



# HADITH LITERATURE

**UNIT: 14**

# ***HADĪTH LITERATURE***

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## FOREWORD

Muslim communities all over the world are faced with a variety of challenges in their Dawah activities. One major challenge relates with the area of education. It is not easy to develop, in every community, an educational institution which may provide professional assistance and back up to members of community in acquiring Islamic knowledge and information. In some Muslim communities full time educational institutions have been established. In others, educational needs of the community are met through weekend programmes, seminars, symposia and other such activities.

Some Muslim communities have given serious thought to programmes of distance teaching, however, such programmes have not been materialized with proper know-how and professional assistance.

The Dawah Academy, at a humble level, is in the process of developing a series of correspondence courses in English and other languages. In order to develop a suitable introductory course on Islam as the way of life, we are introducing, at this point, material selected from existing Islamic literature.

Our next step will be to produce our own material in view of the needs of Muslim communities in various parts of the world. This will have two levels: first general level and second a post-graduate course on Islam. The present selection from Islamic literature deals with first level. This covers a variety of topics dealing with Islam as a complete way of life. We hope this course will provide initial information on important aspects of Islam.

We will greatly appreciate critical comments and observations of participants on this course. This will help us in development of our own material for both levels of study. Please do not hesitate to write to us if you have some suggestions to improve the material or methodology. Address all your observations at the following:

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# HADĪTH LITERATURE

## THE BEGINNINGS

The beginning of *hadīth* literature must be traced back to the letters, laws and treaties which were dictated by the Prophet of Islam himself, and were preserved in his time. In like manner, it must be traced to the numerous *Sahīfas* which were compiled by the Companions and the Followers, to which reference has already been made in this work. Goldziher has mentioned<sup>1</sup> several of these *Sahīfas*. Horovitz is uncertain about the genuineness of the *Sahīfas* ascribed to the Companions; but he has no doubt about the genuineness of those compiled by the Followers. "Already in the generation following that of the Companions of the Prophet (*Ashāb* or *Sahāba*), that of the *Tābi'ūn*", says he, "people began to collect the traditions of the sayings and doings of the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) which were current at the time. If the data for the *Ahādīth* of a number of the Companions of the Prophet recorded on leaves (*Sahā'if*) or in books (*kutub*) is partly of uncertain worth, still there can be no doubt that such written records were no longer a rarity in the generation of the *Tābi'un*, who derived this knowledge from the Companions."<sup>2</sup>

The discovery of the *Sahīfa* of Hammām b. Munabbih which has been published by Dr. Hamīdullah shows the nature and the character of these *Sahīfas*. It proves that they were not mere memoranda as Goldziher suggests, but were complete records of some of the sayings of Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) just like those found in the later collections of *hadīth*.

There existed some books in Arabic, however, even before the advent of Islam<sup>3</sup> which introduced a new spirit and fresh energy for the literary activities among the Arabs. It has already been proved that books were written on many branches of Arabic literature during the second half of the first century of the Islamic era. 'Abīd b. Sharya wrote (during the reign of Mu'āwīya I) a book on the pre-Islamic kings of Arabia,<sup>4</sup> which

enjoyed some popularity during the 10th century A.D.<sup>5</sup> Suhar b. al-‘Abbās, who lived during the reign of the same caliph, wrote a book on proverbs.<sup>6</sup> Theodocus, a physician in the court of al-Hajjāj, wrote some books on Medicine.<sup>7</sup> Ābān collected (according to Professor Horovitz) materials for a book on *Maghāzī*.<sup>8</sup> ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who died about the end of the first century of the Hijra, is said to have written a book on the said subject. “Although nowhere in the older sources,” says Horovitz,<sup>9</sup> “is it said that ‘Urwa composed an actual book on the *Maghāzī*, it is nonetheless certain that he collected and set forth a series of the most important events in the Prophet’s life.” The same collector of *Maghāzī* also compiled some books on *fiqh* which he burnt on the day of the battle of Harra.<sup>10</sup> How, then, could the Muslims of those by-gone days have neglected the collection of *Ahādīth*, which had been accepted by them since the life-time of the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) as an authority next to the Qur’ān for all their religious and social problems.

The early sources of *hadīth*, however, fall into three distinct groups. First, the books on *Maghāzī* or *Sīrat*, like those of Ibn Ishāq and others, in which are found most of the historical *ahādīth*. Second, the books on *fiqh*, like the *Muwattā* of Imām Mālik and the *Kitāb al-Umm* of al-Shāfi‘ī, in which are found a large number of legal *ahādīth*. Third, the works in which *ahādīth* as such have been collected. It is with some of these works and their authors that we propose to deal in this chapter.

#### MANY OF THE *MUSNADS* ASCRIBED TO EARLY AUTHORS WERE COMPILED LONG AFTER THEM

Of all the various classes of *hadīth* works (which have been described earlier) the *musnads* appear to be the earliest in origin. But many of them which are generally ascribed to some of the early authorities on *hadīth* were, in fact, compiled by some of the later traditionists who collected together such *ahādīth* as were related to them by, or on the authority of, any one important *rāwī*. Such are the *musnads*

of Abū Hanīfa, al-Shāfi'ī, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and some others, none of whom is known to have compiled any *musnad* work. The *musnad* which is generally known as that of Abū Hanīfa was compiled by Abū al-Mu'ayyid Muhammad b. Mahmūd al-Khwārizmī (d. 665/1257).<sup>11</sup> The *musnad* of al-Shāfi'ī was compiled on the basis of his *Kitāb al-Umm* and *al-Mabsut* by Muhammad b. Ya'qūb al-Asamm (d. 246/860).<sup>12</sup> The work known as the *musnad* of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was compiled by al-Bāghandī<sup>13</sup> (d. 282/895). The *musnad* of Abū Dā'ūd al-Tayālisī also, which is considered to be the earliest *musnad* work received by us,<sup>14</sup> had not been compiled in its present form by al-Tayālisī himself, but by a certain traditionist of Khurāsān at a later date.<sup>15</sup>

An old, rare and important manuscript of this work is preserved in the Oriental Public Library of Patna, and has been fully described by Maulwī 'Abd al-Hamīd in the catalogue of the MSS of *hadīth* works in the O.P. Library at Bankipore.<sup>16</sup> On the basis of this manuscript has been published the Hyderabad edition of the *musnad* by the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif of Hyderabad.

*Life of al-Tayālisī:* Abū Dā'ūd, Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd b. al-Jārūd al-Tayālisī, to whom the *musnad* is generally ascribed, was of Persian origin. He was born in the year 133/750-51 of the Hijra. He studied traditions with more than a thousand traditionists of his time, among whom are mentioned many prominent persons, e.g. Shu'ba (on traditions related by whom al-Tayālisī seems to have specialized), Sufyān al-Thaurī, and others. He had a sharp, retentive memory, and is said to have dictated 40,000 traditions without using any notes. During his life-time he was accepted as an authority on *hadīth* in general and as a specialist in the long *ahādīth* in particular. The students of traditions flocked round him from every part of the Muslim world. His teacher Shu'ba having heard him discuss certain traditions with some students, confessed that he himself could not do better. Strict traditionists like Ahmad b. Hanbal and 'Alī b. al-Madīnī accepted Tayālisī's authority and related traditions from



him. But he has been censured by some traditionists. The majority of them, however, attribute his mistakes to the slips of his memory. He contracted *elephantiasis* on account of his excessive use of Balādhur (*anacardia*), and died in the year 203/813 at the age of 70.<sup>17</sup>

The *Musnad*: In the present printed edition, this work consists of 2767 traditions which are related by 281 Companions whose narratives are given under their names, which are arranged in the order of (i) the first four caliphs; (ii) the rest of the Badriyūn; (iii) the Muhājirūn; (iv) the Ansār; (v) the women; and (vi) the youngest Companions.

The printed text of the *musnad* as well as its Patna MS appears to be incomplete. The traditions related by ‘Abbās b. al-Muttalib, al-Fadl b. ‘Abbās, ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far, Ka‘b b. Mālik, Salma b. al-Akwa‘, Sahl b. Sa‘d, Mu‘āwīya b. Abī Sufyān, and ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās, to which reference has been made on other pages, are entirely missing from the body of the book. Some of the traditions related by ‘Umar have also been misplaced.<sup>18</sup>

al-Tayālīsī, however, to whom the *musnad* is generally ascribed, had neither compiled it nor arranged it in its present form. It is the work of his student, Yūnus b. Habīb, who collected together the traditions which he had received from Abū Dā‘ūd al-Tayālīsī, and arranged them in the form of the present *musnad*. “It was some of the traditionists of Khurasan,” says Hājī Khalīfa,<sup>19</sup> “who collected together the traditions which were related by Yūsuf (Yūnus) b. Habīb from Abū Dā‘ūd.” Hājī Khalīfa is right in denying that the *musnad* was compiled by al-Tayālīsī himself; but he seems to be wrong in attributing it to the students of Yūnus. The internal evidence shows that Yūnus himself was the compiler of the *musnad*.<sup>20</sup>

Whoever be the compiler of the *musnad*, its text clearly shows that he as well as the authorities from whom he received the traditions had

been careful in handling them. Wherever there is any doubt in the text of a tradition, it has been pointed out. In some cases, various possible readings of certain expressions used in a tradition have been given; in some cases, certain explanatory phrases have been added — care having been taken that these additions might not be mistaken for a part of the text itself.<sup>21</sup> In some cases it has been pointed out that some of the authorities had doubts with regard to a part of the text,<sup>22</sup> but that they cleared it by referring to some other authorities of their own time.<sup>23</sup> If a tradition has been received through more than one source, the fact has been pointed out at the end of the tradition. In some cases where the identity of a narrator had been doubtful (because more than one narrator bore the same name), effort has been made to establish his identity.<sup>24</sup> In some cases the character of some of the authorities also has been mentioned.<sup>25</sup> Certain traditions are related from narrators of unknown identity.<sup>26</sup> In some cases it has been pointed out that the tradition had been carried back to the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) by some narrators, and was stopped at a *Sahābī* by others.<sup>27</sup>

The subject-matters of the traditions contained in the *musnad* are as varied and numerous as those of any other collection of *ahādīth*. But those relating to Miracles, personal or tribal virtues of the Companions, and prophecies with regard to future events or sects in Islam are very few.

The book appears to have enjoyed great popularity till the 8th century of the Hijra. The Patna manuscript alone bears the names of more than 300 male and female students of *hadīth*, who had read it at different periods. Among them are found the names of such eminent traditionists as al-Dhahabī, al-Mizzī and others.<sup>28</sup> After the 8th century, it lost its popularity — so much so that now its manuscript has become extremely rare.

The most important and exhaustive of all the *musnad* works which we have received is that of Imām Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Hanbal al-

Marwazī al-Shaybānī. His remarkably saintly, selfless life, and his firm stand for his own conviction against the tyrannical inquisition and persecution (started by al-Mā'mūn and continued in accordance with his will by al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil) created a halo of sanctity round his great collection of traditions. In spite of its great bulk, it survived the vicissitudes of time and was printed at Cairo in 1896.<sup>29</sup>

*Life of Ahmad b. Hanbal:* Imām Ahmad, as his *nisba* shows, descended from the great Shaybānī tribe of the Arabs. The members of this tribe had taken an important part in the early conquest of Iraq and Khurasan by the Arabs, and in the civil wars between the Hashimites and the Umayyads (as partisans of the former). Ibn al-Haytham, a Shaybānī chief at Kūfa, was the first in that town to call people to 'Alī's side. Husayn the Shaybānī was the standard-bearer of the tribe of Rabī'a at the battle of Siffin; and 'Alī wrote some appreciative verses in his praise.<sup>30</sup> Khālid b. al-Ma'mar, also a Shaybānī, had taken a leading part on behalf of 'Alī in the same battle.<sup>31</sup> The sympathy of the Shaybānī's for the Banū Hāshim seems to have continued even after the Umayyads were well-established on the throne. Khālid b. Ibrāhīm Abū Dā'ūd, who succeeded Abū Muslim as a governor of Khurasan, had been one of the *naqibs* of the Abbasids against the Umayyads.<sup>32</sup> One Hayyān, the perfumer, also (who is mentioned by al-Dinawarī as one of the important early Abbasid propagandists in Khurasan)<sup>33</sup> may be the same Hayyān who is mentioned among the fore-fathers of Ahmad b. Hanbal. One of Ahmad's fore-fathers was also a general of Khurasan who, according to Patton, fought to overthrow the Umayyads and to replace them by the Abbasids.<sup>34</sup>

Ahmad himself was born in Baghdad in 164/780. There he was carefully brought up by his mother, his father having died during Ahmad's infancy. There he received his early education with the teachers of the day, and began the study of *hadīth* at the age of 15 with Ibrāhīm b. 'Ulayya.<sup>35</sup> Having completed his studies of *hadīth* with all the traditionists of Baghdad, he started on his journey in search of 'Knowledge' in the

year 183/799. He wandered through Basra, Kūfa, Yaman, the Hijāz, and other centres of *hadīth* learning, attending the lectures of the traditionists, taking notes of them, and discussing them with the important traditionists and the fellow students, and returned to Baghdad laden with the precious store of 'Knowledge' about the year 195 when he met Imām al Shāfi'ī and studied with him *Usūl al-fiqh* and *fiqh*.<sup>36</sup>

Ahmad b. Hanbal appears to have assumed the role of a lecturer on traditions at an early age. It is said that a large number of students flocked round him in order to hear his lectures on *hadīth* in a mosque in Baghdad in the year 189, when he went there for a short time.<sup>37</sup> He made, however, the service and the teaching of traditions the sole object and mission of his life, and continued it quietly and peacefully till the year 218/833 when there arose a storm of persecution of the theologians throughout the Abbasid caliphate.

*The Persecution:* The caliph al-Mā'mūn accepted under the influence of his philosophically minded associates, the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān. He invited the Muslim theologians and traditionists to accept this doctrine. Some accepted it; others rejected it. Threats succeeded with a few more, and persecution with a few others. But a few important traditionists, including Ahmad, refused to yield. The caliph, who was then at Tarsus, ordered that they should be put in chains and sent to him. The orders were carried out. But the caliph himself died before the pious prisoners had reached their destination. His death, however, was of no avail to the unfortunate prisoners. For al-Mā'mūn had made a will wherein he asked his successors to carry out his wishes with regard to the propagation of the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān. His two immediate successors, al-Mu'tasim and al-Wāthiq, carried out his will with force and vigour and did not fail to use torture and persecution in order to achieve their end. This *mihna* (persecution) was continued with varying vigour till the third year of the reign of al-Mutawakkil who stopped it in the year 234/848.

The great personality of al-Mā'mūn and the glamour of his court secured the conversion of the great mass of Muslim theologians to his views. Even such great traditionists as Yahya b. Ma'īn and 'Alī b. al-Madīnī took refuge behind the thin veil of *Taqīya* ('disguise'), and surrendered their souls to the sword. It was Ahmad b. Hanbal who at this serious juncture proved to be the saviour of Orthodoxy and Freedom of Conscience and Faith in Islam. He refused to submit to the dictates of the caliph against his own conscience, and stood firm like a rock. He tried to show the fallacies in the false reasoning of his opponents at the discussions; and he refused to yield to their show of force and threats, and boldly and patiently endured their persecutions. He was kept in prison for 18 months; he was whipped by 150 executioners one after another; his wrist was broken; he was badly wounded; and he lost consciousness. But he kept the purity of his conscience, and came out of the trial with the greatest credit. Bishr b. al-Hārith rightly said that God had cast Ahmad b. Hanbal into the fire who came out of it like pure gold. More creditable for Ahmad than his firmness at the fateful trial, however, was his unexampled generosity towards his enemies and persecutors against none of whom he showed any ill will. Even against Ahmad b. Abī Du'ād, who had taken the most prominent part against him in his *mihna*, he scrupulously abstained from expressing any opinion.<sup>38</sup>

After the *mihna*, Ahmad lived for about 8 years. A greater part of this period he is said to have devoted to teaching.<sup>39</sup> The rest he spent in prayers. He died in the year 241 at the ripe age of 77. A wonderful scene of sorrow and grief followed. Not only over the whole of the great metropolis, but also over distant places, was cast a gloom of melancholy. His funeral was attended by a large crowd estimates to be between 600,000 and 2,500,000. It was something "the like of which must have seldom been witnessed any where."<sup>40</sup>

Throughout his life, Ahmad bore an exemplary character. For money which is a greater source of corruption he had little love. He

always refused pecuniary help, large as well as small, from the rich princes as well as from poor associates and friends.<sup>41</sup> He cut off his connection with his sons, Sālih and ‘Abd Allāh, because they had accepted stipends from the caliph.<sup>42</sup> As a matter of fact, he hated luxury;<sup>43</sup> and his needs were few, which he always met by means of what he himself earned. Though in his religious beliefs he was extremely firm and strong, yet by nature he was very gentle, and was anxious not to do any harm to any one.<sup>44</sup> Honesty and justice were the most remarkable elements of his character.

Ahmad’s vast and profound knowledge of the traditions, his strictly pious and selfless life, his strong character, his firm and courageous stand for Orthodoxy against the persecution by the caliphs, his complete indifference to the court and the courtiers, and his forceful and inspiring personality established his reputation as an Imām and as the greatest authority on *hadīth* in the whole Islamic world.<sup>45</sup> “His personality in his life-time and after his death,” says Patton, “was a great force in the Muslim world, and it seems yet to be as powerful in its influence as the principles which he enunciated.”<sup>46</sup> Even today his memory stands as a symbol of orthodoxy, and is a source of inspiration to the Muslim world.

Ahmad devoted the whole of his life except the last few years to the service of *hadīth*, learning it with the renowned traditionists of his time, spreading it through the large crowd of his students, throughout the length and breadth of the Muslim world, and writing on its basis, and on that of the Qur’ān, books on various theological problems. 13 of these books are mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist*<sup>47</sup>; and some others, e.g. *Kitāb al-salāt*, have been published in his name.

*The Musnad.* The most important of Ahmad’s works is his *musnad* which contains the largest number of *ahādīth* that has been received by us, and which may aptly be called his *opus magnum*. The period of compilation of this work is not known. But from the nature as well as the

contents of the work itself it is clear that it must have occupied the compiler's mind for a long time.

Ahmad's main object in compiling this huge book was to collect together neither all the strictly genuine traditions nor all those relating to any particular subject or supporting any particular school of thought in Islam, but to put together all such traditions of the Prophet as according to Ahmad were likely to prove genuine (if put to the test), and could therefore for the time being serve as basis for argument. The traditions not included in the *musnad* have no force, Ahmad is reported to have said.<sup>48</sup> But he never claimed that all that it included was genuine or reliable. On the contrary, he struck off many traditions from his book; and even when he was in his death-bed, he asked his son to strike off a *hadīth*<sup>49</sup> from the *musnad*, which shows that he was not sure of the authenticity of the whole content of his work.

In order to achieve his end, Ahmad ransacked his own vast store of knowledge as well as the whole available literature on the subject.<sup>50</sup> He shifted 30,000 traditions out of 750,000 of them narrated by 700 Companions, relating to widely varied subject viz. *Maghāzī*, *Manāqib*, Rituals, Laws, Prophecies, etc.<sup>51</sup> He, however, read out the various parts of his notes to his students, and also to his sons and nephew in 13 years.<sup>52</sup> He wanted to put his notes together in the form of a *musnad*. But death overtook him, and consequently, the heavy task of arranging the vast materials collected by Ahmad, was left to his son, 'Abd Allāh, who edited the notes of his father.<sup>53</sup>

Ahmad had not been strict in the choice of his materials and authorities. He included in his notes even such matters as could by no means fall within the scope of traditions. Many of the traditions contained in his *musnad* are declared by the traditionists of later date as baseless and *maudū'* (forged)<sup>54</sup> and many of the narrators relied upon by Ahmad are declared by the authorities on *Asmā' al-Rijāl* as unreliable.

In this huge collection of *ahādīth* Ahmad b. Hanbal showed the same scrupulous and minute care in reporting traditions from his own authorities of whatever value they be, as he had shown in his actual life and career. If he received a *hadīth* from more than one narrator, he pointed out the least difference that existed between their reports. For instance, in a *hadīth* reported to him by Wakī' and by Abū Mu'āwīya, the former used the word *Imām*, and the latter used the word *Amīr*, which difference Ahmad b. Hanbal did not fail to point out explicitly.<sup>55</sup> In another *hadīth*, two earlier *rāwīs* differed in the use of *w* and *aw*; Ahmad recorded the difference, and gave the two versions which were handed down to him.<sup>56</sup> In another *hadīth*, the difference in the use of *ilayhi* and *'alayhi* is pointed out.<sup>57</sup> If the same narrator reported the same *hadīth* with certain differences, it was also pointed out by Ahmad. In a *hadīth* narrated by Yazīd b. Hārūn, the change in his narration from *l'ukhrāhā* to *b'ukhrāhā* was noted.<sup>58</sup> The same exactitude is shown in some other instances also.<sup>59</sup> If any correction or amendment in the text or in the *isnād* of a *hadīth* was suggested to Ahmad b. Hanbal, he did not fail to make the necessary changes in his manuscript.<sup>60</sup>

Ahmad's son, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Abd Allāh, maintained the scrupulous care and thoroughness of his father in editing the materials collected by him. He collated the whole of the huge compairing but incomplete manuscript of his father with his own notes, which he had taken at his and other traditionists' lectures; he also collated it with what he had learnt from him and others during conversations and general discussions with them.<sup>61</sup>

In case of such *ahādīth* as 'Abd Allāh had heard from his father, but which had been struck off from the manuscript, 'Abd Allāh pointed out in his notes the change that was made in the manuscript.<sup>62</sup> Where he found a slip of the pen in the manuscript of his father; he corrected it and reproduced the original in his notes; in some cases, he only pointed out that there was some mistake in the text.<sup>63</sup> Where he had any doubt about



the text of the manuscript, he frankly expressed his doubt.<sup>64</sup> In some cases, he added<sup>65</sup> explanatory notes as well as numerous *ahādīth* taken from sources other than the manuscript he had been editing.<sup>66</sup> In all these cases he took great care that his own additions might not be mistaken by the reader as parts of the manuscript itself. As a matter of fact, he appears to have taken great care to keep up the text of the manuscript as exact as possible. He reproduced the words written in the original manuscript in separate letters not joined together (*al-muqatta'āt*), and added a note saying: "So was it written in the manuscript of my father; but when he read it to us, he pronounced it as one word."<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, 'Abd Allāh has been criticised by an eminent Indian traditionist of the last century, who says that the editor ('Abd Allāh) of Ahmad b. Hanbal's *musnad* has committed many mistakes in arranging and editing the work, and has included the narrations of the Madīnites in the *musnad* of the Syrians and those of the Syrians in that of the Madīnites.<sup>68</sup>

Ahmad's *musnad*, however, occupied an important position in the *hadīth* literature, and served as an important source for various writers on different subjects in Arabic literature. "Among the *musnad* works," says Goldziher, "the *musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal occupies the most stable position. The great esteem enjoyed by his memory in the pious world of Islam, the piety which hallowed his name and which for a long time served as a magic word against the most stubborn adversary belonging to the Mu'tazilī school, and stood as a symbol of Orthodoxy, saved his collection of *hadīth* from complete literary fall from which most of the works of its type have suffered. It maintained its position in literature also for a long time as a source for important works and compilations."<sup>69</sup>

Of the numerous scholars and authors who used the *musnad* as a subject for their commentary or adaptations or as a source for their own works or compilations, some may be mentioned here. Abū 'Umar Muhammad b. Wāhid (d. 345/956) reedited the book and added certain supplementary traditions to it.<sup>70</sup> al-Bāwarti, the lexicographer (d.

499/1155), based his *Gharīb al-Hadīth* entire on this book.<sup>71</sup> ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1234) used it as one of his sources for his biographical dictionary, the *Usd al-Ghāba*.<sup>72</sup> Ibn Hajar (d.852/1505) included it among the important works of which he prepared the *Atrāf*.<sup>73</sup> Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Mulaqqin (d.805/1402) made a synopsis of it. al-Suyūfī (d.911/1505) based upon it his grammatical treatise, ‘Uqūd al-Zabarjad.<sup>74</sup> Abū al-Hasan ‘Umar b. al-Hādī al-Sindi (d. 1139/1726) wrote a large commentary on it. Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Ahmad al-Shammā al-Halabī made an epitome of it, which he called *al-Muntaqa min Musnad Ahmad*.<sup>75</sup> Abū Bakr Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh reedited it, arranging the traditions in the alphabetical order of the names of their original *rāwīs*.<sup>76</sup> Nāsir al-Dīn b. Zurayq prepared another edition of it in the form of a *musannaf*, and Abū al-Hasan al-Haythamī compiled together such of the traditions contained in it as were not found in the six canonical collections.<sup>77</sup>

The *musnad* did not only serve as a large mine of materials for Muslim theology and Arabic lexicography, but also because of the pious personality of its compiler, it had gathered a halo of sanctity round itself. This is shown by the fact that in the 12th century a society of pious traditionists read it to the end in 56 sittings before the tomb of the Prophet in Madīnah.<sup>78</sup>

It appears, however, that on account of its large bulk and because of the compilation of many better planned and more practical works in *hadīth* literature during the third and the fourth centuries of the Hijra, the *musnad* of Ahmad grew less and less popular, and its copies became more and more scarce so early as the middle of the fourth century of the Hijra. al-Muzanī, one of the leading traditionists of the time, was surprised to learn from one of the students of *hadīth* that he had read 150 parts of the book with Abū Bakr b. Mālīk. Muzanī recalled that when he himself was a student in Mesopotamia, they used to be surprised to find even one part of the *musnad* with any traditionist.<sup>79</sup> The scarcity of its manuscripts in

the modern times, therefore, is (as Goldziher has pointed out) not a matter of surprise.

Like Ahmad b. Hanbal and Abū Dā'ūd al-Tayālīsī, many other traditionists also compiled *musnad* works on the same lines, with certain differences in the details of arrangement. These include Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Hamīd b. Humayd (d. 249/863), Abū Usāma (d. 280/893), Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849), Ibn Rāhawayh (d. 238/852), and others.<sup>80</sup>

### THE MUSANNAF WORKS

More important than the *musnad* works are the *musannaf* works in *hadīth* literature. To this branch belong the most important works on the subject e.g. the *Sahīhs* of *al-Bukhārī* and Muslim, the *Jāmi'* of *al-Tirmidhī*, and the *Sunan* works like those of *Nasā'ī*, *Abū Dā'ūd* and others. The *musannafs*, as we have seen, may be either *Jāmi'* ... like the *Sahīh* of *al-Bukhārī* and the book of *al-Tirmidhī* or *Sunan* like the works of *Abū Dā'ūd*, *Nasā'ī* and others.

The early *musannaf* works are almost entirely lost. The *musannaf* of Wakī' is known to us only through references made to it in later works.<sup>81</sup> The earliest *musannaf* work, incomplete manuscripts of which are still extant, is the *musannaf* of Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Humām (126-211/743-826) of San'ā in Arabia.<sup>82</sup>

'Abd al-Razzāq began the study of *hadīth* at the age of 20, kept the company of Ma'mar for 7 years, and learnt *hadīth* from him and Ibn Jurayj and other leading traditionists of the day. He became one of the important masters of traditions of his own time. Many of the recognized authorities of a later date sat at his feet and acquired knowledge from him. Traditionists like Yahya b. Ma'īn and Ahmad b. Hanbal related traditions from him. It is said that after the death of the Prophet people never travelled in such a large number to meet any one as to meet 'Abd al-

Razzāq.<sup>83</sup> He has been declared as unreliable by some critics, but others considered him trustworthy.<sup>84</sup>

Two of his works are mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm.<sup>85</sup> One of them, the *Kitāb al-Sunan*, is identical with what is generally known as the *musannaf*.<sup>86</sup> Hājī Khalīfa has mentioned his other works also.<sup>87</sup> His *musannaf*, however, is divided like books on *fiqh* into various books in which various traditions are arranged according to their contents. The last chapter of this work is on Shamā'il, and the last tradition is about the Prophet's hair.<sup>88</sup> More exhaustive than this *musannaf*, however, is that of Abū Bakr Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849). His grand-father worked as a judge of Wāsit during the reign of Mansūr, and his family produced many traditionists.<sup>89</sup> He himself had the credit of relating traditions to prominent traditionists like Abū Zar'a, al-Bukhārī, Muslim and Ahmad b. Hanbal (who is said to have declared him unreliable).<sup>90</sup>

### SAHĪH AL-BUKHĀRĪ

The most important of not only all the *musannafs* but of all the works in *hadīth* literature is the *al-Jāmi' al-Sahih* of al-Bukhārī who interrogated more than 1000 masters of *hadīth* who lived in places so distant from one another as Balkh, Merv, Nishāpūr, the Hijāz, Egypt and Mesopotamia. al-Bukhārī sought aid of prayers before recording tradition, and weighed every word that he wrote with scrupulous exactitude. He devoted more than one-fourth of his life to the actual compilation of his work, and at the end produced his epoch-making book which is accepted by most of the traditionists as the most authentic work in *hadīth* literature, and which is considered by the Muslims in general as an authority next only to the Qur'ān.

al-Bukhārī, whose full name is Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, was of Persian origin. He was born at Bukhara in the

year 194/810.<sup>91</sup> His ancestor, Bardizbah, was a cultivator in the vicinity of Bukhara, where he was made a slave at the time of the Muslim conquest. Mughīra, the son of Bardizbah, accepted Islam on the hand of al-Yamān al-Ju'fī, the Muslim governor of Bukhara; thus he gained his freedom as well as his *nisha* as al-Ju'fī. About his son, Ibrāhīm (the grand-father of our author), we have received no information. But Ibrāhīm's son, Ismā'īl (the father of our author), was a traditionist of great piety and sound reputation. He is said to have boasted at his death that in all that he possessed there was not a penny that had not been earned by honest labour.<sup>92</sup>

Ismā'īl died leaving considerable fortune to his widow and two sons, Ahmad and Muhammad, the latter being only an infant at the time of his death. This infant child who was destined to play an important part in the development of *hadīth* literature was endowed by nature with strong intellectual powers, although he was of weak physique. He possessed a sharp and retentive memory, great intelligence, and tenacity of purpose. He had inexhaustible energy and a great capacity for hard methodical work.

al-Bukhārī began his educational career under the guidance of his mother in his native town Bukhara. Having finished his elementary studies at the young age of eleven, he took to the study of *hadīth*. Within six years he mastered the knowledge of all the traditionists of his native city as well as that contained in the then available works on the subject. Then he went to Makkah with his mother and brother in order to perform the Pilgrimage. From there he started on his journey in search of *hadīth*. His travels took him through a large part of the Muslim world; and he visited all the important centres of Islamic learning, staying everywhere as long as his pursuit of *hadīth* demanded, meeting the traditionists, learning from them all the *ahādīth* they had related, and communicating to them his own knowledge. He did not hesitate to stay at one and the same place for many years. Nor did he hesitate to undertake more than

one journey to a place if it was demanded by his literary pursuit. He stayed at Basra for four or five years, and in al-Hijāz for six years; and he travelled to Egypt twice, and to Kūfa and Baghdād times out of number.<sup>93</sup>

al-Bukhārī's *wanderjahre* continued for about 40 years. In the year 250/864 he came to Nīshāpūr, which gave him a grand reception suitable to a traditionist of established reputation and authority. Here he devoted himself to the teaching of traditions, and wanted to settle down. But he had to leave the town on account of the rivalry of Muhammad b. Yahya al-Dhuhlī, at the command of Khālīd b. Ahmad al-Dhuhlī whose request to deliver lectures on *hadīth* in his palace was not accepted by al-Bukhārī. From Nīshāpūr he went to Khartank, a place near Samarqand, at the request of its inhabitants. Here he settled down, and died in the year 256/870.

Throughout his life, al-Bukhārī's character was consistent, honest and amiable, which might serve as an example to the devotees of learning. He was extremely strict in the observance of his religious duties. He always lived on what he earned by means of trade, in which he was scrupulously honest. Once he lost 10,000 dirhams on account of mere scruple. He spent a good deal of his own money in helping the students and the poor. He never showed temper to any one even when there was sufficient cause for it; nor did he bear ill-will against any body. Even against Muhammad b. Yahya, who had caused his exile from Nīshāpūr, he did not harbour any grudge.<sup>94</sup>

*Hadīth* was al-Bukhārī's only interest. For it he spared no pains, and for it he sacrificed almost everything. On it he spent almost all that he earned. To it he devoted his whole life. On account of it he spent the largest part of his life in travelling, and in one of his travels lived on grass and herbs for three days. The only recreation he enjoyed was archery, in which he had acquired great skill. His amanuensis who lived with him for

a considerable time, says that al-Bukhārī often went out shooting arrows; only twice during his stay with al-Bukhārī did this man see him miss the mark.<sup>95</sup>

Since the very beginning of his career, al-Bukhārī showed the signs of greatness as a traditionist. He pointed out a mistake of one of his teachers when he was a mere boy of eleven. The teacher laughed at the audacity of the young student. But al-Bukhārī persisted in his correction, and challenged his teacher to refer to his book which justified the contention of al-Bukhārī.<sup>96</sup> When he was still a boy without any visible signs of manhood, he was entreated by a large crowd of the students of *ḥadīth* to deliver lecture on the subject. The learned youth accepted their request. A large number of the seekers of *ḥadīth* flocked together in a mosque and they accepted the traditions related by him on his authority.<sup>97</sup> Once when he visited Basra, his arrival was notified to the people and a day was fixed for his lecture. At this lecture he narrated only such traditions as he had received on the authority of the early traditionists of this very centre of Islamic learning, and had been unknown to this audience.<sup>98</sup>

Many a time was al-Bukhārī's vast learning severely tested in various ways. He was always remarkably successful at these difficult trials. At Baghdād 10 of the traditionists changed the *Isnāds* and the contents of a hundred traditions, recited them to al-Bukhārī at a public meeting, and asked him questions about them. al-Bukhārī confessed his ignorance about the traditions which they had recited. But then he narrated the correct versions of all those traditions, and said that probably his interrogators had wrongly recited what had been correctly reported by himself. At Samarqand four hundred students tested the knowledge of al-Bukhārī, as the people of Baghdād had done, for seven days; and al-Bukhārī succeeded in exposing their interpolations. At Nīshāpūr, Muslim, the well-known author of another *Sahīh*, and others asked al-Bukhārī questions about certain traditions; and he completely satisfied them with

his answers. In many an assembly of the traditionists he successfully fixed up the identity of some of the early narrators of traditions which they had been unable to do. These repeated trials and successes of al-Bukhārī gained him recognition as the greatest traditionist of his time, by all the great authorities on the subject with whom he came in contact, e.g., Ahmad b. Hanbal, 'Alī b. al-Madīnī, Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba, Ishāq b. Rāhawayh and others.<sup>99</sup>

al-Bukhārī began his career as an author when he was still a student. His long journeys and toilsome travels did not stand in his way to authorship. During his stay at Madīnah, at the age of 18, he compiled his two earliest books. One of these contained the decrees and the decisions of the Companions and the Followers; and the other, short biographies of the important narrators of traditions during his own time.<sup>100</sup> A large number of other works followed. Their list is found in the *Fihrist*, the *Muqaddimah of Fath al-Bārī*, and the *Irshād al-Sārī*.<sup>101</sup>

The most important of these works is the *Sahīh* which is commonly known as *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*. It was read out to 90,000 students by the author himself, and it has made his name immortal. It is considered by almost all the traditionists as the most reliable book in *hadīth* literature, and has been considered by the Muslims generally as an authority next only to the Qur'ān. It is used by some Muslims as a charm to overcome their difficulties,<sup>102</sup> and the possession of its copy has been regarded as a proof against disaster.<sup>103</sup>

The *Sahīh* may be called al-Bukhārī's life-work. His earlier treatises served him as a preparation for this great work, and his later books were only off-shoots of it. It is to the *Sahīh* that he devoted his greatest care and attention, and in the actual compilation of it he spent about one-fourth of his life.<sup>104</sup>



al-Bukhārī's idea to compile the *Sahīh* owed its origin to the casual remark of Ishāq b. Rāhawayh (166-238/782-852) that he wished that some of the traditionists should compile a short comprehensive book containing the genuine traditions only. These words caught the imagination of al-Bukhārī. He began to work at it with the greatest zeal, care and scruple over shown by any author. He explored all the traditions known to him, tested their genuineness according to the canons of criticism promulgated by himself, picked up 7275 out of 600,000 of them, arranged them according to their subject-matter under separate headings generally taken from the Qur'ān and in some cases from the traditions themselves.

al-Bukhārī has nowhere mentioned what canons of criticism he applied to the traditions in order to test their genuineness; nor has he told us what were his aims in compiling this book. But many Muslim doctors have tried to infer these things by an objective study of the book itself. al-Hāzīmī in his *Shurut al-A'imma*, al-'Irāqī in his *Alfīya*, al-'Aynī and al-Qastallānī in their introductions to their commentaries on the *Sahīh*, and many other writers on the *'Ulūm al-Hadīth* (e.g. Ibn Salāh) have tried to infer the principles followed by al-Bukhārī in his selection of traditions.

As we have already seen, al-Bukhārī's main object was to collect together the genuine traditions only. By these he<sup>105</sup> meant such traditions as were handed down to him from the Prophet on the authority of a well-known Companion by a continuous chain of such narrators as according to his researches had been unanimously accepted by the honest and trustworthy traditionists as men of integrity, possessing retentive memory and firm faith, provided their narrations were not contrary to what was related by the other reliable authorities, and were free from hidden defects. al-Bukhārī included in his book the narrations of these narrators if they explicitly said that they had received the traditions from their authorities. In case their statement in this respect was ambiguous, he took care that they were proved to have met and associated with their authorities and were free from careless statement.<sup>106</sup>

From the above principles which al-Bukhārī took as his guides in the choice of his sources for the materials of his book can be seen his care about it. He employed his skill and care, however, more in connection with the principal contents of his work. About the traditions which he used as the heading of some of the chapters, and as corroboratives for the principal ones, he has very often omitted the whole or parts of their *isnāds*, and in certain cases has relied on weak authorities.<sup>107</sup> The number of the 'suspended' and 'corroborative' traditions in the book is about 1725.<sup>108</sup>

al-Bukhārī, however, wanted not only to collect together what he considered to be genuine traditions, but also to impress their imports upon the mind of his readers, and to show them what legal inferences could be drawn from these traditions. He, therefore, divided the whole work into more than 100 books which he subdivided into 3450 chapters. Every chapter has a heading which serves as a key to the contents of the various traditions included in it.

In the choice of his materials for the *Sahīh* on the whole, al-Bukhārī has shown his vast knowledge of traditions as well as of the lives, character and authenticity of their narrators. By his choice of the headings for the various chapters he has shown his keen insight into the import of the traditions chosen by him, and his thorough grasp of the system of Islamic jurisprudence.

About the headings of the various chapters in the *Sahīh* it has been aptly remarked that in them consists the *fiqh* of al-Bukhārī. These headings consist of verses from the Qur'ān or of passages from traditions. In some cases they are in entire agreement with the traditions under them, wherefore they serve as mere index to them. In some other cases they are of wider or narrower significance than the traditions which follow, wherefore they serve as an additional object of interpretation and explanations of the traditions. In some cases, they are in the interrogative

form. In such cases al-Bukhārī wanted to show that according to him the problem was still undecided. In some cases he wanted to warn against what might outwardly appear as wrong and impermissible. In the headings of all the chapters a certain object was kept in view by al-Bukhārī. In cases also where the headings are not followed by a tradition (which have baffled many traditionists), al-Bukhārī wanted to show that no genuine tradition on the subject was known to him.<sup>109</sup>

In the repetition of the various versions of one and the same tradition in different chapters also al-Bukhārī has struck a new path. By repeating them at different places instead of putting them together at one and the same place, he wanted to bring to light further evidence of the authenticity of the traditions (in question), and at the same time to draw more than one practical conclusion from them. Similarly, in including a part of a tradition in one chapter and inserting another part in another chapter, and in introducing the 'suspended' traditions as *marfū'* and *mawqūf*, al-Bukhārī has certain special important and scientific purposes in view, which are explained by the commentators of the *Sahīh* in their commentaries.<sup>110</sup>

Thus, the *Sahīh* — being compiled by a great traditionist who combined a vast knowledge of traditions and allied subjects with scrupulous piety, strict exactitude, and painstaking accuracy of a modern editor, and the legal acumen of an astute jurist — at once attracted the attention of the whole Muslim world, gained its respectful regard, and was recognized as an authority next only to the Qur'ān. Many Muslim doctors wrote large commentaries on it in which they thoroughly discussed every aspect of the book and every word of its contents. A long list of these works is found in the *Irshād al-Sārī* of al-Qastallānī<sup>111</sup> and the *Kashf al-Zunūn* of Hājī Khalīfa.<sup>112</sup>

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the *Sahīh* has no defects, or that the Muslim scholars have failed to criticise it. Thus, it is

generally admitted that like other traditionists, al-Bukhārī has confined his criticism to the narrators of traditions and their reliability, and that to the probability or possibility of the truth of the matters reported by them he has paid no attention. In estimating the reliability of the narrators, his judgment has in certain cases been erroneous. The Muslim traditionists did not fail to point out these defects of the *Sahīh*. al-Dāraqutnī (306-385 A.H.) has tried to show the weakness of 200 traditions contained in the book (as well as that of many of their narrators) in his *al-Istidrāk w'al-Tatabbu'*<sup>113</sup> which has been summarized by al-Jazā'irī in his *Taujih al-Nazar*.<sup>114</sup> Abū Mas'ūd of Damascus and Abū 'Alī al-Ghassānī have also criticised the *Sahīh* of al-Bukhārī,<sup>115</sup> and al-'Aynī in his commentary has shown the defects of some of its contents.<sup>116</sup>

But all the Muslim traditionists including the critics of the *Sahīh*, and the modern Orientalists, have unanimously paid tribute to the general accuracy, scrupulous care and exactitude of the author of the book. "In his selections of *Ahādīth*," says Brockelmann, "he has shown the greatest critical ability, and in editing the text he has sought to obtain the most scrupulous accuracy."<sup>117</sup>

## THE SAHĪH OF MUSLĪM

The position of the *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* in *hadīth* literature is not unrivalled. Another *Sahīh* was compiled almost simultaneously with it, and it was considered as superior to the *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* by some, equal to it by many, and next to it by most of the traditionists. It is the *Sahīh* of Abū al-Husain 'Asākir al-Dīn Muslim b. Hajjāj b. Muslim al-Qushayrī al-Nishāpūrī.

Muslim, as his *nisba* shows, belonged to the Qushayrī tribe of the Arabs, an off-shoot of the great clan of Rabī'a. His tribe took more or less important part in the history of Islam since the death of the Prophet. Hayda, a Qushayrī is mentioned in the *Isāba* as one of the Companions.<sup>118</sup>

Qurra b. Hubayra, another Qushayrī, was made by the Prophet a *Wālī* in charge of the alms of his people.<sup>119</sup> Ziyād b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, another Qushayrī, is said to have killed 1000 non-Muslims at the battle of Yarmūk in which he lost one of his legs.<sup>120</sup>

After the vast Islamic conquests various families of the Qushayrīs together with the members of the other tribes migrated from Arabia and settled down in the various provinces, some in the west, and some in the east. Kulthūm b. ‘Iyād and his nephew Balj b. Bishr who had served as governors of Africa and of Andalusia respectively settled down in a district near Cordova in Spain. Another Qushayrī family made their residence at Elvira. Some of them migrated to the east and settled down in Khurasan. Among them was one Zurāra who served as a governor of the province for some time. His son ‘Amr and grandson Humayd b. ‘Amr settled down at Nīshāpūr.<sup>121</sup> From them probably descended our author, Muslim, the son of al-Hajjāj who was a traditionist of no mean merit.<sup>122</sup>

Very little is known about the early life of Muslim. It is said, however, that he was born in 202/817, and that having learnt and excelled in the various branches of Arabic literature at an early age, he took to the special study of *hadīth*. In this pursuit of this subject he travelled widely, and visited all the important centres of learning in Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. He attended the lectures of most of the important traditionists of his time e.g. Ishāq b. Rāhawayh, Ahmad b. Hanbal, ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Qawārīrī, Shuwayh b. Yūnus, ‘Abd Allāh b. Maslama, Hamala b. Yahya and others.

Having finished his studies he settled down at Nīshāpūr, earned his livelihood by means of trade, and devoted his life to the service of *hadīth*. He died in the year 261/874 on account of taking too much of *Balādhur* (anacardiac), while he was busy in finding out a particular tradition.

Muslim's character is said to have been admirable. His fearless adherence to the truth is shown by his persistence in his association with al-Bukhārī while all others had deserted the latter on account of the fear of Muhammad b. Yahya al-Dhuhlī.<sup>123</sup> Muslim never spoke ill of any one; nor did he abuse any one during his whole life.<sup>124</sup>

Like al-Bukhārī, Muslim also devoted his whole life to the service of *hadīth*. He wrote many books and treatises on *hadīth* and on subjects allied to it. Ibn al-Nadīm has mentioned five of his books on biography and *hadīth*.<sup>125</sup> Hajī Khalīfa has added the names of many other works by him on the same subject.<sup>126</sup>

The most important of these works is his *Sahīth* which has been regarded in certain respects as the best work on the subject. In order to compile this book, Muslim examined 300,000 traditions<sup>127</sup> out of which he picked up only 4000 about the genuineness of which the traditionists were unanimous; and included them in his *Sahīth*.<sup>128</sup>

Muslim considered only such traditions as genuine, as had been handed down to him by a continuous chain of reliable authorities, were in conformity with what had been related by the narrators whose reliability was unanimously accepted, and were free from hidden defects.<sup>129</sup> He has classified traditions into three groups:-

1. Those that were related by such narrators as had been straightforward and steadfast in their narrations, did not differ much in them from other reliable narrators, nor did they commit obvious confusion in their narrations;
2. the traditions the narrators of which were not distinguished for their retentive memory and steadfastness in narrations;

3. the traditions which were related by such narrators as were declared by the traditionists in general or by most of them to be of questionable reliability.

The first group, says Muslim, form the principal part of the contents of his book; the second group are included as corroborative of the first group, and the third are entirely rejected.<sup>130</sup>

The book on *tafsīr* in Muslim's *Sahīh* is neither complete nor systematic. Hence it is not considered as a *Jāmi'* like that of al-Bukhārī. But Muslim strictly observed many principles of the science of *hadīth* which had been neglected by his great predecessor, al-Bukhārī. He differentiated between the use of the terms *Akhbaranā* and *Haddathanā*, and always used the former in connection with the traditions which had been recited to him by his teachers, and the latter in connection with what he had read out to them. He was more strict and consistent than al-Bukhārī in pointing out the differences between the narrations of the various *rāwīs* and in stating their character and other particulars. He showed greater acumen than his predecessor in the arrangement of traditions and their *isnāds* in his work, and in putting together the different versions of a tradition as his predecessor had done.<sup>131</sup> He did not commit any mistake or confusion in the text or *isnād* of any tradition as his predecessor had done.<sup>132</sup> He added to his book a long introduction in which he explained some of the principles which he had followed in the choice of the materials for his book, and which should be followed in accepting and relating traditions.

Having compiled the *Sahīh*, Muslim presented it to Abū Zar'a of Ray, a traditionist of great repute, for criticism. He cancelled all that was pointed out (by Abū Zar'a) to him to be defective, and retained only such traditions as were declared by him to be genuine.<sup>133</sup>

Carefully compiled by Muslim, and corrected by Abū Zar‘a, the *Sahīh* has been recognized as the most authentic collection of traditions after that of al-Bukhārī, and superior to the latter in the details of its arrangement. Some traditionists held it to be superior to the work of al-Bukhārī in every respect. But Muslim himself had recognized the superiority of his predecessor. He, however, rightly claimed for his book the credit of being the basis of the future works on traditions for 200 years.<sup>134</sup>

After Muslim, some other traditionists also compiled ‘genuine’ traditions. These include Ibn Khuzayma (d. 311/923), Abū Hātim Muhammad Ibn Hibbān (d. 354/965),<sup>135</sup> etc. None of them, however, ever gained the recognition and popularity which has been enjoyed by the works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.



## NOTES

1. MSt, ii, 8-11.
2. IsC, vol. i, p. 536.
3. MSt, ii, 204-205; JASB, xxv, 375.
4. FN, 89.
5. LHA, 13. It is surprising that Margoliouth does not mention even the name of this author in ArH.
6. FN, 90.
7. *Ibid.* For the Arabic medical works of this period see SAP.
8. IsC, i, 536-39.
9. *Ibid.*
10. TIS, v, 133.
11. KZ, v, 535-36.
12. *Ibid.* 540-41. Also see Illustration No.1.
13. JASB, xx, 391-488, A. H. Harley, "The Musnad of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz," intro.
14. MAT, title page.

15. KZ, v, 533.  
O. P. 146/10
16. OPC, v, 1, pp. 157-62.
17. TT, iv, No.316; TdH, i, 322.
18. MAT, pp. 20-21.
19. KZ, v, 533; cf. FM, 34.
20. For all the parts of the book have been passed on Lis common authority.
21. MAT, Nos. 77, 241, 263, 387, 484, 1060, 1158, 2179 etc.
22. *Ibid.* Nos. 1021 etc.
23. *Ibid.* Nos. 393, 644, 837, 886, 892, 917, 938, etc.
24. *Ibid.* Nos. 381, etc.
25. *Ibid.* Nos. 456, 718, 2254, etc.
26. *Ibid.* Nos. 519, 1539, etc.
27. *Ibid.* Nos. 794, etc.
28. OPC, v, 1, pp. 157-62.
29. Two later editions of this voluminous book have been published in Egypt: one by al-Bannā, and the other by Shākir. The former has

not been available to me. But the latter edition (Egypt, vols. 1-16, 1954/1373) is most scholarly in which the learned editor has taken great pains to put together all the available material (with regard to the life of the author) from various sources. Shākir has given the number of each *hadīth*, and has added at the end of each volume several highly useful indices. Unfortunately, this editor passed away after he had published only 16 volumes. His death is a great loss to the world of scholarship.

30. JA, 320. These references are to my own Ms. of the book. Its printed edition has not been available to me.
31. *Ibid.*
32. JA. 321; ATb, ii, 1358.
33. AT, 335.
34. AHM, 10.
35. TT, i, No. 126; Sh, No.13.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid, loc. cit.*
38. TK, i, 203; AHM, 108, 112, 145.
39. AHM, 142.
40. TK, i, 203-204; AHM, 172.
41. AHM, 14, 141, 147 etc.

42. *Ibid.* 150.
43. *Ibid.* 144.
44. AHM, 152.
45. TT, i, No.1261; TA, 142-45.
46. AHM, 194.
47. FN, 229.  
O.P. 146/11
48. TK, i, 202.
49. *Ibid.* 203.
50. MAH, i, 308; iv, 269.
51. FN, 229. But according to Ibn al-Nadīm, the *musnad* contains more than 40,000 traditions.
52. TK, i, 202; ZDMG, L, 472 fn.
53. BM, 31.
54. ZDMG, L, 485-86, *et al.*
55. MAH, ii, 252-53.
56. *Ibid.* iii, 202.

57. *Ibid.* vi, 101.
58. *Ibid.* iii, 201.
59. *Ibid.* i, 308; iii, 33; v, 352, 385.
60. *Ibid.* ii, 184; vi, 420.
61. He says in his notes in connection with some traditions that he read it with his father (MAH, ii, 157). In connection with some of them, he says that he found them in the manuscript of his father (iii, 310; *op. cit.*). In connection with some of them, he says that he found it in the manuscript and also had heard it from his father, but had not made a note of it. (iv, 96).
62. MAH, iii, 182; iv, 96; v, 26.
63. *Ibid.* i, 252; ii, 449; iii, 3; iv, 225; v, 382; vi, 73.
64. *Ibid.* v, 358.
65. *Ibid.* 336.
66. *Ibid.* v, 326; vi, 326.
67. *Ibid.* iv, 91.
68. BM, 31.
69. ZDMG, L, 466.
70. KZ, v, 534-35.

71. MUd, vii, 29.
72. See UGh, i, 9-11.
73. TH, xxiv, No. 12.
74. KZ, v, 535.
75. KZ, v, 534-35.
76. ZDMG, L, 470.
77. BM, 31-32.
78. EIs, "Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Hanbal."
79. ZDMG, L, 467.
80. KZ, v, 532-543.
81. MAH, i, 308. It is probably identical with the *Sunan* of Wakī' (d. 197/812) which is mentioned by Ibn Nadīm (FN, 226).
82. MFB, 489.
83. WA, No. 409.
84. Mit.
85. FN, 228.
86. KZ, iii, 629.

87. *Ibid.* ii, 369, 580; v, 88.
88. BM, 51.
89. KAS, 355b.
90. MIT, “‘Abd Allāh b. Muhammad.”
91. A detailed account of the life and work of al-Bukhārī is found in TA, TK, MFB, IS, and Sh.
92. IS, i, 36.  
O. P. 146/12
93. MFB, 564.
94. IS, i, 44f.
95. MFB, 566.
96. TK, ii, 4.
97. TA, 90.
98. TK, ii, 6.
99. IS, i, 36ff.; MFB 568ff. TA, 87-91.
100. T.K, ii, 5.
101. FN, 230; MFB, 493; IS 35.
102. IS, i, 33 ff., 46.

103. TI, 93.
104. TA, 95; TR, 24.
105. For a detailed discussion of the term 'genuine' see IS, i, 22 ff.
106. *Ibid.*
107. *Ibid.*
108. TR, 30.
109. MFB, 13; IS, i, 11-12.
110. MFB, 12 f.; IS, i, 22 f.
111. IS, i, 39-42.
112. KZ, ii, 521-39, *et al.*
113. KZ, ii, 545.
114. TN, 96-113.
115. NSM, 8.
116. Dr. A. Mingana published a note on a Ms. of the oldest fragments of the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī in J.R.A.S. 1936 (pp. 287-292). In it he has described the special features of the Ms. and promised to publish a complete set of facsimile production of it, which has not been available for me. His suggestion, however, that the book was not composed by al-Bukhārī, but by a student of the book one or two generations after al-Bukhārī, because the word



“*Akhbaranā*” is used for him and “*Haddathanā*” for the later narrators, is not warranted. For the strict use of these terms was not definitely fixed at the time of al-Bukhārī and also because in the *Risāla of Taqyūd al-‘Ilm* of al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī also which was certainly composed by al-Khatīb, the author is introduced with the term “*Akhbaranā*” and other narrators with the term “*Haddathanā*.”

117. EIs, “Bukhārī”.  
OP. 146/13.
118. ITS, i, 752.
119. JA, fol. 288.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. TT, x, No. 226.
123. WA, No. 727.
124. BM, 117.
125. FN, 231.
126. KZ, ii, 541ff. cf. NSM, 4.
127. NSM, 5.
128. MIS, 8-9.

129. NSM, 5.
130. SM, Muqaddimah, 3ff.
131. NSM, 5.
132. BM, 117.
133. NSM, 8.
134. *Ibid.* 5.
135. *Ibid.* 8.

Noté: The above material has been adapted from Muhammad Zubayr Siddiqi's *Hadith Literature*, Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1961, pp: 71-101.



**UNIT: 23**

**AN OUTLINE OF  
EARLY HISTORY OF ISLAM  
(UMAYYADS)**

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## FOREWORD

Muslim communities all over the world are faced with a variety of challenges in their Dawah activities. One major challenge relates with the area of education. It is not easy to develop, in every community, an educational institution which may provide professional assistance and back up to members of community in acquiring Islamic knowledge and information. In some Muslim communities full time educational institutions have been established. In others, educational needs of the community are met through weekend programmes, seminars, symposia and other such activities.

Some Muslim communities have given serious thought to programmes of distance teaching, however, such programmes have not been materialized with proper know-how and professional assistance.

The Dawah Academy, at a humble level, is in the process of developing a series of correspondence courses in English and other languages. In order to develop a suitable introductory course on Islam as the way of life, we are introducing, at this point, material selected from existing Islamic literature.

Our next step will be to produce our own material in view of the needs of Muslim communities in various parts of the world. This will have two levels: first general level and second a post-graduate course on Islam. The present selection from Islamic literature deals with first level. This covers a variety of topics dealing with Islam as a complete way of life. We hope this course will provide initial information on important aspects of Islam.

## AN OUTLINE OF EARLY HISTORY OF ISLAM (UMAYYADS)

### 1. Establishment of the Umayyad Rule:

#### (A) Transfer of Power to Mu'áwiya:

Transfer of power to Mu'áwiya ended a democratic form of government. The caliphate now became a kind of hereditary monarchy, acquired by the sword, diplomacy or intrigue, not by election and majority support. When Mu'áwiya had allegiance sworn to his son Yazid, a hereditary succession began which based the caliphate on political rather than religious considerations. Influenced by conditions in Syria (which had long been a vassal state of the Byzantine empire in pre-Arab days), Mu'áwiya intended to model the caliphate on the hereditary monarchies of Persia and the Byzantine Empire. This becomes clear in his words: "I am the first of the kings"<sup>1</sup>

During the reign of Mu'áwiya, the Muslim empire extended in the East as far as Lahore in Pakistan. The primary attention of this Caliph was turned to Byzantine territories in the north and west. The Umayyad fleet reached 1700 warships, enabling Mu'áwiya to conquer many islands, among which were Rhodes and other Greek islands. He also prepared armies for both winter and summer invasions of the Byzantine Empire. These invasions were called al-Shawàti (i.e. winter invasions) and al-Sawà'if (i.e. summer invasions). In the year 48/688, Nua planned a sea and land invasion of Constantinople under the leadership of Yazîd. However, the Muslims were compelled to retreat after they had lost many men and battleships. Two years later Ifriqiyya (Tunisia) was conquered,

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<sup>1</sup>Ya'qûbi, Tàrikh, vol. II; p. 276.

