The Qur'aniyūn of the twentieth century

By

Abū Ruquyah Farasat Latif

This article is based upon an MA dissertation submitted in September 2006 to Loughborough University. A number of amendents, additions and deletions have have been made by the author. These include deleting the chapter on research methodology, adding a section on 'pre- Islamic writing tradition', adding additional footnotes and adding two appendices.

Table of Contents:

Chapter Eight: Conclusion.

Appendix One: Preservation of hadith from the time of the
                        tabi'īn until the time of Imaam Bukhari.

Appendix Two: The Compilations of the First Century

List of Tables:

Chapter One
Introduction

1.0   Introduction

Until very recently, the concept of the *sunna*, and its legal authority was never questioned. However, the twentieth century witnessed a number of individuals and groups, who under the guise of 'returning to the Qur'an' have rejected in totality, the legal authority of the *sunna.* This study will examine the works of three individuals and their supporters; Ghulam Ahmad Parwez, Rashad Khalifa, and Kassim Ahmad. All three have written a book solely on the issue of *ḥadīth*. Their views will be examined in light of the Qur'an, *ḥadīth* and historical facts. For the sake of brevity, I will use the term 'Qur'aniyūn' to refer to the views of the above three mentioned individuals and their supporters. They are also known as ahl-Qur'ān, Quranites, Submitters, and *inkār-e-ḥadīth*.

1.1   Aims of the Study

By examining the arguments of the Qur'aniyūn, the research will show that their views on the concept, status, and history of *ḥadīth* are seriously flawed, and contradict both the Qur'an and historical fact. It will demonstrate that a sophisticated methodology existed for the preservation, compilation, and verification of *ḥadīth*. It will also demonstrate that the Qur'an clearly gives indication to the concept of the *Sunna* and obligates the Muslim to follow the *ḥadīth*. By logical necessity, the *ḥadīth* will have been preserved; otherwise the verses pertaining to the obligation of following the *ḥadīth* would be irrelevant and illogical.

1.2   Methodology of the Study

The research will critically examine three books, each written by a different author from the Qur'aniyūn. For each book, the research will examine the arguments as a whole for internal consistency and will highlight any contradictions, overgeneralisations, arbitrary and selective use of source material,

as well as "unwarranted assumptions, mistake of facts, and misinterpretation of the meanings of texts quoted".

Following this, the different texts of the Qur'aniyūn will be summarised into general themes. A general theory of *ḥadīth* and *sunna*, as understood by the Qur'aniyūn will emerge. This theory will be tested for its validity by examining it in the light of mainstream discourse and historical fact.

1.3   Research Question

Based upon the above, my research question is:

In the twentieth century, a number of individuals from within the Muslim community rejected the legal authority of the Prophetic *Sunna*.
Give a brief background to the key proponents of the above view?
Examine their books for internal consistency.
Critically examine the main arguments that they use to reject the legal authority of the *Sunna*.

1.4   The Rationale of and Motivation for the Research

In terms of authority, the *ḥadīth* is equal to that of the Qur'an. A denial of the authority of *ḥadīth* has dire consequences for a Muslim. Without recourse to the *ḥadīth*, a Muslim would be ignorant of the details of his creed, and be unable to perform the various acts of worship that have been legislated for him. In short, without the *ḥadīth*, the very edifice of Islam would be destroyed.

1.5   Referencing

To find the reference, for example for (Hamidullah 2003:7), we go to the bibliography, and look for *Hamidullah*. There are three entries for Hamidullah, however we are looking for Hamidullah 2003. Hence the book is:

Hamidullah, Muḥammad. (2003). *An Introduction to the Conservation of Hadith in the Light of the Ṣaḥīfah of Hammam ibn Munabbih*. (Third Edition). Kuala Lumpa: Islamic Book Trust – and our reference will be found on page seven.

Chapter 2
Background to Authors

2.1 Ghulam Ahmed Parwez

Ghulam Ahmed Parwez was born in 1903 in the Indian state of Punjab. His early Islamic studies were under his grandfather who was a well known Sufi mystic. He graduated from Punjab University in 1934 after which he worked as a civil servant in India, and then following the partition, in Pakistan (Draz)

In 1938, Parwez began publishing a journal called *Tulu'l Islam*[1] (the Dawn of Islam). in Delhi, and following a six year break was resumed in Karachi in 1948. In 1957 he was appointed as a member of the Islamic Law Commission, but this appointment only lasted one year (McDonough, 1970:35).

His views on *ḥadīth* resulted in a *fatwa*, signed by over a thousand religious scholars, declaring him to be an apostate. (Ahmad, 1967: 233) He died in 1986 having authored over sixty books in Urdu including *Maqām-e-ḥadīth*.

Dr as-Saleh as- Saleh states that in addition to Parwez's *Tulu'l Islam* movement, three other Qur'aniyūn groups operate in Pakistan. They are: *Umāt Muslimūn ahl thikr wa'l Qur'ān, Umāt Muslimūn,* and *Tahrīq Tahmīr Insān*. The ideological impetus for all four groups can be traced back to the works of Sayyid Ahmed Khan (1817 -98), known as the founder of the modernist movement in the Subcontinent. He subjected the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth* to 'rational science', resulting in a metaphorical interpretation of the many of the tenants of the Muslim belief. Khan held that it was not obligatory to follow a legal ruling from the *ḥadīth*. Chiragh 'Alī[2] further developed the view of his teacher Khan, holding that almost the entire body of *ḥadīth* was inauthentic (Ahmad, 1967: 59-60). As- Saleh states that Chakrawalvi,[3] who was influenced by 'Alī and Khan, was the first person in

---

[1] *Tulu'l Islam* is also the name of his organisation.

[2] Born in 1844, he believed that the Qur'ān was the word of Muhammad (salalahu alayhi wa sallam) He rejected *ḥadīth,* and *ijmā* as binding sources of law and stated that the Qur'ān was to be reinterpreted in light of new circumstances (Ahmad, 1967: 57-60) Both Khan and Chiragh 'Alī were patronised by the British in India.

[3] Chakrawalvi founded *Ahl Thikr wa'l Qur'ān* movement. He died in 1914

the Indian sub continent to completely reject *ḥadīth*. He was a major influence on Parwez, who held him in high esteem.

A well organised and highly educated modernist movement in India, which was heavily supported by the British colonialists, sowed the seeds for Parwez's thought. The success of modernist movement in the sub continent amongst sections of the intelligentsia made Parwez's view all the more palatable[4].

2.2   Rashad Khalifa

The Wikipedia online encyclopaedia states that Rashad Khalifa was an Egyptian chemist born in 1935. He moved to the United States in 1959 where he later obtained his PhD in biochemistry. In 1974 he claimed that he had discovered the mathematical miracle of the Qur'ān based upon the number nineteen. The latter number is mentioned in *Sūrah Muddaththir*[5]. To Khalifa, the unique mathematical composition of the Qur'ān was proof that the Qur'ān was the word of God. A number of books were produced on his theory which was initially well received throughout the Muslim world. However his subsequent claim that he was the messenger of God led Muslims from various denominations to reject him as a heretic. In 1989 he published his second edition of the Qur'ān. This edition did not include the last two verses of *Sūrah Tawbah*, as according to Khalifa, they were added later, and did not fit in with the numerical pattern of the Qur'ān . In 2001, he wrote his book, "*Qur'ān, Ḥadīth and Islam*" in which he rejected the concept of *ḥadīth* and *sunna*. In January 1990, Khalifa was killed in his local mosque in Tucson, Arizona. The assassination was blamed on a Pakistani Islamist group, *al-Fuqra'*.

Khalifa stands apart from many of the Qur'aniyūn groups due to: his claim to Prophethood, his rejection of ayāt of the Qur'ān, and the centrality of the numerical code of the Qur'ān to his philosophy. His followers, who have divided into a number of groups since his death, choose not to call themselves Muslims preferring the description 'Submitters'. His movement is relatively unknown outside America, and has attracted many American converts. Unlike Parwez,

---

[4] This is in contrast to the Qur'aniyūn movement in the Arab world, which was poorly organised, and in some countries, suppressed by the governments
[5] *Sūrah Muddaththir* 74:29

Khalifa's was not strongly influenced by other thinkers, although his fixation with 'nineteen' may have its roots in the Bahai faith[6] (Phillips, 1987: 3).

2.3   Kassim Ahmad

Kassim Ahmad was born in 1933 in Keddah, Malaysia. After finishing his schooling, he joined the Malaysian Socialist Party and was to later become its head. His political activity led to a five year jail sentence. In 1985 he was awarded the honorary Doctorate of Letters by the National University of Malaysia, as well as the Poetry Award of the Malaysian National Writers Association in 1987. His publication of "Hadīth, A Re-evaluation" in 1986 caused controversy in Malaysia. The book was banned a few months after it publication and Ahmad was declared an apostate by some Malaysian scholars. Ahmad has written on a variety of topics; political theory, philosophy, religion, and literature

Ahmad was strongly influenced by Khalifa's views on *ḥadīth*. I believe that his socialist background and modernist outlook influenced his views on *ḥadīth*. His statement that "the *ḥadīth* are sectarian, anti-science, anti-reason and anti-women" has the hallmarks of a left wing[7] modernist.

Parwez, unlike Kassim Ahmad was strongly critical of all Western ideologies, including socialism. Rasheed Khalifa and Parwez both established organisations to promote their views on *ḥadīth*, something Ahmad never did. Ahmad and Khalifa achieved prominence before their anti- *ḥadīth* stance[8], although Khalifa's stance on *ḥadīth* came very quickly after his rise to fame. Parwez on the other hand achieved notoriety *due* to his stance on *ḥadīth*. In terms of numbers of followers, Parwez is the most successful. Dr Saleh estimates his followers to be in the tens of thousands.

---

[6] "The Bahai calendar has 19 months consisting of 19 days each, and 19 can be found in all Bahai premises written on walls and even embossed on chairs" (Phillips, 1987: 3).

[7] He states in '*Ḥadīth*, A Re-evaluation' that Marxist books should be examined in light of the Qur'ān and the needs of modern life. (1997).

[8] Through Ahmad's political activity, and Khalifa's 'numerical miracle'

Chapter 3

Deconstruction of 'Maqām-e-ḥadīth'

3.0 Methodology

Chapters three to five will examine the three books of the Qur'aniyūn for internal consistency. Each chapter will give a brief introduction to the book and describe the intended audience. The research will also highlight contradictions, historical inaccuracies, mistranslation and misinterpretation of Qur'ānic verses, inconsistencies, and incorrect analogies.

The theoretical framework used by all three authors is epistemological, historical and political. It is epistemological as the explicit aim of all three books is *to redefine the sources of Islam* to the Qur'ān alone. It is historical, as the three books discuss the historical development of *ḥadīth*[9]. There are strong political overtones throughout all three books. The authors lament at the backwardness of the *Ummah* and conclude that rejection of *ḥadīth* is a pre-requisite for the revival of Islam. The key concepts used in the book are *ḥadīth*, *sunna*, and the role of the Messenger.

3.1 Introduction to Maqām-e. *ḥadīth*

The English translation of this book by Ghulam Ahmed Parvez was downloaded from the *toluislam* web site in August 2005. The web site gives no details of the date of translation, or the date that the book was written. So far, nine chapters of the book, totalling 54,643 words have been uploaded onto their web site. Over half the (uploaded) book discusses the concept and history of *ḥadīth* and *sunna*. Chapters' four to seven discuss a number of *ḥadīth* from *Sunni* and *Shī'ite* sources which the author believes contradict the Qur'ān. These include the *ḥadīth* regarding temporary marriage (chapter five), intercession, and the types of people who will enter *jannah* (chapter six). Chapter eight sets out to prove that Abū Ḥanīfa did not rely on *ḥadīth* despite his ability to access them. Chapter nine discuss the history of the compilation of the Qur'ān, refuting the traditional

---

[9] Although in the case of Rashad Khalifa, this is limited to a few paragraphs.

Muslim theory. I will only examine the first three chapters of this book as they are pertinent to the research question.

The translation is poor containing many spelling mistakes and the language used is at times archaic. Examples of the latter include '*Effete*' (n.d.a)[10] '*gargantuanch*' (n.d.c) and '*instantiated*' (n.d.b). Spelling mistakes include: *Munabbah* spelt Mamaba (n.d.a) *Muwaṭṭaʾ* is spelt 'Muta' (n.d.a) and Dhahabi is spelt Zuhby (n.d.a).

The intended audience is Muslims students and intelligentsia, particularly those from Pakistan. There are frequent and extensive quotes from the statements of Mawdūdi (nearly 2000 words of direct quotes in chapter one) and Iqbāl.

3.2 General Comments

There is no contents page or introduction. The book is difficult to read as discussions are very long winded, there is no logical flow of text, and the author often digresses from the topic. Also the sub- headings are often very vague and often unrelated to the issue being discussed. The author has numerous arguments which he wishes to postulate against *ḥadīth*: however he fails to lay out his argument coherently, often making several different, unrelated points in one discussion. For example in trying to prove that the *ḥadīth* cannot be attributed to the Prophet, the author also discusses Bukhārī's disparaging remarks regarding those who hold *īmān* to be constant, contradiction between the *ḥadīth* of *sunnis* and *shīʾites,* the criticism of the content of *ḥadīth*, and Mawdūdi's opinion of some of the *ḥadīth* in Bukhārī (n.d.b.).

3.3 Contradictions

The book contains a number of contradictions.

3.3.1   The author repeatedly argues that:

i.   None of the *aḥadīth* that have reached us today are authentic. He says regarding the *kutub siṭṭah*, "not a single word [in these books] could be guaranteed that it belonged to the Messenger…These were

---

[10] (n.d.) followed by 'a','b','c',or 'd' refers to the four internet reference of Parwez's undated book.

the garbled words of previous centuries" (n.d.a.) and "The *ḥadīth* books that are present today, do not contain the original sayings of the MuḥammadPBUH (sic)" (n.d.b) .

    ii.   He also states that *ḥadīth* cannot be considered part of the *dīn* (n.d.b).

    iii.   He further claims that "the root of the problem is *ḥadīth*" (chapter one, part three, 4).

The above three postulations are contradicted in his discussion of the re-establishment of "the Caliphate of God's system" (n.d.c.). In developing a legal system, he suggests that:

> "The government must also take advantage from the *ḥadīth* treasure that has come to us through the ages, find in them those laws that synchronize with Quran's teachings and fulfil our requirements also, thus making them a part of the constitution" (n.d.c).

If the *aḥadīth* are not part of the *dīn*, none of *ḥadīth* books that are present today contain the original sayings of the Messenger, and the very act of recording *ḥadīth* opposed the command of the Messenger, then one can only conclude that the *aḥadīth* in our possession today have no religious value. Hence, to use the "*ḥadīth* treasure" in deriving Islamic laws, while disparaging their authenticity and validity is a contradiction.

Secondly, Parwez does not state the methodology to be used in deciding if a *ḥadīth* "synchronises" with Qur'ānic verses.

3.3.2. Parwez argues that he does not reject the concept of *ḥadīth*, he only rejects their reliability.

"…it is absolutely incorrect to say, 'what if we do not believe in *Ḥadīth* ...' Noone (sic) is denying the deeds or words of the Messenger. *Ḥadīth* books are available from every where. (n.d.b).

Again, this statement contradicts the above three postulations (in 4.3.1i to iii).

3.3.3. Parwez discusses the *Ṣaḥīfa* of Hammām ibn Munabbih stating "that this manuscript was compiled before *hijrah* 38" (n.d.a). He affirms that this

manuscript is extant. On the same page he contradicts himself by stating that "the first compilation of ḥadīth that is present today belongs to Imam Mālik" (n.d.a) and hence not the Ṣaḥīfa of Hammām ibn Munabbih.

3.3.4. About the *kutub siṭṭah*, Parwez states that no Arab had ever done what they did (by collecting the *aḥadīth*) and that "there were no written records of ḥadīth before their collections (n.d.a). However, both Mālik and ibn Munabbih were Arabs, and both their written collections existed before the *kutub siṭṭah*.

3.4   Inconsistencies

3.4.1. Parwez rejects the probity of ḥadīth stating that "In the present situation, … we cannot prove the verity of any ḥadīth"(n.d.b). Yet to demonstrate that ḥadīth were not written in the time of the Messenger, he uses a number of ḥadīth including: "Do not have anything else dictated from me, save the Qur'ān. If anyone of you has written any word other than the Qur'ān , erase it!" (n.d.a). Here lies the inconsistency. Parwez is using ḥadīth, whose veracity (according to him) cannot be verified, to reject the concept of ḥadīth. I would liken this to the example of an atheist who uses the Qur'ān in his attempt to prove the non-existence of God.

Secondly, his use of *aḥadīth* in his discussion of the recording of ḥadīth, is arbitrary and selective, as he only uses the *aḥadīth* that support his hypotheses. He ignores the many *aḥadīth* that allow the writing of ḥadīth.

3.4. 2. Parwez argues that the first ḥadīth were written so long after the alleged events (of the Prophet) occurred, that it was impossible to vouch for their authenticity.

> "…there were no previous records that they [authors of the *kutub siṭṭah*] could have borrowed the material for their collections…how can anyone vouch for these kind of aḥadīth based on hearsay…not a single word could be guaranteed that it belonged to the Messenger" (n.d.a.).

Hence the existence of written records at the time (or close to the time of) the incident is key to proving that the incident actually occurred. Mere 'hearsay' is not sufficient. However Parwez does not apply the same criteria to the recording of history, in particular the history of the rightly guided caliphs. He freely quotes

incidents from the Caliphate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar to support his thesis that there were no records of *ḥadīth* in the first century of Islam (n.d.a.). Yet the recording of the history of this period is similar in many aspects to the recording of the *aḥadīth.*

For example, let us examine the *Tarīkh* of ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī who died in 310 *Hijra* (over half a century after the death of Bukhārī) and his account of the period of the rightly guided caliphs. Although he makes use of written works of historians such Sayf ibn Umar and Wāqidi much of his work based upon *non written* reports (Khalidi, 1996: 74-80). Regarding the sources of his *Tarīkh*, Tabarī states:

> "I have relied…solely upon what has been transmitted to me by way of reports…and traditions which I ascribe to their narrators…Knowledge of reports of the men of the past…do not reach the one who has not witnessed them…except through the transmission of reporters…" (taken from Khalidi, 1996: 74)

The above statement regarding the methodology employed to ascertain the past is similar to methodology employed by *ḥadīth* scholars. In addition, Tabarī's written sources such as Sayf ibn Umar and Wāqidi also relied on the *isnād* for their narratives. Based upon his criteria for acceptance, Parwez's statement regarding *ḥadīth* : "not a single word could be guaranteed that it belonged to the Messenger" should also be applied by him to the books of history.

Secondly Shaikh Mubarakpuri states that: "the mere fact that something has been written does not provide sufficient proof for its being authentic. The basic foundation for trust is for reliability of the person or persons through whom a report is delivered to others, no matter [whether] it is in written form or not". (Mubarakpuri, 2005: 54)) In other words, a written document is not proof in itself, for the author may have either been a liar, a person with a weak memory, a person prone to scribal errors. On the other hand, an oral report from a trustworthy individual, with a good memory is widely accepted, even in a court of law.

In addition, his statement: "…there were no previous records that they [authors of the *kutub siṭṭah*] could have borrowed the material for their collections" is incorrect. To cite one example, Bukhārī made use of 'Abd al-Razzāq's book entitled *Muṣannaf* (Abbott, 1967: 38). Motzki states that Abd al-Razzāq compiled his *Muṣannaf* based upon written as well as oral material. His written sources

include Ibn ʿUyayna's *Kitāb al-Jawāmi' f'ī l-sunan wa-l-abwāb*[11] (Motzki, 1991: 5). Ibn ʿUyayna was the most accurate of Zuhrī's students (Lucas, 2004: 129) and was known for writing down the *ḥadīth* that he heard from his teachers. Zuhrī in turn was able to access documents written in the time of the Prophet from the sons and grandsons of the Companions (Hafīz, 1977: 193-4). He also narrated directly from companions such as Anas ibn Mālik who wrote down *ḥadīth* from the Prophet (Hafīz, 1977: 259).

The purpose of the above firstly refutes the statement that Bukhārī and his contemporaries had no written records to base their works on, and secondly it shows that *a continuous written transmission of aḥadīth from Bukhārī all the way back to the Prophet existed*. The example above shows Bukhārī --- Abd al-Razzāq--- Ibn ʿUyayna--- Zuhrī--- Anas ibn Mālik, where "---" shows transmission of written material. Abbott also gives an example of continuous written transmission; Bukhārī --- Abd al-Razzāq--- Ibn ʿUyayna--- Ma'mar ibn Rāshid--- Zuhrī--- A'raj---Abū Hurairah (Abbott, 1967: 38)

3.5   Ignoring the Question

Parwez has a chapter heading entitled "How must we pray without *ḥadīth*?" However this chapter only addresses the differences in prayer among *sunnis, shiī'ites, ahl ḥadīth* and *hanafīs*. Parwez states that each group declares that only they are praying in accordance with the *ḥadīth*, and all the other groups are mistaken. Hence, according to Parwez, *ḥadīth* cannot be used in understanding how to pray. However, Parwez ignores his own question, choosing to respond to it by criticising other groups. A more appropriate chapter heading would be "differences in prayer of those who follow *ḥadīth*".

The differences in prayer among the *sunnis*[12] is not as great as Parwez would have us believe. All *sunni* Muslims believe that there are five obligatory prayers in a 24 hour period, they agree on the conditions for the prayer[13], they agree on the number of rakāt for each prayer, and they agree on the rukn for each prayer[14].

---

[11] As well as Ibn Jurayj's *Kitāb al-Sunan,* and ath-Thawrī's *al-Jāmi'al-kabīr* and *al-Jāmi'al-ṣaghīr,*

[12] The term *sunni* here is used in a general sense to mean 'non-Shia'.

[13] The conditions for the prayer are nine: Islam, Sanity, Reaching the age of maturity, lack of ritual impurity, removal of filth, covering the awrah, the entrance of the proper time, facing the qiblah and the intention. (taken from Muhmmad bin Abdil-Wahāb – "the conditions, pillars and requirements of the prayer")

[14] The rukn (pillars) of the prayer are fourteen: standing, if one has the ability, the opening takbeer, reciting Surah Al-Fatatihah, Rukoo, Rising from the Rukoo, Prostrating on all seven limbs, Rising from the prostration, sitting between the two prostrations, remaining tranquil during these pillars,

Parwez claims that *ḥadīth* has caused disunity among Muslims, using the differences in prayer as an example. If adherence to *ḥadīth* causes disunity, then abandonment of *ḥadīth* should lead to unity (according to the Quraniyūn). However, the Quraniyun differ on the number of obligatory prayers in a day. The founder of the Quraniyun, Abdullah Chakrawalvi states that five daily prayers are obligatory[15]. Another group state that three daily prayers are obligatory[16] but they differ as to which three prayers are obligatory, the group headed by Khawaja Ibaadullah Akhtat believe in two daily prayers, and the group headed by Madhupuri in India believe in six daily prayers[17]!

3.6   Incorrect Inference

Parwez argues that the biography of the Prophet should be rewritten using two sources; the Qur'ān, and those *aḥadīth* which do not contradict the Qur'ān nor "*fantazise* the Messenger's character" (n.d.c).

The scholars of *ḥadīth* agree that any *ḥadīth* that contradicts the Qur'ān is rejected (Azami, 1977: 72). As for "fantazis[ing) the Messenger's character", I assume that it refers to exaggerating the status of the Messenger beyond that of a human being. Such *ḥadīth* are rejected based upon the *matn* alone without need to even consider the *isnād*.

However Parwez has made an incorrect inference; that if the *ḥadīth* does not contradict the Qur'ān, it should be accepted. There are hundreds of *aḥadīth*, which although do not contradict the Qur'ān, are rejected due to the *isnād* having a break in it, or containing a person who is disparaged.

For example, the weak *ḥadīth*: "Fast and you will be healthy[18]". Not only does this statement *not* contradict the Qur'ān, but it concurs with medical fact. Yet it cannot be declared to be the statement of the Prophet due to the *isnād* containing an unreliable person.

maintaining the same sequence, the final tashahhud, sitting for it, sending salaat on the Prophet, the final two tasleems.
[15] Chakrawalvi's tafseer of Qur'ān volume one, page 112.
[16] the Quraniyun group in Gujranwala, Pakistan and Badayun, India
[17] This information was taken from Shaikh Safi-ur-Rehman Mubarakpuri
[18] Shaikh Saleem al-Hilaalee declares this to be weak in the book 'Fasting in Ramadan' due to the presence of Zuhair ibn Muhammad. Aboo Haatim said about Zuhair ibn Muhammad, ' there is some weakness in his memory'.

Parwez's criteria in accepting certain *ḥadīth* in *sirah* contradicts his earlier statements in which he states that none of the *ḥadīth* that have reached us today are authentic, and cannot be considered to be part of the *dīn*.

3.7 Misinterpretation of Qur'ānic verses

Parwez translates the following verse:

وَمِنَ ٱلنَّاسِ مَن يَشۡتَرِى لَهۡوَ ٱلۡحَدِيثِ لِيُضِلَّ عَن سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ بِغَيۡرِ عِلۡمٍ وَيَتَّخِذَهَا هُزُوًاۚ أُوْلَٰئِكَ لَهُمۡ عَذَابٌ مُّهِينٌ ٦

"And are those people who are buying <u>the occupation of *hadīth* (*lahū al- ḥadīth)*</u>, so they may deviate others from the path of Allah. And make it ludicrous. Hellfire is awaiting them[19]." (n.d.b.).

According to Parwez, the verse is evidence that *ḥadīth* is used to lead people astray (n.d.b). A literal translation of the verse is:

"And there is of men such as buys <u>the distraction of talk</u> to lead astray from Allah's way without knowledge and to take them in jest. Such ones, they shall have a punishment most debasing" ('Alī, 2003: 1312).

The misinterpretation is of the underlined section; *lahū al- ḥadīth*. In the translation of the Tafsīr of Ibn Kathīr *lahū al- ḥadīth* is translated as idle talk (Ibn Kathīr, volume seven, 2000: 570). Ibn Kathīr then quotes Ibn Ma'sūd who states "this, by Allah – refers to singing" (Ibn Kathīr volume seven, 2000: 570).

Parwez makes a number of mistakes in translating the above verse. Firstly he fails to distinguish between the linguistic meaning of a word, and its *sharī'ah* meaning, applying the latter instead of the former. Linguistically, *ḥadīth* means "speech, talk, narration" ('Alī, 2003: 1312). It also means "new or recent as

---

[19] *Luqmān* 31:6

opposed to old" (Ahmad, 1997: 59). The *sharī'ah* meaning of *ḥadīth* was given in 2.7.1.

The following examples taken from 'Alī, 2003 demonstrate that in the Qur'ān, the word *ḥadīth* is only used in its linguistic sense, and not according to the *sharī'ah* meaning.

1) "Has there come to you the *ḥadīth* (story) of Musa[20]"

2) "Then in which *ḥadīth* (message) after this will they believe in?[21]"

3) "…then what is the matter with these people, they are not close to understanding any *ḥadīth*[22] (word)"

If Parwez was to use the word *ḥadīth* in its *sharī'ah* sense in any of the above examples, it would contradict his hypothesis that *ḥadīth* is something blameworthy. In the third example, Allah admonishes those who do not understand any *ḥadīth*.

---

[20] *Sūrah Ṭā Hā,* 20:9
[21] *Sūrah Al-A'rāf,* 7:185
[22] *Sūrah Al-Nisā* 4: 78

Chapter 4

Deconstruction of 'Ḥadīth,

a re-evaluation'

4.1   Introduction

Kassim Ahmad's book, 'Ḥadīth, a re-evaluation', was translated from the Malay original in 1997. The quality of English in the translation is good. The book consists of just over 38,000 words. In his introduction, he states that the works of Rashad Khalifa greatly influenced his views on ḥadīth.

Ahmad, like Khalifa talks about the golden age of Islam, an age when Muslims followed the Qur'ān. But with the emergence of ḥadīth came the downfall of the Muslims (Ahmad, 1997). Ahmad states that the aim of the book is to prove that ḥadīth is the cause of "disunity and backwardness among Muslims" (Ahmad, 1997). Although not explicitly stated, the intended audience of the book are Muslim students, academics and activists.

4.2   General Comments

The book has a table of contents, and introduction, a conclusion and a bibliography. The introduction clearly lays at the aim of the book. There are five chapters, all with sub headings, and an appendix. All the heading and sub headings revolve around the key theme of the book. The book is organised in a logical way, making it easy to read.

In order to prove that Islam is based upon the Qur'ān alone, the author first refutes ḥadīth and sunna as a concept, he then argues that very few ḥadīth were preserved due to their late recording and fabrications.

4.3 Contradictions within the book

4.3.1. Ahmad believes that *ḥadīth* are an innovation in Islam. However, he clearly contradicts himself when discussing the origin of the concept of *ḥadīth*. He first states that the theory of the *sunna* as a primary source of law came 200 years after the Prophet's death.

> "Yet not many… realize that the basis of this jurisprudential theory was promulgated two hundred years after Muḥammad's death by the famous jurist Imam Shafi`i[23]".

Later, this is revised to 300 years.

> "After about three hundred years, extraneous harmful teachings not taught by Prophet Muḥammad but skillfully attributed to him gradually gained a foothold in the Muslim community … This ideology… is precisely the *ḥadīth*".

A few pages later, he opts for 250 years.

> "As regards the Muslims, Muḥammad brought them the Quran, … but no sooner did Muḥammad die… they contrived to make Muḥammad bring two books and, after bitter quarrels, they legislated, two hundred and fifty years later, that Muslims must uphold not only the Quran but also the *ḥadīth*"

Finally Ahmad decides that the concept of *ḥadīth* was a process which began 100 A.H and was completed 500 A.H.

> "The process of change in Muslim beliefs from the Quran to the *ḥadīth*, or the Quran and *ḥadīth*, with the *ḥadīth* actually overshadowing the Quran did not occur within a short period or smoothly. It took a period of about four to five centuries, beginning from the second and lasting in the sixth century of Islam".

4.3.2. Ahmad claims that there is a direct correlation between adherence to the Qur'ān alone, and the political and intellectual success of the Muslims. The downfall of "the greatest material, intellectual and spiritual civilization at that

---

[23] All of the references in this chapter are from Ahmad, 1997. Due to it being an internet downloaded book, no page numbers are given.

time" began 300 years after the Prophet", [i.e. after 932] when Muslims started following *ḥadīth*. However he later states that:

> "the Muslims …period of intense creativity lasted three centuries from the ninth through to the eleventh" (i.e. from 800 -1200 A.H)

The first statement claims that the political and intellectual downfall of the Muslims began in approximately 932 C.E. This contradicts the second statement which claims that the period from 800 to 1200 C.E was one of intense (intellectual) creativity.

4.3.3. Ahmad states that:
"the time has come for the Muslim community … to critically re-evaluate the whole heritage of traditional Islamic thought including theology and jurisprudence… The hadith, of course, is at the core of these traditional disciplines".

Ahmad describes the *ḥadīth* as "extraneous harmful teachings" and "a false teaching attributed to Prophet Muhammad". So according to the author, the traditional Islamic thought was and always has been antithetical to the true Islam. But this is contradicted by his assertion that:

"the traditional formulation was made by the society … of that time in accordance with their knowledge … *and conforming to needs of that time*" (my italics).

If the traditional formulation, (at the core of which was *ḥadīth*), was conforming to the needs of that time, then adherence to *ḥadīth* at that time was entirely justified. Hence to describe *ḥadīth* as an "extraneous harmful teachings" is incorrect.

4.3 4. Ahmad refers to, al-Ghazzali, Ibn Rush[d], Ibn Taymīya, and Shah Waliyullah as "great philosophers and scholars", and Tabari as a one of the "famous historians …[who] make the first Muslim civilization justly famous". Yet these scholars strongly defended the concept of *ḥadīth*, and their books are replete with *ḥadīth*; which according to Ahmad are "false teaching attributed to Prophet Muḥammad". For example, use of *ḥadīth* is an integral part of Tabari's methodology of Qur'ānic exegesis and history. By condemning the concept of *ḥadīth*, the author is implicitly condemning those who uphold and promote this concept. Yet at the same time he is praising these same scholars.

4.4   Mistakes of Fact

4.4.1   Ahmad states that disunity within the *Ummah* is due to *ḥadīth* citing the Iran-Iraq war, and the civil wars in Lebanon as examples. However the factors leading to these wars were political / economic (and in Lebanon inter and intra religious rivalry) and were unrelated to the issue of *ḥadīth*.

4.4.2   Ahmad states that the *Mutazilites* in the time of Shāfiʿī believed that the Qurʾān did not require the *ḥadīth* to explain it. Thus the criticism and rejection of *ḥadīth* is nothing new. There is no doubt that the *Mutazilites* rejected Shāfiʿī's theory of *ḥadīth*, in particular Shāfiʿī's stance on solitary narrations. However they did not reject the concept of *sunna* and *ḥadīth*. What they rejected was any *ḥadīth* which went against their concept of sound reason and logic, as well as any solitary narrations.

4.4.2 Ahmad states "The very term "the Prophet's sunna" was never used by the Prophet himself and did not emerge until the sixth and seventh decades after the Prophet".

If none of the statements of the Prophet can be vouched for, then it is meaningless to state that the word "sunna" was never used by the Prophet, as there is no way of establishing the veracity of this statement. Secondly section 2.5.3 demonstrates that the term '*sunna*' was known much earlier than Ahmad claims.

4.5   Incorrect Analogies

Ahmad states that: "So it came about that while secular Europe embraced either liberalism or Marxism, the Muslim world embraced the *ḥadīth*…".

This analogy is clearly false. Liberalism and Marxism were European reactions *against* religion[24]. *Ḥadīth*, on the other hand, even if we accept the author's contention that it was an innovation, was not a reaction against religion, but considered a part of the religion.

---

[24] See: Khan: Jaliluddin Ahmad.(1982) *Contemporary Atheistic Materialism – A Reaction to Orthodox Christainity*. Karachi: International Islamic Publishers. In this book, the author explains that atheistic materialism of Europe was a natural reaction against the anti-science and anti-reason attitude fostered by the Church.

Chapter 5

Deconstruction of 'Qur'ān, Ḥadīth and Islam'

5.1. Introduction

This book by Rashad Khalifa aims to prove that the Qur'ān is the sole source of guidance and legislation in Islam (Khalifa, 2001:7). The entire book revolves around this theme. The Prophet's sole mission was to convey the Qur'ān, and he was forbidden from any utterance other than the Qur'ān (2001:4). Khalifa rejects the very concept of *ḥadīth* and *sunna* stating that they were invented after the demise of the Prophet (2001: 8). Khalifa then brings a historical perspective; the *ḥadīth* were written hundreds of years after the Prophet's death, and the vast majority are fabrications. Hence, even for those Muslims who accept the concept of *ḥadīth*, there is no way of ascertaining their authenticity.

The book contains 13,046 words. Out of this, 2580 (20%) is devoted the Khalifa's unique theory of the mathematical miracle of the Qur'ān. To Khalifa this is physical evidence of the divine nature of Qur'ān.

5.2. General Comments

The book is written in a first person narrative. The text is very often emotive and is replete with rhetorical questions, for example: "Do you believe God or not" and "When I keep talking about God alone, does this annoy you?" (2001:89). There are many sweeping generalisations; "the majority of believers are going to hell" ((2001:52)

The intended audience of the book according to the author is "all free thinking people" (2001: 1).However given that the author assumes the Qur'ān is revelation from God, the book is primarily intended for a Muslim audience.

Khalifa makes extensive use of the Qur'ānic verses to support his arguments; in the first 2016 words, 44% of words were Qur'ānic verses. The author's arguments are very repetitive. A number of phrases are used throughout the

book. The phrase "Qur'ān alone" is used ten times, "fully detailed" (in reference to the Qur'ān) appears eighteen times, "only source of religious guidance" appears six times, "nothing but Qur'ān" appears ten times. "other gods besides god (in reference to following *ḥadīth*) appears six times.

The book is not organised logically, making it difficult to read. There is no table of contents, introduction to the book or bibliography. The preface merely states the key theme of the book; that *ḥadīth* is an innovation, without explaining how he intends to refute the concept of *ḥadīth*. The author is an academic; the title of PhD is mentioned after his name. However, it is clear from his work that his knowledge of Islam is sketchy.

Each chapter heading is used by Khalifa to state an opinion. These chapter heading are then followed by a number of Qur'ānic verses which are used as proof for the chapter heading. However many verses are either mistranslated, or misinterpreted.

5.3   Mistranslation of Qur'ānic Verses

I will give three examples of this:

5.3.1   "HAD HE EVER UTTERED ANY OTHER RELIGIOUS UTTERANCES[25]
(attributed to us), we would have punished him severely, then we would
have stopped the revelation to him (fired him) "(69:44-46)" (2001: 4).

The capitals are the authors. According to Khalifa "These very clear verses teach us that Muḥammad was forbidden from uttering any religious teachings beside Qur'ān". Verse forty four is reproduced below.

وَلَوْ تَقَوَّلَ عَلَيْنَا بَعْضَ ٱلْأَقَاوِيلِ

Walaw taqawwala 'alaynā ba'da al-aqawīli

I will now compare Khalifa's translation with other well known translations.
 "Had he ever uttered any other religious utterances (attributed to us)." (Khalifa)

---

[25] All capitals are the authors

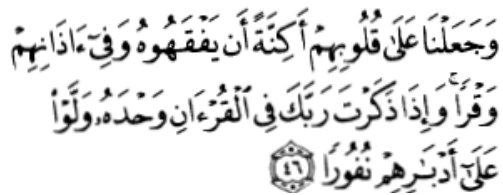"And if he has forged a false saying concerning Us". (Yūsuf 'Alī and Dr. Taqi-ud-Din al-Hilali)

"And if he had made up about Us some false (saying)" (Saheeh International)

The verse has been mistranslated by Khalifa. The word taquwwul means "talk, rumour, gossip" and not "other religious utterances" (Hans Wehr Dictionary). Ibn Kathīr explains the verse by saying that if the Prophet had removed or forged any of the Message, as claimed by his opponents, then Allah would have certainly punished him (Kathīr, volume ten, 151). Hence the verse does not refer to statements other than the Qur'ān, but to falsely attributing statements to Allah.

5.3.2 "Consequently, when you preach your Lord in *the Qur'ān alone*, they run away in aversion" (2001: 9) should read:

"And when you mention you *Lord alone* in the Qur'ān[26]…" (Saheeh International)
The verse is reproduced below.

وَجَعَلْنَا عَلَىٰ قُلُوبِهِمْ أَكِنَّةً أَن يَفْقَهُوهُ وَفِىٓ ءَاذَانِهِمْ وَقْرًا وَإِذَا ذَكَرْتَ رَبَّكَ فِى ٱلْقُرْءَانِ وَحْدَهُۥ وَلَّوْا۟ عَلَىٰٓ أَدْبَـٰرِهِمْ نُفُورًا ﴿٤٦﴾

The mistranslated portion of the verse is *wa-itha thakarta rabb**a**k**a** fee alqurān**i** wahd**a**hu*

In this portion of the verse, the word *rabbaka* is accusative because it is the object of the preceding verb. The word *alqurān**ī*** is genitive as the preposition 'fee' precedes it. Now the adjective *wahd**a**hu* must agree in case, gender, number and definiteness with the noun that it qualifies (Faynan, 1999: 38). *Wahdahu* is accusative (due to the fathah on the dal) whereas *alqurāni* is genitive. Hence the latter cannot be qualified by *wahdahu*. Both *wahdahu* and *rabbaka* are singular, masculine, definite, and accusative hence *rabbaka* is qualified by *wahdahu*. Hence the verse mentions "Lord alone" and not "Qur'ān alone".

5.3.3 "…nor disobey you *when you are right*…" (2001: 14)

---

[26] *Al-Isrār* 17:46

The verse should read as "nor disobey you in *what is right*[27]". (Saheeh International).

The implication from Khalifa's translation is that the Prophet is not always right; "Muḥammad the Messenger shall be obeyed ONLY IF HE IS RIGHT" (2001: 14)

5.4   Misinterpretation of Qur'ānic Verses

Examples of misinterpreting the verses are numerous. I will give one example. Khalifa states that following any source other than the Qur'ān is tantamount to setting up partners in worship with God (2001:3). His evidence for this is the following verse:

"… *However, you certainly bear witness that you set up other gods beside God* (by upholding other sources beside Quran). Say, 'I will never do what you are doing; I disown your idol worship[28].'" (Khalifa, 2001:7). The verse is given below.

The correct translation of the verse is: "Do you verily bear witness that besides Allah there are other gods", as the statement starts with the interrogative particle

---

[27] *Surah Mumtahinah* 60:12
[28] *Sūrah Al –An'ām* 6:19

ⁱ .It is clear from the context of this verse that it refers to associating partners with Allah in worship. Even if we were to accept Khalifa's (incorrect) translation of this verse, by no stretch of the imagination does it equate following of sources other than the Qur'ān (i.e. the *ḥadīth*) with idol worship. This is one of many examples in which Khalifa re-interprets verses of the Qur'ān in light of his opinions.

5.5   Contradictions within the book

The book also contains many contradictions. For example Khalifa states repeatedly that the Qur'ān is the *sole source of guidance* (my italics) and the acceptance of any other sources is *shirk* (2001: 7). But he is aware that the details of the prayer, *zakāh* and other religious rites are not in the Qur'ān. To explain how one performs these rites, Khalifa comes up with a novel answer; all of these various rites have come to us via Abraham (2001: 40). He states: "Thus, Islam in its final form, as is practiced today, is based on two things: (1) QURAN: contributed through Muḥammad, and (2) RELIGIOUS PRACTICES: through Abraham" (2001: 40).   However, this contradicts his first assertion, that the Qur'ān is the sole source of guidance.

5.6   Mistakes of Historical Fact

The book contains a number of historical inaccuracies. I will state three of these:

5.6.1 Mistake One:

Khalifa states that disbelievers of Arabia established five daily prayers, but would recite the Ibrahimy Fātiha instead of the Qur'ānic Fātiha (2001: 15). There is no historical evidence for either of these statements.

5.6.2 Mistake Two:

Khalifa mentions that prior to Ibrahīm, the followers of the Prophets were so primitive that they were not required to perform any religious practices. All that was required of them was to believe in God alone (2001: 46).

Ibrahīm was born in the city of Ur at the height of the Chaldeans dynasty (Hussain, 1997: 47) during the third dynasty of Ur which lasted from 2112 – 2004 BC (Parrot 1974: 12). Historical and Qur'ānic sources show that many pre-Abrahamic peoples were far from primitive. A number of examples will demonstrate this:

5.6.2.1. Regarding Prophet Idrīs, "Ibn Ishāq mentions that Idrīs was the first to write with a pen. He was alive within 308 years of Adam's life" (taken from Gad, 2000:27).

5.6.2.2. The people of Thamūd to whom Prophet Ṣalih was sent, were famous for their great architecture, carving great buildings out of mountains. They also had agriculture (Hussain, 1997:29).

5.6.2.3. Hawkes states that between 3000 – 2000 BC (i.e. before Ibrahīm),the Egyptians had used ships for trade, established a calendar, developed sophisticated techniques in agriculture, and had built a number of the famous pyramids. In Mesopotamia, deliberate research led to the use of bronze (a mixture of copper and tin). Bronze was a workable metal led to better tools, vehicles, and boats (Hawkes, 1976; 87-110). Hence, advanced civilisations existed before Ibrahīm.

The contention that prior to Ibrahīm, the people were only required to believe in God alone is also incorrect. The Qur'ān mentions that Noah said to his people:

"O my people, worship Allah, there is no other god but him[29]".

The people of Noah were called to worship God alone, and not as Khalifa argues, to believe in God alone. They already believed in God, but gave a share of their worship to other than God. Secondly, given that they were called to *worship* God, then by implication this worship must have had certain rituals. Hence, contrary to Khalifa's statement, the people of Noah *were* required to perform certain religious practices.

---

[29] Surah al-Mu'minūn

5.6.3 Mistake Three:

Khalifa states that:

> " as long as the Muslim *Ummah* upheld Quran, and nothing but Quran, the Muslims … never lost a single battle. With the appearance of *Ḥadīth* & Sunna at the beginning of the third century AH, a progressive deterioration of the Muslim *Ummah* began. Since… [then]... the "Muslims" never won a single battle" (2001: 76)

The statement that since the beginning of the third century the Muslims never won a single battle clearly contradicts historical facts. Many important battles that occurred well after 200 H. Between 900 and 1300 C.E most of India was conquered, as was (modern day) Mauritania, Niger, Chad, Sudan, most of modern day Turkey, From 1300 to 1500 C.E, Constantinople was conquered (in 1453), as was southern India and many of the southern Russian republics (Lapidus, 2002:198).

Chapter 6
Summary of key themes

Table one outlines the themes of the Qur'aniyūn which occur in at least two of the three books:

Table One: Key Themes One.

	Theme	Parwez	Khalifa	Ahmad
1	Sole function of the Prophet was to deliver the Qur'ān		✓	✓
2	*Ḥadīth* does not explain the Qur'ān	✓		✓
3	*Ḥadīth* is not (unrecited) revelation	✓		✓
4	"*Hikmah*" does not mean *Sunna* or *ḥadīth*	✓		✓
5	Verses stating that "nothing is left out" of the Qur'ān.		✓	✓
6	No methodology for preservation of *ḥadīth*	✓		✓
7	Prophet prohibited recording of *ḥadīth*	✓	✓	✓
8	No previous records before Bukhārī	✓	✓	
9	The huge numbers of *aḥadīth* in the era of Bukhārī are untenable	✓		✓
10	Bukhārī discredited the majority of his 600,000 *ḥadīth*	✓		✓
11	Huge number of fabrications made it impossible to sift out the authentic *ḥadīth*	✓	✓	
12	*Isnād* system a later invention			✓
13	Burning of written records by Abū Bakr and 'Umar	✓		✓
14	Follow "Allah and His Messenger" means "follow Allah and the Caliph" or to "abide by the decisions of the central authority"	✓		✓
15	All religious practices are from Abraham		✓	✓

Table two outlines the themes which occur in only one of the books.

Table Two: Key Themes Two.

	Theme	Parwez	Khalifa	Ahmad
1 6	The Prophet forbidden from uttering any religious teaching besides Qur'ān		✓	
1 7	Qur'ān is the only source of religious teaching		✓	
1 8	Concept of *Ḥadīth* invented by Shafi'ī			✓
1 9	"Obey the Messenger" only as long as he was alive	✓		
2 0	*Ḥadīth* began with the story tellers			✓
2 1	No acceptable criteria for selection of *ḥadīth* by Bukhārī	✓		
2 2	Statements transmitted orally are unreliable	✓		

The themes can be broadly divided into two categories; epistemological – relating to the concept of the *sunna*, and historical – relating to the history of the preservation and compilation of *ḥadīth*. The theory that emerges from the above themes is twofold:

1)   The concept of the Prophetic *sunna* is a later invention, unknown to the Prophet or his Companions,

2)   The recording of the *ḥadīth* began in the third century, by which time, due to widespread fabrication as well as the ravages of time, it was impossible to vouch for their authenticity.

Due to word limitation, the research will not examine all twenty two themes and will instead prioritize between them. Themes 1-5, and 14-19 are concerned with the concept of the *sunna*. I decided to choose themes 1-5, 14 and 15.

Themes 6-13 and 20-22 address the history of *ḥadīth*. Themes 6-13 were chosen for this research.

Among the themes chosen, many of the arguments used by the authors are similar; however there are some important differences as well. For example whereas Khalifa holds that no *ḥadīth* can be ever used, Ahmad and Parwez accept that a *ḥadīth* that does not contradict the Qur'ān or reason may be accepted[30]. Also the three authors differ on the emphasis they give to various themes. It is beyond the scope of this research to examine these two issues; this as an area of further research. For the sake of brevity, I have limited the number of references taken from the three books.

For the sake of abbreviation, Kassim Ahmad will be referred to as 'Ahmad'.

---

[30] Although all three authors reject the legal authority of *ḥadīth*,

Chapter 7

Examination of Key Themes

7.1   Sole function of the Prophet was to deliver the Qur'ān
       Ḥadīth does not explain the Qur'ān

7.2   *Ḥadīth* is not (unrecited) revelation

7.3   *Hikmah*" does not mean Sunna or *ḥadīth*

7.4   Verses stating that "nothing is left out" of the Qur'ān

7.5   All religious practices are from Abraham

7.6   No methodology for preservation of *ḥadīth* and
       Recording of *ḥadīth* prohibited by the Prophet

7.7   Burning of written records by Abū Bakr and 'Umar (may Allah be pleased
       with them)

7.8   No previous records before Bukhārī

7.9   The huge numbers of *aḥadīth* in the era of Bukhārī are untenable

7.10   Bukhārī discredited the majority of his 600,000 *ḥadīth*

7.12   Huge number of fabrications made it impossible to sift out the authentic
       ḥadīth.
       Isnād system a later invention.

7.12   Follow "Allah and His Messenger" means "follow Allah and the Caliph" or to
       "abide by the decisions of the central authority"

7.1 Sole function of the Prophet was to deliver the Qur'ān
Ḥadīth does not explain the Qur'ān

I will examine the above two themes together. Throughout this work, I will use the word *sunna* and *ḥadīth* interchangeably. They are defined as "the statements, actions, and tacit approvals of the Prophet, after he received revelation, but not including the Qur'an[31]"

Regarding the first theme (sole function of the Prophet was to deliver the Qur'ān) Khalifa states: "Repeatedly, the Quran employs "the double negative" to emphasize that Muhammad had NO function EXCEPT delivering Quran: "You have NO duty EXCEPT delivering (Quran)" (42:48)" (2001: 32)

Ahmad states: "The sole mission of Prophet Muḥammad was to deliver the divine message, the Qur'ān" (1997:43)

Regarding the second theme *(Ḥadīth does not explain the Qur'ān)* Ahmed states: "As regards explaining and interpreting the Quran, Quranic statements and historical evidence have shown that it is not given to Prophet Muhammad or to any subsequent teachers to do so fully and all at once. The Quran… cannot all be understood fully, except through a prolonged process of rational understanding and scientific studies" (1997: 14)

Parwez states: "*Ḥadīth* does not explain the whole of the Holy Quran. Only a few ayats of the Quran have been explained. In the Bukhari *Ḥadīth* there is only one chapter devoted to the explanation of the Quran and that too of a few significant ayats from the Qur'ān" Parwez then goes on to state that the authenticity of these *ḥadīth* cannot be vouched for. Chapter 1, Part 2, page 10-11.

---

[31] Lane's definition of *sunna* is "a way, course, rule or manner, of acting or conduct of life or the like… whether good or bad…a way that has been instituted or pursued by former people". In its technical sense, *sunna* has a number of different meanings. The definition given by legal theorists is "the statements, actions, and tacit approvals of the Prophet, after he received revelation, but not including the Qur'an" The latter definition will be used for the purposes of the dissertation. Ḥadīth is any report of the sunna consisting of a text (matn) and chain of transmission (isnād). Hence the sunna and ḥadīth are interchangeable as the entire sunna is contained within the authentic ḥadīth.

Reply to 7.1

I will demonstrate that in addition to delivering the Qur'ān, one of the functions of the Prophet was to explain the Qur'ān. Hence the *ḥadīth* explains the Qur'ān.

The Qur'ān refutes the belief that the sole function of the Prophet was to deliver the Qur'ān. The Prophet had four main roles; "explainer of the Qur'ān, independent legislator, perfect example and object of obedience". These four main roles can be proved from the Qur'ān itself. However, I will only focus on the first role; explainer of the Qur'ān.

The following two verses demonstrate that the role of the Messenger was not restricted to delivering the Qur'ān:

"**He is it He Who has sent among the unlettered ones, a Messenger from among themselves, reciting to them His verses, purifying them, and teaching them the Book and the *Hikmah*. And verily, they had been before in manifest error**[32]".

In this verse, four distinct roles are mentioned:
- Reciting the verses
- Purifying the believers
- Teaching of the Book.
- Teaching the *Hikmah*.

The first role of the Prophet was to recite the verses of the Qur'ān to the believers. About this point this is no disagreement or ambiguity. Secondly, the Messenger was to purify them from idolatry and sins. The third role of Messenger was "teaching the book". This is mentioned separately from "reciting the verses". Hence in addition to recitation of the verses of the Qur'ān, the Messenger was also ordered to teach the meaning of these verses. When the Prophet received revelation, he would convey this to his Companions *and* explain it through his statements and his actions (Azami, 1995: 8-9). The statements and actions of the Prophet are known as the *sunna* and are preserved in the authentic *aḥadīth.* The second verse is:

---

[32] *Sūrah Jumu'ah* 62:2

"And We have also sent down to you the *Dhikr* (Qur'ān) *so that you may explain clearly to men what is sent down to them*[33]".

The italicised section clearly demonstrates that the Messenger had a role vis a vis the Qur'ān; to clearly explain the Qur'ān. His explanation of the Qur'ān, was in two ways: either directly by mentioning a verse and then explaining it, or teaching a matter regarding a verse (s)of the Quran without directly making reference to the relevant verse. Thus contrary to the beliefs of the Qur'aniyūn, the role of the Prophet was not restricted to delivering the Qur'ān, but it included explaining the Qur'ān, hence the *ḥadīth* explains the Qur'ān.

In addition, there are a large number of verses that order the believers 'to obey the Messenger'. In these verses, obedience to the Messenger is mentioned alongside obedience to Allah. For example "And obey Allah and the Messenger so that you may be blessed[34]". The phrase "Obey Allah and the Messenger" occurs in at least nine verses[35], the reward for obeying Allah and His Messenger occurs in at least seven verses[36]

In every verse of the Qur'ān in which 'obey Allah' is stated, it is followed by a command to obey the Messenger. There is not a single verse in the Qur'ān in which obedience to Allah is mentioned alone. This to emphasise that obedience of Allah is not possible except through obedience to the Messenger. However there are verses in the Qur'ān in which obedience to the Messenger has been mentioned alone, i.e. without mentioning obedience to Allah. For example: "And if you obey him, you shall find the right path[37]"[38] In this case, obedience to the Messenger implies obedience to Allah, as Allah states: "And whoever obeys the Messenger, indeed obeys Allah[39]".

The command to obey the Messenger, which is either mentioned alongside 'obeying Allah', or is mentioned alone, would be superfluous if the Messenger's role was restricted to delivering the Qur'ān alone. Given that the Messenger's role was to explain the Qur'ān, the numerous verses that enjoin obedience to the

---

[33] *Sūrah Nahl* 16: 44
[34] *Al-Imrān* 3:32
[35] 4:59, 5:92. 8:1, 8:20, 8:46, 24:54, 47:33, 58:13, 64:12,
[36] 4:13, 4:69, 24:52, 33:41, 9:71, 49:14, 48:17
[37] *An-Nūr* 24:54
[38] Also see: 24:56, 4:42, 4:115
[39] *An-Nisā* 4:80

Messenger prove that it is obligatory upon the Muslims to obey him in his verbal and practical explanation of the Qur'ān.

Likewise, the numerous verses that enjoin the believers to 'follow' the Prophet[40] would be meaningless if his sole role was to deliver the Qur'ān. For example, Allah orders the Prophet to announce:

"Say, If you love Allah, *then follow me (fattabi'ūnī),* Allah will love you and forgive you your sins[41]".

The verb *ittabi'ū,* in the above verse is in the imperative form and means 'to follow, to imitate, to pursue'. ('Alī, 2003:167). Hence in order to achieve the love of Allah, one must follow the teachings of the Prophet.

The following verse also disproves the claim that the sole function of the Prophet was to deliver the Qur'ān:

"But no, by your Lord, they will not believe until they make you judge concerning that over which they dispute among themselves, and then find in themselves no discomfort from what you have judged and submit in [full] submission[42]".

Shāfi'ī explains regarding the reason for revelation of this verse:

> "[it] was revealed in connection with a land dispute between al-Zubayr and another man, in which the Prophet gave a decision in favour of al-Zubayr. *This decision is a sunna laid down by the Apostle, not a command in the text of the Qur'ān[43]"* (al-Shāfi'ī, 1987:115)

Hence the ruling which the Qur'ān ordered to follow (and made its compliance and acceptance a pre-requisite of true faith) was a ruling from the *sunna*.

---

[40] 2:143, 3:31, 7:157, 9:117, 8:64, 3:53, 12:108, 14:44 (Usami, 1991: 18-21)
[41] *Sūrah 'Al' Imrān*, 3: 31
[42] *Nisā* 4:65
[43] italics mine

7.1.1 How the Prophet explained the Qur'ān

A detailed discussion of how the Prophet explained the Qur'ān is beyond the scope of this work. However in brief, the Prophet:

i) explained the meaning of unclear or ambiguous words in the Qur'ān. For example he explained the word *dhulm*[44], which is commonly understood to mean 'wrongdoing' to mean *shirk*[45].

ii) specified Qur'ānic *ayāt* which were general in meaning. For example: "As for the thief male, or female, cut of the hands of the two[46]", the words 'hand' and 'thief' are general. The Prophet explained the hand is to be cut from the wrist and the punishment is only inflicted on a thief who steals something whose value exceeds a quarter of a *dīnar*[47] .

iii) practically implemented non detailed commands in the Qur'ān, such as the order to pray, fast and perform hajj.

iv) would generalise rulings that were specific. For example, the Qur'ān allowed shortening the prayer for travellers *in a state of fear*. The Prophet explained that the verse applied to all travellers whether in a state of fear or not[48]

v) The Prophet gave additional details to incidents mentioned in the Qur'ān. This story of the people of the pit in *Sūrah Burūj* is mentioned in detail in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, and the Prophet gave additional information regarding the story of *Mūsa* and *Khidr* in *Sūrah Kahf.*

Finally Azami mentions that without reference to the Prophetic *ḥadīth*, many incidents mentioned in the Qur'ān would be unclear. He gives a number of examples:

   a) "**So when Zayd had performed the necessary formality from her, We gave her to you in marriage**[49]". Who was Zayd, who was his wife,

---

[44] *Sūrah Al-An'ām 6:82*
[45] Bukhārī, Muslim and others
[46] *Al-Mā'idah 5:38*
[47] *Bukhārī and Muslim*
[48] *Muslim*
[49] *Sūrah Ahzāb 33:37*

and what were the circumstances leading to her divorce and subsequent re-marriage to the Prophet? This can only be answered by recourse to the *ḥadīth*. Also:

b) ii) "**He frowned and turned away because the blind man came to him**[50].

c) iii) "**And when Allah promised you one of the two bands that it should be yours**[51]"

d) iv) "**And also the three who were left behind...then He turned in Mercy to them**[52]"

The above verses are unclear without recourse to the relevant *ḥadīth*. In summary, without the Prophet's explanation of the Qur'ān, which is encapsulated in the *ḥadīth*, a Muslim would be unable to perform the various acts of worship enjoined on him in the Qur'ān. Likewise, without recourse to *ḥadīth* verses relating to *mu'amalāt* such as personal law, civil law and judicial law cannot be implemented properly. Most of the commands in the Qur'ān are general and the detail is provided by the *Sunna*. (Hasan, 1999: 498) A clear example is the prayer. Numerous verses in the Qur'ān, enjoin mankind to establish the prayer. But the number of prayers in a day, the number of *rakāts* in each prayer, the timing of the prayer, and what is recited in the prayer, are all detailed in the *sunna*.

---

[50] *Sūrah ʿAbasa* 80: 1
[51] *Sūrah Al-Anfāl* 8:7
[52] *Sūrah Al-Tawbah* 9:118

7.2 *Ḥadīth* is not (unrecited) revelation

Parwez states that: "this idea of two revelations [i.e. the Qur'an and the Sunnah] actually belonged to the Jews" (Chapter 1, Part 2, page 9).

Ahmed also reaffirms this stating: "The theory of two revelations that the Traditionists had propagated is Jewish in origin…"

Reply to 7.2.

The Qur'aniyūn reject the concept that *ḥadīth* is unrecited revelation, believing that the only revelation received by the Prophet was the Qur'ān. To evaluate this argument, we will:

i) define revelation (*wahy*),

ii) proof that Prophet received revelation besides the Qur'ān,

iii) demonstrate that this 'other' revelation is the *sunna*.

The *Sharī'ah* meaning of *wahy* is "the inspiration to the Prophets" The Qur'ān was inspired to the Prophet through the agency of Jibril as stated in the following verse:

"**Say, whoever is an enemy to Jibril, it is he who had brought it (the Qur'ān) down upon your heart by the permission of Allah**[53]".

However, this is only one of three types of *wahy*. The three types are explained in the following verse:

"**It is not possible for any human being that Allah should speak to him, unless it be by inspiration, or from behind a veil, or (that) He sends a Messenger to reveal what He wills by His Permission**[54]".

---

[53] *Al-Baqarah* 2:97
[54] *As-Shūra*: 42:51

So revelation to the Prophets came in three ways:

1. By inspiration
2. From behind a veil
3. [Allah] sends a Messenger to reveal what He wills

The revelation of the Qur'ān (recited revelation) is the third type of revelation mentioned in this verse. However, the Prophet also received revelation via two other modes. Since the Qur'ān was not revealed in either of these two modes, they are known as 'unrecited revelation'. Hence revelation is not just confined to the Qur'ān and these two types of revelations are revelations besides the Qur'ān .

An example of revelation by inspiration is the righteous dreams that the Prophet had; "**Indeed of a surety shall Allah fulfil the dream which He showed His Messenger, you shall enter the *Masjid al-Ḥarām***[55]…" and an example of 'from behind a veil' is when Allah spoke to the Prophet on his miraculous night journey.

There are many evidences from the Qur'ān that prove that there are revelations other than the Qur'ān. For example:

1) "**When Allah promised that one of the two groups shall be for you**[56]"i.e. Allah promised that the Muslims would either gain the caravan of Abū Sufyān, or defeat the army of Abū Jahl. However, this promise made by Allah is not found anywhere in the Qur'ān. *It was conveyed to the believers by the Prophet*, however the verse states 'Allah promised you' and not 'the Prophet promised you'. Hence the Prophet received the promise from Allah through unrecited revelation.

2) When the Muslims arrived in Madina, the Prophet commanded them to pray facing Jerusalam. This continued for seventeen months until Allah revealed, 'So turn your faces towards Masjid al-Harām[57]'. Some of the non Muslims criticised this order, and demanded to know why the *Qiblah* was originally Jerusalem, but had now been changed. So Allah revealed:

---

[55] *Al-Fath* 48:27
[56] *Al-Anfāl* 8:7
[57] *Baqarah* 2:144

"***And We did not appoint the Qiblah on which you were upon earlier*, but that We might know the people who follow the Messenger as distinct from those who turn back on their heels**[58]"

In other words this was a test from Allah. However, although Allah attributes the appointment of the previous *Qiblah* to Himself, this appointment is not found anywhere in the Qur'ān. It was the Prophet who told the believers to face Jerusalem, based upon revelation from Allah. This revelation was not part of the Qur'ān, and hence was unrecited revelation.

Further proof that the Prophet received revelation other than the Qur'ān is that the compilation of the Qur'ān is not in its chronological order. Verses revealed in Makkah are found in Madanī chapters and vice versa. Likewise chapters revealed in Madina come before chapters revealed in Makkah. The arrangement of verses within *surahs*, and the arrangement of the *surahs* within the Qur'ān could only have been done by the Prophet based upon revelation from Allah. As Allah commands the Prophet to say:

"…**it is not for me to change it of my own accord**[59]" However, given that this revelation does not occur in the Qur'ān, the method of compilation was based upon unrecited revelation.

Secondly, the names of the *surahs*; these are not mentioned in the Qur'ān, the Prophet could only have given these names based upon unrecited revelation.

Thirdly, Allah commanded the Prophet to listen to the Qur'ān[60], and to follow its reading[61]. There are no verses which command the Prophet to preserve the Qur'ān in writing. Yet the Prophet did so, in compliance with the unrecited revelation.

We can further refute the concept that the only revelation the Prophet received was the Qur'ān by proving that revelation is not confined to the revealed

---

[58] Baqarah 2:143
[59] Yūnus 10:15
[60] Al-A'rāf 7:204
[61] Al-Qiyāmah 75:18

Scriptures. One of the defining characteristics of every Prophet[62] is that they received revelation.

"Say: I am only a man like you. It has been revealed to me that your God is one God[63]".

Without receiving revelation, one cannot be called a Prophet. However although every Prophet received revelation, not every Prophet received a Book. A proof for this is the verse:

"And We have sent the revelation to you as We sent the revelation to Nūḥ and the Prophets after him. We sent the Revelation to Ibrahīm, Isḥāq, Ya'qūb, and Al-Asbāt, īsa, Ayyūb, Yūnus, Hārūn and Sulaymān, and to Dawūd We gave the Zabūr[64]"

This verse states that the aforementioned Prophets all received revelation, but it is known that many of them did not receive a book. If revelation was confined to the books, then every Prophet would have received one. The fact many Prophets did not receive a book demonstrates that there exists revelation outside of these books.

The authority of the Qur'ān lies in the fact that it is a revelation from Allah. Given that the *sunna* is also revelation from Allah, it follows that the *sunna* is equal in authority to the Qur'ān.

---

[62] Included in the definition of Prophet is 'Messenger' i.e. every Messenger is a Prophet but not vice versa
[63] *Al-Kahf* 18:10
[64] *An-Nisā* 4:163

7.3 *Hikmah*" does not mean Sunna or *ḥadīth*

Regarding the various ayāt that mention *Hikmah*, Parwez concludes: "from this we understand that wisdom is included in the Qur'ān. Moreover when we are certain of the wisdom that has been sent from Allah, then how can it be made part of the *ḥadīth*".

Ahmed states: "examining the use of the word *Hikmah*, occurring twenty times in the Quran, it is obvious that it refers to the teachings of the Quran, or to general wisdom that all prophet-messengers or moral teachers were endowed with"

Reply to 7.3

The Qur'aniyūn reject the orthodox Islamic position which equates the word '*Hikmah*' in some of the Qur'ānic verses to mean '*sunna*' I will demonstrate that the *Hikmah* mentioned in the Qur'ān does, in a number of verses, refer to the *sunna*. A number of verses prove this:

1) "***Allah revealed to you the Book <u>and</u> the Hikmah and He taught you what you knew not, and great is the Grace of Allah unto you***[65]"

2) "**Solemnly recall Allah's favour on you, and the fact that *He sent down to you the Book <u>and</u> the Hikmah* for your instruction**[66]…"

3) "**He is it He Who has sent among the unlettered ones, a Messenger from among themselves, reciting to them His verses, purifying them, *and teaching them the Book <u>and</u> the Hikmah.* And verily, they had been before in manifest error**[67]".

Shafi'ī explain that the letter '*wa*' (meaning 'and') between Book and *Hikmah* in the verses above is: "a letter of conjunction in Arabic which requires that the two parts it joins must be different otherwise the sentence will be redundant" (Siba'i,). Hence Allah revealed two separate things: the Book (i.e. the Qur'ān), and the *Hikmah*. Given that we have already established that as well as the Qur'ān, Allah revealed the *sunna* it follows that the *Hikmah* in the above verses must mean *sunna.* The following *ḥadīth* also supports this view: "Verily I have been given the Book and something similar to it[68]".

---

[65] *Al-Nisā* 4:113
[66] *Al-Baqarah* 2:231
[67] Jumu'ah 62:2 Also see *Baqarah* 2:129, *Baqarah* 2:151, *Imrān* 3:164, *Aḥzāb* 33:34
[68] *Abū Dawūd*

7.4 Verses stating that "nothing is left out" of the Qur'ān

`*We did not leave anything out of this book*, then all will be gathered before their Lord (for judgment)…[69]*".

Khalifa and Ahmad use the above verse as evidence against the authority of the *sunna*, as it is claimed that if "nothing is left out of the Qur'ān' then there is no need to turn to any other source.

Khalifa states:
"God says that Quran is COMPLETE, PERFECT, & FULLY DETAILED, and that you shall not seek any other source: `*We did not leave anything out of this book*, then all will be gathered before their Lord (for judgment)…[70]*". (italics mine) (2001:10)

Ahmed also quotes the above verse and concludes "So if God "did not leave anything out of this scripture," how can the Quran be incomplete?" (1997: 16).

Reply to 7.4

The full verse is:
 "**Any creature on earth and any bird that flies with wings, are all nations like you. We did not leave anything out of this Book. To their Lord they will all be gathered[71]**".

Ibn Kathīr explains `…We did not leave anything out of this Book" as meaning: "Allah has knowledge of all things, and He never forgets any of His creatures, nor their sustenance, nor their affairs…" (volume 3, 2000: 342).
As for the 'Book' mentioned in this verse, Qatādah as well as Baghawi and Ibn Jauzi explain it mean the Preserved Tablet and not the Qur'ān The following verse from *Sūrah Hūd* also supports this view:

---

[69] *Sūrah Al A'nām* 6:38-39
[70] *Sūrah* Al A'nām 6:38-39
[71] Surah Al-An'ām 6:38

"**There is no moving creature on earth but its sustenance depends on Allah: He knows the time and place of its definite abode and its temporary deposit; *all is in a clear book*[72]**" (italics mine).

Obviously the 'clear book' mentioned in the verse above cannot refer to the Qur'ān, as detailed information about the creation of Allah is not in the Qur'ān. Now, the context of the verse in *Al-An'ām* is the same as *Hūd*. Both verses begin with a discussion of the creatures of Allah and then explain that the information regarding them is in a clear book. In *Sūrah Hūd* the 'clear book' can only refer to the preserved tablet as no other explanation is plausible. Based upon this, the above mentioned scholars deduced that the 'clear book' in the first ayah also refers to the preserved tablet. Ibn Jauzi also explains that even if 'the book' in the verse in *An'ām* was to refer to the Qur'ān, then in this case it means:

> "We have not omitted which you would be in need of except that it has been made clear in the book [the Qur'ān], either by clear text, undetailed statement, or indication" (taken from Zarabozo, 2000:68).

Hence everything is contained in the Qur'ān either by:

1) *clear text* – e.g. avoiding shirk, zina, murder, slander, respecting ones parents, etc
2) *undetailed statement* – e.g. the prayer, fasting, zakāt, which are detailed in the *sunna*.
3) *or by indication*. In this case, ijtihād is used to extract the meaning of the verse.

---

[72] *Hūd* 11:6

7.5 All religious practices are from Abraham

In order to avoid the issue of the details of the manner of the prayer, fasting and other acts of worship, the Quraniyoon reply with a rather bizarre answer. Khalifa states:

"THEIR FAVORITE QUESTION: "If Quran is complete and fully detailed (as God says), where can we find the details of Salat prayers?" This famous question reveals their total ignorance of Quran and a subconscious effort to prove that God is wrong in His repeated assertions that Quran is "complete" and "fully detailed." For the Quran teaches in no uncertain terms that Abraham is the founder of Islam as it is practiced today. As such, what did Abraham contribute to our daily life as Muslims?
"The Quran teaches that ALL RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN ISLAM (Salat, Zakat, Fasting & Hajj) CAME TO US FROM ABRAHAM, GENERATION AFTER GENERATION. Thus, Islam in its final form, as is practiced today, is based on two things: (1) QURAN: contributed through Muhammad, and (2) RELIGIOUS PRACTICES: through Abraham" (Khalifa, 2001:40)

Ahmed states:

"The Quran clearly states that the obligatory prayers and all other religious observances of Islam were originally taught to Abraham. All the prophets and their true followers since Abraham practiced them, but, as *the Quran also informs us, later generations, including the Arabs at the advent of Muhammad, had lost these prayers*… A moment's thought will also make us realize that we do not learn how to pray from the *ḥadīth*. We learn to do so from our parents and teachers who inherit the practice through the generations from the first source, that is Prophet Abraham". (Ahmed: 1997: 14) (my italics)

Reply to 7.5

A number of points can be made in reply to this. Firstly, Khalifa here states that Islam is based on two things: Qur'ān and religious practices. This contradicts his main hypothesis that the Qur'ān is the sole source of guidance.

Secondly, if we accept that the Prophet received the manner of his prayer "generation after generation" from Prophet Ibrahīm, it still begs the question: how was the description of the prayer transmitted from the Prophet (salalahu alaihi *wa* sallam) to the Muslims who came after him. It must have been reported from those who witnessed it, to the tabi'īn, and from the latter to the next generation, and so on. This is precisely what the *ḥadīth* is; a report about what the Prophet said or did, through a chain of transmission.

Thirdly, if the correct mode of the prayer is from Ibrahīm, then why do some of the Quraniyūn pray only twice a day, others pray three times a day, and others four, five and even six times a day. Which one did the one who they claim to follow pray?

Fourthly, did the manner of the prayer (and other religious practices) that came allegedly came from Ibrahīm to the Prophet, remain intact? According to Khalifa, it was:

"Thus, Abu Lahab, Abu Jahl, and the idolaters of Quraish used to observe the FIVE DAILY SALAT PRAYERS[73] exactly as we do today, with the single exception of substituting the Quranic Faatihha for the Ibrahimy Faatihha" (Khalifa:2001:41).

However, Khalifa contradicts himself a few line later by quoting the verse from *Sūrah Anfāl*[74]:

"And their worship at the House is nothing but whistling and clapping".

This verse shows that not only was the pure monotheism of Ibrahīm distorted by the pagan Arabs, but the various acts of worship, including the prayer were also distorted. The prayer of Abu Lahab, Abu Jahl, and the idolaters of Quraish was nothing but 'whistling and clapping', they would perform the tawāf naked, they

---

[73] Capitals are his.
[74] Al-Anfāl 8:34

had idols of *Safa* and *Marwa*, and even their *talbiyah* contained shirk. It is inconceivable that mode of the various acts of worship (from Ibrahīm) would be preserved by a people who distorted and corrupted the very foundation of the religion; *tawhīd*. In fact Allah rebuts the claim of the disbelievers when they said that they were following the Prophet Ibrahīm.

Ahmed, who took his hypothesis from Khalifa, directly contradicts Khalifa by stating

"as the Quran also informs us, later generations, including the Arabs at the advent of Muhammad, had lost these prayers", but then come up with a novel explanation as to how we should pray: "…we do not learn how to pray from the *ḥadīth*. We learn to do so from our parents and teachers who inherit the practice through the generations from the first source, that is Prophet Abraham".

A few points regarding his statement. Firstly, how are we supposed to go back to the first source if the Arabs at the time of the Prophet had lost these prayers? Secondly, regarding, learning from parents and teachers, who did the Companions learn from; their parents, or their teacher, the Prophet Muhammad (salalahu alaihi *wa* sallam). The way in which the Companions conveyed the manner of the prayer to the following generation (i.e. through narration of *ḥadīth*) has already been described.

Summary of 7.1 to 7.5

The preceding four sections have discussed the *sunna* and *ḥadīth* as a concept. They have proved the indispensability of the *sunna* by demonstrating that:

- the *sunna* is a revelation from Allah,

- the Qur'ān has obligated us to follow the *sunna*, and

- the *sunna* explains the Qur'ān. Without this explanation, the major tenants of Islam could be understood or practiced.

Allah has promised to preserve the Qur'ān: *"Indeed We revealed this reminder and We shall surely preserve it*[75]*"*. However, it is inconceivable that Allah would preserve the Qur'ān in wording only, and not in meaning. And we have demonstrated earlier that the meaning of the Qur'ān cannot be understood without the *sunna*. Hence, by logical necessity Allah has preserved the *sunna*. Therefore, the historical based arguments postulated by the Qur'aniyūn against the preservation of the *sunna* (mentioned in 8.7 to 8.13) can be refuted in by this general argument; Allah's promise to preserve the Qur'ān necessitates the preservation of the *sunna*. However, in the following sections, I shall show in some details *how* the *sunna* was preserved as additional evidence against their misconceptions.

---

[75] *Sūrah Al-Hijr 15:9*

7.6 No methodology for preservation of *ḥadīth* and Recording of *ḥadīth* prohibited by the Prophet

The above two points will be dealt with together.

Ahmed states: "Several modern *ḥadīth* scholars claim that they possess new evidence to prove that the *ḥadīth* were written down at the time of the Prophet. … "Why was the official compilation not made earlier, especially during the time of the righteous caliphs when the first reporters… were still alive and could be examined?" (Ahmed, 1997: 20)

Parwez states: "If *Hadīth* is part of Deen, then the procedures Messenger adopted for Quran are not implemented in the case of *ḥadīth*. Like having it memorized, then listening to his followers for any errors or that he satisfactorily approved what had been dictated and written…if *ḥadīth* is all that significant, why the Messenger did not take the same measures as he did in the case of Holy Quran?" (Parwez, 2005: 3)

Ahmed more specific than Parwez; stating that there was no official compilation, Both authors quote the *ḥadīth*: "Do not write down anything from me except the Quran. Whoever writes down anything other than the Quran must erase it." (Ahmed, 1997: 31 Parwez, 2005: 3-4)

Reply to 7.6

In order to demonstrate that the methodology existed to preserve the Qur'ān, Parwez and Ahmad bring a number of statements of the Companions. I will use the same sources to prove that a methodology existed for the preservation of the *ḥadīth*.

Regarding the issue of the prohibition of writing *ḥadīth*, I will also use the *aḥadīth* pertinent to the topic, as the authors have done, to arrive at a conclusion. However first I will demonstrate there was a strong tradition of writing among the Arabs prior to the Prophethood of Muhammad (salalahu alaihi wa sallam).

Pre- Islamic Writing Tradition

a) When the Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) invited Suwayd bin Ṣāmit to embrace Islam, the latter declined saying 'you might be having the same thing as I possess'. When asked about this, Suwayd stated that he was in possession of *Majallat Luqmān* (i,e. a manuscript containing the wise sayings of Luqmān) and proceeded to read this to the Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam). The Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) said that he has something more precious and valuable, namely the Qur'ān.

b) The pre-Islamic Arabs possessed books known as *rawāsim* (plural *rawāsīm*) which contained the customary laws of Arabian society[76].

c) Sprenger states that the Book of Enoch was translated into Arabic before the time of the Prophet[77].

d) A number of pacts and tribal agreements were written before the advent of Prophethood, including the agreement between Qahṭān and Rabī'a[78], and the agreement between Khuzā'a and 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib[79].

---

[76] Lisan al-Arab (Ibn Manzur) xii page 241
[77] *Origins of writing* in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal: 1856 p.376
[78] Abū Hanīfa ad_Dinawari, *Al-Akhbār at-Tiwāl* page 353-354
[79] Nāsir al-Asad, *Masādir ash-Shir al-Jāhilī* page 66

e) Many poetical works of the pre-Islamic period were written down. It is well known that some pagan poetry was written in golden letters and hung on the doors of the Ka'ba. Nāsir al-Asad has collected twenty references of written poetry from pre-Islamic Arabia[80]. As well as poetry, the tribal genealogies and the war stories (ayyām al'Arab) were also recorded in writing.[81]

f) There were also instances of personal letters, for example Quṣayy bin Kilāb wrote to his brother Rizāḥ asking for his help[82].

g) Mohammed Maraqten states that "From the second half of the nineteenth century, thousand of South Arabian and other early Arabian inscriptions have been found all over Arabia. Most of them written on stone, but some on bronze and other material…"[83]

The above demonstrates that their existed a strong literary tradition in Arabia prior to the advent of the Prophethood of Muhammad (salalahu alaihi wa sallam). Despite their incredible memory powers, the pre Islamic Arabs were keen to preserve important information (wise sayings, poetry, war-like deeds, military pacts etc) in writing. Hence it was only natural that upon embracing Islam, the Arabs would also record the sayings and deeds of the Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) particularly when he had encouraged them to do so (as will be shown). If the wise sayings of Luqmān and Daniel could be preserved in writing, then the Prophet's *sunna* had even more right to be preserved.

7.6.1   The Prophet's Personality

The greatest factor in enabling the Companions to preserve the *Sunna* was the personality of the Prophet himself. It is well known that a person will closely observe and emulate the object of his love, even more so if the object of his love possesses a noble personality, elegant manners, refined speech, beautiful appearance and a compassionate nature. The intense love that the Companions had for the Prophet ensured that they closely observed his every saying and

---

[80] Nāsir al-Asad, *Masādir ash-Shir al-Jāhilī* page 122-133
[81] Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, volume 4 page 32-33
[82] Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allah*, page 75 (ed Wustenfeld)
[83] Mohammed Maraqten, *Writing Material in Pre-Islamic Arabia*, in Journal of Semitic Studies, Autumn 1988.

action.. In addition the Arabs at that time were known for their excellent memories. (Ahmed, 1997:153)

7.6.2   The Prophet as a teacher.

The qualities of the Prophet (sallahu alaihi *wa* sallam) as a teacher was one of the ways which ensured that the *sunna* was preserved. Muslim narrates that the Companion Mu'āwiyah ibn al-Ḥakam as- Sulamī said "…I never came across a teacher before him nor after him better than him in teaching" The Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) had numerous teaching techniques. . These include repeating important information three times, using question and answer[84], practically demonstrating his *sunna*, for example the ablution, prayer and hajj, using similitudes[85], by drawing on the ground[86], by combining speech and hand actions[87], and emphasising what he is teaching by taking an oath[88]. This list is my no means exhaustive.

7.6.3   Encouragement and Warning

Azami states that the Prophet encouraged the Companions to learn and preserve his *sunna* and as well as warning them from neglecting it. : Azami quotes the following *aḥadīth*: "Convey from me, even it is one ayah", and "Whoever conceals knowledge will be raised up on the Day of Judgement with a bridle of fire" .

---

[84] e.g. "do you know who the bankrupt person is?"

[85] "the similitude of a believer who recites the Qur'ān is like that of a citron…"

[86] ʾAbdullaah Ibn Masʿood (radiyallaahu ʾanhu) said: "One day the Messenger of Allaah drew for us a straight line on the ground and said: 'This is the path of Allaah.' Then he drew a number of other lines on the right and the left of the straight line, and said: 'These are pathways, on the head of each path is a shaytaan calling people to it (himself).' Then he recited: "And verily this is My Path so follow it." This *ḥadīth* is found in Ahmad, an-Nisaaʾee, ad-Daarimee. It was authenticated by Shaykh al-Albaanee in Sharhul-ʿAqeedatit-Tahaawiyyah (no. 810).

[87] Sahl ibn Saʾdī said: "The Messenger of Allah said: 'I and the one who takes care of the orphans will be like this in Paradise'. He then showed his forefinger and middle finger and left a slight gap between the two". (Bukhārī).

[88] From Anas : Rasulullah (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) said : "By Him in whose hand is my soul, a servant (of Allah) does not believe (truly) until he likes for his brother what he likes for himself ". (Bukhari, Muslim)

The Prophet also encouraged his companions to memorise his sayings; "May Allah brighten the man who heard a *ḥadīth* from us, memorised it and then conveys it just as he heard it…[89]" .

7.6.4   Methods used by the Companions to preserve the *Sunna*.

i) Memorisation

The Arabs were renowned for their powerful memories. It has been scientifically proven that the constant use of a certain human faculty makes it more responsive. The early Arabs paid great attention to their memories and developed this to its highest point[90]. Anās ibn Mālik said "we sat with the Prophet, maybe sixty in number, and the Prophet taught us some *ḥadīth*. Later on, when he went out for some necessity, we used to memorise it amongst us, when we departed, it was cultivated upon our hearts[91]".

ii) Recollection of *ḥadīth*

Azami states that Abu Hurayra would divide up the night into three parts; a third for prayer, a third for sleeping, and a third for the recollection of *ḥadīth* (1977: 14).

iii) Practice

The Companions were keen to implement everything they had learnt. Their daily routines such as worship, dress, food, personal hygiene, family relations, business, travel and so on, were based upon the *sunna*. Continual practice of the *sunna* ensured its preservation. .

iv) Asking questions to one another

Anas reported that whenever the Companions met each other, they would ask each other about any new *ḥadīth*. Umar and his Ansari neighbour took it in turns to spend time with the Prophet (sallahu alaihi *wa* sallam).

---

[89] Tirmidhi. Shaikh Abdul Muhsin Al-Abbād has stated that this is a mutawattir *ḥadīth*, narrated by 24 Companions, and recorded in 45 books of *ḥadīth*.
[90] For example, Asmaʾī (d216) knew 15,000 poems by heart (*Tarīkh Adāb al-Lugha*, ii. page 120) and Abū Tammām (d232) could recite 14,000 verses of poetry by heart (ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʾyān* page 335)
[91] Khatīb al Bagdādi, *Al-Jamī li Ahlāq al-Rāwī wa Adāb al-Sāmi'(manuscript in Alexandria)* page 43

v) Writing

Many *aḥadīth* of the Prophet were preserved in writing in his lifetime. Given that this fact is disputed by the Qur'aniyūn, we will examine the various *aḥadīth* concerning writing.

7.6.5 Evidence against recording of *ḥadīth*.

One of the evidences used by the Qur'aniyūn is the following authentic *ḥadīth*: "Do not write down anything from me except the Qur'an, and whoever had anything from me other than the Qur'an should erase it"[92]. A number of other *aḥadīth* are also used as evidence against the recording of *ḥadīth*, but they are all weak. This hadith will be discussed in 7.6.7.

7.6.6 Evidence in favour of recording of *ḥadīth*.

Many *aḥadīth* of the Prophet were preserved in writing in his lifetime. Given that this fact is disputed by the Quraniyoon, we will examine the various *aḥadīth* concerning writing.

1. Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al Ăṣ (d63H) used to write down everything he heard from the Messenger. When some of the Quraysh advised him not to do so, as the Messenger, being human, is subjected to the normal human emotions of anger and pleasure, he went to the Messenger of Allah to clarify this doubt. The Messenger (sallahu alaihi *wa* sallam) said: "Write, by the One Who's Hand is my soul, nothing comes from here except the truth[93]".

This collection of written *ḥadīth* from Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al Ăṣ was called *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sādiqah* (the truthful record) and contained almost 1000 *aḥadīth*. It was inherited by his grandson, Shu'ayb bin Muhammad, and following his death, by 'Amr, the great grandson of Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al Ăṣ. Although the original is lost, it was seen by Mujāhid (d102H), and is contained within the *Musnad* of Ahmed[94] (Ṣiddīqī, 1993: 24)

---

[92] *Sahih Muslim*
[93] Tirmidhi, Abu Dawūd and Ahmed
[94] Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, volume eight.

Bukhārī states that Abu Hurayrah said: "One can find no companion of the Messenger of Allah relating more *ḥadīth* than I, except Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al Ăṣ, because he used to record the *aḥadīth*, while I did not do so[95]"

2. Saʽīd b Hilal narrated that "Anas bin Malik would mention everything that he had written by memory, whilst showing us, he would say: "I heard this narration from the Messenger of Allah (sallahu alaihi *wa* sallam) and I would write it down, and repeat it to the Messenger of Allah, so that he would affirm it[96]" Anas was the servant of the Prophet for over ten years, and he had ample opportunity to witness the sayings and actions of the Prophet. He lived for eighty one years after the death of Prophet enabling a large number of students to benefit from him. He also stated: 'The knowledge of those who have not committed it to writing is not considered as knowledge to us'[97]" Among his students is the famous tabi'īn, Zuhrī who received most of his *ḥadīth*, memorised them and gained a deep understanding of them[98]. Some of the scholars consider the isnād: az-Zuhrī ----Anas---Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) to be the soundest of all asānīd.

3. Amr b Hazm (d51H) was appointed by the Messenger of Allah (sallahu alaihi *wa* sallam) as governor of Najran. He had a document "containing times of the prayer, methods of the prayer, ablution, booty, taxation, zakat" and other issues. Amr bin Hazm also collected 21 other letter of the Prophet (sallahu alaihi *wa* sallam) and complied them in book form[99]. It is stated in Kitāb Amwāl that a copy of the original document was made by Muḥammad bin Abdur Raḥmān. The original document was given to Zuḥrī by Abū Bakr bin Amr bin Hazm

4.Tirmidhi narrated that a man from the Ansar complained to the Messenger of Allah about the weakness of his memory to which the Prophet (sallahu alaihi *wa* sallam) replied: "Be helped by the right hand[100]"

5. The Prophet (sallahu alaihi *wa* sallam) instructed a companion to write his final sermon delivered in Makkah in 8 AH,: stating "Write it for Abu Shah[101] [Yamanī]"

---

[95] Bukhārī, Kitāb al-ʿIlm
[96] Mustadrak of al-Hākim
[97] Khaṭīb al Bagdādī, *Taqyīd al-Ilm*, page 96
[98] An-Nawawī, Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa'l-Lughāt, volume one, page 58
[99] Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lām al-Sāl'īlīn 'an Kuttub Sayyid al-Mursalīn, page 48-52
[100] Tirmidhi, Kitāb al-ʿIlm
[101] Bukhārī, Kitāb al-ʿIlm

6. "Alī bin Abū Talib possessed a saḥīfa from the Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) which contained rules regarding blood money, taxes on animals and other legal rulings[102]. He would keep this in the scabbard of his sword.

7. Abū Hurayra.

He had four outstanding *ḥadīth* students: Abū Sāliḥ Dhakwān (d101), Abū Salama bin Abd al-Raḥmān (d94), Abd al-Raḥmān bin Hurmuz al-A'rah (d117) and Hammān ibn Munabbah (d101).

The Prophet (sallahu alaihi *wa* sallam) also sent countless lengthy letters to various Muslim governors with detailed instructions, as well as to Kufār leaders[103]. These are examples of writings, in the time of the Messenger of Allah, which were other than the Qur'an.

The examples given above demonstrate that the Prophet approved of the writing of *ḥadīth*. I will also give examples of Sahābah writing *ḥadīth* in the period *after the Prophet*. These examples are also a proof, as we know that the Companions would never wilfully disobey the Messenger, and other Companions would correct them if they inadvertently opposed the Messenger's commands.

6. Abdullah ibn Abbas (d68H) the Prophet's cousin, would sit outside the door of various companions in very hot and windy weather (waiting for them to come out) to ask them about *ḥadīth*. When they saw him, they would say: 'O cousin of the Prophet…if you had sent someone, we would have come to you'. Ibn Abbas would reply: 'No, I must come to you'. Then he used to ask them about *ḥadīth*[104]. He would ask as many as 30 different companions about a single incident[105].

His slave, Kurayb, would assist him in writing *ḥadīth*. After his death Kurayb entrusted the books of Ibn Abbas to the famous historian, Mūsa b Uqba who said: "Kurayb b Muslim deposited with us a camel load of book of Abdullah ibn Abbas, and when his son Ali b Abdullah ibn Abbas wanted a book, he wrote to Kurayb saying: 'send me such and such sahifah, Kurayb used to transcribe it and send him one of the two copies."[106]

---

[102] Khaṭīb al Bagdādī, *Taqyīd al-Ilm*, page 88-89
[103] al-Azami, M. Mustafa. (1992). *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature.* pp 34-74
[104] Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr* volume 2 page 132
[105] Dhahabi, *Siyar a'lām al-nubla,* (Beirut, 1982) volume 3 page 231
[106] Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah, *An introduction to the conservation of ḥadīth in light of Ṣaḥīhaḥ of Hammān ibn Munabbah,* page 45-6

7. One of the strongest evidences for the early recording of *ḥadīth* is the *al-Ṣaḥīfah al Ṣaḥīḥaḥ* of Hammān ibn Munabbah (d101). He was a student of Abu Huraryah who dictated 138 narrations to him. Almost the entire collection is in *Musnad Ahmed* as well as Bukhārī and Muslim. Amazingly, the extant collection was discovered by Dr. Hamidullah and has been translated into English.

In his book Studies in Early *Ḥadīth* Literature, Azami mentions fifty Companions and forty nine first century scholars who wrote *aḥadīth* .Many of these companions had their own personal note books containing *ḥadīth*. These include:

- Kitāb of Sa'd bin Ubāda[107] (d15H)
- Kitāb of Mu'ādh bin Jabal[108] (d18H)
- Kitāb of Abū Rāfi[109]
- Kutub of Abū Hurayra (d59H). He showed his large collection of *ḥadīth* books to Ḥasan bin 'Amr bin Umayya aḍ-Ḍamrī[110] and to Ibn Wahb[111]

As well as the *aḥadīth*, there was other written material in the time of the Prophet (sallahu alaihi *wa* sallam). These include the constitution of Madina, the Census in 1H[112], treaties with various tribes, letters to kings, correspondence with Jews and instructions to governors (Hamidullah, 2003: 20-6, et al).

7.6.7   Reconciling the *ḥadīth* in Sahih Muslim with the evidence above.

The previous section demonstrates the overwhelming evidence that *ḥadīth* were written in the time of the Prophet with his approval. In light of this, scholars have interpreted the *ḥadīth* - "*Do not write down anything from me except the Qur'an, and whoever had anything from me other than the Qur'an should erase it*" in a number of ways.

1) The prohibition only applied in the early days of Islam for fear of confusion between verses of the Qur'an and the *ḥadīth*. When this fear was alleviated, the command was abrogated and the people were permitted to write *aḥadīth*[113] . Ibn

---

[107] Shāfi'ī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, vii, p112
[108] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, i, p19-20
[109] Khaṭīb al Bagdādī, *Al-Kifāya fī 'Ilm ar-Riwiya*, page 39
[110] Ibn 'Abdul Barr, *Jāmi' Bayān al'ilm* i, page 74
[111] Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-Barī*, i, page 148
[112] Bukhārī
[113] Siba'i, *as-Sunna wa makānatatuha fī tashrī al-Islamī,* page 72 and Khatīb al Bagdādi, *Taqyīd al-Ilm*

Quttayba, Ibn Taymīyah and Ahmed Shākir are of the opinion that the *ḥadīth* is abrogated

2) Some scholars states that the prohibition was meant for companions who were not well trained in the art of writing and not to those who were conversant in writing[114] Ibn Quttayba mentions this opinion.

3) The prohibition applied to writing the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* on the same sheet for fear of confusion between the two[115]. The Qur'ān was still in the process of being revealed and the text was still incomplete. If both were written on the same sheet, there was a danger that the Qur'ān could be confused with the Prophet's own words, especially given that he (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) was the noble mouthpiece of both Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*.

Finally when we examine the full text of the *ḥadīth* quoted by the Qur'aniyūn, we find that it refutes their view that the statements of the Prophet were not to be preserved. The full text of the *ḥadīth* in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* is: "Do not write down anything from me except the Qur'an, and whoever had anything from me other than the Qur'an should erase it. *Narrate to others*, and whoever deliberately attributes a lie to me, he should prepare his seat in the Fire" . After prohibiting writing the *ḥadīth*, the Prophet encouraged the preservation of his *ḥadīth* by narrating it.

In conclusion, the prohibition of writing *ḥadīth* was neither permanent nor general. This is further evidenced by the fact that the Prophet wished to dictate something at his death bed; this would not have occurred if the ban was permanent.

---

[114] Ajjāl al Khatīb, *As-sunna qabl at-tadwīn* page 308
[115] Subhi, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth wa Mustalahuhū,* page 20

7.7 Burning of written records by Abū Bakr and ‘Umar (may Allah be pleased with them)

7.7.1 Burning of records by Abū Bakr

It is reported that both Abū Bakr and Umar, as Caliphs had written collections of *aḥadīth* burnt. As we will demonstrate, their individual motives for doing so were different, and their actions cannot be interpreted as an opposition to the preservation of the *sunna*, nor as prove that no written *ḥadīth* existed in their time.

Parwez quotes the following narration from al-Dhahabī[116] regarding Abū Bakr:

"The wife of the Messenger mentions that her father (Hazrat Abu Bakr) had collected the *Ḥadīth*s of the Messenger which were five hundred in number. She says, 'One night I noticed that my father was restless in his bed and was very perturbed. I asked him if he was in some bodily pain or was this condition due to any bad news that he might have heard? He did not answer my question. In the morning he asked me to bring him the collection of *Ḥadīth*s and then he made a bonfire of them all" (Parwez, Chapter 1, Part 1, page 5-6).

Firstly although Parwez quotes the above narration from al-Dhahabī, he fails to mention that al-Dhahabī declares the narration to be false[117]. Azami also mentions that a number of other scholars have criticised the *isnād* of this narration. He further questions the authenticity based upon the *matn*; given the close relationship between the Prophet and Abū Bakr, why would the latter need intermediaries to narrate *aḥadīth* from the Prophet? [118].

Secondly, Parwez only quoted part of the narration. The same narration also mentions the reason why Abū Bakr had his collection of *aḥadīth* burnt. Parwez chose not to mention this.

"…I [Aisha – the daughter of Abū Bakr] asked 'Why did you burn it?' He [Abū Bakr] replied: 'I feared that should I die leaving this book behind and it should

---

[116] From *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*
[117] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz,* 1:5
[118] al-Azami, M. Mustafa. (1992). *Studies in Early Hadīth Literature*, page 34

contain a *ḥadīth* related by a person who in my opinion may have been trustworthy and meriting confidence but in reality the narration should not have been as he related it, and I should have reproduced it only to be proved later to be not correct. And God knows better'[119] ″

Assuming the narration was authentic, the reason why Abū Bakr had his collection of five hundred *aḥadīth* burnt was due to his fear that it may have contained inauthentic narrations from men who were not as trustworthy as first seemed. It was not, as Parwez claims, because the Messenger had banned the writing of *ḥadīth* (in order to ensure the *only* the Qur'ān was preserved). In addition, the fact that Abū Bakr had in his possession a written collection of *ḥadīth* refutes the hypothesis that the Prophet's ban on writing *aḥadīth* was permanent. Hence Abū Bakr's burning of *aḥadīth* was to preserve the *sunna* by preventing inauthentic narrations from entering into it.

Abū Bakr would refer to both the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* One of the first issues that the Muslims had to resolve following the death of the Prophet was concerning the place of the Prophet's burial. Abū Bakr resolved this by quoting the *ḥadīth*; 'Whenever a Prophet died, he was buried where he died[120]

7.7.2 Burning of records by ʿUmar

Parwez states two narrations:

1) "OmarR (sic) wanted to compile the sayings and parables of the Messenger. He asked from the companions of Messenger MuhammadPBUH to grant him a decree, to which they faithfully conceded. Inspite of the companions consent Hazrat OmarR was not convinced. For complete one month Hazrat OmarR performed Istekhara. .. then he said I thought about the generations that have passed before us, who wrote books and adhered to those books so strongly that they forgot the Book of Allah. I swear upon Allah, I will not let the word of Allah be amalgamated with other words."

---

[119] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz,* 1:5
[120] Tirmidhi and Sirah Ibn Hishām, 2:661

2) On the same page he adds: "During Hazrat Omar's caliphate the *aḥadīth* were in abundance. .. He then ordered to make a public bonfire of those *ḥadīth*s" (Parwez, Chapter 1, Part 1, page 5).

Parwez concludes that the reason why Umar did not compile the *ḥadīth* but rather, ordered the burning of the *aḥadīth* was "because the Messenger had ordered every companion not to ask him to dictate anything else besides the Qur'ān" Parwez, Chapter 1, Part 1, page 5).

About the first narration Azami states that it is mursal as Urwah bin Zubayr did not hear directly from Umar, and hence the narration cannot be regarded as authentic[121] .However a number of scholars mention this narration including 'Abd al-Razzāq as-Sanāni and Khatīb al Bagdādī[122]

If we assume this narration is authentic, it actually disproves Parwez's hypothesis. If the Prophet's command 'not to dictate anything else besides the Qur'ān' was permanent then 'Umar would have not contemplated the endeavour in the first place, nor would the Companions have given their approval to it. When 'Umar gave his reason for not codifying the *aḥadīth*, he mentioned his own *ijtihād* and not any Prophetic *ḥadīth*. If the prohibitive *ḥadīth* were applicable in this situation, it is inconceivable that 'Umar would give his own opinion in a matter where a clear *ḥadīth* existed.

What then was the reason why 'Umar decided against codifying the *aḥadīth* and why did he order the burning of written collections of *aḥadīth*? 'Umar was concerned that a written collection of *aḥadīth* might compete with the Qur'ān. The Qur'ān was still a relatively new compilation and he did not want Muslims to give undue importance to the *aḥadīth* over and above the Qur'ān. However, he *did* wish to preserve the *aḥadīth*, but decided against its official codification, due to the potential harm it may cause to the Qur'ān[123] Using his *ijtihād*, he decided that the benefits of codification would be outweighed by the potential harm.

'Umar was in fact in favour of writing *ḥadīth*. He said; "Preserve knowledge in books[124]". This is further evidenced by the fact that he would often quote *ḥadīth*

---

[121] al-Azami, M. Mustafa. (1992). *Studies in Early Hadīth Literature* page 57
[122] Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah, *An introduction to the conservation of ḥadīth in light of Ṣaḥīḥaḥ of Hammān ibn Munabbah,* page 39
[123] Al-Siba'i, *as-Sunna wa makānatatuha fī tashrī al-Islamī,* page 63
[124] Khaṭīb al Bagdādī, *Taqyīd al-Ilm*, page 88, and Ibn 'Abdul Barr, *Jāmi' Bayān al'ilm* 1: 72

in his official letters[125], and had a written document regarding taxation and other financial matters[126]. When Abū Bakr wanted to fight those who refused to pay *zakah*, Umar responded with a *ḥadīth* to justify his position (that as long as they said the testification of faith, they were not to be fought)[127].

Further evidence that 'Umar referred to *ḥadīth* is as follows:

- Umar asked the pilgrims in Minā regarding blood money, Daḥḥāk bin Sufyān said that the Prophet had written to him ordering him to give to the wife of Ashyam al-Ḍibābī the inherited share from her husband's blood money. Umar then judged accordingly[128].

- Regarding the Magians, Umar accepted *jizya* from them only after Abdur-Raḥmān bin 'Auf informed him of the relevant *ḥadīth*[129].

- A final example is incident that occurred on his journey to Syria. On route, he was informed that a plague had broken out in Syria. Umar then consulted his companions, who differed as to whether they should proceed to Syria or return to Madina. The dispute was only resolved when Abdur-Raḥmān bin 'Auf narrated a *ḥadīth* from the Prophet which stated that one was not to travel to a place where an epidemic had broken out.

The statement of Parwez: "During Hazrat Omar's caliphate the *aḥadīth* were in abundance…" also disproves his statement that the Prophet forbade the writing of *aḥadīth*. (unless the *aḥadīth* were written by the Companions in direct opposition to his order).

---

[125] Abū 'Ubayd *Kitāb al-Amwāl* page 362-3
[126] Abū 'Ubayd *Kitāb al-Amwāl* page 362-3
[127] Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-Bāri,* 3:212
[128] Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'*, page 866
[129] Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'*, page 278

7.8   No previous records before Bukhārī

Khalifa states: "It is well known that the first book of *Ḥadīth* is that of Bukhary, who was born more than 200 years after the death of Muhammad" (2001:83).

Parwez says about the authors of the *kutub sittah*: "… there were no written records of *ḥadīth* before their collections…there were no previous records that they could have borrowed the material for their collections" (Chapter 1, part 1: 8-9).

Thus the above two authors believe that no written compilations of *ḥadīth* existed before Bukhārī, who had to rely purely on "hearsay" (Parwez, Chapter 1, part 1: 8) when compiling his collection.

Reply to 7.8

The above view is clearly in opposition to historical fact and contradicts Parwez's earlier statements where he mentions the extant *Ṣaḥīfah* of Hammān ibn Munabbah (d110) (n.d.a) and the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik (d179) (n.d.a).

In addition, a number of *ḥadīth* compilations written pre- Bukhārī (d256) are also extant[130]. These include:

- the *Musnad* of Abū Daūd al-Ṭayālisī[131] (d203),

- the *Muṣannaf* of Abd al-Razzāq[132] (d211),

- *al-Jamī'* of Ma'mar ibn Rāshīd[133] (d153),

- *Kitāb al-Siyār* of al- Fazārī[134] (d188),

- the *ḥadīth* collection of Juwairīyah bin Asmā from Nāfi'[135] (d173),

- the *Sīrah* of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (d151)[136]

---

[130] See appendix two for further details of extant books.
[131] Preserved in the Oriental library at Patna (Ṣiddīqī, 1993: 44)
[132] This was published in Beirut 1970 in 11 volumes. The editor is Habib al-Rahman al-A`zami
[133] Preserved in the library of the Faculty of History and Geography, University of Ankara (Hamidullah, 2003: 57n2)
[134] Preserved in al- Qarawiyyīn library in Fez (Azami, 1992: 153)
[135] Preserved in Istanbul (Azami, 1992: 145)
[136] Original but incomplete manuscripts are in Al- Zāhirīyah library in Rabāṭ (Azami, 1992: 153)

Motzki mentions a number of other written sources prior to Bukhārī included Ibn Jurayj's (d150) *Kitāb al-Sunan,* ath-Thawrī's (d161) *al-Jāmi'al-kabīr* and *al-Jāmi'al-ṣaghīr*, and Ibn 'Uyayna's (d198) *Kitāb al-Jawāmi' f'ī l-sunan wa-l-abwāb[137]*

Bukhārī had access to written *ḥadīth* material. He stated that:

> "When I was to write a narration from a man, I would first ask his name, his *kunayah*, his descent/origin, and how he conveyed the *ḥadīth*, (and) if he was a person of sound comprehension. If not *then I would ask him to bring out his original manuscript copy*"[138]

Azami states that in the first two centuries of Islam (i.e. prior to Bukhārī) there were literally thousands of *ḥadīth* compilations in circulation. Most of them did not survive in their original form (often the written material was of poor quality), but were incorporated in the books of later authors[139] (1992: 75). Examples of this is the books of Ibn Jurayj, ath-Thawrī'and Ibn 'Uyayna which have been incorporated into the *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq (Motzki, 1991: 5) as well as earlier books. The latter includes:

- Zayd bin Thābit's (d45) book on inheritance,

- Sha'bī's books on marriage, divorce and inheritance,

- legal texts by Urwa bin Zubayr (d93), Ibrahīm Nakha'ī (d96) and Abū Qilābah (d104) (Azami, 1996:25).

Many other tracts on maghāzī, wars of conquest and sīra were also written in the *Umayyad* period (Mackensen, 1937: 247)

The Quraniyūn claim that none of these original early *ḥadīth* collections are extant, and hence there is no proof that they actually existed.

Firstly, as shown above, some of the original manuscripts *are* extant. Secondly, none of the original manuscripts of the Qur'ān (as dictated by the Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam)) are available today, yet the Quraniyūn would not claim that the Qur'ān was not written at the time of the Prophet due to lack of

---

[137] Motzki, Harold. (1991). " The Muṣannaf of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī as a Source of Authentic Ahadith of the First Century A.H.". Journal of Near East Studies, 50, 1-21.
[138] *The Creed of the Imaam of Ḥadīth, Abū 'Abdullah Muhammad bin Ismaa'eel al-Bukhārī & of the great scholars from whom he narrated.* Page 4. Al-Maktabah as-Salafiyyah Publications.
[139] al-Azami, M. Mustafa. (1992). *Studies in Early Hadīth Literature.*. Page 75

textual evidence. How do we know that the Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) dictated the Qur'ān as soon it was revealed? No verse in the Qur'ān orders the Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) to preserve the Qur'ān in writing. Shaikh Mubarakpuri answers this question:

"the very fact that the Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) got the revealed verses written down soon afterward, has come to us only through verbal narrations[140] [i.e. the *ḥadīth*], otherwise there is no source to know it…Now if *ḥadīth* itself is not reliable, what is the source with us to confirm and prove that Holy Qur'ān was written during the period of the noble Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam)[141]"

7.9   The huge numbers of *aḥadīth* in the era of Bukhārī are untenable

Parwez says about the *al-Ṣaḥīfah al Ṣaḥīhaḥ* of ibn Munabbah:

"In this manuscript there are 138 *aḥadīth* …Whereas in hijra 300…Bokhari … gathers six hundred thousand. (Humbal found 1,000,000 *aḥadīth* and .. bin Moeen found 1,200,000 *ḥadīth*s)" (n.d.a)

Ahmad states: "Ibn Hanbal reported that there were over 7 million `authentic' *ḥadīth*s. If this were true, then …the Prophet would have had to produce one *ḥadīth* every 77 seconds!" (1997)

Pointing to the huge number of *aḥadīth* that existed in the era of Bukhārī, the authors argue that for the Prophet to make such a huge number of statements, and for the Companions and subsequent generations to preserve each and every one is clearly not possible. This claim shows that they do not understand *ḥadīth* terminology, or Bukhārī's methodology in compiling his *Ṣaḥīḥ*,

---

[140] For example Bukhārī states: "When it was revealed: **'Not equal are the believers who sit at home and those that strive in the cause of Allah'** the Prophet said: '**Call Zaid ibn Thabitt for me and tell him to bring the inkpot and scapula bone'.** When Zaid came, the Prophet told him: **'Write: Not equal are the believers who sit at home and those that strive in the cause of Allah'.**

[141] Mubarakpuri, Safiur-Raḥmān. (2005) *In reply to the mischief of the denial of Hadīth,* page 55-6

Reply to 7.9

What does it mean that Ibn Hanbal collected one million *ḥadīth*? It is not as Kassim Ahmad understands it that each individual *ḥadīth* refers to an individual statement of the Prophet. A *ḥadīth* consists of a text (*matn*) and a chain of transmission (*isnād*). Hence a single statement narrated by the Prophet to ten Companions would be considered to be ten *ḥadīth*. This is because each Companion who narrated the *ḥadīth*, corresponds to an individual chain of narration. If each of these ten companions narrated to ten of their students from the tabi'īn, then we would have one hundred *ḥadīth* (with identical text, but different *isnād*. Nabia Abbott explains:

> "… the so-called phenomenal growth of Tradition in the second and third
> centuries of Islam was not primarily growth of content, so far as the
> *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad and the *ḥadīth* of the Companions are concerned,
> but represent largely the progressive increase of parallel and multiple
> chains of transmission….Once it is realised that the *isnād* did, indeed,
> initiate a chain reaction that resulted in an explosive increase in the
> number of traditions, the huge number that are credited to Ibn Ḥanbal,
> Muslim, Bukhārī seem not so fantastic after all". (Abbott, 1967: 2 and 72).

An example of a *ḥadīth* with numerous chains is the statement of the Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) "May Allah brighten the man who heard a *ḥadīth* from us, memorised it and then conveys it just as he heard it" which has over 175 chains of narrations.

7.10   Bukhārī discredited the majority of his 600,000 *ḥadīth*

Parwez says about Bukhārī: "… he collected close to six hundred thousand *ḥadīth*s and after sifting through he found 7,300 *aḥadīth* that he considered close to being authentic. If we do not count the repetitions, the total figures we get are 2,630 or 2,762" (Parwez, n.d.a).

Ahmad makes a similar statement; "Bukhari merely took 1.25% of all the *ḥadīth*s he came across as authentic".

Reply to 7.10

Parwez contends that since Bukhārī only included approximately 7,000 *ḥadīth* in his Ṣaḥīḥ, the other 594, 000 *aḥadīth* (out of his 600,000) were discredited by him. This argument is baseless when we examine Bukhārī's methodology in compiling his Ṣaḥīḥ. Ibn Ḥajar in his Hady Al-Ṣārī quotes Bukhārī as saying: "I only included in my book Al-Jāmī', those that were authentic, *and I left out many more authentic traditions than this to avoid unnecessary length*"

Secondly, as mentioned above, the 600,000 *ḥadīth* referred to 600,000 chains of narration. Often there were existed multiple chains for a single Prophetic statement, hence Bukhārī considered it unnecessary to include each chain . Ibn Hajar wrote extensively regarding Bukhārī's methodology for the verification of the *ḥadīth*, thus showing that his methodology was far from arbitrary[142].

Thirdly, the task of sifting through the hadith, and determining the true from the false began well before the time of Bukhārī. For example Shu'bah bin al-Hajjaaj (83- 160) who was born over a century before Bukhārī, travelled from Basrah to Kufah, then to Makkah, and to Madinah before going back to Basrah in order to ascertain the authencity of one particular Hadith. However, at his last stop, Basrah, he concluded that one of its transmitters was unreliable.

---

[142] Fadel, Mohammed. (1995). "Ibn Hajar's Hady as-Sari: A Medieval Interpretation of the Structure of al-Bukhārī's al-Jami al Sahih". Journal of North East Studies, 54 (3), 161-98.

7.11 Huge number of fabrications made it impossible to sift out the authentic *ḥadīth*. *Isnād* system a later invention.

Khalifa states: "Since the so called *ḥadīth* & sunna of the Prophet have been vastly corrupted, they can never meet the criterion of divine revelation. It is an acknowledged fact that the vast majority of *Ḥadīth*s are false fabrications" (Khalifa: 2001:12).

Parwez states: "Thousands of these fake *ḥadīth* makers made innumerable *aḥadīth* and spread them across continents. In this cyclone of fabrications and concoctions, we did have a few authentic *aḥadīth*, but it became impossible for the critics…to bring these genuine pearls in the limelight". He further states "…actual criticism to determine fake *ḥadīth* began in the third century hijra …[although] *ḥadīth* scholars did make an earnest attempt on saving the Muslim ummah from fake *aḥadīth*, it appears to have done little good. The influence of fictitious *aḥadīth* … was so deep rooted that even till today, these fake *aḥadīth* are taken as a treasure of Deen of Islam" (Parwez, chapter 3: 5-6)

Ahmed adds: "However accurate the methodology of the *isnād*, the scholars first started talking about it and started writing it down only about 150 - 200 years after the deaths of the very last tabi`i tabi`in. This means that when the research to establish the *isnād* got started, none of the Companions, the succeeding generation or the generation coming after them were available to provide any kind of guidance, confirmation or rebuttal. Therefore, the authenticity of the statements cannot be vouched for at all (Ahmed, 1997; 33)

Hence Khalifa, Parwez and Ahmad argue that:

i.   fabrication of *ḥadīth* was on a vast scale
ii.   the science of *ḥadīth* criticism began too late to sift the fabricated *ḥadīth* from the authentic.
iii. Hence most of the *ḥadīth* that have reached us today are fabricated.

Reply to 7.11

Ahmad's statement that *isnād* did not start until "150 - 200 years after the deaths of the very last *tābiʿ tābiʿī*" is clearly false. Sufyān bin Uyayna, a *tābiʿ tābiʿī* was a student of the *tābiʿ* Zuhrī. Given that Sufyān bin Uyayna died in 198, then according to Ahmad, the *isnād* did not begin before 348H. This is clearly false given that Bukhārī died in 256, and it is undisputed that his *Ṣaḥīḥ* contains *isnād*.

Parwez believes that *ḥadīth* criticism began in the third century i.e. 200 onwards. We will demonstrate that *ḥadīth* criticism began much earlier than this date. We will also examine when *ḥadīth* fabrication first began, its impact and the response from the scholars.

Hasan mentions that the Companions had a number of methods to verify and investigate the authenticity of a *ḥadīth*. These included:

- referring back to the original source,

- asking for an oath,

- demanding confirmation from a reporter,

- demanding the reporter to repeat the *ḥadīth* on the same or later occasion,

- asking the reporter for a witness to his narration.

Hence despite the fact that none of the Companions ever suspected a fellow Companion of lying, they still took great precautions in accepting their narrations due to the fear of a mistake being made. In the time of the tābiʿīn, a similar methodology to that used by the Companions was employed in order to verify *ḥadīth*, and detect fabrication. These included the most of the above as well as demanding *isnād* from a narrator and confession of a fabricator (Hasan, 1986: 59-87). Thus *ḥadīth* verification began in the time of the Companions.

Secondly the *isnād* was the major weapon in countering fabrication. Narrators were not so particular in applying it until the *fitnah* (i.e. the death of ʿUthmān in 36) occurred. Ibn Sirīn (d110 AH) said:

"They did not used to ask about the isnād, but when the fitnah occurred, the people would say: 'state your authorities. Those who belonged to ahl sunna, there

traditions were accepted and those who were innovators their traditions were rejected[143]'.

After the *fitnah*, scholars would ask for the *isnād* in order to identify the narrators in the *isnād*, and make a judgment on each and every narrator. This later developed into a fully fledged science called *jarh wa ta'dīl* and *ilm ar-rijāl*. In the time of the *ta'bi'īn*, the narrators themselves begin to insist on mentioning the *isnād*. Al-Amash would narrate a hadith and then say: 'here is the head of the matter' and then he would mention the isnad. Many students would not take a hadith from their teacher if there was no isnad[144].

Bukhārī states in his *Al-Tarīkh al-Saghīr* that the first person to fabricate *ḥadīth* was Al Mukhtār ath-Thaqafi in the last third of the first century. However, by this time, the *isnād* system was already in use and the science of *jarh* was *ta'dīl* had began. Fabrication became more widespread in the second century. Adh-Dhahabi said:

> "There was hardly anyone [who was considered] of little authority during the first century in which the Companions and the outstanding Follower died out – except isolated individuals. However when the second century began, they were to be found among the later circle of the Followers[145]".

Hence Parwez's statement that *ḥadīth* criticism began in the third century is clearly incorrect. In the first century the *isnād* was in use, and there existed many *ḥadīth* critics. Hasan mentions sixteen *ḥadīth* critics who died before 110, and 33 *ḥadīth* critics who died between 110 and 200 (Hasan, 1986: 87 and 109)

The second century witnessed a proliferation in fabrication but alongside this, a further development of the science of *jarh wa ta'dīl*, extensive journeys (*rihlah*) to verify *ḥadīth* as well as the appearance of books on *jarh wa ta'dīl*

The damage caused by fabricators was minimal and not on a vast scale as Parwez claims. In the period 150 -250, fabrications became more common than before, however detection was relatively easy for several reasons.

- Firstly, there were usually no more than two or three narrators in the *isnād*.

---

[143] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,* Introduction.
[144] Al Fullaatah, *Al- Widha fi al-ḥadīth*, (1981) taken from Zaroboza (2000)
[145] Taken from Introduction to the Rijjal [of the *Muwaṭṭa'*] by Ni'matullāh al-A'zamī (2004)

- Secondly, as mentioned above the tools to detect fabrication (*isnād*, *jarh wa ta'dīl*, *ilm-rijjāl,* and *rihlah*) were already well developed[146].

- Thirdly, the writing and classification of *ḥadīth* in the middle of the second century by Ibn Jurayj (d150). Mālik (d179), Ibn Isḥāq (d151), Awzāʿī (d157) and Sufyān al-Thawri (d161) further reduced the impact of the fabricators.

- Fourthly, many of the forgers were well known, and hence it was difficulty to put their forgeries in circulation.

- Fifthly many of the forgeries could be easily detected based on the *matn* alone.

Although some fabricated *ḥadīth* did enter the corpuses of *ḥadīth* collections, the fabrication was not on the vast scale that the Qur'aniyūn claim. Many scholars from many opposing theological sects agreed on a large body of legal *ḥadīth*. It is inconceivable that these various sects, while pronouncing their opponents to be heretics, would conspire with these same opponents to fabricate hundreds of *ḥadīth* (al-Azami, 1996: 243).

As Nabia Abbot stated:

> "Deliberate tampering with the either the contents or the *isnād*s of the Prophets traditions…may have passed undetected by ordinary transmitters, but not by the aggregate of the ever watchful, basically honest, and aggressively outspoken master traditionalists and *ḥadīth* critics" (taken from Ṣiddīqī,1993:38)

Also see *Appendix Three: The beginning of fabrication and efforts to counter it.*

---

[146] Haaroon al-Rasheed arrested a heretic and ordered that he be executed. The heretic said, "Why are you executing me?" Haaroon al-Rasheed said, "To rid the people of you." The heretic said: "O Ameer al-Mu'mineen, what will you do about the thousand ahaadeeth - according to one report, four thousand ahaadeeth - which I have fabricated and spread among you, in which I made what is halaal haraam and what is haraam halaal, of which the Prophet uttered not one letter?" Haaroon al-Rasheed said to him: "What will you do, O enemy of Allaah, about Abu Ishaaq al-Fazaari and 'Abd-Allaah ibn al-Mubaarak? They will go through them and sift them letter by letter." (Tadhkirat al-Huffaaz by al-Dhahabi, 1/273; Taareekh al-Khulafaa' by al- Suyooti, p. 174).

7.12 Follow "Allah and His Messenger" means "follow Allah and the Caliph" or to "abide by the decisions of the central authority"

The Quraniyoon hold that the various acts and statements of the Prophet were only binding on his immediate community and not on those who came after him. He was obeyed by his companions in the capacity of a leader, after his death, it was no longer necessary to obey him

Parwez states:

Thus 'to follow Allah and Messenger' does not mean to follow the 'Quran and the *Ḥadīth*' ... *It is abiding by the laws of God imposed by the central authority.* It is the duty of the central authority to carry out and implement these laws of God... Without this central authority 'to follow Allah and Messenger' means worshipping individually, in which a coterie or a single person enacts according to his/her own standards" (Parwez chapter 1 part 3 page 5 and 9) (my italics)

Ahmed states:

"In the same manner, his decisions on other matters concerning methods that the Quran, …does not stipulate were determined by historical circumstances *and do not bind the Muslims after him*" (Ahmed,1997; 13)

Reply to 7.12

Firstly, the Prophet was sent as a Messenger for all of mankind, and not just his companions. The evidence is in the verse: "And We have not sent you (O Muhammad) except as a bringer of good tidings and a warner *unto all mankind*; but most of mankind know not[147]". We have already established the obligation of following the Prophet's *sunna*. As his message is for the whole of mankind, the obligation of following his *sunna* is likewise for all of mankind. To restrict it to his companions only can only be based upon evidence of such a restriction.

Secondly, if obedience to the Messenger referred to obedience to Muhammad (*salalahu alaihi wa sallam)* as a leader only, then Allah would have said: 'obey Muhammad', and not 'obey the Messenger' as the latter is for all of mankind.

---

[147] *Saba* 34:28

Thirdly, the following verse distinguishes between obedience to the Messenger and obedience to the rulers:

"O you who believe. *Obey Allah, and obey the messenger and those of you who are in authority;* and if you have a dispute concerning any matter, refer it to Allah and the messenger if you are believers in Allah and the Last Day. That is better and more seemly in the end[148]"

If obedience to the Messenger was equivalent to obedience to the rulers, it would be superfluous to mention (in the above verse) both 'the messenger' and 'those in authority'. Obviously the two are different. Hence obedience to the Messenger refers to obedience to the Prophet Muhammad (*salalahu alaihi wa sallam*) and obedience to 'those in authority' refers to the rulers. The word 'messenger' in the above verse is singular, hence it can only refer to the Prophet Muhammad. However 'those in authority' is plural; hence it cannot refer to the Prophet Muhammad, but rather it refers to the multitude of rulers who come after him.

Fourthly, many of the verses that command obedience to Allah and the Messenger are prefixed with 'O you who believe' and hence this obedience is applicable to all believer and not just the companions.

Finally, the Prophet Muhammad was a Messenger and a ruler. However, the Qur'ān does not distinguish between these two. When he commanded something, it was obligatory for his companions (and those who came after him) to obey him, irrespective of the capacity that the command was made.

---

[148] *An-Nisā* 4:59

Chapter 8

Conclusion

This research has examined works by three different Qur'aniyūn writers' on the subject of *sunna* and *ḥadīth*. The first section of the research has demonstrated that all three books lack internal consistency due to a number of contradictions, inconsistencies, historical inaccuracies, mistranslations and misinterpretations of Qur'ānic verses. After summarising their key arguments regarding the concept, status and history of *ḥadīth*, I have demonstrated, using mainly Qur'ānic and historical evidence[149], that their views are erroneous.

Allah has promised to preserve the Book: "**It is We Who have sent down the Reminder and We shall surely preserve it**" (Nahl: 44). Allah's protection of the Book, necessitates the protection and preservation of the Sunnah, as the latter explains and clarifies the Qur'an. Numerous Qur'ānic *ayāt* give evidence to the obligation of following the *sunna.* The Messenger (sallahu alaihi wa sallam) did not leave this worldly abode until he had completely conveyed the Message, ensured that the Companions understood it, and had instructed them to convey it to others. Hence the Sunnah has been preserved by logical necessity.

The Companions learnt the Sunnah, preserved it in writing and memory, and taught it to the next generation - the ta'be'een. They in turn conveyed it to the following generation. However, in the time of the latter ta'be'een, untrustworthy narrators and liars began to appear. However, Allah raised up men who devoted their entire lives to the preservation of the Sunnah. Detailed sciences and methodologies were developed which included the use of the isnad, jarh wa ta'deel, and ilm ar-rijaal. Scholars travelled thousands of miles to verify just one hadith.

---

[149] as opposed to *ḥadīth*

Appendix One:

Preservation of hadith from the time of the tabi'īn until the time of Imaam Bukhari.

The purpose of this appendix is to further refute the claim of the Quraniyun, that there were no reliable sources that the authors of the Kutub Sittah could rely upon. Khalifa and Parwez believe that no written compilations of *ḥadīth* existed before Bukhārī, and the latter had to rely purely on "hearsay" when compiling his collection.

We have already demonstrated in Section 7.6 that
- The Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) ensured the preservation of his *sunna* by encouraging his Companions to practice his *sunna*, to teach it to others, and to memorise and to write down his *ḥadīth*.
- The Companions enthusiastically complied with this order, during his life time and after his death (salalahu alaihi wa sallam).

We will now examine the next two generations; the tabi'īn and the tabā' at-tābi'īn, and the some of the main scholars from these blessed generations who preserved the hadith. Of the thousand plus teachers of Bukhari, a number were from the tabā' at-tābi'īn, Hence there was a continuous chain of oral and written transmission from the Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) to Imaam Bukhari and other muhaditheen. A number of the biographical references in this appendix are taken from Lucas, Scott C. (2004). *Constructive Critics, Ḥadīth Literature and the Articulation of Sunni Islam. The Legacy of the Generation of Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Ma'īn, and Ibn Ḥanbal.* Leiden: Brill.

The efforts of the tabi'īn to preserve the *sunna.*

The tabi'īn took great care and caution in preserving the *sunna*. Numerous tabi'īn were involved in the learning, preserving and teaching of *ḥadīth*, however I will give only a few examples of some of the senior tabi'īn. The era of the tabi'īn also witnessed scholars undertaking journeys to collect and verify *ḥadīth*, as well as the development of the science of *Ḥadīth* criticism.

Bilal Phillips mentions (in Phillips: 2007:25-6) the following Companions who dictated hadith to the tabi'īn (hence demonstrating that hadith were transmitted in written form as well as orally)

- Abu Hurairah: Nine of his students were recorded to have written hadiths from him.
- Ibn `Umar: Eight of his students wrote down hadiths from him.
- Anas ibn Malik: Sixteen of his students had hadiths in written form from him.
- `A'ishah bint Abu Bakr: Three of her students had hadiths she had narrated in written form.
- Ibn `Abbas: Nine of his students recorded his hadiths in books.
- Jabir ibn `Abdullah: Fourteen of his students wrote down hadiths narrated by him.
- Abu Sa`id Al-Khudri: None of his students wrote what he narrated.
- `Abdullah ibn Mas`ud: None of his students wrote what he narrated.
- `Abdullah ibn `Amr ibn Al-`Aas: Seven of his students had his hadiths in written form.
- `Umar ibn Al-Khattab: He recorded many hadiths in official letters.
- `Ali ibn Abi Talib: Eight of his students recorded his hadiths in writing.

Sa'id bin al-Musayyab[150]
Sa'id bin al-Musayyab was from Makhzum, the sub tribe of Quraysh, and was born during the Caliphate of Umar bin Khattab. He died in 93H during the reign of Abdul Mālik. He was one of the seven fuqaha' of Madina.

Zuhrī was asked from where Sa'id bin al-Musayyab acquired his knowledge. He replied: "From Zayd bin Thābit, and he would also sit with Sa'd bin Abi Waqās,

---

[150] taken from Muhammad Abu Zahrah, *The Four Imams*.

Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn 'Umar. He had access to the wives of the Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam), 'A'ishah and Umm Salalmah and he heard *ḥadīth* from 'Uthmān bin 'Affān, ''Alī, Ṣuhayb and Muhammad bin Maslamah. Most of his *ḥadīth* are on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, to whose daughter he was married. He further received *ḥadīth* from the companions of 'Umar and 'Uthmān. It was said that there was no one who had more knowledge of all the decisions of Umar and 'Uthmān than he"[151]. He was known as the transmitter of 'Umar, and even Ibn 'Umar would consult him about some of the actions taken by Umar[152]. He would travel for many days and nights in search of one *ḥadīth*. Zuhrī spent many years studying under Sa'id bin al-Musayyab, and received from him all of his *ḥadīth*[153].

'Urwah bin al-Zubayr[154]

Also one of the seven fuqaha' of Madina, he was the brother of Abdullah bin az-Zubayr and the nephew of 'Ă'ishah. He was born during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān and died in 94H. He narrated extensively from Ă'ishah, writing down the *ḥadīth* and stating that if she (Ăishah) were to die, he would not regret that she might still possess a *ḥadīth* that he did not have[155]. Ăishah also encouraged Urwah to seek *ḥadīth* from other companions. He said: "Ăishah said to me: 'Oh my nephew. News has reached me that Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al Ăṣ is passing by us on his was to al-Ḥajj. Therefore go and meet him and question him. Verily, he possesses a great deal of knowledge from the Prophet'. Then I met him and questioned him about things which he narrated from the Prophet[156]". Urwah was the first to compile a book on the maghāzi. Urwah taught *ḥadīth* to his students in his palace in al-'Aqīq. He took a special interest in his student Zuhrī who mastered all of the traditions of 'Urwah. Yaḥya bin Ma'īn (d233H) regarded Zuhrī as the primary source for the traditions of 'Urwah. Urwah's other outstanding pupil was his son Hishām.

Nāfi' the Mawlā of Ibn 'Umar

Nāfi' (d117-120) was the main authority of the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Umar. Imaam Mālik said that if he heard a *ḥadīth* from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar, he did not mind if he had never heard it from anyone else.[157] The isnād 'Mālik --Nāfi'--Ibn Umar was considered to by al-Bukhārī to be the golden chain of authority (silsilat al-dhahab)

---

[151] Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*
[152] Al Fasawi, *Kitāb al-Marifah wa-al-tārikh* 1, page 468
[153] Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*
[154] taken from Muhammad Abu Zahrah, *The Four Imams*.
[155] Dhahabi, *Siyar a'lām al-nubla,* (Beirut, 1982) volume 4 page 424
[156] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyya, *I'lām al-Muwaqi'īn*, volume 1 page 52. (Cairo edition 1969).
[157] Ibn Abī Hātim, *Taqdimat al-ma'rifa li-Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, vol i page 20 Hyderabad, 1966.

due to the excellence of each individual link[158]. Nāfi's *ḥadīth* from Ibn Umar was preserved in writing[159]. He would hold *ḥadīth* sessions in which his pupils wrote down the *ḥadīth*[160].

'Atā bin Abi Rabāḥ

'Atā was originally from Yemen and was born at the beginning of the Caliphate of 'Uthmān. He was one of the scholars of Makkah. He met over 200 Companions[161] taking *ḥadīth* from twenty Companions[162] including Jābir ibn Abdullah, 'Ă'ishah, Abū Hurayrah and Ibn 'Abbās. Alongside Mujāhid, he was considered as Ibn Abbās's successor as position of *muftī* of Makkah, and was considered by many of his contemporaries as one of the greatest scholar of his time[163]. He taught in the Ḥaram where he spent the night for the last two decades of his life. In his circles, he would present and discuss *ḥadīth* and would encourage his students to write down questions and answers. He died in 115H.

'Amra bint Abdur Raḥmān al Anṣariyya

Her father died when she was young. Ă'ishah, the Prophet's wife took her and her sisters into her home and took responsibility for their upbringing and education. 'Amra memorised the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, narrated to her by Ă'ishah and the Prophet's other wives. After the death of Ă'ishah, she became the most learned woman of her time. Most of the scholars would consult her regarding legal problems. Zuhrī who studied under her, described her as 'an inexhaustible ocean of knowledge[164]. She died in 103 or 104H.

Other scholars from the tabi'īn who were engaged in the learning and teaching of *ḥadīth* include:

- **Al-Qāsim bin Muhammad bin Abi Bakr** (d108H) the grandson of the Caliph Abū Bakr, studied *ḥadīth* under Abū Hurayrah Ibn 'Abbās and Ă'ishah (who brought him up after the death of his father),[165] He is one of the seven fuqaha of Madina.

---

[158] An-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa'l-Lughāt,* Page 531. ed F Wustenfeld, Gottingen 1842-7
[159] Dhahabi, *Siyar a'lām al-nubla,* (Beirut, 1982) volume five page 98
[160] Abū Zur'ah, *Tārikh* page 364
[161] Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, volume seven page 200.
[162] Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, volume seven page 199
[163] Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, volume seven page 202
[164] Dhahabi, Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, i, p112
[165] Dhahabi, *Siyar a'lām al-nubla,* (Beirut, 1982) volume 5 page 55

- **Ḥumayd bin ʿAbdur Raḥmān bin Awf** (d95H) received *ḥadīth* from his father, his mother-Umm Kulthūm, Umm Salama, Abū Hurayrah, Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn ʿUmar, Saʿīd bin Zayd and Abdullah bin ʿAmr[166].

- **Ubayd-Allah bin Abdullah bin Utba bin Masʿūd** (d98H) received *ḥadīth* from Ăʾishah ,Abū Hurayrah, Ibn ʿAbbās and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī[167]. He is one of the seven fuqaha of Madina. His most distinguished students were Zuhrī and Umar bin Abdul Azīz.

- **Khārija bin Zayd bin Thābit** (d100) son of the Companion Zayd bin Thābit al-Ansāri, the Prophet's scribe. Khārija received and memorised *ḥadīth* from his father as well as other Companions[168]. He is one of the seven fuqaha of Madina.

- **Abū Salama bin ʿAbdur Raḥmān bin Awf** (d104) who received *ḥadīth* from Ăʾishah, Abū Hurayrah, and Ibn ʿAbbās[169], would write down and memorise his *ḥadīth*[170].

- **Sālim bin Abdullah bin ʿUmar bin al-Khaṭṭāb** (d106) was one of the greatest scholars of Madina of his time, and was taught by his father Abdullah bin Umar. Zuhrī received a huge amount of *ḥadīth* from him

- **Ṭāʾūs bin Kayān** (d106) was born in Yemen and studied in Makkah and Madina. He received *ḥadīth* from Abdullāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al Ăṣ, Ibn ʿAbbās, Abdullah bin Umar, Abdullah bin az-Zubayr, Ăʾishah ,Abū Hurayrah and Zayd bin Thābit among others[171]. He eventually returned to Yemen teaching the *sunna* there. Ibn ʿAbbās praised him for his vast knowledge and piety[172]

- **Muhammad bin al-Munkadir (d130) and Yaḥyā bin Saʿīd al-Anṣārī (d143)** were among the final generations of the tabiʾīn who studied under the Sahāba. Their teachers included Abū Hurayra, Anas bin Mālik and Ibn ʿAbbās. The students of Muhammad bin al-Munkadir and Yaḥyā bin Saʿīd al-Anṣārī included Shuʿba, Sufyān al-Thawri and Mālik bin Anas.

- **Al-Amash (d148)** saw Anas bin Mālik and took *ḥadīth* from the last living sahābī in Kūfa, Ibn Abī Awfā (d86). His students include Sufyān al-Thawrī,

---

[166] Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, volume three page 45
[167] An-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ waʾl-Lughāt,* page 312
[168] An-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ waʾl-Lughāt,* page 172
[169] An-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ waʾl-Lughāt,* page 241
[170] Ahmed ibn Hanbal, Al-Ilal wa Maʾrifat ar-Rijāl page 247 (Ankara edition, 1963)
[171] An-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ waʾl-Lughāt,* page 251
[172] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, i, p90

Sufyān bin Uyayna as well as Wakī' bin al-Jarrāḥ and Abū Nu'aym al-Fadl bin Dukayn. According to 'Alī bin al-Madīni he narrated 1300 ḥadīth[173].

- **Sulaymān al-Taymī (d143)** studied under Anas bin Mālik as well as the tabi'i Qatada. His students include Sufyān al-Thawrī, Sufyān bin Uyayna, Shu'ba, Abdullah al-Mubārak and the master ḥadīth scholar of Wāsiṭ Yazīd bin Hārūn[174].

- **Yahya bin Sa'īd al-Anṣārī** (d143) was considered by Sufyān al Thawrī to be one of the four huffaz of his time[175]. He was from the later tābi'īn.

- **'Amir bin Sharāhīl ash Sha'bī** (d110) was considered one of the leading scholars of his time by Zuhrī. Asim al-Ahwal said: "I have seen no-one more well informed about the aḥadīth current among scholars of Kūfa, Baṣra and Hijaāz, than Sha'bī[176]. He was one of the earliest compliers of ḥadīth. The following books were written by him: Kitāb al-Jarāhat[177], Kitāb at-Talāq[178], Kitāb al-Farā'id[179], and a book on maghāzī[180].

The above list is by no means exhaustive. Ibn Sirin said: "I came to Kūfa and I saw there 4,000 people who were in search of ḥadīth[181].

Export of ḥadīth to Iraq

Many tabi'īn took the ḥadīth which they had studied in Madina to Iraq[182]. This resulted in a huge generation of ḥadīth scholars in the Iraqi cities of Kūfa and Baṣra.

The following scholars lived in Kūfa:

- Abū Sāliḥ Dhakwān (d101) an outstanding pupil of Abū Hurayrah moved from Madina to Kūfa, sharing his his knowledge of ḥadīth with many pupils including al-'Amash.

- Abū Hāzim al-Ashja'ī and Abū Zur'a bin 'Amr also brought Abū Hurayrah's ḥadīth to Kūfa.

---

[173] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, i, p116
[174] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, i, p113
[175] Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, volume eight, page 464
[176] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, i, p 39
[177] Khatīb al-Bagdādī: Tārīkh Baghdād: volumr seven, page 232.
[178] Suyūti: Tadrīb ar-Rāwi: page 24
[179] Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, volume four, page 177
[180] Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, volume five, page 40
[181] Al-Rāmahurmuzi, al Muḥadith page 408
[182] Lucas, Scott C. (2004). *Constructive Critics, Ḥadīth Literature and the Articulation of Sunni Islam. The Legacy of the Generation of Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Ma'īn, and Ibn Ḥanbal.* Page 336

- Aṭṭiya bin Saʿd al-ʿAwfī and Abū Naḍra brought back *ḥadīth* of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī to Iraq.

- Two of Ibn Maʿsūd's students; Masrūq bin al-Ajdaʿ (d63) and al-Aswād bin Yazīd (d75) brought a significant amount of ʿAʾisha's *ḥadīth* from Madina to Kūfa.

Other leading students of Ibn Maʿsūd included Abū Wāʾil Shaqīq bin Salama, Alqama bin Qays, Abū l-Aḥwaṣ ʿAwf bin Mālik. Al-Aswad bin Yazīd. The aforementioned also heard from ʿUmar, ʿAlī, and Abū Musa al-Ashāri[183].

Another prominent *tābīʾ* in Kūfa was Saʿīd bin Jubayr, a close disciple of Ibn ʿAbbās who wrote a commentary of the Qurʾān. He was also close student of Ibn Umar. He said: "Whenever I was on a journey with Ibn Abbās, I would write down everything I heard from him on a wooden plate.and would copy it on my return"[184] .He was executed by Hajjāj in 94H.

The following scholars from the tabiʿīn lived in Baṣra.

- Thabīt bin Aslam al-Bunānī (d123) and Qatāda bin Diʿāma (d117) were both students of Anas bin Mālik.

- Hasan al-Baṣrī narrated from Abū Hurayra,ʿImrān bin Huṣayn, Anās, Samura bin Jundub, Jabīr bin Abdullah and Abū Musa al Ashāri[185]. He also narrated from a number of tabiʿīn in Makkah.

- Muhummad ibn Sirīn (d110) brought a substantial number of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* back to Iraq. He also took *ḥadīth* from Ibn Umar and Hudayfah bin Yamān[186].

- Abū Naḍra al-Mundhir bin Mālik (d108) was a close pupil of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī.

---

[183] Ibn Saʾd, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*,volume eight, page 222
[184] Ibn Abdul Barr: *Jāmiʾ Bayān al'ilm*
[185] Ibn Saʾd, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*,volume nine, page 20
[186] Ibn Saʾd, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*,volume nine, page 192

Scholars of Makkah from the *tābi'īn*

Two Makkan scholars have already been mentioned; Ṭā'ūs bin Kayān, and 'Atā bin Abi Rabāḥ. Other Makkan scholars include

- 'Ikrimah (d105) *mawlā* of Ibn Abbas, had a number of students who would write *ḥadīth* from him. They included 'Amr bin Abdullah, Ayyūb as-Sakhtiyānī and Ibn Jurayj[187].

- Mujāhid (d102) complied a written commentary of the Qur'ān which was copied by many scholars. A number of scholars wrote *ḥadīth* from him including Ibn Jurayj and Sufyān bin Uyaynah[188]..

- Abū l-Zubayr Muhammad bin Muslm transmitted a huge number of *ḥadīth* from Jabīr bin Abdullah, many of these are included in the Musnad of Ibn Hanbal

- 'Amr bin Dīnār (d126) also transmitted *ḥadīth* from Jabīr bin Abdullah.

Imam Mālik[189]

Malik ibn Anas ibn Mālik ibn Mālik ibn Abi 'Amir al-Asbahi al-Yamani   (93-179) was descended from the Yemeni tribe Dhu Asbah and is from the last of the tabi'īn. Ibn Sa'd places Imaām Mālik as the sixth generation of the tabi'īn (out of a total of seven). He was born during the reign of the Ummayad Caliph, al-Walīd ibn 'Abdul Mālik. His grandfather Mālik ibn Abi 'Amir was a great scholar of the tabi'īn, and narrated from many Companions. He is the author of al-Muwatta' formed of the sound narrations of the Prophet from the people of the Hijaz together with the sayings of the Companions, the Followers, and those after them. It was hailed by al-Shafi`i as the soundest book on earth after the Qur'an, Malik said: "I showed my book to seventy jurists of Madina, and every single one of them approved me for it (kulluhum wâta'ani `alayh), so I named it 'The Approved'." Imam al-Bukhari said that the soundest of all chains of transmission was "Malik, from Nafi`, from Ibn `Umar." The scholars of hadith call it the Golden Chain, and there are eighty narrations with this chain in the Muwatta'.

---

[187] al-Azami, M. Mustafa. (1992). Studies in Early Hadīth Literature. (Third Edition). page 66
[188] al-Azami, M. Mustafa. (1992). Studies in Early Hadīth Literature. (Third Edition) page 69.
[189] Taken from sunnah.org/publication/khulafa_rashideen/malik.htm: Main sources: Abu Nu`aym, *Hilya al-Awliya'* 6:345-392 #386; al-Dhahabi, *Siyar A`lam al-Nubala'* from 7:382-437 #1180; M. Fouad `Abd al-Baqi, and Introduction to Malik's Muwatta' and Muhammad Abū Zahra; *The Four Imams, their lives works and their schools of thought (*pp1-27).

Among those Malik narrated from in the Muwatta': Ayyub al-Sakhtyani, Ja`far ibn Muhammad al-Sadiq, Zayd ibn Aslam, `Ata' al-Khurasani, al-Zuhri, Ibn al-Munkadir, `Alqama, Nāafi` the freedman of Ibn `Umar, and others. His main teachers were al-Zuhrī, Nāfi, Rabi'a ibn 'Abdir-Raḥmān (known as Rabi'a ar-Ra'y) and ibn Hurmuz. Mālik studied the fatāwa of 'Umar, Ibn 'Umar, Aishah, and other Companions. He also studied the fatāwa of Ibn al-Musayyab and other tabi'īn.

Among those who narrated from Mālik were: al-Zuhri, Ibn Jurayj, Abu Hanīfa, al-Awzā`i, Sufyān al-Thawri, Shu`ba, Ibn al-Mubārak, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan, `Abd al-Rahman ibn Mahdi, Waki`, Yahya al-Qattan, al-Shafi`i, Ibn Wahb, Abu Dawūd al-Tayalisi, `Abd al-Razzāq, and many others.

Al-Zurqani counted as sixty-nine the number of those who narrated the Muwatta' directly from Malik, geographically spread as follows:

- Seventeen in Madina, among them Abu Mus`ab Ahmad ibn Abi Bakr al-Zuhrī.

- Two in Mecca, among them al-Shafi`i;

- Ten in Egypt, among them `Abd Allah ibn Wahb, `Abd Allah ibn Yusuf al-Tinnisi al-Dimashqi, whose narration al-Bukhari chose, and Dhu al-Nun al-Misri;

- Twenty-seven in Iraq, among them `Abd al-Rahman ibn Mahdi, whose narration Ahmad ibn Hanbal chose, Yahya ibn Yahya al-Tamimi al-Hanzali al-Naysaburi, whose narration Muslim chose, and Abu Hanīfa's student Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybāni, whose version has been published but greatly differs from the others and also contains other than what is narrated from Mālik, so that it became known as Muwatta' Muhammad;

- Thirteen in al-Andalus, among them the jurist Yahya ibn Yahya al-Laythi "the Sage of al-Andalus". He is mainly responsible for the spread of the Maliki School in al-Andalus.

- Two from al-Qayrawan;

- Two from Tunis;

- Seven from al-Sham.

Imam Mālik held the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet in such reverence that he never narrated anything nor gave a fatwa unless in a state of ritual purity." Qutayba said: "When we went to see Mālik, he would come out to us adorned, wearing

kuhl on his eyes, perfumed, wearing his best clothes, sit at the head of the circle, call for palm-leaf fans, and give each one of us a fan." Muhammad ibn `Umar said: "Mālik's circle was a circle of dignity and courtesy. He was a man of majestic countenance and nobility. There was no part for self-display, vain talk, or loud speech in his circle. His reader would read for all, and no-one looked into his own book, nor asked questions, out of awe before Mālik and out of respect for him."

Other Tabi'īn who wrote *ḥadīth*

Other scholars from the tabi'īn who wrote *ḥadīth* include[190]:

- Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya (d73AH)

- Sulaymān al-Yashkurī (d75AH)

- Abū 'Uthmān an-Nahdī)d95AH)

- Bushayr ibn Nuhayk (d80AH)

- Salīm ibn Abī al-Ja'd (d97AH)

- Hibbān as-Sulamī (d100AH)

- Khālid ibn Ma'dān (d103AH)

- Ṭalḥa ibn Nāfi (d117AH)

- Abān ibn 'Uthmān (d105AH)

- Hammām ibn Munabbih

---

[190] from: Hafīẓ, Abd al-Rahmān Maḥmūd. (1977). *The life of Zuhri and his scholarship in Qur'ānic sciences and ḥadīth and sunnah.* Ph.D, Edinburgh University, page 234-5.

The efforts of the tabā' at-tābi'īn to preserve the *sunna.*

We will now examine the period of the third generation of Muslims who studied, preserved and taught *ḥadīth*. This generation is called the tabā' at-tābi'īn This era saw of proliferation of *ḥadīth* fabrication by various heretical groups. The scholars rose to the challenge, defending the *sunna* with the weapons of the isnād, ilm asmā rijāl and jarh wa ta'dīl. A number of books were complied in this period.

Shu'ba al Hajjāj (d160).

Ibn Hibban said about him: "Shu'bah was the first to investigate the matter of the *muḥaddithūn* and the subject of the narrators of little authority (*du'afā*) and those omitted (*matrūkūn*) from consideration in Irāq. [This investigation was so respected that] it become an exemplary knowledge and so the people of Iraq then initiated his example after this, describing him as the first to broaden the scope of *jarh wa ta'dīl*[191]. His students included Yahya bin Sa'īd al Qattan,

Al-Awza`ī (88-158AH)[192]

`Abd al-Rahman ibn `Amr ibn Yuhmad Abu `Amr al-Awza`i Shaykh al-Islam, the scholar of the People of Shām, one of the mujtahid imams of the Salaf, one of the first to compile the Sunna of the Prophet (salalahu alaihi wa sallam) and the Companions under fiqh subheadings. Born orphaned and poor in Ba`labak and raised in al-Kark in the Bekaa valley, he came to live in the area known as "the variegated tribes" (al-Awza`) in Damascus, then moved to Beirut where he remained until his death, his fame having spread to the entire Islamic world of his time.

He narrated from a host of tabi'īn among them `Ata' ibn Abi Rabah, Abu Ja`far al-Baqir, `Amr ibn Shu`ayb, Makhul, Qatada, Rabi`a ibn Yazid al-Qasir, Bilal ibn Sa`d, al-Zuhri, Yahya ibn Abi Kathīr, `Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Qasim, `Ata' al-Khurasani, `Ikrima, `Alqama, Ibn al-Munkadir, al-Walid ibn Hisham, Muhammad ibn Sirin, Nafi` and many others.

From him narrated his two shaykhs al-Zuhri and Yahya ibn Abi Kathir, Shu`ba, al-Thawri, Malik, Sa`id ibn `Abd al-`Aziz, Isma`il ibn `Ayyash, Baqiyya, Yahya al-Qattan, and many others.

---

[191] Ibn Hibban: Ath- Thiqāt: volume 3 page 438.
[192] Taken from sunnah.org/history/Scholars/al-awzai.htm

`Abd al-Rahman ibn Mahdi said: "The People (i.e. scholars) in their time were four: Hammad ibn Zayd in al-Basra, al-Thawri in al-Kufa, Malik in al-Hijaz, and al-Awza`i in al-Sham."

Yahya bin Sa'īd al Qattan (d198).
According to Adh Dhahabī, he was the first to collect (in writing) the saying of the *ḥadīth* critics regarding ilm rijāl (the science of men). Prior to this, such information was related only orally[193].

Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi`ī (150- 204AH)
He was Muhammad ibn Idris ibn al-`Abbas, al-Imam al-Shafi`i, Abu `Abd Allah al-Shafi`i al-Hijazi al-Qurashi al-Hashimi al-Muttalibi. He was born in Ghazza or `Asqalan in 150, the year of Abu Hanifa's death, and moved to Mecca at the age of two, following his father's death, where he grew up. He was early a skillful archer, then he took to learning language and poetry until he gave himself to fiqh, beginning with hadith. He memorized the Qur'an at age seven, then Malik's Muwatta' at age ten, at which time his teacher would deputize him to teach in his absence. At age thirteen he went to see Malik, who was impressed by his memory and intelligence.

Malik ibn Anas and Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybani were among his most prominent teachers and he took position against both of them in fiqh. Al-Shafi`ī said: "From Muhammad ibn al-Hasan I wrote a camel-load. He also narrated from Sufyān ibn Uyyayna, and Waki' ibn Jarrāh. He studied the fiqh of Awzā'ī, Abū Hanīfa and Layth from their respective students.

Al-Shafi`ī's lived in an era in which the Mutazila doctrine was gaining strength. He strongly censured ilm-ul-kalām stating: "my judgement on the people of kalām is that they should be beaten with canes, made to ride backwards on camels and taken around to be exhibited to the tribes and clans".

'Abdullah ibn al-Mubārak[194] (118 – 181AH).
He was the client of the Banu Tamim, then the Banu Hanifa. His kunya was Abu 'Abdu'r-Rahman.   He listened to Ibn Abi Layla, Hisham ibn 'Urwa, al-A'mash, Sulayman at-Tamimi, Humayd at-Tawil, Yahya ibn Sa'id, Ibn 'Awn, Musa ibn

---

[193] Adh Dhahabī,: Mīzān al-I'tiāl (introduction)
[194] Taken from Qadi 'Iyad'sTartīb al-Madārik

'Uqba, the two Sufyans, al-Awza'i, Ibn Abi Dhib, Malik, Ma'mar, Shu'ba, and Haywa ibn Shurayh, and he studied with Abu 'Amr ibn al-'Ala', al-Layth and others.

Ibn Mahdi, 'Abdu'r-Razzaq, Yahya ibn al-Qattan, Ibn Wahb and others related from him. Ash-Shirazi said, "He learned fiqh with Malik and ath-Thawri, and he was the first of Abu Hanifa's companions. Then he left him and abandoned his madhhab."

Qadi Abu'l-Fadl said that as-Sadafi mentioned, "When Ibn al-Mubarak came of age, his father sent him 50,000 to use for commerce. He sought after knowledge until he had spent the money. When it was gone, his father met him and said, 'What have you bought?' He brought out his books for him and said, 'This is my trade.' His father went into the house and gave him 30,000 dirhams more and said, 'Take this and follow your trade with them,' and he spent them."

Ibn Hanbal said, "In the time of Ibn al-Mubarak, there was no one who sought after knowledge more than him. He went to the Yemen, Egypt, Syria, the Hijaz, Basra and Kufa, and whoever related knowledge and was worthy of it. He wrote from young men and old men. He omitted what was rare. He gave hadiths from books."

Ibn al-Mubarak used to say, "The beginning of knowledge is the intention, then listening, then understanding, then action, then preservation, and then spreading it." He died in Hit, after returning from a naval expedition.

Madina
- **Ubaydallah bin ʿUmar bin Hafs** (d147) narrated many of the *ḥadīth* from Nāfi from Ibn ʿUmar[195].
- **Hishām bin Urwah bin Zubayr** (d146) narrated a significant body of the *ḥadīth* of Aʿishā from his father[196].

Makkah

Ibn Jurayj (d150)

---

[195] Ibn Saʾd, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, volume seven, page 531
[196] Ibn Saʾd, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, volume seven, page 462

He was Abu Muhammad 'Abdul Malik ibn 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn Jurayj. He was a pupil of 'Atā bin Abi Rabāḥ., Abū l-Zubayr Muhammad bin Muslim and Amr bin Dīnār. He also narrated from Ibn Abī Mulayka, 'Amr ibn Shu'ayb, Mujāhīd, az-Zuhrī, Hishām ibn Urwa, Yahyā ibn Sa'īd al-Ansārī, Mūsa ibn Uqba, and Nāfi' among others[197]. He was one of the earliest composers of books according to legal topics[198].

Sufyān bin Uyaynah

He was Sufyān bin Uyaynah ibn Abī 'Imrān Maymūn, the mawlā of Muhmmad ibn Muzāhim was born in 107AH during the reign of the Ummayad Caliph, Hishām ibn 'Abdul Mālik. He witnessed the demise of the Ummayds and died during the reign of the twelfe Abbāsid Caliph, Al-Ma'mūn. He started seeking knowledge as a young boy. Ahmed ibn Hanbal said: "I do not know of anyone more knowledge of the Sunan than Sufyān[199]". Ash-Shāfi'ī, said: "Knowledge revolves around three; Malik ibn Anas, Sufyān bin Uyaynah and Layth ibn Sa'd[200]". Scholars also praised him for his knowledge of tafsīr, and his commentary of ḥadīth. He began hearing ḥadīth in 119 or ,l120 AH. He heard ḥadīth from many teachers, among them: 'Amr ibn Dīnar, Az- Zuhrī, Al-A'mash, ibn Jurayj, Abdullah ibn Dīnar, Zayd ibn Aslam, Muhammad ibn al-Munkadir, Ayyub al-Sakhtiyānī, Hisham ibn Urwa, Yahyā ibn Sa'īd al-Ansari, ibn Abi Layla, Musa ibn Uqba, Sa'd ibn Ibrahīm- the Qāḍī of al-Madina, Abdullah ibn Dhakwān, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Shu'bah, and many other narrators[201].

He was a close student of 'Amr ibn Dīnar, and he considered 'Amr ibn Dīnar to be senior to Az-Zuhrī as the former had heard from Jābir ibn Abdullah. Al-A'mash, ibn Jurayj and Shu'bah narrated from him even though they were his teachers. Sufyān bin Uyaynah had many students, his most famous ones included: Al-Humaydi (d219) who studied under him for nineteen years, memorised tens of thousands of ḥadīth from him, and was considered to be his most reliable of students, Sa'īd ibn Mansur, one of the Imāms of Ḥadīth. Many of his narrations are found in the two Sahihs, 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī, whom Sufyān regarded as his backup memory. Other students of his included Abdullah ibn Mubārak, ash-Shāfi'ī, Yahyā ibn Ma'īn, Ahmed ibn Hanbal, ibn Abi Shaybah, and Ibrahīm ar-Ramādi[202]. He died in the year 198AH aged ninety.

---

[197] Taken from: Motzki, Harold. (2002) The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence. Meccan Fiqh before the Classical School. Leiden: Brill pp 208-33.
[198] Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, volume eight, page 268-85
[199] Dhahabi, *Siyar a'lām al-nubla,* volume 8 page 458
[200] Ibn 'Abdul Barr, *at-Tamhīd,* volume one page 62
[201] Dhahabi, *Siyar a'lām al-nubla,* volume 8 page 455
[202] Dhahabi, *Siyar a'lām al-nubla,* volume 8 page 456

Baṣra

- **Humayd bin Abī Humayd al-Tawīl** (d142) was a major transmitter of the *ḥadīth* of Anas bin Mālik, copying them from the writings of Hasan al-Basrī[203]. He would read back to his teacher his notes.

- **Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī** (d131)

- **Ibn ʿAwm** (d151) was a student of Shaʿbī, Ibrahīm al-Nakhaʿī and Mujāhīd. His pupils include Yazīd bin Harun and Shuʿba.

- **Hammad bin Salamah** (d176)

Kūfa

- **Abū Ishāq ʿAmr bin ʿAbdullah al-Sabīʿī** (d127) had a number of prominent students including Sufyān al Thawrī, Abū Bakr bin ʿAyyāsh, and the Baṣran scholar Shuʿba[204].

- **Mansūr bin al-Muʿtamir** (d132) was a pupil of Abū Wāʾil and Ibrahīm al-Nakhaʿī. One of most famous pupils was the Khurāsānī al-Fuḍayl bin ʿIyāḍ[205].

- **Sulaymān bin Mihrān al-Aʿmash** (d148) was an expert Qurʾān reciter of the reading of Ibn Maʿsūd, and a student of the *tābīʿ* Abū Sāliḥ Dhakwān. He had a large collection of *ḥadīth*[206].

- **Sufyān ath-Thawrī** (d161) had over 600 teachers including ʿAmr bin Dīnar, Hishām bin Urwah, Yahya bin Saʿīd al-Ansārī and Muhummad ibn al-Munkadir. Those who narrated from him include Al-ʿAmash, Ibn Jurayj, Jaʿfar bin Sādiq, Abū Hanīfa, Al-Awzāʿī, Shʿuba bin al-Hajjāj, Maʿmar bin Rāshid, and Abdullah bin Mubārak. He was known by many scholars to be the *emīr al-muʾminīn* of *ḥadīth*. Sufyān ath-Thawrī authored a number of - books including *al-Jāmiʾal-kabīr, al-Jāmiʾal-ṣaghīr* and *Kitāb al- Farāid*. He had a phenomenal memory, memorising everything that he heard[207].

[203] Ibn Saʾd, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, volume two, page 268
[204] Al-Dārimi, *Tārikh ʿʿUthmān bin Saʾīd al-Dārimiʾan Abī Zakariyyā Yahyā ibn Maʾīn. page 59-60*
[205] Ibn Saʾd, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, volume eight, page 61
[206] Lucas, Scott C. (2004). *Constructive Critics, Ḥadīth Literature and the Articulation of Sunni Islam.* Page 347
[207] Taken from "The Biography of Sufyaan ath-Thauree, by Salaahud-Deen ibn Alee ibn Abdul Majoud.

Egypt

Al-Layth ibn Sa'd[208]

Abū 'l Harīth Al-Layth ibn Sa'd ibn Abdur-Rahmān (94-175AH) was a great Imām of the people of Egypt, and was renowned for his knowledge of *ḥadīth* and the science of jurisprudence. He said: "I have written down a great quantity of the (legal) information (communicated) by Muhammad ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī (to his students)". Shāfi'ī held that Layth was a greater jurist than Mālik but his students neglected him. He was extremely generous, particularly with his needy students, whom he would give money to help them with their studies. In 113AH he performed Hajj where he met and narrated from Nāfi. Ibn an-Nadeem mentioned that Layth bin Sa'd had a Tārīkh (a book regarding the situation of the narrators) Layth was very firm against the people of innovation. He said: "If I saw a person of desires (i.e. innovations) walking upon the water I would not accept from him." So Imaam as-Shaafi'ee then said: "He (al-Layth) has fallen short. If I saw him walking in the air I would not accept from him[209]."

Yemen

'Abd al-Razzāq as-San'anī

Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām ibn Nāfi' as-San'anī (126-211) was born in Yemen. He undertook trips to Makkah and Madina where he met and studied under some of the leading scholars. Later he lived and taught in Yemen where he died at the age of 85. He is famous for his the *Muṣannaf* work, it being the earliest such work in existence. He began the study of *ḥadīth* at the age of twenty. His most important teacher was Ma'mar ibn Rāshid, a Basran who had settled in Yemen. He spent seven years with Ma'mar[210]. He also benefited from the visit of Ibn Jurajy to Yemen and attended his lectures[211]. His other teachers include Sufyān bin Uyaynah[212] and Sufyān al-Thawrī[213].

'Abd al-Razzāq attracted students from all corners of the Islamic world. Among his students were Ahmed ibn Hanbal, Yahyā ibn Ma'īn and Ishaāq ibn Ibrahīm al-Dabarī. The latter was one of the main transmitters of the *Muṣannaf.* Many of the teachers who he narrated from in his *Muṣannaf* were themselves authors of books.

---

[208] Taken from Ibn Khallikan: Wafayat al-A'yan wa anba' abna' al-Zamān, (translated into English by M.deSlane) volume four, page 105.
[209] Reported by as-Suyooti in al-Amr bil 'Ittibaa wan-Nahee anil Ibtidaa'.
[210] Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, volume five page 397
[211] Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, volume six page 311
[212] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, i, p364
[213] Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, volume six page 311

Bukhārī's teachers from the tabā' at-tābi'īn

Al-Bukhari recorded hadith from 1,080 scholars. Ibn Hajr wrote that al-Bukhari's teachers are divided into five groups[214]: Only the first group is relevant for this study.

The first group are those scholars who narrated hadith from the tabi'īn [215], these included:

- Nuaim who heard hadith from al-Amash.

- Muhammad bin Abdullah who heard from Hummaid

- Makkee ibn Ibrahīm who heard from Yazid ibn Abū Ubaid

- Abū 'Aasim ibn an-Nabeel who heard from Yazid ibn Abū Ubaid

- Ubaidullah ibn Musa who heard from Ismaeel ibn Abū Khalid

- Abū Nu'aim who heard from Al-Amash

- Khallad ibn Yahyah who heard from Isa ibn Tahmaan

- 'Alī ibn Iyaash who heard from Hareez ibn 'Uthmān

- 'Isaam ibn Abi Khalid who heard from Hareez ibn 'Uthmān[216]

Dr. M. Fuad Sezgin mentions many of Bukhari's written sources[217]. These include:

- **Musaddad b. Musarhad** (d.228) who is the greatest authority of Imam al-Bukhari in the Sahih from his teachers. He was a narrator of 381 narrrations. Musaddad b. Musarhad tool 191 narrations from Yahya b. Sa'id al-Qattan. The latter was the was the first to collect (in writing) the saying of the *ḥadīth* critics regarding ilm rijāl.

- **Abdallah b. Yusuf al-Tinnisi** (d.218) was another major authority of the Sahih with 335 narrations. He narrated 272 narrations from Imaam Malik, who's book the *Muwatta* is well known. Al-Tinnisi also narrated 57 hadith from Al-Layth bin Sa'd. Al-Layth said about himself: "I have *written down* a great quantity of the (legal) information (communicated) by Muhammad ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī (to his students)". In 113AH he performed Hajj where

---

[214] Ibn Hajr, Hady al-Sari, p. 479.
[215] i.e. they were from the tabā' at-tābi'īn
[216] Taken from: *The biography of Imam Bukhaaree:* Darussalam.
[217] Sezgin, Dr. M. Fuad: *Sources of Al-Bukhari.* (Istanbul 1956) This book deals with the written sources of Imaam Bukhari.

he met and narrated from Nāfi. Nāfi's *ḥadīth* from Ibn Umar was preserved in writing[218]. He would hold *ḥadīth* sessions in which his pupils wrote down the *ḥadīth*[219].

Summary

We have provided a snap shot of some of the scholars and their efforts in preserving the narrations of the Prophet salalahu alaihi wa sallam, from the time of the tabi'īn until the time of Imaam Bukhari. Bukhari had a continuous written chain of transmission going back to the Prophet salalahu alaihi wa sallam. In addition, a scrupulous method of verification and preservation, unparalleled in human history, was used to ensure the veracity of both orally transmitted and written hadith.

---

[218] Dhahabi, *Siyar a'lām al-nubla,* (Beirut, 1982) Volume five page 98
[219] Abū Zur'ah, *Tārikh* page 364

Appendix 2

The Compilations of the First Century[220]

We present here a list of hadîth works written by the Tâbi'în in the 1st and 2nd centuries. In the 1st century the following books of hadîth were compiled by Tâbi'în:

1. Book of Khalid ibn Ma'dan (d. 104)

2. Books of Abu Qilabah (d. 104). He bequeathed his books to his pupil, Ayyub Saktiyan, who paid more than 10 dirhams as a fare for loading them on a camel.

3. The script of Hammam ibn Munabbih.

4. Books of Hasan al-Basri (21-110 A.H.)

5. Books of Muhammad al-Baqir (56-114 A.H.)

6. Books of Makhul from Syria

7. Book of Hakam ibn 'Utaibah

8. Book of Bukair ibn 'Abdullah ibn al-Ashajj (d. 117)

9. Book of Qais ibn Sa'd (d. 117). This book later belonged to Hammad ibn Salamah.

10. Book of Sulaiman al-Yashkuri

11. Al-Abwâb of Sha'bi

12. Books of Ibn Shihâb az-Zuhri

13. Book of Abul-'Aliyah

14. Book of Sa'id ibn Jubair (d. 95)

15. Books of 'Umar ibn 'Abdul Aziz (61-101 A.H.)

16. Books of Mujahid ibn Jabr (d. 103)

17. Book of Raja ibn Hywah (d. 112)

18. Book of Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn 'Amr ibn Haq

19. Book of Bashir ibn Nahik.

---

[220] Taken from: Usmani, Taqi ud Deen: *The Authority of the Sunnah*, Chapter Three.

The Books of Hadîth Written in the Second Century

The basic characteristic of the books written in the second century is that a large number of them were arranged subject-wise, while the books of the first century were not. However, compilations without due arrangement continued in this century too. The list of books compiled in this period is very long. A few prominent books are referred to here:

1. Book of 'Abdul Malik ibn Juraij (d. 150)

2. Muwatta of Malik ibn Anas (93-179)

3. Muwatta of Ibn Abi Zi'b (80-158)

4. Maghâzi of Muhammad ibn Ishaq (d. 151)

5. Musnad of Rabi' ibn Sabih (d. 160)

6. Book of Sa'id ibn Abi 'Arubah (d. 156)

7. Book of Hammad ibn Salmah (d. 167)

8. Jami' Sufyan ath-Thauri (97-161)

9. Jami' Ma'mar ibn Rashid (95-153)

10. Book of 'Abdur-Rahman al-Awzâ'I (88-157)

11. Kitâb az-Zuhd by 'Abdullâh ibn al-Mubârak (118-181)

12. Book of Hushaim ibn Bashir (104-183)

13. Book of Jarir ibn 'Abdul-Hamid (110-188)

14. Book of 'Abdullâh ibn Wahb (125-197)

15. Book of Yahya ibn Abi Kathîr (d. 129)

16. Book of Muhammad ibn Suqah (d. 135)

17. Tafsîr of Zaid ibn Aslam (d. 136)

18. Book of Musa ibn 'Uqbah (d. 141)

19. Book of Ash'ath ibn 'Abdul-Malik (d. 142)

20. Book of Aqil ibn Khalid (d. 142)

21. Book of Yahya ibn Sa'id Ansari (d. 143)

22. Book of Awf ibn Abi Jamilah (d. 146)

23. Books of Jafar ibn Muhammad al-Sadiq (d. 148)

24. Books of Yunus ibn Yazid (d. 152)

25. Book of 'Abdur-Rahman al-Mas'udi (d. 160)

26. Books of Zaidah ibn Qudamah (d. 161)

27. Books of Ibrahim al-Tahman (d. 163)

28. Books of Abu Hamzah al-Sukri (d. 167)

29. Al-Gharâib by Shu'bah ibn al-Hajjaj (d. 160)

30. Books of 'Abdul-Aziz ibn 'Abdullâh al-Majishun (d. 164)

31. Books of 'Abdullâh ibn 'Abdullâh ibn Abi Uwais (d. 169)

32. Books of Sulaiman ibn Bilal (d. 172)

33. Books of 'Abdullâh ibn Lahi'ah (d. 147)

34. Jami' Sufyan ibn 'Uyainah (d. 198)

35. Kitâb-ul-Âthâr by Imâm Abu Hanîfah (d. 150)

36. Maghâzi of Mu'tamir ibn Sulaiman (d. 187)

37. Musannaf of Waki' ibn Jarrah (d. 196)

38. Musannaf of 'Abdur-Razzâq ibn Hammam (136-221)

39. Musnad of Zaid ibn 'Ali (76-122)

40. Books of Imâm Shâfi'i (150-204)

The following books written in this age are still available in printed form:

1. Al-Muwatta by Imâm Mâlik.

2. Kitâb-ul-Âthâr by Imâm Abu Hanîfah.

3. Musannaf by 'Abdur-Razzâq. This book has been published in eleven big volumes.

4. As-Sîrah by Muhammad ibn Ishaq.

5. Kitâb az-Zuhd by 'Abdullâh ibn al-Mubârak.

6. Kitâb az-Zuhd by Waki' ibn Jarrâh (3 volumes).

7. Al-Musnad by Zaid ibn 'Ali (76-122).

8. Sunan of Imâm Shâfi'i.

9. Musnad of Shâfi'i.

10. Siyar of Awzâ'i (88-157).

11. Musnad of 'Abdullâh ibn al-Mubârak.

12. Musnad of Abu Dâwûd Tayalisi (d. 204).

13. Ar-Radd 'ala Siyaril-Awzâ'i by Imâm Abu Yûsuf.

14. Al-Hujjah 'ala Ahlil-Madînah by Imâm Muhammad ibn Hasan Shaibâni.

15. Kitâbul-Umm by Imâm Shâfi'i.

16. Al-Maghâzi by Waqidi (130-206) (4 volumes).

Appendix Three:

The beginning of fabrication and efforts to counter it

Regarding exactly when fabrication first occurred, (Zarabozo 2000:207) quotes Fullaata's thesis (al-Widha fi al-Hadith, 1981) that an individual called Al Mukhtaar ath-Thaqafi asked al Rabi al Khuzai to fabricate a hadith. In return he would receive seven hundred deenars. The latter refused, and although Al Mukhtaar tried to convince others to fabricate hadith, he was unsuccessful. In fact he killed Muhummad ibn Amaar ibn Yaasir for refusing to fabricate hadith. (al Bukhari in Al-Tareekh al-Sagheer). Hence according to Fullaatah, fabrication first occurred in the last third of the first century (70H onwards). However, by this time, the isnad system was already in use and the science of jarh was ta'deel had began. Therefore the fabrication of hadith did not affect the preservation of the sunnah, as the sciences of hadith needed to counter (intentional or unintentional) fabrication, were already in place. When the fabricators reared their ugly heads, the scholars already had the weapons (the isnad, jarh wa ta'deel, ilm ar-rijaal etc) to repeal them.

Adh- Dhahabi said: 'There was hardly anyone [who was considered] of little authority (da'if) during the first century in which the Companions and the outstanding Followers (tabe'een) died out – except isolated individuals. However when the second century began, they were to be found among the later circle of the Followers' (Bihar 2004:452).

Adh- Dhahabi also mentioned that excessive mistakes in narrating only began to appear among the minor (i.e. latter) Followers and those who came after them. It was at this point that the ulema took great care regarding accepting reports. The first research into the narrator who had cited a hadith, and whether he was free of faults, began in the latter part of the second century, (150H onwards). As the number of narrators in the chain was greater than before, there was more need for scrutinising the reporters, and there were more critics found in this period (Bihar 2004).

As well as examining each narrator in the isnad, the text of the narration would be compared to other narrations that were established to have come via a Companion. Hence there were two types of verification; naqd al matn and naqd al

isnad. Az-Zuhri (d124) was the most vigilant, and most careful amongst the scholars who examined the narrations in Madinah. Ibn Sirin (d110) was the foremost in Iraq to subject the narrators to critical verification, and to discriminate the trustworthy from the rest (Bihar 2004:455).

The early specialists who wrote on jarh wa ta'deel were Shu'ba ibn al Hajjaj (82 - 160H), al Layth ibn Sa'd (d 175H), and Yahya ibn Said al Qattan (d198H). Shu'ba ibn al Hajjaj. a senior atba at tabi'in, was the first scholar to truly devote himself to the critique of narrators. Ibn Hibban said that Shu'ba was the "first to broaden the scope of jarh wa ta'deel" (Bihar 2004:457-8).

Then this knowledge was passed down to their students from the generation after the atba at tabi'in. From them were Ahmed ibn Hanbal (164-241H), Yahya ibn Ma'in (158 -233H) and Ali ibn al Madini (161-235H) (Bihar 2004:459).

This knowledge was then passed on to the likes of Abu Zur'ah ar Razi (d263), ad-Darimi (d255), al-Bukhari (d256), Muslim (d261) and Abu Dawood (d275) (Bihar 2004:459).

These last two generations represent the culmination of this science.

Once a hadith fabricator had been identified, (or even an honest narrator with a weak memory for that matter) none of his narrations would be accepted, even though some of his narrations may have been correct. There was no fear of an authentic hadith being lost however, as it would have been preserved through a different, correct chain (Zaheer 2002:xix)

Many fabricators avoided going too public. This was partly due to fear of the great scholars, and the rulers. Many fabricators were condemned to death after being caught. The fabricators, after being caught, would claim that they had fabricated thousands of hadith. This claim itself was a deliberate lie in order destroy faith in hadith.

The writing and classification of hadith in the middle of the first century by Ibn Juraij (d150). Malik (d179), Ibn Ishaq (d151), Awza'ee (d157) and Sufyan al-Thawri (d161) further reduced the impact of the fabricators. This was followed by the compilation of hadith books in the third century. Of the six books in the

Kutub Sittah, only one (Ibn Majah) contains a few fabricated reports without the author mentioning that it is fabricated.

Ilm ar-Rijaal

The science of ilm rijaal was developed in a significant way after 150H. Malik (d179H), ath-Thawri (d162) and Shu'bah (d160) were the most outstanding scholars of this science. Through this science detailed biographies of hundreds of thousands of narrators were compiled. Yahya ibn Sa'd al Qattan was the first to collect written records of the biographies of men (Bihar 2004:456-8).

The biographies included birth and death dates, names of his teachers and how long he was in their company, his students, which books he had studied and with whom, did he rely on written material or memory, if he relied on written material, did he have access to them when narrating, where he had travelled, if he was influenced by any innovated ideas, his level of memorisation at the time of narrating,(youth, manhood, old age) his being prone to confuse narrations or isnads, his being resident or travelling at the time of narration, his accuracy, was he a qualified jurist, and his moral character. Example of such remarks are: 'Imaan', 'Trustworthy', 'Makes mistakes', 'Weak', 'Abandoned', 'Liar'. (Bihar 2004:461).

The German Orientalist Dr. Sprenger said:

'There has never been a people or nation of former times, just as there does not exist now among contemporary peoples or nations, people who had such mastery of the tremendous science of men's names (and biographies) like that possessed by the Muslims, a science that dealt with the status and circumstances of five hundred thousand men and their activity.' (taken from Bihar 2004:461).

Sometimes a fabricated hadith would be detected purely on the basis of examining birth and death dates. For example Abdullah ibn Ishaq claimed to have narrated from Muhummad ibn Yaqoob. He was told, "Muhummad ibn Yaqoob died 13 years before you came into this world" (Zaheer 2002:xxvi)

Sufyan at Thawri said: "When the narrators forged narrations, we used the tarikh (chronology) against them". (Muqadamah, Ibn Salah).

Rihlaa

Rihlaa (travelling) to hear and confirm hadith started in the time of the Companions. As the Islamic Empire grew rapidly, the Companions travelled to the various parts of the empire for jihad and dawah. They took the narrations of the Prophet (sallahu alaihi wa sallam) with them. Jabir ibn Abdullah travelled a months journey to hear a single hadith from Abdullah ibn Unais. (Bukhari). Al Khateeb al Bagdadi has written an entire work on the subject of travelling in search of hadith (Siddiqi 1993:40-41)

Travelling became widespread in the time of the atba at tabi'in. Ma'mar ibn Rasheed (96-54H) spent many years travelling to hear hadiths. Az- Zuhri (d 124H) also made many lengthy journeys. By travelling they were able to detect forgers, weak narrators and untrustworthy chains. The great journeys of the scholars meant that they were able to collect and share information from all of the experts of verification (of men) from all the centres of the Islamic world. Thus the discussion of the narrators was not restricted to the men of one particular region alone, but encompassed all of the narrators in general. Scholars would not narrate a hadith, unless they were 100% it was from the Prophet (sallahu alaihi wa sallam). By travelling often long distances they were able to confirm the words of the Messenger of Allah (sallahu alaihi wa sallam). For example Yahya ibn Ma'een travelled to hear the same narrations from over 17 of Hammad ibn Salamah's students. He did this in order to distinguish between the mistakes of Hammad ibn Salamah and that of his students (Azami 1977:53). Thus Rihlah was an important tool in the verification of hadith.

The criteria for accepting hadith

As time passed the number of reporter involved in the isnad increased, and the number of liars and weak narrators also increased. Hence scholars laid down strict criteria in the acceptance of hadith. The terminologies differed from scholar to scholar, this partly reflected the difference in criteria used. (Hasan: 1994: 6) Each hadith was independently scrutinised, both the matn and isnad were subjected to a number of tests to judge the authenticity of hadith. Much of the focus was on judging the narrators of the hadith in terms of their honesty, integrity, memory, reliability and their method of narrating from their sources. Any narrator who held deviant beli efs and was known to call to those beliefs

would have his narrations rejected even if he was known to be honest and of good memory. However some scholars would accept his narrations as long as they did not pertain to his beliefs, and he fulfilled the other criteria of narrating. Imaan Malik mentioned that he did not report from four types of people; those who were incompetent, those known to lie in every day speech, heretics, and ascetics.

Hasan, Suhaib (1994) mentions that any isnad with an interrupted link would be rejected, although there was a difference of opinion with regards to mursal hadith. Some scholars would also give little credence to solitary reports, particularly gharib hadith. The way the hadith was reported was also scrutinised, for example using the word "an" (on the authority of) did not necessarily mean that the narrator heard it directly from his source, or had even met his source. If a mudalis (where a reporter is known to have concealed the identity of his Sheikh) used the term "an", his narration kmwould be rejected. The matn of the hadith would also be examined, if it contradicted a hadith with a more authentic chain, then it would be rejected, even if its isnad was sahih. Finally, both the matn and the isnad were examined for hidden defects. For example, an authentic chain going back to a Companion (i.e. the narration is the saying of a Companion), may be mistakenly be attributed to the Prophet (sallahu alaihi wa sallam)

Ibn Salah states thata hadith would be accepted as Sahih if there was a "continuous chain made up of reporters of trustworthy memory from similar authorities and which is found to be free from any irregularities (in the text) or defects (in the text or chain) (taken from Hasan: 1994: 32).

Detecting fabrication on the basis of the text alone

A person who studied a poet for a long time, and has become fully acquainted with his style, can easily detect a poem that does not belong to the author, Likewise, scholars who devoted their entire lives to collecting, classifying and studying hadith were often able to detect those statements which had been falsely attributed to the Prophet (sallahu alaihi wa sallam) (Azami 1977:71).

Zaheer (2002: xxiv- xxvi) states that certain narrations were automatically rejected if they fell into one of the following categories.

- if the language is below a certain level of eloquence, or violates basic rules of Arabic grammar.

- if the report is totally nonsensical. e.g. 'Nuh's ark made tawaaf around the Kaaba'

- if the report is disproved by the turn of events.

- if the report opposes an established principle of the religion – e.g. reports discouraging marriage.

- if the report contradicts a verse in the Qur'an - e.g. "the child of a fornicator will not enter Paradise, up to seven generations" contradicts the verse: "No soul shall bear the burden of another".

- If the report favours the innovated beliefs of a heretical group such as the Shia, Qadariyyah, Jabariyyah, etc.

- If the report offers a huge reward for a small deed – e.g. "whoever performs Salaat-ul Duha would receive the reward of seventy Prophets".

Books on Ilm ar-Rijaal

Bihar (2002:462-469) states that one of the first books on this ilm-rijaal was at-Tarikh by Ibn Ma'in (d233). Some books dealt exclusively with weak narrators such as ad-Du'afa by Bukhari. Others dealt only with trustworthy and reliable narrators such as al-Thiqaat by Ibn Hibban. Abdul Ghani al Maqdisi (d273) wrote a large work on the reporters of the kutub sittah called Al Kamal fu Asma' al Rijaal. Later, al-Mizzi (d742) edited and abridged it in a 12 volume work naming it Tadhib Al Kamal fu Asma' al Rijaal, Ibn Hajar (d852) further abridged al-Mizzi's work, adding additional information. This was called Tadhib al-Tahdib. He further edited this to a two volume work entitled Taqrib al-Tadhib.

Bibliography

Al-'Abbad, Abdul Muhsin (n.d.) A study of the Hadeeth. 'May Allaah Brighten the Man' [TROID Publications]. Available at: <URL: http://www.troid.org/articles/hadeeth/notesuponprophetichadeeth/brightentheman.htm> Access Date: 3rd August 2002.

Abdul Ghaffar, Suhaib Ḥasan (1986). *Criticism of Ḥadīth among Muslims with reference to Sunan ibn Maja.* (Second Edition). London: Ta Ha Publishers Ltd.

Abdul Ghaffar, Suhaib Ḥasan (1994). *An introduction to the science of Ḥadīth*. London: Al-Qur'an Society.

Abdul Rauf, Muhammad. (1988)*. Irrationality of the Anti-Ḥadīth Heretics.* Available at <URL: http:/www.e-bacaan.com/artikeli_FinalD2..htm> Access Date: 12th April 2005

Abbbot, Nabia. (1967). *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II. Qur'ānic Commentary and Tradition.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ahmad, Aziz. (1967). *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857 -1964*. London: Oxford University Press.

Ahmad, Kassim. (1997). *Hadith a Re-evaluation.* [Arizona, Monotheist Productions] Available at: <URL: http://free-minds.org/books/kassim.htm> Access Date 14th January 2005.

Ahmad, Kassim. (2006)*. Essays and Commentaries from Malaysia's foremost thinker and philosopher.* Available at <URL: http://kassimahmad.blogspot.com/2006/04/hadith-re-evaluation-kassim-ahmad.html> Access Date: 4th July 2006.

Ahmed, Imtiaz. (1977). *The significance of the sunnah and ḥadīth and their early documentation.* Ph.D, Edinburgh University.

al- Albani, Nasir Ad-Din (1995). *The Ḥadīth is Proof Itself in Beliefs and Laws.* Florida: The Daar of Islamic Heritage Publications

al- Albani, Nasir Ad-Din (n.d.). *The status of Sunnah in Islam.* Kuwait: Revival of Islamic Heritage Society.

al-'Alawānī, Ṭāhā Jābir. (1993). *The Ethics of Disagreement in Islam.* Herndon,Va: The International Institute of Islamic Thought.

'Alī, Uthmaan bin Mu'allim Mahmood Bin Shaikh (2001)*. The Raid of the Faithful Believers in Smashing the Brains of the Perweizite Deceivers*. Available at: <URL: http://www.salafipublications.com/sps/> Access Date: 25th March 2003

'Alī, Muḥammad Mohar (2003) *A Word for Word Meaning of the Qur'ān, Volume 1.* Ipswich: Jam'iyat Iḥyaa' Minhaaj Al-*Sunna*

'Alī, Muḥammad Mohar (2003) *A Word for Word Meaning of the Qur'ān, Volume 2.* Ipswich: Jam'iyat Iḥyaa' Minhaaj Al-Sunnah

Ansārī,   Zafar 'Ishāq. (1992). "The contribution of the Qur'ān and the Prophet to the Development of Islamic Fiqh". *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 3(2), 141-171.

al-Ashqar. Umar S. (2003) *The Messengers and the Messages in light of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.*(Second Edition). Riyadh: International Islamic Publishing House.

Azami, Habib-ur-Raḥmān. (n.d.) The *sunna* in Islam. The Eternal Relevance of the Teaching and Example of the Prophet Muhammad. Leicester: UK Islamic Academy.

al-Azami , M. Mustafa. (1977). *Studies Hadīth Methodology and Literature*. Indiana: American Trust Publications.

al-Azami, M. Mustafa. (1992). *Studies in Early Hadīth Literature.* (Third Edition). Indiana: American Trust Publications.

al-Azami, M. Mustafa. (1996). *On Schacht's Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*. (Second Edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press, and Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society.

Arberry, A. J. (1954). "The teachers of Al-Bukhari". *The Islamic Quarterly*, 1(3 and 4), 34-48.

Asutay, M. (2002). "Referencing and Citation Style: A guide to bibliographic referencing for social sciences" *MIHE* (in association with Loughborough University).

Asutay, M. (2004). "Lecture 3: Research and the Development of Knowledge. Introduction to Research Methodology" *MIHE* (in association with Loughborough University).

Asutay, M. (2004). "Lecture 4: Developing a research through levels of analysis. Social Research Strategies. Research Design: Issues" *MIHE* (in association with Loughborough University).

Asutay, M. (2004). "Lecture 5: Research Methodology.Research Method" *MIHE* (in association with Loughborough University).

Asutay, M. (2004). "Lecture 8: Discourse Analysis" *MIHE* (in association with Loughborough University).

Asutay, M. (2004). "Lecture 9: Writing a Research Proposal" *MIHE* (in association with Loughborough University).

Asutay, M. (2004). "Lecture Handout 10: Unobtrusive Research" *MIHE* (in association with Loughborough University).

Asutay, M. (2004). "Lecture Handout 11: "Historical Research" *MIHE* (in association with Loughborough University).

A'zami, Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān. (1989). *The Sunnah in Islam. The eternal relevance of the teachings and example of the Prophet Muhammad*. Leicester: UK Islamic Academy.

Bihar, Asraf 'Alī Simsiti Pur. (2004). "The science of invalidation (jarh) and authentication (ta'dīl) of ḥadīth and its role in their protection and preservation", in Y. Batha (Ed), *The Muwatta of Imām Muhammad*, (pp. 447-470). London: Turath Publishing.

Blanche, Martin Terre and Durreheim, Kevin. (1999), *Research in Practice; Applied Methods for the Social Sciences.* Cape Town: ULT.

Bravemann, M. M. (1972). *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam, Studies in Ancient Arab Concepts*. Leiden: E.J Brill.

Daryabadi, Abdul Majid . (1984). "Mischief Against Ḥadīth Exposed'. *Islamic Order*, 6(3), 47-65.

Denscombe, M. (2003). *Do your research project*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dickinson, Eerik, (2006).(translation of) *An introduction to the Science of the Ḥadīth. Shahrazūrī, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*. Reading: Garnet Publishers Ltd.

Dr. Rashad Khalifa, an introduction. (2003). Available at: <URL: http://www.islamicproductions.com/Rashad.html>. Access Date: 4th July 2006.

Draz, Muhammad Omar and Ditta Allah (n.d.) *Allama Ghulam Ahmad Parwez. The Man Behind the Tolu-e-Islam Movement. A Life Sketch.* Available at: <URL: http://www.toluislam.com/parwez.htm> Access Date: 24th February 2005.

Fadel, Mohammed. (1995). "Ibn Hajar's Hady as-Sari: A Medieval Interpretation of the Structure of al-Bukhārī's al-Jami al Sahih". *Journal of North East Studies*, 54 (3), 161-98.

Farūqi, Muḥammad Yūsuf . (1992). "Legal Authority of the Sunnah: Practice of Rightly-Guided Caliphs and Views of the Early Fuqahā'. *Islamic Studies*, 31(6), 393-410.

Faynan, Rafi'el-Imdad, (1999). *The Essential Arabic. A Learners Practical Guide*. (Second Edition). New Delhi: Goodword Press.

Gad, Sayed (2000) (translation of*) Stories of the Prophets Ibn Kathīr*. El-Mansoura, Egypt: Dar Al-Manarah.

Ghuddah, 'Abdul Fattāh Abū. (2003).*Prophet Muhammad – The Teacher and his teaching methodologies*. Karachi: Zam Zam Publishers.

Hafīz, Abd al-Rahmān Maḥmūd. (1977). *The life of Zuhri and his scholarship in Qur'ānic sciences and ḥadīth and sunnah*. Ph.D, Edinburgh University.

Hamidullah, Muḥammad. (1991). *The Earliest Codification of the Ḥadīth: Kitāb Al-Sard Wa al-Fard.* Islamabad: Pakistan Hijra Council.

Hamidullah, Muḥammad. (2003). *An Introduction to the Conservation of Hadith in the Light of the Ṣahīfah of Hammam ibn Munabbih*. (Third Edition). Kuala Lumpa: Islamic Book Trust.

Hamidullah, Muḥammad. (2004). *The Emergence of Islam* (Second Edition). New Delhi: Adam Publishers and Distributors.

Ḥasan, Ahmad. (1968)."The Sunnah – Its Early Concept and Development". *Islamic Studies,* 7(4), 46-69.

Ḥasan, Ahmad. (2000). " Sunnah as a Source of Fiqh" . *Islamic Studies*, 39(1), 3-53.

Ḥasan, Ahmad. (1999). " The Qur'ān: The Primary Source of Fiqh" . *Islamic Studies*, 38(4), 475-502.

Hasan, Suhaib. (1994)."An introduction to the science of hadith". London: Al-Quran Society.

Hawkes, Jacquetta (1976). *The Atlas of Early Man. Concurrent Developments across the Ancient World 35 000 BC – AD 500*. London: Book Club Associates.

Husssain, Iftekhar Bano. (1997) *Prophets in the Qur'ān . Volume One. The Early Prophets.* London: Ṭā-Hā Publishers.

Jameelah, Maryam.(1965) *Islam and Modernism*. (Second Edition). Karachi: Mohammad Yūsuf Khan.

Kailani, Muḥammad Iqbal. (1998). *The Book of Following the Prophet's Path.* Riyadh: Darussalam.

Kamali, Mohammad Hashim. (2005) *A Textbook of Ḥadīth Studies. Authenticity, Compilation, Classification, and Criticism of Ḥadīth*. Leicester: Islamic Foundation.

Kassim Ahmad- Biographical Data. (n.d.) Available at: <URL: http://kas1728393.tripod.com/jamhp2.htm>. Access Date: 4th July 2006.

Kasir, Omar Ahmed. (2005) *Studies in Hadith Literature with a complete ḥadīth terminology*. London: Al-Firdous Ltd.

Khadduri, Majid. (1987) Al- Shāfi'ī's Risāla. Treatise on the foundations of Islamic Jurisprudence. (Second Edition). Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society.

Khalida, Tarif (1994). *Arabic historical thought in the classical period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Khalifa, Rashad (n.d.) *Quran, Hadith, and Islam*. Available at: <URL: http://www.submission.org/qhi.html>   Access Date 30th December 2004.

Khalifa, Rashad (2001.) *Quran, Hadith, and Islam*. Arizona: Universal Unity

Khan: Jaliluddin Ahmad (1982). *Contemporary Atheistic Materialism – A Reaction to Orthodox Christainity*. Karachi: International Islamic Publishers

al- Khazraji, Khalid. (1999). *On the Nature of Ḥadīth Collections of Imām al-Bukhārī & Muslim.* Available at: <URL: http://www.islamic-awareness.org> Access Date 11th October 2004.

Lucas, Scott C. (2004). *Constructive Critics, Ḥadīth Literature and the Articulation of Sunni Islam. The Legacy of the Generation of Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Ma'īn, and Ibn Ḥanbal.* Leiden: Brill.

Ma, Ringo (n.d.) Textual Analysis. Available at: <URL: www.hkbu.edu.hk/~ringoma/lectures/2320ch09.ppt> Access Date: 24th April 2005.

Mackensen, Ruth Stellhorn. (1937). "Arabic Books and libraries in the Umaiyad Period". *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 53 (4) 239-250.

McDonough, Sheila. (1970). *The Authority of the Past. A study of Three Muslim Modernists.* Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: American Academy of Religion.

Motzki, Harold. (1991). " The Muṣannaf of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī as a Source of Authentic Ahadith of the First Century A.H.". *Journal of Near East Studies*, 50, 1-21.

Motzki, Harold. (2002) *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence. Meccan Fiqh before the Classical School.* Leiden: Brill.

Mubarakpuri, Safiur-Raḥmān. (2000). *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (Abridged) Volumes One to Ten. Riyadh: Darussalam Publishers and Distributors.

Mubarakpuri, Safiur-Raḥmān. (2005) *In reply to the mischief of the denial of Hadīth* Lahore: Quddusia Islamic Publishers:

Nadwi, Sayyed Abul Hassan 'Alī. (2005). *Ḥadīth Status and Role. An introduction to the Prophet's Tradition.* Leicester: UK Islamic Academy.

Parrot. A. *(1974) "Abraham"* in RM. Hutchins (Ed.), *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica in 30 Volumes. Macropaedia Volume 1*. (pp.11-13) Chicago: William Benton.

Parwez, Ghulam Ahmad (.n.d.a.). *Muqaam-e-Ḥadīth*. Available at: <URL: http://www.toluislam.com/pub_online/position/hadith1.htm> Access Date: 1st August 2005.

Parwez, Ghulam Ahmad (.n.d.b.). *Muqaam-e-Ḥadīth*. Available at: <URL: http://www.toluislam.com/pub_online/position/hadith2.htm> Access Date: 1st August 2005.

Parwez, Ghulam Ahmad (.n.d.c). *Muqaam-e-Ḥadīth*. Available at: <URL: http://www.toluislam.com/pub_online/position/hadith3.htm> Access Date: 1st August 2005.

Parwez, Ghulam Ahmad (.n.d.d). *Muqaam-e-Ḥadīth*. Available at: <URL: http://www.toluislam.com/pub_online/position/hadith4.htm> Access: 1st August 2005.

Phillips, Abū Ameenah Bilal. (1987). *The Qur'an's Numerical Miracle: 19. Hoax and Heresy*. Jeddah: Abdul Qāsim Bookstore.

Phillips, Abū Ameenah Bilal. (1997). *Usool at-Taseer. The Methodology of Qur'aanic Explanation.* Sharjah: Dar al Fatah.

Phillips, Abū Ameenah Bilal. (2007). *Usool Al-Hadeeth. The Methodology of Hadith Evaluation.* Riyadh: International Islamic Publishing House.

Qadhi, Abu Ammaar Yasir. (1999). *An Introduction to the Sciences of the Qur'aan.* Birmingham: Al Hidaayah Publishers & Distributors.

Rafiq, Aboo 'Iyyaad Amjad ibn Muhammad Rafiq. (1997). *The Creed of the Imaam of Ḥadīth, Abū 'Abdullah Muhammad bin Ismaa'eel al-Bukhārī & of the great scholars from whom he narrated.* Birmingham: Al-Maktabah as-Salafiyyah Publications.

Raḥmān, Fazlur. (n.d.) "The Living Sunnah and Ahl- Sunnah wa'l Jamā'ah", in P.K. Koya (Ed) *Ḥadīth and Sunna, Ideals and Realities* (Second Edition) (pp 129 189). Kuala Lumpar: Islamic Book Trust.

Rashad Khalifa. (2006). Available at: <URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashad_Khalifa. Access Date: 4th July 2006.

Robinson, Chase R (2003). *Islamic Historiography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Saifullah, MSM and Karim,Elias. (1999)*. Explosive Increase of Isnād & Its Implications.* [Islamic Awareness] Available at <URL: http:/www.islamic-awareness.org/*Ḥadīth*/exisnad.html> Access Date: 30th November 2004.

Saifullah, MSM and Ghoniem Muhammad. (1989)*. On the Nature of Ḥadīth Collections of Imam Al-Bukhārī & Muslim.* [Islamic Awareness] Available at <URL: http://www.islamic-awareness.org/Hadith/bukhari.html> Access Date: 14 November 2004.

Saleh, As-Saleh. (n.d.) *Audio Lecture on Quranites*. Available at <URL: http://www.understand-islam.net/audio/andromeda.php?q=f&f=%2FDeviant+Sects+%26+Bida%27%2FQur%27anites.> Access Date:18th May 2005.

Siba'i, as-, Mustafa. (n.d)*. Following the Messenger of Allah is a Must.* Available at <URL: http:/www.islaam.com/Article.aspx?id=239> Access Date: 4th March 2005.

Ṣiddīqī, Muḥammad Zubayr. (1993). *Hadith Literature. Its Origin, Development & Special Features.* Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society.

The Qur'ān, Arabic Text with Corresponding English Meanings. (1997) Jeddah: Abul Qasim Publishing House.

The Noble Qur'ān, English Translation of the meaning and commentary. (1997) Madinah: King Fahd Complex for the printing of the Holy Qur'ān.

Usmani, Muhammad Taqi. (1991). *The Authority of the Sunnah*. New Delhi: Kitan Bhavan.

VanDoodewaard, William (1996). *Ḥadīth Authenticity: A Survey of Perspectives*. Available at: <URL: http://www.rim.org/muslim/hadith.htm> Access Date 17th February 2005.

Yūsuf , S.M. (1977) *The Sunnah, Importance, Transmission, Development, Revision*. (Second Edition). Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture.

Zaheer, Syed Iqbal. (2002). *Fake Pearls. A Collection of Fabricated Prophetic Sayings* (Second Edition). Scarborough, Canada: Al-Attique Publishers Inc.

Zarabozo, Jamaal al-Din M. (1999). *Towards Understanding our Religion. Volume One.* Denver, Colorado: Al-Basheer Company for Publications and Translations.

Zarabozo, Jamaal al-Din M. (2000). *The Authority and Importance of the Sunnah.* Denver, Colorado: Al-Basheer Company for Publications and Translations.

Zafar, Abdul Rauf. (1991) "Transmission of *Ḥadīth* and Biography".*Islamic Quarterly*, 35(2) 118-39.