Hadith al-Thaqalayn, A Study of Its Tawatur

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Sub Title:
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 (‘itrah), 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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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 (Ahl al-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.

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 jurisprudents have set forth certain conditions for a tradition to be *mutawatir*. Al-Ghazali in *al-Mustasfa min 'ilm al-usul* 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
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-`Amiriyyah, Bulaq, Egypt, 1322 H.

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 (turq) only in the Sunni hadith corpus. If we add to these the Shi`i turq of the tradition, the total number of its narrators becomes considerable.

Apart from being mutawatir, the hadith has been transmitted through several sahih turq, 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 علية قال: زهير حدثنا اسماعيل بن ابراهيم حدثني أبو حيان حدثني يزيد بن حيان قال: انطلقت أنا وحسين بن سبأ وعمر بن مسلم إلى زيد بن أرقم فلما جلسنا إليه قال له حسين لقد لقيت يا زيد خيرا كثيرا، حدثنا يا زيد ما سمعته من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: يا ابن أخي والله لقد كبرت سنى وقدم عهدي ونسيت بعض الذي كنت أعني من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فما يحدثكم فاقبلوه وما لا فلا تكلفونه ثم قال: قام رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يوما خطيبا فينا بدعا، 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 وأن تارك فيكم ثقلين أولهما كتاب الله عز وجل فيه الهدى والنور فخذوا بكتاب الله تعالى واستمسكا به فبحث على كتاب الله ورغب ثم فيه قال وأهل بيتها أذكروا الله في أهل بيتها أذكروا الله في أهل بيتها ...
(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 Awladuhu: Cairo] pp. 122–123.)
(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 siihah laid down by the Shaykhayn (al-Bukhari and Muslim), although they have not recorded it in its full length."

(Shahih) Abu Bakr ibn As-Sa’di, Abu Bakr ibn Is’haq and Dajjal ibn Ahmad al-Sajasti said: A man named Muhammad ibn Abou ‘Azr ibn ‘Uzayr ibn ‘Uthman ibn ‘Abd al-Karim ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Sajasi has heard from his father that ‘Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn ‘Uthman ibn ‘Abd al-Karim ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Sajasi that when the Prophet, may God’s peace and benedictions be upon him, came down from Ghadir Khumm and ordered towards the big trees, then 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 siihah laid down by the Shaykhayn (al-Bukhari and Muslim), although they have not recorded it in its full length."
(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 al-Bukhari 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.'

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 sihhah (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 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

عَنْ جَابِرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ قَالَ: رَأَيْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي حُجَّةِ الْيَمِينِ، وَعَرَفَهُ وَهُوَ عَلَى نَافَتِهِ الْقَصْوَاءِ فَسَمَعَهُ يُقُولُ: اَنَّ أَخْذُكُمْ بِهِ لَنْ تَضُلُّوا: كَتَابُ اللَّهِ وَعِنْدَ مَا أَهْلِ بَيْتيَ.)

1. 1.

.....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!);
10. al–Qadi al–Baydawi, Tuhfat al–ashraf;
11. al–Khwarazmi, Maqta’ 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;
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’.
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-Tā’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;


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;


19. al–Dulabi, al–Dhurriyyat al–tahirah, no. 228;

20. al–Hafiz al–Tahawi, Mushkil al–’athar, ii, 307, iv, 368;


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;
3. In the Mosque of Madinah

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


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:

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'ol*;


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]).

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–Immat al–‘Immat al–‘Athar*. Sayyid Hamid Husayn (1246/1830 – 1306/1888) wrote this work in Persian as a refutation of the seventh chapter of *Tuhfeyehi ithna ‘ashariyyah* of Shah ‘Abd al–Aziz al–Dehlawi (1159 – 1239/1819 – 1883). In twelve chapters of this work, which is said to be a plagiary in Persian of *al–Sawa‘iq al–muhibah* 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 *Tuhfeyehi ithna ‘ashariyyah*:

1. **Sayyid Dildar ‘Ali al–Naqawi al–Nasirabadi**

who wrote five books refuting various chapters of the *Tuhfah: al–Sawarim al–ilahiyyat fi qat’ shubuhat 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 prophethood; *Ihya’ al-Sunnah wa imatat al-bid’ah bi ta’n al-asinnah* (1281/1864), a refutation of the eighth chapter of the *Tuhfah*; *alZulfiqar*, 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 mukharibi 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 Lackhnowi Kanturi (d. 1260/1844)


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.


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. 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*. It appeared in 1295/1878 in 977 pages.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The twelfth part deals with *Hadith al-Thqalayn* and *Hadith al-Safinah*. 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:
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 Tuftah, 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 137879, and vol. 3 in 1381 and 1382) by Mu‘assasahye 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–Wijbi, 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.

3. This is the famous tradition, also mentioned in the narration given by al–Hakim in Mustadrak ‘ala al–Sahihayn (vol. III, pp. 109110), 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, i, 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-Taqaddum al-Ilmiyyah, Egypt, 1348), pp.4, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 40;
- Al-Muhibb al-Tabari, in al-Riyad al-nadirah (Matba`at al-Ittihad, 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;
- Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani in al-Isabah (Calcutta, 1853 A.D.), i, part one, 57, 319; iii, part one, 29; iv, part one, 14, 61, 143, 169, 182; vi, 223, vii, part one, 78, 156;
- Ibn Qutaybah in al-Imamah wa al-siyasah (Matba`at al-Futuh al-Adabiyyah, 1331), 93;
- Al-Tahawi in Mushkil al-athar (Hyderabad, 1332), iii, 307;
- Al-Manawi in Fayd al-Qadir (Istanbul, 1285), 92;
- Al-Haythami Majma` al-zawa'id (Egypt, 1352), vii, 17, ix 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 119, 163, 164;

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):

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

"أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنْ مَعْلُوْمٍ مِنْ مُوسَى؟"

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 Baghdadi, i, 324, ii, 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-Istiqa`mah, Cairo, 1357), ii, 368;
- Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-ghabah, v, 8;
5. Al-Tirmidhi, in his Sahih, ii, 297, records this tradition of the Prophet (S):

إن عليا ماني وأنا مني، 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-Muhbbl 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;

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:

عليله السلام فأكل معه هذا الطير فاجأ على 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 Hilyat, vi, 339;
al-Khatib in Ta'rikh Baghdad, ii, 171;
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 وعلى بابها فام 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-Muhbbl 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-haqa'iq, 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 آراد ان ينظر إلى آدم في علمه وإلى نوح في شعبه وإلى إبراهيم في حكمة وإلى موسى في بسطه 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–Muttaqi in Kanz al–ummal, i, 226;
Ibn Abi al–Hadin, Sharh Nahj al–balaghah (Egypt, ed. Muhammad Abu al–Fadl), ix, 168;
Al–Qunduzi, Yanabi` al–mawaddah (Istanbul), p. 214, 312;
Fakhr al–Razi, Tafsir, ii, 700;
Ibn al–Maghazili, Manaqib, 212;

9. This is the following tradition:

من ناسب علي الخلافة فهو كافير.

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

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

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

Fourteen thousand years before Adam upon whom be peace was created, I and `Ali were a light in the presence of God. When God created Adam upon whom be 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 riwayahs narrated 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 allamah 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-Khara'ij wa al-jara'ih from Sa`dan;

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

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`a 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-Ist`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:

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

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

Entre autres ceux qui ont enregistré ce hadith dans leurs ouvrages figurent:
al–Hakim dans Mustadrak, iii, 119, 124;
al–Khatib dans Ta’rikh Baghdad, xiv, 321;
al–Haythami dans Majma` al-zawa`id, vii, 135, 235; 243; et

13. Al–Nasa`i dans Khasa`is, 40, rapporte cet hadith sur la foi de Abu Sa`id al–Khudri:

Entre autres ceux qui ont enregistré ce hadith dans leurs ouvrages figurent:
al–Hakim dans Mustadrak, iii, 119, 124;
al–Khatib dans Ta’rikh Baghdad, xiv, 321;
al–Haythami dans Majma` al-zawa`id, vii, 134, 235; 243; et

13. Al–Nasa`i dans Khasa`is, 40, rapporte cet hadith sur la foi de Abu Sa`id al–Khudri:

"Nous étions assis à attendre l’envoi de Allah (SAW) quand il est venu nous rencontrent. L’embarde de son sandale était brisé et il l’a jeté à Ali. Alors, il a dit: "Un homme parmi vous va combattre le peuple sur l’interprétation du Coran de la même manière que je combattis l’effacement." Aprés cela, Abu Bakr a dit: "C’est moi?" Le Prophète (SAW) a dit: "Non." Alors, `Umar lui a dit: "C’est moi?" Le Prophète (SAW) a dit: "Non." Il est le repaire du sandale."

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 (SAW) in his Mustadrak, ii, 343, iii, 150:

الصالحون من كتبهم تناولهم في نزاعات كتبهم.

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–Muttaqi in Kanz al–ummal, i, 250, vi, 216;
al–Haythami in Majma` al–zawa`id, ix, 167, 168;


More than thirty of the well–known and eminent Companions of the Prophet (SAW) 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,


1. Al–Qunduzi.


1. Al–Qunduzi.

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 ‘Uqdad,
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.

1. Abu Bakr ibn Abi Shaybah al-Absi,
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.


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 ‘Uqda,
2. al-Sakhawi,
3. al-Samhudi,
4. Ibn Ba Kathir,
5. Al-Qunduzi.


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


1. Nasr ibn ‘Ali al-Jahdami,
2. Abu ‘Isa al-Tirmidhi,
3. al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi,
4. Abu al-Abbas ibn ‘Uqda,
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,

1. Abu al-Abbas Ibn ‘Uqda,
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.

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,

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,

15. ‘Abd Allah ibn Hantab.
1. Abu al-Qasim al-Tabarani,
2. ‘Ali ibn Muhammad ibn al–Athir,


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).


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


1. Al–Shaykh Sulayman Al–Qunduzi.


1. Al–Qunduzi.

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

1. Al–Qunduzi.

22. ‘Amr ibn al–As (50 BH43/574664).


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).


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,


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.

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:

38. ‘Atiyyah ibn Sa’d al-Awfi.


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’.


51. ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Sa’id al-Khudri.

52. ‘Umar ibn ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib.


56. Yazid ibn Hayyan.

57. Malik ibn Damrah.

58. Abu Salih.

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.


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.


In Ahmad (Musnad, iii, 26) from ‘Atiyyah 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.

In al-Tirmidhi (Sahih, ii, 220) from ‘Ali ibn al-Mundhir, from Muhammad ibn Fudyal from him from ‘Atiyyah 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


Al-Tabarani (al-Mu’jam al-saghir, i, 135) records his narration from Kathir al-Nawa’, from ‘Atiyyah from Abu Sa’id al-Khudri. He is considered thiqah by Yahya ibn Mu’in, Ahmad ibn Hanbal and Ibn al-Madini. 9


Ahmad ibn Hanbal in Musnad, Ibn al-Maghazili in 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.

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


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*.


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


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 *sadaq* 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
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.

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.


In al-Dulabi, al-Dhurriyyat al-tahirah, from his father, from his grandfather (A). Regarded thiqah by al-Dhahabi 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.

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


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.

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

82. Ma'ruf ibn Kharrabudh al–Makki.


84. Salih ibn Abi al–Aswad al–Laythi.


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


In al–Bazzaz (Musnad, see 136), from him, from Sufyan ibn Sulayman, from Abu Ishaq, from Al–Harith,

90. ‘Abd Allah ibn Sinan al–Zuhri.


91. Harun ibn Sa’d al–‘Iljli.


92. Yunus ibn Arqam.


2. Al–Kashif, i, 313; Tahdhib al–Tahdhib, ii, 286; Taqrib al–Tahdhib, i, 252.
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’iyyah, 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.
14. Tabaqat al-huffaz, 100.
15. ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Maqdisi, al-Kamal fi asma’ al-rijal, MS.
17. Al-Kashif, i, 215, and al-Ibar, i, 293.
18. Al-Mizzi, Tahdhib al-Kamal, MS.
20. Al-Mizzi, Tahdhib al-Kamal, MS.
22. Al-Asqalani, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vi, 56.
23. Tabaqat al-huffaz, 133.
25. Al-Asqalani, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vi, 56.
26. Ibid., ii, 178.
27. Ibid., viii, 63.
28. Al-Kashif, iii, 82.
30. Ibid., iii, 329.
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.
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.

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


100. Ya’la ibn ‘Ubayd al–Tanafisi (d. 209/824).


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 ‘Atiyyah from Abu Sa’id al-Khudri.


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*.

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


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


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‘d 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 Kharash, 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


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

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


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


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.


In Sahih Muslim from him, from Muhammad ibn Fudayl (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-Mujam al-kabir, ii, no. 2679) from Mutayyib, 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 (Maqtal 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


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


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.


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


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–Qadir al–Strat alsaawi), 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


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-Dahabi 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-Dahabi 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


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


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-Dahabi and al–Asqalani. 40

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 an 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 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
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.


In al-Hakim (al-Mustadrak, ii, 193), from Abu al-Husayn Muhammad ibn Ahmad, from him, from Yahya ibn Hammad, from Abu ‘Awana, from al-A’mask, 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


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 ‘Awana 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

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*.


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


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


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.


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-Nahhas 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


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’mas, 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).


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


1. Al-Dhahabi, Tadhhib al-Tahdhib, MS.
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.
16. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, iv, 89; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, 416.
17. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, iii, 195.
18. Ta’rikh Baghdad, xii, 255; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vii, 407.
19. Wafayat al-a’yan, iii, 473; al-Ibar, i, 407; Tabaqat al-huffaz, 183.
20. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, iii, 152.
21. Ibid., ii, 297.
22. Ibid., ii, 342; al-Sam’ani, al-Ansab, under ‘al-Nasa’i’
25. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vi, 197.
27. Tahdhib al-Kamal, MS; Taqrib al-Tahdhib, ii, 147.
28. Taqrib al-Shafi’iyyah, ii, 83; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, i, 216; Huda alsari.
29. Tahdhib al-Kamal, MS; Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, MS; Taqrib al-Tahdhib, ii, 337.
30. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, ii, 87; al-Kashif, i, 184; al-Khazraj, al-Khulasah, i, 166.
31. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, ii, 335.
32. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, i, 123.
33. Ibid., vi, 455; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, ii, 534; Mi’r at al-jinan, ii, 155; Taqrib al-Tahdhib, i, 529.
34. Al-Sam’ani, al-Ansab; al-Dhahabi, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, MS; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, ii, 519; al-Ibar, i, 457.
35. 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.
36. Ta’rikh Baghdad, iii, 374.
37. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, xii, 425.
38. Ibid., i, 83.
39. Al-Ansab; Tadhkirat al-huffaz, ii, 535; al-Kashif, i, 103; Taqrib al-Tahdhib, i, 429.
40. 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.
47. Al–Ansab, under al–Riyahi.
49. Ta’rikh Baghdad, vi, 25.
50. Tadhkirat al–huffaz, ii, 677; Tabaqat al–huffaz, 294; Fawat al–Wafayat, ii, 228.
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.


In Abu Nu’aym (Hilyat al–awliya’, i, 355). Tawthiq by al–Dhahabi. 1


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


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


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).


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.


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


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


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

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


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


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


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


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 al-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


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


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.


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 his book al–Talibiyyin, as mentioned by al–Sakhawi (al–Istijlab) and al–Samhudi (Jawahir al–’iqdayn). A leading scholar.


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


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 legist 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


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

In Ibn ‘Asakir, Mu’jam shuyukhih, MS. F. 205.


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


In Ibn ‘Asakir (Ta’rikh Dimashq, ii, 45). Tawthiq by al–Atiqi and al–Khatib. 21

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.

1. Al-Ibar, i, 355
2. Tadhkirit al-huffaz, 709.
4. Ta’rikh Baghdad, xii, 152.
7. Ta’rikh Baghdad, ix, 464.
8. Tadhkirit al-huffaz, 808.
9. Ibid., 833.
10. Al-Ansab, under ‘aI’Anbari; Wafayat al-a´yan.
11. Tadhkirit al-huffaz, iii, 824.
12. Al-`Ibar, iii, 259.
13. Akhbar Isfahan, ii, 80.
15. Al-Ansab, under al-Qati’i.
16. Akhbar Isfahan, ii, 90; al-Lubab, i, 404; Tadhkirit 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.
20. Al-Ibar, iii, 28; al-Asadi, Tabaqat al-Shafi`i ‘iyah, MS; al-Qannawji, al-Taj al-mukallal, 82.
21. Ta’rikh Baghdad, xii, 40.
22. Al-Ansab, under ‘aI-Makhallas’.


In his Kitab al-gharibayn, under ‘thaql’. A leading scholar and philologist.


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 almuhiddithin). 1

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


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


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


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 legist, grammarian, philologist and writer. 4


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


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

In Akhtab Khwarazm (Maqta 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.


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.


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


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


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

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


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


In al-Jam’ bayn al-Sahihayn, from Zayd ibn Arqam. Tawthiq by Ibn Khallikan, al-Dahabi, 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.

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


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 Shahrdar 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-Baghwai, 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.


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


In al–Hamawi (Fara’id al–simitayn, al–simit al–thani, bab 55) from him. A well–known scholar of his age. 3


Ibn ‘Asakir in Mu’jam shuyukhih (F. 11).


Al–Khwarazmi (Maqtal al–Husayn, i, 104). Tawthiq by Ibn al–Jazari. 4


In al–Jam’ bayn al–Sihah al–sittah, MS. A leading traditionist.


In Sibt ibn al–Jawzi, 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.


In *‘Aradat al-ahwadhi*, xiii, 73.


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


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


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


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


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


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.


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


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


In his *al-Musalsalat*.

5. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, iv, 1282; Tabaqat al-huffaz, 464.
6. Wafayat al-’yan, iii, 152; Tatimmat al-Mukhtasar, ii, 72; Tabaqat al-huffaz, 468.
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.*


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


In his *al–Mujarrad li lughat al–hadith*, 1, 253.

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


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


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


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


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


In his *Tadhkirat khawass al–ummah*, 322–323, where he establishes its authenticity and *sihhah*. 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

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


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*).


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


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’iyah*, under the couplet:

“wa awdih bitta’wili ma kana mushkila
‘alayya bi’ilmin nalahu bil wasiyyah”


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; Mi’rat al-jinan, iv, 121.
5. Al-Kanji, Kifayat al-talib, 231; al-Badakhshi, Miftah al-naja, MS.
7. Tadhkirat al-huffaz, iv, 1476; Tabaqat al-huffaz, 511.


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


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.

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


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


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-haqalq from Zayd ibn Arqam, as mentioned by Malik al-‘Ulama’ al-Dawlatabadi in Hidayat al-su’ada’, MS. A leading scholar.


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


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-Malatih fi sharh al-Masabih*, MS. A leading scholar. 5

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.


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


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.


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


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.

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.


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.


In his Ma’rifat ma yajib li Al al-Bayt al-Nabawi (Cairo: Dar al-I’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 *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


In his *Istijlab irtiqa’ 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


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.


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).


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.

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.
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.

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.

In his Kanz al-‘ummal from al-Tabarani from Zayd ibn Arqam. A leading scholar, traditionist, author and legist.

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.


In his *al-Barahin al-qati‘ah fi tarjumat al-Sawa‘iq al-muhriqah*, in Persian. An eminent scholar from Bijapur, India.

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.

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.


In his *Insan al-‘uyun fi sirat al-Amir wa al-Ma’mun*, iii, 336. An eminent scholar.


In *Tadhkirat al-abrar* (MS.). A respectable scholar. 2

In his al-Lumu‘at fi sharh al-Mishkat from Muslim and al-Tirmidhi, and also in Madarrij al-nubuwwah, 520. A leading legist, traditionist and scholar of his era in India. 3


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


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


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.
5. Khulasat al-athar, iii, 201.
6. Ibid., iv, 204.


In Mulhaqat al-abhath al-musaddadah as quoted in Khulasat ‘Abaqat al-anwar, i, 312.

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.


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


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.


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.


347. Ibrahim al-Shabrawi Shaykh al-Azhar (d. 1162/1749).

In his *al-Ithaf 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.


In his *al-Rawdat al-nadiyyah fi sharh al-Tuhfat al-Alawiyyah*, through several chains and from several sources.


In *Is’af al-raghibin*, 110–111, from Muslim, Ahmad and al-Nasa’i, from Zayd ibn Arqam.

In his Taj al-Arus min jawahir al-qamus, vii, 345 under thaql. A leading philologist and a legist and traditionist. 5


In his Dhakhirat al-ma‘al fi sharh ‘iqd jawahir al-l‘al fi manaqib al-Al (MS.). An eminent scholar. 6

1. Al-Muradi, Silk al-durar, i, 22.
3. Ibid, vi, 113.
5. Al-Qannawji, Abjad al-ulum.

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-Zahiriyah, F. 71–77). An eminent scholar of his days.


In his Wasilat al-najat fi manaqib al-sadat, from Muslim, al-Tirmidhi and al-Hakim. 1


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 Ahi 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
In his Tafrih al–ahbab fi manaqib al–Al wa–Ashab from Muslim and al–Tirmidhi. An eminent scholar. 4

In his Muntaha al–arab, i, 143, under thaql. An eminent philologist and grammarian. 5

360. Wali Allah ibn Habib Allah al–Lakhnawi (d. 1270/1853).
In his Mir‘at al–mu’minin (MS.). An eminent scholar. 6

In his Dhakhirat al–‘uqba fi dhikr fada’il A‘immat al–Huda.

In his Mashariq al–anwar fi fawz ahl al–i’tibar, 86, from Ibn Hajar, Ahmad, al–Suyuti, Muslim and al–Nasa’i.

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.

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.

In his al–Qawl al–mustahsan fi fakhr al–Hasan.

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., vii, 136.
5. Ibid., vii, 258.
6. Ibid., vii, 527.

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.

In his al-Taj al-jami’ li al-usul, iii, 308–309.

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.

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-aman min asrar al-Fath al-rabbani, iv, 26.
375. ‘Abd Allah al-Shafi‘i.


376. Mahmud Abu Rayyah.

In his *Adwa‘ala al-Sunnat al-Muhammadiyyah*, 404.


In his *Ahlul Bayt*, 77–80.


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 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:

وَقَالُواْ قَلِلْ نَا أَسَالَكُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَجْرًا إِلَّا الْمُوْدَّةَ فِي الْقُرْبَىِّ

Say: 'I do not ask of you a wage for this, except love for the kinsfolk.' (42:23)

وَقَفُّواْ هُمُّ أَنَّهُمْ مُسْتَوْلُونَ

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-Qadîr (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-à-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’lamiyyah) 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:

أرﺿﻚ ﻣﻦ ﺣﺠﺔ ﻟﻚ أﻋﻠﻢ أن اﻟﻌﻠﻢ ﻻ ﻳﺒﻴﺪ وﻻ ﻳﻨﻘﻄﻊ ، وإﻧﻚ ﻻ ﺗﺨﻠ اﻟﻠﻬﻢ إﻧ ﻱﻼ ﻳﺒﻄﻞ حﺠﺘﻚ ، وﻻ ﺧﻠ ﻇﺎﻫﺮ ﻟﻴﺲ ﺑﺎﻟﻤﻄﺎع ، أو ﺧﺎﺋﻒ ﻣﻐﻤﻮر ﻟ ﻋﻠ ﻋﺰ ﻋﻨﺪ اﻟ ﻋﻘﺐ ﻋﻘﺒ ﻓ أن ﻳﺠﻌﻞ اﻟﻌﻠﻢ واﻟﺤ ﻳﺒﺎرك وﺗﻌﺎﻟ وﺟﻞ, وﻟﻘﺪ دﻋﻮت اﻟ .

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.

...But the earth is never devoid of him who stands for God with a proof (qa’im li’Ilah 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)


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 Sibt 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).

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:

\[
\text{ﻮا ﺑﻬﺎ وﻋﻀﻮا ﻛﻨﻬﺎ وﺳﻨﺔ اﻟﺨﻠﻔﺎء اﻟﺮاﺷﺪﻳﻦ اﻟﻤﻬﺪﻳﻴﻦ ﻣﻦ ﺑﻌﺪي ﺗﻤﺴ} \\
\text{ﻢ ﺑﺴﻨ} \\
\text{ﻋﻠﻴ} \\
\text{ﻋﻠﻴﻬﺎ ﺑﺎﻟﻨﻮاﺟﺪ.}
\]

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 Sariyah, 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 narrations 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 (aqrab) 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 aqrabih), children (walad) and descendants (dhurriyyah).
Moreover, he points out, *Hadith al-Thaqalayn* indicates the supreme knowledge as well as freedom of the 'iträh 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 'iträh 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*:

وَخَدِوا شَطْرَ دِينَكُمْ عَن هَذِهِ الْحُمَيْرَاءِ

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-Tahrîr*, 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;

**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):

اَهْتَدِوا بِهِدِي عُمَارِ

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 علي لا يزيلك 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–Khwrazmi’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–siyasa*, i, 32;
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’awiya, in the battles of Jamal and Siffin. Ultimately he was killed by Mu’awiya’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:

Hold on to the covenant of Ibn Umm ‘Abd (i.e. ‘Abd Allah ibn Mas’ud).

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:

وأعلمنكم بالحلال والحرام معاذ بن جبل.

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.
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

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، فأيهم أخذتم به اهتدتكم، واختلاف 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 Dahiyyah as quoted in Ta’liq Takhrij ahadith al-Minhaj, MS.;
- al-Dhahabi in Mizan al-i’tidal, i, 413, ii, 102, ii, 605;
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:

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 kufr 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, sale of wine, or of giving fatwa without knowledge, and sometimes in opposition to the Prophet’s express command. Some of them were guilty of instituting innovations contrary to the Prophet’s Sunnah.

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:

7. 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:

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:

"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-Muhammadiyyah, 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.

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.


5. Here the author has cited three instances of such baseless fatwas 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.