<sup>167</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Tajrīd*, 144, no. 458.

<sup>168</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Tajrīd*, 138–39, no. 438.

<sup>169</sup> See, e.g., Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Tajrīdu l-tamhīd*, 154, no. 487.

<sup>170</sup> I, 289–90

<sup>171</sup> This is probably a mistake; read: until Hishām ordered Muḥammad b. Hānī . . .

Prophet did people begin to act according to this *ṣahīfa*. The governors of ‘Uthmān followed another document. The governors of ‘Alī, of Ibn al-Zubayr and Abū Bakr as well did not act according to this document. The Medinan family of Ḥazm, *āl ḥazm*, was in the possession of another *ṣahīfa*. Thus, one wonders what caused the practice of the iniquitous Walīd and the caliphs who succeeded him, whose practices are not to be taken into consideration, *mimman lā yu’taddu bihi*, (except ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz), to be regarded as preferable to the practice of Ibn al-Zubayr, of ‘Alī, of ‘Uthmān and of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. This difference of opinions must be resolved according to the injunctions of the Qur’ān and the practice of the Prophet as proved by traditions with sound *asānīd*.<sup>172</sup> The criticism of Ibn Ḥazm is an example of strict, unbiased and uncompromising evaluation of a legal practice according to the validity of recorded traditions.

The transition into a new period of *ḥadīth* transmission is highlighted by a statement of Mālik b. Anas, the student and friend of al-Zuhrī. “If knowledge is barred from common people because of the chosen group, the *khāṣṣa*, the chosen group will not get any good from it, *lam tantafi’ bihi l-khāṣṣa*,” said Mālik.<sup>173</sup> The idea that *ḥadīth* should be spread and transmitted even by men who know less than those to whom the traditions are transmitted gained wide expression in books of *ḥadīth*, compendia of *taṣawwuf*, collections of *adab* and books of *ta’rikh*. A tradition of this kind which was in wide circulation in the second part of the second century is: *naḍḍara llāhu imra’an*.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>172</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūli l-aḥkām*, I, 289–93; see also the discussion concerning the legality of the practices of the governors in the different provinces of the Muslim Empire. And see, e.g., the information about the various documents concerning the *ṣadaqa* in al-Ḥākim’s *al-Mustadrak*, I, 390–97.

<sup>173</sup> Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Tartībū l-madārik*, I, 160: *fa-qāla mālīk: inna l-‘ilma idhā muni’a mina l-‘ammati li-aḥli l-khāṣṣati lam tantafi’ bihi l-khāṣṣatu*. And see *ibid.*, 188: *ittaḡū llāha fī ḥādḥā l-‘ilmi wa-lā tanzilū bihi dāra maḍī’atin wa-baththūhu wa-lā taktumūhu*. And see 189: *ittaḡū llāha wa-nshurū ḥādḥā l-‘ilma wa-‘allimūhu wa-lā taktumūhu*.

<sup>174</sup> See Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *al-Khuṭab wa-l-mawā’iz*, ed. Ramaḍān ‘Abd al-Tawwāb (Cairo, 1406/1986), no. 140, 205–207: (the first part of the combined tradition), . . . Zayd b. Thābit — the Prophet: . . . *naḍḍara llāhu imra’an sami’a minnā ḥadīthan fa-ḥamalahu ḥattā yuballighahu ghayrahu, fa-rubba ḥāmīli fiḡhin li-aḡḡaha minhu, wa-rubba ḥāmīli fiḡhin laysa bi-faḡīhin*. “. . . may God illuminate the man who heard from us a *ḥadīth* and carried it until he forwarded it to another person, because it often happens that a man carries knowledge of the law to a man who is more familiar with the law than himself, and it often happens that a man who carries knowledge of the law is himself not a man of the law, *laysa bi-faḡīhin*”; and see the references of the editor.

Other versions of this tradition: Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi’ bayān al-‘ilm*, I, 38–43; II, 27. Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḡīḡ li-man baddala dīna l-masīḡ*, ed. ‘Alī al-Sayyid Ṣubḡ al-Madanī (Cairo, 1381/1962), III, 132; and see the arguments of Ibn Taymiyya concerning the understanding of the transmitter of the tradition. And see

Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Ḥasanatu wa-l-sayyi'atu*, ed. Ḥanān bint 'Alī b. Ḥāfiẓ (Cairo, 1408/1988), 65; and see the references of the editor.

Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī, *al-Ilmā'*, 13, 15, *li-yuballigha l-shāhidu l-ghā'iba fa-inna l-shāhida 'asā an yuballigha man huwa aw'ā lahu minhu*; and see the references of the editor Aḥmad Ṣāqir. Al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr*, IV, 29, no. 4443: ... *rahīma llāhu imra'an sami'a minnā ḥadīthan fa-wa'āhu, thumma ballaghahu man huwa aw'ā minhu*; see the explication of al-Munāwī. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Faqīh wa-l-mutafaqqih*, ed. Ismā'īl al-Anṣārī (Beirut, 1400/1980), II, 71. Ibn al-'Arabī, *Aḥkām al-qur'ān*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī (Cairo, 1387/1967), I, 49–50; and see the discussion concerning the duty of forwarding the *ḥadīth* to another person. Ibn Kathīr, *Tuḥfatu l-ṭālib bi-ma'rifati aḥādīthi mukhtaṣari bni ḥājib*, ed. 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ḥumayd b. Maḥmūd al-Kubaysī (Makka al-mukarrama, 1406), 212–13, no. 102; and see the references of the editor and his evaluation of the *ḥadīth*. Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, ed. Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Silafī (n.p., n.d.), XVII, 49, no. 106. And see the version in Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Qūtu l-qulūb*, II, 16 and his notes. Al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *Kanzu l-'ummāl* (Hyderabad, 1382/1962), X, 127–28, nos. 1082–85, 131–32, nos. 1112–20, 154, no. 1394. Al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Risāla* (Cairo, n.d.), 126. Al-Ṭahāwī, *Muṣḥkilu l-āthār* (Hyderabad, 1333), II, 231 inf.–233; the word *fiqh* rendered by *fahm*. Al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-ladunniyya* (Cairo, 1328), V, 304 inf. Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, *Musnad*, ed. Akram Diyā' al-'Umarī (al-Madīna al-munawwara, 1405/1985), 47–48, no. 46; and see the references of the editor. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Arba'ūna al-ṣuḡhrā*, ed. Abū Ishāq al-Ḥuwaynī al-Atharī (Beirut, 1408/1988), 11–18, no. 1; and see the copious references of the editor. Al-Rāmḥurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddithu l-fāsil*, 164–69, nos. 3–11; and see the notes and references of the editor. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Sharafu l-ḥadīth*, 17–19, no. 24–26. Al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones (Oxford, 1966), III, 1103. Ibn Bābūyah al-Qummī, *al-Khiṣāl*, ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī (Tehran, 1389), I, 149, no. 182. Abū Yūsuf, *Kitābu l-kharāj* (Cairo, 1382), 9 inf.–p. 10 sup. Mālik b. Anas, *Risālatu l-imām mālik fi l-sunan wa-l-mawā'iz wa-l-ādāb*, ed. 'Abdallah Aḥmad Abū Zaynab (Cairo, 1403/1983), 24. Al-Haytham b. Kulayb al-Shāshī, *Musnad*, ed. Maḥfūz al-Rahmān Zaynullāh (al-Madīna al-munawwara, 1410), I, 314–16, nos. 275–78; al-Mundhirī, *al-Tarḡīb wa-l-tarḥīb*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamid (Cairo, 1379/1960), I, 85–86, nos. 150–53; Abū 'Abdallah al-Šūrī, *Juz'*, MS Leiden Or. 2465, fol. 2a, sup.; al-Šūrī, *al-Fawā'id al-muntaqāt 'ani l-shuyūkhī l-kūfiyyīn*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1407/1987), 39, no. 2, and see references; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* (Riyāḍ, n.d.), repr. of the Hyderabad edition, I, 77; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh dimashq al-kabīr*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān (Beirut, 1399/1979), III, 264; al-Nāzillī, *Mafza' al-khalā'iq manba' al-ḥaqā'iq* (Cairo, 1293), 13; al-Suyūṭī, *Jam'u l-jawāmi'* (Cairo, 1978), I, 853, II, 513; 'Abd al-Ḥakam al-Ishbīlī, *al-Aḥkām al-kubrā*, MS Br. Mus. Add. 27, 253, fol. 5b; al-Haytamī, *al-Zawājir 'an iqtirāfi l-kabā'ir* (Cairo, 1390/1970), I, 97; al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Risāla* (Cairo, al-Maktaba al-tijāriyya, n.d.), 106; al-Shiblī, *Maḥāsīn al-wasā'il ilā ma'rifati l-awā'il*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnjī (Beirut, 1412/1992), 37, penult.; al-Suhrawardī, *Awārif al-ma'ārif* (Beirut, 1966), 19; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyatu l-auliya'* (Beirut, 1387/1967), IX, 308; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'iyya*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Tanāhī and 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw (Cairo, 1383/1964), I, 319–21, and see the discussion; al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfi*, ed. Najm al-Dīn al-Āmilī and 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī (Tehran, 1386), I, 332–33, nos. 1–2; al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id* (Beirut, 1967), I, 137–40; al-Bayhaqī, *Ma'rifatu l-sunan wa-l-āthār*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣāqir (Cairo, 1969), I, 43, and see references; Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Buṣṭī, *Kitāb al-majrūhīn*, ed. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyid (Beirut, n.d.), I, 5, and see note 1; al-Majlisī, *Bihāru l-anwār* (Tehran, 1384), XXI, 138. Shīrawayhi b. Shahrīdār al-Daylamī, *Firdausu l-akḥbār*, ed. Fawwāz Aḥmad al-Zimīrī and Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim bi-llāhi al-Baghdādī (al-Ramla al-bayḍā', 1407/1987), V, 30, no. 7081; and see the references of the editors; 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Khila'i, *al-Fawā'id al-muntaqāt*

It is evident that this *ḥadīth* was well known in the middle of the second century. This is proven by the fact that Abū Yūsuf (d. 182 H) and Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 H) recorded it in their books. One of transmitters of the *ḥadīth*, as recorded by Abū Yūsuf, is Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. This is not surprising.

The Banū Isrā'īl, as already mentioned, heedlessly and stubbornly refused to accept the grace of God to read the Torah by heart; the Torah would then be read by a man, a woman, a free-man, a slave, a boy or an old man.<sup>175</sup> It is startling how the idea that 'ilm may be transmitted by all classes of people was embraced by Muslim scholars. The old idea that *ḥadīth* should be transmitted only by *ashrāf* was discarded. The new idea extolled the transmission of *ḥadīth* by every person in Muslim society, young or old, rich or poor, and is very reminiscent of the grace of God, which was to be granted to Banū Isrā'īl. A *ḥadīth* recorded on the authority of Ibn 'Umar says: "The Prophet [ṣ] said: Write down this knowledge from every rich and poor man, from every young or old man. He who abandons knowledge because the man of knowledge is poor or younger than he, let him take his seat in Hell."<sup>176</sup>

The traditions quoted above bear witness to the fact that the idea of *ḥadīth* being transmitted only by the *ashrāf* and that its transmission should be controlled by rigorous scholars and honourable transmitters, was gradually abandoned from the beginning of the second century onwards. The transmission of *ḥadīths*, edifying stories, stories of prophets and saints, was widely disseminated by the new generations of scholars, among whom the *mawālī* probably formed the majority.

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*al-ḥisān*, MS Museum al-Aqṣā, no. 91, fol. 35b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Kattānī, *Naẓm al-mutanāthir mina l-ḥadīth al-mutawātir* (Cairo, n.d.), 33-34, no. 3.

<sup>175</sup> ... *wa-aj'alukum taqra'ūna l-taurāta 'an zahri qulūbikum, yaqra'uhā l-raḥulu minkum wa-l-mar'atu wa-l-ḥurru wa-l-'abdu wa-l-ṣaghīru wa-kabīru*. See al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr*, VII, 297.

<sup>176</sup> Al-Samarqandī, *Bustān al-'arīfīn*, 6.: ... 'an nāfi'in 'an ibn 'umara raḍiya llāhu 'anhum qāla, qāla rasūlu llāhi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam: "uktubū hādhā l-'ilma min kulli ghaniyyin wa-faqīrin wa-min kulli ṣaghīrin wa-kabīrin. wa-man taraka l-'ilma min ajli anna ṣāḥiba l-'ilmi faqīrun au aṣgharu minhu sinnan fa-l-yatabawwa' maq'adahū mina l-nāri."