

Hadith al-Thaqalayn

A Study of Its Tawatur

A study of the tawatur, or the multiplicity of sources and narrators that verify the authenticity of Hadith al-Thaqalayn, when the Messenger of Allah (s) said: "Verily, I am leaving behind two precious things (thaqalayn) among you: the Book of God and my kindred (ʿitrah), my household (Ahl al-Bayt), for indeed, the two will never separate until they come back to me by the Pond (of al-Kawthar on the Day of Judgment)."

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Preface

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: إني تارك فيكم الثقلين كتاب الله
وعترتي أهل بيتي فإنهما لن يفترقا حتى يردا علي الحوض.

The Messenger of Allah – may Allah bestow peace and benedictions upon him and his Progeny – said: "Verily, I am leaving behind two precious things (*thaqalayn*) among you: the Book of God and my kindred (*'itrah*), my household (*Ahlul Bayt*), for indeed, the two will never separate until they come back to me by the Pond (of *al-Kawthar* on the Judgment Day)."

Imam Khumayni – *ridwan Allah 'alayh* – began his *wasiyyah* or will with the mention of this tradition of the Prophet (S), known as *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*. In the prologue to his *wasiyyah* he pointed out that whatever tragedies and disasters befell the Muslim world during the last fourteen centuries have been mainly due to its estrangement from the *Thaqalayn*, the twofold legacy of the Prophet (S) in the form of the Qur'an and the Ahlul Bayt (A).

The extent of the estrangement of the Qur'an will be obvious to anyone who closely examines its teachings and contrasts them with the popular religion of the masses and the prevailing religious ethos, even among the scholars and the intelligentsia. There is certainly a wide gulf that lies between the message and spirit of the Glorious Qur'an and the way Islam has come to be practiced in Muslim society, a gulf which has never been as wide as it became in recent centuries under the influence of the West and the tyrannical regimes that have been ruling over Muslims.

The extent of the estrangement suffered by the Prophet's Household will be obvious to anyone who studies the history of the Imams of the Ahlul Bayt (A), who were isolated from the Muslim masses by despots and left without support in their struggle against the tyrannical regimes of Banu Umayyah and Banu 'Abbas. The result was that the most authentic exponents and defenders of the Qur'an – whom the tides of time will never separate from the Qur'an until the Day of Judgment, as stated by the Noble Prophet (S) – were put under severe surveillance, exiled, imprisoned, poisoned and martyred, and the masses were deprived of their guidance and leadership.

Having removed the Ahlul Bayt (A) from their way, the road was opened by the self-seeking tyrants for making the Holy Qur'an itself an instrument for the justification of their anti Qur'anic rule. "They forced," as Imam Khumayni says, "the true exponents of the Qur'an... off the stage with various ploys and systematic plans. In this way, they in fact, eliminated the Qur'an itself, the Qur'an which was the greatest program for organizing man's material and spiritual life, and rejected its plan of government based on Divine justice, which was and remains one of the ideals of this sacred scripture. Thus they laid the foundations of deviation from the *Din* and the Book of God, bringing things ultimately to an indescribable extreme."

If today the custodians of American Islam with their petrodollars conspire against the aspirations of the Muslim masses inspired by the genuine Islam, so did once the Umayyad and 'Abbasid tyrants stand in the way of Islam and seek to isolate and destroy its exponents, the Imams of the Ahlul Bayt (A), and promote a counterfeit version of Islam. But no matter how much they tried they could not extirpate the Prophet's exhortations regarding the Ahlul Bayt and conceal the unbreakable link between the Book of God and the Prophet's *'itrah*, in the form of *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* and scores of other traditions similar to

it.

This hadith has continued to be narrated by each generation of authentic Shi'i and Sunni traditionists and scholars throughout the last fourteen centuries. Reliable and trustworthy narrators of each generation, from the days of the Prophet's committed Companions – may God be pleased with them – to the present, including many or rather most of the greatest and leading figures in the history of Islamic scholarship have narrated this hadith. It is in view of this undeniable fact that Imam Khumayni declared in his *wasiyyah*:

It is essential to point out that *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* is a *mutawatir* tradition amongst all Muslims. It has been narrated in Sunni sources – including the Six *Sihah* as well as other books – from the Holy Prophet (S) in different wordings, and as having been spoken by him on repeated occasions. This tradition is a definite proof (*hujjah*) for all mankind, in particular for the Muslims, regardless of sect. And all Muslims are answerable (before God) concerning it. For it leaves no room for any excuse for any one. And should there be room for an excuse for the ignorant and the uninformed, there isn't any for the scholars of various schools.

The Meaning of Tawatur

As we know, the tradition or ahadith of the Holy Prophet (S) recorded in the books of Muslim traditionists begin with chains of transmitters on whose authority the traditionist reports the Prophet's acts or statements. Experts of hadith amongst Muslims have developed certain criteria for assessing the reliability of different chains of transmission and ascertaining the authenticity of the contents of traditions. They have developed a terminology with terms denoting various classifications of hadith depending on the character, strength or weakness of narrators and other factors, such as *mutawatir*, *ahad*, *sahih*, *hasan*, *qawi*, *da'if*, etc.

By *tawatur* is meant the multiplicity of the sources of a certain report that leads to certitude in the listener that the report is indeed true. One's knowledge of the existence of distant countries and towns and such historical figures as Cyrus or Napoleon may be said to be based on the *tawatur* of reports that one hears about them. So also is one's knowledge of the contemporary events not witnessed by him.

A *mutawatir* hadith is one which has been reported by so many different chains of transmission and such a number of narrators in every generation as normally could not agree to fabricate a tradition without the fact of its fabrication becoming known. Although some jurisprudents have specified a particular minimum for the number of narrators, such as five, seven, ten or even hundred, it is generally held that no particular number can be specified and the number capable of producing certitude depends on the experience of the listener.

Islamic jurists have set forth certain conditions for a tradition to be *mutawatir*. Al-Ghazali in *al-Mustasfa min 'ilm al-usul* 1 mentions the following conditions.

- (1) That the transmitters should report on the basis of knowledge (*'ilm*) and not conjecture (*zann*).
- (2) Their knowledge should have been acquired through the senses.
- (3) That the number of narrators should be sufficient to produce certitude.
- (4) That all the links in the chains of transmission of a report should fulfill the first two conditions and their number in every stage of transmission must fulfill the third condition.

Al-Shaykh al-Hasan ibn Zayn al-Din, the Shi'i author of *Ma'alim al-usul*, mentions similar conditions for a report to be *mutawatir*. As can be seen, the legal condition of *'adalah* (justice) is not required for the narrators nor are they required to be *thiqah* when the conditions of *tawatur* are fulfilled. Rather, al-Ghazali states explicitly that in such cases knowledge is attained even if the narrators should be *fasiq*. The author of *Ma'alim* states two conditions in order for a *mutawatir* report to produce knowledge in the listener:

- (1) The listener should not have previous knowledge of the matter, for it is not possible to know something that one already knows.
- (2) The listener should not be inhibited by doubt or imitation (*taqlid*) in his belief, for then the report will fail to make any impression upon him.

1. Al-Ghazali, *al-Mustasfa min 'ilm al-usul*, Dar Sadir, al-Matba'at al-'Amiriyah, Bulaq, Egypt, 1322 H.

Some Sahih Versions of the Hadith

Hadith al-Thaqalayn is a *mutawatir* tradition which has been narrated – as we will presently see in our introductory study of *'Abaqat al-anwar*, a book written to establish the fact of its *tawatur* – through scores of different chains of transmission (*turuq*) only in the Sunni hadith corpus. If we add to these the Shi'i *turuq* of the tradition, the total number of its narrators becomes considerable.

Apart from being *mutawatir*, the hadith has been transmitted through several *sahih turuq*, that is, through chains in which all the transmitters are regarded as *thiqah* or as of confirmed trustworthiness and reliability. Following are four of these *sahih* narrations of the tradition as recorded by Muslim and al-Hakim al-Nayshaburi in their compilations:

حدثني زهير بن حرب وشجاع بن مخلد جميعا عن ابن عليّة قال زهير حدثنا اسماعيل بن ابراهيم حدثني أبو حيان حدثني يزيد بن حيان قال: انطلقت أنا وحصين بن سبرة وعمر بن مسلم إلى زيد بن أرقم فلما جلسنا إليه قال له حصين لقد لقيت يا زيد خيرا كثيرا، حدثنا يا زيد ما سمعت من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: يا ابن أخي والله لقد كبرت سني وقدم عهدي ونسيت بعض الذي كنت أعي من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فما حدثكم فاقبلوه وما لا فلا تكلفونيّه ثم قال: قام رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يوما خطيبا فينا بماء يدعى خما بين مكة والمدينة فحمد الله تعالى وأثنى عليه ووعظ وذكر ثم قال: أما بعد ألا أيها الناس فإنما أنا بشر يوشك أن يأتيني رسول ربي عز وجل فأجيب وأنا تارك فيكم ثقلين أولهما كتاب الله عز وجل فيه الهدى والنور فخذوا بكتاب الله تعالى واستمسكوا به فحث على كتاب الله ورغب ثم فيه قال وأهل بيتي أذكركم الله في أهل بيتي أذكركم الله في أهل بيتي أذكركم الله في أهل بيتي ...

(Muslim says:) Zuhayr ibn Harb and Shuja' ibn Makhlad narrated to me from 'Ulayyah that he said: Zuhayr said: narrated to us Isma'il ibn Ibrahim, from Abu Hayyan, from Yazid ibn Hayyan, who said: "I, Husayn ibn Sabrah and 'Umar ibn Muslim went to see Zayd ibn Arqam. When we sat down with him, Husayn said to him, 'O Zayd, you have been greatly fortunate. You have seen the Messenger of Allah, upon whom be Allah's peace and benedictions, heard his speech, fought with him in battles and have prayed behind him. Indeed, O Zayd, you have been enormously fortunate. Narrate to us what you have heard from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah's peace and benedictions be upon him.'

"Zayd said: 'O brother, by God, I have become aged and old and I have forgotten some of what I used to remember from the Messenger of Allah, upon whom be Allah's peace and benedictions. So accept what I narrate to you and as to what I don't, trouble me not regarding it.' Then he said: 'One day the Messenger of Allah, upon whom be Allah's peace and benedictions, addressed us near a pond called Khumm between Makkah and Madinah. He praised God and extolled Him and preached and reminded (us). Then he said, "Lo, O people, I am only a human being and I am about to respond to the messenger of my Lord [i.e. the call of death]. I am leaving behind two precious things (*thaqalayn*) among you. The first of the two is the Book of Allah. In it is guidance and light. So get hold of the Book of Allah and adhere to it." Then he urged and motivated (us) regarding the Book of Allah. Then he said, "And my Ahlul Bayt (family). I urge you to remember God regarding my Ahlul Bayt. I urge you to remember God regarding my Ahlul Bayt. I urge you to remember God regarding my Ahlul Bayt." ...

(*Sahih Muslim*, part 7, *Kitab fada'il al-Sahabah* [Maktabat wa Matba'at Muhammad 'Ali Subayh wa

حدثنا أبو الحسين محمد بن أحمد بن تميم الحنظلي ببغداد ثنا أبو قلابة عبد الملك بن محمد الرقاشي ثنا يحيى بن حماد (وحدثني) أبو بكر محمد بن بالويه و أبو بكر أحمد بن جعفر البزار قالاً : ثنا عبد الله بن أحمد بن حنبل حدثني أبي ثنا يحيى بن حماد (وثنا) أبو نصر أحمد بن سهل ا لفيقه ببخارى ثنا صالح بن محمد الحافظ البغدادي ثنا خلف بن سالم المخرمي ثنا يحيى بن حماد ثنا أبو عوانة عن سليمان الأعمش قال : ثنا حبيب بن أبي ثابت عن أبي الطفيل عن زيد بن أرقم رضي الله عنه قال : لما رجع رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم من حجة الوداع و نزل غدير خم أمر بدوحات فقمم فقال : كأني قد دعيت فأجبت إني قد تركت فيكم الثقلين أحدهما أكبر من الآخر كتاب الله تعالى و عترتي فانظروا كيف تخلفوني فيهما فإنهما لن يتفرقا حتى يردا علي الحوض ثم قال : إن الله عز و جل مولاي و أنا مولى كل مؤمن ثم أخذ بيد علي رضي الله عنه فقال : من كنت مولاه فهذا وليه اللهم وال من والاه و عاد من عاداه و ذكر الحديث بطوله. هذا حديث صحيح على شرط الشيخين و لم يخرجاه بطوله.

(Al-Hakim says:) Narrated to us Abu al-Husayn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Tamim al-Hanzali in Baghdad, from Abu Qallabah 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad al-Raqqashi, from Yahya ibn Hammad; also narrated to me Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Balawayh and Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn Ja'far al-Bazzaz, both of them from 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Hanbal, from his father, from Yahya ibn Hammad; and also narrated to us Abu Nasr Ahmad ibn Suhayl, the faqih of Bukhara, from Salih ibn Muhammad, the *hafiz* of Baghdad, from Khalaf ibn Salim al-Makhrami, from Yahya ibn Hammad; and Yahya ibn Hammad narrated from Abu 'Uwwanah from Sulayman al-A'mash, from Habib ibn Abi Thabit, from Abu al-Tufayl, from Zayd ibn Arqam, may God be pleased with him, who said: "The Messenger of Allah , may God's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny, while returning from his last hajj (*hijjat al-wada'*) came down at Ghadir Khumm and ordered (us) towards the big trees, and (the ground) underneath them was swept.

"Then he said, 'I am about to answer the call (of death). Verily, I have left behind two precious things amongst you, one of which is greater than the other. The Book of Allah, the Exalted, and my '*itrah* (kindred). So watch out how you treat these two after me, for verily they will not separate from each other until they come back to me by the side of the Pond.' Then he said 'Verily, Allah, the Almighty and the Glorious, is my master (*mawla*) and I am the master of every believer (*mu'min*).' Then he took 'Ali, may God be pleased with him, by the hand and said, 'This ('Ali) is the master of whomever I am his

master. O God, love whoever loves him and be the enemy of his enemy."

(Al-Hakim adds:) "This hadith is *sahih* in accordance with the conditions of *sihah* laid down by the Shaykhayn (al-Bukhari and Muslim), although they have not recorded it in its full length."

شاهده حديث سلمة بن كهيل عن أبي الطفيل أيضا صحيح على شرطهما
(حدثنا) أبو بكر بن اسحاق أبو بكر بن إسحاق و دعلج بن أحمد السجزي قالوا :
أنبا محمد بن أيوب ثنا الأزرق بن علي ثنا حسان بن إبراهيم الكرمانى ثنا محمد
بن سلمة بن كهيل عن أبيه عن أبي الطفيل عن ابن وائلة أنه سمع زيد بن أرقم
رضي الله عنه يقول: نزل رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم بين مكة و المدينة
عند شجرات خمس دوحات عظام فكنس الناس ما تحت الشجرات ثم راح
رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم عشية فصلى ثم قام خطيبا فحمد الله و أثنى
عليه و ذكر و وعظ فقال ما شاء الله أن يقول ثم قال : يا أيها الناس إني تارك
فيكم أمرين لن تضلوا إن اتبعتموهما وهما كتاب الله و أهل بيتي عترتي ثم قال
: أتعلمون إني أولى بالمؤمنين من أنفسهم ثلاث مرات قالوا : نعم فقال رسول
الله صلى الله عليه و سلم : من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه.

(Al-Hakim says:) The first tradition (mentioned above) is supported by this one narrated by Salamah ibn Kuhayl, from Abu al-Tufayl, which is also *sahih* according to the requirements of alBukhari and Muslim. Narrated to us Abu Bakr ibn Ishaq and Da'laj ibn Ahmad al-Sijzi, both of them from Muhammad ibn Ayyub, from al-Azraq ibn 'Ali, from Hassan ibn Ibrahim al-Kirmani, from Muhammad ibn Salamah ibn Kuhayl, from his father, from Abu al-Tufayl, from Ibn Wathilah that he heard Zayd ibn Arqam, may God be pleased with him, say: "The Messenger of Allah , may Allah's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny, came down at a place between Makkah and Madinah near the trees with five big shades and the people swept the ground under the trees.

Then the Messenger of Allah, may God's peace and benediction be upon him and his progeny, began to perform the evening prayer. After the prayer he began to address the people. He praised God and extolled Him, preaching and reminding (us), and said what God wanted him to say. Then he said, 'O people! Verily, I am leaving behind two matters (*amrayn*) among you if you follow them (the two) you will never go astray. These two are: the Book of God and my *Ahlul Bayt*, my '*itrah*.' Then he said thrice: 'Do you know that I have more right over the believers (*Inni awla bi almu'minin*) than they over themselves?' The people said, 'Yes.' Then the Messenger of Allah , may Allah's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny said, 'Of whomever I am his master (*mawla*) 'Ali also is his master.'"

(al-Imam al-Hafiz Abu 'Abd Allah al-Hakim al-Naysaburi, *al-Mustadrak 'ala al-Sahihayn* [Dar al-Ma'rifah li al-Tiba'ah wa al-Nashr: Beirut), vol. iii, pp. 109-110).

حدثنا أبو بكر محمد بن الحسين بن مصلح الفقيه بالري ثنا محمد بن أيوب يحيى بن المغيرة السعدي ، ثنا : جرير بن عبد الحميد عن الحسن بن عبد الله النخعي عن مسلم بن صبيح عن زيد بن أرقم رضي الله عنه قال : قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: إني تارك فيكم الثقلين كتاب الله وأهل بيتي وإنهما لن يتفرقا حتى يردا علي الحوض. هذا حديث صحيح الإسناد على شرط الشيخين ولم يخرجاه.

(Al-Hakim says:) Narrated to us Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Husayn ibn Muslim, the faqih of Ray, from Muhammad ibn Ayyub, from Yahya ibn al-Mughirah al-Sa'di, from Jarir ibn 'Abd al-Hamid, from al-Hasan ibn 'Abd Allah al-Nakha'i, from Muslim ibn Subayh, from Zayd ibn Arqam, may God be pleased with him, who said: "The Messenger of Allah , may Allah's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny, said, 'Verily, I leave behind two precious things amongst you: the Book of Allah and my *Ahlul Bayt*. Verily, the two will never separate until they come back to me by the side of the Pond."

(Al-Hakim says:) This hadith is *sahih al-isnad* according to the conditions laid down by the Shaykhayn (al-Bukhari and Muslim), though they did not record it. (al-Hakim, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 148)

These are four versions of the tradition narrated on the authority of Zayd ibn Arqam. Their *sihah* (authenticity) is confirmed by two of the great Sunni Imams of hadith. In addition, as we will see in our study of *'Abaqatal-anwar*, the tradition has been narrated by more than thirty Companions of the Prophet (S) and a host of narrators and leading traditionists of every generation up to the contemporary era.

The Various Occasions Related to Hadith al-Thaqalayn

The various narrations of *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* also indicate the occasion on which the Prophet (S) proclaimed it publicly. 'Allamah 'Abd al-Aziz Tabataba'i, who has studied the various narrations of *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* as recorded by various traditionists mentions four occasions on which the Prophet (S)

proclaimed it publicly. First of these is the occasion when the Prophet (S) proclaimed it during his last *hajj* at 'Arafat.

On this occasion, the Prophet (S) was accompanied by more than a hundred thousand Muslims. The second occasion relates to his proclamation at Ghadir Khumm, during the course of his return journey to Madinah. The third occasion relates to his proclamation in the Mosque of Madinah. The fourth one relates to his pronouncement of *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* in his chamber during his last illness. All these occasions lie within a period of ninety days and pertain to the Prophet's last days.

There are, however, many narrations of the hadith – in fact, most of them – which do not contain any clue about the time and place of its pronouncement. In the following are given instances of the narrations of *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* relating to each of these occasions, accompanied by the sources which record them. 1

1. At 'Arafat

Al-Tirmidhi in his Sunan (v, 662, no. 3786) records the following tradition

عن جابر بن عبدالله قال: رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في حجته يوم عرفة وهو على ناقته القصواء فسمعتة يقول: ((يا أيها الناس، إني تارك فيكم ما إن أخذتم به لن تضلوا: كتاب الله وعترتي أهل بيتي)).

....Jabir ibn 'Abd Allah said: "I saw the Messenger of Allah – upon whom be God's peace and benedictions – in the course of his *hajj* pilgrimage on the day of 'Arafah. The Prophet (S) was seated on his camel, al-Qaswa', and was delivering a sermon. I heard him say: 'O people, I am leaving among you that which if you hold on to you shall never go astray: the Book of Allah and my kindred, my household."

Al-Tirmidhi states that the same tradition has been narrated by Abu Dharr, Abu Sa'id, Zayd ibn Arqam and Hudhayfah ibn Usayd.

Among others who have recorded this tradition are:

1. al-Hafiz Ibn Abi Shaybah, as in *Kanz al-'ummal* (1st ed.), i, 48;
2. al-'Uqayli in *al-Du'afa' al-Kabir*, ii, 250;
3. al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi, *Nawadir al-usul*, 68, 50th asl;
4. al-Tabarani, *al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, iii, 63, no. 2679;

5. al-Khatib, *al-Muttafiq wa al-muftariq*, cf. *Kanz al-'ummal*, i, 48 and *Majma' al-zawa'id*, v, 195; ix, 163, x, 363, 268;
6. al-Baghawi, *al-Masabih*, ii, 206;
7. Ibn al-Athir, *Jami' al-usul*, i, 277, no. 65;
8. al-Rafi'i, *al-Tadwin*, ii, 264 (in the biographical account of Ahmad ibn Mihran al-Qattan; this hadith has been deleted in the Indian print, but is present in the manuscripts of the book !);
9. al-Mizzi, *Tahdhib al-kamal*, x, 51, and *Tuhfat al-ashraf*, ii, 278, no. 2615;
10. al-Qadi al-Baydawi, *Tuhfat al-ashraf*;
11. al-Khwarazmi, *Maqatal al-Husayn (A)*, i, 144;
12. al-Khatib al-Tabrizi, *Mishkat al-masabih*, iii, 258;
13. Ibn Kathir, *Tafsir* (Bulaq edition, on the margin of *Fath al-bayan*), ix, 115;
14. al-Zarandi, *Nazm al-durar al-simtayn*, 232;
15. al-Maqrizi, *Ma'rifat ma yajib li Al al-Bayt al-Nabawi*, 38.

2. At Ghadir Khumm

Al-Nasa'i in his *al-Sunan al-kubra*, 96, No. 79, records the following tradition in the chapter "*Khasa'is 'Ali'*":

أخبرنا محمد بن المنثري، قال: حدثنا يحيى بن حماد، قال: حدثنا أبو عوانة، عن سليمان، قال: حدثنا حبيب بن أبي ثابت، عن أبي الطفيل، عن زيد بن أرقم، قال: لما رجع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عن حجة الوداع ونزل غدير خم أمر بدوحات فقممن، فقال: كأني دعيت فأجبت، وإني قد تركت فيكم الثقلين، أحدهما أكبر من الآخر: كتاب الله وعترتي أهل بيتي، فانظروا كيف تخلفوني فيهما؟ فإنهما لن يفترقا حتى يردا علي الحوض، ثم قال: إن الله مولاي وأنا ولي كل مؤمن، ثم أخذ بيد علي فقال: من كنت وليه فهذا وليه، اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه. فقلت لزيد: سمعته من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم؟! فقال: ما كان في الدوحات أحد إلا راه بعينه وسمعته بأذنيه.

Al-Nasa'i narrates from Muhammad ibn al-Muthanna, he from Yahya ibn Hammad, from Abu 'Uwwanah, from Sulayman, from Habib ibn Abi Thabit, from Abu al-Tufayl, from Zayd ibn Arqam, who said, "When the Messenger of Allah (S) returned from the last hajj and came down at Ghadir Khumm....

"Then he declared: 'I am about to answer the call (of death). Verily, I have left two precious things (*thaqalayn*) among you, one of which is greater than the other: the Book of God and my '*Itrah*, my *Ahlul Bayt*. So watch out how you treat them after me. For, indeed, they will never separate until they return to me by the side of the Pond.' Then he said, 'Verily, God is my master (*mawlaya*) and I am the *wali* of every believer.' Then he took 'Ali's hand and declared, 'To whomever I am his *wali*, this one is also his *wali*. My God, befriend whoever befriends him and be hostile to whoever is hostile to him.'" Abu al-Tufayl says: "I said to Zayd, 'Did you hear it from the Prophet(S)?' He replied, 'There was no one in the caravan who did not see it with his eyes and hear it with his ears,'"

Khasa'is 'Ali is part of al-Nasa'i's *al-Sunan al-kubra* as shown by the 3rd volume of the MS in the king's collection in Morocco, written in 759/1358 folios 81-117. See also in this regard the introduction of *al--Khasa'is* (Kuwait: Maktabat al-Mu'alla, 1406), ed. by Ahmad Mirayn Balushi. The editor states that this tradition is *sahih* and its transmitters are *thiqah*.

Among others who have recorded it in their books are:

1. Al-Bukhari, *al-Ta'rikh al-kabir*, iii, 96;
2. Muslim, *Sahih*, *bab fada'il 'Ali*, no. 2408;
3. Ahmad, *Musnad*, iii, 17, iv, 366;
4. 'Abd ibn Humayd, *Musnad*, no. 265;
5. Ibn Sa'd, and
6. Abu Ya'la from Abu Sa'id, as mentioned in *Jam' al-jawami'* and *Kanz al-'ummal*;
7. Ishaq ibn Rahwayh, in his *Sahih.*, as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *al-Matalib al-Aliyah*, iv, 65, no. 1873, where he states that its *isnad is sahih*, and also by al-Busayri in *Ithaf al-sadah* (MS in Topcopi Library, vol. 3, F.55b) who, too, considers the *isnad as sahih*;
8. Ibn Khuzaymah, *Sahih*, MS in Topcopi Library, F.240;
9. al-Darimi, *Sunan*, ii, 310, no. 2319;
10. Abu Dawud, *Sunan*, as mentioned in Sibt ibn al-Jawzi, *Tadhkirat khawass al-ummah*, 322;
11. Abu 'Uwwanah, *Musnad*, as mentioned in al-Shaykhani, *al-Sirat al-sawi*;

12. al-Bazzaz, from Umm Hani, as mentioned in *Wasilat al-ma'al*;
13. Ibn Abi 'Asim, *Kitab al-Sunnah*, 629, no. 1551, 630, no. 1555, 629, no. 1551;
14. al-Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 112;
15. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab al-ashraf*, 110, no. 48, the biographical account of 'Ali (A);
16. al-Hafiz al-Hasan ibn Sufyan al-Nasawi, the author of *Musnad*, from Hudhayfah ibn Usayd, as mentioned by Abu Nu'aym, *al-Hilyah*, i, 355,
17. al-Fasawi, *al-Ma'rifah wa al-ta'rikh*, i, 536;
18. Ibn Jarir al-Tabari, from Hudhayfah ibn Usayd, Zayd ibn Arqam (with al-Nasa'i's wording as well as with the wording of Muslim), Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, as cited in *Jam' al-jawami'*, ii, 357, 395, *Kanz al-'ummal*, 12911, xiii, 36441, 36340, 37620, 37621, 36341, *Jami' al-ahadith*, vii, 14523, 15112, 15122, 15113, iv, 7773, 8072, 8073;
19. al-Dulabi, *al-Dhurriyyat al-tahirah*, no. 228;
20. al-Hafiz al-Tahawi, *Mushkil al-'athar*, ii, 307, iv, 368;
21. al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi, *Nawadir al-usul*, from Hudhayfah ibn Usayd;
22. al-Tabarani, *al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, iii, 2679, 2681, 2683, 3052, v, 4969, 4970, 4971, 4986, 5026, 5028;
23. al-Hakim, *al-Mustadrak 'ala al-Sahihayn*, iii, 109, 110 where he expressly states, as mentioned above, that the tradition is *sahih* in accordance with the criteria of al-Bukhari and Muslim; al-Dhahabi has confirmed his judgment;
24. Abu Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-awliya'*, i, 355, ix, 64;
25. al-Bayhaqi, *al-Sunan al-kubra*, ii, 148, vii, 30, x, 114;
26. al-Khatib, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, viii, 442;
27. Ibn al-Maghazili, *Manaqib Amir al-Mu'minin* (A), 23;
28. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, ii, 45, no. 547, the biographical account of 'Ali (A), and v, 436 of Badran's edition in the biographical account of Zayd ibn Arqam;
29. al-Baghawi, *Masabih al-Sunnah*, ii, 205 and *Sharh al-Sunnah* (MS in Topcopi Library, vol. 2, F. 718), *bab Manaqib Ahlul Bayt*;
30. Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-ghabah*, iii, 92 in the biographical account of 'Amir ibn Layla, no. 2727;

31. Ibn Hajar, *al-Isabah* in the biographical account of 'Amir;
32. al-Mizzi, *Tuhafat al-ashraf*, iii, 203, no. 3688 from Muslim and al-Nasa'i;
33. al-Diya' al-Muqaddisi, *al-Mukhtarah*, as cited by al-Samhudi and al-Sakhawi;
34. Ibn Taymiyyah, *Minhaj al-Sunnah*, iv, 85;
35. al-Dhahabi, *Talkhis al-Mustadrak*, iii, 109;
36. Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidayah wa al-nihayah*, v, 209, vi, 199, from al-Nasa'i, where he quotes al-Nasa'i's statement that this narration is *sahih*;
37. al-Khazin, *Tafsir* under verses 42:23 and 3:103;
38. al-Mulla, *Wasilat al-muta'abbidin*, v, 199;
39. al-Haythami, *Majma' al-zawa'id*, ix, 163 from Zayd, 164 from Hudhayfah.

3. In the Mosque of Madinah

Ibn 'Atiyyah in the introduction of his tafsir, *al-Muharrar al-wajiz*, i, 34 records the following narration:

وروي عنه عليه السلام أنه قال في آخر خطبة خطبها وهو مريض: أيها الناس،
 إني تارك فيكم الثقلين، إنه لن تعمى أبصركم ولن تضل قلوبكم ولن تزل
 أقدامكم ولن تقصر أيديكم: كتاب الله سبب بينكم وبينه، طرفه بيده وطرفه
 بأيديكم، فاعلموا بمحكمه وآمنوا بمتشابهه وأحلوا حلاله وحرموا حرامه، ألا
 وعترتي وأهل بيتي هو الثقل الآخر، فلا تسبقوهم فتهلكوا.

...It is narrated that he (i.e. the Prophet) – upon whom be peace – said in the last sermon that he delivered during his illness: "O people, I leave behind two precious things (*thaqalayn*) amongst you...: the Book of God – which is a rope between Him and you, whose one end is in His hand and whose other end is in your hands so act according to its *muhkamat* and believe in its *mutashabihat*; consider as lawful that which it regards as lawful and consider as forbidden that which it regards as unlawful – and my *'Itrah* and my *Ahlul Bayt*, who are the second *thaql*. So don't outstrip them (*fa la tasbiquhum*), for then you shall perish."

Unfortunately in the printed versions of it *fa la tasbiquhum* has been altered as *fa la tasbi'uhum* (a meaningless expression). This tradition has also been narrated by:

1. Abu Hayyan in his *tafsir, al-Bahr al-muhit*, i, 12 (with identical wording, except that in a published version of it there is *fa la tasubbuhum*, i.e. so don't curse them, instead of *fa la tasbiquhum*);
2. Ibn Hajar, *al-Sawa'iq al-muhriqah*, 75, 136;
3. Yahya ibn al-Hasan, *Akhbar al-Madinah* with his *isnad* from Jabir, as cited in *Yanabi' al-mawaddah*, 40.

4. In the Prophet's Chamber During His Last Illness

Ibn Abi Shaybah, as cited by Al-'Isami in *Simt al-nujum al-awali*, ii, 502, no. 136, has narrated the following tradition:

أخرج الحافظ ابن أبي شيبة أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال في مرض موته،
أيها الناس، يوشك أن أقبض قبضا سريعا فينطلق بي، وقد قدمت إليكم القول
معذرةً إليكم، ألا إني مخلف فيكم الثقلين: كتاب الله عز وجل وعترتي. ثم أخذ
بيد علي فرفعها فقال: هذا علي مع القرآن والقرآن مع علي، لا يفترقان حتى يردا
عليّ الحوض فأسألهما ما خلفت فيهما.

The Messenger of Allah (S) said during his last illness: "Soon I am going to pass away and I have extended to you my plea of excuse. Lo, verily I leave behind amongst you two precious things: the Book of Allah, the Almighty and the Glorious, and my kindred (*'Itrah*). " Then he took 'Ali's hand and raised it, saying, "This 'Ali is with the Qur'an and the Qur'an is with 'Ali. The two will not separate until they return to me by the Pond. Then I will ask the two as to how they were treated after me."

Among the narrators of this tradition are:

1. al-Bazzaz, *Musnad*, as mentioned in *Kashf al-astar*, iii, 221, no. 2612;
2. Muhammad ibn Ja'far al-Razzaz, from Umm Salamah (where she is explicit that the Prophet [S] made this pronouncement in his chamber which was filled by the Companions), as cited in *Wasilat al--ma'al*;
3. Al-Azhari, *Tahdhib al-lughah*, ix, 78;
4. al-Khatib al-Khwarazmi, *Maqtal al-Husayn (A)*, i, 164, from Ibn 'Abbas;
5. Ibn Hajar, *al-Sawa'iq al-muhriqah*, 89, from Umm Salamah.

‘Abaqat al-Anwar

Among Sunni authors one who has written a book on the topic of the chains of transmission (*turuq*) of this tradition is al-Hafiz Abu al-Fadl Muhammad ibn Tahir al-Maqdisi (448 507/1056 1113), known as Ibn al-Qaysarani as mentioned by the biographers (Isma'il Pasha in *Hadiyyatal-Arifin* (ii, 82), *al-Ansab al-muttafiqah* and *al-Jam' bayn rijal al-Sahihayn* [Hyderabad]). 1

However, the most exhaustive study of the subject is the one undertaken by al-Imam Sayyid Hamid Husayn Lakhnowi *quddisa sirruh* in the twelfth part of his great work *‘Abaqat al-Anwar fi imamat al-‘A'immat al-athar*. Sayyid Hamid Husayn (1246 1306/ 1830 1888) wrote this work in Persian as a refutation of the seventh chapter of *Tuhfehye ithna ‘ashariyyah* of Shah ‘Abd al-Aziz al-Dehlawi (1159 1239/1746 1823). In twelve chapters of this work, which is said to be a plagiarism in Persian of *al-Sawa’iq al-mubiqah* by an obscure writer Nasr Allah al-Kabuli, Shah ‘Abd al-Aziz severely attacked Shi’i doctrines, beliefs and practices. Shah ‘Abd al-Aziz's book was an effort to check the expanding influence of Shi’ism, which had begun to flourish under the patronage of the Shi’i kingdom of Awadh and under the religious leadership of the great Shi’i scholar and *mujtahid* Sayyid Dildar ‘Ali ibn Muhammad Mu’in al-Naqawi al-Nasirabadi (116 1235/1752 1819), known as Ghufran Ma'ab.

Shah ‘Abd al-Aziz's attack and accusations drew a massive response from Shi’i scholars. ‘Allamah ‘Abd al-Aziz Tabataba'i mentions the following authors who wrote refutations of *Tuhfehye ithna ‘ashariyyah*: 2

1. Sayyid Dildar ‘Ali al-Naqawi al-Nasirabadi

who wrote five books refuting various chapters of the *Tuhfah: al-Sawarim al-ilahiyyat fi qat’ shubuhāt ‘abid al-Uzza wa al-Lat* (1215/1800), a refutation of the fifth chapter of the *Tuhfah* regarding theological issues; *Khatimat al-Sawarim*, a refutation of the seventh chapter concerning the Shi’i doctrine of Imamate; *Husam al-Islam wa siham al-malam* (Calcutta, 1215/1800), a refutation of the sixth chapter of the *Tuhfah* concerning prophet hood; *Ihya’ al-Sunnah wa imatat al-bid’ah bi ta’n al-asinnah* (1281/1864), a refutation of the eighth chapter of the *Tuhfah*; *al-Zulfiqar*, a refutation of the twelfth chapter.

2. Shaykh Jamal al-Din Abu Ahmad Mirza Muhammad ibn ‘Abd

al-Nabi Akbarabadi (d. 1232/1816)

who wrote *Sayf Allah al-maslul 'ala mukharribi Din al-Rasul*, in six big volumes, as refutation of all the chapters of the *Tuhfah*.

3. 'Allamah Mirza Muhammad ibn 'Inayat Ahmad Khan Kashmiri Dehlawi (d. 1235/1820)

who wrote *Nuzhat al-Ithna 'Ashariyyah fi al-radd 'ala al-Tuhfat al-ithna 'ashariyyah* in twelve volumes, of which the first, third, fourth, fifth and seventh volumes were published (1255/ 1839) and others remained incomplete.

4. Mawlawi Hasan ibn Aman Allah Dehlawi 'Azimabadi (d. c. 1260/ 1844)

who wrote *Tajhiz al-jaysh li kasr sanamay Quraysh*, as a refutation of all the chapters of the *Tuhfah*.

5. 'Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Quli ibn Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Lacknowi Kanturi (d. 1260/1844)

father of Sayyid Hamid Husayn, who wrote five books in refutation of different chapters of the *Tuhfah*: *al-Sayf al-nasiri* on the first chapter, *Taqlid al-maka'id* (Calcutta, 1262/1846) on the second chapter, *Burhan al-sa'adah* on the seventh chapter, *Tashyid al-mata'in li kashf al-dagha'in* in two volumes (1283/1866) on the tenth chapter, and *Masari' al-afham li qal' al-awham*.

6. Mawlawi Khayr al-Din Muhammad Allahabadi

who wrote *Hidayat al-Aziz (or Hadiyyat al-Aziz)* as a refutation of the fourth chapter of the *Tuhfah* about *usul al-hadith* and *rijal*.

7. 'Allamah Sayyid Muhammad ibn Sayyid Dildar 'Ali (d. 1284/ 1867) known as Sultan al-'Ulama'

who wrote two books, one in Persian and the other in Arabic, in refutation of the seventh chapter of the *Tuhfah* concerning Imamate, of which the former was entitled *al-Bawariq al-mubiqah*. He also wrote *Ta'n al-rimah* in refutation of the tenth chapter.

8. Sayyid Ja'far Abu 'Ali Khan ibn Ghulam 'Ali Musawi Banarasi

who wrote *Burhan al-sadiqin* and *Mahajjat al-Burhan* (a condensation of the former) in refutation of the seventh chapter and *Taksir al-sanamayn* in refutation of the tenth chapter.

9. 'Allamah Sayyid Mufti Muhammad 'Abbas Musawi Tustari Jaza'iri (d. 1306/1888)

who wrote *al-Jawahir al-Abqariyyah* in refutation of the *Tuhfah's* seventh chapter.

10. Al-Shaykh Ahmad ibn 'Ali Kirmanshahi (d. 1235/1819)

who wrote *Kashf al-shubhah 'an hilyat al-mut'ah* (MS dated 1227 H. in the National Museum, Karachi), in refutation of the ninth chapter.

However, the most important work that was written as a refutation of the seventh chapter of the *Tuhfah* concerning the Shi'i doctrine of Imamate was *'Abaqat al-Anwar*, which was destined to take its place not only as the greatest work on Imamate ever written but also perhaps as one of the greatest masterpieces of scholarship ever compiled on a doctrinal issue anywhere in the history of religion.

In the seventh chapter of the *Tuhfah*, where Shah 'Abd al-Aziz attacks the Shi'i doctrine of Imamate, he claims that the Shi'i claim is based on only six verses of the Qur'an and twelve traditions of the Prophet (S). Accordingly, Sayyid Hamid Husayn wrote his book in two sections, the first concerning the Qur'anic basis of Imamate and the second concerning its basis in the Prophet's hadith. The first section has not been published. The second section consists of 12 parts, each of which deals with the *sanad* (chains of transmission) and the meaning (*dalalah*) of one of the twelve traditions of the Prophet (S) concerning 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A) or the Ahlul Bayt (A) rejected by Shah 'Abd al-Aziz as supporting the doctrine of Imamate.

The first part studies the *isnad* and *dalalah* of what is called *Hadith al-Ghadir*.³ It is contained in three volumes, of which the first was published in 1293/1876, in 1251 pages and the remaining two, of 609 and 399 pages, in 1294/1877.

The second part deals with *Hadith al-Manzilah*.⁴ It appeared in 1295/1878 in 977 pages.

The third part deals with *Hadith al-Wilayah*.⁵ It was published in 1303/1885 in 585 pages.

The fourth part deals with *Hadith al-Tayr*.⁶ It was published in 1306/1888 in two volumes of 512 and 224 pages from Matba'ahye Bustan, Lucknow.

The fifth part deals with *Hadith Madinat al-'ilm*.⁷ It consists of two volumes, of which the first, in 745

pages, appeared in 1317/1899 and the second, in 600 pages, in 1327/1909.

The sixth part deals with *Hadith al-Tashbih*. 8 It was published in 1301/1883 in two volumes of 456 and 248 pages.

The seventh part, which deals with *Hadith al-Munasabah* 9 and was completed by Sayyid Muhammad Sa'id ibn Sayyid Nasir Husayn ibn Sayyid Hamid Husayn, has not been published yet.

The eighth part, dealing with *Hadith al-Nur*, 10 was published in 1303/1885 in 786 pages by Matba'ahye Mashriq al-Anwar, Lucknow.

The ninth part, dealing with *Hadith al-Rayah*, 11 has also remained unpublished.

The tenth part dealing with the hadith... (*al-haqqu ma'a 'Aliyyin wa 'Aliyyun ma'al-haqq*) 12 also remains unpublished.

الحق مع علي وعلي مع الحق

The eleventh part dealing with *Hadith al-Muqatalah* 13 also remains unpublished.

The twelfth part deals with *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* and *Hadith al-Safinah*. 14 It was published in two big volumes, the first of which in 664 pages appeared in 1314/1896 and the second in 891 pages in 1351/1932.

Sayyid Hamid Husayn and his work *'Abaqat* have been held in great esteem amongst leading Shi'i scholars and many of them, from Mirza Sayyid Hasan Shirazi, the great *marji'* and juristic authority of his days, to contemporary scholars, have extolled the author and his great work. Sayyid 'Ali Milani, in the first volume of his condensed translation of *'Abaqat* into Arabic, quotes the statements of various scholars. Here we will confine ourselves to the opinion expressed by the great scholar 'Allamah Aqa Buzurg Tehrani, the author of *al-Dhari'ah ila tasanif al-Shi'ah*, about Sayyid Hamid Husayn and his work. He says about the author:

من أكابر متكلمي الامامية وأعظم علماء الشيعة المتبحرين في أوليات هذا القرن ، كان كثير التتبع ، واسع الاطلاع والإحاطة بالآثار والاطار والتراث الإسلامي ، بلغ في ذلك مبلغا لم يبلغه أحد من معاصريه ولا المتأخرين عنه ، بل ولا كثير من أعلام القرون السابقة ، أفنى عمره الشريف في البحث عن اسرار الديانة والذب عن بيضة الإسلام وحوزة الدين الحنيف ، ولا أعهد في

القرون المتأخرة من جاهد جهاده وبذل في سبيل الحقائق الراهنة طارفه وتلاده ، ولم تر عين الزمان في جميع الأمصار والأعصار مضاهيا له في تتبعه وكثرة اطلاعه ودقته وذكائه وشدة حفظه وضبطه.

(He is) one of the greatest of Imami theologians (mutakallimun) and one of the greatest and deeply learned of Shi'i scholars who lived in the early part of this century. He was profoundly learned, and had extensive knowledge and mastery over the Islamic traditions and heritage and attained such a station in it that none of his contemporaries or anyone of those who came after him, or even most of the celebrities of the preceding centuries, have been able to attain. He spent his entire noble life in fathoming the mysteries of religiosity and in the defense of Islam and the realm of sincere religion. I don't know of anyone in the latter centuries who waged a *jihad* like him and sacrificed everything in his possession in the way of everlasting truths. The times, in all ages and periods, will never see a compeer of him in his research, his extensive knowledge, his precision, intelligence, and the immensity of his memory and retention.

Aqa Buzurg Tehrani says about the '*Abaqat*: "It is the greatest of books compiled on the subject (i.e. Imamate) from the outset of the Islamic era to the present." And what he says about the author and his book is perfectly representative of the opinion of leading Shi'i scholars on this matter. 15

The Author's Approach in '*Abaqat*

'Abaqat al-Anwar was written in Persian because Shah 'Abd al-Aziz's *Tuhfah*, which it refuted, was also in Persian. As mentioned above, Shah 'Abd al-Aziz had cited five verses of the Qur'an and twelve traditions of the Prophet (S) as constituting the basis of Shi'i argument concerning the Imamate of the Imams of the Ahlul Bayt (A). This was itself a misrepresentation of the Shi'i case, for there are hundreds of verses and traditions, many of which are scattered throughout the Sunni hadith corpus as well as works in tafsir. Even the verses and traditions that he cites are dismissed summarily by him on, as Sayyid Hamid Husayn shows, flimsy and untenable pretexts.

The published parts of '*Abaqat* deal with eight of these traditions, each part dealing with the *sanad* and doctrinal import of one of them. Sayyid Hamid Husayn's approach in each of these parts is to show that the hadith is a *mutawatir* one, having been narrated by Sunni traditionists of every generation from the time of the Companions to the scholars of his own era. He devotes a section to each of the narrators, quotes the tradition as narrated by him, and cites the opinions of biographers and Sunni authorities of 'ilm al-rijal regarding his reliability, trustworthiness and his scholarly station.

After discussing the *sanad* aspect of the tradition, he goes on to deal with its meaning, dealing one by one with all the various arguments that have been advanced by Sunni scholars to refute what the Shi'ah assert to be its doctrinal implications. His treatment is so logical, meticulous, precise, thorough and

exhaustive that one cannot but be struck with wonder at his prodigious, or rather miraculous, learning and his encompassing mastery over the entire Islamic heritage of thirteen centuries before him which lies in front of him like an open book.

This sketchy study of *'Abaqat* relates to its part concerning the *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*. At first we will give a list of its narrators belonging to every century of the Hijrah calendar. A brief reference is given under the name of each narrator concerning his standing with Sunni authorities on rijal. We have included the names of other narrators from the appendix (*mulhaqat*) to *'Abaqat* by Sayyid 'Abd al-Aziz Tabataba'i, which has been included in the condensed Arabic translation by Sayyid 'Ali Milani.

Reprints of most parts of *'Abaqat al-Anwar* have appeared in Iran. The first section of the first part, dealing with the *sanad* aspect of *Hadith al-Ghadir* was published in 1369/1949 in 600 pages from Tehran. The twelfth part, dealing with *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* and *Hadith al-Safinah*, was published in six parts and three volumes (vol. 1 in 1379, vol. 2 in 1378/79, and vol. 3 in 1381 and 1382) by Mu'assasehye Nashre Nafa'ise Makhtutat, Isfahan. Madrasat al-Imam al-Mahdi, Qumm, has published offset reprints of the first Indian lithographed print on the occasion of the author's first death centenary (vol. 3 on *Hadith al-Wilayah*, 1406; vol. 4 on *Hadith al-Tayr*, 1405; vol. 5 on *Hadith Madinat al-'ilm*, 1406; vol. 6 on *Hadith al-Tashbih*, 1406; vol. 8 on *Hadith al-Nur*, 1406). 'Allamah Shaykh Ghulam Rida Burujerdi has prepared a new edition of the book giving all the necessary references. His edition is under print.

Sayyid 'Ali Milani has published ten volumes of *Khulasat 'Abaqat al-Anwar*, which is a condensed translation of the book in Arabic. The first two volumes of his translation, which begins with *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*, were published in 1398. Bunyade Bi'that, Tehran, has published a new edition of the *Khulasah*, of which ten parts, dealing with *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*, *Hadith al-Safinah*, *Hadith al-Nur* and *Hadith al-Ghadir*, have appeared.

1. Al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Aziz al-Tabataba'i "Ahlul Bayt (A) fi al-maktabat al-Arabiyyah", Turathuna, no. 15 (4th year, 2nd issue), pp. 84-93.

2. Idem., "Mawqif al-Shi'ah min hajamat al-khusus wa khulasah 'an Kitab 'Abaqat al-Anwar", Turathuna, no. 6 (2nd year, 1st issue), pp. 41-52.

3. This is the famous tradition, also mentioned in the narration given by al-Hakim in *Mustadrak 'ala al-Sahihayn* (vol. III, pp. 109-110), quoted in the section "On Some Sahih Versions of the Hadith" in the present article, in which the Prophet (S) while returning from his last pilgrimage stopped the entire caravan at Ghadir Khumm and made the announcement:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

Of whomever I am his master, 'Ali also is his master (mawla).

This is also a mutawatir tradition about which al-Allamah al-Amini wrote his great work *al-Ghadir fi al-Kitab wa al-Sunnah wa al-adab*. Among the many Sunni traditionists who have recorded this tradition in their works are:

Al-Tirmidhi in his *Sahih* (Bulaq, 1292), ii, 298;

Sunan Ibn Majah (Matba'at al-Faruqi, Delhi), in "bab Fada'il ashab Rasul Allah (S)" from al-Bara' ibn 'Azib and Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas;

Al-Hakim in Mustadrak (Hyderabad, 1313) from Zayd ibn Arqam (iii, 109, 533), Sa'd ibn Malik (iii, 116), from Rifa'ah ibn Ayas al-Dabbi from his father from his grandfather (iii, 371), and from Buraydah al-Aslami; (iii, 110; ii, 129); Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal in his Musnad, al-Matba'at al-Maymaniyyah, Egypt, 1313, from al-Bara' ibn 'Azib (iv, 281), Buraydah al-Aslami (v, 347, 350, 358), Zayd ibn Arqam (iv, 372, iv, 368, v, 307), Ibn 'Abbas (i, 330), Abu al-Tufayl (iv, 270) and 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A) (i, 84, 88, 118, 139, 152, v, 307, 366, 419); Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani; in Hilyat al-awliya' (Egypt: Matba'at al-Sa'adah, 1351) iv, 23, v, 26; Fakhr al-Din al-Razi; in al-Tafsir al-kabir (Dar Tiba'at al-Amirah) under the verse 5:67; Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, in Ta'rikh Baghdad (Matba'at al-Sa'adah, 1360), vii, 377, viii, 290, xii, 343, xiv, 236; Al-Nasa'i in Khasa'is (Matba'at al-Taqa'dum al-Ilmiyyah, Egypt, 1348), pp.4, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 40; Al-Muhibb al-Tabari, in al-Riyad al-nadirah (Matba'at al-Itihad, Egypt, 1st ed.), ii, 169, 170, 172, 203 and Dhakha'ir al-uqba (Egypt 1356), 86; Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani in al-Sawa'iq al-muhriqah (al-Matba'at al-Maymaniyyah, Egypt; 1312), pp. 25, 26; 'Ali al-Muttaqi al-Hindi in Kanz al-ummal (Hyderabad, 1312), i, 48, vi, 83, 153, 154, 390, 397, 398, 399, 403, 405, 406, 407; Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani in al-Isabah (Calcutta, 1853 A.D.), i, part one, 57, 319; iii, part one, 29; iv, part one, 14, 16, 61, 143, 169, 182; vi, 223, vii, part one, 78, 156; Ibn al-Athir in Usd al-ghabah (al-Matba'at al-Wahbiyyah, Egypt, 1285), i, 308, 367, 368, ii, 307, 233, iii, 92, 93, 321, 374, iv, 28, v, 205, 276, 383; Ibn Qutaybah in al-Imamah wa al-siyasah (Matba'at al-Futuh al-Adabiyyah, 1331), 93; Al-Tahawi in Mushkil al-athar (Hyderabad, 1333), ii, 307; Al-Manawi in Fayd al-Qadir (Egypt, 1356), vi, 218, 358 and Kunuz al-haqai'q (Istanbul, 1285), 92; Al-Haythami Majma' al-zawa'id (Egypt, 1352), vii, 17, ix 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 119, 163, 164; 'Ali ibn Sultan Muhammad al-Qari in Mirqat al-mafatih (al-Matba'at al-Maymaniyyah, Egypt, 1309), v, 568.

4. Al-Bukhari in his Sahih (al-Matba'at al-Khayriyyah, Egypt, 1320) in "Kitab bad' al-khalq", "Bab manaqib 'Ali ibn Abi Talib" and "Bab ghazwat Tabuk," in two places, records this tradition in which the Prophet (S) is reported to have said to 'Ali (A):

أما ترضى أن تكون مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى؟

Are you not pleased to have the position (manzilah) in relation to me as that Aaron had in relation to Moses?

Among other traditionists who have recorded this tradition in their works are:

Muslim in his Sahih (Matba'at Bulaq, 1290), "Kitab fada'il al-Sahabah," through three chains; al-Tirmidhi, in his Sahih, ii, 301; Ibn Majah in his Sunan, p. 12; al-Hakim in Mustadrak, ii, 337; Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal in Musnad, i, 29, 170, 173, 174, 175, 177, 179, 182, 184, 185; 230, iii, 338, vi, 369; al-Nasa'i in Khasa'is, 4, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 32; Ibn Sa'd in al-Tabaqat (Leiden 1322) iii, part one, 14, 15; Abu Nu'aym in Hilyat al-awliya', vi, 345, vii, 194, 195, 196, viii, 307; al-Khatib in Ta'rikh Baghdad, i, 324, iii, 288, iv, 71, 204, 382, vii, 452, viii, 52, ix, 394, x, 43, xi, 432, xii, 323; al-Tabari in his Ta'rikh al-umam wa al-muluk (Matba'at al-Istiqamah, Cairo, 1357), ii, 368; Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-ghabah, v, 8; al-Muttaqi al-Hindi, Kanz al-ummal, iii, 154, v, 40, vi, 154, 188, 395, 402, 404, 405, viii, 215; al-Haythami, Majma' al-zawa'id, ix, 109, 110, 111, 119; al-Muhibb al-Tabari, in al-Riyad al-nadirah, i, 13, ii, 162, 163, 164, 175, 195, 203 and Dhakha'ir al-uqba, 120.

5. Al-Tirmidhi, in his Sahih, ii, 297, records this tradition of the Prophet (S):

إن عليا مني وأنا منه، وهو ولي كل مؤمن بعدي.

Verily, `Ali and I are inseparable, and he is the master (wali) of every believer after me.

Among other traditionists who have recorded it in their books are:

Ahmad ibn Hanbal in his Musnad, iv, 437, v, 356;

Abu Dawud al-Tayalisi in his Musnad, iii, 111, xi, 360;

al-Haythami, Majma` al-zawa'id, ix, 109, 127, 128, 199;

al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, Ta'rikh Baghdad, iv, 339;

al-Muhibb al-Tabari, al-Riyad al-nadirah, ii, 203, 171;

al-Muttaqi al-Hindi, Kanz al-ummal, vi, 154, 155, 396, 401;

Ibn al-Athir in Usd al-ghabah, v, 94;

Abu Nu`aym in Hilyat al-awliya', vi, 294;

al-Nasa'i, Khasa'is, 19, 23;

as well as Ibn Abi Shaybah, al-Tabari, al-Tabarani, al-Daylami, Ibn Mardawayh, Ibn alJawzi, al-Rafi'i, and Ibn Hajar.

6. Al-Tirmidhi in his Sahih reports that once when the Prophet (S) sat down to eat a fowl that had been prepared for his dinner, he prayed to God:

اللهم إئتني بأحب خلقك إليك يأكل معي هذا الطير فجاء علي عليه السلام فأكل معه.

"My God, bring the most beloved of Your creatures, that he may eat this fowl with me." Then `Ali (A) came and the Prophet ate with him.

Among others who have recorded this tradition in their works are:

al-Hakim in Mustadrak, iii, 130, 131;

Abu Nu`aym in Hilyah, vi, 339;

al-Khatib in Ta'rikh Baghdad, ii, 171;

al-Muhibb al-Tabari in al-Riyad al-nadirah, ii, 160, 161, and Dhakha'ir al-uqba, 61;

al-Haythami in Majma` al-zawa'id, ix, 125, 126;

al-Muttaqi in Kanz al-ummal, iv, 406;

Ibn al-Athir in Usd al-ghabah, iv, 30.

7. Al-Hakim records this tradition of the Prophet (S) in his Mustadrak, iii, 126, 127:

أنا مدينة العلم وعلي بابها فمن أراد المدينة فليأت الباب.

I am the city of knowledge and `Ali is its gate; whoever intends to enter the city should come to its gate.

Among others who have narrated or recorded it in their works are:

al-Khatib in Ta'rikh Baghdad, ii, 348, 377; vii, 172; xi, 48, 49;

al-Muhibb al-Tabari in al-Riyad al-nadirah, ii, 193;

al-Muttaqi in Kanz al-ummal, vi, 152, 156, 401;

Ibn Hajar in al-Sawa'iq al-muhriqah, 73;

Al-Manawi in Kunuz al-haqaiq, 43 and Fayd al-Qadir, iii, 46;

al-Haythami, Majma` al-zawa'id, ix, 114;

Ibn al-Athir in Usd al-ghabah, iv, 22 and Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (Hyderabad, 1325), vi, 152;

as well as al-Uqayli, Ibn `Adi and al-Tabarani.

8. The following is one of its versions:

من أراد ان ينظر إلى آدم في علمه وإلى نوح في تقواه وإلى ابراهيم في حلمه وإلى موسى في بطشه وإلى عيسى في عبادته فلينظر إلى علي بن أبي طالب

Whoever wishes to see Adam in his knowledge, Noah in his piety, Abraham in his forbearance, Moses in his strength, and Jesus in his worship and devotion should look at `Ali ibn Abi Talib.

Among the narrators who have recorded similar traditions in their works are:

Al-Muhibb al-Tabari in al-Riyad al-nadira, ii, 218, 208;
al-Muttaqi in Kanz al-ummal, i, 226;
Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-balaghah (Egypt, ed. Muhammad Abu al-Fadl), ix, 168;
Al-Qunduzi, Yanabi` al-mawaddah (Istanbul), p. 214, 312;
Ibn `Asakir, Ta'rikh Dimashq, "tarjumat al-Imam `Ali ibn Abi Talib," ii, 280;
Fakhr al-Razi, Tafsir, ii, 700;
Ibn al-Maghazili, Manaqib, 212;
Ibn al-Sabbagh al-Maliki, al-Fusul al-muhimmah, 107.

9. This is the following tradition:

من ناصب عليا الخلافة فهو كافر.

Whoever contests `Ali in regard to the khilafah is an unbeliever.

Among those who have narrated it in their works are:

Ibn al-Maghazili in his Manaqib (Tehran), p.45, from Abu Dharr al-Ghifari, and
`Allamah `Ayni Hyderabadī in Manaqib Sayyidina `Ali (A`lam Press, Charminar), p.52, from al-Khatib al-Khwarazmi and Ibn al-Maghazili.

10. Al-Muhibb al-Tabari narrates this tradition on the authority of Salman from the Prophet (S) in alRiyad al-nadira, ii, 163:

كنت أنا وعلي نورا بين يدي الله تعالى قبل ان يخلق آدم عليه السلام بأربعة عشر ألف عام فلما خلق الله آدم عليه السلام قسم ذلك النور جزئين فجاء أنا وجزء علي.

Fourteen thousand years before Adam upon whom peace was created, I and `Ali were a light in the presence of God. When God created Adam upon whom peace He divided it into two parts. I am one of the parts and `Ali is the other part.

Among others to have narrated this tradition are:

Ahmad ibn Hanbal in al-Fada'il;
Sibt ibn al-Jawzi in Tadhkirat al-khawass, 46;
Abu Hatim Muhammad ibn Idris al-Razi in Zayn al-fata fi tafsir Surat Hal ata, MS.;
`Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Hanbal in Zawa'id manaqib Amir al-Mu'minin, MS.,
also Ibn Mardawayh, Ibn `Abd al-Barr, al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, Ibn al-Maghazili, al-Asimi, Shiruyah al-Daylami and others from `Ali (A), Salman, Abu Dharr, Anas ibn Malik, Jabir ibn `Abd Allah and other Companions. See the part of `Abaqat on this tradition, which discusses fiftyfive different riwayatnarrated by leading and eminent Sunni and Shi'i traditionists and scholars.

Among Shi'i scholars those who have narrated it are:

al-Kulayni in al-Kafi, from Abu Ja`far al-thani (A) and al-Imam al-Sadiq (A);
Muhammad ibn al-Abbas ibn Mahyar in Ma nazala min al-Qur'an fi Ahlul Bayt, cf., Ghayat al-maram, 12;
Furat ibn Ibrahim al-Kufi in his Tafsir from Ibn `Abbas;
Al-Saduq in al-Khisal and 'Ilal al-Shara'i` from al-Imam al-Rida (A), Mu'adh ibn Jabal and al-Imam al-Sadiq (A) and in Kamal al-Din from al-Imam `Ali ibn al-Husayn (A) and allmam al-Sadiq (A);
al-Sayyid Hashim al-Bahrani in Ghayat al-maram, bab 2, pp. 813;

al-Shaykh al-Mufid in al-Ikhtisas;

al-Shaykh al-Tusi in al-Amali, i, 186, 300301, 311312, 320 from al-Imam al-Hadi (A), al-Imam al-Sadiq (A), al-Imam al-Kazim and Anas ibn Malik from the Prophet (S);

Qutb al-Din al-Rawandi in al-Kharaj wa al-jar'ih from Sa'dan;

as well as al-Allamah al-Hilli, Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Daylami, Husayn ibn Hamdan al-Hadini, Muhammad ibn `Ali ibn Ahmad al-Fasi, Sharaf al-Din ibn `Ali al-Najafi and al-Allamah al-Majlisi in their works.

11. Al-Bukhari mentions this tradition in his Sahih, "Kitab al-jihad wa al-siyar":

عن سهل بن سعد قال: قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يوم خيبر: لأعطين الراية غدا رجلا يفتح على يديه يحب الله ورسوله ويحبه الله ورسوله يفتح الله على يديه، يحب الله ورسوله ويحبه الله ورسوله، فباتت الناس ليلتهم أيهم يعطي فغدوا كلهم يرجوه فقال: أين علي؟ فقيل يشتكى عينيه فبصق في عينيه ودعا... له فبرى كأن لم يكن به وجع، فأعطاه

Sahl ibn Sa'd said: "The Prophet (S) said on the day of (the victory of) Khaybar: 'Tomorrow I will give the standard to a man, by whose hand God shall conquer (Khaybar). He loves God and His Messenger, and God and His Messenger love him.' The people passed the night wondering as to who will receive it and everyone was hopeful of getting it. (The next day) the Prophet (S) declared: 'Where is `Ali?' He was told: 'He is suffering with an eye pain.' (When `Ali came) the Prophet applied his saliva to his eyes and prayed for him. `Ali recovered as if he had no pain before. Then the Prophet (S) gave it (the standard) to him....

Among others to have recorded this tradition in their books are:

Muslim in his Sahih, "Kitab al-jihad wa al-siyar" and "Kitab fada'il al-Sahabah";

al-Tirmidhi in his Sahih, i, 218;

Ibn Majah in Sunan (Matba'at al-Faruqi, Delhi) "bab fada'il ashab Rasul Allah (S)";

al-Hakim in Mustadrak, iii, 38, 437;

Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal in Musnad, i, 99, 133, 185, 320, iv, 51, v, 353;

Abu Nu'aym in Hilyat al-awliya', i, 26, 62;

al-Nasa'i in Khasa'is, 4, 5, 7, 8, 32;

al-Muttaqi in Kanz al-ummal, v, 283, 285, vi, 394, 395, 405;

al-Haythami in Majma' al-zawa'id, vi, 150, 151, ix, 119, 123, 124;

Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vii, 337, 339;

al-Muhibb al-Tabari, al-Riyad al-nadirah, ii, 185, 187, 203;

al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, ii, 300;

Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat, ii, part one, 80;

Ibn `Abd al-Barr, al-Isti'ab (Hyderabad, 1336), ii, 450;

al-Bayhaqi in Sunan, vi, 362.

12. Al-Tirmidhi has recorded this tradition of the Prophet (S) in his Sahih, ii, 298:

رحم الله علياً، اللهم ادر الحق معه حيث دار.

May God's mercy be upon `Ali. My God, keep the haqq (truth, righteousness, justice) always with `Ali.

Among others who have recorded it in their works are:

al-Hakim in Mustadrak, iii, 119, 124;

al-Khatib in Ta'rikh Baghdad, xiv, 321;

al-Haythami in Majma' al-zawa'id, vii, 134, 235; 243; and

al-Muttaqi in Kanz al-ummal, vi, 157.

13. Al-Nasa'i in Khasa'is, 40, reports this tradition on the authority of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri:

عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال: كنا جلوسا ننتظر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فخرج إلينا قد انقطع شسع نعله فرمى به إلى علي رضي الله عنه ، فقال : إن منكم رجلا يقاتل الناس على تأويل القرآن ، كما قاتلت على تنزيله، قال أبو بكر: أنا؟ قال: لا، قال عمر: أنا؟ قال: لا، ولكن خا صف النعل

Abu Sa`id al-Khudri reports: "We sat waiting for the Messenger of Allah (S) when he came out to meet us. The strap of his sandal was broken and he tossed it to `Ali. Then he (S) said, 'A man amongst you will fight the people over the ta'wil (interpretation) of the Qur'an in the same way as I have fought over its tanzil (revelation).' Thereupon Abu Bakr said, 'Is that I?' The Prophet (S) said, 'No.' Then `Umar asked him, 'Is that I?' 'No.' said the Prophet (S). 'It is the mender of the sandal (i.e. `Ali).'"

Among others who have recorded this tradition in their works are:

al-Hakim in Mustadrak, iii, 122;
Ahmad ibn Hanbal in his Musnad, iii, 33, 82;
Abu Nu`aym in Hilyat al-awliya', i, 67;
Ibn al-Athir in Usd al-ghabah, iii, 282, iv, 33;
Ibn Hajar, al-Isabah, i, 22, iv, 152;
Ibn `Abd al-Barr, al-Isti`ab, ii, 423;
al-Haythami, Majma` al-zawa'id, v, 186;
al-Muttaqi, Kanz al-ummal, vi, 155, 390, 391.

14. Al-Hakim records this tradition of the Prophet (S) in his Mustadrak, ii, 343, iii, 150:

مثل أهل بيتي مثل سفينة نوح من ركبها نجا ومن تخلف عنها غرق

The parable of my Ahlul Bayt is that of the boat of Noah, whoever gets aboard it is saved and whoever stays away from it is drowned.

Among the traditionists who have narrated it are:

Abu Nu`aym in Hilyat al-awliya', iv, 306;
al-Khatib in Ta'rikh Baghdad, xii, 19;
al-Suyuti in al-Durr al-manthur (al-Matba`at al-Maymaniyyah, Egypt, 1314), under verse 2:58;
al-Muttaqi in Kanz al-ummal, i, 250, vi, 216;
al-Haythami in Majma` al-zawa'id, ix, 167, 168;
al-Muhibb al-Tabari in Dhakha'ir al-uqba, 20; al-Manawi in Kunuz al-haqaiq, 132.

15. See al-Sayyid `Ali al-Milani, "Al-Sayyid Hamid Husayn (r) wa Kitabuhu al-Abaqat," Turathuna, No. 4 (Rabi` 1406 H.) pp. 144-156.

Narrators of Hadith al Thaqalayn From Among the Sahabah

More than thirty of the well-known and eminent Companions of the Prophet (S) have narrated *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* from him. Their names as well as those of some authors, who have narrated their traditions in their books, are given below:

1. Amir al-Mu'minin 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A) (23BH40H/600661).

1. Ibn Rahwayh Ishaq ibn Ibrahim al-Hanzali,
2. Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Umar al-Shaybani,
3. Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Bazzaz
4. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari,
5. Abu Bishr Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Dulabi,
6. Abu 'Abd Allah Husayn ibn Isma'il al-Muhamili,
7. Abu al-Abbas ibn 'Uqdah al-Kufi,
8. Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn al-Ji'abi,
9. Shams al-Din al-Sakhawi,
10. Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti,
11. Nur al-Din al-Samhudi,
12. 'Ali Muttaqi al-Hindi,
13. Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Muhammad Ba Kathir al-Makki,
14. Mahmud ibn Muhammad al-Shaykhani al-Qadiri,
15. Sulayman ibn Ibrahim al-Qunduzi.

2. Al-Imam al-Hasan ibn 'Ali (A) (350/624670).

1. Al-Qunduzi.

3. Salman al-Farsi (d. 36/656).

1. Al-Qunduzi.

4. Jundab ibn Junadah, Abu Dharr al-Ghifari. (d. 32/650).

1. Muhammad ibn 'Isa al-Tirmidhi,
2. Ibn 'Uqdah,

3. Abu Muhammad Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Asimi,
4. Ibn Kathir,
5. al-Sakhawi,
6. al-Samhudi,
7. Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Muhammad Ba Kathir.

5. ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Abbas (3 BH68/61987).

1. Sulayman ibn Ibrahim Al-Qunduzi.

6. Sa’d ibn Malik, Abu Sa’id al-Khudri (10 BH74/613693).

1. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Arzami,
2. Sulayman ibn Mihran al-A’mash,
3. Muhammad ibn Ishaq al-Madani,
4. ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Mas’udi,
5. Muhammad ibn Talhah al-Yami,
6. ‘Abd Allah ibn Numayr al-Hamadani,
7. ‘Abd al Malik al-’Uqdi,
8. Ibn Sa’d al-Zuhri,
9. Ahmad ibn Hanbal,
10. ‘Abbad ibn Ya’qub al-Rawajini,
11. Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Riyahi,
12. ‘Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Hanbal,
13. Abu Ya’la al-Tamimi,
14. Abu Ja’far al-Tabari,
15. Abu al-Qasim al-Baghawi,

16. Ibn 'Uqdah,
17. Abu al-Qasim al-Tabarani,
18. Abu Tahir al-Dhahabi,
19. Abu Ishaq al-Tha'labi,
20. Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani,
21. Abu Ghalib Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Nahwi,
22. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr,
23. Abu Muhammad al-Ghandajani,
24. Abu al-Hasan al-Jullabi,
25. Abu al-Muzaffar al-Sam'ani,
26. Abu al-Barakat al-Anmati,
27. Fakhr al-Din al-Razi,
28. Abu Muhammad ibn al-Akhdar,
29. Abu al-Fath al-Abiwardi,
30. Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Tabari,
31. al-Nizam al-A'raj al-Nishaburi,
32. Ibrahim al-Hamawi,
33. Abu al-Hajjaj al-Mizzi,
34. Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Zarandi,
35. Ibn Kathir al-Dimashqi,
36. al-Sayyid 'Ali al-Hamdani,
37. Shams al-Din al-Sakhawi,
38. Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti,
39. Shihab al-Din al-Qastallani,

40. 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Bukhari,
41. 'Ali al-Qari al-Hindi,
42. Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Ba Kathir,
43. Mahmud al-Qadiri al-Shaykhani,
44. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Baqi al-Zarqani,
45. al-Mirza Muhammad al-Badakhshani al-Harithi,
46. Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-San'ani,
47. Sulayman ibn Ibrahim Al-Qunduzi, and others.

7. Jabir ibn 'Abd Allah al'Ansari (16 BH78/607697).

1. Abu Bakr ibn Abi Shaybah al-Absi,
2. Nasr al-Washsha' al-Kufi
3. al-Tirmidhi,
4. Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi,
5. al-Nasa'i,
6. Abu al-Abbas ibn 'Uqdah,
7. Muhammad ibn Sulayman al-Baghdadi,
8. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi,
9. Abu Bakr al-Baghawi,
10. Ibn al-Athir al-Jaza'iri,
11. al-Khatib al-Tabrizi,
12. Abu al-Hajjaj al-Mizzi,
13. al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Tayyibi,
14. Muhammad ibn al-Muzaffar al-Khalkhali,
15. Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Zarandi,

16. Ibn Kathir al-Dimashqi,
17. Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Hafizi al-Bukhari,
18. Shihab al-Din al-Dawlatabadi,
19. Shams al-Din al-Sakhawi,
20. Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti,
21. Nur al-Din al-Samhudi,
22. 'Ali al-Qari al-Hindi,
23. Ahmad ibn Ba Kathir,
24. Shihab al-Din al-Khafaji,
25. Husam al-Din al-Saharanpuri,
26. al-Mirza Muhammad al-Badakhshani,
27. Muhammad Mubin al-Lakhnowi,
28. al-Mirzi Hasan 'Ali Muhaddith al-Lakhnowi,
29. al-Shaykh Sulayman Al-Qunduzi,
30. al-Siddiq Hasan Khan al-Qannawji.

8. Abu al-Haytham Malik ibn al-Tayhan (d. 20/641).

1. Abu al-Abbas ibn 'Uqdah,
2. Shams al-Din al-Sakhawi,
3. Nur al-Din al-Samhudi,
4. Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Muhammad Ba Kathir,
5. al-Shaykh Sulayman Al-Qunduzi.

9. Ibrahim Abu Rafi', one of the Prophet's mawali (d. after 40/

661).

1. Ibn 'Uqdah,
2. al-Sakhawi,
3. al-Samhudi,
4. Ibn Ba Kathir,
5. Al-Qunduzi.

10. Hudhayfah ibn al-Yaman (d. 36/656).

1. Al-Shaykh Sulayman ibn Ibrahim Al-Qunduzi.

11. Hudhayfah ibn Usayd al-Ghifari.

1. Nasr ibn 'Ali al-Jahdami,
2. Abu 'Isa al-Tirmidhi,
3. al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi,
4. Abu al-Abbas ibn 'Uqdah,
5. Abu al-Qasim al-Tabarani,
6. Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani,
7. Abu al-Qasim ibn 'Asakir,
8. Abu Musa al-Madini,
9. Abu al-Futuh al-'Ijli,
10. 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn al-Athir,
11. al-Diya' al-Maqdisi,
12. Ibrahim al-Hamawi,
13. Ibn Kathir al-Dimashqi,
14. Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Bukhari,

15. Shams al-Din al-Sakhawi,
16. Nur al-Din al-Samhudi,
17. 'Ata' Allah al-Shirazi,
18. Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Ba Kathir,
19. al-Shaykhani al-Qadiri,
20. Muhammad Sadr al-Alam.

12. Khuzaymah ibn Thabit Dhu Shahadatayn (d. 37/657).

1. Abu al-Abbas Ibn 'Uqdah,
2. Shams al-Din al-Sakhawi,
3. Nur al-Din al-Samhudi,
4. Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Ba Kathir,
5. al-Shaykh Sulayman Al-Qunduzi.

13. Zayd ibn Thabit (11 BH45/611665).

1. Al-Rukayn ibn al-Rabi' al-Fazari,
2. Muhammad ibn Ishaq,
3. Sharik al-Qadi,
4. Abu Ahmad al-Zubayri,
5. Aswad ibn 'Amir al-Shami,
6. Ahmad ibn Hanbal,
7. 'Abd ibn Hamid al-Kashshi,
8. Ahmad ibn 'Amr al-Shaybani,
9. 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Hanbal,
10. Abu Ja'far al-Tabari,

11. Abu Bakr ibn al-Anbari,
12. Abu al-Qasim al-Tabarani,
13. Abu Mansur al-Azhari,
14. Abu 'Abd Allah al-Kanji al-Shafi'i,
15. Nur al-Din 'Ali al-Haythami,
16. Shams al-Din al-Sakhawi,
17. Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti,
18. 'Ali al-Qari al-Hindi,
19. 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Munawi,
20. 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Azizi,
21. al-Mirza Muhammad al-Badakhshi,
22. Sulayman ibn Ibrahim Al-Qunduzi,
23. Hasan al-Zaman al-Hindi.

14. Abu Hurayrah, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Sakhr (d. 59/679).

1. Abu Bakr al-Bazzaz,
2. Shams al-Din al-Sakhawi,
3. Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti,
4. Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Ba Kathir,
5. Nur al-Din al-Samhudi,
6. Mahmud ibn Muhammad al-Shaykhani al-Qadiri.

15. 'Abd Allah ibn Hantab.

1. Abu al-Qasim al-Tabarani,
2. 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn al-Athir,

3. Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti.

16. Jubayr ibn Mut'im (d. 59/679).

1. Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani,

2. al-Sayyid 'Ali al-Hamadani,

3. al-Shaykh Sulayman Al-Qunduzi.

17. AlBara' ibn 'Azib (d. 71/690).

1. Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani.

18. Anas ibn Malik (10 BH93/612712).

1. Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani.

19. Talhah ibn 'Ubayd Allah al-Taymi (28 BH36/596656).

1. Al-Shaykh Sulayman Al-Qunduzi.

20. 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf (44 BH32/580652).

1. Al-Qunduzi.

21. Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas (d. 23BH55/600675).

1. Al-Qunduzi.

22. 'Amr ibn al-As (50 BH43/574664).

1. Al-Muwaffaq ibn Ahmad al-Khwarazmi.

23. Sahl ibn Sa'd al-Ansari (d. 91/710).

1. Ibn 'Uqdah al-Kufi,

2. Shams al-Din al-Sakhawi,

3. Nur al-Din al-Samhudi,

4. Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Ba Kathir,

5. Sulayman Al-Qunduzi.

24. 'Adi ibn Hatim (d. 68/687).

1. Ibn 'Uqdah,

2. al-Sakhawi,

3. al-Samhudi,

4. Ibn Ba Kathir,

5. Al-Qunduzi.

25. 'Uqbah ibn 'Amir (d. 58/678).

1. Ibn 'Uqdah,

2. al-Sakhawi,

3. al-Samhudi,

4. Ibn Ba Kathir,

5. Al-Qunduzi.

26. Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, Khalid ibn Zayd (d. 52/672).

27. Abu Shurayh al-Khuza'i, Khuwaylid ibn 'Amr (d. 68/687).

28. Abu Qudamah, al-Ansari (martyred 37/657).

29. Abu Layla al-Ansari (martyred 37/657).

30. 'Umayrah al-Aslami.

Hadith al-Thaqalayn has been narrated from all the above five (26-30) by:

1. Ibn 'Uqdah,

2. al-Sakhawi,

3. Samhudi,
4. Ibn Ba Kathir,
5. Al-Qunduzi.

31. 'Amir ibn Layla ibn Damrah.

1. Ibn 'Uqdah,
2. Abu Musa al-Madini,
3. Abu al-Futuh al-'Ijli,
4. 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn al-Athir,
5. Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani,
6. Shams al-Din al-Sakhawi,
7. Nur al-Din al-Samhudi,
8. Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Muhammad Ba Kathir,
9. Al-Qunduzi.

32. Zayd ibn Arqam (d.68/687).

1. Al-Nasa'i,
2. al-Hakim,
3. al-Tabarani,
4. 'Ali al-Muttaqi al-Hindi
5. Muhammad Sadr al-Alam,
6. Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-San'ani
7. al-Shaykhani al-Qadiri,
8. Al-Hafiz al-Zarandi,
9. al-Samhudi,

10. Ahmad ibn Ba Kathir, and many others.

33. ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Umar (10 BH73/613692)

34. Fatimah al-Zahra' (A) (18 BH11/604632)

1. Al-Shaykh Sulayman Al-Qunduzi.

35. Umm Salamah, Hind bint Suhayl (28 BH62/596681)

1. Ibn ‘Uqdah,

2. Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali ibn ‘Umar al-Darqutni,

3. al-Sakhawi,

4. al-Samhudi,

5. Ahmad ibn Ba Kathir,

6. al-Shaykhani al-Qadiri,

7. al-Razzaz, as in *Wasilat al-ma'al*.

36. Umm Hani, Fakhtah bint Abi Talib (d.40/661)

1. Ibn ‘Uqdah,

2. al-Sakhawi,

3. al-Samhudi,

4. Ibn Ba Kathir.

Narrators of Hadith al-Thaqalayn from Among the Tabi’un

A large number of narrators from among the Tabi’un have narrated this tradition from one or more of the Sahabah mentioned above. Some of them are:

37. **Abu al-Tufayl 'Amir ibn Wathilah al-Laythi (3100/625718)**
38. **'Atiyyah ibn Sa'd al-Awfi.**
39. **Hanash ibn al-Mu'tamar.**
40. **Al-Harith al-Hamdani.**
41. **Habib ibn Abi Thabit.**
42. **'Ali ibn Rabi'ah.**
43. **Al-Qasim ibn Hassan.**
44. **Husayn ibn Sabrah.**
45. **'Amr ibn Muslim.**
46. **Abu al-Duha Muslim ibn Sabih**
47. **Yahya ibn Ju'dah.**
48. **Al-Asbagh ibn Nubatah.**
49. **'Abd Allah ibn Abi Rafi'.**
50. **Al-Muttalib ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Hantab al-Makhzumi.**
51. **'Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Sa'id al-Khudri.**
52. **'Umar ibn 'Ali ibn Abi Talib.**
53. **Fatimah ibnat 'Ali ibn Abi Talib.**

54. Al-Hasan ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Ali ibn Abi Talib.

55. Zayn al-Abidin 'Ali ibn al-Husayn (A).

56. Yazid ibn Hayyan.

57. Malik ibn Damrah.

58. Abu Salih.

Narrators of Hadith al-Thaqalayn of Second-Eighth Century

59. Sa'id ibn Masruq al-Thawri (d. 126/743).

His narration is recorded in Muslim (*Sahih*, ii, 238) from Muhammad ibn Bakkar, from Hassan ibn Ibrahim, from him, from Yazid ibn Hayyan, from Zayd ibn Arqam. Is considered *thiqah* by Ibn Hibban, Ibn al-Madini, Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, and al-Dhahabi. 1

60. Al-Rukayn ibn al-Rabi' Abu al-Rabi' al-Fazari al-Kufi (d. 131/748).

In Ahmad ibn Hanbal (*Musnad*, v, 181, 182) from al-Aswad ibn 'Amir, from Sharik, from him, from al-Qasim ibn Hassan, from Zayd ibn Thabit. Is considered *thiqah* by Ahmad, Ibn Mu'in, al-Nasa'i, Ibn Hibban and Ibn Hajar. 2

61. Yahya ibn Sa'id ibn Hayyan, Abu Hayyan al-Taymi al-Kufi (d. 145/762).

In Muslim (*Sahih*, ii, 237-238) and Ahmad ibn Hanbal (*Musnad*, iv, 371) from Yazid ibn Hayyan from Zayd ibn Arqam. Is considered *thiqah* by al-Thawri, Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allah al-'Ijli, al-Dhahabi, al-Yafi'i, al-Asqalani, and Ibn Hibban. 3

62. ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abi Sulayman Maysarah al-Arzami al-Kufi (d. 145/762).

In Ahmad (*Musnad*, iii, 26) from ‘Atiyah from Abu Sa’id al-Khudri. Is considered *thiqah* by Ahmad ibn Hanbal and Yahya ibn Mu’in, and also by ‘Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Sufyan al-Thawri, al-Nasa’i, al-‘Ijli and Ibn ‘Ammar al-Musili. 4

63. Al-A’mash, Sulayman ibn Mihran al-Asadi al-Kufi al-Kahili (61 147/680 764).

In al-Tirmidhi (*Sahih*, ii, 220) from ‘Ali ibn al-Mundhir, from Muhammad ibn Fudyal from him from ‘Atiyah from Abu Sa’id al-Khudri and also from Habib ibn Abi Thabit from Zayd ibn Arqam. Is considered *thiqah* by al-Dhahabi, al-Yafi’i, al-‘Ijli, Yahya ibn Mu’in and al-Nasa’i. 5

64. Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Yasar al-Thaqafi al-Madani (d. 151/768).

His *marfu’* narrations from Zayd ibn Arqam and Abu Sa’id al-Khudri have been recorded by Ibn Manzur (*Lisan al-Arab*, iv, 530). Is considered *thiqah* by Ibn Hibban, Shu’bah, Sufyan, Yahya ibn Mu’in, Ibn al-Madini and al-Subki, and other scholars. 6

65. Isra’il ibn Yunus al-Sabi’i, Abu Yusuf al-Kufi (d. 160/776).

In Ahmad ibn Hanbal (*Musnad*, iv, 371) from al-Aswad ibn ‘Amir, from him, from ‘Uthman ibn al-Mughirah, from ‘Ali ibn Rabi’ah, from Zayd ibn Arqam. Considered *thiqah* by al-‘Ijli, Abu Hatim, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Ibn Hibban, 7 Ibn Hajar, 8 and others.

66. ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Utbah ibn Mas’ud al-Kufi al-Mas’udi (d. 160/776).

Al-Tabarani (*al-Mu’jam al-saghir*, i, 135) records his narration from Kathir al-Nawa’, from ‘Atiyah from Abu Sa’id al-Khudri. He is considered *thiqah* by Yahya ibn Mu’in, Ahmad ibn Hanbal and Ibn al-Madini.

9

67. Muhammad ibn Talhah ibn Musarrif al-Yami al-Kufi (d. 167/

783).

Ahmad ibn Hanbal in *Musnad*, Ibn al-Mag hazili in *al-Manaqib* and al-Hamawi in *Fara'id al-simtayn* have narrated *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* from him. He has been considered *thiqah* by the authors of the six *Sihah* all of whom have narrated traditions from him.

68. Abu 'Awanah al-Waddah ibn 'Abd Allah al-Yashkari al-Wasiti al-Bazzaz (d. 176/792).

Al-Nasa'i in *Khasa'is*, al-Hakim in *al-Mustadrak* and al-Khwarazmi in *al-Manaqib* have narrated *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* from him. He is considered *thiqah* by Abu Hatim, 10 Abu Zur'ah, Ibn 'Adi, 11 al-Dhahabi, 12 Ibn Hajar 13 and al-Suyuti. 14

69. Sharik ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qadi (d. 177/793).

In *Musnad Ahmad* (v, 181, 182) from al-Rukayn, from al-Qasim ibn Hassan, from Zayd ibn Thabit. Has been considered *thiqah* by Yahya ibn Mu'in and al-'Ijli. 15

70. Hassan ibn Ibrahim ibn 'Abd Allah al-Kirmani (d. 176/792).

Muslim in his *Sahih* and al-Hakim in *al-Mustadrak*. Has been considered *thiqah* by Ibn Mu'in, Ibn al-Madini, Ibn 'Adi, Ibn Hibban, 16 and al-Dhahabi. 17

71. Jarir ibn 'Abd al-Hamid al-Dabbi al-Kufi (d. 188/803).

Muslim in his *Sahih* mentions his narration of *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*. He has been considered *thiqah* by Ibn Sa'd, Muhammad ibn Hammad, Abu Hatim, al-'Ijli, 18 Yusuf ibn 'Ammar al-Musili, al-Nasa'i, Ibn Khirash, Abu al-Qasim al-Lalika'i, al-Khalili and Ibn Hajar. 19 According to the latter two there is unanimity on his *tawthiq*.

72. Abu Bishr Isma'il ibn Ibrahim ibn Muqsim al-Asadi al-Basri, known as Ibn 'Ulayyah (d. 193/808).

His narration of *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* is recorded by Muslim in his *Sahih* and Ahmad in his *Musnad*. One of the leading traditionists and jurists of Basrah, he has been considered *thiqah* by Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Ibn Mu'in, 20 al-Dhahabi, 21 al-Nasa'i, Ibn Sa'd, 22 and al-Suyuti. 23

73. Abu ‘Abd al-Rahman Muhammad ibn al-Fudayl al-Dabbi al-Kufi (d. 194/809).

His narration of *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* is mentioned by Muslim and al-Tirmidhi in their books. He has been considered *thiqah* by Ibn Mu’in and *saduq* by Abu Zur’ah. 24

74. ‘Abd Allah ibn Numayr al-Hamdani (d. 199/814).

Ahmad ibn Hanbal in his *Musnad* and *Kitab al-manaqib*. Has been considered *thiqah* by Yahya ibn Mu’in, al-‘Ijli and Ibn Sa’d. 25

75. Habib ibn Abi Thabit (d. 119/737).

His narration is mentioned by al-Nasa’i (*Khasa’is*, i, 133) and Ibn Kathir (*al-Bidayah wa al-nihayah*, v, 209) from Ibn al-Tufayh from Zayd ibn Arqam. Has been considered *thiqah* by al-‘Ijli, Ibn Mu’in, al-Nasa’i and Abu Hatim. 26

76. Abu Ishaq ‘Amr ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Sabi’i (d. 129/746).

His narration is mentioned by al-Darqutni in *Kitab al-‘Ilal* (ii, 78) from Hanash ibn al-Mu’tamir from Abu Dharr. Has been considered *thiqah* by Ibn Mu’in, al-Nasa’i, al-‘Ijli and Abu Hatim. 27

77. Muhammad ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib.

In al-Dulabi, *al-Dhurriyyat al-tahirah*, from his father, from his grandfather (A). Regarded *thiqah* by al-Dhahabi 28 and mentioned in *al-Thiqat* by Ibn Hibban.

78. Hakim ibn Jubayr al-Asadi.

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu’jam al-kabir*, iii, No. 2681), from him, from Abu al-Tufayl from Zayd ibn Arqam. One of four eminent traditionists of his time. 29

79. Zakariyya ibn Abi Za’idah (d. 147/764).

In al-Muhamili (*al-Amali*, iii, 38, MS. in Dar al-Kutub al-Zahiriyyah, Damascus), from him, from ‘Atiyyah al-Awfi from Abu Sa’id al-Khudri. *Tawthiq* by Ahmad ibn Hanbal, al-‘Ijli, Abu Dawud, al-Nasa’i 30 and Ibn Sa’d. 31

80. Fitr ibn Khalifah al-Makhzumi (d. 153 or 155/770 or 772).

In al-Samhudi (*Jawahir al-'iqdayn*, MS., F. 86) and al-Sakhawi (*al-Istijlab*, MS., F. 22), from him, from Abu al-Tufayl. *Tawthiq* by Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Yahya ibn Mu'in, al-'Ijli, al-Nasa'i, Ibn Sa'd, Abu Nu'aym al-Fadl ibn Dukayn and Ibn Hibban. 32

81. Kathir ibn Zayd (d. 158/774).

In Abu Ja'far al-Tahawi (*Mushkil al-athar*, ii, 307) and al-Dulabi (*al-Dhurriyyat al-tahirah*, 168) from him, from Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Ali, from 'Ali (A). *Tawthiq* by Ibn 'Ammar al-Musili and Ibn Hibban. 33

82. Ma'ruf ibn Kharrabudh al-Makki.

In Abu al-Abbas al-Hasan ibn Sufyan al-Nasawi (*al-Musnad al-kabir*), Abu Nu'aym (*Hilyat al-awliya'*, i, 355), Samhudi (*Jawahir al-'iqdayn*), al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*), Al-Hafiz al-Haythami (*Majma' al-zawa'id*), al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, Ibn 'Asakir, Ibn Hajar and others, from him from Abu Tufayl, from Hudhayfah ibn Asid al-Ghifari. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 34

83. Abu al-Jahhaf Dawud ibn Abi 'Awf al-Tamimi.

In Imam Ahmad's *Fada'il 'Ali*, from him, from 'Atiyah, from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Mu'in and Sufyan. Among the rijal of al-Tirmidhi, Ibn Majah, and al-Nasa'i. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 35

84. Salih ibn Abi al-Aswad al-Laythi.

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, ii, No. 2679) from al-A'mash from 'Atiyah from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri.

85. Abu al-Jarud Ziyad ibn al-Mundhir al-Abdi.

In al-Samhudi (*Jawahir al-'iqdayn*) and al-Sakhawi (*al-Istijlab*) from him, from Abu Tufayl.

86. Hatim ibn Isma'il al-Madani (d. 186/802).

In al-'Uqayli (*Kitab al-du'afa'*), from Ja'far ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali (A). *Tawthiq* by Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Hibban and al-'Ijli. 36

87. Kathir ibn Isma'il al-Nawa' al-Kufi.

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-saghir*, i, 131) from him, from 'Atiyah. Among the rijal of al-Tirmidhi.

Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 37

88. Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn Musahhar al-Qarashi (d. 189/805).

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, ii, No. 2678), from Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hadrami, from Manjab ibn Al-Harith from him, from 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abi Sulayman, from 'Atiyah from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Mu'in, al-'Ijli, Abu Zur'ah, al-Nasa'i, 38 Ibn Sa'd 39 and Ahmad ibn Hanbal. 40

89. 'Ali ibn Thabit al-Jazari.

In al-Bazzaz (*Musnad*, see 136), from him, from Sufyan ibn Sulayman, from Abu Ishaq, from Al-Harith, from 'Ali (A). *Tawthiq* by Ibn Mu'in, Ibn Hanbal, Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Numayr, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn 'Ammar, Abu Dawud, 41 Abu Zur'ah, al-'Ijli and others. 42

90. 'Abd Allah ibn Sinan al-Zuhri.

In Ibn 'Uqdah (*al-Muwalat*) Abu Musa al-Madini (*Kitab al-Sahabah*), Abu al-Futuh al-'Ijli (*Kitab almu'jiz fi fada'il al-Khulafa'*), al-Samhudi (*op. cit.*), and al-Sakhawi (*op. cit.*), from him, from Abu al-Tufayl.

91. Harun ibn Sa'd al-'Ijli.

In al-'Uqayli (*Kitab al-du'afa'*, xii, MS. F.288) from Muhammad ibn Abi Hafs al-Attar, from him, from 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Sa'id al-Khudri. Among the rijal of Muslim. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 43 *Tasdiq* by al-Dhahabi. 44

92. Yunus ibn Arqam.

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-saghir*, i, 135) and al-Khatib (*Talkhis al-mutashabih fi al-rasm*, MS. F.29), from 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sabih, from him, from Harun ibn Sa'd, from 'Atiyah. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 45

93. 'Uthman ibn Abi Zur'ah al-Mughirah al-Thaqafi al-Kufi.

In al-Tahawi (*Mushkil al-athar*, iv, 368) and Ahmad (*al-Musnad*, iv, 37), from Isra'il ibn Yunus alSabi'i, from him, from 'Ali ibn Rabi'ah. Among the rijal of al-Bukhari. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Hajar, Abu Hatim, al-Nasa'i, 'Abd al-Ghani ibn Sa'id, al-'Ijli and Ibn Numayr. 46

94. Zayd ibn al-Hasan al-Qarashi al-Anmati, Abu al-Husayn al-

Kufi.

In al-Nasawi (*al-Musnad al-kabir*), Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani (*Hilyat al-awliya'*), al-Samhudi (*Jawahir al-'iqdayn*), al-Tabarani, (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*), al-Haythami (*Majma' al-zawa'id*), al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (*Ta'rikh Baghdad*), Ibn 'Asakir (*Ta'rikh Dimashq*), Ibn Kathir (*al-Bidayah wa al-nihayah*) and others, from him, from Ja'far ibn Muhammad (A) from Jabir; and from him, from Ma'ruf ibn Kharrabudh, from Abu al-Tufayl, from Hudhayfah ibn Usayd. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat* and al-Tirmidhi narrates a tradition from him about hajj. 47

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1. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, iv, 82; al-Kashif, i, 272.
 2. Al-Kashif, i, 313; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, ii, 286; Taqrib al-Tahdhib, i, 252.
 3. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, M.S.; al-Kashif, ii, 256; al-Ibar, i, 205; Mir'at al-jinan, i, 301; Taqrib al-Tahdhib, ii, 248; al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Dehlawi, Asma' rijal al-Mishkat.
 4. Ibn Hibban, al-Thiqat, MS.; al-Maqdisi, al-Kamal fi asma' al-rijal, MS.; al-Dhahabi, Tadhkirat al-huffaz, i, 155; al-Asqalani, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vi, 396.
 5. al-Ibar, i, 209; Mir'at al-jinan, i, 305; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, iv, 222.
 6. Ibn Hibban, al-Thiqat; al-Mizzi, Tahdhib al-Kamal, MS., Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyah, i, 85; al-Dhahabi, al-Kashif, iii, 19; see also Mir'at al-jinan, i, 313.
 7. Al-Mizzi, Asma' rijal al-Sahihayn, i, 42; Al-Dhahabi, al-Kashif, i, 116; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, i, 261.
 8. Taqrib al-Tahdhib, i, 64.
 9. Al-Dhahabi, Tadhkirat al-huffaz, i, 197.
 10. Al-Mizzi, Tahdhib al-Kamal, MS.
 11. Al-Dhahabi, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, MS.
 12. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, i, 236, also al-Kashif, iii, 235.
 13. Taqrib al-Tahdhib, ii, 231.
 14. Tabaqat al-huffaz, 100.
 15. 'Abd al-Ghani al-Maqdisi, al-Kamal fi asma' al-rijal, MS.
 16. Al-Asqalani, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, iii, 245.
 17. Al-Kashif, i, 215, and al-Ibar, i, 293.
 18. Al-Mizzi, Tahdhib al-Kamal, MS.
 19. Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, ii, 75, and Taqrib al-Tahdhib, i, 127.
 20. Al-Mizzi, Tahdhib al-Kamal, MS.
 21. Al-Dhahabi, Tadhkirat al-huffaz, i, 323, al-Kashif, i, 118, al-Ibar, i, 310.
 22. Al-Asqalani, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, i, 275.
 23. Tabaqat al-huffaz, 133.
 24. Al-Dhahabi, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, MS.; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, i, 315.
 25. Al-Asqalani, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vi, 56.
 26. Ibid., ii, 178.
 27. Ibid., viii, 63.
 28. Al-Kashif, iii, 82.
 29. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, ii, 445.
 30. Ibid., iii, 329.
 31. Al-Tabaqat, vi, 355.
 32. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, viii, 300.
 33. Ibid., vi, 413.

34. Ibid., x, 230.
35. Ibid., iii, 196.
36. Ibid., ii, 128.
37. Ibid., viii, 411.
38. Ibid., vii, 382.
39. Ibn Sa`d, al-Tabaqat, vi, 388.
40. Al-Dhahabi, Tadhkirat al-huffaz, 290.
41. Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, Ta'rikh Baghdad, xi, 356.
42. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vii, 288.
43. Ibid., xi, 6.
44. Al-Dhahabi, al-Kashif, ii, 214 and Mizan al-I'tidal, iv, 284.
45. Ibid., vi, 331; Ibn Hajar, Ta`jil al-manfa`ah, 301.
46. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vii, 155.
47. Ibid., iii, 406.

Narrators of Hadith al-Thaqalayn of Third- Ninth Century

95. Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah Abu Ahmad al-Zubayri al-Habbal al-Kufi (d. 203/818).

In *Musnad Ahmad* (v, 189) from him, from Sharik, from al-Rukayn, from al-Qasim ibn Hassan from Zayd ibn Thabit. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Mu'in and al-'Ijli. 1

96. Abu 'Amir 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Amr ibn Qays al-Aqadi al-Basri (d. 204/819).

In Ibn al-Maghazili (*al-Manaqib*), from him, from Muhammad ibn Talhah, from al-A'mash, from 'Atiyah, from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Mu'in, al-Nasa'i, Ibn Sa'd, 'Uthman al-Darimi, Abu Hatim and Ibn Hajar. 2

97. Ja'far ibn 'Awn al-Makhzumi al-Kufi (d. 206/821).

In 'Abd ibn Hamid al-Kashshi (*Musnad*, MS. 894, F.40, Ayasofia Library), al-Darimi (*Sunan*, x, 113), al-Bayhaqi (*Sunan*, ii, 148, vii, 30) and others, from him, from Abu Hayyan al-Taymi. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Mu'in, Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Qani'. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 3

98. Yazid ibn Harun al-Wasiti (d. 206/821).

In al-Muhamili (*al-Amali*, MS. F.38), from him, from Zakariyya ibn Abi Za'idah. *Tawthiq* by Ibn al-Madini, Ibn Mu'in, al-'Ijli, Abu Hatim, Ya'qub ibn Shaybah and Ibn Qani'. 4

99. Al-Aswad ibn 'Amir Shadhan al-Wasiti (d. 205/820).

In *Musnad Ahmad* (iv, 371) from him, from Isra'il ibn 'Uthman, from 'Ali ibn Rabi'ah from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthiq* by Ibn al-Madini, Ibn Hajar and al-Suyuti. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 5

100. Ya'la ibn 'Ubayd al-Tanafisi (d. 209/824).

In al-Bayhaqi (*Sunan*, x, 113), from him, from Abu Hayyan al-Taymi from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthiq* and *tasdiq* by Ibn Mu'in and Abu Hatim. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 6

101. 'Ubayd Allah ibn Musa al-Absi al-Kufi (d. 213/828).

In al-Bazzaz, al-Fasawi (*al-Ma'rifah wa al-ta'rikh*, i, 536), Abu Bakr al-Ji'abi (*Kitab al-Talibiyyin*), al-Sakhawi (*al-Istijlab*, MS. F.24), al-Samhudi (*Jawahir al-'iqdayn*, ii, F.87), from him, from his father, Isra'il ibn Yunus and Sharik ibn 'Abd Allah from Abu Isra'il and Fudayl ibn Marzuq. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Sa'd, al-Dhahabi, al-Jazari, Ibn Mu'in, al-Qadi Asad, Abu Hatim, al-'Ijli and Ibn 'Adi. 7

102. Talid ibn Sulayman al-Muharibi al-Kufi.

In Ahmad ibn Hanbal's *al-Fada'il*, 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Hanbal, from Isma'il ibn Musa ibn bint al-Sadi, from him, from Abu al-Jahhaf, from 'Atiyah from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri.

103. Hashim ibn al-Qasim Abu al-Nasr (Nadr) al-Kinani al-Baghdadi (d. 207/822).

In Ibn Sa'd (*al-Tabaqat*, ii, 194) from him, from Muhammad ibn Talhah, from al-A'mash, from 'Atiyah, from Abu Sa'id. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Mu'in and al-'Ijli. 8

104. Yahya ibn Hammad ibn Abi Ziyad al-Shaybani al-Basri (d. 215/830).

In al-Nasa'i (*al-Khasa'is*), al-Hakim (*al-Mustadrak*), and al-Khwarazmi (*al-Manaqib*), from Muhammad ibn al-Muthanna, from him, Abu 'Awanah, from Sulayman, from Habib ibn Abi Thabit, from Abu al-Tufayl, from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Sa'd, 9 Abu Hatim, al-Dhahabi and Ibn Hajar. 10

105. Abu Ghassan al-Nahdi Malik ibn Isma'il al-Kufi (d. 219/834).

In al-Tahtawi (Mushkil *al-athar*, iv, 268), from Fahd ibn Sulayman, from him, from Israz ibn Yunus al-Sabis. *Tawthiq* by Ya'qub ibn Shaybah, Ibn Numayr, Abu Hatim and al-Nasa'i. Mentioned in *al-Thiqat* by Ibn Hibban. 11

106. Muhammad ibn Sa'id ibn Sulayman ibn al-Isfahani (d. 220/835).

In al-'Uqayli (*al-du'afa'*, vi, MS. F. 104) from Muhammad ibn Isma'il, from him, from Hatim ibn Isma'il, from Ja'far ibn Muhammad (A), from his father (A), from Jabir. *Tawthiq* by al-Nasa'i, mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 12

107. Muhammad ibn Kathir al-Abdi al-Basri (d. 223/837)

In al-Samhudi (*Jawahir al-'iqdayn*, ii, MS. F.86) and al-Sakhawi (*al-Istijlab*, MS. F.22), from him, from Fitr ibn Khalifah and Abu al-Jarud, from Abu al-Tufayl. *Tawthiq* by Ahmad ibn Hanbal and Abu Hatim. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 13

108. Sa'id ibn Sulayman al-Wasiti al-Baghdadi (d. 225/839).

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, iii, No. 3052) from Ahmad ibn al-Qasim, from him, from Zayd ibn al-Hasan al-Anmati, from Ma'ruf ibn Kharrabudh, from Abu al-Tufayl; from Hudhayfah ibn Usayd. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Sa'd, Abu Hatim, al-'Ijli and Ibn Hibban. 14

109. 'Abd Allah ibn Bukayr al-Ghanawi.

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, iii, No. 2681) from Mutayyan, from Ja'far ibn Hamid, from him, from Hakim ibn Zubayr; from Abu al-Tufayl from Zayd ibn Arqam. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. *Tasdiq* by al-Saji. 15

110. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Habib al-Hashimi al-Baghdadi (d. 215/830).

In his book *al-Munammaq*, p. 9. An eminent scholar and author of several books; has been considered *thiqah* by al-Suyuti. 16

111. Sa'id ibn Mansur al-Khurasani (d. 227/841).

In his *Sunan* with his *isnad* from Zayd ibn Thabit, as cited in *Kanz al-'ummal*, i, 47. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Numayr, Ibn Khirash, Abu Hatim, Ibn Qani' and al-Dhahabi; al-Khalili considers his *tawthiq* unanimous. 17 A leading traditionist.

112. Dawud ibn 'Amr al-Dabbi al-Baghdadi (d. 228/842).

In Abu Bakr al-Bazzaz (*Musnad*; see 136) and al-Asqalani (*Zawa'id Musnad al-Bazzaz*, see under Ahmad ibn al-Mansur) from Ahmad ibn al-Mansur al-Ramadi, from him, from Salih ibn Musa ibn 'Abd Allah, from 'Abd al-Aziz ibn Rafi', from Abu Salih from Abu Hurayrah. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Qani' and Abu al-Qasim al-Baghawi. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 18

113. 'Ammar ibn Nasr al-Maruzi al-Baghdadi (d. 229/843).

In Abu Nu'aym (*Hilyat al-awliya'*, ix, 64) from 'Abd Allah ibn Ja'far, from Ahmad ibn Yunus al-Dabbi, from him, from Ibrahim ibn al-Yasa', from Ja'far ibn Muhammad (A), from his father (A), from his grandfather (A), from 'Ali (A). *Tawthiq* and *tasdiq* by Abu Hatim and Ibn Mu'in. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 19

114. Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Sa'd al-Zuhri al-Basri (d. 230/844).

In al-Suyuti (*al-Durr al-manthur*, ii, 60), from him with his *isnad* from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri. A leading historian and scholar, his *tawthiq* and *tasdiq* has been done by Ibn Khallikan, Abu Hatim and Ibn Hajar. 20

115. Abu Muhammad Khalaf ibn Salim al-Mukharrimi al-Muhallabi al-Sindi al-Baghdadi (d. 231/845).

In al-Hakim (*al-Mustadrak*, iii, 109) and al-Khwarazmi (*al-Manaqib*) from Salih ibn Muhammad al-Hafiz al-Baghdadi, from him, from Yahya ibn Hammad, from Abu 'Awanah, from al-A'mash, from Habib ibn Abi Thabit, from Abu al-Tufayl, from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthiq* and *tasdiq* by Ibn Hibban, Ibn Mu'in, Ya'qub ibn Shaybah, al-Nasa'i and Hamzah al-Kinani. 21

116. Minjab ibn Al-Harith al-Tamimi al-Kufi (d. 231/845).

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, iii, No. 2678) from him, from 'Ali ibn Musahhar (88). Among the rijal of Muslim and Ibn Majah. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 22

117. Zuhayr ibn Harb ibn Shaddad, Abu Khaythamah al-Nasa'i (d. 234/848).

In *Sahih Muslim* (ii, 237238) from him, and Shuja' ibn Makhlad from Ibn 'Ulayyah (72), from Yazid ibn Hayyan (56), from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthiq* by al-Sam'ani, Ibn Mu'in, al-Husayn ibn Fahm, Abu Bakr al-Khatib, al-Nasa'i, Ibn Qani', Ya'qub ibn Shaybah, Abu Hatim, Ibn Waddah and Ibn Hibban. 23

118. Abu al-Fadl Shuja' ibn Makhlad al-Fallas al-Baghawi al-Baghdadi (d. 235/849).

In *Sahih Muslim*; see 117 above. *Tawthiq* by al-Husayn ibn Fahm, Ibn Qani'; Abu Zur'ah, Ahmad, and al-Dhahabi. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 24

119. Abu Bakr 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad, known as Ibn Abi Shaybah al-Kufi (d. 235/849).

In *Sahih Muslim* from him, from Muhammad ibn Fadayl (73), from

Zayd ibn Arqam. Also in his own *Musannaf* from Jabir. He is one of the great scholars. *Tawthiq* and *tasdiq* by al-'Ijli, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Ibn Mu'in, Abu Zur'ah and others. 25

120. 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Salih al-Azdi al-Kufi (d. 235/849), settled in Baghdad.

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, ii, no. 2679) from Mutayyan, from him, from Salih ibn Abi al-Aswad (84). *Tawthiq* by Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Ibn Mu'in and Musa ibn Harun. 26

121. Bishr ibn al-Walid al-Kindi (d. 238/852).

In al-Khwarazmi (*Maqatal al-Husayn*, i, 104) and al-Hamawi (*Fara'id al-simtayn, al-simt al-thani, bab* 54). The former from Muhammad ibn al-Musili, from him, from Muhammad ibn Talhah (67). The latter from Abu Tahir, from al-Baghawi, from him. *Tawthiq* by Abu Dawud and al-Darqutni. 27

122. Muhammad ibn Bakkar ibn al-Rayyan al-Hashimi al-Baghdadi (d. 238/852).

In *Sahih Muslim* from him. See Sa'id ibn Masruq (59). *Tawthiq* by Ibn Mu'in, al-Darqutni and al-Asqalani. 28

123. Abu Ya'qub Ishaq ibn Ibrahim, known as Ibn Rahwayh (d. 238/852).

In al-Sakhawi (*al-Istijlab*), al-Samhudi (*Jawahir al-'iqdayn*), Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Muhammad Ba Kathir (*Wasilat al-ma'al*), Muslim (*Sahih*) and (*al-Dhurriyyat al-tahirah*), from him, from him, from 'Ali (A) and Zayd ibn Arqam. A great scholar, author of a famous *Musnad*, teacher of al-Bukhari, Muslim and al-Tirmidhi. One of the Imams of hadith and fiqh. It was he who inspired al-Bukhari into writing his *Sahih*.
29

124. Abu Muhammad Wahban ibn Baqiyyah ibn 'Uthman al-Wasiti (d. 239/853).

In Ibn al-Maghazili's *al-Manaqib. Tawthiq* by Ibn Mu'in, al-'Ijli, Abu Zur'ah, Ibn Hajar and others. 30

125. Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Hanbal al-Shaybani (d. 241/855).

He has narrated *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* through various chains of transmission, with varying wordings from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri and Zayd ibn Arqam (*Musnad Ahmad*, iii, 14, 17, 26, 59, 371, 181, 182). He is one of the Imams of Ahl al-Sunnah in hadith and fiqh.

126. Ja'far ibn Hamid al-Qarashi al-Kufi (d. 240/854).

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, iii, No. 2681) from Mutayyan, from him, from 'Abd 'Allah ibn Bukayr al-Ghanawi, from Hakim ibn Jubayr, from Abu al-Tufayl, from Zayd ibn Arqam. Among the rijal of Muslim. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Hibban al-Busti, al-Dhahabi, and Ibn Hajar. 31

127. Isma'il ibn Musa al-Fazari ibn Bint al-Suddi al-Kufi (d. 245/859).

In Ahmad ibn Hanbal's *Fada'il 'Ali*; see (102). *Tasdiq* by Abu Hatim and Abu Dawud. 32

128. Sufyan ibn Waki' ibn al-Jarrah (d. 247/861).

In Al-Hafiz Abu Ya'la (*Musnad*), from him, from Muhammad ibn Fudayl, from 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abi Sulayman, from 'Atiyyah, from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri. Among the rijal of al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Majah. *Tasdiq* by Ibn Hibban. 33

129. Nasr ibn ‘Abd al–Rahman ibn Bakkar al–Baji al–Kufi al–Washsha' (d. 248/862).

In al–Tirmidhi (*Sahih*), from him, from Zayd ibn al–Hasan, from Ja’far ibn Muhammad (A); from his father (A), from Jabir. Also in al–Hakim al–Tirmidhi (*Nawadir al–usul*) and al–Tabarani (see 166) from him.

130. Abu Muhammad ‘Abd ibn Hamid al–Kissi (or al–Kashshi) (d. 249/863).

In his *Musnad* (see 97) from Zayd ibn Thabit; also as mentioned by al–Suyuti (*Ihya' al–mayyit bi dhikr fada'il Ahlul Bayt*, 12), al–Samhudi (*Jawahir al–'iqdayn*), al–Shaykhani al–Qadiri (*al–Sirat alsawi*), and Mirza Muhammad Khan al–Badakhshi (*Miftah al–najah*). Also from him from Zayd ibn Arqam in al–Suyuti (*al–Jami' al–saghir*; *Sharh* by al–Munawi, ii, 174175) and ‘Ali al–Muttaqi (*Kanz al–'ummal*). Author of *Musnad* and *Tafsir*, he is one of the Imams of the Ahl al–Sunnah. 34

131. ‘Abbad ibn Ya’qub al–Rawajini al–Asadi (d.250/864).

In al–Tabarani (*al–Mu'jam al–saghir*, i, 131) from al–Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Mus’ab al–Ushnani al–Kufi, from him, from ‘Abd al–Rahman al–Mas’udi, from Kathir al–Nawa', from ‘Atiyah, from Abu Sa'id.

132. Nasr ibn ‘Ali ibn Nasr ibn ‘Ali al–Jahdami al–Basri (d. 250/864).

In al–Hakim al–Tirmidhi (*al–Mu'jam al–saghir*, i, 131) from him, from Zayd ibn al–Hassan, from Ma'ruf ibn Kharrabudh al–Makki, from Abu al–Tufayl from Hudhayfah ibn Usayd al–Ghifari. A leading scholar, his *tawthiq* has been done by al–Sam'ani, Ibn Khirash, al–Nasa'i, al–Dhahabi and others. 35

133. Muhammad ibn al–Muthanna Abu Musa al–Anzi (d. 252/866).

In al–Nasa'i (*al–Khasa'is*), from him, from Yahya ibn Hammad (see 104). Among the rijal of Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, Abu ‘Isa and al–Nasa'i. *Tawthiq* by al–Sam'ani, Muhammad ibn Yahya al–Nishaburi, Abu Hatim, Ibn Hibban, al–Khatib, al–Dhahabi and Ibn Hajar. 36

134. Muhammad ibn Yazid, Akhu Karkhwayh al–Wasiti (d.

246/860).

In al-Muhamili (*al-Amali*) from Yazid ibn Harun (98). *Tawthiq* by al-Khatib. 37

135. Yusuf ibn Musa al-Qattan (d. 253/867).

In Imam Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Khuzaymah's *Sahih* (MS. 348, Maktabat Sultan Ahmad, Istanbul) from him, from Jarir ibn 'Abd al-Hamid, from Muhammad ibn Fudayl, from Yahya ibn Sa'id al-Taymi, from Yazid ibn Hayyan, from Zayd ibn Arqam. Among the rijal of al-Bukhari, Abu Dawud, al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Majah. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Khuzaymah and others. Mentioned by Ibn Hibban in *al-Thiqat*. 38

136. Ahmad ibn al-Mansur al-Ramadi (d. 265/878).

In Abu Bakr al-Bazzaz (*Musnad*, MS. 578, Maktabat Murad, Istanbul), from him, from Dawud ibn 'Umar, from Salih ibn Musa ibn 'Abd Allah from 'Abd al-Aziz ibn Rafi', from Abu Salih from Abu Hurayra. *Tawthiq* by Abu Hatim and al-Darqutni. 39

137. Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Darimi al-Samarqandi (d. 255/869).

In his *Musnad*, as mentioned by al-Sakhawi in *al-Istijlab*. Author of *al-Musnad*, *Tafsir* and *al-Jami'*. A leading scholar (imam). *Tawthiq* by al-Sam'ani, al-Dhahabi and al-Asqalani. 40

138. 'Ali ibn al-Mundhir al-Tariqi al-Kufi (d. 256/870).

In al-Tirmidhi (*Sahih*) and Ibn al-Athir (*Usd al-ghabah*), from him from Abu Sa'id (see 63). *Tawthiq* by Ibn Abi Hatim, Ibn Numayr and al-Dhahabi. 41

139. Muslim ibn Hajjaj al-Qushayri al-Nishaburi (d. 261/874).

In his *Sahih* narrates it through various chains of transmission. He is one of the imams of the Ahl al-Sunnah in hadith, and his *Sahih* has been preferred to al-Bukhari's by some major scholars, among them Abu 'Ali al-Nishaburi.

140. Ahmad ibn Yunus Abu al-Abbas al-Dabbi (d. 268/881)

In Abu Nu'aym (*Hilyat al-awliya'*, ix, 64) from 'Abd Allah ibn Ja'far, from him, from 'Ammar ibn Nasr (see 113). *Tawthiq* mentioned by al-Khatib and Abu Nu'aym. 42

141. Ibrahim ibn Marzuq ibn Dinar (d. 270/883).

In Abu Ja'far al-Tahawi (*Mushkil al-athar*, ii, 307) and al-Dulabi (*al-Dhurriyyat al-tahirah*, 186) from him, from Abu 'Amir al-Aqadi (96) from Kathir ibn Zayd (81), from Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Ali (77), from his father, from 'Ali (A). *Tawthiq* by al-Darqutni, Ibn Yunus, Ibn Hatim, Ibn Hibban and Sa'id ibn 'Uthman. 43

142. Al-Husayn ibn 'Ali ibn Ja'far.

In al-Bazzaz (*Musnad*, MS. F.75), from him, from 'Ali ibn Thabit, from Sufyan ibn Sulayman from Abu Ishaq from Al-Harith from 'Ali (A). Among the rijal of Abu Dawud, al-Nasa'i and al-Bazzaz.⁴⁴

143. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab Abu Ahmad al-Farra' (d. 272/885).

In al-Bayhaqi (*Sunan*, ii, 148) from al-Hakim, from al-Hasan ibn Ya'qub, from him, from Ja'far ibn 'Awn, from Yahya ibn Sa'id, from Yazid ibn Hayyan from Zayd ibn Arqam. Again in al-Bayhaqi (*op. cit.*, vii, 30) from Abu Zakariyya Yahya ibn Ibrahim, from Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Ya'qub, from him, from Ja'far ibn 'Awn. *Tawthiq* by al-Nasa'i and Ibn Hibban. Among the rijal of Muslim, al-Bukhari, Ibrahim, Ibn Abi Talib and Ibn Khuzaymah. 45

144. Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Yazid ibn Majah al-Qazwini (d. 273/886).

Al-Kanji (*Kifayat al-talib*, 53) mentions his narration of *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*. He is one of the imams of hadith and his *Sunan* is counted among the Six *Sihah*.

145. Abu Dawud Sulayman ibn Ash'ath al-Sijistani (d. 275/888).

Al-Kanji (*Kifayat al-talib*, 53) mentions his narration of the hadith. He is also one of the imams of hadith and a leading traditionist of his era.

146. Abu Qalabah 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad al-Raqqashi al-Basri (d. 276/889).

In al-Hakim (*al-Mustadrak*, ii, 193), from Abu al-Husayn Muhammad ibn Ahmad, from him, from Yahya ibn Hammad, from Abu 'Awanah, from al-A'mash, from Habib ibn Abi Thabit from Abu al-Tufayl from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthiq* and *tasdiq* by Ibn Hibban, al-Darqutni, and Abu Dawud. 46

147. Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Abi al-Awwam ibn Yazid ibn Dinar al-Riyahi al-Tamimi (d. 276/889).

In Ibn al-Maghazili (*al-Manaqib*, 234236). *Tasdiq* by al-Darqutni. 47

148. Al-Hafiz Ya'qub ibn Sufyan al-Fasawi (d. 277/890).

In his *al-Ma'rifah wa al-ta'rikh*, i, 536538, he narrates the hadith through 8 chains from four Sahabah: Zayd ibn Arqam, Abu Sa'id, Zayd ibn Thabit and Abu Dharr al-Ghifari. An eminent historian and traditionist (imam), al-Tirmidhi, al-Nasa'i, Ibn Khuzaymah, Abu 'Awanah al-Asfara'ini and Ibn Abi Dawud have narrated from him. Ibn Hibban has mentioned him in *al-Thiqat*. 48

149. Ibrahim ibn Ishaq, al-Qadi Abu Ishaq al-Zuhri (d. 277/890).

In al-Bayhaqi (*Sunan*, x, 113), from Abu Muhammad Janah ibn Nadhir, from Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Dahim al-Shaybani, from him, from Ja'far ibn 'Awn (97), from Ya'la ibn 'Ubayd (100). *Tawthiq* by al-Khatib. 49

150. Abu 'Isa Muhammad ibn 'Isa ibn Sawrah al-Tirmidhi (d. 279/892).

In his *Sahih* (ii, 219, 220) narrates it through several chains of transmitters from Jabir, Abu Dharr, Abu Sa'id, Zayd ibn Arqam and Hudhayfah ibn Usayd. He is one of the imams of hadith and his *Sahih* one of the Six *Sihah*.

151. Abu Bakr 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ubayd al-Baghdadi, known as Ibn Abi alDunya (d. 281/894).

In his book *Fada'il al-Qur'an*, MS. *Tawthiq* and *tasdiq* by Ibn Abi Hatim, al-Dhahabi and al-Kutubi. 50

152. Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi (d. 285/898).

In his *Nawadir al-usul*, 68–69, through 2 *asanid* from Jabir and Hudhayfah ibn Usayd.

153. Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Amr ibn Abi 'Asim al-Nabil, known as

Ibn Abi 'Asim al-Shaybani (d. 287/900).

In his *Kitab al-Sunnah*, as mentioned by al-Suyuti in *al-Budur al-safirah 'an umur al-akhirah*, from Zayd ibn Thabit; and from 'Ali (A), as mentioned in *Kanz al-'ummal*, xv, 122.

154. Abu 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Hanbal al-Shaybani (d. 290/902).

In *Ziyadat al-Musnad* from his father, from Zayd ibn Thabit; in *al-Mustadrak* (iii, 109) from his father, from Zayd ibn Arqam; in *Yanabi' al-mawaddah*, 32, from him, from Abu Sa'id and Zayd ibn Arqam. Son of Imam Ahmad and an eminent scholar of his era; *tawthiq* by al-Khatib and al-Dhahabi.⁵¹

155. Muhammad ibn al-Fadl, Abu Ja'far al-Saqati (d. 288/900).

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, iii, No. 2680), from him, from Sa'id ibn Sulayman, from Zayd ibn al-Hasan al-Anmati (93). *Tawthiq* and *tasdiq* by al-Darqutni and al-Khatib. 52

156. Fahd ibn Sulayman al-Nahas al-Misri.

In al-Tahawi (*Mushkil al-athar*, iv, 368) from him, from Abu Ghassan Malik ibn Isma'il al-Nahdi.

157. Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Shaybani al-Baghdadi, known as Tha'lab (d. 291/904).

In al-Azhari (*Tahdhib al-lughah*, ix, 78). A great traditionist, grammarian and man of letters. *Tawthiq* by al-Khatib. 53

158. Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Bazzaz (d. 292/905).

In his *Masnad* through two chains from Abu Hurayrah and 'Ali (A) see 89, 112, 136. One of the leading traditionists.

159. Abu Nasr Ahmad ibn Sahl al-Faqih al-Qabbani (d. 292/904).

In al-Hakim (*al-Mustadrak*, iii, 109), from him, from Salih ibn Muhammad, from Khalaf ibn Salim al-Mukharrimi from Yahya ibn Hammad, from Abu 'Awanah, from al-A'mash, from Habib ibn Thabit, from Abu Tufayl, from Zayd ibn Arqam. Al-Hakim has narrated many traditions from him in *al-Mustadrak* and mentions him with great respect.

160. Ahmad ibn al-Qasim al-Jawhari (d. 293/905).

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, iii, no. 3052), from him, from Sa'id ibn Sulayman al-Wasiti from Zayd ibn al-Hasan al-Anmati, from Ma'ruf ibn Kharrabudh, from Abu Tufayl from Hudhayfah ibn Usayd.

Tawthiq by al-Khatib. 54

161. Al-Hafiz Salih ibn Muhammad Jazarah (d. 294/906).

In al-Hakim (*al-Mustadrak*, iii, 109) see 159. One of the leading traditionists of his age. *Tawthiq* by al-Khatib. 55

162. Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Hulwani (d. 296/908).

In al-'Uqayli (*Kitab al-du'afa'*, MS. 362, Dar al-Kutub al-Zahiriyyah, Damascus, vi, F. 104), from him from 'Abd Allah ibn Dahir, from 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Quddus, from al-A'mash, from 'Atiyyah, from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri. *Tawthiq* by al-Dhahabi. 56

163. Al-Hafiz Abu Ja'far Mutayyan, Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Sulayman (d. 297/909).

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, Nos. 2680, 2683, 3052) from him. One of the leading traditionists. *Tawthiq* by al-Darqutni; see al-Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-huffaz*, 662.

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1. Al-Dhahabi, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, MS.
 2. Al-Mizzi, *Tahdhib al-Kamal*, Ms.; *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, vi, 409; *Taqrib al-Tahdhib*, i, 521.
 3. *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, ii, 101; *al-Tabaqat*, vi, 396.
 4. *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, xi, 366.
 5. *Ibid.*, i, 304; *Taqrib al-Tahdhib*, i, 76; *Tabaqat al-huffaz*, 155.
 6. *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, i, 402.
 7. *Al-Tabaqat*, vi, 400; *al-Kashif*, ii, 234; *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, vii, 50.
 8. *Al-Tabaqat*, vii, 355; *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, xiv, 64.
 9. Al-Mizzi, *Tahdhib al-Kamal*
 10. *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*; *al-Kashif*, iii, 253; *Taqrib al-Tahdhib*, ii, 346.
 11. *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, x, 3.
 12. *Ibid.*, ix, 188.
 13. *Ibid.*, ix, 417.
 14. *Al-Tabaqat*, vii, 340; *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, iv, 43.;
 15. *Lisan al-mizan*, iii, 264.
 16. *Baghyat alwi'a'*, 2930.
 17. *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, iv, 89; *Tadhkirat al-huffaz*, 416.
 18. *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, iii, 195.

19. Ta'rikh Baghdad, xii, 255; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vii, 407.
20. Wafayat al-a`yan, iii, 473; al-Ibar, i, 407; Tabaqat al-huffaz, 183.
21. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, iii, 152.
22. Ibid., ii, 297.
23. Ibid., 342; al-Sam`ani, al-Ansab, under 'al-Nasa'i'
24. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, iv, 312; al-Kashif, ii, 5.
25. Al-Dhahabi, Siyar a`lam al-nubala', MS.
26. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vi, 197.
27. Ta'rikh Baghdad, vii, 8084.
28. Tahdhib al-Kamal, MS; Taqrib al-Tahdhib, ii, 147.
29. Tabaqat al-Shafi`iyyah, ii, 83; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, i, 216; Huda alsari.
30. Tahdhib al-Kamal, MS; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, MS.; Taqrib al-Tahdhib, ii, 337.
31. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, ii, 87; al-Kashif, i, 184; al-Khazraji, al-Khulasah, i, 166.
32. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, i, 335.
33. Ibid., iv, 123.
34. Ibid., vi, 455; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, ii, 534; Mir`at al-jinan, ii, 155; Taqrib al-Tahdhib, i, 529.
35. Al-Sam`ani, al-Ansab; al-Dhahabi, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, MS; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, ii, 519; al-Ibar, i, 457.
36. Al-Ansab, under al-Ghanzi, Tahdhib al-Kamal, MS; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, ii, 152; al-Kashif, iii, 93; Taqrib al-Tahdhib, ii, 204.
37. Ta'rikh Baghdad, iii, 374.
38. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, xi, 425.
39. Ibid., i, 83.
40. Al-Ansab; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, ii, 535; al-Kashif, i, 103; Taqrib al-Tahdhib, i, 429.
41. Tahdhib al-Kamal, MS; al-Kashif, ii, 296.
42. Akhbar Isfahan, i, 81; Ta'rikh Baghdad, v, 223.
43. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, i, 163.
44. Ibid., ii, 344.
45. Ibid., ix, 319.
46. Al-Ansab, under 'al-Riqashi'; `Abd al-Ghani al-Maqdisi, al-Kamal, MS.
47. Al-Ansab, under al-Riyahi.
48. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, xi, 385; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, i, 582; al-Ibar, ii, 58.
49. Ta'rikh Baghdad, vi, 25.
50. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, ii, 677; Tabaqat al-huffaz, 294; Fawat al-Wafayat, ii, 228.
51. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, ii, 665; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, v, 141; Tabaqat al-huffaz, 288.
52. Ta'rikh Baghdad, iii, 153.
53. Tabaqat al-huffaz; 290.
54. Ta'rikh Baghdad, iv, 349.
55. Ibid, ix, 322 328.
56. Al-Ibar, ii, 106.

Narrators of Hadith al-Thaqalayn of Fourth-

Tenth Century

164. Al-Hafiz, al-Hasan ibn Sufyan al-Nasawi (d. 303/915).

In Abu Nu'aym (*Hilyat al-awliya'*, i, 355). *Tawthiq* by al-Dhahabi. 1

165. Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Ahmad ibn Shu'ayb ibn 'Ali al-Nasa'i (d. 303/915).

In his *al-Khasa'is*, p.95, from Muhammad ibn al-Muthanna (see 104). A leading scholar and traditionist.

166. Al-Hafiz Abu Yahya Zakariyya ibn Yahya al-Saji (d. 306/919).

In al-Tabarani (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, iii, Nos. 2680, 3052), from him, from Nasr ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Washsha' (see 129). The leading traditionist of Basrah during his days. 2

167. Abu Ya'la Ahmad ibn al-Muthanna' ibn Yahya' al-Tamimi al-Musali (d. 307/919).

In al-Suyuti (*Ihya' al-mayyit*, 12), al-Sakhawi (*al-Istijlab*), al-Samhudi (*Jawahir al-'iqdayn*), Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Ba Kathir (*Wasilat al-ma'al*), and al-Badakhshani (*Miftah al-naja*). A highly respected scholar. 3

168. Abu Khubayb al-Abbas ibn Ahmad al-Birti (d. 308/920).

In Ibn 'Asakir (*Ta'rikh*, i, 45), from Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Husayn al-Mazrafi, from Abu al-Husayn Muhammad ibn al-Muhtadi, from Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn 'Umar, from him, from Zayd ibn al-Hasan al-Anmati (193). *Tawthiq* by al-Khatib. 4

169. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari (d. 310/922).

In 'Ali al-Muttaqi al-Hindi (*Kanz al-'ummal*, xv, 19, xvi, 252, 253) from him, from Zayd ibn Arqam, Abu Sa'id al-Khudri and 'Ali (A). He is one of the greatest historians, exegetes and legists.

170. Abu Bishr Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Dulabi (d. 310/922).

In his *al-Dhurriyyat al-tahirah*, 168 (Qumm, 1407) from Ibrahim ibn Marzuq, from Abu 'Amir al-Aqadi, from Kathir ibn Zayd, from Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Ali, from 'Ali (A). One of the leading traditionists and historians of his era.

171. Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Khuzaymah al-Nishaburi (d. 311/923).

In his *Sahih*, as mentioned by al-Sakhawi, *op. cit.* One of the imams of hadith.

172. Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Sulayman ibn Al-Harith, Ibn al-Baghandi al-Wasiti (d. 312/924).

In Ibn al-Maghazili (*al-Manaqib*, 234). *Tawthiq* by al-Khatib. 5

173. Abu 'Awanah Ya'qub ibn Ishaq ibn Ibrahim ibn Zayd al-Nishaburi al-Isfarayini (d. 316/928).

In his book *al-Musnad al-sahih*, as mentioned by al-Shaykhani al-Qadiri in *al-Sirat al-sawi*. A leading traditionist of his era. 6

174. Abu Bakr ibn Abi Dawud 'Abd Allah ibn Sulayman al-Sijistani (d. 316/928).

In *al-Tahawi (Mushkil al-athar*, iv, 368), from him. A leading scholar of Iraq in his time. 7

175. Al-Hasan ibn Musallim ibn al-Tabib al-San'ani.

In al-Tabarani (*Mu'jam shuyukhih*, i, 135) from him.

176. Abu al-Qasim 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Aziz al-Baghawi (d. 317/929).

In al-Hamawi, *Fara'id al-simtayn*, ii, 272.

177. Al-Hafiz al-Tahawi, Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Salamah (d. 321/933).

In his *Mushkil al-athar*, iv, 368, with two chains of transmission from Zayd ibn Arqam. A leading writer and scholar of his era. 8

178. Abu Ja'far al-'Uqayli, Muhammad ibn 'Amr ibn Hammad (d. 322/934).

In his *Kitab al-du'afa'* (MS. 362 in Dar al-Kutub al-Zahiriyyah, Damascus, F. 104) through three chains from Abu Sa'id and Jabir. A leading scholar of his age. 9

179. Abu 'Umar Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Qurtubi (d. 328/939).

In his *al-'Iqd al-farid*. He is a well-known scholar of a high standing.

180. Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn Bashshar, known as Ibn al-Anbari (d. 328/939).

In his *al-Masahif*, from Zayd ibn Arqam and from Zayd ibn Thabit. An eminent scholar. *Tawthiq* and *tasdiq* by Ibn Khallikan and al-Sam'ani. 10

181. Abu 'Abd Allah Husayn ibn Isma'il ibn al-Dabbi al-Muhamili (d. 330/941).

In his *Amali*, where he regards it as *sahih*, as mentioned by 'Ali al-Muttaqi in *Kanz al-'ummal* (xv, 122-123). A great scholar (*imam*) of Baghdad. 11

182. Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Sa'id, known as Ibn 'Uqdah (d. 332/943).

In his *Kitab al-wilayah*, known as *Kitab al-muwalat*, through 8 chains, as mentioned by al-Sakhawi (*op. cit.*), al-Samhudi (*op. cit.*), Ibn Ba Kathir (*op. cit.*) and al-Shaykhani a1-Qadiri (*op. cit.*). An eminent scholar of his era.

183. Al-Hasan ibn Ya'qub, Abu al-Fadl al-Bukhari (d. 342/953).

In al-Bayhaqi (*Sunan*, ii, 148) from al-Hakim, from him, from Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Farra' al-Abdi. Also in Ibn 'Asakir in *Mu'jam shuyukhih* (MS. F. 11). *Tawthiq* by al-Dhahabi. 12

184. Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Ya'qub ibn al-Akhram al-Shaybani (d. 344/955).

In al-Bayhaqi (*Sunan*, vii, 30) from him, from Abu Ahmad al-Farra'. Author of a voluminous *Musnad*. An eminent traditionist from Nishabur.

185. Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah ibn Ja'far al-Isfahani (d. 346/957).

In Abu Nu'aym (*Hilyat al-awliya'*, ix, 64) from him, from Ahmad ibn Yusuf al-Dabbi. Teacher of Abu Nu'aym, who reports from Abu 'Umar al-Qattan that he saw 'Abd Allah ibn Ja'far in a dream after his death. When asked, "How did God treat you?" he replied, "He forgave me and put me with the prophets in their station." 13

186. Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Tamim al-Khayyat al-Qantari (d. 348/959).

In al-Hakim (*al-Mustadrak*, iii, 90) from him. Al-Hakim considers him *thiqah* and considers this narration of his as *sahih*.

187. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Duhaym al-Shaybani (d. 351/962).

In al-Bayhaqi (*Sunan*, x, 113) from Abu Muhammad Janah ibn Nadhir, from him, from Ibrahim ibn Ishaq al-Zuhri. Also in al-Hakim (*al-Mustadrak*, iii, 533) from him, where he, and after him al-Dhahabi in his *Talkhis*, has regarded it as *sahih*. The *qadi* and traditionist of Kufah. 14

188. Abu Muhammad Da'laj ibn Ahmad ibn Da'laj al-Sijzi al-Mu'addal (d. 315/962).

In al-Hakim (*al-Mustadrak*, iii, 109–110) from him, from Zayd ibn Arqam. A leading traditionist and legist of his era and author of *al-Musnad al-kabir*.

189. Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn ‘Umar ibn Muslim al-Tamimi, known as Ibn al-Ji’abi (d. 355/966).

In his book *al-Talibiyyin*, as mentioned by al-Sakhawi (*al-Istijlab*) and al-Samhudi (*Jawahir al-‘iqdayn*). A leading scholar.

190. Abu al-Qasim Sulayman ibn Ahmad al-Tabarani (d. 360/970).

In his works *al-Mu’jam al-saghir*, *al-Mu’jam al-kabir* and *al-Mu’jam al-awsat* with different chains. One of the imams of hadith.

191. Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn Ja’far ibn Hamdan ibn Malik ibn Shabib al-Qati’i (d. 368/978).

In al-Hakim (*al-Mustadrak*, iii, 109) from him, from Zayd ibn Arqam. A famous traditionist. 15

192. Al-Hafiz Abu al-Shaykh Ibn Hayyan al-Busti al-Isfahani (d. 369/979).

In his compilation of traditions (MS. No. 3637, F. 60, in Dar al-Kutub al-Zahiriyyah, Damascus) from Abu Sa’id. *Tawthiq* by Abu Nu’aym, Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Mardawayh, Ibn al-‘Imad and al-Dhahabi. 16

193. Abu Mansur Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Talhah al-Azhari (d. 370/980).

In his *Tahdhib al-lughah* under *‘itrah*, as mentioned in *Lisan al-Arab* (iv, 538), and also under *habl* (*Lisan al-Arab*, xi, 137). A lexicographer and leading philologist and lexicographer (*imam fi al-lughah*). 17

194. Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Balwayh (d. 374/984).

In al-Hakim (*al-Mustadrak*, iii, 109) from him, from ‘Abd Allah ibn Ahmad. Al-Hakim has considered his narration as *sahih*. *Tawthiq*, also, by Abu Bakr al-Barqani. 18

195. Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Hamdan Abu ‘Amr al-Hiri (d.

376/986).

In Abu Nu'aym (*Hilyat al-awliya'*, i, 355) from him, from al-Hasan ibn Sufyan al-Nasawi. Also in al-Khwarazmi (*Maqatal al-Husayn*, i, 104) from 'Abu al-Ala', from Zahir al-Shahhahi, from Abu Sa'id al-Ganjrudi, from him. Grammarian, legist and traditionist.

196. Abu al-Husayn Muhammad ibn al-Muzaffar ibn Musa ibn 'Isa al-Baghdadi (d. 379/989).

In Ibn al-Maghazili (*al-Manaqib*, 236) from Abu Talib Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Uthman, from him, from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthiq* by al-Dhahabi, who calls him '*al-imam al-thiqah*' and al-Darqutni, al-Safadi, and al-Suyuti. 19

197. 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Hammuyah al-Hamawi al-Sarakhsi (d. 381/991).

In Ibn 'Asakir, *Mu'jam shuyukhih*, MS. F. 205.

198. Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn 'Umar ibn Ahmad al-Darqutni (d. 385/995).

In Ibn Ba Kathir al-Makki (*wasilat al-ma'al*, MS.) from him from Umm Salamah. A leading scholar and traditionist (*imam*) of his era, legist and expert on rijal. 20

199. Al-Hafiz Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn 'Umar ibn Shadhan al-Sukkari (d. 386/996).

In Ibn 'Asakir (*Tarikh Dimashq*, ii, 45). *Tawthiq* by al-Atiqi and al-Khatib. 21

200. Abu Tahir Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mukhallis al-Dhahabi (d. 393/1002).

In al-Hamawi (*Fara'id al-simtayn*, li, 272) from him, from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri. *Tawthiq* by al-Sam'ani. 22

201. Abu Muhammad Sulayman ibn Dawud al-Baghdadi

In *Manaqib Ahlul Bayt*, MS.

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1. Al-Ibar, i, 355
 2. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, 709.
 3. Ibid, ii, 707; at al-Ibar, ii, 124; Wafayat al-a`yan, vii, 241; Mir'at al-jinan, ii, 243; Tabaqat al-huffaz, 306.
 4. Ta'rikh Baghdad, xii, 152.
 5. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, ii, 732.
 6. Wafayat al-a`yan, v, 436.
 7. Ta'rikh Baghdad, ix, 464.
 8. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, 808.
 9. Ibid., 833.
 10. Al-Ansab, under 'al-Anbari'; Wafayat al-a`yan.
 11. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, iii, 824.
 12. Al-Ibar, iii, 259.
 13. Akhbar Isfahan, ii, 80.
 14. Al-Ibar, ii, 293.
 15. Al-Ansab, under 'al-Qati'i'.
 16. Akhbar Isfahan, ii, 90; al-Lubab, i, 404; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, 945; Shadharat al-dhahab, iii, 69; al-Ibar, ii, 351.
 17. Wafayat al-a`yan; iii, 458.
 18. Ta'rikh Baghdad, i, 282.
 19. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, iii, 980; al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat, v, 34; Tabaqat al-huffaz, 389.
 20. Al-Ibar, iii, 28; al-Asadi, Tabaqat al-Shafi`iyyah, MS; al-Qannawji, al-Taj al-mukallal, 82.
 21. Ta'rikh Baghdad, xii, 40.
 22. Al-Ansab, under 'al-Makhallas'.

Narrators of Hadith al-Thaqalayn of Fifth-Eleventh Century

202. Abu 'Ubayd Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Harawi (d. 401/1010).

In his *Kitab al-gharibayn*, under "*thaql*". A leading scholar and philologist.

203. Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hakim al-Nishaburi (d. 405/1014).

In his *Mustadrak* (iii, 109, 174) through a *sahih* chain of transmission from Zayd ibn Arqam. There he also narrates it through another chain. He was the leading traditionist of his age (*imam almuhiiddithin*). 1

204. Abu Sa'd al-Malik ibn Muhammad al-Wa'iz al-Nishaburi al-Kharkushi (d. 406/1015).

In his book *Sharaf al-nubuwwah*, as mentioned in Shihab al-Din al-Dawlabadi (*Manaqib al-sadat*).
One of the leading scholars. 2

205. Yahya ibn Ibrahim Abu Zakariyya al-Muzakki al-Nishabari (d. 414/1023).

In al-Bayhaqi (*Sunan*, vii, 30) from him, from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Ta'dil* by al-Dhahabi. 3

206. Al-Qadi 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn Ahmad al-Mu'tazili (d. 414/1023).

In his *al-Mughni* (xx, 191, 136). An eminent scholar and Shafi'i legislator.

207. Abu al-Faraj Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Shahriyar al-Isfahani.

In al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (*Talkhis al-mutashabih fi al-rasm*, MS. in Dar al-Kutub al-Zahiriyyah, F. 30) from him, from al-Tabarani, from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri. One of the eminent scholars of the 5th/11th century and al-Khatib's teacher.

208. Abu Ishaq Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Tha'labi (d. 427/1036).

In his tafsir (*al-Kashf wa al-bayan*, MS.). One of the leading scholars of the Qur'an, a legislator, grammarian, philologist and writer. 4

209. Abu Nu'aym Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Isfahani (d. 430/ 1038).

In his *Manqabat al-Mutahharin*, with several chains and in different wordings from Abu Sa'id, Zayd ibn Arqam, Anas ibn Malik, al-Bara' ibn 'Azib and Jubayr ibn Mut'am. Also in his *Hilyat al-awliya'*, as mentioned by al-Samhudi (*Jawahir al-'iqdayn*) from Hudhayfah ibn Usayd. One of the great traditionists.
5

210. Abu Nasr Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar al-'Utbi.

In his *al-Ta'rikh al-Yamini*. An eminent historian and man of letters. 6

211. Abu Sa'd Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Ganjrudi (d. 453/1061).

In Akhtab Khwarazm (*Maqtal al-Husayn 'alayhi al-salam*, i, 104). *Tawthiq* by al-Sam'ani. 7

212. Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Ubayd Allah ibn Khalaf.

In Ibn al-Asakir in the *Mu'jam* of his *shuyukh* (F. 11), from Ibn al-'Iraqi, from him, from al-Hakim al-Nishaburi. One of the eminent scholars of 5th century.

213. Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn al-Husayn ibn 'Ali al-Bayhaqi (d. 458/1066).

In al-Khwarazmi (*al-Manaqib*, 93) from him. A leading traditionist, legist and writer. 8

214. Abu Ghalib Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Sahl al-Nahwi, known as Ibn Bushran (d. 462/1069).

In Ibn al-Maghazili (*al-Manaqib*) from him. A scholar of known standing.

215. Abu 'Umar Yusuf ibn 'Abd Allah al-Namari al-Qurtubi known as Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1071).

As mentioned by Shah Wali Allah in *Izalat al-khifa*. One of the leading scholars. 9

216. Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn Thabit al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (d. 463/1071).

In his *al-Muttafaq wa al-muftaraq* from Jabir, as mentioned by al-Badakhshani. One of the great scholars; traditionist and historian. 10

217. Ibn al-Ghariq Abu al-Husayn ibn al-Muhtadi bi Allah (d. 465/1072).

In Ibn 'Asakir (*Ta'rikh Dimashq*, ii, 45). *Tawthiq* by al-Khatib and Ibn al-Jawzi. 11

218. Abu al-Hasan ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad al-Dawudi al-Bushanji (d. 467/1074).

Ibn ‘Asakir, *Mu’jam shuyukhih*. A leading scholar (imam). 12

219. Abu Muhammad Hasan ibn Ahmad ibn Musa al-Ghandajani (d. 467/1074).

In Ibn al-Maghazili (*al-Manaqib*, 235) from him, from Abu Sa’id al-Khudri. *Tawthiq* by al-Sam’ani. 13

220. Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Jullabi, known as Ibn al-Maghazili (d. 483/1090).

In his *al-Manaqib* through various chains. A leading scholar.

221. Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Futuh ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Hamid al-Azdi al-Hamidi (d. 488/1095).

In *al-Jam’ bayn al-Sahihayn*, from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthiq* by Ibn Khallikan, al-Dhahabi, Ibn Makula, al-Salmasi and al-Safadi. 14

222. Al-Sayyid Abu al-Ma’ali Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Zayd al-Samarqandi (d. 488/1095).

In *‘Uyun al-akhbar*.

223. Abu al-Muzaffar Mansur ibn Muhammad al-Sam’ani (d. 489/1096).

In his *al-Risalat al-qawwamiyyah*, from Abu Sa’id al-Khudri. A leading scholar of his age. 15

1. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, iii, 93; Wafayat al-a`yan, iii, 408; al-Mukhtasar, ii, 144; Mir’at al-jinan, iii, 14; al-Ibar, iii, 91; al-Subhi, Tabaqat al-Shafi`iyyah, iv, 155.

2. Tabaqat al-Shafi`iyyah, v, 222.

3. Al-Ibar, iv, 118.

4. Tabaqat al-Shafi`iyyah, i, 429; iv, 58; Wafayat al-a`yan, i, 61; al-Ibar, iii, 161; Mir’at al-jinan, iii, 46; al-Dawudi, Tabaqat al-mufassirin, i, 65.

5. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, iii, 1091; al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat, vii, 81; al-Taj al-mukallal, 31.
6. Yatimat al-dahr, iv, 397.
7. Al-Ansab under 'al-Ganjrudī'.
8. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, iii, 1132.
9. Al-Dhahabi, Siyar a`lam al-nubala', MS.
10. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, iii, 1135.
11. Ta'rikh Baghdad, iii, 108; al-Muntazam, vii, 283.
12. Al-Ansab under 'al-Dawudī'.
13. Al-Ansab under 'al-Ghandajani'.
14. Wafayat al-a`yan, ii, 410; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, iv, 1218; al-Waffi bi al-Wafayat, iv, 317.
15. Wafayat al-a`yan, ii, 380.

Narrators of Hadith al-Thaqalayn of Sixth-Twelfth Century

224. Abu 'Ali Isma'il ibn Ahmad ibn al-Husayn al-Bayhaqi (d. 507/1113).

In al-Khwarazmi, *al-Manaqib*. A leading scholar of his era. 1

225. Abu al-Fadl Muhammad ibn Tahir ibn 'Ali al-Shaybani al-Maqdisi, known as Ibn alQaysarani (d. 507/1113).

In his biographical account in al-Maqrizi's *al-Ta'rikh al-muqfa*, it is mentioned that he wrote a book *Kitab tariq hadith: Inni tarikun fi kum al-thaqalayn*. An eminent scholar. *Tawthiq* by al-Maqrizi in *al-ta'rikh al--muqfa*.

226. Abu Shuja' Shirwayh ibn Shahrदार ibn Shirwayh al-Daylami al-Hamadani (d. 509/1115)

In *Firdaws al-akhbar* (MS). A scholar well-known to biographers.

227. Abu Muhammad Husayn ibn Mas'ud al-Farra' al-Baghawi,

known as Muhyi al-Sunnah (d. 516/1122).

In *Masabih al-Sunnah* (*Sharh* by al-Qadiri, v, 593, 600) from Zayd ibn Arqam and Jabir; in *Ma'alim al-tanzil*, vi, 101, vii, 6; and in *Sharh al-Sunnah*, as mentioned by al-Khalkhali in *al-Mafatih*. An eminent scholar.

228. Abu Bakr al-Mazrafi, Muhammad ibn al-Husayn al-Shaybani (d. 527/1132).

In Ibn 'Asakir (*Ta'rikh Dimashq*, ii, 45) from him. *Tawthiq* by al-Sam'ani and al-Dhahabi. 2

229. 'Abd al-Ghafir al-Farsi (d. 529/1134)

In his *Majma' al-ghara'ib fi gharib al-hadith*.

230. Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn al-Amraki al-Mattuthi al-Busanji.

In Ibn 'Asakir *Mu'jam shuyukhih* (MS., F. 205). He was Ibn 'Asakir's teacher.

231. Muhammad ibn Hammuyah al-Juwayni (d. 530/1135).

In al-Hamawi (*Fara'id al-simtayn, al-simt al-thani, bab 55*) from him. A well-known scholar of his age. 3

232. Abu Nasr Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Tusi, known as Ibn al-'Iraqi.

Ibn 'Asakir in *Mu'jam shuyukhih* (F. 11).

233. Zahir ibn Tahir ibn al-Qasim al-Shahhami al-Mustamli (d. 533/1138).

Al-Khwarazmi (*Maqatal al-Husayn*, i, 104). *Tawthiq* by Ibn al-Jazari. 4

234. Abu al-Husayn Razin ibn Mu'awiyah al-Abdari (d. 535/1140).

In *al-Jam' bayn al-Sihah al-sittah*, MS. A leading traditionist.

235. Abu al-Barakat 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn al-Mubarak al-Anmati al-Baghdadi (d. 538/1143).

In Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat khawass al-ummah*, 322–323. *Tawthiq* by al-Sam'ani, al-Salafi and Abu Sa'd. 5

236. Jar Allah al-Zamakhshari (d. 538/1143).

In *al-Fa'iq fi gharib al-hadith*, i, 170. A great scholar, philologist, grammarian, traditionist, exegete and man of letters.

237. Ibn al-'Arabi al-Maliki (d. 543/1148).

In *'Aridat al-ahwadhī*, xiii, 73.

238. Al-Qadi Abu al-Fadl 'Iyad ibn Musa al-Yahsabi (d. 544/1149).

In *al-Shifa' bi ta'rif huquq al-Mustafa* (al-Qari's *sharh*, 485, 657–658). A leading scholar, traditionist, grammarian and historian of his era. 6

239. Abu Muhammad Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Asimi.

In his book *Zayn alfata fi tafsir Surat Hal Ata*, MS. from Abu Dharr and Zayd ibn Arqam.

240. Al-Qadi Abu Muhammad ibn 'Atiyah al-Muharibi al-Gharnati (d. 546/1151).

In his exegesis *al-Muharraz al-wajiz fi tafsir Kitab Allah al-Aziz*, i, 34. Scholar, exegete, faqih, grammarian, traditionist and man of letters. 7

241. Abu al-Fadl ibn Nasir al-Salami al-Baghdadi (d. 550/1155).

In al-Hamawi (*Fara'id al-simtayn*, simt 2, bab 55). *Tawthiq* by Ibn al-Jawzi. 8

242. Abu al-Mu'ayyad Muwaffaq ibn Ahmad al-Makki, known as

Akhtab Khwarazm (538/1143).

In his *al-Manaqib* with his *isnad* from Zayd ibn Arqam.

243. Al-Hafiz Abu al-Ala' al-Hasan ibn Ahmad al-Attar al-Hamadani (d. 569/1173).

In al-Khwarazmi (*Maqatal al-Husayn*, i, 104) from him, from Abu al-Qasim Zahir ibn Tahir al-Shahhami al-Mustamli al-Nishaburi. *Tawthiq* by al-Jazari. 9

244. 'Umar ibn 'Isa al-Khatibi al-Dihlaqi.

In his book *Lubab al-albab fi fada'il al-Khulafa' wa al-Ashab*, bab 4, F. 147, MS. 3912 in Maktabah Nur 'Uthmaniyyah and MS. 3343 in al-Maktabah al-Sulaymaniyyah in Turkey.

245. Abu al-Qasim 'Ali ibn al-Husayn ibn Hibat Allah al-Dimashqi, known as Ibn 'Asakir (d. 571/1175).

In *Ta'rikh Ibn Kathir* (v, 208) and al-Kanji in *Kifayat al-talib*. One of the great traditionists and historians.

246. Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn Ahmad ibn 'Umar al-Isfahani known as Abu Musa al-Madini (d. 581/1185).

In his *Tatimmat Ma'rifat al-Sahabah*, appended to Abu Nu'aym's book, and as mentioned by al-Sakhawi; al-Samhudi, Ibn al-Athir (*Usd al-ghabah*) and Ibn Hajar (*al-Isabah*). *Tawthiq* by al-Dhahabi, al-Sam'ani, Ibn al-Najjar, al-Tha'alibi and others. 10

247. Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Muslim ibn Abi al-Fawaris al-Razi.

In his *al-Kitab al-mubin fi fada'il al-Imam Amir al-Mu'minin*, MS.

248. Siraj al-Din Abu Muhammad 'Ali ibn 'Uthman ibn Muhammad al-'Ushi al-Farghani al-Hanafi (d. after 569/1174).

In his *Nisab al-akhbar li tadhkirat al-akhyar*, as mentioned by al-Dawlatabadi in *Hidayat al-su'ada'*. A leading scholar of his age. 11

249. Abu al-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad, known as Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 597/1200).

In his *al-Musalsalat*.

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1. Ibn al-Wardi, *Tatimmat al-Mukhtasar*, ii, 31.
 2. *Al-Ansab*, under 'al-Mazraqi'; *al-Dhahabi*, *Ma`rifat al-qurra' al-kibar*, i, 391.
 3. *Al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat*, iii, 28.
 4. *Tabaqat al-qurra'*, i, 288.
 5. *Tadhkirat al-huffaz*, iv, 1282; *Tabaqat al-huffaz*, 464.
 6. *Wafayat al-a`yan*, iii, 152; *Tatimmat al-Mukhtasar*, ii, 72; *Tabaqat al-huffaz*, 468.
 7. *Ibn Farhun*, *al-Dibaj al-mudhahhab*, ii, 57.
 8. *Al-Muntazam*, x, 162; *Tadhkirat al-huffaz*, 1289.
 9. *Tabaqat al-qurra'*, i, 204.
 10. *Tadhkirat al-huffaz*, iii, 1334; *Tabaqat al-Shafi`iyyah*, vi, 161; *al-Tha`alibi*, *Maqalid al-asanid*; *Wafayat al-a`yan*, iii, 414.
 11. 'Abd al-Qadir al-Qarashi, *al-Jawahir al-mudi'ah*, i, 367.

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250. Abu al-Futuh As'ad ibn Mahmud ibn Khalaf al-'Ijli al-Isfahani (d. 600/1203).

In his *Fada'il al-Khulafa'*, as mentioned by al-Samhudi, *op. cit.*

251. Al-Mubarak ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim, known as Ibn al-Athir al-Jazari (d. 606/1209).

In *Jami' al-usul*, i, 187; x, 102, 103, from Jabir and Zayd ibn Arqam and also in his *al-Nihayah*, under 'thaqi' and 'itrah'. A great grammarian, philologist, exegete and legist.

252. Fakhr al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Razi (d. 606/1209).

In his exegesis *Mafatih al-ghayb*, vii, 173. A great exegete, mutakallim and philosopher.

253. Abu Muhammad ‘Abd al-Aziz ibn al-Akhdar al-Janabadhi al-Baghdadi (d. 611/1214).

In his *Ma‘alim al-‘Itrat al-Nabawiyyah*, as mentioned by al-Samhudi, *op. cit.*, and Ibn Ba Kathir al-Makki (*Wasilat al-ma‘al*, MS.). *Tawthiq* by al-Dhahabi. 1

254. Al-Rafi‘i (d. 623/1226).

In *al-Tadwin*, twice, in the biographical account of Ahmad ibn Mehran Abu Ja‘far al-Qattan, from Jabir, and that of ‘Amr ibn Rafi‘ ibn al-Furat al-Bajali, from Zayd ibn Arqam. A leading scholar.

255. Muwaffaq al-Din ‘Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi (d. 629/1231).

In his *al-Mujarrad li lughat al-hadith*, I, 253.

256. Abu al-Hasan ‘Izz al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karim, known as Ibn al-Athir (d. 630/1232).

In *Usd al-ghabah*, iii, 147, from ‘Abd Allah ibn Hantab. One of the leading historians.

257. Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Mahmud ibn al-Hasan ibn Hibat Allah, known as Ibn al-Najjar (d. 642/1244).

As mentioned by al-Kanji in his *Kifayat al-talib*. A leading scholar of his era, traditionist, historian and author of several works. 2

258. Diya‘ al-Din Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahid al-Maqdisi al-Hanbali (d. 643/1245).

In his *al-Mukhtarah*, as mentioned by Ibn Ba Kathir al-Makki (*Wasilat al-ma‘al*). A leading scholar and traditionist. 3

259. Radi al-Din Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Saghani (d. 650/1252).

In his *Mashariq al-anwar* (Ibn al-Malik's *sharh*, iii, 157) from Zayd ibn Arqam. An eminent grammarian, traditionist and legist. 4

260. Abu Salim Muhammad ibn Talhah al-Qarashi al-Nasibi al-Shafi'i (d. 652/1254).

In his *Matalib al-sa'ul*, 8, from *Sahih Muslim*. A leading scholar of his era. 5

261. Abu al-Muzaffar Shams al-Din Yusuf ibn Qizughli, Sibte ibn al-Jawzi (d. 654/1256).

In his *Tadhkirat khawass al-ummah*, 322–323, where he establishes its authenticity and *sihah*. A leading scholar whose biography has been written by all the major biographers.

262. Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn 'Umar al-Qurtubi al-Ansari (d. 656/1258).

In his *Talkhis Sahih Muslim*, ii, F. 100. A leading scholar of his era. 6

263. 'Izz al-Din 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Hibat Allah ibn Abi al-Hadid al-Mu'tazili (d. 656/1258).

In his *Sharh Nahj al-balaghah*, vi, 375. An eminent Mu'tazili scholar of his era and man of letters.

264. Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Muhammad al-Kanji al-Shafi'i (d. 658/1260).

In his *Kifayat al-talib, bab fi bayan sihhat khutbatih bima' yud'a Khumman* 259, from al-Laythi, from Abu al-Waqt, from al-Dawudi. A leading scholar.

265. Abu al-Fath Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr al-Abiwardi al-Shafi'i (d. 667/1268).

As mentioned by al-Suyuti in *Ihya' al-mayyit*, 30, and al-Badakhshi, *op. cit.*, from him, from Abu Sa'id. A leading traditionist (*al-imam al-muhaddith*). 7

266. Abu Zakariyya Muhyi al-Din Yahya ibn Sharaf al-Nawawi (d.

676/1277).

In his *Tahdhib al-asma' wa al-lughat*, i, 347, and *al-Minhaj fi sharh Sahih Muslim*, xv, 180, from *Sahih Muslim*. One of the leading scholars (*al-imam al-Allamah*).

267. Abu Muhammad Sharaf al-Din 'Umar ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahid al-Musili.

In his book *al-Na'im al-muqim li 'Itrat al-Nabi al-Azim*, Maktabat Ayasofiya MS. 3504, F. 64, 69.

268. Al-Qadi Nasir al-Din al-Baydawi (d. 685/1286).

In *Tuhfat al-abrar*, F. 236, *sharh* on al-Baghawi's *Masabih al-Sunnah*, from Jabir. A leading exegete and legist.

269. Abu al-Abbas Muhibb al-Din Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Tabari al-Makki al-Shafi'i (d. 694/1294).

In *Zakha'ir al-'uqba fi manaqib Dhawi al-Qurba*, 16, from Zayd ibn Arqam. A well-known scholar.

270. Sa'id al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Farghani (d. 699/1299).

In his exposition, in Persian, of Ibn al-Farid's poem, *Ta'iyyah*, under the couplet:

"*wa awdih bitta'wili ma kana mushkila*

'alayya bi'ilmin nalahu bil wasiyyah"

271. Nizam al-Din Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn al-Husayn al-Qummi al-Nishaburi, known as al-Nizam al-A'raj.

In his exegesis *Ghara'ib al-Qur'an*, i, 349. An outstanding scholar and exegete.

1. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, iv, 1383.

2. Al-Ibar, v, 179; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, iv, 1405.

3. Ibid., iv, 1428.

4. Ibn Shakir, Fawat al-Wafayat, i, 358; al-Ibar, v, 205; Mir'at al-jinan, iv, 121.

5. Al-Kanji, *Kifayat al-talib*, 231; al-Badakhshi, *Miftah al-naja*, MS.

6. Ibn Farhun, *al-Dibaj al-mudhahhab*, 68.

7. *Tadhkirat al-huffaz*, iv, 1476; *Tabaqat al-huffaz*, 511.

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272. Zahir al-Din ‘Abd al-Samad al-Fariqi al-Farabi (d. after 707/1307).

In his *sharh* of al-Baghawi's *Masabih al-Sunnah* (MS. 60 in al-Maktabat al-Sulaymaniyyah, Istanbul, F. 340 b.)

273. Abu al-Fadl Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Mukarram al-Ansari al-Ifriqi al-Misri (d. 711/1311).

In *Lisan al-Arab*, xi, 137, from Ibn Ishaq al-Azhari. A leading lexicographer and philologist.

274. Sadr al-Din Abu al-Majami' Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Mu'ayyad al-Hamawi (d. 722/1322).

In his *Fara'id al-simtayn* (ii, 250, 268, 272, 274) from Zayd ibn Arqam, Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, and Hudhayfah ibn Usayd. An eminent scholar.

275. Abu al-Abbas Najm al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Makki ibn Yasin al-Qamuli (d. 727/1327).

In *Takmilat Tafsir al-Razi*. A leading jurist of his era. 1

276. Ibn Taymiyyah al-Harrani (d. 728/1328).

In his *Minhaj al-Sunnah*, 105, from *Sahih Muslim*, where he tries to misinterpret its meaning.

277. 'Ala' al-Din 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Baghdadi, known as al-Khazin (d. 741/1340).

In his tafsir, *Lubab al-ta'wil*, i, 328, vi, 102, vii, 6. A leading scholar and exegete. 2

278. Fakhr al-Din al-Hansawi.

In his *Dustur al-haqa'iq* from Zayd ibn Arqam, as mentioned by Malik al-'Ulama' al-Dawlatabadi in *Hidayat al-su'ada'*, MS. A leading scholar.

279. Abu 'Abd Allah Wali al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Khatib al-Tabrizi.

In his *Mishkat al-masabih*, iii, 255, 258, from Zayd ibn Arqam and Jabir. An eminent scholar.

280. Abu al-Hajjaj Yusuf ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Yusuf al-Mizzi (d. 742/1341).

In his *Tuhfat al-ashraf bi ma'rifat al-atraf* from al-Tirmidhi, Muslim and al-Nasa'i. A leading scholar and writer. 3

281. Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Tayyibi (d. 743/1342).

In his *Sharh al-Mishkat*, MS. A leading scholar of his era. 4

282. Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Muzaffar al-Shahrudi al-Khalkhali (d. 745/1344).

In his *al-Mafatih fi sharh al-Masabih*, MS. A leading scholar. 5

283. Athir al-Din Abu Hayyan al-Andalusi (d. 745/1344).

In his exegesis *al-Bahr al-muhit*, i, 12. A leading scholar of his era. 6

284. Shams al-Din Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-

Dhahabi (d. 748/1347).

As mentioned by al-Shaykhani al-Qadiri in *al-Sirat al-sawi*, MS. A leading scholar, historian, biographer, traditionist and an authority on rijal.

285. 'Ala' al-Din ibn al-Turkamani al-Hanafi (d. 749/1348).

In his *al-Jawhar al-naqi 'ala Sunan al-Bayhaqi*, vii, 31 (published with *Sunan al-Bayhaqi*, Hyderabad, India). An eminent scholar.

286. Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn al-Hasan al-Zarandi al-Madani al-Ansari (d. after 750/1349).

In his *Nazm Durar al-simtayn*, 231–232, from Zayd ibn Arqam, Abu Sa'id and Jabir. An eminent scholar and writer.

287. Badr al-Din Abu Muhammad al-Hasan ibn Habib al-Halabi.

In *al-Najm al-thaqib fi ashraf al-manasib* (F. 86, MS. 5883, Dar al-Kutub al-Zahiriyyah, Damascus). An eminent scholar. 7

288. Zayn al-Arab 'Ali ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad al-Misri (d. after 751/1350).

In his *sharh* of al-Baghawi's *Masabih al-Sunnah* (F. 356, MS. 59, al-Maktabat al-Sulaymaniyyah, Istanbul).

289. Sa'id al-Din Muhammad ibn Mas'ud ibn Muhammad al-Kazeruni (d. 758/1357).

In *al-Muntaqa fi sirat al-Musttafa*. An eminent scholar and traditionist.

290. Isma'il ibn Kathir ibn Daw' al-Qarashi al-Dimashqi (d. 774/1372).

In his exegesis (v, 457; vi, 199, 200) and his work on history. A leading historian, exegete and legist.

291. Muhammad ibn Qasim al-Nuwayri al-Iskandarani (d. after 775/1373).

In *Kitab al-ilmam* (Hyderabad, 1390), iii, 154.

292. Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Wasiti (d. 776/1374).

In his *Majm' al-ahbab* (MS. 2096 in al-Maktabat al-Sulaymaniyyah, Istanbul, F. 78) from *Sahih Muslim*. An exegete and legist.

293. Al-Sayyid 'Ali Shihab al-Din al-Hamadani (d. 786/1384).

In his *al-Mawaddah fi al-qurba* from Abu Sa'id and Jubayr ibn Mut'im. An eminent scholar.

294. Al-Sayyid Muhammad al-Taliqani.

In *Risalah-ye Qiyafeh-nameh*, as mentioned by al-Badakhshani in *Jami' al-salasil*, MS. in the former's biographical account.

295. Sa'd al-Din Mas'ud ibn 'Umar al-Taftazani (d. 791/1389).

In *Sharh al-Maqasid*, ii, 221. A great scholar, grammarian, legist, exegete and mutakallim. 8

296. Abu 'Abd Allah Husam al-Din Hamid ibn Ahmad al-Mahalli.

In his *Mahasin al-azhar fi tafsil manaqib al-'itrat al-akhyar al-athar* as mentioned by al-Allamah Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Amir in *al-Rawdat al-nadiyyah*. An eminent scholar and legist.

1. Al-Asnawi, *Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyyah*, ii, 332; al-Suyuti, *Husn al-muhaddarah*, i, 424.

2. Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, *al-Durar al-kaminah*, ii, 79.

3. Al-Shawkani, *al-Badr al-tali` li mahasin min ba'd al-qarn al-sabi`*, ii, 352.

4. Al-Durar al-kaminah, ii, 68; *Bughyat al-wi`at*, 228; al-Badr al-tali`, i, 229.

5. Al-Asnawi, *Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyyah*, i, 505.

6. Al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat, v, 267-283.

7. Al-Durar al-kaminah, ii, 113; *Abna' al-ghumar*, i, 249.

8. Al-Shawkani, *al-Badr al-tali`*, ii, 303.

Narrators of Hadith al-Thaqalayn of Ninth-Fifteenth Century

297. Nur al-Din 'Ali ibn Abi Bakr ibn Sulayman al-Haythami (d. 807/1404).

In his *Majma' al-zawa'id wa manba' al-fawa'id*, 9. An eminent scholar. 1

298. Majd al-Din Muhammad ibn Ya'qub al-Firuzabadi al-Shirazi (d. 817/1414).

In his *al-Qamus al-muhit*, iii, 343. One of the great lexicographers.

299. Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Hafizi al-Bukhari al--Naqshbandi, known as Khwajah Parsa (d. 822/1419).

In his *Fasl al-khitab* from al-Tirmidhi, from Jabir, Hudhayfah ibn Usayd and Zayd ibn Arqam. An eminent scholar and the most eminent of the Khulafa' of Khwajah Baha' al-Din Naqshband.

300. Abu al-Abbas Taqi al-Din Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Maqrizi (d. 845/1441).

In his *Ma'rifat ma yajib li Al al-Bayt al-Nabawi* (Cairo: Dar al-l'tisam, 1392, ed. by Muhammad Ahmad 'Ashur, p. 38) from al-Tirmidhi. A great historian and traditionist. 2

301. 'Uthman ibn Haji ibn Muhammad al-Harawi.

In his *Sharh on Masabih al-Sunnah* (F. 178, MS 288 in al-Maktabat al-Sulaymaniyyah).

302. Malik al-'Ulama' Shihab al-Din ibn Shams al-Din al-Zawali al-Dawlatabadi (d. 849/1445).

In his *Hidayat al-su'ada'* (MS.) from *al-Masabih al-Mashariq*, *Mishkat al-Anwar*, *al-'Umdah*, *al-Durar*, *Taj al-asami*, *al-Arba'in 'an al-arba'in*, *Kitab al-Shifa'*, *Nisab al-akhbar*, etc., and *Manaqib al-sadat*. A leading scholar of his era. 3

303. Nur al-Din 'Ali ibn Muhammad, known as Ibn al-Sabbagh al-Maliki (d. 855/1451).

In *al-Fusul al-muhimmah*, 23. An eminent scholar.

304. Al-Hafiz ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (d. 852/1448).

In *al-Matalib al-Aliyah bi zawa'id al-masanid al-thamaniyah*, iv, 65 from 'Ali (A), where he judges its *isnad* to be *sahih*. From 'Ali and Abu Hurayrah in his *Zawa'id Musnad al-Bazzaz* MS., F. 277. One of the leading scholars. 4

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1. Al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-lami'*, v, 200.
 2. Al-Manhal al-Safi, i, 394 – 399; Abna' al-ghumar, ix, 170.
 3. 'Abd al-Haqq al-Dehlawi, *Nuzhat al-khawahir*, ii, 19.
 4. Al-Daw' al-lami', ii, 36–40.

Narrators of Hadith al-Thaqalayn of Tenth-Sixteenth Century

305. Abu al-Khayr Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sakhawi (d. 902/1496).

In his *Istijlab irtiqat' alghuraf*, MS. through many different *asnad* and sources from a number of Sahabah, such as Abu Sa'id, Zayd ibn Arqam, Jabir, Hudhayfah ibn Usayd, Khuzaymah, Sahl ibn Sa'd, Damrah al-Aslami, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf, Ibn 'Abbas, Ibn 'Umar, 'Ali (A), Abu Rafi', Abu Hurayrah and others. A leading scholar of his era. 1

306. Husayn ibn 'Ali al-Kashifi (d. 910/1504).

In his *al-Risalah al-Aliyyah fi al-ahadith al-Nabawiyah*, 29, 30 and his exegesis *al-Mawahib al-Aliyyah*, ii, 367.

307. Jalal al-Din ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Bakr al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505).

In his *Ihya' al-mayyit bi fada'il Ahlul Bayt*, 11, 12, 19, 26, 27, 30, *Nihayat al-ifdal*, MS. *al-Asas fi fada'il Bani al-Abbas*, MS. *Al-Inafah fi rutbat al-Khilafah*, *al-Budur al-safirah*, his exegesis *al-Durr al-manthur*, 11, 60, vi, 70, *al-Jami' al-saghir*, and *al-Khasa'is al-kubra*, ii, 266 through several chains from Muslim, al-Tirmidhi, al-Nasa'i, al-Hakim, ‘Abd ibn Hamid, Ahmad, Abu Ya'la, al-Bazzaz and al-Tabarani from Zayd ibn Arqam, Zayd ibn Thabit, Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, Abu Hurayrah, ‘Ali (A), Jabir and ‘Abd Allah ibn Hantab. One of the great scholars in the history of Islam.

308. Nur al-Din ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Samhudi (d. 911/1505).

In his *Jawahir al-'iqdayn fi fadl al-sharafayn sharaf al-'ilm al-jali wa al-nasab al-Ali*, MS., from more than twenty Sahabah from various recognized compilations of hadith. An eminent scholar of his era.

309. Al-Fadl ibn Ruzbahan al-Khunji al-Shirazi.

In his *Sharh-e 'aqa'id*, in Persian, written at the behest of ‘Abd Allah Khan Uzbek, the ruler of Bukhara.

310. Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Qastallani al-Shafi'i (d. 923/1517).

In his *al-Mawahib al-madaniyyah* (al-Zarqani's *sharh*, vii, 4-8). An eminent scholar and author of famous commentaries on *Sahih Muslim* and *Sahih al-Bukhari*.

311. Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Alqami (d. 929/1522).

In *al-Kawkab al-munir fi sharh al-Jami' al-saghir*, MS. A leading scholar of his era.

312. ‘Abd al-Wahhab ibn Muhammad ibn Rafi' al-Din al-Bukhari (d. 932/1525).

In his exegesis *Tafsir Anwari* (MS) from al-Tha'labi and Ahmad ibn Hanbal from Abu Sa'id. A leading scholar of his era. 2

313. Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Dimashqi al-Salihi

(d. 942/1535).

In his *Subul al-huda wa al-rashad fi sirat khayr al-'ibad*, known as *al-Sirat al-Shamsiyyah*, as mentioned by al-Halabi in *Insan al-'uyun*. A scholar of eminence.

314. Al-Hafiz ibn al-Dayba' al-Shaybani (d. 943/1536).

In his *Taysir al-usul ila Jami' al-usul*, iii, 297. An eminent scholar and traditionist.

315. Shams al-Din Ibn Tulun al-Dimashqi (d. 953/1546).

In his *al-Shadharat al-dhahabiyyah*, 66 (published under the title *al-A'imat al-Ithna 'ashar*, Beirut, 1377 H.) ed. Dr. Salah al-Din al-Munjid, from *Sahih Muslim*. A leading scholar of his era. 3

316. Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Sharbini al-Khatib (d. 968/1560).

In his exegesis *al-Siraj al-munir*, ii, 528, iv, 167.

317. Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Hajar al-Haythami al-Makki (d. 973/1565).

In his *al-Sawa'iq al-muhriqah*, 25, 89 – 90, 132 and *al-Minah al-Makkiyyah fi sharh al-qasidat al-hamziyyah* under the couplet:

Muhammadun sayyidul kawnayni waththaqalayn

wa'l fariqayni min 'urbin wa min 'ajam

A leading scholar of his era.

318. Nur al-Din 'Ali ibn Husam al-Din al-Muttaqi al-Hindi (d.975/1567).

In his *Kanz al-'ummal* from al-Tabarani from Zayd ibn Arqam. A leading scholar, traditionist, author and legislator.

319. Muhammad Tahir al-Fitanni al-Gujrati (d. 986/1578).

In his *Majma' al-bihar fi gharib al-hadith* under *thaql* and *'itrah*, as well as in *Takmilat Majma' al-bihar* under *thaql*. A leading scholar of his age.

**320. ‘Abbas ibn Mu’in al-Din, known as Mirza Makhdum al--
Jurjani al-Shirazi (d. 988/1580).**

In his *al-Nawaqid* from *Sahih Muslim* from Zayd ibn Arqam. An eminent scholar.

**321. Al-Shaykh Ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Shaykh ‘Abd Allah al-
Aydarus al-Yamani (d. 990/1582).**

In *al-’Iqd al-Nabawi wa al-sirr al-Mustafawi* (MS) from Ibn Abi Shaybah, from ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Awf. An eminent scholar.

**322. Kamal al-Din ibn Fakhr al-Din al-Jahromi (d. after
994/1586).**

In his *al-Barahin al-qati’ah fi tarjumat al-Sawa’iq al-muhriqah*, in Persian. An eminent scholar from Bijapur, India. 4

**323. Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Mustafa ibn Ibrahim al-Sufi,
known as Badr al-Din al-Rumi.**

In his *Taj al-durrah fi sharh al-burdah* under the lines:

Ala baytin nabiyyi ‘inna fu’adi

laysa yusallayhi ‘alaykumutta’sa’u

**324. ‘Ata’ Allah ibn Fadl Allah al-Shirazi, known as Jamal al-Din
al-Muhaddith (d. 1000/1591).**

In his *al-Arba’in fi fada’il Amir al-Mu’minin* (MS) and *Rawdat al-ahbab fi siyar al-Nabi wa al-Al wa al-Ashab*, from Hudhayfah ibn Usayd. An eminent scholar.

1. Ibid., vii, 1–32.

2. Al-Sayyid Muhammad al-Bukhari, *Tadhkirat al-abrar*, MS; *Nuzhat al-khawatir*, iv, 223.

3. Al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib al-sa’irah*, ii, 52.

4. *Nuzhat al-khawatir*, iv, 274.

Narrators of Hadith al-Thaqalayn of Eleventh-Seventeenth Century

325. 'Ali ibn al-Sultan Muhammad al-Harawi, known as 'Ali al-Qari (d. 1013/1604).

In his *Sharh al-Shifa'*, 485, from Muslim and al-Nasa'i, from Zayd ibn Arqam. In his *al-Mirqat fi sharh al-Mishat*, V, 593-594, 600-601 from Muslim, from Zayd ibn Arqam; from Imam Ahmad from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri; and from al-Tirmidhi from Jabir and Zayd ibn Arqam. An eminent scholar.

326. 'Abd al-Ra'uf ibn Taj al-Arifin al-Munawi (d. 1031/1621).

In his *Fayd al-Qadir fi sharh al-Jami' al-saghir*, ii, 174, 571; iii, 14, 15, a *sharh* of al-Suyuti's work that expounds it with the help of the *riwayat* of al-Qurtubi and al-Samhudi. An eminent scholar.

327. Nur al-Din 'Ali ibn Ibrahim ibn 'Ali al-Halabi al-Shafi'i (d. 1033/1623).

In his *Insan al-'uyun fi sirat al-Amir wa al-Ma'mun*, iii, 336. An eminent scholar.

328. Ahmad ibn al-Fadl ibn Muhammad Ba Kathir al-Makki (d. 1037/1627).

In his *Wasilat al-ma'al fi 'add manaqib al-AI* (MS) from Imam Ahmad, al-Tabarani, Abu Ya'la, al-Hakim, al-Tirmidhi, Ibn 'Uqdah, al-Diya', al-Zarandi, Abu al-Hasan Yahya ibn al-Hasan, al-Ji'abi, al-Dulabi, al-Bazzaz, Abu Nu'aym, Ibn Hajar and al-Darqutni. An eminent scholar. 1

329. Mahmud ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Shaykani al-Qadiri al-Madani.

In *al-Sirat al-sawi fi manaqib Al al-Nabi* (MS.), from Muslim, al-Hakim, al-Bazzaz, Ibn 'Uqdah, al-Tabarani, Ibn Sa'd and al-Zarandi, from Zayd ibn Arqam, Abu Sa'id, Zayd ibn Thabit, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf, Abu Hurayrah, Jabir, Hudhayfah ibn Usayd and others.

330. Al-Sayyid Muhammad ibn al-Sayyid Jalal Mah 'Alam al-Bukhari (d. 1045/1635).

In *Tadhkirat al-abrar* (MS.). A respectable scholar. 2

331. Al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Dehlawi (d. 1052/1642).

In his *al-Lumu'at fi sharh al-Mishkat* from Muslim and al-Tirmidhi, and also in *Madarij al-nubuwwah*, 520. A leading legist, traditionist and scholar of his era in India. 3

332. Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Khafaji al-Misri al-Hanafi (d. 1069/1658).

In his *Nasim al-riyad fi sharh Shifa' al-Qadi 'Iyad*, iii, 409, iv, 283, 324, while expounding the narrations of al-Qadi 'Iyad. A leading scholar. 4

333. 'Ali ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Azizi al-Bulaqi al-Shafi'i (d. 1070/1659).

In his *al-Siraj al-munir fi sharh al-Jami' al-saghir*, i, 322; ii, 51. A leading traditionist. 5

334. Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Sulayman al-Susi al-Maghribi (d. 1094/1683)

In his *Jam' al-fawa'id min Jami' al-usul wa Majma' al-zawa'id*, i, 16, ii, 236 (Meerut 1346H.), from al-Tirmidhi and Muslim. A leading traditionist. 6

335. Mulla Ya'qub al-Banyani al-Lahori (1098/1686).

In his *'Aqa'id*. A well-known scholar of his age. 7

1. Al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat al-athar*, i, 271; Radi al-Din al-Shami, *Tandid al-uqud al-saniyyah*

2. *Ibid.*, v, 337.

3. *Ibid.*, v, 201.

4. *Khulasat al-athar*, i, 331; al-Taj al-mukallal, 289.

5. *Khulasat al-athar*, iii, 201.

6. *Ibid.*, iv, 204.

7. *Nuzhat al-khawatir*, iv, 285.

Narrators of Hadith al-Thaqalayn of Twelfth-Eighteenth Century

336. Salih ibn Mahdi ibn ‘Ali Muqbili al-San’ani (d. 1108/1696).

In *Mulhaqat al-abhath al-musaddadah* as quoted in *Khulasat ‘Abaqat al-anwar*, i, 312.

337. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Isami al-Makki (d. 1111/1699).

In his *Simt al-nujum al-Awali*, ii, 502 from Ibn Abi Shaybah.

338. Muhammad Amin al-Muhibbi (d. 1111/1699).

In his *Jana al-jannatayn fi tamyiz naw’ay al-mathnayayn*, 31.

339. Ahmad Afandi, known as Munajjim Bashi (d. 1113/1701).

As mentioned in his biographical account in *Tandid al-’uqud al-saniyyah*. An eminent scholar, as mentioned in the above account.

340. Kamal al-Din Ibn Hamzah al-Husayni (d. 1120/1708).

In his *al-Bayan wa al-ta’rif*, i, 164; ii, 136, from Ahmad, Muslim, ‘Abd ibn Hamid, al-Tabarani and al-Hakim. A leading scholar, traditionist and grammarian of his era. 1

341. Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Baqi ibn Yusuf al-Azhari al-Zarqani al-Maliki (d. 1122/1710).

In his *Sharh al-Mawahib al-laduniyyah*, vii, 4 – 8, while expounding the traditions narrated by al-Shihab al-Qastallani in *al-Mawahib al-laduniyyah*.

342. Husam al-Din ibn Muhammad Ba Yazid ibn Badi’ al-Din al-Saharanpuri.

In *Marafid al-rawafid* from Muslim, al-Tirmidhi and al-Tabarani.

343. Mirza Muhammad ibn Mu'tamad Khan al-Harithi al-Badakhshi.

In *Miftah al-naja fi manaqib Al al-Aba* (MS.), from Muslim, al-Tirmidhi, al-Tabarani, al-Hakim, 'Abd ibn Hamid, Ibn al-Anbari, al-Barudi and al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi. Also in *Nazl al-abrar bima sahha min manaqib Ahl al-Bayt al-Athar*, from Muslim, al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi and al-Tabarani. An eminent scholar of his era. 2

344. Radi al-Din ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Haydar al-Husayni al-Shami al-Shafi'i (d. 1142/1729).

In his *Tandid al-'uqud al-saniyyah bi tamhid al-dawlat al-Husayniyyah*.

345. 'Abd al-Ghani ibn Isma'il al-Nabulusi al-Hanafi (d. 1143/1730).

In his *Dhakha'ir al-mawarith*, i, 215. An eminent scholar of his era.

346. Muhammad Sadr al-Alam.

In his *Ma'arif al-'ula fi manaqib al-Murtada* (MS.). An eminent scholar. 3

347. Ibrahim al-Shabrawi Shaykh al-Azhar (d. 1162/1749).

In his *al-lthaf bi hubb al-ishraf*, 6, from Muslim and al-Tirmidhi.

348. Shah Wali Allah ibn 'Abd al-Rahim al-Dehlawi (d. 1176/1762).

In his *Izalat al-khafa' an sirat al-Khulafa'*, from Muslim, al-Hakim and Abu 'Amr and in *Qurrat al-Aynayn*, 119, 168, from Muslim and al-Tirmidhi. An eminent scholar.

349. Muhammad Mu'in ibn Muhammad Amin al-Sindi.

In his *Dirasat al-labib fi al-uswat al-hasanah bi al-habib*. An eminent scholar of hadith, kalam and Arabic literature. 4

350. Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Amir al-Yamani al-San'ani (d. 1182/1768).

In his *al-Rawdat al-nadiyyah fi sharh al-Tuhfat al-Alawiyah*, through several chains and from several sources.

351. Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Saban.

In *Is'af al-raghibin*, 110–111, from Muslim, Ahmad and al-Nasa'i, from Zayd ibn Arqam.

352. Abu al-Fayd Muhibb al-Din Muhammad Murtada al-Wasiti al-Zubaydi al-Hanafi al-Bilgirami.

In his *Taj al-Arus min jawahir al-qamus*, vii, 345 under *thaql*. A leading philologist and a legist and traditionist. 5

353. Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Bakr al-'Ujayli al-Shafi'i (d. 1182/1768).

In his *Dhakhirat al-ma'al fi sharh 'iqd jawahir al-li'al fi manaqib alAI* (MS.). An eminent scholar. 6

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1. Al-Muradi, *Silk al-durar*, i, 22.
 2. *Nuzhat al-khawtir*, vi, 259.
 3. *Ibid*, vi, 113.
 4. *Ibid.*, vi, 351–355.
 5. Al-Qannawji, *Abjad al-ulum*.
 6. *Idem.*, *al-Taj al-mukallal*, 509.

Narrators of Hadith al-Thaqalayn of Thirteenth- Nineteenth Century

354. Mir Ghani al-Husayni (d. 1207/1792).

In his *Durrat al-yatimah fi ba'd fada'il al-Sayyidat al-Azimah* (MS. 3671 in al-Maktabat al-Zahiriyyah, F. 71-77). An eminent scholar of his days.

355. Muhammad Mubin ibn Muhibb Allah al-Lakhnowi (d. 1220/1805).

In his *Wasilat al-najat fi manaqib al-sadat*, from Muslim, al-Tirmidhi and al-Hakim. 1

356. Muhammad Ikram al-Din ibn Muhammad Nizam al-Din al-Dehlawi.

In his *Sa'adat al-Kawnayn fi bayan fada'il al-Hasanayn*, from *al-Mashariq*, *al-Masabih* and other works. An eminent scholar. 2

357. Rashid al-Din Khan al-Dehlawi (d. 1243/1827).

In his *al-Haqq al-mubin fi fada'il Ahl Bayt Sayyid al-Mursalin* from *al-Sawa'iq*, *al-Shifa'*, *Qurrat al-Aynayn*, *Nazl al-abrar* and *Sharh al-Maqasid*, and from Ahmad, Ibn Jarir, and al-Hakim. 3

358. Mirza Hasan 'Ali Muhaddith al-Lakhnowi (d. 1255/1839).

In his *Tafrih al-ahbab fi manaqib al-AI wa al-Ashab* from Muslim and al-Tirmidhi. An eminent scholar. 4

359. 'Abd al-Rahim ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Safipuri (d. 1267/1850).

In his *Muntaha al-arab*, i, 143, under *thaql*. An eminent philologist and grammarian. 5

360. Wali Allah ibn Habib Allah al-Lakhnowi (d. 1270/1853).

In his *Mir'at al-mu'minin* (MS.). An eminent scholar. 6

361. 'Ashiq 'Ali Khan al-Lakhnowi.

In his *Dhakhirat al-'uqba fi dhikr fada'il A'immat al-Huda*.

362. Al-Shaykh Hasan al-Adawi al-Hamzawi.

In his *Mashariq al-anwar fi fawz ahl al-i'tibar*, 86, from Ibn Hajar, Ahmad, al-Suyuti, Muslim and al-Nasa'i.

363. Sulayman ibn Ibrahim, known as Khwajah Kalan al-Husayni al-Balkhi al-Qunduzi.

In his *Yanabi' al-mawaddah*, 27–41, from many early authorities on tradition, such as Muslim, al-Tirmidhi, al-Tha'labi, Ahmad, 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad, and later scholars such as al-Samhudi, al-Khwarazmi, al-Sayyid 'Ali al-Hamadani, al-Zarandi and others, from eminent Sahabah.

364. Mawlawi Siddiq Hasan Khan al-Qannawji.

In his *al-Siraj al-wahhaj fi sharh Sahih Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj* has expounded Muslim's narrations and cited the narrations of al-Tirmidhi and others.

365. Mawlawi Hasan al-Zaman.

In his *al-Qawl al-mustahsan fi fakhr al-Hasan*.

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1. Nuzhat al-khawatir, vii, 403.
 2. Haydar `Ali Faydabadi, Izalat al-ghayn; Nuzhat al-khawatir, vii, 69.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid., vii, 136.
 5. Ibid., vii, 258.
 6. Ibid., vii, 527.

Narrators of Hadith al-Thaqalayn of Fourteenth-Twentieth Century

366. Ahmad Zayni Dahlan.

In his *al-Sirat al-Nabawiyyah*, ii, 300.

367. Ahmad Diya' al-Din al-Kamushkhanawi.

In his *Ramuz al-ahadith*, 144.

368. Mu'min ibn Hasan al-Shablanji.

369. Behjat Buhlul Afandi.

In his *Ta'rikh Al-e Muhammad*, 45.

370. Al-Shaykh Mansur 'Ali Nasif al-Misri.

In his *al-Taj al-jami' li al-usul*, iii, 308-309.

371. Yusuf ibn Isma'il al-Nabhani.

In his *al-Fath al-kabir*, i, 451 and *al-Sharaf al-mu'abbad*, 18, 24.

372. Al-Abbas ibn Ahmad al-Yamani.

In his *al-Rawd al-nadir*, v, 343, 466.

373. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mubarakpuri.

In his *Tuhfat al-ahwadhi bi sharh Jami' al-Tirmidhi*, x, 287-291.

374. Ahmad al-Banna al-Sa'ati.

In his *al-Fath al-rabbani bi tartib Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal al-Shaybani*, i, 186 and *Bulugh al-amani min asrar al-Fath al-rabbani*, iv, 26.

375. 'Abd Allah al-Shafi'i.

In his *Arjah al-matalib*, 335-341, from leading traditionists from

Zayd ibn Thabit, Zayd ibn Arqam, Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, Jabir ibn 'Abd Allah, Zayd ibn Aslam, 'Ali (A), Abu Dharr, Abu Rafi'. Abu Hurayrah, Umm Salamah, Hudhayfah ibn Usayd.

376. Mahmud Abu Rayyah.

In his *Adwa' 'ala al-Sunnat al-Muhammadiyah*, 404.

377. Tawfiq Abu 'Alam.

In his *Ahlul Bayt*, 77–80.

378. Habib al-Rahman al-A'zami.

In his *hawashi* on *al-Matalib al-Aliyah bi zawa'id al-masanid al-thamaniyah*, iv, 65.

The Meaning of Hadith al-Thaqalayn

In each of the parts of the *'Abaqat* dealing with a particular hadith, the author, Sayyid Hamid Husayn – *quddisa sirruh* – after dealing with its *tawatur* goes on to deal with the meaning and doctrinal import of the hadith. In fact, this is the method which he is forced to follow in order to refute the statements of Shah 'Abd al-Aziz in the *Tuhfah* regarding the *tawatur* of the traditions mentioned by him as well as their doctrinal import.

In the second section of the part of the *'Abaqat* dealing with *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*, Sayyid Hamid Husayn deals with Shah 'Abd al-Aziz's objections, the first of which relates to its transmission and the rest to its doctrinal impact.

The first objection dealt with is the statement of Shah 'Abd al-Aziz that only Zayd ibn Arqam from among the Prophet's Companions has narrated the tradition. This objection is met by pointing out that at least thirty-four Companions have narrated the tradition. The sources which narrate the tradition from each of them – which were mentioned earlier in this article – are pointed out by him.

Moreover, he points out, Zayd's narration of the tradition has two lengthier versions as recorded by al-Nasa'i in *al-Khasa'is*, al-Hakim in *al-Mustadrak*, al-Tabarani and 'Ali al-Muttaqi. Moreover, he points out that the wording of the tradition as quoted by Shah 'Abd al-Aziz has not been narrated or recorded by any Sunni authority on tradition.

The next statement of Shah 'Abd al-Aziz that is dealt with is his outright denial that *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* implies the religious leadership of the Ahlul Bayt (A). The author points out that since the Prophet (S) has placed the Ahlul Bayt (A) by the side of the Qur'an, it means that the Ahlul Bayt (A) have to be followed, like the Qur'an, as the living guides of the Ummah in matters of doctrine, ritual and law.

He cites the statements of numerous leading Sunni authorities in affirmation of this. The author points out that the words '*thaqalayn*' and the command to hold on to them (*al-i'tisam, al-akhdh* or *al-ittiba*' in accordance with the different wordings) unambiguously imply that in the same way as it is obligatory to follow the Qur'an, so also it is equally obligatory to follow the Ahlul Bayt (A) in the matters of Islamic teachings.

Moreover, the inseparability of the Qur'an and the Ahlul Bayt (A), as well as the repeated emphasis on holding on to the two and the specific emphasis on adherence to the Ahlul Bayt (A) and the observance of their rights clearly establish the obligation to follow the Ahlul Bayt (A) as the religious leaders, authorities and guides of the Ummah. The author points out that this interpretation of the *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* is also confirmed by some verses of the Holy Qur'an such as:

...قُلْ لَا أَسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَجْرًا إِلَّا الْمَوَدَّةَ فِي الْقُرْبَىٰ...

Say: 'I do not ask of you a wage for this, except love for the kinsfolk.' (42:23)

وَقَفُّوهُمْ ۚ إِنَّهُمْ مَسْئُولُونَ

And halt them, to be questioned. (37:24)

The author cites a number of Sunni scholars, such as al-Sakhawi in *al-Istijlab*, al-Suyuti in *al-Durr al-manthur* (vi, 7), 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Bukhari in *Tafsir Anwari*, al-Khatib al-Sharbini in *al-Siraj al-munir* (v, 538), al-Tayyibi in *al-Miqat* (v, 594), al-Munawi in *Fayd al-Qadir* (iii, 14), al-Zarqani in *Sharh al--Mawahib* (vii, 7) and others, regarding the interpretation of the first verse. Others, including al-Samhudi, al-Wahidi, al-Shaykhani, Mawlawi Wali Allah Lakhnowi, and Mawlawi Muhammad Mubin, have affirmed that the questioning on the Day of Judgment referred to in the second verse refers to the attitude of the individual Muslim vis-a-vis the Prophet's Ahlul Bayt (A).

Sayyid Hamid Husayn then goes on to point that *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* also affirms the freedom of the Imams of the Ahlul Bayt (A) from sin and error (*'ismah*) because: the hadith commands adherence to them and the Qur'an together and since the Qur'an is free from every trace of falsehood and error, so is the guidance of the Ahlul Bayt (A); adherence to the two of them is considered as a guarantee against misguidance for the Ummah, which is only possible if the Imams of the Ahlul Bayt (A) are free from error and sin. This conclusion is also supported by other traditions of the Holy Prophet (S) in favor of 'Ali (A) and the Ahlul Bayt (A), some of which were mentioned earlier.

Furthermore, the author points out, the *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* implies the preeminence of the Ahlul Bayt

(A) within the Ummah from the viewpoint of knowledge (*a'lamdiyyah*) and excellence (*afdaliyyah*). He cites statements of several non-Shi'i scholars in confirmation of this conclusion.

Moreover, the author states, there are many traditions which indicate that *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* and *Hadith al-Ghadir* were proclaimed by the Prophet (S) in the course of a single sermon at Ghadir Khumm. Some of these traditions have been recorded by al-Muttaqi in *Kanz al-'ummal* (i, 167), Ibn Kathir in *Ta'rikh* (v, 209), al-Sakhawi in *al-Istijlab* (MS), al-Samhudi in *Jawahir al-'iqdayn* (MS), Ibn Hajar in *al-Sawa'iq* (25) from al-Tabarani and many others.

According to still some other versions of the narration, *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*, *Hadith al-Ghadir* and *Hadith al-Manzilah* were mentioned in the course of the same sermon at Ghadir Khumm as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *al-Fatawa al-fiqhiyyat al-kubra*, ii, 122.

In some versions of the tradition, he points out, the word '*khalifatayn*' (successors) is mentioned instead of '*thaqalayn*', as in the narrations recorded by Ahmad ibn Hanbal in *Musnad*, v, 181, as well as al-Tabarani, Ibn Abi 'Asim, Abu Bakr ibn Abi Shaybah, al-Zarqani and others. This word implies rather more explicitly the *Imamah* and *Khilafah* of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A) and the Ahlul Bayt (A).

Some versions of the tradition, such as the one narrated by Al-Qunduzi in *Yanabi' al-mawaddah*, 20, from al-Hasan ibn 'Ali (A), contain the following statement of the Prophet (S) which signifies the perpetuity of the Imamate:

اللهم إني أعلم أن العلم لا يبید ولا ينقطع ، وإنك لا تخلي أرضك من حجة لك على خلقك ، ظاهر ليس بالمطاع ، أو خائف مغمور لكيلا يبطل حجتك ، ولا يضل أولياؤك بعد إذ هديتهم ، أولئك الأقلون عددا الأعظمون قدرا عند الله عز وجل، ولقد دعوت الله تبارك وتعالى أن يجعل العلم والحكمة في وعقب عقبي وفي زرعي وزرع زرعي إلى يوم القيامة فاستجيب لي.

O God, You don't let the earth remain devoid of Your Proof over Your creation so that Your proofs should not become invalid or that Your friends should go astray after You have guided them. They (the Proofs of God) are few in number but great in worth near God, Almighty and Glorious. Indeed, I had prayed to God, Exalted and Blessed, to place knowledge and wisdom in my descent and the descent of my descendants, and in my seed and the seed of my seed, until the Day of Resurrection, and my prayer was granted.

This closely resembles the following tradition of *Nahj al-balaghah* (*Hikam*: 147) addressed by 'Ali (A) to his pupil Kumayl ibn Ziyad.

لا تخلو الأرض من قائم لله بحجة إما ظاهرا مشهورا أو خائفا مغمورا لئلا تبطل حجج الله وبياناته. وكم ذا وأين أولئك؟ أولئك - والله - الأقلون عددا، والاعظمون عند الله قدرا. يحفظ الله بهم حججه وبياناته حتى يودعوها نظراءهم ويزرعوها في قلوب أشباههم. جَمَّ بهم العلم على حقيقة البصيرة ، وباشروا روح اليقين واستلنا ما استوعره المترفون ، وأنسوا بما أستوحش منه الجاهلون ، وصحبوا الدنيا بأبدان أرواحها متعلقة بالمحل الأعلى ، أولئك خلفاء الله في أرضه والدعاة إلى دينه ، آه آه شوقا إلى رؤيتهم!

...But the earth is never devoid of him who stands for God with a proof (*qaim li'llah bi hujjatin*). He is either manifest and well-known or afraid and concealed, so that God's proofs and His clear signs should not become invalid. How many are they and where are they? By God, they are few in number, but great in esteem before God. Through them God maintains His proofs and signs till they entrust them to others like themselves and plant them in the hearts of their likes.

Knowledge has led them to the reality of understanding and they have attained the spirit of certitude. That which is hard upon the seekers of comforts comes easy to them. They endear what the ignorant regard with aversion. They live in the world with their bodies, but their spirits are in a higher realm. They are the vicegerents (*khulafa'*) of God in His earth and His callers to His *Din*. Oh, how much I yearn to see them! (H: 147)

This tradition of 'Ali (A) has been widely reported and recorded by Shi'i and non-Shi'i traditionists and historians, including Ibn 'Abd Rabbih in *al-'Iqd al-farid*, i, 265, 293; al-Ya'qubi in *Ta'rikh*, ii, 400; al-Harrani in *Tuhaf al-'uqul*, 169; al-Saduq in *al-Khisal*, i, 85 and *Ikmal al-Din*, 169; Abu Talib al-Makki in *Qut al-qulub*, i, 272; al-Khatib al-Baghdadi in *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, vi, 389; al-Razi in *al-Tafsir al-kabir*, ii, 192; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in *al-Mukhtasar*, 29 and *Jami' bayan al-'ilm*; al-Khwarazmi in *al-Manaqib*, 390 and al-Azhari in *Tahdhib al-lughah*, vi, 70.

To return to the discussion of 'Abaqat about the doctrinal import of *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*, the author next points out that 'Ali (A) referred to it in the course of his debate with the members of the six-man council (*shura*) appointed by 'Umar, the second caliph, to select a successor to him. 'Ali's arguments (*ihtijaj*) before the *shura* are recorded in detail by Ibn al-Maghazili in his *al-Manaqib*, 112. Al-Qunduzi in *Yanabi' al-mawaddah*, 35, also refers to 'Ali's reference to *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* in order to establish the incontestability of his claim to successorship of the Prophet (S).

This tradition was also referred to by al-Hasan ibn 'Ali (A) in his speech delivered after being elected as caliph following 'Ali's martyrdom. Al-Qunduzi, *op. cit.*, 21, 48 483 and Sibte ibn al-Jawzi in *Tadhkirat al-khawass*, 198, have recorded related traditions in their works.

Besides the large number of Companions who have narrated the tradition, reference to it also occurs in a letter of ‘Amr ibn al-As addressed to Mu’awiyah and recorded in al-Khwarazmi's *al-Manaqib*, 128 – 130, and in a statement of al-Hasan al-Basri, a well-known Tabi'i saint, as recorded by Ibn Abi al-Hadid in *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah*, iv, 95. All these references affirm the preeminence of ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib (A) and the Ahlul Bayt (A) in the Ummah and their claim to the comprehensive leadership of the Ummah after the Holy Prophet (S).

Some Traditions that Appear to Conflict with Hadith al-Thaqalayn

Tradition n. 1

Shah ‘Abd al-Aziz, in the *Tuhfah*, states that even if *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* be accepted as such, it contradicts some traditions of the Prophet (S). One of these traditions, which he claims to be *sahih*, is as follows:

عليكم بسني وسنة الخلفاء الراشدين المهديين من بعدي تمسكوا بها وعضوا عليها بالنواجذ.

Adhere to my sunnah and the sunnah of the rightly-guided successors after me. Hold on to it and cling on to it stubbornly.

Sayyid Hamid Husayn points out that such a contention is invalid:

- Firstly, he says, the tradition has been narrated solely by Sunnis, unlike the *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* which has been narrated widely both by Shi'i and non-Shi'i narrators.
- Secondly, Shah ‘Abd al-Aziz has here failed to observe his own self-declared principle that his arguments against Shi'i doctrines will be based on material derived from works accepted as reliable by the Shi'ah themselves.
- Thirdly, he points out, this tradition has been avoided by Muslim and al-Bukhari, whose works are widely accepted by the Ahl al-Sunnah as the most authentic works on hadith.
- Fourthly, the claim that the above-mentioned narration is *sahih* is not true, because the veracity of its

transmitters has been considered as questionable by Sunni authorities.

The tradition has been recorded by Abu Dawud, al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Majah in their works. As to al-Irbad ibn Sariah, the sole narrator from whom the tradition is narrated, he is not reliable because of the untenable statement he makes in his own praise ("I am one-fourth of Islam").

As to Hajar ibn Hajar al-Kila'i, aside from belonging to Hims, a Syrian town once notorious for its people's enmity of 'Ali (A), is of unknown standing as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, iii, 118.

Khalid ibn Ma'dan ibn Abi Karib al-Kitabi, aside from belonging to Hims, was the chief of police of Yazid ibn Mu'awiyah, the most infamous ruler in the history of Islam.

Thawr ibn Yazid, too, belonged to Hims as mentioned by al-Dhahabi (*Mizan al-i'tidal*, i, 374). As mentioned by Ibn Hajar (*op. cit.*, ii, 34) he hated 'Ali (A), who had killed his father in a battle. 'Abd Allah ibn Mubarak refrained from narrating from him and considered him a heretic (*fasid almadhhab*).

The next transmitter, al-Walid ibn Muslim, has been accused of forgery by Abu Mushar, as mentioned by al-Dhahabi in *Mizan al-i'tidal*, iv, 347. These were some of Abu Dawud's authorities.

The author then goes on to show that the transmitters of the narration recorded by al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Majah, namely Abu 'Asim, Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Khallal, Buhayr ibn Sa'id, Baqiyyah ibn al-Walid, Yahya ibn Abi al-Muta', 'Abd Allah ibn 'Ala', Mu'awiyah ibn Salih, Isma'il ibn Bishr ibn Mansur, and 'Abd al-Malik ibn al-Sabbah, are all weak (*da'if*) transmitters, as mentioned by Sunni authorities on rijal in their works.

Moreover, al-Hafiz ibn al-Qattan has expressly rejected the authenticity of this sole narration of 'Abd al-Rahman al-Salami, as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, vi, 238.

The author then goes on to point out that even if this narration be presumed to be *sahih*, it cannot have any weight against *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* which has been narrated by a great number of Companions and leading Sunni scholars, while this narration has not been recorded in most of their works. Moreover, should this tradition be really authentic, then the words "rightly-guided successors" should be taken to mean the Twelve Imams of the Ahlul Bayt (A), as affirmed by another well-known tradition of the Prophet (S) that there would be twelve *khulafa'* or *a'immah* after him.

Thereafter the author goes on to deal with another doubt cast on this tradition by Shah 'Abd al-Aziz, that even if it be presumed that *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* does not conflict with the above-mentioned tradition, the word *al-'itrah* can be taken to mean all the Prophet's kinsmen (*aqarib*) belonging to Banu Hashim in general, or all of the descendants of Fatimah (A). Then it would be absurd to say that every individual belonging to them were an *imam*.

Sayyid Hamid Husayn clarifies this doubt by quoting various lexicographers, such as al-Jawhari, Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Manzur, al-Firuzabadi and others to the effect that *'itrah* means one's nearest relations (*akhass*

aqaribih), children (*walad*) and descendants (*dhurriyyah*).

Moreover, he points out, *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* indicates the supreme knowledge as well as freedom of the *'itrah* mentioned in it from sin and error. Such a description applies solely to the Twelve Imams (A), who in their traditions, from 'Ali (A) onwards, have introduced themselves as the *'itrah* of the Prophet (S) and as the supreme authorities of the Islamic faith by the side of the Qur'an.

Tradition n.2

Thereafter, the author deals with another tradition ascribed to the Prophet (S) which too Shah 'Abd al-Aziz claims to be *sahih*:

خدوا شطر دينكم عن هذه الحميراء.

Take part of your religion from this Humayra' (i.e. 'A'ishah).

Sayyid Hamid Husayn points out that many Sunni authorities and scholars have considered it a baseless fabrication and forgery devoid of *isnad*; among them are:

- al-Mizzi and al-Dhahabi as mentioned in *al-Taqrir wa al-tahbir fi sharh al-Tahrir*, iii 99;
- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, who has considered all traditions with the words "ya Humayra" and "al-Humayrah" as fabrications;
- Ibn Kathir as quoted in *al-Durar al-muntashirah fi al-ahadith al-mushtahirah*, 79;
- Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani as quoted in *al-Taqrir wa al-tahbir*, iii, 99;
- as well as Ibn al-Mulaqqin, al-Subki, Ibn Amir al-Hajj, al-Sakhawi, al-Suyuti, al-Shaybani, al-Shaykh 'Ali al-Qari, al-Zarqani, 'Abd al-Ali al-Shawkani and others.

Tradition n.3

Another tradition mentioned by Shah 'Abd al-Aziz to contend the import of *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* is the following one ascribed to the Prophet (S):

اهتدوا بهدي عمار.

Seek guidance with the guidance of 'Ammar.

Sayyid Hamid Husayn points out that such a tradition cannot be put forward to contest the import of *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*, for ‘Ammar himself was one of the staunch followers (*shi’ah*) of ‘Ali (A) and had been instructed by the Prophet (S) to obey and follow ‘Ali (A):

يا عمار, إن عليا لا يزيك عن هدى, يا عمار إن طاعة علي طاعتي وطاعتي من
طاعة الله عز وجل.

[The Prophet (S) said to ‘Ammar:] O ‘Ammar, ‘Ali will not divert you from guidance. O ‘Ammar, obedience to ‘Ali is obedience to me, and obedience to me is obedience to God, Almighty and Glorious.

This tradition has been recorded in various non-Shi’i works, such as:

- *Farai’d al-simtayn*, i, 178;
- *al-Mawaddah fi al-qurba*;
- al-Khwarazmi's *Manaqib*, 57, 124;
- *Yanabi’ al-mawaddah*, 128, 250;
- *Miftah al-naja*, MS.; and
- *Kanz al-’ummal*, xii, 212.

Moreover, it is strange of Shah ‘Abd al-Aziz to bring this tradition as an evidence against *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*, for ‘Ammar, as mentioned by al-Ya’qubi in his *Ta’rikh*, ii, 114 and al-Mas’udi in *Muruj al-dhahab*, ii, 342, was among those who abstained from giving allegiance to the first caliph. ‘Umar, during his reign, rejected ‘Ammar's guidance and spoke to him in harsh terms when the latter suggested that one should perform *tayammum* when water could not be found for *wudu’*, instead of abstaining from *salat*, as ‘Umar had ruled. This episode has been recorded by:

- Ahmad in his *Musnad*, iv, 265 and
- Muslim in his *Sahih*, i, 110,
- as well as a host of other writers such as Abu Dawud, al-Nasa’i, al-Tabari, al-Ayni, Ibn al-Athir and al-Shaybani.

‘Uthman during his reign had ‘Ammar beaten until he fell unconscious and nearly died when the latter handed over a letter of protest written by a group of Muslims against the former's misrule. This episode has been recorded by:

- Ibn Qutaybah in *al-Imamah wa al-siyasah*, i, 32;
- Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih in *al-‘Iqd al-farid*, ii, 192;
- al-Mas’udi in *Muruj al-dhahab*, ii, 338;
- Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr in *al-Isti’ab*, iii, 136; and
- al-Ya’qubi in *Ta’rikh*, ii, 160.

Although the Prophet (S) was known to have made several statements in ‘Ammar’s favour – such as "The enemy of ‘Ammar is the enemy of God" – ‘Ammar was either opposed, hated and mistreated by a number of Companions such as ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Awf, Sa’d ibn Abi Waqqas, al-Mughirah ibn Shu’bah, Abu Musa al-Ash’ari, Abu Mas’ud al-Ansari and others. ‘Ammar stood firmly by ‘Ali’s side and fought with him against ‘Ali’s opponents, Talhah, al-Zubayr and Mu’awiyah, in the battles of Jamal and Siffin. Ultimately he was killed by Mu’awiyah’s men, thus fulfilling the Prophet’s well-known prophecy that ‘Ammar would be killed by a rebellious party (*al-fi’at al-baghiyah*).

Tradition n.4

Sayyid Hamid Husayn then goes on to deal with some other narrations ascribed to the Prophet (S) and cited by Shah ‘Abd al-Aziz, which are:

وتمسكوا بعهد ابن أم عبد.

Hold on to the covenant of Ibn Umm ‘Abd (i.e. ‘Abd Allah ibn Mas’ud).

رضيت لكم ما رضي به ابن أم عبد.

That which Ibn Umm ‘Abd approves of is approved for you by me.

Both of these are weak (*da’if*) and isolated (*ahad*) traditions, while *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* is a *mutawatir* one. That both Muslim and al-Bukhari did not record them in their works indicates that they considered their *isnad* to be weak. Moreover, even if assumed to be authentic they do not contradict *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*, for while they only show the merit of Ibn Mas’ud, *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* signifies the preeminence and leadership of the Ahlul Bayt (A).

Furthermore, it is inconsistent of Shah ‘Abd al-Aziz to advance those traditions, for ‘Umar, instead of

approving Ibn Mas'ud's acts, forbade him to give *fatwa* and narrate the Prophet's hadith and forbade him from leaving Madinah, which Ibn Mas'ud could not leave until the former's death. 'Uthman went a step further and had Ibn Mas'ud beaten so mercilessly that his ribs were broken.

Tradition n.5

Another tradition advanced in this context by Shah 'Abd al-Aziz is:

وَأَعْلَمَكُمْ بِالْحَلَالِ وَالْحَرَامِ مَعَاذَ بَنِ جَبَلٍ.

Mu'adh ibn Jabal is the most knowledgeable among you regarding *halal* and *haram*.

Sayyid Hamid Husayn points out that it has exclusively been narrated by the Sunnis. Muslim and al-Bukhari, although their traditions do not constitute any binding evidence for the Shi'ah, have avoided it in their compilations. Among a number of Sunni authorities who have considered it as weak or baseless are:

- Ibn Taymiyyah,
- Ibn 'Abd al-Hadi,
- al-Dhahabi, and
- al-Munawi.

Among its narrators, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Baylamani, his father, Zayd al-Ammi, Salim ibn Salim have been considered unreliable by several authorities on hadith and rijal, among them:

- al-Bukhari,
- al-Nasa'i,
- al-Muqaddisi,
- al-Darqutni,
- Ibn Hajar,
- al-Dhahabi,
- Ibn al-Jawzi and others.

Moreover, there are episodes recorded in Ibn Sa'd's *al-Tabaqat*, iii, 585 and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *al-Isti'ab*,

iii, 1404 which indicate that Mu'adh did not possess the kind of competence claimed for him in the above tradition.

Tradition n.6

Shah 'Abd al-Aziz advances another tradition ascribed to the Prophet (S) in this context for which he claims a degree of prevalence (*shuhrah*) nearing *tawatur*:

اقتدوا بالذين من بعدي أبي بكر وعمر.

Follow those who will come after me, Abu Bakr and 'Umar.

Hamid Husayn points out that the claim of *shuhrah* is untenable and that a number of Sunni authorities have found fault with it or considered it as baseless, such as:

- Abu Hatim al-Razi, al-Bazzaz and Ibn Hazm as mentioned in *Fath al-Qadir fi sharh al-Jami' al-saghir*, ii, 52;
- al-Tirmidhi, *Sahih*, v, 672;
- al-'Uqayli, *al-Du'afa'*;
- al-Naqqash, as mentioned in *Mizan al-i'tidal*, i, 142;
- al-Darqutni, as mentioned in *Lisan al-mizan*, v, 237;
- al-'Ibri al-Farghani in *Sharh al-Minhaj*, MS;
- al-Dhahabi, *Mizan al-i'tidal*, i, 105;
- Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, *Lisan al-mizan*, i, 188, 272, v, 237; and
- Shaykh al-Islam al-Harawi, *al-Durr al-nadid*, 97.

Ibrahim ibn Isma'il, Isma'il ibn Yahya, Yahya ibn Salamah ibn Kuhayl and Abu al-Za'ra', who have transmitted it have been considered unreliable transmitters by Abu Zur'ah, Abu Hatim, Ibn Numayr, al-Darqutni, al-Bukhari, al-Nasa'i, Ibn Mu'in, Ibn Hibban, al-Tirmidhi and others.

The narrations cited above are advanced by Shah 'Abd al-Aziz to make the point that if *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* be considered as signifying the *imamah* of the Imams of the Ahlul Bayt (A) then these traditions must also be construed as signifying the *imamah* of al-Humayra', 'Ammar, Ibn Mas'ud, Mu'adh ibn Jabal, Abu Bakr and 'Umar. Sayyid Hamid Husayn points out that such a conclusion would follow if

the traditions advanced were authentic.

But as established, in the *'Abaqat*, all of them are weak and unreliable *ahad*, which have no weight in comparison with *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*, which is a *mutawatir* tradition narrated widely by the leading traditionists and scholars of the Ummah from the Shi'ah and the Ahl al-Sunnah.

Tradition n.7

Shah 'Abd al-Aziz cites another narration known as *Hadith al-Nujum* ascribed to the Prophet (S) in support of his argument:

إن أصحابي بمنزلة النجوم في السماء، فأیها أخذتم به اهتديتم، و اختلاف
أصحابي لكم رحمة.

Verily, my Companions are like the stars (*nujum*) in the sky; whichever of them you follow, you shall be guided rightly. The disagreement of my Companions is a blessing for you.

Among Sunni authorities those who have considered this tradition as unreliable are:

- Ahmad ibn Hanbal, as quoted in *al-Taqrir wa al-tahbir*, iii, 99;
- al-Mizzi, as quoted in *Jami' bayan al-'ilm*, ii, 89–90;
- al-Bazzaz, as quoted in *Jami' bayan al-'ilm*, ii, 90;
- Ibn al-Qattan, in *al-Kamil*;
- al-Darqutni, as quoted in *Lisan al-mizan*, ii, 137;
- Ibn Hazm, as quoted in *al-Bahr al-muhit*, v, 528;
- al-Bayhaqi, as quoted in al-Hafiz al-'Iraqi, *Takhrij ahadith al-Minhaj*, MS.;
- Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in *Jami' bayan al-'ilm*, ii, 90–91;
- Ibn 'Asakir as quoted in *Fayd al-Qadir*, iv, 76;
- Ibn al-Jawzi, in *al-'Ilal al-mutanahiyah fi al-ahadith al-wahiyah*, MS.;
- Ibn Dahiyah as quoted in *Ta'liq Takhrij ahadith al-Minhaj*, MS.;
- Abu Hayyan al-Andlusi, in *al-Durr al-laqit min al-Bahr al-muhit* published with *al-Bahr al-muhit*, v,

527–528;

- al-Dhahabi in *Mizan al-i'tidal*, i, 413, ii, 102, ii, 605;
- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah in *I'lam al-muqi'in*, ii, 223;
- Zayn al-Din al-'Iraqi, in *Takhrij ahadith al-Minhaj*, MS.;
- Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, in *Talkhis al-Khabir*, iv, 190–191;
- Ibn al-Humam in *al-Tahrir bi Sharh Ibn Amir al-Hajj*, iii, 99;
- Ibn Amir al-Hajj, *al-Taqrir wa al-tahrir*, iii, 99;
- al-Sakhawi in *al-Maqasid al-hasanah*, 26–27;
- Ibn Abi Sharif, as mentioned in *Fayd al-Qadir*, iv, 76;
- al-Suyuti, *Itmam al-dirayah* and *al-Jami' al-saghir*, iv, 76;
- al-Muttaqi al-Hindi, *Kanz al-'ummal*, vi, 133;
- al-Qari, *al-Mirqat*, v, 523;
- al-Munawi, *al-Taysir fi sharh al-Jami' al-saghir*, ii, 48 and *Fayd al-Qadir*, iv, 76;
- al-Khafaji, in *Nasim al-riyad (sharh of al-Shifa')*, iv, 323–324;
- al-Sindi, *Dirasat al-labib fi al-uswat al-Hasanat al-Habib*, 240;
- al-Qadi Muhibb Allah al-Bihari, in *Musallim al-thubut bi sharh 'Abd al-Ali*, ii, 510;
- Nizam al-Din al-Sahalawi, *al-Subh al-Sadiq (sharh al-Manar)*;
- Al-Mawlawi 'Abd al-Ali, *Fawatih al-rahmut (sharh Musallim al-thubut)*, ii, 510;
- al-Shawkani, in *Irshad al-fuhul*, 83;
- Wali Allah ibn Habib Allah al-Lakhnowi in *Sharh Musallim al-thubut*; and
- Siddiq Hasan Khan al-Qannawji, in *Husul al-ma'mul*, 568.

The tradition is also unacceptable on the following grounds:

1. It not only implies that each and every Companion was righteous himself but was a competent leader and guide of the Ummah; such an implication is false according to consensus, for all of them themselves required guidance.

2. A group of them was guilty of such major sins as adultery, homicide and false witness according to the testimony of history, and it is unreasonable that the Prophet (S) should have appointed such individuals as guides and leaders of the Ummah.
3. There are many verses in the Qur'an, especially in the *surahs* of *al-Anfal*, *al-Bara'ah*, *al-Ahzab*, *al-Jumu'ah* and *al-Munafiqun*, which throw a bad light on the character of a considerable number of the Companions and it is illogical to hold that the Prophet (S) would make such individuals as the leaders and guides of the Ummah.
4. There is a large number of the Prophet's traditions, narrated both in authentic Sunni and Shi'i sources, which make the Companions appear suspect as a group. The above-mentioned narration conflicts with all such authentic traditions. 1
5. There are traditions recorded in Sunni sources which explicitly prohibit the Ummah from following the Companions. According to one recorded by al-Asimi in *Zayn al-fata fi tafsir Surat Hal Ata*, MS., the Prophet (S) is reported to have said:

يكون من أصحابي أحداث بعدي (يعني الفتنة كانت بينهم), فيغفرها الله لهم
لسابقتهم, إن اقتدى بهم قوم من بعدهم كبهم الله في نار جهنم.

There will be innovations perpetrated by my Companions after me (i.e. the *fitnah* that occurred amongst them). God shall forgive them due to their earlier record (of good deeds), but if a people follow them after them, God shall throw them into Hellfire.

6. Some of the Companions are on record as having made statements that imply the denial that they possessed the competence to be followed as guides and leaders. Abu Bakr and 'Umar have made numerous statements about themselves which reveal their incompetence as guides who can be followed, like the Quran, without qualms. 2

Aware of the difficulty involved in the adoption of the *Hadith al-Nujum*, Shah 'Abd al-Aziz admits that some Companions are known for certain to have erred in their *ijtihad* because it conflicted with the express commands (*nusus*) of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. However, he submits, the Companions may be followed in matters when there exist no express commands in the Book and the Sunnah.

Sayyid Hamid Husayn replies by pointing out that:

1. one who is known for certain to have erred in his judgements cannot be a legitimate guide.
2. Secondly, when the Companions are known to have erred in matters where there exist express texts in the Book and the Sunnah, the possibility of error is greater in matters where there are no such

express texts.

3. Thirdly, he points out, it is not permissible to follow one who may err when there exist guides the righteousness of whose guidance and whose freedom from error or sin (*'ismah*) has been guaranteed by God. The Verse of *al-Tathir* (33:33) and *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*, as well as a great number of other verses and ahadith, introduce the Imams of Ahlul Bayt (A) as possessing the quality of *'ismah*.
4. Fourthly, the Companions disagreed amongst themselves concerning the laws of the Shari'ah, including those which did not possess express texts. In such a situation it is highly improper to consider them as stars of the firmament of guidance.
5. Fifthly, the Companions often found fault with one another, sometimes violating all limits of moderation in attributing falsehood, ignorance and even *kufir* to one another, as recorded in the books of the Ahl al-Sunnah. Obviously, no rational person will accept all of them as the righteous guides of Muslims.
6. There were individuals amongst the Companions who practiced analogy (*qiyas*) which has been condemned by a large number of the legists of the Ummah.
7. There were individuals among them, including the first three caliphs, who turned to others to find out the rule of the Shari'ah concerning an emergent issue. It is illogical to imagine that the Prophet (S) would designate ignorant persons as authorities for the Ummah in doctrinal and legal matters. There were some among them who did not understand the meanings of certain words of the Qur'an, such as 'Umar, who, for instance, did not know the meaning of *'kalalah'*. Al-Tabari in his exegesis, iv, 283–284, has recorded 'Umar 's own statement in this regard.
8. Some of them were guilty of usurious transactions,³ sale of wine,⁴ or of giving *fatwa* without knowledge,⁵ and sometimes in opposition to the Prophet's express command.⁶ Some of them were guilty of instituting innovations contrary to the Prophet's Sunnah.⁷

1. Al-Bukhari in his Sahih (Kitab al-ruqaq, hadith no. 1441) narrates the following mutawatir tradition of the Prophet (S) from Anas ibn Malik:

حدثنا مسلم بن إبراهيم، حدثنا وهيب حدثنا عبد العزيز عن انس عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: ليردن علي ناس من أصحابي الحوض حتى إذا عرفتهم اختلجوا دوني فأقول أصحابي فيقول لا تدري ما أحدثوا بعدك.

Al-Bukhari reports from Muslim ibn Ibrahim, from Wuhayb from `Abd al-Aziz, from Anas that the Prophet (S) said: "A group of my Companions will be brought to me on the Pond (of al-Kawthar) and as soon as I recognize them they shall be dragged away. I would say, '(God! Aren't they) my Companions?' (God) would say, 'You don't know what they did after you.'

According to another version of this tradition (no. 1442) the Prophet (S) would be told:

إنك لا علم لك بما أحدثوا بعدك إنهم ارتدوا على أديبارهم القهقري

You have no knowledge of what they did after you. They went back in a retrogressive manner (i.e. apostasized).

Al-Bukhari narrates similar traditions on the authority of Hudhayfah (no 1435), `Abd Allah (no. 1435), Sahl ibn Sa`d (no. 1442), Abu Sa`id al-Khudri (no 1442), Ibn `Abbas (no. 1442), Abu Hurayrah (no 1443), and Asma' bint Abi Bakr (no. 1449) in "Kitab al-ruqaq", as well as elsewhere in "Kitab al-tafsir" and "Kitab bad' al-khalq". The same tradition with various wordings is also recorded by Muslim, Abu Dawud, al-Tirmidhi, al-Nasa'i, Ibn Majah, Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal in their books (as well as Imam Malik in al-Muwatta', "Kitab al-taharah", hadith no.28) from several Companions. Imam Malik reports the following tradition in his al-Muwatta', "Kitab al-jihad", hadith no.32:

أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لشهداء أحد ((هؤلاء أشهد عليهم)) فقال أبو بكر الصديق: السنا يا رسول الله باخوانهم؟ أسلمنا كما أسلموا، ((وجاهدنا كما جاهدوا؟ فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ((بلى. ولكن لا أدري ما تحدثون بعدي)).

"The Prophet (S) said concerning the martyrs of Uhud, "I shall bear witness for them (i.e. their faith)." Thereupon Abu Bakr said, "O Messenger of Allah, aren't we their brethren, who embraced Islam like them and did jihad like them?" The Prophet (S) replied, "Yes, but I don't know what you will do after me ..."

See, for instance, *Adwa' `ala al-Sunnat al-Muhammadiyah*, pp.339-363, by Mahmud Abu Riyyah, a Sunni scholar, and *Nahj al-haqq wa kashf al-sidq*, pp.262-375, by al-Allamah al-Hilli concerning the large number of Qur'anic verses and Prophetic traditions which decisively negate the very possibility of considering each and every Companion as a star of the skies of guidance.

2. Ibn Sa`d in his *al-Tabaqat* (Leiden, 1322), iii, part 1, p. 129 reports that in a sermon that Abu Bakr delivered after taking charge of the caliphate, he declared, "I am only a man, and I am not better than any of you. So obey me when I go straight and correct me when you see me deviate. You should know that (at times) I am overwhelmed by a devil, so when you see me in a state of rage keep away from me." Similar statements by him have been reported by:

al-Tabari in his *Ta'rikh* (Cairo, 1357), ii, 440;

Ibn Qutaybah in *al-Imamah wa al-siyasah* (Matba`at al-Futuh al-Adabiyah, 1331), 6;

al-Haythami in *Majma` al-zawa'id* (1352), v, 183;

al-Muttaqi in *Kanz al-ummal* (Hyderabad, 1312), ii, 136;

and others.

`Umar, the Second Caliph, is on record as often having made such statements as "Everyone has a better knowledge (of the Shari`ah) than `Umar" (*kullu ahadin a`lamu min `Umar*) and "All the people have better understanding (of the Shari`ah) than `Umar" (*kullu ahadin afqahu min `Umar*). See:

al-Bayhaqi, *Sunan* (Hyderabad, 1344), vii, 233;

al-Suyuti, *al-Durr al-manthur* (al-Matba`at al-Maymaniyyah, 1314), under verses 4:20 and 34:13;

al-Zamakhshari, *al-Kashshaf* (Egypt, 1354) under verses 4:20 and 34:13;

al-Muttaqi, *Kanz al-ummal*, viii, 298;

al-Haythami in *Majma` al-zawa'id*, iv, 263.

3. Here the author of the `Abaqat has cited the tradition of `A'ishah which describes a usurious transaction between Zayd ibn Arqam and a woman. The tradition is mentioned by:

`Abd al-Razzaq in *al-Musannaf*,

Imam Ahmad in his *Musnad*,

al-Jassas in *Ahkam al-Qur'an*,

al-Sarakhsi in *al-Mabsut*,

al-Dabusi in *Ta'sis al-nazar*, as well as a host of Sunni legists, traditionists and exegetes in their works.

4. Here the author cites traditions from the works of al-Bukhari, Muslim, al-Darimi, Ibn Abi Shaybah, al-Nasa'i, Ibn al-Athir, al-Ghazzali, al-Muttaqi, Ibn Khaldun and Abu Hilal al-Askari concerning the sale of wine by certain Companions.

5. Here the author has cited three instances of such baseless fatawa by Abu Musa al-Ash`ari.

6. Here the author has cited an episode of `Umar ibn al-Khattab who gave a fatwa contrary to the Prophet's command from

al-Suyuti's Miftah al-jannah.

7. Here the author has given several instances of violation of the Sunnah by Mu`awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan.

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