

The Examination of Isnād Validity in Early Islamic History Sources: “Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh's Judgment of Banū Qurayza” as a Case Study

Análisis de la validez del Isnād en las fuentes de la historia temprana del Islam: “El juicio de Banū Qurayza de Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh” como caso de estudio

Abdulahadi ALAJMI
Muhammed EL-SHARAWY
Kuwait University
abdulhadialajmi@hotmail.com

Recibido: diciembre 2009

Aceptado: enero 2010

ABSTRACT

The question dealing with the reliability of early Islamic sources has been a source of discomfort for scholars as well as students of early Islamic history. The work of Josef Schacht first published in the fifties of the past century has created an overall attitude of skepticism toward early tradition and made it difficult to study early Islam without justifying the use of early sources and determining their authenticity. This made the whole field part away from the picture painted by the early sources about early Islam, giving rise to unfounded theories and speculations about this historical period. The purpose of this paper is to show that the work of Schacht is unfounded and to present an alternative method for studying Islamic history. Our efforts will not be just theoretical but we will build on the work of Harald Motzki and Gregor Schoeler by bringing a case study from this early period and show how analyzing early *isnads*, the chain of authority narrating a particular event, impacts *matns*, the narration attached to the *isnad*. This will show that scholars of Islamic history may rely on early historical narration for understanding early Islamic history given that they pay particular attention to who is narrating what to whom.

Keywords: Isnād. Islamic History. Banū Qurayza. al-Maghāzī.

RESUMEN

La cuestión sobre la fiabilidad de las fuentes islámicas tempranas ha sido siempre un motivo de turbación tanto para los expertos como para los estudiantes de la historia antigua del Islam. El trabajo de Josef Schacht, publicado por primera vez a principios de los años cincuenta del pasado siglo, ha creado una actitud general de escepticismo hacia la tradición temprana y ha hecho difícil estudiar el primer Islam sin tener que justificar el uso de las fuentes tempranas y determinar su autenticidad. Esto provocó que la especialidad al completo se apartara de la imagen mostrada por las fuentes tempranas sobre el primer Islam, haciendo surgir teorías infundadas y especulaciones sobre este periodo histórico. El propósito de este artículo es mostrar que el trabajo de Schacht no tiene fundamento y presentar un método alternativo para el estudio de la historia islámica. Nuestro esfuerzo no será sólo teórico, si no que también nos basaremos en el trabajo de Harald Motzki y Gregor Schoeler, aportando un caso de estudio de este periodo temprano, y mostraremos como analizar la *isnad* temprana, la cadena de autoridad que narra un hecho particular, la repercusión de la *matns*, la narración unida a la *isnad*. Esto mostrará que los expertos en historia del Islam podrían confiar en los relatos históricos de los primeros años para comprender la historia islámica antigua, dando por hecho que deben prestar una especial atención a quién está narrando qué y a quién.

Palabras clave: Isnād. Historia islámica. Banū Qurayz. al-Maghāzī.

The study of Islamic history has suffered during the past few decades from the various attacks of those who dismiss the reliability of the traditional sources. The attack on the Islamic tradition began by rendering the Islamic science of *ḥadīth* criticism, in the area of *isnād*, unreliable. Indeed, recent scholarly work has viewed the *isnād* as a tool employed by Muslim scholars living in the second/eight or third/ninth centuries to legitimize their legal views. According to Schacht,

The Traditionists produced detailed statements or ‘traditions’ which claim to be the reports or ear- or- eye-witnesses on the words and acts of the Prophet, handed down orally by an uninterrupted chain (*isnād*) of trustworthy persons. Hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious laws are concerned can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation, no doubt from the loftiest of motives, by the Traditionists themselves from the first half of the second century onwards.¹

This statement of Schacht had dominated the attitude of western scholars toward the Islamic tradition for a considerable period of time. As a result, the traditional picture painted by early Islamic sources was profoundly undermined.

The purpose of this paper is to show that the theory perpetuated by Schacht is unfounded, and that by studying one tradition, namely the tradition of Sa’d b. Mu’adh’s judgment of Banū Qurayza, we will show that *isnād* contains a highly sophisticated bundle of information aiming to precisely trace the origin of a given narration and determine its authenticity. In doing so, we will adopt the method recently championed by Harald Motzki,² and further applied by Gregor Schoeler³ where determining the authenticity of a given tradition rests on a careful analysis of its *isnād* and how it impacts its *matn*. This will show that *isnāds* existed for the sole purpose of ensuring careful transmission of prophetic tradition rather than creating forgeries with an attachment of names collected haphazardly in an effort to mislead people and attribute false sayings to the Prophet.

The judgement of Sa’d regarding the encounter of Banū Qurayza appears in early Muslim sources in various traditions depending on the *isnād* attached to each tradition. This encounter is narrated on the authority of ‘Ā’isha, Abū Sa’īd al-Khudrī, Jābir b. ‘Abdullah, Abū Maysara al-Hamdānī, ‘Abdullah b. Yazīd, and Muḥammad b. Maslama. The way in which this researcher will deal with the above traditions will be two fold: First, I will provide an *isnād* analysis where the biography of each authority will be discussed in order to determine the relationship, if any, between each narrator and his informant. Secondley, the *matn* of each tradition will be analyzed in order to assess the similarities and differences in each version. This is significant for our attempt to see how the *matn* of each tradition was impacted by its *isnād*. The conclusion will show that *isnāds* impact *matns* which means that the former existed before the later and this undermines Schacht’s theory which rests on the notion that *matns* existed first.

¹ SCHACHT, Joseph. *Introduction to Islamic law*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964, p.34.

² MOTZKI, Harald. *The Murder of Ibn Abī al-Huqayq*, unpublished work.

³ SCHOELER, Gregor. *Foundatins of a New Biography for Muḥammad: The Production and Evaluation of the Corpus of The Traditions of ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr*, unpublished work.

1. THE TRADITION OF ‘Ā’ISHA

This tradition occurs in two versions and each version has its own insād. The first version occurs in al-Tabaqāt al-kubra⁴ and Musnad Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal;⁵ it begins with ‘Ā’isha (d. 56-676; Medina) - ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ (d. 65/684/-86/705; Madina) - gus sib ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ (D. 144-5/761-2; Madina) - Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206/821; Wāsīt).

1) ‘Ā’isha the daughter of Abū Bakr lived in Medina and married the Prophet when she was six and consummated her marriage when she became nine.⁶ ‘Ā’isha was eighteen when the Prophet died and this shows that she was fourteen during the Banū Qurayza affair. ‘Ā’isha is considered to be one of the main sources of prophetic tradition; she heard ḥadīth from the Prophet, Abū Bakr, Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ (d.55/674; Kufa). ‘Ā’isha transmitted ḥadīth to ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ (d. 65/684-86/705; Madina), ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 93/711; Madina), and Abu-Umama Sahl b. Ḥunayf(d. 100/718; Kufa).⁷

2) ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ b. Miḥṣan al-Laythī al-Madanī died in Medina during the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik (reg. 65-86)⁸. ‘Alqama heard from ‘Ā’isha, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and Abdullah b. ‘Aqama (d. Madina). ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ owned a home and lived among the Banū Layth. He narrated a small number of ḥadīths (ḥadīthuhu qalīl) and Ibn Sa’d considered him trustworthy (*thiqa*)⁹.

3) ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama al-Madanī (d. Madina) narrated on the authority of his father and transmitted to his son Muḥammad b. ‘Amr (d. 144/761; Madina).¹⁰ Similar to his father, ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama narrated a small number of ḥadīth still al-Tirmidhī considered these narrations as sound ḥadīth.¹¹

4) Abū ‘Abdullah Muhammad b. ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama is the son of ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ who heard many ḥadīths from his father ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama and Wāqīd b. ‘Amr b. Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh(d.120/737; Medina).¹² He transmitted to Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/777; Kufa), Sufyān b. ‘Uyyna (d.

⁴ B. SA’D, Muhammad. *Al-Tabaqāt al-kubra*, ed. Suhayl al-kayyālī, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1994, vol. 2, pp. 348-350.

⁵ IBN ḤANBAL, *Musnad al-Imām Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī li al-Tibā’a wa al-Nashr, 1969, vol. 6, pp. 14-2.

⁶ AL-MIZZĪ, Jamāl al-Dīn. *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fi asmā’ al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma’rūf, Beirut: al-Risāla li al-Tibā’a wa al-Nashr, 1998, vol. 8 p. 552.

⁷ AL-MIZZĪ, vol.8, p. 523.

⁸ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 5, p. 221.

⁹ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 5, p. 221.

¹⁰ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 5, p. 445.

¹¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Mizān al-i’tidāl fi naqd al-rijāl*, ed. Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, Cairo: Dār al-Fikr, 1963), vol. 3, p. 281.

¹² IBN SA’D vol.4, p. 163.

198/813; Kufa), and Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/766; Baṣra). According to Yahya b. Ma‘īn, Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ was weak, for he would narrate something based on his own opinion then he would make up an *isnād* containing Abū Salama or Abū Hurayra in order to establish authenticity for his narration. However, Abū Ḥatim believed that ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama was trustworthy because he used to write down *ḥadīths*.¹³

5) Ibn Zādhān Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206/826 Wāsiṭ), he heard from Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ (d. 144/761; Medina), Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167/783; Baṣra), and Isrā‘īl b. Yūnus (d. 160/766; Kufa).¹⁴ Yazīd transmitted to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855; Baghdad), and Sufyān b. Wakī, b. al-Jarrāh (d. 247/861; Kufa). Yazīd b. Hārūn was known for his strong reputation and solid transmission of *ḥadīths*, especially *ḥadīths* narrated on the authority of Ḥammād b. Salama.¹⁵

This *isnād* has several strengths: first, the time gap between the death dates of ‘Ā’isha and ‘Alqama is less than thirty years, even if we consider that ‘Alqama died at 86/705. Secondly the biography of ‘Alqama indicates that he heard many *ḥadīths* from ‘Ā’isha, thirdly, the biography of ‘Alqama shows that he narrated *ḥadīths* to his son ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama, whose biography indicates that he transmitted to his son Muḥammad b. ‘Amr. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr traveled to Kufa and transmitted this tradition to Yazīd b. Hārūn, the famous narrator of Wāsiṭ. The time gaps between the death dates of each authority in this *isnād* establish the possibility that each narrator met his or her informant. This suggests that this version of ‘Ā’isha’s tradition circulated in Madina until Muḥammad b. ‘Amr took it to Kufa and transmitted it to Yazīd b. Hārūn at the first half of the third century.

The second version of ‘Ā’isha’s tradition occurs in *al-Ṭabaqāt*¹⁶, *al-Musnad*¹⁷, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*¹⁸ and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*¹⁹, it begins with ‘Ā’isha - ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 93/711; Medina) - his son Hishām b. ‘Urwa (d. 145/762; Medina) - ‘Abdullah b. Numayr (d. 199/814; Kufa).

1) Abū ‘Abdullah ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr al-Qurashī al-Asadī (d.93/711; Medina) heard from his father al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awām (d.36/656; Medina) ‘Ā’isha, and Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudri (d. 74/693; Medina).²⁰ ‘Urwa transmitted to his son Hishām b. ‘Urwa (d.145/762; Medina), Ibn shihāb al-Zuhrī (d.

¹³ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 6, pp. 456-60.

¹⁴ AL-MIZZĪ vol.8, pp.154-5.

¹⁵ AL-MIZZĪ, vol.8, pp. 156.

¹⁶ IBN SA‘D, vol.2, p.351

¹⁷ IBN ḤANBAL, vol. 6, p. 56

¹⁸ Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, (1 vol), Beirut: Sharikat Dār al-Arḥam Ibn Abī al-Arḥam, 1999. p. 863

¹⁹ Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj AL-NAYSĀBŪRĪ, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, (Riyad: Dār al-Mughnī li al-Nashr wa al-Tawzī‘, 1998), pp. 972-3

²⁰ AL-MIZZĪ, vol.5, p. 154

124/741; Medina), and ‘Abdullah b. Dhakwān (d. 130/747; Medina).²¹ ‘Urwa learned many *ḥadīths* from ‘Ā’isha. According to Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, the most knowledgeable people of ‘Ā’isha’s narrations are al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and ‘Amra bt. Abd al-Raḥmān. According to his son Hishām, ‘Urwa would gather his sons, ‘Abdullah, ‘Uthamān, Ismā’īl and Hishām, to teach them *ḥadīth*. ‘Urwa would then ask his sons to repeat what they learned and would admire Hishām for his ability to memorize. ‘Urwa was turned away from the battle of the Camel (36/656) because he was only thirteen.²²

2) Hishām b. ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr al-Qurashī (d.145/762; Medina) heard from his father ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, his brother ‘Uthmān b. ‘Urwa (d. 173/754; Medina) and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri. Hishām transmitted to ‘Abdullah b. Numayr (d.199/814; Kufa), Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ (d.196/811; Kufa) and Muḥāḍir b. al-Muwarri‘ (d.206/821; Baṣra).²³ According to Ya‘qūb b. Shayba, Hishām is trustworthy and his *ḥadīths* were accepted until he went to Iraq and the people of Kufa began doubting his narrations, for he would attribute to his father that which he heard from other people²⁴. Mālik would not accept the *ḥadīths* of Hishām, though his narrations were accurate and his *ḥadīths* were authentic. Mālik rejected Hishām’s narrations because the first time Hishām visited Kufa he formulated an *isnād* by saying, “my father told me (*ḥaddathanī abī*) that he heard (*sami’tu*) ‘Ā’isha,” the second he said, “my father informed me (*akhbaranī abī*) from (‘*an*) ‘Ā’isha, the third time he said, “my father said (*yaqūlu abī*) from (‘*An*) ‘Ā’isha. Wakī‘ b. Muḥāḍir, and Ibn al-Numayr heard from Hishām when he arrived at Kufa towards the end of his life.

3) Abū Hāshim al-Kufī ‘Abdullah b. Numayr al-Hamdānī (d.199/814; Kufa) heard from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, Sufyān al-Thawrī, and Sulayman al-A‘mash (d.147/764; Kufa). He transmitted to his son Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullah b. Numayr (d. 234/848; Kufa), his friend Muḥammad b. Bishr al-‘Abdī (d. 203/818; Kufa), and Ibn Ḥanbal.²⁵ According to Ibn Sa‘d, ‘Abdullah b. Numayr narrated many *ḥadīths* and his was trustworthy; he died during the reign of ‘Abdullah al-Ma’mūn and his friend Muḥammad b. Bishr prayed in his funeral.²⁶

This *isnād* has many strengths: first the time gaps between the death dates of ‘Ā’isha, ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, Hishām b. ‘Urwa and ‘Abdullah b. Numayr suggests that each narrator met his or her informant. Secondly the biography of each narrator

²¹ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 5, pp. 154-5

²² AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 5, pp. 155-7

²³ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 7, pp. 409-10

²⁴ AL-MIZZĪ, vol.7, p. 410

²⁵ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 4, pp. 306-7

²⁶ IBN SA‘D, vol. 5, p. 94

indicates he or she transmitted traditions to the person following him or her in *isnād*. This shows that the tradition passed from ‘Ā’isha to ‘Urwa, who passed it to his son Hishām, who traveled to Kufa and during the end of his life passed it to his student ‘Abdullah b. Numayr. As a result, the two isnāds of ‘Ā’isha tradition indicate that this tradition had circulated in Medina and reached Iraq in the first half of the third/ninth century, where Ibn Sa‘d documented it in his *Ṭabaqāt* and Ibn Ḥanbal in his *Musnad*.

2. THE TRADITION OF ABŪ SA‘ĪD AL-KHUDRĪ

The tradition narrated on the authority of Abū Sa‘īd has two *isnāds*: the first one occurs in the *Musnad*,²⁷ *Ṭabaqāt*,²⁸ al-Bukhārī’s *Sahīh*,²⁹ and Muslim’s *Sahīh*,³⁰ whereas the second *isnād* occurs in al-Tabarī’s *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*.³¹ The first *isnād* begins with Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī (d. 74/693; Medina) - Abū Umāma b. Sahl b. Ḥunīf (d. 100/718; Madina) - S‘ad b. Ibrāhīm (d. 125/742; Madina) - Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776; Basrah) transmitted it to ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī (d. 198/813; Basrah), Muḥammad b. Ja‘far (d. 193/807; Basrah), Abū al-Walīd al-Tyālisī (d. 217/841. Basra), ‘Affan b. Muslim (d. 220/835; Baghdad), and several other narrators. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far was the source of this tradition for Ibn Ḥanbal, Muslim, and al-Bukhārī; ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī was its source for Muslim and Ibn Ḥanbal; Abū al-Walīd al-Tayālisī was its source for Ibn Sa‘d; and ‘Affan b. Muslim was its source for Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Sa‘d.

1) Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī Sa‘d b. Mālik b. Sinān (d. 74/693. Medina) heard from the Prophet, Jābir b. ‘Abdullah (d. 74/693; Medina) and ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; and he transmitted to his son ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Sa‘īd (d. 112/730; Madina), Abū Umāma b. Sahl, b. Ḥunayf (d. 100/718; Madina), Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110/728; Basra).³² Abū Sa‘īd was one of the best in *fiqh* among the young companions of the Prophet,³³ and his reputation is reflected in al-Dhahabī’s work, where Abū Sa‘īd is called *mufīī ahl al-Madina*.³⁴

2) Abū Umāma As‘ad b. Sahl b. Hunayf (d. 100/718; Madina) heard from his father Sahl b. Ḥunayf (d. 38/101; Kufa), Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, and ‘Ā’isha. Abū Umāma transmitted to Sa‘d b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdullah (d. 125/744; Madina), and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741; Madina).

²⁷ Ibn Ḥanbal presented three different versions for Abū Sa‘īd tradition, the first two versions have the same *isnād*, were Muḥammad b. Ja‘far is reported to have heard the tradition from Shu‘ba, Ibn Hanbal, vol.3, p. 22; third version, on the other hand, presents the same *isnād* like the first two versions but this version reports that ‘Affān b. Muslim heard from Shu‘ba, Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. 3, p. 71.

²⁸ IBN SA‘AD, 1994, vol. 2, p.351.

²⁹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, p. 862-3; p. 1337.

³⁰ MUSLIM, pp. 972-73.

³¹ Ibn Ja‘fir AL-ṬABARĪ, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk* (ed. Ṣidqī Jamil al-‘Aṭṭār, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1998), vol. 3, p.108.

³² AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 3, p.127.

³³ IBN ḤAJAR, *Kitāb al-iṣāba fī tamayiz al-ṣahāb* (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr, 1989), vol. 2, p. 35.

³⁴ AL-DAHAHABĪ, *Siyar al-‘lām al-nubalā* (ed. Shu‘ayb al-Ama‘ūt, Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1982) vol.

Moḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hārith (d. 120/737; Madina).³⁵ Abū Umāma was born during the life of the Prophet and there was a dispute among the scholars as to whether he should be included among the generation of the companions. According to al-Bukhārī, Abū Umāma was born during the life of the Prophet but never heard from him. However, Ibn Ḥajar maintained that scholars included Abū Umāma among the companions from the honor of narrating a *ḥadīth* about the Prophet's vision of seeing 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb dressed in piety.³⁶

3) Abū Ishāq Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥman (d. 127/744; Madina) heard from Abū Umāma (d. 100/718; Madina), Talḥa b. 'Abdullah b. 'Awf (d. 97/715; Madina), and 'Āmir b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās.³⁷ Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm transmitted to Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776; al-Baṣra), Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, and Sufyān al-Thawrī. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm was the *qadī* of Madina during the time of al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d. 106/724; Madina).³⁸

4) Abū Biṣṭām Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj b. al-ward (d. 160/776; Baṣra) heard from Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, Mālik b. Anas (d.179/795; Medina), and Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. 'Alqama. Shu'ba narrated to Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī (d.198/813; Baṣra) 'Affān b. Muslim al-Ṣaffār (d.220/835; Baghdad), Muḥammad b. Ja'far Ghundar (d.193/807; Baṣra), and Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Tyālīsī (d.227/841; Baṣra)³⁹ Shu'ba was the best among his generation in memorizing accurately. He searched for *ḥadīth* narrators in Iraq and avoided the weak transmitters so his was of seeking *ḥadīths* laid down the principles of collecting *ḥadīths* among the scholars of Iraq.⁴⁰

5) Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī b. Ḥassān (d.198/813; Baṣra)⁴¹ heard from Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, Isrā'īl b. Yūnus (d.160/776; Kufa) and Sufyān al-Thawrī. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mahdī transmitted to Ibn Ḥanbal, Sufyān b. Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ (d.247/861; Kufa) and various other people.⁴² According to al-Dhahabī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī was considered trustworthy and was regarded as the best narrator of the *ḥadīths* of Sufyān al-Thawrī because both men would learn together continuously.⁴³

6) Abū 'Uthmān al-Baṣri 'Affān b. Muslim b. 'Abdullah al-Ṣaffār (d.220/835; Baghdad). 'Affān narrated on the authority of Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, Thābit b. Yazīd

³⁵ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 1, pp. 209-10.

³⁶ IBN ḤAJAR, *Fath al-bārī bi sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī* (ed. Abd al-'Azīz b. Bāz, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1996), vol. 1, p. 104.

³⁷ AL-MIZZĪ, vol.3, p.115-6.

³⁸ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 3, p. 115.

³⁹ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 3, pp. 389-90

⁴⁰ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 3, p. 391

⁴¹ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 4, p. 476

⁴² AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 4, pp.476-7

⁴³ AL-DHAHABĪ, *siyar*, vol. 9, p. 201

(d.169/785; Baṣra) and Ja‘far b. Hayyān (d.165/781; Baṣra). ‘Affān b. Muslim narrated to al-Bukhārī and Ibn Ḥanbal.⁴⁴ According to Ibn Sa‘d, ‘Affān b. Muslim was trustworthy, accurate, and he narrated a large number of *ḥadīths*.⁴⁵

7) Gundar Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Hudhalī (d.193/807; Baṣra) heard from Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, Sufyān al-Thawri, and Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far transmitted to Ibn Ḥanbal, and Ibn Abī Shayba (d.235/849; Kufa). Muḥammad b. Ja‘far said that he lived with Shu‘ba for a period of twenty years and he wrote down *ḥadīths* from Shu‘ba only. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far would show what he wrote down to Shu‘ba in order to obtain his approval.⁴⁶

8) Abū al-Walīd al-Ṭyālīsī Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Bāhīlī (d.227/841; Baṣra) heard from Isrā‘īl b. Yūnus. Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, and al-Layth b. Sa‘d (d.175/791; Egypt). Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik narrated to al-Bukhārī and Ibn Sa‘d.⁴⁷ Abū al-Walīd maintained that he used to write *ḥadīths* narrated on the authority of Shu‘ba.⁴⁸

This *isnād* has several strengths: First, the gaps between the death dates of the narrators suggest that each narrator met his informant. Secondly, the biography of each authority establishes a teacher-student connection between him and his informant. This shows that this narration originated in Medina then traveled to Iraq through Shu‘ba during the first half of the second century.

The second *isnād* of this tradition occurs in al-Ṭabarī’s *Tarīkh*;⁴⁹ it begins with Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudri, - ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ - his son ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama - his son Muḥammad b. ‘Amr - Muḥammad b. Bishr (d.203/818; Kufa) - Ibn Wakī‘: the informant of al-Ṭabarī.

The biographies of Abū Sa‘īd, ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ, ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama, and Muhammad b. ‘Amr are mentioned above.

1) Abū ‘Abdullah al-Kufī Muḥammad b. Bishr b. al-Furāfiṣa (d.203/818; Kufa) heard from Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama, Sa‘īd Ibn Abī ‘Arūba (d.156/772; Baṣra) and Hishām b. ‘Urwa. Muḥammad b. Bishr transmitted to ‘Abdullah b. Numayr and Muḥammad b. al-‘Ala’ b. Kurayb (d.248/862; Kufa). Muḥammad b. Bishr was the most knowledgeable of traditions narrated on the authority of Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba.⁵⁰

2) Ibn Wakī‘⁵¹ (unknown)

⁴⁴ AL-MIZZĪ vol. 5, p. 187; p. 190

⁴⁵ IBN SA‘D, vol. 5, p. 304

⁴⁶ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 6, pp. 265-6

⁴⁷ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 7, p. 407

⁴⁸ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 7, p.408

⁴⁹ AL-ṬABARĪ, vol. 3, p. 108

⁵⁰ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 6, pp. 249-50.

⁵¹ I was not able to find him in Al-Mizzī, Ibn Sa‘d, and al-Dhahabī.

This *isnād* has many strengths: first, the gap existing between the death dates of Abū Sa‘īd and ‘Alqama b. Waqqās is short and the biography of each one establishes a teacher-student connection between these two Medinian narrators. ‘Alqama transmitted this tradition to his son ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama, who passed it to his son Muḥammad b. ‘Amr⁵². Secondly, Muḥammad b. ‘Amr transmitted this tradition to Muḥammad b. Bishr, the time gap between the death dates of those two narrators is short and their biographies establish their teacher-student connection. This *isnād* has one major weakness, namely that Ibn Wakī‘ is unknown. Thus, establishing a connection between al-Ṭabarī and his informant is difficult. Overall, this *isnād* indicates that this particular version of Abū Sa‘īd’s tradition had originated in Medina and Muḥammad b. ‘Amr transmitted it in Kufa to Muḥammad b. Bishr during the first half of the second century.

3. THE TRADITION OF JĀBIR B. ‘ABDULLAH

The tradition narrated on the authority of Jābir b. ‘Abdullah occurs in *al-Musnad*,⁵³ *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*,⁵⁴ and *Sunan al-Dārimī*.⁵⁵ This *isnād* has one version in all sources beginning with Jābir b. ‘Abdullah (d.78/697; Medina) - Muḥammad b. Muslim (d.128/754; Mecca) - al-Layth b. Sa‘d (d.175/791; Egypt) - Qutayba b. Sa‘īd (d.240/854; Khrasān), Hujayn b. al-Muthannā (d.205/820; Baghdad), Yūnus b. Ḥammad (d. 207/822; Baghdad), and Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullah (d.227/841; Kufa).

1) Abū ‘Abdullah Jābir b. ‘Abdullah b. ‘Umar b. Hārūn (d.78/697; Medina) heard from the Prophet, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī. Jābir transmitted to Muḥammad b. Muslim (d.128/745; Mecca), Wāqid b. ‘Amr b. Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh (d.120/737; Medina), and Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab (d.93/711; Medina).⁵⁶ Jābir b. ‘Abdullah was one of the Prophet’s companions who narrated many *ḥadīths* and used to hold his own circle of learning in the Prophet’s mosque.⁵⁷

2) Abū al-Zubayr al-Makkī Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Qurashī al-Asadī (d.128/745; Mecca)⁵⁸ heard from Jābir b. ‘Abdullah, ‘Ā’isha, and Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d.80/699; Medina). Muḥammad b. Muslim transmitted to al-Layth b. Sa‘d, Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, and Sufyān al-Thawrī.⁵⁹ Muḥammad b. Muslim was the best in memorization among the students of

⁵² I have already analyzed this particular chain in ‘Ā’isha’s tradition.

⁵³ IBN ḤANBAL, vol.3, p. 350.

⁵⁴ Abū ‘Īsa AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr* (ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1st ed, 1996), vol. 3, p. 350.

⁵⁵ AL-DĀRIMĪ, *Sunan al-Dārimī* (Cairo: Dar Ihyā’ al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya, 1974), vol. 2, p. 238.

⁵⁶ AL-MIZZĪ, vol.1, pp. 425-6.

⁵⁷ IBN ḤAJJAR, *al-Iṣāba*, vol. 1, p. 213.

⁵⁸ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 6, pp. 503-5.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Jābir b. ‘Abdullah, but Shu‘ba rejected his *ḥadīths* (*taraka ḥadīthahu*) because he claimed that he saw something suspicious in how Muḥammad b. Muslim interacted with people⁶⁰. Al-Layth b. Sa‘d said that he went to Mecca in order to see Abū al-Zubayr al-Makkī and obtain the *ḥadīths* of Jābir b. ‘Abdullah. However, Abū al-Zubayr pushed two of his scribes (*kātibān*) to give what al-Layth wanted. After receiving a considerable amount of *ḥadīths* from them, al-Layth doubted that they all came from Jābir b. ‘Abdullah. So al-Layth returned to Abū al-Zubayr in order to ask him whether he heard all these traditions directly from Jābir b. ‘Abdullah. Abū al-Zubayr said that he heard some *ḥadīths* directly from Jābir and other *ḥadīths* from people narrating from Jābir. Al-Layth then asked Abū al-Zubayr to point out the *ḥadīths* that he directly heard from Jābir and Abū al-Zubayr did so.⁶¹

3) Abū al-Ḥārith al-Layth b. Sa‘d b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fahmī (d.175/791; Egypt) heard from Muḥammad b. Muslim, Mālik b. Anas, and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. Al-Layth transmitted to Qutayba b. Sa‘īd b. Jamīl b. al-Thaqafī (d.240/854; Kurasān), Yūnus b. Muḥammad b. Muslim (d.207/822; Baghdad), Ḥujayn b. al-Muthannā (d. 205/820; Baghdad), Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullah b. Yūnus (d.227/841; Kufa)⁶². Al-Layth b. Sa‘d was the *mufī* of his time in Egypt and he was a trustworthy narrator who accurately narrated *ḥadīths*.⁶³

4) Abū Rajā’ al-Balkhī Qutayba b. Sa‘ī b. Jamīl al-Thaqafī (d.240/854; Khurasān)⁶⁴ heard from al-Layth b. Sa‘d, Mālik b. Anas, and Sharīk b. ‘Abdullah b. Abī Sharīk (d.177/793; Kufa). Qutayba b. Sa‘īd transmitted to Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Abī Shayba. According to Abū Ḥātim, Qutayba was trustworthy and Ibn Ḥanbal said he visited Qutayba in Baghdad in order to hear some *ḥadīths* then he saw Ibn Abī Shayba and Ibn Numayr also coming to Qutayba in order to hear *ḥadīths*. According to Ibn Ḥanbal, Qutayba b. Sa‘īd was one of the last to narrate *ḥadīths* transmitted through Ibn Lahī’a.⁶⁵

5) Abū ‘Umar Ḥujayn b. al-Muthannā al-Yamāmī (d.205/820; Baghdad)⁶⁶ heard from al-Layth b. Sa‘d and Mālik b. Anas. Ḥujayn transmitted to Ibn Ḥanbal and Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullah b. al-Mubarak (d. 255/868; Baghdad) According to al-Bukhārī, Ḥujayn b. al-Muthanna was a judge in Khurasān and

⁶⁰ *Illā anna shu‘ba tarakahu li shay‘in za‘ama annahu ra‘āhu fa‘alahu fi mu‘āmalatihi*; IBN SA‘D, vol. 4, p. 242.

⁶¹ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 6, p. 505.

⁶² AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 6, pp. 184-89, p. 189.

⁶³ IBN SA‘D, vol. 5, p.420.

⁶⁴ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 6, pp. 105-8.

⁶⁵ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 6, p. 106.

⁶⁶ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 2, p. 71.

he is originally from Yamama.⁶⁷ According to Ibn Sa‘d, Ḥujayn is trustworthy and he narrated many ḥadīths on the authority of al-Layth b. Sa‘d.⁶⁸

6) Abū Muḥammad al-Mu‘addib Yūnus b. Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Baghdādī (d. 207/822; Baghdad),⁶⁹ heard from al-Layth b. Sa‘d and Sharīk b. ‘Abdullah (d. 177/793; Kufa); Yūnus b. Muḥammad transmitted to Ibn Ḥanbal and Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullah b. Al-Mubarak.⁷⁰ According to Abū Ḥātim, Yūnus b. Muḥammad is trustworthy.⁷¹

7) Abū ‘Abdullah al-Kūfī Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullah b. Yūnus b. Abdullah B. Qyas al-Taymī (d. 227/841. Kufa) heard from al-Layth b. Sa‘d, Isrā’īl b. Yūnus, and Mālik b. Anas. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullah transmitted to al-Bukhārī, Ibn Ḥanbal, and Ibn Abī Shayba.⁷²

According to Abū Ḥātim, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullah b. Yūnus was a trustworthy narrator and he was the last to narrate the *ḥadīths* of Sufyān al-Thawrī.⁷³

This *isnād* shows that this tradition had circulated in Madina when Jābir b. ‘Abdullah held his teaching circles in the mosque. The biography of this Madinian narrator indicates that his death date was not far apart from that of his student Abū al-Zubayr, who received this tradition in Madina and carried it with him to Iraq at the first half of the second century. The biography of Abū al-Zubayr shows that many people avoided his *ḥadīths*, but al-Layth b. Sa‘d met him and was careful in selecting narrations attributed to Jābir b. ‘Abdullah. Al-Layth transmitted this tradition to a number of his students in different areas. This *isnād* suggests that the tradition of Jābir b. ‘Abdullah’s tradition traveled out of Medina by the end of the first century and began to circulate in Irāq until scholars started preserving it in their collections near the middle of the second century.

4. THE TRADITION OF ABŪ MAYSARA AL-HAMDĀNĪ

The tradition narrated on the authority of Abū Maysara al-Hamdānī occurs in al-Ṭabaqāt.⁷⁴ The source in the *isnād* of this tradition is Abū Maysara al-Hamdānī (d. 63/682; Kufa)- ‘Amr b. ‘Abdullah (d. 128/745; Kufa) - Isrā’īl b. Yūnus - Waki ‘ b. al-Jarrāh (d. 197/812; Fayd) the informant of Ibn Sa‘d.

1) Abū Maysara al-Kūfī ‘Amr b. Shuraḥbīl al-Hamdānī (d. 53/677; Kufa) heard from ‘Ā’isha, Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Abū Maysara transmitted

⁶⁷ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 2, p. 71.

⁶⁸ IBN SA ‘D, vol. 5, p. 323.

⁶⁹ IBN SA ‘D, vol. 5, p. 323.

⁷⁰ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 8, p. 218.

⁷¹ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 8, p. 219.

⁷² AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 1, pp. 53-4.

⁷³ AL-MIZZĪ vol. 1, p. 54.

⁷⁴ IBN SA ‘D, vol 2, p. 350.

to Abū Ishāq ‘Amr b. ‘Abdullah al-Sabī’ī (d. 128/745; Kufa) and Abū Wā’il the brother of Muḥammad b. Salama (d. 82/701; Kuf).⁷⁵ Abū Maysara died in Kufa during the governorship of ‘Ubaydullah b. Ziyād (d. 671-59/677).⁷⁶

2) Abū Ishāq al-Sabī’ī al-Kufī ‘Amr b. ‘Abdullah b. ‘Ubayd (d. 128/745; Kufa) heard from Abū Maysara, al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib b. al-Hārith (d. 72/691; Kufa), and Dhakwān (d. 101/719; Madina). ‘Amr b. ‘Abdullah transmitted to Isrā’īl b. Yūnus, Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, and Sufyān al-Thawrī.⁷⁷ According to Abū Ḥātim, ‘Umar b. ‘Abdullah is a trustworthy narrator who transmitted many ḥādīths and had a strong knowledge about men narrating ḥādīths and their reputations.⁷⁸

3) Abū Yūsuf al-Kūfī Isrā’īl b. Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq al-Hamdānī al-Sabī’ī (d.162/788; Kufa),⁷⁹ he narrated on the authority of ‘Amr b. ‘Abdullah b. ‘Ubayd (d. 128/745; Kufa), Sa‘īd b. Masrūq al-Thawrī (d.127/744; Kufa), and ‘Uthmān b. ‘Āṣim al-Asadī (d. 127/744; Kufa). Isrā’īl b. Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq transmitted to Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ b. Malīḥ (d. 197/812; Fayd) and ‘Ubaydullah b. Mūsa (d. 213/828; Kufa).⁸⁰ According to Abū Ḥātim, Isrā’īl, b. Yūnus was the most trustworthy among those narrating ḥādīths from ‘Amr b. ‘Abdullah Abū Ishāq al-Sabī’ī.⁸¹

4) Abū Sufyān Wakī b. al-Jarrāḥ b. Malīḥ (d. 197/812; Fayd)⁸² heard from Isrā’īl b. Yūnus, Sufyām al-Thawrī, and Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj. Wakī b. al-Jarrāḥ transmitted to his son Sufyān b. Wakī (d. 247/861; Kufa), Muḥammad b. al-‘Alā’ (d. 248/862; Kufa), and Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206/821; Wāsit)⁸³. According to Ibn Sa‘d, Wakī b. al-Jarrāḥ was a trustworthy narrator and a credible scholar who narrated several ḥādīths.⁸⁴

This *isnād* has one slight weakness, namely the time gap between the death dates of Abū Maysara and ‘Amr b. Abdullah is longer than fifty years. Nevertheless, this *isnād* has many strengths: first, the biographies of Abū Maysara and ‘Amr b. ‘Abdullah establish a connection of teacher-student between the two narrators. Secondly, the biographies of the other authorities in this *isnād* indicate that the time gaps between the death date of each narrator and his informant is short, never exceeds thirty five years. This shows that Abū Maysara received this tradition in

⁷⁵ AL-MIZZĪ vol. 5, p. 421-2.

⁷⁶ IBN SA‘D, vol. 4, p. 385.

⁷⁷ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 5, pp. 431-4.

⁷⁸ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 5, p. 433.

⁷⁹ IBN SA‘D, vol. 5, p. 83.

⁸⁰ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 1, pp. 207-8.

⁸¹ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 1, p. 209.

⁸² IBN SA‘D vol. 5 p. 94.

⁸³ AL-MIZZĪ vol. 7, pp. 461-3; p. 467.

⁸⁴ IBN SA‘D, vol. 5, p. 94.

Madina and narrated it to his student Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī, the famous narrator of Kufa. Abū Ishāq transmitted the tradition to his student and grandson Isrā'īl b. Yūnus, who transmitted it to his student Wakī b. al-Jarrāh, the informant of Ibn Sa'd. This isnād shows that the Tradition of Abū Maysara circulated in Kūfa as early as the second half of the first century until Ibn Sa'd document it in his *Ṭabaqāt*.

5. THE TRADITION OF 'ABDULLAH B. YAZĪD

This tradition is preserved in Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt*⁸⁵, its isnād begins with 'Abdullah b. Yazīd (d. 64/683-73/692; Kufa) - Jābir al-Ju'fī (d. 128/745. Kufa) - Isrā'īl b. Yūnus - Abdullah b. Mūsa (d. 213; Kufa) the informant of Ibn Sa'd.

1) Abū Mūsa al-Khaṭamī 'Abdullah b. Yazīd b. al-Anṣārī died in Kufa during the reign of 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr (64/683 – 73/692)⁸⁶ and heard from the Prophet, 'Umar b. al-Kaṭṭāb, and al-Barā b. 'Āzib. 'Abdullah b. Yazīd transmitted to Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn.⁸⁷ 'Abdullah b. Yazīd was seventeen years old when he fought on the side of the Prophet during al-Hudaybiya. According to Abū Ḥātim, 'Abdullah b. Yazīd was a boy when he first heard *ḥadīth* from the Prophet.⁸⁸

2) Abū 'Abdullah Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī (d. 128/745; Kufa),⁸⁹ heard from 'Ānūr b. Sharāhīl al-Sha'bī (d. 104/722; Kufa) and 'Ikrima *the mawla* of Ibn 'Abbās (d. 104/722; Madina) Jābir b. Yazīd transmitted to Isrā'īl b. Yūnus, Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, Sufyān al-Thawrī to Ibn Sa'd, al-Ju'fī was very weak in his narration and his opinions.⁹⁰

3) Isrā'īl b. Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq al-Hamdānī al-Sabī'ī (d. 160/776; Kufa). See above.⁹¹

4) Abū Muḥammad al-Kūfī 'Ubaydullah b. Mūsa b. Abī al-Mukhtār al-'Absī (d. 213/828; Kufa)⁹² heard from Isrā'īl b. Yūnus, Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, and Sufyān al-Thawrī. 'Ubaydullah b. Mūsa transmitted to al-Bukhārī and Ibn. Sa'd.⁹³ According to Ibn Sa'd, Ubaydullah b. Mūsa was trustworthy transmitter who narrated several *ḥadīths*, but his *Shī'ī* inclination gained his weak reputation.⁹⁴

⁸⁵ IBN SA 'D, vol. 2, pp. 350-1.

⁸⁶ IBN SA 'D, vol. 4, p. 300.

⁸⁷ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 4, p. 323.

⁸⁸ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 4, p. 323.

⁸⁹ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 1, p.430.

⁹⁰ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 4, p. 431-2.

⁹¹ IBN SA 'D, vol. 5, p. 69.

⁹² IBN SA 'D, vol. 5, p. 97.

⁹³ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 5, pp.64-5.

⁹⁴ IBN SA 'D, vol. 5, p. 79.

This isnād has weaknesses: first, Jābir al-Ju‘fi was considered a weak narrator of *ḥadīth* and his biography does not report that he heard from ‘Abdullah b. Yazīd.⁹⁵ Secondly, the time gap between the death dates of ‘Abdullah b. Yazīd and that of Jābir al-Ju‘fi is longer than fifty years. Similarly, the time gap between the death date of Isrā’īl and ‘Ubaydullah b. Mūsa is longer than fifty years. One strength in this isnād is that the time gap between the death dates of Jābir al-Ju‘fi and Isrā’īl b. Yūnus is less than thirty years and the biographies of these two narrators establish their teacher-student connection. Another strength is that Isrā’īl b. Yūnus transmitted several *ḥadīths* to ‘Ubaydullah b. Mūsa. This *isnād* does not clearly show how Jābir al-Ju‘fi received this tradition, since establishing the connection between ‘Abdullah b. Yazīd and Jabir al-Ju‘fi is difficult. However, the *isnād* indicates that the tradition circulated in Kufa when Jābir al-Ju‘fi transmitted it to Isrā’īl b. Yūnus who transmitted it ‘Ubaydullah b. Mūsa who was the informant of Ibn Sa‘d.

6. THE TRADITION OF MUḤAMMAD B. MASLAMA

This tradition occurs in al-Wāqidī’s *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*⁹⁶. This isnād begins with Muḥammad b. Maslama (d. 42/662; Madina) - Abū Sufyān (d.? Medina) - Dāwūd b. Ḥuṣayn (d. 135/752; Madina) - Khārija b. ‘Abdullah (d. 165/781; Medina) the informant of al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822; Baghdad).

1) Abū ‘Abdullah al-Madanī Muḥammad b. Maslama b. Salama al-Anṣārī (d. 42/622; Madina), and ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr. Muḥammad b. Maslama attended all the battles with the Prophet except the battle of Tabūk because the Prophet put him in charge of Madina. Muḥammad b. Maslama was a companion who narrated *ḥadīth* on the authority of the Prophet only.⁹⁷

2) Abū Sufyān mawlā ‘Abdullah b. Abī al-Ḥadīd b. Abī Aḥmad al-Qurashī, he lived in Madina but there is no mention of his death date or place.⁹⁸ Abū Sufyān heard from Abū Hurayra, Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, and Muḥammad b. Sa‘d b. Waqqāṣ (d. 84/703; Kufa). He transmitted to Dāwūd b. Al-Huṣayn (d. 135/752; Madina), and ‘Abdullah b. Abī Sufyān (d. 139/756; Madina). According to Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn, Abū Sufyān used to lead the men of Banū ‘Abd –l –Aḥshal in prayer and the companion Muḥammad b. Maslama used to join them.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Yahya b. Ma‘īn considered Jābir al-Ju‘fi as a weak narrator of *ḥadīth*; AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 1p. 431

⁹⁶ Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. WĀQID, *Kitāb al-maghāzī lil waqidī* (ed. Marsden Jones, London: Oxford University Press, 1967), vol. 2, p. 510.

⁹⁷ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 6, pp. 516-7.

⁹⁸ I checked in AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 8 p. 323; IBN SA‘D, vol. p. 477, and according to al-Dhahabī, Abu Sufyān is unknown (la u‘ra), AL-DHAHABĪ, *Mizān al-i‘tidāl*, vol. 4, p. 531.

⁹⁹ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 8, p. 323.

3) Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn the mawlā of ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān b. Abī al-Āṣ al-Umawī (d. 135/752; Madina)¹⁰⁰ heard Abū Sufyān, ‘Ikrima the mawlā of Ibn ‘Abbās, Wāqīd b. ‘Amr b. Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh (d. 120/737; al-Madina). Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn transmitted to Khārija b. ‘Abdullah b. Sulaymān b. Zayd b. Thābit (d. 165/781; Madina) Ibrāhīm b. Muḥamma al-Aslamī (d. 184/800; Madina).¹⁰¹ According to Ibn Sa’d, Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn was trustworthy transmitter who narrated several ḥadīths on the authority of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795; Madina).¹⁰²

4) Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī Khārija b. ‘Abdullah b. Sulaymān b. Zayd b. Thābit al-Anṣārī (d. 165/781; Madina) heard from Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn and ‘Āmir b. ‘Abdullah b. al-Zubayr (d. 121/738; Madina). Khārija transmitted to al-Wāqīdī (d. 207/822; Baghdad) and Zayd b. al-Ḥubbāb (d. 230/844; Kufa). According to Ibn Ḥanbal, Khārija b. ‘Abdullah is weak in narrating ḥadīth, but Abū Ḥātim maintained that he narrated ḥadīths acceptably (*ḥadīthuhu ṣāliḥ*).¹⁰³

This *isnād* has a few weaknesses: first, the death date and place of Abū Sufyān are unknown and this hinders our ability to know if this part of the *isnād* adds-up. Secondly, the time gap between the death dates of the first authority of the *isnād* Muḥammad b. Maslama and the third authority Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn is ninety three years. This long time gap suggests that this *isnād* has a missing link, since one narrator is usually insufficient to fill such a long time gap. It is likely that this missing link occurs between Abū Sufyān and Dāwūd b. Maslama.

This *isnād* has significant strengths: first, the gap between the death of Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn and that of Khārija b. ‘Abdullah is thirty years and that the biographies of both narrators establish their teacher-student connection. Secondly, the time gap between the deaths dates of Khārija b. ‘Abdullah and al-Wāqīdī is forty two years and this not incredibly long. This shows that this tradition circulated in Madina for two centuries until al-Wāqīdī received it and preserved it in his *Maghāzi* near the end of the second/eight century or the beginning of the third/ninth century.

7. THE TRADITION OF ‘ABD AL-RAHMĀN B. AMR B. SA‘D B. MU‘ĀDH

This tradition occurs in Ibn Sa’d’s *Ṭabaqāt*¹⁰⁴, its source is the grandson of Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh, ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. ‘Amr b. Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh - Muḥammad b. Ziyād - Ḥammād b. Salam (d. 168/783; Kufa) - Sulaymān b. Ḥarb (d. 224/838; Baṣra) the informant of Ibn Sa’d.

¹⁰⁰ IBN SA‘D, vol. 4, p. 150.

¹⁰¹ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 2, p. 412.

¹⁰² IBN SA‘D, vol. 4, p. 150.

¹⁰³ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 2, p. 333.

¹⁰⁴ IBN SA‘D, vol. 2, p. 351.

1) ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Amr b. Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh (d. ?) the grandson of Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh.¹⁰⁵

2) Abū al-Hārith Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Qurashī al-Jumahī (d.? Baṣra) heard from ‘Abdullah b. al-Zubayr, ‘Ā’isha, and Abū Hurayra. Muḥammad b. Ziyād narrated to Ḥammād b. Salam b. Muslim (d. 167/783; lived in Baṣra), al-Rabī‘b. Muslim (d. 167/783; al-Baṣra), Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj. According to Ibn Ḥanbal, Muḥammad b. Ziyād is trustworthy and no one narrated *ḥadīths* on his authority as much as Ḥammād b. Salama.¹⁰⁶

3) Abū Salama b. Abī Sakhra Ḥammād b. Salama b. Dīnār al-Baṣrī (d. 167/783; Kufa), he narrated on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ziyād (d.? Baṣra). Ḥammād b. ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama, and his uncle Humayd b. al-Ṭawīl (d. 142/759, Baṣra). Ḥammad b. Salama transmitted to Sulaymān b. Ḥarb (d. 224/838; Basra), Yūnus b. Muḥammad b. Muslim (d. 207/822; Baghdad), and Sh‘uba b. al-Ḥajjāj. According to Ibn Ḥanbal, Ḥammād b. Salama is the most reliable narrator of his uncle’s *ḥadīths* Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl.¹⁰⁷

4) Abū Ayyūb al-Baṣrī Sulaymān b. Ḥarb b. Bajīl al-Azdī Wāshihī (d. 224/838; Baṣra) heard from Ḥammād b. Salama, Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj and Ḥammād b. Zayd (d. 179/795; Baṣra). Sulaymān transmitted to al-Bukhārī and Ibn Ḥanbal¹⁰⁸. According to Ibn Sa‘d, Sulaymān was from Azd and he was a trustworthy narrator who narrated a large number of *ḥadīths*. Ibn Sa‘d adds that Sulaymān became the Qādī of Mecca, was discharged, and then returned to Baṣra where he lived until his death at the age of 84.¹⁰⁹

This isnād has several weaknesses: first, it does not indicate the source from which ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Amr heard this tradition. Secondly, I was not able to find a biography for Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Amr. Similarly, the death dated of Muḥammad b. Ziyād is unknown. Nevertheless, this tradition has few strengths: first, ‘Abdullah b. ‘Amr is the grandson of Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh and his narration is significant, since the tradition deals with his own family. Indeed, the grandsons of many companions naturally preserved stories about their grandfathers and often praised them for their achievements of supporting the Prophet. Secondly, the biography of Muḥammad b. Ziyād indicates that he was the teacher of Ḥammad b. Salama. Thirdly, the biography of Ḥammād b. Salama indicates that he transmitted *ḥadīths* to Sulaymān b. Ḥarb. This *isnād* shows that this tradition circulated in Iraq during

¹⁰⁵ I was not able to find his biography, Ibn Sa‘d mentions his name in this isnād and indicates that he is the grandson of Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh, IBN SA‘D, vol. 2, p. 348. Al-Bukhārī mentions his name without any information, AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* (Hyderabad: Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1958), vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 326.

¹⁰⁶ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 6, pp. 311-2.

¹⁰⁷ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 2, pp. 277-8; p. 281.

¹⁰⁸ AL-MIZZĪ, vol. 3, pp. 269-70.

¹⁰⁹ IBN SA‘D, vol. 5 p. 305.

the first half of the second century until Ibn Sa'd heard it from Sulaymān b. Ḥarb and preserved it in his *Ṭabaqāt*.

8. MATN ANALYSIS

The tradition of the appointment of Sa'd as the judge for deciding the fate of the Banū Qurayza from seven authorities: six companions and the one follower. The tradition of 'Ā'isha has six versions and that of Abū Maysara al-Hamdānīm 'Abdullah b. Yazīd, Muḥammad b. Maslama, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr each has one version. Thus, the tradition of Sa'd judgment occurs in eighteen versions and with the exception of version which differs substantially in content, the significant point of difference between the rest of the versions concerns the manner in which Sa'd was chosen to execute this task. Eleven versions indicate that the Prophet sent for Sa'd when the Banū Qurayza expressed their wish of letting Sa'd decide their fate¹¹⁰. Five versions¹¹¹ indicate that the Prophet chose Sa'd after rejecting al-Aws's wish to pardon their clients: the Banū Qurayza. One version does not outline how Sa'd was chosen to judge.¹¹² The only version that presents a different description of how Sa'd dealt with this whole affair is that of his grandson, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr. This version shows that the Prophet decided the matter and Sa'd was a kind of advisor giving the Prophet advice on how to make the best decision. These differences between the various versions of the tradition will be illustrated when we analyze how the text of each narration deals the role of Sa'd in judging the fate of the Banū Qurayza.

8.1 THE TRADITION OF 'Ā'ISHA

As mentioned above, the tradition of 'Ā'isha has six versions: four versions of this narration do not contain the section dealing with Sa'd's pronouncement (*ḥukm*), but use an insertion narrated on the authority of people other than 'Ā'isha.¹¹³ The other two version show that 'Ā'isha included Sa'd's *ḥukm* in her narration.

A) (no *ḥukm*) this narration, preserved in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, begins with the ending scene of the battle of the Trench when Sa'd was injured, then gust winds started to blow in the direction of the Quraysh until they withdrew.

'Ā'isha narrates as follows: the Prophet returned to Medina and ordered that a rounded dome from clay (*qubbatun min adamin*) be build for Sa'd in the mosque. 'Ā'isha said: so Jibrīl came to the Prophet before cleaning himself from dustand

¹¹⁰ All seven versions of Abū Sa'īd's tradition, two versions of 'Ā'ishah's tradition, and the traditions of both Jābir and Abū Maysara indicate "*Nazala ahlu Quraya 'alā ḥukm Sa'd*"

¹¹¹ This view is illustrated in four versions of 'Ā'isha's tradition and the tradition of Muḥammad b. Maslama which heavily emphasized how the al-Aws pressured the Prophet to chose Sa'd for the task.

¹¹² This the version of 'Abdullah b. Yazīd.

¹¹³ I will provide details on who narrated the insetion of Sa'd's *ḥukm* in each of these four narrations.

asked him, “did you put down your weapons? By God, the Angels have not put down their weapons yet; go out to the Banū Qurayza and fight them.”

‘Ā’isha said: so the Prophet put on his clothes and fighting gear (*la’ matahu*)¹¹⁴ then he called the people to get ready to go in order to fight the Banū Qurayza. ‘Ā’isha said that the Prophet passed by the Banū Ghanm, who lived next to the mosque, and the Prophet told them “who passed by you?” They said, “Dihya al-Kalbī¹¹⁵ passed by us” Dihya had a beard and facial features similar to that of Jibrīl. ‘Ā’isha said: The Prophet arrived and besieged the Banū Qurayza for 25 days. When their condition worsened and their suffering increased, they told to let the Prophet decide their case. They consulted with Abū Lubāba b. ‘Abd al-Mundhir,¹¹⁶ who told them that the Prophet intended to kill them, so they said: we agree to be judged by Sa’d b. Mu’ādh. So, the Prophet sent for Sa’d and was carried on a donkey with a saddle padded with palm fiber (*ikāfīn min lifīn*)¹¹⁷ and his people surrounded him and told him: “O Abā ‘Umar your allies (referring to Banū Qurayza), your servants, and our strong supporters (*alh al-nikāya*)¹¹⁸ in times of adversity, and you know them well. ‘Ā’isha said: Sa’d would not return anything to them (meaning that Sa’d would not respond to them). So when he arrived near their dwellings, he said: “the time has come for me to disregard your blame when conducting an affair of God.”

This section is followed by an insertion of Sa’d’s *ḥukm* narrated on the authority of Abū Sa’īd. This section is similar to the narrations of Abū Sa’īd, which will be discussed later.¹¹⁹ It is followed by what happened after the *ḥukm*.

‘Ā’isha said: Sa’d called on God and said, “God if You ordained that war between Your Prophet and Quraysh will continue, let me live, but if war between them has ended, then end my life.” ‘Ā’isha said, Sa’d’s vein started to bleed – and his wound (*kalm*)¹²⁰ had healed so that nothing of his injury was visible except that which looked like a ring – and he returned to his tent which the Prophet ordered for him in

¹¹⁴ *al-la’ matu* is a *dir’* or a breastplate and its plural is *lu’ūm*. IBN MANZŪR, *Lisān al-‘Arab* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1990), vol. 12, p. 532.

¹¹⁵ Dihya al-Kalbī is one of the companions; he died in Damascus during the reign of Mu’āwiya (41/661-606/790). In year 6/627; he was the messenger of the Prophet to the king of Rūm (Byzantium) during the truce with Quraysh. According to Ibn Ḥajar, many *ḥadīths* indicate that Jibrīl would descend in a human form with a face and beard similar to that of Dihya. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, vol. 1, p. 473.

¹¹⁶ Abū Lubāba Bashīr b. ‘Abd al-Mundhir b. Rifā’a b. Umayya (d. 36/656). Abū Lubāba tied himself to a tree next to the mosque when he mistakenly informed the Banū Qurayzah about how the Prophet intended to slaughter them. Abū Lubāba remained tied to the tree until the Prophet informed him that God has accepted his repentance and forgiven him. Ibn Sa’d, vol. 2, p. 372

¹¹⁷ *ikāfīn* means that which a man sits on while traveling on the back of an animal; a saddle; IBN MANZŪR, vol. 9, p. 8.

¹¹⁸ *Nikāya*: strength which enables someone to overcome someone else in battle. IBN MANZŪR, vol. 15, p. 341.

¹¹⁹ This insertion is similar to Abū Sa’īd’s tradition that appears in al-Tabarī. It also has the same isnād: Abū Sa’īd to ‘Alqama b. Waqqās to his son ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama to his son Muḥammad b. ‘Amr, who passed it to Yazīd b. Hārūn the informant of Ibn Sa’d and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr also transmitted this tradition to Muḥammad b. Bishr, who passed it to Ibn Wakī’, the informant of al-Tabarī. There is one significant difference in that (A) indicates that the Prophet said, “stand up for your master,” and ‘Umar said, “God is our master”. The statement of ‘Umar is absent from al-Tabarī, it only exists in both insertions of Sa’d’s *ḥukm* which exists in Ibn Sa’d and Ibn Ḥanbal. This section will be discussed in Abū Sa’īd’s tradition.

¹²⁰ *Kalm* means *Jarḥ* or injury its plural is *kūlūm* or *kilām*, Ibn Manzūr, vol. 12 p. 524.

the Mosque. The Prophet, Abū Bakr, and ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb attended him, and ‘Ā’isha said, “Him in whose hands the soul of Muḥammad is, I do not distinguish between the crying of Abū Bakr or that of ‘Umar and I was in my room and the Prophet, Abu Bakr and ‘Umar were merciful amongst themselves. Then ‘Alqama¹²¹ said: “Oh mother, what did the Prophet do?” ‘Ā’isha said: The Prophet would not shed a tear on anyone but when he would feel sad, he would hold his beard.

B) (No *ḥukm*) The second narration occurring in the Musnad¹²² is very short; it summarized the events of (A) by mentioning that Sa’d was injured during the battle of the Trench and the Prophet ordered that a dome of clay be prepared for him in the mosque. The Prophet returned to his home in Madina and began to wash his hair from dust and Jibrīl came to him and told him to go and fight the Banū Qurayza. This section is followed by an insertion dealing with Sa’d’s *ḥukm* narrated on the authority of ‘Urwa’s father: al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awām (36/656; Madina).

The following two narrations of ‘Ā’isha appear in Ibn Sa’d’s *Ṭabaqāt*.

C) (No *ḥukm*) The first narration is similar to (A) except for the following: the insertion dealing with Sa’d *ḥukm* is narrated on the authority of Ibn Sa’d.¹²³ The second difference occurs in the final section of the narration where ‘Alqama asks ‘Ā’isha about how the Prophet reacted to Sa’d’s death. The section in Ibn Sa’d’s book does not mention ‘Alqama’s name. The rest of the narration is identical in words and narrative sequence.

D) (no *ḥukm*) This tradition appears in the *Ṭabaqāt*; it is identical to (B) and its *ḥukm* insertion is also identical to (B) in isnād as well as content.

E) (*ḥukm* is added) The narration is preserved in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*. It begins with the event in which Ḥibbān b. al-‘Ariqa had attacked Sa’d and cut the vein of his arm (*fa ramāhu fī al-akḥal*). The story then follows (A) in saying that the Prophet ordered a tent to be prepared for Sa’d in the mosque, but adds that this was done to let the Prophet see him closely (*li u’āwidahu min qarīb*). This narration excludes the details of how the Prophet prepared to fight the Banū Qurayza and asked the Prophet to go fight them¹²⁴. The narration then summarizes the events by indicating that the Prophet fought the Banū Qurayza until they submitted to his judgment, and that he let Sa’d decide their fate. Sa’d is reported to have said that he “judges their fighting men to be killed, their children and women to be enslaved, and their money to be divided.”¹²⁵

F) (*ḥukm* is added) This narration occurs in Muslim and is identical in both word and order to (E).¹²⁶

¹²¹ ‘Alqam, as we showed in the isnād, was the immediate narrator from ‘Ā’isha.

¹²² IBN HANBAL, vol. 6, pp. 141-2.

¹²³ The content of this insertion is identical with the insertion of (A), so I will deal with it in the tradition of Abū Sa’īd.

¹²⁴ Jibrīl said, “*qad waḍa’ta al-silāh? Wallahi ma waḍa’ tuhu, ukhruj iyyhim*”. The Prophet said, “*fa’ayna?*” then Jibrīl pointed towards the Banū Qurayza.

¹²⁵ *qāl sa’d, “fa innī aḥkam fihim an tuqatal al-muqātila wa tusbā al-dhurriyya wa al-nisā’ wa tursam amwāluhum.”* Al-Bukhārī, p. 863.

¹²⁶ MUSLIM, p. 973.

Overall, the narration of ‘Ā’isha includes a detailed description of how Sa’d was injured, how the Prophet washed the dust away from his hair, then how he prepared himself to fight the Banū Qurayza after Jibrīl’s visit. The narration shows that ‘Ā’isha witnessed these events personally and passed them down to the public. The details appearing in the narration about the very personal aspects of the Prophet’s life indicate that his wife or someone from his household narrated the story. Furthermore, this private information is absent from the other traditions dealing with this same event. As a result, ‘Ā’isha’s tradition is unique in its portrayal of this small event of what the Prophet did when he entered inside his home after returning from the battle of the Trench.

‘Ā’isha’s versions of the narration exhibit two points of view about to how Sa’d ended up judging the affair. First, the narrations of A and C¹²⁷ indicate that the Banū Qurayza suffered from the Muslim siege then asked to consult with Abū Lubāba who told them that the Prophet intended to kill them. The Banū Qurayza chose Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh in an effort to obtain a lenient judgment. Thus, this view clearly shows that the Banū Qurayza chose Sa’d to judge their case and that the Prophet acted accordingly in order to fulfill their wish. The second view appears in B, D, E, and F¹²⁸, and shows that the Banū Qurayza chose the Prophet to judge their case then the Prophet delegated the affair to Sa’d. The reason why this difference occurs is hard to know, but few suggestions may shed light on this contradiction. According to Ibn Ḥajar, the Banū Qurayza might have agreed to be judged by the Prophet after knowing that he chose Sa’d to decide the affair when the al-Aws pressured for leniency toward their clients¹²⁹. Secondly, ‘Ā’isha might have narrated this story originally in two different ways. Finally, ‘Ā’isha might have narrated the long version of the story (A and C) only, but Hishām b. ‘Urwa was responsible for shortening it, since he narrated the tradition near the end of his life when he was becoming increasingly inaccurate.¹³⁰

8.2 ABŪ SA‘ĪD AL-KHUDRĪ

The tradition narrated on the authority of Abū Sa‘īd appears in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*,¹³¹ Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*,¹³² Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*,¹³³ Ibn Sa‘d’s *Ṭabaqāt*,¹³⁴ al-Ṭabarī’s *Tārīkh*.¹³⁵ This tradition is a very short version of the story.

¹²⁷ These two long versions are attached to the same isnād, namely the version narrated from ‘Ā’isha to ‘Alqama b. Waqqās to ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama to Muḥammad b. ‘Amr to Yazīd b. Ḥārūn.

¹²⁸ These version of the *matn* are attached to the same version of ‘Ā’isha’s isnād, namely the version narrated from ‘Ā’isha to ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr to Hishām b. ‘Urwa to ‘Abdullah b. Numayr.

¹²⁹ IBN ḤAJAR, *Fath al-Bārī*, vol. 8, p. 175.

¹³⁰ As mentioned above, Mālik maintained that Hishām was becoming inaccurate near the end of his life and that he would narrate ḥadīths and say ‘an abī ‘an ‘Ā’isha. Again, the biography of Hishām indicates that ‘Abdullah Ibn Numayr heard from Hishām near the end of his life when he reached Kufa. Finally, the *isnād* of this tradition shows that Hishām narrated ‘an abīhi ‘an ‘Ā’isha. This occurs in all the sources preserving this isnād.

¹³¹ AL-BHUKHĀRĪ, p. 863.

¹³² IBN ḤANBAL, vol. 3, p. 22; p. 71.

¹³³ MUSLIM, pp. 972-973.

¹³⁴ IBN SA‘D, vol. 2p. 351.

¹³⁵ AL-ṬABARĪ, vol. 3, p. 108.

A) This version appears in Ibn Ḥanbal,¹³⁶ Muslim and al-Bukhārī. The tradition goes as follows: the people of the Qurayza accepted Sa‘d to be the judge of their affair, then the Prophet sent for Sa‘d, who came to him on a donkey. When Sa‘d approached the mosque¹³⁷, the Prophet said to the al-Anṣār, “stand up for your master (or the best of you)”¹³⁸. Then the Prophet said, “These people (Banū Qurayza) have agreed that you judge their affair.” Sa‘d said, “Their fighting men are to be put to death, their women and children enslaved.” The Prophet said, “You have judged with God’s judgment (or with the king’s ¹³⁹ judgment)”.

B) This version appears in the Musnad¹⁴⁰ and includes Sa‘d judgment in a manner identical to (A). This version also includes the Prophet’s response indicating that Sa‘d had judged with God’s judgment (or with the king’s judgment or with the angel’s judgment). ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī was not certain whether the narration indicates king or angel, so Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal narrated to him that ‘Affān b. Muslim narrated king.

C) The tradition occurring in al-Ṭabarī¹⁴¹ differs from (A) in four places: first, the opening section begins with the statement when Sa‘d came¹⁴² rather than the statement when the Banū Qurayza accepted that Sa‘d Judge their case. Secondly, this version adds this statement: “So they brought him down”¹⁴³. Thirdly, the section of the *ḥukm* adds: “and their money be split”¹⁴⁴. Finally, the ending section including the response of the Prophet adds: “and the judgment of his Prophet.”¹⁴⁵

D) This version¹⁴⁶ is preserved in Ibn Sa‘d; it is different from (A) in three parts: first, there is no mention of a mosque when Sa‘d arrived. Secondly, the Prophet called Sa‘d by his first name then told him that the Banū Qurayza have accepted

¹³⁶ This is one of three traditions narrated on the authority of Abū Sa‘īd appearing in Ibn Ḥanbal, where Shu‘ba transmitted the tradition to Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, who is also the informant of al-Bukhārī and Muslim for Abū Sa‘īd narration. This isnād starts with Abū Sa‘īd to Abū Umāma to Sa‘d b. Ibrāhīm to Shu‘ba to Muḥammad b. Ja‘far to Muslim, al-Bukhārī, and Ibn Ḥanbal.

¹³⁷ This is not the Madina mosque, but maybe another mosque that the Prophet built for the Muslims during their siege of Qurayza. This explanation was offered by al-Qādī Iyād, *Ikmāl al-mu‘allim bi fawā muslim* (ed. Yahya Usmā‘īl, Beirut: Dār al-Wafā’, 1998 vol. 6, pp. 104-5).

¹³⁸ Perhaps the Prophet ordered the al-Anṣār to stand up in order to go and help Sa‘d down because he was injured. This explanation is offered by al-Qādī ‘iyād, vol. 6, p. 103.

¹³⁹ Al-malik.

¹⁴⁰ This is the second of three versions occurring in the *Musnad* for Abū Sa‘īd’s tradition: in the isnād of this tradition Shu‘ba transmitted the tradition to ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Mahdī. Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. 3, p. 22

¹⁴¹ The *isnād* of this version begins with Abū Sa‘īd to ‘Alqama b. Waqqās to ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama to Muḥammad b. ‘Amr to Muḥammad b. Bishr to Ibn Wakī‘ to al-Ṭabarī.

¹⁴² *Falamma ṭala’.*

¹⁴³ *fa anzaluhu.* This affirms the notion that the Prophet ordered the al-Anṣār to stand up in order to help Sa‘d down from the donkey.

¹⁴⁴ *Wa tuqassam amwālūhum.*

¹⁴⁵ *Wa ḥukm rasūlihi.*

¹⁴⁶ The *isnād* of this tradition starts with Abū Sa‘īd to Abū Umāma to Sa‘d b. Ibrāhīm to Shu‘ba to ‘Affān b. Muslim and Abū al-Walīd al-Ṭyālīsī to Ibn Sa‘d.

that he judge them.¹⁴⁷ Finally, the Prophet said, “you have judged them with the judgment of the king”.¹⁴⁸

E) This version appears in the *Musnad*¹⁴⁹, it differs from C in two parts: First, there is no mentioning of “when he approached” (*lamma dana*) or “O Sa’d” (*yā Sa’d*). This version is similar to (D) in *al-malik*, since (E) also came by way of ‘Affān b. Muslim.

F) This version appears in the *Musnad*; it is identical to (A) because Ibn Ḥanbal indicates that he received this narration from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī, whose narration is similar to that of Ghundar. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was not sure whether the Prophet said “you judged with the judgment of *al-malik*” or “*al-malak*” so Ibn Ḥanbal said, “we narrated to him that ‘Affān b. Muslim said *al-malik*”.

G) This version occurs in the *Musnad* and the *Ṭabaqāt* as an insertion in the tradition of ‘Ā’isha. This tradition is similar to (B), but adds that ‘Umar told the Prophet “God, may he be glorified, is our Lord.”¹⁵⁰

The tradition of Abū Sa’d is more concerned with the legal aspect of the story than its political dimension or its historical details. This is evident especially when considering that Abū Sa’d became an authority on legal matters among the people of Madina and al-Dhahabī considered him the *mufti* of Madina.¹⁵¹ This tradition presents the view that the Banū Qurayza requested that Sa’d judge their case. This view is similar to the view occurring in the first version of ‘Ā’isha’s tradition.

8.3 THE TRADITION OF JĀBIR B. ‘ABDULLAH

The tradition narrated on the authority of Jābir b Abdullah appears in identical wording and structure in the *Musnad*,¹⁵² al-Tirmidhī’s *Sunan*,¹⁵³ and al-Dārimī’s *Sunan*.¹⁵⁴ This version of the tradition is short, but it is somewhat longer than the tradition of Abu Sa’d. It also differs from other traditions by the inclusion of the information that four hundred people were put to death as a consequence of Sa’d’s judgment. This narration appears as follows: in the battle of The Trench, Sa’d was hit and his vein was cut,¹⁵⁵ so the Prophet treated it,¹⁵⁶ and his hand swelled, so the Prophet treated him again, and his hand swelled so his vein bled. So, when Sa’d saw this he said, “O God, do not end my life until I see vengeance on the Banū Qurayza. So, his vein stopped bleeding and did not spill one

¹⁴⁷ *yā Sa’d inna hā’ulā qad nazalū ‘alā ḥukmika; Ibn Sa’d, vol. 2, p. 351.*

¹⁴⁸ Ibn Sa’d indicates that ‘Affān b. Muslim said *al-malik*, whereas Abū Walīd said *al-Malak*. Ibn Sa’d believed that ‘Affān’s narration is more accurate. Ibn Sa’d, vol. 2, p. 351

¹⁴⁹ This is third version of Abū Sa’d’s tradition occurring in the *Musnad* and its isnād shows that ‘Affān b. Muslim received this tradition from Shu’ba. Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. 3, p. 71

¹⁵⁰ *Allah ‘azza wa jalla sayyiduna*. This statement is found in this insertion only and is absent in all other traditions.

¹⁵¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar*, vol. 3, pp. 168-9.

¹⁵² IBN ḤANBAL, vol. 3, p. 350.

¹⁵³ AL-TIRMIDHĪ, vol. 3, p. 238.

¹⁵⁴ AL-DĀRIMĪ, vol. 2, p. 238.

¹⁵⁵ *Fa qaṭa ‘ū akḥalahu. Al-akḥal* is the artery of life and is also called the river of the body (*nahr al-badan*); it feeds blood vessels in each organ of the body. IBN MANZŪR, vol. 11, p. 586.

¹⁵⁶ *Fa ḥhasamahu bi al-nār*; this means that the Prophet attempted to stop the bleeding by cauterizing the vein area.

drop of blood until the Banū Qurayza agreed to let Sa‘d judge their case. So, Sa‘d was called to judge and he judged that their fighting men be killed and their women and children be enslaved in order to serve the Muslims¹⁵⁷. So, the Prophet said, “you have judged them with God’s judgment.” And the Banū Qurayza were four hundred, and when their killing was completed, Sa‘d’s vein burst and he died.

This tradition focuses on how God fulfills the supplications of a believer. It emphasized the notion of how God fulfilled Sa‘d’s supplications by extending his life in order to allow him to witness vengeance on the Banū Qurayzah. Sa‘d was badly wounded, but his bleeding suddenly stopped till he judged the Banū Qurayza, then his shoulder veins burst and he bled to death. Overall, this tradition presents the same view as Abū Sa‘īd’s version on who choose Sa‘d, but emphasized the section dealing with Sa‘d’s supplications to God.

8.4 THE TRADITION OF ABU MAYSARA AL-HAMDĀNĪ

The tradition narrated on the authority of Abū Maysara al-Hamdānī appears in Ibn Sa‘d’s *Ṭabaqāt*¹⁵⁸ and is similar to that of Jābir b. ‘Abdullah in length. It is also concerned with how God fulfills the supplications of believers. However, it differs from that of Jābir in portraying Sa‘d’s attitudes before pronouncing the judgment.

Like the tradition of Jabir b. ‘Abdullah, this tradition begins with the ending part of the battle of the Trench, when Sa‘d was hit and his vein did not stop bleeding until the Prophet came to treat him.¹⁵⁹ Then, Sa‘d said, “O God extend my life until I see vengeance on the Banū Qurayza.” Then, Sa‘d’s vein stopped bleeding and the Banū Qurayza agreed to have Sa‘d said, “O Prophet of God, I am afraid that I may not hit upon God’s judgment about them.” Then, the Prophet said, “Judge them.” Then, Sa‘d pronounced their fighting men to be put to death, their women and children to be enslaved.¹⁶⁰ Then the Prophet said, “You have judged their case with the judgment of God.”¹⁶¹ Then, Sa‘d began to bleed until he died.

This tradition emphasized Sa‘d’s hesitation and fear at the possibility of not being able to pass the right judgment on the Banū Qurayza, and that the Prophet’s encouragement provided Sa‘d with the support to decide the affair. Overall, this version presents the same view as that of Abū Sa‘īd and that of Jābir b. ‘Abdullah on who asked Sa‘d to decide the matter.

8.5 THE TRADITION OF ‘ABDULLAH B. YAZĪD

The tradition is preserved in Ibn Sa‘d’s *Ṭabaqāt* only.¹⁶² This is a very short version of the story; it only deals with the section where Sa‘d seemed hesitant of

¹⁵⁷ This section about serving the Muslims is unique to this tradition. This tradition does not include in Sa‘d’s *ḥukm* the part of dividing the property of Banū Qurayza.

¹⁵⁸ IBN SA‘D, vol. 2, p. 350.

¹⁵⁹ *falam yarqa’ al-dam ḥatta jā al-nabī fa akhdha bi sā’idihi fartaḥa ‘a al-dam ilā ‘aḍudihi.*

¹⁶⁰ Similar to Jābir b. ‘Abdullah’s tradition, this tradition does not include in Sa‘d’s *ḥukm* dividing the property of the Banū Qurayza.

¹⁶¹ *aṣabta fihim ḥukm Allah.*

¹⁶² IBN SA‘D, vol. 2, p. 351.

judge the affair and the Prophet supported him by firmly telling him to pass a judgment. This narration goes as follows: when the day of the Banū Qurayzah came, the Prophet said, “call your master to pass a judgment on slaves¹⁶³”. When Sa’d came, the Prophet said, “judge” and Sa’d said: “I am afraid that I may not hit upon them God’s judgment.” The Prophet then responded by saying “judge.” Then he judged. So the Prophet said, “You have judged their case in accordance with the judgment of God and his Messenger.”¹⁶⁴

This tradition presents the same view about Sa’d’s attitudes as Abū Maysara’s tradition. Indeed, both versions show that Sa’d was overwhelmed by considerable fear at the possibility of passing an incorrect judgment. ‘Abdullah b. Yazīd’s tradition includes nothing about how Sa’d offered supplications to God in order to witness vengeance on the Banū Qurayza. However, the portrayal of Sa’d fear is identical in words with the tradition of Abū Maysara.¹⁶⁵

This tradition differs from previous traditions in that it does not contain the actual judgment of Sa’d; it only says: “So he judged” (*fa-hakam*). Again, this tradition mentions nothing about Sa’d’s death and ends at the Prophet’s response after the pronouncement of the *ḥukm*. Unlike all the other traditions, it does not mention the statement that the Banū Qurayza accepted to be judged by Sa’d.¹⁶⁶ It also presents no information on the attitude of the Banū Qurayza toward having Sa’d judge the affair.

8.6 THE TRADITION OF MUḤAMMAD B. MASLAMAH

This tradition appears only in al-Wāqidī’s *Kitāb al-Maghazī*¹⁶⁷. This version of the story is considerably long, much longer than that of ‘Ā’isha. The narration goes as follows: the Prophet went to the corner and sat down and the al-Aws approached him, and said, “O Prophet of God, they (the Banū Qurayza) were our clients against the al-Khazraj, and you know what you did with the clients of Ibn Ubayy¹⁶⁸: the banū Qaynuqā’; you accorded to him three hundred men without fighting gear (*ḥāsir*) and four hundred men with fighting gear (*dāri*)¹⁶⁹; and our clients the Banū Qurayza have regretted their breaking of the agreement so grant them to us.” The Prophet was silent until they pressured him and they all insisted on the pardon of the Banū Qurayza. So, the Prophet said, “Would you agree that the judge of the

¹⁶³ *Ud’ū sayyidakum yahkum fi ‘abīdihī*, this statement does not appear in any other version.

¹⁶⁴ *aṣabta ḥukma allahī wa rasūlihī*.

¹⁶⁵ *Akhshā allā uṣība fihim ḥukma Allah*. This statement occurs in the tradition of Abū Maysara and ‘Abdullah b. Yazīd only.

¹⁶⁶ *Lammā nazalū ‘alā ḥukmi Sa’d*. This statement appears in all other traditions but this tradition begins with the statement: When it was the day of Qurayza (*lamma kāna yawma Qurayza*).

¹⁶⁷ Ibn ‘Umar b. WĀQID, vol. 2, p. 511-512.

¹⁶⁸ ‘Abdullah b. Ubay b. Salūl. When a boy from al-Muhājirūn hit another from al-Ansār, Ibn Ubayy said, “If we return to Madina the honorable will throw out the base (*law raja ‘nā ilā al-madīna la-yukhrījanna al-a ‘azzu minhā al-adhalla*)”, and ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wanted to kill him, but the Prophet refused and said, “leave him, so people would not say that Muḥammad kills his friends”. *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, vol. 9, pp. 643-644.

¹⁶⁹ *ḥāsir* is a man without *dir* ‘nothead gear’ (*‘amāma*) and *dāri* is the opposite of *ḥāsir*; Ibn Manzur, vol. 4, p. 187.

affair be one of your men”, they said, “yes,” he said, “This is for Sa’d b. Mu’ādh.” During this time, Sa’d was staying in the mosque inside the tent of Ku’ayba bint Sa’d b. ‘Utba,¹⁷⁰ and she used to treat the injured, look after the homeless and the orphans, and had a tent inside the mosque. The Prophet had ordered Sa’d to stay in his tent. So, when the Prophet let Sa’d decide the affair of the Banū Qurayza, the al-Aws approached Sa’d and carried him on a donkey with a saddle padded with palm fiber covered with a cloth of velvet and ropes made of fiber¹⁷¹. So, the al-Aws gathered around Sa’d and said, “The Prophet of God has assigned you to judge the affair of your clients (Banū Qurayza) in order that you treat them well, so treat them well; and you saw Abū Ubayy and what he did with his clients.” And al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Khalīfa¹⁷² said, “O Abā ‘Umar, your clients, your clients! They defended you in all places, and chose you [to judge their case] over anyone else and hoped for your refuge.¹⁷³ And they (Banū Qurayza) have a lot of men and camels.” And Salama b. Salāma b. Waqsh¹⁷⁴ said, “O Abā ‘Umar, treat your clients and allies well, surely, the Prophet of God likes loyalty (*al-baqyyia*). They supported you on the day of al-Bu’āth and al-Ḥadā’iq and al-Mawāṭin, so do not be harsher than Ubayy”.

Ibrāhīm b. Ja’far narrated on the authority of his father: the al-Aws said, ‘O Abā ‘Umar, by God, with their support we fought wars and we defeated our enemies, and with their help we sought honor so we became honorable.”

The original narrator of the story narrated: and Sa’d never responded to al-Aws until they insisted, then Sa’d said, “The time has come for me to disregard your blame when conducting an affair of God”¹⁷⁵. So, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Khalīfa said, “O my people!” So, al-Ḍaḥḥāk went back to the al-Aws and bemoaned the Banū Qurayza for them. And Mu’tab b. Qushayr said, “Oh what a dreadful morning!” And Ḥāṭib b. Umyyia al-Zafarī said, “My people have gone to the end of time.”

When Sa’d arrived, the people were sitting around the Prophet. So, when Sa’d appeared, the Prophet said, “Stand up for your master.” And some men form ‘Abd al-Ashhad used to say, “So we stood up for him (Sa’d) on our feet in two lines, and each one greeted him until he reached the Prophet.” Others said, “The Prophet meant for the Anṣār to stand up instead of the Quraysh. So, the Awsī men sitting next to the Prophet said to Sa’d, “O Abā ‘Umar, surely the Prophet of God appointed you to judge, so treat them (Banū Qurayza) well and remember what they did for you. So, Sa’d said, “Do you accept that I judge the Banū Qurayza?” They

¹⁷⁰ Ku’ayba Bint Sa’d al-Islāmyyia: She attended the Khaybar 7/628, and the Prophet gave her a share equal to that of man; she had a tint inside the mosque in order to look after the injured and the destitute. *Iṣāba*, vol. 4, p. 397.

¹⁷¹ The description of the saddle is similar to that of ‘Ā’isha’s tradition, but this tradition adds the cloth of velvet and the fiber ropes.

¹⁷² Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Khalīfa b. Tha’laba b. ‘Uday b. ‘Abd al-Ashhal al-Ansarī: he witnessed Uhḍ, lived until ‘Umar’s caliphate, and he had no *ḥadīth*s narrations. *Iṣāba*, vol. 2, p. 205.

¹⁷³ *Waḥktārūka ‘alā man siwāka*. This statement is very significant; it is unique to his tradition and it asserts that the Banū Qurayza actually choose Sa’d to judge their case.

¹⁷⁴ Abū Awf Salama b. Salāma b. Waqsh b. ‘Abd al-Ashhal (d. 45/; Madina): he witnessed Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq. *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, p. 361.

¹⁷⁵ This statement occurs in the long version of ‘Ā’isha’s narration.

said, “Yes, we accept that you judge, even before you arrive; for we have chosen you and we have expectations that you do well, just like the client [Ubay] of the Qaynuqā’. So, Sa’d said, “I would not lead you into disparity.” So, they said, “What does Sa’d mean by this statement of his?”. Then, Sa’d said, “the oath of God and his covenant be on you that the judgment upon them (Banū Qurayza) be what I judge?” They said, “Yes.” Then, Sa’d pointed toward the other section, where the Prophet was sitting, but avoided pointing at the Prophet out of respect for him. Then Sa’d said, “And the same goes for those on this side?” So the Prophet and the men sitting with him said, “Yes.” Sa’d said, “I judge upon them that men who have reached age of shaving be killed, women and children be enslaved, and the money be divide.”¹⁷⁶ So, the Prophet said, “You have judged with the judgment of God from above seven heavens (*arqu’a*)”.

Sa’d had asked God on the night of the day before the Banū Qurayza surrendered to the Prophet, saying, “O God, if you allow the fighting of Quraysh to continue, then keep me for it; surely, no people I would love to kill more than those who disbelieved your Prophet, and harmed him, and pushed him out of his home. And if war was stopped between the Muslims and Quraysh, then make me a martyr and do not end my life before my eyes have witnessed vengeance on the Banū Qurayza.”

This tradition is unique in its use of some words such as *arqu’ah* in place of *samawāt* (heavens) and *al-mawāsī* instead of *muqātilatuhum*. This tradition begins with how the al-Aws insisted that the Prophet forgive their clients: the Banū Qurayza, as he forgave the Banu al-Naḍir upon the intervention of their clients: the al-Khazraj. The Prophet rejected al-Aws’ proposal, but he suggested that a man from the al-Aws decide the matter. The narration shows that the Prophet chose Sa’d after being exposed to the pressures of the al-Aws. The narration presents no indications that the Jews actively participated in choosing Sa’d as a judge for their case. This shows that this *matn* differs from previous traditions on its emphasis on the role of the al-Aws in letting Sa’d decide the matter.

The uniqueness of this tradition maybe explained in light of its isnād. Indeed, the narrator of the tradition, Muḥammad b. Maslamah was a politically active Khazrajī, who was appointed as governor of Medina on several occasions when the Prophet went out on different expeditions. Perhaps Muḥammad b. Maslamah’s sense of affiliation to al-Khazraj drove him to emphasize the competition between the al-Aws and the al-Khazraj by indicating that the Prophet rejected al-Aws’ Proposal despite of al-Aws’ insistence on having equal treatment to that of al-Khazraj. The narration shows that the al-Aws simply did not get what they demanded. As a result, this story attempts to perpetuate a Khazrajī point of view in its claim that the Prophet pardoned al-Khazraj’s client but did not extend similar treatment to the al-Aws’ clients.

8.7 THE TRADITION OF ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ‘AMR

This tradition only appears in Ibn Sa’d’s *Ṭabaqāt*¹⁷⁷ and is considerably different from other versions. Indeed, this is the only tradition denying that Sa’d passed a

¹⁷⁶ *fa innī fīhim an uqṭalman jarat ‘alayhi al-mawāsī wa tusbā al-nisā wa al-dhurryya wa tuqsam al-amwāl.*

¹⁷⁷ IBN SA’D, vol. 2, p. 351.

judgment on the affair of the Banū Qurayṣa. It goes as follows: the Banū Qurayṣa agreed to be judged by the Prophet, so he sent for Sa'd b. Mu'dādh, and he was brought on a donkey since he was weak because of his hand injury during the battle of the affair of those the Banū Qurayṣa. So Sa'd said, "I know God has given you a command about them, and you will fulfill it." The Prophet said, "Yes, but counsel me." Sa'd said, "If I was in charge of judging their affair, I would put to death their fighting men, enslave their women and children, and divide their property." The Prophet said, "By Him whose hands my soul is, you have counseled me to do that which God commanded me."

This tradition differs from all previous traditions on the issue of Sa'd's role in the judging of the Banū Qurayṣa. Although other traditions differ in their presentations of how Sa'd was selected to be judge for this affair, this tradition presents Sa'd as an advisor counseling the Prophet on the correct judgment. This tradition shows no indications of any kind that Sa'd was the judge in the affair. This might be explained in light of the *isnād* of the tradition: the narrator of the tradition is the grandson of Sa'd. This shows that the family of Sa'd attempted to praise their grandfather by narrating this tradition in a manner that portrays Sa'd as one of the closest companions of the Prophet. This status is ascertained when 'Abd al-Rahmān portrayed his grandfather as an advisor counseling the Prophet during such a major event.

9. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the chains of authority attached to each version of this tradition show that the story of Sa'd's judgment of the Banū Qurayṣa circulated in Madina during the first seventh century and then traveled to Kufa during the second eighth century. The first century witnessed the transformation of the companions of the Prophet from the friends of Muḥammad to authoritative sources for narrating *ḥadīth*. The character of these early narrators undoubtedly impacted the nature of their transmission. The transmission of one single tradition often resulted into creating several versions; each version would obviously reflect the point of view of its authority. This observation significantly undermines Schacht's claim about how traditions dealing with matters of religious laws were put into circulation by the traditionalists themselves from the first half of the second century.

The fact that these traditions reflect the character of their early narrators, who lived during the first century, proves that these narrations were in circulation during that same period. For instance, the *isnād* of 'Ā'isha's tradition, which includes details reflecting the point of view of someone sharing a personal life with the Prophet, suggests that her narration circulated in Medina around the second half of the first century. Again, the *matn* of Abū Sa'id's tradition reflects his interests in *fiqh* and fits our information about his reputation as the *mufī* of Madina. This is a legal tradition that was originated in Medina and traveled to Baṣra during the first century. Furthermore, the tradition of Abū Maslama elevates the status of the al-Khazraj and depicts them in a more favorable status than that of the al-Aws. This shows how

Abu Maslam's political inclination significantly impacted his narration. Finally, the tradition of 'Abdullah b. 'Amr, the grandson of Sa'd b. Mu'adh, presents a significant example of how a *matn* reflects the inclinations of its narrator. This is evident when see how 'Abdullah praised his grandfather by presenting him as minister counseling the Prophet during this major event.

The fact that the *matns* of this tradition reflect the personal biases of their narrators shows the importance of analyzing any given *isnād* in relation to its *matn*. Schacht's theory rested on the claim that the *isnād* existed in order to create a historical dimension for second century traditions by attributing them to fictitious figures allegedly living in the first century. However, this claim is invalid unless we see an indication that the *isnād* has no influence on its *matn*. This study has proved the opposite; thus, Schacht's theory is unfounded.