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STUDIES IN
ARABIC LITERARY PAPYRI

II
QUR'ĀNIC COMMENTARY AND
TRADITION

BY NABIA ABBOTT



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TO THE MEMORY OF
MOTHER AND JESS

PREFACE

OUR increasing knowledge of Arabic paleography, the availability of new sources, and progress in the publication of the *Concordance of Tradition* open up new avenues of approach to the study of Qur'ānic Commentary and of Tradition. The latter, despite the early recognition of its basic relevance to Islāmic history and culture, has been comparatively neglected in our day. The present study is intended as an introduction to a fresh approach to our understanding of Islāmic early attitudes toward Qur'ānic Commentary and toward the evolution and recording of Tradition, as to both categories of content and methods of transmission.

Information relative to the sources of the Oriental Institute papyri herein presented and to those under study for the forthcoming Volume III, entitled *Language and Literature*, is already available in the Preface to Volume I.

There remains the grateful acknowledgment of the courtesy of the Director of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, who supplied photostats of Document 2, and to the Director of the University of Michigan Library for the opportunity to examine its collection of Arabic papyri and for permission to publish Documents 13 and 14. Thanks are also due to Director Robert M. Adams of the Oriental Institute for his encouragement and support, to Miss Nanette Rauba for her careful typing of the final manuscript, and to our Editorial Secretary, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Hauser, for painstaking and efficient editing of a difficult manuscript with a thousand and one names.

NABIA ABBOTT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF PLATES	xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
INTRODUCTION: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PAPYRI	1
PART I. THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF ISLĀMIC TRADITION	
EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF WRITTEN TRADITION	5
CONTINUOUS WRITTEN TRANSMISSION	33
GROWTH OF TRADITION	65
SURVIVAL AND AUTHENTICITY OF TRADITION	73
PART II. THE DOCUMENTS	
SCRIBAL PRACTICES AND SCRIPTS	87
DOCUMENT 1: FRAGMENT OF THE <i>Wujūh wa al-nazāʾir</i> OF MUQĀTIL IBN SULAIMĀN	92
Text	92
Identification, Date, and Significance	95
The Early Development of <i>Tafsīr</i>	106
DOCUMENT 2: FOLIO FROM THE <i>Muwattaʾ</i> OF MĀLIK IBN ANAS	114
Text	114
Date and Significance	121
DOCUMENT 3: PROBABLY FROM THE COLLECTION OF QUTAIBAH IBN SAʿĪD	129
Text	129
Identification and Significance	143
DOCUMENT 4: PROBABLY FROM THE COLLECTION OF FAḌL IBN GHĀNIM	146
Text	146
Identification and Significance	154
DOCUMENT 5: FROM THE COLLECTION OF ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ ʿABD AL-GHAFFĀR IBN DĀʾŪD AL-ḤARRĀNĪ	158
Text	158
Identification and Significance	163
DOCUMENT 6: FROM THE COLLECTION OF IBN SHIHĀB AL-ZUHRĪ AS TRANSMITTED THROUGH LAITH IBN SAʿĪD PROBABLY TO YAḤYĀ IBN ʿABD ALLĀH IBN BUKAIR	166
Text	166
Identification and Significance	172
DOCUMENT 7: FROM THE COLLECTION OF YAḤYĀ IBN SAʿĪD AL-ANṢĀRĪ AS TRANSMITTED THROUGH LAITH IBN SAʿĪD PROBABLY TO HIS SECRETARY ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ OR POSSIBLY TO HIS PUPIL QUTAIBAH IBN SAʿĪD	185
Text	185
Identification and Significance	193

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
DOCUMENT 8: FROM THE COLLECTION OF RISHDĪN IBN SA ^ʿ D	199
Text	199
Identification and Significance	206
DOCUMENT 9: PROBABLY FROM THE COLLECTION OF ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ ʿABD AL-GHAFFĀR IBN DĀ ^ʿ ŪD AL-ḤARRĀNĪ	208
Text	208
Identification and Significance	216
DOCUMENT 10: PROBABLY FROM THE COLLECTION OF BAQĪYAH IBN AL-WALĪD	222
Text	222
Identification and Significance	232
DOCUMENT 11: PROBABLY FROM THE COLLECTION OF ASAD IBN MŪSĀ	237
Text	237
Identification and Significance	242
DOCUMENT 12: <i>Faḍāʾil al-Anṣār</i>	246
Text	246
Identification and Significance	255
DOCUMENT 13: PROBABLY FROM THE COLLECTION OF ʿALĪ IBN MA ^ʿ BAD THE ELDER	262
Text	262
Identification and Significance	267
DOCUMENT 14: PROBABLY FROM THE COLLECTION OF ʿALĪ IBN MA ^ʿ BAD THE YOUNGER	269
Text	269
Identification and Significance	275
INDEX	281

LIST OF PLATES

- 1-2. DOCUMENT 1
- 3-5. CONSTANTINOPLE MANUSCRIPT 'UMŪMĪ 561
- 6-7. DOCUMENT 2
8. DOCUMENT 3
9. DOCUMENT 4
10. DOCUMENT 5
- 11-12. DOCUMENT 6
- 13-14. DOCUMENT 7
- 15-16. DOCUMENT 8
17. DOCUMENT 9
- 18-19. DOCUMENT 10
- 20-21. DOCUMENT 11
- 22-23. DOCUMENT 12
- 24-25. DOCUMENT 13
- 26-27. DOCUMENT 14

ABBREVIATIONS

- Abū Dāʿūd Abū Dāʿūd Sulaimān ibn al-Ashʿath. *Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Mūḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamid (4 vols.; Cairo, 1354/1935).
- Abū Nuʿaim Abū Nuʿaim Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī. *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ wa ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyāʾ* (10 vols.; Cairo, 1351-57/1932-38).
- Adab al-implāʾ* ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Samʿānī. *Adab al-implāʾ wa al-istimplāʾ*, ed. Max Weisweiler (Leiden, 1952).
- Adāb al-Shāfiʿī* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī. *Adāb al-Shāfiʿī wa manāqibihī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ghānī ʿAbd al-Khālī (Cairo, 1372/1953).
- Aghānī* Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. *Kitāb al-aghānī*, ed. Naṣr al-Hūrīnī (20 vols.; Būlāq, 1285/1868).
- Akhbār al-quḍāt* Wakīʿ Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān. *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī (3 vols.; Cairo, 1366-69/1947-50).
- Amwāl* Abū ʿUbad al-Qāsim ibn Sallām. *Kitāb al-amwāl*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamid al-Fiqqī (Cairo, 1353/1934).
- Ansāb* Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī. *Kitāb ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamid Allāh (Cairo, 1379/1959—).
- BGA* Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum, ed. Michael Jan de Goeje (8 vols.; Lugduni-Batavorum, 1879-1939).
- Birkeland, Opposition* Harris Birkeland. Old Muslim Opposition against Interpretation of the Koran (Avhandlingar utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo. II. Hist.-filos. Klasse, 1955, No. 1 [Oslo, 1955]).
- Buhārī'nin* M. Fuad Sezgin. Buhārī'nin Kaynakları hakkında araştırmalar (Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınlarından XIII [İstanbul, 1956]).
- Bukhārī* Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī. *Al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Ludolf Krehl (4 vols.; Leyde, 1862-1908).
- Bukhārī, Taʾrīkh Concordance* ———. *Al-taʾrīkh al-kabīr* (5 vols.; Ḥaidarābād, 1360-79/1941-59).
A. J. Wensinek *et al.* Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane (Leiden, 1936—).
- Dārimī* ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī. *Sunan* (2 vols.; Damascus, 1349/1940).
- Daulābī* Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥammād al-Daulābī. *Kitāb al-kunā wa al-asmāʾ* (2 vols.; Ḥaidarābād, 1323/1904).
- Dhahabī* Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī. *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (4 vols.; Ḥaidarābād, 1333-34/1915-16).
- EI* The Encyclopaedia of Islām (4 vols.; Leyden, 1913-36. New ed.; Leyden, 1960—).
- Fihrist* Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm. *Fihrist al-ʿulūm*, ed. Gustav Flügel, Johannes Roediger, and August Mueller (Leipzig, 1871-72).
- Futūḥ* Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Charles C. Torrey (Yale Oriental Series—Researches III [New Haven, 1922]).
- Futūḥ al-buldān* Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī. *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Lugduni Batavorum, 1866).
- GAL* Carl Brockelmann. Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur (2 vols.; Weimar etc., 1898-1902).
- GAL S* ———. Supplement (3 vols.; Leiden, 1937-42).
- GAL 2* ———. 2. den Supplementbänden angepasste Aufl. (2 vols.; Leiden, 1943-49).

- Goldziher, *Richtungen* Ignaz Goldziher. Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung (Leiden, 1920).
- Goldziher, *Studien* ———. Muhammedanische Studien (2 vols.; Halle a.S., 1888–90).
- Ḥājjī Khalīfah Muṣṭafā ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ḥājjī Khalīfah. *Kashf al-zunūn*, ed. Gustav Flügel (Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland. Publications XLII [7 vols.; London, 1835–58]).
- Husn al-muḥāḍarah* Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. *Husn al-muḥāḍarah fī akhbār Miṣr wa al-Qāhīrah* (2 vols.; Cairo, 1299/1882).
- Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAsākir. *Al-taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Badrān (Damascus, 1329/1911—).
- Ibn Farḥūn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī ibn Farḥūn. *Al-dībāj al-mudhahhab fī maʿrifat al-ʿyān ʿulamāʾ al-madhab* (Cairo, 1351/1932).
- Ibn Ḥanbal Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal. *Al-musnad* (6 vols.; Cairo, 1313/1895).
- Ibn Ḥibbān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī. *Kitāb mashāhīr ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār*, ed. Manfred Fleischhammer (Halle, 1955).
- Ibn Ḥibbān (1959) ———. *Kitāb mashāhīr ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār*, ed. Manfred Fleischhammer (Bibliotheca Islamica XXII [Wiesbaden, 1959]).
- Ibn Khallikān Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khallikān. *Wafayāt al-ʿyān* (2 vols.; Būlāq, 1299/1882) and translation by Baron Mac Guckin de Slane (Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland. Publications LVII [4 vols.; Paris, 1843–71]).
- Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah. *Kitāb al-sunan* (2 vols.; Cairo, 1313/1895).
- Ibn Saʿd Muḥammad ibn Saʿd. *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. Eduard Sachau (9 vols.; Leiden, 1904–40).
- Ibn Taghribirdī Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf ibn Taghribirdī. *Al-nujūm al-zāhīrah fī mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhīrah*, ed. T. W. J. Juynboll and B. F. Matthes (2 vols.; Lugduni Batavorum, 1852–61).
- ʿIqd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi. *Al-ʿiqd al-farīd* (3 vols.; Cairo, 1293/1876).
- Irshād* Yāqūt ibn ʿAbd Allāh. *Irshād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth (“E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” Series VI [7 vols.; Leyden, 1907–27]).
- Iṣābah* Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī. *Al-iṣābah fī tamayiz al-ṣaḥābah*, ed. Aloys Sprenger *et al.* (Bibliotheca Indica XX [4 vols.; Calcutta, 1856–88]).
- Istīʿāb* Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr. *Kitāb al-istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb* (2 vols.; Ḥaidarābād, 1336/1917).
- Itqān* Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. *Kitāb al-itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* (Cairo, 1318/1900).
- Jamʿ* Ibn al-Qaisarānī. *Kitāb al-jamʿ bain kitābī Abī Naṣr al-Kalābādī wa Abī Bakr al-Iṣbahānī . . . fī rijāl al-Bukhārī wa Muslim* (2 vols.; Ḥaidarābād, 1323/1905).
- Jāmiʿ* Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr. *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm wa faḍlihi*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbduh Aghā (2 vols.; Cairo, n.d.).
- JAOS American Oriental Society. Journal (New Haven etc., 1849—).
- Jarḥ* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī. *Al-jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl* (4 vols.; Ḥaidarābād, 1360–73/1941–53).
- Jarḥ, Taqdimah* Introduction to *Jarḥ* (Ḥaidarābād, 1371/1952).
- JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago, 1942—).
- Kattānī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī. *Kitāb al-tarātib al-idāriyah* (2 vols.; Rabāt, 1346–49/1929–30).
- Khaṭīb Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād aw Madīnāt al-salām* (14 vols.; Cairo, 1349/1931).
- Kifāyah* ———. *Kitāb al-kifāyah fī ʿilm al-riwāyah* (Ḥaidarābād 1357/1938).
- Kindī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Kindī. *Kitāb al-ʿumarāʾ wa kitāb al-quḍāh*, ed. Rhuvon Guest (“E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” Series XIX [Leyden and London, 1912]).

ABBREVIATIONS

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- Kitāb al-umm* Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī. *Kitāb al-umm* (7 vols.; Būlāq, 1321–25/1903–7).
- Lisān* Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī. *Lisān al-mīzān* (6 vols.; Ḥaidarābād, 1329–31/1911–13).
- Maʿārif* ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaibah. *Kitāb al-maʿārif*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1850).
- Madkhal* Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī. *Al-madkhal fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, ed. James Robson (Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland. Publications. New series. Vol. XXXIX [London, 1953]).
- Majjalah* *Majallat al-majmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿIrāqī* (Baghdād, 1369/1950—).
- Manāqib* Ibn al-Jauzī. *Manāqib Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, ed. Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānījī (Cairo, 1349/1930).
- Maʿrifah* Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī. *Kitāb maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* (Cairo, 1356/1937).
- Masʿūdī* ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusain al-Masʿūdī. *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (9 vols.; Paris, 1861–1917).
- Mīzān* Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī. *Mīzān al-ʿtidāl fī tarājim al-rijāl* (3 vols.; Cairo, 1325/1907).
- Muslim* Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi sharḥ al-Nawawī* (18 vols.; Cairo, 1347–49/1929–30).
- Mustadrak* Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī. *Kitāb al-mustadrak ʿalā al-ṣaḥīḥain* (4 vols.; Ḥaidarābād, 1334–42/1915–23).
- Muwattaʿ* Mālik ibn Anas. *Al-muwattaʿ*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʿād ʿAbd al-Bāqī (2 vols.; Cairo 1370/1951).
- Nasāʾī* Aḥmad ibn Shuʿaib al-Nasāʾī. *Kitāb al-sunan* (2 vols.; Cairo, 1312/1894).
- Nawawī* Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī. *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ wa al-lughāt*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1842–47).
- Nubalāʾ* Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī. *Siyar ʿlām al-nubalāʾ*. Vol. I ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Cairo, 1374/1955). Vol. II ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (1376/1957). Vol. III ed. Muḥammad Asʿad Ṭalas (1382/1962).
- OIP* Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago, 1924—).
- OIP L* Nabia Abbott. *The Rise of the North Arabic Script and Its Qurʾānic Development, with a Full Description of the Qurʾān Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute* (1939).
- OIP LXXV* ———. *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. I. Historical Texts* (1957). Cited throughout as “Vol. I.”
- PERF* Vienna. Nationalbibliothek. Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. *Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Wien, 1894).
- Risālah* Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī. *Kitāb risālah*, bound with *Kitāb al-umm* I (Būlāq, 1321/1903).
- Samʿānī* ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Samʿānī. *Kitāb al-ansāb*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth (“E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” Series XX [Leyden and London, 1912]).
- Shaibānī* Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī. Recension of Mālik’s *Muwattaʿ*, ed. with commentary entitled *Taʿlīq al-munajjad* by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī (Lucknow, 1297/1880).
- Sīrah* ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Hishām (ed.). *The Sīrat rasūl Allāh* of Ibn Ishāq, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (2 vols.; Göttingen, 1858–60) and translation by A. Guillaume (London, 1955).
- Ṭabarī* Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī. *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (15 vols.; Lugduni Batavorum, 1879–1901).
- Tadrīb* Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ Taqrīb al-Nawawī* (Cairo, 1307/1889).

ABBREVIATIONS

- Tafsīr* Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī. *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir and Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, 1374/1955—).
- Tafsīr* (1903) ———. *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (30 vols. and Index; Cairo, 1321/1903).
- Ṭaḥāwī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī. *Mushkil al-āthār* (4 vols.; Ḥaidarābād, 1333/1915).
- Tajrīd* Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr. *Tajrīd al-tamhīd li mā fī al-muwatṭaʿa*, ed. Ḥisām al-Dīn al-Qudṣī (Cairo, 1350/1931).
- Tanbīh* ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusain al-Masʿūdī. *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (*BGA* VIII [1894]).
- Taqyīd al-ʿilm* Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, ed. Yūsuf al-ʿAshsh (Damas, 1368/1949).
- Taʾwīl* ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaibah. *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* (Cairo, 1326/1925).
- Ṭayālisī Sulaimān ibn Dāʿūd al-Ṭayālisī. *Musnad*, ed. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Amruḥī *et al.* (Ḥaidarābād, 1321/1903).
- Tirmidhī Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī. *Ṣaḥīḥ*, with commentary ʿĀrīḍat al-aḥwadhī by Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Maʿāfirī (13 vols.; Cairo, 1350–53/1931–34).
- Usd* ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Athīr. *Usd al-ghābah fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah* (5 vols.; Cairo 1285–87/1868–70).
- Vol. I See *OIP* LXXV.
- Wāqidī Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Wāqidī. *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. Alfred von Kremer (*Bibliotheca Indica* XXVIII [Calcutta, 1856]).
- Yāfiʿī ʿAbd Allāh ibn Asʿad al-Yāfiʿī. *Mirʾat al-janān* (4 vols.; Ḥaidarābād, 1337–39/1918–20).
- Yaʿqūbī Aḥmad ibn Abī Yaʿqūb ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Yaʿqūbī. *Taʾrīkh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (2 vols.; Lugduni Batavorum, 1883).
- Yāqūt Yāqūt ibn ʿAbd Allāh. *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (6 vols.; Leipzig, 1866–73; reprinted in 1924).
- ZDMG* Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft. *Zeitschrift* (Leipzig, 1847–1943; Wiesbaden, 1950—).
- Zubairī Muṣʿab ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubairī. *Kitāb nasb Quraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Le Caire, 1372/1953).
- Zurqānī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Zurqānī. *Sharḥ . . . ʿalā Ṣaḥīḥ al-muwatṭaʿa . . . Mālik ibn Anas* (4 vols.; Cairo, 1279–80/1862–63).

INTRODUCTION: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PAPYRI

A MOST significant feature of our fourteen papyri is their early date. The papyrus from the *tafsīr* works of Muqātil ibn Sulaimān (d. 150/767) is evidence of formal and written *tafsīr* in his day. The research that it entailed revealed the following significant factors in the rapid development of *tafsīr* literature: Written *tafsīr* existed from the time of Ibn ʿAbbās onward. Early *tafsīr* manuscripts were used and new ones produced by each succeeding generation of leading *tafsīr* scholars. Differentiation as to type of *tafsīr* began with the Companions of Muḥammad. All types were generally acceptable except those that involved speculation on the difficult and ambiguous passages in the Qurʾān. Muqātil ibn Sulaimān emerges as a leading and prolific Qurʾānic commentator whose works, however, soon became controversial because he was suspected of heresy.

Very important are the clues provided by the thirteen *ḥadīth* documents, in their *isnād*'s as in their content (*matn*), for tracing the origin and early evolution of Tradition and especially for determining the basis of selection of traditions for the standard collections of the second and third centuries. By contrast, the texts of both the *tafsīr* piece and the *ḥadīth* documents contain very little, beyond some rather minor textual variants, that was not already available to us in the rich heritage of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* literature. There are, however, some textual characteristics common to the *ḥadīth* documents, in addition to those mentioned in connection with the scripts as detailed on pages 87–91, which may be noted here.

The language of these documents is more colloquial than literary, even for the Prophet's *ḥadīth*. Literal transmission and transmission according to sense were practiced concurrently, but the former was usually more closely associated with the Prophet's *ḥadīth*. The *isnād*'s vary from predominantly complete ones for the sayings of Muḥammad to broken or abbreviated ones that cover the sayings or practices of the Companions and their Successors (see pp. 77 f.). Broken *isnād*'s, however, were used for *ḥadīth al-Nabī* in connection with certain extralegal, non-obligatory but edifying religious practices such as private prayers of adulation and other devotional exercises (e.g. Document 3). Family *isnād*'s emerged at the very beginning and were much in evidence thereafter for some of the most prominent traditionists as well as for some less well known and even quite obscure families. The documents give evidence of an editorial hand that went beyond routine manuscript corrections to explanatory comments, corroborative traditions, and critical evaluative judgment (see pp. 76 f.).

The distribution of the documents among the three major types of early *ḥadīth* collections is quite representative. The earliest type was the small private collection, mixed as to both source and content, made by many of the Companions. There was no call for emphasis on source until the First Civil War, which occurred in the fourth decade of Islām, and until the Successors were brought into the chain of transmission. The ʿulamāʾ or *fuqahāʾ*—terms applied interchangeably at first to all religious scholars—used and added to such collections until increasing volume and practical needs called for more systematic organization of the materials. At the same time the scholars were forming groups that were interested in one or more of the related yet differently oriented religious disciplines, such as the various branches of Qurʾānic studies, of *ḥadīth* proper, and of law. Tradition, which was indispensable for the other disciplines, received a different literary treatment at the hands of members of the legal profession (*fuqahāʾ*) than it did at the hands of the traditionists proper (*muḥaddithūn*), both groups having leaders

in the front ranks of the *‘ulamā’*. The traditionists, concerned primarily with the authenticity and acceptability of the *isnād*'s, arranged their materials in the familiar form of the *musnad*, which consisted of a number of individual collections each of which traced back to a given Companion or Successor. They paid little attention to thematic organization, though occasionally clusters of thematically related traditions appear in some of the individual *musnad*'s as preserved in the multiple-*musnad* works of Ṭayālīsī and Ibn Ḥanbal, the earliest such works extant. On the other hand, the members of the legal profession, which included many leading traditionists, needed readily usable materials for their arguments relative to a given practical situation or hypothetical legal question. Lawyers, judges, and jurists soon reshuffled the available *ḥadīth* collections and recast the contents under legal headings, in a sense following the practice of Muḥammad himself and of the first four caliphs, who found it necessary to issue oral and written instructions on such matters as general taxation, alms, inheritance, and the conduct of war. As the legal profession soon split into two factions—the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, or those who stressed Tradition, and the *ahl al-ra’y*, or those who stressed also private opinion and judgment—and as the nascent religio-political parties of the end of the first century cited traditions in their controversies and rivalries, the traditionists proper, caught in these developments, found the thematic arrangement convenient and adopted it alongside the earlier *musnad* form and thus gave rise to large *ḥadīth* collections arranged by legal headings (*ḥadīth mubawwab ‘alā abwāb al-fiqh*). On the whole, the traditionists, especially the pious ones who refused to serve the government as judges, paid greater attention to the *isnād*'s than did the rank and file of the legal profession and the rank and file of the historians.

Our *ḥadīth* papyri reflect the developments outlined above as they crystallized during the second century under the leadership of Abū Ḥanīfah of ‘Irāq and Mālik ibn Anas of Medina.¹ Of the thirteen *ḥadīth* documents, six (Nos. 5, 8–11, 14) represent the earliest type, the unorganized *ḥadīth* collection, which was most widely used among the rank and file of traditionists. Five of the documents (Nos. 2–4, 12, 13) represent collections organized by subject matter. The remaining two (Nos. 6–7) represent the *musnad* type that traces back to a given Successor and, significantly enough, are from the *musnad*'s of the judge and traditionist Ibn Shihāb Muḥammad ibn Muslim al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741) and the contemporary judge and jurist Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī (see pp. 193–97). I suspect that the absence of a document representing the *musnad* of a Companion is accidental, owing in part to the hazards of survival and the small size of this collection of papyri. For the earliest literary works, several of which—such as the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa‘d, the *Ta’rīkh* of Bukhārī, and the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal—are contemporary with these very documents, and some that are only slightly later—such as the *Jarḥ wa al-ta‘dīl* of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān—confirm the early currency of the collections of such prolific Companions as Abū Hurairah, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ from the second half of the first century onward.

Analysis of the content and the chains of transmission of the traditions of the documents and of their available parallels in the standard collections, supplemented by the results of an extensive study of the sources on the sciences of Tradition, *ulūm al-ḥadīth*, lead me to conclude that oral and written transmission went hand in hand almost from the start, that the traditions of Muḥammad as transmitted by his Companions and their Successors were, as a rule, scrupulously scrutinized at each step of the transmission, and that the so-called phenomenal growth of Tradition in the second and third centuries of Islām was not primarily growth of content, so far as the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad and the *ḥadīth* of the Companions are concerned, but represents largely the progressive increase of parallel and multiple chains of transmission.

¹ *Manāqib*, pp. 23–25; Suyūṭī, *Tabyīq al-ṣaḥīfah* . . . (Ḥaidarābād, 1334/1915) p. 36.

PART I

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF ISLĀMIC TRADITION

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF WRITTEN TRADITION

I

THE present writer has for some time accepted the possibility that Arabic scripts were used in literary works in pre-Islāmic times, especially among the Christian Arabs of ʿIrāq and Syria and among the Arabic-speaking Christian and Jewish colonists in Arabia itself.¹ Furthermore, the possibility that even the pagan Arabs had some sacred or wisdom literature in circulation on the eve of Islām cannot be altogether excluded.²

Regardless of whether there was or was not a pre-Islāmic translation of large portions of the Bible, there is considerable evidence of the penetration of biblical ideas into the ranks of the pre-Islāmic poets, pagan or otherwise.³ The case of Muḥammad's opponent the poet and would-be prophet Umayyah ibn Abī al-Ṣalt, who was credited with "the study of books" and who had some knowledge of biblical angels, comes to mind.⁴ Another opponent of Muḥammad, the Quraishite Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith, who fell at Badr, was a man who sought religious information from Jews and Christians and was given credit for insight into the books of the Persians.⁵ As for prose, there is reason to believe that some wisdom literature had taken form around the name of Luqmān the Sage⁶ and that some of it was in circulation in Muḥammad's day. For not only does Luqmān receive considerable attention in the Qurʾān in a Sūrah titled after him (31:12-19),⁷ but early Islāmic literature has a number of specific references to manuscripts containing some of his wisdom (*ḥikmah*). The most intriguing of these references centers around Suwaid ibn Ṣamiṭ of the tribe of the Aws, who was known as a *kāmīl* or perfect one, that is, one whose talents included a knowledge of writing.⁸ Muḥammad, while he was still in Mecca in the early years of his mission, invited Suwaid to embrace Islām. The latter refused and informed Muḥammad that he had in his possession the *Majallat Luqmān*,⁹ that is, a manuscript of the wisdom of Luqmān, whereupon Muḥammad asked him to read it out to him. Suwaid did so and was told by Muḥammad that he had something more precious, namely the Qurʾān.¹⁰ The *Majallat Luqmān* continued to circulate throughout the first century, for the well known scholar

¹ See Vol. I 40 f., 46-50; *OIP* L 5-7. See also p. 141 below.

² See Vol. I 27, 56.

³ Cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford, 1953) p. 27; Henri Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire* (Beyrouth, 1928) pp. 51-99, esp. p. 68; Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York, 1933) p. 13.

⁴ Jāhīz, *Al-hayawān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, I (Cairo, 1356/1938) 320. See also p. 141 below and *GAL* S I 55 f.

⁵ See e.g. *Sīrah* I 191 f., 235 f., 458; *Ansāb* I 139 f.:
كان صاحب احاديث ونظر في كتب الفرس ومخالطة
النصارى واليهود .

⁶ For the legend of Luqmān and the several phases of its development see Bernard Heller in *EI* III (1936) 35-37; for samples of the fables attributed to him see Jose Benoliel, *Fabulas de Loqmān* (Lisboa, 1898), and René Basset,

Loqmān berbère avec quatre glossaires et une étude sur la légende de Loqmān (Paris, 1890) esp. pp. xli-liv. See also *GAL* II 62 f. and *GAL* S II 65.

⁷ For other Qurʾānic references to the inspired wisdom of pious men and prophets see e.g. Sūrahs 12:22, 21:74, 26:20, 28:13, 45:15-16; see also Geo Widengren, *Muḥammad, the Apostle of God and His Ascension* (Uppsala, 1955) pp. 129 f., 139.

⁸ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd III 91; *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 474, which adds a second *kāmīl* (Ḥudhair); *Aghānī* VI 165.

⁹ The currency of the term *majallah* and its plural (*majāll*) for manuscript scrolls or books in pre-Islāmic and early Islāmic times is discussed in Vol. I 48. See also Khaṭīb VIII 259; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 95 f.

¹⁰ *Sīrah* I 283-85; Ṭabarī I 1208; *Tafsīr* VII 78; *Tafsīr* (1903) XXI 39-50; *Istīʿāb* II 578; *Uṣd* III 378; *Iṣābah* II 306.

Wahb ibn Munabbih reported that he had read numerous chapters or parts of it.¹¹ The legendary Luqmān shares honors with the historical Aktham ibn Ṣaifi, known as the "Sage of the Arabs" (*ḥakīm al-ʿArab*). Though no specific reference to a pre-Islāmic manuscript collection of his wisdom has been noted so far, aphorisms attributed to him are numerous,¹² and the eleventh-century Ṭurṭūshī refers to several compositions covering his wisdom.¹³ Incidental references by some of the Companions¹⁴ to unidentified wisdom manuscripts (*kitāb* and *ṣaḥīfah*) could apply as well to Aktham as to Luqmān.

The small group of Arab monotheists, either set apart as *ḥanāf*'s or claimed by Jews or Christians, are generally associated with some sort of Hebrew, Syriac, or Arabic manuscript.¹⁵ That Muḥammad considered the *ḥanāf*'s and their claimed source of inspiration, Abraham, as good Muslims is too well known to detain us here,¹⁶ as is also the fact that he learned something of the "people of the Book" and their Scriptures from Warāqah ibn Naufal, "a reader of books."¹⁷ And one should not completely overlook the Sabians and their books and the definition of *ṣābī* as "one who reads or writes books" and the fact that Muḥammad himself was at first called a *ṣābī*.¹⁸ I do not intend here to enter into the controversy of whether or not Muḥammad was literate. I am persuaded that he, like ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah, could read and that he probably could write also, at least at the time of his mission in Medina (see p. 257).¹⁹

It would seem therefore, even from the foregoing brief survey, that sacred prose literature written in Arabic was in no way strange to the Arabs on the eve of Islām.²⁰ Furthermore, the familiar argument that the paucity of literate Arabs and the peculiarities of the Arabic script

¹¹ *Maʿārif*, p. 27. Numerous and varied lists of wisdom attributed to Luqmān are to be found in early Islāmic literature and are relayed by later authors; see e.g. Bukhārī II 364 f.; *Jāmiʿ* I 106 f.; Abū Nuʿaim II 283, III 337, VI 320, VIII 17, IX 55; Nawawī, p. 526; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. Abū al-ʿAlāʾ ʿAfifī (Cairo, 1365/1946) I 187-91 and II 276-83. See also n. 6 above.

¹² Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, *Kitāb al-muʿammarīn* (Ignaz Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* II [Leiden, 1899]) pp. 9-18, covers some of Aktham's legendary activities as leader and sage before Islām and credits him with literary correspondence with the Arab kings of Hira and Syria. See also *Maʿārif*, pp. 37, 153, 274; Ibn Qutaibah, *Taʾwīl mushkil al-Qurʾān*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣāqir (Cairo, 1373/1954) p. 62; *Jāmiʿ* II 160; *Uṣd* I 112 f. Sūrah 4:100 is supposed to refer to Aktham and to others who, like him, were overtaken by death while they were on their way to Muḥammad (see *Ansāb* I 265 and *Tafsīr* IV 112-22). *ʿIqd* I 301 refers to a Sāʾib ibn Ṣaifi whom Muḥammad addressed as "my partner in the *jāhīliyyah*."

¹³ Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-mulūk* . . . (Cairo, 1306/1888) p. 157. For samples of Aktham's sayings see e.g. Suyūṭī, *Al-muḥḥir fī ʿulūm al-lughah* (Cairo, 1364/1945) I 501 f. A descendant of Aktham, Yahyā ibn Aktham (d. 242/856), distinguished himself in the service of Maʾmūn, who appointed him judge of Baṣrah, but he later lost favor with this caliph. Yahyā collected *ḥadīth* and wrote on *fiqh*; see Masʿūdī VII 48 f.; Ibn Khallikān II 287 f. (= trans. III 33-51); *EI* II (1927) 104.

¹⁴ E.g. ʿImrān ibn Ḥusain (d. 52/672) and Bushair ibn Kaʿb (n.d.); see Ibn Saʿd VII 1, p. 162; Bukhārī IV 139; Bukhārī, *Taʾriḫ* I 2, p. 132, and III 2, p. 308; *Jāmiʿ* I 55, 388. In addition to these better known cases and the various lists of Muḥammad's scribes and of the few women

Companions who were literate, there are occasional references to other men and women of the same period who did write; see e.g. *Ansāb* I 137, according to which Shumailah's love messages, written in the sand, led to her immediate divorce and her subsequent marriage to Ibn ʿAbbās.

¹⁵ See e.g. *Nubalāʾ* I 86 and pp. 40 f. below.

¹⁶ See e.g. Sūrahs 2:130, 6:79 and 161, 16:120-23; *Sīrah* I 821 f. See also *Concordance* I 522. For a fresh treatment of this complex theme see Youakim Moubarac, *Abraham dans le Coran et le naissance de l'Islam* (Paris, 1958).

¹⁷ See e.g. *Sīrah* I 121, 143, 149, 153, 205; Ibn Ḥanbal VI 223, 233; Bukhārī I 5, II 352, III 380, IV 347; *Maʿārif*, p. 29. See also *Concordance* I 124 التوراة والانجيل; Zubairī, p. 207.

¹⁸ See Hamdānī, *Al-ikhlil*, ed. Oscar Löfgren ("Bibliotheca Ekmaniana" LVIII [Uppsala, 1954]) p. 17, and Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London and Edinburgh, 1866-93) صباء. See also R. Paret, "Ummī," in *EI* IV (1934); Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam*, pp. 3 f. and 130 and references there cited.

¹⁹ The few Muslim scholars, medieval and modern, who believed that Muḥammad was literate have been severely criticized by fellow Muslims (see e.g. Dhahabī II 277; Ibn ʿAsākir VI 248-50; Kattānī II 250). In the 2d century the word *ummi* was applied to those who could neither read nor write and also to those who could read but not write (cf. p. 61 below).

²⁰ See Vol. I 27, 56. It is gratifying to find that Muslim scholars are taking some interest in such matters (see e.g. ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Jabbār and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafājā, *Qiṣṣat al-adab fī al-Ḥijāz* [Cairo, 1377/1958] pp. 252-55).

deterred the rapid development of written Tradition is no more applicable to Tradition than it is to the Qurʾān, which was standardized in less than a quarter of a century after Muḥammad's death. In fact, the reasons for the comparative delay in the development of a body of more or less standardized traditions were, in part at least, quite the opposite. Traditions were already being written down by quite a few even in Muḥammad's day. It was the rapid growth of both oral and written *ḥadīth* following Muḥammad's death and not any lack of literate Arabs equal to the task of recording *ḥadīth* that alarmed ʿUmar I and a few other Companions.²¹

No doubt among the reasons for their fears was the possible confusion of Tradition with the Qurʾānic text, especially because the latter was as yet neither too familiar in the newly conquered provinces nor standardized in its homeland. Valid as this reason seems, it was not the decisive one. For confusion of texts could have been prevented or eliminated by the simultaneous standardization of both *ḥadīth* and Qurʾān. ʿUmar, who was responsible for the first "edition" of the Qurʾān, did indeed consider the parallel recording of *sunnah*, which Tradition necessarily overlapped, but rejected the idea after a month's deliberation.²² What ʿUmar feared most was not ignorant or innocent confusion of texts but the potentially dangerous, even if not deliberately contrived, popular competition that the Prophet's *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*, both oral and written, could pose for the Qurʾān. This fear is clearly indicated in the instructions that ʿUmar gave his emissaries to Kūfah, warning them against letting their prestige as Companions tempt them to relate too many of the Prophet's traditions to the distraction of people zealously preoccupied with the recitation of the Qurʾān.²³ Zuhri, among others, reported on the authority of Abū Hurairah that so long as ʿUmar was alive the people dared not say "the apostle of Allāh said" for fear that ʿUmar would have them flogged, imprisoned, or otherwise punished.²⁴ By denying Tradition the authority that went with sacred records ʿUmar meant to forestall the danger of competition between *ḥadīth* and the Qurʾān.²⁵ ʿUmar's own perceptive mind may have alerted him to this danger. Nevertheless he was undoubtedly strongly influenced by his general knowledge of the role of extrabiblical sacred literature among the "people of the Book," particularly the Jews. For ʿUmar, it seems, was more familiar with local Jewish ritual and literature than has been hitherto recognized. We know from the Qurʾān that Muḥammad at first discoursed freely with Christians and Jews about their Scriptures (Sūrah 10:94, 17:101). And his early eagerness and credulity did not escape his not always sincere

²¹ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd V 139–43; *Jāmiʿ* I 71, II 120.

²² See e.g. Ibn Saʿd III 1, p. 206; *Jāmiʿ* I 64. ʿUmar did not limit his own opinions and actions to conform with those of Muḥammad and Abū Bakr but rather consistently exercised his own judgment as the situation demanded. In one of his later speeches he claimed the merit of having clearly established the *farʿiyyah* and the *sunan*; cf. Ibn Saʿd III 1, p. 242: *فرضت لكم الفرائض وسنت لكم السنن*.

²³ Ibn Saʿd VI 2; Ibn Mājah I 9; *Jāmiʿ* II 120 f.; *Kifāyah*, pp. 8–12.

²⁴ *Mustadrak* I 110 f.; *Nubalāʾ* II 433 f. See also Dhahabī I 7 f.; *Concordance* I 435 f.; *Ansāb* I 183; *Jāmiʿ* II 130.

²⁵ Cf. Ibn Saʿd III 1, p. 207. ʿUmar's fear of such competition could have involved what has come to be known as *ḥadīth qudsī*, particularly the traditions that start with "God said" or "God says" whether their substance (but not their form) was derived from the "book of Allāh," including the Old and New Testaments (see e.g. Bukhārī II 315, 309; Muslim XVII 165 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal II 313; *Con-*

cordance I 47 *أذن* and II 48 *خطر*), or from new revelation and inspiration received by Muḥammad in addition to the Qurʾān (see e.g. Bukhārī IV 231; Muslim XV 116–18; Ibn Ḥanbal I 162; *Concordance* I 183 *بشرنا*, IV 86 *ضمن*, and I 9–11 *أبیت* [in several places]). Muḥammad's comments on and explanation of Qurʾānic texts, considered as *ḥadīth* or *tafsīr*, have some relevance in this connection (see e.g. *Itqān* II 174, 176, 184) as does his insistence on the authority of his *sunnah* (see p. 23, n. 179). Divine inspiration was likewise credited to a few of the Companions, such as ʿUmar himself (see e.g. Muslim XV 166; A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* [Leiden, 1927] p. 234, col. 2) and the poet Ḥassān ibn Thābit (see e.g. *Mustadrak* II 487). Such material could have presented a challenge of the first magnitude to the as yet unstandardized Qurʾān, but at present little is known of its early development and role (see e.g. Ignaz Goldziher, "Kämpfe um die Stellung des Ḥadīth im Islam," *ZDMG* LXI [1907] 863–65). Completion of the *Concordance*

informants (Sūrah 9:61²⁶). That his disciples likewise discoursed with Christians and Jews is implied in the later repeated injunctions against engaging in arguments or debates with the "people of the Book,"²⁷ which meant, for the most part, with the members of the large and aggressive Jewish community in Medina. Furthermore, it is specifically stated that Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, and ʿUmar personally visited the Jewish Midrash in Medina.²⁸ ʿUmar formed the habit of dropping in at the Midrash, since it was on the way to his property in the upper part of the city.²⁹ All three of them, among others, had serious discussions elsewhere with Jews and Jewish converts,³⁰ while both Muḥammad and ʿUmar were on more than one occasion in possession of Jewish manuscripts.³¹ Certainly ʿUmar must have assumed that at least a few prominent Companions had some knowledge of the role of the Mishna in Judaism when he cited that very role in justification of his negative decision on the recording of Tradition.³² And his fears in this respect proved not to have been exaggerated.

Biblical and extrabiblical literature was aggressively publicized even in the first century by such literate Jewish converts as Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, who was patronized by ʿUmar,³³ his stepson Nauf al-Bakālī,³⁴ and Wahb ibn Munabbih. Because of the Companions' interest in such men³⁵ and their manuscripts, which were eagerly sought and appropriated by contemporary leading traditionists, Islāmic Tradition did indeed come to resemble the Mishna more than any other sacred literature of the "people of the Book."³⁶ Among prominent Companions known to have shown considerable interest in Jewish books and ideas may be mentioned ʿAlī,³⁷ Salmān al-Fārisī,³⁸ Abū Dharr,³⁹ and Zaid ibn Thābit, who is said to have learned Hebrew in a Jewish midrash and later became the editor-in-chief of the ʿUthmānic edition of the Qurʾān.⁴⁰ But Abū Hurairah, Ibn ʿAbbās, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ must be placed in the front

may lead to some as yet untapped early materials. A late but important collection of *ḥadīth qudsī* is Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Mishqāt al-anwār* (Cairo, 1369/1950). Still later collections have been presented in part by S. M. Zwemer in "The so-called Hadith qudsi," *Muslim World* XII (1922) 263-75, and "Das sogenannte Ḥadīth qudsī," *Der Islām* XIII (1923) 53-65. The Islāmic view of the various methods of divine revelation and inspiration is to be found in Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* (Bulāq, 1274/1857) pp. 172, 200, 229 (see also *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, translated by Franz Rosenthal [New York, 1958] I 192 f. and 223, III 88 and 98).

²⁶ See also *Sīrah* I 356 f., 925 f.; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956) chap. vi and pp. 315-20.

²⁷ See e.g. Sūrah 29:45; see also any Qurʾānic concordance under *جدل*. Caliph ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is said to have held a religious discussion in Kūfah with a delegation of 40 Jews (Abū Nuʿaim I 72).

²⁸ *Sīrah* I 383, 388, 394; Ibn Ḥanbal II 451; Bukhārī II 294; *Tafsīr* II 384, VII 441 f. and 455 f., X 339.

²⁹ *Tafsīr* II 384; *Jāmiʿ* II 101.

³⁰ See e.g. *Sīrah* I 351 f., 383-85, 394 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal IV 286 and also *Concordance* IV 320 *علماء*; *Tafsīr* III 109-13; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 55, 278.

³¹ See e.g. *Dārimī* I 115; *Jāmiʿ* II 40 f., 42 f.; Abū Nuʿaim V 135 f.

³² Ibn Saʿd V 140; *Dārimī* I 123 f.; cf. *Jāmiʿ* I 65, where

Ibn ʿAbbās (lines 21-22) and Muḥammad Ibn Sirīn (lines 6-7) refer to non-canonical works leading the Jews astray.

³³ *Muwaḥḥaḥ* I 108-10; Ibn Ḥanbal II 275; Ibn Saʿd III 1, pp. 240 and 262; *Maʿārif*, p. 219; Abū Nuʿaim V 364-VI 48 (esp. Vol. V 365, 368 f., 387 f., 391 and Vol. VI 6, 25 for Kaʿb's relationship to ʿUmar); *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 161; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, pp. 223 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, No. 911. See also pp. 257 f. below.

³⁴ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 160; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 126; *Tafsīr* II 257-59, III 442, IV 232, VI 281 f. and 522, XIII 161-63; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 505; Ibn Ḥibbān, No. 947; Abū Nuʿaim VI 48-54.

³⁵ See Vol. I 36, 47, 51; *GAL* I 64 and *GAL S* I 101. The Yemen produced several other such men, e.g. Shuʿaib al-Jabāʿī al-Yamanī, who used the books of the *ahl al-kilāb* (see *Tafsīr* I 344; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 353; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, p. 219; *Lisān* III 150).

³⁶ See J. van der Ploeg, "Le rôle de la Tradition orale dans la transmission du texte de l'Ancien Testament," *Revue biblique* LIV (1947) 5-41, for some parallels particularly for the psychological and social aspects of recitation of sacred texts among the Semites.

³⁷ See e.g. Abū Nuʿaim I 72. Cf. also Ibn Ḥanbal I 282, which reports that heretical books were burned by ʿAlī to the disapproval of Ibn ʿAbbās.

³⁸ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd VII 2, pp. 64 f.; Abū Nuʿaim I 187, IV 123.

³⁹ See e.g. Abū Nuʿaim I 169. See Ibn Saʿd IV 1, pp. 161-75, for Abū Dharr's activities.

⁴⁰ See pp. 257 f. and Vol. I 28.

ranks of early traditionists and Qurʾānic commentators—the latter leaned heavily on Tradition—who through their persistent exploration of the practices, the ideas, and, in the case of the last two named, the books of the scripturarians, influenced the tone, part of the content, and the literary form of Islāmic Tradition. Kaʿb al-Aḥbār bore testimony to the illiterate Abū Hurairah's surprisingly extensive knowledge of the Torah.⁴¹ Ibn ʿAbbās, known as the father of all *tafsīr* works, was an assiduous collector of *ḥadīth* and *akhbār* not only from the Anṣār but also from Jews and Christian Arabs.⁴² ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ is reported as reading Syriac⁴³ and as given to intensive study of the books of the scripturarians⁴⁴ and to doctrinal discussions with converted Jews such as Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and Nauf al-Bakālī.⁴⁵ His knowledge of the Mishna and of its association with Islāmic Tradition is attested by Ṭabarī⁴⁶ and in the writings of Ibn ʿAṭīyah (d. 542/1147).⁴⁷

Moving close to the end of the first century we find others who carried on this interest in non-Islāmic sacred books. There was, for instance, Abū al-Jald of Baṣrah, who alternated between recitation of the Qurʾān and the Torah, using manuscripts of the latter,⁴⁸ and read other, similar, books that were in his possession.⁴⁹ Ibn ʿAbbās is known to have written to him for information⁵⁰ and to have transmitted *ḥadīth* from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and many others.⁵¹ There was also the stationer and Qurʾān copyist Mālik ibn Dīnār (d. 130/748),⁵² who read the Bible and whose literary Arabic citations from both the Old and the New Testament reveal a remarkable degree of textual accuracy and of familiarity particularly with the Psalms, the Proverbs, and the first three Gospels.⁵³

The early Muslims' preoccupation with non-Islāmic thought and literature was reflected in the subsequent negative approach to such questions as whether it was permissible for Muslims to read such books⁵⁴ and to transmit *akhbār* and *ḥadīth* from the "people of the Book"⁵⁵ and,

⁴¹ See e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 275; Dhahabī I 34.

⁴² See Vol. I 47 f. and p. 99 below.

⁴³ Ibn Saʿd IV 2, p. 11, and VII 2, p. 189; *Mustadrak* III 421.

⁴⁴ Ibn Ḥanbal II 183, 209, 219, 222; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-musnad*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, IX (Cairo, 1370/1951) 233 f.; Dārimī II 212; *Tafsīr* XII 252 f., 267; Abū Nuʿaim I 187, 288. See also *Nubalāʾ* III 57.

⁴⁵ *Tafsīr* XIII 164; Abū Nuʿaim VI 52, 54.

⁴⁶ See e.g. *Tafsīr* XII 267.

⁴⁷ Cf. Arthur Jeffery (ed.), *Two Muqaddimas to the Qurʾānic Sciences* (Cairo, 1954) p. 260; cf. also Ploeg in *Revue biblique* LIV 5–41.

⁴⁸ Ibn Saʿd VII 1, p. 161; *Tafsīr* XIII 72 (Sūrah 13:13); Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 66 f.

⁴⁹ *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 547.

⁵⁰ *Tafsīr* I 340, 344, 517.

⁵¹ Ibn Saʿd VII 1, p. 161; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 250, and III 1, p. 5. See also Kattānī II 428.

⁵² See Vol. I 49 and *OIP* L 29.

⁵³ Abū Nuʿaim (Vol. II 357–89) covers much of Mālik's professional and literary activity and provides some two dozen citations from the Bible. A spot check of a dozen references yielded Prov. 1:7, 9:10, and 11:22 (pp. 387, 358, and 377), Ps. 34:12–13 (p. 359), and at least five

Gospel citations: Matt. 10:8 and 15:7–8 (pp. 220 and 362), Mark 11:15 (p. 383), Luke 7:32 and 19:45 (pp. 358 and 383). It should be noted that Abū Nuʿaim's work, like that of the earlier Ibn Qutaibah, is unusually rich in biblical citations (e.g. Abū Nuʿaim VIII 140–61, with some dozen references) and should not be overlooked by those particularly interested in the early history of the Arabic Bible (see our Vol. I 30 f., 48 f.). Among the more interesting recent articles on this subject may be mentioned W. Montgomery Watt, "The early development of the Muslim attitude to the Bible," *The Glasgow University Oriental Society, Transactions* XVI (1955–56) 50–62, and Gérard Lecomte, "Les citations de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans l'œuvre d'Ibn Qutayba," *Arabica* V (1958) 34–46; see also *EI* I (1960) "Arabiyya" (p. 564), which bears on this subject as well as on other aspects of the early Muslims' interest in non-Islāmic sacred books, and n. 25 above with references there cited. Ibn Qutaibah's familiarity with biblical texts is fairly well known. Biblical citations are to be found in most of his works. Some of these are introduced with statements that indicate his personal study of the written texts (see e.g. *Taʾwīl*, pp. 171 and 183). For recent and instructive treatment of the general subject by Muslim scholars see Aḥmad Amin, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* I (Cairo, 1351/1933) 327 f., 343 f.; Kattānī II 428–32.

⁵⁴ See e.g. Bukhārī IV 495; *Jāmiʿ* II 40–43, 48; *Kifāyah*, pp. 75 f. See also *Tafsīr* II 270–74; Kattānī II 428 f.

⁵⁵ See *Kifāyah*, pp. 76 f.; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 146 f.; Abū Nuʿaim V 52.

conversely and logically enough, whether Islāmic literature, particularly the Qurʾān, should be taught or even exposed to the “people of the Book.”⁵⁶ The comparatively tolerant attitude that characterized the first century yielded—for all but the very few liberals—first to caution, then to avoidance, and finally, by about the middle of the second century, to all but complete prohibition of all three practices. Then such ʿIrāqī leaders as Aʿmash (d. 148/765) and Sufyān al-Thaurī (d. 161/778) were credited with socio-political discrimination and religious bigotry in their relations with the “people of the Book.”⁵⁷ This development was tacitly frowned on by the cosmopolitan Shaʿbī (d. no later than 110/728)⁵⁸ among others and publicly repudiated by the more tolerant and humane Awzāʿī of Syria (d. 157/773).⁵⁹

It thus seems clear that it was not illiteracy nor failure nor even general reluctance on the part of the Companions to write down *ḥadīth* that forestalled the early standardization of Islāmic Tradition. It was rather ʿUmar’s fear of a development in Islām, parallel to that in Judaism and Christianity, but particularly in the latter, of a body of sacred literature that could compete with, if not distort or challenge, the Qurʾān. Such literature was in fact beginning to take shape even in ʿUmar’s day and under aggressive literary leadership by the “people of the Book.” This leadership the early Muslims at first acknowledged and admired but soon came to resent and challenge. The challenge, however, had not sufficient force to overcome the trends already set in motion, trends that had deep roots in a common Semitic cultural heritage reinforced by long sustained contact and association.

ʿUmar’s decision against the recording of Tradition was backed by a very small minority of his contemporaries, though, after he burned or otherwise destroyed such *ḥadīth* manuscripts as he could uncover, many Companions refrained from arousing his wrath by avoiding public enthusiasm for either oral or written Tradition.⁶⁰ Actually, only a few Companions opposed written *ḥadīth* from strong personal convictions, giving as their chief reasons Muḥammad’s occasional disapproval and the desire not to accord *ḥadīth* the same treatment as the Qurʾān.⁶¹ The Companions most frequently mentioned as holding to their convictions against written *ḥadīth* to the very end are ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd,⁶² Zaid ibn Thābit,⁶³ and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī,⁶⁴ whose death dates range from 32/653 to 74/693. Ironically enough, ʿUmar’s son ʿAbd Allāh, who approved of his father’s decision and abided by it for the most part, is reported to have weakened at the end and tacitly permitted or actually instructed his pupils to write down Tradition.⁶⁵ There were, on the other hand, some Companions who at first ignored ʿUmar’s decision but eventually, on the approach of death, decided to destroy their manuscripts for fear that they might be misused. Among these were Abū al-Dardāʾ (d. 32 or 34/

⁵⁶ See e.g. Bukhārī II 232 and cf. Aḥmad Fūʿād al-Ahwānī, *Al-tarbiyah fī al-Islām* (Cairo, 1374/1955) pp. 40, 64, 179–81 and references there cited.

⁵⁷ See e.g. *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 146 f.; Abū Nuʿaim V 52, VI 369 and 379. There were some who preferred association with Jews and Christians or concern with their views to association with those in power or preoccupation with some Islāmic heterodoxy (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-waraʿ* [Cairo, 1340/1921] p. 59; Ṭabarī III 2520).

⁵⁸ See e.g. Abū Nuʿaim IV 314, 322.

⁵⁹ See e.g. *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 200 f. and 210 f.

⁶⁰ See p. 7 above; see also *Jāmiʿ* I 64 f. and *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 49–53.

⁶¹ The arguments for and against written *ḥadīth* have received extensive treatment in the *ḥadīth* literature, espe-

cially by Khaṭīb in his *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*. This work has been ably edited by Yūsuf al-ʿAshsh, whose lengthy introduction does considerable justice to the subject and its ramifications. For the arguments of the opposition see *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 28–64; *Jāmiʿ* I 63–70.

⁶² See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 65; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 38 f. and 53; but see also *Jāmiʿ* I 72, where ʿAbd Allāh’s son claims he has a manuscript of his father’s.

⁶³ See e.g. *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 35. See also pp. 249 f. and 256 f. below.

⁶⁴ See p. 202 below. For others who were opposed to written *ḥadīth* see e.g. *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 45 ff.

⁶⁵ See e.g. *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 43 f.; *Jāmiʿ* I 66. See also pp. 157 and 244 below. ʿUmar himself approved the recording of *ʿilm*, including *ḥadīth*, at first (see *Mustadrak* I 106; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 88).

652 or 654) in Syria⁶⁶ and ʿAbīdah ibn Qais (d. 72/691–92) in Kūfah.⁶⁷ But for the most part the Companions who at first refrained from writing, either for some personal reason or out of deference to ʿUmar, eventually took to recording *ḥadīth*. Among these were Ibn ʿAbbās, whose *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* materials were written down by several of his pupils,⁶⁸ and Abū Hurairah, who though himself illiterate and at first opposed to the writing-down of his *ḥadīth* did in the end have others write it down.⁶⁹ A great many of the Companions resolved the controversy for themselves by considering their manuscripts as aids to memory.⁷⁰ Some, possessing only a few traditions, made temporary notes which they destroyed once they had memorized the content. Others, fewer in number but more ambitious for sizable collections, made records that were meant to last for their own lifetime, but some of these records actually survived their first owners. Besides, even if the original manuscripts were destroyed, copies made from dictation were not necessarily destroyed at the same time or later. There were even instances of pupils or relatives of aid-to-memory writers who somehow managed to save the manuscripts of a teacher, as did Saʿīd ibn Jubair for Ibn ʿUmar,⁷¹ or of a parent, as did the son of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd.⁷²

Nevertheless it was not the partially accidental survivals that were to supply the main foundation for the first deliberate attempts at comprehensive recording of Tradition. That basis was supplied by the comparatively few Companions who proved to be determined and insatiable collectors, recorders, and transmitters of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* not only of Muḥammad but also, though to a lesser extent, of some of their fellow Companions, especially those known to have been close, in any capacity whatsoever, to Muḥammad and to the members of his family. Foremost among these were Anas ibn Mālik, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, Ibn ʿAbbās, and Abū Hurairah.⁷³ But the list can be readily doubled by addition of the names of determined collectors and writers of *ḥadīth* who were not so insatiable as these four. Among this group was ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī (d. 51 or 53/671 or 673), who started his collection of the *sunnah* and *ḥadīth* with the written instructions on alms, blood money, inheritance, and other topics that he received from Muḥammad at the time of his appointment in the year 10/631 to Najrān to instruct the people and collect the alms tax.⁷⁴ There was also Abū al-Yasar Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr (d. 55/675), whose servant accompanied him carrying his manuscripts (see p. 188) and whose materials were written down by others. Again, there was the judge and traditionist Masrūq ibn al-Ajdaʿ (d. 63/682), who is said to have been adopted by ʿĀʾishah and who traveled widely in search of *ʿilm*, which he wrote down.⁷⁵ One may mention, finally, the Yemenite ʿAmr ibn Maimūn al-Awdī (d. 74/693), who, though he was converted during Muḥammad’s lifetime, did not actually meet Muḥammad but made numerous pilgrimages and transmitted from ʿUmar, ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, and others. He settled in Kūfah and

⁶⁶ See e.g. *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 117 f.

⁶⁷ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd VI 62 f.; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 45 and 61; *Jāmiʿ* I 67. See also pp. 12, 58, and 111, n. 139, below.

⁶⁸ See e.g. *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 42 f.; *Jāmiʿ* I 65; p. 157 below.

⁶⁹ *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 33–55 and 41 f.; *Jāmiʿ* I 66, 70, 72, 74. See also pp. 61, 87, and 140 below.

⁷⁰ See e.g. A. Sprenger in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* XXV (1856) 303–29 and 375–81. This article, as any other on the subject, shows that those in favor of writing down *ḥadīth*, either as an aid to memory or for

later use, greatly outnumbered those who objected to written tradition.

⁷¹ See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 66; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 43 f. and 102 f.; Abū Nuʿaim IV 276.

⁷² See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 72; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 39.

⁷³ See Bukhārī I 40 f.; Abū Dāʾūd III 318 f.; *Jāmiʿ* I 70–73; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 65–74, 74–84, and 91–97.

⁷⁴ See *Jāmiʿ* I 71; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 72; *Istīʿāb* II 437; *Iṣābah* II 532. See also p. 24 below.

⁷⁵ See *Jāmiʿ* I 66, 94; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 39 f. and 58 f.; Shirāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ* (Baghdād, 1356/1937) pp. 10, 12 f., 15, 17, 59. See also p. 187 below.

wrote on historical subjects, and Ibn Ishāq of *Sīrah* fame drew freely from his works.⁷⁶ More names could be mentioned, as can readily be discovered from the pertinent sections of *Jāmi'* and *Taqyīd al-ilm*, particularly the latter, which is so aptly titled.⁷⁷ Enough have been presented here, however, to correct the widely held notion that only a few prominent Companions were engaged in serious literary activities.

As a result of the events leading into the second half of the first century two major obstacles to increased interest in both oral and written Tradition were overcome. The dreaded 'Umar was dead, and the 'Uthmānic edition of the Qur'ān had been completed and thus some of the fear of confusion between *ḥadīth* and the Qur'ān had been eliminated. In the meantime a number of political, social, and cultural trends involving the rapid development of administrative, educational, and literary institutions had been set in motion. In every one of these fields the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of Muḥammad and of a few of his closest and most prominent associates came to be considered second only to the Qur'ān in importance. But Qur'ānic priority held only when the Qur'ān itself was explicit on a given subject or situation; otherwise the Prophet's Tradition was supreme, though not for long. For the legalist, faced with new problems and challenges, soon introduced well considered personal opinion (*ra'y*), consensus (*ijmā'*), and analogy (*qiyās*) to supplement both the Qur'ān and Tradition.

The initial and necessary interaction of law and Tradition, organic though it had to be, was by no means the only major stimulus to the early development and growth of the science of Tradition. For a simultaneous and parallel interaction developed between Tradition and the various early Qur'ānic sciences, particularly Qur'ānic readings (*qirā'āt*)⁷⁸ and commentary (*tafsīr*; see Document 1). Furthermore, the image of Muḥammad gained in stature in direct proportion to the astonishing early successes of Islām as a creed and a state. Consequently, an increasing number of his enthusiastic followers of the second and third generations sought and used the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of the Prophet. Among these were pious men who sought traditions for personal edification, religious leaders who used them for public instruction and exhortation, hard-headed men of practical affairs who used them to further their personal ambitions or to improve their social standing. As a result of the combined activities of these variously motivated groups religious education and learning, covering at least some knowledge of the Qur'ān and of Tradition, became a *sine qua non* for the average Muslim layman in good cultural and social standing. The popular view—still held, particularly among Western scholars interested in Islāmic law—that interest in Tradition was first stimulated by members of the legal profession distorts the picture of this first and basic phase of Islāmic cultural development in the religious sciences.

With the foregoing outline as a background we may fill in some details for the field of Tradition proper, particularly for the period of Zuhri's pivotal activities and the first comprehensive record of Tradition. Though 'Umar's attempt to prevent Tradition from competing with the Qur'ān failed, his official stand against the recording of Tradition nevertheless cast a shadow on his successors, who let matters take their course without official interference. Hence the collecting and recording of Tradition became a matter of private concern and scholarship. Several of the Umayyad rulers came to play a private role in this development, though there was an official attempt on the part of 'Umar II (see pp. 18–31).

⁷⁶ See Ibn Sa'd VI 80; Bukhārī, *Tārīkh* III 2, p. 367; Abū Nu'aim IV 148–54; Dhahabī I 61. See also our Vol. I 25, 98.

⁷⁷ The phrase appears in the work dozens of times, fre-

quently cast in the imperative, with only one real variant, *tashbīk bi al-kutub* (see *Taqyīd al-ilm*, p. 82).

⁷⁸ See e.g. Ibn Qutaibah's list of readers (*Ma'ārif*, pp. 262–64), which largely duplicates his list of traditionists (*ibid.* pp. 251–64).

Of the small group of Successors who objected to written *ḥadīth* only a few conservatives are said to have held out to the end. The two best known are the Baṣran Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn⁷⁹ and the Medinan Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr.⁸⁰ But story has it that Qāsim and his fellow Medinan Sālim ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb were shamed into dictating a large portion of their knowledge (*ʿilm*) to the resourceful Tunisian visitor Khālid ibn Abī ʿImrān (d. 125 or 127/743 or 745), who threatened to return home and publicize the refusal of these scholars of the city of the Prophet to make their knowledge available for the benefit of his countrymen (see p. 214). Other leading objectors weakened in the end, permitting and in some cases even urging their students to write down their materials. The most prominent of these were Sālim ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (see pp. 111, 157, 180, 198), the Medinan Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib (see pp. 202 f.),⁸¹ son-in-law of Abū Hurairah, and the Kūfan Nakhaʿī⁸²—all three of whom appear frequently in our documents largely because, despite their initial personal stand, the bulk of their materials came to be written down by their less conservative younger contemporaries.

The Mosque of the Prophet at Medina, like the synagogue and the church for the “people of the Book,” became Islām’s first center of religious education for young and old⁸³ alike, and this education was free. For, while Muḥammad expounded his mission, conducted public worship, and dictated the Qurʾān, schoolmasters took the young in hand and zealous Companions instructed the adult “guests of Islām,” as the poor (*ahl al-ṣuffah*) were called,⁸⁴ in the new faith and taught those who wished to read and write as well. The mosque, as the leading institution of religious and cultural life, became the center of each new Islāmic community within and without Arabia. As military camps were augmented by civilian settlements which presently gave rise to metropolitan centers, old mosques were enlarged and new ones were built. Thus, while the young continued to be taught in neighborhood mosques, the cathedral mosques of cities such as Mecca, Medina, Damascus, Ḥims, Baṣrah, Kūfah, Jerusalem, and Fuṣṭāṭ became centers of public communication and of secondary education, courts of justice, and meeting places for visiting scholars, pilgrims, and tradesmen.⁸⁵ Yet, though the mosque was an institution, it had no monopoly on any of its functions except as the place of public congregational worship and the accompanying speech of caliph or governor. Scholars and judges held sessions at home; legal opinions were given and even sentences passed in the market place.⁸⁶ Evening sessions for religious discussions⁸⁷ soon supplemented those of pagan times when battle days and poetry stirred memories and stimulated the imagination.⁸⁸

The earliest references to men of religious learning and understanding (*ʿulamāʾ* and *fuqahāʾ*), apart from the leaders in Mecca and Medina, involve groups of emissaries who were sent by

⁷⁹ *Jāmiʿ* I 67; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 45 f. and 60 f. See also pp. 257 f. below.

⁸⁰ *Jāmiʿ* I 67; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 46 and 52. See also pp. 111 and 191 below.

⁸¹ *Jāmiʿ* I 73; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 94.

⁸² *Jāmiʿ* I 69 f.; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 47 f., 58 f., 108 f. See also pp. 149 f., 157, and 276 below. It is interesting to note that most of the conservatives among the Companions and Successors mentioned in this section as being opposed to the writing-down of Tradition were likewise opposed to the introduction of orthographic signs, Sūrah captions and endings, and punctuation devices in Qurʾānic copies. Again many of them finally compromised, and these practices became widely accepted (see ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd al-Dānī,

Al-muḥkam fī al-naqṭ al-maṣāḥif, ed. ʿIzzat Ḥasan [Damascus, 1379/1960] pp. 3 f., 10–17, 42, 196.

⁸³ See e.g. Vol. I 28 and Bukhārī I 30.

⁸⁴ See Vol. I 78.

⁸⁵ See e.g. Bukhārī I 47, IV 430.

⁸⁶ *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, for example, gives numerous instances of judicial activities in a variety of places; see e.g. Vols. I 145, 275, 296, 339, 341, II 412, and III 306 f., which cover the mosque, the space outside the mosque, the market place, and the home.

⁸⁷ See e.g. Bukhārī I 41, 158; Ibn Ḥanbal I 389, 410. See also *Concordance* II 535 سمر and our Vol. I 10.

⁸⁸ See *Jāmiʿ* I 105 and Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* XV (Cairo, 1369/1947) 338; see also *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 19.

Muḥammad⁸⁹ or by the caliph to military camps on the borders and to newly conquered or founded cities to instruct the people in the faith and its religious laws.⁹⁰ Many of these emissaries had, besides their more-or-less propagandistic mission of teaching and preaching, some other official function such as collector of the alms tax or judge. Because of the public character of their duties, references to their activities, which took place usually but not always in the mosque in the earliest times, are more numerous than references to the activities of teachers in elementary schools in or adjoining the neighborhood mosques or to those of private citizens seeking or imparting knowledge (*ilm*) on their own initiative. The *ilm* of the earliest period was integral but composite. It drew on the Qurʾān, *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*, and law and custom without any clear differentiation between *ilm al-Qurʾān* and *ilm al-ḥadīth* and *ilm al-fiqh*, each of which was later to develop into various branches. Many of the early emissaries went armed with oral and written instructions which formed part of the basis of their *ilm*.⁹¹ Among these were ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm, active in the Yemen (see p. 11),⁹² and Muʿādh ibn Jabal (d. 18/640), active in the Yemen and later in Syria, where he discoursed with groups, consisting at times of some thirty adults, in the mosques of Damascus and Ḥimṣ.⁹³ The religious lecture and the seminar (*majlis*), with their rather select audience and circle (*ḥalaqah*), soon became institutions in their own right as popular means for both public and private instruction. The numerous sessions of Abū Hurairah,⁹⁴ Ibn ʿAbbās,⁹⁵ ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jābir,⁹⁶ and Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib⁹⁷ in Medina and those of Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ,⁹⁸ and Mujāhid ibn Jabr (see p. 98) in Mecca, though exceptionally important, were by no means the only sessions held in these cities, particularly in Medina, by the Companions and Successors.⁹⁹ Among other official or prominent educators were ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit (d. 34/655–56), who taught the Qurʾān and writing to the *ahl al-ṣuffah* in the Mosque of the Prophet at Medina and later held *ḥadīth* sessions in the mosque of Ḥimṣ,¹⁰⁰ ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd in Kūfah,¹⁰¹ and ʿImrān ibn Ḥusain (see p. 211) in Baṣrah.

It is not likely that the earliest schoolteachers took an active enough interest in *ḥadīth* to teach it to their young charges even though some of them may have written down what they themselves had heard from Muḥammad and their fellow Companions. But, as the second half of the first century progressed, teachers who not only eagerly collected *ḥadīth* but taught some traditions to their pupils are mentioned in increasing numbers. Other early groups of religious significance were the preachers and storytellers, who in a sense took Muḥammad for their model and renewed their inspiration from the stories in the Qurʾān and other books of Allāh. While the preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) concentrated on moral exhortation and the dreaded Day of Judgment, the storyteller (*qāṣṣ*), with much the same object in mind, fashioned tales with a moral

⁸⁹ He initiated the practice when he sent Muṣab ibn ʿUmair to instruct the Anṣār before he himself migrated to Medina, as he later sent a missionary expedition that met with foul play at Biʿr Maʿūnah (see Vol. I, Document 5).

⁹⁰ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd III 1, pp. 201 and 258; Yaʿqūbi II 72 f., 75, 242–44; Dhahabī I 48. See pp. 108 f. below for ʿUmar's concern with the possibility of unorthodox ideas gaining currency in military camps.

⁹¹ See e.g. Yaʿqūbi II 114–28.

⁹² See *Sīrah* I 961; *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 70.

⁹³ See e.g. *Sīrah* I 957; *Muwallaḥ* II 953 f.; Abū Nuʿaim V 121, 130; Dhahabī I 19. See also p. 259 below and references there cited in n. 21.

⁹⁴ After ʿUmar I's death Abū Hurairah concentrated on *ḥadīth* (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 275; *Istīʿāb* II 697; *Mustadrak* I 108, III 512; Dhahabī I 31–35; *Nubalāʾ* II 433 f., 436, 440, 443 f.; Yāfiʿi I 276).

⁹⁵ See e.g. Khaṭīb I 175. Cf. also Bukhārī, *Taʾriḫ* III 1, pp. 3–5.

⁹⁶ See e.g. *Ḥuṣn al-muḥāḍarah* I 107 f.

⁹⁷ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd V 96, 98.

⁹⁸ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd IV 2, p. 12.

⁹⁹ See e.g. *Kifāyah*, p. 385. See also pp. 48 f. below.

¹⁰⁰ See Ibn Saʿd III 2, pp. 93 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal V 315, 328. See also pp. 187 f. below.

¹⁰¹ See Ibn Saʿd III 1, p. 110.

around biblical and Qur'ānic stories and legends, in which the stories of the prophets loomed large, supplemented by other legends from ancient story and folklore.¹⁰² Such storytellers, both Arabs and *mawālī*, appeared on the scene spontaneously and informally¹⁰³ and were readily accepted by the community. Before long the best of them functioned also as preachers, and a few combined with their earlier duties those of judge.¹⁰⁴ Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān while he was governor of Syria, is credited with formalizing their position,¹⁰⁵ and the caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (65–86/685–705) is credited with confirming their official position and further regulating the activities of the officially appointed *quṣṣāṣ* in the mosque services, though not without being accused of religious innovation (*bid'ah*).¹⁰⁶

The activities of these early and reputable preachers and storytellers are of significance to us for two reasons. They accelerated the popularization of the emotion-laden theme of reward and punishment (*targhīb wa tarhīb*) in the here and the hereafter. Much of the material on this theme was soon incorporated into the as yet quite fluid body of Tradition. Again, though as a group the storytellers wrote down their tales,¹⁰⁷ these tales for obvious reasons were not cast in the form of content and source (*matn wa isnād*) currently coming into use among traditionists. Later, as we shall see, some *quṣṣāṣ* who aspired to being traditionists also compiled regular *ḥadīth* collections that were not necessarily limited in content to the themes of the professional storyteller. This type of material, however, though it too came to be cast in the form of traditions, seldom if ever had acceptable *isnād*'s. This fact was soon recognized by *isnād* critics of the second century who, on considering the nature of the content and the salutary purpose such material was intended to serve, overlooked for the most part the deficiencies of the *isnād*'s.¹⁰⁸

All in all, therefore, the developments during the middle decades of the first century were such as to increase the demand for traditions for a variety of religious purposes, both private and public, and to lessen the opposition to written Tradition at the same time that literacy was increasing. By the end of the century, added factors had strengthened and accelerated these trends. The rapid increase in the Islāmic population, by birth and by conversion, widened the base of public demand for traditions. In turn, there was an even greater rate of increase in the number of serious students and scholars, from whose ranks came the first leaders and rough molders of the various religious disciplines for which Tradition was becoming for the most part indispensable. Lending an even greater urgency to these religious and cultural developments was the acute sense of Arab racial and political pride already beginning to be challenged by the resentful yet ambitious non-Arab Muslim clients (*mawālī*). Smarting under political and social discrimination the *mawālī*, along with members of non-Islāmic groups subject to dis-

¹⁰² See e.g. Sūrahs 7:176, 12:111; Ibn Sa'd IV 1, pp. 30 f., and V 341; *Ma'ārif*, p. 276; Dārimī II 219; Abū Dā'ūd III 323 f.; Ibn Mājah II 214; *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 144. See also Dhahabī I 121 f. and Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, p. 242 (= Rosenthal's trans. III 156).

¹⁰³ See e.g. *Mustadrak* I 128. For a list of early and quite remarkable *quṣṣāṣ* see Jāhiz, *Kitāb al-bayān wa al-tabyīn*, ed. Ḥasan al-Sandūbī (Cairo, 1366/1947) I 345–47, and Ibn al-Jauzī, *Talbīs iblīs* (Cairo, 1347/1928) pp. 123–25.

¹⁰⁴ Goldziher's inadequate treatment in several of his works of the earliest phase of the role and character of the *quṣṣāṣ* in contrast to their later degeneration (see e.g. Ibn Qutaibah, *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, pp. 356–62) has been

remedied in more recent years (see our Vol. I 53 f. and references there cited).

¹⁰⁵ See Kindī, pp. 313 f.; *Futūḥ*, pp. 235 and 239.

¹⁰⁶ See Abū Shāmah, *Al-bā'ith 'alā inkār al-bida' wa al-hawādith*, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād (Cairo, 1374/1955) p. 66; cf. Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Mudkhal ilā tanmiyat al-amal* (Cairo, 1348/1929) II 144 f.

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. Ibn Sa'd VI 92; Ṭabarī II 881–86; Johannes Pedersen, "The Islamic preacher," *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, Part I, ed. Samuel Löwinger and Joseph Somogyi (Budapest, 1948) p. 239. See also p. 76, n. 17, below.

¹⁰⁸ See pp. 75 f., 111, and 144 f. for other instances of leniency in the matter of the *isnād*'s of this and related types of subject matter.

crimination, entered into open economic and cultural competition with the Muslim Arab overlords. For aggressive clients, intellectual and non-intellectual alike, no field more readily offered richly rewarding opportunities, particularly on the social level, than did the field of the emerging religious sciences (*‘ulūm al-dīn*) in a society that had already come to look on its religious scholars, the *‘ulamā’*, as heirs of the prophets¹⁰⁹ in this and the next world as a result of the initial emphasis that Muḥammad himself and most of his leading Companions had placed on sacred scriptures, prophecy, and literacy.¹¹⁰

Under the influence of opinion that was thus so oriented toward acquisition of knowledge and toward race consciousness the second half of the first century saw more and more of the teachers, preachers, judges, and jurists join the ranks of the traditionists, already penetrated by the *mawālī*. More and more of the able, serious, and professionally minded among these groups took to writing down their materials for initial study and future reference. Among the teachers who wrote down and taught traditions may be mentioned Abū Salamah ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, one of the “seven *fuqahā’*” of Medina, who had even the schoolboys write down *ḥadīth* from his dictation.¹¹¹ Among other teachers were Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim of Kūfah¹¹² and ‘Aṭā’ ibn Abī Ribāḥ of Mecca,¹¹³ both of *tafsīr* fame. There was also Qais ibn Sa‘d of Mecca, whose *ḥadīth* manuscripts were in circulation (see p. 161). And the more distinguished teachers who were employed as private tutors at court and in the homes of the rich and prominent should not be overlooked. For it was one of these, Qabīṣah ibn Dhū‘aib, who served the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik in several capacities and who was instrumental in bringing about Zuhri’s entry to his court.¹¹⁴ Among the better known preachers with special interest in Tradition were Rajā’ ibn Ḥaiwah (see p. 205), who brought about the succession of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz to the caliphate (see p. 23), Thābit al-Bunānī, who was associated with Anas ibn Mālik for some forty years and had a collection of two hundred and fifty traditions (see p. 161), the Khurāsānian Abū Rajā’ Maṭr ibn Taḥmān (see p. 229), who settled in Baṣrah and became a *qāṣṣ* and a *warrāq* or stationer, copyist, and bookseller and who had access to the manuscript collection of Abū Qilābah, and Abū al-Samḥ Darrāj ibn Sama‘ān of Egypt, whose traditions were accepted only when they were actually corroborated by others (see p. 239).¹¹⁵

Significant as was the interest of the teachers in Tradition, it was largely the avowed traditionists themselves and to a lesser extent the group with the closest relationship to them—the jurists—who established Tradition as a separate professional discipline and one that was of prime importance to the theory and practice of law. For in this early period, the jurists as a group were still largely counted among the *ahl al-ḥadīth* in contradistinction to a rising segment of jurists soon to be known as the *ahl al-ra’y*, the “people of reasoned opinion” (see p. 35).¹¹⁶ The latter, however, had not yet won wide public recognition even in ‘Irāq, where their future leader, the Persian client Abū Ḥanīfah (80–150/699–767), was still a youthful scholar in search

¹⁰⁹ See Bukhārī I 28 f.; Dārimī I 94–102, esp. p. 98; Abū Dā‘ūd III 317 ff.; Ibn Mājah I 50 f.; *Jāmi‘* I 36 f.; Māwardī, *Adab al-dunyā wa al-dīn* (Cairo, 1342/1925) p. 24; Jeffery (ed.), *Two Muqaddimas*, p. 259; Ibn al-Ḥājī, *Mudkhal ilā tanmiyat al-amal* I 87, 97.

¹¹⁰ See e.g. Sūrah 3:18, 29:9, 35:29, 85:11; Bukhārī IV 437; Nasā’ī I 126; *Jāmi‘* II 43–49. See also n. 109 above.

¹¹¹ See Khaṭīb I 218 and pp. 250 f. below.

¹¹² See Vol. I 52 and pp. 97 f. and 112 below.

¹¹³ See *Ma‘ārif*, p. 227; Bukhārī, *Ta’rīkh* III 2, p. 464; pp. 112 and 149 below.

¹¹⁴ See Ibn Sa‘d II 2, p. 135, and VII 2, p. 157; *Ma‘ārif*,

p. 228; *Jam‘* II 422; Dhahabī I 103. See also pp. 20 f. below. For more on the public role of the early teachers and tutors see e.g. our Vol. I 29 and references there cited. See Dhahabī I 173 f. for the Egyptian scholar and tutor ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥārith (94–148/712–65), who held public discourses on the Qur’ān, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, poetry, Arabic, and accounting.

¹¹⁵ For the early role of the *warrāq* see Vol. I 24; for the role of preachers and their influence on religious legends see Vol. I 53 f. and pp. 13–15 above.

¹¹⁶ Conscious resistance to personal opinion began with such Companions as Abū al-Dardā’, Ibn ‘Umar, and Ibn ‘Abbās.

of a congenial profession among the already differentiated literary and religious disciplines. These included schoolteaching, language and poetry, Qurʾānic studies, Tradition, and law.¹¹⁷ In Mecca and Medina, as in the leading cities of the provinces, the Companions and Successors who were either from the start eager to preserve the Prophet's Tradition in writing or were later convinced of the desirability of so doing introduced simultaneously the private written collection of *ḥadīth* and the family *isnād* (see pp. 28–29 and 36–39) and instituted the circle of devoted Arab and non-Arab students. One need only mention the activities set in motion by Ibn ʿAbbās and Abū Hurairah, by Ibn ʿUmar and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, by Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib and ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair to begin to appreciate the tremendous forces that were at work shaping the sciences of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, and *taʾrīkh*. It mattered little that some of these men, such as Abū Hurairah, were illiterate or that others, such as Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib, were opposed at first to written *ḥadīth* or even, like Ibn ʿUmar, probably remained opposed to the end, since the great majority of their followers were not only literate but favored written Tradition. Abū Hurairah had ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz al-Aʿraj (see p. 138) and Bashir ibn Nahīk¹¹⁸ as pupils, Ibn ʿUmar had his client Nāfiʿ, and Saʿīd was to have his Zuhri. These, along with many of their fellow students, preserved most of their teachers' vast and fundamental collections in writing, though for the most part without systematically integrating their copies, and thus joined the ranks of the *ahl al-kutub*, that is, those who preferred to intrust their laboriously collected knowledge to writing rather than to memory. There were, oddly enough, occasional inconsistencies in the outlook of teacher and pupil. We find, for instance, that Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, the *mawlā* of Anas ibn Mālik, one of the staunchest advocates of *ḥadīth*-writing, held out against written transmission of *ḥadīth*. His traditionist brothers, however, did not, and it was one of them who preserved and passed on to his family a written collection from Abū Hurairah's *ḥadīth* (see p. 87). On the other hand, Zaid ibn Thābit, a determined opposer of written Tradition, had as his client the young Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,¹¹⁹ whose father and mother were schoolteachers,¹²⁰ who was to use *ḥadīth* manuscripts freely,¹²¹ and whose own manuscripts were to be among the best known.¹²²

The very prominence of these traditionists and the great emphasis placed by scholars, early and late, on the size and significance of their contribution have cast suspicion, particularly among Western scholars, on the reliability of some of the earliest reports concerning them and their literary activities. Before embarking on these exhaustive studies, I shared more or less the same view but am now convinced that much of the suspicion is in fact unjustified. For not only was there a remarkable degree of unanimity among the admiring students and followers of these men and among like-minded traditionists concerning their over-all literary activity, but reluctant and at times censorious testimony by the opposition bears witness to this literary activity. Furthermore, as anyone who reads through the present volume will soon discover, there were literally dozens of their contemporaries scattered across the vast empire who were engaged in similar activities but who for one reason or another never received marked public attention even though they hold no mean place in Islāmic biographical dictionaries of scholars. Perhaps reference to a dozen or more of these less prominent men, who died during the last quarter of the first century or early in the second, will give a detailed enough picture of the literary activities of this group as a whole, a few of whom were also Qurʾānic commentators,

¹¹⁷ See Khaṭīb XIII 331 f.

¹¹⁸ See e.g. *Jāmiʿ*: I 72.

¹¹⁹ Nawawī, pp. 209 f.

¹²⁰ *Akhbār al-quḍāt* II 5.

¹²¹ See Ṭabarī III 2488–93, esp. p. 2489.

¹²² See Ibn Saʿd VII 1, pp. 115 f. See also our Vol. I 16, with n. 7, and pp. 161 and 256 below.

judges, or jurists. In any such list Medina will usually yield the most names. It produced Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh (see pp. 98, 215 f.), Abū Salamah ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (see p. 250), Sālim ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar (see pp. 111, 142, 198), Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith (see pp. 136, 169), Sulaimān ibn Yasār (see pp. 108 f.), and Muʿāwiyah ibn Qurrah.¹²³ Mecca had Qais ibn Saʿd (see p. 161). Kūfah, a close second to Medina, produced Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-Taimī,¹²⁴ Abū Burdah ibn Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī,¹²⁵ and Ḥakam ibn ʿUtaibah.¹²⁶ Baṣrah had its Wāthilah ibn al-Asqāʿ¹²⁷ and Abū Qilābah (see pp. 230 f.), both of whom later went to Syria. Syria itself had Khālid ibn Maʿdān,¹²⁸ Kathīr ibn Marrah (see p. 20), Walīd ibn ʿUbādah (see p. 188), and Makḥūl al-Shāmī (see pp. 241, 244 f.). The Yemen, Egypt, and the Jazīrah had fewer and slightly younger traditionists, such as Ṭāʾūs ibn Kaisān (see pp. 149, 161), Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb,¹²⁹ and Maimūn ibn Mihrān (see pp. 161 f.) respectively.¹³⁰ About fifty percent of these less prominent traditionists were non-Arab clients. All were known as reliable men who collected and transmitted many traditions. The great majority of them attended and held private and public lectures.¹³¹ All but two are known to have written down or dictated their materials. Sizable manuscripts of at least nine of them—Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, Ṭāʾūs ibn Kaisān, Abū Qilābah, Khālid ibn Maʿdān, Kathīr ibn Marrah, Makḥūl al-Shāmī, Qais ibn Saʿd, Ḥakam ibn ʿUtaibah, and Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb—were already in production in their own time or even in circulation along with the manuscripts of the better known scholars of their day, such as Shaʿbī and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and of the preceding generation, such as Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, and Abū Hurairah.¹³²

II

Despite reluctance on the part of many to credit the Umayyads with personal piety one can hardly deny the political sagacity of their numerous outstanding leaders. If natural inclination attracted them to secular cultural activities, prudence demanded that they keep abreast of developments in the nascent religious sciences as well, and for these sciences reliable traditions were fast becoming indispensable. An estimate of the remarkable cultural achievements of the Umayyads, beginning with the story of the *Akhbār ʿUbaid* and Muʿāwiyah's sustained interest in poetry and history has already been presented.¹³³ What follows here is a discussion in some detail of the activities of a number of leading Umayyads in the field of Tradition, again beginning with Muʿāwiyah.

Muʿāwiyah's idea of a liberal education that befitted a noble Quraishite included some knowledge of *ḥadīth* in addition to history, genealogy, and poetry.¹³⁴ The extent of his own interest in *ḥadīth* is in a measure indicated by his relatively small collection as preserved in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal¹³⁵ and said to number some one hundred and sixty traditions. This figure, however, is deceptive, for it includes a great many traditions that are related through

¹²³ See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 74; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 109.

¹²⁴ Khaṭīb XIV 115 f.; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 56; Dhahabī I 68 f.

¹²⁵ *Jāmiʿ* I 65.

¹²⁶ *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 111.

¹²⁷ *Jāmiʿ* I 78–90; *Adab al-ʿimlāʿ*, p. 13.

¹²⁸ See Vol. I 22 and p. 224 below.

¹²⁹ See *Sīrah* I 972; Dhahabī I 121 f. See also p. 218 below.

¹³⁰ The list could be easily doubled to include other orthodox transmitters and some of the early Shīʿites such

as Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah and his son Ḥasan (see e.g. Ibn ʿAsākir IV 245–47) and Qatādah ibn Dīʿāmah (see our Vol. I 52 f. and pp. 101 and 198 below). For other early Shīʿites and some of their manuscripts see e.g. “*Corpus iuris*” di Zaid ibn ʿAlī (VIII sec. cr.), ed. Eugenio Griffini (Milano, 1919) pp. cxciv f.

¹³¹ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd V 96 and 355, VII 1, pp. 88 and 123; *Adab al-ʿimlāʿ*, p. 13; Nawawī, pp. 389 f.; Dhahabī I 124 f.

¹³² See also Vol. I 23 and pp. 11 and 17 above.

¹³³ Vol. I 9–19 and 56; see also p. 99 below.

¹³⁴ See Vol. I 14 f.

¹³⁵ Ibn Ḥanbal IV 91–102; see also *Jamʿ* II 489 f.

numerous channels (*ṭurq*). The tradition that was said to be Mu'āwiyah's favorite is cited at least fifteen times through eight different channels: "Allāh endows with religious understanding him for whom He wishes the best."¹³⁶ Mu'āwiyah apparently did not write down *ḥadīth* during Muḥammad's lifetime, even though he served as one of Muḥammad's numerous secretaries. He is known, however, to have begun to do so before he became caliph, though he respected the scruples of Zaid ibn Thābit against recording his *ḥadīth*.¹³⁷ Mu'āwiyah considered himself well informed in the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of Muḥammad for the period during which he served Muḥammad.¹³⁸ Yet he did ask others, particularly those in his political camp, for Muḥammad's sayings, perhaps with reference to the period preceding his own comparatively late conversion.¹³⁹ For we find him writing to his governor of Kūfah, Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah, to send him such traditions as he himself had heard directly from Muḥammad. Mughīrah dictated to his client and secretary Warrād what seem to have been originally four such traditions. Two of these concerned prayer and its ritual, one dealt with some specific prohibitions such as female infanticide, and one involved three prohibitions of a general nature—wasting one's means, raising many questions, and gossiping.¹⁴⁰ These four items or traditions seem to have been split up into at least seven entries in Ibn Ḥanbal's *musnad* for Mughīrah,¹⁴¹ through six different channels including ones that start with 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān and Shu'bah ibn al-Ḥajjāj as direct transmitters.¹⁴² The *Concordance*, it should be noted, gives references under the four separate themes to several other parallels coming through these and other channels.¹⁴³ It is not surprising, then, to find Mu'āwiyah listed among the Syrian traditionists with a respectable list of transmitters.¹⁴⁴ His appreciation of the practical uses of *ḥadīth* is indicated by his personal choice and direct appointment of storytellers and judges for the provinces (see pp. 14 f. and 123), as also by his frequent use of Muḥammad's sayings in his speech (*khuṭbah*) at the Friday service, when he was governor and when he was caliph (41–60/661–80), and in his court gatherings (*majālis*), as one can readily infer from reading his short *musnad*.

Like Mu'āwiyah, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam took some interest in *ḥadīth*-writing long before he finally secured the caliphate for himself and his branch of the Umayyads. He, too, had to meet Zaid ibn Thābit's opposition to written *ḥadīth* and *ra'y*.¹⁴⁵ He even resorted to trickery in order to have written down for him some of the *ḥadīth* of Zaid and of Abū Hurairah. He placed his

¹³⁶ Ibn Ḥanbal IV 93, 95–101. When the new edition, sponsored by the Sa'ūdians, of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* (begun by the late Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir; Cairo, 1365/1946—) is finished it will make available more complete and reliable statistics. Among Mu'āwiyah's other well known traditions are those that assign the caliphate to the Quraish (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal IV 94), but these are counterbalanced somewhat by traditions emphasizing love for the Anṣār (Ibn Ḥanbal IV 96, 100; see also p. 260 below). Interesting too is the practical administrator's impatience with the theorist's hairsplitting discussions (Ibn Ḥanbal IV 98).

¹³⁷ Ibn Ḥanbal V 182; *Jāmi'* I 63. It seems that whenever Mu'āwiyah heard some bit of poetry, wit, or wisdom that pleased him he had it written down (*Iqd* II 144).

¹³⁸ See *Adab al-implā'*, pp. 57 f., which reports that Abū Hurairah held a long evening *ḥadīth* session in one of Mu'āwiyah's rooms.

¹³⁹ See Vol. I 82, verso 1–2, and comment on p. 85.

¹⁴⁰ Ibn Ḥanbal IV 245 ff., 254 f.; Bukhārī IV 256, 423. Warrād reports that when he visited Mu'āwiyah later he

heard him give orders that the prayer ritual reported by Mughīrah should be followed. Mughīrah transmitted the Prophet's Tradition during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, who asked for and received confirmation from a second Companion (see *Ma'rifah*, p. 15).

¹⁴¹ Ibn Ḥanbal IV 244–55. For biographical references see e.g. Ibn Sa'd IV 2, pp. 24–26, and VI 12; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* IV 1, pp. 316 f.; *Ma'arif*, pp. 150 f.; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 224; *Istī'āb* I 250 f.; Khaṭīb I 207–10; Nawawī, pp. 572 f.; *Jam'* II 499; *Uṣd* IV 406 f.; *Iṣābah* III 927–30.

¹⁴² Ibn Ḥanbal IV 245, 248, 249, 250, 251 (twice), 254 f. Bukhārī IV 256 and 423 covers all four items, but on p. 423 they are combined into one tradition.

¹⁴³ See *Concordance* I 225 بنات, II 384 سوال, III 526 اضعاء.

¹⁴⁴ See e.g. Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 128; Ṭabarī IV 1, pp. 326–28; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 377; *Ma'arif*, pp. 177 f.; Nawawī, pp. 564–66; *Jam'* II 489 f.; *Istī'āb* I 253 f.; *Uṣd* IV 385–88; *Iṣābah* III 885–89.

¹⁴⁵ See *Jāmi'* I 65 and cf. *Jāmi'* II 143 f.

secretary Abū al-Zaʿzaʿah¹⁴⁶ behind a curtain and then requested Abū Hurairah to relate traditions. The latter drew on his rich store, for the secretary reports that he wrote down that day many traditions,¹⁴⁷ on which he tested Abū Hurairah a year later and found his memory perfect.¹⁴⁸ The episode, perhaps too flattering to Abū Hurairah's memory, must have taken place early in Marwān's career. It may even have occurred during the reign of ʿUmar I, when Abū Hurairah's reluctance to dictate traditions openly could have been due to either fear of or deference to that caliph, for we know that Abū Hurairah later dictated his *ḥadīth* and kept a copy in his possession for reference, a fact which indicates some loss of his once reliable if not perfect memory.

Two of Marwān's sons, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who became governor of Egypt (65–85/685–704), and ʿAbd al-Malik, who became caliph (65–86/685–705), took an active interest in religious literature. The political rivalry between the two brothers is reflected in their competitive zeal in such matters. This is well illustrated by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's wrathful reaction against his brother's major-domo, Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, who had dared to send to Egypt and the other provinces copies of the ʿUthmānic edition of the Qurʾān. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz thereupon commissioned a new copy of the Qurʾān for use in the congregational mosque.¹⁴⁹ ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's interest in *ḥadīth* was so direct and personal that he is regularly listed as a traditionist. He transmitted especially from his father and from Abū Hurairah, ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair, and ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir and to his son ʿUmar and to Zuhri.¹⁵⁰ He could, therefore, have been interested in Marwān's collection of the *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurairah and could have supplemented it from Abū Hurairah himself. As his interest in recorded Tradition grew, he commissioned a well known Syrian traditionist, Kathīr ibn Marrah, reported to have met a great many Companions, to record their traditions, excepting only those of Abū Hurairah, which he said he already had.¹⁵¹ There is no record that this commission was or was not carried out. The probability is that it was not, perhaps because of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's death. Certainly its execution could hardly have escaped the attention of his son ʿUmar, the future ʿUmar II, or that of his brother ʿAbd al-Malik, who was then caliph in the imperial province of Syria. For both son and brother had an active interest in recording *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*, an interest that grew and lasted a lifetime for this uncle and nephew who were also father- and son-in-law and whose relationship was further strengthened when ʿAbd al-Malik appointed the young ʿUmar as governor of the important provinces of Mecca and Medina (86–93/705–12).

ʿAbd al-Malik's talents for political administration and the advancement of cultural pursuits developed early. At the age of sixteen he was appointed by Muʿāwiyah as chief of the administrative bureau, an office previously held by Zaid ibn Thābit.¹⁵² ʿAbd al-Malik applied himself so assiduously to the study of the Qurʾān, *ḥadīth*, and *fiqh* that he came to be ranked—along with Nāfiʿ the client of Ibn ʿUmar, Shaʿbī, and Abū al-Zinād—with such leading Medinan scholars as ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair, Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib, and Qabīṣah ibn Dhūʿaib.¹⁵³ It was Qabīṣah ibn Dhūʿaib who brought ʿAbd al-Malik and Zuhri together and who, like Zuhri and

¹⁴⁶ There is confusion about the name, some of which seems to have arisen from the peculiarities of the unpointed Arabic letters (see Daulābī I 183 f.).

¹⁴⁷ *وانا اكتب حتى كتبت حديثا كثيرا* (see references in n. 148).

¹⁴⁸ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* V 33, No. 289; *Mustadrak* III 510; *Iṣābah* IV 388; *Nubalāʾ* II 431 f. See also pp. 52 f. below.

¹⁴⁹ See Kindī, p. 315, n. 1.

¹⁵⁰ Ibn Saʿd V 175; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 2, pp. 8 f.; *Jarḥ*

II 2, p. 393; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 89; *Mizān* II 129; Nawawī, p. 393; *Husn al-muḥādḍarah* I 145.

¹⁵¹ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 157. For Kathīr see Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 209; *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 157; Nawawī, p. 520; Dhahabī I 49. See also our Vol. I 18 f.

¹⁵² *Maʿārif*, p. 180; Nawawī, pp. 396 f.

¹⁵³ See e.g. Khaṭīb XI 172; *Adab al-ʿimlāʾ*, p. 143; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāyah wa al-nihāyah* (14 vols.; Cairo, 1351–58/1932–39) IX 62 f.

Sha'bi, served at one time as tutor in the royal palace, where *maghāzī* and *ḥadīth* books were available for the princes' use.¹⁵⁴ 'Abd al-Malik's patronage of 'Urwah ibn al-Zubair and his use of 'Urwah's store of knowledge, quite frequently by correspondence, are well known.¹⁵⁵ 'Abd al-Malik's genuine appreciation of true scholarship led him on more than one occasion, but unfortunately not always, to rescue from the dreaded and at times murderous wrath of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf a scholar who had had the misfortune to clash with him on some administrative or political issue. Ibn 'Umar, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and Anas ibn Mālīk were among those so protected.¹⁵⁶ Sa'īd ibn Jubair and Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-Taimī, on the other hand, were among those not so fortunate. Ibrāhīm died in prison, and Sa'īd, despite the fact that his *Tafsīr* was commissioned by 'Abd al-Malik, fell in the end a victim to Ḥajjāj, but his *Tafsīr* survived in the court library of 'Abd al-Malik.¹⁵⁷

'Abd al-Malik's personal participation in the transmission of *ḥadīth* seems not to have been so extensive as that of his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz since unlike the latter he is not regularly listed among the traditionists, though he is known to have heard Abū Hurairah, Sa'īd al-Khudrī, and Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh.¹⁵⁸ Ibn Sa'd, who recorded 'Abd al-Malik's patronage of scholars and his frequent sessions with them, noted that he transmitted few traditions (*kāna qalīl al-ḥadīth*).¹⁵⁹ Ibn Sa'd also recorded 'Abd al-Malik's concern because of the appearance of unfamiliar or unknown traditions stemming from the eastern provinces—a concern that led him to warn the people against such traditions in a speech delivered during the pilgrimage of the year 75/695, when he instructed them further to hold fast to the Qur'ān and the *far'īd* and reminded them that both of these had been established by Zaid ibn Thābit under the initiative and patronage of the caliph 'Uthmān.¹⁶⁰

'Abd al-Malik's personal interest in scholars and in the religious sciences has been overshadowed by the fact that he was Zuhri's patron. The problem posed by Ya'qūbī's reference¹⁶¹ to the youthful Zuhri's visit to Damascus toward the end of the counter-caliphate of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair to reinforce 'Abd al-Malik's policy for the pilgrimage to the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem has been much discussed. Covering the grounds independently, I find myself in general agreement with Horovitz's conclusions, namely that the event has been overemphasized if it did take place but that it seems improbable because of Zuhri's youth at the time and because Zuhri was not the only one to transmit the tradition that refers to this mosque.¹⁶² Apart from this problem, there has also been some uncertainty as to a later date at which Zuhri did leave Medina for Damascus and gain an introduction to 'Abd al-Malik, who then established their relationship of scholar and royal patron. It is possible now to establish that date as the year 82/701, since Zuhri himself states that his visit took place during the rebellion

¹⁵⁴ See pp. 16, 181, 227, 228; Vol. I 16 f. 'Abd al-Malik took a personal interest in both the secular and the religious education of the princes (see also e.g. *Iqd* I 272). *Iqd* II 310 f. gives an obviously touched-up version of Zuhri's meeting with 'Abd al-Malik.

¹⁵⁵ See Vol. I 16 f. and 36. See also Ṭabarī I 1180 f.; *Tafsīr* XIII 539–42. It is to be hoped that the work of the late Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir on Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* will be carried on and that a fresh study will be made of 'Urwah's scholarly correspondence with 'Abd al-Malik.

¹⁵⁶ See e.g. Ibn Sa'd IV 1, p. 135, and V 170 ff.; Dhahabī I 35–37; p. 148 below and further references there cited. See e.g. pp. 172, 228, and 249 for other clashes and some rescues.

¹⁵⁷ See Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-bayān wa al-tabyīn* (1366/1947) I 362; Mas'ūdi I 393 f. See also pp. 97 and 98 f. below and Ibn Sa'd VI 178–87.

¹⁵⁸ See Ibn Sa'd V 174; Mas'ūdi I 266; see also Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh* III 1, pp. 429 f.

¹⁵⁹ Ibn Sa'd V 167.

¹⁶⁰ Ibn Sa'd V 173. See p. 34 below for a similar view held by Zuhri.

¹⁶¹ Ya'qūbī II 311.

¹⁶² See Joseph Horovitz, "The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors," *Islamic Culture* II (1928) 35–38; cf. also S. D. Goitein, "Historical background of the erection of the Dome of the Rock," *JAOS* LXX (1950) 104–8.

of Ibn al-Ash'ath, which is placed in 81–82 A.H., and since it is also known that the visit took place during Hishām ibn Ismā'il's governorship of Medina, which began in the year 82/701.¹⁶³ This date is further supported by the fact that among the causes which sent the extravagant Zuhri from Medina to Damascus was the economic distress caused by the widespread plague of the year 80 A.H.¹⁶⁴ There are very few specific details concerning Zuhri's actual court activities during the last four years of 'Abd al-Malik's reign beyond his possible tutoring of the princes and his availability for consultation on legal matters, when he discouraged the raising of hypothetical questions.¹⁶⁵ Zuhri bore witness to 'Abd al-Malik's urging of the public, in a speech from the pulpit for the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast, to spread such religious knowledge (*'ilm*) as any of them had before its impending loss through the death of the aged or aging Companions who were his contemporaries.¹⁶⁶ This was precisely what Zuhri himself was doing and was to continue to do for more than forty years of service under Umayyad patronage.¹⁶⁷

The policies of Walid I (86–96/705–15) varied little from those established by his father, 'Abd al-Malik.¹⁶⁸ Some scholars, such as Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib, refused to be drawn into his circle.¹⁶⁹ Others, such as Zuhri, 'Urwah ibn al-Zubair, and Ibn 'Ulaiyah, accepted his patronage and offered advice.¹⁷⁰ He seems to have been particularly concerned with education and schools for his family as well as for the public. One of his sons, Bishr, won the reputation of being the scholar of the Umayyads,¹⁷¹ though apparently not as a traditionist. Walid's claim to attention here is his association with 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, whom he retained as governor of Mecca and Medina.¹⁷²

Sulaimān (96–99/715–17) as caliph seems at first to have followed the same pattern in relation to scholars as did Walid I and 'Abd al-Malik. His interest in Tradition was steady to the extent that he, too, is listed among the traditionists.¹⁷³ Several unconnected reports associate him with well known scholars such as the Yemenite Ṭā'ūs ibn Kaisān,¹⁷⁴ Abū Ḥāzim al-A'raj¹⁷⁵ of Medina, as well as Zuhri and 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz.¹⁷⁶ But the theologian-traditionist who influenced Sulaimān most toward the end of his reign was Rajā' ibn Ḥaiwah (see p. 205), who, when the circumstances seemed so favorable, induced him to appoint 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz as his heir. It was Zuhri who, having first lauded Rajā', Makhūl al-Shāmī, and other *'ulamā'*, read out to the people the deed of succession.¹⁷⁷

If it was political sagacity more than personal piety that motivated most of these Umayyads, the role was reversed by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who, like his father, is listed among the traditionists.¹⁷⁸ His interest in the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* started early and apparently remained a

¹⁶³ For accounts of the meeting of 'Abd al-Malik and Zuhri, varying in some details but not in significance, see Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 157, and Ṭabarī II 1085, 1182. See also E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hanovre, 1927) p. 24; Horovitz, *op. cit.* pp. 36 f. and references there cited.

¹⁶⁴ Mas'ūdi I 384; Abū Nu'aim III 367–69; Dhahabī I 103.

¹⁶⁵ *Jāmi'* II 143; Hamadhāni, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (*BGA* V [1885]) p. 91.

¹⁶⁶ *Jāmi'* I 123.

¹⁶⁷ *Jāmi'* I 124; Abū Nu'aim III 366.

¹⁶⁸ See Vol. I 17 f.

¹⁶⁹ Ya'qūbī II 340; Zuba'iri, p. 371; Abū Nu'aim III 366.

¹⁷⁰ *Tafsīr* XIII 542; Abū Nu'aim V 243 f.; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāyah wa al-nihāyah* IX 341 f.

¹⁷¹ See *Ma'ārif*, p. 183, and Mas'ūdi V 361, but the field of knowledge is not stated. We have already met (our Vol. I 12 and 16) Asad al-Sunnah (= Asad ibn Musa), another scholar who was a descendant of Walid; see also pp. 243 f. below.

¹⁷² *Ma'ārif*, p. 182; cf. Zambaur, *op. cit.* pp. 19 and 24.

¹⁷³ *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 130 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh* II 2, p. 26; Dhahabī I 83.

¹⁷⁴ Abū Nu'aim IV 15 f.

¹⁷⁵ Mas'ūdi I 406 f.

¹⁷⁶ *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 130 f.; Abū Nu'aim IV 15 f.; Mas'ūdi I 412; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāyah wa al-nihāyah* IX 341 f.

¹⁷⁷ Mas'ūdi I 417 f.

¹⁷⁸ Ibn Sa'd V 242–302; Bukhārī I 34–37; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh* III 2, pp. 174 f.; Abū Nu'aim V 359–64; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 122; *Jam'* I 339 f.; Dhahabī I 112–14; Nawawī, pp. 463–

fairly private matter until Walīd I appointed him governor of Mecca and Medina (86–93/705–12). In the year 91/710 he ordered some repairs in the Mosque of the Prophet at Medina and added an inscription on the authority of Walīd in which, in addition to several Qurʾānic texts, the general call to the “Book” and to the *sunnah* of the Prophet is twice repeated and is further reinforced by specific reference to the just distribution of the state charitable funds to needy kin, orphans, and the poor.¹⁷⁹ He had ample opportunity during his governorship to become acquainted with scholars from the various provinces as they made pilgrimages to the holy cities. ʿUmar himself led four pilgrimages, in the years 87, 89, 90, and 92 A.H. His associates in Medina included most of the famed “seven” and “ten” scholars (*ʿulamāʾ* or *fuqahāʾ*) of his generation.¹⁸⁰ In the first years of his governorship he called together “ten” of the scholars of Medina, asked them to keep him informed of any oppression, and promised to consult them.¹⁸¹ He appointed Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī to the judgeship of Medina, an office that Abū Bakr held throughout and beyond the governorship of ʿUmar.¹⁸² When Walīd, at the instigation of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, of whom ʿUmar was severely critical,¹⁸³ recalled ʿUmar from the governorship, Abū Bakr was left as acting governor until ʿUmar’s successor arrived in Medina.¹⁸⁴ ʿUmar’s long association with Abū Bakr and the experience and knowledge he gained from his sessions with scholars, both during his governorship and later when he was recalled to Damascus, not only led to his succession as caliph but laid the foundation for the more dedicated and ambitious attempt that he made during his caliphate (99–101/717–19) to restore and record the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*. For it was the religious scholars led by Rajāʾ ibn Ḥaiwah, Zuhri, Makḥūl al-Shāmī, and others who influenced Sulaimān to appoint ʿUmar as his heir,¹⁸⁵ and it was to Abū Bakr and Zuhri, among others, that ʿUmar as caliph turned for the execution of his plans to record the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*.

In the meantime the stature of both Zuhri and Abū Bakr had grown during the caliphate of Sulaimān (96–99/715–17), at whose court in Damascus Zuhri was well established. Zuhri and ʿUmar may have had something to do with Sulaimān’s appointment of Abū Bakr as governor of Medina (96–101/715–20), an appointment that ʿUmar confirmed for the whole of his short

72; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 145. ʿUmar’s personal collection (*musnad*), which draws on some four dozen traditionists, was edited two centuries after his time; see A. H. Harley, “The Musnad of ʿUmar b. ʿAbdīl-ʿAzīz,” *Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series XX (1924) 391–488 (Arabic text on pp. 415–48).

¹⁷⁹ See Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām* (Mecca, 1375/1956) II 373 for full text of inscription and cf. p. 375. Emphasis on the Qurʾān and Muḥammad’s *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* (see p. 7 above), it should be recalled, traces back to Muḥammad himself; see *Sīrah* I 969; *Muwattaʾ* II 899, Tradition 3; Ibn Mājah II 134; but see *Concordance* I 270 *واني قد تركت* . . . *فيكم ما لن تصلوا* for references in which the Qurʾān alone is mentioned.

¹⁸⁰ The several lists of the “seven” and the “ten” are remarkably stable, except for one or two of the names, when one considers they reflect no more than the freely expressed personal opinions of scholars about fellow scholars. For lists of the “seven” see e.g. Ibn Saʿd II 2, pp. 128–32; *Iqd* II 206; Masʿūdī V 376; *Aghānī* VIII 96 f.; *Maʿrifah*, pp. 26, 43 f., and 48; Ibn ʿAsākir VI 51; Ibn Khallikān I 571 f. (= trans. I 582); Dhahabī I 228. The “seven” are occasionally sifted down to “four” (see e.g. Khaṭīb XI 172

and Nawawī, p. 509) or expanded to the “ten” (see e.g. Khaṭīb X 242 f. and Nawawī, p. 126). ʿUmar’s personal appreciation of scholars as a group and his concern for their social and economic welfare is reflected in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, ed. Aḥmad ʿUbaid (Cairo, 1345/1927) pp. 137, 167, 179, and in Ibn al-Jauzī, *Manāqib ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, ed. C. H. Becker (Leipzig, 1899) pp. 9–14, 23, 59–61, 68.

¹⁸¹ Ṭabarī II 1182 f. names the ten scholars; see Ibn Saʿd V 245 f. and Abū Nuʿaim V 355 f. for actual consultation.

¹⁸² Ibn Saʿd V 244; Ṭabarī I 1191, 1255; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 135.

¹⁸³ Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, pp. 139, 142 f.; *Tafsīr* X 270–73; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 229; Abū Nuʿaim V 299–302, 306, 309, 345; see also Nabia Abbott, *The Qurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute* (“Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization,” No. 15 [Chicago, 1938]) p. 63.

¹⁸⁴ Ṭabarī I 1254 f.

¹⁸⁵ Ibn Saʿd V 247 f.; Ṭabarī II 1341–45; Masʿūdī V 417 f.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, pp. 29–32 and 143 f.; *Fragmenta historicorum Arabicorum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje and P. de Jong, I (Lugduni Batavorum, 1869) 38–40.

caliphate.¹⁸⁶ This was a precedent-breaking appointment because Abū Bakr was of the Anṣār, who were traditionally limited to judgeships while governorships and supreme rule were reserved for the Quraish (see pp. 219, 259). The Anṣār (see p. 188) came early to be looked upon as a rich source of information on the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of Muḥammad because of their long and close association with him in Medina. Abū Bakr's grandfather ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī (d. 51 or 53/671 or 673) laid the foundation for a family of at least four generations of scholars when, in the year 10/631, Muḥammad appointed him to Najrān as instructor-propagandist and collector of the alms tax, with written instructions for dealing with this tax and with blood money, inheritance, and other *sunnah*.¹⁸⁷ ʿAmr's son Muḥammad transmitted *ḥadīth* from his father to his son, the Abū Bakr under consideration (d. 120/738), who in turn transmitted to his two sons, Muḥammad (d. 132/750) and ʿAbd Allāh (d. 130 or 135/747 or 752), who became judge and traditionist-historian respectively.

A close analysis of the sources indicates that ʿUmar II was deeply concerned with restoring a just administration that would deal impartially with all, a goal which he considered his mission in life. To do this he felt a great need to avoid innovation (*bidʿah*) and a greater need to revive and enforce the practices of Muḥammad and the rightly guided caliphs, especially Abū Bakr and ʿUmar I¹⁸⁸—practices that many members of the royal family and their protégés and officers had disregarded in order to gain wealth and power.¹⁸⁹ He began his reign with almost feverish activity both at his own court and by correspondence with his officers in the various provinces in order to accomplish his objective, which involved obtaining the original letters of instructions issued by Muḥammad and the first caliphs and supplementation of these manuscripts by the collection and recording of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* before death should overtake the last surviving Companions and the older generation of the Successors.¹⁹⁰ The same urgency is reflected on the one hand by his encouragement of the older scholars to spread such religious knowledge as they possessed¹⁹¹ and on the other hand by his financial provision for the younger scholars so that they could devote their time to religious study, particularly of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*.¹⁹² For ʿUmar considered the role of the religious scholar in the Muslim state second in importance only to that of the Qurʾān and the *sunnah*, a conviction that was implied by his meeting with the scholars during his governorship of Mecca and Medina, when he promised to consult them (see p. 23), and explicitly stated in his correspondence with ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair in answer to the latter's question as to the bases of jurisprudence.¹⁹³ If ʿUmar as caliph found it so natural to consult with the *ʿulamāʾ* it was because his close association and identifi-

¹⁸⁶ Ibn Saʿd V 251; Ṭabarī I 1305, 1346; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 135, 141 f.

¹⁸⁷ الصدقات والديات والفرائض والسنن. See *Sīrah* I 961; *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 70; *Jāmiʿ* I 71; *Adāb al-Shāfiʿī*, pp. 338 f.; ʿUmar ibn ʿAlī al-Jaʿdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ al-Yaman*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo, 1376/1957) pp. 22 f. For biographical entries on ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm, most of which report these facts, see e.g. Ibn Saʿd, Index; *Istīʿāb* II 437 f.; *Uṣd* IV 98 f.; *Iṣābah* II 532; Nawawī, pp. 474 f.

¹⁸⁸ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd V 252 f., 277 f.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, pp. 37, 63, and 125. See also Masʿūdī V 421 f.; Abū Nuʿaim V 282 f., 297, 338; pp. 27 f. and 73 below.

¹⁸⁹ This theme is much elaborated in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Sīrat ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* and Abū Nuʿaim V 253–353. ʿUmar began by confiscating some of his own property and then confiscated that of other Umayyads (see e.g. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* pp. 56–58, 62 f.; Abū

Nuʿaim V 261 f., 275 f.), an act which brought him enmity strong enough to arouse suspicions that his death was caused by poisoning (see e.g. Yaʿqūbī II 262, 370; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* pp. 118 f.; Dhahabī I 114).

¹⁹⁰ Shaibānī, p. 389; Zurqānī I 10 (for Zurqānī see *GAL* II 318, *GALS* II 439); Dārimī I 126; *Jāmiʿ* I 123 and 124, where this motive is credited to both ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿUmar II. This theme is repeatedly encountered in ʿUmar's biography as found in Ibn Saʿd V 242–302, which is rich in references to and citations from his extensive correspondence (e.g. pp. 252–57, 263, 277 f., 280 f.). See also Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* pp. 69, 79, 125; Abū Nuʿaim V 292 f.

¹⁹¹ *Jāmiʿ* I 124; *Adāb al-ʿimlāʾ*, p. 44.

¹⁹² *Jāmiʿ* I 186; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* pp. 80, 167; Ibn al-Jauzī, *Taʾrīkh ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb* (Cairo, 1342/1924) pp. 60 f.

¹⁹³ *Jāmiʿ* II 24; *Fragmenta historicorum Arabicorum* I 63.

cation with them had already been established as a result of practical experience during his governorship and of more leisurely study of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* in the intervening years before his caliphate.¹⁹⁴ Yet at no time did the consultations between ʿUmar and the scholars become a one-way affair with prince and ruler passively accepting the ideas, let alone the dictates, of the scholars.¹⁹⁵ Most of the leading traditionists—including ʿUrwah, Zuhri, and Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm—from whom ʿUmar transmitted *ḥadīth* did in turn transmit from him.¹⁹⁶ Other scholars whom ʿUmar held in high esteem or reckoned among his congenial companions testify to this mutual exchange of knowledge. For instance, ʿUmar is said to have prized above everything a session with ʿUbaid Allāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, yet ʿUbaid Allāh considered the scholars of the day as pupils of ʿUmar.¹⁹⁷ Maimūn ibn Mihrān (see pp. 161 f.)—he and Rajāʾ ibn Ḥaiwah and Riyāḥ ibn ʿUbaidah being ʿUmar’s three favorite companions—is reported as saying: “We thought he needed us when in fact we are but his pupils.” This sentiment was expressed also by Mujāhid ibn Jabr, of *Tafsīr* fame.¹⁹⁸ ʿUmar’s relationship with Abū Qilābah is described below (p. 230). Another prominent scholar who found favor with ʿUmar, Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith,¹⁹⁹ could think of only two men, ʿUrwah and ʿUmar, who put knowledge to use in order to achieve all three of the purposes for which it was generally sought—to gain honor, to strengthen one’s faith, to win favor with the ruler and serve him.²⁰⁰

III

With the foregoing analysis of the level of religious learning under the early Umayyads, of the part they played in the recording of *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*, and of ʿUmar II’s own deep interest in religious study as background we may turn to the specific problems of ʿUmar’s commissions to Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm and Zuhri for the recording of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*.

The first question to be considered is the time of the commissions. Though ʿUmar could perhaps have set Abū Bakr to this task during his own governorship of Mecca and Medina, there is evidence that he did not do so. For all references to his commission to Abū Bakr begin with “ʿUmar wrote (*kataba*) to Abū Bakr,” and it would not have been necessary for ʿUmar to write to his judge (see p. 23) if both were in Medina. On the other hand, all references to his commission to Zuhri begin with “ʿUmar ordered (*amara*) Zuhri” and thus imply an oral command at a time when both ʿUmar and Zuhri were in Damascus. Since it is highly improbable that ʿUmar would or could have issued a general commission of such significance to either Abū Bakr or Zuhri when he himself, at the instigation of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, had been abruptly removed by Walīd I from high office (see p. 23) and had remained out of such office throughout the caliphate of Sulaimān, there remains only the period of his own caliphate when he would have been in position to commission Abū Bakr by writing and Zuhri by oral command.²⁰¹

The next question to be considered is that of the special qualifications of these two men for the project. By the time ʿUmar came to the caliphate, both men had long been recognized as

¹⁹⁴ See e.g. Dhahabī I 112 f.; Abū Nuʿaim V 331 f., in which Muzāḥim, ʿUmar’s trusted client, secretary, and adviser, relates the steps in ʿUmar’s development from a worldly prince to a mature and pious scholar.

¹⁹⁵ See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* II 106 f.

¹⁹⁶ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd V 284; *Jamʿ* I 339 f. See also Harley in *Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series XX 407 f., 431, and under separate names in Index (pp. 449–57).

¹⁹⁷ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 1, pp. 385 f.; Abū Nuʿaim V 340; Ibn Khallikān I 341 (= trans. II 75 f.).

¹⁹⁸ Ibn Saʿd V 271 f., 280, 292; Abū Nuʿaim V 340; Dhahabī I 112–14.

¹⁹⁹ ʿUmar transmitted from this Abū Bakr, for whom see p. 169; see also Harley, *op. cit.* pp. 424–31.

²⁰⁰ *Jāmiʿ* I 186.

²⁰¹ As confirmed in the case of Abū Bakr by ʿUmar’s own *musnad*; see Harley, *op. cit.* p. 441. See also *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 21.

leaders in religious scholarship, particularly in the related fields of *ḥadīth*, *sunnah*, and *fiqh*. But, whereas Zuhri was in a sense an academic scholar engaged in collecting, sorting, and transmitting the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*, Abū Bakr was a man of high public office, who as judge and then governor of Mecca and Medina was perforce concerned less with the theory than with the practical application of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*. ‘Umar, as we have seen, was interested in the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* from both practical and literary points of view. He was interested in them, first, as means of religious guidance and edification for himself and his fellow Muslims and, second, as one of the historical bases of religious law as practiced from the very beginning of Islām. It is, therefore, as much in the careers of Abū Bakr and Zuhri as in ‘Umar’s objective that one must look for the justification of the two concurrent yet closely related projects. My attention was thus centered on the specific wording, so far as it can be discovered, of ‘Umar’s instructions. The earliest and perhaps the best known report of his commission to Abū Bakr is that found in Shaibānī’s recension of Mālik’s *Muwattaʿ*, which reads:

Mālik informed us (saying) Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī informed us that ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz wrote to Abū Bakr ibn ‘Amr ibn Ḥazm: “Look for what there is of the *ḥadīth* of the apostle and of his *sunnah* or of *ḥadīth* ‘Umar or something similar to this [last phrase obviously an editorial comment] and write it down for me for I fear the dissipation of (religious) knowledge and the passing-away of the scholars.”²⁰²

Some doubts have been cast on the authenticity of this statement because it is found only in the Shaibānī version of the *Muwattaʿ*.²⁰³ This fact does invite suspicion but actually provides no argument if one recalls that there are omissions and additions in all versions of the *Muwattaʿ* and that this particular report is technically a *khābar* (see pp. 138, 240, and esp. 145) and not a *ḥadīth*. Furthermore, research has revealed that Mālik himself was fully aware of Muḥammad’s written instructions to ‘Amr ibn Ḥazm, the grandfather of Abū Bakr,²⁰⁴ and that Mālik transmitted in the vulgate version itself related materials from the two sons of Abū Bakr, ‘Abd Allāh and Muḥammad.²⁰⁵ It should be noted also that Mālik’s knowledge of ‘Umar’s order to Abū Bakr is confirmed, though indirectly, by Bukhārī and Tirmidhī.²⁰⁶ Again, Tirmidhī’s commentator, Ibn al-‘Arabī al-Maʿāfirī, in explaining the lack of a clear-cut statement by Mālik about ‘Umar’s order to Zuhri, gives a clue as to the reason for the vulgate’s silence also on his order to Abū Bakr, namely that Mālik was using only manuscripts for the materials involved in ‘Umar’s order, which he reproduced in the vulgate, and this fact in turn explains why these materials are for the most part introduced by Mālik without any *isnād*’s²⁰⁷ and also why they are not repeated with an *isnād* that includes Mālik by either Muslim or Bukhārī.²⁰⁸

Returning to the *isnād* of Shaibānī’s text we note that he uses the term *akhbaranā* for his transmission from Mālik and also for Mālik’s transmission from Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, with whom the *isnād* stops. Thus it was necessary to discover Yaḥyā’s source or sources and Mālik’s fellow pupil or pupils transmitting from Yaḥyā, as the plural *akhbaranā* demands. Yaḥyā’s immediate source was a client of Ibn ‘Umar, namely ‘Abd Allāh ibn Dīnār (d. 127/745; see pp. 148 and 152), from whom Mālik at times transmitted directly. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Dīnār is the initial source for the correspondence between ‘Umar and Abū Bakr as reported by Ibn Saʿd²⁰⁹ and Dārimī,²¹⁰ whose parallel statements reveal two cotransmitters from Yaḥyā,

²⁰² Shaibānī, p. 389.

²⁰³ See Goldziher, *Studien* II 210 f.; Alfred Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam* (Oxford, 1924) pp. 18 f.

²⁰⁴ *Muwattaʿ* I 199, 277 f. (No. 39).

²⁰⁵ *Muwattaʿ* I 235 and 277, II 516 and 517; see p. 24 above for the sons.

²⁰⁶ Bukhārī I 37; Tirmidhī III 101.

²⁰⁷ See e.g. *Muwattaʿ* I 257–59. Much of Mālik’s material on the *ṣadaqah* and related subjects is without *isnād*’s.

²⁰⁸ Tirmidhī III 105–10, text and commentary.

²⁰⁹ Ibn Saʿd II 2, p. 134, and VIII 353; cf. *Taqyīd al-‘ilm*, p. 105.

²¹⁰ Dārimī I 126; cf. *Taqyīd al-‘ilm*, p. 106.

namely Anas ibn ʿIyād (d. 200/814)²¹¹ and Yazīd ibn Hārūn (118–206/736–821),²¹² and even a source parallel to Yaḥyā himself, namely ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Muslim (d. 167/783–84),²¹³ who, like Yaḥyā, transmitted his report from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Dīnār. Furthermore, there is still another independent source, Usāmah ibn Zaid ibn Aslam, who reports ʿUmar’s order directly on the authority of Abū Bakr (see p. 30). There is thus no reason to question Shaibānī’s report, the substance of which was so well known and accepted by early traditionists, by claiming lack of supporting evidence. There is, however, reason to question the interpretation that Muslim and non-Muslim scholars have given to the Shaibānī passage. Taken at its face value and in isolation from significantly related materials, it has been interpreted to mean that ʿUmar II commissioned Abū Bakr to record the entire body of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*, with emphasis on those of Muḥammad—an enormous project that would have called for much if not, indeed, all the time and energy of Abū Bakr, who at the time was over sixty (d. 120/738 at the age of 84) and held the exacting office of governor of Medina.²¹⁴ This interpretation²¹⁵ is no doubt responsible, at least in part, for the skepticism accorded Shaibānī’s report by most Western scholars. That such an interpretation is untenable becomes apparent when the Shaibānī report is integrated with the large quantity of source material that bears significantly on ʿUmar’s objective of reviving the *sunnah* and recording religious knowledge (*taqyīd al-ʿilm*) for the benefit of his own and succeeding generations of Muslims (see p. 24) and on the steps which he took to accomplish this objective. Examination of a great deal of this source material has led me to the following conclusions. (1) The term *sunnah*, which frequently alternates with the plural *sunan*, is not limited to the example or conduct of Muḥammad but applies also to at least the caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar I and to a number of outstanding men who held high office under these three heads of state. (2) The *sunan* in question refer not to general activities in any phase of life whatsoever but to specific fields of administrative and legal practices. (3) Official documents instituting these *sunan* in the newly conquered provinces were generally provided for the guidance of the administrative officers. (4) We must look to these documents and to reports of them for a clue as to the true nature and extent of ʿUmar II’s commission to Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm. Fortunately Ibn Ishāq, the earliest source available, in his account of the written instructions given by Muḥammad to ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm, the grandfather of Abū Bakr, specifies the fields of *zakāt*, *ṣadaqah*, *diyāt*, *farāʿid*, and *sunnah* (see p. 24, esp. n. 187). In later reports the term *zakāt* alternates with or supplements *ṣadaqāt*, the two terms not being at first sharply defined. A reading of the twenty-four “books” listed under these five headings in the eight major *ḥadīth* collections indexed by Muḥammad Fuʿād ʿAbd al-Bāqī²¹⁶ revealed the following trends and facts. (1) Traditions that trace back to the Companions and even more so those that trace back to the Successors and contemporaries of ʿUmar II, Abū Bakr, Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd, and Zuhri are in evidence especially at the beginning of most of these books, urging the need and the duty to be informed about the particular theme treated and to be guided by the practices relating to it. (2) Each of the four specific themes has a special point of emphasis within the general category treated: the *ṣadaqāt* and *zakāt* concern primarily the Islāmic community, as do also the *farāʿid*, under which, however, intercommunity inheritance practices are also stressed to some extent; the *diyāt*, on the other hand, are more generally con-

²¹¹ Dārimī I 126 (cf. *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 105 f.); Dhahabī I 297.

²¹² Ibn Saʿd VIII 353.

²¹³ Dārimī I 126.

²¹⁴ Ṭabarī I 1346; see also p. 23 above.

²¹⁵ Which, prior to my research in connection with the present study, I had little reason to question and therefore followed in Vol. I 18.

²¹⁶ *Taisīr al-manfaʿah* (8 vols.; Cairo and Leyden, 1935–39).

cerned with the practices applicable to the “people of the Book,” particularly the Jews, than with those applicable to the Muslims. (3) The *sunnah*, if we judge by the account of Abū Dāʿūd, who alone devotes a “book” to it,²¹⁷ had by the time of ʿUmar II come to stand against all forms of innovation (*bidʿah*) as opposed to the orthodox practices of departed leaders and of the acknowledged leaders of the day, *al-sunnat al-maḍīyah* and *al-sunnat al-qāʾimah*. There was particular concern over unorthodox doctrine and new sects, special attention being given to the Khawārij, the *ahl al-qadr*, and the Jahmiyah.²¹⁸ ʿUmar II’s concern over the Khawārij is well known, and we find, for instance, that he penned a long letter on *qadr* or free will;²¹⁹ elsewhere in these studies we have encountered his writing on the Jahmiyah.²²⁰ The general impression one gains from reading all this material in the *ḥadīth* collections is that differences in practice and opinion had already developed to a considerable degree, particularly in the provinces, in respect to these themes, but more so in the overlapping *ṣadaqāt* and *zakāt* fields than in the others, and that ʿUmar II, though aware of the salutary role of legitimate differences of opinion among jurists (*ikhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ*),²²¹ wished to restore a greater degree of uniformity of practice in the provinces and hoped to do so with the aid of original documents from the time of Muḥammad and the caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar I.

Following ʿUmar II’s steps at closer range, we find that his order to Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm was but one of several orders sent out to those who were in position to help recover these basic documents, which apparently were not deposited in any state archive but had remained in the families of the original recipients. The families most frequently mentioned are those of the caliphs Abū Bakr²²² and particularly ʿUmar I, for there seems to be general agreement that Muḥammad died before his written instructions on the *ṣadaqah* were publicized, that the manuscript was kept and used by Abū Bakr, and that it passed on Abū Bakr’s death to ʿUmar I, who likewise used it in his administration, after which it remained in ʿUmar’s family.²²³ References in this connection to the families of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib²²⁴ and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ are almost as frequent because both of these men had manuscripts (*ṣaḥīfah* and *kitāb*) that were written down from Muḥammad’s dictation²²⁵ and contained materials relevant to some of the themes listed above, particularly the *ṣadaqāt*, and these manuscripts remained in the possession of their families. The family of Anas ibn Mālik in ʿIrāq comes into this picture

²¹⁷ Book 39 of his *sunan* (= Vol. IV 197–245 in the edition here used).

²¹⁸ See e.g. Abū Dāʿūd IV 198 f., 223 f., 231, 241; see also Dārimī II 341 and p. 24 above and p. 73 below.

²¹⁹ Abū Dāʿūd IV 202–4. ʿUmar’s dedicated concern for justice in his administration and his association with the Qādirites Ghailān ibn Muslim al-Dimishqī and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī led the Muʿtaziliyah to claim him as they came to claim several other early caliphs and many of the leading scholars of the day; see e.g. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazilah*, ed. Susanna Diwald-Wilzer (“Bibliotheca Islamica” XXI [Beirut, 1961]) pp. 25 and 120–40, esp. pp. 120 f. and 136.

²²⁰ See Vol. I 18 and 19. My earlier position that ʿUmar probably issued an order that Tradition be recorded and that the project was probably begun but shelved after ʿUmar’s death has now been expanded and clarified in the light of further research, so that “*sunnah*” must be substituted for “Tradition.”

²²¹ Dārimī I 151: يزيد بن هارون عن حماد بن سلمة:

قال قيل لعمر لو جمعت الناس على شيء فقال ما يسرني انهم لا يختلفوا قال ثم كتب (عمر) الى الافاق او الى الامصار ليقتضى كل قوم بما اجتمع عليه فقهاؤهم.

²²² See e.g. Bukhārī I 365–69; Abū Dāʿūd II 96 f., 98 f.

²²³ See Abū Dāʿūd II 98 f., Nos. 1568 and 1570; *Muwallaʿa* I 257–59; Bukhārī I 374, 377, 379 and II 276; Dārimī I 381; Ibn Mājah I 282 f., 284. See also *Concordance* III 289 f. صدقة (in several places).

²²⁴ Bukhārī II 277, IV 289 and 324; Tirmidhī VI 181. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-musnad* II (1366/1947) 278, lists 14 references to ʿAlī’s *kitāb* or *ṣaḥīfah* through a number of *ṭurq* and with some differences in *matn* in addition to the *ṣadaqāt*, all of which points to a sizable manuscript.

²²⁵ Ibn Ḥanbal II 162 f.; Tirmidhī VI 181 f., where the commentator deduces that Muhammad ordered the writing-down of the *sunnah* as he did that of the Qurʾān. See also n. 226 below.

because of the written instructions that Anas had received from the caliph Abū Bakr when he appointed Anas to administer the *ṣadaqāt*; this manuscript came to be in the possession of Anas' grandson Thumāmah.²²⁶

Knowledge of the possession of such manuscripts by these families led many jurists and traditionists of succeeding generations to seek them out for such materials. These they cast sometimes as a supplementary *khābar*, which needed no *isnād* in the early decades of Islām, and more frequently as a formalized *ḥadīth*, transmitted as a rule with a family *isnād*.²²⁷ Some of these family *isnād*'s continued unbroken for two or three generations beyond the reign of ʿUmar II, by which time the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* had been combed and sifted as well as organized and reorganized. The latter process involved dividing lengthy original documents into separate items or sections of various lengths depending on the use to which a particular jurist or traditionist wished to put them under a given circumstance. If not fully comprehended this process would give the impression of a sudden huge increase in the number of traditions stemming from the pivotal member of each family at the time of the activities of ʿUmar II and Zuhri.²²⁸

Viewed in this light, ʿUmar II's correspondence with Abū Bakr²²⁹ represented no more than a fraction of his correspondence with members of the families mentioned above, all aimed at securing authentic copies of the original documents in their possession, if not the documents themselves, together with other *sunnah* and *ḥadīth* associated with these families. Thus we see why some of his letters are said to have been addressed now to a specific individual, such as the well known Sālim ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb or Abū Bakr himself, now to a particular city, especially Medina, and again simply to a province.²³⁰ ʿUmar's request of Abū Bakr for the *ḥadīth* of ʿAmrah bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Abū Bakr's paternal aunt, is part of this picture along with his request for the *ṣadaqah* document that belonged originally to Abū Bakr's grandfather. ʿAmrah (d. 98/715 or 106/724) and an older sister lived for some time in ʿĀ'ishah's home, but ʿAmrah was more painstaking with *ḥadīth* than her sister, especially with the *ḥadīth* of both ʿĀ'ishah and Umm Salamah. She transmitted to her nephew Abū Bakr and his son ʿAbd Allāh,²³¹ to Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī and two of his sons, to Zuhri and others and acquired a reputation for knowledge of *ḥadīth*.²³² But if ʿUmar II sought only family documents and *ḥadīth* from Abū Bakr, how does one explain his request for the *ḥadīth* of ʿUmar (I) as stated in the Shaibānī text (see p. 26)?²³³ Ibn Saʿd provides the answer, for his text reads not "*ḥadīth* ʿUmar" but "*ḥadīth* ʿAmrah,"²³⁴ which in the light of the foregoing considerations

²²⁶ See Bukhārī I 368, II 276 and 289; Abū Dāʿūd II 96 f.; Nasāʾī I 336–38, 340. See also *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 87. For a long list of men appointed by Muḥammad to collect the *ṣadaqāt*, some of whom served also under the caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar I, see *Ansāb* I 529–31.

²²⁷ For the family of Ibn ʿUmar see e.g. Bukhārī II 280, 284, 288, 290 and IV 319. For the family of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ see Abū Dāʿūd IV 178, 184, 189, 190, 195; Dārimī II 194 f., 392; Tirmidhī III 137, VI 163; Ibn Mājah I 85. For the family of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib see Bukhārī II 270, 275, 276; Abū Dāʿūd III 125, 128, 129.

²²⁸ See p. 19 for an example involving the splitting-up of four traditions into seven.

²²⁹ His father, Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm, was known to have had a *Kitāb fi al-ʿuqūl*, which was probably part of a *sunan* manuscript just as a similar *kitāb* was said

to form part of the manuscripts in the possession of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-musnad* II [1366/1947] 599; Bukhārī IV 289, 324).

²³⁰ See e.g. Dārimī I 381; Abū Dāʿūd II 98; *Amwāl*, pp. 358 ff. ʿUmar II wrote Sālim for more information about the dispatches of ʿUmar I and about Sālim's personal conduct (see Abū Nuʿaim II 194, V 284–86).

²³¹ See e.g. *Sīrah* I 38, 54, 698, 731 (= trans. pp. 28, 37 f., 468, 494); Ṭabarī I 1020, 1837.

²³² For ʿAmrah's biographical entries see Ibn Saʿd II 2, p. 134, and VIII 353; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 337; *Adāb al-Shāfiʿī*, p. 289, n. 3; *Jamʿ* II 610. See also Horovitz in *Islamic Culture* II 24; Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, pp. 18 f., and his translation of *Sīrah*, p. xvi.

²³³ Cf. Dārimī I 126.

²³⁴ Ibn Saʿd II 2, p. 134, and VIII 353.

must be correct. This is confirmed by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī²³⁵ and by the text of the pertinent tradition in Bāghandī's (d. 283/896) later version of the *musnad* of ʿUmar II,²³⁶ which explains further that what ʿUmar requested from Abū Bakr was a particular *ḥadīth* that ʿUmar had heard Abū Bakr relate from ʿAmrah, namely ʿĀʾishah's reference to Sūrah 6:139.²³⁷ This particular tradition comes through Usāmah ibn Zaid ibn Aslam, a client of the family of ʿUmar I, who reported it directly from Abū Bakr. It is a composite tradition with the three elements requested by ʿUmar II: a copy of the *ṣadaqah* of the Companions, a copy (list) of the *ṣadaqah* administrators with their genealogies,²³⁸ and the *ḥadīth* of ʿAmrah. The fact that the second item is not found in the earlier versions could imply that ʿUmar was asking Abū Bakr for a list of the names of those Companions who, like Abū Bakr's own grandfather, had administered the *ṣadaqah* in the new territories, usually with the aid of such *ṣadaqah* documents.

There is still another point to explain: ʿUmar's request of Abū Bakr for the *ḥadīth* of Qāsim ibn Muḥammad²³⁹ the grandson of the caliph Abū Bakr. But even this request is not difficult to fit into the picture when one recalls that Qāsim was one of the very few scholars who consistently agreed with ʿUmar I in his stand against the recording of Tradition. It would take an order from the caliph, ʿUmar II, executed by Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm as governor of Medina to persuade Qāsim to oblige by at least dictating his *ḥadīth*, which as a rule he transmitted sparingly (see p. 13). However, there seems to be no record that Abū Bakr actually approached Qāsim nor any evidence, direct or indirect, that ʿUmar II received any *ḥadīth* of Qāsim as a result of his request. Nevertheless, the request itself should not be lightly dismissed, since Qāsim was highly reputed for his knowledge of the *sunnah* and ʿUmar II held him in such esteem that, had he been free to do so, he would have nominated him as his successor to the caliphate.²⁴⁰

One more question remains: If ʿUmar's request of Abū Bakr was only one of several similar requests of others, why has his name, more than that of others, been associated with ʿUmar's project? The answer is that much of the emphasis on Abū Bakr's role is comparatively recent and largely accidental owing to lack of early sources and in part to inadequate research in such sources as have been available. Nevertheless, apart from Abū Bakr's long personal association with ʿUmar, his role does have a measure of prior claim on one's attention. For, while he and his family were not the only source of the *sunnah* materials sought by ʿUmar, Abū Bakr alone, as a member of one of the families possessing such materials, was the governor of a province, and that province was Medina itself, still basking in the proud claim of being the home of the *sunnah* and *ḥadīth* of the Prophet.

There is evidence that ʿUmar received copies of the materials he sought²⁴¹ and that his next step was to assign Zuhri the task of co-ordinating this particular *sunnah* material so that it

²³⁵ See *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 21, and *Jarḥ IV 2*, p. 337.

²³⁶ See Harley in *Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series XX 391-488 (Arabic text on pp. 415-48); for Bāghandī and the family *isnād* see pp. 408 f. *GALS I* 259 and 947 credits the son, Ibn al-Bāghandī (d. 311/923), with the work.

²³⁷ See Harley, *op. cit.* p. 441, and cf. *Tafsīr XII* 146-51.

²³⁸ The text may be corrupt. ʿUmar II also wrote Abū Bakr to send him a list of Muḥammad's servants (see Ibn Saʿd I 2, pp. 179 f.); See Ṭabarī III 1778-82, Ṣafadī, *Al-wāfi fī al-wafayāt*, ed. Hellmut Ritter (Wiesbaden, 1931) I 187 f., and Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab XVIII* (Cairo, 1374/1955) 223-35 for lists of

Muḥammad's freeborn servants and his *mawālī*. ʿUmar corresponded steadily with his governors and judges (see e.g. *Muwāḥḥ* I 243, 270, 277 f. and especially ʿUmar's entry in Ibn Saʿd V 242-302, esp. pp. 252-57, 268, 270, 277 f.). Abū Nuʿaim V 253 ff. also makes numerous references to ʿUmar's correspondence.

²³⁹ See *Jarḥ IV 2*, p. 337, where this request is linked with that for the *ḥadīth* of ʿAmrah.

²⁴⁰ Ibn Saʿd V 140; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh IV 1*, p. 157.

²⁴¹ See *Amwāl*, pp. 358-61; Abū Dāʾūd II 98 f. Copies of at least some of these manuscripts were available to others in Medina (see e.g. *Amwāl*, pp. 386 f. and 392 f.).

could be publicized in the provinces. This, rather than the tremendous task of recording all the *sunnah* and *hadīth*, must have been the commission given by ʿUmar II to Zuhri. Zuhri's parallel interests and activities, his previous service with the Umayyads, his presence at the Damascus court, and ʿUmar's personal knowledge of his dedicated competence made him the obvious choice for the task. ʿUmar, as one might expect, gave Zuhri all the official and moral support at his command in order to further all of his scholarly activities. He ranked Zuhri first among the *sunnah* and *hadīth* scholars and urged all to heed Zuhri and to aid him in the execution of his task.²⁴² That Zuhri did co-ordinate the manuscripts received by ʿUmar, having first himself checked some of the original documents, particularly those possessed by the family of ʿUmar I, which seem to receive more specific mention than do the others, is indicated by the great quantity of material in the chapters devoted to the *sunan* themes concerned as they are preserved in the standard *hadīth* collections and in Abū ʿUbad's *Kitāb al-amwāl*,²⁴³ which treats these very themes in great detail. Though Zuhri's sources for these materials were not limited to the members of the families said to possess the manuscripts sought by ʿUmar II, by far the greater part of his material does trace back to one or another of these families, particularly lengthy texts copied in their entirety (*alā al-wajh*) from those manuscripts. Without attempting to exhaust the available references, we may mention some of the members of these families from whom Zuhri transmitted such materials. He transmitted directly from Thumamah the grandson of the caliph Abū Bakr,²⁴⁴ from Sālim and ʿAbd Allāh the sons of Ibn ʿUmar,²⁴⁵ from ʿAlī ibn Ḥusain ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib,²⁴⁶ from Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm²⁴⁷ and his two sons, ʿAbd Allāh and Muḥammad.²⁴⁸ Zuhri also transmitted a great deal of such material without indicating his sources,²⁴⁹ and he had, of course, no monopoly on the use of it, not even of the manuscripts that figured so prominently in the *ṣadaqāt*, which, as pointed out above, were available to others because copies of the originals were in circulation.²⁵⁰ ʿUmar II apparently did not leave the process of editing, co-ordinating, and explaining²⁵¹ entirely to Zuhri, for there is considerable evidence of co-operation between the two,²⁵² and Zuhri was aware of the practices that led to ʿUmar's steady stream of correspondence with his governors and judges in all the provinces.²⁵³

The paper work involved in Zuhri's task and the size of the final product must have been considerable, if we judge by the amount of material available, only a small part of which is indicated in the references here given. Zuhri himself reported the completion of the task to his close associate Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm and to his pupil ʿUqail ibn Khālid,²⁵⁴ when copies of the finished product, each constituting a *daftar*, were sent to the various provinces.²⁵⁵ I have not

²⁴² See *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 18; Dhahabī I 102; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāyah wa al-nihāyah* IX 342; Ibn Khallikān I 571 (= trans. II 582).

²⁴³ *Amwāl*, pp. 349–613, esp. pp. 364, 366, 372, and 382.

²⁴⁴ Bukhārī I 368 f., II 276; Abū Dāʿūd II 96 f., No. 1567. See Nasāʾī I 336–38 and *Amwāl*, pp. 365, 371, 376, and 388, for the family manuscripts.

²⁴⁵ Bukhārī I 374, 377, 379 and II 284; Abū Dāʿūd II 98 f.; Dārimī I 382 f.; Ibn Mājah I 282 f., 284; *Amwāl*, pp. 360 f., 363, 387, 393.

²⁴⁶ *Muwattaʿ* II 519; Bukhārī II 270, 275 f. and IV 290; Abū Dāʿūd III 125, 128 f.; Dārimī II 370 f., 388; Tirmidhī VIII 257. The caliph ʿAlī and the Shīʿites in general considered Zuhri a major opponent; see e.g. Ibn Shuʿbah, *Tuḥaf al-ʿuqūl ʿan al-rasūl*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī (Tehran, 1376/1957) pp. 274–77.

²⁴⁷ Dārimī I 381, 383, 385 and II 188 f., 192 f., 194 f.

²⁴⁸ See Bukhārī I 358, 365 f., 367. See also p. 24 above.

²⁴⁹ See e.g. Dārimī II 359, 378, 386, 388, 390, 393, 395; Tirmidhī VIII 257 f.

²⁵⁰ See e.g. *Amwāl*, pp. 361, 387 f., 392 f., 408 f.

²⁵¹ See e.g. *ibid.* pp. 382, 537.

²⁵² See e.g. *ibid.* pp. 379, 384 f., 393, 355.

²⁵³ See e.g. *ibid.* pp. 347, 405, 416 f., 421, 423, 425, 476, 494, 527, 534, 537, 538.

²⁵⁴ For Saʿd and his family of scholars see pp. 180 f. and for ʿUqail see Document 6, esp. pp. 168 and 172.

²⁵⁵ *Amwāl*, pp. 578–80; *Jāmiʿ* I 76: امرنا عمر بن عبد العزيز بجمع السنن فكتبناها دفترًا دفترًا فبعث الى كل ارض له عليها سلطان دفترًا.

yet been able to discover any specific reference to the reception accorded these manuscripts in the provinces. One can speculate that they might not have been particularly welcome in ʿIrāq, which was always more or less independent in following established local practices or in initiating new ones. There certainly was some excuse for variant practices, even as early as the time of the caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar I, as a result of local administrators' efforts to interpret and execute the original instructions, which apparently were neither explicit nor inclusive enough. One suspects, from the lack of comment about their reception, that the untimely death of ʿUmar II and the indifference of his successor, Yazīd II (101–5/720–24), to administrative problems induced the administrators of the provinces to bypass the new regulations. In any case an opportunity to introduce more or less uniform practices in relation to these particular *sunan* throughout the empire was lost, and the chances for another such opportunity were slipping away rapidly. For the jurists' agreement, tacit at first, to disagree among themselves within certain orthodox limits, which had become evident before ʿUmar II's time, was sanctioned and encouraged by ʿUmar himself and by Qāsim ibn Muḥammad as a mercy from Allāh,²⁵⁶ and took firmer hold in the succeeding decades as the legal schools of Abū Ḥanīfah and Sufyān al-Thaurī in ʿIrāq, Awzāʿī in Syria, Mālik ibn Anas in the Ḥijāz, and Laith ibn Saʿd in Egypt became established. But, if the administrators bypassed the new regulations, the academic jurists and traditionists did not do so. All of Zuhri's leading pupils (see pp. 176 ff.) and their leading contemporaries were familiar with the content of the new regulations if we judge by their transmission of these Zuhri materials that appear in the standard *ḥadīth* collections.²⁵⁷ Jurists and productive scholars—beginning with those of Zuhri's own generation—studied, dissected, and analyzed Zuhri's position, accepting some of his points and rejecting others, as is well illustrated in the works of Shāfiʿī and particularly in Abū ʿUbaid's *Kitāb al-amwāl*. Almost half of the *Amwāl* is devoted to the practical and theoretical aspects of the *ṣadaqāt*, which, as we have seen (p. 30), loomed so large in the ʿUmar-Zuhri project of recording and codifying the *sunnah*.

To recapitulate, ʿUmar II issued no commission for the recording of the entire body of the *sunnah*, let alone the entire body of the *sunnah* and *ḥadīth*. On the other hand, his aim went beyond mere recording to recovering and codifying the large part of the *sunnah* that dealt with the fundamentals of much of the economic life of the people: taxes, blood money, inheritance, and especially the collection and disbursement of those peculiarly Islāmic taxes the *ṣadaqāt* and the *zakāt*. The successful completion of this project was due to the co-operation of many of his governors, judges, and tax administrators, with whom he had a great deal of correspondence, to the grandsons of the caliph Abū Bakr, ʿUmar I, Anas ibn Mālik, and ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm, who collectively provided the needed documentary materials, and to the dedicated industry and talents of Zuhri. That ʿUmar II himself did not live to see the enforcement of the resulting regulations was one of the many ironies of his life.

²⁵⁶ See Ibn Saʿd V 140; *Jāmiʿ* II 35, 78–92 (esp. pp. 78–80, where ʿUmar II's position is detailed), and 167 f. The full legalistic development of the principle, one might almost say dogma, was left for Shāfiʿī (150–204/767–820); see *Concordance* II 67 f. *خلف* and Shāfiʿī's *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth* (on margins of *Kitāb al-umm* VII) pp. 1 ff.; Goldziher, *Studien* II 37–83; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed* (Cambridge, 1932) pp. 110–13; James Robson, "The material of Tradition," *Muslim World* XLI (1951) 169 f.

Concordance I 329 *الجماعة رحمة* stresses unity: *الجماعة رحمة والفرقة عذاب*. This principle was applied also to the differences between transmission by sense and literal transmission (see *Jarḥ, Taqdīmah*, p. 253).

²⁵⁷ See e.g. Bukhārī II 270–88 (13 times), IV 282–92 (12 times) and 314–25 (6 times); Muslim XI 51–61 (5 times); Abū Dāʿūd III 121, 125, 130 (4 times); Tirmidhī VIII 240–63 (10 times); Dārimī II 348–95 (12 times).

CONTINUOUS WRITTEN TRANSMISSION

I

ZUHRĪ lived and carried on his literary activities for almost a quarter of a century after the death of ʿUmar II. Did his patron’s death alter his outlook enough to give a different bent to these activities?¹ There is reason to believe that Zuhri realized the futility of any effort to impose uniform regulations on all the provinces, particularly Medina, for he advised Yazīd II’s newly appointed governor of that province to follow the consensus of his people since “they reject everything contrary to their practice.”² Zuhri’s new patrons, first Yazīd II (101–5/720–24) and then Hishām (105–25/724–42), made special demands on his time and knowledge. Yazīd appointed him judge³ and Hishām intrusted him with the education of the princes and consulted him on legal questions and historical events.⁴ Zuhri’s versatility led others, including Khālid al-Qasrī, Hishām’s governor of ʿIrāq (106–20/724–38),⁵ to demand or request genealogical and historical works from him.⁶ On the whole, however, he seems to have been allowed to follow his own scholarly inclinations. The latter, as we have seen, included an abiding interest in the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*—an interest that was reinforced by Hishām’s marked concern for the preservation of this fundamental body of knowledge.⁷ For it is now well established that it was neither ʿAbd al-Malik nor ʿUmar II but Hishām who finally induced Zuhri to commit the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* to writing, for the benefit of the young princes and several enterprising court secretaries who made copies for themselves as well as for the enrichment of Hishām’s library.⁸ Zuhri’s accomplishment did not escape the envy nor the admiration of the scholars of his own generation, including his friend Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm (see p. 31),⁹ his fellow courtier Abū al-Zinād,¹⁰ and his fellow searcher after knowledge Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaisān, who had served for a while as tutor to the sons of ʿUmar II.¹¹ It would nevertheless be erroneous to conclude that royal pressure alone led Zuhri step by step from the dwindling number of those who were opposed to the recording of Tradition to writing rough notes which he memorized and then destroyed, to making permanent records for himself and his royal patrons, to urging his own students to record his materials,¹² and finally to encouraging the general public to acquire through both the oral and the written method an adequate knowledge of the *ḥadīth* and

¹ Horovitz in *Islamic Culture* II 38–50 gives for this period of Zuhri’s life an account that is especially useful for its reproduction of Arabic texts from the sources.

² Ṭabarī II 1452.

³ *Maʿārif*, p. 239 see also Horovitz, *op. cit.* p. 38.

⁴ See Dhahabī I 103 and references in nn. 5–6 below.

⁵ *Maʿārif*, pp. 185 and 203; *Aghānī* XIX 59.

⁶ See Vol. I 17–20, 23, 74–76 and cf. Horovitz, *op. cit.* pp. 49 f. and references there cited.

⁷ See *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 107 f. and reference there cited. Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 2, p. 195, merely lists Hishām among the traditionists, while others give him no entry at all. Hishām seems to have been especially interested in traditions bearing on the ʿAlī vs. ʿUthmān polemics; see Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I (Cairo, 1350/1931) 221.

⁸ See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 76 f.; Abū Nuʿaim III 361. See also our Vol. I 24 f. and p. 177 below. In *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 107 and the editor’s n. 224, the many references to the royal pressure exerted on Zuhri are brought together. The hasty assumption by Sprenger and Muir, followed by Guillaume (*The Traditions of Islam*, pp. 40–50) and others, that Umayyad pressure forced Zuhri to large-scale forgery of *ḥadīth* should be definitely and finally abandoned.

⁹ Dhahabī I 103 f. cites laudatory contemporary opinions of Zuhri; cf. Horovitz, *op. cit.* p. 45.

¹⁰ *Jāmiʿ* I 73, 76.

¹¹ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd II 2, p. 135; *Jāmiʿ* I 76; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 106 f.

¹² See e.g. Abū Nuʿaim III 366: حضور المجلس بلا نسخة ذل. Zuhri required his students to bring their ink-wells too (see *Adab al-ʿimlāʿ*, p. 155).

sunnah. An equally decisive factor in this progression was the growing strength, as seen above, of variant practices in the provinces, whence came, particularly from the eastern provinces, unfamiliar and, to Zuhri at least, unacceptable traditions. "Were it not for this," he is reported as saying, "I would not write Tradition nor permit its writing."¹³ Another contributory factor was Zuhri's realization that even the best memory was inadequate for the full preservation of a people's cultural and historical heritage, and the versatile Zuhri had a keen and proud sense of history. Again, Zuhri as an Arab of the Arabs,¹⁴ like many of his time, became increasingly alarmed at the growing participation of the non-Arab Muslims, particularly the Persian *mawālī* from the eastern provinces, in the cultural life of Islām. Many of the *mawālī* developed a determined avidity for the learned professions, both secular and religious, as a sort of open sesame to social recognition and a counterbalance to the racial discrimination to which they were subjected despite the theoretical equality of all Muslims.¹⁵ It is not necessary to go into the details of the early phases of the racial tension between Arab and non-Arab Muslims that presently came to be known under the name of the *shu'ūbiyah* and was incited largely by the Persians, who aimed first for equality with the Arabs but later boldly proclaimed racial and cultural superiority over their resented conquerors.¹⁶ It is enough to note that some tension existed from the beginning, that one of its earliest victims was 'Umar I, and that Mu'āwiyah at one time considered taking drastic measures against non-Arabs and even against people of mixed blood.¹⁷ Nor is it necessary to dwell on the growing list of successful *mawālī* scholars in the various provinces with whom Zuhri did not come into personal contact¹⁸ but many of whom are represented in the *isnād's* of our *ḥadīth* documents (see e.g. pp. 211, 229). Zuhri in his younger days recognized the *mawālī's* scholarly achievements and the accompanying privileges, even though the situation disturbed 'Abd al-Malik as he questioned Zuhri about the leading scholars of the day.¹⁹ Though Zuhri did transmit *ḥadīth* from such *mawālī* scholars as A'raj, Nāfi' the client of Ibn 'Umar, and Makḥūl al-Shāmī (see p. 241), he was accused of transmitting only from Arab scholars,²⁰ a charge which he answered by explaining that he did transmit from the *mawālī* but only when he could not find the materials with either the Quraish or the Anṣār.²¹ He later found himself in professional and personal rivalry with two leading Medinan scholars, Abū al-Zinād (see pp. 139, 178) and Rabī'ah al-Ra'ī (see pp. 122, 125), both of whom were *mawālī* who rose to power, the first along with Zuhri himself at the

¹³ See *Taqyīd al-ilm*, pp. 107 f. and references there cited. See p. 21 above for similar concern on the part of 'Abd al-Malik.

¹⁴ He was so conscious of being a Quraishite that he would not transmit traditions even from the Anṣār until 'Abd al-Malik pointed out his error. He then sought the Anṣār and testified to their possession of *ilm*; see 'Abd Allāh ibn Zabr al-Raba'ī (d. 379/989), *Al-muntaqā min akhbār al-Asma'ī*, ed. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī ("Publications de l'Académie arabe de Damas," No. 7 [Damascus, 1355/1936]) p. 19.

¹⁵ See e.g. Ibn Sa'd II 1, p. 103, and V 232; Dārimī II 443. For the racial origins and the legal categories of the *mawālī* of the period, see W. Montgomery Watt, "Shi'ism under the Umayyads," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1960, pp. 158-72, esp. pp. 163 f. and 172.

¹⁶ The basic study of this movement is still that of Goldziher in *Studien* I 147-76; but see also Sir Hamilton Gibb,

"The social significance of the shu'ūbiya," *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen septuagenario* (Hauniae, 1953) pp. 105-14. For a recent general account from an Arab point of view of the far-reaching influence of the movement see 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dūrī, *Al-judhūr al-ta'rīkhīyah li al-shu'ūbiyah* (Beirut, 1382/1962).

¹⁷ See e.g. *Iqd* II 270, 334.

¹⁸ See e.g. *Futūḥ al-buldān*, pp. 246 f.; *Ma'rifah*, pp. 196-202; *Manāqib*, p. 502. See also our Vol. I 28 f.

¹⁹ See *Ma'rifah*, pp. 196-202, esp. pp. 198 f., for a long list of *mawālī* and the role they played. For the relationship of Zuhri and 'Abd al-Malik see pp. 21 f. above. 'Urwah is said to have pointed out that the Israelites did not go astray until the sons of foreign captives who grew up among them expressed their own opinions (*Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 254).

²⁰ Dhahabī I 94.

²¹ Ibn Sa'd II 2, p. 135.

court of Hishām²² and the second at the court of the ‘Abbāsids.²³ The Persian and other *mawālī* who, unlike the Arabs, had as a group no inordinate pride or faith in memory, took to recording their *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* materials. They profited from the labors of the early Arab scholars and became in time the proud and almost sole possessors of unique and rare copies of the collections and works of many an Arab traditionist and scholar encountered in these pages.²⁴ Furthermore, it was largely this group that produced the leaders of the people of reasoned opinion (*ahl al-raʾy*)—witness the roles of Rabīʿah al-Raʿī and Ḥammād ibn Abī Sulaimān, the teacher of Abū Ḥanīfah²⁵—as against the supporters of Tradition (*ahl al-ḥadīth*). This situation no doubt irked Zuhri and played a part in his decision to record the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*, as a safeguard against such intellectual and literary competition. When Zuhri finally retired from the court he preferred not to settle in Medina. Taken to task for thus leaving “the scholars of Medina orphaned,” he replied that Medina and its people had changed and that the city had been spoiled for him, in particular by Abū al-Zinād and Rabīʿah.²⁶ Once convinced of the need to record the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*, Zuhri concentrated all his energies on the task and put writing and manuscripts to their fullest use (see e.g. Document 6). Though not the originator of the *ʿarḍ* method of transmission, whereby the student read back his manuscript (written from dictation or copied from an authenticated manuscript) to the teacher, nor the *mukātabah* method, whereby manuscripts were received by correspondence, nor the *munāwalah* method, whereby manuscripts exchanged hands with no accompanying oral reading, nor the *ijāzah* method, whereby the teacher certified that a given student was permitted to transmit the teacher’s materials (usually specified) regardless of the methods by means of which the student acquired copies of them, Zuhri adopted all these practices without reservation. Yet he seems to have dispensed with some form of oral transmission only after a scholar or student had demonstrated his competence and trustworthiness. Despite some criticism²⁷ from the conservatives, Zuhri and his pupils established these practices so firmly that they became known as “people with books” (*aṣḥāb al-kutub*).²⁸ Very soon thereafter those who insisted on the priority of oral transmission became such a small minority that by the third decade of the second century, which saw the transition from the Umayyad to the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate, the Zuhri period came to be generally recognized as the age of the manuscript in all branches of the religious and related sciences.²⁹ Confirmation of this development is repeatedly evidenced by the practices of the great majority of the leading scholars, representing most of the provinces, whose names appear in the *isnād*’s of our papyri. Adequately represented are most of the best known men such as Anas ibn Mālik, Abū Hurairah, and Ibn ‘Abbās as well

²² See e.g. *Aghānī* VI 106.

²³ *Jāmiʿ* II 144 f.

²⁴ See e.g. *Maʿārifah*, pp. 164 f., for a list of early Arab scholars whose works were mostly in the possession of Persians.

²⁵ Khaṭīb XIII 323 f.; *Maʿārif*, p. 240; Abū Yūsuf, *Kūtab al-athār*, ed. Abū al-Wafāʾ al-Afghānī (Haidarābād, 1355/1936) p. 3 of Intro. and references there cited. Ḥammād did not hesitate to belittle the scholars of the Ḥijāz (*Jāmiʿ* II 152 f.) any more than Zuhri hesitated to belittle those of ʿIrāq (cf. p. 140 below). See *Maʿārif*, pp. 248–51, and *Jāmiʿ* II 133–50 for the people of reasoned opinion and the role of opinion in law. Zuhri himself permitted limited use of opinion (see e.g. *Jāmiʿ* II 10 f.). Racial rivalry expressed in verse at Hishām’s court led Hishām to exile the offending poet (*Aghānī* IV 125).

²⁶ *Jāmiʿ* II 152 f., 200. Resentment of the *mawālī*’s invasion of the learned professions persisted well into ‘Abbāsīd times, and instances of it are known from the reigns of Maṣṣūr, Maḥdī, and Hārūn al-Rashīd (see e.g. *ʿIqd* II 90 ff.). *Jāmiʿ* I 161 and Abū Nuʿaim VI 369 report Sufyān al-Thaurī’s strong aversion to the entry of non-Arabs and the lower classes into the learned fields. Awzāʿī’s often quoted regrets that writing had replaced oral transmission must not be divorced from the rest of his statement, namely that writing made *ḥadīth* available to those who would be apt to misuse it (see e.g. Ibn Saʿd II 2, p. 135; Dārimī I 121; *Taqyīd al-silm*, p. 64; *Jāmiʿ* I 68).

²⁷ See e.g. Dhahabī I 104.

²⁸ See Document 6 (esp. pp. 181, 182, 184) and Ibn ʿAsākir VI 379.

²⁹ Dhahabī I 149–51.

as the many prominent transmitters from Ibn ʿUmar and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and others among Zuhri's teachers such as Makḥūl al-Shāmī and Aʿraj along with their contemporaries such as Abū Qilābah of Document 10. There are also Zuhri's own contemporaries such as Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī of Document 7 and Abū al-Zinād. Finally, dozens of the less famous scholars and many more comparatively obscure men appear in the thousand or so links of the *isnād*'s of our thirteen *ḥadīth* papyri and the *isnād*'s of parallel traditions.

Three inescapable conclusions result from the study of these practices. The first is that the family *isnād* emerged earlier and persisted on a much larger scale than has hitherto been recognized (see pp. 17, 28–29). The “family” in this connection includes both blood members and intimate *mawālī* such as Nāfiʿ the client of Ibn ʿUmar and Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn the client of Anas ibn Mālik. Family *isnād*'s that start with famous Companions and continue for three generations, usually with the formula “so-and-so on the authority of his father on the authority of his grandfather,” are most frequent.³⁰ Sometimes a family *isnād* skipped a generation, when an older traditionist found a grandson eager to follow in his footsteps or crossed over to a collateral branch when a nephew proved to be an apt pupil. Such relationships are usually indicated in the *isnād*. But with clients the relationship, as a rule, has to be discovered independently of the wording of the *isnād* itself. A number of family *isnād*'s that traced back to prominent Companions such as Anas ibn Mālik, Zaid ibn Thābit, Ibn ʿUmar, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, Ibn ʿAbbās, and ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair very early became greatly respected and remained so through the centuries in the Muslim world, where traditions with authentic and reliable family *isnād*'s came to be listed among the five most acceptable categories.³¹ However, the family *isnād* as such has come under suspicion as a result of Western scholarship. Some suspicion may be justifiable in specific instances, but to cast suspicion on a large part of the materials transmitted through such *isnād*'s seems unwarranted. The comparatively large number of traditions transmitted through these families should not be dissociated from the fact that written transmission (see below) was advocated from the start by all of the above-mentioned Companions except Zaid ibn Thābit and Ibn ʿUmar, and even these two lived to see their sons and clients take to recording Tradition, including the materials they had at first received orally from them. And it is not surprising to find that, though some half-dozen of Ibn ʿUmar's sons were respected traditionists, his clients, especially Nāfiʿ and Sālim, were actually more devoted to the profession. Thus they and a few others, such as ʿIkrimah the client of Ibn ʿAbbās, were setting the pattern whereby the *mawālī* could climb the ladder of learning toward economic and social equality with the Arabs, particularly in the emerging religious disciplines (see pp. 16 and 34). Viewed against this background the doubts that Schacht,³² among a few others, has cast on the institution of the family *isnād* in general and on *isnād*'s in which Nāfiʿ and Sālim are central figures in particular do not seem as categorically justifiable as he seeks to make them. Family *isnād*'s stemming from other Companions were numerous, as illustrated by the dozen or more encountered in our few fragmentary papyri.³³ They meet the eye frequently in the voluminous works of Ibn Saʿd and Bukhārī and subsequent biographical literature and appear again and again in the standard *ḥadīth* collections.

The second inescapable conclusion is that there was early and direct relationship between

³⁰ See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* II 178, 185, 195–97 and references in n. 31 below.

³¹ See *Madkhal*, pp. 17–20 (= trans. pp. 20–22), where other family *isnād*'s are added. See also *Tadrib*, pp. 220–23.

³² See e.g. “A Revaluation of Islamic Tradition,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1949, pp. 143–54, esp. p. 147, and *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1950) pp. 170, 176–78.

³³ See e.g. pp. 116, 164, 180f., 182, 207, 218.

the family *isnād* and continuous written transmission of *ḥadīth* through several generations. Keeping an eye on the transmitting families that most frequently came to my attention, I discovered first that the over-all success of such families, as measured by the number of successive generations of transmitters and as roughly gauged by the relative volume of the materials they transmitted, depended on whether or not they were *ḥadīth*-writing families that preserved their manuscripts and passed them from one generation to the next. It is no accident that the families of Anas ibn Mālik and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ practically head the list, though exact ranking is difficult. Anas' family had several direct and collateral generations of writers who cherished the documents that had been received by Anas, at least one of which was in the possession of his grandson Thumāmah (see p. 29) when ʿUmar II was seeking original documents preliminary to the codifying of the *sunnah* by Zuhri. There was also Anas' *ḥadīth* as he himself wrote it, and he encouraged his family to write down *ḥadīth* also.³⁴ Again, the sources are unanimously emphatic that ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (see p. 28) from the start recorded *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*. His family *isnād* covered four generations of writers,³⁵ and there is some evidence of manuscripts being found (*wijādah*) after the death of the author, beginning with ʿAbd Allāh's original *ṣaḥīfah*, which was among the family possessions and copies of which were sent to ʿUmar II for Zuhri's use. The illiterate Abū Hurairah established no genuine family *isnād*, but several of his immediate transmitters who recorded his *ḥadīth* did so. Among these is Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, whose family *isnād* extended to his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to the latter's son ʿUmar (see pp. 19–20). The *isnād* of the family of ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit al-Anṣārī represents three generations of writers (see pp. 187 f.).

As we move into the second generation of Muslims, both Arabs and *mawālī*, we find an even greater number of traditionists who established the first link of family *isnād*'s that usually continued for three generations. So far as I have been able to discover, the sources are sometimes silent on some of these family *isnād*'s, but those that were better known and most frequently used seem to represent almost without exception literate families. Attention is here drawn to instances that I encountered in the course of editing our documents, such as the families of Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm,³⁶ Ṭāʿūs ibn Kaisān the Yemenite commentator and traditionist,³⁷ Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj, Abū ʿAqīl Zuhrah ibn Maʿbad (see pp. 201 f., 207), and Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl (see p. 159). Family *isnād*'s of several generations of literate traditionists imply continuous written transmission, an implication that is reinforced by the large number of traditions accredited to the members of such families and by the appearance of clusters of such traditions in the standard collections. These traditions are best illustrated in the *musnad*'s of the founders of such family *isnād*'s as are recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal, who himself was grateful that his predecessors had recorded Tradition. He wrote down all his materials, which as a rule he transmitted only from his manuscripts. He urged his sons and pupils, to whom he left his manuscripts, to follow the same practices and thus established a family *isnād* of three very active generations of traditionists.³⁸ Ibn Ḥanbal knew whereof he spoke when he described his own *Musnad* as "the exemplar" (*al-imām*) for the guidance of future generations. Though what he had in mind was only the substance of *isnād* and *matn*, Ibn Ḥanbal actually "built better than he knew" because of the wealth of information, both implicit and explicit, that he scat-

³⁴ See e.g. Vol. I 48 and p. 249 below.

³⁵ See e.g. Ṭayālisī, pp. 287 f.; Tirmidhī III 137. See also *Jāmiʿ* I 70 f., 76; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 74 ff.

³⁶ See pp. 180 f. and cf. Tirmidhī IV 39.

³⁷ See ʿUmar ibn ʿAlī al-Jaʿdī, *Ṭabaqāt fuqahāʾ al-Yaman*, p. 56. See Bukhārī, *Tārīkh* III 1, pp. 123 f., for the son of Ṭāʿūs.

³⁸ His methods were followed by later Ḥanbalites as well (see e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 75; *Adab al-ʿimlāʾ*, pp. 47 and 167; Abū Nuʿaim IX 164 f.).

tered through his *Musnad* about the methods of transmission of individual and family-group traditionists. For many of the families listed above there is the added evidence of father dictating to son and of family manuscripts exchanging hands or being willed to some member of the family (*waṣīyah*) or just being found (*wijādah*) in the effects of the author soon after his death or among the family possessions at some later time.³⁹

However, the literate families of several generations had no monopoly on continuous written transmission. Zuhri, for example, established only a short family *isnād* through his nephew, but his non-family transmitters established in turn their own family *isnād*'s and thus preserved in writing the great bulk of the master's original materials. The literary activities of Zuhri's leading pupils are fully detailed in the discussion of Document 6 and elsewhere in these pages to illustrate the point under discussion and need not detain us here. Attention should be drawn, however, to the fact that what Zuhri and his immediate group were doing in the way of continuous written transmission was, except for the amount of material involved, no different from what many of their contemporaries were doing. Good examples of such continuous written transmission are that from Abū Hurairah to A'raj and from the latter to Zuhri, Abū al-Zinād, and Mālik ibn Anas⁴⁰ and that from Zuhri to Ma'amar ibn Rāshid to 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām and from 'Abd al-Razzāq to Sufyān ibn 'Uyainah, Ibn Ḥanbal, Bukhārī, and others (see e.g. pp. 43 f., 180). Family *isnād*'s continued to be established in the post-Zuhri period, when written transmission may be taken for granted. For thereafter controversy centered around the methods of written transmission (see p. 35)—*mukātabah*, *munāwalah*, *ijāzah*, and *wijādah*, the last two having yet to be accepted.

Widespread and acceptable as the family *isnād* and written transmission had become, individual family *isnād*'s were scrutinized by second- and third-century critics who acted on the principle that an *isnād* was no stronger than its weakest link and accordingly disregarded a family *isnād* once they were convinced that it contained a weak link, as is illustrated in the case of the family *isnād* of Rishdīn ibn Sa'd of Document 8, which was characterized as the worst *isnād* to come out of Egypt (see pp. 201, 206 f.). The family *isnād* of Ibn Ishāq was severely criticized by some,⁴¹ and in Zuhri's own case his nephew and his clients hover dimly in the background while his leading pupils loom large in any sizable individual *musnad* or standard collection of *ḥadīth*, as demonstrated in Document 6 (see esp. pp. 176 ff.). The *ḥadīth* critic 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī (see p. 80) listed some very prominent men, beginning with the Companions, whose traditions, though not to be rejected completely, were not to be used as conclusive evidence. Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī picked up the idea and listed the sons and grandsons of several prominent traditionists of the first and second generations to whom he applied this reservation not because they were untrustworthy but because they were too preoccupied with affairs other than *ḥadīth*.⁴² Instances of continuous written transmission through several generations of scholars, with or without the benefit of a family *isnād*, occur repeatedly in all of our thirteen *ḥadīth* documents.⁴³ Pride in the profession of one's family was encouraged in all fields of scholarship.⁴⁴ Families which aspired to successive generations of traditionists or other professional scholars had first to win their reputation and thereafter beware of resting on their

³⁹ See e.g. references cited in nn. 36–37 and cross-references given above for these families.

⁴⁰ See pp. 124 f., 139 f., 178. Several of our papyri illustrate non-family continuous written transmission from Laith ibn Sa'd (see pp. 172 f., 176 f., 235).

⁴¹ Dhahabī I 163.

⁴² *Ma'rifah*, pp. 254–56.

⁴³ See e.g. pp. 137, 155–57, 164 (example of a woman traditionist who used her father's manuscripts), 197 f., 236, 244 f., 256, 268, 276 f.

⁴⁴ See e.g. *Ma'ārif*, pp. 287 f.

laurels. Inclination and sustained effort usually gave out by the third or fourth generation, by which time the original family manuscripts very likely would be worn out or subject to neglect and possible destruction.

The development of the family *isnād* and continuous written transmission lead to the third inescapable conclusion (see pp. 36 f.), namely that the bulk of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* as they had developed by about the end of the first century was already written down by someone somewhere, even though comparatively small numbers of memorized traditions were being recited orally. The writing was done on various scales and in various forms. There were at first the sheets, pamphlets, rolls, and books of the pious traditionist, which had little or no intended organization. Very soon, however, the *musnad* of an individual traditionist took form against a background of collections that were heterogenous as to both content and source. A third form, parallel to the *musnad*'s, was the *ḥadīth mubawwab* or the *ḥadīth muṣannaf*, which developed largely as a result of the activities and needs of the early Qur'ānic commentators, jurists, and historians, who depended so heavily on *ḥadīth* that not only the *fiqh* but the *tafsīr*, the *ta'rīkh*, and particularly the *maghāzī* can be described as the fruits of Tradition (see pp. 2 f., 11 f., 16 f.), as is so well illustrated by the activities of Zuhri himself as traditionist, jurist, and historian. The next step—the forming of a collection of individual *musnad*'s or the sorting and reorganizing of the contents according to an individual scholar's purpose and needs—was taken by the post-Zuhri scholars of the second century: commentators such as Muqātil ibn Sulaimān of Document 1, historians such as Ibn Ishāq, and jurists such as Abū Ḥanīfah and Sufyān al-Thaurī in 'Irāq, Awzā'ī in Syria, Mālik ibn Anas in Medina, and Laith ibn Sa'd in Egypt, who represented local practices and founded their own schools. All of these scholars and many others have repeatedly come to my attention in the texts and *isnād*'s of our documents or in the research that they entailed. The contributions of the succeeding generations of traditionists and jurists—beginning with Ṭayālisī, Shāfi'ī, and Ibn Ḥanbal, who were followed by Muslim, Bukhārī, and their contemporaries and successors who have left us the familiar standard collections of *ḥadīth*—consisted not so much of discovery and first recording as of elimination and reorganization. Ibn Ḥanbal's voluminous *Musnad* was the *imām* (see p. 37) not for the discovery of new materials but for the recovery of old materials of varying degrees of acceptability, all of which he brought together for ready availability and reference. He was hampered not by lack of materials but by an overabundance which involved the arduous task of accepting and rejecting and of determining priority. His younger contemporaries Muslim and Bukhārī, faced with the same problems, narrowed the choices further, each according to his own set of rules as to what was adequately representative of sound Tradition as against an exhaustive collection. Their *Ṣaḥīḥain* therefore had much in common yet left opportunities for their successors to make in part duplicate and in part new collections.

The fact that parallel oral and written transmission continued to be demanded and practiced by some scholars should not be construed to mean that the content of the great body of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* was still generally fluid. Parallel oral and written transmission served, as checks one upon the other, to fix the meaning as against the literal wording (*ma'nā* vs. *ḥarf*) of a given tradition, and both served as checks on deliberate, meaningful, and purposeful interpolations or forgeries of content. No theologian or scholar of the crucial second century was blind to the fact that in the fields of politics, new dogma, eschatology, and hell-fire preaching there was still room for such interpolations and forgeries. This awareness and the counter-activities of opposed groups made it extremely difficult for forged content, apart from forged *isnād*'s, to win general acceptance. On the other hand, once a forged tradition did for one

reason or another gain acceptance, it was absorbed into the main body of Tradition, though it was never to be quite free of suspicion, as the subsequent literature in the fields of *ḥadīth* criticism and history of dogma shows. The early fixity of the content of Tradition which culminated in Zuhri's literary activities was essential to and largely responsible for this later development. So convinced am I of the basic role of recorded Tradition in the age of Zuhri and continuously thereafter—as detailed elsewhere in the present study for the schools of Ibn Ishāq, Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik ibn Anas, Laith ibn Saʿd, and others among their contemporaries—that it seems superfluous to follow in detail the recording activities of the major traditionists from Ibn Ḥanbal (see pp. 37, 39) to Nasāʾī (d. 303/915), by whose time the existence of permanent records cannot be questioned. Furthermore, M. Fuad Sezgin of Ankara University has published a painstaking and effective piece of research on Bukhārī's written sources.⁴⁵ On the other hand, all supplementary evidence of the great quantity and widespread use of manuscripts during the period ending with Zuhri still needs to be noted and analyzed.

II

The institution of the journey in search of knowledge, the *riḥlah*, paradoxical as it may sound, actually contributed to the recording of Tradition. The *riḥlah* receives considerable attention in the sources⁴⁶ as well as at the hands of modern scholars.⁴⁷ Yet, overstress of its later development and neglect of practices closely associated with it from the start have served to distort its role in the recording of *ḥadīth*. Modern, particularly Western, accounts of this institution dwell more on its *floruit*, from about the middle of the second century until the end of the fourth, than on its origin and earlier development. These accounts and earlier studies all but axiomatically equate the *riḥlah* with oral transmission. It is not necessary for our present purpose to retrace in full the history of this institution, for famous journeys of the second and third centuries that hold clues to the identification and transportation of a number of our papyri are mentioned in connection with the documents concerned (see e.g. pp. 143 f., 163 f.). It is necessary, however, to focus attention on the hitherto neglected factors that clarify the role of the *riḥlah* in the recording of *ḥadīth*. The first of these factors is the pre-Islāmic origin of the *riḥlah*. At least half a dozen individuals in the *ḥanīf* group are said to have "roamed the earth in search of knowledge among the 'people of the Book' and other religious denominations."⁴⁸ Some combined business with their search. However, the classic stories of Salmān al-Fārisī's extensive journeys in search of the right faith and Muḥammad's own journeys in search of such knowledge, even though we concede the probability that they were touched up later, do nevertheless reflect a practice rooted in the cultural and spiritual stirring among the Arabs on the eve of Islām. Muḥammad not only encouraged the search for knowledge but practically instituted the *riḥlah* in Sūrah 9:122, which urges representatives from each community to go forth in search of religious knowledge and to return and teach their respective communities what they had learned.⁴⁹ This, it should be noted, is in fact a description of what happened when representatives of the various tribes came to Muḥammad, learned from him,

⁴⁵ *Buhārī'nin*.

⁴⁶ The chapters devoted to *ʿilm* in the standard *ḥadīth* collections usually have a section on the *riḥlah*. See also *Concordance* II 506 خرج, ذهب, رحل, سلك and IV 8-11, طلب العلم; Ibn Qutaibah, *Taʿwīl mushkil al-Qurʿān*, p. 88; *Jāmiʿ* I 32-39, 92-95; *Madkhal*, p. 42; *Maʿrifah*, pp. 7-9 and 27.

⁴⁷ Goldziher, *Studien* II 175-78; Robson, "Tradition: investigation and classification," *Muslim World* XLI 99 f., 104.

⁴⁸ *Nubalāʾ* I 86: فخرجوا يطلبون ويسرون في الارض ياتمسون اهل الكتاب من اليهود والنصارى والممل كلها يطلبون الحنفية.

⁴⁹ *Maʿrifah*, pp. 7 f. and 27.

and returned to teach their respective peoples. And even at this early stage some of these travelers wrote down what Muḥammad had taught them, the *ḥadīth al-nabī*.⁵⁰ To acquire some of the *‘ilm* or opinion of ‘Umar I was the purpose of the *riḥlah* of many of the Companions, within and without Arabia; and, though ‘Umar was extremely cautious with *ḥadīth al-nabī*, he related his own experience and expressed his own opinion to the point of laying down the law. Older Companions such as ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib, Ibn ‘Abbās, Mu‘ādh ibn Jabal, and Abū al-Dardā’ were likewise sought out for their knowledge.⁵¹ The Anṣār, both those remaining in Medina and those who settled in the provinces, very early were visited by scholars who were eager to transmit from them directly.⁵² Some of the younger Companions undertook journeys or were themselves sought out. Ibn ‘Umar traced in person Muḥammad’s movements in order to gather all available information concerning the events of Muḥammad’s life that were associated with various localities.⁵³ Masrūq ibn al-Ajda‘, freedman of ‘Ā’ishah, traveled back and forth among the provinces in search of knowledge.⁵⁴ Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyib, Zuhri’s revered teacher, reports that he traveled nights and days in search of a single tradition.⁵⁵ Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh traveled for a month, likewise in search of a single tradition.⁵⁶ Curious or serious Baṣrans were on the move in search of knowledge almost from the time their city was founded, as the case of Ṣabīgh ibn ‘Isl clearly shows (see pp. 107–9). Other Baṣrans journeyed to Mecca to hear ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ.⁵⁷ Abū al-‘Āliyah speaks of Baṣrans who, not content with the versions of *ḥadīth* heard from the Companions who had settled in Baṣrah, journeyed to Medina to hear the same traditions.⁵⁸ A‘raj, Qur’ān copyist and famed teacher of most *ḥadīth*-writers from the time of Zuhri to that of Mālik ibn Anas, traveled from Medina to Syria to Egypt. He settled finally, in his old age, in Alexandria. Wherever he went his materials were written down through one method or another (see pp. 124, 139). In the case of ‘Ikrimah, client of Ibn ‘Abbās, whose *riḥlah* was undertaken for the purpose of spreading rather than acquiring knowledge, we find that younger scholars such as Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī were willing to trail him from province to province.⁵⁹ Makḥūl al-Shāmī describes his *riḥlah* as covering the whole earth.⁶⁰ Zuhri’s repeated trips to Medina and neighboring towns were also made in search of knowledge, as was the *riḥlah* of Ibn Ishāq to Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb in Egypt in the year 115/733 (see p. 218). The list can readily be increased by anyone who cares to go through the references already cited and follow the activities of the Khawārij, among whose journeys the *riḥlah* of the poet-traditionist ‘Imrān ibn Ḥiṭṭān (d. 84/703)⁶¹ is about as well known as those of ‘Ikrimah and Makḥūl.

The *riḥlah* was at first a more or less personal affair, with one scholar seeking another usually for a specific piece of information, but by the end of the first century a second practice evolved, whereby the traveling scholars were sought by or presented to the learned community in the cities which they visited. ‘Umar II presented Abū Qilābah,⁶² who was himself seeking knowl-

⁵⁰ See e.g. *Tagyīd al-‘ilm*, pp. 64 f.

⁵¹ See e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal V 196; Abū Dā’ūd III 317; Tirmidhī X 154 f. Cf. *Jāmi‘* I 32–38, 94; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 306.

⁵² Muslim XVIII 134; Dārimī I 135–39; *Jāmi‘* I 32–38, 92–95. See also pp. 188 and 259 below.

⁵³ Khaṭīb I 171 f. See *Sīrah* I 564 for an instance of such a search in Mu‘āwiyah’s time.

⁵⁴ *Jāmi‘* I 94; Abū Nu‘aim II 95; Dhahabī I 46 f. See also p. 11 above.

⁵⁵ *Jāmi‘* I 94; *Ma‘rifah*, pp. 5–8.

⁵⁶ Dhahabī I 408; Bukhārī I 31; *Jāmi‘* I 93.

⁵⁷ See e.g. Ibn Sa‘d IV 2, p. 12.

⁵⁸ Ibn Sa‘d VII 1, p. 84. Cf. Abū Nu‘aim II 217–24 and Nawawī, pp. 738 f.

⁵⁹ Ibn Sa‘d V 213.

⁶⁰ *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 407; Nawawī, pp. 283 f. See also p. 241 below.

⁶¹ See e.g. Ibn Sa‘d VII 1, p. 113; Bukhārī, *Ta’rīkh* III 2, p. 413; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 296; *Jam‘* I 389; *Mizān* II 276. See also our Vol. I 20, n. 3. See p. 18, n. 130, above for Shi‘ite traditionists.

⁶² See Ibn Sa‘d VII 1, pp. 134 f., and p. 230 below.

edge and who usually wrote down his traditions. The Syrian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿĀidh visited ʿIrāq during Hishām’s reign, when both Baṣrans and Kūfans wrote down his *ḥadīth*.⁶³ The prevalence and general acceptance of the *riḥlah* by the close of the first century is reflected in several statements of Shaʿbī, who was himself a veteran traveler.⁶⁴ While relating a tradition in ʿIrāq on the authority of Abū Burdah on the authority of Muḥammad, he pointed out his own generosity in giving the tradition freely when a man had traveled to Medina in search of a less important tradition.⁶⁵ Again, he is reported as saying that a journey from northern Syria to the southern Yemen in search of a word of wisdom was not a lost effort.⁶⁶ These limits represented the extent of the empire from north to south at the time that it extended also from North Africa to China. The famous tradition, attributed to Muḥammad, to “seek knowledge even into China” may well have originated in the same period.⁶⁷

It has been pointed out that the institution of the *riḥlah* played a significant role in unifying Islāmic culture,⁶⁸ though the third and fourth centuries have been stressed more than the second century, let alone the first. Actually, this significant role began with Muḥammad, and part of its effectiveness was due to the fact that traveling scholars usually wrote down for safekeeping and future reference that which they sought while at the same time their hosts wrote down, likewise for safekeeping and future reference, such knowledge as the visitors could impart. Oral transmission may have sufficed for a person-to-person exchange of a specific item or a small number of traditions, but oral transmission alone would have defeated the very purpose of a scholar who sought a large body of traditions—whether it was the *musnad* of a given Companion or a comprehensive collection of traditions bearing on one theme or a group of related themes—to transmit or to recast as his own collection. These aspects of the *riḥlah* were already evident in the last half of the first century and accelerated rapidly during the first half of the second century. We do not, of course, have to depend on deductive reasoning alone for this conclusion because various tangible illustrations confirm it. The transporting of manuscripts in quantities large enough to require containers began at least as early as the time of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, when there was brought to him a sackful of Jewish manuscripts for his inspection.⁶⁹ Ḥaḥṣah’s copy of the Qurʾān, called simply a *ṣaḥīfah*, was returned to her by Ibn ʿUmar in a *ḥuzmah*.⁷⁰ Abū al-Yasar Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr carried his manuscripts (*ṣuḥuf*) in a *ḍimmāmah* (see p. 188). Abū Hurairah may not literally have kept his manuscripts in a sack (*kīs*), but when chided about the proverbial *kīs Abī Hurairah*⁷¹ he retorted that he had enough materials to fill five bags.⁷² His boast seems justifiable, even allowing for some exaggeration, when one considers the size of his surviving *musnad*.⁷³ Manuscript copies of sizable portions of

⁶³ Ibn Ḥibbān (1959) p. 113, No. 867; Bukhārī, *Tārīkh* III 1, pp. 324 f.

⁶⁴ Dhahabī I 76.

⁶⁵ Bukhārī II 250. See also Abū Nuʿaim II 95, where Shaʿbī cites Masrūq’s *riḥlah* from ʿIrāq to Syria.

⁶⁶ *Jāmiʿ* I 95; Abū Nuʿaim IV 313.

⁶⁷ The tradition is suspect and is not indexed in the *Concordance* under either *طلب* or *علم*.

⁶⁸ See e.g. Goldziher, *Studien* II 178.

⁶⁹ Abū Nuʿaim V 135 f.; *Ṭaḥṣīḥ al-ʿilm*, pp. 51 f.

⁷⁰ Abū Nuʿaim II 51. See Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī bī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ . . . al-Bukhārī* IX (Cairo, 1325/1907) 9–19 for the history and date of the manuscript.

⁷¹ *Jāmiʿ* II 58 explains that when Abū Hurairah expressed his own opinion in answer to questions he would add “this is from my *kīs*,” using the term figuratively for his store of knowledge other than the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad. The figure of speech boomeranged when some of his contemporaries gave it a different twist, whether deliberately or not is hard to tell. See also Goldziher, “Neue Materialien zur Literatur des Ueberlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern,” *ZDMG* L (1896) 488, 506.

⁷² Abū Nuʿaim I 381.

⁷³ Ibn Ḥanbal II 228–541, which represents about one-twelfth of Abū Hurairah’s vast collection. This ratio of survival seems to be sustained in later comprehensive collections such as the *Musnad* of Yaʿqūb ibn Shaibah; see Dhahabī II 141 and Yaʿqūb ibn Shaibah, *Musnad . . . ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, ed. Sāmī Haddād (Beirut, 1359/1940) pp. 12–19, esp. p. 14.

Abū Hurairah's traditions turned up in the possession of the family of Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn in ʿIrāq (see p. 87), while Maʿmar ibn Rāshid's copy of Hammām ibn Munabbih's transmission from Abū Hurairah traveled with him to the Yemen.⁷⁴ When Abū Qilābah left ʿIrāq to settle in Syria he took his manuscripts with him, and after his death a saddlebag was required to transport those willed to Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī back to ʿIrāq (see p. 231), perhaps in the company of another traveling scholar. We have seen (p. 13) that the Tunisian Khālid ibn Abī ʿImrān (see p. 214) induced conservative Medinan scholars who were opposed to written Tradition to dictate *ḥadīth* to him, and he took his manuscript back with him to North Africa. It will be seen in the discussion of Document 1 that Muqātil ibn Sulaimān al-Balkhī and several of his younger contemporaries wrote down their materials and took their manuscripts with them on their travels and that some early *tafsīr* manuscripts found their way to Spain (see pp. 102 f.).⁷⁵ This activity took place in pre-Zuhrī and Zuhrī times. Thereafter, with the *riḥlah* fast becoming a *sine qua non* for all professional traditionists, references to manuscripts that were copied during a journey and taken back on the return trip were even more numerous, and rarely did a ranking scholar return from an extensive *riḥlah* without manuscripts to show for it. The activities of the Baṣran Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār (d. 167/784) were considered typical for first-class scholars. The *ḥadīth* critic Ibn Ḥibbān describes them in this significant order: "He was among those who traveled and wrote and collected and composed and memorized and discoursed."⁷⁶ When a traveler lost his manuscripts at sea, or in any one of several other ways, his reliability was questioned.⁷⁷ The research entailed by our papyri revealed many instances of the association of the *riḥlah* with the accumulation of manuscripts. These involve leading traveling scholars from all the provinces and from the time immediately following Zuhrī to that of Bukhārī and later.⁷⁸ As in earlier times, a visiting scholar of repute was called upon to hold private or public sessions and to dictate his materials. For an Ibn Ḥanbal returning with a sackful of manuscripts from his visit to ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām in the Yemen,⁷⁹ we have an Ibn Lahīʿah with his satchel for manuscripts hung around his neck seeking out visiting scholars and writing down their materials (see p. 219). As the age of the manuscript and the institution of the *riḥlah* became firmly established, traveling scholars found it practical to use small scripts in order to reduce the bulk of their manuscripts (see pp. 89, 234). Even the names of the containers used to transport or store the accumulated manuscripts at this time reflect the wide geographical extent and the colorful linguistic variations of the early ʿAbbāsīd Empire.⁸⁰

A factor indicating that sizable manuscripts were being produced was the development of the practice of making complete (*ʿalā al-wajh*) copies of a given scholar's collection as against

⁷⁴ For the *ṣahīfah* or *musnad* of Hammām see *Buhārī*, pp. 30 and 67.

⁷⁵ For other early travelers to and from Spain see e.g. p. 47, n. 122, below; Dhahabī II 107; Abū al-ʿArab ibn Tamīm al-Tammāmī, *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīqiyah*, ed. Mohammed ben Cheneb (Publications de la Faculté des lettres d'Alger, "Bulletin de correspondance africaine" LI-LII [Paris, 1915-20]) I 34.

⁷⁶ Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, I (Cairo, 1371/1952) 114-17, esp. p. 114: كان ممن رحل. وكتب وجمع وصف وحفظ وذاكر for Ḥammād.

⁷⁷ *Madkhal*, pp. 42-44 (= trans. pp. 41-43). See also p. 56 below.

⁷⁸ The list reads like a Who's Who of early Muslim scholars (see e.g. pp. 98 f., 142 f., 161, 163, 173, 176 f., 179). See Abū Nuʿaim VI 374, 377 f. and VII 4, 21, 25, 46 f., 80 for the travels of Sufyān al-Thaurī.

⁷⁹ See *Manāqib*, pp. 28 f., and p. 180 below.

⁸⁰ The more than two dozen container terms that I encountered, some with their plurals, are here listed in alphabetical order: إضبارة تابوت تليس جراب جوالق حب حقيبة حزمة خرج خريطة دستجة رزمة زبل سفت صندوق صفن صنارة ضمامة طبق عدل قفه قطيفة قمطر قوصرة كيس مدارة نمط.

the practices of writing down sections or writing down only a few traditions from it. All three practices were current by Zuhri's day, but it was Zuhri himself, with his avowed policy of recording everything within sight and hearing, who placed the making of complete copies on an equal footing with the other practices in so far as professional traditionists and jurists were concerned. The earliest production of sizable manuscripts representing a single source would have been by the family-*isnād* group of *ḥadīth*-writers discussed above (pp. 36–39). There are some indications that others besides family members produced sizable unit collections of *ḥadīth* and *akhbār* from one or more of these writers. These collections include such episodes as the assassination of ʿUmar I from the account of ʿAmr ibn Maimūn al-Awdī (d. 74/693)⁸¹ and the story of the *miʿrāj* from the account of Anas ibn Mālik.⁸² Abū Qilābah's manuscript collection would seem to have contained copies of the manuscripts of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (see p. 230). A number of Zuhri's teachers and some of their contemporaries wrote down large collections from a single source, for example Nāfiʿ on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar, Aʿraj on the authority of Abū Hurairah, and Hammām ibn Munabbih on the authority of Abū Hurairah. These collections kept their identity as units until the time of Khaṭīb.⁸³ Hishām ibn Yūsuf (d. 197/813) wrote down *ʿalā al-wajh* the traditions of Ibn Juraij of Mecca (d. 150/767) and Maʿmar ibn Rāshid (d. 154/771) and then loaned his manuscripts to Muṭarrif ibn Māzin.⁸⁴ Others of the same period, such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī⁸⁵ and Ḥakam ibn ʿUtaibah,⁸⁶ wrote down sizable collections, but from varied oral and written sources, that kept their identity as units⁸⁷ at least as long as the above-mentioned collections of Nāfiʿ etc., for copies of some of these works were to be found in Khaṭīb's library.⁸⁸ Zuhri's activities and those of his pupils during and after the reign of Hishām are fully detailed in the discussion of Document 6 as are those of his contemporary Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī in the discussion of Document 7. But for the unfortunate fate which befell Zuhri's library at the hands of the vengeful, sacrilegious, and shortsighted Walīd II, there would have been more references to specific works of his. As it is, there were more references to specific "books" or unit *ḥadīth* collections of his several pupils before some of his materials were recovered and references to the "Zuhriyāt" appeared. But, despite the misfortune, Zuhri's example was effective, for his fellow Medinan ʿAlāʾ ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who outlived him into the early years of Maṣūʿ's caliphate, refused to have any of his transmitters copy selected parts of his own manuscript (*ṣaḥīfah*), saying: "You either copy all of it, or copy none of it at all."⁸⁹ Certainly, in the post-Zuhri period there were more specific and implied references to the copying of a collection or work *ʿalā al-wajh*. We read, for instance, that Zuhri, Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd, and Ibn Juraij were the leading traditionists of the Ḥijāz because they presented the *ḥadīth* in its totality (*ʿalā wajhihi*⁹⁰), which could only mean totality of content (see pp. 193, 196). The practice of

⁸¹ See Bukhārī II 431–34 and our Vol. I, Doc. 7. See also pp. 11 f. above.

⁸² See e.g. *Sīrah* I 263–66; Bukhārī II 306, III 30 f.; Muslim II 209–32. See also Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. 25 ("Ascension"), and *Concordance* I 202 برآق. For the remarkable literary consistency of this legend from the time of Ibn Ishāq onward see Harris Birkeland, *The Legend of the Opening of Muhammad's Breast* ("Avhandling utgitt av det Norske Videnskap-Akademi i Oslo" II, Hist.-filos. klasse, 1955, No. 3 [Oslo, 1955]) pp. 7 and 12.

⁸³ *Kifāyah*, pp. 214 f.

⁸⁴ *Madkhal*, p. 39. For Hishām ibn Yūsuf see also *Jarḥ* IV 2, pp. 70 f.; *Jamʿ* II 548; Dhahabī I 316.

⁸⁵ See pp. 46 and 58 and cf. Vol. I 16, 23, 25, 36, 52 f.

⁸⁶ Khaṭīb VII 348; Dhahabī I 110 f.

⁸⁷ See e.g. Tabarī III 2488–93; Abū Nuʿaim VI 312–14.

⁸⁸ See *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 93–112, for a catalog of books that Khaṭīb took with him when he moved from Baghdad to Damascus and note esp. Nos. 5, 10, 33, 49, 50, 56, and 65.

⁸⁹ *Maʿārif*, p. 247.

⁹⁰ For the basic meaning of this phrase in connection with transmission of oral and written materials see Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, قَصَص (p. 2526, col. 3).

collecting parallels, with variants of *matn* or *isnād*, for a given tradition or group of traditions was also current around the end of the first century, as specific instances in connection with Wāthilah ibn al-Asqa' (d. 83/702) and Abū Qilābah indicate.⁹¹ Complete recording and copying increased during the second and following centuries, even though the phrase *‘alā al-wajh* was not always used when complete copies of manuscripts were made. Shu‘bah ibn al-Ḥajjāj made a practice of acquiring such copies⁹² from outstanding traditionists, for example the four thousand traditions he wrote down from Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Amr (d. 152/769) which served his fellow pupils Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid, Sufyān al-Thaurī, and Ibn Juraij. Shu‘bah’s faithful transmitter Ghundir, in turn, made full and accurate copies of Shu‘bah’s *ḥadīth* which were later made available to Ibn Ḥanbal and his colleague Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn (d. 233/848).⁹³ To these same two scholars Zakarīyā’ ibn ‘Adī (d. 212/827) dictated *‘alā al-wajh* the book of ‘Ubaid Allāh ibn ‘Amr (101–80/719–96).⁹⁴ The books of Sufyān al-Thaurī were transmitted *‘alā al-wajh* by at least one traditionist,⁹⁵ while those of Shaibānī were copied in full by many.⁹⁶ Mālik ibn Anas and Laith ibn Sa‘d both acquired complete collections and many of their pupils did the same, as did the numerous transmitters of Mālik’s *Muwatta’* and the works of Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith.⁹⁷ A traveling Khurāsānian scholar was able to buy complete copies of the *ḥadīth* of Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Ayyāsh (see p. 178). Ibn Ḥibbān made a special trip to Ḥimṣ, where he sought out Baqīyah ibn al-Walīd’s *ḥadīth*, already in writing, and made his own complete copies.⁹⁸ There were many others who followed this practice (see e.g. pp. 51 f.).⁹⁹ As with the units mentioned above, their manuscripts did not all have the same opportunity for long survival. Nevertheless quite a few of these and others of the second and third centuries did survive as units into Khaṭīb’s time.¹⁰⁰

Closely related to the accelerated activity of producing and copying manuscripts was the finding (*wijādah*) of manuscripts and books after the author’s death.¹⁰¹ The use of such manuscripts on their own authority was frowned on completely at first. But as time went on and more and more books were produced, thus increasing the chances of books being found, a distinction was made in favor of books that were found by members of the author’s family or by his leading pupils. While all other such books continued to be frowned on, their use was not actually eliminated in the field of Tradition and related literary pursuits.¹⁰² Examples of the finding of early manuscripts in the family of the author have been given in connection with the discussion of the documents sought and used by ‘Umar II and Zuhri (pp. 28–30) and in connection with the development of the family *isnād* (pp. 36–38).¹⁰³ Instances of early manu-

⁹¹ See p. 18 and Bukhārī IV 322 f. The expression for transmission through multiple *ṭurq* is *min wujūh*; see Khaṭīb VI 94, where Ibrāhīm ibn Sa‘īd al-Jauharī (d. 249 or 259/863 or 873) transmits the traditions of Abū Bakr the caliph “through a hundred ways” (من مائة وجه).

⁹² Abū Nu‘aim VII 153; *Adab al-īmān*, pp. 14 and 58. See also *Buhārī’nin*, Isnāds 105–6 and 108.

⁹³ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 271 and 344; Khaṭīb VI 222; Dhahabī I 276 f.

⁹⁴ Dhahabī I 222 f., 357 f.

⁹⁵ Ibn Sa‘d VII 2, p. 72.

⁹⁶ Khaṭīb II 176 f.; Ibn Khallikān I 574 f. (= trans. II 590 f.). See also our Vol. I 23; *GAL* I 171 f. and *GAL* S I 288 f.

⁹⁷ See Documents 1, 2, 6, and 7 (esp. pp. 197 f.) and cf. *Buhārī’nin*, Isnāds 232 and 271.

⁹⁸ *Mizān* I 155: كتب النسخ على الوجه.

⁹⁹ Quite obviously the practice was neither as late nor as rare as Franz Rosenthal (*A History of Muslim Historiography* [Leiden, 1952] p. 55) assumed.

¹⁰⁰ See *Taqyīd al-‘ilm*, pp. 93–112.

¹⁰¹ *Kifāyah*, pp. 353–55; *Ma‘rifah*, pp. 108 and 110; *Tadrīb*, pp. 149 f. See also Sprenger in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* XXV 53–56.

¹⁰² This seems to have been true especially in the case of the earliest *tafsīr* works (see pp. 21, 98 f.). For other fields see e.g. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭāifūr, *Balāghat al-nisā’* (Najaf, 1361/1942) pp. 25, 65; Abū al-Ṭāyib al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn* (Cairo, 1374/1955) pp. 30 f. See also Edward E. Salisbury (quoting Jurjānī), “Contributions from original sources to our knowledge of the science of Muslim Tradition,” *JAOS* VII (1862) 76–78.

¹⁰³ See also Abū Nu‘aim IV 179, VIII 212 and 215.

scripts being found in Zuhri's own day are also known.¹⁰⁴ Noted below (see e.g. pp. 175, 221, 235) are several instances of both family and non-family manuscripts being found in the post-Zuhri period when the use of non-family documents was apparently on the increase.¹⁰⁵ Abū Ḥanīfah and later Wāqidī were well known for their free use of non-family manuscripts,¹⁰⁶ while Ibn Ḥanbal's family illustrates well the use of the more acceptable family documents.¹⁰⁷

The finding of non-family manuscripts was, naturally enough, closely associated with the *warrāq* or stationer-copyist, who soon developed into the bookseller. Two points need to be stressed in this connection. First, Muḥammad knew of this trade among the "people of the Book"¹⁰⁸ and Islām can be said to have adopted the profession with the issuance of the ʿUthmānic Qurʾān, since the earliest known *warrāqūn* were Qurʾānic copyists.¹⁰⁹ Second, some Qurʾān copyists expanded their activities to include the copying and selling, at least for a nominal fee, of other religious materials much earlier than has been hitherto recognized.¹¹⁰ In ʿAbbāsīd times the trade expanded and flourished, and some *warrāqūn* apparently specialized in certain fields. All of the known first-century *warrāqūn* were either traditionists or closely associated with traditionists. Anas ibn Mālik, who carried on the trade in Baṣrah,¹¹¹ had teachers and secretaries among his transmitters¹¹² and was the most outspoken of the early defenders of recorded *ḥadīth*. He may well have been among the first, if not indeed the first, traditionist-*warrāq*. Zuhri's teacher Aʿraj was a Qurʾān copyist.¹¹³ In literary Baṣrah there were groups of *warrāq*'s who were active also in the field of *ḥadīth* at about the same time, such as the trio comprising Abū Rajāʾ Maṭr ibn Ṭahmān (see p. 229), client of Abū Qilābah, Mālik ibn Dīnār (see p. 9), and Maʿlā ibn Maimūn.¹¹⁴ Masāwir al-Warrāq moved in the circles of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Shaʿbī, and Abū Ḥanīfah.¹¹⁵ And one should not overlook the group of earlier Qurʾān copyists that Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf employed to make the exemplars he sent to the provinces (see p. 20). Several *warrāqūn* of the post-Zuhri period were associated with leading traditionists from whom they transmitted, though some, such as Abū ʿAbd Allāh of Wāsit (d. 159/755), are specified as weak.¹¹⁶ Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī transmitted to the Kūfan *warrāq* Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad, who in turn transmitted to Ibn Ḥanbal and others.¹¹⁷ This same *warrāq* transmitted through Thaur ibn Yazīd (d. 153/770) the materials of Khālid ibn Maʿdān

¹⁰⁴ See *Sīrah* I 972; Ibn Ḥanbal V 285; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 136; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 306, III 320; pp. 194 and 266 below. See our Vol. I 9–11 for the discovery of *Akhbār ʿUbaid*.

¹⁰⁵ See *Mizān* II 286 f., No. 2274, for transmission from discarded manuscripts.

¹⁰⁶ See e.g. *Kifāyah*, p. 231.

¹⁰⁷ Khaṭīb IX 375; Ṭabarī, *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ*, ed. Friedrich Kern (Cairo, 1320/1902) p. 9 and note. See Ibn Ḥanbal I 284 and V 285 for direct illustrations.

¹⁰⁸ Sūrah 3: 77. See also our Vol. I 24 and references there cited.

¹⁰⁹ Portions of the Qurʾān were of course written down from Muḥammad's secretaries by several Companions for private or family use. In addition to Ḥaḥṣah's Qurʾān, copies were made for Umm Salamah and ʿĀʾishah by clients in the family, one of whom, ʿAmr ibn Rāfiʿ, apparently became a professional copyist (see Bukhārī, *Taʾriḥ* III 2, p. 330; *Tafsīr* I 178, 205, 209 f.). Both ʿUmar I and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib took an interest in Qurʾānic copies and encouraged the use of large formats for the books (Ibn Ḥanbal IV 266, V 216; Abū Nuʿaim IV 105 and 203, IX 35; *OIP* L 54). Mālik ibn Anas is reported to have possessed a fami-

ly Qurʾān written, he said, at the time that the caliph ʿUthmān standardized the text (ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd al-Dānī, *Al-muḥkam fī al-naql al-maṣāḥif*, p. 17). Qurʾāns in codex form were available before the mid-1st century when a group in a particular location in Medina came to be known as *aṣḥāb al-maṣāḥif* (Ibn Saʿd V 293; Ibn Ḥanbal I 415, 434; Abū Nuʿaim I 67). Some specialists in Qurʾānic readings kept a supply of Qurʾāns on hand, as did ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Lailā, who was free with the use of orthographic signs (ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd al-Dānī, *op. cit.* p. 13).

¹¹⁰ See e.g. Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (2d ed.; London, 1940) p. 412, who places the origin of *wirāqah* ("bookselling") in ʿAbbāsīd times!

¹¹¹ Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, ed. Arthur Jeffery (Leiden, 1937) p. 131.

¹¹² *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 153; *Tafsīr* III 136.

¹¹³ See Dhahabī I 91 f.

¹¹⁴ Abū Nuʿaim II 367, 382; *Mizān* III 185.

¹¹⁵ *Amwāl*, p. 127; Ṭabarī III 2489; Khaṭīb XIII 408; *Kifāyah*, p. 354; Abū Nuʿaim VII 289.

¹¹⁶ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 61.

¹¹⁷ *Mizān* I 390.

(d. 104/722)—a fact that indicates continuous written transmission since all three were recorders of *ḥadīth*.¹¹⁸ Abū al-ʿAṭūf al-Jarrāḥ ibn al-Minhāl (see p. 162) transmitted to Abū al-Mundhir al-Warrāq. Muḥammad ibn Ṣabīḥ ibn al-Sammāk (d. 183/799) had two *warrāq*'s who are sources of information about him.¹¹⁹ Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah (107–98/725–814) transmitted to two *warrāq*'s, Hilāl and Saʿīd ibn Nuṣair.¹²⁰ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī (135–98/752–814) transmitted to ʿAbbās ibn Ghālīb al-Warrāq.¹²¹ The *muṣannaf* of the Shīʿite Wakīʿ ibn al-Jarrāḥ (129–97/746–812) of Kūfah was transmitted by ʿAbbās al-Warrāq.¹²² Shaibānī and Shāfiʿī had their *warrāq*'s who made copies of Shaibānī's works for Shāfiʿī.¹²³ Ibn Ḥanbal, as a needy young student, earned his expenses by writing letters for the ladies and copying *ḥadīth* manuscripts for the men.¹²⁴ Later, as a scholar, he exchanged *ḥadīth* with at least four *warrāq*'s,¹²⁵ who no doubt had a hand in copying some of the books in his large library.¹²⁶ Yaʿqūb ibn Shaibah (182–262/798–876) kept forty copyists busy in his home to make the final fair copies of his exhaustive *Musnad*.¹²⁷ Yaʿqūb's contemporary Dāʿūd ibn ʿAlī al-Zāhirī, founder of the Zāhirīyah School, had his needed *warrāq*'s too.¹²⁸ Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī al-Warrāq claimed he made copies for sale of the materials of a thousand shaikhs which included, besides his father's and his grandfather's manuscripts, the *Maghāzī* of Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Umawī¹²⁹ on the authority of Ibn Ishāq and some of the materials of Ibn Ḥanbal, Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn, and ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī.¹³⁰ The foregoing list of traditionists from whom *warrāqūn* transmitted is by no means exhaustive. The practice itself extended well into the fourth century for *ḥadīth* and other fields, as is illustrated by the cases of Khaṭīb and the Egyptian traditionist-*warrāq* Abū Ishāq al-Ḥabbāl, who kept multiple copies of his *ḥadīth* for the use of his pupils.¹³¹ But enough evidence has been given to show the close relationship that developed between the two professions once the age of the manuscript was in full flower, owing partly to Zuhri's efforts. This development is reflected by Samʿānī's definition of a *warrāq* as "one who writes Qurʾāns and writes the *ḥadīth* and other (literature) and one who sells *waraq*, which is *kāghid* (i.e., paper)." ¹³² The activities of the *warrāq*'s of the fourth century extended to the related fields of *tafsīr*, *taʾrīkh*, and linguistics¹³³ and even to poetry, which so frequently found its way into such works.¹³⁴

¹¹⁸ See Abū Nuʿaim V 214 and p. 225 below.

¹¹⁹ Abū Nuʿaim VIII 204, 210.

¹²⁰ *Jāmiʿ* I 158; Dhahabī II 58.

¹²¹ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 98. *Jāmiʿ* I 118 refers to an ʿAyyāsh ibn Ghulaib al-Warrāq.

¹²² Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 98. The books of Wakīʿ were in circulation, and some of them were carried back to Cordova by the Spanish traveler Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā in the year 179/795 (*Revista del Instituto egipcio de estudios islamicos en Madrid* II (1954) 104 [Arabic section]).

¹²³ Abū Nuʿaim IX 81; *Irshād* VI 373.

¹²⁴ *Manāqib*, pp. 20, 226, and 230 ff.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 33 f., 40, 415, 418, 439, 503.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 60 f. Twelve and a half camel loads were required to transport the library after Ibn Ḥanbal's death.

¹²⁷ Yaʿqūb ibn Shaibah, *Musnad* . . . ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, pp. 13 f. and 18; Khaṭīb XIV 281–83. See also p. 71 below.

¹²⁸ Khaṭīb VIII 370. See also Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1884).

¹²⁹ See Vol. I 93 f. for Yaḥyā's *Maghāzī*, which was transmitted by his son Saʿīd.

¹³⁰ Khaṭīb X 113 f.; Dhahabī II 274 f.

¹³¹ Dhahabī III 361 f. mentions 20 copies of the same manuscript in use at one *ḥadīth* session. For other instances see e.g. Khaṭīb X 113 f., XIII 291; Masʿūdī VII 236, 374; *Fihrist*, pp. 146 f. It was not long before some *warrāqūn* became authors in their own right (see e.g. *Fihrist*, pp. 35, 36, and 79; *GAL* III 955).

¹³² Samʿānī, folio 549b.

¹³³ Among the scholars associated with *warrāq*'s were Ibn Ishāq, Wāqidī, Muḥammad ibn al-Sāʿib al-Kalbī and his son Hishām, Kisāʿī, Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād al-Farrāʿ, Aṣmaʿī, and Abū ʿUbaidah. See also *Fihrist*, pp. 35, 56, 79, 138, and 264; Khaṭīb II 177, X 235 and 313, XIV 150; *Irshād* V 421, VII 276 f. Poets who frequented the bookshops included Abū Nawās, Abū al-ʿAtahīyah, Diʿbil, and ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, who was himself a *warrāq*; see e.g. Marzubānī, *Muʿjam al-shuʿarāʾ* (Cairo, 1354/1935) p. 218; Yāqūt II 701; *Aghānī* XX 87–89.

¹³⁴ For example the *Sīrah* and to a lesser extent the works of Ibn Qutaibah and Ṭabarī. See also our Vol. I 14 f.

Furthermore, the *warrāqūn*, as also the general public, were not limited to direct personal association with famous scholars in order to produce and circulate copies of these scholars' works. In early Islām education, and particularly religious education, was free. The scholar's circle (*ḥalaqah*) or session (*majlis*), held frequently in the court of the mosque but sometimes at his home or place of business, was open to all. In the time of the Companions and the senior Successors the attendance was still small enough to allow personal contact. The older men among the early scholars mentioned on page 18 held small sessions, but many of the younger ones had such large audiences that later personal contact was not possible.¹³⁵ The more serious students usually took the initiative and attached themselves to the scholar of their choice to form his inner circle. As even the inner circles grew with each generation of traditionists, the scholars themselves used various devices to weed out the less desirable members, though at the same time they were eager for large audiences at their public lectures. The estimated number of auditors progressed from the tens at first (see references in n. 135), to the hundreds in the time of Zuhri,¹³⁶ to the thousands and tens of thousands later in the second and in the third century.¹³⁷ Master traditionists used as private secretaries their brightest pupils, who acted also as teachers by dictating or hearing recitations or checking and correcting fellow pupils' manuscripts. A few of these remained long years in the service of outstanding scholars of the caliber of Mālik ibn Anas and Laith ibn Sa'd.¹³⁸ But the popularity of the public lecture and the size of the attending crowds soon gave rise to a new profession, that of the dictation master (*mustamlī*), to whose qualifications, duties, and actual practices Sam'ānī devoted most of his *Adab al-implā' wa al-istimplā'*.¹³⁹ One of the *mustamlī*'s qualifications was a good, strong voice with lasting and carrying power. But when an audience was too large to be reached by one human voice, no matter how powerful, successive relays of dictation masters were placed at regular intervals among the encircling multitude.¹⁴⁰ One can imagine the bookseller-copyists seeking the best position within hearing of the first dictation master, since they had a reputation to guard as reliable copyists and, in fact, as "publishers." For "publishing" was one way of keeping their bookshelves well stocked with "originals" on the strength of which they solicited orders for individual private copies.¹⁴¹ Some may have been generous with their stock, since it is known that their shops became the rendezvous of all types of scholars, and may even have been moderate in their prices for religious works such as the

¹³⁵ For sessions and lectures of some of these men see e.g. Ibn Sa'd V 96 and VII 1, pp. 88 and 123; *Adab al-implā'*, p. 13; Nawawī, pp. 389 f.; Dhahabī I 124 f.

¹³⁶ For example, his contemporary Abū al-Zinād had an audience of 300 (Yāfi'ī I 273 f.), and 'Āsim ibn Qatādah had a sizable audience in the Damascus mosque for his *ṣirah* and *ḥadīth* sessions (August Fischer, *Biographien von Gewährsmännern des Ibn Ishāq* [Leiden, 1890] p. 22).

¹³⁷ See *Adab al-implā'*, pp. 15-24, pp. 18-23 being devoted to the 'Abbāsīd caliphs (from Manṣūr to Mutawakkil) who patronized and participated in *ḥadīth* sessions.

¹³⁸ Nearly every first-class traditionist had at least one *kātib*, "secretary," and many of them needed the services of a professional dictation master (see e.g. *Adab al-implā'*, pp. 15 ff.).

¹³⁹ Aably edited by Max Weisweiler with a German abstract entitled *Die Methodik des Diktatkollegs* (Leiden, 1952); see also Weisweiler's earlier study "Das Amt des

Mustamlī in der arabischen Wissenschaft," *Oriens* IV (1951) 27-57.

¹⁴⁰ *Adab al-implā'*, pp. 50 f., 88 f., and 96 f. See also Khaṭīb XIV 24 f., where Abū Nu'aim Faql ibn Dukain (see our Document 14) advises Hārūn al-Mustamlī to seek a less crowded and cheapened profession than the study of *ḥadīth*.

¹⁴¹ Since the rate of pay was usually by the folio or page, some copyists used large scripts to increase their fees; but when a fixed sum was stipulated for a copy, they were apt to use smaller scripts to save paper (see e.g. Ibn 'Asākir IV 352 and Dhahabī III 157; see also Nabia Abbott, "A ninth-century fragment of the 'Thousand Nights,'" *JNES* VIII [1949] 147, and our Vol. I 4 and references there cited). Yet, it was not so much such tricks as the prostitution by the few of their literary and intellectual gifts that presently gave the profession a bad name (see e.g. Khaṭīb XII 108; *Irshād* V 421; Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'* [Cairo, 1287/1870] I 63).

Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*. Yet there were some who were not above attempting to corner the market, as was tried when Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822) dictated his *Kitāb al-maʿānī*.¹⁴²

The increased literary activity among scholars during Zuhri's time and immediately thereafter, together with the rapid increase in student population, led to the development of a thriving book market. The stationer-copyist—partly for profit and partly by scholarly inclination—soon became a promoter and patron of learning, with his well stocked shelves of books available for browsing scholars and students who sooner or later bought the books in stock or ordered copies for their own libraries. The emergence and growth of court and private libraries under the Umayyads, from the time of Muʿāwiyah onward, has already been touched on.¹⁴³ The still more rapid growth of both types of libraries under the early ʿAbbāsids is generally known¹⁴⁴ and need not detain us here. But we do need to consider the size of the scholar's library and the purposes it served for his own research and for the scholarly community, with special emphasis on the libraries of scholars in religious fields from the time of Zuhri to that of Bukhārī.

The references available indicate that just before and during the early Zuhri period a traditionalist's "library" was small enough to be stored or transported in a single bag, the terms most frequently used for the containers at this time being *kīs* and *jarāb*. In the later Zuhri period and just after, the libraries of such leading scholars as Abū Qilābah and Zuhri were large enough to be stored or transported in a number of boxes, cases, or camel loads, the terms most frequently used being the plurals of *ṣandūq*, *qimaṭr*, *ʿidl*, and *ḥiml* (see e.g. p. 43), and the number of containers needed increased progressively to judge by the data I have encountered so far. References to the full size of the libraries of Zuhri's younger contemporaries who dominated the fields of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* in the second quarter of the second century and who stabilized the methods of written transmission advocated and practiced by Zuhri (see e.g. pp. 196 f.) are comparatively rare. Nevertheless, there are other types of references which when co-ordinated yield a fair idea of the probable size of the libraries of these scholars. The first factor to be considered is that in their youth they had all traveled in search of knowledge and had in turn become the goal of similar journeys undertaken by their younger contemporaries. The second factor is that they wrote down or copied much of the material at the disposal of the scholars whom they sought during their travels, particularly material in their specialty, which was usually the *musnad* of a given first- or second-generation Muslim and preferably the *musnad* of a Companion transmitted in its entirety or in large sections by a given Successor. When we read, therefore, that Ibn Juraij of Mecca (d. 150/767) had a saddlebag (*ḥaqībah*) full of the *ḥadīth* of Nāfiʿ on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar and that Sufyān al-Thaurī of Kūfah (d. 161/778) had a saddlebag (*khurj*) full of manuscripts on the authority of Ibn Juraij¹⁴⁵ and that Sufyān's library was packed in nine book-cases (*qimaṭr*) piled one upon another and reaching up to a man's chest,¹⁴⁶ we can gauge the cumulative results of several journeys that involved the writing-down or copying of at least some manuscripts in full (*ʿalā al-wajh*; see pp. 43–45). Ibn Juraij (see pp. 98, 99, 112) had several such unit manuscripts, as did many of his con-

¹⁴² Khatīb XIV 149 f.; *Irshād* VII 276 f. See also our Vol. I 22, n. 5.

¹⁴³ Vol. I 20, 23 f., 29. Also to be noted is Khālid ibn Yazid's statement that he strove to collect books and that although he was not a ranking scholar yet he was not an ignorant man (*Jāmiʿ* I 132).

¹⁴⁴ See Kūrkīs ʿAwwād, *Khazāʾin al-kutub al-qadimah fī*

al-ʿIrāq (Baghdād, 1367/1948) pp. 191 ff.

¹⁴⁵ Khatīb X 404–6. Ibn Juraij's foremost pupil, Hajjāj ibn Muḥammad (d. 206/821), had made direct copies of all Ibn Juraij's books except the *Tafsīr*, which was written down from dictation (Dhahabī I 315).

¹⁴⁶ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 115; Khatīb IX 161; Abū Nuʿaim VII 64; cf. Kūrkīs ʿAwwād, *op. cit.* pp. 191 f.

temporaries.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, his books were considered so trustworthy that his younger contemporaries preferred copying them to hearing Ibn Juraij himself in oral transmission. Thus copies of his unit collections went to increase the collections of his contemporaries and successors.¹⁴⁸ The Baṣran Shuʿbah ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776), who likewise followed the practice of acquiring complete copies (see p. 45), had among his unit collections a sackful of rare ʿAlid traditions received from Ḥakam ibn ʿUtaibah (d. 117/735) on the authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Lailā on the authority of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib on the authority of the Prophet.¹⁴⁹ When the Syrian Awzāʿī (d. 157/773), who had two secretaries,¹⁵⁰ lost his books by fire following an earthquake, one of his pupils came forward with complete and corrected copies to replace the loss.¹⁵¹ A third factor we may consider in gauging the size of leading scholars' libraries is the number of traditions they are said to have written down, not all of which they transmitted. The numbers began to multiply rapidly in the first half of the second century (see pp. 66–68). This increase, in turn, helps to explain the larger libraries of scholars who flourished during the second half of the second century and thereafter. The central provinces—that is, the Ḥijāz, the Yemen, Syria, and Egypt—continued to produce outstanding scholars, but they were now outnumbered by scholars from ʿIrāq and farther east. This shift in the literary balance was brought about in part deliberately by the ʿAbbāsids, who enticed to their court such Medinan scholars as Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, Abū al-Zinād, Rabīʿah al-Raʿī, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Mājishūn¹⁵² and in part by the emergence of new centers of learning in ʿIrāq and the Jazīrah to share, if even in a comparatively small way, the literary honors long enjoyed by Baṣrah and Kūfah. Wāsiṭ in the south contributed the famous Hushaim al-Wāsiṭī (see p. 163), and Ḥarrān in the north contributed the traveling Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿAbd al-Ghaffār ibn Dāʿūd al-Ḥarrānī (see pp. 163 f.). From farther east the thriving centers of Islāmic learning—Rayy, Nīsāpūr, Bukhārā, and Balkh—and even less famous places of Khurāsān sent an increasing stream of students and scholars who combined a pilgrimage with a *riḥlah* and lingered in the imperial province of ʿIrāq on the way out and on the way back. At this time the Ḥijāz in general and Medina in particular were, with Mālik ibn Anas as their chief advocate, defending their position and reputation as the “home of Tradition.”¹⁵³ These developments account in part for the more readily available information on the probable size of the libraries of Mālik and the Yemenite ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām. For we can gauge that of Mālik from the fact that he had seven boxes full of manuscripts of Zuhri's materials which he had not transmitted and an unspecified number of boxes of the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUmar (see p. 126).¹⁵⁴ One of Mālik's leading pupils, the Egyptian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim, is credited with some three hundred “volumes” (*jild*) of Mālik's materials relative to legal questions (see p. 128, n. 60). Again, we can gauge the size of ʿAbd al-Razzāq's library from the fact that it included the collection of Maʿmar ibn Rāshid—the main reason that Ibn Ḥanbal (see p. 180)

¹⁴⁷ See *Maʿārif*, p. 246, *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 253, and Khaṭīb XIV 369, according to which Ibn Juraij and others received unit collections from Ibn Abī Sabrah (d. 162/779) by means of the *munāwalah* method.

¹⁴⁸ Khaṭīb X 405 f.

¹⁴⁹ *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 370; Khaṭīb IX 259 f.; Abū Nuʿaim VII 157; Dhahabī I 110 f. Shuʿbah transmitted from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Lailā, who passed his *ḥadīth* to his son Muḥammad (d. 148/765), who is credited with a work on *muṣannaf* (Ibn Saʿd VI 75, 249, 261 f.). Ḥakam ibn ʿUtaibah handed his written *ḥadīth* to Ḥasan ibn ʿUmārah (d. 153/770); see Khaṭīb VII 348 and p. 106 below.

¹⁵⁰ Dhahabī I 262; *Mīzān* II 94; *Lisān* VI 628 f.

¹⁵¹ Isfarāʾinī, *Musnad* (Ḥaidarābād, 1362/1943) I 321; cf. *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 287. See our Vol. I 23 for part of Awzāʿī's library.

¹⁵² See *Jāmiʿ* I 97 and pp. 122, 139, 187 below.

¹⁵³ ʿIrāq had challenged the Ḥijāz earlier (*Jāmiʿ* II 152 f.).

¹⁵⁴ Mālik was very careful in selecting his *ḥadīth* and frequently revised his transmission as his knowledge increased. He expressed regret for having transmitted even a few faulty traditions (see *Maʿrifah*, p. 61).

and Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn traveled to the Yemen to hear ʿAbd al-Razzāq, Ibn Ḥanbal returning home with a sackful of manuscripts (see p. 43). Furthermore, it is significant to note that of the few scholars who wrote down everything because they firmly believed it was necessary to have available all the information relating to a given position, scholar, or event,¹⁵⁵ Ibn Ḥanbal had a library that filled twelve and a half camel loads (see p. 47, n. 126) and Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn's filled a hundred and fourteen book-cases (*qimaṭr*) and four large jars (*ḥibāb*).¹⁵⁶ The library of Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith, their contemporary and colleague, filled eighteen book-cases (*qimaṭr*) and baskets (*qauṣarah*).¹⁵⁷ Again, though I have thus far come across no specific references to the full size of the libraries of the ʿIrāqīs Abū Ḥanīfah,¹⁵⁸ Shaibānī, and Abū Yūsuf nor to that of Shāfiʿī, references to the quantity of Shāfiʿī's manuscripts give some idea of the probable size of the libraries of these three closely associated scholars of ʿIrāq. For Shāfiʿī, having exhausted what Mālik and the Ḥijāz had to give, which was enough to crowd his house with pottery jars full of manuscripts,¹⁵⁹ traveled to ʿIrāq and copied a camel load of the manuscripts of Shaibānī, and he continued to add to his library during his final stay in Egypt.¹⁶⁰ Similarly, the size of the libraries of Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAyyāsh (see p. 178), the leading scholar of Syria, and Ibn al-Mubārak (see pp. 54, 68), the leading scholar from Khurāsān, can be gauged from the fact that both men devoted their lives to literary activities. The size of the libraries of the Egyptian Laith ibn Saʿd, represented directly and indirectly in our papyri, and his friend and colleague Ibn Lahīʿah can be roughly gauged from the fact that when the latter's library was destroyed by fire Laith sent him the generous sum of three thousand dinars with which to buy papyrus for use in replacing it.¹⁶¹ The largest figure for the second century, six hundred large boxes, refers to Wāqidi's library.¹⁶² Moving into the third century, we find that the libraries of Muslim, Bukhārī, Ibn Saʿd, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, and Abū Zarʿah grew with the demands of the times¹⁶³ and are more than adequately reflected by their voluminous surviving works that are so usefully listed in Brockelmann's indispensable *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*.

Scholars, beginning with the earliest, were more or less generous with their manuscripts, particularly in loaning them out,¹⁶⁴ as indicated in the present study in connection with such men as Ibn Jurajj and Maʿmar ibn Rāshid (see p. 44), Fazārī and Ibn al-Mubārak (see pp. 231 ff.),¹⁶⁵ Shaibānī and Shāfiʿī (see p. 47). In addition we read that Ḥafṣ ibn Sulaimān (d. 131/748–49) borrowed the books of Shuʿbah ibn al-Ḥajjāj among others and copied them,¹⁶⁶ that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī (d. 198/814) borrowed the books of Sufyān al-Thaurī,¹⁶⁷ and

¹⁵⁵ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-musnad* I (1365/1946) 56 f.; Khaṭīb I 43; Dhahabī II 16 f., 65 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 62, and II 1, p. 277. See also pp. 57–59 below. Ibn Ḥanbal, like several others, drew the line at writing only when in his opinion the transmitter was a professed heretic (see e.g. *Tafsīr* VI 245, X 533; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 348). This more liberal approach became more and more acceptable in the 2d and 3d centuries as traditionists, jurists, and historians began to think of themselves less as compilers and more as authors whose duty it was to present all sides of a question (see *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 188 f.; Masʿūdī III 322).

¹⁵⁶ See e.g. Khaṭīb XIV 183; Ibn Khallikān II 284 f.; Kūrkiš ʿAwwād, *op. cit.* pp. 196 f.

¹⁵⁷ Khaṭīb VII 71; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁸ See Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-athār*, Intro. p. 3, for his houseful of *ḥadīth* manuscripts.

¹⁵⁹ Abū Nuʿaim IX 75. For other instances of roomfuls of books see e.g. Jāḥiẓ, *Al-ḥayawān* I (1356/1938) 61 f., and our Vol. I 23.

¹⁶⁰ *Adāb al-Shāfiʿī*, pp. 32 f., 70 f., 134; Khaṭīb II 176. See also Khaṭīb XIII 410.

¹⁶¹ Khaṭīb XIII 10.

¹⁶² See e.g. *Fihrist*, p. 98; Kūrkiš ʿAwwād, *op. cit.* p. 193.

¹⁶³ As did the libraries of the other leading scholars mentioned in this section, though not all to the same extent (see e.g. *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 330, 333, and 337; see also Kūrkiš ʿAwwād, *op. cit.* pp. 191 ff.).

¹⁶⁴ See Vol. I for early illustrations; for additional early and for later instances see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 162 f.

¹⁶⁵ See *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 263 f., for Ibn al-Mubārak.

¹⁶⁶ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 21.

¹⁶⁷ *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, p. 257.

that Ibn Ḥanbal regularly borrowed the books of Wāqidī from Ibn Saʿd¹⁶⁸ and later loaned his own books to Abū Zarʿah.¹⁶⁹ Some of the loaned books were never returned, as in the case of some of Shuʿbah's books, while others were even stolen.¹⁷⁰ In most such instances the "borrower" wished to make or own a complete copy of a given collection or work. On the other hand, most leading scholars made their manuscripts available to their leading pupils for copying or collation.¹⁷¹ These widespread practices are fairly well known and need not detain us further.¹⁷² Other fairly widespread practices, which are not so well known, involve the uses that scholars made of their libraries in their own private study and teaching and in their direct personal relationships with fellow scholars.

If the initial writing-down of small groups of traditions was justified as being temporary and merely an aid for memorizing the material, it was not long before the retention of the memoranda for longer periods was justified on the basis of their serving to refresh the memory. The next step was the more permanent record that was intended to last for a lifetime.¹⁷³ The more pious writers destroyed such records in their old age, while others left instructions that their manuscripts be destroyed after their death (see p. 62). But, in the meantime, those who had advocated permanent records from the beginning passed their manuscripts on to their pupils or to members of their families. The majority of these men were no longer so much concerned with refreshing their memories as with preserving the true *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* to combat the encroachment of heresy and religious innovation (*bidʿah*).¹⁷⁴ This stage reached its climax during the reign of ʿUmar II (see pp. 25–32). Thereafter, owing to the practices of Zuhri and his leading pupils, one can discern that the roles of oral and written transmission began to be reversed, though the two methods continued to be employed side by side. Accurate manuscripts intended for permanent use were now openly acknowledged and sought after. Nevertheless, students were urged to memorize their materials, and teachers—especially famed scholars—were expected to be able to recite from memory at any given time sizable portions of their collections. Apparently Shuʿbah and the young Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah,¹⁷⁵ for instance, were able to do this, though recitals by Sufyān were preferred because he checked his recitals with his manuscripts.¹⁷⁶ Pride in memory was still strong, and those who could actually demonstrate that they possessed outstanding, and particularly photographic, memories were held in high esteem. But men with such extraordinary memories were rare, and some of the most reputable of them were under constant pressure to demonstrate their gift or were even tricked with memory tests. In the first century we find ʿĀʾishah testing the memory of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ,¹⁷⁷ Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam testing that of Abū Hurairah (see p. 20), and Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib testing that of Qatādah ibn Diʿāmah.¹⁷⁸ A little later we find Zuhri's memory (see p. 175) being tested in Hishām's court. Still later, Yazīd ibn Hārūn (d. 206/821), Abū Nuʿaim Faḍl ibn Dukain (d. 219/834), Ishāq ibn Rāhawaih (d. 238/852), and even Bukhārī

¹⁶⁸ Dhahabī II 12.

¹⁶⁹ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 330. Abū Zarʿah borrowed other books during his *riḥlah* and copied them *ʿalā al-wajh* (*ibid.* p. 343). Books he in turn loaned to others were retained sometimes for as long as six months and returned with the borrower's supposed corrections, all of which he successfully refuted (*ibid.* pp. 332 f.).

¹⁷⁰ See e.g. *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 140; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 129; cf. Khaṭīb VIII 165.

¹⁷¹ See e.g. *Adab al-ʿimlāʾ*, pp. 175 f.: *أول بركة الحديث إغارة الكتب . . . غلول الكتب حبسها على أصحابنا.*

¹⁷² See *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 146–50, on the generous loaning of books.

¹⁷³ As in the case, for example, of Ibn ʿAbbās and Abū Qilābah (see Tirmidhī XIII 326 and p. 230 below).

¹⁷⁴ For Ibn Ḥanbal's view on this matter see *Manāqib*, pp. 183 and 185 f., also pp. 156 f., 176, 192, 194, and 356.

¹⁷⁵ See Khaṭīb IX 179, according to which Sufyān wrote down only what he had memorized; i.e., he wrote for future reference in case of loss of memory. See also p. 179 below.

¹⁷⁶ Abū Nuʿaim VI 360.

¹⁷⁷ Bukhārī IV 429.

¹⁷⁸ See Abū Nuʿaim II 333 and p. 198 below.

(d. 256/870) were subjected to tricky tests,¹⁷⁹ a device that seems to have been popular with the leading critic of the day, Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn (see p. 277).

The small number of traditionists with extraordinary memories could no doubt be matched with a list of those whose memories were exceptionally weak were it not for the fact that traditionists as a group were slow to acknowledge this handicap. Nevertheless, there are a few cases on record, such as Zāʿidah ibn Qidāmah (d. 161/778) and Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (d. 188/804).¹⁸⁰ Rivals and critics, on the other hand, were not slow to detect nor reluctant to expose a weak memory and not always objectively, as is so copiously illustrated in the biographical works of Ibn Saʿd, Bukhārī, and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī.¹⁸¹

On the whole, however, the picture that is reflected is that the average traditionist with an average memory developed his memory to the point where he could detect interpolations in his own collection or works and could cite specific traditions or passages on occasion but stopped short of total recall. There were comparatively few dishonest and unscrupulous men responsible for an occasional deception or forgery¹⁸² or, as is alleged particularly in the case of sectarians, for wholesale fabrications.¹⁸³ The average traditionist recognized the limitations of his memory and therefore when transmitting a sizable collection orally either dictated from his manuscripts or had his pupils read out their previously prepared copies, which were either corrected during the reading or later collated with a copy approved by the teacher. This, of course, was the *ʿarḍ* method, which in the early days was probably mostly oral (*ʿarḍ min al-ḥāfiẓah*) but which soon gave way to reading back from a manuscript (*ʿarḍ al-kitāb*) after the fashion, it is said, of Muḥammad's scribes reading back their Qurʾānic manuscripts to him. As will be seen below (e.g. pp. 139, 181, 197, 217), the *ʿarḍ* method was much used by Zuhri and his school as well as by others.¹⁸⁴

The comparatively few scholars with prodigious memories continued to display their powers, to the astonishment and the admiration of the many, though even they had constant recourse to their libraries. The case of Ṭayālīsī (d. 204/818) is quite instructive in this respect. While on a visit to Isfahān he recited one hundred thousand (*sic*) traditions from memory. On returning to Baṣrah he, presumably after checking his manuscripts, sent back to Isfahān, in writing, the corrections for the errors he discovered he had made in seventy of the traditions.¹⁸⁵

With the solid accomplishment of the school of Zuhri (see esp. pp. 175, 184) as a foundation, the reversal of the roles of oral and written transmission was accomplished within a few decades after Zuhri's death. Among the leaders who helped in the process of reversal by precept or example—in addition to Zuhri's pupils such as Ibn Juraij, Shuʿbah ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Mālik ibn Anas, and Sufyān ibn ʿUyainah—may be mentioned Sufyān al-Thaurī, Shaibānī, and Ibn al-Mubārak. Sufyān's manuscripts containing the traditions of Aʿmash were considered so trust-

¹⁷⁹ See e.g. Khaṭīb VI 352 f., XII 353 f., XIV 340; Ibn Khallikān I 516 f. (= trans. II 597). See Khaṭīb II 20 f. and Dhahabī II 123 for the manner in which the young Bukhārī demonstrated his phenomenal memory to the envy and admiration of his fellow students. Among other scholars with remarkable memories were Saʿīd ibn Abī ʿArūbah, Ibn al-Mubārak, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī, Marwān ibn Muʿāwiyah al-Fazārī, and Ṭayālīsī (see Dhahabī II 5 f., Khaṭīb X 165, Khaṭīb X 240 f., p. 267 below, and *Mizān* I 413 respectively). The list could be extended for the 3d and 4th centuries.

¹⁸⁰ *Jāmiʿ* I 117; Dhahabī I 200; p. 151 below.

¹⁸¹ See also *Jāmiʿ* II 150–63 and *Kifāyah*, pp. 107–9 and 142, for lack of objectivity.

¹⁸² See e.g. *Madkhal*, pp. 25–45, for classification of forgeries of both *isnād* and *matn*; *Maʿrifah*, pp. 103 ff.; *Kifāyah*, pp. 101–15; *Mizān* II 78, 186.

¹⁸³ For 2d-century examples see e.g. *Kifāyah*, pp. 120–25; Abū Nuʿaim IX 39; Yāqūt II 138 f.; *Tadrīb*, pp. 130–33 and 143 f.; Goldziher, *Studien* II 131–33, 160; Aḥmad Amīn *Duḥā al-Islām* I 150. See also p. 224 below.

¹⁸⁴ *Adab al-implāʿ*, pp. 77–79.

¹⁸⁵ *Mizān* I 413. Cf. Khaṭīb IX 26: كان أبو داود يحدّث من حفظه والحفظ خوان فكان يغلط خوان. Cf. also p. 56, n. 211, below and see Sūrah 22:38 for use of خوان.

worthy that even the *ḥadīth* critic Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān preferred using them to hearing the traditions directly from Aʿmash.¹⁸⁶ Shaibānī depended so heavily on manuscripts and written transmission that his fellow Ḥanīfite Abū Yūsuf al-Qāḍī took him to task for it, but Shaibānī justified his practice by citing the example of those who had gone before. Abū Yūsuf's practice was to memorize quickly some fifty to sixty traditions and then dictate them to the people.¹⁸⁷ Nevertheless, he cherished his own manuscripts, from which he instructed his son, who finally inherited them.¹⁸⁸ This same Abū Yūsuf, who was so proud of his memory, once found his knowledge of history challenged by Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, who wished to use this deficiency to exclude Abū Yūsuf from the court. The latter stayed home for a month studying his history books and then returned to confound Yaḥyā with his vast knowledge of history.¹⁸⁹ The direct use that Shāfiʿī made of Shaibānī's manuscripts, especially his *fiqh* materials from Abū Ḥanīfah, is another instance of the free use of manuscripts. Shāfiʿī's reference to studying the books of the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah may have included Shaibānī's works.¹⁹⁰ The Khurāsānian scholar Ibn al-Mubārak, whose first *riḥlah* to ʿIrāq and beyond took place in the year 141/758, made copies of the materials of Abū Ḥanīfah, who had impressed him very favorably. On hearing Awzāʿī's criticism of Abū Ḥanīfah, Ibn al-Mubārak went home and studied for three days. Then he extracted from his copies of Abū Ḥanīfah's manuscripts a number of legal questions which he wrote down, starting each with "*qāla* al-Nuʿmān" instead of with "*qāla* Abū Ḥanīfah," and returned with the manuscript to Awzāʿī, who fell into the trap and praised its contents.¹⁹¹ Ibn al-Mubārak found favor also with Ibn Juraij, who was willing to let him use his books.¹⁹² Moving on to Egypt, he sought and gained access to the originals in Ibn Lahīʿah's library (see p. 220). Not only did Ibn al-Mubārak's library grow steadily, but the quality of his collections and the accuracy of his manuscripts were such that Yaḥyā ibn Adam (d. 203/818) looked for elucidation of finer points in Ibn al-Mubārak's books, convinced that if they were not there they would not be anywhere.¹⁹³

The practice of using manuscripts was endorsed and followed by Ibn al-Mubārak's immediate contemporaries and by the younger generation. Among the former were the *ḥadīth* critics Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī; among the latter may be included Iṣḥāq ibn Rāhawaih, Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn, perhaps the greatest and certainly the most quoted *ḥadīth* critic, and his colleague Ibn Ḥanbal. Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān followed the example of Shuʿbah and Sufyān al-Thaurī. Though he used both oral and written transmission, he used them selectively depending on his personal knowledge of the source or of the recipient.¹⁹⁴ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī for the most part preferred written transmission and reading back his manuscript to his source.¹⁹⁵ His criticism of Shaibānī once led the latter to delete several folios

¹⁸⁶ Abū Nuʿaim VI 359. See Ibn Saʿd VI 239 and Khaṭīb IX 10 f. for the excellent quality of Aʿmash's collection, which pleased even Zuhri, who questioned whether ʿIrāq could produce a good traditionist.

¹⁸⁷ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 74; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* II 51, III 255. He was also known to alternate the recitation of ten traditions with the recitation of ten opinions (Khaṭīb XIV 255). Abū Yūsuf's knowledge of both *ḥadīth* and *raʾy* is stressed in Dhahabī I 269 f.

¹⁸⁸ *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 255, 257. See also our Vol. I 92 f.

¹⁸⁹ *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 263.

¹⁹⁰ Khaṭīb XIII 410. Shāfiʿī examined a manuscript of some 130 folios and found 80 of them to be contrary to the Qurʾān and the *sunnah*!

¹⁹¹ Khaṭīb XIII 338. The episode did not change Awzāʿī's general opposition to Abū Ḥanīfah, and later Ibn al-Mubārak himself turned away from the latter (*ibid.* pp. 403 f.) and came to prefer a single tradition from Zuhri to all of Abū Ḥanīfah's theories (*ibid.* p. 414). For Ibn al-Mubārak's copies of other entire manuscripts see pp. 98 and 100 below.

¹⁹² *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 264.

¹⁹³ Khaṭīb X 156. See also *GAL* 2 I 192 and *GAL* S I 308.

¹⁹⁴ See e.g. Khaṭīb XIV 135-44; *Kifāyah*, pp. 230 f.; *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 232-51. See also pp. 112 and 250 below.

¹⁹⁵ See e.g. Khaṭīb X 240-48; *Kifāyah*, p. 230; *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 71 and 254 f. See also pp. 112 and 126 below.

from one of his manuscripts.¹⁹⁶ Ishāq ibn Rāhawaih was such an assiduous collector of manuscripts that he is said to have married a widow because her deceased husband's library contained the works of Shāfi'ī,¹⁹⁷ and when he acquired these works he made them available to other scholars.¹⁹⁸ So well did he himself use his library that he is said to have based his *Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr* on the works of Shāfi'ī and his *Jāmi' al-kabīr* on those of Sufyān al-Thaurī.¹⁹⁹ His photographic memory and constant use of his library enabled him to cite a work from memory by page and line, which could be checked with the manuscript.²⁰⁰ Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn and Ibn Ḥanbal will be encountered frequently below in the discussion of our documents (see pp. 112, 159, 178, 275, 277), and their lifelong commitment to writing and to the accumulation of the manuscripts that built up their large libraries are mentioned in their many long and detailed biographies.²⁰¹ Despite their common literary interests, their long-standing friendship²⁰² cooled off as the result of Ibn Ḥanbal's trial on the question as to whether the Qur'ān was created or uncreated.²⁰³ One of Yaḥyā's teachers, Hishām ibn Yūsuf (see p. 44), who tried him out for a month before he fully accepted him as a student, made his library available to him. The slave girl in charge of Hishām's books brought them out one at a time to Yaḥyā, who studied them and copied all he needed.²⁰⁴

Ibn Ḥanbal's use of his manuscripts and library involved also his use of the libraries of a number of his contemporaries and vice versa and thus serves to indicate the practices of his period, which overlapped that of Muslim and Bukhārī. He began to collect manuscripts early in his career, and some of his fellow scholars, particularly 'Affān ibn Muslim (see pp. 211 f. and 217), demonstrated the value of accurate manuscripts. Ibn Ḥanbal's habit of writing down everything lasted throughout his life, for wherever he went his inkwell went with him and he seized every opportunity to correct his manuscripts.²⁰⁵ His practice was to provide a separate container for each of the individual *musnad*'s he was collecting as the basis for his final *musnad* compilation. Abū Zar'ah, who studied these separate *musnad*'s later, states that they contained no identification of their immediate sources because Ibn Ḥanbal carried the biographical information in his head and could match each section with the correct transmitter.²⁰⁶ Ibn Ḥanbal's consistent practice of what he advocated, namely the permanent recording of Tradition as of other materials, led other scholars, including 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī, to follow his example and to cite him as their model.²⁰⁷ When Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Wārah returned from Egypt without having made complete copies of Shāfi'ī's books, Ibn Ḥanbal's reproach so shamed him that he returned to Egypt and came back with copies of these works, which, incidentally, contained many of Ibn Ḥanbal's materials and views though they were not always openly acknowledged.²⁰⁸ As old age approached, robbing Ibn Ḥanbal of some of the keenness of his

¹⁹⁶ Abū Nu'aim IX 10.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 102 f.

¹⁹⁸ See e.g. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah al-kubrā* II (Cairo, 1324/1906) 42 f.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* See *GAL* S I 257 for the works of Ishāq ibn Rāhawaih.

²⁰⁰ See e.g. Khaṭīb VI 345–55, esp. p. 353; Dhahabī II 20 f. The *fiqh* book involved in these references belonged to a fellow student who had received it from his grandfather. Either the original or a copy of it was available for use in the court of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir (d. 230/844–45), Ma'mūn's governor of Khurāsān.

²⁰¹ See *GAL* I 106 and *GAL* S I 166 and 259 for Yaḥyā, *GAL* I 182 and *GAL* S I 309 for Ibn Ḥanbal.

²⁰² See e.g. Khaṭīb XIV 181–83. See Goldziher, *Studien* II 160, for an instance where a sharp *qaṣṣāṣ* capitalized on the reputations of Yaḥyā and Ibn Ḥanbal.

²⁰³ See e.g. *Mizān* III 304.

²⁰⁴ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 316. For another instance of a girl secretary see Dhahabī II 89 and Khaṭīb VI 94.

²⁰⁵ *Manāqib*, pp. 21, 190, 246, 266 f.

²⁰⁶ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 296; *Manāqib*, pp. 60 f. Ibn Ḥanbal could detect interpolations in the manuscripts of others as well (*Akhhār al-quḍāt* III 314).

²⁰⁷ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 295; *Manāqib*, pp. 109 f. and 260.

²⁰⁸ Abū Nu'aim IX 97; *Manāqib*, pp. 499 f. and 502. For this Muḥammad see e.g. *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 79.

memory while at the same time his library was growing larger and larger, his earlier habit of not identifying each volume or container caused him some embarrassment. Once he asked his son ʿAbd Allāh, the major transmitter of his *Musnad*, to bring him a certain book. When ʿAbd Allāh had difficulty in finding it, Ibn Ḥanbal himself entered his library, but it took him a long time to locate the particular tradition he sought.²⁰⁹ It was this same son who reported that his father, despite his excellent memory, related less than a hundred traditions from memory. The significance of this statement can be gauged when it is related to the statement that the traditions in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* numbered, in round figures, thirty thousand and that the traditions in his *Tafsīr* were extracted from one hundred and twenty thousand.²¹⁰ Finally, when Ibn Ḥanbal was restored to royal favor after his trial, the caliph Mutawakkil, who strongly upheld the authority of Tradition, wished him to instruct the princes. Ibn Ḥanbal, always anxious to avoid involvement with royalty, was happy to be able to excuse himself by saying "I do not memorize and have not my books with me."²¹¹

In view of the developments outlined above, it is now possible to trace the progress of the recording of Tradition. Before the reign of ʿUmar I no stand was taken in regard to the recording of *ḥadīth*. ʿUmar I was the first to oppose it but could not impose his decision on the entire community (see p. 10). In the half-century following his death each side sought to universalize its position, but those who were opposed to the recording of *ḥadīth* constantly lost ground not only because of their failure to gain young adherents but also because of the defection of some of their own older adherents. This period has yielded many reports of conservative teachers who washed out or destroyed their students' sheets or notebooks and urged them to memorize the *ḥadīth* even as they themselves memorized it²¹² and of others who, nearing death, destroyed their own manuscripts by burying, burning, or drowning them (see p. 52).²¹³ The last quarter of the first century saw at least a tacit victory for those who favored recorded Tradition as written collections of sizable individual *musnad*'s or groups of *musnad*'s or heterogeneous materials began to appear. Thereafter, the continued socio-economic ambitions of the *mawālī*, the constant threat and fear of heresy and religious innovation (*bidʿah*), the firm establishment of the family *isnād* of several generations, the increase in the student population, the progressive lengthening of the *isnād*,²¹⁴ the expansion of the *riḥlah* and of the profession of the *warrāq* all contributed steadily to the increased production and use of recorded Tradition.²¹⁵ It was at this time that, though some conservatives were still inclined to destroy their manuscripts (see pp. 62 f.), instances of transmission from memory alone or the loss of his manuscripts exposed the traditionist to the charge of inaccuracy and weakness despite his acknowledged honesty and sincerity.²¹⁶ The recording of *ḥadīth* was generally accepted before Mālik, Shāfiʿī, and Ibn Ḥanbal by their precepts and example made the practice all but universal in the second half of the second century, which in turn accounts for the rapid increase in the number and size of

²⁰⁹ *Manāqib*, pp. 189 f.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 191, 260; cf. *Adab al-implāʿ*, p. 47.

²¹¹ *Manāqib*, p. 385. See also *Adab al-implāʿ*, pp. 46 f., which states that several of Ibn Ḥanbal's leading contemporaries refused to dictate or recite except from their manuscripts: لا يحدث إلا من كتابه فان الحفظ خوان. Cf. p. 53, n. 185, above.

²¹² See e.g. Ibn Saʿd IV 1, p. 83; *Jāmiʿ*: I 63–70; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 36–44. See also p. 231 below.

²¹³ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd V 133, VI 63 and 86.

²¹⁴ See *Adab al-implāʿ*, p. 147, for a general statement, and

Jarḥ IV 2, pp. 248 f., where careful attention to *isnād*'s is definitely associated with writing in the case of Yūnus ibn Yazīd (d. 149/766), one of Zuhri's leading pupils (see pp. 176 f. below).

²¹⁵ See e.g. Dārimī I 123.

²¹⁶ Ibn Saʿd VI 255 f. For Shāfiʿī's views see e.g. *Risālah*, p. 53. See also *Jāmiʿ*: II 169: من كتب قويت حجته من أكثر غلظه من المحدثين ولم يكن له أصل صحيح من قبل حديثه; Abū Nuʿaim VI 360; Khaṭīb IX 26; *Madkhal*, pp. 42–44 (= trans. pp. 41–43).

the private libraries of traditionists and jurists alike. Oral transmission continued in the meantime to be desirable. But instead of manuscripts being recommended as an aid to memory, memory itself was now recommended as a check on one's manuscripts and a safeguard against either innocent error²¹⁷ or malicious interpolation, while at the same time every device was used to insure the accuracy of one's precious manuscripts²¹⁸ in case of the ultimate failure of memory itself (see pp. 52 f.).²¹⁹

III

It seems necessary, in view of the developments delineated above, to look into some of the factors that have contributed to the general overemphasis placed on the role of oral transmission in early Islām, particularly with reference to the second century, in spite of the fact that the evidence of early and continuous written transmission is so well documented in the earliest literature on traditionists and the science of Tradition.

As already indicated in Volume I, part of the trouble lies in semantics. The Arabs, in making their successful transition within a short time from a protoliterate to a fully literate society, borrowed many terms from their non-Arab neighbors. These terms are mostly substantives that indicate materials and tools rather than verbals that describe the process of acquiring, creating, and preserving a body of literature. Thus, while borrowing such terms as *qalam*, *ḥibr*, *qirtāṣ*, *daftar*, and *muṣḥaf*, to name but a few,²²⁰ they used the verbs *sami'a*, *ʿaraḍa*, *katāba*, *amlā*, *nāwala*, etc. and their derivatives in reference to the actual processes of learning and of the production of manuscripts. Inevitably some of the borrowed words acquired new connotations, which Western scholars have tended to ignore, and hence they have led to some degree of confusion that is not readily overcome.

In the course of my research I noted the occurrences of several key terms, borrowed or otherwise, indicative of the size and permanency of manuscript collections in an effort to recapture their meaning in the contexts of their historical setting and literary usage and to establish, where possible, their interrelationships. The terms *ṣaḥīfah*, *suḥuf*, and *muṣḥaf*, generally translated "sheet (of writing material)," "sheets," and "book," particularly the Qurʾān, respectively, will serve to illustrate one phase of the problem. To thus translate these terms consistently is one way of going astray and this way has been too frequently taken by Western scholars, beginning with Sprenger, particularly in connection with the recording of Tradition. For it can be shown that there are instances in the earliest Islāmic literature in which the term *ṣaḥīfah* implies something more than an ordinary single sheet, even a large one, of writing material. The *ṣaḥīfah*, regardless of size, was frequently carried or stored in the form of a scroll (*darj*) which consisted more often than not of at least several sheets and sometimes of a large number.²²¹ Some of these early rolls, to judge from information on the nature and extent of their literary contents, were quite sizable.²²² There were, for instance, the *ṣaḥīfah* of the caliph Abū Bakr which contained Sūrah 9 and covers twenty-five pages of the 1928 Cairo edition of the Qurʾān and the *ṣaḥīfah* of Fāṭimah, sister of ʿUmar I, which contained Sūrah 20 and covers

²¹⁷ See e.g. *Kifāyah*, pp. 226–37, and *Maʿrifah*, pp. 146–52, for types of errors found in 2d- and 3d-century manuscripts.

²¹⁸ *Kifāyah*, pp. 237–44.

²¹⁹ See *ibid.* pp. 66 and 108 for instructions for the production of accurate manuscripts. See also pp. 89 f. below.

²²⁰ See p. 43, n. 80, for borrowed words for the containers

of manuscripts. The same phenomenon occurs in current intercultural borrowings.

²²¹ See e.g. Muslim I 82 f. for a long scroll of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib's legal sentences that was in the possession of Ibn ʿAbbās. The *ḥadīth ṣaḥīfah* of Wahb ibn Munabbih consisted of 27 folios, and that of Ibn Lahīrah measured 189 cm.

²²² See e.g. *Futūḥ al-buldān*, pp. 464 f.; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 89, 95, and 108.

fourteen pages of the same edition of the Qurʾān.²²³ Again, there was the *ṣahīfah* of Ḥafṣah (see p. 42), wife of Muḥammad and daughter of ʿUmar I, which must have contained the greater part of the Qurʾān since it formed the basis of ʿUmar’s “edition” of the Qurʾān, which preceded the ʿUthmānic edition. This *ṣahīfah* was based on an earlier collection of Qurʾānic texts made for Abū Bakr by Zaid ibn Thābit, chief editor of the ʿUthmānic edition.²²⁴ Similarly, the several *ṣuḥuf* that contained the tax directives of Muḥammad and the first four caliphs may have been written originally on fairly large single sheets or small scrolls, to judge both by the all but laconic brevity of most of the official correspondence of the period and by the probable size of these various documents as reconstructed, co-ordinated, and classified by Zuhri into a single *daftar* or manuscript.

In the second half of the first century we find the shadow of ʿUmar I retreating from the midst of the aging Companions and the younger generation of traditionists, who were aware of the need to “chain down” their traditions for the benefit of the members of their own immediate circles if not for posterity. Furthermore, they began to travel far and wide to ascertain the accuracy and authenticity of what they were so eager to chain down, and more and more of them began to swell their initial collections of a limited number of traditions by copying in full (*ʿalā al-wajh*) the collections of others. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that in this period, when the term *ṣahīfah* was used to indicate a given traditionist’s collection, it could have referred to a sizable and permanent manuscript instead of to a temporary memorandum sheet as hitherto generally supposed. In fact, this general supposition is not always necessary even for the first few decades of Islām, since the Qurʾān itself speaks of the books (*ṣuḥuf*) of Abraham and Moses.²²⁵ The *ṣahīfah* of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (see p. 37), who wrote down everything he heard from Muḥammad with the latter’s permission despite the protest of some of the Companions,²²⁶ could hardly have been a single sheet or even a small roll, since it is said to have contained a thousand traditions.²²⁷ Again, the entire *Tafsīr* of Saʿīd ibn Jubair, written for the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik and preserved for several generations, was also called a *ṣahīfah*,²²⁸ as was a collection of three hundred traditions of Zuhri.²²⁹ In other words, these and the few other instances that have so far come to my notice of early *ṣuḥuf* whose approximate or probable sizes are indicated, such as those of the Syrian Khālid ibn Maʿdān, Khālid ibn Abī ʿImrān al-Tunīsī (see p. 214), Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Wahb ibn Munabbih, Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl, and Zuhri,²³⁰ instead of being considered rare exceptions could just as well be considered representative of the *ṣahīfah* collections of their time, particularly in the growing community of *ḥadīth* scholars who as a group advocated and practiced the recording of Tradition. It should be noted further that the sources seem to imply that the average size of a *ṣahīfah* and of a *daftar* was taken for granted, since in most of the instances mentioned above the size of the *ṣahīfah* is incidental to the main report or anecdote.

The idea of comparative permanency that was implied by the term *ṣahīfah* when it was used to describe a scholar’s collection of *ḥadīth* is brought out by contrast with the term *lūḥ* (pl. *alwāḥ*), translated “tablet,” which referred to a comparatively bulky hard-surfaced material such as shoulder blades in earlier times and wooden tablets of varying sizes²³¹ soon thereafter.

²²³ Both of these are early Meccan Sūrah except for a few verses (see *Kifāyah*, p. 313, and *Strah* I 225 f. respectively).

²²⁴ See Bukhārī III 393; *Tafsīr* I 59–61; Abū Nuʿaim II 50 f. See also *Concordance* II 260–63 *صحن*.

²²⁵ Sūrah 87: 18.

²²⁶ Ibn Ḥanbal II 162 f.; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 79 and 84 f.

²²⁷ *Uṣd* III 233 f.

²²⁸ *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 332.

²²⁹ Khaṭīb XIV 87; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 108, n. 245.

²³⁰ See Document 6 and our Vol. I 22; see also Nabia Abbott, “An Arabic papyrus in the Oriental Institute,” *JNES* V (1946) 169 f.

²³¹ *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 34 and 68.

Alwāḥ were commonly used in elementary schools and by young traditionists. Even older traditionists used them in the initial process of note-taking and *ḥadīth*-collecting prior to committing the material to a more permanent record in a special *ṣaḥīfah* or *daftar*.²³² Such use is illustrated in the case of Zuhri, who, before his decision to record Tradition, went to his teachers without writing materials and relied on his good memory while his fellow pupils wrote down from dictation. However, when a lengthy tradition was involved while he was listening to Aʿraj—and some traditions are long indeed—Zuhri took a sheet (*waraqah*) from Aʿraj's supply of writing materials and wrote down the tradition, which he memorized and then he tore up the sheet.²³³ Later, when he was anxious to record everything he heard, he is described as making the rounds of *ḥadīth* scholars carrying with him *alwāḥ* and *ṣuḥuf*, the former for on-the-spot note-taking and temporary use, the latter no doubt for recording lengthier materials for future use.²³⁴ As we move farther into the second century we find that the term *ṣaḥīfah* (pl. *ṣuḥuf*) was used less and less in connection with note-taking while *lūḥ* and *alwāḥ* continued to be so used²³⁵ but were increasingly supplemented by the terms *waraqah* and *riqʿah*,²³⁶ a sheet and a small piece of writing material respectively. On the other hand, *ṣaḥīfah* and *ṣuḥuf* continued to be used in connection with larger and more permanent manuscripts²³⁷ but were supplemented by the terms *daftar* (pl. *dafātīr*) and *kurrāsah* (pl. *karārīs*) to such an extent that some lexicographers sensed that the terms *kitāb*, *ṣaḥīfah*, *kurrāsah*, and *daftar* were similar if not identical in meaning.²³⁸ The term *daftar* has already been discussed at some length,²³⁹ but a few more instances of its use in the fields of Tradition and law have since been encountered and should be noted.²⁴⁰ The most interesting of these instances are those that indicate comparative permanency. We read, for instance, that Abū ʿUбайдah had in Kaisān an incompetent dictation master and secretary who erred in four different ways: "He (Kaisān) understands something other than what he (actually) hears, writes in the *alwāḥ* something other than what he understands, transfers from the *alwāḥ* to the *daftar* something other than what he wrote, and then reads from the *daftar* something other than what is in it."²⁴¹ There is still another indication of the prestige and permanency of the *daftar*. We are familiar with instances of young, especially poverty-stricken, pupils who collected or bought discarded documents or papers with largely blank versos on which they wrote their traditions and also with instances of the use of the blank reverse of a letter for the same purpose (as in Document 9)²⁴² or to rebuke or even insult the letter-writer.²⁴³ Hence, anything said to be written *ʿalā ḡahr al-ḡirḡās* or *ʿalā ḡahr al-kitāb* came to indicate something of little permanent value. In direct contrast, we read that only the very best is written on the back of a *daftar*.²⁴⁴

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 59.

²³⁴ Dhahabī I 103.

²³⁵ See e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 162 f.; *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 34 f., 144, and 285. *Jāmiʿ* I 63–70 is headed *باب كراهية كتابة العلم وتخليده في الصحف*.

²³⁶ See e.g. Khaṭīb XII 353 f.; *Kifāyah*, p. 329. See also pp. 277 and 194 below.

²³⁷ See e.g. references in n. 235 and *Kifāyah*, pp. 318–23, with many examples from Zuhri's time.

²³⁸ See Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, pp. 1654 f. (*صحيفة*). Note the use of the diminutive *dufaīlar*, which I have not so far come across in the *ḥadīth* literature, *ibid.* pp. 889 f. (*دفتر*).

²³⁹ Vol. I 21–25, 29, 48.

²⁴⁰ Saḥnūn ibn Saʿīd al-Tanūkhī, *Al-mudawwanah al-kubrā* (Cairo, 1324/1906) III 396 f. (Mālik ibn Anas); *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 330 (Ibn Ḥanbal) and 337 (Abū Zarʿah); *Aghānī* X 106 (Abū Tammām).

²⁴¹ *Adab al-implāʿ*, p. 92. This source does not say whether Kaisān was dismissed or not! See Khaṭīb XII 37 f. for a later instance, in which materials were copied from individual *riqʿ* to *ajzāʿ* to constitute Dāraquṭni's *ʿIlal al-ḥadīth*.

²⁴² Khaṭīb IV 340.

²⁴³ Nawawī, *Bustān al-ʿarīfīn* (Cairo, 1348/1929) pp. 32 f.

²⁴⁴ *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 134 and 141. Comparable is the still widespread practice of placing the most appropriate quotations at the heads of chapters or books.

It is interesting to note that early in the reign of Mansūr,

The *kurrāsah*, like the *daftar*, implied prestige and permanency, having become early associated with the sections or quires which were used for the copies of the Qurʾān (*karārīs al-maṣāḥif*). It seems that those who advocated the recording of Tradition soon began to use *karārīs* for *ḥadīth* manuscripts and drew thereby a protest from Nakhaʿī (see pp. 149 f.), who had reluctantly taken to writing down *ḥadīth* as he grew older. He belonged to the group that opposed written Tradition out of zeal for the unique authority of the Qurʾān,²⁴⁵ a sentiment which likewise affected *ḥadīth*-writers, such as Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim, who disliked having a *ḥadīth* manuscript placed on a reading stand (*kursī*) because the Qurʾān usually was so placed.²⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the size of the *karārīs* used in the first and second centuries is nowhere specified so far as I have been able to discover,²⁴⁷ and for later times the number of folios or pages to a *kurrāsah* varies from eight to twenty-four.²⁴⁸ To judge by the range of the number of traditions to a folio, as illustrated in our documents, such *karārīs* could well have contained early collections varying from the two hundred to the five hundred traditions so frequently referred to in the sources.

The initial fear (*rahbah*) of the Prophet's *ḥadīth*, best expressed by the attitude of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar I, who destroyed *ḥadīth* manuscripts, and ʿUthmān, who avoided all but strictly literal *ḥadīth*,²⁴⁹ had given way to reverential awe (*haibah*) and pious pomp and glorification (*taʿẓīm al-ḥadīth*) before the end of the first century (see pp. 90 f.). Such sentiments began at the latest with Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib and his younger contemporaries and were held by representatives of the succeeding generations such as Mālik ibn Anas,²⁵⁰ Ibn Wahb,²⁵¹ Ibn Ḥanbal,²⁵² and some less prominent scholars.²⁵³ These sentiments were reflected in the attempt to treat *ḥadīth* manuscripts in a manner befitting the Qurʾān by the use of Qurʾānic scripts and format and by the use of reading stands.

Reverence for the Prophet's *ḥadīth* carried over eventually to the most outstanding traditionists,²⁵⁴ some of whom were not averse to being counted among the *aṣḥāb al-karāsī*,²⁵⁵ that is, among the high and mighty, partly after the fashion of religious leaders in other faiths and partly in imitation of secular leaders in Islāmic society itself, in which a chair literally raised the occupant above his companions who were seated on mattresses and cushions or bare mats on the floor and figuratively clothed him with might and power.²⁵⁶ The desire for such prestige

Khālīd al-Barmakī introduced the *daftar* in codex form, as against the earlier rolls, for use in the administrative bureaus: كانت الدفاتر في الدواوين صحفاً مدرجة فاول من جعلها دفاتر من جلود وقراطيس خالد بن برمك (see Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī and Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣairāfī [Cairo, 1379/1960] p. 20).

²⁴⁵ See *Jāmiʿ* I 67; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 47 f. See also p. 13 above.

²⁴⁶ Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, pp. 134 f.; *Iṭqān* II 172. The Qurʾān of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was also carried in a wooden box (Ibn Saʿd V 270). The general association of the Qurʾān with the *kursī* as a mark of awe and honor is reflected in an incident reported of the Barmakid *wazīr* Yaḥyā. He so admired the *Rasāʾil* of the administrative secretary and literary stylist ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/750; see *GAL* S I 165 and our Vol. I 29, n. 5) that he placed the work, written in a large volume (*daftar kabīr*), on a *kursī*, much to the surprise and pleasure of the secretary's son, who assumed the volume to be a Qurʾān (cf. Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-kuttāb*, ed. Dominique Sourdel, in *Bulletin d'études orientales* XIV [1952-54] 149).

²⁴⁷ Cf. Nawawī's commentary on Muslim I 95.

²⁴⁸ In paper-making terms a *kurrāsah* is a quire or one-twentieth of a ream of 480 or 500 sheets of paper laid flat or folded once.

²⁴⁹ See Ibn Saʿd III 1, pp. 39 and 210. For other early instances of this attitude see e.g. Ibn Saʿd III 1, p. 110, and IV 1, p. 106.

²⁵⁰ Ibn ʿAsākir IV 351 f.

²⁵¹ Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Mudkhal ilā tanmiyat al-amal* I 135.

²⁵² *Manāqib*, pp. 180 and 203 f.

²⁵³ *Jāmiʿ* II 198 f.; Dhahabī II 84 f.; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Mudkhal ilā tanmiyat al-amal* I 135 f. See also Goldziher, "Kämpfe um die Stellung des Ḥadīṭ im Islam," *ZDMG* LXI 860-62.

²⁵⁴ See e.g. *Adab al-implā*, pp. 27-38, for early and later practices.

²⁵⁵ See e.g. Tirmidhī X 16.

²⁵⁶ The well known Qurʾānic "Verse of the Throne," *ayat al-kursī* (Sūrah 2:255), which refers to the "Throne of God," and its commentators give both the literal and the figurative sense of the phrase *aṣḥāb al-karāsī*. Hārūn al-Rashīd sat on a golden throne (*kursī min dhahab*) yet

was frequently accompanied by pride in memory, which helps to explain the overemphasis that has been given to the role of oral transmission.

Admirers who reported that they never saw a book in the hands of a given leading traditionist who is known to have had large written collections at home referred only to his recitations; yet the phrase *ما رآيت في يده كتابا قط*²⁵⁷ has come to be interpreted, too frequently, as implying opposition to written Tradition.²⁵⁸ Scholars who were not likely to be seen writing down traditions nor with a book in hand would have been the illiterate or semiliterate and the blind or nearly blind.²⁵⁹ The illiterate Abū Hurairah was in a class by himself because of his long association with Muḥammad and the large volume of his *musnad*. A few other illiterates who made a virtue of their deficiency and exercised their memories are not associated with large numbers of traditions; these include such men as Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, who learned the rudiments of writing at a mature age,²⁶⁰ Ja‘far ibn Barqān, who transmitted from Zuhri, and Ḥammād ibn Khālid, who sat at Mālik’s gate.²⁶¹ On the other hand, Abū ‘Awānah al-Waḍḍāḥ ibn Khālid (d. 170 or 176/786 or 792), who could read but not write, sought help with his manuscripts, which were carefully pointed and voweled so that he would be able to read them easily and correctly. He was considered acceptable only when he was transmitting from such reliable manuscripts.²⁶² As for the blind or nearly blind, of whom there were apparently quite a few,²⁶³ the case of A‘mash, whose very name emphasizes his misfortune, is illustrative. He started by opposing recorded Tradition but in the end dictated his collection to others.

Another deceptive phrase is *لا يكتب فلان عند فلان*, which has been frequently, though erroneously, taken to mean that no writing was permitted by the teacher nor practiced by the pupils. It is used, for instance, in connection with Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī as teacher and A‘mash and Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār as pupils in contexts that do not permit any confusion between ‘*an* (عن) and ‘*ind* (عند). For the students concentrated on memory work in the teacher’s presence (‘*ind*), then usually had a memory drill among themselves, and finally rushed home to write down the day’s quota of traditions preparatory to later collation.²⁶⁴

Still another phrase that is subject to misreading and misinterpretation is *لا يكتب حديثه*, which could be voweled to read “he does not write his *ḥadīth*” or “his *ḥadīth* is not to be written down,” both of which could imply oral transmission. However, works on *ḥadīth* criticism such as the *Jarḥ wa al-ta‘dīl* of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who cite as authorities the critics Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī, Ibn Ḥanbal (who frequently relied on Yaḥyā and Ibn Mahdī), and the severest critic of them all, Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn (see pp. 53, 54), show an early turning point when the phrase began to emphasize the role of written transmission as against oral. Read in the active voice, the phrase implies a

had one unfulfilled ambition, namely to function as a leading traditionist sitting on a *kursī* (Khaṭīb XI 197, 199).

²⁵⁷ See e.g. Khaṭīb VI 224 for Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Ayyāsh; Khaṭīb VII 70 f. for Sulaimān ibn Ḥarb; Khaṭīb XIII 475 f. for Ḥammād ibn Zaid ibn Dirham, Sufyān ibn ‘Uyainah, Sufyān al-Thaurī, and Shu‘bah ibn Ḥajjāj; Khaṭīb XIV 140 for ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī and 338–41 for Yazīd ibn Hārūn.

²⁵⁸ Despite the fact that dictation was the method many famous scholars chose for publishing their works, not a few of which were titled simply *Amālī* or *Imlā’*. See e.g. *GAL*

S III, Index pp. 801 f. and 915 f., for such works from the 2d century onward; see also pp. 48 f. above.

²⁵⁹ *Kifāyah*, pp. 228 f. and 258 f.

²⁶⁰ Ibn Sa‘īd IV 1, p. 83. See also our Vol. I 28.

²⁶¹ *Tafsīr* IV 482 and Khaṭīb VIII 150.

²⁶² *Jarḥ* IV 2, pp. 40 f.

²⁶³ See e.g. Dhahabī II 31 for Muḥammad ibn al-Minhāl (d. 231/846), blind teacher of both Muslim and Bukhārī.

²⁶⁴ *Taqyīd al-‘ilm*, pp. 111 f. See *Kifāyah*, pp. 66–69, for arguments for and against this procedure, which was bound to discourage strictly literal transmission, especially if many traditions were involved at a time.

degree of unreliability. Read in the passive voice, it is a formula for outright rejection of a particular traditionist.²⁶⁵ It was frequently used to reject Abū Ḥanīfah as a weak traditionist, even though he was said to have written down a large number of traditions some of which were later used by his leading pupil, Abū Yūsuf the chief justice for Hārūn al-Rashīd.²⁶⁶ A less critical position is indicated by the phrase *يكتب حديثه ولا يحتج به*, "his *ḥadīth* may be written down (for reference and comparison) but should not be adduced as proof."²⁶⁷ Finally, full approval is expressed by the phrase *حجة يكتب حديثه*, "he is authoritative, his *ḥadīth* may be (is to be) written down," which was used in reference to most recognized authorities. It is evident that, whichever way the phrase was used or read, it testifies to the universal demand for and acceptability of recorded Tradition in the professional circles of the second and third centuries.

Another cause of the overemphasis on the role of oral transmission was the scholar's practice of destroying his manuscripts in his old age. Most of the early cases of such destruction stemmed from the motive that led Abū Bakr and ʿUmar I to destroy *ḥadīth* manuscripts (see p. 60). The impression one gains at first is that most of the second-century instances were sincerely motivated. That some *ḥadīth* manuscripts were either erased or destroyed is not to be questioned.²⁶⁸ But these acts took place for a variety of reasons, some of which were quite unrelated to the motive of ʿUmar I. Books were destroyed because they wore out, or because their owner had no trustworthy heir (see p. 10), or because of fear of the authorities, or because of anger or bitterness. *Fiqh* scholars, especially some of the *ahl al-raʿy*, suffered qualms of conscience toward the end of life and therefore sometimes destroyed their own works and more often their copies of works dealing with doctrines verging on heresy. All in all, *ḥadīth* manuscripts seem to have suffered no more, if as much, in this respect than any other legal or sectarian works. Some scholars who buried their books out of fear of the authorities recovered them when the danger had passed, as was the case with Sufyān al-Thaurī and his books.²⁶⁹ And, again, books that had been lost or buried for some time, by accident or otherwise, were discovered accidentally and rescued, as was the case even with Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ*, which was found buried after his death.²⁷⁰ The loss of books, from the time of ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair onward, was belatedly regretted and always considered a calamity conducive to the unfortunate traditionists' sudden loss of authority and influence (see p. 56). During the second century most traditionists frowned on the practice of destroying manuscripts. Thus while the ascetic scholars Dāʾūd al-Tāʾī (d. 165/781–82)²⁷¹ and Bishr al-Ḥāfiʿ²⁷² destroyed their books, Ibn Lahīʿah, though suspect in some respects, was helped to replace his library, which had been destroyed by fire, and Ibn Ḥanbal expressed displeasure at the willful destruction of books.²⁷³ Furthermore, the destruction of a scholar's collection of *ḥadīth* manuscripts and

²⁶⁵ See e.g. *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 322, and *Jarḥ I 2*, p. 513, rejecting the weak traditionist Rishdm ibn Saʿd of our Document 8; *Lisān VI 232 f.*, rejecting Abū al-Bakhtari of our Document 10. For other 2d-century instances see e.g. *Jarḥ III 2*, pp. 242 f.; Khaṭīb XIV 330; *Kifāyah*, p. 22; *Mizān I 175*.

²⁶⁶ Ibn Saʿd VI 256; *Jāmiʿ II 145*; Khaṭīb IX 11. For a fair treatment of Abū Ḥanīfah as a traditionist see Yūsuf al-ʿAshsh, *Al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī* (Damascus, 1346/1945) pp. 238–42.

²⁶⁷ As in the case, for example, of Baqīyah ibn al-Walid and Yūnus ibn Bukair (*Jarḥ II 2*, pp. 154 and 227, and IV 2, pp. 127 f.).

²⁶⁸ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 116; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 60 and 146 f. See Kūrkiš ʿAwwād, *Khazāʾin al-kutub al-qadīmah fī al-ʿIrāq*, pp. 28–41, for such practices in later times, with references on pp. 34–36 to earlier burying of books.

²⁶⁹ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 115. Eventually he instructed his pupils to destroy his books, and they did so (*ibid.* p. 116).

²⁷⁰ Ṭabarī, *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ*, ed. Friedrich Kern, p. 9.

²⁷¹ *Maʿārif*, p. 257; *Irshād V 386–91*.

²⁷² Khaṭīb VII 67; Ibn ʿAsākir III 231.

²⁷³ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-waraʿ*, pp. 47 ff.

books late in his life seldom resulted in a total loss except in the physical sense. For the aged scholar had in all probability disseminated their contents in part or in whole to at least a few deserving and able transmitters who had already either absorbed these contents into their own *ḥadīth* collections or had preserved copies of some of the destroyed originals (see e.g. pp. 49–52).

Finally, the *isnād* terminology itself is misleading, developing as it did during a period when oral transmission was greatly emphasized. Not only do the basic verbs *qāla* and *samiʿa* imply oral communication, but the rest of the *isnād* terms—*anʿanah*, *akhbara*, *ambaʿa*, *ballagha*, *ḥaddatha*, *dhakara*, *zaʿama*—all connote primarily speech rather than written communication, though they as readily convey the latter sense in a society that has long been literate. The primarily oral connotations of these terms carried over into the succeeding periods even though oral transmission itself was fast losing ground, for early Islām made literacy and intellectual endeavor two of its chief characteristics. Since *ḥadīth* soon became basic to all religious studies, its methodology, as this evolved and became comparatively stable, was borrowed in principle though not to the same degree of precision and consistency for the related sciences, especially for Qurʾānic commentary, law, and history (*tafsīr*, *fiqh*, and *taʾrīkh*).²⁷⁴ Some of the earlier terms, such as *balagha*, *dhakara*, and *zaʿama*, that soon lost favor with the traditionists, continued in freer use in these other fields though not without some implied suspicion.²⁷⁵ The traditionists in the meantime strove for greater precision in the *isnād* terminology, so that the fleeting use of the passive voice of the verbs *ḥaddatha* and *akhbara*²⁷⁶ gave way to the active transitive *ḥaddathanī* and *akhbaranī*. The traditionists' real problem, however, was to evolve an *isnād* terminology precise enough to distinguish adequately between the two current and frequently concomitant methods of transmission—the oral and the written. How they went about this task and the limited degree to which they succeeded is detailed in connection with the discussion of Documents 6 and 7 and need not detain us here. But it should be noted that since Zuhri and his followers insisted on the use of the *isnād*²⁷⁷ and at the same time encouraged written transmission²⁷⁸ the oral connotations of the *isnād* terms, which he and his students used and to a degree stabilized, more often than not camouflaged written transmission in the guise of oral transmission.²⁷⁹

A question must be raised at this point. In view of the considerable amount of *ḥadīth*-recording in the second half of the first century and the phenomenal acceleration of literary activity and development of literary forms in the time of Zuhri and immediately thereafter, why do modern scholars still lean heavily toward the view that, until well into the third century, oral communication was the main channel for the transmission of Tradition? The answer lies partly in the history of Islāmic studies, particularly in the West, in the nineteenth and

²⁷⁴ See Documents 1, 6, 7; see also Vol. I 5–31.

²⁷⁵ See Vol. I 13, 16, 21 f. and pp. 121 f., 174 f., 196 below.

²⁷⁶ Used by Ibn Juraij in his collection of the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās, which Ibn Juraij brought to Manṣūr's attention in the hope of a reward that never materialized. Manṣūr heard the recitation of the collection (size not indicated) with appreciation but disapproved of the *isnād* padding: قال المنصور ما احسنها لولا هذا الحشو يعني بلغنى وحدثت (see Khaṭīb X 400, 404). Khaṭīb's entire entry (*ibid.* pp. 400–407) on Ibn Juraij reflects the latter's

constant preoccupation with *ḥadīth*-writing and manuscripts.

²⁷⁷ See *Adab al-implāʿ*, pp. 5–8, where the role of the *isnād* is indicated by means of several picturesque figures of speech.

²⁷⁸ See e.g. *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 117; *Jāmiʿ*: I 73, II 177 f.; *Adab al-implāʿ*, p. 155; Abū Nuʿaim III 366: حضور المجلس بلا نسخة ذل.

²⁷⁹ See e.g. pp. 57, 126, 181, 193, 196–98, 236. See also *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 161, 174, 205, 254 f., 316 f., and 349; *Kifāyah*, pp. 305 f., 318 f., and 321 f.

twentieth centuries. Giants pioneering in the field—Nöldeke, Wellhausen, Wüstenfeld, Caetani, De Slane, Muir, Sprenger, Wensinck, Goldziher—broke fresh ground in studies of the Qurʾān, the life of Muḥammad, and the history of early Islām. Practically everything they touched brought them up against Tradition and the distracting problems it poses. Yet they stopped only long enough to clear a narrow path to their own particular goals, ignoring the wide field of Tradition itself, until Goldziher changed this pattern and plowed into the whole field of Tradition. That he was able to accomplish so much in his day, when a great deal of the source material was still unpublished and some important early sources were yet to be discovered, gives eloquent testimony to his great energy and broad vision. That even he overlooked certain phenomena and was misled by later Islāmic interpretation of early Islāmic cultural history is thus understandable. He, like most of his contemporaries, minimized the tangible cultural developments of the ʿUmayyad period and continued therefore to stress the role of oral transmission and to consider all early literary records as temporary aids to memory and thus fixed the pattern for the next generation of students of Tradition, most of whom seldom ventured beyond the paths already traced. A high plateau having been reached, most scholars were content to rest there until, first, Fück, Horowitz, and Rudi Paret struck out on their own and, more recently, the veteran scholar James Robson devoted his mature years to a new approach to the science of Tradition. While not one of these scholars undertook a thorough analysis of the methods and means of transmission of *ḥadīth*, they all converged toward the general conclusion that the vast body of orthodox Tradition was more or less fixed by around the end of the first century. More recently, Islāmic scholars, aware and appreciative for the most part of the West's pioneering in the study of Islāmic culture, have begun to delve with increasing vigor and curiosity into the early cultural history of Islām and are discovering the speedy development of its first religious sciences and their close interrelationships. As a result, such scholars as Aḥmad Amīn, Kattānī, Kurd ʿAlī, and Jawād ʿAlī, whose research covers a wide scope of cultural history, as well as those who like Yūsuf al-ʿAshsh²⁸⁰ and Sezgin (see e.g. p. 46) concentrate more on Tradition and law, are more willing to concede a higher cultural level not only to the pre-ʿAbbāsīd period but also to the pre-Islāmic Arabs. By according to both a greater degree of literacy than that permitted by the popular traditional picture of the ʿUmayyads and of the *jāhiliyyah*, they help to counteract the overworked argument for complete or exclusive orality in Tradition.

It would, of course, be absurd to equate oral transmission with excessive fluidity of either form or content, with the usually accompanying implication of conscious or unconscious fabrication, and it would be equally absurd to equate literary record with complete fixity of form and content implying thereby the exclusion of the probability of fabrication. But it would likewise be absurd not to concede that oral transmission is indeed more conducive to fabrication than is literary fixity. Therefore, the marked degree of early literary fixity indicated in the present study should to that degree clarify some of the issues in the great controversy over the authenticity of Islāmic Tradition.

²⁸⁰ See especially his introduction to *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*.

GROWTH OF TRADITION

THE controversy over the authenticity of Islāmic Tradition is intimately associated with the rapid growth of *ḥadīth* during the first two centuries of Islām, when as a result of the initial caution exercised by the Companions and older Successors relative to the *isnād* biographical science (*ʿilm al-rijāl*) was formalized by such scholars as Ibn Juraij, Shuʿbah ibn al-Ḥajjāj, and Wuhaib ibn Khālīd al-Baṣrī and further refined under such critics as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī and Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān to become a sharp tool, the *jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl*, in the hands of such master *ḥadīth* critics as Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn and ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī.¹ Major *ḥadīth* collectors who were active around the end of the second century, of the caliber of Ibn Ḥanbal, Bukhārī, and Muslim, used fully this indispensable tool of all traditionists who were more than passive channels of transmission. Ibn Ḥanbal, who had the most inclusive collection, transmitted, like Sufyān ibn ʿUyainah before him,² traditions of varying degrees of soundness along with some that were faulty and pointed out that were he to transmit only such traditions as he considered sound his *musnad* would shrink to a small part of its volume.³ Muslim and Bukhārī, like Ibn Ḥanbal, had enormous *ḥadīth* collections with many sound but many more unsound traditions to draw on. Unlike Ibn Ḥanbal, however, they limited themselves, each according to his own set of rules, to traditions they considered sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and proved Ibn Ḥanbal's point by the relatively small size of their *Ṣaḥīḥain*, though it must be pointed out that neither of them claimed to have exhausted all the sound *ḥadīth*. Despite their different objectives and standards of selection, all three of these *ḥadīth* collectors emphasized the fact that their finished compositions constituted but a small fraction of the materials available to them, the greater part of which each judged to be unfit for use. To the uninitiated in the field of Islāmic Tradition such an assertion seems not only alarming but almost absurd, especially coming from Ibn Ḥanbal and others who confessed that they included unsound traditions in their selections. But it posed no problem for the critics who, like the collectors, took down everything in order to be familiar with the true as well as the false traditions and not to mistake one for the other.⁴ Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, for instance, estimated the number of traditions in his first category of sound traditions at less than ten thousand.⁵ Nevertheless, even the initiates in the field of Islāmic Tradition, hypnotized by the great disproportion between the so-called sound and unsound traditions, are preconditioned to look upon Islāmic Tradition as having been a vehicle of large-scale fabrication before the leading traditionists of the third century took it in hand to separate the few grains of wheat from the mounds of chaff.⁶ It is therefore necessary to examine in detail so-called sound and unsound Tradition.

¹ For early *ḥadīth* critics and for surveys of the development of *ḥadīth* criticism see Tirmidhī XIII 304–39; *Jarḥ*, *Taqdīmah*, pp. 1–11; *Jarḥ* IV 2, pp. 34 f.; *Jāmiʿ* II 150–63; *Kifāyah*, pp. 101–20; *Maʿrifah*, pp. 52–58; *Madkhal*. For lists of works on *ḥadīth* criticism see e.g. Sakhawī, *Al-ʿilān bi al-taubīkh li man dhamma al-tawārikh* (Damascus, 1349/1930) pp. 109–18; *Tadrīb*, p. 261; Ḥājji Khalīfah II 590–92; *GAL* S III 873.

² *Jāmiʿ* I 76.

³ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-musnad* I (1365/1946) 56 f. See also pp. 50 f. above.

⁴ See *Madkhal*, pp. 8–10 (= trans. pp. 12–14) for this point of view and the many leaders who adopted it.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 11. This is the category to which the *Ṣaḥīḥain* of Muslim and Bukhārī are assigned. Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī (*Madkhal*, p. 24 [= trans. p. 26]) comments on the small ratio of doubtful (less than 2,000) and unsound (226) traditions among some 40,000 listed in Bukhārī's *Taʾrikh*.

⁶ See e.g. Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, pp. 28 f.; Robson, "Tradition, the second foundation of Islam," *Muslim World* XLI 100 f.

The *isnād*, to which the Arabs lay proud claim, was bound to get out of hand as in each generation the number of traditionists and would-be-traditionists at least doubled, to estimate conservatively. Since a tradition, though consisting of two parts, the substance (*matn*) and the chain of authorities (*isnād*), came to be identified primarily by its *isnād*, it could multiply without any basic change in substance into as many "traditions" as the number of its progressive transmitters. The majority of the older Companions, it can be safely assumed, each transmitted but a few traditions from Muḥammad.⁷ The younger Companions, once ʿUmar I was gone, made up for such restraint. The large collections of some of them, for example Abū Hurairah (5,374 traditions), Ibn ʿUmar (2,630), Anas ibn Mālik (2,286), ʿĀʾishah (2,210), and Ibn ʿAbbās (1,660),⁸ no doubt raised the average for the Companions as a group. The Successors proved even more eager to collect traditions of the Prophet, and it is entirely possible that the desire, one might almost say the fashion, to acquire "forty traditions" of Muḥammad⁹ originated with this group and gained full momentum later. Still, this desire seems but a slim foundation, on first thought, for the hundreds of thousands of traditions that were emerging around the end of the second century. In an effort to gauge, even if only roughly, the rate of this growth, I made note of the references to the number of traditions that individual laymen and scholars were said to have collected or transmitted. The recording of specific numerical data, it should be noted, was largely incidental, especially for the earliest period, when the quantity of traditions in a collection was usually expressed in terms of "few traditions" or "many traditions," *qalīl al-ḥadīth* or *kathīr al-ḥadīth* (see pp. 20, 21). At times when numbers are mentioned they are contradictory, though not so often as they seem to be. Nevertheless, analysis of such data as are available indicates certain trends that deserve at least some consideration. The average illiterate layman, even in the Ḥijāz and Syria, in Zuhri's day had 1–5 traditions, which whenever possible were "intrusted" to Zuhri lest they be forgotten. Literate laymen of the first century had their *ṣuḥuf*, which, as noted above (pp. 57–59), varied in size. Doubtless many of these *ṣuḥuf* consisted of no more than a single or a double sheet containing anywhere from a few to the familiar "forty traditions," depending on the length of the traditions and the size of the sheet. A few of the better known scholars (*ʿulamāʾ* or *fuqahāʾ*) of this early period are credited with 100–300 traditions, but for the most part their collections are described as "large." Ubayy ibn Kaʿb, who died late in the second decade of the first century, and Jābir ibn Samurah (d. 66/686) are both credited with 164 traditions of the Prophet, while Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 78/697), who is counted among those who had large collections, is credited with 1,000 traditions,¹⁰ the number credited also to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (see p. 58).¹¹ Qāsim ibn Muḥammad (see p. 13) is credited with 200 traditions.¹²

References to specific numbers increased during the first half of the second century, the period of intense activity for Zuhri and his pupils and for many of his contemporaries. At the same time the numbers themselves grew progressively larger, varying as a rule from a few hundred to a few thousand. Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān (d. 101/719) transmitted 1,000 traditions to Aʿmash,

⁷ See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* II 120 f.; *Mustadrak* I 110 f.; Dhahabī I 7 f.

⁸ The numbers are those of *Tadrib*, p. 205.

⁹ See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 43 f. and cf. Ibn al-Jauzī, *Kitāb al-adhkiyāʾ* (Cairo, 1306/1887) pp. 72 f. The *Concordance* gives no tradition on this theme. Early Muslim scholars vigorously refuted the idea that 40 traditions made a scholar and won him rewards in heaven, as the references in *Jāmiʿ* I 43 f. make very clear. See also Khaṭīb VI 322

and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-intiqāʾ fī faqāʾil al-thalāthah al-fuqahāʾ* (Cairo, 1350/1931) p. 18.

¹⁰ Nawawī, pp. 141 and 184 f. Nawawī frequently indicates how many traditions of a given collection have survived in either Bukhārī or Muslim or both. The ratio of survival is as a rule very small (see e.g. *ibid.* pp. 260, 304, 353, 370, 449, 658).

¹¹ *Usd* III 233 f.

¹² Dhahabī I 90 f.

who was credited with a collection of some 1,300.¹³ Zuhri, we read, was once cornered into reciting “forty traditions.”¹⁴ The manuscript of his pupil ‘Uqail ibn Khālid (see p. 168) included some 200–300 traditions.¹⁵ Mālik ibn Anas sent Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī 100 traditions (see p. 193) from his own collection of Zuhri’s *ḥadīth*. The book that Zuhri dictated at Hishām’s court for the use of the young princes (see pp. 33, 181) contained 400 traditions.¹⁶ At another time it was estimated that Zuhri’s court collection included at least 1,700 traditions.¹⁷ He is also said to have seen a collection of ‘Amash (see p. 140) which numbered 4,000 traditions,¹⁸ but ‘Amash’s entire collection was later estimated at 70,000 (*sic*¹⁹) traditions. ‘Amr ibn Dīnār (d. 126/744), usually reluctant to transmit many traditions, over a period of time related 100 traditions to Shu‘bah.²⁰ On the other hand, Abān ibn Abī ‘Ayyāsh (d. 128/746) transmitted some 1,500 mostly unfounded traditions from Anas ibn Mālik, and Abān’s two sons each transmitted 500 traditions from Abān (see p. 226). Thābit al-Bunānī (d. 123 or 128/741 or 746) recited 90 traditions at one of his sessions and transmitted to Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār (see pp. 160 f.) a collection of 250.²¹ The collection of Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī was estimated at about 800 traditions.²²

The acceleration in numbers was even more marked as younger scholars who died during the fifth and sixth decades of the second century reached their peak, many of them becoming the outstanding traditionists or jurists of their day. Abū Ḥanīfah had a large collection of *ḥadīth* and though he was considered a weak traditionist is yet said to have rejected 400 traditions on the basis of their substance (*matn*).²³ Miṣ‘ar ibn Kidām (see p. 272) transmitted a collection of 1,000 traditions to one of his pupils.²⁴ Ibn Juraij transmitted 1,000 traditions from Abū Bakr ibn Abī Sabrah, who himself eventually declared he had a full collection of 70,000 dealing with the lawful and the unlawful.²⁵ Shu‘bah, who was one of the few called *amīr al-mu‘minīn fī al-ḥadīth*,²⁶ normally limited himself to relating 3–10 traditions a day. Yet he crammed six months’ output into two when he exchanged traditions with the visiting Baqīyah ibn al-Walīd from Syria (see pp. 232 f.). Some of Shu‘bah’s other transmitters wrote down up to 10,000 of his traditions.²⁷ Sufyān al-Thaurī dictated 300 traditions in one session.²⁸ Ṭayālīsī is said to have heard a total of 6,700 traditions from Shu‘bah.²⁹ Sufyān al-Thaurī, who stated that he transmitted but one out of ten traditions in his enormous collection, had a student who wrote down 20,000 and another who wrote down 30,000 of his traditions.³⁰ On the other hand, Abū Nu‘aim Faḍl ibn Dukain (see Document 14), who presumably took the “one out of ten” that Sufyān spoke of, collected only 4,000 of the latter’s traditions.³¹ ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām’s written collection from Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid (d. 154/771) consisted of 10,000 traditions.³² Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār (d. 167/784) counted among his

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 83, 145 f.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-adhkiyā*, p. 8.

¹⁵ See e.g. Ibn Taghribirdi I 309.

¹⁶ Dhahabī I 103 f.

¹⁷ Ibn ‘Asākir VI 321.

¹⁸ Ibn Sa‘d VI 239; Nawawī, p. 118.

¹⁹ Khaṭīb IX 5. Should the number perhaps be 7,000? “Seventy” and its multiples arouse more suspicion than the other round numbers.

²⁰ Abū Nu‘aim VII 147.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 155; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 449.

²² Abū Nu‘aim VII 313.

²³ Khaṭīb XIII 90 f.

²⁴ Dhahabī I 145.

²⁵ Ibn Sa‘d V 361 f.; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 253.

²⁶ Ibn Sa‘d VII 2, p. 38; *Jāmi‘* II 179; Kattānī II 319. Some of the other scholars who were so called, sometimes with slight variations, are Abū al-Zinād (see p. 139 below), Sufyān al-Thaurī (Khaṭīb XII 347 f., 353 f.), Sufyān ibn ‘Uyainah (Khaṭīb IX 180; see also p. 160 below), Ibn al-Mubārak (Nawawī, pp. 366 f., and p. 232 below), Abū Walīd al-Ṭayālīsī (Dhahabī I 346 f.), and Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn (*Kifāyah*, pp. 146, 217 f., 230 f., 362, 382). See *Jarḥ*, *Taqdīmah*, pp. 118, 282, and 284, for the distinction between leadership in the field of *ḥadīth* and in the field of *sunnah*, with Sufyān al-Thaurī as *imām* in both.

²⁷ *Jarḥ* I 2, pp. 140–42; Dhahabī I 183.

²⁸ *Jarḥ*, *Taqdīmah*, p. 66.

²⁹ *Mizān* I 413.

³⁰ Abū Nu‘aim VI 368.

³¹ Khaṭīb XII 348.

³² Dhahabī I 179. See also pp. 178–80 below.

pupils Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn, who wrote down Ḥammād's entire *Jāmiʿ*, some of it directly from Ḥammād and the rest from seventeen other traditionists; four other traditionists state that they wrote down about 10,000 of Ḥammād's traditions (see pp. 160 f.).

In the second half of the second century, when the recording of Tradition had already become the general practice and when the numerous *isnad*'s were still multiplying with each successive transmission, collections of traditions numbering in the thousands and presently in the tens of thousands became more or less the rule. Mālik ibn Anas had a collection of some 100,000 traditions, of which he used 10,000 at the most and incorporated only some 1,700 in his *Muwattaʿ* (see p. 125); in addition, individual transmitters had comparatively small collections from him, such as Shaibānī's 700 traditions.³³ Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah, who was at first reluctant to write down or dictate traditions, was once tricked into relating 100.³⁴ His collection at one time was reported at 7,000 traditions (see p. 179). Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd (see p. 180) transmitted 17,000 traditions from Ibn Ishāq in addition to the latter's *Maghāzī*.³⁵ Sharīk ibn ʿAbd Allāh, judge of Kūfah and tutor of Maḥdī's sons, dictated 3,000 and 5,000–9,000 traditions to his various students.³⁶ Hushaim al-Wāsiṭī's collection is reported as consisting of some 20,000 traditions (see p. 163). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī is said to have transmitted 2,000 traditions from his colleague Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān³⁷ and to have dictated 20,000.³⁸ Rauḥ ibn ʿUbādah, Baṣran transmitter of Mālik's *Muwattaʿ* (see p. 117), wrote down a collection of 10,000 traditions which was copied by others.³⁹ The Khurāsānian Ibn al-Mubārak states that he wrote down traditions from 1,100 shaikhs,⁴⁰ and the number of traditions which he in turn transmitted out of his vast collection is estimated by Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn at 2,000.⁴¹ The collection of the Syrian Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAyyāsh (see p. 178) consisted at first of 10,000 traditions and increased to 30,000.⁴² The Egyptian Ibn Wahb is credited with 100,000.⁴³

The first half of the third century saw the continuation of the increase in the number of traditions in the collections of leading scholars. Yazīd ibn Hārūn and Abū Nuʿaim Faḍl ibn Dukain are said to have written down "thousands of traditions."⁴⁴ When figures are given for entire collections, they range from hundreds of thousands to an occasional million and a half. Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn wrote down from Mūsā ibn Ismāʿīl al-Baṣrī al-Tabūdhkī (d. 223/838) about 30,000 or 40,000 traditions and collected 50,000 traditions of Ibn Juraij.⁴⁵ Inasmuch as Yaḥyā, like other leading professionals, wrote down traditions from literally hundreds of traditionists, it is not surprising that his total collection is reported at a million traditions,⁴⁶ a figure that would seem to be in keeping with the reported size of his library (see p. 51). The number of traditions in the entire collection of a younger contemporary, Aḥmad ibn al-Furāt (d. 258/872), is given as a million and a half.⁴⁷ Ishāq ibn Rāhawaih, whose memory was photographic (see p. 55), is reported as dictating from memory at various times 11,000, 70,000, and 100,000 traditions.⁴⁸ During his *riḥlah* in ʿIrāq he along with Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn and Ibn Ḥanbal and their circle spent a great deal of time recalling among themselves tradi-

³³ Khaṭīb II 172.

³⁴ Ibn al-Jauzī, *Kitāb al-adhkiyā*, pp. 72 f.

³⁵ *Tafsīr* X 14.

³⁶ *Akhbār al-quḍat* III 150 f., 161; Dhahabī I 214; Khaṭīb VI 320.

³⁷ Khaṭīb XIV 138.

³⁸ Abū Nuʿaim IX 3.

³⁹ Dhahabī I 319.

⁴⁰ Nawawī, p. 287. Ibn al-Mubārak is even credited with

some verses urging Ḥammād ibn Zaid ibn Dirham to write down the *ḥadīth* (Abū Nuʿaim VI 258).

⁴¹ Khaṭīb X 164; Dhahabī I 254.

⁴² Dhahabī I 234; Khaṭīb IV 224.

⁴³ *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 165.

⁴⁴ See e.g. Khaṭīb XIV 339 f.; Nawawī, pp. 636 f.

⁴⁵ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 315; Khaṭīb VIII 227; Dhahabī I 315.

⁴⁶ Dhahabī II 16 f.

⁴⁷ Yāfiʿī II 199.

⁴⁸ Khaṭīb VI 352–54; *Madkhal*, p. 13; Dhahabī II 19–21.

tions transmitted through one, two, or three channels (*ṭurq*)⁴⁹ and not always from memory.⁵⁰ The size of Ishāq ibn Rāhawaih's entire collection seems to be nowhere mentioned⁵¹ but can be judged on the basis of those of Yaḥyā and Ibn Ḥanbal, his close associates and friendly competitors. The collections and libraries of a second pair of friendly scholars, Abū Zar'ah and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, tell the same story of tremendous growth in the number of traditions and in the diversified sciences of Tradition (*‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*), particularly the *jarḥ wa al-ta‘dīl*. Abū Zar'ah's collection contained 10,000 traditions each from Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār and Mūsā ibn Ismā‘īl, 50,000 to 70,000 to 100,000 each from Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā and ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Shaibah, and 80,000 traditions of Ibn Wahb of Egypt.⁵² Though specific figures for Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī seem not to be as readily available, it is known that his collection of traditions, which he started in the year 209/824, grew steadily, that he wrote down some 14,000 from one shaikh, that he accumulated large quantities throughout his three long journeys and put them to good use in his critical works.⁵³

With the sizes of these collections in mind, we may conclude that the numbers of traditions, reflecting either partial or complete collections, credited to Ibn Ḥanbal, Muslim, and Bukhārī were not exceptional but rather typical for their ranking contemporaries, especially when it is recalled that these three, honored as they were in their day, had not yet received the almost sacred halos with which they were later crowned.⁵⁴ The totals credited to Ibn Ḥanbal vary from 750,000 to 1,200,000 traditions.⁵⁵ Bukhārī is said to have had a collection of 300,000 traditions, of which he had memorized 100,000 of the best, but the figure 600,000, of which he had memorized 200,000, is also given.⁵⁶ The number of traditions that formed the basis of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, said to contain some 12,000 traditions,⁵⁷ is given as 300,000; his total, to which I have so far found no reference, can be gauged from this figure. With so little agreement on the total number of traditions in the surviving *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal and in the *Ṣaḥīḥain* of Muslim and Bukhārī the impossibility of discovering the totals of all the traditions of any of these three scholars and others is readily to be seen.

What, then, do these sometimes contradictory numbers mean? First of all, they alert us to the fact that no adequate contemporary or nearly contemporary statistics were kept and that they are but approximations to the nearest hundred or thousand etc. Nevertheless, they not only clearly indicate the fact of the steady growth of Tradition but also give some idea of the rate of growth. The rate is reflected by the increasing number of traditions transmitted by one scholar to another and also by the increasing number of transmitters. A famed scholar's public lectures usually drew 10,000 scholars carrying inkwells,⁵⁸ apart from the crowds of passive listeners. All of this indicates that the great majority of traditions in circulation were held, one might say, in common. The double acceleration is in turn reflected in the rate of growth of the number of traditions in the arsenal of such master traditionists as have come under

⁴⁹ Khaṭīb IV 419.

⁵⁰ See *Jāmi‘* I 75, where Ibn Ḥanbal asks what indeed could have been accomplished without the records of earlier generations of traditionists: *لولا كتابة العلم ای شیء کنا نکون نحن*.

⁵¹ See *GAL* S I 257 for his *Musnad*.

⁵² *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 334 f.; Khaṭīb X 327. Cf. Dhahabī II 124.

⁵³ See *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 349–75 (Abū Ḥātim's biography by his son), esp. pp. 359 f. and 363; Dhahabī II 132–34. See also *GAL* I 167 and *GAL* S I 278 f.

⁵⁴ As is significantly reflected by the short notices accorded to them in *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 191, and IV 1, pp. 182 f., in contrast to the longer entries on Ibn Ḥanbal in *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 292–313, and *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 68–70.

⁵⁵ See e.g. Khaṭīb IX 375 and *Manāqib*, pp. 28, 32, 59 f., and 191.

⁵⁶ Nawawī, pp. 87 and 95 respectively. See also p. 65 above.

⁵⁷ Dhahabī II 151.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 101. For the early and continued association of *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* with inkwells as a mark of their profession see e.g. *Risālah*, p. 64, *Ma‘rifah*, p. 3, and especially *Adab al-‘imlā’*, pp. 17–19, 22, 96, 119, 147–49, and 152–57.

review above. The earlier ones were the vanguard of an army of traditionists, the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, who were bracing themselves to meet the onslaughts of legal innovation and doctrinal heresy in their own orthodox Sunnite ranks, not to mention the heterodoxies of growing sects that were producing their own traditions, some in quite large numbers. The latter were to be found mostly among the Shī'ites,⁵⁹ the Qādirites,⁶⁰ and especially the Khārijites, in whose ranks were several self-confessed forgers⁶¹ such as 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Abī 'Awjā al-Waḍḍā' (d. 155/772), who claimed he had forged 4,000 traditions.⁶² The need to make exhaustive collections, to sort the sound from the unsound traditions, and to organize some of the materials into manageable form and size pressed heavily on the orthodox Sunnite traditionists from the second half of the second century onward.

Inasmuch as the *isnād* was the main basis for judging the soundness or unsoundness of a tradition, a feverish search for the best and next best *isnād*'s of the various traditions was set in motion early and was reflected in the objective of many a *riḥlah*. Hence, the practice of writing down traditions with the same basic content but with variant *isnād*'s soon became an important factor in the rapid growth of Tradition. Again, in the course of successive transmission, written or oral, though more often in the case of oral, the original content was frequently changed in structure or occasionally acquired a different nuance of meaning⁶³ or suffered some addition or subtraction. Such alterations occurred more frequently when transmission was according to the sense of the content (*ma'navī*) than when it was strictly literal (*ḥarfī*).⁶⁴ Hence, the search for parallel but variant *isnād*'s was supplemented by the search for parallel versions of the same content, so that there was an increase in the total number of so-called versions, based on either *isnād* or content or both, of a given tradition. Because of aversion to traditions based ultimately on only one authority (*ḥadīth al-aḥād*)⁶⁵ the search for a second, independent, *isnād* became the general practice and was extended to apply to each step of successive transmission, so that each generation of traditionists was urged to relate every tradition from at least two shaikhs.⁶⁶ This practice explains why there are so many duplicate traditions in the individual standard collections and why the great majority of these collections repeat a given tradition only once, as is also the case in a number of our documents. However, master traditionists did not limit themselves to this minimum, as a sampling of the pages of the *Concordance* soon reveals. The *Concordance* reveals also that Ibn Ḥanbal's ratio of multiple repetitions is greater by far than that of the other master traditionists whose works are there indexed. Hence his *Musnad* was the most useful for tracking down parallels to many of the traditions in our papyri (see e.g. Document 3).

⁵⁹ *Ma'rifah*, pp. 135–50. *Madkhal*, p. 13, reports a Shī'ite collection of 300,000 traditions, while Muslim (Vol. I 84 and 102) refers to a collection of 50,000–70,000 traditions of the Shī'ite Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 113/731). See p. 50 above for Shu'bah's traditions that traced back to 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib and p. 229 below for the Shī'ite Imām Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Šādiq (d. 148/765) as a traditionist. For other Shī'ite traditionists see pp. 18, n. 130, and 47 above and *Ma'arif*, pp. 295 and 301. The development of early Shī'ite traditions, including those of the Zaidites (see *Fihrist*, p. 178), needs re-examination in a separate monograph. Many Shī'ites were early looked up to as men of knowledge (see e.g. Shirāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'* [Baghdād, 1356/1937] p. 11).

⁶⁰ For example, Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Aslamī (d. 184/800), who was a *faqīh* and a *muḥaddīth* and who is credited with a *Muwaffa'* twice the size of that of Mālīk (see Dhahabī I 227 and Goldziher, *Studien* II 220).

⁶¹ See e.g. *Madkhal*, p. 27; *Kifāyah*, p. 123; Abū Nu'aim IX 39. For the intellectualism of the early Khārijites see e.g. Jāhiz, *Kilāb al-bayān wa al-tabayīn* (1366/1947) I 321 f. and II 226–28 (see also our Vol. I 7, 29).

Other sects, as they emerged, produced their own traditions as to both *isnād* and *matn*. The preoccupation of the orthodox with the detection and refutation of these traditions is reflected e.g. in *Ta'wīl*, pp. 88–104; *Tafsīr* VI 187–89; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 129, No. 1355; *Madkhal*, pp. 25–45; *Kifāyah*, pp. 120–25; Khaṭīb I 43.

⁶² Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn kadhīb al-muftarī* (Damascus, 1347/1928) p. 12; *Mīzān* II 144.

⁶³ See e.g. *Ma'rifah*, pp. 130–35.

⁶⁴ See e.g. *Jāmi'* I 78–81; *Kifāyah*, pp. 171 ff. and 198 ff. See also p. 256 below.

⁶⁵ See e.g. *Ta'wīl*, p. 96.

⁶⁶ Even the mechanics of reporting multiple *isnād*'s were

As with the references to numbers of traditions, I made note also of the references to numbers of channels (*ṭurq*) that I encountered. Here, too, the data are scattered and limited but not without significance as to trends and rate of increase. Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, who belonged to the group which permitted transmission according to basic meaning after the analogy of the seven *ḥurūf* of the Qurʾān,⁶⁷ is reported as saying, "I used to hear a tradition from ten (transmitters) with the same meaning but different words (*lafz*)."⁶⁸ Sufyān al-Thaurī speaks of 7 *ṭurq* for a given tradition transmitted according to sense. Ibn Ḥanbal made a practice of seeking at least 6 or 7 *ṭurq* for a given tradition,⁶⁹ as is certainly reflected in his *Musnad*. Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn put his figure at 30 according to one source and 50 according to another.⁷⁰ Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿīd al-Jauharī (d. 249 or 259/863 or 873) set his figure at 100, so that the caliph Abū Bakr's original 50 or so traditions increased presumably to about 5,000 in Ibrāhīm's *Musnad*.⁷¹ Ibrāhīm's contemporary Yaʿqūb ibn Shaibah (182–262/798–876) would seem to have had a large number of *ṭurq*, though I have so far discovered no specific figure, to judge by the stated size and nature of his *Musnad* (see p. 47), of which only part of the section devoted to the *musnad* of ʿUmar I is available.⁷² Ḥamzah ibn Muḥammad al-Kinānī (4th/10th century) is said to have put his figure at 200, which number of *ṭurq* was eventually considered excessive.⁷³ Ṭabarī's numerous *ṭurq*, so well illustrated in both his *Taʾrīkh* and his *Tafsīr*, should cause little astonishment,⁷⁴ since the use of numerous *ṭurq* was a common practice among his older contemporaries to judge from the figures given above and from Ibn Qutaibah's references to 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 12, 19, 20, and 70 *ṭurq*, though Ibn Qutaibah himself⁷⁵ felt that consistent search for 10 and 20 parallels was a waste of effort.

The close interrelationship between a large number of traditions and a large number of *ṭurq* is quite apparent even from such incomplete data. It is equally apparent that exhaustive collections could be made by only a small percentage of the extremely large number of traditionists, as was recognized by the Muslim scholars. Shaʿbī expressed it thus: "Knowledge is in three spans. He who attains the first span holds his head high thinking he has attained it all. He who attains the second span recognizes his personal limitations knowing that he has not attained it all. As for the third span, indeed no one attains it ever."⁷⁶ When the Kūfan Aʿmash (60–148/680–765) was praised for his great service to (religious) science (*ʿilm*) because he attracted a large number of students, who would carry on in that field, he replied: "Do not be (too) impressed (by numbers). One-third will die before they finish (their studies), one-third will attach themselves to those in power and these are worse than dead,⁷⁷ and of the last third only a small number will succeed."⁷⁸ One of his few students who did succeed

detailed (*Kifāyah*, pp. 212–16; *Madkhal*, pp. 11 and 22 [= trans. pp. 14 f. and 24]; *Adab al-ʿimlāʾ*, p. 54).

⁶⁷ For typical arguments for this usage in the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* see *Tafsīr* I 21–67 and *Jāmiʿ* I 78–81; see also J. W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology* II (London, 1955) 133–36.

⁶⁸ Ibn Saʿd VII 1, p. 141; *Jāmiʿ* I 79.

⁶⁹ Abū Nuʿaim VII 72.

⁷⁰ *Manāqib*, p. 58. Yaḥyā reports one of Muʿāwiyah's traditions at least 15 times (Ibn Ḥanbal IV 58, 93, 95–101).

⁷¹ *Madkhal*, p. 9; Khaṭīb VI 93–95, esp. p. 94; Dhahabī II 17, 89.

⁷² Yaʿqūb ibn Shaibah, *Musnad . . . ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, ed. Sāmī Haddād (Beirut, 1359/1940).

⁷³ See *Jāmiʿ* II 132, where doubt is expressed as to this high figure.

⁷⁴ Dhahabī (Vol. II 253) expresses his own astonishment

at the numerous *ṭurq* used by Ṭabarī. For instances of exhaustive collections of *matn* and *ṭurq* for the Zuhriyāt through the mid-4th century see pp. 183 f. below.

⁷⁵ *Taʾwīl*, pp. 78 f. and 96.

⁷⁶ Māwardī, *Adab al-dunyā wa al-dīn*, p. 57.

⁷⁷ *Jāmiʿ* I 185. See *ibid.* pp. 163 f. and 178 f. for widespread distaste among the conservative traditionists for court service. Few traditionists were tempted or persuaded to fabricate *ḥadīth* to suit the rulers (*Madkhal*, pp. 28 f.). Nevertheless, many good traditionists did enter the caliph's service (see e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 185 f. for an incomplete list that includes many leading scholars of the 1st and 2d centuries).

⁷⁸ Even the masters could not, in the nature of things, attain complete success. ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī boasted that he had all of the collection of Aʿmash, whereupon ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī dictated to ʿAlī 30 traditions of Aʿmash that were not known to ʿAlī (Khaṭīb X 245; see also Sūrah 58:11).

was Sufyān ibn ʿUyainah (107–98/725–814), who in citing Aʿmash’s prediction estimated the small number of successes at the liberal figure of ten per cent.⁷⁹ The Khurāsānian Ibn al-Mubārak (118–81/736–97), speaking from experience, tells us that of the sixty youths who headed west in search of knowledge (*ilm*) only he pursued the goal to the end,⁸⁰ and he too was at one time a pupil of Aʿmash.

How does one, it is time to ask, tie up all these data into a consistent and intelligent formula that would adequately fit the facts and give a reasonable reflection of the rapid increase in the number of traditions? Let us return to the Companions for a starting point. Assuming that the average Companion transmitted one tradition to two Successors and that each of these two transmitted the same tradition to two transmitters of the next generation (see p. 70) and assuming that this series was continued to the fourth and eighth terms—which would correspond to the fourth and eighth *ṭabaqāt* of transmitters representing the generations of Zuhri and Ibn Ḥanbal respectively—we would have a geometric progression whose fourth and eighth terms are 16 and 256 respectively. In other words, the average Companion’s original tradition could have been transmitted either literally or according to sense through 16 different *isnād*’s or *ṭurq* in Zuhri’s time and through 256 in Ibn Ḥanbal’s time, if we assume that all the traditionists represented by the different links in these *isnād*’s attained their objective as transmitters of *ḥadīth*. This assumption, however, to judge by Sufyān’s estimated rate of ten per cent for successful survival of traditionists, is highly improbable, for the rate of *isnād* survival should be close to that for traditionists. If we extend our hypothetical series to the tenth term, or the tenth *ṭabaqah*, the probable number of *isnād*’s in the time of Ibn Ḥanbal and the next two generations of transmitters would be ten per cent of 256, 512, and 1024, that is, 26, 51, and 102 *ṭurq* respectively. These figures are remarkably close to the 30 or 50 *ṭurq* claimed by Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn and the 100 *ṭurq* claimed by Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿīd al-Jauharī (see p. 71).

We cannot countercheck the validity of these estimates by starting with the number of Companions and the average number of traditions originally transmitted by each because both figures are unknown and the available estimates vary so greatly⁸¹ that they are useless for any such purpose. However, using geometric progression, we find that one to two thousand Companions and senior Successors transmitting two to five traditions each would bring us well within the range of the total number of traditions credited to the exhaustive collections of the third century. Once it is realized that the *isnād* did, indeed, initiate a chain reaction that resulted in an explosive increase in the number of traditions, the huge numbers that are credited to Ibn Ḥanbal, Muslim, and Bukhārī seem not so fantastic after all. Fortunately a plateau was reached during the third century owing largely to the exhaustive activities of these men and their immediate successors.

⁷⁹ Abū Nuʿaim VII 288. There seems to be some disturbance in the text, which gives not “thirds” but “threes” that make sense only when read “three out of ten will die, three out of ten will serve those in power, three out of ten will fail, leaving one to carry on.” Among the 90% with varying degrees and kinds of failure was, at the bottom of the list, Sufyān’s own nephew to whom Sufyān refused the hand of his daughter because he could not recite 10 verses of the Qurʾān, nor 10 traditions, nor 10 verses of poetry (see Abū al-Laith al-Samarqandī, *Bustān al-ʿarīfīn*, on margins of his *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* [Cairo, 1319/1902] p. 129).

⁸⁰ Abū Nuʿaim VII 369.

⁸¹ For various estimates and some attempted explanation of their differences see *Madkhal*, pp. 11–14 (= trans. pp. 15–17); *Usd* I 3 f., 11 f. See also Ibn al-Jauzī, *Talkhīḥ fuhām ahl ilāṭār fī muḥtaṣar assiyar walahbār nach der Berliner Handschrift untersucht von Carl Brockelmann* (Leiden, 1892) pp. 18–20, and *GAL S I* 915, No. 6. The range of the more conservative estimates of the number of actual transmitters from Muḥammad varies from 1,500 to 4,000. Extremists put the figure at over 100,000 (see e.g. *Tadrib*, pp. 205 f.).

SURVIVAL AND AUTHENTICITY OF TRADITION

I

WITH so much material available and so little of it usable or actually used, the problem of selection posed a number of questions at different professional levels. In the preliminary stage of collecting *ḥadīth* the young scholar was largely guided by his seniors, among whom were the critics. *Ḥadīth* critics began to appear around the end of the first century, when several trends reflected the need for a cautious approach to the materials in circulation. One of the major trends was the multiplying of sects, which in turn provided the first general basis for selectivity, the materials circulated by those outside one's own sect being rejected because it was argued that if these materials duplicated one's own materials they were superfluous and if not they were open to suspicion. This type of selectivity did not prove to be so exclusive as it might seem, especially in the case of the early Shī'ah, for many of the early traditionists were claimed by both the Sunnites and the Shī'ites and the materials of the latter, except those that bore at first directly on 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib's political claims and later on Shī'ite doctrinal developments, were generally in accord with the Sunnite views.¹ But such rejections presently proved more effective against the Khārijites (see p. 70). A second major trend that called for a critical approach was the rapid increase in the number of non-Arabs who were invading the ranks of the traditionists (see p. 18). These, apart from belonging to different sects, were suspect at first for language deficiency and presently for racial bias. Zuhri's solution of bypassing the non-Arab *mawālī* proved impractical even in his own day (see pp. 34 f.).

Attention was at first centered on the qualifications of each individual traditionist within one's own particular religious sect and racial group. This was soon both intensified and expanded, for the critics of each generation had to scrutinize the mental and moral qualifications not only of the transmitters but also of their sources back to a Companion and the Prophet. That is, it was not only necessary for a critic to know each individual traditionist, but he had to know about each traditionist in a given *isnād* and thus supplement the *'ilm al-rijāl* with knowledge of each *isnād* as a unit. Just as the traditionists were grouped in categories ranging from the least trustworthy, who were to be bypassed, to the completely trustworthy, who were the ranking authorities, so the *isnād*'s, considered no stronger than their weakest link, were classified from the totally unacceptable to the most authoritative.² Classification of the *isnād*'s provided a more or less practical tool for elimination of some of the materials. But, even with this sifting, master traditionists were faced with an enormous mass of *ḥadīth*. Furthermore, even when these several bases of selection had won a measure of acceptance, their

¹ *Ta'wīl*, pp. 102 f. The extremists looked on all innovation (*bid'ah*) as an evil to be shunned. Others, while condemning heresy, did nevertheless transmit the non-doctrinal *ḥadīth* of some of its adherents but usually concealed the name (*dalas*) of the heretic, as Shāfi'ī is said to have done with the *ḥadīth* of the Qādirite Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Aslamī (see p. 70, n. 60, above and Ya'qūbī II 116, 159). In time, however, *bid'ah* was treated in five classes that ranged from the forbidden heresy to the required changes in educational programs (see Abū Shāmah, *Al-*

bā'ith 'alā inkār al-bida' wa al-ḥawādith; Abū Nu'aim III 76 and 189, VII 26 and 33, IX 103 and 113). For a brief survey of the fluctuations in the precepts regarding *bid'ah* up to modern times, see Mohammed Talbi, "Les bida'," *Studia Islamica* XII (1960) 43-77.

² For comparative evaluation of *isnād*'s and some specific illustrations see e.g. *Ma'rifaḥ*, pp. 10-12 and 52-58; *Kifāyah*, pp. 397-404. See also Goldziher, *Studien* II 247 and our Vol. I 47, 51 f.

application was largely subjective and defied general and widespread agreement. Thus, in the aggregate, the effectiveness of the *isnād* as the sole or even the prime criterion was nullified. Second- and third-century traditionists with large preliminary collections had to devise their own conditions of selection (*shurūṭ*) for the traditions to be included in their final and organized compositions. Some of these conditions depended on the individual traditionist's major objectives, as seen in the cases of Ibn Ḥanbal, Muslim, and Bukhārī (p. 65). Yet even they were embarrassed by a wealth of materials that met their own conditions but had to be dropped because of sheer bulk.

What, then, were the factors, expressed or tacit, that were involved in the final stage of the series of tests that determined the selection of traditions and therefore a high probability of survival? The answer to this important question is nowhere pinpointed in the numerous sources at my command and, to the best of my knowledge, has been overlooked by modern scholars. This is not so surprising when one considers the high degree of subjectivity that was involved in all attempts at the evaluation and selection of *ḥadīth*. The early Muslims realized that in the final analysis all such judgments, despite the necessary groundwork to discover the biographical and in many instances the historical data, depended on ability acquired through long experience. The expert traditionist, they claimed, was like the experienced money-changer, who could as a rule readily detect the true from the false coin. To carry the comparison farther, the expert *ḥadīth* critic was admiringly called the "money-changer of Tradition" (*ṣairafī al-ḥadīth* or *nāqid al-ḥadīth*). This expression gained currency in the second half of the first century, for it was applied to the Kūfan Nakhaʿī (d. 95/714) by his admiring pupil and fellow traditionist Aʿmash, who made a practice of checking the traditions he heard from others with Nakhaʿī.³ Use of the metaphor persisted into the third and fourth centuries with here and there another type of expert replacing the money-changer, such as the jeweler who could tell a real gem from a piece of glass or the physician who could distinguish between the sane and the insane.⁴ Such metaphors might be applied also to the diagnostic arts, which not only pinpoint the dividing line between the sound and the unsound but also indicate the varying degrees of soundness, for this was precisely the problem with which the ambitious and conscientious collector-composer of *ḥadīth* works was faced in the final stages of his literary activities. Like any professional diagnostician, the master traditionist had to use his own judgment and preferences⁵ in the final acceptance or rejection of a given tradition for any of his organized permanent works.

The knowledge-based judgment as to the final selection of a tradition was conditioned as frequently by the category of the *matn* as by that of the *isnād*. There was, to begin with, a certain measure of oral agreement on the bases for value judgments and on nascent editorial practices. These soon came to be discussed in formal works on *ḥadīth* criticism. However, the earliest writers in this field concentrated on the individual men of the *isnād*'s, producing such biographical works as Bukhārī's *Taʾrīkh*, Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaqāt*, and the *Jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl* of Abū

³ Abū Nuʿaim IV 219 f.; Dhahabī I 69; Nawawī, p. 136. Nakhaʿī's younger contemporary Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī of Baṣrah (see pp. 150, 230 below) was referred to as *jahbadh al-ʿulamāʾ* (Dhahabī I 123).

⁴ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 349–51; Abū Nuʿaim V 103; Khaṭīb X 246 f.; Nawawī, pp. 391 f. Similar concepts are expressed for literary criticism, especially in connection with poetry; see e.g. Jumahī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed.

Joseph Hell (Leiden, 1916) pp. 3 f., and Amīdī, *Kitāb al-muwāzanah* (Constantinople, 1287/1870) pp. 167 f.

⁵ Cf. *Maʿrifah*, p. 113, where ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī goes as far as to say that knowledge of the *ḥadīth* is instinctive (or by inspiration): *معرفة الحديث الهام*. Later,

Ibn Khaldūn took into consideration the factor of probability in the acceptance of individual traditions as coming from the Prophet (see Rosenthal's translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* II 449).

Ḥātīm al-Rāzī and his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. In the meantime, compilers of the standard *ḥadīth* collections, from Ibn Ḥanbal to Nasāʿī, put together their ideas on such subjects largely for their own personal use, though some of these works eventually went into circulation for the guidance of others. It was considerably later that the more sophisticated and thematically arranged works on the various aspects of the sciences of *ḥadīth* came into being. These included, besides some treatment of the men of the *isnād*'s, classification of the *isnād*'s, consideration of the *matn* and the factors affecting it, and discussion of the various methods of transmission. Extant examples of the earlier of such expository and critical *ḥadīth* works are Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī's *Maʿrifah* and *Madkhal*, Khaṭīb's *Kifāyah* and *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's *Jāmiʿ*.⁶

The role of the *matn* as the basis of acceptability has been generally represented as secondary to that of the *isnād*, but this view needs modification. To begin with, it was the *matn* alone that circulated among the Companions, who frequently compared and pooled their traditions, as is so well illustrated in the mosque session of ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit al-Anṣārī (d. 34/654).⁷ The early emphasis on the *matn* is reflected in the tradition attributed to Muḥammad which implies that the good and conscientious believers will readily distinguish his true sayings from those falsely attributed to him⁸ and in a tradition traced to ʿAlī in which the role of the *matn* is placed ahead of that of the *isnād*.⁹ Again, what ʿUmar I objected to was not so much the "who" as the "what" of the increasing number of traditions circulating in his day. It was not until after the First Civil War of Islām that the Companions began to be questioned as to corroborative sources and the accuracy of their traditions.¹⁰ Furthermore, it was not until the Second Civil War and the counter-caliphate of ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubair that the *isnād* became of primary importance.¹¹ The change occurred for a number of reasons, all of which have been touched on elsewhere in these pages. Chief among them were the passing-away of most of the leading Companions, increased suspicion on the part of Zuhri and the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik of both the *isnād* and the *matn* of traditions originating in the eastern provinces of the expanding Umayyad Empire, and the intensifying of political, religious, and racial strife. It is no wonder that the *isnād*, beginning with the younger Companions and the Successors, became part of the faith and, somewhat later, a source of pride for the entire Muslim learned community.¹² Furthermore, the degree of early emphasis on the *isnād* varied in the different provinces and among different individuals in the same province. With some the *isnād* literally took second place to the content, for which the word *kalām* seems to have alternated with or perhaps even preceded the word *matn*.¹³ Sometimes the recitation of a tradition began and ended with the *matn*, and sometimes the *isnād* was supplied only on demand. Makḥūl al-Shāmī discovered from experience that the ʿIrāqīs were more strict than the Syrians in the use of the *isnād*.¹⁴

⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, pp. 215–17 (= Rosenthal's trans. II 447–63), gives a brief summary of the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*.

⁷ See e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal V 328; Ibn Mājah I 7. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, p. 215.

⁸ Ibn Saʿd I 2, p. 105; Ibn Ḥanbal III 497, V 425; Ibn Mājah I 7 f.

⁹ Tāshkūprizādah, *Kitāb miṭlāḥ al-saʿādah* I (Ḥaidarābād, 1328/1910) 25: قال على لا تعرف العلم بالرجال اعرف الحق تعرف اهله.

¹⁰ See e.g. Tirmidhī XIII 305, 307, 330; *Kifāyah*, p. 121; *Adab al-implāʿ*, pp. 5 f.; Dhahabī I 10, 12.

¹¹ See Vol. I 8 f. and references there cited; Robson, "The *isnād* in Muslim Tradition," *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society* XV (1955) 15–26, esp. pp. 15 f. and 21 f. See also references cited in n. 12 below.

¹² See e.g. *Jarḥ* I 15 f.; Muslim I 10; *Adab al-implāʿ*, pp. 6 f.; *Maʿrifah*, p. 6; *Madkhal*, pp. 3–6.

¹³ *Kifāyah*, pp. 211 f.

¹⁴ Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, I (Damascus, 1371/1951) 347 f.

Zuhrī found it necessary on several occasions to rebuke others because they omitted the *isnād*.¹⁵ Despite the fact that large numbers of traditions were already in circulation for which acceptable *isnād*'s were not readily available, the *matn* was not ignored to the degree generally believed. For the technical terms that later came to be associated with *ḥadīth* criticism include a number that apply as much to the *matn* as to the *isnād* (e.g. *gharīb al-sand*, *gharīb al-matn*, *mauḍūʿ muʿallal*, *muṣaḥḥaf*) and quite a few that apply primarily to the *matn* (e.g. *ijmālī*, *shādhdh*, *mudraj*, *mudṭarīb*, *mukhtalīf*, *mutābaʿ*).¹⁶ In selecting traditions, first the individual scholar and then the scholarly community not only heeded the *isnād* with its various degrees of refinement and acceptability but also evolved a series of rough dividing lines based primarily on the general nature of the content. Traditions that dealt with the lawful and the unlawful (*al-ḥalāl wa al-ḥarām*) but had no acceptable *isnād* were rejected. Traditions that dealt with personalities, partisan politics, and sectarian views, even when presented with acceptable *isnād*'s, were characterized as suspicious materials needing careful scrutiny and independent supplementary validation. Much of what goes under the headings *manāqib*, *fadāʾil*, and *adab* and under *fitan* and *malāḥim* falls in this category. On the other hand, traditions that dealt with personal piety, private devotions, moral preachments, the Day of Judgment, and the world to come were frequently retained less through gullibility than through pious connivance and without much concern about the quality of the *isnād* (*tasāhul fī al-isnād*) on the assumption that they were good for the religious and moral fiber of the community.¹⁷ It must be obvious, then, that both the *matn* and the *isnād* of the first category of traditions were subjected at every step to stricter scrutiny and more workable controls than could have been devised for the other categories. This factor, in turn, was responsible for a greater survival rate, in any highly selective collection of the second and third centuries, for traditions of the first category than for others. It is thus necessary to de-emphasize the role of the *isnād* as the main basis of selection, and therefore of survival, and to give due consideration to the concomitant roles of the initial source of a given tradition and the nature of its content.

Still other factors had some bearing on the selection of a tradition, namely the literary form of the content and the precision of the transmission terminology.¹⁸ During the second and third centuries the master collectors and organizers of Tradition and the composers of works based largely on Tradition had perforce to be literary editors of a sort. Of two *isnād*'s with the same links, the one in which the names were spelled out in full or in which the verbal forms *samaʿtu*, *akhbaranī*, or *ḥaddathanī* were used would be preferred. Of two *matn*'s that conveyed the same sense but were expressed in different words the editor-collector would select the wording that best expressed his understanding of the tradition unless he had supplementary evidence that the transmitters of one of the *matn*'s were better known for *ḥarfī*, that is, literal transmission, or for the accuracy of their books—factors that were usually decisive in such matters of choice. Some organizers felt free to break up long traditions that covered several themes and append the original *isnād* to that part of the text which was pertinent for their immediate purpose, bypassing the rest perhaps for use later under other headings. Others

¹⁵ Tirmidhī XIII 327 f.; *Jarḥ, Taqdīmah*, pp. 6 and 20; *Adab al-implāʿ*, pp. 5 f.; Abū Nuʿaim III 365: أحاديث ليس لها خطم ولا أزمة.

¹⁶ See e.g. *Maʿrifah*, pp. 120 f. A few modern Muslim scholars in examining anew the sciences of *ḥadīth* have become aware of such points; see Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth wa muṣṭalahuhu* (Damascus, 1389/1959) pp. 141 ff. and 300–320, and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 221 f.

¹⁷ See e.g. pp. 106 f., 110 f., 144. See also Muslim I 69, 107–9, 123, 125 f.; *Jarḥ, Taqdīmah*, p. 10; *Kifāyah*, pp. 151–53; *Mustadrak* I 490. Traditions on some of these themes were sanctioned on the ground that similar materials were allowed in the Qurʾān itself. Ḥamīd ibn Zanjawaih (d. 251/865) wrote a *Kitāb al-tarḥīb wa al-tarḥīb*, a title that covers most of these themes (Dhahabī II 118 f.).

¹⁸ See e.g. *Kifāyah*, pp. 189–94.

preferred not to break up a tradition but to use it in full whenever a part of it was pertinent, a practice which accounts for a great many repetitions. Both practices, of course, affected the statistics relating to numbers of traditions.

II

The trends and developments discussed above lend a particular significance to our *ḥadīth* papyri, which stem from the period when the relatively simple biographical science (*ʿilm al-rijāl*) was well advanced in comparison with the more sophisticated and complicated branches of the sciences of Tradition (*ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*), which were yet to be fully developed (see pp. 74 f.). For these documents present a cross section of the large preliminary collections that were being assembled approximately from 125/743 to 225/840 as well as specimens of final choices made by such leaders as Zuhri and Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī and by Mālik ibn Anas and Laith ibn Saʿd (see Documents 2, 3, 6, 7). Furthermore, analysis of those traditions of the papyrus texts that have survived in the standard collections, frequently in identical parallels and through multiple channels, and those which have not survived affords a double test of the basis of selection in this crucial period of the standardization of Tradition.

The most significant fact yielded by the extensive search for surviving parallels to the traditions contained in the papyrus texts is the far higher ratio for the survival of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of the Prophet than for the survival of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of the Companions and Successors.¹⁹ Roughly three-fourths of the traditions contained in the thirteen papyri relate to the Companions and Successors (see n. 19). But, while only a few of these have verbatim or even any parallels at all, more than three-fourths of the traditions of Muḥammad have either verbatim or almost verbatim parallels which as frequently as not come through multiple channels or *ṭurq*. Also significant is the relatively inferior character of the *isnād*'s of the traditions that relate to the Companions and Successors in contrast to the superior *isnād*'s that support the *ḥadīth* or report the *sunnah* of Muḥammad. Again, even when the *isnād*'s were equally acceptable priority of survival is repeatedly evidenced for the traditions of Muḥammad. This priority holds even for a single but complex tradition in which the basic *ḥadīth* or *sunnah* of Muḥammad was supplemented by a *khabar* tracing back to a Successor or even to a Companion, for the *khabar* was apt to be dropped while the basic tradition survived in the standard collections.²⁰

The high degree of consistency in the pattern of survival was so remarkable that after working on the texts of two or three papyri I was able to make a fair guess as to whether parallels to a given tradition would or would not be found in the indexed standard collections.²¹ The *isnād* undoubtedly played a major role in the final stages of the selection of the traditions contained in these papyri, for the *isnād*'s of the traditions that report the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of Muḥammad are generally clearly superior to the *isnād*'s of those that report the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of the Companions and Successors in the three factors essential to the evaluation

¹⁹ The exact ratio cannot be stated since it is not always possible to determine the number of traditions contained in broken texts nor how many of them trace back to Muḥammad. Of the indicated total of 219 traditions in the papyri, 57 are definitely *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of the Prophet. Taken as a group, including the surviving parallels, complete and partial, literal and otherwise, the number of traditions analyzed runs to about 1,000.

²⁰ See e.g. Document 2, Tradition 3, esp. p. 118; Document 3, Tradition 29, esp. p. 138. See also p. 244. The

khabar section thus discriminated against in formal *ḥadīth* collections was itself seldom lost since it found its way, as a rule, into related works on biography and history, especially the *akhbār* and *athār* varieties.

²¹ The *Concordance* was, of course, indispensable for this task, but, inasmuch as it is as yet incomplete, it was in numerous cases supplemented by material from chapters, particularly in the works of Muslim and Bukhārī, devoted to the general field to which a given tradition belongs.

of an *isnād*: the trustworthiness of the individual transmitters, the degree of completeness of the *isnād* as a unit, and the precision of the transmission terminology. There are, to be sure, some traditions of Muḥammad in which the *isnād* is incomplete and the terminology leaves something to be desired. These, however, are exceptions made in favor of trustworthy traditionists whose authority was all but universally accepted, as illustrated by the *marāsīl al-Zuhrī* (see p. 174) and Mālik's use of the questionable term *balaghanī* (see p. 122). Inasmuch as attention is consistently drawn in the discussions of the individual documents to the priority of the Prophet's *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* and the high ratio of their survival, all that we need here in order to appraise the cumulative results is the following list of cross-references to document numbers and pages: 2:120, 3:141–43, 4:147 and 155 f., 5:165, 6:173 f., 7:195 f., 8:207, 9:217, 10:230 f., 11:244, 12:256, and 13:268.

The papyri, supplemented by the parallels and closely related materials in the standard collections, amply illustrate all the editorial practices noted or discussed by the *ḥadīth* scholars and critics (see pp. 176 f.) as well as errors due to written transmission (see e.g. pp. 117, 119, 136) and confusion of names (see e.g. pp. 120, 252, 253). The papyri give evidence of transmission concurrently according to the letter and according to the sense, the latter on the analogy of the seven *ḥurūf* of the Qurʾān.²² This concurrency accounts for the irregular use of the *taṣṭiyah* and other pious formulas (see pp. 88 f.), as for the interchanging of *al-nabī* and *al-rasūl* in references to Muḥammad (see e.g. pp. 117, 212). Transmission according to sense coupled with transmission through multiple channels accounts for the liberal use of synonyms and variant verb forms (see e.g. pp. 135, 140, 170, 201) and the change from direct to indirect speech or vice versa (see e.g. pp. 120, 248 f.). Attempts to group traditions thematically were largely responsible for the frequent breaking-up of long multiple-themed traditions and for the less frequent grouping-together of shorter related ones (see e.g. pp. 120, 161, 204, 248²³). Again, the documents give evidence that scholars were aware of at least two or three channels of transmission for the same materials (see e.g. pp. 148, 154 f., 161) and of occasional expressions of doubt on the part of the transmitter-editor (see e.g. Documents 6, Tradition 5, and 7, Tradition 11²⁴). A few of the traditions, along with their parallels in the standard collections, give us such an insight into the patient, careful sorting and editing, particularly of the traditions of Muḥammad, during the second and early third centuries that we can follow the progressive steps of a given tradition toward its final literary forms (see e.g. pp. 120, 136–38, 145, 190, 250, 251). But most significant, perhaps, is the consistent lack of evidence of any deliberate attempt to tamper with a given tradition. It is true that occasionally the meaning seems to have been affected by the addition or omission of a phrase, but few such cases are significant enough or even certain enough to cause surprise or demand explanation (see e.g. pp. 120, 172, 202). There are, in fact, only two traditions which probably indicate deliberate tampering with earlier texts, namely Tradition 13 of Document 9, dealing with the division of the spoils of victory (pp. 213–15), and Tradition 2 of Document 12, relating to Muḥammad's supposed reasons for instructing Zaid ibn Thābit to learn the writing of the "people of the Book," especially with reference to the Jews (pp. 256–58).

The special attention to and extra care with Muḥammad's *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* were stressed from the very beginning of the caliphate. Abū Bakr preferred to remain silent rather than relate on the authority of Muḥammad a tradition about which he had the slightest doubt.

²² See *Kifāyah*, pp. 189–94.

²⁴ See also Ibn Ḥanbal IV 422; *Jarḥ, Taqdīmah*, p. 314; Ibn Hibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, pp. 115 f., *Madkhal*, pp. 6 f. *et passim*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddīmah*, p. 215.

²³ See also *ibid.* and p. 19 above.

‘Umar I was strict not only with his own transmission of the Prophet’s traditions but also with that of others. ‘Uthmān, though he considered it a personal duty to transmit the sayings of Muḥammad, was no less careful²⁵ and is reported as saying that it was not permissible for anyone to relate traditions of the Prophet that he had not already heard in the time of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.²⁶ The early emphasis on careful approach to *ḥadīth al-nabī* was frequently dramatized with the censorious “I relate to you (a tradition) on the authority of the Prophet, and you proffer your own opinion!”²⁷ Again, “I relate to you on the authority of the Messenger of Allāh and you relate to me on the authority of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar,” said by Ibn ‘Abbās to Jubair ibn Muṭ‘im.²⁸ Among other Companions and Successors involved in this sort of rebuke were Ibn ‘Umar and one of his sons²⁹ and Abū al-Dardā’ and Mu‘āwiyah.³⁰ A similar phrase was later used by Ibn Abī Dh‘ib (d. 158/775) to rebuke Abū Ḥanīfah.³¹ Such sentiments reflect the initial fear of *ḥadīth al-nabī* and then the glorification, which was extended in the second half of the first century and thereafter to *ḥadīth* manuscripts (see pp. 60–61). Our Documents 10 and 11 reflect the early practice of keeping the *ḥadīth al-nabī* apart from other materials, as illustrated also by the practices of Zuhri and his companions, who even resisted at first the writing-down of anything but the Prophet’s Tradition, and by the dispute between the two sons of Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Amr ibn Ḥazm in which the traditionist ‘Abd Allāh rebuked the jurist Muḥammad for his use of *ijmā‘*, “consensus,” to the neglect of the *ḥadīth al-nabī*.³² Still later Mālik ibn Anas, who championed the consensus of the Medinans (*ijmā‘ ahl al-Madīnah*)³³ but strove to base as much of it as possible on the *ḥadīth al-nabī*, which he collected assiduously, kept apart from other traditions, and recited, as did others before and after him (see e.g. pp. 90 f.), with ceremonious dignity.

III

The foregoing section points once again to our evidence that from the very start successful efforts were made, at least by a few zealous and far-sighted Companions, to gather and preserve the Prophet’s Tradition and that such efforts were sustained by members, again comparatively few, of the succeeding generations. These significant few did not lose sight of the distinction between the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of the Prophet and the “living *sunnah*” of the Companions and Successors, even when new emphasis was placed on the latter by Zuhri’s insistence that it too be committed to writing. The Islāmic community itself early recognized the important role of the few well trained and zealous scholars who labored in each generation to establish and sustain the religious sciences at the highest possible level, whether their initial inclination was toward Qur’ānic readings and commentary or toward Tradition and law.

²⁵ See e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal I 66, 67, 70 (= Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-musnad* I [1365/1946] Nos. 469, 470, 477, 484, 507). Similar attitudes are reflected by the tradition that those who transmit falsified traditions of Muḥammad will dwell in hell-fire (see *Concordance* I 229 فليتبوا and I 236 ريبت).

²⁶ See Lewis Bevan Jones, *The People of the Mosque* (London, 1932), p. 76, quoting Wāqidī, p. 168, without specification of title; the reference does not tally with any of Wāqidī’s works that are available to me.

²⁷ احدثك عن النبي وتقول برايك.

²⁸ *Jāmi‘* II 195 f.

²⁹ *Ibid.*; Muslim IV 162; Isfarā‘īnī, *Musnad* II 57 f.

³⁰ *Jāmi‘* II 196; Shāfi‘ī, *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth* (on margins of *Kitāb al-umm* VII) p. 23.

³¹ *Risālah*, p. 62.

³² Ṭabarī III 2505 f.; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 176. See also p. 24 above, with nn. 188–89.

³³ See e.g. *Jāmi‘* II 202; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 143 f., III 259 f. Mālik’s position is fully substantiated by his own usage as illustrated in his *Muwatta‘*, where his insistence on citing and following the practice of the Medinans is met repeatedly (e.g. *Muwatta‘* I 271, 276, 280, 297, 299, 302, 309, 311, and 313 f., II 463, 475, 493, 503, 506, 511, 514 f., 517 f., and 521 f.). See *Concordance* IV 320 يا اهل المدينة اين علماءكم for the position claimed or held by Medinan scholars.

Masrūq ibn al-Ajda^c (d. 63/682), himself a seeker after religious knowledge (see p. 11), credited six of his contemporaries—^cUmar, ^cAlī, Ibn ^cAbbās, Mu^cadh ibn Jabal (alternates with Ubayy ibn Ka^cb), Abū al-Dardā^c (alternates with Abū Mūsā al-Ash^carī), and Zaid ibn Thābit—with acquiring the *‘ilm* of all the Companions.³⁴

Contemporary opinions and classification of individuals or of groups of scholars became a common feature of Islāmic literary criticism. This afforded the critics of each generation a series of earlier critical opinions to accept or dispute and to supplement with estimates of their own, a process which necessarily produced a variety of opinions, some of them quite contradictory, on the same individual or theme.³⁵ Nowhere in the religious sciences is this phenomenon more in evidence than in the *‘ilm al-rijāl*, early conceived by the Muslims as basic to the sciences of Tradition. Hence a unanimous or even a nearly unanimous opinion calls for recognition. Such an opinion is that expressed by the Baṣran ^cAlī ibn al-Madīnī (161–234/777–848), pupil of the *ḥadīth* critic Yaḥyā ibn Sa^cīd al-Qaṭṭān and teacher of Yaḥyā ibn Ma^cīn, Ibn Ḥanbal, and Bukhārī and himself an outstanding traditionist and *ḥadīth* critic even though he, like most others, did not escape some adverse criticism.³⁶ His opinion covers three generations of scholars representing various provinces of the empire and beginning with the generation of Zuhri (which overlaps that of Masrūq), who heads a list of six scholars. The other five are ^cAmr ibn Dīnār of Medina, Qatādah ibn Dī^cāmah and Yaḥyā ibn Abī Kuthair of Baṣrah, Abū Ishāq al-Sabī^cī and A^cmash of Kūfah. His second list consists of twelve organizers (*aṣḥāb al-aṣnāf*): Mālik ibn Anas, Ibn Juraij, Ibn Ishāq, and Sufyān ibn ^cUyainah from the Ḥijāz; Shu^cbah ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Sa^cīd ibn Abī ^cArūbah, Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār, Ma^cmar ibn Rāshid, and Abū ^cAwanah al-Waḍḍāḥ ibn Khālid from Baṣrah; Sufyān al-Thaurī of Kūfah; Awzā^cī of Syria; Hushaim of Wāsiṭ. His third list, which covers his older contemporaries, includes six names: the Baṣrans Yaḥyā ibn Sa^cīd al-Qaṭṭān and ^cAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī; the Kūfans Wakī^c ibn al-Jarrāḥ, Yaḥyā ibn Abī Zā^cīdah, and Yaḥyā ibn Adam; Ibn al-Mubārak of Khurāsān.³⁷ The significance of these three lists of men whose activities fully justify ^cAlī ibn al-Madīnī's opinion is threefold. First is the element of continuity, which is especially stressed by this critic, who introduces the first list with “the *isnād* (var. *‘ilm*) revolves about these six,” the second list with “then the knowledge of these six passed to twelve,” and the third list with “then the knowledge of these twelve passed to six.” Second is the recognition that the leading scholars of the post-Zuhri period were all writers, a conclu-

³⁴ Shirāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā*, pp. 12 and 13; Dhahabī I 24. For other contemporary expressions of appreciation of the role of leading Companions, with some overlap of names, see e.g. Ibn Sa^cd V 329 and Shirāzī, *op. cit.* pp. 21 and 25. It is interesting to note that the six *fuqahā* accepted by Abū Ḥanīfah and his school are listed in two groups of three each: ^cAbd Allāh ibn Mas^cūd, ^cUmar, Zaid ibn Thābit (see Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-athār*, p. 212) and ^cAlī, Abū Mūsā al-Ash^carī, Ubayy ibn Ka^cb (see Shirāzī, *op. cit.* pp. 10 and 12).

³⁵ See e.g. *Jāmi* II 150–66 for a wide variety of legitimate and not so legitimate factors that yielded such divided and contradictory opinions.

³⁶ For biographical entries see e.g. Khaṭīb XI 458–73; *Jam* I 356; Nawawī, pp. 443 f.; Dhahabī II 15 f.; *Mizān* II 229–31. See also pp. 100, n. 47, and 177 below and our Vol. I 53 and 92.

³⁷ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, cites the third list in full or in part no less than nine times: on pp. 17, 55, 59 f., 129, 187, 220, 234 f., 252 f., and 264 f. See also *Jāmi* II 167 f., where Isrā^cīl is added as the 13th name of the second group; Khaṭīb IX 9 f. and X 401 for partial citations; Dhahabī I 328, which stresses ^cAlī ibn al-Madīnī's emphasis on the element of continuity. Khaṭīb XIV 178 and Ibn Khallikān II 284 (= trans. IV 25) credit Yaḥyā ibn Sa^cīd al-Qaṭṭān with the *‘ilm* of all of those whose names precede his in the lists. Other, more inclusive, lists lack ^cAlī ibn al-Madīnī's well placed emphasis on the element of continuity in the preservation of *‘ilm*; see e.g. Hamadhānī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, p. 34; *Risālah*, pp. 62 f.; *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 315 and 319; *Maṣrifah*, pp. 240–49; Khaṭīb I 43 f.; Ibn ^cAsākir, *Taṣṛīkh madīnat Dimashq* I 315–17; Dhahabī II 72; Shirāzī, *op. cit.*, which is arranged by region and city. These lists are reflected in the *buldāniyāt* literature with its more comprehensive view of the resources, history, and culture of a given city or region.

sion thoroughly substantiated by the present study. The third significant factor, especially when it is related to the earlier statement of Masrūq (see above), is that ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī's opinion mirrors the shift of scholarly leadership from the Ḥijāz in the earlier period to ʿIrāq and points farther east in the later period, when Muslim and Bukhārī were already at work on their *Ṣaḥīḥain*.

Despite the ingenious legalistic arguments of more recent times to discount the role of Mecca and Medina as the home of Tradition (*dār al-ḥadīth*), the first-century Muslims conceded their priority as a matter of fact.³⁸ True, Medina had a few zealots and moralists who denounced the growing worldliness of the community and the neglect of learning,³⁹ but no outsider seriously questioned the religious leadership of Mecca and Medina until the Kūfan Ḥammād ibn Abī Sulaimān (d. 120/738), pupil of Nakhaʿī and teacher of Abū Ḥanīfah, challenged it in favor of his own city and province.⁴⁰ Nevertheless we find that Abū Ḥanīfah himself was anxious to acquire from a scholar returning from Medina a copy of the materials that he had received from Mālik.⁴¹ Some Medinan scholars migrated, mostly to Syria and Egypt, around the end of the first century, since from the point of view of scholarship these provinces and the Yemen were in the orbit of the Ḥijāz. But a more significant exit of Medinan scholars took place after the fall of the ʿUmayyads because of inducements resulting from the shift of the capital from Syria to ʿIrāq and from the policies of the ʿAbbāsids Saffāḥ (132–36/750–54) and, in particular, Maṣṣūr. These founders of the “Blessed Dynasty” enticed and welcomed Medinan scholars into their courts and service.⁴² Maṣṣūr required the members of his family not only to attend *ḥadīth* sessions but to write down *ḥadīth* in his presence.⁴³ Though Medina continued for a time to hold its ascendancy, especially under the leadership of the forceful Mālik,⁴⁴ it was nonetheless losing a slow race in which Egypt and particularly ʿIrāq eventually proved to be the victors,⁴⁵ though ʿIrāq soon had to share its laurels with Persia and Khurāsān.⁴⁶ Yet in Egypt, where Mālik was challenged on the role of Medina⁴⁷ first by his friend Laith ibn Saʿd and then by his pupil Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), it was not until some time after Shāfiʿī's death that Mālik's followers found acceptance along with the long-established followers of Shāfiʿī. Furthermore, though by the time of Ibn Ḥanbal, Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn, and ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī scholarly leadership had already shifted to ʿIrāq, these scholars and many others braved the hardships of long journeys to the Ḥijāz, the Yemen, and Egypt in order to secure, above all, the traditions of the early Medinans. Presently Bukhārī was to follow in their foot-

³⁸ See e.g. *Sīrah* I 1014 (= Ṭabarī I 1817); *Jāmiʿ* II 169; *Maʿrifah*, pp. 25 f.; Shirāzī, *op. cit.* p. 10; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, pp. 215 and 217 (= Rosenthal's trans. II 452 and 461). See also p. 41 above.

³⁹ See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* II 200 f. But see also Shirāzī, *op. cit.* p. 10, where Masrūq indicates that Medina's priority was accepted by ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his contemporary followers.

⁴⁰ *Jāmiʿ* II 152 f. For biographical entries on Ḥammād ibn Abī Sulaimān see Ibn Saʿd VI 231 f. and VII 2, p. 2, lines 23 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 18; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 146 f.; *Jamʿ* I 104 f.; *Mīzān* I 279.

⁴¹ *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 3 f.

⁴² See *Jāmiʿ* I 97 and pp. 50 above and 122, 126, 193 below. For the early ʿAbbāsids as patrons of *ḥadīth* scholars see e.g. *Adab al-ʿimlāʾ*, pp. 10–23; see also pp. 106 and 122–24 below and our Vol. I 88–91.

⁴³ *Khaṭīb* I 385–87.

⁴⁴ See *Jāmiʿ* II 157 (and cf. *ibid.* pp. 40–43); *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 134 f.; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 259 f.

⁴⁵ The Kūfan judge Ibn Shubrumah (d. 144/776), who spent 3 years in Mecca, found but little learning (*ʿilm*) in Medina (see *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 96).

⁴⁶ Abū Jaʿfar al-Musnadi al-Bukhārī (d. 229/844) collected all of the Companions' *musnad*'s of the Transoxus (*Jarḥ* II 2, p. 162; *Jāmiʿ* I 266 f.; Khair al-Dīn al-Zarkālī, *Al-ʿlām* [Cairo, 1345–47/1927–28] II 557).

⁴⁷ For the correspondence between Mālik and Laith on *ijmāʿ ahl al-Madīnah* see e.g. Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā, *Muḥāḍarāt fī taʾrīkh al-fiqh al-islāmī* II (Cairo, 1374/1955) 78–86 and 115–17. For other and later opposition to Mālik's point of view see *ibid.* pp. 86–88 and 104–18 and references cited throughout.

steps and was to give prominence to early Medinan traditionists and their traditions by citing them ahead of all others in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

The shift of the centers of religious learning from the Ḥijāz to ʿIrāq and points farther east was accompanied by a growing contest, not strictly limited to these geographical regions, between the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, who looked to the Ḥijāz for their sources and inspiration, and the *ahl al-raʿy*, who stressed in varying degrees the role of personal endeavor, opinion, and reason and who looked to ʿIrāq for leadership and support. This new challenge tempted some of the more sophisticated among the *ahl al-ḥadīth* to forge what they considered good constructive traditions in order to bolster their polemics and safeguard their position. Thus, in turn, an additional burden was put on the dedicated traditionists and jurists, who had to contend with these fabrications that had begun to circulate among their own followers. The task of the honest traditionists, difficult enough to begin with, now became arduous. This situation was reflected in Zuhri's statement that Tradition was masculine and only masculine men desired it, while effeminate ones disliked it—an opinion that was approved and quoted by the ʿAbbāsīd Maṣṣūr and others.⁴⁸ The *ahl al-raʿy* also were aware of the circulation of false traditions and deliberate forgeries, as was illustrated by Abū Ḥanīfah. Accused of being almost totally ignorant of Tradition, he retaliated by proclaiming the falsity of some four hundred traditions as justification for his emphasis on *raʿy*.⁴⁹ The circulation of false *ḥadīth* by various groups (see p. 70) continued in the second half of the second century but was not unchallenged among the critics. Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān accepted no traditionist on faith,⁵⁰ while Hārūn al-Rashīd boasted that he had in his retinue two master traditionists, Ibn al-Mubārak and Fazārī (see p. 232), who could detect the cleverest forgeries.⁵¹ It must be pointed out, however, that at this time, though there was detection of false or faulty content (*matn*), especially in traditions circulated by politico-religious sects, by far the greater number of detections concerned the *isnād* only, and one unsound link was enough to cause suspicion of an entire *isnād* and therefore of a tradition.

The situation was no different for the master traditionists of the late second and early third centuries, for they had to sift and resift the mass of traditions that were in circulation in order to sort out the true from the false, with special emphasis on the Prophet's Tradition as the deduced evidence of our documents indicates. Their exacting task would have proved impossible, as Ibn Ḥanbal pointed out (see p. 69, n. 50), but for the availability of earlier records. A number of these records were begun in the time of Muḥammad, and many others reached completion as a result of the literary activities of Zuhri and his pupils and numerous other scholars of their time.⁵² Thereafter, these materials were preserved continuously in writing, with or without editorial touches, as revealed again and again in the present study. Oral transmission, therefore, can no longer be construed to imply uncontrolled fluidity and thus to justify general distrust of the entire body of formal Tradition. The sources repeatedly indicate that oral and written transmission were used concurrently to safeguard the letter and the

⁴⁸ See e.g. Ṭabarī III 404 f.; *Taʿwīl*, p. 70; *Madkhal*, p. 3 (= trans. p. 9).

⁴⁹ See e.g. Khaṭīb XIII 390 f.

⁵⁰ See e.g. *Kifāyah*, p. 158; *Taʿwīl*, pp. 88 f.

⁵¹ Ibn ʿAsākir II 254; Dhahabī I 252. ʿAbbāsīd patronage of religious scholars began to decrease after the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The influence of religious and other scholars, particularly those of the "ivory-tower" type, on

heads of state and their administrators likewise decreased progressively, but over a longer period. Ibn Khaldūn took note of this situation and offered a rationale for it in his *Muqaddimah*, pp. 15 f., 192, and 279 f. (= Rosenthal's trans. I 60 f., II 334 f., and III 308–10). In contrast, a close relationship existed between ruler and scholar under ʿUmar II (see pp. 24 f. above).

⁵² Dhahabī I 97–101 and 150 f. and Ibn Taghribirdī I 387 f. reflect in brief summaries this development.

essence of significant texts from generation to generation. The following conclusions are therefore forced upon us. (1) Zuhri and his contemporaries received from their predecessors a genuine core of the sayings and deeds of Muḥammad together with a genuine core of the sayings and deeds of the Companions and Successors along with some accretions that through human fallibility had been absorbed into both categories. (2) The greater part of this material received a fixed literary form during the age of Zuhri and the later ʿUmayyads. (3) Thereafter, deliberate tampering with either the content or the *isnād*'s of the Prophet's Tradition, as distinct from the sayings and deeds of the Companions and Successors, may have passed undetected by ordinary transmitters but not by the aggregate of the ever-watchful, basically honest, and aggressively outspoken master traditionists and *ḥadīth* critics. Shāfiʿī's insistence on the Prophet's traditions, therefore, does not argue for wholesale fabrication of this category in his day, as Schacht⁵³ believes, but illustrates the high level of selectivity and priority for the Prophet's Tradition that had already been reached by that time. (4) These same master traditionists and critics, surveying the entire field of Tradition, openly excepted from their vigilance a growing body of traditions in the field of private devotion and public exhortation, in eschatology and some types of Qurʾānic commentary, and in partisan matters both personal and politico-religious. (5) To expect, finally, under all of the varied circumstances considered in the present study, a perfect record as to the authenticity of all the traditions selected at each step from the time of Muḥammad to that of Muslim and Bukhārī and thereafter is to expect the impossible—a consideration which, as seen above, was not lost on the Muslim *ḥadīth* critics of each successive period.

All in all, Islāmic Tradition, in the controlled size and nature of its content, is comparable to the literatures of its sister faiths, Judaism and Christianity. It surpasses them in the speed of its literary evolution. Like them it involves problems of interpolations and forgeries, inconsistencies, and contradictions. Numerous Muslim scholars have in the past grappled with these problems and a few are doing so today, as many Jewish and Christian scholars have done and are doing for their own comparable literatures. However, while Muslim scholars by and large have avoided and still avoid involvement in the study of comparable non-Islāmic literatures, Jews and Christians early found a certain fascination in the study of Islāmic Tradition but until quite recently approached it, for complex reasons, with pronounced prejudice.⁵⁴ While this generally biased approach has not been entirely eliminated, it is encouraging to note increasing objectivity on the part of Western scholars in their study of comparative religions and cultures. If continued, this new phase in the study of Islāmic Tradition promises to be more fruitful than even Goldziher could have expected.

⁵³ *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, pp. 57, 77 f., and *passim* (see references given in Index under "Shāfiʿī" and "Tradition").

⁵⁴ Norman Daniel's recent work, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960), presents in

great detail the many complex factors that led Western scholars to create a false image of Islām and its religious sources. See the present writer's review of the work in *JNES* XXI (1962) 155-56.

PART II
THE DOCUMENTS

SCRIBAL PRACTICES AND SCRIPTS

THE orthographic signs and other devices used in these papyri are detailed in connection with the description of each document. They are for the most part no different from those used in the historical papyri described in Volume I of this series, to which the reader is referred. Briefly, the following features are of particular interest in the present texts. Words are split at the ends of lines (Documents 8, 10).¹ Diacritical points are used in all of the documents but fewer in some (Documents 3, 4, 7, 13, 14) than in others (Documents 2, 6, 9, 10). Of special interest is the careful pointing of proper names (Documents 6–8, 11, 13). Small letters are used under *ḥaʿ*, *sīn*, and *ʿain* to distinguish them from their sister letters in Documents 5, 6, and 12 only. *Sīn* is further differentiated by the use of the *muhmilah* above it (Documents 6, 12) and by a row of three dots either above or below it (Documents 10 and 12 respectively). Vowels are very rarely used but occur more often than not with proper names, the *fathah* being usually the most common (Documents 6, 11–13). The *sukūn* is used only once (Document 13). The *hamzah* appears once, as a small circle (Document 2), and the *shaddah* is consistently lacking even in الليل = الليل (Document 13).² The initial *alif* of *ibn* is omitted, as in بن شهاب, throughout Document 6 (see also Documents 3–5).

The familiar *hāʿ* as an abbreviation of *intahā*, “finished,” and the circle are used to mark off traditions or sections of the texts. One or the other is used in all but one (No. 10) of the documents, and sometimes both occur in the same document. Two or more circles are sometimes used to mark off larger sections or themes (Document 1). Occasionally dashes are used to mark off headings (Document 3). Red dashes appear at some of the headings in Document 11 and may indicate a particular source for a given tradition or group of traditions (see p. 237).³

It has been generally assumed that the use of a dot within a circle in papyrus documents was a matter of choice with each scribe and therefore that the circle with or without a dot as well as certain related devices were punctuation marks.⁴ This assumption may be warranted for some non-literary documents for which duplicates or office copies were not required. However, I suspect that the use of the *hāʿ* and the circle for text division in *ḥadīth* and related manuscripts reflects an earlier usage in Qurʾānic manuscripts, whence they were adopted some time in the second half of the first century.⁵ In a copy of the *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurairah (d. ca. 58/678) which was in the possession of Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/728) or his brother Yaḥyā and in a manuscript of Abū al-Zinād (d. 131/748) the circle, in the first with dots around it, is used at the end of each tradition.⁶ Qurʾānic manuscripts were collated from the

¹ See Vol. I 92 and references cited in n. 3. See also *Tadrīb*, p. 153, which cautions against splitting compound names containing the word “Allāh” (“Le Taqrīb de en-Nawawī” traduit et annoté par M. Marçais,” *Journal asiatique*, 9th series, XVII [1901] 528).

² See Vol. I 96.

³ See *Tadrīb*, p. 152.

⁴ For a representative collection of such devices see Adolf Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo, 1952) pp. 91 f.

⁵ See *OIP* L 22, 55 f., 61. See also Jeffery (ed.), *Two*

Muqaddimas to the Qurʾānic Sciences, pp. 274 and 276. For new evidence of the very early use of orthographic signs, captions, and punctuation devices in Qurʾānic copies see ʿUthmān ibn Saʿid al-Dānī, *Al-muḥkam fī al-naql al-maṣāḥif*. See also p. 13, n. 82, above.

⁶ *Adab al-ʿimlāʿ*, p. 173; *Tadrīb*, p. 152. For Abū al-Zinād’s written materials see p. 139 below. Khaṭīb, we are told, preferred the circle with either a dot or a stroke inside it to indicate collation; see Tirmidhī, *Al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, I (Cairo, 1356/1937) Intro. pp. 25 f. See *ibid.* pp. 28–30 for the great care generally needed for copying and collation.

start, beginning with Muḥammad,⁷ and Ḥaḥṣah's copy was used for this purpose during the reigns of ʿUmar I and ʿUthmān.⁸ The collation of *ḥadīth* manuscripts, at least orally, that is, by their being read back to the teacher, is associated with most of the leading Companions and Successors. The need to indicate collation in the manuscripts themselves may have developed among the latter, perhaps under the influence of Zuhri and his school at the time when written *ḥadīth* was fast becoming the rule.⁹ The practice of collating one's copy with an approved manuscript soon followed. Extremely careful students and scholars combined oral and written collation.¹⁰

These practices, as described in the sources, are reflected in literary papyri. Since the use of the circle, differentiated in one way or another, to indicate collation has not hitherto been recognized, illustrative materials from the papyri of both Volume I and the present volume are noted here. The circle with a dot inside it is widely used (Vol. I, Documents 2 and 8; Documents 2, 5–7, 11, 12 below). A circle or a pear-shaped device with a line through it appears occasionally as an alternative (Vol. I, Document 4; Document 5 below).¹¹ Another alternative seems to be a circle with a dot above or to the side of it (Vol. I, Document 6; Document 4 below), though I have found no example of this device in the sources. Two other devices, likewise not specified in the sources, call for some explanation. These consist of two concentric circles with a dot in the center (Document 3) and a single dotted circle with a stroke either tangential to it or intersecting its lower arc (Document 6). Such comparatively complex signs could hardly have been accidental when other signs were so carefully differentiated. I venture therefore to suggest that they indicate double collation, where the exceptional student or scholar combined written and oral collation in order to have as accurate a copy as possible. It is to be noted further that the two documents in which these devices appear are among the most carefully executed of the whole group, both in the calligraphy of the scripts and in the scribal practices and devices. *Ḥadīth* manuscripts from the seventh decade of the third century seem to indicate a distinctive use of the plain circle and the circle with a dot inside it. In the *Jāmiʿ* of Ibn Wahb (125–97/742–812), a papyrus codex, only the circle with a dot is used from page 85 onward. In the earliest extant manuscript copy of the vulgate version of the *Muwattaʿ* of Mālik ibn Anas, a paper codex in Maghribī script dated 277/890 (see p. 114), no punctuation marks are used between traditions but each tradition begins with “*qāla* Mālik” or simply with “Mālik” written in a heavier, larger script. On the last page, however, the circle with a dot is used, and a marginal note toward the end states that the text has been collated.

Our papyri illustrate other practices of careful transcription and collation such as cancellation of erroneous text and interlinear marginal corrections and notations (see e.g. pp. 162, 191, 211).

The *taṣḥiyah*, or formula of blessing, if not omitted, is generally used irregularly in the full and the short form in the same document. This irregularity reflects partly the early widespread flexibility, in speech¹² as in manuscripts,¹³ in this matter and partly the transmitter's or copyist's literal faithfulness to the original text.

⁷ See e.g. *Adab al-ʿimlāʾ*, p. 77.

⁸ See pp. 46 and 58 and *OIP* L 49, 51.

⁹ For Zuhri's practice see *Jāmiʿ*: II 177. See also pp. 33 f. above and 174 f. below.

¹⁰ See Vol. I 93.

¹¹ See e.g. *Tadrīb*, pp. 152 f.

¹² See *Sūrah* 33:56; *Concordance* II 509, III 349 and 370;

Muwattaʿ I 165 f.; Bukhārī IV 230; Khaṭīb XIII 404; Abū Nuʿaim V 388. The early storytellers (*quṣṣāṣ*) were negligent in the use of the formula, which, however, they sometimes used for the rulers. ʿUmar II is credited with correcting this situation (Ibn al-Jauzī, *Manāqib ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, p. 136). For other examples of early practices see Tirmidhī, *Al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* I, Intro. pp. 26–28.

¹³ The papyrus codex of the *Jāmiʿ* of Ibn Wahb illus-

The *basmalah*, or invocation of the name of Allāh, is even less frequently used, occurring at the heads of sections in Documents 3 and 10. It is equally rare in the historical texts.¹⁴ The probability is that in both the groups of texts this formula headed large divisions that are not preserved in the fragments,¹⁵ if we judge by the great emphasis placed on its use in speech for numerous occasions, in Muḥammad's treatises and correspondence,¹⁶ in the Qur'ān, and later in a variety of literary¹⁷ and non-literary manuscripts, beginning with the earliest extant non-literary document.¹⁸

Before considering the over-all significance of the scripts of these documents we should note the formats, which may have some bearing on the style and quality of the scripts. As in the case of the historical documents,¹⁹ they are not overly large and the square or nearly square format for book folios seems to have been preferred insofar as can be determined from fragments (Documents 1-4, 6, 13, 14). This format was widely used in Egypt,²⁰ where most if not all of our documents originated or were transmitted.

The classification of literary scripts has already been discussed,²¹ and there is little to add here. The common, nondescript *muṭlaq* variety is represented in Documents 8-10 and 12, at least two of which are rough sheets (Nos. 9 and 12), and the cursive slanting or *mā'il* script is used in Document 11. Otherwise, the book hand most frequently used, if we allow for local and personal tendencies, is the *naskhī*, with marked yet varying degrees of angularity (Documents 1, 2, 5, 13) or cursiveness (Documents 3, 6, 7, 14) and more schooled and better executed in some cases (Documents 1-3, 6, 13) than in others. The *mudawwar al-ṣaghīr* or *jāmi'* script, specifically associated with literary manuscripts,²² is represented in Document 4.

The large proportion of documents with nondescript and poorly executed scripts would seem to be representative of the work of average traditionists of the second and third centuries. Among the many reasons for the use of such scripts were the large number of young students whose handwriting was not yet stabilized, the need for hurried note-taking in the classroom and at crowded public lectures, the preparation of rough copies (*musawwadāt*) in which accuracy rather than the use of fine scripts was the prime objective. Frequently such rough copies were made during a *riḥlah* or journey in search of traditions and traditionists. For the professionals, whose search involved months and sometimes years of travel through the major provinces of the empire with an ever increasing load of manuscripts (see pp. 40-43), economy in writing materials was called for and also in the size of scripts, as specifically stated for many of these travelers, such as Baqīyah ibn al-Walīd (see p. 234) and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī,²³ and generally permitted for the traveling fraternity as a whole.²⁴ Finally, there were professional copyists (see pp. 46-48) who more often than not sacrificed beauty and at times even accuracy to speed.²⁵ These facts help to explain the lack of margins or the narrow margins in several of our documents as well as the poor quality and small size of some of the scripts. On the other

trates this flexibility (Khaṭīb X 336; *Adab al-implā'*, pp. 63-65; see also our Vol. I 92, esp. n. 4 and references there cited). In later times transmitters and copyists felt free to add the *taṣṭīyah* as well as the *tarḥīyah*, the latter especially for 'Alī ibn 'Abī Ṭālib, and the *ta'ālā* and the *'azza wa jalla* for Allāh (see "Le taqrib de en-Nawawī," *Journal asiatique*, 9th series, XVII 528 f.; *Tadrīb*, p. 153).

¹⁴ See Vol. I 2.

¹⁵ See e.g. Khaṭīb XIII 279 f. for manuscripts that started with this formula.

¹⁶ See *Concordance* II 550; *Tafsīr* I 117 f.

¹⁷ Ibn Sa'd VII 1, p. 142; Ibn 'Asākir V 48; *Adab al-implā'*, pp. 51 and 170 f.; Dhahabī I 193.

¹⁸ Dated in the year 22/643 (*OIP* L, Pl. IV).

¹⁹ See Vol. I 2.

²⁰ See Thomas W. Arnold and Adolf Grohmann, *The Islamic Book* (Paris and New York, 1929) pp. 56 f.

²¹ Vol. I 2-5.

²² See Vol. I 4.

²³ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 362 f.

²⁴ See e.g. *Adab al-implā'*, pp. 115, 165 f., and 168 f.

²⁵ See Vol. I 4 and references there cited.

hand, a student's or scholar's final copy (*mubaiyadaḥ*), made in comparative leisure and intended for lifetime use, as a rule had generous margins and carefully executed script (e.g. Documents 1–4, 6, 13 and the *Jāmiʿ* of Ibn Wahb).

The *ḥadīth* literature gives ample evidence that the professional scribes were more concerned with the accuracy of their manuscripts (*ṣiḥḥat kutub* and *ṣaḥīḥ al-kitāb*)²⁶ than with the style and beauty of their scripts, though they were by no means unappreciative of fine scripts, as illustrated by the manuscripts of Shuʿaib ibn Dīnār which he wrote down from Zuhri by order of the caliph Hishām (see p. 177).

Ḥadīth and related works with stylized and beautifully executed scripts may have come from the hands of palace secretaries who were carrying out royal orders, such as the secretary of Marwān I who was ordered to write down the *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurairah²⁷ and the above-mentioned Shuʿaib ibn Dīnār, or from the hands of traditionists who were executing princely orders such as that of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān to Kathīr ibn Marrah.²⁸ Or they may have come from the hands of the private secretaries who served such leading traditionists as ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir (see p. 202),²⁹ Ibn Abī Dhʿīb,³⁰ Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd al-Zubaidī (see p. 177), Awzāʿī (see p. 134),³¹ Mālik ibn Anas (see pp. 125, 127), Laith ibn Saʿd, Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAyyāsh (see p. 178), and others.³²

The use of Qurʾānic scripts for other religious and for secular works was frowned on from the start, though a number of instances of such use are known and a few specimens from both fields have even survived to our day.³³ Pious and ascetic professional Qurʾān copyists who were also traditionists, such as Aʿraj (d. 117/735),³⁴ Abū Rajāʾ Maṭr ibn Ṭahmān al-Warrāq (d. 119/737 or 125/743; see p. 229), and Mālik ibn Dīnār (d. 130/748),³⁵ may have been inclined to use Qurʾānic scripts for *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, especially the smaller varieties which tended to be of the composite Kūfic-*nashkhī* styles. On the whole, though, the professional commercial copyists, who as a rule were paid by the page or the piece,³⁶ were more interested in speed than in beauty of style. Furthermore, even within the learned community itself, except for the extremists among the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, there soon developed a reluctance to transfer to non-Qurʾānic fields any of the prestige-yielding practices and devices specifically associated with the dignity and sacredness of the Qurʾān. These practices included, almost from the very beginning of Islām, the use of large calligraphic scripts,³⁷ the use of bookstands for the Qurʾāns, purification before touching or using the sacred book,³⁸ solemn and dignified behavior at Qurʾānic sessions. As controversy developed over the role of Tradition relative to the Qurʾān on the one hand and to human reason and opinion on the other hand, those disinclined to magnify Tradition early cautioned against *ḥadīth* codices and the resting of such volumes on

²⁶ See e.g. p. 217, n. 4; Khaṭīb IX 168; *Kifāyah*, p. 223; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 41; Dhahabī I 277; *Irshād* V 326; Ibn Khallikān II 458.

²⁷ *Mustadrak* III 510; *Nubalāʾ* II 431 f.; *Iṣābah* IV 388.

²⁸ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 157; cf. our Vol. I 18.

²⁹ See *Husn al-muḥāḍarah* I 144.

³⁰ *Husn al-muḥāḍarah* I 157 f.

³¹ See Dhahabī I 262; *Jamʿ* II 557; *Lisān* VI 628 f.

³² See e.g. *Kifāyah*, p. 125.

³³ For an extract from Abū ʿUbaid's *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* in a copy dated 252/866 see Palaeographical Society, London, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions (Oriental Series)*, ed. William Wright (London, 1875–83) Pl. VI, and compare the text with Bukhārī III 441 f. For other examples see Nabia Abbott, "Arabic paleography," *Ars Is-*

lamica VIII (1949) 81 f. and references there cited, to which may be added a copy, dated ca. 200/815, of the *Jamharat al-ansāb* of Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sāʿib al-Kalbī and Ibn al-Sikkīt's copy, dated 243/858, of *Taʾrīkh al-ʿArab* (see Georges Vajda, *Album de paléographie arabe* [Paris, 1958] Pls. 1 and 3, and in legend of Pl. 3 read "857" for "957"). For attribution of this *Taʾrīkh* to Aṣmaʿī see Franz Rosenthal in *JAOS* LXIX (1949) 90 f.

³⁴ See Dhahabī I 91 f. and p. 124, n. 31, below.

³⁵ Vol. I 49. See also Abū Nuʿaim II 368 and III 88; Ibn Khallikān I 557 (= trans. II 549–51).

³⁶ See e.g. Khaṭīb XIV 150; *Irshād* VII 276 f.

³⁷ See e.g. Abū Nuʿaim IV 105 and 230, IX 35; cf. *OIP* L 54.

³⁸ *Sūrahs* 56, 77–79.

bookstands after the fashion of Qurʾān codices. Many of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, however, persisted in glorifying the Prophet's Tradition in these respects as also in the ceremony of purification preparatory to a *ḥadīth* session and in studied dignity during the session. Awesome respect for the *ḥadīth al-nabī* is reflected in the refusal of such pious scholars as Ḥaiwah ibn Shuraiḥ (d. 158/774 or 159/775) to use anything but the cleanest earth or sand for blotting freshly written manuscripts.³⁹

When one considers the large and widespread body of *ḥadīth* students at different stages of their religious education or scholarship and with primary interests that varied from *ḥadīth* proper to *fiqh* to *akhbār* and relates their objectives to the known scribal practices and the motives behind them, one begins to understand the absence in our documents of regular Kūfic scripts, large or small, and of the correspondingly large or small *safīnah* format (i.e., with width tangibly greater than height), for these scripts and this format were specifically associated with early Qurʾāns.⁴⁰ One also realizes why in this small group of papyri of the second and early third centuries the best scripts and the largest format are for *tafsīr* (Document 1) and for *ḥadīth* (Documents 3, 6) and *ḥadīth-fiqh* (Documents 2, 4) that are in some way associated with such outstanding *ḥadīth* scholars as Zuhri, Mālik ibn Anas, and Laith ibn Saʿd.

Nothing is known of the provenience of the fourteen documents beyond the fact that they came from Egypt. No comments can be added, in this respect, on Document 2, which belongs to the Erzherzog Rainer collection in Vienna, nor on Documents 13 and 14, which belong to the University of Michigan collection (see p. 276). The remaining eleven documents were bought by the Oriental Institute, in 1947, as part of a collection of 331 Arabic papyri.⁴¹ It is possible that Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith ibn Saʿd could have acquired Documents 3 and 9 (see pp. 144 and 221). Furthermore, strong circumstantial evidence points to Abū Ṣāliḥ as compiler or preserver of the nine remaining documents (see pp. 102–4, 156, 164, 173, 195, 207, 234, 244, 256 f.). It is, therefore, probable that the eleven Oriental Institute papyri came originally from the hand or library of Laith ibn Saʿd or his secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ.

³⁹ See p. 239 below and cf. Ibn Mājah II 216.

⁴¹ See Preface of Vol. I.

⁴⁰ See Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, pp. 49 and 57.

DOCUMENT 1

The *Wujūh wa al-naẓāʾir* of Muqātil ibn Sulaimān (d. 150/767). Oriental Institute No. 17620. About mid-second/mid-eighth century.

Fine dark brown papyrus, 31.5 × 17.5 cm. Much damaged upper halves of two joined folios (Pls. 1–2). The inner margins vary from 5.5 to 7 cm., and there are 11–13 lines to the broken page. To judge by the space required for the reconstruction of the text, the number of lines to the full page may have varied from a minimum of 17 to a maximum of 20. The full page would seem to have measured about 32 × 30 cm., the nearly square format which was often used in literary papyri.¹

Script.—Carefully executed semi-cursive book hand with well formed letters showing some resemblance to the script of the Oriental Institute *Arabian Nights* fragment (No. 17618).² The horizontal strokes are slightly wavy, after the style of early Arabic Christian scripts. Diacritical points are used for *bāʾ* and its sister letters *fāʾ*, *shīn*, *nūn*, and *yāʾ*. The *hamzah* is either replaced by *yāʾ* or absent. One to three circles are used for punctuation. The handwriting becomes a little smaller and the page a little more crowded as the work proceeds.

TEXT

PAGE 1

- 1 ابراهيم في ربه الى قوله والله [لا يهدى القوم الضالين الى الهدى نظيرها في براءة ○]
- 2 قوله اجعلتم سقاية الحاج [وعماره المسجد الحرام الى قوله والله لا يهدى القوم الضالين ○]
- 3 وكقوله في الجمعة والله لا يهدى [القوم الضالين يعني من الضلالة الى دينه ونحوه كثير ○]
- 4 الوجه الثالثة اعشر ○ [لا يهدى يعني لا يصلح فذلك قوله في يوسف وان]
- 5 الله لا يهدى كيد الخائين يعني [لا يصلح عمل الزناة ○ الوجه الاربعة اعشر ○]
- 6 هُدى اليك يعني تبنا فذلك قوله في [الاعراف هدنا اليك يعني تبنا اليك ○]
- 7 باب الكفر [على وجوه]
- 8 الوجه الاول ○ الكفر بتوحيد الله الانكار له فذلك قوله في البقرة ان الذين كفروا
- 9 سواء عليهم انذرتهم ام لم تنذرهم لا يؤمنون يعني الذين كفروا بتوحيد الله ○ [
- 10 وكقوله في الحج الذين كفروا وكذبوا باياتنا يعني بتوحيد الله ونحوه كثير ○]

PAGE 2

- 1 [وكقوله في لقمان ان اشكر لله ومن يشكرا فانا يشكر لنفسه ومن كفر يعني
- 2 [النعمة فان الله غني حميد ○ وكقول] فرعون لموسى في الشعراء وفعلت
- 3 [فعلت التي فعلت وانت من الكافرين] يعني حين رباه واحسن اليه
- 4 [ونحوه كثير ○ الوجه الرابع ○ الكفر يعني] [لبراءة فذلك قول ابراهيم في الممتحنة

¹ See Vol. I 2 and esp. Documents 4 and 6.

² See *JNES* VIII, Pls. XV–XVI.

- 5 [كفرنا بكم يعني تبرأنا منكم ○] وكقوله في العنكبوت فالיום
 6 [يكفر بعضكم ببعض يعني يتبرأ بعضكم] عن بعض ○ وكقول ابليس في سورة
 7 [ابراهيم اني كفرت بما اشركتموني من قبل يعني تبرأت ونحوه كثير ○
 8 [باب الشرك] على وجوه ○
 9 [الوجه الاول ○] الاشرار بالله يعني الذي [يعدل به غيره فذلك قوله في النساء واعبدوا
 10 [الله ولا تشركوا به شيئاً يعني لا تعدلوا به غيره ○] وكقوله ان الله لا يغفر ان يشرك به يعني
 11 [من يعدل به غيره ○] وكقوله في المائدة ومن يشرك بالله يعني يعدل به غيره فقد حرم الله عليه الجنة

PAGE 3

- 1 الوجه الاول ○ سوء يعني عدل فذلك قوله في آل عمران تعالوا الى كلمة سوء بيننا وبينكم يعني
 2 عدل بيننا وبينكم ○ وكقوله في حم سلوآء للسائلين يعني لمن يسأل ○ وكقوله
 3 في ص واهدنا الى سوء الصراط يعني عدل ○ والوجه الثاني ○ سوء يعني وسطاً
 4 فذلك قوله في الصفات فراه في سوء [الجحيم يعني وسط الجحيم ○ وكقوله في الدخان]
 5 فاعتلوه الى سوء الجحيم يعني وسط الجحيم [○ الوجه الثالث ○ سَوَاءٌ يعني امراً بيئاً فذلك
 6 قوله في الانفال فانبذ اليهم على سوءٍ يعانى على امر بيئ ○ وكقوله في الانبياء اذنتكم على سوءٍ
 7 يعني على امر بيئ ○ الوجه الرابع ○ سَوَاءٌ يعني شرعاً سوءاً فذلك قوله في الحج سوءاً
 8 العاكف فيه يعني في مكة والياد يعانى هم شرعاً سوءاً ○ وكقوله في النساء و
 9 كما كفروا فتكونوا سوءاً يعني تكونون انتم والكفار في الكفر شرعاً سوءاً ○ وكقوله في
 10 الروم هل لكم مما ملكت ايمانكم يعني [العبيد من شركاء فيما رزقنكم فانتم فيه سوءاً يعني شرعاً]
 11 سوءاً ○ وقال في النحل فما الذين فضلوا برآدى رزقهم على ما ملأت ايمانهم فهم فيه سوءاً يعني
 12 شرعاً سوءاً ○ الوجه الخامس ○ سوءاً يعني [قصداً فذلك كقوله في القصص]
 13 عسا رب أن يهدينى سوءاً السبيل يعني [قصداً السبيل ○ وكقوله في المائدة]

PAGE 4

- 1 [المَرَضُ يعني الجراحة فذلك قوله في النساء ان كنتم مرضاً او على سفر يعني] ان كنتم مرضاً او على
 سفر ليس غيرهما ○ ○ ○
 2 [الوجه الرابع ○] المرض يعني به جميع الامراض فذلك [قوله في البقرة من كان منكم مريضاً يعني جميع
 3 [الاجزاء ○] وكقوله في براءة ليس على الضعفاء ولا على المرضى حرج ○ وكقوله في النور ليس
 4 [على الاعمى حرج ولا على الاعرج حرج ولا على المأبوس حرج ○
 5 [باب الفساد على وجوه ○
 6 [الوجه الاول ○] الفساد يعني المعاصي فذلك قوله في] البقرة واذا قيل لهم لا تفسدوا في الارض
 7 [يعنى لا تفعلوا فيها بالمعاصي ○ وكقوله في الاعراف ولا تفسدوا في الارض بعد اصلاحها
 8 [يعنى لا تفعلوا فيها بالمعاصي ونحوه] كثير ○ الوجه الثاني الفساد

- 9 [يعنى الهلاك فذلك قوله في بنى اسرائيل لتفسدن] في الارض مرتين يعنى لتهلكن مرتين ○ وكقوله
 10 [في الانبياء لو كان فيهما الهة الا الله لفسدنا يعانى في السموات والارض ومن فيهن يعنى
 11 [لهلكنا ونحوه كثير ○ الوجه الثالث الفساد] يعنى قحط المطر وقلت النبات فذلك
 12 [قوله في الروم الفساد في البر والبحر يعنى] قحط المطر وقلت النبات في البر يعنى في
 13 [ال عمران والريف ونحوه كثير ○ الواجبه الرابع الفساد يعنى القتل فذلك
 14 [قوله في الاعراف اتذر موسى وقومه ليفسدوا في الارض يعنى ليقتلوا اولاد اهل مصر]

Comments—Page 1: 1–6. Last section on *hudā*, corresponding to Constantinople (Istanbul) manuscript ʿUmūmī 561 folios 7 recto to 8 verso (see Pl. 3). The papyrus has but 14 subdivisions for this section as against 17 in ʿUmūmī 561. Subdivisions 12, 13, and 14 of the papyrus correspond to subdivisions 12, 15, and 17 of ʿUmūmī 561. Note the form of the ordinal ثلاثة عشر in line 4, and presumably اربعة عشر in line 5, which is sometimes found in early papyri (see Joseph Karabacek, “Kleine Mittheilungen,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* VIII [1894] 293 f.; Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri*, p. 96). The Qurʾānic passages referred to or cited in lines 1–3 are, in the order of the text, Sūrahs 2:124, 9:19, and 62:5.

Page 1: 7–10. See ʿUmūmī 561 folios 8 verso 8 to 9 recto 6 (see Pl. 3) and note that this manuscript and the papyrus text each have four subdivisions under the heading *kufr*. The Qurʾānic references are to Sūrahs 2:6 and 22:57. Reconstruction of the missing text of the papyrus would fill about 7 lines.

Page 2: 1–7. Continuation of section on *kufr*, corresponding to ʿUmūmī 561 folios 10 recto 6(?) to 11 recto 1 (see Pl. 4). The Qurʾānic references in lines 1–2 of the papyrus are to Sūrahs 31:12 and 26:18–19, those in lines 4–7 in the order of the text are to Sūrahs 60:3–4, 29:25, and 14:22.

Page 2: 8–11. The section on *shurk* has but three subdivisions and corresponds to ʿUmūmī 561 folios 11 recto 3 to 12 recto 6 (see Pl. 4). Note the smaller script, the crowding of the lines, and the narrowing of all margins of the papyrus. With these features in mind, I found it possible to fill the ʿUmūmī text into 6 or 7 lines of the papyrus to make a page of 17 or 18 lines. The Qurʾānic references are to Sūrahs 4:36 and 48 and 5:72.

Page 3. See ʿUmūmī 561 folio 12 recto for the beginning of the section, which continues to folio 14 recto 2 (see Pls. 4–5).

Page 3: 1–3. Note the various names by which Sūrah 41 is cited. The Qurʾānic references are to Sūrahs 3:64, 4:10, and 38:22.

Page 3: 3–5. The citation from *Sūrat al-dukhān* is missing in ʿUmūmī 561. The Qurʾānic references are to Sūrahs 37:55 and 44:47.

Page 3: 5–7. The Qurʾānic references are to Sūrahs 8:58 and 21:109.

Page 3: 7–12. See ʿUmūmī 561 folio 13 recto (see Pl. 4). The Qurʾānic references in the order of the text are to Sūrahs 22:25, 4:89, 30:28, and 16:71. Richard Bell (*The Qurʾān, Translated with a Critical Re-arrangement of the Surahs* I [Edinburgh, 1937] 255) seems to have had some difficulty with the meaning of the last two verses.

Page 3: 12–13. See Sūrah 28:22. The papyrus text ends at ʿUmūmī 561 folio 13 verso 5 within the fifth subheading of the section. To crowd in the text of ʿUmūmī 561 folios 13 verso 5 to 14 verso 4 (see Pls. 4–5) calls for 9 lines in the missing lower section of the papyrus. This

would give a page of $13 + 9 = 22$ lines, which does not seem probable since pages 1–3 each call for only 17 or 18 lines. Nor does the slightly closer spacing of the lines on page 3 justify its projection to such length that it would contain the added 9 lines needed for the ʿUmūmī text. Seven additional lines at the most can be projected on this page. An effort was made to fit the missing text, in the style of the papyrus, into 7 lines. These lines would extend much farther into the outer margin than do the 13 preserved lines. Therefore I feel certain that here, as on page 1, some of the ʿUmūmī text was missing originally. It is, of course, impossible to know what part of the ʿUmūmī text was not in the complete papyrus. It could have been the sixth subdivision of this section (cf. missing subdivisions in section on *hudā* on page 1 of papyrus). Or it could have been some of the examples under any one of the sub-headings appearing on folios 13 verso 5 to 14 verso 4 of the ʿUmūmī manuscript. This sort of discrepancy between the papyrus text and the ʿUmūmī text appears at several points, as collation of the two texts readily reveals.

Page 4: 1–4. See ʿUmūmī 561 folios 13 verso 4 to 15 recto 5 (see Pls. 4–5). If line 1 of the papyrus is to be reconstructed exactly as in the repetitious ʿUmūmī text, then it must be assumed that the مرضا of the papyrus text is an error for جرحا. On the other hand, if the repetition is eliminated, which is entirely feasible, then the papyrus text is correct as it stands. The second alternative is preferable because of the absence of repetitive phrases in lines 3 and 4 of page 4 and in lines 1 and 2 of page 1. The Qurʾānic references are to Sūrahs 4:43, 2:184, 9:91, and 24:61 respectively.

Page 4: 5–13. See ʿUmūmī 561 folios 15 recto 5 to 16 recto 3 (see Pl. 5), where the section on *fasād* has six subdivisions. The Qurʾānic references in lines 6–8 are to Sūrahs 2:11 and 7:56, in lines 9–11 to Sūrahs 17:4 and 21:22, in line 12 to Sūrah 30:41, in line 14 to Sūrah 7:127.

IDENTIFICATION, DATE, AND SIGNIFICANCE

That the papyrus text is an early commentary on the Qurʾān was evident at first sight. As a result of a preliminary survey of the development of *tafsīr* literature in the second century of Islām my attention was centered on such outstanding leaders in this field as Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī (d. 127/744), Muḥammad ibn al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763), and Muqātil ibn Sulaimān al-Balkhī (d. 150/767). Each of the first two commentators seems to be credited with but a single *tafsīr* work that included, presumably in addition to linguistic explanations, considerable historic and legendary material. Since the papyrus text is purely linguistic I eliminated these two scholars as possible authors in favor of Muqātil, who has several *tafsīr* works to his credit.³ Brockelmann supplied the first tangible clue in specifying that ʿUmūmī 561 is a copy of Muqātil's *Tafsīr fī mutashābih al-Qurʾān* and that it deals with Qurʾānic homonyms such as *hudā* and *kufr*—two of the terms treated in the papyrus text. I was fortunate in procuring a microfilm of ʿUmūmī 561 through the kind efforts of my colleague Hans Güterbock.

On the title page of ʿUmūmī 561 (see Pl. 3) the initial entry was كتاب وجوه القرآن الشريف. A later hand had deleted this and replaced it with هذا كتاب الوجوه والنظائر في تفسير القرآن العظيم لامام مقاتل بن سليمان رحمه الله A third hand had tampered with the second entry to replace the word الوجوه with الاشباه. This last change, uncritically accepted, misled

³ See *Fihrist*, pp. 34, 36, 37, 179; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 58 ff. See also *GAL* S I 332. Birkeland, *Opposition*, pp. 26 f., was under the impression that Muqātil “even com-

posed a book on *tafsīr*,” whereas *Fihrist*, p. 34, and all earlier references are actually to Muqātil's *Tafsīr* itself.

first Joseph Schacht⁴ and then Brockelmann to list this manuscript as *Al-tafsīr fī mutashābih al-Qurʾān*. The internal evidence, beyond that of the title page, definitely establishes it as a recension of Muqātil's *Al-wujūh wa al-naẓāʾir*. The opening sentence (see Pl. 3) reads *مما الف ابو نصر من وجوه حرف القرآن عن مقاتل بن سليمان مما استخرج*. Furthermore, the word *wajh* and its plural (*wujūh*) and the word *naẓīr*, singular of *naẓāʾir*, are used throughout and are technical words that indicate both the nature and the method of the work. Finally, the manuscript ends (folio 287) with *تم الوجوه والنظائر* (see Pl. 5).

The *Fihrist* of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm credits Muqātil with no less than a dozen works, all of which fall under the general heading of *tafsīr* in its various branches. The four whose titles are listed below are of special interest because they are known or believed to be extant either in their entirety or in extracts quoted by later authors.

1. *Tafsīr khamsimīʿat āyah min al-Qurʾān* as transmitted by Maṣṣūr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Bāwardī. British Museum Or. 6333 is a copy of this work and is dated 792/1390.⁵
2. *Al-wujūh wa al-naẓāʾir* is represented by our papyrus and by the now correctly identified ʿUmūmī 561, which is an undated but comparatively late copy.
3. *Al-tafsīr fī mutashābih al-Qurʾān* is believed to be extant in several manuscripts. However, more careful inspection of these manuscripts may prove all or some of them to be copies of No. 2, as in the case of ʿUmūmī 561, or sections from No. 4. An extensive extract of this work is extant in the *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa al-radd* of Malāṭī (d. 377/987).⁶
4. *Al-tafsīr al-kabīr*. Malāṭī gives extracts that are believed to be from this work or from No. 3 (see n. 6).

Reconstruction of the papyrus text and its collation with the text of ʿUmūmī 561 revealed that the latter tends to be slightly more verbose and that it has suffered an occasional omission though it is more apt to be expanded (see pp. 93 f.). The additional materials consist of either further examples under a given subheading or of further subdivisions and their examples. It was perhaps in recognition of these features of the ʿUmūmī 561 text that its editor-transmitter, Abū Naṣr, used in his introductory sentence not the verb *rawa*, which emphasizes transmission of texts as such, but the verb *allafa*, which indicates original authorship but may imply abridgment, expansion, and compilation. It should be noted further that the concluding clause of the introductory sentence, namely *مما استخرج*, which implies literary extraction or elucidation, can have either Muqātil or Abū Naṣr for its grammatical as well as its logical subject, since the phrase is descriptive of the literary activities of both men.

It is quite evident that Abū Naṣr's text is later than that of the papyrus and that it represents an edited version or a recension of the *Wujūh wa al-naẓāʾir*. But it is impossible to know, from the evidence of the text alone, whether the papyrus represents Muqātil's original text or an intermediate version or transmission. In order to make a considered choice between these two alternatives, I searched the literary sources first for the identification of Abū Naṣr and second for more light on Muqātil's literary activities and practices.

⁴ *Einzelausgabe aus den Bibliotheken von Konstantinopel und Kairo I* (Berlin, 1928) 58, No. 77.

⁵ See *GAL S I* 332 and for "Or 8033" read "Or 6333." Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 58, n. 27, expresses some doubt as to the genuineness of this work without, however, stating a reason for his opinion (cf. Martin Plessner in *EI III* [1936] 711 f.).

⁶ Edited by Sven Dederling ("Bibliotheca Islamica" IX

[Istanbul, 1936]); see p. 10 of Intro. and pp. 43–63 of text. For Malāṭī's extracts from unspecified *tafsīr* works of Muqātil see Louis Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant de la mystique en pays d'Islam* ("Collection de textes inédits relatifs à la mystique musulmane" I [Paris, 1929]) pp. 194–210, 218. The bringing-together, for re-examination and definite identification, of all the Muqātil manuscripts listed in *GAL S I* 332 should prove worthwhile for a young scholar.

Dhahabī seems to be the first to provide a specific biographical entry on the one known transmitter of some at least of Muqātil's *tafsīr* works, namely Manṣūr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Bāwardī, whose *kunyah*, however, Dhahabī gives as Abū Nuṣair.⁷ Ibn Ḥajar, who otherwise follows Dhahabī closely, gives the *kunyah* as Abū Naṣr.⁸ Though neither of these authors gives Manṣūr's dates, their accounts nevertheless indicate that he was Muqātil's contemporary. Khaṭīb's entry on Muqātil reports ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusain ibn Wāqid (d. 211/826)⁹ as saying that he heard Abū Naṣr (not Nuṣair) say that he was with Muqātil ibn Sulaimān for thirteen years and never in all that time did he once see him without a woolen undergarment (the mark of an ascetic).¹⁰ The biographical literature at hand yields no other Abū Naṣr who was in any way personally associated with Muqātil or with the direct or indirect transmission of any of his works. Nor does this literature add anything to our knowledge of Manṣūr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Bāwardī. It thus takes little imagination to realize that the Abū Nuṣair of Dhahabī's text is but a scribal error for the Abū Naṣr of Khaṭīb's and Ibn Ḥajar's texts—a type of error made commonly enough in the copying of Arabic manuscripts—and that all these references to Muqātil's companion and transmitter involve the man whose full name is Abū Naṣr Manṣūr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Bāwardī. He was, furthermore, Muqātil's pupil for thirteen years and the direct editor-transmitter of his works. The identification of the Abū Naṣr of ʿUmūmī 561 as a younger contemporary of Muqātil allows for no lapse of time during which an intermediate version of Muqātil's *Al-wujūh wa al-naẒā'ir* could have developed and thus points to the first of the above-stated alternatives, that is, to the conclusion that the terser text of our early papyrus represents the original text of the *Wujūh wa al-naẒā'ir*.

Still to be considered is the placing of the papyrus copy in its second-century setting. This calls for an examination of the scholarly practices of Muqātil and of his associates and contemporaries who likewise had a major interest in the creation and transmission of *tafsīr* literature. Muqātil cited as his authorities such leading Qurʾānic commentators of the second half of the first century as the Meccan traditionist Mujāhid ibn Jabr (d. 104/722)¹¹ and the Kūfans Saʿīd ibn Jubair (d. 95/714)¹² and especially Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim (d. 105/723).¹³ He was frequently challenged for using these men as authorities because they died either before his birth or during his childhood. His answers were evasive, leaving room for the argument that direct personal contact with one's authorities was not necessary. When pressed to be more specific about Ḍaḥḥāk as his source he would say: "The door closed on us four

⁷ *Mizān* III 197; see also *GAL S* I 332, where, however, no *kunyah* is given. For the town of Bāward see Yāqūt I 485.

⁸ *Lisān* VI 97.

⁹ *Jarḥ* III 179; *Ṭabarī* III 2512; *Mizān* II 223; Ibn Taghribirdī I 618. The Wāqid family was interested in *tafsīr* literature. Ḥasan (or Ḥusain) ibn Wāqid (d. 157/774) wrote a *Tafsīr* (see *Fihrist*, p. 34; see also Yāfiʿī I 334 f., which gives Ḥasan, and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 241, which gives Ḥusain).

¹⁰ See Khaṭīb XIII 160–69, esp. p. 162.

¹¹ Ibn Saʿd V 343 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, pp. 411 f.; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 319; *Fihrist*, p. 33; Abū Nuʿaim III 279–310; *Jamʿ* I 510; Dhahabī I 86; *Mizān* III 9. See Jeffery (ed.), *Two Muqaddimas to the Qurʾānic Sciences*, pp. 196 f. and 263 f., for lists of leading commentators. See also p. 149 below.

¹² Ibn Saʿd VI 178–89; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 422; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 9 f.; *Maʿārif*, p. 227; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* II 411 f.; Abū Nuʿaim IV 272–309; Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-badʿ wa al-taʾrīkh*, publié et traduit . . . par Cl. Huart ("Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes," 4. sér. Vols. XVI–XVIII and XXI–XXIII [Paris, 1899–1919]) IV 35, 38 f.; Dhahabī I 71–73.

¹³ Ibn Saʿd VI 210 f. and VII 2, pp. 102 and 105; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 256, and II 2, pp. 333 f.; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 458 f.; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 19, 47, and 100 and reference there cited; *Mizān* I 471. *Irshād* IV 272 f. states that Ḍaḥḥāk did not meet Ibn ʿAbbās in person but received the latter's *Tafsīr* from Saʿīd ibn Jubair. For coverage of these men and their roles in the field of *tafsīr* see Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns* (2. Aufl., bearb. von Friedrich Schwally) II (Leipzig, 1919) 167, III (1938) 165; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 59 f.; Heribert Horst, "Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar at-Ṭabarī," *ZDMG* CIII (1953) 290–307, esp. pp. 295 and 303 f.; our Vol. I 4, 47, 52.

years." His critics saw in this reply a veiled reference to the fact that Muqātil was born four years after the death of Ḍaḥḥāk.¹⁴ A pertinent story is told of Muqātil's younger contemporary Ibn al-Mubārak (118–81/736–97),¹⁵ a pioneer scholar in Khurāsān and ʿIrāq, who when asked with whom he had scholarly sessions in Khurāsān replied: "I have sessions with Shuʿbah ibn al-Ḥajjāj [ca. 83–160/702–76] and Sufyān al-Thaurī [d. 161/778]." The narrator adds that this means "I study their books,"¹⁶ a needed explanation because these scholars were not of Khurāsān but of ʿIrāq, where Ibn al-Mubārak had sought them out in person.¹⁷ It is tempting to suggest that Muqātil's cryptic answers mean that he had such "sessions" with the deceased Ḍaḥḥāk, that is, that he read and studied the latter's books for four years. This suggestion gains support from the discovery that not only did Ḍaḥḥāk, who was a famous schoolmaster of Kūfah,¹⁸ write down his materials but that some of his manuscripts actually found their way to Muqātil, who in citing them in his own written works stated: "I read in the books of Ḍaḥḥāk after his death . . ."¹⁹ This bit of significant information comes from an Abū Hudhaifah who is not further identified by Maqdisī but who is most probably Abū Hudhaifah Mūsā ibn Masʿūd al-Nahdī al-Baṣrī (d. 220/835), the stepson of Sufyān al-Thaurī. The latter is known to have questioned Muqātil on his materials from Ḍaḥḥāk, whose *Tafsīr* Sufyān held in high esteem.²⁰

Mujāhid ibn Jabr (see p. 97) is said to have used the written materials of Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī (d. 78/697) even for the transmission of *ḥadīth*.²¹ Ṭabarī reports that Ibn Abī Mulaikah (d. 117/735)²² was present when Mujāhid put questions to Ibn ʿAbbās while a scribe wrote down the answers from the latter's dictation until the entire *Tafsīr* of Ibn ʿAbbās was completed.²³ Qāsim ibn Abī Bazzah of Mecca (d. 124/742)²⁴ is said to have been the only one who heard all the *Tafsīr* from Mujāhid and made a complete copy of it. His fellow pupil ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Najīḥ (d. 132/749–50) heard only part of it from Mujāhid but copied the whole from Qāsim's book. All other transmitters of Mujāhid's *Tafsīr*, according to Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān and Ibn Ḥibbān, made copies from Qāsim's manuscripts but omitted his name and transmitted on the authority of Mujāhid. The list of such transmitters includes Laith ibn Abī Salīm (or Sulaim; d. 143/760) and the well known Ibn Juraij and Sufyān ibn ʿUyainah.²⁵

Saʿīd ibn Jubair was generally averse to writing down *ḥadīth* but nevertheless is known to

¹⁴ Khaṭīb XIII 163, 165; *Mīzān* III 197.

¹⁵ *GAL* S I 256. See also pp. 51, 53 f., 68, 82 above and 176, n. 31, below.

¹⁶ Abū Nuʿaim VIII 164. See Khaṭīb X 165 for Ibn al-Mubārak's statement that he used written works of *ḥadīth* and Dhahabī I 255 for evidence that he began collecting and studying and memorizing books as a youth! Ishāq ibn Rāhawaih (161–238/777–852), who as a youth had recovered some traditions of Ibn al-Mubārak indirectly from the latter's son, used (in the year 184/800 or later) Ibn al-Mubārak's books directly and freely (see Ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-waraʿ*, p. 74; Khaṭīb VI 347). Ishāq had a photographic memory and could cite books that he had studied as a youth by page and line, a fact which indicates the currency of authoritative and fixed manuscripts (see Khaṭīb VI 353; Dhahabī II 20 f.; *GAL* I 157 and *GAL* S I 257, 947).

¹⁷ See e.g. Khaṭīb X 152; Dhahabī I 181 f., 190.

¹⁸ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd VI 210 f.; Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-aʿlāq al-naḥīsa* VII (in *BGA* VII [1892]) 216; *Irshād* IV 272 f.

¹⁹ Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-baḍʿ wa al-taʾrīkh* IV 102, 104 (= trans. pp. 77, 99).

²⁰ Daulābī I 149; Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 55; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 295; Khaṭīb XIII 165; *Iḡān* II 190. Ṭabarī cites Ḍaḥḥāk 670 times according to Horst, *op. cit.* p. 304, Isnād 19.

²¹ Ibn Saʿd V 344.

²² Ibn Saʿd V 347 f.; *Maʿārif*, p. 240; *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 99 f.; Dhahabī I 95 f.; *Jamʿ* I 255.

²³ *Tafsīr* I 30; Jeffery (ed.), *Two Muqaddīmas*, p. 193. For extracts from Mujāhid's *Tafsīr* see Abū Nuʿaim III 280–300. Mujāhid made his manuscripts available to others for copying (see *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 105).

²⁴ Ibn Saʿd V 352; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 164; *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 122; *Jamʿ* II 420.

²⁵ Ibn Hibbān, pp. 110 f.; *Jamʿ* I 61 f., II 431; *Mīzān* II 82 f., 360 f.

have written down *tafsīr* and *fiqh* materials and to have dictated his own *Tafsīr*, so that copies of it were in the hands of some of his pupils,²⁶ no doubt including Ḍaḥḥāk, who is said to have taken (*akhadh*) the *Tafsīr* from him.²⁷ Furthermore, we read that Sa'īd's *Tafsīr* was commissioned by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, that the original was preserved in that caliph's *diwān* (see pp. 21, 58), and that it was seen there by the Egyptian 'Aṭā' ibn Dīnār (d. 126/744), who used the written text alone as the basis of his transmission.²⁸ Similarly, *Akhbār 'Uba'id* was found and used by Asad ibn Mūsā (132–212/750–827; see p. 243), who transmitted it on the basis of the manuscript.²⁹

Muqātil's three authorities—Ḍaḥḥāk, Mujāhid, and Sa'īd ibn Jubair—are mentioned along with most of the Qur'ānic commentators of the first and second centuries and are invariably associated with Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/668), who is considered the father of all commentators.³⁰ Though there is, on the one hand, evidence that Ibn 'Abbās left a large number of manuscripts,³¹ there is, on the other hand, evidence to indicate that he left no finally fixed texts and that the *tafsīr* works which now go under his name include materials added from time to time by pupils, editors, and transmitters, almost all of whom committed their materials to writing.³²

Among the Qur'ānic commentators of Muqātil's own day were some of the leading scholars who are known to have reached far and wide for their materials, utilized written texts, and committed their own works to writing with or without benefit of oral transmission. They include Suddī (d. 127/744–45),³³ Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763),³⁴ and Ibn Ishāq of *Sīrah* fame.³⁵ The Meccan commentator Ibn Juraij (d. 150/767), acknowledged as a leader in many a scholarly activity and technique, was among those who used written *ḥadīth* materials without parallel oral transmission.³⁶ The manuscripts of two outstanding scholars of 'Irāq who were Qur'ānic commentators, Shu'bah ibn al-Ḥajjāj³⁷ and Sufyān al-Thaurī,³⁸ were in circulation even in Khurāsān (see p. 98).

²⁶ See Ibn Sa'd VI 179, 186; *Ṭaqyīd al-'ilm*, pp. 102 f. and references there cited. For extracts from Sa'īd's *Tafsīr* see Abū Nu'aim IV 283–89.

²⁷ See Ibn Sa'd VI 210 and *Irshād* IV 272 f., neither of which uses the noncommittal *akhadh* instead of the *rawa* generally used in oral transmission.

²⁸ Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh* III 2, p. 473; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 332; *Tafsīr* I 145; *Mizān* II 197; *Husn al-muḥāḍarah* I 149.

²⁹ See Vol. I 12–16.

³⁰ See *GAL* I 190 and *GAL* S I 331; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 65–81; Charles Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ḡāḥiḥ* (Paris, 1953) pp. 82 f.

³¹ Ibn Sa'd V 216; see also Vol. I 23 and references there cited.

³² See references cited in n. 30. Further investigation of the extent and nature of Ibn 'Abbās' literary activity and of his influence on his successors in this field is not within the scope of the present study. The discovery of more *tafsīr* papyri from the 1st and 2d centuries of Islām might well help in the solution of this controversial problem. More recent scholars tend to give a greater degree of credence than did earlier scholars to the idea that his literary activities were extensive and organized; see Nöldeke, *op. cit.* Vol. II 163–70; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 55–98; Eugen Mittwoch, "Die Berliner arabische Handschrift Ahlwardt, No. 683," *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne* (Cambridge, 1922) pp. 339–44; Laura

Veccia Vaglieri in *EI* I (1960) 40 f. For the role of Ibn 'Abbās and his transmitters as reflected in Ṭabari's *Tafsīr* see Horst, *op. cit.* pp. 293–95, 302 f.

³³ *Fihrist*, p. 33. See also our Vol. I 45 and references there cited. For Ṭabari's free use of Suddī's *tafsīr* materials see Horst, *op. cit.* p. 302, and see *Tafsīr* I 458–61 for examples.

³⁴ See *GAL* S I 190, 331; *Itqān* II 187–89; Ḥajjī Khalifah II 333. See also our Vol. I 45–47. Ṭabari was very cautious in his use of Kalbī materials (*Tafsīr* I 66, 76, 216–19 and XI 187 f.; cf. *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 432), but others made free use of them (see e.g. Jeffery [ed.], *Two Muqaddimas*, p. 197).

³⁵ See *GAL* S I 205 f.; Ḥajjī Khalifah II 332; Nöldeke, *op. cit.* Vol. II 170. See also our Vol. I, references to Ibn Ishāq in Index, esp. under "historical method." For Ṭabari's frequent use of Ibn Ishāq's materials see Horst, *op. cit.* pp. 294 f.

³⁶ *GAL* S I 255; Ibn Sa'd V 361 f.; Khaṭīb X 404 f.; Dhahabī I 160–62; *Mizān* III 348 f.; *Itqān* II 189; Ḥajjī Khalifah II 346.

³⁷ Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 39; Khaṭīb IX 255–66; Dhahabī I 181–88; Nawawī, p. 315. *Itqān* II 189; Ḥajjī Khalifah II 336, 368, 590 f.

³⁸ *GAL* S I 225; Ibn Sa'd VI 259 and VII 2, p. 72; *Fihrist*, p. 225; Khaṭīb IX 160 f.; Ḥajjī Khalifah II 357; Horst, *op. cit.* p. 296. Sufyān referred his questioners on the extraordinary to Muqātil (Abū Nu'aim VII 37).

Like these and other contemporary scholars Muqātil committed his works to writing.³⁹ Sufyān ibn ʿUyainah (107–98/725–814), who began his scholarly career as a pupil of Muqātil,⁴⁰ possessed a copy of the latter’s *Tafsīr*, which he did not transmit yet “studied for guidance and aid,”⁴¹ no doubt in connection with his own *Tafsīr*.⁴² Ibn al-Mubārak (see p. 98) was likewise familiar with Mujāhid’s *Tafsīr*, which he admired for its content but mistrusted for its authorities, since he insisted on oral transmission.⁴³ The Kūfan traditionist Wakīʿ ibn al-Jarrāḥ (129–97/746–812),⁴⁴ who likewise insisted on oral transmission, advised a questioner not to look into Muqātil’s *Tafsīr* and to bury the copy in his possession.⁴⁵ Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) too had access to Muqātil’s *Tafsīr*, which he considered good (*ṣāliḥ*), and furthermore he acknowledged Muqātil without reservation as the leader in the field of *tafsīr* literature.⁴⁶ Copies of Muqātil’s *Tafsīr* continued to be in circulation in the third century and were cautiously studied by such prominent scholars as Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq al-Ḥarbī (198–285/813–99) and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (213–90/828–903), both of whom admired the content of the work but frowned on its author’s neglect of oral transmission and of the *isnād*.⁴⁷

The instances noted above do not exhaust the literary references to Muqātil’s written *tafsīr* sources, to the written *Tafsīr*’s of his contemporaries, and to copies of his own *tafsīr* works. They are, nevertheless, sufficient to establish the facts that are of interest at this point, namely that *tafsīr* books were available and used from the time of Ibn ʿAbbās onward and that copies of Muqātil’s several works were in circulation among his pupils and among trustworthy scholars of his day and of the succeeding generations.

The sources as a rule do not specify which of Muqātil’s several commentaries is under discussion. Though priority may be conceded tentatively to his chief work, the *Tafsīr al-kabīr*, the others, including the *Wujūh wa al-nazāʾir*, should not be excluded. Suyūṭī and Ḥājjī Khalīfah, citing Ibn al-Jauzī (510–97/1116–1200), give a concise summary of the nature and history of the *ʿilm al-wujūh wa al-nazāʾir* as a branch of the science of Qurʾānic commentary.⁴⁸ As in all branches of *tafsīr*, the original source and inspiration is said to have been Ibn ʿAbbās, whose pupil ʿIkrimah (d. 105/723 or 107/725) is generally credited with the first work on this subject. Better attested, however, are the *Wujūh wa al-nazāʾir* of the Syrian ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah (d. 123/741 or 143/760),⁴⁹ of Muqātil himself, and of ʿAbbās ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṣārī (d.

³⁹ He must have started his writing career early, for as a result of the controversy that he propagated with Jahm ibn Ṣafwān (d. 128/745) over the doctrine of anthropomorphism each wrote a work denouncing the other while Abū Ḥanīfah denounced both as extremists (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, pp. 148 f.; Ṭabarī II 1918 f.; Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-badʿ wa al-taʾrīkh* V 141 [= trans. pp. 148 f.]; Khaṭīb XIII 164, 167 f.; Dhahabī I 150 f., 165; *Mīzān* III 196).

⁴⁰ Khaṭīb XIII 167.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 162: *استدل به واستعين*. Sufyān would not transmit any tradition with an abbreviated *isnād* until he made sure that all the omitted links were trustworthy (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ* I 122).

⁴² *Fihrist*, pp. 34 and 226; *Itqān* II 190; Ḥājjī Khalīfah II 349.

⁴³ Khaṭīb XIII 164; *Mīzān* III 196. Ibn al-Mubārak’s comment is generally reported as *ما احسن تفسيره لو كان ثقة*.

⁴⁴ Ibn Saʿd VI 275; *Jarḥ* IV 2, pp. 37–39; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 179; Nawawī, pp. 614–16.

⁴⁵ *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 354.

⁴⁶ Khaṭīb XIII 161, 346; *Mīzān* III 197; Ibn Khallikān II 148 (= trans. III 409).

⁴⁷ Khaṭīb XIII 161 f. (see p. 104, esp. nn. 73–74, below). Ibrāhīm had a large library and was himself a prolific writer. He had a trunkful of the traditions of ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī (see p. 80 above) which he would not transmit (Khaṭīb VI 24–40, esp. pp. 28, 33, 37; Samʿānī, folio 162a; Dhahabī II 147 f.; *Irshād* I 37–46). His own works included a *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* in 5 volumes (Ḥājjī Khalīfah IV 323; see also *GAL* I 124 and *GAL* S I 188).

⁴⁸ *Itqān* I 142 credits Muqātil with citing in the introduction of his book a tradition from Abū al-Dardāʾ (d. 32/652 or 34/654) to the effect that no man is fully versed in theology or law until he realizes that the Qurʾān has many *wujūh* (see Ibn Saʿd II 2, p. 114, where the terms *fiqh* and *wujūh* are both used in a wider sense than the technical meanings they later acquired). As the passage is not found in the introduction to ʿUmūmī 561, Suyūṭī must be citing one of the several other *tafsīr* works of Muqātil. *Itqān* I 142 f. and Ḥājjī Khalīfah VI 424 f. list some of the earlier works on *al-wujūh wa al-nazāʾir* (see Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 84 f. and 116 and references there cited).

⁴⁹ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 164 (no date given); Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 2, pp. 281 f. (no date given). *Mīzān* II 227 f. gives his death date as 123, while Ḥājjī Khalīfah VI 425 and II 333 give it as 143/760. The other sources available

186/802 at the age of 81) of Mosul and Baṣrah,⁵⁰ all three of whom wrote down their materials. Because of the interest in and early production of this type of *tafsīr* literature it is very likely that Muqātil's own *Al-wujūh wa al-naẓā'ir* was known to scholars of the mid-second century who were interested in this type of commentary and aware of Muqātil's reputation for extensive knowledge of the Qur'ān. In view of this general background it is not surprising that our papyrus is a fragment from Muqātil's *Al-wujūh wa al-naẓā'ir*. And, inasmuch as the papyrus text is earlier than that of Abū Naṣr, Muqātil's pupil and transmitter (see p. 97), we are forced to conclude that we have here a document that could have come from Muqātil's own hand. At any rate, the fine quality of the papyrus, the liberal margins, and the elegant script all point to a scholar's prized copy, whether that scholar was Muqātil himself or one of his contemporaries. Furthermore, since Egypt in the first half of the second century apparently produced no outstanding Qur'ānic commentator and since the paleography of the papyrus shows no marked affinity to the paleography of second- or even third-century literary papyri that originated in Egypt, it is probable that our papyrus came originally from either 'Irāq or Syria. Though Muqātil's scholarly career ran most of its course in 'Irāq, he is known to have traveled as far west as Beirūt in Syria.⁵¹

The early and subsequently widespread use of *tafsīr* works, so copiously and specifically documented directly from some of the earliest representative literary sources, is reflected collectively and indirectly in Horst's painstaking and valuable analysis of the *isnād's* of Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*.⁵² There, along with literally thousands of *isnād's* that appear 1–47 times, there are 14 that are repeated 52–86 times, 16 that are repeated 107–970 times, and 5 with about 1,000, 1,080, 1,560, 1,800, and 3,060 repetitions respectively. The thousands of *isnād's* that occur less than 100 times no doubt reflect the activities of the average non-professional transmitters, whose numbers increased with each succeeding generation and who transmitted their bit of the "living tradition" orally with or without the aid of written memoranda. The 16 *isnād's* that are repeated approximately 100–1,000 times would, then, represent the activities of several grades of early *tafsīr* scholars such as Sa'īd ibn Jubair (Horst's *Isnād* 17) and Ḍaḥḥāk (*Isnād* 19) and of somewhat later scholars whose interest in Qur'ānic commentary was secondary to their interest in other literary fields and who committed their materials to writing, for example Ibn Ishāq (*Isnād* 17)⁵³ and Sufyān al-Thaurī (*Isnād* 18). Finally, the five most often repeated *isnād's* reflect the activities of the acknowledged experts in the field of *tafsīr*—men whose works were transmitted, in part or in whole, by each succeeding generation of *tafsīr* scholars. It came as no surprise to this writer, long convinced of a greater degree of literary activity and progress under the Umayyads than most have been willing to concede, that these five *isnād's* trace back to Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid (*Isnāds* 1, 2, 6–8, 19), Qatādah ibn Di'āmah (*Isnād* 14), Suddī (*Isnāds* 15–16), and Ma'amar ibn Rāshid (*Isnāds* 12–13)—commentators whose death dates are 68, 104, 117 or 118, 127, and 154 A.H. respectively and whose production and

mention no death date. However, most of the episodes that link 'Alī and his *Tafsīr* on the one hand with Ibn 'Abbās and on the other with 'Alī's own main transmitter, Mu'āwiyah ibn Ṣāliḥ, who died in 158/775 at an advanced age, would seem to favor the earlier date (see p. 103 below). A source that is likely to throw more light on 'Alī's life and activities is the still unpublished part of Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*.

⁵⁰ *Mizān* II 19; Ḥājjī Khalīfah VI 425.

⁵¹ *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 354 f.; Nawawī, p. 574; Yāqūt I 785, II 631.

⁵² "Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar aṭ-Ṭabarī's," *ZDMG* CIII 290–307.

⁵³ Ṭabarī, in his *Tafsīr*, frequently cites lengthy traditions and composite passages from Ibn Ishāq, most of which are found also in his *Ta'rikh* and in his *Sīrah* though not necessarily as units. See e.g. *Tafsīr* XIII 91–96, 399–401, 494–96; this volume covers Jewish history and legends and cites several quite lengthy accounts from Ibn 'Abbās (No. 15019), 'Ikrimah (No. 15272), Sa'īd ibn Jubair (Nos. 15014, 15026), Qatādah ibn Di'āmah (Nos. 15017–18, 15132), and Suddī (Nos. 15016, 15969).

use of written texts is copiously documented in the extant early literary sources.⁵⁴ The main centers for the production of early *tafsīr* studies were the Ḥijāz, ʿIrāq, and Syria, where paper had not yet begun to replace papyrus for most purposes and where the soil was unkind to manuscripts. Loss was thus the usual fate of the original works themselves. Only those originals or copies that found their way to or originated later in Egypt, where the sandy soil was much kinder to manuscripts, had some chance of preservation. Muqātil's *Al-wujūh wa al-naẓāʾir* was one of these, for it is to the Egyptian soil that we owe the preservation of our papyrus folio.

How, then, did the copy represented by our papyrus find its way to Egypt? There is, of course, the obvious possibility that it was taken west by traveling scholars and book collectors or traders. But from the Arabic literary sources with their multitude of detail can be pieced together some widely scattered items which suggest more specific agents of transportation. For instance, the Syrian ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah, regardless of which date is accepted for his death (see n. 49 above), could well have come into personal contact with Muqātil or his work during the latter's visit to Syria. Be that as it may, we are on surer ground with ʿAlī's direct transmitter Muʿāwiyah ibn Ṣāliḥ of Ḥimṣ (d. 158/775),⁵⁵ who transmitted ʿAlī's voluminous *Tafsīr* with an *isnād* said to trace originally through Mujāhid back to Ibn ʿAbbās though the Mujāhid link was omitted by ʿAlī.⁵⁶ It is significant that Ṭabarī uses this particular *isnād* no less than 1,530 times.⁵⁷ Muʿāwiyah traveled westward to Spain before the entry of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in the year 138/755 but joined that prince upon his arrival in Spain. Toward the end of his life Muʿāwiyah was sent back to Syria in the prince's service. He extended his trip to make the pilgrimage of the year 154/771. In both Medina and Mecca he gave public and private lectures that were attended by scholars from all the provinces. Among those who "wrote down much knowledge" from him at that time were some of the leading and most promising scholars of ʿIrāq and Egypt. The Egyptians included Laith ibn Saʿd (94–175/712–91) and his secretary and Ibn Wahb (125–97/742–812). Exchange of manuscripts between the aged Muʿāwiyah and any one of these Egyptian scholars could have taken place then or during one of Muʿāwiyah's several passages through Egypt. On one of these occasions Laith and his secretary ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ, known also as Abū Ṣāliḥ (138–223/755–838), had an oral session (*ṣimāʿ*) with Muʿāwiyah, after which Laith instructed his secretary to seek the visitor again and take down the materials from his dictation. This the secretary did and then publicized the fact that he had heard these materials twice from Muʿāwiyah himself and then read them back to Laith.⁵⁸ Early and independent confirmation of direct transmission by Abū Ṣāliḥ from Muʿāwiyah of both *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* materials is provided by Abū ʿUbaid (154–223/773–838),⁵⁹ Bukhārī (194–256/810–70),⁶⁰ and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (195–277/811–90),⁶¹ all three of whom traveled to Egypt in the second decade

⁵⁴ References for Suddī and Maʿmar may be found through the index of our Vol. I. For a general list of leading commentators see Jeffery (ed.), *Two Muqaddimas*, p. 196.

⁵⁵ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 207; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 335; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 191, and IV 1, pp. 382 f.; *Jamʿ* I 259, II 491 f.; Dhahabī I 166 f.; *Mizān* III 179 f.; Khushanī, *Kitāb al-quḍāt bi Qurṭubah*, texto árabe y traducción por Julian Ribera (Madrid, 1914) pp. 30–38 (= trans. pp. 40–47); Ḥumaidī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis*, ed. Muḥammad ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī (Cairo, 1371/1952) pp. 318–21, where Muʿāwiyah's death date is given by some as 168 A.H. but rejected by Ḥumaidī in favor of 158 A.H.; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. ʿIzzat ʿAṭṭār al-Ḥusainī (Cairo,

1374/1954) II 137–39, gives both dates without resolving the discrepancy.

⁵⁶ *Mizān* II 227 f.; *Itqān* II 188. See *Itqān* I 115–21 (chap. 36) for extracts from ʿAlī's *Tafsīr*.

⁵⁷ See Horst, *op. cit.* p. 293, *Isnāds* 1 and 2.

⁵⁸ Ibn al-Faraḍī, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁹ *Amwāl*, pp. 13, 116, and 127. See also *GAL* I 106; Dhahabī II 5 f.

⁶⁰ *Jamʿ* I 268 f. Bukhārī was in Egypt in the year 217/832 (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 1, p. 121).

⁶¹ *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 357 and 359 f.; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 408. See also *GAL* I 16 f.; Dhahabī II 132–34. Abū Ḥātim made

of the third century and transmitted materials directly from Abū Ṣāliḥ on the authority of Mu'āwiyah on the authority of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās. That much of the material transmitted by Abū Ṣāliḥ from Mu'āwiyah consisted of *tafsīr* traditions is confirmed by Horst's study of the *isnād*'s of Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*,⁶² which reveals 1,530 traditions whose *isnād*'s trace back to these four earliest links. Of these traditions, 970 were transmitted from Abū Ṣāliḥ to Ṭabarī by 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd al-Tamīmī (d. 262/876 or 272/885) and 560 by Muthannā ibn Ibrāhīm al-Amūlī, who was active in the first half of the third century.⁶³ Such large numbers of traditions with identical early *isnād*'s provide further evidence of the steady availability and use of written compilations of *tafsīr* traditions.

That Abū Ṣāliḥ did actually come to possess some, if not all, of the books of Mu'āwiyah is attested by Khaṭīb,⁶⁴ who, however, does not specify the time of acquisition nor the titles. Nevertheless it is certain that at least one original manuscript that was in the possession of Mu'āwiyah, namely the *Tafsīr* of his teacher 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah, did find its way into the hands of Abū Ṣāliḥ and that Ibn Ḥanbal thought it worthwhile for anyone to make a special trip to Egypt to acquire its contents.⁶⁵ The *Wujūh wa al-nazā'ir* of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah as well as that of Muqātil could therefore likewise have come into the possession of Abū Ṣāliḥ. Be that as it may, the fact that Abū Ṣāliḥ possessed some of the books of Mu'āwiyah soon came to be widely known. He was sought out in Egypt early in the third century by the well known Syrian scholar 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ibrāhīm (170–245/786–859),⁶⁶ who made copies of the books of Mu'āwiyah on the authority of Abū Ṣāliḥ.⁶⁷

In the year 274/887 the Spanish scholar Ibn Ayman traveled east to 'Irāq and was told by the 'Irāqī scholar Muḥammad ibn Abī Khaithmah (d. 297/910) of the importance of the originals (*uṣūl*) in the collection of Mu'āwiyah's manuscripts. On his return to Spain Ibn Ayman searched in vain for such originals and credited their loss to neglect on the part of Mu'āwiyah's comparatively unlearned Spanish contemporaries.⁶⁸ A better reason now would seem to be that they were not to be found in Spain simply because the author himself had taken them out of the country and disposed of them in Egypt, whether or not he himself returned finally to Spain and died there. If Mu'āwiyah actually died in Egypt, as Ibn Ḥibbān reports,⁶⁹ then Abū Ṣāliḥ in all probability acquired his collection of manuscripts at the time of Mu'āwiyah's death or soon thereafter.

a second journey to Egypt in the year 255/869 and was accompanied this time by his youthful son 'Abd al-Raḥmān (240–327/854–938); for seven months they sought out leading traditionists by day and spent the nights copying and collating manuscripts (*Jarḥ*, *Taqdīmah*, pp. iv f. and 349–68; Dhahabī III 47).

⁶² See Horst, *op. cit.* pp. 294 f. and 307. See also Birkeland, *Opposition*, pp. 18 f., and his *The Legend of the Opening of Muhammad's Breast*, p. 7.

⁶³ See Horst, *op. cit.* p. 293 and references there cited. For 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd see also *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 185, and *Mizān* II 224. Muthannā is still unidentified. Both men with this complete *isnād* are used sparingly by Ṭabarī (*Ta'riḥ* I 40, 44 f., 51, 53, 200).

⁶⁴ Khaṭīb IX 478, 480, 481.

⁶⁵ *Itqān* II 188. See also Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 78, and Birkeland, *Opposition*, p. 18—both without references. There can, of course, be no question that throughout the 3d century the importance of texts in literary transmission was recognized and that they were used in all fields

of intellectual endeavor, as attested for the religious sciences by such outstanding leaders as Wāqidi and his secretary Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Hishām, Ibn Ḥanbal, Bukhārī, Ṭabarī, and many more.

⁶⁶ Bukhārī, *Ta'riḥ* III 1, p. 256; *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 211 f.; Khaṭīb X 265–67; Dhahabī II 58 f.

⁶⁷ Khaṭīb IX 481. The traveling Kūfan traditionist Zaid ibn al-Ḥabbāb (d. 203/818) had earlier sought out Mu'āwiyah either in Mecca, as surmised by Khaṭīb, or more likely in Spain, as reported by Ibn Ḥanbal and the Spanish sources (Khaṭīb VIII 442–44; Dhahabī I 319 f.; Ibn al-Farāḍī, *Ta'riḥ al-ulamā'* I 185 f., II 138; Ḥumaidī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis*, pp. 203 f.).

⁶⁸ Khaṭīb I 304 f.; Khushanī, *op. cit.* pp. 30 f.; Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib* I (Leyde, 1271/1855) 492, 618.

⁶⁹ See Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 144, No. 1530, as against Khushanī, *op. cit.* pp. 37 f., who says Mu'āwiyah died in Rabaḍ, presumably in Cordova (Yāqūt II 750 f.) since Khushanī adds that Prince Hishām attended the funeral. The rest of the sources do not mention the place of Mu'āwiyah's death, though the still unpublished part of Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'riḥ madīnat Dimashq* may do so.

There is a second circumstance through which Abū Ṣāliḥ could have acquired Muqātil's work. In the year 161/778 he accompanied Laith ibn Sa'ad on a trip to the eastern provinces. While they were in 'Irāq they sought out several scholars and wrote down materials transmitted by them.⁷⁰ Muqātil's works were no doubt in circulation in 'Irāq at that time (see p. 101), so that Laith, the leading Egyptian scholar, and his secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ might well have obtained or made copies of them to take back to Egypt.

Again, our papyrus could have been taken to Egypt by Shāfi'ī, who was familiar with Muqātil's work (see p. 100) and who settled in Egypt in the year 198/814.⁷¹ Abū Ṣāliḥ would have had an opportunity to acquire manuscripts from Shāfi'ī or his companions or perhaps from Shāfi'ī's library after his death.

Undoubtedly the original or a copy of Muqātil's *Al-wujūh wa al-naẓā'ir*, represented by our papyrus folio, is to be linked with Laith and Abū Ṣāliḥ through one of the three means detailed above in the order of probability. Moreover, the small group of contemporary and nearly contemporary literary papyri here published includes other documents that represent the works and collections of Laith and Abū Ṣāliḥ (e.g. Documents 5 and 6).

Muqātil's general practice of using written sources on their own authority detracted from his reputation as a scholar among his contemporaries who insisted on the direct *isnād* and oral transmission with or without benefit of accompanying written texts. This critical attitude was adopted by scholars of the next generation and is expressed in a terse statement by 'Īsā ibn Yūnus (d. 187/803; see p. 160), who, when asked for his opinion of Muqātil, swiftly replied "*ibn diwwān dawwān*,"⁷² which in its context can only mean that Muqātil used books as final authority in the production of his own manuscripts. Hudhail ibn Ḥabīb dictated an entire *tafsīr* work of Muqātil in Baghdād in the year 190/806.⁷³ Some decades later Ibn Ḥanbal was asked for his opinion of Muqātil and is reported to have answered: "He had books which he studied, but I see that he was learned in the Qur'ān."⁷⁴ Still later, Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq al-Ḥarbī, who studied Muqātil's *Tafsīr* (see p. 100) though he would not transmit it, summed up his objection to Muqātil as follows: "Muqātil collected the commentaries of the people and made his (own) commentary without oral transmission."⁷⁵ This need not and does not mean that Muqātil consistently ignored the use of *ḥadīth* as a basis of *tafsīr*,⁷⁶ since there is evidence of his use of traditions, acceptable or otherwise (see p. 204), and since he did cite Ḍaḥḥāk as an authority (see p. 97) and did claim transmission from Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī. What it does mean is that Muqātil copied materials, including traditions with or without *isnād*'s, from books without any sort of oral session (*simā'*) involving the direct transmitter. In other words, he did not conform to the standards of oral transmission of *ḥadīth* that were current in his day and thereafter. Yet this defect did not induce Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq al-Ḥarbī to condemn Muqātil outright. With an eye to his own professional reputation as an orthodox traditionist and a scholar, he refrained from transmitting Muqātil's *Tafsīr*. But he studied the work in private with so much profit that he was forced to conclude that the severity of the criticisms voiced against Muqātil stemmed from professional jealousy.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Khaṭīb IX 478-81, XIII 3-5.

⁷¹ GAL 2 I 189.

⁷² The unvoiced *دون دون* of Khaṭīb XIII 165; see Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* I (Beirut, 1284/1867) 700, where *diwwān* is equated with *dīwān*. It was partly for the same reason that Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah would not transmit Muqātil's *Tafsīr* (see p. 100 above).

⁷³ Khaṭīb XIV 78 f.

⁷⁴ Khaṭīb XIII 161: كانت له كتب ينظر فيها إلا اني ارى كان له علم بالقرآن.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 162: جمع مقاتل تفسير الناس وفسر عليه من غير سماع.

⁷⁶ Birkeland, *Opposition*, pp. 26 f., tends to give this impression.

⁷⁷ Khaṭīb XIII 162 f.: قلت لابراهيم ما للناس يطعنون على مقاتل قال حسدا منهم لمقاتل.

Muqātil's relationship with Kalbī, the one contemporary scholar who could challenge his leadership in the field of *tafsīr*, is also instructive. For, while Muqātil did not hesitate to use Kalbī's materials and to recommend them to his own pupils, Kalbī refrained from giving the same mark of approval to his equally talented but more generous rival.⁷⁸ He once publicly challenged Muqātil's claim of having received traditions from him. Muqātil is reported to have answered: "Be silent, Abū al-Naḍr [Kalbī], for the ornamentation of the *ḥadīth* consists, for us, in (citing) the men (as authorities)."⁷⁹ Kalbī must have considered silence at this point the better part of wisdom since he was open to the same type of criticism that was being hurled at Muqātil.⁸⁰ Some of Kalbī's *tafsīr* materials were so suspect that several of his pupils and contemporaries, including Ibn Ishāq and Sufyān al-Thaurī, went to some length to disguise the fact of their transmission from Kalbī.⁸¹ Sufyān reports that Kalbī himself acknowledged the falsity of his transmission from Abū Ṣāliḥ on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās.⁸² Yet, though the *Tafsīr*'s of Kalbī and Muqātil were frequently compared and as often as not declared of equal worth,⁸³ Kalbī's reputation among the orthodox was salvaged to a certain extent while that of Muqātil remained under a heavy cloud.⁸⁴

Bukhārī declared Muqātil weak and worthless.⁸⁵ Ṭabarī made use in his *Tafsīr* of the biographical and historical materials of Kalbī and his son Hishām and of Wāqidī, all three of whom were suspect as to *isnād*'s and oral transmission of *ḥadīth*. Yet he consistently refused to use similar materials from Muqātil's works⁸⁶ and in his few references to him points out his untrustworthy practices.⁸⁷ Ibn ʿAdī (d. 360/971 or 365/976), put his finger on the most significant factor that turned many fellow scholars against Muqātil and his works. In comparing Muqātil and Kalbī he says: "No one has a *Tafsīr* that is longer and fuller than Kalbī's. After him (comes) Muqātil ibn Sulaimān. But Kalbī is preferred because of Muqātil's unorthodox doctrines."⁸⁸ For Muqātil not only made free use of non-Islāmic materials, especially from Christian and Jewish sources,⁸⁹ but was, furthermore, a Zaidite with anthropomorphic leanings (see p. 100, n. 39).⁹⁰ However, it should be noted that Ibn al-Mubārak, as orthodox a scholar as any and one even more opposed to the anthropomorphism of Jahm ibn Ṣafwān than to Christian and Jewish theology, did not accuse Muqātil of this widely current heresy.⁹¹

Because of his controversial techniques, his professional jealousy, and above all his religious bias Muqātil was consigned to the ranks of the untrustworthy. Yet, so strong was the impression that the man and his works had made on his contemporaries and on succeeding generations of scholars who used one or more of his several *tafsīr* works that he was seldom men-

⁷⁸ Khaṭīb XIII 167 f.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 163 f.: فان تزين الحديث لنا انما هو بالرجال.

⁸⁰ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 144; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 431 f.

⁸¹ Ibn Saʿd VI 212 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, pp. 8 f.; *Jarḥ* III 1, pp. 382 f. See also *Tafsīr* I 220 (No. 305). Jāḥiẓ's sweeping criticism of most Qurʾānic commentators was based largely on the linguistic and historical inaccuracies and the illogicality of their *tafsīr* and *taʾwīl* materials (see e.g. Jāḥiẓ, *Al-ḥayawān* I [1356/1938] 343–45).

⁸² *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, p. 81. For this Abū Ṣāliḥ, client of Umm Hānī, see our Vol. I 46, n. 3.

⁸³ Khaṭīb XIII 163: تفسير الكلبي مثل تفسير مقاتل سواء.

⁸⁴ Ibn Khallikān II 148 (= trans. III 408–12).

⁸⁵ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 14; Khaṭīb XIII 168.

⁸⁶ *Irshād* VI 441. Nasāʾī (d. 303/915) likewise avoided using Muqātil's works (see Khaṭīb XIII 168).

⁸⁷ *Tafsīr* I 66, 76, 157, 216–19 and XI 187 f. The editors of *Tafsīr* in their copious notes argue that some well known *isnād*'s, e.g. Ibn Ishāq–Kalbī–Abū Ṣāliḥ–Ibn ʿAbbās, are suspect for the simple reason that Kalbī is one of the links (cf. Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, p. 85; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 431 f., and III 1, pp. 270 f.; cf. also *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, p. 81).

⁸⁸ Quoted in *Itqān* II 189 and Ḥājjī Khalīfah II 143. For Ibn ʿAdī see *GAL* I 167 and *GAL* S I 280.

⁸⁹ *Fihrist*, pp. 178 f.

⁹⁰ *Mizān* III 197. Cf. Louis Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* ("Études musulmanes" II [nouv. éd.; Paris, 1954]) pp. 69 f.

⁹¹ *Tafsīr* III 252 f. For Ibn al-Mubārak's position see Dārimī, *Kitāb al-radd ʿalā al-Jahmīyah*, ed. Gösta Vitestam (Lund, 1960) pp. 6, 8, 102.

tioned throughout the centuries without reference to his vast knowledge of and preoccupation with the Qurʾān and Qurʾānic commentary. It is true that such references are frequently accompanied by mention of the general untrustworthiness of his traditions, though even some of these were considered acceptable enough to be written down from him for transmission.⁹² That, under the circumstances, only a few of his traditions as such have survived⁹³ is not surprising. Nor is it surprising that those of his *Tafsīr* works which have survived (see p. 96)⁹⁴ are predominantly linguistic.

In view of this threefold prejudice against Muqātil one must view with suspicion the inane anecdotes reported about him,⁹⁵ as also the charge that he offered to fabricate traditions in favor of Manṣūr and the ʿAbbāsids.⁹⁶ Anecdotes that illustrate Muqātil's personal trustworthiness and courage deserve, under the circumstances, more credence. In the year 128/745, when he was still a young man, he was sought as arbiter in an important politico-military dispute because of his reputation as a man who not only studied but "lived by the Book of God."⁹⁷ Later, Manṣūr was being annoyed by flies and asked Muqātil if he knew why God created them; he received with silence the pointed answer "to humble the mighty."⁹⁸ Prince Mahdī patronized Muqātil presumably for his knowledge of *tafsīr*, though Manṣūr stressed the prince's studies with Ḥasan ibn ʿUmārah (d. 153/770) in *fiqh* and with Ibn Ishāq in *maghāzī*.⁹⁹

Following in the footsteps of conservative and orthodox Islāmic critics, whose bases for *al-jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl*, "the impugnement and the vindication," were primarily oral transmission and the unbroken *isnād*, Western scholars, except Massignon,¹⁰⁰ have been content for the most part to stress Muqātil's so-called weak points and to underestimate if not, indeed, to overlook his initiative and wide yet specialized coverage of his chosen field of study.¹⁰¹ The very existence of our papyrus and the study growing out of it offset the imbalance. For, Kalbī and his extensive *Tafsīr* notwithstanding, Muqātil with his several and varied *tafsīr* works emerges as not only the most prolific but also the leading Qurʾānic commentator of his day. His knowledge and initiative were put to use in the development of the various specialized branches in that field, and his works came to be widely used but for the most part without formal or public acknowledgment, largely out of deference to the sentiments of powerful orthodox circles.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF *TAFSĪR*

Birkeland¹⁰² contends that Goldziher has seriously misunderstood the sources which he cites in support of his conviction that there was tangible opposition to a certain type of *tafsīr* in the first two centuries of Islām. Birkeland's own position is as follows: (1) There was no opposition to any kind of *tafsīr* until late in the first century. (2) Strong opposition to all

⁹² The earlier sources have been cited repeatedly and are reflected in such later sources as Dhahabī I 165, Nawawī, pp. 574 f., Ibn Khallikān II 147 f., and Yāfiʿ I 309.

⁹³ See Document 8, Traditions 10 and 12, and Vol. I 52.

⁹⁴ Ibn al-Jauzī, who likewise wrote on *al-wujūh wa al-naẓāʾir* (see *Itqān* I 142–46, II 189; Ḥājji Khalīfah VI 424), may have had access to earlier works, including Muqātil's, on that subject (see Ibn al-Jauzī, *Al-mudhshih* [Baghdād, 1348/1929] pp. 2–22, esp. pp. 10–22).

⁹⁵ Khaṭīb XIII 166 f.; *Mizān* III 197.

⁹⁶ Khaṭīb XIII 167.

⁹⁷ Ṭabarī II 1917 f., 1921, 1931, 1933; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, ed. C. J. Thornberg, V (Lugdunī Bavorum, 1870) 454.

⁹⁸ Khaṭīb XIII 160; Yāfiʿ I 309; Ibn Khallikān II 148.

⁹⁹ *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 248; Khaṭīb VII 345. See also our Vol. I 88–91.

¹⁰⁰ See his *Recueil de textes inédits concernant de la mystique en pays d'Islam* I 194–210, 219.

¹⁰¹ See Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qurāns* (2d ed.) II 163–71, esp. pp. 170 f.; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 58–60; Plessner in *EI* III 711 f.; Birkeland, *Opposition*, pp. 26 f.

¹⁰² *Opposition* (1955) pp. 7 f.

types of *tafsīr* developed in the second century. (3) Thereafter, *tafsīr* brought into line with orthodox doctrine and subjected to strict methods of transmission received general acceptance, but opposition to heterodox *tafsīr* persisted.¹⁰³ There is general agreement on the last point, which therefore need not be considered here. As for the other two points, Goldziher has indeed misunderstood some of the sources, but Birkeland too has been misled. We shall try to follow and enlarge on the salient points of this new controversy in order to indicate in bold outlines the history of the development of *tafsīr* and its literature in the first two centuries of Islām.

Goldziher¹⁰⁴ cites as evidence of early opposition to *tafsīr* the severe punishment that the caliph ʿUmar I inflicted on Ṣabīgh ibn ʿIsl for his preoccupation with the interpretation of the ambiguous passages (*mutashābihāt*) of the Qurʾān. Birkeland¹⁰⁵ questions the validity of this evidence (1) by casting doubt on the identity of Ṣabīgh, whom he considers legendary, (2) by arguing that the harsh punishment was not in keeping with ʿUmar's known character, and (3) by pointing out that ʿUmar, who approved of Ibn ʿAbbās, the father of *tafsīr*, could hardly be assumed to have been opposed to *tafsīr*. Examination of these objections reveals that they were made without adequate research, and the collective evidence of the sources leads one in turn to question Birkeland's position on all three points.

Birkeland questions Ṣabīgh's historicity on the strength of the different names by which he is referred to in the different sources: Ṣabīgh ibn ʿIsl and Ṣabīgh ibn al-Mundhīr. Ibn Duraid gives Ṣabīgh's genealogy as Ṣabīgh ibn Sharīk ibn al-Mundhīr . . . ibn ʿIsl . . . al-Yarbūʿī and mentions also his brother Rabīʿah ibn ʿIsl al-Yarbūʿī, who appears in historical sources in military and civil capacities in the eastern provinces in the years 12–60 A.H.¹⁰⁶ That Ṣabīgh is referred to now by one and now by another part of his full name reflects a practice so common in Islāmic literature that it cannot be used to question his historicity—a historicity that is confirmed by that of his brother, with whom he is at times associated in the literature.

Again, Ṣabīgh is sometimes referred to as ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṣabīgh. So far as I have been able to discover, this form of his name occurs only in reports of his meeting with ʿUmar I, who asked Ṣabīgh his name and received the reply: "I am ʿAbd Allāh Ṣabīgh." To this ʿUmar replied: "And I am ʿAbd Allāh ʿUmar."¹⁰⁷ The practice of prefixing "ʿAbd Allāh" to the caliph's name is said to have started in the year 16/637 when Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah, ʿUmar's governor of Baṣrah, addressed ʿUmar as "ʿAbd Allāh ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Commander of the Faithful," instead of the clumsy "ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Agent of the Agent of the Messenger of Allāh."¹⁰⁸ ʿUmar approved the innovation, which soon became the general practice for official correspondence and administrative documents.¹⁰⁹ It is entirely possible that the form "ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṣabīgh" is a creation of some later narrator or copyist who felt the need to supply what he considered a missing "ibn" in the original "ʿAbd Allāh Ṣabīgh." This inference is borne out by the fact that of the many entries on Ṣabīgh, Suyūṭī's much abbreviated ac-

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* pp. 7 f., 42. See also Birkeland, *The Lord Guideth* (Oslo, 1956) pp. 6–13, 133–37.

¹⁰⁴ *Richtungen*, pp. 55 f.

¹⁰⁵ *Opposition*, pp. 13 f.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-ishṭiqāq*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1854) pp. 139 f.; Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-bayān wa al-tabayīn* (1366/1947) II 265; Balādhurī, *Kitāb ansāb al-ashraf*, translated by Olga Pinto and Giorgio Levi della Vida (Roma, 1938) p. 43; Ṭabarī I 2058, 2923 and II 81, 178, 209; *ʿIqd* II 227; Murtaḍā al-Zabidī, *Tāj al-arūs*, ed. Sayyid ʿAlī Jaudat (10 vols.; Cairo, 1306–7/1889–90) VI 20.

¹⁰⁷ Dārimī I 54; Ibn ʿAsākir VI 385.

¹⁰⁸ Saʿīd ibn al-Baṭrīq (Eutychius), *Naẓm al-jawhar* II, ed. L. Cheikho *et al.* ("Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientaliū: Scriptorum Arabici," Ser. 3, Vol. VII [Beirut etc., 1909]) 20.

¹⁰⁹ See e.g. Grohmann, *Allgemeine Einführung in die arabischen Papyri* ("Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Archiducis Austriae" III, "Series Arabica" I 1 [Wien, 1924]); George C. Miles, "Early Islamic inscriptions near Tāʾif in the Ḥijāz," *JNES* VII (1948) 236 f. The practice continued well into ʿAbbāsīd times.

count¹¹⁰ of the story is the only primary source that uses the form “‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṣabīgh.” Goldziher¹¹¹ at first used only the form “Ṣabīgh ibn ‘Isl,” following his sources, then adopted the form “‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṣabīgh” and, finally, the form “Ibn Ṣabīgh,”¹¹² which is not to be found in any of the Arabic sources. This usage no doubt confused Birkeland. Nevertheless, it must be clear that to consider Ṣabīgh legendary¹¹³ because of these several errors in his name or because of the use of alternative parts of the name is not justifiable.

We turn next to the severity of the punishment inflicted by ‘Umar on Ṣabīgh. Though the newly founded Baṣrah was the seat of his family, Ṣabīgh is more frequently referred to as “the ‘Irāqī,” which could indicate that he moved about in the province of ‘Irāq. At any rate, he was apparently a restless man on the move. Like his brother Rabī‘ah he moved in military circles, though in what official capacity, if any, is nowhere stated. Late in the second and early in the third decade of Islām, religious information and instruction in the newly conquered provinces of ‘Irāq, Syria, and Egypt was to be had only in the large military camps and the newly established settlements, such as Baṣrah and Fuṣṭāṭ, where many of the Companions of Muḥammad, some of whom were eager to instruct the people, were to be found. Ṣabīgh, according to the earliest ‘Irāqī and Egyptian sources, sought out men in these provincial military camps and raised questions about the ambiguous (*mutashābih*) and difficult (*mushkilāt*) passages of the Qur’ān in a foolish and stubborn way.¹¹⁴ This sort of questioning led him into serious trouble in Egypt, where he and his activities were brought to the attention of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, presumably during the latter’s first governorship of that province (21–25 A.H.). It is known that ‘Amr was energetic and a man of decision who took provincial matters into his own hands (see p. 109). That he did not do so in Ṣabīgh’s case but instead found it necessary to send the offender to ‘Umar in Medina and that ‘Umar readied the instruments of punishment even before he interviewed Ṣabīgh is indicative of the seriousness of the offense in the judgment of both ‘Amr and ‘Umar.

There are two early Medinan versions of the interview with ‘Umar and of the punishment which followed (see references in n. 114). A brief version, which traces back to Sulaimān ibn Yasār (see pp. 213 f.), merely states that Ṣabīgh asked ‘Umar questions about ambiguous Qur’ānic passages, for which he was flogged. A longer version traces back to Nāfi‘ (d. 117/735). It gives examples of Ṣabīgh’s questions, details the punishment of two hundred strokes actually administered and states that a third hundred was averted, mentions Ṣabīgh’s return in disgrace to Baṣrah and ‘Umar’s written instructions to Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, governor of that city, to have Ṣabīgh ostracized, and finally describes Ṣabīgh’s repentance, pardon, and restoration to Muslim society. Later sources add details here and there from Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyib (d. 94/712), Ṭā‘ūs ibn Kaisān (d. 106/724), Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/728), and others, details which do not alter the basic elements of the story, though Ṭā‘ūs adds that ‘Umar tore up Ṣabīgh’s manuscripts.¹¹⁵

The incident must have been widely publicized from the start, for Mālīk ibn Anas reports on the authority of Zuhri on the authority of Qāsim ibn Muḥammad (d. 108/726 at age 70 or 72) that once when a man annoyed Ibn ‘Abbās (d. 68/668) by asking him repeatedly about the distribution of war booty the latter exclaimed in anger: “This man is indeed like Ṣabīgh whom ‘Umar flogged.”¹¹⁶ Ṭabarī gives the same report almost verbatim, to which Tirmidhī’s com-

¹¹⁰ *Itqān* II 4.

¹¹¹ *Studien* II 182.

¹¹² Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 55, n. 3.

¹¹³ See Birkeland, *Opposition*, p. 14.

¹¹⁴ *Futūḥ*, p. 168; Dārimī I 54 f.; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-ishṭiqāq*, pp. 139 f.

¹¹⁵ See e.g. Malāṭī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa al-radd*, pp. 138 f.; Ibn ‘Asākir VI 384 f.; *Isābah* II 521.

¹¹⁶ *Muwaffa‘* II 455.

mentator, Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Maʿāfirī, adds that Ṣabīgh was flogged “with the *dirrah* until his blood streamed down his limbs.”¹¹⁷ From Ibn ʿAsākir’s account we learn that the story of Ṣabīgh was recorded in his leading sources—Abū Nuʿaim, Dāraqūṭnī, and Khaṭīb.¹¹⁸ Dāraqūṭnī questioned the version of Ibn Abī Sabrah (d. 162/779), where Ṣabīgh’s questions seem to have been harmless enough for even ʿUmar himself to answer. Ibn ʿAsākir adds: “Reason does not accept that ʿUmar should flog a man who asks for comments on Qurʾānic verses other than the *mutashābihāt* and have him, furthermore, ostracized. Far be it from ʿUmar to reach this degree of severity, as is indeed confirmed by what follows.” And what follows in Ibn ʿAsākir’s account gives the earlier versions of Sulaimān ibn Yasār and Nāfiʿ, where the emphasis is precisely on the *mutashābihāt* and where there is no comment on the severe punishment of two hundred strokes by any of its recorders.

Before we pass judgment on ʿUmar’s severity, it is fitting to consider not only the offense itself but also its probable consequences under the then existing religio-political situation. Ṣabīgh’s activity was not private or casual. Its extent and persistence presented a double threat. Theologically, it held the danger of spreading doubt, misbelief, and heresy.¹¹⁹ Politically, it could, by undermining the new faith, undermine also the allegiance of the military forces whose loyal support was so essential to the success and stability of the newly established religio-political community. Sūrah 3:7 expressly condemns preoccupation with *mutashābihāt al-Qurʾān* for just such reasons. Ṣabīgh’s offense, then, seemed to his contemporaries and to the succeeding generations of Muslims far from the “innocent questions” that Birkeland¹²⁰ believed it to have been. Moreover, there were other instances in which ʿUmar’s severity and zeal exceeded his sense of justice, when he spared neither man nor woman, including the members of his own family.

Among the several stories told of ʿUmar’s zealous persecution of early converts to Islām is one in which he thrashed a slave woman who refused to renounce Islām “until his own strength gave out.”¹²¹ His own conversion did not mellow him. He ordered Muslim women beaten for infractions of the divorce regulations and himself indulged in mild wife-beating for minor insubordination.¹²²

Again, one of ʿUmar’s sons, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, took an intoxicant while he was in Egypt with ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, who punished him in private with the stipulated flogging. When ʿUmar heard of this he wrote ʿAmr and took him to task for not punishing the unfortunate culprit publicly as he would have punished any other man’s son. He then ordered ʿAmr to send him the young man clothed in a single cloak and riding a pack-saddle in order to impress him with the enormity of his offense. When the son arrived in Medina his “just” father, ʿUmar, did not hesitate to have him punished a second time, and this time publicly, for the same offense. The ʿIrāqīs said that the son was so severely flogged that he died under the lash; the Medinans denied this but added that he died after a month.¹²³

¹¹⁷ See *Tafsīr* XIII 364 and Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Maʿāfirī’s comment on Tirmidhī XI 204.

¹¹⁸ Ibn ʿAsākir VI 385.

¹¹⁹ See *Iqān* II 6 f., where this danger is further detailed.

¹²⁰ *Opposition*, p. 13.

¹²¹ *Sīrah* I 206; Jāhīz, *Al-Uthmānīyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo, 1374/1955) p. 34; *Ansāb* I 195 f.

¹²² See e.g. Sūrah 4: 34 and *Tafsīr* VIII 313–17; *Muwaffaʿ* II 53 f.; Ibn Mājah I 33. It is generally well known that he

was ever protesting against Muḥammad’s leniency toward women (see e.g. Bukhārī III 359 and p. 135 below). In justice to ʿUmar it should be noted that he was not above accepting correction from a Qurʾān-quoting woman, as when he revised his decision on the limits to a woman’s dowry (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal I 41 and cf. Ibn al-Jauzī, *Taʾrīkh ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, pp. 150 f.).

¹²³ *Istīʿāb* II 392; *Uṣd* III 312; *Iṣābah* II 992; Ibn al-Jauzī, *Taʾrīkh ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, pp. 236–38. ʿUmar expected the conduct of the members of his family to be exemplary, since the eyes of the public were upon them,

It should be pointed out that ʿUmar's election to the caliphate was opposed because of his extreme severity, but Abū Bakr felt that such severity was justified by the difficult nature of the task to be accomplished, namely the stabilizing of the newly founded faith and state. Considering, then, the nature of Ṣabīgh's offense, the temper of the times, and the known character of ʿUmar in matters of the faith and the state,¹²⁴ the punishment he inflicted on Ṣabīgh was calculated to fit the crime. There is, therefore, no reason to conclude, as Birkeland did,¹²⁵ that the ʿUmar of the Ṣabīgh story "is not the historical ʿUmar." The justice of religio-political zealots is seldom tempered with mercy.

It is instructive to note a second instance in which ʿUmar took drastic action against pre-occupation with *tafsīr*. He once saw a Qurʾān with an accompanying verse-by-verse *tafsīr*, whereupon he himself cut out the *tafsīr* and left the sacred text only.¹²⁶ Any sizable portion of the Qurʾān will contain ambiguous passages, if only the so-called mysterious letters heading the Sūrahs,¹²⁷ and ʿUmar may have eliminated commentaries on such passages.¹²⁸ That his action did not stem from a categorical opposition to all types of *tafsīr* is suggested by the fact that ʿUmar himself answered some of Ṣabīgh's questions and by the fact that ʿUmar is known to have approved of Ibn ʿAbbās, the latter fact being cited in Birkeland's argument as stated above (p. 107). ʿUmar not only tacitly approved of Ibn ʿAbbās but actually encouraged that young man on various occasions to match his talents against those of several older Companions in their comments on the Qurʾān and to question him, ʿUmar, about the Qurʾān.¹²⁹ Furthermore, ʿUmar is quoted as answering questions on the Qurʾān, mostly on the authority of Muḥammad, on numerous other occasions. These questions and answers usually deal with variant readings, grammar, meanings, and the occasion for the revelation of a given Sūrah or passage, *qirāʾāt*, *irāb*, *maʿānī*, and *tanzīl al-Qurʾān*.¹³⁰

Our study so far points to the conclusion that ʿUmar was violently opposed to any commentary on the *mutashābihāt al-Qurʾān* but permitted and himself participated in other types of *tafsīr* and whenever possible quoted and stressed Muḥammad's comments (*tafsīr al-nabī*).

Our next question involves the extent to which ʿUmar's attitude toward *tafsīr* represented that of the Companions and the Successors. Both Goldziher and Birkeland have attempted to reconcile the fact of widespread *tafsīr* activity with statements that a number of prominent Companions and Successors either opposed or disapproved of *tafsīr* and refused to participate in such activity. Goldziher believed the contradiction could be resolved by giving *tafsīr* as opposed by these men a special meaning. He based his argument on a statement transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal that "three (types of) books have no foundation—*maghāzī*, *malāḥim*, and

and warned them that should they disregard any of his prohibitions he would double their punishment (Khaṭīb IV 219). ʿUmar is said to have been the first ruler to use the whip. For another case in which ʿUmar is said to have punished a culprit twice for the same offense, this time for forging the caliph's hand and seal for tax records, see *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 463 (but cf. *Iṣābah* II 1085 f.).

¹²⁴ In justice to ʿUmar it should be pointed out that when the faith and the state were not endangered he was to be found on the side of the victim of persecution, as his rebuke of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ for abuse of a client illustrates (*Futūḥ*, pp. 167 f.). For a sympathetic modern view of ʿUmar's generally acknowledged severity together with his active concern for the weak and poor see Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal, *Al-Fārūq ʿUmar* (Cairo, 1364/1945).

¹²⁵ *Opposition*, p. 13.

¹²⁶ A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms* (Heidelberg,

1922) pp. 187 f. (= trans. by Khudah Bakhsh and D. S. Margoliouth [Patna, 1937] p. 196) quoting Abū al-Laith al-Samarqandī's *Tafsīr* (unpublished) and his *Bustān al-ʿarīfīn* (on margins of his *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*) pp. 74 f.

¹²⁷ See *Itqān* II 8–12, 180.

¹²⁸ The context does not indicate that ʿUmar opposed written *tafsīr* as such as he did the writing-down of *ḥadīth*.

¹²⁹ See e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal I 33; Bukhārī III 359; Yaʿqūb ibn Shaibah, *Musnad* . . . *ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, pp. 86 f.; Khaṭīb I 173 f.; Jeffery (ed.), *Two Muqaddimas*, pp. 52–58, 193, and 196; *Itqān* II 188.

¹³⁰ See e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal I 17, 22, 33, 34, 42 f. (cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-musnad* I [1365/1946] Nos. 108, 158, 160, 222, 232); Muslim IX 153; Tirmidhī XI 194 f., XII 33 f. and 147 f.; Yaʿqūb ibn Shaibah, *Musnad* . . . *ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, pp. 48–51, 54, 59, and 86 f.; Ṭabarī I 10 f.; *Itqān* I 180 and II 175, 193 f., 196, 198, 202.

tafsīr.”¹³¹ Judging the *tafsīr* of this passage by its context Goldziher concluded that it was a special type that dealt with historical legends and eschatology. His next step in the argument was to equate this type of *tafsīr*, on the basis of its supposed content, with the type to which some prominent early Muslims took objection.¹³² Birkeland has shown effectively that Ibn Ḥanbal had in mind not the content (*matn*) but the unsoundness or absence of *isnād*'s in such books, which were therefore suspect. Birkeland¹³³ attempted to reconcile the above-stated contradiction by emphasizing disapproval of as against positive opposition to *tafsīr* and attempted further to explain both attitudes on the basis of personal piety among a small group of ultraconservatives.

Ṭabarī lists the names of the comparatively few scholars who objected to or refrained from *tafsīr* activity.¹³⁴ Both Goldziher and Birkeland drew on most of these men for their arguments. A check of early reports on the activities of the key men in this list revealed that all of them actually either expressed opinions on *tafsīr* or transmitted *tafsīr* traditions originating with Muḥammad and the Companions. Those stated to have been positively opposed to *tafsīr* are mentioned below with documentation for their *tafsīr* activities as evidenced mainly from the materials provided by Shaibānī's version of Malik's *Muwatta'* and by the chapters on *tafsīr* in the *ḥadīth* collections of Muslim, Bukhārī, and Tirmidhī. While this evidence is not exhaustive, it is substantial and representative enough to indicate that these men did in fact participate in *tafsīr* despite sundry statements to the contrary. These key men are Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib (d. 94/712),¹³⁵ Sālim ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 106/725),¹³⁶ Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr (d. 108/726),¹³⁷ and Sha'c'bī (d. 110/728).¹³⁸ The second significant fact to emerge from this evidence is that these men are invariably cited in connection with the linguistic and historical branches of *tafsīr* and that the *akhbār* variety deals mostly with *tanzīl al-Qur'ān*.¹³⁹ There are no comments by these men on legendary campaigns and eschatology (*maghāzī* and *malāḥim*) nor on the ambiguous passages of the Qur'ān, the *mutashābihāt*. Furthermore, Qāsim ibn Muḥammad is repeatedly cited as the chief transmitter from 'Ā'ishah of Muḥammad's express warning to leave the *mutashābihāt* alone.¹⁴⁰ It is therefore obvious that the *tafsīr* activities and attitudes of these first-century key men, who figure in the arguments of both Goldziher and Birkeland, were basically the same as those of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

Our conclusions, then, as to the development of *tafsīr* in the first century of Islām may be summarized as follows. Widespread *tafsīr* activity was rapidly increasing. The *ḥadīth* and personal opinions of second-generation Muslims far exceeded those of the Companions and the Prophet, especially *tafsīr al-nabī*, as the bases of this activity.¹⁴¹ Formal *isnād*'s for most

¹³¹ *Itqān* II 178 f.

¹³² Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 57.

¹³³ *Opposition*, pp. 16–19.

¹³⁴ *Tafsīr* I 84–86; see also Jeffery (ed.), *Two Muqaddimas*, pp. 183 f.

¹³⁵ Shaibānī, p. 5; Bukhārī III 213, 217, 237, 255, 263, 305, 330; Tirmidhī XI 253, 290.

¹³⁶ Bukhārī III 217, 239, 310, 357.

¹³⁷ Shaibānī, pp. 5 f.; Bukhārī II 232 f., III 212; Tirmidhī XI 114–18.

¹³⁸ Muslim XVIII 165; Bukhārī III 203, 235; Tirmidhī XI 92, 154, 286 and XII 76 f., 85, 87 f., 226; *Tafsīr* VI 110 f., VII 71.

¹³⁹ Some older contemporaries of these men were cautious rather than opposed in principle to *tafsīr*, especially to the *tanzīl* variety since those who knew the history of the *tanzīl* had already died. Such seems to have been the case with 'Abīdah ibn Qais, who died in the year 72/691–92 (see Ibn Sa'd VI 62–64; Birkeland, *Opposition*, pp. 11 f.).

¹⁴⁰ *Sīrah* I 404 f.; Bukhārī III 212; Dārimī I 54 f.; Abū Dā'ūd IV 198; *Tafsīr* VI 173 ff., 201 ff. and VIII 567 f. See also Baghawī, *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*, ed. Muḥammad Rashīd al-Riḍā, II (Cairo, 1343/1924) 95–104.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Horst, *op. cit.* pp. 305 f. In later periods, collections of *tafsīr al-nabī* and *tafsīr al-ṣaḥābah* engaged the attention of scholars (see e.g. Ḥājji Khalifah II 368, 380; *Itqān* II 179, 183 f., 191–206, the last cited pages representing Suyūṭī's collection of these materials).

tafsīr literature appeared late. Strong opposition to *tafsīr mutashābihāt al-Qurʾān* definitely existed among the pious orthodox.

Tafsīr literature increased steadily throughout the second century, acting on and being acted upon by the increasing interest in dialectical theology which resulted in "new orthodoxies" and in a number of heresies whose originators claimed that their position was based on the Qurʾān as they understood and interpreted it. Critical attention was first centered in the first half of this century on the *tafsīr* literature already in circulation and culminated in the critical activities of Ibn Juraij (70 or 80–150/689 or 699–767), who based his own *Tafsīr* on the works of Ibn ʿAbbās, Mujāhid ibn Jabr, and ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Ribāḥ (d. 114/732) but ignored those of the doctrinally suspect Ḍaḥḥāk and ʿIkrimah.¹⁴² It was also in the first half of the second century that there was emphasis on the classification of *tafsīr* into four main categories: legalistic *tafsīr*, from the knowledge of which no one is excused; linguistic *tafsīr*, based on the speech of the Arabs; the formal *tafsīr* of scholars; and the *tafsīr al-mutashābihāt*, "which is known only to God."¹⁴³ In the second half of the century, as earlier *tafsīr* works became more readily available, the works of the leading early commentators began to be classified as "the best" and "the worst"¹⁴⁴ and, by implication, "the good" or perhaps "the indifferent," the last being as a rule ignored. Among "the best" are listed the works of Ibn ʿAbbās,¹⁴⁵ Mujāhid, Saʿīd ibn Jubair, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah, Ibn Ishāq,¹⁴⁶ and ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām. Among "the worst" are listed those of Ḍaḥḥāk, Abū Ṣāliḥ (client of Umm Hānī), Suddī, and Muḥammad ibn al-Sāʿib al-Kalbī.¹⁴⁷ Prominent among the critics of the second century, for *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* transmission, were Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān (120–98/738–813) and ʿAbd al-Raḥman ibn Mahdī (135–98/752–814), whose opinions were more frequently than not accepted by Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn, Ibn Ḥanbal, and their contemporaries and successors.¹⁴⁸

Preoccupation with the formal *isnād* in the larger and more inclusive field of *ḥadīth* is reflected by greater emphasis on the *isnād* in the field of *tafsīr*. But it was not the quality of the *isnād* alone that determined the acceptability of *tafsīr*. The content of each type of *tafsīr* continued to be taken into consideration. The commentaries of known heretics and the commentaries on the *mutashābihāt* that had bearing on the widely current controversy over the attributes of God and the question of anthropomorphism and eschatology, such as appear in Malāṭī's extracts from the *Tafsīr fī mutashābih al-Qurʾān* of Muqātil ibn Sulaimān (see p. 96),

¹⁴² Cf. Horst, *op. cit.* pp. 294 f., esp. Isnāds 4–6. Ibn Juraij seems also to have overlooked the *tafsīr* works of his contemporaries Ibn Ishāq, Muḥammad ibn al-Sāʿib al-Kalbī, and Muqātil ibn Sulaimān, among others, but whether he did so deliberately is not yet clear. For references to Ibn Juraij see *GAL S I* 255.

¹⁴³ *Tafsīr I* 68 f.; *Itqān II* 4. Ḥājjī Khalīfah II 342 f. reflects this classification and introduces others.

¹⁴⁴ See *Tafsīr I* 29 f., which is freely drawn on and supplemented in *Itqān II* 178 and Ḥājjī Khalīfah II 333 f.

¹⁴⁵ The full extent of Ibn ʿAbbās' literary activities, especially in the field of *tafsīr* (see p. 99, esp. n. 32), is still uncertain despite all that has been written about them for over a century. Laura Veccia Vaglieri's article in *EI I* (1960) 40 f. presents a fair summary of the nature of the problem.

¹⁴⁶ Ibn Ishāq's attention to *tafsīr* is illustrated in the *Sīrah* where he gives a running comment on the numerous verses with special attention to the occasions that called

them forth or led to their abrogation. See e.g. *Sīrah I* 24, 30, 36 f., 53, 58, 129 f., 151 f., 155 f., 161, 171, 187, 191 f., 194, 197, 235, 259, 356 f., 363, 399 f., 484. On pp. 404 f. special attention is given to the *mutashābihāt*. Ibn Hishām frequently supplements Ibn Ishāq's comments. See Horst, *op. cit.* Isnād 17, for Ṭabari's use of Ibn Ishāq's *tafsīr* materials.

¹⁴⁷ For most of these men and their *tafsīr* works, a number of which have survived though as yet unpublished, see *GAL I* 190, *GAL 2 I* 203 f., *GAL S I* 327 and 330–35 and references there cited (esp. *Fihrist*, pp. 33 f.; *Itqān II* 187–90; Ḥājjī Khalīfah II 334–37). Ṭabari, in his *Tafsīr*, used materials from most of the men in both lists, as Horst's study proves. Baghawī, *Maʿālim al-tanzīl I* (Cairo, 1343/1924) 4–7, lists these leading commentators but without any attempt to classify them.

¹⁴⁸ See e.g. *Mustadrak I* 490; Nawawī, pp. 390–92 and 626 f.; *Mīzān I* 198, II 82 f. and 360 f.; *Itqān II* 178 f.

continued to be rejected by most of the orthodox.¹⁴⁹ It was not until the close of the second century that *tafsīr al-mutashābihāt* was permitted to fully qualified religious scholars, who had to scrutinize the *isnād's* of such *tafsīr* and of related traditions before they could transmit these materials.¹⁵⁰ Thus was opened the way to the next easy step, namely transmission on the basis of scholarly consensus, as specifically stated by Shāfi'.¹⁵¹ As a corollary to this development came increasing opposition to any comment on the basis of opinion (*tafsīr bī al-ra'y*). In this connection a word must be added concerning Aṣma', who is said to have refrained from *tafsīr* activity out of piety—a motive accepted by many of the sources and by both Goldziher¹⁵² and Birkeland.¹⁵³ There is, however, evidence to indicate that piety may not have been his prime motive and was certainly not his only motive. Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987 at age of over 90), himself a commentator, states that Aṣma's main reason was his acute personal and literary rivalry with the suspected Khārijite Abū 'Ubaidah (d. 210/825), who stole a march on Aṣma' when he composed his famous *Majāz al-Qur'ān*.¹⁵⁴ Aṣma' studied the work and condemned it as *tafsīr bī al-ra'y*, whereupon Abū 'Ubaidah contrived to trap Aṣma' into commenting on a simple Qur'ānic phrase and in turn condemned Aṣma's comment as *tafsīr bī al-ra'y*.¹⁵⁵ Fortunately the *Majāz al-Qur'ān* has survived. It is a linguistic commentary centering on vocabulary and grammar, *ma'ānī*, *gharīb*, and *ī-rāb al-Qur'ān*, and it is known that it was used by such orthodox commentators as Bukhārī and Ṭabarī.¹⁵⁶ Aṣma's case, therefore, since it was so strictly personal, cannot be used as an argument that there was strong orthodox opposition to all kinds of *tafsīr*.

During the third century, ways and means were devised by which the method and transmission of orthodox *tafsīr* were regulated. Also, there evolved a rationale for not only the permissibility but the desirability of cautious commentary on the *mutashābihāt al-Qur'ān*. Typical arguments for this stand are presented by Ibn Qutaibah, who devoted a chapter to this specific theme in a work that deals entirely with the interpretation of the difficult passages of the Qur'ān.¹⁵⁷ Western research in the subsequent history of *tafsīr* points to less controversial conclusions as far as the orthodox position is concerned.

¹⁴⁹ See *Sīrah* I 404 f., where Ibn Ishāq represents the orthodox view.

¹⁵⁰ See *Itqān* II 6, which is based on the stand of such leading scholars from the various provinces as Mālik ibn Anas, Sufyān al-Thaurī, Shaibānī, Ibn al-Mubārak, Wakī' ibn al-Jarrāh, and Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 184.

¹⁵² *Richtungen*, p. 57.

¹⁵³ *Opposition*, pp. 15 f. and references there cited, to which should be added Abū al-Ṭaiyib al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, pp. 41 and 48. For Abū al-Ṭaiyib see *GAL S* I 190.

¹⁵⁴ *Irshād* III 22. For other anecdotes in connection with the rivalry of Aṣma' and Abū 'Ubaidah see e.g. Ibn Khallikān I 362–65, II 138–42 (= trans. II 123–27, III 388–98).

¹⁵⁵ Khaṭīb XIII 254 f.; *Irshād* VII 166–68; Yāfi' II 45 f. See also Sirāfi, *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn*, ed. F. Krenkow ("Bibliotheca Arabica" IX [Paris, 1936]) pp. 60 f. It should be noted here that Aṣma' is credited with a *Kitāb lughāt al-Qur'ān* (*Fihrist*, p. 35; Ibn Khallikān II 139 [= trans. III 390]).

¹⁵⁶ See Abū 'Ubaidah, *Majāz al-Qur'ān*, ed. M. Fuad Sezgin (Cairo, 1373/1954) Intro. pp. 16–19, for discussion of its nature, content, and wide use. For Bukhārī's extensive use of this work see *Buhārī'nin*, pp. xi and 124–55.

¹⁵⁷ Ibn Qutaibah, *Ta'wīl mushkil al-Qur'ān*, pp. 62 ff., esp. pp. 72–75. See also Ibn al-'Arabi al-Ma'āfirī in Tirmidhī XI 48–51. Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr* I 30 f. gives his own classification and opinion. *Fihrist*, p. 36, lists works on the *mutashābihāt* including the *Tafsīr fī mutashābih al-Qur'ān* of Muqātil. See also *GAL S* I 178, 342.

DOCUMENT 2

The *Muwattaʿ* of Mālik ibn Anas. *PERF*, No. 731. Second half of second/eighth century.

Papyrus fragment, 18 × 18.5 cm. (Pls. 6–7). The reconstructed text points to a book page of about 21 × 21 cm., including margins, with 14 or 15 lines to the page. The lower part of the papyrus is lost, and what is left is badly damaged.

Script.—Early book hand carefully executed, especially on the recto. Note the angularity of the letters and the use of very early forms for some of them, such as the *nūn* in *min* of recto 2, the final *qāf* with slight double loop of recto 5, the extended initial *ʿain* of verso 5 and 12, and the *hāʾ* with beam, which is characteristic also of its sister forms, as in recto 8 and 14 and verso 3. Diacritical points are used rather freely. The *alif* of prolongation is generally omitted. The vowels and *hamzah* are indicated only in *بيرحاء* of recto 9. A circle is used for punctuation; a dot within the circle indicates collation (see pp. 87 f.).

TEXT

RECTO

- (1) [مذآك عن عمه ابي سُهَيْل بن ملك عن ابيه عن ابي هريرة انه قال أترونها حمرا 1
 [ك]ناركم هذه [التي توقد]ون انها لا اشد سوادا من القار ○ 2
 ○ باب الترغيب في الصدقة ○ 3
 (2) ملك [ع]ان يحيلى بآن سعيد عن [سعيد بن يسار ابو الح]باب ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه 4
 [و]اسلم قال من تصدق بصدقة من كسب [طيب ولا يقبل الله الا طيبا 5
 [كان]ا [نما يضعها في كف [الرح]من فيريها كما يربي احدكم 6
 [فلوه] او فضيله حتى تكون مثل الجبل ○ (3) ملك عن اسحق بن عبد الله 7
 [بن ابي ط]لمحة انه سمع انس بن ملك يقول كان ابو طلحة اكثر انصاري 8
 [بالمدي]نة مالا من نخل وكان احب امواله اليه بيرحاء وكانت مستقبلة 9
 [المسجد] وكان رسول الله يدخلها ويشرب من ماء فيها طيب قال انس 10
 [فلما انزلت] هذه الآية لن تناولوا [البرا] حتلى [تنفقوا] مما تحبون قام ابو طلحة الى 11
 [رسول الله] فقال يرسل الله ان الله تعالى يقول لآن تناولوا البرحتى تنفقوا مما 12
 [تحبون] وان احب اموالي الي بيرحاء وانها صدقة لله ارجو برها وذخرها 13
 [عند الله] فضعها يرسل الله حيث شئت [فقال رسول الله] بخ ذلك مـ [ال رابع] 14
 [ذلك مال رابع] قد سمعت ما قلت فيها واني ارى ان تجعله [15

VERSO

- [فأى] الاقربين فقال ابو طلحة افعل يرسل الله [فأقسمها] ابو طلحة في اقاربه و[بنى] 1
 عمه ○ (4) ملك عن زيد بن اسلم ان رسول الله قال اعطوا السائل وان جاء على فرس ○ 2

- 5) ملك انه بلغه عن عايشة زوج النابى صلى الله عليه وسلم ان مسكيناً سألها
 وهي صائلاً ولم يزل في بيتها الا رغيغ فقالت لمولاة اياها اعطيه اياه
 فقالت ليس لك ما تفطرين عليه [فأقالت [اعطيه اياه قالت ففعلت
 قالت فما امسينا حتى اهدى لنا [اهل بيت] او انسان ما كان
 يهدى لنا شاة وكفنها [فأقالت المأولة ف[د]اعتلى ام المؤمنين]
 فقالت كلي هذا خير من قرصتك [○] (6) ملك انه [بلغاه ان [مسكيناً]
 استطعم عايشة ام المؤمنين وبين يديها [عنب فقالت لانسان خذ حبة]
 فاعطيه اياها [قال فجعل ينظر اليها ويعجب] فقالت عايشة [تعجب]
 كم ترى في هذه الحبة من مثقال ذرة ○ (7) ملك عن زيد بن اسلم
 عن معاذ بن عمرو الاشلهلى الانصاري عن جدته انها قالت ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه
 وسلم قال يا نساء المومنات [لا تحقرن احدكن ان تهدي لجارتها ولو كراع]
 [شاة محرراً] ○

Comments.—The papyrus text is that of the vulgate version of the *Muwatta'* as transmitted by Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laithī (d. 234/848). The earliest extant manuscript copy of this version is dated 277/890 but unfortunately does not include the section where our text would appear (see *GAL* S I 297). This section corresponds to *Muwatta'* II 994–97 (see Zurqānī IV 234–39 for commentary and Tirmidhī III 163 f.).

Shaibānī's version of the *Muwatta'* (see *GAL* S I 298) does not include the papyrus text except for Tradition 7, which was received by Mālik from Zaid ibn Aslam (see p. 119). The young Shaibānī (131–89/749–805) studied with Mālik in Medina (Khaṭīb II 172 f.). His version of the *Muwatta'* is therefore earlier than that of Yaḥyā. Because Mālik's revisions, aside from reorganization of the text, resulted ultimately in more deletions than additions (Ibn Farḥūn, pp. 25 f.), Shaibānī's version on the one hand includes passages that are not in the vulgate and on the other hand lacks some of the vulgate text. Most of Mālik's additions were placed apparently either at the ends of chapters or sections or at the end of the entire work. The son of Zaid ibn Aslam noticed that Mālik was placing some of his father's traditions in this fashion. He asked Mālik for the reason and was told that these traditions elucidated materials already included (Ibn Farḥūn, p. 26: *انها كالشرح لما قبلها*). Of the seventy-nine traditions that Mālik received from Zaid, nine appear in succession on a few pages toward the end of the work (*Muwatta'* II 986–1003), and these pages include the section covered by the papyrus text. Hence the discrepancies between the Shaibānī version on the one hand and the vulgate and the papyrus text on the other are readily understandable.

Islām strongly emphasizes faith, hope, and charity in their widest sense (Sūrahs 2:177, 58:12–13). Not strange to it is the teaching “freely you have received, freely give” nor the concept that “it is more blessed to give than to receive” nor that of not letting the left hand know what the right hand is doing in charitable giving nor yet that of giving the best (e.g. *Muwatta'* II 952 f.; Muslim VII 124 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal IV 137; *Tafsīr* VI 16 ff.; *Amwāl*, pp. 349, 561–63, 585–89). Mālik, in adding sections on these themes at the end of the *Muwatta'* though they had already been fully covered (e.g. under *zakāt* in Vol. I 245 ff., esp. pp. 257–72, and II 469; Shaibānī, pp. 174–76) was apparently reflecting this emphasis. For a brief treatment of

Islāmic laws concerning charity see Robert Roberts, *The Social Laws of the Qorān* (London, 1925) pp. 70–78.

Tradition 1. The repetition of a word, as seen in lines 1 and 2 here and 6 and 7 below, is the main scribal error of the piece. The corrective deletions were made in the course of collation, as indicated by the dot placed within the circle used initially for punctuation. It is possible that the *alif* of أَشَدَّ is a scribal error and that the sense of the passage is that the fire is blacker than pitch, as in the printed text.

Note the simple beginning of the *isnād* (مالك عن) throughout the papyrus.

Mālik, like many a traditionist, drew on the knowledge of various members of his family, particularly his uncle Abū Suhail Nāfi' ibn Mālik. The *isnād* of this family is well established (see Bukhārī, *Ta'riḫ* IV 1, pp. 310 f., and IV 2, p. 86; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 204–6 and 453; *Tajrīd*, pp. 184 f.; Sam'ānī, folio 40a). Mālik himself became a link as his son and daughter transmitted the *Muwatta'* from him (see Ibn Farḥūn, p. 18; Zurqānī I 5 f.).

Abū Hurairah (d. ca. 58/678), a controversial figure as a prolific traditionist, appears repeatedly in our documents (see pp. 42 and 133 for his role in connection with *ḥadīth* literature).

The *matn* differs from that of the printed text, which reads اترونها حمراء كئناكم هذه لهي اسود من القار والقار الزفت. Abū Hurairah credits Muḥammad with a tradition whose burden is that hell-fire as it grows progressively hotter changes color at intervals of a thousand years from red to white to black (Tirmidhī X 59).

Tradition 2. Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṣārī (d. 143/760) was one of Mālik's teachers and his direct source for many of the traditions that he incorporated in the *Muwatta'*. Famous as traditionist and jurist, Yaḥyā served as judge of Medina under the Umayyads and later as judge of Kūfah and Hāshimīyah, and possibly Baghdād, under the 'Abbāsīd caliphs Saffāḥ and Mansūr respectively (*Akḥbār al-quḍāt* I 178 f., III 241–45; *Tajrīd*, pp. 209–36 and 276–78; Bukhārī, *Ta'riḫ* IV 2, pp. 254 f. and 275; *Ma'ārīf*, p. 242; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 147; Khaṭīb XIV 101–6; Nawawī, pp. 624 f.; Dhahabī I 129–32; see also pp. 193 ff. below).

Sa'īd ibn Yasār (d. 117/735) was a traditionist of Medina who was considered trustworthy and who transmitted some of his materials from Abū Hurairah (see Ibn Sa'd V 209; Bukhārī, *Ta'riḫ* I 1, p. 476; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 72; Daulābī I 143).

The content is identical with that of the printed text (*Muwatta'* II 955). Parallels are found in all the *ḥadīth* collections indexed in *Concordance* II 216 except that of Abū Dā'ūd. All trace back to Abū Hurairah and others, but some are transmitted through channels other than Mālik (see Bukhārī I 357). Though the *ma'nā* or basic meaning of the tradition is clearly the same in all the parallels, the wording varies considerably. The variants are of familiar types and consist of changes in the order of words and phrases, additional explanatory words or short phrases, and here and there the degree of emphasis. Apart from the order of phrases, the most frequent variant is close to that of Muslim VII 98 f., which reads اخدها الرحمن بيمينه (cf. e.g. Tirmidhī III 163 f.; Nasā'ī I 349; Ibn Mājah I 290; Ibn Ḥanbal II 381). In some of the variants أُحَدُّ is substituted for جبل (Dārimī I 395; Ibn Ḥanbal II 404, which adds يوم القيامة, and VI 251, which inserts التمرة واللقة). In others the phrase تمره بعدل تصدق is found (Bukhārī I 357; Ibn Ḥanbal II 331). Ṭabarī in his commentary on Sūrah 2:276 (*Tafsīr* VI 16 ff., 587–92) reports a number of these parallels and related traditions and comments on the objections raised to the statement

في كف الرحمن . . . اخدها الرحمن بيمينه . . . relative to anthropomorphism (see also *Amwāl*, pp. 349 and 561).

Tradition 3. The final *alif* of ارجوا in recto 13 is a scribal error. The reference in recto 11 is to Sūrah 3:92. For بيرا of recto 9 and its many different vocalizations see Ibn Ḥanbal III 285, Bukhārī II 191, and especially Yāqūt I 431 and 783 f.

Ishāq ibn 'Abd Allāh (d. 134/751), a trustworthy Medinan traditionist, ranked high in Mālik's opinion (Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* I 1, pp. 393 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 226; *Tajrīd*, pp. 14–20). For his grandfather Abū Ṭalḥah Zaid ibn Sahl (d. 34/654), with whom this tradition is concerned, see Ibn Sa'd III 2, pp. 64–66; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* I 1, pp. 393 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 226; *Istī'āb* II 656 f.; *Iṣābah* II 52–54, where a variant is quoted. For commentary see Zurqānī IV 235–37.

The *matn* is identical with that of the printed text (*Muwaṭṭa'* II 995 f.; see also Abū Nu'aim VI 338) except for omission in the papyrus text of the *taṣliyah* and the phrase تبارك وتعالى after ان الله of recto 12, where the available space does not allow for its inclusion. "Charity begins at home," the burden of the tradition, is a familiar concept among Muslims. "Home," however, includes all the members of a clan and charity begins with responsibility for one's own needs, then extends to the immediate family and finally to the next of kin on both sides of the family (see e.g. Sūrahs 2:7 and 180, 16:92, 33:6; Ṭayālisī, p. 177; Bukhārī III 484 ff.; Muslim VII 83 ff.; Dārimī I 289 and 397, according to which charity to relatives earns a double reward; *Tafsīr* VI 587–92; Sūrah 17:29, which advocates moderation in all giving).

Of the many parallels, the version that is almost identical with the papyrus text is that of Muslim's preferred transmitter of the *Muwaṭṭa'*, Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Nīsābūrī (d. 226/840), which is cited also by Bukhārī. Its one variation from the papyrus text is the omission of تبارك وتعالى after مال of recto 9. It should be noted that it too omits the phrase تبارك وتعالى (Muslim VII 84 f.; Bukhārī II 66; Zurqānī I 6, 8; *Jam'* II 565 f.).

This tradition is cited no less than six times by Bukhārī. The versions next closest to our text are those of 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf (d. 227/842), an Egyptian whose transmission of the *Muwaṭṭa'* was generally preferred by Bukhārī (Bukhārī I 371; cf. Zurqānī I 6, 8), and 'Abd Allāh ibn Maslamah al-Qa'nabī (d. 221/836), a leading—if not the leading—Medinan transmitter of the *Muwaṭṭa'* (Bukhārī II 194, IV 34; cf. Zurqānī I 6; Dhahabī I 348 f.; see also p. 125 below). Quite similar to these versions are those of Mālik's nephew Ismā'il ibn Abī Uwais, who died in the year 226/840 (see Bukhārī III 216, where the ما before افعل in line 16 should be deleted), and the Baṣran transmitter of the *Muwaṭṭa'*, Rauḥ ibn 'Ubādah, who died in 205/820 (Ibn Ḥanbal III 141; Zurqānī I 6). For Muḥammad's use of the Persian expressions بخ and بخ see Ibn Sa'd IX 72 and Nawawī's comments in Muslim VII 85 f. For his use of these and other Persian expressions see *Tafsīr* II 12 and Abū al-Laith al-Samarqandī, *Bustān al-ʿarīfīn* (on margins of his *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*) pp. 39 f.

The often repeated راجع for راجح of recto 14 indicates written as against oral transmission, since the error stems from an unpointed text.

There are such minor variants as the omission or inclusion of the *taṣliyah*, the alternation of النبي with رسول الله and of اكثر انصارى with اكثر الانصار, but the one significant variant in this group is the reading حيث اراك الله for حيث شئت of recto 14 and the printed text. Dārimī's (d. 255/869) version, heard from Ḥakam ibn al-Mubārak, who died in 213/828 (Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* I 2, pp. 341 f.; *Mīzān* I 271), would seem to belong in this group. It retains the phrase of recto 14 but omits the unessential and repetitious phrases of recto 11–13, deleted probably by "editor" Dārimī, whose text (Vol. I 390) reads simply . . . قال ابو طلحة ان احب اموالي . . .

The sixth version cited by Bukhārī is, again, one that was transmitted by Ismāʿīl, though it was received not from Mālik but from Mālik's older fellow scholar ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Mājishūn (d. 164/780) on the authority of Ishāq ibn ʿAbd Allāh (Bukhārī II 191). This version, which is obviously one of the earliest transmitted from Ishāq, is longer than the others because it gives the details of the occasion on which the incident occurred, reports the actual division of the property involved between Ḥassān ibn Thābit and Ubayy ibn Kaʿb, and concludes with an account of Ḥassān's subsequent sale of his share of the property, for a large sum, to Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān. Thus we have here an account that consists of two kinds of historical reports or *akhbār*—a *khābar* that is at the same time a *ḥadīth* and a *khābar* that is news or history only. The composite account was in time split into its two components, quite obviously by Mālik himself since the *ḥadīth* element is very close to the *Muwattaʿ* text. Part of the historical element is reported by Ibn Ishāq (*Sīrah* I 739). A second composite account of the incident, possibly the earliest transmitted by other than Mālik from Ishāq ibn ʿAbd Allāh, is shorter, and its *ḥadīth* element lacks literary polish though the basic meaning is unmistakable (Ibn Ḥanbal III 256). A third composite account has an *isnād* that bypasses both Mālik and Ishāq and a short text for both its *khābar* and its *ḥadīth* element. The brief unadorned *ḥadīth* element is again different yet adequately conveys the burden of the tradition (Ibn Ḥanbal III 285; Abū Dāʿūd II 131 f.).

The revelation of a Qurʾānic verse, Muḥammad's comment on it, and a Companion's generous impulse that ultimately involved several people and the transfer of real estate must have soon become common knowledge in Medina. The account, with its *khābar* and *ḥadīth* elements, was kept alive by an alert and interested eyewitness, Anas ibn Mālik al-Anṣārī (d. 93/712), Muḥammad's personal attendant (Ibn Saʿd VII 1, pp. 10–16) and the original source of all the versions mentioned above. He was, furthermore, a relative of Abū Ṭalḥah Zaid ibn Sahl and seems to have been disappointed because he did not receive any of the distributed property, whose subsequent sale and further development he carefully reported (Ibn Ḥanbal III 285; Bukhārī II 191, III 216). Anas was himself literate and, moreover, a bookseller or *warrāq* (see p. 46). He encouraged his sons to “chain down knowledge by writing” (Ibn Saʿd III 1, pp. 12 and 14; cf. Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-bayān wa al-tabayīn* [1366/1947] II 22). To insure accuracy he wrote down his own materials for the use of his sons and pupils (see our Vol. I 48; see also *Mustadrak* III 573 f., where Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī quotes as final authority one of these pupils, Maʿbad ibn Hilāl, for whose trustworthiness see Bukhārī, *Tārīkh* IV 1, p. 400, and *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 280 f.). It is therefore entirely possible that the detailed complex account was written down during Anas' lifetime. At any rate, it was kept alive in the related families of Anas and Abū Ṭalḥah until it passed from the latter's grandson Ishāq to Mālik, who was much too young at the time of Anas' death for direct transmission. Having once received the account from Ishāq (d. 134/751), Mālik as a traditionist separated the *ḥadīth* element, gave it a literary polish, and included it in his *Muwattaʿ*. Thereafter all three units—the earlier full account, the history of the property, and the *ḥadīth* proper—appeared in the sources, though in time the *ḥadīth* gained much wider circulation than the other units. The property apparently kept its historic identity and remarkable productivity down through the centuries (see Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Fāsī [d. 832/1428], *Shifaʿ al-gharām* II 340).

Mālik's numerous transmitters and the famous compilers who followed him took further editorial liberties with the text, substituting a synonym here and there, adding pious phrases, inserting or deleting a gloss, and eliminating redundant phrases. Yet, despite all this editorial activity for two or more centuries, we today cannot cast a suspicious eye even on the alterna-

tion of the phrases *حيث اراك الله* and *حيث شئت*. For from the beginning of Muḥammad's mission until this day some of his followers have stressed his human character except in his role as revelator of the Qurʾān, while others have assumed he was under the constant direction of Allāh. Either of these two phrases, therefore, could have been the original one. In either case, history records that Muḥammad had a direct hand in the distribution of the property involved (*Sīrah* I 739), as it records another instance of property to be used or distributed by Muḥammad "as God directs him" (see *Sīrah* I 354, where the phrase used is *يضع فيها ما اراه الله*).

The conclusion is inescapable that we have here a family *isnād* for what proves to be ultimately a singleton tradition whose significant part has been transmitted with a remarkable degree of honesty and accuracy.

Tradition 4. Zaid ibn Aslam (d. 136/754), as stated above (p. 115), transmitted many traditions to Mālik (*Tajrīd*, pp. 38–54; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 354; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 555; *Jamʿ* I 144; Dhahabī I 124 f.). Among his traditions are a few more on the theme of almsgiving (see e.g. *Muwaṭṭaʾ* I 269, 284). Zaid was a major transmitter of his father's traditions (*Maʿārif*, p. 95).

The papyrus text, except for omission of the *taṣḥiyah*, is identical with the printed text. Its substance is that it is preferable to give whenever possible to those who ask no matter how rich they are or seem to be, for even the rich occasionally find themselves in need (*Amwāl*, p. 556).

The practice of charitable giving to anyone who asks reflects the pre-Islāmic ideal of generosity and the Islāmic teaching that the giver receives due credit from God regardless of the need of the recipient. Nevertheless, those who make unnecessary requests are frowned on by their fellow Muslims and are said to be held to account in the hereafter (e.g. Shaibānī, pp. 378 f.). See e.g. Zurqānī IV 237 f. and Tirmidhī III 148–56 for lengthy discussions on these points.

Traditions 5–6. ʿĀʾishah as a source of traditions either from and about Muḥammad or about her own deeds appears frequently in our documents. These two traditions reflect her ever charitable inclination, even when she herself was poor (e.g. Bukhārī I 358 f.; Zubairī, p. 295). See Nabia Abbott, *Aishah, the Beloved of Muhammad* (Chicago, 1942) pp. 97 f. and 201–3, for ʿĀʾishah's role as traditionist, and pp. 211 and 213, for her more outstanding charities when times were better.

The order of Traditions 5–7 in the papyrus differs from that of the printed text, in which the order is 6, 7, 5. The printed text has the advantage of being arranged so that traditions that derive from the same source are grouped together. The two that were received from Zaid ibn Aslam are followed by the two that go back to ʿĀʾishah.

The comparatively long text of Tradition 5 in the papyrus is not quite identical with that of the printed text. The sentence *فلما امسينا حتى اهدى لنا* of verso 6 reads *فلما امسينا اهدى لنا* in the printed text. The *كفتها* of verso 7, which refers to the cooking-pot in which the cooked meat came, appears as *كفتها*, "food without salt," in the printed text. The latter is obviously an error made in early copying (cf. Tradition 3), since the two dots of the *tāʾ* are clear in our reproduction of the verso (Pl. 7). The papyrus reading is, furthermore, confirmed in Zurqānī's commentary (Vol. IV 238), where the word is by implication taken to mean "its cooking-pot." The *فقالت المولاة* of verso 7 is omitted in the printed text, which on the other hand adds a redundant *عايشة* (for which there is no space in the papyrus) and a second *هذا* to read *كلي هذا هذا خير من قرصتك*.

In Tradition 6 the one variant from the printed text is the addition in verso 10 of *qāla* before *فجعل*.

Zurqānī's commentary (Vol. IV 238 f.) makes no reference to parallels to either of these two traditions from ʿĀ'ishah, in contrast to Traditions 1–4, which refer to Muḥammad and for which parallels are readily available in the standard collections (cf. pp. 77 f.).

Tradition 7. For Zaid ibn Aslam see Tradition 4. There is some confusion about the name Muʿādh ibn ʿAmr. The biographical sources and all but one of the several parallels, including the printed text (*Muwattaʿ* II 931, 996), reverse the elements of the name and give ʿAmr ibn Muʿādh. The one exception is Shaibānī's version of the *Muwattaʿ* (pp. 388 f.), which continues with the genealogy of the transmitter and reads *معان بن عمرو بن سعيد عن معاذ عن جده ان رسول الله قال* and where *معاذ عن سعيد* should be corrected to *معاذ بن سعد* as in *Muwattaʿ* II 931 and Zurqānī IV 238. Zurqānī, too, begins the *isnād* with ʿAmr ibn Muʿādh. Saʿd ibn Muʿādh al-Ashhalī is the well known leader of the Aws tribe in Medina (*Sīrah* I 688 f.; Ibn Saʿd III 2, pp. 2–13; *Istīʿāb*, pp. 545 f.; *Iṣābah* II 173 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 2, p. 369). He and his family were among the earliest converts in Medina (Ibn Saʿd III 2, p. 2). They supported Muḥammad staunchly in peace and war and were for that reason placed by ʿUmar I at the head of the Medinan pension list (Ibn Saʿd III 1, p. 213). With the names Muʿādh and ʿAmr alternating in Shaibānī's expanded *isnād* and with Saʿd having both a brother and a son named ʿAmr (Ibn Saʿd III 2, pp. 2 and 13 f., and VIII 243) it is easy to understand the confusion in names. But, since Saʿd's brother ʿAmr died without descendants in the Battle of Uhud (Ibn Saʿd III 2, p. 13), he cannot be linked in this *isnād* directly or indirectly with Zaid ibn Aslam, who died in the year 136/754. It would be possible in an abbreviated genealogy to refer to Saʿd's son ʿAmr ibn Saʿd ibn Muʿādh (cf. *Tajrīd*, p. 46) simply as ʿAmr ibn Muʿādh and thus to identify him with the ʿAmr ibn Muʿādh of the printed text and the several parallels. The other alternative is to assume that ʿAmr ibn Saʿd had a son named Muʿādh and to identify this Muʿādh ibn ʿAmr with the man of our papyrus text, as supported by Shaibānī's *isnād*. The biographical sources do not lead to a definite choice since they list no traditionist named ʿAmr ibn Muʿādh ibn Saʿd al-Ashhalī nor one named Muʿādh ibn ʿAmr ibn Saʿd al-Ashhalī who is linked directly or indirectly with Zaid ibn Aslam.

The “grandmother” is identified as Ḥawwaʾ bint Yazīd. She and other members of her family were the first women of Medina to take the oath of allegiance to Muḥammad (Ibn Saʿd VIII 6). There are but three traditions transmitted from her, all on the concept of charitable giving no matter how small the gift (Ibn Ḥanbal VI 434 f.).

The content of the tradition as twice transmitted by Mālik has several parallels. The papyrus text is identical with *Muwattaʿ* II 931, which is also that of Shaibānī's version. The only difference between these and *Muwattaʿ* II 996 is that the former read *عن جده ان رسول الله قال* . . . while the latter reads *عن جده انها قالت قال رسول الله . . . يا . . .* Space in the papyrus does not allow for the inclusion of the phrase *انها قالت*. The text of *Muwattaʿ* II 966 was followed by Ibn Ḥanbal (Vols. IV 64, V 377, VI 434) and Dārimī (Vol. I 395), the latter substituting *المومنات* for *المسلمات*. A more pronounced variant, coming through channels other than Mālik, reads, with its early *isnād* links, *عن سعيد المقبري عن ابيه عن ابي*, *ابو هريرة عن النبي صلعم قال يا نساء المسلمين لا تحقرن جارة لجاتها ولو فرس شاه* and has a further variant in the phraseology of the *isnād*: *ابو هريرة قال كان النبي صلعم يقول . . .*

Saʿīd ibn Abī Saʿīd al-Maqburī (see p. 264) died in the year 123/741. Three of Mālik's well

known contemporaries, Ibn Abī Dh'ib (d. 158/775), Abū Ma'shar Najīh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 170/787), and Laith ibn Sa'd (d. 175/791), carried on the transmission from Sa'īd. Either they or their transmitters introduced at times a different word or an extra word of emphasis (Muslim VII 119; Ibn Ḥanbal II 264, 267, 432, 493). One of the variants combines the tradition with a tradition that is related to it (Tirmidhī VIII 292), while still another variant combines it with an unrelated tradition (Ibn Ḥanbal II 506).

These parallels fall into two distinct groups and seem to indicate that on at least two occasions Muḥammad encouraged women in charitable giving no matter how small the gift.

DATE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Karabacek, who was able to identify only Tradition 3, with its close parallel in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī (194–256/810–70), assumed that the papyrus is contemporary with the latter. He dated it, therefore, to the third/ninth century and claimed that it was the oldest original *ḥadīth* text extant.¹ The fact that the fragment is actually from the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik (93–179/715–95) gives it the distinction of being the first and earliest *ḥadīth-fiqh* manuscript extant² but does not automatically date it to Mālik's own day. The evidence provided by the script, the textual variants, and the transmission terminology and method must be weighed and the results checked with and supplemented by the literary sources before a piece that is potentially so significant can be definitely dated.

Attention has been drawn (p. 114) to characteristics of the script that indicate an early date. An early date is also indicated by the absence of glosses such as appear in later texts (see Tradition 1) and by the somewhat unsystematic order of the traditions (see p. 119). But the most significant internal evidence of an early date is the consistent use of the *'an'anah* in the *isnād's* together with the absence of any initial transmission formula such as *qāla*, *akhbaranī*, *ḥaddathanī*, etc. at the beginning of a new section.

In the earliest stages of the development of the *isnād*, when frequently only the Companions and the older Successors—the first two generations of Islām—were involved, the use of *'an*, “on the authority of,” was generally accepted as equivalent to *ḥaddathanī*, “he related to me,” and *akhbaranī*, “he informed me” (these two terms being used interchangeably at first), that is, as evidence of direct transmission.³ The next step was acceptance of *ḥadīth mu'an'an* from contemporary traditionists who were known to have had personal contact with one another unless such traditionists were proved unreliable. The *ḥadīth mu'an'an* could be a *ḥadīth musalsal*, that is, a tradition with a complete chain of authorities reaching back to Muḥammad, or a *ḥadīth mursal*, that is, a tradition of Muḥammad with no *isnād* or with an incomplete one,⁴ samples of each of which appear in the papyrus fragment. What is significant is that the extension of the practice of shortcutting by use of the *'an'anah* was early and readily adopted by those who, like Mālik, committed traditions to writing.⁵

The only other transmission term used in the papyrus is *balaghahu*, “a report has reached him” (Traditions 5–6). The use of the first and second forms of this verb for transmission of news and other information was the general practice of Muḥammad and his Companions as

¹ See *PERF*, No. 731.

² The distinction of priority in the *ḥadīth* field proper would seem to belong to our Document 5.

³ See e.g. *Risālah*, pp. 52 f.; Muslim I 129 f.

⁴ See Muslim I 127–44 for the views of Muslim and Bukhārī on these developments; see also *Madkhal*, pp.

18 f. (= trans. p. 21); *Ma'rifah*, pp. 34 f.; *Kifāyah*, pp. 384 ff.

⁵ See *Kifāyah*, p. 390 and also p. 330. It was later that a *ḥadīth mursal mu'an'an* became generally suspect as opening the way for a *ḥadīth mudallas*, i.e., a tradition falsely ascribed to an early authority or one that concealed one or more of the *isnād* links.

is amply illustrated in the concordances to the Qurʾān and Tradition. However, as the use of this verb unaccompanied by specification of the source gained wide currency, some early professional traditionists began to frown on its use for formalized *ḥadīth* transmission. Thereafter its acceptance rested on the reputation of the user, as in the case of Mālik (see p. 78).⁶ Mālik used it freely in the *Muwattaʿ* (e.g. in Vol. II 984–1001) and almost exclusively in the *Risālah fī al-sunan wa al-mawāʿiẓ*,⁷ which was addressed to Hārūn al-Rashīd. Mālik’s free use of the term apparently caused some comment among *isnād* critics, for Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah (107–98/725–814), himself an unquestioned authority, felt the need to state that “when Mālik says *balaghanī* it is equivalent to a strong *isnād*.”⁸

The practice of transmitting individual traditions without an initial formula such as *qāla*, *akhbaranā*, or *ḥaddathanā* before the name of the transmitter appears to have been current during most of the second century to judge not only by the document under discussion but also by Documents 4, 5, 8, and 9.

The internal evidence, then, points to the conclusion that the papyrus text is in all probability contemporary with Mālik himself. However, before accepting this as definite or attempting to assign the papyrus to any specific period of Mālik’s life, we must review the biographical and literary landmarks of his long and active career.

Born in the year 93/712, Mālik⁹ began at an early age to study Tradition, which he soon utilized as a basis of his legal activities as a *mufṭī*, that is, an expert in Islāmic law.¹⁰ His interest in Tradition as such and in criticism of its transmitters¹¹ grew progressively and in time won him wide recognition as an outstanding leader in the field (*imām fī al-ḥadīth*).¹² His criticisms soon aroused the antagonism of his older contemporary and fellow Medinan scholar Ibn Ishāq, who counterattacked with criticism of Mālik’s books which had been in circulation for some time before Ibn Ishāq left Medina in the year 132/749.¹³ Mālik’s fame spread so fast that by about the year 130/748 his name was coupled with that of Rabīʿah al-Raʿī (d. 136/753–54), and they were considered the two leading Medinan jurists after Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī left Medina to serve as judge of Kūfah under the ʿAbbāsīd caliph Saffāḥ (132–36/750–54).¹⁴ Mālik’s inspiration for the *Muwattaʿ* came from his reading of the legal work of an older fellow jurist, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Mājishūn (d. 164/780),¹⁵ with whom he shared leadership in Medina in the next decade according to the testimony of the foremost Egyptian direct transmitter of the *Muwattaʿ*, Ibn Wahb (125–97/742–812).¹⁶ Mājishūn had made no attempt to quote Tradition in support of his legal views. Mālik admired the work but decided to improve on it by composing a similar work that would at the same time be based on authentic traditions, of which he already had a sizable collection, including much of the material of Ibn ʿUmar and Zuhri.¹⁷ There is no specific statement as to when Mālik actually

⁶ See e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 902; Bukhārī I 288; Dārimī I 132. See also *Kifāyah*, pp. 413 f. Ibn Ishāq used this verb freely in the *Sīrah*.

⁷ Published in Cairo in 1343/1924. Mālik’s authorship of this treatise is questioned, but the use of *balaghanī* in it conforms with his practice.

⁸ Ibn Farḥūn, p. 22. See pp. 100, 104, n. 72, and 113, n. 150, above for Sufyān’s high standards of transmission.

⁹ See *GAL S I* 297 for references to his numerous biographical entries.

¹⁰ See e.g. *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 205; *Fragmenta historicorum Arabicorum* I 298; Ibn Farḥūn, pp. 20 f.

¹¹ See e.g. *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 22, and IV 1, pp. 204 f.

¹² Ibn Saʿd V 324; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 310; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 204–6; Abū Nuʿaim VI 332; Dhahabī I 195; Zurqānī I 4.

¹³ Masʿūdī IV 116; Khaṭīb I 223 f.; *Jāmiʿ* II 156; Dhahabī I 164; *Irshād* VI 400; Ibn Khallikān I 611 f.

¹⁴ *Akhhbār al-quḍāt* III 242 f.

¹⁵ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 2, p. 13; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 386; *Jamʿ* I 309 f.

¹⁶ See Khaṭīb X 436–39, esp. p. 437; Dhahabī I 197, 206 f. See also *GAL S I* 255 f. Mājishūn later migrated to Baghdād in ʿAbbāsīd service (*Jāmiʿ* I 309).

¹⁷ *Jāmiʿ* I 132, II 60 f.; Ibn Farḥūn, pp. 25 f.; Zurqānī I 8. See also p. 126 below.

began work on the *Muwatṭaʿ*. But scattered bits of information, when fitted together, indicate that it was already in full progress in either 147/765 or 148/766, when the caliph Maṣṣūr while on a pilgrimage¹⁸ proposed to Mālīk that the *Muwatṭaʿ* should be the one standard legal work throughout the empire.¹⁹ Mālīk is said to have discouraged the idea, pointing out that the provinces had already evolved their own legal practices and that ʿIrāq in particular would not be receptive to the theories and practices of the jurists of the Ḥijāz.²⁰ That Mālīk had accurately estimated the provincial tempers in this respect was presently proved. For when Maḥdī appointed Ḥānīfite judges to Egypt and Baṣrah, which rivaled the Ḥānīfite Kūfah, he met with such sustained opposition that the judges were removed.²¹

¹⁸ While the sources agree that Maṣṣūr led the pilgrimage of the year 147/765, there is considerable doubt that it was he rather than Jaʿfar ibn Maṣṣūr who headed the pilgrimage of the year 148/766 (see Yaʿqūbī II 469; Ṭabarī III 353; Maṣʿūdī IX 63–65; Ibn Qutaibah [pseudo], *Kitāb al-imāmah wa al-siyāsah* [Cairo, n.d.] II 115, 121).

¹⁹ To what extent Maṣṣūr was actually influenced by the political views of the Persian scholar, convert, and administrative secretary ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 142/759), who advocated a centralized state of the type of the Persian Empire, is hard to tell. The latter outlined his theory of government in his *Risālah fī al-ṣahābah* (see Kurd ʿAlī [ed.], *Rasāʾil al-bulaghā* [Cairo, 1331/1913] pp. 120–31), where among other matters of policy he drew specific attention to the varied legal practices under the Umayyads and suggested a unified legal code (see *ibid.* esp. p. 126). For analysis of this important work by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and the differing views of its modern interpreters, see S. D. Goitein, “A turning point in the history of the Muslim state,” *Islamic Culture* XXIII (1949) 120–35, and Erwin Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam* [Cambridge, 1958] pp. 72 f. and references there cited; see also Dominique Sourdel, “La biographie d’Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ d’après les sources anciennes,” *Arabica* I (1954) 307–23. If Maṣṣūr ever toyed with the idea of a fully centralized empire, it was only to reject it; perhaps he was influenced by the excesses of the Persians who were involved in the Rawandiyah movement of 136–37 or 141 A.H. and who sought to establish a centralized and absolutist empire with a deified Maṣṣūr at its head (see e.g. Ṭabarī III 129 f.).

It is not necessary to speculate, as does Goitein, whether Maṣṣūr was influenced by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ’ s views when he subsequently appointed imperial judges for the provinces, since the particularly relevant sources readily reveal that the practice was not initiated by Maṣṣūr as hitherto generally believed (see e.g. Zubairī, pp. 284 and 290; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 184; Khaṭīb XIV 103). It was begun by ʿUmar I and followed by ʿUthmān and ʿAlī (*Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 105–11, 270–74, 280 and II 188 f., 227) and also intermittently by Muʿāwiyah and several other Umayyads (see e.g. *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 110 f.; see also Kindī, pp. 301–3, 305, 311, 333, 337, and 340, mostly for the years 98–114/717–32). Furthermore, Maṣṣūr’s first judge, Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, was appointed by Saffāḥ and retained by Maṣṣūr (*Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 241–45). Maṣṣūr’s own practice varied. He sometimes accepted the governor’s nominee, and some of the judges he appointed were later removed from office by the governors (*Akhbār al-quḍāt* II 56, 80 f. and III 148–50, 153 f., 235 f.; Kindī, pp. 368 f.). There were also instances during the reigns of the next five ʿAbbāsīd caliphs when the governors took the initiative in mak-

ing the appointments, which were either specifically confirmed by the caliph or tacitly allowed to stand (see e.g. *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 228 f., II 139, 256, 157, and III 149, 175, 177, 239, 313; Kindī, pp. 377, 385, 417).

These variant practices in the appointment of judges during the pre-ʿAbbāsīd and early ʿAbbāsīd periods call for some explanation. On the basis of the foregoing brief survey it would seem that, as a rule, the caliph made the appointments if he was aggressive and exercised personal power in the administration or if a prospective judge already held one or more other offices in the province, including even the governorship (see e.g. *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 270, 273, 280, 312–16, II 56, 84, 88 f., 91, 117, 122, 154, 157 f., and III 191). On the other hand, it would seem that generally the governor made the appointments if he was given great power by the caliph in times of trouble or if he was a powerful and trusted prince, as can be gathered from the references already given. The judgeships of Kūfah and Baṣrah consistently received more attention than those of the other provinces, as reflected by the fact that Ṭabarī as a rule includes one or both of these judgeships in the list of appointments given for most years (e.g. Ṭabarī I 2481, 2647, II 67, 156 f., 188, 399, 537, 752, 854, 940, 1030, 1039, 1085, 1191, 1266, 1348, 1358, and III 71 f., 75, 81, 84, 91, 121, 124, 127, 129, 138, 353, 458, 469 f.).

In view of these indications one wonders how these early authors were so misled as to assert that Maṣṣūr was the first caliph to appoint imperial judges for the provinces. The error would seem to be traceable to an initial confusion as to the meaning of *الـخليفة ولي من قبل الخليفة*. If *al-khalīfah* is given a generic meaning the passage can be read: “The first judge appointed by a caliph (to any one of the imperial provinces) was so and so.” But if *al-khalīfah* is used specifically in reference to Maṣṣūr, as I believe it was, then the burden of the passage becomes: “The first judge appointed by the caliph (Maṣṣūr to such and such a province or city was so and so).” This meaning alone accords with the above-noted practices as followed before, during, and after the reign of Maṣṣūr, the judges being appointed sometimes by the provincial governors and sometimes by the caliphs. See pp. 218 f. below for Maṣṣūr’s appointment of Ibn Lahīʿah as judge of Egypt.

²⁰ The earliest account of the episode traces back to Wāqīdī, who is quoted in Ṭabarī III 2519 f., and to Wāqīdī’s secretary Ibn Saʿīd as quoted e.g. in Abū Nuʿaim VI 331 f. Cf. *Jāmiʿ* I 132; Dhahabī I 195.

²¹ *Akhbār al-quḍāt* II 131, III 236. Baṣran opposition occurred in the time of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd also (*ibid.* Vol. II 146 f.). See *ibid.* Vol. III 259 f. for Mālīk’s continued emphasis on the legal differences between Medina and ʿIrāq.

There has been a tendency to discredit Maṣṣūr's proposal as wishful thinking on the part of Mālik's followers because the sources credit the proposal concerning the *Muwattaʿ* sometimes to Maḥdī and sometimes to Hārūn. It is entirely possible that Hārūn is erroneously credited, but the case for Maḥdī seems to have considerable merit. For Maṣṣūr is said to have commissioned Mālik and Maḥdī to execute the proposal. Maṣṣūr made another pilgrimage in the year 152/769 and Maḥdī led one in 153/770, and both considered plans to establish the *Muwattaʿ* as the standard legal work.²² Mālik may or may not have deliberately prolonged the completion of the work, which was still unfinished when Maṣṣūr died in the year 158/775.²³ Maḥdī's personal interest in the work continued after Maṣṣūr's death, for he had a copy of the *Muwattaʿ* made for himself and his son Hādī.²⁴ It was certainly the post-Maṣṣūr period of Mālik's life that began to yield the ever increasing references to the transmission of the entire *Muwattaʿ* in progressive versions, beginning with that of the youthful Shaibānī²⁵ in the fifth and early sixth decades of the second century, continuing with that of Shāfiʿī,²⁶ and ending with the vulgate of Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laithī in the last year of Mālik's life. Such transmission practices were responsible for the fifteen or more reported versions of the *Muwattaʿ* that emerged from the hands of author and transmitters over a period of some twenty years.²⁷ Mālik is reported to have said that it took him forty years²⁸ to complete the work. This figure seems reasonable, for it would place the inception of the work in about 140/758, which in turn allows for the completion of the various "books" or sections that were seen and examined by Maṣṣūr in the year 147/765 or 148/766 and those heard and transmitted by Shaibānī in the next decade.²⁹ Furthermore, the literary evidence indicates that, as with each passing decade Mālik's fame continued to increase, copies of the *Muwattaʿ* became available not only to his immediate circle of students and admirers but also to visiting scholars from the major provinces of the empire.³⁰ Of great interest to us at this point are the details of the actual steps taken in the production of the authentic texts. A great many of Mālik's famous teachers—Nāfiʿ (d. 117/735) the client of Ibn ʿUmar, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz al-Aʿraj (d. 117/735),³¹

²² *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 29 f.; Ibn Qutaibah (pseudo), *Kitāb al-imāmah wa al-siyāsah*, pp. 119–21. The latter source is confused on the dates of Maṣṣūr's and Maḥdī's pilgrimages by a whole decade; see Yaʿqūbī II 469 and 485 for the pilgrimages led by either Maṣṣūr or Maḥdī.

²³ Ibn Farḥūn, p. 25; Zurqānī I 8 f.

²⁴ Zurqānī I 7; *Muwattaʿ* I, Intro. p. 7.

²⁵ See e.g. Khaṭīb II 172; Nawawī, p. 104.

²⁶ *Fragmenta historicorum Arabicorum* I 359; Abū Nuʿaim IX 70 f.; Ibn ʿAsākir IV 352; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 165 f.; Ibn Farḥūn, pp. 227 f.

²⁷ See Goldziher, *Studien* II 213 and 220–26 for the various versions of the *Muwattaʿ*.

²⁸ Ibn Farḥūn, p. 25. Mālik is also reported as saying that he labored for 60 years on his lifework (Abū Nuʿaim VI 331; Zurqānī I 8). These approximations in round figures, made no doubt at different periods of Mālik's life, must refer to different stages of his literary activities, going back to the *ḥadīth* source materials that he collected in his younger days—the books criticized by Ibn Ishāq (see p. 122 above).

²⁹ Shaibānī's various works were early sought after even by his elders (see Vol. I 23). Among his younger contemporaries who studied his *fiqh* books were Ibn Ḥanbal, Shāfiʿī, and the *ḥadīth* critic Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn (see e.g. Khaṭīb II 172, 174 f., 176 f., 180).

³⁰ For the long lists of students and scholars who came from the various provinces to study and acquire copies of the *Muwattaʿ* see Zurqānī I 6–8 and Ibn Farḥūn, *passim*.

³¹ The identity of the Ibn Hurmuz mentioned in later sources (see Ibn Rushd [d. 520/1126], *Kitāb al-muqaddamāt* [Cairo, 1325/1907] I 27; Ibn Farḥūn, pp. 16 and 20) as Mālik's teacher for many years has been questioned because several of Mālik's older contemporaries were so named. Muḥammad Fuʿād ʿAbd al-Baqī speculates on this question. He overlooks ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz al-Aʿraj and suggests that this Ibn Hurmuz was perhaps a certain practically unknown Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yazīd who died in the year 148/765 (see *Muwattaʿ* I, Intro. pp. 9 f.). A better guess would be that he was the client of Ibn ʿUmar, Nāfiʿ ibn Hurmuz, who figures in what Bukhārī accepted as "the soundest of *isnād*'s," namely Mālik–Nāfiʿ–Ibn ʿUmar (Bukhārī, *Taʾriḫ* IV 2, pp. 84 f.; Nawawī, pp. 589 f.). Fortunately, however, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Zubaidī (d. 379/989), *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa al-lughawiyyīn*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1373/1954) pp. 19 f., definitely identifies Mālik's shaikh as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz al-Aʿraj of Medina (see p. 139 below). Their long association covered Mālik's early youth, when he needed to be grounded in the fundamentals of the language and the faith so that he could proceed to the study, collection, and transmission of *ḥadīth* (see Ibn Farḥūn, p. 20).

Zuhrī (d. 124/741),³² Abū al-Zinād (d. 131/748),³³ and Rabī'ah al-Ra'ī (d. 136/753),³⁴ to mention but a few—were foremost among the scholars who wrote down their materials and encouraged their students to do likewise, frequently allowing the *ard* and *ijāzah* methods of transmission to replace the *sam* method.³⁵

Mālik himself began to write down *ḥadīth* at an early age and continued to do so for several decades. He is credited with having written down with his own hand some 100,000 traditions, many of which he would not transmit and only 10,000 of which he considered at one time or another for possible inclusion in the *Muwatta'*, which finally contained some 1,720 traditions.³⁶ His standards led him to be selective as to the transmitters³⁷ from whom he would write down traditions for use or transmission, and he limited himself to those generally accepted as fully qualified traditionists—men of the caliber of 'Ubaid Allāh ibn 'Umar (d. 147/764) and Zuhrī, that is, reliable scholars who persistently collected traditions and committed their materials to writing.³⁸

As Mālik's *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* materials accumulated and as his fame increased, the demand for his services as teacher and public lecturer grew rapidly. He made use of some members of his family and his pupils and also employed professional assistants. The names of two of his secretary-copyists have come down to us. Marzūq is specifically associated with the transmission of the *Muwatta'*, and his son Ḥabīb (d. 218/833) functioned sometimes as secretary-copyist and sometimes as *mustamlī* or dictation master.³⁹ The services of Ḥabīb were not always acceptable to Mālik's serious pupils such as 'Abd Allāh ibn Maslamah al-Qa'nabī, who insisted on reading back the *Muwatta'* to Mālik himself.⁴⁰ A second dictation master was Ismā'il ibn 'Ulaiyah (d. 193/809), who later became a master traditionist.⁴¹ Talented pupil-teachers functioned as recitation masters, who with master copy in hand listened attentively for fellow pupils' reading errors and acted at times as prompters when memory work was in progress. Mālik's daughter Fāṭimah, who is listed among the many who transmitted the *Muwatta'*, assisted her father by performing such duties.⁴² Mālik's "classroom" techniques indicate that he, like most scholars in the religious field in his day, advocated the development and constant use of memory. However, unlike some of his fellow scholars, he did not consider oral aids better than visual aids as a means to this end but gave each due credit.⁴³ His position as detailed by one of his leading students and transmitters of the *Muwatta'*, Ashhab ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (ca. 144–204/761–819),⁴⁴ who later became leader of the Mālikites in Egypt, indicates

³² See e.g. Zurqānī I 4.

³³ See e.g. *ibid.* and p. 139 below.

³⁴ Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh* I 1, p. 262; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 475; Khaṭīb VIII 420–27; *Jāmi'* I 135 f.; Dhahabī I 148 f.; *Mizān* I 336:

احتج به اصحاب الكتب كلها.

³⁵ *Ma'rifah*, pp. 256 f.; *Kifāyah*, pp. 305 f., 309, 313 f., 318, 326 f. See also p. 139 below.

³⁶ See e.g. *Jāmi'* II 74; Ibn Farḥūn, pp. 21 f. and 24 f.; Zurqānī I 8. Cf. Goldziher, *Studien* II 218, n. 5.

³⁷ *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 204: انتقاد مالك للرجال واعلمهم بشانه.

³⁸ *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 22; Abū Nu'aim VI 323; *Jāmi'* I 74; *Adab al-implā'*, p. 94; Dhahabī I 151 f.; Zurqānī I 4.

³⁹ *Futūḥ*, p. 282; Abū Nu'aim VI 339; Ibn Farḥūn, pp. 23 and 28. Ḥabīb later became a copyist and bookseller (*warrāq*) in Medina and in Egypt, where he finally settled. He took liberties with the materials he transmitted or

copied and hence acquired a bad reputation (see Khaṭīb XIII 396; *Mizān* I 210; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-intiqā' fī faḍā'il al-thalāthah al-fuqahā'*, p. 42). For Marzūq see Zurqānī I 6.

⁴⁰ Dhahabī I 347.; Ibn Farḥūn, pp. 131 f. For biographical entries see *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 181; *Jam'* II 497 f.

⁴¹ *Fihrist*, p. 227; *Adab al-implā'*, p. 89; Weisweiler, "Das Amt des Mustamli in der arabischen Wissenschaft," *Oriens* IV 52; Dhahabī I 296.

⁴² Ibn Farḥūn, p. 18; Zurqānī I 6.

⁴³ He was not alone in this view (see *Kifāyah*, pp. 220–23, 326–30, and 352–55; see also our Vol. I 25). Evidently some scholars recognized the fact that some people learn more quickly through the ear and others do better through the eye.

⁴⁴ *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 342; *Adab al-Shāfi'ī*, p. 71 and references there cited; *Husn al-muḥāḍarah* I 166; Ibn Farḥūn, pp. 98 f.; Zurqānī I 6 f.

that while both the *samʿ* and *ʿarḍ* methods were acceptable to Mālik,⁴⁵ he came to favor the *ʿarḍ* method and encouraged students to read back to him from their copies. However, a Khurāsānian who visited Medina in the third decade of the second century pointed out that Khurāsānian scholars were not satisfied with the *ʿarḍ* method. After months of futile waiting to hear traditions directly from Mālik, this visitor complained to the judge ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Muṭṭalib, who ordered Mālik to relate traditions to the visitor personally, and Mālik did so.⁴⁶ But Mālik encouraged his pupils to memorize their materials, regardless of the method by which they were originally acquired, as a safeguard against intentional or accidental interpolation in the written text and as a guarantee of accurate transmission.⁴⁷ This does not imply that the written materials were mere aids to memory consisting of rough notes or booklets which were neglected or destroyed once their contents had been memorized.

As one follows closely Mālik's "classroom" practices, it becomes clear that, though he was flexible in his methods, there were times when either because of personal inclination or at the insistence of his pupils he emphasized now the *samʿ* method, now the *ʿarḍ*.⁴⁸ At first he was apparently willing to heed a student's desire to hear the *Muwattaʿ* directly and sometimes repeatedly from him, as in the case of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair. At the height of his career and fame his students preferred reading back to him to hearing from others.⁴⁹ Some, such as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī, even preferred reading back to Mālik to hearing him.⁵⁰ But when old age overtook him, his serious students, such as Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laithī, once more insisted that Mālik himself read or dictate the *Muwattaʿ* to them.⁵¹

It was probably during the last period of his life that Mālik made free use of the *munāwalah* and *mukātabah* methods, whereby he gave a pupil or scholar, in person and through correspondence respectively, a copy of his materials, along with the *ijāzah* method, whereby he permitted transmission of his materials with the use of the formula *ḥaddathanī* or *akhbaranī* even though both the *samʿ* and the *ʿarḍ* procedure had been omitted.⁵² But whatever method of direct transmission was employed it was sooner or later accompanied by authenticated written texts. Mālik himself preserved his *fiqh* compositions and *ḥadīth* collections, and when questions of either *isnād* or *matn* arose he usually settled them by reference to his books.⁵³ He is said to have left a sizable library, including several boxes containing his collection of the traditions of Ibn ʿUmar and seven boxes containing his collection of the traditions of Zuhri, even though comparatively few of these materials were used in his *Muwattaʿ* or even transmitted in his *ḥadīth* sessions.⁵⁴

⁴⁵ See e.g. Bukhārī I 24 f.; *Kifāyah*, pp. 227, 309, and 323.

⁴⁶ *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 205. For the judge see also Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 2, p. 21; Ṭabarī III 159, 198; *Jāmiʿ* I 312 f.

⁴⁷ *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 27 and 32.

⁴⁸ See Zurqānī I 6–8 for specification of the method(s) by which the major transmitters of the *Muwattaʿ* received the text.

⁴⁹ *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 205.

⁵⁰ Abū Nuʿaim VI 330: ما قرأت على مالك أثبت. في نفسي مما سمعت منه. The reason for this preference may be surmised from an episode involving Shaibānī. When asked by a fellow pilgrim to read part of his *fiqh* work Shaibānī replied that he did not feel equal to the reading (at the time), whereupon the man offered to read the section to Shaibānī. Shaibānī answered thus: أيها أخف

عندك على قرائتي عليك أو قرأتك على قات قرائتي عليك قال (الشيبياني) لا بل قرائتي عليك أخف لاني انما استعمل فيها بصرى ولساني وقرأتك على استعمل بها بصرى وذهنى وسمعى (Dhahabī, *Manāqib al-imām Abī Ḥanīfah*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kautharī and Abū al-Wafāʿ al-Afghānī [Cairo, 1366/1947] p. 53).

⁵¹ *Adab al-ʿimlāʿ*, p. 8.

⁵² Bukhārī I 27; *Kifāyah*, pp. 313 f. and 326 f.; Zurqānī I 7; Ibn Farḥūn, p. 133.

⁵³ *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Ibn Farḥūn, p. 24. Obviously Mālik did not hear all of these texts directly from Ibn ʿUmar or Zuhri, though there is evidence that such texts were in circulation in Zuhri's time (see *Kifāyah*, pp. 305 f. and 318 f.; see also pp. 181 f. below).

It should now be clear that, so far as Mālik and his own circle of leading teachers, scholars, and pupils were concerned, permanent manuscript texts of both *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* materials were the rule rather than the exception. Our papyrus folio of fine quality with its wide margins and schooled hand and with its comparative freedom from linguistic and scribal errors undoubtedly stems from a scholar's prized copy of the *Muwaṭṭa'*, comparable to the *Wujūh wa al-naẓā'ir* of Muqātil ibn Sulaimān (Document 1) and the *Ta'riḫ al-khulafā'* of Ibn Ishāq.⁵⁵

Thus the paleography, the scribal practices, the text, the order of the traditions, and the *isnād* terminology of the papyrus show a remarkable degree of conformity with the scholarly practices of Mālik and his contemporaries. On the strength of this internal evidence the papyrus folio can be safely assigned to Mālik's own day. It could have been produced by any one of his secretary-copyists, dictation and reading masters, advanced pupils, or admiring fellow scholars. As already pointed out, the text is not in the Shaibānī recension but is essentially that of the vulgate as transmitted by the Spanish judge and jurist Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laithī (d. 234/848), who heard the *Muwaṭṭa'* from Mālik shortly before the latter's death in the year 179/795.⁵⁶ The codex represented by our folio therefore originated sometime during the quarter-century or so that elapsed between the writing of the Shaibānī and the Laithī recensions and hence must represent one of the many lost recensions of that interval. Inasmuch as the papyrus text shows only minor variations from the printed text of the Laithī vulgate it is even possible that it represents the vulgate text as it was before it received, in the decades after Mālik's death, editorial touches at the hands of either Yaḥyā himself or his transmitters.⁵⁷

As papyrus was still in common use in the Ḥijāz, the papyrus codex represented by our folio could have belonged to the copy made by Mālik's son Yaḥyā and could have found its way to Egypt in the company of Yaḥyā's son Muḥammad, who settled there.⁵⁸ Or it could have originated with any one of three other transmitters of the *Muwaṭṭa'* who left the Ḥijāz and settled in Egypt, namely Mālik's secretary-copyist Marzūq, Marzūq's copyist-bookseller son Ḥabīb (see p. 125), or Mālik's most distinguished pupil, Shāfi'.⁵⁹ Finally, and perhaps

⁵⁵ Vol. I, Document 6.

⁵⁶ Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib* I 465 f.; Ibn Farḥūn, p. 350; Zurqānī I 12; Goldziher, *Studien* II 221 f.; *GAL S* I 297. Spanish sources credit Yaḥyā with two visits to Mālik in close succession. During the first visit he heard the *Muwaṭṭa'* directly from Mālik, but he had previously heard it in Spain from Ziyād ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 204/819). On his way back to Spain he stopped in Egypt and, discovering that 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim had written down Mālik's *Masā'il*, he returned to Mālik to do likewise but found Mālik ill and remained with him until his death. He then returned to Egypt and wrote down the *Masā'il* from 'Abd al-Raḥmān (see Ibn al-Farāḍī, *Ta'riḫ al-'ulamā'* II 176-78; Ḥumaidī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis*, pp. 202 f. and 359-61; Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib* I 490 f., 467).

⁵⁷ The Chester Beatty Collection of manuscripts contains an incomplete copy of the vulgate (A. J. Arberry [ed.], *The Chester Beatty Library: A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts* I [Dublin, 1955] No. 3001), which covers the middle third of the *Muwaṭṭa'* and was written in the year 277/890 by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī for his personal use. It "is written on thick paper of good quality in a clear Maghribī script," as the late J. V. S. Wilkinson, who had the manuscript microfilmed for me, kindly affirmed in a letter. The script is not only clear and easily legible but has a definite calligraphic quality. The text is fully vowelized and

pointed. Though as a rule the individual traditions are not marked off with a punctuation device, some of the chapter or section headings have comparatively simple decorative devices (cf. p. 88). The order of the "books" or parts varies from that of the printed text. The *isnād's*, including those at the beginnings of sections, start, as in our papyrus (see p. 121), simply with *عن فلان مالك* in the greater part of the text and with *قال مالك* in the rest. This would seem to indicate that the 3d-century scholar-copyist was faithful to the master copy at his disposal, which itself reflected 2d-century usage for the most part. Laithī nevertheless does step into the manuscript text, though only as a commentator, usually at the end of a tradition. He introduces himself with such statements as "Yaḥyā said 'Mālik was asked . . .'" and "Yaḥyā said 'I heard Mālik say. . .'" No doubt the initial *isnād*, at the beginning of the complete codex, indicated direct transmission from Mālik to Laithī. In any case, the marginal notations of the fragment frequently inform the reader that it is indeed Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laithī who is transmitting the text directly from Mālik.

⁵⁸ Ibn Farḥūn, p. 18; Zurqānī I 5.

⁵⁹ For their pupil-master relationship see e.g. *Jarḥ* VI 1, pp. 205 f.; Abū Nu'aim IX 69; Khaṭīb II 56; Ibn 'Asākir IV 351 f.; *Irshād* VI 368-71; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 165;

most likely, the codex could have originated with any one of several of Mālik's devoted Egyptian students who transmitted the *Muwatta'* and who gained wide recognition and became leaders in Mālikite circles in Egypt, such as 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim (d. 191/806),⁶⁰ Ashhab ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 204/819; see p. 125), or Ibn Wahb (d. 197/812),⁶¹ sections of whose *Jāmi'* have survived in a papyrus codex dated 276/889.⁶²

That in the twentieth century we are able to identify and date a single folio of a *ḥadīth-fiqh* work from the eighth century is in no small measure due to the care with which Islām's earliest scholars sought and recorded a wealth of historical and cultural details. To the initial thrill of discovery and identification is added the satisfaction of seeing widely scattered details fall one by one into place to give the fragment over-all significance for the elucidation of scholarly techniques and practices of the second century of Islām—practices in which the written text played, from the start of that century, a major, if not indeed the major, role in the preservation of Tradition.

Ibn Farḥūn, p. 228; Zurqānī I 6, 9. Transmitters who remained in Medina or who lived in 'Irāq or farther east are less likely to have had a hand in our codex. The last direct transmitters of the *Muwatta'*, Abū Muṣ'ab (150-242/767-856) of Medina and Abū Ḥudhāfah (d. 259/873) of Baghdād, are said to have included about 100 traditions that are not found in other transmissions of the work (Dhahabī II 60-62; Khaṭīb IV 22-24). For other *Muwatta'* traditions that are not found in the vulgate see *Tajrīd*, pp. 259-79.

⁶⁰ *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 279, credits him with some 300 volumes (*jild*) of Mālik's *fiqh* materials. See also *Jam'* I 293; Ibn al-

Faraḍī, *Ta'rīkh al-'ulamā'* II 177 (دَوْن سَمَاعِهِ عَنْ (مَالِك); Dhahabī I 324 f.; Ibn Farḥūn, pp. 146 f.; Ibn Khallikān I 366 f.

⁶¹ *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 189 f. Dhahabī I 279-81 quotes 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim as saying of Ibn Wahb: مَا دَوْن مَا دَوْن الْعِلْمِ أَحَدٌ تَدْوِينَهُ. See also Ibn Farḥūn, pp. 132 f.

⁶² See *Le djami' d'Ibn Wahb* I-II, édité et commenté par J. David-Weill ("Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale: Textes arabes" III-IV [Cairo, 1939-48]). See also p. 122 above.

DOCUMENT 3

Oriental Institute No. 17622. Late second/eighth century.

Fine light brown papyrus, 26.5 × 25.8 cm., with 34 lines to the page (Pl. 8). The outer and lower margins measure 3.5 and 2 cm. respectively. The inner and upper margins are too broken for accurate measurement. The folio fragment is badly damaged with several large lacunae.

Script.—Small carefully executed book hand that is more cursive than angular. Diacritical points are for the most part sparingly used. *Fā* has a dot below it (verso 8), and *qāf* has one above it (verso 7). The dot of initial *ghain* is within the open loop instead of above it (verso 6, 11). The *alif* of prolongation is sometimes omitted as is the initial *alif* of *ibn*. The *hamzah* is not indicated and is frequently replaced by *yā*. Punctuation and collation marks consist of two concentric circles with a dot at the center. Dashes are used to separate headings within a given section, and some sections are set apart by the space of a line (recto 27, verso 20 and 24). The line canceling the heading in verso 34 indicates that the scribe decided to start the section on ablution on the next page. Note the use of the *basmalah* and the *taṣṭīyah*.

TEXT

RECTO

- 1 (1) الى رسول الله [ان اناس من الانصار كان اذا مرض الرجل لقنوه لا اله الا الله]
- 2 اخذنا به ليجلسوه [(2) عن ابي سنان عن ابن مسعود انه قال ابخل الناس الذى
- 3 يبخل بالسلام فمن اخذل الناس] [عن الناس ثم انزل كربته بعون الله © [ذاكر الله
- 4 (3) من قال اللهم اصلح امة محمد] [عليه © (4) [بلغنا عن ابي شريح عن عبد الكريم بن الحارث قال فتح لرسول الله صلى
- 5 الله عليه وسلم فذكر ووعظ وصلى وقال هذه المجالس التى كنت صغت عليها والتى امرت بها والتى امرتكم بها
- 6 اهلها فقال الناس انا لنجيها ولكننا اتانا شغال من شون الاسواق فقال رسول الله الا يصبر رجل يوما ثم يوما ثم يوما
- 7 [الى خماسة اعشرا يوما فاذا فعل ذلك لم يترك الله له [حاجة] ولا خير من الدنيا والاخرة الا قضاها © دعاء
- 8 (5) [بلغنا ان رسول الله قال لاصحابه يوما الا اعلمكم دعاء من كان داعيا به استجاب له قالوا بل ابي ياراسول الله قال] [
- 9 فاستقبل رسول الله حتى قام فتبعه سأل من المسلمين فقال من يسأل الله الدعاء الذى به استجاب فليس الله باسمه الاعظم]
- 10 [اللهم] لا اله الا انت سبحانك [وبحمدك واستغفر اللهم اليك © الحول (6) بلغنا ان رجل [انا] الى النبى]

- 11 قال له ان تساله الزواد قل لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العظيم [مرة سرنا باذن الله فقالها]
- 12 فان فيها شفاء لمن يتضع ويهتدي [بلغنا انه من قالها سبعة عشر مرة يرد] [
- 13] [(7) [بلغنا ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال من صام] [
- 14] [من قاتل ومن أتمن على امانة فاداهها مخافة من الله ومن قرا قل هو الله احد
- 15 عشرا مرة] (8) [كثير يقول انا رجل الى رسول الله فقال يرسل الله الى سبى حق فى سبين
- 16] ذكر انه ليس لاحد فضل على احد الا فضل الصالح ©
- 17 (9)] [رسول الله معه رجل فسمعه بلغرة اخذته فيها كان يسير فضيلا فاخذه سبى
- 18] [(10) [بلغنا] ان ابي النعمان يحدث ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال [] [
- 19] [كان لم ياخذ بيده اخذ فيرسلها رسول الله حين يرسلها الا الاخذ] [
- 20] [النبي يساله] [ولم ينفذ من جليس له بركته فصلى صلى الله عليه وسلم بقربه] [
- 21] [اليه جليس © من] [اصابته حاجة
- 22 (11) عن الازاعي انه قال حدثنا فلان بن فلان عن مالك بن انس عن انس بن مالك عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم انه قال من [اصابته حاجة يقول]
- 23 اللهم ثم يحمد الله عز وجل ويقول [يا قاضى الحاجات عشر مرات كل يوم او] [كل ليلة فانعم الله عليه حيا] [
- 24 ويقضى الله] [اجته وان كان عليه] [ذنب رفع] [الله عنه ذنبه] [وافتح الله له الدنيا من حيث لا يحتسب فيقول اللهم خفف]
- 25 [عنهم] الامور لانهم عبادك يا ذا الجلال والاکرام ويا ذا الضاء ويا جار المستجيرين ويا ماكر العائقين ان كنت
- 26] [الى] [عبدك غنى ما مقتر على فى الرزق فامح من ام الكتاب حرماني وثبتني عندك سعيدا موقفا] [] [السيك ©] [
- 27 من نزل به هم
- 28 (12) عن عقيل بن خالد الايلي عن ابن شهاب ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال اذا نزل بكم هم او شدة فقولوا لا اله الا الله]
- 29 الحليم الكريم سبحانه تبارك الله رب العرش العظيم والحمد لله رب العالمين © الجنون والفرع (13) يغسل ويكتب
- 30 هذه الاية ثم تعلق عليه عمل يتلو جربت لمن اصابه جنون او فرغ او غيره فى سورة الانعام وعنده مفاتيح الغيب
- 31 لا يعلمها الا هو ويعلم ما فى البر والبحر وما سقط من ورقة الا يعلمها ولا حبة فى طبقات الارض ولا رطب
- 32 ولا يابس الا فى كتاب مبين تكتب هذه الاية ثم تعلق عليه فيرا باذن الله © الكـسـارب

- 33 (14) عن يونس بن يزيد الايلي قال من نزل فيه كربا او خاف من الليل او تعاضمه امرا فليقل حسبي الله وانعم الوكيل فيسمع الله لمن دعاه
- 34 ليس ورا الله مراما © الحشر (15) عن أبي يرفع الحديث الى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم انه قال

VERSO

- 1 [] اليه الحشر في اول يومه وكل به ملكان يدبان عنه [] وان قال ذلك
- 2 [] كان له مثل ذلك © سبحان الله العظيم (16) عن عمر بن نافع [] ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
- 3 [] قال في الصبح سبحان الله العظيم وبحمده ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله [] العلي العظيم [] الحميد ومن قالها حين يمسي لم يرمي
- 4 [] . . . التسيح © خروج النساء (17) بلغنا ان عمر بن الخطاب علم الناس وبقاربه امراة وبراسها دهن طيب فطفق يضربها بالدراة
- 5 [] . . . الامير المؤمنين وهو يضربها ويقول امانة الله فان خان يخذل وان قلوبهم عند انفهم ثم خرجت براسه [] فقال
- 6 [] ابن الخطاب للمؤتمر فقد اغر بسى غير بك الله © الحماية (18) [] ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه (عليه) اتته امراة فذكرت انها كارهة
- 7 [] . . . تريد هذا فازوجها بابن الخطاب © دعاء رسول الله (19) بلغنا انه اخذ من راسه ومن لحيته ثم قال اللهم اليك . . .
- 8 [] . . . (20) بلغنا ان رسول الله [] الطعام وان شاء اكل وان شاء []
- 9 [] (21) عن عقيل عن ابن [] [] . . . شرا ويعد بالجنة حسناً
- 10 [] ويقولها بالعين (22) بلغنا ان رسول الله قال [] [] لا يتسل منكم كما يتسل
- 11 [] يقولها رسول الله بالاغتياب © (23) حد ثنا [] [] وعبد الرحيم فيما بلغنا
- 12 [] فيها الشفاء والاشفاع . . . [] [] اذ با [] ©
- 13 (24) . . . [] عن ابى عبد الرحمن فيها بلغنا يقول كل ما شفا [] . . . ©
- 14 . . . والاشفاع [] احسن . . . [] ما كان من شعرها او قرننها او ما اشبه ذلك []
- 15 (25) بلغنا ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال تيجان هذه الامة العمل . . . [] يقولها
- 16 في العيدين ويوم الجمعة © الصباح (26) بلغنا ان رسول الله . . . [] . . .
- 17 يقول بالصباح يزيد العف اخرا مطرده فتفتظن مذلة الصوم © (27) . . . [] . . . []
- 18 (28) حدثنا عبد الرحيم بن خالد عن ملك بن انس قال عبد الرحيم اخبرني مالك عن سمي مولا ابى بكر ان ابى بكر كان يقول من غدا او راح الى المسجد
- 19 لا يريد [] ليتعلم خيرا او ليعلمه ثم رجع الى بيته الذي خرج منه كان كالمجاهد في سبيل الله رجع غانماً

حديث في الصلاة

- 20
- 21 (29) اخبرني [مـ]ك] بن انس عن عمه ابي سهيل بن مالك عن ابيه انه قال سمعت طلحة بن عبيد الله يقول جاء رجل الى رسول الله من اهل نجد اثار الرا[س].
- 22 نسمع [دوى] صوته ولا نفقه ما يقول حتى دنا فاذا هو يستل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم] عن الاسلام فقال [رسول الله خمس] صلوات]
- 23 في [اليوم والليل] فقال هل على غيرها قال لا إلا ان تطوع قال رسول الله وصيام شهر رمضان قال هل على غيره قال لا إلا ان تطوع قال وذكر له
- 24 [رسول] الله الزكوة فقال هل على غيرها [قال لا إلا ان تطوع] قال فادبر الرجل [وهو يقول] والله لا ازيد على هذا ولا انقص مـ]نه]
- 25 ف[قال رسول] الله صلى الله عليه وسلم افلح ان صدق © (30) واخبرني ملك عن ابي [الزناد] عن الاعرج عن ابي [هرايرة] قال قال
- 26 [رسول] الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الملايكة يتعاقبون] فيكم ملايكة بالليل وملايكة بالنهار ويجتمعون في صلاة
- 27 [الفجر وفي] صلاة العصر ثم يعرج اليه الذين باتوا(ا) فيكم فيسألهم وهو اعلم بهم فيقول وكيف تركتم عبادي قالوا تركناهم
- 28 [وهم يصلون واتينا]هم وهم يصلون © صفوف الصلاة (31) واخبرني ملك بن انس عن ابي النضر مولى عمر بن عبيد الله
- 29 [عن ملك بن ابي] ع[امر ان عثمان بن عفان كان يقول في خطبته قلّ ما يدع ذلك اذا خطب اذا قام الامام فاستمعوا له وانصتوا
- 30 [فان للمنصت] الذي (لا) يسمع [امن الحظ مثل ما للسامع المنصت واذا قامت الصلاة فاعدلوا الصفوف وحادوا بالمنكب
- 31 فان اعتدل الصفوف اتمام من الصلاة ثم لا يكبر حتى ياتيه رجال قد وكلهم بتسوية الصفوف فيخبروه ان قد استوت
- 32 [فيكبر] © افتتح الصلاة (32) اخبرني ملك عن ابن شهاب عن سالم عن (ا) بن عمر ان رسول الله كان اذا افتتح الصلاة رفع يديه
- 33 [احذوا] منكبهم واذا كبر في الركوع واذا رفع راسه عن الركوع رفعهما كذلك وقال سمع الله لمن حمده ربنا ولك
- 34 [الحمد وكان] لا يفعل ذلك [في السجود] بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم حديث في الوضوء

Comments.—Tradition 1. The *ṣād* of الانصار was first given the final instead of the medial form, but this scribal error was partially corrected by the joining of the *ṣād* to the following *alif*.

The protective and saving power of this basic article of the Islāmic creed, “there is no god but the God,” alone or in combination with “and Muḥammad is his apostle,” is of course

constantly stressed in Tradition (e.g. Ṭayālisī, pp. 122, No. 899, 174, No. 1241, 316, No. 2403; Ibn Sa'd VI 39; see also *Concordance* I 78 f.). It is, however, especially invoked in connection with birth, sickness, and death. Closely related traditions for use on these occasions, particularly the last, are numerous (see Ibn Sa'd VI 39 and our Document 6, Tradition 12).

Tradition 2. The partly lost *isnād* traces back to 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32/653). Daulābī lists nine traditionists and Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī lists six Companions named Abū Sinān. The only one who is linked to 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, and therefore most likely the one referred to in the papyrus text, is Abū Sinān al-Ashja'ī (see Ṭayālisī, p. 179; Daulābī I 37 f.; *Istī'āb* II 694; *Iṣābah* IV 175).

Stinginess, particularly among the Muslims themselves, is generally deplored (Sūrahs 3:179, 7:37, 47:38). To be stingy with one's greetings is considered the worst form of miserliness, but it is equally deplorable to forsake a fellow Muslim. There seems to be no parallel, but traditions that are closely related to both themes are numerous (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal III 328, V 364; Bukhārī IV 338; *Concordance* I 146 بخل and II 15 f. خذل).

Tradition 3. This tradition is not found as such in the standard collections. However, a Muslim's responsibility to God for his own good conduct and for the welfare of the community is expressed in a number of related traditions, one of which reads الدين النصيحة لله ولرسوله ولأئمة المسلمين, and the commentators equate نصيح with إصلاح (see Bukhārī I 23; Tirmidhī VIII 111–14 and Ibn al-'Arabī al-Ma'āfirī's commentary).

Tradition 4. Abū Shuraiḥ 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Shuraiḥ (d. 167/783–84) was originally from Alexandria. He transmitted from the Egyptian 'Abd al-Karīm ibn al-Ḥārith (n.d.; see Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 203; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* III 2, p. 89; *Jam'* I 284, 325). Most of the latter's traditions concern the First Civil War of Islām (Kindī, pp. 14, 22, 24, 28), when all the leaders, including 'Ā'ishah, were concerned with the general welfare of the community, which is in part the burden of this section of the papyrus text.

This comparatively long tradition is not found in the standard collections, though its separate themes are common. Public gatherings for the remembrance of God were commended by Muḥammad (*Muwatta'* I 209; Bukhārī IV 209; Muslim XVII 14 f.; Ibn Mājah II 218; see also *Concordance* I 359 f. مجلس and II 181 ذكر الله). The excuse offered by the people for not attending more such meetings was preoccupation with their business and property—a fact that Abū Hurairah cited later when some questioned the great number of traditions transmitted by him as against the comparatively few reported by most of the Companions (cf. e.g. *Sīrah* I 189; Ibn Ḥanbal II 3, 240, 274; *Concordance* III 145 f. شغل).

Tradition 5. Though Muḥammad's followers are known to have asked him for instruction on various matters, he more frequently took the initiative and offered to teach them some specific thing, as in this instance (*Muwatta'* I 161; Ibn Ḥanbal I 242, 258 and VI 134). A tradition without an *isnād* is not likely to be included in the standard collections, though variants are numerous. Recto 10 is reconstructed with the aid, for example, of Ibn Ḥanbal I 392, II 369, VI 77 and 230, and Bukhārī I 204. Several of these passages state that this particular invocation, with slight variations, was much used by Muḥammad (see also *Mustadrak* I 496 f., 502; Khaṭīb V 255).

Tradition 6. Here again no identical parallel is likely to be found because there is no *isnād*, but the formula is too familiar to detain us. Frequent repetition of this and similar formulas of praise or invocation seems to have become current in Muḥammad's day though the number of repetitions increases with time. The last sentence in recto 12 could be an editorial addition

(see Ibn Saʿd IV 169; Bukhārī IV 209; *Concordance* I 532 under *حول* and this formula). The numbers 3, 33, 99, and 100 are favored for the many formulas of praise to be said on different occasions (*Concordance* I 296–98; Abū al-Laith al-Samarqandī, *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*, pp. 82, 97, 136, 214–16, and *Bustān al-ʿarīfīn* [on margins of *Tanbīh*] pp. 213–15).

Tradition 7. There is enough space in recto 13 for a short *isnād*, but there was probably a brief heading instead, perhaps just the word *الإيمان*, since fasting, fighting, and declaring the unity of God comprise some of the themes of the tradition. The fourth element of the surviving text involves the precept that anything intrusted to one should be returned to the owner, and he who disregards this is counted among the *munāfiqīn* or hypocrites (Bukhārī I 16; see also Ibn Ḥanbal III 414 and *Concordance* I 118 *أئمن* and 120 *أمانة*). Again the tradition as a whole does not seem to be in the standard collections though its several surviving themes are readily met with.

Tradition 8. A short *isnād* is broken off here. If the unpointed first word is read *كثير* the traditionist involved may be Yaḥyā ibn Kathīr (or Kuthair?) of Baṣrah, who died sometime after the year 200/815 (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 300; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 183; *Jamʿ* II 564). This interesting tradition is not found in the standard collections, but the part that equates all Muslims and accords distinction only to the righteous among them is basic to Islām and is reflected in numerous other traditions (see *Concordance* II 100 ff. *خياركم*). The other part deals with the exchange of captives and seems to call for even exchange, but Dārimī II 223 records a tradition that Muḥammad exchanged one prisoner for two.

Tradition 9. The name Yusair or Yasīr is fully pointed. The man is obviously a Companion and is in all probability the better known of the only two Companions so named, Yūsair (or Yasīr) ibn ʿAmr (d. 85/704), who settled in Kūfah (Ibn Saʿd VI 101; *Istīʿāb* I 33 f., II 616 f.; *Uṣd* V 126 f.; *Iṣābah* III 1411 f.).

Tradition 10. The Abū al-Nuʿmān of the *isnād* is either the Companion so named or, more likely, his grandson who had the same *kunyah* (Daulābī I 58, II 139; *Iṣābah* III 903, IV 372). This long tradition is not found in the standard collections. Its main theme seems to involve Muḥammad's courtesy to his Companions at all times but especially during the prayer service (cf. e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal V 54 f. and 57 and see *Concordance* I 358 f. *جلس*).

Tradition 11. The head of the first *ʿain* is partly lost. The *isnād* is *muʿanʿan*. Space calls for a link between Awzāʿī and Mālik. Each of these famous traditionists transmitted from the other, though the older Awzāʿī (88–157/707–73) was Mālik's teacher (*Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 266 f.; Dhahabī I 168–72; Ibn Farḥūn, p. 29). This long tradition is not found either in whole or in its major parts in the *Muwattaʿ* and the other standard collections, yet many of its phrases occur repeatedly in the extensive sections devoted to prayer and invocation (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* I 212–17; Bukhārī III 242; Abū Dāʿūd II 85; Ibn Ḥanbal I 248, II 382, IV 177, V 196, VI 62; Ibn Mājah I 216; Tirmidhī II 261; Nasāʿī I 174; see also *Concordance* I 352 *جلال* and 524 *حاجة*; *Mustadrak* I 320, 499). Some of the unexpected rewards or punishments are Qurʾānic (e.g. Sūrah 3:27 and 37, 59:2, 65:11).

Tradition 12. ʿUqail ibn Khālid (d. 142/759 or 144/761) was a major transmitter from Zuhri. For the *isnād* see Document 6. A similar tradition, with an *isnād* that goes back to Ibn ʿAbbās, is found in Bukhārī IV 195, 459; Muslim XVII 47; Ṭayālisī, p. 346, No. 2561; Ibn Ḥanbal I 280 (see *Concordance* I 217 *بلاء* and III 77 f. *شدة* for related themes). Ḥākīm al-Nīsābūrī gives the content of the tradition, substituting *كرب* for *هم*, but with an *isnād*

that traces back to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who states that Muḥammad himself taught him the tradition (*Mustadrak* I 508 f.; see also *Ma'rifah*, pp. 201 and 219).

Tradition 13. It is not certain whether the *isnād* of Tradition 12 was intended to go with this peculiarly stated content (cf. Traditions 17 and 18). The magical verse is found in Sūrah 6:59. Many traditions invoke protection against disease and madness (e.g. Ṭayālisī, p. 268, Nos. 2007–8; Ibn Ḥanbal I 89, 192, 302; Bukhārī III 27 f.). Fear here involves private situations as distinct from danger to the public, for which is provided the special invocation *ṣalāt al-khauf* (Ibn Sa'd II 1, p. 43; *Muwatta'* I 183–85; Ibn Ḥanbal I 376; Muslim VI 124; Bukhārī I 239–41; Tirmidhī III 42; *Mustadrak* I 335–37, III 30).

Tradition 14. Note the use of only one *lām* in *الليل* (recto 33, verso 23 and 26). The same usage I had assumed to be an error in the Oriental Institute *Arabian Nights* fragment (see *JNES* VIII 133). It was, however, borrowed from the Qur'ān and was permissible in secular works in early Islām (cf. Ibn Qutaibah, *Adab al-kātib*, ed. Max Grünert [Leiden, 1900] p. 267).

Yūnus ibn Yazīd al-Ailī (d. 149/766, but see p. 176, n. 29) was, like his fellow citizen 'Uqail of Tradition 12, a leading pupil of and transmitter from Zuhri (see pp. 176 f.).

Tradition 15. The Ubayy of the *isnād* is obviously not the well known Companion Ubayy ibn Ka'b (Dhahabī I 16). At least five other early scholars named Ubayy are known (Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* I 2, pp. 40 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 290 f.), but it is not possible to identify any of them as the Ubayy of the papyrus.

The tradition, though the text is broken, obviously refers to the role of the two angels who confront the individual with his earthly record on the Day of Judgment (see p. 141). For other traditions on *al-ḥashr*, or the gathering on the Day of Judgment, see for example Bukhārī III 301 f., Muslim XVII 192–97, and *Concordance* I 470 (see also *Mustadrak* IV 418 ff.).

Tradition 16. 'Umar ibn Nāfi' died during the reign of Maṣṣūr. He transmitted from his father, Nāfi', who was a client of and a major transmitter from Ibn 'Umar (see *Jarḥ* III 1, pp. 138 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* III 2, pp. 199 f.; *Mizān* II 272; *Jam'* I 342). Morning prayer forms the subject of many similar traditions (cf. *Concordance* I 128 *دعاء* and III 235 *صلاة الصبح*). The belief that numerous repetitions of this and other formulas of praise would bring a variety of rewards seems to have become current early in Islām, as indicated in *Muwatta'* I 209 ff. The belief that one is protected while saying these formulas of praise is also reflected in *Mustadrak* I 493 f.

Traditions 17–18. These two traditions are out of context. Their inclusion here would seem to imply their transmission by 'Umar ibn Nāfi' and his association with the family of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who is involved in both traditions.

Tradition 17 refers in all probability to the matter of permitting women to go to the mosque for prayer and other purposes (cf. e.g. *Muwatta'* I 197 f.; Bukhārī I 221, 223; Muslim IV 161–64; Tirmidhī III 52). 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb preferred to have them stay at home but would approve their going to the mosque or to market or to visit relatives if their husbands gave permission. In Tradition 17 we have the stern 'Umar disciplining a woman in public for the use of perfume. 'Umar is known not only to have urged Muḥammad to permit the beating of women (e.g. Abū Dā'ūd II 244–46, esp. No. 2146; Dārimī II 147) but to have done so himself on several occasions before and after his conversion (e.g. *Sīrah* I 206; *Muwatta'* II 536; Ibn Mājah I 313; see also p. 109 above). Muḥammad eventually declared himself in favor of mild wife-beating (Sūrah 4:34; *Sīrah* I 969; Bukhārī III 447 f.; cf. *Concordance* III 503, 506). The last phrase of Tradition 17 is fully pointed, the *ghain* having the dot inside the loop.

Tradition 18 deals with the matter of appeals to Muḥammad by women who opposed marriage arrangements that their fathers made without consulting them. Muḥammad lent a sympathetic ear and as a rule arbitrated in their favor and sometimes suggested an appropriate alliance. His role as marriage counselor benefited many of the Companions, including ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who later himself played a similar role (see *Muwattaʿ* II 524 [= Shaibānī, p. 243] and 535; *Tafsīr* IV 552 ff.; Abū Nuʿaim VII 116; see also Gertrude H. Stern, *Marriage in Early Islam* [London, 1939]).

Traditions 19–27. It is not possible to tell exactly where some of these traditions begin or end in the text. The readings of a few words are perforce conjectural. These nine traditions yield such meager clues that identifications can hardly be expected. A check of some dozen words and phrases in the *Concordance* led nowhere. Yet each of the identifiable subjects in the papyrus fragment is treated in either the دعاء or the صلاة section of the standard collections. The اشفاع of Traditions 23 and 24, in view of the general character of the text, probably refers to some phase of intercession on the Day of Judgment rather than to intercession on earth (e.g. *Tafsīr* II 32 f., 383 f.; Abū al-Laith al-Samarqandī, *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*, p. 19) or to a prophet's intercession for his people (e.g. *Tafsīr* II 574; cf. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology* II 213 and references there cited).

For the *isnād* in verso 9 see Tradition 12. The names in verso 11 and 13 could be either the given names of the traditionists or the last part of their full names. It would therefore be futile to attempt identification beyond pointing to the possibility that the ʿAbd al-Raḥīm of verso 11 may be the ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Khālid of Tradition 28.

Note the incomplete *taṣliyah*. Note also the frequent use of the term *balaghanā* up to this point in the text.

Tradition 28. Zurqānī I 6 lists an ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Khālid among the Egyptians who transmitted the *Muwattaʿ* from Mālik. Early biographers are silent on this traditionist. Later biographers mention an ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid al-Ailī whose trustworthiness was questioned by some and who transmitted materials from Yūnus ibn Yazīd al-Ailī of Tradition 14 (*Mizān* II 124; *Lisān* IV 5 f.). He is possibly the same man.

Sumayy (d. 131/749), the client of Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith, transmitted comparatively few traditions to Mālik (see e.g. *Muwattaʿ* I 160, 209–290 f., 297; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, p. 204; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 315; *Tajrīd*, pp. 68–71, which credits him with 15 traditions that do not include the present one).

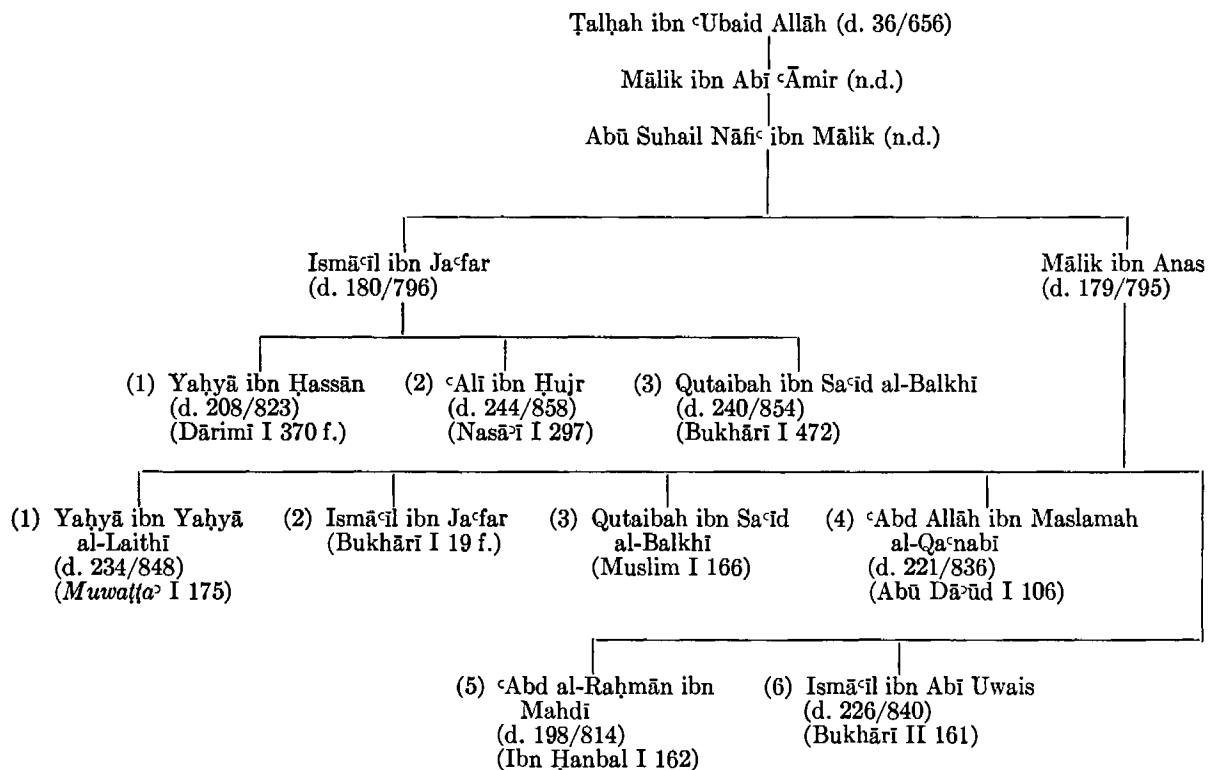
The tradition is found in *Muwattaʿ* I 160 f. (= Shaibānī, p. 84). The papyrus text is identical with the Shaibānī version. The one difference between them and the printed text is that the latter omits the phrase الذي خرج منه of verso 19. For a commentary see Zurqānī I 290, where closely related traditions are cited (see also *Mustadrak* I 91). The *Concordance* (خرج؛ راح؛ مسجد) leads to closely related traditions in which either صلاة or علم is sought (e.g. Bukhārī I 171; Muslim VI 133–36; Ibn Mājah I 51, 134 f.; Tirmidhī III 83; Abū Nuʿaim VI 16).

Tradition 29. Space does not allow for the inclusion of the *taṣliyah* in the reconstruction in verso 21. The parallels have تسمع for the first word of verso 22 except that of Muslim, which reads نسمع as in the papyrus text with its clearly dotted *nūn*. A variant for غيرها in verso 23 is غيرهن, as in the printed text of the *Muwattaʿ*. Note the interlinear و before صيام.

For the family *isnād*, used by Mālik, see Document 2, Tradition 1 (p. 116). Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUбайд Allāh (d. 36/656), the ultimate source of all the available close parallels of this tradi-

tion, was one of the ten leading Companions to whom Muḥammad promised heaven. He was also a member (absent) of the elective council appointed by ʿUmar I, a caliphal aspirant whose cause was sponsored by his kinswoman ʿĀʾishah, and one of the fallen at the famous Battle of the Camel (see Ibn Saʿd III 1, pp. 152–61; *Iṣābah* II 584–88; see also Abbott, *Aishah, the Beloved of Muhammad*). For his *musnad* see Ṭayālīsī, p. 31, and Ibn Ḥanbal I 160–64. For those who transmitted his traditions, including Mālik, see *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 471 f., *Istīʿāb* I 206–9, and *Jamʿ* I 230.

There are at least nine parallels for this tradition. Some are all but identical with the papyrus text, while others show marked textual differences. The *isnād*'s of all nine go back to Mālik's uncle Abū Suhail and Abū Suhail's father, Mālik ibn Abī ʿĀmir, who transmits Ṭalḥah's account (see *Jamʿ* IV 1, p. 214; Ibn Saʿd V 45). From Abū Suhail the line of transmission branches out into two chains, headed by Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar and Mālik ibn Anas, who in turn have three and six transmitters respectively, as detailed in the following table.



It is to be noted that Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar transmits directly from both Abū Suhail and Mālik ibn Anas and that Qutaibah ibn Saʿid al-Balkhī transmits directly from both Ismāʿīl and Mālik.

Of the three transmissions from Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar, Nos. 2 and 3 are all but identical, while No. 1 is a condensed version of the tradition. All three, however, adequately convey the sense of the tradition with its three basic themes—five daily prayers, the fast of Ramaḍān, and almsgiving—but the actual text and the word order differ considerably from those of the papyrus. All three add *افلح ان صدق او ادخل الجنة ان صدق* at the end of the tradition, but No. 1 extends the reward to the man's father.

The six transmissions from Mālik are much closer to the papyrus text but fall into two groups. Nos. 5 and 6 omit *حتى دنا . . . من اهل النجد* of verso 21–22 of the papyrus text, that

is, they omit the *khābar* element, which identifies and describes the Bedouin seeking instruction, and retain the *ḥadīth* element, which specifies the instruction given him by Muḥammad. Both omit also the phrase *إلا ان تطوع* after the simple negative لا. Their transmitters may be safely eliminated as likely authors of the papyrus text. The remaining four transmissions are all but identical with the papyrus text. Their slight variations consist of omission of a genealogical link, that is, the writing of Mālik instead of Mālik ibn Anas, the grammatical points noted on page 136 and an occasional alternation of قال and فقال, substitution of الصدقة (No. 4) for الزكاة, omission of شهر (No. 2) before رمضان, addition or omission of a redundant رسول الله (No. 3), a single slight change in word order (No. 3), and the haphazard use of the *taṣḥiyah* in the papyrus text, which more frequently than not omits it. These variants could stem as well from oral as from written transmission, where the collector or copyist takes editorial liberties with the text. Thus it is not possible at this point to suggest the transmitter of any one of these four parallels as the most likely transmitter of the papyrus text though it is possible that one of them may, indeed, have been the compiler of the *ḥadīth* collection it represents.

The relationship of the three transmissions from Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar to the six from Mālik ibn Anas is of interest. That all nine transmissions represent the same event is not to be questioned. The first group, however, represents a briefer, more direct, and simpler literary account than the second. Inasmuch as the direct source of all nine transmissions is Mālik's uncle Abū Suhail, it is entirely possible that it was Mālik himself who gave the tradition its most acceptable form before he included it in his *Muwattaʿa*—the only form represented in the nine transmissions that found its way also into the *Ṣaḥīḥain* of Muslim and Bukhārī. The papyrus text is, therefore, the earliest extant version of this form.

Traditionists and commentators have generally yet erroneously identified the crude Bedouin who came to question Muḥammad as Ḍimām ibn Thaʿlabah, delegate from the Banū Saʿd ibn Bakr (see e.g. Muslim I 169–71; *Istīʿāb* I 328; *Iṣābah* II 546 f.; Zurqānī I 320 f.). This Companion's trail led to another group of interrelated traditions that represent a single event, in this case reported in several versions by the three well known Companions Abū Hurairah (Bukhārī I 355), Anas ibn Mālik (Bukhārī I 25–27, in two versions; Muslim I 169–71; Ibn Ḥanbal III 149, 193; Ḍārimī I 164; Tirmidhī III 98 f.), and Ibn ʿAbbās (*Sīrah* I 943 f. = Ṭabarī I 1722–24 = Ḍārimī I 165 f. = *Istīʿāb* I 328 = *Uṣd* III 43 f.; Ibn Saʿd I 2, pp. 43 f., a considerably condensed early form).

There are several notable differences between this group of traditions and the groups that trace back through Mālik ibn Anas and Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar to Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbaid Allāh. Their *isnād*'s are entirely different, their language is quite different, and their basic content has a wider range in both the *khābar* and the *ḥadīth* element. The traditions that trace back to Ṭalḥah refer to an unnamed Najdian Bedouin and specify as Islām's requirements only the five daily prayers, the fast of Ramaḍān, and the giving of alms, whereas the others name Ḍimām ibn Thaʿlabah—whose tribe, to which belonged Muḥammad's foster mother Ḥalimah, lived in the Hijāzian desert—as Muḥammad's interrogator and specify two additional requirements, belief in the one God and in Muḥammad's mission and a pilgrimage for those who are able to make it. It would seem, therefore, that, despite some overlap in content, the group of traditions relating to the Ḍimām episode is not to be confused with the groups of traditions that trace back to Ṭalḥah, which specify only three of the five requirements that are known as the "pillars of Islām." The Ḍimām episode, which is assigned by some to the year 7 A.H. and by others to the year 9, obviously represents a later development in the

instruction of would-be and new converts to Islām. The caliph Abū Bakr, in the year 8, gave to another inquirer instructions on the “pillars of Islām” that were as complete as those received by Dimām (*Sīrah* I 985 f.; Ibn Sa‘d II 1, p. 94).

The fullest account of the Dimām episode is that transmitted by Ibn Ishāq (*Sīrah* I 943 f.) on the authority of the little known Muḥammad ibn Walīd ibn Nuwaifa‘ (n.d.; see *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 111; Bukhārī, *Ta‘rīkh* I 1, p. 258; *Mizān* III 146) and the well known Kūfan Salamah ibn Kuhail (d. 121/739; see Ibn Sa‘d VI 221; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 170 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta‘rīkh* II 2, p. 75; *Jam‘* I 190 f.) on the authority of Kuraib (d. 98/716) on the authority of Kuraib’s teacher Ibn ‘Abbās. Ibn Ishāq’s account is repeated almost verbatim by Dārimī and Ṭabarī (Dārimī I 165 f.; Ṭabarī I 1722–24). All the other Dimām traditions, however, show varying degrees of stylistic deviation with a word or a phrase added or deleted here and there, and, unlike Ibn Ishāq’s version, all omit the account of Dimām’s return to his people and their mass conversion to Islām.

The Dimām traditions have become central to a number of doctrinal points which need not detain us here, the most important being Islām’s minimum requirements for salvation. They have also become central to two aspects of the sciences of Tradition. The first concerns the validity of a singleton report such as the sole account of Dimām’s return to his people. The second implies equal validity for transmission by reciting to (*qarā*, ‘*araḍa ‘alā*) and transmission by hearing from (*sami‘a min*) the teacher or authority, the latter instanced by Dimām’s questioning of Muḥammad. For more or less lengthy discussions of these points see Bukhārī I 25, Muslim I 169–71, Tirmidhī III 97–100, *Adab al-‘imlā’*, p. 77, and Zurqānī I 320 f. (see also e.g. p. 53 above).

Tradition 30. Abū al-Zinād ‘Abd Allāh ibn Dhakwān (d. 131/748) had a large student following for both secular and religious studies. He served as secretary to several Umayyad governors and was financial administrator in ‘Irāq under ‘Umar II and in Medina during the reign of Hishām. He was also an active and respected traditionist—one of the comparatively few known as *amīr al-mu‘minīn fī al-ḥadīth*. As a scholar he was considered to be on a par with Zuhri, whom he accompanied in search of traditions. But unlike the latter, who wrote down everything, Abū al-Zinād wrote down only those traditions that dealt with lawful and unlawful practices (*al-ḥalāl wa al-ḥarām*). He is specifically known as the “secretary and leading transmitter of A‘raj,” *kātib wa rāwī al-A‘raj* (Zubairī, pp. 171 and 363; *Ma‘ārif*, pp. 235 f.; *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 49 f.; *Jāmi‘* I 73; Dhahabī I 103, 126; *Mizān* II 36 f.; Nawawī, pp. 718 f.; see Ibn Ḥanbal II 463 f. and *Tajrīd*, pp. 92–99, for extracts from his *ḥadīth* collection).

‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz al-A‘raj (d. 117/735) of Medina was a grammarian and a Qur’ānic teacher who also wrote copies of the Qur’ān and was one of Mālik’s earliest teachers (see p. 124, n. 31). Toward the end of his life he moved to the frontier at Alexandria. Many a leading traditionist of the Ḥijāz and Egypt transmitted from him. He encouraged his students to read back their materials to him and then permitted them in transmitting the same traditions to others to say “*ḥaddathanī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz*,” that is, he held equally valid the ‘*arḍ* and *sam‘* methods of transmission long before his young pupil Mālik came to be identified with them (Ibn Sa‘d V 209; Bukhārī, *Ta‘rīkh* III 1, p. 360; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 297; Dhahabī I 91 f.; Nawawī, p. 392; see Ṭayālīsī, p. 313, for some of the other traditions he transmitted from Abū Hurairah).

The *isnād*, used frequently in Mālik’s *Muwatta’*, was considered among the most acceptable by both Muslim and Bukhārī (see *Tajrīd*, pp. 92–99, which cites 54 traditions with this *isnād*; Muslim I 86 f.; *Jam‘* I 288 f.).

All the parallels for this tradition (see *Concordance* I 367 ملائكة وتجتمع and IV 116 كيف تركتم عبادي, which, incidentally, overlook the reference to Muslim) trace back to Abū Hurairah. Six of them vary as to their *isnād*'s, which are all different from the *isnād* of the papyrus, though their *matn*, except in one version (Ibn Ḥanbal II 344), is practically identical with that of the papyrus (Ibn Ḥanbal II 257, 312, 396; Muslim V 134; cf. Zurqānī I 309). One *isnād* starts like that of the papyrus but for Mālik substitutes the well known state secretary and traditionist Shuʿaib ibn Dīnār, known also as Shuʿaib ibn Abī Ḥamzah (d. 162/779), who wrote from Zuhri's dictation and whose books were seen and used by Ibn Ḥanbal (Bukhārī II 310). For Shuʿaib and his literary activities in the field of *ḥadīth* see Bukhārī, *Tārīkh* II 2, p. 233, *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 344 f., Dhahabī I 205 f., and Ibn ʿAsākir VI 321 (see also p. 177 below).

In six other parallels the *isnād* is the same as that of the papyrus up to and including Mālik. From Mālik the *isnād*'s branch out through six different transmitters of the *Muwattaʿ*, who represent the provinces and leading cities of the Empire from Spain to Khurāsān. They include the transmitter of the vulgate version of the *Muwattaʿ* (Vol. I 170), the two transmitters of the *Muwattaʿ* who were generally preferred by Muslim and Bukhārī (Muslim V 133 and Bukhārī I 148), and one of the transmitters to Ibn Ḥanbal (Vol. II 486). The remaining two transmitters are Mālik's nephew Ismāʿīl ibn Abī Uwais of Medina (Bukhārī IV 459) and Qutaibah ibn Saʿīd al-Balkhī (Bukhārī IV 477; Nasāʾī I 84), both of whom transmitted Tradition 29 also (see table on p. 137). See Zurqānī I 68 for lists of traditionists from the various provinces who transmitted the *Muwattaʿ* and see Zurqānī I 8 for the transmitter who was generally preferred by each of the compilers of the standard *ḥadīth* collections of the third century.

The textual variants in all the transmissions from Mālik, including the papyrus text, consists of omission or addition of explanatory words, changes in word order such as *في صلاة العصر وصلاة الفجر وفي صلاة العصر* (verso 26–27) instead of *في صلاة الفجر وفي صلاة العصر*, slight variations in verb forms such as *وهو اعلم بهم* (verso 27) instead of *وهو اعلم* or *وهو يعلم*. Similar minor variations are found in some of the transmissions that do not trace back to Mālik (Ibn Ḥanbal II 257, 312 = Muslim V 134; Bukhārī II 310). It is therefore evident that Mālik's role in this case was one of simple transmission of a tradition that had already acquired a fixed literary form, probably at the latest at the hands of Abū al-Zinād (d. 131/748), who, as stated above, specialized in traditions coming from Aʿraj and is known to have written down his material, some of which was used by Ibn Ishāq (see our Vol. I 53). In any case, two distinct literary forms of this tradition were current in the period immediately following the death of Abū Hurairah. The texts just cited represent the form transmitted by Aʿraj and also by Hammām ibn Munabbih, who is known to have made a written collection of traditions from Abū Hurairah (see p. 43). The second form is represented by transmission from Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān (d. 101/719) through the Kūfan Aʿmash (60–148/680–765) and seems to have become current in ʿIrāq and Persia only (Ibn Ḥanbal II 396; see also Zurqānī I 309). Aʿmash (see p. 152) was nearly blind and did not himself write down his materials, but his traditions were written down by his pupils, and some of this written material was presented to Zuhri as proof that ʿIrāq too could produce first-rate *ḥadīth* scholars (Ibn Saʿd VI 239). It may be said that the first literary form, by far the most widely accepted, was aimed at literal transmission (*ḥarfī*) and that the aim was accomplished—if we allow for the element of human error in both oral and written transmission in a manuscript age. The second literary form was, by contrast, aimed at preservation and clarification of the sense of the tradition (*maʿnā*), and this aim was undoubtedly accomplished despite the stylistic divergence from the literal form.

A third early form combines linguistic elements that are present in the other two. It was transmitted by Abū Rāfiʿ, who died early in the last decade of the first century, and it was transmitted from him by Thābit al-Bunānī of Baṣrah, who died between 123/741 and 128/746. Though current while the two literary forms were becoming fixed and generally accepted, this earlier version survived only in Baṣrah (Ibn Ḥanbal II 344; Dhahabī I 65; Ibn Saʿd VII 2, pp. 3 f.).

The concept of guardian angels reporting and recording the deeds of human beings is, of course, Qurʾānic (Sūrah 82:10). This is but one function of the angels, belief in whom is an article of Muslim faith (see e.g. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, pp. 198 f.). The angels are particularly close at prayer times and at gatherings for the remembrance and praise of God, especially the Friday congregational prayers (see e.g. *Muwattaʿ* I 160 f., 170; Ṭayālisī, pp. 293 and 314; Bukhārī II 308, IV 209; *Tafsīr* VII 26 ff.). Their role at death and on the Day of Judgment (see Tradition 15) is to confront the individual with the record of his deeds and speed him on to his final destination (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 940; *Tafsīr* VI 114–21). The poetry of Umayyah ibn Abī al-Ṣalt, who vigorously opposed Muḥammad, shows familiarity with many of the biblical roles of angels (see Henri Lammens, “La cité arabe de Ṭāif à la veille de l’hégire,” *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* VIII [1922] 179–83, 187; see also p. 5 above). For a general account of the role of angels in Islām and the extent to which it reflects the biblical record see for example Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology* II 75–79.

Tradition 31. The omission in verso 30 of the λ and the ω of حاذوا is a scribal error, as is also the use of رجالاً for رجال in verso 31. *Muwattaʿ* I 104 has فيخبرونه instead of فيخبروه and for the last part of verso 29 reads $\text{اذا قام الامام يخطب يوم الجمعة فاستمعوا له وانصتوا}$.

The transmitters in the *isnād* are identified in Zurqānī I 195. Abū al-Naḍr Sālim ibn Abī Umayyah of Medina was the client and secretary of ʿUmar ibn ʿUбайд Allāh ibn Maʿmar, one-time governor of Baṣrah who died in ʿIrāq during the governorship of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (e.g. *Istīʿāb* II 405 f.; Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l’histoire de l’Islam*, pp. 39 and 46). Sālim transmitted traditions of Ibn Abī ʿAwfī (d. 86 or 87/705 or 706) that had been conveyed in writing to ʿUmar (*Jamʿ* I 188 f.; *Usd* III 122). Sālim was considered trustworthy, and Mālik’s *Muwattaʿ* is credited with a number of other traditions from him (see *Tajrīd*, pp. 62–66 and 274). For other references to Sālim see for example Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, p. 112, *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 179, Daulābī II 137, and *Jamʿ* II 479.

A full parallel to this tradition is found only in *Muwattaʿ* I 104. The attempt to trace parallels (see *Concordance* II 539 f., III 322 f. and 392) revealed three distinct stages in the development of the tradition. The first stage involved many short traditions and parts of longer ones, coming from Anas ibn Mālik and numerous other scholars, that describe Muḥammad’s insistence on the formation of straight lines for public prayer (e.g. Ṭayālisī, p. 266; Ibn Ḥanbal III 122, 177, 179; Bukhārī I 187 f.; Muslim IV 156) and on silence not only during the reading of the Qurʾān, as some claimed (Bukhārī I 199; Ibn Mājah I 144), but also during the entire exhortation. Both practices were current but controversial during the first century (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* I 103 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal II 209 and 242, IV 8–10, V 75; Muslim VI 137–39; Ibn Mājah I 177; Tirmidhī II 298–301; Nasāʾī I 208 f.; Zurqānī I 193 f.). The second stage involved the development of two groups of traditions covering the practices of one or more of the first four caliphs with respect to one or the other of the two themes involved, namely ordering the lines (*Muwattaʿ* I 158 = Shaibānī, p. 86; Tirmidhī II 25) and keeping silent (*Muwattaʿ* I 103 = Shaibānī, p. 135). Some of the *isnād*’s in both groups feature the family of Mālik, beginning with his grandfather Anas ibn Mālik. Other *isnād*’s trace back to other

Companions but appear only in one or the other of the two groups. The third stage involved the combining of the traditions that covered 'Uthmān's practices in respect to both themes into a single tradition. Thus it is obvious that the final form of the tradition must have an *isnād* that traces through Mālik back to his grandfather and that it must also be unique in its content. That Mālik alone was responsible for this final stage is clear from the fact that, aside from the papyrus text, it is to be found only in the vulgate version of his *Muwatta'*.

Once again we see a master traditionist at work at the tedious and exacting task of collecting and editing traditions. And once again we see that despite liberties taken in transmission and editing the essential elements of a group of traditions, evolving in an oral and a manuscript age covering some 150 years, have survived in a singleton tradition that involves a family *isnād*. That this family turns out to be Mālik's may be due in no small measure to that family's general practice of writing down their traditions from the time of Muḥammad onward.

Tradition 32. The vulgate version of the *Muwatta'* contains at least 132 traditions received from Zuhri, and nine of these have the same *isnād* as Tradition 32 (see *Tajrīd*, pp. 116–55 and 262–65, esp. pp. 140–43).

Sālim ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 106/725) was a favorite son who transmitted numerous traditions from his father, Ibn 'Umar, who died in 74/693 (see Ibn Sa'd IV 1, pp. 105–38, and pp. 148 and 180 below). Sālim himself won a reputation as an authoritative Medinan jurist and traditionist. The *isnād* Zuhri on the authority of Sālim on the authority of his father was considered among the most acceptable by such Muslim scholars as Mālik, Ibn Ḥanbal, and Ishāq ibn Rāhawaih (Ibn Sa'd V 148; Nawawī, pp. 118 and 267 f.; Dhahabī I 82 f.; *Jam'* I 188). See *Tajrīd*, pp. 140–43, for Mālik's use of this *isnād*. For further biographical references see Ibn Sa'd V 144–49, Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* II 2, p. 116, and *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 184.

In searching for parallels to this tradition (see *Concordance* II 279 f. رفع يديه and 299 f. [several entries]) I soon realized that all parallels and closely related traditions are involved in the following controversial features of the ritual of prayer: the times when the hands are lifted up to the side of the face so that the wrists are in line with the lower part of the ears, the times when the hands are not lifted so high, and the times when they are not lifted at all. Numerous traditions which originated with several Companions and branched out through several different *isnād*'s clearly indicate that the practice of Muḥammad and the Companions varied. The early jurists did not attempt to enforce a uniform practice. When the second-century jurists were confronted with these varying traditions and practices they leaned toward the principle that it was better to err on the safe side by lifting the hands all the way up to the ears on all possible occasions.

That Mālik's earlier position was no different is clearly indicated by Shaibānī's version of the *Muwatta'* (p. 87), which reads: اخبرنا مالك حدثنا الزهري عن سالم بن عبد الله بن عمر ان عبد الله بن عمر قال كان رسول الله صلعم اذا افتتح الصلوة رفع يديه حذاء منكبيه واذا كبر للركوع رفع يديه واذا رفع راسه من الركوع رفع يديه ثم قال يسمع الله لمن حمده ثم قال ربنا لك الحمد اخبرنا مالك حدثنا نافع ان عبد الله بن عمر كان اذا ابتداء الصلوة رفع يديه حذو منكبيه واذا رفع راسه من الركوع رفعهما دون ذلك. Shaibānī (131–89/748–805) wrote down his materials during three years of study with Mālik in Medina and at the age of twenty was sought out by Kūfans as an authoritative transmitter of Mālik's traditions (Khaṭīb II 172–74; Nawawī, p. 104). Shaibānī's version of the *Muwatta'*, therefore, must be dated around the middle of the second century (see p. 124). That Mālik later shifted his position and eliminated some of the numerous liftings of the hands is clearly indicated by the vulgate

version (see *Muwatta'* I 75 and references there cited; see also Zurqānī I 144), which reads: حدثني يحيى عن مالك عن ابن شهاب عن سالم بن عبد الله عن عبد الله بن عمر ان رسول الله صلعم كان اذا افتتح الصلاة رفع يديه حذو منكبيه واذا رفع راسه من الركوع رفعهما كذلك وقال سمع الله لمن حمده ربنا ولك الحمد وكان لا يفعل ذلك في السجود. The differences between these two versions and between each of them and the papyrus text can be readily seen as to both the terminology of the *isnād's* and the basic content of the three traditions, which are fully discussed in the numerous commentaries (see e.g. Saḥnūn, *Al-mudawwanah al-kubrā* I 71 f.; Muslim IV 93–97; Tirmidhī II 94–101; Zurqānī I 142–44).

The search for parallels revealed that Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far, Ismā'īl ibn Abī Uwais, and Qutaibah ibn Sa'īd (see Traditions 29–30, esp. table on p. 137) transmitted related traditions through *isnād's* other than that of the papyrus text (Nasā'ī I 158, 186; Tirmidhī II 94; Ibn Ḥanbal II 134; *Tajrīd*, p. 140), but only Qutaibah ibn Sa'īd has actual parallels. One of his two parallels substitutes Sufyān ibn 'Uyainah for Mālik, has اذا ركع for اذا كبر في الركوع of verso 33 of the papyrus text, and omits the last sentence of verso 34 (Nasā'ī I 158; Tirmidhī II 56; see also Dhahabī II 29). The other (Nasā'ī I 140) is identical with the papyrus text in *isnād* but likewise has اذا ركع for اذا كبر في الركوع of verso 33 of the papyrus and its slight variant in Shaibānī's version of the *Muwatta'*. The difference centers on the word كَبَّرَ and involves the relative timing of the *takbīr*, the lifting of the hands, and the prostration during prayer (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 133 f. for the views of Zuhri and his nephew on this point).

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

This document gives no direct evidence of its authorship. Careful checking of the text led to many related and parallel texts for several of its traditions but yielded no identification of the whole with any known collection of traditions.

'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Khālid of Tradition 28 cannot be the author because he does not appear in the sources as a transmitter of the other four traditions from Mālik (Nos. 29–32). The parallels to these four traditions suggested Mālik's nephew Ismā'īl ibn Abī Uwais and Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far, both of Medina, as possible authors. Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far settled eventually in Baghdād, and his collection of traditions, transmitted directly by 'Alī ibn Ḥujr (d. 244/858), has survived.¹ A more probable author would seem to be their younger contemporary Qutaibah ibn Sa'īd, who alone transmitted from Mālik three of the papyrus traditions that are found in the standard collections of the second and third centuries and who appears repeatedly in these collections as transmitter of closely related traditions from Mālik and others. Furthermore, his actual parallels are on the whole closer to the papyrus text than such parallels as were transmitted by the other two traditionists under consideration. Finally, biographical data which show him to have been the only one of the three who visited Egypt support this conclusion—reached from study of the parallels—which narrows the limits of the probable date of the document.

Qutaibah ibn Sa'īd al-Balkhī (148–240/765–854) was a wealthy and much traveled Khurāsānian who sought out the leading traditionists of the various provinces and made a practice of writing down his materials.² He started on a grand tour (*riḥlah*) in search of traditions at the age of twenty-three, when he studied with Mālik in Medina and received the *Muwatta'* from him.³ He continued his journey northward and arrived finally in Egypt in the year 174/

¹ See Max Weisweiler, *Istanbuler Handschriftenstudien zur arabischen Traditionsliteratur* ("Bibliotheca Islamica" X [Istanbul, 1937]) No. 37; *GAL S I* 255 f. See also p. 152 below.

² Khaṭīb XII 466, 469; Dhahabī II 30.

³ Zurqānī I 6.

790 shortly before the death of Ibn Lahī'ah, from whom he transmitted some traditions.⁴ During this trip he also wrote down traditions from many other traditionists, including Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far of Medina and Laith ibn Sa'd of Egypt. On his way back to Khurāsān he attended the lectures of the leading 'Irāqī traditionists, including Ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn.⁵

Qutaibah returned to Khurāsān and became one of its leading traditionists. He made a second trip to 'Irāq in the year 216/831 to hear Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn among others. He devoted his long life to collecting and organizing his vast materials, all of which he committed to writing. His traditions were arranged thematically, as in the papyrus. He worked out a system of colored-ink devices to indicate his chief authorities—red for Ibn Ḥanbal, green for Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn, etc.⁶ He was sought out by such leading *ḥadīth* scholars as Muslim, Bukhārī, and Nasā'ī. Nasā'ī, when he was quite young, studied with Qutaibah, in the year 230/845, and he generally preferred Qutaibah's version of the *Muwatta'*.⁷ Thus Nasā'ī proved to be more important than others for our purpose because he has traditions transmitted directly from Qutaibah that are identical or nearly identical with several of Mālik's traditions that are in both the papyrus and the *Muwatta'*.

It is hardly possible that the papyrus folio represents a copy made by Qutaibah while he was in Egypt, since it is unlikely that he would have used the "western" system of dotting the *fā'* and the *qāf* (see p. 129) or that he would have left his personal copy behind. Equally remote is the possibility that the papyrus folio represents a copy of Qutaibah's materials which found its way to Egypt in the possession of Nasā'ī, who eventually settled there in about 232/846.⁸ A more likely possibility is that it represents a scholar's copy of Qutaibah's materials made during his visit in the year 174/790 to Egypt, where the practice of writing *ḥadīth* books had already been adopted by such leading Egyptian traditionists as Ibn Lahī'ah and Laith ibn Sa'd (see Documents 9 and 6–7).

It is to be noted that Traditions 28–32 begin with *haddathanā* or *akhbaranī* and thus specifically indicate direct transmission. In contrast to these, Traditions 11–16 begin with *an*, which allows for the omission of a link in the *isnād*. The several men who head the *isnād*'s of Traditions 11–16 are well known traditionists of the Ḥijāz, Syria, and Egypt who died in the mid-second century, that is, contemporaries of such traditionists as Mālik, Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far, and Ibn Lahī'ah. Any one of these contemporaries could be the omitted initial link. The contrast represented by such omissions and the profuse use of *balaghanā* in most of the remaining traditions as against the complete *isnād*'s of Traditions 28–32 can be explained by the difference in the standards relating to *isnād* usage for transmission of the various categories of traditions. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī (135–98/752–814), an early *ḥadīth* critic,⁹ reflected this difference in stating that when scholars transmitted traditions from the Prophet that dealt with the lawful and the unlawful they were very strict with the *isnād* and severely critical of its men, but when they transmitted materials dealing with good deeds, rewards, punishments, permissibles, and invocations they were less critical in respect to the *isnād* (see pp. 76, 112). These standards of *isnād* usage for the various categories of traditions are illustrated by the papyrus. Strong *isnād*'s were provided when called for, as in Traditions 29–32, but Traditions 1–28 represent a category for which inferior and drastically abbreviated *isnād*'s were tolerated. Traditions of this category were widely circulated in Egypt and for the most

⁴ Khaṭīb XII 468 f.; Dhahabī II 30, 242.

⁵ Khaṭīb X 332.

⁶ Khaṭīb XII 466; Dhahabī II 30.

⁷ Dhahabī II 241; Zurqānī I 8.

⁸ Dhahabī II 241.

⁹ Nawawī, p. 391.

part bypassed by Muslim and Bukhārī, as noted by Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī.¹⁰ Ḥamīd ibn Zanjawaih (d. 251/865) devoted a volume to this category.¹¹

Our document reflects a practice that was responsible for a rapid increase in the number and variants of parallel and related traditions, namely the combining of parts of original traditions in various ways to form so-called "new" traditions. The reader is spared the details of the specimens tested but can make his own tests with the aid of the *Concordance*. In spite of the rapidly accelerating rate of increase in the number of traditions there was as a rule no significant change in the basic content of the initial traditions.

The numerous facts brought to light as a result of the study of this papyrus, especially in connection with traditions transmitted to and from Mālik, have a significant bearing on the evolution of *ḥadīth* materials and on the method of their transmission during a period of about a hundred years preceding Mālik's death. Even from the few traditions of the papyrus text it is clear that the controversial practices and the contradictory traditions that reflected them and that were current at the beginning of the period were still current at the end of it. It is equally clear that the earlier form of a given tradition on a non-controversial theme continued to be current along with its later more-or-less edited forms. The survival of both the early and later forms makes it possible for us to observe authoritative second-century *ḥadīth* collectors and editors at work on the *matn* of a given tradition. We see that they separated, whenever possible, the nonessential *khabar* element from the *ḥadīth* proper. The *ḥadīth* element sometimes emerged in a form that could be retained literally unchanged; but at other times grammatical and stylistic editing was required to safeguard its basic meaning. And, inasmuch as different editors seldom produce identical sentences, some of the familiar types of variants already noted appeared in subsequent transmissions of what was essentially one tradition.

As to the methods of transmission, other than the evolution of the *isnād* as such, our facts reveal that the *samʿ* and *ʿarḍ* methods were both prevalent not only at the end of this period but also at its beginning (see Traditions 29 and 30). It must be noted, however, that it is not always possible to tell whether these methods were employed with or without the aid of written sources. That is, just as in the *samʿ* method a teacher could dictate either from memory or from his book, so also in the *ʿarḍ* method a pupil or transmitter could recite back his materials to the authority either from memory or from his written copy. Our facts also reveal that many of the transmitters who appear in the complete *isnād*'s (Traditions 29–32) were men who made a practice of writing down their traditions. This practice was sometimes followed by two or more generations of the same family, as in the case of Mālik's family. But, on the other hand, successive generations of transmitters from different families and sometimes from different localities who are also known to have committed their materials to writing are frequently found as consecutive links in an *isnād*, for example Zuhri–Mālik–Qutaibah ibn Saʿid (Tradition 32). These facts reinforce those revealed by Documents 1 and 2 and indicate that permanent scholarly texts, as distinct from memoranda and pamphlets, existed and were used along with oral transmission and that these records played a much larger role in the literary form and ultimate survival of Tradition, during the hundred years or so under consideration, than has hitherto been realized (see also p. 70).

¹⁰ *Mustadrak* I 499, 512 f., 547, 549.

¹¹ Dhahabī II 118 f.

DOCUMENT 4

Oriental Institute No. 17623. Late second or early third/early ninth century.

Fine light brown papyrus, 25 × 20.4 cm., with 18 lines to the page (Pl. 9). The margins are wide, the upper right margin being lost. The recto and verso are badly peeled in horizontal sections.

Script.—Small well executed cursive *naskhā* book hand. Diacritical points are used sparingly for *bāʾ*, *jīm*, *nūn*, and *yāʾ*. Some letters, especially initial *šād* and sometimes *hāʾ* with the beam, tend to be more angular than others and approximate those of the Kūfic script (recto 17, verso 17). *Alif* and *lām* are frequently hooked and occasionally wavy (recto 1, 8). Extension of letters is mostly at the ends of lines. The *hamzah* is not indicated. Carelessly executed circles, with or without a dot inside, are used for punctuation. A dot, probably to indicate collation (see pp. 87 f.), is sometimes placed near or outside the circle or at the end of a line (recto 4-5).

TEXT

RECTO

- 1 [] انه كان يقول في الحصا لرمى الجمار مثل حصا الخدف
- 2 (2) المسيب عن عبيد الله بن عمر عن نافع ان ابن عمر كان يغتسل اذا رما الجمار ○ (3) المسيب
عن عبيد الله
- 3 عن نافع ان ابن عمر كان يغسل راسه بالخطمي حين يرمى الجمرة [فيح] [ل] [ق] راسه بعد ما يغسل وكان
- 4 لا يرى بذلك باسا ○ (4) المسيب عن عبيد الله عن عطاء انه قال لا يحل رما الجمرة بمن ما يطف
- 5 البيت حتى صدر الى قصره وحل واصاب النساء قال يرا [ب] [د] [ا] [ذ] [ي] بحج وعمرة ولا يهدى ○
- 6 (5) المسيب عن بشير الزيات عن عيسى عن مجاهد وعطاء وطاوس وسعيد بن جبير انهم قالوا
- 7 يوم النفر وقوف عند شئ من الجمار الا الذي را امضى ○ (6) المسيب عن عبد الملك عن عطاء
- 8 في رجل رما جمرة العقبة في اليوم الثاني قال نحر به ○ (7) المسيب عن عبيد الله بن عمر عن
- 9 نافع عن ابن عمر انه كان يمشى اذا رما الجمار ذاهبا وحده ○ (8) [م] [ع] [ا] [ذ] [ي] بن خالد الخراساني
- 10 عن أيمن بن نابل عن قدامه بن عبد الله قال رايت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم على ناقة
- 11 صهباء يرمى جمرة العقبة لا ضرب ولا طرد ولا اليك اليك ○ (9) سلمه (بن صالح) عن حماد
- 12 قال لا باس ان يرمى الجمار وهو على غير وضو ولكن [لا] يط [و] [ف] [ا] لا وهو طاهر ذكره
- 13 عن ابرا [ه] [ي] م ○
- 14 ○ باب في الاحلال ○
- 15 (10) حماد بن زيد عن ايوب عن نافع قال جاء عمر الناس فعلمهم امر منا [س] [ك] [ه] [م] وقال اذا رميت
- 16 الجمرة فقد حل لكم كل شئ الا النساء والطيب واذا زرتم البيت فقد حل لكم كل شئ حرم
- 17 عليكم ○ (11) جرير بن عبد الحميد [ال] [ي] [م] [ي] عن منصور عن ابراهيم قال كان اصحابنا
- 18 لا يتطيون ولا يلبسون ثياب الحل حتى يزوروا البيت يوم الافاضة [ض]

VERSO

- 1 (12) [م]عِين بن عَقِبَة عن اِيُوب بن مُوسَى [ع]سَأَن [ن]سَأَفَع عن صَفِيَّة بنت اَبِي عُبَيْد عن بَعْض
ازو[ا]ح النبي عليه السلام]
- 2 [ق]أَلَّت لما امر رسول الله عليه السلام اصْحَاب[ا]ب[ا]ه ان يحلوا قِيل له ما منعك ان تحل قال اني
3 لَبَدت راسي وقلدت هديي قَالَت فَأَلَم يحل الا يحل الحج ○ (13) اسمعيل بن جعفر عن عبد
الله بن دينار
- 4 عن بن عمر قال اذا رميت الجمره يوم النحر بعد ان كان عليك تمتع فقد حل لك كل شى
5 حرمه عليك الا النساء والطيب حتى تطوف البيت ○ (14) مروان بن شجاع عن حميد عن عكرمة
6 عن ابن عباس فى الحج [م]ع من قضى المناسك كلها غير زيار[ا]لرأة البيت فقد حل من الطيب
7 وغيره الا من النساء ○ وذكره ابراهيم قال كل شى الا من الطيب والنساء ○ (15) مصعب بن صدقة [م]
8 عن عمر بن قيس عن [. . .] قال اذا رما الجمره [ح]ل له [ال]أطيب وكل شى الا النساء ○
(16) المسيب عن الاء [م]ش]
- 9 عن ابراهيم قال اذا رما الجمره فقد حل له كل شى الا النساء حتى يطوف بالبيت ○ (17) وقال
محمد [بن]
- 10 الحسن اذا حلق الراس او قصر ونحر فقد حل له كل شى حرم عليه من طيب او صيد او [ح]جامة
11 الا النساء خاصة [ف]أانه لا يحل له [م] ان يقرب زوجته ولا جارية تقبله ولا يقربها حتى يطوف
12 طواف الزيارة اذا كان نحر بدانة واهدى نعمة فقولنا ○
- 13 ○ فى الكسوة والتراب [م] وغيروا ذلك لا يخرج به من الحرم ○
- 14 (18) موسى بن اعين عن [ا]بواب عن عطاء [أ]انه كان يقول من [ال]بيت
- 15 او شى من كسوة [م] الحرم ○ (19) وانه كان يكره ان يخرج [م] من
16 الحرم شى حجارة وغير ذلك ○ (20) وقال محمد بن الحسن سئل ابا [ح] [أ]يفة عن تراب الحرم
قال لا
- 17 باس ان يخرج من الحرم ○ (21) عن كره ان يخرج من تراب
18 الحرم شى

Comments.—Of the twenty-one traditions only Nos. 8 and 12, both of which describe Muḥammad's practices, have close parallels for the *matn* (see p. 78). The rest, which report a precept or practice of a Companion or a second-generation Muslim, have no parallels for either the *isnād* or the *matn* in the standard collections. Yet the pertinent sections of these collections force one to concede that the papyrus text describes practices and records opinions that can be readily confirmed from the over-all subject content of these collections and also from early legal works.

For detailed descriptions of the ceremonies of the *hajj* or pilgrimage see e.g. Nawawī, *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn*, ed. L. W. C. van den Berg, I (Batavia, 1882) 330–35; Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Muslim Institutions*, translated from French by John P. MacGregor (London, 1950) pp. 81 ff.; *Worship in Islam*, being a translation, with commentary and introduction,

of al-Ghazzālī's *Kitāb al-Iḥyā'* . . . , by Edwin Elliot Calverley (Madras, 1925); Arthur Jeffery (ed.), *Islam: Muḥammad and His Religion* (New York, 1958).

Tradition 1. The long extension of the last letter of recto 1 probably indicates the first tradition of a new section to judge by verso 13–14. It is probable that the *isnād* started with Musayyib and traced back to Ibn ʿUmar, as in Traditions 2, 3, and 27, and possibly back to Muḥammad himself.

The burden of the tradition is that the pebbles used in the ceremonies of the pilgrimage preferably should be of the same size as pebbles used in slings, as established by the precept and example of Muḥammad (e.g. Ibn Saʿd IV 2, p. 46; *Muwattaʿ* I 407, No. 214; Muslim VIII 189 f., IX 27 and 47; Ibn Ḥanbal III 503, V 270 and 379; Baiḥaqī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā* [Ḥaiderābād, 1344–56/1925–37] V 127 f.).

Traditions 2–4. Note the absence throughout of the initial *alif* of ابن in the name Ibn ʿUmar. The بمن of recto 4 is clear, but لمن would be more appropriate. The *khiṭmī*, an herb dye, was used by Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, and many others (Ibn Saʿd I 2, pp. 140–42, and III 1, p. 135; Ibn Ḥanbal IV 393, VI 78 and 261; Baiḥaqī, *op. cit.* Vol. V 64).

Of the several traditionists named Musayyib the one that best fits the *isnād*'s of the seven traditions in which this name occurs (Nos. 2–7 and 16) is Musayyib ibn Sharīk (d. 186/802), who was generally considered weak though Ibn Ḥanbal accepted him (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 75; Bukhārī, *Tarīkh* IV 1, p. 408; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 294; Khaṭīb XIII 137–41; *Mizān* III 171). He is known to have transmitted from ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Sulaimān (d. 145/763) and Sulaimān ibn Mihrān al-Aʿmash (d. 148/765) of Traditions 6 and 16 respectively (see Ibn Saʿd VI 244 and VII 2, p. 75; see also p. 140 above). Musayyib's immediate source for Tradition 5 is not as yet identified, since the given name can be pointed to read in several ways. His source for Traditions 2–4 and 7 is the well known traditionist and descendant of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿUbaid Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣ, who died in 147/764 (Bukhārī, *Tarīkh* III 1, p. 395; *Jarḥ* III 2, pp. 326 f.; Dhahabī I 94, 151 f.; Nawawī, p. 402). He was a major transmitter from Nāfiʿ (d. 117/735) the client of Ibn ʿUmar, both of whom dedicated their long lives to the collection and transmission of knowledge bearing on the life and sayings of Muḥammad (Ibn Saʿd IV 1, pp. 105–38; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 109; *Istīʿāb* I 368–70; Khaṭīb I 171–73; Dhahabī I 35–37; Nawawī, pp. 357–61; Ibn Khallikān I 309 f.; *Iṣābah* II 840–47; see also Ibn Ḥanbal II 1–158 for Ibn ʿUmar's *musnad*).

Ibn ʿUmar was considered the best informed about the main subject of this papyrus, namely the practices and ceremonies of the pilgrimage. His independence and his uncompromising attitude aroused the opposition of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, who was nevertheless restrained by the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. The latter ordered Ḥajjāj to follow Ibn ʿUmar's lead in regard to the pilgrimage (*Muwattaʿ* I 333, 399; see also *Jāmiʿ* I 121; Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-mulūk*, p. 96). Ibn ʿUmar's views and practices were of great interest to the young Islāmic community (e.g. Bukhārī I 418; *Kitāb al-umm* VII 196 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal II 152, VI 78). Several of his sons as well as a number of his clients in addition to Nāfiʿ and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Dīnār (see Tradition 13) transmitted much of his material to members of the succeeding generation. Two *isnād*'s in particular won recognition and critical acceptance: Zuhri on the authority of Sālim ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar on the authority of his father (see e.g. Zubairī, pp. 357 and 360 f.; Dhahabī I 83) and Mālik on the authority of Nāfiʿ on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar (see e.g. Nawawī, p. 590; Dhahabī I 94; see also p. 124, n. 31, above).

For ʿAṭā of Tradition 4 see following comment.

Tradition 5. The ۛ of recto 7 may be an error for ۛ.

The given name of Musayyib's source can be read as *بشير* or *يسير* or *نسير* or *بشير*, none of which lead to positive identification of the Zayyāt involved, though a likely possibility is Abū Yaʿqūb al-Zayyāt (Khaṭīb XIV 408). The only ʿĪsā associated with any of the four traditionists that follow in the text is ʿĪsā ibn Mahān (Khaṭīb XI 143). He heard ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Ribāḥ (d. 114/732), who was famous for traditions concerning the pilgrimage and who is in all probability the ʿAṭāʾ of Traditions 4, 6, and 18. For ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Ribāḥ, Mujāhid ibn Jabr of *Tafsīr* fame (see p. 98), and Ṭāʾūs ibn Kaisān (see p. 161), famous for traditions covering *al-ḥalāl wa al-ḥarām*, “the lawful and the unlawful,” formed a trio that was surpassed only by their contemporary Saʿīd ibn Jubair, said to have excelled in all three fields (e.g. Ibn Saʿd V 344 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, pp. 411 f.; see also pp. 97, 98 f., 112 above).

The length of the *wuqūf* seems to have varied (see e.g. *Muwattaʾ* I 406 f. and Bukhārī I 438 for the practice of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and his son ʿAbd Allāh).

Tradition 6. For the *isnād* see comment on Traditions 2–4. ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Sulaimān (d. 145/763) was known also as Ibn Maisarah, an authoritative traditionist of Kūfah. He specialized in collecting the traditions, through various *ṭurq*, of the famous trio cited by ʿĪsā in Tradition 5 (see Ibn Saʿd VI 244; Khaṭīb X 393–98; Dhahabī I 146 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal I 286; Tirmidhī XIII 330–32). This activity called for some editing on his part, perhaps for deletion and addition of some phrases or separation of themes (see Khaṭīb X 406).

The relative timing of the slaughter of the sacrificial animal and of the other events of the Day of Sacrifice as reported by Ibn ʿUmar on the basis of the practices of Muḥammad among others seems not to have been rigidly fixed at first (e.g. *Muwattaʾ* I 395 [= Shaibānī, p. 229]; Bukhārī I 44, 434; Muslim IX 47 f., 51–53).

Tradition 7. For the *isnād* see comment on Traditions 2–4. There was allowance for either riding or walking during the ceremonies of the throwing of the pebbles. The practice of Ibn ʿUmar is reflected in nearly parallel traditions from Nāfiʿ (cf. *Muwattaʾ* I 407, No. 215; Ibn Ḥanbal II 114, 138, 156; Muslim IX 44 f.).

Tradition 8. Muʿādh ibn Khālīd al-Marwazī al-Khurāsānī (d. 167/783) is nowhere reported as transmitting from Ayman ibn Nābil, whose dates are not known (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 366; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 250). There was, however, a Muʿādh ibn Khālīd al-ʿAsqalānī (n.d.) who transmitted from Ayman (*Mīzān* III 178; *Lisān* VI 722). There is thus a confusion of names, which may or may not have been deliberate. Ayman specialized in traditions received from the Companion Qudāmah ibn ʿAbd Allāh, whose dates are not known (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 28; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 319; *Mīzān* I 131 f.; *Iṣābah* II 452).

Ṭayālīsī (p. 190, No. 1338) reports directly from Ayman the closest parallel for this tradition, the only difference being that the phrase following the *taṣḥīyah* reads *وما الجمره يوم النحر* *على ناقة صهباء*. Ibn Ḥanbal II 413 gives another, also slightly different, version that traces back to Ayman and Qudāmah. Abū Nuʿaim VII 118 and IX 17 cites Ṭayālīsī's version as transmitted from Ayman by Sufyān al-Thaurī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī respectively; see Ṭabarī III 2401 for a closely related tradition with a different *isnād*. The tradition emphasizes Muḥammad's unostentatious mingling with the crowd.

Tradition 9. Note the blank space left in recto 11 for the completion of the name. This *isnād*, with nothing but given names, provided a test of the general adequacy of the biographical literature for its intended purpose in the field of *ḥadīth*—namely the identification and appraisal of individual transmitters. Inasmuch as the great majority of the traditionists named in the document were ʿIrāqīs, it seemed safe to assume that the Ibrāhīm of the *isnād* is most probably Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-Nakhaʿī, who died in the year 95/714 (Ibn Saʿd VI

188–99; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, pp. 333 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 144 f.; *Maʿārif*, p. 236; Abū Nuʿaim IV 219–40; Dhahabī I 69 f.; Nawawī, p. 135; *Jamʿ* I 18 f.). Beginning with this assumption, I found that the biographies of the numerous traditionists named Ḥammād and Salamah yielded scattered clues that eventually fitted together like the pieces of a puzzle to reveal the identity of the men in the *isnād*. Ḥammād turned out to be Ḥammād ibn Abī Sulaimān (d. 120/738), who was a law student and a leading transmitter from Nakhaʿī and the teacher of Abū Ḥanīfah (*Maʿārif*, p. 240; *Jāmiʿ* II 153; Dhahabī I 69; *Mizān* I 279). The blank space in recto 11 should be filled in so that the full name reads Salamah ibn Ṣāliḥ. For this Salamah (d. 180 or 186 or 188/796 or 802 or 804), a judge in Wāṣit, transmitted on the authority of the above-named Ḥammād on the authority of Nakhaʿī, as in the *isnād* of the papyrus text (Khaṭīb IX 130 f.; *Mizān* I 406 f.).

The reliability of both Ḥammād and Salamah is questioned by some of the earlier critics. Salamah was “careless and inaccurate” according to Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn (d. 233/848). But the later and more objective critic Ibn ʿAdī (d. 360/971 or 365/976; see p. 105) is more specific; he points out that Salamah may perhaps err but that the content of his traditions is good and acceptable (لم ار له متناً منكرأ ربما يهم وهو حسن الحديث) and adds as further proof of Salamah’s reliability that his traditions were collected into a large volume (نسخة كبيرة) by Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ, who must be the ʿIrāqī authority of that name known as Dūlābī (d. 227/841; see Khaṭīb V 365–67; *Mizān* III 74). Ibn ʿAdī’s carefully stated judgment is borne out as much by the incomplete *isnād* of the papyrus as by the good and acceptable *matn* of the tradition quoted from Ibrāhīm, who is stated to have transmitted traditions according to their basic meaning (*bi al-maʿānī*) as against their exact wording (Ibn Saʿd VI 190). For the essence of the papyrus text is that, of the two ceremonies specified, only the circumambulation of the *bait* or *kaʿbah* must be performed when one is in a state of ritual purity, though one may be in such a state during the other ceremony or ceremonies. As such, the tradition has specific as well as implied parallels in *Muwattaʿ* I 271 f., Bukhārī I 413 ff., and Muslim IX 78 ff.

Tradition 10. The links of the *isnād* can be readily traced through Ḥammād ibn Zaid ibn Dirham (d. 179/795) of Baṣrah, who was a pupil of and transmitter from Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī (d. 131/748), a leading Baṣran scholar whose piety led him to make numerous pilgrimages (Ibn Saʿd V 392 and VII 2, pp. 14–17 and 135; *Maʿārif*, p. 238; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, pp. 409 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 255 f.; Abū Nuʿaim III 3–14; Dhahabī I 122–24; Nawawī, pp. 170 f.; *Jamʿ* I 34). Ayyūb inherited some of the manuscripts of his teacher Abū Qilābah (see p. 230), and he related traditions from Nāfiʿ. Ḥammād as a rule transmitted from memory but is known to have had access to the books of Ayyūb and to have had in his possession a copy of the “book” of Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī (see pp. 193 f.; see also Ibn Saʿd VII 1, p. 91, and VII 2, p. 4; Dhahabī I 214; Nawawī, pp. 217 f.; *Jamʿ* I 102).

The theme of what is permitted or forbidden at different stages of the pilgrimage looms large in the standard collections. Yet I have found no parallel for this entire tradition, though all of its parts appear either as separate traditions or as parts of related traditions. Confirmation of the statement that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb instructed the people in the ceremonies of the pilgrimage and in other religious affairs comes from numerous sources (Abū Ḥanīfah, *Musnad al-imām al-aʿẓam* [Lakhnau, 1309/1892] p. 111; *Muwattaʿ* I 410; ʿUmar’s *musnad* in Ibn Ḥanbal I 14–55 and IV 222; Abū Dāʿūd II 158 f.; *Risālah*, pp. 38 f.; Ibn al-Jauzī, *Taʾrīkh ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, pp. 60–64 and 246 f.; Baiḥaqī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā* V 135 f.). The rest of the content of the tradition involves a controversy as to whether women alone or

women and perfume were forbidden to men until after the day's visit to the *ka'bah*. Ibn 'Umar held that both items were forbidden, while 'Ā'ishah and Ibn 'Abbās held that only women were forbidden (see e.g. *Muwatta'* I 328; Ibn Ḥanbal I 234, II 246, IV 143; Nasā'ī II 52; Abū Dā'ūd II 202; Tirmidhī IV 148–50, esp. Ibn al-'Arabī al-Ma'āfirī's commentary; *Tafsīr* IV 225 f.; see also *Jāmi'* II 195–97).

Tradition 11. Jarīr ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Taimī al-Dabbī al-Rāzī (110–88/728–804) spent a great deal of time in Kūfah and Baghdād (Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 110; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 505–7; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* I 2, p. 214; Khaṭīb VII 253–61; Dhahabī I 250; *Mizān* I 182–84; *Jam'* I 74 f.). He owned to a weak memory, wrote down his collection of *ḥadīth*, and would not transmit from it except by reading directly from his books, which were copied by others, including Ṭayālīsī (Khaṭīb VII 256 f.). He transmitted from the Kūfan Maṣ'ūr ibn al-Mu'tamir (d. 132/749), who always recited from memory and who transmitted from Nakha'ī (Ibn Sa'd VI 235; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 177–79; Ṭabarī III 2504 f.; Dhahabī I 134 f.; Nawawī, pp. 578 f.; *Jam'* II 495).

This tradition has no parallel for both its *isnād* and *matn*, as is to be expected. It should be noted, however, that Nakha'ī, who relied solely on his memory, transmitted with emphasis on the basic meaning rather than on the literal text (Ibn Sa'd VI 190; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* I 1, p. 334). He and his followers in 'Irāq and farther east adhered to the stricter rule of Ibn 'Umar in refraining from both women and perfume (see Tradition 10).

Tradition 12. The most likely reading for the first name in verso 1 is معین or معين, but the sources yielded neither Ma'in nor Ma'n as a son of 'Uqbah. Ayyūb ibn Mūsā (n.d.) was of the family of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ. He transmitted from Nāfi' and had a written *ḥadīth* collection that he read to Zuhri and later transmitted to 'Ubaid Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣ (Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* I 1, p. 422; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 257 f.; *Jam'* I 34; see also Ibn Ḥanbal II 11 f. and p. 148 above). Ayyūb transmitted from Suffiyah bint Abī 'Ubaid (d. 45/665), wife of Ibn 'Umar, who in turn transmitted from several of Muḥammad's wives, as in the papyrus, particularly from 'Ā'ishah, Ḥafṣah, and Umm Salamah (Ibn Sa'd VIII 303; *Istī'āb* II 742; *Iṣābah* IV 676 f.; *Usd* V 493; see also Mas'ūdī V 189 f.).

Parallels and variants for this tradition are numerous, and all trace back to Nāfi' on the authority of Ibn 'Umar on the authority of the latter's sister Ḥafṣah. Suffiyah likewise transmitted directly from Ḥafṣah (*Iṣābah* IV 520–23). The tradition would seem to be a singleton preserved only by Ibn 'Umar, members of his family, and his clients. Ibn Ishāq (*Sīrah* I 966) provides the earliest extant version, which is quoted verbatim in Ibn Ḥanbal VI 285 and which is very close to the papyrus text but not identical. It is to be noted that this version, as also the papyrus text, does not specify which of Muḥammad's wives put the question to him. Parallels with more or less minor variants are found in *Muwatta'* I 394, Bukhārī I 397, Muslim VIII 211 f., Ibn Ḥanbal VI 283 f., Baiḥaqī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā* V 134, and *Tafsīr* IV 91, 104, 113. In most of these Ḥafṣah puts the question to Muḥammad, and *fulānah*, “so-and-so,” is substituted in one variant.

Related traditions transmitted by Ibn 'Umar and Nāfi' are also numerous (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 124, 139 f. and VI 36, 39; *Muwatta'* I 240–42, 394, 410 f. and references there cited to Muslim and Bukhārī; *Tafsīr* IV 91, IX 467–70, XI 22 and 94; see also *Concordance* I 304 f. (عمره الأشعار والتقليد and IV 360 ff.).

The occasion was Muḥammad's last pilgrimage, with which was combined the “lesser pilgrimage” (*umrah*). The burden of the tradition is that when the “greater” and the “lesser” pilgrimages are combined the requirements of the first hold in respect to the ritual of desanctification. This point is not to be confused with the controversy centering around the desirability

of combining the two types of pilgrimages (cf. e.g. Ṭayālīsī, pp. 16 and 232 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal I 52, 57, 60, 236 and IV 427; *Muwattaʿ* I 335–37 and references there cited). Masʿūdī V 188–90 and *Maʿrifah*, pp. 122–24, throw some light on the origin of this controversy.

Tradition 13. Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar (d. 180/796) of Medina received traditions from Ibn ʿUmar’s client ʿAbd Allāh ibn Dīnār, who died in 127/745 (*Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 46 f.; Dhahabī I 118; *Jamʿ* I 250). He moved to Baghdād, where he became a tutor in high circles. He and his three brothers gained reputations as trustworthy traditionists. Ismāʿīl himself had a collection of 500 traditions, part of which came into the possession of Dhahabī and all or part of which has survived (see Dhahabī I 231 and pp. 137 f. and 143 above; for biographical references see Ibn Saʿd VI 2, p. 72; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, pp. 349 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 162 f.; Khaṭīb VI 218–21; *Jamʿ* I 24).

This tradition has no parallels as to both *isnād* and *matn*, but its burden is similar to that of Traditions 10 and 11.

Tradition 14. Marwān ibn Shujāʿ (d. 184/800) was a client of the Umayyad caliph Marwān II in Ḥarrān. He was called “Khaṣīfī” after Khaṣīf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (see p. 153), an older Umayyad client and traditionist from whom he received much of his material. He settled eventually in Baghdād and became a tutor at the court of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs Mahdī and Hādī and devoted some of his time to collecting *ḥadīth*. His materials were transmitted in writing (*Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 273 f.). The sources do not link him with anyone named Ḥumaid, as he is linked in the papyrus text (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, pp. 72 and 183; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 372; Khaṭīb XII 147–49; Dhahabī I 272).

The Ḥumaid of the papyrus text is in all probability the Baṣran Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl (60–142/680–759; see Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 17; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, pp. 345 f.; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 219; *Maʿārif*, p. 243; Dhahabī I 143; *Jamʿ* I 89; Abū Nuʿaim III 324–47). Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl wrote down traditions, copied the manuscripts of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Ibn Saʿd VIII 1, p. 126, and VII 2, p. 20; *Mīzān* I 286), and is known to have transmitted from ʿIkrimah (d. 105 or 107/722 or 725), client and literary heir of Ibn ʿAbbās (Ibn Saʿd V 212–16; Bukhārī IV 49; *Maʿārif*, pp. 231 f.; Ṭabarī III 2483 f.; *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 7–9; Abū Nuʿaim III 326–47; *Jāmiʿ* I 82, 160; Dhahabī I 89; *Jamʿ* I 394; *Irshād* V 62–65; Nawawī, pp. 431 f.).

For Ibn ʿAbbās as a traditionist-jurist see for example Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 1, pp. 3–5, and for his wider literary activities see our Vol. I 14 f.

The appended reference in the papyrus text to Ibrāhīm (see p. 149) and his view has not been here counted as a separate tradition. For general remarks largely applicable to Traditions 14 and 15 see comments on Traditions 10, 11, and 13.

Tradition 15. Muṣʿab ibn Sadaq[ah?] is unidentified. It is difficult to tell which of several traditionists named ʿUmar ibn Qais is meant here (see e.g. Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 2, p. 186; *Jarḥ* III 1, pp. 129 f.; *Mīzān* II 268). The earliest link in the *isnād* is illegible.

Tradition 16. For Musayyib ibn Sharīk as transmitter from Sulaimān ibn Mīhrān al-Aʿmash see page 148. Aʿmash (60–148/680–765) was a leading Qurʾān-reader and traditionist of Kūfah whose trustworthiness was generally conceded and who is known to have transmitted from Nakhaʿī (Ibn Saʿd VI 238–40; Ṭabarī III 2509; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, pp. 38 f.; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 146; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 186, 246; Abū Nuʿaim V 46–60, VIII 114–23; Khaṭīb IX 3–13, 126; Nawawī, p. 118; *Jāmiʿ* I 130 f., 185; Dhahabī I 145 f.; Yāfiʿī I 305 f.; *Jamʿ* I 179 f.; see also pp. 151 above and 160 below).

Tradition 17. Note that this tradition and Tradition 20, unlike the rest, start with *قال*. The last word in verso 10 can begin only with *ḥāʾ* or *ʿain* or one of their sister forms, so that

حجامة seems the most likely reading. Another group of words met with in the sources is الطيب والصيد واللباس, but لباس is not here paleographically permissible. The next to the last word in verso 12 is not certain.

The Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan of Traditions 17 and 20 is the well known jurist and judge Shaibānī (131–89/748–805), whose version of Mālik's *Muwattaʿ* is repeatedly cited in the present study. He traveled to most of the provinces to study with their leaders (Ṭabarī III 2521). He had the distinction of being the pupil of the ʿIrāqī jurist Abū Ḥanīfah (80–150/699–767), pupil and fellow scholar of Baghdād's chief justice Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), and teacher and fellow scholar of the even more famous Shāfiʿī (150–204/767–820). For the literary activities and extant works of these scholars see *GAL* I 169 f., 179 and *GAL* S I 284, 288, 303.

This comparatively long tradition has no parallel that is complete as to *isnād* and *matn* in either the standard collections or the available *fiqh* books of the above-named jurists. Nevertheless the basic meaning of its content presents nothing new. Perfume, gaming, and cupping were permissible to pilgrims once they had performed the rites of sacrifice and of clipping or shaving the hair (see *Concordance* I 429 حجامة and III 471 صيد). For general discussions of these practices and the views of leading early jurists and traditionists regarding them see e.g. *Muwattaʿ* I 350 (= Shaibānī, p. 202), 355 f., 395 f., 410, Muslim VIII 122 f., Abū Ḥanīfah, *Musnad al-imām al-aʿzam*, pp. 114–17, Shaibānī, *Al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaḡhīr* (on margins of Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj* [Bulāq, 1302/1884]) pp. 25–31, *Kitāb al-umm* VII 197, 199 f., and Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth* (on margins of *Kitāb al-umm* VII) pp. 287–92. References regarding the regulations of contacts between the sexes during the pilgrimage are given in the comment on Tradition 10. Traditions 11 and 13–16 also involve this theme. Tradition 17 provides further details which are found in part and in whole in, for example, *Muwattaʿ* I 384 f. (cf. Shaibānī, p. 233), Bukhārī I 409, 448, and “*Corpus iuris*” di Zaid ibn ʿAlī, pp. 125 and 133 f.

Tradition 18. Mūsā ibn Aʿyan (d. 177/793) was a client of the Umayyads from Ḥarrān (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 181; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, pp. 280 f.; *Futūḥ al-buldān*, pp. 155 f.; *Jamʿ* I 484). He transmitted mostly from his fellow client and townsman Khaṣīf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 137/754) of Tradition 14 (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 180; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 136 f.). For Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī see Tradition 10. ʿAṭā is in all probability ʿAṭā ibn Abī Ribāḥ of Tradition 5, who appears frequently in the sources in *isnād*'s of traditions related in content to Traditions 18–21.

The *kiswah* or covering for the *kaʿbah* was demanded in pre-Islāmic times, it is believed, at least as far back as the time of the early Ḥimyarites and certainly under the Quraish. Various Yemenite fabrics were used (H. F. Wüstenfeld [ed.], *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* I [Leipzig, 1858] 174 f.; *Ansāb* I 133; *Maʿārif*, p. 277; *Jarḥ*, *Taqdīmah*, p. 332). Muḥammad continued the use of such fabrics, while some of the Successors used also rich brocades from the newly conquered provinces of Egypt and ʿIrāq (Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.* pp. 175 f.; *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 47; Yaʿqūbī II 283). See *Ars Islamica* IX (1942) 64 and XIII–XIV (1948) 86 for the Egyptian coverings provided by the caliphs ʿUmar I and ʿUthmān. The wealthier Companions threw expensive robes over the saddles of their sacrificial animals at the time of the pilgrimage, and some of them, including Ibn ʿUmar, donated these robes for use as coverings for the *kaʿbah* (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* I 379 [= Shaibānī, p. 231]; Bukhārī I 428, 430 f.; Muslim IX 64–66). Soon the supply of robes exceeded the demand, and some of the used coverings were therefore burned or buried. But ʿĀʾishah expressed the opinion that it would not be sacrilegious to sell the richer coverings and distribute the proceeds to the poor along with the less sumptuous used robes. This practice was followed by ʿUmar I and Muʿāwiyah and periodically thereafter by others

(see e.g. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.* pp. 179–81; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-waraʿ*, p. 21; Baiḥaqī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā* V 159 f.). Political significance was attached by the counter-caliph ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubair and by his conqueror, Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, to the privilege or function of providing the *kaʿbah* covering (Zubairī, p. 239; Mālikī, *Kitāb riyaḍ al-nufūs*, ed. Ḥusain Muʿnis, I [Cairo, 1951] 42 f.; *Sīrah* I 126). Thereafter the Umayyad caliphs provided the *kiswah*, but the thrifty ʿUmar II thought the practice was wasteful and considered that the expenditure would be better justified for feeding the poor (*Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 47; Abū Nuʿaim V 306). The coverings at times accumulated to such an extent that it was feared their weight would bring down the *kaʿbah*. The caliph Maḥdī had them all removed in the year 160/777 and provided new coverings, as did the ʿAlid Ḥasan al-Aʿṭas in the year 200/815 (see e.g. Yaʿqūbī II 477; Ṭabarī III 483, 988; Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.* pp. 179–84, esp. pp. 182 f.). To remove or not to remove the coverings and how to dispose of them if they were removed apparently involved differences of opinion among the early Islāmic jurists. For a recapitulation of some of these practices and for still later developments see Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-gharām* I 119–26 and II 376. For the religious significance and other details bearing on the *kiswah* see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, “Le voile de la kaʿba,” *Islamic Studies* II (1954) 5–21.

Traditions 19–21. Infrared photography brought out the slight traces in the damaged parts of the papyrus that made possible the partial reconstruction of the three *isnād*'s. The earliest link in the *isnād* of Tradition 19 is probably either Ibn ʿUmar or Ibn ʿAbbās, for close parallels to these traditions trace back to both of them. Note that Tradition 20, like Tradition 17, starts with *وقال*. Adequate traces make the reconstruction of the full names certain. In Tradition 21 the blank space, as in Tradition 9, was left for a name to be filled in later.

The *Concordance* yielded no parallels under *تراب*, *ثياب*, *حجر*, *كسوة*, or *كعبه*. The subject, however, is frequently discussed in legal works, which cite close parallels from Ibn ʿUmar and Ibn ʿAbbās and which indicate that Abū Ḥanīfah, unlike Shāfiʿī, permitted the removal of the items concerned from the sacred area (Abū Yūsuf, *Ikhtilāf Abī Ḥanīfah wa Ibn Abī Lailā*, ed. Abū al-Wafāʾ al-Afghānī [Cairo, 1357/1938] pp. 139 f.; *Kitāb al-umm* VII 135; Baiḥaqī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā* V 201 f.).

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

I

Musayyib ibn Sharīk and his fellow transmitters were either native to or eventually settled in ʿIrāq. Their death dates, except that of the uncertain Muʿādh of Tradition 8, have the narrow range of 177 to 189 A.H. Their immediate authorities, all but two of whom have been identified, were likewise men of ʿIrāq as were a great many of the earlier and even the first links in the *isnād*'s. The papyrus obviously presents ʿIrāqī views and comes from the circle if not the hand of an ʿIrāqī traditionist or jurist, most probably a jurist since Musayyib, Shaibānī, and Abū Ḥanīfah (Tradition 20) were primarily professional jurists and judges rather than traditionists.¹ Because Musayyib and Shaibānī were close contemporaries and there is

¹ For recognition of this professional distinction in the time of Zuhri, see pp. 195 f. Both Abū Ḥanīfah and Shaibānī received qualified or adverse ratings at the hands of professional biographers and *ḥadīth* critics. For Shaibānī as a traditionist see e.g. Ibn Saʿd VIII 2, p. 78; Khaṭīb II 179–81; *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 227; *GAL S* I 288. For Abū Ḥanīfah see Khaṭīb XIII 331 f., where Abū Ḥanīfah classifies him-

self as a jurist rather than a traditionist, pp. 402 and 416, where he realizes his own weakness in the field of *ḥadīth*, p. 346 for Shāfiʿī's testimony to his leadership in the field of *fiqh*, and pp. 390, 410, 414–16, 419 f. for criticism of him as a weak and minor traditionist; but cf. pp. 340 and 419, where Abū Yūsuf and Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn credit him with insight for *tafsīr al-ḥadīth* and for the use of only such

no evidence that they exchanged materials, the compiler of the papyrus text must be drawing independently on both men. He is, however, citing Shaibānī and Abū Ḥanīfah only for corroborative and supplementary evidence on legal opinion—a fact that points away from the circle of Shaibānī to that of Musayyib, who is quoted more often than any other source in the papyrus text.

Inasmuch as the papyrus, despite its ‘Irāqī *isnād*’s, was found in Egypt, it was necessary to follow clues that pointed to jurists who not only transmitted from Musayyib and his contemporaries but also were associated with both ‘Irāq and Egypt. A long and tedious process of elimination left two possibilities. The first and less likely is the famous Egyptian jurist Laith ibn Sa‘d, who is known to have traveled, along with his secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ, to ‘Irāq in the year 161/778 (see p. 163) and is also known to have transmitted some materials from Musayyib.² Nevertheless, other data point away from Laith, for, though he and his secretary sought out ‘Irāq’s outstanding jurists and traditionists, it is not likely and is nowhere stated that at this time they sought out either the younger Musayyib or his contemporaries that are named in the papyrus. Moreover, Laith does not appear in the *isnād*’s of the comparatively few traditions found in the literary sources as parallel or related to the traditions of the papyrus.

The second and far more likely possibility is the comparatively obscure ‘Irāqī traditionist and judge Faḍl ibn Ghānim (d. 236/850), who not only transmitted from Musayyib but also served as judge in Egypt for almost a year (198–99/813–14), when many Egyptian scholars wrote down his materials.³ In Egypt at this time there were three active schools of jurisprudence: that of the followers of Laith ibn Sa‘d (d. 175/791), whose secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ survived him and was quite active as a transmitter of traditions and collector of manuscripts (see e.g. pp. 163, 164, 195), the well entrenched school of Mālik’s followers, and the school of Shāfi‘ī, who had recently settled in Egypt and won a large following. All three schools were at this time active centers for the production of scholarly books. The good quality of our papyrus, its book format with generous margins, and its carefully executed script all point to a scholar’s fair and permanent copy. Inasmuch as the comparatively young Faḍl would hardly have left his original copy behind him in Egypt, the papyrus very likely represents some Egyptian scholar’s copy of Faḍl’s collection, perhaps that of Abū Ṣāliḥ.

II

The reason for the scarcity of parallel or related materials, particularly for the *isnād*’s, in the standard collections of either *ḥadīth* or *fiqh* works of the end of the second century and thereafter centers around the activities and character of Faḍl ibn Ghānim. Morally loose, avaricious, and a religious opportunist, he lost position and friends and finally became involved in the religious testings and trials of Ma‘mūn’s reign.⁴ Contemporary critics and nearly contemporary biographers were aware of these facts and were almost unanimous in dismissing Faḍl as “weak, of no account, and one whose materials are to be ignored.”⁵ And ignored they were, if we judge by the complete lack of identical parallels—that is, for *isnād* plus *matn*—of individual traditions in the papyrus text and by the scarcity of other traditions transmitted

traditions as he had memorized. See also e.g. *Jāmi‘* II 145–48; *Kifāyah*, p. 231; Aḥmad Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām* (Cairo, 1347/1928) pp. 256 and 293; *GAL S* I 284. Yūsuf al-‘Ashsh, *Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*, pp. 238–44, clarifies some of Khaṭīb’s views on Abū Ḥanīfah as a traditionist.

² Khaṭīb XIII 138.

³ Khaṭīb XII 357–59.

⁴ See e.g. Kindī, pp. 240 f.; Ṭabari III 1121, 1127 f.; Ibn Taghribirdī I 639.

⁵ *ليس بشئ، متروك الحديث* (see e.g. *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 66; Khaṭīb XII 357–60; *Mizān* II 332; *Lisān* IV 445–47.

from Faḍl. Furthermore, Musayyib ibn Sharīk, who is quoted seven times in the papyrus text, was considered weak and generally unacceptable as a traditionist (see p. 148). Assuming that we are correct in identifying Faḍl as the compiler of the papyrus text, we could follow the critics of long ago and ignore him and his collection. But the critics' rejection of Faḍl coupled with the absence of identical parallels for any of the traditions of our document is particularly significant for the evaluation of early methods and standards of transmission in the related fields of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*. For the papyrus can on its own evidence be considered representative of either a *ḥadīth* or a *fiqh* work, since during the second half of the second century the production of *muṣannafāt* or sizable collections of traditions grouped according to subject matter (*ḥadīth mubawwab*) was generally widespread in both fields without, however, displacing the early *musnad* or collection of traditions that were unorganized but derived as a unit from a particular ultimate authority, usually a first- or second-generation Muslim. Considered as a collection of traditions organized by subject headings but with several weak links in its *isnād*'s, the papyrus text would be rejected by major *ḥadīth* collectors. For its subject matter could readily be found in the collections of trustworthy professional transmitters (see p. 147) as against those of practicing lawyers or judges who as a class were not considered on a par with the professional traditionists or theoretical jurists on whom they depended for authentic traditions and authoritative legal opinion. The average lawyer or judge with utilitarian objectives was neither able nor expected to concern himself with the "science of *ḥadīth*" as such, a science that had become so complex and exacting (see pp. 65, 68 f., and esp. 73–77) that its demands were too great even for such major jurists as Abū Ḥanīfah and Shaibānī and to a lesser extent Shāfi'ī (see p. 154, n. 1). Under such circumstances, though an aspiring law student or a practicing lawyer or judge may indeed have been interested in acquiring the collection of a fellow student or professional, even of a suspect one, for personal reference, he would hardly have exerted himself to transmit it to others. The survival of a folio from an Egyptian's copy of such a work is, I strongly suspect, due to Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith ibn Sa'd, who appears so frequently in these studies (see p. 91) in his multiple role of secretary-copyist and scholar-transmitter of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, and *fiqh* materials and collector of manuscripts.

III

In the course of identifying the forty or more transmitters involved in the *isnād*'s of the papyrus text I was impressed by the rapidly mounting literary evidence of the availability of and the increasing reliance on written sources for *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* materials in these early times. The leading productive scholars in both fields from the time of Mālik onward were associated with the production of sizable and permanent manuscripts, as fully recorded and appraised by the early Islāmic literary critics. Western scholars, however, have been of divided opinion as to the objectivity and hence the reliability of the evidence. The skeptics tend to discount the numerous statements about the masters' prodigious literary activity as subjective exuberance and partisan exaggeration on the part of their pupils and followers. Study of the present document provides its share of convincing evidence that real credit for accelerated literary activity belongs indeed to such masters as Abū Ḥanīfah, Laith ibn Sa'd, Mālik, Shāfi'ī, and Ibn Ḥanbal, along with due recognition of the editorial and supplementary textual additions of their pupils and followers. Moreover, it was not only these leaders and their circles who were engaged in manuscript production, but their less well known and even obscure contemporaries had come to consider the production and possession of manuscripts as essential

to all levels of scholarly activity. Among the latter are the last-link transmitters mentioned in this document who are stated to have committed their materials to writing: Musayyib ibn Sharīk, Salamah ibn Ṣāliḥ, Ḥammād ibn Zaid, Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar, and Marwān ibn Shujāʿ of Traditions 2, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 14 respectively. Furthermore, all the *isnād* links back to the initial source of many of the traditions were men who are stated to have produced or used written collections, some of considerable size. These men include—among the contemporaries of Abū Ḥanīfah—Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl and Aʿmash of Traditions 14 and 16 respectively. A sizable collection of Aʿmash’s traditions was in circulation even in Zuhri’s time.⁶ Moving closer to Zuhri’s own generation we find Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī of Tradition 10 and Zuhri’s written materials from Nāfiʿ the client of and Ṣālim the son of Ibn ʿUmar. There are also Zuhri’s still older contemporaries Mujāhid ibn Jabr and Saʿīd ibn Jubair of Tradition 5, whose written *tafsīr* materials figured so largely in Muqātil ibn Sulaimān’s works (see Document 1), and Nakhaʿī of Traditions 9 and 11. Nakhaʿī, though he gave priority to oral transmission from memory and frowned at first on the writing-down of traditions because he realized that one invariably relies on one’s manuscripts, did nevertheless permit the use of manuscripts for those who could not rely on their memories and commended those “on whose clothes and lips were ink stains.”⁷ That his materials were available in manuscripts, perhaps in copies written down by his students, and that they were quoted directly from these manuscripts is indicated by the use of the terms “*dhakara*⁸ Ibrāhīm” (Tradition 14) and “*dhakarahu* (Ḥammād) on the authority of Ibrāhīm” (Tradition 9). We come finally to the two Companions who are the primary sources for most of the traditions in the papyrus text, namely Ibn ʿAbbās, whose personal manuscripts and copies made by ʿIkrimah and others of his pupils have been discussed elsewhere,⁹ and Ibn ʿUmar, who agreed with his father’s verdict against the writing-down of *ḥadīth*. Though it is said that Ibn ʿUmar stood by his convictions to the end, there is some evidence that at least some of his immediate transmitters took to writing down their materials at his request¹⁰ and later dictated them to others, as illustrated in the case of Nāfiʿ, whose materials Zuhri wrote down. There can be little doubt that Zuhri’s younger contemporaries who also transmitted from Nāfiʿ and are known to have written down their materials and composed some of the earliest works of Islām were responsible for the preservation of whatever has survived of Ibn ʿUmar’s traditions and opinions. The list of such transmitters from Nāfiʿ includes, besides those already mentioned in connection with Document 4, such men as Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaisān, who was Zuhri’s companion in writing down *ḥadīth*, Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj (see p. 209), Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī (see Document 7), and Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah.

In view of the amount of evidence that attests to the writing-down of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* materials from the time of the Companions onward by students and scholars in general and by so many of the transmitters associated with our document in particular, it is entirely possible that manuscripts played a more important role than did oral transmission in the step-by-step evolution and the preservation of the collection represented by this papyrus.

⁶ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd VI 239; Khaṭīb IX 11.

⁷ Ibn Saʿd VI 189; Aḥmad Fūʿād al-Ahwānī, *Al-tarbiyah fī al-Islām*, pp. 39, 316, 354.

⁸ See Vol. I 13, 16, 22, 53, for the use of *dhakara* to indicate the independent use of written sources.

⁹ See Vol. I 23 and 28.

¹⁰ *Dārimī* I 127 f.

DOCUMENT 5

Oriental Institute No. 17626. Last quarter of second/late eighth or early ninth century.

Medium quality papyrus, 16.3 × 11.5 cm., with 19 or 20 lines to the page as is (Pl. 10). There are practically no side margins. The fragment is either a loose sheet or part of a small roll; the verso is upside down in relation to the recto.

Script.—Poor semicursive *naskhī* script from a hand that was neither fully developed nor stable in its penmanship. Diacritical points are used for *bā* and its sister letters and for *nūn* and *yā*; *jīm* and *khā* are sometimes dotted, and one *hā* (first word of recto 3) has a small *hā* below it; *shīn* is dotted occasionally, and *sīn* has a small *sīn* below it; *fā* has a dot below it and *qāf* a dot above it. A *fathah* and two dots for nunation seem indicated in *ردا* of recto 2. A *dammah* is used in *فير* of recto 6. Circles, with or without dots, are used for punctuation and possibly collation. The pear-shaped device of recto 5 is due to an attempt to cover an error; the scribe, having started to write the *وا* of *والنضر*, went over the two letters and made this punctuation mark.

TEXT

RECTO

- 1 (1) وحدثنا النضر بن عربي قال رايت على عمر بن
- 2 عبد العزيز قميص نبطي وردا منبز بزعفران وسراويل بتعقبه
- 3 حمرة قال ابو صالح يا ابا روح كيف رايت سراويله فقال كان
- 4 ينزل من درجة سلم بيت العال فضرب الريح ثيابه فرايت
- 5 سراويله ○ (2) والنضر بن عربي قال كان عمر بن عبد العزيز اذا رفع
- 6 راسه من الركوع اعتدل قايفا حتى يدخل الرجل فير انه لم يركع
- 7 (3) سفيان بن عيينة وعيسى بن يونس عن الاعمش عن عمارة بن عمير
- 8 عن ابي معمر عن ابي مسعود البدرى قال قال رسول الله لا
- 9 تجرى صلاة لا يقيم الرجل فيها صلبه في الركوع والسجود
- 10 (4) حماد بن سلمة عن ثابت البناني [عن] حميد عن انس بن مالك قال صليت
- 11 خلف رجل اوجز في صلاة من رسول الله في قيام وكانت صلاة
- 12 رسول الله متقاربة وصلاة ابي بكر متقاربة فلما كان زمان
- 13 عمر بن الخطاب حد في الركعتين من صلاة الصبح وكان رسول
- 14 الله اذا قال سمع الله لمن حمده قام حتا نقول قد اوهم ثم يسجد
- 15 واذا رفع راسه من السجود قعد حتا نقول قد اوهم ثم يسجد
- 16 (5) [والنضر بن عربي قال رايت على طاوس ترس بمشقين قال وكان
- 17 [يا]جلى] فيه [الحرم] (6) والنضر بن عربي قال رايت ميمون بن مهران

- 18 يتبع عبد الله بن عباس بيت ملا قيام بصلاة الامام
 19 (7) والنضر بن عربي قال طرقتنا في ابواب البيت اذا رايت منها
 20

VERSO

- 1 (8) النضر بن عربي قال رايت عمر بن عبد العزيز يطوف حول البيت
 2 وكان على حج فقال ان كان ليقال من احب
 3 اخاه فليعلمه واني لاحبك في الله يذكر هذا [أ]الحديث
 4 لابي العطف الجراح بن المنهال فقال اخبرنا عبد الكريم
 5 ابو امية عن سعيد بن جبير ان رسول الله قال من احب
 6 اخاه فليعلمه ○ (9) النضر عن مجاهد قال رايت كلهم
 7 ضامن على اخيه وفي سبته الحج والمعتمر والغازي في
 8 سبيل الله دعاهم الله فاجابوه وسالوه فاعطاهم ○
 9 (10) النضر بن عربي قال كان مجاهد يتخلل الناس يوم الجمعة
 10 ليكون قريبا من الامام ليسمع خطبته قال النضر والتخليل
 11 عنى التخلل ○
 12 (11) النضر قال قال (أ) بن عباس ان الله جعل في هذه الامة امانين لا
 13 يزالون معصومين محبورين من قوارع العذاب ما دام [أ] بين اظهرهم
 14 فاما قبضه الله اليه واما بقي فيكم قوله ما كان الله
 15 ليعذبهم وانت فيهم وما كان الله معذبهم وهم يستغفرون
 16 قال ابو صالح من شهد الحديث عمرو بن جناد بن ابراهيم بن مسلم
 17 (12) قال حدثنا النضر قال حدثنا مجاهد وكان ثقة امين في اخبار هذه
 18 الامة عن بن عباس بهذا الحديث قال ابو صالح ولم يذكر
 19 النضر مجاهد

Comments.—Tradition 1. Note the transposition of the letters *mīm* and *yāʿ* in قميص and of *alif* and *yāʿ* in رايت. The first word of recto 4 (سلم) was a scribal error and hence erased.

The sources confirm transmission by Abū Rauḥ al-Naḍr ibn ʿArabī (d. 168/784 at an advanced age) from ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who is the subject of Traditions 1, 2, and 9, from Mujāhid ibn Jabr of Traditions 9, 10, and 12, and from Maimūn ibn Mihrān of Tradition 6, all of whom were at one time or another associated with ʿUmar. Critics disagreed on Naḍr's trustworthiness as a transmitter, though he was acceptable to most of them, including Ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 181; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 89; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 475; *Tafsīr* II 230; Abū Nuʿaim V 289, 339 f.; *Mīzān* III 235).

For Abū Ṣāliḥ, who appears also in Traditions 11 and 12, see pages 163 f.

Ibn Saʿd devotes considerable space to the personal appearance and dress habits of Islām's

early leaders. His account of the clothing of ʿUmar II is lost, but see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, p. 167, and Abū Nuʿaim V 297, 322 f., 332.

No parallel for this tradition has yet been found.

Traditions 2–3. The stipulation that one must hold oneself completely erect between the various bowings of the prayer service is recognized by all. Though no parallel is available for Tradition 2, which concerns only ʿUmar’s practice, numerous parallels are available for Tradition 3, which traces back to Muḥammad. The second word of recto 7 could be read as “ʿUtbah”; but, since the sources yield no Sufyān ibn ʿUtbah, the word must be a scribal error for “ʿUyainah.”

Sufyān ibn ʿUyainah (107–98/725–814; see pp. 179 f.) fled from Kūfah to Mecca in the year 122/740 but returned to Kūfah in 126. He made numerous pilgrimages to the holy cities and studied with the leading traditionists, including Zuhri, so that he and Mālik, both of whom wrote down their materials, became known as the preservers of the *ḥadīth* of the Ḥijāz (*Jarḥ, Taqdīmah*, pp. 234 f.; Khaṭīb IX 179, 183). Both Sufyān and his fellow transmitter of this text, ʿĪsā ibn Yūnus (d. 187/803; see Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 185, which gives his death date as 191/807; *Jarḥ* III 1, pp. 291 f.; *Jamʿ* I 392; Khaṭīb XI 152–56; Dhahabī I 257–59), were pupils of the Kūfan Aʿmash (see p. 152). For Aʿmash’s transmission from ʿUmārah ibn ʿUmair see Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 2, p. 499, *Jarḥ* III 1, pp. 266, and *Jamʿ* I 396.

The biographical literature does not specifically substantiate direct progressive transmission for the three earliest links in the *isnād*, though place and time provided an opportunity for such transmission because all three men were Kūfans of the first century. Individually they are listed among the trustworthy. They could have passed unnamed among the “and others” usually found at the end of a list of transmitters. ʿUmārah ibn ʿUmair died sometime during Hishām’s reign (Ibn Saʿd VI 201), while Abū Maʿmar died during the governorship of Ziyād ibn Abīhi (Ibn Saʿd VI 70). Abū Masʿūd ʿUqbah ibn ʿAmr al-Badrī was a well known Companion and traditionist whose *musnad* is to be found in Ṭayālisī, pp. 85 f., and Ibn Ḥanbal IV 118–22. His death date is variously reported as about 40/660 to after 60/680 (Ibn Saʿd VI 9; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 313; *Istīʿāb* II 658; *Iṣābah* II 1167 f.; *Jamʿ* I 380).

The tradition is widely known and is often repeated with very slight change in the word order of the content. Ibn Ḥanbal IV 122 carries the *isnād* forward to ʿĪsā ibn Yūnus, and Nasāʾī I 167 carries it back to Muḥammad. In most of the other parallels the *isnād* branches out from Aʿmash (e.g. Ṭayālisī, p. 85, No. 613; Abū Dāʿūd I 226; Dārimī I 304; Ibn Mājah I 147; Nasāʾī I 158; Tirmidhī II 65 f.). The sense of the content is frequently reported with different *isnād*’s and sometimes in longer traditions describing Muḥammad’s practices (e.g. Ṭayālisī, p. 217, No. 1547; Muslim IV 97, 213; Bukhārī I 202 f.; Dārimī I 305; Tirmidhī II 77; see also *Concordance* I 346 جزی and III 333 صلب).

Tradition 4. Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār (d. 167/784 at age of ca. eighty), leading Baṣran scholar and traditionist, was considered the most trustworthy transmitter of the *ḥadīth* of Thābit al-Bunānī (d. between 123/741 and 128/746 in his eighties) and of that of his own maternal uncle Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl (60–142/680–759). Ibn Ḥibbān describes his activities as follows: “He was among those who traveled and wrote and collected and composed (*sannaf*) and memorized and discoursed” (see p. 43 above). He was inclined to bypass the suspect links of an *isnād* (*tadlīs*), and hence some traditionists avoided his materials, but Ibn Ḥibbān (*Ṣaḥīḥ* I 114–18, esp. p. 116) came to his defense and pointed out that his *tadlīs* was to be trusted as was that of several other famous traditionists. He incumbered himself with few worldly possessions, but his Qurʾān and his books, carried in a knapsack, were always seen

with him (Nawawī, *Bustān al-ʿarīfīn* [Cairo, 1348/1929] p. 32). Among his manuscripts was a copy of the book of the schoolteacher Qais ibn Saʿd of Mecca (d. 117/735 or 119/737; see Ibn Saʿd V 355; *Maʿārif*, p. 271; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 154; *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 99; Nawawī, p. 515; Dhahabī I 190; *Mizān* II 350). Ḥammād's materials were sought by many of his own generation and by younger scholars who wrote from his dictation and from whom in turn the next generation of collectors made copies (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, pp. 39 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, pp. 21 f.; *Jarḥ* I 2, pp. 140–42; Masʿūdī VI 259 f.; Dhahabī I 189 f.; *Mizān* I 277–79; *Jamʿ* I 103). Such scholars include Sībawaih (*Maʿārif*, p. 252; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Zubaidī, *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa al-lughawīyyīn*, p. 66). ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣim (d. 213/828; Dhahabī I 355), Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḍarīs (Dhahabī I 317), ʿAmr ibn Abī Salamah (d. 214/829; *Mizān* I 277, where the “Abī” has dropped out, and II 289), ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Ghiyāth and Mūsā ibn Ismāʿīl al-Baṣrī al-Tabūdhkī (d. 223/838), from whom Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn and Abū Zarʿah wrote down Ḥammād's materials (*Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 315, 329, 335; Dhahabī I 357). The number most frequently mentioned for traditions dictated by or copied from Ḥammād is 10,000, and some of these men add that they wrote down an equal number of traditions from Sufyān al-Thaurī.

Thābit al-Bunānī (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, pp. 3 f.; *Maʿārif*, p. 241; Ṭabarī III 2500) was a Baṣran *qāṣṣ* known for his piety and concern with the Qurʾān. He had a small collection of some 250 traditions, and a deliberate test by Ḥammād ibn Salamah proved that he had memorized them well (*Jarḥ* I 1, p. 449; Dhahabī I 118). Though he transmitted from several leading traditionists, his chief mentor was Anas ibn Mālik, with whom he was associated for some forty years (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, pp. 159 f.; Abū Nuʿaim II 327; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 67). Some of his traditions from Anas and others are to be found in the *Ṣaḥīḥain* of Muslim and Bukhārī and other collections (*Jamʿ* I 65 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal I 295 f., III 121–25 *et passim*; Ṭayālisī, pp. 270–74; Abū Nuʿaim II 227–33).

For Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl see page 152, and for samples of his traditions see for example Ibn Ḥanbal III 98–100, 103–9, and 190 f.

Parallels for this long tradition and its *isnād* are found in Muslim IV 189 and Ibn Ḥanbal III 247. In both of these the first part is more nearly identical with the papyrus text (recto 10–13) than is the second part. Ṭayālisī, p. 271, No. 2030, provides a close parallel to the first part, while in Ibn Ḥanbal III 100, 182, and 205 there are parallels for recto 10–11 that come from Ḥumaid. It would seem therefore that the compiler of the papyrus text combined several traditions transmitted by Thābit and Ḥumaid from Anas into a composite tradition—a practice that was followed by Ṭayālisī for traditions of these and other pupils of Anas (Ṭayālisī, p. 273, No. 2056). Related traditions from other sources are found for example in *Muwattaʿ* I 75, *Risālah*, p. 36, Bukhārī I 205 f., Muslim IV 188 f., and Abū Dāʿūd I 300 f.

Tradition 5. Ṭāʿūs ibn Kaisān (d. 106/724 at age of over ninety) was a leading Yemenite traditionist whose position was comparable to that of Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn in Baṣrah. He insisted on the literal transmission of *ḥadīth*. He died in Mecca on the last of some forty pilgrimages he is said to have made (Ibn Saʿd V 391–95; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, p. 366; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 501 f.; Dhahabī I 83 f.; *Jamʿ* I 235 f.). For samples of his traditions see Ṭayālisī, p. 340, and Abū Nuʿaim IV 16–23. For Ṭāʿūs as a Qurʾānic commentator see page 108.

Three parallels for this tradition, from three different sources, are found in Ibn Saʿd V 392, and two of them end with *ممشقين بطين وهو حرام*, which suggested the reconstruction of the papyrus text.

Tradition 6. Maimūn ibn Mihrān (40–117/660–735) was one of the leading jurists of the

Jazīrah. He served under ʿUmar II as financial governor and judge of that province but soon retired and devoted his time to scholarship and prayer. He and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Makḥūl al-Shāmī, and Zuhri came to be known as the leading scholars of Hishām's reign. Maimūn's transmission from Ibn ʿAbbās and his excessive preoccupation with prayer accord with the text of the papyrus, for which, however, no parallel has yet been found (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, pp. 177 f. and 181; *Maʿārif*, pp. 288 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, pp. 338 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 233 f.; Abū Nuʿaim IV 82–97; Khaṭīb XII 188 f.; Dhahabī I 93 f.; *Jamʿ* II 514).

Tradition 7. Since it is impossible to determine how many lines are lost at the bottom of the recto and the top of the verso, more than one tradition may be involved.

Tradition 8. This double tradition gives evidence, because of cancellation of text (verso 2), of copying or dictation from manuscript. The use of *dhakara* (verso 3) to start the second and corroborative tradition also indicates the use of manuscripts (cf. p. 157). This second tradition could be an editorial addition by either Abū Rauḥ al-Naḍr ibn ʿArabī himself (cf. Tradition 10) or by his transmitter. Abū al-ʿAṭūf al-Jarrāḥ ibn al-Minhāl (d. 168/784–85) was from the Jazīrah, where he served as judge. He transmitted from several outstanding traditionists, including Zuhri, and among those who transmitted from him was Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿAbd al-Ghaffār ibn Dāʿūd al-Ḥarrānī (*Jarḥ* I 1, p. 522). Abū al-ʿAṭūf was generally considered a weak traditionist (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 182; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 228; Daulābī II 32; *Mizān* I 180; *Lisān* II 99 f.).

ʿAbd al-Karīm Abū Ummāyah (d. 127/745) was originally from Baṣrah but settled as a schoolteacher in Mecca, where he transmitted from Saʿīd ibn Jubair (see pp. 98 f., 149) among others. He was considered weak by some critics, though Mālik and Sufyān al-Thaurī were among his transmitters (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 18; *Jarḥ* III 1, pp. 59 f.; Daulābī I 114; Dhahabī I 133; *Mizān* II 144 f.; *Jamʿ* I 324).

No parallel has yet been found for the statement of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. For the tradition as a whole there are numerous close parallels that trace back to Muḥammad through *isnād*'s other than that of the papyrus (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal III 140 f. and 150, IV 130; Abū Dāʿūd IV 332 f.). The burden of the tradition is that one should love one's neighbor as one's self out of love for God, a concept that is found repeatedly in the standard collections (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 953 f.; Bukhārī I 11; Ibn Ḥanbal III 141, IV 70, and V 241, 239, 247; Dārimī II 307; Abū Nuʿaim V 120–22, 129 f.; see also *Concordance* I 407 f.).

Tradition 9. For Mujāhid see page 98. The content has no identical parallels, but closely related traditions are available (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal VI 20; Ibn Mājah II 109).

Tradition 10. The *isnād* links have been covered in the comments on preceding traditions. No parallel for Mujāhid's practice has been found, though Muḥammad and others are reported as doing the same (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal V 338; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 194; see also *Concordance* II 56 بتخلل الصف). Note Abū Rauḥ al-Naḍr ibn ʿArabī's editorial comment at the end of the tradition.

Tradition 11. The *isnād* has been covered. The complete tradition, that is, with both the *isnād* and the *matn* of the papyrus, does not seem to be in the standard collections. Closely related parallels on the authority of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (d. 42/662) are available (e.g. Muslim XV 52; Ibn Ḥanbal IV 393, 403; Tirmidhī XI 212). The Qurʾānic passage is from Sūrah 8:33. *Concordance* IV 250, under عصم, has references to the Qurʾān only as a saving guide. Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr* XIII 509–16) brings together traditions bearing on the theme. Ibn Kathīr (*Tafsīr*, ed. Muḥammad Rashīd al-Riḍā, IV [Cairo, 1346/1927] 53), however, cites the papyrus tradition

in full on the authority of the ʿAbd al-Ghaffār ibn Dāʿūd on the authority of Naḍr ibn ʿAdī (*sic*; error for عربي) with two variants, namely محبورين for محارين of verso 13 and امامين for امامين of verso 12. He adds a comment that امامين must be an error for امانين, as the papyrus text itself proves in verso 14. The two *amān*'s or safeguards are the Prophet and repentance (النبي والاستغفار).

Note (verso 16) Abū Ṣāliḥ's editorial comment mentioning ʿAmr ibn Jannād ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muslim, who has not yet been identified, as a witness to the transmission of the tradition. Note the use of *shahada* and *dhakara* (instead of the more familiar *sami'a* or *haddatha*) in verso 16 and 18 respectively, which suggests transmission from manuscripts.

Tradition 12. This corroborative *isnād* for the preceding tradition, provided by Abū Ṣāliḥ, draws attention to Abū Rauḥ al-Naḍr ibn ʿArabī's bypassing (*dals*) of Mujāhid, of whom Abū Ṣāliḥ himself approved (see pp. 73, n. 1, 173, 233 for other examples of the bypassing of names).

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

I

The first clue to the identification of the transmitter from Abū Rauḥ al-Naḍr ibn ʿArabī is provided by Abū Ṣāliḥ and his editorial comments in Traditions 1, 11, and 12. The best known Egyptian Abū Ṣāliḥ of the time of Naḍr and the following generation is the secretary of Laith ibn Saʿd (d. 175/791), who accompanied Laith on a visit to Baghdād in the year 161/778. Here they sought the leading ʿIrāqī scholars and wrote down a large number of traditions, including copies of sizable written collections such as that of Hushaim al-Wāsiṭī (104–83/722–99), which is said to have consisted of some 20,000 organized traditions (*ḥadīth mubawwab*).¹ There was thus a possibility that this rough sheet with its small format and few traditions found its way into Egypt in the company of this Abū Ṣāliḥ, who was in his early twenties at the time of his visit to Baghdād. But inasmuch as the biographical literature nowhere definitely links Laith and his secretary with Abū Rauḥ al-Naḍr ibn ʿArabī, it became necessary to look for another contemporary Abū Ṣāliḥ who was associated with both the Jazīrah and ʿIrāq since Naḍr and his fellow transmitters ʿĪsā ibn Yūnus, Sufyān al-Thaurī, and Ḥammād ibn Salamah came from these provinces. The man sought had to be associated also with Egypt, where the papyrus itself was found.

Daulābī supplied the next clue in listing Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿAbd al-Ghaffār ibn Dāʿūd al-Ḥarrānī (d. 224/839), that is, a man from the Jazīrah.² As this Abū Ṣāliḥ's traces were followed, it finally became certain that he is the Abū Ṣāliḥ of the papyrus text. He was well acquainted with Naḍr, whose traditions he transmitted.³ He transmitted also from Ḥammād of Tradition 4.⁴ Furthermore, he settled in Egypt and transmitted from Laith ibn Saʿd.⁵ The final and certain touch was provided by Ibn Kathīr, who has preserved the one parallel that is so far available for Tradition 11 of the papyrus (see p. 162). His *isnād* reads: "Ibn Abī Ḥātim said my father related to us (*ḥaddathanā*) that ʿAbd al-Ghaffār ibn Dāʿūd related to them that Naḍr ibn ʿArabī (printed text has عدي, an obvious error for عربي) related to them saying, 'Ibn ʿAbbās said . . .'" The *matn* that follows repeats almost verbatim that of the

¹ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, pp. 61 and 70; *Jarḥ, Taqdīmah*, p. 295; Khaṭīb IX 479, XIII 4; Dhahabī I 229 f.; see also p. 39 above.

² Daulābī II 9 f.

³ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 89; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 54; *Jamʿ* I 329.

⁴ *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 54.

⁵ Daulābī II 10; *Futūḥ*, p. 182.

papyrus text. Ibn Abī Ḥātim and his father, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, are the authors of the *Jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl* that is quoted so frequently in these studies. Abū Ḥātim made a grand tour (*riḥlah*) of the provinces in the years 213–21/828–36 and wrote down thousands of traditions all along the way. He spent seven months in Egypt “seeking out the leading traditionists by day and spending the nights in copying and collating manuscripts.”⁶ At this time, then, he must have sought out Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī, who had settled in Egypt and from whom he wrote down some materials, including the tradition under consideration, which he passed on to his son. The latter, in turn, quoted the tradition in connection with his comment on Sūrah 8:33 in his own *Tafsīr*,⁷ which was quoted by Ibn Kathīr and thus came to play a part in the identification of our document. Exactly when Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī settled in Egypt is nowhere specifically stated. But, inasmuch as he transmitted from the Egyptians Laith ibn Saʿd and Ibn Lahīrah, he must have settled there before the death of the latter in the year 174/790.

There still remains the problem of the approximate date of the papyrus. The use of the “western” method of dotting the *fā* and the *qāf*, with a dot below and above respectively, points to the Egyptian rather than the earlier ʿIrāqī (“eastern”) period of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s activities. The complete absence of the *taṣliyah* points to second- rather than third-century practice. The comparatively poor and uneven script and the several errors point to the hand of a young student rather than to that of a mature scholar. It therefore seems preferable to assign this small papyrus sheet or roll to the last quarter of the second century rather than to the first quarter of the third even though Abū Ṣāliḥ may have continued to have young Egyptian pupils until the end of his life in the year 224/839. That he did so seems very unlikely, however, since his biographical entries are few and brief and so far as I have been able to discover his transmitters (apart from some members of his family) include only three travelers from the east—Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm of Kūfah, Bukhārī, and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (for references see nn. 2–3).

In view of the conclusions outlined above, I venture to suggest that inasmuch as Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī was no stranger to Laith ibn Saʿd and his secretary, also named Abū Ṣāliḥ, it is entirely possible that the preservation of our document is due to the secretary’s known practice of collecting *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* manuscripts, for the direct use of which he was condemned by the critics (see p. 173). He had repeated opportunities to acquire such manuscripts or copies of them from Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī and from the latter’s son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

As for the family *isnād*, Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī’s son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was born in Egypt, where he wrote down traditions from Ibn Wahb and others of his generation, including Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary, but later moved to Baghdād, where he died in the year 252/866.⁸ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān’s son Qāsim (d. 272/885) and his daughter Fāṭimah, who was over eighty when she died (312/924), were both of Baghdād but moved to Egypt. Qāsim made a trip back to Baghdād and wrote down traditions while he was there.⁹ Qāsim’s son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and his grandson Aḥmad both wrote down traditions from the aged Fāṭimah, who had her father’s manuscripts in her possession and used them.¹⁰

⁶ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 349–68, esp. pp. 353 f., 359 f., and 366 f.; Dhahabi I 132–34, III 47.

⁸ Khaṭīb X 270 f.

⁹ Khaṭīb XII 433.

⁷ A manuscript copy of this *Tafsīr* is in the Egyptian National Library in Cairo (see *GAL S I* 279).

¹⁰ Khaṭīb XIV 441. See *ibid.* p. 440 for an earlier instance of a woman traditionist who used the manuscripts of her father and grandfather in her transmission.

II

The significance of the content of this papyrus lies in the fact that only three traditions (Nos. 3, 4, and second part of 8) report with a full *isnād* the sayings or deeds of Muḥammad and that they have identical or nearly identical parallels in the standard *ḥadīth* collections, while most of the traditions report the words or deeds of the Companions and Successors and have few or no close parallels. Yet these traditions that do not represent the main stream of *ḥadīth* offer nothing new as to the ideas and general practices current in the second century. The greater relative rate of survival of the sayings and deeds of the Prophet and their stability during the second century is thus as obvious as it is logical (see pp. 77 f.).

The terminology of the full *isnād*'s gives evidence of both oral and written transmission. The biographical data on the successive transmitters reveal that most of them, beginning with the Companions, were known to have used written sources and to have written down their own materials. In chronological order these transmitters include Ibn ʿAbbās (Traditions 6, 11, 12), Anas ibn Mālik (Tradition 4), Mujāhid ibn Jabr (Traditions 9, 10, 12), Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl (Tradition 4), Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār (Tradition 4), and Sufyān ibn ʿUyainah (Tradition 3). Thus we have evidence of correlation between the survival and stability of *ḥadīth al-nabī* and the continuous production of permanent written records from the time of Muḥammad onward.

DOCUMENT 6

Oriental Institute No. 17627. Late second or early third/early ninth century.

Good medium brown papyrus, 23.3 × 24.8 cm., with 19 or 20 lines to the page (Pls. 11–12). The margins vary from 1.5 to 3 cm. in width, the upper margin being the widest. Allowance of 1.5 cm. for the loss of the right margin yields a square format. The papyrus has been damaged by worms, is peeled and broken in spots, and has lost its upper right corner.

Script.—Schooled cursive book hand liberally dotted. A small *hā* appears under the *hā* of *aḥrām* in recto 15, and the *muhmilah* appears over the *sīn* of *rasūl* in recto 4. *Faṭḥah*, *kasrah*, and *ḍammah* each occur once in recto 8, 10, and 16 respectively, and *ḍammah* occurs in verso 14 also. The reversed *yā* is rare. The initial *alif* of *ibn* in Ibn Shihāb and similar name forms is omitted throughout. Letter extension for *hā* and its sister forms is used occasionally and unevenly. The circle with a dot is used for punctuation and collation, though in recto 6, 8, 14 and verso 7, 14, 19 it has either a line through it or an adjoining arc below it; the significance of these devices is not yet clear unless they indicate double collation (cf. pp. 87 f.).

TEXT

RECTO

- 1 (1) [يحيى بن بكير] قال ذلك خبر يصح لم ينصره في يوم الاحزاب بشى وكان ابن شهاب يرددها
2 [خبره مثلت] وخبر يصح ○ (2) قال وحدثني الليث قال حدثني عقيل عن
ابن شهاب
3 [قال اخبرني] انس بن مالك ان رسول الله عليه السلام قال من احب ان يسط له في رزقه وينسأ له في اثره
4 [فليصل رحامه] ○ (3) قال وحدثني الليث قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال بلغنا ان رسول الله
قال اذا اخصب[ت]
5 [الارض بعيساركم فاعطوه حقه من الكلا واذا اجذبت الارض فامضوا عليها بنقيها]
6 [وعليكم بالدلجاة] فان الارض تطوا بالليل ○ (4) وحدثني الليث قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب
قال اخبرني
7 [عروة بن الزبير عن] عائشة ان رسول الله عليه السلام كان اذا احدا يضجعه تفت في يديه وتفل فيهما
8 [جلما]ودات [ثم] امسح بهما على جسده ○ (5) قال وحدثني الليث قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب
9 قال بلغنا ان رسول الله عليه السلام صلا على المتسحرين ثلثا واستغفر لهم ثلثا يشك عقيل
10 فكتب له به [○ (6) قال] وحدثني الليث قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال بلغنا ان رسول الله
عليه السلام
11 كان يسال عن الرويا فيجبه الرجل فاذا ابوا يسالهم مرارا فلم يخبره احد منهم بشى
12 فرا اظفارهم قد طالت ودخلها وسخ فقال تراوان وتراوان هذا في اظفاركم ○ (7) قال وحدثني
13 [الليث قال] حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال بلغنا ان رسول الله عليه السلام كان اسمح الناس وكان

- 14 [أ]سمح ما يكون في رمضان ○ (8) قال حدثني الليث قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال اخبرني ابو بكر بن عبد الرحمن
- 15 بن الحارث بن هشام عن النبي عليه السلام انه قال خلق الله النسمة قال مالك الارحام معرضا
- 16 يا رب أذكر ام انثى فيقضى اليه امره فيقول يا رب أشقى ام سعيد فيقضى اليه امره فيكتب
- 17 من سعادة ما هو لاق حتى النكبة فيكتبها ○ (9) قال وحدثني الليث قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب
- 18 قال اخبرني ابو بكر بن عبد الرحمن بن هنيذة مولى عمر عن عبد الله بمثل هذا الحديث ○ (10) قال حدثني الليث
- 19 قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال اخبرني عروة بن الزبير ان عايشة كانت تقول قال رسول الله

VERSO

- 1 ما من نبي يموت حتى يرا مقعده من الجنة ثم يخير فلما كان عند وفاته صلى الله عليه وسلم قال بل الرفيق الاعلى]
- 2 فكان اخر كلامه حتى لقي الله في الافق الاعلى وهو يتناظر الى السمة]ف ثم يقول اللهم الرفيق الاعلى]
- 3 قالت عايشة اذا لا يختارنا وعرفت انه الحديث الذي كان يحدث به ○ (11) قال [وحدثني الليث]
- 4 قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال بلغنا ان رسول الله عليه السلام قال لا ربا في العابد بعبدين ○]
- 5 (12) حدثني الليث قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال بلغنا ان رسول الله عليه السلام قال لقنوا موتاكم]
- 6 لا اله الا الله فانها تهدم ما قبلها فقيل كيف هي للاحياء يا رسول الله فقال [صلى الله عليه وسلم هي]
- 7 للاحياء اهدم ○ (13) قال وحدثني الليث قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال قد كان رجال من [
- 8 يلقنوا موتاهم حتى اذا اغياهم زعزعه ولقنوه اياها حتى يموت ○ (14) قال [وحدثني]
- 9 الليث قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال بلغنا ان رسول الله قد اخذ الجزية من مجوس هجر
- 10 فاخذ عمر بن الخطاب من مجوس السواد الجزية واخذ عثمان بن عفان [من البربر الجزية
- 11 ○ (15) قال وحدثني الليث قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال اخبرني عبد الله بن [عمر قال حدثني [زيد بن خا[لد]
- 12 ان رسول الله عليه السلام دعى الى رجل من بنى سلمة توفي فلم حضره سال عنه فاثني عليه
- 13 خيرا في عفافه وجواره من رجل كان مسيكا يعنى بخيلا فقال يا [بناسى سلمة اني ذا أذلى]
- 14 من الشح فصلوا على صاحبكم ○ (16) قال وحدثني الليث قال حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب انه قال صنعت
- 15 لرسول الله نمرة فلبسها ثم خرج متزرا بها فقعده وهو يضرب على يده فعجب بها]
- 16 ابا بكر اذ قال رجل يا رسول الله اكسنيها فدخل فاتزر ازاره الذي كان اتزر ونزعها
- 17 وخرج بها فرما بها الى الرجل الذي كان ساله اياها قال] ولامه الناس وقالوا ارايت عجب رسول الله
- 18 بها وتخلخل ازاره ثم سألته فقال قد كان ما كان قال وتوفى رسول الله وله نمرة قد نسج [له]

19 [فَدَفَنَ فِيهَا] ○ (17) قَالَ وَحَدَّثَنِي اللَّيْثُ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي عَقِيلٌ عَنْ ابْنِ شَهَابٍ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ لَمَّا نَحَرَ
يَوْمَ الْحُدَيْبِيَّةِ]

20 هُوَ وَأَبُو بَكْرٍ فَأَمْرَهُمْ أَنْ يَحْلُقُوا فَلَمْ يَفْعَلُوا ثُمَّ أَمْرَهُمْ الثَّانِيَةَ وَالثَّلَاثَةَ فَلَمْ يَفْعَلُوا فَدَخَلَ عَلَيَّ أُمُّ (سَلْمَةَ)

Comments.—Tradition 1. The surviving text is an editorial comment by the transmitter of this collection from Laith ibn Saʿd.

Tradition 2. Laith ibn Saʿd (d. 175/791), the Egyptian traditionist, judge, and jurist, met Zuhri during a pilgrimage in the year 113/732 and wrote down traditions from him. He transmitted also from a manuscript of Zuhri that was in his possession. Much of his Zuhri material, however, came to him through Zuhri's leading pupils, including ʿUqail ibn Khālid (Khaṭīb XIII 6; Abū Nuʿaim III 361; Ibn Khallikān I 554 f.; Dhahabī I 103 f.; Ibn Kathīr IX 342 f.). The *isnād* Zuhri-ʿUqail-Laith appears frequently in the standard *ḥadīth* collections. Though ʿUqail ibn Khālid (d. 142 or 144/759 or 761) transmitted from several traditionists, the bulk of his collection came from Zuhri (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 206; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 94; Dhahabī I 152 f.; *Jamʿ* I 406). ʿUqail died in Egypt, and Laith is reported as having the “book of ʿUqail” in his possession, but it is not clear whether this was ʿUqail's original manuscript or Laith's copy of it (Khaṭīb IX 480).

For Anas ibn Mālik see page 249.

The tradition has an identical parallel in Bukhārī IV 112, transmitted from Laith by Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair (154–231/771–845). A number of parallels are identical or nearly identical in content but have variants for the ʿUqail link of the *isnād*. ʿUqail's fellow pupil Yūnus ibn Yazīd al-Ailī is the source for some of these parallels (e.g. Bukhārī II 9; Muslim XVI 114; Abū Dāʿūd II 132 f.). His only variant is *من أحب من سره* for *من أحب*. There are also parallels that convey the meaning but come from other than the Zuhri-Anas source (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal III 156 and 266, IV 112, V 279; Bukhārī IV 112).

Traditions related to the Qurʾānic theme of charitable giving to relatives (Sūrahs 2:177, 33:6, 42:23) have been covered in the discussion of Document 2 (pp. 117 f.).

Tradition 3. No identical parallel seems available. Numerous related traditions convey the meaning but have different *isnād*'s, most of them tracing back through Anas and Abū Hurairah to Muḥammad (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 979; Ibn Ḥanbal II 337 and 378, III 305 and 382; Muslim XIII 68 f.; Abū Dāʿūd III 28; Tirmidhī X 294 f.).

Tradition 4. No identical parallel has been found. Related traditions are numerous, for Muḥammad frequently breathed or spat on his hands before using them to bless or heal or even to ward off danger. A number of these traditions trace back to Zuhri-ʿUrwah-ʿĀ'ishah (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 942 f.; Bukhārī III 401 and IV 61–64, esp. *abwāb* 32, 39, 41; Ibn Ḥanbal V 68, VI 379; see also *Concordance* I 273 f. *تفل*).

Tradition 5. This seems to be a singleton tradition. However, since even God and the angels prayed over early risers (Ibn Ḥanbal III 12, 44), Muḥammad could have blessed his Companions or prayed for their forgiveness on the occasions when he had early breakfast with them (cf. *Concordance* II 435 *سحر*). The papyrus text makes it clear that ʿUqail had doubts about the tradition and expressed them to Laith in writing.

Tradition 6. Note the cancellation of the last word in recto 11. The tradition has no parallel in the standard collections. There is, however, a tradition to the effect that dirty nails disqualify one for knowing the news from heaven: *اخبار السماء* (Ibn Ḥanbal V 417; cf. ʿAlī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Kitāb al-dīn wa al-dawlah*, ed. A. Mingana [Manchester etc., 1341/1923]

p. 27). The preoccupation of Muḥammad and his contemporaries with dreams and their interpretation can be gauged from references to these themes in the Qurʾān (e.g. Sūrah 12:35 ff., 37:103), in *Sīrah* (Vol. I 557, 873), and in the standard *ḥadīth* collections (see *Concordance* I 114 راي and II 199 ff., esp. p. 206, روياء). Muḥammad is known to have urged his followers to relate their dreams to him, though more often than not it was the people who asked him for interpretation of their dreams (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 956 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal II 369, V 50; Abū Nuʿaim I 303; *Concordance* IV 117 عبر). Perhaps it should be noted here that Muḥammad himself is said, after his death, to have given news from heaven to his followers through dreams (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-waraʿ*, pp. 54 f.; see also our Document 9, Tradition 9). Any Islāmic treatment of the subject of dreams draws attention to Muḥammad's tradition that dreams are one of the forty-six signs of prophecy (see *Concordance* I 343; Abū al-Laith al-Samarqandī, *Bustān al-ʿarīfīn* [on margins of his *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*] pp. 33–36). The interpretation of dreams early became and has remained a legitimate theme for Muslim theologians and philosophers. Nathaniel Bland ("On the Muhammedan science of *tābir*, or interpretation of dreams," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* XVI [1856] 118–71) discussed the development of this literature. The attribution of the so-called earliest Islāmic works on the subject to Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/728) and the Shīʿite Imām Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) is suspect (see *GAL* S I 102; Bland, *op. cit.* pp. 123 f.; Joseph de Somogyi, "The interpretation of dreams in ad-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1940, pp. 1–3; M. Hidayet Hosain, "A treatise on the interpretation of dreams," *Islamic Culture* VI [1932] 568–85). Though several Arabic works on dreams appeared in the third and fourth centuries, the earliest unquestioned extant work is that written by Abū Saʿīd al-Dīnawarī in the year 397/1006 for the ʿAbbāsīd caliph Qādir (*GAL* I 244). For dreams and prophecy in the monotheistic Semitic religions see Bland, *op. cit.* and Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology* II 122–30. For a recent view of the interpretation of dreams among the Arabs as seen in the light of modern psychology see A. Abdel Daīm, *L'Oniromancie arabe d'après Ibn Sīrīn* (Damas, 1958).

Zuhri's source for this tradition was probably his teacher Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib, who was known as an expert on dreams (*Maʿārif*, pp. 223 f.).

Coverage of all the chapters on dreams in the standard collections brought two points to light. (1) Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn is, indeed, quite prominent in these chapters and is frequently cited on the authority of Abū Hurairah. (2) Two Egyptian transmitters from Laith-ʿUqail-Zuhri are cited: Saʿīd ibn ʿUfair (146–226/763–840; see e.g. Bukhārī IV 354, 355, 356) and Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair of Tradition 2 (see e.g. Bukhārī IV 350, 353, 358, 362). For samples of Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn's interpretations see Abū Nuʿaim II 273 and 276–78.

Tradition 7. There is no identical parallel. Traditions that describe Muḥammad in superlatives are, of course, numerous and come from various sources. Those that specify that he was excellent in the month of Ramaḍān use the more inclusive word اجود instead of the اسمع of the papyrus text. A group of these traditions traces back to Zuhri through ʿUqail's fellow transmitters (e.g. Bukhārī I 6 and 475, II 309 f., III 396; Muslim XV 68 f.).

Traditions 8–9. Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith (d. 94/713) of Tradition 8 was an ascetic and a leading scholar of Medina. He transmitted from several of Muḥammad's wives. He was, like Zuhri, held in high esteem by the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (Ibn Saʿd V 153 f.; Zubairī, p. 304; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 336; Abū Nuʿaim II 187 f.; Dhahabī I 59 f.; *Jamʿ* II 591 f.). The Abū Bakr of Tradition 9 seems to have no biographical entries, though his father, ʿAbd

al-Raḥmān, and his grandfather Hunaidah were well known (see e.g. *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 267; *Istīʿāb* I 601; *Uṣd* V 73; *Iṣābah* III 1262 f.).

The tradition has no complete parallel—that is, of both *isnād* and *matn*—in the standard collections. But parallels for parts of it, some with very slight differences, are numerous as are also related traditions (e.g. Bukhārī I 88, *bāb* 17, and II 232 f.; Muslim XVI 299 f.; see also Ṭaḥāwī III 278–80).

Tradition 10. The *isnād* ʿĀʾishah-ʿUrwah-Zuhrī appears frequently, and its links are too well known to detain us. The content of the tradition is also well known and traces back through more than one Successor and one Companion to ʿĀʾishah. Nearly identical parallels, though some are not complete, are found in Bukhārī IV 232 f., which carries the *isnād* forward to Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair as in Tradition 2, and in Muslim XV 209, which carries it forward to Shuʿaib ibn Laith ibn Saʿd. Slight variants are found in Ibn Saʿd II 2, p. 27, Bukhārī III 191, and Ibn Ḥanbal VI 89 and 274; the last two, along with *Ṣīrah* I 1008, are on the authority of Ibn Ishāq on the authority of Zuhrī. Variants that bypass Zuhrī are found in *Muwattaʿ* I 238, Bukhārī III 227, Ibn Ḥanbal VI 176, 205, 269, and Ibn Mājah I 254.

Tradition 11. The reconstruction العبد is preferable to لحيون. The regulation is applicable to the sale of both slaves and animals (see e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 653, 689; Shaibānī, pp. 239–53; *Kitāb al-umm* VII 204, 241; Bukhārī II 41; Tirmidhī V 247; *Jāmiʿ* II 75; see also *Sūrah*s 3:130, 2:278, 30:39). Muḥammad’s real intention as to *ribāʿ*, “usury,” seems to have confused administrators and commentators alike (as it still does), and ʿUmar I had reason to wish that Muḥammad had been more explicit on the subject (see e.g. *Tafsīr* VI 7–39, VII 204, 441 f., 455 f., and IX 430–44; Ṭaḥāwī IV 241 f.; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, pp. 206, 266, 296 f., 355, and 370 f.; Roberts, *The Social Laws of the Qurān*, pp. 103–5; Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology* II 20 f., 208; A. I. Qureshi, *Islam and the Theory of Interest* [Lahore, 1946] esp. chap. ii).

Tradition 12. Muḥammad’s instruction that the formula of the unity of God should be repeated at every death scene is found in all the standard collections, as is also the emphasis on its great efficacy for every other occasion in life. The concept that what is good for the dying is even better for the living, ill or healthy, is also encountered frequently. Still, there is no identical parallel, that is, one of both *isnād* and *matn*. Related traditions with the variants اجود and احطم instead of the اهدم of the papyrus are found for example in Ibn Mājah I 227 f. and Abū Nuʿaim I 61. It should be noted that the papyrus text, like that of Muslim VI 219 f., Bukhārī I 313, and Tirmidhī X 60, does not couple the formula with the mission of Muḥammad as does Ṭayālisī, p. 265. In other related situations these “two words,” the declaration of faith, are used together (e.g. *Sīrah* I 957; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr li al-Shaibānī*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, I [Cairo, 1376/1957] 151 f.; Dhahabī II 37). According to *Tafsīr* XII 313 the smallest scrap of paper on which the formula of unity is written outweighs 99 volumes containing one’s sins and transgressions.

Tradition 13. No complete parallels have yet been found. The insistence on disturbing the dying to repeat the formula of unity within their hearing or even to shout it into their ears was adopted because of the belief that the formula was the key to all the gates of heaven (see comments on Tradition 12).

Tradition 14. Zuhrī received close parallels from several sources and transmitted them to a number of his pupils. The papyrus *isnād*, Zuhrī-ʿUqail-Laith, is found in *Amwāl*, p. 32, No. 80, where Laith continues the transmission through his secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ and his

pupil Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair. For other close parallels see for example *Muwattaʿ* I 278 (= Shaibānī, p. 172) and Zurqānī II 73, Ibn Ḥanbal IV 137, 327, and Tirmidhī VII 94–96.

For Muḥammad and the Mujūs, or Magians, see Sūrah 22:17. Traditions reflecting their status in respect to the *jizyah* tax are numerous (e.g. Ṭayālisī, p. 31; Ibn Saʿd IV 1, p. 82, and VII 2, pp. 26, 64, 120; Ibn Ḥanbal I 190 f., 194; Bukhārī II 291–93; Abū Dāʿūd III 168 f.; Dārimī II 234; *Futūḥ al-buldān*, pp. 78 f. and 267; Ṭabarī II 1688). Legal opinions as to whether the Magians should be treated the same as the “people of the Book” for taxation are also numerous (e.g. Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, pp. 73–76; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr lī al-Shaibānī* I 145–49; *Risālah*, p. 59; Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth* [on margins of *Kitāb al-umm* VII] pp. 21, 158–62; Yaḥyā ibn Adam, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir [Cairo, 1347/1929] p. 73; *Amwāl*, pp. 31–36, 544–56; Ṭahāwī II 415; *Kifāyah*, p. 27). For references to economic and social discrimination against the Magians specifically see e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 541, 864, *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, p. 170, Isfarāʿinī, *Musnad* I 188, 212 f., and *Nubalāʿ* I 47. For comment on the religious views of the Magians see *Tafsīr* II 370 f. (on Sūrah 2:96) and *Taʾwīl*, pp. 96 f. (where the Qādirites are compared with the Mujūs).

Tradition 15. The *isnād* links have been covered above except for the initial Companion, whose last name may be completed in a number of ways, for example [خا]رجه, [خا]رته, [خا]رية. Zaid ibn Khālid is, however, the only one whose name appears in connection with related traditions. Though Ibn ʿUmar is not specifically listed among those who transmitted from Zaid ibn Khālid, he had the opportunity of doing so along with Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib and others who served as links between Zaid and Zuhri for many traditions. There is a great deal of confusion about Zaid’s birth date, though the year 78/697 seems to be preferred by the biographers (Ibn Saʿd IV 2, p. 66; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 562; *Istʿāb* I 191; *Iṣābah* II 49 f.; *Uṣd* II 228; *Jamʿ* I 142 f.).

No parallel for the tradition has been found (see *Concordance* I 361 صلوا). Muḥammad was often called to pray over the dead; he did so if the deceased had been of good character (*Muwattaʿ* II 458; Tirmidhī XIII 162 f.). Niggardliness was frowned upon, sometimes to the point of being equated with unbelief (*Muwattaʿ* II 999, No. 19; Tirmidhī VIII 141 f.), and Muḥammad is frequently quoted as being pained by it (*Concordance* I 146 f. بخل and III 71 f. شح).

Related traditions involving Muḥammad’s refusal to pray over the body of a debtor are numerous. Several of these have the *isnād* links Zuhri–ʿUqail–Laith, and transmitting from Laith are his son Shuʿaib, his secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ, and his pupil Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair (Bukhārī III 490; Tirmidhī IV 290 f.). There are also related traditions which have Zuhri and his transmitters, other than ʿUqail, in the *isnād* (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 290; Ibn Mājah II 41; Nasāʿī I 278 f.; *Amwāl*, p. 220). Related traditions that bypass Zuhri and trace back to more than one Companion are likewise available (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 380 and 399 and *Concordance* III 349; see also Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 250). If someone assumed the dead man’s debt, Muḥammad then performed the prayers (Ṭayālisī, p. 233). Muḥammad’s attitude toward those who died in debt changed as his increasing revenue enabled him to assume the debts himself. His early practice is therefore said to be abrogated (see Ṭayālisī, p. 307; Abū Dāʿūd III 247; commentaries in Muslim VII 47 f. and Tirmidhī IV 290 f.).

Tradition 16. This long tradition combining two separate episodes has no identical parallel. Muḥammad’s inability to refuse a request (e.g. Ibn Saʿd I 2, pp. 92 f.; Muslim II 290) need not detain us. The episode of the striped garment and Muḥammad’s gift of it to the man

who requested it is reported with slight variations in a number of traditions, all of which trace back to the Companion Sahl ibn Saʿd, whose death date is given as 88/707 or 91/710. He was arrested by Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf in the year 74/693 but was rescued by ʿAbd al-Malik. He is considered the last of the Companions who stayed in Medina. Many scholars transmitted directly from him, including Zuhri (Ṭabarī II 855; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 198; *Istīʿāb* II 571 f.; *Uṣd* II 366 f.; *Iṣābah* II 280). Most versions of this episode state that the garment was a gift from a woman who had herself woven it for Muḥammad and add that the man who received it explained that he wanted it for his shroud, for which it was actually used (see Ibn Saʿd I 2, p. 150, Ibn Ḥanbal V 333 f., Bukhārī I 321 f. and II 14 f., Ibn Mājah II 192, and Nasāʾī II 298, all of which bypass Zuhri). It is interesting to note that one of these transmissions (Bukhārī II 14 f.) is that of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair of Traditions 2, 6, 10, and 15.

The last part of the papyrus text, which refers to Muḥammad's shroud, is not found in the standard collections though they dwell at length on the theme. A slight variant, also tracing back to Sahl ibn Saʿd, is reported by Muttaqī al-Hindī (*Kanzal ʿummal fī sunan al-aqwāl wa al-afʿāl* [Haidarābād, 1312–14/1894–96] IV 42, No. 956) on the authority of Ṭabarī (presumably in his *Tafsīr* or his *ḥadīth* collection since it is not in his *Taʾrīkh*). The section corresponding to the last sentence of the papyrus text reads *وامر بمثلها له فتوفى رسول الله صلعم وهي في المحاكة*. Quite obviously this singleton tradition from Sahl suffered a few additions and subtractions in the course of its multiple transmission. That the papyrus text as transmitted from Zuhri is the earliest extant if not, indeed, the original version is indicated by the presence of this second part of the tradition and of the nonchalant if not fatalistic phrase *قد كان ما كان* (verso 18) instead of the obvious attempt, as in all the other versions, to glorify the motive behind the man's request for Muḥammad's new and pleasing garment. For another gift of clothing to Muḥammad see Yāqūt I 422 f.

Tradition 17. This tradition, which traces back to at least two Companions, was transmitted by ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair to Zuhri, who in turn transmitted it to several of his pupils, including Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Ḥanbal IV 323, 326) and Maʿmar ibn Rāshid (Ibn Ḥanbal IV 328, 331; Bukhārī II 181). Maʿmar incorporated it in long historical accounts of the Treaty of Ḥudaibīyah, at the time of which Umm Salamah's calm advice averted trouble for Muḥammad (see Abbott, "Women and the state in early Islam," *JNES* I [1942] 124).

Quite obviously Zuhri transmitted the tradition to another of his leading pupils, ʿUqail ibn Khālid of the papyrus text, which in all probability represents Zuhri's original version.

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

I

Laith's personal contacts with both Zuhri and Zuhri's leading transmitter, ʿUqail ibn Khālid, have been noted in the comments on Traditions 2 and 5 respectively. The problem here is to identify the transmitter of the papyrus text from Laith. Preliminary elimination of Laith's numerous direct transmitters narrows the choice to three possibilities: his son Shuʿaib (d. 199/814),¹ his secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 223/838), and his pupil Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair (d. 231/845).² The literary evidence in favor of the first two is about equal since both are known to have transmitted the "book of ʿUqail" from Laith. Shuʿaib's son ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 248/862)

¹ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, p. 225; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 351; *Jamʿ* I 211. Dhahabī II 8; *Jāmiʿ* I 124; *Jamʿ* II 563; Nawawī, p. 627; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 164; Ibn Farḥūn, p. 23; *Irshād* II 370.

² Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 285; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 165;

transmitted the same book from his father in a written copy that began with *حدثني ابي عن* *جدتي عن عقيل*; this copy was known to Abū Ṣāliḥ.³ The cursive script and the use of copious diacritical points and some vowels in the papyrus text point away from Shuʿaib's time to the later period of Abū Ṣāliḥ, Yaḥyā, and ʿAbd al-Malik. The evidence in favor of Yaḥyā is twofold. First, like Abū Ṣāliḥ, he is known to have transmitted Laith's ʿUqail-Zuhrī materials, some of which are cited by Abū ʿUbaid (d. 223/838) and Bukhārī,⁴ who visited Egypt in the years 213/828 and 217/832 respectively and wrote down materials from Abū Ṣāliḥ and Yaḥyā among other Egyptian scholars.⁵ Second, the papyrus text itself points to Yaḥyā, who alone provided a verbatim parallel to Tradition 2 and nearly identical parallels to Traditions 10 and 14. He, like Abū Ṣāliḥ and Shuʿaib, transmitted materials related to Tradition 15. Moreover, Yaḥyā is known to have expressed critical opinions⁶ such as appear in Traditions 1 and 5. Furthermore, it is known that he wrote down his materials and passed them on to others to copy but insisted on collation.⁷

It therefore seems safe to give preference to Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair as transmitter of the papyrus text from Laith. The document itself could be his own copy or one written by any one of his many transmitters. On the other hand, it could well be that Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith had a role in its preservation (see p. 91). In that case the absence of parallels transmitted by Abū Ṣāliḥ would be explained by the fact that his transmission from manuscripts was suspected by some scholars, so that Bukhārī, who actually transmitted his materials, usually disguised and suppressed (*dalas*) the secretary's name and stressed that of Laith instead.⁸

II

The fact that repeatedly forces itself on our attention is the virtual absence in the standard *ḥadīth* collections of complete parallels, that is, parallels that cover both the *isnād* and the *matn*, for this papyrus text that originated with the famous Zuhrī and was transmitted by Egypt's leading traditionist of the second century. Analysis of the contents of the traditions and of the terminology used in their transmission helps to explain this fact. Of the sixteen traditions whose contents are reasonably well preserved only five (Nos. 2, 8–10, 15) are *ḥadīth al-nabī* with the complete *isnād* that is carried back to Muḥammad and uses the generally unquestionable terms *ḥaddathanī*, *akhbaranī*, and *qāla*. It is hardly an accident that four of these five traditions actually have parallels, either identical (Tradition 2) or close (Traditions 8–10), in the standard collections. Traditions 3, 11, and 12 also are *ḥadīth al-nabī*, but their *isnād* is incomplete (*mursal*) and omits the links preceding Zuhrī, who uses the indefinite term *balaghanā*, which during the second century came to imply some uncertainty about either the source or the content of a tradition (see p. 122). Though no complete parallels—that is, of both *isnād* and *matn*—are available in the standard collections for these three traditions, traditions with different *isnād*'s but similar in content are numerous. These incomplete parallels are not strictly literal (*ḥarfī*) but adequately convey the sense (*maʿnā*) of the traditions. Of the eight remaining traditions, seven (Nos. 4–7, 14, 16, 17) are *sunnat al-nabī*, that is, they

³ Khaṭīb IX 480; see also Masʿūdi III 51, 54.

⁴ See *Amwāl*, pp. 8, 10, 110, 117, 125, 134, 161, 167, and 202–7, for such materials transmitted through Abū Ṣāliḥ, and e.g. pp. 10, 18, 30, 202–4, and 430, for materials transmitted through Yaḥyā.

⁵ See *GAL* I 106 and *GAL S* I 166; Nawawī, pp. 118 f.; *Jāmiʿ* I 268 f.; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 164.

⁶ Khaṭīb XIII 3–7; Dhahabī II 8.

⁷ *Futūḥ*, Intro. pp. 3, 6 f.

⁸ See *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 86 f.; Khaṭīb IX 478–81; Dhahabī I 352; *Mizān* II 46 f.; Yāqūt I 748. See also pp. 195 and 221 below.

report exemplary acts or practices of Muḥammad rather than his sayings. Of these, only Tradition 4 has a full *isnād* with unquestionable terminology; though it has no complete parallel, closely related traditions are available. The other six traditions have the incomplete *isnād* that omits the links preceding Zuhri, who in Traditions 5–7 and 14 uses the indefinite term *balaghanā*. Tradition 5 was questioned even by ‘Uqail (see p. 168). Though the practices of Muḥammad that are reported in these six traditions are generally well known and accepted as such, none of the traditions has identical parallels in the standard collections. Finally, Tradition 13 has no direct reference to either Muḥammad’s words or his deeds but has the same incomplete *isnād*. It, too, has no complete parallels though the practice it reports, namely the recitation of the formula of the unity of God within the hearing of the dying, was universal in the Islāmic community.

This analysis of the traditions of the papyrus text throws light on the bases for the selection of *ḥadīth* by the standard collectors of the second and third centuries, who were faced with an enormous amount of redundant material. They had first to choose what they considered adequately representative and then to condense it into a sizable yet manageable collection without, however, sacrificing a sufficiency of multiple sources to assure authenticity and accuracy as defined in their own terms in the science of *ḥadīth* criticism. Hence traditions with full *isnād*’s that traced back to Muḥammad received high priority, which accounts for their prominence and survival in the works of such leading jurists and traditionists as Mālik, Shāfi‘ī, Muslim, and Bukhārī. The high rate of mortality of all other types of traditions is illustrated by this folio as by other documents of our papyrus collection (see p. 78), which represents the period immediately preceding the production of the standard collections of the first half of the third century. One must therefore question sweeping statements that, toward the end of the second century, *isnād*’s that go back to Muḥammad were manufactured freely in response to Shāfi‘ī’s insistence on such *isnād*’s. For it seems much more likely that a strict process of selection rather than a wholesale fabrication of *isnād*’s accounts for the bulk of the *ḥadīth al-nabī* that has survived in the standard collections and particularly in the *Ṣaḥīḥain* of Muslim and Bukhārī.

The papyrus folio also confirms and illustrates Zuhri’s activities and standards of *ḥadīth* transmission as they are reported in the literary sources. First, he wrote down the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* not only of Muḥammad but also of the Companions and their leading Successors.⁹ Second, he insisted on a full *isnād* where the sayings of Muḥammad were being quoted as such,¹⁰ a precept which he himself practiced and which is so clearly illustrated in our folio. After the end of the first century the terms *balaghanī* and *balaghanā* were generally acceptable and used interchangeably with *ḥaddathanī* and *ḥaddathanā* (see pp. 121 f.), thus accounting for their liberal use by Zuhri and his contemporaries. But they became increasingly suspect during the second century, so that professional traditionists not only ceased to use them but became suspicious of even their earliest use. Again, the half-century between the death of Laith ibn Sa‘d and that of his secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ was a time when Shāfi‘ī’s influence was predominant in Egypt, and Shāfi‘ī insisted on complete *isnād*’s for all traditions that reported the words and deeds of Muḥammad.¹¹ Thus traditions with incomplete *isnād*’s (*marāsīl*) became increasingly questionable as the first standard collections were being produced.¹² Shāfi‘ī himself, despite his wholehearted appreciation of the great service that Zuhri through his energy and

⁹ See e.g. Ibn Sa‘d II 2, p. 135.

¹¹ See e.g. *Risālah*, pp. 63 f.

¹⁰ See e.g. Abū Nu‘aim III 365, 367; Ibn Kathir IX 345.

¹² See e.g. *Kifāyah*, pp. 384–86; *Madkhal*, pp. 21 f.

foresight had rendered in the preservation of *ḥadīth*, at times cast suspicion on the *marāsīl al-Zuhrī*¹³ though at other times he himself used some of them.¹⁴ Mālik and Laith, on the other hand, generally accepted them, as indicated by the *Muwattaʿa*¹⁵ and by our papyrus.

Initial doubts were cast on Zuhrī's incomplete *isnād*'s by his younger contemporary Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī (d. 143/760) on the grounds that Zuhrī transmitted from memory, mentioning only such names as he could recall and omitting the rest.¹⁶ This critical opinion may reflect Zuhrī's practices¹⁷ before he was persuaded by the Umayyad caliph Hishām to write down *ḥadīth*.¹⁸ On the other hand, Yaḥyā's statement need only mean that Zuhrī recited or dictated not from his manuscripts but from memory—a memory of which he was quite proud.¹⁹ This method, as Yaḥyā's criticism correctly implies, left something to be desired even when used by traditionists as famous for their memories as Zuhrī. In any case, the wider implication of Yaḥyā's criticism is that by the end of the first century or the first quarter of the second century at the latest the best methods of transmission required written texts not only for the initial process of memorizing but also for the final process of transmission. In other words, the written record, though all phases of oral transmission had not been entirely dispensed with, had become essential and the only means for adequately "chaining down knowledge" as a safeguard against the inevitable lapses of even the best of memories.

The above analysis of the literary evidence, together with the very existence of this papyrus,²⁰ leaves no reasonable room to doubt that there was continuous written transmission from Zuhrī to ʿUqail ibn Khālīd to Laith to Yaḥyā ibn Bukair to Bukhārī and Muslim and their respective contemporaries. The stability and frequency of this *isnād*²¹ provide further evidence of written transmission. Spot tests of the stability of the parallel *isnād* Zuhrī–ʿUqail–Laith–Abū Ṣāliḥ–Dārimī pointed in the same direction.²²

III

The above conclusions, based mainly on a study of the literary activities of men mentioned in the *isnād*'s of the papyrus text, are confirmed by a similar study of a second line of transmission of the "book of ʿUqail," parallel to that of Laith and his immediate transmitters, whose links are ʿUqail–Salāmah ibn Rauḥ–Muḥammad ibn ʿUzaiz. Salāmah (n.d.) was ʿUqail's nephew. References to his possession of the "sound books of ʿUqail" can mean either that he inherited his uncle's manuscripts or that he made his own copies of them with or without benefit of oral transmission. He in turn transmitted this material to his nephew Muḥammad ibn ʿUzaiz (d. 257/871 or 267/881), who states that Salāmah transmitted the materials "on the authority of the book of ʿUqail" (حدثنا سلامه عن كتاب عقيل). Visitors to Ailah,²³ where ʿUqail's family lived, came to Muḥammad in search of these manuscripts. Thus we have evi-

¹³ See e.g. *Risālah*, p. 64; *Adāb al-Shāfiʿī*, pp. 82, 229; *Kifāyah*, p. 386; Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-kubrā* I (Cairo, 1323/1905) 7–10; Nawawī, p. 118.

¹⁴ See e.g. *Risālah*, pp. 56, 58 f., 74.

¹⁵ See e.g. *Tajrīd*, pp. 152–55.

¹⁶ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 246; *Kifāyah*, p. 386; Dhahabī I 104 f., 129–32. See also p. 193 below.

¹⁷ See e.g. Abū Nuʿaim III 363 f.

¹⁸ See e.g. Goldziher, *Studien* II 38 f.; Horowitz in *Islamic Culture* II 46–50. See also p. 33 above.

¹⁹ See Nawawī, pp. 118 f., where Bukhārī reports on the

authority of Abū Ṣāliḥ on the authority of Laith that Zuhrī said: الليث عن الزهري قال ما استودعت حفظي شيئا فخانني.

²⁰ See comments on Traditions 2, 10, 15, and 16.

²¹ See e.g. Bukhārī I 4, 50, and 64, II 321, 338, and 351, III 36–41 (the last a long continuous passage on the flight of Muḥammad presumably from the "book of ʿUqail"); see also *Buhārī'nin*, pp. 60 f. and 297, *Isnād* 271.

²² See e.g. Dārimī I 194, 195, 274, 307, 328, 356 and II 8, 28, 72, 239, 319, 472.

²³ On the border of the Ḥijāz and Syria (Yāqūt I 422 f.).

dence of continuous written transmission of the “book of ‘Uqail” for at least three generations.²⁴

Zuhrī’s regular students, as distinct from pious or curious laymen who heard him at one time or another, numbered at least two dozen. The Egyptian scholar Ibn Wahb (125–97/742–812) met twenty of them²⁵ and transmitted materials from some of them.²⁶ Some half-dozen, including ‘Uqail, acquired the reputation of being the best informed and most trustworthy authorities on Zuhri. Some were better known in some provinces than in others. They and the students or scholars who sought them out in their home towns or during pilgrimages were responsible for the circulation of Zuhri’s materials throughout the learned world of Islām. Whether transmitting *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, or *akhbār-maghāzī* they apparently caught the spirit of dedication to a mission that motivated and sustained their teacher.²⁷ Written texts loomed large in the professional activities of all of them. A collection of Zuhri’s traditions, presumably of a legal nature, was written down by Mālik ibn Anas in Medina at the request of his teacher Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī, who wished to have it sent to him in ‘Irāq (see p. 193).

Second among the five or six most authoritative pupils of Zuhri²⁸ was Yūnus ibn Yazīd al-Ailī (d. 149/766²⁹), whose literary activities paralleled in many respects those of his fellow townsman ‘Uqail ibn Khālid. He was closely associated with Zuhri for some ten years and was his host whenever Zuhri visited in Ailah. Like ‘Uqail, Yūnus settled in Egypt and transmitted Zuhri materials to the leading Egyptian scholars such as Laith ibn Sa‘d and Ibn Wahb. He frequently alternates with ‘Uqail in an otherwise stable *isnād*, especially Zuhri–‘Uqail or Yūnus–Laith–Abū Ṣāliḥ. Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith is credited with the statement that Yūnus was preferred above all others as an authority on Zuhri.³⁰ This *isnād* appears with a variety of subject matter in the various fields of Zuhri’s activities. It is found in some of the earliest works that have survived, not only in those of early Egyptian scholars such as Ibn Wahb but also in those of visiting scholars, who usually collected and wrote down Zuhri–Laith materials, for example Abū ‘Ubaid, who visited Egypt in the year 213/827.³¹ The same *isnād* as carried forward by numerous transmitters from Laith, Abū Ṣāliḥ, and others appears in several of the standard *ḥadīth* collections.³² Yūnus’ strong point apparently was concentration on the *isnād*’s, though his written texts showed that he was not always able to produce a

²⁴ *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 301 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, p. 196; Dhahabī I 152; *Mīzān* III 103; Ibn Khair al-Ishbīlī, *Fihrist*, ed. Francisco Codera y Zaidīn and Julián Ribera y Terragó, I (“Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana” IX [Madrid, 1894]) 149.

²⁵ Ibn Farḥūn, p. 132. See Abū Nuʿaim III 372 f. for a long list arranged by countries. Ibn ʿAsākir VI 379 names ten.

²⁶ See references given under Ibn Shihāb in Index of *Le djāmiʿ d’Ibn Wahb*, ed. David-Weill; *Buhārī’nin*, pp. 220, 232, 299.

²⁷ See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 124, II 60 f.; Abū Nuʿaim III 362, 364, 366, 369.

²⁸ See *Jāmiʿ* II 41, 167; Khaṭīb IX 151; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 248.

²⁹ Variant dates are 152/769 and 159/776 (see Ibn Sa‘d VII 2, p. 206; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 406 [d. 149]; *Jarḥ* IV 2, pp. 247–49; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 138; Dhahabī I 153; *Jamʿ* II 584). See *Kifāyah*, pp. 104 f., for Zuhri’s instructions to Yūnus.

³⁰ Dhahabī I 153; see also *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 249, where Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ (d. 248/862) repeats the same opinion. For this Aḥmad’s transmission from Ibn Wahb see *Buhārī’nin*, p. 223, *Isnād* 54.

³¹ See e.g. *Amwāl*, pp. 8, 10, 110, 117, 125, 134, 161, 167, 334 f., and rather long citations e.g. on pp. 202–7 and 578–80. See also *GAL* I 106 f. and *GAL S* I 166, 284. The earlier Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) is frequently cited on the authority of Yūnus (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 1, p. 212). He too visited Egypt in the course of his extensive travels, studied many books, and wrote some (*Jarḥ* VI 2, p. 248; *Jāmiʿ* I 177; *GAL S* I 256). Some of the material that Ibn al-Mubārak received from Yūnus found its way to Bukhārī (see e.g. *Buhārī’nin*, pp. 235 and 246, *Isnād*’s 92 and 126).

³² See e.g. Muslim I 41; Bukhārī I 4, 50, 64, 291, 374, 404, *et passim*; Ibn Ḥanbal V 432 and VI 74 f., 80, 155, 223; Dārimī I 185, 194 f., 274, 322, 331, 352 and II 8, 28, 72, 93, 156, 186, *et passim*; *Tafsīr* V 9, 23, 50, 68, 73, 80, 94, 100, 128, 144, 150, *et passim*; *Jamʿ* I 406, II 484; *Jāmiʿ* I 94, II 41. See also nn. 21 and 31 above and references under ‘Uqail and Yūnus in Index of *Buhārī’nin*.

complete *isnād*.³³ Yūnus' manuscripts were prized for their accuracy by such leading transmitters and critics as Ibn Wahb and ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Mahdī (see references in nn. 33–34). Shabīb ibn Saʿīd of Baṣrah while visiting in Egypt sought out Yūnus and made copies of his books. These copies were in turn used by transmitters of the next generation, including Shabīb's son Aḥmad, who transmitted them to ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī, who made his own copy of the collection.³⁴ Once again, therefore, we have evidence of continuous written transmission of a single collection through several generations from Zuhri's time onward.

A third authoritative pupil of Zuhri was Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd al-Zubaidī (ca. 80–148/699–765),³⁵ who spent ten years with Zuhri in Damascus. He became a judge in Ḥimṣ and was considered, at least by some, the best informed of the Syrians in law and Tradition. He wrote down his transmission from Zuhri, who bore testimony to his industry.³⁶ The famous Syrian scholar and jurist Awzāʿī (88–157/707–73) considered Zubaidī the most authoritative on Zuhri, though others point out that Awzāʿī's judgment was based on insufficient evidence since he had not seen the books of ʿUqail, Yūnus, and Maʿmar ibn Rāshid.³⁷ Awzāʿī himself transmitted some traditions directly from Zuhri.³⁸ Zubaidī's secretary, Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb (d. 194/810), who is known to have transmitted from both Zubaidī and Awzāʿī, may have had written Zuhri materials from both.³⁹ The Syrian scholar and man of affairs Baqīyah ibn al-Walīd (110 or 112–97/728 or 730–812)⁴⁰ of Ḥimṣ, who, unlike Awzāʿī, early co-operated with the ʿAbbāsid caliphs from Manṣūr to Hārūn al-Rashīd and dictated traditions to the latter,⁴¹ is known for his written copy of the Zuhri–Zubaidī collection. Though his transmission from other than Syrian traditionists such as Zubaidī was as a rule suspect, people generally wrote down all his traditions but sought confirmation from others (see references in n. 40). His fellow townsman Aḥmad ibn al-Faraj (d. 271/883) was suspected of using Baqīyah's materials and those of several other scholars from manuscripts only.⁴² It is apparent, therefore, that Zubaidī's manuscripts, especially his Zuhri collection, like those of his fellow pupils ʿUqail and Yūnus, were in circulation for several generations.

A fourth outstanding pupil of Zuhri was Shuʿaib ibn Dīnār of Ḥimṣ, known also as Shuʿaib ibn Abī Ḥamzah (d. 162/779),⁴³ who became the secretary of the caliph Hishām (105–25/724–42), the royal patron of Zuhri. As court secretary Shuʿaib wrote down from Zuhri's dictation a tremendous amount of material for Hishām and made copies of at least some of it for his personal use.⁴⁴ These copies were inherited by his son, who showed them to Ibn Ḥanbal, who praised the accuracy of their content, the careful pointing and vowelings, and the beauty of the script. But, though the son inherited the manuscripts, Shuʿaib's pupils had had the use

³³ See e.g. *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, p. 272; *Jarḥ* IV 2, pp. 248 f.

³⁴ *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 359; *Mizān* I 441; *Jamʿ* I 212.

³⁵ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 169; Bukhārī, *Taʾriḫ* I 1, p. 254; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 138; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 111 f.; *Jamʿ* II 452; Dhahabī I 153 f.; Samʿānī, folio 53a.

³⁶ *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 111 f.; Dhahabī I 153 f.

³⁷ *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 204 f.; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 112; Dhahabī I 153. Awzāʿī is quoted as placing Qurrah ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān above all of Zuhri's other pupils, which the critics explain by assuming that Qurrah was best informed on Zuhri the man rather than on Zuhri the scholar.

³⁸ Yaʿqūb ibn Shaibah, *Musnad* . . . ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, p. 62; *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 266 f.; *Jāmiʿ* I 61. For Awzāʿī's literary activities and collection of manuscripts see e.g. pp. 35 (n. 26), 50, 54 above.

³⁹ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 173; Bukhārī, *Taʾriḫ* I 1, p. 69; *Jamʿ* II 437; *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 237; Dhahabī I 285.

⁴⁰ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 172; Bukhārī, *Taʾriḫ* I 2, p. 150; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 434–36; Khaṭīb VII 123–27; Ibn ʿAsākir III 273–77; Dhahabī I 266 f.; *Mizān* I 154–58; *Jamʿ* I 63. See also pp. 232 f. below.

⁴¹ Ibn ʿAsākir III 276 f.; Dhahabī I 267.

⁴² *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 67; Khaṭīb IV 339–41; Ibn ʿAsākir I 435–37.

⁴³ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 171; Bukhārī, *Taʾriḫ* II 2, p. 223; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 138; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 344 f.; Ibn ʿAsākir VI 321; Dhahabī I 205 f.; *Jamʿ* I 210.

⁴⁴ See e.g. *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 345; Ibn ʿAsākir VI 321; Dhahabī I 105 f. Zuhri had two court secretaries at his disposal (*Jāmiʿ* I 77; Abū Nuʿaim III 361).

of them during his lifetime, for he is reported as saying to them: "These are my books; transmit them on my authority."⁴⁵ The pupil who apparently made the most of this opportunity was Abū al-Yamān al-Ḥakam ibn Nāfi' (138–222/755–837),⁴⁶ also of Ḥims, who availed himself of manuscripts handed to him (*munāwalah*) but claimed that he did not transmit any of their contents,⁴⁷ that is, presumably he did not transmit without benefit of oral transmission at the source. He had, besides Zuhri's materials, copies of the large collection of Abū al-Zinād on the authority of A'raj on the authority of Abū Hurairah and that of Nāfi' the client of Ibn 'Umar on the authority of Ibn 'Umar.⁴⁸ His house adjoined that of the traditionist Ismā'il ibn 'Ayyāsh (*ca.* 106–81/724–97), and Abū al-Yamān noticed that Ismā'il interrupted his prayer service frequently. When he asked Ismā'il about the interruptions, Ismā'il answered that as he recited the service he recalled traditions bearing on each theme and stopped to enter them in his books under the proper headings (*bāb min al-abwāb*).⁴⁹ Abū al-Yamān then studied with Ismā'il. He served as Ismā'il's secretary and was compared in this respect to Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith.⁵⁰ Master and secretary must have made several careful copies of Ismā'il's materials for the use of the pupils. For Ismā'il's method was to seat himself above his pupils, recite from memory some 500(!) traditions each day, and then hand the pupils his manuscripts, from which they were to make their own copies the next morning.⁵¹ Traveling scholars, including Ibn al-Mubārak,⁵² also made copies of some of Ismā'il's traditions. A Khurāsānian scholar wished to buy copies of Ismā'il's books and read them back to him. Abū al-Yamān was persuaded to part with his personal copies of Ismā'il's books because the price would enable him to make a pilgrimage and because Ismā'il promised to dictate them to him again on his return. Abū al-Yamān therefore sold his set, which was on papyrus, for thirty dinars and made the pilgrimage. On his return he made a fresh set that cost him only a few dirhams, presumably for a new supply of papyrus.⁵³ Abū al-Yamān's collection of traditions from Shu'aib–Zuhri and Ismā'il circulated among scholars of the next generations, including the major critic Yaḥyā ibn Ma'in,⁵⁴ Muslim and Bukhārī,⁵⁵ and other *ḥadīth* collectors.⁵⁶ Once again, therefore, a study of the serious literary activities of Zuhri's pupils and his first- and second-generation transmitters has revealed that they produced and used scholarly books as indispensable means for authentic and acceptable transmission of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*.

So far the locale of the literary activities investigated has been the somewhat closely related provinces, in respect to scholarship, of the Ḥijāz, Syria, and Egypt. We turn now, therefore, to some of Zuhri's pupils and their immediate transmitters who settled in the Yemen, 'Irāq, and farther east. The written transmission of *maghāzī* materials from Zuhri to his Baṣran student Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (96–154/714–71), who settled in the Yemen, where 'Abd al-

⁴⁵ *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 344; Ibn 'Asākir VI 321; Dhahabī I 204, 372.

⁴⁶ Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 174; Bukhārī I 2, p. 342; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 129; *Jam'* I 101 f.; Ibn 'Asākir IV 410; Dhahabī I 372.

⁴⁷ Ibn 'Asākir IV 410; *Jam'* I 101 f. Ibn Ḥanbal, who approved of the *munāwalah* method of transmission, reproved scholars returning from Egypt for not making critical use of the *munāwalah* manuscripts of 'Amr ibn Abī Salamah (d. 214/829); see *Mizān* II 289.

⁴⁸ See e.g. *Kifāyah*, p. 214; *Buhārī'nin*, p. 241, Isnād 108.

⁴⁹ Ibn 'Asākir III 39 f.; *Mizān* I 111.

⁵⁰ *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 129; Dhahabī I 372; *Mizān* I 112.

⁵¹ Khaṭīb VI 222, 224; Ibn 'Asākir III 40; Bukhārī, *Ta'riḫ* I 1, pp. 369 f.; *Mizān* I 113. His collection, accord-

ing to his secretary, was exhaustive, especially in respect to materials of scholars of Damascus, Mecca, and Medina. Critics claimed that he had not memorized the non-Syrian materials as well as he had the Syrian.

⁵² Khaṭīb VI 222 f.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 224.

⁵⁴ See Dhahabī I 234, which reports that Yaḥyā's copy of Ismā'il's collection came into Dhahabī's possession.

⁵⁵ See *Buhārī'nin*, p. 241, Isnād 108; *Jam'* I 210.

⁵⁶ See e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal V 447, VI 86 and 88 f., where Ibn Ḥanbal transmits directly some dozen of the Zuhri–Shu'aib–Abū al-Yamān traditions; Dārimī I 33, 50, 274, 326, 347, 357, 361, 394 and II 73, 110, 133, 232, 243, 267, 277, 305, 317, 321, 325, 328, 340, 443.

Razzāq ibn Ḥammām (126–211/743–826) studied with him for seven years and transmitted much of his material, has already been discussed.⁵⁷ ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Tafsīr*,⁵⁸ which is listed among the best of such works (see p. 112), and his large collection of *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* have survived in later transmissions.⁵⁹ The *Tafsīr* has been published, and separate studies of the manuscripts of the *ḥadīth* collection of Ma‘mar–‘Abd al-Razzāq, the *Jāmi‘ al-ḥadīth*, have appeared recently.⁶⁰

Ma‘mar’s reputation as an authority on Zuhri was such that Zuhri’s young Kūfan pupil Sufyān ibn ‘Uyainah (107–98/725–814),⁶¹ whose family settled in Mecca and who, when he was but sixteen years old,⁶² heard Zuhri there in 123–24/741–42, made two trips to the Yemen, in 150/767 and 152/769, to hear Ma‘mar’s collections.⁶³ Sufyān himself came to be considered an expert on Zuhri, and some ranked him in this respect as the equal of Mālik and Ma‘mar and even above Ma‘mar.⁶⁴

Sufyān’s collection consisted of some 7,000 traditions. He was proud of his memory and is frequently reported as having no books.⁶⁵ Yet one reads, on Sufyān’s own authority, that he wrote down traditions at the age of seven,⁶⁶ a fact which leads to the conclusion that he merely made memoranda. His pupils, however, did write down his traditions.⁶⁷ Lists of his pupils⁶⁸ include the most outstanding men of the second century, most of whom, such as his older contemporaries Shu‘bah ibn al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn Juraij and younger scholars such as Ibn al-Mubārak, Shāfi‘ī, and Ibn Ḥanbal, became authors in their own right. We read, furthermore, that Sufyān declared: “I never wrote down anything whatsoever except that which I had already memorized before I wrote it.”⁶⁹ It must be assumed, therefore, that at first Sufyān gave priority to memory yet did not exclude the use of texts but that later he saw the need of committing the memorized materials to permanent record as a safeguard against the loss of memory.⁷⁰ Manuscripts that Sufyān wrote at this stage of his career were, I suspect, both selective in content and carefully written. And, in view of his reputation, it is not surprising that his original manuscripts soon became collectors’ items.⁷¹ At least some of his *tafsīr*⁷² and *ḥadīth*⁷³ collections retained their identity through several generations of transmitters, even as did Ma‘mar’s collections.⁷⁴

⁵⁷ Vol. I, Document 5, esp. pp. 75 f. See also *Jarḥ* III 1, pp. 38 f.; *Mizān* II 126–29; Ibn Ḥanbal V 189, where ‘Abd al-Razzāq reports his reading of the book of Ma‘mar; Muslim XVIII 2, where he transmits from this book.

⁵⁸ See Weisweiler, *Istanbuler Handschriftenstudien zur arabischen Traditionsliteratur*, No. 48; Horst, “Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar aṭ-Ṭabarī,” *ZDMG* CIII 301; Ibn Khair al-Ishbili, *Fihrist* I 54 f.

⁵⁹ See *GAL* S I 333 and references there cited. See also Ibn Khair al-Ishbili, *Fihrist* I 54 f., 127–31, 236; *Kifāyah*, p. 214. For the leading roles of Ma‘mar and ‘Abd al-Razzāq and an impressive list of prominent scholars who journeyed to the Yemen to meet them and study their materials see ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī al-Ja‘dī, *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā’ al-Yaman*, pp. 66–68.

⁶⁰ Sezgin, “Hadis musannefatının mebdei ve Ma‘mer b. Rāşid’in ‘Cāmi’i,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XII (İstanbul, 1955) 115–34; see also *Buhārī’nin*.

⁶¹ Ibn Sa‘d V 364 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta’rikh* II 2, pp. 95 f.; *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 32–53; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 225–27; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 122; Ṭabarī III 2521 f.; Khaṭīb IX 174–84; Nawawī, pp. 289 f.; *Jam‘* I 195 f.; Dhahabī I 242–44. See also pp. 47 and 122 above.

⁶² See e.g. Ibn Sa‘d V 365; Bukhārī, *Ta’rikh* II 2, p. 95; *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, p. 34. See also *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 166; *Kifāyah*, pp. 60 f. Ibn Ḥanbal quotes at length from Sufyān’s materials on the direct authority of Zuhri on the authority of Sa‘id ibn al-Musayyib on the authority of Abū Hurairah (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 238 ff.).

⁶³ See e.g. Ibn Sa‘d V 365; Ṭabarī III 2522.

⁶⁴ *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, p. 16; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 226 f.; Khaṭīb IX 151; *Jāmi‘* II 167.

⁶⁵ Ṭabarī I 2521; *Fihrist*, p. 226; Dhahabī I 243.

⁶⁶ Nawawī, p. 290; Dhahabī I 243.

⁶⁷ Khaṭīb IX 175.

⁶⁸ See e.g. Khaṭīb IX 174; Nawawī, p. 289.

⁶⁹ See e.g. Khaṭīb IX 179.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 183.

⁷¹ *Fihrist*, p. 41.

⁷² *Ibid.* pp. 34, 226.

⁷³ See e.g. Ibn Khair al-Ishbili, *Fihrist* I 134 f.

⁷⁴ ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī al-Ja‘dī, *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā’ al-Yaman*, pp. 66 and 74.

Other scholars likewise sought out ʿAbd al-Razzāq in the Yemen especially for his Zuhri materials. Among these was Ibn Ḥanbal, who put himself to considerable trouble to make the journey.⁷⁵ Yet he declared that it was indeed worth it because he was able to write down from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, on the authority of Maʿmar ibn Rāshid, Zuhri's *ḥadīth* collection from Sālim on the authority of his father, Ibn ʿUmar, and Zuhri's collection from Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib on the authority of Abū Hurairah.⁷⁶ The aged ʿAbd al-Razzāq must have dictated from his manuscripts, since he states that Zuhri's materials had escaped his memory and that he made a fresh collection which he showed to Abū Mushir (140–218/757–833).⁷⁷ Anyone who has read extensively in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal knows that he put both of these Zuhri collections to good use for the *musnad*'s of Ibn ʿUmar⁷⁸ and Abū Hurairah,⁷⁹ as he did also Sufyān's collection from Zuhri among other Zuhriyāt.⁸⁰

Among those whom Zuhri sought out in Medina was Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf of the same tribe as Zuhri himself.⁸¹ Thus began a close association among several members of the two families, in the interest of scholarship. Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 125/743 or 127/745), judge of Medina during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, was also a collector of traditions.⁸² He wrote down all that Shūbah ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776) had to give despite the fact that Shūbah was his junior.⁸³ Saʿd and Zuhri seem to have exchanged materials, while Saʿd's son Ibrāhīm (110–184/728–800)⁸⁴ started early to collect Zuhri materials.⁸⁵ This Ibrāhīm's activities were extensive and varied as judge, scholar, and man of affairs who toward the end of his life migrated to ʿIrāq to be received by its scholars and favored by Hārūn al-Rashīd, who appointed him treasurer.⁸⁶ His early interest in Zuhri and his awareness of Zuhri's reputation led Ibrāhīm to ask his father why Zuhri surpassed him. Saʿd informed his son of Zuhri's well known and vast activities which involved going everywhere and collecting information from all—men and women, old and young—who had it to give.⁸⁷ Ibrāhīm augmented his own initial collection from Zuhri by that of his father and, directly or indirectly, from that of Zuhri's nephew Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim.⁸⁸ In the meantime Ibrāhīm was studying with Ibn Ishāq, from whom he heard and transmitted the *Maghāzī*⁸⁹ and received a large collection of legal traditions.⁹⁰ No doubt much of the material that Ibrāhīm received from Ibn Ishāq came originally from Zuhri's collection of manuscripts. It is no wonder that Ibrāhīm was known in Medina as a prolific traditionist and that ʿIrāqī scholars sought him out specifically for his collection from Zuhri.⁹¹ The list of his pupils and fellow scholars who transmitted from

⁷⁵ See *GAL S* I 309 for Ibn Ḥanbal's journeys.

⁷⁶ See e.g. Abū Nuʿaim IX 184.

⁷⁷ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 291; Dhahabī I 346. Bukhārī in his very short entry on ʿAbd al-Razzāq makes but one comment: "What he relates from his book is more accurate," ما حدث من كتابه فهو أصح (Bukhārī, *Taʾriḥ* III 2, p. 130).

⁷⁸ Ibn Ḥanbal II 1–158, esp. pp. 33–36. See Ṭayālīsī, pp. 249 f., for Zuhri's Sālim materials.

⁷⁹ Ibn Ḥanbal II 220–541, of which pp. 265–84 are from ʿAbd al-Razzāq; see esp. pp. 265–76 for Zuhri–Saʿīd–Abū Hurairah and cf. Ṭayālīsī, pp. 303 f.

⁸⁰ See e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 8 f., 11, 14.

⁸¹ Bukhārī, *Taʾriḥ* I 1, p. 295; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 111.

⁸² Bukhārī, *Taʾriḥ* II 2, pp. 252 f.; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 79; Abū Nuʿaim III 169–74.

⁸³ *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 151. See *Kifāyah*, pp. 54–65, Abū Nuʿaim III 364, and *Jāmiʿ* I 102 f. for arguments concern-

ing transmission by the young and for many early examples of their role in transmission.

⁸⁴ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 63; Bukhārī, *Taʾriḥ* I 1, p. 288; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 101 f.; *Fihrist*, p. 92; Ibn Ḥibbān, pp. 106 f.; Khaṭīb VI 81–86; Nawawī, p. 134; Dhahabī I 232 f.

⁸⁵ *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 166; Khaṭīb VI 82.

⁸⁶ See e.g. Khaṭīb VI 84; Nawawī, p. 134. See also our Vol. I 89, 91.

⁸⁷ See e.g. Nawawī, *Bustān al-ʿarifīn*, p. 41.

⁸⁸ See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 76; Abū Nuʿaim III 364.

⁸⁹ See Vol. I 89.

⁹⁰ Khaṭīb (Vol. VI 83) and Dhahabī (Vol. I 232) both estimated the collection at about 17,000 traditions. Some of them found their way into the standard collections (see *Jamʿ* I 16; *Buhārī'nin*, esp. p. 265, Isnād 183).

⁹¹ Khaṭīb VI 84. See also Ḥājī Khalīfah II 594, No. 4045, where "Saʿīd" may be an error for "Saʿd."

him reads like a Who's Who of the scholars of the leading provinces of Islām for the greater part of the second century since it includes men of the caliber of Shu'bah ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Sufyān al-Thaurī, Laith ibn Sa'd, Shāfi'ī, and Ibn Ḥanbal.

Two of Ibrāhīm's sons, Sa'd (d. 201/816)⁹² and Ya'qūb (d. 203/823),⁹³ continued the scholarly tradition of this distinguished family and transmitted their father's collection from his books. The fact that the family's collection of Zuhri materials was in Ya'qūb's possession⁹⁴ probably explains why Ya'qūb was more famous than his brother. However, Sa'd's three sons, Ibrāhīm, Aḥmad, and 'Uбайд Allāh, carried on as traditionists. 'Uбайд Allāh (d. 260/874) became especially concerned with the various collections received from his father and his Uncle Ya'qūb and is widely quoted in historical works and *ḥadīth* collections of the third century. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān, whose *Al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl* is frequently cited in these pages, wrote down traditions directly from 'Uбайд Allāh.⁹⁵

It is hardly necessary to follow up here the intensive literary activities of Zuhri's other leading pupils. Some of them are met with elsewhere in these studies, especially Ibn Juraij and Mālik ibn Anas, both of whom adopted from Zuhri the *arḍ* and *munāwalah* methods of transmission.⁹⁶ Fresh coverage of the earliest sources available leads one to the conclusion reached long ago by Muslim scholars whose comprehensive though loosely organized records led them to all but equate *aṣḥāb al-Zuhri* and *aṣḥāb al-kutub*.⁹⁷

It is interesting to consider the fate of Zuhri's manuscripts. In all probability Zuhri retained at least some of his personal copies when he retired. What disposition he made of any such manuscripts is not indicated in the sources, though family members and leading pupils would seem to be his logical heirs. Most of his manuscripts, however, were apparently left in Hishām's court library. Whether or not Zuhri was apprehensive for the fate of his manuscripts, as he was for his own personal safety,⁹⁸ in the event of Hishām's death is not known. That his manuscript collection in the court library was a large one, even larger than was expected by his pupil Ma'mar ibn Rāshid, who recorded its removal on the death of Walīd II,⁹⁹ is not surprising. It represented the accumulation of the forty to forty-five years¹⁰⁰ during which Zuhri enjoyed Umayyad patronage, from the time of 'Abd al-Malik until his own death near the end of Hishām's long reign. The sources do not indicate whether the removal of the manuscripts from the court library involved mass destruction of the collection, nor yet do they mention any specific recipient or recipients. One is, therefore, left to assume that those who were interested in acquiring Zuhri's manuscripts would have tried to rescue the collection in part or in whole. These would have included members of Zuhri's family and his leading pupils. Ma'mar, who witnessed the removal of the several loads of manuscripts from the court library, no doubt availed himself of the opportunity to add to his personal collection of the master's

⁹² Ibn Sa'd VII 2, pp. 83 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* II 2, p. 53; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 79 f.; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 269; Khaṭīb IX 123 f.

⁹³ Ibn Sa'd VII 2, pp. 83 f.; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 202; Khaṭīb XIV 268 f.; Dhahabī I 306 f.

⁹⁴ Ibn Sa'd VII 2, pp. 83 f.; Nawawī, p. 134. See e.g. Khaṭīb IX 124, which mentions other manuscripts in his possession.

⁹⁵ *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 317 f.; *Jam'* I 306; Jawād 'Alī, "Mawārid Ta'rikh al-Ṭabarī," *Majallah* II (1952) 165 f.; *Buhārī'nin*, e.g. pp. 225, 252, 265, 293. Khaṭīb VI 81 states that this scholarly family continued as such "until recently."

⁹⁶ *Ma'ārif*, p. 246; *Kifāyah*, p. 305, 326 f., 329.

⁹⁷ See e.g. *Jāmi'* I 73; Khaṭīb IX 151; Ibn 'Asākir VI 379.

⁹⁸ See *Aghānī* VI 106, *Fragmenta historicorum Arabico-rum* I 129, and Horowitz in *Islamic Culture* II 42 for the rift between Zuhri and Prince Walīd.

⁹⁹ Ibn Sa'd II 2, p. 136; Abū Nu'aim III 361; Dhahabī I 106. See also our Vol. I 23.

¹⁰⁰ See e.g. Abū Nu'aim III 362. The date of Zuhri's entry into the service of 'Abd al-Malik is uncertain, but at the latest it was during Hishām ibn Ismā'il's governorship of Medina (82-86/701-5) (see Ibn Sa'd II 2, p. 135 and VII 2, p. 157; Abū Nu'aim III 367-69; *Iqd* I 205, II 310 f.).

works. There is some indirect evidence that some of Zuhri's pupils who were not on the scene managed to acquire some of the manuscripts. Mālik, for instance, is reported as saying that he had seven boxes full of Zuhri's *ḥadīth* manuscripts which he did not transmit. These were brought to light on Mālik's death to the surprise of those who read them eagerly and then blessed Mālik for their preservation.¹⁰¹ It is not likely that Mālik acquired this large quantity of manuscripts, along with the sizable number of Zuhri traditions which he did transmit, from Zuhri himself. It is also possible that Zuhri's older pupils, including Ibn Ishāq and Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah¹⁰² as well as those discussed above, augmented their collections at this time or later, perhaps even from the book market, a source that should not be overlooked. Ishāq ibn Rāshid, who died during the reign of Maṣūʿ, transmitted Zuhri's traditions in distant Khurāsān. Asked if he had met Zuhri, he replied in the negative but added that while he was passing through Jerusalem a book of Zuhri's fell into his hands.¹⁰³ And where are passing travelers more likely to come across books than in the book market? Finally, there was Zuhri's family, particularly his nephew Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim (d. 157/774), who, I suspect, acquired the bulk of his uncle's collection. The potentialities of this nephew as a practicing traditionist in his own right were small in comparison to those of Zuhri's leading pupils. His father, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim, and Zuhri are usually the only ones listed in his biographical entries or mentioned in *ḥadīth* literature as his authorities, and his transmitters for *ḥadīth* proper were few.¹⁰⁴ The biographical entries on his most frequently mentioned transmitter, Maʿn ibn ʿĪsā (d. 198/814),¹⁰⁵ do not even mention their teacher-pupil relationship though evidence of this relationship appears occasionally in *ḥadīth* literature.¹⁰⁶ Yet Muḥammad is known to have possessed "Zuhri's books," and the energetic collector of the Zuhriyāt, Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Dhuhli (172–258/788–872), listed him among the *aṣḥāb al-Zuhri*.¹⁰⁷ Thus it seems possible that Zuhri's nephew possessed a collection of original Zuhri manuscripts that was comparatively little used by professional traditionists¹⁰⁸ until it was discovered by Dhuhli. Or it is possible that the nucleus of the nephew's collection consisted of manuscripts that he produced or acquired during his uncle's lifetime just as other pupils of Zuhri did.

The nephew's case is, curiously enough, somewhat paralleled by that of one of Zuhri's clients, Zakariyāʾ ibn ʿĪsā (n.d.), who is said to have possessed a copy (*nuskhaḥ*) of Zuhri's collection from Nāfiʿ which he transmitted to an obscure ʿUmar ibn Abī Bakr al-Muʿammālī.¹⁰⁹ Biographical entries for Zakariyāʾ are few, and he is listed as untrustworthy.¹¹⁰ Another of Zuhri's close associates can almost be classed as a family member. Zuhri, like his patron the caliph Hishām, had his headquarters at Riṣāfah, where he made his home for some twenty years with a family that was related to Hishām by marriage. A member of this family, ʿUbaid Allāh ibn Abī Ziyād (d. 159/776), known also as Abū Manīʿ, had a copy of Zuhri's materials which toward the end of his life he transmitted to his son Yūsuf and his grandson Ḥajjāj.¹¹¹

¹⁰¹ *Adāb al-Shāfiʿī*, p. 199; Ibn Farḥūn, p. 24.

¹⁰² Cf. Vol. I 23, 75.

¹⁰³ Ibn ʿAsākir II 438 f. For entries on Ishāq ibn Rāshid see Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, p. 386; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 219 f.; *Jamʿ* I 32; *Mizān* I 89.

¹⁰⁴ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, p. 131; *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 304; Zubairī, pp. 3 and 274; *Mizān* III 78; *Lisān* VI 695; Yāfiʿī I 354. *Jamʿ* I 440 f. is confused.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Saʿd V 324; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, pp. 396 f.; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 277 f.; *Jamʿ* II 497; Dhahabī I 304; Ibn Farḥūn, pp. 347 f. Maʿn was one of the transmitters of Mālik's *Muwaffāʿ* (Abū Nuʿaim VI 321).

¹⁰⁶ See e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 16; Abū Nuʿaim III 364, 371.

¹⁰⁷ *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, p. 260; *Mizān* III 78.

¹⁰⁸ But Wāqidī names the nephew third in his list of 24 sources from whom he wrote down the materials for his *Maghāzī* and cites him frequently in that work on the authority of Zuhri.

¹⁰⁹ Ṭabarī lists him only once (*Taʾrīkh* I 1176).

¹¹⁰ *Jarḥ* I 2, pp. 597 f.; *Mizān* I 349; Yāqūt III 302.

¹¹¹ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 1, p. 382; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 316; Yāqūt II 786.

The sources yield little information on ʿUbaid Allāh and even less on his son Yūsuf as traditionists. In fact, most of the information about both of them appears in connection with Ḥajjāj, who alone transmitted the Zuhri materials of ʿUbaid Allāh. Ḥajjāj's death date is not known, but he claimed that he was seventy-six in the year 216 A.H., thus indicating that his birth date was about 140/757. He was therefore an older contemporary of Dhuhli, who made use of his copy of Zuhri materials.¹¹² Ḥajjāj's activity and reputation as a traditionist seem to have been limited to and based on the Zuhri materials in his possession, for his real interests lay in agriculture and certain branches of animal husbandry.¹¹³ Zuhri apparently was a man of vision whose immediate family produced no one equal to sustaining, let alone furthering, the lifework of its gifted member.¹¹⁴ His heirs held on to their manuscript legacy, using it on occasion, until the Zuhri specialist Dhuhli sought them out and incorporated it in his own *Zuhrīyāt*, much as some of his predecessors and contemporaries, as already seen, had acquired a great deal of Zuhri material from Zuhri's leading pupils.

Dhuhli's¹¹⁵ literary fame rests largely on his exhaustive *Zuhrīyāt*. A Khurāsānian by birth, he traveled the length and breadth of the eastern part of the Muslim world covering ʿIrāq, Syria, Egypt, the Ḥijāz, and the Yemen and made several special trips to Baṣrah in search of materials.¹¹⁶ He became a pupil of Ibn Ḥanbal and a teacher of both Muslim and Bukhārī.¹¹⁷ The critics of his day and later were unanimous in praising him as an authority on Zuhri, for his aim was not only to collect but to organize and criticize Zuhri's materials.¹¹⁸ His activities took place at a time when he could capitalize on the existing copies of the several collections of Zuhri materials, such as have been traced in the foregoing pages, none of which his avowed purpose would permit him to neglect. He is known to have transmitted from Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith ibn Saʿd and from Yaʿqūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm (see p. 181).¹¹⁹ His coverage of the Zuhri material was so exhaustive that his admiring contemporaries assured him he was the real heir of Zuhri.¹²⁰

Dhuhli's *Zuhrīyāt* must have been put to good use in the fourth century by two more Zuhri enthusiasts. One of them was Ibn Ḥibbān (274–354/887–965),¹²¹ prolific author and

¹¹² Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 175; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, pp. 376 f.; Ibn ʿAsākir IV 82–84; *Mizān* II 166 f.

¹¹³ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 175; Ibn ʿAsākir IV 84. Cf. Sakhawī, *Al-i-lān bi al-tawārikh li man dhamma al-tawārikh*, p. 88.

¹¹⁴ The story that Zuhri's wife exclaimed that his preoccupation with his books was harder on her than three rival co-wives would be acquires significance in this context as further historical evidence of both Zuhri's many books and his family's failure to appreciate his lifework.

The story has been suspected by some because of its late origin, Ibn Khallikān being the earliest authority cited for it (Ibn Khallikān I 571 [= trans. II 582]; cf. Horovitz in *Islamic Culture* II 49, where the wife's statement is referred to as an "alleged pious exclamation"). Some two centuries before the time of Ibn Khallikān, however, Khaṭīb recorded in his *Taʾrīkh* a similar incident related by the still earlier Zubair ibn Bakkār al-Zubairī (ca. 172–256/788–870), who was, like Zuhri, a Quraishite, a genealogist of the Quraish, a tutor of royalty, and a man of many books (*GAL* I 141 and *GAL S* I 215). Zubair's story, involving his own wife, ends with *قال (ابن بكار) تقول المرأة والله قال (ابن بكار) لهذه الكتب اشد على من ثلاث ضرائر* (Khaṭīb VII

471), thus giving the impression that wives of scholars had come, as a rule, to resent their husbands' preoccupation with books. It therefore seems reasonable to accept the story of Zuhri's wife and to assume that her resentment of his books was no secret in either Quraishite harems or the evening sessions of the men, especially as one recalls that Zuhri and his wife became the subject of a popular love story—one of 37 such tales listed in *Fihrist*, p. 307.

¹¹⁵ *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 125; Khaṭīb III 415–20; Dhahabī I 101–3; *Jamʿ* II 465; *Yāfiʿ* II 169.

¹¹⁶ Khaṭīb III 419; Dhahabī I 102.

¹¹⁷ Later Dhuhli had a quarrel with Bukhārī which created an awkward situation for Muslim, who had to choose between the two. Muslim sided with Bukhārī and sent back to Dhuhli everything he had written down from him—a porter's full load (Khaṭīb II 30 f., XIII 103).

¹¹⁸ See e.g. Khaṭīb III 415.

¹¹⁹ Khaṭīb III 415, IX 478; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 125.

¹²⁰ Khaṭīb III 417 f.; Dhahabī I 102; cf. *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, p. 358.

¹²¹ *GAL S* I 273 f.; *Yāʿqūt* I 613–20, pp. 616–19 being devoted to a list of Ibn Ḥibbān's works.

critic, especially in the fields of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, whose *ʿIlal ḥadīth al-Zuhrī* is a critical study. But his contemporary Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad al-Nīsābūrī, known also as Māsarjisī (288–356/900–967), outdid even Dhuhlī and won the title “Zuhrī the Lesser” (*Zuhrī al-saghīr*). His lifework was an enormous *musnad* collection, *Musnad al-kabīr*, consisting of thirteen hundred parts (*ajzāʾ*) of which the comparatively meager *musnad* of the caliph Abū Bakr formed about ten parts.¹²² One wonders, then, how many parts were devoted to the vast *musnad* of Zuhrī.

The collecting of Zuhriyāt was not limited to these avowed specialists and their times. Perhaps distance and size worked against the widespread availability of such voluminous works. Certainly others in different parts of the Muslim world devoted a considerable part of their time and energy to a collection of Zuhriyāt of both *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*.¹²³

The range and character of Zuhrī’s activities as student, collector-recorder, and editor-transmitter of Tradition indicate that the writing-down of *ḥadīth* was already a practice during his youth and that his own recording represented such an acceleration of this development that not only did his pupils become known as *aṣḥāb al-kutub*, but the Zuhrī period itself was referred to as “the age of the manuscript.” A reversal of role is discernible. For if at first writing was used primarily as an aid to memory, memory itself was now being cultivated as a check on the accuracy of manuscripts.

The precise nature and significance of Zuhrī’s role in the mass recording of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* and in further developing the science of Tradition is becoming increasingly intelligible.

¹²² Ibn ʿAsākir IV 351 f.; Dhahabi III 165 f.

Dhahabi I 106; Muḥammad al-Murīr, *Kitāb al-abḥāth al-Samiyyah fī al-mahakim al-Islāmiyyah*, ed. Alfredo Bustānī,

¹²³ See e.g. Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib* II (Leyde, 1861) 116 f.; I (Tetuán, 1951) 71 f.

DOCUMENT 7

Oriental Institute No. 17628. Late second or early third/early ninth century.

Fragment of rather poor quality brown papyrus roll, 27 × 20 cm. (Pls. 13–14). There are practically no side margins, but liberal spaces mark off page lengths with 23 lines each. The roll is broken at the top and considerably damaged in spots.

Script.—Small somewhat angular book hand more or less carelessly executed. Diacritical points are used only occasionally for the most part, as with the *shīn* of recto 4 and the *nūn* of verso 14, but appear frequently with the final *yā* of the names *Laithī* and even *Yaḥyā*, where the two dots are placed within the loop of the letter to distinguish it from final *nūn*. Plain circles are used for punctuation, and circles containing either a dot or a stroke probably indicate collation (see pp. 87 f.).

TEXT

RECTO

- 1 عن محمد بن [ابراهيم التيمي ان عايشة قالت كنت نائمة الى جنب رسول الله صلى الله عليه
2 وسلم ليلة قالت [ففقده فلمسته فوقعت يدي على قدميه وهو]
- 1 [ساجد ناسحا] والقبلة وهو يقول اعوذ برضاك من سخطك واعوذ [بمعافاتك من عقوبتك]
2 واعوذ بك منك لا احصى ثناء عليك انت كما اثنيت على نفسك ○ (2) و[حدثنا] [عن] [الليث]
3 عن يحيى بن سعيد عن عباد بن الوليد بن عباد بن الصامت ان عايشة قالت التمس
4 رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فادخلت يدي في شعره (قال) اقد جاك شيطانك فقلت
5 أمالك شيطان فقال بلا ولكن الله اعني عليه فاسلم ○ (3) وحدثني عن الليث
6 عن يحيى بن سعيد عن محمد بن يحيى بن حبان عن لؤلؤة عن ابي صرمة عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه
7 وسلم قال من ضار اضر الله به ومن شاق شاق الله عليه ○ (4) وحدثني عن الليث عن يحيى بن سعيد
8 انه قال لا تشرب فضل الغير ولا تشرب مائه ○ (5) وحدثني عن الليث عن يحيى بن سعيد عن
الزبرقان
- 9 الليثي ان ابا هريرة [قال] ابوشكن احدكم ان يكون الموت احب اليه من الغسل بالماء البارد
10 في الثبرة الجارية فلا يموت ○ (6) وحدثني (عن) الليث عن يحيى بن سعيد عن سالم بن عبد الله
11 ان عمر بن الخطاب (قال) من ولي هذا الامر فليعلم ان سيريدته القريب والبعيد فاني ار اذا لا اقاتل
الناس
- 12 عن نفسي قتالا ولو اني اعرف مكان من هو اقوى على هذا الامر مني لكنت ان أقدم
13 فتضرب عناقى احب (الي) من ان آليه ○ (7) وحدثني عن الليث عن يحيى بن سعيد انه بلغه
14 ان ابا يزيد كان يقول
- 15 العتق او الزواج وشي من الربح والقصد يبلغوا والقصد يبلغوا ○ (8) وحدثني عن الليث

- 16 عن يحيى بن سعيد عن انس بن مالك يقول ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال الا اخبركم
 17 بخير دور الانصار او بخير الانصار قالوا بلا يا رسول الله قال بنو النجار ثم الذين
 18 يلوهم بنو عبد الأشهل ثم الذين يلوهم بنو الحرث بن الخزرج ثم الذين يلوهم بنو ساعدة
 19 ثم قال بيده فقبض اصابعه ثم بسطهم كالرامي بيده ثم قال وفي دور الانصار كل[ها]
 20 خير ○ (9) وحدثني [عن الليث] عن يحيى بن سعيد ان مما ينهى عنه اذا هب من رجل طعاما
 21] ضامن به زوال تدينين من يضمن به لك بنقد فيكون كانه بنقد[ك]
 22] [يع شى ان يشتريه بما تبيع فلا باس بذلك ان بايعته ان يشتريه[ه]
 23] بـ[أثنم الذى رضيت به ○

VERSO

- 1 (10) [وحدثني عن الليث عن يحيى] بن سعيد انه قال لا باس با(ا)سلف فى البيع على قيمة معلومة
 2] [. . . او فرحتا اصل[المحتنا فان لم تصطلحا اقيم شكيا فقد عدل
 3 واصطلح بكم] [يحل عزل البيع ان قام شكيا ○ (11) وحدثني عن الليث عن يحيى
 بن سعيد
 4 ان القاسم بن م[حمد قال] ان رجل سال (ا)بن عباس عن شبائب اراد بيعهم قبل ان يشتريهم
 5 قال ابن عباس لا ترى ذلك الا ذهب بذهب ولا تبيعها حتا تقبضها ○ (12) وحدثني
 6 شيخى عن يحيى بن سعيد ان سعيد بن المسيب يقول ما اشتريت مما بعنا
 7 فلا تبيعه حتا تقبضه ولم يذكر الحيوان وقال يحيى بن سعيد وقد وقع فى الكتاب
 8 هذا ما كان يقول ابن عباس فى امر الشبائب ○ (13) وحدثني عن الليث عن يحيى بن سعيد انه قال
 9 كان يصيبه دين بمائة وعشرين اذا كان وزنهما واحد يزده بما بيده ○
 10 (14) وحدثني عن الليث عن يحيى بن سعيد انه ربما اخر الماشى والضعيف الاحرام
 11 بالحج والعمر حتا يجاور من ألف رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الذى ولف لناس ○
 12 (15) وحدثني عن الليث عن يحيى بن سعيد ان الرجل الذى وهب امراته لاهلها وان النا
 13 س يختلفون فيهم من يقول البتة ومنهم من يقول واحدة ○ (16) وحدثني عن الليث
 14 انه قال ان وهبها اليهم لا ينتظر رايهم فيها فهي البتة وان وهبها لهم
 15 ليروا فيها رايهم فامرها على ما وضعوه عليه من ردها اليه او طلاقها ○ (17) وحدثني
 16 عن الليث عن يحيى بن سعيد ان الرجل اذا عتب على غلامه فضربه بحجر او بعصاه فقتله فانه
 17 ربما ضرب الرجل بعضا فيرمي فى يده فمات فليس عليه من السلطان عقوبة وامره
 18 الى الله ولو حمل به او قتله بسلاح فذلك يعاقبه السلطان ويغبن عليه ○ (18) وحدثني
 19 الليث عن يحيى بن سعيد ان رجل اذا كان له اربعة نسوة فطلق احدا منهن تطليقة
 20 او تطليقين ثم تزوج قبل ان يحل امر طلق فتطلق التى تزوج لان نكاحها كان حراما عليه
 21 حتا يخلوا عدة التى طلق ○ (19) وحدثني عن الليث عن يحيى بن سعيد ان الرجل اذا كانت امراة له
 22 يطاها فتحجب بوئاب حريرة فان ادار بها الحرير] ولا يسفح ذلك
 23] لانه قد وطى امة ○ (20) وحدثني عن الليث عن يحيى بن سعيد انه قال

[(21) وحدثنى عن الليث عن يحيى
 [قال اذا ا . . .]

Comments.—The original papyrus was obviously a roll of several page lengths marked off by wide blank spaces. Our fragment contains the last page on the recto and the first page on the verso. The text continues unbroken in theme because the verso is upside down in relation to the recto.

Tradition 1. The text for both *isnād* and *matn* was reconstructed with the aid of Nasāʿī I 169 and Tirmidhī XIII 28. Nasāʿī alone has the نحو القبة of the papyrus text. Tirmidhī's complete parallel is transmitted from Laith ibn Saʿd by Qutaibah ibn Saʿīd al-Balkhī (see pp. 143 f.).

Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī (d. 143/760), whose collection is represented here, is the well known jurist and judge of Medina and ʿIrāq who served under the later Umayyads and the first two ʿAbbāsids (see p. 116). His literary activities are discussed below (pp. 193 f.).

Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Taimī (d. 120/738) was a leading Medinan traditionist whose materials are found in all the standard *ḥadīth* collections. Both Zuhri and Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd transmitted from him (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, pp. 22 f.; *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 184; Dhahabī I 117; *Jamʿ* II 434).

The tradition is widely known (see *Concordance* II 440 and add ط قرآن ٣١ [= *Muwattaʿ* I 214]) and traces back to either ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib or ʿĀʾishah. ʿAlī merely reports that Muḥammad used this formula in his private prayers (Ibn Ḥanbal I 96, 118, 150; Nasāʿī I 252; Abū Dāʾūd II 64; Ibn Mājah I 185; Tirmidhī XIII 72). ʿĀʾishah, on the other hand, gives the details found in the papyrus text. Her transmitters were Abū Hurairah and ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair as well as the poet, judge, and traditionist Masrūq ibn al-Ajdaʿ (d. 63/682), who is said to have been adopted by ʿĀʾishah and who wrote down his materials (Ibn Saʿd VI 50–56; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, pp. 35 f.; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 396 f.; Dhahabī I 46 f.; *Jamʿ* II 516 f.). The versions transmitted by ʿUrwah and Masrūq (e.g. Nasāʿī II 322; Zurqānī I 387) differ from those that come from Abū Hurairah in the phrases describing ʿĀʾishah's actions and in the order of the words for the prayer. The rest of the parallels, presumably all transmitted from Abū Hurairah by Aʿraj (see p. 139), though it is not always so indicated in the shortened *isnād*'s, branch out into many lines of transmission other than those of Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd (*Muwattaʿ* I 214; *Tajrīd*, p. 224; Ibn Ḥanbal VI 58, 201; Muslim IV 203; Nasāʿī I 38, 166, 169, 252; Abū Dāʾūd I 232; Tirmidhī XIII 28; Ibn Mājah II 225 f.). Though the texts covering ʿĀʾishah's role in the tradition vary in terms but not in substance, Muḥammad's prayer, with one exception, is reported almost verbatim, the only variation being the omission of the redundant second or third اعوذ of the papyrus text. The one exception is the omission of بك منك in a transmission from Mālik ibn Anas (Tirmidhī XIII 28).

The tradition is significant for ʿĀʾishah's role in it and for the bearing of her role on the efficacy of prayer in the presence of a woman (see Nawawī in Muslim IV 203 f.; Tirmidhī XIII 72 f.; Zurqānī I 387 f.). Note that the biblical David is said to have used this prayer (Nasāʿī I 197 f.).

Tradition 2. Note the superfluous punctuation mark in recto 5.

ʿUbādah ibn al-Walīd (d. during reign of Sulaimān) of Medina was a source of traditions for Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 2, p. 94; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 96; *Jamʿ* I 335). His biographies and those of his father, Walīd ibn ʿUbādah, are few and short in contrast to those of his grandfather ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit (d. 34/655–56), who was a Khazrajī famous for his participation in the treaties of ʿAqabah and in Muḥammad's campaigns. He was one of five said

to have brought together (*jamaʿa*) the entire Qurʾān in Muḥammad's day and to have taught the Qurʾān and writing to others (Ibn Ḥanbal V 315; *Istīʿāb* I 393). He served ʿUmar I in Syria as judge and educator (Ibn Saʿd III 2, p. 93, and VII 2, p. 113; Bukhārī III 2, p. 92; *Maʿārif*, p. 131; *Istīʿāb* II 412; *Iṣābah* II 661–64; *Usd* III 106 f.). He became also an authority on *ḥadīth*, which he transmitted to his sons, including Walīd ibn ʿUbādah (d. during reign of ʿAbd al-Malik), and others (see Ibn Saʿd V 57 f.; *Jarḥ* III 1, pp. 95 f.; *Jamʿ* I 334 f., II 536; Nawawī, pp. 329 f.). For his *musnad* see Ṭayālīsī, pp. 78–80, and Ibn Ḥanbal V 114 and 313–30. His grandson and namesake ʿUbādah ibn al-Walīd, who is the source of this tradition, reports that he and his father, from whom he transmits (Ibn Ḥanbal III 441), set out “in search of (religious) knowledge” (*naṭṭub al-ʿilm*) among the Anṣār before the latter should perish (cf. p. 259). The first man they met was Abū al-Yasar Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr (d. 55/675; see Ibn Saʿd III 2, pp. 118 f.; *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 160; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, pp. 220 f.; *Istīʿāb* II 700; *Iṣābah* IV 419 f.; *Usd* IV 245, V 323 f.), accompanied by a young servant with a container full of manuscript sheets or *ṣuḥuf* (*Jamʿ* II 430 f.). We have here a literate family of three generations whose members were familiar with both oral and written *ḥadīth*.

This seems to be a singleton tradition. Its one identical parallel is transmitted from Laith ibn Saʿd by Qutaibah ibn Saʿīd, as in the case of Tradition 1, with the slight variants *بلى* and *اعاننى* for *بلا* and *اعننى* of the papyrus (Nasāʾī II 160). There are, however, a number of traditions that dwell on ʿĀʾishah's jealousy of her rivals in the harem and present closely related versions of this tradition (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal VI 115; Muslim XVII 158). There are, in addition, later and slightly edited versions of the conversation between Muḥammad and ʿĀʾishah (Ibn al-Jauzī, *Talbīs iblīs*, pp. 33 f.; Muhibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *Kitāb al-simṭ al-thamīn fī manāqib ummahāt al-muʾminīn*, ed. Muḥammad Rāghīb al-Ṭabbākh al-Ḥalabī [Ḥalab, 1928] p. 80). The assignment for each soul of a good and an evil spirit is confirmed by the Qurʾān and numerous other traditions (see e.g. Sūrah 6:112, 43:36; *Concordance* III 125 ff.). See page 141 for biblical roles of angels.

Tradition 3. Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ḥibbān (ca. 47–121/667–739) of Medina transmitted from many Companions to such leaders as Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd, Zuhūrī, Ibn Ishāq, and Mālik ibn Anas (*Maʿārif*, p. 239; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, pp. 265 f.; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 122 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 103; *Jamʿ* II 453; *Tajrīd*, pp. 221 f.).

Luʾluʾah was a freedwoman of the Anṣār. Her transmission of this tradition is repeatedly confirmed in the biographical references to Abū Ṣirmah and in the parallels to the papyrus text. Abū Ṣirmah al-Anṣārī (n.d.) participated in the conquest of Egypt, where he settled (Daulābī I 40; *Istīʿāb* II 667; *Iṣābah* IV 197; *Usd* V 229 f.; *Jamʿ* II 482).

The tradition has six nearly identical parallels, all but one of which (Daulābī I 40) are transmitted through Laith. Of the five from Laith, one (Ibn Mājah II 30 f.) is transmitted from him by the Egyptian Muḥammad ibn Rumḥ (d. 242/856; see *Jamʿ* II 471; *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 254) and the other four by Qutaibah ibn Saʿīd (Ibn Ḥanbal III 453; Abū Dāʾūd III 315; Tirmidhī VIII 122 f.; *Usd* V 230). These parallels vary from the papyrus text only in the interchangeable use of the verb forms *اشق شاق* and *اضر ضار*.

Tradition 4. This is the first of ten traditions (Nos. 4, 9–10, 13–19) in which Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd reports his own practice and opinion and not those of Muḥammad or of leading Companions. As seen in the discussion of Document 6, this type of tradition (pp. 173 f.) was likely to be ignored by the compilers of the later standard *ḥadīth* collections. At any rate, no parallel has been found. Numerous traditions, however, describe the practice of Companions eager to share Muḥammad's cup of water or other drink. The drinking vessel was passed to the one on

the right regardless of his status or age (see e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 926 f. [= Shaibānī, p. 373]; Ibn Ḥanbal I 367, 462, II 130, 154, 260, 515, and VI 2 f., 13; *Nubalāʾ* II 427).

Tradition 5. Paleographically the ʿain of عن at the end of recto 8 and the kāf of ايشكن in recto 9 are faulty because they look more like ḥaʾ or one of its sister letters. Scribal carelessness is evidenced also by the omission of قال in recto 9 and of the last phrase of the tradition, which called for the interlinear insertion.

Zibirqān ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Laithī (n.d.) was an obscure traditionist to judge by the paucity of information about him (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 397; *Jarḥ* I 2, pp. 609 f.). A Zibirqān ibn ʿAbd Allāh is mentioned as transmitting from Abū Hurairah, as is one whom Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd defended and transmitted from (*Jarḥ* I 2, pp. 609 f.), but no Zibirqān who transmitted from Abū Hurairah to Yaḥyā is specified in the sources.

No parallels have yet been found. A number of Companions were averse to the use of cold water in winter for the extensive ritual ablutions. Muḥammad is reported as permitting the lesser ablution (*tawadduʿ*), though he himself practiced the extensive one (*taghassul*). Among those who avoided cold water for fear of catching cold were ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir. Among those who insisted on the use of water, no matter how cold, for the complete ablution were ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, and Abū Hurairah belongs in this second group (see Nasāʾī I 63). The theme is widely discussed, including the substitution of sand for cold water (cf. p. 264, comment on Tradition 3). According to Sūrahs 2:46 and 5:6 sand may be used when no water is available, that is, *tayammum* (see also Sūrahs 4:46, 5:9). Various opinions and practices prevailed among the followers of the several legal schools (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal III 348, IV 264 f.; Bukhārī I 97; Muslim IV 10, 56–63; Abū Dāʿūd I 92; Ibn Mājah I 105; Ṭaḥāwī III 171–74). There are also a number of traditions against preferring death to any sort of trouble or misfortune (e.g. Bukhārī IV 48, 410; Muslim XVII 7 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal II 316, 350). Some of these trace back to or are transmitted by Abū Hurairah.

Tradition 6. Note the omission of the first ʿan in the *isnād*, in all probability a scribal error as are other indicated errors of omission. Note also the cancellation of the last word in recto 10 and the interlinear insertion in recto 11.

For Sālim ibn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 106/725) see page 142.

The only parallel yet found (Ibn Saʿd III 1, p. 197, lines 10–15) has a different *isnād*, in which, however, Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd transmits from Qāsim ibn Muḥammad (see p. 191) to Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār (see pp. 160 f.). This and the papyrus text, though not identical in wording, were undoubtedly meant to convey the same meaning. The one significant variant is the negative لا اقاتل in recto 11 of the papyrus for the positive لا اقاتل of Ibn Saʿd. Ibn al-Jauzī (*Taʾrīkh ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, p. 55) cites the part beginning with ولو from Ibn Saʿd with some slight variation. ʿUmar’s statement was provoked by the controversy that was generated when Abū Bakr nominated him as his successor to the caliphate (see Ṭabarī I 2137–41).

Tradition 7. Note the break in the text, which cannot be due to the join in the papyrus and therefore is a blank space that was to be filled in later. Abū Yazīd is no doubt Suhail ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ, from whom Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd is known to have transmitted and who, like Yaḥyā, died during the reign of Manṣūr. He wrote down his collection of traditions, including those from his father, which he marked in order to distinguish them from traditions received from others (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, pp. 105 f.; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 246 f.; Dhahabī I 129; *Mīzān* I 432; *Jamʿ* I 207 f.). His father, Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān (d. 101/719), was a well known transmitter from Abū Hurairah, and traditions transmitted from him by his son and others are readily

found (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 238; *Jarḥ* I 2, pp. 450 f.; Dhahabī I 83; *Jamʿ* I 132 f.). For some of Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān's materials see for example Ṭayālīsī, pp. 316–20, and Ibn Ḥanbal II 230–32, 235 f., 246, 250–54.

This incomplete tradition obviously refers to the treatment of slaves, especially their manumission, marriage, and profitable transactions involving minors. These themes are covered in the standard collections especially in the chapters on *nīkāḥ* and *ʿatq*. For traditions bearing on these themes see for example *Muwattaʿ* II 776, Bukhārī III 416, 429, 434, 483, Muslim IX 206–8, Tirmidhī V 29, and *Concordance* I 215 بلغ and II 352 تزويج الصغار.

Tradition 8. For Anas ibn Mālik see page 249.

The earliest and shortest tradition ranking the Anṣār would seem to be the one that simply states خير دور الانصار بنو النجار. It originated with Abū ʿUsaid of the Banū Sāʿidah, a subdivision, like the Banū al-Najjār, of the Khazraj tribe (Bukhārī IV 125; Tirmidhī XIII 271; see also *Akḥbār al-quḍāt* III 243 f.). The fuller tradition is widely known and is transmitted by several Companions in slightly varying forms (see e.g. Bukhārī III 7; *Concordance* II 159). Its earliest forms trace back to Abū Hurairah and to Abū ʿUsaid (Ibn Saʿd III 2, pp. 102 f.; *Istīʿāb* II 621 f.; *Iṣābah* III 694; *Uṣd* IV 279; *Jamʿ* II 478; Tirmidhī XIII 270 f.) and his fellow tribesman Abū Ḥumaid (Daulābī I 24; *Istīʿāb* II 635 f.; *Iṣābah* IV 84; *Uṣd* V 174; *Jamʿ* I 282, No. 1063), both of whom are said to have died during the reign of Muʿāwiyah. Though most of the lines of transmission trace back to Abū ʿUsaid, it is Abū Ḥumaid who links the origin of the tradition to the expedition of Tabūk (Bukhārī I 377; Muslim XV 43 f.). The earlier and simpler literary forms of the tradition omit the question-and-answer element (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal III 496 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, pp. 299 f.; *Uṣd* IV 279). Some versions retain Muḥammad's initial question but omit the people's answer: قالوا بلى يا رسول الله (Ibn Ḥanbal I 56, III 105; *Tajrīd*, p. 277). In others Muḥammad repeatedly asks his question (Ibn Ḥanbal III 202) or the people repeatedly ask ثم من يا رسول الله (Ibn Ḥanbal II 267).

The papyrus text itself has two complete parallels transmitted, like Traditions 1–3, from Laith ibn Saʿd by Qutaibah ibn Saʿīd. Their *matn* is identical with that of the papyrus text except for the use of the *modus energeticus* of the jussive mood—يولونهم and بسطهن for يلوهم and بسطهم—and the use of the plural بيديه for يده (Bukhārī III 473; Tirmidhī XIII 270).

The tradition has historic significance because it singled out the Khazrajite Banū al-Najjār for the first place of honor among the Anṣār and thus drew protests from some of the other tribes (Ibn Ḥanbal III 496; Muslim XV 43). Its real significance, however, is its bearing on the more widespread rivalry between the North Arab and the South Arab tribes. For, although the exact line of Muḥammad's maternal descent is not known, the men of the Banū al-Najjār claimed and Muḥammad conceded that they were his maternal uncles. Certainly the early literature repeatedly emphasizes the role of both the men and the women of the Banū al-Najjār in the life and the political and administrative activities of Muḥammad (see *Sīrah* I 88, 107, 286–88, 296, 337, 345–47, 360, 362 f., 1007; Ibn Saʿd I 2, pp. 43 f., 54 f., 76 f., III 1, pp. 38, 81 ff., and III 2, pp. 48–72; see also Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, pp. 153 f., 165 f., 248, 288, and 399).

Traditions 9–13. These traditions are of the *maqṭūʿ* variety, that is, their *isnād*'s do not extend back to Muḥammad. They report the practices of the Companions or Successors and have no parallels in the standard collections, though their themes are copiously treated in the latter (cf. comment on Tradition 4 and *Concordance* باع, ضمن, شري, سلم, سلف, دين).

Many of the related traditions are transmitted, as in the papyrus text, from Yaḥyā ibn

Saʿīd by Laith ibn Saʿd, and in addition their *isnād*'s extend back through alternate links to Muḥammad and forward to Qutaibah ibn Saʿīd (e.g. Bukhārī II 19; Tirmidhī V 266; Nasāʿī II 232). The main burden of such traditions is the avoidance of interest and usury (see p. 170), so generally condemned in Islām (see e.g. Sūrah 2:275, 3:130, 4:161; *Sīrah* I 759; Tirmidhī V 207; *Concordance* II 217 ٤٠٠). On the whole, the various practices accepted in such commercial transactions illustrate the workings of the dictum that "differences among jurists are a mercy from Allāh" (see e.g. Shaibānī, *Al-aṣl* I [Cairo, 1373/1954] 95, 221; *Jāmiʿ* II 78–92; *Concordance* II 67 f.).

Tradition 9 touches on three themes—disapproval of demand for the return of a gift (e.g. Tirmidhī V 301; Abū Dāʿūd III 291), commercial loans with or without security (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 642, No. 46; Ibn Mājah II 9; Dārimī II 253; Nasāʿī II 232), and stipulation of special conditions or reservations in a sale contract (e.g. Tirmidhī V 198; Nasāʿī II 227).

Tradition 10 involves the sale of futures for a specified price and for advance payment (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 657 f., 680; Bukhārī II 35; Abū Dāʿūd III 275; Tirmidhī V 216) and the settlement of contract disputes (e.g. Abū Dāʿūd III 273; Dārimī II 250 f.; Tirmidhī V 271 f.).

Qāsim ibn Muḥammad (d. 108/726) of Tradition 11 was a Medinan, the grandson of the caliph Abū Bakr. He was greatly preoccupied with *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*, especially the latter, but was averse to committing them to permanent record. That he transmitted from Ibn ʿAbbās and to Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd is frequently indicated (Ibn Saʿd V 139–43; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 157; *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 118; Nawawī, p. 507; Dhahabī I 90 f.; *Jamʿ* II 419 f.; Ibn Khallikān I 528 f. [= trans. II 485 f.]).

The tradition involves trade in young slaves and specifically illustrates the general disapproval of unequal barter and the approval of barter in kind for both animate and inanimate categories (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 640; Bukhārī II 21–24, 31 f., 41; Tirmidhī V 246 f.; Abū Dāʿūd III 249; Nasāʿī II 221–24, 226 f.). It illustrates also the general disapproval of the sale of anything not actually owned and possessed by the would-be seller (*Muwattaʿ* II 642, 675; Muslim X 168–72; Tirmidhī V 241; Abū Dāʿūd III 276, 283).

In Tradition 12 Laith ibn Saʿd is omitted from the *isnād*. The pupil-scribe is actually writing down the added comments of his shaikh or teacher-transmitter. For Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib see page 202. The first part of the content is related to that of Tradition 11. The second part expresses Ibn ʿAbbās' disapproval of pawning animals. The use of animals, pawned or given as security, was specifically regulated (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 468, No. 46; Bukhārī II 116; Ibn Mājah II 44). Note that Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd himself appended the comment: "A (marginal) note in the book reads 'this is what Ibn ʿAbbās used to say about that which is given as security.'" This statement confirms directly that Yaḥyā possessed and used manuscripts, from one of which his comment is quoted.

Tradition 13 involves payment of debts. The chapters on sales (البيع) in the standard collections all stress the required giving of measure for measure as a principle in all financial and commercial transactions and suggest, in addition, voluntary giving of a little more than a full measure (e.g. Bukhārī II 139; Muslim V 226; Nasāʿī II 224; see also *Concordance* II 371 زاد and III 561 f. ضمن).

Tradition 14. The command to be considerate of and generous to the weak and the poor is found in Sūrah 6:25 (cf. Ibn Mājah II 275 f.). Many are the instances of Muḥammad's consideration of women and of the weak among men during pilgrimages (see e.g. Bukhārī I 422 f.; Muslim IX 38–42, with Nawawī's commentary on legal differences of opinion in regard

to some of the points involved). Similar consideration extends to occasions other than the *hajj* (cf. *Concordance* I 76 ألف, I 397 جوار, and III 512 f. ضعيف).

Traditions 15–16. Note the division of the word الناس at the end of verso 12. No close parallels have been found for these two closely related traditions. It is impossible to determine whether Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd was omitted from the *isnād* of Tradition 16 intentionally. It is possible that this tradition is itself an editorial supplementation by Laith ibn Saʿd's immediate transmitter and that he added Laith's personal view on the subject.

Note the use of the euphemistic phrase "made a gift of his wife to her people" to imply repudiation. The main theme is fully covered in the standard collections. At issue is whether pronouncement of the divorce formula thrice on one occasion constituted final divorce or whether pronouncement on three different occasions was required. The second and more humane practice, which gives tempers time to cool and foolish husbands a chance to redeem their folly, was intended by Muḥammad. The question was widely debated by traditionists, jurists, and commentators (e.g. *Muwattaʿ* II 550–53; Ibn Ḥanbal I 314; Bukhārī III 464, 480; Muslim X 61 f.; Abū Dāʿūd II 255 f.; Tirmidhī V 131–34; Nasāʿī II 97; Ibn Mājah I 323; Dārimī II 163; see also Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, "Divorce," and *Concordance* I 141 f. باب في البتة and بت).

Tradition 17. No parallel is yet known. The sources caution repeatedly against physical violence to servants and slaves since such treatment, especially if undeserved, calls for their dismissal or manumission. That Muḥammad's own forbearance toward his personal servants, freedmen, and slaves—even to "forgiving them seventy times a day"—gave way to less considerate treatment is indicated by the papyrus text and numerous related traditions (*Sūrah* I 820; Ibn Ḥanbal II 45, IV 120, VI 31 f. and 229; Muslim XI 126–31; Abū Dāʿūd IV 339–43; Tirmidhī VIII 126–31; Dārimī II 181; Khaṭīb VII 162; cf. Exod. 21:20). General disapproval of anger and rewards for controlling it are also stressed (e.g. *Sūrah* 3:134; *Muwattaʿ* II 905 f.; Tirmidhī VIII 176–79; *Concordance* III 506 ضرب, IV 250 f. عصا, IV 555 غلام; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, pp. 68 and 321).

Tradition 18. No close parallels appear in the standard collections in the chapters on marriage and divorce nor in the *Concordance*. The point at issue is that no divorce is legal until the *ʿiddah* or waiting period is completed, so that a man who divorces one of four co-wives and marries another before the termination of the *ʿiddah* has five wives instead of the legal limit of four. Hence the fifth marriage must be annulled until the *ʿiddah* of the wife being divorced is completed.

Muḥammad did, on several occasions, annul a divorce or marriage entered into with unseemly haste. His motive was as a rule to safeguard women's rights as they were being established during the transition from pre-Islāmic to Islāmic practices (see *Sūrah* 2:228; Bukhārī III 479 f.; Muslim X 67 f.; Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, "Divorce"; *Concordance* IV 15 ff.). The extent to which Muḥammad arbitrated disputes between fathers and marriageable daughters and between husbands and wives is indicated in Gertrude H. Stern, *Marriage in Early Islam*, esp. pp. 34 f., 104 f., and 130 f.

Tradition 19. No parallel has been found. The point involved is no doubt related to the use of silk by free men and by women. As a general rule the use of silk was not approved for free men but was permitted for women, though some think its use was limited to slave women. The tradition may deal with a specific exception involving a man and his slave woman caught in a silken situation (cf. *Concordance* I 441 f. حرير and II 27 خنز).

Tradition 20. Note the scribal error in the repetition of *وحدثني*. The space allowed for the rest of the tradition does not permit the extension of the *isnād* beyond Yaḥyā himself unless the *matn* was very brief. It is probable that the *matn* was related to that of Tradition 19, with a statement that may have read something like *لا يعمل بذلك* or *لا بأس بذلك* or perhaps even *ذكر فلان الحديث*.

Tradition 21. Only the first two links of the *isnād* survive.

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

I

The papyrus represents the *ḥadīth* collection of Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī as transmitted by Laith ibn Saʿd to an unnamed shaikh or teacher-transmitter from whom the writer of the manuscript itself received it.

Zuhrī, Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd, and Ibn Juraij (d. 150/767) won their reputations as the leading traditionists of the Ḥijāz partly because each attempted to make an exhaustive collection of *ḥadīth* (*ʿalā al-wajh*).¹ Yaḥyā's list of pupils, like Zuhrī's, included both Mālik ibn Anas and Laith. Some of his materials as transmitted by Mālik are found in the *Muwattaʿ*,² while the papyrus text and the parallels cited illustrate some of his materials as transmitted by Laith. Laith's direct association with Yaḥyā began during a pilgrimage in the year 113/732 when as a youth he wrote down traditions from Zuhrī (see p. 168) and Yaḥyā.³

Laith recorded Yaḥyā's early reluctance to use written texts,⁴ and Mālik recorded his change of attitude. While he was still in Medina Yaḥyā regretted that he had not written down everything he had ever heard, though he was known for his good memory.⁵ His criticism of Zuhrī's early transmission from memory (see p. 175) without the aid of manuscripts can only mean that Yaḥyā himself not only wrote down his materials but used his manuscripts in transmitting. By the time he wrote from ʿIrāq to his former pupil Mālik in Medina to send him a collection of Zuhrī's traditions, written texts had come to play as important a role in his study and transmission as they had long done in the circles of Zuhrī, Laith, and Mālik.

Yaḥyā began collecting traditions while he was still in Medina, some of them by correspondence (*mukātabah*) with, for instance, Khālid ibn Abī ʿImrān (see p. 214), who flourished at the end of the first century.⁶ Yaḥyā supplemented this collection with about a hundred Zuhrī traditions that Mālik sent him in answer to his request soon after he took service under Saffāḥ as judge in ʿIrāq,⁷ where his collection continued to grow. It was sought after and circulated in part or in whole in manuscript form in both ʿIrāq and the Ḥijāz.⁸ That this growing collection acquired identity as a manuscript in Yaḥyā's own day is evidenced by his younger contemporaries' repeated references to it as *Kitāb Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd*. The increasing acceptance of written as opposed to oral transmission is further illustrated by the seemingly divergent accounts that describe the attitude of one of ʿIrāq's leading scholars, Ḥammād ibn Zaid ibn Dirham (98–179/716–95), to Yaḥyā's "book." In one account Ḥammād, whose eyesight was

¹ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 276; *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 43; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 148; Khaṭīb XIV 104 f.; Dhahabī I 130; Nawawī, p. 625.

² See *Tajrīd*, pp. 209–36 and 276–78.

³ Ṭabarī III 2374; Khaṭīb XIV 101; Nawawī, p. 265.

⁴ *Jāmiʿ* I 68.

⁵ *Jāmiʿ* I 74; Ibn Saʿd VI 240; Khaṭīb XIV 105; Dhahabī I 130.

⁶ Ṭabarī III 2374.

⁷ *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 244; *Kifāyah*, p. 347; *Maʿrifah*, p. 259; *Tajrīd*, pp. 262–65. See Khaṭīb XIV 104 and Dhahabī I 130 for Yaḥyā's similar but secret request to Sulaimān ibn Bilāl for the *ḥadīth* of Rabīʿah ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

⁸ See e.g. *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 224; Khaṭīb XIV 104 f.; Dhahabī I 129, 132, 211 f.

poor, is reported as saying that he did not possess anyone's written material (*kitāb*) but that were he to have any book at all he would be glad to have the "book of Yaḥyā."⁹ A second account states that Ḥammād did not have any book except the "book of Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd."¹⁰ Obviously Ḥammād, like Yaḥyā and Zuhri before him, was at first reluctant to use written sources but relented later, at least to the point of acquiring the desired copy of Yaḥyā's book.

That Laith added to the initial groups of traditions that he had received directly from Zuhri and Yaḥyā would seem to be indicated by the statement that he collected the *ḥadīth* of these two scholars and of a third Medinan scholar who was their contemporary, Bukair ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj (d. between 117/735 and 127/745). Bukair settled in Egypt and had a written collection of *ḥadīth*, all or part of which he handed to Laith for copying and transmitting, a very early example of the *munāwalah* method of transmission (see p. 209).¹¹ We have seen (Document 6) that Laith added to his Zuhri collection through a number of Zuhri's pupils who had likewise settled in Egypt. Laith had the opportunity to add to his Yaḥyā collection through some of Yaḥyā's pupils in Medina or even from some of his 'Irāqī pupils such as Ḥammād ibn Zaid or his authorities.¹² For Laith made two trips to 'Irāq. On his first trip, during the reign of Maḥdī, he was accompanied by his secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ and both copied *ḥadīth* materials, especially the vast organized collection of Hushaim al-Wāsiṭī (see p. 163). The second trip was made on the order of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who sought Laith's legal opinion,¹³ but no details are available of Laith's literary activities on this occasion. Laith had still another source, in Egypt itself, from which to collect traditions of Zuhri, Yaḥyā, and Bukair, namely, visiting scholars from the Ḥijāz, Syria, and 'Irāq who, as Laith's fame increased, made a point of calling on him and usually exchanged materials with him.

Laith and Mālik were not the only ones who collected the *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd. Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī, who admired Yaḥyā,¹⁴ requested both 'Amr ibn Dīnār (d. 126/744) and the youthful Sufyān ibn 'Uyainah to write down for him the best of Yaḥyā's *ḥadīth*. Sufyān reports that he wrote some traditions for Ayyūb but heard later that the sheet (*riḡ'ah*) on which he wrote them was lost.¹⁵ Others in Medina, though not professional traditionists, were interested in collecting Yaḥyā's *ḥadīth* from manuscripts without benefit of oral transmission. The Makhzūmite Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abbād (n.d.) had a collection of Yaḥyā's manuscripts from which he transmitted to Ma'amar ibn Rāshid (d. 154/771) while on a visit to the Yemen.¹⁶ Sufyān ibn 'Uyainah reports Ja'far's possession of these manuscripts but does not specify their source, though his use of the verbs *wajada* and *jama'a* strongly suggests the book market.

The fact that four of the traditions (Nos. 1-3 and 8) of our papyrus have identical or nearly identical parallels in the standard collections and the fact that all these parallels are transmitted from Laith by Qutaibah ibn Sa'īd point to Qutaibah as the transmitter of this document just as a similar set of facts points to his transmission of Document 3. But the biographical sources that report Qutaibah's transmission from Laith do not specify his transmis-

⁹ Dhahabī I 131.

¹⁰ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 178; Dhahabī I 211 f.

¹¹ *Mīzān* II 361.

¹² See e.g. Khaṭīb XIV 105.

¹³ Abū Nu'aim VII 321-24. This trip is reported on the authority of Laith's secretary, who does not state that he accompanied Laith. The details of Laith's meeting with Hārūn, obviously edited, are provided by Hārūn's attend-

ant Lu'lu', whom Hārūn presented to Laith along with other gifts as a reward for his solution of Hārūn's legal problem which released him from his vow to divorce Zubaidah (see Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* II [1357/1938] 90 for reference to this second trip).

¹⁴ Dhahabī I 129.

¹⁵ See e.g. Khaṭīb XIV 104.

¹⁶ *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, pp. 38 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 487; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* I 2, pp. 198 f.; *Mīzān* I 192.

sion of the “book of Yaḥyā” from Laith. On the other hand, they do state that Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith transmitted the “book of Yaḥyā” from Laith. The secretary’s method of transmission from Laith has been questioned. He himself states that he did not hear (*samʿ*) from Laith any book except that of Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd. Critics favorable to him, such as Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn, explain this as meaning that he read back (*ʿarḍ*) his copies of other books or manuscripts to Laith. Less favorable critics accuse him of relying on written sources only, using neither the *samʿ* nor the *ʿarḍ* method, for all of his transmission from Laith. These critics would seem to have reached the point of absurdity in assuming that during some twenty years that Abū Ṣāliḥ served as Laith’s secretary¹⁷ he never attended Laith’s classroom or public sessions when either the *samʿ* or the *ʿarḍ* method had to be used.¹⁸ I am inclined to accept the statements of Abū Ṣāliḥ and Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn and therefore suggest Abū Ṣāliḥ rather than Qutaibah as the probable transmitter of our document. That no parallel traditions from Abū Ṣāliḥ appear in the standard collections may well be attributed partly to the above-stated criticism as reinforced by certain questionable circumstances. There is a report that Abū Ṣāliḥ’s professional enemies or rivals, especially Khālid ibn Najīḥ, a neighbor who had access to his manuscripts and imitated his handwriting, maliciously and surreptitiously introduced forged sheets and rolls into his collection (see p. 201), so that the aging Abū Ṣāliḥ, thus deceived, transmitted them as coming from Laith.¹⁹ Despite this shadow that was cast on Abū Ṣāliḥ, many who knew him well and trusted him continued to transmit from him.²⁰ Others, however, especially scholars of the next generation, either bypassed him completely or, more frequently, used his materials but failed to mention him in the *isnād* or referred to him only as ʿAbd Allāh in order to hide his identity. Even Bukhārī indulged freely in these practices.²¹

In view of the foregoing considerations it can be stated that the papyrus represents the “book of Yaḥyā” as transmitted by Laith probably to his secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ or perhaps to his pupil Qutaibah ibn Saʿīd. Any attempt to identify the next transmitter, the actual writer of the papyrus manuscript, would be futile. He must have been a younger contemporary of Abū Ṣāliḥ and Qutaibah. The manuscript itself, in view of the poor script, the scribal errors, the rather poor quality of the papyrus, and the lack of margins, indicates a student’s working copy rather than a scholar’s permanent record. It was in all probability written around the end of the second century or sometime during the first two decades of the third century at the latest. The roll form was still in use in the second century.

II

This document, like Documents 5–6, illustrates the relatively high ratio of survival in the standard collections of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of Muḥammad as against those of the Companions and Successors, even of such renowned men of action as ʿUmar I (Tradition 6) or such famous scholars as Ibn ʿAbbās (Traditions 11–12), Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib (Tradition 12), and Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd (see comments on Traditions 4 and 9).

It is to be noted further that though both Yaḥyā and Laith were primarily judges and jurists they retained the collection represented by Document 7 in the early *musnad* form, that is, they did not organize the subject matter into legal and non-legal categories and arrange the

¹⁷ Khaṭīb XIII 9.

¹⁸ Khaṭīb IX 478 and 480, Dhahabī I 352 f., and *Mizān* II 46 f. credit Abū Ṣāliḥ with having heard a great many traditions from Laith.

¹⁹ *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 355, and II 2, p. 87; *Mizān* I 302, II 47.

²⁰ Khaṭīb IX 478; Dārimī I 28 f., 49, 55, 73, 76, *et passim* (for Abū Ṣāliḥ’s transmission from Laith and several of Laith’s sources); Ṭabarī III 2374.

²¹ Khaṭīb IX 480; *Mizān* II 47; *Jamʿ* I 268 f. See also p. 173 above.

former under appropriate legal headings (*abwāb al-fiqh*). This unquestionable evidence of successive transmissions of such a *ḥadīth* collection in its entirety (*ʿalā al-waḥḥ*), as also in the case of Document 6, can only reflect the importance that was early attached to the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* as such and not merely as aids to the legal profession, which was, from the start, basically dependent on them. For Yaḥyā's collection, like Zuhri's, can be classified as a *jāmiʿ al-ḥadīth*, which could in turn be classified by the next generation of transmitters of both of these units—such as ʿUqail ibn Khālid and Laith—as partial *musnad*'s of Zuhri and Yaḥyā.

The *isnād* terminology of Document 7 represents a stage between that of the extensive use of *ʿanʿanah* (see p. 121) and/or the term *qāla* and that of the use of the doubly reinforced *ḥaddathanī* plus *qāla* (see p. 173). This transition calls for some elucidation. Important as the time element was in the development of *isnād* terminology, it alone was not responsible for the variation in practice. The latter reflects also, on the one hand, individual preferences and, on the other, the increasing difference between the attitude of the judge and the jurist and that of the professional traditionist toward the *isnād* and its terminology.

Zuhri and Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd began their student careers in the second half of the first century when there was as yet no sharp distinction between the jurists and the traditionists, both being generally referred to as *ʿulamāʾ* or *fuqahāʾ*—terms applied in their widest and non-technical sense to men of (religious) knowledge and understanding—from whose ranks were drawn all sorts of government officials, but especially schoolteachers, community educators, and judges. Owing in no small measure, but not entirely, to Zuhri's outlook and activities, there was during his and Yaḥyā's lifetime an increasing awareness of the role that needed to be assumed and developed by a body of professional jurists (*fuqahāʾ*) on the one hand and by the professional traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*) on the other hand. These two outstanding men of Medina traveled different roads to reach the top of these emerging professions. The Tradition-conscious Zuhri became the first to undertake the major task of writing down all the traditions within his reach and found patrons in the Umayyads of Syria, while Yaḥyā was called by the first two ʿAbbāsīd caliphs to judgeships in ʿIrāq. The unquestioned integrity of these two men accounts for their common emphasis on a sound *isnād* for the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of Muḥammad, while their high rank in public office accounts for the inclusion of their own deeds and opinions in their respective collections, which covered also the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of the first generations of Muslims down to their own day, as is so well illustrated by Documents 6 and 7 respectively. But despite insistence on the use of *isnād*'s, especially for the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of Muḥammad, there was not yet a set of clear-cut *isnād* terms carefully graded and defined to indicate the method of transmission used at each step. Early in the period of Zuhri and Yaḥyā, when oral transmission alone was all but taken for granted, the verbs *ʿaraḍa ʿalā*, *samiʿa*, *dhakara*, *zaʿama*, *balagha* and *ballagha*, *qāla*, *akhbara*, and *ḥaddatha*, followed by *ʿan* when called for, were used almost indiscriminately to indicate both direct and indirect oral transmission. But inasmuch as this was also the period during which written transmission began seriously to challenge and compete with oral transmission, the need was soon felt for terms that would indicate one or the other of these two types of transmission or a combination of the two. This problem, however, was never attacked methodically, and even its partial solution was left to the slow processes of time and general usage. Owing to the usage of those who favored oral transmission the terms *balagha*, *dhakara*, and *zaʿama* gradually became suspect while the other terms gained approval. In the meantime, though the early protagonists of written tradition continued at first to use all of these terms, they gravitated toward a preference for the terms *qāla*, *akhbara*, and *ḥaddatha* and presently adopted and stabilized supplementary terms

to cover specifically three methods of written transmission, that is, the *munāwalah*, *ijāzah*, and *mukātabah* methods (see p. 35), which, as these studies show, were sanctioned and used by Zuhri, Yaḥyā, and their contemporary Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh (see p. 209).

To use suitable *isnād* terminology in the classroom was one thing, but to achieve its full and consistent use in the *isnād* itself was another. For with each new generation of scholars a new link was added to the lengthening chain of authorities and the methods of transmission increased, so that any attempt to specify this double growth and greater degree of differentiation at every step of the written *isnād* had to fall by its own weight. Inasmuch as the use of manuscripts alone was under suspicion, the *ḥadīth*-writer became concerned with a terminology that would indicate accompanying direct oral transmission. Hence there was greater emphasis on the term *ḥaddathanī* than on even *akhbaranī*, let alone *qāla* and *ʿan*. At first the use of *ḥaddathanī* and *akhbaranī* indicated the *samʿ* method, whereby the master himself recited or dictated his materials. Presently, however, the *ḥadīth*-writers used both of these terms, as also *ḥaddathanā* and *akhbaranā*, to stress direct transmission without actually specifying the method of this transmission. The method could have been as frequently as not the *ʿarḍ*, whereby the student read back to the master, or even the *munāwalah*, *ijāzah*, or *mukātabah*, which stressed written transmission. It is well attested that Zuhri made no distinction between the *samʿ* and the *ʿarḍ* method²² and that he sanctioned the use of *ḥaddathanī* and *ḥaddathanā* for the *munāwalah* and *ijāzah* methods even though he, at the time of transmission, made no inspection of the manuscripts involved; it was assumed, however, that he was already familiar with their contents or had complete confidence in the ability and character of the student or scholar involved.²³

That some of Zuhri's pupils, including Ibn Juraij, Laith ibn Saʿd, Mālik ibn Anas, Sufyān ibn ʿUyainah, and others who advocated permanent *ḥadīth* records, followed Zuhri's practices should not be surprising. Nor should it be surprising that the *isnād*'s of Documents 6 and 7 so adequately illustrate both the progressive development and the relative non-fixity of the written *isnād* terminology. For the authors of both documents avoid all questionable terms in the *isnād*'s of the *ḥadīth al-nabī*, generally use *ʿanʿanah* for the earliest links of the *isnād*'s, and use the term *ḥaddathanī* exclusively for one (Document 7) or more (Document 6) of the later links of an *isnād*.²⁴ Nevertheless, in neither document does the *isnād* terminology indicate the precise method of transmission for each link of the *isnād*'s. Such information, when it is available at all, has to be ferreted out of biographical and critical works, as was done for these studies. It should be noted, furthermore, that these types of literature, which cover *ʿilm al-rijāl* and *ʿilm al-jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl*, had barely begun to appear in Zuhri's day. For the latter type in particular the critics were groping for adequately descriptive technical terms throughout the second century.

The evidence provided by the literary sources on the activities of the men of the *isnād*'s of Document 7 indicates, as in the case of Document 6, continuous written transmission with and without accompanying oral transmission. Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd compiled his "book" from both oral and written sources (see p. 191). Among his contemporaries and even among his earlier authorities were a number of outstanding scholars who were definitely associated with extensive

²² Bukhārī I 24–27; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fath al-barī fī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ . . . al-Bukhārī* I (Cairo, 1319/1901) 107. For Zuhri's use of the *ʿarḍ* method see p. 181 above.

²³ *Kifāyah*, pp. 326 and 329; cf. *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 274.

²⁴ The same usages are reflected, by and large, alike by

collections of the 2d century—i.e., the *Muwaḥḥa* of Mālik ibn Anas, the *Jāmiʿ* of Ibn Wahb, and Ṭayālisī's *Musnad*—and the standard collections of the 3d century except for the more precisely differentiated use in the latter of the terms *ḥaddathanī*, *ḥaddathanā*, *akhbaranī*, and *akhbaranā*.

written *ḥadīth* collections. These included, in addition to Zuhri and Mālik, Abū Yazīd Suhail ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ (Tradition 7), Ibn ʿAbbās (Traditions 11 and 12), Anas ibn Mālik (Tradition 8), and members of the family of ʿUbadah ibn al-Walīd (Tradition 2). Among Yaḥyā's authorities who did not at first write or sanction the writing of *ḥadīth* but eventually encouraged others to write down from their dictation were Abū Hurairah (Tradition 5), Sālim ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (Tradition 6), and Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib (Tradition 12).²⁵ Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib even became concerned toward the end of his life when a promising pupil, Qatādah ibn Dīʿāmah (d. 117/735 or 118/736), showed no inclination to write down from his dictation, and he asked: "Don't you write (at all), or do you (already) have in hand something of what I am relating to you?" Qatādah then proved that his memory was reliable by reciting all that he had heard from Saʿīd over a period of four days.²⁶ Of all Yaḥyā's authorities that are mentioned in this document, only Qāsim ibn Muḥammad (Tradition 11) is known to have held out consistently against the writing-down of Tradition. The practices of the few remaining, mostly obscure men, cannot at present be determined.

The following significant facts emerged from the detailed study of the *isnād*'s of Documents 6 and 7. (1) The great majority of the men named, even those of the early period which overlapped that of Zuhri and Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd, advocated and produced permanent *ḥadīth* records, sometimes of considerable size. (2) Both Zuhri and Yaḥyā drew freely on these records of their older contemporaries if not, indeed, on those of their predecessors. (3) The progressive transmission of the manuscripts represented by Documents 6 and 7 from Zuhri to ʿUqail ibn Khālid to Laith ibn Saʿd and from Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd to Laith respectively and of both works from Laith to several of his transmitters, such as his secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ and his pupils Yaḥyā ibn Bukair and Qutaibah ibn Saʿīd, clearly indicates continuous written transmission of sizable *ḥadīth* collections in their entirety (*alā al-wajh*). (4) While some form of oral transmission accompanied the written record at one or more of these stages of transmission, at other stages manuscripts exchanged hands to form the only basis of the transmission.

²⁵ *Jāmiʿ* I 73; *Mizān* II 102.

²⁶ Abū Nuʿaim II 333; cf. Nawawī, p. 510. Qatādah had a phenomenal memory, but his eyesight was always poor.

DOCUMENT 8

Oriental Institute No. 17629. Late second or early third/early ninth century.

Coarse brown papyrus, 26.2 × 14. cm., with 26–28 lines to the page and practically no outer margins (Pls. 15–16). The inner margins of the two joined folios vary from 1.5 to 2 cm. in width. The inner margin and a few traces of the text are all that survives of the first folio. The papyrus is broken and peeled in spots.

Script.—Small easily legible cursive script. The scribe, who was very saving of space, separated the conjunctive *wāw* from the following word (recto 11, verso 10) and split a number of words, including even the name Rishdīn, at the ends of lines (verso 1, 6, 10). Diacritical points are used for *bā*² and its sister letters and for *shīn*, *nūn*, and *yā*²; they appear more frequently on the verso than on the recto and are carefully placed, especially in names (recto 8–9, verso 3). The circle without a dot is used for punctuation but is missing at the end of Tradition 10. Note that at the ends of lines the scribe separated the tradition from the circle that marks its end (recto 3, 14).

TEXT

RECTO

- 1 (1) قال و[حدثني] ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم مسح راسه وذو ابته[ليه]
 2 وهو ص[لغبار] وانه كان ينحر بالهدية الواحدة على جميع اهله
 3 ○ (2) رشد[ين] ع[س]ان ابي عقيل عن ابن عم له عن عقبة بن عامر عن النبي صلى الله
 4 عليه [وسلم] انه قال من توضأ فاحسن وضوه ورفع نظره الى
 5 السماء [فق]ال اشهد ان لا اله الا [ا]له وحده لا شريك له وان
 6 محمدا عبده ورسوله فتحت له ثمانية ابواب من الجنة ○
 7 (3) رشد[ين] عن ابي عقيل عن ابيه عن ابي سعيد الخدرى قال
 8 صلاة الوتر كما صلاة العصر ○ (4) رشد[ين] عن ابي عقيل
 9 عن سعيد بن المسيب انه كان يسلم عن يمينه وعن يساره
 10 ويرد على الامام ○ (5) رشد[ين] عن ابي عقيل عن سعيد بن
 11 المسيب قال ما احب اذا احمرت بالصلاة ان انفخ و
 12 لا اسها عن شياً واذكر نعم الشرف قال قلت لم قال
 13 ان الرحمة توضع للمومن حين يسجد اذا حيط الرحمة ○
 14 (6) رشد[ين] عن ابي عقيل قال رأني سعيد بن المسيب
 15 اتسا[ب]أتى بالحصباء واتاه رجل قال يات[ي]نى اخي اذا احمرت
 16 بالصلاة قال الرحمة تقع بين يديك فلا تحرك شيئاً
 17 ولا ت[مس] ○ (7) رشد[ين] عن ابي عقيل عن ابيه عن عايشة

DOCUMENT 8

- 18 عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم انه كان يعلى حيث
 19 ما دنا عليه ستر البيت قالت فاقول يا رسول الله
 20 انك تصلى احيانا فى المجاز التى تطاف به الحائض
 21 تقول لها تخذه مسجد تصلى فيه فيقول عجباً لك
 22 يا عايشة اما علمتى ان المؤمن اذا سجد يطهر
 23 ويوضع بسجوده من ارض الى سبعة ارضين ○
 24 (8) رشدين عن ابي عقيل عن سعيد بن المسيب ومحمد بن
 25 المنكدر قالوا اذا صلا الرجل وحده فيودى
 26 [حق] القوم فليقرأ فى نفسه ○ (9) رشدين عن ابي
 27 [عقيل] عن ابي عبيدة بن عقبة بن نافع القرشى
 28 [انه] قال [ما] [ق] الجمعة ان ترقد رقدة قبل ان

VERSO

- 1 تروح وتقص الشارب وتقليم الاظفار وتغتسل ○ (10) ر
 2 شدين عن ابي الحجاج الجراح بن ابان الاسكندراني
 3 عن خالد بن حميد عن مقاتل بن سليمان يرفع الحديث
 4 الى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال ارض الجنة شجرة يخرج
 5 من اصلها خيل بلق من ذهب مسرجة ملجمة بالدر
 6 والياقوت لا تروث ولا تبول دواب اجنحة فير
 7 كبها اوليا الله تطير بهم من الجنة حيث يشاؤ
 8 فيقول الذين اسفل منهم يا ربنا ما بال هاولاى نالوا
 9 منك هذه الكرامة قال انهم كانوا يقومون الليل
 10 وكنتم تنامون وكانوا يصومون وكنتم تا
 11 كلون وكانوا ينفقون وكنتم تفتقرون و
 12 كانوا يقاتلون وكنتم تجبنون ○ (11) وقال الجراح عن
 13 بعض اهل العلم ان ابا هريرة مرض مرضاً له
 14 شديد فدخل عليه اصحابه يعودنه [فاذا]
 15 هو راقد على [قطعة] حصير ورأسه فى الارض و
 16 رجلاه فى الارض قالوا يا ابا هريرة الا رطبت
 17 تحتك قال ابو هريرة ان صاحب هذا المنزل تأبأ
 18 بتركنا فيه وقد امرنا ان ننقل منه فقد فرّ
 19 منا ما كان لنا ○ (12) رشدين عن الجراح بن ابان قال
 20 حدثنى بعض اهل العلم عن مقاتل عن رجاء عن ابي هريرة

- 21 قال ليحيى يدوام القيامة اقوام على مناير من [لوالو]
 22 بهم قضبان من نور بين ايدهم كأمثال الـ []
 23 الحال الرواسي ويأتون بعبطهم الثمين وبـ []
 24 السمنا قيل فمن هم يا رسول الله قال [أو]
 25 لثك قوما جلسوا حين ذكر الله لـ []
 26 يجلسهم عليه صلة ارحا[م] ولا []

Comments.—*Tradition 1.* The reading of the last word of recto 1 as ذرعية, which frequently occurs in the standard *ḥadīth* collections, is not possible paleographically. The ritualistic washing of the entire head, including hair and ears, is a *sunnah*, but the word ذوابة does not appear in this connection (cf. *Muwattaʿ* I 31, 34 f.; Bukhārī I 59 f., 61; Muslim III 172 f., VIII 125 f.; Dārimī II 30 f.; Ibn Mājah I 85–87; Nasāʾī I 27–32). The tradition in fact refers to Muḥammad’s practice and manner of blessing children presented to him, including his own grandsons (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal I 215, II 101; see also *Concordance* II 170 ذوابة). The identity of the child involved in this instance became clear when the men in the *isnād* of Tradition 2 were identified. He is ʿAbd Allāh ibn Hishām ibn Zuhrah, grandfather of Abū ʿAqīl Zuhrah ibn Maʿbad of Traditions 2–9. Abū ʿAqīl must therefore be in the *isnād* of this first tradition and be reporting how his grandfather was blessed by Muḥammad and describing how his grandfather practiced the sacrifice. Both of these events are detailed in the grandfather’s biographical entries, which add that he was born in the fourth year of the Hijrah and lived into the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah and is said to have moved to Egypt (*Istīʿāb* I 387; *Usd* III 270 f.; *Iṣābah* II 910 f.; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 193; *Jamʿ* I 245). A variant in several of the sources just listed is يضحى بالشاة byضحى بالهدية for ينحر بالهدية of the papyrus text.

Tradition 2. Rishdīn ibn Saʿd (d. 188/804) was a well known Egyptian traditionist. He was generally considered a trustworthy but weak transmitter because he had a poor memory and made careless mistakes. More specifically, he was accused by his younger contemporary Qutaiḥah ibn Saʿīd al-Balkhī (see pp. 143 f.) of uncritical acceptance of any traditions that were presented to him: كان لا يبالي ما دفع اليه فيقرأه سواء كان من حديثه او من غير حديثه (see Ibn Saʿd VIII 2, p. 204; Bukhārī, *Tarīkh* II 1, p. 308; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-musnad* VIII [1369/1950] 117 f., note on No. 5748; Tirmidhī II 301, X 53 f. and 63 f.; *Husn al-muḥādḍarah* I 155). This criticism indicates that Rishdīn relied on manuscripts, which is not surprising considering his poor memory. In this respect Rishdīn can be compared with Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith ibn Saʿd, who in his old age could not detect forged manuscripts, including some of the Abū ʿAqīl of this *isnād*, which had been surreptitiously introduced into his authentic collection (cf. p. 195). Rishdīn was considered weaker than Abū Ṣāliḥ, and his collection was almost entirely ignored though it was transmitted by his son Ḥajjāj (d. 211/826; see *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 160; *Mizān* I 214; *Lisān* II 22) and by his grandson Muḥammad (d. 242/856) and the latter’s son Aḥmad (d. 292/904) in a “large copy” (نسخة كبيرة). This family *isnād* from Rishdīn onward came to be known as the worst to come out of Egypt (*Maʿrifah*, p. 57; *Mizān* I 338, II 48). For Aḥmad and Muḥammad see *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 75, and III 2, p. 230, *Mizān* I 63 and III 40, *Lisān* I 257 f. and V 118.

Abū ʿAqīl Zuhrah ibn Maʿbad (d. 122/470) is known to have transmitted to Rishdīn and to most of the leading traditionists of Egypt, including Laith ibn Saʿd and his secretary Abū

Ṣāliḥ (e.g. *Mizān* I 338, II 47). His sources include the well known authentic transmitters Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib (as in Traditions 4–6, 8) and Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir (as in Tradition 8). He transmitted also from several members of his family, including his father (as in Traditions 3, 7, 9) and especially his grandfather ʿAbd Allāh ibn Hishām ibn Zuhrah (see p. 201) and a paternal cousin (as in this tradition) who remains unnamed (*Daulābī* II 33; *Ibn Saʿd* VII 2, p. 203; *Bukhārī*, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, pp. 404 f.; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 615; *Jamʿ* I 156; *Husn al-muḥāḍarah* I 153). He was the sole transmitter from his father, Maʿbad (*Bukhārī*, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 399; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 279; *Mizān* III 182).

ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir (d. 58/678), a Companion who settled in Egypt, served under Muʿāwiyah as governor of Egypt and later in Muʿāwiyah’s navy. He is considered a leading Egyptian traditionist whose *ḥadīth* was transmitted by many outstanding scholars of his own and the following generation (*Ibn Saʿd* II 2, p. 127, and VII 2, p. 191; *Bukhārī*, *Taʾrīkh* III 2, p. 430; *Kindī*, pp. 7 f. and 36–38; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 313; *Istīʿāb* II 489; *Iṣābah* II 1164 f.; *Dhahabī* I 40; *Jamʿ* I 381). For his *musnad* see Ṭayālīsī, pp. 135 f., and *Ibn Ḥanbal* IV 143–59.

Nearly identical parallels for our text are available. The *isnād* is the same except that Rishdīn is replaced by the Egyptian Saʿīd ibn Ayyūb, who was born in the year 100/718 and whose death date is uncertain (*Ibn Saʿd* VII 2, p. 203; *Bukhārī*, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 419, which gives death date as 149/766; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 66; *Jamʿ* I 170, which gives death dates of 152, 161, and 166 with preference for 166/782). The only variant in the content is بصره for نصره of the papyrus text and the addition of the phrase يدخل من ايها يشاء at the end (e.g. *Ibn Ḥanbal* IV 150 f.; *Jamʿ* I 156, 170). The tradition is found as a part of a longer one (e.g. *Ibn Ḥanbal* I 19 f.; *Dārimī* I 182) with the *isnād* of the papyrus except that Rishdīn is replaced by the Egyptian traditionist Ḥaiwah ibn Shuraiḥ (d. 158 or 159/774–76; see p. 239). It is also found as part of a longer tradition whose *isnād* traces back to ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, or Anas ibn Mālik (*Ibn Ḥanbal* IV 145 f., 153; *Muslim* III 118 f.; *Tirmidhī* I 71–74; *Nasāʾī* I 35; *Ibn Mājah* I 83 f., 89 f.; *Concordance* II 113, III 221). For the seven heavens and the eight gates see for example *Muwattaʾ* II 469, *Ibn Saʿd* VII 2, p. 145, *Ibn Ḥanbal* II 268, *Tirmidhī* XIII 136 f. and 139.

Tradition 3. Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (d. 74/693) of Medina was a prominent Companion who, like ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir, collected Muḥammad’s sayings. He transmitted them orally to scholars of his own and the following generation (Ṭabarī III 2338; *Istīʿāb* II 552 f.; *Usd* II 289 f., V 211; *Iṣābah* II 166–68; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 93; *Mustadrak* III 563 f.; *Dhahabī* I 41; *Nawawī*, pp. 723 f.; *Jamʿ* I 158 f.). For his *musnad* see Ṭayālīsī, pp. 286–97, and *Ibn Ḥanbal* III 2–98.

This short tradition seems to have no parallels in the standard collections. The brief statement is relative to two questions. (1) Is the *witr*-prayer, which is performed at night after the last and before the first of the five required daily prayers, obligatory? (2) Just what constitutes the *witr*-prayer? Both questions are argued at length in sections devoted to this prayer, in some of which Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī is cited (*Muwattaʾ* I 63–66; *Bukhārī* I 252–54; *Abū Dāʾūd* II 61–67; *Dārimī* I 370–74; *Tirmidhī* II 240–56; *Concordance* III 385, 398, 403).

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī was opposed to the recording of Tradition, and his *ḥadīth al-nabī* is cited by others in support of this position (e.g. *Ibn Ḥanbal* III 12 f., 21, 39).

Tradition 4. Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib (d. 94/712) was the son-in-law of Abū Hurairah, from whom he transmitted the greater part of his collection. As stated above (pp. 201 f.), he transmitted to Abū ʿAqīl (*Jarḥ* II 1, p. 615). He served as judge in Medina but fell out of favor during the counter-caliphate of ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubair. Among his leading pupils were Makḥūl al-Shāmī, Zuhri, and Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī who, like the critics, were unanimous

in praising him (Ibn Sa'd II 2, pp. 128–32, and V 88–106; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* II 1, p. 467; *Ma'ārif*, pp. 223 and 273; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 59–61; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 418; Dhahabī I 52 f.; Nawawī, pp. 283–86; *Jam'* I 168 f.). He was one of the very few traditionists whose *marāsīl*, or traditions with incomplete *isnād*'s, were accepted by Shāfi'ī (*Risālah*, pp. 58 f., 63 f., and 74; *Adāb al-Shāfi'ī*, pp. 232 f.; *Kifāyah*, pp. 404–6; *Ma'rifah*, pp. 25 f.; Nawawī, p. 283). Though the papyrus text records Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib's personal practice, the practice itself was nonetheless that of Muḥammad and is reported for the latter in almost the same words as those used in the papyrus text (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal I 186, V 86 and 338; Muslim IV 154; *Concordance* II 510).

For Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib's initial stand against the writing-down of Tradition and his subsequent change of attitude see page 198.

Traditions 5–6. The last word of recto 11 could be read in several other ways, for example انفع or perhaps even with a miniature *ṣād* or *ḍād* to give انصح or انضح. The reconstruction of the first word of recto 15 was suggested by a possibly related case of اعبت بالحصاء (*Muwatta'* I 88) which has reference to playing with pebbles or to pelting with gravel and pebbles in the court of the mosque to express displeasure at something taking place there (see *Concordance* I 472 حصاء, I 474 مسح الحصى, and IV 103 عبت).

These traditions report Sa'īd ibn Musayyib's own practices and opinions and seem not to have survived in the standard collections.

Tradition 7. For 'Ā'ishah as a traditionist see pages 119 and 187. The tradition seems not to have survived as a unit, but its essential parts appear frequently in related traditions. Two contradictory ideas are involved. Menstrual impurity nullifies the efficacy of prayer, and a believer who is in the act of prayer is thereby placed above all earthly impurity (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal VI 214, 218; Muslim IV 17–26, 65–68; Bukhārī I 80 f., 138 f., 316; *Concordance* I 113 (المومن لا ينجس)).

The seven earths and the seven heavens are familiar concepts in Islām (e.g. Sūrah 65:12; Bukhārī II 101 f., 303 f.; *Tafsīr* VII 207–13; Maqdisī II 41–52 [= trans. pp. 37–52]; *Concordance* II 396 f. سبع ارضين).

Tradition 8. Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir (d. 130 or 131/747–49) was a well known Qur'ān-reader of Medina and a traditionist who seems to have escaped the barbs of the critics (*Ma'ārif*, p. 324; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* IV 1, pp. 97 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 219 f.; Ṭabarī III 2503; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 49; Abū Nu'aim III 146–58; Dhahabī I 119 f.; *Jam'* II 449).

The tradition does not seem to have survived, though consideration for others is generally stressed in Islām. Private prayer and worship, though acceptable, are nevertheless considered the least meritorious. It is better to pray in two's or three's and best of all in the large congregation of the Friday worship (see e.g. *Muwatta'* I 129 and references there cited; Nasā'ī I 134 f.). Muḥammad urged those who had prayed privately to join any group that was engaged in worship and thereby win added merit (Abū Dā'ūd I 157 f.; Nasā'ī I 115; *Concordance* III 344 f.).

Tradition 9. Abū 'Ubaidah, whose given name was Murrah, was the son of 'Uqbah ibn Nāfi' al-Qurshī, the well known conqueror of North Africa, who died in 63/682–83 (see e.g. *Istī'āb* II 490 f.; *Uṣd* III 420 ff.; *Husn al-muḥādarah* I 126 f.). Abū 'Ubaidah was involved in Egyptian administrative circles until about 100/718–19 (see *Futūḥ*, p. 84; Kindī, pp. 41 and 69) but seems to be little known as a traditionist (see Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* V 51, No. 446; *Jarḥ*

IV 1, p. 365, No. 1666). His son and his grandson were very active in the affairs of North Africa and Spain (see e.g. *Futūḥ*, pp. 212 f. and 217–21).

The tradition, though it deals with accepted ideas and familiar practices, has no parallel in the standard collections. Attention to personal grooming in preparation for the Friday worship and for festivals is generally stressed (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal I 265, II 149, V 39 and 48 f.; Muslim VI 74; Nasāʾī I 100–102, II 75; see also *Concordance* II 368–70 يوم الجمعة in several places). The instruction to trim the mustache reflects the practice that Muḥammad adopted in contradistinction to that of the Persians and the “people of the Book.” The practice of letting the beard grow was similarly motivated, as was also the manner of dyeing and dressing the hair (see e.g. Ṭayālīsī, pp. 95, 285; *Muwattaʾ* I 278; Ibn Saʿd I 1, p. 52, I 2, pp. 132, 140–43, 146 f., and III 1, p. 135; Ṭabarī I 1573). As a rule, if no principle was involved, Muḥammad at first adopted the fashions, such as hair styles, of the “people of the Book” (Bukhārī III 52), but later he deliberately changed such visible personal grooming so that his followers could be distinguished from all others (e.g. Ṭayālīsī, pp. 273 and 289; Ibn Ḥanbal II 240, 260, 262, 291, 309, 356, 366, III 132, 246, and V 264 f.; *Concordance* II 65 خالفوا اهل الكتاب). Muḥammad nevertheless retained a number of commendable and gracious personal practices of the pre-Islāmic Arabs, including the trimming of the nails as in this tradition, some of which he credited to the biblical Abraham (see e.g. *Muwattaʾ* II 921 f.; Ṭabarī III 2387; *Taʾwīl*, pp. 135–37).

Tradition 10. Note the division of the name Rishdīn at the end of verso 1 (see p. 199) and the omission of the *alif* of prolongation of Khālīd in verso 3. For the *nūn* of تمامون in verso 10, the scribe first wrote *alif* and then corrected it.

Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Jarrāḥ ibn Abān al-Iskandarānī, who transmits Traditions 10–12, remains unidentified despite the availability of his full name in Tradition 11. His authority and fellow Alexandrian, Khālīd ibn Ḥamīd (d. 169/786), was well known and was frequently quoted by Egyptian historians (see *Futūḥ*, Intro. p. 7) and traditionists. Among the latter are mentioned Abū ʿAqīl of this document and Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith ibn Saʿd (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 133; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 325 f.; *Husn al-muḥāḍarah* I 153). Alexandria under the Arabs continued to be a center of learning and produced a number of reliable traditionists in this early period (see e.g. *Husn al-muḥāḍarah* I 151–56; Samʿānī, folio 35b).

For Muqātil ibn Sulaimān see Document 1.

No parallel for this long tradition seems to be available in the standard collections, though traditions related to its several themes are numerous. The flying horses of heaven, with their non-earthly characteristics and their adornment of precious stones, are popular themes (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal V 352, VI 281; Tirmidhī II 88, IX 12 f., XIII 222; *Concordance* II 104 خيل الجنة and 107 دابة الجنة; Muḥāsibī, *Kitāb al-tawāḥḥum*, ed. Arthur J. Arberry [Cairo, 1356/1937] p. 53). The people of paradise, too, are described in terms similar to those of the papyrus text (e.g. Muslim XVII 171–74; Ibn Ḥanbal III 349; Khaṭīb XIII 197; *Concordance* I 274 اهل الجنة and 377 جنة in several places; *Tafsīr* I 395–97, on Sūrah 2:25). The grading of the different classes of the inhabitants of paradise is also a familiar theme (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 339, III 283, V 316 and 321; Bukhārī II 315, 331; *Concordance* II 118 f. درجة). The idea that entry into heaven and rank in heaven are conditioned by such deeds as are mentioned in the papyrus text is common (see e.g. Sūrah 10:26; Ibn Ḥanbal II 498 f., V 348; Muslim XVII 159 f., 174 f.; Tirmidhī X 5, 16, 34 f.). Rishdīn is cited repeatedly by Tirmidhī on the affairs of heaven and hell (see e.g. Tirmidhī X 11, 35, 50, 56, 63; Dārimī II 335). But deeds are in turn judged by

the motive behind them (see e.g. Bukhārī I 14 and 22, III 412; Ibn Ḥanbal III 11; *Concordance* IV 380 عمل). The interrelationship of the doctrines of salvation by grace, faith, and deeds is covered in the chapters on faith, *imān* (see Document 3, Traditions 4 and 29), in the standard *ḥadīth* collections and in formal works on theology and need not detain us here.

Tradition 11. Note the omission of the circle of punctuation at the end of Tradition 10 and the absence of Rishdīn's name at the head of the *isnād* of Tradition 11. There is, however, little doubt that Rishdīn is reporting a second tradition from Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Jarrāḥ (see Tradition 10), from whom a third tradition (No. 12) follows immediately. The incomplete *isnād*'s of Traditions 10–12 and the use of the indefinite "some learned man related to me" in the *isnād*'s of Traditions 11 and 12 point to practices that no doubt contributed to the oblivion which seems to have overtaken Abū al-Ḥajjāj, though he may well be listed in works that specialize in weak and untrustworthy traditionists and that are not available to me. It should be pointed out, however, that for the categories of traditions that Abū al-Ḥajjāj is here transmitting—relating to strictly personal affairs and hell-fire preaching—imperfect *isnād*'s were more generally accepted (see p. 144).

Tradition 11, which is more of a *khābar*, has no parallel. Visiting the sick was considered obligatory by some (see e.g. Ṭayālisī, pp. 101, 303, and 308 f.; Bukhārī IV 48; *Jāmiʿ* I 121) and meritorious by all (see e.g. Ṭayālisī, pp. 132 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal II 344, 354). Muḥammad himself followed the practice (Ibn Saʿd I 2, p. 95; Muslim VI 226; see Bukhārī IV 40–49 and *Concordance* III 366 زار and IV 409–14 عيادة المريض for full coverage of the theme). Many of the traditions on the subject trace back to Abū Hurairah (d. 58/678 at age 78), and his biographers mention several cases of his own illness and devote considerable attention to his last illness and his death (Ibn Saʿd IV 2, pp. 61–63; Abū Nuʿaim I 383 f.; *Usd* V 315–17; *Iṣābah* IV 381–99, esp. p. 397; Nawawī, pp. 761 f.). Man is reminded not to be forgetful of death but not to wish for it as Abū Hurairah, who transmits such a tradition (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 350), is said nevertheless to have done on some occasion (e.g. Ibn Saʿd IV 2, p. 61, and VII 2, p. 4; Ibn Ḥanbal II 316; Muslim XVII 7 f.; Abū Nuʿaim IX 13). The bleak surroundings and difficulties with his landlord mentioned in connection with that occasion suggest that it occurred during the earlier part of Abū Hurairah's life, when he was poor and had long been one of the *ahl al-ṣuffah*, or "guests of Islām" as Muḥammad preferred to call the poor. Later, Abū Hurairah became a political figure and served under ʿUmar I as financial administrator for Baḥrain. He delivered such a large sum of tax money that ʿUmar at first could not believe the amount to be possible. Later, when ʿUmar removed him from office, he distributed some of Abū Hurairah's personal fortune, as he did the fortunes of a few of his other newly rich administrators (Ibn Saʿd III 1, pp. 203 and 216; Yaʿqūbī II 234, 283).

Tradition 12. Note the scribe's correction of جلوسا to جلوس in verso 25. The Muqātil of the *isnād* is in all probability Muqātil ibn Sulaimān of Tradition 10. Rajāʾ is probably the well known Rajāʾ ibn Ḥaiwah (d. 112/730 at an advanced age), the theologian-traditionist who engineered the succession of ʿUmar II to the caliphate (see p. 23) and who was at one time a *qāṣṣ* (Ibn Saʿd V 247 ff. and VII 2, pp. 161 f.; *Maʿārif*, p. 239; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, pp. 285 f.; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 501; Abū Nuʿaim V 170–77; Ibn ʿAsākir V 312–15; Nawawī, pp. 245 f.; Dhahabī I 111; *Jamʿ* I 139).

Again the tradition as a unit has no parallel though its several themes appear in the standard collections. Raised seats and large tents made of jewels—pearls and rubies being especially favored—are among the promised heavenly rewards (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 159; Tirmidhī IX 16;

Dārimī II 336; *Concordance* II 105 خيمة). Scepters resembling pillars of light and twigs and canes of gold are also envisaged (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal I 398 f., II 160; *Concordance* V 404 قضبان الذهب). Conduct deserving of such rewards includes the sacrifice of a healthy fatted lamb or some other acceptable animal (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 489 f.). Remembrance of God and charitable giving to relatives, especially those of the maternal clan, are frequently urged on all Muslims (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 374, 484; Ibn Saʿd III 1, p. 44, where the caliph ʿUthmān seeks to justify his nepotism on this basis; see also *Concordance* I 357 جلس and II 237 رحم and pp. 117 above and 254 below). The rights of maternal relatives were deeply rooted in pre-Islāmic Arabian society (see e.g. W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* [Cambridge, 1885] p. 65; Asaf A. A. Fyzee, *Outlines of Muhammadan Law* [Calcutta, 1949] pp. 334–41, 403 f.; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, pp. 272 f. and 289 f.).

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

I

That the papyrus represents either Rishdīn ibn Saʿd's own manuscript of his *ḥadīth* collection or a contemporary copy of it seems to be indicated by the *isnād* terminology. There is, first, the consistent absence of initial *ʿan* or *qāla* or *ḥaddathanī* etc., which in itself does not necessarily indicate the compiler's original collection. For example, in Document 5 the *isnād*'s start throughout with Naḍr ibn ʿArabī but other internal evidence points to a post-Naḍr transmitter. On the other hand, in Document 2 the *isnād*'s start throughout with Mālik and all the other evidence points to Mālik himself as the author-compiler. In Document 8 there is no internal evidence to indicate a post-Rishdīn transmitter. For, in Tradition 11, whose *isnād* does not start with Rishdīn, it is apparent from the text that Rishdīn continues to transmit on the authority of Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Jarrāḥ of the preceding tradition (see p. 205). Furthermore, the external evidence supports the conclusion that the papyrus represents Rishdīn's manuscript or an early copy of it rather than a manuscript of any one of his several transmitters except possibly his son Ḥajjāj. Significant in this connection is the lack of a complete parallel, that is, one identical in both *isnād* and *matn*, for any of the twelve traditions and the fact that in the one instance (Tradition 2) where there are identical or nearly identical parallels for the *matn* two of the *isnād*'s replace Rishdīn with considerably older Egyptian contemporaries (see p. 202). Again, of the eight known direct transmitters from Rishdīn, not one seems to have transmitted a single tradition of the papyrus text. Thus it would seem that Rishdīn fared no worse than other honest but weak traditionists whose collections were bypassed as units at the same time that some of their traditions were known from external evidence to be authentic and therefore were accepted for transmission. Among the leading traditionists who recognized Rishdīn's weakness yet transmitted some of his materials were Ibn al-Mubārak,¹ Qutaibah ibn Saʿīd (see p. 201),² and Ibn Ḥanbal.³

It was usually family interest alone that was responsible for the preservation of manuscripts of a weak or suspect traditionist. We have seen (p. 201) that Rishdīn's descendants to the third generation transmitted through an unbroken family *isnād* until close to the end of the third century. It is therefore possible that the papyrus represents the copy of Rishdīn's son Ḥajjāj or even of his grandson Muḥammad and that the ownership was indicated at its

¹ See e.g. Tirmidhī X 35, 53 f., 63 f.

³ See e.g. *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 513; Ibn Ḥanbal VI 20.

² See e.g. Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 308; *Jarḥ* I 2 p. 513; Ibn Ḥanbal II 222, III 247.

beginning. The script is of a poor and common variety that offers little help in dating. Though a scribal peculiarity which is usually associated with early manuscripts, namely the splitting of words at the ends of lines, appears in this document, it could stem from the scribe's desire to economize on space as evidenced by the narrow margins. It should be noted, however, that neither the size of the script nor the interlinear spacing suggest desire for economy.

Outside the family circle our sources lead us once more to Laith ibn Sa'd's secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ, who is one of the few scholars known to have transmitted directly from Rishdīn⁴ and who was also associated with Rishdīn's sources (see pp. 201, 204). The papyrus might represent either Abū Ṣāliḥ's own transmission from Rishdīn or a copy that he acquired for his library from Rishdīn's son Ḥajjāj or his grandson Muḥammad, who were his contemporaries. Furthermore, several of the documents in this small group of related literary papyri were associated in one way or another with Laith and his secretary (see p. 91).

II

Only five of the twelve traditions report either the sayings or the practices of Muḥammad (Traditions 1, 2, 7, 10, 12), while the rest reflect the practices or opinions of his Companions and their Successors. Thematically, nine of the traditions involve ritualistic practices, one deals with an illness of Abū Hurairah (Tradition 11), and two refer to the Day of Judgment and the life hereafter (Traditions 10 and 12), a field in which a great deal of leeway was permitted as to both *matn* and *isnād* (see p. 205). There is not, in all the twelve traditions, a single practice or idea that is inconsistent with the essential burden of the related traditions that have survived in the standard collections. Therefore the rejection of all twelve traditions, each as a unit of *isnād* and *matn*, was determined solely by their defective *isnād*'s, the defect being the weakness of Rishdīn. Furthermore, when the *matn* was corroborated through an *isnād* that is the same except for the elimination of Rishdīn (see p. 202), priority for inclusion in the standard collections was given to traditions from or about Muḥammad, as seen repeatedly in connection with the early *ḥadīth* collections represented by our papyri (see p. 77).

The role that manuscripts played in the earlier evolution of Rishdīn's collection is not sufficiently clear. It is known that Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī was opposed to the writing-down of traditions (see p. 202) and that Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib eventually sanctioned the writing of *ḥadīth* (see p. 198). Specific information on the practices of the other early and intermediate men of the *isnād*'s has not yet been located. It should be noted, however, that the *isnād* of the family of Abū 'Aqīl is predominant, that family collections have been proven in the great majority of cases to consist of manuscripts that passed from one generation to the next, and that manuscripts played the major role in Rishdīn's own transmission and in that of his family for three more generations.

⁴ *Mizān* II 48.

DOCUMENT 9

Oriental Institute No. 17630. Early third/ninth century.

Fine light brown papyrus, 26.8 × 2.4 cm. (Pl. 17). The piece is broken at the top and perhaps at the bottom also. Much of the upper and right parts is lost, and the rest is badly damaged. The vertically fibered surface of the papyrus was used first for a private letter. The *ḥadīth* text was written later on the back of the discarded letter in a smaller script with less generous spacing. Errors, corrections, and spacing further mark it as a rough copy.

Script.—Small cursive stable hand. Diacritical points are used frequently for *bāʾ* and its sister letters, *nūn*, and *yāʾ* and less frequently for *shīn*, *ḍād*, and *ghayn*. Once each, *fāʾ* and *qāf* have a dot above and below respectively—in the words *بِقَار* and *شَفَارَة* of Tradition 11. The initial *alif* of Ibn Lahīrah is omitted throughout. Note the almost angular initial *ʿain* of “Umar” in Tradition 2 and of the first “Ammār” in Tradition 9. The circle is used for punctuation.

TEXT

- حدث بذلك ○ (1) قال وقال بن لهيعة] 1
 أن امرأة اتته فقالت اني قد رايت] 2
 [(2) ○ بن لهيعة عن بكير بن الاشج ان عمر] 3
 [(3) ○ بن لهيعة عن بكير بن الاشج انه] 4
 [سمع ابي قبيل يقول عن حمزة بن عبد الله عن فلان] قال كان ابي عبد الله [بن] ابي ميمون اتخذ] 5
 [كساء او جبة خز وأقال ابي قبيل كان على القاسم [بن] محمدا جبة خز ○ (4) بن لهيعة عن] 6
 عبيد الله بن
 [ابي جعفر المصري عن] ابي قبيل عن الحسين بن علي بن ابي طالب انه اتخذ كساء خز] 7
 [(5) بن لهيعة عن] له عن عثمان بن عفان ان عمران بن حصين اتخذ مطارف خز ○ (6) قال] 8
 بن لهيعة
 [عليه جبري ○ (7) موسى بن ايعين عن [فلان بن فلان] قال اني سمعت] 9
 [فلان بن فلان]
 [يقول قال حماد بن سلمة لا وكذ ان اتخذ ○ (8) [حماد] [د] بن سلمة عن عمار بن ابي عمارة] 10
 بن
 [قال قد برّه منها مطرفا اغبر فكان يقبله عليه ثلثة افنا من ساعته قال فالرسول]] 11
 [يزفوه كما يزفوا ○ (9) حماد بن سلمة عن عمار بن ابي عمار عن بن ابي عباس] 12
 قال رايت النبي فيما يرا
 [النائم نصف النهار ويدها قارورة فيها دم قال فقلت بابي انت يا رسول الله مالي اراك اشعث اغبر] 13
 وما هذه القارورة

- 14 [التي في يدك قال] [أنبي لم ازل منذ اللية التقط دم الحسين واصحابه قال فنظروا فوجدوا قتل في تلك
 15 [الليلة] ○ (10) ضمام بن اسمعيل عن ابي قبييل قال لما قتل الحسين اتت الكواكب نصلف النهار
 حتى ظننا انها هي ○ (11) ضمام
 16 [بن اسمعيل المعافري عن ابي قبييل قال لما اتانا قتل عثمان ونحن باليمن قبل الحد] صدقاء بقارنا
 ابي الحيل فلينا بام صعد
 17 [شافارة امي فقال ابو صالح فقلت لضمام ما شفارة قال مكحلة امي ○ (12) بن لهيعة
 قال حدثني بكير
 18 [بن الاشج قال قال] الوليد بن المغيرة انه سمع ابا هريرة يقول من فالتاه ام القرآن في الركعة
 الاولا فقد
 19 [فاته خير كثير وما] ادرك ركعة واحدة فقد ادرك الصلاة كلها ○ (13) بن لهيعة عن بكير بن
 الاشج عن سليمان
 20 [بن يسار قال غزونا] افريقية مع معاوية بن حديج ومعنا من المهاجرين والانصار كثير فنقلنا النصف
 21 [بعد الخ]مسم فلم ار احدا كره ذلك الا جبلة بن عمرو الانصاري] فانه قال اني لا كره ان اسرا اجيرا ○
 22 [14] بن لهيعة عن بكير بن الاشج عن سليمان بن يسار ان رسول الله عليه السلام بعث عبد الله
 بن رواحة الي
 23 [اليهود] خارصا يخرص عليهم فلما جائهم تلقوه بالهدايا فقال لا ارب لي بهديتكم فتعلمون يا معشر اليهود
 24 [ما خ]لق الله قوما ابغض الي منكم وما خلق الله قوما احب الي من قوم خرجت منهم واني والله لا
 يحملني جهم
 25 [ان احييف عليكم] ○

Comments.—*Traditions 1-2.* The first tradition corroborates a preceding one which is lost with the top of the papyrus. Not enough significant text remains to justify an attempt at identification.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Lahīʿah (96–174/714–90) was a well known Egyptian traditionist and jurist and a fellow student of Laith ibn Saʿd. He was appointed imperial judge for Egypt (154–64/771–80) by the ʿAbbāsīd caliph Maṣṣūr (*Futūḥ*, pp. 243 f.; Kindī, pp. 368 f.; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 164, II 117). For imperial appointments of provincial judges see page 123, note 19. Most of Ibn Lahīʿah's contemporaries and students held him in high esteem as a traditionist, but later critics were divided in their opinions as to his trustworthiness (see pp. 219–21).

Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj (d. between 117 and 127, 122/740 being most preferred date), Zuhri, and Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī were considered the most learned men of Medina. Bukair left Medina early to settle in Egypt, where he transmitted to a group of young scholars who later became famous. This group included Ibn Lahīʿah and Laith ibn Saʿd. Laith's transmission from Bukair was based on manuscripts, by the *munāwalah* method (see p. 194) according to Abū Walīd al-Ṭayālīsī and by the *ijāzah* method according to Ibn Ḥanbal (Ibn Saʿd V 185, 225; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 113; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 403 f.; Ṭabarī III 2501; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 143; Nawawī, pp. 175 f.; Dhahabī I 150; *Jamʿ* I 58 f.; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 147, 162).

Tradition 3. The reconstruction in line 5 is based on the name Abū Qabīl in line 6. Note cancellation of text in line 6.

Abū Qabīl Ḥayy ibn Hānī al-Maʿāfirī (d. 128/746) left the Yemen as a youth, late in the reign of Muʿāwiyah, to settle in Egypt, where he later transmitted to many of Egypt's scholars, such as Bukair among the immigrants and Laith ibn Saʿd and Ibn Lahīʿah among the natives (Daulābī II 85; Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 201; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 70; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 275; *Mizān* I 293; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 153, 154, 163; see also p. 213 below). Ibn Lahīʿah transmitted from Abū Qabīl to ʿUthmān ibn Ṣāliḥ (d. 219/834), who wrote down his materials. ʿUthmān lost his manuscript (*kitāb*) and was directed to a seller of sweetmeats who presumably had found it and probably was using it for wrapping. ʿUthmān made a purchase from the confectioner, but the source does not indicate whether or not he found his manuscript (*Jarḥ* III 1, p. 154). ʿUthmān is known to have used manuscripts and is an important source for Egyptian history (see e.g. *Futūḥ*, Intro. pp. 7 f.).

Abū Qabīl's source is in all probability Ḥamzah ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (n.d.), who transmitted few traditions but was considered trustworthy. Other transmitters named Ḥamzah ibn ʿAbd Allāh (Ibn Saʿd V 150; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 45; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 212; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 54) do not fit the context (see below).

Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Maimūn remains unidentified. He could be the son of Abū Maimūn ʿUbaid Allāh al-Anṣārī (n.d.), whose clothing could be of interest in this context (see Daulābī II 136; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 221; *Mizān* II 168).

Qāsim ibn Muḥammad (d. 108/726) was the grandson of the caliph Abū Bakr (see p. 191). Ibn Saʿd (Vol. V 141–43) devotes considerable space to his personal habits and clothing, which included several articles made of the popular *khazz*.

Traditions 3–8 (and possibly some of the preceding lost ones) involve the wearing of garments made of *khazz*, a material woven either entirely of silk or a mixture of wool and silk (see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, خنز; R. P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* [Amsterdam, 1845] p. 6; Ernst Kühnel, “Abbasid silks of the ninth century,” *Ars Orientalis* II [1957] 369–71). The all-silk variety was forbidden to free men (see p. 192), but the wool-and-silk mixture was thought to be permissible for them because Muḥammad himself and some twenty Companions are said to have used it (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal IV 233; Abū Dāʿūd IV 45 f.; *Muwattaʿ* II 912; Bukhārī IV 76 f.). Though some prominent Companions and Successors, such as ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and his son ʿAbd Allāh, remained opposed to its use, it did come to be widely used in their time and after, as our document indicates, and even won the approval of theologians (see e.g. Ibn Saʿd III 1, p. 239; *Concordance* II 27 خنز).

Tradition 4. Note cancellation of text at end of line 7. There are several contemporary traditionists named ʿUbaid Allāh from whom Ibn Lahīʿah did transmit or could have transmitted (see e.g. *Futūḥ*, pp. 231, 235; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 1, p. 376; Dhahabī I 151 f.). The name is completed to read ʿUbaid Allāh ibn Abī Jaʿfar al-Miṣrī (d. 136/753–54) in line 7, where it fits well, on the strength of the statement that Ibn Lahīʿah transmitted from this ʿUbaid Allāh, who in turn had heard traditions from Ḥamzah ibn ʿAbd Allāh, probably he of Tradition 3 since both traditions cover the same theme (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 202; *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 310 f.; *Jamʿ* I 305; Dhahabī I 128). *Mizān* II 67 cites traditions whose *isnād*'s include Ibn Lahīʿah–Bukair–Nāfiʿ and Ibn Lahīʿah–ʿUbaid Allāh ibn Abī Jaʿfar–Nāfiʿ.

Traditions 5–6. Tradition 5 is reconstructed to start with Ibn Lahīʿah (line 8) on the strength of Tradition 6, which corroborates Tradition 5 and starts with Ibn Lahīʿah. The space available at the beginning of line 8 allows for the reconstruction of Ibn Lahīʿah and

another name. The surviving final *ḥā* suggests Abū Imāmah ibn Sahl or perhaps Salamah ibn Makhramah, both of whom are known to have transmitted from the caliph ʿUthmān (Dhahabī I 8; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 160; Ibn Ḥanbal I 58). ʿUthmān is credited by some with 146 traditions, only sixteen of which found their way into the *Ṣaḥīḥain* (Nawawī, p. 410). He was interested in the market place and questioned people about prices and news (Ibn Saʿd III 1, p. 40). A number of the Companions and many more of the Successors transmitted from him, so that his *musnad* must have been sizable (see e.g. Ibn Saʿd III 1, pp. 36–58; *Maʿārif*, pp. 99–102; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 160; Nawawī, pp. 405–13; Dhahabī I 8 f.; *Jamʿ* I 347; *Iṣābah* III 1103 f.). Most of the works which deal specifically with the Companions have little to say of ʿUthmān as a traditionist. For his *musnad* see Ṭayālīsī, pp. 13–15, and Ibn Ḥanbal I 57–75 (= Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-musnad* I [1365/1946] 323 to II [1366/1947] 16, where not 146 but 171 traditions are numbered).

The line crossing out the entire content of Tradition 5 is due to some error in copying, as also in Tradition 4. Nonetheless both ʿUthmān and ʿImrān ibn Ḥusain (d. 52/672) wore clothing made of *khazz*, ʿImrān with Muḥammad’s specific approval (Ibn Saʿd III 1, p. 40, and VII 1, p. 5; Ibn Ḥanbal IV 438).

In Tradition 6, Ibn Lahīʿah is most likely supplementing Tradition 5 by indicating that ʿImrān also wore clothing made of materials for which Ḥamāh in Syria was known. When Baṣrah was founded ʿUmar I sent ʿImrān there to teach the people (بعثه عمر يفقه اهل البصرة). Later ʿImrān served as judge in Baṣrah (see e.g. Nawawī, pp. 484 f.).

Tradition 7. Mūsā ibn Aʿyan al-Ḥarrānī (d. 117/793) apparently moved in ʿIrāqī and eastern circles, since most of his authorities and transmitters were from those regions (see p. 153).

Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār (d. 167/784) of Traditions 7–9 is the famous Baṣran traditionist of Document 5, who used manuscripts and committed his own collection to writing (see pp. 160 f.).

This and the following tradition also involve clothing made of *khazz*. If we read لا و كذ in line 10 the sense would seem to be that wearing such clothing is of no particular significance, but if we read لا و كثر the sense could be that the wearer is not welcome under one’s roof.

Tradition 8. ʿAmmār ibn Abī ʿAmmār (d. ca. 72/691), a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim, was a trustworthy traditionist of Mecca. He transmitted from Ibn ʿAbbās, Abū Hurairah, ʿImrān ibn Ḥusain of Tradition 5, and others. Ḥammād ibn Salamah was one of a half-dozen well known traditionists who transmitted from ʿAmmār (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 26; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 389; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 65; *Jamʿ* I 400). The sources do not carry ʿAmmār’s genealogy as far as the papyrus text does, for the word after the second “ʿAmmār” in line 10 is definitely not عن but بن though only the dot of the *bā* is visible in the reproduction (Pl. 17) and the name following is not too certain. *Concordance* I 391 f. جهز and II 336 f. زف do not seem to offer possibilities for identification of the tradition.

Tradition 9. The Ibn Abī ʿAbbās of the *isnād* is ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, who is seldom cited by his *kunya*, Abū ʿAbbās (see Vol. I 104), and who was one of ʿAmmār ibn Abī ʿAmmār’s authorities (see above). Note the interlinear words and the use of هذا for هذه in line 13.

The tradition seems to be a singleton since all the many parallels originate with Ibn ʿAbbās and have the additional links ʿAmmār and Ḥammād as in the papyrus text. Three parallels are transmitted from Ḥammād by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī (135–98/752–814; see Ibn Ḥanbal I 242 and Yāfiʿī I 134), ʿAffān ibn Muslim (134–220/752–835; see Ibn Ḥanbal I 283), and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Khuzāʿī (n.d. and not further identified; see Khaṭīb I 142). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān’s version reads as follows:

حدثنا عبد الرحمن ثنا حماد بن سلمه عن عمار بن ابي عمار عن ابن عباس قال رايت النبي صلعم في المنام بنصف النهار اشعث اغبر معه قارورة فيها دم يلتقطه او يتتبع فيها شيئاً قال قلت يا رسول الله ما هذا قال دم الحسين واصحابه لم ازل اتبعه منذ اليوم قال عمار فحفظنا ذلك اليوم فوجدناه قتل ذلك اليوم. 'Affān's version in Ibn Ḥanbal's text reads as follows:

حدثنا عفان ثنا حماد هو ابن سلمة انا عمار عن ابن عباس قال رايت النبي صلعم فيما يرى النائم بنصف النهار وهو قائم اشعث اغبر بيده قارورة فيها دم فقلت بابي انت وامي يا رسول الله ما هذا قال هذا دم الحسين واصحابه لم ازل التقطه منذ اليوم فاحصينا ذلك اليوم فوجدوه قتل في ذلك اليوم.

Other parallels, with minor variants, are transmitted from 'Affān (e.g. *Istī'āb* I 144, transmitted by Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaibah [d. 235/946]; *Usd* II 22, which does not mention 'Affān though the text is his; perhaps also *Iṣābah* I 687). 'Affān was a prominent 'Irāqī traditionist who moved from Baṣrah to Baghdād. He was an assiduous collector of *ḥadīth*, which he wrote down accurately and collated (ثقة كثير الحديث صحيح الكتاب; see Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 78; Khaṭīb XII 273 f.). He was for ten years the teacher and colleague of Ibn Ḥanbal and shared the views and trials of the latter on the question as to whether the Qur'ān was created. Ibn Ḥanbal, among others, preferred 'Affān to 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī, especially for his transmission from Ḥammād (*Jarḥ* III 2, p. 30; Khaṭīb XII 272, 274 f.), which explains the popularity of 'Affān's transmission of this tradition (see Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 51; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh* IV 1, p. 72; *Ma'ārif*, p. 261; Khaṭīb XII 269–77; Dhahabī I 344; *Jam'* I 407).

The textual differences among the parallels and between them and the papyrus text are mostly of familiar types that occur when transmission is not literal (*ḥarfī*): order of words and phrases, additions and omissions of words and phrases that are incidental to the basic meaning, interchanging of *al-nabī* and *rasūl Allāh* and of other words; inclusion or omission of the *taṣḥīyah*, and variations in the use of direct and indirect speech. Despite these differences, the basic meaning of the tradition remains the same. There is, however, one perhaps rather significant difference between the papyrus text and all the parallels, namely, the actual time of Ḥusain ibn 'Alī's murder. Whereas the papyrus text reads منذ الليلة and تلك الليلة in lines 14 and 15, all the parallels have منذ اليوم and تلك اليوم. In Ṭabarī's account Ḥusain is described as making frantic preparations for defense all through the night before the morning of his death (*Ta'rīkh* II 323). This particular difference may reflect the belief that visions in daytime are more prophetic than dreams at night and that the time of a vision or a dream conditions the time of its fulfillment, and dreams in the early morning are expected to be fulfilled the same day (cf. p. 169). It is a day-and-night of twenty-four hours that is specified in all the accounts of Ḥusain's death no matter which terms are used.

The tradition has, so far as I know, no parallels in Shī'ite sources. Ya'qūbī II 292 tells an entirely different story, with no *isnād*, according to which Muḥammad while he was still on earth predicted Ḥusain's death. He gave his wife Umm Salamah, a staunch 'Alid, a bottle filled with earth or sand and told her that when the earth turned to blood Ḥusain would have been killed. When Ḥusain's trouble began in 'Irāq she watched the bottle by the hour, and when she saw blood in it she realized Ḥusain was dead and was thus the first to give the alarm in Medina. She is credited with a related tradition according to which she dreamed that Muḥammad had his head and beard covered with earth in mourning for Ḥusain (*Usd* II 22).

Tradition 10. Ḍimām ibn Ismā'īl al-Ma'āfirī (d. 185/801) was a well known Egyptian traditionist, the son-in-law of Abū Qabīl of Traditions 3, 4, and 11. He was generally accepted as

reliable and was sought out particularly for his traditions from Abū Qabīl. Ibn Ḥanbal wrote down Ḍimām's collection of *ḥadīth* from one of Ḍimām's direct transmitters, Suwaid ibn Saʿīd (140–240/757–854), who had a collection of manuscripts (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 70, and II 2, p. 344; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 469; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 143; *Mizān* I 473; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 154; Yāqūt II 224; see also p. 218 below).

No parallel has yet been located in the standard collections and biographical works. Around the death of Ḥusain there soon developed a body of traditions and legends, particularly among the Shīʿites, as seen in the comment on Tradition 9.

Tradition 11. As noted above (p. 210) Abū Qabīl migrated from the Yemen to Egypt. The herdsman's friend presumably was in Medina, or at least in the Ḥijāz, when ʿUthmān was assassinated, and he hastened to the Yemen with the disturbing news. The name may be read also as *أبي الجبل* or *أبي الخيل*. The letters of the last words in line 16 are clearly *ṣād* or *dād*, *ʿain* or *ghain*, and *dāl* or *dhāl* but yield no personal name. They do yield several place names, the most likely of which is *صُعْد* (Yāqūt IV 388). Perhaps the word is meant for *سعد*, in which case the woman is in some way concerned with the family collyrium box, perhaps as a means of identification.

The tradition has no parallels, and there is little reason for it to have found its way into the standard collections. However, Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 70, has preserved an item that confirms the first part of the tradition: قال عمرو بن خالد وحدثنا ضمام بن اسمعيل عن ابي قبيل قال قتل عثمان وانا غلام باليمن (عبد الله بن ابي لهيعة عن ابي قبيل *isnād*). Abū Qabīl seems to have taken a lively interest in the politics and deaths of the caliphs, including ʿUthmān and Muʿāwiyah (see Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 201, and *Futūḥ*, p. 234, and note the *isnād* *عبد الله بن ابي لهيعة عن ابي قبيل*).

Tradition 12. Of the many men named Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah only Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī (n.d.), who transmitted from Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib, the son-in-law of Abū Hurairah, bridges the interval between the time of Abū Hurairah and that of Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj (*Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 17; *Mizān* III 276). See page 209 for the rest of the *isnād* links.

The complete *matn* has only one parallel (*Muwattaʿ* I 11, No. 18), which reads يحيى عن مالك انه بلغه ان ابي هريرة كان يقول من ادرك الركعة فقد ادرك السجدة ومن فاتة قرآة ام القرآن فقد فاتة خبير كثير. In this version *سجدة* is substituted for *صلاة*, and the order of the two themes—presence at the initial reading of the Qurʾān and participation in the initial prayers—is reversed. No separate parallels for the first part of the papyrus text have been located, but parallels for the second part are numerous and for the most part trace back to Abū Hurairah (see e.g. *Muwattaʿ* I 5 f.; Bukhārī I 154; Muslim V 105 f., especially Nawawī's comment; Ibn Ḥanbal II 241; Ibn Mājah I 179; *Mustadrak* I 216, 274; see *Concordance* II 301 and III 404 and 406 for references to other parallels and related traditions).

Tradition 13. Sulaimān ibn Yasār (d. between 94 and 110, with preference given to 107/725, at age of 73) was counted among the seven leading scholars of Medina. So far as I know, he is the only initial source for this tradition, which is therefore a singleton. The expedition in which he participated, as stated here and in all the parallels, took place in the year 34/654 at the earliest or 50/670 at the latest. Though Sulaimān's death date is uncertain, the range given above indicates that he was either yet unborn or not more than 13 years old at the time of the earlier expedition and that he was from 13 to 29 in 50/670. But Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, our earliest source, specifies the year 34/654 as the date of the expedition, thus casting doubt

on Sulaimān's participation in it and on the tradition itself. However, inasmuch as Sulaimān and his two immediate transmitters of this tradition—Bukair and Khālid ibn Abī 'Imrān—were all considered trustworthy, it is possible that the difficulty stems from the reading *ثلثة وسعين*, which may have been meant for *ثلثة وتسعين*, as the age of Sulaimān at his death, a type of error that is frequently encountered in Arabic manuscripts. At any rate, Sulaimān's death date is too uncertain to allow us to deduce his age in the year 34/654. Furthermore, references to Arab boys in their teens going on expeditions are numerous. Still another alternative is to question the year 34/654 as the date of the expedition in favor of one early in the fourth decade (cf. Ḥusain Mū'nis, *Fath al-ʿArab li al-Maghrib* [Cairo, 1366/1947] pp. 115–19, 136 f.; Ibn Sa'd V 130; Bukhārī, *Ta'riḫ* II 2, pp. 42 f.; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 149; Abū al-ʿArab ibn Tamīm al-Tammāmī, *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīqīyah* I 15 and 245, II 49 and 337; Dhahabī I 85; Nawawī, pp. 302 f.; *Jamʿ* I 177).

Khālid ibn Abī 'Imrān (d. 125/743 or 127/745) was a Tunisian 'Alid who journeyed on state business to the court of Yazīd II (101–5/720–24). He raised some legal questions and exchanged traditions with many of the leading scholars of the east, especially those of Medina. He had a large written collection (*kitāb kabīr*) of the traditions of Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, Sālim ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and Sulaimān ibn Yasār. His transmitters included prominent Egyptians and men from the eastern provinces such as Ibn Lahī'ah and Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṣārī (see p. 193; Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 207; Bukhārī, *Ta'riḫ* II 1, p. 150; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 345; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 143; Abū al-ʿArab ibn Tamīm al-Tammāmī, *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīqīyah* I 245–47, II 336–39; Mālikī, *Kitāb riḡāḍ al-nufūs* I 103–6).

Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudaij (d. 52/672) sided with Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān against 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and is credited with preventing a rift between Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ. He served Mu'āwiyah in Egypt as a general and later as a transient counter-governor. His military campaigns and political activities in Egypt were extensive (see e.g. Ibn Sa'd IV 2, p. 6, and VII 2, p. 195; *Futūḥ*, pp. 192–94 and 317 f.; *Futūḥ al-buldān*, pp. 226–28; Kindī, pp. 15, 17–19, and 26–30; Ibn Taghrībirdī I 72, 106, 146, 155, 160; *Istī'āb* I 256 f.; *Uṣd* IV 383 f.; *Iṣābah* III 881–83).

Jabalah ibn 'Amr al-Anṣārī (n.d.) was won over to the cause of 'Alī and fought on his side in the Battle of Ṣiffīn in the year 37/657. He was considered a Medinan scholar although he settled in Egypt and is reported as transmitting from Sulaimān ibn Yasār (see Bukhārī, *Ta'riḫ* I 2, p. 217, and correct *فقتل* to *فنقل*; *Istī'āb* I 92; *Iṣābah* I 465 f.; Ṭabarī I 2980 f.; *Husn al-muḥāḍarah* I 109 f.).

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) provides two versions (*Futūḥ*, pp. 193 and 317 f.) of the tradition. One of his versions is all but identical to the papyrus text, for it reads as follows:

... بن لهيعة عن بكير بن عبد الله عن سليمان بن يسار قال غزونا افرريقية مع ابن حديج ومعنا من المهاجرين والانصار بشر كثير فنقلنا ابن حديج النصف بعد الخمس فلم ار احداً انكر ذلك الا جبلة بن عمرو الانصاري.

The second version reads ... عن ابن لهيعة عن خالد بن ابي عمران قال وسالت سليمان بن يسار عن النفل في الغزو فقال لم ار احداً صنعه غير ابن حديج نقلنا بافرريقية النصف بعد الخمس ومعنا من اصحاب رسول الله صلعم من المهاجرين والاولين ناس كثير فابى جبلة بن عمرو الانصاري ان ياخذ منه شيئاً.

Note the use of either *ابا* or *انكر* for *كره* of the papyrus text and the omission of the last sentence of the latter. It is significant that both of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's versions and the papyrus text, which is of about the same date, specify *النصف بعد الخمس*, while later versions of this originally singleton tradition specify *الثلث بعد الخمس* (e.g. Abū al-ʿArab ibn Tamīm al-Tammāmī, *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīqīyah* I 15 f., II 49; *Iṣābah* I 457; *Husn al-muḥāḍarah* I 109 f.).

The division of the spoils of victory is a theme that is much discussed in the several categories of early Islāmic sources. Muḥammad's practice varied from time to time since he left himself a free hand according to Sūrah 8, called *al-anfāl*, "the spoils," which begins thus: "They will question you about the spoils. Say: 'The spoils belong to God and the Messenger.'" Until the strong hand of ʿUmar I took the reins of government (see *Maʿrifah*, Intro. p. 18), the early generals, such as Khālīd ibn al-Walīd (Zubairī, p. 321), also were independent in this matter and at times were liberal with the soldiers. The varying and contradictory practices, along with Sūrah 8: 1, soon came to be cited for or against numerous legalistic views that were rapidly evolving in Medina and the newly conquered provinces. There was no precise settlement of the question except for the stipulation that the state's fifth of the spoils was to be set aside before any division took place. Nevertheless, the following developments over a longer period are discernible. (1) Theoretically the caliph could dispose of the spoils as he wished, but actually the generals on the spot exercised their will and judgment. (2) Troops participating in exploratory raids or small expeditions shared more frequently and more liberally in the division of the spoils than did troops engaged in full-scale wars. (3) There was a persistent trend toward trimming down the soldiers' share, first, by exempting from the division certain categories such as slaves, mounts, and some types of arms and, second, by reducing the ratio of the soldiers' share to the whole after the deduction of the state's fifth. To justify such a reduction early traditions were evidently tampered with, as illustrated by the change from "the division of the half after the fifth" of the papyrus text to "the division of the third after the fifth" of the later versions (see e.g. *Sīrah* I 456 f., 458 f., 476, 655, 692 f., 758 f., 773 f., 848, 880 f.; *Tafsīr* I 102, IX 106–12, XIII 361–82; *Muwattaʿ* II 450–56 and references there cited; Ṭayālīsī, pp. 28 f.; Ibn Saʿd IV 1, p. 107; Ibn Ḥanbal I 181; Muslim XII 53–68; Abū Dāʿūd III 77–80; Ibn Mājah II 102; Tirmidhī VII 51–58, XI 201–7; Dārimī II 228 f.; Abū Yūsuf, *Al-radd ʿalā siyar al-Awzāʿī*, ed. Abū al-Wafāʿ al-Afghānī [Cairo, 1357/1938] pp. 45–49; *Amwāl*, pp. 279 and 303–34; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr lī al-Shaibānī* II [1377/1958] 583–619; see also Robert Brunshvig, "Ibn ʿAbdalḥʾakam et la Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes," *Annales de l'Institut d'études orientales* VI [Paris, 1942–47] 108–55, esp. pp. 124–30, which treat the episode of Tradition 13).

Tradition 14. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah al-Anṣārī (d. 8/629) was one of the twelve negotiators of the treaties of ʿAqabah. He was an enthusiastic supporter of Muḥammad, in whose campaigns he participated and in whose cause he lost his life in the expedition against Mūṭah. He was a poet and a leader whose verses and administrative ability served Muḥammad well (see e.g. Ibn Saʿd II 1, p. 88; Bukhārī I 291 f., III 135; Abū ʿUbaidah, *Majāz al-Qurʾān* I 20; Ṭabarī I 1460; *Istīʿāb* I 350 f.; *Nubalāʿ* I 166–73). He was literate, with some knowledge of arithmetic, and was therefore sent by Muḥammad in the year 7/628 to assess the produce of the palm trees of the Jews of Khaibar. The produce was divided into halves, and the Jews were given the choice of either half (see e.g. *Sīrah* I 343, 413, 777, 779, 791–96; Wāqidī, pp. 285 f.; Ibn Saʿd III 2, pp. 79–82 and 142; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-kitāb al-siyar al-khabīr lī al-Shaibānī* I 18, 34 f.; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, p. 51; Ṭabarī I 1589 f.; *Istīʿāb* I 349–51; Abū Nuʿaim I 118–21, IV 335; Nawawī, pp. 340 f.; *Iṣābah* II 748–51; *Uṣd* III 156–59).

Although most of the sources cited above refer to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah as an assessor for the Jews of Khaibar, none of them gives all the details of the papyrus text. Of the several professional traditionists who refer to this episode, only Mālik ibn Anas and Ibn Ḥanbal provide some of these details. Ibn Ḥanbal's account (Vol. III 367), which traces back to Jābir ibn

‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī (d. 78/697), retains the detail that ‘Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah disliked the Jews more than any other people and adds “because you (Jews) killed the prophets and told falsehoods about God,” but he makes no reference to any attempt on the part of the Jews to bribe ‘Abd Allāh. He gives more details of ‘Abd Allāh’s activity as an assessor, some of which may have followed our incomplete text. Mālik gives two accounts, each with a different *isnād* (*Muwattaʿ* II 703 f.; Shaibānī, pp. 145 and 355). In one, which he transmits from Zuhri on the authority of Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib, he does not mention ‘Abd Allāh’s aversion to the Jews and their attempt to bribe him. Mālik’s second account, which traces back to Sulaimān ibn Yasār of the papyrus text, is closer to the papyrus text though not identical with it in either *isnād* or *matn*. It reads as follows:

حدثني مالك عن ابن يثهاب عن سليمان بن يسار ان رسول الله صلعم كان يبعث عبد الله بن رواحة الى خيبر فيخرص بينه وبين يهود خيبر. قال فجمعوا له حلياً من حلى نسائهم فقالوا له هذا لك وخفف عتاً وتجاوز في القسم. فقال عبد الله بن رواحة يا معشر اليهود والله انكم لمن ابغض خلق الله الى وما ذاك بحاملي على ان أحيف عليكم فاما ما عرضتم من الرشوة فانها سحت وانا لا ناكلها. فقالوا بهذا قامت السموات والارض.

Zurqānī III 169 f. adds that Sulaimān ibn Yasār heard this tradition from Ibn ‘Abbās, to whom some related traditions are traced, but gives no parallels. For related traditions and general treatment of the theme see for example Ibn Ḥanbal II 24, III 296 and 367, VI 163, Bukhārī I 376 f., Abū Dāʿūd III 263 f., Ibn Mājah I 286, Tirmidhī III 140–43, *Concordance* II 25 *خرص*, and *Amwāl*, pp. 481–96, especially p. 482 for ‘Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah.

The survival of Traditions 12–14 is due to Ibn Lahī‘ah’s close association with the practices and traditions of the Ḥijāz, to his wide coverage of all types of materials, and to his large collection of manuscripts.

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

I

That this document is not from the hand or personal collection of Ibn Lahī‘ah is indicated by the fact that he heads only eight of the thirteen *isnād*’s and that three of his contemporaries are cited as parallel authorities. Tradition 11 provides a clue to the identity of the compiler in the words “and then said Abū Ṣāliḥ: ‘I said to Ḍimām,’ ” which clearly indicate that Ḍimām was being questioned on the meaning of a word by his transmitter Abū Ṣāliḥ. This Abū Ṣāliḥ can only be one of two contemporary traditionists—the Egyptian Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 223/838) who was Laith’s secretary or Abū Ṣāliḥ ‘Abd al-Ghaffār ibn Dāʿūd al-Ḥarrānī (d. 224/839), who settled in Egypt. Both men have been fully dealt with in the discussion of Document 5, which indicates that they had opportunities to transmit from ‘Irāqī as well as from Egyptian traditionists (see pp. 163 f.). But, whereas their common transmission from the Egyptians Laith and Ibn Lahī‘ah is repeatedly specified in biographical notices, only Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī is specified as transmitting also from his fellow Ḥarrānī Mūsā ibn A‘yan (Tradition 7) and the ‘Irāqī Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār (Traditions 7–9).¹ On the other hand, neither of them is specified as transmitting directly from Dimām ibn Ismā‘īl al-Ma‘āfirī.² That one of them did is a fact for which, so far as I know, our document is the only evidence. It should be pointed out, however, that in none of the numerous biographical works was a list of transmitters to and from a given traditionist intended to be exhaustive. It seems reasonable to

¹ Bukhārī, *Taʿrīkh* IV 1, pp. 280 f.; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 54.

² See *Futūḥ*, p. 139, for indirect transmission.

conclude, then, that the compiler of our document was in all probability Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī, who was the compiler of Document 5 also (see p. 163). It is not likely that Document 9 is Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī's personal copy, because the "western" method of dotting the *fā* and the *qāf* was used. It must be a student's rough copy made either from dictation or from manuscripts. The corrected errors indicate some manner of collation. The scripts of both the letter on the back of which Document 9 was written and the document itself suggest later hands than that of Document 5 and therefore point to a date toward the end of Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī's life for Document 9. It may well be from the hand of his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The family *isnād* has been discussed in connection with Document 5.

II

Most of the traditions involve the practices of the Companions and their Successors. Though their personal practices (Traditions 3–8) and recollections (Traditions 10–11) as reported in these traditions are generally confirmed in the biographical sources and some even in the standard *ḥadīth* collections, the traditions themselves as complete units have not survived in the standard collections. By contrast, the traditions that in any way refer to Muḥammad (Nos. 9 and 14) and those that had wider significance for the religious (No. 12) and economic (Nos. 13–14) life of the community have identical or nearly identical parallels, which emphasize the master traditionists' dual basis of selection—the *isnād* and the *matn*. Given traditions with the same content or basic meaning, they bypassed those that they judged to have weak links in the *isnād*'s in favor of those with sound *isnād*'s. Given traditions with equally acceptable *isnād*'s but different contents, they gave priority to those that traced back to Muḥammad or referred in any way to him (see p. 77). Thus we find that a tradition which reports the words or deeds of Muḥammad is likely to be preserved in many parallels through as many different channels (*ṭurq*) as the variants in the *isnād* links permit.

III

The biographical data on the literary careers and practices of the men mentioned in the *isnād*'s of this document reveal that many of them had access to or themselves produced sizable *ḥadīth* collections, as did several of their immediate authorities and transmitters who are not involved in these *isnād*'s. The number of scholars specified as using and producing manuscript collections increases with each generation of transmitters.³ Several of the men of our *isnād*'s have been encountered in other documents. These include Ibn ʿAbbās (Tradition 9), Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār (Traditions 7–9), and Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj (Traditions 2–3, 12–14). The search for parallels revealed the Tunisian Khālid ibn Abī ʿImrān (see p. 214) and the ʿIrāqī ʿAffān ibn Muslim (see p. 212) as assiduous collectors and accurate recorders of Tradition.⁴ Suwaid ibn Saʿīd (see p. 213) of ʿIrāq was suspected by some scholars, especially toward the end of his long life when he lost his eyesight. But his collection of manuscripts was sought by his contemporaries, including ʿAffān ibn Muslim, who transmitted from him a copy of the collection of Ḥafṣ ibn Maisarah (d. 181/797) that he was not able to find elsewhere. Ḥafṣ⁵ had a written copy of the collection of Zaid ibn Aslam (d. 136/753–54) which

³ It is even possible that some who are not so specified may indeed have belonged to this group, since they are not reported as being opposed to written Tradition and their close association with scholars who favored it indicates at least tacit approval of if not participation in the writing-down of *ḥadīth*.

⁴ See especially Khaṭīb XII 272–76 for ʿAffān's use of the *ʿarḍ* method and the careful execution of his manuscript copies.

⁵ Ibn ʿAsākir IV 385 f.; *Jamʿ* I 92, 144.

he collated with Zaid. The evidence of large-scale continuous written transmission linking men in different cities and provinces is paralleled by evidence of continuous written transmission within families from generation to generation. The sources indicate such transmission probably in the family of Abū Qabīl Ḥayy ibn Hānī al-Maʿāfirī (see p. 210) and certainly in that of Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj.

Abū Qabīl's materials passed to his son-in-law Ḍimām ibn Ismāʿīl al-Maʿāfirī (Traditions 10–11) to Suwaid ibn Saʿīd and Ibn Wahb to Abū Zarʿah, all of whom are known to have committed their materials to writing.⁶

Bukair's family was originally from Medina. His father, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj, journeyed to ʿIrāq, but little else is known of his activities except that he was eager for doctrinal argument and debate.⁷ ʿAbd Allāh's sons Bukair, Yaʿqūb, and ʿUmar shared a good reputation and an interest in Tradition.⁸ Bukair himself settled early in Egypt (see p. 209) and transmitted materials from his father.⁹ His son Makhramah (d. 159/776) was too young at the time of his father's death to have heard much of his collection, but he possessed Bukair's manuscripts and was later criticized for transmitting from them directly.¹⁰ I have been unable to ascertain, for lack of a complete genealogy, whether the well known Egyptian Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair (154–231/771–845)¹¹ was a grandson of Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj, though I strongly suspect that he was. He is more often referred to as Yaḥyā ibn Bukair, even as Bukair is generally cited as Bukair ibn al-Ashajj. The frequent omission of ʿAbd Allāh in both names indicates that neither man was primarily a traditionist, as is further indicated by the fact that the biographical sources give very little information about ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj and bypass ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair. In any case, Yaḥyā, like Bukair, was interested in the *ḥadīth* of Ḍimām and Abū Qabīl¹² and moved in the circles of Laith and Ibn Lahīʿah, both of whom are known to have transmitted from Bukair (see p. 209) and to Yaḥyā.¹³ Furthermore, Yaḥyā ibn Bukair is widely and frequently cited for biographical items for both Laith and Ibn Lahīʿah.

The high points in the life and career of Ibn Lahīʿah are fairly well known.¹⁴ Here we concentrate on his professional interests, which frequently paralleled those of his lifelong friend Laith ibn Saʿd. The freeborn South Arab Ibn Lahīʿah and the Persian *mawlā* Laith were both pupils of Egypt's first leading religious scholar, Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb (53–128/673–746),¹⁵ whose reputation had attracted Ibn Ishāq to Egypt.¹⁶ Both developed an active interest in *al-ḥbār*, particularly in relation to the history of Egypt, as fully illustrated by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's and Kindī's frequent reliance on their reports. Yet neither allowed his historical interest to overshadow his main intellectual activities as traditionist and jurist, so that both men came to be considered good candidates for the office of chief judge of Egypt. The ʿAbbāsid caliph Maṣūʿ wished to appoint Laith to this office, but Laith excused himself and pointedly

⁶ See e.g. *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 240; *Mīzān* I 434–36; Yāqūt II 223 f.

⁷ Abū al-ʿArab ibn Tamīm al-Tammānī, *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīqīyah* I 220.

⁸ See Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, pp. 39 f.; e.g. *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 118, and IV 2, p. 209; *Jamʿ* I 590; Ibn Taghrībirdī I 255.

⁹ *Istīʿāb* I 92.

¹⁰ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 16; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 363 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 144; *Jamʿ* I 59.

¹¹ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 205; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 285;

Jarḥ IV 2, p. 165; Dhahabī II 8; *Jamʿ* II 563; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 154.

¹² *Futūḥ*, p. 234; Kindī, pp. 182 and 310; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 267.

¹³ Dhahabī II 8; Nawawī, pp. 364 f.

¹⁴ See Kindī, Intro. pp. 31 f. and reference there cited.

¹⁵ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 202; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 324; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 267; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 91; Dhahabī I 121 f.; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 163. Cf. Aḥmad Amin, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* II 86.

¹⁶ Dhahabī I 121 f.; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 267.

drew Maṣṣūr's attention to the fact of his Persian descent and therefore of his client status.¹⁷ Maṣṣūr did not press the point, perhaps because of the prevailing tradition that judgeships were the prerogative of the Anṣār¹⁸ and thus by implication of the South Arabs.

The eventual appointment of Ibn Lahīʿah as judge in Egypt reflected certain political and economic trends that began with the successful ʿAbbāsīd revolution. Stress and strain were occasioned by ʿAbbāsīd desire for a greater degree of centralization in the imperial government as against the aspirations of the vigorous provinces with their vocal pride in their own identity and achievement, particularly in legal theory and practice. The appointment of an imperial judge to any of the provinces was therefore a delicate matter. It so happened that the chief judge of Egypt died while an Egyptian delegation was in Baghdād and that Maṣṣūr informed the delegates of their country's loss. Maṣṣūr then, according to Kindī, instructed his *wazīr*, Rabīʿ ibn Faḍl, to propose candidates, presumably non-Egyptians, for the vacant office. But ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥudaij of the Egyptian delegation protested that the appointment of a non-Egyptian would reflect adversely on Egypt since all the other provinces would conclude that Egypt could not produce a candidate fit for the office.¹⁹ Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's earlier account, however, omits this protest, as do the other accounts.²⁰ Maṣṣūr's choice fell on Ibn Lahīʿah "despite his weakness."²¹ All of the accounts state (erroneously²²) that Ibn Lahīʿah was the first judge in Egypt to be appointed by a caliph.

Another point to be noted in connection with Ibn Lahīʿah's appointment is that all the sources agree that he received the highest salary—thirty dinars, or three times that of his predecessor—that had yet been paid to an Egyptian judge. It is true that good and willing judges were scarce in the early ʿAbbāsīd period, but the tripling of the salary was no doubt called for partly by the economic prosperity and inflation throughout the empire since we find similar increases in the other provinces.²³ The sum seems small enough in contrast to the vast wealth of Laith, whose gifts to needy scholars and friends, including Mālīk ibn Anas and Ibn Lahīʿah, ran into thousands of dinars. Ibn Lahīʿah held the office of chief judge for almost ten years (155–64/771–80). During this time his close association with Laith continued and found expression in their joint action in public matters, so that it came to be said that it was Laith who was indeed the ruler of Egypt.²⁴

The repeated references to Ibn Lahīʿah's weakness as a traditionist call for an examination of his methods of transmission. Little is recorded of his earlier practices, though it would seem justifiable to assume that he wrote down his materials from the start because he acquired the nickname Abū Kharīṭah, "He of the Satchel." He slung his "schoolboy's bag" around his neck and went out seeking newcomers and visitors, asking the older ones: "Whom have you met and from whom have you written down?" Then he wrote down what he heard from them.²⁵ No doubt he, like Laith, whom he accompanied on the pilgrimage of the year 113/731,²⁶ wrote down traditions from leading Medinans. It came to be known that he possessed the

¹⁷ See e.g. Aḥmad Amīn, *Duḥā al-Islām* II 89; Abū Nuʿaim IX 109.

¹⁸ See e.g. *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 243. See also p. 259 below.

¹⁹ Kindī, p. 369.

²⁰ *Futūḥ*, pp. 243 f.; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 235; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* II 117.

²¹ Kindī (p. 369) alone adds "and his bad *madhhab*." Ibn Lahīʿah was sometimes accused of being a Shīʿite (see e.g. *Maʿārif*, p. 301, and *Mizān* II 67; cf. Kindī, Intro. p. 32).

²² Torrey noted this error (*Futūḥ*, p. 368, note). For a

number of earlier judges appointed for Egypt by a caliph see *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 220 ff. and *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* II 113 ff. (see also p. 123, n. 19, above).

²³ *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 233, 235 f. Wakīʿ usually mentions salaries and is aware of the general increase in this period.

²⁴ Aḥmad Amīn, *Duḥā al-Islām* II 89 f.

²⁵ *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 243; *Mizān* II 67; Ibn Taghrībirdī I 475; Kindī, Intro. p. 31; Aḥmad Amīn, *Duḥā al-Islām* II 90.

²⁶ Kindī, Intro. p. 31.

originals (*uṣūl*) of several compilers. Long before his appointment as judge, local and visiting scholars, such as Ibn Wahb and the Khurāsānian Ibn al-Mubārak, eagerly sought him out so that they could make copies of these originals, and he readily permitted them to do so.²⁷ Sufyān al-Thaurī is reported as saying that Ibn Lahī'ah possessed the *uṣūl* while he and others had only the *furū'*,²⁸ terminology which in any science contrasts basic "principles" with the "branches" derived therefrom. Sufyān may have been referring to Ibn Lahī'ah's expertness in *fiqh*, though his statement could also be interpreted to mean that Ibn Lahī'ah possessed originals of several complete *hadīth* collections while he and others had only extracts. Ibn Lahī'ah did not limit himself to collecting from scholars whom he met in person, for he is known to have received traditions by correspondence (*mukātabah*) from Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṣārī,²⁹ just as Mālik received Laith's *risālah* in Medina.³⁰ Ibn Lahī'ah's zeal for collecting traditions and writing them down carefully, as Ibn Ḥanbal testifies,³¹ inspired confidence in his written collections, while his transmission from memory, especially in his old age, became suspect largely on the grounds that he omitted some links from some *isnād*'s, though some say he did so intentionally.³² Many scholars turned away from him, however, because when non-Egyptian materials that were not his own were read to him and then transmitted as though they were his he neither corrected nor stopped the reader.³³ This laxity alone may account for the large number of traditions in which he is mentioned in *isnād*'s that are suspect. Those who were less critical excused some of his weaknesses on the grounds that they appeared only after his books were burned in the year 170/785–86, when he was in his mid-seventies. But others contested this statement, and some pointed out that his books, especially his collection of originals, were saved even though his house burned down (see references in nn. 31 and 33). 'Uthmān ibn Ṣāliḥ (see p. 210),³⁴ who wrote down and transmitted a great deal of material from Ibn Lahī'ah, copied the book of 'Imārah ibn Ghazyah (or 'Azyah [d. 140/757])³⁵ from Ibn Lahī'ah's copy after the fire and traced Ibn Lahī'ah's weaknesses to a paralytic stroke that he suffered in his old age.³⁶ A sizable papyrus roll of traditions transmitted by this 'Uthmān from Ibn Lahī'ah has survived.³⁷

A close check of the details of the various estimates of Ibn Lahī'ah as a traditionist revealed general but not complete³⁸ agreement that he had a weak memory and relied chiefly on manuscripts. His contemporaries who knew him well considered him to be generally trustworthy. They included Egyptians and non-Egyptians alike. Among the former were Laith and Ibn Wahb. Rhuvon Guest counts Laith among Ibn Lahī'ah's critics and considers him, as the latter's countryman, well qualified to judge.³⁹ Guest's statement is not specifically documented and, furthermore, is negated by statements to the contrary⁴⁰ and by the fact that Laith and Ibn Lahī'ah were closely associated in private and public life and frequently transmitted traditions one from the other.⁴¹ So far as I can tell from the sources indicated by Guest,⁴² he was

²⁷ *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 147; Sam'ānī, folio 405b; *Mizān* II 65; Nawawī, p. 365. See Khaṭīb X 157–59 and 168 for Ibn al-Mubārak's grand tour (*riḥlah*) of the provinces that began in the year 141/758.

²⁸ *Mizān* II 65; Nawawī, p. 364.

²⁹ *Amwāl*, p. 395.

³⁰ *Mizān* II 65.

³¹ Dhahabī I 220; *Mizān* II 65.

³² A practice indulged in even by Bukhārī (see p. 173).

³³ Ibn Sa'ad VII 2, p. 204; *Ma'ārif*, p. 253; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 146; *Mizān* II 65.

³⁴ See Kindī, Intro. pp. 26 f.

³⁵ Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 102; *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 368; *Mizān* II 248; *Jam'* I 396 f.

³⁶ Dhahabī I 220; *Mizān* II 64.

³⁷ See Carl H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt* I ("Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung" III [Heidelberg, 1906]) 9.

³⁸ See e.g. *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 148.

³⁹ Kindī, Intro. p. 32.

⁴⁰ See e.g. *Mizān* II 65, line 18.

⁴¹ See e.g. Nawawī, pp. 365 and 529; *Ta'wīl*, p. 385.

⁴² Kindī, Intro. p. 31.

most probably misled by Nawawī, who states that Laith ibn Saʿd ibn Yaḥyā ibn Saʿd considered Ibn Lahīʿah weak.⁴³ As the full name of the famous Egyptian with whom we are concerned is Abū al-Ḥarith Laith ibn Saʿd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, it is obvious that Nawawī refers to a different Laith. Unfortunately the biographical sources at hand do not lead to the identification of this second Laith, and I can only venture to suggest that he may have been a grandson of the ʿIrāqī traditionist and critic Yaḥyā ibn Saʿd al-Qaṭṭān (see p. 112), who is known to have held an adverse opinion of Ibn Lahīʿah.⁴⁴ Among Ibn Lahīʿah's non-Egyptian contemporaries who considered him generally trustworthy, except during the last few years of his life, were Ibn al-Mubārak and ʿUthmān ibn Ṣāliḥ (see p. 220).

Ibn Lahīʿah's younger contemporaries who could have known him only in the last decade or so of his life were about evenly divided in their opinions as to whether or not he was completely trustworthy as a traditionist. By far the great majority of his transmitters, regardless of their age or province, esteemed him highly for his thorough coverage of Egyptian traditions and traditionists, which they compared to the coverage of Syrian men and materials by his contemporary Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAyyāsh (see p. 178).⁴⁵ Ibn Lahīʿah's severest critics⁴⁶ were Saʿīd ibn Abī Maryam (144–224/761–839) of Baṣrah,⁴⁷ who suspected him of using entirely on their own authority manuscripts that were found (*wijādah*) after the death of the author, and Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn (d. 233/848) of Baghdād.⁴⁸ Very few traditionists escaped the criticism of Yaḥyā, whose opinions apparently were accepted by most of his successors. He himself was a large-scale collector of traditions, which he committed to writing. But, unlike Ibn Lahīʿah, he had a reliable memory and could easily detect error or fraud, so that none could interpolate or pass off others' materials as his.⁴⁹ However, neither he nor Bukhārī could resist the temptation to bypass suspect links of an *isnād* (*tadlīs*), and both suppressed the name of Laith's secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ, from whom they wrote down Laith's collection of Zuhri materials.⁵⁰

Ibn Lahīʿah's materials having thus come to be suspected, especially by non-Egyptians, were nevertheless not bypassed. Although not accepted as sole proof, they were written down and studied by several generations of scholars.⁵¹ But, no doubt because of their restricted use, there was apparently little effort to hold them together as a unit for long, except perhaps by a few Egyptians such as ʿUthmān ibn Ṣāliḥ and his son Yaḥyā, Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith, and Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī, who was probably the compiler of this document (see p. 217). The preacher ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad of Baghdād (251–338/865–960) made a lengthy visit to Egypt and collected the traditions of Laith ibn Saʿd and Ibn Lahīʿah.⁵²

An essential practice of a great majority of the second- and third-century traditionists encountered in this study was the writing-down of their traditions. Standard phrases in the critics' terminology are "his *ḥadīth* is to be written down," if the particular traditionist was judged to be trustworthy, and "his *ḥadīth* is to be written down but is not to be accepted as proof," if he was considered weak (see p. 62). The writing itself was done sometimes from dictation but increasingly by the *munāwalah* and *mukātabah* methods and by copying from manuscripts, authenticated or otherwise, that varied from single sheets to book-size collections.

⁴³ Nawawī, p. 365.

⁴⁴ *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 146; Bukhārī, *Taʿrikh* III 1, pp. 182 f.; Dhahabī I 220; *Mizān* II 65.

⁴⁵ Khaṭīb II 222; *Mizān* II 65.

⁴⁶ See e.g. *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 146 f.; *Mizān* II 64 f.

⁴⁷ Dhahabī I 355; *Futūḥ*, Intro. p. 8.

⁴⁸ Dhahabī II 16 f.; *GAL* S I 259.

⁴⁹ See e.g. *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, p. 314; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 235.

⁵⁰ *Jamʿ* I 268 f.; Yāqūt I 748. Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn was in Egypt for over two years (Khaṭīb XIV 201 f.).

⁵¹ *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 147; *Mizān* II 65, 67.

⁵² Khaṭīb XII 75 f.

DOCUMENT 10

Oriental Institute No. 17631. Late second/early ninth century.

Medium quality brown papyrus, 20.4 × 15.6 cm., with 28 lines to the page and practically no margins (Pls. 18–19). The piece is broken at the top and bottom. The lower left section is lost, and there are several large breaks. It is difficult to tell whether it is a leaf from a book or a loose sheet (*ṣahīfah*).

Script.—Poor semicursive book hand with slight variations between recto and verso. Diacritical points are used for *bāʾ* and its sister letters, *nūn*, *yāʾ*, and twice for *khāʾ* (in خيار and خصال of recto 10 and 23). The *shīn* has a row of three dots above it, and *fāʾ* and *qāf* have the regular one dot and two dots above them respectively. Words are broken at the ends of lines (recto 9, verso 11 and 21). There are no punctuation marks. New sections start with the *basmalah* as in Document 3.

TEXT

RECTO

- 1 [بسم الله] الرحمن الرحيم [الرحم]
- 2 (1) [حدثنا] ابو البختری وهب بن وهب القرشي عن []
- 3 [عن] ابن عباس قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه []
- 4 [قال] اللهم فعنا من بن قرابة او تلى قبل [سفر] اب اعوذ بك من همزات الشيطان []
- 5 شيا هو احسن منك بك اعرف وبك اقر وبك اجير وبك اخذ وبك اعطى
- 6 لان كرامتك شى بها وصلان الصبر ثم قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه من
- 7 كان له من نفسه واعظ كان معه [] ينصف الناس ويامن
- 8 [ن] نفسه كان له به عند الله عزّ ثم قال شرار امتى الذين غدوا بالنعيم
- 9 وربوا فيه ليس لهم همة الا الوان الطعام والشراب واللباس المتشد
- 10 قون بالكلام وخيار امتى الذين ولدوا فى [الاسلام] ان احسنوا استبشروا
- 11 وان أساؤا استغفروا وان سافروا انصروا وافطروا (2) وحدثنا
- 12 عن هشام عن الحسن قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه ما خلق الله
- 13 مثل العقل (3) وحدثنا عن هشام عن الحسن قال قال رسول الله صلى الله
- 14 عليه من يضمن احدكم ويقرب ذات عا [] بقى خايفا لهما (4) وحدثنا
- 15 عن ابن جريج عن خا[لد] بن [م]عدان قال قال [رسول] الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
- 16 ارشدكم الذى [] كان . . . فقد يكون خيا[ركم] (5) وحدثنا عن ثور عن
- 17 [خالد] بن معدان انه قال ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه مرّ الجمعة فلقى
- 18 [] لم فقال اتبعه ف[تبعه] فاغفل له [ف]قال رسول الله
- 19 [] ان يكون له من يفدى ولا ينهى عن الما [س]بيلا فقال

BAQIYAH IBN AL-WALID

223

- 20] فأسىه ماء كئأى فقال له [سأيف أو بالسأينة عليه
 21] [الى الغصن تدون فيه مـ] [هلهما ولا تعود
 22] (6) وحدثنا فلان عن [ابان عن انس قال قال [رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
 23] (7) و[حدثنا سـأيف عن النبى انه قال من كان فى قلبه ثلث خصال رفيق
 24] فى الجنة ومـن سال امانا من كان قائم بها يامر ويشير (8) وحدثنا
 25] [فلان بن فلان عن [انس قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه لا يومر بالمعروف
 26] [وينهى بالمنكر الا] من كان جاهلا وتغير امره والامير تحيل فاما صاحب
 27] (9) وحدثنا عن ابي مخلد عن اسمعيل بن عبيد الله عن بن
 28] [. . . .] [رسول الله والعرب]
 29] [. . . .] [

VERSO

- 1
 2] [. حول عثمان من . . .] [
 3] [الراهن من ابنه والرجل ولهم اضعاف
 4] [يـرث الاشياء ولا يرث كتبهم هنا قيل
 5] لابي عمرو وكتبك فقال تضعهم مع كتب عمر بن عبد العزيز قيل لابي عمرو
 6] فيمن ترك مصحفا هل يباع قال لا ولكنه يجعل فى حقيقه ويقص الورق
 7] بالحقيقه قيل لابي عمرو وهل [تباع كتب العلم فى الدين قال نعم
 8] والمصحف يباع [لكن بلا ربح] قيل لابي عمرو فان لم يكن عليه ربحاً
 9] تضيع كتب الدين (10) وحدثنا [ع]ان [ج]عفر قال حدثنى حفص بن دينار عن ابي رجاء
 10] مولى ابى قلابه ان ابى قلابه دفع اليه جرابين فقال خذ هذا الجراب
 11] فاذهب به الى ايوب السخثياني فانه فيه الحديث عن رسول الله وا
 12] لسنة والحديث عن صحابة الرسول فيه يكون عنده وخذ هذا الجراب
 13] فاذهب الى يهس الجرمي بداره [فانه] فيه كتب حديث رسول الله واحاديث
 14] من احاديث العرب يكن [ع]نداه وله ذكـر حماد بن زيد هذا [الحديث
 15] بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (11) حدثنا عبد [الله بن المبارك قال حدثنا فلان وا
 16] حدثنا الفزارى قال حدثني ثابت بن [عجلان] الحمصى قال حدثنا عبد الا
 17] رسول الله صلى الله عليه [وسلم] [فقال انه كان لي اخان]
 18] احبه لله ولرسوله] [كتب الفضل لله ورسوله]
 19] كنت اجيه اريد حديثه وحفظى [حديث] عليه حتى اذا احفظ]
 20] اخذهما عنـه] [مـازق كتبه فقال احفظ] كما حفظت فحرا
 21] قاه قال له] [حرقه] [رسم بك فقال هل [حفظت كتاب الله وا
 22] [كتبته قال نعم ونحليه قال طوى لنا دفتين قد نقلها اليه وا]

[	23	جلدة حريرة فإناها حريرة فامن بها على فيه فقضا فـ]
[	24	انفقتة لله ولرسوله انه هـ [وا محقق الامر اعرضته الي اعرا]
[	25	عليك [من فـ] اضله [.] و[ثأمنه وقتـ] هـ
[	26	انا شيد لابي مخلد تاخذهما عنه]
[	27	الاجر شُم فلا]
[	28]

Comments.—Tradition 1. The traces in recto 1 are well spaced for the *basmalah*, which probably starts a new section as in verso 15.

Abū al-Bakhtarī Wahb ibn Wahb (d. 200/815–16) was a Quraishite of Medina, who lived at one time in Syria and off and on in ʿIrāq. He died in Baghdād at an advanced age. He served Hārūn al-Rashīd as chief justice of Baghdād in the year 182/798, succeeding the famous Abū Yūsuf in that office, but was soon removed and appointed governor of Medina (183–93/799–809; see Ṭabarī III 739, 937; *Maʿārif*, p. 258; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 243, III 269; Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, p. 25). He was a man of varied literary activities who won recognition as jurist, genealogist, and historian (*akhbārī*) and is credited with six works (see p. 233) in these fields (see *Fihrist*, p. 100; *Irshād* VII 232 f.; Ibn Khallikān II 239 [= trans. III 677]). But he was condemned and shunned as a traditionist and accused of sitting up nights to write traditions fabricated as to both *isnād* and *matn*. The *isnād* Abū al-Bakhtarī–Ibn Juraij–ʿAṭā–Ibn ʿAbbās, which may or may not be complete here, is specified as false in most instances (Khaṭīb XIII 454). Abū al-Bakhtarī's failure to identify his sources fully was also held against him. He displeased the critics further by his practice of combining unrelated or remotely related traditions (*Lisān* VII 234) as in the case of this tradition with its four distinct parts.

The lists of those from whom Abū al-Bakhtarī transmitted (see e.g. *Jarḥ* IV 2, pp. 25 f.) include Hishām ibn ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair (Traditions 2–3), Ibn Juraij (Tradition 4), Thaur ibn Yazīd (Tradition 5), and Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (Tradition 10). The appearance of these names in the papyrus text leaves no room to doubt that Traditions 1–10 represent Abū al-Bakhtarī's written collection of *ḥadīth* and *akhbār* (for his biographical entries see Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 75; *Maʿārif*, p. 258; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 170; *Jarḥ* IV 2, pp. 25 f.; *Fihrist*, p. 100; Khaṭīb XIII 451–57, XIV 243; *Mīzān* III 278 f.; *Lisān* VII 231–34; Yāfiʿī I 463 f.; Ibn Khallikān II 238–41 [= trans. III 673–78]).

Because of Abū al-Bakhtarī's reputation I had little hope of finding complete parallels in the standard collections, even for his traditions that relate to Muḥammad, despite the more favorable verdict on his above-named sources and his use of the term *ḥaddathanā*. Since the search for parallels was, indeed, fruitless, we can do no more than indicate the related materials that were encountered.

The tradition consists of four parts that can be separated at او of recto 4 and at ثم of recto 6 and recto 8. The first two parts are related in that they represent Muḥammad's invocations for various occasions such as the beginning of a night or a day journey (cf. Sūrah 23:97–98; *Muwattaʿ* I 215; Ibn Ḥanbal II 117, 401, and 433, III 29 f., IV 333; Abū Dāʿūd II 287; Dārimī III 33; Tirmidhī XIII 3; Nasāʿī II 318 f.; Ibn Mājah II 232; see also *Concordance* II 467 (اعوذ and IV 425–27 دعاء السفر).

The third part (recto 6–8) has no parallel in the standard collections so far as I know. Yet

self-discipline and criticism based in part on Sūrah 2:44 are familiar in Islāmic religious literature (see e.g. *Jāmi'* I 194 f.; Māwardī, *Adab al-dunyā wa al-dīn*, p. 330, in a passage which reads (من لم يكن له من نفسه واعظ لم تنفعه المواعظ).

The fourth part (recto 8–11) has parallels for some of its phrases scattered in a number of related traditions (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 369, IV 98 and 193–94, VI 129; Ibn Mājah II 222; Tirmidhī VIII 174 f.; *Concordance* I 202 ابغض; see also Abū Nu'aim III 97, VI 120; 'Alī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Kitāb al-dīn wa al-daulah*, p. 50; Ghazālī, *Kitāb al-arba'in* [Cairo, 1344/1925] p. 105).

Tradition 2. The Hishām of the *isnād* has to be Hishām ibn 'Urwah ibn al-Zubair (61–146/681–763), the famed scholar of Medina, from whom Abū al-Bakhtarī is known to have transmitted (see p. 224). Hishām is presumably transmitting on the authority of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (see p. 17), whom he could have met either during a pilgrimage or in 'Irāq. Hishām left the Ḥijāz, visited Kūfah, and settled in Baghdād, where he was very active in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. In 'Irāq, however, he was not so particular about his *isnād*'s as he had been in Medina, and the Medinans criticized him for such laxity. It is less likely that Hishām is transmitting individually from Ḥasan ibn 'Alī (d. ca. 50/670; see Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 67; *Ma'ārif*, p. 115; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* IV 2, pp. 193 f.; *Jarḥ* IV 2, pp. 63 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 60; Dhahabī I 136 f.; Nawawī, p. 607; *Jam'* II 547; Ibn Khallikān II 275 [= trans. III 606–8]). For Ḥasan ibn 'Alī as a traditionist see Ibn Sa'd VII 1, p. 127, *Istī'āb* I 139 f., *Usd* II 10 f., *Iṣābah* I 674, Nawawī, pp. 204 f., and p. 226 below.

No parallel for the tradition is indicated under either خلق or عقل in the *Concordance*.

Tradition 3. The reading وقيل رأي is not certain; if it is correct, the *yā* has its two dots within its loop. The *Concordance* has no parallel under رأي or ضمن.

Tradition 4. Ibn Juraij (d. 150/767) of Mecca is generally recognized as one of the first scholars to give an organized literary form to his works, which included *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* (see e.g. pp. 112, 181, 193).

Khālid ibn Ma'dān (d. 104/722) was one of the leading traditionists of Ḥimṣ. He collected traditions from a large number of Companions and committed them to writing in a book bound between two boards drawn together with clasps (see Vol. I 22 and correct "Ma'rān" to "Ma'dān"). His pupil Baḥīr ibn Sa'd (d. 160/777; see Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* I 2, pp. 137 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 412; Dhahabī I 166; see also p. 233 below, with n. 16) apparently inherited the copy which he either loaned or passed on to Baqīyah ibn al-Walīd (Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 162; Ṭabarī III 2482; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* II 1, pp. 161 f.; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 351; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 85 [= p. 112 of 1959 ed.]; Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, pp. 134 f.; Abū Nu'aim V 210–31; Dhahabī I 87 f., 166; Ibn 'Asākir V 87).

The text is too broken for identification of the tradition.

Tradition 5. The *isnād* is completed with the name Khālid ibn Ma'dān on the strength of the preceding *isnād* and of the statement that Abū al-Bakhtarī transmitted on the authority of Khālid ibn Ma'dān (*Jarḥ* IV 2, pp. 25 f.). Abū Nu'aim's entries on Khālid and his fellow citizen Thaur ibn Yazīd (d. 153/770) show that Thaur depended to a great extent on Khālid for his materials (Abū Nu'aim V 210–21, VI 93–100), and thus it seems possible that Thaur too had a copy of Khālid's collection of *ḥadīth*. Thaur moved about freely in Syria and died in Jerusalem. He was generally accepted as trustworthy, though suspicion that he was a Qādirite led one of his pupils to burn the traditions he had received from him. Among those who transmitted from Thaur was Baqīyah ibn al-Walīd (Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 170; Bukhārī,

Taʿrīkh I 2, p. 180; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 468; Ibn Ḥibbān [1959] p. 181; Dhahabī I 165; *Mīzān* III 278; Ibn ʿAsākir III 383 f.; *Jamʿ* I 67).

Note the extreme brevity of the tradition. No parallels are indicated in the *Concordance* under غصن, غفل, and فدى. Spot tests proved negative.

Tradition 6. The Anas of the *isnād* is in all probability Anas ibn Mālik, from whom several persons named Abān could have transmitted, but the one specifically associated with Anas ibn Mālik is Abān ibn Abī ʿAyyāsh of Baṣrah (d. 128/746), who is credited with transmitting some 1,500 mostly unfounded traditions. This Abān wrote down his materials, as did those who transmitted from him. Two of his transmitters state that they wrote down some 500 traditions from him, and Abū ʿAwānah al-Waḍḍāḥ ibn Khālid (d. 170/786 or 176/792; see Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 43; *Maʿārif*, p. 252; Bukhārī, *Taʿrīkh* IV 2, p. 181; *Jarḥ* IV 2, pp. 40 f.; Dhahabī I 218 f.) had a book-size collection of Abān’s transmission of the *ḥadīth* of Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī. “The book of Abū ʿAwānah” was still in circulation in ʿIrāq in the year 210/825 and no doubt for some time later (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 19; Bukhārī, *Taʿrīkh* I 1, p. 454; *Jarḥ*, *Taqdīmah*, pp. 144 and 366; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 295 f.; *Mīzān* I 6–9; see also p. 61 above).

Tradition 7. The Saif of the *isnād* could be one of several contemporaries of Abū al-Bakhtarī, though so far as I have been able to discover none of them is mentioned among his sources. One possibility is Saif ibn Abī Sulaimān of Mecca, who died sometime after 150/767 (Ibn Saʿd V 362; Bukhārī, *Taʿrīkh* II 2, p. 172; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 274; *Jamʿ* I 207). A second possibility is a better known historian and traditionist, the mistrusted Saif ibn ʿUmar of Kūfah, who died sometime during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (see e.g. *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 278; *Mīzān* I 437 f.; Jawād ʿAlī, “Mawārid Taʿrīkh al-Ṭabarī,” *Majjalāh* III [1373/1954] 51 and references there cited).

No parallel for *isnād* and *matn* seems available through *Concordance* II 35 ثلاث خصال nor through the other key words of the surviving text, but اهل الجنة ثلاثة leads to several short related traditions (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal IV 162, IV 183; Muslim XVII 198 f., which helped with the partial reconstruction of recto 24). The admonition that one should seek guidance and protection from those who practice what they preach is widely encountered, as are other such traditions that specify three or more qualifications of the faithful (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 310 and 321, V 183; see also comment on our Tradition 8).

Tradition 8. The *isnād*, which is lost except for the name Anas, may have been the same as that of Tradition 6, which likewise traces back to Anas.

A possible alternative reading for *تغيير* of recto 26 is *تغيير*.

The tradition involves the Qurʾānic command that one should promote that which is good and prohibit that which is evil (e.g. Sūrah 3:104, 110, and 113, 7:157, 9:71 and 112, 22:41, 31:17; see also *Tafsīr* VII 90–92, 100–106, and 130 f., IX 201, X 496, XIII 165). The command has very wide application as a socio-ethical precept with political overtones, though some would interpret *maʿrūf* to refer specifically to Islām and *munkar* to refer to idolatry (see e.g. *Itqān* I 145).

No parallel has been found, but closely related traditions are numerous (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 329, IV 299, V 390, VI 304; Abū Dāʿūd IV 121–24; Tirmidhī IX 13–17; see also *Concordance* I 99 f.). Condemnation for those who do not practice what they preach is severe (e.g. Sūrah 2:44; Ibn Ḥanbal V 205–7, 209; Muslim XVII 117 f.; *Jāmiʿ* I 194 f.).

Tradition 9. There is a slight possibility that the text from recto 27 to verso 9 represents two traditions—a short one now lost with the broken-away part of the papyrus and a longer one whose *isnād* is lost. It is unfortunate that so much of the text is lost, for in all probability

it would throw light on the early history of the composition, preservation, sale, and final disposal of manuscripts containing various types of religious texts. The first word of verso 7, starting with *bī*, could refer to a cutting instrument; as it is read, an unintentional reversal of the letters *lām* and *hā* must be assumed. Note also *انه* for *ان* in verso 8.

The text has either *ابو مخلد* (see also verso 26) or *ابو مجلز* for the first link of the *isnād*. The only known Abū Mijlaz is the Baṣran Lāḥiq ibn Ḥamīd, who died before Ḥasan al-Baṣrī did and is therefore too early (cf. Ibn Saʿd VII 1, p. 157, and VII 2, p. 102; Daulābī II 2). The only Abū Makhlad in the sources is Abū Makhlad Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamīmī al-Baṣrī (n.d.), a minor traditionist about whom very little information is available. But his locality and time, as judged from the few *isnād*'s in which he is cited, allow for the possibility that he transmitted to Abū al-Bakhtarī (cf. Daulābī II 109; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, p. 137; *Jarḥ* III 2, p. 310; *Mizān* III 80). Variant readings of the name, such as Abū Mukallad etc., yielded no possibilities.

The Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUbaid Allāh of the *isnād* could be one of several traditionists so named (see e.g. Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, pp. 336 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 182–83), most of whom are associated with the Ḥijāz or Syria. The best known is Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUbaid (or ʿAbd) Allāh ibn Abī al-Muhājir (d. 132/749–50) of Syria, who was particularly concerned with the spread of Islām and the preservation of “the traditions of the Messenger of Allāh.” He refused all fees for teaching the Qurʾān but served as tutor to the sons of ʿAbd al-Malik and as governor of North Africa (99–101/717–19) under ʿUmar II. He, along with a group of religious teachers sent out by ʿUmar II, is given credit for the conversion of a large number of Berbers (see Ibn Saʿd V 251; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, p. 366; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 182; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 136; *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 233; Ibn ʿAsākir III 25–27; *Jamʿ* I 26; Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, p. 63; Mālikī, *Kitāb riḡāḍ al-nufūs* I 64–76; Abū al-ʿArab ibn Tamīm al-Tammāmī, *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīqīyah* I 20 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿibar wa dīwān al-mubtadaʾ wa al-khabar* [Cairo, 1284/1867] VI 110).

It is possible that we have here references to the scarcity of writing among the Arabs (see recto 28) on the eve of Islām (see e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 69) and to the increase of writing and of Qurʾānic manuscripts during the reign of ʿUthmān (verso 2) and the subsequent problems of trade in such manuscripts and of their inheritance by family members (verso 3–4) or others (verso 5). Sons were usually given priority in the disposal of their fathers' books (see e.g. Ibn Saʿd VI 132), though pupils seem frequently to have inherited their teachers' manuscripts. Qurʾāns were expected by some to remain as family property rather than to be passed on to any one son. Yet, opinion and practice differed from province to province and even from city to city within a province.

Our text, beginning with verso 4, clearly indicates that a certain Abū ʿAmr is expressing himself on the question of the inheritance of manuscripts. Inasmuch as the name is quite common, this Abū ʿAmr was probably more specifically identified in the lost portion of the text. Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUbaid Allāh, who is not the earliest link in the *isnād*, must have transmitted the information from an older contemporary who is in turn reporting the sought-after opinion of Abū ʿAmr. The latter would therefore have to be a recognized authority of the last half or the last quarter of the first century. The only Abū ʿAmr who was widely known as a leading scholar at that time was the Kūfan Abū ʿAmr ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī (d. 110/728). He is on record as favoring the sale of Qurʾāns since he, among others, considered the price paid as reimbursement for the outlay of materials and for the labor of copying (see e.g. Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, pp. 177 f.; Abū Nuʿaim II 368; *Itqān* II 172). Shaʿbī, as stated elsewhere (Vol. I

22, 44), was proud of his memory yet urged his students to write down everything they heard from him. He, like most scholars who relied chiefly on their memories, transmitted not literally (*ḥarfī*) but according to the sense (*maʿnāwī*) of the tradition. For Shaʿbī's memory was not photographic and, furthermore, was not so reliable in his old age as it had been in his youth when he was known to dictate at length from memory. He is reported as saying: "I have indeed forgotten enough knowledge to make of a man a scholar were he to memorize it" (Khaṭīb XII 229). He also made such statements as "the book is the register of knowledge" (*Jāmiʿ* I 75) and "the best traditionist is the *daftar*" (Vol. I 22). Moreover, he eventually composed or compiled some books, for Abū Ḥaṣīn ʿUthmān ibn ʿĀsim (d. 128/746), whom Shaʿbī considered a sort of spiritual heir, reports that no books of Shaʿbī were found after his death except the *Farāʾiḍ* and the *Jarāḥāt* (Ibn Saʿd VI 174, 224; Khaṭīb XII 232).

Shaʿbī's association with the Umayyad court as tutor of the sons of ʿAbd al-Malik, his rebellion against the reconciliation with Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf during the latter's governorship of ʿIrāq, and his judgeship of Kūfah during the reign of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz reflect his sustained interest in the political and cultural activities of those who were in power during the stirring times when he lived. As ʿUmar II had a keen and active interest in religious literature and was even accused of writing books on free will (see Vol. I 18 f.), Abū ʿAmr ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī could have had some manuscripts—administrative or literary—that originated with or were acquired by ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as did the Abū ʿAmr of the papyrus text (verso 5).

Again, the practices that Tradition 9 allows are those that were generally accepted in ʿIrāq around the end of the first century. They were, furthermore, frequently justified on the authority of ʿIrāq's two leading scholars of that time, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and the Kūfan Shaʿbī. The pawning of Qurʾāns (verso 3), for instance, was approved by Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, p. 178). Even before the time of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Shaʿbī, the ʿIrāqīs disliked the idea of any one person inheriting a copy of the Qurʾān (verso 4) and expressly stated that the codex should be left for the use of all the members of a family (*ibid.* pp. 172 f.). Worn-out Qurʾāns (verso 6–7)—and those which survived their owners were more apt to be worn out than not—were frequently burned so that they would not suffer desecration (*ibid.* p. 195); the instruction to put the worn-out pages in a bag and there cut them up into fragments before they were burned was merely an added pious precaution.

Controversy over the sale of knowledge (*baiʿ al-ʿilm*) at first involved fees for teaching and copying the Qurʾān and centered around Sūrahs 2:79 and 3:184 (see *Tafsīr* II 270–74). The controversy was soon extended to cover all religious teaching and services, such as certain duties in the mosque and the services of judges (see e.g. Ibn Saʿd VI 212; *Kifāyah*, pp. 153–56), and the sale of all religious books. In most of the provinces there were scholars who favored and scholars who opposed any one of these practices (see Saḥnūn, *Al-mudawwanah al-kubrā* III 396 f.). Walīd I (86–96/705–15) ordered state pensions for the sick and the blind and is credited also with being the first to order regular state provision for Qurʾān-readers and others who served in the mosque (see Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, p. 18). His action no doubt was partly responsible for the widespread acceptance of the more liberal views on *baiʿ al-ʿilm* by the end of the first century, particularly in ʿIrāq, where such views were supported by both Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Shaʿbī (Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, pp. 177 f.) though some individuals, pious or conservative, continued to refuse fees for performing religious functions. For it was soon realized that reasonable fees for such activities were as a rule necessary and that, as pointed out in the papyrus text (verso 8–9), a small profit in trading in religious books was to be expected if that trade was to survive and flourish and thus serve the religious sciences.

The above considerations led to the identification of the Abū ʿAmr of the papyrus as Abū ʿAmr ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī (Ibn Saʿd VI 171–78; *Maʿārif*, pp. 229 f.; Ṭabarī III 2486 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 2, pp. 250 f.; *Jarḥ* III 1, pp. 322–24; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 76; Abū Nuʿaim IV 310–38; Khaṭīb XII 227–34; Ibn ʿAsākir VII 138–55; Dhahabī I 74–82; *Jamʿ* I 377; Ibn Khallikān I 306 f. [= trans. II 4–7]; our Vol. I 11 f., 17, 21). They are supplemented by Tradition 10, which describes related opinions and activities of ʿIrāqī scholars who were contemporary with Shaʿbī. For traditions bearing on these practices see for example Ibn Saʿd V 393, VI 119 f., Ibn Ḥanbal V 315, Abū Dāʿūd III 264. For the Mālikites' stand on the questions involved see for example Saḥnūn, *Al-mudawwanah al-kubrā* III 396 f., and Zurqānī III 7. For more or less general treatment see for example Ibn Abī Dāʿūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, pp. 143 and 157–78, *Kifāyah*, pp. 153–56, Goldziher, *Studien* II 181 f., and *OIP* L 54.

Tradition 10. Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (80–148/699–765), the Shīʿite Imām and reputed man of learning whose over-all scholarly role is controversial, was nevertheless recognized as an active traditionist who transmitted from both Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik ibn Anas and from and to many prominent scholars of the Ḥijāz and ʿIrāq, Shīʿite and Sunnite alike. Abū al-Bakhtarī is known to have transmitted from him (see p. 224). Jaʿfar is credited with a large *Musnad* and a number of other works whose authenticity is questioned. Little beyond the fact that he wrote can be gained of his method of transmission (see e.g. *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 487; *Adāb al-Shāfiʿī*, pp. 177 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 198; Ṭabarī III 2509 f.; Abū Nuʿaim III 192–206; Dhahabī I 157; *Mizān* I 192; Nawawī, pp. 194 f.; Yāfiʿ I 304; *Jamʿ* I 70; *Fihrist*, pp. 354 f.; Ibn Khallikān I 130 [= trans. I 300 f.]; *GAL* I 220 and S I 104; see also p. 169 above). For Jaʿfar's supposed role as an alchemist see Julius Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten* (Heidelberg, 1924) II. Recently Muslim scholars have begun to show interest in the man and his activities and are publishing some of his works, attributed or not, especially his *Musnad* (see e.g. Aḥmad Amīn, *Zuhr al-Islām* IV [Cairo, 1374/1955] 114–16; ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿah* IV 1 [Damascus, 1354/1937] pp. 41 ff.; Muḥammad Riḍā al-Muḥaffar, *Ḥayāt Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq* [2 vols.; Najaf, 1370/1951]; Sayyid al-Ahl, *Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad* [Beirut, 1373/1954]; Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, *Al-ḥikam al-Jaʿfarīyah*, ed. ʿĀrif Tāmir [Beirut, 1376/1957]; Ramḍān Lāwand, *Al-Imām al-Ṣādiq* [2d printing; Beirut, n.d.] esp. pp. 101–6, where Jaʿfar is shown to have been a match for Abū Ḥanīfah).

The only Ḥafṣ ibn Dīnār (n.d.) listed in the biographical sources at hand was an older contemporary of Ḥammād ibn Zaid ibn Dirham (d. 179/795) of Baṣrah and therefore a contemporary of Jaʿfar. He fits also into the time and locality of the Abū Rajāʾ of the papyrus text. He was relatively unknown and considered weak by some critics. The sources name only Ḥammād ibn Zaid as transmitting from him (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 360; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 172; *Mizān* I 261; *Lisān* II 322).

The Abū Rajāʾ of the papyrus text is readily identified as Abū Rajāʾ Maṭr ibn Ṭahmān al-Warrāq (d. 119/737 or 125/743), who came originally from Khurāsān and settled in Baṣrah as the *mawlā* of Abū Qilābah. He transmitted from Abū Qilābah, Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and others, and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is known to have transmitted from him. Abū Rajāʾ's transmitters include also Shuʿbah ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Saʿīd ibn Abī ʿArūbah (d. 156/773), Ḥammād ibn Zaid, and Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār. Though some scholars commented on Abū Rajāʾ's weak memory, most of his contemporaries recognized his devotion to religious work and study, which included recitation of religious tales in the mosque in his capacity as a *qaṣṣāṣ* and production and sale of Qurʾān copies in his capacity as a *warrāq* (see e.g. Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 19; Bukhārī IV 1, pp. 400 f.; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 287 f.; Daulābī II 173 f.; Ṭabarī III

2502; *Tafsīr* VI 190 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, pp. 344 f.; Abū Nuʿaim II 284, III 75–78; Dhahabī I 167; *Mīzān* III 176; Nawawī, p. 210; *Jamʿ* II 526).

Abū Qilābah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yazīd al-Jarmī (d. 104/723 or 105/724) was a Baṣran scholar especially famed for his knowledge of the law. He disliked public office to such an extent that he fled in the year 95/713, or soon after, to Damascus in order to avoid serving as judge of Baṣrah. He was favorably received by ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who accorded him public recognition as a traditionist and scholar and even visited him when he took ill. Abū Qilābah advocated writing, saying that he preferred it to forgetfulness (*Jāmiʿ* I 72; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 103), and his books were available to his students and transmitters at one time or another. He settled in Dārāyā, near Damascus, where he died (Ibn Saʿd VII 1, pp. 91 and 133–35; Bukhārī, *Tārīkh* III 1, p. 92; Bukhārī IV 322–24; Dārimī II 409; *Maʿārif*, p. 228; *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 57 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 67; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 23, 306; Abū Nuʿaim II 282–89, V 355 f.; Samʿānī, folio 128a; Ibn ʿAsākir VII 426 f.; Dhahabī I 88 f.).

Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī (d. 131/748) has been encountered above (see pp. 150, 194). His close association with Abū Qilābah is fully documented. Ibn Saʿd’s entry on Abū Qilābah is to a great extent derived from Ayyūb, who on numerous occasions received fatherly advice from Abū Qilābah (e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 87, 134, 164, 188 and II 10, 14, 45, 49; *Maʿārif*, p. 228; Abū Nuʿaim II 286). Ayyūb transmitted at first directly from Abū Qilābah and later from the latter’s manuscripts, some of which he inherited. Ayyūb and three of his contemporaries report this inheritance and the safe delivery of the books (Ibn Saʿd VII 1, p. 135, and VII 2, p. 17; *Maʿārif*, p. 228; *Kifāyah*, p. 352; *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, p. 625; Dhahabī I 88). Their accounts confirm the details of the papyrus text except its reference to the division and classification of the manuscripts, namely the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of Muḥammad and the *ḥadīth* of the Companions that were sent to Ayyūb as against the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad and some reports of the (Bedouin) Arabs that were sent to Baihas (verso 11–13). Ayyūb reports that after he received Abū Qilābah’s books he began to confuse traditions he had heard from Abū Qilābah in person with those he found in these books (*Maʿārif*, p. 228; *Kifāyah*, p. 352). Ayyūb’s collection is said to have contained some 800 traditions (Dhahabī I 123; Yāfiʿī I 273). He approved the use of a teacher’s original manuscripts and also of transmission by the *mukātabah* method (e.g. *Kifāyah*, pp. 257, 343 f., and 352 f.), thus following Abū Qilābah’s example. Ḥammād ibn Zaid, who frequently transmitted from Ayyūb on the authority of Abū Qilābah, also used the books of the latter (Ibn Saʿd VII 1, p. 91; Dārimī I 45, 136, 253 and II 223, 236, 311, 434; *Jamʿ* I 34, 251). Much of Abū Qilābah’s material that has survived was transmitted through Ayyūb to a number of outstanding traditionists of the next generation (see e.g. Dārimī I 7, 54, 286 and II 144, 344, 377, 468). Ayyūb was so sincere in his piety and asceticism that adverse critics apparently were silenced (see Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, pp. 168, 176, 197, and 201).

Baihas al-Jarmī (n.d.) of the papyrus text (verso 13), a fellow tribesman of Abū Qilābah, won recognition as a young man, along with Khālīd ibn Maʿdān (Traditions 4–5), for scholarly leadership in Baṣrah. He participated in the wars of Muḥallab ibn Abī Ṣufrah against the Khawārij and seems to be better known as a soldier and a poet than as a traditionist. This explains why Abū Qilābah, according to the papyrus text, sorted out *aḥādīth al-ʿArab* and some of Muḥammad’s traditions to send to him, as it explains also the lack of confirmation in *ḥadīth* literature of this particular gift (Ṭabarī II 54; Mubarrad, *The Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright [Leipzig, 1864–92] p. 673; *Aghānī* X 161, XIX 107–9; Ibn ʿAsākir III 323 f.).

The second half of verso 14 is reconstructed on the strength of Ḥammād ibn Zaid's close association with Ayyūb and the fact that Ḥammād is known to have transmitted from Ḥafṣ ibn Dīnār, the second link of the *isnād* (verso 9). The use of *dhakara* to start this comment confirms what has become quite clear by now, namely that Abū al-Bakhtarī is making use of written sources.

Abū Qilābah doubtless made his plans for the disposal of his books during the last years of his life. The books willed to Ayyūb, contained in a side-load of a caravan camel, were delivered to Ayyūb after Abū Qilābah's death (Ibn ʿAsākir VII 427; Dhahabī I 88). There is, so far as I know, no record of the delivery of the books intended for Baihas, but it seems safe to assume that they made up the balancing side-load of the same camel.

Tradition 11. The *basmalah* begins a new section which in all probability consisted of a number of traditions transmitted from a traditionist whose name begins "ʿAbd Al. . ." The rest of verso 15 and all of verso 16 are taken up with *isnād* links which seem too numerous for a single *isnād* ending with the period of Abū al-Bakhtarī. The likeliest probability is that we have here a double *isnād*—a feature that was not uncommon (see e.g. *Kifāyah*, pp. 212–14)—and that the second *isnād* starts with Fazārī, the first name in verso 16. Thus, study of the sources led to ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak (118–81/736–97) and Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Fazārī (d. 188/804), both of whom were outstanding scholars, at one time active in ʿIrāq, and known to have transmitted one from the other. Fazārī is known also to have transmitted from Thābit ibn ʿAjlān al-Ḥimṣī (n.d.), a fact which helped in the reconstruction of this name in verso 16. Furthermore, Abū al-Bakhtarī and Fazārī had at least two transmitters in common (see pp. 232–34 for details).

The text is too broken for complete reading with certainty. Nevertheless it is clear that parts of it are closely related to the themes of the two preceding traditions—the production, preservation, and disposal of sacred manuscripts. Someone may also be relating an episode involving Muḥammad in which two blood brothers or perhaps brothers in the faith, as verso 18 suggests (cf. Document 5, Tradition 9), took different stands on committing *ḥadīth* to permanent record; for one brother (verso 19–21) is tearing up or burning manuscripts and urging the other to memorize even as he does (see e.g. *Jāmiʿ* I 63–66 and *Taqyīd al-ʿilm*, pp. 36–44, esp. pp. 36 and 40, for similar instances, including even some of the phrases of the papyrus text, from the time of the Companions and the following generation). The early opposition by some scholars to permanent records did not apply, however, to the Qurʾān, which was to be memorized, written down and ornamented (verso 21–22), bound in leather and kept in a silk covering (verso 22–23). These practices, though controversial, were all well known in the second half of the first century (see e.g. Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, pp. 150–52; *OIP* L 54 and references there cited). It is not clear whether the *ʿarḍ* of verso 24 refers to the belief that Gabriel first recited the Qurʾān to Muḥammad from a book wrapped in silk, as ʿUbaid ibn ʿUmair (d. 74/693) tells it (*Sīrah* I 152), or to the practice of the Companions and Successors of reciting back the Qurʾān as they memorized it or collated Qurʾānic manuscripts with an authenticated copy (see e.g. Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, pp. 155–57; our Vol. I 99). Verso 25 would seem to refer to someone who is willing to pay the price of a Qurʾān codex as a *waqf* or gift in mortmain for some mosque or school, a practice which started very early in Islām (see *OIP* L 59 f.). Finally, the mention of poetic recitations is in keeping with the lighter literary activities of many religious scholars who were lovers of poetry also.

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

I

It is clear that the author-compiler of the document was contemporary with Abū al-Bakhtarī and Fazārī and transmitted from both of them. The sources have so far yielded two scholars who meet these requirements, Baqīyah ibn al-Walīd (110 or 112–97/728 or 730–812) and Musayyib ibn Wāḍiḥ (d. 246/860 at age of over 90), both originally of Ḥimṣ. They both had the opportunity to meet Abū al-Bakhtarī, who lived for a time in Syria (see p. 224), and Fazārī, who settled and died there.

Beyond the fact that Musayyib transmitted from the two older men,¹ little is known of his activities and of his relationship with Abū al-Bakhtarī. The most important of the few known details of his association with Fazārī is that he was one of three who possessed copies of Fazārī's *Kitāb al-siyar*.² The other two were Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Amr of Baghdād (d. 214/829), who was known as *ṣāhib* or *rawī al-Fazārī* and whose copy was considered the best, and Maḥbūb ibn Mūsā of Antioch (d. 230/845), whose copy was preferred to that of Musayyib.³

Fazārī's interests centered on *akhbār* and *siyar* as well as on *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*.⁴ As a scholar he was classed with Awzā'ī, who thought very highly of him.⁵ He traveled a great deal and was on several occasions at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who considered that he and Ibn al-Mubārak could detect the cleverest forgery of any tradition.⁶ It was Fazārī's zeal for Islām that led him finally to settle on the Syrian border and take part in border engagements. His piety and uprightness were extolled by all, as was his trustworthiness as a traditionist, though he did make mistakes.⁷

Fazārī sought the collections of several leaders of the various provinces and is known to have written down traditions from Ibn al-Mubārak, whom he called *imām al-muslimīm* but who wrote down traditions from Fazārī to such an extent that Fazārī came to be known as Ibn al-Mubārak's shaikh.⁸ On the strength of this relationship I venture to suggest that the first name in the *isnād* of Tradition 11 (verso 15) was that of Ibn al-Mubārak. It should be further noted that this section of the papyrus text reflects the wide interests of both Ibn al-Mubārak and Fazārī in the literary developments and practices of early Islām. Abū Nu'aim has preserved some of Fazārī's traditions, many of which reflect his historical interests.⁹

In the case of Baqīyah ibn al-Walīd (see p. 177), as in that of Musayyib ibn Wāḍiḥ, little is known of his relationship with either Fazārī¹⁰ or Abū al-Bakhtarī¹¹ beyond the fact that he transmitted from both of them. There is the added fact that Fazārī preferred Baqīyah to the well known Syrian transmitter Ismā'īl ibn 'Ayyāsh (see pp. 178, 221), which could mean that Fazārī in turn transmitted from Baqīyah, since he instructed his students to write down Baqīyah's *ḥadīth*.¹² Baqīyah's movements and literary activities are reasonably well documented. He was recognized as a leading Syrian traditionist who was more of an expert on the

¹ See e.g. *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 294; Abū Nu'aim VIII 258, 260–64; Khaṭīb X 163; *Mizān* III 171 f., 278 f.; *Lisān* VI 231–34.

² For references to this work see *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, p. 281, and *Fihrist*, p. 92.

³ *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 386 and 389; *Ma'ārif*, p. 259; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* IV 1, p. 334.

⁴ For biographical entries see Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 185; *Ma'ārif*, p. 257; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* I 1, p. 321; *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 281–86; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 128 f.; *Fihrist*, p. 92; Abū

Nu'aim VIII 253–65; Dhahabī I 251; Ibn 'Asākir II 252–56; *Jam'* I 17.

⁵ See e.g. Abū Nu'aim VIII 254; Ibn 'Asākir II 254.

⁶ Ibn 'Asākir II 254; Dhahabī I 252.

⁷ Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 185; Ibn 'Asākir II 253.

⁸ *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 263, 265, 276, 285; Khaṭīb X 163.

⁹ Abū Nu'aim VIII 256–65.

¹⁰ See e.g. Abū Nu'aim VIII 257, 259 and note.

¹¹ *Mizān* III 278; *Lisān* VI 232.

¹² Muslim I 116 f.; Ibn 'Asākir III 276; *Mizān* I 112.

traditionists of his own province than on those of the Ḥijāz and ʿIrāq.¹³ He moved freely between Syria and ʿIrāq and during an early visit to ʿIrāq was appointed by the caliph Manṣūr as surveyor for Damascus and its environs.¹⁴ He was again in Baghdād during the reign of Maḥdī, when he sought out one of ʿIrāq's leading traditionists, Shuʿbah ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776). This veteran scholar at first ignored the visitor from Syria. But Baqīyah persisted and soon had an opportunity to impress Shuʿbah when he came to the latter's rescue in a discussion at Maḥdī's court. Thereafter Shuʿbah was generous enough to permit Baqīyah to write down 1,000 sound traditions from him, the work of six months being crammed into two.¹⁵ Shuʿbah wrote down traditions from Baqīyah and requested him on his return to Syria to send a copy of the *ḥadīth* collection of the Syrian traditionist Baḥīr ibn Saʿd (see p. 225).¹⁶ Baqīyah forwarded the requested copy, but Shuʿbah had died before it reached ʿIrāq.¹⁷

Still later, Baqīyah was once again in Baghdād and presented himself at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who wrote down some of his traditions (see p. 177). Sometime during his visits to Baghdād, Baqīyah met and exchanged traditions with Ibn al-Mubārak, both writing down their materials. Ibn al-Mubārak, like Shuʿbah, requested from Baqīyah a written copy of the collection of a Syrian traditionist, in this case that of Thābit ibn ʿAjlān al-Ḥimṣī (n.d.). Baqīyah protested that he had no written copy and that Thābit's materials were scattered. Ibn al-Mubārak insisted on having the materials, whereupon Baqīyah dictated what he could recall of Thābit's collection and Ibn al-Mubārak wrote it down.¹⁸ It is on the strength of these facts and the probability that both Ibn al-Mubārak and Fazārī exchanged traditions with Baqīyah that for the reconstruction of the second name in the *isnād* of Tradition 11 (verso 16) I suggest Thābit ibn ʿAjlān al-Ḥimṣī.¹⁹

The most common criticism of Baqīyah is that he transmitted indiscriminately from the weak and the strong, from the known and the unknown. His lack of discrimination induced him at times to *tadlīs*. When taken to task by Shuʿbah he defended himself adequately and cited examples of the carefully stated full names of his well known authorities in contrast to Shuʿbah's own less complete statements.²⁰ Nevertheless, suspicion continued to be cast on Baqīyah's transmission from little known traditionists and through *isnād*'s with incomplete names and on his use of *ʿanʿanah* rather than the more specific terms *akhbaranā* and *ḥadathanā*.²¹

Abū al-Bakhtarī—like Fazārī, Ibn al-Mubārak, and Baqīyah—was an avid collector of information of all sorts and made a practice of writing down his materials. Like Fazārī and Ibn al-Mubārak he was no mere passive compiler, since he is credited with six works (see p. 224) that, from their titles, can best be characterized as *akhbār* and *siyar*: *Kitāb ṣifat al-nabī*, *Kitāb al-faḍāʾil al-kabīr*, *Kitāb faḍāʾil al-Anṣār*, *Kitāb nasb wuld Ismāʿīl*, *Kitāb Ṭasm wa Jadīs*, and *Kitāb al-rāyāt*. It is to be noted that the contents of the papyrus text transmitted from him consist of *ḥadīth* proper as well as *akhbār* and *siyar*. The same is true of Tradition 11,

¹³ Khaṭīb VII 125; Ibn ʿAsākir III 276; *Mizān* I 154, 157.

¹⁴ Ibn ʿAsākir III 273.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 274 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 435 f.; *Mizān* I 154. Abū Nuʿaim VII 149 cites Yahyā ibn Saʿid al-Qaṭṭān, who estimated Shuʿbah's daily transmission at about 3 to 10 traditions (see also Abū Nuʿaim VII 154). Shuʿbah was once credited with 2,000 traditions (Nawawī, p. 316).

¹⁶ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 137, fixes the name as Baḥīr ibn Saʿd as against such variants as Bajir and Saʿid.

Baḥīr's entry is missing in Ibn ʿAsākir III 219–20, where the first entries under *bāʿ* (to the name Busr) are all missing.

¹⁷ Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 137; *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, p. 135; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 412 and 435 f.; Ibn ʿAsākir III 274 f.; *Mizān* I 154, 156; *Maʿrifah*, p. 261.

¹⁸ *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 455; Ibn ʿAsākir III 369.

¹⁹ See e.g. Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 166; *Mizān* I 169 f.; *Jamʿ* I 66.

²⁰ Ibn ʿAsākir III 277; *Mizān* I 158 f.

²¹ *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 435; Khaṭīb VII 124–26; Ibn ʿAsākir III 275 f.; Dhahabī I 266 f.; *Mizān* I 154, 157 f.

coming as I suspect from Fazārī and Ibn al-Mubārak, who in addition to being trusted traditionists were also compilers and authors of works of these other types.

It was no doubt the similarity in their wider interests that attracted Baqīyah to the mistrusted Abū al-Bakhtarī and the esteemed and trusted Fazārī. It should be noted that the *isnād*'s of both sections of the papyrus text start with the term *ḥaddathanā* and thus meet the requirements stipulated for acceptable transmission from Baqīyah. For most of his colleagues and critics agreed that his materials were to be accepted and written down by others only when he transmitted from well known traditionists and gave evidence of direct personal contact with them by use of the terms *akhbaranā* and *ḥaddathanā*.²² Sufyān ibn ʿUyainah advised his friends not to rely on Baqīyah for traditions having the force of *sunnah*.²³ Despite these restrictions Baqīyah was sought after, and his materials were written down or copied by others. Though the verdict of the majority was that his *ḥadīth* could be written down but not adduced as proof,²⁴ we find that Ibn Ḥibbān made a special trip to Syria in order to make complete copies of all of Baqīyah's *ḥadīth* collections that were in circulation.²⁵

Since all the men of the *isnād*'s as well as all the men mentioned in the contents of the traditions of our document were from the Ḥijāz, Syria, and ʿIrāq, once more we must raise the question as to how a non-Egyptian document found its way into Egypt. And once more the sources lead us to Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith, who seems to be the only Egyptian as yet known to have heard and transmitted materials from Baqīyah and to have done so in Baghdād, though the time when this took place is not specified.²⁶ We know that Laith and his secretary were in Baghdād in the year 161/778 and that Laith, probably with his secretary, was again in Baghdād during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (see p. 194). We know also that Baqīyah was not in Baghdād in the year 161/778, since he returned to Syria before Shuʿbah's death in 160, and fortunately there seems to be no question about Shuʿbah's death date. Therefore Abū Ṣāliḥ must have heard Baqīyah in Baghdād at the time of Baqīyah's last visit to that city, during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–93/786–809), and hence must have accompanied Laith on his second visit to Baghdād.²⁷ The famous and aged Laith would hardly be expected to seek out the suspect Baqīyah, but his ambitious and young secretary evidently did.

The sources supply one more detail of interest, namely that Baqīyah, who was willing to write and to supply copies of his materials and of others' collections on request, used a small script and papyrus of inferior quality,²⁸ perhaps for the sake of economy or to limit the bulk of his manuscripts on his many travels. The size of the script of our document, but not the quality of the papyrus, would seem to indicate that it is not a hand copy of Baqīyah himself. There is, however, the possibility that Abū Ṣāliḥ could have acquired the document itself from a third party. But no matter when or how he may have acquired it, its presence among this group of related documents, several of which were associated in one way or another with Laith and his secretary, suggests that Abū Ṣāliḥ may have had a hand in its preservation (see p. 91).

The only other possibility is for us to assume that Musayyib ibn Wādīḥ (see p. 232) was

²² See e.g. Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 172; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 435; Khaṭīb VII 124–26; Ibn ʿAsākir III 275 f.; Dhahabī I 266; *Mizān* I 155.

²³ *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 435; Ibn ʿAsākir III 275.

²⁴ *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 435: يكتب حديثه ولا يحتج به.

²⁵ *Mizān* I 155: تبتعت حديثه وكتبت النسخ على الوجه.

²⁶ Khaṭīb VII 123; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 434.

²⁷ See *Mizān* II 46 for the general statement that Abū Ṣāliḥ accompanied Laith at home and on his travels.

²⁸ Ibn ʿAsākir III 277. The term used is *waraq*, which frequently was applied to either papyrus or the later paper sheets.

the author-compiler of the document without offering any clues as to how it found its way into Egypt.²⁹ Since Musayyib was over ninety when he died in the year 246/860, his transmission from Abū al-Bakhtarī (d. 200/815–16) and Fazārī (d. 188/804), must have taken place at about the same time that Baqīyah (d. 197/812) and Abū Ṣāliḥ could have met in Baghdād shortly before Laith's death in 175/791. Therefore, if either Musayyib or Baqīyah was the author of the document it can be safely dated to the last quarter of the second century at the earliest and the first quarter of the third century at the latest. Internal evidence such as the splitting of words at the ends of lines, the absence of punctuation, and the irregular use of the *taṣṭīyah* (used in recto 13, 15, 17, 25; omitted in recto 23, verso 11) favors the earlier date. Thus from both the external and the internal evidence a dating in the late second century seems reasonable.

II

There is a remarkable degree of agreement between the main evidence provided by the papyrus text and the great majority of the literary sources that cover the same ground. The agreement extends to Abū al-Bakhtarī's authorities and his tendency to combine unrelated traditions (see p. 224), to his interest in both *ḥadīth* and *akhbār* (Traditions 9–10), and to the fact that he was *matrūk*, that is, rejected by professional traditionists, since no parallels for his traditions appear in the standard collections. Yet nothing in the contents of his traditions, rejected because of the *isnād*'s, conflicts with the general sense of similar and related traditions with acceptable *isnād*'s that do appear in these collections. Again, there is agreement on his good reputation as an *akhbārī* since the sources confirm the papyrus text on the early practices in ʿIrāq in connection with the production, inheritance, preservation, and disposal of Qurʾāns and other religious manuscripts (Traditions 5, 9–10). The papyrus text supplements the literary sources with the significant detail of Abū Qilābah's itemized division of his books that were to be sent to Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī and Baihas al-Jarmī but does not record their safe arrival at their destination (Tradition 10). So far as I know, none of Abū al-Bakhtarī's six known works (see p. 233) have survived. Yet we do have evidence that they were in circulation well into the third century since Yaʿqūbī lists Abū al-Bakhtarī among his major authorities for his *Taʾrīkh* and begins his citation from him with the term *dhakara*.³⁰

The papyrus does not have enough text from Fazārī to provide a test for its degree of correlation with the literary sources. Yet the little that is preserved in Tradition 11 is in agreement with the sources.

Even though there is a marked degree of agreement between what is in all probability a late second-century text and the later sources, the temptation to assign the papyrus to a somewhat later period must be resisted. Second- and third-century biographers of the caliber of Wāqidī and his secretary Ibn Saʿd, Bukhārī, and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān of the invaluable *Jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl* did use early written materials that were authenticated at various stages through one method of transmission or another (*ʿarḍ*, *mukātabah*, *munāwalah*, or *ijāzah*), and some, such as Wāqidī, even used unauthenticated manuscripts that had been found (*wijādah*) after the death of the author (see pp. 45 f.) or purchased from the book market. Such early practices go a long way toward explaining the great measure of consistency in the vast field of early Islāmic biographical and biblio-

²⁹ Perhaps such clues may be found in the Musayyib entries in the still unpublished volumes of Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh*.

³⁰ Yaʿqūbī II 3, 97, 523.

graphical literature—a consistency that impresses one increasingly as one goes more deeply into this literature. It is true that this same literature presents variations and even contradictions. But the variations center mostly around uncertainties of birth and death dates, and the contradictions stem largely from subjective evaluation of contemporary and nearly contemporary professional rivals and colleagues. Twentieth-century scholars are not plagued with the uncertainties of dates, but surely they will always have contradictory opinions. One is tempted to say with the early Muslim scholars that honest differences of opinion among scholars are a mercy from Allāh.

III

Our document provides evidence of continuous written transmission of *ḥadīth* and *akhbār* in the *isnād*'s of Traditions 2–6 and 9–10, and most probably the complete *isnād*'s of the remaining four traditions would provide further such evidence.

The surviving *isnād*'s and text of the papyrus together with the supplementary data from the biographical sources as detailed on pages 225–31 yield the names of Anas ibn Mālik, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Khālid ibn Maʿdān, Abū Qilābah, Shaʿbī, and ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, all of whom wrote down their sizable *ḥadīth* collections or had others make written collections for them or permitted their students to write down their materials. Since all of these men died just before or soon after the end of the first century, their literary activities can be safely placed in the last quarter of that century, though some of them are known to have been active from about the second quarter. Those who in turn transmitted *ḥadīth* and related materials in writing from the men of this group include their close contemporaries Abān ibn Abī ʿAyyāsh, Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī, Abū Rajāʾ Maṭr ibn Ṭahman, and Abū Ḥaṣīn ʿUthmān ibn ʿĀṣim (d. 119 to 131 A.H.) and their younger contemporaries Ibn Juraij and Thaur ibn Yazīd (d. 150 and 153 A.H. respectively). Transmitting from one or more of these six men were Hishām ibn ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair, Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Šādiq, Saʿīd ibn Abī ʿArūbah, Shuʿbah, and Baḥīr ibn Saʿd (d. 146 to 160 A.H.), all of whom are known to have written down their sizable collections with or without accompanying oral transmission. The transmitters of the next generation who are named in the papyrus text and those who are associated with them in the sources—Abū ʿAwānah, Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār, Ḥammād ibn Zaid ibn Dirham, Baqīyah ibn al-Walīd, Ibn al-Mubārak, Fazārī, and Abū al-Bakhtarī Wahb ibn Wahb—all had written *ḥadīth* collections and some became authors in related fields.

Thus it is clear that our document and the research it entailed provide overwhelming evidence for the following conclusions. (1) Continuous written transmission of *ḥadīth* found practicing advocates in the second half of the first century, became widespread in the first half of the second century, and won general acceptance during the last half of the second century. (2) The number of book-sized collections increased with each generation of professional transmitters. (3) Written transmission, though accompanying oral transmission (*samʿ* or *ʿarḍ*) was not completely dispensed with, did indeed during the course of this entire period come to be based increasingly on manuscripts alone through the *mukātabah*, *munāwalah*, *ijazah*, and to a lesser extent even the *wijadah* methods.

DOCUMENT 11

Oriental Institute No. 17632. Early third/ninth century.

Fine medium brown papyrus, 23.6 × 17.2 cm., with 18 lines to the page (Pls. 20-21). The piece is badly damaged, with large breaks down the center and loss of much of the inner margin.

Script.—The fair-sized book hand suggests a cursive variety of the *mā'il* or slanting Medinan script (see *OIP* L 23 f.). Diacritical points are used at least once for all of the letters that call for them and especially in personal names (recto 2-3, verso 4 and 6), yet the text is far from being completely pointed. Vowel signs, definitely part of the original text, are used more sparingly, with *fathah* appearing most often (recto 2 and 17-18, verso 1-2 and 5); *kasrah* appears thrice (recto 17, verso 6 and 12) and *dammah* only once (verso 1). The *hamzah* is missing. The circle with a dot is used for punctuation and collation (see pp. 87 f.).

A heavy red dash appears at the head of Traditions 2-4 and 7. These may be original and may indicate a specific source (see p. 87). Marginal signs and notations, which appear only on the verso (Traditions 5 and 7), are in a different hand and a darker ink and probably indicate later collation.

TEXT

RECTO

- 1 (1) في سبيل الله ومن دخله انعم اليك كان ذلك لحظة الى ما لقيت له
 2 ○ (2) قال حدثنا ابو عبد الرحمن قال حدثنا حيوة [قال اخبرني سالم بن غيلان
 3 انه سمع دراجا ابا السماح يحدث عن ابي الهيثم عن ابي سعيد انه سمع
 4 النبي يقول ان الله اذا رضى عن [العبد اثنى] عليه لسبعة اضعاف
 5 من الخير لم يعمله واذا سخط على العبد اثنى [عليه] لسبعة اصناف
 6 [ما من الشر لم يعمله ○ قال وحدثنا بن وهب بهذا الاسناد بمثله ○
 7 (3) [قال حدثنا ابو عبد الرحمن قال حدثنا حيوة قال [حدثنا] ابو صخر قال اخبرنا ابو
 8 [هانى الخولاني انه سمع ابا عبد الرحمن الجاهلي يقول سمعت عبد الله بن
 9 [ع] يقول سمعت النبي يقول ما من كان [. في سبيل الله
 10 [ياقسم بر غنيمة الا بعدل انا مثله فالي الدنيا والاخرة وشقا بهم
 11 انا بمثله فان لم يقاسم غنيمة [وحدثنا بن وهب
 12 بمثله عن ابي هاني ولم يرفعه ○ (4) قال حدثنا ابو عبد الرحمن قال حدثنا حيوة قال
 13 [حدثنا ابو صخر ان يزيد بن قسيط حدثه ان داود بن [ع] [ما بن س] بن
 14 [ابي] وقاص حدثه عن ابيه انه كان قاعدا عند عبد الله بن عمر اذ طلع
 15 [خباب صاحب المقصورة فقال يا عبد الله] بن عمر الا تسمع ما
 16 [يقول ابو هريرة انه [سمع رسول الله يقول] من خرج مع جنازة من بيتها

- 17 [و]اصلا عليها ثم اتبعها حتا تدفن كان له قيراطان كل قيراط مثل أحد
18 ومن صلا عليها ثم رجع كان له قيراط مثل أحد فارسل بن عمر خباباً الى عايشة

VERSO

- 1 يستلها عن قول ابي هريرة ثم امره ان يرجع اليه فيخبره ما قالت
2 فاخذ بن عمر قبضاً من حصاً المسجد يقبلها في يده حتا رجع
3 اليه الرسول فقال [الت] عايشة [ص]ادق ابو هريرة فضرب
4 بن عمر بالحصا الذي [كان] في يده الارض ثم [قال] لقد فرطنا في
5 قراريط كثيرة ○ (5) قال حدثنا ابو عبد الرحمن قال حدثنا حيوة
6 قال حدثني ابو صخر [انه] سمع مكحولاً يقول حدثني ابو هند الدار[ي]
7 [انه] سمع رسول الله يقول [من قام] مقام رياء وسمعة
8 يرائي الله به يوم القيامة و[يسمع] ○ قال فما نكتب لابي هند الا هذا [الحديث] ○
9 (6) قال حدثنا [ابو] عبد الرحمن قال حدثنا حيوة قال حدثني ابو صخر ان[ه]
10 سمع يزيد الليثي قال [حدثنا فلان] قال حدثني قيس بن [فلان] قال سمعت
11 رسول الله يقول [في الركعتين] اذا رفع [عبد الله يديه]
12 وان مدهما شهدت له الملائكة عند الركعتين ○ (7) قال وحدثني ابو عبد الرحمن قال
13 حدثنا حيوة قال اخبرني ابو صخر ان يزيد بن قسيط اخبره عن ابي
14 هريرة قال حدثنا النبي [قال] []
15 [] (8) قال وحدثني ابو عبد الرحمن قال
16 حدثنا حيوة قال حدثني [بشير بن] ابي عمرو الخولاني ان الوليد بن
17 القيس حدثه انه سمع ابا سعيد الخدرى يقول سمعت رسول الله عليه [السلام]
18 يقول يكون خلق من بعد ستين سنة اضاعوا الصلاة واتبعوا

Comments.—*Tradition 1.* The missing *isnād* probably started with the first two links common to the rest of the *isnād*'s of the document.

The standard collections yielded no parallels for the tradition, the reading of the last part of which is partly conjectural. However, the belief that voluntary charity for the cause of Allāh added to one's list of merits was widely accepted (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal IV 190, V 455; Bukhārī III 42; *Concordance* II 404 *سبيل*).

Tradition 2. Note the heavy red dash at the head of the tradition.

Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yazīd al-Muqrī (ca. 120–213/738–828) spent the first part of his life in ʿIrāq, mostly in Baṣrah, where he came under the influence of the Ḥanifite legal system. He later settled in Mecca, where he spent more than thirty-five years. He transmitted from numerous widely accepted traditionists, including the Egyptians Laith ibn Saʿd, Ibn Wahb, and Ḥaiwah ibn Shuraiḥ (see p. 243). He was himself highly esteemed as a traditionist and counted among his transmitters several well known Egyptians, including Asad ibn Mūsā (see p. 243) and Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith, as well as the master traditionists

Ibn Ḥanbal, Muslim, and Bukhārī, all of whom quote him in their collections (Ibn Sa'd V 362; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 201; *Futūḥ*, e.g. p. 278; Kindī, p. 302; Sam'ānī, folio 540a; *Jam'* I 262 f.; Dhahabī I 159, 334).

Ḥaiwah ibn Shuraiḥ (d. 158 or 159/774–76) was an ascetic who refused the office of judge and, according to Ibn Wahb, leaned toward the Shī'ah. As a traditionist he was sought out by most of his younger Egyptian contemporaries, including Laith and Ibn Wahb, and by some of the leading scholars of the eastern provinces, including Ibn al-Mubārak and Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muqrī. That Ḥaiwah wrote down his *ḥadīth* collection is implied by Kattānī (Vol. I 136), who states that the pious Ḥaiwah would not sprinkle just ordinary sand on his manuscripts for blotting but would go out to the desert for fresh clean sand which he pounded and sifted before using (Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 203; *Jarḥ* I 2, pp. 306 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'riḥ* II 1, p. 111; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 142; *Futūḥ*, e.g. p. 241; Kindī, p. 365; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 232 f.; *Jam'* I 110 f.; Dhahabī I 174 f.; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 153, 163 f.).

Sālim ibn Ghailān (n.d.) was a comparatively obscure Egyptian traditionist who transmitted from Abū al-Samḥ Darrāj ibn Sam'ān and whose pupils included Ḥaiwah and Ibn Wahb. Most of the critics considered him trustworthy (*Jarḥ* II 1, p. 187; Kindī, p. 319; *Mīzān* I 268; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 151).

Abū al-Samḥ Darrāj ibn Sam'ān (d. 126/744) was an Egyptian *qāṣṣ* whose traditions were suspect except for those that were already known to be authentic through parallel traditions coming from others. He was closely associated with Abū al-Haitham Sulaimān ibn 'Amr (Bukhārī, *Ta'riḥ* II 1, p. 234; *Jarḥ* I 2, pp. 441 f.; *Mīzān* I 326 f.). Some of his materials, frequently based on his authorities that are indicated in the *isnād* of this tradition, were transmitted by Ibn Lahī'ah of our Document 9 (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal III 75 f.; *Futūḥ*, pp. 281 f., 284, and 301).

Abū al-Haitham Sulaimān ibn 'Amr (Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 202; Bukhārī, *Ta'riḥ* II 2, p. 28; Daulābī II 156 f.) seems to be known primarily for his association with Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (see p. 202).

The tradition, complete in *isnād* and *matn*, is transmitted directly from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muqrī by Ibn Ḥanbal (Vol. III 38, lines 24–27), who substitutes رسول الله صلعم for the simpler النبي of the papyrus text. Ibn Ḥanbal (Vol. III 40 and 76) provides other parallels which are almost identical with the papyrus text but transmitted to him by contemporaries of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān who used most of the links of the papyrus *isnād*. The variants are linguistic and consist of the substitution of احب, ريعملها, and ابغض for رضى عن سبعة اضعاف, ريعمله, and اسخط, and سبعة اصناف (recto 5) respectively of the papyrus text.

That Ibn Wahb transmitted this tradition with its full *isnād* (recto 6) is confirmed by Ṭaḥāwī, who specifies also that it was transmitted from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān by one Egyptian, Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. ca. 262/876), and indicates other parallel transmitters and, finally, discusses the theological implications of the tradition (Ṭaḥāwī I 388–90).

Tradition 3. Note the heavy red dash at the head of the tradition.

Abū Ṣakhr Ḥumaid ibn Ziyād (n.d.) was originally from Medina but settled in Egypt. That he transmitted from Abū Hānī Ḥumaid ibn Hānī al-Khaulānī and to Ḥaiwah ibn Shuraiḥ is well attested. He was considered generally trustworthy by most of the critics (Ibn Sa'd V 324; Bukhārī, *Ta'riḥ* I 2, p. 348; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 222; *Jam'* I 91, 111; *Mīzān* I 287; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 150).

Abū Hānī Ḥumaid ibn Hānī al-Khaulānī (d. 142/759) was an Egyptian traditionist whose

transmission from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥubulī was generally accepted. Though he was considered weak by a number of critics, his materials were transmitted by such leading Egyptians as Ibn Lahīrah, Laith ibn Saʿd, Ibn Wahb, and Ḥaiwah ibn Shuraiḥ (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 350; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 231; *Futūḥ*, pp. 4, 256, and 277–79; *Jamʿ* I 91; *Mīzān* III 385; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 150 f.).

Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥubulī (d. 100/718) was sent by ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to North Africa along with the first group of scholars who went there to instruct the people in Islāmic teachings and practices. He transmitted mainly from such leading Companions as ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 200; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 197; *Jamʿ* I 281; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 144; Mālikī, *Kitāb riyāḍ al-nufūs* I 65–67). For another instance of Ibn Wahb’s parallel transmission see comment on Tradition 2.

The surviving text of the content of this tradition is not too clear. Such clues as it provides have not led to the identification of parallels (see *Concordance* V 10 غنيمه). The general theme seems to involve the reward or punishment, on earth and in the hereafter, for some specific act such as the just or unjust distribution of wheat acquired as spoils of war (cf. e.g. *Concordance* I 161 بُر and IV 151 قسمة عدل).

Tradition 4. Note the heavy red dash at the head of the tradition.

Yazīd ibn Qusaiṭ (d. 122/740) was a trustworthy traditionist of Medina whose transmission from Dāʿūd ibn ʿĀmir and to Abū Ṣakhr is specified in the sources (see *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 222; *Jamʿ* II 575; *Mīzān* III 314; Nawawī’s comment in Muslim XVII 158).

Dāʿūd ibn ʿĀmir (n.d.) of Medina and his father, ʿĀmir ibn Saʿd ibn Abī al-Waqqās (d. 104/722–23), who was an eager and trustworthy traditionist, are mentioned specifically for their traditions on funerals and burials, including this tradition (Ibn Saʿd V 124 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 212, and III 2, p. 449; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 418; *Jamʿ* I 131, 376).

The Khabbāb (n.d.) of the story was a client of Fāṭimah bint ʿUqbah and seems to have been best remembered in connection with this particular tradition (*Istīʿāb* I 160; *Iṣṣābah* I 858; *Uṣd* II 108 f.; *Jamʿ* I 125).

Close parallels are transmitted through other *isnād*’s than that of the papyrus text but trace back nevertheless to Abū Hurairah. They are numerous and omit one or more of the details of the *khābar* element (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 470, 498; Tirmidhī IV 261 f.). Still other close parallels trace back to Abū Hurairah and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar and vary drastically in the *khābar* element. According to these versions, when ʿAbd Allāh heard Abū Hurairah relate this tradition he cautioned him about his too ready transmission of traditions from Muḥammad, whereupon both men went to ʿĀʾishah for her confirmation or denial (for ʿĀʾishah as a traditionist see e.g. pp. 119, 151, 187). An added *khābar* is Abū Hurairah’s well known explanation as to why he heard so many more traditions from Muḥammad than did most of the Companions, namely that he was poor and stayed close to Muḥammad while the rest were preoccupied with their business in the market place and on their lands (e.g. Ibn Saʿd IV 2, pp. 57 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal II 2 f., 387; *Mustadrak* III 510 f.; *Nubalāʾ* II 443 f.).

Parallel traditions from varied sources that relate only the *ḥadīth* element and omit reference to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar are even more numerous (e.g. Ṭayālīsī, p. 132; Ibn Ḥanbal IV 86, 294; Muslim VII 13–16; Tirmidhī IV 261, XIII 338 f.; Nasāʾī I 275; Ṭaḥāwī III 103–7; see also *Concordance* I 259 f. and 263 تبع, I 386 f. جنازة, and II 139 دفن). Several of these traditions explain what Muḥammad meant by كل قيراط مثل أحد, namely a reward (presumably not all monetary) as great as the mountain of Uḥud (Bukhārī IV 408; Ibn Ḥanbal II 144, 475,

and 521, IV 131). Others report Muḥammad's wish that Uḥud were a mountain of gold so that he could use it in the cause of Allāh (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal V 149; Abū Nu'aim IX 58; Khaṭīb I 148).

There is evidence that the basic content of this tradition was transmitted in writing at a very early date to the Yemenite Abū Tamīm al-Jaishānī (d. 77/696 or 78/697; see e.g. Ibn Sa'd VII 2, p. 200; Daulābī I 19, 65; *Istī'āb* II 630; *Usd* V 152), who had already learned the Qur'ān from Mu'ādh ibn Jabal (d. 18/640). That a double reward accrued to him who followed a bier and stayed through the burial service was generally accepted as approved by Muḥammad. The same cannot be said for the details that associate the cautious 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar with the tradition. This tradition, of course, relates to the unquestioned practice of paying each bier-follower who did not stay for the burial service only one *qirāt* for his time.

Tradition 5. The dotted circle in the margin indicates collation, but the "Abū" seems superfluous. The *ghain* is probably an abbreviation for غريب.

Makḥūl al-Shāmī (d. between 112/730 and 117/735) as a young man fell into the hands of either 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ or his brother Sa'id and was in turn presented to a woman of Hudhail who set him free in Egypt. He concentrated on Islāmic learning, traveled to all the provinces in search of knowledge, and settled finally in Damascus. Zuhri attested to his scholarship, classing him and Sa'id ibn al-Musayyib of Medina, Sha'bī of Kūfah, and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as the four leading scholars of their time. Makḥūl did not insist on literal (*ḥarfī*) transmission of *ḥadīth* provided the basic meaning (*ma'nā*) was preserved. He had Qādirite tendencies and was considered weak by some of the pious traditionists who insisted on literal transmission (Ibn Sa'd VII 2, pp. 160 f.; *Ma'ārif*, p. 230; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh* IV 2, pp. 21 f.; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 407 f.; *Fihrist*, p. 227; Abū Nu'aim V 177–93; *Mustadrak* III 569; *Jāmi'* I 87; *Jam'* II 526; Dhahabī I 101; Nawawī, pp. 283 f.; Ibn Khallikān II 160 f. [= trans. III 437–40]; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 162; see also pp. 244 f. below).

Abū Hind al-Dārī (n.d.), about whose given name there is some confusion, lived in Jerusalem and visited Egypt. His sons were the main transmitters of the few traditions with which he is credited. Yet, most of his biographical entries mention this particular tradition as having been transmitted from him by Abū Ṣakhr to Ḥaiwah ibn Shuraiḥ, as in the papyrus *isnād*. It was also transmitted from him by the Egyptians Rishdīn ibn Sa'd and Ibn Lahī'ah and by others from various provinces (Ibn Sa'd VII 2, pp. 138 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh* I 2, p. 146; *Istī'āb* II 699; *Iṣābah* IV 401 f.; *Usd* I 177 f.; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 140 f.).

Ibn Sa'd (Vol. VII 2, pp. 138 f.) and Ibn Ḥanbal (Vol. V 270) transmit this tradition verbatim from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muqrī. Neither of them has any other tradition originating with Abū Hind, a fact that accords with the collector-transmitter's comment in verso 8 that he wrote down no other tradition, presumably from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muqrī, originating with Abū Hind. Another parallel is identical with our text but for the *isnād*, which stops with Makḥūl (*Usd* I 177), while an almost verbatim parallel (Abū Nu'aim V 187; *Iṣābah* IV 402) is transmitted from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muqrī by Ḥārith ibn Abī Usāmah (186–282/802–95).

Related traditions that originate with traditionists other than Abū Hind and are transmitted by Makḥūl are also found (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal IV 229; Bukhārī IV 230; Abū Dā'ūd IV 270; see also *Concordance* II 541 *سَمْعَة*).

Tradition 6. The links of the *isnād*, except for Yazīd and Qais, have been covered. Of the several traditionists named Yazīd the two likely ones would seem to be Yazīd ibn 'Abd Allāh

al-Laithī (d. 139/756–57; see e.g. *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 275; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 101; *Jamʿ* II 575) and the older Yazīd ibn Juʿdubah al-Laithī (n.d.; see Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 323; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 255), both of the Ḥijāz.

Qais, a Companion of Muḥammad, is not likely to be identified, since the sources mention some three dozen Companions who bore this name. The papyrus has either an *alif* or a *lām* about in the center of the last name of the father. But even this clue leaves a wide choice for the father's name, as the lists of Companions named Qais readily reveal (see e.g. *Istīʿāb*, Index, and *Iṣābah* III 483–535).

The tradition obviously refers to the spiritual or heavenly rewards of ceremonial or private prayer. It seems to involve some of Muḥammad's instructions for the order of the various elements of the prayer service, such as the raising of the hands, the prostrations, and the salutation. These themes were not free from controversy, and the traditions that cover them are far too numerous to be checked for an identical or a closely related parallel, especially since the checking would have to be largely through the *isnād* because the *matn* is so damaged (see e.g. *Concordance* II 279 f. رفع يديه, II 301–3 ركعة, II 507 f. سلم, and III 186 شهد). The number of possibilities will no doubt be reduced when مد is indexed in the *Concordance*.

Tradition 7. Note the red dash at the head of the tradition. The ḥā in the margin probably stands for حسن, while صح speaks for itself.

The *isnād* links have been covered. The *matn* was very brief to judge by the space available for it.

Tradition 8. Bashīr ibn Abī ʿAmr al-Khaulānī (n.d.) was a trustworthy Egyptian traditionist who transmitted to Ḥaiwah ibn Shuraiḥ, Ibn Lahīʿah, and Laith ibn Saʿd. His transmission from his fellow Egyptian Walīd ibn al-Qais (n.d.; see *Istīʿāb* II 606; *Iṣābah* III 1317; *Usd* V 92) is also attested, as is Walīd's transmission from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (see p. 239), though Walīd was considered a weak traditionist (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 151; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 377; *Husn al-muḥāḍarah* I 150).

Ibn Ḥanbal (Vol. III 38 f.) provides the only verbatim parallel for the part of the tradition that survives in the papyrus. Again, it was Ibn Ḥanbal (Vol. IV 156) who provided the one closely related tradition, which has, however, a different *isnād* that traces back to ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir (d. 58/678).

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

I

The compiler of the papyrus text has to be a more or less younger contemporary of both Ibn Wahb and Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muqrī. The latter, unlike Ibn Wahb, is credited with no specific books though his materials are to be found in all the major *ḥadīth* collections.¹ The biographical sources provide long lists of transmitters from both men but indicate that the lists are incomplete. Though authorities common to both men are readily spotted, the available lists specify no transmitters common to both. The sources indicate no direct contact between Ibn Wahb and any of the eight men who transmitted one or more of the papyrus traditions directly from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Furthermore, all except the Egyptian Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (see p. 239) were men of ʿIrāq and farther east, as were indeed the great majority of the transmitters from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The latter spent the last decades of his life in Mecca (see p. 238) and therefore must have been in that city when Ibn Wahb re-

¹ Dhahabī I 334.

peatedly made long visits to Mecca and Medina² during the twenty years preceding the death of Mālik (179/795), whose *Muwattaʿ* Ibn Wahb transmitted (see p. 122).

On the basis of these facts and because the script of the papyrus text suggests the *māʿil* or slanting Medinan variety (see p. 237), it seemed reasonable to suppose that some traditionist of Syria or the Ḥijāz transmitted from both Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Ibn Wahb and that somehow his manuscript reached Egypt. Thus Egyptian historical sources led to the most probable author of the papyrus text.

The center of attention now shifts to a scholar of Umayyad descent, Asad ibn Mūsā (132–212/750–827),³ known also as Asad al-Sunnah, who was born in the year of the fall of the Umayyad dynasty and grew up in fear for his life in the period of determined ʿAbbāsīd persecution of the members of the fallen dynasty. He made his way cautiously to Egypt sometime before the death of Ibn Lahīʿah and of Laith ibn Saʿd and found his way to Laith’s home. Laith received him graciously and following their interview sent him a gift of money which Asad declined, saying that he carried a money belt with a thousand dinars. Laith explained that this was not charity but a personal gift and added that if Asad had no need for it he could distribute it among needy and deserving traditionists, and Asad did so.⁴

Asad established himself in Egypt and is counted among Egyptian scholars. He exchanged materials with most of Egypt’s leading scholars and soon had a following of his own.⁵ His association with Laith and the latter’s secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ is solidly established, as is also his transmission from Ibn Wahb.⁶ Asad’s transmission from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muqrī is established by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, who throws further light on the wide circulation of the *ḥadīth* of Ḥaiwah ibn Shuraiḥ among contemporary Egyptian scholars such as Ibn Lahīʿah, Laith and his secretary, Ibn Wahb, and Asad himself.⁷ Furthermore, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, who himself transmitted directly from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Asad, and Laith’s secretary, provides evidence that Asad and Laith’s secretary in transmitting directly from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān used in some instances the two last *isnād* links common to all the traditions of the papyrus text, for Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam’s *isnād* reads حدثنا اسد بن موسى وعبد الله بن صالح قال حدثنا⁸ Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān’s transmission from Ḥaiwah ibn Shuraiḥ is well established⁹ and occurs repeatedly in the papyrus text.

Though the non-Egyptian direct transmitters from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān are numerous, only three of them transmitted parallels of one or more of the papyrus traditions: Ibn Saʿd (Tradition 5), Ibn Ḥanbal (Traditions 2, 5, 8), and the Kūfan Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Numair (Tradition 4), who died in the year 234/848.¹⁰ Not one of the three is known to have transmitted directly from Ibn Wahb. Among the Egyptian direct transmitters from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān the only one who transmitted a parallel of a papyrus tradition (No. 2) is Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,¹¹ who died no earlier than the year 262/876¹² and could not have

² See e.g. Dhahabi I 279–81. Ibn Wahb is credited with 36 pilgrimages.

³ See Vol. I 12, 16. See also *GAL* I 66 and *GALS* I 257.

⁴ Abū Nuʿaim VII 321 f.

⁵ See Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 50; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 338; Tabarī, Index.

⁶ See e.g. *Futūḥ*, pp. 45 and 47.

⁷ See e.g. *ibid.* pp. 87, 287, 299, 300, 310; *Le dʿjamiʿ dʿIbn Wahb*, ed. David-Weill, I 4, 14, 24, 35, 62, 63, 98; Kindī, pp. 302 and 319.

⁸ *Futūḥ*, p. 277 (ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ being Laith’s secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ).

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 82, 87, 111, 230, 231, 269, 288, 293, 309, 314, 315; Kindī, p. 302. See also *Buhārīʿnin*, p. 212, *Isnād* 17.

¹⁰ Muslim VII 16.

¹¹ *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 408.

¹² The authors of *Jarḥ* heard him during his visit to Egypt in that year (see *Jarḥ*, *Taqdīmah*, Intro. p. 5).

transmitted from Ibn Wahb, who died in the year 197/812. There remain three Egyptian traditionists who are known to have been interested in the *ḥadīth* collection of Ḥaiwah ibn Shuraiḥ and to have transmitted some of his materials directly from both Ibn Wahb and Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The fact that they do not provide parallels to the papyrus text is not of major significance since the fragment contains only eight traditions. Of major significance, however, is the well established fact that all three of them—Asad ibn Mūsā, Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary of Laith, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam—used written sources and collected manuscripts. It seems logical to eliminate first the possibility that Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam was the compiler of the *ḥadīth* collection represented by our papyrus because he is farthest removed from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He did transmit some of the latter's materials directly but supplemented them from materials that the older Asad ibn Mūsā and Abū Ṣāliḥ had received from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān on the authority of Ḥaiwah and of Ḥaiwah's sources who are indicated in the papyrus *isnād's*. Of the remaining two possibilities, Asad ibn Mūsā seems more likely than Abū Ṣāliḥ for the following reasons. The papyrus preserves the text of the Egyptian Ḥaiwah as transmitted by the non-Egyptian Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, which would therefore have been in greater demand by non-Egyptians than by Egyptians, who had ready access to Ḥaiwah and his Egyptian transmitters. Thus Asad, before he took refuge in Egypt, would have had more reason than would Abū Ṣāliḥ to seek out Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's collection of Ḥaiwah's *ḥadīth*. The pronounced slant of the script of the papyrus text implies non-Egyptian origin (see p. 243). After Asad settled in Egypt and became associated with Laith and his secretary he doubtless compared notes and exchanged some traditions, if not indeed manuscripts at least on a loan basis, with them. Since Asad died some dozen years before Abū Ṣāliḥ, it is possible that some of his manuscripts passed into the hands of Abū Ṣāliḥ and formed a part of his collection. Once again (cf. p. 91) circumstantial evidence strongly suggests that Abū Ṣāliḥ had a hand in the preservation of one of our documents. In any case, the dating of the papyrus to the early third century at the latest would seem to be amply warranted.

II

All of the traditions of the document report *ḥadīth al-nabī*, that is, the sayings as against the deeds (*sunan*) of Muḥammad. It has been shown repeatedly in these studies that as a rule the traditions of Muḥammad have identical or close parallels in the standard collections (see p. 77). Because much of the *matn* of Traditions 1, 3, 6, and 7 is lost it is impossible to determine definitely whether parallels for these traditions exist. The basic content of the *ḥadīth* element of Tradition 4 appears frequently in the standard collections, but parallels for the *khbar* element involve several variants with some additions and subtractions. Traditions 2, 5, and 8 have complete identical parallels in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal. On the whole, therefore, the document provides further evidence of the high rate of survival of *ḥadīth al-nabī*.

III

The earliest links in the *isnād's* of the papyrus text name ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar (Tradition 4) and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (Traditions 2, 8), both of whom opposed the writing-down of Tradition. But these links also name ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr (Tradition 3) and Abū Hurairah (Traditions 4, 7), who from the beginning either wrote down their traditions or permitted others to do so. The links intermediate between these men and Abū Ṣakhr Ḥumaid ibn Ziyād name a number of comparatively obscure traditionists whose methods of transmission are not indicated in the sources. The one exception is Makḥūl al-Shāmī (Tradition 5), pupil of Anas

ibn Mālik and teacher of Mālik ibn Anas, who is known to have made an extensive tour in search of knowledge and to have written down his materials. He is credited with two works on *fiqh*¹³ for which he no doubt drew on his *ḥadīth* materials.

Abū Ṣakhr (see p. 239), who transmits Traditions 3–8, shares the obscurity of most of his immediate authorities, and his methods of transmission are likewise not indicated. Nevertheless, he must be counted among those who at least permitted others to write down *ḥadīth* from their dictation since Ḥaiwah ibn Shuraiḥ (see p. 239), who is his immediate transmitter of Traditions 3–8, is known to have written down his own collection of *ḥadīth*. Ḥaiwah moved in circles in which the writing-down of Tradition was the rule. The papyrus itself, by its very existence and by the editorial comment in verso 8 (see p. 241), attests continuous written transmission of these materials.

It can be assumed, then, that at least some of these traditions, which trace back to Muḥammad, were written down from the beginning. We are on much surer ground for the later transmission because from Abū Ṣakhr to the compiler-transmitter we have three or four steps of continuous written transmission (see p. 243) that bring us into the active period of Ibn Saʿd and Ibn Ḥanbal, both of whom wrote down their *ḥadīth* collections. It is not surprising, therefore, that they provide verbatim parallels for Traditions 2, 5, and 8—a rather large percentage in view of the fact that four of the other five traditions are either incomplete or too broken for identification.

¹³ *Fihrist*, p. 227.

DOCUMENT 12

Oriental Institute No. 17625. First quarter of third century/A.D. 815–40.

Medium quality medium brown papyrus, 20 × 16.2 cm. (Pls. 22–23), originally used for either official or private correspondence by some well-to-do person to judge by the large script and lavish spacing. The one phrase of the original that has survived, aside from the *basmalah*, reads *حمله طاعته* [ك] *وفقنا الله واياك*. Related phrases such as *الكرمك الله بطاعته* are found in all sorts of correspondence from the third century. The generous unused spaces of the original document attracted the economical, or perhaps impoverished, *ḥadīth* student whose *ṣaḥīfah* or memorandum sheet this is. Since the *zahr* or reverse of such documents—usually bearing only an address—provided more space, it was used first. In this case the student began at the bottom of the reverse and continued on the top of the obverse. Documents written in such large scripts are usually large in area also, at least twice as long as our fragment, so that our traditionist must have had more personal *fadāʾil* entries on his sheet than have survived. Aside from large breaks the papyrus is damaged mostly by peeling.

Script.—The script is the same for all the traditions, but two different kinds of ink were used. The light brown ink of the upper part of the recto has faded considerably, almost to the vanishing point in some spots, in contrast to the more lasting almost black ink of the rest of the text.

The script itself is a fairly fixed small cursive hand whose main characteristics are the use of large initial *ʿain* and *kāf*. Diacritical points are used for all letters that call for them except *jīm*, *kha*, *ḍād*, and *zāy*. The pointing is not too liberal, though here and there an entire word is pointed, for example *فليقبض* and *ليست* of recto 17 and 19 respectively. *Sīn* has either the *mahmalah* or a row of three dots below it as well as a small initial *sīn* above it to distinguish it from *shīn*, which is pointed with three dots forming a triangle. Similarly, *dāl* has a dot below it to distinguish it from *dhāl*, which has the usual dot above it, as in *عذق مدلا* of recto 18. A small *ʿain* is placed below the *ʿain* of *لتعفوا* in verso 6. Vowels are rarely used. Possibly the *dāl*-like mark over the *zā* of *انظر* in recto 16 was intended for *ḍammah*. *Fathah* and *ḍammah* are each used once (verso 6), in the name *الربيع*. The simple circle is sometimes used to mark off headings and for punctuation. It interchanges with a *hā* with a tail (recto 19, verso 5 and 9), commonly used as an abbreviation for *انتهى*, “finished,” and possibly standing for *hā* and *yā*.

TEXT

RECTO

- [فضيلة لانس بن مالك] 1
- (1) [حدثني محمد بن عبد الله الانصاري قال حدثنا حميد عن انس ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم 2
دخل على]
- [ام سليم فاتته بتمار وسمن وكان صائما فقال اعيدوا تمركم في وعائه واعيدوا 3
اسمنكم في سقاائه ثم قام فصلى صلاة غير مكتوبة وصلينا معه فدعا لام سليم ولاهل بيتها فقالت ام 4
سليم يا رسول

- 5 [الله ان لي حويأصة قال ما هي قالت خادمك انس فما ترك خيرا لآخرة ولا دنيا وقال اللهم ارزقه مالا وولدا وبارك فيه فاني لمن
- 6 [أكثر الانصار مالا وولدا ثم قال واخبرتنى ابنتى امينة انه قد دفن من صلبى الى مقدم الحجاج البصرة بضع وعشرين ومائة
- 7 ○ فضائل لزيد بن ثابت ○
- 8 (2) [حدثنا جرير بن عبد الحميد قال حدثنا الاعمش عن ثابت بن عبيد عن زائد بن ثابت قال قال لى النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم
- 9 [انه ياتيني كتب لا احب ان يقرأها] أحد اتحسن السريانية قلت لا قال فتعلمها قال فتعلمتها فى سبعة اعشروما ○
- 10 (3) [حدثنا موسى بن اسماعيل قال اخبرنا حماد قال لما مات زيد بن ثابت جلسنا الى ابن عباس فى ضل قصره وزيد بن ثابت
- 11 [قد دلى فى قبره فقال هكذا يذهب العلم دفن اليوم علم كثير ○ (4) حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله الانصارى قال حدثنا محمد بن عمرو عن رجل قد سماه عن ابن عباس
- 12 [قال انه قام لزيد بن ثابت فاخذ بركا] به فقال هكذا يابن عم رسول الله قال انا هكذا نفعل بعلمائنا وكبرئنا
- 13 فضيلة لعمر بن الدحداحة
- 14 (5) روى حدثنا هارون بن اسمعيل الخزاز قال حدثنا على بن مبارك قال حدثنا يحيى بن ابي كثير قال بلغنا ان رسول الله قال ان الله
- 15 يامرکم بلىق الاسلام ان تقرضوا من اموالكم يضاعفه لكم اضعافا كثيرة فقال عمرو بن الدحداحة يا رسول الله لى مالان بالعالية
- 16 ومالى فى بني ظفر فارسل الى مسر رضيت فروة بن عمرو فليقبض عنى خيرهما ابتنى بر الله والدار الآخرة فقال له رسول الله انظر
- 17 خير مالىه واقبض الآخرة فقال فروة ان رسول الله قد امرني ان اترك خير مالىك قال عمرو وما كنت
- 18 لا قرض ربى شرما املك ولكني اقرضه خيرا ما املك وليست اخاف فقيل قال رسول الله ربّ عذق مدلا
- 19 لابى الدحداحة فى الجنة واهل المدينة يسمون النخل العذق ع

VERSO

- 1 ○ فضيلة لابي لبابة ○
- 2 (6) حدثنا عارم ابو النعمان عن معتمر بن سليمان عن ابيه قال حدثنا الحسن ان اليهود استخاروا ابا لبابة فى ان ينزلوا عن حكم
- 3 رسول الله فقال لهم افعلوا وقد قال مرة اخرى نعم قال واشار بيده الى حلقه انه الذبح قال ابو لبابة انا والله
- 4 الذي خنت الله ورسوله قال فانطلق فواتق نفسه بسارية من سوارى المسجد فقال رسول الله

- 5 لامرأة من اهله عجب او عجب ثلثة على ابى لبابة ه فيصلة لانس بن النضر ○ (7) حدثنا عبد
الله بن بكر عن حميد
6 عن انس ان الربيع عمته كسرت ثنية جارية فطلبوا اليها لنعفوا فابوا والارش فابوا فاتوا رسول الله
7 فابوا [الا] الق[صا]ص [ف]امر رسول الله بالقصا[ص] فقال [ان]اس بن النضر يا رسول الله اتكسر ثنية
8 الربيع لا وال[ذ]ى بعث[ك] بالحق[ق] لا ت[ك]سر ثنيتهما فقال رسول الله يا انس كتاب الله القصاص فبره
9 القوم فعفوا فقال إن من عباد الله من لو اقسم على الله لآبره ه

Comments.—Tradition 1. The two elements of this tradition, namely Muḥammad's visit to the house of Umm Sulaim and her request that he bless her young son Anas ibn Mālik, who was in Muḥammad's service, were widely known and generally accepted by the early Muslims. Traditions that involve one or the other of these two elements trace back to several contemporary ʿIrāqī transmitters from Anas himself, who had settled in Baṣrah (see e.g. *Concordance* I 173 برك and II 486 سقاء). There are in addition a number of closely related traditions and nearly identical parallels to the papyrus text that trace back, through various *isnād*'s, to the Baṣran Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl (60–142/680–759; see pp. 152 and 160) on the authority of Anas ibn Mālik (see e.g. *Concordance* II 542 سمن). It is difficult to tell whether the traditions that separate or those that combine the two elements of the papyrus text are the older since both the splitting-up of traditions and the combining of two or more short but related ones apparently started very early in Islām. However, I am inclined to think that the papyrus text represents a later combining of two earlier short traditions, perhaps at the hands of Ḥumaid himself. For the Najjārite Umm Sulaim of Medina was one of the most active and staunch supporters of Muḥammad's cause, on and off the battlefield. Like her second husband, Abū Ṭalḥah Zaid ibn Sahl (see p. 117), and her son Anas she is accorded separate entries in the *faḍāʾil* literature (e.g. Bukhārī IV 11 f.; Muslim XVI 10–13, 39–41), which together with the numerous biographical entries emphasize the repeated and openhanded hospitality of Abū Ṭalḥah and Umm Sulaim to Muḥammad and his needy Companions without any reference to Umm Sulaim's request for a special blessing on her son Anas. For her *musnad* see *Sīrah* I 847, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr lī al-Shaibānī* I 184 f. and 200, *Muwattaʾ* II 927, Bukhārī II 398, III 11 f. and 493 f., Muslim XIII 217–20, Ibn Ḥanbal VI 376 f., 430 f. For biographical entries see Ibn Saʿd VIII 310–18, *Istīʿāb* II 780, Abū Nuʿaim II 57–61, *Iṣābah* IV 891–93, *Uṣd* V 591, Nawawī, pp. 863 f., Dhahabī II 75, *Nubalāʾ* II 18, and *Jamʿ* II 606 and 610.

The reconstruction of the missing links of the *isnād* presents more problems than does the reconstruction of the *matn*, since the variants found in the parallels are on the whole minor ones with no real significance for the basic meaning of both elements of the tradition. The standard *ḥadīth* collections yielded four possibilities for restoring the missing links of the *isnād*: (1) Bukhārī (d. 256/870)—Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muthanā [al-Anṣārī] (d. 215/830)—Khālid ibn al-Ḥārith (d. 186/802)—Ḥumaid [al-Ṭawīl] (d. 142/759)—Anas [ibn Mālik] (d. 93/712) (Bukhārī I 494), (2) Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855)—ʿUbaidah ibn Ḥumaid (d. 196/812)—Ḥumaid—Anas (Ibn Ḥanbal III 188), (3) Ibn Ḥanbal—Ibn Abī ʿAdī (d. 194/810)—Ḥumaid—Anas (Ibn Ḥanbal III 108), (4) Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845)—Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh [ibn al-Muthanā] al-Anṣārī—Ḥumaid—Anas (Ibn Saʿd VIII 314). The main variants in these non-verbatim parallels are the following: No. 3 reads وكان صائما فقال as in the papyrus (recto 3), while the rest read فاني صائم قال . . . قال; No. 2 reads (for recto 5) فما ترك يومئذ من خير

اخرة ولا دنيا, and the rest read as in the papyrus; No. 1 reads *بضع وعشرين ومائة* as in the papyrus (recto 6), while Ibn Saʿd has *تسعا وعشرين ومائة*, No. 2 has *عشرين ومائة ونيف*, and No. 3 has *نيفا على عشرين ومائة*. Anas is said to have been one of four Baṣrans who had a hundred children and grandchildren (Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *Al-kitāb al-muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstadter [Ḥaidarābād, 1361/1942] p. 189). The phrase *وصلينا معه* (recto 4) is omitted by Ibn Saʿd and Bukhārī, while Ibn Ḥanbal I 108 substitutes *صلى ركعتين* for *فصلا صلاة غير مكتوبة* (recto 4). After *ثم قام* (recto 4) all add *الى ناحيه البيت*, which is missing from our text. Ibn Ḥanbal's text is not so close to that of the papyrus as are the texts of Ibn Saʿd and Bukhārī. Yet there is nothing in either of the latter two that offers a basis for a clear-cut choice between them since both transmit directly from a descendant of Anas ibn Mālīk, the Baṣran Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muthanā al-Anṣārī, who appears also at the head of the *isnād* of Tradition 4. For the most part the use of full names and the *taṣḥiyah* are called for by the available space in the papyrus.

The Anas of this *isnād* is Anas ibn Mālīk al-Anṣārī (see p. 118), who is the ultimate source of so many of the traditions of our documents. Because of his long association with Muḥammad as a personal servant and with many members of Muḥammad's family and because he outlived most of the Companions he is one of the most prolific sources of Tradition. He settled in Baṣrah and at one time clashed with ʿIrāq's governor Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. He had a strong following, including his clients, among whom were Sīrīn and his six sons. One of the latter, Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, served as Anas' secretary. Anas insisted on writing down his traditions and had his sons, four of whom aspired to be traditionists, do likewise. Anecdotes about him and his enterprising mother, Umm Sulaim, are numerous (Ibn Saʿd VII 1, pp. 10–16; *Maʿārif*, p. 157; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, pp. 28 f.; *Jarḥ, Taqḍimah*, p. 144; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 286; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 66; *Mustadrak* III 573–75; *Istīʿāb* I 35; *Iṣābah* I 138–40; *Uṣd* I 127–29; Nawawī, pp. 165–67 and 863 f.; Dhahabī I 42; *Jamʿ* I 35 f.). For his *musnad* see Ṭayālīsī, pp. 264–86, and Ibn Ḥanbal III 98–292. For *faḍāʾil* and *manāqib* works credited to him or associated with him see Bukhārī III 11 f., Muslim XVI 39–41, and Tirmidhī XIII 223–25.

Tradition 2. The contents of Traditions 2–4, devoted to Zaid ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, are widely known. All versions so far discovered of Tradition 2 trace back to Zaid himself and share the earlier links of the family *isnād*, which is carried forward only by Aʿmash (60–148/680–765; see e.g. pp. 70, 140). Yaḥyā ibn ʿĪsā al-Ramlī (n.d.), who transmitted a related version from Aʿmash (Ibn Saʿd II 2, p. 115), was considered weak by many critics (see e.g. *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 178; *Mīzān* III 300; *Jamʿ* I 571). The only other known transmitter, also from Aʿmash, of a nearly identical parallel is the trustworthy ʿIrāqī traditionist Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (110–88/728–804; see p. 151), who in turn transmitted it to several others, including an ʿIrāqī named ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad who settled in Egypt (see Ibn Ḥanbal V 182; Ṭaḥāwī II 421; Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, p. 3; *Nubalāʾ* II 307). Ibn Ḥanbal's text is identical with that of the papyrus except for the omission of the phrase *(لا احب ان يقرأها احد)* that is reconstructed in recto 9, which appears in Ibn Saʿd's otherwise considerably different text (Ibn Saʿd II 2, p. 115) and which is called for by the space available in the papyrus. For a discussion of Zaid's knowledge of foreign languages see pages 257 f.

Thābit ibn ʿUbaid al-Anṣārī (n.d.) was a client of Zaid ibn Thābit. His transmission from Zaid to Aʿmash is well attested. He is generally considered trustworthy (Ibn Saʿd VI 205; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, pp. 165 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 454; *Jamʿ* I 67 f.).

Zaid ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī (d. between 45/665 and 56/676, with preference given to 45/665)

is the well known secretary of Muḥammad and the editor-in-chief of the ʿUthmānic edition of the Qurʾān. His other specialties in addition to Qurʾānic readings were the law of inheritance and other legal matters, his mastery of which led ʿUmar I to appoint him judge in Medina and to employ him as his deputy when he was out of the city. Like all the literate Companions of Muḥammad he became an important source of Tradition and law (for his *musnad* see Ibn Ḥanbal V 181–92; see also Ṭayālisī, pp. 84 f., and Nawawī, pp. 259 f.). Zaid used writing in his several public offices but was himself, like ʿUmar I, opposed to the permanent recording of Tradition (see e.g. Ibn Saʿd II 2, pp. 112–17, and V 383; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-athār*, p. 212; *Risālah*, pp. 22 ff. and 80 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, pp. 347 f.; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 558; *Maʿārif*, p. 133; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* I 107 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, pp. 7 f.; *Istīʿāb* I 188; *Iṣābah* II 40–42; *Uṣd* II 221–23; Nawawī, pp. 259 f.; Dhahabī I 29 f., II 240; *Nubalāʾ* II 305–16; Kattānī I 203–10).

Tradition 3. Reconstruction of *isnād* and *matn* is conjectural but based on the several variant parallels that are available. Ibn Saʿd (Vol. II 2, p. 117) transmits a close parallel from four of his sources, including Mūsā ibn Ismāʿīl al-Baṣrī al-Tabūdhkī (d. 223/838), who is cited by Bukhārī (*Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 348) for an even closer parallel. Moreover, this Mūsā was widely known for his large collection of written *ḥadīth* from, among others, Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār (see p. 160; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 280; Dhahabī I 357; *Jamʿ* II 484), the first surviving link in the papyrus *isnād*. Sezgin (*Buhārīʾnīn*, p. 280, Isnād 223) shows that Mūsā transmitted 239 traditions to Bukhārī. Ḥammād’s source in all the available *isnād* parallels is ʿAmmār ibn Abī ʿAmmār (see p. 211), who is omitted from the papyrus *isnād*. Textual differences are minor. For example, Ibn Saʿd has *الى قعدنا الى* as against Bukhārī’s *الى جلسنا الى*, and Ibn Saʿd has *ضل قصره* while Bukhārī has simply *ضل* of the papyrus (recto 10).

The content of the tradition seems to have gone through two stages. The briefer version of Ibn Saʿd, Bukhārī, and *Mustadrak* III 428 does not mention Zaid’s tomb. The papyrus text, however, includes this detail, which is found in later sources (e.g. a second version in *Mustadrak* III 428; Ibn ʿAsākir V 450).

The idea that knowledge decreased or disappeared when scholars died was widespread (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal II 203; Dārimī I 65, 73, 77–79; *Concordance* IV 320 and 331 f. in several places).

Tradition 4. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muthanā al-Anṣārī (118–215/736–830) was a descendant of Anas ibn Mālik. He served as judge in Baṣrah and later in Baghdād until he was removed by Maʾmūn. He was considered a trustworthy traditionist and an authority on *ʿilm al-rijāl*, but he was not of the same caliber as his fellow Baṣran Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān. He was one of Bukhārī’s many sources (see Ibn Saʿd VII 1, p. 163, and VII 2, p. 48; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, p. 132; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 177, and III 2, p. 305; *Maʿārif*, p. 259; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 123; Khaṭīb V 408; Yāfiʿī II 62; Dhahabī I 337 f.; *Jamʿ* I 460; *Buhārīʾnīn*, pp. 34 and 261, Isnād 173).

Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr (d. 144/761) of Medina specialized in collecting and transmitting the traditions of Abū Salamah and was himself a source for most of the leading traditionists of the following generations (Ibn Saʿd V 43; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, p. 191; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 30 f.; *Mīzān* III 114 f.; *Jamʿ* I 454 f.). His unidentified source in the papyrus text (recto 11) was, according to parallel traditions which give the rest of the *isnād*, the above-mentioned Abū Salamah, whose full name is Abū Salamah ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 94/713 or 104/722) and who is listed among the “seven” leading jurists of Medina. He himself wrote down his collection of *ḥadīth* (Ibn Ḥanbal VI 413 f.; Dārimī II 135; Muslim X 99 ff., 105;

Khaṭīb I 218) and dictated his materials to others (Ibn Saʿd V 115–17; *Maʿārif*, p. 123; *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 293 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 48; Nawawī, pp. 727 f.; Yāfiʿī I 192; Dhahabī I 59; *Jamʿ* I 254).

The tradition seems to have gone through three stages. The earliest version is the briefest, reporting only Ibn ʿAbbās' act and words. It is transmitted by Ibn Saʿd from Abū Nuʿaim Faḍl ibn Dukain (see Document 14) and traces back to ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī (Ibn Saʿd II 2, p. 116, lines 11–13; cf. *Iṣābah* II 42). To the second stage belongs the papyrus text and its several nearly identical parallels. This version adds Zaid's remonstrance *فقال هكذا يا ابن عم رسول الله* (recto 12). All the parallels available so far share the complete *isnād* of the papyrus text as transmitted by Ibn Saʿd (Vol. II 2, p. 116, lines 13–16) and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (*Mustadrak* III 423). The third version is cited on the authority of Abū Salamah and retains the essential meaning and phrasing of the second but adds that Zaid reached for Ibn ʿAbbās' hand and kissed it as an honor due to one of the Prophet's family (e.g. Ibn ʿAsākir V 448 f.). This addition was in all probability the work of an ʿAbbāsīd partisan.

Honoring a leader by leading his mount was a common practice, and many were the instances in which Muḥammad himself was so honored (see *Concordance* II 49 *خطام* and II 342 *زمام*).

Tradition 5. Hārūn ibn Ismāʿīl of Baṣrah (n.d.) seems to have been known primarily for his transmission from ʿAlī ibn al-Mubārak (n.d.), whose traditions he wrote down (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 226; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 87; Ibn Ḥibbān, No. 1251; *Jamʿ* I 355, II 551). ʿAlī ibn al-Mubārak, in turn, was a specialist in the *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā ibn Abī Kuthair, which he wrote down in two books, one from Yaḥyā's dictation and the other copied from manuscripts but read back to Yaḥyā. Baṣrans who insisted on oral transmission would transmit only the book written from dictation, while the Kūfans accepted both books (*Jarḥ* III 1, pp. 203 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* III 2, p. 295; Yaʿqūb ibn Shaibah, *Musnad . . . ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, pp. 50, 60 f., 158 f., and 178; *Mīzān* II 236; *Jamʿ* I 355; *Buhārī'nin*, pp. 60 f.).

Yaḥyā ibn Abī Kuthair (d. 129/746 or 132/750) was originally of Baṣrah but settled in Yamāmah. He was an ʿAlid and critical of the Umayyads, who therefore persecuted him. His transmission from Anas ibn Mālik and other Companions was suspect because he was accused of omitting intermediate links of the *isnād*'s (*dals*). His transmission from some of his contemporaries was also suspected by some scholars as being based on manuscripts alone. Transmission from manuscripts alone was probably responsible for his omission of intermediate links in some of his *isnād*'s, though in such cases he used *balaghanī* or *balaghanā*, as in the papyrus text, instead of the more specific term *ḥaddathanī*. Nevertheless the great majority of traditionists considered him trustworthy and some classed him with Zuhri, while Shuʿbah and Ibn Ḥanbal even preferred his versions that differed from Zuhri's (Ibn Saʿd V 404 and VII 2, p. 185; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, pp. 301 f.; *Jarḥ*, *Taqdimah*, pp. 156 f.; *Maʿārif*, p. 112; Ṭabarī III 2503; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 145; Abū Nuʿaim III 66–75; Dhahabī I 120 f.; *Mīzān* III 300 f.; *Jamʿ* II 566 f.; *Buhārī'nin*, pp. 288 and 296).

The first word of recto 14 appears in the photograph (Pl. 22) to be encircled, but close inspection of the papyrus reveals that there is no circle. As read, the reversed separate *yā* has two dots run together. Note also the use in recto 19 of the uncontracted *ليست*.

The tradition has no complete parallel for either the *isnād* or the *matn*, and the parallels that are available for parts of the content convey for the most part the meaning rather than the wording of the papyrus text. The following variant of recto 15–16, with additions, is noteworthy: *وان لي ارضين احداهما بالعالية والاخرى بالسافلة* (*Tafsīr* V 283). For these locations in

Medina and for the Banū Ḥafṣah, who were obviously settled in the lower section of the city, see Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-ishtiqāq*, p. 187, Ṭabarī I 1901 and 1922, and Yāqūt III 592 f.

Farwah ibn ʿAmr (recto 17), one of the negotiators of the treaties of ʿAqabah, could be intrusted with secret or private matters. Muḥammad appointed him as assessor for Khaibar. None of the citations given below associate him with the episode of the papyrus text nor with the other episodes involving Abū al-Daḥdāḥah. Farwah fought in all of Muḥammad's battles but was on ʿAlī's side in the Battle of the Camel. His death date is nowhere mentioned (see *Sīrah* I 308, 335, 502; Ibn Saʿd II 1, p. 78, and III 2, p. 132; Ṭabarī I 1336; *Iṣṭiʿāb* II 518; *Iṣābah* III 403 f.; *Usd* V 178 f.).

The last word of recto 19 reflects initial indecision as to the forms مدلى, مدلا, and مدلل, the last being finally accepted. Wāqidī (p. 275) has رُبَّ عَذَقِ مَدَلَل, while Ibn Ḥanbal (Vol. V 408) has لرب عذق له في الجنة. All other sources have كم من عذق مدل (مدلل, معلق, راح) (e.g. Ibn Saʿd VIII 295; Ibn Ḥanbal III 146; Muslim VII 33; see also *Concordance* II 143 دل, IV 173 عذق, and III 344 عذق ابن الدحداح صلى رسول الله على ابن الدحداح and editorial comments on *Tafsīr* V 283 f.).

The practice of hanging branches of date clusters, especially after the date harvest, in the courtyard of the mosque for the use of the needy seems to have been common (see e.g. *Tafsīr* XII 166 f.). Such freewill offerings were considered especially meritorious and deserving of greater rewards than the stipulated almsgiving (see e.g. Ibn ʿAsākir VI 214).

Confusion in the sources concerning the full and correct name of the Companion involved in this episode has led some scholars to believe that there were two people with similar names—a Thābit ibn al-Daḥdāḥ (or Daḥdāḥah) who fell in the Battle of Uḥud and over whom Muḥammad prayed and an Abū Daḥdāḥ (or Daḥdāḥah) whose given name was not known and who survived Muḥammad into the time of Muʿāwiyah. Various similar episodes are reported in connection with these names, but some of the confusion can now be cleared up with the aid of the papyrus text. This text is related to Sūrah 2:245, which reads من ذا الذى يقرض من ذاك الذى يقرض الله قرضا حسنا فيضاعفه له اضعافا كثيرة, and to Sūrah 57:11, which substitutes وله اجر كريم for the last three words. The early commentaries on these verses yield some clues as to the names in question. *Iṣābah* IV 107–9 has two entries under Abū al-Daḥdāḥ(ah) and equates the second entry with Thābit ibn al-Daḥdāḥ(ah) of *Iṣābah* I 388 but adds that Muqātil ibn Sulaimān says (presumably in one of his *tafsīr* works discussed in connection with Document 1) that Abū Daḥdāḥ(ah)'s given name was ʿUmar (عمر). This could well be a scribal error for the ʿAmr (عمرو) of the papyrus text (recto 13, 15, 17). The next commentary on the Qurʾānic verse appeared in the *Tafsīr* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām, who explained that when the verse was revealed Ibn al-Daḥdāḥ (or Daḥdāḥah) offered to donate his two properties to God. This was in turn cited by Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr* V 283–86), whose editors decided that only one person was involved in the episode and, lacking the evidence of our text, accepted Thābit ibn al-Daḥdāḥ as the correct form of his name. Now, our papyrus text (recto 13, 15, 19), which is the earliest extant version of the episode, gives the full name as Abū al-Daḥdāḥah ʿAmr ibn al-Daḥdāḥah.

The evidence so far available, however, does not preclude the possibility that a second person, whose full name may have been Abū al-Daḥdāḥ Thābit ibn al-Daḥdāḥ, was confused with the Abū al-Daḥdāḥah ʿAmr ibn al-Daḥdāḥah of the papyrus text. If, however, we assume on the basis of the available evidence that only one person was involved, that person emerges as a well-to-do and ever generous man whose wife rejoiced in his charities and whose sole heir was his sister's son, the less charitable Abū Lubābah ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir of Tradi-

tion 6 (see Wāqidi, pp. 274 f.; Ibn Saʿd VIII 295; Ibn Ḥanbal III 146, V 90 and 95; Muslim VII 32–34; *Istīʿāb* I 75 f., II 644; *Iṣābah* I 388, IV 107–9 and 864; *Usd* V 185, 580). Abū al-Daḥdāḥah ʿAmr ibn al-Daḥdāḥah’s liberality apparently was so widely known that the poet Bashshār ibn Burd (d. 166/783) referred to it in one of his verses, using the name Abū al-Daḥdāḥ (Bashshār ibn Burd, *Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir ibn ʿĀshūr, II [Cairo, 1373/1954] 128).

It should be noted here, as in the case of Abū Ṭalḥah Zaid ibn Sahl and his charities (see Document 2, Tradition 3), that Muḥammad encouraged all forms of charity yet discouraged excessive giving that might result in hardship for the giver’s family.

Tradition 6. ʿĀrim, whose full name is ʿĀrim Abū al-Nuʿmān Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Sadūsī (d. 224/839), was a well known and trustworthy traditionist of Baṣrah who transmitted from Muʿtamir ibn Sulaimān and others and to the younger leaders of his day, including Bukhārī. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, who wrote down traditions from him in the year 214/829, states that he became confused toward the end of his life, after the year 220/835 (*Maʿārif*, p. 260; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, p. 208; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 58 f.; Dhahabī I 370; *Jamʿ* II 448).

Muʿtamir ibn Sulaimān (106–87/724–803) of Baṣrah was associated with trustworthy traditionists of that city and was generally accepted as trustworthy. His transmission from his father and from Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī (68–131/687–748) is frequently mentioned (e.g. Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 45; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 49; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 402 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 161, No. 1271; Nawawī, pp. 566 f.; Dhahabī I 245 f.; *Jamʿ* II 520). His father (d. 143/761), who was at first opposed to writing down *ḥadīth*, later advised Muʿtamir to do so (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, pp. 21 f.; *Jāmiʿ* I 58).

There is some uncertainty about Abū Lubābah ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir’s given name. Some sources state that it was Bashīr and others that it was Rifāʿah, so that entries for him are to be found under both of these names. Our papyrus text throws no light on the name, but, since he is generally referred to as Abū Lubābah, there is no confusion as to his identity. He was an Awsite and, like Farwah ibn ʿAmr (recto 18), was one of the negotiators of the treaties of ʿAqabah. He seems to have participated in all of Muḥammad’s major campaigns except the Battle of Badr. On this occasion, as on two others, Muḥammad left him in charge in Medina. His death date is uncertain, being placed after the reign of either ʿUthmān or ʿAlī (Ibn Saʿd II 1, pp. 53 f., and III 2, p. 29; *Maʿārif*, p. 166; *Istīʿāb* I 63, II 655; *Iṣābah* I 323, IV 315 f.; *Usd* I 195 f., V 284 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal III 430; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 294; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 375; Dhahabī I 44; *Jamʿ* I 55, 136).

No full parallel for either the *isnād* or the *matn* seems available, though the episode is reported in the historical sources and the standard *ḥadīth* collections, as a rule in much greater detail than the report given in the papyrus text, with the addition of subsequent but related actions of Abū Lubābah that are not even mentioned in the papyrus text.

The Jews (verso 2) are the Banū Quraizah, who as a result of intrigue with the Meccans in the affair of the so-called Battle of the Ditch of the year 5/627 fell out of favor with Muḥammad and the Muslims of Medina. After a siege of several weeks they decided to surrender on terms similar to those that had been granted to the Jewish tribe of the Banū al-Naḍīr, that is, to go into exile with as much of their property as they could carry with them (see Vol. I, Document 5). Muḥammad, however, was not willing to grant such favorable terms and demanded unconditional surrender. The troubled Jews sought the advice of Abū Lubābah who, as stated in the papyrus text, advised unconditional surrender but indicated by running his hand across his throat that they would surely be massacred. The Jews, thus further agitat-

ed, were given a choice and accepted as their judge Sa'd ibn Mu'adh of the Aws tribe, with which they had long been in alliance. Sa'd's unmerciful judgment—confiscation of property, slavery for the women and children, death for the men—was harsher than Muḥammad's would have been but he let it stand. Abū Lubābah regretted that he had led the Jews to believe that Muḥammad would have had them executed, since such a belief indicated that he himself had underestimated the mercy of Allāh and of Allāh's Messenger, against which faithless attitude he and his fellow Muslims were cautioned in Sūrah 8:27 (see *Sīrah* I 686 [= trans. p. 462]; Wāqidī, pp. 373 f.; Ibn Sa'd II 1, pp. 53 f., and III 2, p. 19; *Muwatta'* II 481; Ibn Ḥanbal VI 141 f.; *Tafsīr* XIII 481 f.; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, pp. 188 f., 214, and 234).

Abū Lubābah's sense of guilt on this occasion, as recorded by most of the sources, and on the occasion of his refusal, along with several others, to go on the expedition of Tabūk (*Uṣd* V 284 f.; Bukhārī III 177 f.) demanded not only repentance but also self-punishment. He therefore chained himself to the pillar of repentance in the Mosque of the Prophet (verso 4) to await forgiveness, which Muḥammad said had to come from God. Muḥammad expressed admiration of the repentant Abū Lubābah to one of his wives (verso 5), whom the sources identify as Umm Salamah. God's forgiveness was eventually announced in Sūrah 9:102–4, and Umm Salamah broke the glad news to Abū Lubābah, who would not move until Muḥammad himself removed the chains. In gratitude for the forgiveness Abū Lubābah wished to donate his properties to charity, but Muḥammad limited his gift to a third of them (e.g. *Sīrah* I 686 f.; Wāqidī, pp. 275 and 372 f.; Ibn Sa'd II 1, p. 54, and III 2, p. 29; *Muwatta'* II 481; Ibn Ḥanbal III 452 f., 502; Dārimī I 391 f.; *Tafsīr* IV 344 f., referring to Sūrah 2:219 and related verses; *Mustadrak* III 632 f.; *Uṣd* V 285; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Fāsi, *Shifā' al-gharām* II 367 f.).

Muḥammad's teaching that charity should begin at home and its application have been encountered above (pp. 117, 206, 253).

Tradition 7. 'Abd Allāh ibn Bakr al-Sahmī of Baṣrah (d. 208/823) was a well known traditionist who transmitted from Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl (d. 142/759), while those who transmitted from him included most of the outstanding traditionists of 'Irāq and farther east (*Ma'ārif*, p. 258; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 16; Khaṭīb IX 421–23; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 123; Dhahabī I 313).

For Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl and his transmission from Anas ibn Mālīk see page 248.

There are many parallels for this tradition (see *Concordance* I 53 الارش, II 554 سن; see also under *ودي/دبة* when it is indexed), all of which share the papyrus *isnād* links "Ḥumaid on the authority of Anas," Anas being their only ultimate source though they have several transmitters other than Ḥumaid. Many of the parallels are identical to the papyrus text in meaning and almost so in wording except for the completion of proper names, the use of the *taṣṭīyah*, and a slight variation in word order. Of all the close parallels, only that of Bukhārī III 201 has the complete *isnād* of the papyrus text. Bukhārī received the tradition from 'Abd Allāh ibn Munīr (d. 241/855), who heard it from 'Abd Allāh ibn Bakr al-Sahmī, who heads the papyrus *isnād*. Other parallels are transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal (Vol. III 167) and Bukhārī (Vol. II 168) directly from Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muthanā al-Anṣārī (see p. 249), who replaces 'Abd Allāh ibn Bakr of the papyrus *isnād*. The latter is replaced also by Ibn Abī 'Adī (Ibn Ḥanbal III 128).

Many of the traditions that concern Anas ibn Mālīk (see p. 249 for references) or members of his family trace back to him through some of his descendants, as illustrated here and in Traditions 1 and 4. Rubaiyī' and her brother Anas ibn al-Naḍr, who rose to her defense, were

Anas ibn Mālik's aunt and uncle (see e.g. Ibn Saʿd VII 1, pp. 139 f., and VIII 310; *Istīʿāb* I 34 f., II 730; *Iṣābah* I 144 f., IV 576; *Uṣd* V 422 f., 575; Nawawī, p. 840).

The *lex talionis* of the Old Testament (Exod. 21:23–25) and its practical modification in favor of less literal retaliatory punishment were taken over in principle by Islām (Sūrahs 2:178, 5:45). But actual settlements were adjusted to Arab standards and to local and individual conditions, as can readily be seen from the Qurʾānic commentaries and the *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* literature. Settlements are indicated for specific injuries, including the loss of a tooth as in the present tradition (cf. e.g. *Tafsīr* III 257 ff., X 358–72; *Concordance* I 53 لارش and II 554 سن; *Muwattaʿ* II 849 ff., 862; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, pp. 93 f.). For a brief treatment of the Islāmic view of the *lex talionis* see Roberts, *The Social Laws of the Qurʾān*, pp. 85–88.

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

I

The identification of the last transmitters named in the *isnād*'s revealed two significant facts, namely that these traditionists were all from Baṣrah and that their death dates range from 208 to 224 A.H. Again, the most fruitful authorities for parallels proved to be Ibn Saʿd, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Ibn Ḥanbal, and Bukhārī (Traditions 1, 4, 7). All four are known to have transmitted, sometimes directly and sometimes through one intermediate link, from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muthanā al-Anṣārī, whose name heads the *isnād* of Tradition 4. But, since only Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and Bukhārī are known to have visited Egypt, whence the papyrus itself comes, we may safely eliminate the other two as not having had any direct connection with it. There is also the ʿIrāqī ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad who settled in Egypt and who transmitted a nearly identical parallel of Tradition 2 (see p. 249). Actually, two ʿIrāqī traditionists who were so named settled in Egypt, though when they did so is not stated. ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad ibn Shaddād (d. 218/833 or 228/843)¹ was called “the Elder,” and ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad ibn Nūḥ (d. 259/873), who was known as “the Younger,” transmitted from him.² It is possible that our papyrus text is from either the dictation or a manuscript of any one of these four traditionists who visited or settled in Egypt and would naturally have sought and been sought by Egyptian traditionists, mature scholars and young students alike. We have seen that such was the case so far as Laith ibn Saʿd and his secretary Abū Ṣāliḥ were concerned. Furthermore, we know that both Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and Bukhārī wrote down traditions from Abū Ṣāliḥ during their visits to Egypt in the second decade of the third century (see pp. 102 f. and 173). I have not been able to discover any such association between Abū Ṣāliḥ and either ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad the Elder or ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad the Younger, but there are numerous statements to the effect that many of the leading non-Egyptian and all of the Egyptian scholars transmitted from Abū Ṣāliḥ.³ Moreover, when leading traditionists from different provinces met, whether in Mecca and Medina or in the home city of any one of them, they usually exchanged traditions for their own collections and the visitors were invited to relate or dictate traditions to students and the general public. Thus both ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad the Younger and ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad the Elder, particularly the latter, whose dates indicate that he was contemporary with all the final transmitters named in the papyrus *isnād*'s, could have come in contact with Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 223/838) and his circle of students. It is possible, therefore, that the preservation of the

¹ *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 205; *Mizān* II 238; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 160. See also our Documents 13 I 156 f. See also *Adāb al-Shāfiʿī*, p. 87.

² *Jarḥ* III 1, p. 205; *Khaṭīb* XII 109 f.; *Mizān* II 238; ³ See e.g. *Khaṭīb* IX 478; *Dhahabī* I 352.

papyrus was in some way associated with Laith ibn Sa'ad and Abū Ṣāliḥ (cf. p. 91). Furthermore, both the large script of the earlier letter on which the *faḍā'il* text was written and the smaller script of the *faḍā'il* text itself point to the third rather than the second century. It seems reasonably safe, then, to assign the document to the first quarter of the third century.

II

Considering the general theme of the document—the virtues (*faḍā'il*) of individual Anṣār—it is not surprising that the family of Anas ibn Mālik al-Anṣārī, Anas himself, who settled in Baṣrah, and his descendants and fellow Baṣrans play such a predominant role in the *isnād's* and *matn's* of the traditions. Five of the traditions report the words and deeds of Muḥammad, and the remaining two (Traditions 3–4) those of Ibn 'Abbās and Zaid ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī. For all of them close parallels, in full or in part, are found in the standard collections (cf. p. 77). All but Tradition 2 (see below) concern matters that were of prime importance to particular individuals rather than to the community as a whole. None of the traditions involves a command, though all of them treat practices that can be considered either permissible or commendable, since they relate to a mother's concern for her son's blessing (Tradition 1), the practical usefulness of learning a foreign language (Tradition 2), respect for scholars (Traditions 3–4), charity beyond the call of duty (Traditions 5–6), and voluntary moderation of the grim law of retaliation (Tradition 7). Thus it is not surprising that there was some carelessness in the transmission of the *isnād's*, such as the omission of an intermediate link (Tradition 3) or the inclusion of an anonymous link (Tradition 4) or the use of incomplete names (Tradition 6). The *matn's*, on the other hand, show remarkable faithfulness to the basic meaning and very frequently also to the literal wording of the available parallels, thus illustrating once more the common practice of simultaneous oral and written transmission of *ḥadīth*. It is to be further noted that the partial parallels and several variants of Traditions 5 and 6 (see comments) are more in the nature of *akḥbār* than of *ḥadīth* proper and therefore display literal transmission to a lesser degree than do the parallels to the rest of the traditions. This reflects the practice of the early *akḥbārī's*, both historians and biographers, who are known to have selected and adapted the available materials, oral and written, to their purposes.

The papyrus gives definite evidence of continuous written transmission (see comments on Traditions 4–6), for most of its earlier as well as most of its later transmitters are known to have written down their materials or to have had others do so and some are known to have possessed sizable *ḥadīth* collections. Many of the earlier transmitters who favored written transmission have been encountered, sometimes repeatedly, in our documents. They include Ibn 'Abbās, Anas ibn Mālik, Abū Salamah 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī, Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl, A'ḥmad, Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār, and Jarīr ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. To these can now be added, especially from the group of *ḥadīth*-writers whose careers ran their course mostly in the second half of the second century and the first quarter of the third (d. 187 to 224 A.H.), the following transmitters: Mūsā ibn Ismā'īl (Tradition 3), Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muthanā al-Anṣārī (Tradition 4), Hārūn ibn Ismā'īl and 'Alī ibn al-Mubārak (Tradition 5), Mu'tamir ibn Sulaimān and 'Ārim Abū al-Nu'mān Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Sadūsī (Tradition 6).

It should be noted, however, that Zaid ibn Thābit himself, who employed writing in all of his several public offices and was editor-in-chief of the 'Uthmānic edition of the Qur'ān, belonged to that comparatively small group of Companions and Successors, such as Ibn 'Umar,

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, and Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, who were opposed to the permanent recording of Tradition. They cited Muḥammad himself for their position but were countered by statements of Muḥammad in favor of recording his *ḥadīth*.⁴

The search for parallels to Tradition 2 revealed two sets of traditions, with some variations in each group, that bear on the subject of Zaid and his learning to read and write other than the Arabic language. In the group of traditions that are closely related to the papyrus text (see p. 249) the two significant factors are that Muḥammad specified Syriac and, in some of the versions, gave a reason for wishing Zaid to learn Syriac: "Letters come to me that I do not like anyone to read" (recto 9). The two main variations within this group are the omission of a reason for Muḥammad's request and uncertainty in a few instances as to the language he actually specified: *العبرانية* او قال *السريانية*. Zaid learned the language in seventeen days according to most of these traditions.⁵

The traditions of the second group have entirely different *isnād*'s, whose five earliest links are common to the whole group. These links are in progressive order Zaid ibn Thābit, his son Khārijah, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz al-Aʿraj (see p. 139), Abū al-Zinād (see p. 139), and his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (100–174/718–90), who was considered a weak traditionist by most scholars.⁶ From ʿAbd al-Raḥmān the *isnād* branches out into several *ṭurq*.⁷ In these traditions Muḥammad asks Zaid to learn the writing or script of the Jews (*خط اليهود* or *كتابة اليهود*), the language itself not being specified. Furthermore, Muḥammad's reason for this request is said to be that he mistrusted the Jews (*اني لا أمن يهود*). Zaid learned the language in half a month or less.

The question is whether these two sets of traditions involve the same episode or two different occasions. Supplementary information leads one to think that the latter alternative is the more probable. Zaid when he was but eleven years old was presented, as an intelligent youth with a good memory, to Muḥammad soon after the latter's arrival in Medina. He was therefore in Muḥammad's service for several years before the latter asked him, in the year 4/624–25, to learn the writing of the Jews because he mistrusted them.⁸ Some of the Jews of Medina and of the other Jewish settlements in Arabia were undoubtedly at least bilingual and literate in Hebrew and Arabic and probably some were literate in Syriac also, Syriac being the language of the learned members of the Christian settlements in Arabia. That Muḥammad in his first years in Medina should wish the gifted young Zaid to learn Syriac, which could be useful in correspondence with both Christians and Jews, seems reasonable enough. Hebrew, on the other hand, took on great significance for Muḥammad after he realized that Jewish religious opposition to his teaching was unyielding and after the Jews began to cite the Old Testament and other Hebrew religious texts in their arguments with him and his followers against Islām.⁹ Bukhārī states on the authority of an *isnād* that traces back to Abū Hurairah

⁴ See e.g. Abū Dāʿūd III 318 f.; *Jāmiʿ* I 63, II 143 f.; Ibn Abī Dāʿūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāʿihif*, p. 4.

⁵ In 19 days according to one version, a scribal error no doubt of "nine" for "seven," which look very much alike in unpointed Arabic.

⁶ See e.g. Ibn Saʿd V 307; *Jarḥ* II 2, pp. 252 f.; *Mizān* II 111.

⁷ See Ibn Ḥanbal V 186; Abū Dāʿūd III 318; *Mustadrak* I 75; Ṭaḥāwī II 421; Dhahabī II 240; *Nubalāʾ* II 307.

⁸ Ṭabarī I 1460.

⁹ See e.g. *Sīrah* I 351 f., 381–83; *Muwattaʿ* I 108–10; *Tafsīr* III 109–13, X 433 f., 473–77. Torrey not only ex-

pressed a strong conviction that Muḥammad was fully literate in Arabic and that he wrote all of the Qurʾān with his own hand (*The Jewish Foundation of Islam*, pp. 31–41 and 93–95) but went so far as to argue the possibility that Muḥammad could read Hebrew and Syriac while he was still in Mecca (*ibid.* pp. 37, 39 f., 42, 47). He made no reference to Muḥammad's desire to have Zaid learn these languages, a desire he would probably have explained on the basis that Muḥammad was busy rather than illiterate (cf. *ibid.* p. 31). Be that as it may, the point of interest is Torrey's emphasis on the ease with which these languages could be learned in Mecca and Medina at that time. Note-worthy also is the fact that Torrey did not draw on Tradition because he considered it untrustworthy (*ibid.* p. 8).

that the “people of the Book” read the Torah in Hebrew and then translated it into Arabic for the Muslims.¹⁰ This procedure was very much in keeping with the earlier and widespread practice of Aramaic-speaking Jews who read the Hebrew Torah and then explained it to their own congregations in Aramaic. Furthermore, there is little doubt that many of the texts cited by both Jews and Christians in their arguments with Muḥammad and some of his Companions were either from the Aramaic Talmud, especially the Mishna (see pp. 8 f.), or from the non-canonical gospels, also written in Aramaic, that is, in Syriac. It seems reasonable to assume that some of the leaders and scholars of the Jewish community of Medina who had occasion to present written texts to Muḥammad were literate in one or the other, if not in both, of the languages that Muḥammad asked Zaid to learn—namely Hebrew and Aramaic (Syriac). It would seem therefore that Zaid acquired a working knowledge of both scripts so rapidly because he was familiar with the spoken languages just as he, indeed, was familiar enough with Persian, Greek, Abyssinian, and Coptic to act as Muḥammad’s interpreter for these languages.¹¹ On the other hand, it is possible that Zaid learned so quickly because some of the Jews probably wrote Arabic in Hebrew characters, so that he actually learned not the written Hebrew language itself but only what the Arabic texts actually say: *خط اليهود* or *كتاب (كتابة) اليهود*, the “writing” or “script of the Jews,” that is, the complexities of the written Hebrew alphabet. Such could well have been the case with rabbinical Aramaic (Syriac) also.

Later sources, mostly historical and biographical, in references to Zaid’s linguistic ability, frequently omit the *isnād*’s and combine the traditions of the two sets discussed above, Ibn ‘Asākir adding that Zaid did the actual learning of the written language in a Jewish midrash (*midrās*).¹² For learning to speak any of the foreign languages in use in Arabia, especially in Mecca and Medina, neither Zaid nor his contemporaries needed formal instruction. As these cities became increasingly cosmopolitan—with non-Arab converted clients, unconverted slaves, and concubines who were drawn from many races speaking different languages—more and more Arabs picked up at least a smattering of various foreign languages. Their free use of these languages so alarmed ‘Umar I that presently he forbade the Arabs to speak to foreigners in their own languages. The commentators explain that ‘Umar did so because these languages were used in the presence of some who did not understand them and because they were used even in the mosques.¹³

Unfortunately the use of foreign languages, spoken and written, in the holy cities of Islām¹⁴ was to decrease in time because of ‘Umar’s exclusion of non-Muslims from Arabia and because of the increasing glorification of the Arabic tongue in Islām. However, outside Arabia and outside religious circles, the utility of foreign languages was recognized in administrative circles, for foreign correspondence, and in the secular sciences,¹⁵ as it is in our day even in Arabia.

¹⁰ Bukhārī III 198, IV 441 and 495; see also *Concordance* IV 118. Early in the 1st century Mūsā ibn Sayyār al-Aswārī would read the Qur’ān and explain it in Arabic to the Arabs seated on his right and in Persian to the Persians seated on his left, much to the wonder and admiration of all (Jāhiz, *Kitāb al-bayān wa al-tabyīn* I [1366/1947] 346). For Mūsā (n.d.), who was suspected of being a Qādirite, see *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 146, and *Mizān* III 211.

¹¹ *Tanbīh*, p. 283. For others in Medina who had at least a smattering of these languages see *Iqd* II 204, and for the

multilingual household of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair see *Kattānī* I 207.

¹² See e.g. *Istī‘āb* I 188 f.; *Iṣābah* II 40–42; *Usd* I 221–23; Ibn ‘Asākir V 443 f.

¹³ See e.g. Bukhārī II 265; Ibn Ḥanbal I 59, 65, 69; *Kattānī* I 205 f.

¹⁴ See e.g. *Iqd* II 204; Ṭāshkūprizādah, *Kitāb miṭāḥ al-sa‘ādah* I 56, 74 f.

¹⁵ See *Kattānī* I 203–10 for the Islāmic view and references to the sources.

III

It was Muḥammad who first stressed the virtues (*faḏāʾil*) of the Anṣār, without whose help his mission might well have failed. The Qurʾān places them on an equal footing with the Muhājirūn in their standing with God and their rewards in the hereafter.¹⁶ Numerous are the traditions according to which Muḥammad acknowledged their contribution, declared his affinity with and affection for them, defended them against their detractors, and even likened them to the salt of the earth.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the Anṣār early sensed and resented Muḥammad's leniency toward, if not indeed partiality for, the Quraish and did not hesitate to speak their minds. Muḥammad, however, was always able to justify his actions to them as a group and all but shame them into acquiescence with his policies,¹⁸ except for the disaffected among them who co-operated with his Jewish opposition.¹⁹

The Anṣār-Quraish rivalry was held in check by Muḥammad's tactful handling of it but gained free rein with his passing. The political victory went to the Quraish, who not only claimed but took and kept the caliphate as their tribal monopoly. Partly by way of compensation for their political defeat the Anṣār stressed not only their military but also their judicial and literary services to Muḥammad and sought to capitalize on them. Not content to point to such men as Zaid ibn Thābit, of this papyrus, and Ḥassān ibn Thābit,²⁰ court poet of Muḥammad, and Muʿādh ibn Jabal, religious teacher in Mecca and judge for the Yemen,²¹ they stressed also their formal study and mastery of the Qurʾānic text²² and the sayings of Muḥammad²³ and cited the latter as giving them priority for judicial appointments.²⁴ Ibn ʿAbbās conceded that they were expert in the *ḥadīth* (*ʿilm*) *al-nabī* and, accompanied by one of them, sought out the Anṣār, frequently writing down their materials.²⁵ Their claim of expertness, allowing for some exaggeration, should not be lightly dismissed if we judge by the large number of traditions transmitted by the Anṣār that found their way into the earliest extant *ḥadīth* collections of Ṭayālisī and Ibn Ḥanbal.

Such, then, was the background of Zaid ibn Thābit's service as deputy and judge under ʿUmar I and as editor-in-chief of the ʿUthmānic edition of the Qurʾān and of Anas ibn Mālik's prolific recording and transmission of *ḥadīth*.

Though the initial incentive for the emphasis on the *faḏāʾil* of the Anṣār reflected tribal glory and ambition, distinguished individual Anṣār such as those named in the papyrus text received special mention both in support of the tribal claims and in their own right. Ḥassān ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī tells of an early occasion during the reign of either ʿUmar I or ʿUthmān when Ibn ʿAbbās took exception to severe criticism of the Anṣār by drawing attention to their

¹⁶ Sūrah 1:9 and 100, 2:117. See Sūrah 3:52 and 61:14 for praise accorded the Apostles as the *anṣār* of Jesus.

¹⁷ *Sīrah* I 346, 607–9, 1007; manuscript of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Faḏāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* (*GAL* I 167 and *S* I 310, No. 12; Weisweiler, *Istanbul Handschriftenstudien zur arabischen Traditionsliteratur*, No. 74) folios 152–55; Ibn Ḥanbal II 501, 527 and IV 96, 100, 221; Bukhārī II 411 and III 4 ff., esp. III 7–9 and 34 f.; Muslim XVI 19–24, 67–72; Tirmidhī XIII 265–69. See also *Concordance* I 200 f. بغض and I 406 احب.

¹⁸ *Sīrah* I 824, 885 f.; manuscript of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Faḏāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, folios 6 and 152; Ibn Ḥanbal III 57, 76 f.; Bukhārī II 386; Muslim I 152–58.

¹⁹ See e.g. *Sīrah* I 355.

²⁰ *GAL* I 38 and *GAL S* I 67.

²¹ *Sīrah* I 886 f., 956 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal V 227–48, esp. pp. 230 and 233; Abū Nuʿaim I 240 f.; *Akhbār al-quḏāt* I 97–102.

²² Abū Nuʿaim I 123. Zaid and Muʿādh were among the four or five Anṣār who memorized the entire Qurʾān (see Nawawī's comment on Muslim XVI 19 f. and Tirmidhī XIII 263).

²³ See *Ansāb* I 565 and p. 188 above.

²⁴ Manuscript of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Faḏāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, folio 152; Ibn Ḥanbal II 364; Tirmidhī XII 287; *Akhbār al-quḏāt* I 108. See also pp. 218 f. above.

²⁵ Ṭabarī III 2336; *Mustadrak* I 106 f., III 538; *Iṣābah* II 806, quoting Baghawī. See also Aḥmad Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām*, p. 177.

services to Muḥammad and by enumerating their virtues.²⁶ The papyrus text (Traditions 3–4) describes Ibn ʿAbbās as honoring Zaid ibn Thābit as a scholar. The caliph Muʿāwiyah transmitted Muḥammad’s saying to the effect that God loves those who love the Anṣār and hates those who hate them.²⁷ Thus praise of the Anṣār as a group and praise of their leaders in various fields emerged together, as was also the case with the *faḍāʾil* of the Quraish.

With the First Civil War of Islām and the founding of the Umayyad dynasty the emphasis shifted somewhat from the Anṣār-Quraish rivalry to the feud between the ʿAlids and the ʿUthmānids, in which partisan stress on the *faḍāʾil* of ʿAlī competed with partisan stress on the *faḍāʾil* of ʿUthmān and presently of Muʿāwiyah, the Anṣār usually siding with the ʿAlid faction. The older Anṣār-Quraish differences were more or less replaced by opposition between the Anṣār and the Umayyads, which assumed serious proportions at times. For example, the Christian Ghīyāth ibn Ghauth al-Akḥṭal, poet laureate of the Umayyads, almost lost his tongue when he was ordered by Prince Yazīd the son of Muʿāwiyah to satirize the Anṣār because ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥassān ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī derided Quraishite claims to the caliphate and satirized and wrote amatory verses about members of the royal harem.²⁸ But presently, with the progress of the *shuʿūbiyyah* movement, which involved tension between Arab and non-Arab Muslims,²⁹ the Arab factions, particularly the Anṣār and the Quraish, closed ranks to some extent, so that in the *faḍāʾil* literature emphasis was placed on Muḥammad’s Companions, who represented all the Arab factions. By the time the different strands of a growing *faḍāʾil* literature were brought together during the second century, the literary demarcation between the *faḍāʾil* of the Anṣār and of the Quraish and to a lesser extent between the *faḍāʾil* of ʿAlī and of Muʿāwiyah³⁰ had become somewhat blurred, as is amply reflected in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* and in the *faḍāʾil* and *manāqib* chapters of the standard *ḥadīth* collections.³¹

Some of the well known traditionists, historians, and poets of the second century are known to have concerned themselves with the *manāqib* and *faḍāʾil* literature. Among these was Aʿmash, who dictated his ʿAlī materials to the Shīʿite poet Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (105–73/723–89) at the latter’s request. The poet augmented these, even offering to pay for materials turned over to him by the general public. He cast his collection of the *faḍāʾil* of ʿAlī into verse, which his four daughters recited.³² Sufyān al-Thaurī (d. 161/777), on the other hand, was impartial in the feud between ʿAlī and ʿUthmān, praising the first in ʿAlid Baṣrah and the second in ʿUthmānid Kūfah.³³ Again, Laith ibn Saʿd (d. 175/791) acquainted the Egyptians with the virtues (*faḍāʾil*) of ʿUthmān, whom they had criticized severely, while Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAyyāsh (d. 181/797) acquainted the Syrians with the virtues of ʿAlī, of whom they had been equally

²⁶ Tabarī III 2336 f.; *Mustadrak* III 544 f.

²⁷ See Ibn Ḥanbal IV 100, pp. 91–102 covering the *ḥadīth* of Muʿāwiyah.

²⁸ Aghānī XIII 148 and 154, XIV 122; *Iqd* III 140 f.

²⁹ See Goldziher, *Studien* I, chaps. iii–iv.

³⁰ See e.g. Maʿmūn’s declaration of the year 211/826 against Muʿāwiyah and in favor of ʿAlī (Ibn Taghribirdī II 617 f.). For a later development of the *faḍāʾil* of Muʿāwiyah see Charles Pellat, “Le culte de Muʿāwiyah au III^e siècle de l’hégire,” *Studia Islamica* VI (1956) 53–66. The traditionist and grammarian Abū ʿAmr al-Zāhid (261–345/874–956), better known as Ghulām Thaʿlab, insisted on reading aloud at the beginning of linguistic sessions a *juz* of the *faḍāʾil* of Muʿāwiyah (Khaṭīb II 357).

³¹ See Bukhārī II 382 to end, III 4–52; Muslim XVII 19–101; Tirmidhī XIII 201–303. Abū Dāʿūd’s *Faḍāʾil al-Anṣār*, mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalīfah (Vol. IV 447), does not seem to have survived. Nasāʾī’s *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* is not available to me; Ḥajjī Khalīfah (Vol. VI 156) points out that it draws heavily on the *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* of Ibn Ḥanbal. The Anṣār-Quraish rivalry at this time was in a measure a reflection of the persistent antagonism between the larger tribal groupings of the South and the North Arabs.

³² Aghānī VII 15; Süli, *Kitāb al-awraq*, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne (London, 1353/1934) p. 77; ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿah* I (1354/1935) 425. See also Goldziher, *Studien* II 91, 122.

³³ Abū Nuʿaim VII 26 f., 31 f.

critical.³⁴ As the second century progressed, the number of *faḏāʾil* and *manāqib* works increased. There were, for instance, Yaḥyā ibn al-Mubārak's *Manāqib Banū al-Abbās*,³⁵ Abū al-Bakhtarī's *Kitāb faḏāʾil al-Anṣār* and his more inclusive *Kitāb al-faḏāʾil al-kabīr* (see p. 233), Wāqidī's *Madāʾir Quraish wa al-Anṣār*³⁶ and his contemporary Haitham ibn ʿAdī's several works in this general field.³⁷

Faḏāʾil works of several categories continued to be produced throughout the third century not only by practically all the compilers of *ḥadīth* collections but by such scholars as ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī³⁸ and Abū ʿUbaid.³⁹ There were also the *Faḏāʾil Rabīʿah* and the *Faḏāʾil Kinānah* of ʿAllān al-Shuʿūbī, who is better known for his *Mathālib al-ʿArab*, where he vents his resentment against the Arabs in excessively antagonistic criticism.⁴⁰ As the third century progressed, still another category of *faḏāʾil* literature appeared, namely that in praise of the founders of the legal schools.⁴¹

Such, then, was the background for the literary activities of Zaid ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī and Anas ibn Mālik al-Anṣārī, both of whom—and their descendants—were involved in the transmission of our papyrus text. Rapid was the development of the *faḏāʾil* literature of which our fragmentary papyrus is, to the best of my knowledge, the earliest extant example.

³⁴ Khaṭīb XIII 7. See also Goldziher, *Studien* II 140.

³⁵ See *GAL* S I 170.

³⁶ See *Fihrist*, p. 99; *GAL* I 136 and *GAL* S I 207.

³⁷ See *Fihrist*, pp. 99 f.; *GAL* I 140 and *GAL* S I 213.

³⁸ See *Fihrist*, p. 101; *GAL* I 140 and *GAL* S I 214 f.

³⁹ See *GAL* S I 167.

⁴⁰ *Fihrist*, pp. 105 f.; see also *GAL* I 140. ʿAllān al-

Shuʿūbī was not the first to write on *mathālib*. Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān (Ziyād ibn Abīhi) is said to have composed such a work for the use of his sons, and Abū ʿUbaidah was a specialist in the field and also wrote *Faḏāʾil al-Furs* (see Kurd ʿAlī [ed.], *Rasāʾil al-bulaghā*, p. 271, and *Fihrist*, pp. 53 f.).

⁴¹ For these and still later *faḏāʾil* works see e.g. Khaṭīb IV 421; Ḥājjī Khalīfah IV 446–51.

DOCUMENT 13

Michigan Arabic Papyrus 5608(a). First half of third/ninth century.

Medium quality medium brown papyrus, ca. 23 × 19.8 cm., with 19 or 20 lines to the page and fairly wide upper and lower margins (Pls. 24–25). The inner margin and about three-tenths of the text area are lost, and there are large breaks in the center of the folio.

Script.—Practiced book hand, easily legible for the most part. A broad-nibbed pen, *qalam*, and thick black ink produced a heavy script, though not a large one. There is, in fact, marked economy of size for some of the letters, especially for some cases of initial *ṣād* and *dād* and initial and medial *sīn*. Medial *‘ain* is barely distinguishable from medial *fā* or *qāf* except in recto 16 where the older open form is used. The almost Kūfic form of *kāf* prevails except in verso 4 where the upper stroke is omitted. Diacritical points are sparingly used in most of the text and only for *bā*, *tā*, *thā*, *nūn*, and *yā*, especially in proper names. Vowels are missing except for a *fathah* over the *qāf* of “Qais” (recto 1), which is accompanied by a *sukūn* that belongs with the following *yā*. The *shaddah*, though not indicated, is called for because of the use of the older الليل, instead of الليل, in recto 11, 15, and 17. The circle is used for punctuation.

TEXT

RECTO

- (1) 1 [حدثنا علي بن معبد قال حدثنا محمد بن الحسن عن اسامة بن زيد عن محمد بن قيس
 2] كان رسا أول الله يصلى فدخل بعض بني ابي سلمة فذهب
 3] . . [دخلت زينب ابنت ابي سلمة فاشار
 4] الأوتر وقال هي اطيب ○ (2) حدثنا علي بن معبد قال
 5] [حدثنا فلان بن فلان عن [أر بن الناس العبد] عن المقبرى عن ابي هريرة ان
 6] [رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وضع يده اليمنا على ركبته ○ (3) حدثنا علي بن معبد
 7] [قال حدثنا يزيد مولى الاكواع عن سلمة بن الاكوع صاحب رسول الله قال ثلثة
 8] لم يكأن على الا تيمم واحد قال فما درده وان لم يجد الا
 9] [التراب قال فذاك ○ (4) حدثنا علي بن معبد قال حدثنا بكار بن عبد الله الربذي عن [م] [أسلى] [بن عبيدة
 10] [الربذي عن فلان بن فلان الفلاني] عن [أ] ابي سلمة بن عبد الرحمن عن [أ] ايشة زوج النبي انها
 11] [قالت ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كان اذا صلى بالاناس صلاة الليل اجتمع اليه من في المسجد
 12] [اليه ودخل البيت وناس تثبتت
 13] [وكان رسول الله يامرهم بما يطيقون فجعلوا يتحمون ويتسبلون فجرمو] (أ) به
 14] [فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ا] كفوا من العمل ما تطيقون فان الله لا يمل حتى تملوا
 15] [يعلمهم صلاة الليل نزلت يا ايها المزل فترلة بمنزلة

- [16] مرضى ان احدهم يتعلق الحبل فيتنوط به فلما را
 [17] . . فقال ان [راكب يعلم انك تقوم ادنا من ثلثي الليل
 18 [ونصفه وثلثه فاقروا ما تيسر من القرآآن فعلم ان سيكون منكم مرضا واخرون يضربون في
 19 [الارض يتبعون من فضل الله واخرون] يقاتلون في سبيل الله فردهم الى الفريضة ووضع
 20 [عنهم قيام الليل] كتاب اخرها مثلها كان من كانت

VERSO

- 1 له حاجة الى رسول الله ثم يكلمه بحاجته فانـ[زلت يابها الذين امنوا اذا ناجيتم]
 2 الرسول فقدموا بين يدي نجواكم صدقة ذلك خير لكم واطهر]
 3 الله درى ما تكلفون من ذلك فقال اشفقتـ[لم ان تقدموا بين يدي نجواكم صدقات]
 4 فان لم تفعلوا وتاب الله عليكم فاقيموا [الصلاة واتوا الزكاة واطيعوا الله]
 5 ورسوله والله خبير بما تعملون فوضع عنـ[هم فريضة الصدقة في نجواهم ○]
 6 (5) حدثنا على بن معبد قال حدثنا محمد بن الحسن [عن
 7 عكرمة عن بن العباس [قال قال رسول الله فـ]
 8 وتاخير السحور والاسلام] على اليسار في الـ [(6) حدثنا على بن معبد
 9 [قال حدثنا فلان بن فلان عـ[ن يونس عن الاعمش عن عبد الـ]
 10 [رسول الاله]
 11 يحرم لا اصلى ولا تصلوا في مقـ[ا] [بار] [م] ○ (7) حدثنا على بن معبد قال حدثنا فلان بن فلان
 12 عن مخزومة بن بكير عن ابيه عن عبد الله بن []
 13 على بساط ○ (8) حدثنا على بن معبد قال حدثنا [فلان بن فلان عن فلان بن فلان انه]
 14 قال صلى بنا ابن عباس على بسـ[ا]ط وصلى بنا محـ]
 15 (9) حدثنا على بن معبد قال حدثنا مـ[ر]و[ان بن معاوية]
 16 عن عتبة بن عبد السلمي عن ابي (فلان) الـ[ا]
 17 الجماعة ثم ثبت فيه حتى يسبح فتسجد الصحابة]
 18 وتامة له عمرته ○ (10) حدثنا على بن معبد قال حدثنا [فلان بن فلان عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه]
 19 عن عبد الله بن الارقـ[م] [قال سمـ[ع]ت رسول الله يقول اذا اراد احدكم ان يذهب
 20 [الى الخلاء واقامت الصلاة فليذهب الى الخلاء ○]

Comments.—Tradition 1. The Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan of the *isnād* is in all probability Shaibānī (see pp. 115, 124, 142, 153). The reconstruction of the *isnād* is based on the *isnād* of Tradition 5, which names both Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan and ‘Alī ibn Ma‘bad.

The Usāmah of the *matn* is either Usāmah ibn Zaid ibn Aslam, who died during the reign of Maṣūf, or his contemporary Usāmah ibn Zaid al-Laithī (d. 153/770). Both of these traditionists were approved by some critics and rejected by others (Ibn Sa‘d V 305; Bukhārī, *Ta‘rīkh* I 2, pp. 37 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, pp. 284 f.; *Jam‘* I 41; *Mīzān* I 82).

The sources mention a number of traditionists named Muḥammad ibn Qais, and it is not

possible to identify the one of the papyrus text. On the basis of time and place the judge Muḥammad ibn Qais al-Zaiyāt seems most likely (Ibn Saʿd VI 251; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 61; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 1, pp. 210–12, esp. No. 666).

Zainab bint Abī Salamah was Muḥammad's stepdaughter, who joined his household as a child when Muḥammad married her widowed mother, Umm Salamah. Zainab transmitted from several of Muḥammad's wives and acquired a reputation for religious learning, being known as one of the best *fuqahāʾ* (Ibn Saʿd VIII 338; *Istīʿāb* II 135; *Usd* V 468; *Iṣābah* IV 607 f.; *Jamʿ* II 607).

The tradition involves the *ṣalāt al-witr* (see p. 202), in the performance of which a great deal of leeway was allowed. Several of Muḥammad's wives are frequently cited in the chapters devoted to this theme, but no parallel for this tradition from Zainab has yet been found.

Tradition 2. ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad heads the *isnād*'s of six of the ten traditions, and other factors suggest that he headed those of Traditions 1 and 4 also. It is very probable that he headed the two remaining *isnād*'s (Traditions 6–7). He must be one of the two traditionists so named who are discussed in connection with Document 12 (see pp. 255, 267 f.).

The last letter of the first name in recto 5 can be read as *d*, *dh*, *r*, or *z*, while the next to the last letter is either *ā* or *l*. The third letter in the second name can be read as either *n* or *y*. Together the two words present more than a score of possibilities for the full name. Trial of such common names as Bashshār, Bakhār, ʿAmmār, Siwār, Yasār, Ḥammād, Saʿʿād, Sawād, and Khālid proved fruitless but led to the name الناس بن الياس (see Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-ishtiqāq*, p. 20; Ṭabarī I 1108; Dhahabī, *Al-mushtabih*, ed. P. de Jong [Lugduni Batavorum, 1298/1881] p. 551).

The Maqburī of recto 5 is Saʿīd ibn Abī Saʿīd al-Maqburī of Medina (d. 123/741), who is known to have transmitted from Abū Hurairah (Ibn Saʿd V 61 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, p. 434; *Jarḥ* I 2, p. 85; *Jamʿ* I 167; Dhahabī I 110).

The tradition refers to the placing of the hands on the knees during the several kneelings called for in the prayer service. *Concordance* II 296 f. ركبۃ and 298 f. ركع yielded no references to possible parallels in Ibn Ḥanbal's *musnad* of Abū Hurairah (Ibn Ḥanbal II 228–541). A parallel may become available when ید is indexed in the *Concordance*.

Tradition 3. The reconstruction of recto 7 is based on the space available, the surviving final separate ʿain, and the fact that Yazīd ibn Abī ʿUbaid (d. 147/764; see Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 348; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 280; *Jamʿ* II 567 f.) was a client of Salamah ibn al-Akwaʿ (d. 74/693), whose materials he is known to have transmitted (Ibn Saʿd IV 2, pp. 38–41; *Istīʿāb* I 567 f.; *Usd* II 333; *Iṣābah* II 226, 234; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 166; *Mustadrak* III 562; Nawawī, pp. 295 f.; *Jamʿ* I 190). For Rabdhah, on the Ḥijāz road between Faid and Mecca, see Yāqūt II 749.

The tradition refers to ritualistic purification through the use of acceptable substitutes for water such as sand, clean earth, or snow, a process usually treated in *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* works under the heading التيمم though the papyrus (recto 8) has تميم (see Sūrahs 4:43, 5:6; *Tafsīr* VIII 385–87; *Concordance* II 267 تراب and III 312 صعيد, esp. Bukhārī I 97 f. and Nasāʾī I 70 and 73 f.; *Kitāb al-umm* I 39–44; see also p. 189, comment on Tradition 5).

Tradition 4. An *isnād* link preceding Bakkār is called for by the number of links in the *isnād*'s of the other traditions and by the terminology, which requires حدثنا فلان بن فلان قال rather than ʿanʿanah. The space available suggests that the first link was ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad.

Bakkār ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Rabdhī (n.d.) was discredited because, as in the papyrus text,

he transmitted mostly from his uncle Mūsā ibn ‘Ubaidah al-Rabadhī (d. 153/770), who was considered generally a weak traditionist (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 121; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 409, and IV 1, pp. 151 f.; *Mīzān* I 158 f., III 214; *Lisān* II 43 f.) Sam‘ānī, folio 248 recto, and Yāqūt II 748 f. supply information on the various members of this family. For Abū Salamah (d. 94/713 or 104/722) see pages 250 f.

This long tradition has no complete parallel for either the *isnād* or the *matn*, but some of its themes either are scattered through other long traditions or form separate short traditions (see *Concordance* صلاة, فرض). All of them trace back, as in the papyrus text, to Abū Salamah ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān on the authority of ‘Ā’ishah. The main theme emphasizes the concept that neither God (Sūrah 2:285) nor Muḥammad (Bukhārī IV 411 f.) had any wish to overburden the believers with commands and duties beyond their abilities to obey and perform without great sacrifice for themselves and their families. We have seen (p. 253) that Muḥammad favored moderation in charitable giving, for the protection of the interests of the giver’s family and kin. This tradition specifically guards against excesses in night vigils and in gifts and almsgiving. Related traditions are quite numerous (see *Concordance* I 27 اكلوا and IV 55 خذوا من العمل, esp. Bukhārī I 18 f. and 491; Muslim VI 70–74, VIII 38; Ibn Ḥanbal II 257, VI 84 and 128; *Muwattaʿ* I 18 f.; Ṭayālīsī, pp. 207, No. 1480, and 308, No. 2351).

Note الليل instead of الليل (in recto 11, 15, and 17), which is still the Qur’ānic usage (Ibn Qutaibah, *Adab al-kātib*, pp. 266 f.). The لا before the last word of recto 12 in the photograph (Pl. 24) is part of the text of the verso, which has a fold at this point. ‘Ā’ishah is prolific in her accounts of Muḥammad’s prayers, private or public, by day or by night. Here (recto 10–14) she is relating an instance of his prolonged night prayers, a practice which others in the mosque wished to follow but which he did not wish to impose on them. The incident seems to be the same as that reported, though not in identical terms, in Ibn Ḥanbal VI 267, with an *isnād* of eight links instead of the six of the papyrus text, which describes Muḥammad’s night vigils during Ramaḍān. Reconstructions of the papyrus text are based mainly on this incident and partly (recto 13) on Ibn Ḥanbal VI 61. Bukhārī (Vol. I 499 f.) and Ibn al-Jauzī (*Taʾrīkh ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*, pp. 60–62) elaborate on a similar episode and describe measures taken by ‘Umar I to carry out Muḥammad’s intention.

Recto 15–20 covers supererogatory night prayers. Lines 15–17 give one version of the occasion on which Sūrah 73:1–7 was revealed, while lines 17–19 quote parts of verse 20, a long one, of Sūrah 73. These verses allow for moderation of the practice of excessive night vigils that was thought to be called for by Sūrahs 17:79 and 76:26 and raise the question of abrogated verses (see *Risālah*, pp. 18 f.; Bukhārī I 283–96, esp. p. 288; *Tafsīr* XXIX 75–77). ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib tells of Muḥammad’s earlier insistence on night vigils (see e.g. Sūrah 11:114; Ibn Ḥanbal I 91). Muḥammad is also said to have equated late night and early morning congregational prayers with private vigils for a half and the whole of a night respectively (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal I 58 and 68).

Some overzealous men and women kept all-night vigils, especially since prayer in the last third of the night was said to be heard and answered and to bring forgiveness of sins. In order to keep awake they tied themselves (as in recto 16) to a rope, itself tied to some fixed object, so that should they doze and bend head and body the rope would jerk them awake. Muḥammad did not approve of the practice and ordered the rope removed (*Muwattaʿ* I 214; Ibn Ḥanbal II 383; Bukhārī IV 479; see also *Concordance* I 414 حبل ممدود بين السارين, esp.

Bukhārī I 290 f., Muslim VI 72 f., and Ibn Ḥanbal VI 268; *Concordance* II 425 سارية المسجد; p. 254 above).

The night vigils of the Muslims undoubtedly reflect similar practices among the Jews and Christians (see e.g. Tor Andrae, *Mohammed, The Man and His Faith*, trans. Theophil Menzel [New York, 1936] pp. 81–93; Richard Bell, *The Origins of Islam in Its Christian Environment* [London, 1926] p. 147).

The reconstructions in recto 20 and verso 5 are conjectural. The text continues with the theme of moderation but with special reference to almsgiving, quoting Sūrah 58: 12–13, which verses are said to involve abrogation of other verses (see e.g. Tirmidhī XII 184; *Tafsīr* XXVIII 13–15).

Tradition 5. See Tradition 1 for Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan and Tradition 2 for ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad. For ʿIkrimah and Ibn ʿAbbās see pages 100, 101 (n. 53), 112, and 157.

The text is too broken to be of any use in a search for parallels. For the theme in general see Tirmidhī III 221 f. and Nasāʾī I 303 f. (see also *Concordance* I 478 and II 435 تاخير السحور and II 510 سلم على يمينه وشماله).

Tradition 6. The Yūnus of the *isnād* is undoubtedly the Kūfan traditionist Yūnus ibn Bukair (d. 199/814), who is known to have transmitted from Aʿmash. He is known also as an *akhbārī* who transmitted from Ibn Ishāq and is credited with a *maghāzī-sīrah* work. His transmission from Ibn Ishāq was suspect according to Abū Dāʿūd because “he takes the speech of Ibn Ishāq and joins it to the *ḥadīth*” (*Mīzān* III 336). Most of the critics wrote down his *ḥadīth* but would not use it as proof. Some fragments of his work have survived (see Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuhā al-Islām* II 330; *GAL* S I 206, n. 2; Guillaume’s translation of *Sīrah*, p. xvii). For biographical entries see Ibn Saʿd VI 279, *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 236, *Jamʿ* II 586, Dhahabī I 299, and *Mīzān* III 336. See also Johann Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq* (Frankfurt am Main, 1925) p. 44.

The ʾ and the *alif* of أصلى are clearly visible on the small fold. The last preserved word can be read معايدهم or preferably مقابريهم. Though traditions that caution Muslims against worshipping in temples or churches are known, they are seemingly not so numerous as traditions that frown on worship at tombs and shrines, even those of prophets, including Muḥammad (*Muwattaʿ* I 172, II 892; Ibn Ḥanbal VI 275; Bukhārī I 118 f., 120 f.; Muslim V 2 f., 11–13; Ibn Mājah I 130; Nasāʾī I 115; Abū Nuʿaim IX 53; see also *Concordance* I 28 اتخذوا and II 430 مسجد).

Traditions 7–8. Despite the small fold in the papyrus, the first name in verso 12 is مخزومة, the small *rāʾ* being visible on the fold. The broken word between ʿan and this name seems to be an insertion and can be read ابيه or preferably عمه, the size of the *alif* or ʿain being conditioned partly by the fact of insertion. The less likely reading ابي was discarded because the biographical sources do not list an Abū Makhramah ibn Bukair but do list Makhramah ibn Bukair (d. 159/776) as a well known *rāwī* and traditionist. He transmitted from his father, as in the papyrus text, and most of the critics state that his father did not transmit orally to him but that for all his *ḥadīth* he drew on his father’s books which had come into his possession, by will or by *wijādah*. We know that his father, Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj (see pp. 209, 218), did indeed collect and use manuscripts in his transmission (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 16; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 363 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, pp. 105 and 144; *Jamʿ* I 59, II 510; *Mīzān* III 155).

The *ḥadīth* in the standard collections have much to say about the floor covering Muḥammad and some of the leading Companions used when they were praying. Straw mats, small

rugs, fur pieces, and even outer clothing were used by different ones and at different times (see e.g. Ibn Sa‘d I 2, pp. 159 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal I 233 and 273, III 212, VI 106 and 179; Bukhārī I 108 f., IV 130 f.; Abū Nu‘aim III 351, VIII 323; *Concordance* I 180 بساط, I 309 ثوب, II 473 حصير, II 81 خمرة, III 400 باب). Some argued for praying on bare ground except in very hot or very cold weather (see e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal III 217, 239, 242; Ibn Mājah I 166).

Tradition 9. Marwān ibn Mu‘āwiyah al-Fazārī (d. 193/809) was a cousin of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Fazārī of Document 10. Originally of Kūfah, he stayed at various times in Baghdād, Damascus, and Mecca. He died in Mecca. He was known for his photographic memory, and his *ḥadīth* was written down by most of his hearers, who included several of the leaders in the cities he visited. He was considered generally trustworthy except in his transmission from unknown men (Ibn Sa‘d VII 2, p. 73; Bukhārī, *Ta‘rīkh* IV 1, p. 372; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 272 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 130; Khaṭīb XIII 149–52; *Jam‘* II 501; Dhahabī I 272; *Mīzān* III 161).

Abū al-Walīd ‘Utbaḥ ibn ‘Abd al-Sulamī (d. 87/706 at age 94) is said to be the last Companion who died in Ḥimṣ, that is, in Syria. Khālid ibn Ma‘dān (see p. 225) was among his transmitters. The sources at hand do not state that ‘Utbaḥ transmitted from any other Companion or from a Successor, yet the *isnād* indicates that he did. Clarification of his identity is called for because of confusion of his name with that of ‘Utbaḥ ibn al-Nuddar al-Sulamī (Ibn Sa‘d VII 2, p. 132; *Jarḥ* III 2, pp. 521 f.; *Istī‘āb*, p. 494; *Iṣābah* II 1084, 1089; *Usd* III 362 f., 367 f.).

The *Concordance* provides no fruitful clues, through the main words of verso 17–18, to a parallel or closely related tradition. Yet the performance and the regulation of congregational prayers are frequently mentioned and greatly stressed (see e.g. *Concordance* I 370 f. جماعة).

Tradition 10. ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Arḡam al-Zuhrī (d. 35/656) is not to be confused with ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Arḡam al-Makhzūmī, whose father’s house (*dār al-Arḡam*) in Mecca was put at Muḥammad’s disposal during the earlier years of his mission. The marginal notation indicates that prayer is the subject of the tradition. The fragment of text in verso 19 fits well with the one widely known tradition on prayer that was transmitted by ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Arḡam al-Zuhrī to ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubair, who transmitted it to his son Hishām, who transmitted it to a great many people. The text is completed on the basis of Ibn Ḥanbal III 483, which has a number of parallels with linguistic variants but with the same meaning (cf. Abū Dā‘ūd I 22; Dārimī I 332; Tirmidhī I 233–35; see also *Concordance* II 78 خلاء and *Mustadrak* III 335). The biographical entries, some of which cite this tradition, state that this ‘Abd Allāh served Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, and ‘Umar I as a scribe and that both ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān appointed him to the public treasury (Ibn Sa‘d IV 2, p. 33; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 1; *Istī‘āb* I 336 f.; *Usd* I 60, III 115 f.; *Iṣābah* II 672–74).

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

I

Since ‘Alī ibn Ma‘bad heads the *isnād*’s of the six traditions whose first link survives and since there is good reason to believe that two other traditions (Nos. 1 and 4) also started with him, there is a strong possibility that the partially preserved *isnād*’s of the two remaining traditions (Nos. 6–7) began with him. Moreover, since the death dates of his immediate sources for the papyrus text range from 147 to 193 A.H. (see Traditions 3 and 9), he must be the older of the two ‘Irāqī traditionists so named who settled in Egypt (see p. 255), where the

papyrus was found, namely ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad ibn Shaddād (d. 218/833 or 228/843). The younger ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad ibn Nūḥ (d. 259/873) transmitted from “the Elder” and therefore could have been the transmitter or owner of the papyrus. This suggestion, of course, does not eliminate the possibility of some other Egyptian transmitter of about the first half of the third century.

II

The ten marginal notations of *ṣalāt* seem to be original though hardly needed since the entire folio deals with prayer and comes in all probability from an organized *ḥadīth* collection (*ḥadīth mubawwab*). Considering the basic role of prayer and worship in Islām, it is not surprising that references to Muḥammad’s practices predominate in the papyrus text. Six of the ten traditions either cite him or describe his actions, and it is possible that the lost text of Traditions 7 and 9 did likewise. Traditions 3 and 8 refer to the practices of his Companions.

Though much of the text is too broken to provide clues that might lead to parallels, it should be noted that such text as has survived does have adequate enough parallels and related traditions.

The *isnād*’s are rich with the names of traditionists from the Companions onward who are known to have compiled or used written collections of *ḥadīth* and who have been encountered in several of the other documents. Quite a number of the *isnād*’s, though broken, provide evidence of continuous written transmission for two or more steps in the early as well as the later links up to and including ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad. We have Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿIkrimah (Tradition 5), Aʿmash and Yūnus ibn Bukair (Tradition 6), Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj and his son Makhramah (Tradition 7), ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair and his son Hishām (Tradition 10), Shaibānī and ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad (Tradition 5). It is my well considered opinion that if the *isnād*’s were not broken the document would yield several instances of continuous written transmission for every step of several complete *isnād*’s.

DOCUMENT 14

Michigan Arabic Papyrus No. 5608(b). First half of third/ninth century.

Fragment of medium brown medium quality papyrus folio whose original format works out to about 23×26.7 cm., giving it the same width as that of Document 13, with which it was found. The papyrus represents a book folio with 30–32 lines to the page. The greater part of the upper half of the piece is lost, and there are many breaks and several large lacunae in the lower half (Pls. 26–27). The upper and outer margins measure 1.6 and 2 cm. respectively, the lower margins are preserved to a width of 0.75 cm., and the inner margins are completely lost.

Script.—Small cursive book hand that is for the most part fairly legible. Diacritical points are on the whole sparingly used, mostly for *bāʾ* and its sister forms and for *nūn* and *yāʾ* and occasionally for *jīm* (recto 26), *dhāl* (recto 15), *fāʾ* (recto 26), and *qāf* (verso 11). The scribe lifted the pen in order to write ligatured horizontal strokes downward. The circle is used for punctuation.

TEXT

RECTO

[عن زرع]ة [	(1) 1
حدثنا ○ (2) [	] 2
حدثنا ابو نعايم ○ (3) [	] 3
[سكن فيه هناك	] قال حدثنا فلان 4
حدثنا ابو نعايم ○ (4) [	] قال حدثنا فلان 5
(5) حدثنا ابو نعيم قال حدثنا على بن شداد الاكبر قال	] 6
قال كان لا يرانا	] (6) حدثنا فلان 7
[فيقول انصرفوا	] (7) 8
[. مسافرا ○ (9) حدثنا	] (8) 9
[ين عند مطر كانت على ساقية ابن الب [	] 10
[المسلم ○ (10) [حدثنا يزيد بن هروان عن ابراهيم وبنان عن ا [	] 11
[. . .] (11) حدثنا ابو نعايم قال حدثنا سعير عن يزيد بن [هرون [	] 12
قال سمع [. . . فقالوا لا بارك الله بك واذا رايتمـ[وه [	] 13
[(12) [حدثنا يزيد بن هرون قال حدثنا سلام بن مسكين قال كنت اذهب اقرا [ [	] 14
[عمرو العبدى قيل والو [تلك العذرة فى المدبرة قال سبحان الله يا عـ[مرو [	] 15
[فـ[بروهم العذرات قال [عذرة وتتخذونها بحسن كل المروة [○ (13) حدثنا [	] 16

17 [يزيد قال حدثنا سلام بن مسكين قال حدثني شيخ [في] المسجد الجامع قال سمعت ابن الزبير يسئل عنها]

18 [راوى حديثها فقال ذلك [انه] قد خرج من رحمة الله الى غضبته ○

19 [14] حدثنا ابو نعيم [قال حدثني ابان بن صمعة عن جرير بن عبد الحميد قال نها رسول الله عن ذلك ○

20 [15] حدثنا ابو نعيم قال اخبرني [فلان عن ابي معشر قال اتا ابا هريرة رجل فيه حُسبة فقال يا ابا هريرة

21 [. . . .] اتاني فقال لا تامن بذلك ○ [16] حدثنا يزيد قال اخبرنا حسان بن معبد

22 [كنا ناتي دا]ر المطرح فنسمع قراته فقلنا ليس كل [أر] فقال صلاة النهار عجلة قال بلى

23 [. .] وانا رجل اصم فاريد ان اسمع بشى ○ [17] حدثنا يزيد قال اخبرنا حسان

24 [قال ان ولد]ان كعب حملا الجنابة ○ [18] حدثنا ابو نعيم قال حدثنا سعيير عن الاعمش عن [ن]

ابراهيم

25 [النخعي قال اخبرني ابو] أناس [انه] منع حد ○ [19] حدثنا [ابو نعيم قال] حدثنا شعبة عن

الاعمش عن [أبر]

26 [هيم انه قال] السفر بالشور [ط]ار في البحر ○ [20] [حدثنا ابو نعيم قال حدثنا سعيير عن] الاعمش

27 [. .] يدفعوا معه عهد ولا يحرف [] [21] حدثنا ابو نعيم [قال حدثنا

28 [سعيير باسناده] قبال يمين بعد اجماع فهو [تلا] ○ [22] [حدثنا ابو نعيم قال حدثنا سعيير عن] الاعمش

عن ابراهيم

29 [] في السلب [] [23] [عن ابراهيم قال لا باس بالبيع]

30 [] [24] قال لا باس اذا يبيعه

[] [25] [. . . .] [. . . .]

[] قال هذا كقوله بكتابك [○]

VERSO

1 [26] حدثنا ابو نعيم

2 قال حدثنا سعيير قال حدثنا

3 ان يحسن اليه [] [28]

4 فيحثه بصلاة

5 سعيير عن الاعمش [عن ابراهيم

6 الاعمش عن ابراهيم

7 يعنى في بير السك [] [31]

8 حدثنا بدر بن مروان [] [32]

9 [عن] ابي حمزة عن ابراهيم قال غربة الاولين [32a]

10 [عن] ابراهيم انه كسب من نَعَم الصلاة تمه او []

11 [] [أحرق] لاخذ ما ترك لهم فيستلم [] [أقربيع]

- [12 [الاجل قد رسل بقيمة شى من البيعة ○ (33) [حدثنا] ابو نعيم قال اخبرنا
- [13 [الاولى ثنا على الله والثانية صلاة على النبي والثالثة دعا للمسلمين ○ (34)
- [14 [. . . . قال سمعت عطا يقول ليكن على مـ[عبد ولا على بـ]
- [15 (35) حدثنا ابو نعيم قال حدثنا سعيير عن [ا]لا[عم]اش عن الشعبي قال فان [
- [16 [اسمعيل ○ (36) حدثنا ابو نعيم قال [حدثنا] سعيير عن الشيباني عن [
- [17 [. . . . ○ (37) حدثنا ابو نعيم قال [حدثنا] سعيير عن الشيباني عن [
- [18 [. . . . ○ (38) حدثنا ابو نعيم قال حدثنا سعيير
- [19 ويعلمه او حفظ لهم مكان طعام ○ (39) حدثنا ابو نعيم قال [حدثنا] سعيير
- [20 كل مسقاة اذ وجد او رهينة ولى اعوان فترع به وما كان قد الخوا ○ (40) حدثنا ابو نعيم
- [21 قال حدثنا سعيير عن الشيباني عن الشعبي قال ليس عليه جرم الا ان يوجد بغى له ○ (41) حدثنا
ابو نعيم]
- [22 قال حدثنا س[عير] عن [الشيباني عن الشعبي قال فزاد عنها قيل ان تدخل سقيفة البيت ○ (42) حدثنا
ابو نعيم]
- [23 [ح]د[ث]نا [س]عير عن الشيباني عن الشعبي قال [] . . . ○ (43) حدثنا ابو نعيم قال
حدثنا س[عير] عن الشيباني عن [
- [24 الش[عبي] قال [اول من بعث من الـ] . . . است قال سعيير ان الشيباني [قال حدثنى
فلان قال]
- [25 حدثنى ع[] بن فلان [عن عبد الله بن بـ] . . . فاخذ من نصه ○ (44) حدثنا
ابو نعيم قال حدثنا سعيير]
- [26 عن سُرُخ قال من اشترط لصلاة [] . . . او ودسا أخذت ○ (45) حدثنا ابو نعيم
[قال حدثنا سعيير عن]
- [27 مطر ودينار عن الـ . . .] (46) حدثنا ابوا نعيم قال اخبرنى شعبة قال [
- [28 [ابو بكر مطرف الحارثي] (47) []
- [29 [كان في الـ] []
- [30 [. . . . قال من كان له البيت]

Comments.—*Traditions 1–9.* The ten marginal notations—نكاح, طلاق, صلاة (twice), فضائل, حج (thrice), بيع, and وتر الليل / لسفر [against the first nine or ten lines of the recto suggest ten short traditions in about as many lines. Short traditions, some less than one line long, seem to be characteristic of the whole folio.

Lone and incomplete names appear frequently in the broken *isnād*'s, for example Zar'ah of recto 1. Where, in addition, the *matn* is lost to the point of providing no clues to possible parallels, it is usually impossible to identify these isolated though fairly common names. Note the reconstruction of the *isnād* of Tradition 5. The word الاكبر is clear enough, but

the last three letters of [ش]داد are crowded so that the *alif* overlaps the initial stroke of the second *dāl*.

For ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad ibn Shaddād see pages 255 and 268. The Abū Nuʿaim who repeatedly heads the *isnād*'s is the well known ʿIrāqī traditionist Abū Nuʿaim Faḍl ibn Dukain (130–219/747–834), whose literary activities are detailed on page 275.

Tradition 10. The Yazīd who heads the *isnād* is no doubt Yazīd ibn Hārūn (118–206/736–821), who heads the *isnād* of Tradition 12 and appears repeatedly in the document. His literary activities are discussed below along with those of Abū Nuʿaim. Yazīd may have headed some of the lost or broken *isnād*'s. The reconstruction of the beginning of such *isnād*'s is determined, where no other clues are available, by the space available for the writing of Abū Nuʿaim, Yazīd, or Yazīd ibn Hārūn. In any case, Abū Nuʿaim definitely heads most of the surviving *isnād*'s.

No Ibrāhīm nor Bayān nor Bunān is specified in the available lists of traditionists from whom Yazīd transmitted. Such lists, however, are seldom complete. In this case they state that Yazīd transmitted from “others” and “many more.” Furthermore, there were several ʿIrāqī contemporaries of Yazīd with these first names.

Tradition 11. One would expect the name of Abū Nuʿaim's source to read مسعر, for Misʿar ibn Kidām of Kūfah (d. 152/769 or 155/772), from whom, according to the sources, both Abū Nuʿaim and Yazīd ibn Hārūn transmitted. Misʿar was known for his piety, and he was called *al-muṣḥaf* because of his accuracy with traditions. He had a collection of about a thousand traditions, all but ten of which were written down by his pupil Muḥammad ibn Bishr (see Ibn Saʿd VI 253 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 13; *Maʿārif*, p. 243; *Jarḥ, Taqdimah*, p. 154; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 368 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 118; Khaṭīb XII 346; Abū Nuʿaim VII 209–70, pp. 222–70 of which represent Muḥammad ibn Bishr's *ḥadīth* collection; *Jamʿ* II 519; Nawawī, pp. 547 f.; Dhahabī I 177 f.). Paleographically, however, the name given here and repeatedly, if we assume that the same person is meant in recto 12, 24, 26, 28 and verso 5, 15–18, 21–22, is preferably to be read as the less common شقير or سعير. For, though it is possible to read the last letter of the name as *nūn*, no likely names ending in *nūn* have appeared. Furthermore, that letter is not much different from the *rāʾ* in Zarʿah of recto 1 and *kabbar* of recto 22. The biographical literature yielded only one likely possibility, namely the Kūfan Suʿair ibn al-Khims (n.d.), a contemporary of the Kūfan Abū Nuʿaim and of Yazīd ibn Hārūn, to both of whom he could have transmitted and actually did if the reading of the name is correct. The *ḥadīth* critic Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn considered Suʿair trustworthy (*thiqah*), and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī permitted the writing-down of his traditions though not as independent proof (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, p. 214; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 323; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 167, No. 1332; *Jamʿ* I 209). The fact that the sources do not specify that Suʿair transmitted to either Abū Nuʿaim or Yazīd ibn Hārūn could be explained on the basis of Suʿair's comparative obscurity and because the sources specifically stress the large number of transmitters to Abū Nuʿaim, who “wrote down traditions from over a hundred shaikhs,” and to Yazīd, who “transmitted from and to countless people” (Nawawī, p. 636; Dhahabī I 292, 339; see also p. 275 below).

The Yazīd of recto 12 could well be Yazīd ibn Hārūn, since the exchange of materials was a common practice among traditionists. He could, on the other hand, be an earlier Yazīd.

Tradition 12. Salām (or Sallām) ibn Miskīn of Baṣrah (d. 164/781 or 167/784) was a trusted traditionist from whom both Yazīd and Abū Nuʿaim transmitted (Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 40; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, p. 135; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 258; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 119; *Mīzān* I 402). The ʿAmrah of recto 15 is in all probability an error for ʿAmr since men seldom bore the name ʿAmrah

(Ṭabarī, Index, has but one; cf. p. 29 above). It is not possible to determine whether any of the several men named ‘Amr al-‘Abdī is the one of this text.

Concordance II 107 f. دبر and IV 172 عذرة yield no clues for parallels.

Tradition 13. The transmitter from Salām is either Yazīd or Abū Nu‘aim. The Ibn al-Zubair of the *isnād* is most probably ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubair, although there is a slight possibility that he is ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair, whose *musnad* is to be found in Ibn Ḥanbal IV 3–6.

Traditions 14–15. Tradition 15 is intended either to confirm or deny the burden of Tradition 14. So far as can be determined from the fragmentary text, these two traditions and Tradition 33 are the only ones that refer to the *ḥadīth* or *sunnah* of Muḥammad.

Abān ibn Ṣam‘ah al-Anṣārī of Baṣrah (d. 153/770) apparently was not very well known (see Bukhārī, *Ta‘rīkh* I 1, pp. 452 f.; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 297; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 115; *Jam‘* I 41 f.; *Mizān* I 6).

Jarīr ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (110–88/728–804) of Rayy and Kūfah had a written collection of *ḥadīth* from which he read or dictated (see p. 151). Unless Abān was young when he died, we have here another case of an older man transmitting from a younger one (see p. 180).

The Abū Ma‘shar of Tradition 15 is Abū Ma‘shar Najīḥ ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān of Sind and Medina (d. 170/787), who was bought by the royal Umm Mūsā and who served the caliph Maḥdī as jurist. He is known for a *maghāzī* work but was considered by many as a weak traditionist, particularly for his *isnād*'s. However, he held *ḥadīth* sessions and transmitted from and to many leading Medinan and ‘Irāqī traditionists, and a number of his transmitters wrote down his *ḥadīth* (Ibn Sa‘d V 309; *Ma‘ārif*, p. 253; Bukhārī, *Ta‘rīkh* IV 2, p. 114; *Fihrist*, p. 93; *Jarḥ* IV 1, pp. 493–95; *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III 256; Dhahabī I 216 f.; *Mizān* III 228 f.; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 278).

Traditions 16–17. Ḥassān ibn Ma‘bad cannot be identified from the sources at hand. He was probably a brother of ‘Alī ibn Ma‘bad ibn Shaddād (see Tradition 5). The Ka‘b of Tradition 17 could be any one of several Companions or Successors. Muṭarriḥ is in all probability the Kūfan Muṭarriḥ ibn Yazīd, since the name is comparatively rare and Abū Ḥātīm al-Rāzī states that he knows of no other traditionist so named (*Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 409; Bukhārī, *Ta‘rīkh* IV 2, p. 19).

Traditions 18–30 (recto 24–verso 7). The numbering of these traditions is conjectural. For Su‘air see page 272. A‘mash is known to have transmitted from Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-Nakha‘ī (see pp. 152, 157), who can therefore be identified as the Ibrāhīm of Traditions 18–30 and perhaps even of Nos. 31–32, as suggested by the Ibrāhīm of verso 9. Abū Unās is the Kūfan ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Juwayyah (n.d.), a contemporary of and transmitter from the Kūfan Mughīrah ibn Muqsim (d. 133/755–56), who also transmitted from Nakha‘ī (Bukhārī, *Ta‘rīkh* III 1, p. 409; *Jarḥ* II 2, p. 345; *Jam‘* II 499). Abū Nu‘aim and, to a lesser extent, Yazīd ibn Hārūn were both interested in Nakha‘ī and his *ḥadīth* as Ibn Sa‘d’s biography of Nakha‘ī (Ibn Sa‘d VI 188–99) readily shows.

The Shu‘bah of Tradition 19 is Shu‘bah ibn al-Ḥajjāj (see pp. 99 and 233 for references), who appears again in Tradition 46. Since he is known to have transmitted from A‘mash and since both Abū Nu‘aim and Yazīd ibn Hārūn are known to have transmitted from Shu‘bah, we have evidence of continuous written transmission, for these four scholars wrote down their collections. The reading of the content of Tradition 19 is conjectural, for many of the significant words can be pointed in several different ways. Space at the beginning of recto 28 does not permit the writing-down in full of the rest of the *isnād*. The form of the reconstruction here given is familiar in *ḥadīth* transmission.

Tradition 31. Badr ibn Marwān of verso 8 cannot be identified from the sources at hand. These, however, list a trustworthy Kūfan, Badr ibn ʿUthmān (n.d.), a client of the family of the caliph ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, who could well be a link in these *isnād*'s because Abū Nuʿaim is known to have transmitted from him. Perhaps "Marwān" is an error for "ʿUthmān" (see Ibn Saʿd VI 247; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* I 2, p. 139; *Jarḥ* I 1, p. 413; *Jamʿ* I 64).

Traditions 32–32a. Tradition 32a is longer than most of the traditions in the piece, and it is possible that another tradition begins about in the middle of verso 10. Furthermore, the appearance of new names in the broken *isnād*'s of Traditions 31 and 32a may indicate that it was not Abū Nuʿaim but Yazīd ibn Hārūn who headed these *isnād*'s, as he does those of Traditions 10, 12, 16, and 17 with their new links. For the reading غربة see *Concordance* IV 472. The unpointed word of the text can be read in several other ways of which عزبة (*Concordance* IV 205) may be considered but is less likely.

Tradition 33. Muḥammad instructed several Companions to begin their worship by praising God, then to call down a blessing on Muḥammad himself (see pp. 88 f.), and finally to pray for whatever they wished for themselves or others. The papyrus text is related to but not identical with other versions of this theme (Ibn Ḥanbal VI 18; Tirmidhī III 75, XIII 20 f.; see also *Concordance* I 305 ثناء).

Traditions 36–37. The last preserved link in the *isnād* looks like الساني, which can be read in seven ways, yet none of the resulting names appears in the lists of transmitters to Suʿair (see Dhahabī, *Al-mushtabih*, pp. 250 f.; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 323). It is possible that the ligatured medial *alif*, which is written downward (see p. 269), has overlapped the "tooth" preceding it and that therefore the name is الساني and can be read السباني or السباني or الشيباني, names which are more common in the sources. Yet the first two are impossible because of location and time. Of the several traditionists named Shaibānī, the well known Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī is the first to come to mind. But the name is too far removed from Abū Nuʿaim in the *isnād*. Two more likely possibilities are the Kūfans Ḍirār ibn Murrah al-Shaibānī (n.d.), who heard Aʿmash and transmitted to Shuʿbah ibn al-Ḥajjāj and Sufyān al-Thaurī (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, p. 304; *Jarḥ* II 1, p. 465; *Jamʿ* I 229; *Mīzān* III 363), and Abū Ishāq Sulaimān ibn Abī Sulaimān al-Shaibānī (d. between 138/755 and 142/759), a client of the family of Ibn ʿAbbās, who likewise transmitted to Shuʿbah (Ibn Saʿd VI 241; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 2, pp. 17 f.; *Jarḥ* II 1, pp. 122 and 135; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 83; *Jamʿ* I 177 f.; Dhahabī I 144). Both men could have transmitted to Suʿair ibn al-Khims since they moved in the same Kūfan circles. But Abū Ishāq al-Shaibānī is more probably the one meant, for his transmission from Shaʿbī (cf. Traditions 40–42) is well attested (see e.g. Dhahabī I 144; for Shaʿbī's biographical entries see p. 229 above).

Traditions 40–47. Note the reappearance of several of the names found in the *isnād*'s of Traditions 36–37. It is quite possible that Traditions 36–47 comprise a unit. Furthermore, since Yazīd ibn Hārūn (see Tradition 10) does not head any of the surviving *isnād*'s of this group of traditions, they probably represent Abū Nuʿaim's transmission, mainly through Suʿair, of extracts from the collection of Shaʿbī (d. 110/728), much as Traditions 18–32 probably represent the collection of Nakhaʿī, a fellow Kūfan and contemporary of Shaʿbī.

Note that Suʿair in Tradition 43 provides an alternative tradition in which the number and quantity involved is other than that in the initial tradition.

Surkh of Tradition 44 cannot be identified from the sources at hand. Maṭr being a comparatively uncommon name, the Maṭr of Tradition 45 could be the Baṣran Abū Rajāʾ Maṭr

ibn Ṭahmān al-Warrāq (see p. 229). Dīnār is too common a name for any attempt at identification (see e.g. Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* II 1, pp. 223–26; *Jarḥ* I 2, pp. 429–34).

Abū Bakr Muṭarrif (or Muṭraf) of Tradition 46 is Abū Bakr Muṭarrif ibn Ṭarīf al-Ḥārithī (d. 141/758 or 142/759), who is known to have heard Shaʿbī and to have transmitted to Shuʿbah (Ibn Saʿd VI 241; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 397; *Jarḥ* IV 1, p. 313). He is frequently confused with a fellow Kūfan, Muṭarrif ibn Ṭarīf al-Khārifī (d. 133/751), whose *kunya* is not Abū Bakr, as in the papyrus text, but Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (see Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 126; *Jamʿ* II 503).

Verso 28–30 may involve two traditions instead of one.

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

I

That the compiler of the collection represented by this fragment moved at one time in the ‘Irāqī circles of Yazīd ibn Hārūn¹ and Abū Nuʿaim Faql ibn Dukain² is obvious from the fact that these two are his often-cited sources. That he was closer in age to Abū Nuʿaim (d. 219/834) than to Yazīd (d. 206/821) would seem to be implied because he transmitted more traditions from Abū Nuʿaim and from some younger men. Just as Abū Nuʿaim and Yazīd had several well known ‘Irāqī authorities in common, as seen in the papyrus text and confirmed by the biographical sources, so they had several well known ‘Irāqī pupils in common. The literary activities of the pupils, however, centered in ‘Irāq and farther east rather than in Egypt, where the papyrus was found. The sources do state that ‘Alī ibn Maʿbad ibn Nūḥ (d. 259/873) of Baghdād and Egypt transmitted from Yazīd ibn Hārūn,³ who transmitted in Baghdād,⁴ but do not specify that he transmitted from Abū Nuʿaim also. Nevertheless, the literary activities and the reputation of Abū Nuʿaim were such that it would be strange indeed if this ‘Alī did not hear him. For the Kūfan Abū Nuʿaim, with his reputation already well established, visited Baghdād in the same year (204/819) that the caliph Maʿmūn returned to his capital and was promptly brought to the caliph’s attention.⁵ The scholarly world of Baghdād paid Abū Nuʿaim great honor. Traditionists and critics such as Ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn called on him, and Yaḥyā even tricked him with a memory test, much to the embarrassment of Ibn Ḥanbal and the indignation of Abū Nuʿaim. But Yaḥyā himself was delighted with the excellent results (see p. 277). A chair was set up for the distinguished visitor, who recited or dictated traditions to the public.⁶ In all probability the then youthful ‘Alī ibn Maʿbad ibn Nūḥ of Baghdād was among the listeners. It should be recalled once more that the lists of transmitters from prominent traditionists are seldom complete and usually end with “and others beside these” or “and more of their class (*tabaqah*)” or “and many people (*khalq*)”; the lists for both Abū Nuʿaim and this ‘Alī are no exceptions. It should be noted that the term *haddathanā*, which is used throughout at the beginning of the *isnād*’s of our document, indicates that both Abū Nuʿaim and Yazīd were transmitting to a group of people, for the

¹ Ibn Saʿd VII 2, p. 62; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 2, p. 368; *Maʿārif*, p. 257; Masʿūdī VII 72; *Jarḥ* IV 2, p. 295; Ibn Ḥibbān, p. 134; Khaṭīb XIV 337–47; Nawawī, pp. 636 f.; Dhahabī I 292–94; *Jamʿ* II 576.

² Ibn Saʿd III 1, p. 2, and VI 279 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh* IV 1, p. 118; *Maʿārif*, p. 301; *Jarḥ* III 2, pp. 61 f.; Khaṭīb XII 346–57, XIV 24 f.; *Jamʿ* II 421; Dhahabī I 338 f. *Fihrist*, p. 227, credits Abū Nuʿaim with two books: *Kitāb*

al-manāsik and *Kitāb masāʾil al-fiqh*. See also Eduard Sachau, “Studien zur ältesten Geschichtsüberlieferung der Araber,” *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* VII 2 (1904) pp. 189–93.

³ *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah* I 160.

⁴ Khaṭīb XIV 337; *Manāqib*, pp. 31, 66–68, and 309 f.

⁵ Khaṭīb XII 247, 250.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 350 f.

term *haddathanī* had by their time come to imply, quite generally, private or person-to-person transmission. Perhaps Khaṭīb did not specify that ʿAlī transmitted from Abū Nuʿaim because of ʿAlī's youthfulness at the beginning of the third century and because of his subsequent migration to Egypt, where he no doubt met the older ʿIrāqī ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad ibn Shaddād, from whom he is known to have transmitted (see p. 255).

The close physical association of Documents 13 and 14, reflected by the fact that they survived together (and thus were assigned but a single inventory number by the University of Michigan), would seem to have been no accident but rather to have stemmed from the personal associations of two ʿIrāqī scholars who were fellow immigrants in Egypt. Document 14, therefore, like Document 13, is dated to the first half of the third century.

II

Unlike Document 13, which represents a collection of traditions organized according to subject matter, Document 14 represents an unorganized collection (*jāmiʿ*) in which, however, sizable units derived from the same traditionist were grouped together (see p. 274). Despite the loss of much of the *matn* of most of the traditions, the variety of subjects covered is indicated by the thirteen surviving marginal notations, which mention eight different subjects—the hunt, trade, worship, marriage, inheritance, divorce, virtues, and pilgrimages. The emphasis is on the opinions and practices of the Companions and the Successors rather than on the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of Muḥammad (see p. 273). That traditions of the Companions and the Successors had rather small chance of appearing in the later standard collections (see p. 77) explains why no parallels were detected with the aid of the *Concordance*. The reconstruction of some of the contents of several traditions is necessarily conjectural, not only because the text is broken and rarely pointed but also because the papyrus itself was not available for repeated inspection.

The *isnād*'s, like those of Document 13, yield the names of a great many well known ʿIrāqī traditionists of the first and second centuries who either wrote down their collections of *ḥadīth* or permitted their regular students and public audiences to do so. Many of these traditionists have been encountered repeatedly in these studies. They include Abū Hurairah (Tradition 15), Nakhaʿī (Traditions 18–30), and Shaʿbī (Traditions 35 ff.), all three of whom eventually permitted and even urged others to write down *ḥadīth*. They include also traditionists who were from the start and consistently in favor of written *ḥadīth*, such as Ibn al-Zubair (Tradition 13), Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Tradition 14), Aʿmash (Traditions 18–30), and Shuʿbah ibn al-Ḥajjāj (Tradition 19). To these can now be added Abū Maʿshar Najīh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Tradition 15) and in all probability Abū Isāḥq Sulaimān ibn Abī Sulaimān al-Shaibānī (Traditions 36–37), whose affinities were with the family of Ibn ʿAbbās, in which writing and written traditions were consistently favored. Though on the basis of paleography Miṣʿar ibn Kidām is excluded from the papyrus list, he was nevertheless one of this group of ʿIrāqī *ḥadīth*-writers (see p. 272).

In the light of these facts, further analysis of the *isnād*'s points strongly to continuous written transmission for much of what has survived in this document, such as Tradition 15 with the *isnād* links Abū Hurairah–Abū Maʿshar and especially the groups of consecutive traditions that have the links Nakhaʿī–Aʿmash (Traditions 18–30) and Shaʿbī–Shaibānī (Traditions 40–42). Whatever reservations one may tend to have about the writing-down of *ḥadīth* in the first century of Islām, there can be little doubt of the general prevalence of the practice by the

end of that century and of its wide acceptance in the first half of the second century particularly in ‘Irāq, the home or adopted province of these *ḥadīth* scholars.

Continuous written transmission beyond this early period, so far as the men of the papyrus *isnād*'s are concerned, is indicated by the literary activities of both Yazīd ibn Hārūn and Abū Nu‘aim. Yazīd is said to have memorized thousands of traditions and to have transmitted from memory.⁷ That he did not always depend on memory is indicated by the fact that when in his old age his eyesight and memory failed he had a slave girl refresh his memory with the aid of his own books.⁸

Abū Nu‘aim was particularly interested in the *ḥadīth* of A‘mash, Mi‘ar ibn Kidām, Shu‘bah, and Sufyān al-Thaurī, all of whom had written collections.⁹ Like them, Abū Nu‘aim made his own written collection, for Ibn Ḥanbal reports him as saying that he wrote down *ḥadīth* from over a hundred shaikhs whose *ḥadīth* had been written down also by Sufyān al-Thaurī.¹⁰ When Abū Nu‘aim was sought for his *ḥadīth* collection, he dictated it to his pupils, who wrote it down and from whom he demanded and received a fee for instruction.¹¹ It is not stated whether he dictated from his books or from his memory, for which he was well known.¹² However, in the ‘Irāqī circles in which he moved no stigma was attached to dictation or recitation from manuscripts, as the following incident involving him and his “examiner,” Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn, illustrates. Yaḥyā, wishing to test Abū Nu‘aim’s memory and knowledge of his *ḥadīth*, took a sheet (*waraqah*) and wrote down thirty-three traditions which, except for every eleventh tradition, were from Abū Nu‘aim’s collection. Ibn Ḥanbal did not approve of the test but nevertheless accompanied the eager Yaḥyā on the visit to Abū Nu‘aim. When Yaḥyā had read out the first eleven traditions Abū Nu‘aim stopped him and told him to cross out the eleventh tradition because it was not one of his. Abū Nu‘aim responded in the same way to the second group of eleven traditions. But when the persistent Yaḥyā read the last of the three interpolated traditions Abū Nu‘aim lost his temper and actually kicked Yaḥyā out. Yaḥyā took this experience in his stride and went away pleased because he was convinced of the high quality of Abū Nu‘aim’s memory and scholarship.¹³ Our papyrus provides evidence that yet another transmitter wrote down the materials of both Yazīd and Abū Nu‘aim. This conclusion should surprise no one, for Ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn were not the only exemplary leaders who wrote down an enormous number of traditions with special attention to well known collections of earlier and contemporary scholars.

⁷ Khaṭīb XIV 339 f.; Nawawī, pp. 636 f.

⁸ Khaṭīb XIV 338 f.

⁹ See pp. 98 and 100 for manuscripts of Shu‘bah and Sufyān. See *Buḥārī’nin*, p. 237, *Isnād* 96, according to which Abū Nu‘aim transmitted to Bukhārī from A‘mash, Mi‘ar, and especially Sufyān al-Thaurī.

¹⁰ Dhahabī I 339.

¹¹ *Kifāyah*, p. 156. See p. 228 above for a discussion of fees.

¹² See e.g. *Jarḥ* III 2, pp. 61 f.

¹³ Khaṭīb XII 353 f.; *Manāqib*, pp. 79 f. See pp. 52 f. above for other tests.

INDEX

INDEX

- Abān, 226
 Abān ibn Abi ʿAyyāsh, 67, 226, 236
 Abān ibn Ṣamʿah al-Anṣārī, 273
 ʿAbbās ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṣārī, 100–101
 ʿAbbās ibn Ghālīb al-Warrāq, 47
 ʿAbbāsids, 35, 43, 48–50, 81, 82, 106–7, 116, 122–23, 139, 152, 169, 177, 187, 196, 209, 218–19, 243, 251
 Abbott, Nabia, xv, 23, 48, 58, 90, 119, 137, 172
 ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Jabbār, 6
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, *see* Ibn ʿAbbās
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 31
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm, 24, 26, 29, 31, 79
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Najīh, 98
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Shaibah, 69
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, 56, 100
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, 2, 8, 9, 11, 14, 17, 18, 28, 36, 37, 41, 52, 58, 66, 240, 244
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Arqam al-Makhzūmī, 267
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Arqam al-Zuhrī, 267
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj, 218
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bakr al-Sahmī, 254
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair, 218
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Dīnār, 26–27, 148, 152
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Hishām ibn Zuhrah, 201–2
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥudaij, 219
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jābir, 14
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Lahīʿah, *see* Ibn Lahīʿah
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maslamah al-Qaʿnabī, 117, 125, 137
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, 10, 11, 14, 80, 133, 189
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, *see* Ibn al-Mubārak
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, 123
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Munīr, 254
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim, 182
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah al-Anṣārī, 215–16
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṣabīgh, *see* Ṣabīgh ibn ʿIsl
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ, *see* Abū Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣāliḥ
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, 55
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, *see* Ibn ʿUmar
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf, 117
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zabr al-Rabaʿī, 34
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubair, 21, 75, 154, 202, 258, 273
 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, 34
 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Mājīshūn, 50, 118, 122
 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān, 20, 37, 90
 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Muslim, 27
 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Muṭṭalib, 126
 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, xiii
 ʿAbd al-Ghaḥfār ibn Dāʿūd, *see* Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī
 ʿAbd al-Ghānī ʿAbd al-Khālī, xiii
 ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, 60
 ʿAbd al-Karīm Abū Ummayyah, 162
 ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Abī ʿAwjā al-Waḍḍāʿ, 70
 ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn al-Ḥārith, 133
 ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Sulaimān (Ibn Maisarah), 148–49
 ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, 15, 16, 19–22, 24, 33, 34, 58, 75, 99, 143, 169, 172, 180–81, 227–28
 ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Shuʿaib ibn Laith ibn Saʿd, 172–73
 ʿAbd al-Qādir Badrān, xiv
 ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Khālīd, 136, 143
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, 102
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Lailā, 46, 50
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *see* Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī, 164, 217
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī al-Zinād, 257
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿĀidh, 42
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥassān ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, 260
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Hunaidah, 169–70
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz al-ʿAraj, *see* ʿAraj
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ibrāhīm, 103
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khalīd al-Ailī, 136
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī, 47, 51, 53, 54, 61, 65, 68, 71, 74, 80, 126, 137, 144, 149, 177, 211–12
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim, 50, 127–28
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Qāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī, 164
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 109
 ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām, 38, 43, 50, 51, 67, 112, 178–80, 252
 ʿAbd al-Salām Ḥārūn, 5, 109
 ʿAbd al-Wāhid ibn Ghīyāth, 161
 Abdel Daīm, A., 169
 ʿAbīdah ibn Qais, 11, 111
 Abraham (biblical), 6, 58, 204
 Abū ʿAbbās, *see* Ibn ʿAbbās
 Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Wāsiṭī, 46
 Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Maimūn, 210
 Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yazīd al-Muqrī, 238–39, 241–44
 Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥubulī, 240
 Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muqrī, *see* Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yazīd al-Muqrī
 Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muṭarrif ibn Ṭarīf al-Khārīfī, 275
 Abū al-ʿAlāʾ ʿAffīfī, 6
 Abū al-ʿAlī al-Fārisī, 113
 Abū al-ʿĀliyah, 41
 Abū ʿAmr ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī, *see* Shaʿbī
 Abū ʿAmr al-Zāhid (Ghulām Thaʿlab), 260
 Abū ʿAqīl Zuhrah ibn Maʿbad, 37, 201–2, 204, 207
 Abū al-ʿArab ibn Tamīm al-Tammāmī, 43, 214, 218, 227
 Abū al-ʿAtahīyah, 47
 Abū al-ʿAṭūf al-Jarrāhī ibn al-Minhāl, 47, 162
 Abū ʿAwānah al-Waḍḍāḥ ibn Khālīd, 61, 80, 226, 236
 Abū al-Bakhtarī Wahb ibn Wahb, 62, 224–27, 229, 231–36, 261
 Abū Bakr, Caliph, 7, 8, 19, 24, 27–30, 45, 57, 58, 60, 62, 71, 78, 110, 139, 148, 184, 189, 191, 210, 267
 Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yazīd, 124
 Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith, 18, 25, 136, 169
 Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Hunaidah, 169–70
 Abū Bakr ibn Abī Sabrah, 67
 Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaibah, 212
 Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, 23–31, 79
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Zubaidī, 124, 161

- Abū Bakr Muṭarrif (or Muṭraf) ibn Ṭarīf al-Ḥārithī, 275
 Abū Burdah ibn Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, 18, 42
 Abū al-Daḥdāḥah ʿAmr ibn al-Daḥdāḥah, 252–53
 Abū al-Daḥdāḥ Thābit ibn al-Daḥdāḥ, 252
 Abū al-Dardāʾ, 10, 41, 79, 80, 100
 Abū Dāʾūd Sulaimān ibn al-Ashʿath, xiii, 28, 116, 260, 266
 Abū Dharr, 8
 Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, xiii
 Abū al-Haitham Sulaimān ibn ʿAmr, 239
 Abū al-Hajjāj al-Jarrāḥ ibn Abūn al-Iskandarānī, 204–6
 Abū Hānī Ḥumaid ibn Hānī al-Khaulānī, 239–40
 Abū Ḥanīfah, 2, 16, 32, 35, 39, 40, 46, 51, 54, 62, 67, 79–82, 150, 153–57, 229
 Abū al-Ḥasan al-Amruḥī, xvi
 Abū Ḥaṣīn ʿUthmān ibn ʿĀṣim, 228, 236
 Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, 2, 30, 51, 53, 60, 61, 69, 74–75, 89, 102, 164, 181, 235, 251, 253, 255, 272–73
 Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, 6
 Abū Ḥāzīm al-Aʿraj, 2
 Abū Hind al-Dārī, 241
 Abū Ḥudhāfah, 128
 Abū Hudhaifah Mūsā ibn Masʿūd al-Nahdī al-Baṣrī, 98
 Abū Ḥumaid, 190
 Abū Hurairah, 2, 7–9, 11, 13, 14, 17–21, 35, 37, 38, 42–44, 52, 61, 66, 87, 90, 116, 133, 138, 140, 168–69, 178–80, 187, 189–90, 202, 205, 207, 211, 213, 240, 244, 264, 275
 Abū Imāmah ibn Sahl, 211
 Abū Ishāq al-Ḥabbāl, 47
 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Fazārī, *see* Fazārī
 Abū Ishāq al-Sabīʿī, 80
 Abū Ishāq Sulaimān ibn Abī Sulaimān al-Shaibānī, 274, 276
 Abū Jaʿfar al-Musnadī al-Bukhārī, 81
 Abū al-Jald, 9
 Abū al-Laith al-Samarqandī, 72, 110, 117, 134, 136, 169
 Abū Lubābah ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir, 252–54
 Abū Maimūn ʿUbaid Allāh al-Anṣārī, 210
 Abū Makhlad Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamīmī al-Baṣrī, 227
 Abū Makhramah ibn Bukair, 266
 Abū Maʿmar, 160
 Abū Manīʿ, *see* ʿUbaid Allāh ibn Abī Ziyād
 Abū Maʿshar Najīḥ ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 121, 273, 276
 Abū Masʿūd ʿUqbah ibn ʿAmr al-Badrī, 160
 Abū Mijlaz, 227
 Abū Mukallad, 227
 Abū al-Mundhir al-Warrāq, 47
 Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, 61, 80, 108, 162
 Abū Muṣʿab, 128
 Abū Mushir, 180
 Abū al-Naḍr Sālim ibn Abī Umayyah, 141
 Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Bāwardī, 96–97, 101
 Abū Nawās, 47
 Abū Nuʿaim Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, xiii, 9, 109, 149, 225, 232
 Abū Nuʿaim Faḍl ibn Dukain, 48, 52, 67, 68, 251, 272–77
 Abū al-Nuʿmān, 134
 Abū Nuṣair, *see* Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Bāwardī
 Abū Qabil Ḥayy ibn Hānī al-Maʿāfirī, 210, 212–13, 218
 Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī, 60
 Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī al-Warrāq, 47
 Abū Qilābah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yazīd al-Jarmī, 16, 18, 25, 36, 41, 43–46, 49, 52, 150, 229–31, 235–36
 Abū Rāfiʿ, 141
 Abū Rajāʾ Maṭr ibn Taḥmān al-Warrāq, 16, 46, 90, 229, 236, 274–75
 Abū Rauḥ al-Naḍr ibn ʿArabī, 159, 162–63, 206
 Abū Saʿīd al-Dīnawarī, 169
 Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, 10, 202, 207, 239, 242, 244, 257
 Abū Ṣakhr Ḥumaid ibn Ziyād, 239–41, 244–45
 Abū Salamah ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 16, 18, 250–51, 256, 265
 Abū Ṣāliḥ (client of Umm Hānī), 105, 112
 Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿAbd al-Ghaffār ibn Dāʾūd al-Ḥarrānī, *see* Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī
 Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān, 66, 140, 189–90
 Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī, 50, 159, 162–64, 216–17, 221
 Abū Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣāliḥ (secretary of Laith ibn Saʿd), 45, 91, 102–4, 155–56, 163–64, 170–76, 178, 183, 194–95, 201–2, 204, 207, 216, 221, 234–35, 238, 243–44, 255–56
 Abū al-Samḥ Darrāj ibn Samʿān, 16, 239
 Abū Shāmāh, 15, 73
 Abū Shuraiḥ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Shuraiḥ, 133
 Abū Sinān al-Ashjaʿī, 133
 Abū Ṣirmah al-Anṣārī, 188
 Abū Suhail Nāfiʿ ibn Mālik, 116, 137–38
 Abū al-Ṭaiyib al-Lughawī al-Ḥalabī, 45, 113
 Abū Ṭalḥah Zaid ibn Sahl, 117–18, 248, 253
 Abū Tammām, 59
 Abū Tamīm al-Jaishānī, 241
 Abū ʿUbaid al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, xiii, 31, 32, 90, 102, 173, 176, 261
 Abū ʿUbaidah Maʿmar ibn al-Muthanā, 47, 59, 113, 215, 261
 Abū ʿUbaidah Murrah ibn ʿUqbah ibn Nāfiʿ al-Qurshī, 203
 Abū Unās ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Juwayyah, 273
 Abū ʿUsaid al-Sāʿidī, 190
 Abū al-Wafāʾ al-Afghānī, 35, 126, 154, 215
 Abū Walīd al-Ṭayālīsī, 67, 209
 Abū al-Walīd ʿUtbah ibn ʿAbd al-Sulamī, 267
 Abū al-Yamān al-Ḥakam ibn Nāfiʿ, 178
 Abū Yaʿqūb al-Zayyāt, 149
 Abū al-Yasar Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr, 11, 42, 188
 Abū Yazīd Suhail ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ, 189, 198
 Abū Yūsuf al-Qādī, 35, 51, 54, 62, 80, 153–54, 171, 215, 224, 250
 Abū Zarʿah, 51, 52, 55, 59, 69, 161, 218
 Abū al-Zaʿzaʿah, 20
 Abū al-Zinād ʿAbd Allāh ibn Dhakwān, 20, 33–36, 38, 48, 50, 67, 87, 125, 139–40, 178, 257
abuāb, *see* *bāb*
 Abyssinian language, 258
adab, 76
Adab al-īmāʾ wa al-istimlāʾ of Samʿānī, xiii, 48
 Adams, Robert M., vii
 ʿAffān ibn Muslim, 55, 211–12, 217
ahl al-kitāb, *see* “people of the Book”
ahl al-kutub, 17; *see also* *aṣḥāb al-kutub*
ahl al-qadr, 28
ahl al-ṣuffah, 13, 14, 205
 Aḥmad Amīn, 9, 53, 64, 155, 194, 218–19, 229, 259, 266
 Aḥmad Fuʿād al-Ahwānī, 10, 157
 Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Qāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī, 164
 Aḥmad ibn al-Faraj, 177
 Aḥmad ibn al-Furāt, 68
 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Rabbiḥī, xiv
 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajjāj ibn Riṣḥdīn, 201
 Aḥmad ibn Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm, 181
 Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ, 176

- Aḥmad ibn Shabīb ibn Saʿīd, 177
 Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, xvi, 9, 21, 43, 87, 171
 Aḥmad Ṣaqr, 6
 Aḥmad ʿUbaid, 23
 Ailah, 175–76
 ʿĀʾishah, 6, 11, 29–30, 41, 46, 52, 66, 111, 119–20, 133, 137, 151, 153, 168, 170, 187–88, 240, 265
akhadh, 99
akhbār, see *khābar*
Akhbār ʿUbaid, 18, 99, 104
akhbara, *akhbaranā*, *akhbarani*, 26, 63, 76, 121–22, 126, 144, 173, 196–97, 233–34
 Akḥṭal, Ghīyāth ibn Ghauth al-, 260
 Aktham ibn Ṣaifī, 6
 ʿAlāʾ ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 44
alā al-wajh, 31, 43–45, 49, 58, 193, 196, 198
alā zahr al-kitāb, 59
alā zahr al-qirāʾas, 59
 Alexandria, 41, 133, 139, 204
 ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, 31
 ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah, 100–103, 112
 ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 8, 11, 28, 29, 31, 41, 46, 50, 57, 70, 73, 75, 80, 81, 89, 123, 135, 187, 214, 252, 260, 265
 ʿAlī ibn Dāʾūd al-Tamīmī, 103
 ʿAlī ibn Ḥujr, 137, 143
 ʿAlī ibn Ḥusain ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 31
 ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusain ibn Wāqid, 97
 ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad, 249, 255, 263–64, 267
 ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad ibn Nūḥ, 255, 268, 275–76
 ʿAlī ibn Maʿbad ibn Shaddād, 255, 268, 273, 276
 ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī, 38, 47, 55, 65, 71, 80, 81, 100, 177
 ʿAlī ibn al-Mubārak, 251, 256
 ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, 221
 ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Madāʾini, 261
 ʿAlī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, 168, 225
 ʿAlids, 50, 153, 212, 214, 251, 260
allafa, 96
 ʿAllān al-Shuʿūbī, 261
alwāh, see *lūḥ*
Amālī, 61
 Aʿmash, Sulaimān ibn Mihrān al-, 10, 53, 54, 61, 66, 67, 71, 72, 74, 80, 140, 148, 152, 157, 160, 249, 256, 260, 266, 268, 273–74, 276–77
 Amīdī, Ḥasan ibn Bishr al-, 74
 ʿĀmilī, Muḥsin al-Amīn al-Ḥusainī al-, 229, 260
 ʿĀmir ibn Saʿd ibn Abī al-Waqqās, 240
amīr al-muʾminīn fī al-ḥadīth, 67, 139
amlā, 57
 ʿAmmār ibn Abī ʿAmmār, 211, 250
 ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, 189
 ʿAmr al-ʿAbdī, 273
 ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, 47
 ʿAmr ibn Abī Salamah, 161, 178
 ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, 108–10, 151, 189, 214, 241
 ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣim, 161
 ʿAmr ibn Dīnār, 67, 80, 194
 ʿAmr ibn al-Ḥārith, 16
 ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, 11, 14, 24, 26, 27, 29, 32
 ʿAmr ibn Jannād ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muslim, 163
 ʿAmr ibn Maimūn al-Awdī, 11–12, 44
 ʿAmr ibn Muʿādh, 120
 ʿAmr ibn Rāfiʿ, 46
 ʿAmr ibn Saʿd ibn Muʿādh al-Ashhalī, 120
 ʿAmrah bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 29–30
Amwāl of Abū ʿUbaid, xiii, 31, 32
 ʿan, ʿanʿanah, 61, 63, 121, 134, 144, 189, 196–97, 206, 233, 264
 Anas ibn ʿIyād, 27
 Anas ibn Mālik al-Anṣārī, 11, 16, 17, 21, 28–29, 32, 35–37, 44, 46, 66, 67, 118, 138, 141, 161, 165, 168, 198, 202, 236, 244–45, 248–51, 254–56, 259, 261
 Anas ibn al-Naḍr, 254
anbʿa, 63
 Andrae, Tor, 266
 Anṣār, 9, 14, 19, 24, 34, 41, 188, 190, 219, 259–61
anṣār of Jesus, 259
 anthropomorphism, 100, 105, 112, 117
 Antioch, 232
 Apostles, 259
 ʿAqabah, treaties of, 187, 215, 252–53
 Arabia, 5, 13, 41, 257–58
Arabian Nights fragment in the Oriental Institute, 92, 135
 Arabs: North, 190, 260; South, 190, 218–19, 260
arāḍa, 57, 139, 196; see also *arḍ*
 Aʿraj, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz al-, 17, 34, 36, 38, 41, 44, 46, 59, 90, 124, 139–40, 178, 187, 257
 Aramaic (*i.e.*, Syriac), 258
 Arberry, A. J., 127, 204
arḍ method of transmission, 35, 53, 125–26, 138–39, 145, 181, 193, 197, 217, 231, 235–36
 ʿĀrif Tāmīr, 229
 ʿĀrim Abū al-Nuʿmān Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Sadūsī, 253, 256
 Arnold, Thomas W., 89, 91
 Asad ibn Mūsā (Asad al-Sunnah), 22, 99, 238, 243–44
aṣḥāb al-aṣnāf, 80
aṣḥāb al-kutub, 35, 181, 184; see also *ahl al-kutub*
aṣḥāb al-maṣāḥif, 46
aṣḥāb al-Zuhri, 181–82
 Ashhab ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 125, 128
 ʿĀṣim ibn Qatādah, 48
 Aṣmaʿī, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Quraib al-, 47, 90, 113
 ʿAṭāʾ, 224
 ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Ribāh, 16, 112, 149, 153
 ʿAṭāʾ ibn Dīmār, 99
athār, 77
 Awsites, 5, 120, 253–54
 ʿAwwād, Gurgīs, see Kūrkīs ʿAwwād
 Awzāʿī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAmr al-, 10, 32, 35, 39, 54, 80, 90, 134, 177, 231
ayat al-kursī, 60
 Ayman ibn Nābil, 149
 ʿAyyāsh ibn Ghulaib al-Warrāq, 47
 Ayyūb ibn Mūsā, 151
 Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī, 41, 43, 67, 74, 150, 153, 157, 194, 230–31, 235–36, 253, 256
bāb (pl. *abwāb*), 178, 196; see also *mubawwab*
 Badr, Battle of, 5, 253
 Badr ibn Marwān, 274
 Badr ibn ʿUthmān, 274
 Bāghandī, 30
 Baghawī, Ḥusain ibn Masʿūd al-, 111–12, 259
 Baghdād, 44, 116, 128, 151–53, 163–64, 212, 219, 221, 224–25, 232–35, 250, 267, 275
 Bahīr ibn Saʿd, 225, 233, 236
 Bahrain, 205
 Baiḥaqī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥusain al-, 148, 150–51, 154
 Baihas al-Jarmī, 230–31, 235
 Bakkār ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Rabadhī, 264–65
 Balādhurī, Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-, xiii, 107

- balagha*, *balaghahu*, *balaghanā*, *balaghantī*, 63, 78, 121–22, 136, 144, 173–74, 196, 251
- Balkh, 50
- ballagha*, see *balagha*
- Banū Aws, see Awsites
- Banū Hāshim, 211
- Banū al-Nadīr, 253
- Banū al-Najjār, 190
- Banū Quraizah, 253
- Banū Saʿd ibn Bakr, 138
- Banū Sāʿidah, 190
- Banū Zafar, 252
- Baqiyah ibn al-Walid, 45, 62, 67, 89, 177, 225, 231, 233–36
- Barbier de Meynard, Charles, xv
- Bashīr, see Abū Lubābah ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir
- Bashīr ibn Abī ʿAmr al-Khaulānī, 242
- Bashīr ibn Nahik, 17
- Bashshār ibn Burd, 253
- basmalah*, 89, 222, 224, 231, 247
- Başrah, Başrans, 6, 13, 14, 18, 41–43, 46, 50, 53, 68, 74, 80, 101, 107–8, 117, 123, 134, 141, 150, 152, 160–62, 177–78, 183, 211–12, 221, 227, 229–30, 238, 248–51, 253–56, 260, 272–74
- Basset, René, 5
- Battle of the Camel, 137, 252
- Battle of the Ditch, 253
- Bāward, 97
- Becker, Carl Heinrich, 23, 220
- Beirut, 101
- Bell, Richard, 94, 266
- Benoliel, Jose, 5
- Berbers, 227
- Berg, L. W. C. van den, 147
- Bible, 5, 7–9, 15, 141, 187–88, 192, 204, 255, 257
- bidʿah*, 15, 24, 28, 52, 56, 73
- Bīr Maʿūnah, 14
- Birkeland, Harris, xiii, 44, 95, 103, 106–11, 113
- Bishr, 22
- Bishr al-Ḥāfi, 62
- Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith, 51
- Bland, Nathaniel, 169
- books, see manuscripts
- booksellers, see *warrāq*
- British Museum, 96
- Brockelmann, Carl, xiii, 51, 72, 95, 96
- Brunschvig, Robert, 215
- Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj, 37, 157, 194, 197, 209–10, 213–14, 217–18, 266, 268
- Bukair ibn al-Ashajj, see Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj
- Bukhārā, 50
- Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿil al-, xiii, 2, 26, 33, 36, 38–40, 51–53, 55, 61, 65, 66, 69, 72, 74, 77, 80–83, 102–3, 105, 111, 113, 117–18, 120–21, 124–25, 138–40, 144–45, 161, 164, 173–75, 178, 180, 183, 195, 211, 220–21, 235, 239, 248–50, 253–55, 265, 277
- buldāniyāt* literature, 80
- Bushair ibn Kaʿb, 6
- Bustānī, Alfredo, 184
- Buṭrus al-Bustānī, 104
- Caetani, Leone, 64
- Calverley, Edwin Elliot, 148
- Cheikho, Louis, 107
- Chester Beatty Collection, 127
- China, 42
- Christianity, Christians, 5, 6, 10, 83, 257–58, 260, 266
- civil wars of Islām, 1, 75–76, 133, 260
- Codera y Zaidīn, Francisco, 176
- collation marks, see punctuation
- Constantinople (Istanbul) ʿUmūmī manuscript, 94–97
- containers for manuscripts, 42–43, 49, 51
- Coptic, 258
- Cordova, 47, 103
- daftar* (pl. *dafātīr*), 31, 57–60, 228; see also manuscripts
- Daḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim, 16, 60, 97, 98, 101, 104, 112
- dalas*, *dals*, see *tadlīs*
- Damascus, 13, 14, 21, 22, 25, 31, 44, 177–78, 230, 233, 241, 267
- Daniel, Norman, 83
- dār al-ḥadīth*, 81
- Dāraqutnī, 59, 109
- Dārayyā, 230
- Dārimī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Raḥmān al-, xiii, 26, 105, 117, 139, 175
- Dāʿūd ibn ʿAlī al-Zāhiri, 47
- Dāʿūd ibn ʿĀmir, 240
- Dāʿūd al-Tāʿī, 62
- Daulābī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥammād al-, 133, 163
- David (biblical), 187
- David-Weill, Jean, 128, 176, 243
- Dedering, Sven, 96
- De Slane, Mac Guckin, xiv, 64
- Dhahabī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-, xiii, xv, 71, 97, 126, 152, 178, 180, 264, 274
- dhakara*, *dhakarahu*, 63, 157, 162–63, 196, 231, 235
- diacritical points, 87, 92, 114, 129, 146, 158, 166, 185, 199, 208, 222, 237, 246, 262, 269
- Diʿbil, 47
- Ḍimām ibn Ismāʿil al-Maʿāfirī, 212–13, 216, 218
- Ḍimām ibn Thaʿlabah, 138
- ḡimmāmah*, 42
- Dirār ibn Murrāh al-Shaibānī, 274
- Diwald-Wilzer, Susanna, 28
- Dome of the Rock (Jerusalem), pilgrimage to, 21
- Dozy, R. P. A., 210
- dreams, 169, 212
- Dunne, James Heyworth, 260
- Eche, Youssef, see Yūsuf al-ʿAshsh
- education, see schools
- Egypt, Egyptians, 16, 20, 38, 39, 41, 50, 51, 54, 68, 69, 81, 89, 91, 99, 101–4, 108–9, 117, 123, 125, 127–28, 133, 136, 139, 143–44, 153, 155–56, 163–64, 168–69, 173–74, 176–78, 183, 188, 194, 201–2, 204, 206, 209–14, 216, 218–21, 234–35, 238–44, 249, 255, 260, 268, 275–76
- Egyptian National Library, 164
- Erzherzog Rainer collection, Vienna, 91
- eschatology (*malāḥim*), 39, 76, 110–12
- Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria (Saʿīd ibn al-Baṭrīq), 107
- faḍāʾil*, 76, 247–49, 256, 259–61
- Faḍāʾil al-Anṣār*: of Abū al-Bakhtarī, 233, 261; of Abū Dāʿūd, 260
- Faḍāʾil al-Furs* of Abū ʿUbaidah, 261
- Faḍāʾil al-kabīr* of Abū al-Bakhtarī, 233, 261
- Faḍāʾil Kinānah* of ʿAllān al-Shuʿūbī, 261
- Faḍāʾil Rabʿah* of ʿAllān al-Shuʿūbī, 261
- Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* of Ibn Ḥanbal, 259–60
- Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* of Nasāʾī, 260

- Faḍl ibn Ghānim, 155–56
 Faïd, 264
faqīh (pl. *fuqahā*), 1, 13–14, 16, 23, 28, 66, 70, 80, 196, 264;
 see also *fiqh*
farā'id, 7, 21, 27
Farā'id of Sha'bi, 228
 Farwah ibn 'Amr, 252–53
 Fāṭimah bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Šāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī,
 164
 Fāṭimah bint al-Khaṭṭāb, 57
 Fāṭimah bint Mālik ibn Anas, 125
 Fāṭimah bint 'Uqbah, 240
 Fazārī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-, 51, 82,
 231–36, 267
Fihrist al-ulum of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, xiii, 96
fiqh, 1, 2, 6, 13, 16, 17, 20, 26, 35, 39, 49, 54, 55, 62, 63, 66,
 70, 80, 91, 99, 106, 121, 125–26, 128, 153–57, 176, 184,
 196, 220, 232, 245, 255, 264
 Fischer, August, 48
 Fleischhammer, Manfred, xiv
 Flügel, Gustav, xiii, xiv
 forgeries, 39, 53, 70, 82, 83, 232
 formats, significance of, 89, 91
 formula of blessing, see *taṣliyah*
 Fu'ād Sayyid, 24
 Fück, Johann, 64, 266
fuqahā, see *faqīh*
 Fuṣṭāṭ, 13, 108
 Fyzee, Asaf A. A., 206
- Gabriel, 231
 Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Maurice, 147, 154
 Ghailān ibn Muslim al-Dimishqī, 28
Gharīb al-ḥadīth of Abū 'Ubaid, 90
Gharīb al-ḥadīth of Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq al-Ḥarbī, 100
gharīb al-Qur'ān, 113
gharīb al-matn, 76
gharīb al-sand, 76
 Ghazālī (Ghazzālī), al-, 148, 225
 Ghiyāth ibn Ghauth al-Akhtal, 260
 Ghulām Tha'lab (Abū 'Amr al-Zāhid), 260
 Ghundir, 45
 Gibb, H. A. R., 34
 Goeje, Michael Jan de, xiii, xv, xvi, 22, 23
 Goitein, S. D., 21, 123
 Goldziher, Ignaz, xiv, 6, 7, 9, 15, 26, 34, 40, 42, 47, 53, 55,
 60, 64, 73, 83, 95–97, 99, 100, 106–8, 110–11, 113,
 124–25, 127, 175, 260–61
 Greek language, 258
 Griffini, Eugenio, 18
 Grohmann, Adolf, 87, 89, 91, 94, 107
 Grünert, Max, 135
 Guest, Rhuvon, xiv, 220–21
 Guillaume, Alfred, xv, 26, 29, 33, 65
 Güterbock, Hans, 95
- Ḥabib ibn Marzūq, 125, 127
 Ḥacī Halifa, see Ḥājji Khalīfah
ḥaddatha, *ḥaddathanā*, *ḥaddathanī*, 63, 76, 121–22, 126, 139,
 144, 163, 173–74, 196–97, 206, 224, 233–34, 251, 275–
 76; see also transmission terminology
 Ḥādī, Caliph, 124, 152
ḥadīth: *al-aḥād*, 70; *aḥādīth al-ʿArab*, 230; *ahl al-ḥadīth*,
 2, 16, 35, 69, 70, 82, 90, 91; categories, 2, 12, 15, 74, 76,
 77, 121, 139, 149, 165, 173–75, 188, 190, 195–96, 203,
 205, 207, 217, 230, 234, 244; content, see *matn*; criteria
 for survival, 33, 65, 70, 73–78, 145, 174, 188, 195, 207,
 217, 245; criticism, 36, 38, 40, 43, 53, 54, 65, 73–76,
 78, 80–83, 121, 124, 144, 150, 154, 174–75, 195, 272; op-
 position to recording, 7, 8, 10, 17, 19, 30, 56, 60, 202,
 257; organization of, 2, 29, 39, 47, 50, 80, 156, 163, 178,
 195–96, 268, 276; *qudsī*, 7–8; sizes of collections, 16, 44,
 65–72, 178, 196, 214; sources, see *isnād*'s; see also trans-
 mission
- Ḥafṣ ibn Dīnar, 229, 231
 Ḥafṣ ibn Maisarah, 217
 Ḥafṣ ibn Sulaimān, 51
 Ḥafṣah, 6, 42, 46, 58, 88, 151
 Haitham ibn 'Adī, 261
 Haiwah ibn Shuraiḥ, 91, 202, 238–45
 Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad, 49
 Ḥajjāj ibn Rishdīn, 201, 206–7
 Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, 20–21, 23, 25, 46, 148, 154, 172, 228, 249
 Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Ubaid Allāh ibn Abī Ziyād, 141, 182–
 83
 Ḥājji Khalīfah, Muṣṭafā ibn 'Abd Allāh, xiv, 100, 260
 Ḥakam ibn al-Mubārak, 117
 Ḥakam ibn 'Utaibah, 18, 44, 50
 Ḥakim al-Nisābūrī, xv, 38, 65, 75, 118, 134, 145
ḥalāl wa al-ḥarām, traditions dealing with, 76, 139, 149
 Ḥalimah, 138
 Hamadhānī, Ibn al-Faqīh al-, 22, 80
 Ḥamāh, 211
 Hamdānī, Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad al-, 6
 Ḥamid ibn Zanjawaih, 76, 145
 Ḥammād ibn Abī Sulaimān, 35, 81, 150
 Ḥammād ibn Khālid, 61
 Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār, 43, 61, 67–69, 80, 160–61,
 163, 165, 189, 211–12, 216–17, 229, 236, 250, 256
 Ḥammād ibn Zaid ibn Dirham, 61, 68, 150, 157, 193–94,
 229–31, 236
 Hammām ibn Munabbih, 43, 44, 140
 Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd Allāh, 210
 Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 210
 Ḥamzah ibn Muḥammad al-Kinānī, 71
 Ḥanīfites, 6, 40, 54, 123, 238
ḥaqībah, 49
ḥarf, *ḥarfī*, 39, 70, 76, 140, 173, 212, 228, 241
 Ḥārith ibn Abī Usāmah, 241
 Harley, A. H., 23, 25, 30
 Ḥarrān, 50, 152–53, 216
 Ḥārūn ibn Ismā'īl, 251, 256
 Ḥārūn al-Mustamī, 48
 Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, 35, 60, 62, 82, 122–24, 177, 180, 194, 224,
 232–33
 Ḥasan al-Afṭas, 154
 Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 17, 18, 21, 28, 44, 46, 58, 152, 162, 225,
 227–29, 236, 241, 256
 Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, 225–26
 Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, 18
 Ḥasan ibn 'Umārah, 50, 106
 Ḥasan (or Ḥusain) ibn Wāqid, 97
 Ḥasan Kāmil al-Šairāfi, 60
 Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, 15
 Ḥashimīyah, 116
 Ḥassān ibn Ma'bad, 273
 Ḥassān ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, 7, 118, 259
 Hauser, Elizabeth B., vii
 Ḥawwa' bint Yazīd, 120
 Hebrew language, 6, 257–58
 Hell, Joseph, 74
 Heller, Bernard, 5
ḥibāb, 51

- Hidayet Hosain, M., 169
 Hijāz, 32, 35, 44, 50, 51, 66, 80–82, 102, 123, 127, 138–39, 144, 160, 178, 183, 193–94, 213, 216, 225, 227, 229, 233–34, 243
 Hilāl al-Warrāq, 47
himl, 49
 Hims, 13, 14, 45, 102, 177–78, 232, 267
 Himyarites, 153
 Hira, 6
 Hīsām al-Dīn al-Qudsī, xvi
 Hishām, Caliph, 33, 35, 52, 67, 90, 103, 175, 177, 181–82
 Hishām ibn Ismāʿīl, 22, 181
 Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sāʿib al-Kalbī, 47, 90, 105
 Hishām ibn ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair, 224–25, 236, 267–68
 Hishām ibn Yūsuf, 44, 55
 Hitti, Philip, 46
 Horowitz, Joseph, 21, 22, 29, 33, 64, 175, 181, 183
 Horst, Heribert, 97, 99, 101–3, 111–12, 179
 Houtsma, M. Th., xvi
 Huart, Clément, 97
 Ḥudaibiyah, Treaty of, 172
 Hudhail, 241
 Hudhail ibn Ḥabīb, 104
 Hudhair, 5
 Ḥumaid al-Tawīl, 37, 58, 152, 157, 160–61, 165, 248, 254, 256
 Ḥumaidī, Muḥammad ibn al-Futūḥ al-, 102–3, 127
 Hunaidah, 170
ḥurūf al-Qurʾān, 71, 78
 Ḥusain Haikal, Muḥammad, 110
 Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad al-Nisābūrī (Māsarijī), 184
 Ḥusain ibn ʿAlī, 212–13
 Ḥusain (or Ḥasan) ibn Wāqīd, 97
 Ḥusain Muʿnis, 154, 214
 Hushaim al-Wāsiṭī, 50, 68, 80, 163, 194
ḥuzmah, 42
- Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh, 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 11, 14, 17, 18, 35, 36, 41, 52, 57, 63, 66, 79, 80, 97–103, 105, 107–8, 110, 112, 134, 138–39, 151–52, 154, 157, 162–63, 165, 191, 195, 198, 211, 216–17, 224, 251, 256, 259–60, 268, 274, 276
 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, xiv, xvi, 12, 66, 75, 125
 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, xiii, 23, 24, 160, 213–14, 218–19, 243–44
 Ibn Abī ʿAbbās, *see* Ibn ʿAbbās
 Ibn Abī ʿAdī, 248, 254
 Ibn Abī ʿAwfī, 141
 Ibn Abī Dāʿūd, 46, 60, 225, 227–28, 231, 249, 257
 Ibn Abī Dhʿīb, 79, 90, 121
 Ibn Abī Ḥatīm al-Rāzī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, xiii, xiv, 2, 61, 75, 103, 163–64, 181, 235
 Ibn Abī Mulaikah, 98
 Ibn Abī Sabrah, 50, 109
 Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr, 45
 Ibn ʿAdī, 105, 150
 Ibn al-ʿArabī, 6, 8
 Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Maʿāfirī, xvi, 26, 109, 113, 133, 151
 Ibn ʿAsākir, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, xiv, 70, 75, 80, 101, 103, 109, 229, 235, 258
 Ibn al-Ashʿath, 22
 Ibn al-Athīr, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, xvi, 106
 Ibn ʿAṭīyah, 9
 Ibn Ayman, 103
 Ibn al-Bāghandī, 30
 Ibn Duraid, 107–8, 252, 264
 Ibn al-Faraḍī, 102–3, 127
 Ibn Farḥūn, Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī, xiv
 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, xiv, xv, 42, 97, 133, 197
 Ibn al-Ḥājjī, 15, 16, 60
 Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, xiv, 2, 18, 19, 28, 29, 37–40, 43, 45–47, 50–52, 54–56, 60–62, 65, 68–72, 74, 75, 79–81, 98, 103–4, 110–12, 124, 140, 142, 144, 149, 156, 159, 177–81, 183, 206, 209, 212–13, 215, 220, 239, 241–45, 248–49, 251–52, 254–55, 259–60, 264–65, 275, 277
 Ibn Hibbān, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bustī, xiv, 43, 45, 98, 103, 160, 183–84, 234
 Ibn Hishām, ʿAbd al-Malik, xv, 103, 112
 Ibn al-ʿImād, 33, 76, 97, 273
 Ibn Ishāq, Muḥammad, xv, 12, 27, 38–41, 44, 47, 68, 80, 99, 101, 105–6, 112–13, 118, 122, 124, 127, 139–40, 151, 170, 172, 180, 182, 188, 218, 266
 Ibn al-Jauzī, xv, 15, 23, 66–68, 72, 88, 100, 106, 109, 188–89, 265
 Ibn Juraij, ʿAbd al-Malik, 44, 45, 49–51, 53, 54, 63, 65, 67, 68, 80, 98, 99, 112, 179, 181, 193, 224–25, 236
 Ibn Kathīr, Ismāʿīl, 20, 22, 31, 162–64
 Ibn Khair al-Ishbīlī, 176, 179
 Ibn Khaldūn, 8, 15, 74, 75, 81, 82, 227
 Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, xiv, 183
 Ibn Lahīrah, ʿAbd Allāh, 43, 51, 54, 57, 62, 144, 164, 209–11, 214, 216, 218, 219–21, 239–43
 Ibn Maisarah, *see* ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Sulaimān
 Ibn Mājah, Muḥammad ibn Yazid, xiv
 Ibn al-Mubārak, ʿAbd Allāh, 51, 53, 54, 67, 68, 72, 80, 82, 99, 100, 105, 113, 176, 178–79, 206, 220–21, 231–34, 236, 239
 Ibn al-Murtaḍā, Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā, 28
 Ibn al-Qaisarānī, xiv
 Ibn Qutaibah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim, xv, xvi, 6, 9, 12, 15, 40, 47, 71, 113, 123–24, 135, 265
 Ibn Rushd, Abū al-Walid ibn Aḥmad, 124
 Ibn Rustah, 98
 Ibn Ṣabigh, *see* Ṣabigh ibn ʿIsl
 Ibn Saʿd, Muḥammad, xiv, 2, 21, 26, 29, 36, 51–53, 74, 103, 123, 159, 189, 230, 235, 241, 243, 245, 248–51, 255, 273
 Ibn Shihāb, *see* Zuhri
 Ibn Shuʿbah, 31
 Ibn Shubrumah, 81
 Ibn al-Sikkīt, 90
 Ibn Taghribirdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, xiv
 Ibn ʿUlaiyah, 22
 Ibn ʿUmar, 2, 10, 11, 17, 20, 21, 26, 31, 36, 42, 44, 49, 50, 66, 79, 122, 124, 126, 142, 148–49, 151–52, 154, 171, 178, 180, 210, 240–41, 244, 256
 Ibn Wahb, ʿAbd Allāh, 60, 68, 69, 88, 102, 122, 128, 164, 176–77, 197, 218, 220, 238–40, 242–44
 Ibn al-Zubair, 273, 276
 Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, xv, 60
 Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf, 180
 Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq al-Ḥarībī, 100, 104
 Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Aslamī, 70, 73
 Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā, 69
 Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm, 68
 Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm, 181
 Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd al-Jauharī, 45, 71, 72
 Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-Nakhaʿī, *see* Nakhaʿī
 Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-Taimī, 18, 21
ʿidl, 49
ijāzah method of transmission, 35, 38, 125–26, 197, 209, 235–36
ijmāʿ ahl al-Madīnah, 79, 81
ijmālī, 76
ikhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ, 28, 32

- Ikktilāf al-fuqahā* of Ṭabari, 62
 ʿIkrimah, 36, 41, 100, 101, 111, 152, 157, 268
ʿUlal al-ḥadīth of Dāraquṭnī, 59
ʿUlal ḥadīth al-Zuhrī of Ibn Ḥibbān, 184
ʿilm, 10, 11, 13–14, 22, 27, 34, 40, 41, 65, 71–73, 77, 80, 188, 197, 228, 250, 259; *baʿ al-*, 228; see also *warrāq*
 ʿImārah ibn Ghazyah (or ʿAzyah), 220
Imlāʾ, 61
 ʿImrān ibn Ḥiṭṭān, 41
 ʿImrān ibn Ḥusain, 6, 14, 211
 ʿIrāq, ʿIrāqīs, 5, 16, 32, 43, 50, 51, 54, 68, 75, 81, 82, 98, 99, 101–4, 108–9, 123, 128, 139–41, 143–44, 149–51, 153–55, 163–64, 176, 178, 180, 183, 187, 193–94, 196, 211–12, 216–18, 221, 224–26, 228–29, 231–32, 234–35, 238, 242, 248–49, 254, 273, 275–77
 ʿIsā ibn Mahān, 149
 ʿIsā ibn Yūnus, 104, 160, 163
 Isfahān, 53
 Isfarāʾīnī, Abū ʿAwānah al-, 50, 79, 171
 ʿIsh, Yūsuf al-, see Yūsuf al-ʿAshsh
 Ishāq ibn ʿAbd Allāh, 117–18
 Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, 164
 Ishāq ibn Rāhawaih, 52, 54, 55, 68–69, 98, 142
 Ishāq ibn Rāshid, 182
 Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī, see Suddī
 Ismāʿīl ibn Abī Uwais, 117–18, 137, 140, 143
 Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAyyāsh, 45, 51, 68, 90, 178, 221, 232, 260
 Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar, 137–38, 143–44, 152, 157
 Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUbaid (or ʿAbd) Allāh ibn Abī al-Muhājir, 227
 Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUlaiyah, 125
isnād’s: definition of, 66; evidence provided by, 1, 26–27, 101–3, 127, 156–57, 197–98, 217–18, 236, 255, 268, 276–77; family, 1, 2, 17, 29, 30, 36–39, 44, 56, 116, 119, 136, 141–42, 145, 164, 201–2, 206, 218, 249, 256; quality of, 2, 14–15, 38, 65, 70, 74, 76–78, 82, 105–6, 120–21, 144, 150, 160, 165, 173–75, 190–91, 196–97, 201, 203, 205, 207, 217, 220, 224, 233–35, 251; see also transmission
 Israelites, 34
 Isrāʾīl, 80
 ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, 34
 ʿIzzat ʿAṭṭār al-Ḥusainī, 102
 ʿIzzat Ḥasan, 13
 Jabalah ibn ʿAmr al-Anṣārī, 214
 Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, 18, 21, 41, 66, 98, 215–16
 Jābir ibn Samurah, 66
 Jaʿfar ibn Barqān, 61
 Jaʿfar ibn Manṣūr, 123
 Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbbād, 194
 Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, 70, 169, 224, 229, 236
jāhiliyyah, 6, 64
 Jāhiz, ʿAmr ibn Baḥr al-, 5, 15, 51, 70, 105, 107, 109, 118, 258
 Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, 100, 105
 Jahmīyah, 28
Jamharat al-ansāb of Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣāʾib al-Kalbī, 90
jāmiʿ script, 89
Jāmiʿ of Hammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār, 68
Jāmiʿ of Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, xiv, 12, 75
Jāmiʿ of Ibn Wahb, 88, 128, 197
Jāmiʿ al-kabīr of Ishāq ibn Rāhawaih, 55
Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr of Ishāq ibn Rāhawaih, 55
Jāmiʿ al-ḥadīth of Maʿmar ibn Rashīd-ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām, 179
jarāb, 49
Jarāḥāt of Shaʿbī, 228
jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl, 65, 69, 106
Jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl of Abū Hātim al-Rāzī and his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 2, 61, 74–75, 164, 181, 235
 Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Taimī al-Dabbī al-Rāzī, 53, 151, 157, 249, 256, 273, 276
 Jawād ʿAlī, 64, 181, 226
 Jazīrah province, 18, 50, 162–63
 Jeffery, Arthur, 9, 16, 87, 97, 99, 102, 110–11, 148
 Jerusalem, 13, 21, 182, 225, 241
 Jesus, 259
 Jews, 5–10, 28, 42, 78, 83, 101, 215–16, 251–53, 257–59, 266
jiḏyah tax, 171
 Jones, Lewis Bevan, 79
 Jong, Pieter de, 23, 264
 Jubair ibn Muṭʿim, 79
 Jumahī, Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-, 74
 jurists, see *faqīh*
 Juynboll, T. W. J., xiv
 Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, 8, 9
kāghid, see paper
 Kaisān, 59
kalām, 75; see also *matn*
 Kalbī, Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣāʾib al-, 47, 95, 99, 104–6, 112
 Karabacek, Joseph, 94, 121
karārīs, see *kurrāsah*
karāsī, *aṣḥāb al-*, 60
kataba, 57
 Kathīr ibn Murrah, 18, 20, 90
 Kattānī, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-, xiv, 64, 239
 Kern, Friedrich, 46, 62
khabar (pl. *akhhbār*), 9, 26, 29, 44, 77, 91, 111, 118, 138, 145, 176, 205, 218, 232–33, 235–36, 240, 244, 256
 Khabbāb, 240
 Khaibar, 215, 252
 Khair al-Dīn al-Zarkalī, 81
 Khālid al-Barmakī, 60
 Khālid ibn Abī ʿImrān al-Tunīṣī, 13, 43, 58, 193, 214, 217
 Khālid ibn Ḥamīd, 204
 Khālid ibn al-Ḥārith, 248
 Khālid ibn Maʿdān, 18, 46, 58, 225, 230, 236, 267
 Khālid ibn Najīḥ, 195
 Khālid ibn al-Walīd, 214
 Khālid ibn Yazīd, 49
 Khālid al-Qasrī, 33
 Khārijah ibn Zaid ibn Thābit, 257
 Khārijites, 28, 41, 70, 73, 113, 230
 Khaṣīf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 152–53
 Khaṣīfī, see Marwān ibn Shujāʿ
 Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-, xiv, xvi, 10, 12, 44, 47, 75, 97, 103, 109, 155, 180, 183, 276
 Khawārij, see Khārijites
 Khazraj tribe, 187, 190
 Khudah Bakhsh, 110
 Khurāsān, Khurāsānians, 16, 45, 50, 51, 54, 55, 68, 72, 80, 81, 98, 99, 126, 143–44, 178, 182–83, 220, 229
 Khushanī, 102–3
khurj, 49
Kifāyah fī ʿilm al-riwāyah of Khaṭīb, xiv, 75
 Kindī, Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-, xiv, 218–19
kīs, 42, 49
 Kisāʾī, ʿAlī ibn Ḥamzah al-, 47
kiswat al-Kaʿbah, 153–54
Kitāb fī al-ʿuqūl of Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm, 29
Kitāb lughāt al-Qurʾān of Aṣmaʾī, 113

- Kitāb al-maʿānī* of Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād al-Farrāʾ, 49
Kitāb al-manāsik of Abū Nuʿaim Faḍl ibn Dukain, 275
Kitāb masāʾil al-fiqh of Abū Nuʿaim Faḍl ibn Dukain, 275
Kitāb nasb wuld Ismāʿil of Abū al-Bakhtarī, 233
Kitāb al-rāyāt of Abū al-Bakhtarī, 233
Kitāb šifat al-nabī of Abū al-Bakhtarī, 233
Kitāb al-siyar of Fazārī, 232
Kitāb Tasm wa Jadīs of Abū al-Bakhtarī, 233
Kitāb Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd, 193, 195
 Krehl, Ludolf, xiii
 Kremer, Alfred von, xvi
 Krenkow, Fritz, 113
 Kūfah, Kūfans, 7, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 42, 47, 49, 50, 68, 74, 80, 81, 97, 100, 116, 122–23, 134, 139–40, 142, 149, 151–52, 160, 164, 225–28, 241, 243, 251, 260, 266–67, 272–75
 Kūfic script, 90, 146, 262
 Kühnel, Ernst, 210
 Kuraib, 139
 Kurd ʿAlī, 64, 123, 261
 Kūrkīs ʿAwwād, 49, 51, 62
kurrāsah (pl. *karāris*), 59–60
kursī (pl. *karāsī*), 60–61

 Lāhiq ibn Ḥamid Abī Mijlaz, 227
 Laith ibn Abī Salīm (or Sulaim), 98
 Laith ibn Saʿd ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān, Abū al-Hārith, 32, 38–40, 45, 48, 51, 77, 81, 90, 91, 102, 104, 121, 144, 155–56, 163–64, 168–76, 178, 181, 183, 187–88, 190–96, 201–2, 204, 207, 209–10, 216, 218–21, 234–35, 238–40, 242–44, 255–56, 260
 Laith ibn Saʿd ibn Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd, 221
 Lakhnawī, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-, xv
 Lammens, Henri, 5, 141
 Lane, Edward William, 6, 44, 59, 210
 languages and early Islām, 257–58; *see also* Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac
 Lecomte, Gérard, 9
lex talionis, 255
 Levi della Vida, Giorgio, 107
 Lévi-Provençal, Éveriste, xvi
 libraries: court, 49, 181; scholars', 21, 33, 44, 47, 49–57, 69, 126, 181–82
 Lichtenstadter, Ilse, 249
 Löfgren, Oscar, 6
 Löwinger, Samuel, 15
luḥ (pl. *alwāḥ*), 58–59
 Luḥluḥ, 194
 Luḥluḥah, 188
 Luqmān the Sage, 5–6

maʿānī, 110, 113, 150; *see also* *maʿnā*
 Maʿbad (father of Abū ʿAqil Zuhrah), 202
 Maʿbad ibn Hilāl, 118
 MacGregor, John P., 147
Madāʾir Quraysh wa al-Anṣār of Wāqidī, 261
Madkhal of Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, 75
maghāzī, 21, 39, 106, 110–11, 176, 178, 266, 273
Maghāzī of Ibn Ishāq, 68, 180
Maghāzī of Wāqidī, 182
Maghāzī of Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Umawī, 47
 Maghribī script, 88, 127
 Magians (Mujūs), 171
 Maḥbūb ibn Mūsā, 232
 Mahdī, Caliph, 35, 106, 123–24, 152, 154, 273
 Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, xvi
māʾil script, 89, 237, 243
 Maimūn ibn Mihrān, 18, 25, 159, 161–62
 Maʿīn (or Maʿn) ibn ʿUqbah, 151
Majallat Luqmān, 5
Majāz al-Qurʾān of Abū ʿUbaidah, 113
 Makhramah ibn Bukair ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj, 218, 266, 268
 Makhūl al-Shāmī, 18, 22, 23, 34, 36, 41, 75, 162, 202, 241, 244
 Makhzūmite, 194
malāḥim, *see* eschatology
 Maʿlā ibn Maimūn, 46
 Malāṭī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-, 96, 108, 112
 Mālik ibn Abī ʿĀmir, 137
 Mālik ibn Anas, xv, 2, 26, 32, 38–40, 45, 46, 48, 50, 51, 53, 56, 60, 61, 67, 68, 70, 77–81, 88, 90, 91, 108, 111, 113–28, 134, 136–43, 145, 148, 152, 155–56, 160, 162, 174–76, 179, 181–82, 187–88, 193–94, 197–98, 206, 215–16, 219–20, 229, 243
 Mālik ibn Dinār, 9, 46, 90
 Mālikī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-, 154, 214, 227, 240
 Maʿmar ibn Rāshid, 38, 43–45, 50, 51, 80, 101–2, 172, 177–81, 194
 Maʾmūn, Caliph, 6, 55, 155, 250, 260, 275
 Maʿn ibn ʿĪsā, 182
 Maʿn (or Maʿīn) ibn ʿUqbah, 151
maʿnā (pl. *maʿānī*), *maʿnawī*, 39, 70, 116, 140, 173, 228, 241
Manāqib Banū al-ʿAbbās of Yaḥyā ibn al-Mubārak, 261
manāqib literature, 76, 249, 260–61
 Mansūr, Caliph, 35, 48, 63, 81, 82, 106, 116, 123–24, 177, 209, 218–19, 233
 Mansūr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamid al-Bāwardī, *see* Abū Naṣr
 Mansūr ibn al-Muʿtamir, 151
 manuscripts: destruction of, 10, 11, 52, 56, 60, 62, 73, 89, 181, 231; permanency of, 11, 21, 28–29, 46–47, 54, 59, 164; *see also* *daftar* and *ṣahīfah*
 Maqdisī, Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-, 97, 98, 100
 Maqqarī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-, 103, 127, 184
marāsīl al-Zuhrī, 78, 175
 Marçais, M., 87
 Margoliouth, D. S., xiv, xv, 110
Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth of Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, xv, 75
 Marwān I, 19–20, 37, 52, 90
 Marwān II, 152
 Marwān ibn Muʿāwiyah al-Fazārī, 53, 267
 Marwān ibn Shujāʿ (Khaṣifī), 152, 157
 Marzubānī, Muḥammad ibn ʿImrān al-, 47
 Marzūq, 125, 127
Masāʾil of Mālik ibn Anas, 127
 Māsārjisī (Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad al-Nisābūrī), 184
 Masāwir al-Warrāq, 46
 Masrūq ibn al-Ajdaṣ, 11, 41, 42, 80, 81, 187
 Massignon, Louis, 96, 105–6, 230
 Masʿūdī, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusain al-, xv, xvi
mathālib, 261
Mathālib al-ʿArab of ʿAllān al-Shuʿūbī, 261
matn, significance of, 1, 15, 37, 66, 74–76, 82, 145, 150, 173, 207, 217, 224, 253
 Matthes, B. F., xiv
mawālī, *see* *mawlā*
 Māwardī, 16, 71, 225
mawlā (pl. *mawālī*), 15–17, 30, 34–37, 56, 73, 211, 218, 229
 Mecca, 5, 13, 14, 16–18, 20, 24, 25, 41, 49, 81, 98, 102–3, 160–62, 178–79, 211, 225–26, 238, 242–43, 253, 255, 257, 259, 267
 Medina, Medinans, 6, 8, 13, 14, 17, 20–22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 41, 46, 50, 79–82, 102, 108–9, 115–18, 120, 122–26, 128, 139–44, 152, 169, 172, 176, 178, 180–81,

- 187, 191, 193–94, 202–3, 209, 212–15, 218–20, 224–25, 239–41, 243, 248, 250, 253, 255, 257–58, 264, 273
- Medinan script, *see mā'il script*
- memory tests, 20, 52–53, 275, 277
- Menzel, Theophil, 266
- Mez, Adam, 110
- Michigan, University of, vii, 91, 262, 269
- midrash, 8, 258
- Miles, George C., 107
- Mingana, Alphonse, 168
- Mis'ar ibn Kidām, 67, 272, 276–77
- Mishna, 8, 9, 258
- Mittwoch, Eugen, 99
- Mohammed ben Cheneb, 43
- Moses, 58
- mosques, 13–14, 23, 128, 252, 254, 258
- Mosul, 101
- Moubarac, Youakim, 6
- Mu'ādh ibn 'Amr ibn Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh al-Ashhālī, 120
- Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, 14, 41, 80, 241, 259
- Mu'ādh ibn Khālid al-Asqalānī, 149
- Mu'ādh ibn Khālid al-Marwazī al-Khurāsānī, 149
- mu'allal*, 76
- mu'an'an*, *see 'an*
- Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, 15, 18, 19, 34, 49, 71, 79, 118, 123, 153, 201–2, 213–14, 252, 260
- Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Amr, 232
- Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudaij, 214
- Mu'āwiyah ibn Qurrah, 18
- Mu'āwiyah ibn Šālih, 101–3
- Mubarrad, Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-, 230
- mubawwab*, 2, 39, 156, 163, 268; *see also bāb*
- mudawwar al-ṣaghīr script*, 89
- Mueller, August, xiii
- Mughīrah ibn Muqsim, 273
- Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah, 19, 107
- muhaddith* (pl. *muhaddithān*), 1, 70, 196
- Muhājirūn, 259
- Muhallab ibn Abī Šufrah, 230
- Muḥammad the Prophet: literacy of, 6, 257; survival of the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* of, 77–79 *et passim*; *tafsīr* of, 110–11; transmission of Qur'ān by, 28, 53, 118–19, 231, 257
- Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafājā, 6
- Muḥammad 'Abduh Aghā, xiv
- Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 124
- Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānījī, xv
- Muḥammad As'ad Ṭalas, xv
- Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 70
- Muḥammad Fu'ād, 15
- Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī, xv, 27, 124
- Muḥammad Ḥamid Allāh, xiii
- Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fīqqī, xiii
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim, 180, 182
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muthanā al-Anṣārī, 248–50, 254–56
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Numair, 243
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Khuzā'i, 211
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 50
- Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, 24, 26, 31, 79
- Muḥammad ibn Abī Khaithmah, 103
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Fāsi, 23, 118, 154, 254
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, 170–71, 215, 248
- Muḥammad ibn 'Amr, 250
- Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, 24, 29
- Muḥammad ibn Bishr, 272
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, 249
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥajjāj ibn Rishdīn, 201, 206–7
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, 18
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb, 177
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī, *see* Shaibānī
- Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Taimī, 187
- Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā, 47
- Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, xiii, 96
- Muḥammad ibn al-Minhāl, 61
- Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, 127
- Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir, 202–3
- Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Wārah, 55
- Muḥammad ibn Qais, 263
- Muḥammad ibn Qais al-Zaiyāt, 264
- Muḥammad ibn Rumḥ, 188
- Muḥammad ibn al-Šabbāh al-Dūlābī, 150
- Muḥammad ibn Šabiḥ ibn al-Sammāk, 47
- Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, *see* Kalbī
- Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, 13, 17, 36, 43, 71, 87, 108, 161, 169, 229, 249, 257
- Muḥammad ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, 102
- Muḥammad ibn 'Uzaiz, 175
- Muḥammad ibn Walīd ibn Nuwaifa', 139
- Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd al-Zubaidī, 90, 177
- Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Dhuhli, 182–83
- Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ḥibbān, 188
- Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Mālik ibn Anaṣ, 127
- Muḥammad Mūhyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, xiii
- Muḥammad al-Murṭr, 184
- Muḥammad Rāghīb al-Ṭabbākh al-Ḥalabī, 188
- Muḥammad Riḍā al-Muzaffar, 229
- Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir ibn 'Ashūr, 253
- Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā, 81
- Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kautharī, 126
- Muḥāsibī, 204
- Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, 188
- Muir, William, 33, 64
- Mujāhid ibn Jabr, 14, 25, 97–102, 112, 149, 157, 159, 162–64
- Mujūs (Magians), 171
- mukātabah* method of transmission, 35, 38, 126, 193, 197, 220–21, 230, 235–36
- munāwalah* method of transmission, 35, 38, 50, 126, 178, 181, 194, 197, 209, 221, 235–36
- Muqātil ibn Sulaimān al-Balkhī, 1, 39, 43, 92, 95–106, 112–13, 157, 205, 252
- Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, 107
- Mūsā ibn A'yan al-Ḥarrānī, 153, 211, 216
- Mūsā ibn Ismā'īl al-Baṣrī al-Tabūdhkī, 68, 69, 161, 250, 256
- Mūsā ibn Sayyār al-Aswārī, 258
- Mūsā ibn 'Ubaidah al-Rabadhī, 265
- Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, 157, 182
- Muṣ'ab ibn Sadaq[ah?], 152
- Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umair, 14
- muṣaḥḥaf*, 76
- muṣannaḥ* (pl. *muṣannafāt*), 39, 47, 50, 156
- Musayyib ibn Sharīk, 148–49, 152, 154–57
- Musayyib ibn Wāḍih, 232, 234–35
- muṣḥaf*, 57, 272
- mushkilāt*, 108
- Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, xv, 26, 39, 51, 55, 61, 65, 66, 69, 70, 72, 74, 77, 81, 83, 111, 121, 136, 138–40, 144–45, 161, 174–75, 178, 183, 211, 239
- musnad*, 2, 39, 156
- Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, xiv, 2, 18, 19, 37–39, 56, 65, 69–71, 244, 264
- Musnad* of Ibn Wahb, 69

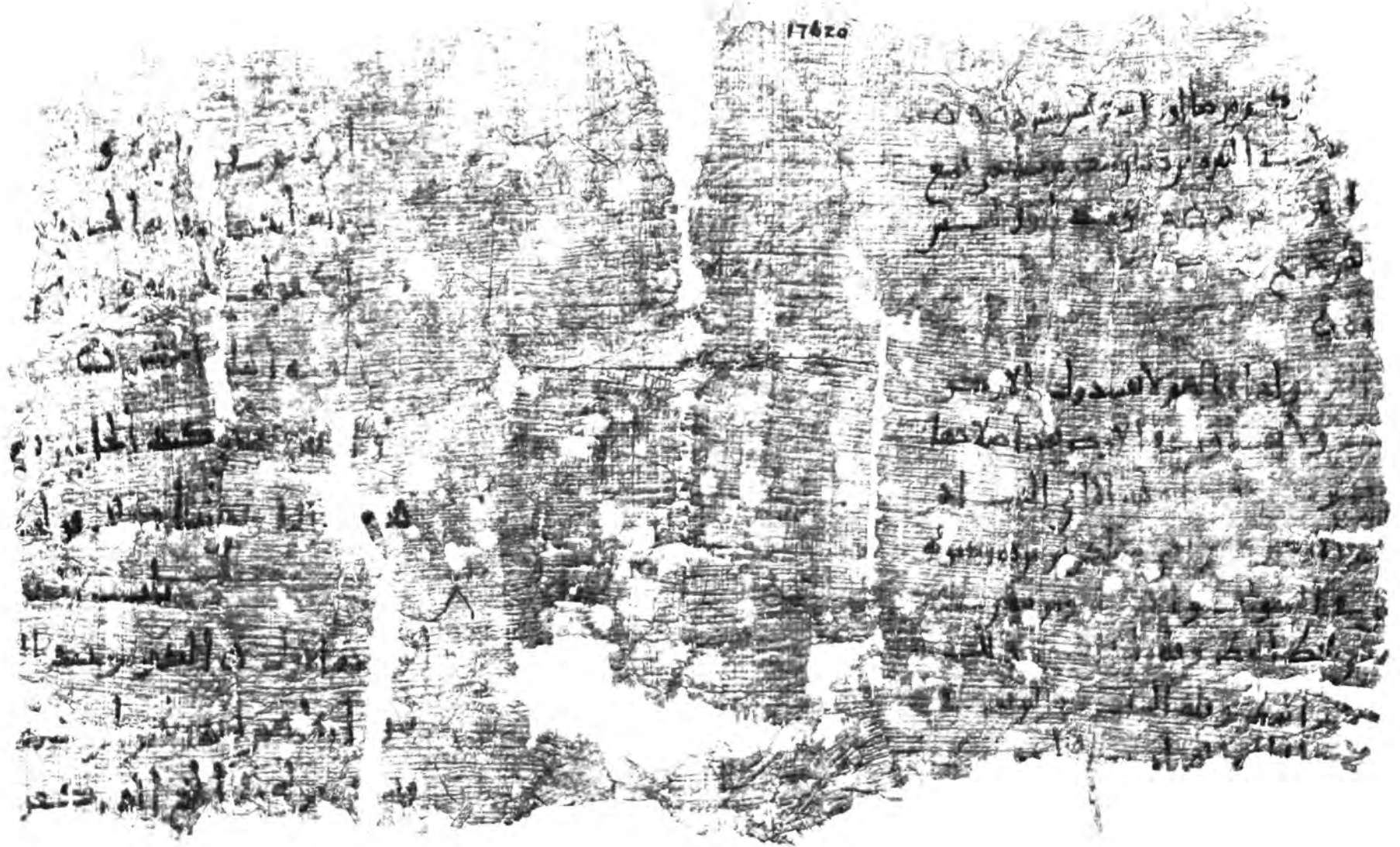
- Musnad* of Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿīd al-Jauharī, 71
Musnad of Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, 229
Musnad of Ṭayālīsī, xvi, 197
Musnad of Yaʿqūb ibn Shaibah, 42, 47, 71
Musnad al-kabīr of Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad al-Nisābūrī, 184
mustamlī, 48, 125
Mūṭah, expedition against, 215
Muʿtamir ibn Sulaimān, 253, 256
Muṭarrif ibn Māzin, 44
Muṭarrif ibn Yazīd, 273
mutashābih (pl. *mutashābihāt*), 95–96, 107–13
Mutawakkil, Caliph, 48, 56
Muʿtaziliyah, 28
Muthannā ibn Ibrāhīm al-Amūlī, 103
mutlaq script, 89
Muttaqī al-Hindī, 172
Muwaṭṭaʿ of Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Aslamī, 70
Muwaṭṭaʿ of Mālik ibn Anas, xv, 26, 45, 68, 70, 88, 111, 114–28, 134, 136, 138–39, 141–42, 152, 175, 182, 193, 197, 243
Muzāhim, 25
Naḍr ibn ʿAdī, 163
Naḍr ibn ʿArabī, *see* Abū Rauḥ al-Naḍr ibn ʿArabī
Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith, 5
Nāfiʿ ibn Hurmuz, 17, 20, 34, 36, 44, 49, 108–9, 124, 135, 148–50, 157, 178, 182, 210
Najdian Bedouin, 138
Najjārite, 248
Najrān, 11, 24
Nakhaʿī, Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-, 13, 60, 74, 81, 149–52, 157, 273–74, 276
nāqid al-ḥadīth, 74
Nasāʿī, Aḥmad ibn Shuʿaib al-, xv, 40, 75, 105, 144, 187, 260
naskhi script, 89, 90, 146, 158
Naṣr al-Hūrīnī, xiii
Nauf al-Bakālī, 8, 9
nāwala, 57; *see also* *munāwalaḥ*
Nawawī, Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf al-, xv, 59, 60, 66, 117, 147, 161, 191, 221
Nisāpūr, 50
Nöldeke, Theodor, 64, 97, 99, 106
North Africa, 42, 43, 203–4, 227, 240
Nuwairī, Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-, 13, 30
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, vii
Oriental Institute, vii, 91, 92, 135
paper, 46, 47, 57, 59, 60, 94, 102, 127, 234, 277
Paret, Rudi, 6, 64
Pavet de Courteille, xv
Pedersen, Johannes, 15
Pellat, Charles, 99, 260
“people of the Book” (*ahl al-kitāb*), 6–10, 28, 40, 46, 78, 171, 204, 258; *see also* *Christians and Jews*
Persia, Persians, 5, 16, 34, 35, 81, 117, 123, 140, 204, 218–19, 258
Pinto, Olga, 107
Plessner, Martin, 96, 106
Ploeg, J. van der, 8, 9
punctuation, 87, 88, 92, 114, 129, 146, 158, 166, 185, 199, 208, 237, 246, 262, 269
Qabīṣah ibn Dhūʿaib, 16, 20
Qādir, Caliph, 169
Qādirites, 28, 70, 73, 171, 225, 241, 258
Qais, 241–42
Qais ibn Saʿd, 16, 18, 161
qāla, 54, 63, 88, 122, 173, 196–97, 206
qalam, 57, 262
qarā, 139
Qāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarrānī, 164
Qāsim ibn Abī Bazzah, 98
Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, 13, 30, 32, 66, 108, 111, 189, 191, 198, 210, 214
qāṣṣ, *qaṣṣāṣ* (pl. *quṣṣās*), 14–16, 55, 88, 161, 205, 229, 239
Qatādah ibn Diʿāmah, 18, 52, 80, 101, 198
qauṣarah, 51
qimaṭr, 49, 51
qirṭāṣ, 57
Qudāmah ibn ʿAbd Allāh, 149
Quraish, Quraishites, 18, 19, 24, 34, 153, 183, 224, 259–60
Qurʾān: commentary on difficult and ambiguous passages (*mushkilāt* and *mutashābihāt*), 1, 107–13; creation of, 55, 212, 231; disposal of used copies, 227–29, 231, 235; reading stand (*kursī*), 60; scripts, 60, 90; Umar I’s “edition,” 7, 58; ʿUthmānic edition, 8, 12, 20, 21, 46, 58, 250, 256, 259
Qureshi, A. I., 170
Qurrah ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 177
quṣṣās, *see* *qāṣṣ*
Qutaibah ibn Saʿīd al-Balkhī, 137, 140, 143, 145, 187–88, 190–91, 194–95, 198, 201, 206
Rabaḍ, 103
Rabdhah, 264
Rabīʿ ibn Faḍl, 219
Rabīʿah ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 193
Rabīʿah ibn ʿIsl al-Yarbūʿī, 107–8
Rabīʿah al-Raʿī, 34, 35, 50, 122, 125
Rāghib al-Isbahānī, Ḥusain ibn Muḥammad al-, 48
Rajāʿ ibn Ḥaiwah, 16, 22, 23, 25, 205
Ramaḍān, 137–38, 169, 265
Ramḍān Lāwand, 229
Rasāʾil of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, 60
Rashīd al-Riḍā, Muḥammad, 111, 162
Rauba, Nanette, vii
Rauḥ ibn ʿUbādah, 68, 117
Rawandīyah movement, 123
rawā, 96, 99
raʿy, 2, 12, 16, 19, 35, 54, 62, 82, 113
Rayy, 50, 273
Ribera y Terragó, Julián, 102, 176
Rifāʿah, *see* Abū Lubābah ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhīr
riḥlah, 40–43, 50, 52, 54, 56, 68, 70, 89, 143, 164, 220
riqʿah, 59, 194
Riṣāfah, 182
Risālah fi al-sunan wa al-mawāʿiz of Mālik ibn Anas, 122
Rishdīn ibn Saʿd, 38, 62, 199, 201–2, 204–7, 241
Ritter, Hellmut, 30
Riyāḥ ibn ʿUbaidah, 25
Roberts, Robert, 116, 170, 255
Robson, James, xv, 32, 40, 64, 65, 75
Roediger, Johannes, xiii
Rosenthal, Erwin, 123
Rosenthal, Franz, 8, 15, 45, 74, 81, 82, 90
Rubaiyīʿ bint al-Naḍr, 254
Ruska, Julius, 229
Sabians, 6
Ṣabīgh ibn ʿIsl, 41, 107–10
Ṣabīgh ibn al-Mundhīr, *see* Ṣabīgh ibn ʿIsl
Ṣabīgh ibn al-Sharīk ibn al-Mundhīr ibn ʿIsl al-Yarbūʿī, *see* Ṣabīgh ibn ʿIsl
Sachau, Eduard, xiv, 275

- Sa'd ibn Ibrāhīm, 31, 33, 37, 180
 Sa'd ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd ibn Ibrāhīm, 181
 Sa'd ibn Mu'adh al-Ashhālī, 120, 254
ṣadaqah (pl. *ṣadaqāt*) tax, 26–32
 Ṣafadī, Khalīl ibn Aibak al-, 30
 Saffāh, Caliph, 81, 116, 122–23, 193
safinah format, 91
ṣahifah (pl. *ṣuhuf*), 6, 28, 37, 42, 44, 57–59, 66, 188, 222, 247; *see also* manuscripts
ṣahih, 65, 90
Ṣahihain of Muslim and Bukhārī, xiii, xv, 39, 65, 69, 81, 82, 120, 138, 161, 174, 211
 Sahl ibn Sa'd, 172
 Saḥnūn ibn Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī, 59, 143, 228–29
 Ṣā'ib ibn Ṣaifī, 6
 Sa'īd ibn Abī 'Arūbah, 53, 80, 229, 236
 Sa'īd ibn Abī Maryam, 221
 Sa'īd ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Maqburī, 120–21, 264
 Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, 241
 Sa'īd ibn Ayyūb, 202
 Sa'īd ibn al-Baṭrīq (Eutychius), 107
 Sa'īd ibn Jubair, 10, 21, 58, 97–99, 101, 112, 149, 157, 162
 Sa'īd ibn Mu'adh al-Ashhālī, 120
 Sa'īd ibn Muḥammad, 46
 Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib, 13, 14, 17, 20, 22, 41, 52, 60, 108, 111, 169, 171, 179–80, 198, 202–3, 207, 213, 216, 241
 Sa'īd ibn Nusair, 47
 Sa'īd ibn 'Ufair, 169
 Sa'īd ibn Yahyā ibn Sa'īd al-Umawī, 47
 Sa'īd ibn Yasār, 116
 Sa'īd al-Khudrī, 21
 Saif ibn Abī Sulaimān, 226
 Saif ibn 'Umar, 226
ṣairafī al-ḥadīth, 74
 Sakhawī, 65, 183
 Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid, xv, 75, 170
 Ṣalām (or Sallām) ibn Miskīn, 272–73
 Salamah ibn al-Akwaṣ, 264
 Salamah ibn Kuhail, 139
 Salamah ibn Makhramah, 211
 Ṣalāmah ibn Rauḥ, 175
 Salamah ibn Ṣāliḥ, 150, 157
 Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 239, 242–43
 Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaisān, 33, 157
 Ṣalīm (client of Ibn 'Umar), 36
 Ṣalīm ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 13, 18, 29, 31, 111, 142, 148, 157, 180, 198, 214
 Ṣalīm ibn Ghailān, 239
 Salisbury, Edward E., 45
 Sallām (or Ṣalām) ibn Miskīn, 272–73
 Salmān al-Fārisī, 8, 40
*sam*ṣ, method of transmission, 57, 63, 76, 102, 104, 125–26, 139, 145, 163, 196–97, 236
 Sam'ānī, 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-, xiii, xv, 47, 48
 Sāmī Haddād, 42, 71
ṣandūq, 49
 Sa'ūdians, 19
 Sayyid al-Ahl, 'Abd al-'Azīz, 229
 Sayyid 'Alī Jaudat, 107
 Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, 260
 Schacht, Joseph, 36, 83, 96
 schools and schoolteachers, 13–16, 59, 128, 161
 Schwally, Friedrich, 97
 science(s), Qur'ānic, 12, 14, 16, 110, 113
 science(s) of Tradition, 2, 12, 57, 64–65, 69, 75–77, 80, 156, 184
 scripts, 5–6, 60, 88–90, 127, 146, 237, 243, 262, 269
 Scriptures, 6, 7; *see also* Bible
 Semites, 8, 10, 169
 Sezgin, M. Fuad, xiii, 40, 64, 113, 179, 250
 Sha'bi, Abū 'Amr 'Āmir al-, 10, 18, 20–21, 42, 46, 71, 111, 227–29, 236, 241, 251, 274–76
 Shabīb ibn Sa'īd, 177
 Shāfi'i, Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-, xv, 32, 39, 47, 51, 54–56, 73, 79, 81, 83, 100, 104, 113, 124, 127, 153–56, 171, 174, 179, 181, 203
shahada, 163
 Shaibānī, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-, xv, 26–27, 45, 47, 51, 53, 54, 68, 111, 113, 115, 120, 124, 126–27, 136, 142, 153–56, 263, 274
 Sharik ibn 'Abd Allāh, 68
 Shāfi'ites, 18, 31, 47, 70, 73, 169, 212–13, 219, 229, 239, 260
 Shirāzī, Abū Ishāq al-, 11, 70, 80
 Shu'aib ibn Abī Ḥamzah or Shu'aib ibn Dīnār, 90, 140, 177–78
 Shu'aib ibn Laith ibn Sa'd, 170–73
 Shu'aib al-Jabā'ī al-Yamanī, 8
 Shu'bah ibn al-Ḥajjāj, 19, 45, 50, 52–54, 61, 65, 67, 80, 98, 99, 179–81, 229, 233–34, 236, 251, 273–77
 Shumailah, 6
shu'ūbiyah movement, 34, 260
 Sibawaih, 161
 Ṣiffīn, Battle of, 214
ṣiḥḥat kutub, *see* *ṣahih*
*simā*ṣ, *see* *sam*ṣ
 Sind, 273
 Sīrāfi, Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh al-, 113
sīrah (pl. *siyar*), 48, 232–33, 266
Sīrah of Ṭabarī, 101
Sīrat rasul Allāh of Ibn Ishāq, xv, 12, 99, 112, 122
 Sīrīn (client of Anas ibn Mālik), 249
 Smith, William Robertson, 206
 Somogyi, Joseph, 15, 169
 Sourdel, Dominique, 60, 123
 Spain, 43, 102–3, 127, 204
 Spanish scholars, 47, 103, 127
 Sprenger, Aloys, xiv, 11, 33, 45, 57, 64
 Stern, Gertrude H., 136, 192
 Su'air ibn al-Khims, 272, 274
 Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, 76
 Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn al-, 55, 175
 Suddī, Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-, 95, 99, 101–2, 112
 Suffiyah bint Abī 'Ubaid, 151
 Sufyān al-Thaurī, 10, 32, 35, 39, 43, 44, 49, 51, 53–55, 61, 62, 67, 71, 80, 98, 99, 101, 105, 113, 149, 161–63, 181, 220, 260, 274, 277
 Sufyān ibn 'Utbah, 160
 Sufyān ibn 'Uyainah, 38, 47, 52, 53, 61, 65, 67, 68, 72, 80, 98, 100, 104, 113, 122, 143, 160, 165, 179–80, 194, 234
ṣuhuf, *see* *ṣahifah*
 Sulaimān, Caliph, 22, 25, 187
 Sulaimān ibn Bilāl, 193
 Sulaimān ibn Ḥarb, 61
 Sulaimān ibn Mihrān al-A'mash, *see* A'mash
 Sulaimān ibn Yasār, 18, 108–9, 213–14, 216
 Sūli, Muḥammad ibn Yahyā al-, 260
 Sumayy, 136
sunnah (pl. *suman*), 7, 11, 12, 14, 19, 20, 23, 26–33, 35, 52, 67, 77–78, 174, 179, 184, 191, 195–96, 201, 230, 234, 273
 Sunnites, 70, 73, 229
 Surkh, 274
 Suwaid ibn Sa'īd, 213, 217–18

- Suwaid ibn Ṣāmit, 5
 Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn al-, xiv, xv, 5, 6, 100, 111
 Sweetman, J. W., 71, 133, 141, 169–70
 Syria, Syrians, 5, 6, 14, 15, 18, 32, 41–43, 50, 51, 58, 66–68, 75, 80, 81, 100–103, 108, 144, 177–78, 183, 188, 194, 196, 211, 221, 224–25, 227, 232–34, 243, 260, 267
 Syriac, 6, 9, 257–58
- Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* of Ibn Saʿd, xiv, 2, 74
 Ṭabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-, xv, xvi, 9, 21, 46, 47, 62, 71, 98, 99, 101–3, 105, 108, 111–13, 116, 123, 139, 162, 172, 212, 252
 Ṭabūk, expedition of, 190, 254
ṭadlīs (*dalas*, *dals*), 73, 160, 163, 173, 221, 233, 251
ṭafsīr, 1, 7, 11, 12, 16, 17, 39, 43, 45, 47, 63, 90, 91, 95–113, 154, 156, 164, 252
Ṭafsīr of ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām, 112, 179, 252
Ṭafsīr of Abū al-Laith al-Samarqandī, 110
Ṭafsīr of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah, 101–3, 112
Ṭafsīr of Daḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim, 98, 112
ṭafsīr al-ḥadīth, 154
Ṭafsīr of Ḥasan (or Ḥusain) ibn Wāqid, 97
Ṭafsīr of Ibn ʿAbbās, 9, 98, 112
Ṭafsīr of Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 164
Ṭafsīr of Ibn Ḥanbal, 56
ṭafsīr works of Ibn Ishāq, 112
Ṭafsīr of Ibn Juraij, 49, 112
Ṭafsīr of Kalbī, 105–6, 112
Ṭafsīr of Mujāhid ibn Jabr, 25, 98, 100, 112
ṭafsīr works of Muqātil ibn Sulaimān al-Balkhī, 1, 95–97, 99, 100, 105–6, 112–13, 252
ṭafsīr al-nabī, 110–11
Ṭafsīr of Saʿīd ibn Jubair, 21, 58, 98–99, 112
Ṭafsīr of Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah, 100, 179
Ṭafsīr al-Qurʾān of Ṭabarī, xvi, 21, 71, 99, 101, 103, 105
 Ṭaḥāwī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-, xvi, 239
 Ṭalḥī, Mohammed, 73
 Ṭalḥah ibn ʿAmr, 45
 Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbaid Allāh, 136–38
 Talmud, 258
 Tamīmī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-, *see* Ibn Abī Ḥatim al-Rāzī
targhib wa tarḥīb, 15
Targhib wa al-tarḥīb of Ḥamīd ibn Zanjawaih, 76
Ṭaqyīd al-ʿilm of Khaṭīb, 12, 75
ṭaʿrīkh, 17, 39, 47, 63
Ṭaʿrīkh al-ʿArab of Aṣmaʿī(?), 90
Ṭaʿrīkh al-kabīr of Bukhārī, xiii, 2, 65, 74
Ṭaʿrīkh madīnat Dimashq of Ibn ʿAsākir, 101, 103
Ṭaʿrīkh al-khulafāʾ of Ibn Ishāq, 127
Ṭaʿrīkh of Ṭabarī, 71, 101
Ṭaʿrīkh of Yaʿqūbī, 235
ṭasāḥul fī al-ṣnād, 14–15, 76, 144
 Ṭāshkūprīzādah, 75, 258
ṭaṣṭīyah, 78, 88, 89, 117, 119, 136, 138, 149, 164, 212, 235, 249, 254
 Ṭāʾūs ibn Kaisān, 18, 22, 37, 108, 149, 161
ṭaʾwīl, 105
 Ṭayālīsī, Sulaimān ibn Dāʾūd al-, xvi, 2, 39, 53, 67, 149, 151, 161, 197, 259
 terminology, *see* transmission
 Thaʿālibī, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad al-, 60, 228
 Thābit al-Bunānī, 16, 67, 141, 160–61
 Thābit ibn ʿAjlan al-Ḥimṣī, 231, 233
 Thābit ibn al-Daḥdāḥ (or Daḥdāḥah), 252
 Thābit ibn ʿUbaid al-Anṣārī, 249
 Thaur ibn Yazīd, 46, 224–25, 236
 Thumāmah ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr, 31
 Thumāmah ibn Mālik ibn Anas ibn Mālik, 29, 37
 Tirmidhī, Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā al-, xvi, 26, 87, 88, 108, 111, 187, 204
 Torah, 9, 257
 Torrey, Charles Cutler, xiii, 5, 6, 219, 257
 transmission: continuous written, 38, 47, 57, 175–76, 197–98, 217–18, 236, 245, 268, 276–77; methods, 35, 38, 45–46, 50, 53, 57, 63, 76, 102, 104, 125–26, 138–39, 145, 163, 178, 181, 193–94, 196–97, 209, 217, 220–21, 230–31, 235–36, 266; terminology, 26, 39, 54, 57, 61, 63, 70, 73, 76, 78, 88, 96, 99, 110, 113, 116, 121–22, 126, 134, 136, 139–40, 144, 150, 157, 160, 162–63, 173–74, 189, 196–97, 206, 221, 224, 228, 231, 233–35, 241, 251, 264, 275–76; *see also* ḥadīth and ṣnād's
 Transoxus, 81
ṭurg, 19, 28, 45, 69, 71, 72, 77, 149, 217, 257
 Ṭurṭūshī, Abū Bakr al-, 6, 148
 ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit al-Anṣārī, 14, 37, 75, 187
 ʿUbādah ibn al-Walīd, 187–88, 198
 ʿUbaid Allāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, 25
 ʿUbaid Allāh ibn Abī Jaʿfar al-Miṣrī, 210
 ʿUbaid Allāh ibn Abī Ziyād, 182–83
 ʿUbaid Allāh ibn ʿAmr, 45
 ʿUbaid Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm, 181
 ʿUbaid Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn Hafṣ, 125, 148, 151
 ʿUbaid ibn Sharyah, *see* *Akhbār ʿUbaid*
 ʿUbaid ibn ʿUmair, 231
 ʿUbaidah ibn Ḥumaid, 248
 Ubayy, 135
 Ubayy ibn Kaʿb, 66, 80, 118, 135
 Uḥud: mountain of, 240–41; Battle of, 120, 252
ulamāʾ, 1, 2, 13, 16, 22–23, 24, 66, 74, 196
ulūm al-ḥadīth, *see* sciences of Tradition
 ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj, 218
 ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-Azīz (ʿUmar II), 12, 16, 20, 22–33, 37, 41, 44, 52, 60, 82, 88, 139, 154, 159–60, 162, 265, 228, 230, 236, 240
 ʿUmar ibn Abī Bakr al-Muʿammalī, 182
 ʿUmar ibn ʿAlī al-Jaʿdī, 24, 37, 179
 ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (Umar I), 7–8, 10–12, 14, 24, 27–32, 41, 42, 44, 46, 56, 58, 60, 62, 66, 71, 79, 80, 88, 107–11, 120, 123, 135–37, 148–50, 153, 170, 188–89, 195, 202, 205, 210–11, 215, 250, 258–59, 265, 267
 ʿUmar ibn Nāfiʿ, 135
 ʿUmar ibn Qais, 152
 ʿUmar ibn ʿUbaid Allāh ibn Maʿmar, 141
 ʿUmārah ibn ʿUmair, 160
 Umayyads, 12, 18, 22, 24, 25, 31, 35, 49, 64, 75, 81, 83, 101–2, 116, 123, 139, 152–54, 175, 181, 187, 196, 228, 243, 251, 260
 Umayyah ibn Abī al-Ṣalt, 5, 141
 Umm Hānī, 105, 112
 Umm Mūsā, 273
 Umm Salamah, 29, 46, 151, 172, 212, 254, 264
 Umm Sulaim, 248–49
 ʿUmūmī manuscript in Constantinople, 94–97
 ʿUqail ibn Khālid, 31, 67, 134–35, 168–71, 173–77, 196, 198
 ʿUqbah ibn ʿĀmir, 20, 90, 202, 242
 ʿUqbah ibn Nāfiʿ al-Qurshī, 203
 ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubair, 17, 20–22, 24, 25, 34, 36, 62, 168, 170, 172, 187, 267–68, 273
 Usāmah ibn Zaid ibn Aslam, 27, 30, 263
 Usāmah ibn Zaid al-Laithī, 263
 ʿUtbah ibn al-Nuddar al-Sulamī, 267
 ʿUthmān, Caliph, 21, 46, 60, 79, 88, 123, 142, 153, 211, 213, 260, 267, 274; *see also* Qurʾān

- ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd al-Dānī, 13, 46, 87
 ʿUthmān ibn Ṣāliḥ, 210, 220–21
- Vajda, Georges, 90
 Veccia Vagliari, Laura, 99, 112
 Vitestam, Gösta, 105
 vowels, writing of, 87
- Wahb ibn Munabbih, 6, 8, 57, 58
 Wakīʿ, Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān, xiii, 219
 Wakīʿ ibn al-Jarrāḥ, 47, 80, 100, 113
 Walīd I, 22–23, 25, 228
 Walīd II, 44, 181
 Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī, 213
 Walīd ibn al-Qais, 242
 Walīd ibn ʿUbādah ibn al-Walid, 18, 187–88
 Wāqidi, Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-, xvi, 46, 47, 51, 52, 79, 103, 105, 123, 182, 235, 252, 261
waraqah (pl. *waraq*), see paper
 Waraqah ibn Naufal, 6
 Warrād (secretary of Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah), 19
warrāq (pl. *warrāqūn*), 16, 46–49, 56, 118, 125, 127, 229
 Wāsīt, 50, 80, 150, 163, 194
 Wāthilah ibn al-Asqaʿ, 18, 45
 Watt, William Montgomery, 5, 8, 9, 170–71, 190, 206, 254
 Weisweiler, Max, xiii, 48, 125, 143, 179, 259
 Wellhausen, Julius, 64
 Wensinck, Arent Jan, xiii, 7, 32, 44, 64, 141
 Widengren, Geo, 5
wijādah method of transmission, 37, 38, 45–46, 221, 235–36, 266
 Wilkinson, J. V. S., 127
wirāqah, 46; see also *warrāq*
 women, literate, 6, 57, 125, 151, 164, 264, 277
 Wright, William, 90, 230
 Wuhaib ibn Khālid al-Baṣrī, 65
Wujūh wa al-naẓāʾir of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah, 100, 103
Wujūh wa al-naẓāʾir of ʿAbbās ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṣārī, 100
Wujūh wa al-naẓāʾir of Muqāṭil ibn Sulaimān al-Balkhī, 92–113, 127
 Wüstenfeld, Ferdinand, xv, xvi, 64, 107, 153
- Yāfiʿī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Asʿad al-, xvi
 Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, 54, 60
 Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair, 126, 168–73, 175, 198, 218
 Yaḥyā ibn Abī Kuthair, 80, 251
 Yaḥyā ibn Abī Zāʾidah, 80
 Yaḥyā ibn Adam, 54, 80, 171
 Yaḥyā ibn Aktham, 6
 Yaḥyā ibn Bukair, see Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukair
 Yaḥyā ibn al-Darīs, 161
 Yaḥyā ibn Ḥassān, 137
 Yaḥyā ibn ʿĪsā al-Ramlī, 249
 Yaḥyā ibn Kathīr (or Kuthair?), 134
 Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn, 45, 47, 51, 53–55, 61, 65, 67–69, 71, 72, 80, 81, 112, 124, 144, 150, 154, 159, 161, 178, 195, 221, 272, 275, 277
 Yaḥyā ibn Mālik ibn Anas, 127
 Yaḥyā ibn al-Mubārak, 261
 Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, 2, 26–27, 29, 36, 44, 46, 50, 61, 67, 77, 116, 122–23, 150, 157, 175–76, 187–97, 202, 209, 214, 220
 Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, 54, 55, 61, 65, 68, 80, 82, 98, 221, 233, 250
- Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Umawī, 47
 Yaḥyā ibn Sīrīn, 87
 Yaḥyā ibn ʿUthmān ibn Ṣāliḥ, 221
 Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laithī, 115, 124, 127, 137
 Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Nisābūrī, 117
 Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād al-Farrāʿ, 47, 49
 Yamāmah, 251
 Yaʿqūb ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ashajj, 218
 Yaʿqūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd ibn Ibrāhīm, 181, 183
 Yaʿqūb ibn Shaibah, 42, 47, 71, 110, 177, 251
 Yaʿqūbī, Aḥmad ibn Abī Yaʿqūb ibn Wāḍiḥ al-, xvi, 21, 212, 235
 Yāqūt ibn ʿAbd Allāh, xiv, xvi
 Yasīr (or Yusair) ibn ʿAmr, 134
 Yazīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Laithī, 241–42
 Yazīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (Yazīd II), 32, 33, 214
 Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb, 18, 41, 218
 Yazīd ibn Abī ʿUbaid, 264
 Yazīd ibn Hārūn, 27, 52, 61, 68, 272–75, 277
 Yazīd ibn Juʿdubah al-Laithī, 242
 Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah (Yazīd I), 260
 Yazīd ibn Qusaiṭ, 240
 Yemen, Yemenites, 11, 14, 22, 42, 43, 50, 51, 81, 153, 161, 178–80, 183, 194, 210, 213, 241, 259
 Yūnus ibn Bukair, 62, 266, 268
 Yūnus ibn Yazīd al-Ailī, 56, 135–36, 168, 176–77
 Yusair (or Yasīr) ibn ʿAmr, 134
 Yūsuf al-ʿAshsh, xvi, 10, 62, 64, 155
 Yūsuf ibn ʿUbaid Allāh ibn Abī Ziyād, 182–83
- zaʿama*, 63, 196
 Zāhiriyah School, 47
 Zaid ibn Aslam, 115, 119–20, 217–18
 Zaid ibn al-Ḥabbāb, 103
 Zaid ibn Khālid, 171
 Zaid ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, 8, 10, 17, 19–21, 36, 58, 78, 80, 249–51, 256–61
 Zāʾidah ibn Qidāmah, 53
 Zaidites, 70, 105
 Zainab bint Abī Salamah, 264
 Zakariyāʾ ibn ʿAdī, 45
 Zakariyāʾ ibn ʿĪsā, 182
zakāt tax, 27, 28, 32, 115
 Zambaur, E. de, 22, 141, 224, 227
 Zibirqān ibn ʿAbd Allāh, 189
 Zibirqān ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Laithī, 189
 Ziyād ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 127
 Ziyād ibn Abīhi (Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān), 160, 261
 Zubaidah, 194
 Zubair ibn Bakkār al-Zubairī, 183
 Zubairī, Muṣʿab ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-, xvi
 Zuhri, Ibn Shihāb Muḥammad ibn Muslim al-, 2, 7, 12, 16, 17, 20–23, 25–27, 31–39, 44, 47, 49, 50, 52–54, 56, 58, 59, 61, 63, 66, 67, 72, 73, 75–80, 82, 83, 88, 90, 91, 108, 122, 125–26, 134–35, 139–40, 142, 145, 148, 157, 160, 162, 166, 168–84, 187–88, 193–94, 196–98, 202, 209, 216, 221, 241, 251
 Zuhri ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 20
 Zuhri the Lesser (*Zuhri al-saghir*), 184
 Zuhriyāt, 44, 71, 180, 182, 184
Zuhriyāt of Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Dhuhli, 183
 Zurqānī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-, xvi, 24, 119–20, 216
 Zwemer, S. M., 8

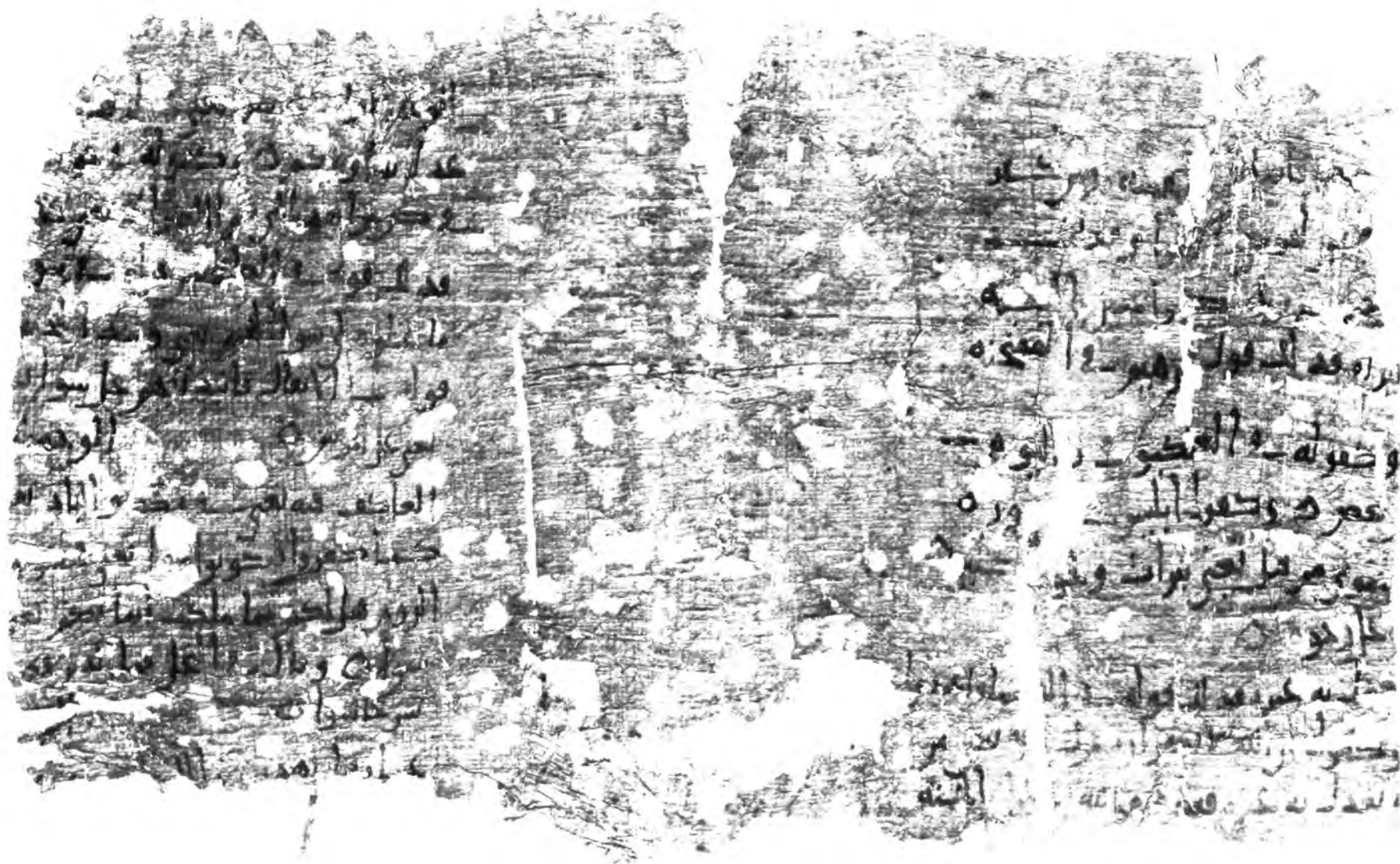
PLATES



PAGE 1

PAGE 4

DOCUMENT 1



PAGE 3

PAGE 2

DOCUMENT 1

PLATE 2



TITLE PAGE



FOLIO 1 VERSO



FOLIO 7 RECTO



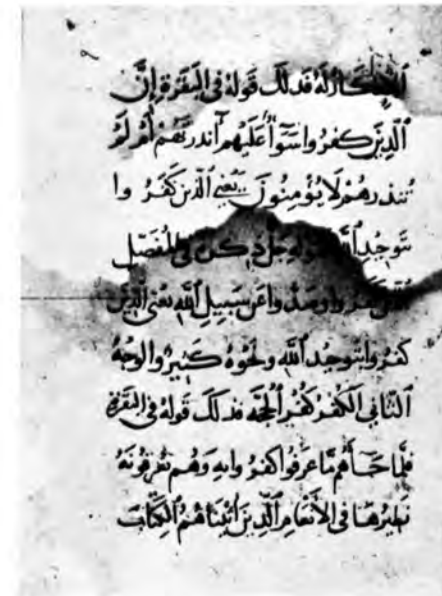
FOLIO 7 VERSO



FOLIO 8 RECTO



FOLIO 8 VERSO



FOLIO 9 RECTO



FOLIO 9 VERSO

لا يؤمنون يعني اناس من كثرة اهلهم لانه
 طبع على قلوبهم فهم يفسرون المرض على اربع
 وجوه فوجه منها المرض يعني الشك
 فذلك قوله فاذ صرنا الله مرضا يعني شكنا
 فظهرها في براء اننا ظاهرا للذين في قلوبهم مرض
 يعني شكنا فاذ انهم رجس الى ربهم كقولهم
 في الذين كفروا رأيت الذين في قلوبهم
 مرض يعني شكنا نظروا اليك ووجه
 كثير والوجه الثاني في المرض يعني الغيور

FOLIO 14 RECTO

فذلك قوله في الاعراب مطع الذي يذوق
 مرض من الغيور نظره في اعراب الشون ليعرف
 لمرئته لنا فخور والذين في قلوبهم مرض
 يعني الغيور ليس غرما والوجه الثالث
 المرض منى لانه في ذلك قوله والاسماء وان
 كرم مرض او غيور يعني ان كرم غيور او على
 ليس غرما والوجه الرابع في
 جميع الامراض فذلك قوله في الذين كفروا
 كان نكره يفسر من جميع الاوجاع
 وقال في براءه

FOLIO 14 VERSO

وقال في براءه ليس على السما والارض
 منى من كان به شيء من مرض كقولهم
 في سورة الفتح ليس على الاعشى حرج الى قوله
 ولا على المريض كقولهم في التوبة تفسيير
 الفساد على شئ ووجه ثلث منها
 الفساد يعني المتاعى فذلك قوله في البقرة
 واذا قيل لا يفسد طين في الارض يقول لا
 نعملوا فيها بالمتاعى بل مرضا في الاعراب
 والفساد وافي الارض بعد اصلاحها

FOLIO 15 RECTO

يقول لانه لو افهمها بالمتاعى وهو كبير والوجه
 الثاني الفساد هو الهلاك فذلك قوله في
 بني اسرائيل لئن سدنا في الارض مرتين
 يعني في الارض كقولهم في الانبياء لو كان مما الهة الا الله
 لفسدنا نحن لعلنا نظره في المؤمنين
 ولو اتبع الحق اقوالهم لفسدت السموات
 والارض ومن هنن لفسدت والوجه
 الثالث الفساد يعني خطا المطر وعلما ان
 فذلك قوله في الرؤيا مطر الفساد في البر

FOLIO 15 VERSO

والمرض خطا المطر وعلما ان في البقرة
 منى العمران والريف والوجه الرابع
 الفساد يعني القتل فذلك قوله في الاعراب
 انذر موسى وقومه لفسيد وافي الارض
 ليمتلوا اولادهم لمرض كقولهم في حم
 المؤمن لا انا ان ان يذبح فيكم
 وان يظهر في الارض الفساد يقول
 مثل اننا كرم هذا قولهم في الكهف ان
 اتا بنى اسرائيل كقولهم في الكهف ان

FOLIO 16 RECTO

جعلوا قلوبهم فطرتهم ما يريدوا الله
 حال من الآيات طاب من الله
 في ما كرمه الله الواحد والاهل الامجد
 الله سبحانه هو الخالق توابه مجيد
 وقال في براءه

LAST PAGE



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DOCUMENT 2

Fragment *a* contains beginnings of lines 4 and 5. Fragment *b* contains parts of lines 6 and 7

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VERSO

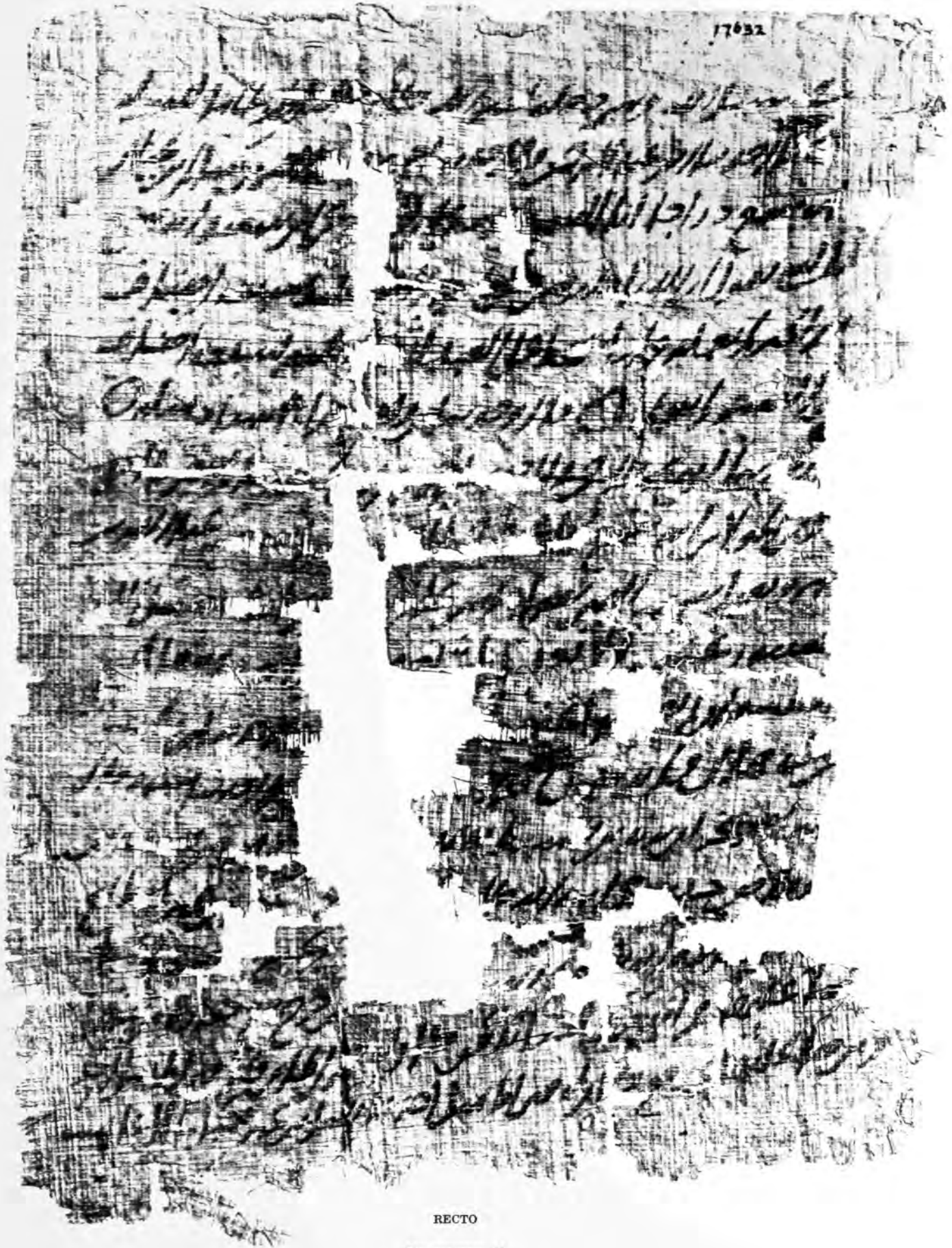
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VERSO

DOCUMENT 10



RECTO

DOCUMENT 11



VERSO

DOCUMENT 11

This image shows a fragment of an ancient papyrus scroll with Arabic script. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by significant damage, including tears, fraying, and dark spots. The script is arranged in several lines across the fragment. The central part of the document features a larger, more legible line of text that reads "وَعَلَى كِافٍ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ لِحِقَابِهِمْ". Below this, there are several more lines of text, though they are difficult to decipher due to the damage. In the bottom left corner of the fragment, the number "17626" is written in a modern hand.

RECTO

DOCUMENT 12

تصلة لا تامة

حد مكارم الله اعلم خيرا بغير من يسمي به فلان حسنا انما هو دا من قسما في الابد يسار يد لوانا اذ
 رسول الله محمد اللهم في دعواتهم وفضلهم انما هو كماله انما هو كماله انما هو كماله
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والله اعلم

ووصفنا الله في حرم الاله

VERSO

DOCUMENT 12

PLATE 23

له خا حده الى رسول الله في كتابه كما حده
 الرسول بعد مواسم بني كواظم صدق
 الله ودا ما يشكروا من ان رسول الله
 نادى بعباد الله وبارك الله عليهم فامروا
 ورسوله والى الله حرم ما جاز في موضع
 حده ما على من بعده بعد ما جاز في
 حرمه عمن بعده بعد ما جاز في
 وحرمه العبد والى الله على السائر الى
 الا حده وكونه

رسول الله

حرمه بنو لا يصلوا على
 حرمه بنو لا يصلوا على
 على بساطه حده على
 فلا فلا على حده على
 حده على من بعده
 حرمه بنو لا يصلوا على
 الحتمية حده بنو لا يصلوا على
 وبنو لا يصلوا على حده بنو لا يصلوا على
 حرمه الله بنو لا يصلوا على

VERSO

DOCUMENT 13

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