

# Between history and legend

The biography of the Prophet Muḥammad  
by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri



Nicolet Boekhoff-van der Voort



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Een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de  
Religiewetenschappen

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Preface</b>	1
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	3
<b>Introduction</b>	5
I The sources and their problems	5
II. The critical approach to Muhammad's life in the West	8
III. Main question to be discussed	11
IV. Methodological approaches	13
V. Source material	16
<b>Chapter 1. The dating of traditions and the common-link theory</b>	17
I. Introduction	17
II. Dating of traditions	17
III. The common-link phenomenon in <i>isnad</i> analysis	20
IV. The <i>isnād-cum-matn</i> analysis	28
V. <i>Isnād-cum-matn</i> analysis of <i>sīra</i> -material	33
<b>Chapter 2. The raid of the Hudhayl</b>	39
I Introduction	39
II. <i>Isnād</i> analysis	40
Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl	41
Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd	42
Ma'mar ibn Rāshid	43
Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamza	44
Conclusion of the <i>isnad</i> analysis	44
III. <i>Matn</i> analysis per student of al-Zuhri	45
Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl	45
Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd	49
Ma'mar ibn Rashid	68
Shu'ayb ibn Abī Hamza	81

IV. <i>Matn</i> analysis between students of al-Zuhri	86
Resemblance of the traditions	86
Differences between the traditions	89
Conclusion	92
V. Comparison of the Zuhri-traditions with other versions	97
Comparison with Ibn Ishāq's version	97
Conclusion	104
Comparison with the versions of Ibn Sa'd and Mūsā ibn 'Uqba	106
VI. Conclusion	110
Appendix 1: <i>Isnad</i> bundle of al-Zuhri's traditions about the raid of the Hudhayl	112
 <b>Chapter 3. Events during the night journey</b>	 113
I. Introduction	113
II. <i>Isnad</i> analysis	116
Ma'mar ibn Rāshid	118
Yūnus ibn Yazīd	118
Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamza	119
'Abd al-Wahhāb, Ibn Ishāq, Marzūq and al-Zubaydī (two traditions)	119
Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, Ma'qil, Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar and Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān (one tradition)	120
Conclusion	121
III. <i>Matn</i> analysis per student of al-Zuhri	122
Ma'mar ibn Rāshid	122
Yūnus ibn Yazīd	135
Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamza	141
'Abd al-Wahhāb	143
Marzūq ibn Abī l-Hudhayl	145
al-Zubaydī	147
Ibn Ishāq	148
IV. <i>Matn</i> analysis between students of al-Zuhri	148
Comparison of the <i>mutūn</i> of the two-topic traditions	149
Similarities between the two-topic traditions	151
Differences between the two-topic traditions	152
Conclusion of the two-topic traditions	153

Comparison of the <i>mutūn</i> of the choice traditions	154
Similarities between the choice traditions	156
Differences between the choice traditions	157
Comparison of the choice traditions with the two-topic traditions	159
Comparison between the <i>mutūn</i> of the description traditions	160
Similarities between the description traditions	163
Differences between the description traditions	163
Comparison of the description traditions with the two-topic traditions	164
Unresolved issues	165
Conclusion	167
V. Comparison of the Zuhri-traditions with other versions	168
Traditions from Abū Salama	169
Comparison of the traditions from Abū Salama	171
Comparison of the traditions of Abu Salama with traditions of al-Zuhri	172
Conclusion of the comparison between the traditions of Abū Salama and al-Zuhri	173
Traditions from Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allah	174
Comparison of the traditions from Jābir	176
Comparison of the traditions of Jabir with versions of Abū Salama and al-Zuhri	176
Conclusion of the comparison between the traditions of Jabir, Abū Salama and al-Zuhri	177
Traditions from Ibn ‘Abbās	181
Comparison of the traditions from Ibn ‘Abbās	184
Comparison of the traditions of Ibn ‘Abbās with the versions of Jābir, Abū Salama and al-Zuhri	185
Conclusion of the comparison between the traditions of Ibn ‘Abbās, Jābir, Abu Salama and al-Zuhri	186
Traditions from Anas ibn Malik	189
Comparison of the traditions from Anas ibn Malik	192
Comparison of the Anas-traditions with the versions of al-Zuhri	196
Conclusion of the comparison between the traditions of Anas and al-Zuhri	197

VI. Conclusion	198
Appendix 2: <i>Isnād</i> bundle of al-Zuhri's two-topic, choice and description traditions (night journey)	201
Appendix 3: <i>Isnād</i> bundle of the choice-traditions attributed to al-Zuhri (night journey)	202
Appendix 4: <i>Isnād</i> bundle of the traditions ascribed to Anas b. Mālik about the ascension to Heaven	203
<b>Chapter 4. The three men who stayed behind from the expedition to Tabūk</b>	205
I. Introduction	205
II. <i>Isnād</i> analysis	207
Ma' mar ibn Rāshid	209
Ibn Akhī l-Zuhri, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim	209
'Uqayl ibn Khālīd	210
Yūnus ibn Yazīd	211
Muḥammad ibn Ishāq	213
'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz	213
Ishāq ibn Rāshid	213
Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il	214
Ṣālīḥ ibn Abi l-Akhḍar	215
Remaining students	215
Conclusion	216
III. <i>Matn</i> analysis per student of al-Zuhri	217
Ma' mar ibn Rāshid	217
Ibn Akhī l-Zuhri, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Muslim	226
'Uqayl ibn Khālīd	238
Yūnus ibn Yazīd	244
Muḥammad ibn Ishāq	248
'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz	251
Ishāq ibn Rāshid	256
Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il	258
Remaining students	259
IV. <i>Matn</i> analysis between students of al-Zuhri	259
Comparison of the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl and Yūnus	259



Comparison of the tradition of Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq with the previous versions	261
Comparison of the tradition of Ma‘mar with the previous versions	262
Comparison of the tradition of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz with the previous versions	268
Comparison of the tradition of Iṣḥāq ibn Rāshid with the previous versions	271
Comparison of the tradition of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘īl with the previous versions	275
Comparison of the tradition of Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar with the previous versions	278
Conclusion	280
V. Comparison of the Zuhri-traditions with other versions	282
Comparison with traditions of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Īsā	282
Comparison with traditions of ‘Umar ibn Kathīr ibn Aflaḥ	290
Remaining texts	294
VI. CONCLUSION	299
Appendix 5: The <i>isnād</i> bundle of traditions from Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid about Tabūk	302
Appendix 6: An overview of all elements that are present in the detailed traditions from al-Zuhri’s students	303
Appendix 7: <i>Isnād</i> bundle of the remaining students of Yūnus ibn Yazīd	307
Appendix 8: <i>Isnād</i> bundle of the detailed and medium-length traditions of al-Zuhri about Tabūk after the analysis	308
<b>Chapter 5. A biography of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri</b>	309
I. Introduction	309
II. Family relations	309
III. Al-Zuhri’s first meeting with the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik	311
IV. Al-Zuhri’s relationship with the other Umayyad caliphs	316
V. Al-Zuhri through the eyes of his contemporaries	319
VI. Al-Zuhri through the eyes of modern scholars	324
VII. Writing down of traditions	327
VII. Conclusion	334

Appendix 9: Schematic overview of al-Zuhri's biographical data	336
<b>Chapter 6. Final conclusions</b>	337
<b>Bibliography</b>	347
I. Primary literature	347
II. Secondary literature	353
III. Others	364
<b>Samenvatting</b>	365
<b>Curriculum vitae</b>	376

## TABLES & FIGURES

The picture on the cover is a painting of E. Dinét entitled “Vieil écrivain traditionniste du Désert”.

### TABLES

<i>Table 1:</i> Number and type of tradition per student of al-Zuhri [Hudhayl]	41
<i>Table 2:</i> Number and type of tradition per student of al-Zuhri [Night journey]	117
<i>Table 3:</i> Number and type of tradition per student of al-Zuhri [Tabūk]	208

### FIGURES

<i>Figure 1:</i> Schacht's <i>isnād</i> bundle	21
<i>Figure 2:</i> My <i>isnād</i> bundle	23
<i>Figure 3:</i> Juynboll's <i>isnād</i> bundle	25
<i>Figure 4:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il on the raid of the Hudhayl	48
<i>Figure 5:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd on the raid of the Hudhayl	53
<i>Figure 6:</i> Complete <i>isnād</i> bundle of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il on the raid of the Hudhayl	61
<i>Figure 7:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of Ma'mar ibn Rāshid on the raid of the Hudhayl	71
<i>Figure 8:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamza on the raid of the Hudhayl	84
<i>Figure 9:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of 'Abd al-Razzaq from Ma'mar on the two-topic tradition	124
<i>Figure 10:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of Yūnus on the choice tradition	137
<i>Figure 11:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of Shu'ayb on the choice tradition	142
<i>Figure 12:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of 'Abd al-Wahhāb on the choice tradition	144
<i>Figure 13:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of Marzūq on the choice tradition	146
<i>Figure 14:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of al-Zubaydī on the choice tradition	147
<i>Figure 15:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of al-Zuhri's two-topic tradition	149
<i>Figure 16:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of al-Zuhri's description tradition	161
<i>Figure 17:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of Abū Salama's description tradition	169
<i>Figure 18:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh's description tradition	174
<i>Figure 19:</i> <i>Isnād</i> bundle of the description traditions	177

<i>Figure 20: Isnād bundle of al-Zuhri's tradition on Muḥammad's vision about Jerusalem</i>	179
<i>Figure 21: Isnād bundle of Ibn 'Abbās' description tradition</i>	182
<i>Figure 22: Isnād bundle of the description traditions from al-Zuhri and his contemporaries</i>	187
<i>Figure 23: Isnād bundle of al-Zuhri's nephew on the three who stayed behind</i>	227
<i>Figure 24: Isnād bundle of 'Uqayl on the three who stayed behind</i>	239
<i>Figure 25: Isnād bundle of Ibn Wahb from Yunus on the three who stayed behind</i>	245
<i>Figure 26: Isnād bundle of Ibn Ishāq on the three who stayed behind</i>	249
<i>Figure 27: Isnād bundle of Ishāq ibn Rashīd on the three who stayed behind</i>	257
<i>Figure 28: Isnād bundle of Ibrāhīm ibn Isma'īl on the three who stayed behind</i>	258
<i>Figure 29: Isnād bundle of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsa on the three who stayed behind</i>	286
<i>Figure 30: Isnād bundle of 'Umar ibn Kathīr ibn Aflaḥ on the three who stayed behind</i>	292
<i>Figure 31: Isnād bundle of Ishāq ibn 'Abd Allāh on the three who stayed behind</i>	296
<i>Figure 32: Isnād bundle of the traditions about the three who stayed behind based on the results of the isnad-cum-matn analysis</i>	299

## PREFACE

My first encounter with the study of *aḥādīth* and *ḥadīth* criticism was during my study at the University of Nijmegen. That first glimpse intrigued me and I decided to continue my study in my M.A. thesis with the analysis of Ma‘mar’s *Kitāb al-maghazī* in the *Muṣannaḥ* of ‘Abd al-Razzaq. For the first time, I applied the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis on a small number of traditions under the supervision of prof. Harald Motzki. I had some difficulties with the application of the method, but at the end my efforts were rewarded with a very satisfying grade. Naturally, I decided to continue my study. My first application for a position as Ph D researcher was unsuccessful and I entered a career outside the university. Still, I could not let go of the Arabic language and the study of *aḥādīth*, so I called Harald Motzki again to see if he thought another application was feasible. With his help I succeeded this time and got a position as Ph.D. researcher in Nijmegen. Finally, I could delve deeply in the study of “my” transmitter Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri and his traditions about the life of the Prophet Muḥammad under the guidance of two of the most renowned scholars of the studies of *ḥadīth* and the Arabic language of our time. Even though my studies lasted a little bit longer than I had planned, I have never lost my enthusiasm for my field of research and the *isnad-cum-matn* analysis. I hereby proudly present you the labour of my past years with a laugh and a tear. With a laugh, because it is finally finished, but also with a tear, because it is finished.





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# INTRODUCTION

“There can never be a definitive biography, merely a version, an attempt, an essay which in time reveals how completely all such attempts bear the impress of the age in which it was written.”<sup>1</sup>

## I. THE SOURCES AND THEIR PROBLEMS

When the Muslim empire extended its boundaries outside the Arabian Peninsula from the seventh century C.E. onwards and conquered the region around the Mediterranean Sea, the non-Muslim world gradually felt the need to inform its inhabitants about the new religion of Islam and its founder, the Prophet Muḥammad. At first, the new religion of Islam was not seen as a religious threat, but when many Christians in the conquered areas converted to Islam, the situation changed.

In the Middle Ages, Christian authors of the Middle East and the West produced anti-Muslim polemics among other things to convince other Christians not to convert or to refute the Muslim religion. Part of their strategy was to describe Muḥammad as a manifestation of the Antichrist or as a heresiarch. They created defamatory biographies of Muḥammad based on some knowledge of Muslim traditions and earlier polemic texts against heresiarchs, but mostly, the author's own imagination helped to create a deformed picture of the founder of Islam.<sup>2</sup> Even those authors who composed a biography based entirely on the Muslim traditions, created a hostile image of Muḥammad through selection and biased presentation of the sources.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from medieval polemical writings, many books and articles have been written over the centuries about the life of this man whose legacy left - and still leaves - a major mark on world history. They range from scholarly treatises and biographies of the literary genre to children's books, and are written by Muslims and non-Muslims. Until now the description

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<sup>1</sup> *The troubled face of biography*, ed. E. Homberger & J. Charmley, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire 1988, xi.

<sup>2</sup> Tolan, J.V., *Medieval Christian perceptions of Islam*, New York 2000, xi-xiv. Noth, A., “Muḥammad 3. The Prophet's image in Europe and the West. A. The image in the Latin Middle Ages”, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New edition (=EI2)*, VII, Leiden 1993.

<sup>3</sup> See for example Tolan, J.V., *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European imagination*, New York 2002, 236.

of Muḥammad's life is generally based on several Muslim sources composed between the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>4</sup> which means that even the earliest one was composed not earlier than approximately 200 years after the death of Muḥammad.

The traditional sources that are used for composing a biography of Muḥammad, are not continuous accounts of the life of the Prophet like modern biographies, but collections of traditions partly ascribed to Muḥammad's followers, the Companions. One collection can contain several - sometimes even contradictory – accounts of the same event. A tradition or *ḥadīth*<sup>5</sup> (pl. *aḥādīth*) usually consists of a *matn* (pl. *mulun*), the text, preceded by an *isnād* (pl. *asānīd*), the chain of transmitters. This chain purports to describe the transmission path of the tradition, i.e. from which person did the compiler of the collection in which the tradition is found receive his information, and so on until the eyewitness of the event in question. An *isnād* can be “imperfect” though; one or more transmitters can be lacking in the chain or the compiler of the collection may only give the name of his direct informant or no *isnād* at all. There is no fixed format for the *matn*. It can describe one complete event, for example the story about Muḥammad's first revelation, or just a detail like the information that Muḥammad wore a helmet when he entered Mecca during the day of its conquest in 8/630.

The traditional sources mostly do not deal exclusively with accounts about Muḥammad's life. One of the earliest and most commonly used sources is the work of the Medinan scholar Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767) in the recension of Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833). Although the title of Ibn Hishām's book “*The life of Muḥammad the Messenger of*

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<sup>4</sup> If possible, I will mention both Islamic and Christian era. Otherwise, I will add the abbreviation C.E. (Common Era) or A.H. (*Anno Hegirae*).

<sup>5</sup> A *ḥadīth* is usually defined as “an account of what the Prophet said or did, or of his tacit approval of something said or done in his presence”. See Robson, J., “Hadīth”, in *EI2*, III, Leiden 1971, 23. Some authors distinguish different types of tradition by using different terminology. For example, Robson, based on Lane's *Arabic-English lexicon*, mentions that the word *khabar* is sometimes applied to traditions from Muḥammad, but also sometimes to traditions from Companions or Successors, while Brown, following modern Western usage, uses the same word with regard to historical reports. Robson, “Hadīth”, 23 and Brown, J., *Hadīth: Muhammad's legacy in the medieval and modern world*, Oxford 2009, 12. Azami even mentions a discussion among classical traditionists about whether the word *ḥadīth* is restricted to the above-mentioned definition or can also include the words and deeds of Companions of Muḥammad. See Azami, M.M., *Studies in early ḥadīth literature. With a critical edition of some early texts*, Indianapolis 1978, 302 (originally published in 1968) and *Studies in ḥadīth methodology and literature*, Indianapolis 1977, 3. In this study, I will use the term tradition or *ḥadīth* in its most general meaning, i.e. referring to reports about the Prophet or an early Muslim regardless of the nature or the source of the report.

God (*Sīrat sayyidinā Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*)” suggests that it is only about the life of Muḥammad, after the initial recital of Muḥammad’s lineage, what follows in the first part of this book are ancient legends of the salvation history starting with Abraham, the ancestor of Muḥammad according to the lineage Ibn Hishām presents in his book.<sup>6</sup> According to Ibn Ishāq, Muḥammad’s life is part of the salvation history and his biography should therefore start with the creation of Adam and the beginning of mankind.<sup>7</sup> Other main sources for information about the life of Muḥammad are the *Maghāzī* of al-Wāqidi (d. 207/823) and the *Ṭabaqāt* of his student and secretary Ibn Sa’d (d. 230/845), although the largest part of the *Ṭabaqāt* consists of biographical information about Muḥammad’s Companions and following generations.<sup>8</sup> In addition to these traditional collections, a variety of sources include traditions about the life of Muḥammad, such as historical works, *ḥadīth* collections, biographical dictionaries and Qur’ān commentaries.<sup>9</sup>

The Muslim sources that contain the relatively highest amount of biographical information on Muḥammad are works belonging to the *maghāzī* and *sīra* genres. Still, even these *sīra* and *maghāzī* works contain stories in which Muḥammad does not feature or appear, for example stories about campaigns that took place during the reign of the first four caliphs after Muḥammad’s death in 11/632.<sup>10</sup>

The biographical information about Muḥammad is spread over many different works. The reason is that for Muslims, his life is essential for many fields of study, for example exegesis of the Qur’ān, jurisprudence and historiography. In order to understand or explain certain Qur’ānic verses, Qur’ān commentators looked at Muḥammad’s life to find the occasion of a revelation. The *sunna* (pl. *sunan*) of Muḥammad, i.e. Muḥammad’s deeds

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<sup>6</sup> Guillaume, A., *The life of Muhammad: A translation of Ibn Ishāq’s Sīrat rasūl Allāh*, Karachi 1978, xvii-xviii. Guillaume mentions several variant titles of Ibn Ishāq’s work, like “The book of campaigns” or “The book of campaigns and (the Prophet’s) biography”, which do not cover the pre-Islamic period either. See also M. Scholler’s discussion of Ibn Ishāq’s work in “Biographical essentialism and the life of Muhammad in Islam”, in *Biographie als religiöser und kultureller Text*, ed. A. Schule, Münster 2002, 155-156. Newby, G.D., *The making of the last Prophet: A reconstruction of the earliest biography of Muḥammad*, Columbia, S.C. 1989, 4. Jarrar argues that the variation in titles depends among other things on which part of Ibn Ishāq’s work a scholar transmitted. See Jarrar, M., *Die Prophetenbiographie im islamischen Spanien. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungs- und Redaktionsgeschichte*, Frankfurt am Main 1989, 36-37.

<sup>7</sup> Jarrar, *Die Prophetenbiographie*, 32-33.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut 1418/1997, vol. I and II.

<sup>9</sup> See page 16.

<sup>10</sup> See the chapter “*Kitāb al-maghāzī*” in the *Musannaf* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq, V, Beirut 1983, 439-484 (no. 9758-9780).

or sayings, became the second most important source for Islamic law.<sup>11</sup> Some of these *sunan* are connected with events from Muḥammad's life.<sup>12</sup>

Therefore, the term "biography of the Prophet" as I apply it in this study, encompasses the corpus of traditions that deal with all historical aspects of Muḥammad's life even if he is only the instigator of certain events and does not play a part in the event itself,<sup>13</sup> and regardless of the nature of the compilation in which the tradition appears.

## II. THE CRITICAL APPROACH TO MUḤAMMAD'S LIFE IN THE WEST

It was not until the first half of the nineteenth century C.E. that the academic study of the Muslim sources for the life of Muḥammad began.<sup>14</sup> Although there was a certain awareness in Western scholarship that the Muslim sources contained contradictions, traces of legends, exaggerations, and many kinds of biases,<sup>15</sup> most of the authors pretended to present a historically true picture of Muhammad's life. The best known - more recent - examples are the books *Muhammad at Mecca* and *Muhammad at Medina* by the Montgomery Watt,<sup>16</sup> and *Mahomet* by Rodinson.<sup>17</sup> A few scholars, however, rejected the Muslim sources partly or completely as historical sources for the life of Muhammad. The radical scepticism against the *sīra* and *maghāzī* traditions, i.e. the biographical accounts on Muhammad's life, was articulated already at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Caetani<sup>18</sup> and Lammens<sup>19</sup> but did hardly gain a following until the seventies and eighties when Wansbrough and his students

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<sup>11</sup> Scholler, "Biographical", 154

<sup>12</sup> For example, traditions about the *qasama* procedure are connected with the expedition to Khaybar 7/628. See Peters, R., "Murder in Khaybar: Some thoughts on the origins of the *qasāma* procedure in Islamic law", in *Islamic Law and Society*, 9 (2002).

<sup>13</sup> An example of such a tradition is the story about the murder of the Jew Ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq. See the study of this report by H. Motzki, "The murder of Ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq: On the origin and reliability of some *maghāzī*-reports", in *The biography of Muḥammad. The issue of the sources*, ed. H. Motzki, Leiden 2000

<sup>14</sup> Motzki, H., "Introduction", in *The biography*, ed. H. Motzki, Leiden 2000, XI

<sup>15</sup> Motzki, "Introduction", XI.

<sup>16</sup> Watt, W.M., *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953 and *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956.

<sup>17</sup> Rodinson, M., *Mohammed*, Bussum 1982 (originally published as *Mahomet*, Paris 1961).

<sup>18</sup> Caetani, L., *Annali dell'Islam*, Milan 1905.

<sup>19</sup> Lammens, H., "Qoran et tradition. Comment fut composée la vie de Mahomet", in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 1 (1910).



Cook and Crone<sup>20</sup> initiated a debate on the Muslim sources, which did not only concern the *sīra* and *maghāzī*-traditions but also the Qur'ān. Their critical attitude towards the *ḥadīth* material deeply affected the research on the origins of Islam in general<sup>21</sup> and the biography of Muhammad in particular<sup>22</sup>. Motzki has characterized the actual situation as a dilemma: "On the one hand, it is not possible to write a historical biography of the Prophet without being accused of using the sources uncritically, while on the other hand, when using the sources critically, it is simply not possible to write such a biography."<sup>23</sup>

The sceptical attitude towards "the life of Muhammad" derived from developments of non-Muslim *ḥadīth* scholarship in which the studies of Goldziher and Schacht played an important role.<sup>24</sup> Goldziher claimed that the *ḥadīth*, the traditions about Muḥammad and the first generation of Muslims, reflect later developments in Islam, not the events they pretend to relate. Schacht put it more bluntly and suggested that these traditions are in general fictitious and that they were fabricated in the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century or even later. His study was based on legal traditions, but in an article about a *maghāzī* source he transferred his conclusions to historical traditions as well.<sup>25</sup> The methodologies and conclusions of these two scholars were adopted by many of their colleagues working in related fields of study.

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<sup>20</sup> Wansbrough, J., *Qur'anic studies: Sources and methods of scriptural interpretation*, Oxford 1977 and *The sectarian milieu: Content and composition of Islamic salvation history*, Oxford 1978. Crone, P. & Cook, M., *Hadjarism*, Cambridge 1977. Cook, M., *Muhammad*, Oxford 1983. Crone, P., *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam*, Princeton 1987.

<sup>21</sup> See for example Berg, H., *The development of exegesis in early Islam. The authenticity of Muslim literature from the formative period*, Richmond/Surrey 2000, especially 109.

<sup>22</sup> See for example Chabbi, J., "Histoire et tradition sacrée : La biographie impossible de Mahomet", in *Arabica*, 43 (1) 1996, 205. Cook, *Muhammad*, 76. Motzki, "Introduction", xiii-xiv. Raven, W., "The biography of the Prophet and its scriptural basis", in *Story-telling in the framework of non-fictional Arabic literature*, ed. S. Leder, Wiesbaden 1998, 423. For the most recent publications, see for example Rubin, U., *The eye of the beholder. The life of Muhammad as viewed by the early Muslims: A textual analysis*, Princeton, 1995. Bobzin, H., *Mohammed*, München, 2002. Nagel, T., *Mohammed: Leben und Legende*, München, 2008 (*Mohammed Zwanzig Kapitel über den Propheten der Muslime*, München 2010 is an abridged version of this work). Schöller, M., *Mohammed: [Leben, Werk, Wirkung]*, Frankfurt am Main, 2008. Lecker, M., "Glimpses of Muḥammad's Medinan decade", in *The Cambridge companion to Muhammad*, ed. J.E. Brockopp, Cambridge 2010. Rubin, "Muḥammad's message in Mecca: Warnings, signs, and miracles", in *The Cambridge companion to Muhammad*, Cambridge 2010.

<sup>23</sup> Motzki, "Introduction", xiv.

<sup>24</sup> Goldziher, I., *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle a.S. 1889-1890. Schacht, J., *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950.

<sup>25</sup> Schacht, J., "On Mūsā b. 'Uqba's Kitāb al-maghāzī", in *Acta Orientalia*, 21 (1953).

Schacht's studies were not only the basis of the radical scepticism, but also the starting-point of new methodological developments relevant to this study. Some scholars rejected Schacht's generalizations and admitted that it might be possible that some traditions derived from the first Islamic century. They developed methods to date traditions more accurately. Two approaches may be distinguished: dating single traditions; and dating "sources".<sup>26</sup> The fact that early Muslim traditions generally consist of a text (*matn*) and a chain of transmitters (*isnād*) is crucial for both. Although the *matn* analysis became more sophisticated in the last decades<sup>27</sup> the most striking developments happened in the field of *isnād* analysis. Goldziher ignored the *asānīd* completely and Schacht used them only as a secondary argument in his studies.<sup>28</sup> In the first approach (dating single traditions) two trends can be distinguished beside the comparison of the *mutūn* of single traditions: some scholars base themselves mainly or exclusively on the chains of transmitters and compare their variants in order to date a tradition,<sup>29</sup> while others combine *isnād* analysis with a thorough study of the textual variants for the same purpose.<sup>30</sup> The main focus of these scholars was on theological and legal traditions, but they have also studied several *sīra*- and *maghāzī*-traditions.<sup>31</sup> The second approach, the dating of "sources", proceeds from the hypothesis that the standard Muslim sources from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century and later are based on

<sup>26</sup> See Motzki, H., "Introduction", in *Ḥadīth. Origins and developments*, ed. H. Motzki, Aldershot 2004, xlix-li.

<sup>27</sup> See for example, Kister, M.J., "Ḥaddīthū 'an banī isrā'īla wa-lā ḥaraja: A study of an early tradition", in *Israel Oriental Studies*, 2 (1972). Speight, R.M., "The will of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ: The growth of a tradition", in: *Der Islam*, 50 (1973). Rubin, *The eye*. Scholler, M., "In welchem Jahr wurden die Banū L-Nadīr aus Medina vertrieben? Eine Untersuchung zur "kanonischen" Sīra-Chronologie", in *Der Islam*, 73 (1996). Gunther, S., "Fictional narration and imagination within an authoritative framework. Towards a new understanding of Ḥadīth", in: *Story-telling*, ed. S. Leder, Wiesbaden 1998.

<sup>28</sup> See Motzki, "Introduction", in *Ḥadīth*, xlv-xlv.

<sup>29</sup> Juynboll, G.H.A., "Some isnād-analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several woman-demeaning sayings from hadith literature", in *al Qanṭara*, 10 (1989), "Nāfi", the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar, and his position in Muslim *Ḥadīth* literature", in *Der Islam*, 70 (1993) and *Encyclopedia of canonical Ḥadīth*, Leiden 2007.

<sup>30</sup> For example: van Ess, J., *Zwischen Ḥadīth und Theologie. Studien zum Entstehen predestinarianischer Überlieferung*, Berlin 1975. Motzki, H., "Whither Ḥadīth studies?", in *Analysing Muslim traditions. Studies in legal, exegetical and maghāzī Ḥadīth*, ed. H. Motzki, Leiden & Boston 2010 (originally published in German in 1996).

<sup>31</sup> Juynboll, G.H.A., "Early Islamic society as reflected in its use of isnads", in *Le Muséon*, 107 (1994). Schoeler, G., *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*, Berlin 1996. Gorke, A., "The historical tradition about al-Hudaybiya: A study of 'Urwa b al-Zubayr's account", in *The biography*, ed. H. Motzki. Motzki, "The murder". Gorke, A. & Schoeler, G., *Die ältesten Berichte über das Leben Muhammads. das Korpus 'Urwa ibn az Zubayr*, Princeton 2008.

earlier sources. It aims to identify these earlier sources and examine whether the information they contain was part of a historical transmission process or not.

It is generally accepted that Ibn Hishām's *Sīra* is an edited version of an earlier work by Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767). That means that the greater deal of the work of Ibn Hishām can be dated already in the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century. There is, however, a discussion on whether the original work of Ibn Ishāq can be reconstructed, since the available variants sometimes differ considerably.<sup>32</sup> It seems that the text can be reconstructed only partly and that we must take into account the possibility that Ibn Ishāq transmitted his material in different forms, that his students partly rearranged and edited it, and that the text changed in the course of subsequent transmission.

In the following chapter, I will discuss these approaches more extensively as well as other developments in non-Muslim research that are relevant to this study and the methods used in it.

### III. MAIN QUESTION TO BE DISCUSSED

As shown above, there is a lively and current debate in non-Muslim scholarship about the sources concerning early Islam in general and the biography of Muhammad in particular. The present study aims to contribute towards solving at least some of the controversial issues. It proceeds from the hypothesis that the standard sources for the biography of the Prophet are based on earlier sources.

One of the informants or "sources" often quoted by Ibn Ishāq is the Medinan scholar Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (d. 124/742), who is known as one of the first systematic collectors and transmitters of traditions concerning Muḥammad and the first generations of Muslims. He may even have composed a *sīra* work,<sup>33</sup> although it did not survive as a separate work to this day. This study focuses on al-Zuhri's material. The following two questions will be examined: 1) Do the traditions ascribed to al-Zuhri really go back to him? 2) If so, can his claim be substantiated that he received the traditions from the informant mentioned in the *isnād*?

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<sup>32</sup> See Al-Samuk, S.M., *Die historische Überlieferungen nach Ibn Ishāq: Eine synoptische Untersuchung*, dissertation, Frankfurt 1978, 160.

<sup>33</sup> Jarrar concludes on the basis of an analysis of some biographical reports about al-Zuhri that he did compile a *Sīra*. See Jarrar, *Die Prophetenbiographie*, 30

Schacht claims that most traditions ascribed to al-Zuhri are fabricated, not only the legal ones but also those on the life of Muḥammad.<sup>34</sup> Juynboll follows Schacht in his verdict in suggesting that “[...] it is no longer possible to sift the genuine Zuhri traditions from the fabricated ones [...]”.<sup>35</sup> These conclusions have been challenged by Motzki who showed that many legal traditions deriving from al-Zuhri can be reconstructed by a comparative study of ‘Abd al-Razzaq’s *Muṣannaf* and Mālik’s *Muwallaʿa*, two works from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> Islamic century that contain different versions of Zuhri material.<sup>36</sup> Recently it has been argued that there are also genuine Zuhri-traditions dealing with the life of Muhammad. One case was detected by Juynboll in 1994, and in his most recent book *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth* he lists several other traditions of which he considers al-Zuhri to be the chronicler.<sup>37</sup> Others were published by Schoeler, Motzki, Görke, and van der Voort.<sup>38</sup> Besides, Schoeler has shown that on the basis of the sources available at present Schacht’s conclusions about the Zuhri-traditions about the life of Muhammad are erroneous.<sup>39</sup>

In order to make a study of al-Zuhri’s huge material possible I selected several of his biographical traditions on Muḥammad. The main criteria of the selection were that the story had to consist of several different text elements and that - according to the information from the chains of transmitters - it was preserved by at least three different students of al-Zuhri and came from different informants of al-Zuhri. The next step was to analyse as many variants as possible on the basis of a wide range of sources, in order to check whether the traditions really go back to al-Zuhri and, if possible, to reconstruct his original wording. When it was possible to ascertain al-Zuhri’s authorship, I compared the traditions with similar ones not going back to al-Zuhri in order to determine whether his material goes back to an even earlier source. If so, the question may be raised who is this earlier source. Is it indeed the person mentioned as his informant in the *isnād* or somebody else? Is it possible at all to determine who al-Zuhri’s source was? Another question is to what

<sup>34</sup> Schacht, *The origins*, 246 and “On Mūsā”, 292, 300.

<sup>35</sup> Juynboll, G.H.A., *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early ḥadīth*, Cambridge 1983, 158.

<sup>36</sup> Motzki, H., “The jurisprudence of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri A source-critical study”, in *Analysing*, ed. H. Motzki, Leiden 2010 (originally published in German in 1991).

<sup>37</sup> Juynboll, “Early Islamic society”, 181. See the entry on al-Zuhri in his *Encyclopedia*, 690-730.

<sup>38</sup> Schoeler, *Charakter*. Motzki, “The murder”. Görke, “The historical tradition”. Boekhoff-van der Voort, N., “The *Kitāb al maghāzī* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq b Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī: Searching for earlier source-material”, in *The transmission and dynamics of the textual sources of Islam*, Leiden & Boston 2011.

<sup>39</sup> Schoeler, G., “Mūsā b ‘Uqbas *Maghāzī*”, in *The biography*, ed. H. Motzki, Leiden 2000

degree al-Zuhri's transmission varies from the transmission of other persons. The answers to the above mentioned questions will help us to gain more insight into the history of Muḥammad's biography in the period before the compilation of the standard sources.

#### IV. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Both methodological approaches mentioned before will be used in this study, i.e. dating "sources" and dating single traditions. The most important early Muslim sources date from two centuries or more after the events they refer to. Motzki and Schoeler argue that these sources are based on earlier sources that are now lost, and also, that it might be possible to reconstruct these earlier sources on the basis of the later ones. They are less sure about whether it is possible to restore the original text or only its content.<sup>40</sup> The debate included also some of the sources for the life of Muhammad as we have seen above in the case of Ibn Hishām's *Sīra*.<sup>41</sup> Görke, Schoeler and Motzki argue that the term "source" must be understood broadly, not necessarily as a fixed book but as data deriving from an author or compiler by aural<sup>42</sup> and written transmission.<sup>43</sup>

Another issue is that of the criteria on which dating and reconstructing of sources can be based. The most reliable results can be obtained when parts of an early source are available in several later sources and when *asānīd* (or information about an "author")

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<sup>40</sup> Motzki, H., *The origins of Islamic jurisprudence. Meccan fiqh before the classical schools*, Leiden 2002, xii-xiv and for example, 100 "The original, reconstructable context of the 'Aṭā' traditions has been destroyed in the *Muṣannaf* in favor of a new thematic composition", 185 "Texts of 'Amr's which are preserved either word for word or in meaning can be considered genuine [...]" and 196 "[...] does not necessarily imply that 'Amr's text reproduces the document exactly" (originally published in German in 1991). Schoeler, G., "Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im frühen Islam", in *Der Islam*, 62 (1985), 202-203, 210-212 and 224, "Schreiben und Veröffentlichen: Zu Verwendung und Funktion der Schrift in den ersten islamischen Jahrhunderten", in *Der Islam*, 69 (1992), 16 and *The genesis of literature in Islam: From the aural to the read*, Edinburgh 2009 (originally published in French in 2002), 9, 49. See also Sezgin, F., *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums (GAS)*, I, Leiden 1967, 60 and 79-82.

<sup>41</sup> Al-Samuk, Die historische Überlieferungen, 160. Jarrar, *Die Prophetenbiographie*, for example 126, 204.

<sup>42</sup> See the definition of aural transmission in footnote 51 on page 30 of chapter 1

<sup>43</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 14. Motzki, H., "The author and his work in the Islamic literature of the first centuries: The case of 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*", in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 28 (2003), especially 172-174. Schoeler, G., "Foundations for a new biography of Muḥammad: The production and evaluation of the corpus of traditions from 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr", in *Method and theory in the study of Islamic sources*, ed. H. Berg, Leiden 2003, 23, 25 and 27.

together with textual variants can be used. This is unfortunately only the case in favourable circumstances. Yet, Motzki has shown that other criteria can also be used to date and reconstruct earlier sources when the circumstances are less fortunate. Such criteria may include the distribution of the “sources”, textual genres, added comments, doublets and the like <sup>44</sup>

The second methodological approach applied in this study to examine the origins of the traditions ascribed to al-Zuhrī - that of dating single traditions - is the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis developed by Motzki and Schoeler <sup>45</sup> The analysis starts with a comparison of the *asānīd*, the chains of transmitters, of as many variants as possible of the same tradition. The chains of transmission of all the variants are drawn in a diagram that starts with the different compilers in whose collection the tradition is found and ends with the (real or alleged) reporter of the event. The aim of this exercise is to identify common transmitters of the different strands and – most importantly – the earliest common transmitter (the common link), which is the focal point of the diagram and which is by way of hypothesis assumed to be the distributor of the tradition in question.

The next step is the comparison of the textual variants (*mutūn*) of the tradition with respect to the use of words and the structure of the text. The differences and similarities are noted in order to determine whether the traditions derive from a common source or whether one has been copied from another. The hypothesis is that differences, even slight ones, are an indication of real transmission whereas identical texts must be suspected of having been copied from each other and their *isnād* of having been forged. This rule is based on the peculiarities of early transmission in Islam, which was mainly aural even if often supported by written notes. <sup>46</sup>

Thereupon, the results from the analysis of the texts are compared with the results from the analysis of the chains of transmission. If the results of the *matn* analysis support the results of the *isnād* analysis it can be assumed that the tradition is not fabricated by later compilers but must have a real transmission history. The common link, the earliest transmitter all versions of a tradition have in common, can then be established as the one who distributed the tradition or at least the reconstructed kernel. The date of death of the common link provides a secure date for the tradition, yet the possibility cannot be excluded that the whole tradition or parts of its content are from an earlier date.

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<sup>44</sup> Motzki, *The origins* Motzki, “The author” See also van der Voort, “*Kitāb al maghāzī*”

<sup>45</sup> Motzki, “Whither” and Schoeler, *Charakter*

<sup>46</sup> Schoeler, *The genesis*, 7-9, 36, 41 and 59 among others, and *Charakter*, 33 35



Chapter one of this study describes the differences between the methodological approaches mentioned above that are used to date traditions and focuses on the methods using the common link. The chapter ends with an overview of the results reached in earlier studies that applied the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis to biographical traditions about the Prophet Muḥammad ascribed to al-Zuhri. In the following three chapters, three Zuhri-traditions will be analysed with the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis. Each tradition is attributed to a different informant of al-Zuhri.<sup>47</sup>

Chapter two deals with a *maghāzī* story that takes place during Muḥammad's life in Medina, i.e. a few years after his move from Mecca. It relates the attack of a hostile clan on a group of Muslims sent out by Muḥammad. Although Muḥammad does not play a central role in this story, it is considered part of the *sīra*.

The second tradition, which is discussed in chapter three, is a miracle story that according to the Muslim source material is connected with two major events in Muḥammad's early prophethood before he left for Medina, his miraculous journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and back in one night and his ascension to Heaven, where he met several prophets and cast a glance in Paradise.

The third tradition, dealt with in chapter four, is from the final years of Muḥammad in Medina, when, according to the early Muslim sources, his religious authority was firmly established in Mecca and Medina and their surroundings. The story relates how one of Muḥammad's first followers stayed behind from a raid organised by the Prophet. The story continues with his punishment upon the Prophet's return and his absolution through the eventual revelation of a Qur'ānic verse.

Chapter five provides a description of the biographical data about the life of al-Zuhri, which I compare with the findings from the analysis of the three Zuhri-traditions. My study ends with a general conclusion about the results drawn from the analysis.

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<sup>47</sup> Al-Zuhri's famous teacher 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (d. 94/712) is not among these informants, although there are many traditions describing the main events in Muḥammad's life with the *isnād* al-Zuhri -> 'Urwa. My research started almost simultaneously with the project of Gregor Schoeler, Andreas Gorke and Tanja Duncker in Basle on the corpus of 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr. I decided that I would focus on traditions attributed to other informants of al-Zuhri in order to avoid overlap of our research. I have benefited much from our fruitful discussions and exchange of results. The results of their research have been published recently as Gorke & Schoeler, *Berichte*.

## V. SOURCE MATERIAL

As mentioned above, the description of Muḥammad's life is generally based on several Muslim sources which date from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century and later: the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* of al-Wāqidi (d. 207/823), the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām (d. 230/845), a volume of *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* by Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845), the chapter *Maghāzī* in the *ḥadīth* collection by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and part of the large *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* by al-Ṭabarī (d. 318/922).

Besides these standard works, several new sources have become available in the last decades. Among these new sources the following four are particularly relevant because they contain a large number of traditions ascribed to al-Zuhri: the chapter *Maghāzī* in the *Muṣannaf* by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/827), the chapter *Maghāzī* in the *Muṣannaf* by Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849), *Ta'riḫ al-Madīna al-munawwara* by 'Umar ibn Shabbah (d. 264/877) and the *maghāzī* material ascribed to Mūsā ibn 'Uqba (d. 141/758) collected from several later sources. These sources raise the same problems as the standard sources and therefore, they must be studied carefully with the aid of the different methodological approaches available. So far, the possibility that these sources may contain earlier sources has only been studied for 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*<sup>48</sup> and recently, for Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf*.<sup>49</sup>

Apart from the sources mentioned above containing Zuhri-material there are many more that have been used in this study to compile a large corpus of his traditions concerning the biography of Muḥammad. These compilations vary from historical works (*Ta'riḫ* and *Sīra*) to *ḥadīth* collections (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Sunan*, *Musnad* and *Muṣannaf*), biographical dictionaries (*Ṭabaqāt*) and Qur'ān commentaries (*Tafsīr*). The search for variants of a particular tradition in all these different kind of compilations has been facilitated because of the appearance of CD's and DVD's with hundreds of books from all different genres in digitalised form. This has made it possible for me to compose a large collection of variants of the selected Zuhri-traditions within a relatively short time and to find variants in books that I would otherwise not have been able to consult.

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<sup>48</sup> Motzki, *The origins*. Motzki, "The author". van der Voort, "*Kitāb al-maghāzī*".

<sup>49</sup> Lucas, S.C., "Where are the legal *Ḥadīth*? A study of the *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī -Shayba", in *Islamic Law and Society*, 15 (2008).

## CHAPTER 1

### THE DATING OF TRADITIONS AND THE COMMON-LINK THEORY

#### I. INTRODUCTION

The one thing all scholars who deal with the first two centuries of Islamic history - Western as well as Muslim scholars - agree on is that the corpus of *ḥadīth* material contains falsified accounts and biases from later times. They disagree, however, on the usefulness of this material as a source of information about the initial period of the Islam. To what extent is it possible to distinguish fact from fiction? Is it possible at all to extract historical information from the *ḥadīth* material or does this material only reflect the later Muslim view on this period? In order to answer these questions and others about the historicity of described events and persons, we first have to take a step back and try to establish where, when and by whom a tradition originated, i.e. we have to date the different variants of an account. When we know who brought the story in circulation and which persons are responsible for certain changes in a tradition, we can reconstruct the development of this story over time and also, trace it back to its oldest kernel.

#### II. DATING OF TRADITIONS

As mentioned in the introduction, two approaches have been adopted, the dating of single traditions and the dating of “sources”. The latter approach generally consists of a quantitative analysis of material in one collection attributed to a certain person, sometimes combined with a qualitative analysis of a small number of traditions.<sup>1</sup> While smaller collections allow for including all material,<sup>2</sup> the study of larger collections has to be carried out on a representative selection of the material.<sup>3</sup> Criteria for dating the material are

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<sup>1</sup> Lucas combines the quantitative analysis with a qualitative analysis of two legal topics, “Where”, 299-307. van der Voort ends with the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of one Zuhri-tradition, “*Kitāb al-maghāzī*”, 22-30.

<sup>2</sup> See for example van der Voort, “*Kitāb al-maghāzī*”, who includes all traditions present in this part of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Musannaf* or Motzki’s comparison of two other parts of the *Musannaf*, *Kitāb ahl al-kitāb* and *Kitāb ahl al-kitābayn*, in “The author”

<sup>3</sup> Motzki’s study of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Musannaf* is performed on 3810 traditions, approximately 21% of the entire work to the exclusion of three “atypical” books. See Motzki, *The origins*, 58. Lucas analysed 3628

diverse.<sup>4</sup> Usually, the first step is to check the distribution of the assumed sources. What is the percentage of the number of traditions per informant of the author to whom the collection is ascribed based on the information from the *asānīd*? If the *asānīd* are not authentic, one expects to come across a more or less evenly distribution of traditions among the persons listed as informants deriving from a random selection of names by the person who fabricated the traditions. On the other hand, if they are authentic, one expects a random, sometimes disproportionate distribution.

Still, it remains possible that an uneven distribution as in the *Muṣannaḥ*s of ‘Abd al-Razzāq and Ibn Abī Shayba could be the result of a deliberate fabrication. Therefore, other criteria have to be added to the research. These might include a study of the distribution of the second and following layers of informants, the content of the traditions per informant, the geographical origin of the informants, the authority who is said to have told the tradition (the Prophet, a Companion, a Successor or somebody of a later generation), the type of tradition, the formulation and style of the accounts, the motifs in an account, and so on.

In theory, one might still maintain that a cunning person would produce a work complying with irregular profiles according to these criteria. A study of additional features of individual accounts – some of which we might consider as features that “weaken” the tradition - helps to determine the authenticity of the ascription of traditions to a certain person, either the author of the compilation or the transmitter in the *isnād*.<sup>5</sup> Such features are, among others, gaps or uncertainties in the chain of transmission or in the *matn*, for example if one of the informants does not know whether he received the tradition from X or Y, or if he is uncertain about a specific word in the text. Additional information from a later transmitter about persons or words belongs to this category, as well as the mentioning of a double source in the *isnād*. Such features enhance the authenticity of the work as a whole, but do not exclude that it contains one or more (partly) falsified accounts or “improved” or forged *asānīd*.

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narrations from the legal chapters of Ibn Abī Shayba’s *Muṣannaḥ*, which is about 9% of all traditions in this work. See Lucas, “Where”, 283 and 286

<sup>4</sup> The following information about criteria for establishing the authenticity of a source is based on the studies of Lucas, “Where”, Motzki, “The author”, *The origins* and “The *Muṣannaḥ* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan’ānī as a source of authentic *abādīth* of the first century A.H.”, in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 50 (1) 1991, and van der Voort, “*Kitāb al maghāzī*”.

<sup>5</sup> See Motzki’s “internal formal criteria of authenticity”, in *The origins*, 83-94. This method can be used as an argument in the dating of single traditions as well. I use it in my study of Zuhri-traditions

The other approach, dating single traditions, can be divided into three different categories: one can look at the information in the *matn*, the information in the *isnād* or a combination of both. The distinction between these categories is not sharp-cut. The dating of traditions based on the information in the *matn* does not exclude the use of information from the chain of transmitters and vice versa. The difference between the three categories is the focus. The focus of the first category is the *matn*, whereas the information of the *isnād* is either not used or only as a secondary argument. The second category is the opposite of the first, while the third category, to which the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis applied in this study belongs, combines the analysis of variant texts with an analysis of the accompanying chains of transmitters.

The dating of single traditions through the *matn* encompasses a wide range of methods. Since this chapter focuses on dating through the common-link theory, I will only provide a brief outline of this method only. The dating of single tradition primarily based on the *matn* is either carried out on one particular tradition or a tradition complex, i.e. traditions relating the same or similar events. The criteria used to establish whether a particular tradition is early or late vary according to a scholar. One criterion is, for instance, the unfavourable depiction of the Prophet or one of the early Muslims. For example, Buhl regards these traditions – more specifically, these parts of the tradition – as historically trustworthy<sup>6</sup>, while Goldziher considers them to be early as well.<sup>7</sup> It is assumed that the image of Muḥammad in the traditions has been adapted and manipulated by consecutive generations of his followers; and that the historical Muḥammad has disappeared and been replaced by a traditional, religiously and morally perfect Muḥammad.<sup>8</sup> Other criteria are legendary elements or stories, contradictions, anachronisms and biases.<sup>9</sup>

The second method of dating traditions by means of the *matn* is performed by analysing various versions of the same event. Details or motifs of these accounts are

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<sup>6</sup> Buhl, F., "The character of Mohammed as a Prophet", in *The Moslem World*, 1 (1911), 356-357.

<sup>7</sup> See Motzki's analysis of Goldziher's dating of single traditions in "Dating Muslim traditions: A survey", in *Arabica*, 52 (2) 2005, 210.

<sup>8</sup> Caetani, L., "The development of Mohammed's personality", in *The Moslem World*, 4 (1914), 353-354.

<sup>9</sup> See for example Grimme, H., *Mohammed: I Das Leben, nach den Quellen*, Munster 1892, vii. Muir, W., *The life of Moḥammad from original sources*, Edinburgh 1923, xlix-lxxv. Sprenger, A., *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad nach bisher grossentheils unbenutzten Quellen*, I, Berlin 1869, xii and 12. Goldziher considers the appearance of anachronisms to be an indication of a late origin. See Motzki, "Dating", 210.

compared to reveal how the self-image of the Muslims has developed over time and how this is reflected in the depiction of the Prophet and the earliest Muslims.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, since the common-link concept is crucial for the method applied in this study, the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis, and is used in dating traditions based on the *asānīd*, I will discuss these two methods separately in the following two sections, starting with the latter. I do not intend to provide an overview of all scholars who date traditions with the *isnad* in combination with the common-link phenomenon, but I will restrict myself to Schacht and Juynboll, two scholars whose studies have been of major influence on the development and the employment of the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis.<sup>11</sup>

### III. THE COMMON-LINK PHENOMENON IN ISNĀD ANALYSIS

One of the most influential studies in the field of dating traditions is Schacht's research on the development of Islamic legal theory, which is build on Goldziher's conclusions about the *ḥadīth* material in general. In order to trace the development of a legal opinion, he has worked out several devices with which he dates traditions dealing with legal matters. In this section, I will discuss two methods that concern the *isnād*.<sup>12</sup> Although Schacht considers the *asānīd* "the most arbitrary part of the traditions",<sup>13</sup> they are of crucial importance to his method of dating traditions.

Schacht places the beginning of the regular use of *asānīd* at the earliest at the beginning of the second Islamic century.<sup>14</sup> At this time, the chains of transmission were still rudimentary and could appear with gaps; for example, an informant is missing or not mentioned by name. The gradual improvement in the *asānīd* came to perfection in the second half of the third Islamic century, as can be seen in the classical *ḥadīth* collections,

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<sup>10</sup> See for example Rubin, U., "The life of Muḥammad and the Islamic self-image: A comparative analysis of an episode in the campaigns of Badr and al-Ḥudaybiya", in *The biography*, ed. H. Motzki, Leiden 2000. Lecker, M., "Yahūd/'uhūd. A variant reading in the story of the 'Aqaba meeting", in *Le Muséon*, 109 (1-2) 1996 and "Did the Quraysh conclude a treaty with the Anṣār prior to the Hījra?", in *The biography*, ed. H. Motzki, Leiden 2000.

<sup>11</sup> Motzki also discusses Cook's dating with the common link in the section on dating with the *isnād* of his article about the dating of traditions. Although Cook did employ the common-link theory, it was mainly aimed at refuting the usefulness of this tool. See Motzki, "Dating", 230-239 and Cook's article, "Eschatology and the dating of traditions", in *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies*, 1 (1992).

<sup>12</sup> For Schacht's dating with the *matn*, see Motzki, "Dating", 210-212

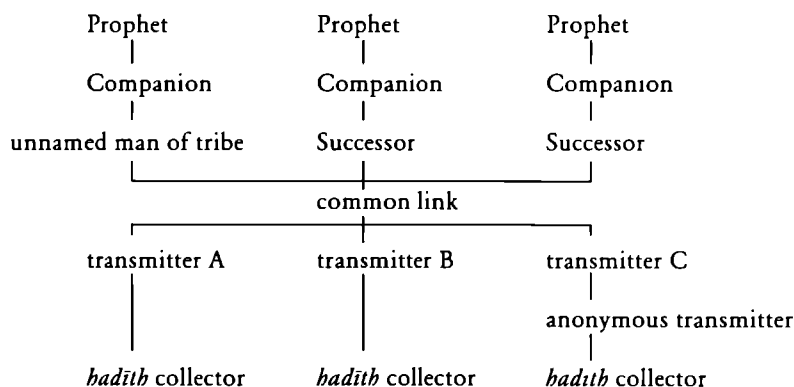
<sup>13</sup> Schacht, *The origins*, 163.

<sup>14</sup> Schacht, *The origins*, 37.

which originated in this time and later.<sup>15</sup> He concludes that as a general rule, the better and more complete the *isnād*, the later the tradition. The improvement of the *asānīd* includes a backward projection of authorities, i.e. the persons on whose authority an account is told. If there are, for example, two variants of a tradition with one *isnād* traced back to the Prophet and the other ending with a Companion, the latter variant is earlier than the one with the *isnād* back to the Prophet. The same applies to variants with *asānīd* ending with a Companion or a Successor.<sup>16</sup> Parallel to and partly in connection with the “improvement” of *asānīd*, is the spread of traditions, especially in the case of otherwise isolated traditions or doctrines. Falsified *asānīd* with additional authorities were attached to a tradition in order to enhance its reliability.<sup>17</sup>

However, the question remains where, when and by whom a tradition originated. A second device Schacht uses to date traditions is through the phenomenon of what he coins the “common link”. Looking at the *asānīd* of a given tradition, Schacht notices that frequently, the variant traditions have a transmitter in common. He illustrates this phenomenon as follows (see Figure 1):

Figure 1: Schacht’s *isnād* bundle<sup>18</sup>



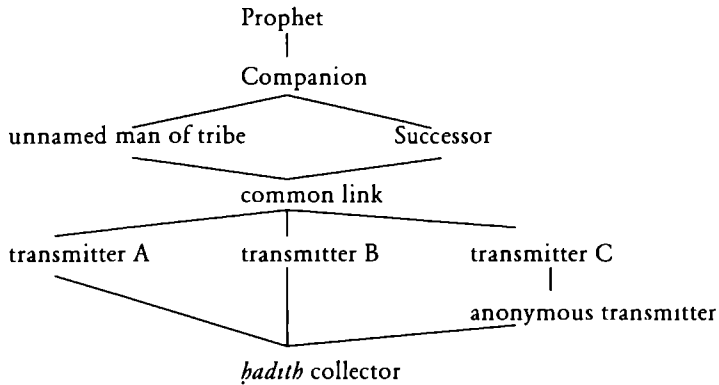
<sup>15</sup> Schacht, *The origins*, 163.

<sup>16</sup> Schacht, *The origins*, 165 and “A revaluation of Islamic traditions”, in *The quest for the historical Muhammad*, ed Ibn Warraq, Amherst, N.Y. 2000, 361 (originally published in 1949).

<sup>17</sup> Schacht, *The origins*, 166-167.

<sup>18</sup> I have omitted the names of the persons from Schacht’s bundle. See Schacht, *Origins*, 172

Or when the same person is like the common link only mentioned once:

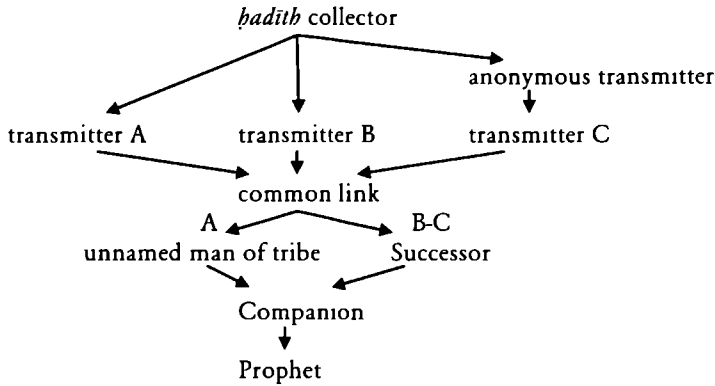


This depiction of the information from the *asānīd* might lead to a misinterpretation of the bundle by “reading” it downwards from the Prophet to the *ḥadīth* collectors. Based on Figure 1, one might conclude that the Prophet, for example, told the story to only one Companion (the three Companions in Schacht’s bundle are the same person), while it might be possible that stories from other Companions that may have existed once did not make it into in the collections we have access to nowadays. However, the material is only available in the collections of scholars from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century onwards, which must therefore be the starting point of the bundle. Arrows instead of lines between successive transmitters can further illustrate the correct reading direction and indicate how the *ḥadīth* collector received his version(s) of the tradition in question.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, in this study, I will depict this bundle as follows starting with the names of the scholars in whose works a tradition is present:

<sup>19</sup> See Motzki, “Whither”, 59 and footnote 24 on the same page. In this article, Motzki refutes among other things some of Juynboll’s conclusions that are based on this upward reading of the bundle, i.e. from the earliest transmitter to the collector of the tradition.



Figure 2: My *isnād* bundle



According to the *asānīd*, the *ḥadīth* collector has three variant traditions, which he received from three different persons. All three persons mention the same informant in whom all lines converge. The transmitter all *asānīd* have in common is the common link of this specific account. His informant is in versions B and C the same person, a Successor, while in version A no name is mentioned, but the informant is referred to as a man of Banū X. The last two persons in the oldest or lower part of the chains of transmission are the same in all three versions: a Companion on whose authority this account of the Prophet is transmitted.

According to Schacht, the common link is in most cases the person who brought the tradition into circulation. The upper part of the chain,<sup>20</sup> the part from the collector to the common link, represents the real part of the transmission, whereas the part below the common link is fabricated by the common link. The spread and improvement of *asānīd* take place especially in the lower part. Sometimes, an additional chain bypasses the common link, but it is possible that these kinds of strands have been fabricated and added by transmitters from the upper part of the *isnād*. The common link provides the tradition with a *terminus a quo*. The tradition originates from the time of the common link.<sup>21</sup>

However, the common link might not be the real transmitter of the tradition, but either a fictional person or a real person on whose authority the actual transmitter distributed the tradition. This transmitter then provided the *matn*, the name of the

<sup>20</sup> Schacht calls this the lower part of the chain of transmission. I have “translated” his words to my description and depiction of the *isnād* bundle

<sup>21</sup> Schacht, *The origins*, 171-172 and 175. See also Motzki’s more detailed discussion of Schacht’s dating with the *isnād* in “Dating”, 219-223.

"common link" and the *isnād* below the common link.<sup>22</sup> According to Schacht, he probably belongs to the generation after the fictitious common link, but he might also be a - less famous - contemporary.<sup>23</sup>

Schacht pays special attention to traditions handed down through families, including master-freedman relations. The family *isnād* seemingly enhances the authenticity of the tradition, but is actually evidence to the contrary.<sup>24</sup>

Although Schacht was concerned mainly with legal traditions, he extends his conclusion to historical traditions as well.<sup>25</sup> He argues that the authorities for legal and historical information are largely the same. For example, one of the persons who appear as a common link in both types of tradition is al-Zuhri. More importantly, the information in historical traditions is used in legal discussions and should therefore be subjected to the same critical approach, applying the same methods as in the field of legal traditions.<sup>26</sup> He concludes that similar to the field of legal traditions, the historical material as we have it nowadays is the result of a process of formalisation and systematization of "the vague collective memory of the community" into formal traditions provided with *asānīd* in the second Islamic century.<sup>27</sup> For example, a large part (though not all!) of Mūsā b. 'Uqba's *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, which Schacht regards as representative of the standard biography of the Prophet in Medina, derives from the second half of the second Islamic century and can therefore not be used as historical source for the Prophet's lifetime.<sup>28</sup>

Juynboll has elaborated Schacht's common link theory to date single traditions. Contrary to Schacht who applies different methods (though usually not combined), including dating with the *matn*, in order to discover who the originator of a certain tradition is, Juynboll bases his analysis mainly on the chains of transmitters. He takes the single *isnād* strands of variant versions of a particular tradition deduced from the collection

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<sup>22</sup> Schacht, *The origins*, 171 and 175.

<sup>23</sup> Schacht mentions the possibility of a fictitious common link, but does not explain it in more detail. He considers, for example, the name Nāfi' as "a label which was used for various purposes over a considerable period" and dates traditions attributed to him to the following generation. Schacht, *The origins*, 178-179.

<sup>24</sup> Schacht, *The origins*, 170 and "A revaluation", 361.

<sup>25</sup> Schacht, *The origins*, 175, "A revaluation", 363 and "On Mūsā", 292 and 300.

<sup>26</sup> Schacht, "A revaluation", 363-364.

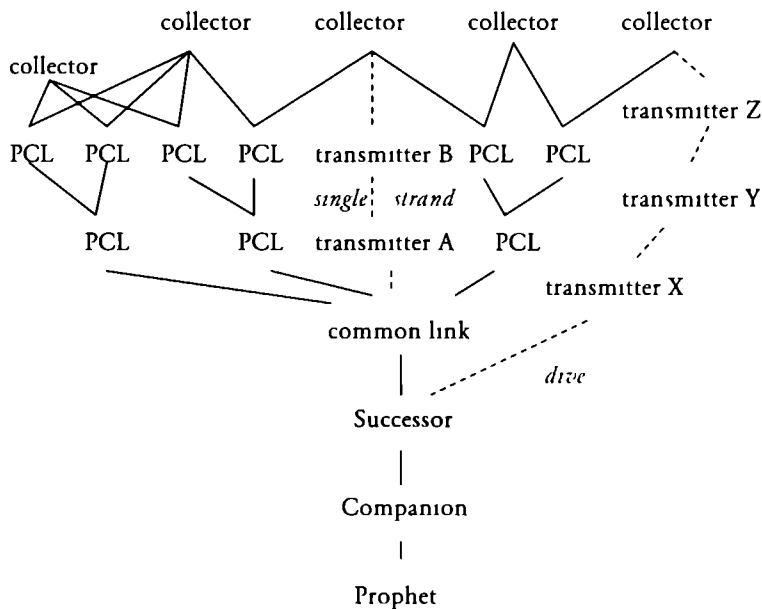
<sup>27</sup> Schacht, "A revaluation", 366.

<sup>28</sup> Schacht, "A revaluation", 364. Several scholars have criticized Schacht's methods and conclusions. See for example, Motzki, *The origins* and Azami, M.M., *On Schacht's origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, New York etc. 1985.

*Tuhfat al-ashraf bi-ma'rifat al-atraf* of the Syrian scholar al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341) and draws them into a diagram - a so-called *isnād* bundle - to identify the common link, who is the main key-figure in the bundle.

In order to determine the authenticity – or as Juynboll calls it the historicity – of this person's transmission, he looks at the number of persons involved in the transmission of the *ḥadīth*. Each key-figure, either the common link or any other key-figure in the upper part of the *isnād* bundle in whom *isnad* strands converge (called partial common links (PCL)), should at least have two pupils to whom he or she transmitted the tradition (see figure 3); otherwise he does not consider the transmission of that person to be “historically tenable”. While Juynboll similarly defines the position of the main key-figure (the common link) and other key-figures (partial common links) in the bundle in earlier publications, in his *Encyclopedia of canonical Ḥadīth* he tightens the rules for the authenticity of the common link's transmission to three or more “credible partial common links”.<sup>29</sup>

Figure 3: Juynboll's *isnād* bundle



After the analysis of the *isnad* bundle and its key-figures, he determines who is responsible for the formulation and the circulation of the tradition. This can either be the common link

<sup>29</sup> See Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, xxi

if this person meets the criteria, or one of the other persons mentioned in the *isnād* bundle above the *common link*.<sup>30</sup>

Juynboll dismisses the historicity of so-called single strands, i.e. strands made up of persons who appear to transmit the tradition in question to only one person, since it is very unlikely for a tradition to be transmitted from only one person to just one other person and so on such a single transmission path “requires an act of faith”.<sup>31</sup> Juynboll agrees with Schacht that the lowest part of the *isnād* bundle, i.e. the part between the common link and the oldest authority, which usually consists of a single strand, does not reflect any historical transmission process. The person whom he holds responsible for the circulation and the formulation of the tradition also created this lowest part of the chain of transmitters. Juynboll dates the appearance of this particular single strand to the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest. It arose during the second *fitna* in Islam (63-73/683-693), as a result of the need for authenticating information distributed by different religious-political groups.<sup>32</sup>

A second type of single strands is constituted by those strands that appear between the collectors and the common link. Juynboll regards such *asānid* as “the handiwork” of the collectors or their teachers. Consequently, he rejects those *isnād* bundles as unhistorical which show a common link as crossing point of several single strands. Juynboll coined the term “spider” for such *isnād* bundles. The key-figure in such a bundle is not a real but a seeming common link. His common link status is artificial because the collectors or their informants fabricated additional *asanid* to an already existing *isnad* in order to strengthen the transmission and give it the appearance of being widespread.<sup>33</sup>

A third type of artificial single strands is formed by the so-called “dive”, i.e. a strand that bypasses the manufacturer of the tradition. Juynboll came upon them frequently, even in *isnād* bundles with a “real” common-link, where they bypass him to one of the older authorities, a phenomenon that Schacht noticed too. The deeper the dive the later the origin of that strand is, at least that is what Schacht asserted.<sup>34</sup> Juynboll’s reasoning looks very much like Schacht’s argument for backward projection of authorities. Dives to a

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<sup>30</sup> The information on Juynboll’s methodology is based on the introduction of *Encyclopedia* and his article “Nāfi’”. Juynboll describes his methodology in other articles as well, but the information they provide is mostly similar to the two sources I used.

<sup>31</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, xx and “Nāfi’”, 212 and 216.

<sup>32</sup> Juynboll, “Nāfi’”, 210

<sup>33</sup> Juynboll, “Nāfi’”, 214 and 216, and *Encyclopedia*, xxii-xxiii.

<sup>34</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, xxii-xxiii and “Nāfi’”, 214-215.

Companion are of later origin than dives to a Successor (Juynboll), just as the ascription to a Companion originated later than the ascription of the same tradition to a Successor (Schacht). In this view, the majority of the diving strands were fabricated in the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>35</sup>

Juynboll makes special mention of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri as “the key figure *par excellence*”, because he appears perhaps most frequently of all *ḥadīth* transmitters in *asānīd*. He raises the question of whether the numerous occurrences of this name in *asānīd* refer to the same person.<sup>36</sup> Apart from possible cases of mistaken identity, many *asānīd* contain “totally obscure people” as informants of al-Zuhri. Juynboll excludes the historical Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri as fabricator of the lower part of the chain based on the representation in biographical works. Therefore, he concludes that alleged students of al-Zuhri or their students fabricated traditions and ascribed them to him. Although at first, Juynboll acknowledges the existence of genuine Zuhri-traditions, but questions the possibility of shifting the genuine from the pseudo-Zuhri traditions,<sup>37</sup> in his recent *Encyclopedia*, he mentions al-Zuhri either as common link of the wordings of several legal and historical traditions or as common link of the gist of the account in more doubtful cases.<sup>38</sup>

The common-link phenomenon and the cause for its appearance in *isnād* bundles is the topic of many discussions. Based on earlier studies, Görke distinguishes three different concepts of the common link in these discussions: the common link is the collector, the inventor, or the authority of the tradition.<sup>39</sup> Schacht and Juynboll regard the common link either as the inventor or the authority of the tradition depending on whether the common link has met their criteria or if the tradition is ascribed to that person.<sup>40</sup> Motzki argues against Schacht and Juynboll that the common-links can be explained, apart from being the inventors of ascribed authorities of traditions, as being “the first great collectors and

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<sup>35</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, xxvii. See also Motzki’s more detailed discussion of Juynboll’s dating with the *isnād*, “Dating”, 223-226.

<sup>36</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 147.

<sup>37</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 157-158.

<sup>38</sup> See the section on al-Zuhri in Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 690-730. Motzki has criticized Juynboll’s interpretation of single strands, spiders, dives, and seeming common links as unhistorical. See especially Motzki, “Whither”, 50-60, “Dating”, 226-230 and “Review of G.H.A. Juynboll. *Encyclopedia of canonical ḥadīth*”, in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 36 (2009), 542-544.

<sup>39</sup> Görke, A., “Eschatology, history, and the common link: A study in methodology”, in *Method*, ed. H. Berg, Leiden & Boston 2003, 188.

<sup>40</sup> Juynboll calls such a common link a “seeming common link”.

professional teachers of knowledge in general and of traditions about persons living in the first century of Islam in particular”.<sup>41</sup>

Consequently, Motzki explains, the single strand below the common link displays how the common link, according to his statement, had received the tradition. There are several explanations why only one informant is mentioned rather than more, as in later generations, when often several persons are mentioned as transmitters of the tradition. Firstly, around the turn of the first Islamic century, people did not find it necessary to mention all sources. Secondly, even if someone knew different versions from more than one person, he may have only mentioned the version that was – in his view - the most reliable. Thirdly, perhaps versions with other transmission paths did not make it into the early *ḥadīth* collections.

Motzki does not exclude the possibility that a common link fabricated or edited a tradition or provided it with a fictitious or erroneous *isnād*, but he argues against the notion that the common links invented all traditions and that all single strands below the common link are forged.<sup>42</sup>

#### IV. THE ISNĀD-CUM-MATN ANALYSIS

The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis also proceeds from the common link theory, but combines the analysis of the *asānīd* with an analysis of the *mutūn* of the variant traditions. In the introduction I have already described how this analysis works and I will put it into practice in the following three chapters, so I will not repeat the steps here. Since the publications of Motzki and Schoeler which showed the usefulness of the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis in 1996, more and more studies have been performed with this kind of analysis on a wide range of traditions, such as legal, exegetical and historical *aḥādīth*.<sup>43</sup> At the end of this chapter, I will

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<sup>41</sup> Motzki, “Whither”, 51.

<sup>42</sup> Motzki, “Whither”, 51-53 and “*Ar-radd ‘alā r-radd: Zur Methodik der ḥadīṭ-Analyse*”, in *Der Islam*, 78 (2001), 214. See among other things also “Dating”, 227-228.

<sup>43</sup> I would like to mention one study in particular, the thesis of Kamaruddin, *The reliability of ḥadīth-transmission. A re-examination of ḥadīth critical methods*, Bonn 2005. In this study, Kamaruddin compares the methodology of classical *ḥadīth* scholars with Juynboll’s *isnād* analysis and the *isnād-cum matn* analysis by applying them to a tradition about fasting, which Muslim scholars regards as *mutawāṭṭir*. According to the classical Islamic methodology, the origin of the tradition complex is the Prophet Muḥammad, according to Juynboll’s analysis the Kūfan al-A’mash (the first half of the second Islamic century) and finally according to

give an overview of the results that have so far been achieved on biographical traditions about the Prophet Muḥammad.

Motzki and Schoeler were not the first, though, who combined the analysis of the *asānīd* and the *mutūn*. In an article published in 1858, Sprenger compares different stories about Muḥammad's meeting with the hermit Baḥīra, who recognizes Muḥammad as a (future) prophet even before the latter had received his first revelation. Sprenger advocates the study of the *asānīd* in addition to comparison of the *mutūn*. He applies this method to the accounts that connect Muḥammad's meeting with Baḥīra with his journey to Syria when he was a child and dates them to the end of the first Islamic century.<sup>44</sup> In the subsequent comparison with other Baḥīra stories from the *ḥadīth* material, he abandons the analysis of the formulations and focuses on the motifs that appear in the texts, although he still uses the information from the chains of transmitters to date the different versions.<sup>45</sup> Other non-Muslim scholars who used the *mutūn* and *asānīd* in their studies are Kramers and van Ess.<sup>46</sup>

Even early critical *ḥadīth* scholars were acquainted with this approach. Azami quotes a tradition about the classical scholar Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn (d. 233/848) from *Kitāb al-majrūḥīn* of Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965), which relates a rudimentary form of the *isnād-cum-matn* method. According to this report, Ibn Ma'īn went to several students of Ḥammād b. Salama to hear their versions of Ḥammād's book. When asked what he needed these multiple transmissions for, Ibn Ma'īn replied:<sup>47</sup>

“Ḥammād b. Salama committed mistakes. So I wanted to distinguish between his mistakes and those of others. If I find all his companions agreeing on something,

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the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis the origin is Abū Hurayra in the first half of the first Islamic century. See pages 66, 185, 359 and 365.

<sup>44</sup> Sprenger, A., “Moḥammad's Zusammenkunft mit dem Einsiedler Bahyrā”, in *Zeitschrift der Deutsch Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, 12 (1858), 238-243 and 248. Sprenger's method of dating the tradition based on the information from the *isnād* and the *matn* is similar to the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis, but he does not follow it through. See also Sprenger, “Über das Traditionswesen bei den Arabern”, in *Zeitschrift der Deutsch Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, 10 (1856), 8 for another example of his method.

<sup>45</sup> Sprenger, “Moḥammad's”, 243-249.

<sup>46</sup> Kramers, J H., “Une tradition à tendance manichéenne (la ‘mangeuse de verdure’)”, in *Acta Orientalia*, 21 (1950-1953) (translated into English in: “A tradition of Manichaean tendency (‘the she-eater of grass’)” in *Ḥadīth*, ed. H. Motzki, Aldershot 2004).

<sup>47</sup> Azami, M.M., *Studies in ḥadīth methodology*, 52-53. This does not mean, however, that all *ḥadīth* scholars applied this method systematically or that Ibn Ma'īn used it regularly as Azami seems to suggest.

then the source of the mistake is Ḥammād. If they agree on something from him and one of [the companions] says something else, then the source of the mistake is that person and not Ḥammād himself, so that I could distinguish between the mistakes of Ḥammād himself and the mistakes of others from him.”<sup>48</sup>

The same method can be applied on the entire *matn* and can include differentiation in formulations, sentences, motifs, the ordering of the motifs and so on. The *matn* analysis of the *isnād-cum-matn* methodology takes into account any variant found between two or more traditions, either formal or concerning content. The underlying hypothesis is that the accounts found in the collections from the third Islamic century and later became part of a real transmission process. As Görke puts it “Traditions are not static!”<sup>49</sup> If so, traditions have to reflect the changes that occur during transmission processes, certainly because of the way knowledge was passed down during the first Islamic centuries: through oral<sup>50</sup> - though mostly aural transmission<sup>51</sup> - and mainly during lecture courses.<sup>52</sup>

The transmission shows a gradual development of recitation from memory with or without the help of written notes to the reading of completely written texts from the last three decades of the first Islamic century to the third century and later.<sup>53</sup> Accounts transmitted by lecturing and hearing without the use of written notes will show large

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<sup>48</sup> This is an adjusted version of Azamī's translation based on the original tradition in Ibn Hibbān, *Kitāb al-majrūhīn min al-muḥaddithīn wa-l-du'afā' wa-l-matrūkīn*, Aleppo 1402 A.H., 32. inna Ḥammād b. Salama kāna yukhbī'u fa-aradtu an umayyiza khaṭa'ahu min khaṭa' ghayrihi fa idhā ra'aytu aṣḥābahu qad yjtama'u 'alā shay' 'alimtu anna l-khaṭa' min Ḥammād nafsihi wa-idhā jtama'u 'alā shay' 'anhu wa-qāla wāḥid minhum bi-khilaḥi 'alimtu anna l-khaṭa' minhu lā min Ḥammād fa umayyiza bayna mā akhta'a huwa bi nafsihi wa bayna mā ukhbī'a 'alayhi. In Azamī's translation, the reason why Ibn Ma'in compared the versions of Ḥammād's students is to distinguish their mistakes from the mistakes of Ḥammād. According to the original Arabic text, Ibn Ma'in wanted to compare Ḥammād's version with that of other transmitters on the same subject. He started with the comparison of the versions of Ḥammād's students to reconstruct Ḥammād's original text in order to compare that version with the ones from other transmitters.

<sup>49</sup> Görke, “Eschatology”, 182

<sup>50</sup> Schoeler, *The genesis*, 8.

<sup>51</sup> I will use Gunther's definition of aural transmission to distinguish between oral and aural transmission. aural transmission “includes oral communication (as an important component of transmission) without expressly excluding the use of writing and written material within that process.” See Gunther, S., “Modern literary theory applied to classical Arabic texts: Ḥadīth revisited”, in *Understanding Near Eastern literatures*, eds. V. Klemm & B. Gruendler, Wiesbaden 2000, 174-175, especially footnote 14.

<sup>52</sup> Schoeler, *The genesis*, 9 and 41. See also paragraph VII of chapter 5 about the writing down of traditions, where I discuss al-Zuhri's method of transmitting knowledge.

<sup>53</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 9.



differences in the formulation and the structure of the text, i.e. motifs may appear in a different order or even be omitted. When notes are used during the lectures, some words and even (parts of) sentences will be very similar or even identical, as well as the order of the motifs. In the case of dictation from a written text or using copies made from the teacher's manuscript, the accounts of different students from the same teacher will show very large similarities in formulation and structure of the text. Apart from this, the different methods of working of individual students could also differ.<sup>54</sup> In each of these ways of transmission, variants in the *mutūn* of different versions of a tradition should be reflected in variants in the accompanying *asānīd*.

However, these are not the only changes traditions underwent.<sup>55</sup> A complicating factor is the reworking of traditions by different transmitters, i.e. the redaction or edition of texts. Examples of editing are the changing of formulations, the omission or addition of elements or motifs in the text, the addition of explanations or a different emphasis on certain motifs. Parts of the tradition could have been transmitted separately depending on the context in which an account was transmitted. For example, biographical traditions about the Prophet Muḥammad can also contain elements that are used in legal teachings. Such elements were sometimes transmitted separately, outside the framework of the original story during sessions about jurisprudence. The opposite also happened: stories or elements were combined and transmitted as one account. The editing of texts could have taken place at each stage of the transmission.<sup>56</sup> Besides, it is possible that a transmitter always told the same story in the same way, but it is more likely that a person adjusted his version of the story once or more during his life, which means that several versions of one person might have been preserved in the later collections. Finally, falsification of information and ascription to authorities who did not pass on the information did take place and these traditions have ended up in the *ḥadīth* collections despite the efforts of the classical *ḥadīth* scholars to sift them out.

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<sup>54</sup> See Gorke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 9. See for example, Motzki's study of al-Zuhri's legal traditions. He shows that al-Zuhri's students Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (d. 153/770), Malik ibn Anas (d. 179/795) and ['Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz] Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767) obtained these traditions through aural transmission, whereas some of their students (for example Mālik's students Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805), Yahyā ibn Yahyā l-Laythī (d. 234/848-849 or 236/850-851) and 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211/826) copied their texts from manuscripts or received them through dictation as the large similarity between their versions shows. Motzki, H., "The jurisprudence", 24-45.

<sup>55</sup> See also Görke, "Eschatology", 182.

<sup>56</sup> Gorke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 9-10.

In order to be able to separate the different processes of changing and to distinguish which transmitter is responsible for which adjustment(s), the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis proceeds from several hypotheses connected with the nature of the source material and the transmission of knowledge in the first Islamic centuries. Firstly, the transmission process of the *ḥadīth* material consisted of oral (though mostly aural) and written transmission. Secondly, variants between traditions indicate that the traditions were part of a “real transmission process”. Thirdly, the chains of transmission may reflect the transmission history. If the variants and similarities between *mutūn* of traditions reflect the spread of information as indicated in the *asānīd*, then the names that appear in that part of the *asānīd* (not the complete *isnād*!) are assumed to be the names of the persons who distributed and received the tradition. If not, then a faulty or falsified ascription is possibly detected.<sup>57</sup>

Note that the above-mentioned hypotheses do not imply that I assume beforehand that any information from the chains of transmission and the content of the traditions is “true”!<sup>58</sup> For example, even though I organized my material based on the information from the *asānīd* and in the *matn* analysis departed from traditions attributed to one person working from the top of *isnād* bundle to the bottom, I did not lose sight of the possibility that individual traditions might have been falsely ascribed to another person. I tried to detect possibly false ascriptions by identifying transmission peculiarities. These peculiarities are “transmission fingerprints”, i.e. characteristic words, formulations or omissions that only appear in the text of one particular transmitter. If a peculiarity of transmitter A is present in a tradition of transmitter B, I checked whether the formulation derives from a common source or if it is caused by falsification, error or mixing of texts (interdependent transmission).

To apply the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis requires a number of things. The most important one is that variant traditions which consist of a *matn* and an accompanying *isnad* have to be available. The analysis has to be performed on a corpus of as many variant traditions and collections as possible to enhance the tenability of the conclusions. Preferably, the collections in which the *ahādīth* are present should be from different regions and cover

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<sup>57</sup> Motzki, “The murder”, 174. See also Gorke, “Eschatology”, 188-191

<sup>58</sup> See for example Motzki’s article “*Ar radd*”, in which he refutes several wrong interpretations and assumptions from Schneider concerning the application of the *isnād-cum matn* analysis. This article is the last publication in their debate about the legal concepts in early Islamic and pre-Islamic jurisprudence concerning the loss of a person’s freedom.

different kinds of works to avoid distortion of the overall picture of the tradition by political motives or regional and personal preferences among others.<sup>59</sup>

The disadvantage of the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis is that it is rather time consuming while the historical facts about the life of the Prophet Muḥammad that can be deduced from the results of the analysis are meagre.<sup>60</sup> Also, if the circumstances are not as favourable as described above, other textual analyses have to be used to complement the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis. An example is Motzki's "internal formal criteria of authenticity".<sup>61</sup> They can be used as an argument but not as the *sole* argument in the dating of single traditions, because even when they meet the criteria, they can be forged.<sup>62</sup> Scheiner combines the *isnād-cum-matn* method with an analysis of narrative elements in traditions dealing with the conquest of Damascus.<sup>63</sup> In my study of the representation of Muḥammad's contemporary Hind bint 'Utba as liver eater, I combine the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis with a comparison of the motifs in traditions that describe this event.<sup>64</sup> Görke uses the additional dating of eschatological traditions through a study of the events described in the traditions.<sup>65</sup>

The difficulties notwithstanding, very promising results have been achieved so far as the following overview of the application of the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis on *sīra* material will show.

## V. ISNĀD-CUM-MATN ANALYSIS OF SĪRA-MATERIAL

The largest collection of *sīra* traditions analysed with the *isnād-cum-matn* method in one study is the material ascribed to the Successor 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (d. 93/711-712 or 94/712-713) analysed by Görke and Schoeler. 'Urwa was the son of Asmā, the daughter of the first caliph Abū Bakr, and the nephew of 'Ā'isha, wife of the Prophet Muḥammad. Although he was born more than ten years after the death of the Prophet (probably in 23/643-644), he had connections with some of Muḥammad's closest Companions. He is known as one of the

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<sup>59</sup> Görke, "Eschatology", 186.

<sup>60</sup> Motzki, "The murder", 233-234

<sup>61</sup> Motzki, *The origins*, 83-94, see also footnote 5 of this chapter.

<sup>62</sup> See Motzki, "*Ar radd*", 219-220.

<sup>63</sup> Scheiner, J., *Die Eroberung von Damaskus: Quellenkritische Untersuchung zur Historiographie in klassisch-islamischer Zeit*, Leiden 2010.

<sup>64</sup> van der Voort, N., "Hind bint 'Utba, de 'levereester'. Verhalen over een invloedrijke vrouw uit de tijd van de profeet Muhammad", in *Jaarboek voor vrouwengeschiedenis*, 29 (2009).

<sup>65</sup> He describes this method in "Eschatology", 180-181.

first scholars to collect systematically and distribute traditions about the life of the Prophet.<sup>66</sup>

The majority of 'Urwa's *sīra* material deals with events in the Medinan part of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. Görke and Schoeler focus on stories of at least half a page preserved in letters or traditions, and shorter traditions that are connected with these longer stories.<sup>67</sup> Of the eight events analysed with the *isnād-cum-matn* method, the traditions attributed to 'Urwa about the *hijra* (the migration from Mecca to Medina) of the Prophet Muḥammad, the scandal about 'Ā'isha (in 6/628) when she was accused of fornication and the events of al-Ḥudaybiya in the same year, when Muḥammad concluded a treaty with the Meccans, did indeed derive from him. The story about Muḥammad's first revelation – of the eight tradition the only event that took place during Muḥammad's life in Mecca – was also probably 'Urwa's, but the ascription of the traditions about the famous battle of Badr (in 2/624), when a small army of Muslims defeated a much larger group of Meccans, the siege of Medina (in 5/627) and the conquest of Mecca (in 8/630) could not be confirmed because of the lack of a variant version from a second student of 'Urwa. They also detected a faulty ascription of a detailed version of the battle of Uḥud to 'Urwa, though this was probable the result of a transmission error rather than a deliberate action.<sup>68</sup>

Görke and Schoeler did not find any proof that 'Urwa had arranged his material in an actual book about the life of the Prophet, but so far, his collection of traditions are the oldest *sīra* material available, which was compiled 30-60 years after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad.<sup>69</sup> His material covers the main events of Muḥammad's life. Although the story about the scandal about 'Ā'isha is not one of them, its presence among 'Urwa's material is obvious because of the family ties between them.<sup>70</sup> What makes the work of Görke and Schoeler even more useful to this study is that one of 'Urwa's master students is Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri. Görke and Schoeler mainly compared his version with the version of 'Urwa's son, Hishām (d. 146/763), complemented with the versions of other students. In the following part, I will focus on the peculiarities of al-Zuhri's transmission from 'Urwa.

Al-Zuhri did not transmit any letter from 'Urwa unlike Hishām, who had probably inherited 'Urwa's written material. One letter from 'Urwa about the *hijra* of the women is

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<sup>66</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 10-11. Schoeler, G., "Urwa b. al-Zubayr", in *ELI*, X, Leiden 2000, 910-911.

<sup>67</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 18.

<sup>68</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 144 (about the faulty ascription) and 256-257 (a summary of the results).

<sup>69</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 258, 267 and 279.

<sup>70</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 263

ascribed to al-Zuhri, but the ascription to 'Urwa is probably not authentic but stems from al-Zuhri's student Ibn Ishāq or al-Zuhri himself.<sup>71</sup> There are, however, many detailed traditions and shorter versions from al-Zuhri deriving from attending 'Urwa's lectures. Although the letters seem to have been the base of 'Urwa's lectures, their structure differs.<sup>72</sup>

Al-Zuhri edited the information he received from his teacher. His versions contain more details and names of persons than Hishām's texts or he softens certain information.<sup>73</sup> He sometimes traces a tradition back from 'Urwa to an earlier source like 'Ā'isha, while Hishām does not mention a source before 'Urwa. Al-Zuhri either assumed that 'Urwa received the information from her or he knew more than Hishām about 'Urwa's source.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, he sometimes combines elements of separate traditions from 'Urwa in one tradition, although the composition of elements in longer stories sometimes already derives from 'Urwa.<sup>75</sup>

Görke and Schoeler found several times a remarkable resemblance of the versions of al-Zuhri's students Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (d. 153/770), Yūnus ibn Yazīd (d. 152/769) and 'Uqayl ibn Khālid (d. 144/761), especially between the latter two.<sup>76</sup> I will discuss this resemblance in the following chapters. Ma'mar is the most important transmitter of al-Zuhri's material from 'Urwa, but al-Zuhri is not his only source for 'Urwa-material.<sup>77</sup> He received 'Urwa's *sīra* material from al-Zuhri, but 'Urwa's exegetical material from al-Zuhri as well as Hishām ibn 'Urwa.<sup>78</sup> Ma'mar made a written version which he must have transmitted to his students, given the similarity between his students' versions.<sup>79</sup> Another very reliable transmitter of

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<sup>71</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 199-200 and 248

<sup>72</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 247-248.

<sup>73</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 29, 33, 159, 182 and 234. In the version of Hishām, Muḥammad is afraid that he is a *kāhin* (soothsayer) because of what he sees and hears during his first revelation, while in al-Zuhri's version, Muḥammad "only" fears for his soul.

<sup>74</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 16, 34 and 271. Al-Zuhri traces the tradition about the first revelation of Muḥammad back to 'Ā'isha, while Hishām only mentions 'Urwa.

<sup>75</sup> For example, the detailed tradition about Uhud is probably the result of redaction from al-Zuhri and not 'Urwa's work. Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 141. The composition of the *hijra* story probably derives from 'Urwa. Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 63 and 75-76.

<sup>76</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 26, 149 and 233.

<sup>77</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 249.

<sup>78</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 253

<sup>79</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 58.

'Urwa-material from al-Zuhri is Ibn Ishāq -> al-Zuhri -> 'Urwa, although his version sometimes differs from al-Zuhri's other students.<sup>80</sup>

In general, Görke and Schoeler detected several developments in the material. 'Urwa could have already made the connection between Qur'ānic verses and historical events, but particularly the generation of his students seems to have been interested in it. Also, 'Urwa did not always mention the time of the event, while there are many traditions from al-Zuhri about the date of certain events and other important information like who participated for example in the battle of Badr.<sup>81</sup> The following generation of Ibn Ishāq and Mūsā ibn 'Uqba (d. 141/758) arranged their material more consistently in chronological order.

The following studies with the *isnad-cum-matn* analysis are performed on single events. They have in common with the previous study that stories attributed to al-Zuhri are among the analysed versions. I will start with Motzki's analysis of an event in the Medinan period with a marginal role for the Prophet Muḥammad: the murder of the Jew Sallām ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq by a group of Anṣār. According to Ibn Ishāq, the assassination took place after the siege of Medina in the year 5/627.<sup>82</sup> As above, I will first discuss the results of the analysis in general and then focus on al-Zuhri's transmission.

Motzki uncovers common elements in his analysis of four tradition complexes that relate this story, which must originate from several different versions or "archetypes" in the last third of the 1<sup>st</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century. He considers it probable that the common elements partly reflect historical reality.<sup>83</sup> Two tradition complexes are transmissions from two different branches of the Ka'b ibn Mālīk family. The differences and similarities between the versions point to a common source, possibly narratives circulating within the Ka'b family, and oral transmission.<sup>84</sup>

One of these tradition complexes is from al-Zuhri. He does not trace his information to an eyewitness of the event, but the *isnād* stops at the Successor level. Several different persons are mentioned as informant of al-Zuhri, either sons or grandsons of Ka'b ibn Mālīk. This confusion is in general present in al-Zuhri's transmission from the Ka'b family.<sup>85</sup> The

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<sup>80</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 250.

<sup>81</sup> Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 100 and 179

<sup>82</sup> See Guillaume, *The life*, 482

<sup>83</sup> Motzki, "The murder", 222 and 231-232.

<sup>84</sup> Motzki, "The murder", 218-219.

<sup>85</sup> Motzki, "The murder", 178-179. The tradition complex in chapter 4 also derives from a member of the Ka'b ibn Mālīk family and displays the same confusion.

*matn* analysis could not clarify which of these persons was al-Zuhri's informant, although it was certainly a member of the Ka'b family. Al-Zuhri told the story at different times with slight variants in the *isnād* as well as in the *matn*. According to Motzki, the fact that he did not trace his information back to one of the participants of the murder or to their relative Ka'b ibn Mālik supports the reliability of his *isnād*.<sup>86</sup>

Motzki thinks that al-Zuhri's version is based on two or more different, possibly more detailed stories and that he had summarized the stories and harmonized some family biases and contradictions.<sup>87</sup> Besides the detailed story, al-Zuhri uses parts or shorter versions of the detailed story in the discussion of and instruction in legal matters. These "legal deductions" vary in formulation from the corresponding part in the detailed story.<sup>88</sup> The similarities between the detailed versions of al-Zuhri's students indicate a written transmission,<sup>89</sup> although probably not always by means of dictation or copying of the same text.<sup>90</sup>

My own analysis of the meeting of Surāqa ibn Mālik ibn Ju'shum with the Prophet Muḥammad during his *hijra* reveals another genuine Zuhri-tradition, although it is performed on only three traditions.<sup>91</sup> I compared the version of Ma'mar ibn Rāshid in the *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq with traditions ascribed to 'Uqayl ibn Khālīd and Ibn Ishāq. Since, the traditions of Ma'mar and 'Uqayl are nearly identical, they were probably transmitted in writing.<sup>92</sup> Ibn Ishāq's tradition differs in content and terminology, but the broad outline is similar to Ma'mar and 'Uqayl's versions. Since according to the *asānīd*, al-Zuhri is the common link he has to be the source of the common elements.<sup>93</sup> The answer to the question of why Ibn Ishāq's version differs from the versions of the other two Zuhri-students requires an extensive analysis of variant traditions that was outside the scope of the present study.

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<sup>86</sup> Motzki, "The murder", 204-206.

<sup>87</sup> Motzki, "The murder", 220.

<sup>88</sup> Motzki, "The murder", 204.

<sup>89</sup> Motzki, "The murder", 195, 201 and 202.

<sup>90</sup> Ma'mar ibn Rāshid's version from al-Zuhri is more concise and his introduction shorter than Ibn Ishāq's version. Among other things, it contains no repetition of elements and the structure differs at some places compared with Ibn Ishāq's text. Motzki, "The murder", 193-195 and 201.

<sup>91</sup> The analysis served as an illustration of the *isnad-cum matn* method and a verification of Ma'mar's ascription of this tradition to al-Zuhri.

<sup>92</sup> van der Voort, "*Kitāb al-maghāzī*", 26-27.

<sup>93</sup> van der Voort, "*Kitāb al-maghāzī*", 28-30.

This overview of results achieved so far with the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis on *sīra* material shows the value of the method and al-Zuhri's involvement with the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Additionally, there are many legal decisions of the Prophet Muḥammad connected with certain events during his life. Since I focus on biographical traditions, I will only mention here Peters' study of the story about the murder in Khaybar, because the story is present in *sīra* and *maghāzī* works, al-Zuhri is among the persons who transmit a version of the story and because Peters combined a study of the *asānid* with an comparison of the *mutūn*. See Peters, "Murder".



## CHAPTER 2

### THE RAID OF THE HUDHAYL<sup>1</sup>

#### I. INTRODUCTION

At the dawn of Islam, the Hudhayl were a tribe of Northern Arab descent living near Mecca. According to the Islamic sources, they were related to the Quraysh in Mecca, with whom they sided in their struggle against the Prophet Muḥammad and the new religion of Islam.<sup>2</sup> To revenge the murder of their chief Sufyān ibn Khālīd ibn Nubayḥ by ‘Abd Allāh ibn Unays, who had acted on the authority of the Prophet Muḥammad, a branch of the Hudhayl, the Liḥyān, ambushed a group of Muslims sent by Muḥammad and killed most of them. They sold the remaining Muslims in Mecca, where the prisoners were killed in the end.<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad tried to attack the Liḥyān a few months later as a reaction to their raid, but he did not succeed in overtaking them.<sup>4</sup>

The raid of the Hudhayl is part of the *sīra*, “the life of Muḥammad”, and belongs to the *maghāzī*, the stories about Muḥammad’s military campaigns. According to the Muslim historiographical sources, the raid took place at the end of the year 3/625 or in the beginning of the year 4/625 after the battle of Uḥud.<sup>5</sup> The Muslim source material contains a number of variant narrative accounts of the raid. The aim of this chapter is to examine the origins and the authenticity of one of these variants, the account attributed to the famous Medinan transmitter Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (d. 124/742).

In a recent publication, Juynboll discussed the origin and the authenticity of al-Zuhri’s tradition on the raid of the Hudhayl analysed in this study. He concluded that “Zuhri is doubtless the chronicler of this *khbar*”. However, he questioned the authenticity

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is published as: Boekhoff-van der Voort, N., “The raid of the Hudhayl: Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri’s version of the event”, in *Analysing Muslim traditions: Studies in legal, exegetical and maghāzī Ḥadīth*, ed. H. Motzki, Leiden & Boston 2010. The present chapter is a slightly adapted version of that article.

<sup>2</sup> Rentz, G., “Hudhayl”, in *El2*, III, Leiden 1971, 540-541.

<sup>3</sup> Levi Della Vida, G., “Liḥyān: In Islamic sources”, in *El2*, V, Leiden 1986, 763.

<sup>4</sup> Guillaume, *The life*, 485-486.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Ishāq places the raid in the year 3 A.H. according to the version of Ibn Hishām, but most other sources agree on the year 4 A.H. See for example Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, IV, Beirut 1966, 61-62. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat sayyidnā Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, I, Frankfurt am Main 1961, 638.

of the part of the chain of transmitters below al-Zuhri, which he describes as an “improvement” from a later transmitter. Al-Zuhri’s original chain was probably *mursal*<sup>6</sup> without the name of al-Zuhri’s informant, whom he assumes to be “wholly fictitious”.<sup>7</sup>

I have collected thirty-five variants of al-Zuhri’s story about the raid of the Hudhayl. The traditions vary in length. Seventeen (48.6%) are detailed traditions, thirteen (37.1%) short, three (8.6%) are of medium length and two (5.7%) only state the *isnād*. Roughly, al-Zuhri’s detailed traditions exist of three parts. The first part describes the attack of the Liḥyān. The second part is about the imprisonment and death of one of the members of Muḥammad’s party, Khubayb al-Anṣārī, while the last and shortest part describes the unsuccessful attempt of some Quraysh to lay hold of the body of ‘Āṣim ibn Thābit, who was killed during the attack of the Liḥyān.

The variants derive from twenty-one collections of twenty different authors dating from the third to the ninth Islamic century. The collections vary from historical works (*Ta’rikh*, *Sira* and *Maghāzī*) to *ḥadīth*-collections (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Sunan*, *Musnad* and *Muṣannaḥ*) and biographical dictionaries (*Ṭabaqāt*). The authors of the collections place the majority of the traditions in chapters dealing with history or historical events, like *kitāb al-ta’rikh*, *kitāb al-maghāzī*, *kitāb al-siyar*, *kitāb al-jihād*, *ghazwat al-Rajī’* and *sanat arba’*. The other traditions appear in chapters on one of the people mentioned in the story or the *isnad*, or on a variety of topics like, *awwal man* (the first person who), *tawḥīd* (belief in the unity of God) or *janā’iz* (funeral rites).

## II. ISNĀD ANALYSIS

Four different students of al-Zuhri preserved a version of his story about the raid of the Hudhayl based on the data from the *isnād*: Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā’il (n.d.), Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d (d. 183/799), Ma’mar ibn Rāshid (d. 153/770) and Shu’ayb ibn Abī Ḥamza (d. 162/779-780). The number of different traditions per student is as follows:

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<sup>6</sup> *Mursal* is an *isnād* in which the name of the Companion is lacking between the Successor – al-Zuhri in this case – and the Prophet Muhammad. See Juynboll, G H A., “Mursal” in *EI*, VII, Leiden 1993, 631

<sup>7</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 718.

Table 1: Number and type of tradition per student of al-Zuhri

Student of al-Zuhri	Detailed	Medium	Short	ISNĀD only	Total
Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il	1	1	0	0	2
Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd	7	1	5	1	14
Ma'mar	7	1	7	0	15
Shu'ayb	2	0	2	1	5
	17	3	14 <sup>8</sup>	2	36 <sup>8</sup>

### *Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il*

According to the information from the *asānīd*, the two traditions that are attributed to Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il both derive from the same student of Ibrāhīm, i.e. Ja'far ibn 'Awn (d. 207/822).<sup>9</sup> Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849) received the story about the raid of the Hudhayl directly from him, while al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922) received it via Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad ibn al-'Alā'] (d. 248/862).<sup>10</sup> The remaining part of the *isnād* is the same, except for one important detail: the detailed tradition of al-Ṭabarī does not mention al-Zuhri as source of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il. There are, however, two indications that the name of al-Zuhri is missing,<sup>11</sup> either by mistake or deliberately.

Firstly, the medium length tradition of Ibn Abī Shayba that mentions the name of al-Zuhri contains the same striking detail as the tradition from al-Ṭabarī. Both transmission chains express the uncertainty whether al-Zuhri (Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il in al-Ṭabarī's version) heard the tradition from 'Amr ibn Asīd or 'Umar ibn Asīd from the narrator of the tradition, Abū Hurayra. Secondly, the *matn* of the detailed tradition of al-Ṭabarī looks at first glance similar to the *mutūn* of the other students of al-Zuhri. It seems very likely that al-

<sup>8</sup> The actual number is 35 traditions and among them 13 short stories. One short tradition derives from a combined transmission of two students of al-Zuhri, Ma'mar and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, according to the *isnād*. I counted each transmission as a separate tradition of each student

<sup>9</sup> See the *isnād* bundle below on page 48.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Ṭabarī only mentions the *kunya* Abū Kurayb. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa l-mulūk*, III, Leiden 1964, 1434. He is Abū Kurayb Muḥammad ibn al-'Alā' ibn Kurayb al-Hamdāni l-Kūfi. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asma' al-rijāl*, VI, Beirut 1998, 466-468 (no. 6120).

<sup>11</sup> The *matn* analysis and the comparison with the traditions from the other students of al-Zuhri will show that Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il heard the tradition about the raid of the Hudhayl from al-Zuhri. Otherwise, I would also have mentioned the possibility that the name al-Zuhri was added in one transmission line.

Ṭabarī's tradition is from al-Zuhri also, but we need to include the comparison of the *mulun* to give a conclusive and more detailed answer.

### *Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd*

The *asānīd* of the traditions ascribed to Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd provide us with the information that apparently six different persons received (parts of) the tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd: Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 204/819), Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥamza (d. 230/845), Ma'n ibn 'Īsa (d. 198/814), Maṣṣūr ibn Abī Muzāḥim (d. 235/850), Mūsā ibn Isma'īl (d. 223/838) and Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 208/823), the son of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd.<sup>12</sup>

Three traditions have a double *isnād*. One short tradition derives from a combined report from two students of al-Zuhri, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and Ma'mar. Al-Ṭabarānī combines these two transmissions in *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr* and gives the following *isnād*: Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī -> 'Abd al-Razzāq -> Ma'mar -> al-Zuhri and Muṣ'ab ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥamza l-Zubayrī -> his father -> Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd -> al-Zuhri -> 'Umar ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī -> Abū Hurayra.<sup>13</sup> Al-Mizzī mentions a tradition via the same transmission in *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*.<sup>14</sup>

Ibn Sa'd also combines two transmissions, but they derive from two separate accounts. The *isnād* he gives at the beginning of his detailed story is 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs al-Awdī -> Muḥammad ibn Ishāq -> 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nu'mān al-Zafarī and Ma'n ibn 'Īsa l-Ashja'ī -> Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd -> Ibn Shihāb -> 'Umar ibn Asīd ibn al-'Alā' ibn Jāriya.<sup>15</sup> The account of Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767) is preserved in many collections and will later on be compared with the traditions that are attributed to al-Zuhri.

Ibn Ḥanbal says at the beginning of the last tradition with a combined *isnād* that he heard the tradition from Sulayman ibn Dawud (= Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī) and Ibrāhīm's son, Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm. He explicitly states, however, that he gives Sulaymān's version.<sup>16</sup>

In the lower part, the transmission lines display confusion in the name of the informant of al-Zuhri similar to the traditions from Ja'far ibn 'Awn/Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl. Nine of the fourteen traditions give variants of the name 'Umar ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-

<sup>12</sup> See the complete *isnād* bundle in Appendix 1 at the end of this chapter.

<sup>13</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, XVII, Cairo n.d., 175 (no. 463).

<sup>14</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, V, 418 (no. 4963).

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, II, 55-56

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad al-imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, II, Beirut 1413/1993, 393-394 (no. 7947).

Thaqafī,<sup>17</sup> four ‘Amr ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī and one ‘Umayr ibn Asīd ‘*an* Jāriya. The last version seems to be a transmission error, ‘Umayr instead of ‘Amr or ‘Umar and ‘*an* instead of *bn*. The *matn* analysis will confirm this.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the *matn* analysis will help to answer the question if Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d transmitted several versions of the name of al-Zuhri’s informant or just one name (if so, which name) which was transformed during later transmission.

One tradition – this is in fact the only tradition in my collection – is traced back to the Prophet Muḥammad. The name of Abū Hurayra is placed between brackets and should therefore be seen as an addition from the editor. It is possible that the word ‘*an* stands in this case for “concerning” instead of “on the authority of”. This would mean that Muḥammad does not take part in the transmission, but it indicates that he plays a role in the story (which he does).

#### *Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid*

My collection contains traditions from four students of Ma‘mar: ‘Abd Allāh ibn Dāwūd (d. 213/828), ‘Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211/826), Hishām ibn Yūsuf (d. 197/813) and al-Wāqidi (d. 207/823). The main part of the traditions is from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, nine of the fifteen traditions.<sup>19</sup> Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) gives one tradition from Ma‘mar without mentioning the people who transmitted the story from Ma‘mar to him.<sup>20</sup>

Twelve traditions give the name ‘Amr ibn Abī Sufyān as the informant of al-Zuhri, while only two mention ‘Umar ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī.<sup>21</sup> These two traditions are the two versions of the combined tradition of Ma‘mar and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d. Since all traditions that mention the informant of al-Zuhri have the name ‘Amr ibn Abī Sufyān, except the two traditions that derive from a combined transmission with Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d, it seems probable that Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d is responsible for the deviating appellation ‘Umar ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī.

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<sup>17</sup> Beside the name mentioned above, the following variants appear: ‘Umar ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya, ‘Umar ibn Asīd ibn al-‘Alā’ ibn Jāriya and ‘Umar ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī.

<sup>18</sup> See the conclusions below on pages 55 (‘*an/bn*) and 67 (‘Umayr/‘Amr or ‘Umar)

<sup>19</sup> Among these traditions is the short tradition of al-Ṭabarānī that derived from a combined transmission of Ma‘mar and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d and that is also preserved in the *Tahdhib* of al-Mizzī. See pages 64-65 and 78 where this tradition is discussed in more detail.

<sup>20</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī ma‘rifat al-ṣahāba*, III, [Cairo] 1970-1973, 111-112.

<sup>21</sup> One tradition stops at the level of al-Zuhri.

Abū l-Yamān<sup>22</sup> transmitted four of the five traditions that are allegedly from Shu'ayb according to the transmission chains. The fifth tradition is from Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/888) directly from Shu'ayb. Abū Dāwūd does not mention his informants in this short tradition, but there is another tradition from Shu'ayb on the raid of the Hudhayl via Ibn 'Awf -> Abū l-Yamān -> Shu'ayb in his *Sunan* in a different chapter.<sup>23</sup> Maybe he heard the tradition for which he does not mention his source via the same people, but it is not possible to draw a conclusion based on the information in the *isnād* alone. Abū Dāwūd could just as well have received the tradition from another person. Unfortunately, since the tradition with the informant of Abū Dāwūd only consists of an *isnād* without *matn*, the *matn* analysis cannot solve this problem.

The most remarkable aspect of Shu'ayb's traditions is that he mentions another informant of al-Zuhri in the middle of the story at the beginning of the part where the daughter of al-Ḥārith tells about the imprisonment and killing of Khubayb.<sup>24</sup> According to the version of Shu'ayb, al-Zuhri heard this part from 'Ubayd Allāh or 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Iyād<sup>25</sup> or from al-Ḥārith's daughter. The other students of al-Zuhri do not mention this person; the story of Khubayb is part of the tradition from Abū Hurayra. Did the other three students not mention the separate *isnād* or did Shu'ayb add this information to the tradition himself? We will return to this question after the next part of the analysis.

### Conclusion of the isnād analysis

The information from the analysis of the lines of transmission tells us that al-Zuhri taught the story of the raid of the Hudhayl to several students. Al-Zuhri's students transmitted the story further on and distributed it in Yemen and Iraq until it ended up in Egypt and countries as far as Khurāsān, Sijistān and Transoxiana (nowadays parts of Iran and

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<sup>22</sup> He is al-Ḥakam ibn Nāfi' al-Bahrani from Ḥims. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, II, 252 (no. 1432)

<sup>23</sup> The short tradition without informants is from *Sunan Abi Dāwūd*, III, Beirut n.d., 189 (part of no. 3112) and the one with informants is from *Sunan*, III, 51 (no. 2661).

<sup>24</sup> See below on page 81 line 13.

<sup>25</sup> The name in the printed edition of al-Nasā'i's *al-Sunan al-kubrā* is 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās. This is an incorrect adaptation, since the editor writes in a footnote that the name in the manuscript is 'Iyād. See al-Nasā'i, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā*, V, Beirut 1411/1991, 262 footnote 6. The correct name is 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Iyād, see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, V, 58 (no. 4261)

Afghanistan) The transmission to his students must have taken place before 124/742 when al-Zuhri died

There seems to be confusion in the name of the informant of al-Zuhri. Four different names appear as al-Zuhri's source from Abu Hurayra: 'Amr ibn Abi Sufyan al-Thaqafi, 'Amr ibn Asid ibn Jariya l-Thaqafi, 'Umar ibn Asid ibn Jariya l-Thaqafi and 'Umayr ibn Asid Shu'ayb and Ma'mar both agree on the name 'Amr ibn Abi Sufyan. Ibrahim ibn Isma'il is not certain whether the correct name is 'Amr or 'Umar ibn Asid and gives them both in his *isnad*. All variants of the name appear in the traditions of Ibrahim ibn Sa'd. The names look so much alike, that they are probably the same person.

Al-Mizzī mentions that his name is 'Amr ibn Abi Sufyan ibn Asid ibn Jariya l-Thaqafi from Medina, an ally of the Zuhra-clan, but that he was called after his grandfather, i.e. 'Amr ibn Asid. Some people call him 'Umar, but the correct name is 'Amr.<sup>26</sup> This explains why several variants of the same name appear in the transmission lines. It also confirms my suspicion that we are probably dealing here with just one person, although we have to analyse the *mutun* first to be certain. The information from the *asanid* does not answer the question who is responsible for the different appellations. Are they transmission errors or the result of uncertainty about the correct name as Ibrahim ibn Isma'il expressed or did al-Zuhri use different names for his informant?

We will now turn to the analysis of the *matn* to see whether al-Zuhri was indeed responsible for the distribution of the tradition. Furthermore, the analysis might solve or confirm the issues discussed above.

### III. MATN ANALYSIS PER STUDENT OF AL-ZUHRI

#### *Ibrahim ibn Isma'il*

The detailed version (L16) from the *Ta'rikh* of al-Tabari is the main text for the comparison of the traditions ascribed to Ibrahim ibn Isma'il.<sup>27</sup> The text is as follows:<sup>28</sup>

- 1 [ ما ثنا ابو كريب قال ثنا جعفر بن عون العمري قال ثنا ابراهيم بن اسماعيل عن عمرو او عمر بن
- 2 اسيد عن انبي هريرة ان رسول الله صلعم<sup>29</sup> بعث عشرة رهط وأمر عليهم عاصم بن ثابت فحرقوا حتى اذا
- 3 كانوا بالهذأة ذكروا لحي من هذيل يقال لهم بنو لحيان فبعثوا اليهم مائة رجل راميا فوجدوا ماكلهم حيث

<sup>26</sup> Al Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, V, 418 (no. 4963)

<sup>27</sup> Al Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, III, 1434-1436

<sup>28</sup> All line numbers in this paragraph refer to the lines mentioned below in the Arabic text

<sup>29</sup> I shortened the eulogy *salla Allah alayhi wa sallam* everywhere to *sl'm*

4 اكلوا التمر فقالوا هذه نوى يثرب ثم اتبعوا اثارهم حتى اذا احس بهم عاصم واصحابه التجأوا الى جبل  
5 فاحاط بهم الاحرون فاستنزلوهم واعطوهم العهد فقال عاصم والله لا انزل على عهد كافر اللهم احبر نبيك  
6 عنا ونزل اليهم ابن الدثنة البياضي وخبيب ورجل اخر فأطلق القوم اوتار قسيهم ثم اوثقوهم فجرحوا رجلا  
7 من الثلاثة فقال هذا والله اول الغدر والله لا اتبعكم فضربوه فقتلوه وانطلقوا بخبيب وابن الدثنة الى مكة  
8 فدفعوا خبيبا الى بني الحارث بن عامر بن نوفل بن عبد مناف وكان خبيب هو الذي قتل الحارث بأحد  
9 فبينما خبيب عند بنات الحارث اذ استعار من احدى بنات الحارث موسى يستد بها للقتل فما راع المرأة  
10 ولها صبي يدرج إلا بخبيب قد اجلس الصبي على فخذه والموسى في يده فصاحت المرأة فقال خبيب  
11 اتخشين اني [sic] اقتله ان الغدر ليس من شأننا قال فقالت المرأة بعد ما رايت اسيرا قط خيرا من خبيب لقد  
12 رايتك وما بمكة من ثمرة وان في يده لقطفا من عنب يأكله ان كان الا رزقا رزقه الله خبيبا وبعث حي من  
13 قریش الى عاصم ليؤتوا من لحمه بشيء وقد كان لعاصم فيهم آثار بأحد فبعث الله عليه دبرا فحمت لحمه  
14 فلم يستطيعوا ان يأخذوا من لحمه شيئا فلما خرجوا بخبيب من الحرم ليقتلوه قال ذروني اصل ركعتين  
15 فتركوه فصلى سجدتين فجرت سنة لمس قتل صبرا أن يصلي ركعتين ثم قال خبيب لولا ان يقولوا جزع  
16 لزدت وما ابالي على اي شق<sup>30</sup> كان لله مصرعي ثم قال وذلك في ذات الاله وإن يشأ يبارك على اوصال  
17 شلو ممزع اللهم احصهم عددا وخذهم بددا ثم خرج به ابو سروعة بن الحارث بن عامر بن نوفل بن عبد  
18 مناف فضربه فقتله.

[...] what Abū Kurayb told us, he said, Ja'far ibn 'Awn al-'Amrī told us, he said, "Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il told us on the authority of 'Amr or 'Umar ibn Asīd on the authority of Abū Hurayra that the messenger of God sent out a group of ten men, appointing 'Āṣim ibn Thābit as their leader (1).<sup>31</sup> They departed until when they came to al-Had'a, they were mentioned to a clan of Hudhayl, called the Banū Liḥyān (2). These sent out 100 archers to them (3). They found the place where they had eaten dates (4) and said, 'These are date pits from Yathrib [= Medina].' (5) The Banū Liḥyān followed their tracks (6). When 'Āṣim and his companions noticed them, they fled to a mountain (7). So, the others surrounded them (8), asked them to come down and gave them [their] pledge (9). 'Āṣim said, 'By God, I will not come down on the basis of a promise of an unbeliever (10).<sup>32</sup> O God, inform Your Prophet about us!' (11)

<sup>30</sup> The word in al-Ṭabarī's tradition is *shiqqayya*, which is most probably a copyist's error. The editor of al-Ṭabarī's work mentions in a footnote the variant *shiqq* also. The traditions from Ma'mar and Shu'ayb confirm the latter variant.

<sup>31</sup> I composed a list of all elements that are present in the variant traditions of al-Zuhri's story about the raid of the Hudhayl. The numbers between brackets indicate the elements that are present in this tradition. The numbers of the elements that are not in this version are omitted.

<sup>32</sup> *Kāfir* can mean unbeliever, but also a man wearing arms. See Lane, E.W., *An Arabic English lexicon*, II, Cambridge 1984, 2622.



Ibn al-Dathinna l-Bayāḍī, Khubayb and another man surrendered to them (15). The clan untied the strings of their bows and bound them (16). They wounded one of the three men (17), who said, 'This is, by God, the first sign of treachery.'<sup>33</sup> By God, I shall not follow you!' (18) They hit him and killed him (21), while they took Khubayb and Ibn al-Dathinna to Mecca (22).

They turned Khubayb over to the sons of al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir ibn Nawfal ibn 'Abd Manāf, since Khubayb was the one who had killed al-Ḥārith at Uḥud (23). While Khubayb stayed with the daughters of al-Ḥārith, he borrowed from one of the daughters of al-Ḥārith a razor to shave [his pubic hair] for the killing (25). The woman, who had a little son, who walked slowly, was not afraid of Khubayb until he had placed the boy on his thigh with the razor still in his hand (27). The woman cried out (28), but Khubayb said, 'Are you afraid that I shall kill him? Treachery is not our nature.' (29)"

He said, "The woman said later on, 'I have never seen a better prisoner than Khubayb. (30) I saw him eating from a bunch of grapes in his hand at a time when there was no fruit in Mecca (31). It was certainly food that God gave to Khubayb (32).'

A clan of Quraysh sent [messengers] out for 'Āṣim to bring something from his body (42), because of the scars 'Āṣim had inflicted upon them at Uḥud.<sup>34</sup> (43) God sent a swarm of bees to him that protected his body (44), so they were not able to take anything from his body (45).

When they went with Khubayb out of the sacred territory to kill him, he said, 'Let me alone to perform a short prayer consisting of two cycles.' (33) They left him alone and he performed two cycles (34). It became a manner of acting to perform a short prayer consisting of two cycles for anyone who was bound until he was put to death<sup>35</sup> (40). Then Khubayb said, 'If they would not say "he was afraid [to die]" I would have performed more (35). I do not care how my death comes, since it is in God's cause.' (37) Then he said, 'For that is God's prerogative; and if He wishes He will give His blessing to severed limbs.<sup>36</sup> (38) O God, register them by number and punish them one by one.' (36) Then

<sup>33</sup> Literally: the first treachery.

<sup>34</sup> Literally: 'Āṣim had in them scars at Uḥud

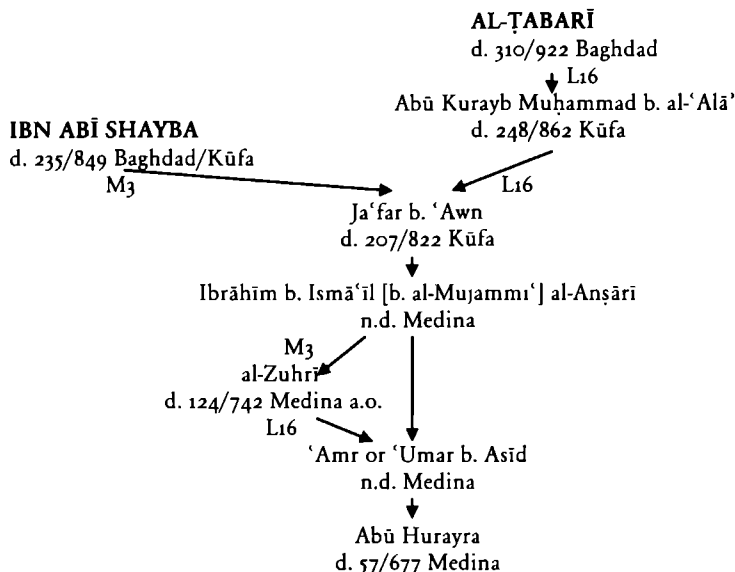
<sup>35</sup> The words *qatalahu ṣabran* mean to confine a man [with bonds or otherwise] alive, and then shoot, or cast, at him until he is dead. Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 1644.

<sup>36</sup> The translation of these poetry lines is from Trevor le Gassick. See Ibn Kathīr, *The life of the Prophet Muḥammad: A translation of al-Sira al-nabawīyya*, III, [Doha/Qatar] 2000, 85. See also my remarks about the poetry on page 50 footnotes 41 and 42.

Abū Sirwa'a<sup>37</sup> ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir ibn Nawfal ibn 'Abd Manāf went with him, hit him and killed him (39)."

The *isnād* bundle of the traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il is as follows:

Figure 4: *Isnād* bundle of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il on the raid of the Hudhayl



The medium length tradition of Ibn Abī Shayba describes the same events until element 11.<sup>38</sup> The tradition ends in the middle of element 15 without any reference to a shortening of the text. When we compare the ending with the detailed version, it turns out that the story even ends in the middle of a sentence. The text of Ibn Abī Shayba is *wa-nazala ilayhi [sic] Ibn Dathinna l-Bayāḍī*, while al-Ṭabarī's version is *wa-nazala ilayhim Ibn al-Dathinna l-Bayāḍī wa-KHUBAYB wa-RAJUL ĀKHAR*. Ibn Abī Shayba places the tradition in the *kitāb al-ta'rikh* under the chapter on the raid of the Banū Liḥyān. The name of the chapter does not give any clue why we find here a short(ened) version instead of the complete tradition. It seems even more plausible that the tradition should include at this place at least the complete role of the Banū Liḥyān, so until element 18, when they give Khubayb to the sons of al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir. Is the shortening perhaps the result of a defect in the manuscript or a transmission

<sup>37</sup> A variant version of this name is Abū Sarwa'a. I will use the version from my edition of al-Mizzī's *Tahdhīb*, V, 195 (no. 4562), i.e. Abu Sirwa'a. His first name is 'Uqba. He became a Muslim on the day of the conquest of Mecca.

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Abī Shayba, *al Musannaf*, V, Beirut 1409/1989, 391 (no. 36864).

error? That might be the case, but it is also possible that Ibn Abī Shayba decided just to use the beginning of the tradition in spite of the above-mentioned arguments.

Anyway, the two *mutūn* are very similar apart from mainly copyist's errors. The tradition of Ibn Abī Shayba has *sariyya 'aynan* after *rahī* (12), *bi-l-Hadda* instead of *bi-l-Had'a* (13), *laja'ū* instead of *iltaja'ū* (14), *ilayhi* instead of *ilayhim* (16) and *Dathinna* instead of *al-Dathinna* (17). The main difference between the two texts is the name of al-Zuhri in the *isnād* of Ibn Abī Shayba, which is absent in al-Ṭabarī's tradition, besides the difference in length. Hence, the conclusion would be that these traditions derive from the same source. The common link, who is responsible for the distribution of this tradition of Abū Hurayra on the raid of the Hudhayl, is the first transmitter that both traditions have in common, in this case Ja'far ibn 'Awn. When the information of the transmission chains is correct and al-Zuhri is the informant of only one of these traditions, the *mutūn* would deviate much more. Therefore, one of the two chains is faulty. Comparison with variants of other al-Zuhri-versions will show whether this is indeed a tradition from al-Zuhri or not.

#### *Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd*

The earliest collection that contains a detailed version is the *Musnad* of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, but the following analysis will show that this version deviates from the other detailed traditions. Therefore, I chose as the main text for the comparison the tradition of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī from the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal.<sup>39</sup>

- 1 حدثنا عبد الله حدثنا أبي حدثنا سليمان بن داود أخبرنا إبراهيم بن سعد عن الزهري – ويعقوب قال: حدثنا
- 2 أبي عن ابن شهاب. قال أبي: وهذا حديث سليمان الهاشمي – عن عمر بن أسيد بن جارية الثقفي حليف بني
- 3 زهرة وكان من أصحاب أبي هريرة أن أبا هريرة قال: بعث رسول الله صلعم عشرة رهط عينا وأمر عليهم
- 4 عاصم بن ثابت بن أبي الأقلح<sup>40</sup> جد عاصم بن عمر بن الخطاب فانطلقوا حتى إذا كانوا بالهدة بين عسفان
- 5 ومكة نكروا حيا من هنبل يقال لهم بنو لحيان فنفروا لهم بقريب من مائة رجل رام فاقتصوا آثارهم حتى
- 7 وجدوا مأكلكم التمر في منزل نزله قالوا: نوى تمر يثرب فاتبوا آثارهم فلما أخبر بهم عاصم وأصحابه
- 8 لجؤا إلى فدفد فأحاط بهم القوم فقالوا لهم: انزلوا وأعطونا بأيديكم ولكم العهد والميثاق أن لا نقتل منك أحدا

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, II, 393-394 (no. 7947). All line numbers in this paragraph refer to the lines mentioned below in the Arabic text..

<sup>40</sup> This word is printed as *al-Aflaj*. The editor of this edition of the *Musnad* (or perhaps even the manufacturer of the manuscript on which the edited version is based) made a mistake in the diacritical marks, because the versions of Ibn al-Athīr, Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī and al-Bayhaqī agree on *al-Aqlab*. See also Caskel, W. (ed.), *Ġamharat an-nasab: Das Genealogische Werk des Iḥṣām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, I, Leiden 1966, 178.

9 وقال عاصم بن ثابت أمير القوم: أما أنا فوالله لا أنزل في نعمة كافر اللهم أخبر عنا نبيك صلعم فرمهم  
 10 بالنبل فقتلوا عاصما في سبعة ونزل اليهم ثلاثة نفر على العهد والميثاق منهم خبيب الأنصاري وزيد بن  
 11 النثثة ورجل اخر فلما تمكنوا منهم أطلقوا أوتار قسيهم فربطوهم بها فقال الرجل الثالث: هذا اول الغدر  
 12 والله لا أصحبكم إن لي بهؤلاء لأسوة يريد القتل فجرروه وعالجوه فأبى أن يصحبهم فقتلوه فانطلقوا  
 13 بخبيب وزيد بن النثثة حتى باعوهما بمكة بعد وقعة بدر فابتاع بنو الحارث بن عامر بن نوفل بن عبد  
 14 مناف خبيبا وكان خبيب هو قتل الحارث بن عامر بن نوفل يوم بدر فلبث خبيب عندهم أسيرا حتى أجمعوا  
 15 قتله فاستعار من بعض بنات الحارث موسى يستد بها للقتل فأعارته إياها فدرج بني لها قالت وأنا غافلة  
 16 حتى أتاه فوجنته يجلسه على فخذه والموسى بيده قالت: ففزع فتزعة عرفها خبيب قال: أتخشين أني [sic]  
 17 أقتله؟ ما كنت لأفعل فقالت: والله ما رأيت أسيرا قط خيرا من خبيب قالت: والله لقد وجنته يوما يأكل قطفا  
 18 من عنب في يده وإنه لموثق في الحديد وما بمكة من ثمرة وكانت تقول: إنه ليرزق رزقه الله خبيبا فلما  
 19 خرجوا به من الحرم ليقتلوه في الحل قال لهم خبيب: دعوني أركع ركعتين فتركوه فركع ركعتين ثم قال:  
 20 والله لولا أن تحسبوا أن ما بي جزعا من القتل لزنت اللهم أحصهم عدا واقتلهم بددا ولا تبق منهم أحدا<sup>41</sup>:  
 21 فلمت أبالي حين أقتل مسلما على أي جنب كان لله مصرعي وذلك في ذات الإله وإن يشأ يبارك على  
 22 أوصال شلو ممزع<sup>42</sup> ثم قام إليه أبو سروعة عقبة بن الحارث فقتله وكان خبيب هو سن لكل مسلم قتل  
 23 صبرا الصلاة واستجاب الله عز وجل لعاصم بن ثابت يوم أصيب فأخبر رسول الله صلعم أصحابه يوم  
 24 أصيبوا خبرهم وبعث ناس من قریش إلى عاصم بن ثابت حين حدثوا أنه قتل ليؤتى بشيء منه يعرف  
 25 وكان قتل رجلا من عظمائهم يوم بدر فبعث الله عز وجل على عاصم مثل الظلة من الدبر فحمته من  
 26 رسلهم فلم يقدروا على أن يقطعوا منه شيئا.

'Abd Allāh told us: my father told us: Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd told us: Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd informed us on the authority of al-Zuhri – and Ya'qūb, he said, my father told us on the authority of Ibn Shihāb. My father [Ibn Ḥanbal] said, "This is the tradition of Sulaymān al-Hāshimī – on the authority of 'Umar ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī, the ally of the Zuhra-clan and one of the companions (= students) of Abū Hurayra, that Abū Hurayra said":

<sup>41</sup> The style of this part is *saj'*. In pre-Islamic time, *saj'* was used in magical formulae of soothsaying and enchanting/cursing among others Borg, G., "Saj'", in *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics*, IV, Leiden 2009, 105 and Heinrichs, W.P., "Sadj'", in *ELz*, VIII, Leiden 1995, 733. Ibn Ishāq relates that one of the leaders of Quraysh, Abū Sufyān threw his son Mu'āwīya, the later caliph, to the ground in fear of Khubayb's curse. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I, 641.

<sup>42</sup> The metre of these verses is *tawīl* (v - v / v - - - / v - v / v - v - // v - - / v - - - / v - - / v - v -) v = short syllable, - = long syllable. I would like to thank my colleagues Gert Borg and Ihab Abousetta for providing information on the poetry and prose in this tradition.

"The messenger of God sent out a scouting expedition of ten men, appointing 'Āṣim ibn Thābit ibn Abī l-Aqlah, the grandfather of 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>43</sup> as their leader (1). They went away until they came to al-Hadda between 'Usfān<sup>44</sup> and Mecca, [when] they were mentioned to a clan of Hudhayl, called the Banū Lihyān (2). They hurried to them with about 100 archers and followed their tracks (3), until they found the place where they had eaten dates in a campsite (4), they said, '[These are] date pits from Yathrib.' (5) They followed their tracks (6).

When 'Āṣim and his companions were informed about them, they fled to an elevated place in the desert (7). So, the clan surrounded them (8) and said to them, 'Come down surrendering yourselves on the pledge and promise<sup>45</sup> that we do not kill anyone of you.' (9) 'Āṣim ibn Thābit the leader of the party said, 'As for me, by God, I will not come down on the basis of safety promised by an unbeliever (10). O God, inform Your Prophet about us!' (11)

They shot arrows at them and killed 'Āṣim and six other people (12), while three men surrendered to them on the pledge and promise, among whom were Khubayb al-Anṣārī, Zayd ibn al-Dathinna and another man (15). When they seized them, they untied the strings of their bows and tied them with these (16). The third man said, 'This is the first sign of treachery. By God, I shall not accompany you (18). I have truly in those ones an example!' – By which he meant death (19). They dragged him along struggling with him, but he refused to come with them (20) and they killed him (21). They took Khubayb and Zayd ibn al-Dathinna [with them] and eventually, they sold them in Mecca [- all this happened] after the battle at Badr (22).

The sons of al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir ibn Nawfal ibn 'Abd Manāf bought Khubayb, because Khubayb was the one who had killed al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir ibn Nawfal on the day of Badr (23). Khubayb stayed with them as a prisoner until they decided to kill him (24). He

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<sup>43</sup> Ibn Ḥajar remarks that 'Āṣim ibn Thābit is not the grandfather but the uncle of 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, VII, Beirut 1989, 484. The confusion derives from the name of 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar's mother. Most sources call her Jamīla bint Thābit, but some refer to her as Jamīla bint 'Āṣim ibn Thābit. See for example Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, IV, 180 (no. 19124) or Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-tabaqāt 'an Abī 'Amr Khalīfat ibn Khayyāt*, Beirut 1414/1993, 409 for the latter version. Ibn Sa'd relates that 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was married to Jamila, the daughter of Thābit ibn Abī l-Aqlah and the sister of 'Āṣim ibn Thābit. Hence, the latter is the uncle of 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 346. The versions of Ma'mar and Shu'ayb from al-Zuhri mention the same information as the version of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, which means that al-Zuhri transmitted it like this

<sup>44</sup> 'Usfān is a watering place between Mecca and Medina at a distance of a two-day journey from Mecca.

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, IV, Beirut 2007, 121-122.

<sup>45</sup> Literally: you have the pledge and promise.

borrowed from one of the daughters of al-Ḥārith a razor to shave [his pubic hair] for the killing and she loaned him one (25). A little son of hers walked slowly - she said, 'While I did not pay attention' - until he reached him (26). 'I found him putting him on his thigh while he [Khubayb] had the razor in his hand.' (27) She said, 'I got terrified, which Khubayb noticed.' (28) He said, 'Are you afraid that I shall kill him? I would never do [such a thing].'(29)

She said, 'By God, I have never seen a better prisoner than Khubayb.' (30) She said, 'By God, I found him one day eating from a bunch of grapes in his hand, while he was still in irons and while there was no fruit in Mecca.' (31). She used to say, 'It was certainly food that God gave to Khubayb (32).'

When they went with him out of the sacred territory to kill him in the *ḥill*,<sup>46</sup> Khubayb asked them, 'Allow me to perform a short prayer consisting of two cycles.' (33) They left him alone and he performed a short prayer consisting of two cycles (34). Then he said, 'By God, if you would not think that I was afraid of the killing I would have performed more (35). O God, register them by number, kill them one by one and leave no one of them (36). Being killed as a Muslim, I do not care how my death comes, since it is in God's cause (37). For that is God's prerogative; and if He wishes He will give His blessing to severed limbs.' (38) Then Abū Sirwa'a 'Uqba ibn al-Ḥārith came to him and killed him (39). It was Khubayb who established the practice of the *ṣalāh* for each Muslim who was bound until he was put to death (40).

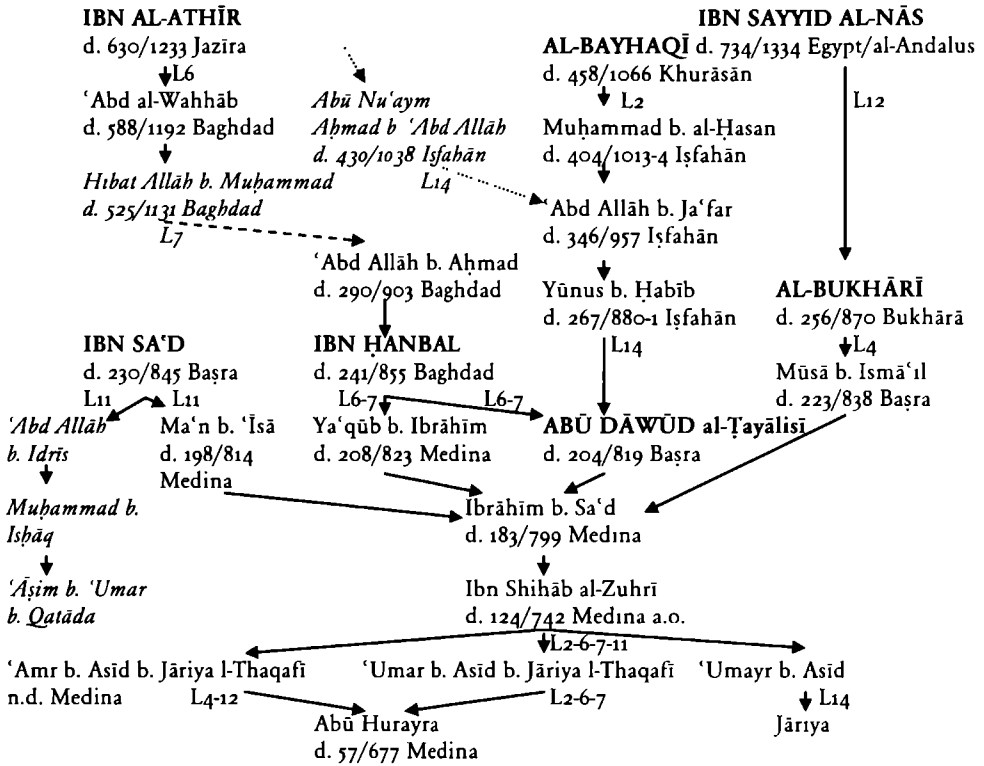
God to Whom belong might and majesty answered [the prayer of] 'Āṣim ibn Thābit on the day he was killed. The messenger of God informed his companions regarding their matter on the day they were killed (41). People of Quraysh sent [messengers] out for 'Āṣim ibn Thābit when they were told that he was killed to bring something from him by which they could recognize him (42), because he had killed one of their nobles on the day of Badr (43). God to Whom belong might and majesty sent to Āṣim a cloud-like swarm of bees that protected him from their messengers (44), so they were not able to cut anything from him (45)."

We will start with the comparison of the detailed traditions. The *isnād* bundle of the detailed traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd is as follows:

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<sup>46</sup> The *ḥill* is the region that is outside the sacred territory. Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 621.

Figure 5: *Isnād* bundle of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd on the raid of the Hudhayl



Ibn al-Athīr mentions at the beginning of his detailed tradition about the raid of the Hudhayl (L6) that he received the tradition from 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Hibat Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb via his *isnād* to 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad, the son of the famous scholar Ibn Ḥanbal.<sup>47</sup> At the beginning of Ibn al-Athīr's book *Uṣd al-ghāba* it is said that to avoid lengthy *asānīd* only the name of the author of the book and the following transmitter are mentioned.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, Ibn al-Athīr received the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal from Abu Yāsar 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Hibat Allāh → Abu l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahīd ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 525/1131) → Abū 'Alī l-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn al-Mudhhib al-Wā'iz (d. 444/1052) → Abū Bakr ibn Mālik al-Qaṭī'i (d. 368/978-979) → 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.<sup>49</sup> The *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal is preserved through the same *riwāya* apart from Abū Yāsar 'Abd al-Wahhāb.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, II, 120-122.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, 14 of the introduction

<sup>49</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba* I, 16 of the introduction.

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, 3.

Since tradition L6 of Ibn al-Athīr (IA) is handed down via almost the same *riwāya* as the tradition L7 of Ibn Ḥanbal, we will start with the comparison of these two *mutūn*. The differences between the texts are very small. Most differences derive from transmission or copyist's errors, for example *ukhbira* (l7) instead of *aḥassa* (IA),<sup>51</sup> *qardad* (IA) instead of *fadfad* (l8), *al-qatl* (l12) instead of *al-qatlā* (IA),<sup>52</sup> *muḥlisahu* (IA) instead of *yujlisuhu* (l16)<sup>53</sup> and *ataḥsibina* (IA) instead of *atakhshayna* (l16). Two differences are additions from Ibn al-Athīr or Abū Yāsar 'Abd al-Wahhab: the explanations *ya'nī Aḥmad* (L6 Ibn al-Athīr (IA)) after *qāla abī* (l2) and *li-ummihī* (L6 IA) after *jadd 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb* (l4), since the tradition of Ibn Ḥanbal does not mention them; neither does any other tradition attributed to Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. Larger differences in Ibn al-Athīr's tradition are the addition of the *nisba* al-Anṣārī after the name 'Āṣim ibn Thābit ibn Abī l-Aqlaḥ (l4), *mīn al-marwt* instead of *mīn al-qatl* (l20), *ḥīna* instead of *yawm*\*<sup>54</sup> (l23) and *'aḡīman minhum* instead of *mīn 'uḡamā'ihim*\* (l25).

Since the traditions of Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn al-Athīr look so much alike, they have to derive from a common source. The common source is the late transmitter Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn al-Ḥuṣayn (d. 525/1131) according to the chains of transmitters. The high degree of similarity of the *mutūn* indicates a written transmission.

The next two detailed traditions that we will include in the analysis of the *mutun* are like the versions L6 and L7 of Ibn Ḥanbal also from Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī according to the *isnād*, although from another student, Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb (d. 267/880-881) instead of Ibn Ḥanbal. One tradition (L14) is from the *Musnad* of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī himself and the other from al-Bayhaqī (L2).<sup>55</sup> It seems as if Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb is the last transmitter the two

<sup>51</sup> In this case, the other five traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd that mention this sentence agree on *aḥassa*. This means that the word *ukhbira* in the text of Ibn Ḥanbal is a mistake.

<sup>52</sup> The two other traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa' that mention this sentence agree on *al qatla*.

<sup>53</sup> Four other traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa' that mention this sentence agree on *muḥlisahu*.

<sup>54</sup> The asterisk indicates the word that other traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd agree on

<sup>55</sup> Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad Abī Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī*, Hyderabad 1321/1904], 338-339 Al-Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al sunan al kubrā*, IX, Hyderabad 1344-1355/1925-1934], 145-146



texts have in common, but when we look at the *riwāya* of the *Musnad* another common name appears, Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb's student 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far (d. 346/957).<sup>56</sup>

The traditions look very much alike. The main differences are the omission of the *nasab* Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (*raḍiya Allāh 'anhu*) after the name 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar and the omission of *fa-aḥāṭa bihim al-qawm* in L14 *Musnad*. Furthermore, al-Bayhaqī mentions once *wa-ansha'a yaqūlu*, whereas the *Musnad* has *thumma yaqūlu*. The remaining differences consist of transmission or copyist's errors and additional eulogies.<sup>57</sup>

However, we find the most important difference in wording between the two texts not in the *matn* itself but in the lower part of the *isnād*. The text of the *Musnad* is '*an al-Zuhri 'an 'Umayr ibn Asid 'an Jāriya ḥalīf Banī Zuhra wa-kāna min aṣḥāb Abī Hurayra qāla*, while al-Bayhaqī has '*an al-Zuhri 'an 'Umar ibn Asid ibn Jāriya ḥalīf Banī Zuhra wa-kāna min aṣḥāb Abī Hurayra 'an Abī Hurayra raḍiya Allāh 'anhu qāla*. Because the two traditions are almost identical it is not possible that al-Zuhri received the information from two different transmitters as the *asānīd* seem to suggest. The different *asānīd* are the result of transmission errors. The question is which is the correct version? The word '*an*' between the names 'Umayr ibn Asid and Jāriya is clearly a copyist's error. '*An*' and '*bn*' look very much alike in writing. The missing part '*an Abī Hurayra*' in the *Musnad* is also probably the result of a slip of the pen, since the name Abū Hurayra appears twice close after each other in the *isnād*. It is more difficult with the name 'Umayr or 'Umar. It seems more likely that 'Umar is the correct version, since al-Bayhaqī mentions that name and Ibn Ḥanbal. However, we cannot exclude that al-Bayhaqī or one of the transmitters before him adjusted the name 'Umayr to 'Umar.

When we compare the version of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far -> Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb with the version of Ibn Ḥanbal, both from Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, some remarkable differences appear. In the first place, the structure of part of the text: the order of the elements in Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb's section dealing with Khubayb differs from the text of Ibn Ḥanbal. According to the version of Ibn Ḥanbal, the order is in short: gathering to kill – razor – best prisoner –

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<sup>56</sup> The *riwāya* of the *Musnad* of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī is Abū l-Mukārim Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad -> Abū 'Alī l-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥaddād -> Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ishāq al-Ḥāfiẓ -> Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Aḥmad ibn Fāris -> Abū Bishr Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb -> Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd = Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī. Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 2.

<sup>57</sup> The word *ya'ni* is inserted in the text of al-Bayhaqī in one place without any further explanation, which might be a negligence of the editor. Al-Bayhaqī or his informant Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan is probably responsible for this clarifying word (and perhaps an – in this case missing - explanation).

bunch of grapes – two *rak'at* – speech Khubayb – Abu Sīrwa'a kills Khubayb – Khubayb established custom of the two *rak'at* The order in the tradition of Yunus ibn Habib is best prisoner – bunch of grapes – razor – gathering to kill – two *rak'at* – Khubayb established custom of two *rak'at* – speech Khubayb

In the second place, the content the version of Yunus ibn Habib does not mention certain information While Ibn Hanbal mentions explicitly that 'Āsim was one of the seven persons killed during the fight with the Banu Liḥyan and that Khubayb and Zayd ibn al-Dathinna were among the three persons who surrendered, in the version of Yunus ibn Habib this becomes only clear in the course of the story Furthermore, he does not mention that Khubayb was brought outside the sacred area of Mecca before his execution and who killed him Also the information is missing that God answered 'Āsim ibn Thābit's prayer and that the Prophet Muhammad informed his companions on the death of the scouting party on the same day they were killed

In the third place, the version of Yunus ibn Habib contains many different formulations and sometimes words or even complete sentences are missing compared with the version of Ibn Hanbal For example, *bi mī'a* instead of *bi qarīb min mī'a* (15), *fa ttaba'u* instead of *fa qtassū* (15), *khalaw* (L14 *Musnad*) or *hallu* (L2 al-Bayhaqī) instead of *atlaqu* (111), the addition of the *nasab* Ibn 'Adī after the name Khubayb (113), *fa-shṭarā* instead of *fa-blā'a* (113), *sadrīhi* instead of *fakhdhīhi* (116), *hāl* instead of *janb* (121), *al mushrikūna* instead of *nās min Quraysh* (124) and *ya'khudhu* instead of *yaqī'a'u* (126) Examples of missing words are *fi manzil naḥālūhu* (17), *wa a'tuna bi-aydikum* (18), *naḥāl* (110), *fa-aba an yashabahum* (112), *wa-l-musa bi-yadīhi* (116), *fa tarakuhū* (119), *hina huddithu annahu qutla* (124) and *yu'rafu* (124)

Despite the many differences in formulation and the variant order of the elements in the section dealing with Khubayb, still a large part of the traditions is similar in formulation and structure Therefore, both versions must derive from a common source, Abu Dawūd al-Tayālīsī according to the *isnad* The differences indicate an independent transmission of both versions

It is strange to find so many differences between two texts of the same transmitter at this level in the *isnad* tree We find this large difference often at a lower level in the *isnad* bundle, between the students of al-Zuhri or earlier We will return to this issue after the comparison of the last two detailed versions allegedly of another student of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, Mūsā ibn Ismā'il

The two detailed traditions are both from al-Bukhārī from Mūsā ibn Ismā'il from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd One tradition is found in the *Saḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (L4) and the other in

the late collection of Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (L12).<sup>58</sup> The traditions of al-Bukhārī and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās are nearly identical, except for seven small differences, six copyist's errors and once the word '*aẓīman* instead of *rajulan* near the end of the story.

Comparison of all the *mutūn* of al-Bukhārī and the traditions from Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī shows that although the traditions of al-Bukhārī derive from another student of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd according to the *isnād*, they correspond more to the version of Ibn Ḥanbal from Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī than the version of Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb from Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī. Since according to the *isnād*, Ibn Ḥanbal and Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb received their tradition from the same person, we would have expected otherwise. How can we explain this situation? Do the traditions of Ibn Ḥanbal from Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī and of al-Bukhārī from Mūsā ibn Ismā'il not derive from independent transmissions, i.e. is the source information of one *isnād* incorrect?

The answer to the last question is no. The version of al-Bukhārī contains several formulations that the traditions from Ibn Ḥanbal and Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb do not have, i.e. they are peculiarities of al-Bukhārī's transmission from Mūsā ibn Ismā'il. Some examples are the *nasab* Ibn Shihāb instead of the *nisba* al-Zuhri (l1), 'Amr ibn Asīd instead of 'Umar (or 'Umayr) ibn Asīd (l2), *mawḍi'* instead of *fadsfad* or *qardad* (l8), *ayyuhā l-qawm* instead of *amīr al-qawm* (l9), *bi-l-ḥadīd* instead of *fī l-ḥadīd* (l18), *an yu'taw* instead of *li-yu'taw* (l24) and the omission of the words *rahī* (l3), *fa-nṭalaqū* (l4), *nawā* (l7), *fī sab'a* (l10), *bi-Makka* (l13) and the *nisba* Ibn 'Abd Manāf (l13-14).

Some differences can perhaps be attributed to mistakes or inaccuracies of al-Bukhārī, like the omission of *rahī*, *fa-nṭalaqū* and *fī sab'a*. The version of al-Bukhārī has to be compared with the version of another student of Mūsā ibn Ismā'il to define which differences are peculiarities of Mūsā's transmission and which mistakes were made by his students. As far as I know, a tradition of that sort is not available. Anyway, the number and degree of differentiation corresponds to what we expect to find at this level of transmission. The conclusion is that the version of al-Bukhārī and the one from Ibn Ḥanbal derive from separate transmissions.

This does not exclude the possibility that the source information in one of the *asānīd* is incorrect. For example, Ibn Ḥanbal mentions at the beginning of his tradition that he received the tradition via two different ways, from Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd [= Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī] -> Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and from Ya'qūb -> his father [= Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd]. If Ibn

<sup>58</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, III, Leiden 1902-1908, 61-62 (*Kitāb al-maghāzī – Bāb*). Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn al-atḥār fī funūn al-maghāzī wa l-shamā'il wa l-siyar*, II, Medina 1413/1992, 62-63.

Ḥanbal's tradition is indeed the version of Ya'qūb instead of the one from Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, the explanation for the deviating version would be that two students of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd transmitted a similar version, while one student told a slightly different version. However, it is very unlikely that Ibn Ḥanbal made a mistake in the source from whom he received the text, because he explicitly mentions that the text is from Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd.

If we assume that the information in the three *asānīd* is correct, a possible explanation for the deviation might be that Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī adjusted his tradition over time. Ibn Ḥanbal lived from 164-241/780-855 and Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb until 267/880-881.<sup>59</sup> Given the span of time between the years in which they died, it seems very likely that they studied at different times with Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī who died in 204/819. Furthermore, there is a gap of at least 63 years between the time Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb must have studied with Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī and his death, so it is possible that Yūnus was his student at a young age, which may have caused these differences.

Finally, another possible explanation is that either Abū Dāwūd or Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb transmitted the story orally instead of through writing or dictation. Oral transmission – probably combined with written notes – could cause differences such as a different order in the elements, omission of elements, different formulations; the kind of differences we found in the comparison of the *mutun* of Ibn Ḥanbal and Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb. We know that 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far transmitted his tradition by means of writing, because there are very few differences between the traditions in the *Musnad* of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (L14) and in the *Sunan* of al-Bayhaqī (L2), which are from two different students of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far. Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh (d. 430/1038) transmitted the *Musnad*,<sup>60</sup> while Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 404/1013-1014) transmitted the version of al-Bayhaqī.

Comparison of the detailed versions that are attributed to Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd confirms that they derive indeed from a common source. The common source according to the *asānīd* is Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. We have his tradition in the version of two of his students, Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī and Mūsā ibn Ismā'il. Since the versions of Ibn Ḥanbal from Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī and Mūsā ibn Ismā'il are very similar, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd must have handed down the story about the raid of the Hudhayl by written transmission or dictation from a written text at a certain time during his life. Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, his student Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb or 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far are probably responsible for the deviating text of their version.

<sup>59</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, XII, Beirut 1406-1412/1986-1992, 596-597 (no 227)

<sup>60</sup> See the complete *isnād* in footnote 56 and the *isnād* bundle on page 53.

When we combine the data from the different versions, the tradition of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd includes the following elements:

Muḥammad sent a scouting expedition of ten men, appointing 'Āṣim ibn Thābit ibn Abi l-Aqlaḥ the grandfather of 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as their leader (1). When they came to al-Hadda (M:<sup>61</sup> al-Had'a) between 'Uṣfān and Mecca, they are mentioned to a clan of Hudhayl, known as the Banū Liḥyān (2). They went with almost 100 (Y: exactly 100) archers after them (3). They found the place where Muḥammad's group ate dates (IH+M: in an abandoned campsite) (4). They recognised the date pits from Medina (5). (IH+M: They followed the tracks of the group (6).)

When 'Āṣim and his companions discovered them, they fled to an elevated place in the desert (M: place) (7). The clan surrounded them (8). The clan promised not to kill anybody, if they descended (IH and M: and surrendered themselves) (9). 'Āṣim (IH: the leader of the party) said that he would not come down on the basis of safety promised by an unbeliever (10). He asked God to inform His Prophet of them (Y: give His Prophet their regards)<sup>62</sup> (11).

The clan shot arrows at them (Y: they fought with them) and killed 'Āṣim and six other people<sup>63</sup> (12). Three persons surrendered to them on the safeguard (IH+M: among whom were Khubayb, Zayd ibn al-Dathinna and another man) (15). When the clan seized them, they untied the strings of their bows and tied them with these (16). The third man said that that was the first sign of treachery (IH+M: and refused to follow them) (18). (IH+M: He said that he truly had an example in them, by which he meant the dead (19)). (IH+M: They dragged him along) struggling with him (IH+M: but he refused to follow them) (20). They killed him (21). They took Khubayb and Zayd ibn al-Dathinna and sold them in Mecca [- all this happened] after the battle at Badr (22).

The sons of al-Ḥārith (IH+M: ibn 'Āmir ibn Nawfal) bought Khubayb, because he had killed al-Ḥārith on the day of Badr (23). He stayed with them as a prisoner (IH+M: until they decided to kill him) (24).

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<sup>61</sup> IH = version Ibn Ḥanbal -> Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī. M = version al-Bukhārī -> Mūsā ibn Ismā'il Y = version Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb -> Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī

<sup>62</sup> The Arabic text is *balligh 'annā nabyyaka l salām*.

<sup>63</sup> Although the versions of al-Bukhārī and Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb do not explicitly mention this here, it becomes clear in the course of the story. M: they killed 'Āṣim. Y: they killed seven of them.

[The following part is based on the order of Ibn Ḥanbal -> Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (IH) and al-Bukhārī -> Mūsā ibn Ismāʿīl (M).]

Khubayb borrowed a razor from a daughter of al-Ḥārith to shave his pubic hair (IH+Y: for the killing) (25). The woman did not pay attention to a little boy of hers who walked to Khubayb (26). She found him sitting on the thigh (Y: breast) of Khubayb (IH+M: who had the razor in his hand) (27). The woman got terrified, which Khubayb noticed (28). He asked her if she was afraid (Y: if she thought) that he would kill him. He said that he would never do (Y+M: such a thing) (29).

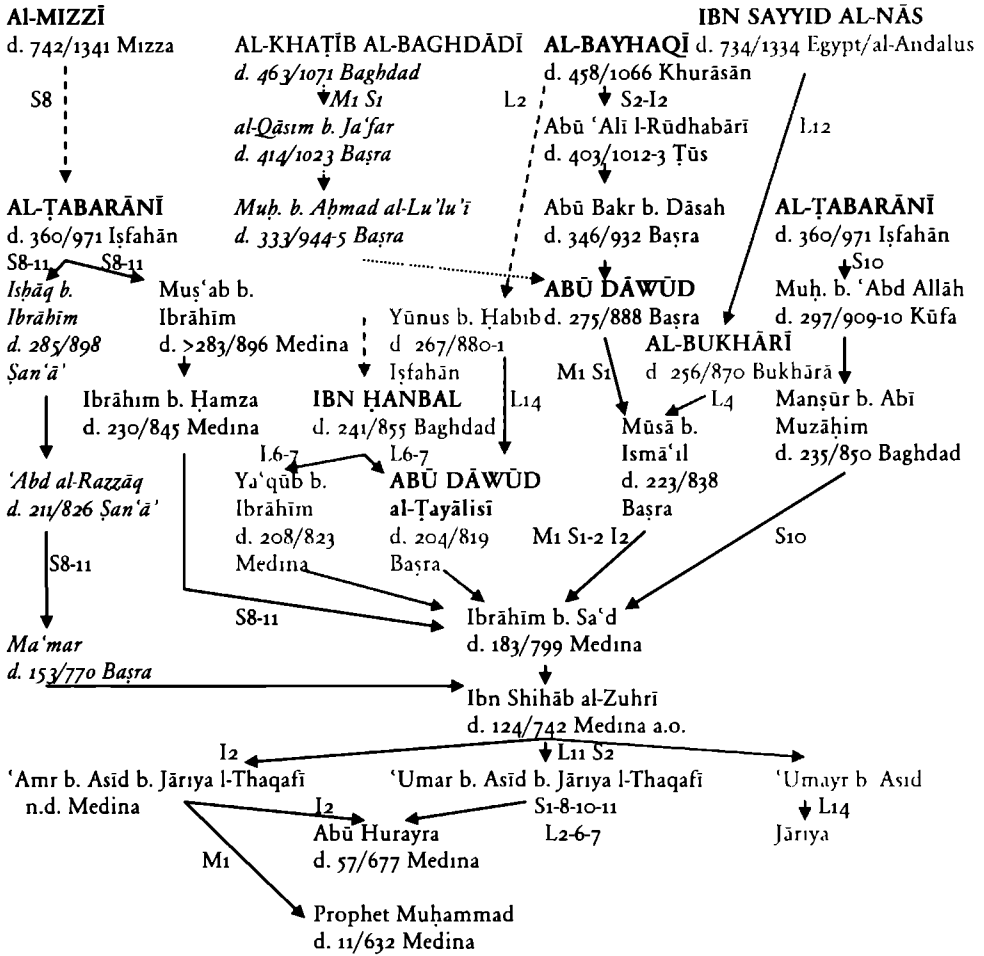
The woman said that she had never seen a better prisoner than Khubayb (30). She saw him eat from a bunch of grapes (IH+M: in his hand), while there was no fruit in Mecca at that time (IH+M: while he was still in irons) (31). It was certainly food that God gave to Khubayb (32).

When they left the sacred territory with Khubayb to kill him in the *ḥill* (Y: when they agreed to kill Khubayb), he asked them to allow him to perform a short prayer consisting of two cycles (33). (IH+M: They left him alone and) he performed a prayer consisting of two cycles (34). Khubayb said that he would have performed more if they had not thought that he was afraid (IH: of the killing) (35). He said, "O God, register them by number, kill them one by one and leave no one of them." (36) He said, "Being killed as a Muslim, I do not care how my death comes, since it is in God's cause. (37) For that is God's prerogative; and if He wishes He will give His blessing to severed limbs." (38) (IH+M: Abū Sirwa'a 'Uqba ibn al-Ḥārith came to him and killed him (39)). It was Khubayb who established the practice of the *ṣalāh* for each (IH+Muslim) to be killed in captivity (40).

(IH: God answered [the prayer of] 'Āṣim ibn Thābit on the day he was killed.) (IH+M: The Prophet Muḥammad informed his companions regarding their matter on the day they were killed.) (41) People of Quraysh (Y: polytheists) sent [messengers] to 'Āṣim (IH+M: when they were told that he was killed) to retrieve something (Y: of his body) (IH+M: by which they could recognize him) (42), because 'Āṣim had killed one of their nobles (IH: at Badr) (43). God sent a cloud-like swarm of bees (IH+M: to 'Āṣim) that protected him from their messengers (44). They were not able to cut anything from him (Y: his body) (45).

We will now include the shorter versions into the analysis. The *usnād* bundle including the transmission lines from these traditions is as follows:

Figure 6: Complete *isnād* bundle of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il on the raid of the Hudhayl



We will start with the four traditions from Mūsā ibn Ismā'il. They derive according to the information from the *asānīd* from a different student of Mūsā than the detailed versions, Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/888) instead of al-Bukhārī. A medium-length tradition (M1) and one short tradition (S1) are from the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī.<sup>64</sup> The other short story and the tradition with only an *isnād* are from the *Sunan* of al-Bayhaqī.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Abu Dāwūd, *Sunan*, III, 51 (no. 2660) and 189 (no. 3112). The *Sunan* has been handed down via the *riwāya* al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī → Abū 'Amr al-Qāsim ibn Ja'far ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Hāshimī → Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Amr al-Lu'lu'i → Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī. See Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, I, 17.

<sup>65</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, III, 390 and *Sunan*, IX, 146.

The medium-length tradition (M<sub>1</sub>) is an abstract of the detailed version. Many parts are missing. The tradition relates how Muhammad sent a scouting expedition of ten men, appointing 'Āṣim ibn Thābit as their leader (element 1). Hudhayl followed them with almost 100 archers (element 3). When 'Āṣim discovered them, they took refuge at elevated ground (element 7). The clan promised not to kill anybody, if they descended and surrendered themselves (element 9). 'Āṣim said that he would not come down on the basis of safety promised by an unbeliever (element 10). They shot arrows at them and killed 'Āṣim and six others (element 12). Three persons surrendered to them on the safeguard, among whom were Khubayb, Zayd ibn al-Dathinna and another man (element 15). When the clan seized them, they untied the strings of their bows and tied them with these (element 16). The third man said that that was the first sign of treachery and refused to follow them (element 18). He said that he has an example in them [his killed companions] (element 19). They dragged him along but he refused to follow them (element 20). They killed him (element 21). Khubayb stayed prisoner until they gathered to kill him (element 24). He borrowed a razor to shave [his pubic hair] (element 25). When they left with him to kill him, Khubayb asked them to allow him to perform a short prayer consisting of two cycles (element 33). He said that he would have performed more if they had not thought that he was scared (element 35).

It is interesting to see that any reference to the sons of al-Ḥārith, who bought Khubayb from the Hudhayl, is missing. It looks from the content of this abstract as if the Hudhayl killed Khubayb. The shortening of the text can be attributed to Abu Dawūd al-Sijistānī, since he places this tradition in the chapter on the man who surrenders. It is understandable that he shortened the tradition to include only those parts of the tradition that are important for this specific topic, i.e. the imprisonment of Khubayb and what happened to him in custody. Maybe Abū Dāwūd left out the references to the sons of al-Ḥārith in the related sentences on purpose; otherwise, he would have to explain how the sons of al-Ḥārith obtained Khubayb and why they bought him. This would consequently have lengthened the text. The other tradition (S<sub>1</sub>) in the *Sunan*, which relates why the sons of al-Ḥārith bought Khubayb and what they did to him (elements 23 (partly) until 29), shows that Abū Dawūd al-Sijistānī was familiar with the role of al-Ḥārith's sons.

The two traditions (M<sub>1</sub>+S<sub>1</sub>) of Abū Dawūd al-Sijistānī contain the following formulations that are peculiar for the version of Musā ibn Ismā'īl: the *nasab* Ibn Shihāb instead of the *nisba* al-Zuhri (M<sub>1</sub>+S<sub>1</sub>) (11), the omission of the words *rahi* (M<sub>1</sub>) (13), *li-l-qatl* (M<sub>1</sub>+S<sub>1</sub>) (15) and *riyaba/-hu* (S<sub>1</sub>) (15), the omission of the *nasab* Ibn Abī l-Aqlah (M<sub>1</sub>) (14), the *nisba* al-Anṣarī (M<sub>1</sub>) (110) and the *nasab* Ibn 'Abd Manaf (S<sub>1</sub>) (113-14), *wa-hiya* instead of *wa-*



*anā* (S1) (115), *an* instead of *annanī* (S1) (116) and the addition of *dhālīka* (S1) (117). These peculiarities, which the two traditions from Abu Dawūd have in common with the version of al-Bukhārī, indicate that they also derive from Musa ibn Ismā‘īl.

There are however, also differences with the version of al-Bukhārī from Musa ibn Ismā‘īl, for example the *nasab* Ibn Sa‘d after the name Ibrāhīm (M1+S1) (11), the omission of the *nasab* Ibn Asīd in the name of the informant of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (M1+S1) (12), *qardad* instead of *maṣḍī‘* (M1) (18), the omission of *ayyuhā l-qawm* (M1) (18), the addition of the words *fī sab‘a* (M1) (110), *makhliyyan wa-huwa* instead of *muḥlisahu* (S1) (116) and *l-yaqtuluhu* instead of *min al-Haram l-yaqtuluhu fī l-hill* (M1) (119). The differences with al-Bukhārī’s detailed traditions that appear in both traditions from Abū Dawūd al-Sijistānī are peculiarities of the transmission of Abu Dāwūd al-Sijistānī from Mūsā ibn Ismā‘īl and proof of an independent transmission from al-Bukhārī.

The remark in on page 57 concerning the possible errors that al-Bukhārī made has to be adjusted. Comparison of al-Bukhārī’s version with the two traditions of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī shows that the omission of the word *rahī* is not a mistake made by al-Bukhārī, but a peculiarity of Musā ibn Ismā‘īl’s transmission. The reverse is the case in the omission of *fī sab‘a* in the sentence *fa-qatalū ‘Āsiman fī sab‘a*. This is an error from al-Bukhārī, because the medium-length tradition of Abū Dawūd mentions the complete sentence.

Short tradition S2 of al-Bayhaqī, which another student of Abū Dawūd al-Sijistānī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Dāsah, transmitted, is almost identical to the short story in the *Sunan* of Abu Dāwūd (S1), except for six small differences. Since we have two students of Abu Dāwūd al-Sijistānī who both transmit this specific section dealing with Khubayb, either Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī distributed this part of the story about the raid of the Hudhayl separately on purpose or the information in one of the *asanid* is incorrect. It is difficult to determine on the basis of some small differences within a very short text whether the (upper part of the) *isnād* of one of the traditions is falsified or not. There seems to have been no reason, however, for al-Bayhaqī to mention that he received the tradition via the *riwāya* of Abū Bakr ibn Dāsah while in fact he received it via the *riwāya* of Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, i.e. the *riwāya* by which the *Sunan* of Abu Dāwūd al-Tayalīsī is handed down.

Tradition S2 of al-Bayhaqī is especially interesting, because it helps us to identify five other peculiarities of the transmission of Abu Dawūd al-Sijistānī: *min bint al-Harith* instead of *min ba‘d banāt al-Harith* (115), *ḥattā atathu* instead of *ḥattā atahu* (116), *makhliyyan wa-huwa* instead of *muḥlisahu* (116) and the omission of the words *qālat* (117) and *Khubayb* (117).

Al-Bayhaqī places the second tradition from Musa ibn Ismā‘īl, which he received via the same *riwaya* as tradition S2, after the detailed version (L2) on the raid of the Hudhayl from Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb -> Abū Dawud al-Ṭayālīsī. After the *isnād* al-Bayhaqī mentions that he [Abū ‘Alī l-Rudhabārī] summarized it with its [= the same] meaning without the poetry and without the story of ‘Āšim at the end<sup>66</sup> Al-Bayhaqī proceeds with a reference to the complete detailed version of Musa ibn Ismā‘īl in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. It is possible that al-Bayhaqī means the medium-length tradition (M1) of Abū Dāwud al-Sijistānī with the words “he summarized it with the same meaning”. However, there may once have existed an even larger tradition of Abū Dawud al-Sijistānī, because our medium-length version M1 does not mention the sons of al-Ḥārith (which the short tradition of Abu Dawūd al-Sijistānī does). Unfortunately, without the *matn* this will remain just speculation.

Finally, the comparison of the shorter traditions shows that the use of the name ‘Amr ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī cannot be marked anymore as a peculiarity of Musa’s version,<sup>67</sup> because both short traditions (S1 and S2) of Mūsā mention the name ‘Umar ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī. Even among Musa’s students (or perhaps even among later transmitters) there is confusion about the name ‘Amr or ‘Umar; a mistake that can also easily derive from a copyist’s error.

The next two traditions are both from al-Ṭabarānī and derive from a combined transmission of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d and Ma‘mar, another student of al-Zuhri. Tradition S11 is from al-Ṭabarānī’s *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr* and tradition S8 is from the late collection of al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*.<sup>68</sup> The traditions, which only contain element 1, are identical except for the remark of a later transmitter at the end of the tradition, *wa-dhakara l-hadīth* (S8) instead of *wa-dhakarahū bi-tūlīhi* (S11). Al-Ṭabarānī indicates that he received the same tradition via two different ways by mentioning a double *isnād*: Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī -> ‘Abd al-Razzāq -> Ma‘mar -> al-Zuhri **and** Muṣ‘ab ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥamza l-Zubayrī -> his father -> Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d -> al-Zuhri. The *isnād* continues with ‘Umar ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī -> Abū Hurayra.

Al-Ṭabarānī’s tradition contains the additional information in the *isnād* on al-Zuhri’s informant. So far, all traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d mention that ‘Umar or ‘Amr was a confederate of the Zuhra clan and only traditions M1 and I2 from Abu Dawud al-Sijistānī from Musa ibn Isma‘īl lack the information that ‘Umar or ‘Amr was a

<sup>66</sup> *Fa dhakarahu bi ma‘nahu mukhtasaran duna l-shi‘r wa duna qissat Asim fi akhirihi*. Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 146

<sup>67</sup> See page 57

<sup>68</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, XVII, 175 (no. 463) Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, V, 418 (no. 4963)

companion of Abū Hurayra. The *matn* does not contain any peculiarity. It seems more like a combination of formulations from the versions of Ibrāhīm we studied so far.

Traditions S11 and S8 correspond twice to tradition L14 of the *Musnad* of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī by using the word *al-nabī* instead of *rasūl Allāh* (l3) and omitting the *nasab* Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb after *jadd ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Umar* (l4). They contain the formulation *‘asharat raḥṭ ‘aynan* (l3), which is identical to the version of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (in the *riwāya* of Ibn Ḥanbal as well as Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb), since the versions of Mūsā ibn Ismā‘il lack the word *raḥṭ*. However, the omission of the *nasab* Ibn Abī l-Aqlaḥ (l4) corresponds to the traditions of Mūsā ibn Ismā‘il (in the *riwāya* of al-Bukhārī as well as Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī). Finally, the *nisba al-Anṣārī* after the name of ‘Āṣim (l4) is only present in the traditions of Mūsā ibn Ismā‘il in the *riwāya* of al-Bukhārī and tradition L6 of Ibn al-Athīr.

It is not possible to substantiate the information from the *isnād* that the traditions S11 and S8 derive from another student of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa‘d, Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥamza l-Zubayrī, since the *matn* is too short and does not show any peculiarities. However, the mixture of formulations from Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī and Mūsā ibn Ismā‘il in the small part of the *matn* that we have suggests that the source information from al-Ṭabarānī might possibly be correct. Furthermore, the lower part of the *isnād* could be from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa‘d. Comparison with other Ma‘mar-traditions will show that the additional information on ‘Amr/‘Umar ibn Asīd in the *isnād* and certain formulations in the *matn* are not present in other traditions from Ma‘mar and that al-Ṭabarānī’s tradition is very probably from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa‘d.

The last short tradition attributed to Ibrāhīm ibn Sa‘d is from *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr* of al-Ṭabarānī with the *isnād* Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī -> Maṣṣūr ibn Abī Muzāḥim -> Ibrāhīm ibn Sa‘d -> al-Zuhri -> ‘Umar ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī -> Abī Hurayra.<sup>69</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī places it after a detailed tradition about the raid of the Hudhayl from ‘Abd al-Razzāq -> Ma‘mar. The short tradition starts with the sentence that the Prophet Muḥammad sent a scouting party of ten (*ba‘atha l-nabī ‘asharat raḥṭ ‘aynan*), which is identical to the beginning of traditions S11 and S8 discussed above. The next part is different from any other tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa‘d: among whom were Khubayb ibn ‘Adī wa-Zayd ibn Dathinna (*minhum Khubayb ibn ‘Adī wa-Zayd ibn Dathinna*). So far, we came across the *nasab* Ibn ‘Adī only in the version of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja‘far -> Yūnus ibn

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<sup>69</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, IV, 223 (no. 4192)

Ḥabīb -> Abū Dawūd al-Ṭayālīsī.<sup>70</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī says that the story continues similar to the tradition of Ma'mar (*thumma dhakara naḥwa ḥadīth Ma'mar*), which means that al-Ṭabarānī probably had a detailed version of the tradition from Maṣṣūr ibn Abī Muzāḥim, but decided not to mention it completely.

The sentence *minhum Khubayb ibn 'Adī wa-Zayd ibn Dathinna*, that none of the other traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd has, might indicate that this is indeed a tradition from another student of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. However, the tradition is too short to reach a conclusion.

There is still one tradition left to discuss. This is the detailed tradition L11 from Ibn Sa'd.<sup>71</sup> He gives two different *asanīd* at the beginning of the tradition: 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs al-Awdī -> Muḥammad ibn Ishāq -> 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nu'mān al-Zafarī and Ma'n ibn 'Īsā l-Ashja'ī -> Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd -> Ibn Shihāb -> 'Umar ibn Asid ibn al-'Alā' ibn Jāriya. Although Ibn Sa'd says that he heard a version of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd via his student Ma'n ibn 'Īsā, the content and the formulation of the tradition differs very much from the other detailed versions of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. The *matn* Ibn Sa'd gives is probably the *matn* of 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs from Ibn Ishāq. After the comparison of the versions of al-Zuhri's four students, we will return to the tradition of Ibn Sa'd and compare it with other versions of Ibn Ishāq. We will then be able to establish whether the *matn* of Ibn Sa'd's tradition is indeed from 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs or is a mixture with the version of Ma'n ibn 'Īsā from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd.

The analysis of the traditions ascribed to Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd shows that he transmitted a detailed version to two students, Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī and Mūsā ibn Ismā'il by means of writing or dictation from a written text. The reason for the deviating version of one student of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, Yunus ibn Ḥabīb, might be the difference in time when Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī told the tradition to Yūnus or a different form of transmission, orally instead of by writing. There is some evidence that a third student of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, Maṣṣūr ibn Abī Muzāḥim possibly knew the detailed version on the raid of the Hudhayl, but only one sentence is preserved. There is an indication that another student, Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥamza, knew at least a small part of the tradition, but the evidence is too small to draw any conclusion on. The names of two other students of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, his son Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm and Ma'n ibn 'Īsā, appear in the *isnād* of traditions about the raid of the Hudhayl, but there is no accompanying *matn* to provide evidence for their transmission. Anyway,

<sup>70</sup> See page 56.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqat*, II, 55-56

Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd must have distributed his tradition(s) on the raid of the Hudhayl before he died in 183/799.

Before we continue with the analysis of the traditions ascribed to Ma'mar, I would like to return to the issue of the name of al-Zuhri's informant. The analysis of the *asānīd* of the traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd revealed seven variants of the name of the informant.<sup>72</sup> Since we have established that all traditions derive indeed from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd - except the traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥamza (S11+S8), Maṣṣūr ibn Abī Muzāḥim (S10) and Ma'n ibn 'Īsā (L11) for which we have no proof – we will now try to answer the question if Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd is responsible for the variants.

The name 'Umar ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī appears in the traditions of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī in the *riwāya* of Ibn Ḥanbal (L7+L6) and in the traditions of Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥamza (S11+S8) and Maṣṣūr ibn Abī Muzāḥim (S10). The name 'Umar and 'Umayr ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya is from Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī in the *riwāya* of Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb. If we ignore for one moment the name 'Umayr, the only difference between these two variants is the *nisba* al-Thaqafī. The name 'Amr ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī is from Mūsā ibn Ismā'il in the *riwāya* of al-Bukhārī, which resembles the first variant of Ibn Ḥanbal from Abu Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī. The name 'Amr and 'Umar ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī is from Mūsā ibn Ismā'il in the *riwāya* of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī. The omission of the *nasab* Ibn Asīd is a peculiarity of the transmission of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī from Mūsā ibn Ismā'il. Since all other traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd have the *nasab* Ibn al-Asīd, Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī is responsible for the omission. Furthermore, since only one of the four traditions from Mūsā ibn Ismā'il in the *riwāya* of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī has 'Amr instead of 'Umar, it is probably a transmission error. Since al-Bukhārī in his transmission from Musa ibn Ismā'il is actually the only person who calls the informant of al-Zuhri 'Amr, the name that Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd most likely mentioned to his students is 'Umar ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī. Consequently, the variant 'Umayr in tradition L14 in the *Musnad* of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī is certainly a mistake, since only one tradition mentions it.

The seventh variant that is present in the combined tradition L11 from Ma'n ibn 'Īsā and 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatāda is 'Umar ibn Asīd ibn al-'Alā' ibn Jāriya. The omission of the *nisba* al-Thaqafī and especially the addition of the *nasab* Ibn al-'Alā' are inconsistent with the transmission from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd.

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<sup>72</sup> See the paragraph on Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd on pages 42-43

The *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq is the earliest collection that contains a detailed version. This will be the main text for the comparison.<sup>73</sup>

- 1 عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن الزهري عن عمرو بن أبي سفيان الثقفي عن أبي هريرة قال: بعث رسول الله
- 2 صلعم سرية عينا له وأمر عليهم عاصم بن ثابت وهو جد عاصم بن عمر فأنطلقوا حتى إذا كانوا ببعض
- 3 الطريق بين عسفان ومكة نزولا (ف)نذكروا<sup>74</sup> لحي من هنبل يقال لهم بنو لحيان فتبعوهم بقريب من مائة
- 4 رجل رام حتى رأوا آثارهم حتى نزلوا منزلا يرونها<sup>75</sup> فوجدوا فيه نوى تمر يرونها من تمر المدينة فقالوا:
- 5 هذا من تمر يثرب فاتبعوا آثارهم حتى لحقوهم فلما أحسهم عاصم بن ثابت وأصحابه لجأوا إلى دفد وجاء
- 6 القوم فأحاطوا بهم فقالوا: لكم العهد والميثاق إن نزلتم إلينا لا نقتل منكم رجلا فقال عاصم بن ثابت: أما أنا
- 7 فلا أنزل في نمة كافر اللهم أخبر عنا رسولك قال: فقاتلوهم حتى قتلوا عاصما في سبعة نفر وبقي خبيب بن
- 8 عدي وزيد بن دثنة ورجل آخر فأعطوهم العهد والميثاق إن نزلوا إليهم فنزلوا إليهم فلما استمكنوا منهم
- 9 حلوا أوتار قسيهم فربطوهم بها فقال الرجل الثالث الذي كان معهما: هذا أول الغدر فأبى أن يصحبهم
- 10 فجره فأبى أن يتبعهم وقال: لي في هؤلاء أسوء فضربوا عنقه وأنطلقوا بخبيب بن عدي وزيد بن دثنة
- 11 حتى باعوهما بمكة فاشترى خبيبا بنو الحارث بن عامر بن نوفل وكان قتل الحارث يوم بدر فمكث عندهم
- 12 أسيرا حتى أجمعوا على قتله استعار موسى [من] إحدى بنات الحارث ليستد بها فأعارته قالت: فغفلت
- 13 عن صبي لي فدرج إليه حتى أتاه قالت: فأخذه فوضعه على فخذه فلما رأيته فزعت فزعا عرفه في
- 14 والموسى بيده قال: أتخشين أن أقتله؟ ما كنت لأن أفعل إن شاء الله قال: فكانت تقول: ما رأيت أسيرا خيرا
- 15 من خبيب لقد رأيته يأكل من قطف عنب وما بمكة يومئذ ثمرة وإنه لموثق في الحديد وما كان إلا رزق
- 16 رزقه الله إياه ثم خرجوا به من الحرم ليقتلوه فقال: دعوني أصلي<sup>76</sup> ركعتين فصلى ركعتين ثم قال: لولا
- 17 أن ترون<sup>77</sup> أن ما بي جزء من الموت لزنت فكان أول من سن الركعتين عند القتل هو ثم قال: اللهم
- 18 أحصهم عددا [ثم] قال: ولست أبالي حين أقتل مسلما على أي شق كان لله مصرعي وذلك في ذات الإله
- 19 وإن يشأ يبارك على أوصال شلو ممزغ ثم قام إليه عقبة بن الحارث فقتله قال: وبعثت<sup>78</sup> قریش إلى

<sup>73</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, V, 353-355 (no. 9730). All line numbers in this paragraph refer to the lines mentioned below in the Arabic text

<sup>74</sup> Five of the seven detailed traditions do not mention the conjunction *fa*

<sup>75</sup> Five of the seven detailed traditions mention *nazālūhu* instead of *yarawnahu*.

<sup>76</sup> The editor changed this word incorrectly from *usalli* into *uṣalli*. See 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 355, footnote 1. All other traditions from 'Abd al-Razzāq and Ma'mar have *usalli*, so the formulation in the manuscript is correct.

<sup>77</sup> Although the editor changed this grammatically correct into *taraw anna*, the form *tarawna anna* is a peculiarity of the transmission of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabārī from 'Abd al-Razzāq. See 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 355, footnote 2. I discuss the *rwāya* of the *Muṣannaf* below on page 72.

<sup>78</sup> The word in the *Muṣannaf* is *ba'atha*. Eight of the ten traditions from Ma'mar which mention this word agree on *ba'atha*, while the remaining two traditions have *ba'atha*.

'Abd al-Razzāq on the authority of Ma'mar on the authority of al-Zuhri on the authority of 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān al-Thaqafi on the authority of Abū Hurayra who said,

"The messenger of God sent out a scouting expedition, appointing 'Āṣim ibn Thābit, the grandfather of 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar, as their leader (1). They went away until – when they were somewhere between 'Usfān and Mecca - they were mentioned to a clan of Hudhayl, called the Banū Lihyān (2). They followed them with about 100 archers (3), until they saw their tracks when they stopped at a campsite, which they saw (4). They found at that site date pits, which they identified as coming from the dates of Medina. They said, 'These are from the dates of Yathrib.' (5) They followed their tracks until they found them (6).

When 'Āṣim and his companions discovered them, they fled to an elevated place in the desert (7), while the clan came and surrounded them (8). They said, 'You have the pledge and the promise that if you come down to us we will not kill anyone of you.' (9) 'Āṣim ibn Thābit said, 'As for me, I will not come down on the basis of safety promised by an unbeliever (10). O God, inform Your Prophet about us!' (11)

He said, "They fought with them until they killed 'Āṣim and six other people (12), leaving Khubayb ibn 'Adī, Zayd ibn Dathinna and another man (13). They gave them the pledge and promise if they would surrender to them (14). They [= the three men] surrendered to them (15). When they [= the clan] seized them, they untied the strings of their bows and tied them with these (16). The third man who was with them [i.e. Khubayb and Zayd], said, 'This is the first sign of treachery.' He refused to accompany them (18). They dragged him along, but he refused to follow them (20), saying, 'I have in those ones [his killed companions] an example!' (19). They decapitated him (21), taking Khubayb ibn 'Adī and Zayd ibn Dathinna [with them] and eventually, they sold them in Mecca (22).

The sons of al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir ibn Nawfal bought Khubayb, because he had killed al-Ḥārith on the day of Badr (23). He stayed with them as a prisoner until they decided to kill him (24). He borrowed a razor from<sup>79</sup> one of the daughters of al-Ḥārith to shave [his pubic hair] and she loaned him one (25). She said, 'I did not pay attention to a little boy of mine and he walked slowly towards him until he reached him.' (26). She said, 'He [Khubayb] took him and placed him on his thigh (27). When I saw him I got terrified, which he noticed in me with the razor in his hand.' (28) He said, 'Are you afraid that I shall kill him? I would never do [such a thing], God willing.'" (29)

<sup>79</sup> Literally, the razor of one, because the word *min* is missing in the manuscript.

He said, "She used to say, 'I did not see a better prisoner than Khubayb (30). I saw him eating from a bunch of grapes, while there was no fruit in Mecca at that time and while he was still in irons (31). It was certainly food that God gave to him.' (32)

Then they went with him out of the sacred territory to kill him. He said, 'Allow me to pray a short prayer consisting of two cycles.' (33) He prayed a short prayer consisting of two cycles (34). Then he said, 'If you would not think that I was afraid of death I would have performed more.' (35) It was he who established the practice of [praying] a short prayer consisting of two cycles before an execution (40). Then he said, 'O God, register them by number.' (36). Then he said, 'Being killed as a Muslim, I do not care how my death comes, since it is in God's cause (37) For that is God's prerogative; and if He wishes He will give His blessing to severed limbs.' (38) Then 'Uqba ibn al-Hārith came to him and killed him (39)."

He said, "Quraysh sent [messengers] out for 'Āṣim to bring something from his body by which they could recognize him (42), because he had killed one of their nobles (43). God sent a cloud-like swarm of bees. It protected him from their messengers (44) and they could not [get] anything from him (45)."

The *isnād* bundle of the traditions from Ma‘mar is as follows:



Figure 7 *Isnad* bundle of Ma'mar ibn Rāshid on the raid of the Hudhayl

# AL-MIZZĪ

d 742/1341 Mizza

S8

*Abmad b Muhammad*

d 340/951 2 Basra

AL-ṬABARĀNĪ

d 360/971 Isfahān

L15 | S8-9-11

Ishāq b

Ibrāhīm

al-Dabarī

d 285/898

San'a'

L1-15

S9

S8-11

S8-11

+ Ibrāhīm b Sa'd

d 153/770 Basra/San'a'

L1

IBN ḤIBBĀN

d 354/965 Sijistan

L9

Ibn Qutayba

'Abd Allāh

b Ahmad

'Asqalān

d 290/903

Baghdad

L8

IBN ḤANBAL

d 241/855

Baghdad

L1

'ABD AL-RAZZĀQ

d 211/826 San'a'

S12

L1

Ma'mar ibn Rashid

d 153/770 Basra/San'a'

al-Zuhri

d 124/742 Medina a o

'Amr b Abi Sufyān al-Thaqafī

n d Medina

Abū Hurayra

d 57/677 Medina

S8-11

IBN KATHĪR

d 774/1373

Damascus

L10

IBN ABĪ

'ĀSIM

d 287/900

Isfahān/Basra

S4

Ibn Abi

'Umar

d 243/857

Mecca

L17

IBN ḤAJAR

d 852/1448

Cairo

L17

AL-BUKHĀRĪ

d 256/780 Bukhārā

L5

Ibrāhīm

b Mūsā

d 22x/83x

Rayy

Hisham

b Yūsuf

d 197/813

San'a'

KHALĪFA B.

KHAYYĀṬ

d 240/854

Basra

S7

'Abd Allāh

b Dāwūd

d 213/828

Kūfa

We will start with the comparison of the detailed traditions. The first two traditions that will be compared are the versions L1 of the *Musannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzaq and L15 of al-Tabarani<sup>80</sup>. The differences between the two versions are very small and consist mainly of transmission or copyist's errors. Some of the larger differences in the text of al-Tabarani are *fa-qtassu*<sup>81</sup> instead of *hatta ra'aw* (l4), *tazawwadūhu* instead of *yarawnahu* (l4), *fa-a'arathu li-yastahidda bība* instead of *li-yastahidda biha fa-a'arathu*\* (l12), *fi yadihi*\* instead of *bi-yadihi* (l14) and the addition of the words *fa-ramawhum* (l10), *idha*\* (l12), *min*\* (l12) and *yawm Badr*\* (l20). The omission of the sentence *wa-rajul akhar [ ] wa-ntalaqu bi-Khubayb ibn 'Adi wa-Zayd ibn Dathinna* (l8-10) is probably a transcription error, because the last words in the

<sup>80</sup> Al Tabarani, *al Mu jam al kabir*, IV, 221 223 (no 4191)

<sup>81</sup> The other traditions from Ma'mar agree on the word(s) marked with an asterisk

text of al-Ṭabarānī (*Khubayb ibn 'Adī wa-Zayd ibn Dathīnna*) are the same as the last words of the missing part

The high degree of similarity between the two texts indicates that they must derive from a common source. Based on the information from the *isnad* bundle on page 71 it would seem as if 'Abd al-Razzāq is this common source. However, the text of the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* in the *Musannaf* is from the manuscript of Murād Mulla (dated 747/1346-1347) and comes from the *riwāya* Abū Sa'id Aḥmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ziyād ibn Bishr al-A'rābi l-Baṣrī -> Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī -> 'Abd al-Razzaq.<sup>82</sup> The common source is therefore Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī. The traditions are so much alike that al-Dabarī must have transmitted the traditions by writing or dictating from a written text.

The traditions from Ibn Ḥanbal (L8) and Ibn Hibban (L9) that are attributed to 'Abd al-Razzāq look very much like the version from al-Dabarī.<sup>83</sup> The analysis of the *mutūn* shows that tradition L9 of Ibn Hibban differs more from the other three versions than Ibn Ḥanbal's tradition L8. The majority of the *matn* of Ibn Hibban's tradition is however similar to the versions of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī and Ibn Ḥanbal. The conclusion of the comparison of the *mutun* of the four traditions is that they derive from a common source. This common source is 'Abd al-Razzaq according to the information from the *asānīd*

The question that remains to be answered is whether the traditions from Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Hibbān are independent transmissions. The question can be answered positively for certain for the tradition of Ibn Hibban, since it contains many peculiarities like the omission of the sentence *wa-huwa jadd 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar* (l2), *tamr ahl Yathrib* instead of *tamr Yathrib* (l5), *dhimmat qaḥm kafīrīna* instead of *dhimmat kāfir* (l7), the omission of *fa-daraja ilayhi* (l13), the different position of the sentence *wa-l-mūsā fī yadīhi* (l13 instead of l14), *shadīdan* instead of *'arafahu* (l13), *khashīlū* instead of *atakhshayna* (l14), the omission of the sentences *Allahumma aḥsīhim 'adadan* (l17-18) and *wa-dhalika fī dhat al-ilah wa-in yasha' yubārīk 'ala awṣāl shilw mumazzī'* (l18-19) and *ilā ma'wḍi' 'Āṣim* instead of *ilā 'Āṣim* (l19-20)

The tradition of Ibn Ḥanbal contains only two peculiarities, i.e. words that no other tradition from Ma'mar mentions, *fa-qatalū* instead of *hattā qatalu* (l7) and *ma* instead of *wa-lastu* (l18). Two peculiarities do not prove its independence from the traditions of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī. However, the latter has a number of formulations that are not

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<sup>82</sup> Motzki, "The author", 177-178

<sup>83</sup> Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, II, 415 (no. 8116) Ibn Hibban, *Sahih Ibn Hibban bi tarṭīb Ibn Balban*, XV, Beirut 1418/1997, 512-514

present in the tradition of Ibn Ḥanbal. In fact, they are not present in any other tradition from Ma'mar besides the two traditions from Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabārī. These peculiarities are *sariyya 'aynan lahu* (l2) instead of *sariyya 'aynan, Zayd ibn Dathinna* (l8 and l10) instead of *Zayd ibn al-Dathinna*, the omission of the word *huwa* (l11)<sup>84</sup> and the addition of *fiyya* (l13). Since Ibn Ḥanbal's text does not contain these peculiarities, it is an independent transmission from al-Dabārī's tradition.

The information from the *asānīd* confirms the conclusion that the traditions from Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Ḥibbān are independent transmissions. Two different students of 'Abd al-Razzāq are mentioned in the *asānīd*, Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Abī l-Sarī.

The remaining three detailed traditions are from al-Bukhārī. One is from his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (L5) and the other two are found in the late collections of Ibn Kathīr (L10) and Ibn Ḥajar (L17).<sup>85</sup> The three texts are nearly identical. The most significant differences between them are the omission of *fa-ramawhum* (L10+L17) (l10) and *yawma'idh* (L4) (l17), the addition of *min* (L10) (l18), *wa-qāla* (L5) instead of *thumma qāla* (l20), the addition of *wa-qtulhum badadan* (L10) (l18), *mā an* (L17) instead of *wa-lastu* (l18), *fī Allāhi* (L10) instead of *lī-llāhi* (l18), the addition of the name 'Āṣim (L10+L17) (l20) and the omission of the word '*alayhi* (L10) (l21).

Comparison of the traditions from al-Bukhārī with the different versions of 'Abd al-Razzāq shows that the version of al-Bukhārī deviates much more and more significantly from the other traditions than L9 of Ibn Ḥibbān does. For example, the text of al-Bukhārī does not relate how Khubayb was killed, while the traditions we have discussed above tell that he was decapitated. Furthermore, the text of al-Bukhārī does not always mention the *nasab* of persons ('Āṣim instead of 'Āṣim ibn Thābit (l5 and l6), Khubayb instead of Khubayb ibn 'Adī (l7-8 and l10) and Zayd instead of Zayd ibn (al-)Dathinna (l8 and l10)). It contains many peculiarities, like the omission of *bi-ba'd al-tariq* (l2-3), *ataw* instead of *nazalū* (l4), *intabā* instead of *aḥassahum* or *ānasahum* (l5), the addition of *wa-'ālaḥūhu 'alā an yaṣṣabahum* (l10), *fa-lam yaf'al* instead of *fa-abā an yattabi'ahum* (l10), *ba'd* instead of *iḥdā*

<sup>84</sup> It seems that the editor of the *Muṣannaf* incorrectly added this word, since the other traditions from Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabārī (L15 al-Ṭabarānī) do not mention it either. Tradition L9 does not mention *huwa* either, but this is because the subject of the verb *kāna* is al-Ḥārith instead of Khubayb (*wa-kāna l-Ḥārith qutla yawm Badr*).

<sup>85</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *al-Sahih*, III, 89-90 (*Kitāb al-maghāzī – Bāb ghazwat al-Rajī wa Dhakwān wa-Bī'r Ma'una wa-ḥadīth 'aḍl wa-l-qāra wa-'Asim ibn Thābit wa-Khubayb wa-aṣḥābīhi*). Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, IV, 62-63. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, VII, 481-482 (no. 4086).

(112), the addition of *dhālika* (113), *thumma inṣarafa ilayhim fa-qāla* instead of *thumma qala* (117) and *minhu 'alā shay'* instead of *'alā shay' minhu* (121).

Still, a great part of al-Bukhārī's tradition is identical in structure and formulation to the traditions we have discussed above. The conclusion of the *matn* analysis is that all detailed traditions derive from a common source. This source is according to the *asānīd* not 'Abd al-Razzāq as we have seen before, but his teacher Ma'mar. This explains why this tradition differs from the other detailed stories. Not 'Abd al-Razzāq, but Hishām ibn Yūsuf, another student of Ma'mar, transmitted the version of al-Bukhārī.

The similarity in structure and formulation suggests a written transmission. Because of the number of the differences - and even more importantly the type of variation - it is not possible that both students copied the text from a written version of Ma'mar's tradition. It seems more likely that Ma'mar distributed this tradition via a dictation session, perhaps even at different times in his life.

When we combine the data from the different versions, an "original" tradition of Ma'mar may have looked as follows:<sup>86</sup>

Muḥammad sent out a scouting expedition, appointing 'Āṣim ibn Thābit, the grandfather of 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar (H: ibn al-Khaṭṭāb) as their leader (1). When the expedition was (A: somewhere) between 'Uṣfān and Mecca, they are mentioned to a clan of Hudhayl, called the Banu Liḥyan (2). About 100 achers followed them (3). They found the campsite (4) with date pits that they recognized as date pits from Medina (5). They followed their tracks until they found them (6). When 'Āṣim and his companions discovered them, they took refuge at an elevated place in the desert (7). The clan surrounded them (8) and promised not to kill anybody, if they surrendered (9). 'Āṣim said that he does not come down on the basis of safety promised by an unbeliever (10) and asked God to inform Muḥammad of them (11).

They fought until the clan killed 'Āṣim and six other people (H: with arrows) (12). This left Khubayb, Zayd and a third person (13). The clan offered them the same safeguard (14) and the three men surrendered (15). The clan untied the strings of their bows and tied the three men with the strings (16). The third man regarded this as the first sign of treachery and refused to follow them (18). They dragged him along (H: struggling with him) but he did not follow them (20). He

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<sup>86</sup> The versions of 'Abd al-Razzāq and Hishām ibn Yūsuf in the *riwāya* of al-Bukhārī differ slightly. I put the additional information that only one student gives between brackets. "A" indicates 'Abd al-Razzāq's and "H" the version of al-Bukhārī from Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā from Hishām ibn Yūsuf

said that he had an example in those [his killed companions] (19) The clan killed him (A: decapitated him) (21), taking Khubayb and Zayd [with them] and eventually, they sold them in Mecca (22).

The sons of al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Āmir ibn Nawfal bought Khubayb, because he had killed al-Ḥārith on the day of Badr (23). He stayed with them as a prisoner until they decided to kill him (24). Khubayb borrowed a razor from a daughter of al-Ḥārith to shave his pubic hair (25) She relates that she did not pay attention to a little boy of hers who walked to Khubayb (26). Khubayb put the boy on his thigh (27). She got very scared when she saw that, because Khubayb still had the razor in his hand. He noticed that she was scared (28). He asked her if she was afraid that he would kill the boy and reassured her that he would not do (H: such a thing) God willing (29). The woman used to say that she never saw a better prisoner than Khubayb (30). She saw him eating from a bunch of grapes, while there was no fruit in Mecca at that time and while he was still in irons (31). It was certainly food that God gave to him. (32).

When they left the sacred territory with Khubayb to kill him, he asked them to allow him to perform a short prayer consisting of two cycles (33), (A: which he did (34)). Then he said (H: turning towards them) that he would have performed more if they would not have thought that he was afraid of death (35) It was he who established the practice of [praying] a short prayer consisting of two cycles before an execution (40). He asked God to register them by number (36) Then he said, “Being killed as a Muslim, I do not care how my death comes, since it is in God’s cause (37). For that is God’s prerogative; and if He wishes He will give His blessing to severed limbs” (38) Then ‘Uqba ibn al-Ḥārith came to him and killed him (39).

Quraysh sent [messengers] out for ‘Āṣim to bring something from his body by which they could recognize him (42), because he had killed one of their nobles (43). God sent a cloud-like swarm of bees It protected him from their messengers (44) and they could not [get] anything from him (45)

Besides the seven detailed versions discussed above, there is one medium-length tradition and seven short stories on the raid of the Hudhayl that Ma‘mar allegedly transmitted. Let us start with the medium-length tradition. It is from Ibn al-Athīr’s *Uṣd al-ghāba* and is part of

the *bāb* on ‘Āṣim ibn Thābit ibn Abī l-Aqlaḥ.<sup>87</sup> The first problem we face is the *isnād*. Ibn al-Athīr does not mention from whom he received the tradition. The only information he gives is that this is a tradition from Ma‘mar -> al-Zuhri -> ‘Amr ibn Abī Sufyān al-Thaqafī -> Abū Hurayra. We will first have to establish whether this is a genuine tradition from Ma‘mar. If this is indeed the case, we will try to find out who transmitted the tradition from Ma‘mar.

The tradition does not contain all elements of Ma‘mar’s detailed versions. It starts with the information that Muḥammad sent a scouting expedition appointing ‘Āṣim ibn Thābit as their leader (element 1). They went away until they were between ‘Uṣfān and Mecca, when they are mentioned to a clan of Hudhayl, the Banū Liḥyān (element 2). About 100 archers followed them (element 3), until they found them and surrounded them (element 8). The clan promised them that if they descended to them, they would not kill any of them (element 9). ‘Āṣim said that he would not descend on the basis of safety promised by a polytheist (element 10) and asked God to inform His Prophet of them (element 11). They fought with them and shot them until the clan killed ‘Āṣim and six other people (element 12). Only Khubayb ibn ‘Adī, Zayd ibn al-Dathinna and a third person were left (element 13). The clan offered them the same safeguard (element 14). The three surrendered to them (element 15) and they seized them.

Ibn al-Athīr remarks at this point that he has already related the story of Khubayb in the *bāb* on him. The story continues with the information that Quraysh sent [messengers] to ‘Āṣim to retrieve him or something of his body by which they could recognize him (element 42). In the final part of the tradition, Ibn al-Athīr seems to have combined the tradition from Ma‘mar with another story about ‘Āṣim, because it contains information that no other tradition from al-Zuhri on the raid of the Hudhayl has (Sulāfa asking for the head of ‘Āṣim, because he had killed her son; God sending rain to protect ‘Āṣim’s body during the night; ‘Āṣim’s prayer to God that he should not touch a polytheist and no polytheist should touch him and a poem from Ḥassān [ibn Thābit] on ‘Āṣim). Only two sentences are familiar: *wa-kāna qatala ‘Uqba ibn Abi Mu‘ayy al-Umawī yawm Badr* (element 43) and *fa-ba‘atha Allāh subḥānahu ‘alayhi muthl al-ḡulla min al-dabr fa-ḥamathu min rusulihim fa-lam yaqdirū ‘alā shay’ minhu* (elements 44-45).

The remark of Ibn al-Athīr that he related the story of Khubayb elsewhere indicates that he edited the tradition. Beside the parts on the third man and Khubayb (elements 16-41)

<sup>87</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, III, 111-112.

that he skipped, elements 4-7 are not mentioned in the beginning of the tradition. Ibn al-Athīr is probably also responsible for this, so he could quickly start with the section about the clan killing 'Āṣim.

The *isnad* and the *matn* until the final part of Ibn al-Athīr's tradition resemble the detailed versions of Ma'mar apart from the shortening of the text. The informant of al-Zuhri is called 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān al-Thaqafī. The *isnad* does not give any additional information on this person. The number of people participating in the scouting party is not mentioned specifically in the tradition, but can be deduced from the number of killed people (7) and the remaining ones (3). The tradition does not name the place where the meeting of the two parties is, but tells that it is between 'Uṣfan and Mecca

Still, there are some differences in the formulation compared with the detailed versions. They are the omission of *idhā* (12), *wa-hum* instead of *yuqalu labum* (13), *fī qarīb* instead of *bi-qarīb* (13), *ḡḡwar mushrik* instead of *dhimmat kāfir* (17), the addition of *fa-akhadhūhum* (110), *fa-arsalat* instead of *wa-ba'atha(t)* (119) and *bihī aw bi-shay' min jasadihī* instead of *bi-shay' min jasadihī* (120). The difference in the corresponding sentences of the final part of the tradition is the name 'Uqba ibn Abī Mu'ayt al-Umawī instead of the vague description 'aḡḡman min 'uḡamā'ihim (120). The sentence on God sending bees to protect 'Āṣim's body is identical to 'Abd al-Razzaq's tradition in the *Musannaf*, except for the eulogy after *Allāh*.

Ibn al-Athīr is probably responsible for the name of the person 'Āṣim had killed at Badr, because in the next sentence he gives the names of two other persons whom 'Āṣim had killed. It is therefore very likely that he knew the name of the person and changed the vague formulation "one of their nobles" into the correct name. It was probably not the intention of Ibn al-Athīr to give the complete and unaltered tradition, but he may have just wanted to relate the parts on 'Āṣim that are relevant to the chapter. It is strange though, that he conscientiously mentions at the beginning of the tradition from whom he received the information (the *isnād*), but neglects to do the same for the final part of the tradition, which is clearly not from al-Zuhri.

Does this also mean that Ibn al-Athīr is responsible for all the above-mentioned differences? The answer is probably no. A large part of the tradition is identical to the corresponding parts of the detailed traditions. Why should Ibn al-Athīr change the formulation only at some instances and not at others? The similarities indicate that the medium-length tradition is most probably a genuine Ma'mar-tradition. Some formulations differ quite considerably from the formulations in the detailed versions of Ma'mar's

students 'Abd al-Razzāq and Hishām ibn Yūsuf. It is not possible to determine whether Ibn al-Athīr or perhaps a third student of Ma'mar is responsible for these differences. It is certain however that Ibn al-Athīr edited the tradition.

Finally, we will discuss the seven short traditions that are attributed to Ma'mar. We have already compared traditions S11 and S8 from al-Ṭabarānī,<sup>88</sup> which derive from a combined transmission of Ma'mar and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, with other traditions of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd.<sup>89</sup> The comparison with other traditions of Ma'mar confirms the conclusion that the *matn* and the lower part of the *isnād* are from Ibrāhīm and not from Ma'mar. The Ma'mar-traditions mention the name of al-Zuhri's informant as 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān al-Thaqafi and not 'Umar ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafi, and lack the additional information that he was a confederate of the Banū Zuhra and one of the companions of Abū Hurayra. Furthermore, the *matn* contains two formulations that none of Ma'mar's traditions has, '*asharat rahī 'aynan* instead of *sariyya 'aynan* (I2) and the *nisba al-Ansārī* after 'Āṣim ibn Thābit (I2).

Tradition S4 of the *Kitāb al-awā'il* of Ibn Abī 'Āṣim contains the first sentence of the detailed versions (element 1) and then continues with the part where Khubayb asks if he may perform a short prayer consisting of two cycles (part of element 33) and the remark that he established the practice of performing a short prayer consisting of two cycles before an execution (element 40).<sup>90</sup> The first sentence differs in three places from the detailed versions: the word *sariyya* (I2) is not mentioned, *ista'mala* is used instead of *ammara* (I2) and the *nasab* ibn Abī l-Aqlaḥ is added to the name of 'Āṣim ibn Thābit (I2). The other two sentences are identical. Especially the use of the name 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān without additional information in the *isnād* is a peculiarity of a Ma'mar-tradition. Ibn Abī 'Āṣim received the tradition from Ibn Abī 'Umar -> 'Abd al-Razzāq -> Ma'mar -> al-Zuhri -> 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān al-Thaqafi -> Abū Hurayra. Since all other traditions from 'Abd al-Razzāq – and even the one from Hishām ibn Yūsuf and the medium-length tradition – are identical in the formulation of the first sentence, one of the transmitters after 'Abd al-Razzāq, Ibn Abī 'Umar or Ibn Abī 'Āṣim himself, must be responsible for the changes. Ibn Abī 'Āṣim is responsible for the shortening of the text, since the tradition only contains information that concerns the topic of the book, i.e. traditions that deal with the establishment of a certain practice.

<sup>88</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al kabīr*, XVII, 175 (no. 463). Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, V, 418 (no. 4963)

<sup>89</sup> See pages 64-65.

<sup>90</sup> Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *Kitāb al awā'il*, Beirut 1411/1991, 53 (no. 121).



Tradition S6 is from Ibn Hibban, who mentioned it after the detailed tradition (L9) discussed above.<sup>91</sup> He does not give the complete *isnad*, but names his sources until ‘Abd al-Razzaq. He says that ‘Abd al-Razzaq transmitted a similar (= similar to the previous detailed tradition) tradition with the same *isnad* (*bi isnadihi nahwahu*). Ibn Hibban does not relate the complete tradition, but only the last sentence (elements 44 (partly) 45), which he introduces with the remark “*wa-qala fi akhirihi*” (he said at the end of it).

The *matn* differs in two places with the detailed versions, the omission of *fa hamathu min rusulihim* (l21) and *minhu* (l21). It is remarkable that the previous detailed tradition L9 of Ibn Hibban from Ibn Abi Sarī also lacks *fa hamathu min rusulihim* plus the two words *min al dabr* before this sentence. Since the detailed versions of two other students of ‘Abd al-Razzaq and the tradition from Hisham ibn Yusuf, another student of Ma‘mar, mention this sentence, it most probably was part of the “original” tradition of ‘Abd al-Razzaq and even of Ma‘mar. It is very strange that Ibn Hibban possesses two traditions of two different students of ‘Abd al-Razzaq (Ibn Rahwayh (S6) and Ibn Abi l-Sarī (L9)) that both lack the sentence in question. Ibn Hibban emphasises this (unintentionally?) by only mentioning the last sentence in the second tradition, while he states that it is part of a longer tradition.

The last tradition attributed to ‘Abd al-Razzaq is from al-Tabarānī’s *Kitāb al-awā’il* and only relates the section dealing with Khubayb performing a short prayer consisting of two cycles before his execution (elements 33 (partly), 34 and 40).<sup>92</sup> The title of the book *Kitāb al-awā’il* explains why the tradition deals only with the section dealing with Khubayb asking permission and receiving it – to perform a short prayer consisting of two cycles. Al-Tabarānī’s interest lies in (parts of) traditions that handle the establishment of a certain practice, in this case a short prayer consisting of two cycles before an execution. He gives the same *isnad* as in his detailed tradition L15, Ishaq ibn Ibrahim al-Dabarī -> ‘Abd al-Razzaq -> Ma‘mar etc.

The tradition starts with a sentence that the detailed versions do not have: *anna Khubayb ibn ‘Adī radiya Allāh ‘anhu lammā arāda l-mushrikūna qatlahu qala lahum*. Al-Tabarānī himself probably added it to introduce the topic of the tradition. The following sentences contain two differences compared with the detailed traditions: the addition of *fa tarakuhu* (l16), *fa sallahuma* instead of *fa salla l rak‘atayni* (l16) and the addition of *Khubayb* in the sentence *fa kana Khubayb awwal man sanna [ ]* (l17). Especially the addition of *fa tarakuhu* is remarkable, because Ma‘mar is the only student of al-Zuhri who does not use

<sup>91</sup> Ibn Hibban, *Sahib*, XV, 514 515

<sup>92</sup> Al-Tabarānī, *Kitāb al-awā’il*, Beirut 1403/[1983], 108

this word in any other tradition, as the comparison of the traditions between students of al-Zuhri will show. Al-Ṭabarānī has traditions about the raid of the Hudhayl from Ma'mar and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. Tradition S11 (and S8) that we have discussed above is a combined tradition of Ma'mar and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. It is possible that al-Ṭabarānī mixed two versions and added the word *fa-tarakūhu* by mistake in this tradition from Ma'mar. The tradition contains the Ma'mar feature of calling al-Zuhri's informant, 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān al-Thaqafī without any additional information.

The last two traditions deal with the same topic, i.e. the person who established the practice of [praying] a short prayer consisting of two cycles before an execution is Khubayb (element 40). The main difference between the two traditions is that al-Wāqidī traces this saying to Abū Hurayra in *Kitāb al-maghāzī* (S12) and Khalifa ibn Khayyāt to al-Zuhri in *Ta'rikh Khalifa ibn Khayyāt* (S7).<sup>93</sup> The *asānīd* of the traditions are Ma'mar -> al-Zuhri -> 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān ibn Asid ibn al-'Alā' -> Abū Hurayra and 'Abd Allāh ibn Dāwūd -> Ma'mar -> al-Zuhri, respectively. The *mutūn* are identical, except for a different form of the verb *sanna*. Al-Wāqidī says *sanna*, while Khalifa ibn Khayyāt uses the eighth form *istanna* (l17). They differ from the corresponding sentence in the detailed versions by omission of the verb *fa-wa-kāna* at the beginning (l17) and the use of *Khubayb* instead of *huwa* at the end (l17). Both differences are a logical result of mentioning the sentence outside the framework of the detailed story.

Al-Wāqidī's *isnād* shares the same feature of the other Ma'mar-traditions by calling the informant of al-Zuhri 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān without further notification of his relation with the Zuhra clan and Abū Hurayra. The main difference is that al-Wāqidī's *isnād* has the *nasab* Ibn Asid ibn al-'Alā' instead of the *nisba* al-Thaqafī. Since the other Ma'mar-traditions lack this *nasab*, al-Wāqidī must be responsible for this change. It is not possible to determine whether the tradition of Khalifa ibn Khayyāt derives indeed from Ma'mar, because it stops at al-Zuhri and therefore lacks the distinctive part of the *isnād*. Furthermore, the *matn* is too short and the differences are too few to draw any conclusions. It is not possible either to decide who is responsible for the shortening of the tradition, Ma'mar or both of his students (provided the tradition from Khalifa ibn Khayyāt derives indeed from Ma'mar).

The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of the traditions attributed to Ma'mar shows that Ma'mar transmitted a detailed tradition about the raid of the Hudhayl to two of his students, Hisham ibn Yūsuf and 'Abd al-Razzāq. Three different students of 'Abd al-Razzāq,

<sup>93</sup> Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, Beirut 2006, 269 (*Ghazwat al-Rajī' fī šafar 'alā ra's sitta wa thalāthina shahr*). Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh Khalifa ibn Khayyāt*, Beirut 1415/1995, 33.

Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī, Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Abī l-Sarī, transmitted his detailed tradition further on. There is some evidence that a fourth student, Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanzalī, i.e. Ibn Rāhwayh, possibly knew the entire tradition, although only one sentence is preserved. There are some indications that two other students of Ma'mar, al-Wāqidi and 'Abd Allāh ibn Dāwūd, knew at least a small part of the tradition, but the evidence is too small to draw any conclusion.

### *Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamza*

The main text for the comparison is from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, which is the earliest collection that contains a detailed version.<sup>94</sup>

- 1 حدثنا ابو اليمان قال: اخبرنا شعيب عن الزهري قال: اخبرني عمرو بن ابي سفيان بن اسيد بن جارية
- 2 النخعي وهو حليف لبني زهرة وكان من اصحاب ابي هريرة ان ابا هريرة قال: بعث رسول الله صلعم
- 3 عشرة رهط سرية عينا وامر عليهم عاصم بن ثابت الانصاري جد عاصم بن عمر بن الخطاب فانطلقوا
- 4 حتى اذا كانوا بالهداة وهو بين عسفان ومكة ذكروا لحي من هنبل يقال لهم بنو لحيان [ففروا لهم]<sup>95</sup> قريبا
- 5 من مائتي رجل كلهم رام فاقتصوا اثارهم حتى وجدوا ماكلهم تمرا تزودوه من المدينة فقالوا: هذا تمر يثرب
- 6 فاقتصوا اثارهم فلما راهم عاصم واصحابه لجؤا<sup>96</sup> الى فنجد واحاط بهم القوم فقالوا لهم: انزلوا واعطونا
- 7 بايديكم ولكم العهد والميثاق ولا نقتل منكم احدا فقال عاصم بن ثابت امير السرية: اما انا فوالله لا انزل اليوم
- 8 في نعمة كافر اللهم اخبر عنا نبيك فرمهم بالنبل فقتلوا عاصما في سبعة فنزل اليهم ثلاثة رهط بالعهد
- 9 والميثاق منهم حبيب الانصاري وابن ثثة ورجل آخر فلما استمكنوا منهم اطلقوا اوتار قسيهم فاوتقوهم
- 10 فقال الرجل الثالث: هذا اول الغدر والله لا اصحبكم ان لي في هؤلاء لأسوة يريد القتلى وجرروه وعالجوه
- 11 على ان يصحبهم فأبى فقتلوه وانطلقوا بخبيب وابن ثثة حتى باعوهما بمكة بعد وقعة بدر فابتاع خبيبا
- 12 بنو الحارث بن عامر بن نوفل بن عبد مناف وكان خبيب هو قتل الحارث بن عامر يوم بدر فلبث خبيب
- 13 عندهم أسيرا فاخبرني عبيد الله بن عياض ان بنت الحارث اخبرته أنهم حين اجتمعوا استعار منها موسى
- 14 يستعد بها فاعارته فأخذ ابنا لي وأنا غافلة حتى أتاه قالت: فوجنته مجلسه على فخذة والموسى بيده
- 15 ففزع فزعة عرفها خبيب في وجهي قال: تخشين ان أقتله؟ ما كنت لافعل ذلك والله ما رأيت أسيرا قط
- 16 خيرا من حبيب فوالله لقد وجنته يوما يأكل من قطف عنب في يده وإنه لموثق في الحديد وما بمكة من

<sup>94</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 258-259 (*Kitāb al-jihād – Bāb qatl al-asīr wa qatl al-ṣabr*). All line numbers in this paragraph refer to the lines mentioned below in the Arabic text

<sup>95</sup> I inserted the words *fa naffarū lahum* (l4) and *la zidtu* (l18), because the sentences would have been incomplete otherwise. I took the words from Abū l-Yamān's version in *al-Sunan al-kubrā* of al-Nasā'i. The editor changed the word *fa-naffaru* to *tanaffarū*, but the traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Isma'īl, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and Ma'mar confirm the use of the conjunction *fa* here. Al-Nasā'i, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, V, 261-263 (no 8839/1).

<sup>96</sup> The word in al-Bukhārī's text is *lajā'ū*, which is probably a printing error. Al-Nasā'i's traditions confirms the word *laja'ū*. Al-Nasā'i, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, V, 261.

17 ثمر وكانت تقول: إنه ليرزق من الله رزقه خبيبا فلما خرجوا من الحرم ليقتلوه في الحل قال لهم خبيب:  
 18 نروني أركع ركعتين فتركوه فركع ركعتين ثم قال: لولا أن تظنوا أن ما بي جزع [لزدت] اللهم أحصهم  
 19 عددا ولست أبالي حين أقتل مسلما على أي شق كان لله مصرعي وذلك في ذات الإله وإن يشأ يبارك على  
 20 أوصال شلو ممزع فقتله ابن الحارث فكان خبيب هو سن الركعتين لكل امرئ مسلم قتل صبرا فاستجاب  
 21 الله لعاصم بن ثابت يوم أصيب فأخبر النبي صلعم أصحابه خبرهم يوم<sup>97</sup> أصيبوا وبعث ناس من كفار  
 22 قريش إلى عاصم حين حدثوا أنه قتل ليؤتوا بشيء منه يعرف وكان قد قتل رجلا من عظمائهم يوم بدر  
 23 فبعث الله على عاصم مثل الظلة من الدبر فحمته من رسلهم<sup>98</sup> فلم يقدروا أن يقطعوا من لحمه شيئا.

Abū l-Yamān told us, he said, Shu‘ayb informed us on the authority of al-Zuhri, he said, ‘Amr ibn Abī Sufyān ibn Asid ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī, an ally of the Zuhra and one of the companions of Abū Hurayra, informed me that Abū Hurayra said,

“The messenger of God sent out a scouting expedition of ten men, appointing ‘Āṣim ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, the grandfather of ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, as their leader (1). They went away until they came to al-Hadā’a, which lies between ‘Uṣfān and Mecca, [when] they were mentioned to a clan of Hudhayl, called the Banū Liḥyān (2). About 200 archers [hurried to them] and followed their tracks (3), until they found the place where they had eaten dates, which they had taken along as provision (4). They said, ‘These are date pits from Yathrib.’ (5) They followed their tracks (6).

When ‘Āṣim and his companions saw them, they fled to an elevated place in the desert (7). The clan surrounded them (8) and said to them, ‘Come down surrendering yourselves. You have the pledge and promise and we will not kill anyone of you.’ (9) ‘Āṣim ibn Thābit the leader of the expedition said, ‘As for me, by God, I will not come down on the basis of safety promised by an unbeliever today (10). O God, inform Your Prophet about us!’ (11)

They shot arrows at them and killed ‘Āṣim and six other people (12). Three men surrendered to them on the pledge and promise, among whom were Khubayb al-Anṣārī, Ibn Dathinna and another man (15). When they seized them, they untied the strings of their bows and bound them (16). The third man said, ‘This is the first sign of treachery. By God, I shall not accompany you (18). I have truly in those ones an example!’ – By

<sup>97</sup> The word in al-Bukhārī’s text is *wa mā*, which is a transmission error. The detailed tradition from al-Nasā’i and al-Bukhārī’s short tradition confirm the word *yawm*.

<sup>98</sup> The word in al-Bukhārī’s text is *rasūlīhim*, which is probably a transmission error, since the following two verbs are plural. Also, according to the information in the previous sentence, the Quraysh sent several persons to return with some body part of ‘Āṣim. Both texts that mention this part, al-Bukhārī’s and al-Nasā’i’s, display a mixture of singular and plural verbal forms, which might indicate that the confusion has been part of the tradition at an early stage (Abū l-Yamān?).

which he meant the dead (19). They dragged him along struggling with him so he would come with them, but he refused (20). They killed him (21), while they took Khubayb and Ibn Dathinna [with them] and eventually, they sold them in Mecca [- all this happened] after the battle of Badr (22).

The sons of al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Āmir ibn Nawfal ibn ‘Abd Manāf bought Khubayb, because he was the one he who had killed al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Āmir ibn Nawfal on the day of Badr (23). Khubayb stayed with them as a prisoner (24).

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn ‘Iyāḍ informed me that the daughter of al-Ḥārith informed him that when they came together, he [i.e. Khubayb] borrowed from her a razor to shave [his pubic hair] and she loaned him one (25). ‘He took a son of mine, while I did not pay attention, until he [the child] went to him.’ (26) She said, ‘I found him putting him on his thigh with the razor in his hand (27). I got terrified, which Khubayb noticed in my face.’ (28) He said, ‘Are you afraid that I shall kill him? I would never do that.’ (29)

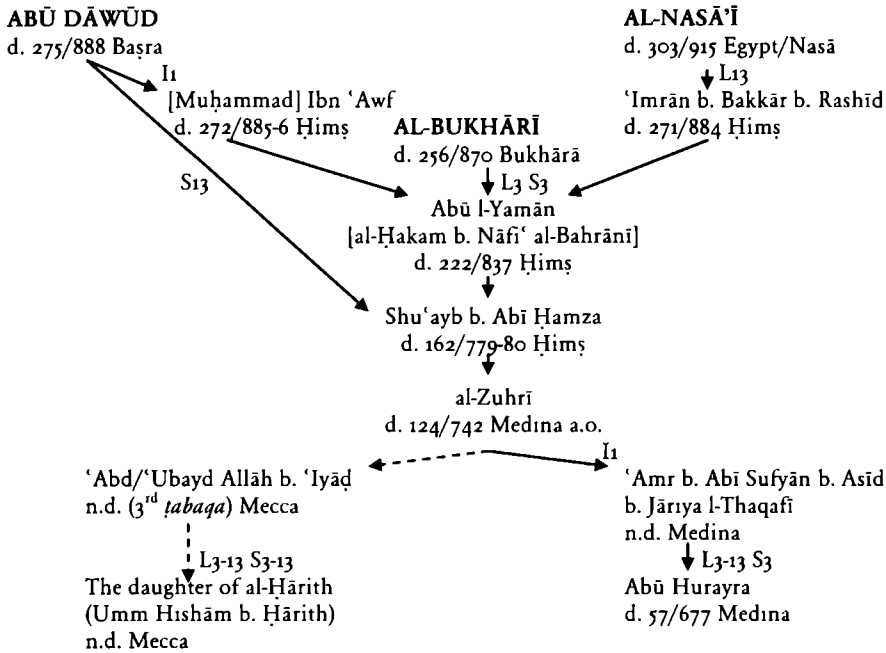
‘By God, I have never seen a better prisoner than Khubayb (30). By God, I found him one day eating from a bunch of grapes in his hand, while he was still in irons and while there was no fruit in Mecca.’ (31). She used to say, ‘It was certainly food from God that He gave to Khubayb.’ (32)

When they went out of the sacred territory to kill him in the *hill*, Khubayb said to them, ‘Let me alone to perform a short prayer consisting of two cycles.’ (33) They left him alone and he performed a short prayer consisting of two cycles (34). Then he said, ‘If you would not assume that I was afraid [of death I would have performed more] (35). O God, register them by number (36). Being killed as a Muslim, I do not care how my death comes, since it is in God’s cause (37). For that is God’s prerogative; and if He wishes He will give His blessing to severed limbs.’ (38) Ibn al-Ḥārith killed him (39). It was Khubayb who established the practice of [praying] a short prayer consisting of two cycles for each Muslim to be killed in captivity (40).

God answered [the prayer of] ‘Āṣim ibn Thābit on the day he was killed. The Prophet Muḥammad informed his companions regarding their matter on the day they were killed (41). People of Quraysh sent [messengers] out for ‘Āṣim when they were told that he was killed to bring something from him which they could recognize (42), because he had killed one of their nobles on the day of Badr (43). God sent to Āṣim a cloud-like swarm of bees and it protected him from their messengers (44). They could not cut anything from his flesh (45).”

The bundle below shows the *asānīd* of the traditions from Shu‘ayb ibn Abi Ḥamza, whereby the dotted lines represent the second *isnād* preceeding the execution of Khubayb.

Figure 8: *Isnād* bundle of Shu‘ayb ibn Abī Ḥamza on the raid of the Hudhayl



We will start again with the comparison of the detailed traditions, L3 of al-Bukhārī and L13 of al-Nasā'ī. The number of differences between the two texts is very small. The most significant differences in the text of al-Nasā'ī are *bi-qarib* instead of *qarīban* (l4), *mi'a* instead of *mi'atay* (l5), *fa-ttaba'ū* instead of *fa-qtaṣṣū* (l5) *wa-'ālajūhu fa-abā an yaṣḥababum* instead of *wa-'ālajūhu 'alā an yaṣḥababum fa-abā* (l10-11), *fa-daraja* instead of *fa-akhadha* (l14), *thumma qāma ilayhi Abu Sirwa'a 'Uqba ibn al-Ḥārith fa-qatalahu* instead of *fa-qatalahu Ibn al-Ḥārith* (l20) and the omission of the words *wa-huwa ḥalīf lī-Banī Zuhra* (l2), *fa-qālū hādhā tamr Yathrib* (l5), *inna lī fī hā'ulā'i la-uswa* (l10), *yuridu l-qatlā* (l10) and *imra'* (l20).

We can therefore conclude that the traditions derive from a common source. The texts are so much alike in content and formulation that they must have been transmitted by writing. However, the above-mentioned differences indicate that the version of al-Nasā'ī via 'Imrān ibn Bakkar ibn Rāshid is not a copy of al-Bukhārī's (earlier) text, but is the result of an independent transmission. The common source of the two detailed versions is Abū l-Yamān according to the *asānīd*.

My collection contains three other traditions that are attributed to Shu‘ayb, two short traditions and one that only states the *isnād*. Tradition S3 is like the detailed tradition L3 present in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, but he placed it in *kitāb al-tawḥīd* (the book on the

belief in the unity of God) in a chapter called *ma yudhkaru fi l dhat wa l nu'ut wa asami Allah* (what is mentioned on the nature, the attributes and the names of God)<sup>99</sup>

The tradition starts the same as the detailed version – the messenger of God sent ten persons (part of element 1) but then continues with the following elements 25 (partly), 33 (partly), 37, 38, 39 and 41 (partly). The story is limited to Khubayb, but does not mention every detail on him. For example, although the tradition mentions that Khubayb borrowed a razor from the daughter of al-Harith, it does not relate the part with her young son. The first and second *isnad* and the *matn* are identical to the detailed version except for the (partial) omission of elements and two additions, *minhum Khubayb al-Ansari* in the first sentence and *al-Ansari* after the name of Khubayb later in the text. This tradition is clearly a shortened version of the detailed story, which al-Bukhari adapted to suit the purpose of his chapter.

Short story S13 is from the *Sunan* of Abu Dawud al-Sijistānī<sup>100</sup>. He places it in *kitab al-jana'iz* (book of the biers) in the chapter called *al-marid yu'kbadhu min azfaribi wa 'anatihi* (the nails and pubic hair of a sick person are cut off) after a short tradition from Ibrahim ibn Sa'd from al-Zuhri on the same topic. The story of Shu'ayb deals with the part when Khubayb borrows a razor from the daughter of al-Harith to shave his pubic hair after they gathered (to kill him) (element 25). The *matn* is identical to the corresponding sentence in the detailed versions except for one explanation *ya'mi li qatilihi* that probably derives from Abu Dawud al-Sijistānī. The *isnad* is not complete. At the end of the tradition from Ibrahim ibn Sa'd, Abu Dawud al-Sijistānī says that Shu'ayb ibn Abi Hamza related this story on the authority of al-Zuhri from 'Ubayd Allah ibn 'Iyad from the daughter of al-Harith. It is not possible that he received the tradition directly from Shu'ayb, since Shu'ayb died in 162/779-780 and Abu Dawud al-Sijistānī lived from 202-275/817-888. The deviating *isnad* of the section dealing with Khubayb in the tradition of Shu'ayb is probably the reason why Abu Dawud al-Sijistānī related the tradition without the complete *isnad* and *matn*.

We have evidence that Abū Dawūd al-Sijistānī was acquainted with the *isnad* from Shu'ayb via 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān, because he cites it in *kitab al-jihad* in the chapter on “the man who submits himself as a captive” (*bab fi l-rajul yasta'siru*)<sup>101</sup>. He does not give the complete tradition from Shu'ayb, but says after the *isnad* that he [Ibn 'Awf] told the same tradition [as Musa ibn Isma'il from Sa'd ibn Ibrahim] (*fa-dhakara l-hadith*). He received it

<sup>99</sup> Al-Bukhari, *al-Sahih*, IV, 452 (*Kitab al-tawhid – Bab ma yudhkaru fi l dhat wa l nu'ut wa asami Allah*)

<sup>100</sup> Abu Dawud, *Sunan*, III, 189 (no. 3112)

<sup>101</sup> Abu Dawud, *Sunan*, III, 51 (no. 2661)

from [Muḥammad] Ibn 'Awf -> Abū l-Yamān -> Shu'ayb -> al-Zuhri -> 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān ibn Asīd ibn Jariya l-Thaqafi Abū Hurayra is not mentioned as informant of 'Amr, although the *isnad* holds the information at the end that 'Amr was one of the companions of Abū Hurayra. The omission of the name of Abu Hurayra is probably a mistake from Ibn 'Awf, Abū Dawud al-Sijistānī or a later transmitter.

It is not certain that Abu Dāwud al-Sijistānī knew the complete detailed tradition from Shu'ayb, because the above-mentioned tradition that only states the *isnad* is placed after an abridged version of the story of the raid of the Hudhayl from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd on the authority of al-Zuhri. However, it is more likely that he knew the complete detailed tradition instead of another abridged version from a second student of al-Zuhri (Shu'ayb in this case). Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī received the short tradition about Khubayb probably via the same transmitters as he mentioned in the second tradition, i.e. Ibn 'Awf -> Abu l-Yamān -> Shu'ayb. However, we do not know this for certain, since there is no tradition that includes both *asānīd* as far as I know.

What we do know, is that we only possess the detailed story from Shu'ayb on the raid of the Hudhayl in the version of his student Abū l-Yamān, who distributed it to at least two pupils, al-Bukhārī and 'Imran ibn Bakkar. Abū l-Yamān probably related the detailed version, but certainly some parts of it, to another student, Muḥammad ibn 'Awf.

#### IV. MATN ANALYSIS BETWEEN STUDENTS OF AL-ZUHRI

##### *Resemblance of the traditions*

The structure of the story about the raid of the Hudhayl in the versions of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, Ma'mar and Shu'ayb bear a great resemblance. The plot the versions have in common is as follows.

The party that Muhammad sends out consists of ten persons under the leadership of 'Āṣim ibn Thabit. Only two other participants are mentioned by name in the story: Khubayb and Zayd ibn al-Dathinna. [The story does not relate where they are heading.] About 100 archers of the Hudhayl, from the Banu Liḥyan, start to follow them at a place somewhere between 'Usfān and Mecca. [It is not certain what the correct name of the place is. The three students that mention the location give several variants of the name: al-Hadda, al-Had'a, al-



Hadā'a or al-Hadāh.]"<sup>102</sup> The clan knows that the group they are following is from Medina, because they find leftovers of dates that grow in and around Medina.

When the group of 'Āṣim realizes that they are being followed, they flee to an elevated place. The Hudhayl surround them and promise them not to kill them if they surrender. 'Āṣim refuses and asks God to inform Muhammad regarding their matter. They start to fight. Seven persons of the group are killed, among whom was 'Āṣim. The remaining three persons surrender on the original conditions. The names of two persons are Khubayb and Zayd, the third person remains unnamed. The Hudhayl tie them with the strings of their bows. The third unknown man considers this a betrayal of the surrender terms and refuses to follow them. The Hudhayl kill him and bring Khubayb and Zayd to Mecca.

We do not know from this story what happened to Zayd, but the sons of al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir ibn Nawfal buy Khubayb, because he had killed al-Ḥārith at Badr (three students agree on Badr, one – Ibrāhīm ibn Isma'īl - mentions Uhud).<sup>103</sup> When the sons of al-Ḥārith decide to kill Khubayb he borrows a razor from a daughter of al-Ḥārith to shave his pubic hair. She forgets to look after a young son of hers who walks to Khubayb and sits or is placed on his thigh. She is scared that Khubayb will kill her son, because he still has the razor in his hand. Khubayb assures her that he would never do that.

[At this point in the story the same woman tells an anecdote.] She says that she had never seen a better prisoner than Khubayb. She apparently saw him eat from a bunch of grapes one day while there was no such fruit in Mecca at that time. Some versions of three students add the detail that Khubayb was chained. She said that it was food God gave him.

Three students continue the story with how Khubayb was killed. One student first relates the section dealing with what happened to the body of 'Āṣim, before he continues with the killing of Khubayb. Because the majority of the students continue the story about Khubayb, we will follow their plot. Also, it is more logical to continue with the section dealing with Khubayb instead of interrupting it with a story about a different person.

When the sons of al-Ḥārith leave Mecca with Khubayb to kill him, he asks them to allow him to perform a short prayer consisting of two cycles. Afterwards

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<sup>102</sup> There seems to have been confusion about the spelling of the name of this place. Yaqut, *Mu jam al buldan*, V, 395 also lists several variants: al-Had'a, al Hadda, al-Hada.

<sup>103</sup> I did not find any other reference that al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir was killed at Uhud.

he says that he would have performed more would they not have thought that he was afraid [to die]. He was the first person who did this before an execution. Three students relate that Khubayb asked God to register them by number and according to two students Khubayb ended the sentence with “and kill them one by one”. The four students agree that Khubayb spoke the following verses, although the tradition of one student – Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘il - misses the first part of the first (translated) verse.

“Being killed as a Muslim, I care not how my death comes, since it is in God’s cause.

For that is God’s prerogative; and if He wishes He will give His blessings to severed limbs.”

Thereupon Abū Sirwa‘a ‘Uqba ibn al-Ḥārith went to Khubayb and killed him.<sup>104</sup>

At the end of the tradition, we are informed what happened to the body of ‘Āṣim (but still nothing on Zayd).

The Quraysh sent some people to the body of ‘Āṣim to return with something by which they could recognize him, because ‘Āṣim had killed one of their esteemed men at Badr. However, God sent bees that protected his body from the messengers. They were not able to get anything from him.

Two students additionally mention that God answered ‘Āṣim ibn Thābit’s prayer on the day he died. Muḥammad informed his people regarding their matter on the day they were killed.

The composed story shows that the versions of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘il, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa‘d, Ma‘mar and Shu‘ayb have many details in common concerning the content of the story about the raid of the Hudhayl. Is this also the case with formulations? The following list contains the most striking formulations that are (almost) identical in the four versions.

- *dhukirū li-ḥayy min Hudhayl yuqālu lahum Banū Lihyān*
- *rajul rām (rajul rāmiyan Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘il)*
- *lā anzilu fī dhimmat kāfir (‘alā ‘ahd kāfir Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘il)*
- *Allāhumma akhbir ‘annā rasūlaka/nabiyyaka*
- *aṭlaqu awtār qisiyyihim (ḥallū awtār qisiyyihim Ma‘mar)*
- *hādhā awwal al-ghadr*
- *ista‘āra mūsā yastahiddu bihā*

<sup>104</sup> D. Cook discusses al-Zuhri’s version of Khubayb’s martyrdom in *Martyrdom in Islam*, Cambridge 2007, 21-22 and 142.

- *fa-daraja ṣabī/bunayy*
- *atakhshayna an(nanī) aqtulahu?*
- *mā ra'aytu asīran khayran min Khubayb*
- *kāna illā rīzqan/la-rīzq razaqahu Allāh (Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd + Shu'ayb: innahu...)*
- *lawlā an (...) mā bī jaza'un la-zīdtu (lawlā an yaqūlū jazī'a la-zīdtu Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il)*
- *Allāhumma aḥṣihim 'adadan*
- *mā/fa-lastu ubālī ḥīna uqtalu musliman (mā ubālī only Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il)*
- *'alā ayy shiqq/janb kāna li-/fī Allāh maṣra'i*
- *wa-dhālīka fī dhāt al-ilāh wa-in yasha'*
- *yubārik 'alā aṣṣāl shilw mumazzi'*
- *mithl al-zulla min al-dabr fa-ḥamathu (dabran fa-ḥamat laḥmahu Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il)*

The above-mentioned similarities in content and formulation indicate that the versions of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, Ma'mar and Shu'ayb of the story about the raid of the Hudhayl derive from a common source. The common source is al-Zuhri according to the information from the *asānīd*. The question we will answer in the following part is whether these four versions are genuine transmissions. Are they the result of separate, independent transmissions, or is one (or maybe even more) version copied from another? The differences between the versions of the four students might give an answer to the above-mentioned questions.

### *Differences between the traditions*

Despite the large similarity between the versions of al-Zuhri's students, it appears that each version has its own peculiarities. The following lists are a selection of the most distinctive features in the text of al-Zuhri's students.

Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il:

*'Amr aw 'Umar ibn Asīd,<sup>105</sup> fa-ba'athū ilayhim mi'at (rajul rāmiyan), (laja'ū ilā) jabal, (fa-aḥāṭa bihim) al-ākharūna, (lā anṣilu) 'alā 'abd (kāfir), omission of the sentence fa-ramawhum bi-l-nabl fa-qatalū 'Aṣīman fī sab'a, (Ibn al-Dathinna) l-Bayādī, the addition of the sentence fa-jarahū rajulan min al-thalātha, bi-Uḥūd, fa-baynamā (Khubayb 'inda banāt al-Ḥārith), fa-ṣāḥat al-mar'a, inna l-ghadr laysa min sha'ninā, (lawlā an) yaqūlū, wa-khudhhum badadan, (fa-ṣallā) l-*

<sup>105</sup> These words or combination of words are peculiarities of this student's transmission that are not present in any version of one of the other students. I added the parts between brackets to indicate the context.

*sajdatayn*, omission of the sentence *hīna uqtalu musliman*, (*thumma*) *kharaja bihi* (*Abū Sirwa'a* [...] *fa-ḍarabahu* (*fa-qatalahu*), *fa-jarat sunna li-man*, (*wa-ba'atha*) *ḥayy min* (*Quraysh*). Finally, the structure is different: the story about 'Āṣim ibn Thābit's body is mentioned before the killing of Khubayb, the information that Khubayb established a *sunna* comes before him saying that he would have performed more and Khubayb says *aḥṣihim 'adadan* only after the other four lines of poetry.

Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd:

*'Umar ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī*, (*fa-qāla 'Āṣim amīr/ayyuhā*) *l-qawm*, (*lawlā an*) *taḥṣibū*, *wa-qtulhum badadan wa-lā tubqi minhun aḥadan*, (*huwa sanna li-kull muslim qutla ṣabran*) *al-ṣalāh*, (*wa-ba'atha*) *nās min* (*Quraysh*).

Ma'mar:

*'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān al-Thaqafī*, *sariyya 'aynan* (*lahu*), no name of the location between 'Uṣfān and Mecca, *fa-taba'ūhum* (*bi-qarib min mī'a*), *wa-ja'a l-qawm* (*fa-aḥāṭū bihim*), (*an lā naqtula minikum*) *rajulan*, *fa-qātalūhum ḥattā* (*qatalū 'Āṣiman fī sab'at*) *naṣar*, *wa-baqiya* (*Khubayb wa-Zayd*), *fa-makatha* (*'indahum asīran*), *fa-lammā ra'aytuhu* (*fazī'tu faza'an*), (*mā kuntu li-af'ala*) *in shā'a Allāh*, (*lawlā an*) *taraw(na)*, the omission of the *Abū Sirwa'a*, (*fa-kāna*) *awwal man* (*sanna*), (*wa-ba'athat*) *Quraysh*, (*li-yu'taw*) *bi-shay' min jasadīhi ya'rifūnahu*, (*wa-kāna qatala*) *'aṣīman* (*min 'uṣamā'ihim*), (*fa-lam yaqdirū*) *'alā shay'* (*minhu*). Finally, the information that Khubayb established a *sunna* comes directly after him saying that he would have performed more.

Shu'ayb:

*'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī*, (*fa-qāla 'Āṣim ibn Thābit amīr*) *al-sariyya*, (*lā anzilu*) *l-yawm* (*fī dhimmat kāfir*), *fa-akhbaranī 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Iyād anna Bint al-Ḥarith akhbarathu*, (*fazī'tu faza'atan 'arafahā Khubayb*) *fī wajhī*, (*lawlā an*) *taḥunnū*, (*wa-ba'atha*) *nās min kuṣṣār* (*Quraysh*).

These peculiarities prove that these four students of al-Zuhri transmitted their version(s) independently from each other, i.e. none of them copied the version of another student. Although the versions of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and Shu'ayb look very much alike, the difference in for example the name of al-Zuhri's source or the use of the word *sariyya* by Shu'ayb, confirm their separate transmission.

An oddity that appeared from the comparison of the versions of the four students is that the deviating traditions L14 and L2 of Yunus ibn Ḥabīb -> Abu Dawūd al-Ṭayālīsī -> Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd bear resemblance to tradition L16 of al-Ṭabarī -> Abu Kurayb -> Ja'far ibn 'Awn -> Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il, especially in the section dealing with what happened to the body of 'Āṣim ibn Thābit. The tradition of Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb does not mention that Muhammad informed his companions regarding their matter on the day they died. Neither does the tradition of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il. Other similarities are the omission of the words *hina buddithu annahu qutila* and the use of the formulations *li-yu'taw min laḥmihī bi-shay'* and *fa-lam yastati'ū an ya'khudhū min laḥmihī shay'an* (other version Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd *li-yu'taw bi-shay' minhu yu'rafu* and *fa-lam yaqdiru ('ala) an yaqta'u minhu shay'an*). There are only two similarities in the remaining part of the tradition, *bi-mi'a* (other versions Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd *bi-qarīb min mi'a*) and *laqad ra'aytuhu* (other versions Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd *laqad wajadtuhu*).

Is my suggestion still valid that the reason for the deviating version of Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb from Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī might be the difference in time when Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī told the tradition to him or a different form of transmission, orally instead of by writing? We have already established with the comparison of the *mutūn* of traditions ascribed to Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd that the version of Yunus ibn Ḥabīb derives from the same source as the other two detailed versions of Ibn Ḥanbal -> Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī and Musa ibn Isma'il despite the deviating structure and formulations in the *matn*.<sup>106</sup> The comparison of the *mutūn* of the different students of al-Zuhri confirms this even more. The *matn* of Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb including the section dealing with 'Āṣim's body contains formulations that are specific for the version of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. Al-Ṭabarī's tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Isma'il lacks these formulations.

The similarities between some formulations in the section dealing with 'Āṣim's body seem to indicate some degree of interdependency. Did Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī know the version of Ja'far ibn 'Awn from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il or Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb the version of Abu Kurayb from Ja'far ibn 'Awn, or are the similarities just a coincidence? The first two options might be possible, because Abū Dawūd al-Tayālīsī and Ja'far ibn 'Awn were contemporaries and lived in Kūfa and Baṣra respectively. Nevertheless, the biographical information in the *Tahdhīb* of al-Mizzī does not mention any connection between Abū Dawūd al-Ṭayālīsī and

<sup>106</sup> See pages 57-58

Ja'far ibn 'Awn or Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il.<sup>107</sup> This does not mean that they never met, because al-Mizzī does not mention for example Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il as an informant of Ja'far ibn 'Awn, while the two versions of his tradition about the raid of the Hudhayl from his students Ibn Abī Shayba and Abu Kurayb unanimously mention Ja'far ibn 'Awn in the *isnād*.

### Conclusion

The conclusion of the *isnād* analysis was that al-Zuhri taught the story of the raid of the Hudhayl to several students. Al-Zuhri's students transmitted the story further and distributed it in Yemen and Iraq until it ended up in Egypt and countries as far as Khurāsān, Sijistan and Transoxiana. The transmission must have taken place before 124/742 when al-Zuhri died. The analysis of the *mutūn* confirmed that the four versions of the story about the raid of the Hudhayl discernible in the sources derive from a common source. The common source is al-Zuhri, since he is the first transmitter all versions mention in their *asanid*. The *matn* analysis also confirmed that al-Zuhri told the tradition to four students who transmitted the story further on. The story about the raid of the Hudhayl as told by al-Zuhri can therefore be dated to the first quarter of the second Islamic century.

Furthermore, the *matn* analysis showed that Ma'mar's version differs slightly from the versions of the other three students as well as a similarity between the versions of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and Shu'ayb. The versions of the latter two contain more specific information than Ma'mar's text, such as the more extensive information on al-Zuhri's informant in the *isnād*, the *nasab* Ibn Asīd ibn Jariya, the specific mention of the number of people in the scouting party, the exact location of the meeting with the Banu Liḥyān and the *kunya* Abū Sīrwa'a; these data are absent in the version of Ma'mar. The tradition of al-Ṭabarī from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il does mention these data except for the additional information in the *isnad*. Also, Ma'mar's version does not mention that Khubayb was killed when he was bound (*qatalahu ṣabran*), while the versions of the other three students mention specifically

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<sup>107</sup> On Abu Dawud al Tayalisi see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, III, 272-274 (no. 2493) and on Ja'far ibn 'Awn *Tahdhīb*, I, 468-469 (no. 931).

that his performance of a prayer consisting of two cycles became a *sunna*, i.e. a manner of acting, for anyone who was bound until he was put to death.<sup>108</sup>

Ma'mar himself might be responsible for the deviations in his version of al-Zuhri's tradition. However, another explanation for the similarity between the versions of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and Shu'ayb is that al-Zuhri had edited his tradition on the story about the attack of the Hudhayl and taught them that version. In that case, Ma'mar's version might pre-date theirs and al-Zuhri himself might be responsible for the differences.

Despite the similarities between the traditions of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, Shu'ayb and Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il, the tradition of the latter lacks certain parts and some formulations are different. These differences might be caused by his hearing being impaired. The editor of the *Tahdhīb* of al-Mizzī adds in a footnote that Ibn Abī Khaythama says in his *Tarikh* that Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il's hearing was impaired to such an extent that he sat next to al-Zuhri and was only able to hear with great difficulty (*kāna shadīd al-ṣamam wa-kana yaḥlisu ilā janb al-Zuhri fa-lā yakādu yasma'u illā ba'da kadd*). Yahyā ibn Ma'in considers him of weak authority; his *ḥadīth* is worthless (*da'if laysa bi-shay'*). Abū Ḥātim and al-Bukhārī say that he made many mistakes (*kathīr al-wahm*).<sup>109</sup>

Finally, we will now see whether the completed *isnād-cum-matn* analysis provided answers to the questions raised in the previous subchapters.

1) (*Isnād* analysis Shu'ayb)<sup>110</sup> Did the other three students not mention the separate *isnād* before the section dealing with Khubayb or did Shu'ayb add this information to the tradition himself? The three other students do not indeed mention a separate chain of transmitters in any tradition. The conclusion is that Shu'ayb or Abū l-Yaman added this chain to the tradition. However, this does not mean that either one of them invented the chain.

The versions of all four students contain a switch in narrator from the third person to the first person, somewhere in the section dealing with Khubayb. Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il

<sup>108</sup> There are traditions in which the Prophet Muḥammad forbids to kill animals *ṣabran* (*naḥiya rasul Allāh (s) an yuqtala shay' min al-dawāb ṣabran*) as well as prisoners (*sami'tu rasul Allāh (s) yanḥā 'an qat al-sabr* or *sami'tu rasul Allāh (s) yarw' al-fath yaqūlu lā yaqtulanna Qurashī ba'da hādha l-yarw' sabran ilā yarw' al qiyāma*). Seen in this light, the killing of Khubayb while he was bound would be a condemnable conduct. An example of the first tradition is present in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, III, 319 (*Musnad Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh*), of the second in V, 422 and of the third in *al Mustadrak 'alā l-Sahīḥayn* of al-Naysābūrī, IV, Beirut 1990-1195, 306 (no. 48/7726) (*Kitāb al adab*). I will discuss this in al-Zuhri's edited version in the final conclusion in chapter 6 of my study.

<sup>109</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, I, 100-101 (no. 144).

<sup>110</sup> See page 44

refers to the daughter of al-Ḥārith in the section dealing with Khubayb and the razor as “she” and “her”. The part where she says that she never saw a better prisoner is told in the first person, preceded by *qāla fa-qālat al-mar’a* (he said, the woman said). In the version of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d the change to the first person in narration occurs earlier, i.e. in the section dealing with the razor. The switch takes place after the information that a little boy of hers walked slowly (*fa-daraja bunayy lahā QĀLAT WA-ANĀ ghāfila*). In the version of Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb → Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī → Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d the switch occurs even earlier, i.e. after the information that the sons of al-Ḥārith bought Khubayb. The words *qālat bint al-Ḥārith* precedes the change. In the version of Ma’mar, the switch takes place at approximately the same moment as in the version of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d (*qālat fa-ghafaltu ‘an ṣabiyy lī*).

The switch in narrator may have inspired Shu‘ayb to ask al-Zuhri if he received this part from ‘Amr → Abū Hurayra or via a different way. This may have prompted al-Zuhri to name a different source for her story. According to bibliographical information, Shu‘ayb was a secretary who wrote the dictation for the Umayyad caliphs from al-Zuhri.<sup>111</sup> If Shu‘ayb was indeed appointed to al-Zuhri to write down his traditions, it is possible that he asked al-Zuhri if he received the information from the daughter of al-Ḥārith also via ‘Amr ibn Abī Sufyān → Abū Hurayra. This is just a speculation, because there is no evidence for it. The only thing we know for sure is that Shu‘ayb or Abū l-Yamān is responsible for the addition of the separate chain of transmitters.

Al-Zuhri’s tradition about the attack of the Hudhayl seems to be a combination of separate elements.<sup>112</sup> The inclusion of the razor story in the story about the attack of the Hudhayl certainly derives from al-Zuhri, because all four students mention it with a switch in narrator. Another indication is that the part about the attack of the Hudhayl in the versions of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d and Shu‘ayb ends with the information that the attack happened after the battle at Badr.<sup>113</sup> In the following sentence, the reference to Badr is repeated. The first mentioning of Badr looks like a final remark to finish the story about the attack of the Hudhayl. If these two parts had always been one story, such a final remark seems unnecessary. Since only two students end the part about the attack of the Hudhayl with the reference to Badr, it might derive from al-Zuhri, but he apparently did not always mention it.

<sup>111</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, III, 396 (no. 2733).

<sup>112</sup> Al-Zuhri’s detailed tradition about the battle at Uhud is also a combination of separate elements transmitted as one story. See Gorke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 141.

<sup>113</sup> See pages 51 and 83.



2) (Conclusion *isnād* analysis)<sup>114</sup> What is the correct name of al-Zuhri's informant and who is or are responsible for the different appellations? It is not possible to give an unambiguous answer. We have already established that the correct name is 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya l-Thaqafī who was called after his grandfather, i.e. 'Amr ibn Asīd. This means that the names 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān as well as 'Amr ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya are correct. Al-Zuhri is probably responsible for both appellations, since each name is present in the *isnād* of at least two students of al-Zuhri.<sup>115</sup> If he indeed prepared an edited version about the raid of the Hudhayl, it seems that he preferred to include the *nasab* Ibn Asīd in his latest version about the raid of the Hudhayl.

Al-Zuhri probably mentioned the *ism* 'Amr, since Ma'mar and Shu'ayb both transmitted this name to their students. Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il or Ja'far ibn 'Awn was not certain anymore about the correct *ism*, 'Amr or 'Umar and expressed his uncertainty in his *isnād*. However, since Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd probably preferred the name 'Umar,<sup>116</sup> it is possible that al-Zuhri sometimes read 'Umar instead of 'Amr.

3) (*Matn* analysis Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il)<sup>117</sup> Is the tradition of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il from al-Zuhri or not? The comparison of the *mutūn* of the four students confirmed that the version of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il is indeed from al-Zuhri. Hence, the *isnad* of al-Ṭabarī is faulty and it should contain al-Zuhri as informant of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il. Either al-Ṭabarī, his informant Abū Kurayb or a later transmitter skipped al-Zuhri's name in the transmission line by mistake, because it is unlikely that Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il skipped the name of such a famous transmitter as al-Zuhri, or Ja'far ibn 'Awn sometimes mentioned him and at other times forgot to mention him.

4) Finally, the issue of the identification of Khubayb remains unanswered. Most traditions refer to him as Khubayb or Khubayb al-Anṣārī. Three versions, however, add the *nasab* Ibn 'Adī. These are the versions of Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb -> Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī -> Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, Maṣṣūr ibn Abī Muzāḥim -> Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and 'Abd al-Razzāq from Ma'mar. The mention of the *nasab* becomes even more important when we read Ibn Sayyid al-Nās' remark at the end of his detailed tradition on the event with the Hudhayl. He says that according to this story (= al-Bukhārī's version from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd), this Khubayb

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<sup>114</sup> See page 45.

<sup>115</sup> Shu'ayb, Ma'mar and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd mention 'Amr ibn Abī Sufyān, while the name 'Amr ibn Asīd ibn Jāriya is present in the versions of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd

<sup>116</sup> See my argumentation on page 67.

<sup>117</sup> See page 49.

[i.e. ibn 'Adī] killed al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir at the day of Badr. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās remarks that this is however not known among the *maghāzī*-authorities. The person who killed al-Ḥārith was Khubayb ibn Isāf ibn 'Inaba<sup>118</sup> bn 'Amr bn Khadīj bn 'Āmir bn Jusham bn al-Ḥārith bn al-Khazraj. Khubayb ibn 'Adī did not participate at Badr.<sup>119</sup>

The question is who is responsible for the *nasab* Ibn 'Adī: al-Zuhri, one or more of his students or perhaps later transmitters? We can exclude al-Zuhri, because the versions of two other students, Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and Shu'ayb, do not mention the *nasab* and only some – not all - versions of the two other students state it. We can exclude Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd for the same reason. It is also unlikely that Ibrāhīm's student Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī and Ma'mar are responsible for the mistake, because we have variant versions from both of them that do not mention the *nasab*.<sup>120</sup> Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb, Maṣṣūr ibn Abī Muzāḥim or later transmitters from them, and 'Abd al-Razzaq, whose versions all contain the *nasab*, probably added his *nasab* to the story. Since the earliest transmitter of them, 'Abd al-Razzāq, died in 211/826, the name Khubayb ibn 'Adī was connected with the Khubayb who was captured during the attack of the Hudhayl, already from the beginning of the third Islamic century. However, we will see in the following comparison of the Zuhri-traditions with similar ones not circulated by him that the name Khubayb ibn 'Adī was connected with the Hudhayl story already before 150/767, because the *nasab* Ibn 'Adī appears in all versions of the famous transmitter Ibn Ishāq, who died in that year, which provides us with a *terminus ante quem*.

<sup>118</sup> The sources contain three variants of that name Khubayb ibn Isāf ibn 'Inaba, Khubayb ibn Isāf ibn 'Utba and Khubayb ibn Yasaf ibn 'Utba [all. ibn 'Amr ibn Khadīj]. Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa'd and Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, the earliest sources that mention a variant of that name, agree on the name 'Utba but mention Isāf as well as Yasaf. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I, 496 (Khubayb ibn Isāf ibn 'Utba), Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 360 (twice Khubayb ibn Isāf ibn 'Utba) and 364 (Khubayb ibn Yasaf ibn 'Utba), and Khalifa bn Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, 634 (Khubayb ibn Isāf ibn 'Utba). Khalifa bn Khayyāt identifies the person who was killed in Mecca as Khubayb ibn Isāf ibn 'Adī bn 'Utba bn 'Amr ibn Jundar ibn 'Āmir ibn Jusham ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj, but adds that according to al-Wāqidi, the latter did not die in Mecca but during the caliphate of 'Uthmān. See Khalifa bn Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, 165 (but see the variant Khubayb ibn Yasaf ibn 'Adī on page 179) Only two later sources mention the variant Khubayb ibn Isāf ibn 'Adī, which seems to reflect the debate about which Khubayb participated at Badr and was killed at Mecca.

<sup>119</sup> *Kadhā ruwīyanā fī hādihā l-khabar min ṭarīq al-Bukhārī fī jāmi'ihī wa-fihī anna Khubayban hādihā qatala l-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir yawm Badr, wa-laysa dhālika 'indahum bi-ma'rūf, wa-innamā alladhī qatala l-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir Khubayb ibn Isāf ibn 'Inaba ibn 'Amr ibn Khadīj ibn 'Āmir ibn Jusham ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj wa Khubayb ibn 'Adī lam yashhad Badran 'inda ahad min arbāb al-maghāzī*. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn al-athar*, II, 63

<sup>120</sup> See pages 56, 65 and 73

The results of the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis corroborate Juynboll's conclusion referred to in the introduction of this article that al-Zuhri "is doubtless the chronicler of this *khbar*". His tentative conclusion about the lower part of the *isnād* below al-Zuhri can partly be refuted. Al-Zuhri – not a later transmitter – is responsible for the lower part of the *isnād*, although his claim that he received the tradition from 'Amr ibn Abi Sufyan cannot be substantiated as the following part will show.

## V. COMPARISON OF THE ZUHRI-TRADITIONS WITH OTHER VERSIONS

We established by means of the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis that al-Zuhri transmitted a tradition about the raid of the Hudhayl. The story of al-Zuhri will be compared in this part with similar ones not circulated by him in order to determine whether his material goes back to even earlier sources and to what degree his transmission varies from others. These traditions are from Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767), Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845) and Mūsā ibn 'Uqba (d. 141/758).

### *Comparison with Ibn Ishāq's version*

There are at least two other traditions about the raid of the Hudhayl transmitted by others than al-Zuhri according to the *isnād*. Muḥammad ibn Ishāq transmitted both a detailed tradition from the Medinan scholar 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatāda (d. 119/120 or 126, 127, 129 A.H.)<sup>121</sup> and a short tradition about Khubayb from the Meccan *mawla* 'Abd Allāh ibn Abi Najih (d. 131/132 A.H.)<sup>122</sup> from Māwiyya, the *mawla* of Ḥujayr ibn Abi Ihāb. Ibn Ishāq's tradition from 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar is preserved in several collections from the third to the ninth Islamic century. 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs (d. 192/808), Bakr ibn Sulaymān (n.d.), Jarir ibn Ḥāzim (d. 170/786-787), Muḥammad ibn Salama (d. 191/807), Salama ibn al-Faḍl (d. 191/807), Yūnus ibn Bukayr (d. 199/814-815) and Ziyād ibn al-Bakkā'i (d. 183/799) all transmitted (a part of) this tradition.<sup>123</sup> The following story is based on the detailed traditions of Ibn Hishām -> al-Bakkā'i and al-Ṭabarī -> Ibn Ḥumayd -> Salama.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>121</sup> 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatāda was an expert in the field of the biography and the *maghāzī* of the Prophet Muhammad. Ibn Sa'd calls him a reliable transmitter who knew many traditions. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 17 (no. 3007).

<sup>122</sup> Ibn Sa'd considers him also a reliable transmitter who knew many traditions. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 304 (no. 3600).

<sup>123</sup> Ibn Sa'd has a short tradition from 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs, *al-Tabaqāt*, II, 56. Khalifa ibn Khayyāṭ combined the traditions of Bakr ibn Sulaymān and Jarir ibn Ḥāzim in one medium-length account, *Ta'rikh*, 32. Al-

A group of men from 'Aḍal and al-Qāra'<sup>125</sup> came to Muḥammad and asked him to send some companions to instruct them on Islam.<sup>126</sup> Muḥammad sent six persons, Marthad ibn Abi Marthad, Khālīd ibn al-Bukayr, 'Āṣim ibn Thābit, Khubayb ibn 'Adī,<sup>127</sup> Zayd ibn al-Dathinna and 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāriq. Muḥammad appointed Marthad ibn Abi Marthad as the leader of the group. They were betrayed when they reached al-Rajī', a watering place of the Hudhayl in the district of the Ḥijāz in the upper part of al-Had'a. Men of the Hudhayl with swords in their hands surrounded them. They said that they did not want to kill the Muslims, but to get something for them from the people of Mecca. Marthad, Khālīd and 'Āṣim said that they would never accept a pledge from a polytheist.

Ibn Hishām includes at this point some lines of poetry from 'Āṣim.

They fought until they were killed. When 'Āṣim was killed, the Hudhayl wanted to take his head to sell it to Sulāfa bint Sa'd ibn Shuhayd, because 'Āṣim had killed her two sons at Uḥud, but bees protected him. God also sent a flood in the *wādī* that carried 'Āṣim away. 'Āṣim had sworn that no polytheist would ever touch him, and that he would never touch a polytheist in his life, so God protected him after his death.

Al-Ṭabarī relates the section dealing with the body of 'Āṣim at the end of his tradition.

The remaining three persons, Zayd, Khubayb and 'Abd Allāh, surrendered and were taken to Mecca to be sold there. 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāriq broke loose from his

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Ṭabarānī mentions a short tradition from Muḥammad ibn Salama, *al-Mu'jam al kabīr*, XX, 327-328 (no. 775). Al-Ṭabarī preserves a detailed tradition from Salama ibn al-Faḍl, *Ta'rikh*, III, 1431-1434. Al-Naysāburī has a medium-length tradition from Yūnus ibn Bukayr, *al-Mustadrak*, III, 245 (no. 577/4979). Ibn Hishām mentions a detailed tradition from Ziyād al-Bakkā'i, *Sira*, I, 638-641.

<sup>124</sup> I used the translations of Guillaume and McDonald & Watt to compose the story. It is not a translation of the traditions, but it contains the main details. Guillaume, *The life*, 426-433. Watt, W.M. & M.V. McDonald, *The history of al-Ṭabarī. The foundation of the community*, VII, Albany, NY 1987, 143-145.

<sup>125</sup> Ibn Hishām says that they belong to the clan of al-Hawn ibn Khuzayma ibn Mudrika. See Guillaume, *The life*, 761, no. 659. Al-Sam'ānī adds that 'Aḍal and al-Qāra are sons of Yaythi' ibn al-Hawn ibn Khuzayma. See al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, V, Beirut 1419/1998, 631.

<sup>126</sup> Wensinck expresses his doubts about the similarities with the story about the ambush at Bī'r Ma'ūna of a group of Muslims, whom the Prophet Muḥammad also sent at the request of a person to instruct his people about Islam. A comparison of both stories falls outside the scope of this chapter, but would be very interesting. Wensinck, A.J., "Khubayb b. 'Adī al-Anṣārī", in *El2*, V, Leiden 1986, 41.

<sup>127</sup> All traditions that mention Khubayb include the *nasab* Ibn 'Adī.

bonds at al-Zahrān<sup>128</sup> and drew his sword. The men did not fight him, but stoned him until they killed him. Ḥujayr ibn Abī Ḥhāb, an ally of the Banū Nawfal and brother of al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Āmir by the same mother, bought Khubayb on behalf of ‘Uqba ibn al-Ḥārith to kill him in revenge for his father. Ṣafwan ibn Umayya bought Zayd to kill him in revenge for his father Umayya ibn Khalaf.

The story of al-Ṭabarī from Ibn Ishāq stops at this point. Al-Ṭabarī relates the story about Zayd later on in a separate tradition from Ibn Ḥumayd -> Salama -> Ibn Ishāq without a reference to Ibn Ishāq’s informant ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Umar.<sup>129</sup>

He sent Zayd with a freedman called Nisās to al-Tan‘īm<sup>130</sup> and they brought him out of the *Ḥaram* to kill him. Abū Sufyān, one of the leaders of Quraysh, asked Zayd if he wished that Muḥammad would be here in his place and he would be at home with his family. Zayd replied that he does not want Muḥammad to be hurt by even a thorn. Then Nisās killed him.

Ibn Hishām relates first the story from Khubayb eating grapes, which he received from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Najīḥ instead of ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Umar. I will return to this tradition later on. The following part is a combined story from ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Umar and ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Najīḥ.

Māwiyya said that when the time for the execution had come Khubayb asked her to send him a razor to cleanse himself before he died. She ordered a boy from the clan to bring the razor to Khubayb. She almost immediately realized the danger for the boy, but Khubayb just took the razor from the boy and let him go. He cried out to the boy that his mother was apparently not afraid of his treachery.

The following part is from ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Umar alone.

They took Khubayb to al-Tan‘īm to crucify him. He asked them to allow him to perform a short prayer consisting of some cycles. After a short prayer consisting of two cycles he said that he would have performed more were it not that they would think that he delayed out of fear of death. Khubayb established the custom of performing a short prayer consisting of two cycles at death. Then they

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<sup>128</sup> Al-Zahrān is a wādī near Mecca with a village called Marr al-Zahrān. See Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al buldan*, IV, 63.

<sup>129</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, III, 1437.

<sup>130</sup> Al-Tan‘īm is a location in the *hill* (the region that is outside the sacred territory) at a distance of two or four *farsakh* of Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al buldān*, II, 49. A *farsakh* is a parasang or league, which is a distance of three miles. See Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 2369.

tied him to the cross. Khubayb asked God to tell His messenger what has been done to him and his companions, because they had delivered the message of His apostle. Then he said, "Oh God, register them by number and kill them one by one, let none of them escape." Then they killed him.

Ibn Hishām ends with a tradition of Mu‘āwīya ibn Abī Sufyān.

He tells that he attended the killing of Khubayb. His father threw him to the ground out of fear of Khubayb’s curse.

A. There are many differences between the version of Ibn Ishāq and al-Zuhri.

- Ibn Ishāq: Muḥammad sent the party after a request of the ‘Aḍal and al-Qāra to instruct them on Islam. Al-Zuhri: The group was a scouting party.
- Ibn Ishāq: The group consisted of six persons. Al-Zuhri: The group consisted of ten persons.
- Ibn Ishāq: Marthad ibn Abī Marthad was the leader of the group. Al-Zuhri: ‘Āṣim ibn Thābit was the leader.
- Ibn Ishāq: They were betrayed to the Hudhayl. Al-Zuhri specifies that they were from the Banū Liḥyān.
- Ibn Ishāq does not mention how the Hudhayl found them. Al-Zuhri: The Hudhayl found date-stones from Medina in an abandoned resting-place.
- Ibn Ishāq: The party was surrounded unexpectedly. Al-Zuhri: The party noticed them and fled to an elevated place where they were surrounded.
- Ibn Ishāq: The Hudhayl had swords. Al-Zuhri: The Hudhayl had bows.
- Ibn Ishāq: Marthad, Khālīd and ‘Āṣim said that they would not accept a pledge from a polytheist. Al-Zuhri: ‘Āṣim alone said that he would not enter the protection of an unbeliever.
- Ibn Ishāq: The Hudhayl killed three persons during the fight. Al-Zuhri: The Hudhayl killed seven persons.
- Ibn Ishāq: The reason why the Quraysh wanted the body of ‘Āṣim was that ‘Āṣim had killed two sons (al-Ṭabarī: one son) of Sulāfa at Uḥud. Al-Zuhri: The reason was that ‘Āṣim had killed one of the esteemed members of the Quraysh at Badr.
- Ibn Ishāq: The Quraysh wanted the head of ‘Āṣim, so Sulāfa could drink wine from his skull. Al-Zuhri: The Quraysh wanted something of ‘Āṣim’s body by which they could recognize him.

- Ibn Ishāq: The flood carried 'Āṣim's body away, because God protected 'Āṣim after his death because of 'Āṣim's vow. Al-Zuhri does not mention this.
- Ibn Ishāq: The third person of the group that remained alive after the fight, broke free, got his sword and was stoned without a fight. Al-Zuhri: The third person refused to follow them, because he was bound, which he saw as a betrayal of the safeguard. They killed him because of his refusal.
- Ibn Ishāq: The woman sent a young boy with a razor to Khubayb. Al-Zuhri: When the woman did not pay attention to the young boy, he walked to Khubayb, who had the razor in his hand.
- Ibn Ishāq: Khubayb said to the boy, "Your mother was not afraid of my treachery when she sent you to me with this razor." Al-Zuhri: Khubayb said to the woman, "Are you afraid that I will kill him? I would not do such a thing."
- Ibn Ishāq: They bound Khubayb first to a cross and then killed him.<sup>131</sup> Al-Zuhri: They killed Khubayb.
- Ibn Ishāq: Khubayb asked God to inform His Prophet regarding their matter. Al-Zuhri: 'Āṣim asked God to inform His Prophet.
- Ibn Ishāq does not mention who killed Khubayb, but he transmits later in a separate tradition that 'Uqba ibn al-Ḥārith has been involved in the killing. Al-Zuhri: 'Uqba ibn al-Ḥārith killed Khubayb.

B. The version of Ibn Ishāq contains more details than the version of al-Zuhri:

- Ibn Ishāq names all six members of the party. Al-Zuhri names only three persons of the ten.
- Ibn Ishāq: The location of the betrayal was al-Rajī' a watering-place of Hudhayl in a district of the Ḥijāz at the upper part of al-Had'a. Al-Zuhri: The location was at al-Hadda/al-Hadā'a/al-Had'a somewhere between 'Uṣfān and Mecca.
- Ibn Ishāq: Sulāfa bint Sa'd ibn Shuhayd wanted the head of 'Āṣim. Al-Zuhri only mentions Quraysh.
- Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāriq was the third person who surrendered with Khubayb and Zayd. Al-Zuhri gives no name.

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<sup>131</sup> Ibn Ishāq's description refers to a crucifixion, while al-Zuhri's version of an execution by one person seems to contradict this practice. However, in the early Islamic period, the practices of crucifixion varied. See Anthony, S.W., "Crime and punishment in early Medina: The origins of a *maghāzī*-tradition", in *Analysing*, ed. H. Motzki, Leiden & Boston 2010, 435-436 footnotes 198 and 199.

- Ibn Ishāq: ‘Abd Allāh escaped in al-Zahrān and was killed by means of stones. Al-Zuhri: The third person was killed at the same location where they were taken prisoner.
- Ibn Ishāq: Ḥujayr ibn Abī Ḥāb al-Tamīmī, an ally of the Banū Nawfal bought Khubayb for ‘Uqba ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Āmir ibn Nawfal, Abū Ḥāb being the brother of al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Āmir by the same mother. Al-Zuhri: The sons of al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Āmir bought Khubayb.
- Ibn Ishāq tells who bought Zayd and what happened to him. Al-Zuhri does not relate this.
- Ibn Ishāq: The woman who told the story about Khubayb was Māwiyya, the *mawlāh* of Ḥujayr. Al-Zuhri: The woman was al-Ḥārith’s daughter.
- Ibn Ishāq: They took Khubayb to al-Tan‘īm to kill him. Al-Zuhri: They took Khubayb outside the sacred area of Mecca.

C. However, the stories of Ibn Ishāq and al-Zuhri contain also similarities:

Muḥammad sent a group of men among whom were ‘Āṣim, Khubayb and Zayd. The group was betrayed to Hudhayl at the location al-Had’a (or al-Hadda). The Hudhayl followed them. When the two parties met, the Hudhayl promised that they would not kill anyone if they surrender. They started to fight and only three persons remained of the group from Muḥammad among whom were Khubayb and Zayd. The third person was killed later on. Quraysh looked for ‘Āṣim’s body but bees protected him. Khubayb and Zayd were brought to Mecca. The sons of al-Ḥārith are involved in the purchase of Khubayb, because he had killed al-Ḥārith at Badr. Khubayb wanted a razor before his execution. He did not harm the young boy when he had the razor in his possession. They took Khubayb outside Mecca to kill him. Khubayb asked them allowance to perform a short prayer consisting of some cycles which they agreed to. He performed only a short prayer consisting of two cycles and said that he would have done more, but he did not want them to think he was afraid to die. Khubayb said, “Oh God, count them one by one and kill them one by one.” One of the members of the party of Muḥammad asked God to inform His Prophet regarding their matter.

The lines of poetry of Khubayb (Being killed as a Muslim, I care not how my death comes, since it is in God’s cause. For that is God’s prerogative; and if He wishes He will give His blessings to severed limbs) are not part of the story of Ibn Ishāq from ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Umar,



but Ibn Hishām mentions them similarly later on in the chapter on the raid of the Hudhayl as part of a larger poem. Ibn Hishām gives no other source for the poem than Ibn Ishāq.<sup>132</sup>

Although the main outline and some details of the story of Ibn Ishāq are similar to the version of al-Zuhri, it contains different formulations even in the comparable parts.

<u>Ibn Ishāq</u>	<u>al-Zuhri<sup>133</sup></u>
- <i>fa-ba'atha rasūl Allāh (s) nafaran</i>	<i>ba'atha rasūl Allāh 'asharat rahṭ (sariyya) 'aynan</i>
- <i>ghadarū bihim</i>	<i>dhukirū li-ḥayy min Hudhayl</i>
- <i>wa-lakum 'ahd Allāh wa-mīthāquhu</i> <i>an lā naqtulakum</i>	<i>wa-lakum al-'ahd wa-l-mīthaq an lā naqtula min-</i> <i>kum aḥadan</i>
- <i>wa-llāhi lā naqbalu min mushrik</i> <i>'ahdan wa-lā 'aqdan abadan</i>	<i>ammā anā fa-(wa-llāhi) lā anzilu fī dhimmat kāfir</i>
- <i>fa-mana'athu l-dabr</i>	<i>fa-ba'atha Allāh mithl al-ḡulla min al-dabr fa-</i> <i>ḥamathu min rusulihim</i>
- <i>qāla li ḥina ḥaḍarahu l-qatl</i> <i>ib'athī ilayya bi-ḥadīda<sup>134</sup></i> <i>biḥa li-l-qatl</i>	<i>ḥattā ajma'ū qatlahu fa-sta'āra min ba'd banāt</i> <i>al-Ḥārith mūsā yastahiddu biḥa li-l-qatl</i>
- <i>ammā wa-llāhi law-lā an tazunnū</i> <i>annanī innamā ṭawwaltu jaza'an</i> <i>min al-qatl la-stakthartu min al-ṣalāh</i>	<i>wa-llāhi law-lā an taḥsibū mā bī jaza'an min</i> <i>al-qatl la-zīdtu</i>

The only sentences that are (almost) identical are:

- *Allāhumma aḥsihim 'adadan wa-qtulhum badadan*
- *fa-kāna Khubayb awwal man sanna hātayn al-rak'atayn 'inda l-qatl*

We will first discuss the other tradition of Ibn Ishāq, the short story about Khubayb, before we draw a conclusion on the origin of Ibn Ishāq's story. According to the *isnād*, Ibn Ishāq received the short tradition from 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Najih, who received it from Māwiyya,

<sup>132</sup> Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I, 643-644. *Wa-dhālika fī dhāt al-ilāh wa-in yashā' yubārīk 'alā awṣāl shilw mumazzi'. [...]* *Wa-wa-llāhi mā arjū idhā muttu mustiman 'alā ayy janb kāna li-llāh maḍja'i* [sic]. The word *maḍja'i* seems to be a copyist's mistake or a mistake in the edition and is probably *maṣra'i*

<sup>133</sup> The formulations are from the tradition of Ibn Ḥanbal -> Abū Dāwud al-Ṭayālīsī -> Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. The versions of the other students of al-Zuhri have similar formulations, especially regarding the keywords

<sup>134</sup> The word *mūsā* appears once in the text of Ibn Hishām from Ibn Ishāq in the next sentence: *fa a'taytu gbulāman min al-ḥayy al-musā*. Later on the word *al-ḥadīda* is used again, *fa lamma nāwalahu l-ḥadīda akhadhahā min yadīhi thumma qāla la-'amruka mā khāfat ummuka ghadrī hīna ba'atathka bi bādhīhi l-ḥadīda ilayya*. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I, 641.

the *mawlah* of Ḥujayr. It is preserved in the version of al-Bakkā'ī in the *Sīra* of Ibn Hisham and in the version of Yunus ibn Bukayr in *Uṣd al-ghaba* of Ibn al-Athīr.<sup>135</sup> Māwīyya (or Māriya according to Ibn al-Athīr) says in the tradition:

Khubayb was imprisoned in my house in Mecca. I overtook Khubayb one day while he was eating from a bunch of grapes that was as big as the head of a man (Ibn al-Athīr: that was bigger than his head) in his hand. I did not know that there were grapes on earth [at that time] that could be eaten (Ibn al-Athīr: there were no [edible] grapes at that time on earth).<sup>136</sup>

Al-Zuhri also relates that the daughter of al-Hārith found Khubayb one day with a bunch of grapes in his hand, while there was no fruit in Mecca at that time. His version contains the additional information that Khubayb was still in irons and that she used to say that it was certainly food that God gave to Khubayb. The version of al-Zuhri does not mention that Khubayb was imprisoned in her house. The formulations of both versions are similar, but not identical

### Conclusion

The similarity in the content of the traditions from Ibn Ishāq and al-Zuhri seems to indicate a common source. The fact that Ibn Ishāq was a student of al-Zuhri makes it even more likely that Ibn Ishāq received the tradition from al-Zuhri. If we use the same dating method as we did on the traditions of al-Zuhri, the detailed story of Ibn Ishāq would date from the second quarter of the second Islamic century, because the common link, Ibn Ishāq, died in 150/767

If we assume that Ibn Ishāq's tradition is from al-Zuhri, then why did he not mention him as his source instead of 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatāda (d. 119/120 or 126, 127, 129 A.H.), a contemporary of al-Zuhri and Medinan scholar likewise? We noticed in the comparison of the traditions of al-Zuhri's students that their versions were similar in content and wording. They all mentioned for example a party of ten persons and only gave the names of three persons. If Ibn Ishāq received this tradition from al-Zuhri, we would expect that his version would be similar to that of the other students and not as deviating as appeared from the comparison, especially since al-Zuhri transmitted his text based on a written (or in earlier times probably partly written) text. Therefore, it seems more probable

<sup>135</sup> Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I, 640. Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghaba*, V, Teheran n.d., 544.

<sup>136</sup> Guillaume, *The life*, 428.

that Ibn Ishāq did not hear the tradition regarding the raid of the Hudhayl from al-Zuhri but from another person, who could well be 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar as the *asānīd* mention. This would mean that there existed two different versions of the raid of the Hudhayl in the first quarter of the second Islamic century.

We do not know how 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar (assuming that he is indeed Ibn Ishāq's informant) received his information, since the *isnād* ends with his name. It is very unlikely that al-Zuhri and 'Āṣim heard the story from the same person, since their stories on what happened during the raid of the Hudhayl differ too much even if we assume that al-Zuhri and 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar received the story by means of oral transmission. However, the similarities between the two versions of al-Zuhri and Ibn Ishāq/'Āṣim ibn 'Umar indicate that there must have been a common source at some point in time, either a person or the actual happening of the event.

Since it seems very likely that Ibn Ishāq received the detailed story about the raid of the Hudhayl from a person other than al-Zuhri, probably 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar, we perhaps can also assume that he indeed received the short tradition about Khubayb from 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Najīh. If Ibn Ishāq invented the story (for which we seem to have no reason to believe), why would he mention a different person as his informant for the section dealing with Khubayb? Ibn Ishāq even mentions that he heard the section dealing with the killing of Khubayb from 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar as well as 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Najīh. Why take the trouble of mentioning two persons, when one famous transmitter would have been enough?

The content and formulation of the short tradition from Ibn Ishāq on Khubayb eating grapes are comparatively much more similar to the version of al-Zuhri than the detailed story about the raid of the Hudhayl. It seems possible that the two traditions derive from the same source, although al-Zuhri says that she is the daughter of al-Ḥārith and Ibn Ishāq Māwiyya (or Māriya), the *mawlah* of Ḥujayr. The story of al-Zuhri displays a change in narrator in the versions of all students. The version of Shu'ayb even has a separate *isnād* for this part. Therefore, it seems very likely that the section dealing with Khubayb eating grapes (and maybe even other parts on Khubayb) derives from the same female source.

If the same woman originally related the story of Khubayb's imprisonment then Ibn Ishāq's reference to a *mawlah* of Ḥujayr, the half-brother of al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir, is perhaps more authentic, because the construction is more complicated than al-Zuhri's version of the daughter of al-Ḥārith. In that case, al-Zuhri or one of the transmitters before him had identified the woman as the daughter of al-Ḥārith.

It is remarkable though, that the lower part of Ibn Ishāq's *isnād* in the tradition about Khubayb's imprisonment as well as the additional *isnād* in Shu'ayb's version is of Meccan origin. Ibn Ishāq's informant 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Najīh (d. 131/748-749) lived in Mecca, as did 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Iyād (Successor from the Ḥijāz/Mecca).<sup>137</sup> This might indicate that the stories on Khubayb's imprisonment were originally family traditions of the al-Ḥārith clan based on the story of a woman. The traditions probably developed in the course of time due to oral transmission.

Overall, Ibn Ishāq's version contains more details and is more complicated than al-Zuhri's story. Therefore, his version is stronger than al-Zuhri's. The fourteenth century Muslim scholar Ibn Kathīr had also noticed the discrepancies between the versions of al-Zuhri and Ibn Ishāq. He prefers the version of Ibn Ishāq, because of his knowledge of the early raids.<sup>138</sup>

#### *Comparison with the versions of Ibn Sa'd and Musā ibn 'Uqba*

The last two issues to deal with are the traditions of Ibn Sa'd (L11) and Musā ibn 'Uqba. We will start with the origin of the tradition of Ibn Sa'd (L11) in his *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubra*.<sup>139</sup> I have mentioned previously that Ibn Sa'd gives two different *asānīd* at the beginning of the tradition, 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs al-Awdī -> Muḥammad ibn Ishāq -> 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nu'mān al-Zafarī and Ma'n ibn 'Isā l-Ashja'i -> Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd -> Ibn Shihāb -> 'Umar ibn Asīd ibn al-'Alā' ibn Jāriya. The tentative conclusion was that Ibn Sa'd's *matn* is probably the *matn* of 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs from Ibn Ishāq. Comparison of the tradition of Ibn Sa'd with the version of Ibn Ishāq from Ibn Hisham and al-Ṭabarī confirms that the main part of the tradition is indeed from Ibn Ishāq.

However, there are some differences:

- Ibn Sa'd mentions that the group Muḥammad sent consisted of **ten** persons, but he only gives the names of **seven** persons. They are the same six names as Ibn Ishāq gives plus Mu'attab ibn 'Ubayd, the brother of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭariq from his mother's side.

<sup>137</sup> On 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Najīh, see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 304 (no. 3600). On 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Iyād, see Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, III, Beirut 201, 24 and al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, V, 58 (no. 4261).

<sup>138</sup> "alā anna Ibn Ishāq imām fi hādihā l-sha'n" (because Ibn Ishāq is a master in this matter). He repeats the words of al-Shāfi'i, "man arada l-maghāzī fa huwa 'iyal 'ala Muḥammad ibn Ishāq" (Who wants [to know] about the *maghāzī* is entirely dependent upon Muḥammad ibn Ishāq) Ibn Kathīr also mentions the versions of Musā ibn 'Uqba and 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr, which I will discuss below. See Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, IV, 63.

<sup>139</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, II, 55-56

- Ibn Sa'd says that Muḥammad appoints 'Āṣim ibn Thābit as their leader, but also mentions that someone said Marthad ibn Abī Marthad.
- Ibn Sa'd adds the information that al-Hada [*sic*] lies seven miles from al-Rajī' and 'Usfan. No version of Ibn Ishāq mentions the place 'Usfan.
- Ibn Sa'd says that the group was betrayed to the Hudhayl (= formulation Ibn Ishāq) and the Banū Lihyān went to them (= version al-Zuhri).
- Ibn Sa'd mentions four persons who did not accept a pledge from a polytheist, the same three names Ibn Ishāq gives plus Mu'attab ibn 'Ubayd.

It appears that Ibn Sa'd's tradition is a mixture of both versions. He mainly followed the plot from the story of Ibn Ishāq and added information from al-Zuhri's version. The inclusion of the name of the seventh participant is a peculiarity of Ibn Sa'd's tradition. Either Ibn Sa'd himself or 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs is responsible for this addition.

Al-Bayhaqī's *Dalā'il* contains four traditions from Mūsā ibn 'Uqba about the raid of the Hudhayl: one medium-length, one short and two combined traditions from Mūsā and 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (d. 94/712).<sup>140</sup> Al-Bayhaqī received Mūsā's version from Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qaṭṭān (d. 415/1024)<sup>141</sup> -> Abū Bakr ibn 'Attāb (d. 344/955)<sup>142</sup> -> al-Qāsim ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mughīra (d. 275/888-889) -> Ibn Abī Uways (d. 226/841 or 227/842)<sup>143</sup> -> Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Uqba (d. between 158-169/775-785)<sup>144</sup> -> Musa, while 'Urwa's tradition is from Abū Ja'far al-Baghdādī (d. 346/958)<sup>145</sup> -> Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn Khālid (n.d.) -> his father (d. 229/843-844) -> Ibn Lahī'a (d. 174/790-791)<sup>146</sup> -> Abū l-Aswad (d. 131/748)<sup>147</sup> ->

<sup>140</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa wa-ma'rifaṭ aḥwāl šāḥib al-sharī'a*, III, Beirut 1429/2008, 326-327. Since Mūsā ibn 'Uqba's tradition in *al-Maghāzī* is almost identical to al-Bayhaqī's traditions I will only refer to the *Dalā'il*. See Mūsā ibn 'Uqba, *al-Maghāzī*, Agadir 1994, 201-205.

<sup>141</sup> He is Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Qaṭṭān from Baghdad. See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād aw madīnat al-salām*, II, Beirut 1417/1997, 246 (no. 718).

<sup>142</sup> He is Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ahmad ibn 'Attāb al-'Abdī. See al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 71-72 (no. 1059).

<sup>143</sup> His name is Ismā'il ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Uways. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, I, 239-240 (no. 452).

<sup>144</sup> Mūsā ibn 'Uqba is his uncle. Ismā'il died during the reign of al-Mahdī (r. 158-169/775-785). See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, I, 215 (no. 408).

<sup>145</sup> He is Muḥammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dīmasḥq*, LV, Beirut 1415-1421/1995-2000, 177-178 (no. 6946).

<sup>146</sup> He is the Egyptian scholar 'Abd Allāh ibn Lahī'a. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 252-256 (no. 3501).

<sup>147</sup> His name is Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Nawfal. He was the foster-child of 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 408 (no. 6002).

'Urwa.<sup>148</sup> The *asānīd* do not mention any informant of Mūsā, but the *isnād* of Mūsā's short tradition in al-'Askari's *Kitāb al-awā'il* goes back to al-Zuhri.<sup>149</sup> When we compare al-Bayhaqī's traditions from Mūsā with the traditions we have already discussed it appears that Mūsā's medium-length tradition looks like the story of Ibn Ishāq mixed with other, new elements. The content of Mūsā's short tradition, which relates the part about Muḥammad informing his companions about Khubayb's death on the same day, is similar to al-Zuhri's element 41, but the formulation is different. The combined traditions from Mūsā and 'Urwa seem to be a composition of Ibn Ishāq's story and new formulations. Although al-Bayhaqī does not give a complete detailed tradition of Mūsā and 'Urwa, he remarks that it is similar to the story of Abū Hurayra [i.e. al-Zuhri's versions] with additions and omissions, which he cites thereupon.<sup>150</sup> In the combined, medium-length tradition from Mūsā and 'Urwa only two words (*ba'atha* and *'aynan*) are identical with al-Zuhri's version besides the names of 'Āṣim ibn Thābit, Khubayb and Zayd ibn al-Dathinna.

The late collector al-Ṣāliḥī l-Shāmī (d. 942/1342) cites in his comparison of several versions of the story about the raid of the Hudhayl, a few sentences from al-Bayhaqī's tradition of Mūsā ibn 'Uqba and 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr. One sentence is especially interesting, because it gives the number of participants of the group Muḥammad sent and the reason for the mission: Muḥammad sent ten [persons] (= version al-Zuhri) as scouts to Mecca to bring him information on Quraysh (... *anna rasūl Allāh (ṣ) ba'atha 'ashara 'uyūnan ilā Makka li-yu'tawḥu bi-khabar Quraysh*).<sup>151</sup> Al-Wāqidi mentions a similar sentence from 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr alone; it is possible therefore that this part is from transmissions ascribed to 'Urwa

<sup>148</sup> Gorke and Schoeler noticed during their research on the corpus of 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr that Abū l-Aswad's traditions from 'Urwa are very close to the traditions from Musa ibn 'Uqba. See their article on "Reconstructing the earliest *sīra* texts: The Hijra in the corpus of 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr", in *Der Islam*, 82 (2005), 214.

<sup>149</sup> Al-'Askari, *Kitāb al-awā'il*, Medina 1385/[1966], 168-169. Al-'Askari combined a tradition from Mūsā with the version of another person whom he did not mention in the *isnād*. Therefore, I only used al-Bayhaqī's traditions from Mūsā (and 'Urwa).

<sup>150</sup> *Fa-dhakara qīṣat man qutla minhum wa-man usira thumma qila bi nahw mimma [sic] rawaynā fīhi hadīth Abi Hurayra yazīdāni wa yanquṣāni*. Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, III, 326

<sup>151</sup> Al-Ṣāliḥī l-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā wa l-rashād fī sirat khayr al-'ibād*, VI, Beirut 1414/[1993-1994], 39 The combined shortened tradition from Mūsā and 'Urwa in al-Bayhaqī's *Dalā'il* does not specify any number, but gives the names of only four participants ('Āṣim ibn Thābit, Marthad ibn Abi Marthad, Khubayb ibn 'Adi and Zayd ibn al-Dathinna). The formulation is similar to al-Wāqidi's tradition. *ba'atha rasul Allāh (ṣ) [...] 'aynan ilā Makka yatakhhabruna khabar Quraysh* See al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, III, 326.

ibn al-Zubayr.<sup>152</sup> Furthermore, Mūsā ibn 'Uqba mentioned the name Mu'attab ibn 'Ubayd as one of Muḥammad's scouting party according to the late collector Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334).<sup>153</sup> So far, only the tradition of Ibn Sa'd mentions Mu'attab. Al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823) also mentions him in his tradition about the raid of the Hudhayl, which he composed out of several accounts.<sup>154</sup>

Other parts of Mūsā's tradition that the versions of al-Zuhri and Ibn Ishāq do not mention are the sentence (*'aynan*) *ilā Makka yatakhhabbarūna khabar Quraysh fa-salakū l-Najdiyya*.<sup>155</sup> When the Quraysh raised Khubayb on the wood, they asked him if he would not wish that Muḥammad were in his place. Khubayb replied that he did not even want Muḥammad to redeem him by a thorn hurting him in his feet. The Quraysh scorned him. Ibn Ishāq relates similar (not identical) words from Zayd. Finally, Mūsā ibn 'Uqba relates that Muḥammad said, "Peace be with you, Khubayb" on the day Khubayb and Zayd were killed. Mūsā adds that they shot Zayd with arrows and wanted to turn him away from the right way (i.e. from Islam), but they only increased his belief and perseverance. Mūsā ibn 'Uqba starts these two parts with the words "they claim" (*wa-za'amū*). The traditions of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and Shu'ayb relate similarly that Muḥammad informed his companions what happened to the party on the day they died, but this happened in their versions in connection with 'Āṣim ibn Thābit's prayer.

The tradition of Mūsā ibn 'Uqba is similar to – but not identical with – the versions of al-Zuhri and Ibn Ishāq. Several parts, i.e. "peculiarities" of Mūsā's tradition seem to derive from at least one other story about the raid of the Hudhayl. The appearance of the name Mu'attab ibn 'Ubayd as seventh person of Muḥammad's scouting party, could be an

<sup>152</sup> *Iḥdathani Mūsā ibn Ya'qūb 'an Abi l-Aswad 'an 'Urwa qāla: ba'atha rasūl Allāh (ṣ) aṣḥāb al-Rajī' 'aynan ilā Makka li-yukhbirūhu khabar Quraysh fa-salakū 'alā l-Najdiyya ḥattā kānū bi-l-Rajī' fa-'taraḍat lahum Banū Liḥyān* Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 266. The same tradition is present in al-Bayhaqī's *Dalā'il*, but this tradition is not traced back to 'Urwa. Also, the part from *khabar* until *Banū Liḥyān* is an addition from the *Maghāzī* of al-Wāqidī. See al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, III, 323. Görke and Schoeler criticize al-Wāqidī's ascriptions to 'Urwa. It is possible that he used Mūsā's version without mentioning him as he did more often. See Görke & Schoeler, *Berichte*, 276.

<sup>153</sup> *Wa dhakara Ibn 'Uqba aydan Mu'attab ibn 'Ubayd fihim*. See Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn*, II, 65. The editor of the *Maghāzī* of Mūsā ibn 'Uqba added the name Mu'attab ibn 'Ubayd between brackets, because it is an addition from Ibn Sayyid al-Nās.

<sup>154</sup> Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 266-269.

<sup>155</sup> See however footnote 148. It is possible that this sentence is from Abū l-Aswad's account from 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr alone.

addition from later times, since the versions of al-Zuhri and Ibn Ishāq do not mention him and he appears only in traditions from later traditionists, Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334), Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845) and al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), but it is also possible that the name Mu'attab ibn 'Ubayd was part of the supposed third version possibly known to Mūsā ibn 'Uqba. Therefore, al-Zuhri's name as informant of Mūsā in the *isnād* of al-'Askari's tradition is probably not correct and might be an addition from a transmitter after Mūsā, who perhaps assumed that Mūsā received the tradition from al-Zuhri, who is one of his teachers. Mūsā's transmitter Muḥammad ibn Fulayḥ (d. 197/813) is problematic.<sup>156</sup> Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn considers him *laysa bi-thiqa* (not reliable). According to Abū Ḥātim there is no objection to him; he is not very strong (*mā bihi ba's, laysa bi-dhāk al-qawwiy*).<sup>157</sup>

## VI. CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this chapter, I mentioned Juynboll's opinion that al-Zuhri is "doubtless the chronicler" of the story about the raid of the Hudhayl.<sup>158</sup> The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of the traditions ascribed to al-Zuhri shows that he taught the story about the raid of the Hudhayl to several of his students. Only the traditions that his students Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, Ma'mar and Shu'ayb transmitted have survived in the sources. Other students of al-Zuhri perhaps knew the tradition, but they did not transmit it further on or their stories did not survive in the sources familiar to us nowadays. The transmission must have taken place before 124/742 when al-Zuhri died and we could therefore date al-Zuhri's version to the first quarter of the second Islamic century. Al-Zuhri probably did not relate just one version of his story about the raid of the Hudhayl, but it seems that he may have distributed an edited (written) version later on in his life.

The comparison of al-Zuhri's versions with the traditions from Ibn Ishāq shows that their versions are similar in the main lines, but differ in the details to such an extent that it is not likely that Ibn Ishāq heard the tradition about the raid of the Hudhayl from al-Zuhri. This means that there existed two different versions of the raid in the first quarter of the second Islamic century. The similarities between the two versions of al-Zuhri and Ibn Ishāq indicate that there must have existed at least one story about the raid of the Hudhayl that

<sup>156</sup> Gorke and Schoeler found that Muhammad ibn Fulayḥ unvaryingly traces his tradition from Mūsā ibn 'Uqba back to al-Zuhri. See *Berichte*, 90, 114 (footnote 308) and 273.

<sup>157</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 479 (no. 6140)

<sup>158</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 718. See page 39.



predates their versions and which, consequently, should be dated at the turn of the century or possibly even in the last quarter of the first Islamic century.

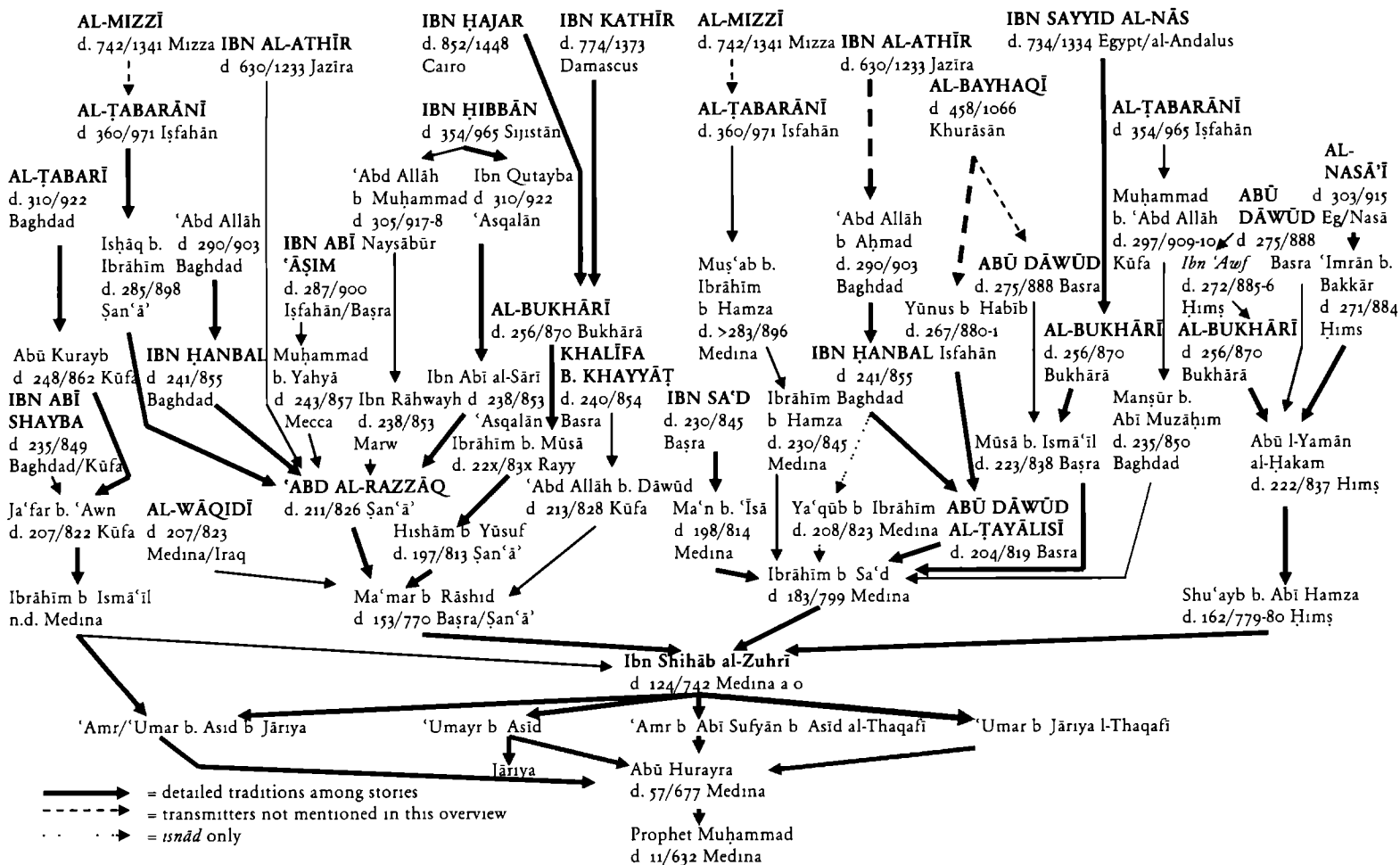
Especially, the similarities in the section dealing with Khubayb's imprisonment were remarkable. Although Ibn Ishaq and al-Zuhri mention different informants as their source, it seems very likely that a part of Khubayb's story came from the same female source. There are even some indications that the stories on Khubayb's imprisonment were originally family traditions of the al-Harith clan based on the story of a woman.

The traditions from Musa ibn 'Uqba and Ibn Sa'd contain information and formulations that the versions of al-Zuhri and Ibn Ishaq do not have. Perhaps there existed in the first quarter of the second Islamic century at least one other version on the raid of the Hudhayl.

Juynboll's doubts about the authenticity of the part of the chain of transmitters below al-Zuhri, which he considers an improvement from a later transmitter, can only partly be refuted.<sup>199</sup> Al-Zuhri did not transmit this story *mursal* without the name of an informant but on the authority of 'Amr ibn Abi Sufyan ibn Asid with deviating versions of the name. Still, the comparison with traditions circulated by others than al-Zuhri could not substantiate al-Zuhri's claim that he received his tradition from 'Amr ibn Abi Sufyan ibn Asid. The *isnad-cum-matn* analysis of the tradition about the raid of the Hudhayl has shown that the Muslim source material on the life of Muhammad contains one other genuine al-Zuhri tradition besides the traditions detected in previous studies. Since his tradition is based on even earlier stories about the raid and its participants, the account of the raid of the Hudhayl is much older than what has been previously suggested.

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<sup>199</sup> See page 40

Appendix 1 *Isnād* bundle of al-Zuhri's traditions about the raid of the Hudhayl

## CHAPTER 3

### EVENTS DURING THE NIGHT JOURNEY

#### I. INTRODUCTION

The biography of Muḥammad contains many miraculous stories, among them Muḥammad's night journey (*isrā'*) and his ascension to heaven (*mi'rāj*). The tradition literature places the night journey and the ascension in Muḥammad's Meccan period, i.e. before the *hijra* to Medina, but it differs on the date. Ibn 'Asākir places them at the beginning of Muḥammad's mission, while Ibn Ishāq states that they happened approximately ten years later. Al-Bayhaqī relates a tradition from Mūsā ibn 'Uqba from al-Zuhri, who places the night journey one year before the *hijra*.<sup>1</sup>

The story of the night journey is connected with verse 1 of *sūrat al-isrā'*: "Glory be to Him who transported His servant by night from the *masjid al-ḥarām* to the *masjid al-aqṣā* which We have surrounded with blessing, in order to show him one of our signs."<sup>2</sup> The stories about the night journey can be divided into three groups. According to the first group, the night journey was from Mecca to heaven, thus equating the night journey with the ascension. In stories of the second group, Muḥammad was transported (either his spirit or his body) from Mecca to Jerusalem. Some stories mention Muḥammad's ascension to heaven from Jerusalem during the same night. The last group of stories describe the *isrā'* as a vision among others as a result of a question of Quraysh, i.e. Muḥammad was shown Jerusalem while standing in the Ka'ba as a proof to convince unbelieving Quraysh of his divine mission.<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to give a description of the night journey and the ascension, because there are several versions of both stories with intertwined motives and sometimes they are

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<sup>1</sup> See Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra l-nabawīyya*, II, Beirut n.d., 93. Ibn Hishām and Ibn Kathīr both discuss the night journey before the deaths of Muḥammad's uncle Abū Ṭālib and Khadija.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūra* (17:1) *subḥan alladhī asrā bi 'abdihī laylan min al-masjid al-ḥarām ilā l-masjid al-aqṣā alladhī bāraknā ḥawlahu l-nurīyah min āyātinnā [...]*. The translation is from Schrieke B. [ & J. Horovitz ], "Mi'rāj: 1. In Islamic exegesis and in the popular and mystical tradition of the Arab world", in *Elz*, VII, Leiden 1993, 97.

<sup>3</sup> Schrieke [ & J. Horovitz ], "Mi'rāj", 97-98.

combined in one story.<sup>4</sup> Among the motives that appear in traditions about the night journey is the riding-animal Burāq<sup>5</sup> who carries the Prophet. In some versions, the cleansing of Muḥammad's chest by some angels precedes the night journey. Upon his arrival at Jerusalem, Muḥammad is offered several drinks. The fate of his community is connected with his choice of beverage. According to some versions, this choice takes place in heaven. Muḥammad leads a group of prophets among whom Abraham, Moses and Jesus in prayer. An additional motif is Muḥammad's meeting with these three persons of whom he gives a description. These two motifs also appear after or during his ascension to heaven. Muḥammad climbed a ladder (*mi'rāj*) to reach the heavens or was carried by Burāq. Usually, Gabriel is the one who leads Muḥammad through the seven heavens in which he meets several earlier prophets. Other motives of Muḥammad's ascension are his glance at Paradise, a conversation with Moses, the reduction of the number of daily prayers from fifty to five and the *sidrat al-muntahā*<sup>6</sup>. The accounts differ on what happened during the *mi'rāj*.

Several motifs of the night journey and ascension accounts confirm Muḥammad's position among the prophets recognised in Judaism and/or Christianity. The prophets he met during his journey through the seven heavens acknowledge his prophetic mission<sup>7</sup> and his superiority over them by leading them in prayer and his ascension to a higher level than any one of them.<sup>8</sup> The strong resemblance between Muḥammad and Abraham refers to a similarity in appearance and function.<sup>9</sup>

Contrary to the traditions discussed in the previous and following chapter, al-Zuhri apparently did not transmit a detailed story about Muḥammad's night journey and/or his ascension to heaven, or a detailed tradition did not survive in the sources available to us.

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<sup>4</sup> I derive the motifs from Ibn Kathīr's discussion of the different traditions about the night journey and the ascension. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra l-nabawīyya*, II, 94-113.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Burāq is a mythical animal on which prophets before Muḥammad rode. It is described as a beast between a mule and an ass. Other features that are given in traditions are that it is white, with a long back and long or shaking ears. It could move with incredible speed. Some traditions mention that it has wings on its shanks and in later miniatures it is depicted as a winged animal. Paret, R., "Al-Burāq", in *EI2*, I, Leiden 1960, 1310-1311.

<sup>6</sup> The *sidrat al-muntahā* is "the lote-tree on the boundary". It is said to be located in the seventh heaven and the four rivers of Paradise flow under it. Rippin, A., "Sidrat al-Muntahā", in *EI2*, IX, Leiden 1997, 550.

<sup>7</sup> Rubin, *The eye*, 65.

<sup>8</sup> Colby, F.S., "The subtleties of the ascension: Al-Sulamī on the Mi'rāj of the Prophet Muhammad", in *Studia Islamica*, 94 (2002), 171.

<sup>9</sup> Newby, *The making*, 18-19. Ibn Hishām traces Muḥammad's lineage through Ismā'il from Abraham, describing it as "the pure descent from Adam". See Guillaume, *The life*, 3.

There are, however, a number of short traditions from al-Zuhri describing single events that took place during the night journey and the ascension. The focus of this chapter are al-Zuhri's traditions that deal with Muḥammad meeting the three prophets Abraham, Moses and Jesus (of whom he gives a description), and the choice Muḥammad had to make between drinking milk and wine. According to these traditions, both events take place during the *isrā'*. Muḥammad's choice of milk, thereby declining the wine, seems to refer to the Qur'ānic prohibition of drinking wine in verses 90-91 of *Sūrat al-mā'ida* (V), while milk is said to be pure and agreeable (*Sūrat al-naḥl* XVI:66). Milk is a symbol of the purity of Islam,<sup>10</sup> as opposed to wine. According to the tradition material, had Muḥammad chosen the latter, his community would have deviated from the original way (like the Christians?<sup>11</sup>).

Many pages have been written about the possible Christian and Jewish influences on the stories about the night journey and the ascension,<sup>12</sup> and about variation between the contents of Muslim traditions.<sup>13</sup> This study focuses on a combined analysis of the *asānīd* and the *mutūn*. The events are sometimes combined in one tradition, but appear also separately. The aim of this chapter is to establish whether al-Zuhri transmitted these traditions and if so, whether he transmitted the two events in one account or separately? Finally, I will try to find out what the origin of al-Zuhri's tradition(s) is by comparing his version of the two events to descriptions by other transmitters.

My data collection includes 43 variants of (parts of) this tradition. Twelve traditions (27.9%) relate both events (two-topic traditions), eight (18.6%) only the meeting with Abraham, Moses and Jesus (description traditions), twenty-one (48.8%) the choice between drinking milk and wine (choice traditions) and two (4.7%) only state the *isnād*. The variants come from nineteen collections of sixteen different authors dating from the third to the eighth Islamic century. The collections vary from historical works (*Tārīkh* and *Sīra*) to *ḥadīth*-collections (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Sunan*, *Musnad* and *Muṣannaḥ*) and Qur'ān commentaries (*Tafsīr*). The authors of the collections placed the traditions in chapters on the night journey (11

<sup>10</sup> Sadan, J., "Mashrubat", in *El2*, VI, Leiden 1991, 721-722.

<sup>11</sup> The wine may be a symbol of Christianity.

<sup>12</sup> See for example, Schrieke, B., "Die Himmelsreise Muhammeds", in *Der Islam*, 6 (1916), 1-30. Horowitz, J., "Muhammeds Himmelfahrt", in *Der Islam*, 9 (1919), 159-183, and "The growth of the Mohammed legend", in *The Moslem World*, 10 (1920), 49-58 (originally published in German in 1914). Nisan, M., "Note on a possible Jewish source for Muhammad's 'night journey'", in *Arabica*, 47 (2000), 274-277. van Esbroeck, M., "Die Quelle der Himmelfahrt Muhammads vom Tempel in Jerusalem aus", in *Le Muséon*, 117 (2004), 189-192.

<sup>13</sup> One of the most recent publications that compares different versions is Colby, F.S., *Narrating Muhammad's night journey: Tracing the development of the Ibn 'Abbās ascension discourse*, Albany, NY 2008.

traditions), *sūrat al-isrā'* (9 traditions), drinks (7 traditions), Jesus (4 tradition), Moses (2 traditions) and Abraham (1 tradition) Two traditions are placed in a chapter to explain a certain word (*Kutāb al-ta'bīr: qadaḥ* and *khamr*), while the remaining seven traditions are placed in sections on one of the transmitters from the *isnad*.

## II. ISNĀD ANALYSIS

According to the *asanid*, twelve different persons transmitted a tradition about at least one of the two topics from al-Zuhri: 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Abī Bakr (n.d.), Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il (n.d.), Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd (d. 183/799), Ma'mar ibn Rashīd (d. 153/770) Ma'qil ibn 'Ubayd Allāh (d. 166/782-783), Marzūq ibn Abī l-Hudhayl (n.d.), Muhammad ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767), Ṣālīḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar (d. after 160/776), Ṣālīḥ ibn Kaysān (d. after 140/757), Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamza (d. 162/779-780), Yūnus ibn Yazīd (d. 152/769) and al-Zubaydī [Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd]<sup>14</sup> (d. 148/765). The number of different traditions per student is as follows:

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<sup>14</sup> Al-M1771, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 546 (no 6265)

Table 2: Number and type of tradition per student of al-Zuhri

Student of al-Zuhri	Meeting + choice	Meeting	Choice	Isnād only	Total
'Abd al-Wahhāb	0	0	2	0	2
Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il	1	0	0	0	1
Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd	1	0	0	0	1
Ma'mar	10	6	2	0	18
Ma'qil	0	0	1	0	1
Marzūq	0	0	2	0	2
Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq	0	1	0	1 <sup>15</sup>	2
Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī Akḥḍar	0	0	1	0	1
Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān	0	0	1	0	1
Shu'ayb	0	0	4	0	4
Yūnus	0	1	6	1 <sup>16</sup>	8
Al-Zubaydī	0	0	2	0	2
	12	8	21	2	43

The table shows that only three students, Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and Ma'mar, combine the two topics in the same tradition. Yūnus is the only person of whom we have separate traditions about both topics. Al-Zuhri's story about Muḥammad's choice between drinking milk and wine survived in traditions of the remaining students, except Ibn Iṣḥāq who relates this topic from another source.<sup>17</sup> Ibn Iṣḥāq does mention a Zuhri-tradition about Muḥammad meeting the three prophets.

I will start the *isnād* analysis with the students that have the most traditions, Ma'mar, Shu'ayb and Yūnus, then proceed with students with two traditions and finally discuss the traditions of the remaining students. Appendix 2 shows the complete *isnād* bundle of al-Zuhri's traditions from the above-mentioned students.

<sup>15</sup> The *isnād* refers to al-Ṭabarī's previous description-tradition from Ma'mar. See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān*, XV, [Cairo] 1388/1968, 14-15

<sup>16</sup> The *isnād* refers to al-Bayhaqī's previous choice-tradition from Yūnus from another student. See al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 357.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn Hisham gives a tradition from Ibn Iṣḥāq -> al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, *Sira*, I, 264 and Ibn Iṣḥāq -> unknown person(s) -> 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ud, 263-264.

The traditions from Ma'mar account for almost half of the total number of traditions concerned with the night journey that are attributed to al-Zuhri. Ma'mar's famous student 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211/826) transmitted fifteen of the eighteen Ma'mar-traditions, while one tradition is from Hishām ibn Yusuf (d. 197/813), one tradition a combined report of 'Abd al-Razzāq and Hishām and one possibly of 'Abd al-Razzāq and/or 'Abd al-A'lā [ibn 'Abd al-A'lā l-Sāmī] (d. 189/805).

Al-Zuhri received his tradition according to fifteen traditions from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab -> Abu Hurayra -> Prophet Muḥammad. One tradition ends with Abū Hurayra and two with Sa'id. These last three traditions are all from 'Abd al-Razzāq. Eleven traditions describe both events that occurred during Muḥammad's night journey, five relate only the part on the meeting with the three prophets and two the choice between drinking milk and wine.

Yūnus ibn Yazīd

The eight traditions of Yūnus come from four students according to the *asānīd*: Abū Ṣafwan ['Abd Allāh ibn Sa'id al-Umawī] (n.d.)<sup>18</sup>, Yūnus' nephew 'Anbasa [ibn Khālīd] (d. 198/814)<sup>19</sup>, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) and 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb (d. 221/836). Al-Bukhārī gives one combined report of 'Anbasa and a certain 'Abd Allāh and a separate tradition from the latter.<sup>20</sup>

Two other traditions also mention the *ism* 'Abd Allāh without the *nasab*. Al-Nasā'ī adds in his *isnad* that the 'Abd Allāh in question is 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797).<sup>21</sup> Al-Ṭabarī mentions in one of the other traditions from Yūnus that the version derives from Yūnus' Egyptian pupil 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb. Although it is at this stage of the analysis of course possible that the 'Abd Allāh in the four traditions is 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb, other information from the *asanid* seems to support al-Nasā'ī's identification, because the two students that transmit these four versions are from the same city as 'Abd Allāh ibn al-

<sup>18</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 150 (no. 3294)

<sup>19</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, V, 500-501 (no. 5118)

<sup>20</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh*, III, 271 (65 *Kitāb tafsīr al-Qur'an – Sūrat Banī Isrā'īl* 3 *Bāb qawlihi ta'ala bi 'abdihi laylan min al-masjūd al-haram*) and *Sahīh*, IV, 32 (74 *Kitāb al-ashrība* – 12 *Bāb shurb al-laban wa qawla Allāh ta'ala min bayna farth wa dam labanan khalisan sa'ighan li l-shāribina*), respectively

<sup>21</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubra*, III, 226-227 (no. 5167/1)



Mubārak, namely from Marw in Khurāsān. We will verify al-Nasā'ī's identification with the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis in the next part of this chapter.

The traditions from Yunus mention Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab -> Abū Hurayra as al-Zuhri's source, except for two traditions from al-Ṭabarī that stop at the level of Sa'id.<sup>22</sup> The *isnad* of one of these traditions gives Abū Salama ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 94/713), a fellow townsman of Sa'id as co-informant of al-Zuhri. Five traditions deal with Muḥammad's choice between drinking milk and wine. Al-Ṭabarī's combined tradition describes Muḥammad's choice and his ride on the beast al-Burāq, while his other tradition deals with Muḥammad meeting the three prophets. The last tradition from Yūnus only mentions the *isnād*.

#### *Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamza*

Abū l-Yamān [al-Ḥakam ibn Nāfi'] (d. 222/837)<sup>23</sup> transmitted three of the four traditions that are allegedly from Shu'ayb. The remaining tradition is from Shu'ayb's son Bishr (d. 213/828). Al-Zuhri received his information according to the *asānid* from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab -> Abū Hurayra. The tradition is not traced back to Muhammad and relates only the part on the choice between milk and wine.

#### *'Abd al-Wahhāb, Ibn Ishāq, Marzuq and al-Zubaydī (two traditions)*

The two traditions that are attributed to 'Abd al-Wahhāb [ibn Abī Bakr] are probably both from al-Layth [ibn Sa'd] (d. 175/791) via Yazīd ibn al-Hād (d. 139/756-757), although al-Ṭabarānī's tradition has *ḥaddathani l-Layth 'an Yazīd bn 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'an Ibn Shihāb*. The word *bn* is probably a transmission error for *'an* or one of the transmitters after al-Layth omitted by mistake the words *al-Hād 'an* between *Yazīd bn* and *'Abd al-Wahhāb*.<sup>24</sup> Al-Nasā'ī received the tradition from two different persons from al-Layth. Their accounts were probably similar, because al-Nasā'ī starts with two different *asānid* up till al-Layth and does not mention any difference between those versions in the remaining part of the *isnād* and in the *matn*.<sup>25</sup> According to both traditions from 'Abd al-Wahhāb, al-Zuhri heard his tradition

<sup>22</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Jamī' al-bayan*, XV, 5 and 5-6, respectively

<sup>23</sup> Al Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, II, 252-254 (no 1432)

<sup>24</sup> Al Ṭabarānī, *al Mu'jam al awṣat*, IX, Riyadh 1405-1416/1985-1995, 356 (no 8763)

<sup>25</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *al Sunan al kubra*, IV, 386 (no 7639/i)

from Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab from Abū Hurayra. The traditions describe only Muḥammad's choice between drinking milk and wine.

One of the traditions of Ibn Ishāq is from Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833) on the authority of Ziyād ibn al-Bakkā'i (d. 183/799) and deals with Muḥammad meeting Abraham, Moses and Jesus.<sup>26</sup> The other tradition in the *Jāmi' al-bayān* of al-Ṭabarī consists of the *isnād* only and refers to his previous tradition from Ma'mar with the same topic as Ibn Hishām's version.<sup>27</sup> The *asānīd* of both traditions do not mention Abū Hurayra as informant of Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab. The latter even transmitted the tradition in al-Ṭabarī's version directly on the authority of Muḥammad (*'an Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab 'an rasūl Allāh (ṣ)*).

Both traditions from Marzūq are from al-'Abbās ibn 'Uthmān (d. 239/853-854) on the authority of al-Walīd ibn Muṣṭafī (d. 195/810). Al-Zuhri received this tradition according to the *asānīd* from Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab -> Abū Hurayra; it is not traced back to Muḥammad. The traditions relate the choice Muḥammad has to make between drinking milk and wine.

The two traditions from al-Zubaydī are both from Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb (d. 192/808). They mention in their *isnād* that al-Zuhri received his information from Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab on the authority of Abū Hurayra without reference to Muḥammad and relate the choice Muḥammad has to make between drinking milk and wine.

*Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, Ma'qil, Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akḥḍar and Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān (one tradition)*

The *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq in the account of Yūnus ibn Bukayr contains one tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl.<sup>28</sup> The *isnād* is Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār [al-'Uṭaridī] -> Yūnus ibn Bukayr -> Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl ibn al-Mujammi' al-Anṣārī -> Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri -> Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab -> Prophet Muḥammad. The tradition relates Muḥammad's meeting with the prophets and his choice between drinking milk and wine. The *isnād* does not mention Abū Hurayra as transmitter between Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab and Muḥammad, a feature that we noticed before in the traditions from Ibn Ishāq.

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<sup>26</sup> Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I, 266.

<sup>27</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XV, 15

<sup>28</sup> Yūnus ibn Bukayr, *Sīrat Ibn Ishāq*, Istanbul 1401/1981, 275 (no. 463).

The only tradition of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd is from Abū Dawud al-Ṭayālīsī.<sup>29</sup> The tradition relates Muḥammad's meeting with the prophets Abraham, Moses and Jesus and his choice between drinking milk and wine. Again, Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab seems to relate directly from Muḥammad according to the *isnād* (*akhbaranī Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab qāla qala rasul Allāh (ṣ)*), i.e. without mentioning a Companion as informant.

The tradition from Ma'qil on the authority of al-Zuhri is very short. Muslim placed it in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* after a tradition of Yunus ibn Yazid from al-Zuhri.<sup>30</sup> He only gives the beginning of the first sentence of the *matn*. He says that it is similar (*bi-mithlihi*) and mentions one difference (*wa-lam yadkhur [...]*). The tradition of Yūnus relates the choice of Muḥammad between drinking milk and wine. Ma'qil transmits the tradition according to the *isnād* from al-Zuhri -> Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab -> Abū Hurayra.

The tradition of Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar is from Ibn Ḥanbal who received the story from Rawḥ [ibn 'Ubāda] (d. 205/820).<sup>31</sup> Al-Zuhri received his information from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab -> Abū Hurayra -> Muḥammad. The story only deals with Muhammad's choice

The last tradition is from Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān. Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab relates the story of Muhammad's choice between drinks without mentioning a source.

### Conclusion

The traditions discussed in the *isnād* analysis come from twelve different students of al-Zuhri. Four students can be considered as partial common links,<sup>32</sup> i.e. two or more persons transmit their version. The traditions of the remaining eight students only survived in a single *riwāya* of later transmitters. Al-Zuhri must have transmitted the stories of Muhammad's meeting with Abraham, Moses and Jesus and the choice Muḥammad had to make between drinking milk and wine, to his students before 124/742 when he died.

The traditions that relate both events as well as the separate accounts are all traced back to Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab, while one *isnād* mentions Abu Salama ibn 'Abd al-Raḥman as second informant of al-Zuhri. Most of the transmission lines give Abū Hurayra as Sa'id's

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<sup>29</sup> Abu Dawud al-Tayalisi, *Musnad*, 249

<sup>30</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi sharḥ al-Nawawī*, VII, Cairo 1994, 198

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, II, 673 (no 10658)

<sup>32</sup> Juynboll would have regarded them as seeming partial common links, because they do not have at least three transmitters who related their story to at least two other persons. See chapter 1, page 25

informant, but some stop at the level of Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab or fail to mention his informant.

It is remarkable that no tradition mentions an informant of Abū Hurayra. Although Abu Hurayra is known as a Companion of Muḥammad,<sup>33</sup> he came to Medina when Muḥammad was on the expedition to Khaybar and he became a Muslim less than four years before Muḥammad died.<sup>34</sup> This means that he did not hear the story about the events concerning the night journey the first time Muhammad told it. It is of course possible that Abu Hurayra heard the story of the night journey from Muḥammad during the time he spent with him, but it is also possible that he heard the tradition from one of the other Companions of Muḥammad. The *isnād* might therefore contain a gap.

The *isnad* analysis did not reveal who was responsible for the combination of the two themes in one account. We will need the analysis of the *mutun* to answer the question whether al-Zuhri is responsible for the distribution of the combined report and the two separate accounts, or whether later transmitters attributed one or more versions to him.

### III. MATN ANALYSIS PER STUDENT OF AL-ZUHRI

Only the traditions of students who have more than one tradition will be analysed in this part. The remaining traditions will be compared with the version of other students of al-Zuhri at the end of this chapter.

#### *Ma'mar ibn Rashid*

I will start with the analysis of the *mutun* of the traditions from 'Abd al-Razzāq alone to decide if they indeed derive from him. Then I compare 'Abd al-Razzāq's traditions from Ma'mar with the version of Hishām ibn Yusuf to see whether the version of the latter is the result of an independent transmission or is copied from one of 'Abd al-Razzāq's versions (or vice versa). Furthermore, I will compare the combined reports of 'Abd al-Razzāq/Hishām ibn Yusuf and 'Abd al-Razzāq/'Abd al-A'la to determine if the *matn* derives from one transmitter or is indeed a combination of two separate transmissions. At the end, I will discuss two short traditions that relate the choice-topic partly.

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<sup>33</sup> See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 447 (no 8276)

<sup>34</sup> Robson, J., "Abu Hurayra al-Dawsī al-Yamānī", in *El2*, I, Leiden 1960, 129

Tradition S1 from the *Muṣannaḥ* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq will be the main text for the comparison.<sup>35</sup> The text is as follows:

- 1 قال معمر: قال الزهري: فأخبرني سعيد بن المسيب عن أبي هريرة قال: قال النبي صلعم حين أسري به:
- 2 لقيت موسى قال: فنتعته فإذا رجل – حسبته قال – مضطرب رجل الرأس كأنه من رجال شنوءة قال:
- 3 ولقيت عيسى عليه السلام فنتعته فقال: ربعة أحمر كأنما خرج من ديماس قال: ورأيت إبراهيم وأنا أشبه
- 4 ولده به قال: وأتي بانانين في أحدهما لبن وفي الآخر خمر فقال: خذ أيهما شئت فأخذت اللبن فشربته فقيل
- 5 لي: هذبت للفطرة – أو أصبت الفطرة – أما أنك لو أخذت الخمر غوت أمتك.

Ma‘mar said, al-Zuhri said, Sa‘id ibn al-Musayyab informed me on the authority of Abū Hurayra, he said, “the Prophet (s) said when he made the night journey,<sup>36</sup>

‘I met Moses.’ - He [Abū Hurayra] said, “and he [Prophet Muḥammad] described him – ‘He was a’ – I [‘Abd al-Razzāq] believe he [Ma‘mar] said – ‘tall and feeble man with wavy hair as if he was one of the Shanū’a’.<sup>37</sup>’ He said, ‘And I met Jesus (peace upon him).’ He [Prophet Muḥammad] described him and said, ‘[He was] of medium height with a red skin as if he has just had a bath’.<sup>38</sup>’ He said, ‘And I saw Abraham. From all his children I resembled him most.’ He said, ‘Two vessels were brought, one containing milk and the other wine. He said, “Take the one you like.” I took the milk and drank it. It was said to me, “You are guided to the way of the original religion”<sup>39</sup>’ – [‘Abd al-Razzāq said,] ‘or you have chosen [the way] of the original religion. If you had taken the wine, your community would have deviated from the original way.’”

The *isnād* bundle of the traditions attributed to ‘Abd al-Razzāq alone is as follows:<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaḥ*, V, 329-330.

<sup>36</sup> Literally: when he was transported by night.

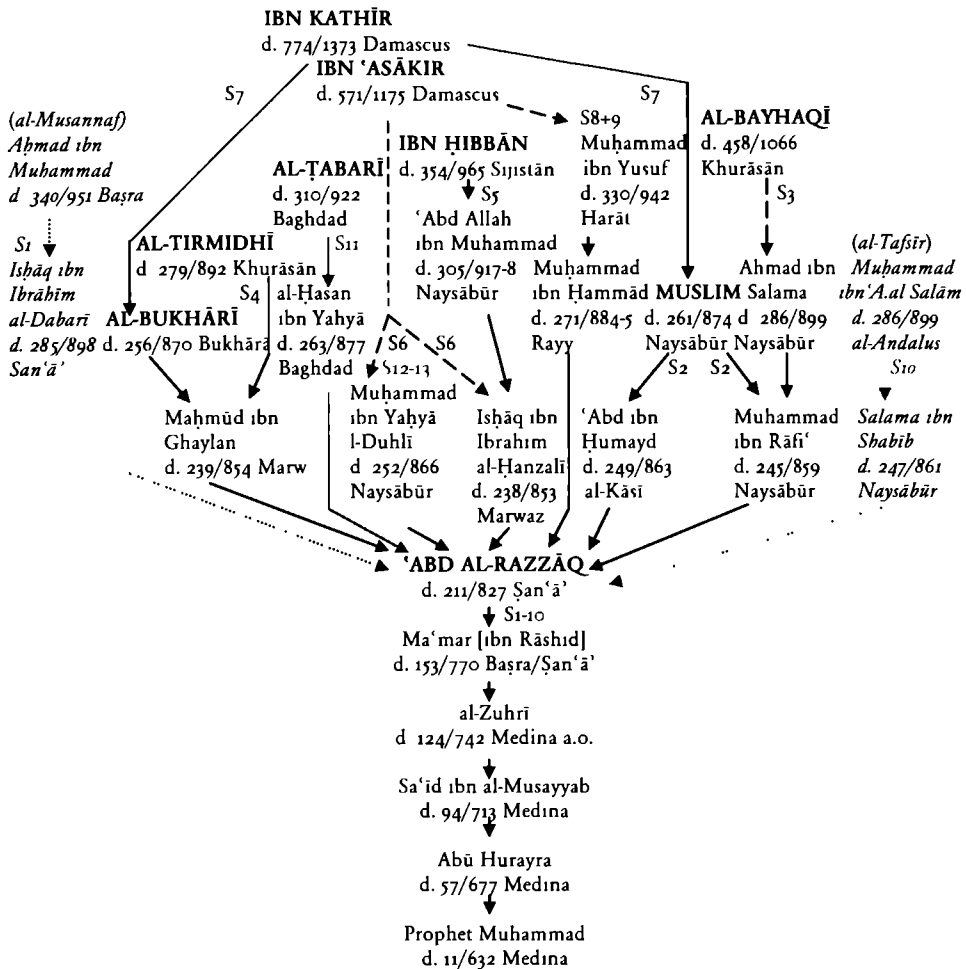
<sup>37</sup> Shanū’a is a *mikhlāf* (province) in Yemen, which is situated at a distance of 42 parasang (126 miles) from Ṣan‘ā’. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, III, 368-369.

<sup>38</sup> Guillaume traces the origin of the word *dimās* to *demoston* (a public bath-house), *The life*, 184 footnote 1. According to Ibn Manẓūr, some say that a *dimās* is a place of retreat or concealment (*kinn*) without sun or wind interpreted as a *hammām* in traditions. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, VI, 88.

<sup>39</sup> *Fiṭra* means “God’s kind or way of creating or of being created”. It refers to the religion that God has laid down for the people at the beginning and that has not been adjusted by mankind in the course of time. Beside the tradition mentioned above, it is used in traditions about the theological debate if a child of unbelievers is born naturally a Muslim or not. MacDonald, D.B., “Fitra”, in *ELI*, II, Leiden 1965, 931-932.

<sup>40</sup> The *riwāyāt* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaḥ* and *Tafsīr* are included in the *isnād* bundle with dotted lines.

Figure 9: *Isnad* bundle of ‘Abd al-Razzāq from Ma‘mar on the two-topic tradition



Seven of the thirteen traditions from 'Abd al-Razzāq alone relate both topics (S1, S2, S3, S4, S5, S6 and S7), one describes only Jesus (S8), one only Moses (S9) and four describe Jesus, Moses and Abraham (S10, S11, S12 and S13). I will compare them in this order.

Traditions S2-S7 are from Muslim (S2), al-Bayhaqī (S3) al-Tirmidhī (S4), Ibn Ḥibbān (S5), Ibn ‘Asākir (S6) and Ibn Kathīr (S7).<sup>41</sup> Muslim relates tradition S2 from two persons, Muhammad ibn Rāfi‘ and ‘Abd ibn Humayd. He says that their content is very similar (*wa-*

<sup>41</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Dala'il al-nubuwwa wa-ma'rīfat aḥwāl sāhib al-sharī'a*, II, 386-387. Ibn 'Asākīr, *Tārikh*, XLVII, 365-366 (no. 10263). Ibn Ḥibbān, *Sahih*, I, 247-248 (no. 51). Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīm*, III, Beirut 1406/1986 23. Muslim, *Ṣahih*, I, 494 (no. 272-(168)). Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī wa huwa l-jamī' al sahiḥ*, IV, Beirut 1403/1983, 362-363 (no. 5137).

*taqārabā fī l-lafẓ*), but he explicitly mentions that they received the tradition via different methods, Muḥammad ibn Rāfi' through *samā'* and 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd through *'ard* (*qāla Ibn Rāfi' ḥaddathanā wa-qāla 'Abd akhbaranā*).<sup>42</sup> Ibn 'Asākir also relates his tradition from two different students of 'Abd al-Razzāq, but he does not distinguish between their versions (*akhbaranā Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanzalī anba'anā 'Abd al-Razzāq qāla wa-ḥaddathanā Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī 'Umar ḥaddathanā 'Abd al-Razzāq*).

The tradition of Ibn Kathīr is according to the versions of al-Bukhārī and Muslim from 'Abd al-Razzāq in their *Ṣaḥīḥayni* (*wa-qad rawā l-Bukhārī wa-Muslim fī l-Ṣaḥīḥayni min ḥadīth 'Abd al-Razzāq*). As far as I know, the only tradition of al-Bukhārī from 'Abd al-Razzāq of al-Zuhri's tradition is the combined report of 'Abd al-Razzāq and Hishām ibn Yūsuf, which is not the tradition Ibn Kathīr refers to. We have to find out if the *matn* of Ibn Kathīr's tradition is from 'Abd al-Razzāq, Hishām ibn Yūsuf, or a combination of both versions.

Comparison of the *mutūn* of traditions S1 to S7 reveals that the number of differences is small. The tradition of Ibn Ḥibbān is the most deviating version. It starts with *layla usriya bī* instead of *ḥīna usriya bī/bibi*<sup>43</sup> (11). It misses part of the description of Moses (*Mūsā rajil al-ra's* instead of *Mūsā (qāla) fa-na'atahu fa-idbā rajul ḥasibtuhu qāla muḍṭarib rajil al-ra's*) (12) and it switches the words "milk" and "wine" (14). Still, the text of Ibn Ḥibbān is similar to the other traditions and must have come from the same source. The traditions therefore derive from 'Abd al-Razzāq, the last transmitter they have in common and the common link in the *isnād* bundle. The small number of differences and the nature of the differences, indicate that 'Abd al-Razzāq used a written text to transmit this tradition. The remark of Muslim at the beginning of his tradition shows that 'Abd al-Razzāq probably read the tradition to his students (*sama'*) or let the students read to him the texts they had copied from a manuscript of his (*'ard*).

Each text has some features that the other six texts do not possess. Tradition S1 from the *Muṣannaf*: the eulogy after the name Jesus (13), the formulation *fa-na'atahu fa-qāla* (13), no

<sup>42</sup> Azamī remarks that some scholars used *akhbaranā* and *ḥaddathanā* interchangeably, *Studies in ḥadīth methodology*, 22. Muslim did not use the terms like here at random, because this is the only difference between the two versions he mentions. It seems therefore more likely that he was aware how his teachers learned the tradition from 'Abd al-Razzāq. The difference between *samā'* and *'ard* is that in the former case the teacher or *shaykh* relates the tradition to the student, while according to the latter method, the student recites the tradition to the teacher, who verifies the content.

<sup>43</sup> Both words (*bibi* and *bī*) are present in 'Abd al-Razzāq's traditions, which might be a differentiation caused by editing of the manuscripts or a copyist's error. Both forms are grammatically correct in this sentence.

explanation of the word *dīmās* (*ya'nī l-ḥammām*) (l3), *utiya* (instead of *utītu*) (l4) and *fa-qāla* (instead of (*fa-*)*qīla li*) (l4-5). Tradition S2 of Muslim: the additional use of *al-nabī* (ṣ) in *fa-na'atabu l-nabī* twice (l2 and l3), *fa-idhā rab'a* instead of just *rab'a* (l3), the eulogy after the name of Abraham (l3) and the omission of *li* after *qīla* (l5). Tradition S4 of al-Tirmidhī: the omission of *fī* before *aḥaduhumā* (l4) and *wa-l-ākhar fīhi* instead of *wa-fī l-ākhar* (l4). S6 of Ibn 'Asākir: *fa-qāla* instead of *fa-idhā* (l2), the additional use of *huwa* (l2) and the omission of *ḥasibtuhu qāla* (l2).

Tradition S7 of Ibn Kathīr has some features in common with S2 of Muslim, but it is not identical to Muslim's tradition. It has *'alayhi l-salām* after the name Mūsā (l2) and *fa-na'atabu l-nabī* (ṣ) (l2 and l3), combinations that only the tradition of Muslim contains. However, the tradition of Ibn Kathīr mentions *wa-laqītu* instead of *wa-ra'aytu* (l3), *ya'nī l-ḥammām* instead of *ya'nī ḥammāman* (l3) and does not mention the word *fa-idhā* (l2). At this point in the *matn* analysis, we can exclude the possibility that Ibn Kathīr on the one hand mentioned that he used two different versions (those of al-Bukharī and Muslim), but on the other hand only used the *matn* of Muslim, since the *mutūn* of Ibn Kathīr and Muslim are not identical.

The same applies to tradition S3 of al-Bayhaqī. It looks very much like tradition S2 of Muslim, but they are not identical. If we leave aside the differences that might derive from transmission errors (*ya'nī ḥammām* instead of *ya'nī ḥammāman* (l3), *fa-sharibtu* instead of *fa-sharibtuhu* (l4) etc.), the tradition of al-Bayhaqī has *bihi* instead of *bī* (l1), it does not mention the eulogies after the names Moses (l2) and Abraham (l3), it omits *al-nabī* (ṣ) (l1) and *fa-idhā* (l2), but does mention the word *lī* (l5).

The next two traditions that will be compared with the previous seven traditions are from Ibn 'Asākir. He received them according to the *asānid* from Muḥammad ibn Ḥammad, another student of 'Abd al-Razzāq. Tradition S8 is from Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Qubays -> Abu l-Ḥasan ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd -> his grandfather Abū Bakr -> Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf -> Muḥammad ibn Ḥammad -> 'Abd al-Razzāq -> Ma'mar -> al-Zuhri -> Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab -> Abū Hurayra and gives a description of Jesus only.<sup>44</sup> The Prophet Muḥammad is not mentioned explicitly as the narrator, but the word *rafa'ahu* signifies that the tradition is traced back to the Prophet Muḥammad. A further difference with the previous six traditions of 'Abd al-Razzāq is the addition of the *nasab* Ibn Maryam after the name 'Īsā (l3). It agrees with the formulation that most traditions have *fa-na'atabu fa-qāla* (l3), *ka'annamā* (l3) and

<sup>44</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, XLVII, 372



ya'ni l-ḥammām (I3). Ibn 'Asākir mentions at the end *fī ḥadīth dhakarahu*. This might be an indication that the tradition from Muḥammad ibn Ḥammād was longer and that Ibn 'Asākir shortened it.

The other tradition S9 is handed down via the same *riwāya* as S8 except that Ibn 'Asākir heard it from two persons with the *kunya* Abū l-Ḥasan (*akhbarānā Abawā l-Ḥasan al-faqīhān qālā*).<sup>45</sup> The Prophet Muḥammad is mentioned as narrator of the story. The tradition only deals with the description of Moses. The differences with the seven traditions of 'Abd al-Razzāq are *layla* instead of *ḥīna* (I1) (= tradition S5 from Ibn Ḥibbān), *marartu bi-* instead of *laqitu* (I2), the addition of the *nasab* Ibn 'Imrān after the name Musa (I2) and the formulation *fa-na'atabu l-nabī (s)* (I2) (= traditions S2 from Muslim and S6 from Ibn 'Asākir). The remaining text is identical to the formulations on which most traditions agree.

Traditions S8 and S9 of Ibn 'Asākir are similar to the seven previous traditions and must derive from the same source, i.e. 'Abd al-Razzāq, the last transmitter they all have in common. The use of the *nasab* after the name of Jesus and Moses in both traditions seems to be a peculiarity of the transmission of Muḥammad ibn Ḥammād from 'Abd al-Razzāq. It is possible that Ibn 'Asākir knew Ibn Ḥammād's complete tradition of 'Abd al-Razzāq, but only mentioned the parts that concern the topic of the entries in which the traditions appear, i.e. S8 in the entry on Jesus and S9 in the entry on Moses.

The last four traditions that are ascribed to 'Abd al-Razzāq alone are from the *Tafsīr* of 'Abd al-Razzāq (S10), al-Ṭabarī (S11) and from Ibn 'Asakir (S12 and S13).<sup>46</sup> Tradition S10 of the *Tafsīr* is handed down by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Salām -> Salama ibn Shabīb,<sup>47</sup> tradition S11 by al-Ṭabarī -> al-Ḥasan ibn Yaḥyā, tradition S12 by Ibn 'Asākir -> Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Furawī -> Abū Bakr al-Maghribī -> Abū Bakr al-Jawzaqī<sup>48</sup> -> Abū Ḥāmid ibn al-Sharqī and Makki ibn 'Abdān -> Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, and tradition S13 by Ibn 'Asakir -> Abū Bakr Wajīh ibn Ṭāhir -> al-Shajjāmī -> Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Azharī -> Abū Sa'd Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥamdūn al-Tājir -> Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan -> Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā l-Duhlī. The lower part

<sup>45</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tarikh*, LXI, 26 (no. 12523).

<sup>46</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīz al-musamma tafsīr 'Abd al-Razzaq*, I, Beirut 1991, 317 (no. 1532). Ibn 'Asākir, *Tarikh*, VI, 175 (no. 1446) and XLVII, 366 (no. 10263). Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XV, 14-15.

<sup>47</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, I, 32.

<sup>48</sup> I took the beginning of the *isnād* up till Abū Ḥāmid ibn al-Sharqī from the previous tradition. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tarikh*, VI, 174.

of the *asanīd* is the same: ‘Abd al-Razzāq -> Ma‘mar -> al-Zuhri -> Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab -> Abū Hurayra.

The content and the formulations differ considerably from the versions of ‘Abd al-Razzāq analysed before. I will first compare these four traditions with each other and then with the other traditions of ‘Abd al-Razzāq. The main text for this part of the analysis is the tradition from the *Tafsīr* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq (S10). The text is:

- 1 حدثنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن الزهري عن ابن المسيب عن أبي هريرة أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وصف
- 2 لأصحابه ليلة أسري به إبراهيم وموسى وعيسى فقال: أما إبراهيم فلم أر رجلاً أشبه بصاحبكم منه وأما
- 3 موسى فرجل آدم طوال جعد أفنى كأنه من رجال شنوءة وأما عيسى فرجل أحمر بين القصير والطويل
- 4 سبط الرأس كثير خيلان الوجه كأنه خرج من ديماس تخال رأسه يقطر ماء وما به ماء أشبه من رأيته به
- 5 عروة بن مسعود.

‘Abd al-Razzāq told us on the authority of Ma‘mar on the authority of al-Zuhri on the authority of Ibn al-Musayyab on the authority of Abū Hurayra that the messenger of God (ﷺ) described Abraham, Moses and Jesus to his companions [in his report] on his night journey. He said, “With regard to Abraham, I have never seen a man look more like your companion [i.e. Prophet Muḥammad] than him. With regard to Moses, he was a dark-complexioned man, very tall, with curly hair and a hooked nose as if he was one of the Shanū’a people. With regard to Jesus, he was a reddish man of medium height with lank hair [in text: head] and many freckles in his face as if he just came out of a bath. You would think that his head was dripping with water, while there was no water on him. The person I know who looks most like him is ‘Urwa ibn Mas‘ūd.”<sup>49</sup>

The traditions of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn ‘Asākir look considerably like the *Tafsīr*-version of ‘Abd al-Razzāq. The *matn* of al-Ṭabarī (S11) differs only in two words from the *Tafsīr*-version, *al-sha’r* instead of *al-ra’s* (l4) and *ka’anna* instead of *takhālu* (l4). The two traditions from Ibn ‘Asākir (S12 and S13) agree with the word *al-sha’r* (instead of *al-ra’s*). The conclusion is usually that if all other versions of the same tradition agree on a certain word, that word is most probably the correct version and the deviating form an error or adjustment of a transmitter. However, in this case the word *al-ra’s* is *lectio difficilior*, i.e. the more difficult reading, and therefore the stronger. Firstly, the word *al-sha’r* is easier to understand and more common than the word *al-ra’s* in the sense of “hair”. Secondly, the text of the

<sup>49</sup> I used the translation of Guillaume of a similar tradition from Ibn Ishāq from al-Zuhri, but I made several changes. Guillaume, *The life*, 183-184.

*Muṣannaḥ* (and the other traditions discussed before) has the word *ra's* in the sense of "hair".<sup>50</sup>

Furthermore, beside the omission of the phrase *wa-mā bihi mā'* (14) in S12 of Ibn 'Asākir (which appears incorrectly as *aw mā' bihi mā'* in S13), traditions S12 and S13 contain two additional comments: *aw qāla anā ashbahu wuldihi bihi* (12) and *ya'nī l-ḥammām* (14). We have already met these two remarks in the above-mentioned versions of 'Abd al-Razzāq.<sup>51</sup> Since traditions S10 and S11 from the *Tafsīr* of 'Abd al-Razzāq and al-Ṭabarī do not mention them, Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā or one of the later transmitters are responsible for their appearance in the traditions of Ibn 'Asākir. It is not strange to find these additions in the tradition of Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, because Ibn 'Asākir mentions the other version (i.e. the "*Muṣannaḥ*-version") from him in a combined report with Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanzalī (S6). Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā apparently knew two different versions of the description of Abraham, Moses and Jesus (in the following part referred to as two-topic-description version and description version). Consequently, Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā or one of the later transmitters of tradition S13 added the complete part on Muḥammad's choice between drinking milk and wine, because traditions S10, S11 and S12 do not mention it.

The conclusion of the comparison between the four traditions of the description-version is that they derive from a common source, because they are very similar except the additional comments and the part on Muḥammad's choice in traditions S12 and S13 of Ibn 'Asākir. The common source is 'Abd al-Razzāq according to the *asānīd*. The high degree of similarity in the four traditions indicate that 'Abd al-Razzāq handed the tradition down via

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<sup>50</sup> See page 123 l2. There exist two other editions of the *Tafsīr* of 'Abd al-Razzāq, one other from Beirut (Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya) and one from Riyādh. All three editions are based on two manuscripts, an Egyptian manuscript from Dār al-Kutub in Cairo and a Turkish manuscript from the Şā'ib library in Ankara. The edition published in Riyāḍ is the only one in which a difference in formulation is mentioned. According to this edition the Egyptian manuscript has *sibt al-ra's* and the Turkish *sibt al-sha'r*. It seems that the editors of the two Beirut-editions forgot to mention the variant reading in a footnote. Apparently, adaptation of words (by mistake or deliberately) took place at every stage of the transmission. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, I, Riyādh 1410/1989, 32-36 (Introduction) and II, 371-372, especially 371 footnote 7. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, I, Beirut (Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya) 1419/1999, 221-228 (Introduction) and II, 288-289 (no. 1532). See also the edition I used, 'Abd al-Razzaq, *Tafsīr*, I, Beirut (Dār al-Ma'rifa) 1991, 31-33 (Introduction).

<sup>51</sup> Although the second addition is not present in the *Muṣannaḥ*-version of 'Abd al-Razzāq, the other six tradition mention it, which means that the omission in text S1 is probably a mistake of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabari or a later transmitter of his tradition.

written transmission, i.e. he dictated the tradition from a written version or let the students copy the text.

The next step is the comparison of the two versions from 'Abd al-Razzāq, i.e. the description version (=DV) and the two-topic-description version (=2TDV). They have the following words/formulations in common: *usriya* (*bī/bihi*), *ka'annahu min rijāl Shanū'a* (in the description of Moses), *aḥmar* (in the description of Jesus), *ka'annahu/ka'annamā kharaja min dimās* (in the description of Jesus) and *ashbahu* (in the description of Abraham). Furthermore, both versions are connected with Muḥammad's night journey and describe only the prophets Abraham, Moses and Jesus.

The most distinguishing differences are the omission of the part on Muḥammad's choice in the two-topic-description version, the order of the descriptions of the three prophets and the introductory sentence. The order of the prophets is Moses – Jesus – Abraham in 2TDV and Abraham – Moses – Jesus in DV. The *matn* of 2TDV starts with *qāla l-nabī/rasūl Allāh (ṣ) ḥina/layla usriya bihi/bi laqitu...* (l1-2)<sup>12</sup>, while DV begins with *anna rasūl Allāh (ṣ) waṣafa l-aṣḥābihi layla usriya bihi Ibrāhīm wa-Mūsā wa-'Īsa (fa/wa-)qāla ammā...* (l1-2).

Other differences are *waṣafa* (DV l1) instead of *fa-na'atahu* (2TDV l2); *fa-rajul (...)* *tuwāl ja'd* (DV l3) instead of *rajul (...)* *muḍṭarīb rajil al-ra's* (2TDV l2) in the description of Moses; DV describes Moses in addition as *ādam* and *aqnā* (DV l3); *bayna l-qaṣīr wa-l-ṭawīl* (DV l3) instead of *rab'a* (2TDV l3) in the description of Jesus; DV describes Jesus furthermore as *sibī al-ra's/sha'r kathīr khilān al-wajh* (DV l4) and *takhālu ra'sahu yaqūru mā' wa-mā bihi mā' wa-ashbahu man ra'aytu bihi 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd* (DV l4-5); and in the description of Abraham *fa-lam ara rajulan ashbahu bi-ṣāḥibikum minhu* (DV l2) instead of *wa-anā ashbahu wuldihi bihi* (2TDV l3-4).

If we just look at the *matn*, the similarities and the differences might derive from oral transmission maybe based on written notes. However, this does not fit the information from the *asānīd*. The same person ('Abd al-Razzāq d. 211/827) transmitted both versions from the same source (Ma'mar d. 153/770). We would expect such deviating versions of a tradition at a much earlier stage, i.e. much earlier in the chain of transmitters. Certainly at

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<sup>12</sup> The line numbers of 2TDV refer to the text on page 123 and the numbers of DV to page 128

the end of the second and the beginning of the third Islamic century, the period in which these traditions are dated,<sup>53</sup> written transmission seemed to prevail.

This means that either 'Abd al-Razzāq received two versions from Ma'mar or one of the two is a forged tradition, perhaps by 'Abd al-Razzāq. The description version contains several formulations that seem to indicate that it is secondary to the two-topic description version. Firstly, the introductory sentence is a summary of the details either of the two-topic description version or the following part of the *matn* of the description version. It is not part of the story ascribed to Abū Hurayra. Secondly, the following words could be considered as simplification, explanation or paraphrase of the terminology of the two-topic description version, i.e. *tuwāl* for *muḍṭarib*, *ja'd* for *rajil al-ra's*, *bayna l-qaṣīr wa-l-tawīl* for *rab'a* and *fa-lam ara rajulan ashbaha bi-ṣāḥibikum minhu* for *wa-anā ashbahu wuldihi bihi*. In this case "forged" means "adjusted". A possible explanation of the changes is that 'Abd al-Razzāq – or Ma'mar – created the description version during one of his *tafsīr*-lessons, perhaps because he did not consult his books in which he had written the tradition.

Based on the evidence we have seen so far, the conclusion must be that 'Abd al-Razzāq transmitted from Ma'mar two versions of Muḥammad's description of Abraham, Moses and Jesus. One of his students, Muḥammad ibn Yahyā, heard both versions and he or a later transmitter added some information from the first version to the second version. We will need more information from other traditions to determine the origin of both versions.

We will continue the analysis with the tradition S14 of Hishām ibn Yūsuf from Ma'mar. Al-Bukhārī received it from Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā -> Hishām ibn Yūsuf -> Ma'mar -> al-Zuhri -> Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab -> Abū Hurayra.<sup>54</sup>

- 1 حدثنا ابراهيم بن موسى قال: حدثنا هشام بن يوسف قال: أخبرنا معمر عن الزهري عن سعيد بن المسيب
- 2 عن أبي هريرة قال: قال النبي صلعم: ليلة أسري بي رأيت موسى وإذا هو رجل ضرب رجل كأنه من
- 3 رجال شنوءة ورأيت عيسى فإذا هو رجل ربعة أحمر كأنما خرج من ديماس وأنا أشبه ولد ابراهيم به ثم
- 4 أتيت بانانين في أحدهما لبن وفي الآخر خمر فقال اشرب أيهما شئت فأخذت اللبن فشربته فقيل أخذت
- 5 الفطرة أما إنك لو أخذت الخمر غوت أمك.

<sup>53</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq died in the year 211/827. We consider approximately the last 25 years of his life theoretically as the period in which he probably transmitted the tradition to his students (in actual practice, this could have happened earlier of course). Consequently, the *Muṣannaf*- and the *Tafsīr*-version are dated at the end of the second or the beginning of the third Islamic century.

<sup>54</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 353 (60 *Kitāb al-anbiyā'* – 24 *Bāb qawḥ Allāh ta'ālā wa ḥal atāka ḥadīth Mūsā wa-kallama Allāh Mūsā taklīmān*).

Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā told us, he said, Hishām ibn Yūsuf told us, he said, Ma‘mar informed us on the authority of al-Zuhri on the authority of Sa‘id ibn al-Musayyab on the authority of Abū Hurayra, he said, the Prophet (ﷺ) said,

“On my night journey, I saw Moses. He was a slender man with wavy [hair]” as if he was one of the Shanū’a. I saw Jesus. He was a man of medium height with a red skin as if he has just had a bath. From all the children of Abraham I resembled him most. Then I was brought two vessels, one containing milk and the other wine. He said, ‘Drink the one you like.’ I took the milk and drank it. It was said to me, ‘You took the [right] way of the original religion. If you had taken the wine, your community would have deviated from the original way.”

A first glance at the tradition shows that it is similar to the two-topic description version of ‘Abd al-Razzāq; it consists of the description- and the choice-part. However, it contains a number of words, sentences or omissions that the two-topic description version of ‘Abd al-Razzāq does not have, for example *ra’aytu* (l2+l3) instead of *laqītu* (2TDV l2+l3), *ḍarb* (l2) instead of *muḍṭarib* (2TDV l2), *wuld Ibrāhīm* (l3) instead of *wuldihi* (2TDV l4), *ishrab* (l4) instead of *khudh* (2TDV l4), *akhadhta l-fiṭra* (l4-5) instead of *hudita (li-) l-fiṭr* (2TDV l5), and the omission of *ḥasibtuhu qāla* (2TDV l2), *ya’nī l-ḥammam* (2TDV l3) and *aw/wa-aṣabta l-fiṭra* (2TDV l5).

Beside these differences, the tradition of Hishām ibn Yūsuf has the same order of the elements and many formulations in common with the traditions from several students of ‘Abd al-Razzāq. The similarities indicate a common source, which is Ma‘mar according to the *asānīd*. The differences and especially the peculiarities in the tradition of Hishām ibn Yūsuf show that his version derives from an independent transmission, i.e. Hishām ibn Yūsuf did not copy ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s version or vice versa.

The comparison of the tradition from Hishām ibn Yūsuf with the traditions of ‘Abd al-Razzāq will help us to determine whether the *matn* of al-Bukhārī’s combined report of Hishām ibn Yūsuf and ‘Abd al-Razzāq derives from one transmitter, or if al-Bukhārī combined their versions into one tradition. He received tradition S15 according to the *isnad* from Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā -> Hishām -> Ma‘mar and from Maḥmūd -> ‘Abd al-Razzāq ->

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” Although the word *rajil* means “wavy hair”, I put the word “hair” between brackets to indicate a difference with the *Musannaf*- and *Tafsir*-version.

Ma'mar -> al-Zuhri -> Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab -> Abu Hurayra.<sup>56</sup> We will try to determine which version al-Bukhārī gives or whether he mixed the two versions.

The comparison makes clear that the *matn* of tradition S15 for which al-Bukhārī gives a double *isnad*, is from 'Abd al-Razzāq and not that of Hishām from Ma'mar. It mentions none of the peculiarities of the version of Hishām ibn Yūsuf and agrees with the terminology of 'Abd al-Razzāq's version all the time. Moreover, al-Bukhārī's combined report contains the same peculiarities as the version of al-Tirmidhī from Maḥmūd ibn Ghaylān, i.e. the formulations *wa-l-ākhar fihī* instead of *wa-fī l-ākhar* (2TDV 14) and *aḥaduhumā* instead of *fī aḥadīhimā* (2TDV 14). The results from the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis show that "Maḥmūd" in the *isnād* of al-Bukhārī's combined report is Maḥmūd ibn Ghaylān. This also means that the combined report Ibn Kathīr gives from al-Bukhārī and Muslim is indeed from 'Abd al-Razzāq, as he states, and not a combination of the versions of 'Abd al-Razzaq and Hishām ibn Yūsuf.

The next tradition for which we have to determine the origin is tradition S16 from the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal.<sup>57</sup> The *isnad* misses the first part and begins with al-Zuhri -> Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab -> Abū Hurayra -> Prophet Muḥammad. The beginning of the *isnād* is probably similar to the previous tradition, which is a combined report from 'Abd Allah [ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal] -> my father [Ibn Ḥanbal] -> 'Abd al-Razzāq -> Ma'mar - and 'Abd al-A'lā -> Ma'mar -> al-Zuhri -> [Sa'id] ibn al-Musayyab -> Abu Hurayra.<sup>58</sup>

The tradition describes Muḥammad's meeting with the three prophets and his choice between drinking milk or wine. When we compare it with the two-topic description version of 'Abd al-Razzaq and Hishām ibn Yūsuf, it appears that the tradition of Ibn Ḥanbal is from 'Abd al-Razzaq. It contains the same peculiarities as the other traditions from 'Abd al-Razzāq in contrast with the version of Hishām who used different formulations. Some words or additions are unique in this tradition, for example, *ukhriya* instead of *kharaja* (13)<sup>59</sup>, the use of the eulogy *'alayhī l-salām* after the name of Abraham (13) and the formulation *aḥaduhumā fihī* instead of *fī aḥadīhimā* or *aḥaduhumā* (14). The information from the *isnad*

<sup>56</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, II, 367-368 (60 *Kitāb al anbiya'* – 48 *Bab qawḥ Allah ta'ala wa dhkur fī l kitāb Maryam idh intabadhat [ ] 'an al barā' sarīyyan nahr saghīr bi l suryanīyya*)

<sup>57</sup> Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, II, 377 (no 7808)

<sup>58</sup> Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, II, 377 (no 7807)

<sup>59</sup> The *alif* in the word *ukhriya* can also be a transmission error

confirms these findings, because a different student of ‘Abd al-Razzāq, namely Ibn Ḥanbal, transmitted tradition S16.

The last two traditions are from ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Tafsīr* (S17) and al-Ṭabarī (S18).<sup>60</sup> The first part of the *isnād* before Ma‘mar, i.e. between the collector and Ma‘mar, is missing. The reason why the *isnād* is shortened is that the tradition in question are supplements to other traditions from Ma‘mar<sup>61</sup> on the night journey for which the complete *isnād* has already been given: (S17) [Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Salām -> Salama ibn Shabīb] -> ‘Abd al-Razzāq (*Tafsīr*)<sup>62</sup> and (S18) Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-A‘lā -> Muḥammad ibn Thawr -> Ma‘mar -> Abū Hārūn al-‘Abdī -> Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī and al-Ḥasan ibn Yaḥyā -> ‘Abd al-Razzāq -> Ma‘mar -> Abū Hārūn al-‘Abdī -> Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī. Al-Ṭabarī makes clear that the wording is according to the tradition of al-Ḥasan ibn Yaḥyā (*wa-l-laḥḥ li-ḥadīth al-Ḥasan ibn Yaḥyā*).<sup>63</sup>

The *isnād* and the *matn* of traditions S17 and S18 are identical. The *isnād* starts with Ma‘mar and ends with Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab. The words of the tradition are [...] *‘an Ibn al-Musayyab annahu qāla lahu: amma innaka law akhadhta l-khamr ghaawat ummatuka*. The part *amma* until *ummatuka* is identical to all traditions from students of Ma‘mar that mention this part. The words *annahu qāla lahu* are most probably added by ‘Abd al-Razzāq to introduce additional information from a variant tradition. In other words, ‘Abd al-Razzāq mentioned the last sentence of the tradition from al-Zuhri, because it is absent from the tradition of Ma‘mar from Abū Hārūn al-‘Abdī from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī.

‘Abd al-Razzāq implies that the tradition from al-Zuhri is similar to the tradition from Abū Hārūn al-‘Abdī by referring to the last sentence of al-Zuhri’s tradition only. Since we know the complete wording of Ma‘mar’s text from al-Zuhri, we can confirm that it is similar, though not identical. The most distinguishing difference is of course the omission of the quoted sentence from al-Zuhri’s version. Other differences are (*fa*-)*qāla* instead of *fa-qāla lī* (14-5) and *aṣabta l-fiṭra aw-(qāla) akhadhta l-fiṭra* instead of *hudāta (lī)-l-fiṭra aw/wa-aṣabta l-fiṭra* (15). The remaining words correspond to one or more of the previously discussed versions of Ma‘mar. The similarities indicate that the version of Ma‘mar from al-Zuhri and the one from Abu Hārūn al-‘Abdī have not been transmitted independently.

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<sup>60</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, I, 314 (no. 1527). Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi’ al bayān*, XV, 12.

<sup>61</sup> Ma‘mar’s informant is in both traditions Abū Hārūn al-‘Abdī -> Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī.

<sup>62</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, I, 32.

<sup>63</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi’ al bayān*, XV, 11



Either Ma‘mar mixed the formulation of one tradition with the other, or the *isnād* of one tradition is not correct.

The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of the traditions ascribed to Ma‘mar has shown that two of his students, ‘Abd al-Razzāq and Hishām ibn Yūsuf transmitted a tradition from Ma‘mar that contained Muḥammad’s description of three prophets he met during his night journey and the choice he had to make between drinking milk and wine. The version of ‘Abd al-Razzāq contains one explanation of a word (*dīmās ya’nī l-ḥammām*) and two insecurities about the correct formulation (*rajul ḥasibtuhu qāla muḍṭarīb* and *hudūla li-l-fiṭra aw aṣabla l-fiṭra*), which the version of Hishām ibn Yūsuf does not mention. These peculiarities are therefore due to ‘Abd al-Razzāq.

Four different students transmitted the version of ‘Abd al-Razzāq with the two topics in one tradition, Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī, Muḥammad ibn Rafī‘, Maḥmūd ibn Ghaylān and Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanzalī. Perhaps one other student, Muḥammad ibn Ḥammād, knew the complete tradition, but only his traditions with the part on Jesus and Moses are preserved. Although the names of ‘Abd ibn Ḥumayd and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā appear in *asānīd* as transmitters of the two-topic tradition, I did not find a tradition from them alone (they only appear in combined reports) and therefore I could not substantiate the claim that they knew and transmitted this tradition from ‘Abd al-Razzāq.

‘Abd al-Razzāq also transmitted from Ma‘mar a second version on the description of the prophets, which is different from the other version in content and formulation. Three different students distributed this tradition, al-Ḥasan ibn Yaḥyā, Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā and Muḥammad ibn Ḥammād, all of them known as transmitters of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Tafsīr*. Comparison with the traditions of other students of al-Zuhri might reveal if ‘Abd al-Razzāq is the source of two versions (if he fabricated one version) or if perhaps the origin of both versions lies much earlier (if ‘Abd al-Razzāq indeed received two versions from Ma‘mar).

#### *Yūnus ibn Yazīd*

I will first compare the traditions that deal with the choice-topic, then proceed with the tradition that only mentions the *isnād* and finally analyse the two traditions from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Wahb that describe Muḥammad’s choice and his ride on al-Burāq (in a combined tradition from Abū Salama and Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab) and Muḥammad’s description of three prophets.

Tradition S19 of Muslim will be the main text for the comparison.<sup>64</sup> The text is as follows:

- 1 حدثنا محمد بن عباد وزهير بن حرب (واللفظ لابي عباد) قالوا: حدثنا ابو صفوان اخبرنا يونس عن
- 2 الزهري قال: قال ابن المسيب: قال ابو هريرة: إن النبي صلعم أتى ليلة<sup>65</sup> أسري به بإيلياء بقدحين من
- 3 خمر ولبن فنظر إليهما فأخذ اللبن فقال له جبريل عليه السلام: الحمد لله الذي هداك للفطرة لو أخذت الخمر
- 4 غوت أمتك.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abbād and Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb (the wording is from Ibn ‘Abbād) told us, they said, Abū Ṣafwān told us, Yūnus informed us on the authority of al-Zuhri, he said, Ibn al-Musayyab said, “Abū Hurayra said that

the Prophet (s) was brought two drinking-cups with wine and milk on his night journey at Jerusalem. He looked at them and took the milk. Gabriel (peace be on him) said, ‘Praise be to God, who guided you to the way of the original religion. If you had taken the wine, your community would have deviated from the original way.’”

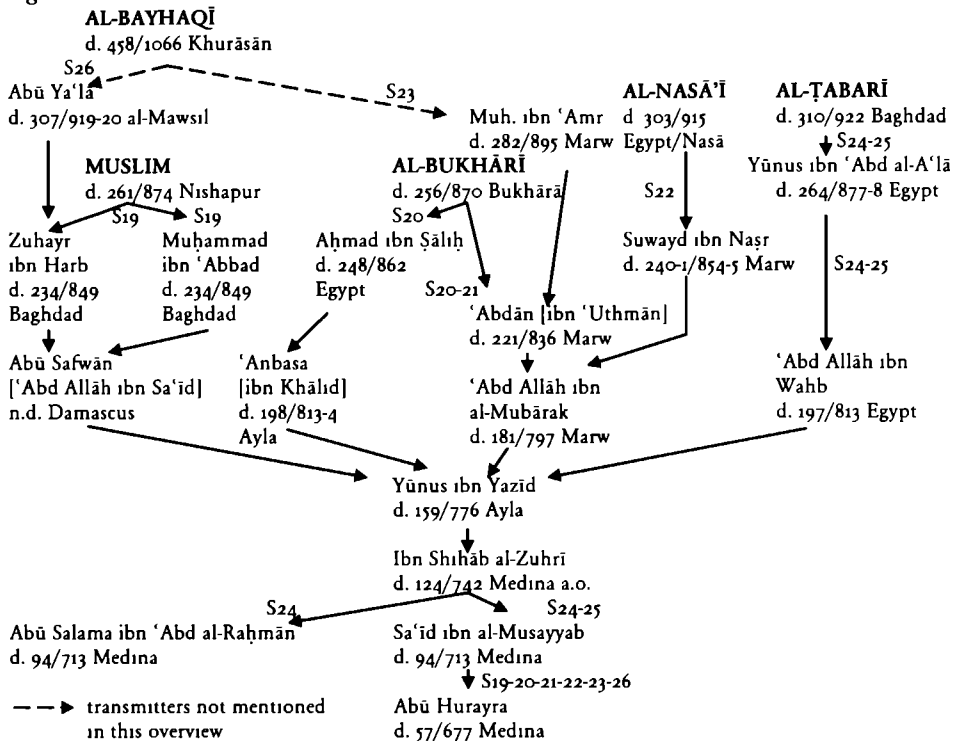
The *isnād* bundle of the traditions attributed to Yūnus ibn Yazid is as follows:

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<sup>64</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, VII, 198 (no. 92-(168))

<sup>65</sup> The text in the tradition is *laylahu*. The editor printed a *hā’* instead of a *tā’ marbūṭa*. The same tradition on *al-Mu’jam* in another edition confirms the accuracy of the spelling *layla*. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, VI, Beirut n.d., 104.

Figure 10: *Isnād* bundle of Yūnus on the choice tradition



The traditions that describe Muḥammad's choice between drinking milk and wine are - apart from Muslim's version - from al-Bukhārī (S20 and S21), al-Nasā'ī (S22) and al-Bayhaqī (S23).<sup>66</sup> Comparison of the *mutūn* shows that the first words of Muslim's version differ from the other four traditions. Muslim begins with *inna l-nabī (ṣ) utiya*, while the others have *utiya rasūl Allāh (ṣ) (12)*. The formulation of Muslim seems to be a peculiarity of the transmission of Yūnus' student Abū l-Ṣafwān. The remaining part of the *matn* of S19 is similar to the other traditions.

S21 of al-Bukhārī is the most deviating tradition, because it misses the last part of the tradition *fa-naẓara (...) ummatuka* (13-4), the location *bi-Īlīyā*<sup>67</sup> (12 and has *bi-qadah laban wa-*

<sup>66</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 357. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, 271 (65 *Kitāb tafsīr al-Qur'ān – Sūrat Banī Isrā'il* - 3 *Bab qawlihi ta'ālā bi 'abdihi laylan min al-masjid al-ḥarām*) and IV, 32 (74 *Kitāb al-asḥriba* - 12 *Bab shurb al-laban wa-qawl Allāh ta'ālā min bayna farṭh wa-dam labanan khālīṣan sā'ighban l-l-shāribīna*). Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, III, 226-227 (no. 5167/1).

<sup>67</sup> *Īlīyā'* or *Aelia* is short for *Īlīyā' madīnat bayt al-maqdis* (Aelia, the city of the Temple), the name of Jerusalem in early Islam. There are many other names for Jerusalem, among which the common Arabic name of it, al-Quds, and *bayt al-muqaddis*. Grabar, O., "al-Quds", in *El2*, V, Leiden 1986, 322-323.

*qadaḥ khamr* instead of *bi-qadaḥayni min khamr wa-laban* (12-3). Only S22 of al-Nasā'ī does not mention the location *bi-Īlīyā'* either, which means that 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, who is mentioned in the *asānīd* of S20, S21, S22 and S23 as transmitter of Yūnus' tradition, did not always mention the location where the choice took place. The location belongs however to Yūnus' tradition, because S19 of Muslim from Abū Ṣafwān, another student of Yūnus, mentions it. The shortening of the text and the formulation *bi-qadaḥ laban wa-qadaḥ khamr* is only present in tradition S21 of al-Bukhārī. The deviating formulation does not appear in any other tradition from 'Abd Allāh, nor in the tradition S19 from Abū Ṣafwān from Muslim.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, it is probably an error made by al-Bukhārī, perhaps when he shortened the tradition and ended with these words.

Tradition S22 does not have any peculiarity beside the above-mentioned omission of the location in the *matn* and the explanation, which 'Abd Allāh is meant (*ya'nī Ibn al-Mubārak*) in the *isnād*. Al-Nasā'ī or his informant Suwayd ibn Naṣr is responsible for the *nasab* after the name 'Abd Allāh.

The *matn* of S23 from the printed edition of al-Bayhaqī's *Dalā'il al-nubūwa* contains a part of a sentence that deviates considerably from the other traditions of Yūnus. It is [...] *utiya rasūl Allāh (s) laylat usriya bihi bi-inā' fī-bi khamr [wa-inā' fī-bi labn]*. However, the editor remarks in a footnote that two manuscripts have *bi-Īlīyā' bi-qadaḥayni min khamr wa-labn*, which he considers a "severe corruption" (*wa-huwa taḥrīf shadīd*).<sup>69</sup> Since two other traditions of Yūnus (S19 and S20) confirm the use of *bi-Īlīyā'*,<sup>70</sup> while three have the formulation *bi-qadaḥayni min khamr wa-labn* and all traditions of Yūnus have the word *qadaḥ* instead of *inā'*, the formulation of the two manuscripts is correct and the formulation that the editor probably found in the main manuscript is a transcription error.<sup>71</sup>

Two chains of transmitters precede the *matn* of the last tradition of this group, S20 from al-Bukhārī: 'Abdān -> 'Abd Allāh -> Yunus and Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ -> 'Anbasa -> Yunus. We will try to determine what the origin of tradition S20 is by comparing it mainly with the other three traditions from 'Abd Allāh (S21, S22 and S23). S20 has *qāla* instead of *fa-qāla lahu* (13) (S22+S23) and omits the eulogy after the name Gabriel (13) (S22+S23) in the *matn*. Furthermore, it mentions the *nasab* Ibn Shihāb instead of the *nisba* al-Zuhri (12)

<sup>68</sup> The formulation does not appear in any tradition from Yūnus at all

<sup>69</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 357 footnote 7. The printed edition of the *Dalā'il* is based on ten manuscripts, of which at least three cover the tradition in question

<sup>70</sup> Tradition S24 mentions *Ilīyā'* without the preposition *bi*.

<sup>71</sup> The words *bi-Īlīyā'* and *bi-inā'* look similar in writing.

(S21+S22+S23) and *qāla Ibn al-Musayyab* instead of *'an Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab* (l2) (S21+S22+S23) in the *isnād*.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, the last part of the *isnād* and the *matn* of tradition S31 of al-Bukhārī is probably the version of Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ from 'Anbasa.

The similarity between the five traditions indicates that they derive from one common source, Yūnus ibn Yazīd according to the chains of transmission. He probably transmitted his tradition through writing, because the different versions are very similar.

The following traditions that will be compared are traditions S24 and S25 of al-Ṭabarī.<sup>73</sup> Tradition S24, a combined transmission from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab and Abū Salama ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, relates first Muḥammad's travel to Jerusalem on Abraham's riding animal al-Burāq. He passes a caravan from the Quraysh in a *wādī* and notices a black and a blue sack on a camel. The next part on Muḥammad's choice can be compared with the previous four traditions from Yūnus ibn Yazīd.

S24 differs considerably from the previously discussed traditions of Yūnus. It has *hattā utiya rasūl Allāh (s)* instead of *utiya rasul Allah (s)* or *inna l-nabī (s) utiya* (l2), *bi-qadaḥayni qadaḥ khamr wa-qadaḥ laban* instead of *bi-qadaḥayni min khamr wa-laban* (l2-3) (S21 *bi-qadaḥ laban wa-qadaḥ khamr*), it lacks the words *laylat usriya bihi* (l2) and *fa-naḡara ilayhimā* (l3) and it has the words *fa-utya* (l3), *rasūl Allāh (s)* (l3) and *qadaḥ* (l3) additionally.

The other traditions from at least two and possibly three different students of Yūnus ibn Yazīd were more alike. Especially at this stage of the transmission (Yūnus transmitted the text to his students around the middle of the second Islamic century), we would expect more similarity between the versions of different students, such as between the versions of Abū Ṣafwān, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak (and probably 'Anbasa).

Therefore, the *matn* on the part of Muḥammad's choice is either from Abū Salama or from a mixture between the versions of Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab and Abū Salama ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The latter seems more likely, because the *matn* shows similarities to the other versions of Yūnus ibn Yazīd from al-Zuhri from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab. The only way to know whether this is indeed the case is to compare this tradition with a tradition from Abū Salama ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān alone.

Al-Ṭabarī places tradition S25 directly after tradition S24. He informs us that this part of the tradition, i.e. S25, is from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab alone, because he repeats the *isnād* from Ibn Shihāb: *qāla Ibn Shihāb fa-akhbarāni Ibn al-Musayyab anna [...]*. The *matn* of

<sup>72</sup> Tradition S19 of Muslim from Abū l-Ṣafwān agrees with the formulations of S22 and S23 in the *matn*, but mentions *qāla Ibn al-Musayyab* (=S20) and *'an al-Zuhri qāla* in the *sanad*.

<sup>73</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XV, 5-6.

the tradition that follows relates Muḥammad's description of Abraham, Moses and Jesus. Since none of the other traditions from Yūnus contains this part, we will have to compare it with traditions from other students of al-Zuhrī to decide if it indeed derives from Yūnus.

'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb transmits these last two traditions from Yūnus according to the *asānīd*. Is it possible that the "Abd Allāh" from S21, S22 and S23 is 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb and not 'Abd Allah ibn al-Mubārak as tradition S22 of al-Nasā'ī claims? It is not possible to compare the *matn* of tradition S24 with these three traditions, since the conclusion above was that tradition S24 of Ibn Wahb/al-Ṭabarī was probably Abū Salama's wording. However, we can compare the wording of the *sanad* of Ibn Wahb's tradition from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab S25 with 'Abd Allāh's traditions. 'Abd Allāh's traditions have '*an al-Zuhrī 'an Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab 'an Abī Hurayra (raḍīya Allāh 'anhū) qāla*, while Ibn Wahb's tradition S25 has *qāla Ibn Shihāb fa-akhbarānī Ibn al-Musayyab anna (S24 'an Ibn Shihāb qāla akhbarānī Ibn al-Musayyab)*. 'Abd Allāh and Ibn Wahb refer differently to Yūnus' informants. The wording of the *sanad* combined with al-Nasā'ī's identification and the information that the persons that transmit the traditions from 'Abd Allāh and Ibn Wahb are from the same region as their teacher, Marw and Egypt respectively,<sup>74</sup> indicate that 'Abd Allāh is indeed not the same person as 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb, but 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak.

The last tradition that mentions Yūnus in the *sanad* is S26 of al-Bayhaqī. He placed it directly after tradition S23. The tradition is from Abu l-Ṣafwān according to the information in the *sanad*. Al-Bayhaqī does not give the complete text of the *matn*, but says that "he mentioned the tradition similarly, alike" (*fa-dhakara l-ḥadīth bi-mithlibī sawā'an*), which means that the tradition of Abu l-Ṣafwān is similar to tradition S23. Although there is no text to compare it with, we can check al-Bayhaqī's claim that the tradition in question is from Abū l-Ṣafwān, because my data collection contains a tradition from the same person, namely tradition S19 of Muslim. Comparison of traditions S23 and S19 has shown that the *mutūn* are indeed similar, which confirms al-Bayhaqī's information on the resemblance of his tradition S23 and S26. Therefore, al-Bayhaqī probably knew two versions of Yūnus' tradition, from 'Abd Allāh and Abū l-Ṣafwān.

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<sup>74</sup> See the *isnād* analysis of the Yūnus-traditions on pages 118-119

The four traditions that are ascribed to Shu'ayb are from al-Darīmī (S27), al-Bukharī (S28), al-Bayhaqī (S29) and al-Tabarānī (S30)<sup>75</sup> The tradition of al-Darīmī will be the main text for the comparison The text is as follows

- 1 احبرنا الحكم بن باع ثنا شعيب عن الزهري قال احبرني سعيد بن المسيب انه سمع ابا هريرة يقول اتني
- 2 النبي صلعم ليلة اسري به بايلياء بفتح من حمر ولس فطر اليهما ثم اُحد اللس فقال حبريل الحمد لله
- 3 الذي هداك للفطرة لو اُحدت الحمر عوت اُمتك

Al-Hakam ibn Nāfi' informed us, Shu'ayb told us on the authority of al-Zuhri, he said, Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab informed me that he heard Abu Hurayra saying,

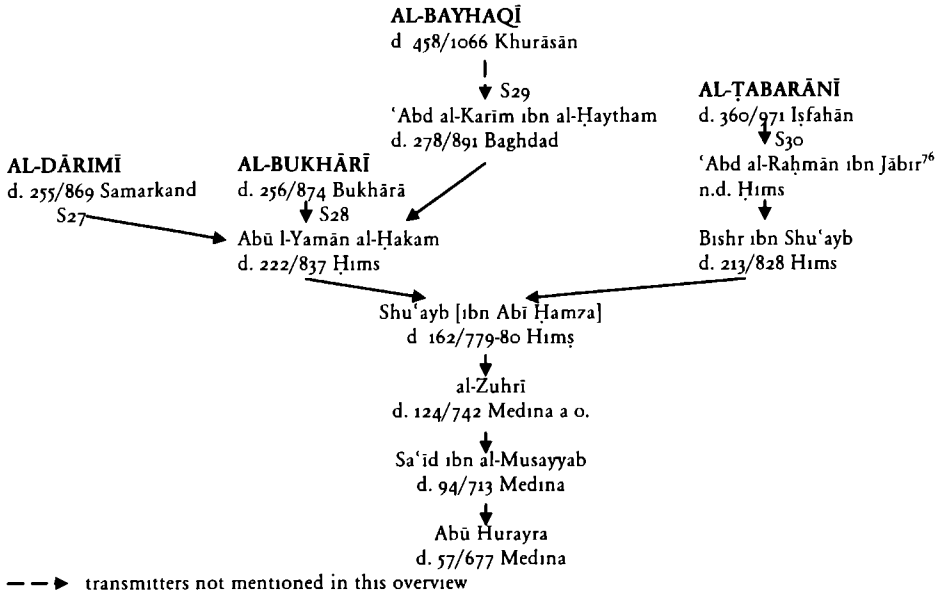
"The Prophet (ﷺ) was brought two drinking-cups with wine and milk on his night journey at Jerusalem He looked at them Then he took the milk Gabriel said, 'Praise be to God, who guided you to the right way of the original religion If you had taken the wine, your community would have deviated from the original way'"

The *isnad* bundle of the traditions attributed to Shu'ayb is as follows

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<sup>75</sup> Al Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, VIII, 286 Al Bukharī, *Sahih*, IV, 27-28 (74 *Kitāb al ashrība* – 1 *Bāb qawḥ Allāh ta āla innama l khamr wa l mayṣir wa l ansāb wa l azlām rijs min amal al shaytan fa ijtānibuhū la allakum tuḥṣitūna*) Al Darīmī, *Sunan al Darīmī*, II, [Beirut] [ca. 1970], 110 Al Tabarānī, *Musnad al Shamīyīn*, IV, Beirut 1417/1996, 168 (no. 3021)

Figure 11: *Isnād* bundle of Shu‘ayb on the choice tradition



Comparison of the *mutūn* shows that the traditions of al-Dārimī, al-Bukhārī and al-Bayhaqī are very similar, while the tradition of al-Ṭabarānī deviates much more from the other three traditions. Tradition S30 has *‘an Abī Hurayra qāla* instead of *annahu sami‘a Abū Hurayra (radīya Allāh ‘anhū) yaqūlu* (11), *ilā ʿĪlīyā* instead of *bi-ʿĪlīyā* (12), *bi-inā‘ayni* instead of *bi-qadaḥayni* (12) and misses the preposition *min* before *khamr* (12). The remaining part is similar to the other three traditions.

The differences between the other three traditions are very small. Tradition S27 of al-Dārimī has *al-nabī* instead of *rasūl Allāh* (12) and does not have a eulogy after the name Abū Hurayra (11). Tradition S28 of al-Bukhārī has *anna rasūl Allāh (ṣ) utiya* instead of *utiya rasūl Allāh/al-nabī (ṣ)* (11-2). Tradition S29 of al-Bayhaqī adds a eulogy after the name Gabriel (12). Finally, traditions S28 and S29 mention *wa-law* instead of *law* (13).

The result from the *matn* analysis confirms the information in the *asānīd*, because the traditions of al-Dārimī, al-Bukhārī and al-Bayhaqī are from Abū l-Yamān al-Ḥakam ibn Nāfi‘, while the tradition of al-Ṭabarānī is from the son of Shu‘ayb, Bishr.

<sup>76</sup> He is ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Jābir al-Ṭā’ī l-Bakhtarī from Ḥims. I did not find a separate biography on him, but al-Ṭabarānī mentions him several times as his informant. See for example al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-ṣaghir*, I, Medina, [1968], 244: ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Jābir al-Ṭā’ī l-Ḥimṣī l-Bakhtarī.



Still, the versions of Bishr and Abū l-Yamān are similar in formulation and content, they both relate only the part on Muḥammad's choice. They must therefore derive from a common source, Shu'ayb according to the *asānīd*. It is difficult to determine how Shu'ayb handed his tradition to his son and Abu l-Yamān, because it is a very short tradition. Shu'ayb probably used a written text for his lessons, since he was a secretary of the Umayyad caliph whose task it was to write down the traditions from al-Zuhrī. The most distinguishing difference is the words *inā'ayni* and *qadaḥayni*, which might occur when a tradition is transmitted orally. It is possible that Bishr or Abū l-Yamān heard the tradition at a different time, which might explain the differences.

#### ‘Abd al-Wahhāb

The two traditions ascribed to ‘Abd al-Wahhāb are from al-Nasā’ī (S31) and al-Ṭabarānī (S32).<sup>77</sup> The tradition of al-Nasā’ī will be the main text for the comparison. The text is as follows:

- 1 اخبرنا محمد بن عامر قال: ثنا منصور قال: انا الليث. واخبرنا محمد بن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم عن شعيب
- 2 عن الليث عن ابن الهاد عن عبد الوهاب عن ابن شهاب عن سعيد بن المسيب عن أبي هريرة قال: اتى
- 3 رسول الله صلعم ليلة أسري به الى إيلياء بقدرتين من خمر ولين فنظر اليهما<sup>78</sup> ثم أخذ اللبن فقال له
- 4 جبريل: الحمد لله الذي هداك للفطرة لو أخذت الخمر غوت أمتك.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Āmir informed us, he said, Manṣūr told us, he said, al-Layth informed us. And Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam informed us on the authority of Shu'ayb on the authority of al-Layth on the authority of Ibn al-Hād on the authority of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb on the authority of Ibn Shihāb on the authority of Sa’id ibn al-Musayyab on the authority of Abū Hurayra, he said,

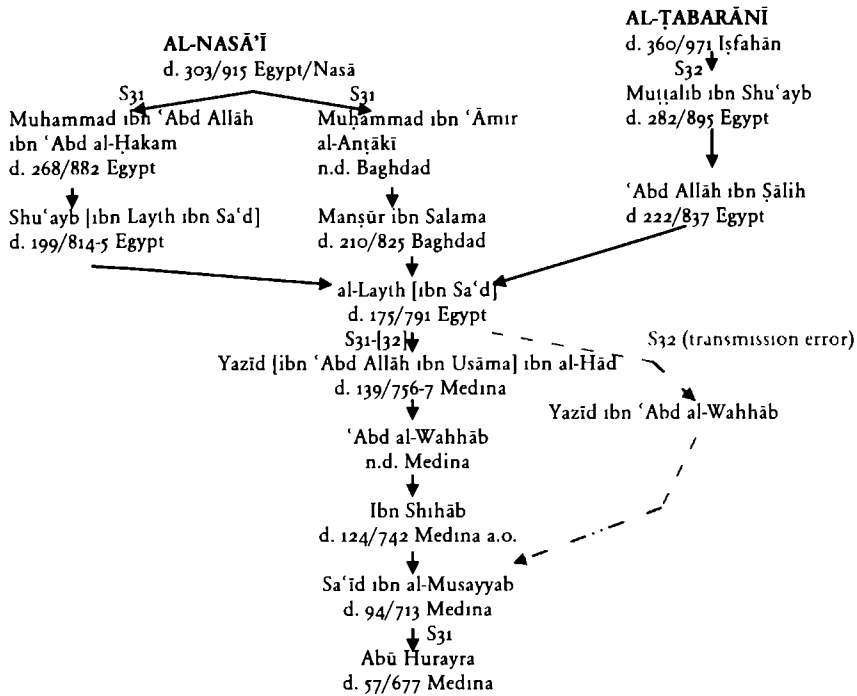
“The messenger of God (ﷺ) was brought two drinking-cups with wine and milk on his night journey to Jerusalem. He looked at them. Then he took the milk. Gabriel said to him, ‘Praise be to God, who guided you to the right way of the original religion. If you had taken the wine, your community would have deviated from the original way.’”

The *isnād* bundle of the traditions attributed to ‘Abd al-Wahhāb is as follows:

<sup>77</sup> Al-Nasā’ī, *al-Sunan al-kubra*, IV, 386 (no. 7639/1). Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu’jam al-awṣaṭ*, IX, 356 (no. 8763).

<sup>78</sup> The word in the text is *ilayhā*, which is a transmission or copyist error or perhaps an error made by the editor of the *Sunan kubra*, because it refers to *bi qadaḥayni* and should therefore be *ilayhimā*

Figure 12: *Isnād* bundle of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb on the choice tradition



The *matn* analysis shows that the traditions of al-Nasā’ī and al-Ṭabarānī are identical, except for one word; tradition S32 of al-Ṭabarānī does not mention the word *min* (لِ).<sup>79</sup> Since my data collection does not contain another tradition from ‘Abd al-Wahhāb only comparison with versions of other students might reveal if the original text is with or without *min*.

The conclusion of the *matn* analysis is that the traditions derive from the same source. This source is according to the *asānīd* al-Layth ibn Sa’d, the last transmitter both *asānīd* have in common. The traditions look so much alike that al-Layth must have handed down this story by written transmission.

<sup>79</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī remarks at the end of his tradition that Yazīd ibn al-Ḥād is the only one who transmits the tradition in question from ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (*lam yaruwī ḥādthā l-ḥadīth ‘an ‘Abd al-Wahhāb illā Yazīd ibn al-Ḥād*).

The two traditions that are from Marzūq according to the *asānīd* are from al-Ṭabarānī (S33) and Ibn ‘Asākir (S34).<sup>80</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī’s tradition will be the main text for the comparison.

The text is as follows:

- 1 حدثنا ابو زرعة عبد الرحمن بن عمرو الدمشقي ثنا العباس بن عثمان المعلم ثنا الوليد بن مسلم عن
- 2 مرزوق بن ابي الهذيل عن ابن شهاب [قال] ان سعيد بن المسيب اخبرني عن ابي هريرة قال: اتى النبي
- 3 صلعم ليلة أسري به بقنحين من خمر ولبن فنظر اليهما فأخذ اللبن فقال جبريل صلعم: الحمد لله الذي
- 4 هداك للفطرة لو أخذت الخمر لغوت أمتك.

Abū Zur‘a ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Amr al-Dimashqī told us, al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Uthmān *al-mu‘allim* (the teacher)<sup>81</sup> told us, al-Walīd ibn Muṣlīm told us on the authority of Marzūq ibn Abī l-Hudhayl on the authority of Ibn Shihāb, [he said] that Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab informed me on the authority of Abū Hurayra, he said,

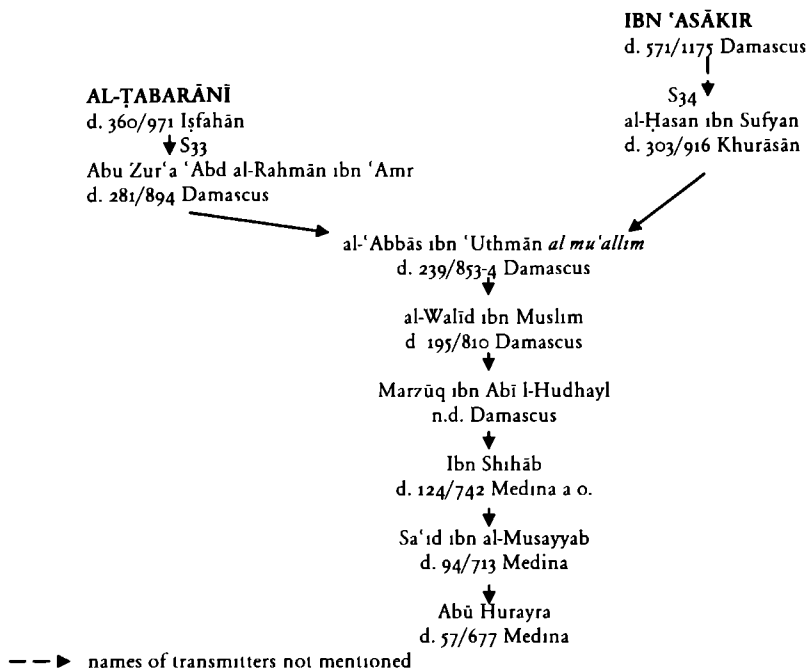
“The Prophet (ﷺ) was brought two drinking-cups with wine and milk on his night journey. He looked at them and took the milk. Gabriel (ﷺ) said, ‘Praise be to God, who guided you to the way of the original religion. If you had taken the wine, your community would surely have deviated from the original way.’”

The *isnād* bundle of the traditions ascribed to Marzūq is as follows:

<sup>80</sup> Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rikh*, XXVI, 383 Al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn*, IV, 129 (no. 2914).

<sup>81</sup> His full name is ‘Abbās ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Muḥammad al-Bajālī, Abū l-Faḍl al-Dimashqī l-Rāhībī, *l-mu‘allim* Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 72 (no. 3120).

Figure 13: *Isnād* bundle of Marzūq on the choice tradition



The traditions of al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn 'Asākir are almost identical. Tradition S34 of Ibn 'Asākir has *annahu ukhbirahu 'an Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab* instead of *anna Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab akhbarani* (12), *annahu sami'a Abū Hurayra yaqūlu* instead of *'an Abī Hurayra qāla* (12), *rasūl Allāh (ṣ)* instead of *al-nabī (ṣ)* (12-3) and it misses the eulogy of the name Gabriel (13). The first two differences are not from the *matn* but from the *isnād*. The exchange of the words *al-nabī* and *rasūl Allāh* appears many times in traditions and is usually regarded as a transmission "error". Therefore, the traditions derive from the same source, al-'Abbās ibn 'Uthmān, the last transmitter both *asānīd* have in common. The traditions have probably been handed down by written transmission, because they look so much alike. Copying of handwritten texts was very common, especially during the time in which the tradition of al-'Abbās is dated, i.e. the first quarter of the third Islamic century, since al-'Abbās died in 239/853-854.

The final pair of traditions that are ascribed to the same person, in this case al-Zubaydī, are from al-Nasā'ī (S35) and Ibn Ḥibbān (S36).<sup>82</sup> The tradition of al-Nasā'ī will be the main text for the comparison. The text is as follows:

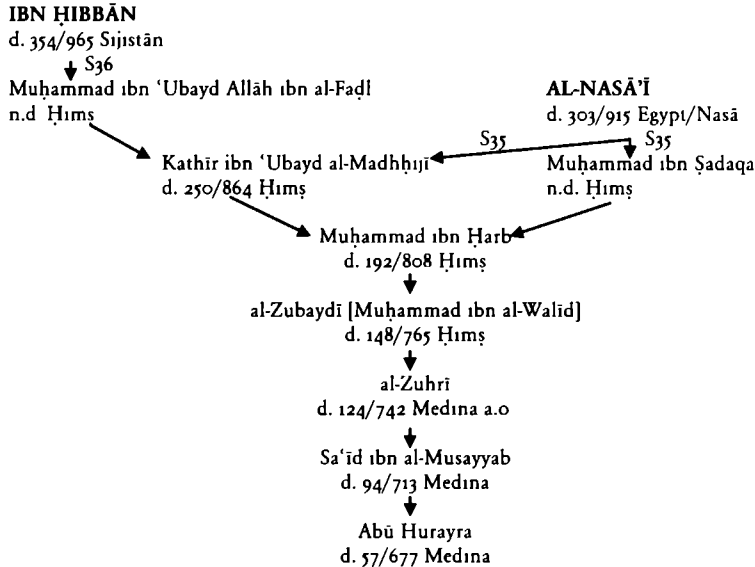
- 1 اخبرنا كثير بن عبيد ومحمد بن صدقة قالوا: ثنا محمد بن حرب عن الزبيدي عن الزهري عن ابن المسيب
- 2 انه سمع ابا هريرة يقول: اتي رسول الله صلعم ليلة اسري به بقدحين من خمر ولبن فنظر اليهما ثم اخذ
- 3 اللبن فقال جبريل: هديت للفقرة فلو اخذت الخمر لغوت امك.

Kathīr ibn 'Ubayd and Muḥammad ibn Ṣadaqa informed us, they said, Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb told us on the authority of al-Zubaydī on the authority of al-Zuhri on the authority of Ibn al-Musayyab that he heard Abū Hurayra saying,

"The messenger of God (ﷺ) was brought two drinking-cups with wine and milk on his night journey. He looked at them. Then he took the milk. Gabriel said, 'You are guided to the way of the original religion. If you had taken the wine, your community would surely have deviated from the original way.'"

The *isnād* bundle of the traditions attributed to al-Zubaydī is as follows:

Figure 14: *Isnād* bundle of al-Zubaydī on the choice tradition



<sup>82</sup> Ibn Hibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 248-249 (no. 52). Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, IV, 388 (no. 7643/1).

Tradition S35 of al-Nasa'ı and S36 of Ibn Hıbbān are very similar. The *matn* of Ibn Hıbbān has *fa-qāla lahu* instead of *fa-qala* (l3), the eulogy '*alayhi l-salām* after the name Gabriel (l3), *al-fiṭra* instead of *l-l-fiṭra* (l3), *wa-law* instead of *fa-law* (l3) and *ghawat* instead of *la-ghawat* (l3). The high degree of similarity indicates that they must derive from the same source, Kathır ibn 'Ubayd or Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb. It is difficult to determine if Kathır or Muḥammad is the actual common source, because the differences between the two texts are very small. Actually all differences could derive from copyist and/or transmission errors.

#### *Ibn Ishāq*

Although the collection contains two traditions from Ibn Ishaq it is not possible to compare the *mutun*, because the tradition of al-Ṭabarī only mentions the *isnad* and then refers to his previous tradition from Ma'mar: *haddathanā Ibn Ḥumayd qala. [ḥadda]thana Salama 'an Muḥammad [ibn Ishāq] 'an al-Zuhri 'an Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab 'an rasūl Allāh (s) bi-naḥwihī wa-lam yaqul 'an Abi Hurayra.*<sup>83</sup> Al-Ṭabarī says that the tradition is similar to the version of Ma'mar from al-Zuhri, except that the tradition of Ma'mar is traced back to Abu Hurayra and the tradition of Ibn Ishāq ends with Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab. In the following part, we will compare this tradition of Ma'mar with the version of Ibn Hisham from Ibn Ishāq.

#### IV. MATN ANALYSIS BETWEEN STUDENTS OF AL-ZUHRI

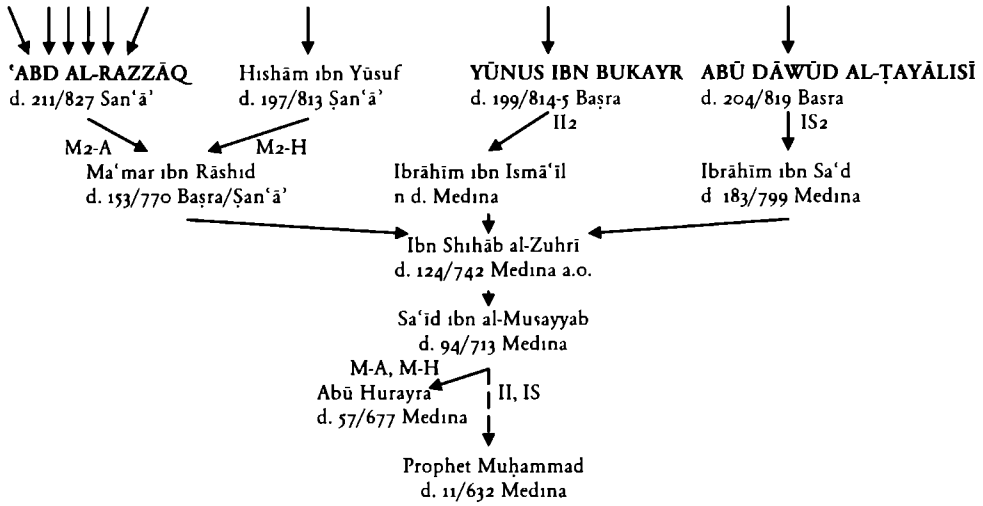
I will first compare the traditions from Ma'mar, Ibrahim ibn Ismā'il and Ibrahim ibn Sa'd, because they relate the part on Muḥammad's meeting with the prophets and his choice between drinks in one tradition (= two-topic tradition). The next step is the comparison of the traditions from 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Marzūq, Ṣāliḥ, Shu'ayb, Yunus and al-Zubaydī that only handle the part on Muḥammad's choice between drinking milk and wine. Finally, I compare the traditions from Ibn Ishāq, Ma'mar and Yunus that only deal with Muḥammad's description of Abraham, Moses and Jesus. In the last two steps, the traditions will be first compared with each other and then with the corresponding part of the traditions that relate both topics in one tradition.

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<sup>83</sup> Al Ṭabarī, *Jamī' al bayan*, XV, 15

If we combine the *asānīd* of the two-topic traditions, the following bundle appears:

Figure 15: *Isnād* bundle of al-Zuhri's two-topic tradition



The text of the tradition from Ma'mar in the version of 'Abd al-Razzāq (M2-A) is:<sup>84</sup>

- 1 قال معمر: قال الزهري: فأخبرني سعيد بن المسيب عن أبي هريرة قال: قال النبي (رسول الله) صلعم:
- 2 حين (اليلة) أسري بي (أبه) لقيت موسى (قال): فنعته فاذا (أفقال) رجل - حسبته قال - مضطرب رجل
- 3 الرأس كأنه من رجال شنوءة. قال: ولقيت عيسى فنعته (النبي صلعم) فقال: ربعة أحمر كأنما (أكانه)
- 4 خرج من ديماس - يعني الحمام - (قال): ورأيت إبراهيم وأنا أشبه ولده به. قال: وأتيت باتانين (في)
- 5 أحدهما لبن وفي الآخر خمر فقيل لي: خذ أيهما شئت فأخذت اللبن فشربته فقيل لي: هديت الفطرة
- 6 (الفطرة) - أو (أو) أصبت الفطرة - أما أنك لو أخذت الخمر غوت أمتك.

The text of the tradition from Ma'mar in the version of Hishām ibn Yūsuf is (M2-H):<sup>85</sup>

- 1 حدثنا إبراهيم بن موسى قال: حدثنا هشام بن يوسف قال: أخبرنا معمر عن الزهري عن سعيد بن المسيب
- 2 عن أبي هريرة قال: قال النبي صلعم: ليلة أسري بي رأيت موسى وإذا هو رجل ضرب رجل كأنه من
- 3 رجال شنوءة ورأيت عيسى فإذا هو رجل ربعة أحمر كأنما خرج من ديماس وأنا أشبه ولد إبراهيم به ثم
- 4 أتيت باتانين في أحدهما لبن وفي الآخر خمر فقال اشرب أيهما شئت فأخذت اللبن فشربته فقيل أخذت
- 5 الفطرة أما إنك لو أخذت الخمر غوت أمتك.

<sup>84</sup> The text of the tradition from Ma'mar is based on the different versions of the students of 'Abd al-Razzāq. The formulation most versions agree on is placed in the text, while variant formulations from two or more pupils of 'Abd al-Razzāq are put between brackets. Small differences like *wa/fa-* and the omission and addition of a eulogy are not mentioned. See the translation on page 123.

<sup>85</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* II, 353 (= S14). See the translation on page 132.

The text of the tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il (II2) is:<sup>86</sup>

- 1 نا يونس عن ابراهيم بن اسماعيل بن مجمع الأنصاري قال: حدثني ابن شهاب الزهري قال: اخبرني سعيد
- 2 بن المسيب ان رسول الله صلعم قال: لقيت ابراهيم وموسى وعيسى عند بيت المقدس فاذا عيسى رجل
- 3 احمر كأنه خرج من ديماس واذا موسى رجل شحوب ضرب كأنه من رجال شنوءة وانا أشبه ولد ابراهيم به
- 4 وأتيت بفتحين<sup>87</sup> قدح لبن وقدح نبذ فاخترت قدح اللبن فقال جبريل عليه السلام: هديت للفطرة، لو أخذت
- 5 قدح النبذ لغويت أمتك وحانت الصلاة فاممتهم.

Yūnus told us on the authority of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il ibn Mujammi' al-Anṣārī, he said, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri told me, he said, Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab informed me that the messenger of God (s) said,

"I met Abraham, Moses and Jesus at Bayt al-Maqdis [= Jerusalem]. Jesus was a man with a red skin as if he has just had a bath. Moses was a lean, slender man as if he was one of the Shanū'a. From all the children of Abraham I resembled him most. I was brought two drinking-cups, a drinking-cup with milk and a drinking-cup with *nabīdh*<sup>88</sup>. I chose the drinking-cup with milk. Gabriel (peace upon him) said, 'You are guided to the way of the original religion. If you had taken the drinking-cup with wine, your community would surely have been deviated from the original way. The time of prayer came and I led them [in prayer].'"

The text of the tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd (IS2) is:<sup>89</sup>

- 1 حدثنا ابو داود قال: حدثنا ابن سعد عن الزهري قال: اخبرني سعيد بن المسيب قال: قال رسول الله صلعم
- 2 رأيت ابراهيم وموسى وعيسى صلوات الله عليهم ببيت المقدس يعني حيث اسرى به فرأيت موسى رجلا
- 3 ضربا آدم بين الرجلين كأنه من رجال شنوءة ورأيت عيسى رجلا احمر كأنما اخرج من ديماس وانا أشبه

<sup>86</sup> Yūnus ibn Bukayr, *Sirat Ibn Ishāq*, 275 (no. 463).

<sup>87</sup> The text in the *Sira* of Yūnus ibn Bukayr is *wa utitu ba'da hīna qadah laban wa-qadah nabīdh*. This is either a mistake of the editor or a mistake in the manuscript and the correct text is *wa-utitu bi-qadahayni qadah laban wa-qadah nabīdh*. My discussion of the similarities between the choice traditions (among which *qadahayni*) confirms my correction. See pages 156-157.

<sup>88</sup> Lane explains that *nabīdh* is a kind of beverage made of dates, raisins, honey, wheat, barley or grapes. It is a collective term used for intoxicating drinks. The ingredients were thrown into a vessel and left until they fermented. Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 2757. Heine, P., "Nabīdh", in *El2*, VII, Leiden 1993, 840. Wensinck mentions the discussion among early jurists on whether *nabīdh* is considered wine or not. Wensinck, A., "Khamr. 1. Juridical aspects", in *El2*, IV, Leiden 1978. See also, Burton, J., *Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām's K al-nāsikh wa l mansūkh*, Bury St Edmunds 1987, 154-156.

<sup>89</sup> Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 249.



4 بنى ابراهيم به وأتيت بانه خمر وانه لبن فاخذت اللبن فقال جبريل عليه السلام هديت للفطرة لو أخذت  
5 الخمر غوت أمك.

Abū Dāwūd told us, he said, Ibn Sa'd told us on the authority of al-Zuhri, he said, Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab informed me, he said, the messenger of God (s) said,

"I saw Abraham, Moses and Jesus (blessings of God upon them) at Bayt al-Maqdis [= Jerusalem], i.e. where he made the night journey to. I saw Moses as a slender, dark-complexioned man between the two men<sup>90</sup> as if he was one of the Shanū'a. I saw Jesus as a man with a red skin as if he has just had a bath. From all the sons of Abraham I resembled him most. I was brought a vessel with wine and a vessel with milk. I took the milk. Gabriel (peace upon him) said, 'You are guided to the way of the original religion. If you had taken the drinking-cup with wine, your community would have deviated from the original way.'"

### *Similarities between the two-topic traditions*

The content of the traditions of Ma'mar, Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd is the same. Muḥammad describes Moses, Jesus and Abraham. Somebody brings him a vessel with milk and a vessel with wine. He chooses the vessel with milk. He is told that he was guided to the way of the original religion. If he had taken the wine, his community would have been deviated from the original way. The order of the two topics is also the same, first the description and then the choice. Both events take place during the night journey<sup>91</sup> and Muḥammad is the person who tells the story.

The following words and (parts of) sentences are identical in the traditions of the three students of al-Zuhri:

- Moses: - *rajul ḍarb* ('Abd al-Razzāq is responsible for the change into *mudḥarib* M2-A)  
- *ka'annah min rijāl Shanū'a*
- Jesus: - *aḥmar ka'anna(mā/bu) (a)kharaja min dīmās*
- Abraham: - *wa-anā ashbahu (wuld/banī) Ibrāhīm bihi* ('Abd al-Razzāq is responsible  
for the different sentence *wa-ra'aytu Ibrāhīm wa-anā ashbahu wuldihi bihi*)

<sup>90</sup> This seems to be a mistake in the text, because it is not present in any other text. See my suggestion on pages 152-154.

<sup>91</sup> The tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il does not mention explicitly that the events took place during the night journey. However, Muḥammad says that he met Moses, Jesus and Abraham in Jerusalem, so this must have been during the night journey, because Muḥammad never went to Jerusalem during his lifetime besides during this journey.

- Choice - *wa-utītu bi-*  
 - *fa (akhadhtu/ikhartu) l-laban*  
 - *hudta li-l fītra*  
 - *law akhadhta (l-khamr/qadah al-nabīdh) (la-)ghawāt ummatuka*

The above-mentioned similarities in content and formulation indicate that the traditions derive from a common source. The common source is al-Zuhri according to the information from the *asanid*. The question we will answer in the following part is whether the versions that are attributed to three different students of al-Zuhri are genuine transmissions. Do they derive from separate, independent transmissions, or did one or more students copy the version from each other?

#### *Differences between the two-topic traditions*

Comparison of the three versions of al-Zuhri's students shows that the tradition from Ma'mar (in both versions) deviates from the other two traditions of Ibrahim ibn Isma'il and Ibrahim ibn Sa'd. Ma'mar does not mention at the beginning of the tradition that Muhammad met Abraham, Moses and Jesus, but he begins immediately with the description of Moses. Furthermore, Ma'mar does not mention where the meeting with the three prophets took place (Jerusalem) and who spoke to Muhammad after he had chosen the milk (Gabriel). He is the only student of al-Zuhri so far, who traces the tradition back to Abu Hurayra, a companion of Muhammad. Other peculiarities of Ma'mar's versions are the words *rajil (al-ra's)*, *rab'a*, *fa-sharibtuhu*, *amma innaka*, the formulation *bi ina'ayni fi ahadithima (laban) wa-fi l-akhar (khamr)* and the sentence *fa-qila li/fa-qala khudh/ashrib ayyahuma shi'ta*.

The traditions of Ibrahim ibn Isma'il and Ibrahim ibn Sa'd look much more alike in comparison with the version(s) of Ma'mar, but the text of each student has several peculiarities that the other students do not mention. Ibrahim ibn Isma'il describes the three prophets in a different order (Jesus->Moses->Abraham instead of Moses->Jesus->Abraham), he uses the following words, '*inda (bayt al maqdis)*<sup>92</sup>, *shahib, bi qadahayni, qadah (laban wa-) qadah nabīdh, fa-khartu qadah (al-laban), la-(ghuwayat)* and he ends with *wa-hanat al-salāh fa-amamtuhum*. The tradition of Ibrahim ibn Sa'd mentions *bi (bayt al-maqdis)*, *adam bayna l-rajulayni* and *bani (Ibrahim)*.

<sup>92</sup> The words between brackets are mentioned by at least one of the other students, but I added them by way of illustration.

The deviations in the version of Ma'mar<sup>93</sup> indicate that his version derives from an independent transmission. Ma'mar is responsible for the differences or al-Zuhri changed the tradition or his manner of transmission in the course of time. The traditions of both Ibrāhims seem smoother; they contain more specific information than the version of Ma'mar, such as the location where Muḥammad met the three prophets and the name of the "person" who spoke to him after he decided to drink milk. We have noticed similar changes already in the traditions about the raid of the Hudhayl and we will come across this phenomenon also in the following chapter.<sup>94</sup> It seems therefore that al-Zuhri edited his tradition about the night journey after Ma'mar had studied with him. The version Ma'mar received from al-Zuhri came from a written text, because Ma'mar's tradition is identical to the structure of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd's text and many formulations are similar to the versions of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il.

However, in contrast with the traditions about the attack of the Hudhayl, the *isnad* in the tradition from Ma'mar is more detailed than the *asanid* of the other two students. Ma'mar mentions that Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab received the tradition from Abū Hurayra who relates the story from Muḥammad, while in the versions of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab relates the story "directly" from Muḥammad without naming his informant from among the Companions.

The question of whether the traditions of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd derive from independent transmissions is more complicated. Because of the similarity in their versions, it is possible that one of the traditions is a copy from the other student. The tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd contains words that are similar to the versions from Ma'mar. It is therefore more likely that Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il (or one of the later transmitters) copied the tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd than vice versa.

Did Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il (or a later transmitter) copy the tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and alter some words to make it his own version? That seems possible, because the following terms appear in the text: *qadah* instead of *inā'*, *nabidh* instead of *khamr* and *ikhbartu* instead of *akhadhtu*. Nevertheless, several peculiarities in the tradition of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il go beyond simple substitutions of single words. Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il describes first Jesus and then Moses, while Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd describes Moses first (just as Ma'mar

<sup>93</sup> When I use the expression "the version of Ma'mar", I mean those parts on which the versions of 'Abd al Razzaq and Hishām agree

<sup>94</sup> See chapter 2 pages 92-93 and chapter 4 pages 262-268

does). Is it likely that Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il substituted Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd's formulation *ādam bayna l-rajulayni* for *shāḥib (rajil (al-ra's))* in the version of Ma'mar)? Did he deliberately add the words *ba'da ḥīn* and *wa-ḥānat al-ṣalāh fa-amamtuhum*?

Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il (or a later transmitter) is probably responsible for all the above-mentioned changes. The question is whether he did this deliberately or by mistake. The biographical tradition gives a plausible reason for the changes. Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il's hearing was impaired and might well have derived the meaning of the tradition from al-Zuhri, but not the correct words (hence the use of synonyms). He is considered a weak transmitter, who made many mistakes.<sup>95</sup> His tradition about the raid of the Hudhayl contains similar differences in formulation, so it is very plausible that his defective hearing might have caused the (or some of the) above-mentioned changes.

### *Comparison of the mutūn of the choice traditions*

I will first compare the traditions from 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Marzūq, Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar, Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān, Shu'ayb, Yūnus and al-Zubaydī that only deal with Muḥammad's choice between drinking milk and wine. Then I compare them with the two-topic traditions from Ma'mar, Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. (Appendix 3 displays the *asānīd* of the choice traditions.)

The text of the choice tradition from 'Abd al-Wahhāb (AWC) is:<sup>96</sup>

- 1 الليث عن (يزيد) ابن الهاد عن عبد الوهاب عن ابن شهاب عن سعيد بن المسيب عن أبي هريرة قال: أتني
- 2 رسول الله صلعم ليلة أسري به إلى إيلياء بقنحين (من) خمر ولين فنظر إليهما ثم أخذ اللبن فقال له
- 3 جبريل: الحمد لله الذي هداك للفطرة لو أخذت الحمر غوت أمتك.

The text of the choice tradition from Marzūq ibn Abī l-Hudhayl (MZC) is:<sup>97</sup>

- 1 ثنا العباس بن عثمان المعلم (المشمقي) ثنا (عن) الوليد بن مسلم عن (الأخبرنا) مرزوق بن أبي الهذيل
- 2 عن ابن شهاب (الزهري) أن سعيد بن المسيب أخبرني عن أبي هريرة قال:<sup>98</sup> أتني النبي (رسول الله)

<sup>95</sup> Al-M177i, *Tahdhīb*, I, 100-101 (no. 144). See also chapter 2 page 93

<sup>96</sup> The text of the tradition from 'Abd al-Wahhāb is based on the traditions of al-Nasā'i (S31) and al-Ṭabarānī (S32). Variant words are placed between brackets. See the translation on page 143

<sup>97</sup> The text of the tradition from Marzūq is based on the traditions of al-Ṭabarānī (S33) and Ibn 'Asākir (S34). Variant words are placed between brackets. See the translation on page 145.

<sup>98</sup> The formulation is from the tradition of al-Ṭabarānī. The text of Ibn 'Asākir is *annahū akhbarahu 'an Sa'd ibn al-Musayyab annahu sami'a Abā Hurayra yaqūlu*.

- 3 صلعم ليلة أسري به بقدحين من خمر ولين فنظر اليهما فأخذ اللبن فقال جبريل (صلعم): الحمد لله الذي  
4 هداك للفطرة لو أخذت الخمر لغوت أمتك.

The text of the choice tradition from Ṣāliḥ ibn Abi l-Akhḍar (SAC) is:<sup>99</sup>

- 1 حدثنا عبد الله حدثني أبي ثنا روح ثنا صالح بن أبي الأخضر ثنا ابن شهاب عن سعيد بن المسيب عن أبي  
2 هريرة قال: [ قال ] رسول الله صلعم: ليلة أسري بي أتيت بقدحين قدح لبن وقدح خمر فنظرت اليهما  
3 فأخذت اللبن فقال جبريل: الحمد لله الذي هداك للفطرة لو أخذت الخمر غوت أمتك.

'Abd Allāh told us, my father told me, Rawḥ told us, Ṣāliḥ ibn Abi l-Akhḍar told us, Ibn Shihāb told us on the authority of Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab on the authority of Abū Hurayra, he said, the messenger of God (ﷺ) [said],

"On my night journey I was brought two drinking-cups, a drinking-cup with milk and a drinking-cup with wine. I looked at them and took the milk. Gabriel said, 'Praise be to God, who guided you to the way of the original religion. If you had taken the wine, your community would have deviated from the original way.'"

The text of the choice tradition from Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān (SKc) is:<sup>100</sup>

- 1 أخبرنا أبو بكر أحمد بن الحسن القاضي قال: حدثنا أبو العباس محمد بن يعقوب قال: حدثنا العباس بن  
2 محمد الدوري قال: حدثنا يعقوب بن إبراهيم قال: حدثنا أبي عن صالح بن كيسان عن ابن شهاب قال:  
3 سمعت ابن المسيب يقول: إن رسول الله صلعم حين انتهى إلى بيت المقدس لقي فيه إبراهيم وموسى  
4 وعيسى عليهم السلام وإنه أتى بقدحين قدح لبن وقدح خمر فنظر اليهما ثم أخذ قدح اللبن فقال له جبريل:  
5 هديت [الفطرة] لو أخذت الخمر لغوت أمتك (ثم رجع رسول الله صلعم إلى مكة فأخبر أنه أسري به  
6 فافتتن ناس كثير كانوا قد صلوا معه).

Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan, the *qāḍī*, informed us, he said, Abū l-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb told us, he said, al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad al-Dūrī told us, he said, Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm told us, he said, my father told us on the authority of Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān on the authority of Ibn Shihāb, he said, I heard Ibn al-Musayyab say,

"When the messenger of God (ﷺ) reached Jerusalem he met there Abraham, Moses and Jesus (peace upon them); he was brought two drinking-cups, a drinking-cup with milk and a drinking-cup with wine. He looked at them. Then he took the drinking-cup with milk. Gabriel said to him, 'You are guided to the way of the original religion. If you had taken the wine, your community would have deviated from the original way.' (Then the

<sup>99</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, II, 673 (no. 10658).

<sup>100</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 359-360.

messenger of God (ﷺ) returned to Mecca and reported that he had made the night journey. Many people who had prayed with him, were led astray.)”

The text of the choice tradition from Shu‘ayb (SHc) is:<sup>101</sup>

- 1 شعيب عن الزهري (قال: ) اخبرني سعيد بن المسيب انه سمع ابا هريرة (رضي الله عنه) يقول<sup>102</sup>: اتي رسول الله صلعم ليلة أسري به بإيلياء (إلى إيلياء) بقتحين (إبائاتين) من (-) خمر ولبن فنظر إليهما ثم أخذ اللبن فقال جبريل: الحمد لله الذي هداك للفطرة لو أخذت الخمر غوت أمتك.

The text of the choice tradition from Yūnus (Yc) is:<sup>103</sup>

- 1 يونس عن ابن شهاب قال: قال ابن المسيب: قال أبو هريرة<sup>104</sup>: اتي رسول الله صلعم<sup>105</sup> ليلة أسري به بإيلياء بقتحين من خمر ولبن فنظر إليهما فأخذ اللبن فقال له جبريل عليه السلام: الحمد لله الذي هداك للفطرة لو أخذت الخمر غوت أمتك.

The text of the choice tradition from al-Zubaydī (Zc) is:<sup>106</sup>

- 1 حدثنا محمد بن حرب عن الزبيدي عن الزهري عن (سعيد) ابن المسيب انه سمع ابا هريرة يقول: اتي رسول الله صلعم ليلة أسري به بقتحين من خمر ولبن فنظر إليهما ثم أخذ اللبن فقال (له) جبريل (عليه السلام): هديت للفطرة (الفطرة) فلو أخذت الخمر لغوت (أغوت) أمتك.

#### *Similarities between the choice traditions*

The *mutūn* of the traditions from ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Marzūq, Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar, Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān, Shu‘ayb, Yūnus and al-Zubaydī look very much alike. The content is the same and they have many formulations in common. The words that almost all traditions have in

<sup>101</sup> The text of the tradition from Shu‘ayb is the version of Abū l-Yamān, which is based on the different versions of his pupils. Variant formulations of Shu‘ayb’s son Bishr are placed between brackets. See the translation on page 140.

<sup>102</sup> The formulation is from the version of Abū l-Yamān. The text of Bishr is ‘*an Sa’id ibn al-Musayyab ‘an Abi Hurayra qāla*.

<sup>103</sup> The text of the tradition from Yūnus is based on the different versions of his students. The formulation on which most students agree is placed in the text. See the translation on page 136.

<sup>104</sup> The formulation is from the versions of Abū l-Ṣāfawān and ‘Anbasa. The text of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak is ‘*an al-Zuhri ‘an Sa’id ibn al-Musayyab ‘an Abi Hurayra qāla*.

<sup>105</sup> The formulation of Abū l-Ṣāfawān is *inna l-nabi (s) utiya*.

<sup>106</sup> The text of the tradition from ‘Abd al-Wahhāb is based on the traditions of al-Nasā’i (S35) and Ibn Ḥibbān (S36). Variant words are placed between brackets. See the translation on page 143.

common are *utiya rasūl Allāh*<sup>107</sup> (ŠAc *utītu*), *layla usriya bihi* (ŠAc *bī* and SKc nothing), *bi-qadaḥayni (min) khamr wa-laban* (ŠAc+SKc *qadaḥ laban wa-qadaḥ khamr*), *fa-naḥara* (ŠAc *fa-naḥartu*) *ilayhimā, akhadha* (ŠAc *akhadhtu*) *l-laban, fa-qāla Jibrīl, al-ḥamd li-Allāh alladhī hadāka li-l-fiṭra* (Sk+Zc *hudīla (li-)l-fiṭra*) *law akhadhta l-khamr ghawat ummatuka*.

The similarities indicate that the traditions derive from a common source. The name of this person is Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri according to the information from the chains of transmitters. The high degree of similarity between all traditions indicates that al-Zuhri had a written version of this tradition that he transmitted and let the students write down.

### *Differences between the choice traditions*

The question that has to be answered at this point is whether the traditions attributed to seven students of al-Zuhri were indeed transmitted by seven different persons. The differences between the traditions are as follows.

- *Ibn Shihāb* 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Marzūq, Šāliḥ ibn A, Šāliḥ ibn K (others *al-Zuhri*)
- *Ibn al-Musayyab* Šāliḥ ibn K, Yūnus, al-Zubaydī (others *Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab*)
- *qāla rasūl Allāh (s)* Šāliḥ ibn A (Šāliḥ ibn K: Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab relates the story, others: Abū Hurayra relates the story)
- *ḥīna intabā* Šāliḥ ibn K (others nothing)
- X *bi-/ilā Īlīyā'* 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Shu'ayb, Yūnus (Šāliḥ ibn K *ilā bayt al-maqdis*, others nothing)
- *laqiya fīhi Ibrāhīm wa-Mūsā wa-'Isā 'alayhim al-salām* Šāliḥ ibn K (others nothing)
- X *thumma akhadha* 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Šāliḥ ibn K, Shu'ayb, al-Zubaydī (others *fa-akhadh(a/tu)*)
- X *fa-qāla lahu Jibrīl* 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Šāliḥ ibn K, Yūnus, al-Zubaydī (others *fa-qāla Jibrīl*)
- *qadaḥ laban wa-qadaḥ khamr* Šāliḥ ibn A, Šāliḥ ibn K (others (*min*) *khamr wa-laban*)
- *hudīla (li-)l-fiṭra* Šāliḥ ibn K., al-Zubaydī (others *al-ḥamd li-Allāh alladhī hadāka li-l-fiṭra*)
- *la-ghawat ummatuka* Marzūq, Šāliḥ ibn K, al-Zubaydī (others *ghawat*)

<sup>107</sup> The word *nabī* is mentioned in some versions of al-Zuhri's students.

- *thumma raja'a [ ] ma'ahu* Salih ibn K (others nothing)

The traditions from Salih ibn Abi l-Akhdar, Salih ibn Kaysan and al-Zubaydi contain the most distinguishing differences. In the tradition of Salih ibn Abi l-Akhdar, Muhammad relates the story himself, i.e. the text is told in the first person, while Abu Hurayra (Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab by Salih ibn Kaysan) relates the story about Muhammad in the traditions from the other students, i.e. the text is written in the third person singular. The traditions of Salih ibn Kaysan and al-Zubaydi do not mention the phrase *al-hamd li-Allah alladhi hadaka li-l-fitra* but contain the words *hudita li-l-fitra* instead. The tradition of Salih ibn Kaysan mentions the words *hina intaha ila* and *bayt al maqdis* and adds a sentence at beginning and the end of his tradition. These differences can be seen as peculiarities of the transmission of the two Salih's and al-Zubaydi and it does not seem likely that they copied their tradition from one of the other students.

Three differences (marked with an X in the list) appear each time in the traditions of three or four students, although the names of the students are different in each case. A very reasonable explanation is that al-Zuhri sometimes mentioned one option and sometimes the other option. For instance, 'Abd al-Wahhab, Shu'ayb and Yunus mention the place *Iliya'* (Jerusalem), while Marzuq, Salih ibn Abi l-Akhdar and al-Zubaydi do not tell where the choice took place.

It is more difficult to determine whether the traditions from 'Abd al-Wahhab, Marzuq, Shu'ayb and Yunus are separate transmissions, because the remaining differences are very small. Yunus calls the informant of al-Zuhri Ibn al-Musayyab<sup>108</sup>, while the other three mention his *ism*. Sa'id Marzuq does not mention that the night journey was to Jerusalem. Even if we compare the differences per student (see list below), the omission of *lahu* and the addition of *la* before *ghawat* could have derived from a transmission error.

- 'Abd al-Wahhab	<i>ila Iliya'</i>	<i>thumma akhadha</i>	<i>fa qala lahu</i>	<i>ghawat</i>
- Marzuq	-	<i>fa akhadha</i>	<i>fa qala</i>	<i>la ghawat</i>
- Shu'ayb	<i>bi/ila Iliya'</i>	<i>thumma akhadha</i>	<i>fa-qala</i>	<i>ghawat</i>
- Yunus	<i>(bi Iliya')</i>	<i>fa-akhadha</i>	<i>fa-qala lahu</i>	<i>ghawat</i>

Although we cannot decide if these four traditions derived from separate transmissions, why should we not assume that the information in the *asanid* is genuine? The *mutun* are similar. None of these four traditions contains additional information to support, for example, a

<sup>108</sup> One student of Yunus, Abd Allah ibn al-Mubarak, gives the complete name. He is responsible for the addition of Ibn al-Musayyab's *ism* in the *ismad*.



certain ideology. The only part that could have been falsified is the *isnād*. Perhaps somebody wanted to add this tradition to his corpus, but did not actually hear it from al-Zuhri or one of his students. That is no reason to dismiss this particular tradition, because the *matn* of each of these four traditions is genuinely from al-Zuhri. A possible explanation for the similarity is that these students copied the same manuscript from al-Zuhri before they read it to him (*'arḍ*).

### *Comparison of the choice traditions with the two-topic traditions*

The content of the choice traditions (C) and the corresponding part in the two-topic traditions (2T) is similar and even some formulations are equal, *utiya rasul Allah* (C) and *wa-utitu* (2T and C-version Ṣāliḥ); *fa-/thumma akhadha l-laban* (C) and *fa-akhadhtu l-laban* (2T) (2T Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il *fa-ikhtartu qadaḥ al-laban*); *fa-qāla (lahu) Jibril* (C) and *fa-qāla Jibril 'alayhi l-salām* (2T) (2T Ma'mar *fa-qāla (lī)*); *law akhadhta l-khamr (la-)ghawwat ummatuka* (C) and *(ammā innaka) law akhadhta l-khamr ghawwat ummatuka* (2T) (2T Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il *law akhadhta qadaḥ al-nabīdh la-ghuwwiyat ummatuka*).

However, beside these similarities the choice traditions contain peculiarities that the two-topic traditions do not have. The most distinguishing differences are the person who tells the story (C: Abū Hurayra, 2T and C-version Ṣāliḥ ibn A: Muḥammad), the name used for Jerusalem (C: *Īliyā'*, 2T and C-version Ṣāliḥ ibn K: *bayt al-maqdis*). Other differences are *bi-qadaḥayni min khamr wa-laban* (C) (C-Ṣāliḥ ibn A and Ṣāliḥ ibn K *qadaḥ laban wa-qadaḥ khamr*) instead of *bi-inā'ayni fī aḥadihima laban wa-fī l-ākhar khamr* (2T-Ma'mar), *qadaḥ laban wa-qadaḥ nabīdh* (2T-Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il) or *inā' khamr wa-inā' laban* (2T-Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd); *al-ḥamd li-Allāh alladhī hadāka li-l-fīṭra* (C) instead of *hudita li-l-fīṭra* (2T = C-version Ṣāliḥ ibn K and al-Zubaydi). All choice traditions, except the version of Ṣāliḥ ibn K mention the occasion *layla usriya bihi*, which appears in the two-topic traditions only in the version of Ma'mar (*layla usriya bi/bihi*). None of the two-topic traditions mentions the sentence *fa-naẓara ilayhimā*, although the version of Ma'mar has *fa-qāla lī (/fa-qāla) khudh (/ashrib) ayyāhumā shi'ta* at the same location in the sentence.

The similarities in content and formulations indicate that the choice tradition and the two-topic tradition come from the same person, i.e. al-Zuhri, while the differences show that the choice tradition is not a shortened version of the two-topic tradition or vice-versa. Al-Zuhri probably had two different written versions of the night journey, one short

tradition about Muḥammad's choice and one lengthier tradition about Muḥammad's description of the three prophets and his choice between drinks.

The deviations in the choice traditions of Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar, Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān and al-Zubaydī, which we noticed before, are formulations from the two-topic tradition. Their appearance in the choice traditions from these three students might derive from their (or one of the later transmitters) acquaintance with the two-topic tradition. Especially the tradition of Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān contains many formulations from the two-topic versions, *bayt al-maqdis*, *laḳṭya*, *Ibrāhīm wa-Mūsā wa-ʿĪsā* and *hudita l-fiṭra*. Still, the traditions of these three persons contain too many peculiarities of the choice tradition to be shortened versions of the two-topic tradition.

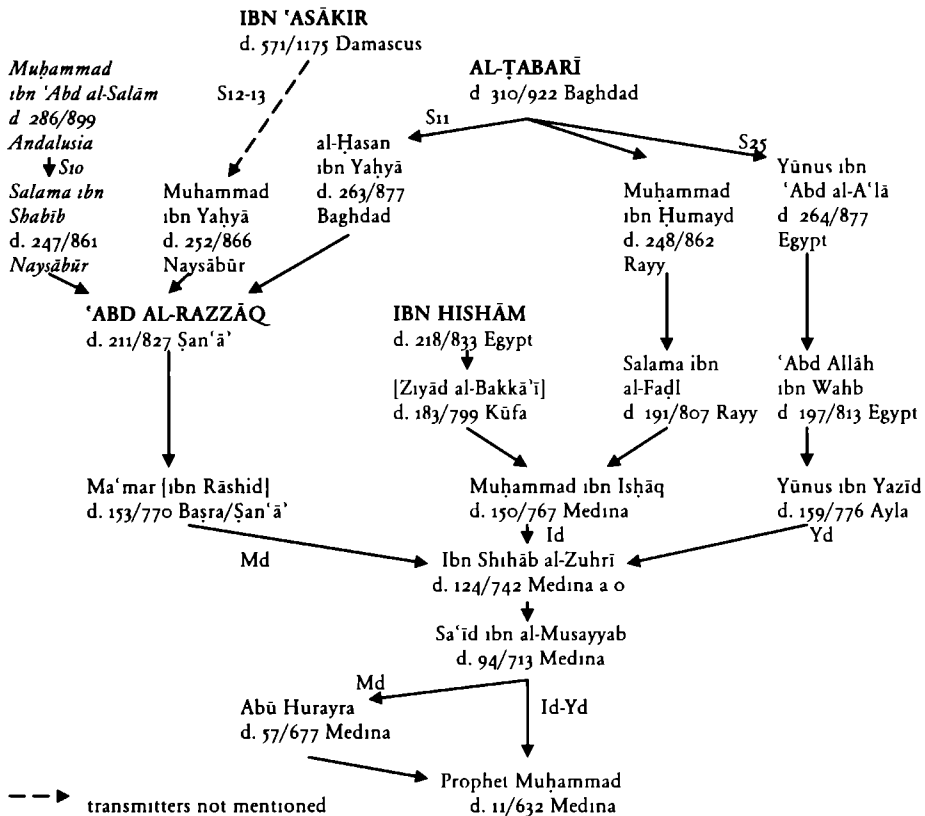
#### *Comparison between the mutūn of the description traditions*

Three students of al-Zuhri (Maʿmar<sup>109</sup>, Ibn Ishāq and Yūnus) have a tradition that only relates Muḥammad's description of Abraham, Moses and Jesus. I will first compare them with each other and then with the corresponding part of the two-topic traditions from Maʿmar, Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl and Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd. The *asānīd* are as follows:

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<sup>109</sup> The *isnād cum matn* analysis of Maʿmar's traditions showed that traditions S8 and S9 from Ibn ʿAsākir are shortened versions of the two-topic tradition. I will only use the description traditions that I entitled description versions (former *Tafsīr*-versions). See pages 126-127 and 130.

Figure 16: Isnād bundle of al-Zuhri's description tradition



The text of the description version from Ma'mar (Md) is:<sup>110</sup>

- 1 حدثنا عبد الرزاق عن (أحبرنا) معمر عن الزهري عن (سعيد) ابن المسيب عن أبي هريرة أن رسول الله
- 2 صلعم وصف لأصحابه ليلة أسري به إبراهيم وموسى وعيسى فقال: أما إبراهيم فلم أر رجلاً أشبه
- 3 بصاحبكم منه<sup>111</sup> وأما موسى فرجل آدم طوال جعد أفتى كأنه من رجال شنوءة وأما عيسى فرجل أحمر
- 4 بين القصير والطويل سبط الرأس (الشعر) كثير خيلان الوجه كأنه خرج من ديماس<sup>112</sup> تخال رأسه يقطر
- 5 ماء وما به ماء أشبه من رأيت به عروة بن مسعود.

<sup>110</sup> The text of the description version from Ma'mar (Md) is based on the traditions of 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Tafsīr* (S10), al-Ṭabarī (S11) and Ibn 'Asākir (S12 and S13). The formulation most traditions agree on is placed in the text, except in the case of the word *al-ra's* and *al-sha'r* from 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Tafsīr*, which are both mentioned in the text. See my remark on page 129.

<sup>111</sup> An additional remark in Muḥammad ibn Yahyā's version in the traditions from Ibn 'Asākir is *aw qāla anā ashhābu wuldīhi bibi*.

<sup>112</sup> An additional remark in Muḥammad ibn Yahyā's version in the traditions from Ibn 'Asākir is *ya'ni l-hammām*.

The text of the description tradition from Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (Id) is:<sup>113</sup>

- 1 وزعم الزهري عن سعيد بن المسيب أن رسول الله صلعم وصف لأصحابه إبراهيم وموسى وعيسى حين
- 2 رأهم في تلك الليلة فقال أما إبراهيم فلم أر رجلاً أشبه بصاحبكم ولا صاحبكم أشبه به منه [src] وأما موسى
- 3 فرجل آدم طويل ضرب جعد أفتى كأنه من رجال شنوءة وأما عيسى بن مريم فرجل أحمر بين القصير
- 4 والطويل سبط الشعر كثير خيلان الوجه كأنه خرج من ديماس تخال رأسه يقطر ماء وليس به ماء أشبه
- 5 رجالكم به عروة بن مسعود الثقفي.

Al-Zuhri claimed on the authority of Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab that the messenger of God (ﷺ) described Abraham, Moses and Jesus to his companions [in his report] when he saw them on that night. He said, "With regard to Abraham, I have never seen a man looking more like your companion [i.e. Prophet Muḥammad] [than Abraham] and no companion of yours looking more like him than him. With regard to Moses, he was a dark-complexioned man, tall, slender with curly hair and a hooked nose as if he was one of the Shanū'a people. With regard to Jesus son of Mary, he was a reddish man of medium height with lank hair and many freckles in his face as if he just came out of a bath. You would think that his head was dripping with water, although there was no water on it [i.e. his head]. The man most like him among you is 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi."<sup>114</sup>

The text of the description tradition from Yūnus (Yd) is:<sup>115</sup>

- 1 قال ابن شهاب: فأخبرني ابن المسيب أن رسول الله صلعم لقي هناك إبراهيم وموسى وعيسى فنعتهم
- 2 رسول الله صلعم فقال: فأما موسى فضرب رجل الرأس كأنه من رجال شنوءة وأما عيسى فرجل أحمر
- 3 كأنما خرج من ديماس فأشبهه من رأيت به عروة ابن مسعود الثقفي وأما إبراهيم فأنما أشبه ولده به (لما
- 4 رجع رسول الله صلعم حدث قريشا أنه أسري به).

Ibn Shihāb said, Ibn al-Musayyab informed me that the messenger of God (ﷺ) met there Abraham, Moses and Jesus. The messenger of God (ﷺ) described them and said,

"With regard to Moses, he was slender with curly hair [in text: head] as if he was one of the Shanū'a people. With regard to Jesus, he was a reddish man as if he just came out of a bath. The person I know who looks most like him is 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi. With regard to Abraham, from all his children I resembled him most." (When the messenger of God (ﷺ) returned, he told the Quraysh that he had made the night journey.)

<sup>113</sup> Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I, 266.

<sup>114</sup> I used the translation of Guillaume, but I made some changes. Guillaume, *The life*, 183-184.

<sup>115</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayan*, XV, 5-6

### *Similarities between the description traditions*

The traditions from Ma'mar and Muḥammad ibn Ishāq look much more alike than the tradition from Yūnus. All three traditions have the following parts in common:

- Introduction: *anna rasul Allāh (s), Ibrāhīm wa-Mūsā wa-'Īsā*
- Abraham: *ammā Ibrāhīm*
- Moses: *fa-ammā Mūsā, ka'annahu min rijāl Shanū'a*
- Jesus: *wa-ammā 'Īsā, fa-rajul aḥmar, ka'annahu (Yd: ka'annamā) kharaja min dimās, ashbahu bihi 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd*

The similarities between the three versions indicate that they derive from a common source, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri according to the chains of transmission.

### *Differences between the description traditions*

The tradition from Yūnus is the most deviating version. It describes the three prophets in a different order: Moses – Jesus – Abraham instead of Abraham – Moses – Jesus. It contains additional words (*fa-na'atahum rasul Allāh (s)* and *rajul al-ra's*) and lacks some words (*layla usriya bihi* (Md)/*hinā ra'ahum fī tilka l-layla* (Id), *fa-rajul ādam turwāl/ṭawīl*, *ja'd aqna*, *bayna l-qaṣīr wa-l-ṭawīl*, *sibī al-sha'r kathīr khilān al-wajh*, *tikhālu ra'suhu yaqturu mā'*, *wa-mā* (Md)/*walaysa* (Id) *bihi mā'*) compared with the traditions from Ma'mar and Muḥammad ibn Ishāq. Furthermore, Yūnus' tradition mentions *laqiya hunāka* instead of *waṣafa li-aṣḥābihi*, *fa-ana ashbahu wuldihi bihi*<sup>116</sup> instead of *fa-lam ara rajulan ashbaha bi-ṣāḥibikum minhu* and *ka'annamā* instead of *ka'annahu*.

Even though the traditions from Ma'mar and Muḥammad ibn Ishāq are very similar, they still contain some differences that point to a separate transmission of both versions i.e. it does not seem likely that one tradition is copied from the other. Muḥammad ibn Ishāq mentions *hinā ra'ahum fī tilka l-layla* instead of *layla usriya bihi* (Md), *ṭawīl* instead of *turwāl* (Md), *wa-laysa* instead of *wa-mā* (Md), *rijālikum* instead of *man ra'aytu* (Md+Yd) and adds *wa-lā ṣāḥibakum ashbaha bihi* and the *nasab* Ibn Maryam. Ma'mar's version does not mention the word *ḍarb* (Id+Yd) and the *nisba* al-Thaqafi (Id+Yd).

However, we find the most distinguishing feature of Ma'mar's tradition in the *isnād*. Muḥammad ibn Ishāq and Yūnus mention, that al-Zuhri received his information from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab, who tells what Muḥammad said about the three prophets. Ma'mar

<sup>116</sup> Ibn 'Asākir mentions these words in the version of Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā from Ma'mar as an alternative, *aw qāla anā ashbahu wuldihi bihi*

(according to 'Abd al-Razzāq) is the only person who mentions the name Abū Hurayra as intermediary between Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab and Muḥammad. Ibn Ishāq and Yūnus either forgot or did not mention Abū Hurayra, or Ma'mar (or 'Abd al-Razzāq) added his name because of the similarity with the two-topic tradition, which we will discuss in the next part.

#### *Comparison of the description traditions with the two-topic traditions*

We can skip the comparison of the description tradition and the corresponding part of the two-topic tradition partly, because we have already compared the versions of 'Abd al-Razzāq from Ma'mar. The conclusion of 'Abd al-Razzāq's traditions from Ma'mar was that both traditions are connected to the night journey; they describe the same three prophets only and they have certain formulations in common. However, the order in which the prophets are described and the formulations of the description tradition differ considerably from the corresponding part in the two-topic traditions. The question was whether 'Abd al-Razzāq received two versions from Ma'mar or one of the two is a forged tradition, perhaps by 'Abd al-Razzāq. There were some indications that 'Abd al-Razzāq's description tradition was secondary to the two-topic version.<sup>117</sup>

When we compare the tradition of Yūnus with the two-topic traditions, it appears that the above-mentioned additional words in Yūnus' tradition, are similar to the two-topic traditions, especially the two-topic tradition of Ma'mar in the version of 'Abd al-Razzāq. Furthermore, the order of Yūnus' description is identical to the two-topic traditions from Ma'mar (in both versions of 'Abd al-Razzaq and Hishām) and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. Beside the above-mentioned similarities, several other sentences in Yūnus' tradition are peculiar for the description tradition (*fa-ammā Mūsā, fa-ammā 'Isā, fa-ashbaha man ra'aytu bihi 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī* and *fa-ammā Ibrāhīm*). The tradition from Yūnus seems to be a mixture of the description part in the two-topic traditions and the separate tradition about the description.

The similarities with the description part in the two-topic tradition of Ma'mar in the version of 'Abd al-Razzāq indicate that there must have been some interdependency at a certain stage of the transmission. The question is: at which stage? Who is responsible for the similarity?

The problem is that we do not know whether 'Abd al-Razzāq's version is closer to "the original" tradition of Ma'mar than the version of Hishām ibn Yūsuf, or if Ma'mar had

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<sup>117</sup> See the comparison on pages 130-131.

only one original tradition at all. If the tradition of Ma‘mar in the version of ‘Abd al-Razzāq is closer to the “original” tradition of Ma‘mar than the version of Hishām ibn Yūsuf, then it might be possible that Yūnus also heard the tradition from Ma‘mar and mixed it with the version he heard from al-Zuhri. Interestingly, al-Mizzī mentions a tradition in which a similar phenomenon is described. ‘Abdān said on the authority of Ibn al-Mubārak, “when I looked at the traditions of Ma‘mar and Yūnus, it amazed me [that they looked] as if they came from the same niche” (*wa-qāla ‘Abdān ‘an Ibn al-Mubārak annanī idhā nazartu fī ḥadīth Ma‘mar wa-Yūnus yu‘jibunī ka ‘annahumā kharajā min mishkah wahida*).<sup>118</sup>

If the tradition of Hishām ibn Yūsuf is the better transmission from Ma‘mar, then the interdependency must have occurred at a later stage, perhaps at the level of ‘Abd al-Razzāq. It seems, however, very unlikely that Yūnus, who was a student of al-Zuhri and may have met Ma‘mar himself, would have used the tradition of one of his students.

We have already established in the comparison with the two-topic tradition from Ma‘mar and the description tradition from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, that the latter transmitted both versions. Because we possess a description tradition in the version of another student of al-Zuhri, Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, the origin of both descriptions (as a separate tradition and as part of a longer tradition) lies not with ‘Abd al-Razzāq or Ma‘mar but with al-Zuhri, i.e. al-Zuhri transmitted two different versions. Al-Zuhri (and not ‘Abd al-Razzaq or Ma‘mar as I suggested before) perhaps created the separate description tradition during or maybe specifically for a *tafsīr*-lesson.

#### *Unresolved issues*

There remain some traditions of students of al-Zuhri that have not yet been compared.

The first tradition is from Muḥammad ibn Ishāq. Al-Ṭabarī placed it after his description tradition of ‘Abd al-Razzāq from Ma‘mar (S11) with the *isnād* Ibn Ḥumayd -> Salama [ibn al-Faḍl] -> Muḥammad [ibn Ishāq] -> al-Zuhri -> Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab -> Prophet Muḥammad.<sup>119</sup> He does not give the complete text, but mentions that it is similar to [the tradition from Ma‘mar], although it does not mention Abū Hurayra as informant of Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab (*‘an rasūl Allāh (s) bi-naḥwihī wa-lam yaqul ‘an Abī Hurayra*).

Comparison of Ibn Hishām’s version from Ibn Ishāq with the tradition of ‘Abd al-Razzāq in the previous paragraph confirms al-Ṭabarī remark. The tradition of Ibn Hishām

<sup>118</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, VIII, 221 (no. 7783).

<sup>119</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān*, XV, 15. See also page 148

is indeed very similar to the tradition of 'Abd al Razzaq Ibn Hisham did also not mention Abu Hurayra as informant of Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab. Therefore, al-Tabarī probably possessed a tradition from Ibn Ishāq on Muhammad's description of the three prophets transmitted by Salama

The second tradition is the tradition from Ma'qil. Muslim preserved it with the *isnad* Salama ibn Shabīb → al-Hasan ibn A'yan → Ma'qil → al-Zuhri → Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab → Abū Hurayra.<sup>120</sup> Muslim placed it after the choice tradition from Yunus and remarked after the beginning of the tradition that it is similar, but that it does not mention the place Jerusalem (*utīya rasūl Allah (s) bi mithlibi wa lam yadhkur bi Īliya*)

The choice traditions from 'Abd al-Wahhab, Marzuq, Shu'ayb, Yunus and al-Zubaydī begin with the same words. Only three students refer to the location where the choice took place, while the other three students do not mention Jerusalem. This information corroborates Muslim's statement that he had a choice tradition from Ma'qil.

The third tradition is al-Tabarī's combined tradition from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab and Abū Salama ibn 'Abd al-Rahman (S24). He received the tradition from Yunus ibn 'Abd al-A'lā → 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb → Yunus → Ibn Shihab. In the *matn* analysis of the traditions ascribed to Yunus, we compared the part that relates Muhammad's choice with the other choice traditions from Yunus. It differed considerably in some places while other parts were similar. The conclusion was that the *matn* on the part of Muhammad's choice is from Abū Salama or that it is a mixture between the versions of Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab and Abū Salama ibn 'Abd al-Rahman.

Comparison with the choice and the two-topic traditions shows that tradition S24 of al-Tabarī contains more features of the choice tradition than of the two-topic tradition. For example, the story is told in the third person masculine singular instead of the first person singular, Jerusalem is called *Īliya* instead of *bayt al-maqdis* and *bi qadabayni* is used instead of *bi inā'ayni* or nothing. A feature of the two-topic tradition is the formulation *hudita ila l fitra*, although it also appeared in the choice tradition from al-Zubaydī.

It is still not possible to determine with the information we have so far whether this part of the tradition is from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab or a mixture with the version of Abū Salama. Comparison with other traditions from Abū Salama might help to solve this problem.

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<sup>120</sup> Muslim, *Sahih*, VII, 198



The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis has shown that al-Zuhri transmitted three different traditions about the night journey. Al-Zuhri unites in one single tradition (the two-topic tradition) Muḥammad's description of Abraham, Moses and Jesus, and the choice he had to make between drinking milk and wine. He transmitted both topics also separately with a different formulation. The origin of these three traditions lies therefore in the first quarter of the second Islamic century.

Al-Zuhri's two-topic tradition is preserved in the versions of three students, Ma'mar, Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. They all derived from independent transmissions although the version of Ma'mar deviates more. Either Ma'mar is responsible for the deviation or al-Zuhri changed the tradition or his manner of transmission in the course of time. The traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd are very similar and contain more specific information than the version of Ma'mar. Therefore, it seems that al-Zuhri edited his tradition about the night journey after Ma'mar had studied with him.

However, the *isnād* in the two-topic tradition from Ma'mar is more detailed than the *asānīd* of the other two students. Ma'mar mentions that Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab received the tradition from Abū Hurayra who related the story from Muḥammad, while in the versions of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab relates the story "directly" from Muḥammad.

Several students of al-Zuhri preserved his choice tradition. Although the content of the choice tradition and the corresponding part of the two-topic tradition is very similar and some formulations are identical, the choice traditions contain peculiarities that the two-topic traditions do not have. These differences show that the choice tradition is not a (later) shortened version of the two-topic tradition or vice-versa. Al-Zuhri received the choice tradition according to the chains of transmitters from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab -> Abu Hurayra. He did not trace it back to a report of Muḥammad.

Three students, Ṣāliḥ ibn Abi l-Akhḍar, Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān and al-Zubaydi, use formulations in their choice traditions that are specific for the two-topic version. The remaining parts of the traditions contain, however, too many peculiarities of the choice tradition to be shortened versions of the two-topic tradition. The reason for the occurrence of two-topic formulations in their choice tradition is perhaps their (or one of the later transmitters') acquaintance with the two-topic tradition.

Three students transmitted the description tradition from al-Zuhri, Ma'mar, Ibn Ishaq and Yūnus. The description tradition contains similar and deviating formulations compared with the corresponding part of the two-topic tradition.

The tradition of Yūnus is the most deviating version. It contains some peculiar words from the two-topic tradition of 'Abd al-Razzāq from Ma'mar, beside formulations that are specific for the description tradition. This indicates that it is a mixture of both traditions. There seems to be some connection between the transmission of the Yūnus tradition and the two-topic version of 'Abd al-Razzāq from Ma'mar.

The description tradition derives also from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab according to the information from the *asanid*. Ma'mar is the only person who mentions Abū Hurayra as the intermediary between Sa'id and Muḥammad.

There remain some questions, which perhaps the comparison with variant traditions about the same topics that are not from al-Zuhri can answer. Did al-Zuhri receive all three traditions from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab or maybe from somebody else? Is al-Zuhri himself the source of one or more traditions? Ibn Ishaq begins the description tradition from al-Zuhri with the words "al-Zuhri claimed" (*za'ama l-Zuhri*). Guillaume mentions in a footnote that the verb *za'ama* "implies grave doubt as to the speaker's veracity".<sup>121</sup> Does this mean that Ibn Ishaq doubted the content of the tradition or that al-Zuhri heard this tradition from Sa'id? Did Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab get the tradition(s) from Abu Hurayra or somebody else? Why did al-Zuhri alter the formulation of either the two-topic tradition or the two other traditions? We will try to find an answer to these questions in the following paragraphs.

## V. COMPARISON OF THE ZUHRI-TRADITIONS WITH OTHER VERSIONS

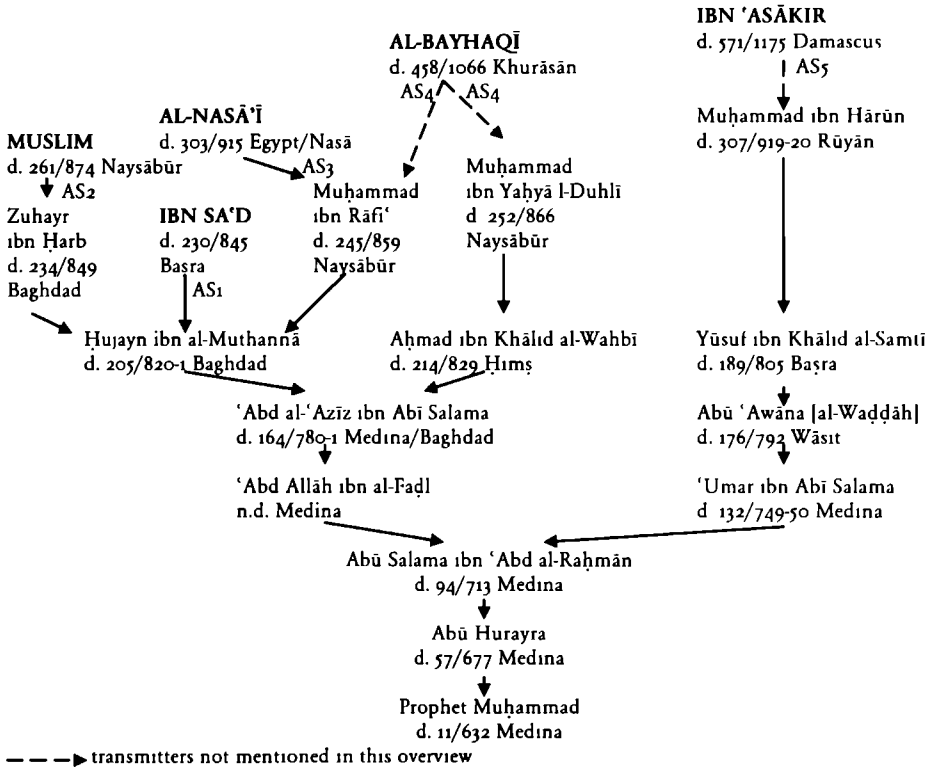
Al-Zuhri is the only person as far as I know who combines the description theme and the choice theme in a separate tradition. Usually, the themes appear as part of a longer story describing the *isrā'* (night journey) or the *mi'rāj* (ascension to heaven). I selected stories of a number of transmitters in whose traditions the description or choice theme is mentioned. The traditions are ascribed to Abū Salama ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 94/713), Jābir ibn 'Abd Allah (d. 78/697), 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbas (d. 67/686-687) and Anas ibn Mālīk (d. 92/711).

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<sup>121</sup> Guillaume, A., *The life*, 183 footnote 4. It can also just mean "he said". See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 1232.

One of the parallel traditions about Muḥammad's description of Abraham, Moses and Jesus is from Abū Salama ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān -> Abū Hurayra (who is the informant of Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab in the Zuhri-traditions) -> Prophet Muḥammad. Al-Bayhaqī, Ibn Sa'd, Muslim and al-Nasā'ī preserved four traditions from Abū Salama in the version of his student 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl, while Ibn 'Asākir has one version from Abū Salama's son, 'Umar.<sup>122</sup> The *isnād* bundle is as follows.

Figure 17: *Isnād* bundle of Abū Salama's description tradition



The traditions of al-Bayhaqī, Ibn Sa'd, Muslim and al-Nasā'ī from 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī Salama -> 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl are very similar. The text is:<sup>123</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 358-359. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tarikh*, XLVII, 366-367 (no. 10264). Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 215-216. Muslim, *Sahih*, I 509 (no. 278-172). Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, VI 455 (no. 11480/2).

<sup>123</sup> The text of 'Abd al-'Azīz from 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl is based on the traditions of al-Bayhaqī, Ibn Sa'd, Muslim and al-Nasā'ī. The formulation most traditions agree on is put in the text.

1 حدثنا (أخبرنا) عبد العزيز بن أبي سلمة عن عبد الله بن الفضل عن أبي سلمة بن عبد الرحمن عن أبي  
 2 هريرة قال: قال رسول الله صلعم: لقد رأيته في الحجر وقرش تسألني عن مسراي<sup>124</sup> فسألوني عن  
 3 أشياء من بيت المقدس لم أثبتها فكربت كربا ما كربت مثله قط فرفعه الله لي أنظر إليه ما يسألوني عن  
 4 شيء إلا أنبأتهم به وقد رأيته في جماعة من الأنبياء فإذا موسى قائم يصلي فإذا رجل ضرب جعد كأنه  
 5 من رجال شنوءة وإذا عيسى بن مريم قائم يصلي أقرب الناس به شبها عروة بن مسعود الثقفي وإذا  
 6 إبراهيم قائم يصلي أشبه الناس به صاحبكم يعني نفسه فحانت الصلاة فأممتهم فلما فرغت من الصلاة قال  
 7 لي قائل: يا محمد هذا مالك صاحب النار فسلم عليه فالتفت إليه فبداني بالسلام.

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī Salama told (informed) us on the authority of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl on the authority of Abū Salama ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān on the authority of Abū Hurayra, he said, the messenger of God (s) said,

"I saw myself in the *ḥijr*"<sup>125</sup>, and Quraysh asking me about the place of my night travel; to be more precise, they asked me about things of Jerusalem that I could not confirm. I have never been so distressed. But God raised it [*bayt al-maqdis*] for me, so I [could] look at it and answer them on whatever they were asking me.

I saw myself in a group of prophets. There was Moses standing to pray. He was a slender man with curly hair as if he was one of the Shanū'a people. There was Jesus son of Mary, standing to pray. The person who looks closest to him is 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi. And there was Abraham standing to pray. The person who looks most like him is your companion; he meant himself.

The time for the prayer had come and I led them in prayer. When I completed the prayer, somebody said to me: 'Oh Muḥammad, this is Mālik"<sup>126</sup>, the lord of Hell, greet him!' I turned towards him and he greeted me first."

The tradition of Ibn 'Asākir from 'Umar ibn Abī Salama is:

1 أخبرنا أبو سهل محمد بن إبراهيم أنبأنا عبد الرحمن بن أحمد بن الحسن الرازي أنبأنا جعفر بن عبد الله  
 2 الرازي أنبأنا محمد بن هارون الروياني حدثنا يوسف بن خالد بن يوسف السمتي حدثنا أبو عوانة حدثنا

<sup>124</sup> Al-Bayhaqī remarks at the end of his tradition that the formulation of the traditions from Ḥujayn ibn al-Muthannā and Aḥmad ibn Khālīd al-Wahbī is similar, except that the latter mentions *wa anā ukbiru Qurayshan 'an masrāya*. Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 359.

<sup>125</sup> The *ḥijr* = "that [space] which is comprised by the [curved wall called] the *batīm*, which encompasses the Ka'ba on the north [or rather north-west] side." Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 517.

<sup>126</sup> According to Q43:77, the angel Malīk rules over Hell. See Oxford Islamic Studies Online:

[http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/proxy\\_ubuntu.nl.8o8o/article/opr/t236/eqo6i?\\_h1=3&\\_p05=1](http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/proxy_ubuntu.nl.8o8o/article/opr/t236/eqo6i?_h1=3&_p05=1) (visited June 14, 2011).

3 عمر بن ابي سلمة عن ابيه عن ابي هريرة ان رسول الله صلعم قال اني ليلة اسري بي وضعت قدمي  
 4 حيث توضع اقدام الانبياء من بيت المقدس فعرض علي عيسى بن مريم فاذا اقرب الناس به شيها عروة  
 5 بن مسعود و عرض علي موسى فاذا رجل جعد ضرب من الرجال [sic] كأنه من رجال شنوءة و عرض  
 6 علي ابراهيم فاذا اقرب الناس به شيها صاحبكم.

Abū Sahl Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm informed us, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Rāzī announced to us, Ja‘far ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Rāzī announced to us, Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Ruwayānī announced to us, Yūsuf ibn Khālīd ibn Yūsuf al-Samtī told us, Abū ‘Awāna told us, ‘Umar ibn Abī Salama told us on the authority of his father on the authority of Abū Hurayra, that the messenger of God (ﷺ) said that

“On my night journey, I placed my feet on the night I made the night journey where the feet of the prophets from Jerusalem were placed. Jesus son of Mary was shown to me. The person who looks closest to him is ‘Urwa ibn Mas‘ūd. Moses was shown to me. He was a man with curly hair, slender (with wavy hair)<sup>127</sup> as if he is one of the Shanū’a people. Abraham was shown to me. The person who looks closest to him is your companion.”

#### *Comparison of the traditions from Abū Salama*

Both versions from Abū Salama are related on the authority of Abū Hurayra who tells what Muḥammad said. Other similarities between the texts are *min bayt al-maqdis, Mūsā (...) fa-idhā rajul ḍarb ja’d/ja’d ḍarb (...) ka’annah min rijāl Shanū’a, ‘Isā ibn Maryam (...) aqrabu l-nās bihi shabahan ‘Urwa ibn Mas‘ūd* and *wa-idhā Ibrāhīm/Ibrahīm fa-idha (...) al-nas bihi (...) ṣāhibukum*.

The tradition of ‘Umar ibn Abī Salama differs in three places significantly from the version of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl. In the first place, it differs in the part before the description of the three prophets, *annanī layla usriya bi waḍa’tu qadamayya haythu tūḍi’a aqdām al-anbiyā’ min bayt al-maqdis fa-’uriḍa ‘alayya* instead of *laqad ra’aytunī fī l-ḥijr (...) wa-qad ra’aytunī fī jamā’a min al-anbiyā’*. In the second place, it describes the three prophets in a different order, Jesus – Moses – Abraham instead of Moses – Jesus – Abraham. In the third place, ‘Umar does not mention the last part of ‘Abd Allāh’s tradition, *fa-ḥanat al-ṣalāh fa-amamtuhum (...) fa-iltafattu ilayhi fa-bada’anī bi-l-salām*.

<sup>127</sup> The words *min al-rijāl* seem to be a transmission error. The original text was perhaps *ḍarb rajul* (which is also present in Ma‘mar’s version) which was changed into *min al-rijāl* after a while. See also page 175 footnote 133.

Some smaller differences in formulations are the omission of the words *qā'im yusallī* (3x) and the *nisba* al-Thaqafī in 'Umar's version, the addition of the words *fa/wa-'urīda 'alayya* (3x) and *mīn al-rijāl*, the inversions of *ḍarb ja'd* ('Umar *ja'd darb*) and *wa-idha Ibrāhīm* ('Umar *Ibrāhīm fa-idhā*) and the sentence *aqrabu l-nas bihi shabahan ṣāhibukum* ('Umar) instead of *ashbahu l-nās bihi ṣāhibukum* ('Abd Allāh).

Except for the three major differences, the similarities in the part on the description of Moses, Jesus and Abraham indicate that both versions derive from a common source, Abu Salama according to the *asanid*. The students of Abū Salama or one of the later transmitters are responsible for the above-mentioned differences or Abū Salama told the tradition sometimes in a different way. The similar formulations indicate that Abū Salama possessed (written) notes of the tradition.

### *Comparison of the traditions of Abū Salama with traditions of al-Zuhri*

The two versions of Abu Salama bear a resemblance to al-Zuhri's description tradition. The formulations that the versions of Abu Salama have in common with the corresponding part of al-Zuhri's two-topic tradition, are also all present in the description tradition. Therefore, we will concentrate on the description tradition of al-Zuhri.

Similarities between the version of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl (AF) and the description tradition of al-Zuhri (Zd) are *Mūsā (.) rajul darb ja'd ka'annahu mīn rijāl Shanū'a, 'Īsā (ibn Maryam) (...) bihi shabahan 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd (al-Thaqafī) and Ibrāhīm (..) ashbahu (al-nas) bihi ṣāhibukum*

The order of the description of the three prophets is different. Al-Zuhri has (in the versions of Ma'mar and Ibn Ishaq): Abraham – Moses – Jesus, while the order of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl is Moses – Jesus – Abraham. Notice however, that the latter is the same order as in the description tradition of al-Zuhri in the version of Yūnus and in the two-topic traditions!

Other differences are *laqad ra'aytunī (...) mīn al-anbiyā'* (AF) instead of *waṣafa l-aṣḥābī (...)* *wa-'Īsā* (Zd, Yūnus has *laqīya hunāka (...)* *wa-'Īsā*), *fa/wa-idha* (AF 3x) instead of *wa-ammā* (Zd), *aqrabu l-nās (bihi shabahan)* (AF) instead of *(ashbaha) man ra'aytu (bihi)* (Zd) and *(ashbahu) l-nas bihi (ṣāhibukum) ya'nī nafsuḥu* (AF) instead of *fa-lam ara rajulan (ashbaha bi-ṣāhibikum) minhu* (Zd, Yūnus has *fa-anā ashbahu wuldihi bihi*) Zuhri's version does not mention the words *qā'im yusallī* (AF 3x) and *fa-hānat al-ṣalah (..) bi-l-salam*, while 'Abd Allāh

ibn al-Faḍl's version does not mention *ādam tuwāl/tawīl* (Yūnus *rajūl al-ra's*) and *fa-rajūl ahmar* (...) *yaqturu mā'*.

The first part of the last sentence in the tradition of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl (*fā-hānat al-ṣalāh fa-amamluhum*) appeared, however, in the two-topic tradition of al-Zuhri in the version of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il. This would mean that Ibrāhīm probably knew the version of 'Abd Allah ibn al-Faḍl from Abu Salama and inserted this sentence in his tradition from al-Zuhri by mistake or deliberately.

Similarities between the version of 'Umar ibn Abi Salama (U) and the description tradition of al-Zuhri (Zd) are almost similar to the version of 'Abd Allah ibn al-Faḍl, *Īsā (ibn Maryam) ( ) bihi shabahan 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd, Mūsā (..) rajūl ja'd darb ( ) ka'annah min rijāl Shanū'a* and Ibrāhīm (...) *bihi (shabahan) sāhibukum*.

None of the versions of al-Zuhri's description traditions describes the three prophets in the same order as the version of 'Umar. Only the two-topic tradition of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il from al-Zuhri mentions the same order. This might be another indication that Ibrāhīm knew a version of Abū Salama, but the corresponding order could also be a coincidence.

The different versions of al-Zuhri's description tradition contain furthermore no correspondences to any parts in the tradition of 'Umar ibn Abi Salama that deviates from the version of 'Abd Allah ibn al-Faḍl.

#### *Conclusion of the comparison between the traditions of Abu Salama and al-Zuhri*

The similarities between both versions of Abu Salama and the description traditions (and to a lesser extent the two-topic traditions) of al-Zuhri indicate that there must be a common source. This common link would be Abu Hurayra according to the information from the chains of transmission.

I am inclined to conclude that the information in one or more *asanid* is not correct, i.e. that the reference to either Abū Salama or Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab is faulty. Abū Hurayra, who died in 57/677 in Medina, is a very early transmitter. At his stage of transmission, I expected to find less correspondence in content and especially in formulation.

However, the transmission in the first half of the first Islamic century did not take place by oral transmission solely. Some people did use notes to support their memory, usually in the form of a notebook.<sup>128</sup> Abū Hurayra was possibly one of those using notes,

<sup>128</sup> See my discussion of this topic in chapter 5

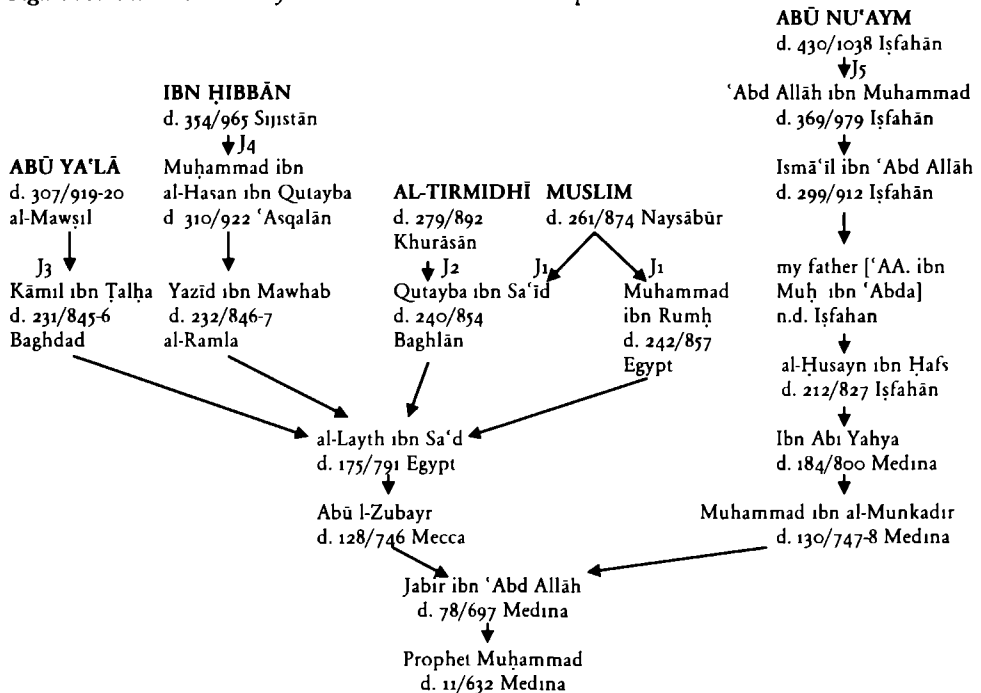
because Kamaruddin got similar results applying the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis on the “*ṣawm ḥadīths*”.<sup>129</sup> He was able to reconstruct several textual elements of Abū Hurayra’s original version(s).<sup>130</sup> He concluded that “the *ḥadīth* circulated already in the first half of the first century. It was the Companion Abū Hurayra (d. 58 or 59 A.H.) who brought the various elements of the *ḥadīth* into circulation. He taught these elements separately and in different combination and later transmitters made new arrangements of the elements.”<sup>131</sup>

Therefore, we cannot exclude that Abū Hurayra is the source of the similar formulation, just because he is such an early transmitter.

### *Traditions from Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh*

The second group of parallel traditions is from Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh. The *asānīd* of the traditions are as follows.

Figure 18: *Isnād* bundle of Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh’s description tradition



<sup>129</sup> See his dissertation from the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelm University, Kamaruddin, *Reliability*.

<sup>130</sup> Kamaruddin, *Reliability*, 344-345 and 353-354.

<sup>131</sup> Kamaruddin, *Reliability*, 366



The traditions of Abū Ya'la, Ibn Ḥibbān, Muslim and al-Tirmidhī are very similar. The text of al-Layth -> Abū l-Zubayr -> Jābir (J-AZ) based on these four traditions is:<sup>132</sup>

- 1 حدثنا (الخيرنا) (ال-ليث عن أبي الزبير عن جابر أن رسول الله صلعم قال: عرض علي الأنبياء فإذا
- 2 موسى ضرب من الرجال [sic] كأنه من رجال شنوءة ورأيت عيسى ابن مريم (عليه السلام) فإذا أقرب
- 3 (الناس) من رأيت به شبهة عروة بن مسعود ورأيت إبراهيم فإذا أقرب من رأيت به شبهة صاحبكم يعني
- 4 نفسه ورأيت جبريل فإذا أقرب من رأيت به شبهة دحية.

(Al-)Layth told (informed) us on the authority of Abū l-Zubayr on the authority of Jābir that the messenger of God (s) said,

"The prophets were shown to me. Moses is slender (with wavy hair)<sup>133</sup> as if he is one of the Shanū'a people. I saw Jesus son of Mary (peace upon him). (The person) I know who looks closest to him is 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd. I saw Abraham. [The person] I know who looks closest to him is your companion, by which he meant himself. I saw Gabriel. Who looks closest to him is Dhiya<sup>134</sup>."

The text of Abū Nu'aym's tradition from Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadīr -> Jābir (J-M) is:<sup>135</sup>

- 1 حدثنا عبد الله بن محمد ابن جعفر ثنا اسماعيل بن عبد الله ثنا أبي ثنا الحسين بن حفص ثنا إبراهيم بن أبي
- 2 يحيى عن محمد بن المنكدر عن جابر أن رسول الله صلعم قال: رأيت موسى عليه السلام رجلاً آمناً جداً
- 3 كأنه من رجال شنوءة ورأيت عيسى عليه السلام رجلاً أحمر شبهته بعروة بن مسعود ورأيت إبراهيم
- 4 عليه السلام وهو أشبه الناس بي ورأيت جبريل عليه السلام أشبه الناس بدحية الكلبي.

'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far told us, Ismā'il ibn 'Abd Allāh told us, my father told us, al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥafṣ told us, Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Yaḥyā told us on the authority of

<sup>132</sup> The formulations most traditions agree on are mentioned in the text. The words between brackets indicate an additional formulation in two texts Abū Ya'la, *Musnad Abi Ya'la l-Mawṣilī*, IV, Damascus 1404-1414/1984-1994, 179 (no. 497-(2261)). Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XIV, 123-124 (no. 6232). Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 494 (no. 271-(167)). Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, V, 265 (no. 3729)

<sup>133</sup> Just like the tradition of Ibn 'Asākīr from 'Umar ibn Abī Salama, the words *min al-rijāl* seem to be a transmission error. The original text was perhaps *ḍarb rajūl* (which is also present in Ma'mar's version) which was changed into *min al-rijāl* after a while. See page 171 footnote 127

<sup>134</sup> He is Dhiya bn Khalifa bn Farwa al-Kalbī. According to Ibn Sa'd, he is an early convert. Tradition relate that the Prophet Muhammad sent him with a document to the Byzantine emperor Qayṣar. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhib*, II, 432 (no. 1779). He died around 50/670. Lammens, H., [ & Pellat, Ch. ], "Dhiya (or Dahya b. Khalifa al-Kalbī", *El2*, II, Leiden 1965, 274-275

<sup>135</sup> Abū Nu'aym, *Geschichte Iṣbahāns Nach der Leidener Handschrift (Kitāb dīkr akhbār Iṣbahān)*, II, Leiden 1931-1934, 56

Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadīr on the authority of Jābir that the messenger of God (ḡ) said,

“I saw Moses (peace upon him), a dark-complexioned man with curly hair as if he was one of the Shanū’a people. I saw Jesus (peace upon him), a man with a red skin, who I compared with ‘Urwa ibn Mas‘ūd. I saw Abraham (peace upon him). From all people he resembled me most. I saw Gabriel (peace upon him). From all people Dīḥya l-Kalbī resembled him most.”

#### *Comparison of the traditions from Jābir*

The version of al-Layth from Abū l-Zubayr and Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadīr both relate the tradition from Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh from Muḥammad. Both texts describe the three prophets in the same order. Similar formulations between the texts are *Mūsā (...) ka’annahu min rijāl Shanū’a, wa-ra’aytu ‘Īsā (...) shabahan/shabbahtuhu bi-‘Urwa ibn Mas‘ūd, wa-ra’aytu Ibrāhīm* and *wa-ra’aytu Jibrīl (...) shabahan/ashbaha (...) bi-Dīḥya*.

Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadīr’s version differs, however, considerably from the version of Abū l-Zubayr (J-AZ). Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadīr does not mention *‘uriḍa ‘alayya l-anbiyā’* and he does mention Dīḥya’s *nusba* al-Kalbī, Abū l-Zubayr has *fa-idhā* instead of *ra’aytu*, *ḍarb min al-rijāl* instead of *‘alayhi l-salam rajulan adam ja’dan, ibn Maryam (‘alayhi l-salām) fa-idhā aqrabu (l-nās) man ra’aytu bihi* instead of *rajulan aḥmar, fa-idhā aqrabu man ra’aytu bihi shabahan ṣāḥibukum ya’nī nafsuhu* instead of *‘alayhi l-salām wa-huwa ashbahu l-nās bi, fa-idhā aqrabu man ra’aytu bihi shabahan* instead of *ashbahu l-nās bi*.

The similarities between the traditions in content and in some formulations indicate a common source. That would be Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh according to the information from the *asānīd*. The differences between the versions of al-Layth from Abū l-Zubayr and Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadīr also confirm the information from the *asānīd*, because two different persons, Abū l-Zubayr and Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadīr, transmitted the tradition from Jābir.

#### *Comparison of the traditions of Jābir with versions of Abū Salama and al-Zuhri*

The traditions from Jābir have the following formulations in common with the traditions of Abū Salama and al-Zuhri, *Mūsā ḍarb (...) ka’annahu min rijāl Shanū’a, ‘Īsā (...) ‘Urwa ibn Mas‘ūd* and the name *Ibrāhīm*. Furthermore, the order of the description of the prophets in Jābir’s traditions (Moses – Jesus – Abraham) is the same as in the two-topic traditions of al-

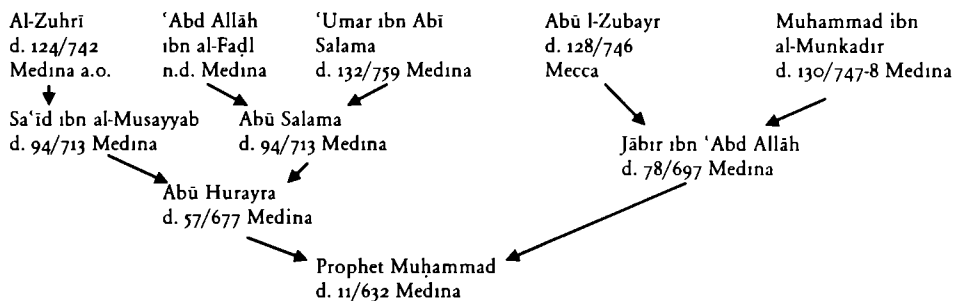
Zuhri in the versions of Ma'mar and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, in the description tradition of al-Zuhri in the version of Yūnus and in the tradition of Abū Salama in the version of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl.

The formulations in the remaining part of both traditions are sometimes similar to the traditions of Abu Salama and sometimes to the ones from al-Zuhri. The tradition from Jābir in the version of al-Layth from Abū l-Zubayr is remarkably more similar to the version of Abū Salama, while the version of Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir is more similar to the traditions of al-Zuhri. The only part that is specific for both traditions from Jābir is the last part in which Gabriel is compared with Diḥya l-Kalbī.

### *Conclusion of the comparison between the traditions of Jābir, Abu Salama and al-Zuhri*

The similarity in content (Moses looks like someone from the Shanū'a, Jesus looks like 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd and Abraham looks like Muḥammad) between the traditions of Jābir, Abū Salama and al-Zuhri indicate that there is a common source. When we look at the transmission chains of the traditions from these three persons, the one person all traditions have in common is the Prophet Muḥammad.

Figure 19: *Isnād* bundle of the description traditions



The question is whether the similarities between the traditions of the common links al-Zuhri, Abū Salama and Jābir indeed derive from the Prophet Muḥammad in the form we possess, or if there is something else going on.

The *isnād* bundle shows that all transmitters lived in the same area, Medina and Mecca. It is even more remarkable that all of them, except the two persons who heard the

tradition from Muḥammad, Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh and Abū Hurayra, are Qurashī.<sup>136</sup> Jābir and Abū Hurayra were both Companions of Muḥammad, but they both came into contact with Muḥammad after the night journey.<sup>137</sup>

If we speculate about the origin of the similarities in the traditions of al-Zuhri, Abū Salama and Jābir, a solution might be the following situation. The tradition from Abū l-Zubayr and Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir from Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh contain an element that the other traditions do not have, i.e. the comparison of Gabriel with Dihya l-Kalbī. So let us assume that their acknowledgement from Jābir is correct.

Furthermore, the description tradition of al-Zuhri and the traditions from Abū Salama’s pupils ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl and ‘Umar ibn Abī Salama are very similar. The common link of their traditions is the early transmitter Abū Hurayra, who is not mentioned in the traditions ascribed to Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh.

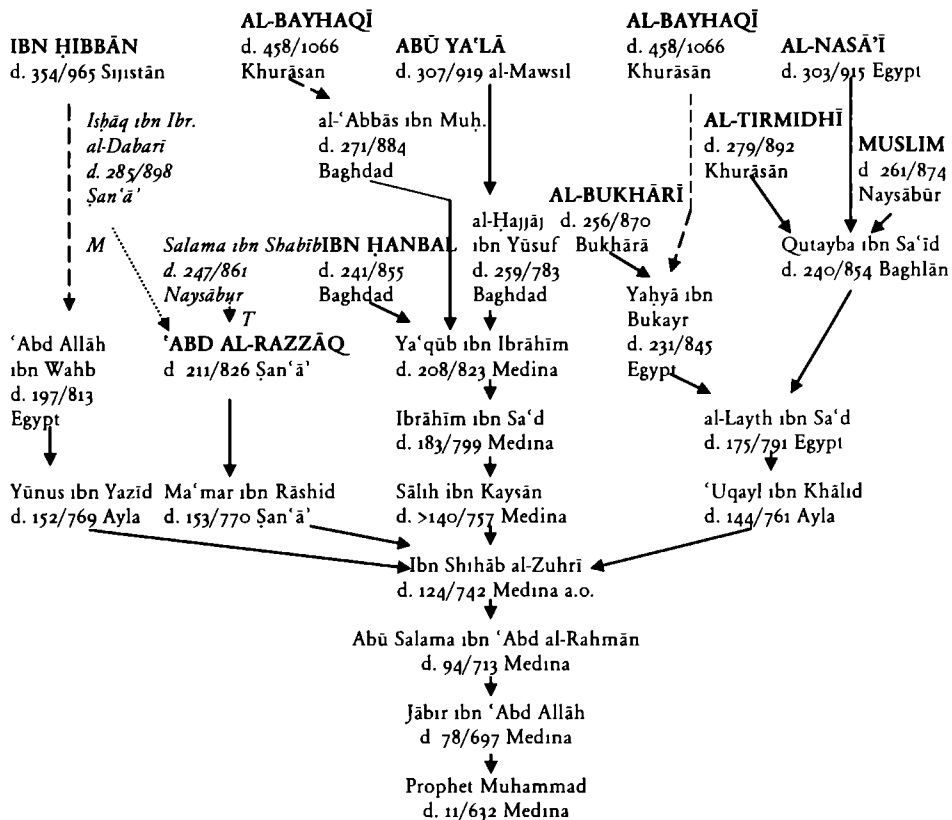
However, there exists a tradition about the night journey from al-Zuhri from Abū Salama -> Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh -> Prophet Muḥammad. Four different students of al-Zuhri handed it down, Ma‘mar ibn Rashid, Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān, ‘Uqayl ibn Khālid and Yūnus ibn Yazid. The *isnād* bundle of the traditions is as follows.

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<sup>136</sup> See al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, III, 198 (no. 2342) (Sa‘id ibn al-Musayyab (...) **al-Qurashī** l-Makhzūmī), IV, 240 (no. 3470) (‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl (...) **al-Qurashī** l-Hāshimī), V, 355 (no. 4836) (‘Umar ibn Abī Salama (...) **al-Qurashī** l-Zuhri), VI, 503 (no. 6193) (Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Tadrus l-Qurashī l-Asadī Abū l-Zubayr), 507 (no. 6197) (Muḥammad ibn Muslim (...) ibn Shihāb (...) **al-Qurashī** l-Zuhri), 527 (no. 6223) (Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir (...) **al-Qurashī** l-Taymī) and VIII, 324 (no. 8004) (Abū Salama ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Awf **al-Qurashī** l-Zuhri).

<sup>137</sup> See, Kister, M.J., “Djābir b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥaram b. Ka‘b b. Ghanm b. Salīma, Abū ‘Abd Allāh (or Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān, or Abū Muḥammad) al-Salamī al-Khazradjī al-Anṣārī”, in *EI2*, Brill Online 2011, <[http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_SIM-8480](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-8480)> (visited 16 June 2011). Robson, J., “Abū Hurayra”, in *EI2*, I, 129.

Figure 20: Isnād bundle of al-Zuhri's tradition on Muḥammad's vision about Jerusalem



The traditions of Yūnus, 'Uqayl and Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān look very much alike. Their text is:<sup>138</sup>

- 1 عن ابن شهاب حدثني ابو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن قال: سمعت جابر بن عبد الله (يقول) يحدث انه سمع
- 2 رسول الله صلعم يقول: لما كذبتني قريش قمت في الحجر<sup>139</sup> فجلى الله لي بيت المقدس فطفت اخبرهم
- 3 عن اياته ولنا انظر اليه.

On the authority of Ibn Shihāb: Abū Salama ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān told me, he said, I heard Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh say that he heard the messenger of God (ﷺ) say,

<sup>138</sup> The text is based on the traditions of Yūnus, 'Uqayl and Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysan. The formulation most traditions agree on is mentioned in the text Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, IV, 70 (no. 326-(2091)). Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 359 and 360. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, 30 (63 *Kitāb manāqib al-Anṣār radiya Allāh 'anhum - 41 Bāb hadīth al-ṣirā' wa qawāl Allāh 'a'ālā subḥān alladhī asrā bi 'abdihī laylan*) Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, III, 461 (no. 15044). Ibn Hībān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 252 (no. 55). Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 509 (no. 276-(170)). Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubra*, VI, 388 (no. 11282/3). Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, IV, 363 (no. 5140)

<sup>139</sup> The version of Ṣāliḥ is *lammā kadhdhabatnī Quraysh ḥīna usriya bi ilā bayt al maqdis qumtu fī l-hijr*.

“When Quraysh called me a liar, I stood in the *ḥijr*. God revealed Jerusalem to me and I set about telling them its distinctive features, while I was looking at it.”<sup>140</sup>

Ma‘mar’s tradition deviates from the versions of al-Zuhri’s other students.<sup>141</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq preserved two slightly deviating traditions in his *Muṣannaf* and his *Tafsīr*.<sup>142</sup> Their text is:

1 حدثنا عبد الرزاق قال: عن الزهري عن أبي سلمة (بن عبد الرحمن قال: سمعت (عن) جابر بن عبد الله  
2 يقول (قال): قال رسول الله (النبي) صلعم: قمت في الحجر حين كذبني قومي (ليلة أسري بي) حتى (ف-)  
3 جعلت أنعت لهم آياته.

‘Abd al-Razzāq told us on the authority of/al-Zuhri said on the authority of Abū Salama (ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, he said,) I heard (on the authority of) Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh say, the messenger of God (Prophet) (s) said,

“I stood in the *ḥijr*, when my tribe called me a liar (on the night I was transported), until I began to describe to them its distinctive features.”

This tradition of al-Zuhri (ZJ) bears some resemblance to the beginning of the tradition of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl from Abū Salama -> Abū Hurayra (AS/AH). For example, the words *fī l-ḥijr* and *anḡuru ilayhi* appear in both traditions, while ZJ mentions *fa-rufi‘a lī* (version Ma‘mar) and AS/AH *fa-rafa‘ahu Allāh lī*. Another similarity is Quraysh asking Muḥammad about Jerusalem.

It is therefore possible that parts of the description tradition of al-Zuhri that he ascribed to Sa‘id ibn al-Musayyab were originally from Abū Salama, perhaps specifically the comparison of Jesus with ‘Urwa ibn Mas‘ūd. Furthermore, it is possible that al-Zuhri heard two similar stories on the night journey and the description of the prophets from Sa‘id ibn al-Musayyab and Abū Salama, mixed them or parts of them with each other, and only mentioned one transmission line (Sa‘id ibn al-Musayyab from Abū Hurayra).

Another option is of course that al-Zuhri had heard the tradition from Abū Salama, but ascribed it to Sa‘id ibn al-Musayyab. However, the tradition of al-Zuhri contains elements that the traditions of Abū Salama (in the versions of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl and ‘Umar ibn Abī Salama) and Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh (in the versions of Abū l-Zubayr and

<sup>140</sup> The translation of the *matn* is (partly) from Trevor le Gassick. See Ibn Kathīr, *A translation of al-Sira al nabawiyya*, II, 72.

<sup>141</sup> It seems that we found another tradition of which several students (in this case Yūnus, ‘Uqayl and Ṣalīḥ) transmit al-Zuhri’s edited tradition, while Ma‘mar’s tradition probably predates the editing.

<sup>142</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 329 and *Tafsīr*, I, 317 (no. 1531) and 324 (no. 1584).

Muhammad ibn al-Munkadir) do not have, like the information that the head of Jesus was dripping with water as if he had just had a bath. A mixture of two versions seems therefore more plausible.

If we continue the speculation that the versions of Muhammad ibn al-Munkadir and Abu l-Zubayr indeed derive from Jabir, and (parts of) the tradition of al-Zuhri from Abu Salama, we still have to decide whether the tradition is from Jabir directly from a report of Muhammad, or through Abu Hurayra.

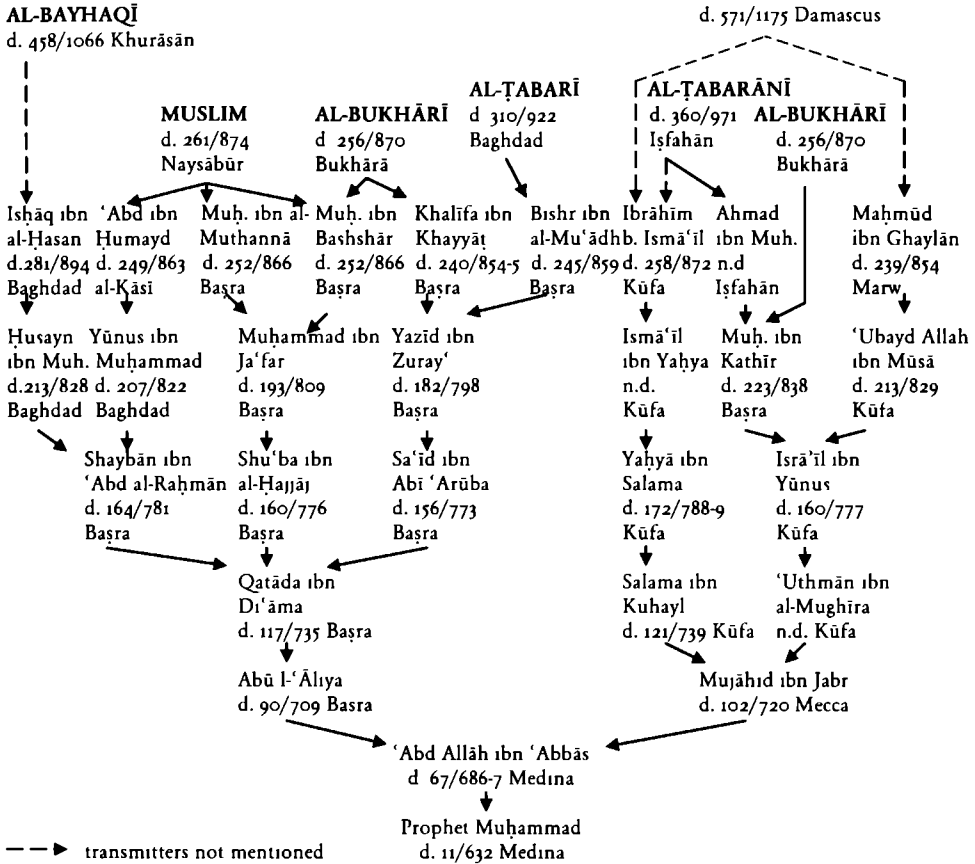
The description tradition of al-Zuhri (in the version of Ma‘mar) and the tradition from Abū Salama (in the versions of ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Fadl and ‘Umar ibn Abi Salama) both mention Abu Hurayra as the informant from Muhammad. In our speculation, either Jabir ibn ‘Abd Allah or – especially if Jabir also heard a similar tradition from Abu Hurayra – Abu Hurayra could be the source of the similar parts in the traditions of al-Zuhri, ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Fadl, ‘Umar ibn Abi Salama, Abū l-Zubayr and Muhammad ibn al-Munkadir.

Unfortunately, although this seems to be a plausible explanation of the similarities, there is no definite proof. It is however certain, that at the end of the first Islamic century, probably in the last quarter of the century or at the end of the third quarter, there circulated a story among the Quraysh of Medina and Mecca in which Muhammad described the three prophets whom he met during his night journey. In this story, he said that Moses looked like a man of the Shanu’a, Jesus like ‘Urwa ibn Mas‘ud and Muhammad himself looked like (a son of) Abraham. The Quraysh mentioned Companions who did not belong to their tribe (Abu Hurayra and Jābir) as the source of their story.

#### *Traditions from Ibn ‘Abbas*

The next group of traditions are ascribed to Ibn ‘Abbas. One part is from Qatada -> Abu l-‘Āliya and the other from Mujahid ibn Jabr. Their *asanid* look as follows in a bundle.

Figure 2: Isnad bundle of Ibn 'Abbās' description tradition



The text of the tradition from Qatāda from Abū l-'Āliya → Ibn 'Abbās is:<sup>143</sup>

- 1 عن قتادة عن أبي العالية قال: حدثنا ابن عم نبيكم يعني ابن عباس قال: قال نبي رسول الله صلعم: رأيت
- 2 ليلة اسري بي<sup>144</sup> موسى (بن عمران) رجلا اثم طويلا جعدا كأنه من رجال شنوءة ورأيت عيسى (بن مريم) (رجلا) مربوع الخلق الى الحمرة والبياض سبط الراس<sup>145</sup> ورأيت واري مائكا خازن النار
- 4 (اجهنم) 4 والدجال في اباب اراهن الله اياه فلا تكن في مرية من لقائه.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>143</sup> The text is based on the traditions mentioned in the *isnād*. Formulations most traditions agree on are mentioned in the text. Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 386. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 313-314 (59 *Kitāb bad' al-khalq* – 7 *Bāb idhā qāla ahadukum āmin wa l mala'ika fi l samā' āmin fa-wāfaquat idhāhumā l-ukhrā ghufira lahu mā taqaddama min dhanbīhi*). Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 492 (no. 266-(165) and no. 267). Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XXI, 112

<sup>144</sup> Variant formulations in Muslim's traditions are *hīna usriya bihi fa-qala* and *marartu layla usriya bi 'alā*.

<sup>145</sup> Muslim's tradition from Shu'ba stops at this place, but he remarks that "he mentioned Mālik, the guardian of the hell and he mentioned the Antichrist" (*wa-dhakara Mālikan khāzin jahannam wa dhakara l-dajjal*)

<sup>146</sup> Four of the five traditions continue with a remark from a later transmitter.



On the authority of Qatāda on the authority of Abū l-‘Āliya, he said, the son of the uncle of your Prophet, i.e. Ibn ‘Abbās, told us, he said, the Prophet/messenger of God (ﷺ) said,

“On the night of my night journey I saw Moses (ibn ‘Imrān), a dark-complexioned, very tall man with curly hair as if he was one of the Shanū’a people. I saw Jesus (son of Mary), [he was] (a man) of medium height [with a skin between] red and white and with lank hair [literally: head]. I saw/was shown Mālik, the guardian of Hell and the Antichrist - in signs which God showed him [the Prophet], hence do not doubt his meeting with it [the book God gave Moses]!”<sup>147</sup>

The text of the traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘il -> Ismā‘il ibn Yahyā -> Yahyā ibn Salama -> Salama ibn Kuhayl -> Mujāhid -> Ibn ‘Abbās is:<sup>148</sup>

- 1 حدثنا سلمة حدثني أبي عن أبيه عن جده [عن] سلمة بن كهيل عن مجاهد عن ابن عباس عن النبي
- 2 صلعم قال: ليلة اسري بي رأيت إبراهيم وهو يشبهني ورأيت موسى طوال جعد (جعداً أدم طويلاً) كأنه
- 3 من رجال شنوءة ورأيت عيسى (رجلاً) أحمر ربعة سبط (سبطاً) كان رأسه يقطر الدهن (دهن).

Salama told us, my father told me on the authority of his father on the authority of his grandfather [on the authority of] Salama ibn Kuhayl on the authority of Mujāhid on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās on the authority of the Prophet (ﷺ), he said,

“On the night I made the night journey, I saw Abraham and he looked like me. I saw Moses, [he was] very tall with curly hair (with curly hair, dark-complexioned, tall) as if he was one of the Shanū’a people. I saw Jesus, [he was] [(a man) with a red skin of medium height with lank [hair] as if his head was dripping with oil.”

<sup>147</sup> This last part seems to be an addition of one transmitter to his student, because there is a shift in the narrator. Someone relates about Muḥammad (-hu) in this part instead of Muḥammad relating the story. It is also possible that *yyāhu* is a transcription error for *yyāya*. The part from *fa-lā* until *liqa’ihī* is from Q 32:23. It follows after “And We gave Moses the book” (*wa-laqaḍ ataynā Mūsā l-kitāb*).

<sup>148</sup> Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh*, XLVII, 364-365. Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu’jam al-kabīr*, XI, 61 (no. 11086). The text is from the tradition of al-Ṭabarānī. The words between brackets are deviating formulations from the tradition of Ibn ‘Asākir.

<sup>149</sup> The text of al-Ṭabarānī’s tradition is “on the authority of his grandfather Salama ibn Kuhayl” (*‘an jaddihī Salama ibn Kuhayl*). The text should be *‘an jaddihī ‘an Salama ibn Kuhayl*, because Salama is the great-great-grandson of Salama ibn Kuhayl. The tradition that al-Ṭabarānī mentions in his *Mu’jam kabīr* before this tradition has the correct information: *ḥaddathanā Salama ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘il ibn Yahyā ibn Salama ibn Kuhayl ḥaddathanī abī ‘an abihī ‘an jaddihī ‘an Salama ibn Kuhayl*.

The text of the traditions from Isrā'il ibn Yūnus -> 'Uthmān ibn al-Mughīra -> Mujāhid -> Ibn 'Abbās is:<sup>150</sup>

- 1 حدثنا اسرائيل عن عثمان بن المغيرة عن مجاهد عن ابن عباس<sup>151</sup> قال قال رسول الله صلعم: رأيت
- 2 عيسى وموسى وإبراهيم (عليهم السلام) فإما عيسى فأحمر جعد عريض الصدر<sup>152</sup> وأما موسى فآدم
- 3 جسيم سبط كأنه من رجال الزط<sup>153</sup> فقالوا له: إبراهيم قال: انظروا إلى صاحبكم.

Isrā'il told us on the authority of 'Uthmān ibn al-Mughīra on the authority of Mujāhid on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, he said, the messenger of God (ﷺ) said,

"I saw Jesus, Moses and Abraham. Jesus is [a man] with a red skin with curly hair and a broad chest. Moses is dark-complexioned, big with lank [hair] as if he is one of the Zutt people. They [Muḥammad's audience] said to him: [And] Abraham? He [the Prophet] said, 'Look at your companion!'"

### *Comparison of the traditions from Ibn 'Abbās*

The *mutūn* of these three traditions ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās do not bear many resemblances. The only words they have in common are *ādam*, *aḥmar* (in the version of Qatāda *ḥumra*), *ka'annahu min rijāl*, *ja'd(an)* and *sibt*. However, the last two words in the version of Isrā'il ibn Yūnus from 'Uthmān ibn al-Mughīra are connected with another person (Jesus *ja'd* instead of Moses) (Moses *sibt* instead of Jesus), while Moses is compared with someone from the Zutt instead of the Shanū'a. The versions of Qatāda and Salama ibn Kuhayl have furthermore the words *layla usriya bī*, *ṭuwāl* and *marbū'/rab'a* in common.

The differences between the three version ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās are rather large. They each have a different order in which they describe the prophets. Peculiarities of the version from Qatāda are: Abraham is not mentioned in the tradition; Jesus is described as (*marbū'*) *al-khalq ilā l-ḥumra wa-l-bayād* and the additional sentence *wa-ra'aytu Mālīkan khāḡin al-nār wa-l-dajjāl fī ayāt arāhunna Allāh ʿyyāhu* at the end of the tradition. Peculiarities

<sup>150</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Sahih*, II, 368 (60 *Kitāb al anbiyā'* – 48 *Bāb qawḍ Allāh ta'ala wa udbkur fī l kitāb Maryam ʿidh ʿintabadhat* [...] '*an al-barā'* sariyyan nahr ṣaghīr bi l suryāniyya). Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh*, XLVII, 365. Al-Ṭabarānī, *al Mu'jam al kabīr*, XI, 54 (no. 11057) The text of Isrā'il is based on the three tradition of al-Ṭabarānī. Ibn 'Asākir does not mention the words in bold.

<sup>151</sup> The tradition of al-Bukhārī mentions Ibn 'Umar instead of Ibn 'Abbās, but that is probably a transmission error, because the tradition is similar to the version of al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn 'Asākir who mention Ibn 'Abbās.

<sup>152</sup> The tradition of Ibn 'Asākir ends at this point.

<sup>153</sup> The tradition of al-Bukhārī ends at this point.

of the version of Salama ibn Kuhayl are: Abraham is described as *wa-huwa yushbihunī* and Jesus as *ka'anna ra'sahu yaqturu (al-)duhn*. The version of 'Uthman ibn al-Mughīra mentions *ra'aytu 'Isā wa-Musa wa-Ibrāhīm 'alayhim al-salam*. It describes Jesus as *'arīd al-sadr*, Moses as *jasīm (...)* (*ka'annahu min rijāl*) *al-Zuḥṭ* and Abraham as looking like Muḥammad (*unḡurū ilā šāḥibikum*).

Because there are few similarities and some distinctive differences between the traditions, it is impossible to conclude based on the comparison of the *mutūn* of these three traditions that they indeed derive from a common source. Comparison with the versions of Jābir, Abū Salama and al-Zuhri can perhaps help to decide what the origin of the traditions ascribed to Ibn 'Abbas is.

#### *Comparison of the traditions of Ibn 'Abbas with the versions of Jābir, Abū Salama and al-Zuhri*

The only formulation that all traditions ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās, Jābir, Abū Salama and al-Zuhri have in common is the sentence *Mūsā (...)* *ka'annahu min rijāl Shanū'a* (only the version of Isrā'īl ibn Yunus from Ibn 'Abbās mentions *rijāl al-Zuḥṭ*). No traditions from Ibn 'Abbās compare Jesus with 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd, which is absent in al-Zuhri's two-topic traditions as well.

Each version of Ibn 'Abbas has several words in common with one or more of the previous discussed traditions from al-Zuhri, Abū Salama and Jābir. For example, the words *ādam*, *tuwāl* and *ja'd* to describe Moses (Qatāda and Salama ibn Kuhayl) are also present in the description traditions of al-Zuhri, in the tradition of Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadīr from Jābir (*rajulan ādam ja'dan*) and in the traditions of Abū Salama (*rajul ja'd*). The word *ahmar* (Salama ibn Kuhayl and 'Uthmān ibn al-Mughīra) or the variant *al-ḥumra* (Qatāda) is similar to al-Zuhri's two-topic and description traditions (*aḥmar*) and the tradition of Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadīr from Jābir (*aḥmar*). We found the word *sibt*, which is present in all versions of Ibn 'Abbās, in the description traditions of al-Zuhri.

The expression "it was as if his head was dripping with oil" (*ka'anna ra'sahu yaqturu (al-)duhn*) in the version of Salama ibn Kuhayl looks like the sentence on Jesus from the two-topic tradition of al-Zuhri "as if he had just had a bath" (*ka'annama kharaja min dīmas*). Furthermore, the expressions in the description of Abraham "and he looked like me" (*wa-huwa yushbihunī*) and "look at your companion" (*unḡurū ilā šāḥibikum*) are similar to several other formulations *wa-ana ashbahu wuld/banī Ibrāhīm/wuldihi bihi* (al-Zuhri two-topic traditions), *fa-lam ara rajulan ashbaha bi-šāḥibikum minhu* (al-Zuhri description traditions),

*ashbahu l-nās bihi ṣāhibukum* (Abū Salama version 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl), *aqrabu l-nās bihi shabahan ṣāhibukum* (Abū Salama version 'Umar ibn Abī Salama), *aqrabu man ra'aytu bihi shabahan ṣāhibukum* (Jābir version Abū l-Zubayr) and *wa-huwa ashbahu l-nās bi* (Jābir version Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadīr).

The version of 'Uthman ibn al-Mughīra contains several formulations that the other two versions from Ibn 'Abbās do not mention, which are present in several versions. The enumeration of the names of the three prophets at the beginning of the tradition *ra'aytu 'Isā wa-Musa wa-Ibrāhīm* is similar (although not identical) to the two-topic tradition in the version of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and the description tradition in the version of Yūnus, Ma'mar and Ibn Ishāq. The word *ādam* is present in al-Zuhri's description tradition, the two-topic tradition in the version of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and Jābir's tradition in the version of Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadīr. Finally, the word *ṣāhibikum* is identical to al-Zuhri's description traditions in the versions of Ma'mar and Ibn Ishāq.

However, the two sentences (*marbū'*) *al-khalq ilā (al-ḥumra) wa-l-bayād* and (*Mālikan*) *khāzin (al-nār) wa-l-dajjāl fī āyāt arāhunna Allāh iyyāhu* (Qatāda)<sup>154</sup> and the words (*al-duhn*) (Salama ibn Kuhayl), *'arīḍ al-ṣadr, jasīm, al-Zuṭṭ* and *unḡurū ilā* ('Uthmān ibn al-Mughīra) have no equivalents in the traditions of al-Zuhri, Abū Salama, Jābir (and even the other two versions of Ibn 'Abbās).

The versions of Qatāda and Salama ibn Kuhayl, which are both ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās, bear resemblance to how al-Zuhri, Abū Salama and Jābir described the three prophets Abraham, Moses and Jesus. Especially, the versions from Qatāda and Mujāhid look most like to the traditions of al-Zuhri. The most deviating tradition with respect to content and formulation is the version of Isrā'il ibn Yūnus from 'Uthmān ibn al-Mughīra.

#### *Conclusion of the comparison between the traditions of Ibn 'Abbās, Jābir, Abū Salama and al-Zuhri*

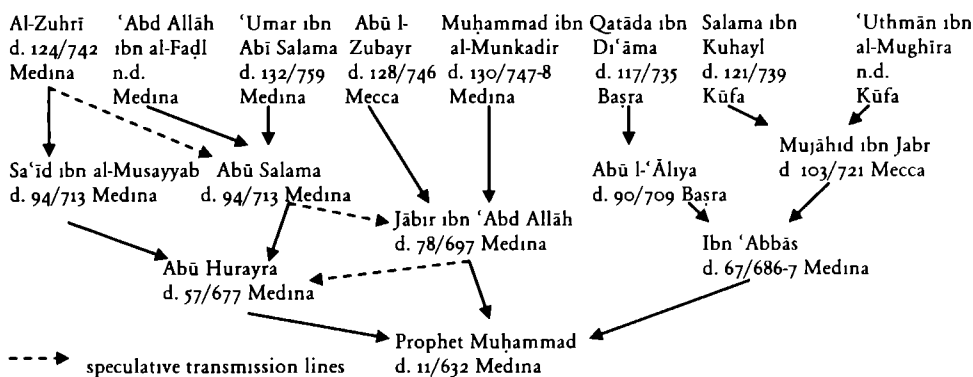
The topic of the traditions from Qatāda ibn Dī'āma -> Abū 'Āliya, Salama ibn Kuhayl -> Mujāhid ibn Jabr and Isrā'il ibn Yūnus -> 'Uthmān ibn al-Mughīra -> Mujāhid ibn Jabr that they received according to the *asānīd* from Ibn 'Abbās is the same as the (description) traditions from al-Zuhri, Abū Salama and Jābir. Although several formulations in the traditions ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās are similar to the versions of the other three transmitters,

<sup>154</sup> The words between brackets are similar to a tradition of al-Zuhri (two-topic version Ma'mar *rab'a*) and Abū Salama (version 'Abd al-'Azīz *Mālik (sāhib) al nār*).

their traditions, i.e. from al-Zuhri, Abū Salama and Jābir, correspond much more to each other.

The similarities with the traditions from al-Zuhri, Abū Salama and Jābir indicate a common source. If we look at the transmitters in the last part of the *asānīd*, they only have the Prophet Muḥammad in common (see bundle below). There seems to be a certain degree of interdependency between the versions of al-Zuhri, Abū Salama, Jābir and Ibn ‘Abbās. The common formulations derive either from the Prophet Muḥammad or another - not in the *asānīd* appearing - source.

Figure 22: *Isnād* bundle of the description traditions from al-Zuhri and his contemporaries



If we look at the biographical information on the transmitters in the last part of the *asānīd*, there appears some interesting information. Qatāda ibn Dī'āma, Mujāhid ibn Jabr and Abū l-'Āliya had connections with the Quraysh and other Muslims from Medina and Mecca. According to al-Mizzī, Qatāda ibn Dī'āma, for example, transmitted also from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab.<sup>155</sup> Mujāhid ibn Jabr was a *mawla* of a Quraysh family.<sup>156</sup> Abū l-'Āliya went after Muḥammad's death to see Abū Bakr and he prayed behind 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.<sup>157</sup> Ibn 'Abbās, a nephew of Muḥammad, was of course also a Qurashī.<sup>158</sup>

These biographical data combined with the similarity in formulation of the *mutūn* sustain the previous conclusion that there probably circulated a story – but more likely several similar stories – on Muḥammad's night journey and his meeting with Abraham, Moses and Jesus in Medina and Mecca.

<sup>155</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 99 (no. 5437).

<sup>156</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 37 (no. 6375) (Mujāhid ibn Jabr (...) **al-Qurashī** l-Makhzūmī).

<sup>157</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, II, 488 (no. 1907).

<sup>158</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 176-177 (no. 3345) ('Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib **al-Qurashī** l-Hāshimī).

It is not possible to determine what the exact origin of each tradition is. The similarity in content and formulation seems to indicate a common source or an interdependency of the different versions. The information from the *asānīd* of all the different versions from al-Zuhri, Jābir, Abū Salama, Qatāda and Mujāhid can therefore not be correct for the whole tradition. We cannot exclude however, that al-Zuhri and his contemporaries indeed received a – or part of a – version of the night journey from the informant mentioned in the *isnād*. The partial correspondence of each tradition to different formulations from different traditions suggests that they probably knew several versions and combined them into one story. It is possible that they had transmitted several versions on the same subject, but only one survived or prevailed over the other versions. An indication for this situation is the two different versions of al-Zuhri on Muḥammad's description of the three prophets.

The tradition of Qatāda may be also a mixture of different accounts. The first part of his tradition (12-4) has many similarities with al-Zuhri's traditions, while the last part (14-5) is peculiar for Qatāda's version. It is possible that Qatāda heard the deviating sentence "*Mālikan khāṣṣin al-nār wa-l-dajjāl fī āyāt arāhunna Allāh iyyahu*" from Abū l-'Āliya, because only the words *Mālik* and *al-nār* appear in one other tradition about the night journey (the tradition of Abū Salama from Abū Hurayra in the version of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl). Furthermore, the remarkable formulation *ibn 'amm nabīyyikum* and Qatāda's explanation *ya'nī Ibn 'Abbās* seem to indicate a genuine transmission from Abū l-'Āliya to Qatāda, although it does not have to be valid for the complete *matn*. If Qatāda had invented the tradition and distributed it in the name of Abū l-'Āliya from Ibn 'Abbās, it would have been much more obvious to call Ibn 'Abbās by his real name instead of the remarkable description "the nephew of your Prophet".<sup>159</sup>

The similarity of Qatāda's tradition to the ones from al-Zuhri indicates a common source between them. Al-Zuhri's reference to Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab might possibly be true, because al-Zuhri and Qatāda both transmit from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab according to the biographical information from al-Mizzī. Furthermore, it is possible that Qatāda heard a version from Sa'id as well as Abū l-'Āliya, but only mentioned the latter in his *isnād*. One

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<sup>159</sup> I checked *al-Mu'jam* CD-ROM on other *asānīd* with the same description. I found two other traditions with the description *ibn 'amm nabīyyikum* for Ibn 'Abbās. Both traditions were from the same transmitters as the above-mentioned tradition, i.e. Qatāda → Abū l-'Āliya → Ibn 'Abbās. Did Abū l-'Āliya only use the description in the presence of Qatāda or did other pupils substitute it for the name Ibn 'Abbās, or is there perhaps another explanation? See for example Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, 334 (no. 2301+2302) and 444 (no. 3178).

other option is that Sa'id and Abū l-'Āliya received a similar story from the same source, which they already, or perhaps their students al-Zuhri and Qatāda mixed with other versions

A remarkable feature of the three groups of traditions ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās is that they do not compare Jesus with 'Urwa ibn Mas'ud. The two-topic tradition of al-Zuhri lacked this comparison also. Another common feature of the Ibn 'Abbās traditions is that mainly Iraqi scholars transmitted them instead of Medinan scholars (except for Ibn 'Abbās). Does this mean that the 'Urwa ibn Mas'ud element originates from Medina?

Besides these two common features, the traditions ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās do not contain any formulation that is specific for these traditions only. It is therefore not possible to confirm the information from the *asānīd*, namely that they indeed derive from their common link Ibn 'Abbās. In fact, the traditions have some specific formulations in common with the traditions from al-Zuhri particularly. This indicates an interdependency between the Iraqi traditions and the ones from al-Zuhri.

#### *Traditions from Anas ibn Malik*

There exist some traditions about the choice Muhammad has to make between several drinks that are offered to him. The description of this event is, however, part of several longer traditions connected to Muḥammad's ascension to heaven. One of these traditions is the story from Anas ibn Mālīk on Muḥammad's night journey and his ascension to heaven. Several students transmitted his tradition according to the *asānīd*. (Appendix 4 displays the *isnād* bundle)

The two largest groups of traditions are from Thābit al-Bunānī and Qatāda ibn Dī'āma. Two students transmitted the traditions from Thābit, Ḥammād ibn Salama (A2-A6) and Sulaymān ibn al-Mughīra (A7). The tradition of Ḥammād ibn Salama -> Thābit -> Anas describes the following story.<sup>160</sup>

The riding-animal al-Buraq is brought to Muḥammad. He mounts it and rides to Jerusalem. Muḥammad enters the mosque and performs two bowings. Gabriel

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<sup>160</sup> Abū Ya'la, *Musnad*, VI, 216-219 (no. 744-3499) Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Musannaf*, VII, 333-334 (no. 36570) Ibn 'Asākir, *Tanbih*, III, 495-497 (no. 788) Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, III, 182-183 (no. 12513) Muslim, *Sahih*, I, 486-488 (no. 259-162))

brings him a vessel with wine and a vessel with milk.<sup>161</sup> Muḥammad chooses the milk. Gabriel says that he chose the right conduct.

The story continues with the description of Muḥammad's ascension to heaven, where he meets Adam in the first heaven, John and Jesus in the second, Joseph in the third, Idrīs in the fourth, Aaron in the fifth, Moses in the sixth and Abraham in the seventh heaven. Muḥammad sees *al-Bayt al-ma'mūr*<sup>162</sup>, where 70.000 angels enter each day. Then Muḥammad goes to the *sidrat al-muntahā* (the lote-tree on the boundary)<sup>163</sup>.

At the end of the tradition, Muḥammad receives the order for him and his followers to pray fifty times a day. Moses advises him to ask for a reduction, until finally the number of prayers is reduced to five per day.

The tradition of Thābit according to Sulaymān ibn al-Mughīra begins differently.<sup>164</sup> The part on the travel with al-Burāq to Jerusalem and Muḥammad's choice between drinks is not mentioned, but the story begins with Muḥammad in his house, when somebody comes and brings him to Zemzem. His breast is opened and washed with water from Zemzem. A golden tray of belief comes down and fills his breast. The story then continues with the ascension to heaven and is similar until the end to the version of Ḥammād from Thābit.

The data collection of Qatāda ibn Di'āma's version contains seven long and two short stories of five different students: two long stories from Yaḥyā ibn Sa'id -> Hishām al-Dastuwā'i -> Qatāda -> Anas -> Mālik ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a -> Prophet Muḥammad (A8-9)<sup>165</sup>, two long stories from Hammām ibn Yaḥyā -> Qatāda -> Anas -> Mālik ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a -> Prophet Muḥammad (A10-11)<sup>166</sup>, one medium-length and two long stories from Sa'id ibn Abī 'Arūba

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<sup>161</sup> Al-Bayhaqī mentions a tradition from Ḥajjāj ibn Minhāl -> Ḥammād -> Thābit -> Anas, which has *bi inā' min laban wa-inā' min khamr*. Ḥammād's pupil Ḥajjāj ibn al-Minhāl (d. 216/831 Baṣra) or one of the later transmitters is probably responsible for the inversion of the words *laban* and *khamr*. See al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 382-384.

<sup>162</sup> *Al-bayt al ma'mūr* is a building in heaven over or corresponding to the Ka'ba. Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 2156.

<sup>163</sup> See also page 114 footnote 6.

<sup>164</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh*, III, 493-495.

<sup>165</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 245-255 (no. 17851). Al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan al Nasā'ī bi-sharḥ al ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, I, Beirut, [appr. 1986], 217-221.

<sup>166</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, 30-32 (63 *Kitāb al-manāqib* – 42 *Bāb al-mi'rāj*). Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 255-256 (no. 17853). Al-Bayhaqī mentions al-Bukhārī's version in his *Dalā'il*, I, 377-378.



-> Qatāda -> Anas -> Mālik ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a -> Prophet Muḥammad (A12-14)<sup>167</sup>, one short story from Yūnus ibn Muḥammad -> Shayban ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān -> Qatāda -> Anas -> Mālik ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a -> Prophet Muḥammad (A15)<sup>168</sup> and one short story from Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭahmān -> Shu'ba ibn al-Ḥajjāj -> Qatāda -> Anas -> Mālik ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a -> Prophet Muḥammad (A16)<sup>169</sup>.

The story of Qatāda deviates at some points from the two versions of Thābit. Qatāda starts with the opening of the chest, as does Thābit in the version of Sulaymān. Then al-Burāq was brought to Muḥammad. Together with Gabriel he went to the lowest heaven. The number of heavens and the persons he met there are the same as in the story of Thābit. Qatāda adds the story that Moses wept in the sixth heaven when he saw Muḥammad, because his followers would enter Paradise in greater numbers than his own followers would.

The story continues with the description of the lote-tree and four rivers. After *al-Bayt al-ma'mūr* was shown to Muḥammad, he was brought vessels with different drinks. The two traditions of Hishām al-Dastuwā'i do not mention this part. According to the versions of Hammām ibn Yaḥyā and Shu'ba, Muḥammad was brought three vessels with wine, milk and honey. However, the versions of Sa'id ibn Abī 'Arūba and Shaybān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān only mention two vessels with wine and milk. The long story of Qatada ends with the reduction of the number of prayers from fifty to five per day.

Tradition A1 from 'Amr ibn Hishām -> Makhlad ibn Yazīd -> Sa'id ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz -> Yazīd ibn Abī Mālik -> Anas -> Prophet Muḥammad does not mention the part on the choice between the drinks.<sup>170</sup> The tradition of Yazīd starts with the travel on al-Buraq to Jerusalem. During the travel, however, Muḥammad prays in several cities. The ascension to heaven is similar to the versions of Thābit and Qatāda, although Aaron is located in the fourth heaven and Idrīs in the fifth. The tradition ends with the mentioning of the lote-tree and the reduction of the number of prayers from fifty to five per day.

<sup>167</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, III, 483-486 (no. 783). Ibn Khuzayma, *Saḥīḥ Ibn Khuzayma*, I, Beirut, [1390]-1399/[1970]-1979, 153-155 (no. 301). Muslim, *Saḥīḥ*, I, 490-492 (no. 264-(164)). I did find afterwards a tradition from 'Abd al-Waḥhāb ibn 'Aṭā' al-Khaḥfāf (d. 204/820 Basra/Baghdad), another student of Sa'id ibn Abī 'Arūba, in al-Bayhaqī's *Dalā'il* without significant differences from the above-mentioned traditions. See *Dalā'il*, I, 383-377

<sup>168</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 255 (no. 17852)

<sup>169</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, IV, 33-34 (74 *Kitāb al-ashriba* – 12 *Bab shurb al-laban wa-qawl Allāh ta'ālā min bayna farth wa-dam labanan khāliṣan sā'ighan li-l-shāribīna*).

<sup>170</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, I, 221-223.

Tradition A17 from 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Ṣuhayb does not mention the part on the choice between drinks either.<sup>171</sup> The tradition starts directly with Muḥammad's ascension to heaven together with Gabriel and ends with the reduction of the number of prayers from fifty to five per day.

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Bilāl and Sulaymān ibn Bilāl transmitted the two traditions A18 and A19 from Sharik ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Namir -> Anas.<sup>172</sup> Both accounts do not mention the part on the choice between drinks. The traditions start with the opening of the breast and continue with a summarized version of Muḥammad's ascension to heaven and his meeting with several persons in the heavens. After mentioning the lote-tree, the traditions end with the reduction of the number of prayers from fifty to five per day.

The last three (medium-length) traditions A20, A21 and A22 are from 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb -> Ya'qūb ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zuhrī -> his father ['Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad] -> 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Hāshim ibn 'Utba ibn Abī Waqqāṣ -> Anas.<sup>173</sup> In these traditions, Gabriel comes with al-Burāq to Muḥammad. During their journey, they meet two persons at the side of the road, but Gabriel tells Muḥammad to continue. When they meet some persons who greet them, Gabriel tells Muḥammad to return their greetings. After their arrival in Jerusalem, Muḥammad is offered water, milk and wine. He chooses the milk. Gabriel tells him that had he chosen the water, he and his followers would have drowned. Had he chosen the wine, he and his followers would have deviated from the original way. The tradition ends with Gabriel explaining whom they had met during their journey.

#### *Comparison of the traditions from Anas ibn Mālīk*

Thabit al-Bunānī in the version of Ḥammād ibn Salama, Qatāda in the versions of Hammām ibn Yaḥyā, Sa'id ibn Abī 'Arūba, Shaybān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Shu'ba ibn al-Ḥajjāj, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Hāshim ibn 'Utba ibn Abī Waqqāṣ all mention the part on Muḥammad's choice between some drinks as part of a long tradition from Anas on the night journey and the ascension to heaven.

However, in the traditions of Thābit in the version of Sulaymān ibn al-Mughīra, Qatāda in the version of Hishām al-Dastuwā'i, Yazīd ibn Abī Mālīk, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Ṣuhayb and Sharik ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Namir this part is not mentioned. Did Anas ibn

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<sup>171</sup> Ibn 'Asākīr, *Tārīkh*, III, 502-504.

<sup>172</sup> Ibn 'Asākīr, *Tārīkh*, III, 498-499 (no. 789) and 500-501.

<sup>173</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 361-362. Ibn 'Asākīr, *Tārīkh*, III, 501-502. Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XV, 6.

Mālīk sometimes relate the tradition with the part on the choice and sometimes without it or is there perhaps another explanation?

If we look at the content of the traditions that mention the part on the choice, Thābit in the version of Ḥammād, and ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Hashīm ibn ‘Utba ibn Abī Waqqāṣ both mention that the choice takes place in Jerusalem after a journey on al-Burāq. Only in the version of Qatāda, the choice seems to take place during the ascension to heaven. This is probably a mistake or a change made by Qatāda, because two other students of Anas ibn Malīk connect the choice of drinks with the night journey.<sup>174</sup>

Yazīd ibn Abī Mālīk is the only student who mentions a journey on al-Burāq to Jerusalem without the choice. The tradition of Thābit in the version of Sulaymān ibn al-Mughīra, as well as the traditions of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Ṣuhayb and Sharīk ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Namīr do not mention any journey on al-Burāq. The reason that the part on the choice between drinks does not appear in these traditions might be that they only relate the ascension to heaven and not the night journey (on al-Burāq) to Jerusalem. Therefore, it seems plausible that Anas ibn Malīk mentioned the part on the choice only in connection with Muhammad’s night journey.

The number and the kind of drinks vary also in the different versions. Thābit in the version of Ḥammād mentions two vessels with wine and milk, as does Qatāda in the versions of Sa‘īd and Shaybān. However, Qatāda in the versions of Hammam and Shu‘ba tells about three vessels of wine, milk and honey, while the version of ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Hāshīm mentions water instead of honey as the third kind of drink.

Although two transmissions from Qatāda and one transmission from another student of Anas, ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Hāshīm, agree on the number of drinks offered (three), two drinks offered (wine and milk) is probably the correct version from Anas ibn Malīk. Firstly, the two transmissions from Qatāda and the version of ‘Abd al-Rahmān do not agree on the same kind of drinks (water instead of honey). Secondly, two other transmissions from Qatāda mention two drinks (wine and milk). It seems therefore more plausible that Qatāda sometimes mentioned three drinks including honey and sometimes only two drinks, and that ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Hāshīm (or one of the later transmitters his two versions have in common) is responsible for the addition of water than that Anas himself sometimes mentioned two drinks, sometimes three, including sometimes honey and sometimes water

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<sup>174</sup> Al-Zuhri also connects the choice with the night journey, as we have seen previously

When we look at the formulations in the *mutūn* of the parts concerning the choice of drinks, the following appears.

- Version Thābit al-Bunānī (from Ḥammād ibn Salama):

1 فجاءني جبريل<sup>175</sup> ببناء من خمر و بناء من لبن فاخترت اللبن<sup>176</sup> فقال (لي) جبريل اخترت الفطرة<sup>177</sup>.

Gabriel came to me with a vessel with wine and a vessel with milk. I chose the milk. Gabriel said (to me), "You have chosen [the way of] the original religion."

- Version Qatāda (from Hammām ibn Yaḥyā):

1 ثم أتيت ببناء من خمر و بناء من لبن و بناء من عسل فاخترت اللبن (ف) قال هذه/هي الفطرة (التي) انت  
2 عليها و امتك.

Then I was brought a vessel with wine, a vessel with milk and a vessel with honey. I took the milk. He said, "This/it is the way of the original religion on which you and your community are."

- Version Qatāda (from Sa'īd ibn Abī 'Arūba):

1 ثم أتيت ببناءين احدهما خمر والاخر لبن فعرضا علي فاخترت اللبن فقيل اصبت اصاب الله بك امتك على  
2 الفطرة.

Then I was brought two vessels, one of them with wine and the other with milk, and they were offered to me. I chose the milk and someone said "You made the right choice. May God guide your community with you to the original religion."

- Version Qatāda (from Shaybān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥman):

1 فاتيت ببناءين احدهما خمر والاخر لبن قال فاخترت اللبن فقال جبريل اصبت الفطرة.

I was brought two vessels, one of them with wine and the other with milk. He [Muḥammad] said, "I took the milk and Gabriel said, 'You have chosen [the way] of the original religion.'"

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<sup>175</sup> Two of the five traditions mention *fa atāni Jibril*

<sup>176</sup> Two of the five traditions mention *fa akhadhtu l-laban*.

<sup>177</sup> Two of the five traditions mention *asabta l-fiṭra*.

- Version Qatāda (from Shu‘ba ibn al-Hajjaj)

1 فأتيت ثلاثة أقداح قدح فيه لبس وقدح فيه عسل وقدح فيه حمر فأحدث الذي فيه اللبس فشربت فقيل لي

2 أصبت الفطرة أنت وامتك

I was brought three drinking-cups, a cup in which was milk, a cup in which was honey and a cup in which was wine I took the one in which was the milk and I drank [it] Someone said to me, “You and your community have chosen [the way] of the original religion ”

- Version ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Hashīm ibn ‘Utba ibn Abī Waqqas

1 فعرض عليه الماء واللبن والحمر فتناول (رسول الله صلعم) اللبن فقال له حنبل أصبت (يا محمد)

2 الفطرة (و) لو شربت الماء لعرفت و(ل) عرفت امتك ولو شربت الحمر لعويت وعريت امتك

He [Muhammad] was offered water, milk and wine He (the messenger of God (s)) accepted the milk Gabriel said to him, “(Oh Muhammad), you have chosen [the way] of the original religion If you drank the water, you and your community would have drowned and if you drank the wine, you and your community would have been deviated from the original way ”

The content of all five versions is the same Muhammad is offered several drinks, among which wine and milk He chooses the milk Somebody (Gabriel) tells him that he made the right choice The formulations of the first four versions of Thabit and Qatada in the above-mentioned list are very similar They all include the word *ina*’ and mention wine and milk in the same sequence

Three of the four traditions of Qatada (except the version of Shayban) mention that the remark “he did not deviate from the way of the original religion” concerns Muhammad himself and his *umma* Actually, the version of Thabit is the only one that does not mention the word *umma* Furthermore, the tradition of Qatada from Shu‘ba uses the word *qadah* instead of *ina*’, while the tradition of ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Hashīm does not mention how the drinks were offered to Muhammad In his tradition, the word *tanawala* is used instead of *ikhtara* or *akhadha* and he adds the information what would have happened to Muhammad and his followers if he had chosen wine or water

Based on the information we have seen so far, the conclusion would be that these traditions (the parts on the choice of drinks and (parts of) the complete traditions) indeed derive from the same informant, who would be Anas ibn Malik He probably transmitted

his story about Muḥammad's night journey and ascension to heaven orally, but based on written notes and so did his students. Since Anas ibn Mālik died between 90-93/709-712, this tradition would date from the last quarter of the first Islamic century.

### *Comparison of the Anas-traditions with the versions of al-Zuhri*

We have noticed in the comparison of al-Zuhri's choice traditions with the corresponding part in his two-topic traditions, that both versions of al-Zuhri contain several peculiarities. The conclusion was that although the similarities in content and formulations indicate that the choice tradition and the two-topic tradition come from the same person (al-Zuhri), the differences show that the choice tradition is not a shortened version of the two-topic tradition or vice-versa.

If we compare the two versions of al-Zuhri with the versions of Anas, the following results appear. Anas connects the choice of drinks (most probably) to the night journey, as does al-Zuhri in the choice traditions. Anas calls Jerusalem *bayt al-maqdis*, which is the formulation in the two-topic traditions (choice traditions *Īliyā*). The word *inā'* in the Anas versions corresponds to the two-topic version of Ma'mar from al-Zuhri (other two-topic version do not mention any word) (choice traditions *bi-qadaḥayni*). The part *inā' khamr wa-inā' laban* from the two-topic tradition of Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd is similar to the versions of Thābit and of Qatāda in the version of Hammām. The sentence *fī aḥadihimā laban wa-fī l-ākḥar khamr* from the two-topic tradition of Ma'mar is similar to the traditions of Qatāda in the versions of Sa'id ibn Abi 'Arūba and Shaybān (choice traditions *min khamr wa-laban*). Finally, Anas does not mention that Muḥammad looked at the drinks first. This is similar to the two-topic traditions (choice traditions *fa-nazara ilayhimā*)

The versions of Anas are almost identical to both versions of al-Zuhri in the following places: *fa/ithumma akhadha l-laban* (choice traditions), *fa-akhadhtu l-laban* (two-topic traditions) (2T-Ibrāhīm ibn Isma'il *fa-ikhtartu qadaḥ al-laban*) and *fa-qāla (lahu) Jibrīl* (choice traditions), *fa-qāla Jibrīl* (two-topic traditions) (2T-Ma'mar *fa-qāla lī*).

However, Anas mentions *aṣabta/ikhtarta l-fīṭra*, while al-Zuhri has *al-ḥamd li-Allāh alladhī badāka li-l-fīṭra* and *hudāta li-l-fīṭra*. Anas does not mention what would have happened if Muḥammad had chosen the wine (or water<sup>178</sup> or honey<sup>179</sup>), while al-Zuhri's

<sup>178</sup> This is only in the version of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Hashim (n.d.) -> Anas.

<sup>179</sup> This is in the version of Hammām ibn Yaḥyā (d. 164/781) -> Qatāda (d. 117/735) and Shu'ba ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776) -> Qatāda. Two other students of Qatāda do not mention the honey, but only milk and wine

tradition mentions *law akhadhta l-khamr (la-)ghawat ummatuka* and (*ammā innaka*) *law akhadhta l-khamr ghawat ummatuka*.

### *Conclusion of the comparison between the traditions of Anas and al-Zuhri*

Comparison between the traditions of Anas and the two-topic and choice traditions of al-Zuhri shows, that both versions of al-Zuhri deviate in formulation and to a lesser extent in content from the versions of Anas. The traditions from al-Zuhri as transmitted by several students of him do not derive in their entirety from Anas.

This does not exclude however, that al-Zuhri knew the story of Anas and Anas' part on the choice of drinks. Since we did find some similarities in formulation especially in the two-topic tradition, it seems likely that al-Zuhri knew a tradition from Anas on this topic and included some words in his own traditions.

Another indication for this hypothesis is that Yūnus ibn Yazīd transmits a somewhat shortened version on the ascension to heaven from al-Zuhri -> Anas ibn Malik -> Abū Dharr -> Prophet Muḥammad and partly from a combined transmission of Anas ibn Mālik and Ibn Ḥazm from the Prophet Muḥammad.<sup>180</sup> This tradition starts with the opening of the chest. Muḥammad is taken to the lowest heaven, where he sees Adam who smiles when he looks at the black female on his right side and cries when he looks at the black female on his left side. He also meets Idrīs, Moses, Jesus and Abraham in the heavens (this part is shortened). At the end of the tradition, God imposes fifty prayers on Muḥammad's *umma*. Upon advice of Moses, he returns to God until the number of prayers is reduced to five per day. Muḥammad ends at the lote-tree.

Furthermore, 'Abd al-Razzāq gives a short tradition from Ma'mar -> al-Zuhri -> Anas ibn Mālik that mentions the reduction of the number of prayers from fifty to five.<sup>181</sup> I did not find a tradition from al-Zuhri from Anas on the choice of drinks. However, since several students of Anas combine the story about the night journey and the ascension to heaven, it is possible that al-Zuhri received the same long story from Anas. Perhaps he chose to

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<sup>180</sup> See for example, al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 379-382. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 99-100 (8 *Kitāb al-ṣalāh* – 1 *Bāb kayfa funḍat al-ṣalāh fī l-isrā'*) and *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 335-336 (60 *Kitāb al-anbiyā'* – 5 *Bāb dhikr Idrīs 'alayhi l-salām wa qaww Allāh wa-rafa'nāhu makānan 'alīyyan*) Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XVI, 419-421 (no. 7406). Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 489-490 (no. 263- (163)). In the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal this tradition is traced back to Ubayy ibn Ka'b instead of Abū Dharr. See Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, V, 172-173 (no. 21346).

<sup>181</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 328.

separate both stories or maybe only the separate accounts were preserved in the sources available to us nowadays.

Therefore, although al-Zuhri received his information on Muḥammad's choice between drinks according to the *asānīd* of the two-topic and choice traditions only from Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab, it seems more likely that al-Zuhri combined traditions from one or two or perhaps even more informants,<sup>182</sup> because he uses different formulations in his choice tradition and the corresponding part of the two-topic tradition. Since we have already established that the choice tradition of al-Zuhri is not a shortened version of his two-topic tradition or vice versa, a different combination of traditions might explain the different formulations. If al-Zuhri used the same (part of the) tradition from the same informant we would have expected more similarity in formulation and content.

## VI. CONCLUSION

According to the information from the *asānīd*, al-Zuhri was responsible for the distribution of the three traditions about the night journey. Since he died in 124/742, this probably took place in the first quarter of the second Islamic century. Al-Zuhri named Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab as his source for all three traditions.

The *matn* analysis confirmed the results from the *isnād* analysis. Al-Zuhri transmitted a tradition about Muḥammad's description of Abraham, Moses and Jesus, and the choice he had to make between drinking milk and wine. He transmitted both topics also separately with a different formulation.

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<sup>182</sup> There are several other traditions that are not attributed to al-Zuhri or Anas ibn Mālik that relate Muḥammad's choice between drinks as part of a longer story. I did not discuss them, because they give results that are similar to the traditions of Anas ibn Mālik. Ibn Hishām gives a tradition from Ibn Ishāq → al-Hasan al-Basri, *Sīra*, I, 264, and Ibn Ishāq → unknown person(s) → 'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ūd, *Sīra*, I, 263-264. Al-Hārith and Ibn 'Asākir mention the same tradition from Ibn Mas'ūd without the part on the choice. See al-Hārith, *Bughyat al-bāḥith 'an zawā'id musnad al-Hārith*, s l n d., 26-28 (no. 22) and Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, III, 504-506 (no. 790). Ibn Abi Shayba and al-Ṭabarī both give a short tradition from Sulaymān ibn Abi Sulaymān → 'Abd Allāh ibn Shaddād, *al-Muṣannaf*, VII, 336 (no. 36577) and *Jāmi' al-bayan*, XV, 15, respectively. See also Ibn 'Asākir from Abū 'Ubayda → Prophet, *Tārīkh*, III, 506-507 (no. 791). The version from Abū Hārūn al-'Abdī → Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī → Prophet Muḥammad is preserved by 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, I, 314-316 (no. 1527), al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 390-396 and Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, III, 509-516 (no. 799) among others. See also al-Ṭabarānī from [...] → Ibn Abi Layla → his brother 'Isā → his father 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abi Layla, *al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*, IV, 523-525 (no. 3891).



Comparison of the separate choice and description traditions with the corresponding part of the two-topic tradition showed that they are not shortened versions of the two-topic tradition or vice versa. Each tradition contains several peculiarities.

Al-Zuhri received all three traditions according to the *asānīd* from Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab. Ma'mar is the only student of al-Zuhri who mentions Abū Hurayra as the intermediary between Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab and the Prophet Muḥammad in the two-topic and description traditions. In the versions of the other students, Sa'īd relates both traditions "directly" from Muḥammad. In the choice traditions however, al-Zuhri received his information according to the chains of transmission from Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab from Abū Hurayra. He did not trace them back to a report of the Prophet Muḥammad.

Comparison of al-Zuhri's traditions about Muḥammad's description of the three prophets with similar traditions from other scholars of his generation indicated that there had to be a common source. A common feature of almost all *asānīd* was that one of more persons in the lower part of the chain belonged to the Qurashī tribe. Therefore, the conclusion was that at the end of the first Islamic century, probably in the last quarter of the century or the end of the third quarter, there circulated a story – but more likely several similar stories – in Medina and Mecca in which Muḥammad described the three prophets he met during his night journey. Also, we cannot exclude the possibility that some formulations of the Prophet Muḥammad - who is the common link of the *asānīd* - ended up in the versions of different scholars.

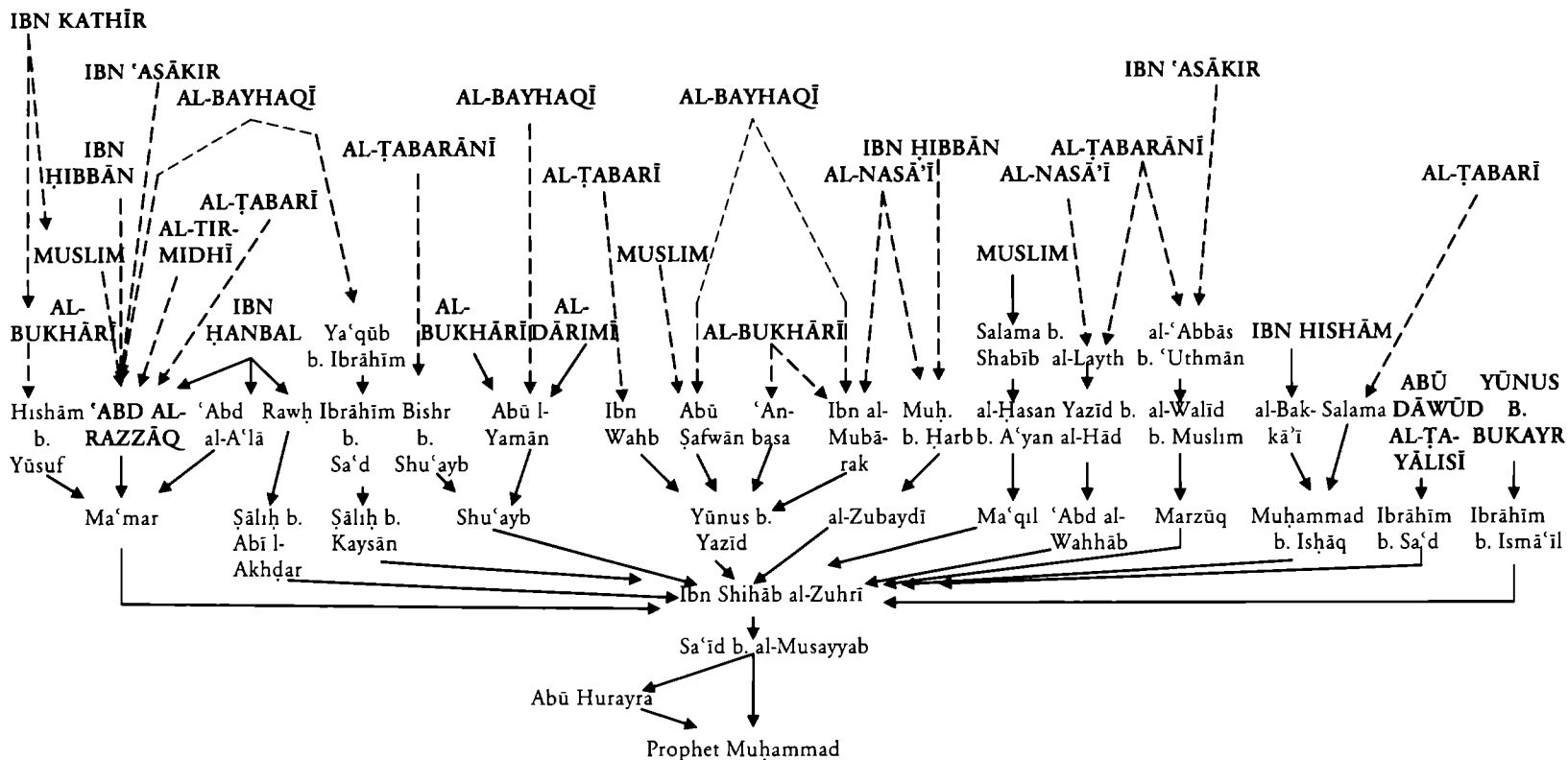
It was not possible to confirm whether al-Zuhri and the other scholars indeed received each tradition from the person mentioned in the *isnād* as their informants. The similarity in content and formulation indicate however, that there had to be a common source. The information from the *asānīd* of all the discussed traditions can therefore not be correct for the whole corpus of traditions and probably neither for one tradition in its entirety. We cannot exclude however, that al-Zuhri and his contemporaries indeed received a - or part of a - version of the night journey from the informants mentioned in the *isnād*. The partial correspondence of each tradition to different formulations from different traditions suggests that they (i.e. al-Zuhri and his contemporaries) probably knew several versions, combined them into a story and chose one of the informants for it.

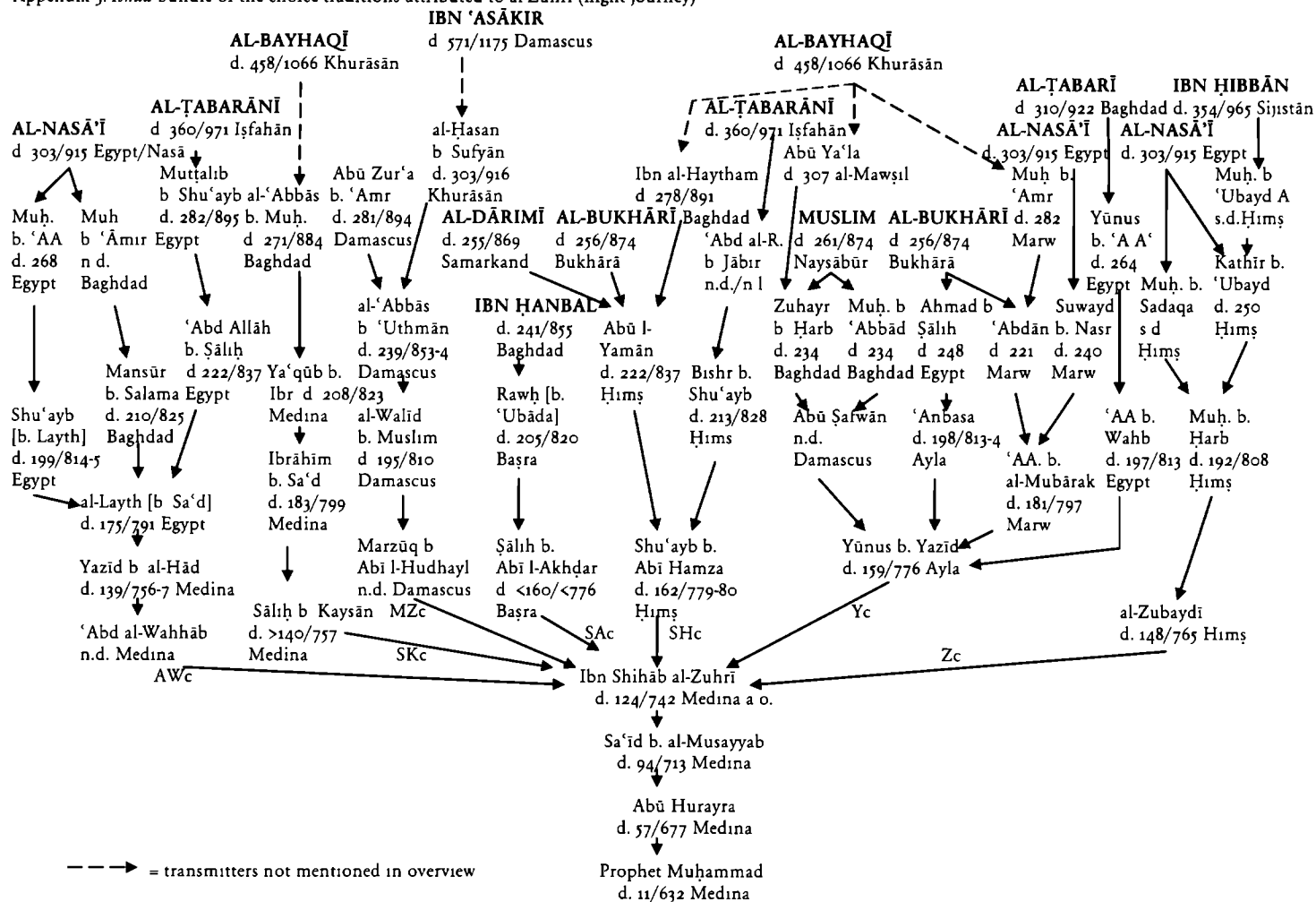
Comparison between the al-Zuhri traditions about Muḥammad's choice between drinks and other traditions in which this part was mentioned, gave similar results. Therefore, although al-Zuhri received his information on Muḥammad's choice between drinks according to the *asānīd* of the two-topic and choice traditions only from Sa'īd ibn al-

Musayyab, it seems much more likely that al-Zuhri combined traditions from one or more informants into his choice and two-topic traditions.

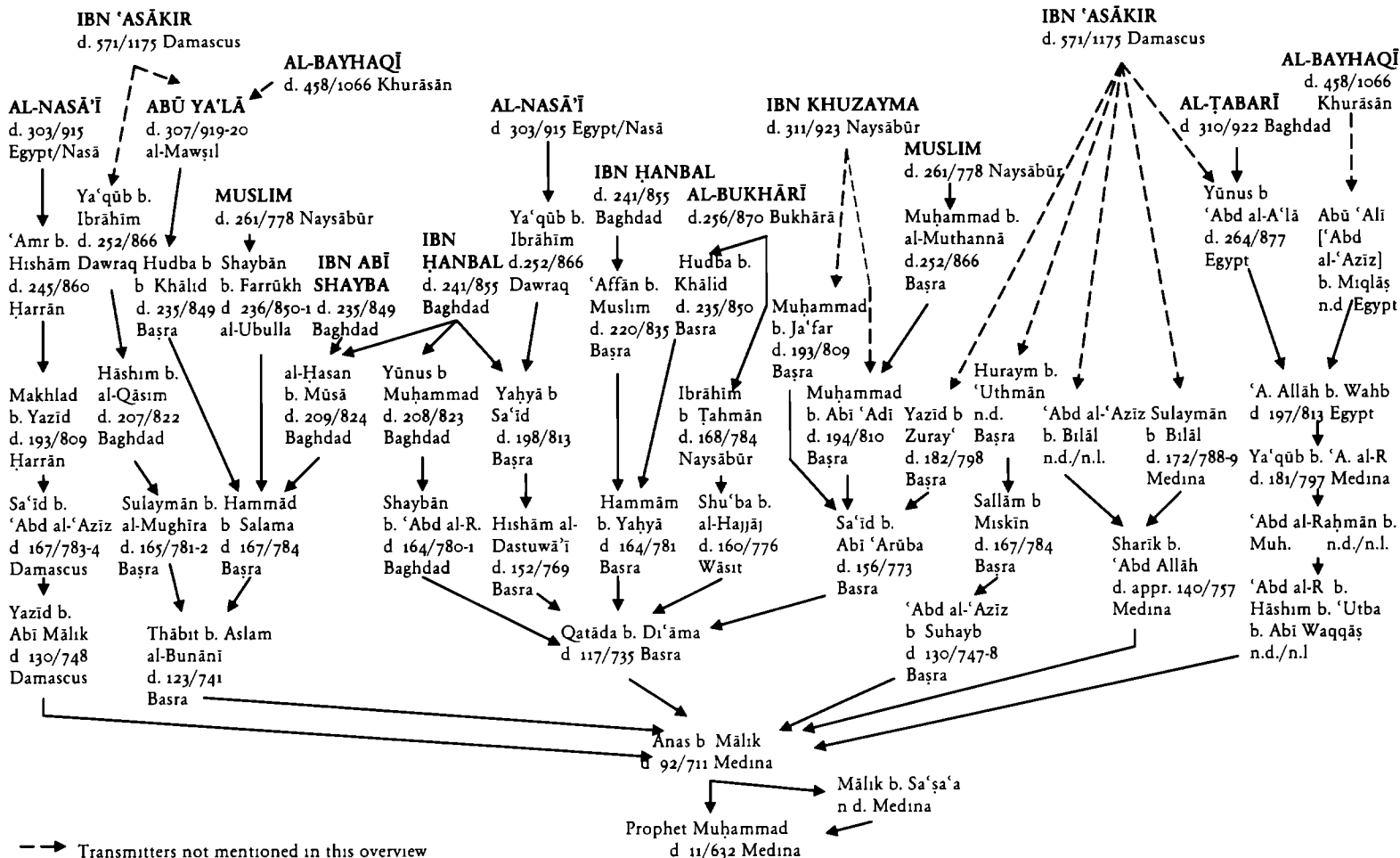
The analysis of the choice-element in the traditions of Anas ibn Mālīk provided us with a date somewhere in the last quarter of the first Islamic century, similar to the description-element in the traditions of al-Zuhri and several of his contemporaries. There seems to have been a pool of similar stories in Medina and Mecca in the last quarter of the first Islamic century (and possibly even earlier) from which transmitters took elements or formulations and combined them into stories. This applies most probably to the choice and description element as analysed in this chapter; however, it might also apply to other elements from the stories on Muḥammad's ascension to heaven and his night journey. Perhaps it is possible by means of the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis to (partially) unravel the entanglement of elements from the *mi'rāj* and the *isra'*.

Appendix 2. *Isnād* bundle of al-Zuhri's two-topic, choice and description traditions (night journey)



Appendix 3. *Isnād* bundle of the choice-traditions attributed to al-Zuhrī (night journey)

Appendix 4: *Isnād* bundle of the traditions ascribed to Anas b. Mālik about the ascension to Heaven





## CHAPTER 4

### THE THREE MEN WHO STAYED BEHIND FROM THE EXPEDITION TO TABŪK

#### I. INTRODUCTION

According to Muslim tradition, the expedition to Tabūk, a town of northwestern Arabia,<sup>1</sup> took place in the summer of the year 9/630 near the end of Muḥammad's life. The Prophet had heard that Byzantine and allied Arab tribes were assembling for an attack, so he ordered a large army to accompany him. He did not meet his enemies at Tabūk, but several local chiefs surrendered without a fight. It was Muḥammad's last raid. A number of Muslims did not go with the Prophet Muḥammad to Tabūk.<sup>2</sup>

The Zuhri-tradition I have chosen to analyse relates the story of one of these persons, Ka'b ibn Mālik, one of Muḥammad's first followers from Medina. He intends to go with Muḥammad and leaves his house to buy provisions, but after several days he has not done anything until it is too late to catch up with Muḥammad and the others. At first, he wants to concoct an excuse, but at the end, he decides to tell Muḥammad that he did not have any excuse not to come to Tabuk. Muḥammad is very angry with him and forbids the other Muslims to talk to Ka'b and two other persons with the same story. Some time afterwards, Ka'b and his two companions receive a second restriction from the Prophet: they are not allowed to touch their wives anymore. Then, Muḥammad receives a revelation from God that absolves Ka'b and his two companions, but heavily condemns other persons who stayed behind and lied to Muḥammad.

The story contains several *sunan* of the Prophet Muḥammad, but more important is its connection with verses 95-96 and 117-119 of *sūrat al-Tawba* of the Qur'ān. It belongs to the *asbāb al-nuzūl* and explains the reason or circumstances of the revelation of these verses.

“(95) They will swear to you by God, when you return to them, to leave them alone – so leave them alone: they are unclean, and Hell will be their home as a repayment for what they have earned. (96) They will swear to you in order to make

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<sup>1</sup> It is located in the north-west of the Kingdom of Saudi-Arabia nowadays. Al-Bakḥit, M.A., “Tabūk”, in *El2*, X, Leiden 2000, 51.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Bakḥit, “Tabūk”, 50. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al buldān*, II, 14-15.

you well pleased with them, but even if you are well pleased with them, God will not be pleased with the wicked people.

(117) God has turned mercifully to the Prophet, the Emigrants and the Helpers who followed him in the hour of difficulty after the hearts of some of them had almost deviated; then He turned mercifully to them; He is compassionate and merciful to them. (118) And to the three men who were left behind until, when the earth, for all its spaciousness, closed in around them, when their souls closed in around them, when they thought that the only refuge from God was with Him, He turned mercifully to them in order for them to return [to Him]. God is the Ever Relenting, the Merciful. (119) You who believe, fear God and be with the truthful.<sup>3</sup>

There is a very large number of traditions that deal with (parts of) Ka'b's story and that mention al-Zuhri as one of the transmitters. My data collection includes 191 variants,<sup>4</sup> which vary in length. Twenty-one (11.0%) are detailed traditions, sixteen of medium-length (8.4%), 141 (73.8%) short and thirteen (6.8%) that only state the *isnād*. They come from 42 collections of 37 different authors dating from the third to the tenth Islamic century. Among the collections are historical works (*Tārikh* and *Sira*), *ḥadīth*-collections (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Sunan*, *Musnad* and *Muṣannaf* a.o.), Qur'an commentaries (*Tafsīr* a.o.) and biographical dictionaries. Al-Zuhri's detailed tradition about Ka'b's story is placed in chapters on *maghāzī* (3 traditions), *siyar* (2 traditions), *zakāh* (1 tradition), *sūrat/kitāb al-tawba* (4 traditions) and chapters dedicated to Ka'b ibn Mālik (9 traditions). The remaining two detailed traditions are placed in a separate chapter on the story of Ka'b and his two companions.

According to Juynboll, al-Zuhri is responsible for the main outline of the story, but several later transmitters, such as al-Layth ibn Sa'd (d. 175/791), Mūsa ibn A'yan (d. 177/793) and 'Abd Allah ibn Wahb (d. 197/813), "remodelled", "embellished" and "enlarged" al-

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<sup>3</sup> My translation is based upon the translations of Abdel Haleem, Arberry, Bell and Leemhuis. Abdel Haleem, M.A.S., *The Qur'an: A new translation by M.A.S. Abdel Haleem*, Oxford 2004. Arberry, A.J., *The Koran interpreted*, I, London 1955. Bell, R., *The Qur'ān. translated, with a critical re-arrangement of the Surahs*, I, Edinburgh 1960. Leemhuis, F., *De Koran Een weergave van de betekenis van de Arabische tekst in het Nederlands*, Houten 1994.

<sup>4</sup> The actual number is 188 traditions. Three traditions derive from a combined transmission of two students of al-Zuhri (two traditions from Ma'mar+Yūnus and one from 'Uqayl+Yūnus). I count the combined traditions as two separate transmissions.



Zuhri's original version. He believes that the story may well describe a true event, because of the unfavourable position of the central figure.<sup>5</sup>

To check whether these traditions really go back to al-Zuhri and to reconstruct his original wording, if possible, we have to compare the variant versions. We will therefore compile the chains of transmission into an *isnād* bundle. This will help us to identify the persons to whom al-Zuhri allegedly transmitted the story. We will try to establish whether the traditions ascribed to al-Zuhri really go back to these persons. If so, can we furthermore substantiate the claim that these persons received the traditions from al-Zuhri? I will focus on the detailed and medium-length traditions and only use the information from short tradition if it is necessary for the argumentation.

Finally, the traditions from al-Zuhri will be compared with similar ones not circulated by him in order to determine whether his material goes back to even earlier sources and to what degree his transmission varies from others.

## II. ISNĀD ANALYSIS

The data collection contains traditions of twenty-two persons who allegedly distributed the story of Ka'b from al-Zuhri. Their names are 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān [al-Jumaḥi] (n.d.)<sup>6</sup>, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 162/779), 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Namir (n.d.), 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd (n.d.), al-Awzā'ī (d. 157/774)<sup>7</sup>, Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767)<sup>8</sup>, Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il (n.d.), Ibrāhīm ibn Murra (n.d.), Ishāq ibn Rāshid (n.d.)<sup>9</sup>, Ismā'il ibn Umayya (d. 144/761)<sup>10</sup>, Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (d. 153/770), Ma'qil ibn 'Ubayd Allāh (d. 166/782-783), al-Zuhri's nephew Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim (d. 152/769), Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767), Mūsā ibn 'Uqba (d. 141/758), Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar (d. after 140/757), Shu'ayb

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<sup>5</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 713.

<sup>6</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 194 (no. 3376). One tradition mentions the name 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Rahman. This is a transmission error, because the content of the tradition is the same as the two traditions from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and the same person transmits the traditions from 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubayd Allāh.

<sup>7</sup> He is 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Amr, Abū 'Amr al-Awzā'ī l-Shāmī, who lived in Damascus and Beirut. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 447 (no. 3906).

<sup>8</sup> He is 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Jurayj al-Qurashī l-Umawī and lived in Mecca. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 559 (no. 4127).

<sup>9</sup> It is said that Ishāq ibn Rāshid died during the caliphate of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, i.e. between 136-158/754-775. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, I, 186 (no. 344).

<sup>10</sup> The year 139/756-757 is also mentioned. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, I, 222 (no. 419).

ibn Abī Ḥamza (162/779-780), Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna (d. 198/814), 'Uqayl ibn Khālīd (d. 144/761), Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb (d. 128/746), Yūnus ibn Yazīd (d. 152/769) and al-Zubaydī [Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd]<sup>11</sup> (d. 148/765). The number of traditions per student is as follows:

*Table 3: Number and type of tradition per student of al-Zuhri*

Student of al-Zuhri	Detailed	Medium-length	Short	ISNAD only	Total
'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān	0	0	3	0	3
'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz	2	0	0	0	2
'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Namīr	0	0	1	0	1
'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd	0	0	2	0	2
al-Awzā'i	0	0	1	0	1
Ibn Jurayj	0	0	16	0	16
Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il	0	1	2	0	3
Ibrāhīm ibn Murra	0	0	1	0	1
Ishāq ibn Rashīd	0	1	4	3	8
Ismā'il ibn Umayya	0	0	2	0	2
Ma'mar ibn Rāshīd	6	4	23	1	34
Ma'qil ibn 'Ubayd Allāh	0	0	6	0	6
Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim	4	0	3	1	8
Muḥammad ibn Ishāq	2	0	6	1	9
Mūsā ibn 'Uqba	0	0	1	0	1
Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar	0	1	0	0	1
Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamza	0	0	2	0	2
Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna	0	0	3	0	3
'Uqayl ibn Khālīd	4	5	20	5	34
Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb	0	0	1	0	1
Yūnus ibn Yazīd	3	4	41	2	50
al-Zubaydī	0	0	3	0	3
	21	16	141	13	191 <sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhib*, VI, 546 (no. 6265).

<sup>12</sup> The actual number is 188, see footnote 4.

The table shows that al-Zuhri's detailed tradition is preserved in the versions of six students, while we have a medium-length tradition from six persons and short traditions from 20 persons. We have only short traditions from a rather large group, i.e. thirteen persons. Is this perhaps an indication that al-Zuhri did not only teach a long version of Ka'b's story, but also one or more specific, shortened versions?

I will first discuss the *asānīd* of the students who transmit a detailed version, then continue with the students of whom we have a medium-length tradition, and end with the *asānīd* of the short traditions from the remaining students.

### *Ma'mar ibn Rāshid*

Five persons transmit traditions from Ma'mar, 'Abd al-Razzāq [al-Ṣan'ānī] (d. 211/826), 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), Hishām ibn Yūsuf (d. 197/813), Muḥammad ibn Thawr (d. 190/806) and Ibn Jurayj, who also transmitted directly from al-Zuhri.<sup>13</sup> More than half of the traditions are from 'Abd al-Razzāq (19), including all detailed and medium-length stories. The traditions of Ma'mar's other pupils are only short stories.

Ma'mar's students Muḥammad ibn Thawr, Hishām ibn Yūsuf and 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak agree that al-Zuhri received the tradition from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk from his father. The majority of the *asānīd* from 'Abd al-Razzāq agree on the same informant (13), but "the son of Ka'b ibn Mālīk" (3), 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk (1) and 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b (1) are also mentioned. These variants are probably mistakes from later transmitters, but the *matn* analysis has to confirm that we are dealing with the same (group of) traditions.

In the tradition of one of Ma'mar's students, Ibn Jurayj, and in a combined tradition from Ma'mar and Yūnus the name 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk, the nephew of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b, appears as informant. The *matn* analysis may give a decisive answer about the question whether Ibn Jurayj and Yūnus are perhaps responsible for the appearance of the name of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's nephew in these traditions from Ma'mar.

### *Ibn Akhī l-Zuhri, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim*

Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd (d. 208/823) transmits all traditions from al-Zuhri's nephew, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, also referred to as *Ibn Akhī* (the son of the brother of) al-Zuhri.

<sup>13</sup> See the *isnād* bundle of traditions ascribed to Ma'mar in Appendix 5.

Probably, the four detailed traditions derive all from Ibn Ḥanbal in the *riwāya* of Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 525/1131), although Ibn Kathīr only mentions Ibn Ḥanbal's name.<sup>14</sup> According to Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm, al-Zuhri's informant is 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk, who received this story from his grandfather through 'Abd Allāh or 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ka'b. It is not certain which name ('Abd Allāh or 'Ubayd Allāh) Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm had mentioned, because one of his pupils has 'Abd Allāh and the other 'Ubayd Allāh, while both versions of the name appear in the *asānīd* of Ibn Ḥanbal's traditions. One of them has to be a transmission or copyist's error.

#### *'Uqayl ibn Khālīd*

Al-Layth ibn Sa'd (d. 175/791) transmits all 34 traditions from 'Uqayl from al-Zuhri, who he refers to as Ibn Shihāb in all but one tradition. The four detailed traditions and one medium-length version are from al-Layth's pupil Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr (d. 231/845), while there is one medium-length tradition from another pupil of al-Layth, Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad (d. 206/821).

Except for three short traditions, all transmission lines mention 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b from his father from his grandfather as source of Ibn Shihāb. One tradition from Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr has 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk from his father, which is most probably a mistake from a later transmitter, because the other traditions from Yaḥyā mention 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b. The same applies to one tradition from Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad, which has "the son of Ka'b ibn Mālīk" instead of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b as in his other traditions. One other tradition mentions "the son of Ka'b ibn Mālīk", but in this case, it is not possible to determine who is responsible for the omission of the *ism* based on the information of the *isnād* alone, because it is a combined tradition. Al-Ṭabarānī received the tradition from Muḥammad ibn 'Abd

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<sup>14</sup> The *riwāya* of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* is Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahīd ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥuṣayn al-Shaybānī -> Abū 'Alī l-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī l-Wā'iz -> Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Ja'far ibn Ḥamdān ibn Malīk al-Qaṭī'i -> Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal (= Ibn Ḥanbal's son) Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, Beirut 1413/1993, 3.

Allāh ibn Numayr *al-Miṣrī*<sup>15</sup> from Sa'īd [ibn Kathīr] ibn 'Ufayr (d. 226/841)<sup>16</sup> -> al-Layth -> 'Uqayl and from Rishdīn [ibn Sa'd] (d. 188/804)<sup>17</sup> -> 'Uqayl and Qurra [ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān] (d. 147/764)<sup>18</sup>.<sup>19</sup> It is unlikely that 'Uqayl or al-Layth forgot the name of Ka'b's son.

### *Yūnus ibn Yazīd*

Six or seven transmitters relate traditions from Yūnus ibn Yazīd: 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb (d. 197/813) (all detailed and medium-length versions), 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), a "‘Abd Allāh"<sup>20</sup>, Yūnus' nephew 'Anbasa [ibn Khālid] (d. 198/814)<sup>21</sup>, 'Uthmān ibn 'Umar (d. 209/824), 'Āmir ibn Ṣāliḥ (d. before 193/809)<sup>22</sup> and 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith (d. 148/765)<sup>23</sup>.

The lower part of the transmission lines from Yūnus differs considerably. The detailed traditions, three medium-length and eight short traditions have 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk -> 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālīk as the persons from whom al-Zuhri received the tradition. One medium-length and four short traditions mention 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b -> [his brother] 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālīk, in which the name 'Abd al-Raḥmān is perhaps short for 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b. Other variants are 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālīk (13 short traditions), 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> [his grandfather] Ka'b ibn Malik (8

<sup>15</sup> Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Numayr (d. 234/849) is not from Egypt, but from Iraq. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 390 (no. 5970). The correct name is probably Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Numayr (or Thumayr), who transmits from Sa'īd ibn 'Ufayr. Al-Ṭabarānī mentions him several times as his informant in his works. See for example al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, VI, 115 with exactly the same *isnād* up till Ibn Shihāb except for the name Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Numayr *al-Miṣrī* instead of Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh.

<sup>16</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, III, 192-193 (no. 2328).

<sup>17</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, II, 484-485 (no. 1896).

<sup>18</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 117-118 (no. 5460).

<sup>19</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, XIX, 60 (no. 107).

<sup>20</sup> Five traditions mention the *ism* 'Abd Allāh without further identification. I have identified four of them as 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak based on the *isnād* in variant traditions from the same transmitter. One 'Abd Allāh cannot be identified at this stage through *isnād* analysis only. He is probably 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubarak, since the person who transmits the story from 'Abd Allāh is from Marw, the same town in the province Khurāsān where 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak lived, while 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb is from Egypt.

<sup>21</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, V, 500-501 (no. 5118).

<sup>22</sup> He died in Baghdad at the end of the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 32 (no. 3033).

<sup>23</sup> The years 147/764 and 149/766 are also mentioned. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, V, 401 (no. 4930).

short traditions)<sup>24</sup>, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b ibn Mālik (6 short traditions), ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> [his uncle] ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b ibn Mālik (1 short tradition), ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b -> [the same] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b ibn Mālik (1 short tradition) and “the son of Ka‘b” -> Ka‘b ibn Mālik (1 short tradition).

The last three variants are most probably defective because of a transmission error (‘Ubayd Allāh instead of ‘Abd Allāh) or a mistake from a later transmitter (i.e. somebody forgot the name of Ka‘b’s son). The *sanad* with the double name should probably either be ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b or just ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b. It is not possible to decide which transmission line is correct based on the information from the *asānīd* alone.<sup>25</sup>

There is not even conformity in the *asānīd* if we look at the traditions of the students that transmit most versions. The majority of the traditions from Ibn Wahb have ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b ibn Mālik, but almost all other *isnād* variants appear in his traditions. The traditions from ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak have either ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b ibn Mālik or ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b ibn Mālik, except for one tradition.

The only pattern I could discern was in the short traditions dealing with the topic of Muḥammad leaving for a journey on Thursday. Eight of the ten traditions have the *isnād* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b -> [his grandfather] Ka‘b ibn Mālik. One tradition mentions “the son of Ka‘b” without a name, and the other ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b from Ka‘b ibn Mālik, which is probably a mistake given the conformity of the other transmission lines.

It seems that Yūnus ibn Yazīd was responsible for the confusion about the name of al-Zuhri’s informant. He probably used the name ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, which appears in the *asānīd* of most traditions. However, the large variety of the *asānīd* shows that he sometimes mentioned the son (‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b) and sometimes the grandson (‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b) of Ka‘b as al-Zuhri’s source. Roughly, half of the

<sup>24</sup> One tradition stops at the level of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b.

<sup>25</sup> Even when we look at the *isnād* from variant traditions from the persons that appear in the *sanad*, it remains unclear whether it should read ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> his father ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b or just ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b. The *isnād* is: Ibn Ḥazm -> Aḥmad ibn Shu‘ayb -> Sulaymān ibn Dawūd -> ‘Abd Allāh ibn Wahb -> Yūnus. I did not find another variant from Aḥmad ibn Shu‘ayb. Sulaymān ibn Dawūd has seven other traditions, three with the *isnād* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b, two with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b and two with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b -> ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b. The traditions from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Wahb include even more variant transmissions.

traditions have two transmitters between al-Zuhri and the narrator of the tradition, while the other half has only one transmitter.

### *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*

Although my collection contains only nine traditions from Ibn Ishāq, a relatively large number of persons transmit them: ['Abd Allāh] ibn Idrīs (d. 192/808)<sup>26</sup>, Jarīr ibn Ḥāzīm (d. 170/786-787), Muḥammad ibn Salama (d. 191/807) (one detailed tradition), Salama [ibn al-Faḍl] (d. 191/807)<sup>27</sup>, Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd (d. 194/810) and [Ziyād ibn 'Abd Allāh] al-Bakkā'ī (d. 183/799)<sup>28</sup> (one detailed tradition).

The traditions from Ibn Ishāq agree that al-Zuhri's source is 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> his father -> his grandfather, except for the two traditions from Wahb ibn Jarīr through his father Jarīr ibn Ḥāzīm, which mention 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik -> Ka'b ibn Mālik.<sup>29</sup> The omission of 'Abd Allāh's son 'Abd al-Raḥmān is probably an error of Wahb ibn Jarīr or his father.

### *'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz*

The tradition from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz is preserved in two detailed versions from the famous traditionist Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849) via Khālid ibn Makhḥad (d. 213/828). Both lines of transmissions state that al-Zuhri received his tradition from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik -> 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> his father Ka'b.

### *Ishāq ibn Rāshid*

Mūsā ibn A'yan (d. 177/793) transmits all but one short tradition from Ishāq ibn Rāshid. The remaining tradition is from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Amr (d. 180/796). According to the

<sup>26</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, IV, 86-87 (no. 3147).

<sup>27</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, III, 252-253 (no. 2448).

<sup>28</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, III, 52-53 (no. 2038).

<sup>29</sup> One tradition from al-Ṭabarānī has *fa-dhakara l-Zuhri 'an Muḥammad ibn Muslim 'an 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b al-Ansārī* [...], *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, XIX, 46 (no. 91) Muḥammad ibn Muslim is the same person as al-Zuhri. Ibn Ishāq refers to him in the other traditions as al-Zuhri, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, Muḥammad ibn Muslim or even a combination of these, al-Zuhri Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihāb. The 'an between al-Zuhri and Muḥammad ibn Muslim is therefore clearly a transmission error.

version of two pupils of Mūsā ibn A'yan, al-Zuhri's source is 'Abd al-Raḥman ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> his father -> Ka'b ibn Malīk. One other pupil mentions "the son of Ka'b" -> his father -> the Prophet (*'an Ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk 'an abihī 'an al-nabī*), while 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Amr's tradition has 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Malīk.

There is one more tradition with the variant *isnad* 'Abd al-Raḥman ibn Ka'b -> his father -> the Prophet (*'an 'Abd al-Raḥman ibn Ka'b ibn Malīk 'an abihī 'an al-nabī*). This tradition is from al-Ṭabarānī -> Khalaf ibn 'Amr al-'Ukbarī (d. 296/908-909) -> Ahmad ibn Abī Shu'ayb al-Ḥarrānī (d. 233/847-848)<sup>30</sup> -> Musa ibn A'yan. Three traditions from two other students of the same Ahmad ibn Abī Shu'ayb mention Ka'b's grandson 'Abd al-Raḥman ibn 'Abd Allāh as al-Zuhri's informant. Therefore, Khalaf ibn 'Amr or possibly even al-Ṭabarānī is probably responsible for the deviating part of the *isnād*. Especially the last part of the *isnad* (*'an abihī 'an al-nabī*) looks remarkably like the other deviating transmission line mentioned above, which also derives from al-Ṭabarānī.<sup>31</sup>

#### *Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il*

The traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il are preserved in the versions of the late transmitter Abū l-Ḥusayn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Naḥrī (d. 470/1078) -> Abu Tāhīr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mukhalliṣ (d. 393/1003) -> Abu l-Ḥusayn Riḍwan ibn Ahmad (d. 324/936) -> Abu 'Umar Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar (d. 272/886) -> Yūnus ibn Bukayr (d. 199/814-815).<sup>32</sup>

The name of al-Zuhri's source is not mentioned in the traditions, but he is described as "Ka'b ibn Mālīk's guide, who used to lead him when he became blind" (*qā'id Ka'b ibn Mālīk alladhī kana yaqūduhu ḥīna 'amīya*) from Ka'b ibn Mālīk.

There is one other tradition that is probably from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il, although the *isnād* only mentions the name *Ismā'il* from al-Zuhri. Yūnus ibn Bukayr, the same person as in the above-mentioned two traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il, transmits the tradition from "Ismā'il" -> al-Zuhri -> *qā'id Ka'b ibn Mālīk* -> Ka'b ibn Mālīk.<sup>33</sup> The similarity in

<sup>30</sup> He is Ahmad b 'Abd Allāh b Muslim Al Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, I, 52 (no 58)

<sup>31</sup> Al-Tabarānī, *al Mu'jam al awṣat*, X, 138-139 (no 9294) and *al Mu'jam al kabīr*, XIX, 58 (no 101)

<sup>32</sup> The editor of Ibn al-Athīr's *Uṣd al ghaba* shortens the last part of the *asānīd*. The *isnād* at the beginning of the tradition is *akhbarana Abu Ja far ibn al Samīn bi isnādihī 'an Yūnus an Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il al Ansārī*. The editor gives the complete *isnād* on page 18 of the introduction. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al ghaba*, I, 17-18 and VI, 93

<sup>33</sup> Al-Tabarānī, *al Mu jam al kabīr*, XIX, 69 (no 133)



student (Yūnus ibn Bukayr), the peculiar description of al-Zuhri's source (*qā'id Ka'b ibn Mālik*) and the partial correspondence of the name of al-Zuhri's student (Ismā'il) to the information in the *asānīd* of the two traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il could indicate that the third tradition is from the same person. The name Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il seems to have been shortened to Ismā'il at some time during the transmission.

#### *Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar*

The tradition from Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar is a rather short tradition, but it describes several elements from the detailed tradition. Al-Ṭabarānī relates the only tradition I could find from Ṣāliḥ in his *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*.<sup>34</sup> According to Ṣāliḥ's version, al-Zuhri's source is 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik -> his uncle 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b [ibn Mālik].

#### *Remaining students*

My data collection contains only short traditions from the remaining students. The traditions about Tabūk from Ibn Jurayj, Ismā'il ibn Umayya and Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna are preserved in the versions of two or more of their pupils. The data collection includes more than one tradition from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd, Ma'qīl, Shu'ayb and al-Zubaydī, but in the version of one pupil only. I did find just one tradition from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Namir, al-Awzā'i, Ibrāhīm ibn Murra, Mūsā ibn 'Uqba and Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb.

There are seven variants of the lowest part of the *isnād*: 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālik ('Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Namir, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd, Ismā'il ibn Umayya, al-Zubaydī), 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālik (al-Awzā'i, Ibrāhīm ibn Murra, Mūsā ibn 'Uqba, Shu'ayb), the son of Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālik ('Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān', Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna, Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb), 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik -> his uncle -> Ka'b ibn Mālik (al-Zubaydī), 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālik (Ma'qīl), 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn

<sup>34</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, XIX, 57 (no. 98).

<sup>35</sup> The three traditions from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān differ on al-Zuhri's source. They mention Ubayy ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik, *Ibn l-Ka'b ibn Mālik* (a son of Ka'b ibn Mālik) and Ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik (the son of Ka'b ibn Mālik). The first two variants are probably transmission or copyist's errors of the last variant Ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik.

‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b and ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b ibn Mālik (Ibn Jurayj in the version of three pupils<sup>36</sup>) and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b ibn Mālik (Ibn Jurayj in the version of one pupil).

### Conclusion

Al-Zuhri’s story about Ka‘b ibn Mālik and the expedition to Tabūk is widespread among his students. His detailed tradition ended up in collections of traditionalists from Yemen, Egypt, al-Shām, Iraq and countries as far as Sijistān and Khurāsān (nowadays part of Iran and Afghanistan). Al-Zuhri must have taught the tradition(s) before his death in 124/742. Not all of al-Zuhri’s students transmit the long version of Ka‘b’s story (or the detailed version of some of them is not preserved in the sources available to us today), but it is preserved in the versions of several students. A large number of students transmit a short tradition describing one element of Ka‘b’s detailed story most of them dealing with a *sunna* of Muḥammad. It seems that al-Zuhri is the source of (some of) the short traditions, because several pupils transmit traditions about the same topic.

There seems to have been confusion about the name of al-Zuhri’s informant. From the *isnād* analysis, six different names or appellations appear as al-Zuhri’s source. The majority of the traditions have the name of Ka‘b’s grandson ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh (d. 105-125/724-743) followed by Ka‘b’s son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 96-99/715-717 Medina). Ka‘b’s other son ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b (d. 97/715-716 or 98/716-717) is also mentioned as well as the description “Ka‘b’s son” and “the leader of Ka‘b”. The common feature is that they were members of the Ka‘b ibn Mālik family.<sup>37</sup>

If we look at which *isnād* prevails in the version of each of al-Zuhri’s students a slightly different picture appears. The majority (9) of them mentions ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> ‘Abd Allāh or ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b ibn Mālik (A). Four students mention the same *isnād* without an intermediary between Ka‘b and his grandson (B), while four other students miss the name of Ka‘b’s grandson (C). Three students describe

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<sup>36</sup> The *isnād* in the tradition of one other pupil stops at the level of al-Zuhri’s informant ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b, who relates Ka‘b’s words.

<sup>37</sup> Motzki describes the same confusion in his article on the murder of Ibn Abi l-Ḥuqayq. The informants he came upon were ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālik, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālik, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālik and Ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālik. Al-Zuhri’s *isnād* stops at the Successor level and does not go back to an eyewitness or participant of the event. Motzki, H., “The murder”, 178-179.

al-Zuhri's source as "the son of Ka'b" (D). Ma'mar and Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il are alone in giving the *isnād* 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālīk<sup>38</sup> (E) and "the leader of Ka'b" -> Ka'b ibn Mālīk (F) respectively

The *isnād* analysis shows that al-Zuhri seems to have varied in the names of the persons from whom he heard the story. He usually mentioned *isnād* A, but sometimes omitted the name of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh's informant (B), his own informant (C) or even the name of Ka'b's son (D). Ma'mar and Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il seem to be responsible for the variants E and F respectively, because they are the only two students in whose traditions these variants represent the majority. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that al-Zuhri used variant E sometimes, because several other students mention it occasionally. The *matn* analysis will show if the conclusion from the analysis of the *asānid* is correct.

### III. MATN ANALYSIS PER STUDENT OF AL-ZUHRI

The analysis of the traditions per student of al-Zuhri is carried out in the same way as the traditions about the event with the Hudhayl and the night journey. The large number of students and traditions makes it impossible to discuss every tradition in detail as I have done in the previous two chapters. Therefore, in some cases I will only give an overview of the results of the analysis.

#### *Ma'mar ibn Rāshid*

The oldest collection that contains a detailed version is the *Musannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzaq (L1).<sup>39</sup> The other detailed traditions are from Ibn Ḥanbal (L8), Ibn Ḥibbān (L9), al-Tabarānī (L19), Ibn 'Asākir (L6) and Ibn Qudāma (L14).<sup>40</sup> The *isnād* bundle of the traditions attributed to Ma'mar is given in Appendix 5.

Comparison of the *mutun* of the six detailed traditions shows that they are almost identical in formulation and content. Most differences in formulation seem to be copyist's

<sup>38</sup> This variant appears in several traditions of some of al-Zuhri's pupils, but it only appears as a less common variant in the traditions of that specific student

<sup>39</sup> 'Abd al-Razzaq, *al Musannaf*, V, 397-405

<sup>40</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tarikh*, I, 201-205 (no 10651) Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, VI, 416 419 (no 27243) Ibn Hibban, *Sahih*, VIII, 155-163 (no 3370) Ibn Qudama, *Kitab al tawwabīn Le livre des penitents*, Damascus 1961, 87-93 (no 42) Al Tabarānī, *al Mu'jam al kabir*, XIX, 42-46 (no 90)

errors. The common link of the traditions is ‘Abd al-Razzāq. The similarity of the traditions indicates written traditions, i.e. ‘Abd al-Razzāq probably let the students copy the written text from him, or he dictated the tradition. The three detailed traditions from ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s pupil Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī share the peculiarity that al-Zuhri’s informant is named “the son of Ka’b”, while the traditions from three other students - Ibn Ḥanbal, Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Sarī (d. 238/853)<sup>41</sup> and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā l-Dhuhli (d. 258/872)<sup>42</sup> - agree on the *ism* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. This means that Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī is responsible for the omission of the name of Ka’b’s son.

‘Abd al-Razzāq’s detailed tradition from Ma‘mar based on the above-mentioned traditions is as follows:

- 1 عبد الرراق عن معمر عن الزهري قال: أخبرني عبد الرحمن بن كعب بن مالك<sup>43</sup> عن أبيه قال: لم أتخلف
- 2 عن النبي (صلعم) في غزاة غزاها حتى كانت غزوة تبوك إلا بدرا ولم يعاتب النبي (صلعم) أحدا تخلف
- 3 عن بدر إنما خرج يريد العير فخرجت قريش مغوئين لعيرهم فالتقوا عن غير موعد كما قال الله ولعمري
- 4 إن أشرف مشاهد رسول الله (صلعم) في الناس لبدر وما أحب أني كنت شهادتها مكان بيعتي ليلة العقبة
- 5 حيث توافقتنا<sup>44</sup> على الإسلام. ثم لم<sup>45</sup> أتخلف بعد عن النبي (صلعم) في غزاة غزاها حتى كانت غزوة
- 6 تبوك وهي آخر غزوة عزاها وأنس النبي (صلعم) الناس بالرحيل وأراد أن يتأهبوا أهبة غزوهم وذلك حين
- 7 طاب الظلال وطابت الثمار وكان قل ما<sup>46</sup> أراد غزوة إلا ورى غيرها وكان يقول: الحرب خدعة فأراد
- 8 النبي (صلعم) في غزوة تبوك أن يتأهب الناس أهبة<sup>47</sup> وأنا أيسر ما كنت قد جمعت راحلتين وأنا أقدر
- 9 شيء في نفسي على الجهاد وخفة الحاذ وأنا في ذلك أصعب إلى الظلال وطيب الثمار فلم أزل كذلك حتى
- 10 قام النبي (صلعم) غاديا بالبغدة وذلك يوم الخميس وكان يحب أن يخرج يوم الخميس فأصبح غاديا فقلت:
- 11 انطلق غدا إلى السوق فاشترى جهازا ثم ألحق بهم فانطلقت إلى السوق من الغد ففسر علي بعض شائي
- 12 فرجعت فقلت: أرحع غدا إن شاء الله فالحق بهم ففسر علي بعض شائي أيضا فلم أزل كذلك حتى التبت
- 13 بي الذنب وتحلفت عن رسول الله (صلعم) فجعلت أمشي في الأسواق وأطوف بالمدينة فيحزنني أني لا
- 14 أرى أحدا<sup>48</sup> إلا رجلا مغموصا عليه في النفاق وكان ليس أحد تخلف إلا رأى أن ذلك سيخفى له وكان
- 15 الناس كثيرا لا يجمعهم ديوان وكان جميع من تخلف عن النبي (صلعم) بضعة وثمانين رجلا ولم
- 16 يتكرني النبي (صلعم) حتى بلغ تبوكا فلما بلغ تبوكا قال: ما فعل كعب بن مالك؟ قال رجل من قومي:

<sup>41</sup> His name is Muhammad ibn al-Mutawakkil al-Qurashī l-Hāshimī Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhib*, VI, 492-493 (no. 6169).

<sup>42</sup> The years 252, 256 and 257 AH are also mentioned as years in which Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā l-Dhuhli died. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhib*, VI, 553-557 (no. 6278)

<sup>43</sup> The version of Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī is *Ibn Ka’b ibn Mālik*.

<sup>44</sup> The version of Ibn Hanbal is *tawāfaqnā*.

<sup>45</sup> Also *wa-lam* mentioned.

<sup>46</sup> *Qalla mā* and *qallamā* are mentioned in the variant traditions.

<sup>47</sup> Also *uhbatahu* is mentioned.

<sup>48</sup> Version Ibn Ḥanbal *abadan takhallafa*

17 خلفه يا رسول الله برداه والنظر في عطفه فقال معاذ بن جبل: بنس ما قلت والله يا نبي الله ما نعلم إلا  
 18 خيرا. قال: فبينما هم كذلك إذا هم برجل يزول به السراب فقال النبي (صلعم): كن أبا خيثمة! فإذا هو أبو  
 19 خيثمة. فلما قضى النبي (صلعم) غزوة تبوك وقتل ودنا من المدينة جعلت ألتكر بماذا أخرج من سخط  
 20 النبي (صلعم) واستعين على ذلك (ب) كل ذي رأي من أهلي حتى إذا قيل: النبي (صلعم) (هو) مصبحكم  
 21 بالغداة<sup>49</sup> زاح<sup>50</sup> عني الباطل وعرفت أنني لا أنجو إلا بالصدق فدخل النبي (صلعم) ضحى فصلى في  
 22 المسجد ركعتين وكان إذا جاء من سفر فعل ذلك دخل المسجد فصلى (فيه) ركعتين ثم جلس فجعل يأتيه  
 23 من تحلف فيحلفون له ويعتذرون إليه فيستغفر لهم ويقبل علانيتهم ويكل سرانهم إلى الله فدخلت المسجد  
 24 فإذا هو جالس فلما راني تبسم تبسم المغضب فجلست بين يديه فقال: ألم تكن ابتعت ظهرك؟  
 25 (ف) قلت: بلى يا نبي الله! قال: فما خلفك؟ فقلت: والله لو بين يدي أحد من الناس غيرك جلست لخرجت  
 26 من سخطه علي بعدد لقد أوتيت جدلا ولكن قد علمت يا نبي الله أنني إن أخبرتك اليوم بقول تجد علي فيه  
 27 وهو حق فإني أرجو فيه عقي<sup>51</sup> الله وإن حدثتك اليوم حديثا ترضى عني فيه وهو كذب أو شك أن  
 28 يطلعك الله علي. والله يا نبي الله ما كنت قط أيسر ولا أخف حادا مني حين تخلفت عنك. قال: أما هذا فقد  
 29 صدقكم الحديث قم حتى يقضي الله فيك فقامت فتار على أثري ناس من قومي يؤنبوني فقالوا: والله ما  
 30 نعلمك أنذبت ذنبا قط قبل هذا فهلا اعتذرت إلى نبي الله (صلعم) بعدد يرضى عنك فيه وكان استغفار  
 31 رسول الله (صلعم) سيأتي من وراء ذلك<sup>52</sup> ولم تقف نفسك موقفا لا تدري ماذا يقضى لك فيه. فلم يزالوا  
 32 يؤنبوني حتى هممت أن أرجع فأكتب نفسي فقلت: هل قال هذا القول أحد غيري؟ قالوا: نعم قاله هلال  
 33 بن أمية ومرارة بن ربيعة. فذكروا رجلين صالحين قد شهدا بدرا لي فيهما أسوة فقلت: والله لا أرجع إليه  
 34 في هذا أبدا ولا أكذب نفسي. (قال: ) ونهى النبي (صلعم) الناس عن كلامنا أيها الثلاثة. قال: فجعلت  
 35 أخرج إلى 41 السوق فلا يكلمني أحد وتكر لنا الناس حتى ما هم بالذين نعرف وتكرت لنا الحيطان  
 36 حتى ما هي بالحيطان التي نعرف وتكرت لنا الأرض حتى ما هي بالأرض التي نعرف وكنت أقوى  
 37 أصحابي فكنت أخرج في السوق وأتي المسجد فأدخل وأتي النبي (صلعم) فأسلم عليه فأقول: هل حرك  
 38 شفتيه بالسلام؟ فإذا قمت أصلي إلى سارية فأقبلت قبل صلاتي نظر إلي بموخر عينيه وإذا نظرت إليه  
 39 أعرض عني. قال: واستكان صاحبائي فجعلوا يبكيان الليل والنهار لا يطلعان رؤوسهما فيينا أنا أطوف  
 40 في السوق إذا رجل نصراني جاء بطعام له يبيعه يقول: من يبل (ني) على كعب بن مالك؟ فطفق الناس  
 41 يشيرون له إلى فاتاني وأتاني بصحيفة من ملك غسان فإذا فيها >أما بعد! فإنه بلغني أن صاحبك قد  
 42 جفاك وأقصاك ولست بدار مضیعة ولا هوان فالحق بنا نواسك> فقلت: هذا أيضا من البلاء والشر  
 43 فسجرت لها التتور فأحرقتها فيه فلما مضت أربعون ليلة إذا رسول من النبي (صلعم) قد أتاني فقال:  
 44 اعتزل امرأتك. فقلت: أطلقها؟ قال: لا ولكن لا تقربها. فجاءت امرأة هلال بن أمية فقالت: يا نبي رسول  
 45 الله إن هلال بن أمية شيخ<sup>53</sup> ضعيف فهل ياذن لي أن أخدمه؟ قال: نعم ولكن لا يقربك. قالت: يا نبي الله

<sup>49</sup> Version Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabārī *ghadan bi lghadāh*.

<sup>50</sup> Versions Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Sarī and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā l-Duḥlī *rāḥa*.

<sup>51</sup> Versions Ibn Ḥanbal and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā *'afw*.

<sup>52</sup> Also *dhanbika*.

<sup>53</sup> Version Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabārī *shaykh kabir*.

46 والله ما به حركة<sup>54</sup> لشيء ما زال مكبا بيكي الليل والنهار منذ كان من أمره ما كان. قال كعب: فلما طال  
 47 علي البلاء اقتحمت علي أبي قتادة حائطه وهو ابن عمي فسلمت عليه فلم يرد علي فقلت: أنشدك الله يا  
 48 أبا قتادة! أتعلم أني أحب الله ورسوله؟ فسكت ثم قلت: أنشدك الله يا أبا قتادة! أتعلم أني أحب الله  
 49 ورسوله؟<sup>55</sup> قال: الله ورسوله أعلم. قال: فلم أملك نفسي أن بكيت ثم اقتحمت الحائط خارجا حتى إذا  
 50 مضت خمسون ليلة من حين نهى النبي (صلعم) الناس عن كلامنا صليت على ظهر بيت لنا صلاة الفجر  
 51 ثم جلست وأنا في المنزلة التي قال الله <<قد ضاقت علينا الأرض بما رحبت وضاقت علينا أنفسنا>> إذ  
 52 سمعت نداء من ذروة سلع: أن أبشر يا كعب بن مالك! فخررت ساجدا وعرفت أن الله قد جاء (نا) بالفرج  
 53 ثم جاء رجل يركض على فرس يبشرنني فكان الصوت أسرع من فرسه فأعطيته ثوبي بشارة ولبست  
 54 ثوبين آخرين. قال: وكانت توبتنا نزلت على النبي (صلعم) ثلث الليل فقالت أم سلمة: يا نبي الله! ألا نبشر  
 55 كعب بن مالك؟ قال: إذا بحطمكم<sup>56</sup> الناس ويمنعونكم النوم سائر الليلة. قال: وكانت أم سلمة محسنة في  
 56 شائي تحزن بأمري فانطلقت إلى النبي (صلعم) فإذا هو جالس في المسجد وحوله المسلمون وهو يستنير  
 57 كاستتارة القمر وكان إذا سر بالأمر استنار فجئت فجلست بين يديه فقال: أبشر يا كعب بن مالك بخير  
 58 يوم أتى عليك منذ ولدتك أمك. قال: قلت: يا نبي الله أمن عند الله أم من عندك؟ قال: بل من عند الله ثم تلا  
 59 عليهم <<لقد تاب الله على النبي والمهاجرين والأنصار>> حتى بلغ <<التواب الرحيم>>. قال: وفيما  
 60 (أ)نزلت (أيضا) <<اتقوا الله وكونوا مع الصادقين>>. قال: فقلت: يا نبي الله إن من توبتي ألا أحدث إلا  
 61 صدقا وإن أدخل من مالي كله صدقة إلى الله وإلى رسوله. فقال: أمسك عليك بعض مالك فهو خير لك.  
 62 فقلت: فإني أمسك سهمي الذي بخير. قال: فما أنعم الله علي نعمة بعد الإسلام أعظم في نفسي من صدقي  
 63 رسول الله (صلعم) حين صدقته أنا وصاحبائي أن لا نكون كذبن<sup>57</sup>ا فهلكنا كما هلكوا وإني لأرجو أن لا  
 64 يكون الله عز وجل ابتلى<sup>58</sup> أحدا في الصدق مثل الذي ابتلاني ما تعمدت لكذبة بعد وإني لأرجو أن  
 65 يحفظني الله فيما بقي. قال الزهري: فهذا ما انتهى إلينا من حديث كعب بن مالك.

'Abd al-Razzāq on the authority of Ma'mar on the authority of al-Zuhri, he said, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik informed me on the authority of his father, he said, "I did not stay behind from the Prophet in any expedition until the expedition to Tabūk, except for Badr (1)"<sup>59</sup>. The Prophet did not blame anyone who had stayed back from Badr, because he set out for the caravan, while Quraysh set out to aid their caravan and they

<sup>54</sup> Version Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabārī *min haraka*.

<sup>55</sup> The repetition of the sentence appears in some versions twice and in others three times.

<sup>56</sup> Versions Ibn Ḥanbal and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā l-Dhuhli *yaḥṭimannakum*

<sup>57</sup> Version Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dabārī *kadhabnahu*.

<sup>58</sup> The versions from Ibn Ḥanbal and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā l-Dhuhli have *ablā* and *ablāni* in this sentence.

<sup>59</sup> In the translation, I have divided the story in different elements based on the versions of all of al-Zuhri's students. Some of them do not mention a certain element or they put them in a different order, which is why sometimes a number is skipped or the numbers are not consecutive. It also occurs that a certain element is only present in the version of one student. Appendix 6 contains a list of all elements.

met unintentionally<sup>60</sup> as God said (2). By my life! The most esteemed place of martyrdom of the messenger of God among the people is certainly Badr (5), but I would not trade my pledge during the night of al-‘Aqaba (4), where we entered an agreement on Islam (3), for presence [at Badr]. After that, I did not stay behind from the Prophet in an expedition until the expedition to Tabūk (6). It was the last expedition he made (7).

The Prophet notified the people of the departure (13). He wanted them to prepare the equipment for their expedition, which would take place at a time when the shadows were pleasant and the fruit abundant (16). Rarely did he send out an expedition, without pretending another destination (9), saying “war is a mode of deceiving.” (10) But in the case of the expedition to Tabūk, the Prophet wanted the people to prepare the [proper] equipment during the expedition to Tabūk (12). I had never been wealthier; I had gathered two riding-camels. I had never been more able to fight and having little property to maintain (8). However, at that time, I inclined towards the shadows and the abundance of the fruits (17). I was still like that, when the Prophet left early in the morning (20). This was on Thursday. He loved to leave on Thursday (21). I got up in the morning and said, ‘I will go quickly to the market tomorrow and buy my equipment. Then I will catch up with them.’ (22) I hurried to the market on the following day and part of my business was difficult for me (23). I returned and said, ‘I will come back tomorrow if God wills and catch up with them’, but part of my business was difficult for me again (24). I continued to do so until my guilt became too complicated and I stayed behind from the messenger of God (25).

I began to walk in the markets and to roam all over Medina. It made me sad that I only saw men accused of hypocrisy (27). Everybody who had stayed behind thought that this would be hidden from him (15), because there were so many people that a *dīwān*<sup>61</sup> could not contain them (14). There were eighty-something men who had stayed behind from the Prophet (36).

The Prophet did not think of me until he had reached Tabūk. When he reached Tabūk he asked, ‘What happened to Ka‘b ibn Mālik?’ (28) A man from my tribe said, ‘O messenger of God, his two cloaks and looking at his two sides (meaning, he is self-concerned)<sup>62</sup> made him to stay behind.’ Mu‘adh ibn Jabal said, ‘What a bad thing to say! By God, Prophet of God, we only know good things of him.’” (29) He said, “While they were like that, they suddenly [saw] a man appearing from the mirage. The Prophet said, ‘Let it be Abū Khaythama.’ It was indeed Abū Khaythama. (30)

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<sup>60</sup> Literally: without appointment

<sup>61</sup> A *dīwān* is a register of – in this case – participants of the expedition

<sup>62</sup> See Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 2080.

When the Prophet finished the expedition to Tabūk and was on his way back to Medina, I began to think about how I could escape the anger of the Prophet. For that purpose, I sought the help of everyone having sound judgment from my family (31). When it was said that the Prophet would arrive early in the morning, falsehood left me and I knew that only the truth could save me (32).

The Prophet arrived after sunrise and prayed two *rak'āt* in the place of worship (33). When he came back from a journey, he did that: he entered the place of worship and prayed two *rak'āt*. Then he sat down (34). The persons who had stayed behind began to come to him, to swear an oath to him and to excuse themselves to him (35). He forgave them, accepted their openness and entrusted their secrets to God (37).

I entered the place of worship and there he was sitting. When he saw me, he smiled angrily at me (38). I came and sat before him. He said, 'Did you not buy your mount?' I said, 'Yes, Prophet of God!' He said, 'What kept you back?' (39) I said, 'By God, if I sat before somebody else than you I would certainly escape his anger at me with an excuse, because I have been bestowed with eloquence<sup>63</sup>. However, I know, Prophet of God, that if I tell you today something which makes you angry with me, but which is true, then I hope for God's recompense. If I tell you today something, which makes you approve of me, but which is a lie, [I know that] God will soon inform you about me. By God, Prophet of God, I have never been wealthier and with lesser property to maintain when I stayed behind from you.' (40) He said, 'Verily, he has told you the information with truth. Get up until God decides about you.' (41)

I got up and people from my tribe rose at my heels chiding me. They said, 'By God, we have never known you committing a sin before this! Why did you not proffer an excuse to the Prophet of God by which he would approve of you? The forgiveness of the messenger of God would come through that and you would not find yourself in a position from which you do not know what will be decided about you.' (42) They did not stop chiding me until I was about to return and deny what I had previously said, when I asked, 'Did anybody else but me say the same thing?' (43) They said, 'Yes, Hīlāl ibn Umayya and Murāra ibn Rabi'a said [the same].' They mentioned two righteous men who had participated in Badr in whom I had an example. I said, 'By God, I will never return to him concerning this and prove myself a liar.'" (44)

(He said,) "The Prophet forbade the people to talk to the three of us (45)." He said, "I made myself go out to the market. Nobody talked to me and the people changed beyond recognition to us, until they were no longer the ones we knew. The walls changed beyond recognition to us, until they were no longer the walls we knew. The land changed beyond

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<sup>63</sup> I used Trevor le Gassick's translation of this word. See Ibn Kathīr, *The Life*, IV, 30.



recognition to us, until it was no longer the land we once knew (46). I was the strongest of my companions. I used to go out to the market and go to the place of worship (49). I entered and the Prophet came. I greeted him and said [to myself], 'Did he move his lips in salutation?' When I started to pray towards a column and turned towards my prayer, he looked at me out of the corner of his eyes and when I looked at him, he turned away from me." (50)

He said, "My two companions were humble and they were crying day and night not showing their heads (48). While I was walking around the market, there was a Christian, who had come to sell his food, saying, 'Who shows me the way to Ka'b ibn Mālik?' The people began to point him towards me and he came to me. He brought me a letter from the king of Ghassān<sup>64</sup> in which was written <Now, I have heard that your master treated you unkindly and drove you away. You should not be in a state of abandonment<sup>65</sup> and shame. Come to us, we will support you.> I said, 'This is another test and blemish!' I heated the fire for it and burned it in it. (52)

When forty nights had passed, there came a messenger from the Prophet, who said, 'Separate from your wife.' I asked, 'Do I have to divorce her?' He said, 'No, but do not sleep with her.' (53) The wife of Hilāl ibn Umayya came and said, 'Messenger of God, Hilāl ibn Umayya is a weak old man. Is it allowed for me to serve him?' He answered, 'Yes, but he should not sleep with you.' She said, 'O Prophet of God. By God, he has no desire for anything.'<sup>66</sup> He has not stopped crying in prostration day and night since the beginning of this case.'" (55)

Ka'b said, "When the trial became too much for me, I climbed the wall [of the property] of my nephew Abū Qatāda and I greeted him, but he did not return my greeting. I said, 'I beg you by God, Abū Qatāda! Do you not know that I love God and His messenger?' He remained silent and I said, 'I beg you by God, Abū Qatāda! Do you not know that I love God and His messenger?' He said, 'God and His messenger know best.'" He said, "I could not prevent myself from crying, so I climbed back over the wall. (51)

When fifty nights had passed since the Prophet forbade the people to talk to us, I was performing the Morning Prayer on the roof of one of our houses. I sat down, while I was in a state of which God had said <<and the earth, for all its spaciousness, closed in

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<sup>64</sup> The Ghassān are a division of the Azd-clan. They came originally from South Arabia, but migrated to Syria after their conversion to Christianity. They were allies of the Byzantium empire. Shahid, I., "Ghassān", in *El2*, II, Leiden 1965, 1020-1021

<sup>65</sup> Literally: a place of perdition and shame.

<sup>66</sup> Literally: there is no motion in him for anything. I used the translation of Trevor LeGassick. See Ibn Kathīr, *The Life*, IV, 32.

around them and their souls closed in around them>><sup>67</sup>, when I heard suddenly a cry from the upper part of Sal'<sup>68</sup>, 'Rejoice, Ka'b ibn Mālik!' (57) I fell down prostrating and I knew that God had given us reprieve from grief (58). Then a man on a horse came bringing me good news; the voice was quicker than his horse (63). I gave him my two cloaks as a gift for bringing good news and put on two other cloaks. (64)

Our remission had been revealed to the Prophet during the first third of the night (59). Umm Salama said, 'Prophet of God. Why do we not tell Ka'b ibn Mālik the good news?' He [Prophet] said, 'Then, the people will crowd round you and will prevent you from sleeping the remainder of the night.'" He said, "Umm Salama was beneficial to my case, because she was sad over my affair. (60)

I went to the Prophet and there he was sitting in the place of worship surrounded by Muslims (66) and shining like the moon. He was always beaming when he was happy with something. I came and sat down before him (70). He said, 'Rejoice, Ka'b ibn Mālik with the best day since your mother gave birth to you.'" (68) He said, "I said, 'Prophet of God. Did it come from God or from you?' He said, 'No, it came from God!' (69) Then he recited to them <<God has turned mercifully to the Prophet, the Emigrants and the Helpers>> until he reached <<God is the Ever Relenting, the Merciful>><sup>69</sup>." (75) He said, "About us, it was also revealed: <<Fear God and be with the truthful>><sup>70</sup>." (76)

He said, "I said, 'O Prophet of God, as my penance, I will only speak the truth (72) and give all my property as *ṣadaqa* to God and His messenger.' [The Prophet] said, 'Keep some of your property; that is better for you.' I said, 'I will keep my share from Khaybar.' (71) God did not bestow upon me a greater favour after my conversion to Islam than letting me speak the truth to the messenger of God, when my two companions and I spoke the truth, so that we did not lie and perish like they perished (77). I certainly hope that God to Whom belong might and majesty does not test anyone in speaking the truth as he has tested me (73). I have not yet intentionally told a lie and I hope that God will preserve me for the rest of my life." (74)

Al-Zuhri said, "This is the end of the tradition of Ka'b ibn Mālik." (78)

The medium-length traditions, which are from Ibn 'Asākir (M1), al-Tirmidhī (M2), al-Qurṭubī (M3) and Ibn al-Athīr (M4),<sup>71</sup> relate several elements of the detailed story. Ibn

<sup>67</sup> *Sūrat al-tawba* 9:118. See footnote 3 for the source of the translation.

<sup>68</sup> Sal' is a mountain near Medina Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 236.

<sup>69</sup> *Surat al-tawba* 9:117-118.

<sup>70</sup> *Sūrat al-tawba* 9:119.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, II, 31-32. Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, 488-489. Al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, VIII, Beirut 1405/[1985], 277-278. Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, IV, 345-346 (no. 5100).

'Asākir's tradition from Ibn Ḥanbal follows the plot of the detailed tradition from the beginning until element 21. The other three traditions, which al-Tirmidhī all relates from 'Abd al-Razzāq on the authority of 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd (d. 249/863), narrate Ka'b's story from the beginning until element 13 and from element 66 to 74<sup>72</sup> after the remark that "he<sup>73</sup> told it completely" (*fa-dhakara l-ḥadīth bi-tūlihi*). The *mutūn* of the medium-length traditions are similar to the detailed traditions in form and content except for the above-mentioned missing parts.

The reference to the complete story at the point where part of the plot is skipped and the similarity in formulation and content of the text shows that the detailed story is the original version of 'Abd al-Razzāq. This only applies to the traditions from al-Tirmidhī, al-Qurṭubī and Ibn al-Athīr. There is no reference to a longer story in the tradition from Ibn 'Asākir; the tradition stops suddenly. Probably, the editor Ibn 'Asākir is responsible for the abrupt end. He places the tradition in the chapter on the Prophet's expedition to al-Shām. He probably only mentioned the first part of the tradition from Ka'b, because this part relates how Muḥammad ordered the Muslims to prepare for the expedition and when he left. The remaining information in the tradition, i.e. how Ka'b stayed behind, falls outside the scope of the chapter.

The other traditions from Ma'mar handle only one or two elements from the detailed tradition. The following elements appear separately as short traditions: 1, 9+10, 21, 34, 53, 58, 70 and 71+72. Several short traditions contain references to a longer story and are shortened versions of the detailed tradition. A number of short traditions, however, lack any indication that they were formerly part of a longer story and there is no connection with the expedition to Tabūk. It seems that Ma'mar transmitted some elements (9+10, 21, 34, 71+72) not only as part of the detailed story about Tabūk, but also separately, outside the context of Ka'b's story. These traditions usually begin with an introductory sentence that is not present in the detailed version, while the remainder of the text seems to be identical. Ma'mar most probably related the short traditions with the transmission line al-Zuhri -> 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālik, i.e. with only one link to the alleged author of the story, the Companion Ka'b ibn Mālik.

<sup>72</sup> Ibn al-Athīr's tradition ends with the citation of verse 9:117 (element 75) instead of verse 9: 118. The shortening is most probably a copyist's error, because both verses end with the same word *rahīm*.

<sup>73</sup> Al-Tirmidhī or 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd shortened the tradition and added the remark. Therefore, "he" is either 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd or 'Abd al-Razzāq.

Another result from the analysis of the *mutūn* of the short traditions is that according to the *isnād*, the formulation and the structure of the two traditions that derived from a combined transmission of Ma'mar and Yūnus (S12 and S16), are different from the detailed versions of Ma'mar. Furthermore, the source of al-Zuhrī is the grandson 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b, while the other traditions from 'Abd Allah ibn al-Mubārak, who transmits the combined tradition from Ma'mar and Yūnus, mention the son 'Abd al-Raḥman as informant of al-Zuhrī. We will first have to compare the combined traditions with traditions from Yūnus, before we can decide if the *matn* and the formulation of the lower part of the *isnād* derive from Yūnus, or if Ma'mar transmitted this tradition with a variant structure and formulation outside the framework of his detailed version as he did with other elements.<sup>74</sup>

The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of the traditions ascribed to Ma'mar, shows that 'Abd al-Razzāq handed down a detailed tradition with the *sanad* Ma'mar -> al-Zuhrī -> 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Malīk by means of written transmission. Ma'mar taught the detailed version probably also to other students besides 'Abd al-Razzāq, although we only have a reference to a detailed version from Muḥammad ibn Thawr (d. 190/806) in two short traditions. Unfortunately, we do not have the actual text of Ibn Thawr's longer tradition.

*Ibn Akhī l-Zuhrī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Muslim*

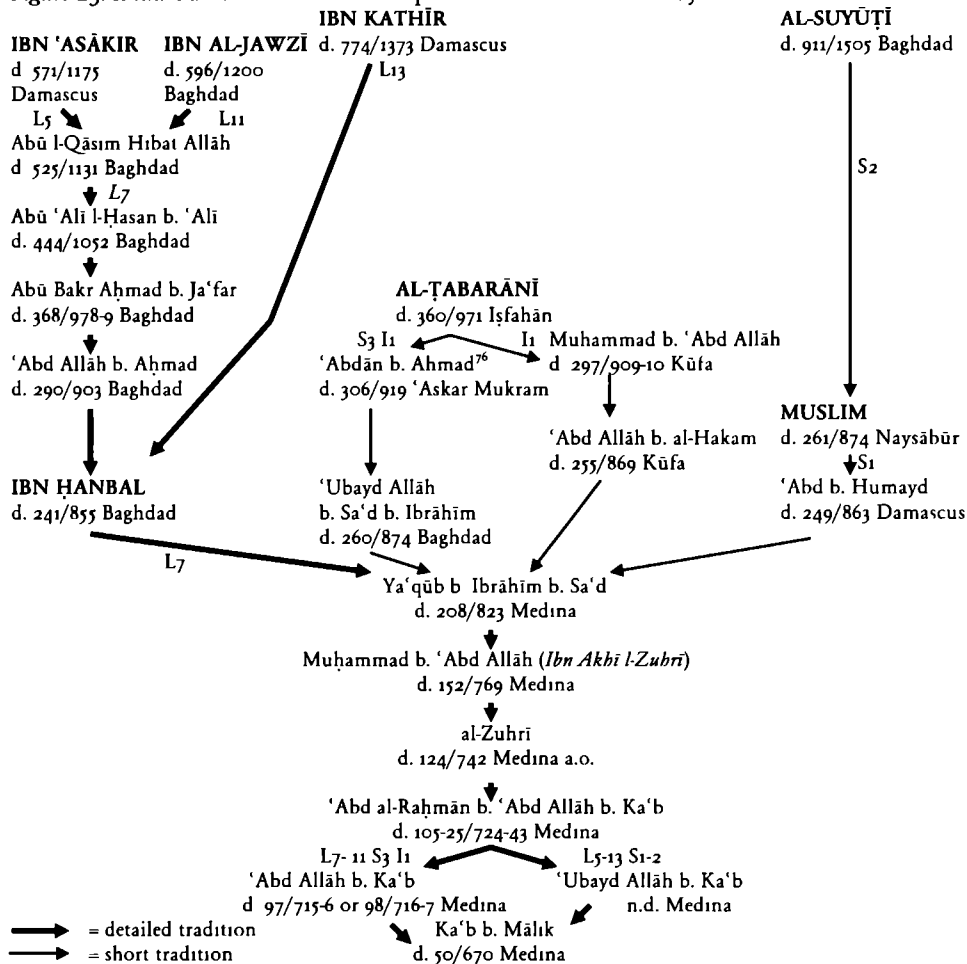
The detailed version of al-Zuhrī's nephew Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allah is preserved in a rather late tradition from Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allah ibn Muhammad al-Shaybanī in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal and by Ibn 'Asākīr, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Kathīr.<sup>75</sup> The *isnād* bundle of all the traditions ascribed to Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allah is as follows:

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<sup>74</sup> Comparison with the version from Yunus shows that the *isnād* as well as the *matn* is similar to the version from Yunus, although there are some differences in formulation. See pages 247-248.

<sup>75</sup> The tradition from Ibn Hanbal's *Musnad* (and probably also the one from Ibn Kathīr) is handed down via the same *riwaya* as the traditions from Ibn 'Asākīr and Ibn al-Jawzī. Ibn 'Asākīr, *Ta'rikh*, I, 196-201 (no. 10650). Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, III, 557-559 (no. 15795). Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam fī tarīkh al-mulūk wa'l-umam*, II, Beirut 1995, 428-433. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, II, 411-413.

Figure 23: *Isnād* bundle of al-Zuhri's nephew on the three who stayed behind



Since according to the *isnād* all traditions derive from the same 5th-century transmitter, we would expect to find a high degree of similarity between the *mutūn* with only some minor differences. This is indeed the case with the traditions of Ibn 'Asākir, Ibn al-Jawzī and the tradition from Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*. Almost all differences are probably the result of transcription errors, which indicates that Ibn 'Asākir and Ibn al-Jawzī received the tradition from Hibat Allāh through written transmission. The tradition of Ibn Kathīr is more complicated. It differs more than the other three traditions, while it probably derives from the same source (Hibat Allāh). Many differences go beyond small copyist's errors.

<sup>76</sup> He is Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā l-Ahwāzī l-Jawālīqī. Dhahabī, *Kitāb tadhkīrat al-ḥuffāz*, II, Beirut 1428/2007, 187-188 (no. 55/709 10).

The similarities between the four detailed traditions show that they derive from the same source. Ibn Kathīr received this tradition also by means of written transmission. However, the differences between Ibn Kathīr's text and the other three are larger and more significant than we would have expected based on the information from the *isnād*. Ibn Kathīr either connects (by mistake) the wrong *isnād* to this tradition, or he or one of the transmitters between himself and Ibn Ḥanbal adjusted the text.

Finally, the four texts agree on the same informant from al-Zuhri, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk. They disagree, however, on 'Abd al-Raḥmān's informant. The traditions from Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* and Ibn al-Jawzi both mention 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b, while Ibn 'Asākir and Ibn Kathīr have 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ka'b. This might be a transcription error, since the difference between the two names is just one letter in writing. It is also possible that al-Zuhri's nephew or one of the transmitters between him and Hibat Allāh confused the names and sometimes mention 'Ubayd Allāh instead of 'Abd Allāh. It is not very likely that these texts originally derived from two different sons of Ka'b, since the traditions are almost identical. Even the text of Ibn Kathīr does not differ to such an extent that it could be explained by al-Zuhri having two different informants.

A reconstruction of the detailed tradition from al-Zuhri's nephew based on the above-mentioned traditions is as follows:

- 1 حدثنا عبد الله حدثني أبي حدثنا يعقوب بن إبراهيم حدثنا ابن أخي الزهري محمد بن عبد الله عن عمه
- 2 محمد بن مسلم الزهري قال: أخبرني عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن كعب بن مالك أن عبد الله بن كعب بن
- 3 مالك وكان قائد كعب من بني حنيفة عني قال: سمعت كعب بن مالك يحدث حديثه حين تخلف عن رسول
- 4 الله (صلعم) في غزوة تبوك فقال كعب بن مالك: لم أتخلف عن رسول الله (صلعم) في غزوة غزاه<sup>77</sup> قط
- 5 إلا في غزوة تبوك غير أني كنت تخلفت في غزوة بدر ولم يعاتب أحدا تخلف عنها إنما خرج رسول الله
- 6 (صلعم) يريد غير قریش حتى جمع الله بينهم وبين عدوهم على غير ميعاد ولقد شهدت مع رسول الله
- 7 (صلعم) ليلة العقبة حين توافقتنا على الإسلام وما<sup>78</sup> أحب أن لي بها مشهد بدر وإن كانت بدر أذكى في
- 8 الناس منها وأشهر وكان من خبري حين تخلفت عن رسول الله (صلعم) في غزوة تبوك أني<sup>79</sup> لم أكن قط
- 9 أقوى ولا أيسر مني حين تخلفت عنه في تلك الغزاة والله ما جمعت قلبها راحلتين قط حتى جمعتهما<sup>80</sup> في
- 10 تلك الغزاة وكان رسول الله (صلعم) قلما يريد غزاة يغزوها إلا ورى بغيرها حتى كانت تلك الغزاة
- 11 فعزاه رسول الله (صلعم) في حر شديد واستقبل سفرا بعيدا ومعارزا واستقبل عدوا كثيرا فجلا للمسلمين
- 12 أمره ليتأهبوا أهبة عدوهم فأخبرهم بوجهه الذي يريد والمسلمون مع رسول الله (صلعم) كثير لا يجمعهم

<sup>77</sup> Version *Musnad* Ibn Ḥanbal *ghayribā*.

<sup>78</sup> Version *Musnad* Ibn Ḥanbal *mā*.

<sup>79</sup> Version *Musnad* Ibn Ḥanbal *li anni*.

<sup>80</sup> Version *Musnad* Ibn Ḥanbal *jama'tuha*.

13 كتاب حافظ يريد الديوان فقال كعب فعل رجل يريد أن<sup>81</sup> يتعيب إلا طس أن ذلك سيجعي له ما لم يبرل  
14 فيه وحى من الله عز وجل وعرا رسول الله (صلعم) تلك العروة حين طابت الثمار والطل وأنا إليه  
15 أصعر<sup>82</sup> فتحهر إليها رسول الله (صلعم) والمؤمنون معه وطفقت أعدو لكي أتحرر معه فأرجع ولم أقص  
16 شيئا فأقول في نفسي أنا قادر على ذلك إذا أردت فلم يبرل كذلك يتمادى بي حتى شمر بالباس الحد  
17 فأصبح رسول الله (صلعم) عاديا والمسلمون معه ولم أقص من جهاري شيئا فقلت الحجار<sup>83</sup> بعد يوم أو  
18 يومين ثم الحفهم فعدوت بعدما فصلوا لأتحرر فرجعت ولم أقص شيئا من جهاري ثم عدوت فرجعت ولم  
19 أقص شيئا فلم يبرل ذلك يتمادى بي حتى أسرعوا وتعارط العرو فهممت أن أرتحل فأدركهم وليت أني  
20 فعلت ثم لم يقدر لذلك لي فطفقت إذا حرحت في اللباس بعد حروح رسول الله (صلعم) فطفقت فيهم  
21 يحرسني أن لا أرى إلا رجلا معموصا عليه في النفاق أو رجلا ممن عذره الله ولم يكرهني رسول الله  
22 (صلعم) حتى بلغ تنوك فقال وهو حالس في القوم بتنوك ما فعل كعب بن مالك؟ قال رجل من بني  
23 سلمة حسه يا رسول الله برداه والبطر في عطفيه فقال له معاذ بن حنبل بسما قلت والله يا رسول الله  
24 ما علمنا عليه إلى حيرا فسكت رسول الله (صلعم) فقال كعب بن مالك فلما بلغني أن رسول الله  
25 (صلعم) قد توجه قافلا من تنوك حصرني بثي فطفقت أتفكر الكتب<sup>84</sup> وأقول لماذا أخرج من سطحه عدا  
26 استعين على ذلك كل ذي رأي من أهلي فلما قيل أن رسول الله (صلعم) قد أطل قائما راح عني الناظر  
27 وعرفت أني لن أحو منه شيء أبدا فأجمعت صنفه وصح رسول الله (صلعم) وكان إذا قدم من سفر  
28 بدأ بالمسجد فركع فيه ركعتين ثم جلس للباس فلما فعل ذلك جاءه المتحلفون فطفقوا يعتدرون إليه  
29 ويحلفون له وكانوا بصعة وثمانين رجلا فعزل منهم رسول الله (صلعم) علابيتهم ويستعفر لهم ويكل  
30 سرابهم إلى الله تبارك وتعالى حتى حنت فلما سلمت عليه تنسم تنسم المعصب ثم قال لي تعال فحبت  
31 أمشي حتى جلست بين يديه فقال لي ما حلفك؟ ألم تكن قد استمر طهرك؟ قال فقلت يا رسول الله اني  
32 لو جلست عدد عيرك من أهل الدنيا لرأيت اني أخرج من سطحته بعدد لقد أعطيت حدلا ولكنه والله لقد  
33 علمت لس حدثك اليوم<sup>85</sup> حديث كذب ترصني به عني<sup>86</sup> ليوشك الله تعالى يسحطك علي ولن حدثك  
34 اليوم بصنق تحذ علي فيه اني لأرحو قرّة عيني عوا من الله تبارك وتعالى والله ما كان لي عذر والله ما  
35 كنت قط أفرع ولا أيسر مني حين تحلفت عنك قال رسول الله (صلعم) أما هذا فقد صدق فقم حتى  
36 يفصي الله تعالى فيك فقممت وبادرت رجال من بني سلمة فأتعنوبي فقالوا لي والله ما علمناك كنت  
37 ادست دينا قبل هذا ولقد عذرت أن لا تكون اعتذرت إلى رسول الله (صلعم) بما اعتذر به المتحلفون  
38 لقد<sup>87</sup> كان كافيك من ذلك استعاز رسول الله (صلعم) لك قال فوالله ما رالوا يوسوني حتى أردت أن  
39 أرجع فأكذب نفسي قال ثم قلت لهم هل لقي هذا معي أحد؟ قالوا نعم لقيه معك رجلا قال ما قلت

<sup>81</sup> Version *Musnad* Ibn Hanbal does not mention this word

<sup>82</sup> Ibn 'Asakir does not mention this sentence Ibn al Jawzi *wa l nas ilayha su r* Ibn Kathir *wa ana ilayha asghar*

<sup>83</sup> Ibn 'Asakir and Ibn Kathir *atajahhazu*

<sup>84</sup> Version *Musnad* Ibn Hanbal *al kadhhab*

<sup>85</sup> Ibn 'Asakir and Ibn Kathir do not mention this word

<sup>86</sup> Version *Musnad* Ibn Hanbal *anni bihi*

<sup>87</sup> Ibn 'Asakir and Ibn Kathir *fa qad*

40 فقيل لهما مثل ما قيل لك. قال: فقلت لهم: من هما؟ قالوا: مرارة بن الربيع العامري وهلال بن أمية.  
 41 الواقفي. قال: فنكروا لي رجلين صالحين قد شهدا بدرًا لي فيهما أسوة. قال: فمضيت حين نكروهما لي.  
 42 قال: ونهى رسول الله (صلعم) المسلمين عن كلامنا أيها الثلاثة من بين من تخلف عنه فاجتنبنا الناس.  
 43 قال: وتغيروا لنا حتى تنكرت لي في<sup>88</sup> نفسي الأرض فما هي بالأرض التي كنت أعرف قلبنا على  
 44 ذلك خمسين ليلة فأما صاحباي فاستكنا وقعدا في بيوتهما بكيان وأما أنا فكنت أشب القوم وأجلدهم فكنت  
 45 أشهد الصلاة مع المسلمين وأطوف بالأسواق ولا يكلمني أحد وأتى رسول الله (صلعم) وهو في مجلسه  
 46 بعد الصلاة فأسلم عليه فأقول في نفسي: حرك شفتيه برد السلام أم لا؟ ثم أصلي قريباً منه وأسارقه  
 47 النظر فإذا أقبلت على صلاتي نظر إلي فإذا التفت نحوه أعرض حتى إذا طال علي ذلك من هجر  
 48 المسلمين مشيت حتى تسورت حائط أبي قتادة وهو ابن عمي وأحب الناس إلي فسلمت عليه فوالله ما رد  
 49 علي السلام فقلت له: يا أبا قتادة أنشدك الله. هل تعلم أنني أحب الله ورسوله؟ قال: هسكت. قال: فعدت  
 50 فنشدته فسكت فعدت فنشدته فقال: الله ورسوله أعلم. ففاضت عيناى وتوليت حتى تسورت الجدار فبينما  
 51 أنا أمشي بسوق المدينة إذا نبطي<sup>89</sup> من أنباط أهل الشام ممن قدم بطعام يبيعه بالمدينة يقول: من يدلني  
 52 على كعب بن مالك؟ قال: فطفق الناس يشيرون له إلي حتى جاء فدفع إلي كتاباً من ملك غسان وكنت  
 53 كاتباً فإذا فيه <أما بعد! فقد بلغنا أن صاحبك قد جعلك ولم يجعلك الله بدار هوان ولا مضية فالحق بنا  
 54 نواسك> قال: فقلت حين قرأتها: وهذا أيضاً من البلاء. قال: فتيمنت بها التنور فسجرت به<sup>90</sup> حتى إذا  
 55 مضت أربعون ليلة من الخمسين إذا برسول رسول الله (صلعم) يأتيني فقال: إن رسول الله (صلعم)  
 56 يأمرك أن تعتزل امرأتك. قال: فقلت: أطلقها أم ماذا أفعل؟ قال: بل اعتزلها فلا تقربها. قال: وأرسل إلي  
 57 صاحبي بمثل ذلك. قال: فقلت لامراتي: الحقى بأهلك فكوي عندهم حتى يقضي الله في هذا الأمر. قال:  
 58 فجاءت امرأة هلال بن أمية رسول الله (صلعم) فقالت له: يا رسول الله إن هلالاً شيخ ضائع ليس له خادم  
 59 فهل تكره أن أخدمه؟ قال: لا ولكن لا يقرينك. قالت: فإنه والله ما به حركة إلى شيء. والله ما يزال<sup>91</sup>  
 60 يبكي من لدن إن كان من أمرك ما كان إلى يومه هذا. قال: فقال لي بعض أهلي: لو استأذنت رسول الله  
 61 (صلعم) في امرأتك فقد أذن لامرأة هلال بن أمية أن تخدمه؟ قال: فقلت: والله لا استأذن فيها رسول الله  
 62 (صلعم) وما أدري ما يقول رسول الله (صلعم) إذا استأذنته وأنا رجل شاب. قال: فلبثنا بعد ذلك عشر  
 63 ليال فكمل لنا<sup>92</sup> خمسين ليلة حين نهى عن كلامنا. قال: ثم صليت صلاة الفجر صباح خمسين ليلة على  
 64 ظهر بيت من بيوتنا فبينما أنا جالس على الحال التي ذكر الله تبارك وتعالى منا قد ضاقت علي نفسي  
 65 وضاقت علي الأرض بما رحبت سمعت صارخاً أوفى على جبل سلع يقول بأعلى صوته يا كعب بن  
 66 مالك أبشر! قال: فخررت ساجدا وعرفت أن قد جاء فرج واذن رسول الله (صلعم) بتوبة الله تبارك  
 67 وتعالى علينا حين صلى صلاة الفجر فذهب يبشروننا وذهب قبل صاحبي يبشرون وركض إلي رجل  
 68 فرسا فسعى ساع من أسلم وأوفى الجبل فكان الصوت أسرع من الفرس فلما جاءني الذي سمعت صوته

<sup>88</sup> Version *Musnad* Ibn Ḥanbal *li min* Ibn al-Jawzī fi.

<sup>89</sup> Version *Musnad* Ibn Hanbal *anba'i*. Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn al-Kathīr *bi nabatt*.

<sup>90</sup> Ibn Kathīr has twice *-bu* instead of *-hā*, which is the correct affix, because it refers to *kitāb*

<sup>91</sup> Ibn 'Asākir and Ibn Kathīr *zāla*.

<sup>92</sup> Version *Musnad* Ibn Ḥanbal *kamāl*



69 يبشرنى نزعته له ثوبى فكسوتهما إياه ببشارته والله ما أملك غيرهما يومئذ فاستعرت ثوبين فلبستهما  
70 فانطلقت أوم رسول الله (صلعم) تلقاني<sup>93</sup> الناس فوجا فوجا يهزؤوني بالتوبة يقولون: ليهنك توبة الله  
71 عليك حتى دخلت المسجد فإذا رسول الله (صلعم) جالس في المسجد حوله الناس فقام إلي طلحة بن عبيد  
72 الله يهرول حتى صافحني وهناني والله ما قام إلي رجل من المهاجرين غيره. قال: فكان كعب لا ينساها  
73 لطلحة. قال كعب: فلما سلمت على رسول الله (صلعم) قال وهو يبرق وجهه من السرور: أبشر بخير  
74 يوم مر عليك منذ ولدتك أمك. قال: قلت: أمن عندك يا رسول الله أم من عند الله؟ قال: لا بل من عند الله.  
75 قال: وكان رسول الله (صلعم) إذا سر استنار وجهه كأنه قطعة قمر حتى يعرف ذلك منه. قال: فلما  
76 جلست بين يديه قال: قلت: يا رسول الله إن من توبتي أن أدخل من مالي صدقة إلى الله تعالى وإلى  
77 رسوله. قال رسول الله (صلعم): أمسك بعض مالك فهو خير لك. قال: فقلت: إني أمسك سهمي الذي  
78 بخير. قال: قلت: يا رسول الله إنما الله تعالى نجاني بالصدق وإن من توبتي أن لا أحدث إلا صدقا ما  
79 بقيت. قال: فوالله ما أعلم أحدا من المسلمين أبلاه الله من الصدق في الحديث مذ ذكرت ذلك لرسول الله  
80 (صلعم) أحسن مما أبلاني الله تبارك وتعالى. والله ما تعمدت كذبة مذ قلت ذلك لرسول الله (صلعم) إلى  
81 يومى هذا وإني لأرجو أن يحفظني فيما بقي. قال: وأنزل الله تبارك وتعالى <<لقد تاب الله على النبي  
82 والمهاجرين والأنصار الذين اتبعوه في ساعة العسرة من بعدما كاد يزيغ قلوب فريق منهم ثم تاب عليهم  
83 إنه بهم رؤوف رحيم وعلى الثلاثة الذين خلفوا حتى إذا ضاقت عليهم الأرض بما رحبت وضاقت عليهم  
84 أنفسهم وظنوا أن لا ملجأ من الله إلا إليه ثم تاب عليهم ليتوبوا إن الله هو التواب الرحيم يا أيها الذين آمنوا  
85 اتقوا الله وكونوا مع الصادقين>>. قال كعب: فوالله ما أنعم الله تبارك وتعالى علي من نعمة قط بعد أن  
86 هداني أعظم في نفسي من صدقي رسول الله (صلعم) يومئذ أن لا أكون كذبتة فأهلك كما هلك الذين  
87 كذبوه حين كذبوه فإن الله تبارك وتعالى قال للذين كذبوه حين أنزل الوحي<sup>94</sup> شر ما يقال لأحد فقال الله  
88 تعالى <<سيحلفون بالله لكم إذا انقلبتم إليهم لتعرضوا عنهم فأعرضوا عنهم إنهم رجس ومأواهم جهنم  
89 جزاء بما كانوا يكسبون يحلفون لكم لترضوا عنهم فإن ترضوا عنهم فإن الله لا يرضى عن القوم  
90 الفاسقين>> قال: وكنا خلفنا أيها الثلاثة عن أمر أولئك الذين قبل منهم رسول الله (صلعم) حين خلفوا  
91 فبايعهم واستغفر لهم فأرجأ رسول الله (صلعم) أمرنا حتى قضى الله تعالى بذلك قال الله تعالى <<وعلى  
92 الثلاثة الذين خلفوا>> وليس تحليفه إيانا وإرجأه أمرنا الذي ذكر مما خلفنا بتخلفنا عن الغزو وإنما هو  
93 عمن حلف له واعتذر إليه فقبل منه.

'Abd Allāh told us, my father told me, Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm told us, al-Zuhri's nephew Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh told us on the authority of his uncle Muḥammad ibn Muslim al-Zuhri, he said, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk informed me that 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk, the son of Ka'b who was his guide when he became blind, said, I heard Ka'b ibn Mālīk tell his story about when he stayed behind from the messenger of God during the expedition to Tabūk. Ka'b ibn Mālīk said,

<sup>93</sup> Version *Musnad* Ibn Ḥanbal *yālqānī*.

<sup>94</sup> Version *Musnad* Ibn Ḥanbal *kadhābūhu*.

“I had never stayed behind from the messenger of God in any expedition apart from the expedition to Tabūk, except that I stayed behind during the expedition to Badr (1). He [the Prophet] did not blame anyone who had stayed behind from Badr, because the messenger of God set out for the caravan of the Quraysh, when God brought them [the Muslims] and their enemy suddenly together (2). I was present together with the messenger of God at the night of al-‘Aqaba, when we concluded an agreement on Islam (3). I do not want to trade my presence at [al-‘Aqaba] for Badr, (5) even though the people consider Badr to be more memorable and famous (4).

When I stayed behind from the messenger of God during the expedition to Tabūk, I had never been stronger and wealthier than when I stayed behind from him during that expedition. By God, I had never before owned two riding-camels until I gathered them in that expedition (8). Rarely did he send out an expedition, without pretending another destination, until that expedition (9). The messenger of God made that expedition at a time of extreme heat with the prospect of a long travel through the desert and many enemies (11). He made this clear to the Muslims, so they could prepare the equipment against their enemy (12) and informed them on the direction he wanted to take (13).

The Muslims accompanying the messenger of God were so many that a *kitāb ḥāfiẓ* – by which he meant a register (*diwān*) – could not contain them.” (14) Ka‘b said, “A man who wanted to stay behind thinking that it would remain concealed as long as God did not send a revelation about him, was rare [among the Muslims] (15).

The messenger of God carried out that expedition at a time when the fruits and the shadow were pleasant (16) making me turn away my face from the others (17). The messenger of God made his preparations for [the expedition], as did the believers with him, while I began to go out early in the morning to prepare myself together with them, but I returned having accomplished nothing (18). I said to myself, ‘I can do it when I want to.’ I continued doing the same, until the people were making serious efforts (19). The messenger of God left early in the morning together with the Muslims, while I had completed nothing of my equipment (20). I said, ‘I will finish my preparations in a day or two. Then I will catch up with them.’ (22) I left early in the morning after they had departed to prepare myself, but I returned having accomplished nothing of my equipment (23). I left [again] early in the morning, but I returned having accomplished nothing (24). I continued doing the same, when they hurried on and the expedition got out of sight (25). I intended to leave and catch up with them - I wish that I had done that! – but then that was not predestined for me anymore (26).

When I went among the people after the departure of the messenger of God and walked among them, it made me sad that I only saw men accused of hypocrisy or those excused by God (27).

The messenger of God did not think of me until he had reached Tabūk. He asked, while he was sitting with the people in Tabūk, 'What happened to Ka'b ibn Mālik?' (28) A man of Banū Salīma replied, 'Messenger of God, his two cloaks and looking at his two sides made him to stay behind.' Mu'adh ibn Jabal said to him, 'What a bad thing to say! By God, messenger of God, we only know good things of him.' The messenger of God remained silent (29).

When I learned that the messenger of God was on his way back from Tabūk, I became sorrowful. I began to think about a lie. I said [to myself], 'How can I escape his anger tomorrow?' For that purpose, I sought the help of everyone with insight from my family (31) When it was said that the messenger of God was nearby, falsehood left me and I knew that I could never get away from him with anything. I decided to tell him the truth (32).

The messenger of God arrived in the morning (33). Whenever he came back from a journey, he would first go to the place of worship, where he would perform a prayer of two *rak'āt* and he would next sit down with the people (34) When he had done that the persons who had stayed behind came to him and started to proffer an excuse and swear an oath to him (35). There were 80 such men [who did that] (36) The messenger of God accepted their openness, forgave them and entrusted their secrets to God, blessed and exalted is He, until I arrived (37).

When I greeted him, he smiled angrily at me. Then he said to me, 'Come over here.' (38) I walked over and sat before him. He asked me, 'What kept you back? Did you continue with your mount?' (39) He said, "I said, 'Messenger of God, if I were sitting before anyone else in the world than you, I would certainly think that I would escape his anger with an excuse, because I have been bestowed with eloquence. However, by God, I know for sure that if I tell you today lies to please you, God, exalted is He, would certainly soon thereafter make you angry with me. Whereas, if I tell you today the truth, which will make you angry with me, I hope for the solace by God's pardon, blessed and exalted is He. By God, I had no excuse. By God, I have never been more unoccupied and wealthier than when I stayed behind from you.' (40) The messenger of God said, 'Verily, this man has told the truth. Get up until God, exalted is He, decides about you.' (41)

I got up and entered upon people from the Banū Salīma. They followed me and said, 'By God, we have never known you committing a sin before this! You failed to find an excuse for the messenger of God as did the others who had stayed behind. The forgiveness of the messenger of God would have been enough for your sin' (42) They did not stop chiding me until I wanted to return and deny what I had previously said. Then I asked them, 'Has anyone other than me received the same response?' (43) They said, 'Yes, two men. They said the same thing as you and his response to them was the same as to

you.' He said, I asked them, 'Who are they?' They answered, 'Murāra ibn al-Rabī' al-  
'Āmirī and Hilāl ibn Umayya l-Wāqifi.'" He said, "They mentioned two righteous men to  
me who had participated in Badr in whom I had an example." He said, "I walked away  
when they mentioned them to me." (44)

(He said,) "The messenger of God forbade the Muslims to talk to the three of us from  
among all those who had stayed behind from him and the people avoided us." (45) He  
said, "The people changed beyond recognition to us, until the land became unfamiliar to  
me and it was no longer the land I once knew (46). We remained like this for fifty nights  
(47). My two companions remained humbly in their houses weeping (48), but I was the  
youngest and the most enduring. I would still attend the prayer together with the  
Muslims and walk in the markets, but nobody talked to me (49). I would still go to the  
messenger of God, while he was in his assembly after the prayer. I greeted him and said to  
myself, 'Did he move his lips in salutation?' I would pray close to him and steal a glance  
at him. When I prayed he would look at me and when I turned towards him, he would  
turn away (50).

When the separation from the Muslims became too much for me, I walked and climbed  
over the wall [of the property] of Abū Qatāda, my nephew and the person I was most fond  
of. I greeted him, but by God, he did not return my greeting. I said to him, 'Abū Qatāda,  
I beg you by God! Do you not know that I love God and His messenger?" He said, "He  
remained silent." He said, "I begged him again, but he remained silent. I begged him  
again and he said, 'God and His messenger know best.' Tears flowed from my eyes at that.  
I turned away and climbed over the wall (51).

While I was walking in the market of Medina one day, there was a Nabatean<sup>95</sup> from  
Syria, who had come to sell his food in Medina, saying, 'Who shows me the way to Ka'b  
ibn Mālik?" He said, "The people began to point him towards me, until he came to me.  
He gave me a letter from the king of Ghassān. I was a scribe and in it was written <Now, I  
have heard that your master treated you unkindly. God should not put you in a state of  
abandonment and shame. Come to us, we will support you.>" He said, "I said when I  
read this, 'This is another test!'" He said, "I heated the fire for it and burned it in it (52).

When forty of the fifty nights had passed, there came a messenger from the messenger  
of God, who said, 'The messenger of God orders you to separate from your wife.'" He  
said, "I asked, 'Do I have to divorce her or what should I do?' He said, 'You just have to  
separate from her and do not sleep with her', he said. My two companions received the

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<sup>95</sup> The Nabataeans originated probably from the Syrian-Mesopotamian area. They spoke an Arabic dialect. See  
Graf, D.F., "Nabat: 1. The Nabaṭ al-Shām", in *El*2, VII, Leiden 1993, 834-835.

same message.” (53) He said, “I said to my wife, ‘Go to your family and stay with them, until God decides this matter.’” (54)

He said, “The wife of Hilāl ibn Umayya went to the messenger of God and said to him, ‘Messenger of God, Hilāl is a poor old man. He does not have a servant. Do you disapprove of me serving him?’ He answered, ‘No, but he should not sleep with you.’ She said, ‘By God, he has no desire for anything. He has not stopped crying since this began to this very day.’” (55)

He said, “Some of my family said to me, ‘Why do you not ask the messenger of God permission for your wife? He has allowed the wife of Hilāl ibn Umayya to serve him.’” He said, “I said, ‘By God, I will not ask the messenger of God permission for her. I do not know what the messenger of God would say if I, a young man, asked him permission.’” (56)

Ten more nights went by as before and we had gone through fifty nights since [the messenger of God] forbade [the people] to talk to us.” He said, “Then I performed the Morning Prayer on the roof of one of our houses on the morning of the fiftieth night. While I was sitting in the state of which God, blessed and exalted is He, had said, <my soul closed in around me and the earth, for all its spaciousness, closed in around me><sup>96</sup>, I heard a man who had climbed the mountain Sal’ shouting at the top of his voice, ‘Ka’b ibn Mālīk, rejoice!’ (57)

I fell down prostrating, realizing that relieve had come (58). The messenger of God had announced God’s forgiveness of us, when he had performed the Morning Prayer (61) and the people had come out to tell us the good news. They had gone to my two companions to bring the news (62) and a man hurried towards me on a horse, while a herald from Aslam had climbed the mountain. The voice was quicker than the horse (63). When the man whose voice I had heard, came to me to bring me the good news, I took off my two garments and dressed him with them as a gift for bringing good news. By God, I did not own any other clothes at that time, so I borrowed two garments and put them on (64).

I went to the messenger of God, while the people swarmed around me, congratulating me on God’s forgiveness of me, saying, ‘May the forgiveness of God give you joy’, until I entered the place of worship (65). There was the messenger of God sitting in the place of worship surrounded by people (66). Ṭalḥa ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh hurried towards me, until he shook hands with me and congratulated me. By God, no other Emigrant did so.” [Al-Zuhri or ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka’ b] said, “Ka’b never forgot Ṭalḥa’s action.” (67)

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<sup>96</sup> This is a paraphrase of *Sūrat al-tawba* 9:118 <<[...] when the earth, for all its spaciousness, closed in around them and their souls closed in around them [...]>>.

Ka'b said, "When I greeted the messenger of God, he said while his face was beaming with pleasure, 'Rejoice with the best day since your mother gave birth to you.'" (68) He said, "I said, 'Messenger of God. Did it come from you or from God?' He said, 'No, it came from God!'" (69) He said, "When the messenger of God was pleased, his face shone like a piece of the moon, so that this was easily recognisable." (70)

He said, "When I sat down before him, I said, 'Messenger of God, as my penance I will give all my property as *sadaqa* to God, blessed is He, and to His messenger.' The messenger of God said, 'Keep some of your property; that is better for you.'" He said, "I said, 'I will keep my share from Khaybar.'" (71)

He said, "I said, 'Messenger of God, God, exalted is He, has saved me by making me tell the truth. As my penance, I will only speak the truth for the rest of my life.'" (72) By God, I do not know any Muslim who God tested better for telling the truth, since I said that to the messenger of God, than God, blessed and exalted is He, has tested me (73). By God, I have never told a lie intentionally to this very day, since I said that to the messenger of God. I hope that [God] will preserve me the for the rest of my life." (74)

He said, "God, blessed and exalted is He, revealed <<God has turned mercifully to the Prophet, the Emigrants and the Helpers who followed him in the hour of difficulty after the hearts of some of them had almost deviated; then He turned mercifully to them; He is compassionate and merciful to them. And to the three men who were left behind until, when the earth, for all its spaciousness, closed in around them, when their souls closed in around them, when they thought that the only refuge from God was with Him, He turned mercifully to them in order for them to return [to Him]. God is the Ever Relenting, the Merciful. You who believe, fear God and be with the truthful>><sup>97</sup>." (75+76)

Ka'b said, "By God, God, blessed and exalted is He, has never bestowed upon me a greater favour after he led me [to Islam] than having me speak the truth to the messenger of God that day, so that I did not lie to him and suffer the same fate as those who had lied to him(77). For God, blessed and exalted is He, said to those who lied to him more terrible things than He did to anyone. God, exalted is He, said <<They will swear to you by God, when you return to them to leave them alone – so leave them alone: they are unclean, and Hell will be their home as a repayment for what they have earned. They will swear to you in order to make you well pleased with them, but even if you are well pleased with them, God will not be pleased with the wicked people>><sup>98</sup>." (79)

He said, "The three of us were kept back from the affair of those from whom the messenger of God accepted an excuse when they swore an oath and he made a agreement

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<sup>97</sup> *Sūrat al taḥbā* 9:117-119.

<sup>98</sup> *Surat al taḥbā* 9:95-96.

with them and asked forgiveness for them. The messenger of God postponed judgement over us until God, exalted is He, decided the matter. God, exalted is He, said <<And to the three men who were left behind>><sup>99</sup>. His holding us back and postponing our judgement, which God mentioned has nothing to do with us holding back from the expedition, but to holding us back from those who swore an oath and made up an excuse to him which he accepted.” (80)

There are three short traditions ascribed to al-Zuhri’s nephew. Al-Ṭabarānī’s tradition relates element 70. It is identical to the detailed versions except for one additional word.<sup>100</sup> The short tradition from Muslim (identical in al-Suyūṭī’s work) is placed after a detailed tradition from Yūnus on Ka’b’s holding back from the expedition to Tabuk. The *matn* is from Muslim, because he compares the tradition from al-Zuhri’s nephew with the tradition from Yūnus and describes the differences between the two texts, i.e. the omission of element 30 about Abū Khaythama. Muslim’s tradition mentions ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ka’b as transmitter between Ka’b and his grandson ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, which we have noticed before in the traditions from Ibn ‘Asākir and Ibn Kathīr.<sup>101</sup>

The occurrence of the name ‘Ubayd Allāh combined with Muslim’s description of the differences with the text of al-Zuhri’s student Yūnus is a clue that Muslim’s tradition may derive from the same source as the detailed versions, according to the *isnād*, Ya’qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d. Since the name ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ka’b as source of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān comes from another student of Ya’qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d (‘Abd ibn Ḥumayd instead of Ibn Ḥanbal), it seems unlikely that ‘Ubayd Allāh is a transmission error.<sup>102</sup> It is more plausible, that Ya’qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d or the informant he mentions, al-Zuhri’s nephew, sometimes mentioned ‘Abd Allāh and sometimes ‘Ubayd Allāh.

The analysis of the traditions ascribed to al-Zuhri’s nephew Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh shows that the person who probably transmitted this detailed version of Ka’b’s story is Ya’qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d, although only the complete tradition of Ibn Ḥanbal

<sup>99</sup> *Sūrat al-tawba* 9:118

<sup>100</sup> There is a mistake in the *isnād* of al-Ṭabarānī’s tradition. The informant of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka’b is ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mālīk. The following information that this person was Ka’b’s son shows that the *nasab* Ibn Ka’b is omitted by mistake. The correct name is ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka’b ibn Mālīk. Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu’jam al-kabīr*, XIX, 69 (no. 134)

<sup>101</sup> Muslim, *Sahīḥ Muslim bi sharḥ al-Nawawī*, IX, 106-107 (no. 54-..) (49 *Kitāb al-tawba* 9 *bāb ḥadīth tawbat Ka’b*)

<sup>102</sup> However, we cannot exclude the possibility that all three appearances of the name ‘Ubayd Allāh are indeed transmission errors.

survived in the sources available to us. There are some indications that another student of Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Abd ibn Ḥumayd, also transmitted a detailed tradition, but we first have to check if Muslim’s description of the differences between the versions of Yūnus and al-Zuhri’s nephew is correct.<sup>103</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī’s short tradition about element 70 seems to be extracted from the detailed version. The deviating detailed tradition from Ibn Kathīr has to be compared with versions from other students of al-Zuhri, to determine if Ibn Kathīr’s tradition is from al-Zuhri’s nephew or not. Ya‘qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sa‘d transmitted Ka‘b’s detailed tradition with the *isnād* Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Zuhri -> al-Zuhri -> ‘Abd al-Raḥman ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> ‘Abd Allāh/‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b ibn Mālīk.

#### *‘Uqayl ibn Khālīd*

According to the transmission lines, the four detailed versions transmitted on the authority of ‘Uqayl are all from Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr through al-Layth. The oldest collection that contains a detailed version is al-Bukhārī’s *Saḥīḥ* (L3).<sup>104</sup> The other detailed traditions are from al-Bayhaqī (L2), Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (L15) and Ibn Kathīr (L13).<sup>105</sup> The *isnād* bundle of all the traditions ascribed to ‘Uqayl is as follows:

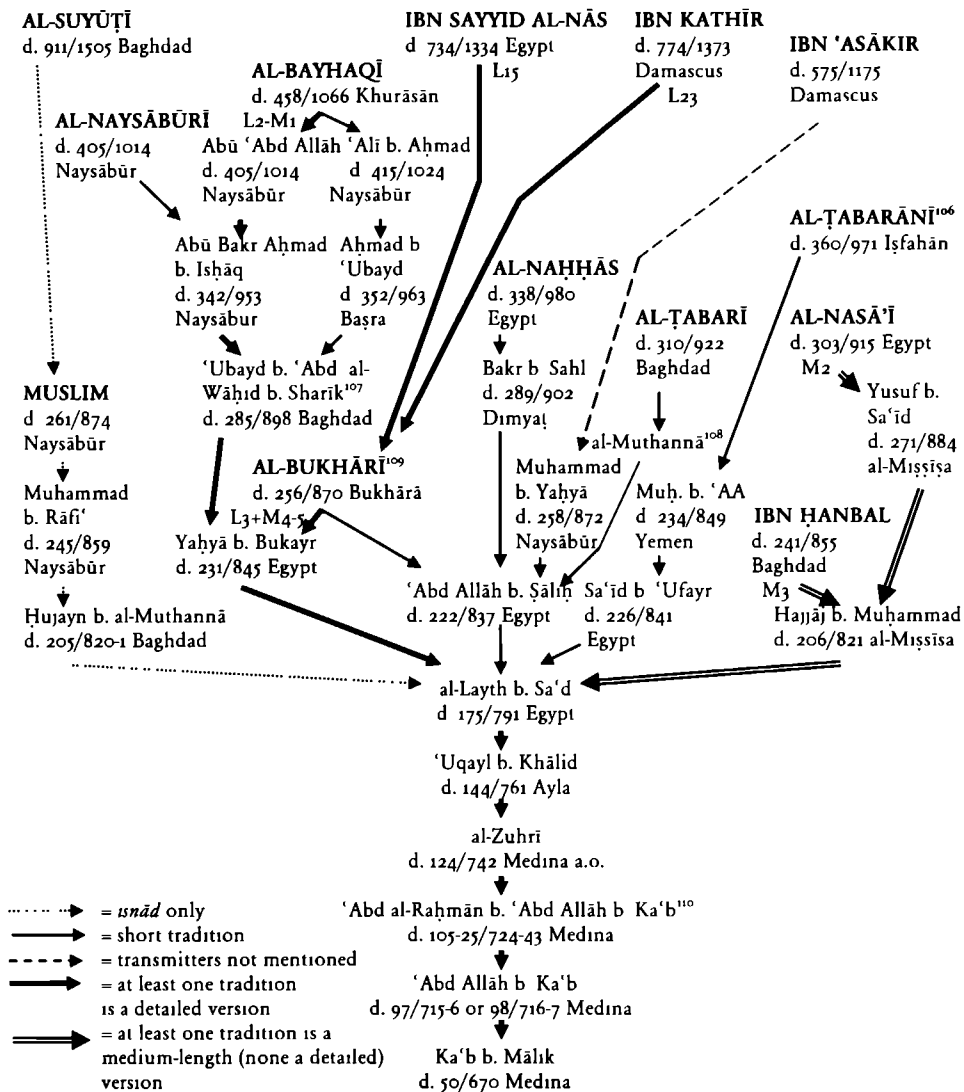
*Figure 24: Isnād bundle of ‘Uqayl on the three who stayed behind*

<sup>103</sup> It is indeed correct. See page 261.

<sup>104</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, III, 177-181 (64 *Kitāb al-maghazī* – 79 *Bāb ḥadīth Ka‘b ibn Mālīk wa qawāl Allāh ta‘ālā wa ‘alā l-thalātha alladhīna khallifū*).

<sup>105</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 33-36. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sira l-nabawīyya*, IV, 42-48. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyun al-athar*, II, 301-305.





<sup>106</sup> This is a combined tradition. See page 243 for the other transmission lines.

<sup>107</sup> See footnote 112 with my discussion of the name of this person.

<sup>108</sup> He is probably al-Muthannā ibn Ibrāhīm al-Āmulī l-Ṭabarī (d. after 240/854). See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 27. I did not find any reference in the biographical dictionaries, but al-Ṭabarī transmits several traditions from this person from 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ. See for example *Jāmi' al-bayān*, I, 109 and 136.

<sup>109</sup> One of al-Bukhārī's short traditions is a combined transmission from Yahyā ibn Bukayr → al-Layth → 'Uqayl and Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ → 'Anbasa → Yūnus from Ibn Shihāb al-Bukhārī, *Sahih*, III, 33 (63 *Kitāb manāqib al-Anṣār radiya Allāh 'anhum* - 43 *Bāb wuḥūd al-Anṣār ilā l-nabī (ṣ) bi-Makka wa-bay'at al-'Aqaba*).

<sup>110</sup> I omitted the three deviating transmission lines, because there are most probably mistakes from later transmitters. See page 210

The *mutūn* of the four detailed traditions are very similar in form and content.<sup>131</sup> Al-Bayhaqī's tradition is the most deviating text, while the other three traditions are almost identical. The information from the *asānīd* confirms the result of the *matn*-analysis, because al-Bayhaqī's tradition is from 'Ubayd ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid<sup>132</sup> -> Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr, while the other three are from al-Bukharī -> Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr. The similarity between the four detailed traditions indicates that Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr transmitted his version from a written text, while the differences show that 'Ubayd ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid's tradition has been transmitted independently from al-Bukhārī's tradition, i.e. he did not copy al-Bukhārī's tradition. Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr transmitted the detailed story with the *isnād* 'Uqayl -> Ibn Shihāb -> 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik -> 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālik.

Five shorter traditions deal with several elements from the detailed story. Two follow a part of the plot precisely, while the other three traditions look more like summaries. We will first deal with the two traditions that follow part of the plot. They are from al-Bayhaqī (M1) and al-Nasā'ī (M2).<sup>133</sup> Al-Bayhaqī's tradition M1 is similar to the plot of the detailed versions from the point where fifty nights have passed and Ka'b starts to become desperate until he goes to Muḥammad after hearing the good news (element 57-65). His text is similar in wording and structure to the detailed versions. More specifically, the text corresponds to the detailed version L2 from al-Bayhaqī, which confirms the information from the *isnād*. Al-Bayhaqī is probably responsible for the shortening of the text, since the content corresponds to the special theme of the chapter in which al-Bayhaqī placed it, i.e. "prostrating to thank" (*Bāb sujūd al-shukr*).

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<sup>131</sup> The comparison of the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew, Yūnus, 'Uqayl and Ibn Ishāq will show that their versions are very similar. Therefore, I do not give the Arabic texts and the translations of Yūnus', 'Uqayl's and Ibn Ishāq's traditions.

<sup>132</sup> Three variants of the name of this person appear in the *asānīd* of the traditions from al-Bayhaqī and the tradition from al-Naysabūrī, 'Abd al-Wāḥid (in the detailed tradition), 'Ubayd ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid (in the medium-length tradition and four short traditions) and 'Ubayd ibn Sharīk (in two short traditions). Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 33-36 ('Abd al-Wāḥid), II, 369-370, IV, 181, VII, 343, IX, 174 ('Ubayd ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid), VII, 40, IX, 150 ('Ubayd ibn Sharīk). Al-Naysabūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, II, 661-662 (no. 4193/203) The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of the traditions confirms that they are the same person, although the information in the *isnād* of the traditions from 'Ubayd ibn Sharīk differs from the other traditions, i.e. the words *qā'id Ka'b ḥina 'amiya min banīhi qāla, ḥadīthahu* and *fi ghazwat Tabūk* are missing.

<sup>133</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, II, 369-370 Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, VI, 359-361 (no. 11232/1 359-361).

Al-Nasā'ī's tradition M2 follows the plot of the detailed versions from the point where Ka'b hears a voice shouting the good news until the end (element 57-80).<sup>114</sup> His text is similar in wording and structure to the corresponding parts of the detailed traditions and the shortened version M1 of al-Bayhaqī. The conclusion based on comparison of the *mulūn* is that according to the chains of transmitters, they all derive from a common source, al-Layth. This means that we could date the tradition a generation earlier than Yaḥyā ibn al-Bukayr.

However, the question that we first have to answer is whether the text from al-Nasā'ī is an independent transmission. To answer this, we have to look at the differences. Al-Nasā'ī's tradition contains several additions or omissions that are specific for this text. It sometimes agrees with the formulation of the version of al-Bayhaqī from 'Ubayd ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid and sometimes with al-Bukhārī's version. The peculiarities that only appear in al-Nasā'ī's text combined with the fact that the formulations do not correspond exclusively to either al-Bukhārī or 'Ubayd ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid show that al-Nasā'ī's tradition from Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad is an independent transmission. However, there are so many similarities between all traditions, that the transmission from al-Layth to Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr and Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad must have occurred through writing; otherwise, we would have found more fundamental differences than we did above.

So far, we do not know whether Ḥajjāj knew the complete story or only this last part. The tradition that we have from him, does not mention specifically that the story is shortened. Three things speak in favour of Ḥajjāj knowing the complete story. The first is the reference that 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b heard Ka'b tell his story about his staying back from Muḥammad during the expedition to Tabūk. This is the same introduction as in the detailed stories. The second is the similarity in structure and formulation with the corresponding part of the detailed versions. It is logical to expect the same kind of correspondence to the missing part. In the third place, al-Nasā'ī places the tradition in a special chapter on verse 119 of *sūrat al-tawba*. The theme of the part mentioned corresponds to the topic of the chapter, which is most probably the reason why al-Nasā'ī only mentioned that part.

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<sup>114</sup> See the overview of all elements that appear in al-Zuhri's detailed traditions in Appendix 6

Finally, Ḥajjāj's version corresponds more to the version from 'Ubayd ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid than to al-Bukhārī's version, which suggests that the latter interfered more with al-Layth's tradition than 'Ubayd ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid.<sup>115</sup>

The remaining three medium-length traditions have a different structure than the two discussed above. Two of them are from al-Bukhārī (M4+M5) on the authority of Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr.<sup>116</sup> They follow the same order as the detailed tradition, but many elements are left out. Only tradition M5 contains a formulation which indicates that the tradition is shortened, i.e. *fa-dhakara ḥadīthahu* (and he mentioned his tradition). Both traditions are placed in a chapter on specific topics<sup>117</sup> and the *mutūn* only deal with (parts of) the elements that correspond to these topics. Al-Bukhārī probably skipped the superfluous information and adapted certain parts of the text to the content of the chapter, which means that he is most probably responsible for the different formulations especially in the parts where two elements are connected.

The third medium-length tradition is from Ibn Ḥanbal on the authority of Ḥajjāj from al-Layth.<sup>118</sup> It is a very strange tradition; the *matn* is not a smooth narration although several themes are mentioned. There is no obvious theme combining the mentioned elements. The tradition contains many parts in which Ka'b speaks, but not all of them. It corresponds in general to the *mutūn* of the detailed versions. Hence, according to the *isnād*, they derive from a common source: Layth ibn Sa'd. It is however not possible to establish a connection between this tradition and the other tradition that is attributed to Ḥajjāj (M2), because the only overlap between the two *mutūn* contains just one word which might be considered as a peculiarity of Ḥajjāj's transmission.

Ibn Ḥanbal places the tradition from Ḥajjāj after a detailed tradition of Ka'b's story from al-Zuhri's nephew and he remarks at the end that he [Ḥajjāj] or 'Uqayl mentioned the

<sup>115</sup> The detailed tradition from 'Uqayl ibn Khālīd is very similar to the detailed version from al-Zuhri's nephew. It consists of the following elements: 1-5, 8-9, 11-16, 18-20, 22-29, 31-58, 61-77 and 79-80.

<sup>116</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 173-174 (79 *Kitāb al-istī'dhān* – 21 *Bāb man lam yusallim 'alā man iqtarafa dhanban wa man lam yarudd salāmahu ḥattā tatabayyana tawbatuhu wa-ilā matā tatabayyanu tawbat al-'āṣi*) and 407 (93 *Kitāb al-ahkām* – 53 *Bāb bal lī l-imām an yamna'a l-mujrimīna wa-ahl al-ma'ṣiya min al-kalām ma'ahu wa-l-ziyāra wa naḥwihī*)

<sup>117</sup> Tradition M4 is part of 79 *Kitāb al-istī'dhān* – 21 *Bāb man lam yusallim 'alā man iqtarafa dhanban wa man lam yarudd salāmahu ḥattā tatabayyana tawbatuhu wa-ilā matā tatabayyanu tawbat al-'āṣi* and tradition M5 93 *Kitāb al-ahkām* – 53 *Bāb bal lī l-imām an yamna'a l-mujrimīna wa-ahl al-ma'ṣiya min al-kalām ma'ahu wa-l-ziyāra wa naḥwihī*

<sup>118</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, III, 559-560 (no. 15796).

meaning of the tradition from Ibn Shihāb's nephew and he said in it: "I said to myself 'did he move his lips to return my greetings?'" (*fa-dhakara ma'nā ḥadīth Ibn Akhī Ibn Shihāb wa-qāla fihī wa-aqūlu fī nafsi hal ḥarraka shafatayhi bi-radd al-salām?*). The sentence *fa-dhakara l-ḥadīth fa-qāla fihī* (he told the tradition and said in it) in the middle of the tradition indicates that Ibn Ḥanbal shortened the tradition he had heard from Ḥajjāj. The sentences Ibn Ḥanbal mentions from Ḥajjāj's tradition are indeed very similar to - though not identical with - the corresponding parts of the tradition from al-Zuhri's nephew. The tradition contains one sentence in the *matn*, which is not present in any other tradition from 'Uqayl or even from al-Zuhri. Despite the absence of a variant tradition from Ḥajjāj that mentions this part, we cannot exclude that Ibn Ḥanbal heard it from him.

The content and the formulation of al-Nasā'i's other short traditions from Ḥajjāj made it possible to conclude that there is an independent transmission of the story of Ka'b from Ḥajjāj on the authority of al-Layth. Although we do not have the complete tradition, but only parts of it that are preserved in short and medium-length versions, these traditions together indicate that one long story existed originally.

There is, however, one short tradition from Ibn Ḥanbal from Ḥajjāj that deviates in the *isnād* and the *matn* from the traditions discussed above.<sup>119</sup> Al-Zuhri's source is the son of Ka'b from Ka'b (*Ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik*). The first part of the *matn* is similar to the detailed versions, but the formulation of the second part is different. Al-Ṭabarānī gives the same tradition with a different *isnād* in a combined tradition from Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Numayr -> Sa'id ibn 'Ufayr -> al-Layth and Rishdīn -> 'Uqayl and Qurra -> Ibn Shihāb -> Ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik -> Ka'b.<sup>120</sup> The *mutūn* of the traditions from Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Ṭabarānī differ in only one word. The deviating information of the *isnād* and the differences in the *mutūn* compared with the detailed and medium-length traditions seems to indicate that this is a spurious tradition. Yet, we cannot exclude that al-Layth, the common link of the traditions, is the originator of this tradition in which he shortened the *matn* as well as the *isnād* and that both Ḥajjāj and Sa'id ibn 'Ufayr heard it like this from him.

The analysis of the short traditions ascribed to Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ reveals that he most probably transmitted a detailed version of Ka'b's story from al-Layth. Unfortunately, the complete text has not been preserved, but the wording might be similar to the traditions from Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr in the versions of al-Bukhārī and 'Ubayd ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid, and Ḥajjāj.

<sup>119</sup> Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, III, 555 (no. 15778).

<sup>120</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al kabīr*, IXX, 60 (nr. 107).

One more student appears in the *isnād* of a tradition that is attributed to al-Layth: Ḥuyayn ibn al-Muthannā. Muslim places his tradition after a detailed version on the authority of Yunus ibn Yazid from al-Zuhri. He does not give the text, but he remarks that the *isnād* before al-Zuhri and the *matn* are similar to the version of Yunus (*'an Ibn Shihāb bi- isnād Yūnus 'an al-Zuhri sawa'an*).<sup>121</sup> Comparison of the versions from Yunus and 'Uqayl will show that Muslim's remark concerning the *isnād* and the *matn* is in line with my findings. Therefore, it seems possible that Ḥuyayn is indeed another student of al-Layth who transmitted the story of Ka'b ibn Mālik. We cannot know this for certain, however, since we do not have the actual text of the tradition or another tradition that is attributed to him.

The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of the traditions attributed to 'Uqayl shows that al-Layth transmitted a detailed tradition with the *isnād* 'Uqayl -> al-Zuhri -> 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālik based on a written version to at least two different persons. Yahya ibn Bukayr and Ḥajjaj ibn Muḥammad. We only have part of the detailed tradition of Ḥajjaj, but there is enough evidence to suggest that he originally transmitted it completely 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣālih, another student of al-Layth, transmitted part of the detailed tradition from al-Layth and possibly even the complete tradition. The information from a fourth student of al-Layth, Ḥuyayn, is too short to confirm its authenticity, but it seems possible that he also transmitted Ka'b's story from his teacher. Traditionists after al-Layth and most likely the compilers of the *ḥadīth*-collections are probably responsible for the shortening of the detailed tradition. There is no evidence that al-Layth transmitted some parts of Ka'b's story separately from the detailed tradition, except perhaps for the short tradition that ended up in the collections from Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Ṭabarānī.

#### *Yūnus ibn Yazīd*

According to the *asanīd*, 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb is the common link of the detailed and medium-length traditions from Yunus ibn Yazid. The oldest collection that contains a detailed version is Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>122</sup> The other two traditions are from al-Ṭabarī and al-

<sup>121</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* IX, 106 (no 53)

<sup>122</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IX, 100-106 (no 53-(2769))



Muslim's detailed tradition is very similar (but not identical) to al-Ṭabarī's version, except for the beginning of the story. Both traditions start with an introduction from al-Zuhri. Muslim's version only mentions that Muhammad went on an expedition to Tabūk to conquer the Byzantines and Arab Christians, while the tradition from al-Tabarī adds what happened in Tabūk and gives a summary of what the three who stayed behind did and how Muhammad decided on their matter. Since both versions have the first sentence of al-Zuhri's introduction in common, 'Abd Allah ibn Wahb (the common link of the traditions) or perhaps even Yūnus ibn Yazid probably used to tell the tradition of Ka'b preceded by this introduction. We do not know if the original introduction consisted of only one sentence or more, or if 'Abd Allah ibn Wahb related both introductions perhaps during different teaching sessions, for example on *tafsīr* (with the long introduction) and *sīra* (with the short introduction).

The *matn* analysis of the detailed traditions confirms the information from the *asanīd*. The similarity of the two texts shows that they derive from a common source, 'Abd Allah ibn Wahb, while the differences indicate that two different persons, Abu Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad ibn 'Amr and Yūnus ibn 'Abd al-A'lā, transmitted the tradition from Ibn Wahb

Four traditions relate several elements of the detailed traditions. They are from Abu Dāwud (M<sub>1</sub> and M<sub>2</sub>), al-Nasa'ī (M<sub>3</sub>) and al-Tabarī (M<sub>4</sub>).<sup>125</sup> Tradition M<sub>1</sub> (on elements 34, 45, 51 (partly), 57, 64, 66 and 67 (partly)) and M<sub>2</sub> (on elements 45 and 51 (partly)) are very similar to the corresponding part in the detailed traditions, but the differences are too small to confirm the information from the *asanīd* that Abū Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad ibn 'Amr transmitted the tradition. Tradition M<sub>1</sub> even contains two words that deviate from Ibn Wahb's two versions. Abū Dāwud seems to be responsible for the differences, which were probably caused by shortening the two texts to the topic of his own chapters.

Tradition M<sub>3</sub> from al-Nasā'ī follows the plot of the detailed traditions from element 34 until element 41. Overall, al-Nasā'ī's tradition is similar to the detailed versions and most differences probably derive from transmission errors. However, there are some differences, which are probably not transmission errors. The similarity in structure and formulation to the detailed traditions indicates a written transmission from a common source, Ibn Wahb, while the peculiarities indicate an independent transmission from the two detailed versions. According to the *isnād*, tradition M<sub>3</sub> is indeed from another student of Ibn Wahb, Sulaymān ibn Dawud.

<sup>125</sup> Abu Dawud, *Sunan*, III, 88 89 (no 2773) and IV, 199 (no 4600) Al-Nasa'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubra*, I, 266 (no 810) Al-Tabarī, *Jamī al-bayan*, XI, 3



The most important deviation in tradition M<sub>3</sub> is al-Zuhri's informant, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik instead of his nephew 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b.<sup>126</sup> The lower part of the *isnād* is identical to the detailed traditions. The same name appears in all short traditions from Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd, which indicates that it is a peculiarity of Sulayman ibn Dāwud's transmission.

The last medium-length tradition M<sub>4</sub> from al-Ṭabarī starts with Muḥammad's return from Tabūk, but without mentioning of the performance of two *raḳ'as* (element 34). It follows the plot of the detailed versions until element 37 and it ends with elements 77 and 79. The formulation is similar to both detailed versions, although it corresponds slightly more to the detailed version from Yūnus ibn 'Abd al-A'lā, from whom according to the *isnād* tradition M<sub>4</sub> indeed derives.<sup>127</sup>

The remaining short traditions deal with the elements 3-4-5, 9-11-12-13, 21, 34, 53, 57-58-61, 70 and 71. Especially the traditions about elements 9 (different direction) and 21 (leaving on Thursday) are interesting, because these are missing from the detailed version from Ibn Wahb from Yūnus ibn Yazīd. Only one of Yūnus ibn Yazīd's students transmits the tradition about elements 9 to 13, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, but we have his tradition in the version of three of his pupils.<sup>128</sup> Although element 9 itself is not present in the detailed traditions, the formulation of the remaining elements is very similar to the detailed versions. The lower part of the *isnād* before al-Zuhri deviates from the detailed versions; it is probably al-Zuhri -> 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālik.<sup>129</sup>

Ten traditions from four different students of Yūnus ibn Yazīd transmit the tradition about element 21 (to set out on a journey on Thursday) with distinctive formulation between the versions of the four students, which indicates that Yūnus ibn Yazīd

<sup>126</sup> It is possible that the name 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b is a shortened version of the name 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b.

<sup>127</sup> The detailed tradition from 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb from Yūnus ibn Yazīd looks very much like the detailed versions from al-Zuhri's nephew and 'Uqayl. Therefore, I will skip the Arabic text and the translation. The detailed tradition consists of the following elements. 0-5, 8, 11-20, 24-58, 61-77, 79-80.

<sup>128</sup> See the *isnād* bundle of the other students from Yūnus ibn Yazīd in Appendix 7.

<sup>129</sup> Four traditions (from two pupils of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak) mention 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b as informant of al-Zuhri and one (from the third pupil) 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b. Only one tradition mentions 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b as intermediary between 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b and Ka'b ibn Mālik, but the other tradition from the same pupil agrees with the traditions from the two other pupils in not mentioning an intermediary.

is the origin of the tradition. Yūnus ibn Yazīd transmitted the tradition with the *isnād* al-Zuhri -> 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālik.<sup>130</sup>

The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of the traditions attributed to Yūnus ibn Yazīd shows that 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb is the only student of Yūnus from whom we have a detailed tradition. Abū Šāliḥ Aḥmad ibn 'Amr and Yūnus ibn 'Abd al-A'lā preserved the complete detailed tradition from 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb, but Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd probably also knew a complete version, although we only have a shortened version of his tradition. 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb transmitted his text with the *isnād* Yūnus -> al-Zuhri -> 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālik based on a written source. He started Ka'b's story with an introduction, which he might have heard from Yūnus. It is impossible to determine whether the introduction really came from Yūnus, because only the detailed traditions mention it.

Yūnus ibn Yazīd transmitted several elements separately from the complete version of Ka'b's story. Yūnus did not always mention the same *isnād* (or the same *isnād* in the same way) before al-Zuhri when he related a part of the detailed tradition. Several variants of the lower part of his *isnād* are connected with a certain topic, but this is not always the case.

### *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*

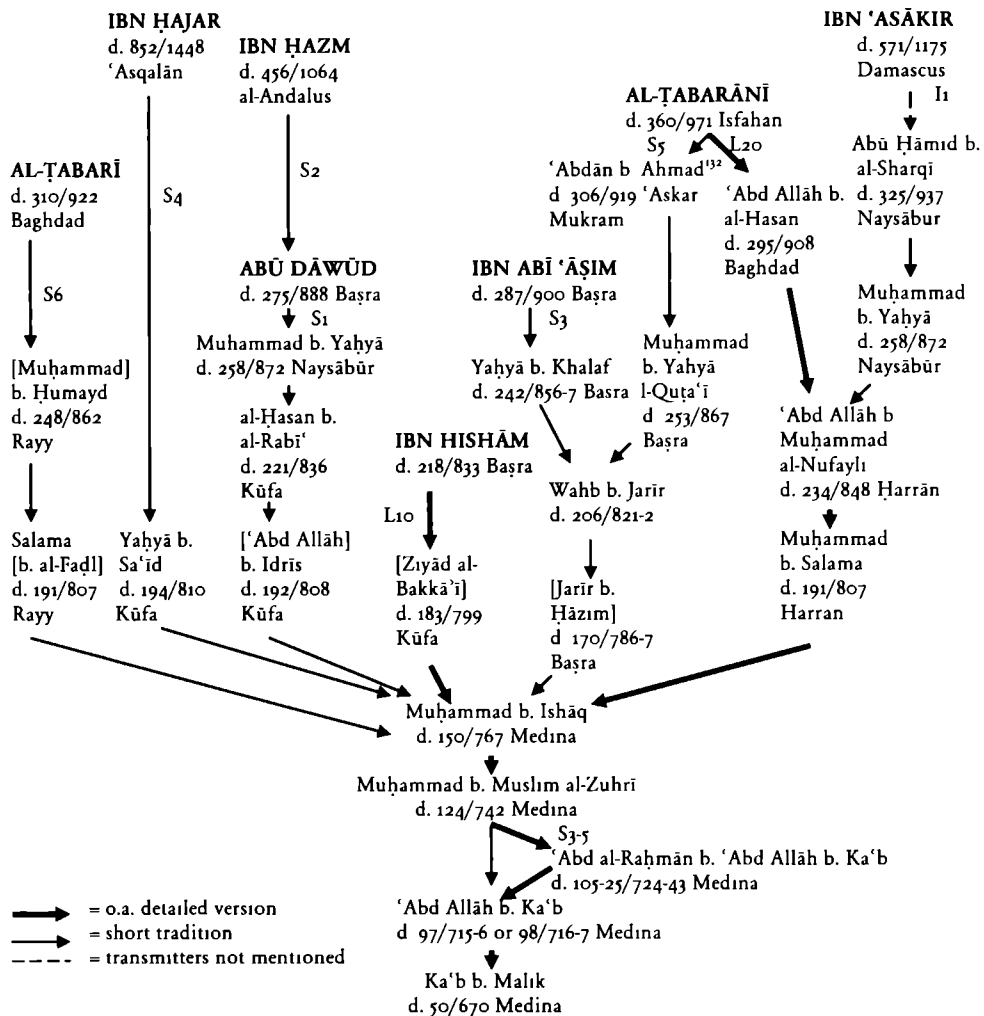
There are only two detailed versions among the nine traditions attributed to Muḥammad ibn Ishāq. According to the chains of transmissions, two different students transmitted the story from Ibn Ishāq. The oldest collection that contains a detailed tradition is the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām; the other version is from al-Ṭabarānī.<sup>131</sup> The *isnād* bundle of the traditions from Muḥammad ibn Ishāq is:

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<sup>130</sup> One tradition mentions 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālik. The *matn* of this tradition deviates considerably from the versions of the other three students of Yūnus. 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith, who transmits the tradition from Yūnus, is probably responsible for the deviations in the *isnād* and the *matn*, although it is also possible that one of the transmitters after him made the changes. See al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*, IX, 375 (no. 8807).

<sup>131</sup> Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 907-913. Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, IXX, 46-52 (no. 91)

Figure 26: *Isnād* bundle of Ibn Ishāq on the three who stayed behind



The *mutūn* of the two detailed traditions are very similar in form and content, but quite a number of words are different.<sup>133</sup> Ibn Ishāq, the common link of the two traditions, probably had a written version of the tradition, but he either sometimes used different words or (one of) the two students (or one of the later transmitters) are responsible for the

<sup>132</sup> He is Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Ahmad ibn Mūsā l-Ahwāzī l-Jawālīqī. Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat*, II, 688-689 (no. 55/709 10).

<sup>133</sup> The comparison of the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew, Yūnus, 'Uqayl and Ibn Ishāq will show that their versions are very similar. Therefore, I do not give the Arabic texts and the translations of Yūnus', 'Uqayl's and Ibn Ishāq's traditions.

changes. The differences between the two traditions indicate that they are independent genuine transmissions. The chains of transmission confirm this since two different students of Ibn Ishāq, Ziyād al-Bakkā'i and Muḥammad ibn Salama handed the story down.

The short traditions deal with elements 1, 1-3 (partly), 3-4, 42 and 71. The traditions from Salama ibn al-Faḍl (on element 1), 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs (on element 71) and Wahb ibn Jarīr from his father (on element 1-3 and 3-4) each refer to a longer tradition, which means that probably the traditionists in whose collections the tradition is present shortened the texts.

The content of two traditions from 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs on element 71 (*ṣadaqa*) differs from the corresponding part in the detailed versions. After Ka'b has said to Muḥammad that he wants to give all his property as *ṣadaqa*, Muḥammad answers "no". Ka'b offers half of his property, but Muḥammad refuses that also. When Ka'b offers a third, Muḥammad accepts his offer and Ka'b says that he will keep his share from Khaybar.<sup>134</sup> According to the detailed versions when Ka'b offers all his money to Muḥammad, the latter answers that it is better for Ka'b to keep some of it. Ka'b then decides to keep his share of the spoil of Khaybar.

There exists a similar tradition from al-Zuhrī on Abū Lubāba<sup>135</sup>, who offers all his money as *ṣadaqa* after he had committed a sin, upon which Muḥammad tells him to keep a third.<sup>136</sup> Al-Zuhrī seems to be responsible for the entanglement of the motif from Abū Lubāba's tradition in Ka'b ibn Mālīk's tradition, since there are traditions from two other students of al-Zuhrī, Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna and al-Awzā'i, who also mention the third-motif in connection with Ka'b ibn Mālīk.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Abū Dawūd, *Sunan*, III, 241 (no. 3321). Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muhallā bi l-āthār*, VI, Beirut 1988, 257.

<sup>135</sup> He is Abū Lubāba ibn 'Abd al-Mundhir al-Anṣārī from Medina, a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 412 (no. 8186).

<sup>136</sup> I did not analyse this tradition with the *isnād-cum matn* analysis, but the traditions from Ma'mar from al-Zuhrī seem to connect Abū Lubāba's sin with the expedition to Tabuk, while al-Wāqidi places the tradition in his chapter on the Banū Qurayza. See for example a Ma'mar-tradition in 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 406 (no. 9745) Al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 365 (*Bāb ghazwat Banī Qurayza*).

<sup>137</sup> The uncertainty about whether the person who should keep a third of his property is Abū Lubāba or Ka'b ibn Mālīk is explicitly mentioned in the tradition from Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna: *haddathanā Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna 'an al-Zuhrī 'an Ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk 'an abihī annahu qāla li-l-nabi (s), aw Abū Lubāba aw man shā'a Allāh innā [...]*. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, III, 240 (no. 3319). Al-Awzā'i's tradition is from al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-awsat*, VIII, 7-8 (no. 7005).

The two traditions from Wahb ibn Jarīr from his father both mention ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b as informant of al-Zuhrī.<sup>138</sup> However, since the formulation of the *mutūn* is similar to the detailed traditions from Ibn Ishāq, Wahb ibn Jarīr or his father is responsible for the deviating *isnād*; perhaps one of them forgot to mention the name ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b in the *isnād*.

The conclusion of the *matn* analysis of the traditions ascribed to Muḥammad ibn Ishāq is that Ibn Ishāq transmitted the detailed version of the story of Ka‘b to two students, Ziyād al-Bakkā‘ī and Muḥammad ibn Salama. There is some evidence that he told the complete story also to the father of Wahb ibn Jarīr and Salama ibn al-Faḍl, but only the beginning of their complete versions seem to have survived.

#### *‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz*

The two detailed traditions ascribed to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz from al-Zuhrī are preserved in a rather late version from Ibn Abī Shayba. The oldest source that contains the detailed tradition is Ibn Abī Shayba’s *Muṣannaf*; the other tradition is from al-Ṭabarānī.<sup>139</sup> The *isnād* of the two traditions is: (L21) Al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971 Iṣfahān) -> ‘Ubayd ibn Ghannam (d. 297/909 Kūfa) -> (L4) Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849 Kūfa) -> Khālīd ibn Makhlad (d. 213/828 Kūfa) -> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 162/779 Medina) -> Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī -> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b -> Ka‘b ibn Mālīk. There are not many differences between the two texts and most of them seem to be copyist’s errors. The common link of the two traditions is Ibn Abī Shayba, who transmitted Ka‘b’s story from a written version. A reconstruction of Ibn Abī Shayba’s tradition from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz is:

- 1 حدثنا خالد بن مخلد حدثنا عبد الرحمن بن عبد العزيز الأنصاري قال: حدثني ابن شهاب قال: حدثني عبد
- 2 الرحمن بن عبد الله بن كعب بن مالك قال: حدثني عبد الله بن كعب بن مالك عن أبيه كعب قال: إن رسول
- 3 الله (صلعم) لما هم ببني الأصفر أن يغزوهم جلى للناس أمرهم وكان قل ما أراد غزوة إلا ورى عنها
- 4 4 بغيرها حتى كانت (تلك)<sup>140</sup> الغزوة فاستقبل حرا شديدا وسفرا (بعيدا) وعدوا جديدا فكشف للناس الوجه
- 5 الذي يخرج بهم إليه ليتأهبوا أهبة عدوهم فتجهز رسول الله (صلعم) وتجهز الناس معه وطفقت أعادو

<sup>138</sup> Ibn Abī ‘Āṣīm, *al-Aḥād wa-l-mathānī*, III, Rīyadh 1991, 395 (no. 1820). Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu’jam al-kabīr*, XIX, 52 (no. 92).

<sup>139</sup> Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, VII, 423-424 (no. 37007). Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu’jam al-kabīr*, XIX, 53-56 (no. 95).

<sup>140</sup> The words between brackets are from al-Ṭabarānī’s tradition, while the words between brackets with an asterisk are additions in the version from the *Muṣannaf*.

6 لأتجهز فأرجع ولم أقض شيئا حتى فرغ الناس وقيل إن رسول الله (صلم) غاد وخارج إلى وجهه فقلت  
7 أتجهز بعده بيوم أو يومين ثم أدركمهم وعندي راحلتان (و) ما اجتمعت عندي راحلتان قط قبلهما فأنا قادر  
8 في نفسي قوى بعثني فما زلت أغدو بعده وأرجع ولم أقض شيئا حتى أمعن القوم وأسرعوا وطفقت أغدو  
9 للحديث وشغلني الرجال (الرجال) فأجمعت القعود حتى سبقني القوم وطفقت أغدو فلا أرى إلا (سيء لا  
10 أرى إلا\*) رجلا ممن عذر الله أو رجلا مغموصا عليه في النفاق فيحزنني ذلك فطفقت أعد العذر  
11 لرسول الله (صلم) إذا جاء وأهيم الكلام وقدر (ل) رسول الله (صلم) أن لا يذكرني حتى نزل تبوك  
12 فقال في (ل) الناس بتبوك وهو جالس: ما فعل كعب بن مالك؟ فقام إليه رجل من قومي فقال: شغله برداه  
13 والنظر في عطفه. قال: فتكلم رجل آخر فقال: والله يا رسول الله! إن علمنا عليه إلا خيرا. فصمت سول  
14 الله (صلم) فلما قيل إن رسول الله (صلم) قد أطل قائما زاح عني الباطل وما كنت أجمع من الكذب  
15 والعذر وعرفت أنه لن يجيني منه إلا الصدق فأجمعت صدقه. وصبح رسول الله (صلم) المدينة فقم  
16 فغدوت إليه فإذا هو في الناس جالس في المسجد وكان إذا قدم من سفر دخل المسجد فركع فيه ركعتين ثم  
17 دخل على أهله فوجدته حالسا في المسجد فلما نظر إلي دعاني فقال: هلم يا كعب ما خلعت عني؟ وتبسم  
18 تبسم المغضب. قال: قلت: يا رسول الله! لا عذر لي. ما كنت قط أقوى ولا أيسر مني حين تخلفت عنك  
19 وقد جاءه المتحلفون يحلفون فيقبل منهم ويستغفر لهم ويكل سرائرهم في ذلك إلى الله عز وجل فلما  
20 صدقته قال: أما هذا فقد صدق فقم حتى يقضي الله فيك ما هو قاض. فقم فقام إلي رجال من بني سلمة  
21 فقالوا: والله ما صنعت شيئا والله إن كان لكافيك من ذنبك الذي أنذبت استغفار رسول الله (صلم) لك كما  
22 صنع ذلك لغيرك فقد قبل منهم عذرهم واستغفر لهم. فما زالوا يلومونني حتى هممت (تمنييت) أن أرجع  
23 فأكذب نفسي. ثم قلت لهم: هل قال هذه المقالة أحد أو اعتذر بمثل ما اعتذرت به؟ قالوا: نعم. قلت: من؟  
24 قالوا: هلال بن أمية الواقفي ومرارة بن ربيعة العامري. فذكروا لي رجلين صالحين قد شهدا بدرا قد  
25 اعتذرا بمثل الذي اعتذرت به وقيل لهما مثل الذي قيل لك. قال: ونهى رسول الله (صلم) عن كلامنا  
26 فطفقنا نغدو في الناس ولا يكلمنا أحد (كلمة) ولا يسلم علينا أحد ولا يرد علينا سلامنا حتى إذا مضت  
27 أربعون ليلة جاءنا (رسول) رسول الله (صلم) أن اعتزلوا نساءكم. فأما هلال بن أمية فجاءت امرأته  
28 إلى رسول الله (صلم) فقالت (له\*) : إنه شيخ قد ضعف بصره (ضعيف بصره) فهل تكره أن أصنع له  
29 طعامه؟ قال: لا ولكن لا يقرينك. قالت: إبه والله ما به (من) حركة إلى شيء والله ما زال يبكي منذ كان  
30 من أمره ما كان إلى يومه هذا. قال: فقال لي (بعض\*) أهلي: لو استأذنت رسول الله (صلم) في امرأتك  
31 كما استأذنت امرأة هلال بن أمية فقد أذن لها أن تخدمه؟ قال: فقلت: والله لا استأذنه فيها وما أدري ما  
32 يقول رسول الله (صلم) إن استأذنته وهو شيخ كبير وأنا رجل شاب. فقلت لامراتي: الحق باهلك حتى  
33 يقضي الله ما هو قاض. وطفقنا نمشي في الناس ولا يكلمنا أحد ولا يرد علينا سلامنا قال: فأقبلت حتى  
34 تسورت جدارا لابن عم لي (عمي) في حائطه فسلمت عليه فما حرك شفتيه يرد علي السلام فقلت:  
35 أنشدك بالله! أتعلم أنني أحب الله ورسوله؟ فما كلمني كلمة ثم عدت فلم يكلمني حتى إذا كان في الثلاثة أو  
36 الرابعة قال: الله ورسوله أعلم. فخرجت (فرحعت) فأنى لأمشي في السوق إذا الناس يشيرون إلي بأيديهم  
37 وإذا نبطي من نبط الشام يسأل عني فطفقوا يشيرون له إلي حتى جاعني فنفخ إلي كتابا من بعض قومي  
38 بالشام (أنه\*) >قد بلغنا ما صنع بك صاحبك وجفوته عنك فالحق بنا فإن الله لم يجعلك بدار هوان ولا  
39 دار مضية نواسك في أموالنا> قال: قلت: إنا لله (وإنا إليه راجعون قد\*) طمع في أهل الكفر فيتممت به

40 تنورا فسجرت به فواته إني لعلى تلك الحال التي (قد\*) ذكر الله قد ضاقت علينا الأرض بما رحبت  
 41 وضاقت علينا أنفسنا صباحية<sup>141</sup> خمسين ليلة من (منذ) نهي عن كلامنا أنزلت التوبة على رسول الله  
 42 (صلعم) ثم أذن رسول الله (صلعم) بتوبة الله علينا حين صلى الفجر فذهب الناس يبشروننا وركض  
 43 رجل إلي فرسا وسعى ساع من أسلم فأوفى على الجبل وكان الصوت أسرع من الفرس فنادى: يا كعب  
 44 بن مالك أبشر! فخررت ساجدا وعرفت أن قد جاء الفرج فلما جاءني الذي سمعت صوته حصصت  
 45 (دفعت) له ثوبين يبشراه ووالله ما أملك يومئذ ثوبين غيرهما واستعرت ثوبين فخرجت قبل رسول الله  
 46 (صلعم) فتلقتني الناس فوجا فوجا يهنئونني بتوبة الله علي حتى دخلت المسجد فقام إلي طلحة بن عبيد الله  
 47 يهرول حتى صافحني وهناني ما قام إلي (رجل) من المهاجرين غيره فكان كعب لا ينساها (يعرف ذلك)  
 48 لطلحة. ثم أقبلت حتى وقفت على رسول الله (صلعم) كأن وجهه قطعة قمر وكان إذا سر استثار وجهه  
 49 كذلك فناداني: هلم يا كعب! أبشر بخير يوم مر عليك منذ ولدتك أمك. قال: قلت: أمن عند الله أم من  
 50 عندك؟ قال: لا بل من عند الله إنكم صدقتم الله فصدقكم. قال: قلت: إن من توبتي اليوم (إليه) أن أخرج  
 51 من مالي صدقة إلى الله وإلى رسوله. قال رسول الله (صلعم): أمسك عليك بعض مالك. قلت: أمسك  
 52 سهمي بحبير. قال كعب: فوالله ما أبلى الله رجلا في صدق الحديث ما أبلاني.

Khālīd ibn Makhḥlad told us, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Anṣārī told us, he said, Ibn Shihāb told me, he said, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālīk told me, he said, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālīk told me on the authority of his father Ka‘b, he said,

“When the messenger of God was worried that the Byzantines intended to send an expedition to them (o), he made it clear to the people (12). Rarely did he send out an expedition, without pretending another destination, until (that) expedition (9) with the prospect of extreme heat, a (long) travel and new enemies (11). Therefore, he revealed to the people the direction in which he would go with them, (13) so they could prepare the equipment against their enemy (12). The messenger of God made his preparations for [the expedition], as did the people with him, while I began to go out early in the morning to prepare myself, but I returned having accomplished nothing (18). [The situation remained like this] until the people finished and (19) it was said that the messenger of God left early in the morning and went to his destination (20). I said, ‘I will finish my preparations in one or two days after him. Then I will catch up with them.’ (22)

I had [at that time] two riding camels. I had never before owned two riding-camels and I was personally powerful [and] strong with my equipment (8). I kept leaving early in the morning after that, but I returned having accomplished nothing until the party went far

<sup>141</sup> The text of Ibn Abī Shayba is *ṣabāba* instead of *ṣabāḥriyya* as in al-Ṭabarānī’s tradition. It is probably a printing mistake in Ibn Abī Shayba’s edition. A new edition of Ibn Abī Shayba’s book confirms this. See Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Musannaḥ*, XX, ed. Muḥammad ‘Awwāma, Jidda 14272006, 548.

and accelerated (23). I began to go out early in the morning again and the saddles (the men) kept me busy. I decided to stay until the party outdistanced me (25). I began to go out early in the morning and I saw only men whom God had excused or men accused of hypocrisy. That made me sad (27). I began to prepare an excuse for the messenger of God when he would come back, and to prepare the speech (31).

The messenger of God was not able to think of me until he stopped at Tabūk. He asked, while he was sitting among the people in Tabūk, 'What happened to Ka'b ibn Mālīk?' (28) A man from my tribe went to him and said, 'His two cloaks and looking at his two sides kept him busy.'" He said, "Another man spoke and said, 'By God, messenger of God, we only know good things of him.' The messenger of God remained silent (29).

When it was said that the messenger of God was nearby, falsehood and what I had thought up regarding lies and excuses left me and I knew that I could only get away from him with the truth, so I decided to tell him the truth (32).

The messenger of God arrived at Medina in the morning (33). He [the Prophet] arrived [at the place of worship?] and I went to him early in the morning. There he was sitting in the place of worship surrounded by people (66). Whenever he came back from a journey, he would enter the place of worship, where he would perform a prayer of two *rak'āt* and then he would go to his family (34). I found him sitting in the place of worship. When he looked at me, he called me and said smiling angrily, 'Come on Ka'b, what kept you back from me?' (38+39) He said, "I said, 'Messenger of God, I have no excuse. I have never been stronger and wealthier than when I stayed behind from you.' (40) The persons who had stayed behind began to swear oaths (35) and he [the Prophet began to] accept them, forgive them and entrust their secrets concerning this to God, to Whom belong might and majesty(37). When I came out openly to him [with the truth] he said, 'Verily, this man has told the truth. Get up until God decides about you what he decides.' (41)

I got up and men from the Banū Salīma came to me and said, 'By God, what have you done? By God, the forgiveness of the messenger of God would have been enough for the sin you have committed, as he did for the others! He accepted their excuse and asked God for their forgiveness.' (42) They did not stop scolding me until I was about to return and deny what I had previously said. Then I asked them, 'Has anybody said the same or excused himself like me?' (43) They said, 'Yes.' I asked, 'Who?' They said, 'Hilāl ibn Umayya l-Wāqifi and Murāra ibn Rabi'a l-Āmiri.' They mentioned to me two righteous men who had participated at Badr, [saying] 'They excused themselves like you did and the same things were said to them as to you.'" (44)

He said, "The messenger of God forbade talking to us (45). We began to go among the people early in the morning, but nobody spoke (a word) to us, greeted us or returned our



greetings (46). When forty nights had passed, (the messenger of) the messenger of God came to us [saying] 'Separate from your wives.' (53)

The wife of Hilāl ibn Umayya went to the messenger of God and said (to him), 'He is an old man with deteriorated eyesight. Do you disapprove of me preparing meals for him?' He answered, 'No, but he should not sleep with you!' She said, 'By God, he has no desire for anything. By God, he has not stopped crying since this began to this very day.'" (55) He said, "(Some of) My family said to me, 'Why do you not ask the messenger of God permission for your wife, just as the wife of Hilāl ibn Umayya has asked? He has allowed her to serve him.'" He said, "I said, 'By God, I will not ask him permission for her. I do not know what the messenger of God would say if I asked him permission, while he [Hilāl] is an old and I am a young man.'" (56) I said to my wife, 'Go to your family, until God decides, what he decides.' (54)

We began to walk among the people, while nobody spoke to us or returned our greetings (49). I approached and climbed over a wall of the walled property of a nephew of me. I greeted him, but he did not move his lips to return my greeting. I said, 'I beg you by God! Do you not know that I love God and His messenger?' He did not speak. I repeated it, but he did not speak to me until it was the third or fourth time, when he said, 'God and His messenger know best.' I left (returned) (51).

I was walking in the market, when the people pointed to me with their hands. There was a Nabataean from Syria asking for me. The people began to point him towards me, until he came to me. He gave me a letter from one of my people [i.e. Arabs] in Syria. <I have heard, what your master has done to you and his unkind treatment of you. Come to us. God should not put you in a state of abandonment and shame. We will support you with our properties.>" He said, "I said, 'We belong to God and we will return to Him; the unbelievers covet me.' I heated a fire for it and burned it in it (52).

I was in that state of which God had said <<the earth for all its spaciousness, closed in around us and our souls closed in around us>><sup>142</sup>, on the morning after fifty nights since [the messenger of God forbade [the people] to talk to us, when [our] forgiveness was revealed to the messenger of God (57). The messenger of God announced God's forgiveness of us, when he performed the Morning Prayer (61). The people went to tell us the good news (62). A man hurried towards me on a horse, while a herald from Aslam shouted and climbed the mountain. The voice was quicker than the horse. He yelled, 'Ka'b ibn Mālik, rejoice!' (63) I fell down prostrating, realizing that relieve had come (58). When the man whose voice I had heard, came to me, I gave him two garments as a gift for

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<sup>142</sup> *Sūrat al-tawba* 9:118.

bringing good news By God, I did not own two other clothes at that time, so I borrowed two garments (64)

I went outside towards the messenger of God The people swarmed around me, congratulating me on God's forgiveness of me saying, until I entered the place of worship (65) Talha ibn 'Ubayd Allāh hurried towards me, until he shook hands with me and congratulated me No other Emigrant did so." Ka'b never forgot (knew that) Talhā's action (67)

"Then I came closer until I stopped before the messenger of God (66) His face shone like a piece of moon (68). When he was pleased, his face shone like that He called to me, 'Now then! Rejoice with the best day since your mother gave birth to you '" (70) He said, "I said, 'Did it come from God or from you?' He said, 'No, certainly from God! You trusted God and He trusted you '" (69)

He said, "I said, 'As my penance today, I will take away all my property as *sadaqa* to God and to His messenger' The messenger of God said, 'Keep some of your property' I said, 'I will keep my share from Khaybar '" (71) Ka'b said, "By God, God has tested no man for telling the truth than he has tested me " (73)

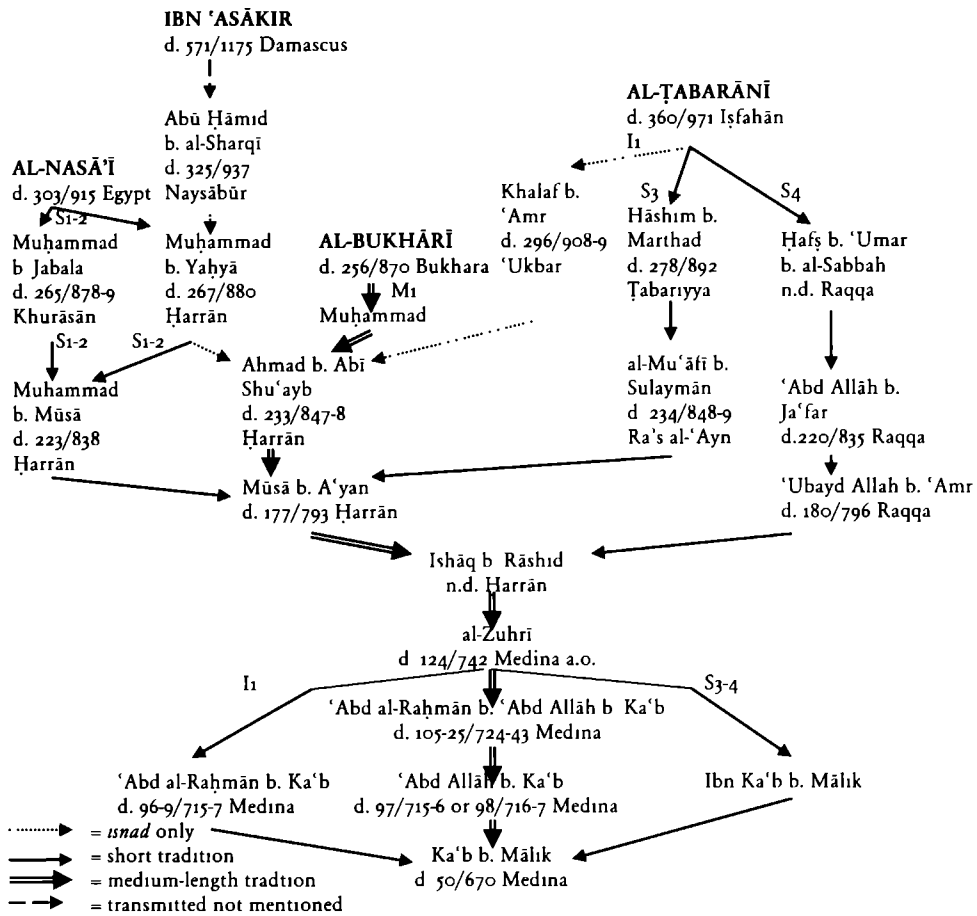
### *Ishaq ibn Rashid*

The only medium-length tradition attributed to Ishaq ibn Rāshid is from al-Bukhārī.<sup>143</sup> The other traditions are short dealing with one or two elements. The *isnad* bundle of the traditions ascribed to Ishaq ibn Rāshid is as follows.

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<sup>143</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Sahih*, III, 255 256 (65 *Kitab tafsir al Qur'an* – 9 *Surat Bara'a* – 18 *Bab qawluhu ta'ala wa ala l thalatha alladhina khullifu fihim wa l tarw'ab al rahim*)

Figure 27: *Isnād* bundle of Ishāq ibn Rāshid on the three who stayed behind



Al-Bukhārī's medium-length tradition does not describe Ka'b's complete story but only several elements (1, 32 partly, 34, 45, 50?, 51?, 59-61, 68, 80? 79 + citation *sūra* 9:94).<sup>144</sup> The topics of the four short traditions from al-Nasā'ī and al-Ṭabarānī are different: S1 element 53 (separation from wife), S2 element 9 (different destination), S3 element 34 (two *rak'āt*) and S4 elements 71+72 (telling the truth and money as *ṣadaqa*).<sup>145</sup> The *mutūn* of traditions S1, S2 and S4 do not have a corresponding part in the medium-length tradition. The *matn* of tradition S3 differs from al-Bukhārī's version although some words are similar. This is the only comparison that could be made between the traditions ascribed to Ishāq ibn Rāshid.

<sup>144</sup> See the complete text on page 271

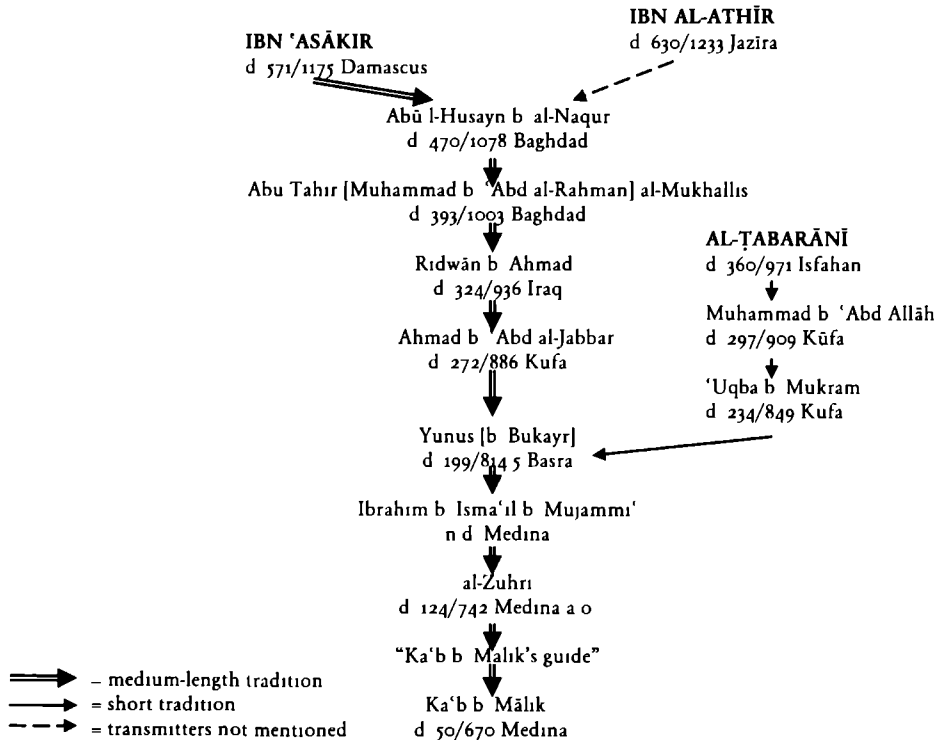
<sup>145</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, III, 357 (no. 5616/2) and V, 239 (no. 8779/2). Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-awsat*, X, 138-139 (no. 9294) and *al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, XIX, 58 (no. 101).

Perhaps comparison with traditions from other students of al-Zuhri helps to determine if these traditions are indeed from Ishāq ibn Rashīd

### *Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il*

To my knowledge Ibn 'Asākīr is the only person who has a medium-length tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il ibn Mujaḥḥim'.<sup>146</sup> There is no overlap between the two other short traditions attributed to Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and the medium-length tradition, so it is not possible to compare the *mutun*. Ibn 'Asākīr's tradition relates elements 9, 11 partly, 16 partly, 12, 18-20, 27 and 31, while the two short traditions from Ibn al-Athīr and al-Tabarānī relate elements 30 (Abu Khaythama) and 70 (shining face) respectively.<sup>147</sup> The *isnad* bundle of the traditions ascribed to Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il is as follows.

Figure 28: *Isnād* bundle of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il on the three who stayed behind



<sup>146</sup> Ibn 'Asākīr, *Tārīkh*, II, 30. See the complete text on page 275.

<sup>147</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghaba*, VI, 93 (5852 *Abu Khaythama l-Ansārī*). Al-Tabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, XIX, 69 (no 133).

There is one more medium-length tradition, which is from Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar. However, since I could not find another tradition from him, his tradition will be compared with versions from other students of al-Zuhri to determine if Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar is indeed the origin of the tradition.<sup>148</sup>

The remaining students have only short traditions dealing with one or two related elements of Ka'b's story.

#### IV. MATN ANALYSIS BETWEEN STUDENTS OF AL-ZUHRI

The focus of this chapter is the comparison of the detailed and medium-length versions from the different students of al-Zuhri. I will only discuss short traditions when they contain new information not present in the detailed or medium-length traditions. The *isnād* bundle of the detailed and medium-length traditions from al-Zuhri's students based on the results of the previous chapter is presented in Appendix 8.

I will first compare the traditions from al-Zuhri's nephew Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, 'Uqayl ibn Khālīd and Yūnus ibn Yazīd, and then the traditions from Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, Ma'mar ibn Rāshid, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, Ishāq ibn Rāshid, Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar, one after the other.

##### *Comparison of the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl and Yūnus*

At first glance, the traditions from al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl and Yūnus look very much alike. A detailed analysis of the *mutūn* of these three transmitters shows that their versions are indeed very similar; they are almost identical in structure and formulation.<sup>149</sup> The similarity of the *mutūn* indicates that they derive from a common source, according to the *asānīd*, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, and a written version of Ka'b's story must be the basis of the transmission from al-Zuhri to these three students.

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<sup>148</sup> See pages 278-280.

<sup>149</sup> Muslim's observation that the version of al-Zuhri's nephew lacks the reference to Abū Khaythama, that is part of Yūnus' version, is indeed correct. He says, *wa-lam yadhkur fī ḥadīth Ibn Akhī l-Zuhri Abū Khaythama wa luhūqahu bi l-nabī (s)*. See page 237.

The degree of similarity might support the idea that these traditions are not transmitted independently, i.e. that one person copied the tradition from another student of al-Zuhri, but omitted that student's name in his own transmission of the story. However, even within texts that are so much alike, there are still some formulations and even sentences, which are specific for each student of al-Zuhri.

Peculiarities of the version from al-Zuhri's nephew are the addition of *wa-ashharu* (18)<sup>150</sup>, *al-ḡill* (114) instead of *al-ḡilāl*, the word *al-mu'minūna* (115), the word order of *ḥabasahu yā rasūl Allāh (ṣ) burdāhu* (123)<sup>151</sup>, the omission of *qādiman* (127), the words *istamarra* (131), *bi-ṣidq* (134), *afragh wa-lā aysar* (135) and *bādartu* (136), the omission of *akhrju* (145), the word order of *[wa-huwa] fī majlisihī ba'da l-ṣalāh fa-usallimu [‘alayhi]* (145-46), the words *hajr* (147), *a'ummu* (170), *min al-ṣidq fī l-ḥadīth* (179) and the word order *wa-laysa takhlīfuhu iyyānā wa-irjā'uhu amranā alladhī dhakara mim mā khullifnā bi-takhallufinā 'an al-ghazw wa-innamā huwa* (192).

Al-Layth ibn Sa'd's version from 'Uqayl's contains the following peculiarities, *wa-lam yakun* instead of *wa-kāna* (110), the omission of element 17 (114),<sup>152</sup> *ishladda* instead of *shammara* (116), *fa-kuntu* instead of *fa-ṭafiqtu* (120), *hammī* instead of *baththī* (125), *akhrju* instead of *anjū* (127), the addition of *fihī kadhīb* (127),<sup>153</sup> *wa-lā ansāhā li-Ṭalḥa* (Ka'b speaks) instead of *qāla fa-kana Ka'b lā yansāhā li-Ṭalḥa* (al-Zuhri or 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b speaks) (172) and the word order *mudh/mundhu dhakartu dhālika li-rasūl Allāh (ṣ) ila yawmī hādha kidhban* instead of *kidhba(n) mudh/mundhu qultu dhālika li-rasūl Allāh ila yawmī hādha* (180-81).

<sup>150</sup> The line numbers in this paragraph refer to the tradition from al-Zuhri's nephew on pages 228-231. Furthermore, the total list of differences between the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl and Yūnus is much larger, but the peculiarities mentioned in the text above are specific for al-Zuhri's student in question, i.e. they do not appear in any other detailed or medium-length tradition from any of al-Zuhri's students.

<sup>151</sup> Ma'mar has the similar word order, but he mentions the word *khallafahu* instead of *ḥabasahu*. See page 217 117.

<sup>152</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī's tradition from Muḥammad ibn Salama from Muḥammad ibn Ishāq does not mention this sentence either, but Ibn Hishām's tradition from Ibn Ishāq does. Furthermore, the version from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il does not mention it, but it will turn out that their traditions deviate considerably from the traditions from al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl, Yūnus and Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>153</sup> The line number refers in this case to the place in the version of al-Zuhri's nephew where the words would be in 'Uqayl's version.

Finally, peculiarities of Ibn Wahb's version from Yūnus are the introduction,<sup>154</sup> the addition of *wa-l-muslimūna yurīdūna* (16), the omission of element 9,<sup>155</sup> *istamarra* instead of *shammara* (116), the omission of elements 22-23 (117), the addition of *lī uswatan* (122), the addition of element 30 on Abū Khaythama (124),<sup>156</sup> the omission of *ma'ā l-muslimīna* (145), the addition of *fa-qara'tuhu* (153), the omission of *layla* (155) and the addition of *wa-istalbatha l-wahy* (155).

#### *Comparison of the tradition of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq with the previous versions*

The version of Ibn Ishāq is also very similar to the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl and Yūnus, although the differences are more significant between Ibn Ishāq and the other three than between the versions from al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl and Yūnus.

Peculiarities of the tradition from Ibn Ishāq are the addition of *abāhu* before the name 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b (12),<sup>157</sup> *wa-kāna qā'id abibi hīna uṣiba baṣaruhu* instead of *(wa)-kāna qā'id Ka'b min banībi hīna 'amiya* (13), the addition of *wa-ḥadīth ṣāhibayhi* (14) and *Allāh wa-lā rasūluhu* (15), *wa-dhālika anna rasul Allāh (ṣ) innamā kharaja* instead of *innamā kharaja rasul Allāh (ṣ)* (15), the addition of *li-dhālika* (112), *man tabi'a* instead of *ma'a* (112), *ya'nī bi-dhālika* instead of *yurīdu* (113), the addition of *yaqulu lā yajma'uhum dīwān maktūb* (113), *wa-uḥibbat/wa-rāḥat* (114) and *wa-tajahhaza* (115), *ḥājatan* instead of *shay'an* (116), the verb *ja'ala* instead of *ṭafīqa* (120+25+28+52)<sup>158</sup>, the addition of *wa-aymānahu* (129)<sup>159</sup>, the omission of *qad shahidā Badran* (141) and *yabkiyāni* (144), the addition of *thumma ghadawtu ilā l-sūq* (150), the addition of *qad balagha bī mā (qad) waqa'tu fīhi an ṭami'a fīyya rajul min ahl al-shirk* (154) and *fa-aqamnā 'alā dhālika* (154), the omission of *af'alu* (156), the addition of *kabīr* (158), *lā khādim lahu* instead of *laysa lahu khādim* (158), *ilayya* instead of *ilā shay'* (159), the addition of *wa-laqad takhawwafu 'alā baṣarihi* (160) and *fī dhālika* (162), the omission of *fa-bayn(am)ā anā jālis* (164), the addition of *wa-qad kuntu ibtanaytu khayma fī zahr Sal' fa-*

<sup>154</sup> The tradition from 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz has also an introduction, but it differs from the introduction Yūnus gives.

<sup>155</sup> It is interesting, though, that there are traditions about this element separately. See the *matn* analysis of traditions from Yūnus on page 247.

<sup>156</sup> Ma'mar's version mentions the same element with a different formulation.

<sup>157</sup> The line numbers in this paragraph refer to the tradition from al-Zuhri's nephew on pages 228-231

<sup>158</sup> Ma'mar's tradition has *ja'altu* at the same places, but the remaining part of Ma'mar's sentences is different, while the version of Ibn Ishāq is almost identical to the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl and Yūnus.

<sup>159</sup> 'Uqayl and Yūnus mention *wa-bāya'ahum*.

*kuntu akūnu fīha idh* (165), *naḥwa* instead of *qibala* (167), the omission of *ṣawjan ṣawjan* (170), *ṣa-ḥayyanī* instead of *yuharwīlu hatta sāfahānī* (172), *wa-wajhuhu yabruqu/mushriq* instead of *wa-huwa yabruqu wajhahu* (173), *istabshara* instead of *istanāra wajhuhu* (175), the addition of *ilā Allah* (178), *al-nas* instead of *al-muslimīna* (179) and *ha'ulā'* instead of *ulā'ika* (190).

The conclusion drawn from the comparison of the version of al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl, Yūnus and Ibn Ishāq is that they must derive from a common source. According to the information from the *isnād*, the common link of the four versions is al-Zuhri. The many similarities between the version of Ibn Ishāq and the other three students indicate that Ibn Ishāq also received al-Zuhri's text by means of written transmission.

A lot of the additional information in the Ibn Ishāq version is explanatory, like the words *abahu*, *abīhi* and *abī* in the *isnād*, and *yaqūlu lā yajma'uhum dīwān maktub* in the *matn*. These additions can be ascribed to Ibn Ishāq because only the texts that have the common link Ibn Ishāq include them. He seems to have edited al-Zuhri's tradition slightly.

Ibn Ishāq's version has certain additional information or uses specific words that the other texts do not have. In addition, the Ibn Ishāq version lacks certain information (for example the information that the other two person that stayed behind took part in Badr), which the other versions do have. Therefore, the conclusion is that the tradition from Ibn Ishāq has a character of its own and has been part of a real transmission process.

#### *Comparison of the tradition of Ma'mar with the previous versions*

The first difference one notices when comparing the version from Ma'mar with the versions from al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl, Yunus and Ibn Ishāq is the deviating information in the *isnād*. According to Ma'mar, al-Zuhri's informant is 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ka'b from Ka'b, while the other four students mention 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Ka'b from his father 'Abd Allah ibn Ka'b from Ka'b. Furthermore, Ma'mar does not mention the additional information that Ka'b *yuhaddithu hadīthahu hīna takhallafa 'an rasul Allāh (ṣ) fī ghazwat Tabūk* (told his story about the time he stayed behind from the messenger of God during the expedition of Tabūk).

Although the content of Ma'mar's version is in general similar to the four versions discussed above, the structure and formulation deviate considerably. It contains some elements that the other four do not have and it lacks certain elements. The additional elements are 6 (not stayed behind before), 7 (Tabuk was the last expedition of Muhammad),



10 (war is a mode of deceiving), 21 (leaving on Thursday), 59 (time of receiving the revelation), 60 (Umm Salama)<sup>160</sup> and 78 (end of story).

Ma'mar's tradition lacks elements 11 (long journey), 18 (everybody starts preparations), 19 (the people became eager), 26 (intention to leave), 47 (50 nights), 54 (stay with your family), 56 (ask same permission as Hilāl's wife), 61 (announcement during the Morning Prayer), 62 (people went to Ka'b and his companions), 65 (people congratulated Ka'b), 67 (Ṭalḥa ibn 'Ubayd Allāh), 79 (God said terrible things about liars) and 80 (explanation of the word *khullīfū*).

Ma'mar's version corresponds to Yunus' version by not mentioning the time span of one or two days that Ka'b gives himself to prepare and catch up with Muhammad (part of element 22). Ma'mar does mention, however, that Ka'b wants to catch up with the others, while this part lacks in Yunus' text. This might be due to a copyist's error in the text from Yunus, because the sentence ends with similar words as the one before Yunus or his student Ibn Wahb is probably responsible for this mistake, since the sentence is lacking in both versions of Ibn Wahb's two students. Furthermore, Ma'mar relates the arrival of Abu Khaythama at Tabuk (element 30), which only Yunus mentions in his tradition from al-Zuhri.

The structure and formulation of Ma'mar's tradition differ from the versions of the other four students. The most remarkable changes in the structure of Ma'mar's text are the position of elements 14+15 (*diwan*+think that staying back would remain unnoticed), 36 (the number of men who stayed behind), 51 (Abu Qatada) and 75+76 (citation Qur'ānic verses 9:117-119). Ma'mar relates elements 15, 14 and 36 (in this order) after Muḥammad's departure, when Ka'b wanders around the streets of Medina and sees only men who were accused of hypocrisy (element 27). The other four students relate elements 14 and 15 at the beginning of the story after the information that Muhammad told the Muslims the direction of this expedition (element 13). They tell how many men stayed behind (element 36) after the part when the persons who stayed behind proffered excuses to Muḥammad in the place of worship after his return to Medina.

Ma'mar relates the part of Ka'b visiting his cousin Abu Qatada (element 51) after the receipt of a letter from the king of Ghassan (element 51) and Muḥammad's order to Ka'b, Hilāl and Murara to separate from their wives (element 52). In the traditions of the other four students, the visit to Abu Qatada happens before these two events.

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<sup>160</sup> Ishaq ibn Rashid mentions this element also

Ma‘mar cites verses 117-119 of *sūrat al-tawba* (elements 75+76) immediately after Ka‘b’s question if the remission came from God or Muḥammad (element 69) and before Ka‘b tells what he wants to do as penance (elements 71+72), while the other four students cite these verses after Ka‘b states that he never told a lie intentionally anymore (element 74).

Beside the above-mentioned major differences in the order of the elements, there are some smaller changes in Ma‘mar’s tradition like the reverse order of the two parts of Ka‘b’s penance, i.e. first element 72 (tell the truth) and then element 71 (money as *ṣadaqa*). When we number the elements according to the versions of al-Zuhri’s nephew, ‘Uqayl, Yūnus and Ibn Ishāq and list them in the order of Ma‘mar’s text, the following sequence appears:<sup>161</sup> 1-2-5-4-3-6-7-13-16-9-10-12-8-17-20-21-22-23-24-25-27-15-14-36-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-35-37-38-39-40-41-42-43-44-45-46-49-50-48-52-53-55-51-57-58-63-64-59-60-66-70-68-69-75-76-72-71-77-73-74-78.

Beside the above-mentioned additions, omissions and the different order of certain elements, the remaining parts are the same. Ma‘mar’s version contains even a number of expressions and sentences that are identical to the versions of the other four students, like:

*lam atakhallaf ‘an al-nabi/rasūl Allāh*<sup>162</sup> (ṣ) *fi ghazwa ghazāhā* (11)<sup>163</sup>, *wa-lam yu‘atib al-nabi* (ṣ) *aḥadan takhallafa ‘an Badr innamā kharaja yuridu l-‘ir* (12), *yata‘ahhabū uhbat ghazwihim*<sup>164</sup> (16), *kāna qalla mā arāda ghazwa illā warrā (bi-)ghayrihā* (17), *yuḥzinunī annanī/an lā ara* (113), *illā rajulan maghmūṣ(an) ‘alayhi fi l-nifaq* (114), *kathīran lā yajma‘uhum dīwān* (115), *biḍ‘a wa-thamānīna rajulan* (115), *wa-lam yadhkurnī l-nabi* (ṣ) *ḥattā balagha Tabūkan* (116), *mā fa‘ala Ka‘b (ibn Mālik)* (116), *burdāhu/burdayhi wa-l-naẓr fi ‘iṣṣayhi* (117), *sa-qāla Mu‘ādh ibn Jabal: bi’s mā qulta wa-llāhi yā nabi Allāh mā na‘lamu illā khayran* (117), *zāḥa ‘anni l-bāṭil* (121), *sa-yahliḥūna lahu wa-ya‘tadhīrūna ilyayhi* (123), *wa-yakīlu sarā‘irahum/asrarahum ilā Allāh* (123), *tabassama tabassum al-mughḍab* (124), *qum ḥattā yaqḍiya Allāh fika* (129), *wa-llāhi mā na‘lamuka adhnabta* (129), *fa-lam yazālū yu‘annibūnanī ḥattā [hammamtu] an arjī‘a fa-ukhaddiba nafsī* (131), *fa-dhakarū rajulayn ṣāliḥayn qad shahidā Badran lī fihimā uswa* (133), *nabā l-nabi* (ṣ) *[al-nās] ‘an kalāminā ayyuhā l-thalātha* (134), *mā hiya bi-l-arḍ allatī na‘rifu* (136), *man yadullu(nī) ‘alā Ka‘b ibn Mālik?* (140), *fa-idha fiha ammā ba‘du [...] balaghanī anna ṣāhibaka qad jafāka* (141), *bi-dār madya‘a wa-lā harwān* (142), *sa-qultu hādḥā aydan min al balā‘*

<sup>161</sup> The additional elements of Ma‘mar’s text (and any addition from other students) are chronologically inserted in the main structure based on the versions of al-Zuhri’s nephew, ‘Uqayl, Yūnus and Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>162</sup> The “synonym” *rasūl Allāh* is mostly used in the other texts. I did not distinguish between them in this list.

<sup>163</sup> The line numbers refer to ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s tradition from Ma‘mar on pages 218-220.

<sup>164</sup> The variant *aduwwihim* (or the word *ghazwihim*) is a copyist’s error, because the words look very much alike in handwriting.

(142), *i'ta'zal imra'ataka* (144), *qultu uṭalliqubā?* (144), *lā taqrab(anna)hā* (144), *mā bihi* (min) *ḥaraka li-shay'* (146) *wa-huwa ibn 'ammī fa-sallamtu 'alayhi fa-lam yarudda 'alayya* (147), *anshuduka Allāh* (147), *ta'lamu annanī uḥibbu Allāh wa-rasūlahu* (148), *Allāh wa-rasūluhu a'lam* (149), *kharrartu sājidan wa-'arastu anna* (152), *kāna l-ṣawt asra' min farasihi* (153), *bi-khayr yawm atā/marra 'alayka mundhu waladatka ummuka* (157), *inna min tawbatī [...] allā uḥadditha illā ṣidqan* (160), *wa-an ankhalī'a min māli kullihī ṣadaqa ilā Allāh wa-ilā rasūlihī* (161), *amsik ('alayka) ba'da mālika fa-huwa khayr laka* (161), *innī umsiku sahmī alladhī bi-Khaybar* (162), *an lā nakūna kadhdhabnāhu fa-halaknā ka-mā halakū* (163) or *wa-innī la-arjū an yaḥṣazani Allāh fi-mā baqiya* (164).

Ma'mar's text also contains a number of sentences that have a different formulation but a similar meaning, like:

*inna ashraf mashāhid rasūl Allāh (s) fī l-nās la-Badr* (14) instead of *wa-inna kānat Badr adkhar fī l-nās minhā* (17)<sup>165</sup>, *wa-anā aqdar shay' fī nafsī 'alā l-jihād wa-khiffat al-ḥādḥ* (18) instead of *annanī lam akun qaṭṭu aqwā wa-lā aysar* (18), *qāla rajul min qawmī* (116) instead of *qāla rajul min Banī Salima* (122), *wa-kāna idhā jā'a min safar fa'ala dhālika dakhala l-masjid fa-ṣalla fihī rak'atayn* (122) instead of *wa-kāna idhā qadama min safar bada'a bi-l-masjid fa-raka'a fihī rak'atayn* (127), *fa-thāra 'alā atharī (u)nās min qawmī yu'annibūnī* (129) instead of *wa-thāra rijāl min Banī Salima fa-atba'ūnī* (136), *idhā rajul naṣrānī jā'a bi-ṭa'ām lahu yabī'uhu* (140) instead of *idhā Nabaṭī min Anbā' ahl al-Shām mimman qadima bi-ṭa'ām yabī'uhu bi-l-Madīna* (151), *bi-ṣaḥīfa* (141) instead of *kitāban* (152), *iqtaḥamtu 'alā Abī Qatāda ḥa'ṭabū* (147) instead of *tasawwartu ḥa'ṭi Abī Qatāda* (148), *fa-lam amlik nafsī an bakaytu* (149) instead of *fa-fādat 'aynāya* (150) or *wa-huwa yastanīru ka-istinārat al-qamar* (156) instead of *wa-kāna rasūl Allāh (s) idhā surra istanāra wajhuhu ka'annahu qī'at qamar* (175).

Furthermore, the part about Abū Khaythama is very similar to, but not identical with Yūnus' version. They have the following formulations in common, *fa-bayna(mā), rajul [...] yazūlu bihi l-sarāb fa-qāla [...] kun Abā Khaythama! fa-idhā huwa Abū Khaythama*, although Ma'mar has *hum ka-dhālika* instead of *huwa 'alā dhālika*, *idhā hum bi-rajul* instead of *ra'ā rajulan mubayyiḍan*, *al-nabī (s)* instead of *rasūl Allāh (s)* and he does not mention the *nisba al-Anṣārī* and the explanation *wa-huwa alladhī taṣaddaqa bi-ṣā' al-tamr ḥīna lamazahu l-munāfiqūna*.

The comparison of Ma'mar's tradition with the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl, Yūnus and Ibn Ishāq shows that Ma'mar's tradition resembles the versions of the

<sup>165</sup> The first sentence is from Ma'mar's text on page 218 ff and the second from al-Zuhri's nephew on page 228 ff.

other students in content. Ma‘mar uses a large number of formulations that are identical to the other students or have a similar meaning. This means that Ma‘mar’s version derives from the same source as the traditions from the other students, which is confirmed by the *isnād*; they all have the informant al-Zuhri in common.

While the previous comparisons showed that the versions of Ibn Akhī l-Zuhri, Yūnus, ‘Uqayl and Ibn Ishāq are very similar, the version of Ma‘mar deviates considerably in structure, formulation and to some extent even in content. Is Ma‘mar responsible for the deviation or maybe al-Zuhri himself? Ma‘mar could have received the same version of the story of Ka‘b from al-Zuhri and changed or edited the text. This does not seem very likely. However, why would he for example alter the name of the informant of al-Zuhri and omit that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān received it from his father from his grandfather? It is more plausible that al-Zuhri first used the abridged form of the name ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b and called him ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b, and later on specified that the ‘Abd al-Raḥmān in question was the son of ‘Abd Allāh.

The deviations in Ma‘mar’s text might be explained by two changes in the way al-Zuhri transmitted the story of Ka‘b. Firstly, a transition from oral to written transmission. The high degree of similarity between the versions from al-Zuhri’s nephew, ‘Uqayl, Yūnus and Ibn Ishāq indicate that al-Zuhri probably had a written tradition, which he dictated, or allowed some students to copy. If al-Zuhri told Ma‘mar the story from memory based on written notes, this would explain many peculiarities in the text of Ma‘mar. Oral transmission is characterised by a different structure of the plot and different formulations with similar meaning. Both features are present in the version of Ma‘mar. The parts or formulations that are identical probably derive from al-Zuhri’s notes.

Another explanation could be that Ma‘mar made notes during the lesson of al-Zuhri and worked them out later. If we assume that al-Zuhri told the story similar to the versions of the other four students, such a text would most probably contain identical formulations and sentences with different wording and a similar meaning, as are present in Ma‘mar’s text. However, Ma‘mar’s tradition would in that case also resemble the structure and the content of the story of the other four students much more than it actually does. It is possible that Ma‘mar overlooked or forgot to take notes of some parts, but not to the extent we find in his version of the story about Ka‘b. That would require a large textual interference on the part of Ma‘mar. Therefore, it seems more plausible to explain the differences by a change in al-Zuhri’s method of teaching, rather than by how Ma‘mar studied.

However, the transition from oral (based on notes) to written transmission does not explain all peculiarities in the tradition of Ma'mar. Al-Zuhri did not only write the tradition down at a certain point in his life, but he also edited the text. Indications for the editing are the specification of the name of his informant and the insertion and omission of some elements. For example, the information that Ka'b did not stay back from Muḥammad after Badr until Tabūk, appears twice in the story of Ma'mar. The second sentence (element 6) is not present in the traditions of the other four students. Did al-Zuhri remove the repetitive sentence on purpose?

Furthermore, the last element of the versions from al-Zuhri's nephew and his fellow students that is also present in Ma'mar's tradition is element 77 (God did not bestow a greater favour). The traditions of the four students mention two more elements, 79 (God said to the persons who lied more terrible things + citation of verse 9: 95-96) and 80 (explanation of the word *khullifū*). Maybe the story of Ka'b led to a discussion on verses 9:95-96 and the meaning of the word *khullifū*. It is possible that al-Zuhri included elements 79 and 80 in the story to clarify uncertainties in his previous version. Even though al-Zuhri included the additional elements maybe later on, it does not exclude that he originally had received the additional information from his informant 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

The following elements, which the version of Ma'mar does not mention, could be considered as embellishments of the story. Element 11 describes the harsh circumstances of the expedition: Muḥammad made the expedition at a time of extreme heat with the prospect of a long travel through the desert and many enemies. Element 26 relates that Ka'b did not let Muḥammad down on purpose: Ka'b intended to leave – he wished he had done it, but he did not. Element 56 describes Ka'b's perseverance to submit himself to Muḥammad's judgment. He refuses to ask Muḥammad if his wife could serve him. Element 63 evokes an image of general happiness: when Ka'b went to Muḥammad, people swarmed around him and congratulated him with God's forgiveness. According to element 68, Ka'b was so glad that he gave the person who brought him the news his only two garments and he had to borrow others. Ma'mar's version is less dramatic, because it lacks the information that these were the only clothes he owned.

Finally, even though Ka'b and his two companions decide to put their faith into Muḥammad and Allāh and tell the truth, the fact remains that they let Muḥammad down for no reason. Probably, not everyone in Medina would be able to feel happiness for Ka'b and his companions, although they would forgive them because God did. Element 67

describes the mixed feelings Talha ibn 'Ubayd Allāh congratulates Ka'b, but no other *muhajir* does the same Ka'b never forgot that Talha congratulated him

*Comparison of the tradition of 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz with the previous versions*

According to Ibn Abī Shayba's tradition from 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, al-Zuhri received the tradition from 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik -> 'Abd Allah ibn Ka'b ibn Malik -> his father Ka'b This is the same *isnad* as in the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew and his fellow students The *main* is largely similar in content and formulation to the versions of the other students of al-Zuhri that we have discussed above, although it corresponds much more to the versions from al-Zuhri's nephew and his fellow students than to Ma'mar's version 'Abd al-Rahman's tradition does not mention the additional elements from Ma'mar's version (6, 7, 10, 21, 59, 60 and 78) and it includes elements 11, 18, 19, 54, 56, 61, 62, 65 and 67, which Ma'mar's tradition lacks

Although the content of 'Abd al-Rahman's tradition corresponds to the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew and his fellow students, the order of the elements differs at some places and several elements are missing The order of the elements in 'Abd al-Rahman's tradition is 1-12-9-11-13-12-18 19-20-22-8-23-25-27-31-28-29-32-33 66-34-38-39-40-35-37-41-42-43-44-45-46-53-55-56-54-49-51-52-57-61-62-63-58-64-65-67-66-68-70-69-71-73

Especially at the beginning and the end of the tradition, many elements are missing The version of 'Abd al-Rahman does not refer to Badr or al-'Aqaba (elements 1-5) It does not say that the men who stayed behind thought that it would remain unnoticed, because there were so many participants that a *diwan* could not contain them (elements 14-15) We are not informed how many men stayed behind (element 36) The text lacks the Qur'an verses (elements 75-76-79) and Ka'b's second repentance of speaking the truth from that moment on (elements 72-74-77) At the end of the tradition, Ka'b does not explain the meaning of the word *khullifu* (element 80)

'Abd al-Rahman begins his tradition with the additional information that Muhammad intends to prepare an expedition against the Byzantines, because he was afraid that they intended to send an expedition to them (12 3 *inna rasul Allah (s) lamma hamma bi Banī l'Asfar an yaghzuhum*) He adds in his story that not only falsehood left Ka'b when he heard that Muhammad had returned, but also what he had thought up regarding lies and excuses (114-15 *wa mā kuntu ajma'u min al-kadhib wa l'udhr*) Furthermore, when Muhammad

said that the remission came from God, he added that they trusted God, so God trusted them (150 *innakum šaddaqtum Allāh fa-šaddaqakum*).

Apart from the additional and omitted elements, the content of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s story differs sometimes and at several places, he uses different formulations. The name of Mu‘ādh ibn Jabal is not mentioned, but he is referred to as “another man” (113<sup>166</sup> *raḥul ākhar*). After Muḥammad’s injunction not to talk to the three persons who stayed behind, all three of them wandered around, while nobody talked to them or greeted them (126). In the versions of the other students, only Ka‘b continued to go out, while his two companions remained in their houses weeping. The phrase “he did not move his lips to return my greeting” (*mā ḥarraka shafatayhi yaruddu ‘alayya l-salām*) is used in connection with Abū Qatāda (134), while the other students use a similar phrase (*hal ḥarraka shafatayhi bi-radd al-salām am lā*) in connection with Muḥammad.

Finally, examples of different formulations in ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s tradition are ‘*aduwwan jadīdan* instead of ‘*aduwwan kathīran*’<sup>167</sup> (14), *fa-kashaḥa* instead of *fa-akhbarahum* (14), *yakhruju bihim* instead of *alladhi yuridu* (15), *ḥattā farigha l-nās wa-qīla inna rasūl Allāh (s) ghāḍin wa-khārij ilā wajhihi* instead of *ḥattā shamara/ishtadda bi-l-nās al-jidd fa-aṣḥaba rasūl Allāh (s) ghāḍīyan wa-l-muslimūna ma’ahu* (16), *fa-ṭafīqtu a’uddu l-’udhr li-rasūl Allāh (s) idhā jā’a wa-uhayyi’u l-kalām* instead of *fa-ṭafīqtu atadhakkaru l-kadhib wa-aqūlu bi-mādhā akhruju min sakhatihī ghadan wa-asta’īnu ‘alā dhālika kull dhi ra’y min ahli* (110), *fa-ṣamata* instead of *fa-sakata* (113), *thumma dakhala ‘alā ahlihi* instead of *thumma jalasa li-l-nās* (116), *wa-llāhi mā ṣana’ta shay’an* instead of *wa-llāhi mā ‘alimnāka kunta adhnabta dhanban qabla hādhā* (121), *yalūmūnanī* instead of *yu’annibūnanī* (122), *hal qāla hādhīhi l-maqala aḥad aw i’tadhara bi-muḥl mā i’tadhartu bihi?* instead of *hal laqiya hādhā ma’i aḥad?* (123), *innahu shaykh qad ḍa’ufa baṣaruhu* instead of *inna Hilāl shaykh ḍā’i* (128), *an aṣna’a labu ṭa’āmahu* instead of *an akhdumahu* (128), *fa-mā kallamanī kalima* instead of *fa-sakata* (135), *ba’d qawmī bi-l-Sham* instead of *malik Ghassān* (137), *balaghanā mā ṣana’a bika ṣāhibuka wa-jafwatahu* instead of *balaghanā anna ṣāhibaka qad jafāka* (138) or *an akhruja min māli* instead of *an ankhalī’a min māli* (150).

<sup>166</sup> The line numbers in this paragraph refer to Ibn Abi Shayba’s tradition from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz on pages 251-253.

<sup>167</sup> I compared ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s tradition specifically to the versions of al-Zuhri’s nephew and his fellow students, because it is very similar to their versions. The variant formulations are from their traditions; not Ma‘mar’s.

A number of deviating formulations are also present in the version of Ibn Ishāq, *abihi* before Ka'b's name in the *isnad* (12), *li-l-nās* instead of *li-l-muslimīna* (14) and the addition of *mā huwa qād* (120+133), *kabīr* (132), *yas'alu 'annī* (137) and *ṭami'a fiyya rajul min ahl al-kufr* (Ibn Ishāq *ahl al-shirk*) (139).

The similarities in content and formulation indicate that the tradition of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz derives from the same source as the versions of the other five students, i.e. al-Zuhri. The text of 'Abd al-Raḥmān resembles the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl, Yūnus and Ibn Ishāq more than the version of Ma'mar, and it contains the peculiarities of al-Zuhri's (presumably) edited version.

Still, the tradition contains many deviations in content as well as formulation. The differences indicate that the tradition of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz is the result of an independent transmission. However, how is it possible that transmission from a written text results in such a deviating text?

Either 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, Khālīd ibn Makhlad or Ibn Abī Shayba, who transmitted 'Abd al-Raḥmān's tradition, is responsible for the deviations in the tradition. Probably at some point in the transmission from al-Zuhri to Ibn Abī Shayba, the tradition was not copied down. If all of them had copied the text from a written version, the text would resemble the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl, Yūnus and Ibn Ishāq much more. Since this is not the case, an explanation might be that one of the transmitters heard the text, took extensive notes (because of the many identical sentences) and later on transmitted the text based on these notes or prepared a written version based on the notes.

Another possible explanation is found in the biographical information on 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. Although some persons consider him a trustworthy transmitter (*thiqa*), Abū Ḥātim says that he is *muḍṭarib al-ḥadīth* (the weaker of two variants of the same *ḥadīth*)<sup>168</sup>. Ibn Ḥibbān mentions that 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz lost his eyesight (*wa-kāna qad dhahaba baṣaruhu*).<sup>169</sup> The loss (or diminishing) of his eyesight might be an explanation for the state of his tradition about Ka'b. Maybe 'Abd al-Raḥmān received the tradition from al-Zuhri just like the other four students with the same version did, but he transmitted it when he could not read his notes very well anymore and had to rely partly on his memory.

<sup>168</sup> The explanation comes from Lucas, S.C., *Constructive critics, ḥadīth literature, and the articulation of sunni Islam*, Leiden 2004, 31, footnote 33.

<sup>169</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 435 (no 3874).



The text of Ishāq ibn Rāshid medium-length tradition is as follows:<sup>170</sup>

- 1 حدثني محمد قال: حدثنا أحمد بن أبي شعيب قال: حدثنا موسى بن أعين قال: حدثنا إسحاق بن راشد أن
- 2 الزهري حدثه قال: أخبرني عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن كعب بن مالك عن أبيه قال: سمعت أبي كعب بن
- 3 مالك وهو أحد الثلاثة الذين تيب عليهم أنه لم يتخلف عن رسول الله (صلم) في غزوة غزاها قط غير
- 4 غزوتين غزوة العسرة وغزوة بدر. قال: فاجمعت صدق رسول الله (صلم) ضحى وكان قل ما يقدم من
- 5 سفر سافره إلا ضحى وكان يبدأ بالمسجد فيركع ركعتين ونهى النبي (صلم) عن كلامي وكلام صاحبي
- 6 ولم ينه عن كلام أحد من المتخلفين غيرنا فاجتنب الناس كلامنا فلبثت كذلك حتى طال علي الأمر وما من
- 7 شيء أهم إلي من أن أموت فلا يصلي علي النبي (صلم) أو يموت رسول الله (صلم) فأكون من الناس
- 8 بتلك المنزلة فلا يكلمني أحد منهم ولا يصلي علي فأنزل الله تعالى توبتنا على نبيه (صلم) حين بقي التث
- 9 الآخر من الليل ورسول الله (صلم) عند أم سلمة وكانت أم سلمة محسنة في شائي معنية في أمري فقال
- 10 رسول الله (صلم): يا أم سلمة تيب على كعب. قالت: أفلا أرسل إليه فأبشره؟ قال: إذا يحطمكم الناس
- 11 فيمعنونكم النوم سائر الليلة حتى إذا صلى رسول الله (صلم) صلاة الفجر اذن بتوبة الله علينا وكان إذا
- 12 استبشر استنار وجهه حتى كأنه قطعة من القمر وكنا أيها الثلاثة الذين خلفوا خلفنا عن الأمر الذي قبل
- 13 من هؤلاء الذين اعتذروا حين أنزل الله لنا التوبة فلما ذكر الذين كذبوا رسول الله (صلم) من المتخلفين
- 14 واعتذروا بالباطل ذكروا بشر ما ذكر به أحد. قال الله <<يعتذرون إليكم إذا رجعت إليهم قل لا تعتذروا
- 15 لن نؤمن لكم قد نبأنا الله من أخباركم وسيرى الله عملكم ورسوله>> الآية.

Muhammad told me, he said, Ahmad ibn Abi Shu'ayb told us, he said, Mūsā ibn A'yan told us, he said, Ishāq ibn Rāshid told us that al-Zuhri told him, he said, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk informed me on the authority of his father, he said, I heard my father Ka'b ibn Mālīk, one of the three who were forgiven, [say] that he only stayed behind from the messenger of God during two expeditions, the expedition of *al-'usra*<sup>171</sup> and the expedition to Badr (1). He said, "I decided to tell the messenger of God the truth after sunrise (32). Whenever he came back from a journey, which he only did after sunrise, he would first go to the place of worship and perform a prayer of two *rak'āt* (34). The Prophet forbade [the people] to talk to me and to my two companions, but he did not forbid [them] to talk to the other persons who had stayed behind (45). The people avoided talking to us (46). I remained like that until the

<sup>170</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, 255-256 (65 *Kitāb tafsīr al-Qur'ān* – 9 *Surat barā'a* – 18 *Bāb qawlihi ta'ālā wa 'alā l-thalātha alladhina khullifū* [...] *inna Allāh huwa l-tawwāb al-rahīm*)

<sup>171</sup> *Al-'usra* refers to Tabuk. The army of Tabuk is also called the army of difficulty (*jaysh al-'usra*), because they had to go to Tabuk during the intense heat of the summer and in the season of the ripening of the fruit, so that it was hard on them. Also, because the Prophet had never before commanded an army of so many men. Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 2043 and al-Bakhtī, "Tabūk", 50.

situation became too much for me and the thing that worried me most was that I would die, (51) while the Prophet would not pray for me, or that the messenger of God would die (50) and that I was among the people in that house, but nobody from them talked to me or prayed for me (51). God, exalted is He, revealed our remission to his Prophet when only a third of the night remained (59). The messenger of God was at that time [in the house of] Umm Salama, who was beneficial to my case [and] concerned about my affair. The messenger of God said, 'Umm Salama, Ka'b has been forgiven!' She asked, 'Why do you not send [a messenger] to him and bring him the good news?' He [Muḥammad] said, 'Then, the people will crowd round you and will prevent you from sleeping the remainder of the night.' (60) When the messenger of God performed the Morning Prayer, he announced God's remission of us (61). When he [Muḥammad] was delighted, his face shone like a piece of the moon (70). The "three of us who were kept back", were kept back from the revelation that was given about those who found an excuse, when God revealed the remission to us Those of the persons who had stayed behind, who lied to the messenger of God Muḥammad and made an excuse with lies, were mentioned more terrible things than anyone else (80). God revealed the verse <<They will excuse themselves to you, when you return to them. Say: 'Do not excuse yourselves; we will not believe you. God has given us some information about you. God and His messenger will see what you did.'>><sup>172</sup> (81)

Ishāq ibn Rāshid's medium-length tradition contains a number of elements and formulations that are only present in the version of al-Zuhri's nephew and his fellow students, such as elements 61 (announcement during Morning Prayer), 80 (explanation word *khullifū*) and the words *fā-ajma'tu šidq* (14), *wa-kāna (qalla mā) yaqdumu min safar* (14-5) and *wa-kāna idhā (istabshara) istanāra wajhuhu ḥattā ka'annah qit'a min al-qamar* (11-12). The similarities between Ishāq ibn Rāshid's tradition and the version from al-Zuhri's nephew and others indicate that Ishāq received Ka'b's story after al-Zuhri edited the text. This would place Ishāq in the same period as al-Zuhri's nephew, Yūnus, 'Uqayl, Ibn Ishāq and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz.

However, Ishāq's tradition also contains "old" elements and formulations that are only present in Ma'mar's version. The most striking example is the information that Muḥammad received the revelation during the night when he stayed at the house of Umm Salama (elements 60+61). Similar formulations are *duḥan* (15), *fā-anzala (...)* *tarbatanā 'alā*

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<sup>172</sup> Sura 9 94

*nabihi* (ṣ) (...) *al-thulth* (...) *al-layl* (18-9), *wa-kānat Umm Salama muḥsina fī sha'nī* (19) and *idhan yaḥṭimukum al-nās fa-yamna'ūnakum al-naẓm sār al-layla* (110-11).

Al-Bukhārī's tradition from Ishāq ibn Rāshid mentions, however, several words and sentences, which none of al-Zuhri's students used. Among these are, the addition of *wa-huwa aḥad al-thalātha alladhina tība 'alayhim* (13) and *ghayr ghazwatayn ghazwat al-'usra* (13), '*an kalāmī wa-kalām ṣāhibayya* (15) instead of '*an kalāmīna ayyuhā l-thalātha* (=Ma'mar (M)+al-Zuhri's nephew and others (I)), *fa-labithu kadhālika ḥatta lāla 'alayya l-amr wa-mā min shay' aḥamma ilayya min an amūla* (16-7) instead of *wa-tagħayyarū lanā ḥattā tanakkarat lī min nafsi l-arḍ fa-mā biya bi-l-arḍ allatī kuntu a'rifu* (=I, M is similar), the addition of *fa-akūnu min al-nās bi-tilka l-manzila fa-lā yukallimūni aḥad minhum* (17-8),<sup>173</sup> *hina baqiya l-thulth al-ākhir min al-layl* (18-9) instead of *thulth al-layl* (=M), *istabshara* (112) instead of *surra* (=I+M) and the addition of *sura 9:94* (114-15).

Therefore, although the tradition from Ishāq ibn Rāshid looks like the versions from Ma'mar and al-Zuhri's nephew and others, it is not identical to either one of them. Did Ishāq somehow receive two versions from al-Zuhri and did he combine the two versions?

Although we do not have a detailed version, the remaining traditions that are preserved from Ishāq ibn Rāshid indicate that he probably knew a detailed version. It is certain that Ishāq's version was longer than al-Bukhārī's tradition, because we possess parts of Ka'b's story from Ishāq in short traditions that are not part of al-Bukhārī's medium-length tradition (S1, S2 and S4)<sup>174</sup>. Tradition S1 from al-Nasā'i on elements 53 and 54 is very similar to the corresponding part in the version from al-Zuhri's nephew and his fellow students.<sup>175</sup> Tradition S2 from al-Nasā'i also contains formulations that are specific for Ma'mar's version as well as for the version of al-Zuhri's nephew and others, while S4 from al-Ṭabarānī is very similar to the corresponding part in Ma'mar's tradition. Each tradition contains formulations that no other student used.

Furthermore, there is a tradition from Ibn 'Asākir that he received Ishāq ibn Rāshid's tradition twice. Ibn 'Asākir does not mention the *matn* of these two traditions, but at the end of the only detailed tradition that he mentions completely (Ma'mar's tradition), he remarks that al-Bukhārī related some of it from Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā on the authority of Ibn Abī Shu'ayb with the same meaning, but with different words. According to him, al-

<sup>173</sup> I take this sentence as a summary of element 51 on Abū Qatāda

<sup>174</sup> See pages 256-258 on the *matn* analysis of traditions ascribed to Ishāq ibn Rāshid.

<sup>175</sup> Element 54 does not appear in Ma'mar's version.

Bukhārī did not cite it completely (*rawāhu l-Bukhārī ‘an Muḥammad ibn Yahyā ‘an Ibn Abī Shu‘ayb ba‘dahu bi-ma‘nāhu bi-lafẓ ākhar wa-lam yasūqhu bi-tamāmihī*).<sup>176</sup>

Ibn ‘Asākir’s description fits the results of the analysis. Since we do not have Ibn ‘Asākir’s tradition from Ishāq ibn Rāshid, we cannot state that there once existed a complete detailed tradition from Ishāq ibn Rāshid that was either more similar to Ma‘mar’s version or to the version from al-Zuhri’s nephew et al. However, based on the remark of Ibn ‘Asākir and the fact that Ishāq related other elements of the detailed tradition that the medium-length tradition does not contain, we can say that Ishāq ibn Rāshid knew at least a larger version of Ka‘b’s story than al-Bukhārī’s medium-length tradition.

This still leaves the issue of the combination of “old” (=from Ma‘mar’s version) and “new” (from the version of al-Zuhri’s nephew et al) elements in the traditions from Ishāq ibn Rāshid. Did Ishāq somehow receive two versions from al-Zuhri and did he combine those two versions?

It is said that Ishāq ibn Rāshid did not meet al-Zuhri personally, but that he found a “book” from al-Zuhri in Jerusalem.<sup>177</sup> This book is probably the manuscript of a student from al-Zuhri. If Ishāq ibn Rāshid did not meet al-Zuhri in person, it seems more plausible that the book from al-Zuhri contained the edited version.

There is even a possibility that Ishāq and Ma‘mar met. Al-Mizzī mentions Ma‘mar in the list of persons who transmitted from Ishāq ibn Rāshid. He also mentions several traditions about a discussion on whether Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid and Ishāq ibn Rāshid were brothers or not<sup>178</sup>. This perhaps indicates that they could have met, because they were at the same time in the same area. Why would you have a discussion on the relationship between two persons, when they lived in two distant countries? Just because they have the same *nasab*?

The above-mentioned arguments do not constitute solid evidence that Ishāq ibn Rāshid knew two versions of al-Zuhri’s tradition and combined them. The formulations that are only present in the tradition of Ishāq might even derive from one of the transmitters after him. Furthermore, it is not even certain if the “old” elements are from a tradition from Ma‘mar. It is also possible that Ishāq ibn Rāshid received these elements from another early student of al-Zuhri, whom we do not know. Anyhow, since the short and medium-length traditions from Ishāq ibn Rāshid appear in specific chapters related to the

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<sup>176</sup> Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh*, L, 205.

<sup>177</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* I, 186 (no. 344)

<sup>178</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* I, 185-186 (no. 344)

topics in the tradition, it seems very likely that the compilers of the collections are responsible for the short(ened) versions of the text.

*Comparison of the tradition of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il with the previous versions*

The text of Ibn 'Asākir's medium-length tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il is as follows:<sup>179</sup>

- 1 أخبرنا أبو القاسم بن السمرقندي أنا أبو الحسين بن النفور أنا أبو طاهر المخلص أنا رضوان بن أحمد –
- 2 إجازة – أنا أحمد بن عبد الجبار نا يونس عن إبراهيم بن إسماعيل بن مجمع الأنصاري عن الزهري أن
- 3 قائد كعب بن مالك الذي كان يقود به حين عمي حدثه قال: حدثني كعب بن مالك عن رسول الله (صلم)
- 4 إنه كان إذا أراد المسير في الغزاة أن في المسلمين بالجهاز وكنتمهم أين يجاهدون مكيدة للعدو. وما كان
- 5 رسول الله (صلم) يؤذن بالجهاز إلا وعندي بعير فأقوى به على الخروج معه حتى كانت تبوك في حر
- 6 شديد وحين أقبلت الثمرة فأن رسول الله (صلم) بالجهاز إلى تبوك وبينها للمسلمين ووافق ذلك عندي
- 7 بعيرين فرايت أنني قوي على الخروج فتجهز رسول الله (صلم) والمسلمون وأغدو أنا لأجهز فوالله
- 8 لكنما أربط فأرجع وما قطعت شعرة وعندي بعيران وأنا أرى أنني قوي على الخروج إذا أردت فخرج
- 9 رسول الله (صلم) والمسلمون ثم ذهبت أتحرأ فإذا أنا أرى رجلا تخلف إلا رجلا مغموصا عليه في دينه
- 10 أنني قد رايت رجلين من الأنصار صحيحين كنت أسكن إليهما هلال بن أمية الواقفي ومرارة العمري
- 11 إذا أيسر من الخروج قلت: اعتذر إلى رسول الله (صلم) إذا رجع.

Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Samarqandī informed us, Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn al-Naqqūr informed us, Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ informed us, Riḍwān ibn Aḥmad informed us with permission, Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār told us, Yūnus told us on the authority of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il ibn al-Mujammi' al-Anṣārī on the authority of al-Zuhrī that Ka'b ibn Mālik's guide, who guided him when he [Ka'b] became blind, told him, he said, "Ka'b ibn Mālik told me about<sup>180</sup> the messenger of God,

that when he [the Prophet] wanted to go on an expedition, he had ordered the Muslims to prepare themselves and had kept secret where they would fight as a deceit for the enemy (9). Each time the messenger of God ordered to prepare, I possessed only one camel and I was strong enough to go with him, until the expedition to Tabūk (+). [The expedition] would take place at a time of extreme heat, (16) when the fruits were maturing (11). The messenger of God ordered to prepare for [the journey to] Tabūk (12) and announced [the direction] to the Muslims (13). I had two camels at that time and I knew that I was strong enough to go (8). The messenger of God and the Muslims

<sup>179</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, II, 30.

<sup>180</sup> The word '*an*' means "on the authority of" when used in an *isnād*, but I think that "about" is meant at this place.

prepared themselves, while I went early in the morning to prepare myself, but, by God, it seemed as if I was bound! I returned without having cut [even] one hair, (18) while I owned two camels and while I knew that I was strong enough to go (8) if I wanted to (19)

The messenger of God and the Muslims left (20) Afterwards, I went outside to try [to prepare myself] an then I saw only men staying behind, who were despised regarding their belief (27) However, I [also] saw two righteous men from the *Ansar*, Hilal ibn Umayya l-Wāfiqī and Murāra l-‘Amrī, by whom I was almost reassured, (+)until I said, when I despaired going out, ‘I will excuse myself to the messenger of God when he returns’” (31)

The tradition from Ibrahīm ibn Isma‘īl corresponds more to the versions from al-Zuhri’s nephew and fellows than to Ma‘mar’s tradition For example, the additional information in the *isnad* “Ka‘b’s guide, who guided him when he became blind” (13) as well as the words *harr shadīd* (15-6) and *idha aradtu* (18) are present in the later version of Ka‘b’s story, but not in Ma‘mar’s text Ibrahīm ibn Isma‘īl’s tradition contains a couple of other formulations from the versions of al-Zuhri’s other students, but the degree of similarity is all in all meagre The most distinguishing similarity is *rajulan maghmusan ‘alayhi fi* (19), although it ends with *dīnīhi* instead of *al-nīfaq*

The content of Ibrahīm ibn Isma‘īl’s tradition deviates in some places He gives the information that Ka‘b owned one camel before the expedition to Tabuk and that he was strong enough to go to other expeditions with Muhammad Al-Zuhri’s other students do not mention this explicitly No other student beside Ibrahīm says that when Ka‘b went out to prepare his equipment it seemed as if he was bound It looks as if it was not entirely Ka‘b’s fault that he did not go to Tabūk, “something” withheld him from his duty Furthermore, in the versions of al-Zuhri’s other students, some people of Ka‘b’s tribe mention Hilal and Murara to him after Ka‘b had apologized to Muhammad in the place of worship According to Ibrahīm, Ka‘b saw these two persons when he walked in the streets before Muhammad’s return to Medina

Many words in the tradition from Ibrahīm ibn Ismā‘īl differ from the formulation in the versions of al-Zuhri’s other students, such as *qa’id Ka’b ibn Malik alladhi kana yaqudu bihi* (13) instead of *wa-kāna qa’id Ka’b min banīhi*, *idha arada l-masir fi ghazah* (14) instead of *qallama yuridu/arada ghazah yaghzuha*, *wa katamahum ayna yujāhiduna makīda li l ‘aduww* (14) instead of *illa warrā bi-ghayriha*,<sup>181</sup> *aqbalat* (16) instead of *tabat*, *ba’ir(ayn)* (17 and 8) instead of

<sup>181</sup> Or instead of Ma‘mar’s sentence *al harb khud a*

*rāhila(tayn), thumma dhahabtu ataḥarrā* (l9) instead of *idhā kharajtu fī l-nās*<sup>182</sup> and *idhā ayistu min al-khurāj qultu a'tadhīru ilā rasūl Allāh* (ṣ) *idhā raja'a* (l11) instead of *fa-lammā balaghani anna rasūl Allāh* (ṣ) *qad tazwajjaha qāfilan min Tabūk ḥadarānī baththī fa-taḥfiqtu atadhakkaru l-kadhib [...]* *fa-ajma'tu ṣidqahu*.<sup>183</sup>

Two other short traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il relate elements of Ka'b's story that are not present in the medium-length tradition. Their texts are:

- 1 أخبرنا أبو جعفر بن السمين بإسناده عن يونس عن إبراهيم بن إسماعيل الأنصاري عن الزهري أن قائد
- 2 كعب بن مالك الذي كان يقوده حين عمي حنثه قال: حدثني كعب ونكر حديث تخلفه عن رسول الله
- 3 (صلعم) في غزوة تبوك قال: فبينما رسول الله (صلعم) يوما بتبوك في ساعة هاجرة إذ نظر إلى راكب
- 4 يطيش في السراب فجعل رسول الله (صلعم) يقول: كن أبا خيثمة لرجل من الأنصار من بني عوف حتى
- 5 قيل: هو والله أبو خيثمة. فجاء فجلس إلى رسول الله (صلعم) فجعل يسأله عن المدينة.<sup>184</sup>

Abū Ja'far ibn al-Samīn informed us with his *isnād* from Yūnus on the authority of Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il al-Anṣārī on the authority of al-Zuhri, that Ka'b ibn Mālik's guide, who guided him when he [Ka'b] became blind, told him, he said, Ka'b told me – and he mentioned the tradition of him holding back from the messenger of God during the expedition to Tabūk -, he said,

“While the messenger of God was at Tabūk one day at noon, he suddenly looked at a horseman shimmering in a mirage. The messenger of God said to one of the *Anṣār* from the Banū 'Awf ‘Let it be Abū Khaythama’, until someone said, ‘By God, it is Abū Khaythama!’ He came and sat next to the messenger of God, who asked him about Medina.” (30)

- 1 حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله الحضرمي ثنا عقبة بن مكرم ثنا يونس بن بكير ثنا [إبراهيم بن] إسماعيل عن
- 2 الزهري عن قائد كعب بن مالك عن كعب بن مالك قال: كان رسول الله (صلعم) إذا سر رأيت وجهه كأنه
- 3 شقة القمر.<sup>185</sup>

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī told us, 'Uqba ibn Mukram told us, Yūnus ibn Bukayr told us, [Ibrāhīm ibn] Ismā'il told us on the authority of al-Zuhri on the authority of Ka'b ibn Mālik's guide on the authority of Ka'b ibn Mālik, who said,

<sup>182</sup> Version Ma'mar: *fa ja'altu amsbi fī l-aswāq wa atūfu bi l Madīna*.

<sup>183</sup> Ma'mar's version looks very much like the version from al-Zuhri's nephew and his fellows.

<sup>184</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, VI, 93.

<sup>185</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, XIX, 69 (no. 133).

“When the messenger of God was pleased, I saw that his face was like a piece of the moon.” (70)

Al-Zuhri's informant is Ka'b's guide in both short traditions, which is identical to the medium-length tradition. Both *mutūn* contain formulations that are similar to the versions of al-Zuhri's other students,<sup>186</sup> but also deviating formulations like *fī sā'at hājira* (13), *idh naẓara ilā rākib yaʿīshu* (13-4), *li-rajul min al-Anṣār min Banī 'Awf* (14) and *fa-jā'a fa-jalasa ilā rasūl Allāh (ṣ) fa-ja'ala yas'aluhu 'an al-Madīna* (15) in the first short tradition and *ra'aytu* (12) instead of *istanāra* and *shiqqa* (13) instead of *qī'a*<sup>187</sup> in the second.

Comparison of the traditions attributed to Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il shows that especially the medium-length and the first short tradition differ considerably from the versions of the other students of al-Zuhri. Some formulations or single words are similar, but the majority is different. These differences together with the difference in content raise the question whether the tradition of Ibrāhīm indeed derives from al-Zuhri. Comparison of the traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il with other traditions about Tabūk that other transmitters beside al-Zuhri handed down might help to solve or confirm the doubts on the origin of Ibrāhīm's traditions.

Biographical sources mention a possible solution for the deviations in the traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il. He seems to have been hearing impaired to such an extent that he used to sit close to al-Zuhri and was only able to hear with great difficulty (*kāna shadīd al-ṣamam wa-kāna yajlisu ilā janb al-Zuhri fa-lā yakādu yasma'u illā ba'da kadd*). It is said that he is of weak authority, that his *ḥadīth* is worthless (*da'if laysa bi-shay'*) and that he made many mistakes (*kathīr al-wahm*).<sup>188</sup>

#### *Comparison of the tradition of Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar with the previous versions*

The medium-length tradition attributed to Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar is as follows:<sup>189</sup>

- 1 حدثنا محمد بن صالح بن الوليد النرسي ثنا محمد بن المثنى ثنا عبد الغفار بن عبد [عبد] الله الكريزي ثنا
- 2 صالح بن أبي الاخضر عن الزهري أنه سمع عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن كعب بن مالك يحدث عن عمه

<sup>186</sup> So far, only Ma'mar and Yūnus mention the part on Abū Khaythama

<sup>187</sup> The word *shiqqa* is used in one other tradition, which is from 'Abd Allāh ibn Mubarak in a combined transmission from Ma'mar and Yūnus.

<sup>188</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, I, 100-101 (no. 144) and 101 footnote 1.

<sup>189</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al kabīr*, XIX, 57 (no. 98).



3 عبيد الله بن كعب وكان قائد كعب حين عمي قال: قال كعب: لقد بايعت رسول الله (صلعم) ليلة العقبة حين  
 4 بايعناه على الإسلام ولم أشهد بدرًا وما أحب أن لي بها بدرًا وإن كانت لهي أكثر في الناس منها وكانت  
 5 غزوة لم يعاتب الله أحدا تخلف عنها إنما خرج رسول الله (صلعم) يريد العير حتى جمع الله بينه وبين  
 6 عدوه على غير موعد وكان رسول الله (صلعم) إذا أراد أن يغزو وجها كنا نغيره حتى كانت غزوة تبوك  
 7 غزا رسول الله (صلعم) في حديث زيد <sup>190</sup> [sic] فنكر الحديث.

Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Walid al-Narsī<sup>191</sup> told us, Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannā<sup>192</sup> told us, ‘Abd al-Ghaffār ibn ‘Abd [‘Ubayd] Allāh al-Kurayzī<sup>193</sup> told us, Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar told us on the authority of al-Zuhri, that he heard ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālik tell on the authority of his uncle ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ka‘b, who was Ka‘b’s guide, when he [Ka‘b] became blind, he said, Ka‘b said,

“I pledged allegiance to the messenger of God on the night of al-‘Aqaba, when we pledged allegiance to him with regard to the Islam. I was not present at Badr, (3) but I would not trade [my presence at al-‘Aqaba] for Badr, (4) even though the people consider [Badr] to be more than [al-‘Aqaba] (5). [Badr] was an expedition, which God did not blame anyone who had stayed behind from it, because the messenger of God set out for the caravan, when God brought him and his enemy suddenly together (2).

Whenever the messenger of God wanted to send out an expedition to a certain direction, we changed it, until the expedition to Tabūk (9). The messenger of God made that expedition in the tradition of Zayd [probably: at a time of extreme heat]” (11) and he mentioned the story.

The tradition from Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar looks very much like the version of al-Zuhri nephew and his fellows, i.e. it is from al-Zuhri’s edited tradition, although several words are different. Al-Zuhri’s informant is Ka‘b ibn Mālik’s grandson ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, although he received Ka‘b’s story from ‘Ubayd Allāh instead of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b. The information that this intermediary led Ka‘b when he was blind is the same as in the edited version. The majority of the formulations used in the *matn* are identical with al-Zuhri’s edited version.

<sup>190</sup> This might be a copyist’s error for *fi ḥarr shadid*

<sup>191</sup> I did not find any information on the year in which he died or which town he is from. However, he is related to al-‘Abbās ibn al-Walid al-Narsī and ‘Abd al-A‘lā ibn Ḥammād al-Narsī who are both from Basra, so it is possible that he also lived in that town. See al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, I, 34 (no. 17) and Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, IV, Cairo n.d., 163.

<sup>192</sup> He is from Basra and died in 252/866. Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, VI, 493 (no. 6170)

<sup>193</sup> His name is ‘Abd al-Ghaffār ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Kurayzī. He is from Baṣra and died 21x/825-835. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 437 (no. 138).

Ṣāliḥ's tradition differs from the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew and his fellow students in the order of elements 2 and 3 (first 3 then 2) and in the following formulations: *bāya'tu* (13) instead of *shahadtu ma'a*, *bāya'nāhu* (14) instead of *tawāthaqna* or *tawāfaqnā*, *walam ashhad Badran* (14) instead of *ghayr annanī kuntu takballastu fī ghazwat Badr*, the omission of the word *mashhad* (14), *la-hiya akthar* (14) instead of *Badr adhkār, al-'ir* (15) instead of *'ir Quraysh, baynahu* (5) and *'aduwwihī* (16) instead of *baynahum* and *'aduwwihim*, *maw'id* (16) instead of *mī'ad* and *wajhan kunna nughayyiruhu* (16) instead of *illā warrā bi-ghayrihā*.<sup>194</sup> Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar or one of the transmitters after him is most probably responsible for the deviations in the formulation.

The similarities with the traditions of al-Zuhri's other students show that Ṣāliḥ's tradition derived from al-Zuhri, while the deviations from the other traditions indicate an independent transmission.

### Conclusion

Comparison of the *mulūn* of al-Zuhri's detailed and medium-length traditions about Ka'b's story shows that al-Zuhri is indeed the source of the traditions discussed above. He is the first transmitter all versions have in common. The transmission must have taken place before 124/742 when al-Zuhri died. Hence, Ka'b's story as told by al-Zuhri can be dated to the first quarter of the second Islamic century.

The *matn* analysis also confirmed that al-Zuhri told the detailed version to at least six students (his nephew Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, 'Uqayl ibn Khālīd, Yūnus ibn Yazīd, Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, Ma'mar ibn Rāshid and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz) and possibly also to Ishāq ibn Rashīd, Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il and Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar, although only abridged versions from them survive in the sources.

Two versions of al-Zuhri's detailed tradition are preserved: one by Ma'mar, which he probably received through oral transmission based on written notes, and one edited version by the other students, which al-Zuhri transmitted from a written text. In the group of the edited versions, the traditions from al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl, Yūnus and Ibn Ishāq look very much alike. The traditions of the other four students seem to be weaker versions, because they deviate in structure and formulation from the versions of al-Zuhri's nephew and others. The sources available to us nowadays contain certainly more versions of al-Zuhri's nephew, 'Uqayl, Yūnus and Ibn Ishāq than of the second group.

<sup>194</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī is probably responsible for the last part of the traditions *fī hadīth Zayd fa-dhakara l-hadīth*

The question is, of course, who is responsible for the deviations in the versions from Ishaq ibn Rāshid, Ibrāhīm ibn Isma‘il, Sālīh ibn Abī l-Akhdar and ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. Did they cause the deviations or one or more transmitters after them? Is it perhaps a combination? The biographical sources give a possible explanation for the deviations in the traditions of ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Ibrāhīm ibn Isma‘il. Both had a handicap that may have influenced their transmission. However, in the case of Ibrāhīm ibn Isma‘il his handicap does not account for all deviations.

Furthermore, the versions from Yunus ibn Yazīd and Ishaq ibn Rashīd contain elements of al-Zuhri’s old version as preserved by Ma‘mar. Did they receive that information from al-Zuhri or from Ma‘mar?<sup>195</sup>

Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that al-Zuhri sometimes changed a word or gave additional information even when dictating the edited version. The name ‘Ubayd Allah ibn Ka‘b appears in the traditions of two students of al-Zuhri (his nephew and Sālīh ibn Abī l-Akhdar) as intermediary between Ka‘b ibn Malik and his grandson ‘Abd al-Rahmān, as well as in the short traditions from Ma‘qil ibn ‘Ubayd Allah and Ibn Jurayj.<sup>196</sup> It is possible that al-Zuhri mentioned ‘Abd Allah ibn Ka‘b most of the time, but sometimes said ‘Ubayd Allah.

The confusion over the name of al-Zuhri’s informant is another example of adaptations of al-Zuhri’s transmission. The majority of al-Zuhri’s students mention ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b ibn Malik especially in the detailed versions. al-Zuhri’s nephew, ‘Uqayl (according to the information in the majority of his traditions), Yunus (all detailed versions, though many variants appear in his short traditions), Ibn Ishaq, ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Ishaq ibn Rashīd (according to the majority of his traditions). Therefore, al-Zuhri probably taught his detailed, edited version with the name of Ka‘b’s grandson as his informant. Ibrāhīm ibn Isma‘il’s reference to Ka‘b’s guide (= ‘Abd Allah ibn Ka‘b) might be an error, because his traditions contain peculiarities of al-Zuhri’s edited version. Furthermore, it is possible that the name ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ka‘b is an abridgement of the name ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Ka‘b, since it is more plausible that he first used the abridged form and later on specified that the ‘Abd al-Rahman in question was the son of ‘Abd Allah. The general occurrence of variants in the

<sup>195</sup> See the continuation of this discussion on Yunus’ transmission from al-Zuhri in chapter 5, page 330.

<sup>196</sup> See the paragraph on the remaining students on pages 214–215.

name of al-Zuhri's informant especially in shorter traditions among different students seems to indicate that al-Zuhri did not always mention the same names.<sup>197</sup>

## V. COMPARISON OF THE ZUHRI-TRADITIONS WITH OTHER VERSIONS

In the following part, I will compare al-Zuhri's traditions with variant traditions from other transmitters to determine if al-Zuhri received his information from the person he mentions in the *isnād* as his informant. I found traditions from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā (d. 130/748), 'Umar ibn Kathīr ibn Aflah (n.d.),<sup>198</sup> Ishāq ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Farwa (d. 144/761),<sup>199</sup> Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥanzala l-ghasīl (n.d. Medina)<sup>200</sup> and Ayyūb ibn al-Nu'mān (n.d. Kūfa),<sup>201</sup> who relate (parts of) Ka'b's story how he stayed behind from the Prophet Muḥammad during the expedition to Tabūk.

### *Comparison with traditions of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā*

There are two traditions about Ka'b's story, which, according to the *isnād*, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā transmitted instead of al-Zuhri: one detailed version from al-Ṭabarānī and one short tradition from Ibn Abī l-Dunyā.<sup>202</sup>

The text of the tradition from al-Ṭabarānī is:

- 1 حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله الحضرمي ثنا عبد الله بن عمر بن أبان ثنا عمرو بن محمد العنقزي<sup>203</sup> ثنا خلاد
- 2 الصفار عن عبد الله بن عيسى عن عبد الرحمن بن كعب بن مالك عن أبيه قال: خرج رسول الله (صلعم)
- 3 في حر شديد وأمر بالغزو إلى تبوك وأنا يومئذ مؤمن بالله ورسوله غير أن نفسي تنوق إلى الظل والرطب
- 4 وأنا يومئذ شاب قوي ونفسي تقول لي - وعندي بعيران - سوف تعتمر إلى رسول الله (صلعم) ونفسي
- 5 تقول لي تخلف عن رسول الله (صلعم)، فأنا كذلك وأصبح النبي (صلعم) عاديا وخرجت إلى السوق أريد
- 6 أن أتجهز وكأنما أمسك بيدي وسار النبي (صلعم) حتى إذا كان من المدينة قدر فرسخين وقف فإذا هو

<sup>197</sup> See also Motzki, "The murder", 179 who points out the presence of this confusion in general in al-Zuhri's transmission from the Ka'b family. See also pages 36-377 of chapter 1.

<sup>198</sup> He is a contemporary of al-Zuhri and lived in Medina. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, V, 382 (no. 4887) and Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, Beirut 1996, 354 (no. 4960).

<sup>199</sup> Al-Bukhārī mentions the year 136/753-754. He is from Medina. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, I, 192-193 (no. 361).

<sup>200</sup> See the paragraph on the remaining texts on page 294 ff

<sup>201</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa l-ta'dīl*, II, Hyderabad 1952, 260 (no. 932).

<sup>202</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, XIX, 85-87. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Kitāb al-shukr*, Cairo 1930-1931, 27.

<sup>203</sup> The *nisha* in al-Ṭabarānī's text is al-'Anqarī instead of al-'Anqazī, which is probably a printing mistake.

7 براكب يلحق به فقال رسول الله (صلم): كن أبا خيثمة! فإذا هو بابي خيثمة، قال: وفي المدينة سبعة  
8 وثمانون من المنافقين وأنا وهلال بن أمية ومرارة فسأل رسول الله (صلم) أبا خيثمة: ما فعل كعب بن  
9 مالك؟ قال: تركته يمشي في أزقة المدينة. فقال معاذ: هو والله ما علمته يحب الله ورسوله. قال: ونزل نفر  
10 من أصحاب رسول الله (صلم) في جانبنا فقال بعضهم: والله انه<sup>204</sup> أرغبنا بطونا وأخشانا عند اللقاء  
11 وأضعفنا قلوبا فدعا رسول الله (صلم) عمار بن ياسر فقال: اذهب إلى هؤلاء الرهط فقل لهم ما نقسم  
12 فلن سألهم ليقولوا إنما كنا نخوض ونلعب. فقال لهم: احترقتم أحرقكم الله ونزلت <<ولن سألهم  
13 ليقولوا إنما كنا نخوض ونلعب قل أباها وإياته ورسوله كنتم تستهزئون>> قال: وجاء رجل لم يكن  
14 منهم ولكنه كان يسمع فتعلق برجل النبي (صلم) فقال: يا رسول الله والله ما مأليتهم ولكني قد سمعت  
15 مقالتهم. فسار النبي (صلم) وجعل يتعلق بالرجل ويعتذر إليه ويسير معه حتى سال من عقبه الدم،  
16 ورجع النبي (صلم) من غزوة فاتاه هلال بن أمية ومرارة بن ربيعة فأجلسنا في ناحية فقيل لكعب بن  
17 مالك إنه والله ما رضي عن صاحبك فانظر بم تعتذر؟ قلت: أستعين على ما صنعت بالكذب وما أجد  
18 شيئا خيرا من الصدق. فأتيتته فقلت: السلام عليك أيها النبي ورحمة الله وبركاته. قال: وعليك، ما خلفك يا  
19 كعب؟ قلت: والله ما تخلفت من ضعف ولا حاجة ولكن البلاء. قال: اجلس مع صاحبك. ثم قال  
20 لأصحابه: لا تجالسوا هؤلاء النفر ولا تكلموهم ولا تبايعوهم. فأرسل إلى نسانهم: لا يقربونكم[isic].  
21 فأرسلت امرأة هلال بن أمية إلى النبي (صلم) أن هلال شيخ كبير فتأذن لها أن تعطيه الشيء من غير  
22 أن تكلمه؟ فاذن لها فأرسلت امرأة كعب بن أمية قد استأذنت أن تناوله الشيء فتستأذنه  
23 فيك. فقلت: بأي شيء تعتذرين تقولين إنني شيخ كبير؟ فوالله إنني لشاب. أتقولين إنني سقيم؟ فوالله إنني  
24 لصحيح. فأرسل إليه ألا تفعلني، فكانت أم سلمة نعم الشفيع إذ كانت ليلتها قالت: يا رسول الله هلال بن  
25 أمية تكلمه فينا حتى إذا كانت ذات ليلة قال: أشعرت أن الله قد تاب على الثلاثة. قالت: ألا أرسل إلى  
26 أهلهم فأبشروهم؟ قال: إذا لا يذرن الناس ننام هذه الليلة ولكن أصبحي. فأصبح النبي (صلم) فصلى  
27 الغداة ثم أقبل على أصحابه فقال: أشعرت أن الله قد تاب على الثلاثة فاستبق إلى كعب بن مالك رجلا  
28 رجل ركب فرسا فأخذ بطن الوادي ورجل مشى على رجليه حتى صعد الجبل قال: يا كعب بن مالك  
29 أشعرت أن الله قد تاب عليك؟ فخررت ساجدا حتى إذا كنا مني رميت إليه برداني ثم أقبلت إلى النبي  
30 (صلم) فقلت: منك أو من الله؟ فقال: من الله عز وجل.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī told us, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn Abn told us, 'Amr ibn Muḥammad al-'Anqazī told us, Khallād al-Ṣaffār told us on the authority of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Isā on the authority of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik on the authority of his father, he said,

"The messenger of God went in a time of extreme heat and he ordered the expedition to Tabūk, while I believed in God and His messenger at that time, but my soul longed for the shadow and fresh dates. At that time, I was a strong young man. My soul said to me, while I possessed two camels, 'Will you excuse yourself to the messenger of God?' My

<sup>204</sup> The word in al-Ṭabarānī's text is *innahum*, which is probably a mistake. Therefore, I changed it to *innahu*.

soul also said to me, 'Stay behind from the messenger of God.' While I was [still] in this state, the Prophet left early in the morning. I went to the market wanting to prepare [myself] and it was as if something held my hand.

The Prophet travelled until he stopped at a distance of two *farāsikh*<sup>205</sup> from Medina. There was a horseman, who [tried] to catch up with him. The messenger of God said, 'Let him be Abū Khaythama.' It was indeed Abū Khaythama." He said, "There were 87 hypocrites, Hilāl ibn Umayya, Murāra and me [left] in Medina. The messenger of God asked Abū Khaythama, 'What happened to Ka'b ibn Mālik?' He answered, 'I left him walking in the narrow streets of Medina.' Mu'ādh said, 'By God, I only know him loving God and His messenger.'"

He said, "A number of companions of the messenger of God stopped nearby us. One of them said, 'By God, he [Prophet Muḥammad?] made us more voracious, he frightened us when we met him, and he weakened our hearts.' The messenger of God called for 'Ammār ibn Yāsir'<sup>206</sup> and said, 'Go to that group and ask them "What did you talk about (*naqasha*)?" If you will ask them [that], they will certainly say "We were just chatting and joking."<sup>207</sup> Say to them 'You will burn and God will destroy you by fire.'" [Sūrat al-tawba: 65] was revealed <<If you question them, they certainly say 'We were just chatting and joking.' Say 'Were you mocking God, His signs and His messenger?>>."

He said, "A man - who was not one of them, but who had heard [the words] - came to the Prophet and clung to his leg. He said, 'Messenger of God. By God, I do not belong to them, but I heard their conversation.' The Prophet continued his travel, while the man kept clinging to the leg, pleading to him and travelling with him, until blood flowed from his two heels.

The Prophet returned from his expedition. Hilāl ibn Umayya and Murāra ibn Rabī'a came to him and he made us sit down in an outer area. Someone said to Ka'b ibn Mālik, 'He did not approve of your two companions. Consider how you will excuse yourself.' I said, 'I ask for help for what I did with falsehood and I do not find anything better than the truth.' I approached him and said, 'Peace is with you, Prophet, and mercy and blessings from God.' He said, 'The same to you. What kept you back, Ka'b?' I said, 'By God, I did not stay behind out of weakness or poverty, but because of a trial.' He said, 'Sit down with your two companions.' Then he said to his companions, 'Do not keep this group company or speak with them or conclude a bargain with them.'

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<sup>205</sup> A *farsakh* is a parasang or league, which is a distance of three miles Lane, *Lexicon* II, 2369.

<sup>206</sup> He is 'Ammar ibn Yāsir al-Ansī, Abū l-Yaqẓān, *marwā* of the Banū Makhzūm. He is a companion of Muhammad. He and his parents converted early to Islam in Mecca. He participated in all events with Muḥammad. Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, V, 319-322 (no. 4763)

<sup>207</sup> Translated following Leemhuis, *De koran*, 135, 9 *sūrat al-tawba*. 65.

He [the Prophet] sent to their wives, 'They [their husbands] should not sleep with you' The wife of Hilāl ibn Umayya's wife sent [a message] to the Prophet, that Hilāl is an old man She asked permission to give him things without speaking to him He allowed it to her Ka'b's wife sent [to him] that the wife of Hilāl ibn Umayya asked permission to serve him things and that '(you) [Ka'b] should ask him permission [too]' [He said,] "I said, 'By no means will you make an excuse saying that I am an old man, while by God I am young! Would you say that I am ill, while I am by God healthy!' He sent to her, 'Don't do it'

Umm Salama was a wonderful intercessor, when it was her night She said, 'Messenger of God, speak with Hilāl ibn Umayya in our [house]' When it was that night, he said, 'I notify that God has forgiven the three' She said, 'Should I not send [a messenger] to their families and bring them the good news?' He said, 'Then, the people will not let us sleep this night But get up early in the morning'

The Prophet woke up early in the morning and performed the Morning Prayer After that, he turned to his companions and said, 'I inform you that God has forgiven the three' Two men tried to beat one another to [inform] Ka'b ibn Mālīk One man rode a horse and took the [road through] the inside of the valley, while one man walked on his two legs When he climbed the mountain, he said, 'Ka'b ibn Mālīk, I inform you that God has forgiven you' I prostrated When he came close to me, I threw my *rida* (= loose outer garment) to him After that, I went to the Prophet and asked, 'Is this from you or from God?' He said, 'From God to Whom belong might and majesty'

The text of the short tradition from Ibn Abī l-Dunyā is

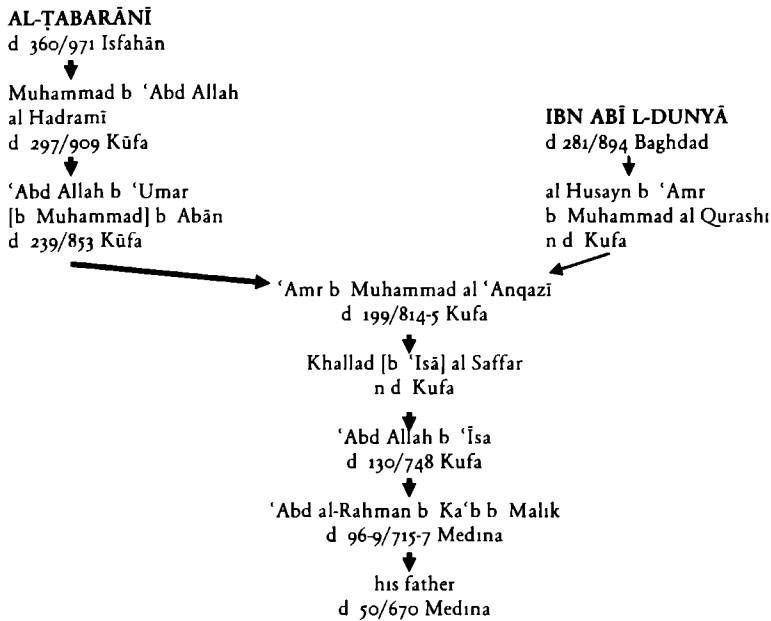
- 1 حدثنا الحسين بن عمرو بن محمد الفرشي ثنا أبي ثنا حلال الصغار عن عبد الله بن عيسى عن عبد الرحمن
- 2 بن كعب بن مالك عن أبيه قال لما تاب الله عليه سجد وألقى رداءه إلى الذي بشره

Al-Husayn ibn 'Amr ibn Muhammad al-Qurashī told us, my father told us, Khallād al Saffār told us on the authority of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Isā on the authority of 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk on the authority of his father, he said,

"When God forgave him [Ka'b ibn Mālīk], he prostrated and gave his *ridā* to the person who brought him the good news"

The *asānīd* are:

Figure 29: *Isnad* bundle of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Īsā on the three who stayed behind



The main outline and even some details of the story of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Īsā are similar to al-Zuhri’s version. The expedition of Muḥammad takes place during extreme heat. Ka‘b prefers the shadow and fresh dates. He is at that time a strong, young man and possesses two camels. Muḥammad leaves early in the morning. Ka‘b goes to the market, but does eventually not prepare himself. Abū Khaythama catches up with Muḥammad. Muḥammad hopes that it is Abū Khaythama when he sees the rider’s approach. The number of persons who stay behind is more than eighty. Muḥammad asks what Ka‘b is doing. Mu‘ādh speaks in favour of Ka‘b when he hears the negative words about him. After the return of Muḥammad to Medina, Ka‘b goes to him. Somebody advises Ka‘b to think about an excuse, but Ka‘b refuses to lie to Muḥammad. Muḥammad asks Ka‘b why he stayed behind and Ka‘b tells him the reason. Muḥammad forbids his companions to speak to Ka‘b, Murāra and Hilāl. He also forbids them to sleep with their wives. Hilāl’s wife asks Muḥammad permission to serve him, because he is an old man, which he allows. Somebody tells Ka‘b to ask Muḥammad for the same, but he refuses. When God reveals the forgiveness of the three to Muḥammad during the night, Umm Salama asks Muḥammad to inform them immediately. However, Muḥammad wants to do that in the morning. Muḥammad announces the remission during the Morning Prayer. One man on a horse and one walking man go to Ka‘b to tell him the



news. The running man shouts the news up the mountain [and therefore brings the news sooner to Ka'b than the man on the horse]. Ka'b prostrates and gives the man who came walking his garment. After that, he goes to Muḥammad and asks him whether the remission came from God or Muḥammad. Muḥammad replies that it came from God.

Some words and sentences are very similar and sometimes even identical to the versions of al-Zuhri's students: *fi ḥarr shadīd* (l3) (= edited version), *al-ḡill* (l3) (Z: *al-ḡilāl*), *wa-aṣḥaba l-nabī* (ṣ) *ghādiyan* (l5) (= edited version), *fa-qala rasūl Allāh* (ṣ) *kun Abā Khaythama* (l7) (= Ma'mar, Yūnus, Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il), *fa-idhā huwa* (bī-) *Abī Khaythama* (l7) (= Ma'mar, Yūnus), *mā fa'ala Ka'b ibn Mālīk?* (l8-9) (= edited version, Ma'mar), *yamshī fī aẓiqqat al-Madīna* (l9) (Ma'mar: *fa-ja'altu amshī fī l-aswāq wa-aṭūfu bī-l-Madīna*), *mā khallafaka* (l18) (= edited version, Ma'mar), *lā yaqrabūnakum* (l20) (edited version, Ma'mar: *fa-lā taqrub(anna)hā*), *inna Hilāl shaykh kabīr* (l21) (= Ma'mar, Ibn Ishāq), *fa-kharartu sajidan* (l29) (= edited version, Ma'mar) and *minka aw min Allāh?* (l30) (edited version = *a-min 'indaka yā rasūl Allāh am min 'inda Allāh?*; Ma'mar = *amr min 'inda Allāh am min 'indaka*).

However, the detailed tradition from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā lacks a number of elements compared with the version of al-Zuhri's students, such as the reference to Badr and al-'Aqaba, the letter from the king of the Ghassān, and Ka'b's visit to Abū Qatāda. Beside the omissions in 'Abd Allāh's text (or additions in al-Zuhri's traditions), there are some substantial differences in the content they have in common.

One of the most remarkable differences in content is that "something inside Ka'b" (his *nafsi*) longs for the shadow and fruits and wants him to excuse himself from the expedition. When Ka'b went to the market for preparations, it was as if his hand was held. It looks as if Ka'b was not completely responsible for his holding back, but an outside or inside presence.

Furthermore, according to 'Abd Allāh, Abū Khaythama reaches Muḥammad at a distance of two *farāsikh* from Medina instead of in Tabūk. Muḥammad asks Abū Khaythama what Ka'b is doing and he replies that he left Ka'b walking in the narrow streets of Medina. According to al-Zuhri, Muḥammad asks this in Tabūk and a man from the Banū Salima responds. 'Abd Allāh mentions the number of 87 persons who stayed behind, while al-Zuhri says eighty something (*bid'a wa-thamānīna rajulan*). Al-Zuhri's detailed version does not contain the part on the revelation of *sūrat al-tawba*, verse 65. In the story of 'Abd Allāh only Hilāl, Murāra and Ka'b go to Muḥammad, while according to al-Zuhri everybody who had stayed behind made an excuse to Muḥammad. 'Abd Allāh tells that somebody warns Ka'b about his excuse to Muḥammad even before Ka'b spoke to him, while this is said to

Ka'b after his conversation with Muḥammad in al-Zuhri's version. Ka'b's wife wants to use the same excuse to Muḥammad as Hilāl's wife, so she could serve him. Al-Zuhri says that it was somebody from Ka'b's family (*ba'd ahlī*). 'Abd Allāh describes how Muḥammad informs his companions on the remission of the three, while al-Zuhri only says that Muḥammad informed them during the Morning Prayer. Al-Zuhri just mentions that a man on horse went to Ka'b, while 'Abd Allāh adds that this person took the road through the valley.

Finally, the tradition from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā contains many formulations that deviate from al-Zuhri's traditions, such as *nafsī tatūqu ilā l-ẓill wa-l-ruṭab* (13) instead of *hīna ṭābat al-ithamār wa-l-ḡilāl, wa-'indī ba'irān* (14) instead of *mā jama'tu qablahā rāhīlatayn, fa-idhā huwa bi-rākīb yaḥḥaqqu bihī* (16-7) instead of *idhā hum bi-rajul yaẓūlu bihī l-sarāb* (Ma'mar) or *ra'a rajulan mubayyidan yaẓūlu bihī l-sarāb* (Yūnus) or *idh nāzara ilā rākīb yaṭīshu fī l-sarāb, mā 'alimtuḥu yuḥibbu Allāh wa-rasūlahu* (19) instead of *mā 'alimnā/na'lamu 'alayhī illā khayran*,<sup>208</sup> *mā takhallastu min ḍa'f wa-lā ḥāja wa-lakinna l-balā'* (119) instead of *mā kāna lī 'udhr wa-llāhī mā kuntu qaṭṭu aqwā wa-lā aysar minnī hīna takhallastu 'anka* (edited version) or *mā kuntu qaṭṭu aysar wa-lā akhaff ḥādhan minnī hīna takhallastu 'anka* (Ma'mar), *qāla ylis ma'a ṣāḥibayka* (119) instead of *qāla amā ḥādḥā fa-qad ṣadaqa(kum al-ḥadīth) fa-qum ḥattā yaqḍiya Allāh fika, fa-ta'dhanu lahā an tu'ṭiyahu l-shay' min ghayr an tukallimahu* (121-22) instead of *fa-hal takrahu an akhdumahu* (edited version) or *fa-hal ta'dhanu lī an akhdumahu* (Ma'mar), *wa-kānat Umm Salama ni'ma l-shafi' idhā kānat laylatahā* (124) instead of *wa-kānat Umm Salama muḥsina fī sha'nī yaḥzunu bi-/ma'niya fī amrī* (Ma'mar, Ishāq ibn Rāshid) and *ramaytu ilayhī bi-ridā'ī* (129 detailed tradition) or *wa-alqā ridā'ahu ila alladhī bashsharahu* (12 short tradition) instead of *fa-naza'tu lahu thawbayya* (edited version) or *fa-a'ṭaytuḥu thawbayya bishāra* (Ma'mar).

The similarities between the detailed tradition from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā and the detailed versions al-Zuhri in the account of several students indicate that they must derive from a common source. According to the *isnād*, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā's informant is 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik. We established in the comparison of the various traditions from al-Zuhri's students, that the name of al-Zuhri's informant is probably 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik, although he is also called 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b.

Before we reach a conclusion on the origin of the traditions, we first have to establish if the tradition from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā does not derive from al-Zuhri. It is of course

<sup>208</sup> However, later on in al-Zuhri's tradition, Ka'b asks Abu Qatada, when the latter does not speak with him *hal ta'lamu annanī uhibbu Allah wa rasūlahu?*

possible that ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Īsā actually heard the tradition from al-Zuhri and omitted or forgot to mention his name in the *isnād*. When we look at the differences in content and formulation, we find that the traditions differ considerably. Particular words, like *raḥīl* for camel and *ṭhawb* for outer garment, that are present in all detailed and medium length traditions from al-Zuhri’s students, do not appear in the tradition from ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Īsā. There is one exception among al-Zuhri’s students, i.e. the tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘īl. We will return to his version later on. The absence of the words or sentences that are specific for the transmission from al-Zuhri shows that the tradition from ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Īsā derives from a separate transmission.

The informant of al-Zuhri and ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Īsā is probably the same person, given the number of similarities in content. Al-Mizzī lists ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālik among the informants of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Īsā.<sup>209</sup> It is therefore possible that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b is the shortened version of the name ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālik. We saw this phenomenon also in the *asānīd* of al-Zuhri.

Consequently, the origin of the tradition of Ka‘b ibn Mālik lies one generation before al-Zuhri (d. 124/742) and ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Īsā (d. 130/748). The tradition derives therefore not from the first quarter of the second Islamic century, but probably from the end of the first Islamic century.

It is difficult to reconstruct the original content and formulation of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s tradition. The different versions of Ka‘b’s story from al-Zuhri’s students have already shown that al-Zuhri told at least two different versions of the tradition. This is probably also the case with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s tradition. The number of differences in the elements of the stories from al-Zuhri and ‘Abd Allah and the difference in formulation point to an oral transmission from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. Especially in oral transmission, it is very difficult to reconstruct one version of a tradition. The story of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān probably contained the elements and the expressions that the traditions of al-Zuhri and ‘Abd Allāh have in common.

Furthermore, the comparison of the traditions from al-Zuhri and ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Īsā shows that the part on Abu Khaythama and Umm Salama were indeed part of al-Zuhri’s original, early tradition. The part on Abū Khaythama now only survives in the detailed versions from Ma‘mar and Yūnus and in a separate short tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘īl, while the part on Umm Salama is still present in the traditions from Ma‘mar and

<sup>209</sup> Al Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, IV, 235 (no. 3460)

Ishāq ibn Rāshid. Since almost all traditions from students who studied with al-Zuhri later than Ma'mar, do not contain these two parts, it seems likely that al-Zuhri is responsible for the omission in the edited version.

We have already mentioned that there is one exception among the students of al-Zuhri, Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il. The comparison with 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā's tradition shows that Ibrāhīm's medium-length tradition and his short tradition about Abū Khaythama, which he, according to the *isnād*, received from al-Zuhri, contain some elements and words that are specific for the transmission of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā. In the medium-length tradition, Ibrāhīm uses the word *ba'iran* and mentions that it looked to Ka'b as if he was tied (*fa-wa-llāhi la-ka'annamā urbaṭu*). In the short tradition he mentions the word *rākib* and says that Muhammad asked Abu Khaythama about Medina (*fa-ja'ala yas'aluhu 'an al-Madīna*) (in the tradition of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā Muhammad asks Abu Khaythama about Ka'b). Yet, we also established that Ibrāhīm's traditions contain elements and formulations that are peculiar for al-Zuhri's transmission. In Ibrāhīm's short tradition for example, Muḥammad is already in Tabuk when he sees Abu Khaythama (= al-Zuhri's version), while according to 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā this happened when Muḥammad was at a distance of two *farāsikh* from Medina.

A solution for the mixture might be that Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il knew both versions of al-Zuhri and of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā and decided only to mention the source with the - perhaps in his view - most authority. It is certain, however, that the tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il contains elements and words that do not derive from al-Zuhri. Considering the similarity with the tradition from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā, it seems likely that Ibrāhīm received the tradition from him.

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā is generally considered a trustworthy transmitter, although Yahya b. Ma'in remarks that he became a Shi'ite.<sup>210</sup> This might be the reason that so little of his tradition is preserved in contrast with the widespread versions of al-Zuhri.

#### *Comparison with traditions of 'Umar ibn Kathīr ibn Aflah*

According to the *isnād*, there are three traditions transmitted by 'Umar ibn Kathīr ibn Aflah instead of al-Zuhri. They are from Ibn Hanbal, al-Tabarī and al-Ṭabarānī.<sup>211</sup> The content of

<sup>210</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 236 (no. 3460).

<sup>211</sup> Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, III, 554-555 (no. 15777). Al-Tabarī, *Jamī' al-bayān*, XI, 85. Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, XIX, 101-102.

the three traditions are identical except for some transmission errors. They relate the following story:<sup>212</sup>

- 1 حدثنا إسماعيل بن علي قال: أخبرنا ابن عون عن عمر بن كثير بن أفلح قال: قال كعب بن مالك: ما كنت
- 2 في غزاة أيسر للظهر والنفقة مني في تلك الغزاة. قال: لما خرج رسول الله (صلم) قلت: أتجهز غدا ثم
- 3 الحق. فأخذت في جهازي فأمسيت ولم أفرغ ف/ثم قلت: اخذ في جهازي غدا والناس قريب بعد ف/ثم
- 4 الحقهم فأمسيت ولم أفرغ فلما كان اليوم الثالث أخذت في جهازي فأمسيت ولم أفرغ فقلت: هيهات سار
- 5 الناس ثلاثا فأقمت فلما قدم رسول الله (صلم) جعل الناس يعتذرون إليه فجئت حتى قمت بين يديه فقلت:
- 6 ما كنت في غزاة أيسر للظهر والنفقة مني في هذه الغزاة. فأعرض عني رسول الله (صلم) وأمر الناس
- 7 أن لا يكلمونا وأمرت نساؤنا أن يتحولن عنا قال: فتسورت حائطا ذات يوم فإذا أنا بجابر بن عبد الله فقلت:
- 8 أي جابر نشدتك بالله هل علمتني غششت الله ورسوله يوما قط؟ قال: فسكت عني فجعل لا يكلمني قال:
- 9 فبينما أنا ذات يوم إذ سمعت رجلا على الثنية يقول: كعبا كعبا حتى دنا مني فقال: بشروا كعبا.

Ismā'il ibn 'Ulayya told us, Ibn 'Awn informed us on the authority of 'Umar ibn Kathīr ibn Aflah, he said, Ka'b ibn Mālik said,

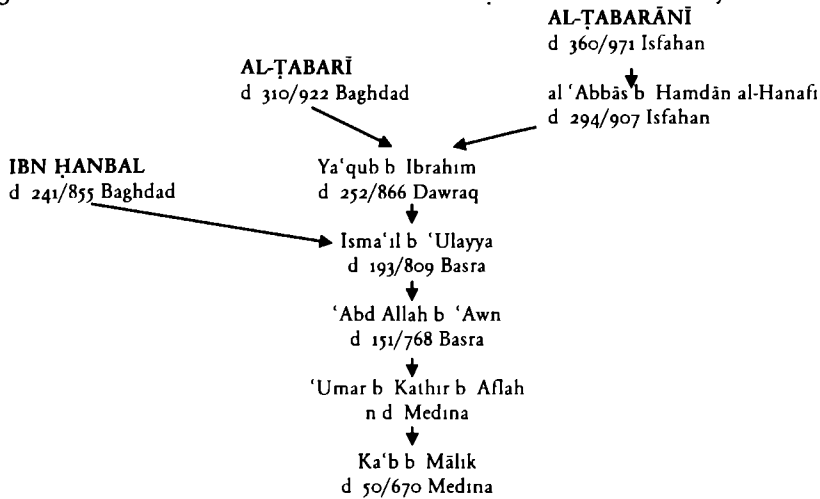
"I had never had lesser expenses to maintain a household than during that expedition. When the messenger of God left, I said, 'I will prepare myself tomorrow and then catch up with him.' I began to prepare myself, but I returned in the evening without finishing. I said, 'I will begin my preparation tomorrow, while the people are still nearby and then I will catch up with them.' I returned in the evening without finishing. I started my preparation on the third day, but I returned in the evening without finishing. I said, 'How far will the people have traveled in three [days]!' He stayed [in Medina]. When the messenger of God arrived, the people started to proffer an excuse to him. I came and sat before him. I said, 'I had never had lesser expenses to maintain a household than during this expedition.' The messenger of God turned away from me and ordered the people not to talk to us. He ordered our wives to shift away from us." He said, "I climbed a wall [of a property] one day and there I was with Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh. I said, 'Jābir, I beg you by God. Have you ever known me acting dishonestly towards God or His messenger?'" He said, "He remained silent towards me and did not talk to me." He said, "I suddenly heard a man saying on the mountain road one day, 'Ka'b, Ka'b!'" When he was near me, he said, 'Bring Ka'b good news.'"

<sup>212</sup> The text is reconstructed from the three versions. I used the words most traditions agree on.

<sup>213</sup> All three traditions have the word *ay*. It is perhaps short for *ayā* or a reversion of the word *yā*

The *asānīd* are:

Figure 30: *Isnād* bundle of 'Umar ibn Kathir ibn Aflah on the three who stayed behind



The content of the tradition from 'Umar ibn Kathir resembles al-Zuhri's story. Ka'b's circumstances were never better than during that expedition. He went to the market three times, but did not prepare for the expedition. He thought that he could catch up with Muḥammad, until they went too far away. Upon Muḥammad's return, people came to him to make an excuse. Ka'b told the truth about his circumstances to Muḥammad. Muḥammad ordered the people not to talk to them and they were not allowed to sleep with their wives. Ka'b climbed the wall of a person's house and asked him if he had ever known him acting dishonestly towards God or His messenger. That person remained silent. A man came to Ka'b on a mountain and told him that there was good news for him.

Some formulations are similar to al-Zuhri's versions: *atajahhazū ghadan thumma alḥaquhu* (12-3) (edited version: *atajahhazū ba'dahu bi-yawm aw yawmayn thumma alḥaquhu*), *ja'ala l-nās ya'tadhīrūna ilayhi* (15) (edited version: *fa-tafiqū ya'tadhīrūna ilayhi*) or (Ma'mar: *fa-ja'ala [. . .] wa-ya'tadhīrūna ilayhi*), *fa-jī'tu hattā qumtu bayna yadayhi* (15) (edited version: *fa-jī'tu amshī hattā jalastu bayna yadayhi*) or (Ma'mar: *fa-jī'tu fa-jalastu bayna yadayhi*), *fa-tasawwartu ḥā'itan* (17) (edited version: *hattā tasawwartu ḥā'it*), *nashadtuka bi-Allāh hal 'alimtanī (ghashashitu) Allah wa-rasūlahu* (18) (edited version+Ma'mar: *anshadaka Allāh hal ta'lamu annanī uhibbu Allah wa-rasūlahu*) and *bashshirū Ka'ban* (19) (edited version: *yubashshirunī*) or (Ma'mar: *abshir ya Ka'b ibn Mālik*).

The tradition of 'Umar ibn Kathir lacks many elements from al-Zuhri's story (and the one from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Isā). There are some differences in content in the

corresponding parts, but the majority of the differences concern terminology. A remarkable difference in content is the information that Ka'b went to Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh instead of his cousin Abū Qatāda. Jābir did not speak to Ka'b, while Abū Qatāda said "God and His messenger know best" after Ka'b asked his question three times. Furthermore, the 'Umar's version does not mention how long it took before Ka'b's remission was revealed, he just says "a day" (*dhāt yawm*). According to al-Zuhri, Muḥammad ordered the separation from their wives after forty days and announced their remission after fifty days.

The differences in terminology are *aysar li-l-zahr wa-l-nafaqa minnī* (12) instead of *lam akun qaṭṭu aqwā wa-lā aysar minnī* (edited version) or *wa-anā aysar ma kuntu* (Ma'mar), *fa-akhadhtu fī jihāzī fa-amshaytu wa-lam afragh* (13) instead of *wa-ṭafiqtu aghdū likay atajahhaza fa-arji'a wa-lam aqdi shay'an* (edited version) or *fa-inṭalaqtu ilā l-sūq min al-ghad fa-'asura 'alayya ba'd sha'nī fa-raji'tu* (Ma'mar), *wa-amara l-nās an lā yukallimunā* (16-7) instead of *wa-nahā rasūl Allāh (s) al-muslimīna 'an kalāminā* (edited version+Ma'mar), *wa-umirat nīsā'unā an yataḥawwalna 'annā* (17) instead of *inna rasūl Allāh ya'muruka an ta'tazila imra'ataka* (edited version) or *i'tazil imra'ataka* (Ma'mar), *ghashashtu* (18) instead of *uḥibbu* (edited version+Ma'mar) and *'alā l-thaniyya* (19) instead of *'alā jabal Sal'* (edited version) or *min dhirwat Sal'* (Ma'mar).

The tradition from 'Umar ibn Kathīr seems to be incomplete. At the beginning of the tradition he mentions "in this expedition" (*fī tilka l-ghazāh*), but he does not give the name of the expedition. Furthermore, after the part when Ka'b went to Muḥammad and told him the truth, Muḥammad turns away from him and orders the people not to talk to them (us) and ordered their (our) wives to shift away from them (us). We know from al-Zuhri's detailed tradition that the "we" are Ka'b, Hilāl and Murāra. However, 'Umar's tradition does not mention anywhere that any other person was in a similar situation as Ka'b.

The similarities in content and some formulations indicate that the tradition from 'Umar ibn Kathīr derives from the same source as al-Zuhri's tradition. According to the *isnād*, 'Umar's informant is Ka'b ibn Mālīk. However, 'Umar was a contemporary of al-Zuhri and it seems therefore very unlikely that he transmitted directly from Ka'b.<sup>214</sup> Furthermore, since the main outline of the tradition and even some formulations are similar to al-Zuhri's version, 'Umar ibn Kathīr either received the tradition from the same source or from al-Zuhri.

<sup>214</sup> Ibn Hajar mentions that he is from the fourth generation of Medina and that he is listed among the Successors, *Taqrib al-tahdhib*, 354 (no. 4960) and *Tahdhib al-tahdhib*, III, 249, respectively.

We can exclude the last possibility, because the differences in content and terminology show that the tradition from 'Umar ibn Kathīr derived from a separate transmission. This also applies to the version from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Isā, because 'Umar's formulations are different from 'Abd Allāh's. Another indication that Ka'b ibn Mālīk is not the direct informant of 'Umar ibn Kathīr is the formulation of the *isnād*, *'an 'Umar ibn Kathīr ibn Aṣṭaḥ qāla: qāla Ka'b ibn Mālīk*. One interpretation is that 'Umar transmitted from Ka'b ibn Mālīk, but another one is that 'Umar does not mention any informant, but just starts with the original narrator of the story, Ka'b ibn Mālīk.

Given the similarities with the version of al-Zuhri, 'Umar ibn Kathīr probably received his story from the same informant as al-Zuhri, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālīk. Ka'b's grandson probably transmitted the story of his grandfather orally, perhaps based on some notes.

Although only a relatively short account from 'Umar ibn Kathīr is preserved in the collections, we cannot exclude that there once existed a more detailed version. 'Umar's tradition has some remarkable details in common with al-Zuhri's versions, for example the visit to a person who does not speak to Ka'b and the return to the market three times. Indications in the *matn* are the formulation *fī tilka l-ghazwa* (in that expedition), while in the tradition as preserved by Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Ṭabarī and al-Ṭabarānī the name Tabūk is not mentioned. In addition, we suddenly get the information that not only Ka'b acted as he did, but also other persons, *wa-amara l-nās an yukallimūnā wa-umirat nisā'unā an yataḥawwalna 'annā*. The text before this part only deals with Ka'b.

We do not know to whom Ka'b went, when he became very desperate. Did 'Abd al-Raḥmān mention the name Abū Qatāda (according to al-Zuhri's version) or was it Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh ('Umar ibn Kathīr)? We only have these two accounts with different names. We can only say that in the story from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh Ka'b climbed over the walls of somebody's property and that the person he met there did not speak to him.

### *Remaining texts*

The remaining three transmitters, Iṣḥāq ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Farwa, Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Ayyūb ibn al-Nu'mān, are from the generation after al-Zuhri. Iṣḥāq ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Farwa died in 144/761. He also transmitted from al-Zuhri.<sup>215</sup> The biographical sources do not mention Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

<sup>215</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, I, 192-193 (no 361)



He is probably from the same generation as Ishāq ibn ‘Abd Allāh, because his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān died in 170/786-787<sup>216</sup> and ‘Abd al-Malik ibn ‘Amr al-‘Aqadī, who - according to the *isnād* - transmitted the tradition about Ka‘b from Sulaymān, died in 204/819-820.<sup>217</sup> Ayyūb ibn al-Nu‘mān is a great-grandchild of Ka‘b ibn Mālīk. Ibn Sa‘d lists him among the sixth generation.<sup>218</sup> ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Imrān, who transmits the tradition about Ka‘b from Ayyūb, died in 197/813.<sup>219</sup>

Al-Ṭabarānī, al-Muqri’, al-Sam‘ānī and Ibn ‘Asākir all preserve a tradition from Ishāq ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Farwa.<sup>220</sup> The text of ‘Abd al-Salām ibn Ḥarb’s tradition from Ishāq ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Farwa is:<sup>221</sup>

1 حدثنا عبد السلام بن حرب عن اسحاق بن عبد الله بن أبي فروة عن عبد الرحمن بن كعب بن مالك عن

2 أبيه قال: لما نزلت توبتي أتيت النبي (صلى الله عليه وسلم) فقبلت يده.<sup>222</sup>

‘Abd al-Salām ibn Ḥarb told us on the authority of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Farwa on the authority of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālīk on the authority of his father, he said,

“When my remission was revealed, I came to the Prophet and kissed his hand.”

<sup>216</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhib*, IV, 412-412 (no. 3828).

<sup>217</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhib*, IV, 565-566 (no. 4133).

<sup>218</sup> Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, V, Beirut 1997, 422 (*Al-Ṭabaqat l-sādisa*).

<sup>219</sup> He is from Medina and belongs to the Zuhra-clan. Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhib*, IV, 525-526 (no. 4053).

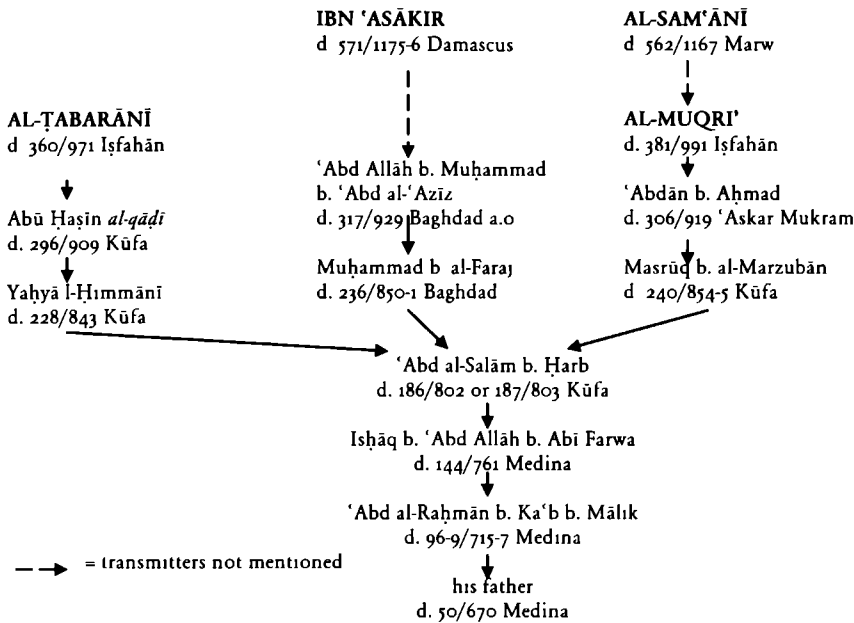
<sup>220</sup> Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh*, L, 206. Al-Muqri’, *al-Rukhṣa fī taqbil al-yad*, Riyadh 1408 A.H., 56 (*Bāb al-rukḥṣa fī taqbil al-yad*). Al-Sam‘ānī, *Kitāb adab al-īmā’ wa-l-istīmā’*, Leiden 1952, 139. Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, XIX, 95 (no. 186).

<sup>221</sup> The text is reconstructed from the traditions from Ibn ‘Asākir, al-Muqri’, al-Sam‘ānī and al-Ṭabarānī.

<sup>222</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī’s text is *annahū lammā nazala ‘udhruhu atā l-nabī (s) fa akhadha bi-yadihi fa qabbalaha*. Both traditions from al-Muqri’ add *wa-rukbatat* (and his knees) at the end

The *asānīd* are as follows:

Figure 31: *Isnād* bundle of Ishāq ibn ‘Abd Allāh on the three who stayed behind



According to the *isnād*, Ishāq received this tradition from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālīk from his father. The traditions from al-Zuhri, ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Isā and ‘Umar ibn Kathīr do not mention that Ka‘b kissed Muḥammad’s hand. The text of the tradition is too short to decide whether this is an independent transmission, especially since Ishāq is from a later generation.

Ibn Sa’d relates the tradition from Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh. The text of the tradition is:<sup>223</sup>

- 1 أخبرنا أبو عامر عبد الملك بن عمرو العقدي أخبرنا سليمان بن عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن حنظلة الغسيل
- 2 حدثني ابن لعبد الرحمن بن عبد الله أو ابن لعبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن كعب بن مالك عن أبيه عن جده أن
- 3 النبي (صلعم) خرج إلى غزوة تبوك يوم الخميس وكانت آخر غزوة غزاها وكان يستحب أن يخرج يوم
- 4 الخميس.

Abū ‘Āmir ‘Abd al-Malik ibn ‘Amr al-‘Aqadī<sup>224</sup> informed us, Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥanzala l-*ghasīl* informed us, “a son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān

<sup>223</sup> Ibn Sa’d, *al Ṭabaqāt al kubrā* II, 167.

<sup>224</sup> He is from Baṣra and died in 204/819-820. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 565-566 (no. 4133).

ibn 'Abd Allāh or a son of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik told me on the authority of his father on the authority of his grandfather,  
that the Prophet went to the expedition of Tabūk on Thursday. It was the last expedition he made and he loved to leave on Thursday.”

The information and the formulations are similar to Ma'mar's tradition from al-Zuhri, especially to some short traditions. A short tradition from 'Abd al-Razzāq from Ma'mar is *anna l-nabī kāna yastahibbu an yakhruja yawm al-khamīs (idhā arāda an yusāfirā)*.<sup>225</sup> A short tradition from Hishām ibn Yūsuf from Ma'mar is *anna l-nabī (s) kharaja yawm al-khamīs fī ghazwat Tabūk wa-kāna yahibbu an yakhruja yawm al-khamīs*.<sup>226</sup> The tradition from Ibn Jurayj from Ma'mar is identical to the Hishām's version except of the part *fī ghazwat Tabūk yawm al-khamīs* instead of *yawm al-khamīs fī ghazwat Tabūk*.<sup>227</sup> There are several short traditions from Yūnus from al-Zuhri on the same topic with a different formulation. Yūnus' version is *la-qallamā kāna rasūl Alāhl (s) yakhruju idhā kharaja fī safar illā yawm al-khamīs*.<sup>228</sup>

According to the information in the *isnād*, Sulaymān received the tradition not from al-Zuhri, but from a son of (*bn li-*) 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh or a son of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik from his father from his grandfather. We would expect the *matn* to be different from the version of al-Zuhri to the same extent as the versions of the two other contemporaries of al-Zuhri, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Isā and 'Umar ibn Kathir. However, the *matn* is similar to Ma'mar's version from al-Zuhri. This means that the tradition of Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān probably derives from al-Zuhri and perhaps even from Ma'mar.

It is also remarkable that at the place in the *isnād* where the name of al-Zuhri would appear, there is confusion about the name of Sulaymān's informant. Either Ibn Sa'd, 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Amr, or Sulaymān was uncertain (on purpose?) about the correct person.

The tradition of the last transmitter mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, Ayyūb ibn al-Nu'mān, is from Abū Nu'aym.<sup>229</sup> It is possible that Ayyūb transmitted directly

<sup>225</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, V, 169 (no. 9270).

<sup>226</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 236 (56 *Kitāb al-jihād* 103 *Bāb man arāda ghazwa fa-warrā bi-ghayrithā wa man ahabba l-khurūj yawm al-khamīs*)

<sup>227</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, V, 242-243 (no. 8785/1).

<sup>228</sup> For example, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 236 (56 *Kitāb al-jihād* 103 *Bāb man arāda ghazwa fa-warrā bi-ghayrithā wa-man ahabba l-khurūj yawm al-khamīs*).

<sup>229</sup> Abū Nu'aym, *Geschichte Iṣbahāns*, II, 163-164.

from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b, because the latter was his grandfather.<sup>230</sup> The text of the tradition is:

- 1 حدثنا محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن سهل ثنا القاسم بن عبد الله بن محمد بن إبراهيم ثنا محمد بن أبان ثنا محمد
- 2 بن عبادة ثنا يعقوب عن عبد العزيز بن عمران عن أيوب بن النعمان عن عبد الله بن كعب بن مالك عن
- 3 أبيه قال: لما أمر رسول الله (صلعم) بهجرنا ونهى الناس عن كلامنا ابتليت خيمة من سعف على ظهر
- 4 سعل فكننت فيها.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sahl<sup>231</sup> told us, al-Qāsim ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm<sup>232</sup> told us, Muḥammad ibn Abān<sup>233</sup> told us, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abāda<sup>234</sup> told us, Ya‘qūb<sup>235</sup> told us on the authority of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Imrān on the authority of Ayyūb ibn al-Nu‘mān on the authority of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālīk on the authority of his father, he said,

“When the messenger of God ordered our separation and forbade the people to talk to us, I built a tent of palm-branches on the top of Sal’ and lived there.”

The similarities with al-Zuhri’s versions are the injunction from Muḥammad and Ka‘b’s residence on the mountain Sal’. The differences are that according to Ayyūb ibn al-Nu‘mān Muḥammad ordered Ka‘b and his companions to separate themselves (*hajr*) [from the community?], while in al-Zuhri’s version Muḥammad ordered them to separate from their wives (*i’tazala*). Furthermore, al-Zuhri says that Ka‘b stayed in one of their houses (*bayt lanā*), while Ayyūb tells that Ka‘b built an accommodation of palm-leaves.

The similarities indicate a common source, which, according to the *isnād*, could perhaps even be ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b. The differences in content and formulation fit in with the information from the *asānīd*; al-Zuhri received his tradition from ‘Abd Allāh’s son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, while Ayyūb could have heard it directly from ‘Abd Allāh, his grandfather or

<sup>230</sup> His name is Ayyūb ibn al-Nu‘mān ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālīk of the Banū Salīma. Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, V, Beirut 1997, 422 (*Al-Ṭabaqa l-sādisa*).

<sup>231</sup> He is from Iṣfahan and died in 369/980. Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāḡ*, III, 115 (no. 57/905 12).

<sup>232</sup> Abū Nu‘aym mentions at the beginning of the tradition that he is al-Qāsim ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Warrāq from Medina. He is known as al-Ashqar. Abū Nu‘aym, *Geschichte Isbahāns*, II, 163.

<sup>233</sup> Al-Mizzī lists him among the persons who transmit from Muḥammad ibn ‘Abāda with the *nisba* al-Iṣbahānī. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 363.

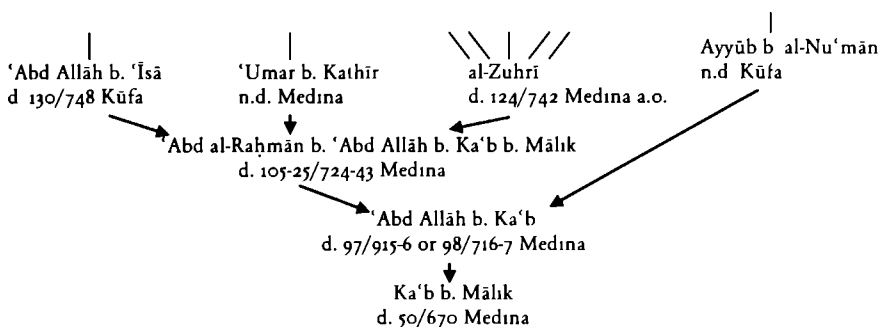
<sup>234</sup> He is from Wāsiṭ, but his year of death is not mentioned. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 363 (no. 5916).

<sup>235</sup> He is Ya‘qūb ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Isā l-Zuhri l-Qurashī from Medina. He died in 213/828. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 179-180 (no. 7700).

through his father al-Nu'mān. This would mean that the parts that the version from al-Zuhri and Ayyūb have in common (Muḥammad's injunction and Ka'b's stay at the mountain Sal') lie in the last quarter of the first Islamic century or perhaps even earlier since 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b died during the reign of Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik in the year 97 or 98/716.<sup>236</sup> If this is true, we cannot exclude that other parts of Ka'b's story are much older than we have assumed so far.

The following *isnād* bundle is based on the results of the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis:

Figure 32: *Isnād* bundle of the traditions about the three who stayed behind based on the results of the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis



## VI. CONCLUSION

The comparison of traditions that, according to the *asānīd*, are transmitted by others than al-Zuhri with the versions of al-Zuhri's students shows that the story of Ka'b ibn Mālīk existed before al-Zuhri distributed it, i.e. al-Zuhri did not invent the story. This does not mean that al-Zuhri transmitted the tradition in the same way as he heard it from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b. We have already established that al-Zuhri edited his own text on Tabūk before his nephew, Yūnus, 'Uqayl and others studied with him. This also probably happened between the time al-Zuhri heard the story and started to transmit it to other persons.

The analysis of the traditions from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Īsā and 'Umar ibn Kathīr shows that they must derive from the same source as the traditions from al-Zuhri. Although according to their *asānīd*, the three transmitters seem to have had different informants, the common source is most probably 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b. 'Abd al-

<sup>236</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 249 (no. 3489).

Rahman died during the reign of Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (105-125/724-743)<sup>237</sup> We can therefore probably date the story about Ka‘b’s staying behind to somewhere around the turn of the century or in the last quarter of the first Islamic century.

The comparison with the tradition of Ayyūb ibn al-Nu‘mān appears to bring us even further back in time. Although Ayyub’s tradition is short, it contains remarkable similarities and differences in content and formulation compared with the versions of al-Zuhri, ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Īsa and ‘Umar ibn Kathīr. Ayyub’s informant ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ka‘b died during the reign of Sulayman ibn ‘Abd al-Malik in the year 97/715-716 or 98/716-717.<sup>238</sup> The results from the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis indicate that ‘Abd Allah ibn Ka‘b might possibly be the actual source of the corresponding parts in the traditions about Ka‘b we came upon in the data collection. If these parts are actually as old as the *isnād-cum-matn*-analysis indicates, then perhaps more parts of the story or the general outline are much older than we thought so far.

If ‘Abd Allah did not invent the story about Ka‘b ibn Malik, it is very reasonable to assume that he heard the story directly from Ka‘b, his father. Ka‘b died in 50/670 and Tabuk took place in the year 9/630, so Ka‘b would have told his story somewhere during that period.

Did the events in the story really happen? What speaks in favour of the historicity of (part of) the story is the fact that the cause of the event is that Ka‘b let Muhammad down and did not follow him to Tabuk although he was physically capable of participation and wealthy enough. The story is not in favour of Ka‘b, although some parts try to improve his image. For example, the information that Ka‘b really intended to go and kept returning to the market to buy provisions. Another example is Ka‘b’s firmness to stick to the truth, despite other persons who try to convince him to tell a lie to Muḥammad. Ka‘b rejects the offer of the king of the Ghassan to live with them. Ka‘b does not want his wife to ask Muḥammad for the same favour as the wife of Hīlāl, because he is young and Hīlāl old.

Another unfavourable element is the part on Abu Khaythama. Abū Khaythama did not leave with Muhammad to Tabuk, but unlike Ka‘b decided to follow him some time later.

Verse 118 of *Surat al-tawba* in the Qur’ān mentions that three persons stayed behind. They entrusted themselves to God, who showed mercy on them. Although the verse does not mention Tabuk or the names of the three persons, the information in the Qur’ān corresponds to the information in Ka‘b’s story.

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<sup>237</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, IV, 431-432 (no. 3864).

<sup>238</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, IV, 249 (no. 3489).

Why would the Ka'b ibn Malik family preserve such an unfavourable story? Perhaps because of the honour God provided them with by sending a revelation about the three of them specifically. Or, maybe because Ka'b did not want his family to make the same mistake. Or perhaps because the family wanted to show that despite Ka'b's mistake towards Muḥammad, his belief in Islam and its Prophet made him tell the truth to Muḥammad and surrender to the mercy of God. Or Ka'b or his family tried to prevent the distribution of negative stories about Ka'b's mistake or to counteract such versions.

The reason why the story was distributed widely after al-Zuhri is most probably that it contains the information and explanation why certain Qur'ānic verses were revealed. Furthermore, it contains the *sunna* of Muḥammad; it describes certain habits of Muḥammad (leaving on Thursday for an expedition, mentioning a different direction to fool the enemy) and examples of how to behave in certain situations (Muḥammad told Ka'b to keep some of his money instead of accepting all as *ṣadaqa*, Muḥammad forbade the people to talk to them until God would decide).

[illegible]



- (o) Introduction to Ka'b's story. (+Y, +<sup>'A</sup>)<sup>1</sup>
- (1) Ka'b only stayed behind from the Prophet at Badr before Tabūk. (-<sup>'A</sup>)
- (2) The Prophet did not blame anyone for missing Badr, because he met the Quraysh by accident. (-<sup>'A</sup>)
- (3) Ka'b was present at the night of al-'Aqaba, when they entered an agreement on Islam. (-<sup>'A</sup>)
- (4) Ka'b would not trade his presence at al-'Aqaba for Badr. (-<sup>'A</sup>)
- (5) The people preferred Badr to al-'Aqaba as a place of martyrdom. (-<sup>'A</sup>)
- (6) Ka'b did not stay behind from the Prophet after Badr until Tabūk. (+M)
- (7) Tabūk was the Prophet's last expedition. (+M)
- (8) Ka'b had never been stronger and wealthier and he had never before owned two camels.
- (9) The Prophet rarely send out an expedition, without pretending another destination. (-Y)
- (10) The Prophet used to say that war is a mode of deceiving. (+M)
- (11) The expedition took place at a time of extreme heat with the prospect of a long travel through the desert and many enemies. (-M)
- (12) The Prophet wanted the people to prepare specifically for the expedition to Tabuk.
- (13) The Prophet notified the Muslims of the direction of the raid.
- (14) There were so many participants that a *dirwān* could not contain them. (-<sup>'A</sup>)
- (15) Everybody who had stayed behind thought that it would be hidden from the Prophet. (-<sup>'A</sup>)
- (16) The Prophet carried out the expedition at a time when the fruits were abundant and the shadow pleasant. (-<sup>'A</sup>)
- (17) Ka'b and other people preferred the shadow and fruit. (-<sup>'U</sup>, -<sup>'A</sup>)
- (18) The Prophet and the Muslims made their preparations, while Ka'b began to go out early in the morning, but he returned having accomplished nothing. (-M)
- (19) Ka'b said to himself that he can do it when he wants to, but he continued doing the same until the people were making serious efforts. (-M)

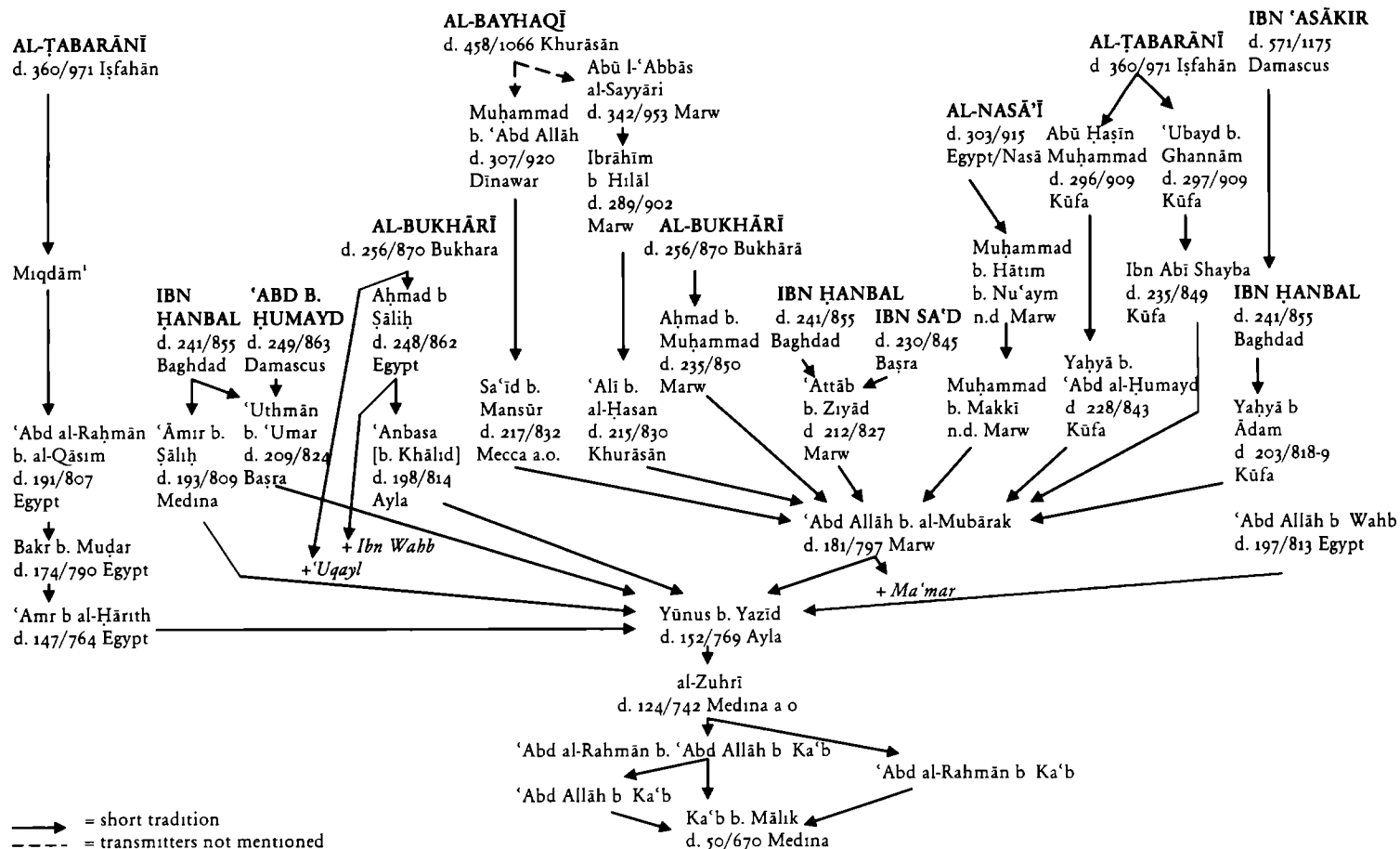
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<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations between brackets indicate if the element is present (+) in only a few versions or if it is not present (-) in certain versions 'A = 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, IR = Ishāq b. Rāshīd, M = Ma'mar, 'U = 'Uqayl, Y = Yūnus b. Yazīd)

- (20) The Prophet and the Muslims left early in the morning, while Ka'b still had prepared nothing.
- (21) The Prophet left on Thursday. He loved to leave on Thursday (+M)
- (22) Ka'b said to himself that he would prepare in a day or two and catch up with them. (-Y)
- (23) Ka'b left early in the morning after their departure, but he returned having accomplished nothing. (-Y)
- (24) Ka'b left early in the morning, but he returned having accomplished nothing. (-'A)
- (25) He continued to do so until the expedition got out of sight.
- (26) Ka'b intended to leave and catch up with them – he wished that he had done it, but then it was not predestined for him anymore. (-M, -'A)
- (27) Ka'b saw only men accused of hypocrisy or those excused by God.
- (28) The Prophet remembered Ka'b in Tabuk and asked what had happened to him
- (29) A man of the Banū Salīma spoke disparagingly about Ka'b, whereupon Mu'adh b. Jabal rebuked him
- (30) Abu Khaythama arrived in Tabuk appearing from the mirage. (+Y, +M)
- (31) When the Prophet was on his way back to Medina, Ka'b began to think about a lie and sought the help of his family.
- (32) When Ka'b heard that the Prophet was nearby, falsehood left him and he decided to tell him the truth.
- (33) The Prophet arrived in the morning.
- (34) Whenever he returned from a journey, he first entered the place of worship, performed two *rak'āt*. Then he sat down
- (35) The people who had stayed behind came to the Prophet and started to proffer an excuse.
- (36) Eighty-something men stayed behind from the Prophet (-'A)
- (37) The Prophet forgave them and entrusted their secrets to God.
- (38) When Ka'b entered, the Prophet smiled angrily at him.
- (39) The Prophet told Ka'b to sit down before him and asked him what kept him back.
- (40) Ka'b told the Prophet that he did not have any excuse for staying behind and that he did not want to tell The Prophet a lie, because God would reveal that to Muḥammad.
- (41) The Prophet told him to get up until God would decide about him.
- (42) People from the Banū Salīma tried to convince Ka'b to proffer an excuse to the Prophet.
- (43) He almost decided to return, when he asked them if anyone else received the same response from the Prophet

- (44) When Ka'b heard the names of Hilāl and Murāra, he decided not to return to the Prophet.
- (45) The Prophet forbade the Muslims to talk to these three persons.
- (46) Nobody spoke to them, until it was no longer the earth they once knew.
- (47) They remained like this for fifty nights. (-M, -'A)
- (48) Ka'b's two companions stayed in their houses crying. (-'A)
- (49) Ka'b kept going to the market and the place of worship, because he was younger, but nobody spoke to him.
- (50) The Prophet did not return Ka'b's greetings and turned away from him (-'A)
- (51) Ka'b went to his nephew Abū Qatāda, who did not return his greeting and said that God and His messenger know best.
- (52) A Nabatean gave Ka'b a letter from the king of Ghassān, but he burnt it
- (53) After forty nights, a messenger from the Prophet came to Ka'b and his two companions and told them to separate from their wives.
- (54) Ka'b told his wife to stay with her family. (-M)
- (55) Hilāl's wife got permission to serve her husband.
- (56) Some members of Ka'b's family told him to ask Muhammad for the same, but he refused because he was young. (-M)
- (57) Fifty nights after the Prophet's injunction, Ka'b was performing the Morning Prayer on the roof of a house, when he heard a man shouting from the mountain Sal'.
- (58) When Ka'b heard that there was good news, he fell down prostrating, realizing that relief had come.
- (59) The remission of Ka'b and his two companions had been revealed to the Prophet during the first third of the night. (+M, +IR)
- (60) Umm Salama asked the Prophet to tell them the news immediately, but he wanted to wait until the morning. (+M, +IR)
- (61) The Prophet announced God's forgiveness of them after the Morning Prayer. (-M)
- (62) People went to Ka'b and his two companions to tell them the good news. (-M)
- (63) A man on horse and a herald from Aslam came to Ka'b The voice was quicker than the horse.
- (64) Ka'b gave the man whose voice he had heard his two garments and put on two other garments.
- (65) Ka'b went to the Prophet. People came to him and congratulated him with God's forgiveness.

- (66) Ka'b entered the place of worship, where the Prophet was, surrounded by people.
- (67) The only Emigrant who congratulated Ka'b was Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh. Ka'b never forgot Ṭalḥa's action. (-M)
- (68) The Prophet told Ka'b with his face beaming with pleasure to rejoice with the best day since his mother gave birth to him.
- (69) Ka'b asked whether the remission came from God or the Prophet. The Prophet answered that it came from God.
- (70) When the Prophet was happy with something, his face shone like the moon.
- (71) Ka'b wanted to give all his property as *ṣadaqa*, but the Prophet told him to keep some. Ka'b kept his share from Khaybar.
- (72) As penance, Ka'b wanted to speak the truth for the rest of his life. (-'A)
- (73) Ka'b knew no other Muslim who God tested better for telling the truth than God had tested him.
- (74) Ka'b never told a lie intentionally anymore until the day he related his story and he hoped that God would preserve him in the future. (-'A)
- (75+76) Citation Qur'an verse 9:117-119. (-'A)
- (77) God has never bestowed upon Ka'b a greater favour, after his conversion to Islam than letting him speak the truth to the Prophet and therefore not to suffer the same fate as the liars. (-'A)
- (78) Al-Zuhri said that this is the end of the story of Ka'b b. Mālik. (+M)
- (79) God said to the persons who lied to him more terrible things than He did to anyone else. Citation Qur'an verse 9: 95-96. (-M, -'A)
- (80) Ka'b explains that the meaning of the word *khullifū*. (-M, -'A)



Appendix 8: *Isnād* bundle of the detailed and medium-length traditions of al-Zuhri about Tabūk after the analysis

**IBN 'ASĀKIR**

d. 571/1175 Damascus

Abū l-Ḥusayn b. al-Naqūr  
d. 470/1078 Baghdad

Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ  
d. 393/1003 Baghdad

Ridwān b. Aḥmad  
d. 324/936 Iraq

Aḥmad b.  
'Abd al-Jabbār  
d. 272/886 Kūfa

Yūnus b. Bukayr  
d. 199/814-5  
Baṣra

Ibrāhīm  
b. Ismā'il  
n.d. Medina

**AL-BUKHĀRĪ**

d. 256/870 Bukhārā

Muḥammad

Aḥmad b. Abī  
Shu'ayb  
d. 233/847 Harrān

Mūsā b. A'yan  
d. 177/793 Harrān

Ishāq b. Rāshid  
n.d. Harrān

**AL-ṬABARĀNĪ**

d. 360/971 Iṣfahān

Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ  
n.d./n.l

Muḥammad b.  
al-Muthannā  
d. 252/866 Baṣra

'Abd al-Ghaffār  
b. 'Ubayd Allāh  
d. 211/825-835  
Baṣra

Ṣāliḥ b. Abī  
al-Akhḍar  
d. <160/776  
Baṣra

**IBN ABĪ SHAYBA**

d. 235/849 Kūfa

Khālīd b.  
Makhlād  
d. 213/828 Kūfa

'Abd al-Raḥmān.  
b. 'Abd al-'Azīz  
d. 162/779  
Medina

'Abd Allāh  
b. Wabb  
d. 197/813 Egypt

Yūnus b. Yazīd  
d. 152/769  
Ayla

al-Layth b. Sa'd  
d. 175/791 Egypt

'Uqayl b. Khālīd  
d. 144/761 Ayla

Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh  
d. 525/1131 Baghdad

Abū 'Alī l-Ḥasan b. 'Alī  
d. 444/1052 Baghdad

Aḥmad b. Ja'far  
d. 368/978-9 Baghdad

'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad  
d. 290/903 Baghdad

**IBN HANBAL**  
d. 241/855 Baghdad

Ya'qūb b.  
Ibrāhīm  
d. 208/823  
Medina

Muḥammad  
b. 'Abd Allāh  
d. 152/769  
Medina

Muḥammad  
b. Ishāq  
d. 150/767  
Medina

'ABD AL- RAZZĀQ  
d. 211/826 Ṣan'a'

Ma'mar b.  
Rāshid  
d. 153/770 Basra/  
Ṣan'a'

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri  
124/742 Medina a.o.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b  
d. 105-25/724-43 Medina

'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b  
d. 97/715-6 or 98/716-7 Medina

Ka'b b. Mālik  
d. 50/670 Medina

('Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b)

## CHAPTER 5

### A BIOGRAPHY OF IBN SHIHĀB AL-ZUHRI

#### I. INTRODUCTION

Was Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri a puppet of the Umayyad caliphs or an independent scholar? This question refers to the ambivalent attitude of both al-Zuhri's contemporaries and modern Western scholars towards him. On the one hand, they regard him as an excellent scholar with a great knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence, the biography of Muḥammad and other sciences, whose name appears in the *asānīd* of many traditions that are accessible to us nowadays. On the other hand, some contemporary and later scholars heavily criticize al-Zuhri's close connection with several Umayyad caliphs and his manner of transmission.

This chapter seeks among other things to give an answer to the above mentioned question. It gives an overview of the most controversial issues in al-Zuhri's life and describes the discussion among al-Zuhri's contemporaries and later Muslim scholars, and among modern Western scholars.

The biography of al-Zuhri is based on information from biographical dictionaries dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> The information in these works is handed down via the same manner as the biographical material on Muḥammad's life and should therefore be subjected to a critical approach. When possible, the results from the analysis of al-Zuhri's traditions about the raid of the Hudhayl, Muḥammad's night journey, and the three who remained behind from Tabūk will be used to verify biographical details.

#### II. FAMILY RELATIONS

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Shihāb ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarith ibn Zuhra ibn Kilāb ibn Murra ibn Ka'b, mostly referred to as Ibn Shihāb or al-Zuhri, is the complete name of the central figure on whom this research is based. Al-Zuhri belonged to the Zuhra clan of the Quraysh. The Zuhra clan was related to Muḥammad through his mother, Āmina bint Wahb ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn Zuhra ibn Kilāb.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The information in the articles and studies used in this chapter is also based on the same material.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, Beirut 1982, 9 (introduction).

Among the famous members of al-Zuhri's family were his great-grandfather from his father's side, 'Abd Allāh ibn Shihāb *al-Akbar*,<sup>3</sup> who participated in the battles at Badr and Uḥud against Muḥammad. He was one of the three or four persons who succeeded in wounding Muḥammad at Uḥud.<sup>4</sup> 'Abd Allāh converted to Islam shortly after Uḥud and died during the caliphate of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (reigned 23-35/644-656). Al-Zuhri's great-grandfather from his mother's side, 'Abd Allāh *al-Asghar*, was one of the early converts. He migrated to Abyssinia,<sup>5</sup> but died later on in Mecca before the *hijra*.<sup>6</sup> Al-Zuhri's father, Muslim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh, supported 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr's claim to the caliphate against the Umayyad family.<sup>7</sup> Al-Zuhri had an older brother named Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim, who was also a transmitter of traditions, although he did not become as famous as his younger brother.<sup>8</sup>

There exist two descriptions of al-Zuhri. Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna (d. 198/814) describes al-Zuhri when he met him in the year 123/741, thus shortly before his death. Sufyān was sixteen years old at that time. According to the information in this tradition, al-Zuhri had reddish brown hair and a reddish brown beard with discolorations as if he had put *katm*<sup>9</sup> in it. He

<sup>3</sup> His brother - also al-Zuhri's great-grandfather but from his mother's side - was named 'Abd al-Jān, but Muhammad changed his name into 'Abd Allāh after he converted to Islam. To distinguish between them the newly named 'Abd Allāh was called *al-Asghar* (the younger) and his brother 'Abd Allāh *al-Akbar* (the older). Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt*, IV, 125-126.

<sup>4</sup> Two traditions describe this event and mention 'Abd Allāh ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri as one of the persons wounding Muhammad. According to Ibn Hishām → Rubayḥ ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abi Sa'id al-Khudri → his father → Abū Sa'id al-Khudri, 'Abd Allāh wounded Muḥammad's forehead. Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, II, 571-572. The other tradition from al-Wāqidī → the son of Abū Sabra < Ishaq ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abi Farwa → Abū l-Huwayrith → Nāfi' ibn Jubayr → an Emigrant states that 'Abd Allāh himself mentioned that he was one of four who made a pact to kill Muḥammad. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 192 (*Ghazwat Uḥud*) and Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidāya*, IV, 30. Al-Zuhri relates the event in a tradition from 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr, but does not mention the name of his great-grandfather 'Abd al-Razzaq, *al-Musannaf*, V, 365 (no. 9735).

<sup>5</sup> When the Quraysh in Mecca persecuted Muḥammad's followers, Muhammad advised them to go to Abyssinia, since the Negus - the king of Abyssinia - would provide them protection from the Quraysh. See Guillaume, *The life*, 146.

<sup>6</sup> The *hijra* is the emigration of Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina in September 622 C.E.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, M9.

<sup>8</sup> The year of 'Abd Allāh's death is not mentioned. His son Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh said that although his father was older than his brother the latter he died before him. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 285-286 (no. 3554).

<sup>9</sup> *Katm* is a plant that is mixed with henna and is used to colour the hair. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, XL, 292, footnote 5. Al-Khalil describes it as a plant that gives a black colour when mixed with another pigment, *Kitāb al-'ayn li-Abi 'Abd al-Rahman al-Khalil ibn Ahmad al-Farāhidī*, V, Iran, 1409-1410 A.H., 343



was a man with watery eyes and his hair extended beyond his ears at that time.<sup>10</sup> Ya'qūb ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 181/797)<sup>11</sup> describes al-Zuhri as a short man with a small beard and long hair. The beard of al-Zuhri was scanty on his cheeks.<sup>12</sup>

### III. AL-ZUHRI'S FIRST MEETING WITH THE CALIPH 'ABD AL-MALIK

The year of birth of al-Zuhri is disputed. Several years are mentioned: 50/670, 51/671, 56/675-676 and 58/677-678.<sup>13</sup> His year of birth plays an important role in the discussion on when al-Zuhri first met the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik (reigned 65-86/685-705) and what his role was in the transmission of the so-called "Tradition of the Three Places of Worship". The focus in this discussion is a controversial report by the Shiite historian al-Ya'qūbi (d. 284/897 or 292/905)<sup>14</sup> on 'Abd al-Malik's wish to provide an alternative for the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this report, 'Abd al-Malik refers to al-Zuhri as the source of a tradition in which the pilgrimage to the place of worship in Jerusalem is said to be equal to the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba and the Prophet's place of worship in Medina, after people complained to 'Abd al-Malik about his ban upon the *hajj* to Mecca.<sup>15</sup> Al-Ya'qūbi, who lived 200 years later than 'Abd al-Malik, does not mention any informant.

<sup>10</sup> [...] *Qāla Sufyān. ra 'aytu l Zuhri aḥmar al ra's wa-l-liḥya, wa fi ḥumratihī inkifā', ka 'annahu yaj'alu fihī katman, wa-kāna rajulan u'aymash, wa-ra 'aytuhu ḥina qadima 'alaynā mujammaman [...].* Ibn 'Asākir, *al Zuhri*, 48-49 (no. 33-34).

<sup>11</sup> Ya'qūb ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān was an ally of the Banū Zuhra. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 174-175 (no. 7690).

<sup>12</sup> [...] *Haddathani Ya'qūb ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān qāla: ra 'aytu Ibn Shihāb rajulan qasīran, qalil al-liḥya, lahu shu'ayrāt ṭwāl khafīf al-'arīdayn.* Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 49 (no. 35).

<sup>13</sup> See for example, Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 36-37 (no. 10-12), 41 (no. 22) and 48 (no. 32).

<sup>14</sup> His name is Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb ibn Ja'far ibn Wahb ibn Wāḍiḥ. He was a secretary of the Abbasid caliphs and died in 284/897 or 292/905. Sheikh 'Abbās al-Qummī, *al Kunan wa-l-alqāb*, III, Teheran n.d., 296, Najm al-Dīn al-'Askari, *Abū Tālib ḥamī l rasūl wa nāsiruhu (s)*, al-Najaf al-Ashraf 1380/[1960-1961], 57.

<sup>15</sup> *Wa-mana'a 'Abd al Malik abl al-Shām min al-hajj, wa dhālika anna Ibn al-Zubayr kāna ya'kbudhuhum idhā hajjū bi-l-bay'a, fa lamma ra'ā 'Abd al Malik dhālika mana'ahum min al khurūj ilā Makka, fa dayja l-nas wa qālū: tamna'unā min hajj bayt Allāh al-harām, wa huwa farq min Allāh 'alaynā! fa-qala lahum. hādha Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri yuḥaddithukum anna rasūl Allāh qala: lā tashidda l-rīḥal illā ilā thalātha masājid: al-masjid al-ḥarām wa masjidī wa masjid bayt al-maqdis [...]*

The tradition would have been important to 'Abd al-Malik during his struggle with Ibn al-Zubayr (who was defeated and killed in 73/692-693)<sup>16</sup> and the building of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, and most probably in 72-73/691-693 when the place of worship was completed.<sup>17</sup> Could al-Zuhri have transmitted the tradition to 'Abd al-Malik? At this time, al-Zuhri was between 14-23 years old. If the later dates of his birth is correct, he would have been too young (14 or 16) to appear before the caliph and to function as an *ḥadīth* authority.

Lecker, however, argues that al-Zuhri himself gave two autobiographical reports that point to an early year of birth. The first one is a report in which al-Zuhri states that he took part in a delegation to the caliph Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam (reigned 64-65/683-684) after having reached the age of puberty (*muḥtalim*).<sup>18</sup> According to Ḥijāzī custom and jurisprudence puberty of boys happened at an age between 12 and 15.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, al-Zuhri must have been born in the year 50/670 at the latest.

Lecker says that the second report is more problematic because there are two variant readings. Al-Zuhri mentions in one version that he arrived in Damascus during the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath (82/701). He mentions however in the other version that he arrived in Damascus during the rebellion of Muṣ'ab [ibn al-Zubayr] (72/691). The historian Abū Zur'a (d. 281/894) concludes that al-Zuhri came to Damascus before 'Abd al-Malik marched against Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr.<sup>20</sup> According to Lecker Muṣ'ab is the correct reading and this

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'Abd al-Malik forbade the people of Shām (Syria) the pilgrimage to Mecca, because Ibn al-Zubayr used to take the oath of allegiance from them when they made the pilgrimage. When 'Abd al-Malik saw this, he prevented them from going to Mecca. The people shouted and said, "You prevent us from the pilgrimage to the Sacred House of God while this is made obligatory for us by God!" He replied, "This Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri transmits to you the Prophet's saying: "May the saddles of the camels only be fastened for a journey to three places of prayer, namely the holy place of worship [in Mecca], my own place of worship [in Medina] and the place of worship of Jerusalem." Al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh al Ya'qūbi*, II, Beirut 2002, 182.

<sup>16</sup> Lecker, M., "Biographical notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri", in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 41 (1996), 44 footnote 92.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Duri, A.A., "Al-Zuhri: A study on the beginnings of history writing in Islam", in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 19 (1957), 11; Elad, A., *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic worship: Holy places, ceremonies, pilgrimage*, Leiden 1995, 153; Lecker, "Biographical notes", 43 footnote 90, Horowitz, J., "The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors", in *Islamic Culture*, 1 (1928), 35, recently edited by L.I. Conrad in Horowitz, J., *The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors*, Princeton (NJ) 2002, 53.

<sup>18</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 44.

<sup>19</sup> See Motzki, H., "Volwassen worden in de vroeg-Islamitische periode: Maatschappelijke en juridische gevolgen", in *Sharṭiyāt*, 6/1 (1994), 55-70.

<sup>20</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 46.

is again an indication for an early year of birth, since he would otherwise have been only 14 or 16 years old and thus too young to be received by the caliph.<sup>21</sup> Elad adds that the prevailing opinion on al-Zuhri's age at death is 72. Since it is generally accepted that he died in 124/742,<sup>22</sup> this would mean that he was born between 49/669 and 52/672.<sup>23</sup>

The Muṣ'ab version and the references to an early year of birth indicate that al-Zuhri could have been present in Damascus around 72-73/691-693 and that he was old enough to have transmitted the tradition of the Three Places of Worship. The question remains, however, whether the report of al-Ya'qūbī in which 'Abd al-Malik refers to al-Zuhri as source of the tradition of the Three Places of Worship is authentic.

Even if the early year of birth of 50/670 is accepted, al-Zuhri was still very young and unknown, as Duri points out.<sup>24</sup> Horovitz is of the same opinion and wonders what specific result 'Abd al-Malik could have hoped for in mentioning al-Zuhri as source of the tradition since he could hardly have had very much prestige as an expert in traditions at that age. This tradition transmitted by al-Zuhri would only be of value to 'Abd al-Malik in combination with the sources of al-Zuhri, not by mentioning al-Zuhri alone. The six canonical *ḥadīth* compilations contain variants of the tradition of the Three Places of Worship for which the *isnād* often runs al-Zuhri -> Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab -> Abū Hurayra and sometimes even without the name of al-Zuhri.<sup>25</sup>

According to Horovitz, the reason that al-Zuhri brought the tradition he heard from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab to 'Abd al-Malik in Damascus, was probably in the hope of a reward. Horovitz does not doubt that – independently of the question whether the content of the report of al-Ya'qūbī is true or falsified - al-Zuhri heard the tradition from Sa'id and did not invent it himself. It would have been very easy for the people of Damascus to check the validity of al-Zuhri's statement and no proof to the contrary is found in the sources.<sup>26</sup>

Lecker agrees with Horovitz, when the latter separates the temporary visit of al-Zuhri to Damascus in 71/690-691 or 72/691-692 from his permanent settlement a decade or more

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<sup>21</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 46. Lecker says in footnote 106: "It is plausible that Muṣ'ab was first corrupted to Ash'ath, and at a later stage the 'Ibn' was added in order to 'adapt' the name to historical fact."

<sup>22</sup> The years 123 and 125 A.H. are also mentioned in some traditions. See Ibn 'Asākir, *al Zuhri*, 182-183 (no. 304-310 -> 123 A.H.) and 189-190 (no. 332-335 -> 125 A.H.).

<sup>23</sup> Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 154-155. Duri also used this argument for an early year of birth, "Al-Zuhri", 1.

<sup>24</sup> Duri, "Al-Zuhri", 11.

<sup>25</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 35.

<sup>26</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 35-37.

later in the year 81/700 or 82/701.<sup>27</sup> Horovitz quotes in this connection the account that al-Zuhri went to Qabisa ibn Dhu'ayb, 'Abd al-Malik's Keeper of the Seal, in order to get an introduction to the caliph. The occasion came when 'Abd al-Malik asked for a legal decision concerning the handmaiden who had borne children to her lord. The caliph paid al-Zuhri's debts as a reward. Horovitz argues that this account does not coincide with the report of al-Ya'qubi, since al-Zuhri would not have needed a special introduction to the caliph if 'Abd al-Malik had known him for a long time.<sup>28</sup>

Duri mentions the same account, although he adds that the caliph advised al-Zuhri to continue his studies, whereupon al-Zuhri returned to Medina. He rejects the authenticity of al-Ya'qubi's account and accepts the statement of al-Zuhri that he came to Damascus during the rising of Ibn al-Ash'ath, that took place around 80-81/699-700. According to Duri, al-Zuhri's permanent settlement at the Umayyad court took place sometime during the reign of Yazid II or Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik, i.e. after 101/105. He argues that before this permanent settlement, al-Zuhri probably continued his studies in Medina with only occasional visits to the court.<sup>29</sup>

Horovitz gives another account on al-Zuhri's meeting with the caliph in which 'Abd al-Malik asked Hisham ibn Isma'il, his governor in Medina, to inquire of Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab for the credentials of al-Zuhri. According to Horovitz, this story does not indicate either that 'Abd al-Malik had met al-Zuhri before.<sup>30</sup>

This story seems to date al-Zuhri's meeting with 'Abd al-Malik in 82/701 - hence corroborating the Ibn al-Ash'ath version - because Hisham ibn Isma'il was governor of Medina from 83/702 to 87/706.<sup>31</sup> Lecker, however, points at two contradictory statements within the report. At the beginning of the story, al-Zuhri mentions that he went to Damascus because of "a general state of destitution in Medina, following the *fitna* of 'Abd al-Malik". This *fitna* and the description of the situation in Medina seem to refer to the conflict with Ibn al-Zubayr and do not coincide with the date of the governorship of Hisham ibn Isma'il. To Lecker this indicates that the report consists of two different accounts.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 45. See also footnote 96. Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 37.

<sup>28</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 37-38.

<sup>29</sup> Duri, "Al-Zuhri", 11.

<sup>30</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 38.

<sup>31</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 45.

<sup>32</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 45.

Furthermore, the appearance of Hishām ibn Ismā‘il in this report contradicts the evidence in yet another report from al-Zuhri that he heard ‘Abd al-Malik speak in Jerusalem before the outbreak of the plague that caused the caliph to leave for al-Muwaqqar.<sup>33</sup> Lecker argues that this plague is the one from 79-80/698-699.<sup>34</sup> Elad does not agree with him and dates the plague in 69-70/689-690. He describes the occurrence of two different plagues. The first one came in two waves: one wave continued from 64-69/684-689 while the second wave started in Baṣra in 69/689 and reached Egypt in 70/690. The second plague was between 79/698 and 80/699. Elad bases his dating of the plague on the information that al-Zuhri came to Damascus during the revolt of Muṣ‘ab and that ‘Abd al-Malik was present in Jerusalem at the beginning of the building of the Dome i.e. between 66/685-686 and 68/688-689. Elad concludes therefore that the plague mentioned by al-Zuhri was probably the second wave of the first plague.<sup>35</sup>

The overall conclusion of Elad and Lecker is that there is enough evidence that al-Zuhri was present in Damascus around 70/690 and that he could have transmitted the tradition of the Three Places of Worship at that time to ‘Abd al-Malik. Their conclusion is mainly built on the "Muṣ‘ab version" of the statement of al-Zuhri on when he first arrived in Damascus that is found in the *Ta’rikh* of Abū Zur‘a, and on reports on al-Zuhri’s puberty and age at death. They do not give their opinion on whether the scene described by al-Ya‘qūbī did really take place and what al-Zuhri’s role was in transmitting the tradition of the Three Places of Worship. As Lecker mentions, “Suffice it to say that the *ḥadīth* was transmitted in the Umayyad period and that its transmission was expedient to Umayyad objectives.”<sup>36</sup>

Therefore, we cannot exclude that this report is an anti-Umayyad invention, as Stern remarks in his edition of Goldziher work.<sup>37</sup> It is possible that al-Ya‘qūbī or somebody else connected the building of the Dome and ‘Abd al-Malik’s call for the *ḥajj* to Jerusalem with al-Zuhri’s tradition about the Three Places of Worship, thus turning al-Zuhri’s tradition into a convenient legitimization of ‘Abd al-Malik’s policy. We cannot take the historicity of al-Ya‘qūbī’s report for granted. Al-Ya‘qūbī was a manumitted slave of the ‘Abbāsīd family. Although he criticized some political decisions of the ‘Abbāsīds, he was in general well-

<sup>33</sup> Al-Muwaqqar is a place near Damascus. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, V, 226.

<sup>34</sup> Lecker, “Biographical notes”, 46 and 48-50.

<sup>35</sup> Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 155-156.

<sup>36</sup> Lecker, “Biographical notes”, 42.

<sup>37</sup> Goldziher, I., *Muslim studies*, II, ed. S.M. Stern, 45 footnote 1.

disposed towards them. According to Zaman, al-Ya'qūbī's book reflects his hostility towards the Umayyad family.<sup>38</sup>

If indeed al-Zuhri went to Damascus in 70-72/690-691 and transmitted the tradition of the Three Places of Worship to 'Abd al-Malik, this would have been a remarkable act considering the loyalty of some other members of the Zuhra clan to Ibn al-Zubayr. Not only did al-Zuhri's father support Ibn al-Zubayr's claim to the caliphate and belonged to the army of Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr, also the last two governors of Ibn al-Zubayr in Medina were of the Banū Zuhra. This indicates widespread support of Ibn al-Zubayr among the members of the Zuhra clan in Medina.<sup>39</sup>

Furthermore, Kister shows that the tradition about the three places of worship was part of a discussion about the prohibition or approval of visits to sacred places beside these three locations. At the beginning of the second Islamic century, there seems to have been consensus among Muslim scholars about the sanctity of the three places of worship and the cities of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, although some were reluctant to assign the status of Mecca and Medina to Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup>

#### IV. AL-ZUHRI'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE OTHER Umayyad CALIPHS

Following his arrival in Damascus and the introduction to 'Abd al-Malik al-Zuhri established a close relationship with the Umayyad caliphs through the years. Al-Zuhri stayed in Egypt after 'Abd al-Malik had sent him to his brother 'Abd al-'Aziz, the governor of Egypt. Al-Zuhri's stay in Egypt took place sometime between 70/689-690 and 86/705,<sup>41</sup> after

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<sup>38</sup> Zaman, M.Q., "Al-Ya'qūbī", *EJ2*, XI, Leiden 2002, 257. I have compared several stories about the mutilation of Muḥammad's uncle Ḥamza during the battle at Uḥud. Al-Ya'qūbī's description of this event shows his hostility towards the Umayyad family by his representation of the part Hind bint 'Utba, the mother of Mu'āwiya the founder of the Umayyad ruling family, played during and after the mutilation. See van der Voort, "Hind", 43-60. Contrary to this report, the traditions ascribed to al-Zuhri about the event show a tendency of toning down Hind's participation in the mutilation.

<sup>39</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 47.

<sup>40</sup> Kister, M.J., "You shall only set out for three mosque". A study of an early tradition", in *Le Muséon*, 82 (1969), 174-175, 178 and 180.

<sup>41</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 41. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam appointed 'Abd al-'Aziz as governor in Rajab 65/685. 'Abd al-'Aziz died on Monday, 12<sup>th</sup> of *Jumādā l-Akhira* 86 A H (9th June 705) according to a tradition from al-Layth ibn Sa'd. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 530 (no. 4060). It is not likely that al-Zuhri was sent to Egypt between 65-70/685-689 because of his age (15-20 years). If it had happened at all, it would probably have been at the end of 'Abd al-Malik's reign.

which he probably returned to Medina to continue his studies.<sup>42</sup> Lecker mentions three caliphs under whom al-Zuhri worked as a *qāḍī* (judge): 'Abd al-Malik, 'Umar II (reigned 99-101/717-720) and Yazid II (reigned 101-105/720-724).<sup>43</sup>

Yazid II made also use of al-Zuhri's knowledge of poetry. Horovitz relates an anecdote how one night, Yazid consulted al-Zuhri about the name of a certain poet. After al-Zuhri told the Caliph the name of the poet from Medina and informed him that the man was still in exile; Yazid ordered his return.<sup>44</sup>

Also in the period before 106/724 – although it is not documented under which caliph – al-Zuhri was a tax collector. He was apparently responsible for unintentionally shedding a man's blood while carrying out his duty. Lecker adds a second account in which it is mentioned that al-Zuhri flogged a man and the man died.<sup>45</sup> Horovitz, however, places the latter event before al-Zuhri's migration to Damascus. He adds that a grandson of 'Alī, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, lifted from al-Zuhri's conscience the weight of guilt for having killed someone through negligence.<sup>46</sup> The third office al-Zuhri held during the Umayyad caliphate as Lecker mentions was chief of the *shurṭa*.<sup>47</sup>

However, most information is available on al-Zuhri's work for the caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik (reigned 105-125/724-743). Hishām entrusted al-Zuhri with the education of his children and ordered him to hold *ḥadīth*-dictation sessions for his sons and some official secretaries. After al-Zuhri had overcome his initial objections, he also arranged sessions for persons outside the court.<sup>48</sup> A tradition reports that he stayed in al-Ruṣāfa'<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> See pages 319-320.

<sup>43</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 37-38. Lecker gives the information that al-Zuhri already worked under 'Abd al-Malik as a *qāḍī* with the reservation that the passage in which this information is described is not garbled. The editor of Ibn 'Asākir's book on al-Zuhri remarks in a footnote to the same tradition that the name in the manuscript is indeed 'Abd al-Malik, but it should perhaps be Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 190 (no. 335) and footnote 3. If the tradition indeed contains such a flaw, then the name could of course also be Yazid ibn 'Abd al-Malik (= Yazid II).

<sup>44</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 38-39.

<sup>45</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 38-39. Lecker explains on page 39 how he established the date 106/724.

<sup>46</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 34-35. See also Horovitz, "Al-Zuhri", in *First encyclopaedia of Islam*, VIII, Leiden 1987, 1240.

<sup>47</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 39-40. *Shurṭa* = a troop of armed officers of the police.

<sup>48</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 25-27; Horovitz, "Al-Zuhri", 1240; Duri, "Al-Zuhri", 11. This tradition will be further discussed in paragraph VII on the writing down of traditions.

throughout the caliphate of Hishām for nineteen years and eight months,<sup>50</sup> although he made frequent and long visits to his native town Medina after his move to the Umayyad court.<sup>51</sup> Part of al-Zuhri's role of tutor to Hishām's sons was to accompany them on the *hajj*.<sup>52</sup> This continued until shortly before his death, when he made the pilgrimage with Hishām's son Yazīd in 123/741.<sup>53</sup>

Al-Zuhri's relation with the crown prince al-Walīd ibn Yazīd was not good. Lecker mentioned that al-Walīd once ordered to cut down the trees on al-Zuhri's estate during Hishām's caliphate. The reason for their discord may have been that a servant informed al-Walīd about a conversation between Hishām and al-Zuhri, in which the latter criticized the crown prince<sup>54</sup> – and maybe even tried to convince Hishām to dispose of him, as Lecker writes.<sup>55</sup> When al-Zuhri learned that al-Walīd was aware of the conversation, he decided to flee the country on the latter's accession. He died however in 124/742 on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Ramadan before this occurred.<sup>56</sup>

In exchange for his services, the Umayyad caliphs paid his debts and rewarded him with a regular income, a court in Medina and a large estate in Shaghb wa-Badā.<sup>57</sup> Al-Zuhri asked in his will to be buried in the middle of the inland Egyptian pilgrim road that passed through Shaghb wa-Badā, so that passers-by would pray for him.<sup>58</sup> Ibn Sa'd tells in a report

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<sup>49</sup> Al-Ruṣāfa was situated at a distance of four parasang (= twelve miles) west of al-Raqqā in al-Shām. The caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik either built or renewed it at the time of the plague in al-Shām and stayed there during summers. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 47. It took eight days to travel between al-Ruṣāfa and Damascus. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 510.

<sup>50</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 32-33.

<sup>51</sup> Horovitz, "Al-Zuhri", 1240.

<sup>52</sup> *Ḥajj* = the pilgrimage to Mecca.

<sup>53</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 33 footnote 47.

<sup>54</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 42.

<sup>55</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 54.

<sup>56</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 42, Horovitz, "Al-Zuhri", 1240. Al-Zuhri's nephew describes in a tradition that al-Zuhri and a son of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik had made arrangements to meet at a certain place when Hishām would die. Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd was eager to arrest al-Zuhri, but the latter died several months before Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik. This tradition demonstrates that al-Zuhri remained under Hishām's protection until the end of his life. The crown prince al-Walīd had to wait until his succession to deal with al-Zuhri, which happened (fortunately for al-Zuhri) too late for al-Walīd. Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 180-181 (no. 301).

<sup>57</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 50-53. Lecker deals extensively with the location of al-Zuhri's estate. It was located in the Ḥijāz between the pilgrim roads of Syria and Egypt and belonged to the jurisdiction of Ayla.

<sup>58</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 53-55.



from al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mutawakkil (d. 240/854-855), that the latter saw the grave of al-Zuhri near his estate. He describes it as a white-plastered, elevated grave.<sup>59</sup>

## V. AL-ZUHRI THROUGH THE EYES OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Al-Zuhri is nowadays known as “one of the founders of Islamic tradition in the widest sense of the word”<sup>60</sup> and “one of the leading scholars in Medina during the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.H./8<sup>th</sup> century C.E.”.<sup>61</sup> How did his fellow countrymen regard this wealthy scholar who had linked his life with the Umayyad ruling family? Traditions available to us show an ambivalent attitude towards him.

On the one hand, they admired his achievements. He had studied in Medina with several renowned scholars, such as ‘Abd Allāh ibn Tha‘laba (d. 89/708) with whom al-Zuhri studied the genealogy of his own clan, the Banū Zuhra. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Tha‘laba referred him to Sa‘id ibn al-Musayyab (d. 94/713) when he wanted to study *fiqh*.<sup>62</sup> Al-Zuhri stayed with Sa‘id for six to ten years<sup>63</sup> and called him together with ‘Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (d. 94/713), ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Utba (d. 102/720) and Abū Salama ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 94/713) “the four seas of knowledge”.<sup>64</sup>

Al-Zuhri seems to have been very close to some of his teachers. When he studied with Sa‘id, he sat very close to him. Al-Zuhri said, “My knee touched the knee of Sa‘id ibn al-

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<sup>59</sup> Ibn ‘Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 181 (no. 302). Al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mutawakkil died more than a century later than al-Zuhri. Abū Dāwūd considers him a weak (*da‘if*) transmitter and even al-Ḥusayn’s brother, Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Sarri, warns against transmitting from him, because he is liar (*kadhhab*). Another relative of al-Ḥusayn, Abū ‘Arūba l-Ḥarrānī, calls him a liar as well. Although Ibn Ḥibbān mentions al-Ḥusayn in his *Kitāb al-thiqāt*, he adds the information that al-Ḥusayn made mistakes and used extraordinary words (*yukhḥi’u wa yughribu*). Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, II, 200 (no. 1315).

<sup>60</sup> Lecker, M., “Al-Zuhri”, in: *El*, XI, Leiden, 2002, 565

<sup>61</sup> Motzki, H., “The jurisprudence”, 1.

<sup>62</sup> Lecker, “Al-Zuhri”, 565. *Fiqh* = jurisprudence.

<sup>63</sup> Three students of al-Zuhri mention each a different time span: Sa‘id ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz six years, Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid eight years and Mālik ibn Anas eight and ten years. They all trace their information back to al-Zuhri. Ibn ‘Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 52-54 (no. 42-43 → Sa‘id, no. 45-46 → Ma‘mar and no. 47-48 → Mālik).

<sup>64</sup> Horovitz, “Earliest biographies”, 43-44. Durī mentions Abān ibn ‘Uthmān instead of Abū Salama ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. Durī, “Al-Zuhri”, 1-2. This is probably a mistake since the tradition from ‘Abd al-Razzāq → Ma‘mar → al-Zuhri lists Abū Salama as Horovitz described. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 382.

Musayyab".<sup>65</sup> He followed Sa'id on a journey of three days in search of traditions.<sup>66</sup> Horovitz gives a tradition from al-Zuhri in which the latter mentions that he served 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Utba during his study.<sup>67</sup>

His search for knowledge is recorded several times. He said, "Whenever I frequented the society of a learned man I made sure that I obtained what he possessed. I went to 'Urwa until I heard from him only what was familiar. It was different with 'Ubayd Allāh. Whenever I came to him, I found some new learning."<sup>68</sup> A fellow student of al-Zuhri describes how the latter came forward - pulling his cloak to his chest - to ask questions during a session, while the youth of the others prevented them from doing the same.<sup>69</sup>

He did not only study with scholars, but also went to anybody who might have information for him - young and old, men and women, high and low.<sup>70</sup> Al-Zuhri collected traditions about the *sunna*<sup>71</sup> traced back to Muḥammad as well as to the Prophet's Companions. One colleague of his, Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān (d. after 140/757-758),<sup>72</sup> regretted later on that he did not follow the same practice; he only collected *sunna* traced back to Muḥammad. He remarked, "He succeeded and I failed".<sup>73</sup> They both wrote down traditions from the Prophet, but only al-Zuhri wrote them down from Companions as well.

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<sup>65</sup> [...] *akbbaranā Ma'mar qāla. sami'tu l-Zuhri yaqūlu massat rukbatī rukbat Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab* [...]. Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 53 (no. 45-46).

<sup>66</sup> [...] *'an Mālik ibn Anas arāhu 'an al-Zuhri qāla: tabi'tu Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab thalāth ayyām fī talab hadīth*. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, IX, 345. See also Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 51-52 (no. 41).

<sup>67</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 44; see also Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 55 (no. 50): [...] *'an Mālik ibn Anas 'an Ibn Shihāb qāla: kuntu akhdumu 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Utba ibn Mas'ūd* [...].

<sup>68</sup> [wa-] *'an al-Zuhri: qāla: mā jālastu ahādan min al-'ulamā' illā wa-arā annī qad ataytu 'alā ma 'indahu wa qad kuntu khtalaftu ilā 'Urwa ḥattā mā kuntu asma'u minhu illā ma'ādan mā kbālā 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Utba fa-innahū lam atībī illā wa-jadtu 'indahu 'ilman tarīfan* [in Horovitz's text *ṭarīfan*]. Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 44; see also Ibn Hajar *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, III, 15 ('Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Utba bn Mas'ūd).

<sup>69</sup> [...] *[ḥaddathā]nā Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm (ḥada l-Fadl. ibn Sa'd): qāla. qāla (ya'nī. abāhu): qāla lī abī [Sa'd ibn Ibrāhīm]. mā sabaqanā Ibn Shihāb min al-'ilm bi-shay' illā annā kunnā na'tī fa-yastantilu wa-yashuddu tharwahu 'inda ṣadrīhi wa yas'alu 'ammā yuridu wa-kunnā tumna'unā l-hadātha*. Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 56-57 (a.o. no. 55). See also Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 45-46

<sup>70</sup> Duri, "Al-Zuhri", 2; Horovitz, "Al-Zuhri", 1240.

<sup>71</sup> *Sunna* = a way of acting or conduct of life, especially of the Prophet Muḥammad.

<sup>72</sup> Ṣāliḥ was a contemporary of al-Zuhri who collected traditions together with al-Zuhri, but who also transmitted from him. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, III, 434-435 (no. 2820).

<sup>73</sup> Lecker, "Al-Zuhri", 565. Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 62 (no. 65), al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, III, 434 (no. 2820), Schoeler, G., *Charakter*, 33.

Al-Zuhri seemed to have a remarkable memory, which he tried to improve by the consumption of honey.<sup>74</sup> He disliked apples and the remainder of a beverage in a vessel, because he thought that they would make him forget things and he drank honey in order to strengthen his memory.<sup>75</sup> Al-Zuhri's nephew relates that his uncle learned the Qur'an in eighty days.<sup>76</sup> According to one anecdote, the caliph Hishām once tested al-Zuhri's memory. He asked him to dictate 400 traditions to a scribe. He later returned to al-Zuhri to tell him that the dictation had been "lost" whereupon al-Zuhri dictated the same texts again. Comparison of the two texts showed that not one single letter was left out.<sup>77</sup>

There are many examples of al-Zuhri's generosity and liberality. Horovitz reports a tradition in which a person said that he never had seen anyone to whom *dinārs* and *dirhams* meant so little as they did to al-Zuhri.<sup>78</sup> He used to give away all his money until he had nothing left and then he would borrow from his friends and his slaves.<sup>79</sup> Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/795) spoke of a *mawlā* of al-Zuhri who reminded his patron of his former monetary problems and advised al-Zuhri, after he had become rich, to keep his money to himself.<sup>80</sup>

Some positive remarks about al-Zuhri's qualities as transmitter and scholar are as follows. Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna (d. 198/814) said that al-Zuhri was the most learned person of Medina.<sup>81</sup> 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī (d. 234/849) did not know anyone whose traditions are more satisfactory than from al-Zuhri.<sup>82</sup> Al-Awzā'i (d. 157/774) cried when he passed the grave of al-Zuhri: "Oh grave, how much understanding and knowledge do you contain!"<sup>83</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 46.

<sup>75</sup> [...] *qāla: wa-kāna yakrabu l-tuffāh wa su'r al-fār wa-yaqūlu. innahu yunsī Qāla: wa-kāna yashrabu l-'asal wa yaqūlu. innahu yudhkiru* Ibn 'Asākīr, *al-Zuhri*, 73 (no. 75).

<sup>76</sup> [...] *'an Ibn Akhi Ibn Shihāb qāla. jama'a Ibn Shihāb al-Qur'ān fi thamānina layla.* Ibn 'Asākīr, *al-Zuhri*, 49 (no. 36).

<sup>77</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 46. In the text is written 100 instead of 400 traditions. This is a mistake, since the Arabic text in footnote 2 is *arba' mi'a ḥadīth*. Conrad explains that the printer probably misread the handwritten translation of M. Pickthall and printed 100 instead of 400, Horovitz, *Earliest biographies*, page 34 of the editor's introduction. See also the same tradition in Ibn 'Asākīr, *al-Zuhri*, 89 (no. 102).

<sup>78</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 40.

<sup>79</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 52.

<sup>80</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 41.

<sup>81</sup> [...] *'an Sufyān qāla: kāna Ibn Shihāb a'lama abl al-Madīna.* Ibn 'Asākīr, *al-Zuhri*, 93-94 (no. 111).

<sup>82</sup> [...] *samī'tu 'Alīyyan – ya'nī Ibn al-Madīnī – yaqūlu: lā a'rīfu aḥadan aḥsana ḥadīthan min Ibn Shihāb* Ibn 'Asākīr, *al-Zuhri*, 100 (no. 127).

<sup>83</sup> [...] *'an al-Awza'i annahu marra bi-qabr al-Zuhri fa-qāla. yā qabr kam fi-ka min ḥilm wa-'ilm'* Ibn 'Asākīr, *al-Zuhri*, 181 (no. 303).

On the other hand, however, people of the generation following al-Zuhri's criticised him for his manner of transmitting *ahādīth*. Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (d. 153/770), one of his students, described how a prince came to al-Zuhri with a notebook and asked his approval to transmit it on his authority. Al-Zuhri permitted this without first looking through the book but said, "Who else could have told you the *ḥadīth*?" 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn Ḥaḥṣ ibn 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar (d. 147/764), a great-great-grandson of the second caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭab and a student of al-Zuhri too, gives another example. He reported that he observed how al-Zuhri allowed a student to transmit his book on his authority. He remarked that al-Zuhri did not read the book at that occasion and it was not read out to him. In two other versions of the same story, more details are mentioned: 'Ubayd Allāh himself was the student and the book was presented to al-Zuhri folded, to emphasize that he did not read it.<sup>84</sup> A possible explanation of al-Zuhri's behaviour is that he trusted his students' transmission from him.

Ma'mar disassociated himself from this accusation by stressing that he had received his traditions from al-Zuhri in a correct way: he read them out to al-Zuhri, who in turn authorized him to transmit it in his name.<sup>85</sup> The same applied to Sufyān al-Thawri (d. 161/778), who received a book from al-Zuhri with the latter's permission to transmit it on his authority. Sufyān said that he did not transmit one single letter from it.<sup>86</sup>

A second accusation of Ma'mar with respect to the transmission of traditions was that al-Zuhri employed the same method as al-Ḥakam ibn 'Uṭayba: both used to combine traditions of two or more informants in one report without specification of the person who is responsible for the text of the *matn*.<sup>87</sup> The results from the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of the tradition about the night journey showed that although al-Zuhri traced all his traditions back to Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab, similar traditions from other persons mentioned other sources. Did al-Zuhri do what Ma'mar accused him of in the above-mentioned report? For example, the conclusion from the analysis of the traditions about the night journey was that

<sup>84</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 30.

<sup>85</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 31.

<sup>86</sup> [...] *fa-akhraja ilayya kitāban fa-qāla. khudh hādha fa-rwih bi 'annī fa-ma rawaytu 'anhu ḥarfan*. Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 151-152 (no. 242).

<sup>87</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 29. Lecker mentions in footnote 33 on the same page a variant tradition in which Ma'mar adds that there are examples of the above mentioned practice in al-Zuhri's transmission from 'Urwa [ibn al-Zubayr] and Sālim [ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar] See in Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, LV, 353: [...] *sami'a 'Abd al-Razzāq qāla: qāla Ma'mar kana l-Zuhri fi aṣḥābihī mithl al-Ḥakam fi aṣḥābihī yarwī 'an 'Urwa wa Sālim al-shay' ka-dhalika*.

the partial correspondence of each tradition to different formulations from different traditions suggests that the transmitters who distributed the traditions, i.e. the common links in the *asānīd*, probably knew several versions and combined them into one story.<sup>88</sup> Although there was no further evidence to support al-Zuhri's claim that he received his information from Sa'īd, we cannot exclude that al-Zuhri received one or more parts of the tradition from Sa'īd.

Another serious criticism made towards al-Zuhri concerned his intimate relation with the Umayyad court. Horovitz and Lecker both report the exclamation of Makhūl<sup>89</sup> (d. around 118/736), "What a man is al-Zuhri: If only he had not spoilt himself by his association with the king!"<sup>90</sup> Lecker relates furthermore a tradition about how 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd (d. 144/761) once reprimanded a man for being in the company of the "kerchief of the rulers" (*mandīl al-umarā*). Even Mālik ibn Anas, one of the most famous *ḥadīth* scholars and student of al-Zuhri, seems to have criticised al-Zuhri for using his knowledge to obtain worldly gains. Lecker mentions that one later traditionist, Yahyā ibn Ma'in (d. 233/847), preferred the transmission of another scholar because of al-Zuhri's connection with caliphs.<sup>91</sup>

Notwithstanding the criticism on his manner of transmission and his relation with the Umayyads, it did not prevent al-Zuhri's contemporaries and later generations to

<sup>88</sup> Another possibility was that the common links had transmitted several versions on the same subject, but only one survived or prevailed over the other versions. See chapter 3, page 188.

<sup>89</sup> He is Makhūl al-Shāmi, Abu 'Abd Allāh, who lived in Damascus around the same time as al-Zuhri. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 216-219 (no. 6763).

<sup>90</sup> Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 45; Lecker, "Biographical notes", 34. Ibn 'Asākir gives, however, another tradition from the same Makhūl in which a person (this might be Abū Bakr ibn Abi Maryam as mentioned in a variant tradition) asked Makhūl who was the most learned person he had ever met. Makhūl answered Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri. When asked who was the next best, Makhūl replied "Ibn Shihāb". The third most learned person was again Ibn Shihāb. Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 121-123 (no. 175-177). Other traditions that contain positive remarks from Makhūl about al-Zuhri's qualities as scholar are: 119-121 (no. 171-174).

<sup>91</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 34-35. The question asked to Yahyā was which of the three transmission from 'Ā'isha he preferred, from Manṣūr -> Ibrāhīm -> al-Aswad -> 'Ā'isha, Hishām ibn 'Urwa -> his father [I'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr] -> 'Ā'isha or al-Zuhri -> 'Urwa -> 'Ā'isha. Yahyā replied that the transmissions from Hishām and al-Zuhri were equal, but he preferred the transmission from Manṣūr, because of al-Zuhri's connection with caliphs. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 513 (no. 6197), footnote 2. The remark of Yahyā ibn Ma'in concerned only the above-mentioned transmission and not the complete oeuvre of al-Zuhri. Furthermore, Ibn Ṭahmān said in another tradition about the authority of Yahyā ibn al-Ma'in that al-Zuhri is trustworthy and his traditions are sound (*ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥadīth ihīqa*). Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 513 (no. 6197), footnote 2.

transmit from al-Zuhri in vast amounts. For example, the percentage of traditions from al-Zuhri in the *maghāzī*-chapter of *al-Muṣannaf* from 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211/827), an early source for the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, is 64.4%.<sup>92</sup> In addition, al-Zuhri could count among his students some of the most renowned scholars of the following generations: Mūsā ibn 'Uqba (d. 141/758), Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767), Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (d. 153/770), Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/795) and Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna (d. 198/814).

## VI. AL-ZUHRI THROUGH THE EYES OF MODERN SCHOLARS

The modern discussion about the influence of al-Zuhri's relation with the Umayyad caliphs on his work really started in 1889 when Goldziher published his book *Muhammedanische Studien*. He is of the opinion that al-Zuhri helped the Umayyads to bring into circulation *aḥādīth* that supported their political views, such as the before-mentioned tradition of the Three Places of Worship, although he believes that al-Zuhri did this for reasons of state expedience and not out of selfish motives given the numerous traditions about his selflessness. He considers the tradition in which al-Zuhri allowed an Umayyad prince to transmit a notebook without checking it to be proof of this practice.<sup>93</sup> The following discussion will show that neither this tradition nor al-Zuhri's tradition about the Three Places of Worship can be considered unambiguously as pro-Umayyad traditions.

Horowitz does not believe that al-Zuhri invented *aḥādīth* to promote the interests of the Umayyads. He says, however, that al-Zuhri's practice made it possible for the Umayyads to transmit traditions that he himself never knew.<sup>94</sup> The reason why he allowed the transmission of a notebook without checking its contents was that he was very eager to pass on his knowledge to others unlike many of his own teachers who could only be brought to speak with difficulty.<sup>95</sup>

Sezgin argues that al-Zuhri allowed this kind of transmission for a practical reason. People came to him with notebooks to get an *isnād* from him and to transmit them in his name. Since it was practically impossible for al-Zuhri to read all texts or to hear them read

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<sup>92</sup> van der Voort, "Kitāb al maghāzī", 15-31. This article is based on my M.A.-thesis *Zoektocht naar de waarheid met behulp van het Kitāb al maghāzī in de Musannaf van 'Abd al Razzāq b Hammām al Ṣan'ānī* (gest. 211/827), Radboud University Nijmegen, 1996.

<sup>93</sup> Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 35-38.

<sup>94</sup> Horowitz, "Earliest biographies", 48.

<sup>95</sup> Horowitz, "Al-Zuhri", 1240.

aloud, he allowed them to be transmitted without *samā'* or *qirā'a*. According to Sezgin, scholars like Goldziher who regard this practice as proof that al-Zuhri made it possible for the Umayyads to legitimize their political views, have misunderstood this habit.<sup>96</sup>

Duri also mentions that al-Zuhri allowed persons to transmit on his authority without further requirements, but he does not give his opinion on what the consequences could be from this practice. He was convinced that al-Zuhri was free from Umayyad influence because of a tradition in which it is told how the caliph Hishām and al-Zuhri once had an argument about the identity of the persons who tried to exaggerate the slander of 'Ā'isha. Al-Zuhri answered that it was 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy, but Hishām told him that he was wrong and that the person was 'Alī. Al-Zuhri became very angry and refused to change his opinion.<sup>97</sup>

Lecker rejects the attempts of Duri and other scholars who use the tradition of the argument between Hishām and al-Zuhri as proof that al-Zuhri was not influenced by the Umayyads. He says that al-Zuhri might have enjoyed freedom of speech after decades of close association with the Umayyad court.<sup>98</sup> Lecker approves of Goldziher's analysis of al-Zuhri's relationship with the Umayyads: "Goldziher's brilliant analysis of his links with the ruling family still holds. If anything, like good wine it improves with time."<sup>99</sup> In his view even a small mistake by Goldziher concerning the practice of al-Zuhri to allow persons to transmit a notebook without reading or hearing it, did not affect Goldziher's overall interpretation of the text.<sup>100</sup>

Lecker points out that Goldziher perhaps overlooked the fact that in the tradition mentioned above al-Zuhri did not allow just any notebook to be transmitted on his authority, but a notebook that was supposed to contain his own traditions. He argues that the focal point in the tradition is that al-Zuhri could not have known that the notebook contained only his traditions and not other texts. Because of this, he could have made it possible for the Umayyads to promote their interests through his name.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 280-281. He explains that *samā'* means that the student hears the text from the teacher, while *qirā'a* means that the student reads the text to the teacher.

<sup>97</sup> Duri, "Al-Zuhri", 11-12.

<sup>98</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 33 and 37

<sup>99</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 22.

<sup>100</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 29.

<sup>101</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 28.

Many traditions describe al-Zuhri's long relationship with the Umayyad ruling family and not one scholar denies this fact. It seems therefore implausible to describe al-Zuhri as a completely independent scholar. He would probably not have worked so long for different caliphs and obtained very influential jobs as judge and even as tutor of the caliph Hishām's sons, if he had disagreed with their policies. Still, this does not mean that al-Zuhri must be regarded as a puppet of the Umayyads.

Furthermore, a scholar who only propagated the Umayyad view and thereby turned away from the traditions of the learned scholars of his native town would not have been able to become one of the leading scholars in Medina during the first quarter of the second century A.H. Despite the criticism of his contemporaries of his manner of transmission and his relation with the Umayyad caliphs, the different students of al-Zuhri who later became very famous scholars and the numerous numbers of traditions transmitted by them and others on his authority indicate his large influence on *hadith*-science in general.

Al-Zuhri's practice to allow his students (probably only the ones he considered reliable) to transmit traditions on his authority without hearing or reading them, could mean that other traditions as well were transmitted in his name already during his lifetime and unwittingly authorized by him. The results that have been reached so far with the methods of source analysis and the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis indicate however that a larger part of the traditions ascribed to al-Zuhri than was thought before can be attributed to him and that it is possible to detect traditions falsely ascribed to him.<sup>102</sup> These traditions are unrelated to the accusation that he transmitted pro-Umayyad reports, and thus far, no such traditions have been detected in the *hadith*-material. This does not exclude a pro-Umayyad

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<sup>102</sup> See for example Motzki, *The jurisprudence*



tendency in al-Zuhri's *ḥadīth*-material, for example by withholding or softening of certain unfavourable information about the Umayyad family and its predecessors.<sup>103</sup>

## VII. WRITING DOWN OF TRADITIONS

Contemporary scholars generally agree that al-Zuhri started writing down traditions at a very early stage in his life. Several traditions sustain this view. Al-Zuhri seems to have written down traditions from his student days onwards. Ibn Abi l-Zinād<sup>104</sup> (d. 174/790) tells that his father, a fellow student of al-Zuhri, saw al-Zuhri with tablets or pieces of skin on which he wrote down the tradition, when he was still a student.<sup>105</sup> Mālik relates that mules carried the books of al-Zuhri after his death.<sup>106</sup> Even the Umayyad caliph al-Walid II, who disliked al-Zuhri because he had criticized him once, did not destroy al-Zuhri's books when he came to

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<sup>103</sup> One example of a pro-Umayyad tendency is a possible Zuhri-tradition about Hind bint 'Utba and the mutilation of the body of Ḥamza, the uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad, at Uḥud. Hind was the mother of Mu'āwīya, who founded the Umayyad ruling dynasty. The traditions ascribed to al-Zuhri do not mention Hind's attempt to eat the liver of Ḥamza. Al-Zuhri's relation with the Umayyads may have prevented him from mentioning this part or this motif may have been created after al-Zuhri. Three different persons ascribe the tradition to al-Zuhri. Although it was not possible to determine whether the traditions actually derive from al-Zuhri because of the lack of variant traditions, the similarity in content and formulation in the part about the mutilation of Ḥamza's body indicate that this part is probably from al-Zuhri. The traditions are from Mūsā ibn 'Uqba (d. 141/758), Usāma ibn Zayd (n.d.) and Khālid ibn Makhlad (d. 213/828). Mūsā does not mention al-Zuhri (or any other person) as his informant, but there are indications that this tradition is from al-Zuhri. The tradition is placed at the end of a detailed tradition from Mūsā from al-Zuhri and the second part of Mūsā's tradition about the burial of Ḥamza is present in another tradition ascribed to al-Zuhri. See Mūsā ibn 'Uqba, *al-Maghāzī*, 190. Several persons transmit the tradition from Usāma ibn Zayd → al-Zuhri. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt* III, 14-15; Ibn Abi Shayba, *al-Musannaf*, VII, 367 (no. 36752) and 'Abd ibn Humayd, *al-Muntakhab min musnad 'Abd ibn Humayd*, Beirut 1988, 352-353. Khālid's tradition is from Ibn Abi Shayba, *al-Musannaf*, VII, 372 (no. 36787) and Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt*, III, 13. See my discussion of these traditions in van der Voort, "Hind bint 'Utba", 48-49.

<sup>104</sup> He is Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abi l-Zinād. He originated from Medina and was a *maula* of the Quraysh. His father's name is 'Abd Allāh ibn Dhakwān. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 399 (no. 3804).

<sup>105</sup> [...] 'an Ibn Abi l-Zinād 'an abīhi qāla: baṣara 'aynī bi-Ibn Shihāb ma'ahu alwāḥ aw ṣuḥuf yaktubu fihā l-ḥadīth wa-buwa yata'allamu yawma'idh al-aḥādīth. Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 56 (no. 53).

<sup>106</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 91-92 (no. 106).

the throne, because Ma'mar relates that after the death of the caliph al-Walid II pack animals carried the notebooks (*daṣātir*) of al-Zuhri from the treasure house.<sup>107</sup>

Still, there exist several traditions relating al-Zuhri's dislike of recording traditions. Al-Zuhri put himself among the persons who opposed the writing down of traditions. According to Ma'mar, he said, "we used to dislike recording traditions" (*kunnā nakrahu kitāb al-'ilm*).<sup>108</sup> Al-Layth ibn Sa'd (d. 175/791), a student of al-Zuhri, reports that al-Zuhri sat down one night to memorize a tradition and did not leave that place until dawn.<sup>109</sup> Other examples are the reports on al-Zuhri possessing only one or two books and the traditions from Mālik ibn Anas in which al-Zuhri confirms that he does not write.<sup>110</sup>

The above-mentioned traditions about whether al-Zuhri did or did not like to write down traditions seem to be contradictory. Schoeler argues that a partial solution to the contradictions might be that al-Zuhri at first opposed the writing down of traditions, but later on circumstances forced him to turn gradually to transmission by means of writing.<sup>111</sup>

Particularly the second caliph 'Umar (reigned 13-23/634-644) is attributed a harsh opposition against the writing down of traditions about the Prophet, because he and other orthodox men were afraid that a book with traditions from the Prophet would gain the same authority as the Qur'ān.<sup>112</sup> Even during the time of al-Zuhri, it was still the opinion of scholars that traditions should be memorized by heart and not (or only for a short time) written down.<sup>113</sup>

Horovitz and others describe the writings composed by al-Zuhri as a student, as notes for personal use.<sup>114</sup> The scholars and students who had this kind of notes did not intend to make them public, but used them as a mnemonic device. Sometimes they even

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<sup>107</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 92 (no. 107). Cook refers furthermore to traditions no. 58, 109 and 110 from Ibn 'Asākir. Cook, M., "The opponents of the writing of tradition in early Islam", in *Arabica*, 44 (1997), 460.

<sup>108</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 62-63 (no. 66). The complete tradition will be discussed below.

<sup>109</sup> [...] *ḥaddathanā l-Layth ibn Sa'd qāla: jalasa l-Zuhri dhāt layla yudhākiru nafsahu l-hadīth fa-mā zāla dhālika majlisuhu ḥattā aṣbaḥa*. Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 85 (no. 95).

<sup>110</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 86-87 (no. 98-99 -> possession of books) and 77-82 (no. 81-83, 85-87 and 89 -> Mālik ibn Anas). See also Schoeler, *Charakter*, 33 and Cook, "The opponents", 459.

<sup>111</sup> Schoeler, *Charakter*, 33 and *The genesis*, 48.

<sup>112</sup> Kister, M.J., "Lā taqrā'u l-qur'ana 'alā l-mushafīyyin wa-lā taḥmilū l-'ilma 'anī l-ṣaḥāfiyyin . . Some notes on the transmission of Ḥadīth", in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 22(1998), 134-135.

<sup>113</sup> Schoeler, *Charakter*, 34 Motzki, *Origins*, 264

<sup>114</sup> Horovitz, *Earliest biographies*, 47; Azami, *Studies in hadīth methodology*, 30; Schoeler, *Charakter*, 35.

erased their notes after memorizing the tradition. 'Ikrima'<sup>115</sup> relates that he and al-Zuhri once went to al-A'raj to attend a session. Al-Zuhri did not write down the tradition from al-A'raj at first, but then took one of al-A'raj's papers, wrote the tradition down, read it (or memorized it according to a variant tradition) and erased it.<sup>116</sup> Schoeler points out, however, that other traditions indicate that al-Zuhri wrote down many traditions without erasing them as soon as possible.<sup>117</sup>

Schoeler distinguishes three kinds of notes: 1) unstructured notes for private use, 2) more or less worked out notebooks for teaching purposes and 3) edited books or collections for readers. The scholars generally used writings of the second type for lectures and they sometimes allowed students to copy these texts. They had no intention to make the writings of the first type accessible to the public. Schoeler concludes that al-Zuhri possessed writings of all three kinds.<sup>118</sup>

The results from the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of the traditions about the expedition to Tabūk, the raid of the Hudhayl and the night journey confirm Schoeler's conclusion. The uniformity of the traditions from students as 'Uqayl (Tabūk)<sup>119</sup>, Yūnus (Tabūk, night journey), al-Zuhri's nephew (Tabūk) and Ibn Ishāq (Tabūk)<sup>120</sup> indicate that al-Zuhri had

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<sup>115</sup> This person is either Muḥammad ibn 'Ikrima ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān or his father 'Ikrima ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. In the traditions from Ibn 'Asākir that describe this event, two traditions (no. 62 and 63) mention 'Ikrima and one Muḥammad ibn 'Ikrima (no. 64). Father and son transmitted from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz al-A'raj and al-Zuhri transmitted from both of them. It seems however more likely, that the son is the correct person, because Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, who relates all three traditions from "'Ikrima", transmits only from Muḥammad ibn 'Ikrima, and 'Ikrima died before al-A'raj during the caliphate of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (101-105/720-724). Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 60-62 (no. 62-64); Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, V, 207 (no. 4596) and VI, 440-441 (no. 6066). Schoeler identifies him as 'Ikrima ibn 'Ammār, but this is a mistake since 'Ikrima ibn 'Ammār is from a later generation than al-Zuhri and al-Mizzī does not mention any connection with al-A'raj and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. Schoeler, *Charakter*, 33. Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb*, V, 208-209 (no. 4597).

<sup>116</sup> See also Horowitz, "Earliest biographies", 46 on the same tradition.

<sup>117</sup> Schoeler, *Charakter*, 33.

<sup>118</sup> Schoeler, *Charakter*, 35 and *The genesis*, 49.

<sup>119</sup> The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of the tradition(s) between brackets showed that the student in question received the standard, edited version from al-Zuhri.

<sup>120</sup> Although the traditions from Ibn Ishāq differ from the versions of the other students who received al-Zuhri's standard, edited version, they still derive from the same text of al-Zuhri, because they contain the same formulations and themes that are specific for al-Zuhri's later edited version of the story. Ibn Ishāq is most probably responsible for the changes in the text.

standard, written texts that he transmitted. The evidence that al-Zuhri had edited these traditions points to writings of the third type

Other pupils who transmitted (part of) the edited version of al-Zuhri were 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (Tabuk), 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Namir (Tabuk), 'Abd al-Wahhāb (night journey), al-Awzā'i (Tabuk), Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il (Tabuk, Hudhayl, night journey), Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd (Hudhayl, night journey), Ishāq ibn Rashīd (Tabūk), Ma'qil (Tabūk), Marzūq (night journey), Ṣalīḥ ibn Abī l-Akhḍar (Tabūk) and Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamza (Tabūk, Hudhayl, night journey).

The deviating formulations and content of the traditions from Ma'mar point to writings of the first and/or the second type. Ma'mar most probably received the tradition about Tabūk through oral transmission based on written notes. Either al-Zuhri based himself on personal notes (first type) or he transmitted orally from a notebook (second type). Ma'mar's traditions about the raid of the Hudhayl and the night journey differ from the versions of the other students, but to a lesser extent than his tradition about Tabūk. The results from the analysis of the traditions about the raid of the Hudhayl and the night journey might indicate that al-Zuhri had more or less worked out notes, i.e. a notebook, which he edited later on (transition from second to third type of writing).

Of course, al-Zuhri did not edit all his traditions at the same time and consequently there must have been a transition period. Yūnus and Ishāq ibn Rāshīd, whose Tabuk-traditions contained peculiarities of the edited version as well as topics that were only present in the version of Ma'mar, had perhaps access to writings of the second and third type of al-Zuhri. This may certainly have happened in the case of Yunus, because he studied with al-Zuhri for quite a long time (12-14 years) and was a close friend of his.<sup>121</sup>

What kind of circumstance would have made al-Zuhri abandon his dislike of writing down traditions and start preparing standard versions? According to al-Zuhri, one circumstance was the number of unknown traditions from the east, i.e. Iraq.<sup>122</sup> Another circumstance may have been the pressure of students to obtain al-Zuhri's traditions in a much easier way, as Schoeler mentions. Al-Zuhri used to recite his traditions at first from memory or based on notes, but reports on students receiving al-Zuhri's notebook or his

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<sup>121</sup> Al Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 221 (no 7783)

<sup>122</sup> Schoeler, G., "Mündliche Thora und Hadith Überlieferung, Schreibverbot, Redaktion", in *Der Islam*, 66 (1989), 230, Ibn 'Asakir, *al-Zuhri*, 60 (no 61b)

authorisation to transmit a book with his traditions<sup>123</sup> show that he eventually turned to transmission by *munāwala*.<sup>124</sup>

Finally, the pressure of the Umayyad court seems to have played an important role. Al-Zuhri says in a tradition that "these emirs", i.e. the Umayyad caliphs, forced him to start writing down traditions. The complete text of the tradition is "*kunnā nakrabu kitāb al-ʿilm ḥattā akrāhana ʿalayhi hāʾulāʾ al-umarāʾ fa-raʾaynā an la namnaʾahu aḥadan min al-muslimīn*" (we used to dislike recording traditions, until these emirs forced us to do it, after which we thought that we could not withhold it from any Muslim).<sup>125</sup> Modern scholars disagree about the meaning of the tradition.

Goldziher translates the tradition along the lines of the translation given above: the writing down of traditions as opposed to memorizing.<sup>126</sup> Schoeler, Lecker and Kister agree with Goldziher's translation and dismiss Sezgin's interpretation that the word "*kitāb*" refers to the transmission of traditions by means of *kitāba*, i.e. copying the text without reading it aloud to the teacher or hearing it from him.<sup>127</sup> Duri considers al-Zuhri's statement as a possible "later echo of traditionists".<sup>128</sup> Schoeler disagrees with him. He states that the tradition indeed originates from Maʿmar, a student of al-Zuhri, and considers it completely unlikely that Maʿmar invented it, although he adds that Maʿmar, or perhaps even al-Zuhri, might have coloured the report by using the word "forced".<sup>129</sup>

The biographical sources identify three persons of the Umayyad court who apparently ordered al-Zuhri to write down some or all of his traditions. The caliph ʿUmar II (reigned 99-101/717-720) ordered al-Zuhri to compose a written document (*daftar*) on the *sunan* of Muḥammad.<sup>130</sup> Khālid ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Qaṣrī (d. 126/743-744), governor of Iraq and the east during the caliphate of Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik<sup>131</sup>, seems to have asked al-

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<sup>123</sup> See Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Zuhri*, 151-152 (no. 239-241).

<sup>124</sup> Schoeler, *Charakter*, 34. Motzki, *Origins*, 279-280. See also page 322 on the criticism of al-Zuhri's contemporaries on this kind of transmission.

<sup>125</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Zuhri*, 62-63 (no. 66)

<sup>126</sup> Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 38.

<sup>127</sup> Schoeler, "Mundliche Thora", 228-229. Lecker, "Biographical notes", 24-25. Kister even calls Sezgin's attempt "far-fetched"; see Kister, "Lā taqraʾū", 157, especially footnote 157

<sup>128</sup> Duri, "al-Zuhri", 12

<sup>129</sup> Schoeler, "Mundliche Thora", 229.

<sup>130</sup> Kister, "Lā taqraʾū", 156; Schoeler, *Charakter*, 48.

<sup>131</sup> The caliph Hishām replaced Khālid however in the last years of his caliphate Kennedy, H., *The Prophet and the age of the caliphates*, London 1986, 108 and 111.

Zuhri to compile a book about genealogy, but ordered him after a couple of days to write a *maghāzī*-book instead.<sup>132</sup>

Several reports describe al-Zuhri dictating traditions by order of the caliph Hishām. Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd (d. 183/799) tells that he heard al-Zuhri relate to his father that Hishām ordered him to write down or dictate his traditions for Hishām's sons. Hishām sent one secretary, who wrote down al-Zuhri's traditions each day throughout one year.<sup>133</sup> There exists a variant tradition from Ibrāhīm in which al-Zuhri tells that the person who came to him with Hishām's order was Sālim, Hishām's secretary. Hishām sent two secretaries instead of one. The remaining part of the tradition is similar to the first version.<sup>134</sup>

Lecker mentions a tradition from al-Zuhri's nephew in which the latter states that his uncle used to stop dictating to the secretaries of Hishām, when he (i.e. al-Zuhri's nephew) went to the lavatory. Lecker considers this tradition possibly authentic, because the information that al-Zuhri dictated traditions to Hishām's secretaries "forms the background to the account; it is something taken for granted."<sup>135</sup>

The same method of looking at the background information could be applied to the tradition about Hishām asking al-Zuhri to repeat his dictation of 400 traditions, which Schoeler quotes in this respect.<sup>136</sup> The most important component of the tradition is that al-Zuhri was able to repeat 400 traditions for the second time after one month without any difference. The information that Hishām ordered al-Zuhri to dictate is background information.

The biographical sources contain much information on the circumstances that might have forced al-Zuhri to abandon his objection to the writing down of traditions. Unfortunately, they do not provide specified dates most of the time. Still, it might be possible to draw a rough time schedule if we combine the information from biographical traditions about the life of al-Zuhri and his students with the results from the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of al-Zuhri's traditions.

Ma'mar seems to have been an early student of al-Zuhri based on the results of the analysis. Ma'mar died in 153/770 in Ṣan'ā' in Yemen at the age of 58.<sup>137</sup> If we assume that his

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<sup>132</sup> Schoeler, *Charakter*, 47; Horovitz, "Earliest biographies", 49.

<sup>133</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 87-88 (no. 100).

<sup>134</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Zuhri*, 88-89 (no. 101).

<sup>135</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes", 26.

<sup>136</sup> Schoeler, *Charakter*, 48 I mention the same tradition on page 321.

<sup>137</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, LIX, 419-420 (no. 757)

age is roughly correct, then he was born around 95-96/713-714.<sup>138</sup> When Ma‘mar was a *ghulām* (a young man)<sup>139</sup>, he was a student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in the same year that al-Ḥasan died, i.e. 110/728. Furthermore, the biographical traditions inform us that Ma‘mar studied for three years with Qatāda (d. 117/735) in Baṣra and that he was fourteen at that time.<sup>140</sup> His study with Qatāda took place from 110/728 to 113/731. Since al-Zuhri died in 124/742, Ma‘mar studied with al-Zuhri somewhere between 113 and 124 A.H. The most probable date seems to be the year 113 A.H.

Al-Zuhri worked for the caliph Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik during this period. We have already discussed above several traditions that describe al-Zuhri dictating his traditions to one or more secretaries of Hishām. Lecker identifies Shu‘ayb and Yūnus as secretaries who wrote down al-Zuhri’s traditions.<sup>141</sup> Furthermore, he gives a tradition that names ‘Uqayl as the person who conveyed Hishām’s order to al-Zuhri to dictate his traditions.<sup>142</sup> The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis showed that these three persons transmitted al-Zuhri’s edited version.

Lecker says that the biographical reports on the writing down of traditions should not be seen as “straightforward historical records”, but as “apologetic statements made in the heated debate over the techniques of transmitting *ḥadīth*”.<sup>143</sup> In any case, it seems very likely that Hishām was the person who incited al-Zuhri to prepare standard versions of his *maghāzī*-traditions, because three persons who worked as secretaries for Hishām transmitted al-Zuhri’s later, edited version.

It is not possible to determine, based on the information from the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis, why Hishām had asked al-Zuhri to dictate his traditions to the secretaries. The information that Hishām wanted the traditions for his sons might be true, but it is also possible that there was another – perhaps not recorded – reason.

Hishām ordering al-Zuhri to dictate his traditions and al-Zuhri preparing standard, edited versions of his traditions seem therefore to be related. Both events did probably not take place at the beginning of Hishām’s reign (105-125/724-743), because Ma‘mar, whose

<sup>138</sup> Al-Dhahabī mentions these same two years as possible years of birth, *Siyar*, VII, 5.

<sup>139</sup> Lane specifies the word *ghulām* with “a young man, youth, boy, or male child whose moustache is growing forth or has grown forth” or “one from the time of his birth until he attains to the period termed *shabāb* [meaning young manhood]”, *Lexicon*, II, 2286-2287.

<sup>140</sup> Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rikh*, LIX, 395-396 (no. 7574)

<sup>141</sup> Lecker, “Biographical notes”, 27-28.

<sup>142</sup> Lecker, “Biographical notes”, 26.

<sup>143</sup> Lecker, “Biographical notes”, 25

versions probably predated al-Zuhri's edited traditions, studied with al-Zuhri from 113/728 at the earliest.

Yūnus, whose traditions contain some old elements as well as elements specific for the edition version of al-Zuhri, accompanied al-Zuhri 12-14 years. If we assume that this happened at the end of al-Zuhri's life, Yūnus would have been in contact with al-Zuhri from (110-)112-124/730-742. The information on Ma'mar and Yūnus suggests that al-Zuhri started preparing writings of the third kind in the last decade of his life. Of course, al-Zuhri did not edit all his traditions at the same time, so he probably had a transition period in which he used documents of the second and third type.

Another explanation is that Yūnus had access to al-Zuhri's edited version specifically prepared for the court as well as to the older, not edited versions that al-Zuhri had passed down to other students outside the court. The large similarity of Yunus' version with the traditions of other persons who worked for the Umayyad family indicate that he used the edited text as the main text and added parts or elements of the "older" material that al-Zuhri had left out in his newest version. This would mean that Ma'mar only knew the older version. This is not to say that all Ma'mar's material from al-Zuhri deviates as much from the edited version as his version about the three who remained behind from Tabuk. Al-Zuhri seems to have adapted some traditions less than others.

## VII. CONCLUSION

The Medinan scholar Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri had a very long and close relationship with the Umayyad ruling family, which was at its height during his work for the caliph Hishām. The ambivalent attitude of his contemporaries towards him extends to our era, when modern scholars still question his independence. The question raised at the beginning of this chapter was whether al-Zuhri was a puppet of the Umayyad caliphs or an independent scholar. The answer lies probably somewhere in between. It seems implausible that al-Zuhri was a completely independent scholar, since he worked for a long time for the Umayyad family under several caliphs and obtained influential jobs. To describe al-Zuhri as a puppet is probably too extreme, however; there is no conclusive proof that he fabricated *ahādīth* in favour of them.

The Umayyad court and especially the caliph Hishām seem to have played an important role in inciting al-Zuhri to write down his traditions. Although some biographical traditions state that al-Zuhri had an aversion to writing, he probably used



written notes from an early time onwards. It is not clear when al-Zuhri switched from notes for personal use to notebooks, but there is evidence that somewhere around 113/731 he used notebooks in his teaching. The caliph Hishām probably persuaded al-Zuhri to prepare books for his family during the last ten to fifteen years of his life.

Al-Zuhri seems to have gone too far in his transmission through writing, since his contemporaries criticised him also for his manner of transmission. Their criticism did not prevent them, however, from transmitting from al-Zuhri in vast amounts. His reputation as scholar and his knowledge of traditions about many subjects outweighed their criticisms.

# Appendix 9: Schematic overview of al-Zuhri's biographical data

50	}	<u>year of birth*</u>					
51							
			}	<i>Umayyad</i>			
56	*					<i>caliphate</i>	*->
58	*			*->	in 72/73 al-Zuhri 14 years ḥadīth authority		
					to caliph ‘Abd		
64	[13-]	<u>delegation to</u>	}	caliphate Marwān	al-Malik		
65	15] <sup>144</sup>	<u>caliph Marwān</u>					
			b. al-Ḥakam				
71	}	<u>in Damascus</u>					
72		<u>&amp; meeting with caliph</u>					
		<u>‘Abd al-Malik</u>	- completion place of worship at Jerusalem				
			& rebellion of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr				
73			- defeat and death of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr				
			caliphate ‘Abd al-Malik				
82	[32]				- revolt Ibn al-Ash‘ath		
83	}	<u>in Egypt</u>					
86					- appointment of Hishām b. Ismā‘il b. al-Makhzūmī as governor in Medina (83-87)		
89	[39]						
			caliphate al-Walid I				
94			}	caliphate Sulaymān	- death Sa‘id b. al-Musayyib & ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr		
		<i>student</i>					
99	[49]	<i>qāḍī</i>	}	caliphate ‘Umar II			
101	[51]						
102			}	caliphate Yazid II	- death ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Utba		
		<i>qāḍī</i>					
105	}						
		<u>at al-Ruṣāfa</u>					
110			}	caliphate Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik	- death al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī & start study Yūnus		
113		<i>teacher</i>				- start study Ma‘mar	
124	[72]	<u>year of death</u>	}				
125							

<sup>144</sup> [x] Approximate age based on a year of birth between 50-52 A.H.

## CHAPTER 6

### FINAL CONCLUSIONS

The importance of the life of the Prophet Muhammad (*sīra*) for Muslims is evident from its use in a large variety of works dealing with many fields of study. Muhammad's life is essential for jurisprudence and for the exegesis of the Qur'an. In order to understand or explain certain Qur'anic verses, Qur'an commentators looked at Muhammad's life for clues about the occasion of their revelation. The *sunna* of Muhammad, i.e. Muhammad's deeds or sayings, became the second most important source for Islamic law after the Qur'an. Almost all information about the Prophet Muhammad is available in the form of traditions (*ahadīth*, sing. *hadīth*) handed down by his followers.

Today, the traditions about Muhammad's life are found in collections that were compiled not earlier than approximately 200 years after his death. The question raised by some scholars is whether these traditions describe real events or reflect later developments in Islam. Do they describe history or legend or something in between? The chains of transmitters (*asanīd*, sing. *isnad*) can help us to answer these questions, since reports about events in his life are mostly preceded by an *isnad*, which purports to describe the transmission path of the tradition, i.e. the persons from whom the compiler of the collection in which the tradition is found received his information, up till the eyewitness of the event in question.

In the chains of transmitters of traditions concerning the life of the Prophet Muhammad, one name occurs frequently: Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri (d. 124/742). He was a Medinan scholar who had studied with several renowned scholars, such as 'Abd Allah ibn Tha'laba (d. 89/708), Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab (d. 94/713) and 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (d. 94/713), and worked for a number of Umayyad caliphs for many years until his death in 124/742. He was one of the leading scholars in Medina during the first quarter of the second century A.H./eighth century C.E.

Because of al-Zuhri's fame as one of the first systematic collectors and transmitters of traditions concerning Muhammad and the first generations of Muslims and the large number of Zuhri-traditions in the collections available to us nowadays, he seems to be perfectly cast for the role of fabricator of *sīra*-material. Even among his contemporaries his position was controversial because of his connection with several Umayyad caliphs and his

manner of transmission, although at the same time, they regard him as an excellent scholar with a great knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence, the biography of Muḥammad and other sciences. Therefore, I decided to study his *sīra*-material and I examined two questions: 1) Do the traditions ascribed to al-Zuhri really go back to him? 2) If so, can his claim be substantiated that he received the traditions from the informant mentioned in the *isnād*?

In this study I have analysed three stories ascribed to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri in various traditions using the *isnād-cum-matn* method of analysis. The main criteria of the selection of the three stories were that the story had to consist of several different text elements and that - according to the information from the chains of transmitters - it was preserved by at least three different students of al-Zuhri and came from different informants of al-Zuhri. The next step was to analyse as many variants as possible on the basis of a wide range of sources, in order to check whether the traditions really go back to al-Zuhri and, if possible, to reconstruct his original wording. When it was possible to ascertain al-Zuhri's authorship, I compared the traditions with similar ones not going back to al-Zuhri in order to determine whether his material goes back to an even earlier source. If so, the question may be raised who is this earlier source. Is it indeed the person mentioned as his informant in the *isnād* or somebody else? Is it possible at all to determine who al-Zuhri's source was? Another question is to what degree al-Zuhri's transmission varies from the transmission of other persons.

The three selected stories relate events taking place at different times in the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. The story about Muḥammad's meeting with the three prophets Abraham, Jesus and Moses and his choice between drinks during the night journey is from his Meccan period, the story about the raid of the Hudhayl is from the beginning of his Medinan period and the story about the three men who held back from the raid to Tabuk is from the end of Muḥammad's Medinan period.

One of the three traditions is a miracle story, while the other two are *maghāzī* stories. All are considered to be part of the biography of the Prophet Muhammad. The traditions vary from more or less detailed stories to short traditions describing only one or two elements of the detailed story. All three stories contain *sunan* (Muhammad's deeds or sayings) of the Prophet Muḥammad. The story about the events during the night journey and the three men who held back from the raid to Tabuk are connected with verses from the Qur'ān.

The results of the examination of both their chains of transmitters (*asānīd*) and their contents (*matn*) may be summarized as follows. According to the analysis of the *asanīd* of

the many variants, al-Zuhri is the common link of each of the three stories and the transmission of his versions must have taken place before his death in 124/742, i.e. in the first quarter of the second Islamic century. The *isnad-cum-matn* analysis of the variant traditions reveals that he taught the stories to several students. Of the three stories, the one about the three men who held back from the expedition to Tabūk is the most widely distributed tradition among his students: six students transmitted the detailed versions and twenty-one shorter versions. The next in line is the one relating the two events during the night journey: three students transmit the combination of the two events in one tradition, while ten persons transmit one of these two events in separate traditions. Only four students transmit a detailed story about the raid of the Hudhayl, while shorter versions are ascribed to the same four persons.

The traditions about the two events during the night journey are the only ones that agree on al-Zuhri's source, since they all mention the Medinan scholar Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab (d. 94/713) as his informant. Most of the transmission lines give the Companion Abū Hurayra (d. 57/677) as Sa'īd's informant, but some stop at the level of Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab or fail to mention his informant. Less than half of al-Zuhri's students (five out of twelve) trace the tradition back to the Prophet Muḥammad, which means that al-Zuhri usually did not mention the Prophet, but sometimes varied and traced it back to him. According to the *asanīd* of the traditions about the raid of the Hudhayl, there seems to be confusion over the name of al-Zuhri's informant. Four different names appear as al-Zuhri's informant, although they probably refer to the same person given the correspondence of the names. The confusion over the name of al-Zuhri's source is even worse in the traditions about the three who held back from the expedition to Tabūk. Three different persons are mentioned by name as his informant as well as an unidentified person. In this case, the common feature is that they belong to the same family, the Ka'b ibn Mālīk family. He usually mentioned the *isnād* 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> 'Abd Allah or 'Ubayd Allah ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālīk, but sometimes omitted the name of his own informant, of 'Abd al-Raḥman ibn 'Abd Allāh's informant or even the name of Ka'b's son. Al-Zuhri seems to have varied in the names of the persons from whom he heard the story, sometimes mentioning his own informant and sometimes the informant of his source.

The analysis of the texts (*mutūn*) of the three stories confirms al-Zuhri's common link position from the *isnad* analysis, since the similarities in the wording and structure of the texts indicate a common source and al-Zuhri is the first transmitter all versions mention in their *asanīd*. The transmission must have taken place before 124/742 when al-Zuhri died

Therefore, the stories about the raid of the Hudhayl, the two events during the night journey, and the three men who held back from the expedition to Tabūk as told by al-Zuhri can be dated to the first quarter of the second Islamic century at the latest.

Each group of traditions contains both detailed and shorter versions of the story. No evidence was found that the detailed versions of the stories about the raid of the Hudhayl and the three men who held back from Tabūk were later expansions of the medium-length or even the short versions. They do not constitute the secondary or tertiary stages of the development of the story. On the contrary, the medium-length and short traditions most probably originate from the detailed versions. The appearance of the shorter versions may have had several reasons. Firstly, the compiler of the *ḥadīth*-collection in which the short version is present, shortened the detailed story, because he had mentioned a detailed version of the story at another place and only wanted to mention the deviating parts of a variant version. Secondly, the compiler of the *ḥadīth*-collection only mentioned that part of the tradition that was relevant to the theme of his chapter. Thirdly, al-Zuhri's students and perhaps al-Zuhri himself transmitted several elements outside the context of the detailed story, possibly during legal classes.<sup>1</sup>

Contrary to the *matn* analysis of al-Zuhri's stories about the raid of the Hudhayl and the three men who held back from the expedition to Tabūk, the results of the *matn* analysis of the stories about two events that took place during the night journey of the Prophet Muḥammad show that not all shorter versions of these two events were derivatives of the longer traditions. Al-Zuhri apparently did not transmit a detailed story about Muḥammad's night journey, so I chose his traditions about two events - Muḥammad's meeting with the prophets Abraham, Moses and Jesus and his description of them, and the choice Muḥammad has to make between drinking wine and milk - that exist as separate traditions (I called them "description-tradition" and "choice-tradition") as well as in a combined tradition ("two-topic tradition"). My aim was to establish whether al-Zuhri transmitted these traditions and if so, whether he transmitted the two events in one account or separately. It turned out that al-Zuhri transmitted three different traditions about these two events. He united both topics in one single tradition, but transmitted them also separately with a different formulation. Whereas the description tradition seems to be secondary to the

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<sup>1</sup> Further research into the occurrence of legal deductions derived from more detailed stories among al-Zuhri's material is required. Since I focussed on the detailed traditions, this fell outside the scope of my current study. However, in the story about the murder of Ibn Abi l-Ḥuqayq, Motzki traced the origin of these deductions to al-Zuhri, who probably used them in the discussion of and instruction in legal matters. See chapter 1 page 37

corresponding part in the two-topic tradition, perhaps because al-Zuhri created it during or specifically for a *tafsir*-lesson (explanation of Qur'an verses), the choice tradition is not a shortened or adapted version of the corresponding part in the two-topic tradition or vice-versa. The origin of all three traditions lies in the first quarter of the second Islamic century

The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis showed that the versions of al-Zuhri's students are different. Each version contains one or more peculiarities, so called "transmission fingerprints", i.e. characteristic words, formulations or omissions that only appear in the text of one particular transmitter. They indicate that the tradition was part of a real transmission process and they reflect the changes that occur during transmission processes, certainly because of the way knowledge was passed down during the first Islamic centuries: through oral - though mostly aural transmission - and mainly during lecture courses. Besides, it is possible that a transmitter always told the same story in the same way, but it is more likely that a person adjusted his version of the story once or more during his life, which means that several versions of one person may have been preserved in the later collections.

The analysis of the three stories also revealed that one of al-Zuhri's students, Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (d. 153/770) transmitted deviating versions of the three stories compared with the versions of other Zuhri-students. Ma'mar's tradition about the three men who held back from the expedition to Tabūk was the most deviating of his versions of the three stories. One possible explanation of the deviations in this story is a transition from oral to written transmission. Ma'mar probably received his version from al-Zuhri through oral transmission based on written notes, while the other students received al-Zuhri's tradition through dictation or copying of his text. Accounts transmitted by lecturing and hearing without the use of written notes will show large differences in the formulation and the structure of the text, i.e. motifs may appear in a different order or even be omitted. When notes are used during the lectures, some words and even (parts of) sentences will be very similar or even identical, as well as the order of the motifs. In the case of dictation from a written text or using copies made from the teacher's manuscript, the accounts of different students from the same teacher will show very large similarities in formulation and structure of the text.

However, this does not explain all the differences. Al-Zuhri did not only write the tradition down at a certain point in his life, but he then also edited the text. Indications for the editing are the specification of the name of his informant, the omission of some elements and the insertion of embellishments as well as explanatory words and elements.

The adaptation of the name of al-Zuhri's informant explains part of the confusion over the name of al-Zuhri's source, but the general occurrence of variants in the name of al-Zuhri's informant, especially in shorter traditions, among different students - even among those who received his edited version - seems to indicate that al-Zuhri did not always refer to his informant with the same name.

The same deviations between the versions of Ma'mar and al-Zuhri's other students appear to a lesser extent in the two other stories. Ma'mar's version of the raid of the Hudhayl and his two-topic tradition of the night journey differ slightly from the versions of the other students. Their versions contain more specific information than Ma'mar's text. The variations in the name of al-Zuhri's informant in the tradition about the raid of the Hudhayl could only partly be explained through the existence of an edited version. It is possible that al-Zuhri - even when dictating - did not always refer to his informant with the same name. Unlike the two stories discussed above, Ma'mar's *asānīd* of the two-topic and the description traditions of the night journey are more detailed than the *asānīd* of the edited versions. Ma'mar mentions that al-Zuhri's informant Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab received the tradition from Abu Hurayra who related the story from Muhammad, while in the other versions Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab relates the story "directly" from Muhammad. This means that al-Zuhri omitted the name of the Companion Abū Hurayra in the edited versions. It is possible that al-Zuhri assumed that Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab received these two traditions from the same informant as he did for the choice tradition, Abū Hurayra, and corrected his mistake later on.

The development of an edited version probably has its origin in the circumstances of al-Zuhri's life and the nature of his teaching methods at the beginning of the second Islamic century. The Umayyad court and especially the caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik under whom al-Zuhri worked for many years until his death seem to have played an important role in this. Although some biographical traditions state that al-Zuhri had an aversion to writing, he probably used written notes from an early time onwards. It is not clear when al-Zuhri switched from notes for private use to more or less worked out notebooks, but the results of the *isnad-cum-matn* analysis of al-Zuhri's traditions, which show a large similarity between the versions of Ma'mar and other Zuhri-students, indicate that al-Zuhri used notebooks in his teaching somewhere around 113/731, when Ma'mar probably started his study with al-Zuhri. The evidence that al-Zuhri had edited the traditions from these notebooks points to writings that were meant for a different kind of public. The caliph Hishām probably incited al-Zuhri to prepare books for his family in the last ten years of his life. The circulation of



the edited versions among those of al-Zuhri's students who had no access to the court, shows that al-Zuhri let other students copy these books or that they somehow obtained a copy of them.

Three additions in al-Zuhri's edited versions deserve particular notice, because they may indicate changes in the system of education at the beginning of the second Islamic century. The first is the specific mention in the story about the raid of the Hudhayl that Khubayb's performance of a prayer consisting of two cycles before he was killed became a *sunna* for anyone who was bound until he was put to death. Ma'mar's version neither mentions that Khubayb was killed when he was bound, nor that it became a *sunna*. The second is the connection of two additional verses from the Qur'an with Ka'b's story of the three men who held back from the expedition to Tabuk and the explanation of the word *khullifū* that appears in the verses that Ma'mar's tradition also mentions. These two additions in al-Zuhri's edited versions may be an indication of his - and perhaps also of his environment's - growing interest in *asbāb al-nuzūl* (the reason or circumstances of the revelation of verses) and the *sunna*. The same might apply to the specification of the names of al-Zuhri's informants (even the omission of a name can be an indication of specification!), which may reflect the growing need for quotation of one's sources.

The final phase of my *isnād-cum-matn* analysis was the comparison of al-Zuhri's traditions with versions from other persons in order to determine whether his material goes back to an even earlier source and to what degree his transmission varies from the transmission of these other persons. This comparison took us even further back in time and confirmed that al-Zuhri's three traditions are all based on earlier stories from the turn of the century or the last quarter of the first Islamic century. Therefore, he did not invent the stories. Obviously, this does not mean that he transmitted the traditions in the same way as he had received them. The differences with the traditions of other persons show that al-Zuhri had probably edited the stories between the time he heard them and the time he started to transmit them to other persons. In each of the three traditions, "peculiarities" of al-Zuhri's transmission could be detected that were not present in the versions of the other persons.

Despite the above-mentioned variation in the name of al-Zuhri's informants in the *asānīd* that may give the impression that different persons were involved, the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis revealed a rather clear quotation of his sources except for slight variation in the names or mistakes from later transmitters. The comparison with traditions from other persons could not substantiate each of al-Zuhri's claims that he received the tradition from

the person mentioned in the *isnād*. However, the comparison with the traditions of two other persons about the three who held back from the raid to Tabūk showed that their versions must derive from the same source as al-Zuhri's tradition. Although according to their *asanīd*, the three transmitters seem to have had different informants, the common source is most probably the person al-Zuhri mentions as his informant, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b. In the stories about the two events during the night journey and the raid of the Hudhayl, I did not find any evidence (or such evidence did not survive in the collections available to us nowadays) that al-Zuhri had indeed received his story from the person mentioned in the *isnād*, but we cannot exclude that al-Zuhri received a - or part of a - version of these two stories from the informants mentioned in the *isnād*. He seems to have composed both stories from several versions that circulated in Mecca and Medina. It is possible that he chose one of the informants for this purpose. There are indications in each of the three stories, that parts of it are even older than the last quarter of the first Islamic century. These parts are the story about Khubayb's imprisonment, some formulations in Muḥammad's description of the three prophets, Muḥammad's isolation of Ka'b and Ka'b's stay at the mountain Sal'.

When we add the results of the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis of other *sīra*-traditions from al-Zuhri in previous studies to my findings, the picture of al-Zuhri's transmission of stories about the life of the Prophet Muḥammad becomes more clear.<sup>2</sup>

1. Al-Zuhri's edited material from his teachers. This editing consisted in the addition of more details and names of persons, the softening of information, the harmonization of biases and contradictions, but also the combination of separate elements or traditions into larger units or a summary.

2. The resemblance of the versions of al-Zuhri's students indicates a written transmission. The names of the students who are mentioned in the studies are usually Ma'mar ibn Rashīd (d. 153/770), the Egyptian scholars 'Uqayl ibn Khālīd (d. 144/761) and Yūnus ibn Yazīd (d. 152/769), and the famous Medinan scholar Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767). The degree of similarity may vary per tradition. Al-Zuhri seems to have edited some traditions less than others. Another option is that al-Zuhri's students also edited the material they received from their teacher. This is definitively the case with Yūnus and Ibn Ishāq. Yunus sometimes adds "old" material to al-Zuhri's edited version, while Ibn Ishāq sometimes edited al-Zuhri's tradition or combined it with information from other persons.

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<sup>2</sup> See the overview of the *isnād cum matn* analysis of *sīra*-material in chapter 1.

3. Al-Zuhri's quotation of sources. Although al-Zuhri did not always trace his information to an eyewitness of the event, the composition and the adaptation of some *asānīd* may indicate that he sometimes (or gradually?) felt the need to specify his sources. The variation in the name of his informants from the Ka'b ibn Mālīk family is remarkable though.

4. Al-Zuhri's interest in the connection between Qur'ānic verses and historical events, and the relevance of historical events to legal matters. Some of al-Zuhri's short traditions are derivatives of his detailed stories that he seems to have created during or for lessons on exegetical and legal matters.

The results of this study contribute to the growing number of genuine Zuhri-traditions dealing with the life of the Prophet Muhammad that have so far been detected with the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis. They relate many important and also some marginal events from Muḥammad's life. However, the question whether al-Zuhri is the author of a *sīra*-work cannot be answered in the affirmative yet, although the results so far show his great interest in and knowledge of the biography of the Prophet Muhammad and his importance as transmitter of *sīra*-material because of the distribution of his traditions in many collections of the following centuries. The question remains whether al-Zuhri in fact composed a *sīra*-work with the intention to provide a complete biography of the Prophet Muhammad. The books that al-Zuhri prepared for the family of the caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik might lead to the assumption that he did. In my vision, this "book" or these books consisted of a collection of *sīra*-traditions, specifically of *sīra*-traditions that were the result of the edition of earlier material. They were probably not arranged chronologically, although there are many traditions from al-Zuhri about the date of certain events. In the last decade of his life, al-Zuhri probably taught from this collection, without the intention to transmit it as one whole unit, otherwise there would have survived more coherent combinations of al-Zuhri's edited traditions instead of the scattering of these traditions over many works.

My most remarkable finding of al-Zuhri's material was the discovery of the edited versions among the three analysed stories. The analysis of other Zuhri-traditions from earlier studies did not reveal if there was a distinction between "old" and "edited" material. If this distinction can be made in other *sīra*-traditions from al-Zuhri as well, it would be very interesting to compare the degree of differentiation with the theme of the tradition and the *isnād*. Also, the question arises whether al-Zuhri edited his legal and exegetical material as well or only his *sīra*-material.

The *isnad cum matn* analysis has proved to be a very useful instrument for determining the source of a tradition and its development along the path of its transmission. This study has also shown, that under favourable circumstances, the *isnad cum matn* analysis can unravel the composition of combined traditions, reconstruct an interrupted *isnad* or determine the source of a tradition without any chain. Furthermore, it helps to detect falsified parts in a tradition as well as falsified or erroneous ascriptions. It reveals how persons like al-Zuhri and 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr received and transmitted their material in different ways. Although at first, it is very time-consuming to analyse all available variants of a tradition, insight in a person's method will eventually accelerate the analysis of other traditions of that person.

At the beginning of this study, I quoted Homberger's and Charmley's view on the reconstruction of a definitive biography, "There can never be a definitive biography, merely a version, an attempt, an essay which in time reveals how completely all such attempts bear the impress of the age in which it was written". The analysis of the *sīra*-material with the *isnad cum matn* analysis has shown that the biography of the Prophet Muhammad more specifically bears the imprint of the person who transmitted the story. To gain full insight in the development of the biography of the Prophet Muhammad among his followers, more key-figures like al-Zuhri and 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr have to be studied and many layers of their imprints have to be removed to reach the oldest kernel of Muhammad's closest associates, his Companions, and perhaps even the Prophet Muhammad himself. The *isnad cum matn* analysis is one instrument towards this goal and combined with other methods the less accessible layer of Muhammad's companions might be unravelled.

Perhaps after devoting many years of study to this topic we will only end up with the broad outline of the life of the Prophet Muhammad. Still, that does not make the search less rewarding and interesting.

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## SAMENVATTING

Verhalen uit het leven van de profeet Muḥammad (*sīra*) zijn te vinden in talrijke islamitische werken over uiteenlopende onderzoeksgebieden. Hieruit blijkt het belang van zijn biografie voor moslims. Het leven van de profeet Muhammad is essentieel voor de islamitische jurisprudentie en de Qur'ān-exegese. Qur'ān-commentatoren gebruiken de informatie over Muḥammad's leven om bepaalde Qur'ān-verzen te begrijpen of te verklaren door aanwijzingen te zoeken over de redenen van openbaring (*asbāb al-nuzul*) van verzen. De *sunna* van Muḥammad (dat wat Muḥammad heeft gezegd, heeft gedaan of stilzwijgend heeft goedgekeurd) werd de tweede bron voor de islamitische wetgeving na de Qur'ān. Vrijwel alle informatie over de profeet Muḥammad is beschikbaar in de vorm van overleveringen (*ahādīth*, enkelvoud *hadīth*) die door zijn volgelingen zijn doorgegeven.

De overleveringen over het leven van Muḥammad zijn vandaag de dag terug te vinden in verzamelingen die minstens 200 jaren na zijn dood zijn samengesteld. Enkele wetenschappers hebben de vraag gesteld of deze overleveringen daadwerkelijk de gebeurtenissen beschrijven of latere ontwikkelingen in de islam weergeven. Gaat het om geschiedenis of legende, of iets ertussenin? Een hulpmiddel om deze vraag te beantwoorden zijn de overleveraarsketens (*asānīd*, enkelvoud *isnād*), die meestal voorafgaan aan de beschrijvingen van de gebeurtenissen uit het leven van de profeet. Deze keten zou het pad weergeven waarlangs de overlevering doorgegeven is, namelijk vanaf de persoon of personen van wie de samensteller van de verzameling waar de overlevering zich in bevindt, zijn informatie heeft tot aan de ooggetuige van de gebeurtenis.

Eén naam komt regelmatig voor in de overleveraarsketen van overleveringen over het leven van de profeet Muḥammad: Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri (gest. 124/742). Hij was een geleerde uit Medina die bij een aantal gerenommeerde geleerden zoals 'Abd Allāh ibn Tha'laba (gest. 89/708), Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab (gest. 94/713) en 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (gest. 94/713) gestudeerd had en die lange tijd voor een aantal kaliefen van de Umayyaden-dynastie gewerkt heeft tot aan zijn dood in 124/742. Hij was een van de belangrijkste geleerden in Medina tijdens het eerste kwart van de tweede islamitische eeuw/achtste eeuw na Chr.

Al-Zuhri staat bekend als een van de eerste systematische verzamelaars en overleveraars van overleveringen over Muḥammad en de eerste generatie moslims. In de bronnen die we vandaag de dag tot onze beschikking hebben, staat een zeer groot aantal Zuhri-overleveringen. Hierdoor lijkt hij uitermate geschikt als persoon aan wie *sīra*-materiaal

valselijk toegeschreven zou kunnen zijn. Dankzij zijn relatie met een aantal Umayyadenkaliefen en zijn manier van overleveren, was zijn positie onder zijn tijdgenoten controversieel, hoewel ze hem tegelijkertijd ook als een excellente geleerde beschouwden met een grote kennis van de islamitische jurisprudentie, de biografie van de profeet Muhammad en andere zaken. Ik heb daarom besloten om zijn *sira*-materiaal te bestuderen aan de hand van twee vragen: 1) Zijn de overleveringen die aan al-Zuhri zijn toegeschreven inderdaad van hem afkomstig? 2) Zo ja, kan dan bewezen worden dat hij de overleveringen heeft gekregen van de persoon die hij in de keten van overlevertaars als zijn informant noemt?

In deze studie heb ik met behulp van de *isnād-cum-matn* analyse drie verhalen onderzocht die toegeschreven zijn aan al-Zuhri. De belangrijkste selectiecriteria voor de drie verhalen waren: het verhaal bestaat uit een aantal verschillende tekstelementen; volgens de informatie uit de keten van overlevertaars hebben minimaal drie studenten van al-Zuhri het overgeleverd; de drie overleveringen komen van drie verschillende informanten van al-Zuhri. De volgende stap bestond uit de analyse van zo veel mogelijk varianten uit een zo breed mogelijke selectie van bronnen om te controleren of de overleveringen inderdaad van al-Zuhri afkomstig zijn en om indien mogelijk zijn tekst te reconstrueren. De overleveringen waarvan al-Zuhri's auteurschap kon worden vastgesteld, heb ik vervolgens vergeleken met vergelijkbare overleveringen die niet van hem afkomstig zijn om te bepalen of zijn materiaal nog op een eerdere bron terug te voeren is. De vraag die dan beantwoord moet worden, is wie die eerdere bron is. Is dat inderdaad de persoon die als zijn informant in de overlevertaarsketen genoemd wordt of iemand anders? Is het überhaupt mogelijk om al-Zuhri's bron vast te stellen? In welke mate verschilt al-Zuhri's versie van de overleveringen van andere personen?

De drie geselecteerde verhalen gaan over gebeurtenissen uit verschillende periodes in het leven van de profeet Muhammad. Het verhaal dat volgens het islamitisch bronmateriaal als eerste plaatsvond, zijn twee gebeurtenissen tijdens de nachtelijke reis van de profeet Muhammad: Muhammad's ontmoeting met de profeten Abraham, Jezus en Mozes en zijn keuze tussen wijn en melk. De gebeurtenis zou plaatsgevonden hebben in Muhammads Mekkaanse periode vóór 1/622. Het verhaal over de expeditie van de Hudhayl is uit het begin van zijn Medinische periode in het jaar 3/625 of 4/625 en het verhaal over de drie mannen die niet met Muhammad meegingen tijdens de expeditie naar Tabuk vindt plaats tegen het einde van Muhammads Medinische periode in het jaar 9/630.

Het eerste verhaal is een wonderverhaal, terwijl de twee andere tot het *maghazi*-genre behoren (verhalen over militaire expedities). Alle verhalen maken deel uit van de biografie



van de profeet Muḥammad. De overleveringen variëren van min of meer gedetailleerde verhalen tot korte verhalen die een of twee verhaalelementen uit het gedetailleerde verhaal beschrijven. Alle drie de verhalen bevatten *sunan* (dat wat Muḥammad gedaan of gezegd heeft of stilzwijgend heeft goedgekeurd) van de profeet Muḥammad. Het verhaal over de gebeurtenissen tijdens de nachtelijke reis en de drie mannen die niet megingen met de expeditie naar Tabūk zijn daarnaast nog verbonden met verzen uit de Qur'ān

De resultaten van de analyse van de ketens van overleveraars (*asanīd*) en hun teksten (*mutūn*) kunnen als volgt samengevat worden. Volgens de analyse van de *asanīd* van de talrijke varianten is al-Zuhri de *common link* van elk verhaal, de eerste overleveraar die alle overleveringen gemeenschappelijk hebben. Dat betekent dat de overlevering van zijn versies van de drie verhalen plaatsgevonden moet hebben voor zijn dood in 124/742, dus in het eerste kwart van de tweede islamitische eeuw. De *isnād-cum-matn* analyse van de variëte overleveringen laat zien dat hij zijn versies aan verschillende studenten onderwees. Het verhaal over de drie mannen die niet megingen met de expeditie naar Tabuk is het meest verbreid onder al-Zuhri's studenten: zes studenten overleveren de gedetailleerde versie en 21 een kortere versie. Op de tweede plaats komt het verhaal over de twee gebeurtenissen tijdens de nachtelijke reis: drie studenten overleveren een gecombineerde versie van beide gebeurtenissen, terwijl tien personen een van de twee gebeurtenissen in een afzonderlijke overlevering weergeven. Het verhaal over de expeditie van de Hudhayl is het minst verbreid: slechts vier studenten overleveren zowel het gedetailleerde verhaal van de expeditie van de Hudhayl als ook de kortere versies.

De overleveringen over de twee gebeurtenissen tijdens de nachtelijke reis zijn de enige waarin duidelijkheid bestaat over al-Zuhri's informant. In elke versie is zijn informant de Medinische geleerde Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab (gest. 94/713). Sa'id's informant is volgens de meeste overleveraarsketens de Metgezel Abū Hurayra (gest. 57/677), maar sommige ketens eindigen bij Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab of noemen zijn informant niet. Minder dan de helft van al-Zuhri's studenten (vijf van de twaalf) herleiden de overlevering terug op de profeet Muḥammad, wat betekent dat al-Zuhri gewoonlijk niet de profeet als bron vermeldde, maar soms varieerde en de overlevering wel op hem terugvoerde

Volgens de ketens van de overleveringen over de expeditie van de Hudhayl schijnt er verwarring te hebben bestaan over de naam van al-Zuhri's informant. Er worden vier verschillende namen genoemd, hoewel deze waarschijnlijk naar dezelfde persoon verwijzen gezien de overeenkomsten tussen de namen. De verwarring over de naam van al-Zuhri's bron is nog groter bij de overleveringen over de drie personen die niet megingen met de expeditie

naar Tabūk. Drie verschillende personen en één niet met name genoemd persoon worden als zijn informant genoemd. Het gemeenschappelijke kenmerk is dat ze allemaal uit dezelfde familie afkomstig zijn, namelijk de familie van de Metgezel Ka'b ibn Mālik (gest. 50/670). Al-Zuhri noemt meestal de keten 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> 'Abd Allāh or 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ka'b -> Ka'b ibn Mālik, maar soms vermeldt hij niet de naam van zijn eigen informant, die van 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh's of zelfs de naam van de zoon van Ka'b. Blijkbaar varieerde al-Zuhri in de namen van de personen van wie hij het verhaal gehoord had; hij noemde soms zijn directe informant en soms de informant van deze persoon.

De analyse van de teksten (*mutun*) bevestigt de positie van al-Zuhri als *common link* uit de *isnād* analysis. De overeenkomsten in formulering en opbouw van de teksten duiden op een gemeenschappelijke bron en al-Zuhri is de eerste overleveraar die alle versies in hun overleveraarsketens noemen. De overlevering moet plaatsgevonden hebben voor 124/742 toen al-Zuhri stierf. De verhalen over de expeditie van de Hudhayl, de twee gebeurtenissen tijdens de nachtelijke reis en de drie mannen die niet meegingen met de expeditie naar Tabūk zoals verteld door al-Zuhri kunnen daarom minimaal gedateerd worden in het eerste kwart van de tweede islamitische eeuw.

Elke groep overleveringen bevat zowel gedetailleerde als kortere versies van het verhaal. Ik heb geen bewijs gevonden dat de gedetailleerde versies van de twee verhalen over de expeditie van de Hudhayl en de drie mannen die niet meegingen naar Tabūk latere uitwerkingen zijn van de middellange of zelfs van de korte versies van het verhaal. Ze vormen geen secundaire of tertiaire fase van de ontwikkeling van het verhaal. De middellange versie en de korte overleveringen zijn waarschijnlijk juist afgeleid van het gedetailleerde versies. Er zijn verschillende redenen die geleid kunnen hebben tot het ontstaan van de kortere versies. Ten eerste kan de samensteller van de *ḥadīth*-verzameling waarin de korte versie aanwezig is, het gedetailleerde verhaal ingekort hebben, omdat hij al op een andere plaats de gedetailleerde versie heeft geplaatst en slechts afwijkende delen van de variante versies wilde weergeven. Ten tweede kan het zijn dat de samensteller van de *ḥadīth*-verzameling alleen dat deel van de overlevering heeft vermeld dat relevant is voor het thema van het hoofdstuk, waarin de overlevering staat. Ten derde kunnen al-Zuhri's studenten en misschien al-Zuhri zelf ook enkele verhaalelementen buiten de context van het gedetailleerde verhaal overgeleverd hebben, zoals mogelijk tijdens juridisch onderwijs.

In tegenstelling tot de *matn* analyse van al-Zuhri's verhalen over de expeditie van de Hudhayl en de drie mannen die niet meegingen met de expeditie naar Tabūk, tonen de

resultaten van de *matn* analyse van de verhalen over de twee gebeurtenissen die plaatsvonden tijdens de nachtelijke reis van de profeet Muhammad aan dat de kortere versies van de twee gebeurtenissen niet afgeleid zijn van de langere overleveringen. Aangezien al-Zuhri klaarblijkelijk geen gedetailleerd verhaal overgeleverd heeft over de nachtelijke reis van Muhammad, koos ik zijn overleveringen over twee gebeurtenissen - de ontmoeting van Muhammad met de profeten Abraham, Mozes en Jezus en zijn beschrijving van hen, en de keuze die Muhammad moet maken tussen wijn en melk - die zowel als afzonderlijke overleveringen bestaan (ik heb ze de “beschrijvingsoverlevering” en “keuzeoverlevering” genoemd) als gecombineerd in één overlevering (de overlevering van de “twee thema’s”). Mijn doel was ten eerste om vast te stellen of al-Zuhri deze overleveringen overgeleverd heeft. De volgende stap hield in om vast te stellen of hij ze als afzonderlijke overleveringen of als een gecombineerde overlevering heeft overgeleverd. Het bleek dat al-Zuhri drie verschillende overleveringen over deze twee gebeurtenissen heeft overgeleverd. Hij combineerde beide thema’s in één overlevering, maar overleverde ze ook afzonderlijk met een afwijkende formulering. De “beschrijvingsoverlevering” schijnt afgeleid te zijn van het overeenkomstige deel in de overlevering van de “twee thema’s”, misschien omdat al-Zuhri deze tijdens of speciaal voor een *tafsīr*-les (uitleg van Qur’an-verzen) gemaakt heeft. De keuzeoverlevering is daarentegen geen ingekorte of aangepaste versie van het overeenkomstige deel in de overlevering van de “twee thema’s” of vice versa. De herkomst van alle drie de overleveringen ligt in het eerste kwart van de tweede islamitische eeuw.

De *isnād-cum matn* analyse toont aan dat alle versies van al-Zuhri’s studenten van elkaar verschillen. Elke versie bevat een of meer eigenaardigheden, zogenaamde “overleveringsvingerafdrukken”, dat wil zeggen karakteristieke woorden, formuleringen of omissies die alleen in de tekst van één bepaalde overleveraar voorkomen. Deze eigenaardigheden laten zien dat de overlevering onderdeel was van een echt overleveringsproces. Ze geven de veranderingen weer die voorkomen tijdens het proces van overleveren, voornamelijk door de manier waarop kennis tijdens de eerste islamitische eeuwen werd doorgegeven door middel van mondelinge - waarbij het meestal om overlevering in onderwijsverband gaat - en voornamelijk tijdens lezingen. Een overleveraar kan een verhaal steeds op dezelfde manier vertellen, maar waarschijnlijk zal hij het verhaal een of meer keer tijdens zijn leven aanpassen, wat betekent dat verschillende versies van dezelfde persoon in latere verzamelingen bewaard kunnen zijn gebleven.

De analyse van de drie verhalen laat ook zien dat een van al-Zuhri’s studenten, Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid (gest. 153/770), van alle drie verhalen een versie heeft overgeleverd die

afwijkt van de versies van andere studenten van al-Zuhri's Ma'mar's overlevering over de drie mannen die niet meegingen met de expeditie naar Tabuk is de versie die het meeste afwijkt van die van de andere studenten. Een mogelijke verklaring voor zijn afwijkende versie is een overgang van mondelinge naar schriftelijke overlevering. Ma'mar heeft zijn versie waarschijnlijk van al-Zuhri via mondelinge overlevering die gebaseerd was op aantekeningen ontvangen, terwijl de andere studenten al-Zuhri's overlevering via een dictee of het maken van een kopie van diens tekst hebben ontvangen. Verhalen die via een lezing zijn overgeleverd zonder gebruik van aantekeningen bevatten grotere verschillen in de formulering en de opbouw van de tekst, motieven staan bijvoorbeeld in een ander volgorde of kunnen zelfs ontbreken. Bij het gebruik van aantekeningen tijdens de lezingen, zullen enkele woorden en (delen van) zinnen vergelijkbaar of zelf identiek zijn, net als de volgorde van de motieven. Bij het dicteren van een uitgeschreven tekst of het maken van een kopie van het manuscript van de leraar zullen de versies van zijn studenten grote overeenkomsten bevatten in formulering en opbouw van de tekst.

Dit verklaart echter niet alle verschillen die ik tussen de teksten vond. Al-Zuhri heeft de overlevering niet alleen op een bepaald moment in zijn leven opgeschreven, maar hij heeft de tekst toen ook bewerkt. Aanwijzingen voor deze bewerking zijn de specificering van de naam van al-Zuhri's informant, het ontbreken van bepaalde tekstelementen en de toevoeging van verfraaiingen en verklarende woorden en elementen. De aanpassing van de naam van al-Zuhri's informant verklaart de verwarring over de naam van zijn bron gedeeltelijk. De aanwezigheid van variante namen van al-Zuhri's informant, met name in de kortere overleveringen en bij verschillende studenten - zelfs bij degenen die zijn bewerkte, schriftelijke versie hebben overgeleverd - lijkt erop te wijzen dat al-Zuhri zijn informant niet altijd met dezelfde naam weergaf.

Dezelfde afwijkingen tussen de versie van Ma'mar en die van andere studenten van al-Zuhri komen in mindere mate ook voor in de twee andere verhalen. Ma'mar's versie van de expeditie van de Hudhayl en zijn "twee-thema"-overlevering over de nachtelijke reis verschillen enigszins van de versies van de andere studenten van al-Zuhri. Hun versies bevatten specifiekere informatie dan de tekst van Ma'mar. De afwijkingen in de naam van al-Zuhri's informant in de overlevering over de expeditie van de Hudhayl kan slechts deels verklaard worden door het bestaan van een bewerkte versie. Het is mogelijk dat al-Zuhri - zelfs wanneer hij dicteerde van een uitgeschreven tekst - niet altijd met dezelfde naam naar zijn informant verwees. In tegenstelling tot de twee bovengenoemde overleveringen zijn Ma'mar's overleveraarsketens van de "twee thema's"-overlevering en de keuzeoverlevering van

de nachtelijke reis gedetailleerder dan de ketens van de bewerkte versies. Ma'mar vermeldt dat al-Zuhri's informant Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab de overlevering van Abu Hurayra ontvangen heeft, die het verhaal van Muḥammad vertelt, terwijl volgens de andere versies Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab het verhaal "rechtstreeks" van Muḥammad vertelt. Dat betekent dat al-Zuhri de naam van de Metgezel Abū Hurayra in de bewerkte versies heeft weggelaten. Het kan zijn dat al-Zuhri in eerste instantie aannam dat Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab deze twee overleveringen van dezelfde informant als bij de keuzeoverlevering, Abū Hurayra, ontvangen had en later zijn fout gecorrigeerd heeft.

De ontwikkeling van een bewerkte versie komt waarschijnlijk voort uit omstandigheden uit al-Zuhri's leven en de onderwijsmethode aan het begin van de tweede islamitische eeuw. Het hof van de Umayyaden en in het bijzonder de kalief Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik (reg. 105-125/724-743) voor wie al-Zuhri tot aan zijn dood vele jaren gewerkt heeft, lijken hier een belangrijke rol in gespeeld te hebben. Hoewel een aantal biografische overleveringen beschrijven dat al-Zuhri afwijzend stond ten opzichte van het opschrijven van overleveringen, heeft hij waarschijnlijk vanaf een vroege periode in zijn leven aantekeningen gebruikt. Het is niet duidelijk wanneer al-Zuhri overstapte van aantekeningen voor persoonlijk gebruik naar min of meer uitgewerkte notitieboeken. De resultaten van de *isnād-cum-matn* analyse van de overleveringen van al-Zuhri, die een grote overeenkomst aantonen tussen de versies van Ma'mar en andere studenten van al-Zuhri, wijzen erop dat al-Zuhri rond 113/731 notitieboeken gebruikt heeft in zijn onderwijs. In deze tijd is Ma'mar waarschijnlijk met zijn studie bij al-Zuhri begonnen. Het bewijs dat al-Zuhri de overleveringen uit deze notitieboeken heeft bewerkt, wijst op geschriften die bedoeld waren voor een ander soort publiek. De kalief Hishām heeft al-Zuhri waarschijnlijk in het laatste decennium van zijn leven ertoe aangezet om boeken voor zijn familie te maken. De aanwezigheid van de bewerkte versie bij de studenten die geen toegang hadden tot het hof, tonen aan dat al-Zuhri ook studenten buiten het hof deze boeken liet overschrijven of dat ze op een andere manier een kopie ervan verkregen.

Drie toevoegingen uit al-Zuhri's bewerkte versies verdienen een afzonderlijke vermelding, omdat ze kunnen wijzen op veranderingen in het onderwijssysteem aan het begin van de tweede islamitische eeuw. In de eerste plaats staat in het verhaal over de expeditie van de Hudhayl dat het gebed bestaande uit twee cycli dat een van de hoofdpersonen, Khubayb, voor zijn executie uitvoerde, een *sunna* (gewoonte) werd voor iedereen die vastgebonden was tot zijn executie. De versie van Ma'mar vermeldt niet dat Khubayb vastgebonden was toen hij gedood werd en evenmin dat het een *sunna* werd. In de

tweede plaats wordt er in het verhaal van Ka'b over de drie mannen die niet meegingen met de expeditie naar Tabūk en de bewerkte versies een verband gelegd met twee extra Qur'an-verzen en volgt er een verklaring van een woord *khullifū* dat voorkomt in een van de Qur'an-verzen. Hoewel in de versie van Ma'mar deze laatste verzen wel staan, ontbreekt de uitleg en worden de eerste twee extra verzen niet genoemd. Deze twee toevoegingen in al-Zuhri's bewerkte versie kunnen een aanwijzing zijn van zijn - en misschien ook van die van zijn omgeving - groeiende belangstelling voor *asbab al nuzūl* (de redenen of omstandigheden van de openbaring van Qur'an-verzen) en de *sunna*. Hetzelfde kan ook van toepassing zijn op de specificering van de namen van al-Zuhri's informanten (ook het weglaten van een naam kan een teken van specificering zijn!), wat een aanwijzing kan zijn voor een toenemende behoefte aan bronvermelding.

De laatste fase van de *isnad cum matn* analyse bestond uit de vergelijking van de overleveringen van al-Zuhri met versies van andere personen om enerzijds vast te stellen of het materiaal van al-Zuhri op een vroegere bron teruggaat en anderzijds in hoeverre zijn overlevering afwijkt van de overleveringen van die andere personen. Deze vergelijking brengt ons nog verder terug in de tijd en bevestigt dat de drie overleveringen van al-Zuhri allemaal gebaseerd zijn op eerdere verhalen uit de tijd rond de eerste eeuwwisseling of uit het laatste kwart van de eerste islamitische eeuw. Dat betekent dat hij deze verhalen niet heeft verzonnen. Het houdt echter niet in dat hij de overleveringen in dezelfde vorm heeft overgeleverd zoals hij ze ontvangen had. De verschillen met de overleveringen van andere personen laten zien dat al-Zuhri zijn verhalen waarschijnlijk bewerkt heeft tussen de tijd waarin hij ze gehoord heeft en de tijd waarin hij ze begon over te leveren aan andere personen. Elk van de drie overleveringen bevat "eigenaardigheden" die alleen in de versie van al-Zuhri te vinden zijn en ontbreken in die van de andere personen.

Ondanks de bovengenoemde variaties in de namen van de informanten van al-Zuhri, die de indruk wekken dat verschillende personen bij de overlevering betrokken waren, toont de *isnad-cum-matn* analyse een duidelijke bronvermelding bij al-Zuhri aan op wat kleine variaties in de namen na of fouten van latere overlevertaars. Het vergelijkt met de versies van andere personen kan niet al-Zuhri's bewering staven dat hij de overleveringen gehoord heeft van de persoon die hij in zijn *isnad* noemt. Bij het verhaal over de drie die niet meegingen met de expeditie naar Tabuk heeft het vergelijkt met versies van twee andere personen echter aangetoond, dat hun versies afkomstig zijn van dezelfde bron als die van al-Zuhri. Hoewel de drie overlevertaars volgens hun *asanid* verschillende informanten zouden hebben gehad, is de gemeenschappelijke bron zeer waarschijnlijk de persoon die al-Zuhri als zijn informant

noemt, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b. In de verhalen over de twee gebeurtenissen tijdens de nachtelijke reis en de expeditie van de Hudhayl kon ik geen bewijs vinden (of dat bewijs is niet bewaard gebleven in de verzamelingen die we vandaag de dag tot onze beschikking hebben) dat al-Zuhri de verhalen overgeleverd heeft gekregen van de persoon die hij in de *isnad* noemt. We kunnen echter niet uitsluiten dat al-Zuhri een - of een deel van een - versie, van beide verhalen ontvangen heeft van de informanten die hij in zijn *isnād* noemt. Het lijkt erop dat hij beide verhalen heeft samengesteld uit verschillende versies die in Mekka en Medina circuleerden. Mogelijkerwijs heeft hij de informant van een dergelijke versie gebruikt in zijn keten. Elk van de drie verhalen bevat aanwijzingen dat delen ervan zelfs ouder zijn dan het laatste kwart van de eerste islamitische eeuw. Het gaat hierbij om het verhaal over de gevangenschap van Khubayb, enkele zinsnedes uit Muḥammad's beschrijving van de drie profeten, de afzondering van Ka'b door Muḥammad en Ka'b's verblijf op de berg Sal'.

Als we de resultaten van de *isnād-cum-matn* analyse van andere *sīra*-overleveringen van al-Zuhri uit andere studies combineren met mijn bevindingen, komt er een duidelijker beeld naar voren van al-Zuhri's overlevering van verhalen over het leven van de profeet Muḥammad.

1. Al-Zuhri heeft materiaal van zijn leraren bewerkt. Zijn bewerking bestond uit het toevoegen van details en de namen van personen, het verzachten van informatie, de harmonisering van vertekeningen en tegenstrijdigheden, maar ook het combineren van afzonderlijke verhaalelementen of overleveringen tot grotere eenheden of een samenvatting.

2. De overeenkomst tussen de versies van al-Zuhri's studenten duidt op schriftelijke overlevering. De namen van de studenten die in andere studies meestal voorkomen, zijn Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (gest. 153/770), de Egyptische geleerden 'Uqayl ibn Khālid (gest. 144/761) en Yūnus ibn Yazīd (gest. 152/769), en de beroemde Medinische geleerde Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (gest. 150/767). De mate van overeenkomst verschilt per overlevering. Al-Zuhri lijkt sommige overleveringen in mindere mate te hebben bewerkt dan andere. Het kan zijn dat al-Zuhri's studenten het materiaal dat zij van hun leraar gehad hadden, aangepast hebben. Dat is zeker het geval bij Yūnus en Ibn Ishāq. Yūnus heeft in een aantal gevallen "oud" materiaal aan al-Zuhri's bewerkte versie toegevoegd, terwijl Ibn Ishāq al-Zuhri's overlevering soms bewerkt heeft of het gecombineerd heeft met informatie van andere personen.

3. Al-Zuhri's bronvermelding. Hoewel al-Zuhri zijn informatie niet altijd teruggevoerd heeft op een ooggetuige van de gebeurtenis, kan de samenstelling en de aanpassing van sommige overlevertakens erop duiden dat hij in een aantal gevallen (of

steeds vaker?) de behoefte voelde om zijn bronnen te specificeren. De variatie in de naam van zijn informanten uit de Ka'b ibn Mālik familie, die ook in andere studies naar voren komt, blijft echter opmerkelijk.

4. Al-Zuhri's belangstelling voor het verband tussen Qur'an-verzen en historische gebeurtenissen, en voor de relevantie van historische gebeurtenissen aangaande juridische zaken. Enkele korte overleveringen van al-Zuhri zijn afgeleid van zijn gedetailleerde verhalen. Het lijkt erop dat hij deze verkorte versies tijdens of voor onderwijs over exegetische en juridische zaken heeft gemaakt.

De resultaten van deze studie dragen bij aan het groeiende aantal overleveringen over het leven van de profeet Muḥammad dat met behulp van de *isnād-cum-matn* analyse op al-Zuhri terug te voeren is. Deze overleveringen gaan over belangrijke maar ook marginale gebeurtenissen tijdens het leven van Muḥammad. De vraag of al-Zuhri de auteur van een *sīra*-werk is kan op dit moment nog niet positief beantwoord worden. De resultaten die tot nu toe behaald zijn, bewijzen zijn grote belangstelling voor en kennis van de biografie van de profeet Muḥammad. Daarnaast toont de aanwezigheid van zijn overleveringen in vele verzamelingen uit de daaropvolgende eeuwen zijn belang als overleveraar van *sīra*-materiaal aan. Het blijft nog de vraag of al-Zuhri het doel had om een complete biografie van de profeet Muḥammad samen te stellen. Het boek dat al-Zuhri gemaakt heeft voor de familie van de kalief Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik zou tot deze aanname kunnen leiden. Mijn opvatting is dat dit "boek" of deze boeken uit een verzameling *sīra*-overleveringen bestond; met name *sīra*-overleveringen die het resultaat waren van bewerking van ouder materiaal. De overleveringen waren waarschijnlijk niet chronologisch geordend, hoewel er veel overleveringen van al-Zuhri zijn over de datum van bepaalde gebeurtenissen. In het laatste decennium van zijn leven heeft al-Zuhri waarschijnlijk vanuit deze collectie les gegeven zonder de intentie om het als een geheel over te leveren, anders zouden er meer coherente combinaties van al-Zuhri's bewerkte overleveringen bewaard zijn gebleven in plaats van de versnipperde aanwezigheid van deze overleveringen in talrijke werken.

Mijn meest opvallende bevinding over het materiaal van al-Zuhri is de ontdekking van een bewerkte versie bij de drie geanalyseerde verhalen. De analyse van andere Zuhri-overleveringen in eerdere studies liet niet zien of daar ook een onderscheid aanwezig was tussen "oud" en "bewerkt" materiaal. Als dit onderscheid zich ook in andere *sīra*-overleveringen van al-Zuhri bevindt, is het interessant om de mate van onderscheid te vergelijken met het onderwerp van de overlevering en de overleveraarsketen. Daarnaast kan



ook onderzocht worden of al-Zuhri zijn juridisch en exegetisch materiaal ook bewerkt heeft of slechts zijn *sira*-materiaal.

De *isnad-cum-matn* analyse heeft bewezen een zeer bruikbaar instrument te zijn voor het vaststellen van de bron van een overlevering en de ontwikkeling ervan tijdens de verschillende overleveringsfasen. Deze studie heeft ook aangetoond dat de *isnad-cum-matn* analyse in gunstige gevallen de samenstelling van gecombineerde overleveringen kan ontrafelen, een onderbroken *isnad* kan reconstrueren of de bron van een overlevering zonder keten kan bepalen. Dankzij deze methode is het mogelijk om zowel vervalste delen in een overlevering te ontdekken als vervalste of foutieve toeschrijving aan bepaalde personen. Het laat zien hoe personen zoals al-Zuhri en 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr hun materiaal op verschillende manieren ontvangen en doorgegeven hebben. Hoewel de analyse van alle voorhanden zijnde varianten van een overlevering in eerste instantie veel tijd in beslag neemt, zal het inzicht in de methodiek van een overleveraar uiteindelijk de analyse van andere overleveringen van dezelfde persoon versnellen.

De analyse van het *sira*-materiaal met de *isnad-cum-matn* analyse heeft aangetoond dat met name de biografie van de profeet Muḥammad het stempel draagt van elk persoon die het verhaal overgeleverd heeft. Teneinde volledig inzicht te krijgen in de ontwikkeling van de biografie van de profeet Muḥammad onder zijn volgelingen, moeten meer sleutelfiguren zoals al-Zuhri en 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr bestudeerd worden en de vele lagen van hun stempels worden verwijderd om tot de oudste kern van de naaste Metgezellen van Muḥammad te komen en misschien zelfs tot de profeet zelf. De *isnad-cum-matn* analyse is een middel om dat doel te bereiken en is misschien in staat om in combinatie met andere methodes de minder toegankelijke lagen van Muḥammads Metgezellen te ontrafelen.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

1 March 1970 Born in Utrecht

1982-1988 VWO in Arnhem

Dutch, English, French, Latin, Mathematics A, Mathematics B,  
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1988-1992 Institute of Translation in Maastricht

Arabic (1<sup>st</sup> language), English (2<sup>nd</sup> language), Dutch

1992-1996 Catholic University Nijmegen, Faculty of Arts

Languages and Cultures of the Middle East

Specialisation: Islam

1997 University of Leiden, Faculty of Arts, CNWS

Research assistant

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