Outlines of the Development of the Science of Hadith
Part 1

The word *hadith*, according to the dictionary, has several meanings such as “new,” “novel,” “recent,” “modern,” and “speech”, “report,” “account,” and “narrative.” However, in Islamic context, the term *hadith* means “Prophetic tradition” or “narrative relating deeds and utterances of the Prophet (S).” According to some, even the account of a dream linked with the Holy Prophet (S) is also included in the category of *hadith*.

In most cases, the words *sunnah* and *hadith* are used as interchangeable synonyms by the scholars of the science of *hadith*. The author of the book *Talwih* says: “*Sunnah* is a more general term than *hadith*, and includes everything related to the Prophet (S) except the Qur’an: his speech – which is *hadith* – and his behaviour and character.” According to another opinion, since the majority of Sunni Muslims believe in Qur’an’s being sempiternal (*qadim*), everything else except the Qur’an from the Prophet (S) came to be called *hadith*, a word closely related with *hadith* meaning “incidental” as opposed to “eternal”.

Some are of the opinion that the sayings of the *Sahabah* (the Companions of the Prophet) and the *Tabi’un* (the second generation after the Holy Prophet (S)) can also be included under the term *hadith*. On the other hand, for the Shi’a authorities on *hadith*, the term can properly include only the narratives relating the speech, biographical details and deeds of the Prophet (S) and the Imams (A).
Here, we consider it necessary first to explain certain terms related to our discussion.

**Sunnah:** The term in general means “habitual practice” or “customary procedure,” and in particular applies to the sayings and doings of the religious leaders who are *ma’sum*\(^5\) (i.e. the Prophet and the Imams, who are considered as being free of sin and error). Accordingly, the term is employed by the side of the Book (Qur’an). *Sunnah* is used in a sense that is wider than that of *hadith*, although in some of the Sunni texts of tradition, such as of Ibn Maja, al-Bayhaqi and others, the term signifies *hadith*. The authorities of *hadith* differ as to meanings covered by *hadith* and *khabar* (report).

While some consider the terms as being synonymous, others are of the opinion that *khabar* is a term which is more general than *hadith*. According to them, *khabar* applies to every narrative regarding the Prophet (S), while *hadith* is taken to mean a narration quoting the Prophet (S) himself\(^6\). Some, as pointed out above, apply the term *hadith* to the sayings of the *Sahabah* and *Tabi’un* in addition. Accordingly, every *hadith* is also a *khabar*, though every *khabar* is not a *hadith*; though some regard the terms as being inter-changeable synonyms\(^7\).

**Riwayah:** This term is synonymous with *hadith*. According to the author of *Majma’ al-bahrayn*, “*Riwayah* is a *khabar* that is traceable through a series of narrators to a *ma’sum*\(^8\).”

**Athar:** Shaykh Baha’i in his *Nihayat al-dirayah* considers *athar* as being identical with *hadith*. Others impute to it a wider meaning. Still others confine its meaning to narrations that go back to the *Sahabah*\(^9\).

**Hadith-i Qudsi:** *Hadith-i qudsi* is defined as the Divine communication whose revelation is not the part of the Qur’anic miracle. Sayyid Sharif Jurjani says: “[*Hadith-i qudsi*] is from God, the Most Exalted, from the point of view of meaning, and from the Prophet (S) from the viewpoint of actual wording. It constitutes what God has communicated to the Prophet through revelation or in dreams. The Prophet – upon whom be peace – informed others of its meaning in his own words. Accordingly, the Qur’an is superior to the *hadith-i qudsi*, because it is the actual Word of God.”

There are six points of differences between the Qur’an and the *hadith-i qudsi*: Firstly, the Qur’an is a Divine miracle; this does not necessarily apply to the *hadith-i qudsi*. Secondly, *salat* (prayer) is not valid without recitation of parts of the Qur’an; this is not so in the case of the *hadith-i qudsi*. Thirdly, one who rejects the Qur’an is regarded as a *kafir* (an unbeliever); this does not hold true in the case of the *hadith-i qudsi*. Fourthly, whole of the Qur’an was communicated to the Prophet (S) through the agency of the Angel Gabriel; this does not apply to *hadith-i qudsi*. Fifthly, every word of the Qur’an is the Word of God, but the wordings of the *hadith-i qudsi* may be ascribed to the Prophet (S). Sixthly, the Qur’an cannot be touched without *taharah* (the condition of bodily purity as prescribed by the *Shari‘ah*) and this condition does not apply to the *hadith-i qudsi*\(^10\).
The Holy Prophet of Islam (S), for a period of 23 years from the beginning of his prophetic mission to the moment of his death, was directly involved in the process of guidance and leadership of the people. The multifarious kinds of questions that arose for the Muslims in relation with their needs converged upon the Holy Prophet. The Prophet responded to their questions through explanations and discussions whose variety increased with the progress of Islam to the extent of enveloping all aspects of the moral, social and civic affairs of Muslims.

The new society that emerged during this period was significant and important from every aspect. The Muslims who were the contemporaries of the Prophet had the advantage of personal recourse to him and chance of putting to him various questions regarding their social life. However, as long as the Prophet lived, and the source of Divine Revelation was in the midst of the Muslims, the great importance of recording his words was not fully realized.

Nevertheless, soon after the Prophet's death, the Muslims realized the imminent need of recording the hadith so as to avoid the problems that would arise in the future generations.

Accordingly, from the time of the first caliph, the need for recording of hadith was distinctly felt by the Muslim society. It should not remain unsaid that `Ali (A), the first Imam of the Shi`ah Muslims, had with characteristic foresight, pioneered the task of recording the Prophet's sayings during the Prophet's lifetime itself. Word for word, he wrote down what he had heard from the Prophet (S). The author of Ta'sis al-shi`ah writes:

...Know that the Shi`ah were the first to embark on collecting the records of the acts and sayings of the Prophet (S) during the era of the caliphs. They followed in the footsteps of their Imam `Ali, Amir al-Mu`minin (A), for, he had recorded and categorized the hadith during the times of the Holy Prophet. Al-Shaykh Abu al-Abbas al-Najashi, in the translation of Muhammad Ibn `Adhafar, said: “I was with Hakam ibn `Ayyinah by the side of Abu Ja`far Muhammad ibn `Ali al–Baqir (A). Hakam started asking questions with Abu Ja`far reluctantly answering them.

There was a disagreement between them about one thing. Then Abu Ja`far said: “Son, get up and bring `Ali’s book.” He brought a big voluminous book and opened it. He looked closely in it for a while until he found the problem (which was under debate). Abu Ja`far (A) said: “This is the handwriting of `Ali and the dictation of the Messenger of Allah, upon whom be God's peace and benedictions.”

This tradition is in agreement with what I found in Najashi's Rijal. In addition, two other sources confirm the contents of the abovementioned hadith.

Another narration that confirms the attention devoted by the Shi`ah to recording of hadith is that of an incident from the life of Fatimah al–Zahra(A). One day Fatimah (A) could not find a manuscript in which
hadith was recorded. She reportedly urged her housemaid to search for it, saying, “Look for it. It is as precious to me as my sons Hasan and Husayn.”

Among the Ahl al-Sunnah, the recording of hadith started after the Holy Prophet's death, and that too after prolonged controversies between groups who favoured and opposed it. In this connection, 'A'ishah reports: “My father Abu Bakr had collected five–hundred hadith of the Messenger of Allah and one day he burnt them all.”

There are several narrations regarding the second caliph which indicate that he stopped people from relating the Holy Prophet's traditions.

The recording of hadith among the Sunnis started from the early second century when the Umayyad caliph 'Umar ibn `Abd al-`Aziz ordered their collection and compilation. As is widely accepted, Ibn Jurayj was the first person to record and compile hadith among the Sunnis.

Here it is worth mentioning that apart from the Household of the Prophet (S), their Shi`ah followers preceded the Sunnis in their effort to record the hadith. Abu Rafi` was the first man to begin the task along with the members of the Prophet's Household (A). However, there were also several others who took up this task at the time of Abu Rafi`, or after him. Among them were: `Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Rafi`, `Ali ibn Abi Rafi`, Salman al–Farisi, Abu Dharr al–Ghifari, Asbagh ibn Nubatah and others.

The Shi`ah recorders of hadith can be divided into four groups:

1. In the first group, besides `Ali ibn Abi-Talib (A) and Fatimah al–Zahra’ (A), were Abu Rafi`, Salman al–Farisi, Maytham al–Tammar, Asbagh ibn Nubatah, Mujashi`i al–Kufi, `Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Rafi`, Harth ibn `Abd Allah al–A`war al–Hamdani, Rabi`ah ibn Sami`, Salim ibn Qays, `Ali ibn Abi Rafi`, `Abd Allah ibn Hurr, Muhammad ibn Qays al–Bajali, Ya`la ibn Murrah, Jabir ibn `Abd Allah al–Ansari.

2. In the second group were Imam `Ali ibn al–Husayn Zayn al–`Abidin (A), Ja`far ibn Yazid al–Ju`fi, Zayd ibn `Ali, Husayn ibn Thawr, Ziyad ibn al–Mundhir.

3. In the third group can be said to belong Yahya ibn Qasim, `Abd al–Mu`min, Zurarah ibn A`yun, Muhammad ibn Muslim, Bassim al–Sayrafi, Abu `Ubaydah al–Hadhdha`, Zakariyya ibn `Abd Allah, Thawrab ibn Qamamah, Majd ibn Mughirah, Muhammad ibn Za`idah al–Khadrami, Mu`awiyah ibn `Amarah, Matlab al–Zahri, `Abd Allah ibn Maymun.

4. This group of recorders of the hadith comprised of more than four–thousand of the people of Iraq, Hijaz, Khurasan and Sham (Syria), who related traditions from Imam Muhammad al–Baqir (A) or Imam Ja`far al–Sadiq (A).

The pioneers in recording of the hadith among the Sunnis were Ibn Jurayj in Mecca; Ibn Ishaq and Malik in Medina; Rabii` ibn Sabih, Sa`id ibn Abi `Urubah, Hammad ibn Salamah in Basra; Sufyan ibn Thawri in Kufa; al–Awza`i in Syria, Haytham in Wasit; Mu`ammar in Yemen, Jarir ibn `Abd al–Hamid in Rey, and
Ibn Mubarak in Harran

However, there is a disagreement among the Sunni scholars about who first started recording hadith. According to Ibn Hajr, Rabi` ibn Sabih (died 160/777) and Sa`id ibn Abi `Urubah (died 156/773) were pioneers in this field; they were followed by Malik in Medina and `Abd al–Malik ibn Jurayj in Mecca, who pursued the task of recording hadith. But according to Haji Khalifah, `Abd al–Malik ibn Jurayj and Malik ibn Anas were the first ones to do so, and the first man to classify them and divide them into chapters was Rabi` ibn Sabih.

In any case, regardless of who it was to first record hadith among the Ahl al–Sunnah, whether Rabi` ibn Sabih or Malik or Sa`id ibn Abi `Urubah, all of them belong to the second century of Hijra, and lived one hundred years after the Shi`ah had already started this work.

As we mentioned above, the Muslims recognized the need to record the words of the Prophet (S) right after his demise; because they knew that it was the only way to safeguard the future generations against various problems. The realization of the significance of this work grew gradually.

After the Prophet (S) his close companions formed the primary source of hadith. During their lifetimes, the solution of various problems that arose could still be found and the narrations of the Sahabah served as the guiding torch for the generation that followed them, the Tabi`un. It was during the generation of the Tabi`un that the Sahabah were questioned about various issues and their narrations were committed to writing.

This was the beginning of the science of hadith. Hadith served as the key to the understanding of the Qur`an, and became an addendum to the Book for the Muslims. However, as pointed out earlier, the Shi`ah had felt this need earlier during the lifetime of the Prophet himself.

From the time that Muslims began to realize the need for collection and recording of ahadith, they took great pains in this regard. A man like Jabir ibn `Abd Allah al–Ansari would cover months on camel–back to hear a hadith.

The number of the Companions of the Prophet from whom traditions have been related is put somewhere near 114 in some books. The most important of them were: `Ali ibn Abi–Talib (A), `Abd Allah ibn Mas`ud, Salman al–Farisi, Ubayy ibn Ka`ab, `Ammar ibn Yasir, Hudhayfah ibn al–Yaman, `Abd al–Rahman ibn `Awf, Anas ibn Malik, Abu Musa al–Ash`ari, `A`ishah, `Umar ibn al–Khattab, Abu Hurayrah, `Abd Allah ibn al–`Abbass, `Ubadah ibn Samit, Jabir ibn `Abd Allah al–Ansari, Abu Sa`id al–Khudri.

Among the Tabi`un, there were such as Sha`bi, Ibn Musayyab, Ibn Sirin, and others.

The author of Tadrib al–rawi puts the number of traditions narrated from each of the Companions in the diminishing order as follows:
1. Abu Hurayrah: 5,374 hadith.
2. `Abd Allah ibn `Umar: 2,630 hadith.
3. `Aʾishah: 2,208 hadith.

There is none among the rest of companions to be accredited with narration of more than one thousand traditions. Evidently, the political conditions prevalent during the Umayyad rule did not permit narration of hadith from `Ali (A) and his followers. It is worth mentioning that not all of the first narrators of hadith were equally reliable.

This issue will be discussed later in the chapter on dirayat al-hadith (critical examination of hadith). But before we enter the discussion on dirayat al-hadith, its origin and development, it is necessary to study the course of development of the science of hadith among the Shiʿah and the Ahl al-Sunnah from the point of view of style of compilation of the texts during various periods.

**Hadith Among the Shiʿah: The Four-hundred Usul**

As said above, the work of compilation of hadith among the Shiʿah started during the life of the Prophet (S). The texts which were compiled by the early Shiʿah scholars were called “Usul.” It should however be admitted that these texts were not without defect from the point of view of the art of writing and compilation; for, most of the authors of these texts were those who had heard the hadith from one of the Imams, in particular, from Imam Muhammad al-Baqir and Imam Jaʿfar al-Sadiq (A), writing them down in notebooks.

These notebooks composed by the Shiʿah scholars, containing the traditions heard from one of the Imams, or heard from someone who had heard the Imam, came to be called “Usul.” Out of these texts compiled from the era of `Ali (A) to the time of Imam Hasan al-ʾAskari, the eleventh Imam, the popular ones were four-hundred in number by different authors. Each of them contained a number of hadith written without any attention being paid to the sequence or classification according to the subject. Most of these traditions exist in the al-Mahasin al-Barqi, al-Kafi, Man la Yahduruhu al-faqih.

Some of them are found in Tahdhib. It appears that most of these notebooks existed in the Shahpur Karkh Library of Baghdad and were lost when Tughrul the Turk burnt the city on conquering it in the year 448/1056. Others which escaped this calamity, and other disasters, were preserved until the time of Ibn Idris and Ibn Taʾwus and were available to them. Some, more than two-hundred of them, have survived.
to our own times. These notebooks usually go with the prefix “kitab” and often “nawadir”. Thirteen of them exist in the library of the Tehran University in the manuscript file number 962. Twelve of them are “kitab” and one is “nawadir”. These are:

1. Kitab Zayd al-Zad;
2. Kitab Ghasfari;
4. Kitab Zayd al-Nirsi;
5. Kitab Ja`far al-Hadrami;
6. Kitab Muhammad al-Hadrami;
7. Kitab `Abd al-Malik ibn Hakim;
8. Kitab Muthanna ibn Walid al-Hannat;
9. Kitab Haddad al-Sindi;
10. Kitab Husayn ibn `Uthman;
11. Kitab Kahili;
12. Kitab Salam Khurasani;

The Four Books

The later Shi`ah scholars of hadith compiled four great collections from the aforementioned notebooks or Usul which became the most important texts of hadith in the Shi`ah world receiving hitherto unprecedented popularity. These four books were the following:

1. Al-Kafi: It was compiled by Shaykh Abu Ja`far Muhammad ibn Ya`qub al-Kulayni al-Razi (died 329/940) which contains 16,099 musnad (documented) hadith narrated from the Ahl al-Bayt (the Household of the Prophet).

2. Man la yahduruhu al-faqih: It was compiled by Shaykh Saduq Abu Ja`far Muhammad ibn `Ali ibn Babwayhi al-Qummi (died 381/991) who is known as “Shaykh-i Ajal” or “Saduq al-Ta`ifah”. This book contains 9,044 hadith.

3. Al-Tahdhib: It was compiled by Abu Ja`far Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Tusi (died 460/1068) also
known as “Shaykh al-Ta’ifah” (The chief of the sect). This book contains 13,590 hadith.

4. **Al-Istibsar**: This book was also compiled by Shaykh Tusi, and contains 5,511 hadith. The book is divided into four parts.

It is necessary to mention here that the four hundred “Usul” were widely quoted and narrated by the Shi’ah muhaddithin (scholars of hadith) until a comprehensive compilation called al-Mahasin was done by Shaykh Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khalid al-Barqi, who died in the second half of the third century of Hijra. His book contained a large number of ahadith arranged in numerous chapters. The al-Mahasin set an example which opened a new era in the history of the science of Shi’ah hadith; because it was after him that others took up the task of collection, compilation and classification of ahadith, which were until then scattered in hundreds of Usul.

This trend led to the emergence of the four authoritative compilations of hadith during the fourth and fifth centuries. Since then, they have been considered the greatest sources of hadith for the Shi`ah and served as the primary sources for the later day writers.

**The Age of Exposition**

After the compilation of the four great texts of hadith, the next stage was that of exposition. During this period, the attention of most of the scholars was devoted to writing of commentaries and exposition of these texts. A large number of commentaries were written on each of these texts. In spite of the fact that most of these commentaries have, in the course of time, been forgotten and lie buried in libraries, more than 120 of these commentaries and exegeses have come down to our times.

However, this phase of exposition should be regarded as a period of languour in the history of development of the science of hadith; because, instead of a gradual growth, it marked a stage when most of the discussions went round and round in a definite circle without any progress or breakthrough. This situation lasted until the time of Safavid rule. With the formal recognition of the Shi`ah faith as the state religion from the early times of the Safavis, the study of hadith commenced growth once again.

**The Age of Great Scholars and Great Books**

Great scholars of hadith appeared in the Shi`ah world during the period of Safavid rule. These men restored the leading role of the Shi`ah in this field, with the result that after ages of neglect and stagnation, the study of hadith entered its golden age. At the close of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelveth, for once again, the study of hadith received the attention of great scholars.

The most prominent among them were Muhammad ibn Murtada Mulla Muhsin Fayd al-Kashani (died 1091/1680), Muhammad ibn Hasan al–Hurr al–`Amili (died 1104/1692–93) and Mulla Muhammad Baqir ibn Muhammad Taqi al–Majlisi (died 1111/1699–1700). Each of them has left behind a precious scholarly
work. These works are the following:

1. **Kitab al-jami` al-Wafi**: It is the work of Mulla Muhsin Fayd al-Kashani. This book comprises of the four aforementioned classical texts of *hadith*. In this book, which is a very precious work from every aspect, the repetitive *ahadith* have been deleted and expositions have been written on the difficult ones.

2. **Wasa'il al-Shi`ah**: Its author is Shaykh Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Hurr al-`Amili. This book, like the above one, combines the four classical texts of *hadith* and draws upon other sources also.

3. **Bihar al-Anwar**: It is what can be called an encyclopedia of Shi`ah *hadith*. It is the work of `Allamah Muhammad Baqir al-Majlisi and is the greatest work of *hadith* compiled either among the Sunnis or the Shi`ah. In this work, in addition to the Shi`ah sources, there are plenty of *ahadith* drawn from the Sunni sources. In spite of the great amount of labour and pain borne by al-`Allamah al-Majlisi, it should be admitted that the book is an unfinished masterpiece; since, he could not succeed in eliminating many weak traditions from his great work.

Had al-Majlisi lived for another decade, he might have been successful in producing a true “ocean of light” full of precious pearls and corals and mines of pure gold. The task of extracting its precious pearls and gold from this unfathomable ocean and clearing its treasures of their adhering mud and fungus remains for us to accomplish.

**The Age of Further Research**

After the age of al-Majlisi, another age followed in which the study of *hadith* made valuable progress. The scholars of this period did not abandon the pursuits of such men as Fayd al-Kashani, al-Hurr al-`Amili, and al-`Allamah al-Majlisi; rather they adhered to this path with greater care and attention to the new sophisticated criteria of authorship.

Among those who have left worthy books in the field of the science of *hadith* can be named `Allamah Muhammad Husayn ibn `Allamah al-Taqi, and Muhammad Nuri al-Mazandarani al-Tabarsi, the latter of whom wrote the *Kitab mustadrak al-wasa`il wa mustanbat al-masa`il*, which was finished in 1319/1901, adding several chapters to the *Kitab al-wasa`il al-shi`ah*. This book is the greatest compilation of the *ahadith* of the Shi`ah faith. `Allamah Nuri died in the year 1320/1902 in the city of Najaf.

In this brilliant period there lived such great men as the late Ayatullah Haj Aqa Husayn Burujardi, whose work changed the status of several thousand *hadith*. It is hoped that the Shi`ite and Sunni scholars of our times, working together, may be able to make greater achievements in this field.
Hadith Among the Ahl Al-Sunnah – The First Recorders

According to Kashf al-Zunun, when the Companions of the Prophet (S) began to die one after another, the need to record the hadith became evident. It is also maintained that the first person to compose a book in Islam was Ibn Jurayj. The next to be compiled was the al-Muwatta’ of Imam Malik (died 179/795), and Rabi` ibn Sabih of Basra was the first man to compile a book with different chapters.

Al-Sihah al-Sittah or the ‘Six Authentic Texts’

The work of compilation of hadith continued until the time of Imam al-Bukhari and Imam Muslim, who were followed by al-Tirmidhi, Abu Da’ud al-Sijistani, al-Nasa’i and others. Imam Malik, who lived in Mecca in his al-Muwatta’ compiled the ahadith with a sequence based on the principles of jurisprudence. Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal, in his Musnad classified the ahadith in various chapters each devoted to a separate Companion of the Prophet (S) from whom the narration was quoted.

After them Imam al-Bukhari classified the traditions according to region: he devoted separate sections to ahadith narrated by people of Hijaz, Iraq and Syria. Imam Muslim deleted the repetitive ahadith and put them in various chapters corresponding with various aspects of fiqh and other chapters dealing with biographical details. After them, Abu Da’ud, al-Tirmidhi and al-Nasa’i extended the scope of the work devoting greater attention to classification of the material.

Works Based on Al-Sihah Al-Sittah

The period of the first compilers of hadith was followed by those who compiled their own collections from al-Sihah al-Sittah, summarizing and rearranging the ahadith such as `Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Hamid ibn Abu Bakr, Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Raqani and Abu Mas’ud Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Dimashqi who combined the books of al-Bukhari and Muslim.

After them, Abu al-Hasan Zarin ibn Mu`awiyah combined the books of al-Muwatta’ and al-Jami` of al-Tirmidhi and the Sunan of Abu Da’ud and al-Nasa’i and the works of Muslim and Bukhari. After him Ibn Athir combined the six classical texts (al-sihah al-sittah) and the book of Zarin, producing a work more organized than that of Zarin. After that al-Suyuti combined al-sihah al-sittah and the ten masanid (plural of musnad) and called his book Jam` al-Jawami’, which however retains several weak ahadith.

Conclusion

To sum up, it may be said that the primary purpose of the first compilers of hadith was to record the narrations without any attention to the principles and techniques of compilation and bookwriting. It may even be said that in the beginning the purpose was not even that of composing a book; rather the aim was to record and preserve the ahadith in individual notebooks.
During the second stage, though there was a conscious purpose of composing books, the works had many defects; for the *ahadith* lacked order and classification forcing the reader to go through the whole book while searching for a certain *hadith*.

The third phase was that of classification of the *ahadith* in which every author divided them into chapters in his own way: one would classify them on the basis of *fiqhi* issues and another preferred classification according to the land of origin of the narrators.

During the fourth phase, the compilers deleted the repetitive *ahadith* making the job of the reader a bit easier.

In the fifth phase, the experts of *hadith* began to examine the traditions from various angles, such as studying them from the point of view of various jurists and for discovery of new points – a matter which we shall discuss in greater detail in a proper chapter. During this stage the whole bulk of *hadith* came under critical study and endeavour was made to collect them in a single work.  

2. Tadrib al–rawi.
7. Ibid; see also Dehkhuda, Loghatnameh, vol. V, 399; see also Tadrib al–rawi, p.6.
10. Dehkhudi, Loghatnameh, vol V, 398; see also The Encyclopedia of Islam, p.28.
13. There is no doubt that the “Four–hundred Usul”, which will be mentioned later in our discussion, were based on the traditions conveyed by the Ahl al–Bayt.
16. Ibid, p.7. See also Fajr al–Islam, p.265, Parto–e Islam, 245
23. Ibid, pp.266–268
24. Kashf al–zunun, p.637
26. Ibid. See also Fajr al–Islam, p.265 and Parto–e Islam, p.264.
Part 2

Reasons Behind Emergence of `Ilm Dirayat al-Hadith

Unfortunately on account of various reasons, some of which we shall mention shortly, the *hadith* did not remain immune from forgery and other problems. A great number of incorrect traditions found way into collections of prophetic sayings. The task of separating genuine traditions from apocryphal material was as necessary as that of removing weeds from a flower bed; as in case of weeds, their identification and removal was not an easy task, nor could they be left to flourish untouched, threatening the genuine material itself.

This was the reason why religious scholars, in their capacity as vigilant gardeners of the Faith, began to look for ways of separating forged material from genuine *hadith*. They needed new tools for this task, which was not an easy one, as is evident from the fact that despite centuries of scholarly efforts the remnants of these dangerous and destructive weeds have continued to survive.

As to how these weeds found their way into the flower beds of prophetic tradition, here are some of the
important reasons:

1. There were some who wilfully sprinkled the seeds of such weeds, and dedicatedly looked after their growth and survival. Amongst them were supporters of Banu Umayyah and other opponents of Islam who dissembled adherence to it.

2. Emergence of various sects in Islam led to forgeries by followers of different sects who wished to produce documentary evidence in favour of their own sect and to detriment of their opponents.

3. Fabrications made by the devout about virtues of piety and abstinence from evil, who imagined that by this means they would be better equipped to guide others.

4. Inclusion of Jewish myths, a process which was stimulated by the popular sense of curiosity and the people's interest in the lives and times of former prophets. Such imaginative accounts are replete in narrations regarding the lives and deeds of prophets – such as the account related by al-Tabari on the authority of Ibn Munabbih. According to this account, the serpent, formerly, had hands and legs; but since it allowed the Devil to enter its belly, God had made its limbs to sink into its stomach!

5. Tribal and regional prejudices and rivalries, which incited some to forge traditions to be produced as evidence of their superiority over others – as is evident from traditions related to some cities.

6. Personal ambition was another stimulant which prompted some to be included among the scholars of hadith through forgery.

7. Fabrication of hadith as a means of procurement of personal gain or of earning goodwill of the caliph in power.

8. Controversies and differences among jurists (fuqaha) prompted some scholars to fabricate traditions to be invoked in support of their own legal positions.

9. Story-tellers and reciters of fables, admittedly, were not averse to letting their imagination wander into the domain of hadith.

Due to the above-mentioned and other reasons besides, a critical examination of hadith was necessary. As a result of the efforts made by Muslim scholars in this regard, a new branch was created in the science of hadith: it came to be called “dirayat al-ahadith”.

The Nihayat al-dirayah defines dirayat al-ahadith in these words: “It is a science which investigates the isnad, contents, subject and the mode of transmission of ahadith, so that acceptable traditions can be separated from unacceptable ones.”
The emergence of `ilm dirayat al-hadith was followed by its division into numerous branches. Certain rules and guidelines were evolved for distinguishing reliable from unreliable ahadith. The body of such rules came to be called “mustalah al-hadith”, which together with `ilm al-rijal (lit. science of men), formed the means of scrutinizing hadith material.

However, for this purpose, knowledge of other preliminaries such as Arabic grammar and syntax, familiarity with literary style and form, knowledge of abrogated (mansukh) and the abrogating (nasikh) verses of the Qur'an, knowledge of the history of Islam and that of various Islamic sects and their beliefs, and other details regarding hadith, is necessary.

Haji Khalifah, in his Kashf al-zunun defines `ilm al-dirayah in this manner: “`Ilm dirayat al-hadith, which discusses the content and meaning of the words of hadith on the basis of Arabic grammar and syntax, and shari' criteria, and examines their correspondence with the circumstances of the Messenger of Allah (S), linguistic standards of Arabic sciences and reports about the Messenger (S), consists of `ilm al-rijal, (the science of narrators, their names, genealogical lineages, lifetimes, their dates of death, their characters and circumstances of reception and transmission of hadith, as well as its topic or subject) and aims to distinguish acceptable from unacceptable traditions.

It entails classification of various modes of transmission, linguistic background of narrators, their remarks and criticism about what they have narrated, their connection with the prior source from whom they have received, knowledge of possession of permission (ijazah) by a narrator, and knowledge of various classifications of hadith, such as sahih, hasan, da`if, etc.”

`Ilm al-Rijal

The following verse of the Qur'an made it incumbent upon al-muhaddithin (scholars of hadith) to make a thorough enquiry into details of narrators of hadith:

O believers, if an ungodly man comes to you with a report, investigate, lest you afflict a people unwittingly and then repent of what you have done. (49:6)

As to who were pioneers in this field, it must be admitted that the Shi`ah had taken a lead in this field. The first writer to compile a book on this subject was Abu Muhammad `Abd Allah ibn Jibillah ibn Hayyan al-Kanani (died 219/834)10. But according to Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti in his Kitab al-`awa`il, the first writer on `ilm al-rijal was Shu`bah (died 260/87374).11. However, it is clear that the statement of Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti does not correspond with historical fact, for `Abd Allah ibn Jibillah died forty years before Shu`bah.

Another important point that should be noted here is that writing of chronicles of persons or biographical
accounts was current amongst the Shi`ah from the very early days of Islam. If this is taken into account, Abu Rafi` and his desendents took a lead before all others.  

Some books on 'ilm al-rijal give biographical accounts of narrators without giving the dates of their death, such as Ta'rikh of Ibn Jarir, Muruj al-dhahab of al-Mas`udi, al-Kamjl fi al-ta'rikh of Ibn al-Athir. Some give dates of death without biographical accounts. Others, being more comprehensive, give almost all essential details, such as the works of Abu al-Faraj Jawzi and al-Dhahabi.

### Five Important Shi`ite Works

The most important books compiled by Shi`ah scholars on 'ilm al-rijal are five. They are:

1. **Kitab al-rijal** by Abi al-`Abbas Ahmad ibn `Ali al-Najashi (died 450/1058), which later became known merely as “al-Najash”, gives accounts of lives of narrators who have compiled books, giving little attention to others. Though the biographical accounts are given in an alphabetical order, the compilation is not very orderly. However, later, through the efforts of Kazim al-Ansari (died 1006/1597-8), Mulla `Inayat Allah Quhpa'i (died 1016/1607- 8) – the author of Majma` al-rijal – and Shaykh Dawud ibn al-Hasan al-Bahrayni (died 1104/1692–3), these defects have been removed.

2. **Kitab al-fihrist**, by Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Tusi, known as “Shaykh al-Ta`ifah” (died 460/1067–8). This book gives the biographical accounts in an alphabetical order. Moreover, several others have worked upon it.

3. **Kitab al-rijal**, also by al-Tusi, in which he gives the names of the contemporaries of every Imam (A) in the order of their succession.


5. **Al-Du`afa’** by Ibn al-Ghada`iri, Ahmad ibn al-Husayn ibn `Abd Allah, a scholar of the fifth century Hijrah.

### Important Books Composed by Scholars of Ahl al–Sunnah

The most important books compiled in the field of 'ilm al-rijal by scholars of the Ahl al–Sunnah are four:


3. **Kitab Abi Musa**, Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr al–`Isfahani (died 581/1185–6), which is a continuation of the work of Ibn Mandah.

4. **Al–`Isti`ab** by Ibn `Abd al–Birr.
After the above four works, other writings on `ilm al-rijal by Sunni scholars were primarily based on them. `Ali ibn Muhammad ibn al-Athir al-Jazari (died 630/1132–3) brought them together in his Usd al-ghabah. Al-Dhahabi produced a summarized version of Usd al-ghabah in his Tajrid Asma’ al-Sahabah, adding some new entries. Badr al-Din Muhammad al-Qudsi and Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Kashghari, too, produced their own condensed versions of the Usd al-ghabah.

A point worthy of notice here is that Shi`ah scholars of `ilm al-rijal, in the fifth and sixth centuries, named such books as were exclusively related to Shi`ite narrators of hadith as “rijal”, calling accounts of others, including both Shi`ah and Sunni narrators, as “ta'rikh”.

Another notable point is that, in the past, there existed a mutual, inseparable link between the three disciplines of dirayat al-hadith, `ilm rijal al-hadith and bibliography. Works dealing with one of the topics, invariably discussed issues connected with the other disciplines.

### Important Scholars of al-Rijal

The most important authors who have compiled works on `ilm al-rijal are following:

1. `Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Rafi`.
2. Muhammad ibn Ishaq (died 151/768), grandson of Yasar. His work is called Madruk al-`Isti`ab.
3. Al-Tabari, Abu Ja`far (died 210/825-6). His work, too, is called Madruk al-`Isti`ab.
5. Al-Yaqtini, Muhammad ibn `Isa ibn `Ubayd ibn Yaqtin. He is an author of a book on `ilm al-rijal.
7. Al-Hasan ibn Mahbub (died 224/838-9). His works are al-Mashikhah and Ma`rifat ruwat al-akhbar.
12. Muhammad ibn Sa`d, al-Azhari al-Basri al-Waqidi (died 230/844–5). His fifteen-volume Kitab al-tabaqat al-kubra has been reprinted. Al-Suyuti (died 911/1505–6) has compiled a condensed version of
13. Al-Waqidi, Muhammad ibn `Umar, teacher of Muhammad ibn Sa`d al-Waqidi, has a work on al-rijal called Madrak al-`Isti`ab.


17. Al-Bukhari, Muhammad ibn Isma`il ibn Mughirah (died 256/870), is an author of three books.

18. Muslim ibn Hajjaj (died 261/874–5). His work, too, is called al-Tabaqat.

19. Al-Barqi, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khalid (died 274/887–8). He is the author of Tabaqat al-rijal.

20. Al-`Ayyashi al-Samarqandi, Muhammad ibn Mas`ud, is the author of Ma`rifat al-naqilin.


22. Al-Narmashiri, Yahya ibn Zakariyya, is the author of Manazil al-sahabah.

23. Abu al-Faraj al-Qanani, son of Muhammad ibn Ya`qub, is the author of Mu`jam rijal Abi Mufaddal.


31. Ibn Mandah, Abu `Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Yahya (died 301/913–14).


34. `Abd al-`Aziz ibn Ishaq.
35. Al-Kulayni, Muhammad ibn Ya`qub (died 329/940–41), the author of *al-Kafi*, has also compiled a work on *al-rijal*.


38. `Isa ibn Mihran. 

39. Ibn Battaḥ, Muhammad ibn Ja`far Mu`addab al-Qummi.

40. Muhammad ibn `Abd Allah.

41. Ibn `Uqdah al-Hamadani (died 333/944–45). He compiled biographical accounts of 4000 figures. Reportedly, parts of his work still exist in the royal library in Yemen.

42. Abu Sulayman, Muhammad ibn `Abd Allah (died 338/949–50).

43. Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Ash`ari.

44. Sa`d ibn `Abd Allah al-Ash`ari.


49. Ibn Sakan, Sa`id ibn `Uthman (died 353/963).

50. Ibn Habban (died 354/965).


52. Al-Kashshi, Abu `Amr, Muhammad ibn `Umar ibn `Abd al-`Aziz, authored *Ma`rifat al-naqilin*, which al-Shaykh al-Tusi (died 460/1067–68) condensed under the title *al-Rijal*.

53. Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Dawud al-Qummi (died 368/978–79).

54. Abu Ghalib al-Zurari, Ahmad ibn Ahmad (died 368/978–79).

55. Al-Shaykh al-Saduq (died 381/991–92), compiled *al-Masabih* and *al-Tabaqat* of Ibn Sa`d.

56. Ibn Shahin (died 385/995).
57. Ibn al-Nadim, Muhammad ibn Ishaq (died 390/1000), compiled *Kitab al-fihrist*.


60. Muhammad ibn Abi Qurrah, teacher of al-Najashi, (died 450/1058), compiled *Mu‘jam rijal Abi Mufaddal*.


64. Al-Najashi, Abu al-‘Abbas Ahmad ibn `Ali (died 450/1058), the author of *Ma`rifat al-rijal*.


66. Al-Kitani (died 466/1073–74).

67. `Abd ibn Jarud.

68. Al-`Aqili.

69. Ibn Abi Hatim.

70. Al-`Azraq.

71. Ibn `Abd al-Birr (died 463/1070–71).


73. Ibn Fathun, Abu Bakr.

74. Shihab al-Din, Ahmad ibn Yusuf.

75. Al-`Akfani, Hibat Allah ibn Ahmad (died 466/1073–74).

76. Al-Sam`ani, `Abd al-Karim (died 562/1166–67).

77. Abu Musa, Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr (died 581/1185–86).

78. Muntajab al-Din, `Ali ibn `Ubayd Allah Babawayh (died after 585/1189). He wrote *Kitab al-fihrist*, and a history of the Shi`ah scholars. Al-Majlisi included it at the end of vol. XXV of his *Bihar al-anwar*.

79. Ibn Shahr Ashub, Muhammad ibn `Ali (died 588/1192). He made additions at the end of al-Tusi's


82. Ibn Bitriq, Yahya ibn al-Hasan (died 600/1203-4). He wrote *Kitab rijaal al-Shi‘ah*.

83. Ibn al-Athir, `Ali ibn Muhammad al-Jazari (died 630/1232-33) wrote *Usd al-ghabah*.

84. Ibn Abi Tayy, Yahya ibn Hamid al-Halabi (died 630/1232-33), wrote *al-‘Isti`ab*.

85. Quraysh ibn al-Sabi` (died 664/1265-66) summarized *al-‘Isti`ab* and *al-Tabaqat* of Ibn Sa`d.

86. `Abd al-Azim ibn `Abd al-Qawi al-Mundhiri (died 656/1285).

87. Ibn Tawus, Ahmad ibn Musa ibn Ja`far al-Hilli (died 673/1274-75) wrote *Hall al-`ishkal* in the year A.H. 644, and brought together in it all biographical accounts of the five major works on `ilm al-rijaal: al-Kashshi, al-Najashi, al-Tusi’s *Rijal* and *Fihrist*, and Ibn al-Ghada’iri’s *al-Du`afa’*.

88. Izz al-Din, Ahmad ibn Muhammad (died 656/1258).

89. Al-Muhaqqiq al-Hilli, Ja`far ibn al-Hasan (died 676/1277-78), condensed al-Tusi’s *Fihrist*.

90. Ibn Tawus, `Abd al-Karim ibn Ahmad ibn Musa ibn Ja`far (died 693/1293-4).


94. Al-Dhahabi, Shams al-Din, Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn `Uthman (died 748/1347-48) summarized *Usd al-ghabah*.

95. Ahmad ibn Aybak al-Dimyati.

96. Ibn Rafi`, Taqi al-Din, made additions at the end of al-Birzali’s work.

97. Ibn Kathir al-Dimashqi (died 774/1372-73) wrote several works on `ilm al-rijaal.


*Fihrist.*
100. Zayn al-Din al-Iraqi, `Abd al-Rahim (died 806/1403-4) made additions at the end of Ibn Aybak al-Dimyati's work.


103. Al-Suyuti, Jalal al-Din (died 911/1505-6) summarized al-`Isabah calling it `Ayn al-isabah.


105. Mulla Mustafa, translated the al-`Isti`ab upto the letter “ha” by the orders of the `Uthmani king, Sultan Ahmad.

106. Tash Kubra-Zadeh, Kamal al-Din Muhammad (died 962/1554-55) continued the unfinished work of Mulla Mustafa to the letter “ra”.


111. Mulla `Abd Allah al-Shushtari (died 1021/1612) extracted the al-Du`afa’ of Ibn al-Ghada`iri, which had been included in Hall al-`ishkal of Ibn Tawus.

112. Mulla `Abd al-Nabi al-Jaza`iri, ibn Sa`d (died 1021/1612) wrote Hawi al-aqwal.

113. Mirza Muhammad al-`Astarabadi (died 1021/1612) wrote three books, of which the most important is Manhaj al-maql.


115. Mirza Fayd Allah Tafrishi (died 1025/1616).


118. Shaykh Muhammad al-Najafi (died 1085/1674–75).

119. Qutb al-Din al-'Ashkawari (died 1040/1630–31).

120. Mir Damad, Muhammad Baqir ibn Muhammad al-'Astarabadi al-Husayni al-'Isfahani (died 1040/1630–31).


122. Al-Turayhi (died 1085/1674–75).

123. Muhammad Amin al-Kazimi (died 1085/1674–75).


130. Muhammad Salih Khatunabadi al-`Isfahani (died 1116/1704–5), was the nephew of al-Majlisi II.


132. Mulla `Abd Allah Afandi (died 1131/1718 19).


134. Shaykh Sulayman al-Makhuri (died 1121/1709–10).


Abd Allah al-Samahiji (died 1135/1722–23).

Shaykh Yasin al-Bahrayni (died 1145/1732 33).

Mir Muhammad Ibrahim, son of Mir Ma’sum al–Qazwini, (died 1145/1732–33).

Radi al-Din, ibn Sayyid Muhammad al–Amili al–Musawi, (died 1168/1754–55), in a work called 'Ithaf dkawi al–'albab, has arranged the entries according to surnames ending with the letter “ya”, and modelling it on Ibn al–Athir’s work and al–Lubab of al–Suyuti.


Shaykh Yusuf (1186/1772–73) has compiled Lu’lu’at al–bahrayn.

Sayyid Husayn al–Qazwini (died 1208/1793–94).

`Abd al-Nabi ibn Muhammad (died 1191/1777).


Abu `Ali, Muhammad ibn Isma’il (died 1215/1800–1).

Sayyid Ahmad al–Kazimi.


Muhammad Tahir ibn Muhammad Talib al–Husayni al–`Ardabili.

Shaykh Yahya, who was a mufti of Bahrayn.


Sayyid Muhsin al–`A`raj al–Kazimayni (died 1227/1812).

Sayyid `Abd Allah Shubbar ibn Muhammad Rida (died 1242/1826–27).


Shaykh `Abd al-Nabi al–Kazimi (died 1256/1840).


Shaykh Murtada al–`Ansari (died 1281/1864–65).

Ibrahim ibn Husayn ibn `Ali.
162. Haji Nuri, Husayn ibn Muhammad Taqi.


165. Sayyid Muhsin al-`Amili (died 1370/1950-51) wrote *`A`yan al-Shi`ah*, of which thirty-four volumes have been printed in Syria.

166. Aqa Buzurg, Muhammad Muhsin al-Tehrani, wrote *al-Dhari`ah `ila tasanif al-shi`ah*, in which he devoted each volume to figures of every century starting from the fourth century Hijrah. He also compiled a work on history of *`ilm al-rijal* with the title *Musaffa al-maqal*. In this book he has given biographical accounts of six-hundred narrators.

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1. See Muhaqqiq's introduction to al-Suyuti's *Tadrib al-rawi*; al-Madinah 1379/1959. One instance of this case is the "hadith" which was forged regarding the following verse of the Holy Qur'an on the orders of Mu`awiya:

And among men is he who sells himself in exchange for God's good pleasure....(2:207)

Through this forgery, an attempt was made to relate this verse to Ibn Muljam, the assassin of Imam `Ali (A); whereas, in reality, this verse is related to `Ali (A) himself, who exposed himself to the danger of death by lying in the Prophet's (S) bed on the night of his hijrah to al-Madinah. See also Kazim Mudir Shanehchi, *`Ilm al-hadith*, p. 66; Mashhad University 1964-65

2. See Muhaqqiq's introduction to al-Suyuti's *Tadrib al rawi* al Madinah 1379/1959. See also Ahmad Amin Fajral Islam, p. 255; Egypt 1347/1928

Ahmad ibn Nasr says: “The Prophet in reply [to a question that he had put] said, ‘Hold on to al-Shafi`i for he is from me and God is with him and his followers.’” See Kazim Mudir Shanehchi *`Ilm al hadith*, p. 69, Mashhad University 1964–65

3. The Encyclopedia of Islam, pp. 24, 25. Ahmad Amin, *Fajr al Islam*, p.256; Egypt 1347/1928. See also Parto e Islam vol I p. 258. An instance of this is the case of Abi `Ismah Nuh ibn Abu Maryam whose practice was to forge a tradition in relation to every surah of the Qur'an. Once when asked about the source of his narrations, he said, “Since people started turning towards the figh of Abi Hanifah and the chronicles of Muhammad ibn Ishaq they have been neglecting to memorize the Qur'an by heart. I have fabricated these traditions only for the sake of God's good pleasure.” See Parto e Islam p. 258 and Fajral Islam p. 256


5. An instance of this is the case of Ghiyath ibn Ibrahim, who once on visiting the Abbasid caliph al-Mansur saw him playing with pigeons. On the spur of the moment, he fabricated a “hadith” for the caliph's good pleasure: The Prophet said, “No racing is better than that of hoofs and feathers.” See Fajr al-Islam, p. 255, and Partoe Islam, vol. I, p.258. Abu Hurayrah once fabricated a “hadith” about onions of Akka (seaport in Palestine). Asked by Mu’awiyah as to where the Prophet said such a thing, he answered, “there where he said, ‘Mu’awiyah is the maternal uncle of the faithful (khal al-mu’minin).”

6. Kazim Mudir Shanehchi, *`Ilm al-hadith*, pp.74,75, Mashhad University, 1344 A.H. According to Ibn al-Jawzi, once Ahmad ibn Hanbal and Yahya ibn Ma`in were in the mosque of al-Rasifah (in Baghdad) for prayers. In the meanwhile, a storyteller gathered around himself some people and began to recite a tradition, citing as his sources Ahmad ibn Hanbal and Yahya ibn Ma`in, that the Prophet said, “whoever says, ‘La ilaha illa Allah’, God will reward him with a bird whose beak is of gold
and feathers of coral.” Then he proceeded to describe the bird and the reward of the recipient in such a detail as can not be contained even in twenty pages. On hearing him, Yahya and ibn Hanbal looked at each other while the “muhaddith” started collecting tips from the people. Yahya approached the man and asked him as to who had told him this tradition. “Ahmad ibn Hanbal and Yahya ibn Ma`in,” was his reply. “I am Yahya and this is Ahmad ibn Hanbal”, said Yahya pointing to Ibn Hanbal, “we ourselves have never heard of such a tradition.” The storyteller replied, ‘I had heard that Yahya ibn Ma`in is an idiot I didn’t believe it. You talk as if you two are the only Yahya and Ibn Hanbal in the whole world! I have written traditions from seventeen Yahya ibn Ma`ins and Ahmad ibn Hanbal’s.” Then he promptly slipped out of the mosque. See Hafiz Nishaburi Hakim Abu `Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Abd Allah, Ma`rifat ulum al hadith, p. 289; Egypt 1937
7. Shaykh al-Bahi`, Nihayat al-dirayah p. 7; ‘Imad al Islam Press, 1934. See also al–Suyut’i’s Tadrib al RAWI, pp. 4, 5; al Madinah 1379/1959
8. During the earliest times the traditions were transmitted orally by teachers to students of hadith. One who had learnt traditions in this way under the direction of a teacher could, in his turn, again communicate them to others. Ijazah (lit. permit) was the term for a teacher's sanction granted to those considered reliable by him for further transmission of traditions to others
10. Sayyid Hasan al–Sadr, Ta’sis al–Shi’ah, p.233; see also al–Najashi’s Ma’rifat ahwal al–rijal, p.340; Bombay 1317
11. Sayyid Hasan al–Sadr, Ta’sis al–Shi’ah
14. See the Catalogue of the Library of University of Tehran, p.503
16. The names in this list are of those who have worked on history or `ilm al–ri jal, regardless of whether they were merely chroniclers or those whose work was aimed at distinguishing reliable from unreliable narrators. The names in the list have been taken from the Catalogue of the Library of University of Tehran
17. Al–Najashi, Ma’rifat ahwal al–rijal, p.235; Bombay 1317
18. Ibid
20. Tawdih al–maqal, p.65
21. Al–Najashi, Ma’rifat ahwal al–ri jal, 248; Bombay 1317
23. Al–Najashi, Ma’rifat ahwal al–ri jal, p.309; Bombay 1317
24. Ibid., p.283
25. Ibid., p. 282
26. Ibid., p.302
27. Tawdih al–maqal, p.65
28. Al–Najashi, Ma’rifat ahwal al–ri jal, p.59
29. Ibid., p.267
31. Ibid., p. 28; al–Najashi, Ma’rifat ahwal al–ri jal, pp.68, 69; See also the Catalogue of the Library of Tehran University
32. Al–Tusi, Kitab al–fihrisat, 75; al–Najashi, Ma’rifat ahwal al–ri jal, p. 126
33. Al–Najashi, Ma’rifat ahwal al–ri jal, p.23
34. Ibid., pp. 276, 278
35. Ibid., p.283
36. Ibid., p.63; al–Tusi, Kitab al–fihrisat, p.37
38. Ibid., vol. VII, p.64
Part 3

Disciplines of `Ilm al-Hadith

At the time of its emergence, there was a difference of opinion among men of eminence among Muslims about the very necessity of hadith. The first two caliphs, for example, exhibited a complete lack of interest in it. Nevertheless, after the death of the Prophet (S), its importance was gradually realized. This realization grew with time, to the extent that it became necessary for religious scholars to consider hadith as the second authoritative source after the Qur'an for solution of their canonical problems. The importance of hadith grew steadily with time, until it took the shape of a vast science with numerous disciplines.

Al-Suyuti, in introduction to his Tadrib al-rawi, writes that at the beginning of the second century of Hijrah, the sciences related to hadith consisted of three disciplines: `ilm tadwin al-hadith, `ilm al-hadith, and `ilm usul al-hadith. However, during the third century, according to Ibn al-Mulaqqin, the science of hadith came to consist of more than two hundred disciplines.

Abu Hatam, according to a more simple classification, has mentioned the existence of fifty separate disciplines. Ibn Hajar describes the various disciplines more simply in this fashion: `ilm usul al-hadith, `ulum al-hadith, `ilm mustalah al-hadith, and `ilm dirayat al-hadith (which also includes `ilm al-rijal).

Ahmad Amin, in his Fajr al-Islam, says: “The study of hadith was followed by the birth of various disciplines, such as chronicles of history, wars, and merits of peoples and persons. This was followed by writing of biographies, such as the work of Ibn Hisham. According to Ibn Jarir, Ibn Ishaq and al-Baladhuri, their style and method was that of hadith narration.

The anecdotes of the lives and times of former prophets, together with the hadith and the anecdotes mentioned in the Qur’an, helped to expand the literature dealing with the former prophets. The interest in hadith stimulated the study of Greek, Indian and Persian philosophy and ethics. `ilm al–hadith stimulated popular interest in all sciences, and itself became a religious and canonical source, and, above all, the source of civil and penal codes. All this, avoiding further elaboration, bears testimony to the role played by `ilm al–hadith in expansion of the sciences.”

According to al-Suyuti, al-Hazimi considered `ilm al–hadith to consist of more than a hundred disciplines; Ibn Salah has mentioned 65 of these various disciplines. Ibn Khaldun, in his work on history, mentions the following branches of `ilm al–hadith: the study of the nasikh and mansukh verses of the Qur’an, `ilm al-rijal, `ilm istilahat al–hadith, study of the text of hadith and its peculiarities, study of the qualifications necessary for a narrator to transmit hadith, knowledge of veracity of transmitters, and `ilm fiqh al-hadith.
However, Hakim Abi `Abd Allah Muhammad ibn `Abd Allah Hafiz al-Nishaburi, in his book *Ma`rifat `ulum al–hadith*, mentions fifty–two disciplines in the science of hadith. In view of its importance, we mention them here:

1. Recognition of *al–hadith al–`ali*: On page 5 of his book, he says that recognition of the *hadith `ali al–`asnad* (a tradition all of whose narrators are known and veracious) is a part of *`ilm al–hadith*. He mentions further that besides the condition that the chain of transmitters of a *hadith `ali* should be as short as possible, the transmitters must, in addition, be all veracious.

2. Recognition of *al–hadith al–nazil*: On page 7, he says that identification of *al–hadith al–nazil* is also a branch of *`ilm al–hadith*. Some have defined *al–hadith al–nazil* as the opposite of *al–hadith al–`ali*, but this definition is insufficient. In fact, there are various degrees of the *al–hadith al–nazil* recognizable only for the experts. In this category are included the *ahadith* which require more than the ordinary amount of learning and scholarship.

3. Study of the veracity of narrators: On page 14, he includes this also as part of *`ilm al–hadith*. Biographical details, level of knowledge and degree of carefulness of a narrator are issues related to this subject.

4. Knowledge of *masanid of hadith*: On page 17, he says that knowledge of the *masanid* (first narrator in the chain of transmission) of a *hadith* is an important subject. There is a disagreement among leading Islamic jurists about the validity of *ahadith* which are not *musnadah*. *Al–hadith al–musnad* is one which has reached us from one of the well–known Companions of the Messenger of God (S).

5. Study of *al–riwayat al–mawqufah*: On page 19, he discusses the study of *al–riwayat al–mawqufah*. *Al–riwayat al–mawqufah* is one whose primary source is one of the Companions of the Prophet (S).

6. Study of those *ahadith* whose first narrator is not mentioned. Al–Nishaburi discusses this topic on page 21.

7. Study of the Companions (*al–Sahabah*): This study involves the history of Companions, whether they belonged to the *Ansar* (the Helpers) or to the *Muhajirun* (the Emigrants), and their station and degree of nearness to the Prophet (S).

8. Study of *al–hadith al–mursal*: Discussing this topic on page 25, he includes it among the most difficult in *`ilm al–hadith*, and says that none except the most learned can handle this subject. *Al–hadith al–mursal* is a tradition narrated by someone belonging to the next generation (the *Tabi‘un*) after the Prophet.

9. Study of *al–hadith al–munqati‘*: On page 27, he states that *al–hadith al–munqati‘* is different from *al–mursal*, although like *al–mursal* it is one narrated by one of the *Tabi‘un*. There are three kinds of *al–hadith al–munqati‘*. 
10. Study of transmitters of *al-hadith al-musalsal*: On page 29, he states that there are eight types of this kind of *hadith*.

11. Study of *al-hadith al-mu'an'an*: On page 34 of his work, al-Nishaburi includes the study of non-counterfeit *ahadith mu'an'anah* (lit. transmitted) as part of *`ilm al-hadith*.

12. Study of *al-hadith al-mu'dal*: On page 36, he quotes the definition given by `Ali ibn `Abd Allah al-Madini, the great scholar of *hadith*, and his predecessors of *al-hadith al-mu'dal* as a tradition whose two or more links of transmitters are missing.

13. Study of the *al-hadith al-mudarraj*: On page 39, he defines *al-hadith al-mudarraj* as a tradition in which the narrator has included his own words or that of a Companion or someone else in the text of *hadith*.

14. Study of *al-Tabi`un* (persons belonging to the next generation after the Prophet (S) and his Companions): On page 41, including the study of lives of the *Tabi`un* in *`ilm al-hadith*, he remarks that this in itself involves several separate disciplines.

15. Study of the *Atba` al-Tabi`in* (persons belonging to the second generation after the Prophet): On page 46, this is also said to be included in *`ilm al-hadith*.

16. Study of *al-akabir `an al-asaghir*: On page 48, he includes the study of *al-akabir `an al-asaghir* (lit. 'the greater from the lesser ones', said of traditions related by someone senior in age or knowledge from one junior to him in one of these aspects, or by a prolific narrator from one less prolific in narration of *hadith*) in *`ilm al-hadith*.

17. Study of the descendents of the Companions: On page 49, he states that anyone who lacks knowledge on this subject is bound to make errors in regard to many traditions.

18. *`ilm jarh wa ta'dil* (lit. challenging the validity, and settlement, or amendment): On page 82, he states that this involves two distinct disciplines.

19. Study of *al-sahih* and *al-saqim* (said of *hadith*): On page 58, he states that this study is different from *`ilm jarh wa ta'dil* mentioned before.

20. *`ilm fiqh al-hadith*.

21. Study of the *nasikh* and *mansukh* in *hadith*.

22. Study of uncommon words in the text of *hadith*: On page 88, he states that this study began after the period of the *Atba` al-Tabi`in*. Among those who pursued it were Malik, al-Thawri, Shu`bah, and others who came after them. The first to compile a work on the uncommon aspects of *hadith* (*`ilm ghara`ib al-hadith*) was Nadr ibn Shumayl.
23. Study of the *al-hadith al-mashhur* (lit. famous): On page 92, he points out the distinction between *al-hadith al-sahih* (veracious hadith) and *al-hadith al-mashhur*.

24. Study of the *al-hadith al-gharib* (uncommon): He states on page 94 that it is related to the study mentioned above (no.22); for there are various aspects of uncommonness.

25. Study of *al-hadith al-mufrad* (*al-khabar al-wahid*): He states on page 96 that this study involves three kinds of hadith: firstly, those narrated by one from al-Madinah, Makkah or Kufah; secondly, those narrated by one of the Imams; thirdly, those narrated by someone besides the above two.

26. Study of apocryphal narrators: Study of those narrators who do not make a distinction between the narrated text and their own words.

27. Study of deficiencies found in hadith: On page 112, he states that this study is distinct from *`Ilm jarh wa ta'dil* and the study of *al-saqim* and *al-sahih*.

28. Study of *al-hadith al-shadh* (lit. rare): On page 119, he states that it is a tradition narrated from only one veracious narrator.

29. Study of prophetic traditions which conflict with others, and which are relied upon by founders of one of the *fiqh* schools.

30. Recognition of traditions which are not contradicted by any other.

31. Study of the various schools of the *muhaddithun*.

32. Study of the process of memorization of hadith (*`Ilm mudhakarat al-hadith*).

33. Study and recognition of additional words in hadith.

34. Study of *al-tashif* (slip of pen, misspelling, misplacement of diacritical marks etc.) in manuscripts.

35. Study of such errors by the *muhaddithun* in manuscripts of their ahadith.

36. Study of the lives of brothers and sisters of the *Sahabah*, the *Tabi`un*, and their descendents up to the present times.

37. Study of the lives of the *Sahabah*, the *Tabi`un*, and *Tabi` al-Tabi`in* from whom not more than one narrator has transmitted.

38. Study of the tribes of narrators, including the *Sahabah*, the *Tabi`un*, and *Tabi` al-Tabi`in* up to the present.

39. Study of genealogies of the *muhaddithun*, from *al-Sahabah* up to the present. On page 168, he says that study of genealogies has been recommended by the Prophet (S). On page 169, he quotes this
tradition on the authority of Abu Hurayrah:

*Know your genealogies, so as to fulfil your duties to your kin*.

41. Study of the names of the *muhaddithun*: On page 177, he says, “Abu `Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Bukhari has met the complete needs of this study by his book.”

42. Study of surnames (*kuna* pl. of *kunyah*) of the *Sahabah*, the *Tabi’un*, and their descendents up to the present. On page 83, he says that the scholars of *hadith* have compiled many works on this subject.

43. Knowledge of the homelands and regions of *hadith* narrators.

44. Study of the *mawali* among the narrators of *hadith* from among the *Sahabah*, the *Tabi’un* and their descendents.

45. Study of the lives, dates of death and birth of the *muhaddithun*.

46. Study of the titles of the *muhaddithun*.

47. Study of contiguous narrators. On page 215, he says that this study is different from that of *al-akabir ‘an al-asaghir*; rather it relates to narrators who relate from those contiguous to them.

48. Study of similarities between the tribes of narrators, their homelands, names, nicknames, and accomplishments. In this regard he mentions five secondary disciplines, such as the study of tribes, the study of their homelands, etc.

49. Study of the battles of the Holy Prophet (S) and his epistles written to kings and others.

50. Study of the well-known pioneers of *hadith* collection from among the *Sahabah*, the *Tabi’un* and their descendents.

51. Study of the mode of classification of *hadith* into various chapters by the *muhaddithun*.

52. Study of a group of narrators from the *Tabi’un* and their descendents, regarding whose reliability in case of *al-hadith al-sahih* the evidence is inconclusive.

53. Study of those who received an *ijazah* from a scholar for transmitting *ahadith*.

In addition to the above, there are other disciplines linked with the study of Arabic morphology, syntax, and philology, as mentioned by al-Suyuti in his *al-‘Itqan*. In this regard, it may be mentioned that Ibn al-Nadim in his *Kitab al-Fihrist*, quoting Muhammad ibn Ishaq and other scholars, says that Abu al-‘Aswad al-Du’ali, the first Arab grammarian, acquired it from `Ali ibn Abi Talib (A).

Following this, he quotes a statement from Abu Nasr that `Abd al-Rahman ibn Hurmuz is the foundation layer of Arabic studies and that Abu Sa`id al-Sirafi had confirmed this. Furthermore, Ibn al-Nadim
explaining the origin of the name ‘nahw’ for Arabic syntax says that Abu al–`Aswad had asked for `Ali’s (A) permission to formulate rules of Arabic grammar similar (nahw) to what `Ali (A) had done in his discourses.

Those who had learnt Arabic grammar from Abu al–`Aswad al–Du’ali, according to Ibn al–Nadim, are: Yahya ibn Ya’mur, ‘Anbasah ibn Ma’dan and Maymun ibn Aqran.

Sayyid Hasan al–Sadr, in his Ta’sis al–Shi’ah, writing about the origins of ‘ilm dirayat al–hadith, says that the first to compile a work on this subject was Abu `Abd Allah Hakim al–Nishaburi, a Shi’ite (d. 405/1014–15), and Ibn Salah, who came after him, was his follower. However, al–Suyuti, in his Kitab al–wasa’il fi awa’il, states that Ibn Salah, Abu `Amr `Uthman ibn `Abd al–Rahman (d. 643/1051–52), a Shafi’i from Damascus, was the first to work on ‘ilm dirayat a–hadith. Evidently, al–Suyuti has shown complete indifference to the work of Abu `Abd Allah Hakim al–Nishaburi, who lived about two hundred years before Ibn Salah.

In Ta’sis al–Shi’ah, it is stated that the first to compile a book on the study of Islamic sects was al–Hasan ibn Musa al–Nawbakhti, a prominent scholar of the third century, who lived before Abu Mansur `Abd al–Qadir ibn Zahir al–Baghdadi (d. 429/1037–38), Abu Bakr al–Baqillani (d. 403/1012–13), Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1062–63), and al–Shahristani (d. 548/1153–54). The author of al–Adab al–Farisi not only confirms this, he also explicitly states that al–Hasan ibn Musa al–Nawbakhti was a Shi’ite:

Several men of the house of Nawbakht excelled in the Islamic sciences and became (great) scholars of the Imamiyyah Shi’ite sect and forerunners of its mutakallimin. To them goes the great credit of providing support for this sect on the basis of its kalam. Among them was Abu Muhammad al–Hasan ibn Musa al–Nawbakhti (d. 300 or 301 A.H.), the author of the book Firaq al–Shi’ah and al–’Ara’ wa al–diyanat; also he was the first to write a book on the subject of al–milal wa al–nihal (study of nations and sects):

The author of Tadrib al–rawi writing about the origins of ‘ilm ’istilahat al–hadith, says that the first to compile a work on this subject was Qadi Abu Muhammad al–Ramhurmuzi, the author of Kitab muhaddith al–fadil, followed by Hakim Abu `Abd Allah al–Nishaburi, Abu Nu’aym al–I`sfahani, and al–Khatib al–Baghdadi.

In regard to the history of the military campaigns (al–maghazi) of the Prophet (S), which is a part of ‘ilm al–rijal, the author of Ta’sis al–Shi’ah says that the first to write on this subject was Muhammad ibn Ishaq al–Matlabi. Elsewhere, he quotes a statement from Khulasat al–‘aqwal relating to `Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Rafi’, who was `Ali’s scribe, as being the first to write on the Prophet’s battles. This is also confirmed by al–Najashi in his al–Rijal. Al–Suyuti, however, in his Kitab al–wasa’il fi al–awa’il considers ‘Urwah ibn al–Zubayr (d. 94/712–13) as being the pioneer in writing on al–maghazi.

With regard to historiography, according to Kash al–zunun, the first to write on this subject was Muhammad ibn Ishaq (d. 151/768) the forerunner among the writers of al–maghazi.
According to al-Suyuti, the first to compile a *musnad* was Sulayman ibn Dawud Abu Dawud al-Tayalisi. As to *`ilm dirayat al–hadith*, the first to write on this subject was Sayyid Jamal al–Din Ahmad ibn Musa ibn Tawus Abu al–Fada'il (d. 673/1274–75), the teacher of `Allamah ibn Mutahhar al–Hilli. He formulated new Shi‘ite terms in *hadith* (such as *al–sahih, al–hasan, al–muwaththaq, and al–da‘if*).

**Kinds of Hadith**

In general, there are three basic kinds of *hadith* from the viewpoint of the Ahl al–Sunnah (*al–Sahih, al–hasan, and al–da‘if*), and four basic kinds from the viewpoint of the Shi‘ah (*al–sahih, al–hasan, al–muwaththaq, and al–da‘if*). These are further classified both by the Shi‘ah and the Ahl al–Sunnah. Following are some of these general classifications:

1. **Al–sahih**: It is a *hadith* free of any kind of fault related by several continuous chains of veracious transmitters with more than one first recorder (*ruwat ‘adilun, dabitun ghayr shawadh*).

2. **Al–hasan**: It is a *hadith* which is well–known, and with reputable source (*makhraj*) and transmitters (*ruwat*). It has been defined in these words in al–Jurjani’s *al–Ta‘rifat*:

   *Al–hasan* is a *hadith* whose transmitters are reputed for their veracity and trustworthiness; however, it does not reach the station of *al–hadith al–sahih*.

3. **Al–da‘if**: It is a *hadith* which does not have the qualities of either *al–sahih* or *al–hasan*.

4. **Al–musnad**: It is a *hadith* whose chain of transmission goes right up to the Holy Prophet (S).

5. **Al–muttaṣil (mawsul)**: It is a *hadith* whose all links in transmission are mentioned by the later transmitters.

6. **Al–marfu’**: It is a *hadith* which reaches one of the *Ma‘sumun*, regardless of continuity in the chain of transmitters.

7. **Al–mawqif**: It is a *hadith* which reaches the *Sahabah*, regardless of continuity in the chain of transmission.

8. **Al–maqtu’**: It is a *hadith* narrated from one of the *Tabi‘un*.

9. **al–munqati’**: It is a *hadith* narrated from one of the *Tabi‘un*.

10. **Al–mursal**: It is a *hadith* narrated by one of the prominent *Tabi‘un* saying 'The Prophet of God said....’ so on and so forth. There are many of this kind of narrations.

11. **Al–mu‘dal**: It is a *hadith* whose two or more links in the chain of transmission are missing.

12. **Al–mudallas (lit. forged)**: It is of two kinds: firstly, in text (*matn*); and secondly, in the chain of...
transmission (sanad).

13. **Al-shadhdh**: It is a tradition narrated by a veracious (thiqah) narrator that contradicts other traditions narrated by others.

14. **Al-gharib**: It is of three kinds: *gharib al-‘alfaz* (with uncommon words), *gharib al-matn* (uncommon in content), and *gharib al-sanad* (uncommon with respect to the chain of transmission).
   
a. *Gharib al-‘alfaz* is a tradition containing problematic words.
   
b. *Gharib al-matn* is a tradition narrated by a single narrator belonging to the earliest narrators.
   
c. *Gharib al-sanad* is a tradition whose content is otherwise well-known.

16. **Al-mu‘an’an**: It is a tradition in which all the links in the chain of transmission are connected by the preposition ‘an.

17. **Al-mu‘allaq**: It is a tradition in which the names of one or more transmitters are missing at the beginning end of the chain of transmitters.

18. **Al-mufrad or al-wahid**: It is a tradition narrated by only one narrator, or by narrators belonging to only one location.

19. **Al-mudarraj**: It is a tradition whose narrator includes his own words or that of another narrator in the text of the hadith.

20. **Al-mashhur**: It is a tradition which is well-known amongst the muhaddithun.

21. **Al-musahhaf**: It is a tradition whose text or name of transmitter (sanad) has been partially altered on account of resemblance with another similar text or name of transmitter.

22. **Al-‘ali**: It is a hadith with a short chain of transmission.

23. **Al-nazil**: It is one opposite in character to the ‘ali.

24. **Al-musalsal**: It is a hadith all of whose narrators in the chain of transmission up to the Ma’sum fulfil the conditions of trustworthiness at the time of narration from the viewpoint of sound character and speech.

25. **Al-ma‘ruf**: It is a hadith whose meaning is well-known among narrators.

26. **Al-munkar**: It is the opposite of al-ma‘ruf.

27. **Al-mazid**: It is a hadith which either in text or sanad has something additional in comparison with a similar hadith.
28. **Al-nasikh**: Some *ahadith*, like the Qur'an, abrogate other *ahadith*. **Al-nasikh** is a prophetic *hadith* which abrogates a former *hukm* of the Shari'ah.

29. **Al-mansukh**: is a *hadith* whose *hukm* is abrogated by **al-nasikh**.

30. **Al-maqbul**: It is a tradition which is accepted and practised by the Islamic 'ulama'.

31. **Al-mushkil**: It is a tradition containing difficult or problematic words or meanings.

32. **Al-mushtarak**: It is a tradition the name of one whose transmitters resembles that of a veracious and a non-veracious narrator. Study of such traditions calls for the study of 'ilm al-rijal.

33. **Al-mu'talif**: It is a *hadith* in whose chain of transmission the name of a person mentioned therein can be read variously, though it is written identically in all those cases.

34. **al-mukhtalif**: It is a *hadith* in whose chain of transmission the name of a person mentioned therein can be read variously, though it is written identically in all those cases.

35. **Al-matruh**: It is a tradition which contradicts definite evidence (*dalil qat'i*) and is also unamenable to explanation (*ta'wil*).

36. **Al-matruk**: It is a tradition in whose chain of transmission someone known to be a liar is mentioned.

37. **Al-mu'awwal**: It is a tradition which contradicts what is apparently true from the viewpoint of reason (*aql*), the Qur'an, and the Sunnah (*naql*).

38. **Al-mubin**: It is a tradition whose words in the text are used in their literal meaning.

39. **Al-mujmal**: It is the opposite of **al-mubin**.

40. **Al-mu'allal**: It is a tradition which gives the reason for a certain command (*hukm*) of the Shari'ah.

41. **Al-mudtarib**: It is a tradition that has been variously narrated either from the viewpoint of text or chain of transmission.

42. **Al-muhmal**: It is a tradition all of whose transmitters are not mentioned in books on 'ilm al-rijal.

43. **Al-majhul**: It is a tradition in which in spite of a continuous chain of transmission the sectarian affiliations of its transmitters are not known.

44. **Al-mawdu':** It is a tradition forged by its narrator.

45. **Al-maqlub**: It is a well-known tradition containing something counterfeit invented with the benign purpose of spiritual encouragement.
46. Al–hadith al–ma’tthur: It is a tradition narrated by later generations from their ancestors.

48. Al–hadith al–qudsi: It consists of Divine Word, whose revelation unlike that of the Qur’an is not aimed as a miracle. (This kind of tradition has been discussed before).

50. Al–‘aziz: It is one of the thirteen kinds of al–hadith al–sahih and al–hadith al–hasan.

51. Hadith za’id al–thiqah: It is another one of the various kinds of al–hadith al–hasan and al–hadith al–sahih

52. Al–muwatthaq: It is a hadith whose transmitters are reliable, although some of them may not have been Shi’ite.

53. Al–mutawatir: It is a tradition which has been transmitted from several narrators, so that it is impossible that it should have been forged. There are two kinds of this hadith: mutawatir in meaning, and mutawatir in words. However, if recurrence (tawatur) is in words, there may be chances of forgery.

Concluded; wal–hamdulillah.

1. Ahmad Amin, Fajral ‘Islam, p 250
2. Al–Suyuti, Tadrib al rawi, "Introduction".
3. Ahmad Amin, Fajr al–Islam p 268
4. Al–Suyuti, Tadrib al rawi, pp. 3, 14
5. Ibn Khaldun, al–‘Ibar, pp. 796–797
6. This tradition is considered dubitable by the Shi‘ah
7. Mawali (sing. mawla), or clients, is a term that was used to indicate inferior social standing. The term was originally used for freed slaves by Arab Muslims and after Muslim conquests it was extended to a variety of non Arab peoples (Tr).
8. The description of the fifty two disciplines of ulum al–hadith mentioned here is a brief adoption from Ma’rifat ‘ulum al–hadith by Hafiz al Nishaburi, Hakim Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Abd Allah
11. Ibid., p.62
13. Ibid., p.234
14. Muhammad Muhammadi, al–‘Adab al–farisi, pp. 115,116; Lebanon
17. Al–Najashi, Ma’rifat ahwal al–rijal, pp.3–6
18. Al–Suyuti, Tadrib al–rawi, p.102
22. Dehkhuda, Loghatnameh, vol (ha’) p.399
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