71-11,451

SPEIGHT, Robert Marston, 1924-
THE MUSNAD OF AL-TAYALISI: A STUDY

OF ISLAMIC HADITH AS ORAL LITERATURE.

The Hartford Seminary Foundation, Ph.D., 1970
Religion

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company , Ann Arbor, Michigan

THE MUSNAD OF AL-ṬAYĀLISĪ:

A STUDY OF ISLAMIC ḤADĪTH AS ORAL LITERATURE

A THESIS

Submitted to

THE HARTFORD SEMINARY FOUNDATION

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Robert Marston Speight

Hartford, Connecticut

May, 1970

VITA

Robert Marston Speight, the son of Robert Lee Speight and Neva Wright Speight, was born in 1924 in Littlefield, Texas. In 1925 his family moved to Longview, Texas where he attended the local schools, graduating from high school in 1940. After attending the Kilgore, Texas Junior College from 1940 to 1942, and the University of Texas in 1943, his college education was interrupted by military service from 1943 to 1946. Then in 1947 he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts cum laude from Baylor University, Waco, Texas with a major in English Literature. In preparation for foreign missionary service he studied at Columbia Bible College at Columbia, South Carolina receiving the degree of Master of Arts in Biblical Education summa cum laude from that institution in 1950. After having been ordained to the Christian ministry in 1950, he served from that year until 1962 as a missionary in Morocco, under the auspices of the Gospel Missionary Union. During furloughs in 1956-57 and in 1962-63 he took graduate studies in Arabic and Islamics at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, receiving the degree of Master of Arts from that institution in May, 1963. From 1963 until 1968 he served as a missionary with the Board of Missions of the United Methodist Church in Tunisia and Algeria. During 1968-70 he has pursued studies in the History of Religions at the Hartford Seminary Foundation.

ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

           The Historical Period and Cultural Milieu of
           the Life of al-Ṭayālisī
           Information about Him from the Biographers
           His Teachers
           His Pupils

           Definition with Examples
           Comparison with other Types of Collections

           Characteristics of the Edition Consulted and
           Identification of the Manuscripts Used to
           Prepare It
           Collation of the Certificates of Audition
           Arrangement of the Traditions and Order of
           Authorities
           Conclusion Regarding the Choice of Authorities
           in this Collection

           The Hadīth Described as Oral Literature
           Declaratory Types
           Imperative Types
           Reportorial Types

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

Consonants

ء	ʾ	ز	z	ق	q
ب	b	س	s	ك	k
ت	t	ش	sh	ل	l
ث	th	ص	ṣ	م	m
ج	j	ض	ḍ	ن	n
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	ه	h
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	و	w
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y
ذ	dh	غ	gh		
ر	r	ف	f		

Long Vowels		Short Vowels		Diphthongs		
ى ا	ā	´	a	و	aw
و	ū	´	u	ي	ay
ي	ī	´	i	ـِيّ	īy (final form ī)
				ـُوّ	ūw (final form ū)

ة   a; at (construct form)

ال   (article), al- (even before solar letters)

v

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. D.   Abū Dāwud, _Sunan_, in al-Khaṭṭābī, _Maʿālim_
        al-Sunan: wa huwa Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwud,
        followed by the numbers of the volume and
        the page.

Bu.   al-Bukhārī, _al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ_, followed by
        the name of the _kitāb_, or main subdivision,
        and the number of the _bāb_ (chapter, or
        rubric).

EI^1 _The Encyclopaedia of Islam, First Edition._

EI^2 _The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition._

GAL   Carl Brockelmann, _Geschichte der Arabischen_
        Literatur.

Ḥ.   al-Ḥumaydī, _Musnad_, followed by the number of
        the tradition.

Ha.   _Saḥīfat Hammām b. Munabbih_, followed by the
        number of the tradition.

I. Ḥ.   Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, _Musnad_, followed by the
        numbers of the volume and the page.

Ma.   Mālik b. Anas, _al-Muwattaʾ_, followed by the
        numbers of the volume and the page in
        al-Zurqānī, _Sharḥ . . . ʿalā Ṣaḥīḥ_
        al-Muwattaʾ . . . .

Mishk. al-Tibrīzī, _Mishkat al Maṣābiḥ_, trans, by
        J. Robson, followed by the numbers of the
        volume and the page.

Mu.   Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, _Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim_, followed by
        the name of the _kitāb_ and the number of
        tradition, according to the count of Wensinck,
        A Handbook of Early Muhammedan Tradition, and
        Wensinck, _et al._, _Concordance et Indices de_
        la Tradition Musulmane.

vi

Qur.   Qur'ān. Quotations are taken from <u>The Meaning of the Glorious Koran</u>, trans. by Mohammad Marmaduke Pickthall. When two verse numbers are indicated for the same Qur'anic reference the first refers to the Cairo edition and the second to the Flügel edition.

Ṭay.   al-Ṭayālisī, <u>Musnad</u>, followed by the number of the tradition.

Tir.   al-Tirmidhī, <u>Jāmiᶜ</u>, followed by the name of the kitāb and the number of the <u>bāb</u>, according to the edition of 1963, with commentary by al-Mubārakfūrī, <u>Tuḥfat al-Aḥwadhī</u>.

INTRODUCTION

This analysis of a collection of Islamic traditions depends heavily upon the scholarship which has been applied to the science of _hadīth_, or tradition, over the centuries. Names such as al-Ḥākim al-Nīsabūrī, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawāwī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī represent the very best in Muslim concern for the preservation and transmission of the Islamic religious heritage.

Non-Muslim scholars have been slow to understand the phenomenon of _hadīth_. The nineteenth century giant, Ignaz Goldziher, did pioneer work in this field, as presented in Volume II of his _Muhammedanische Studien_ (1890).[1] Men like William Marçais, August Fischer, Aloys Sprenger, Sir William Muir, Josef Horovitz, Edward Salisbury and A. J. Wensinck made valuable contributions, both before and after Goldziher, to a fundamental knowledge of the data of _hadīth_. But, by 1937, the overall grasp of the nature of this religious phenomenon had so little progressed beyond the essentially skeptical, albeit profoundly erudite, position of Goldziher, that Georges Vajda, a competent French scholar, wrote that " . . . studies on ḥadīth, like those on other Islamic disciplines, are, with the exception of a very small number of works, at the same level as was classical philology in the seventeenth century."[2]

---

[1]French translation by Léon Bercher. With further citations from this work reference will be made to the French translation.

[2]Georges Vajda, "Juifs et Musulmans selon le Ḥadīth," _Journal Asiatique_, CCXXIX (1937), 61.

1

Joseph Schacht opened a new era of the study of hadīth with his article, "A Revaluation of Islamic Traditions," in 1949[3] and his book, The Origins of Muhammedan Jurisprudence (1950). Johann Fück, James Robson, Nabia Abbott and Fuad Sezgin are other eminent names in recent grappling with the whole question of Muslim religious traditions. These scholars have in common a desire to take the chains of transmission more seriously than was done by previous generations of non-Muslims.

In the present study attention will be concentrated upon the hadīth as literature. Such an approach is in response somewhat to a suggestion by James Robson, who, searching for new criteria for judging the authenticity of traditions, proposed that the form in which they are couched should be the object of careful investigation.[4] Also, Régis Blachère, the French authority on Arabic literature, has called attention to the importance of hadīth as early prose literature.[5]

Although an examination of a collection of hadīth as literature is undertaken here, it should be pointed out that this is done neither with the aim of determining the authenticity of certain traditions, nor of making a contribution to the study of Arabic literature as such. The aim of this study is to understand better the nature of hadīth as a religious phenomenon. The primary concern will be with how the traditions are expressed and presented in an integral collection, not with who said them and who transmitted them, or even with what

---

[3]Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Parts 3 and 4 (1949), pp. 143-154.

[4]"The Form of Muslim Tradition," Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society, XVI (1955-56), 38-50.

[5]Histoire de la Littérature Arabe des Origines à la Fin du XVe Siècle de J.-C., III, 796-799. "Regards sur la Littérature Narrative en Arabe au Ier Siècle de l'Hégire (VIIe S. J.-C.)", Sémitica, VI (1956), 75-86.

is said. At the same time, such an approach would be completely meaningless if it did not take into account both the individuals involved in the chains of transmission and the subject matter of the texts. Hence a concentration upon the form of expression will be seen to contribute to an overall grasp of the significance of hadīth literature.

The choice of this particular collection of Muslim traditions for analysis is in some ways arbitrary. For the type of study undertaken here, almost any one of the numerous extant collections might have been chosen. However the following considerations seem to indicate that the Musnad of al-Ṭayālisī is a more logical choice than almost any other collection.

The corpus bearing the name of Sulaymān b. Dāwud b. al-Jārūd Abū Dāwud al-Ṭayālisī belongs to the period of intensive research in the Muslim community for all information relating to the practice and words of the Prophet. al-Ṭayālisī died in 203/818-19,[6] well before the formation of the great compilations destined to become authoritative, but at a time when the historical sense of the Muslims was being sharpened and literary efforts intensified. So his Musnad is an early example of hadīth collections, in fact, the earliest general collection that is available in print.

This work is different in form from the well-known six most authoritative books, for it belongs to the same type of collection as the massive work of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, likewise called Musnad. The peculiarities of this kind of collection will be described later.

---

[6]The first figure in each date cited is the year of the Muslim era, and the second one is the corresponding year in the Christian era.

al-Ṭayālisī's Musnad is fairly accessible in length,
containing only 2767 texts. By contrast, the Ṣaḥīḥ of
al-Bukhārī has 7397 traditions[7] and Ibn Ḥanbal's Musnad has
around 30,000.[8]

Finally, this collection has been highly regarded in
the Muslim community. al-Nawāwī, a seventh/thirteenth cen-
tury authority, when citing examples of the Musnad type of
collection, mentions only those of Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Ṭayālisī.[9]

---

[7]EI², I, 1926.

[8]Ignaz Goldziher, "Neue Materialen zur Literatur des
Überlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern," Zeitschrift der
Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, L (1896), 470.

[9]William Marçais, "Le Takrib de En-Nawawi Traduit
et Annoté," Journal Asiatique, 9e Série, XVI (1900), 503.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND BIOGRAPHY

Abū Dāwud al-Ṭayālisī, whose name is attached to the
collection of traditions under consideration here, was born
in 133/750-51, at the beginning of the ʿAbassid Caliphate of
the Muslim empire. With this change of rulers the center of
Islamic culture moved from Damascus to Baghdād, which city
was founded to be the ʿAbassid capital in 145/762. Some
distance from the site of Baghdād was a famous city, al-Baṣra,
birthplace of al-Ṭayālisī, founded in 17/638 as a military
camp, to facilitate the conquest of the eastern lands.
al-Baṣra had become a great commercial and cultural center,
and it retained a high place in the empire even after Baghdād
had eclipsed it.

al-Ṭayālisī reached maturity under the Caliph al-Mahdī
(158/775-169/785), whose reign, together with those of Hārūn
al-Rashīd (170/786-193/809) and al-Maʾmūn (197/812-217/832),
are considered to be the most glorious of the ʿAbbasid
Caliphate. Some of the illustrious sons of al-Baṣra during
this period are: Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, the pioneer of Arabic prose
writing (d. 140/757 or 145/762); poets Bashshār b. Burd
(d. 166/783) and Abū Nuwās (d. 194/810); Muʿtazilī theologians
al-Naẓẓām (d. 231/846) and Abū al-Hudhayl (d. 226/840 or
235/849-50); grammarians Sibawayh (d. 170/786 or 177/793),
al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. between 170/786 and 175/791-92) and
Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā (d. <u>ca</u>. 154/771); philologists Abū ʿUbayda
(d. 209/824-25) and al-Aṣmāʿī (d. 213/828); historian
al-Madāʾinī (d. 225/840); and litterateur Sahl b. Hārūn
(fl. beg. 3rd/9th cent.).

5

In the area of religion it is important to keep in mind that this period held within it the seeds and incipient developments of most of the later clearly defined doctrinal parties in Islam. But it is not possible always to isolate them from each other in the second/eighth-ninth century. For example, the ʿAbbasid dynasty was in part a Shīʿī movement, that is a politico-religious drive by partisans of ʿAlī, the son-in-law of Muḥammad; but that movement was so ill-defined at the time that other ʿAlī partisans kept the area of ʿIrāq and Khurāsān often in turmoil by their uprisings against the ʿAbbasids. al-Baṣra was a center of Shīʿī activity, especially of the Zaydī variety. It was also the home of an important school of Khārijī thought, as well as a seedbed for Muʿtazilī discussion. As the city of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 111/720) and of Rābiʿa, the famous woman mystic (d. 185/801) it was heir to a growing tradition of asceticism which, having also arisen in other centers, would issue into the fruitful mystical specula-tion of later Islam. And finally, al-Baṣra, along with Baghdād, was the center of a slowly forming Traditionist party, reacting against legal tendencies characterized by the designation Ahl al-Raʾy (the People of Opinion).

Only meager details of al-Ṭayālisī's life are avail-able. This is not surprising, for the same lack of information is found in the case of many more celebrated figures than this only moderately famous traditionist. For example, biographical details about the great Imām of Islam, al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/819-20) are very scanty. The first historian to mention him is al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956).[1]

As for al-Ṭayālisī, we must be content with the short paragraphs written about him in the standard biographical encyclopedias at our disposal. Following is a chronological arrangement of the main sources, with a summary of what each one says about our traditionist.

---

[1] EI¹, IV, 252.

Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845)[2] notes tersely the death date
of al-Ṭayālisī, his qualification as a reliable (thiqa) author-
ity in tradition transmission, and the fact that he sometimes
made mistakes in reciting traditions. The chronicler adds
that the governor (al-wālī) of al-Baṣra presided over the
burial of the traditionist. He does not mention the Musnad,
nor does he mention, in his account of Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855),
that scholar's Musnad.[3] Obviously, if Ibn Saʿd died in
230/845, the information about men who lived after that date
was added by others.[4] That the tradition collections of these
two figures are not mentioned by as early a chronicler as Ibn
Saʿd is not surprising, for it is known that the Musnad of Ibn
Ḥanbal was collected and arranged by his son, ʿAbd Allāh
(d. 290/903) and transmitted by Abū Bakr al-Qaṭīʿī
(d. 368/978-79).[5] Later historians assert that al-Ṭayālisī
likewise was not the compiler of his Musnad,[6] but that it
appeared as a collection after his death.

The next historian, in chronological order, is Ibn
Qutayba (d. 270/884 or 271/885 or 276/889). In his Kitāb
al-Maʿārif[7] he records almost the same information as

---

[2]Muḥammad b. Saʿd, Kātib al-Wāqidī, Biographien
Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der Späteren Träger des
Islams bis zum Jahre 230 der Flucht, (Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt
al-Kabīr), ed. by Eduard Sachau, VII, ii, 51.

[3]Ibid., p. 92.

[4]Ibn Saʿd's Ṭabaqāt was completed by his student,
Ḥusayn b. Fahm (d. 289/901) (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh
Baghdād, V, 160).

[5]EI[2], I, 273.

[6]See below, p. 11.

[7]Ibn Coteiba's Handbuch der Geschichte, ed. by
Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, p. 260.

Ibn Saʿd gives, except that the name of the governor of al-Baṣra is slightly different. Ibn Qutayba mentions neither Ibn Ḥanbal, nor al-Shāfiʿī. He does have a notice on Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), but he does not mention Mālik's famous book of traditions, the _Muwatta'_.[8]

Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995 or 388/998) apparently knew nothing of al-Ṭayālisī as an author or compiler. In his catalog of books that had been written in Arabic up to the year 377/987-88), he mentions Ibn Ḥanbal's _Musnad_[9] and the two collections by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875),[10] but he gives no notice of al-Ṭayālisī as he is known by other historians. One indication that his knowledge of the traditionists was less than complete is the fact that he notes an Abū Dāwud al-Ṭayālisī, whose other names are Humām b. ʿAbd al-Mālik, who died in 227/842,[11] but whose writings are not indicated. Apparently, as the editors of _al-Fihrist_ point out,[12] Ibn al-Nadīm confuses Abū Dāwud al-Ṭayālisī and Abū al-Walīd al-Ṭayālisī, since Ibn Saʿd records the latter name as a Basran traditionist of the same date as Ibn al-Nadīm's Abū Dāwud, that is, 227/842.[13] Ibn Qutayba gives the same

---

[8]_Ibid._, pp. 250-51.

[9]_Fihrist al-ʿUlūm_, ed. by Gustav Flügel, Johannes Roediger and August Mueller, I, 229.

[10]_Ibid._, pp. 230-31.

[11]_Ibid._, p. 229.

[12]_Ibid._, II, 100.

[13]_Op. cit._, VII, ii, 53.

name as Ibn Saʿd.[14] The lesser known al-Ṭayālisī, Abū al-Walīd, was a teacher of al-Bukhārī.[15]

A fifth century source, Tārīkh Baghdād, by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 462/1070)[16] cites three dates that had been given for al-Ṭayālisī's death, 203, 204 and 214. al-Baghdādī favors 204 and calls 214 a clear error. The traditionist is identified as being of Persian origin, and a client (mawlā) of the Banū al-Zubayr Arabs. Lists of his teachers and his pupils are given. al-Baghdādī makes much of his powers of memory, but asserts that memorizing is "treacherous." He relates a number of reports regarding al-Ṭayālisī's mistakes in recitation. These failures of memory did not detract from the esteem in which he was held by his fellow traditionists, however. Ibn Ḥanbal is said to have preferred him above another traditionist who made "very few mistakes and had many notes." This and other remarks in al-Baghdādī's record, as well as in subsequent books, reveal the ongoing tension in the community between advocates of writing hadīth and those who insisted on relying on the memory. al-Ṭayālisī had notes, but he relied mostly on his memory. al-Baghdādī makes no mention of a collection of traditions bearing the name of al-Ṭayālisī, but he does cite the name of Yūnus b. Ḥabīb who was, according to the present edition of the Musnad, the disciple responsible for transmitting the al-Ṭayālisī corpus.

Al-Samʿānī (d. after 551/1156) is the author of a celebrated biographical encyclopedia, Kitāb al-Ansāb. This author reproduces part of the information on al-Ṭayālisī

---

[14]Op. cit., p. 260.

[15]Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yahya al-Nawāwī, The Biographical Dictionary of Illustrious Men, Chiefly at the Beginning of Islamism, by Abu Zakariya Yahya el-Nawawi, ed. by Ferdinand Wustenfeld, p. 93.

[16]IX, 24-29.

contained in al-Baghdādī, with the following additions.[17]
Abū Dāwud is the most famous of the individuals carrying the
nisba (name), al-Ṭayālisī. He has a Musnad, gathered from
the Companions of the Prophet. He and his friend drank the
resinous juice of the nut of Semecarpus anacardium (balādur),
and consequently his friend contracted leprosy (al-baras),
whereas he became afflicted with elephantiasis (?) (al-judhām).

al-Dhahabī, the great eighth century historian
(d. 748/1348 or 753/1352-53), gives 204 as the date of
al-Ṭayālisī's death.[18] This author makes no mention of the
Musnad and does not add anything to previously cited accounts
of the traditionist's life.

Ibn Khaṭīb (d. 834/1431), in his catalog of names from
the collections of al-Bukhārī, Muslim and Mālik,[19] mentions a
collection of traditions, under the name of al-Ṭayālisī, called
Musnad. The date, 253, given for his death is no doubt a typo-
graphical mistake for 203.

In the same period as that of Ibn Khaṭīb, Ibn Ḥajar
al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) compiled his monumental Tahdhīb
al-Tahdhīb. Here can be found perhaps the longest account
available on the life of al-Ṭayālisī.[20] The compiler gives
both 203 and 204 as possible dates of his death. Nothing new
is added to previous accounts, and only from a fifteenth
century author do we find further light upon al-Ṭayālisī.

---

[17]pp. 374-75.

[18]Tadhkirāt al-Ḥuffāẓ, I, 322-23; Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl
fī Naod al-Rijāl, II, 203-04.

[19]Tuhfat dhawi al-ʿArab; Über Namen und Nisben bei
Boḥārī, Muslim, Mālik, ed. by Traugott Mann, p. 170.

[20]IV, 182-86.

al-ʿIrāqī[21] is cited by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)[22] as refuting
the assertion by many that he was the first to compose books
of traditions. This false notion arose, wrote al-ʿIrāqī, from
the fact that al-Ṭayālisī lived before the era when Musnad
collections were composed. The fact is, according to the
historians' information, that a company of Khurāsān scholars
selected from the mass of traditions transmitted by Yūnus b.
Ḥabīb[23] on the authority of Abū Dāwud al-Ṭayālisī the material
to be included in the collection which came to be known as the
Musnad of al-Ṭayālisī.

Ḥājjī Khalīfa, the Turkish encyclopedist of the
eleventh century (d. 1067/1657) repeats essentially the same
information that al-Suyūṭī cites upon the authority of
al-ʿIrāqī.[24] He records the name of the principal disciple of
al-Ṭayālisī as Yūsuf b. Ḥabīb, rather than Yūnus b. Ḥabīb,
probably in error.

Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1089/1678)[25] adds the detail, perhaps
editorially, that al-Ṭayālisī ate the seed of balādur for the
sake of his memory.

In the absence of more precise biographical information,
a few additional details can be deduced from the accounts at
our disposal. In line with the traditionists' intense concern

---

[21]Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿIrāqī
(d. 806/1404), author of al-Taqyīd wa'l-Īḍāḥ, a work on the
science of ḥadīth, based on Kitāb ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth, by Ibn
al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245). Cf. GAL II, 65-66; Sup. I, 611.

[22]Tadrīb al-Rāwī fī Sharḥ Taqrīb al-Nawāwī, I, 175.

[23]Whose name is constantly mentioned in al-Ṭayālisī's
Musnad.

[24]Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum (Kashf
al-Ẓunūn ʿan Asāmī al-Kutub wa'l-Funūn), ed. by Gustav Flugel,
V, 533.

[25]Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab, II, 12.

for continuity and integrity in the chains of transmission, several lists of al-Ṭayālisī's teachers and pupils are given.[26] Presumably the names listed are the ones considered by the biographers to be the most important, for they add that he had many other teachers and pupils whose names are not given. Out of twenty-nine teachers listed, whose biographies also figure in the catalogs of authorities, sixteen were men of al-Baṣra, five lived in Baghdād or its vicinity, three in al-Kūfa, one was from ʿAsqalān, in southern Palestine, one from Mecca, one from Khurāsān, and the place of residence of two is not stated. It seems evident that al-Ṭayālisī did not travel far in quest of hadīth. It is quite probable that he never left the area of al-Baṣra except for some trips to Baghdād and al-Kūfa. The records state that several of his teachers changed residence two or three times, so it is likely that he encountered the scholar from Mecca and the one from ʿAsqalān while they were temporarily at one of the three ʿIrāqī cities. As for the one from Khurāsān, he lived also in Syria and in al-Ḥijāz, and the biographer states that men of al-Baṣra transmitted traditions from him.[27] So the mentioning of this person as a teacher of al-Ṭayālisī does not mean necessarily that the latter traveled to Khurāsān in search of traditions. On the other hand, another account definitely says that al-Ṭayālisī went on a visit to Iṣbahān, but in the role of a teacher of hadīth. There he recited 100,000 texts from memory. Upon his return to al-Baṣra he checked his manuscripts and sent back to Iṣbahān the corrections, in writing, of mistakes he

---

[26]Ibn Ḥajar, op. cit., IV, 183; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, op. cit., IX, 24; al-Dhahabī, Tadhkirāt al-Ḥuffāz, I, 322; al-Samʿānī, Kitāb al-Ansāb, p. 375.

[27]Ibn Ḥajar, op. cit., III, 348-48, on Zuhayr b. Muḥammad al-Tamīnī (d. between 150/767 and 162/779).

had made in seventy <u>hadīth</u>. This incident was reported by
Yūnus b. Ḥabīb al-Iṣbahānī.[28]

The twenty-nine teachers included in this investigation
died between the years 151/768 and 185/801. Among them was
Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776), well known as a poet and
grammarian as well as a traditionist. One of his teachers
was Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741), the traditionist charged
by ʿUmar II with the task of recording the <u>hadīth</u> of Muḥammad,
lest the knowledge of the prophetic <u>sunna</u> be lost.[29] Although
Shuʿba was one of the most famous traditionists of his time,
those who knew him did not hesitate to report that he often
forgot the names of authorities because he was so preoccupied
with memorizing the texts (<u>mutūn</u>) of the traditions.[30]

Another significant link with the total religious
scene was the fact that al-Ṭayālisī had a Medinan teacher,
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mājashūn (d. 164/780), who had been attracted
to the ʿAbbasid court. In Medina he had been a colleague of
Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), and that scholar had taken inspira-
tion from a book of legal traditions by al-Mājashūn to write
his own <u>Muwatta'</u>, one of the most authoritative collections
of <u>hadīth</u>.[31]

---

[28]al-Dhahabī, <u>Mizān al-Iʿtidāl</u>, II, 203; on Yūnus,
see above, p. 11 and below, p. 16.

[29]<u>EI¹</u>, IV, 1239-41; Nabia Abbott, <u>Studies in Arabic
Literary Papyri, II, Qur'ānic Commentary and Tradition</u>,
pp. 25-32, 53.

[30]Ibn Ḥajar, <u>op. cit.</u>, IV, 345-46. The complete
account of Shuʿba is on pp. 338-46.

[31]Abbott, <u>op. cit.</u>, II, 50, 122, with references.
This author and Shams al-Dīn b. Khallikān, in <u>Ibn Khallikān's
Biographical Dictionary</u>, trans. by MacGuckin de Slane, II
118-19, vowel the name as al-Mājishūn. However, the editors
of Ibn Qutayba, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 234, and Ibn Ḥajar, <u>op. cit.</u>,
VI, 343-44 vowel it as here. The latter gives an explanation
of the Persian origin of the name which differs totally from
that given by Ibn Khallikān.

Still another famous Medinan scholar, transplanted to
Baghdād, is listed as a teacher of al-Ṭayālisī. Ibrāhīm
b. Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm al-Madanī (d. 183/799 or 184/800) was the
son of a traditionist who had been a close collaborator with
al-Zuhrī, when that scholar had visited Medina.[32]

al-Waḍḍāḥ Abū ʿAwāna (d. 170/786-87 or 176/792),
renowned as one of the twelve compilers (aṣḥāb al-aṣḥāf) who
were listed by the early ḥadīth critic, ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī
(d. 234/848), was also one of al-Ṭayālisī's teachers. Ibn
Ḥajar records that he was famous for his manuscripts.[33]

By far the most celebrated teacher of our traditionist
was the key figure, Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778). Born in
al-Kūfa, but living his later life in al-Baṣra, he was prob-
ably the most influential religious personality in this
region at that time.[34] One of the signs that sectarian lines
had not been clearly drawn in the late second/eighth-ninth
century is the fact that Sufyān al-Thawrī was claimed by the
Shīʿīya as one of theirs, as well as by the traditionists and
by the ascetics (ṣūfīya).

Another teacher of al-Ṭayālisī is noted as a Shīʿī,
Maʿrūf b. Kharrābudh.[35] Still another is said to have had
sympathies with the Khawārij, ʿImrān al-Qaṭṭān.[36]

---

[32]Abbott, op. cit., p. 180, with references; Ibn Ḥajar,
op. cit., I, 121-23.

[33]Abbott, op. cit., p. 80, with references; Ibn Ḥajar,
op. cit., XI, 116-20; Ibn Saʿd, op. cit., VII, ii, 43-44; on
ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, see below, p. 16.

[34]EI[1], IV, 500-02.

[35]al-Dhahabī, op. cit., IV, 144. No date is given for
his death.

[36]Ibn Ḥajar, op. cit., VIII, 130-32. No date is given
for his death, but he is also listed in Ibn Saʿd, op. cit., VII,
ii, 41, with the Basran persons who died ca. 180/796 or before.

Turning to the pupils of al-Ṭayālisī we find clear evidence of the increase in traditionist activity in Baghdād and in Persia as the third/ninth century began. Out of twenty-five names of pupils, only eight are from al-Baṣra, nine are Baghdād men, six come from Persia and Central Asia, one from Medina and one from al-Kūfa. One of the Baghdād residents is said to have been originally from the Central Asia province of Khwarizm, ʿAbbās al-Dawrī (d. 271/685).[37] Another is said to have moved to Merw, in Khurāsān, late in life, Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān (d. 239/853 or 249/863).[38] A pupil from al-Baṣra, ʿAmr b. ʿAlī al-Fallās (d. 239/863)[39] is said to have made three trips to Iṣbahān, So al-Ṭayālisī's influence reached meaningfully into Persia and beyond. We shall return to this fact in the next chapter. It is striking evidence of third/ninth century Persian ascendency that all six of the universally recognized authoritative compilers of hadīth were Persians, or Central Asians: al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) from Transoxiana; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875), from Nīsābūr; al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), from a village of Khurāsān; Ibn Māja (d. 273/887), from Qazwīn, in the region of al-Jabāl, Persian ʿIrāq; Abū Dāwud (d. 275/888), from the province of Sijistān; and al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915) from Nasā in the region of Nīsābūr.

Al-Ṭayālisī's most famous pupil was the Baghdād scholar and Imām of Islam, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), whose collection of traditions was compiled by his son to form the great Musnad.[40] But Ibn Ḥanbal was not the only writing traditionist who heard hadīth from al-Ṭayālisī. The biographical notices

---

[37]Ibn Ḥajar, op. cit., V, 129-30.

[38]Ibid., X, 64-65.

[39]Ibid., VIII, 81.

[40]EI², I, 272-77.

indicate a marked increase in the arranging of collections
into large units which might be called books. al-Fallās,
noted above, is said to have compiled a _Musnad_, a book of
ʿIlal (defects in _hadīth_) and a history.[41]

ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, the _hadīth_ critic,[42] heard traditions
from al-Ṭayālisī. He is called an author of literary works
(_ṣāḥib al-taṣānīf_).[43] A pupil from Iṣbahān, Ibn al-Furāt
Abū Masʿūd (d. 258/872), is said to have composed a _Musnad_
and many books.[44] Another, ʿAbd Allah b. Muḥammad al-Musnadī
(d. 229/844), from al-Bukhāra, was called al-Musnadī because
he was the first in Transoxiana to compose a _Musnad_ of the
Companions of the Prophet.[45] Yaʿqūb b. Ibrahīm al-Dawraqī
(d. 252/866) from Baghdād is likewise credited with a _Musnad_.[46]
Then Yūnus b. Ḥabīb al-Iṣbahānī (d. 267/881) has already been
noted as the pupil who was responsible for the transmission of
the al-Ṭayālisī corpus.[47] One of the pupils, Muḥammad b. Saʿd
(d. 230/845) is renowned as the author of one of the earliest
available historico-biographical works, the _Ṭabaqāt_.

The twenty-five persons listed, who heard traditions
from al-Ṭayālisī, died between 188/804 and 271/884-85. The

---

[41]Ibn Ḥajar, _op. cit._, VIII, 81.

[42]See above, p. 14.

[43]_Ibid._, VII, 349.

[44]_Ibid._, I, 66,67.

[45]_Ibid._, VI, 10.

[46]_Ibid._, XI, 381.

[47]Above, p. 11; below, p. 28; Ibn al-ʿImād, _op. cit._,
II, 153.

one who died at the early date of 188/804 was Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who was older than his teacher.[48] Members of this group taught al-Bukhārī, al-Dārimī (d. 255/869), Abū Dāwud, al-Nasāʾī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Māja, plus a host of other traditionists of the mid and late third/ninth century.

---

[48]Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, IV, 183.

CHAPTER II

THE MUSNAD TYPE

The word, _musnad_, is the passive participle of the fourth form verb, _asnada_, meaning "to support." So a tradition was called _musnad_ if its authenticity had been given support by the citing of guarantors' names. By extension, a collection of authenticated traditions from a particular Companion came to be known as the _Musnad_ of that Companion. By further extension a compilation of such collections also received the designation, _Musnad_. Such collections belong to the pre-critical period of _hadīth_ transmission beginning about 150/767.[1] Their compilers had no concern as to whether or not what they recorded could be used as a legal argument or not.[2] They arranged the material according to the names of the authorities, not according to subject matter. Such an arrangement did not lend itself to quick reference and practical usage, so Goldziher is probably right when he says that the _Musnad_ compilers were interested in the theoretical side of _hadīth_, or else intended their collections for private restricted use.[3] Those who compiled works for didactic and

---

[1]The subject of when and to what extent traditions were recorded before this period is outside the scope of the present study. Cf. Abbott, _op. cit._, pp. 5-83; Muhammad ʿAjjāj al-Khaṭīb, _al-Sunna Qabla al-Tadwīn_.

[2]al-Suyūṭī, _op. cit._, I, 171.

[3]Ignaz Goldziher, _Etudes sur la Tradition Islamique: Extraits du Tome II des Muhammedanische Studien_, trans. by Léon Bercher, p. 291.

18

legal use arranged the hadīth according to subject matter.
Such books were usually called masannaf (compilation), jāmiʿ
(collection), or majmūʿ (collection), and they included not
only hadīth from the Prophet, but also legal decisions (fatāwā)
by the Companions of the Prophet (sahāba) and the Successors
(tābiʿūn). al-Khaṭīb lists fourteen such works from the latter
half of the second/eighth century, the names of whose compilers
have come down to us.[4]

So, the musnad type does not seem to have been the
first pattern for making available in coherent, inclusive
form, the traditions which before had been scattered over the
empire, preserved in private manuscripts and in the memories
of the faithful. The first preoccupation was apparently a
practical one, to insure the orderly life of the Muslim
community. It is needful to keep in mind also that although
the period before al-Bukhārī may be called the pre-critical
one in the history of hadīth literature, nevertheless it was
not without its critical concerns. This is seen in the fact
that the first known commentary on the difficult words of the
hadīth is by Abū ʿUbayda, a Basran scholar who died in 210/825.[5]
This work, along with that already mentioned, by a pupil of
al-Ṭayālisī, on ʿIlāl (defects in hadīth)[6] witness to a well-
established custom of hadīth compilation for the benefit of
the public, which in turn called for learned commentary and
analysis. Also the Ṭabaqāt of Ibn Saʿd, with its classes of
traditionists from different regions of the empire, may be
seen as the beginning of the science of authority criticism

---

[4]Muḥammad ʿAjjāj al-Khaṭīb, op. cit., pp. 337-38.
The Muwaṭṭaʾ of Mālik b. Anas belongs to this period and to
this type of collection.

[5]Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nihāya fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth wa'l-Athar,
I, 3.

[6]al-Fallās, above, p. 16.

(ʿilm al-rijāl) which was to flourish after 250/869. It may likewise be assumed that the efforts of Musnad compilers to provide multiple chains of transmission for as many hadīth as possible laid the foundation for later critical works of al-jarḥ wa'l-taʿdīl (disparaging and declaring trustworthy),[7]

al-Ṭayālisī is often cited as the first to compile traditions in the manner of a musnad.[8] As we have already noted, al-ʿIrāqī contested this view,[9] and he was followed by Ḥājjī Khalīfa.[10] The fact is, however, that no earlier name of musnad compiler has come down to us. al-ʿIrāqī's point is that we should not consider al-Ṭayālisī's Musnad as the work of himself alone. That traditionist is but the key link in a chain of authorities that issued in a particular Musnad.

Looking into the question of the musnad type a little further we find that we must add another qualification to its definition. Ḥājjī Khalīfa lists no less than forty-seven different works called Musnad,[11] some of which are legal collections (e.g. that of Abū Ḥanīfa). The term musnad was gradually extended to include all kinds of tradition collections, even those of the later age, more precisely called ṣaḥīḥ or sunan.[12] An example of the general versus the specific use of the term may be seen in the statement by al-ʿIrāqī that al-Ṭayālisī's Musnad resembles that of al-Shāfiʿī, which itself was collected by men

---

[7]Muḥammad ʿAjjāj al-Khaṭīb, op. cit., p. 339.

[8]Ibid., p. 339.

[9]al-Suyūṭī, op. cit., I, 175.

[10]Op. cit., V, 533.

[11]Ibid., V, 532-43.

[12]Goldziher, op. cit., pp. 290, 322-23.

of Nīsabūr from what they had heard from al-Aṣamm
(d. 347/957-8).[13] However, the version of al-Shāfiʿī's
Musnad, which is printed on the margin of the seven volume
edition of Kitāb al-Umm,[14] does not in any respect resemble
al-Ṭayālisī's collection by the same name. It is divided
according to the categories of jurisprudence, and even includes
one section on the differences between Mālik b. Anas and
al-Shāfiʿī.[15] So we may conclude that the name Musnad applied
here is used in a very loose way. What al-ʿIrāqī considered
to be similar to al-Ṭayālisī's Musnad might have been an
entirely different collection attributed to al-Shāfiʿī, and
now lost, or a primitive arrangement in the musnad manner,
which was refashioned according to chapters (ʿalā al-abwāb)
to render it more accessible to the public. This practice
was not without precedent.[16]

Returning to the distinctive definition of a musnad
collection, that is, one in which the traditions are arranged
according to their authorities' names rather than by subject
matter, Muslim authors note three different ways of classifying
hadīth by authorities.[17] First there is the arrangement
according to the authorities' rank in the Muslim community,
beginning with the ten men who were promised Paradise by

---

[13]al-Suyūṭī, op. cit., I, 175.

[14]al-Shāfiʿī, Kitāb al-Umm, VI, 2-277.

[15]Ibid., pp. 190ff.

[16]EI[2], I, 273; Goldziher, op. cit., p. 288, asserts
that the Musnad of al-Shāfiʿī is simply a selection of extracts
from that imām's larger work of law, al-Mabsūt.

[17]Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Abū Shuhba, ʿAlām al-Muḥaddithīn,
p. 33.

Muḥammad (al-ʿashara al-mubashshara),[18] and continuing
according to a descending scale of priority. This was the
option taken, with significant variations, in the collections
of Ibn Ḥanbal and of al-Ṭayālisī. Then some compilers clas-
sified their material according to the tribes to which the
authorities belonged beginning with the Banū Hāshim and pro-
ceeding with other tribes according to their degree of proxim-
ity to that from which the Prophet issued. Finally some
traditionists composed collections in which the authorities
were arranged in alphabetical order. An example of this is
al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr, by al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971).[19]

An interesting and outstanding variation on the above
types of classification is that seen in the Musnad by Baqī
b. Makhlad al-Qurṭubī (d. 276/889), which has traditions coming
from 1300 Companions; but under the heading of each authority
al-Qurṭubī arranged the ḥadīth according to subject matter,
that is, according to the categories of jurisprudence. So
this collection can be called a musnad-musannaf. According
to al-Maqqarī, al-Qurṭubī, an Andalusian, was the first to
undertake this type of arrangement on so large a scale.[20]

Even as the community came to speak of "The Six Books"
(of the musannaf type) as uniquely authoritative, because of
the critical principles which their compilers applied and
because of their usefulness in the study of jurisprudence, so
it came to speak of the "Ten Musnad," or the ten most important
collections of the musnad type. Opinion was not always uniform
as to which ten were to be included.

---

[18]Thomas Patrick Hughes, A Dictionary of Islam, p. 24.

[19]GAL, Sup., I, 279.

[20]Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Maqqarī al-Tilimsānī, Kitāb Nafḥ
al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb wa Dhikr Wazīriha Lisān
al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, I, 581; Goldziher, op. cit., p. 325.

Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr b. Ismaʿīl b. Salīm al-Buṣayrī
(d. 840/1436-37) compiled an <u>Itiḥāf al-Khayra bi Zawāʾid
al-Masānīd al-ʿAshara</u>, a compendium of ḥadīth that are peculiar
to the "<u>Ten Musnad</u>." Ḥājjī Khalīfa lists only nine tradition-
ists, whose collections are included in this compendium, but
we may assume that the tenth was that of Ibn Ḥanbal. Here are
the other members of al-Buṣayrī's "Ten <u>Musnad</u>":[21]

1. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219/834)[22]
2. Abū al-Ḥasan Musaddad b. Musarhad (d. 228/842)[23]
3. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanẓalī, known as Ibn Rāhwayh
   (d. 233/848 or 238/852)[24]
4. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abū Shayba (d. 235/849-50)[25]
5. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Abū ʿUmar Abū ʿAbd Allāh
   al-ʿAdanī (d. 243/857)[26]
6. ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd (d. 249/863)[27]

---

[21]Ḥājjī Khalīfa, <u>op. cit.</u>, I, 149; cf. Muḥammad b.
Jaʿfar al-Kattānī, <u>al-Risāla al-Mustatrafa li Bayān Mashhūr
Kutub al-Sunna al-Musharrafa</u>, pp. 170-71, for other titles
dealing with the "Ten."

[22]His <u>Musnad</u> was published in 1963, ed. by Ḥabīb
al-Raḥman al-Aʿẓamī.

[23]Ḥājjī Khalīfa, <u>op. cit.</u>, V, 542; Ibn Ḥajar, <u>op. cit.</u>,
X, 107-08.

[24]Goldziher, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 267, who writes it Ibn
Rāhwayhī; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, <u>op. cit.</u>, V, 532; al-Ḥākim al-Naisābūrī,
<u>An Introduction to the Science of Tradition</u>, trans. by James
Robson, p. 11.

[25]<u>Ibid.</u>; Ibn Ḥajar, <u>op. cit.</u>, VI, 2-4.

[26]Ibn al-ʿImād, <u>op. cit.</u>, II, 104.

[27]Theodor Wilhelm Ahlwardt, <u>Verzeichniss der Arabischen
Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin</u>, No. 1261;
Ḥājjī Khalīfa, <u>op. cit.</u>, V, 534.

7. Aḥmad b. al-Azhar b. Manīʿ (d. 263/877)[28]
8. al-Ḥarth (or al-Ḥārith) b. Muḥammad b. Abū Usāma al-Tamīmī (d. 282/895)[29]
9. Abū Yaʿlā Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī (d. 307/919)[30]

ʿImād al-Dīn b. Kathīr (d. after 767/1366), identifying the "Ten" differently, combined into one huge Kitāb fī Jamʿ al-Masānīd al-ʿAshra,[31] the six muṣannaf works plus the Musnad of Ibn Ḥanbal, those of al-Bazzār[32] and Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawsilī[33] and the Muʿjam of al-Ṭabarānī.[34] Ibn Kathīr arranged this material according to the alphabetical order of the authorities' names.

Ibn al-Salāḥ, one of the greatest ḥadīth critics,[35] cites four other widely recognized works called Musnad:
1. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā (d. 213/828), who is said by al-Ḥākim to be the first, along with al-Ṭayālisī, to compile a Musnad.[36]

---

[28]al-Dhahabī, op. cit., II, 126.

[29]Ibn al-ʿImād, op. cit., II, 178.

[30]Ibn Khallikān, op. cit., I, 212n.; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, op. cit., V, 533, 543-44.

[31]EI2, I, 273; III, 817-18.

[32]Below, p. 25.

[33]Above.

[34]Above, p. 22.

[35]Above, p.11, note 21; al-Suyūṭī, op. cit., I, 171.

[36]al-Ḥākim, op. cit., p. 11; Ibn Ḥajar, op. cit., VII, 50-53.

2. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Dārimī al-Samarqandī
   (d. 255/869).[37] There is a problem here, however,
   The extant collection by this traditionist is clearly
   a musannaf, and in its published form is entitled
   Sunan, like the collections of Ibn Māja and Abū Dāwud.
   So Goldziher concludes that it is designated Musnad
   only in the loose sense to which we have called
   attention above. On the other hand it does not seem
   likely that Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ would have used the term in
   the loose acceptation, for he includes al-Dārimī's
   Musnad in a list of works of which he expressly says
   that their compilers assembled traditions from each
   Companion without regard to their suitability as legal
   data. The Sunan (or Musnad) of al-Dārimī, as it has
   come down to us, not only has the ḥadīth arranged
   according to subjects, but it includes a large number
   of personal remarks by al-Dārimī on the authenticity
   of his material. So, it seems likely that Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ
   is either speaking of a lost Musnad (in the distinctive
   meaning of the term) or that the present Sunan has
   been reshaped.

3. al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān al-Shaybānī (d. 303/915-16).[38]

4. Aḥmad b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq Abū Bakr al-Bazzār
   (d. 292/905).[39]

Most works belonging to the pre-critical period of the
science of tradition have been relegated by Muslim scholars to
places of inferiority, in comparison with those which issued
from the time of al-Bukhārī and afterward. Four classes of

---

[37] EI[2], II, 159; Goldziher, op. cit., p. 323.

[38] Ibn al-ʿImād, op. cit., II, 241.

[39] Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth wa Muṣtalḥuhu, p. 56.

collections are recognized based upon, among other things,
criteria of the soundness (al-sahha), or the fair quality
(al-husn) or the weakness (al-duʿf) of the traditions that
they contain. These distinctions were introduced by al-Tirmidhī
(d. 279/892).[40] Interestingly enough, however, at least two
works from the pre-critical period compete with "The Six" for
places in the first two classes of collections.[41] The Muwatta'
of Mālik is often preferred above Ibn Māja, and the Musnad
of Ibn Ḥanbal receives a place in the second class. This
leads us to conclude that other considerations than hadīth
criticism play a part in the classification. Both Mālik and
Ibn Ḥanbal were heads of legal schools (madhāhib), so it is
probable that the primacy of their personalities in the
history of jurisprudence outweighs the obvious weaknesses of
their collections from the point of view of hadīth criticism.[42]

The collection attributed to al-Ṭayālisī is found in
a third class, according to the scholarly judgment, along
with those of Abū Yaʿlā,[43] ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Humām al-Sunʿānī
al-Ḥimyārī (d. 211/826-27),[44] Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba

---

[40]Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, Adwāʾ ʿalā al-Sunna al-Muhammadīya,
p. 318.

[41]Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī, Qawāʿid al-Taḥdīth min Funūn
Mustalaḥ al-Ḥadīth, pp. 239-43; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, op. cit.,
pp. 115-17.

[42]Maḥmūd Abū Rayya has collected critical remarks by
revered scholars about the Musnad of Ibn Ḥanbal in op. cit.,
pp. 325-30.

[43]Above, p. 24.

[44]Ibn Ḥajar, op. cit., VI, 310-15.

(d. 235/850),[45] ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd,[46] Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī
(d. 458/1066),[47] Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933),[48]
al-Ṭabarānī,[49] and others. According to one scholar these
collectors welcomed traditions as they heard them. They were
not concerned about discerning their degrees of soundness,
nor with explaining the difficult words, nor with providing
guidance in jurisprudence, nor with studying the authorities.[50]
The following analysis of one collection will shed some light
on the accuracy of this summary judgment of hadīth collec-
tions of the third class.

---

[45]Ibid., VI, 2-4; also named as a pupil of al-Ṭayālisī
by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, op. cit., IX, 24.

[46]Above, p. 23.

[47]GAL, I, 446-47; Ibn Khallikān, op. cit., I, 57-58.

[48]GAL, Sup., I, 293-94; Ibn Khallikān, op. cit., I,
51-53.

[49]Above, p. 22.

[50]al-Qāsimī, op. cit., p. 242.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION OF THE EXTERNAL FEATURES

OF AL-ṬAYĀLISĪ'S MUSNAD

As has already been stated summarily, the collection
bearing al-Ṭayālisī's name is not attributable in its present
form to this person. al-ʿIrāqī asserted that a group of
Khurāsān scholars prepared the present compilation from a
mass of material passed on by Yūnus b. Ḥabīb from his master,
al-Ṭayālisī.[1] So, the arrangement of the Musnad is no doubt
the work of more than one individual. Whatever may have been
its precise purpose, it represents a tendency of traditionists,
not simply the point of view of one, al-Ṭayālisī.

The edition at our disposal is a quarto-sized volume
of 392 pages, with the addition of an eleven-page index of
the authorities. It is based on a manuscript in the Asafiya
State Library of Ḥaydarābād. The chief editor, Abū al-Ḥasan
al-Amruhī,[2] states in the colophon of the book (p. 362) that
before the printing of the Musnad had been completed he
received another manuscript of the work from the Public
Library of Patna, Bihar. In order to enable the reader to
compare that part of the book which had already been printed
(pp. 1-148) with the second manuscript, he added a twenty-nine
page appendix, with the variant readings of the two manuscripts

---

[1]Above, p. 11.

[2]Only the incomplete name, Abū al-Ḥasan, is given in
the book. We complete it with al-Amruhī upon the authority of
Abbott, in op. cit., p. xvi.

28

placed in parallel columns. From page 149 to the end, he collated the two versions to arrive at a single text.

The book opens with certificates of audition of the whole collection by five traditionists. Then the text is presented in eleven sections, ranging from seventeen to forty-one pages in length. This arrangement probably served as a convenience in recitation, for there is no discernable logic in the divisions as far as the subject matter is concerned. Apparently each of the eleven sections was treated as a unit, to be passed on separately from the others, for certificates of audition head each of them.

The following is the result of a collation of the eleven sets of certificates and the set that covers the entire collection.[3]

1. The guarantor first responsible for transmitting the al-Ṭayālisī traditions was Abū Bishr Yūnus b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-ʿIjlī al-Iṣbahānī (d. 267/881).[4] In the edition of the Musnad, almost every time a new Companion is introduced the name of Yūnus b. Ḥabīb is mentioned as the first guarantor. After this first mention each hadīth under a particular Companion is usually introduced by the name of al-Ṭayālisī.

2. The next link mentioned in the chain was Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. Fāris (d. 345 or 346/956 or 957).[5] The great span of time, seventy-nine years, between the deaths of Yūnus b. Ḥabīb and Ibn Fāris makes it unlikely that the latter received a personal certificate of audition from the former. Probably it was during this period

---

[3]al-Ṭayālisī, op. cit., pp. 2, 41, 83, 119, 149, 173, 213, 245, 279, 311, 345, 362.

[4]Above, pp. 9, 11, 16; Abū Nuʿaym, Geschichte Iṣbahāns, II, 345-46.

[5]Ibn al-ʿImād, op. cit., II, 372; Abū Nuʿaym, op. cit., II, 80.

that there took place the compilation by a company of Khurāsān
scholars of a great number of traditions handed down by Yūnus
b. Ḥabīb from his master.[6]

3. Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Isḥāq
(d. 430/1038),[7] the famous compiler of the <u>Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ</u>,
biographies of the ascetics and mystics, is listed as the next
transmitter. However, he was only eight years old on the date
given for the certificate of audition (344/955). It is not
stated that Abū Nuʿaym actually heard in person from Ibn Fāris.
So it may be assumed that he got the certificate from an
unknown intermediate guarantor.

4. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥaddād
al-Muqriʾ (d. 515/1121)[8] received the traditions from Abū
Nuʿaym in 422/1031. If the dates given are correct, al-Muqriʾ
lived ninety-three years after receiving the certificate,
which chronology is at least open to doubt.

5. After al-Muqriʾ many more details of the transmission
are given. The <u>rāwī</u> mentioned as the last responsible for the
whole collection and who passed it on to ʿAfīf al-Dīn Mālik,[9]
the signer in 592/1196 of the manuscript used for the edition,
is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū al-Makārim al-Labbān (d. 597/1200-01).[10]
However two of his contemporaries are listed instead of him as
being responsible for Part 2, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abū

---

[6]Above, p. 11.

[7]EI[2], I, 142-43.

[8]Ibn al-ʿImād, <u>op. cit.</u>, IV, 47.

[9]Not yet identified.

[10]Ibn al-ʿImād, <u>op. cit.</u>, IV, 329.

Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Abū Naṣr al-Karrānī (d. 597/1200-01),[11]
and Abū Saʿīd Khalīl b. Abū al-Rajāʾ b. Abū al-Fatḥ al-Rārānī
(d. 596/1200).[12] Still a third individual is brought into the
latest stage of transmission in Parts 3 and 4, Abū al-Ḥajjāj
Yūsuf b. Khalīl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Dimashqī (d. 596/1200);[13]
but, because of his death date, he does not advance the chain
any further chronologically. He learned from al-Rārānī and
Abū al-Makārim. Part 5 was transmitted by Abū al-Ḥajjāj, in
part from Abū al-Makārim, and the rest from al-Rārānī. In
Part 6 Abū al-Makārim does not appear, but al-Rārānī and Abū
al-Ḥajjāj provide the latest links. In Parts 7 and 8 al-Rārānī
alone is listed. Part 9 shows a more complicated picture: Abū
al-Makārim and al-Rārānī are joined by an older contemporary,
Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Ṣaydalānī (d. 568/1172-
73).[14] Abū al-Ḥajjāj received part of this section from Abū
al-Makārim and the rest from al-Rārānī and al-Ṣaydalānī.

Part 10 is the responsibility of Abū al-Makārim and
al-Ṣaydalānī, who also passed it on to a younger contemporary,
Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad
al-Maqdisī.[15] Abū al-Makārim and al-Ṣaydalānī alone are men-
tioned as responsible for Part 11. Schematically portrayed,
the above summary is as follows (see below, p. 32):

It is worthy of note that all of the guarantors who
have been identified came from Iṣbahān and its region except
one, Abū al-Ḥajjāj. So the Persian traditionists, having
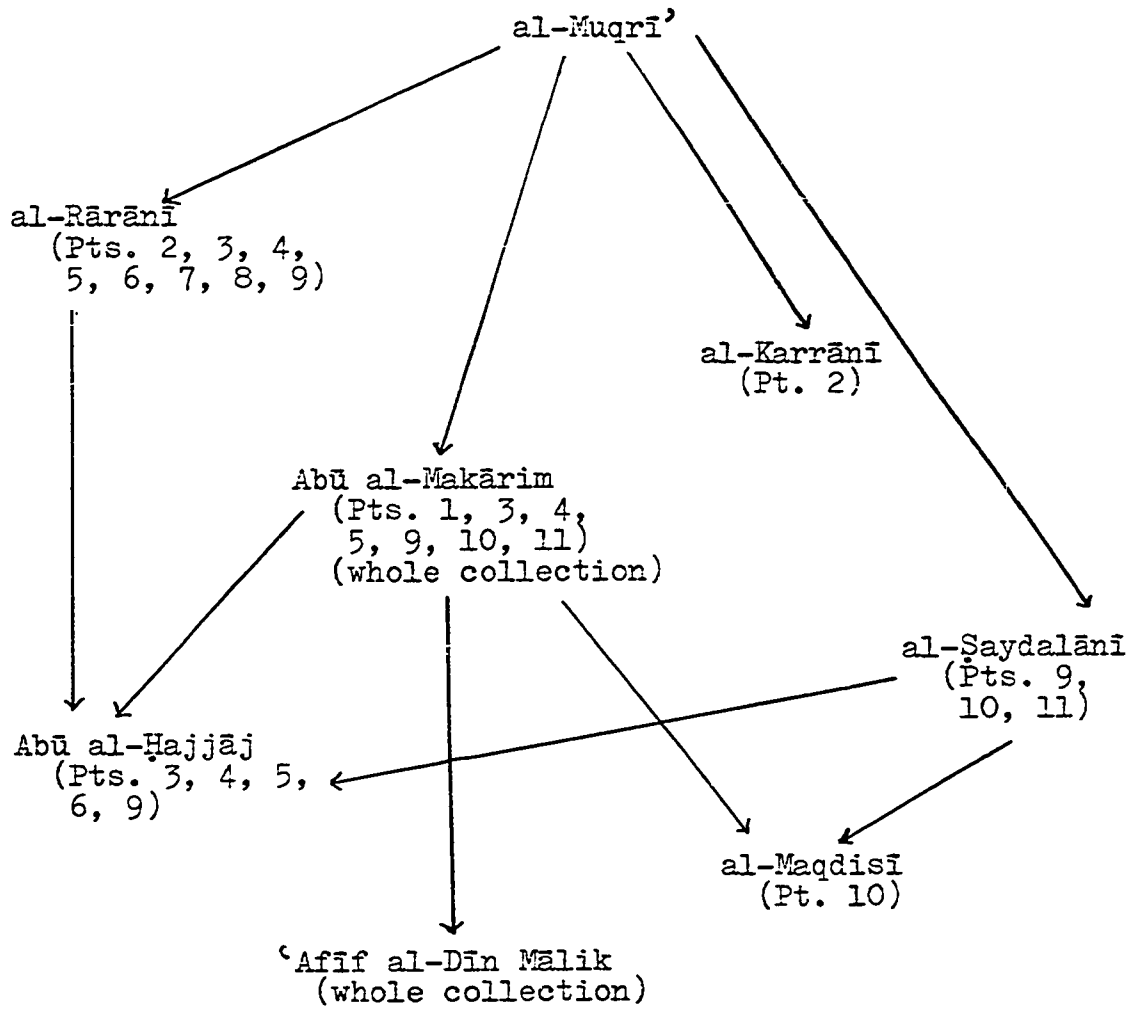taken up the al-Ṭayālisī corpus in the beginning, kept it as

---

[11]Ibid., 332.

[12]Ibid., 323. The editors of the Musnad write
al-Dārinī (elsewhere, al-Rāzī) for al-Rārānī.

[13]Ibid., 333.

[14]Ibid., 228.

[15]Not yet identified.

al-Muqrī'

al-Rārānī
(Pts. 2, 3, 4,
5, 6, 7, 8, 9)

al-Karrānī
(Pt. 2)

Abū al-Makārim
(Pts. 1, 3, 4,
5, 9, 10, 11)
(whole collection)

al-Ṣaydalānī
(Pts. 9,
10, 11)

Abū al-Ḥajjāj
(Pts. 3, 4, 5,
6, 9)

al-Maqdisī
(Pt. 10)

ʿAfīf al-Dīn Mālik
(whole collection)

a living tradition within their community at least down to the
end of the sixth/thirteenth century.

The next external feature of the _Musnad_ to examine is
the arrangement of the authorities' names and the number of
traditions reported from each. This task is facilitated by
the consecutive numbering of the _hadīth_ from one through 2767,
and by the setting off of the Companion's or Successor's
(_tābiʿ_) name that stands at the head of each group of texts
for which he is responsible. For the larger groups, sub-
divisions are shown under the heading of each of several
Successors who reported traditions from a particular Companion.
For example, the fifty-one _hadīth_ noted from ʿAbd Allāh b.
ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (nos. 2245-95) are subdivided under six author-
ities who reported traditions from this Companion. In addi-
tion, the larger collections contain sections of _hadīth_ called
afrād, singular, _fard_, that is, those which were reported from
the Companion by one Successor only.[16] Only a few of the
texts are misplaced. Several from ʿUmar are wrongly inserted
in the midst of those from ʿAlī (nos. 133-41). The only two
hadīth included from Sahl b. Abū Ḥathma are separated widely
from each other (nos. 1234 and 1342). Both manuscripts used
to prepare this edition lack a large part of Section Four.
Text no. 973 breaks off suddenly, and all traditions are
missing from eight of the authorities listed at the head of
the Section.[17]

It has been noted above[18] that both Ibn Ḥanbal and
al-Ṭayālisī modify the conventional arrangement of _musnad_

---

[16]This is the simplest definition of a term whose
precise meaning is variously understood. Cf. James Robson,
"Traditions from Individuals," _Journal of Semitic Studies_,
IX (1964), 327-40.

[17]The editor writes of this lacuna on p. 392 n.

[18]p. 22.

material. Also these two collections differ from each other
in the way that they line up their authorities. Both begin
with the ten personages who were promised Paradise, headed by
the four Rightly-Guided Caliphs. Then in Ibn Ḥanbal there
follow four Companions without any common features, only one of
whom, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr, is found in al-Ṭayālisī
(no. 1326).[19] On the other hand, in al-Ṭayālisī we find that
the authorities which follow "The Ten" are arranged generally
in accordance with their renown as transmitters of traditions
and very roughly in descending order according to the number
of texts which they are reputed to have passed on.[20] This
gradation holds true for the first approximately eighty
authorities, but after that, and until the section reserved
for women, it is difficult to discern any order in arrangement.
This is unlike Ibn Ḥanbal, whose collection contains large
sections devoted to authorities from the family of the Prophet,
to those from Mecca, from Medina, from Syria, etc. Likewise
there is a great disparity between the two collections in
regard to the proportion of authorities cited to the total
number of pages. In Ibn Ḥanbal approximately 700 Companions
and Successors are given in 2,881 pages of material, whereas
in al-Ṭayālisī the _ḥadīth_ of 281 authorities take up only
361 pages. Thus it seems obvious that the latter collection
represents a concern for giving a minimum number of traditions
from the greatest possible number of authorities, within cer-
tain limits, either self-imposed by the compilers or inherent
in al-Ṭayālisī's standpoint as a traditionist. As evidence

---

[19]The details of Ibn Ḥanbal's arrangement are found
in Ignaz Goldziher, "Neue Materialen zur Literatur des
Überlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern," _Zeitschrift der
Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft_, L (1896), 465-506.

[20]This observation is based on the list given by
al-Jawzī in _Talqīḥ Fuhūm Ahl al-Athar_, and reproduced by
Muḥammad Zubayr Ṣiddīqī in _Ḥadīth Literature_, pp. 22-27.

supporting this conclusion, we note that Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who according to al-Jawzī, reported 1170 hadīth[21] is represented by only 95 in the Musnad. Similarly, the immense number of traditions attributed to Abū Hurayra, Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and others, is sharply reduced in al-Ṭayālisī. Of the 150 or 155 hadīth attributed to Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, only 13 are admitted as authentic by al-Bukhārī and Muslim.[22] al-Ṭayālisī's Musnad reports precisely 13 hadīth from this Companion. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī is credited with 31 authentic traditions by the Two Ṣaḥīḥ (Ṣaḥīḥān), out of a total of 281.[23] The Musnad has 41. Most of the 281 Companions and Successors cited as primary guarantors are represented by fewer than ten texts each.

al-Ṭayālisī has few traditions reported by anonymous authorities. These abound in Ibn Ḥanbal. The Musnad reproduces only a small number of hadīth about the Companions, again a striking omission when compared with later collections. There is practically nothing in the Musnad which is not found in later books of the Jāmiʿ and the Sunan types.[24] These facts constitute testimony to the critical limitation of material by those who compiled it.

---

[21] Ṣiddīqī, op. cit., p. 26.

[22] Ibid.; EI[2], I, 108-09.

[23] Ibid., 114.

[24] EI[1], IV, 708. Here A. J. Wensinck gives the names of several figures in the life of the Prophet, about whom no traditions are given in al-Ṭayālisī. Wensinck's figure of 600 Companions in this collection is incorrect. He probably arrived at it by counting all of the names in the index of the Ḥaydarābād edition, which includes the names of Successors figuring as second links in the chains of transmission.

There does not seem to be sufficient evidence for the
assertion by Ṣiddīqī[25] that the _Musnad_ is arranged as follows:

1. The First Four Caliphs
2. The Participants at the Battle of Badr
3. The Emigrants (_muhājirūn_)
4. The Medinan Allies (_anṣār_)
5. The Women
6. The Younger Companions

For example, immediately after "The Ten" we find Ḥudayfa b.
Yamān, not a Badrī. Then, about halfway through the collection,
an almost random check reveals such arrangement as a convert
from the time of the al-Ḥudaybīya expedition (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān
b. ʿUthmān,[26] no. 1183) followed by an emigrant to Abyssinia
(Maʿmar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naḍla,[27] nos. 1184-85), then a warrior
of Badr and an _anṣārī_ (Muḥammad b. Maslama,[28] no. 1186),
followed by another early believer and emigrant to Abyssinia
(Muʿayqīb b. Abū Fāṭima,[29] no. 1187). Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī
(nos. 444-485), who figures early in the compilation, was not
a Badrī. There seems to be a slight tendency to group
Successors in the latter part of the collection, before the
section of women. However this is not a clear pattern, for
early believers, emigrants to Abyssinia and Badrīyūn are mixed

---

[25]_Op.cit._, pp. 74,75. Also it should be noted that
this author does not accurately describe the Ḥaydarābād edition
as being based on two manuscripts. He mentions only the older
manuscript preserved in Patna (p. 74).

[26]Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, _al-Istīʿāb fī Maʿrifat al-Aṣḥāb_,
II, 840.

[27]_Ibid._, III, 1434.

[28]_Ibid._, III, 1377.

[29]_Ibid._, IV, 1478.

in with the others without any apparent plan. After the section
of women the compilers clearly group seven of the more prolific
younger Companions, Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar,
Anas b. Mālik, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b.
al-ʿĀṣ, Abū Hurayra and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās. These guarantors,
at the end of the Musnad, constitute the largest collections
in the book, along with that of ʿĀʾisha in the section of women.

So it would seem that after bowing to the convention
of placing "The Ten" at the head of the collection, grouping
the women together,[30] as well as the younger Companions, the
compilers arranged most of the authorities in a non-rigorous
way, roughly according to the quantity of material that was
attributed to them.

A closer examination of the guarantors chosen reveals
what may be a limitation imposed by al-Ṭayālisī's standpoint
as a traditionist. Many, if not most, of the Companions and
Successors came to be identified with a particular locality
after the death of Muḥammad. There occurred large scale
emigrations to al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra, Syria, Egypt and elsewhere.
Not only did the Companions and Successors settle in different
localities on the frontiers of the expanding Muslim empire, but
certain ones, even if they did not live in a place, came to
be associated with that town, because of the fact that its
traditionists recited hadīth from those particular individuals.
So the biographical compilers, such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr[31] and
Ibn Ḥajar[32] report that so-and-so (a Companion) was numbered

---

[30]In Ibn Ḥanbal the women are at the very end of the
collection. In al-Ḥumaydī's Musnad their section is placed
early, immediately after "The Ten" and five other prominent
figures, and before the anṣār.

[31]Op. cit.

[32]Kitāb al-Iṣāba fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba, ed. by Aloys
Sprenger et al.

with the people of such-and-such a place, or that the people
of such-and-such a place recited traditions from him. Of those
guarantors in al-Ṭayālisī who do not belong to the stereotyped
categories of "The Ten," the women and the younger Companions,
and who can be identified with a particular locality, a little
over one-half belong to al-Baṣra and to al-Kūfa and its region.
Approximately one-fifth cannot be clearly connected with a city,
and the rest are counted with the people of Syria, Medina,
Mecca, etc. Tentatively it may be affirmed that the choice of
authorities in al-Ṭayālisī, looking only at the original
guarantors, indicates a clear dependence on the traditions
which emanated from the area near the home of the traditionist.
We have already seen that he did not travel in search of hadīth.
These observations point to the importance of the oral trans-
mission of traditions in the case of al-Ṭayālisī.[33] Ibn
Ḥanbal, depending more on written records, could furnish his
compilers with vast accumulations of material from every corner
of the empire. In fact, Goldziher cites at least three examples
of hadīth in Ibn Ḥanbal where books are mentioned, as well as
cases where the literary expression amlā (to dictate) is used
to introduce a text. These citations, as well as others which
give clear examples of variant reading due to handwriting
errors, point to dependence upon written sources.[34] Such
dependence is minimal in al-Ṭayālisī. No doubt a careful
examination of al-Ṭayālisī's chains of transmission would
reveal more precisely the pattern and scope of his work as a
traditionist. In this study our concern has been merely to

---

[33]Charles Pellat proposes, in the case of al-Baṣra,
that the presence of an important contingent of Companions in
that city inspired the emergence and nurture of a local legacy
of hadīth (Le Milieu Basrien et la Formation de Ğāḥiz,
pp. 83-89).

[34]Op. cit., pp. 475-76.

show that the guarantors represented in the _Musnad_ and the order of their arrangement in the book help to differentiate this collection from others of the same kind.

CHAPTER IV

THE FORMS OF EXPRESSION IN THE

MUSNAD OF AL-ṬAYĀLISĪ

Turning from the personalities involved in the trans-
mission of hadīth, we look now at the various ways in which
the traditions are expressed. Their forms of expression are
so deceptively simple that most scholars have overlooked them.
Those who write about hadīth usually pass over the subject of
their forms of expression with remarks about their brevity,
informality, or simplicity, and their conversational, personal,
aphoristic,laconic or abrupt nature.[1]

Such cavalier regard for the hadīth genre is in marked
contrast to the meticulous text (matn) criticism in which the
ancient Muslim scholars engaged.[2] By a curious bias, Western
scholars have perpetrated the widely accepted notion that
Muslims naïvely recognize almost any hadīth as authentic,
provided that its chain of transmission is sound. For example,
Goldziher asserts that all of Muslim criticism of the hadīth
is based on the soundness of the isnād, and that nothing is

_____

[1]For example, EI[1], II, 190; Abbott, op. cit., I, 7;
Fazlur Rahman, "Sunnah and Hadīth," Islamic Studies, I (1962),
31; Sir William Muir, The Life of Mohammad from Original
Sources,p. xlv; Aloys Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre des
Mohammad: Nach Bisher Grösstenteils Unbenutzten Quellen, III,
lxxxvi. The last-named author adds that, although the hadīth
seem strange to us, they are written in an ingenious manner.

[2]To cite but two of the best known works: al-Ḥākim
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nīsābūrī, Kitāb
Maʿrifat ʿUlūm al-Hadīth; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Kitāb
al-Kifāya fī ʿIlm al-Riwāya.

40

said about the content of the traditions.[3] Only recently have statements modifying this view begun to appear.[4]

It is obvious from a perusal of the manuals of _hadīth_ studies that Muslim scholars were concerned with the text and its authenticity, apart from the chain of transmission. We see evidence of a critical spirit regarding the _matn_ in their discussions of exact verbal transmission of texts vis-à-vis transmission of the meaning only;[5] the practice of changing the order of words or expressions, as well as adding to the texts or shortening them.[6] Following are some titles of sections in manuals which further reveal a far from naïve grasp of the problem of oral tradition.

The Knowledge of the Additions of Legal Words to Traditions, which Additions are Attested by a Single Guarantor[7]

The Knowledge of Errors in the Texts[8]

---

[3]_Etudes sur la Tradition Islamique_, p. 172.

[4]e.g. Abbott, _op. cit._, II, 75, 76, who points out that originally it was the _matn_ (text) which was circulated alone, without _isnād_.

[5]al-Baghdādī, _op. cit._, pp. 198-203; Marçais, _op. cit._, XVIII (1901), 66.

[6]al-Baghdādī, _op. cit._, 165-203.

[7]al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, _op. cit._, pp. 130-35.

[8]_Ibid._, pp. 146-49.

The Disagreement as to Whether or Not Hadīth Should
be Cited as Evidence in Matters of Language and
Grammar[9]

The Secret of the Repetition of Hadīth in the Jāmiʿ
Collections, the Sunan and the Musnad Ones[10]

In Ibn al-ʿImād's Shadharāt al-Dhahab[11] can be found a discussion of the technical terms connected with matn criticism.

In all of this concern, however, the Muslim scholars
were more preoccupied with variant readings of the texts and
with the nature and degree of their modification than with
their actual structure. Such lack of interest in the forms of
expression may be explained by the fact that the hadīth were
not considered to be literature, but were seen as a living
tradition, whose structure was not at all fixed.[12] This
observation leads directly to the important statement that in
the hadīth we have to do with material which was originally
transmitted orally. Because of the insights of folklorists,
Biblical critics and others, who have revealed the richness
and significance of non-written traditions, we can now define
the hadīth as oral literature. This is notwithstanding the
fact that they are found today only in written form. In fact,
Jan Vansina asserts that an oral testimony written down is
just as much the result of an oral tradition as one that is

---

[9] Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī, Qawāʿid al-Tahdīth min Funūn Mustalah al-Hadīth, ed. by Muhammad Bahjat al-Baytār, pp. 229-31.

[10] Ibid., pp. 226-28.

[11] I, 221ff.

[12] Here may be appropriately quoted the famous testimony of Ibn Sīrīn: "I used to hear a tradition from ten guarantors with the same meaning, but with different words." (Ibn Saʿd, op. cit., VII, i, 141.)

not written.[13] Researchers in the field of early Anglo-Saxon literature have confirmed this assertion.[14] In the case of the Biblical tradition, the oral testimonies underwent basic changes as they were put down in writing, since they were incorporated into large literary wholes, to become parts of connected discourses or narratives which were composed in writing.[15] This was not the case with the Islamic _hadīth_. It is not yet possible to trace with complete confidence the steps in the development of _hadīth_ until they were committed to writing in the authoritative collections. However, using the insights of scholarship in other oral literatures of the world, we may suppose that the first period was one of free, oral composition, free in the sense that there was no fixed text, and yet naturally limited to a few fixed forms of expression. This limitation was due to the bounds of human memory and in the interest of public recitation to a pre-literate public.

The second stage was probably the codevelopment of written transmission along with intensive cultivation of oral transmission. The sources confirm the parallel courses of these two kinds of transmission.[16] It the Muslims conformed to the practice of other peoples who created oral literature, they

---

[13]_Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology_, trans, by H. M. Wright, p. 53.

[14]Francis P. Magoun, Jr., "Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry," _Speculum_, XXVIII (1953), 446-67.

[15]Klaus Koch, _The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical Method_, p. 89.

[16]Abbott, _op. cit._, pp. 57, 82.

probably improvised in their transmission of oral testimonies.[17] This improvisation was under fairly strict control, however, both due to the limited number of forms of expression and to the concomitant development of written transmission. So there was certainly no "uncontrolled fluidity"[18] in this emerging tradition. In fact the control exercised upon the hadīth texts seems to have been reciprocal by the two types of transmission. Abbott has rightly emphasized the fundamental importance of written sources,[19] and by doing this has helped to balance the picture of the process of transmission. On the other hand, she has not taken sufficiently into account the basic premise of H. S. Nyberg, a Biblical scholar and Islamicist, that the orally transmitted text served as a control or norm for the written.[20] In studying the works of hadīth science it is far from clear which kind of transmission was considered as the norm for the other. For modern scholarship it seems to go without saying that if there were written sources then they were certainly the controlling element in the transmission. Abbott has produced evidence that hadīth achieved a normative written form as early as the time of al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), and the later Umayyads.[21] However,

---

[17]Charles H. Lohr, "Oral Techniques in the Gospel of Matthew," The Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXIII (1961), 408, citing C. M. Bowra; Hector Munro Chadwick and Nora Kershaw Chadwick, The Growth of Literature, III, 868.

[18]Abbott, op. cit., p. 82.

[19]This is also the main argument of Fuad Sezgin in Buhārī'nin Kaynaklari: Hakkinda Arastirmalar.

[20]Cited in J. van der Ploeg, "Le Rôle de la Tradition Orale dans la Transmission du Texte de l'Ancien Testament," Revue Biblique, LIX (1947), 6.

[21]Op. cit., p. 83.

Nyberg's thesis seems borne out when we read that some scholars stipulated that only _hadīth_ reported by memory could be used as legal arguments. Blind guarantors were considered by many to be especially reliable. When a student recited before a master it was preferred that the latter did not follow with a book before him, and if another student followed the recitation with a book, it was better for two others to be giving their entire attention to following the recitation with their memories. In the event that there was a divergence between what a guarantor remembered and what he had written, if he had memorized it from the manuscript, then the written version prevailed. If not, then his memory prevailed.[22]

So the second stage of _hadīth_ transmission proceeded with great fecundity, but, at the same time, with effective controls. The passage of time and the development of another type of control, namely, _isnād_ criticism, led to the third and final stage when the texts became fixed in writing and confined to the authoritative collections.

The preceding discussion of _hadīth_ as oral literature points to a possible reason why they have been neglected as a literary genre. In general, scholars trained in the Western tradition are accustomed to a rich literary heritage of works originally written down for the purpose of being read. Obviously, when confronted with a mass of isolated, short texts in a collection of _hadīth_, they notice only how monotonous they seem to be, how poor in vocabulary,[23] and artless in style. The _hadīth_ were created to be told, recited, and when they were finally written down they were put in that medium to be recited, not simply to be read. They retain, even in their present form, all of the atomistic, repetitive,

---

[22]al-Baghdādī, _op. cit._, pp. 61, 63, 201, 65.

[23]Such is the judgment of T. Sabbagh, _La Métaphore dans le Coran_, p. 42.

formulaic, stylized nature of tiny, individual units, each intended to convey an integral message.

If these texts were once relatively fluid in form, they are such no more; they are frozen forever. We shall attempt to analyze their structural patterns as we find them in al-Ṭayālisī, being confident that the same forms exist in all of the other collections. This particular book is chosen simply as a starting point because of its accessibility.

For the purposes of this analysis every one of the 2767 numbered texts in al-Ṭayālisī has been examined. However, in making observations and comparisons, in describing correlations and interrelationships, no effort will be made to account for every single hadīth. At least four of the total number we have not understood at all, and in the case of others, although the subject matter and structure may be clear, the precise meaning may have escaped us. Moreover, a few anomalies were noted. There is no text corresponding to no. 2054. Many hadīth have lacunae, but all of such except no. 2604 can at least be interpreted and classified. In a few cases two or more independent and occasionally unrelated texts are found under one number (e.g. 1760, 2354). In one such instance, no. 633, we have numbered the second of the two texts as 633a. In the other cases we have only classified the first text of the group.

The structures of these texts may be classified into three precise categories. There are declaratory types of expression, imperative types and reportorial types. Under these three types we have identified twenty-three separate forms, without in any sense insisting that this is the only way to classify them. It will be obvious that this classification is concerned as much with what Vansina calls the "internal pattern of arrangement" of the texts,[24] as with external features of syntax, rhetoric and vocabulary.

_____

[24]Op. cit., p. 57.

This internal structure is described in literary categories
which themselves manifest the influence of content upon the
forms of expression. So the combination of external linguistic features with literary patterns and meaning makes possible
a flexible definition of form.[25]

None of the twenty-three forms identified has more
than approximately 340 examples in the collection. This in
itself is significant evidence for a certain variety of
expression within what seems to be a restricted and monotonous
range when presented in writing. Eight of the forms are fairly
equally represented. There are cases, especially in the more
complex types of expression, where two, and occasionally more,
forms can be found in the same text. In such cases, we have
identified only the predominant one.

Under declaratory types two subdivisions are seen,
literal affirmations and rhetorical ones. In outline we have:

I. Declaratory Types
    A. Literal Affirmations
        1. Statements
           These are either directly or indirectly quoted from
           Muḥammad or from a Companion. They are very often
           short, even without an introduction.

           Sulaymān b. Burayda from his father:[26] that the
           Apostle of God gave permission to visit the graves.
           (807)

           Some prominent uses and features of this form are
           as follows.

---

[25]Ibid., pp. 51, 52, with references to E. Bernheim,
A. Feder and W. Bauer; Koch, op. cit., p. 5n., with references
to A. Alt and H. Gunkel.

[26]In citing examples the intermediate links in the
chains of transmission will be omitted.

a) Definitions or Clarifications

> Abū Saʿīd: The Apostle of God said, "The Night of Power (<u>Laylat al-Qadr</u>) is the night of the twenty-fourth.[27] (2167)

> Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "Wine comes from these two trees, from the palm tree and from the grape vine." (2569)

b) Negative Statements

These usually employ the exceptive formula,[28]

<u>lā . . . illā . . .</u>

> al-Ṣaʿb b. Jaththāma: The Prophet said, "There is no protection except in God and in His Apostle." (1230)

c) The Comparative Formula

> Jubayr b. Muṭʿim: The Prophet said, "Prayer in this, my mosque, is better than a thousand prayers (or he said, "a hundred") in another one, unless it be the Mosque of al-Ḥarām."[29] (950)

d) The Superlative Formula

> Samura b. Jundub: The Apostle of God said: "The best medical treatment is cupping." (890)

---

[27]Of the month of Ramaḍān.

[28]By formula is meant a short conventionalized expression, syntactical or artistic, within a literary form, but not necessarily belonging uniquely to any particular form (cf. Koch, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 5, for the understanding of "formula" in Biblical studies).

[29]In Jerusalem.

e) Increasing Complexity

Subordinate clauses are used as well as a minimum of description and elaboration upon the original thought. This complexity falls short of constituting a sermon or discourse, however.

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: I heard the Apostle of God say, "Verily, O People, deeds are according to their intention. Every man does what he intends to do. Whoever goes out after (hijra) God and His Apostle has inclined toward God and His Apostle. Whoever goes out after the world wins it, or whoever goes out after a woman marries her. So, one's inclination is toward that after which he goes out." (37)

f) Short Introductions

These give either the circumstances in which the statement was made, or indicate something particular about the Companion who quoted it.

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh: I heard the Apostle of God say, three days before his death, "No one dies but that he has good thoughts toward God." (1779)

ʿAlī: I would rather fall from the sky than tell you something purporting to be what the Apostle of God said, when it is really my own opinion. Verily, war is deception. (105)

2. Conditional Promises

The most important patterns are as follows.

a) The condition is introduced by man (whoever).

Abū Hurayra: The Prophet said, "Whoever reads Yā Sīn[30] in a night, seeking the face of God, will have his sins forgiven." (2467)

---

[30]Chapter 36 of the Qurʾān.

b) The condition and the promise are introduced by
the exceptive formulae: <u>mā min . . . illā</u> or
<u>lā . . . illā</u>.

Thawbān: I heard the Apostle of God say, "There
is no Muslim who prostrates himself (in prayer)
but that by virtue of that prostration God will
elevate him a degree and reduce his sin." (986)

c) The condition is introduced by <u>idhā</u> (when, if).

Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī: The Apostle of God said,
"When a man emancipates his female slave, and then
trains her in a new skill, he receives a double
reward." (501)

d) The condition is introduced by <u>in</u> (if).

Anas b. Mālik: The Prophet said that God said,
"If a man draws near to me by the space of a span,
I draw near to him by the space of a cubit; and
if he draws near to me by the space of a cubit,
I draw near to him by the space of a fathom."
(1967)

e) The condition is introduced by <u>law</u> (if only).

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: I heard the Apostle of God
say, "If only you would trust completely in God,
He would provide for you as He does for the birds,
who come hungry and go away fully satisfied."
(139)

f) The condition is the subject of a simple nominal
sentence, and the promise is the predicate.

Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "The prayer
of a wronged person is heard; and if he is a
sinner (<u>fājir</u>), then his sin is upon himself."
(2330)

3. Prophecies

Sometimes they are mentioned as having been part of
a sermon (khutba). If it were not for their dis-
tinctive content, these texts might have been classi-
fied under I. A. 1., Literal Affirmative Statements.
However, their frequent use of the following formulae
seems to justify their being isolated from the other
statements.

a) lā yazāl (there shall not cease)

This expression is used especially in prophecies
concerning the Muslim community.

Qurra b. Khālid: The Apostle of God said, "If
the people of Syria are corrupt then there is no
good in you. A portion of my nation will continue
to be victorious, unharmed by the others until the
time of the end." (1076)

b) fī ākhir al-zamān (at the end of time) (434)

c) bayn yaday al-sāʿa (in the presence of the
Judgment Day) (803)

d) min ashrāt al-sāʿa (among the portents of the
Judgment Day) (1171)

e) lā taqūm al-sāʿa hatta (the Judgment Day will not
come until . . .) (439)

f) ilā yawm al-qiyāma (until the Day of Resurrection)
(1245)

g) hatta yalqaw Allāh (until they meet God) (228)

h) hattā yāʾtī amr Allāh (until God's decree is
accomplished) (38)

B. Rhetorical Affirmations

Because of their content and purpose, they are couched
in stylized language.

1. Epigrams

Some of these are preceded by circumstantial details.
(507, 1412). All are spoken by Muhammad himself,
except one (1755), which is attributed to the angel
Gabriel.

a) Simple Affirmations

> Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī: The Apostle of God said,
> "Paradise lies in the shadow of the swords."
> (530)

b) Comparative and Superlative Formulae

> 'Ā'isha: The most significant thing about
> marriage is its blessing; the least significant
> thing about it is its encumbrance. (1427)

c) The Imperative Mood

This use is for epigrammatic effect, and therefore
not strictly an Injunction form. The example
given below can also be classified under Rhymes
and under Conditional Promises, thus illustrating
the difficulty, rarely encountered, of deciding
upon the proper classification.

> Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "O, Abū
> Hurayra, pay a visit occasionally, and affection
> will increase." (2535)

2. Metaphorical Assertions

a) With mithl (like)

An explanation of the simile is given. Almost all
of the metaphorical assertions have explanations.
Exceptions are 2391, 1008 and 726.

> Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh: The Apostle of God said,
> "The relationship between myself and the Prophets
> can be compared with a house which a man built
> carefully, but left one brick unlaid. Those who
> visited the house admired it, except for the empty
> space for the one brick. Then I laid the brick.
> I am the Seal of the Prophets." (1785)

b) With ka (as, like)

Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī: The Apostle of God said,
"The believer is to another believer like the
parts of a building that support each other."
(503)

c) Symbolic Acts

ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd: The Apostle of God traced
a line for us and said, "This is the way of God."
Then he traced lines on his right and on his left
and said, "These are ways, and Satan invites men
to go in each one of them." Then he recited the
verse from the Qurʾān, "This is my straight path."[31]
(224)

d) Personifications

ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit: The Apostle of God said,
"When a man performs his prayer well, completing
its bowings and its prostrations, the prayer will
say to him, 'May God keep you, even as you have
kept me.' Then it will rise. But when a man prays
badly, not completing the bowings and the prostra-
tions, then the prayer will say to him, 'May God
neglect you, even as you have neglected me.' Then
it will twist itself around the man like a garment
and he will be struck in the face with it." (585)

3. Rhymes

These are few in number. Several have the nature of

an incantation, and contain obscure words. The rhymes

usually have circumstantial introductions which may

take on a certain literary form themselves (2147,

see below), but it is clear that the hadīth proper

is the rhyme.

Anas b. Mālik: When the Apostle of God drank he
used to breathe three times and say, "It is more
healthful, more wholesome and more healing
(huwa ahnaʾ wa-amraʾ wa-abraʾ)." (2118)

---

[31]Qur. 6:153/154.

> Anas b. Mālik: The Prophet used to go to see my
> mother, Umm Sulaym, and she would give him some-
> thing. One day he went in and my small brother
> was with her. The Prophet saw that he looked sad,
> so he said, "What is wrong with your boy, Umm
> Sulaym?" She said, "O Apostle of God, the little
> bird with which he played has died." Then the
> Prophet said, "O Abū ʿUmayr, the little bird has
> died; fate has carried it away (yā abā ʿUmayr
> māta al-nughayr; atā ʿalayhi al-duhayr)." (2147)

4. Numerical Sayings[32]

The items under consideration are coordinated into
an easily remembered list.[33] The numbers of objects
found together in a list are 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8,
with 3 having the largest number of examples. The
structure of this form is a two-part one. First
there is a statement of what all of the items listed
have in common, and then follows the listing.

> Abū Hurayra: My friend, that is, the Prophet,
> commanded me concerning three things: fasting
> three days in a month, prayer in the night before
> sleeping (witr) and two bowings (rakʿa) at the
> morning prayer time (duhan). (2447)

> Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "A Muslim's
> claim from his brother is fivefold: returning the
> salutation, visiting the sick, following the bier,
> saying amīn to the imām (prayer leader) and
> blessing (tashmīt) the one who sneezes." (2299)

5. Antithetical Assertions

The ideas are contrasted by parallel arrangements of
words or sentences.

a) A positive idea is contrasted with a negative one.

---

[32]This term is taken from W. W. M. Roth, Numerical
Sayings in the Old Testament: A Form-Critical Study, Supple-
ments to Vetus Testamentum, Vol. XIII.

[33]Ibid., p. 95.

Ibn ʿUmar: The Apostle of God said, "Whoever drinks wine in the world will not drink it in the hereafter, unless he repents." (1857)

b) Two positive ideas are contrasted.

Abū Hurayra: The Prophet said, "Whoever obeys my commander (amīr) obeys me, and whoever disobeys my commander disobeys me." (2432)

c) The second of the two contrasting ideas is implied only.

Saʿd b. Nufayl: I heard the Apostle of God say, "Whoever does not believe in me does not believe in God, and whoever does not love the allies (ansār) does not believe in me." (242)

6. Prayers

All except two (178 and 373) of these are attributed to Muḥammad. Nearly all of them are preceded by some kind of circumstantial setting. Muḥammad prays for himself and for others, asking for both spiritual and material blessings. One prayer is entirely composed of praise to God (374). It is not always easy to tell whether a prayer is intended to be an exemplary action or whether it is simply an affirmation taken from the personal experience of the Prophet. Some of the prayers will be classified in a later category of exemplary actions, where it is obvious that they are cited primarily as a model for the community. For example, in no. 1179 the Companion expressly states that Muḥammad taught them a prayer, saying . . ., etc.

ʿAlī: The Prophet used to say in his night prayer (witr), "O God, I take refuge in your good pleasure from your wrath, in your protection from your punishment. I take refuge in you from yourself.

> Your blessings cannot be calculated, nor can you
> be lauded with praise like that with which you
> glorify yourself." (123)

7. Blessings

> Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh: I heard the Apostle of God
> say, "May God grant pardon to Ghifār and peace to
> Aslām" (note the play on the names of the tribes:
> <u>Ghifār ghafara Allāh lahā wa Aslam sālamaha
> Allāh</u>). (1766)

8. Eulogistic Statements

These usually affirm that someone or something is the
best, the most noble, the most truthful, the most
excellent, etc.

> Ibn ʿUmar: I heard the Apostle of God say that
> Usāma was the most beloved person to him, Fāṭima
> or anyone else not excepted. (1812)

9. Curses

A threefold pattern is seen in the fullest develop-
ment: motivation, formula of the curse and conse-
quences. Not all examples have this full development,
however.

> ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: I heard the Apostle of God
> say in a sermon, "Whoever monopolizes the food
> market of the Muslims, may God inflict him with
> leprosy (or with bankruptcy)."[34] (55)

10. Discourses

Pellat affirms[35] that in the early period of Islam,

---

[34]Probably a variant reading inserted by one of the
guarantors.

[35]<u>Op. cit.</u>, p. 145.

before Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 140/758 or 145/762), the
only artistic prose to be found among the Arabs was
that contained in sermons (khutba) and in the dis-
courses of the story-tellers (qussās). A few examples
of this kind of material are found in al-Ṭayālisī.
They are the longest of the texts, some taking up a
page or more of space (753, 1079). Also they are
often identified in the circumstantial introductions
as being either a khutba or a hadīth (in the sense of
a speech). One example is called a mawʿiza (spiritual
counsel) (2638). They use far more descriptive
language than do other types. The different thoughts
or short sections are sometimes introduced by the use
of the intensifying interjection a lā. They may
contain several other forms within them, but they
give the effect of a connected discourse. At the
same time they are distinct from the lengthy narra-
tive forms, which will be discussed as another
category.

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: The Apostle of God delivered
a sermon to us after the mid-afternoon prayer
(ʿasr) until the sun had almost gone down. Some
remembered the sermon and some forgot it. He said,
"The world is green and sweet. God has appointed
you as His representatives in it, He sees how you
act. Be careful of the world, and be careful of
women. The children of Adam we created according
to classes, some are born believers, live as
unbelievers and die as unbelievers. Some are born
unbelievers, live as unbelievers and die as
believers. Others are born believers, live as
believers, and die as unbelievers.
"The best of merchants is the one who pays his
debts properly and makes discreet demands for a
debt owed him. The worst of merchants is the one
who pays badly and makes unreasonable demands on

his debtors, or who pays badly and asks discreetly of his debtors.[36]   In the latter case one trait offsets the other.

"The worst of men is the one who is swift to anger and slow to become calm. The one who is swift to anger and swift to become calm has the one trait to offset the other. But in the same way, the one who is slow to anger and slow to become calm has one trait to offset the other.

"Anger is a burning coal in the bosom of the child of Adam. Have you not seen the redness of his eyes and the swelling of his neck veins? And so, when it is thus, take warning.

"Every traitor has a flag according to the extent of his treachery." Then al-Ḥasan said, "It will be erected on his backside." And he returned to the ḥadīth of Abū Saʿīd. He said, "There is no treachery greater than that of a ruler of the common people. Let not fear of the people prevent a man from speaking the truth when he knows it.

"There remains no more of the world in relation to what is past than remains of this, your day, in relation to what has past of it." (2156)

II. Imperative Types

The imperative mood is used or else the effect of command, injunction or prescription is given. Included here are most of the legal and cultic regulations. They contain little more than the bare imperative. Almost nothing of motivation is stated.

A. Injunctions

1. Prescriptions

The indicative mood is used. Sometimes the expression is negative, without being a clear prohibition.

Ibn Masʿūd: The major ritual ablution (ghusl) is a part of the Prophetic example (sunna). (391)

---

[36]Although this is what the sentence says, its meaning obviously is that the designation, "worst of merchants," refers to the one described in the first clause, whereas the second clause applies to a merchant whose good and bad traits are counterbalanced, as pointed out in the following sentence.

Ibn ʿUmar: The Prophet said, " A man who has means that he has willed to others should not spend more than two nights away from home without having his will in writing in his possession." (1841)

2. Simple Imperatives

Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī: The Prophet said, "Feed the hungry, relieve the distressed and visit the sick." (489)

3. Imperatives with idhā (when, if)

Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: The Apostle of God said to me, "O Abū Dharr, when you fast three days in a month, make them the thirteenth, the fourteenth and the fifteenth days." (475)

4. Imperatives with mān . . . fal . . . (whoever . . . let him . . .)

Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "Whoever washes a dead person must perform the major ritual ablution, and whoever transports a corpse must perform the ordinary ritual ablution." (2314)

5. Subordinate Clauses after amara (he commanded)

Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: The Apostle of God commanded me to listen to and to obey (as ruler) even an Abyssinian with defective limbs. (452)

6. With Circumstantial Introductions

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh: We were on a journey with the Apostle of God, and when we reached Medina he said to me, "Come to the mosque and pray two bowings in it." (1727)

7. Imperatives with Additional Details

The Injunction is followed by a statement giving the consequence of obedience, or clarifying the command, or enlarging upon it.

> Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: The Apostle of God said,
> "When you make a broth, add more water to it,
> then consider your neighbors and pour out some
> for them as a mark of friendship." (450)

B. Judgments

These are moral and legal decisions and pronouncements,
which convey a sense of obligation. They have a
two-part structure, first, the act or attitude judged,
and second, the consequences of this reprehensible act
or attitude. The syntactical arrangement varies and
sometimes there is a short circumstantial introduction.
Often the pronouncement constitutes a warning rather
than an actual legal decision.

> Abū Bakr: The Prophet said, "Neither a swindler
> nor a traitor will enter Paradise." (8)

> Zayd b. Khalid al-Juhanī: I saw the Apostle of
> God condemn an unmarried man who had committed
> fornication to a hundred lashes and banishment
> for a year. (1332)

C. Prohibitions

1. With naha (to forbid)

With a very few exceptions these are couched in the
third person, saying that Muḥammad forbade
such-and-such.

> Ibn ʿAbbās: Abū al-Bakhtarī said, "I questioned
> Ibn ʿAbbās about forward buying (salam) of date
> palm trees, and he said, 'The Apostle of God
> forbade the selling of date palms until someone[37]
> eats from them (or, until they have been eaten),
> or until they have been weighed.' A man said to
> Ibn ʿAbbās, 'What is meant by weighed?' Another
> man nearby answered, 'It means until they have
> been appraised.'" Abū Dāwud said that

---

[37] A variant reading included in the text.

Shuʿba[38] became angry at this man, saying, "I wish he had stayed quiet until Ibn ʿAbbās spoke." (2722)

Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God forbade the acquisition of female slaves. (2520)

2. With lā (there is not, there is no . . .)

The grammatical construction is a nominative sentence, with use of the exceptive particle illā (except), when the prohibition consists of a qualified negation.

Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "There is to be no prayer after midafternoon (ʿasr) until the sun sets, and there is to be no prayer after the early morning (subh) until the sun rises." (2463)

Ibn al-ʿĀs: The Apostle of God said, "There is to be no divorce, except after marriage, and no emancipation, except after ownership." (2265)

3. Negative Imperatives

Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "Do not set some of the Prophets of God above others." (2366)

4. Negative Statements
In these the prohibition is understood.

Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "Neither the horse of a believer nor his slave can serve as legal alms (sadaqa)." (2527)

III. Reportorial Types
   A. Exemplary Actions
      Muhammad performs most of the actions, but some are attributed to his Companions. In at least one case

---

[38]The guarantor who related this hadīth to al-Ṭayālisī.

it is said that Muhammad did not perform a certain
action, but that Abū Bakr did (2072). It is understood
therefore that, since Muhammad did not expressly oppose
such an action, it is considered as sunna. Expressed in
this form are many duties incumbent upon the community
which are transmitted as concrete acts of the Prophet.
This pattern has a number of examples in which the
locale and circumstances of the action are noted.

1. A simple reportorial statement is made to the effect
   that so-and-so did such-and-such, or that I saw
   so-and-so do such-and-such.

> ʿAlī: During every night the Apostle of God
> prayed (awtara), at the beginning of the night,
> in the middle of it and at the end of it, his
> prayer lasting until dawn. (115)

> Ibn Masʿūd: I saw the Apostle of God saying the
> takbīr[39] every time he lowered his head and raised
> it, and everytime he stood and sat down. He would
> pronounce the taslīm,[40] turning to his right side
> and to his left, so that I could see the whiteness
> of his cheek. I also saw Abū Bakr and ʿUmar do
> likewise." (279)

2. Someone is said to have done something because
   Muhammad did it.

> ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn: ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Shujayr said,
> ʿImrān and I prayed behind ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, and
> he said the takbīr when he prostrated himself,
> when he raised his head, as well as when he got
> up from the two prostrations. When he had
> finished praying he took ʿImrān by the hand and
> said, "We remember this as being the prayer of
> Muhammad." (826)

---

[39]The expression, "God is great."

[40]The expression, "The peace and mercy of God be upon
you."

B. Action and Reaction

This pattern represents the simplest possible form of
narrative. It is in two parts only, with or without
circumstantial introduction. The guarantor reports
that someone did or said something, and then that either
someone else or more rarely, the doer or speaker himself,
reacted to the action or speech in some way.

1. Commonly the reaction constitutes the correction of
   an error in the action.

> Ibn Masʿūd: When we were praying behind the
> Apostle of God we said, "Peace be upon God, peace
> be upon Gabriel, peace be upon Michael." Then
> the Apostle of God turned to us and said, "do not
> say, peace be upon God, for God is peace; but say,
> greetings (taḥīyāt), prayers and good things to
> God; peace be upon you, O Prophet, with God's
> mercy and blessings; peace be upon us and upon
> the righteous servants of God; I witness that there
> is no deity but God, and that Muḥammad is His
> servant and His apostle." (249)

2. The reaction can be a commendation, confirmation or
   justification of the act or speech.

> Abū Masʿūd al-Badrī: A man came to the Prophet
> bringing a bridled she-camel as alms. The Apostle
> of God said to him, "By virtue of this alms you
> will have seven hundred bridled she-camels on the
> Day of Resurrection." (610)

3. The reaction can be an answer to a complaint or a
   request.

> Anas b. Mālik: A man of the ansār said to the
> Prophet, "You put so-and-so in a place of author-
> ity, but you did not do that for me." Then the
> Prophet said, "After me you will see selfishness,
> but persevere until we meet together around the
> Basin (ḥawḍ)."[41] (1969)

---

[41]Eschatological reality.

4. The reaction can be a simple observation.

> Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī: I said, "O Apostle of God, where we are they are making a drink from honey that they call bita' and another one from barley that they call mizr. Both of them are intoxicating." The Prophet said, "Every intoxicating drink is illicit." (497)

C. Question and Answer

In a sense this form belongs to the Action and Reaction category, but because of the important part it plays in the whole collection and the distinctive nature of its interrogative structure it has been classified apart. Many of the questions are addressed to Muhammad, but others are asked of Companions. Sometimes Muhammad asks the question, and when his interlocutor cannot answer the Prophet supplies the information. A large number of this type have rather elaborate introductions, giving the circumstances of the exchange. The Question and Answer form exhibits much variety. At least ten different interrogative particles are used, but a word for "why" is noticeably infrequent in occurrence. The last observation points to a fundamental aspect of the hadīth. They abound in questions, but do not reflect a questioning spirit. The queries recorded have the nature of a conversation among believers seeking information but not moved by any doubts or desire for speculation.[42]

1. The answer is given in a direct quotation.

> Usāma b. Zayd: Zuhra said, "We were seated with Zayd b. Thābit; then they sent to Usāma b. Zayd to ask him about the middle prayer (wustā). He said, "It is the noon prayer (zuhr); the Apostle of God used to perform it during the midday heat." (628)

---

[42]This thought came out of a conversation with Professor Willem A. Bijlefeld.

2. The answer is given in an indirect quotation.

> ‘Alī: ‘Āsim b. Ḍamra said, "I questioned ‘Alī about Muḥammad's prayer, and he recalled that the Prophet prayed four bowings before and two bowings after noontime (zuhr); and four bowings before the afternoon hour (‘asr)." (128)

3. Muḥammad either asks a question or provokes the asking of one, and then answers it.

> Abū Ayyūb: The Prophet said to him, "O Abū Ayyūb, would you not like for me to indicate to you an alms which would be an object of pleasure to God and to His Apostle?" "Why, yes," he said. So the Prophet said, "It is to reconcile people who have become antagonistic toward each other and to bring together those who have become separated." (598)

4. There may be a series of questions and answers, or an extended interrogation.

> Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh: A man said, "O Apostle of God, what is the best Islam?" He answered, "For the Muslims to be protected with your tongue and with your hand," or he answered,[43] "The one who protects the Muslims with his tongue and with his hand." The man said, "O Apostle of God, what is the most excellent witness?" He said, "That your charger should be wounded and your blood poured out." Then he said, "And what prayer is the most excellent?" He replied, "The prolonging of humble supplication (qunūt)." (1777)

5. Words are used which do not introduce direct questions, but which imply interrogations.

> Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allāh: We mentioned to the Apostle of God that various animals passed in front of us while we were praying. He said, "Let one of you

---

[43] A variant reading.

put in front of him something like the back of a
camel saddle, and then whatever passes in front
of him will not do him any harm." (231)

D. Statement, Question and Answer

This slightly more complex reportorial type is in a
clear three-part structure. First someone's statement
or act is reported as a direct or as an indirect quo-
tation. It can be the statement or act of Muhammad
(2732), or of a Companion (2741), or of someone else
(2069). Then a question referring to the statement is
asked by "someone" (693), by the one who relates the
statement (1145) or by a Companion (2077). Finally
Muhammad or a Companion answers.

> Ibn Mas'ūd: The Apostle of God said, "After me
> you will see selfishness and things that you will
> deny." We said, "O Apostle of God, what do you
> command of us?" He said, "Render to them that
> which has been granted them as their due, and ask
> God for what is your due." (297)

E. Visions

This rudimentary narrative form shows a four-part
structure: 1) An introductory action or statement;
2) What is seen or heard; 3) A question asked by the
one who sees the vision, or by others; 4) An answer
to the question or an explanation of the vision.
There are variations of this structure in some examples.
The texts classified as visions are also identified as
such by the guarantors in their recitals. Not included
in this category are visions which are recounted within
other types of expression (1588, 2001, 278, etc.).

> Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh: The Apostle of God said,
> I entered Paradise where I saw the wife of Abū
> Talha and I heard a light noise (khashfa). Then
> I said, 'What is that, O Gabriel?' He said, 'It
> is Bilāl.'" (1719)

Anas b. Mālik: The Apostle of God said, "While I was in Paradise I saw a river, so I said to Gabriel, 'What is this?' He said, 'This is al-kawthar[44] which your Lord has given you.' Then I put my hand in it and its bed (turāb) was of most fragrant musk." (1992)

F. Historical Details

This is another rudimentary narrative type which in a few cases is developed into a fairly extended recital. For the most part, however, it is represented by the same type of reportorial statements as were described under "Exemplary Actions." The reasons for classifying them separately are that they are concerned with biographical details which are not exemplary, that they exhibit certain particular syntactic features, and finally that they expand into more elaborate forms which is not the case with Exemplary Actions. In a few examples it is not easy to determine whether the detail reported was meant to be exemplary or not. Most of the examples deal with the life and person of Muḥammad, although there are some which refer to the Companions. This type makes extensive use of the particle lamma (when, after) and the descriptive clauses introduced by the imperfect tense, such as kāna . . . (he was . . .) or kuntu . . . (I was . . .).

ʿAlī: When I came to the Prophet after burying Abū Ṭālib, he extended good wishes to me. (122)

Abū Ḥāzim: The Apostle of God was preaching and he saw my father in the sun. So he commanded him, or signaled to him, that he should come near to the shade. (1298)

ʿAbd al-Mālik b. ʿAlqama al-Thaqafī: A delegation from Thaqīf came to the Apostle of God. They presented him with a gift. He said, "Is this an alms

---

[44]Eschatological reality: cf. Qur. chapter 108.

or a gift? By an alms one seeks the face of God, but by a gift one seeks the face of the Apostle." Then he took care of their request, and they questioned him without ceasing for so long that he had to perform the noon prayer at the time of the midafternoon prayer. (1336)

G. Stories

It is only a short step from Historical Details and Statement, Question and Answer to Stories. Along with Discourses, under the Declaratory types, this form of expression is the most highly developed in the collection. These stories are similar to the apothegms in the New Testament as described by Rudolf Bultmann.[45] They might be called pronouncement stories,[46] that is, their action and characterization are subordinated to the saying with which they end. The situations are usually quite stereotyped: Muḥammad goes to a certain city; he enters a mosque; he is seated in a mosque; he is on a journey; someone comes to him, etc. An introduction sometimes seen is, "Would you like for me to tell you a story (hadīth) that I heard from . . .?" (32) As was the case with Discourses, many of the Stories are identified as being part of a khuṭba (sermon) or as hadīth in the sense of story or happening. The number of personae is two, three or four.

1. There are short, clearly structured stories in which are found at least four elements: a) an introduction giving a description of the circumstances or of preliminary action that sets the stage for the apothegm; b) a statement or action that provokes

---

[45]The History of the Synoptic Tradition, pp. 11-69.

[46]A term borrowed from V. Taylor, cf. E. Basil Redlich, Form Criticism: Its Values and Limitations, p. 52.

c) a reaction; d) a response to the reaction in the
form of a prescription, an injunction, a question,
an act, or a combination of some of these.

> ʿAlī: I presented the Apostle of God with a
> garment of silk, but he sent it back to me. Then
> I put it on, and he said to me, "What I despise
> for myself does not please me for you." He
> commanded me and I tore the garment into strips
> to serve as veils for the women. (119)

> ʿAlī: Fāṭima complained about the marks of the
> quern that she found on her hands. She went to
> tell the Prophet, but she could not find him.
> However, she met ʿĀʾisha and informed her. Then
> when the Prophet came ʿĀʾisha told him about
> Fāṭima's coming. She continued saying, "The
> Prophet later came to us and found us having gone
> to bed. We started to get up, but the Apostle of
> God said, 'Stay in your places.' He then sat down
> between us, so that I felt the coldness of his
> feet against my chest. He said, 'Shall I not tell
> you something better than what you asked, since I
> have found you in bed? The best is that you
> should say the <u>takbīr</u> thirty-four times, the
> <u>tasbīh</u>[47] thirty-three times, and that you should
> glorify Him thirty-three times. He is better for
> you than a domestic servant.'" (93)

2. Some of the stories lack the structure indicated
   under 1., or else they are a combination of several
   such structures that have been adapted. These may be
   called composite stories or run-on narratives. They
   are probably the type of narrative used by the <u>quṣṣāṣ</u>
   (story tellers) to entertain and edify their hearers,
   but they were also used in the <u>khutba</u>. They embody
   more descriptive material than other forms, and are
   often a long series of conversational exchanges which
   do not build up to a climactic pronouncement as do the
   shorter well-structured stories.

---

[47]Saying "Praise the Lord."

'Umar: We advanced with 'Umar until we reached Marr al-Zahrān.[48] 'Umar went into the thicket (arāk) to take care of his bodily wants, and I sat down to wait for him to come out. Then I said to him, "O Commander of the Believers, for a year I have wanted to ask you about a happening (hadīth), but my respect for you has prevented me from doing so."

He said, "Do not hesitate; if you know that I have some information, ask me."

So I said, "I am asking you about the story (hadīth) of the two wives."

He said, "Yes, Hafṣa and 'Ā'isha. In the time of Ignorance (jāhilīya) we did not consider women nor did we let them interfere in any of our affairs. Then God brought us Islam and gave women the place that He gave them, together with rights, without permitting them to interfere in our affairs. One day while I was seated occupied with some matter, my wife said such-and-such to me. I replied, 'What is the matter with you? Since when do you interfere in our affairs?' She said, 'O Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, no one can talk with you, and your daughter talked with the Apostle of God until he became angry.' I said, 'Did she really do that?' She said, 'Yes.' So I got up and went to see Hafṣa and said, 'O Hafṣa, do you not fear God, to have talked to the Apostle of God until he became angry? Woe to you, do not be deluded by the excellence of 'Ā'isha and the Apostle of God's love for her.' Then I went to Umm Salama and said the same thing to her. She said, 'You interfere in everything, O Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, even coming between the Apostle of God and his wives.'

"I had a friend from among the allies (anṣār) who was with the Apostle of God when I was absent. I would be with the Apostle of God if he were absent. He would inform me and I would inform him. I feared no attack from the kings of the Ghassān,[49] and one day after God had quieted things for us, I was seated occupied with a matter and my friend came and said twice, 'O Father of Hafṣa.' I said, 'Woe to you, what is the matter? Did the Ghassānī come?' He said, 'No, but the Apostle of God has divorced his wives.' Then I said, 'Hafṣa has been humbled; Hafṣa has been

---

[48]A valley near Mecca.

[49]Arab tribal group.

humbled.' I put on my sandals and went to the
Prophet. There was weeping in every room, and
there the Apostle of God was in his bower
(mashruba) with a black slave at the door. I
said, 'Have me announced to the Apostle of God.'
He announced me and admitted me. There he was
asleep on a reed mat. Under his head was a pillow
made of leather and stuffed with fibers. Pods of
the sant tree (qaraz) and skins (ahab) were
hanging there. I began to relate to him what I
had told Ḥafṣa and Umm Salama. But he had vowed
to keep away from his wives for a month, and when
the night of the twenty-ninth came he went in to
them." (23)

CHAPTER V

SOME CORRELATIONS BETWEEN FORMS OF EXPRESSION
AND SUBJECT MATTER IN THE MUSNAD

For the purpose of determining what correlations, if any, exist in the Musnad of al-Ṭayālisī between the forms of expression of its constituent parts and their subject matter, the following subject categories have been employed. It was not deemed advisable to use the categories fixed by the compilers of Jāmiʿ and Sunan collections, since their classifications are for purposes of jurisprudence, and are too numerous for practical utilization with a small collection such as al-Ṭayālisī.

Alms
Animals
Biography (other than Muḥammad)
Birth and Children
Commerce and Finance
Customs, Folklore, Superstition
Death and Burial
Fasting
Food and Eating
Good Manners, Morals, Ethics
Hidden, Divine Secrets
History, Political and Military
Inheritance
Law and Judges
Life and Person of Muḥammad
Marriage and Divorce
Minority Religions
Pilgrimage
Politics and Community
Qurʾān
Ritual Cleansing
Ritual Prayer
Slavery and Emancipation
Piety, Worship (other than Ritual Prayer), Asceticism

72

Theology
War and Booty
Women

It is not rare to find a text that deals with two or
even three subjects, so the total number of subject items is
greater than the total number of texts.

By comparing the frequency of occurrence of these
subjects with the twenty-three forms identified in Chapter IV,
it is possible to determine some correlations of interest. It
should be remembered that the percentages given are only
approximate, but they are exact enough to have meaning.

In view of the fact that forms have been identified
partially in terms of the content of the _hadīth_,[1] an objection
might be raised here that subject and form have too much in
common to make a study of correlations valid. It will be seen,
however, that the two categories are indeed distinct, and if
in some cases the correlations between them are so manifest
that it seems almost superfluous to mention them, this fact
only helps to confirm the soundness of the form analysis, and
to hint at other relationships which are not apparent at first
glance.

To begin it is of interest to ascertain which subject
is treated most frequently. In al-Ṭayālisī it happens to be
Piety, Worship and Asceticism, with 11% of the total occur-
rences. This is not an overwhelmingly large percentage,
however, when we consider that the top eight subjects represent
about 55% of the total number. The other seven are Biography
(other than Muḥammad), Good Manners, Morals and Ethics, Hidden,
Divine Secrets, Customs, Folklore and Superstitions, Politics
and Community, Ritual Prayer, Life and Person of Muḥammad, all
ranging from $5\frac{1}{2}$% to 9% of the total.

Legal subjects do not occur often. In fact a survey
of the following list of several strictly legal subjects

---

[1]Cf. above, p. 47.

reveals that every one of them occurs less than one hundred times, and that four are the lowest of the whole list in frequence: Alms, Commerce and Finance, Death and Burial, Law and Judges, Marriage and Divorce, Slavery, Women, Animals, Minority Religions, Inheritance, Birth and Children.

At a fairly late stage in the research for this study, a copy of another Musnad, whose compiler died only a few years later than al-Ṭayālisī, was obtained for comparison. This is the Musnad of Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219/834).[2] To make a complete comparison of the two collections would necessitate classifying the 1300 texts[3] of the Meccan traditionist exactly according to the same categories used in studying the subject matter of al-Ṭayālisī. However, thanks to a fairly adequate index in the edition of al-Ḥumaydī, we are able to make some instructive, if tentative, comparisons with reference to a few categories. The following parallel subjects in the two collections occur with equal frequency:

Biography (other than Muḥammad):[4] 6% of the total
Food and Eating: $3\frac{1}{2}$%
Fasting: 3%

Others occur much more frequently in al-Ḥumaydī than in al-Ṭayālisī:

---

[2]Above, p. 23.

[3]There is a discrepancy between the total number of ḥadīth listed in numerical order (1300) and a statement in the preface to the effect that the Musnad contains 1293 texts (I, 21).

[4]In al-Ḥumaydī, the index uses the conventional subject categories of the Jāmiʿ collections, and this one is Manāqib (feats or virtues). al-Ṭayālisī's biographical ḥadīth contain a minimum of excessively laudatory material.

War and Booty: 4% and 1%
Marriage and Divorce: 4% and 2%
Qur'ān: 5% and 2%
Ritual Cleansing: 6% and 4%
Alms: 3% and 1½%
Ritual Prayer: 14% and 9%
Pilgrimage: 11% and 4%

On the other hand, as far as can be determined from
this kind of comparison it seems that in three subjects the
incidence in al-Ṭayālisī is considerably higher than in the
other Musnad:

Hidden, Divine Secrets: 5½% and .2%
Piety, Worship (other than ṣalāt) and Asceticism:
    11% and 3½%
Life and Works of Muḥammad: 6% and 4%

A tentative conclusion to be drawn from this comparison
of two collections is that al-Ḥumaydī's was compiled for the
primary purpose of giving guidance on matters of jurisprudence,
including the well-ordered ritual life, whereas al-Ṭayālisī's
Musnad was intended to be primarily a manual for personal and
communal edification. If this conclusion is correct it
reflects the possibility that the nature of al-Ṭayālisī's
collection was not due as much to the deliberate choice of its
compilers as to the actual paucity of hadīth on juridical
questions during the latter half of the second century.[5]

The next factor to examine is the form of expression
assumed when the different kinds of subject matter are treated.
The first correlation that strikes the eye is that only 3 of
the 27 subjects assume fewer than 10 different forms, and that
these 3, using 8 different forms each, are of the lowest

---

[5]Goldziher, Études sur la Tradition Islamique, p. 85,
points out that Mālik b. Anas, at the middle of the second
century, could only produce 600 traditions on legal subjects.
It seems that most hadīth of that period were moral, ascetic
and political ones.

incidence. So, a characteristic feature is extreme diversity in literary form. In fact, ten of the subjects are found in from 15 to 20 different forms. A striking example of this diffusion throughout the range of literary types is the subject Death and Burial. It occurs only 95 times, but in 16 different forms of expression. No subject is found in all 23 forms.

When we come to consider which subjects assume which forms, the problem of correlation becomes more delicate. Here we feel that only a modest beginning can be made to open the question. Is meaningless diversity the only feature of this correlation? Beginning with what we would normally expect to be corresponding relationships, we note that under Theology the most used forms are Statement (28%) and Question and Answer (18%). Theological truth is quite normally transmitted by declaration or in rudimentary catechistic form.

On the infrequently treated subject of Slavery and Emancipation, nearly one-fourth of the texts are in the form of Judgments, since the problem of the Muslim community was to regulate an already existing, and not overly desirable, institution.

Under Prayer the preferred form is Exemplary Action (28% of the total), whereas the Injunction form is used in 16% of the occurrences. This would indicate that the _Musnad_ puts greater emphasis on the practical Prophetic model in prayer than upon prescriptions attributed to Muḥammad.

The same observation holds for Ritual Cleansing, 28% of whose texts are Exemplary Actions. 19% are Question and Answer and 15% are Injunctions.

Likewise material on the Pilgrimage is expressed most often as Exemplary Action (22%).

As one would expect, the Life and Person of Muḥammad is treated frequently as Historical Details (39%), with the Story form and the Statement having approximately 15% each of the occurrences.

Similarly the subject of History, Political and Military is correlated with Story (25%) and Historical Details

(25%); while Biography (other than Muhammad) mainly uses Historical Details (38%) and Story (23%).

Another quite normal correlation is that between Law and Judges and the Judgment form, which is seen in 30% of the occurrences. On the other hand a surprising 22% of the texts are Stories. We shall have a closer look at this particular correlation later.

Subjects which involve taboos, such as Animals and Food and Eating assume the form of Prohibition predominantly (25% each). Also a legal subject Commerce and Finance uses more Prohibition forms than any other (25%). And the important subject of Customs, Folklore and Superstition, widely diffused throughout 20 different forms, nevertheless assumes the Prohibition type in 18% of its occurrences. Manners, Morals and Ethics, as would be expected, is expressed predominantly in the imperative forms of Prohibition and Injunction (13% each).

Another subject in which the Prophetic model plays an important part is Fasting, with approximately 25% of the texts being Exemplary Actions. Another 25% are Injunctions.

Hidden, Divine Secrets are expressed in the form of Statements 32% of the time.

While the above correlations have revealed nothing startling, they have at least confirmed the importance of identifying literary forms of expression in the hadīth. That is, the fact that correlations have been found between form and subject which are logically normal, given the nature of each of the two factors, leads us to expect that over a broader range the form of expression is significant for understanding both the content of the traditions and the circumstances out of which they emerged. Of course this does not mean that the transmitters deliberately chose their forms of expression, for they were not conscious literary artists. However, they spoke as a part of their total milieu to such an extent that it is necessary to take into account the inter-relationships of content, form, function and circumstances if this oral literature is to be interpreted adequately.

A complementary observation is that although the forms
mentioned above, which figure predominantly with certain
subjects, represent sizable proportions of the whole in each
case, they never exceed 39% of the total. So there is a large
measure of diversity in the use of forms of expression. It
remains to be seen whether this diversity is quite insignificant,
or whether it is meaningful and selective. This question might
be answered by a rigorous study of the individual formal
patterns used in the hadīth. In the following chapters it will
be shown how a study of the variant readings, and sometimes
variant form patterns, of the same testimony can be rewarding.

Before closing this discussion of correlations between
subject and form, as seen with subject matter as the base, we
shall attempt to account for some quantitatively important
correlations whose significance is not immediately apparent.

On the subject of Law and Judges an unusually large
percentage (22%) of the occurrences are couched in Story form.
Looking at these texts we find that they are mainly occupied
with cases of blood fine (diya) and the punishment of flogging
or stoning for the crime of adultery. These are two of the
most ancient legal concerns of the Muslim community, dating
even from the customary practice of pre-Islamic Arabia.[6]
Therefore, that these testimonies are so often expressed in
Story form perhaps indicates that they represent, in that form,
the result of a long process of evolution in which indirect
quotation was changed to direct quotation and the details
elaborated beyond their primitive laconism. By way of contrast

---

[6]EI², II, 340-43, on diya; Emile Tyan, Histoire de
l'Organisation Judiciaire en Pays d'Islam, pp. 38, 40 on zinā'
(adultery). Joseph Schacht, in EI¹, IV, 1227, says that in
pre-Islamic Arabia adultery was not considered as moral wrong-
doing as much as injury to the property rights of others.
However, this does not take away from the fact that zinā' was
an important concern of penal law. A close study of the hadīth
on hudūd (penal sanctions) should help to complement Schacht's
statement.

and in support of this hypothesis, the subject of Alms, a strictly Islamic concern dating from the establishment of the Muslim community, has only 9% of its texts in Story form, whereas five shorter, more terse types have equal or greater percentages than Story. Fasting, also an Islamic practice as opposed to pre-Islamic custom, uses the Story form in 10% of the occurrences, as over against three shorter forms which are used more often. Admittedly, the hypothesis is not proven that the Story form often, if not usually, represents more extensive evolution of a testimony than do some shorter forms. However, the evidence presented here supports such a theory.

Two other subjects, Birth and Children together with Inheritance, show high percentages of the Story form, but they are represented in al-Ṭayālisī by fewer than 25 texts each. These frequencies of occurrence do not seem to be high enough for a valid interpretation of their form-subject correlations.

Another way to look at the relationships between subject and form is to note the incidences of the forms, first of all, without regard to subject matter. Eight of these are used in a little over 75% of the total number of texts. They are the following, in order of their frequency of occurrence:

> Story
> Statement
> Exemplary Action
> Injunction
> Question and Answer
> Historical Details
> Prohibition
> Action and Reaction

These top eight forms are fairly evenly distributed in incidence, ranging only from 223 to 348 times. The remaining fifteen forms range from 9 occurrences to around 100. The least frequent are Vision, Blessing and Rhyme, all occurring about the same number of times. Aside from these very low incidences, the others range from 20 to 100, again a fairly even distribution. These figures show that a closer look at

what appears to be monotonous material because of its formulaic
and simple structure, actually possesses considerable variety.

The Story form and Injunction are found under all 27
of the subjects, with very wide distribution. The largest
percentages of these two forms for any one subject are 17% of
Injunction on Prayer, and 10% of Story on Biography (other
than Muḥammad). Other widely used forms appear under 26
subjects (Statement), 25 (Action and Reaction, Question and
Answer, Statement, Question and Answer) and 22 (Prohibition
and Numerical Saying). This is an obvious indication of the
wide variety of usage with regard to form-subject correlation.

Proceeding to look at the collection with certain
forms as a base, it is possible to discover some meaningful
relationships between them and the subjects. The most
striking correlation is that between the Discourse form and
Hidden, Divine Secrets. Not less than 42% of the Discourse form
occurrences are on this subject, which supports the proposal
made earlier that al-Ṭayālisī's Musnad was primarily a book
for edification. The Vision form, which is found under only
four subjects, expresses Hidden, Divine Secrets 50% of the
time, an expected correlation. The Prophecy form likewise is
used in 34% of its occurrences to announce Hidden, Divine
Secrets. This form also shows a large 23% of its occurrences
with Politics and Community.

Another expected correlation is that between Historical
Details, which is found under 20 different subjects, and Life
and Person of Muḥammad (30%) on the one hand, and Biography
(other than Muḥammad) on the other (29%)

It is not surprising to find Epigram used in 29% of its
occurrences under Manners, Morals and Ethics, since this is
the form of moralistic wisdom sayings.

Over one half of the Prayer form appearances concern
Piety, Worship (other than salāt) and Asceticism. 26% of
Conditional Promise are on this subject also, a correlation
whose significance is not immediately apparent. These promises
concerning the pious life pertain to the early development of

Muslim devotional theology. Goldziher has described primitive
asceticism in Islam as being characterized by an emphasis on
the consciousness of sin and the need for making atonement for
wrongdoing.[7] This movement reached its highest point in the
life and work of al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857).[8] The
ḥadīth in question here are perhaps representative of an
intermediate stage of development, between the fairly
restricted Qur'anic prescriptions for works of atonement and
the full-blown spirituality of an al-Muḥāsibī. On the one
hand the Qur'ān presents the work of expiation as a
business-like procedure for the correction of a legal fault.[9]
There is no evidence of a consciousness of sin as moral
offense. On the other hand neither do the ḥadīth Promises
reveal a deep sin-consciousness, but they intensify the
Qur'anic concern for forgiveness. Taking du'ā' (personal
invocation of God), fasting, scrupulous observance of Friday
worship, pilgrimage, building a mosque and other meritorious
works as the means of atonement, these Promise texts assure
an astonishingly liberal measure of divine pardon and blessing
for those who observe their conditions. Among them are a
number of texts which amplify Qur'anic promises of multiplied
recompense for good deeds, regardless of notions of expia-
tion.[10] Tentatively it may be observed that the ḥadīth in
this category reflect an increasing use of the vocabulary of
ascetical sin-consciousness, but that the community did not

---

[7] "Materialien zur Entwickelungsgeschichte des
Sūfismus," Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,
XIII (1899), 37.

[8] Cf. his best known work, al-Ri'āya li Ḥuqūq Allāh,
ed. by Margaret Smith, an exhaustive manual of self-examination.

[9] e.g. Qur. 4:92/94; 5:89/91; 58:4/5.

[10] e.g. Qur. 6:160/161; 34:37/36.

have a corresponding doctrine of sin, of which the words might have been the expression.

The majority of the correlations seen with the forms as a base, that is, considering the frequency with which a certain form occurs with a particular subject in proportion to its total incidence, are not immediately explicable. An investigation of such relationships anywhere in the broad field of ḥadīth literature might well clarify further the nature and function of orally transmitted testimonies.

Still a third way to seek correlations is to note the formal features of those ḥadīth attributed to particular primary and secondary guarantors. Even to begin such an investigation would take us farther into the discipline of ʿilm al-rijāl (criticism of authorities) than is permitted by the scope of this study. Also, to consider the ḥadīth of particular guarantors would necessitate transcending the bounds of one collection, especially a fairly small collection such as al-Ṭayālisī. The Musnad is so highly selective in its choice of material that we can scarcely hope to find more than a very few truly representative groups of texts from particular guarantors. However, an example of the kind of relationships that we can expect to find is seen in the collection of traditions attributed to ʿĀʾisha. They are overwhelmingly of the Reportorial type, and within that type the clear preference is given to Exemplary Action and Question and Answer. Naturally, the wife of the Prophet would be expected to transmit a large number of his exemplary actions, and the predominant occurrence of Question and Answer helps to delineate ʿĀʾisha's nature as alert and intelligent, since often the questions posed were hers.[11]

Taking the stereotyped categories of authorities which begin and which close the collection, it is interesting to note the preference of the Ten who were promised Paradise for

---

[11] Cf. EI², I, 307-08, on ʿĀʾisha.

the Reportorial types of expression, at least in the cases of those who are represented by an appreciable body of material. These are Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿAlī and Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ. Of the Ten only ʿUthman uses more Declaratory types than the others. By way of contrast, the younger Companions, whose collections close the Musnad, use many more Declaratory and Imperative types than do the Ten, although Reportorial types are the most numerous, except in the case of Abū Hurayra. This points to a certain evolution in the manner of expression, which was probably influenced by the difference in proximity to the Prophet's lifetime.

Looking briefly at subject matter, it is curious to note that the Ten speak of Ritual Prayer in only about $5\frac{1}{2}\%$ of their testimonies, whereas the Seven younger Companions deal with this subject about $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the time. This observation may be connected with an hypothesis that ritual prayer was not one of the oldest primary concerns of the hadīth.

We may conclude, then, that the student of hadīth literature can use the form-subject correlations together with the chains of transmission to establish coherent lines of development, without having to pass judgment on the so-called "authenticity" of a chain of authority. That is, this study suggests that there is an inner and outer integrity to the canonical hadīth, not only as concerns their literary form and their subject matter, but also more than likely the isnād as well. Seen in this perspective the isnād represents an authentic and religiously significant tradition, whether or not it is historical in the positivistic sense.

CHAPTER VI

A LOOK AT SOME TEXTS RELATING TO DETERMINISM

IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR FORMS OF EXPRESSION

In the next chapters of this study three specific
areas of Muslim thought, worship and social practice, as
treated in the hadīth, will be used to demonstrate further how
a consideration of the forms of expression helps to reveal the
nature of hadīth as religious literature. Here we leave the
overall, integral point of view and focus attention upon a
small number of texts. What we propose to do is not simply to
examine what al-Ṭayālisī's collection "teaches" about a
certain subject. Our purpose is, rather, to take texts on
three different subjects and use them to point out some of
the possibilities for this kind of investigation. For obvious
practical reasons, it is impossible to think of doing this
with all of the subjects with which the Musnad deals.

The first subject chosen is determinism, a theological
notion in Islam, with pre-Islamic overtones. Basic research in
the teachings of hadīth on predestination has elucidated the
general tone of traditional testimony on this subject.[1] It

---

[1]Edward E. Salisbury, "Muhammadan Predestination and
Free Will," Journal of the American Oriental Society, VIII
(1866), 106-82; A. de Vlieger, Kitāb al-Qadr: Matériaux pour
Servir à l'Etude de la Doctrine de la Prédestination dans la
Théologie Musulmane; Alfred Guillaume, "Some Remarks on Free
Will and Predestination in Islam, together with a Translation
of the Kitabu-l-Qadar from the Sahih of al-Bukhari," Journal
of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1924, 42-63; William Montgomery
Watt, Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam; Helmer
Ringgren, Studies in Arabian Fatalism.

84

might be said in passing that E. E. Salisbury's judgment that
the traditions faithfully reflect the Qur'anic preoccupation
with predestination[2] seems to be more sound than either the
unqualified assertion of A. Guillaume that the hadīth teach
unrelieved determinism,[3] or the more sophisticated conclusion
of W. M. Watt to the effect that the traditions are less
theistic than the Qur'ān, and are more concerned with man's
predetermined existence.[4] The texts presented in al-Ṭayālisī
conform to the overall picture. They may be grouped into the
following four categories.

    1. Aetiological statements and narratives.

    2. Specific applications of the doctrine of theistic
determinism.

    3. Assertions to safeguard right doctrine.

    4. Texts showing the interrelation between pre-Islamic
determinism and Islamic theism.

    1. Basic to the Islamic understanding of man and his
relationship to the divine are the aetiological hadīth relating
to the creation of man. These texts represent a temporal,
actual situation in terms of transcendental, timeless truth.[5]
The happening which the aetiological statement describes is
the formation of the human fetus in its mother's womb. This
is in itself a mysterious process, but the Qur'ān had cast
some light upon it:

---

[2] Op. cit., p. 151.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 61-63.

[4] Op. cit., p. 20.

[5] Cf. T. H. Gaster, "Myth and Story," Numen, I (1954),
185; Gaster, Thespis, pp. 5, 49.

> O mankind! If ye are in doubt concerning the
> Resurrection, then lo! We have created you from dust,
> then from a drop of seed, then from a clot, then from
> a little lump of flesh shapely and shapeless, that we
> may make (it) clear for you. (22:5)

A tradition, reported by Ibn Mas'ūd and transmitted by al-Ṭayālisī, takes this Qur'anic verse and declares it in terms of the transcendental, divine ordering of human life in all of its aspects.

> Verily, the creation of each of you is gathered in
> his mother's womb for forty nights.[6] Then it becomes
> a clot of blood ('alaqa) for forty nights. Afterwards
> it becomes an embryo (mudgha)[7] for the same period of
> time. Then an angel[8] is sent to it bearing four com-
> mands: its sustenance (rizq), the duration of its life
> (ajal),[9] its work ('amal) and whether it will be miser-
> able or happy (shaqī aw sa'īd).[10] Then there is
> breathed into it the breath of life.[11] Verily, one of
> you (or, a man among you) may do the deeds of the
> people of Paradise, so that between him and it there
> lies but the space of a cubit, and yet the written

------

[6]See Qur. 7:142/138; 46:15/14 for use of the number forty. Also the first revelations came to Muḥammad at the age of forty. Cf. The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, III, 565.

[7]Cf. Psalm 139:13-14, with comments by Artur Weiser in The Psalms: A Commentary, p. 806.

[8]Ringgren cites a parallel text on the angel from the Babylonian Talmud, op. cit., p. 119.

[9]Qur. 6:2.

[10]Qur. 11:105/107.

[11]Qur. 32:9/8.

decree (<u>kitāb</u>)[12] will overcome him. Then he will do
the deeds of the people of Hell and enter into it.
Likewise, a man among you (or one of you) may do the
deeds of the people of Hell, so that between him and
it there lies but the space of a cubit, and yet the
written decree will overcome him. Then he will do
the deeds of the people of Paradise and enter into
it. (298)

We note that this <u>hadīth</u> is a mosaic of Qur'anic data
combined with the extra-Qur'anic details of forty nights, an
angel of destiny carrying four commands, and the overriding
power of the divine decree. The effect is that of a solemn
proclamation.

This tradition exists in a number of variant readings,
with different secondary guarantors, but all claiming Ibn
Mas'ūd as their first authority.[13] Aside from such common
phenomena of oral transmission as superficial changes of word
order, substitution, omission and addition of words,[14] the
versions show almost complete identity. However, a few features
lead us to believe that this fairly straightforward declaration
went through an interesting history of transmission. Here it
should be pointed out that we are not seeking the original
words of Muḥammad. We assume that a tradition began with the
Prophet, unless Muslims themselves question its origin.[15]

---

[12]Qur. 2:187/183; 80:19. Vs. 15 also speaks of scribes,
who were charged with the recording of the revelation.

[13]e.g. Bu., Qadar, 1; Tawḥīd, 28; Mu., Qadar, 1;
Ḥ., 126; Tir., Qadar, 4.

[14]Helmer Ringgren, "Oral and Written Transmission in
the Old Testament," <u>Studia Theologica</u>, III (1949), 35, with
references.

[15]Muslim scholars have recognized the existence of
forgeries (<u>mawḍū'āt</u>); cf. Ibn Kathīr, <u>Ikhtisar 'Ulūm al-Hadīth</u>,
pp. 77-91.

This study is concerned with the role played by the <u>hadīth</u> in the development of Islam. What interests us here are the "performances"[16] of the text by guarantors who, while restricted to the meaning intended, did practice, in some cases, a kind of creative oral composition.[17]

The text is divided into two parts, the second beginning with "Verily, one of you may do the deeds. . . ." We shall call these sections A and B. B introduces an element foreign to A. al-Ṭayālisī's version is unique in that it provides no connection between A and B. It says nothing of the writing of the four commands, so the mention of a written decree (<u>kitāb</u>) in B comes as a surprise. The discussion of the people of Paradise and the people of Hell actually belongs to another set of testimonies, as we shall see later. The account of how the decree overrides man's will gives the impression of being a reinforcement of the idea of predestination, and is foreign to the aetiological narrative framework of A.

The other versions studied make the transition from A to B by inserting the verb, "to write," after the expression, "four commands." In the case of al-Tirmidhī, this operation is clumsy: "He was charged with four (?); there were written its sustenance, etc." Two versions introduce B with an oath, thus indicating a break in the thought. al-Ḥumaydī does not complete the two elements of the antithesis in B. He relates only the lot of the people of Hell. al-Ḥumaydī's and one of al-Bukhārī's versions list only three of the four commands, omitting "its work," and apparently intending that "whether it will be miserable or happy" be taken as two different commands.[18]

---

[16]R. C. Culley, "An Approach to the Problem of Oral Tradition," <u>Vetus Testamentum</u>, XIII (1963), 121.

[17]Blachère, <u>Histoire de la Littérature Arabe</u>, III, 796.

[18]Watt sees the command, "its work," as a possible addition rather than as an omission, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 25.

A possible way to understand this omission is that the guarantors were so intent upon connecting "miserable or happy" with the antithesis expressed in B that they did not notice the logical discrepancy of only three commands. This tendency is seen in another testimony where "people of happiness" and "people of misery" are synonymous with "people of Paradise" and "people of Hell."[19]

There is uncertainty in several versions about whether the text should be, "forty days," or "forty nights." One reading of al-Bukhārī gives both alternatives. "Forty nights," as al-Ṭayālisī puts it, is more in keeping with the Qur'anic imagery.[20]

The conclusion that A is a separate statement, combined with B to form a complex affirmation of the type described in Chapter IV, p. 49, is further strengthened by the observation of another set of aetiological testimonies. The text in al-Ṭayālisī is as follows:

> Anas b. Mālik: Verily, God appoints over the womb an angel, who says, "O Lord, a drop (nutfa); O Lord, a clot of blood; O Lord, an embryo." And when God wills to complete a creation, the angel says, "O Lord, a male or a female?[21] Miserable or happy?" Then he writes that down in the womb of its mother. (2073)

In al-Ṭayālisī's tradition discussed above, no. 298, the division of the text into A and B obscured slightly the

---

[19]Tir., Qadar, 3. In Tir., Qadar, 15, however, we see that there were those who interpreted "miserable or happy" as referring to this life; cf. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism*, p. 120. The Qur'anic usage in 11:105/107 seems to point to eschatological misery and happiness.

[20]Qur. 39:6/8 speaks of the "triple darkness" in the womb of the mother.

[21]Qur. 42:49.

fact that the inscribing of the creature's destiny belongs to
the aetiological statement. There, as we have pointed out,
the version does not refer to the act of writing, and other
versions use it as a transitional device to reach the B
section, where the emphasis is upon a didactic reinforcement
of the idea of predestination. In the present text, however,
we see the act of writing the creature's destiny completely
integrated with the rest of the aetiological narrative. This
is likewise the case in the Biblical testimony, to which refer-
ence has already been made, "In thy book were written, every
one of them, the days that were formed for me" (Psalm 139:16,
with vs. 13-15). If we follow the insights of Biblical
critics this version from Anas b. Mālik is a more recent one
than that by Ibn Mas'ūd because it is couched in direct
quotation.[22]

Without attempting to describe all of the variant
readings of this story we point out one that is attributed to
a different primary guarantor, Ḥudhayfa b. Asīd al-Ghifārī.[23]
In this text evidence can be seen of improvisation. In addi-
tion to the previously noted aspects of man's life which are
written down, we find also "his influence" (athar), "what is
commanded of him," and "what is prohibited to him." The detail
is included that the pages (suhuf) are folded up and that noth-
ing is either added to or taken from what was written therein.

2. Under specific applications of the doctrine of
theistic determinism, the first group of texts is concerned
with an epigrammatical antithetical utterance:

---

[22]Rudolf Bultmann, "The Study of the Synoptic Gospels,"
in Form Criticism: A New Method of New Testament Research,
trans. by Frederick C. Grant, p. 34.

[23]Mu., Qadar, 3; Ḥ., 826.

God created Paradise, and He created for it a people,
while they were still in the loins of their fathers.

God created Hell, and He created for it a people,
while they were still in the loins of their fathers.

It is obvious from the three settings in which this
saying is found in al-Ṭayālisī, and from those found in other
collections, that it was an oft-repeated testimony. Every one
of the three texts is couched in a different literary form,
and the context is different in each case. First there is the
Action and Reaction narrative from ʿĀʾisha:

> They brought a dead child from the allies for the
> Prophet to bless. I said, "O Apostle of God, happy
> is this little bird among the birds of Paradise.
> He did no evil at all, nor did he have knowledge of
> evil." He said, "O ʿĀʾisha, do you not know that
> God created Paradise and that He created a people for
> it, while they were in the loins of their fathers?
> And that He created Hell together with a people for it,
> while they were in the loins of their fathers?" (1574)

Several variant readings of this text do not reveal any devel-
opment.[24] Obviously the concern here is with the lot of child-
ren who die before reaching the age of accountability. This
was a major question in early Islamic theological discussions,[25]
and later, in another group of texts, we shall see other
responses to it. Here the reaction of the Prophet is not a
direct denial of ʿĀʾisha's pious statement. It is rather a
reflection upon the mystery of the divine decree, the results
of which must logically be the radical polarization of mankind
into the people of Paradise on the one hand, and the people of

---

[24]Mu. Qadar, 30, 31; I. Ḥ., VI, 41, 208.

[25]Wensinck outlines the elements of the debate with
the Khawārij on this subject in *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis
and Historical Development*, pp. 42-44.

Hell on the other. The blunt statement is not Qur'anic,[26] but
it is a logical outcome of meditation on Qur'anic data. It is
possible that this statement is the basis of the famous hadith,
not found in al-Ṭayālisī, in which God rubbed the back of Adam
and thus produced the seed of all mankind.[27] In that Narrative
form, God says, "I created these for Paradise, that they might
do the works of the people of Paradise. . . ." Then, He said,
"I created these for Hell, that they might do the works of the
people of Hell." This elaboration reminds us of part B of
al-Ṭayālisī's no. 298, which represents a still greater elabo-
ration of thought concerning the practical outworking of the
divine decree.

The second occurrence of this saying is in a Question
and Answer form. Only the expressions, "people of Paradise"
and "people of Hell" are retained of the more elaborate anti-
thesis.

> ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn: It was said to the Prophet, "Are
> the people of Paradise known from the people of Hell?"
> He said, "Yes." Then it was said, "Then why (fīma)
> should anyone do any works?"[28] He said, "Everyone does
> that for which he was created, or that which has been
> facilitated for him."[29] (828)

---

[26]The expression, "people of Hell," is found once,
38:64, and there it means "the people living in Hell."

[27]Ma., IV, 81-82, based on either a misquotation or
a misunderstanding of Qur. 7:172/171, which says that the
seed came from the backs of the sons of Adam, not from Adam
himself.

[28]Such a question is uncommon in the hadith; see
above, p. 64, and below, p. 98.

[29]Cf. Bu., Qadar, 2.

The second question and answer of this text contains another saying of the Prophet which will be considered later.

The other setting of this theological affirmation is as follows, and it might be described as a primitive creedal statement:

> Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī: God created the creation, decreed the decree,[30] made the covenant with the Prophets,[31] and His throne is upon the water.[32] The people of Paradise are really its people, and the people of Hell are really its people. (1130)

This text does not seem to occur in the other major collections. The first four statements of the affirmation are taken directly from the Qur'ān, and the last one is a compressed version of that seen in no. 1574.

In this second category of texts on predestination, it is possible to trace the reflection of the community upon more specific applications or qualifications of the idea of divine predetermination. The Musnad reflects the intense preoccupation of early Muslims over the lot of children who die before reaching the age of accountability. Five texts from five different guarantors enshrine what was Muḥammad's classic response to those who asked where the children went when they died: "God knows what they would have done." These texts[33] are all in the form of Question and Answer or Statement, Question and Answer. A collation of eight different versions

---

[30] Qur. 3:47/42.

[31] Qur. 3:81/75.

[32] Qur. 11:7/9.

[33] 537 (two chains), 1576, 2382 and 2624.

of this tradition[34] does not reveal any significant development. Muḥammad's answer in one case, however, poses a great problem. He says frankly to ʿāʾisha that the children of unbelievers are in Hell, but then takes refuge in the inscrutable decree, saying, "God knows what they would have done." (1576) al-Ṭayālisī furnishes further evidence of the lively discussion on this subject by including a seemingly contradictory text (2111), in which the Prophet says that since the children of unbelievers have done neither evil nor good, they are the servants (khadam) in Paradise. Ibn Qutayba deals with a similar contradiction, using still other texts, in his Taʾwīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth.[35]

The collection of al-Ṭayālisī contains two slightly variant readings of the celebrated ḥadīth on the fitra in which God created man.

> Abū Hurayra: The Prophet said, "Every child is born according to the natural disposition (fitra), and then its parents make it a Jew, a Christian or an idolater." (2433)

The other reading, also from Abū Hurayra, substitutes "Magian" for "idolater," and adds: "Have you not considered the cattle, when they are breeding, you do not see any maimed among them." (2359) This is an enigmatic statement, but the reading in Bu., Qadar, 3, clarifies it: ". . . Its parents make it a Jew . . ., just as you breed cattle. Do you find maimed cattle among them unless you have maimed them yourselves?"

It is likely that this tradition originally had nothing to do with predestination directly, and that it was transmitted in the above Statement form as a reflection upon the Qurʾanic verse:

---

[34]Those in the Musnad and Bu., Qadar, 3; Mu., Qadar, 40, 42, 43.

[35]pp. 263-64.

> So set thy purpose (O Muhammad) for religion as a man
> by nature upright--the nature (framed) of Allah, in
> which He hath created man. (30:30/29)

The tradition applies the truth of the primeval nature (fitra)
to the empirical fact of religious plurality, and might be
said to express in germ a theology of man's nature. It became
a focus of the theological debate between the ahl al-qadar
(advocates of free will) and the ahl al-ithbāt (advocates of
divine omnipotence).[36] al-Tayālisī shows no trace of this
debate, but other versions illustrate something of the course
that it took. Without going into the fine points of the
discussion we note that the ahl al-qadar identified the fitra
unambiguously with Islam. Some versions of the hadīth read:

> Every child that is born according to this
> fitra. . . .[37]
>
> No one is born without being in the religion (milla)
> (or, this religion) until he begins to express himself
> in speech.[38]

The ahl al-ithbāt interpreted fitra in terms of a covenant
which God made with the seed of Adam, according to which man-
kind recognized the lordship of God. This is based on the
Qur'anic passage already mentioned in connection with the
people of Paradise and the people of Hell, 7:172/171, where

---

[36]Wensinck, op. cit., 214-16; Ibn Qutayba, op. cit.,
128-30; Taqī al-Dīn b. Taymīya, Majmūʿat al-Rasāʾil al-Kubrā,
II, 316-334.

[37]Ha., 66. H., 1113; Mu., Qadar, 37.

[38]Mu., Qadar, 36.

God said to men: "Am I not your Lord?" They said, "Yea, verily." A series of traditions elaborates upon this event.[39]

Even more directly concerned with predestination than the argument about the definition of fitra was the question which arose in connection with it about the children who die before reaching the age of accountability. This is reflected in two versions of the fitra hadith.[40] It is obvious that the question which is juxtaposed had nothing to do with the original text, but provided another occasion for relating the Prophet's formula of response: "God knows what they would have done."

Another important application of the notion of divine predestination has to do with the nature of human works. In the hadith on this question contained in al-Ṭayālisī we observe the evidence of a certain amount of speculation, something foreign to the hadith literature in general. The forms used are Question and Answer, Statement, Question and Answer, and Story. All are in direct speech, and therefore probably represent a considerable evolution. They have in common a recurring formula-saying of the Prophet which summarizes the Muslim attitude toward, or understanding of, human works in a world of divine predestination: "Everyone has facilitated for him the deeds for which he has been created."

In al-Ṭayālisī's hadith from ʿUmar, no. 11, the future caliph ponders over human works, asking whether they are creative (mubtadaʿ), inceptive (mubtadaʾ) or settled in advance (qad furigha minhu). The answer given is that man's works are indeed settled in advance, but that ʿUmar should work, for "Everyone has facilitated for him that for which he has been created." Then the statement is added which is an adaptation of the "people of Paradise, people of Hell" saying: "Whoever

---

[39]I. Ḥ., I, 272; III, 127; VI, 441.

[40]Ḥ., 1113; Ha., 66.

is of the people of happiness will work with or for happiness;
whoever is of the people of misery will work with or for
misery." This substitution of happiness and misery for
Paradise and Hell is perhaps due to the emphasis in the pre-
ceding statement upon works in the present life. We have
already noted the evidence that in the hadīth happiness and
misery are often associated with man's life in this world.[41]

Another text combines the eschatological and the
present life aspects:

> ʿAlī: We went out with the Apostle of God and sat
> down around him. He took a stick and scratched up the
> ground. Then he raised his head and said, "There is
> no soul born but whose resting place in Paradise has
> been known or decreed, or whose resting place in Hell
> has been known, as well as whether it would be miser-
> able or happy." A man of the people said, "O Apostle
> of God, shall we not then give up working and acquiese
> in that which has been decreed for us; for whoever of
> us belongs to the people of happiness will work for
> that, and whoever of us belongs to the people of misery
> will work for that?" Then the Apostle of God said,
> "Work, for everything has been facilitated. For the
> one who belongs to the people of happiness, it has been
> facilitated for him to work to that end; and for the
> one who belongs to the people of misery, it has been
> facilitated for him to work to that end." Then he
> recited:
>
>> "As for him who giveth and is dutiful (toward Allah)
>> And believeth in goodness;
>> Surely We will ease his way unto the state of ease.
>> But as for him who hoardeth and deemeth himself
>>   independent,
>> And disbelieveth in goodness;
>> Surely We will ease his way unto adversity."[42]
>>   (151)[43]

---

[41]Above, p. 89, footnote 19.

[42]Qur. 92:5-10.

[43]Cf. Bu., Tafsīr, sūra 92:7, for a slightly variant
reading.

In the tradition from ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn, already cited,[44] a man poses the extraordinarily speculative question (for the hadīth literature), "Why (fīma) should anyone do any works?" He receives the classic formula-saying, here under study, as an answer.[45]

Another text from ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn, also in Question and Answer form, provides a different setting for the same Prophetic formula, in which the first of two questions posed uses the theological terms qaḍā' (as a verb) and qadar:

> . . . Is that which people do a matter decreed for them (qudiya ʿalayhim) in advance according to predestination (qadar) . . .? (842)

Finally there is a Story setting for the formula-saying attributed to Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh (1737), but since it incorporates several other elements germane to a different point, it will be considered later.

Perhaps the most important conclusion to come out of the discussion on predestination thus far is that there is a smaller unit than the hadīth text which should be the object of study, in order to arrive at a fuller understanding of the tradition literature. This unit is the formula, examples of which we have seen to be:

> people of Paradise and people of Hell
> miserable and happy
> people of misery and people of happiness
> God knows what they would have done.
> Everyone has facilitated for him that for which he
> has been created.

---

[44]Above, p. 92, no. 828.

[45]Bu., Qadar, 2, reproduces this text exactly.

3. In the third group (assertions to safeguard right doctrine) have been gathered only those texts which clearly condemn heretical views on predestination and those which set forth belief in predestination as a formal article of faith. Here al-Ṭayālisī's collection is not rewarding. It is perhaps evidence of the criteria for choice of material that the Musnad contains very few prophecies of Muḥammad concerning events in subsequent history, particular cities and localities, and the course of theological and political thought. Regarding strictures against the ahl al-qadar, it is only by predictive prophecy that Muḥammad could have foretold the emergence of a people at the end of time,

> who say that there is no predestination. When they fall ill do not visit them. When they die do not perform the funeral ceremony for them. They are the followers (shīʿa) of the antichrist (dajjāl), and God is right to deliver them over to him. (434, from Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān)[46]

A different type of setting for the same stricture is seen in a negative Statement form:

> Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī: The Prophet said, "Neither a disobedient person nor an avaricious one nor a denier of predestination shall enter Paradise." (1131)

This threefold judgment is common in the literature, although the same three categories are not always listed. Other texts include not only the three in no. 1131, but also other types of social and personal misdoing.[47] In one case a theological sin is included, "association with God" (ishrāk bi Allāh),

---

[46]Cf. I. Ḥ., V, 407, with only slight variants.

[47]e.g. Ṭay., 467, 468, 2567; Tir., al-Birr wa'l-Ṣila, 4. Here the wrongs are called kabāʾir, or great sins. Cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 39.

which is known as the greatest of all sins.[48] It may be, then, that as the discussion on predestination grew more intense, the sin of denying it came to be interchangeable, in lists of great sins, with that of association with God. The latter sin would be the first mentioned in the literature because it is an important theme of the Qur'ān.[49]

The highest development of the idea of qadar in the hadīth is its insertion into a formal statement of faith, or creed. The emphasis in those traditions preserved in the Musnad is upon integral belief in qadar. In a short Statement form:

> ʿAlī: No one will find the savor (taʿm) of faith until he believes in all of predestination. (170)

This is rendered more explicit in the following short Discourse form:

> ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit: . . . you do not fear God until you believe in Him and until you believe in predestination, all of it, its good and its evil. . . . (577)

Seventeen occurrences of this creedal article in several collections have been examined. In all except two, that from ʿAlī quoted above and an almost identical reading of it in I. Ḥ., I, 97, the statement about predestination occurs in a larger context of the definition of islām and faith (īmān). Of the seventeen occurrences, all but two[50] qualify the word "predestination" (qadar) with the words

---

[48]Tir., al-Birr wa'l-Ṣila, 4; Wensinck, op. cit., p. 39.

[49]e.g., 4:48/51, 116.

[50]I. Ḥ., I, 97; Tir., Qadar, 10.

kullihi (all of it), or kullihi, khayrihi wa sharrihi (all of
it, its good and its evil), or simply khayrihi wa sharrihi.

This qualification was carried over into later theolo-
gical formulations in Islam.[51] We shall see in the following
section on pre-Islamic influences reflected in the hadīth that
this specification of both the good and the evil of predestina-
tion may have an interesting background.

4. Scholarship has commonly pointed out that the hadīth
literature reveals the nature of some of the theological argu-
ments in early Islam, especially those on predestination.[52]
As instructive as such evidence is, however, it is not more
interesting than the way the hadīth mirror the gradual adapta-
tion of pre-Islamic thought patterns and vocabulary on the
subject of fate or destiny to Muslim theistic predestination.
This is not to say that the evidence reveals an evolution of
the doctrine. It rather shows an awakening awareness of some
of the implications of theistic determinism.[53]

In the world of pre-Islamic Arabia certain facts about
predetermined fate could be discerned by omens.[54] One word for
evil omen, or bad luck was shu'm. al-Shartūnī's dictionary says
that it is the opposite of baraka (beneficent force). This word
is explained by classical scholars as belonging to the realm of
Arab superstition.[55] A well-known hadīth states:

---

[51]Cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 188.

[52]e.g. Ringgren, op. cit., p. 116.

[53]Ibid., pp. 125-26, following Watt, the author cites
two examples of this kind of evidence, but the texts are not
found in al-Tayālisī.

[54]Ibid., p. 7.

[55]Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., II, 510-11.

Ibn 'Umar: The Apostle of God said, "There is an evil omen (shu'm) in three things: the house, the woman and the horse."[56] (1821)

According to no. 1537, another version of the same Numerical Saying, 'A'isha was not satisfied that Abū Hurayra, who recounted it to her, had retained it correctly. He had not heard the first part of the Prophet's utterance,

God fight the Jews (qātala Allāh al-Yahūd); they say that there is an evil omen in three things. . . .

Then in a third text we find that the threefold ascription of evil omen has been completely Islamized, even to the use of the familiar antithetical formula, happiness and misery.

Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ: The Apostle of God said, "There is happiness for man in three things, and there is misery for man in three things. Man has happiness in a good wife, a good mount and a spacious dwelling" (or, he said, "a good dwelling"). "And man has misery in three things, a bad dwelling, a bad mount and a bad wife."[57] (210)

Another term in common use by pre-Islamic Arabs was ṭā'ir or ṭiyara (bird, omen, portent),[58] from which a verb was formed, taṭayyara (to see an evil omen). This word occurs

---

[56]Cf. Tir., Adab, 91. The commentary of al-Tirmidhī, Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Rahīm al-Mubārakfūrī, Tuhfat al-Ahwadhī bi Sharh Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī, ed. by 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf and 'Abd al-Rahmān Muhammad 'Uthmān, VIII, 110-11, cites al-Nawāwī to give several different interpretations that have been offered for this text. I. H., V, 335, has the same text, with a different chain and a variant reading.

[57]Cf. I. H., I, 168, with a different guarantor.

[58]Ringgren, op. cit., pp. 87-89; Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., III, 150-52.

several times in the Qur'ān, [59] in several grammatical forms.
Ringgren observes that the Qur'anic statements would seem to
sanction the use of ṭā'ir to express man's destiny.[60] The
ḥadīth, however, do not give such a clear-cut picture.
al-Ṭayālisī's collection presents one text which favors the
use of ṭā'ir, although it forbids the frequenting of sooth-
sayers.

> Mu'āwīya b. al-Ḥakam: I asked the Apostle of God
> about the ṭiyara. He said, "It is something that you
> discover within your breasts, but let it not hinder
> you (lā yaṣuddannakum)." I said, "O Apostle of God,
> and if people go to the soothsayers?" Then the
> Apostle of God said, "Do not go to them." (1104)

Ibn Ḥanbal reported from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh who, answering
an inquiry about what the Prophet thought of ṭiyara, said,
"I heard him saying, 'Every man has his augury on his neck,'"[61]
an allusion to Qur. 17:13/14.

By way of contrast, a text from another collection is
categorical in its rejection of omens.[62] 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd
reports the Prophet as saying three times, that ṭiyara is
polytheism (shirk). al-Ṭayālisī preserves one testimony which
echoes this rejection:

---

[59] 7:131/128; 17:13/14; 27:47/48; 36:18,19/17,18.

[60] Op. cit., p. 88.

[61] III, 349.

[62] Manṣūr 'Alī Nāṣif, comp., al-Tāj al-Jāmi' li'l-Uṣūl
fī Aḥādīth al-Rasūl, wa'alayhi Ghāyat al-Ma'mūl, III, 222.

Umm Kurz al-Ka'bīya: I heard the Apostle of God say, "Leave the birds (tayr) in their places." He said, "This means the omen (tiyara)."63 (1634)

The Musnad also gives a number of texts which advise a qualified rejection of tiyara. To do this a different word is introduced, fa'l, which means a good omen or a favorable outlook. The first example cited is a Statement:

Ibn 'Abbās: The Prophet regarded good omens (yatafā'alu) but not bad ones (yatatayyaru). (2690)

If the verb tatayyara meant only "to see an evil omen," the term tā'ir or tiyara embraced both the good and the bad in its meaning, so some precision was necessary in qualifying the rejection of it.

Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "There should be no taking of omens, but the best of omens (tiyara) is the good one (fa'l)." It was said, "O Apostle of God, what is the good omen?" He said, "It is the good word that each of you hears."64 (2512)

Ibn Hajar, commenting upon this testimony, says that it reveals the twofold content of predestination (qadar), tiyara, the bad, and fa'l, the good. The difference between them, according to that fifteenth century scholar, is that fa'l led to thinking well of God, whereas tiyara led to

---

63A reference to the pre-Islamic practice of scaring birds out of their nests and then taking an omen from the direction in which they flew; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., IV, 350.

64Cf. I. H., II, 266, 387, a variant reading showing some difference of emphasis: "He said three times, 'There should be no taking of omens.' Then he said, 'The best of good omens is the agreeable word;'" also III, 118; Bu., Tibb, 43, 44.

thinking ill of Him. So the latter was rejected.[65] Of course
the ḥadīth in question do not use the word qadar, but this
comment of Ibn Ḥajar shows perceptive insight into the early
Muslim consciousness.

The rejection of tiyara is also combined with the
rejection of other phenomena related to the occult or to the
mysterious.

> Anas b. Mālik: The Prophet said, "There is no con-
> tagion nor taking of evil omens, but I like the good
> omen." Someone said, "O Apostle of God, and what is
> the good omen?" He said, "The excellent word."[66]
> (1961)

There is a final development of these traditions which
is not represented in al-Ṭayālisī. Not only was the good omen
(faʾl) not included in the general proscription of tiyara,
but also certain evil portents were excepted.

> There is no owl nor evil omen; but if there should
> be an evil omen in something it lies in the horse,
> in the woman and in the house.[67]

Then in I. Ḥ., II, 487, we find that the evil eye
(ʿayn) is also accepted as real (ḥaqq). In fact still another
text, using the word qadar, and representing another line of

---

[65]Fath al-Bārī bi Sharḥ al-Bukhārī, XII, 325.

[66]Cf. I. Ḥ., III, 178; I, 328; II, 507; Bu., Ṭibb,
19, 44. By collating various versions of this tradition
Ibn Ḥajar (op. cit., XII, 265) has collected six different
things which are rejected: contagion, evil omens, the owl
(hāma), the serpent (safar), the ogre (ghūl) and the tempest
(nawʾ), all connected with the maleficent force of destiny.

[67]Naṣif, comp., op. cit., III, 221, citing Abū Dāwud;
cf. Bu., Ṭibb, 43; I. Ḥ., I, 174; II, 153.

thought, says that if anything can compete with _qadar_ it is the evil eye.[68]

Here it may be pointed out that the clear divisions of omens into the good and the bad, the one accepted and the other rejected, may very likely be the background out of which emerged the insistence of another series of _hadīth_ upon the integral nature of belief in _qadar_. A Muslim must believe in all of _qadar_, its good and its evil.[69] So it might be said that the _hadīth_ here studied reveal important stages of thought as Muslims meditated upon the ancient sayings and accomplished the complete transition from pre-Islamic fatalism to a consistent doctrine of divine predestination. This did not mean that they dropped all of the pre-Islamic words, but _qadar_, all of it, became the ruling idea, with _tawakkul_ (trust) and _riḍā'_ (approval) as the proper human attitudes toward it.

The practice of incantation (_ruqya_) was a part of pre-Islamic life. al-Ṭayālisī has preserved a text which shows that such a practice is inconsistent with the Muslim faith. The form is an Antithetical Statement.

> al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba: The Apostle of God said, "Whoever practices cauterization or incantation does not trust in God."[70] (697)

However we have noted above that in the case of the evil eye an exception was made to the stricture against incantation.

The next series of texts to be considered is not directly concerned with predestination or with fate. These

---

[68]Ḥ., 330.

[69]Above, pp. 100-01.

[70]Cf. Nāṣif, comp., _op. cit._, III, 227; I. Ḥ., IV, 249, 253.

testimonies illustrate in an artless and incidental way the
manner in which the doctrine of divine predestination came
to dominate the religious consciousness of Muslims.

The form in question is a playful little rhyme
repeated by Muḥammad to the son of Umm Sulaym, the mother of
Anas b. Mālik. In al-Bukhārī it is classified under <u>Adab</u> in
the section on the pleasantries of Muḥammad. Ibn Ḥajar con-
siders it as an example of the type of poetry which is
allowed to pious Muslims.[71]

We shall quote integrally ten different versions,
beginning with what seems to be the most complete one at our
disposition. We shall see that the variant readings indicate
an uneasiness regarding a pre-Islamic concept, and subse-
quently a complete misunderstanding of the story. This is an
excellent example of controlled improvisation. The guaran-
tors are careful to stay within the framework of the story,
but their changes are significant.

1. Anas b. Mālik: The Prophet used to go to see my
   mother and she would give him something. One day he
   went in and my small brother was with her. The
   Prophet saw that he looked sad (<u>khāthir al-nafs</u>).[72]
   He said, "What is wrong with your boy, O Umm Sulaym?"
   She said, "O Apostle of God, the little bird (<u>saʿwa</u>)
   with which he played has died." He said, "O Abū
   ʿUmayr, the little bird has died; fate has carried it
   away (<u>yā Abā ʿUmayr, māta al-nughayr, atā ʿalayhi
   al-duhayr</u>)." (2147)

The elements of the Prophet's rhyming response which remain in
subsequent versions are the name of the boy and the word for
"little bird" (<u>nughayr</u>).[73] In none of the following readings

---

[71]<u>Op. cit.</u>, XIII, 142-43.

[72]A fairly unusual expression, explained in a footnote
in the edition of the <u>Musnad</u>.

[73]Ibn al-Athīr, <u>op. cit.</u>, V, 86.

are the words, khāthir al-nafs and saʿwa used. Also the last
phrase of the rhyme is omitted every time (atā ʿalayhi
al-duhayr), and the Prophet's address to the boy becomes a
question instead of a statement.

2. Anas: The Apostle of God used to go to see us. I had
   a little brother who had a bird as a plaything. The
   bird with which he played died. The Prophet went in
   one day and saw him sad (hazīn). Then he said to him,
   "What causes your sadness, Abū ʿUmayr?" They told him,
   "The bird with which he played has died, O Apostle of
   God." Then he said, "O Abū ʿUmayr, what happened to
   the little bird?" (yā Abā ʿUmayr, mā faʿala
   al-nughayr).[74]

3. Anas: A small son of Umm Sulaym named Abū ʿUmayr had
   a small bird. When the Apostle of God went in to see
   him he jested with him and then saw that he was sad.
   He said, "What is the matter, Abū ʿUmayr?" They said,
   "O Apostle of God, his little bird died." He spoke
   and began to say, "O Abū ʿUmayr, what happened to the
   little bird?"[75]

4. Anas: The Apostle of God used to go to see Umm Sulaym.
   She had a son of Abū Ṭalha whose name was Abū ʿUmayr,
   and the Prophet used to be merry with him. He went in
   to see him and saw that he was sad. So he said, "What
   is it, that I see Abū ʿUmayr sad?" They said, "His
   bird with which he played has died." Then he spoke
   and said, "O Abū ʿUmayr, what happened to the little
   bird?"[76]

In versions 3 and 4 the explanatory note is added that Muhammad
used to joke with the boy. This is no doubt to lend a certain
atmosphere to the story which, without atā ʿalayhī al-duhayr,
it lacks.

---

[74] I. Ḥ., III, 288.

[75] I. Ḥ., III, 201.

[76] I. Ḥ., III, 188.

5. Anas: The Apostle of God used to associate with us,
   so that he said to my little brother, "O Abū ꜥUmayr,
   what happened to the little bird?"[77] (2088)

6. Anas: The Apostle of God was very friendly with us,
   so much so that he said to my little brother, "O Abū
   ꜥUmayr, what happened to the little bird?"[78]

In versions 5 and 6 it becomes increasingly difficult to see
the meaning of the hadīth. The death of the bird is not
mentioned. Emphasis is placed upon the social, agreeable
nature of the Prophet.

7. Anas: The Apostle of God used to associate with us,
   so that he used to say to my little brother, "O Abū
   ꜥUmayr, what happened to the little bird?" It was
   a bird (tā'ir) with which he played. Anas: He
   sprinkled a carpet for us and prayed for it. We were
   in a row behind him.[79]

8. Anas: The Apostle of God used to associate with us
   so that he would say to my little brother, "O Abū
   ꜥUmayr, what happened to the little bird?" And a
   carpet was sprinkled for us and he prayed for it.[80]

9. Anas: The Apostle of God was the best of people in
   his character. I had a little brother named Abū
   ꜥUmayr. . . . When the Apostle of God came, he saw
   him and said, "O Abū ꜥUmayr, what did the little bird
   do?" Anas: It was a bird with which he played. Some-
   times the time for prayer would come while he was in
   our house. He would call for the sweeping and sprin-
   kling of the carpet on which he stood, then the Apostle
   of God would begin the prayer service. We would rise

---

[77]Cf. Bu., Adab, 81, for an identical reading.

[78]I. Ḥ., III, 278.

[79]I. Ḥ., III, 119, 171, which is essentially the same,
with a few variants.

[80]Tir., Ṣalāt, 248.

behind him and he would lead us in prayer. Their carpet was made of palm branches.[81]

10. Anas: The Prophet used to visit Umm Sulaym, who had a small son named Abū ʿUmayr. The Prophet used to say, "O Abū ʿUmayr, what happened to the little bird?" It was a bird with which he played. Then the Apostle of God used to visit Umm Sulaym sometimes and converse with her. The time for prayer would come upon him and he would pray on the carpet of reeds sprinkled with water.[82]

In versions 7-10 it may be observed that a new element is introduced, the prayer service in the home. In 7 and 8 it is said that Muḥammad prayed for it (the bird?), although there is no mention of its death. In 9 and especially 10, the prayer service is completely separate from the incident with the boy. So we may suppose that 10 represents two separate testimonies, the first a truncated version of the rhyme story, and an account of prayer at the home of Umm Sulaym. In 7, 8 and 10 we see that Muḥammad "used to say" to the boy, thus going still farther away from the original story.

The single great preoccupation in this confusing evolution of testimonies seems to have been the elimination of the primitive reference to fate. Of course, this conscious elimination took place only in the first stages of the evolution. Interestingly enough, the expression, atā ʿalayhī al-dahr has persisted in the modern Arabic language as an idiom meaning, "he died." So linguistic conservation manifests itself alongside changes based on religious considerations.

A final series of texts combines Qurʾanic data with pre-Islamic concepts. The instrument for such a combination is the Arabic vocable, qalam.

---

[81] I. Ḥ., III, 212.

[82] I. Ḥ., III, 190.

al-Ṭayālisī transmits the famous account of the creation of the primeval Pen (qalam), which wrote down the qadar, or divine decrees for all time.[83] At the same time this qalam seems to be the instrument for recording the deeds of men in a book of accounts.[84]

> ʿAlī: The Pen is lifted from (recording the deeds of) three: the afflicted or demon possessed, until he is cured, the child until he reaches puberty and the sleeper until he awakes.[85] (90)

This usage has nothing to do with predestination. On the other hand, there is a text, different from no. 577, and showing several variant readings in other collections, in which the Pen is said to be the instrument that has already recorded man's destiny. This observation in itself is not significant. It would be only natural to expect some development of the notion of a primeval Pen, as recorded in no. 577. The unusual fact about this text is that it uses the vocable qalam in the plural.

> Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh: We went out with the Apostle of God, enthusiastic about the Pilgrimage, and Surāqa b. Mālik said, "Inform us about our religion as though we had just been born. Do we work that which the aqlām have entailed and what the destinies (maqādīr) have concluded, or do we initiate deeds (nastaqbilu)?[86] He said, "What the aqlām have entailed. . . ." (1737)

---

[83]577; cf. I. Ḥ., II, 176; Qur. 68:1 mentions the Pen in an enigmatic introductory oath.

[84]Among several meanings of the word kitāb in the Qurʾān are found the significations, "a record of deeds," and "a book of decrees" (cf. Ringgren, op. cit., pp. 88, 94-96).

[85]Cf. I. Ḥ., I, 116, 118; Bu., Ṭalāq, 11; Ḥudūd, 22.

[86]Edward William Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon, I, Pt. 8, 2983.

It might seem at first that the use of <u>aqlām</u> is simply
a stylistic device to complement <u>maqādīr</u>, also a plural. The
latter and its singular, <u>miqdār</u>, was widely used in pre-Islamic
times.[87] On the other hand in Tir., Tafsīr, sūra 11:3, we
find a text from ʿUmar with essentially the same thoughts as
those expressed in no. 1737, using "what the Pens entailed,"
but not including the parallel words, "what the destinies have
concluded." Still another <u>hadīth</u>, also from Jābir, and a
variant reading of no. 1737, uses the combination, "that by
which the Pens become dry and that which the destinies
entailed."[88] We find also the same use of <u>aqlām</u> in a differ-
ent context. ʿĀʾisha, speaking to the Prophet about the child-
ren of the polytheists, says, " . . . and the <u>aqlām</u> have not
run concerning them,"[89] that is, the Pens have not recorded
any of their deeds. These occurrences seem conclusive to the
effect that the plural of Pen is meant, and that it can mean
either the Pen of destiny or the Pen that keeps accounts.[90]

At the same time the use of the plural does not seem
to have any precedent. Its use is not logical. The reference
is to the primeval Pen, the first thing created. As such it
cannot be Pens unless there is another thought mingled with
those of the Pen of destiny and the recording Pen.

That thought and the plural use of <u>aqlām</u> can be found
in the pre-Islamic notion of chance, or casting lots, which,
as Ringgren has pointed out, is closely akin to the idea of

---

[87]Ringgren, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 9 <u>et al</u>.

[88]I. H., III, 292-93.

[89]Tay., 1576.

[90]I. H., II, 176, records a text in which it is said
that the Pen of destiny became dry by writing the knowledge
of God.

fate and determinism.[91] The word _qalam_ means an arrow used in an
Arab game of chance which was forbidden by the Qur'ān.[92] It
was also used in divination according to al-Shartūnī's
dictionary. In such contexts the plural use would be common.
In fact the expression in several _hadīth_, _mā jarat bihi
al-aqlām_ (what the Pens entailed) echoes directly a traditional
explanation of the incident in Qur. 3:44/39 which tells of the
priests' casting their _aqlām_ to determine which one of them
would assume responsibility for the Virgin Mary. The _aqlām_
were arrows, and the priests were casting lots. The traditions
say:

> They cast lots and the arrows flowed (_jarat al-aqlām_)[93]
> with the current of water.[94]

So this series of texts reveals, we believe, a curious
ambivalence in the early Muslim religious consciousness, sup-
ported and encouraged by the genius of the Arabic language.
As the convictions on divine predestination and omniscience
were expressed, they were couched in the language of pre-
Islamic fatalism. Only in this way can we adequately explain
the use of the plural, _aqlām_.

---

[91]_Op. cit._, pp. 6, 21.

[92]Qur. 5:3/4, 90/92, where another word, _azlām_, is used
for "arrows."

[93]The word _jarā_ can mean either "to flow," or "to
entail;" cf. Ṭay., 1737, 1576, above, pp. 111-12.

[94]Bu., Shahādāt, 30; Ibn Manẓūr, _Lisān al-ʿArab_, XVIII,
152; cf. Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, _al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān_,
II, 458.

CHAPTER VII

TEXTS RELATING TO THE FIVE TIMES OF RITUAL PRAYER

IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR FORMS OF EXPRESSION

Wensinck has given the basic information on the
five times of ritual prayer in two articles in the first
edition of <u>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</u>.[1] There is no need,
therefore, to go over the essential data here. Taking for
granted that the number of five prayers was a very early
development,[2] this investigation has for its purpose to see
how the <u>hadīth</u> in one collection set forth the precise times
for these five obligatory prayers. Again particular atten-
tion will be given to the way in which the testimonies are
expressed.

There is no linguistic mystery surrounding the names
given to the five times of prayer. All of them have common
names which belong to the everyday life of Arabic speakers.
As would be expected they reflect a Qur'anic background and
before looking at the texts in al-Ṭayālisī's <u>Musnad</u> it will
be useful to present the pertinent Qur'anic material.

_____

[1]III, 492-93; IV, 96-105.

[2]<u>Ibid.</u>, IV, 97-98. Wensinck summarizes several theo-
ries of non-Muslim scholars as to how the number of prayers
was fixed at five. There is evidence that the community did
not adopt the five-prayer arrangement unanimously and immedi-
ately (Goldziher, Review of Carra de Vaux, <u>Le Mahométisme; le
Génie Sémitique et le Génie Aryen dans l'Islam</u>, in <u>Zeitschrift
der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</u>, LII (1899), 385-86;
"Islamisme et Parsisme," <u>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</u>,
XLIII (1901), 15; <u>Muslim Studies I</u>, trans. by C. R. Barber and
S. M. Stern, 39-44).

114

Day and Night

But if they are too proud--still those who are with
thy Lord glorify Him night and day, and tire not.
(41:38)

Unto Him belongeth whosoever is in the heavens and the
earth. And those who dwell in His presence are not
too proud to worship Him, nor do they weary; they glo-
rify (Him) night and day; they flag not. (21:19,20)

Morning and Evening

Lo! We subdued the hills to hymn the praises (of
their Lord) with him at nightfall and sunrise
(bi'l-ʿashīy wa'l-ishrāq). (38:18/17, 19 in Pickthall)

He said: My Lord! Appoint a token for me. (The angel)
said: The token unto thee (shall be) that thou shalt
not speak unto mankind three days except by signs.
Remember thy Lord much, and praise (Him) in the early
hours of night and morning (bi'l-ʿashīy wa'l-ibkār).
(3:41/36)

Then he came forth unto his people from the sanctuary,
and signified to them; Glorify your Lord at break of
day and fall of night (bukratan wa ʿashīyan).
(19:11/12)

(This lamp is found) in houses which Allah hath
allowed to be exalted and that His name shall be
remembered therein. Therein do offer praise to Him at
morn and evening (bi'l-ghudūw wa'l-āṣāl). (24:36)

Repel not those who call upon their Lord at morn and
evening (bi'l-ghadāt wa'l-ʿashīy), seeking His
countenance. (6:52)

Restrain thyself along with those who cry unto their
Lord at morn and evening (bi'l-ghadāt wa'l-ʿashīy),
seeking His countenance; and let not thine eyes over-
look them, desiring the pomp of the life of the world;
and obey not him whose heart We have made heedless of
Our remembrance, who followeth his own lust and whose
case hath been abandoned. (18:28/27, 29 in Pickthall)

And do thou (O Muhammad) remember thy Lord within
thyself humbly and with awe, below thy breath, at
morn and evening (bi'l-ghudūw wa'l-āṣāl). And be
not of the neglectful. (7:205/204)

Then have patience (O Muhammad), Lo! the promise of
Allah is true. And ask forgiveness of thy sin, and
hymn the praise of thy Lord at fall of night and in
the early hours (bi'l-ʿashīy wa'l-ibkār). (40:55/57)

That ye (mankind) may believe in Allah and His message,
and may honour Him, and may revere Him, and may glorify
Him at early dawn and at the close of day (bukratan
wa asīlan). (48:9)

And unto Allah falleth prostrate whosoever is in the
heavens and the earth, willingly or unwillingly, as
do their shadows in the morning and the evening hours
(bi'l-ghudūw wa'l-āsāl). (13:15/16)

Night

And who spend the night before their Lord (yabītūna
li rabbihim), prostrate and standing. (25:64/65)

They used to sleep but little of the night. (51:17)

They are not all alike. Of the People of the Scripture
there is a staunch community who recite the revelations
of Allah in the night season, falling prostrate (before
Him). (3:113/109)

Is he who payeth adoration in the watches of the night,
prostrate and standing, bewaring of the Hereafter and
hoping for the mercy of his Lord, (to be accounted
equal with a disbeliever)? (39:9/12)

O thou wrapped up in thy raiment!
Keep vigil the night long, save a little-- (73:1-2)

Lo! thy Lord knoweth how thou keepest vigil sometimes
nearly two-thirds of the night, or (sometimes) half
or a third thereof, as do a party of those with thee.
Allah measureth the night and the day. (73:20)

Morning, Evening and Night

Remember the name of thy Lord at morn and evening,
And worship Him (a portion) of the night and glorify
Him through the livelong night. (76:25-26)

Establish worship at the two ends of the day (tarafay
al-nahār) and in some watches of the night. Lo! good
deeds annul ill deeds. This is a reminder for the
mindful. (11:114/116)

Therefor (O Muhammad), bear with what they say, and
celebrate the praises of the Lord ere the rising of
the sun and ere the going down thereof. And glorify
Him some hours of the night and at the two ends of
the day, that thou mayst find acceptance. (20:130)

Therefor (O Muhammad) bear with what they say, and
hymn the praise of thy Lord before the rising and
before the setting of the sun; And in the night-time
hymn His praise, and after the (prescribed) prostra-
tions. (50:39,40/38,39)

So wait patiently (O Muhammad) for thy Lord's decree,
for surely thou art in Our sight; and hymn the praise
of thy Lord when thou uprisest, and in the night-time
also hymn His praise, and at the setting (idbār) of
the stars. (52:48,49)

Establish worship at the going down of the sun (dulūk
al-shams) until the dark of night, and (the recital of)
the Qur'ān at dawn (qur'ān al-fajr). Lo! (the recital
of) the Qur'ān at dawn is ever witnessed. And some
part of the night awake for it, a largess (nāfila) for
thee. (17:78,79/80,81)

Other References

So glory be to Allah when ye enter the night and when
ye enter the morning--Unto him be praise in the
heavens and the earth!--and at the sun's decline and
in the noonday (hīna tuzhirūna). (30:17,18/16,17)

Be guardians of your prayers, and of the midmost prayer
(al-ṣalāt al-wustā), and stand up with devotion to
Allah. (2:238/239)

O ye who believe! Let your slaves, and those of you
who have not come to puberty, ask leave of you at
three times (before they come into your presence)
before the prayer of dawn, and when ye lay aside your
raiment for the heat of noon (ẓahīra), and after the
prayer of night (ṣalāt al-'ishā'). Three times of
privacy for you. (24:58/57)

It is not our purpose to examine closely the Qur'anic
evidence, but it is important to know these data as background

for hadīth statements.[3] These Qur'anic verses mention, in some grammatical form, every one of the five obligatory prayers except the midafternoon one, the ʿasr. However, the Qur'anic expression, bi'l-ʿashīy can be translated as "in the afternoon" as well as "in the evening" or "early hours of the night" (6:52; 3:41/36, etc).[4] So the prayer of ʿasr would correspond to prayer bi'l-ʿashīy. Also many Muslims considered ʿasr to be the wustā (middle) prayer, noted in Qur. 2:238/239. The word, ʿasr, simply means "period of time," and it may be that its use to designate the afternoon prayer is synonymous with the Qur'anic expression, tarafay al-nahār (two ends of the day)[5] (11:114/116).

There are two important prayers in the hadīth literature which are not mentioned in the Qur'ān. One is witr (odd bowings performed at night). It did not gain a place in Islam as a religious duty.[6] Another prayer is called duhā, or morning prayer. It, too was not adopted as canonical. The

---

[3]Rudi Paret discusses the times of prayer as indicated in the Qur'ān in Grenzen der Koranforschung, pp. 31-35.

[4]Cf. Lane, op. cit., I, Pt. 5, 2056, for the broad possible definition of ʿashīy.

[5]In fact, it is said that ʿasr is so called because the prayer is performed in one of the ʿasrān (two portions) of the day (Ibid., I, Pt. 5, 2062). Goldziher makes some pertinent remarks about the significance of the afternoon to Muslims, and how it affected their attitude toward the prayer of ʿasr. However, he may have erred in assigning the meaning, "afternoon" to the vocable, ʿasr, in Sura 103 of the Qur'ān (G.-H. Bousquet, Etudes Islamologiques d'Ignaz Goldziher: Traduction Analytique, p. 27). Probably it only came to mean afternoon after the prayer time, second of the ʿasrān, was adopted. Cf. Le Coran (al-Qorân), trans. by Régis Blachère, p. 664.

[6]Cf. EI[1], IV, 1139-40. The study of witr in the hadīth is very important, but since it is not one of the five obligatory prayers, it will be omitted from this investigation.

word is used in the Qur'ān as the title of sūra 93 but not
as the name of a prayer. So in conclusion it may be said
that the five canonical prayer times achieved that rank mainly
because their names, or words cognate to them, are found in
the Qur'ān in a context of <u>salāt</u> or worship. Other names and
times of prayers which did not persist are not Qur'anic. 'Aṣr
presents a special case as is brought out above, but the time
indicated for it is seen in several Qur'anic verses.

   al-Ṭayālisī's collection does not contain the famous
<u>hadīth</u> from Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī and Ibn 'Abbās which summarize
and, for the sake of jurisprudence, finalize the question of
the exact times of prayer.[7] According to them the angel
Gabriel came down to the Prophet and performed the five
ritual prayers at certain precise times.

   In Chapter V it is noted that there is some evidence
that ritual prayer was not one of the oldest preoccupations of
the <u>hadīth</u> literature.[8] This does not mean that prayer was
not central to the religious life of early Islam, but rather
that its more precise aspects were not pointed out until a
later stage. With the help of al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī[9] we can
see an indication of this in one of the well-known testimonies
on the best of works, as preserved in the <u>Musnad</u>. In al-Ḥākim's
section on the addition of juridical expressions in readings
attested by only one guarantor, he cites as an example, the
following:

   Ibn Mas'ūd, by al-Ḥasan b. Mukrim <u>et al.</u>: I asked
   the Apostle of God, "What is the most excellent work?"

_____

   [7]Ma., I, 11-15; Nāṣif, comp., <u>op. cit.</u>, I, 141-42;
al-Shāfi'ī, <u>op. cit.</u>, I, 61-62.

   [8]Above, p. 83.

   [9]<u>Op. cit.</u>, pp. 130-31.

> He said, "Prayer at the beginning of its time (fī
> awwal waqtihā)." I said, "Then which one?" He said,
> "Fighting (jihād) in the way of God." I said, "And
> then which one?" He said, "Obedience to parents."[10]

al-Ḥākim states that it is only in readings reported by the
secondary guarantors, al-Ḥasan b. Mukrim and Bundār b. Bashshār,
that the expression, fī awwal waqtihā, is used. So this is an
addition made to the text for supplementary legal precision.
The less exact statement, given in answer to Ibn Masʿūd's
Question is as follows:

> Ibn Masʿūd: I asked the Apostle of God which was the
> most excellent of works. He said, "Prayer at its
> proper time." I said, "Then which one?" (or he said,
> "Then what?" Abū Dāwud doubted this reading.) He
> said, "Then obedience to parents." I said, "Then
> what?" He said, "Fighting in the way of God." He
> related them to me and he would have continued to
> relate others if I had asked him.[11] (372)

Even this text, however, has developed beyond other similar
testimonies in al-Ṭayālisī.

> Thawbān: The Prophet said, "Act properly and nothing
> will be charged against you. Know that the best of
> your religion (dīn) is prayer, and that only a
> believer will maintain strict ritual purity." (996)

A variant reading of this testimony from another collection
brings it even closer in line with the one cited by al-Ḥākim
and with no. 372 of the Musnad. It says, "Know that the best

---

[10]Cf. Qur. 19:14, 32/33.

[11]Mu., Imān, 140, 141, 142, are slightly variant
readings of this tradition, all three of which speak of
"prayer at its proper time" or "prayers at their proper
times," but not of "prayer at the beginning of its time."

of your works is prayer. . . ."[12] Here there is no apparent
concern that the times of prayer be strictly observed. Of
course the silence of these texts on the times of prayer would
indicate nothing without the evidence of similar ones in which
there is a definite and intensifying concern for precision on
that score.

al-Ṭayālisī takes us back further to what may be still
another level of testimony, even more remote from juridical
preoccupation with prayer times. Two Story form ḥadīth from
ʿUmar and Ibn Masʿūd (59, 372) use the same formula noted
above, "the most excellent of works," in answer to a question;
but in each case prayer is not mentioned. Fighting is named
in both of them and in one the pilgrimage is included. There
seems to be no substitution for the mention of prayer, so we
may assume that prayer was added later by different guarantors
to the list of most excellent works. The fact that both no. 59
and no. 372 are in Story form indicates that they might be
older testimonies than the others, although this fact alone is
not sufficient evidence for so describing them. In marked
contrast with these Story texts are two others from the Musnad
(1718, 2518). They also employ the formula, "the most excel-
lent of works," and are, respectively, Statement, Question
and Answer and Statement, with an added comment by the pri-
mary guarantor. When these two texts are compared with the
two containing the list, prayer, fighting in the way of God
and obedience to parents (Ṭay., 372 and the al-Ḥākim illus-
trative sample), it is apparent that the former show a con-
siderable amount of controlled improvisation. The primary
guarantors are different from those of the latter, but one
common testimony is probably the basis for all four of them.
Here are the last two traditions:

---

[12]I. Ḥ., V, 282.

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh: The Apostle of God said, "The most excellent of works are faith in God and fighting in the way of God." He said, "We said, 'And not piety of pilgrimage?'" He said, "Providing food for others and wholesome speech."[13] (1718)

Abū Hurayra: I heard the Apostle of God say, "The most excellent works on the Day of Resurrection are faith, without doubting in it, conquest without stealing of booty (ghulūl)[14] in it and pilgrimage that is acceptable to God (mabrūr)." Abū Hurayra said, "A pious pilgrimage will atone for your sins of the year."[15] (2518)

Here faith takes the place of prayer again, and the thought is embellished. The word about pilgrimage probably comes from another series of traditions.[16]

Several other general testimonies should be noted here before going on to the formal statement of the times of prayer with their official designations. There are two Injunctions which may be considered to represent a stage of thought at which it was felt needful to pay more attention to a well-ordered ritual life. Both come from Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (d. ca. 32/652-53), a Companion especially celebrated for his

---

[13]Combining a modest measure of theological speculation, a moralizing counsel and the basic structure of "most excellent works" which is seen elsewhere, this testimony has been cited in part by Wensinck, op. cit., p. 131, but he did not note its relationship to other similar traditions. The word about faith being one of the works is in marked contrast to Art. 5 of the "Waṣīyat Abū Ḥanīfa," ibid., pp. 125-26. Wensinck gives a number of other references to this thought in A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition, p. 70.

[14]Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., III, 370.

[15]Cf. Mu., Imān, 137, for another version.

[16]Cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 185, for references.

intense religious practice.[17] In these traditions the Muslims are exhorted to measure out, or separate distinctly (fassala), the daily prayers according to their times (449, 454). No other details are given except the complaint that some leaders (umarā') were postponing or delaying prayers (449).

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī reports the Prophet's reaction to the unavoidable circumstances of battle which prevented the group of warriors from performing their prayers. At the close of the day he ordered his muʾadhdhin, Bilāl, to convoke the group for the observance of each of the prayers (2231). No number is stated.[18]

Then to round out the picture al-Humaydī's Musnad records a statement by Ibn ʿUmar to the effect that he hinders no one from praying at any hour of the day or night that he wishes. On the other hand, he (Ibn ʿUmar) prefers to do as his friends do. Then follows in the same text a qualification from the Prophet forbidding prayer at sunrise and at sunset (666).[19]

In summary the following stages or levels of thinking about the times of prayer may be discerned.

1. Relative indifference.
   a) Freedom to pray at any time (H., 666).
   b) Taboos excepted (H., 666).
   c) No mention of prayer as the best of works (Tay., 59, 372).

---

[17] EI², I, 114-15.

[18] A parallel reading from Ibn Masʿūd (333) names four prayers which were performed at once, all except the ʿishāʾ.

[19] On these last restrictions, cf. EI¹, III, 493, with references; Wensinck, op. cit., p. 192; Ibn Qutayba, op. cit., pp. 123-26; Tay., 1001, which also prohibits prayer at high noon.

d) Mention of prayer as the best of works but
without mention of time (Ṭay., 996; I. Ḥ.,
V, 282).
e) Concern for complete observance, but not for
exact time (Ṭay., 2231).

2. Increased concern for precision (Ṭay., 372, 449,
454, and other examples to be seen subsequently).
3. High degree of precision (al-Ḥākim example, and
others in Ṭay. to be seen subsequently).
4. Formulae used in 1. d., 2 and 3 to convey other
concerns, as prayer and its times of observance
are rendered more and more precise by means of
different testimonies (Ṭay., 1718, 2518).

These levels of thought cannot be distinguished clearly in
chronological sequence, but are evidence of the maturing
ritual life of the Muslim community.

<div align="center">

Mention of Several or All of the
Five Prayers at Once

</div>

The hadīth in al-Ṭayālisī which mention more than two
of the prayers at once may be grouped into two categories,
those which make no mention of the times of prayer observance,
and those which either have some relation to the times or
else specify these.

Those texts which simply mention the fact of five
times of prayer reveal a concern that all five should be
observed faithfully. They are nos. 652 and 2470, promising
forgiveness of sin for that observance and 2329, making "five
prayers during the day and the night" as part of the definition
of Islam.[20]

Next are several texts with obvious legal interest,
destined to regulate particular cases, including the combining

---

[20]No. 2329 belongs to an extensive series of testi-
monies discussed at great length by Abbott, op. cit., pp.
136-39. She does not refer to this version in her discussion.

of prayers under certain circumstances (1419, 376, 2629), and the specification of supererogatory bowings (nāfila) to be performed before or after the obligatory prayers (1866). In these the prayers are specifically named.

Finally, as a second group in the second category, there is a small group of texts which not only name the times but define them rather precisely. In one, no. 773, this is done by the guarantor, Jābir b. Samura, as he compares the times when a certain group of Muslims pray with the practice of Muḥammad as he remembers it. Three of their times correspond to the Prophetic sunna, but their ʿishāʾ is somewhat early compared with his. Fajr does not enter into this tradition. It reflects realistically the living model, which traditionists endeavored to reconstruct in their memories, and contrasts with four other hadīth, which obviously show the result of assimilation and studied formulation. This contrast between the two types of testimonies will be observed elsewhere in the examples chosen for this study.

Three of the legalistic formulations are in Question and Answer form (920, 1722, 2136) and one is an Injunction (2249). In all four of them the five canonical prayers are mentioned in the same order, beginning with zuhr which was sometimes called "the first one" (al-ūlā), because it was the first to be codified by the angel Gabriel when he directed the Prophet's prayers.[21] Each of the four has its own chain of transmission, and, although they relate essentially the same information, they are so different in tone that it will be instructive to place them together for comparison.

> Anas b. Mālik: The client of Anas asked him about the times (mawāqīt) of prayer, and he said, "The Apostle of God used to pray the zuhr when the sun

---

[21] El-Bokhâri, Les Traditions Islamiques, trans. by O. Houdas and W. Marçais, I, 193n.

began to decline from the meridian; the ʿasr between these two prayers of yours; the maghrib when the sun disappeared; the ʿishāʾ when the twilight (shafaq) disappeared; and the subh from the rising of dawn until it became easy to see." (2136)

Ibn al-ʿĀṣ: The Prophet said: "The time of the zuhr is when the sun begins to decline from the meridian until the shadow of a man corresponds to his height, until the time of the ʿasr. And the time of the ʿasr is until the sun becomes yellow. The time of the maghrib is until the twilight disappears." Shuʿba said, "As long as the light of twilight is present." "And the time of the ʿishāʾ is between that and the halfway point of the night. The time of the subh is when the dawn rises until the time of sunrise." (2249)

Abū Barza: Sayyār said regarding the time he heard Abū Barza, "My father asked him, 'What was it like to pray with the Apostle of God?' He said, 'He led us in praying at midday (al-hajīr), that prayer which you call the zuhr, when the sun began its decline (tadhadu). He led us in the ʿasr while the sun was strong (hayya).' I have forgotten what he said about the maghrib. 'Then he led us in the ʿishāʾ, and it did not matter to him if he delayed it until a third of the night had passed. He liked neither sleep before it nor conversation after it. He led us in the fajr, so that when one of us had finished praying he would recognize the one sitting beside him. At that prayer time he would recite from sixty to a hundred verses.'"[22] (920)

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh: Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥasan said that when al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf came he was postponing prayer, so we asked Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh about the time of prayer. He said, "The Apostle of God used to pray the zuhr at midday, or when the sun began to decline from the meridian. He would pray the ʿasr while the sun was high. He would pray the maghrib when the sun set, and he would pray the ʿishāʾ sometimes late, sometimes early. If people were assembled he would hasten it, but if they delayed coming he would put it off. He would pray the subh in darkness (ghalas)" (or he said, "They would pray it in darkness"). (1722)

---

[22]Cf. Bu., Adhān, 104, for an almost identical reading.

Nos. 2136 and 2249 are straightforward, business-like testimonies, one with a slightly artificial introductory question by the client of Anas and the other with no circumstantial detail at all. Obviously these two, using the language that fiqh adopted,[23] giving the time limits within which the five prayers were to be performed, are jurisprudential reconstructions. Nos. 920 and 1722, coming from two of the older Companions, are characterized by circumstantial detail which renders their tone personal and living. Their vocabulary is quite different from that of the other two examples, and they give insight into some of the feelings of the Prophet. No. 920 gives the picture of the aged Abū Barza, veteran of military conquests and longtime resident of al-Baṣra (d. 60/680 or 64/684),[24] being questioned by earnest younger Muslims about his recollections of life with the Prophet. Sayyār's curious forgetfulness about details on the maghrib, Abū Barza's pointed remark, "that prayer which you call the zuhr," are all-important features which have to do with the way in which a tradition is recounted.

No. 1722 contains anti-Umayyad sentiments, for in the circumstantial introduction it is said that al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf postponed the prayers after he came, and this provoked the inquiry concerning the Prophetic pattern. This scene is probably contrived, but it may reflect a true situation of religious confusion in Medina after that Umayyad official's severe repression of Ibn al-Zubayr and harsh administration in the Ḥijāz (73/692-75/694), which facts are confirmed by historians' reports.[25]

---

[23] Cf. al-Shāfiʿī, op. cit., I, 61-62.

[24] Ibn Saʿd, op. cit., VII, i, 4; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, op. cit., IV, 1610.

[25] EI[2], III, 40.

We may say that these two hadīth are older than nos.
2136 and 2249 because they come from older Companions, because
they reflect more vividly the living tradition of the Prophet
and because of their artless language. No one of these
elements is sufficient to warrant such a judgment, but all of
them together, plus the contrasting features of nos. 2136 and
2249, seem to make it valid. At the same time we note that
these texts do not belong to the very early level of testimony
about the times of prayer, since they reflect a self-conscious
and precise concern for the punctual observance of the obliga-
tory salāt. Neither do they give evidence of having passed
through much alteration by transmitters, although they may
have been recounted originally in indirect speech.[26]

al-Zuhr

Turning to traditions relating to the individual
prayers, the first to be considered is the midday time, com-
monly called the first of the five in the hadīth. Each one
of the prayer times has a few traditions which specify super-
erogatory prayers in connection with it, deal with the proper
recitations of the Qur'ān during its observance, tell how
the Prophet performed it or which times may be combined
under particular circumstances. These are not important
for the present investigation, so they will be omitted from
consideration.

The traditions on zuhr and its precise time may be
divided into three kinds. First there are five which are
variant expressions of the time specified in the comprehensive
codifications already cited. Two, from Abū Barza and Jābir

---

[26]A citation by Ibn Qutayba, in op. cit., p. 111,
hints at this, although this citation may simply be an
abridgement of the text by Ibn Qutayba himself.

b. Samura, give the Exemplary Action of Bilāl in calling to prayer when the sun began its decline (921 and 769). The same word for "decline" that was seen in no. 920 from Abū Barza is also used in these, dahada, as an alternate reading for dalaka. Ibn al-Athīr sees fit to explain both of these words in his dictionary of difficult words in the hadīth.[27] The name of the time of prayer is not given.[28] Another example from Jābir b. Samura expands this testimony, after telling when Bilāl used to call for prayer, by adding, "perhaps he would delay the preparation (iqāma) a little or hasten it a little, but as for the call (adhān), he would not disregard (lā yakhzimu) its time" (783).

A fourth time specification is from Anas b. Mālik (2139) and it uses the more usual word for "decline," māla. Likewise the word zuhr does not occur here, but Anas says that the Apostle led them in Friday prayer at the time of the declining sun.

The fifth text mentions the zuhr expressly. Anas reports (2125) that when the Prophet led them in the midday prayer during the winter rains, they did not know whether it was late or early in the day. This text reflects just as much ritual preoccupation as the two previous ones, albeit in a negative way. The only reason this observation would have occurred to Anas would have been that Muslims were accustomed to watching carefully for the moment of zuhr.

These five hadīth are less legal in structure than the Question and Answer and Injunction forms of comprehensive codification of all five prayers, but they certainly show a well developed sense of ritual correctness.

---

[27] Op. cit., II, 104, 130; cf. Qur. 17:78/80.

[28] Cf. A. D., I, 129, for a variant reading from Jābir b. Samura in which the word zuhr is used.

The second group of texts on _zuhr_ pertain to the celebrated mitigation of the requirement to pray it at the hottest moment of the day.[29] Considering the various criteria of age of authority, literary form and nature of the content, it seems that a story by Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (d. 31/651 or 32/652) provides the basis for this series of testimonies.

> Abū Dharr: We were with the Prophet on a journey and Bilāl called us to pray the _zuhr_. The Prophet said, "O Bilāl, enjoy the cooler time (_abrid_)!" Then, again, "Enjoy the cooler time!"[30]

From this simple Action and Reaction form there evolved the following:

> Abū Dharr: The Apostle of God was on a journey and with him was Bilāl. The latter wanted to perform prayer, but the Apostle of God said, "Enjoy the cooler time!" Then again he wanted to pray, and again the Apostle of God said to him, "Enjoy the cooler time!" This continued for three times, the hour being that of _zuhr_, until we saw the shadows cast by the hills. Then Bilāl summoned to prayer and the Apostle of God said, "The excessive heat is an emanation from Hell; enjoy the cooler time for prayer."[31] (445)

al-Bukhārī learned another version of this story through two later transmitters. It is a further commentary on the first text from Abū Dharr:

---

[29]al-Shāfiʿī, _op. cit._, I, 63, gives a summary of one school of thought on the subject.

[30]Tir., Ṣalāt, 119.

[31]Cf. Bu., Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 10, for a slightly abridged reading with only one more intermediate guarantor than in the version by al-Ṭayālisī.

The mu'adhdhin of the Prophet summoned to the zuhr.
He (Muḥammad) said, "Enjoy the cooler time! Enjoy the
cooler time!" Or, he said, "Wait! Wait!" Then he
said, "The excessive heat is an emanation from Hell,
and when the heat is excessive, enjoy the cooler time
for prayer."[32]

Abū Hurayra took up the last statement, and in the shortest
version says simply,

The excessive heat is an emanation from Hell, so
enjoy the cooler time for prayer.[33] (2302,2352)

Another Abū Hurayra testimony adds a picturesque mythological
tale to the above statement, according to which both bitter
heat and bitter cold come from Hell, which was endowed with
them when the Fire complained to God that it was consuming
itself.[34]

The development of this testimony by Abū Dharr is an
example of the effort to arrive at juridical precision regard-
ing the observance of zuhr. There has been much disagreement
as to whom the mitigation applies[35] and even as to whether it
is a mitigation at all. According to some Muslim scholars,
the imperative, abrid, means "Hasten the performance of it!"[36]
If the first short text from Abū Dharr is taken alone it could

---

[32]Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 10.

[33]Cf. Ha., 107; Bu., Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 9, for almost
identical readings.

[34]H., 942; reported also by al-Shāfiʿī, op. cit.,
I, 63.

[35]Ibn Ḥajar, op. cit., II, 155-60; Ibn Qutayba,
op. cit., pp. 109-11.

[36]Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., I, 114.

The Prophet used to pray the ʿaṣr while the sun was white and strong.[38] (2132)

The Apostle of God used to pray the ʿaṣr, and afterward if one of us went to al-ʿAwālī, he would find the sun still high.[39] (2093)

A group at Anas' house prayed the ẓuhr with Khālid b. Usayd. Then Anas said, "Did you pray the ʿaṣr?" We said, "No, we prayed the ẓuhr with Khālid." He said, "Make ready and pray the ʿaṣr, for I heard the Apostle of God say that that one is the prayer of the hypocrite. He prays it just before sunset, thinking little of God while doing it. He leaves it until just before sunset, then he makes ready and prays, thinking little of God while doing it." (2130)

This last text, in Story form, needs some explanation. The group had prayed the ẓuhr so late that it had encroached upon the time of the ʿaṣr. Anas guessed that they would put off the ʿaṣr prayer to the last minute, as the hypocrites do, so he reproved them for it. This story reveals ritual concern for punctuality and hints at two developments to be seen in the next set of traditions, that is, the value of dhikr, thinking about God, and the significance of the time between ʿaṣr and sunset. There are at least two very interesting variant readings of this story,[40] which, taken with no. 2130 of al-Ṭayālisī leave the question of the origin and development of this tradition quite open. Both of the other versions are more succinct in the narrative portion, but add at the end the legendary notion of the sun's setting on the two horns of

---

[38]No. 2138 is practically identical except that the sun is said to be clear (naqīya).

[39]Cf. Bu., Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 13 bis, for a slightly variant reading which adds the detail that al-ʿAwālī was about four miles from Medina.

[40]Tir., Ṣalāt, 160; A. D., I, 130.

Satan,[41] one of the possible reasons for the taboos on prayer at sunrise and sunset. This will also be seen in the following discussion.

Intimately associated with the question of the punctual observance of 'asr is the significance of the space of time between the prayer and sunset. We have already seen[42] that the time for 'asr prayer normally extends only until the sun turns yellow. An ancient taboo ruled that no prayer should be offered at sunset or at sunrise.[43] Without going into the various interpretations of this taboo, we note that al-Ṭayālisī preserves a series of six traditions which are occupied with it. These include a wide range of authorities, each one having a different guarantor. So we may assume that this was a very significant tradition for the community. All six of the texts are Prohibitions except one, which is in Question and Answer form.

> 'Umar: Ibn 'Abbās said, "Worthy guarantors who were attested to me by 'Umar affirmed that the Apostle of God forbade prayer after the 'asr until sunset and after the subh until sunrise."[44] (29)

> 'Alī: The Prophet said, "Do not pray after the 'asr unless the sun is still high." (108)

> Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī: The Apostle of God forbade fasting on the day of sacrifice and on the day of the

---

[41]Ibn Qutayba, op. cit., pp. 123-26, deals with this legend.

[42]Above, p. 126, no. 2249.

[43]Ibn Qutayba, op. cit., pp. 123-26.

[44]Bu. Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 30; Ḥ., 731, has an almost identical version from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī.

breaking of the fast (_fitr_), as well as prayer after
the ʿasr and after the _subh_.[45] (2242)

Ibn al-ʿĀṣ: The Apostle of God rested his back
against the _kaʿba_ and said, "There shall be no
prayer after the _subh_ until the sun rises, neither
after the ʿasr until it sets." (2260)

The next example, from Abū Hurayra (2463), reproduces no. 2260
exactly, except for the circumstantial introduction. Then the
sixth text in this series is as follows:

Muʿadh b. ʿAfrāʾ: Naḍar b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān's grand-
father performed the circumambulation of the Kaʿba
with Muʿadh b. ʿAfrāʾ after the time of ʿasr, or after
the time of _subh_; and he did not perform the prayer.
Then I said, "Are you not going to pray?" He said,
"The Apostle of God forbade prayer after the ʿasr
until sunset and after the _subh_ until sunrise."[46]
(1226)

A very similar reading is found in al-Bukhārī, but it shows
a different type of amplification.

Ibn ʿUmar: The Apostle of God said, "Do not let
your prayers last until the sun rises or until it
sets." He added that the Apostle of God said, "When
the rays (_hājib_) of the sun appear put off your prayer
until it rises completely. In the same way, when the
rays of the sun begin to disappear put off your prayer
until it fully disappears." This _hadīth_ is confirmed
by ʿAbda.[47]

---

[45]Cf. Ḥ., 750, for a more complex combination of the
prayer time taboo with the fasting prohibitions, with several
other strictures. This is a short catalog of prohibitions,
likewise from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī.

[46]This is the only tradition from Muʿadh preserved in
the _Musnad_.

[47]Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 30.

Besides giving testimony to the force exercised by the taboos in Muslim society, this collection of texts demonstrates well the ways in which guarantors enriched or condensed the original testimony as they gave it oral literary expression.

Ibn Qutayba quotes what is perhaps the original text, without giving its reference, a tradition which dates from before the ritual preoccupation with the space of time between ʿaṣr and sunset or between fajr and sunrise. In it the Prophet says, "The sun rises from between the two horns of Satan, so do not pray when it rises."[48] Taking this command as a basis, and studying the other texts cited, we can describe the following features of composition:

1. Adapting a primitive testimony to a particular Islamic concern (here, the space of time between the prayer and sunrise or sunset).

2. Choosing freely between direct and indirect quotation.

3. Choosing freely between Injunction and Prohibition, although in some cases one or the other might be required.

4. Introducing the text with circumstantial details, perhaps involving a minimum of description.

5. Introducing various personae, whose presence is not indispensable for the presentation of the testimony.

6. Combining the original concern with other strictures or regulations, as in no. 2242.

7. Expanding the bare testimony into a more complex Reportorial type of expression, as in no. 1226.

8. Expanding the original Injunction (or other simple form) by means of additional detail, without changing the form, as in the al-Bukhārī example.

These features of oral composition can be seen throughout the literature, but they are especially significant in this

---

[48]Op. cit., p. 123.

series of texts because every example is from a different
primary guarantor, whereas the testimony is identical in
substance.

Going beyond the negative regulation of the space of
time between prayer and sunrise or sunset, there are two hadīth
in the Musnad which indicate a positive enrichment of that
period of time by making it a time of "waiting" in supplicatory
prayer (2363) and "remembering" God (2104). In the last noted
text the notion of dhikr (remembering) seems almost to have
acquired some of the technical sense which it was ultimately
given by Muslim theology.[49]

One of the widely accepted definitions of the Qur'anic
term, al-ṣalāt al-wusṭā (the middle prayer) is that it means
the ʿasr,[50] occurring between the ẓuhr and the maghrib, or
between the day prayer and the night prayer (ʿishā'), or
between the ṣubḥ and the ẓuhr on the one hand and the maghrib
and the ʿishā' on the other.[51] The Musnad yields evidence of
the growth of this interpretation by joining two independent
testimonies into one. The first one simply defines the middle
prayer:

> ʿAlī: The Apostle of God said, "The middle prayer is
> the prayer of ʿaṣr." (164).

A little uncertainty in the transmission of this definition
may be seen in the variant ungrammatical reading, literally,
"the middle's prayer" (ṣalāt al-wusṭā),[52] obviously used by
analogy with ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr.

---

[49] Cf. EI², II, 223-27.

[50] Cf. Blachère, trans, op. cit., p. 66n.

[51] Nāṣif, comp., op. cit., I, 139.

[52] Tir., Ṣalāt, 133.

The second testimony is also from ʿAlī and, in its
independent form, is not found in al-Ṭayālisī.

> The Apostle of God said on the day of the troops
> (aḥzāb),[53] "May God fill their houses and their graves
> with fire, just as they have distracted us from prayer
> until the sunlight came to an end (ābat al-shams)."[54]

The Musnad of al-Ṭayālisī includes two of several texts which
combine the preceding two testimonies, thus elaborating the
Curse form and emphasizing a particular definition of the
middle prayer. Other versions are included here also, so that
a fuller picture of the evolution of the text might be seen.

> Ibn Masʿūd: The Apostle of God said, "They distracted
> us from the middle prayer, the prayer of ʿaṣr, so may
> God fill their houses and their graves with fire."
> (366)
>
> ʿAlī: The Apostle of God said on the day of the
> troops, "They have distracted us from the prayer of
> the middle (ṣalāt al-wusṭā), the prayer of ʿaṣr, so
> may God fill. . . ."[55]
>
> ʿAlī: It was the day of the troops ____ by one of
> the openings (firāḍ) of the trench,[56] and he said,
> "They distracted us from the prayer of the middle

---

[53]Referring to the time when Muḥammad and his forces
dug a trench (khandaq) to defend Medina from the enemies of
the Muslims; cf. an explanatory note in Nāṣif, comp., op. cit.,
I, 139; Muir, op. cit., pp. 306-12.

[54]I. Ḥ., I, 79.

[55]Ibid., 81-82.

[56]The manuscript used by the editors of the Musnad
has a lacuna here which is supplied by a variant reading in
I. Ḥ., I, 135, read: "The Prophet was seated at one of the
openings of the trench, etc."

(salāt al-wustā) until the sun went down; may God
fill their graves and their bellies with fire."
(94)

Here the ʿasr is not mentioned, salāt al-wustā having taken
its place by means of an analogous but grammatically incor-
rect form.[57]

> ʿAlī: The Apostle of God said on the day of the
> troops, "They have distracted us from the middle
> prayer (al-salāt al-wustā), the prayer of ʿasr.
> May God fill their houses and their graves with
> fire." Then he prayed it between the two ʿishāʾ.[58]
> The Five Collectors relate the hadīth.[59]

al-Maghrib

The maghrib, or prayer of sunset, is the one of which
the least is said in the hadīth. Perhaps this fact explains
why Sayyār forgot what Abū Barza had said about the Prophet's
practice in the prayer of maghrib.[60] al-Ṭayālisī's collection
preserves only four texts on this time of prayer. They reflect
a lively interest in ritual punctuality rather than a concern
with strictly legal formulation.

---

[57]In the slightly variant reading, I. Ḥ., I, 122,
this mistake is corrected.

[58]Meaning between the prayer of maghrib and that of
ʿishāʾ, according to an explanation added to the variant
reading in I. Ḥ., I, 113; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., III,
242.

[59]Presumably, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Abū
Dāwud and al-Nasāʾī.

[60]Above, pp. 126-27.

> Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī: The Apostle of God used to pray
> the _maghrib_ like a man breaking the fast, urgently
> anticipating the rising of the stars. (600)

This text, combining the question of the breaking of the fast
with the prayer of _maghrib_, effectively depicts the punctual
nature of this prayer, which came to have one time only in
some schools of _fiqh_. That is, the limits within which it
could be performed were not to be stretched over a period of
time. This interpretation is apparently a contradiction of
the prescription cited previously from Ibn al-ʿĀṣ.[61]

Three other _maghrib_ texts depict in a picturesque way
the fact that this prayer was performed quickly, as soon as
the sun had set.

> Zayd b. Khālid: We used to pray the _maghrib_ with the
> Apostle of God, then we would go to the market, and
> even if we shot our arrows we could still see where
> they fell. (954, 1335)

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh reports the same testimony (1771) except
that he says that they would go to Banū Salima instead of to
the market.

Still another _hadīth_ has been interpreted by many to
point out the punctual nature of the _maghrib_, although there
is no unanimity of opinion about it. It is a curious Injunc-
tion to the effect that if preparations for prayer and dinner
coincide then one should eat before praying (1444 from
ʿĀʾisha).[62] The word used for dinner is _ʿashāʾ_ and should not
be confused with the night prayer time called _ʿishāʾ_.

----

[61]Above, p. 126, no. 2249; cf. Tir., Ṣalāt, 122, with
extensive commentary on this question. One tradition cited
here says that the authorities preferred to hasten the per-
formance of the _maghrib_ rather than to delay it.

[62]Cf. H., 182, 1181; Bu., Adhān, 42, for slightly
variant readings.

Ibn al-Athīr affirms that the prayer time to which reference
is made is the maghrib, even though in the reading which he
quotes, it is called ʿishāʾ (idhā haḍara al-ʿashāʾ waʾl-ʿishāʾ
. . . faʾbdaʾū biʾl-ʿashāʾ). This scholar points out that the
coincidence of prayer and dinner is emphasized because of the
circumstances of the fast month, when Muslims feel it acutely,
and also because of the short period of time designed for the
maghrib prayer.[63] Ibn Ḥazm interpreted the tradition as
permitting an exceptional prolonging of the time for the
prayer.[64] The feeling was that to pray before eating would
make it more difficult for the worshipper to be in a spirit of
humility (khushūʿ).

So, although there are not many texts about the
maghrib prayer, the ones preserved are remarkably effective
in giving the characteristic stamp of punctuality and taʿjīl
(expediting) to this ritual moment.

al-ʿIshāʾ

Beyond the indications given in the comprehensive
legal formulations as to time,[65] there is little else of a
precise nature in al-Ṭayālisī regarding the hour of ʿishāʾ.
However, just as vividly as in the case of maghrib, the texts
preserved in the Musnad attribute a distinctive nature to the
night prayer. The range of time during which it may be per-
formed is flexible, and yet at the same time it is considered
to be one of the most difficult and demanding of the obligatory

---

[63]Op. cit., III, 242. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, op. cit., II,
300-02, for further commentary.

[64]Ibid., p. 302.

[65]Above, pp. 125-26.

prayers. It is called the latter ʿishāʾ (al-ākhira or al-akhīra),[66] perhaps with reference to the practice of designating the maghrib and the ʿishāʾ as the two ʿishāʾ.[67] The one specific account of a precise time is the following rather strange boast of the guarantor:

> al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr: Surely I will teach the people about the time of this prayer, that is, the latter ʿishāʾ. The Apostle of God used to pray it at the hour corresponding to that at which the moon sets on the third night of the month. (797)

A variant reading in al-Tirmidhī makes the boast even stronger as al-Nuʿmān says, "I know better than any of the people about the time of this prayer."[68] Also the explanatory gloss seen in no. 797, "that is, the latter ʿishāʾ," is not present in the al-Tirmidhī version. This may represent an unsuccessful early effort to fix the time of ʿishāʾ quite precisely.

Another somewhat abortive effort to fix the time of the night prayer is seen in the controversy over the name of this prayer. In Mālik's al-Muwaṭṭaʾ, the earliest extant collection of legal traditions, it is called ʿatama, or the first third of the night.[69] In the commentary, al-Zurqānī asserts that both ʿatama and ʿishāʾ are permissible. On the other hand there are several hadīth which speak out against the use of this term, saying that it was a corruption

---

[66] Ṭay., 797, 2324.

[67] Ibn Manẓūr, op. cit., XIV, 289. At the same time some hadīth warn against the practice of the Bedouin who call the sunset prayer by the name of ʿishāʾ (Mishk., I, 128; Bu., Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 19).

[68] Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 123.

[69] Ma., I, 242-43; cf. above, p. 126, no. 920, for a reference to the first third of the night.

introduced by the Bedouin who fed and watered their camels at at that time.[70] One has the feeling that blaming the Bedouin is a literary device for putting down a view with which the traditionists were not in agreement. The main issue at stake here seems to have been not the naming of the prayer time, but the freeing of it from too punctual a definition. Ultimately it was defined broadly, and the only limits allowed by many were from the disappearance of twilight to the middle of the night or, even longer, to the advent of _fajr_ on the following morning.[71]

In an effort to understand the function of ʿishāʾ in the prayer cycle, it may be profitable to seek an explanation for this flexibility in defining the time of the evening prayer. Without going beyond the _ḥadīth_ it can be seen that the ʿishāʾ seems to serve in the place of the night prayers which the Qurʾān so vividly describes as characteristic of a devout life. These unstructured and unscheduled times, called in the _ḥadīth_ by several names, including _witr_,[72] did not become _farḍ_, or religious duty. So the prayer of ʿishāʾ came to serve as a canonical expression of the intense devotion represented by night prayers. There is an important series of testimonies preserved in al-Ṭayālisī which point toward the validity of this interpretation.

First there are those which insist upon how difficult the ʿishāʾ is for Muslims. If the prayer time were intended to be performed only at the first part of the night, just

_____

[70]Ḥ., 638; A. D., I, 131; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., III, 180. Since al-Ṭayālisī is not represented in this discussion, the texts will not be treated in detail.

[71]Tir., Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 123n.; al-Shāfiʿī, op. cit., I, 64, prefers that the time be limited to the first third of the night, although he rejects the name ʿatama.

[72]Cf. above, p. 118.

after the disappearance of twilight, it is hardly reasonable
to think of it as being a great trial for the community.

> Ubayy b. Ka'b: The Apostle of God led us in prayer.
> Then he said, "Was so-and-so present?" They said,
> "No." He replied, "These two prayers, that is, the
> 'ishā' and the subh, are the most burdensome for the
> hypocrites. If they only knew what these prayers are
> like they would come to them even if they had to
> crawl on all fours. . . ." (554)

This example continues with the praise of united prayer and
gives a second isnād at the end. The first part about the
burdensomeness of the two prayers seems to have its origin in
a controverted testimony recorded in fragmentary fashion by
Mālik:

> Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib: The Apostle of God said, "Those
> who attend the prayers of 'ishā' and subh know the
> differences between the hypocrites and ourselves. The
> hypocrites do not take it upon themselves to observe
> those prayers." Or he said something like that.[73]

> Abū Hurayra: The hypocrite will not observe the prayer
> of the latter 'ishā' for forty nights in succession,
> that is, with a group. (2480)

We can imagine that statements such as the preceding grew out
of a tendency to put off the evening prayer until a later hour
than the moment of nightfall. In fact, this practice is
reported in the following:

> Abū Bakra: The Prophet delayed the 'ishā' prayer for
> eight successive nights. Then Abū Bakra said, "If
> you would have the prayer sooner it would be better
> for our observance than in the night." The Prophet
> did as he proposed. (875)

---

[73]I, 242-43, with commentary.

Here a complaint is registered about the stringency of late
prayer, and the Prophet foregoes the requirement, at least
temporarily. In several texts not recorded in the Musnad we
find, however, that Muhammad practiced putting off the ʿishāʾ
until late at night. He said, "If I were not afraid of
imposing too heavy a burden on my people I would command
them to pray the ʿishāʾ at a late hour."[74]

The last example of this type shows a strong feeling
of resentment against those who neglect the ʿishāʾ:

> Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "If it were
> not for the women and children in the houses I
> would command the muʾadhdhin to announce the prayer
> of ʿishāʾ and then to burn the houses of those who
> have no regard for prayer, that is, the prayer of
> ʿishāʾ."[75] (2324)

On the basis of these testimonies and the other
factors mentioned earlier, we conclude that ʿishāʾ became
a canonical substitute for free night prayers. A full study
of witr in the hadīth would no doubt cast much light on this
question. For example there are several texts in the Musnad
which give these nightly bowings a place as fard, or religious
obligation.[76] On the other hand other texts say that witr
is a laudable practice, but not obligatory.[77]

A final statement showing the function of ʿishāʾ in
the community hints at a special aura surrounding its

---

[74]Bu., Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 24; H., 492, 965; Tir.,
Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 124, all variant readings.

[75]A similar text in H., 956, is even more severe in
its tone.

[76]e.g. nos. 88, 2263.

[77]Cf. EI[1], IV, 1139-40, for a discussion of witr.

observance at a late hour. This is expressed in a subtle way
and the effect is striking because it is one of the rare
occasions in which the guarantor indulges in verbal descrip-
tion.

> Anas b. Mālik: We waited for the Prophet in the
> evening (ʿishāʾ) until half the night had passed.
> Then he went out and led us in prayer. And it seems
> that I can see yet the shining silver signet ring on
> his hand.[78] (1996)

al-Fajr

There was a dispute in jurisprudence over whether the
dawn prayer, called fajr or ṣubḥ, should be performed in the
last moments of darkness (ghalas), or in the first moments of
the dawn's light.[79] It seems that the whole problem is due
to the divergent testimony of well-attested ḥadīth. Without
going into the legal arguments and various shades of opinion
we shall examine the testimonies furnished by al-Ṭayālisī's
collection.

In the four comprehensive formulations examined at the
beginning of this chapter[80] the testimony on fajr is divided.
There are two different stipulations expressed:

> 1. He led us in the fajr, so that when one of us had
>   finished praying he would recognize the one sitting
>   beside him. . . . (920)

---

[78]Cf. Bu., Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 25; Adhān, 36, for variant
readings. Mishk., III, 923-24 presents a collection of tradi-
tions on Muḥammad's signet ring.

[79]Cf. discussions in al-Shāfiʿī, op. cit., I, 65-66
and al-Mubārakfūrī, op. cit., I, 472-82.

[80]Above, pp. 125-26.

He would pray the subh in darkness. (1722)

2. The Apostle of God used to pray . . . the subh from
   the rising of dawn until it became easy to see.
   (2136)

   The time of the subh is when the dawn rises until
   the time of sunrise. (2249)

Nos. 920 and 1722 advocate prayer in the darkness. In no. 920
it is only after finishing the prayer that a man can recognize
his neighbor. Nos. 2136 and 2249 make the time of prayer to
extend from the moment of daybreak, when the darkness lessens
quickly, until sunrise, or until it becomes easy to see.
These observations fit in well with the conclusions reached
regarding the stages of reflection represented by these four
texts.[81] Nos. 920 and 1722 give independent accounts for the
benefit of a growing ritual concern in the community. Then,
at another stage of more precise jurisprudential reconstruction,
those two accounts are qualified, if not contradicted, by
means of the stipulations in nos. 2136 and 2249.

Looking at the texts referring to the time of fajr
alone, the first thing that impresses us is that those on
taghlīs (going in the darkness) are accounts of actions by
the Prophet, whereas those favoring prayer in the light of dawn
are two Injunctions, a Promise and an Exemplary Action. To use
the terminology of the traditionists, hadīth on taghlīs tend to
be fiʿlī (that which was done by the Prophet), and those on
prayer in the light of dawn are usually qawlī (that on which
the Prophet expressed approval). Looking at the taghlīs
texts first, we find:

ʿĀʾisha: Some of the women of the emigrants
(muhājirāt), prayed with the Apostle of God wrapped

---

[81]Above, pp. 125-26.

in their woolen garments and not recognizing each other because of the darkness.[82] (1459)

Ḥarmala al-ʿAnbarī: My father said, "I joined the Apostle of God in the tribal caravan. He led us in the prayer of ṣubḥ, and when I looked at the one by my side I could hardly tell who he was because of the darkness (ghalas)." (1206)

Qayla bint Makhrama: The Apostle of God led us in the prayer of fajr when the dawn broke (inshaqqa), and the stars were still thronging (shābika) the sky. We could hardly recognize each other because of the darkness of the night, and the men could scarcely recognize each other. (1658)

Of these three texts it appears that no. 1459 is the basis for the others. For one thing, it is more often included in other collections than the other two. Also the fact that it does not mention the technical name of the prayer time points to its naturalness as a testimony.[83] The introduction to no. 1206 seems contrived. No. 1658 may be an expansion of no. 1459, adding the name fajr, descriptive elements and mention of the men as well as the women.

Before citing the traditions positively supporting prayer in the light of dawn, a very troublesome text from Ibn Masʿūd should be noted:

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd said, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd prayed the ṣubḥ at Jamʿ[84] in darkness (ghalas). Then

---

[82] Cf. slightly variant readings in Ḥ., 174; Mishk., I, 122; Tir., Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 116; Bu., Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 27; A. D., I, 132.

[83] Other versions, e.g. Tir., Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 116, include the name of the prayer time.

[84] A name used for Muzdalifa; cf. Mishk., II, 560; al-Mubārakfūrī, op. cit., I, 479.

he said, 'The Apostle of God never prayed this prayer at this time except at this place.'"[85] (321)

The setting for this occurrence was the pilgrimage and the ceremonies at Muzdalifa. The other readings specify that this exceptional time for the dawn prayer was earlier than was the Prophet's custom. So, his practice would have been to pray in the light of dawn. Advocates of taghlīs resorted to various ingenious interpretations in order to bring this text into line with others favoring prayer in darkness, especially that from ʿĀʾisha (1459).[86] Before attempting to make any judgment on the function of this curious text, it will be preferable to inspect the other traditions favoring prayer in the light of dawn.

> Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj: The Apostle of God said to Bilāl, "Perform the morning prayer in the shining of the dawn (asfir bi salāt al-subh) until the people can see the places where their arrows fall." (961)

Using the same image as that employed in the case of the maghrib, the purpose seems to be similar also, that is, to mark the short time limits of the dawn prayer. As soon as the places where the arrows fall can be seen, it is time to terminate the prayer. The same guarantor furnishes a variant reading through a different chain:

---

[85]Cf. Mishk., II, 559; Bu., Hajj, 99, for variant readings. In the latter, two readings are given which are contradictory, one saying that the Prophet prayed at the rising of dawn, and the other that he prayed before dawn.

[86]al-Mubārakfūrī, op. cit., I, 470-80.

The Prophet said, "Perform the morning prayer in the shining of the dawn, for it brings the greatest reward."[87] (959)

And finally:

> Ibn ʿAbbās: Jābir b. Zayd was asked about the times of prayer, and he said, "Ibn ʿAbbās used to say, 'The time of subh is from the rising of the dawn to the rising of the rays of the sun.'" (2612)

If we consider that only the maghrib and the fajr are punctual prayer times, it is reasonable to conclude that the latter was assigned a short period, immediately after daybreak and up to the time when normal seeing is possible, by analogy with the case of maghrib, whose time falls as soon after sunset as possible and before it gets too dark to see where arrows fall. On the other hand, it is less clear why fajr should be performed in the darkness, before daybreak, unless it should be for the same reason that ʿishāʾ tended to be prolonged even until midnight.[88] It may be that fajr, according to the taghlīs tendency, is an indication of an early emphasis upon difficult and rigorous religious exercises, a germinal ascetical trend. Other hints at this are the statement in no. 920 that the Prophet would recite from sixty to a hundred verses at fajr, and a testimony as to how ʿUmar used to prolong the dawn prayer, in contrast to the

---

[87]Cf. Tir., Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāt, 117; A. D., I, 132, for identical and variant readings.

[88]It is possible that advancing the time into the darkness was an extra precaution to avoid a semblance of pagan sun worship. Such a scruple is an explanation for the taboo against prayers at sunrise and at sunset (above, pp. 133–34; cf. Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, p. 71).

expeditious way in which Muḥammad led it[89](2030). The last example is probably a reaction against the <u>taghlīs</u> faction. This conclusion does not contradict the interpretation of the four <u>fajr</u> prescriptions examined at the beginning of this section.[90] There nos. 920 and 1722, presumed to be from a less rigorous stage of thought, <u>fiqh</u>-wise, would nevertheless represent a tendency toward devotional austerity. Then as a movement to resist such a strain of thought, Ibn Masʿūd's important recollection about Muzdalifa is brought to light (321). Other traditions, such as nos. 961 and 2612 stipulating the <u>isfār</u> (shining) of the <u>fajr</u> probably existed contemporaneously with the <u>taghlīs</u> ones, and they provided the material for legal formulations such as nos. 2136 and 2249.[91]

One final contribution to the <u>taghlīs-isfār</u> debate is a testimony recorded in Abū Dāwud's collection.[92]

> Abū Masʿūd al-Anṣārī: The Apostle of God prayed the <u>ṣubḥ</u> in darkness, then one time he performed it in the shining of the dawn. After that he never repeated the <u>isfār</u> before he died.

---

[89]Cf. Abbott, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 158,161, for a variant reading, with notes and references.

[90]Above, pp. 146-47.

[91]Above, p. 147.

[92]I, 133.

So the argument of no. 321[93] is turned around and used against the _taghlis_ faction. In the present investigation we shall not go beyond the identification of these tendencies. A clear chronological sequence for their development is not proposed here.

---

[93]Above, pp. 148-49. Another and less subtle rebuttal of _taghlis_ is a rewording of no. 321, so that in the circumstances of the pilgrimage it is said that the Prophet prayed the _fajr_ in the light of dawn only once, at Muzdalifa (I. H., I, 461). This version shows signs of considerable evolution and expansion, even aside from the way it contradicts no. 321.

CHAPTER VIII

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHRISTIANS AS REVEALED

IN THE MUSNAD OF AL-ṬAYĀLISĪ

Having applied the appreciation of hadīth as oral
literature to a subject of theological concern in Chapter VI
and to one of ritual concern in Chapter VII, it is our purpose
in this final chapter to see how this type of investigation
helps to understand social attitudes. Again, as in the cases
of determinism and of ritual prayer, we do not intend in
this chapter to survey the entire subject of attitudes toward
Christians as revealed in the hadīth. Georges Vajda made an
effort to do this with regard to attitudes toward the Jews.[1]
His valuable, but incomplete, study is marred by a narrow
appreciation of the nature of hadīth, engendered by an under-
standing of historical research according to which one
attempts to ferret out facts from ancient documents. The
position taken in this investigation is that the hadīth pre-
serve the tradition about the facts, but not necessarily the
facts themselves.[2]

The most normal way to approach this subject would be
to take attitudes toward Christians and Jews together. In
many texts it is difficult, if not impossible, to tell to
which of the two communities reference is made, if, indeed,
only one of the two is indicated. The term ahl al-kitāb,

---

[1] "Juifs et Musulmans selon le Ḥadīth," Journal
Asiatique, CCXXIX (1937), 57-127.

[2] Cf. Koch, op. cit., p. 54.

153

used in the Qur'ān and in the ḥadīth, means simply the People of the Scriptures, that is, the Christians and the Jews.[3] Such an approach is, however, too ambitious for this chapter, which has only the aim of illustrating the validity of a particular type of investigation. So, even as Vajda isolated ḥadīth on the Jews, we shall identify those in al-Ṭayālisī's collection which refer to Christians, or, as is usually the case, to both Christians and Jews.

There is no section in the Jāmiʻ and Sunan type collections on Christians. References to them are found scattered throughout the chapters. Every text found in the Musnad can be found elsewhere in one or more of the canonical collections. On the other hand a number of important traditions are not included in the Musnad.

For convenience in describing the material the following categories are used:
1. Concessions to the Christians
2. Strictures against the Christians
3. Comparisons between Muslims and Christians

Concessions to the Christians

There is a great contrast between the Qur'anic attitudes toward Christians and those seen in the ḥadīth. In the Qur'ān[4] there is manifested a theological interest in Christianity and a positive appreciation of Christians, as well as a stern rejection of some of their tenets. The Book bears testimony to spiritual links with the followers of Jesus. In

---

[3]EI[2], I, 264-66. Occasionally, as is brought out in this article, the term also applies to the Sabeans and to the Zoroastrians.

[4]Cf. Blachère, trans., op. cit., Index under "Chrétiens," "Evangile," "Jésus."

contrast the _hadīth_ reveal an aggressive attitude which polar-
izes the two communities of faith, setting Muslims against
Christians, not on the theoretical level of doctrinal debate,
but in the realm of everyday life. The Christian attitudes
toward their Muslim conquerors are not expressed in these texts.

The _hadīth_ come out of a period of Muslim ascendancy
in the political field. Many Christian communities, Arab
tribal groups and city dwellers in Syria and North Africa, for
example, had been conquered by the victorious Islamic forces.
There was no attempt to assimilate these Christians, either
culturally or religiously, into the pattern of Muslim life.
In fact cultural assimilation took place in the other direction,
and Christians were free to practice their own religion. As
far as legal status was concerned the Christians, along with
other subjugated religious groups, were in a special category.
They had the _dhimmī_ status, meaning that they were placed
under a code of rights and responsibilities which gave them
a large measure of freedom, but which also made sure that they
would be subordinate to the Muslim element of the population.
This _dhimmī_ status has been studied in some detail by histo-
rians and legists, but because the _hadīth_ do not deal with
legal stipulations as such, and because they refer to the
dhimmī status but rarely, the literature ignores almost com-
pletely the testimony of the _hadīth_ on the subject of Muslim
attitudes toward Christians.[5]

The sentiments revealed in the traditions represent a
popular effort by the earliest authorities to bring the
Prophet's example to bear upon the social relationships of
Muslims with Christians. In these texts we can see the basic
socio-religious elements out of which emerged the epic and
age-long religious polemic between the two communities.

---

[5]Cf. _EI²_, II, 227-31, with references; Antoine Fattal,
Le Statut Légal des Non-Musulmans en Pays d'Islam; ʿAlī Ḥusnī
al-Kharbūṭlī, _al-Islām wa Ahl al-Dhimma_; A. S. Tritton, _The
Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects_.

The first category of texts is called Concessions to Christians. This title implies that the Muslims were in a position of strength vis-à-vis the Christians, that their life together had elements of conflict and that the Muslims were not inflexible toward their protected non-Muslim subjects.

The first text preserved in the _Musnad_ is a complex Numerical Saying:[6]

> Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī: The Apostle of God said, "Three people will receive a double reward:[7] a man who, possessing a female slave, brings her up well and teaches her well, then frees her and marries her; a man of the People of the Scriptures, who, having believed in his prophet, then comes to know the Prophet and believes in him; and a slave who carries out his duty toward God and toward his owners.[8] (502)

This saying carries a postscript by one of the intermediate guarantors named al-Shaʿbī. This person says to someone standing by, "Here it is, take it for nothing! There are those who would travel to Medina for something less than this." Just why this curious addition is included in al-Ṭayālisī as well as in al-Bukhārī and al-Ḥumaydī is not clear.[9] Perhaps it is an indication that this is a composition done in an exceptionally thoughtful manner.

----

[6]Cf. above, Chap. IV, p. 54, for the description of this type of expression.

[7]Cf. Qur. 28:54.

[8]Cf. Bu., Jihād, 145; Nikāḥ, 13; Ḥ., 768; I. Ḥ., IV, 395, 414, for variant readings.

[9]Ibn Ḥajar, _op. cit._, I, 202, does not seem to be sure of its meaning. He says that perhaps it is added to emphasize the importance of memorizing the text.

In truth a close examination of no. 502 is rewarding.
Its introductory statement, giving the number of items to be
listed and the feature that they have in common, has a
Qur'anic background, so it can be said to have had an inde-
pendent previous existence. Likewise the man who treats his
female slave with such extraordinary kindness is seen else-
where, in texts that are independent of this one.

> Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī: The Apostle of God said, "Who-
> ever has a female slave and frees her, and then
> marries her, will have a double reward."[10]

The fact that Muḥammad actually did this with his slave,
Ṣafīya,[11] may be the basis for this promise. Some scholars
have not accepted that what Muḥammad did in freeing and
marrying Ṣafīya is normative for the whole community.[12]
A possible expression of this counter-opinion is seen in one
reading of Abū Mūsā's testimony:

> The Apostle of God said, "When a man frees his female
> slave, and then provides her with a new dowry (mahr
> jadīd), he receives a double reward."[13] (501)

---

[10]I. Ḥ., IV, 398; cf. Bu., ʿItq, 14, for another
reading.

[11]A. D., III, 182; Mishk., II, 683.

[12]Cf. A. D., III, 182-83, with commentary by
al-Khaṭṭābī on this question.

[13]Similar and stronger in tone is the assertion found
in the loosely attached introduction to Ḥ., 768, in which some
people from Khurāsān say that the man who frees his slave and
marries her is like one who rides on his sacrificial camel
(badana).

Passing to the second item in the Numerical Saying, we do not find it existing independently. So we may assume that it is the main point in the whole composition. Out of six versions this item is in second or the central place four times and in first place twice. Since the first and the third items do exist as separate hadīth,[14] and are used conjointly in al-Bukhārī, ʿItq, 16, it is difficult to say whether this two-part Numerical Saying resulted from an intentional omission of the part about the People of the Scriptures, or whether it represents an intermediate stage of the development of the three-part composition. Since there seems to be no reason for anyone to have disapproved of the promise to one of the People of the Scriptures, it may be assumed that the version in Bu., ʿItq, 16, in two parts, shows a stage in the thoughtful process of collecting related assertions into composite wholes.

Still looking at the second item in the list, it shows some interesting variations. Although all of the versions examined purport to be direct quotations from the Prophet, only one is consistent in citing the speech in the first person. In one reading, the expression is, ". . . and who believes in me . . . ,"[15] whereas in the others it is, ". . . believes in the Prophet . . ."[16] and ". . . who believes in Muḥammad."[17] The latter reference is even less consistent than the others, for in one version it gives the

---

[14]See below, p. 159, for references to the third item.

[15]Bu., Nikāḥ, 13.

[16]H., 768.

[17]Bu., ʿIlm, 31; I. H., IV, 395, 414.

<u>tasliya</u>, or eulogy, after mentioning the Prophet's name,[18] something that would not occur in a direct quotation. So it seems that in a complex <u>hadith</u> such as this three-part Numerical Saying, the structure of the text itself is of greatest importance, and that the introductory words, "The Apostle of God said," are only a convention.

In a variant reading there is evidence of a measure of theological precision not seen in the other versions. The guarantor notes that the double reward is for the man of the People of the Scriptures who, "having believed before the sending of the Prophet, then believes in the Prophet. . . ."[19] And in still another case it is evident that for the guarantor the promise refers to Christians, not to Jews, for his wording is, ". . . who believes in what ʿĪsā (Jesus) brought. . . ."[20]

Turning to the third item in the list, we find it existing independently in a number of versions.[21] Only in the sayings from Abū Mūsā, however, is the promise of a double reward given. It is not possible to determine with certainty whether these, and the ones about the double reward for marrying a freed slave, existed before the composite form, or whether they were extracted from the composite form to be used in isolated sayings.

There is good symmetry in the arrangement and formulation of the three promises. In one text a fourth item is joined to the list, the wives of the Prophet, but it does not fit harmoniously with the other three, as far as can be

---

[18] I. Ḥ., IV, 395.

[19] Ḥ., 768.

[20] I. Ḥ., IV, 395.

[21] Ṭay., 7, from Abū Bakr, 2567, from Abū Hurayra; Bu., ʿItq, 16 bis.

gathered from the remarks of Ibn Ḥajar.[22] In each of the three cases the person assured of a double reward performs two commendable actions:

1. Freeing and marrying a slave. The part about educating her is improvisation, as is seen by comparison with a version from Ibn Ḥanbal.[23]

2. Believing in a previous prophet and believing in Muḥammad.

3. Carrying out one's duty toward God and toward one's owners.

Each of these pairs of actions is graded from good to better, or best; and they are given in that order, except in the case of 3, where duty toward God is mentioned first out of respect for the deity. Also the three cases represent three of the fundamental institutions of early Muslim society, the family, the community of believers (mu'minūn) and slavery.

In this thoughtful composition of three parts we see expressed two basic attitudes toward Christians. The first is a negative one. Since two out of the three cases involve slaves, the feeling is inescapable that Christians are regarded as being in an inferior social category of some kind. On the other hand, this does not stand in the way of a positive appreciation of the Christian's "prophet," nor an implied admission that belief in that prophet would merit at least a single reward. So this text shows a religious concession, but at the same time testifies to the Christians' lower place in society.

A hadīth will now be cited which does not belong to the category of concessions, but which should be seen in connection with the one just considered, because it is its

---

[22]Op. cit., XI, 28, on a text from al-Ṭabarānī's collection.

[23]IV, 398.

counterpart.[24] When it is taken with no. 502 it is possible
to discern the seeds of a Muslim theology of other religions.
Thereby is corrected or qualified the implied acceptance of
belief in a former prophet, seen in the previous text as
perhaps worthy of at least a partial reward.

> Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī: The Apostle of God said, "Who-
> ever hears of me, and does not believe in me, belongs
> to the people of Hell, whether he be from this nation
> (umma), or whether he be a Jew or a Christian."[25]
> (509)

So the coming of Muḥammad abrogated all existing religions
(milal). al-Nawāwī asserts that those who never hear of the
Prophet are excused, however. Only those who hear of him and
refuse to believe become people of Hell.[26]

The next concession to be noted is that of rising for
a Christian or Jewish funeral procession. This action by the
Prophet seems to constitute a qualification of a general
injunction to rise whenever a funeral passes, and not to sit
down again until the bier is lowered to the ground.[27] In fact,
the most extensive version of the two texts preserved in the
Musnad specifies that the action of rising is for any dead
person, Muslim, Jew or Christian:

---

[24]Both traditions are included under the same rubric
by Muslim, ". . . The Abrogation of Religions by Muḥammad's
Religion (milla)" in Kitāb al-Īmān.

[25]Ha., 90, gives a variant reading.

[26]In his commentary of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim, on the
margin of al-Qaṣṭallānī, Irshād al-Sārī li Sharh Ṣaḥīḥ
al-Bukhārī, II, 29.

[27]Mishk., I, 347.

ʿAlī: ʿAbd Allāh b. Sakhbara said, "We were seated
with ʿAlī waiting ___[28] when a funeral procession
passed by us. We arose in respect for it; then we
said, 'This is what you are proud to do (mā taʾabbawna
bihi), O friends of Muhammad.' Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī
informed us that the Apostle of God said, 'When a
funeral procession passes you, and the dead person
is a Muslim, a Jew or a Christian, then arise out of
respect for it. We do not arise out of respect for
the dead person, but for the angels who may be
accompanying the procession.'[29] Then ʿAlī said,
'The Apostle of God did that only once when they
were People of the Scriptures. He tried to be like
them in some things, but when he was forbidden he
desisted.'" (162)

The very fact that the three religious groups are specified
is evidence that the Christians and Jews were considered to
be in a different social position from the Muslims, so that
if respect for funerals was enjoined it did not go without
saying that even funerals of Christians and Jews were to be
respected. The variant readings of this tradition point to
the following probable sequence of development:

1. A simple Injunction, as recorded in Mishk., I,
347.[30]

2. A Statement, Question and Answer in which the
Prophet's action is called into question, thus provoking
him to tell why he rose.

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh: A funeral passed and the
Apostle of God stood for it. We stood with him,
but we said, "O Apostle of God, the funeral is

---

[28]Lacuna.

[29]Tay., 528, reproduces only this report from Abū
Mūsā; I. H., IV, 391, has an identical reading.

[30]Above, p. 161.

for a Jewish woman." He said, "Death is a fearful event (faza⁣ʿ), so when you see a funeral, stand up."[31]

3. The same Injunction as seen in 1, amplified with a statement of the reason for rising.

> Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī: The Apostle of God said, "When the funeral procession of a Muslim, a Jew or a Christian passes you, arise out of respect for it. We do not arise out of respect for the procession itself but for any angels that might be accompanying it." (528)

4. An extended embellished Injunction which incorporates the reason for the rising (162).[32] In the example ʿAlī's appended remark shows that some traditionists, reflecting the community's spirit, were not entirely satisfied with the Prophet's injunction.[33] In fact, the variant readings indicate clearly that the Muslim attitude toward Christians (and Jews) was not uniform or simple. Reflecting upon Muhammad's example of rising before funeral processions, one guarantor has him say of a Jewish corpse, "It is a soul, is it not?"[34] Thoughts range from this popular, but profound, humanism, to awe before the leveling force of death ("a frightful thing"),[35] to sheer prejudice ("The Apostle stood because

---

[31]Mu., Janāʾiz, 78.

[32]Above, p. 162.

[33]Cf. Vajda, op. cit., pp. 76-77; Ma., II, 19.

[34]Mu., Janāʾiz, 81. al-Ghazālī attests that this comment reveals Muhammad's unusual insight into the mysterious nature of death (Ad-Dourra al-Fâkhira: La Perle Précieuse de Ghazâlî, trans. by Lucien Gautier, p. 19).

[35]Above.

he was bothered by the odor of the Jew").[36] It is interesting
to note that in all of the examples studied, when the funeral
is said to be of a member of a particular dhimmī group, it is
always a Jewish dead person, never a Christian. In the general
injunctions Christians are mentioned along with Jews. Perhaps
this singling out of the Jews is due to the fact that the early
Muslims were in closer touch with them than with the Christians.

Another concession to the Christians revealed in the
Musnad has to do with eating regulations. It shows a conflict
in Muslim thought between restrictions based on the separate-
ness of the religious communities and the liberal spirit of
the Qur'anic assertion:

> The food of those who have received the Scripture is
> lawful for you, and your food is lawful for them.
> (5:5/7)

> Abū Tha'laba al-Khushanī: "O Apostle of God, in a
> land of the People of the Scriptures they eat the
> flesh of swine and they drink wine. What about their
> vessels and cooking pots?" Then he said, "If you can
> do without them, do not use them, but if you cannot do
> without them, then rinse them with water," (or, he
> said, "Wash them!") "prepare food in them and eat."
> The guarantor said, "I suppose he said, 'And drink.'"
> (1014)

Of course this is not the kind of report which lends itself
to clear legal application, and the lawyers discussed it at
length.[37] The question posed shows a preoccupation with
dietary restrictions and exaggerated purity, which contrast
with the inconsistency of Muḥammad's reply. The way the
Prophet answers is practically a concession to his overly

---

[36]I. Ḥ., I, 200.

[37]Ibn Ḥajar, op. cit., XII, 24, 25, outlines the debate.
He specifies that the land to which reference is made in the
text is that of the Arab tribes of northern Syria. Bu.,
Dhabā'iḥ, 4, 14; Tir., Sayr, 16, give similar readings.

scrupulous fellow Muslims, since the Qur'ān had already opened the way for mutual partaking of food by the three communities.

Providing a background for this tradition is another one which does not mention the Christians, but speaks of food prepared by the Majūs, or Mazdaists of Persia. In it the Prophet shows a spirit of insouciance toward dietary regulations.

> Ibn ʿAbbās: I was listening to the recitation of the Prophet at the time of the conquest of Mecca. He saw a cheese and said, "What is this?" They said, "It is food prepared in the land of the non-Arab foreigners (ʿajam)." The Apostle of God said, "Apply the knife to it, mention the name of God over it, and eat!"[38] (2684)

And, in keeping with this freedom from restrictions based on the origin of the food, is another testimony:

> ʿAdī b. Ḥātim: I said to the Apostle of God, "When I give up certain foods I feel distressed (taḥarruj)." He said, "Do not abstain from food. In that practice you resemble (ḍāraʿa) the Christians."[39] (1034 bis)

Here the Prophet warns the Muslims against excessive preoccupation with dietary rules, such as the ascetical attitude of the Christian monks. This kind of concern makes for both pride and inner turmoil, according to various readings.

---

[38] I. Ḥ., I, 302-03, says specifically that the cheese was made in Persia.

[39] Tir., Sayr, 16; I. Ḥ., 226 bis, 227, gives other readings.

Strictures against the Christians

One very famous stricture against the Christians may be dealt with summarily:

> Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ: The Apostle of God said, "Put the Jews of al-Ḥijāz out of the Arabian Peninsula."[40] (229)

This injunction is beyond doubt intimately associated with the expulsion by the Caliph ʿUmar of certain People of the Scriptures from al-Ḥijāz and Najrān.[41] The interpretation of ʿUmar's action, variously understood by the historians, is not a concern of this investigation. He violated the treaty that Muḥammad had made with Najrān and that Abū Bakr had renewed. Whether politically or religiously motivated, or both, this expulsion does not seem to have been representative of a general, popular attitude of resentment toward the Christians and Jews. We may suppose that the hadīth has its seed in some remark of the Prophet, but that the life setting of the testimony as presented here is in the attitude and action of the Caliph ʿUmar, which bore subsequent fruit in the virtual isolation of the Arabian Peninsula from foreigners.[42]

In the strongest of language another text condemns a practice of the Jews (and Christians):

---

[40] Among the many variant readings, cf. I. H., I, 29, 32, 87, 195, 196, 199; III, 345; VI, 734-75; Tir., Siyar, 42; Bu., Jizya, 6; Ma., IV, 71, 72.

[41] For accounts of this measure, cf. Leone Caetani, comp., Annali dell'Islām, IV, 350-66; Fattal, op. cit., 85-91.

[42] al-Mubārakfūrī, op. cit., V, 231, summarizes the various legal positions on which territories are out of bounds for non-Muslims.

Usāma b. Zayd: During the last sickness of the
Apostle of God, he said, "Bring in my companions!"
They came in, and he was covered by his outer garment
of ma'āfirī cloth.[43] Then he said, "May God curse the
Jews! They use the tombs of their prophets as places
of worship."[44] (634)

The student of ḥadīth is not left in doubt as to the purpose
of this testimony. In the Sahīh of al-Bukhārī, 'Ā'isha
recounts the same event as above, with variations, but at
the end, in a kind of afterthought, she says, "Without that,
they would have made a public place out of the Prophet's grave,
and there was fear lest it should be taken as a place of
prayer."[45] In another reading, a variant indicated in the
text is significant: "But he had feared, or, it had been
feared, that his tomb would have served as a place of prayer."[46]
So this curse is clearly a piece of propaganda, playing a part
in the intensive campaign of the Prophet and early Muslims
against the practices of excessive grief at funerals and
veneration of the dead.[47] As interesting as the issue behind
these texts may be from the ethnological point of view, the
involvement of Christians in the ḥadīth does not tell a great

---

[43]A kind of cloth named after a tribe in the Yemen
(Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., III, 262).

[44]In other readings, Christians are included as objects
of the curse, e.g. I. Ḥ., I, 218.

[45]Janā'iz, 62. Cf., Mu., Masājid, 19. In Bu.,
Anbiyā', 50, another variant reading, the guarantor adds, "In
that way he warned his own people about similar practices."

[46]Bu., Janā'iz, 62.

[47]Goldziher, Muslim Studies I, 228-38; Henri Lammens,
Fātima et les Filles de Mahomet, pp. 118-23; Vajda compiles
and cites a number of ḥadīth texts on this subject in op. cit.,
pp. 79-83; cf. also Ṭay., 2358, 2733.

deal about the attitude of Muslims toward them. Vajda is
probably right in asserting that they and the Jews are merely
figurants, or are used as examples to impress Muslims with the
wrongness of veneration of the dead.[48] This impression of
dramatic effect is strengthened when we examine the descriptive
touches that are given to the story in various readings. That
the curse should take place during the Prophet's last illness
is already dramatic enough.[49] Besides the scene described in
no. 634, above, there is an attack of illness during which the
Prophet threw a hamīsa (a kind of robe) over his face and
fainted.[50] Again, he would cover his face with the black
hamīsa, then uncover it, repeatedly.[51] Still again, he would
leave his face covered until he felt distressed (ightamma).[52]

There is another, completely different incident, also
involving Christians, connected with the Prophet's illness.
In it Umm Salama and Umm Habība, two of his wives, tell him
about seeing a church in Abyssinia which contained images.
He explains how Christians venerate their dead and condemns
them for this practice.[53] So the Christians are used in these

---

[48]Op. cit., p. 83.

[49]At least one version of the desire to see non-
Muslims put out of the Arabian Peninsula is linked with these
last days of Muhammad, and with the condemnation of making
prayer places out of tombs (I. H., I, 199).

[50]I. H., I, 218.

[51]I. H., VI, 274.

[52]Bu., Salāt, 55; Houdas and Marçais, in El-Bokhâri,
op. cit., I, 160, apparently mistranslated this tradition.

[53]Bu., Janā'iz, 71; Mu., Masājid, 16, which does not
situate the Abyssinian church conversation at the sickbed of
the Prophet.

hadīth as a literary device to strengthen the argument against
a Muslim practice. Of course the Christians could not have so
served if they had not stood as a community over against that
of the Muslims, the objects of a measure of scorn and distrust.

Continuing in the area of social relationships and
ethnic customs, there is a tradition which makes an issue out
of the ordinary everyday greeting, al-salām ʿalaykum (may peace,
or well-being, be with you).[54] This greeting in its full form
came to be reserved for Muslims alone, although a part of it
could be addressed to the People of the Scriptures. Here is
strikingly revealed the prejudice which marks the relationship
of a Muslim with a dhimmī. No life setting for this tradition
can be discerned except a desire to keep Jews and Christians
firmly in their place of inferiority, and to reinforce the
justification for such humiliation by portraying the dhimmī's
perversity. Out of fourteen readings of this tradition only
one has a specific mention of the Christians.[55] So it may be
that the main force of this stricture was seen in relationships
with the Jews. However, we are not justified in saying that
the Christians were excluded from it. In fact in his commentary
on the Muwatta' al-Zurqānī says that the title of the rubric
refers to both Christians and Jews because although the one
hadīth which Mālik cites has to do with the Jews only there
is actually no difference between the Jews and the Christians
in the matter of greetings.[56]

It will be noticed that most of the examples studied
come from Abū Hurayra and Anas b. Mālik, two of the younger
guarantors. The texts do not give evidence of having gone
through extensive evolution, so it may be said in a tentative

---

[54]Vajda, op. cit., pp. 87-90.

[55]Tir., Siyar, 40.

[56]Ma., IV, 184.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

way that these traditions, as recorded, are not primitive. Taken together they exhibit an interesting although limited development, formwise.

The formulation which is probably the basis for the whole series of testimonies is an Injunction serving to accentuate the subjugation of the ahl al-dhimma:[57]

> Abū Hurayra: The Prophet said concerning the People of the Scriptures that you should not greet them before they greet you, and when you meet them on the road, compel them to move aside for you. (2424)

Out of the foregoing the question had to arise how a Muslim would respond to the greeting of a Jew or a Christian.

> Anas b. Mālik: The companions of the Prophet said, "O Apostle of God, if the People of the Scriptures greet us how shall we answer them?" He said, "Say, 'And with you.'"[58] (1971)

After Injunction and Question and Answer, the next step is to a little more complex Reportorial type, a simple Story. The difficulty with this exchange of greetings is that the dhimmī does not remain docile:

> Anas b. Mālik: A Jew greeted the Apostle of God, saying, "Death be with you (al-sām ʿalayka)." The Prophet said, "Bring him to me." Then he said to him, "Did you say, 'Death be with you?'" The Jew said, "Yes." The Apostle of God said, "When the People of the Scriptures greet you, say, 'And with you.'"[59]

---

[57]Indeed, al-Tirmidhī expressly states in his note attached to Siyar, 40, a variant reading of the text cited, that Muslims are commanded to subjugate (tadhlīl) the ahl al-dhimma.

[58]Cf. Mu., Salām, 6 for a variant reading.

[59]I. Ḥ., III, 140.

So, in view of this situation, another Injunction is needed.
It is more complex than the first, being introduced by a condi-
tional clause.

> Ibn ʿUmar: The Apostle of God said, "When the Jews
> greet you, if one of them says, 'Death be with you,'
> then you say, 'And with you.'"[60]

The rest of the examples studied are Reportorial types, mostly
simple Stories adding personae and brief descriptive touches.
One example is as follows:

> Anas b. Mālik: A man of the People of the Scriptures
> greeted the Apostle of God, saying, "Death be with you."
> ʿUmar said, "O Apostle of God, shall I cut off his
> head?" The Apostle of God said, "If the People of the
> Scriptures greet you, then say, 'And with you.'"[61]
> (2069)

Finally there is recorded an attempt to attenuate the severity
of this stricture:

> ʿĀʾisha: A group of Jews asked to see the Prophet:
> They said to him, "Death be with you!" ʿĀʾisha said,
> "Instead, may death be with you, as well as the curse!"
> The Prophet said, "O ʿĀʾisha, God loves kindness
> (rifq) in every situation. She said, "Did you not
> hear what they said?" He said, "And I just said,
> 'With you.'"[62]

---

[60] A. D., IV, 153. al-Khaṭṭābī, in his explanation of
this text, writes of the discussions of the scholars about the
propriety of using the wa in the answer. A variant reading
omits it. Some saw a subtle difference in meaning, if it were
omitted; cf. Ma., IV, 184-85; Mu., Salām, 7.

[61] Other examples: Bu., Jihād, 98; I. Ḥ., III, 144,
192, 210, 289.

[62] I. Ḥ., VI, 33; cf. III, 241 and VI, 37, 199; Mu.,
Salām, 11, for variant readings.

The last stricture preserved in al-Ṭayālisī is an
eschatological one, and reflects the ultimate degree of
theological rejection of the ahl al-kitāb.

> Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī: The Apostle of God said, "No
> believer will die without God having placed a Jew or
> a Christian in his place in Hell." The guarantor
> said, "Abū Burda went to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and
> the latter questioned him about the hadīth. He
> recounted it, and he had to swear three times that
> Abū Mūsā really told it to him as coming from the
> Prophet."[63] (499)

This text seems to have come only through Abū Burda from his
father, Abū Mūsā. The thought expressed is extreme, apparently
contrary to the sense of the Qurʾān, which says:

> As for those who disbelieve, lo! if all that is in
> the earth were theirs, and as much again therewith,
> to ransom them from the doom on the Day of Resurrec-
> tion, it would not be accepted from them. (5:36/40)

This is the case for unbelievers. For believers there would
not be any question of a place in Hell from which they would
need ransom unless they had committed grave sins, in which
case they would suffer temporary torment.[64] Then, too, to
consign Christians and Jews to Hell as a ransom for Muslims
goes much further than to identify them with the people of
Hell because of their unbelief in Muḥammad, as is done in

---

[63]In I. Ḥ., IV, 402, the additional note is added that
ʿUmar was happy when Abū Burda had assured with an oath that
the tradition came from Muḥammad. Cf. also I. Ḥ., IV, 391,
407-08, 409-10, where the Jew and Christian are called a ransom
(fidāʾ) for the Muslim. Other occurrences of this tradition
are in Mu., Tawba, 49,50, 51; Mishk., III, 1173.

[64]EI², II, 382.

no. 509.[65] In a version preserved in the _Sahīh_ of Muslim, it
is said that on the Day of Resurrection "some Muslims will
come with sins like mountains, and God will grant them pardon,
placing their sins upon the Jews and the Christians."[66]
al-Nawāwī, in commenting upon this text, says that it is linked
with another which states that each person has a place in
Paradise and a place in Hell. Then when a believer enters
Paradise, his place is taken (_khalafa_) in Hell by the unbe-
liever according to what his unbelief deserves. The scholar
goes on to insist that God will only place the sins of Muslims
on those Christians and Jews who bear themselves a correspond-
ing weight of sin. So the latter will be placed in Hell for
their own works, and not really for those of the Muslims whose
fidā' they are.[67] This rather uncertain exegesis shows that
the tradition poses a problem, as do the added remarks to
several versions about ʿUmar II and his demand for confirmation
of it. Because of the involvement of the Umayyad Caliph in the
corroboration of this text, one is tempted to see the life
setting for it in that ruler's well-known strong prejudice
against Christians and Jews.[68]

Comparisons between Muslims and Christians

Under this heading is first of all a series of texts
which can be traced back to a specific historical event in

---

[65] Above, p. 161.

[66] Tawba, 51.

[67] In the margin of al-Qastallānī, _op. cit._, X, 197.

[68] William Muir, _The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline and Fall_, p. 370.

which the Muslims are accused of following the customs of the pagan Arabs who were before them. In other versions the Christians and the Jews take the place of the pagan Arabs in the accusation. This theme, which is dismissed by Vajda as very banal,[69] proves to have great interest when studied with reference to its form of expression.

The original incident took place in the year 8/629, at the site of the Battle of Ḥunayn.[70] It is recorded in full by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq,[71] as follows:

> Abū Wāqid al-Laythī al-Ḥārith b. Mālik:[72] We went
> forth with the Apostle of God to Ḥunayn, having only
> recently come from paganism. We went with him to
> Ḥunayn, and the unbelieving Quraysh along with other
> Arabs like them had a great green tree called Dhātu
> Anwāṭ to which they used to come every year, hang weap-
> ons on it, sacrifice beside it and devote themselves
> to it for a day. As we were going with the Apostle
> of God we saw a great lotus tree (sidra), so we called
> out together from all sides, "O Apostle of God, make
> us a tree to hang things on such as they have." The
> Apostle of God said, "God is great! By Him who holds
> the life of Muḥammad in His hand, you have said what
> Moses' people said to him, 'Make us a god even as they

---

[69]Op. cit., p. 84.

[70]EI[2], III, 578.

[71]Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishâk
bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hischâm (Kitāb Sīrat Rasūl
Allāh), ed. by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, I, 844; English trans-
lation, The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishāq's Sīrat
Rasūl Allāh, trans. by A. Guillaume, pp. 568-69.

[72]Guillaume mistakenly interprets this name as two
separate names belonging to two different guarantors (op. cit.,
p. 568; cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, op. cit., IV, 1774).

have gods.'" He said, "You are an ignorant people.[73]
You follow the customs of those who were before
you."[74]

Apparently based on this story, there developed a series of
warning statements, some couched in terms of the present and
others in terms of the future, or prophetic warnings. Out of
the eleven versions which were examined in this investigation,
five are from Abū Hurayra and four from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī.
The remaining two are from Shaddād b. Aws and Sahl b. Saʿd
al-Anṣārī. The evolution of these versions seems to be as
follows:

1. Muhammad's rebuke to his warriors at Hunayn is
taken up by moralizing purists of the community who accuse the
Muslims of regression.

Sahl b. Saʿd al-Anṣārī: The Apostle of God said, "By
Him who holds my life in His hand, you follow the
customs of those who were before you, in exactly the
same way."[75]

2. An embellished form of the same rebuke is the next
example:

Abū Hurayra: The Prophet said, "You follow the customs
of those who were before you, span by span, and cubit
by cubit, so that if they had entered the hole of a
lizard, you would have entered it too."[76]

---

[73]Qur. 7:138/134.

[74]Cf. Tay., 1346; Tir., Fitan, 16; I. H., V, 218;
Mishk., III, 1128 for slightly condensed versions of this
story, all claiming Abū Wāqid al-Laythī as their primary
guarantor.

[75]I. H., V, 340.

[76]I. H., II, 511.

3. A normal question arises in the next version, that
is, to whose customs is the Prophet referring in saying that
the Muslims follow them.

> Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "The Judgment
> Day will not come before my nation adopts the ways of
> behavior of the nations and the centuries that were
> before them, span by span and cubit by cubit." A man
> asked, "O Apostle of God, do you mean as did the
> Persians and the Greeks (Rūm)?" The Apostle of God
> said, "And are there people other than those?"[77]

This Statement, Question and Answer form sets the pattern for
a number of variant readings. The question about Persians and
Greeks would perhaps arise first, since they, especially the
Persians, would be more easily associated with the polytheists
in the original Hunayn story. It should be noted that the
Prophet's reply is slightly vague. He does not say definitely
that he is speaking of the customs of Persians and Greeks, but
he leaves the strong impression that they are the unbelievers
to whom reference is made.

4. This vagueness of reply continues in the next level
of readings. Here, however, the suggestion is that the People
of the Scriptures are meant. Someone asked the Prophet, "Whom
do you mean, the Jews and the Christians?" He replied, "Who
would it be?"[78] It is only natural that attention would focus
on the Christians and Jews, who lived in close proximity to
the Muslims, and toward whom attitudes of rivalry and antago-
nism were forming. The Prophet's answer is still vague, how-
ever.

---

[77] I. H., II, 367; Bu., I'tiṣām, 15, gives a parallel
reading.

[78] I. H., II, 527. A slightly variant reading of this
question and answer can be found in Bu., Anbiyā', 50; I. H.,
II, 327; III, 84.

5. Then, as attitudes hardened and lines of exclusiveness were drawn more tightly between the two communities, the umma and the ahl al-dhimma, this development is reflected in the final stage of readings. First, as Statement, Question and Answer:

> Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: The Prophet said, "You follow the customs of those who were before you, so that even if they had entered the hole of a lizard, you would have entered it, too." Someone said, "And who are they?" He replied, "The Jews and the Christians." (2178)

A variant reading says, ". . . even if one of the Sons of Israel had entered the hole of a lizard . . . ," and no question is asked.[79] A last example is notable for its independent wording:

> Shaddād b. Aws: From the hadīth of the Apostle of God he reported this statement, "The evildoers (ashrār) of this nation will take up the customs of those who passed away before them, that is, the People of the Scriptures, to imitate them exactly (hadhwa al-qudhdha bi'l-qudhdha)."[80]

The next comparison complements, by virtue of its subject matter, the texts scrutinized in the category of concessions, that is, the double reward for Christians and Jews who believe in Muḥammad, and its negative counterpart, the statement that People of the Scriptures who hear of the Prophet and fail to believe in him are called people of Hell. In those two series as well as in the present comparisons, it is possible to delineate elements of a rudimentary theology of history, which is concerned about the place that the three communities, Muslims, Christians and Jews, have in God's plan.

---

[79] I. Ḥ., III, 94.

[80] I. Ḥ., IV, 125.

In content these ideas scarcely go beyond the Qur'anic data.[81]
The literary form of this tradition is extraordinary. It is
a studied, extended metaphorical statement or parable, drama-
tized carefully. The action and personae are strongly reminis-
cent of the parable of Jesus recorded in Matthew 20:1-16.[82]
There are essentially only two versions of the parable, one of
which is preserved in al-Ṭayālisī's collection. A comparison
of them reveals a nuance in the Muslim attitude toward Chris-
tians and Jews.

> ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār: I heard Ibn ʿUmar recount that
> the Prophet said, "Your duration (baqāʾ), compared
> with that of the nations that have passed away, is
> similar to the time which separates the prayer of
> ʿaṣr from sunset. Your situation, compared with that
> of the Jews and the Christians, is that of a man who
> hired workers, saying, 'The ones who will work for me
> until midday will receive one qīrāt as wage.' The
> Jews worked thus. Then the man said, 'The ones who
> will work for me from midday until the ʿaṣr will
> receive one qīrāt.' The Christians worked thus.
> Finally, 'You who have worked from the ʿaṣr until
> sunset will receive two qīrāt each.' The others said,
> 'We have worked the most and we have received the
> least.' He said, 'Have I wronged you in anything at
> all?' They said, 'No.' Then the master said, 'It is
> a favor on my part, I give it to whom I will.'"[83]

Here the focus is upon the period after the coming of Muḥammad
and the formation of the Muslim community. The existence of
Islam is depicted as a grace from God, issuing from His
inscrutable will. The higher salary would probably be

---

[81] e.g. 5:11/14-19/22.

[82] Cf. remarks by Goldziher, *Muslim Studies I*, pp. 201-
02.

[83] Bu., Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān, 17. Slightly variant
readings are found in Bu., Anbiyā, 50; Ijāra, 9; I. Ḥ., II,
6, 111; Ṭay., 1820.

understood as signifying the successful spread of Islam and
the superior revelation of the Qur'ān, signs of the divine
good pleasure which provoke the ahl al-dhimma to envy. The
retort of those who received a lower wage for longer work is
not an indication of a feeling of injury or bewilderment on
the part of the Christians or Jews but this remark is rather
a rhetorical device to set the minority religions in contrast
to Islam, without any unfavorable judgment upon them. In fact
the remarkable feature of this reading is that there is no
derogatory thought expressed about the People of the Scriptures.
This is not the case in the following version:

> Abū Mūsā: The Prophet said, "The parable which may
> be applied to Muslims, Jews and Christians is that of
> a man who hired people to work for him one full day,
> until the night, according to an agreed salary. They
> worked for him until midday, and then said, 'We do
> not need the salary that you stipulated for us. What
> we have done will be for nothing (bātil).' He said
> to them, 'Do not do that. Finish the rest of your
> work, and take all of your salary.' They refused and
> went away. He hired others after them and said,
> 'Finish the day's work and I shall give you the salary
> that I stipulated for the others.' They worked until
> the time of the prayer of ʿasr. Then they said, 'We
> leave you the work that we did, for nothing. You may
> keep the salary that you had fixed for it.' He said
> to them, 'Finish the rest of your work. There is only
> a little time left in the day.' They refused. Then
> the man hired some people to work for the rest of the
> day. They worked for the rest of the day until sunset
> and they received the whole salary of the two preceding
> groups. This is analogous to the way that they
> accepted this light.[84]

The emphasis in this text is upon the unfaithfulness
and failure of the Jews and Christians, prior to the advent
of Islam. So another explanation than the inscrutable will
of God is offered. The workers are irresponsible and weak

---

[84]Qur. 5:15/18, 16/18; Bu., Ijāra, 11.

(ʿajaza),[85] so they are supplanted by the ones who work their full time and receive their wages. These are the Muslims who accepted the "light," and were faithful to their Prophet. The inferior position of Jews and Christians is due, then, to their unfaithfulness to their prophets.[86]

The last set of texts chosen for the category of comparisons deals with the days of worship in the three communities, Muslim, Christian and Jewish. Obviously these comparisons do not come from the time of the origin of Friday worship in Islam. That practice is an ancient institution, being mentioned once in the Qur'ān,[87] but S. D. Goitein has pointed out that the earliest records do not give any indication of there being polemics with other religions involved in the choice of Friday as the day for Muslim communal worship.[88] On the other hand it may well be that the fact of a Muslim day of worship which was different from the days of the People of the Scriptures became one of the earliest concrete issues by which the apartness of the communities could be dramatized. The texts under consideration here give evidence of a fairly complex evolution, much more so than the other series investigated in this category.

The main point of the comparison here is that Friday is the originally intended day of worship for all, Muslims, Christians and Jews. That the latter two communities have

---

[85]According to the reading in Bu., Tawḥīd, 47.

[86]Some texts combine these two versions, but in a way that does not show an understanding of the difference between them. Cf. Bu., Tawḥīd, 31, 47; I. Ḥ., II, 121, 129.

[87]62:9, 10.

[88]"The Origin and Nature of the Muslim Friday Worship," The Muslim World, XLIX (1959), 195; cf. Ibn Saʿd, op. cit., III, i, 83.

other days is an inferior arrangement, a kind of punishment
for their unworthy observance of Friday. This basic thought
is found in the following:

> Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "God ordained
> (kataba) Friday for those who were before us, but
> they disagreed about it. So God directed us to it,
> the Jews to the day following, and the Christians to
> the day after that."[89] (2571)

Next is a self-conscious statement of Muslim priority, placed
in contrast to the late appearance of Islam in history:

> Abū Hurayra reports that he heard the Apostle of God
> say these words: "We, the last in this world, will
> be the first in the hereafter."[90]

The expression of contrast, "the last . . . the first," is at
least suggestive of the words, "first and last," or "those of
former times, those of later times," occurring in the Qur'ān,[91]
although it is used in a different sense here.

By means of a connecting thought, "the others received
their Scriptures before us," the "last and first" formula is
joined to the testimony about Friday:

> Abū Hurayra: He heard the Apostle of God say, "We
> who came last will be the first on the Day of Resurrec-
> tion, although the others received their Scriptures
> before us. This day was prescribed for them, but they
> disagreed about it. So God directed us to this day,
> so that the other peoples should follow us, the Jews

---

[89]Cf. I. H., II, 236, 288, 512, for almost identical
versions.

[90]Bu., Wuḍū', 68.

[91]56:49,50.

on the next day, and the Christians on the day after that."[92]

It may be asked how one knows that this text is a combination of two independent elements and not a single tradition which was later split into separate units.[93] In reply it suffices to call attention to the dissimilarity in thought between the first assertion that the last will be first, and the second, concerning the institution of Friday. There is no inner unity connecting the two statements into a coherent whole. So, the assumption is that they are two independent testimonies joined more or less felicitously by the reference to the Scriptures. In the combined version there is a superficial analogy between the Muslims' priority on the Day of Resurrection and the priority of Friday in the sequence of three days.

The rejection of Friday by the People of the Scriptures is linked also with the episode of ʿāʾisha and the Jews who insulted the Prophet with improper greetings.[94] After rebuking his wife for her intemperate language, Muḥammad says:

> Until the Day of Resurrection the People of the Scriptures must not envy us for anything in the way that they envy us because of Friday, the day to which God led us and from which they strayed. . . .

---

[92]Bu., Jumʿa, 1, 12. The latter reading contains an added prescription for ritual cleansing on Friday. Ḥa., 1; Bu., Anbiyāʾ, 60; Mu., Jumʿa, 20; Mishk., I, 284, give variant readings. In Mu., Jumʿa, 21, 23, there is some expansion of the material.

[93]It was not an uncommon practice for some tradition collectors to divide a text into several parts when it pertained to varied subjects (al-Baghdādī, op. cit., pp. 193-94).

[94]I. Ḥ., VI, 134-35; cf. above, p. 171.

Here two additional reactions are imputed to the People of
the Scriptures, envy because of the Muslim Friday and a
straying away from it, assuming that it was ordained for them
first of all. In a version reported by Muslim, it is said
that God led them astray (adalla) from Friday.[95]

Finally the comparison of days text is found again in
the Musnad, this time incorporated into a completely different
setting. The emphasis here is upon the excellence of Friday
and especially the particular time on that day when all suppli-
cations are answered. This last is itself an independent
testimony[96] which in the composite setting reported by
al-Ṭayālisī is accentuated more than the comparison with the
People of the Scriptures.

> Abū Hurayra: The Apostle of God said, "The best of
> days on which the sun has risen is Friday, to which
> God has guided us and away from which he has caused
> other people to stray. We have Friday; the Jews have
> Saturday; and the Christians have Sunday. There is a
> certain time on Friday, the shortness of which the
> Apostle of God indicated with his hand,[97] on which
> any worshipper who invokes God, praying _____[98]
> blessing, will receive that for which he prays."
> (2331)

Here the comparison testimony is used almost incidentally, as
a kind of convention, or stereotyped formula. It became a

---

[95] Jumᶜa, 23.

[96] Bu., Jumᶜa, 37; Mu., Jumᶜa, 15.

[97] Literally, "he shortened it with his hand." A com-
parison with variant readings in Mishk., I, 284 and Mu., Jumᶜa,
15, indicates that the phrase probably means that the Prophet
indicated the shortness of the time by a gesture of his hand.

[98] Lacuna, for which the editors of the Musnad suggest,
"asking for."

practice, apparently, when Friday was discussed, to bring in the comparison motif even if its force was lost, as it gave place to another main point.

Omitted from this investigation are a number of texts relating to Jesus and a few which mention legal matters, such as the amount of blood fine for Christians and Jews (2268) and the jizya or poll tax levied upon the ahl al-dhimma (225). Some famous hadīth pertaining to Christians are missing from the Musnad, such as the questioning of the nations on the Day of Resurrection[99] and Muḥammad's invitation to the Greeks to accept Islam.[100]

The texts chosen are those which, because of their forms of expression, cast light upon the Muslim attitude toward Christians. Most of the subject matter has been banal, indeed, but it should be remembered that the period about which this oral literature bears witness was one in which the seeds of later theological and scholarly controversies were just beginning to germinate. The two communities of faith were discovering each other, and that not on an intellectual level but on the plane of everyday social relationships. It was the ruling Muslim community's role to find a place for the Christian community in the scheme of things. This they did for the body politic by assigning Christians to the dhimmī status. The texts we have examined relate little of the legal aspect of this status, but they testify eloquently of the social inferiority with which the Muslims regarded their dhimmī population. And yet the accounts are not without their touches of human warmth. Religiously, the ruling element isolated the Christians while at the same time acknowledging certain ties with them. By elaborating upon the Qur'anic data regarding previous monotheistic revelations the Muslims

---

[99] Bu., Tafsīr, sūra 4.

[100] Bu., Jihād, 102.

strengthened the foundations of an exclusive theology which forever afterwards would set them solitarily apart from the People of the Scriptures.

CONCLUSION

According to Muslim traditionists the term <u>hadīth</u>
refers to all that can be attributed to the Prophet, whether
it be sayings, actions, testimonies of his approval and dis-
approval or qualities.[1] This investigation in the <u>hadīth</u>
literature has had no argument with such a definition. It
has, rather, taken into account the fact that the Prophet
lived in human society, and that those men who transmitted
information about him were reacting to him and to their sur-
roundings at the same time. It has been emphasized that the
<u>hadīth</u> are oral literature. They can also be described as
biography, not in the narrow sense of <u>sīra</u>, or account of the
Prophet's life, but as the living context of early Muslim
history.[2] The cultural history of the first century in Islam
is accessible to us largely within the traditional extension
of the Prophet's attitudes into the circumstances of a new
era. Some scholars have emphasized the bias of those who
recounted the Prophet's example. Others have stressed the
prejudice against writing down the <u>hadīth</u>. Still others have
insisted that recording them in writing was practiced from the
first. Some have shown how <u>hadīth</u> were used to promote
political, theological and social options. Still others,
especially Muslims, have expounded the canons of criticism
relative to authenticity. Whatever has been the approach of

---

[1]al-Qāsimī, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 61.

[2]Cf. Wilhelm Dilthey, <u>Meaning in History: W. Dilthey's
Thoughts on History and Society</u>, edited and introduced by
H. P. Rickman, pp. 84-89.

scholarship to this field, it has been almost completely pre-occupied with who transmitted the hadīth, and with what is said in the texts. The thesis of this study is that such scholarly efforts have failed to lay hold of the hadīth in their phenomenal reality and in their total living context. They cannot be appreciated for what they are unless careful attention is given to the way in which they are expressed. The early Muslims were not only statesmen building an empire and believing members of a theocratic community, but they were also creators of an oral literature. The guarantors were not alone in this creation, but were the spokesmen for the community, speaking in general only what the people wanted to hear,[3] and at the same time informing the memory of the prophetic model with clear and consistent structural lines. Guided by normative methods of teaching,[4] as well as by principles of folk psychology,[5] the transmitters composed pieces which observed strict unity as their basic law.[6] They reveal no desire to relate their material to other aspects of the religious or social life of the people. They betray little or no rational bent toward commentary, nor is their artistic purpose self-conscious.[7] At the same time, as the traditions were told and retold, the different guarantors added particular touches which reveal many things. The classical Muslim scholars sensed, from their viewpoint, the significance of

---

[3]Culley, op. cit., p. 121.

[4]Koch, op. cit., p. 88.

[5]Bultmann, op. cit., Preface by F. C. Grant, p. 1.

[6]Lohr, op. cit., p. 404.

[7]Cf. Erich Auerbach, Mimesis: The Presentation of Reality in Western Literature, p. 41.

variant testimonies regarding a single tradition, for they often made one of the criteria for authenticity to be the number of variant readings which were available.[8]

The first step in understanding how the traditions were expressed is to identify the various forms of expression as found in the collections. In this study a particular collection was chosen, because of the feeling that not only are the hadīth texts oral literature, but also the collections are, in a sense, literary creations. This is especially the case with the musnad type collection. Of course the kind of literature represented by a collection is different from that seen in individual texts, but a part of the comprehensive appreciation of hadīth is, or should be, a careful differentiation of the various collections[9] to determine their life settings and particular emphases. This work has scarcely begun.

After the different forms are identified, it is the task of the investigator to "listen" to the texts.[10] In this way he can discern their rhetorical features, their degree of complexity, the extent to which they deviate from the basic law of unity, the interpolations which have, or have not, been assimilated into their structure. Comparing differing versions of a single testimony makes possible a classification of types of interpolations, omissions, distortions, combinations, many of which may be of primary importance for an overall understanding of the testimony.

---

[8]Marçais, op. cit., XVI (1900), 481; cf. Abbott, op. cit., p. 45, with references.

[9]Abdallah Laroui, L'Idéologie Arabe Contemporaine, p. 101; Henri Laoust, Les Schismes dans l'Islam, p. 393.

[10]Hermann Gunkel, The Psalms: A Form Critical Introduction, p. v.

A perspective which should be maintained in this type
of study is that up until the third Muslim century the <u>hadīth</u>
were in a process of continual adaptation to their milieu, as
guarantors multiplied.[11] As such, they should not be con-
sidered as historiographical texts as much as history in the
making,[12] or as the data for later reasoned judgments.[13]

Of course an exclusive attention to literary form in
an effort to understand the <u>hadīth</u> would find the investigator
blind to that bias and that nuance of interpretation which
cannot be discerned through one research technique alone.
So the global comprehension of this Muslim phenomenon demands
the concerted efforts of scholars using the tools of <u>isnād</u>
criticism, linguistics,[14] cultural history and phenomenology
of religion.[15]

---

[11]Blachère, <u>Histoire de la Littérature Arabe</u>, III, 796.

[12]Fazlur Rahman, "Sunnah and Ḥadīth," <u>Islamic Studies</u>,
I (1962), 14.

[13]Alan Richardson, "Second Thoughts, III: Present
Issues in New Testament Theology," <u>The Expository Times</u>,
LXXV (1964), 111.

[14]Cf. the important recommendation by linguist Henri
Fleisch, <u>Traité de Philologie Arabe</u>, Vol. I: <u>Préliminaires,
Phonétique, Morphologie Nominale</u>, pp. ix, x.

[15]Cf. Vansina, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 172-82.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS CITED

Works in Arabic

Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī. *Geschichte Iṣbahāns Nach der Leidener Handschrift.* Edited by Sven Dedering. 2 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1934.

Abū Rayya, Maḥmūd. *Aḍwāʾ ʿalā al-Sunna al-Muḥammadīya.* Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, [1387/1967].

Abū Shuhba, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. *Aʿlām al-Muḥaddithīn.* Cairo: Markaz Kutub al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ, 1382/1962.

al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb. *Kitāb al-Kifāya fī ʿIlm al-Riwāya.* Ḥaydarābād: Jamʿīyat Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmānīya, 1357/1938.

_____. *Tārīkh Baghdād.* 14 vols. Cairo and Baghdād: Maktabat al-Khārijī and Maktabat al-ʿArabīya, 1349/1931.

al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn. *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl fī Naqd al-Rijāl.* 4 vols. Cairo: ʿĪsā al-Ḥalabī, 1382/1963.

_____. *Tadhkirāt al-Ḥuffāẓ.* 4 vols. Ḥaydarābād: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-Niẓāmīya, [1315/1897].

Ḥajjī Khalīfa, Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbd Allāh. *Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum (Kashf al-Ẓunūn ʿan Asāmī al-Kutub waʾl-Funūn).* Edited by Gustav Leberecht Flugel. 7 vols. Leipzig: For the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, by Richard Bentley, 1835-68.

al-Ḥumaydī, Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. *al-Musnad.* Edited by Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī. 2 vols. Series: Manshūrāt al-Majlis al-ʿIlmī, No. XXXIV. Karachi: al-Majlis al-ʿIlmī, 1382/1963.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad. *al-Istīʿāb fī Maʿrifat al-Aṣḥāb.* Edited by ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bajjāwī. 4 vols. Cairo: Maktabat Nahḍat Miṣr, n.d.

190

Ibn al-Athīr, Majd al-Dīn Abū al-Saʿādāt al-Mubārak.
    al-Nihāya fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth wa'l-Athar. Edited
    by al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī and Maḥmūd Muḥammad
    al-Ṭanāḥī. 5 vols. Cairo: al-Ḥalabī, 1383/1963.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn. Fatḥ al-Bārī bi Sharḥ
    al-Bukhārī. 17 vols. Cairo: Maktaba wa Maṭbaʿat
    Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī, 1378/1959.

_____. Kitāb al-Iṣāba fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba. Edited by
    Aloys Sprenger et al. 4 vols. Calcutta: Vols. I
    and II, Bishop's College Press, 1856; Vol. III,
    Baptist Mission Press, 1888; Vol. IV, Urdu Guide,
    1873.

_____. Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb. 12 vols. Ḥaydarābād:
    Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-Niẓāmīya,
    1325-28/1907-10. Reprinted in Beirut: Dar Sader,
    1968.

Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad. al-Musnad. 6 vols. Cairo: n.p.,
    1313/1895.

Ibn al-ʿImād, Abū al-Falāḥ ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥanbalī.
    Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab. 8 vols.
    Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1350/1931.

Ibn Isḥâk, Muḥammad. Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed
    Ibn Isḥâk bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hischâm
    (Kitāb Sīrat Rasūl Allāh). Edited by Ferdinand
    Wüstenfeld. 2 vols. Göttingen: Dieterichsche
    Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1859-60.

Ibn Kathīr, Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar ʿImād al-Dīn. Ikhtiṣār ʿUlūm
    al-Ḥadīth aw al-Bāʿith al-Hathīth ʿalā Maʿrifat
    ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth. Edited by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir.
    Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Ḥijāzī, 1355/1937.

Ibn Khaṭīb al-Dahsha al-Ḥamawī. Tuḥfat dhawi al-ʿArab:
    Über Namen und Nisben Bei Bokārī, Muslim, Mālik.
    Edited by Traugott Mann. Leiden: E. J. Brill,
    1905.

Ibn Manẓūr, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mukarram al-Anṣārī.
    Lisān al-ʿArab. 20 vols. Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣrīya
    li'l-Taʾlīf wa'l-Tarjama, n. d.

Ibn al-Nadīm, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. Fihrist al-ʿUlūm. Edited
    by Gustav Flügel, Johannes Roediger and August
    Mueller. 2 vols. Leipzig: Verlag von F. C. W.
    Vogel, 1871-72.

Ibn Qutayba, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim. Ibn
    Coteiba's Handbuch der Geschichte. Edited by
    Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck und
    Ruprecht, 1850.

_____. Kitāb Taʾwīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth. Cairo: Maktabat
    al-Kullīyāt al-Azharīya, 1326/1966.

Ibn Taymīya, Taqī al-Dīn. Majmūʿat al-Rasāʾil al-Kubrā.
    2 vols. Cairo: Sharikat Ṭabʿ al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya,
    1323/1905.

al-Kattānī, Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar. al-Risāla al-Mustatrafa
    li Bayān Mashhūr Kutub al-Sunna al-Musharrafa.
    Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1383/1964.

al-Kharbūṭlī, ʿAlī Ḥusnī. al-Islām wa Ahl al-Dhimma.
    Cairo: al-Majlis al-Aʿlā liʾl-Shuʾūn al-Islāmīya,
    1389/1969.

al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad ʿAjjāj. al-Sunna Qabla al-Tadwīn.
    Cairo: Maktaba Wahba, 1383/1963.

al-Khaṭṭābī, Ibrāhīm Abū Sulaymān. Maʿālim al-Sunan: wa huwa
    Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwud. Edited by Muḥammad Rāghib
    al-Ṭabbākh. 4 vols. Aleppo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿIlmīya,
    1351/1932.

al-Maqqarī, Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tilimsānī.
    Kitāb Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghusn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb
    wa Dhikr Wazīrihā Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb. Cairo:
    al-Maṭbaʿa al-Azharīya al-Miṣrīya, 1302/1884.

al-Mubārakfūrī, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm.
    Tuḥfat al-Aḥwadhī bi Sharḥ Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī.
    Edited by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf and ʿAbd
    al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān. 10 vols. al-Madīna
    al-Munawwara: al-Maktaba al-Salafīya, 1383-87/1963-67.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd Kātib al-Wāqidī. Biographien Muhammeds,
    seiner Gefährten und der Spateren Trager des Islams
    bis zum Jahre 230 der Flucht (Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt
    al-Kabīr). Edited by Eduard Sachau. 9 vols.
    Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1904-21.

al-Muḥāsibī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥārith b. Asad al-ʿAnazī.
    Kitāb al-Riʿāya li Ḥuqūq Allāh. Edited by Margaret
    Smith. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series; New Series
    XV. London: Luzac and Co., 1940.

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, Abū al-Ḥusayn. Saḥīḥ Muslim. 8 vols.
    Būlāq: ʿAmira Press, 1330-34/1912-16.

Nāṣif, Manṣūr ʿAlī, compiler. al-Tāj al-Jāmiʿ li'l-Uṣūl fī Aḥādīth al-Rasūl wa ʿalayhi Ghāyat al-Maʾmūl, Sharḥ al-Tāj al-Jāmiʿ li'l-Uṣūl. 4th edition. 5 vols. Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabīya, 1388/1968.

al-Nawāwī, Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā. The Biographical Dictionary of Illustrious Men, Chiefly at the Beginning of Islamism, by Abu Zakariya Yahya el-Nawawi. Edited by Ferdinand Wustenfeld. Gottingen: London Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts, 1842-47.

al-Nīsābūrī, al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. Kitāb Maʿrifat ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth. Beirut: The Trading Office, 1935.

al-Qāsimī, Jamāl al-Dīn. Qawāʿid al-Tahdīth min Funūn Muṣṭalaḥ al-Ḥadīth. Edited by Muḥammad Bahjat al-Bayṭār. 2nd edition. Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabīya, 1380/1961.

al-Qasṭallānī, Abū al-ʿAbbās Shihāb al-Dīn. Irshād al-Sārī li Sharh Sahīh al-Bukhārī; in the margin, Matn Ṣaḥīḥ al-Imām Muslim wa Sharh al-Imām al-Nawāwī ʿalayhi. 10 vols. Būlāq: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kubrā, 1304/1886.

al-Ṣāliḥ, Ṣubḥī. ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth wa Muṣṭalahuhu. Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li'l-Malāyīn, 1385/1965.

al-Samʿānī, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad. Kitāb al-Ansāb. Reproduced in Facsimile from the Manuscript in the British Museum, Add. 23,355. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series XX. London: Luzac and Co., 1912.

al-Shāfiʿī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs. Kitāb al-Umm. 7 vols. Būlāq: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amīrīya, 1324/1906.

al-Shartūnī, Saʿīd al-Khūrī. Aqrab al-Mawārid fī Faḥṣ al-ʿArabīya wa'l-Shawārid. 2 vols. Beirut: Maṭbaʿat Mursalī al-Yasūʿīya, 1889.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Bakr. Tadrīb al-Rāwī fī Sharh Taqrīb al-Nawāwī. 2 vols. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1385/1966.

al-Ṭayālisī, Sulaymān b. Dāwud. al-Musnad. Edited by Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Amruhī] et al. Ḥaydarābād: Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-Niẓāmīya, 1321/1903.

al-Ṭūsī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān. 10 vols. Beirut: Maktabat al-Amīn, 1376/1957.

Wensinck, Arent Jan et al. Concordance et Indices de la
     Tradition Musulmane: Les Six Livres, le Musnad
     d'al-Dārimī, le Muwatta' de Mālik, le Musnad de
     Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. Vols. I-VI. Leiden: E. J. Brill,
     1936-67.

al-Zurqānī, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī. Sharh . . . Muhammad
     al-Zurqānī 'alā Sahīh al-Muwatta' . . . Mālik b. Anas.
     4 vols. Cairo: n.p., 1279-80/1862-63.

Works in Other Languages

Abbott, Nabia. Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri I:
     Historical Texts. Oriental Institute Publications,
     Vol. LXXV. Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
     1957.

_____. Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II: Qur'ānic
     Commentary and Tradition. Oriental Institute Pub-
     lications, Vol. LXXVI. Chicago: University of
     Chicago Press, 1967.

Ahlwardt, Theodor Wilhelm. Verzeichniss der Arabischen Hand-
     schriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin. 10
     vols. Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1887-99.

Auerbach, Erich. Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in
     Western Literature. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday
     Anchor Books, 1957.

Blachère, Régis. Histoire de la Littérature Arabe des
     Origines à la Fin du XVe Siècle de J.-C. 3 vols.
     Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1952-66.

El-Bokhâri. Les Traditions Islamiques. Translated by Octave
     Victor Houdas and William Marçais. 4 vols. Paris:
     Ernest Leroux, 1903-14.

Brockelmann, Carl. Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur.
     2nd edition. 2 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1948-49.
     Supplement of 3 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937-39.

Bultmann, Rudolf Karl. The History of the Synoptic Tradition.
     Translated by John Marsh. Oxford: Basil Blackwell,
     1963.

_____. "The Study of the Synoptic Gospels," in Form
     Criticism: A New Method of New Testament Research.
     Translated by Frederick C. Grant. Chicago:
     Willett, Clark and Co., 1934.

Caetani, Leone, compiler. Annali dell'Islām. 10 vols. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1905-26.

Chadwick, Hector Munro and Chadwick, Nora Kershaw. The Growth of Literature. 3 vols. Cambridge: The University Press, 1932-40.

Le Coran (al-Qor'ân). Translated by Régis Blachère. Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1966.

Dilthey, Wilhelm. Meaning in History: W. Dilthey's Thoughts on History and Society. Edited and introduced by H. P. Rickman. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1961.

The Encyclopaedia of Islam. 4 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1934.

The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition. Vols. I, II, III (fasc. 41-56). Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960, 1965, 1965-69.

Fattal, Antoine. Le Statut Légal des Non-Musulmans en Pays d'Islam. Recherches Publiées sous la Direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Tome X. Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1958.

Fleisch, Henri. Traité de Philologie Arabe, Vol. I: Préliminaires, Phonétique, Morphologie Nominale. Recherches Publiées sous la Direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Tome XVI. Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1961.

Gaster, Theodore Herzl. Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East. New York: Schuman, 1950.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Maurice. Muslim Institutions. Translated by John P. Macgregor. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1950.

al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid. Ad-Dourra al-Fākhira: La Perle Précieuse de Ghazālī. Translated by Lucien Gautier. Geneva: H. Georg, 1878.

Goldziher, Ignaz. Etudes Islamologiques d'Ignaz Goldziher: Traduction Analytique. Translated by Georges Henri Bousquet. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962.

_____. Etudes sur la Tradition Islamique: Extraites du Tome II des Muhammedanische Studien. Translated by Léon Bercher. Collection, "Initiation à l'Islam," VII. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1952.

Goldziher, Ignaz. Muslim Studies I. Edited by S. M. Stern. Translated by C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967.

Gunkel, Hermann. The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction. Translated by Thomas M. Horner. Facet Books, Biblical Series No. 19. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967.

Hughes, Thomas Patrick. A Dictionary of Islam. London: H. Allen and Co., 1895.

Ibn Isḥāq, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad. The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh. Translated by Alfred Guillaume. London: Oxford University Press, 1955.

Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū al-ʿAbbās Shams al-Dīn. Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary. Translated by MacGuckin de Slane. 4 vols. Paris: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1843.

The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by George Arthur Buttrick. 4 vols. New York: Abingdon Press, 1962.

Koch, Klaus. The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical Method. Translated by S. M. Cupitt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969.

Lammens, Henri. Fātima et les Filles de Mahomet: Notes Critiques pour l'Etude de la Sīra. Rome: Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1912.

Lane, Edward William. An Arabic-English Lexicon. Vol. I, Pts. 1-8. London: Williams and Norgate, 1863-93.

Laroui, Abdallah. L'Idéologie Arabe Contemporaine. Paris: F. Maspero, 1967.

Laoust, Henri. Les Schismes dans l'Islam: Introduction à une Etude de la Religion Musulmane. Paris: Payot, 1965.

The Meaning of the Glorious Koran. Translated by Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall. A Mentor Religious Classic. New York: The New American Library, n.d.

Muir, Sir William. The Caliphate: Its Rise. Decline and Fall, from Original Sources. Edited and revised by T. H. Weir. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1924.

Muir, Sir William. _The Life of Mohammad from Original Sources_.
Edited by T. H. Weir. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1912.

al-Naisābūrī, al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh.
_An Introduction to the Science of Tradition: Being
al-Madkhal ilā Maʿrifat al-Iklīl_. Translated by James
Robson. Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Vol.
XXXIX. London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great
Britain and Ireland, 1953.

Paret, Rudi. _Grenzen der Koranforschung_. Bonner
Orientalistische Studien, Heft 27. Stuttgart:
W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1950.

Pellat, Charles. _Le Milieu Basrien et la Formation de Ğāḥiz_.
Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1953.

Redlich, Edwin Basil. _Form Criticism: Its Value and Limita-
tions_. London: Duckworth, 1939.

Ringgren, Harald. _Studies in Arabian Fatalism_. Uppsala:
Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1955.

Roth, Wolfgang M. W. _Numerical Sayings in the Old Testament:
A Form-Critical Study_. Supplements to _Vetus Testa-
mentum_, Vol. XIII. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965.

Sabbagh, T. _La Métaphore dans le Coran_. Paris: Adrien-
Maisonneuve, 1943.

Schacht, Joseph. _The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence_.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950.

Sezgin, M. Fuad. _Buhârî'nin Kaynaklari: Hakkinda Arastirmalar_.
Ankara Üniversitesi Ilâhiyat Fakültesi Yayinlarindan
XIII. Istanbul: Ibrahim Horoz Basimevi, 1956.

Ṣiddīqī, Muḥammad Zubayr. _Hadīth Literature: its Origin,
Development, Special Features and Criticism_.
Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1961.

Sprenger, Aloys. _Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad:
Nach Bisher Grosstentheils Unbenutzten Quellen_.
2nd edition. 3 vols. Berlin: Nicolaische
Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1869.

al-Tibrīzī, Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khaṭīb.
Mishkat Al-Masabih. Translated and annotated by
James Robson. 4 vols. Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf,
1963-65.

Tritton, Arthur Stanley. _The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim
Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of ʿUmar_.
London: Oxford University Press, 1930.

Goldziher, Ignaz. Review of Le Mahométisme: le Génie
    Sémitique et le Génie Aryen dans l'Islam, by Carra
    de Vaux, in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen
    Gesellschaft, LII (1899), 380-87.

Guillaume, Alfred. "Some Remarks on Free Will and Predes-
    tination in Islam, Together with a Translation of the
    Kitabu-l-Qadar from the Sahih of al-Bukhari." The
    Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1924, pp. 43-63.

Ḥamīd Allāh, Muḥammad. "Aqdam Ta'līf fī'l-Ḥadīth al-Nabawī:
    Ṣaḥīfat Hammām b. Munabbih wa Makānatuhā fī Ta'rīkh
    ʿIlm al-Ḥadīth." Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī
    al-ʿArabī fī Dimashq, XXVIII (1953), 96-116, 270-81,
    443-67.

Lohr, Charles H. "Oral Techniques in the Gospel of Matthew."
    The Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXIII (1961), 403-35.

Magoun, Francis P., Jr. "Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-
    Saxon Narrative Poetry." Speculum, XXVIII (1953),
    446-67.

Marçais, William. "Le Takrib de En-Nawawi Traduit et Annoté."
    Journal Asiatique, 9e Série, XVI, XVII, XVIII
    (1900-01), 315-46 in XVI, 101-232 and 524-40 in XVII,
    61-146 in XVIII.

Ploeg, J. van der. "Le Rôle de la Tradition Orale dans la
    Transmission du Texte de l'Ancien Testament." Revue
    Biblique, LIX (1947), 5-41.

Rahman, Fazlur. "Sunnah and Ḥadīth." Islamic Studies, I
    (1962), 1-36.

Richardson, Alan. "Second Thoughts. III: Present Issues in
    New Testament Theology." The Expository Times, LXXV
    (1964), 109-13.

Ringgren, Helmer. "Oral and Written Transmission in the Old
    Testament." Studia Theologica, III (1949), 34-59.

Robson, James. "The Form of Muslim Tradition." Transactions
    of the Glasgow University Oriental Society, XVI
    (1955-56), 38-50.

_____. "Traditions from Individuals." Journal of Semitic
    Studies, IX (1964), 327-40.

Salisbury, Edward E. "Muhammadan Predestination and Free
    Will." Journal of the American Oriental Society, VIII
    (1866), 106-82.

Schacht, Joseph. "A Revaluation of Islamic Traditions."
    The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Parts
    3 and 4, 1949, pp. 143-54.

Vajda, Georges. "Juifs et Musulmans Selon le Ḥadīth."
    Journal Asiatique, CCXXIX (1937), 57-127.