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Obeying the (Unjust) Ruler: Tracing a Political Ideology in the Hadith Corpus

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2022

Abstract

Within Sunni political discourse is the question of one's relationship with the state and more specifically, the ruler. The majority opinion upholds a quietism requiring obedience to the ruler, even if he is unjust. This study traces the origins of this political quietism as well as its converse (political activism) through an analysis of Prophetic narrations (hadiths) espousing them. Through the relatively recent methodology of *isnad-cum-matn* which analyses both the chain of transmission (*isnad*) and the text of the Prophetic narration (*matn*), patterns are found in the spread of these hadiths. Namely, there is a concentration of political hadiths spreading from Iraq in the early to mid-second century AH. These results contribute to a better understanding of the political landscape of the early Muslim world, as well as some of its most prominent figures.

Lay Summary

In Islam, politics and religion are sometimes intricately intertwined. Different Muslim sects hold different views regarding one's relationship with the state. Among the largest sect, which includes all Sunni schools of thought, an array of views can be found constituting a kind of Sunni political framework. At the heart of this is the Muslim subject's relationship with the ruler. The majority opinion argues for a political quietism in which one must be patient with and obedient to the ruler, even if he is unjust. This study traces the origins of this political quietism as well as its converse (political activism) through an analysis of statements purportedly from the Prophet Muhammad (hadiths) espousing them. Hadiths consist of a chain of transmission (*isnad*) and text of the Prophetic narration (*matn*). Through the relatively recent methodology of *isnad-cum-matn* which analyses both, these hadiths can be traced to certain figures. The results of this study reveal a pattern to these figures—namely that they lived in the same areas of the Muslim world around the same time. The patterns found in the spread of these hadiths provide a greater understanding on the spread of political quietism and activism in early Islamic history, enriching the discourse surrounding that period and some of its most prominent figures.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank several people who have made this thesis possible. First and foremost, my principal supervisor Andreas Gorke has patiently provided me with invaluable feedback throughout this entire process. From the methodology to the conclusions, Dr. Gorke has taught me more than I could have anticipated and I am eternally grateful for his guidance. I would also like to thank Drs. Jaakko Hameen-Anttila, Andrew Newman, and Majied Robinson for their helpful comments. Thanks to Dr. Andrew Marsham for being my supervisor in the first year of study and for helping me shape my approach to quietism in early Islamic history. I'm grateful to have participated in the Global Dome PhD summer program with fellow doctoral students from the universities of Edinburgh, Notre Dame and Oxford all providing valuable feedback on the structure and content of the first chapter of the study.

I would like to also thank my father for help with the Arabic phrases and terminology; my brother-in-law Will for the interesting conversations on several early Islamic personalities; my sister and niece Marya for flying across an ocean so I could attend a conference (and the countless hours of babysitting services from all three of my incredible nieces); my selfless, beautiful mother for the months she sacrificed to care for me and my babies postpartum—all three were born during this project. And finally, I would like to thank my other half, Rochdi, for being my strength throughout this six-year endeavour. From encouraging me to start the doctorate to fixing the technical issues the day before submitting. In the words of our midwife seconds after our daughter was born, “what a team you make!”

Notes on the Text

In accordance with the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, anglicized words such as Quran, Islam, and jihad are not transliterated. Neither are names of cities, provinces or countries. Hadith terminology is also simplified (hadith, matn, isnad) for easier reading. Names of modern figures are similarly presented without diacritics.

Names of figures from before the modern age are fully transliterated as there are many figures with similar names. Two hadith collectors go by the name Abū Dāwūd. One is identified as simply Abū Dāwūd, famous for his *Sunan*, while the other is Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, famous for his *Musnad*. Single Arabic words are also transliterated as well as short phrases found in the body of text. Shorter phrases as well as long texts referenced in the footnotes are presented in the original Arabic.

The *tā' marbūṭa* is rendered *a* not *ah*. The nisba ending is rendered *-iyya*. The definite article 'al-' is lowercase everywhere, except when the first word of a sentence. Prepositions and conjunctions are not usually hyphenated (e.g. *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl*, Abū al-).

Introduction

This study explores the development of an anti-oppositionalist attitude to authority in early Islamic political history. More commonly referred to as quietism, this general movement gained momentum in the early Muslim world until it was ingrained in the theological positions of the Sunni schools of thought. Religious arguments in favour of a conciliatory approach to authority were based mostly on Prophetic narrations—known as hadiths. To better understand the evolution and popularization of this approach to power, this study focuses on groups of hadiths commonly found in the literature supporting this so-called ‘quietism’. Little attention has been paid to these hadiths used to support obedience to the ruler throughout Muslim history, from the early movements to classical Muslim scholars to religious leaders in the modern world. This study traces the historical origins of well-attested hadiths promoting an anti-oppositional approach toward the ruler, specifically the unjust ruler.

The thesis consists of an introduction and conclusion as well as six chapters, each dedicated to a hadith in all its variations (known as a hadith bundle). The first four chapters are focused on one quietist hadith bundle each. This is followed by two chapters focused on hadiths supporting a more oppositional approach toward power—or ‘activist’ hadiths. The activist hadiths were included in this study to understand the spread of political traditions more comprehensively. The quietist hadiths were found spreading in a certain place and time, forcing the question of whether this was a phenomenon associated with specifically quietist hadiths or if it extended to political hadiths in general. As a result, the study is separated into two parts—the quietist and the activist.

Part One analyses prominent quietist Prophetic narrations found within the Sunni hadith corpus. The selection criteria for these hadiths consist of two factors. The first regards the message of the hadiths: they specifically state that the disliked or unjust ruler must be obeyed. The second factor is the proliferation of the traditions in the hadith corpus. They are well-attested enough to allow for a thorough analysis. Each of the four major hadith bundles consists of several dozens of variants. These variants include minor differences in wording but mostly have the same overall structure and meaning, allowing for their categorization within the same bundle. These hadiths state to “give the ruler his right” even if he does not give you yours. “As long as he prays” the ruler must be obeyed or else one would “die a *jāhili*

death.” The ruler may even “strike your back and take your wealth” yet he still cannot be opposed.¹

Part Two focuses on the activist hadiths that allow for opposition to the ruler. Two major hadith bundles were chosen, each focused on a different aspect of opposition—one verbal and the other physical. The first hadith supports verbal confrontation with the unjust ruler, describing the greatest jihad as “a word of truth to the tyrant.” The second hadith allows for physical opposition where the oppressor must be restrained “by the hand” and placed “within the framework of what is right.” While these narrations are not as numerous in the hadith literature,² enough variants were found to allow for robust analysis. The criteria for selection of the activist hadiths are also based on two factors. The first regards the messaging of the hadiths which encourage both verbal and physical opposition toward the tyrant or oppressor. The second factor is the same as that of the quietist hadiths, that is the need for the hadiths to be well-attested to allow for thorough analysis. All hadiths were analysed through the *isnad-cum-matn* methodology, the results of which show patterns in both the quietist and activist traditions. Namely, almost all hadiths are found spreading from the same two cities in the same period.

Through the analysis of the above hadiths and their propagators (or key figures), an understanding of where and when these hadiths emerge begins to form. As a result, these hadiths are given a historical context, aiding in the understanding of the evolution of these political ideas in early Islamic history. Pinpointing the historical spread of these hadiths helps to identify the factors and motivations behind their spread, discussed at length in the conclusory chapter.

This study contributes to the existing literature on early Islamic political history by drawing from the information available in the hadith corpus—a highly neglected field of study. The scholarship on early Islamic history has thus far relied heavily on the biographical sources. The hadith corpus presents another body of literature from which information about the early Islamic period can be ascertained. Scholars need not rely primarily on the biographies of the classical period, oftentimes contradictory or conflicting in information, to understand the political discourse of Muslim society in the first centuries. Through an analysis of large hadith bundles found spreading particular messages, in this case of either

¹ Roughly one hundred variants were found for each of these Prophetic statements except the ‘strike back’ hadith. About 60 variants are analysed in that bundle—half of which include the phrase about the ruler ‘striking their backs’.

² 51 variants of the hadith regarding speaking truth to the tyrant are analysed while 40 variants are found for the hadith on taking the oppressor by the hand.

supporting or opposing the bad ruler, these ideas are given a historical context. This study evidences the importance of the hadiths to trace the origins and evolution of these discourses.

This study's new approach in analysing hadiths to better understand the development of a political position will hopefully aid in forging a new path of scholarship in the history of Islamic political ideas. By taking well-attested hadiths defending particular political messages and analysing the roots of their spread, these ideas can be located in a place and time in history. The figures with which these hadiths are linked to aid in understanding the motivations behind their spread.

As the following chapters will show, a concentration in the spread of these hadiths is found taking place in the Iraqi cities of Kufa and Basra from the beginning to mid-second century AH. This information sheds light on the political environment of those two cities. The results of the analysis support a general view of Kufa as politically activist and Basra as quietist, discussed at length below. However, hadiths with opposing political messages are also found spreading from these cities, illustrating a highly dynamic political environment in Iraq in early Muslim history. It can be concluded that while these cities were prone to activism (Kufa) or quietism (Basra), they were above all political, spreading messages of obedience and opposition to the rulers through the medium of hadiths.

In addition to the contribution made to the overall political discourses of the time, this paper gives a more accurate political colouring to certain figures. Well-known early scholars such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Sufyān al-Thawrī and al-A'mash feature prominently in the spread of some of these hadiths which partially supports and partially challenges the views of previous scholarship on their political character. In short, this study provides greater clarity on the early political discourses surrounding the legitimacy of the ruler through the little explored avenue of hadith literature, answering the question of where, when and who spread these messages.

The following introductory chapter will first look at the problematic wording of 'quietism' to describe the spectrum of anti-oppositional thought found in these hadiths and an overall review of the literature on political quietism in early Islamic history. The methodology employed is also discussed. This is followed by a brief overview of the political history of the cities from which these hadiths spread. Next is a discussion on the evolution of quietism within the framework of Sunni political ideology. Finally, the application of these hadiths in the modern world is mentioned and their continued relevance today.

The Problem of ‘Quietism’

The use of the term ‘quietism’ to describe a political attitude of non-rebelliousness in early Islamic history proves problematic in several respects. The term has been used in Western scholarly circles to describe both religious and political movements, resulting in different definitions being imposed upon it. In Islamic history, the application of the term differs throughout the scholarship. Particularly when it comes to the formative age—with which this study is concerned—quietism is used to define many different strains of political thought.³ As a result, different approaches to power and authority fall under the umbrella of ‘quietism’—generalizing a highly dynamic and fragmented political environment whilst simultaneously confusing the complexities and nuances within the discourse. This problem extends to the hadith works where these different strains of thought are found in different hadith bundles. Labelling them all as quietist does not do justice to the different facets of anti-oppositionalism found in these hadiths.⁴

The broadest definitions of the term ‘quietism’ are found in the encyclopaedias of Islam where it is either equated with passivism or as the opposite of activism.⁵ It is also found

³ Abou El Fadl presents the problematic terminology of ‘quietism’ within his field of Islamic law stating, “The terminology of activism or quietism is extremely unhelpful, and only serves to obfuscate and obscure the role of jurists and the functions of law. It is never clear what is meant by quietism or activism, or in what sense modern commentators are using them. For example, if a jurist advocates disobedience to the law, is he being activist or lawless? If a jurist advocates passive non-compliance with what he considers to be an illegal order, is he being activist or is he advocating an individualized and subjective notion of justice? If a jurist leaves open the possibility of rebellion by arguing that one should rebel only if that is the lesser evil, is that a lawless or quietist argument? One cannot intelligibly start to answer these questions until one first defines the legal framework within which a jurist is acting. Quietism and activism are inherently relative and subjective terms, and they acquire a concrete meaning only from within a specific context.” Abou El Fadl, Khaled Medhat. *The Islamic Law of Rebellion: The Rise and Development of the Juristic Discourses on Insurrection, Insurgency and Brigandage*, p. 21.

⁴ Robert Gleave similarly identifies this issue with regard to Islamic political history, stating, “It could be argued that tying quietism exclusively to the refusal to rebel (as Cook and other commentators have done) ignores other elements of quietism, such as detachment from political engagement or withdrawal from society more generally.” As a result of these issues of ambiguity, it is difficult to specifically distinguish between the various non-confrontational approaches to rulers and the discussions surrounding them. An attempt to more clearly define this terminology is made by Gleave who separates the quietists into three groups: those who see the government as illegitimate and do not engage with it, those who see it as illegitimate but do engage with it, and those who see it as legitimate and engage with it. Gleave, Robert. “Quietism and Political Legitimacy in Imāmī Shī‘ī Jurisprudence: al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā’s *Treatise on the Legality of Working for the Government Reconsidered*.” *Political Quietism in Islam: Sunnī and Shī‘ī Practice and Thought*, pp. 99–128. However, it would be important to add those who see the government as legitimate but do not engage with it. This view appears to be the dominant one in Sunni political thought. A prominent argument made is that those in power are legitimized through their power. (For example, “An extraordinary amount of medieval Islamic political thought is devoted to legitimation of the dynasty in power.” Crone, Patricia. *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, p. 33.) However, they are not necessarily just or morally upright. Rather, their injustice must be met with patience and obedience for fear of a greater injustice. While Gleave attempts at a clarification of the politically quietist strands seen in Islamic history, he falls short of a comprehensive typology.

⁵ With regard to Sunni Islam, it is described as a mechanism in dealing with corrupt leadership. Jomaa, Katrin. “Quietism and Activism,” *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, pp. 446–447. Carl Brown

within modern Islamic discourse, mostly in relation to Shia Islam.⁶ In works specifically dedicated to early Islamic political history, we are confronted with issues of terminology in which quietism is used to describe either different strains of Islamic political thought or more commonly, a general concept encompassing the different strains.

Earlier scholars took a broader approach to quietism in early Islamic history, describing it as a general deference to authority.⁷ Their works tend to map out the broader political culture in the early Muslim world. Modern scholarship has expanded on this, with a more concentrated effort to understand the politics of the formative period. However, while their references for quietism are more specific, the definition of the term remains vague. This includes a blanket condemnation of rebellion in its many different aspects.⁸

In addition to physical opposition, it is defined as objecting to verbal admonitions, most thoroughly described by Michael Cook in its different variations. These include keeping away from the rulers entirely,⁹ verbally admonishing a ruler you do not fear will punish you,¹⁰ verbally admonishing the ruler who will listen and/or accept your advice,¹¹ and

describes some facets of quietism, from “viewing the tyrant as God’s punishment of a sinful people to the more prevalent idea that *fitnah* (anarchy, disorder) must at all costs be avoided.” “Tyranny.” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Politics*, p. 505.

⁶ See for example Ghamari-Tabrizi, Behrooz, and Mojtaba Mahdavi. “Ayatollah Khomeini.” *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*, p.183; Keddie, Nikki R. *Religion and Politics in Iran: Shi’ism from Quietism to Revolution*; Brunner, Rainer. “Shiism in the Modern Context: From Religious Quietism to Political Activism.” *Religion Compass*, pp. 136–153; Hermann, Denis. “Political Quietism in Contemporary Shi’ism: A Study of the Siyāsat-i Mudun of the Shaykhī Kirmānī Master ‘Abd Al-Riḍā Khān Ibrāhīmī.” *Studia Islamica*, pp. 274–302; Gleave, *Quietism*, pp. 99–128.

⁷ Bernard Lewis labels quietists as those obedient to the rulers. *The Political Language of Islam*, p. 91; Montgomery Watt declares that quietism has always existed among Muslim scholars, “manifesting itself in a tendency to accept any actual or de facto authority, without asking about its legitimacy.” *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, pp. 48; H.A.R. Gibb describes the Sunni legal argument in which it is permissible to reject the bad ruler if a better alternative exists. However, the problem of how this is to be done “without provoking civil war” remains. “Constitutional Organization: The Muslim Community and the State.” *Law in the Middle East Vol. I: Origin and Development of Islamic Law*, p. 12.

⁸ “The good such rebels can achieve will be outweighed by the evil they bring about.” Cook, Michael. *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought*, p. 8. Cook also says, “such quietism”, “relative quietism”, and “a quietist stream”, implying that there are degrees and levels to quietism. Ibid, 8-9; Khalil Athamina describes the Murji’a as quietists who evolved into supporters of the Umayyads. “The Early Murji’a: Some Notes.” *Journal of Semitic studies*, pp. 127-130; Patricia Crone describes different strains of non-violent quietism. One strain supports fighting rebels “whether the ruler they had rebelled against was righteous or not.” Another view states that even if the rebel is in the right, his rebellion is still unacceptable since it would cause greater instability. A third opinion states that “one should only fight rebels if the ruler was just.” These positions are markedly different. They range from active participation on the side of the governing powers to passive non-engagement with rebels with just cause. Yet they are all labelled under the term ‘quietism’. She concludes that the adoption of quietist political thought within Islamic orthodoxy emerged from a Sunni belief that “attached enormous importance to communal togetherness, and this they showed in their treatment of rebels too.” Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, 229-230. See also Crone, Patricia. *God’s Rule: Islam and Government*.

⁹ The view held by the scholar ‘Abd Allah b. al-Mubārak (d. 161). *Commanding*, p. 53.

¹⁰ The Companion ‘Abd Allah b. al-‘Abbās (d. 68) is said to hold this position. Ibid, p. 54.

¹¹ Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyād (d. 187), Ibid.

verbally admonishing a ruler who may punish you but whose punishment you can endure.¹² However, quietism can also be not admonishing a ruler even if you can endure its possible negative consequences.¹³ There is also the added element of verbal quietism in the public space versus the private space—on which the scholars of early Islam are believed to have differed.¹⁴ All of these differing political positions are described as quietist.

Another definition of quietism emphasizes a desire for political stability and order. Josef Van Ess links it to the acceptance of government, “as a natural fact or as an institution desired by God”¹⁵—effectively, the opposite of anarchy. Khaled Abou El Fadl argues that jurists are predisposed to law and order and it is therefore not quietism that demands justification as it is a natural development in the process of establishing institutions of law. Rather, it is political activism which goes against the natural order and requires defending.¹⁶ Muhammad Qasim Zaman applies the word to early scholar-caliph relations, referring to it as an advantageous political position for the early ‘Abbāsids.¹⁷

¹² Another position taken by Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyād, *Ibid*.

¹³ Dāwūd b. Nusayr al-Ṭā‘ī (d. 165). *Ibid*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁴ Ibn ‘Abbās councils Sa‘īd b. Jubayr to speak to the ruler in private. *Ibid*, p. 54.

¹⁵ Though he does not specifically state this view as quietist, the following sentence makes this position clearer. “Even the Shiites decided to collaborate or at least to adopt a quietist attitude.” Ess, Josef van. *The Flowering of Muslim Theology*, p. 144.

¹⁶ Abou El Fadl, *The Islamic Law of Rebellion*, p. 110. However, considering the development of law within Islamic orthodoxy, this position is difficult to maintain. The Sunni schools of thought established their legal norms based on the Quran, Hadith and significantly, precedence of early figures like the Sahaba. Many of these early respected figures took part in violent opposition to the authorities of their time. For example: Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allah, Al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, ‘Āisha bt. Abī Bakr, Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, ‘Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, Anas b. Mālīk, Zayd b. ‘Alī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allah b. Ḥasan al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, Sa‘īd b. al-Jubayr, and ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-‘Umārī. Additionally, the literature is scattered with stories of the Companions who verbally confronted the rulers. From the Sahaba, these include Sa‘īd b. ‘Ubāda of the *Badriyyūn* who reportedly opposed both the first and second leaders of the Muslim community, Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; ‘Ammār b. Yāsīr was another early Companion who was reportedly beaten for his reproach of the third Caliph, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān. Al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá. *The Ansāb al-ashrāf of al-Balādhurī*. A third Companion, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, reportedly died in self-imposed exile as a result of his criticisms against Mu‘āwiya when he was governor of Syria. Al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Ja‘far. *The History of Prophets and Kings, Vol. 15: The Crisis of the Early Caliphate*. Trans. and annotated R. Stephen Humphreys, pp. 64-68. Prominent early scholars were also reported to have opposed the rulers of their time, either implicitly or explicitly, from Abū Ḥanīfa to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. (For more detailed accounts of the friction between the rulers and the founders of the main Sunni schools of thought as well as other prominent early scholars, see Salahi, M. A. *Pioneers of Islamic Scholarship*; Abū Zahra, Muḥammad. *The Four Imams: Their Lives, Works and Their Schools of Thought*. Trans. Aisha Bewley.) Considering the Sunni emphasis on respect for the Companion generation in addition to the added weight of precedence from generally accepted figures of piety, it would seem natural for a more activist opinion to find prominence within Sunni law. However, we find quietism to have prevailed without much further discussion on the subject from Abou El Fadl. He simply states that the jurists explained away early activism through complex legal arguments which “had to be found for arguing that the honoured forefathers did not commit a sin by rebelling.” Abou El Fadl, *Islamic Law of Rebellion*, p. 139.

¹⁷ “The proto-Sunni scholars had gradually come to adopt a quietist political standpoint...which obviously accorded with ‘Abbāsīd interests.” Zaman, Muḥammad Qasim. *Religion and Politics Under the Early ‘Abbāsids: The Emergence of the Proto-Sunni Elite*, p. 167.

More specific applications of the term quietism are also found in the literature. For example, Antony Black links it with a political characteristic of the Sufi movement,¹⁸ while Simon Fuchs applies it to Ibn Taymiyya's views.¹⁹ Crone also attaches it to the Imami Shia tradition of renouncing political action.²⁰ Cook is found using the label of 'quietists' to describe an early group known as the *Fatāna*²¹ found in the Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān.²²

Crone is one of the only scholars to approach political quietism through an analysis of the hadith works. In her study of the Prophetic hadith requiring obedience "even to an Ethiopian slave", the meaning of the hadith is interpreted as quietist for its emphasis on obedience to whoever is in power. However, she does not analyse the hadith in order to ascertain its origins. Rather, she argues for its "Sunni quietism" as opposed to the more commonly perceived "Kharijite egalitarianism" attached to it.²³

As there is no real categorization of political positions in the primary and indeed secondary sources, this study employs its own terminology. The term 'quietism' is applied to views supporting a non-oppositional approach toward the bad rulers. These encompass both verbal and armed opposition. 'Activism' is used with regard to ideas and figures encouraging opposition toward the bad rulers, either verbally (sometimes referred to as '*bil-lisān*' in the primary sources) or physically (sometimes referred to as '*bil-sayf*' in the sources). Some figures are also described as 'pragmatist' which combines both quietist and activist elements, that is, those who are quietist only because opposition toward the rulers is judged to be unsuccessful. A few figures found among the hadith transmitters are also described as 'neutral'. These figures spread both quietist and activist messaging without any apparent political biases. These categorizations are by no means static with only one label applied to one figure. Some figures reportedly changed their views in their own lifetimes (for example, 'Awn b. 'Abd Allah in footnote 52 below).

The above works on political quietism in early Islamic history rely mainly on the biographical sources. This study approaches Sunni political quietism through the lens of the

¹⁸ Black, Antony. *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present*, p. 135.

¹⁹ Fuchs, Simon Wolfgang. "Do Excellent Surgeons Make Miserable Exegetes? Negotiating the Sunni Tradition in the Ġihādī Camps." *Welt des Islams*, pp. 192–237.

²⁰ *Medieval*, p. 123.

²¹ Little is known about this group except for its brief mention in this early text. They are described as a group both opposed to the caliphs as well as any active resistance against them. *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*. Ed. Patricia Crone and Fritz Zimmermann, p. 22.

²² Cook, Michael. *Early Muslim Dogma: A Source-Critical Study*, p. 36.

²³ Crone, Patricia. "'Even an Ethiopian Slave': The Transformation of a Sunnī Tradition." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, pp. 59–67.

overtly quietist hadiths propounding it.²⁴ While very few scholars have discussed hadiths with regard to political ideologies, this study is the first to analyse several hadith bundles used to support a political ideology in order to trace its historical origins.

Methodology

The methodology to analysing hadiths, which will comprise the bulk of this study, will be the isnad-cum-matn approach. Though there are other methods in dating hadiths—from textual (matn) and chain of transmission (isnad) analysis to hadith occurrences in early works—this method is the most comprehensive and precise to date with regard to hadith bundles.²⁵ This approach analyses bundles of hadiths with similar wording and the same overall meaning. When these hadith bundles are analysed based on their isnads—and contain consistency within the chains of transmission,²⁶ common links are usually found. Each of these is responsible for its own version of the hadith, making up a hadith cluster.²⁷ The common link transmits to students who further spread the tradition to many other narrators. It is with the common link that we can begin to date the hadith's origins.²⁸

Some hadith sceptics argue against the historical relevance of hadiths. For them, the common link is not the figure responsible in a hadith's dissemination. Rather, later figures ascribe the hadith's authority to the common link.²⁹ However, this authority hypothesis can be easily dismissed when we have large hadith bundles coming from several sources

²⁴ This study applies the term 'quietism' to views supporting a non-oppositional approach toward the bad rulers. These encompass both verbal and armed opposition. 'Activism' is used with regard to ideas and figures encouraging opposition toward the bad rulers, either verbally (sometimes referred to as 'bil-lisan' in the classical sources) or physically ('bi-sayf' in the sources). . Some figures are also described as 'pragmatist' which combines both quietist and activist elements, that is, those who are quietist only because opposition toward the rulers is judged to be unsuccessful. A few figures found among the hadith transmitters are also described as 'neutral'. These figures spread both quietist and activist messaging without any apparent political biases. These categorizations are by no means static with only one label applied to one figure. Some figures reportedly changed their views in their own lifetimes. For example, 'Awn b. 'Abd Allah (fn 52 below).

²⁵ Motzki, Harald. "Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey." *Arabica*, pp. 204–253.

²⁶ When patterns are found in the clusters linked to a key figure, they are defined as 'consistent' while those that do not exhibit these patterns are 'inconsistent'. For more on consistent and inconsistent hadiths, see: Goerke, Andreas. "Eschatology, History and the Common Link." Ed. Herbert Berg, *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, pp. 179-208.

²⁷ As the hadiths of this study come from a large number of sources with many variations and branches, I have classified the entirety of a hadith group, and its different versions, as a hadith 'bundle'. The individual versions of that hadith are referred to as hadith 'clusters'.

²⁸ A more detailed discussion on the isnad-cum-matn method and three approaches to it can be found in: Haider, Najam Iftikhar. "The Geography of the Isnad: Possibilities for the Reconstruction of Local Ritual Practice in the 2nd/8th Century." *Der Islam (Berlin)*, pp. 306–346.

²⁹ For some views of the hadith sceptics see: Juynboll, G. H. A. *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Ḥadīth*; Schacht, Joseph. *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*; Wansbrough, John E. *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*; Cook, Michael. *Early Muslim Dogma*; Crone, Patricia. *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*.

throughout the Islamic domain. When these isnads and matns correspond strongly, it becomes difficult to argue that the hadiths are simply made up with all the different isnads as well as the slight matn variations that come naturally in oral transmission. It would take knowledge of all the various traditions as well as the biographies and styles of all involved in the isnad from the common link down to successfully attempt this level of sophisticated hadith construction. It is reasonable to assume the historicity of consistent bundles at least up to the common link, which marks the point at which the hadith is disseminated widely, rather than argue for a level of hadith formation that is unheard of in the tenth century.³⁰

The other two assumptions with the common link—as the collector of the hadith or its possible inventor³¹—cannot so easily be dismissed with large, consistent hadith bundles. While these remain possibilities, the focus of this study is not on the forgery or collection of hadiths by these common links, but rather the point of their widespread propagation. We find these points of dissemination with the common links. As most of the common links of all hadith bundles analysed in this study come from between the second and fourth generations after the Prophet, we can conclude that these traditions come from this period at the latest.³² The versions of the hadith corresponding to these common links are listed in Appendix I while Appendix II consists of the hadith charts illustrating the chains of transmission going back to the common links. The hadith charts include some names that are bolded and colored as well as colored lines. The bolded names refer to the hadith collectors. Sometimes it is not possible to concentrate all variants recorded by the collector in the same place. In this case a collector's name is found twice in the same chart and is given the same color. Some chains of transmission may be difficult to ascertain in the differences of transmitters and are indicated through colored lines.

This paper employs the Sunni hadith and rijal works as its primary sources. Since the focus is on quietism in the Sunni schools of thought, and Sunni proponents of quietism

³⁰ For more on this debate, see: Shoemaker, Stephen J. "In Search of 'Urwa's Sīra: Some Methodological Issues in the Quest for 'Authenticity' in the Life of Muḥammad," *Der Islam*; Goerke, Andreas, Harald Motzki, and Gregor Schoeler. "First Century Sources for the Life of Muḥammad? A Debate." *Der Islam (Berlin)*, pp. 2–59; Goerke, Andreas, and Harald Motzki. "Tilman Nagel's criticism of the isnad-cum-matn analysis. A response."

³¹ Goerke, *Eschatology*, p. 188.

³² Other scholars employing this method of analysis have dated hadiths to the first century AH. For example: Boekhoff-van der Voort, Nicolet. "The Kitāb Al-Maghāzī of 'Abd Al-Razzāq b. Hammām Al-Ṣan'ānī: Searching for Earlier Source-Material." *The Transmission and Dynamics of the Textual Sources of Islam*, pp. 25–47; Görke, Andreas, and Gregor Schoeler. "Reconstructing the Earliest Sīra Texts: The Hiḡra in the Corpus of 'Urwa b. Al-Zubayr." *Der Islam (Berlin)*, pp. 209–220; Aerts, Stijn. "'Pray with Your Leader': A Proto-Sunni Quietist Tradition." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, pp. 29–45; Mitter, Ulrike. "The Majority of the Dwellers of Hell-Fire Are Women: A Short Analysis of a Much Discussed Ḥadīth." *The Transmission and Dynamics of the Textual Sources of Islam*, pp. 443–473.

focused on hadiths from their own canons and other works, what is now regarded as Sunni literature becomes central to investigating this question. However, Shia sources are used sparingly, particularly when a figure attached to Shi'ism is involved in the isnad or matn. Secondary sources are also utilized, particularly those focused on the analysis of the above-mentioned primary sources (for example, Harald Motzki's study of 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaḡ*).

Provincial Politics: A Brief History

An analysis of the abovementioned sources has found patterns in the circulation of hadiths relaying messages of obedience to the unjust ruler as well as those hadiths allowing for opposition. These hadiths are overwhelmingly found spreading from the Iraqi cities of Kufa and Basra in the early to mid-second century AH. A few key transmitters are also found in Syria. To aid in the understanding of the analysis of these hadiths (making up the bulk of this study), this section briefly discusses the political environments of these three areas, with a focus on Kufa and Basra. In this way, the reader is allowed some contextualization of the following chapters.

Before delving into the narratives regarding this period, a note of caution to the reader. A reconstruction of this early time is challenging and requires great care. Contradictory reports and *topoi* are found throughout the sources of the classical period, discussed in much of the secondary sources. The following account presents a general picture as found in the literature, with an emphasis on the analyses and interpretations of modern scholarship in an attempt to better understand this highly controversial period. However, as the problematic nature of the genre remains, the narratives presented should not be taken at face value but rather understood in light of more concrete data; in this case, the results of the hadith analysis.

Kufa in the First Two Centuries of the Hijra

The political environment in Kufa can be roughly separated into two periods—its origins until the late first century AH and early history until the late second century AH. Kufa was a heterogenous society made up of many Arab tribes³³ with many political differences. One

³³ The first tribes awarded land in Kufa include the Sulaym, Thaqif, Hamdan, Bajila, Taim al-Lat, Taghlib, Asad, Nakha, Kinda, Azd, Muzaina, Tamīm, Muharib, Amir, Jadila, Juhaina, Abs, Qays, Bakr, Tayy, and Ashja. Kufa's population numbered around 20,000 inhabitants, split roughly between the Yemenis (12,000) and Nizaris (8,000). Hasan, Naji. *The Role of the Arab Tribes in the East During the Period of the Umayyads: 40/660-132/749*, pp. 70-71.

example of the contentious populace can be seen in the ever-changing leadership of the city from its founder Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqās³⁴ to ‘Ammār b. Yāsir,³⁵ al-Walīd and Sa‘īd.³⁶ Out of this divided society, a group of high-class Arabs known as the *Ashrāf* came to dominate. The *Ashrāf*'s politics were principally self-interested. While they mostly worked alongside the Umayyads as seen in the uprisings of al-Ḥusayn and Mukhtār al-Thaqafī (d. 67/687),³⁷ at times they also supported their challengers as with the rebellion of Ibn al- Ash‘ath (82-3/701-2). The defeat of Ibn al- Ash‘ath marked the end of the era of the *Ashrāf* in Kufa.³⁸ Although they were no longer active on the political scene among the Kufans of the second century (with which we are primarily concerned), their legacy contributed to the political discourse of the city and by extension, its scholarly circles. The second period saw three major political groups emerge within Kufa: the Murjia, the Zaydiyya, and the Ja‘fariyya.

The Early Period: Kufan Political Formations

Unlike the *Ashrāf*, another group who formed after them remained a consistent feature of Kufan political identity. The *Shiat ‘Alī*, or ‘Alids, emerged as a result of early events that Kufans were tied to. These begin with the death of ‘Uthmān, which Kufans are perceived as being complicit in. In the ensuing civil war, they took the side of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,³⁹ who moved the seat of authority from Medina to Kufa. It was there, in the Great Mosque of Kufa, that ‘Alī was stabbed by a Khārijite assassin.⁴⁰ From this moment forward, Kufa is perceived to be an ‘Alid centre.⁴¹ Indeed, support for many members of the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*), either in their quietism or opposition to the rulers, can be traced back to this polarized and polarizing city.

The most (in)famous and impactful of this Kufan support for the *ahl al-bayt* came early in the city’s history. According to the classical sources, the son of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,

³⁴ Kufans accused Sa‘d in his leading the prayer, rendering judgments and spoils unfairly, and improperly organising expeditions. G.R. Hawting, “Sad b. Abī Wakkas”, *EI2*.

³⁵ Hinds, Martin. *Kufan Political Alignments and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.*, p. 353. ‘Ammār had been appointed commander of the Kufan forces by Umar, making him “effectively the governor of Kufa.” Hasson, Isaac. ‘‘Ammār B. Yāsir’. *EI3*.

³⁶ Haidar, Najam. *The Origins of the Shia: Identity, Ritual, and Sacred Space in Eighth-Century Kufa*, Table 1.1, p. 7.

³⁷ The *Ashrāf* reported Mukhtār’s subversive activities to the Umayyad governor, who had him imprisoned. He was released with the support of several influential men, namely his brother-in-law ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Umar. He also had to give his word to cease his subversive activities. Abd Dixon, Abd Al-Ameer. *The Umayyad Caliphate 65-86/684-705: A political study*, pp. 85-6.

³⁸ This policy was implemented by the governor al-Ḥajjāj through the dismemberment of the Kufan army, replaced by “a Syrian garrison stationed in the newly constructed city of Wāsīt.” *Origins*, p. 8.

³⁹ Djaït, Hichem, “al-Kufa”, *EI2*.

⁴⁰ The political character of Kufa in its early period was so prominent that it is even defined by it. “...there is evidence of a triple Kufa: a political Kufa (up to 150); a cultural Kufa (150-250) and then a purely ideological Kufa (250-350) which had become a focal point of doctrinal Shī‘ism.” *Ibid*.

⁴¹ Lutvik, Meir. “Kufa”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī (d. 60/680) was promised an army to revolt against the Umayyads. However, the Umayyads learned of this sedition and under their threats, Ḥusayn’s Kufan supporters withdrew in fear. The Umayyads then intercepted Ḥusayn near Kufa and, with the help of some of the Kufan *Ashrāf*, killed him and several members of his family. Known as the tragedy of Karbala, the classical sources describe this event with great emotion, portraying it as a massacre whose shock rippled throughout the Muslim world, no more so than in Kufa, where groups formed as a direct result of it.⁴² It served as a foundation for oppositional stances against the Umayyads, who were never able to erase it from the memory of the Muslims.⁴³ They were eventually replaced by the Abbasids who claimed descent from the *ahl al-bayt* and positioned themselves as champions of their rights.⁴⁴ Unsurprisingly, the first seat of Abbasid power was in Kufa, though ‘Alid support proved too strong, causing the Abbasids to change their seat early on in their rule. It is even argued that one of the reasons Baghdad was chosen as the location for the new Abbasid capital was because of its proximity to Kufa.⁴⁵

In the aftermath of Karbala, we find a few major political groups with a firm footing in Kufa. For the purpose of this study, these groups will be defined based on their political quietism or activism. Their theological, epistemological, historical, or other positions are discussed only as they pertain to their politics. In this regard, three main groups emerge with prominent roles in the late first to mid-second century Kufa: the Murjia, the Zaydiyya, and the Ja‘fariyya⁴⁶ (or proto-Twelvers). The Murjia had elements of both political quietism and activism within them. The Zaydiyya were consistently opposed to the Umayyads (and Abbasids after them), including those who preceded Zayd b. ‘Alī (the group’s eponym). The Zaydis’ fellow ‘Alids, who in time developed into the *ithna ‘ashariyya* or Twelvers, took a different position with the main figure of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq leading the quietist discussion.

Murjia

The Murji’ites are most famously known for not taking a position either for or against any side during the first civil war. Rather, they postponed (*arja ‘a*) their judgment and left it to

⁴² The best known are the Tawwābūn (Penitents) whose emergence was based on the sorrow and regret they felt for their (lack of) role in the massacre of Karbala, as well as the uprising of Mukhtār al-Thaqafī.

⁴³ Rasekh, Ali-Aḥmad. “‘Ashura’”, *Princeton Encyclopaedia of Islamic Political Thought*, p. 45.

⁴⁴ Bernheimer, Teresa. *The Alids: The First Family of Islam, 750-1200*, p. 4.

⁴⁵ It was “close enough to allow the Abbasids to crush any rebellions in Kufa (e.g. that of Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allah—d. 145/763) but distant enough to shield them from the political intrigues and ‘Alid sympathies of its population.” Haider, *Origins*, p. 6.

⁴⁶ Because Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq was the primary proponent of quietism, the group which followed him are called the Ja‘faris. This should not be confused with the Ja‘fari label more commonly associated with a legal school of thought.

God.⁴⁷ In this way, they wished to stress the importance of unity among the Muslims. In some cases, this non-judgemental attitude and desire for unity meant that they did not endorse active opposition to the rulers.⁴⁸

However, in their earliest history, Murji'ites were more prone to activist positions. This more popular approach maintained that *irjā'* did not extend to the rulers of the Murji'ites' own time.⁴⁹ As a result, we find several of those categorized within this group as having fought in or incited others to rebellion, participating in the revolts of Ibn al-Ash'ath (80-82/699-701)⁵⁰ and Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab (102/720).⁵¹

However, the application of *irjā'* broadened, leading to the belief that all Muslims were believers. This evolution of the concept of *irjā'* also shifted the political positions of the group toward quietism. 'Awn b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Utba (d. 110-120/728-738) exemplifies this shift.⁵² He participated in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath but by the time of Yazīd II renounced active opposition against other Muslims. 'Awn reasons by asking, "How can one assert about a believer that he does injustice and declare that shedding his blood is permissible?"⁵³

These different positions taken by the Murji'ites in Kufa in the first two centuries of Islam illustrate that they were not a political monolith. Rather, they maintained a principle of non-judgment in the interpretation of past events. Some Murji'ites extended this principle to include a wider attitude toward all politics (which became especially prominent well into the second century) while others did not (as seen in the original use of *irjā'* by the early Murji'ites). As a result, some Murji'ites were activist while others were quietist.

Zaydiyya

⁴⁷ Kafrawi, Shalahudin. "Murji'ites, Murji'a." *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, pp. 768-769.

⁴⁸ This was the mainstream view of the Murji'a in earlier Western scholarship. See: Wensinck, A. J. *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development*; Goldziher, Ignác. *Muslim studies (Muhammedanische Studien)*, trans. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern; Watt, W. Montgomery. *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*. While more recent works have aided in undoing this simplified view of the Murji'a, earlier scholarship has affected perceptions of them as quietist. For example, "The Murji'a remained neutral in the disputes that divided the Muslim world and called for passive resistance rather than armed revolt against unjust rulers." Encyclopaedia, Britannica, Inc. *Encyclopedia of World Religions*.

⁴⁹ On early Murji'ite activism, see: Cook, Michael. "Activism and Quietism in Islam: The Case of the Early Murji'a." *Islam and Power*, pp. 15–23; Madelung, Wilferd. "The Early Murji'a in Khurāsān and Transoxania and the Spread of Ḥanafism." *Der Islam (Berlin)*, pp. 32–39; Athamina, K. "The Early Murjia: Some Notes on an Islamic Religious Sect." *Journal of Semitic studies*, pp. 109–130.

⁵⁰ For example, Dharr b. 'Abd Allah b. Zurāra al-Murhibī (d. 111/729), Sa'īd b. Jubayr (d. 95), and Ṭalq b. Ḥabīb al-Anazī (d. 95/714).

⁵¹ Though Yazīd was geographically categorized in Khorasan, he garnered support from different parts of the Muslim world, including Kufa. Van Ess, *Theology*, p. 189.

⁵² His switch in position reflects "a crossroads in the ideological stance of a man who had left the classic, radical position of the Murji'a after the uprising and joined the more moderate faction, i.e. the quietists, who stood for not using the sword against the unjust ruler." Athamina, *Early Murji'a*, p. 127.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 188.

A second group known for its political views in Kufa were the Zaydiyya. Though their name comes from a leader of the progeny of the Prophet, Zayd b. ‘Alī (d. 122/740), they existed before his emergence unto the political scene of Kufa.⁵⁴ It is one of the only groups to steadily hold on to its politically active character, despite the continual defeats it endured. As a result, its political activism is one of the Zaydis’ most prominent features.⁵⁵

Several early Kufan figures can be classified as Zaydi and reportedly fought for or otherwise supported various rebellions, primarily that of the group’s eponym as well as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and his brother Ibrāhīm in 145/762-3, al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī Sāhib Fakhkh in 169/786, Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allah in 176/792, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Tabātabā in 199/814, Muḥammad b. al-Qasim Sāhib al-Tālaqān in 219/834, and Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar b. Yaḥyā in 250/864.⁵⁶ Suffice it to say, the Zaydis formed the bulk of the activist currents in second and even third century Kufa. Neither did they support only ‘Alid claims to rule. The Ṭālibid⁵⁷ ‘Abd Allah b. Mu‘āwiya (d. 129/747) led an uprising from Kufa where he received strong Zaydi support.⁵⁸

As the above illustrates, the Zaydis led the charge of political activism in second century Kufa. It is unsurprising that none of the common links for the quietist hadith clusters or their students are described by any of the sources as being Zaydi. This group is characterized by its activism and remained so despite the numerous failures and defeats it suffered.

Ja‘fariyya

As previously mentioned, the Ja‘faris were the main proponents of political quietism in second century Kufa. The group’s eponym Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) opposed physical and even verbal opposition to the ruler. He not only discouraged any

⁵⁴ The heresiographical sources give them other names like the Baṭriyya (Buṭriyya) or Jārūdiyya. These were later consolidated under the umbrella of the Zaydiyya. These different labels include variations in theological and historical perspectives. However, politically, they were and remained consistently activist. For more on the doctrinal evolutions of these groups, particularly the Batri Zaydis, see Su, I-Wen. “The Early Shi‘i Kufan Traditionists’ Perspective on the Rightly Guided Caliphs.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, pp. 27–47; Madelung, Wilferd and Bertold Spuler. *Der Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*.

⁵⁵ Hence, when a quietist figure like Faḍl b. Dukayn is defined as a Zaydi by Khwarizmi, it is not taken to reflect the historical reality. Rather, as Van Ess argues, “precisely because of their quietism they did not conform to the definition of a “real” Zaydi.” *Theology*, p. 275.

⁵⁶ Wilferd Madelung, “al-Zaydiyya,” *EI2*.

⁵⁷ Ṭālibid is defined as descending from the bloodline of Abū Ṭālib, though not through his son ‘Alī (in this case ‘Alī’s brother Ja‘far). Therefore, he cannot be described as an ‘Alid as many sources mistakenly do (for example, K.V. Zettersteen, “Abd Allah b. Mu‘āwiya,” *EI2*).

⁵⁸ “Abd Allah b. Mu‘āwiya,” *EI2*.

political activism for a believer if it was too difficult for him; he reportedly discouraged speaking out against an unjust ruler if that ruler would not accept your counsel.⁵⁹

Ja‘far’s quietist teachings extended into his actions (or lack thereof). The first major ‘Alid uprising under Abbasid rule came with Ja‘far’s cousin, al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. He had gained the approval of many Muslims for his opposition, including from those who would not give it to Zayd before him (notably, the prominent hadith transmitter al-A‘mash). However, “just as he had refused to be involved in the uprisings of Zayd or the Abbasids against Umayyad rule, Ja‘far al-Šādeq offered no support to the uprising of his own cousin.”⁶⁰ As a result, his political legacy is seen as “transforming the figure of the imam from an activist political leader to an apolitical spiritual authority.”⁶¹

The above cursory view of Kufa in the first two centuries of the hijra illustrate its highly political makeup. The city was fraught with divisions and political struggles from its inception until the late second century and beyond. Strong currents of political quietism are found in several earlier figures and movements, notably the Ja‘fariyya. Some of those among the *Ashrāf* and Murjia also held quietist principles, reflecting a minority view found among the citizens of that Iraqi city.

The above discussion establishes even stronger currents of political activism arising from Kufa. The revolt of al-Ḥusayn sparked armed oppositional movements against the Sufyānids emanating from that city. The following decades continued to witness political struggles and contention with the Marwānid rulers and their governors, virtually all of which involved Kufans (mainly from the Murjia, Zaydiyya or their forerunners). This activism is reflected in the propagation of hadiths supporting this view; both activist hadith bundles analysed in this study flourished in this city. Most transmitters of these hadiths were Kufan.

The information available about the political environment in the early period of Kufa illustrates a highly contentious city, both vocal in its non-confrontational approach toward authority as well as its support for violent rebellion. Activist elements appear to have reflected a more mainstream thought in the early history of Kufa at least until the mid-second century, while the quietism emerging from that city represented a minority view. The results of the hadith analyses mirror those ideologies, showing currents of political quietism

⁵⁹ Even when confronted with the Prophetic ḥadīth stating, “The best jihad is saying a word of justice before an unjust Imam” Ja‘far makes it conditional, stating, “This is true when commanding to do good, he knows well about what is ‘good’ as well as knowing that he will accept his command in the matter, otherwise it (saying a word of justice) is not obligatory.” Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, Ch. 21, H 16. For more on these ḥadīths and the quietism connected to Ja‘far, see *Commanding Right*, pp. 253-62.

⁶⁰ Robert Gleave, “JA‘FAR AL-ŠĀDEQ”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, pp. 349-351.

⁶¹ “Ja‘far al-Šādiq”, *Princeton Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*, p. 269.

emanating from Kufa and even more prominent voices of political activism. In accordance with these socio-political movements, hadiths are found spreading from this city propounding both quietist and activist sentiments. Activist transmitters were found in larger numbers coming from Kufa than anywhere else, reflecting the highly dynamic and oppositional landscape of that city.

The next section will explore the political environment of Basra in this same period, the results of which correspond to those of Kufa. While both cities are located in the same province of Iraq, the general political attitudes found in them were contrary to each other. While Kufa was activist in the mainstream and quietist in its minority, Basra was quietist in its mainstream and activist in its minority, reflecting the proportion of transmitters spreading quietist versus activist hadiths from these two cities.

Basra in the First Two Centuries of the Hijra

Like Kufa, Basra was established as a garrison town which grew into a densely populated metropolitan city. It was similarly divided based on a tribalistic structure, though the tribes of Basra were less heterogenous and more unified than those of Kufa, strengthening tribal authority over the city. They comprised the *Ashrāf*, the political base of Basra. Five tribal groupings made up the politico-military aristocracy: the Azd, Tamīm, Bakr b. Wā'il, Qays, and the *Ahl al- 'āliya*.⁶² Unlike Kufa, no other groups in the city held a substantial amount of authority, making the *Ashrāf* the major political actors in Basra in the first two centuries of the hijra. The following discussion centres on the Basran *Ashrāf* and their relations with the (mainly) Umayyad rulers.

Converging Interests: Umayyad Rule and Basran Tribal Politics

Basra began as a war camp during the rule of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb around 14/634. Its strategic location made it a gateway for the Muslim military campaigns into Persia. It developed into a more stable settlement in the ensuing years and by the time of the Umayyad governor Ziyād b. Abīhī (d. 673), was established into a city with permanent buildings and organized into the tribal structure that would characterize its political makeup.⁶³

Seen as an 'Uthmānite city, the Umayyads were able to establish support in Basra due to their adept handling of tribal politics. While the tribes fought amongst each other, they

⁶² This last group is defined as the "inhabitants of the high district of Ḥijjāz." Pellat, Ch., and Longrigg, S.H. 'Al-Baṣra'. *EI2*.

⁶³ "This manner of division facilitated the management of the city and simplified the summoning of personnel and soldiers, which was its purpose." Zamel, Jafar A. R. *Islamic City: The Emergence and Development during the Early Islamic Period (622–750 A.D.)*, p. 71.

maintained a general conciliatory relationship with the Umayyads. A couple of notable instances which verged from this mainstream are seen in the counter caliphate of ‘Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr and to a lesser extent, the revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab.

From the time of the third Caliph ‘Uthmān (d. 60/656), Basra was governed by Umayyads and was subsequently loyal to them for the majority of the first two centuries AH. However, tribes were not monolithic in their political views. As a result of their own rivalries and internal discord, they did not always choose the same side in disputes against the rulers, sometimes fighting against one another. Although the broad pattern among them was support for the Umayyads as their general interests aligned, there are instances where they fought against the Umayyads and were split between those fighting with or against the rulers. These loyalties were drawn mainly along tribal lines—most prominently seen in the periods of *fitna*.

Basran tribal politics play a major role in the first civil war or *fitna* between the fourth Caliph ‘Alī and those fighting against him, culminating in the Battle of the Camel. This battle took place in Basra in 36/656 where Ali’s opponents reportedly found support among the tribal elites for their cause to avenge the death of the third Caliph ‘Uthmān. While some eagerly gave it, notably the Azd,⁶⁴ the Bakr b. Wā’il and Qays sided with ‘Alī. The Tamīm largely remained neutral. Within the branches of the tribes, some fought for the Caliph and others his opponents.⁶⁵ These divergences illustrate that both intertribal and intratribal conflict existed in Basra.

The death of ‘Alī marked the beginning of Umayyad rule and with it, the general loyalty of the Basran *Ashrāf*. However, there were a few instances in which several of the *Ashrāf* took the side of their opponents, seen in the (counter-)caliphate of ‘Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr (d. 692) and the revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab (d.102/720).⁶⁶

The (counter-)caliphate of ‘Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr took place at a time of weakened Umayyad authority.⁶⁷ Along with a strong support base in the Hijaz, Ibn al-Zubayr garnered the support of the Basran tribes, making the city Zubayrid. Ibn al-Zubayr’s brother Muṣ‘ab

⁶⁴ For more on the Azdi role in the battle, see Ulrich, Brian. “The Azd and the Early Islamic State.” *Arabs in the Early Islamic Empire*, p. 11.

⁶⁵ For example, while the Bakr fought for Ali, the Banū Tha‘laba branch of the Bakr fought with his opponents. The tribal divisions of this battle are described at length in Madelung, Wilferd. *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*, pp. 143-173.

⁶⁶ Some Basrans were involved in the uprising of Muḥammad b. al-Ashath (d. 704). But this Basran resistance did not take on a tribal colouring and was mostly led by the religious class known as the ‘qurra’ (Quran-reciters). As a result, Basra remained generally loyal to the Umayyads. Van Ess, *Theology*, Vol. 2, p. 1.

⁶⁷ The crisis of Umayyad authority gave the tribes the option of looking for leadership elsewhere. Hawting, Gerald. *The First Dynasty of Islam*, pp. 54-55. Rulership was so tenuous in this period that arguments are found for the caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr and the rebellion of the Umayyads. Robinson, Chase F. *‘Abd Al-Malik*, pp. 31-32.

governed the city, putting down several skirmishes from the Kharijites and more severely, the revolt of al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī from Kufa. Muṣ‘ab’s harsh treatment of the supporters of Mukhtār as well as those tribal elites warm to the Umayyads created hostility between him and the Basran tribes.⁶⁸ Coupled with Umayyad promises of power and money, the tribes eventually abandoned Muṣ‘ab in battle, leading to his death in 691.⁶⁹ With Iraq in the hands of the Umayyads, the rest of Zubayrid lands were quick to fall, restoring Umayyad authority over the Muslim domain. The pivotal role played by the Basrans in the fall of the greatest threat to Umayyad authority illustrates their position as a formidable force whose alliance decided the winning side.

The switching of loyalties from the Zubayrids to the Umayyads also illustrates the self-interestedness propelling the policies of the Basran elite. Their discontent with the Umayyads and weakening of Umayyad power allowed them to switch loyalties to Ibn al-Zubayr. The ensuing years fomented rancour with their new governor, whom they abandoned for their previous Umayyad rulers. The fluidity with which the Basran tribes switched allegiances evidences the centrality of their own vested interests as well as their position as an independent power bloc.

Basran tribal power was weakened during Marwānid rule, which saw a centralization of Umayyad power, enforced through the harsh measures of the Iraqi governor al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. Many among the Basran tribes were displeased with al-Ḥajjāj, giving Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab the reinforcement needed to revolt against the Umayyad governor. The Muḥallabids were closely tied to the large Azd tribe, so much so that they were considered Azdi.⁷⁰ The sources depict this conflict as one between the ‘northern’ Mudar tribes vs. the ‘southern’ Rabia. The northern tribes took the side of the Umayyads while the southern supported Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab. While this was the general pattern, many exceptions can be seen. The Muḥallabid army included some of the Tamīm and Qays—both tribes of the northern Mudar confederation while some prominent members of the Azd, the most ardent supporters of Ibn al-Muḥallab, fought on the Umayyad side.⁷¹

⁶⁸ “By dealing severely with the Basrans favourable to [the Umayyad Khalid b. Abd Allah], Musab alienated the most influential personalities in the town who entered into negotiations with the Marwanids.” Lammens, H., and Pellat, Ch. ‘Muṣ‘ab B. Al-Zubayr’. *EI2*.

⁶⁹ For a detailed account of events based on the primary sources, see: Nadvi, Syed Salman. “Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr and the Caliphate.” *ProQuest Dissertations*, pp. 125-128; Lau, Linda Diane. “Mus‘ab b. al-Zubayr and His Governorate of Iraq.” *ProQuest Dissertations*.

⁷⁰ While they are labelled as such, their ancestry is somewhat clouded with ambiguity. Crone, Patricia. *Slaves on Horses*, p. 39.

⁷¹ The Umayyad governor of Basra had an Azdi contingent fighting for him against Ibn al-Muḥallab, led by one al-Mughira b. Ziyad al-Ataki. Ulrich, Brian. *Arabs in the Early Islamic Empire*, pp. 145-148.

The defeat of the Muḥallabids illustrates a shifting of the balance of power away from the tribes and in favour of a centralized Umayyad authority. As a result, tribal prominence became more closely linked to the Umayyad throne.⁷² It is from this period onward that we find the spread of hadiths pertaining to obedience to the ruler. The majority of the transmitters of these hadiths are located in Basra. A few other transmitters spreading traditions requiring obedience are found in Syria.

Syria: Umayyad Seat of Power

Syria was the seat of Umayyad power during their nearly hundred-year rule. While they met with challengers and rebellions throughout the Muslim world, Syria remained loyal to the Umayyad monarchy. A few factors contributed to the strong Syrian support enjoyed by the dynasty. Firstly, with the Umayyads came a geographical shift in the seat of power from the Hijaz and Iraq to Syria. The prosperity that comes with being the power hub of a civilization was enjoyed by the Syrians.

Secondly, the legitimation of Umayyad rule and the equivocation of their rule with religious authority provided the ideological basis of their power. Being God's caliphs, the Umayyads projected themselves as divinely authorized to represent God's rule on earth. Much of the hadith dialogue in support of this religious connection to Umayyad rule is found being propagated from Syria. This moral base of authority helped to consolidate Umayyad power and maintain the loyalty of many of their Syrian subjects.⁷³

Finally, the proximity of Syria with the frontier borders of the Muslim world allowed for a more unified society under Umayyad rule. Unlike the Hijaz and Iraq, the Syrian provinces were faced directly with conflict outside the Muslim realm. As a result, much of the hadith material coming from this region is focused on the importance of jihad and a unified front against the enemies of the Muslims.⁷⁴ The theme of unity against an external enemy naturally required unification from within the internal Muslim community. Obedience to the ruler was a strong principle of this political framework.⁷⁵

In short, Syria was by and large a pro-Umayyad province. The Umayyads gave Damascus its prestige by moving the seat of power to that city. In addition, the religious

⁷² "The emergence of the caliphate curtailing the independence of powerful tribal magnates meant, as it did in Basra, that connections to the rulers became an important means of acquiring status and distributing benefits to followers." Ibid, p. 152.

⁷³ Crone and Hinds describe the evolution and propagation of this doctrine in their monograph on the subject. See: Crone, Patricia, and Martin. Hinds. *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*.

⁷⁴ Van Ess, *Theology*, Vol. 1, p. 79.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

justification for their rule, through the medium of hadiths, was strongly propounded from that city and likely influenced many hearts and minds toward obedience to them. This ideology was reinforced by the threats they faced from external enemies. The geo-political ramifications of their proximity to the Byzantine empire aided in unifying the populace to the very real threats coming from outside Muslim borders. Both ideological and practical factors boosted Umayyad support which they enjoyed in Syria for most of their dynasty. It is from within this society that the remainder of hadiths calling on obedience to the ruler spread. The majority opinion in Sunni scholarship built upon this discourse of unity and loyalty, evolving into a mainstream Sunni political framework prohibiting opposition to the unjust ruler.

Political Quietism in Sunni Scholarship: An Overview

Within the parameters of what may be called a Sunni political framework, quietism is one of the ideological underpinnings incumbent upon the Muslim subject. While differences exist between the various forms in which this political quietism takes shape, the consensus remains that obedience (however that may be defined) is necessary for the orderly ruling of a Muslim society. The argument in defence of this non-oppositional approach to governance took centuries to form but it may be argued that its indoctrination within the main schools of Sunni orthodoxy was established by the time of al-Māwardī's (d. 450/1058) *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*. This advice book for rulers came to be seen as the standard on the Islamic ruling political system, from his time until today.⁷⁶ In it, al-Māwardī argues for obedience to both good and bad rulers, justifying it with a Prophetic tradition.⁷⁷ This approach toward legal arguments was the norm by his time, where Quranic verses and Prophetic narrations were the primary sources of evidence in defence of one's argument.⁷⁸

But how did this political formulation come into such widespread acceptance by the time of al-Māwardī? While the realities of classical Muslim societies had much to do with the

⁷⁶ It has been described as "perhaps the most famous treatment of the legal aspects of Sunni Islamic political thought of the medieval period." Marlow, Louise. "Al-Mawardī: The Ordinances of Government: Al-Aḥkām Al-Sulṭāniyya." *Journal of Islamic Studies*, pp. 60–62. It is "regarded as authoritative by many Muslim thinkers and Western scholars alike." Little, Donald P. "Māwardī, Al." *Encyclopedia of Religion*, pp. 5786–5787. See also, Crone, "The Sunnis." *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, pp. 219–256.

⁷⁷ "After me governors will rule over you and those who are upright will rule you by their uprightness and those who are corrupt will rule you by their corruptness: listen to them and obey them in everything which is compatible with truth—if they are correct in their dealings then it will be to your benefit and theirs, and if they act incorrectly then that will still be to your benefit (in the next world) but will be held against them." *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah: The Laws of Islamic Governance*, trans. Asadullah Yate, p. 11.

⁷⁸ It is for this reason that some of the most influential scholars were those with the greatest knowledge of Prophetic traditions. The primacy of the narrations in this early period contributed greatly to the political discourse surrounding obedience to the ruler. See: Black, *History of Islamic Political Thought*, pp. 32–40.

embrace of political quietism in all its variations, this section is not concerned with the historical context in which this political ideology flourished and solidified within the schools of Sunni thought. Rather, the religious discussions and justifications throughout the period leading up to *al-Aḥkām* are the focus of this section.⁷⁹

Outside of the Quran and Sunna, evidence for a non-oppositional attitude toward unjust rule is given in the alleged narrations from the generations succeeding the Prophet. These include early prominent figures from the Companion generation, the Successor generation, and well-reputed figures thereafter.

Some of the first reports of political quietism are linked to the early Muslim personalities who rejected the civil wars and rebellions that took place in the first two centuries of Islam. Prominent names linked to neutrality during the first civil war include Muḥammad b. Maslama (d. c. 43-47/663-666),⁸⁰ Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ (d. c. 55-674), and Usāma b. Zayd (d. 62/681). One of the most referenced early figures is the son of the second Caliph, ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Umar. He is alleged to have spoken out against fighting in the first civil war in Islamic history as well as against two leaders of the earliest uprisings against the Umayyads. One is the Prophet’s grandson, Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī (d. 61/680) and the other Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 73/692). In these stories, Ibn ‘Umar rejects fighting and cautions these famous figures against dividing the Muslims.⁸¹ He is viewed as a respected, neutral figure in the Sunni sources and is one of the most prolific narrators of the Companion generation.⁸² ‘Abd Allah b. al-‘Abbās (d. 68/687) was reportedly politically active during the time of the first four Caliphs but toned down his engagement in his later years.⁸³ While it is unknown whether these figures were as neutral as they are portrayed, they indicate a likely political strain that

⁷⁹ This discussion provides a sampling of the evolution of political quietism in the Sunni schools of thought. It is by no means exhaustive. For more comprehensive studies, see Cook, *Commanding Right*; Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*; Black, *History of Islamic Political Thought*.

⁸⁰ He reportedly transmits an order by the Prophet to break his sword if the Muslims fight against one another. Muḥammad b. Saad. *Kitab al-Ṭabaqat al-Kabir. Vol. 3: The Companions of Badr*. Trans. Bewley, A.

⁸¹ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 5:360; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 5:343.

⁸² “...he kept himself entirely aloof from factional strife, and throughout those years led an unselfish, pious life, setting an example of an ideal citizen just as his father had set an example of an ideal ruler.” Siddiqi, Muḥammad Zubayr. *Hadīth Literature: Its Origin, Development and Special Features*, p. 20. His name is found in one of the quietist hadith bundles of this study, though he cannot be confidently linked to that hadith. See Chapter 3, Section 3.1.4.

⁸³ Ibn ‘Abbās is portrayed as a pragmatic advisor in one instance to another renowned (activist) scholar Sa‘d b. Jubayr (d. 95/714). In their exchange, Ibn ‘Abbās counsels Ibn Jubayr not to admonish those in power for fear of being killed. If death is not a likely outcome, speaking with the ruler is allowed, though should be done in private. See Ibn Abī Shayba. *Muṣannaf*, 7:470 (#37307). For more on his early activism, see Veccia Vaglieri, L., “‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās.” *EI2*.

existed during their lifetimes or shortly thereafter. In any case, their names provide the prestige by which later scholars defend political quietism.

From the succeeding generations, politically quietist positions are associated with many renowned scholarly figures. Some of these are portrayed in the sources as having shied away from even verbal confrontation with the authorities, such as Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110/729),⁸⁴ Maymūn b. Mihrān (d. 117/735),⁸⁵ Dāwūd b. Nusayr al-Ṭā'ī (d. 165/781),⁸⁶ and 'Abd Allah b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797).⁸⁷ Others reportedly did not discourage all forms of opposition but were explicitly against physical rebellion. They include the Basran jurist Muṭarrif b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Shikhhīr (d. 95/713–714),⁸⁸ the Kufan jurist 'Abd Allah b. Shubruma (d. 144/761),⁸⁹ and the Persian ascetic Fuḍayl b. 'Iyād (d. 187/803).⁹⁰

Some scholars are so prominent in their renown (namely as progenitors of schools of thought) that an abundance of conflicting information is found on their political attitudes. These include Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), al-Awzā'ī (d. 157/773), and Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778). Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is described as having categorically rejected physical opposition in both word and deed, having spoken out against it and participated in no civil conflict. His position on verbal opposition is less clear. Though reports state that he was against speaking out against the rulers, he is also cited as having spoken out against the governor of Iraq.⁹¹

⁸⁴ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 7:1:118-119. Taken from Cook, *Commanding*, p. 64.

⁸⁵ He allegedly takes a position of avoidance, counselling people to stay away from authority figures completely. Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 266/880). *Sīrat al-Imam Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, 51.7. However, Maymūn is reported to have worked for the Umayyads throughout his life, with the possible exception of the last decade. Donner, F.M. 'Maymūn b. Mihrān'. *EI2*. He is also portrayed as expressing regret for his role within Umayyad government. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 29:218.16. Taken from Cook. *Commanding*, p. 55.

⁸⁶ He goes so far to reason that giving your life in such opposition to rulers may not be martyrdom as it might arise from ego. *Ibid*, fn 56.

⁸⁷ Like Maymūn b. Mihrān, Ibn al-Mubārak is portrayed as avoiding the authorities. Salem, Feryal. *The Emergence of Early Sufi Piety and Sunnī Scholasticism: 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak and the Formation of Sunnī Identity in the Second Islamic Century*, p. 85. Even in issues of military duty, Ibn al-Mubārak is not interested in the ruler-subject relationship. His *Kitāb al-Jihād*, for example, does not address the issue of obedience to the ruler, but rather focuses on individual responsibility. For more, see: Bonner, Michael. "Some Observations Concerning the Early Development of Jihad on the Arab-Byzantine Frontier." *Studia Islamica*, p. 20.

⁸⁸ Ibn al-Shikhhīr was a vocal opponent of the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash'ath. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*. See al-Sarhan, Saud. "'Patience in Our Situation is Better than Sedition": The Shift to Political Quietism in the Sunnī Tradition." *Political Quietism in Islam: Sunnī and Shī'ī Practice and Thought*, pp. 81–98.

⁸⁹ He allowed for verbal opposition (*bi-l lisān*) but not physical (*bi-l sayf*). van Ess, Josef, and Gwendolin Goldbloom. *Theology*, Vol. 2, p. 334.

⁹⁰ Fuḍayl is reported to have warned against opposition to rulers if it may endanger oneself or one's family. His own relationship with the 'Abbāsīd caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd is believed to have been respectful. Tor, Deborah G. "God's Cleric: Al-Fuḍayl B. 'Iyād and the Transition from Caliphal to Prophetic Sunna." *Islamic History and Civilization*, pp. 195–228; Tor, Deborah. 'Al-Fuḍayl B. 'Iyād'. *EI3*.

⁹¹ This study makes the argument for Ḥasan's quietism. See Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.

Abū Ḥanīfa's name is found in a number of political settings. He is portrayed in an activist light, in both word and deed.⁹² However, he is also portrayed as a quietist.⁹³ This is more likely a later projection on Abū Ḥanīfa, possibly by his own students.⁹⁴ In any case, Abū Ḥanīfa is a major figure claimed by political quietists.

Al-Awzā'ī is generally viewed as espousing obedience to the state and is even seen as a court scholar of the Umayyads.⁹⁵ This is likely an accurate reflection of his views as he remained on good terms with the rulers even when the Umayyads were replaced by the 'Abbāsids.⁹⁶ A last major scholar claimed by quietists and activists alike is Sufyān al-Thawrī. While he has also been argued to be an Umayyad scholar, this study comes to a different conclusion. While much literature exists on his life, there is little to indicate his cooperation with the authorities. On the contrary, many instances of verbal confrontation with the 'Abbāsīd rulers are found. He was even a fugitive under their rule. As a result, this study argues that Sufyān was more likely an activist.⁹⁷

The abovenamed figures are labelled as both politically quietist and activist. They are portrayed as such bulwarks of Islamic morality that all try to claim them.⁹⁸ This cursory look at some of the earliest respected figures and their association with political quietism illustrate the beginnings of the formation of scholarly arguments for political quietism. Indeed, as the above figures illustrate, a politically quietist ideology can be seen as manifesting with the beginnings of legal thought and jurisprudence itself.

Later scholars who built on this legacy of quietism, gradually incorporating it into a Sunni political framework, include the students of Abū Ḥanīfa—Abu Yūsuf (d. 183/798) and Abū Muṭī' (d. 199/814). Scholars from the third century and beyond include Ibn 'Ukāsha (d.

⁹² Discussed in the conclusory chapter of this study, which argues for Abū Ḥanīfa's activism. See: Conclusion, Section 7.3.2.

⁹³ Cook describes his encounters with a particularly zealous dissident in detail, concluding that Abū Ḥanīfa "was not a political activist." *Commanding*, p. 8.

⁹⁴ A work attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa, the *Fiqh al-Abṣat*, argues against armed opposition to the ruler. However, as Van Ess has shown, the *Fiqh al-Abṣat* "in its basic core goes back to Abū Muṭī' al-Balkhī (d. 199/814)." *Theology*, vol 1., p. 221. A second prominent student of Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf (d. 183/798), was also a known quietist stating that following him in good would earn one reward while following him in bad would place the blame on the ruler. *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, no. 17. Taken from Crone, *Medieval*, p. 138.

⁹⁵ Alajmi, Abdulhadi. "Transcending Legitimacy: Al-Awza'i and His Interaction with the 'Abbāsīd State." *ProQuest Dissertations*; Judd, Steven C. *Religious Scholars and the Umayyads: Piety-Minded Supporters of the Marwānīd Caliphate*.

⁹⁶ He does speak out against the 'Abbāsīd massacre of the Umayyads on one occasion, but only because he was forced to give his ruling on the matter. Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, 180.17. Taken from *Commanding*, p. 65. Overall, "al-Awzā'ī regarded the 'Abbāsīds to be the successors of the Prophet in his *Umma*." Alajmi, *Transcending Legitimacy*, p. 191.

⁹⁷ For more on Sufyān, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.5 and Conclusion, Section 7.3.3.

⁹⁸ Some of these figures are discussed at length in the conclusion of this study, arguing for either their quietist or activist leanings based on the traditions they are found transmitting.

225/839),⁹⁹ Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855),¹⁰⁰ al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933),¹⁰¹ and al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013).¹⁰² All of these scholars argue for the necessity of obedience to the ruler, even if he is oppressive. By the time of al-Ṭaḥāwī, this ideology is firmly established within the Sunni belief system. His *Fundamentals of Islamic Creed* links obedience to the ruler (even unjust) to obedience to God, transforming a political position into a doctrinal belief.

Al-Māwardī has already been discussed at the beginning of this section. His book on governance can be viewed as a culmination of the discussions surrounding the various iterations of political quietism. His treatise resulted in a standardization of obedience to unjust rule within a Sunni political framework, representing a majority view that continues to be held today.

Political Quietism in the Modern Muslim World

At the height of the movements taking place across the Arab world in 2011, protesters from North Africa to the Gulf kingdoms to the Levant gathered in the squares and streets of their major cities demanding change from their governments. And across these movements, sometimes known as the ‘Arab Spring’, scholars of prestige spoke out against them. Some of the most prominent voices were those of the Grand Mufti of Egypt, Ali Gomaa and the Saudi scholar Rabi b. Hadi al-Madkhali. These religious figures cited the consensus of earlier Muslims as well as Prophetic narrations to support their quietism.¹⁰³

These views are also held by other religious leaders of the Sunni Muslim world. Hamza Yusuf is one of the most prominent Western Muslim scholars today. He is also seen as leader of a more spiritually inclined Sufi Islam. The legacy of quietism within a Sunni political framework permeates his teachings, particularly after the ‘Arab Spring’. He states, “By glorifying our leaders and our ulama, God will rectify our world and the hereafter. When

⁹⁹ A Basran jurist, Ibn ‘Ukāsha explicitly called for total obedience to the ruler whether just or oppressive. “One was to wage holy war under the leadership of the caliph “whatever his acts might be”, perform the Friday prayer behind any ruler whether pious or reprobate, endure whatever justice or oppression he might dispense, and not rebel with the sword against the amirs even if they were wrongful, according to the creed of the *ahl al-sunna wa’l-jamā’a* presented by Ibn ‘Ukāsha.” Crone, *Medieval*, p. 136. From Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārikh Dimashq*, “Umayya b. ‘Uthmān”.

¹⁰⁰ It has been argued that with Ibn Ḥanbal, political quietism became formally indoctrinated within Sunni thought. Although it is problematic to definitively pinpoint the crystallization of an evolving political ideology, it may indicate a period in which political quietism was standardized. For more on this argument, see al-Sarhan, “Patience in Our Situation”.

¹⁰¹ *The Creed of al-Ṭaḥāwī* consists of around 105 key points which make up the core beliefs of *ahl al-sunna*. One point states, “We do not recognize rebellion against our Imam or those in charge of our affairs even if they are unjust, nor do we wish evil on them, nor do we withdraw from following them. We hold that obedience to them is part of obedience to Allah, The Glorified, and therefore obligatory as long as they do not order to commit sins. We pray for them right guidance and pardon from their wrongs.”

¹⁰² Again, the argument is made for obedience to the oppression of the ruler. See *Kitab al-Tamhid*, 186.5.

¹⁰³ See, for example, al-Madkhali, Rabi b. Hadi. *Hukm al-Muzaharat*, p. 43.

we denounce our leaders and ulama, we lose our *dunya* and our hereafter. Exalting the leaders is the basis for society...”¹⁰⁴

These modern scholarly approaches toward Islamic political quietism tend to focus on the necessity of stable and enduring governance for the orderly ruling of society. Like their intellectual forebears, these scholars argue that even the oppressive ruler cannot be overthrown but should rather be engaged with to affect policy and improve conditions. In any case, they must be obeyed. At the heart of these arguments lie the religious justifications for their quietism. These justifications rely namely on Prophetic statements which call for obedience to the (unjust) ruler and warn against the *fitna* that would come with opposing him. Some of the most prominent of these hadiths are analysed in the following chapters. These begin with the tradition calling on Muslims to ‘give the ruler his right even if he does not give you yours.’

¹⁰⁴ Turkī al-Dakhīl, “Idā’āt: Hamza Yusuf,” *Al-Arabiya Channel*, October 2011. Taken from Quisay, Walaa. “The Neo-Traditionalist Critique of Modernity and the Production of Political Quietism.” *Political Quietism in Islam: Sunnī and Shī’ī Practice and Thought*: pp. 241–258.

Chapter 1: Give Them Their Right

Various phrases propagating political quietism are found throughout the Sunni hadith corpus.¹⁰⁵ One such phrase has to do with the right (*ḥaqq*) of the ruler versus the right of the people.¹⁰⁶ This hadith requires that people give the ruler his right, i.e., to obey him. Three versions of the hadith appear in the Islamic sources under this classification.¹⁰⁷ Each is traced back to a different figure from the Companion generation. Each version can also be linked to a different major figure responsible for its large-scale dissemination, known as the common link. All common links of this hadith bundle come from the same period and the same city. Two of the three versions of the hadith speak of rulers with negative attributes (either the people will dislike something about the rulers, or the rulers will deny people their right). Two versions also tell the people to ask God for their rights. All three hadiths tell the people to ‘give them their right.’

The following chapter gathers as many variants of the hadith as possible and analyses them, resulting in three versions of the hadith. The first half of the chapter analyses these hadith versions. This analysis identifies what was transmitted by key figures, usually students of the common links, and through them, deduce what the common links likely transmitted themselves. Once the common links and key figures have been established, the second half of the chapter examines the reports about their lives to shed light on their socio-political backgrounds. This aids in understanding any motivations for the increased circulation of these hadiths, possibly indicating their origins.

1.1 Hadith Analysis

Three figures feature prominently in the dissemination of this hadith bundle—Simāk b. Ḥarb, Furāt al-Qazzāz, and al-A‘mash. The following analysis is separated into three sections, or clusters, each describing a different version of the hadith linked to one of the above three

¹⁰⁵ While the bulk of sources used in this study come from the hadith literature, a few found in the exegetical and other early works are also utilized.

¹⁰⁶ The word *ḥaqq* has different meanings in different contexts. In this case, it follows the lexicographers’ definition of “something incumbent upon one to do” (*ḥaqq ‘alayya an af‘ala dhālik*) (Ibn Manẓūr 10:51; al-Zabīdī 13:81; Lane 1:605). “When one says “there is a ḥaqq on you to do X” (*ḥaqqā ‘alayka an taf‘ala*), it means that “you are obligated to do X” (*yajibu ‘alayka*) (al-Zabīdī 13:81–2).” Taken from Emon, Anver. “Huqūq Allāh and Huqūq Al-‘Ibād: A Legal Heuristic for a Natural Rights Regime.” *Islamic law and society*, pp. 325–391.

¹⁰⁷ For a list of scholars who have included these hadiths in their works, see Sections 1.1.1, 1.1.2, and 1.1.3.

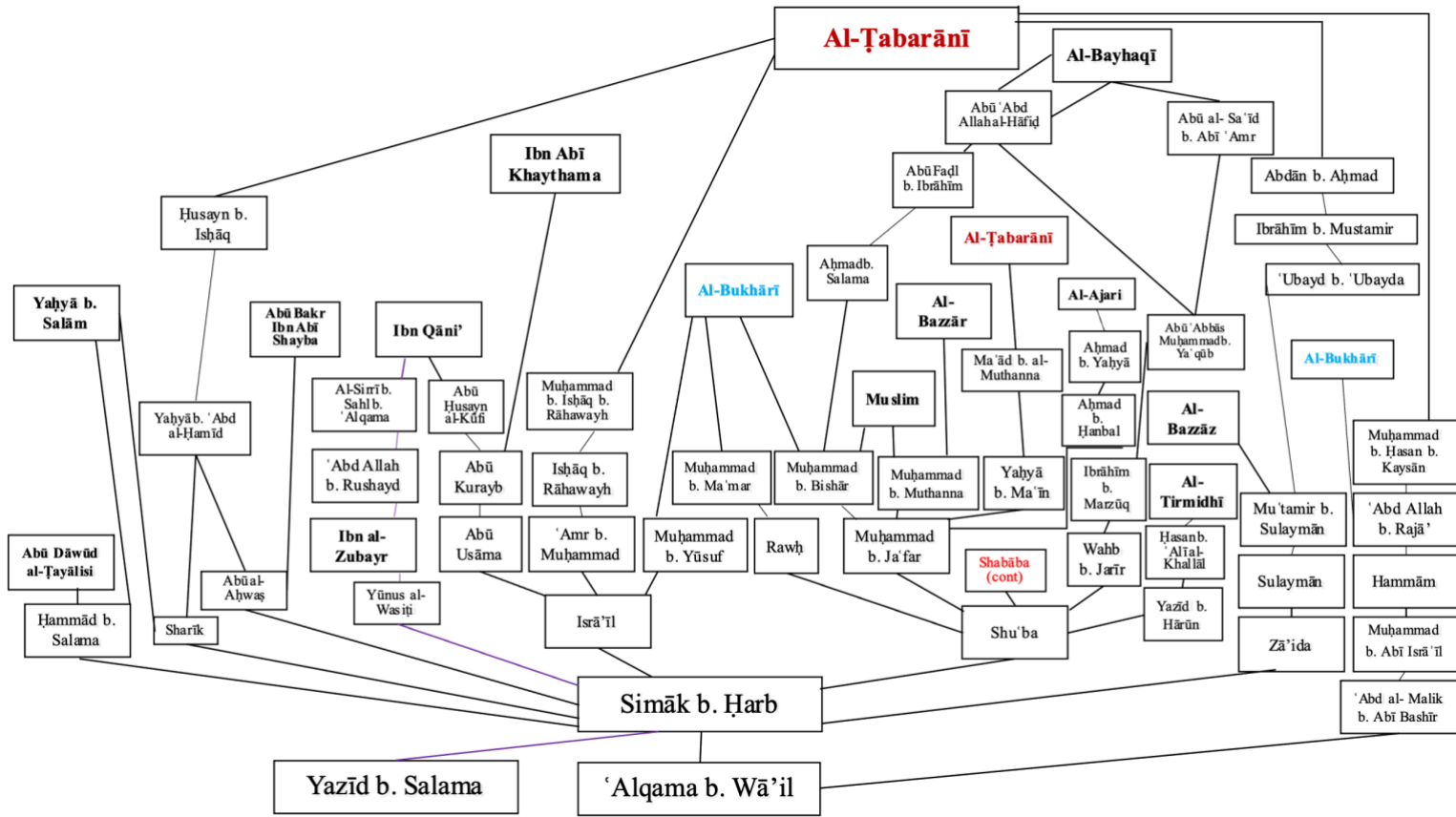
figures. All three show consistencies in the hadith variants associated with their names—in both text (*matn*) as well as chain of transmission (*isnad*).

The common links are identified in the analysis of transmissions through their students and other key figures from a generation or two after them. First, the variants associated with the key figures are analysed and the emerging patterns linked to them discussed. This is followed by a comparison of the key figures to one another. The variants associated with these figures display smaller patterns and unique features which evidence a shared source of transmission without copying or influence by other key figures, making them independent of one another. The overall consistency in hadith structure and meaning links them to a similar source, i.e., the common link (CL). This leads to the conclusion that the above-named common links are the earliest traced disseminators of the Prophetic tradition calling on people to give the ruler his right.

1.1.1. Simāk b. Ḥarb as CL

Simāk b. Ḥarb is the common link for the most politically quietist version of the hadith. The Prophetic saying itself is not blatantly quietist. However, the context in which it is found gives the tradition its political colouring. In it, a Companion asks the Prophet about rulers that will come after him who will not give the people their right. This question is usually repeated two or three times (with interference by another Companion) before the Prophet replies. He tells the questioner that the rulers will carry their own responsibility or duty while the people have their responsibility.¹⁰⁸ The response usually includes instructions to listen and obey the rulers.

¹⁰⁸ Here the word *ḥaqq* is replaced by *ḥammala*. This version of the hadith states *فَأْتَمَّا عَلَيْهِمْ مَا حُمِّلُوا وَعَلَيْكُمْ مَا حُمِّلْتُمْ*, reflecting the same language found in Quran 24:54. Lane's Arabic Lexicon translates this (partial) verse as: "Upon him rests only that which he has had imposed upon him; and upon you, that which ye have had imposed upon you" (p. 647). Although the literal interpretation of *ḥammala* is burden, in this Quranic and Prophetic context it means duty or responsibility. The Quranic verse refers to the duty of the Prophet and his followers in relation to one another. The hadith extends this responsibility of the Prophet to the ruler, calling on people to listen and obey the ruler as he carries the burden or responsibility of rule while the people carry the burden or responsibility of obedience (as inferred in the first part of the narration). Therefore, the wording of the tradition reflects Quranic wording referring to one's duty or responsibility.

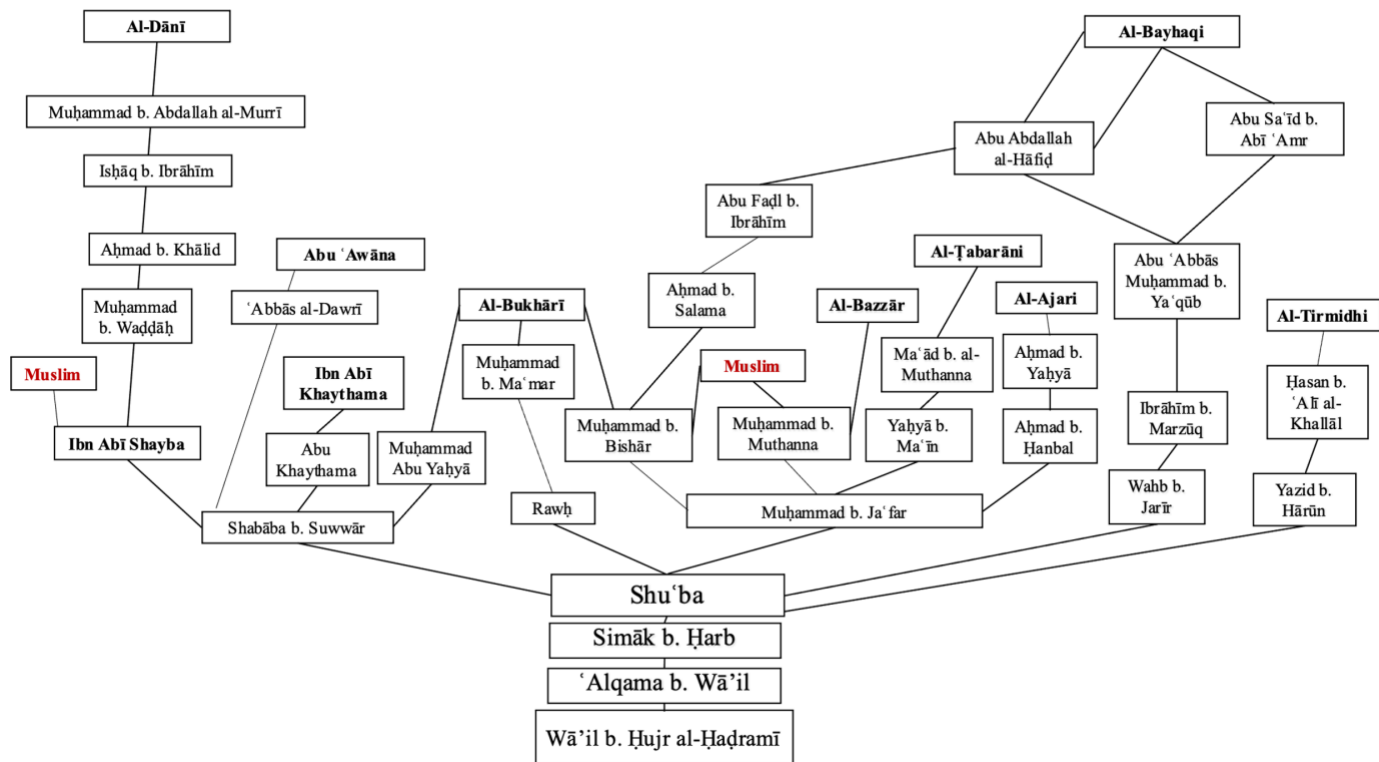


While the chains of transmission in this version are consistent from the collectors to the common link, they become inconsistent from the generation before the common link to the Prophet. Though Simāk narrates from his teacher ‘Alqama b. Wā’il in all variants, the chains of transmission differ from ‘Alqama to the Prophet. Sometimes ‘Alqama narrates from his father, or from Yazīd b. Salama, or from Salama b. Yazīd, or a combination of two or three, and sometimes the transmission ends with ‘Alqama. However, all hadiths have the common denominator of Simāk b. Ḥarb whose name is found in 29 variants recorded by 16 collectors.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, *Bāb Muḥammad b. Abī Isrā’īl* (#77) and *Bāb Salama b. Yazīd* (#1995); *Takhrīj al-Aḥādīth al-Marfū’a al-Musnada fī Kitāb al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr li-l Bukhārī*, *Bāb in kāna ‘alayna Umarā’* (#44) and *Bāb Asma’ū wa Aṭī’ū* (#617). Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb fī Ṭā’at al-Umarā’ wa in Mana’ū* (#49 and #50 [1846]); Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, *Bāb Ḥadīth Wā’il b. Ḥujr ‘an al-Nabī* (#1112); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, *Bāb mā Jā’a Satakūn Fitān Kaqīṭa ‘al-Layl* (#2199); Yaḥyā b. Salām, *Tafsīr*, *Bāb Sūra al-Nūr wa ḥiya Madaniyya*; Ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitāb min Ḥadīth Abī ‘Ubayda Mujjā’a Ibn al-Zubayr al-Baṣrī*, *Al-Juz al-Thānī min Ḥadīth Abī ‘Ubayda* (#46); Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, *Bāb Man Kariha al-Khurūj fī al-Fitna* (#37261); Ibn Qānī, *Mu’jam al-Ṣaḥāba*, *Bāb Salama b. al-Ḥaḍramī*; Ibn Abī Khaythama, *Tārīkh Ibn Abī Khaythama*, *Bāb Ḥarf al-Yā’* (#2499) and *Bāb Tasmīyya min Nazal bil Kufa min Aṣḥāb al-Nabī*. Al-Bazzār, *Musnad*, *Bāb Wā’il b. Ḥujr* (#4472); Al-Bayhaqī, *Shaḥb al-Imān*, *Bāb al-Tamsik bimā ‘Alayhi al-Jamā’a* (#7096); Al-Ajarī, *Al-Sharī’a*, *Bāb fī al-Sam’ wa al-Ṭā’a liman Walī Amr* (#69); Al-Dānī, *Al-Sunan al-Wārīda fī al-Fitan*, *Bāb al-Nahī ‘an al-Khurūj ‘ala al-Aimma* (#128); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu’jam al-Awsaṭ*, *Bāb Man Ismuhu Muḥammad* (#21); *Mu’jam al-Kabīr*, *Bāb Salama b. Yazīd al-Ju’fī* (#20), *Bāb Simāk b. Ḥarb ‘an ‘Alqama*, *Bāb Yazīd b. Salama al-Ju’fī* (#634). Al-Bazzāz, *Kitāb Ḥadīth Shu’ba li Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās b. Najīḥ*, *Bāb Ḥadīth Shu’ba* (#8). Abū ‘Awāna, *Mustakhraj*, *Bāb Bayān Wujūb al-Ṣabr ‘ala al-Athara* (#7152).

Two students transmit from Simāk on a large scale¹¹⁰—Isrā'īl and Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj. Shu'ba is the more prominent of the two by far. Five students of Shu'ba transmit this hadith to others, two of whom do so widely—Muḥammad b. Ja'far and Shabāba b. Suwwār. Each of these students exhibits certain consistencies which help in understanding the differences in the chain of transmission from Simāk to the Prophet.

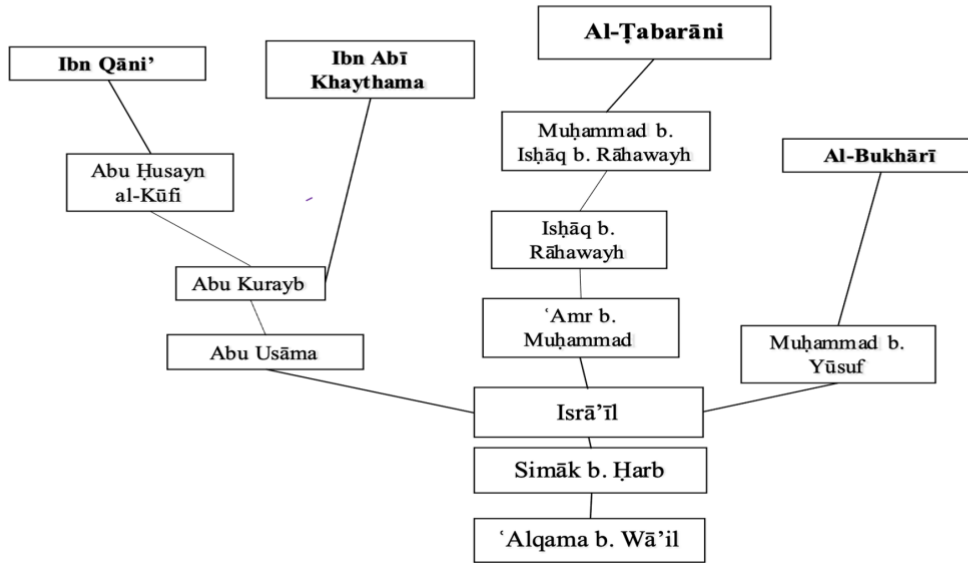
Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj



All 16 hadith variants from Shu'ba give the same isnad—from Simāk → 'Alqama b. Wā'il → Wā'il b. Ḥujr al-Ḥaḍramī. Transmissions through Shabāba and Muḥammad b. Ja'far include a statement from Wā'il explaining that another Companion (either Yazīd b. Salama or Salama b. Yazīd) asked the Prophet the question about rulers.¹¹¹ While there is some confusion over the identity of the inquiring Companion, a pattern emerges in the context of variants linked to Shu'ba. These consist of a uniform chain of transmission to the Companion Wā'il b. Ḥujr al-Ḥaḍramī and his identification of another Companion who asked the Prophet about future rulers.

¹¹⁰ Large-scale quantifies as transmissions to at least three others.

¹¹¹ Only one hadith variant transmitted through Shu'ba does not give the name of the questioner but simply states it was a man (*rajul*). Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Bāb mā Jā'a Satakun Fitān Kaqīṭa' al-Layl* (#2199).

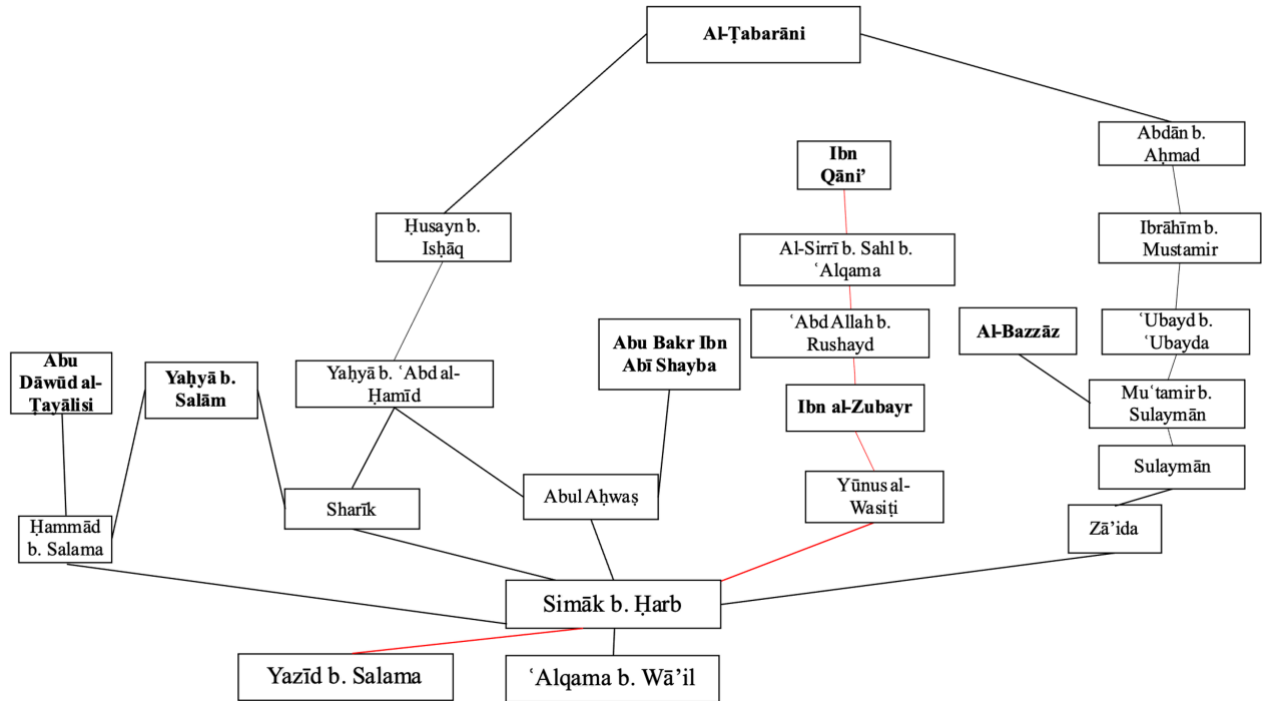


Isrā'īl is the second student of Simāk to transmit the hadith on a large scale. These variants also show a consistency in the chain of transmission. All chains end with Yazīd b. Salama either asking the Prophet directly¹¹² or stating that his father asked the Prophet about rulers.¹¹³

Remaining Variants

¹¹² Al-Ṭabarāni *Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, Bāb Yazīd b. Salama al-Ju'fī (#634) and al-Bukhārī, *Takhrīj al-Aḥādīth al-Marfū'a al-Musnada fī Kitāb al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr li-l Bukhārī*, Bāb in kāna 'alayna Umarā' (#44).

¹¹³ Ibn Abī Khaythama, *Tārīkh Ibn Abī Khaythama*, Bāb Ḥarf al-Yā' (#2499) and Ibn Qāni', *Mu'jam al-Ṣaḥāba*, Bāb Salama b. al-Ḥaḍramī.



The remaining nine hadith variants not associated with the above two students give different names in the context. Sometimes Yazīd b. Salama asks the Prophet, sometimes it is Salama b. Yazīd, in one case Salama al-Ju‘fī (another name for the same Salama b. Yazīd), and another variant does not identify the man at all. Sometimes Wā’il is left out of the chain and sometimes both Wā’il and ‘Alqama are missing. The confusion around this isnad may be due to two sets of fathers and sons being involved directly in the chain. In addition, one son is named after his father, causing greater confusion as to who is Salama b. Yazīd and who is Yazīd b. Salama.

The variants through each of the two students of Simāk who widely transmit the hadith are consistent in both the context and chain of transmission linked to them. Variants linked to Shu‘ba include Wā’il b. Ḥujr al-Ḥaḍramī in the isnad and state another man asked the Prophet. Variants linked to Isrā’il include Yazīd b. Salama in the isnad and state either he or his father was the inquirer.

The mats linked to these figures also contain their own characteristics. Every hadith transmitted through Shu‘ba gives the same Prophetic response, “Listen and obey them, for on them is their responsibility and on you your responsibility.”¹¹⁴ When a question is posed,¹¹⁵ it is always, “What would you say if there were rulers asking us for their right and denying us our right?”¹¹⁶ All variants transmitted via Shu‘ba include a repetition of the question two or

¹¹⁴ اسمعوا و اطيعوا فانما عليهم ما حملوا و عليكم ما حملتم

¹¹⁵ In every case but one, a variant recorded in al-Tirmidhī #2199.

¹¹⁶ ارايت ان قامت علينا امراء فيسالونا حقهم و يمنعوننا حقتنا

three times. Hadiths further transmitted through Shabāba also include another Companion, al-Ash‘ath b. Qays, pulling the questioner toward him (in an attempt to silence him). Those hadiths further transmitted through Muḥammad b. Ja‘far add, “what do you order us to do?” after the question is posed.¹¹⁷

The variants transmitted through Isrā‘īl lack the consistency found in those transmitted via Shu‘ba, though there are only four variants linked to Isrā‘īl and 16 to Shu‘ba. While the overall structure of variants remains the same, the only consistent phrase found in these variants is the Prophetic response that, “on them is their responsibility and on you your responsibility.”¹¹⁸ Two of the four variants, found in Ibn Qāni’ and Ibn Abī Khaythama, are very similar in wording. This is unsurprising as they share other names within the transmission.¹¹⁹ The other two variants display their own unique wording.¹²⁰

The remaining variants not associated with either of the above students of Simāk give the same Prophetic response that “on them is their burden and on you yours”. Some add the “listen and obey” phrase found in variants transmitted by Shu‘ba. Some also include an additional element of whether the rulers should be killed.¹²¹

Though several students are recorded as having narrated this hadith from Simāk, most transmissions including their names are single strands (altogether this hadith bundle has eight single strand variants transmitted via five of Simāk’s students). At first, it seems to create some uncertainty around Simāk as CL. Indeed, G.H.A. Juynboll argues that Simāk is likely not a CL in any hadiths¹²² and in this particular hadith, he attributes its spread to Shu‘ba.¹²³ However, when accounting for the isnads of these single strand hadiths, it becomes more apparent as to why they did not find themselves in more collectors’ works. Of the eight single strand hadith variants, five give broken/incomplete isnads.¹²⁴ Three of these transmissions end with ‘Alqama who was not a Companion and therefore could not have heard the Prophet speak this hadith. The other two omit ‘Alqama and his father from the chain entirely. As

¹¹⁷ فما تأمرنا؟

¹¹⁸ عليهم ما حملوا و عليكم ما حملتم

¹¹⁹ Both chains include Abū Kurayb and Abū Usāma.

¹²⁰ The variants recorded in al-Ṭabarānī and al-Bukhārī give different phrases: *أَمْرًا سَلَّوْنَا الْحَقَّ* is found in al-Ṭabarānī *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr*, *Bāb Yazīd b. Salama al-Ju‘fī* (#634) while *أَمْرًا يَغْمَلُونَ بِغَيْرِ طَاعَةِ اللَّهِ* in al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, *Bāb Muḥammad b. Abī Isrā‘īl* (#77).

¹²¹ Four variants add this element, from two students of Simāk. Two of the variants are linked to Zā‘ida (found in al-Bazzāz and al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr*, *Bāb Salama b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī*) while the other two are linked to Yunūs al-Wāsiti (found in Ibn al-Zubayr and Ibn Qāni’).

¹²² Juynboll, G.H.A. *Encyclopaedia of Canonical Hadith*, p. 566.

¹²³ Juynboll describes this hadith as a “poorly attested spidery bundle” and is hesitant to even attribute it to Shu‘ba who he argues is too early a figure. *Ibid*, p. 547.

¹²⁴ Recorded in Abū Dāwūd, Yaḥyā b. Salām, Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn al-Zubayr, and Ibn Qāni’.

such, it is not difficult to see why later collectors would not add these hadiths to their works when there were versions of the hadith that were not broken (through Shu‘ba and Isrā’īl).

Other features of these single strand hadiths give clues as to their early origins. In addition to being recorded in earlier works, by which this hadith can be traced back to the second century,¹²⁵ these strands also have their own unique wording not found in the two prolific students of Simāk. For instance, two variants expand on the role of al-Ash‘ath b. Qays and his interference with the questioner, not found in any other variant.¹²⁶ Two other variants transmitted from Simāk’s student Ḥammād b. Salama add a response from the questioner found in no other hadith variant.¹²⁷ Another one of Simāk’s students, Zā’ida, is also linked to unique wording. The only two variants linked to Zā’ida include an element of rebellion not found elsewhere.¹²⁸ These unique features of some of Simāk’s students strengthen the argument that he was the CL in this hadith set, and that each of his students narrated his own version of the hadith, with its minor differences, as he heard it from Simāk.

To conclude, the above version of the hadith calling on people to give the rulers their right is propagated by Simāk b. Ḥarb with all but one isnad transmitted through him.¹²⁹ An analysis of variants linked to Simāk reveals patterns associated with him within the overall structure, meaning and some wording. These larger features are consistently found in the variants linked to Simāk, making him the source of their dissemination.

Differences are also found in these variants. Many of them are linked to the two students of Simāk who transmit on a large scale, Shu‘ba and Isrā’īl. These students differ in the chains of transmission, the context in which the Prophet is questioned, and some wording of the dialogue between the Prophet and the questioner. Unique features are also found in wording linked to other students of Simāk.¹³⁰ While they are only associated with two

¹²⁵ Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 146), Yaḥyā b. Salām (d. 200), Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 204), and Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235).

¹²⁶ In Ibn al-Zubayr’s collection, al-Ash‘ath is reported to respond to the questioner, “You ask the Messenger of Allah about something that hasn’t yet happened.” The variant recorded by Yaḥyā b. Salām adds that al-Ash‘ath pulled on the questioner’s robe to sit him down. *Tafsīr Yaḥyā b. Salām, Bāb Sūra al-Nūr wa ḥiya Madaniyya.*

¹²⁷ Abū Dāwūd’s transmission states that the questioner responds to al-Ash‘ath with, “By Allah, I will continue to ask until the sun sets or I am answered.” Yaḥyā b. Salām’s version switches the word “answered” (*yujībunī*) to “told” (*tukhbirunī*).

¹²⁸ Yazīd b. Salāma al-Ju‘fī asks the Prophet the additional question of whether the rulers should be killed or rebelled against (نقاتلهم أو نعصيهم). These variants are recorded by al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr, Bāb Salama b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī* and al-Bazzāz, *Kitāb Ḥadīth Shu‘ba li Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās b. Najīh, Bāb Ḥadīth Shu‘ba.*

¹²⁹ This variant gives a different chain of transmission from ‘Alqama to the collector, al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu‘jam al-Awsaṭ, Bāb Man Ismuhu Muḥammad (#6707).*

¹³⁰ They are Zā’ida, Ḥammād b. Salama, and Yūnus al-Wāsiṭī.

variants each and cannot be called key figures,¹³¹ the smaller differences in wording found in variants linked to them indicate a natural progression of oral transmission, without copying from the more successful students of the common link.

However, the overall structure of the narrations remains consistent. The Prophet is asked what should be done with rulers who deny their people. His response always includes that, “on them is their responsibility and on you your responsibility.” These features can be confidently linked to Simāk. Most variants include “listen and obey them,” making it clear that the people are not to oppose their rulers, giving this hadith its strong politically quietist colouring.

1.1.2. Furāt al-Qazzāz as CL

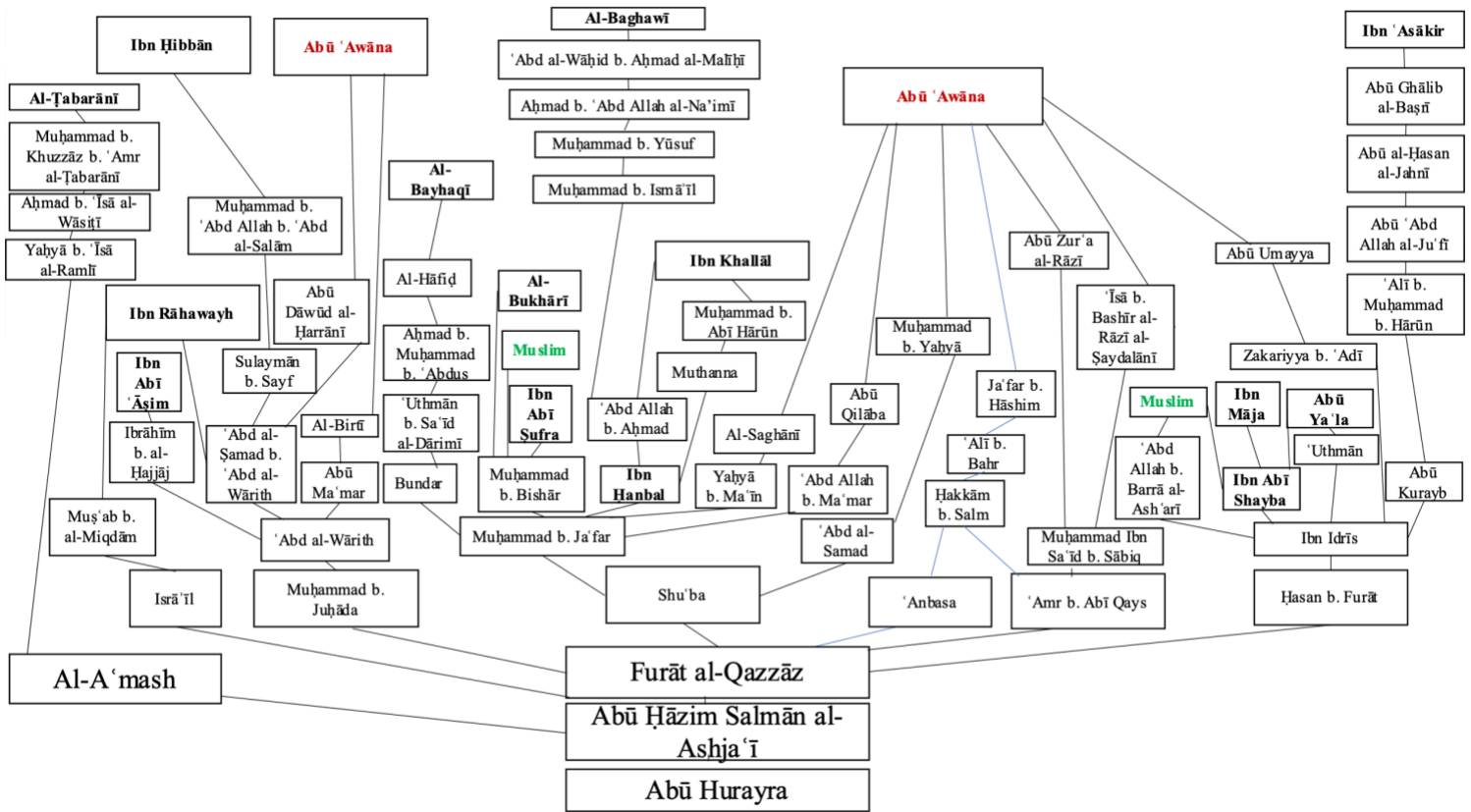
The second version of the hadith propagating obedience to the ruler as their ‘right’ is associated with the Companion Abū Hurayra. This version is found spreading from the figure Furāt al-Qazzāz. 28 of the 29 hadith variants in this group are transmitted via Furāt¹³² who narrates to five students.¹³³ These variants are found the works of 15 collectors.¹³⁴

¹³¹ The lack of dissemination by some students may be due to the chains of transmission which were incomplete in most of the single strands. Later collectors likely took notice of the weakness in transmission and recorded those hadiths which did not have this weakness, namely those hadiths transmitted via Shu‘ba.

¹³² One single strand variant is transmitted via al-A‘mash and recorded in al-Ṭabarānī *Mu‘jam al-Ṣaghīr*, *Bāb Man Ismuhu Muḥammad* (#985) and *Mu‘jam al-Awsaṭ*, *Bāb Man Ismuhu Muḥammad* (#6893).

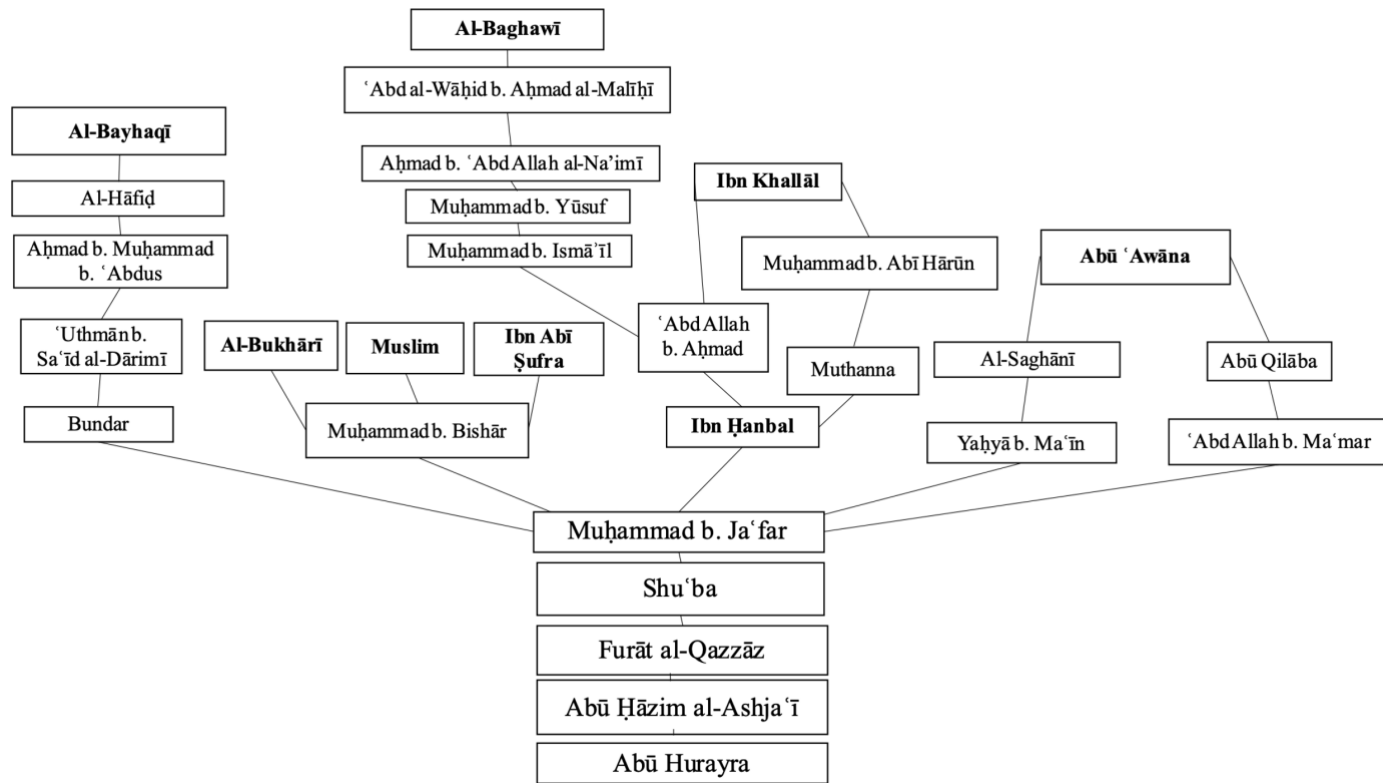
¹³³ Isrā‘īl, Muḥammad b. Juḥāda, Shu‘ba, ‘Amr b. Abī Qays, and Ḥasan b. Furāt.

¹³⁴ Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb mā Dhakara ‘an Banī Isrā‘īl* (#3455); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb al-Amr bil Wafā’ bi Bay‘a al-Khulafā’* (#1842); Ibn Abī Ṣufra, *Al-Mukhtaṣir al-Naṣīḥ fī Tahdhīb al-Kitāb al-Jāmi‘*, *Bāb mā Dhakara ‘an Banī Isrā‘īl* (#2185); Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, *Bāb man Kariha al-Khurūj fī al-Fitna wa Ta‘ūdhu ‘anhā* (#37260); Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, *Bāb Musnad Abī Hurayra* (#7960); Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, *Bāb al-Wafā’ bil Bay‘a* (#2871); Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *Al-Sunna*, *Bāb fī Dhakar al-Sam‘ wa al-Ṭā‘a* (#1078); Ibn Rāḥawayh, *Musnad*, *Bāb mā Yarwī ‘an Abī Ḥāzim Salmān al-Ashja‘ī* (#222 and #223); Ibn Khallāl, *Al-Sunna*, *Bāb Awal Kitāb al-Musnad mā Yabtadā bihi min Ṭā‘a* (#6 and #7); Abū Ya‘lā, *Musnad*, *Bāb Abū Ḥāzim ‘an Abī Hurayra* (#6211); Ibn Hibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb Dhakara al-Bayān bi-anna Banī Isrā‘īl kanū Yasammūna* (#6249); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kubrā*, *Bāb Lā Yaṣlah Imamān fī ‘Aṣr Wāḥid* (#16548); Al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunna*, *Bāb Karāhiya Ṭalab al-Imāra wal ‘Amal bihi* (#2464); Abū ‘Awāna, *Mustakhrāj*, *Bāb Bayān al-Khabar al-Mawjib ‘ala al-Ru‘ya al-Wafā’* (#7126-#7131); Ibn ‘Asākir, *Mu‘jam*, *Bāb Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Ḥasan b. Zawrān* (#1148).



Three key figures transmit this hadith on a large scale, all from two generations after the common link. Each narrates from a student of the common link: Muḥammad b. Ja'far narrates from Shu'ba, 'Abd Allah Ibn Idrīs narrates from Ḥasan b. Furāt, and 'Abd al-Wāriṭh b. Sa'īd narrates from Muḥammad b. Juḥāda. These three students of the students of Furāt narrate to several students of their own, with a combined total of 24 hadith variants transmitted through them.

Muḥammad b. Ja‘far



Variants from Muḥammad b. Ja‘far are found in eight sources. All contexts remain consistent. In every case, Furāt hears the Ṭābi‘ī Abū Ḥāzim state that he sat with Abū Hurayra for five years when he heard him report the ensuing Prophetic narration. The wording is also similar with minor differences.¹³⁵ All versions relate the same structure and details like the following, “The Children of Israel were guided by prophets. Whenever a prophet died, another would take his place. There will be no prophet after me, but there will be caliphs who will increase in number.” They asked, “What do you order us to do?” He said, “Give *bay‘a* to the first [caliph], for he was first. Give them their right, for God will ask them about that which they took.”¹³⁶

One variant found in Abū ‘Awāna varies slightly, stating “give them their right and ask God for your right, for God will ask them.”¹³⁷ Another variant found in Ibn Ḥanbal includes the phrase, “give them their right that God made for them.”¹³⁸ This additional phrase is also in the two variants recorded by Abū Bakr b. Khallāl, both of which include Ibn Ḥanbal in the isnads. It is possible that Ibn Ḥanbal heard this additional phrase from Muḥammad b.

¹³⁵ One isnad recorded by Abū ‘Awāna does not include the text of the hadith but rather is similar to the preceding hadith (“*mithlahu*”) that is not transmitted via Muḥammad b. Ja‘far. Therefore, this hadith will not be included in the matn analysis (#7127).

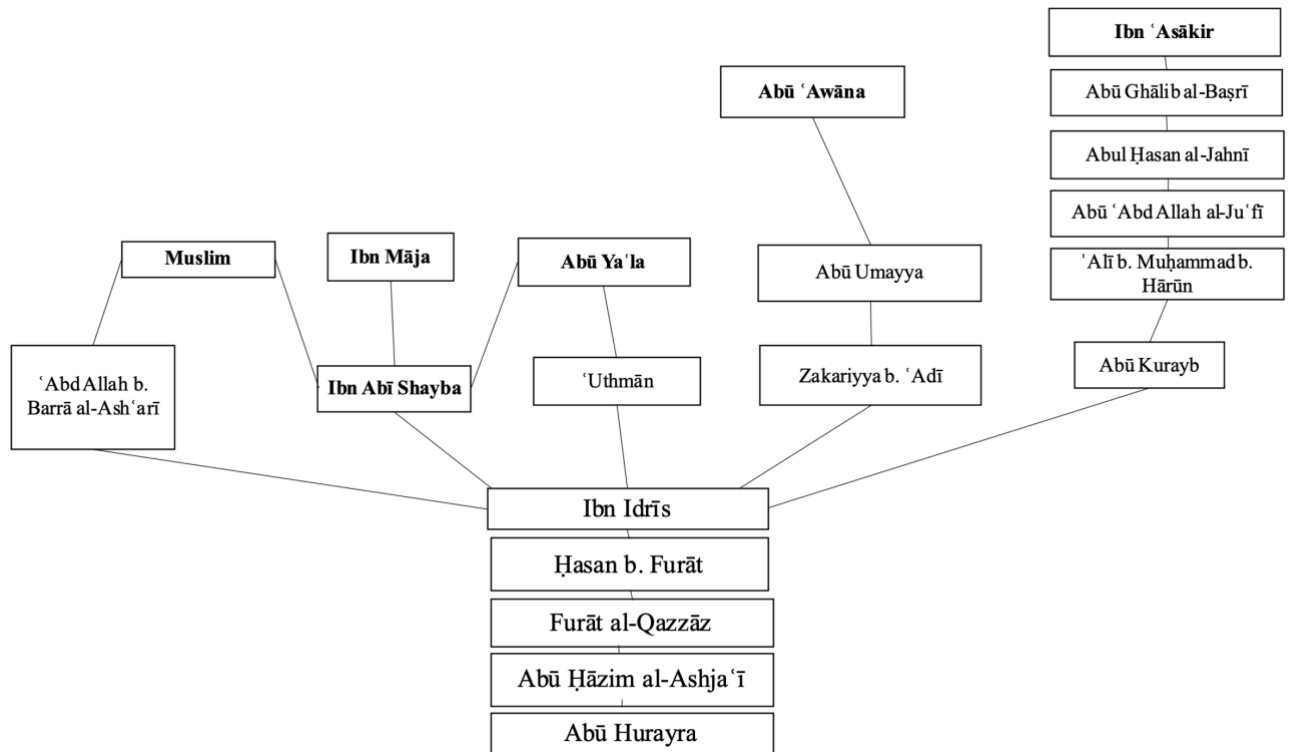
¹³⁶ كَانَتْ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ تَسُوسُهُمُ الْأَنْبِيَاءُ، كُلَّمَا هَلَكَ نَبِيٌّ خَلَفَهُ نَبِيٌّ، وَإِنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي، وَسَتَكُونُ خُلَفَاءُ فَتَكْتُمُونَ، قَالُوا: فَمَا تَأْمُرُنَا؟ قَالَ: «فُوا بِبَيْعَةِ الْأَوَّلِ، فَأَلَّوْا، وَأَعْطَوْهُمُ حَقَّهُمْ، فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَائِلُهُمْ عَمَّا اسْتَزَعَاهُمْ

¹³⁷ (#7126) أَعْطَوْهُمُ حَقَّهُمْ وَسَلُوا اللَّهَ حَقَّكُمْ، فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ سَائِلُهُمْ

¹³⁸ (#7960) أَعْطَوْهُمُ حَقَّهُمْ الَّذِي جَعَلَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ

Ja‘far. But as he is the only one of five students to transmit it, it is more likely that this addition came from Ibn Ḥanbal. Apart from these small differences, the hadiths transmitted via Muḥammad b. Ja‘far give the same wording.

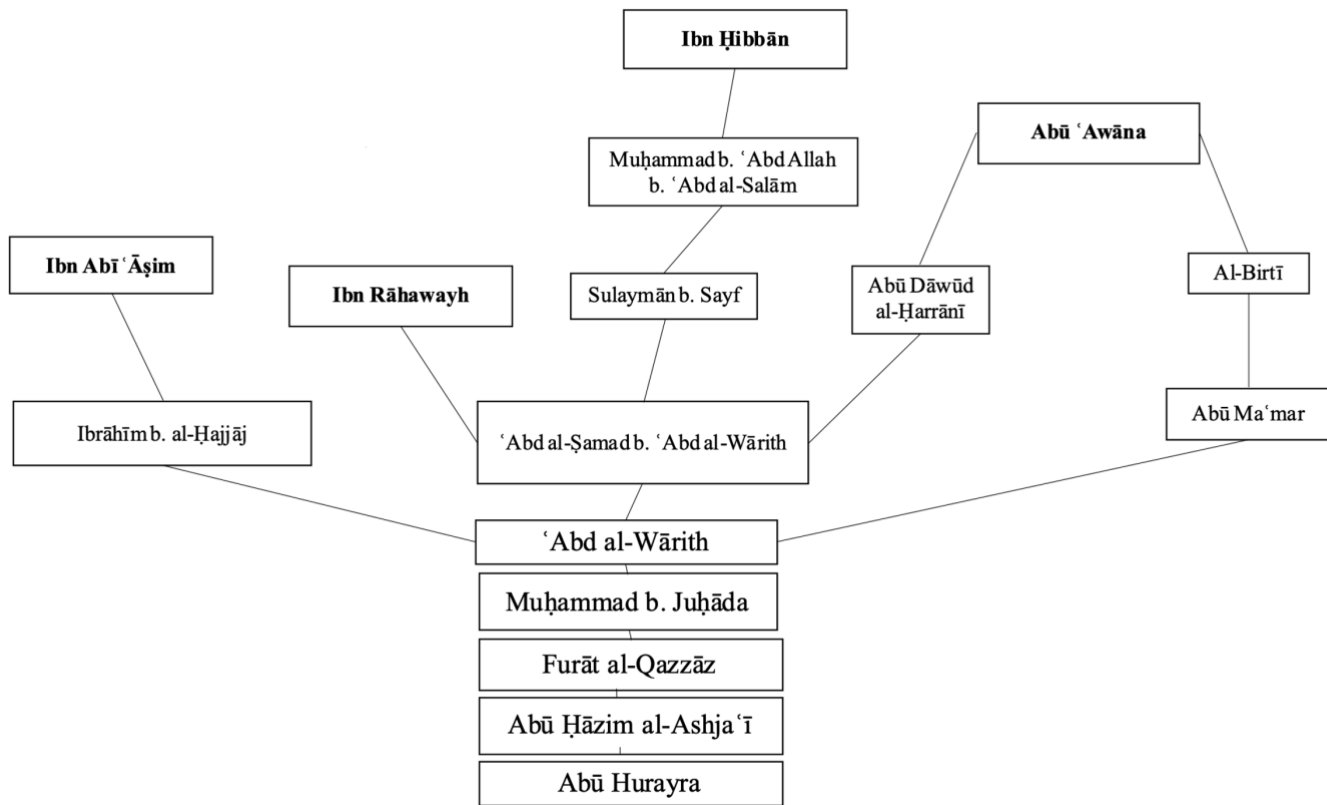
‘Abd Allah b. Idrīs



The second key figure in this version of the hadith is ‘Abd Allah b. Idrīs.¹³⁹ From ‘Abd Allah, eight variants are recorded through five students. These variants, like those through Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, are consistent in wording, yet maintain features distinct from Ibn Ja‘far. None of these variants discuss Abū Ḥāzim’s stay with Abū Hurayra. The narration is simply given in which the Prophet states, “The Children of Israel were guided by their prophets, all of whom went one after the other. There will be no prophet after me.” They said, “And what will happen, O Messenger of God?” He said, “There will be Caliphs who will increase in number.” They said, “And what should we make (of this)?” He said, “Give *bay‘a* to the first for he was first. Give that (which is due) from you, for God will ask them about that (which is due) from them.”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Found in seven chains of transmission recorded in six written sources. However, one of the sources, Muslim, attaches this transmission to another matn (narrated through another chain) and cannot be included in the matn analysis.

¹⁴⁰ إِنَّ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ كَانَتْ تَسُوسُهُمْ أَنْبِيَاؤُهُمْ، كُلَّمَا دَهَبَ نَبِيٌّ، خَلَفَهُ نَبِيٌّ، وَأَنَّهُ لَيْسَ كَائِنٌ بَعْدِي، نَبِيٌّ فِيكُمْ» قَالُوا: فَمَا يَكُونُ؟ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ قَالَ «تَكُونُ خُلَفَاءُ، فَتَكُونُ» قَالُوا: فَكَيْفَ نَصْنَعُ؟ قَالَ: «أَوْفُوا بِبَيْعَتِهِ، الْأَوَّلُ، فَالْأَوَّلُ، أَدُوا الَّذِي عَلَيْكُمْ، فَسَيَسْأَلُهُمُ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ، عَنِ الَّذِي عَلَيْهِمْ»



A third key figure in the transmission of the hadith version linked to Furāt al-Qazzāz is ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd. ‘Abd al-Wārith transmits to three students found in four written works.¹⁴¹ All variants begin the transmission nearly identical in wording, stating that the Prophet said, “The Children of Israel were guided by prophets. When one prophet died, another stood (in his place). But there will be no Prophet after me.”¹⁴² When asked what will happen, he responds that there will be Caliphs¹⁴³ who will increase in number. From this point, three of the four variants continue to give the same structure and are nearly identical in wording while a fourth diverges somewhat.¹⁴⁴ The majority ask the Prophet what should be done to which he responds, “Give *bay‘a* to the first for he was first. Give them what is (due) to them, for God will ask them what is (due) to you.”¹⁴⁵

While all three key figures relay the same overall message with the same details, the sentence structures differ slightly between them. One key figure, Muḥammad b. Ja‘far,

¹⁴¹ Ibn Rāhawayh, *Musnad, Bāb mā Yarwī ‘an Abī Ḥāzim Salmān al-Ashja‘ī*; Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *Al-Sunna, Bāb fī Dhakar al-Sam‘ wa al-Ṭā‘a*; Ibn Hibbān *Ṣaḥīḥ, Bāb Dhakara al-Bayān bi-anna Banī Isrā‘īl kanū Yasammūna*; and two variants in Abū ‘Awāna, *Mustakhrāj, Bāb Bayān al-Khabar al-Mawjib ‘ala al-Ra‘ya al-Wafā’*.

¹⁴² إِنَّ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ كَانَتْ تَسُوْسُهُمُ الْأَنْبِيَاءَ، كُلَّمَا مَاتَ نَبِيٌّ قَامَ نَبِيٌّ، وَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ نَبِيٌّ بَعْدِي

¹⁴³ The variant found in Ibn Hibbān has the word *umarā’* instead.

¹⁴⁴ The variant recorded by Ibn Rāhawayh omits the question to the Prophet and the first part of his response to give *bay‘a* to the first. Additionally, the directive to obey the ruler differs, stating, “give them their right and ask God for your right.”

¹⁴⁵ أَوْفُوا بَبِعَةَ الْأَوَّلِ فَالْأَوَّلِ، فَأَتُوا إِلَيْهِمُ الَّذِي لَهُمْ، فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَأَلَهُمْ عَنِ الَّذِي لَكُمْ

includes an additional element to the context while the other two do not.¹⁴⁶ He also gives different wording in the Prophetic response, specifying that the rulers should be given their right (*ḥaqquhum*) while the other two do not.

The remaining four variants linked to Furāt display some small unique features. However, they also show the same patterns found in the variants transmitted through the key figures. These consistent features begin with the Prophet speaking about the Children of Israel who were ruled by prophets.¹⁴⁷ He then states that no prophet will come after him, but rather Caliphs who will increase in number.¹⁴⁸ When he is asked what should be done when this happens he responds, “Give *bay‘a* to the first for he was first.”¹⁴⁹ This is followed by the statement to “give them what is due to them, for God will ask them what is due from them” with slight differences in wording. These above features were transmitted by Furāt.

This version of the hadith differs from the version linked to Simāk which does not include the story of the Children of Israel, the plurality of rulers to come and giving *bay‘a* to the first of them which indicates an independence of transmission by each common link. In addition to these two common links being the source of dissemination for their versions of the hadith, the analysis shows that they are also independent in their transmissions from each other. These two versions give quite different reports of the Prophetic dialogue with regard to rulers to come who do not give people their right. The quietist messaging between the two also differs. The version linked to Furāt is less anti-oppositional in its tone than the one linked to Simāk. The negative qualities of the rulers are not made evident. However, they are described as being accountable to God as “God will ask them what is due from them.” This implies that the ruler may not give the people their due and will be held to account by God. Therefore, whether he is liked or disliked, good or bad, the ruler must be obeyed.

1.1.3. Al-A‘mash as CL

The hadith bundle associated with the Companion ‘Abd Allah b. Mas‘ūd is transmitted via al-A‘mash on a large scale to thirteen students. Altogether, this bundle includes 43 hadith variants found in the works of 20 classical scholars.¹⁵⁰ No context is given in any of these

¹⁴⁶ Abū Hāzim from the generation after the Companions explains that he sat with Abū Hurayra for five years, at which point he heard this hadith from him.

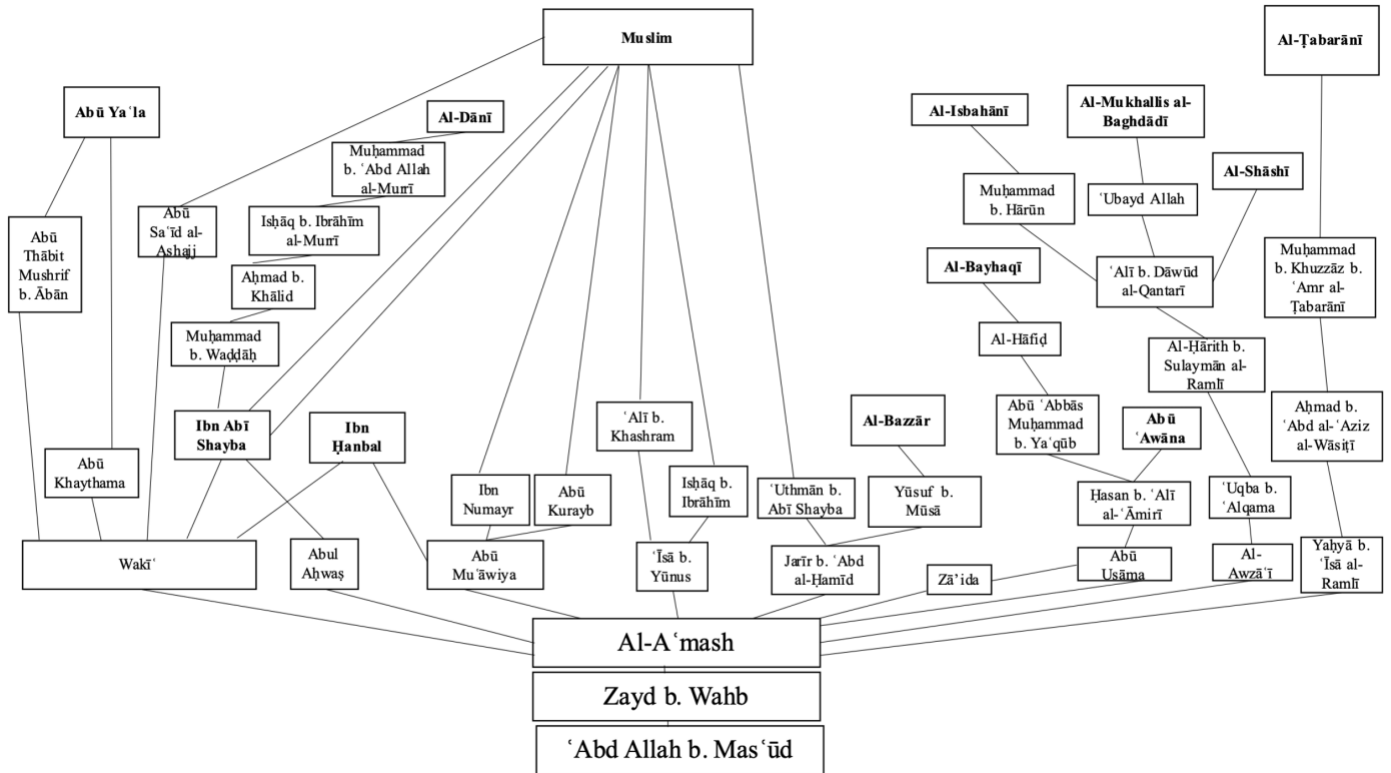
¹⁴⁷ The version of Ibn Rāhawayh does not include this.

¹⁴⁸ The variant of Abū ‘Awāna excludes the word *takthur*.

¹⁴⁹ Again, the variant recorded by Ibn Rāhawayh omits the phrase on allegiance. Of all hadiths traced back to Furāt, the two variants found in Ibn Rāhawayh (through two of Furāt’s students) are the only ones to leave out the phrase on giving *bay‘a*, making Ibn Rāhawayh the likely source of its exclusion from the hadiths.

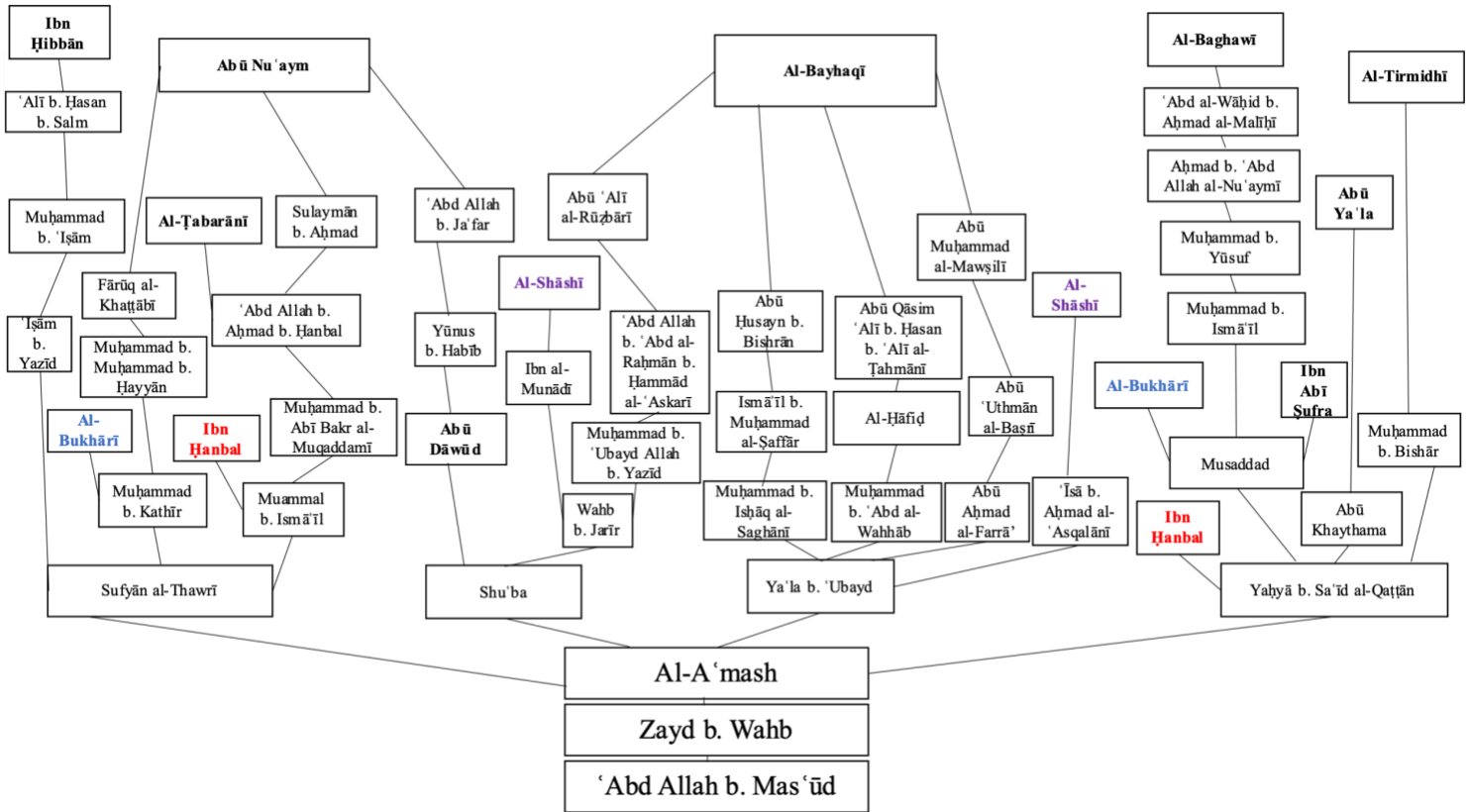
¹⁵⁰ Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb ‘Alāmāt al-Nubuwwa fil Islām* (#3603) and *Bāb Qawl al-Nabī Satarawna ba ‘dī Umūran Tunkirūnahā* (#7052); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb al-Amr bil Wafā’ bi Bay‘a al-Khulafā’* (#45 [1843]); Ibn

variants,¹⁵¹ unlike the other two versions. As a result, it is the least anti-oppositional of the hadith groups, as it does not include the context that gives the narration its political colouring. However, as the wording and general structure of the hadith parallels those of the other two sets, it likely matches them in context as well, possibly omitted by the common link.



Ḥanbal, *Musnad, Bāb Musnad 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd* (#3640, #3641, #4066, #4127); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Bāb fī al-Athara wa mā Jā'a fīhi* (#2190); Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad, Bāb mā Asnad 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd* (#295); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Shaḥīḥ, Bāb Dhakara al-Ikhbār bi-anna 'alā al-Mara' 'inda Dhuhūr* (#4587); Ibn Abī Ṣufra, *Al-Mukhtaṣir al-Naṣīḥ fī Tahdhīb al-Kitāb al-Jāmi'*, *Bāb Qawl al-Nabī* (#1374); Ibn Abī Shayba, *Musnad, Bāb mā Rawāhu 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd 'an al-Nabī* (#259); Al-Bazzār, *Musnad, Bāb Zayd b. Wahb 'an 'Abd Allāh* (#1768); Al-Mukhallis al-Baghdādī, *Al-Mukhallaṣiyāt wa Ajzā' Ukhrā' li Abī Ṭāhir al-Mukhallis, Al-Juz' al-Ḥādī 'Ashar min al-Mukhallaṣiyāt* (#2525); Abū al-Shaykh al-Isbahānī, *Dhakara al-Aqrān li Abī Shaykh, Bāb al-Awzā'ī 'an al-A'mash* (#427); Abū 'Awāna, *Mustakhrāj, Bāb Bayān al-Khabar al-Mawjib 'ala al-Ru'ya al-Wafā'* (#7132); Al-Dānī, *Al-Sunan al-Wārida fī al-Fitan, Bāb al-Nahī 'an al-Khurūj 'ala al-Aimma* (#131); Abū Ya'la, *Musnad, Bāb Musnad 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd* (#5156); Mu'jam, *Bāb al-Mīm* (#308 and #5156). Al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunna, Bāb al-Ṣabr 'alā mā Yakruhu min al-Amīr wa luzūm* (#2462); Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā', Bāb al-Ṣabr 'alā Adhā Yaṣībīh min Jaha Imāmih* (#16615); Sha'b al-Imān, *Bāb Faṣl fī Faḍl al-Jamā'a wa al-Alfa wa Karāhiyya* (#7116); Al-Shāshī, *Al-Musnad, Bāb mā Rawā Abū Sulaymān Zayd b. Wahb al-Jahī* (#687); Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā' wa Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā'*, *Bāb 'Amr b. Shurahbīl* and *Bāb man Rawā min Ibn Mas'ūd*. Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu'jam al-Kabīr, Bāb man Rawā 'an Ibn Mas'ūd annahu lam yakun ma'ahu* (#10073). A discussion of this hadith can also be found in Ibn Hajar's hadith commentary work *Fath al-Bārī, Bāb Qawl al-Nabī Satarawna ba'dī Umūran Tunkirūnahā* (#7052).

¹⁵¹ Al-A'mash's name is also found in another hadith bundle associated with the common link Furāt al-Qazzāz which does give a context. However, his name is only found within a single strand recorded in al-Ṭabarānī. Al-Ṭabarānī takes the same non-contextualized al-A'mash hadith and adds the Furāt al-Qazzāz isnad to it. As the only scholar to associate this isnad with a different hadith set, al-Ṭabarānī seemingly confuses these two separate hadith clusters. *Al-Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ*, #6893; *al-Mu'jam al-Saghir*, #985.

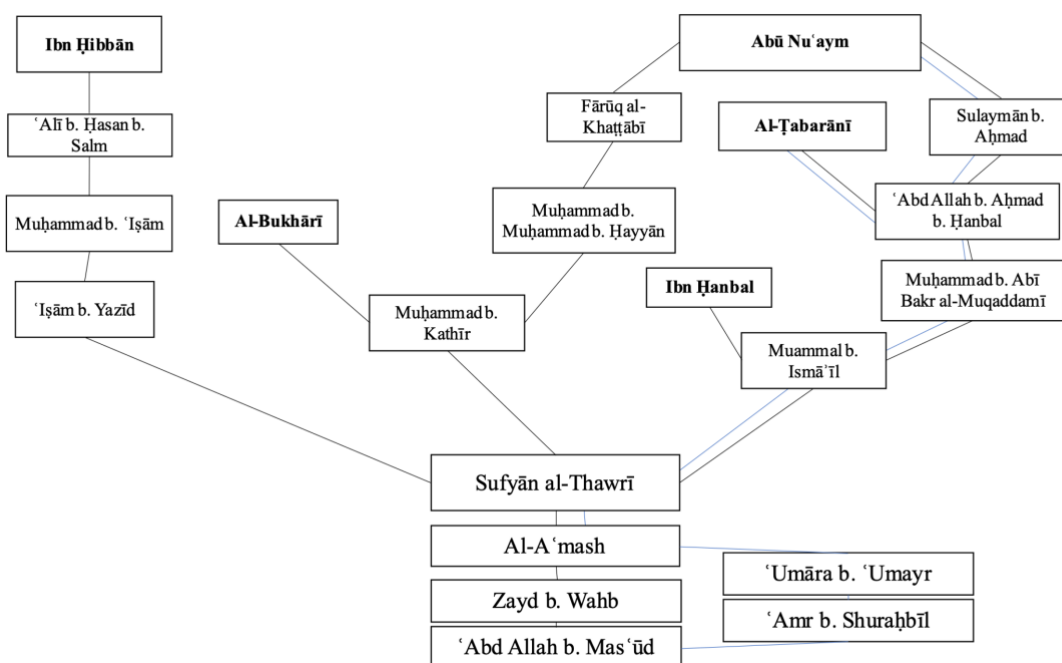


In every case but one,¹⁵² al-A‘mash narrates from Zayd b. Wahb who narrates from ‘Abd Allah b. Mas‘ūd. Five of al-A‘mash’s students transmit versions of the hadith to three or more people. They are: Sufyān al-Thawrī, Ya‘lā b. ‘Ubayd, Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān, Wakī‘, and Abū Mu‘āwiya.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Al-A‘mash ← ‘Umarā b. ‘Umayr ← ‘Amr b. Shuraḥbīl ← ‘Abdullāh b. Mas‘ūd. Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr*, *Bāb man Rawā‘an Ibn Mas‘ūd annahu lam yakun ma‘ahu* (#10073).

¹⁵³ As two of Abū Mu‘āwiya’s students are in combined isnads with another transmitter (Jarīr), it cannot be known what exactly these two students transmitted from Abū Mu‘āwiya. As such Abū Mu‘āwiya will not be included in the analysis.

Sufyān al-Thawrī



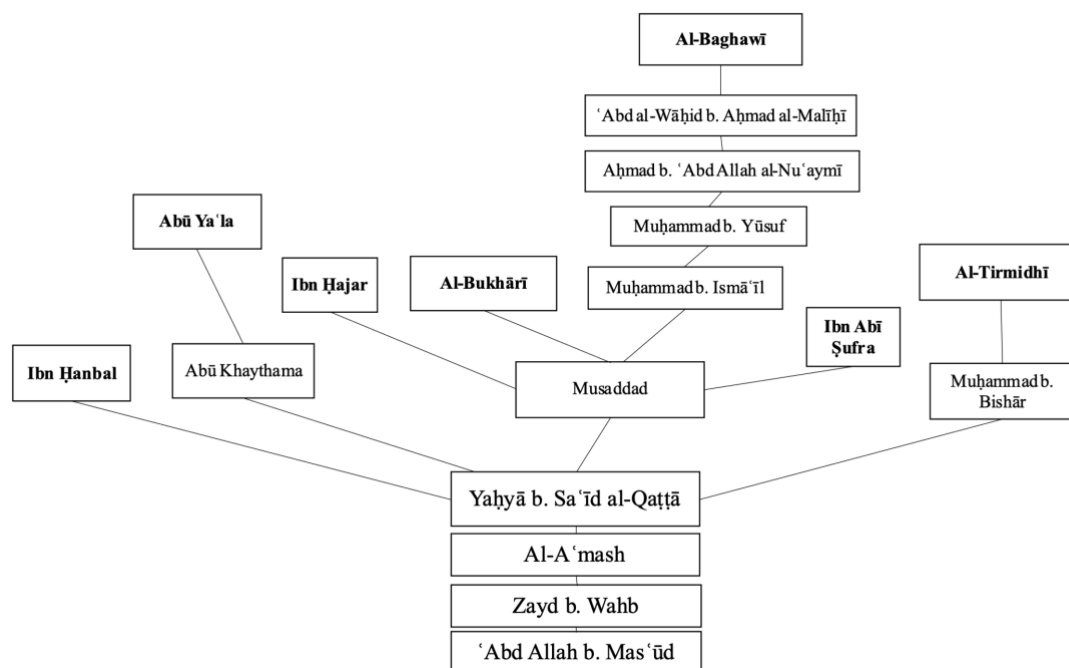
Three students transmit from Sufyān al-Thawrī, totalling six variants recorded by five collectors. Four of these collectors—Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī, Ibn Ḥibbān and Abū Nu‘aym—give the same wording for the hadīth. The other two variants recorded by Abū Nu‘aym and al-Ṭabarānī are slightly different from the other four in wording but are identical to each other.¹⁵⁴ Both variants share two names within the transmission,¹⁵⁵ either of which may be responsible for the slight word variation. As all other variants give the same wording, it can be concluded that Sufyān al-Thawrī transmitted the Prophetic hadith as follows: The Prophet said, “There will be selfishness and things that you will dislike.” They said, “Oh Messenger of God, what do you command us to do?” He said, “Give the right that is due upon you and ask God for that [right] due to you.”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ They substitute the word *satakūna* found in the other variants with *satarawna*. Both variants also state, *أَتُوا نُؤُوتُوا الْحَقَّ الَّذِي عَلَيْكُمْ، وَتَسْأَلُونَ اللَّهَ الَّذِي لَكُمْ* while the other variants state *إِلَيْهِمْ حَقَّهُمْ، وَسْأَلُوا اللَّهَ حَقَّكُمْ* Ibn Ḥibbān (#4587) omits “Allah” from the response while Ibn Ḥanbal adds “*‘azza wa jal*” (#4066).

¹⁵⁵ Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Muqaddamī and ‘Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

¹⁵⁶ *سَتَكُونُ أُنْرَةً وَأُمُورٌ تُنْكِرُونَهَا» قَالُوا: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ فَمَا تَأْمُرُنَا؟ قَالَ: «تُؤَدُّونَ الْحَقَّ الَّذِي عَلَيْكُمْ، وَتَسْأَلُونَ اللَّهَ الَّذِي لَكُمْ*. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb ‘Alāmāt al-Nubuwwa fil Islām* (#3603).

Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd (al-Qaṭṭān)



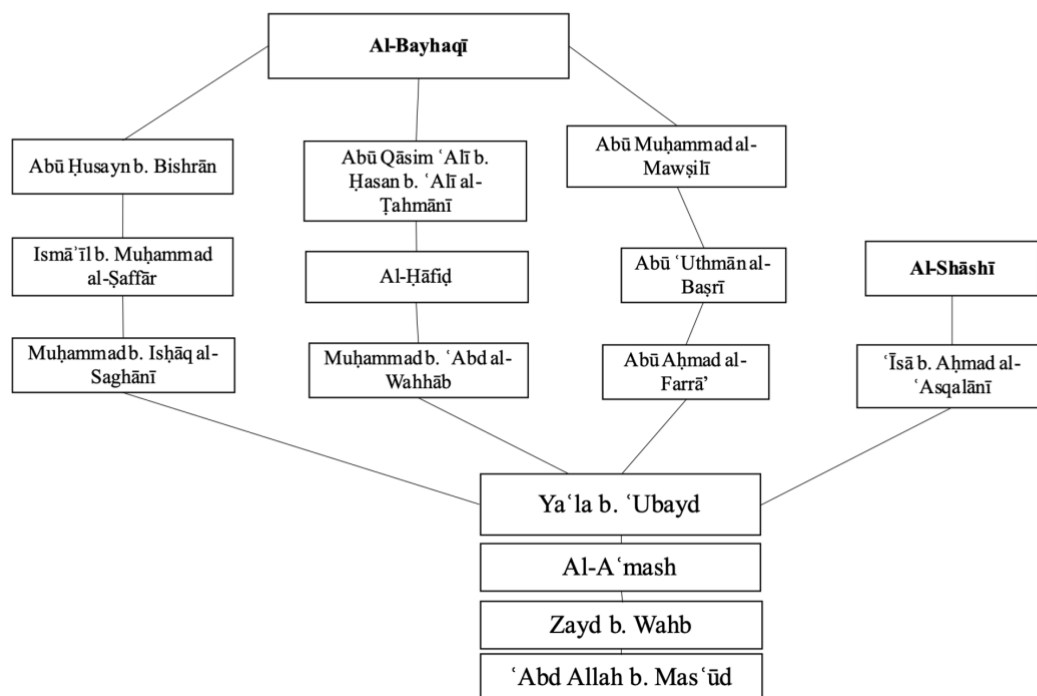
Seven variants transmitted by Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd (al-Qaṭṭān) are found in seven works. The wording is identical in four variants—all transmitted through Musaddad, a student of Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd. Two other variants give one small difference each,¹⁵⁷ while the last—found in Abū Ya‘lā—inverts the wording of the hadith.¹⁵⁸ As these hadiths follow the same pattern, it can be concluded that Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd transmitted that the Prophet said, “You will see after me selfishness and things that you dislike.” They said, “What do you order us to do, O Messenger of God?” He said, “Give them their right and ask God for your right.”¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ The variant recorded in Ibn Ḥanbal (#3641) leaves out “Oh Messenger of God” while al-Tirmidhī’s (#2190) states “*alladhī lakum*” in place of “*ḥaqqakum*”.

¹⁵⁸ As there is only one name between Abū Ya‘lā and Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd in this *isnad*, then either Abū Khaythama or Abū Ya‘lā are responsible for this rearrangement of the hadith wording.

¹⁵⁹ سَتَرُونَ بَعْدِي أَثَرَةَ وَأُمُورًا تُنْكِرُونَهَا» قَالُوا: فَمَا تَأْمُرُنَا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ؟ قَالَ: «أَتُوا إِلَيْهِمْ حَقَّهُمْ، وَسَلُّوا اللَّهَ حَقَّكُمْ» Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb Qawl al-Nabī Satarawna ba‘dī Umūran Tunkirūnahā* (#7052).

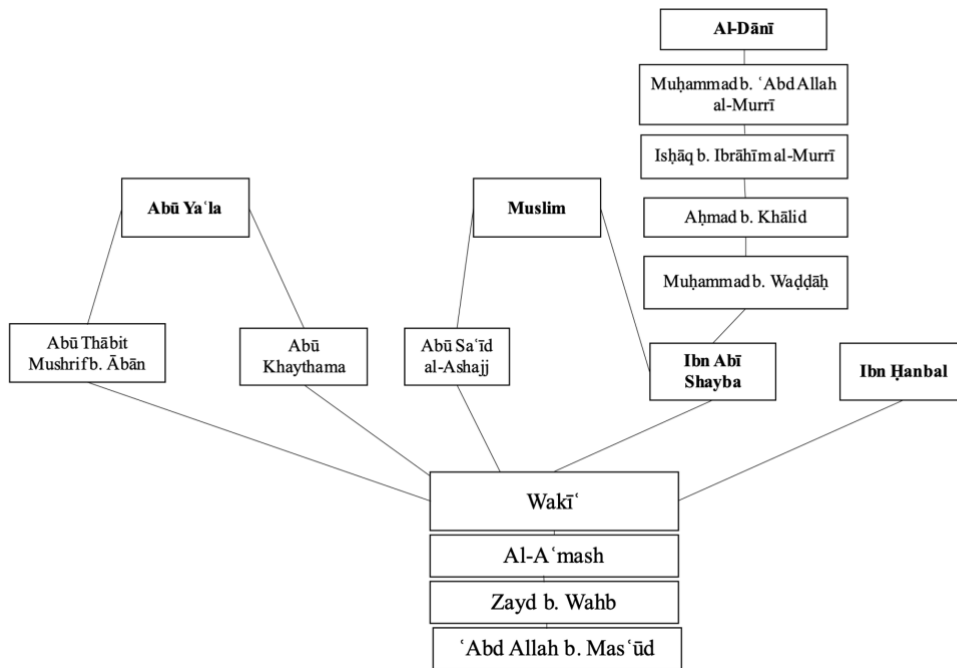
Ya‘lā b. ‘Ubayd



Four students of Ya‘lā b. ‘Ubayd transmit this hadith from him. These transmissions are recorded by two collectors.¹⁶⁰ All four variants are consistent in wording, stating that the Prophet said, “Surely there will be selfishness and things that you dislike.” They said, “What do you order us to do when this happens?” He said, “Give the right due upon you and ask God for that [right] due to you.”¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Three hadith variants are recorded in al-Bayhaqī while another is found in al-Shāshī.

¹⁶¹ سَتَكُونُ أَنْزَرَةً وَأُمُورٌ تُنْكَرُونَهَا ، قَالُوا: فَمَا يَصْنَعُ مَنْ أَنْزَرَكَ ذَلِكَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ؟ قَالَ: " أَدُوا الْحَقَّ الَّذِي عَلَيْكُمْ ، وَاسْأَلُوا اللَّهَ الَّذِي لَكُمْ " Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, *Bāb al-Ṣabr ‘alā Adhā Yaṣībih min Jaha Imāmih* (#16615).



Seven hadith variants are transmitted via Wakī‘ to five students recorded in five works. The minor wording of these hadiths is not as consistent as the other students of al-A‘mash,¹⁶² although the overall meaning remains. These variants generally state that the Prophet said, “After me there will be selfishness and things that you will dislike.” They said, “What do you order us to do when this happens?” He said, “Give the right due upon you and ask God for that [right] due to you.”¹⁶³

As the above illustrates, the wording of this version of the hadith is the most consistent and succinct of the three common links. All widely transmitting students of the common link include a dialogue in which the Prophet states that there will come a time of selfishness and things that will be disliked. Unnamed people then ask the Prophet what they should do when this happens. The Prophet responds, “Give the right due upon you and ask God for that (right) due to you.”

Slight differences are found in the transmissions of each student of al-A‘mash. For example, Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd differs slightly in the Prophetic response than the others, stating, “give them their right and ask God for your right” while the other students transmit, “give the right due upon you and ask God for that (right) due to you.” Ya‘lā b. ‘Ubayd includes the

¹⁶² The variant recorded by Abū Ya‘lā *Mu‘jam, Bāb al-Mīm* (#308) includes *أثره* *أما إنه سئصبيكم بعدي أثره* while Ibn Abī Shayba expands on the word *أثره* *أثره* *أمرنا نكرونها* *يعني: وأمرنا نكرونها* *Musnad, Bāb mā Rawāhu ‘Abd Allah b. Mas‘ūd ‘an al-Nabī* (#259). Ibn Ḥanbal (#4127) adds the word *fitan*, a feature also found in the variant he records through Sufyān al-Thawrī.

¹⁶³ *ستكون بعدي أثره وأمرنا نكرونها*, قالوا: يا رسول الله، كيف تأمر من أدرك منّا ذلك؟ قال: تؤدون الحق الذي عليكم، وتسالون الله الذي لكم *Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, Bāb al-Amr bil Wafā’ bi Bay‘a al-Khulafā’* (#45 [1843]).

word *yaṣna* ' not found transmitted by the other students. Ya' lā b. 'Ubayd and Wakī' also include the word *adrak* while Sufyān al-Thawrī and Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd do not.

These minor differences linked to each student evidence an independence of transmission by them. If all variants transmitted from one student were identical in wording to another, it is possible that one may have copied from the other. However, the smaller differences in wording correspond to the process of oral transmission in which slight variations of a report are to be expected.

The overall consistency of the hadith structure and wording is also reflected in the remaining variants linked to this version of the hadith. Although they are mostly single strand variants, they share the patterns found among the widely transmitting students of the common link. Slight variations like the ones described above are also found.¹⁶⁴

Many variants are recorded through several students of al-A' mash. These students consistently transmit the same hadith from their teacher. They also display slight differences, separating them from other students. It can be concluded, then, that the above hadith was transmitted by al-A' mash. In al-A' mash's version, the Prophet tells people about future selfishness and affairs they will dislike. The people ask him what should be done about it. The Prophet's response permits the behaviour although the people are told to ask God for help.

Though this hadith set is the least quietist in wording, its similarities with the other two illustrate that it does indeed belong to the same category of hadith regarding the ruler's right. It lacks the context of the other sets which clearly delineate the quietist nature of the narration. It leaves the reader with room for interpretation as it does not speak explicitly about rulers or any figures in positions of power as the other two hadith groups do. Its similarity in wording with the other two versions of the hadith about the rights that must be given to those disliked while asking God for your rights links the three sets of hadiths together. Though the rulers are not openly referred to, it is implied in the directive to give them their right. Therefore, the hadith version linked to al-A' mash belongs to the same hadith bundle as the other two versions. However, its lack of political language may indicate a depoliticization of the hadith by al-A' mash as discussed in depth in the conclusory chapter of this study.

¹⁶⁴ Notably, four hadith variants include the word *fitan* either in addition to *athara* or in its place (al-Shāshī (#688), Abū 'Awāna, and two variants in Ibn Ḥanbal (#4066 and #4127)).

An analysis of the isnads, matns and contexts of the above three common links reveal patterns among variants transmitted through the key figures of each version. A comparison of these figures also shows consistencies between them, allowing for a better understanding of what each common link transmitted. Though differences do exist within each cluster, the overall meaning remains intact. It can be concluded that each of the three CLs—al-A‘mash, Simāk and Furāt al-Qazzāz—disseminated versions of a hadith calling on people to follow rulers who may not be considered ideal. This is justified by reasoning that people have a responsibility to follow the ruler while the ruler has the responsibility of governing the people (through the phrase “give them their due” and “ask your due from Allah”/ “for Allah will ask them about theirs”/ “for on you is your responsibility and on them theirs”). These hadiths also share a connection in the common links who circulated them—all lived in Kufa in the early second century AH. The next section will take a closer look at the common links to better understand the context in which this tradition spread.

1.2 Common Links in Second Century Kufa

The above hadith pertaining to the ruler being given his ‘right’ or the people carrying out their ‘responsibilities’ in obeying him are shown to have spread from three key figures—al-A‘mash (d. 147-8/764-5), Simāk b. Ḥarb (d. 123/741) and Furāt al-Qazzāz (d. unknown)¹⁶⁵. To help understand why these hadiths proliferated so abundantly, and even the differences between them, the biographies of these figures are analysed within a socio-political framework.

1.2.1. Al-A‘mash

Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A‘mash was born around 60/679-680.¹⁶⁶ He was a Persian mawlā of the Banū Kāhil branch of the Banū Asad tribe.¹⁶⁷ Though likely born in Persia, al-A‘mash lived in Kufa and is categorized as an Iraqī figure. He is considered among the *qurrā’* or Quran reciters of Kufa. It was there that he established himself as one of the foremost authorities of hadith. Classical sources number his Prophetic narrations in the thousands.¹⁶⁸ As such, books have been written on him.¹⁶⁹ Even in modern scholarship, al-A‘mash is

¹⁶⁵ Though the exact date of the death of Furāt al-Qazzāz is unknown, he is placed among the generation of the *Tābi‘ Tābi‘īn*, the same generation as al-A‘mash. This generation lived until the mid-second century AH.

¹⁶⁶ Al-Bukhārī, *Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, *Bāb Sulaymān b. Mihrān Abū Muḥammad al-A‘mash huwa al-Asadī* (#1886).

¹⁶⁷ Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, *Bāb Sulaymān b. Mihrān Abū Muḥammad al-A‘mash Mawlā Banī Kāhil* (#4564).

¹⁶⁸ Al-Dhahabī states that he narrated 1300 hadiths, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, *Bāb Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A‘mash al-Imām Abū Muḥammad al-Asadī Mawlāhum al-Kāhilī al-Kūfī al-Hāfiẓ al-Muqri’* (#200). Other sources put the figure as high as 4000 hadiths, Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt al-Kubrā*, *Bāb al-A‘mash* (#2530).

¹⁶⁹ Shams al-Din Ibn Tūlūn, *Al-Zahr al-An‘ash fī Nawādir al-A‘mash*; Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Dubayb, *Al-A‘mash al-Zarīf*.

regarded as an imposing figure. Juynboll describes him as “the most outstanding among the common links of hadith.”¹⁷⁰ Najam Haidar states that he is one of only three transmitters to be claimed by later Sunnis, Zaydis, and Imāmis.¹⁷¹ It is therefore safe to say that al-A‘mash played a large role within the scholarly circles of second century Kufa.

With regard to the sectarian divides characteristic of Kufa, al-A‘mash (d. 148/865) likely had Shia sympathies.¹⁷² Some sources state he was born in Kufa on the Day of ‘Āshūrā’¹⁷³ when al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, the grandson of the Prophet, was killed along with several members of his family. Growing up in the aftermath of that shocking event may have shaped his views as sympathetic to the family of the Prophet and their followers. Tribal allegiances likely played a role as well. Al-A‘mash is said to have been loyal to the Banū Kāhil clan,¹⁷⁴ which had been responsible for buying and freeing him. The larger Banū Asad tribe, to which the Kāhil belonged, mostly fought in Iraq during the wars of conquest, where they made a name for themselves in the scholarly community and were known to be inclined to Shia views.¹⁷⁵ Throughout its history, the Banū Asad maintained prominent Shia characteristics. From the beginning of the proto-Shia movement during the first *fitna*, the Banū Asad allied itself with ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who moved the seat of the caliphate to Kufa.¹⁷⁶ With the death of ‘Alī’s son Ḥusayn at Karbala, the Banū Asad reportedly helped bury his body along with others of his family.¹⁷⁷

Al-A‘mash’s teacher Zayd b. Wabḥ, whose name is found in the transmission of this hadith cluster, was a companion of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and one of the first compilers of his sermons and sayings, known as *Nahj al-Balāgha*.¹⁷⁸ The Shia poet al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyārī is reported to have received help from al-A‘mash in the eulogies the poet composed for ‘Alī.¹⁷⁹ Consequently, as a client of the Banū Asad tribe with strong Shia ties, teachers who were also

¹⁷⁰ G.H.A. Juynboll, “al-A‘mash”, *EI3*.

¹⁷¹ Najam Haidar, *The Origins of the Shī‘a: Identity, Ritual, and Sacred Space in Eighth-Century Kūfa*, p. 190.

¹⁷² Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* (#4564). Ibn Qutayba labels him as an outright Shia in his *al-Ma‘ārif, Bāb al-A‘mash*.

¹⁷³ Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma‘ārif*, *Ibid*. More likely, he was born in Damavand, Tabaristan and moved to Kufa. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta‘dīl*. In either case, he would have felt the impact of the social trauma that came with the massacre at Karbala.

¹⁷⁴ “The loyalty of al-A‘mash was to the Banī Kāhil, and Kāhil is part of the Banī Asad whose loyalty was non-binding (*atāqa*).” Al-Fasawī, *al-Ma‘rifah wa al-Tārīkh, Bāb Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A‘mash* (#3).

¹⁷⁵ “Most of the Asad were absorbed by al-Kūfa; here in the course of time, they evolved from warriors to men of learning; as a result, many of those who handed down the Shia tradition were men of the Asad from al-Kūfa.” Kindermann, H. “Asad”, *EI2*.

¹⁷⁶ Djaīt, H. “al-Kūfa”, *EI2*.

¹⁷⁷ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya, Bāb Qabru al-Husayn*.

¹⁷⁸ Mehdi Mardani, *The Book of Zayd b. Wabḥ al-Juhani, among the Oldest Sources of Nahj al-Balāgha*.

¹⁷⁹ C. Brockelmann and Ch. Pellat, “al-A‘mash”, *EI2*. In addition, he reportedly spoke negatively about ‘Uthmān and Mu‘āwiya, and “when he was on the verge of death, Abū Ḥanīfa and Ibn Qays al-Ma‘āsir are meant to have beseeched him to renounce his hadiths about Ali.” Van Ess, *Theology*, pp. 272-73.

close followers of the *ahl al-bayt*, growing up in the aftermath of Karbala, and his own role in propagating a positive image of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, it is unsurprising that al-A‘mash would be perceived as being Shia himself (or at least sympathetic to the movement).

‘Alid sympathies in Kufa were strong from the time of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (especially regarding al-A‘mash’s own tribal ties). Coming from that city, it was more common than not to be seen as a supporter of the family of the Prophet and sympathetic to their cause. It comes as no surprise then that al-A‘mash was labelled among this majority. However, as the political identity of this emerging group was still in its incubation period, the features they were later known for could not be generalized as belonging to all early supporters of the *ahl al-bayt*. This is especially so when considering that many groups of Shias emerged with varying political, historical and theological beliefs in this early period. Specifically, the belief that governance must come from someone within the *ahl al-bayt*. A supporter of the ‘Alids would not automatically be against any governance outside of the ‘Alid line in this formative period.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, to be among the *Shiat ‘Alī* or linked to them at that time did not have the same meaning as being Shia in the century, or even decades, after it.

Neither were they all agreed on the issue of political participation. On the contrary, the major debate dividing the Kufan ‘Alids and their supporters in this period was that of active opposition against the rulers. The Shia leader Zayd b. ‘Alī split with his brother Muḥammad and Muḥammad’s son, Ja‘far over this issue, sparking a major division between the ‘Alids.

Within this debate, al-A‘mash is noted in the classical literature as being opposed to Zayd b. ‘Alī (although he is said to have later supported al-Nafs al-Zakiyya in his rebellion from Medina).¹⁸¹ When Zayd was gathering support for his uprising, he reached out to the prominent scholars of his day around the Muslim world. In Persia, he called on Abū Ḥanīfa who was both a wealthy merchant and influential scholar. Not only did Abū Ḥanīfa give Zayd his blessing, but he also funded his campaign.¹⁸² In Syria, the prominent scholar Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī said he would also back Zayd if al-Walīd II were to become caliph.

However, in his hometown of Kufa, it appears that Zayd could not garner the verbal support of one of its most prominent scholars—al-A‘mash. Instead, the sources claim that al-

¹⁸⁰ Van Ess states that leadership was not so much a matter of descending from one line but rather on seniority within the general family of the Prophet. In second century Kufa, “descent from Fatima still had no significance at all, and even descent from ‘Alī was not absolutely essential.” *Theology*, p. 270. The early Kufan Shia even supported a Ṭālibid (as opposed to an ‘Alid) in the figure of ‘Abd Allah b. Mu‘āwiya. *Ibid*, p. 288.

¹⁸¹ E. Kohlberg, “A‘maš, Abū Moḥammad”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

¹⁸² Zayd received some 10,000 dirhams according to classical sources. Givony Joseph. *The Murji‘a and the Theological School of Abū Ḥanīfa: A historical and ideological study*, p. 231.

A‘mash verbally admonished the ‘Alid leader for carrying out his rebellion (at least from Kufa). Al-Balādhurī reports that al-A‘mash told Zayd, “I do not trust you with the people.”¹⁸³ This response includes a second sentence that, “if I could trust 300 men [to support you], we could have made a difference.” This message implies that al-A‘mash was not against Zayd revolting but that he was against support coming from the Kufans, who likely acquired a reputation for betrayal by this time. If al-A‘mash did believe the Kufans might renege on their support for Zayd, it would help explain his own unwillingness to back Zayd’s uprising. It also points toward a pragmatic rather than idealistic political character.

Al-A‘mash was also known to have kept in the company of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. He is described as both a friend and student of Ja‘far’s as well as a student of Muḥammad al-Bāqir.¹⁸⁴ As one of the most prominent voices for quietism at that time, Ja‘far may have influenced al-A‘mash in his political leanings. It is perhaps unsurprising that al-A‘mash would take the side of his teachers in opposing Zayd. This is one possible reason for al-A‘mash’s disapproval of Zayd, although he continued to sympathize with the ‘Alids. He followed his own teachers’ views toward a more passive political position, therefore rejecting Zayd’s request for support against the Umayyads.

In other instances, too, the classical reports show that he is not opposed to the disliked rulers at all costs. Even though he is reported to have had negative exchanges with the government,¹⁸⁵ it did not necessarily translate into action. When the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd II was killed and some of Kufa’s tribal leaders asked al-A‘mash for counsel, he reportedly advised them to stay away from any political activity. “A person who is conscious of his Sustainer’s presence withholds his hand (from action), keeps quiet, and stays at home.”¹⁸⁶ Indeed, the above hadith as transmitted by al-A‘mash, which is devoid of a political character, reflects this hesitation to engage with politics.

It can be concluded that the classical sources paint al-A‘mash as a sort of politically pragmatic figure. He opposed the activist Zayd b. ‘Alī for revolting from that unstable city with its unsteady inhabitants. He was a follower of the quietists Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, the latter being the strongest voice in favour of a quietist approach, whether in or outside of Kufa. He is also reported in dialogues that illustrate a politically cautious, quietist belief in relation to the rulers of his day. But he also reportedly supported al-Nafs al-

¹⁸³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf, Bāb Amara Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Husayn* (#16).

¹⁸⁴ Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, #200.

¹⁸⁵ It is reported that in one instance, the governor of Kufa asked al-A‘mash to write him a hadith and sent him money for it. Al-A‘mash responds tersely, stating that hadiths are not for sale (though he kept the money). Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, #16.

Zakiyya's uprising from Medina, spoke out against the rulers when forced to interact with them, and hinted at support for Zayd had he a larger following. These different sides to al-A'mash do not allow for his categorization as either an activist or quietist, but rather a pragmatist.

The hadith analysis aids in understanding the political character of al-A'mash. The version of the hadith he is responsible for narrating does not include the overt quietism found in the other two versions. This may indicate a covert political activism in which he depoliticizes a quietist hadith. More likely, it shows a neutral position in which he is neither activist nor quietist, but distances himself from political discourse.¹⁸⁷ While he cannot be said to have been a politically neutral figure, as his prominence forced him into the political arena at times, the depoliticized hadith transmitted by him indicates an aversion to politics.

1.2.2. Simāk b. Ḥarb

Another Kufan hadith transmitter, Simāk b. Ḥarb b. Aws al-Dhuhlī al-Bakrī (d. 123/741) was a Successor from the generation before al-A'mash. Simāk died during the rule of the Caliph Hishām,¹⁸⁸ meaning he lived his entire life (or at least his adult life) under Umayyad rule.

His reputation as transmitter in the biographical sources varies. Some state he was strong and reliable. He came from a family of hadith transmitters including his brothers Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm as well as his son Sa'īd, all of whom transmitted from one another. However, the majority opinion inclines toward a view of Simāk as weak and possibly senile.¹⁸⁹ Despite his family credentials, his standing in classical scholarship is mostly negative, and he is described as giving inconsistent hadiths, unique isnads found nowhere else, problematic hadiths, and simply wrong hadiths.¹⁹⁰

As discussed in the introductory chapter, Kufa was a highly politicized city, with much of the scholarly community embroiled in various political events. In contrast to al-A'mash, who was described as having Shia tendencies and reported verbal exchanges with various political figures, Simāk is discussed little in the sources with regard to a political life. His low profile may be attributed in part to his lesser role as transmitter in comparison to al-A'mash and the thousands of transmissions linked to him. Because Simāk was not viewed as important in the science of hadith as al-A'mash or as reliable a transmitter, later biographers

¹⁸⁷ He is also found depoliticizing one of the activist hadiths analysed in this study.

¹⁸⁸ Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhir Umalā al-Amsār wa A'lam Fuqahā al-Aqtār*, Bāb Simāk b. Ḥarb Abū al-Mughīra Māt fī Akhar Wilāya Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (#840).

¹⁸⁹ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-A'lam al-Nubulā*, Bāb Simāk b. Ḥarb b. Aws al-Dhuhlī al-Bakrī (#109).

¹⁹⁰ Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I'tidāl fī Naqd al-Rijāl*, Bāb Simāk b. Ḥarb Abū al-Mughīra al-Hudhlī al-Kufī (#3548).

likely took less interest in him. As a result, the biographical sources do not carry as much information about him or his political views (or lack thereof).

With regard to social status, Simāk came from a higher class than al-A‘mash. Al-A‘mash was a slave who became a client of one of the Arab tribes whose status rose from his knowledge of the Islamic sciences—in both Quran and Hadith.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, Simāk was a member of the Banū Dhuhl, a clan with many scholars and *kubarā*.¹⁹² His uncle, Simāk b. Makhlama al-Asadī, was a Companion of the Prophet and among a delegation of five from Kufa who had met with ‘Umar b. al-Khattāb.¹⁹³ The elder Simāk even had a mosque named after him in Kufa.¹⁹⁴ Simāk’s family and clan ties show him to be from among the higher status of those in early Muslim society.

This would suggest a tie to the *Ashrāf*—the tribal elites of Kufa. As discussed in this study’s introductory chapter, the *Ashrāf* held power in the previous century with the founding and growth of the city and mostly allied with the Umayyads. They lost their power when they joined in the revolt of a contender to the Umayyad rulers—Ibn al-Ash‘ath. With the failure of the revolt of Ibn al-Ash‘ath, the surviving *Ashrāf* scattered and no longer belonged as a class, making it difficult to ascribe figures of the second century to them. However, Simāk was alive when they were still functioning and likely belonged within their tribal order. Simāk also lived to see their downfall, the result of which was the hunting down and killing of many of its members. Several notable and revered figures suffered as a result of this revolt. Witnessing the aftermath of this brutal suppression may have had an impact on Simāk. Like the deflated morale that other revolts impressed on the early Muslims, it may be that the failure of Ibn al-Ash‘ath and the fall of the *Ashrāf* with him left an indelible mark on Simāk, who lived another forty years past the uprising.

However, Simāk does not appear to have been well known enough to be of interest to the authorities. Little information is given about Simāk’s relationship with the government. One exchange is reported in the classical sources, taking place toward the end of Simāk’s life between himself and the governor of Iraq at the time, Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī. Yūsuf asks Simāk for the meaning of two technical terms used by one of his administrators which Simāk

¹⁹¹ Al-A‘mash himself reportedly stated that he would have no social standing without Islam. “If not for the Quran and the knowledge that I have, I would have been a shopkeeper of Kufa.” Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar, Bāb al-A‘mash* (#941).

¹⁹² *Al-Ansāb li al-Sam‘āni, Bāb al-Dhuhlī* (#1706).

¹⁹³ Ibn ‘Abd al-Birr, *al-Isti‘āb fī Ma‘rifā al-Ashāb*.

¹⁹⁴ Van Ess, *Theology*, p. 301, fn 5.

is able to answer.¹⁹⁵ This shows a relationship between the two that, if not exactly friendly, is at least neutral. The Umayyad governor (who was responsible for the suppression of the revolt of Zayd b. ‘Alī) is asking Simāk for information, which he freely gives. In contrast, al-A‘mash has his own encounter with a governor, whom he ridicules and refuses to comply with. It is within this general context of suppression of Simāk’s own social class and his later cooperation with Umayyad authorities that a quietist hadith is traced to him. This hadith presents a dismissive tone toward unjust rulers, stating that “on them is their burden and on you (people) is yours”.

To conclude, based on the time and place in which he lived, as well as his belonging to the higher classes of Kufa, it is likely that Simāk belonged to the *Ashrāf*. He also witnessed various revolts in his lifetime which may have shaped his views on the price of revolution. Especially with the brutal suppression of the once-powerful *Ashrāf*, Simāk was likely aware that should any formidable contenders challenge Umayyad authority, the only authority he knew in his life, they would most likely be ruthlessly cut down. Consequently, though no political views can be determined from the classical sources about the life of Simāk, he lived in a time and place of violence resulting from contenders to the governance of the Muslim world. Kufa served as a base for many factions and opposing groups to the Umayyad rulers (notably the early ‘Alids). The legacy of the *Ashrāf* served as further proof of the folly of revolt. These various factors may have inclined Simāk toward a more politically quietist position vis-à-vis the rulers of his age.

1.2.3. Furāt al-Qazzāz

Furāt al-Qazzāz is another Iraqi figure from the same generation as al-A‘mash. He was born in Basra but moved to Kufa and is categorized as a Kufan figure.¹⁹⁶ Little information is given about his life. There is also confusion in his name. Though he is mostly known as Furāt al-Qazzāz he is also given the names Furāt b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Furāt b. ‘Abdullāh, and Furāt b. Abī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazzāz.¹⁹⁷ What is more certain is that he, like Simāk, was part of the Arab tribal structure, having come from one of the largest Arabian tribes of the time, the Tamīm.

¹⁹⁵ The governor asks Simāk for the meanings of the terms “khuq” and “luq”. Simāk answers that khuq “signifies a low ground, and lukk (sic) a high one.” *Ibn Khallikan’s Biographical Dictionary*, trans. Bn Mac Guckin De Slane, vol. 4, p. 444.

¹⁹⁶ Akram b. Muḥammad Ziyāda, *Mu‘jam al-Saghīr li-Rawā al-Imām ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Bāb al-Fā’ al-Muwaḥḥada: Man Ismuhu Faraj* (#3469).

¹⁹⁷ The last of these names is considered the most accurate and the first is stated to be altogether incorrect. Ibn Kathir, *Jamī‘ al-Masānīd wa al-Sunan, Bāb Sulaymān b. Ziyād ‘anhu* (#6332, fn 2).

Like Simāk, he does not seem to have drawn attention to himself. It is likely that his minor role in hadith transmission did not garner him as much attention as al-A‘mash or even Simāk. He is known for having transmitted few hadiths and is undisputed as a reliable transmitter in the classical Sunni sources.¹⁹⁸ Though few, his transmissions are also quite well known. Namely, a hadith on the signs of the Day of Judgment is found on dozens of occasions throughout the hadith literature. His son Ḥasan, who transmits from Furāt, was a student of Abū Ḥanīfa.¹⁹⁹ Some of Furāt’s more famous students include Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, Sufyān al-Thawrī, and Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, though he is said to have transmitted no more than ten hadiths.²⁰⁰

The obscurity of his name in narrations does not leave the reader with much idea as to his background. However, he is associated with a couple of hadiths on the merits of the early rulers. One is a Prophetic hadith describing the closeness of Abū Bakr to the Prophet.²⁰¹ The other is a saying from the fourth ruler of the Muslims, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who speaks about the death of ‘Uthmān, describing him as among “the best of people”.²⁰² From these hadiths, it is safe to say Furāt did not belong to the early ‘Alids. Indeed, there is consensus in the classical Sunni hadith sources of his validity as a transmitter. This further supports the notion that he was not tainted with association in any group that would be perceived by the *ahl al-sunna* as negative (which was nearly all the early minority groups).²⁰³

The background of Furāt al-Qazzāz coupled with the hadiths connected to him perhaps indicate political leanings best associated with what would later be known as the *ahl al-sunna*. The hadiths he relates espouse the merits of the early rulers as well as cautioning people not to divide the community. Add to this the above hadith which tells people to give the ruler what is due to him (i.e. obedience), for God will ask the ruler what is due from him (i.e. just rule). These views parallel later Sunni historical and political interpretations. It is possible that Furāt al-Qazzāz came from the line of traditionists and scholars preceding the Sunni schools of thought and therefore kept to a quietist political doctrine.

Though each of the above common links had varying degrees of importance within hadith scholarship, they share an important feature—all three lived in Kufa around the same

¹⁹⁸ Ibn Abī Hatim, *al-Jarh wa al-Ta‘dīl, Bāb Furāt* (#451).

¹⁹⁹ *Usul al-Dīn ‘ind al-Imam Abū Ḥanīfa, Bāb al-Mabḥath al-Thānī: Hayātih al-‘Ilmiyya* (#3).

²⁰⁰ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī Asma al-Rijāl, Furāt b. Abī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazzāz al-Tamīmī* (#4711).

²⁰¹ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq, Bāb ‘Abd Allah wa Yuqāl ‘Atīq b. ‘Uthmān b. Quḥāfa* (#6394).

²⁰² Abū Nu‘aym, *Al-Mustadrak ‘ala al-Ṣaḥīḥayn lil Ḥākim, Bāb Dhakara Maqṭal Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān* (#4571). This hadith is rare and likely a later addition into the biographies of the Companions.

²⁰³ The Shia were generally part of this classification of tainted groups. Even in the case of al-A‘mash, an imposing figure of hadith, later scholars were uncomfortable with his association as Shia (or Shia leaning). Al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) even describes him as a Sunni (lit. *Ṣāḥib Sunna*), *Tārīkh* #200.

time. Considering that hadiths theoretically go back to the Prophet, it is curious that these hadiths, which are transmitted through different Companions, can be traced to the same period (eighth century) and same area (Kufa) but no further. A closer look into the political landscape of the time also shows an intense and abnormal amount of political activity. However, the above figures are not associated with any activist elements in Kufa. On the contrary, when the common links are tied to any group, those groups hold to quietist political positions.

1.3 Conclusion

This chapter delved into three versions of the same quietist hadith which calls on people to give the ruler his right (to be obeyed). Though these hadiths are presented as three separate occasions with the Prophet and with three different Companions, they relay the same message and are linked to three figures whose lives spanned the same political environment. These common links—al-A‘mash, Simāk b. Ḥarb, and Furāt al-Qazzāz—were discovered through the *isnad-cum-matn* approach of hadith analysis. Though these common links had different social backgrounds as well as varying degrees of importance in the science of hadith (and within the overall scholarly community), they all lived in the same tumultuous place and time—the Iraqi city of Kufa in the early second century AH.

A closer look into this place and period brings to light very interesting developments with regard to the political culture of the time. Not only were the issues of quietism and activism front and centre of Kufan society, those groups propagating a quietist approach can be seen in one, and perhaps all, of the above common links. In the case of al-A‘mash, we find a close association with Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, who was perhaps the most influential voice for quietism of his time. With Simāk and Furāt, there may have been a social motivation as they belonged to the class of Arab tribes who mainly wished to maintain order and stability and were therefore against the activist movements attempting to overthrow the Umayyad seat in Damascus. None of the common links are associated with the Kufan proponents of activism.

The sources available in the study of quietism in early Islamic history do not give definitive answers as to the origins of this hadith. However, an analysis of these hadiths traces them back to Kufa within this early period of political activity. Neither is there enough information as to the motivations for the dissemination of these hadiths by the common links identified above. But their backgrounds and political positions within the overall structure of Kufan society in which they lived suggest a strong leaning toward political quietism.

Chapter 2: As Long as He Prays

One of the most prominent hadiths supporting political quietism requires obedience to the praying ruler. Early Muslim scholars are found on numerous occasions linking prayer with the unjust ruler. The scholars of the classical period advocating political quietism, gradually incorporating it into conventional wisdom, include Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933), and al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013). These scholars connect the act of prayer with that of obedience to the ruler. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal emphasizes the hadiths calling on people to be patient with an unjust ruler, stating that the Friday and Eid prayers must be prayed behind them.²⁰⁴ Al-Ṭaḥāwī states that the unjust ruler should be prayed for²⁰⁵ and al-Bāqillānī reasons that the hadith calling on worshippers to pray behind every person (whether virtuous or perverted) extends to obedience to the flawed, oppressive ruler.²⁰⁶

This hadith is specifically referenced by classical Muslim scholars in support of political quietism. Ibn al-Munāṣif (d. 620/1220),²⁰⁷ Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328),²⁰⁸ and Ibn al-Qayyim (d. 751/1350)²⁰⁹ are some of the prominent scholars throughout the classical period to cite this hadith. They argue that Muslims cannot fight against their tyrannical rulers. Rather, they advise patience and warn that fighting against them may lead to greater evil, doing more harm than good. All cite the following hadith in support of this mainstream Sunni position.

2.1 Hadith Analysis

The following hadith bundle serves as the religious justification for obedience to the ruler on the condition that he prays. In it, the Prophet speaks about good and bad rulers. He is then asked whether bad rulers should be overthrown. He responds, “no, not as long as they pray”.

²⁰⁴ Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Uṣūl al-Sunna, Bāb Wujūb Ṭā‘a Wilā al-Amr wa al-Rad ‘alā man Abāḥ*.

²⁰⁵ “We do not recognize the rebellion against our leader or those in charge of our affairs even if they are unjust, nor do we wish evil for them, nor do we refuse to follow them. We hold that obedience to them is part of obedience to Allah the Exalted and therefore obligatory as long as they do not command us to commit sins. We pray for their right guidance and pardon.” *The Creed of al-Ṭaḥāwī*, point 81.

²⁰⁶ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī, *Al-Tamhīd al-Awā‘il wa Talkhīṣ al-Dalā‘il: Bāb Dhakara mā Yūjab khal‘ al-Imām wa Suqūt Farḍ Ṭā‘atih*.

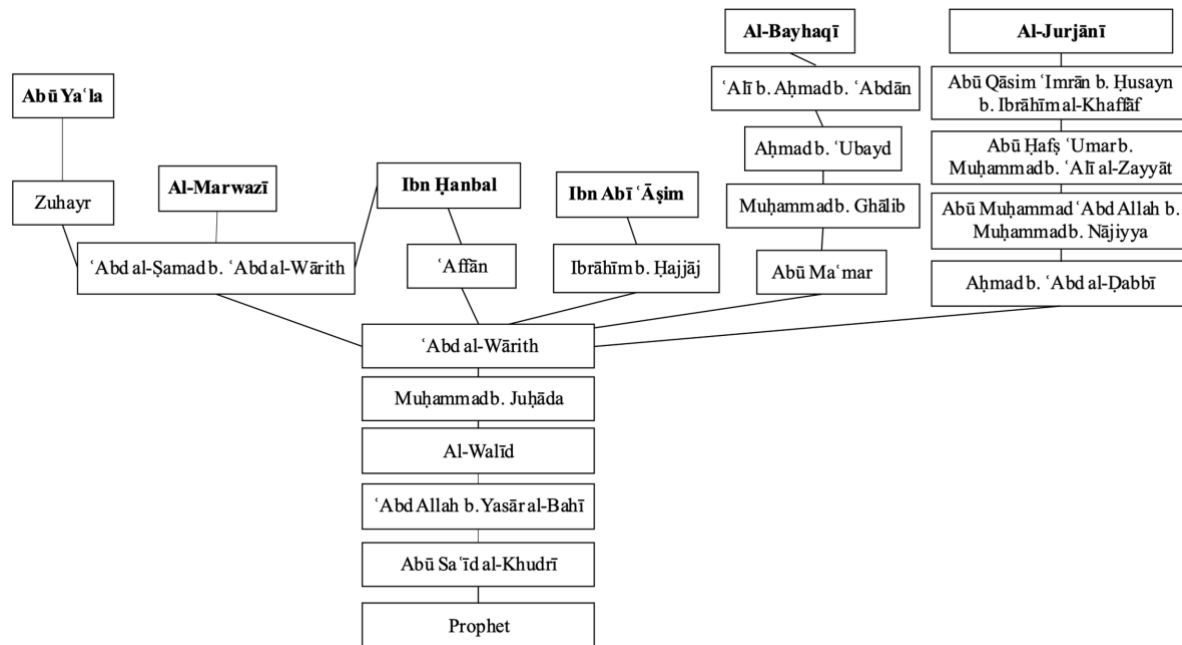
²⁰⁷ Muḥammad b. Isa b. al-Munāṣif, *Al-Injād fī Abwāb al-Jihād, Bāb al-‘Ashir*.

²⁰⁸ In addition to this hadith, Ibn Taymiyya also cites the ‘give them their rights’ hadith to support tolerance toward tyrants and condemn those Muslims who fight the rulers (Kharijites, Mu‘tazilites, and Shia). *Al-Istiqāma, Faṣl fī-l Amr bi-l Ma‘rūf wa-l Nahī ‘an al-Munkar*.

²⁰⁹ He states, “censuring [the transgressions] of the kings and the ones in authority by coming out to fight against them is the basis and foundation of every evil and every tribulation till the end of time.” Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *I‘lām al-Muwaqqi‘īn ‘an Rabb al-‘Ālamīn*.

This hadith is found in the works of 27 collectors, amounting to over 90 chains of transmission. Nearly all these chains are transmitted through one of three common links (CLs)—Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), Muslim b. Qaraḏa al-Ashja'ī (d. unknown), and 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd (d. 180/796).²¹⁰ The first two are from the Successor generation while the third lived two generations later. It is perhaps because of the generational gap that the hadiths transmitted via 'Abd al-Wārith are much less in number²¹¹ than the other two common links.²¹² Ḥasan and 'Abd al-Wārith are both from the Iraqi city of Baṣra while Muslim b. Qaraḏa is Syrian. All three common links relay the same message using similar language, discussed in the following section.

2.1.1 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd as CL



²¹⁰ Only one variant was found with a different chain of transmission, which provides a Kufan isnad: al-Bazzār ← Muḥammad b. Ma'mar ← Rawḥ b. 'Ubāda ← Ḥātim b. Abī Ṣaghīra ← Simāk b. Ḥarb ← 'Abd Allah b. Khabbāb ← Khabbāb ← Prophet. *Musnad al-Bazzār, Bāb 'Abd Allah b. Khubāb 'an Abīhi Khubāb* (#2123).

²¹¹ Seven variants are found in the works of six collectors linked to 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd: Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *Al-Sunna, Bāb fī Dhakara al-Sam' wa al-Ṭā'a* (#1077); Al-Marwazī, *Ta'zīm Qadar al-Salāt, Bāb Dhakara al-Nahī 'an Qatl al-Muṣallīn* (#954); Abū Ya'la, *Musnad, Musnad Abī Sa'īd al-Khudrī* (#1300); al-Bayhaqī, *Sha'b al-Imān, Bāb al-Tamsik bimā 'alayhi al-Jamā'a* (#7100); al-Shajarī, *Tartīb al-Amālī al-Khamīsiyya, Bāb fī Dhakara Ākhar al-Zamān wa Ashrāṭ al-Sā'a* (#2831); and two chains of transmission collected by Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad, Musnad Abī Sa'īd al-Khudrī* (#11224). The variants linked to Muslim b. Qaraḏa are 35 while those linked to Ḥasan are 45.

²¹² As Ḥasan came from the same city as 'Abd al-Wārith and was a more prominent, highly reputed scholar from an earlier period, his isnad was more attractive to hadith transmitters. This would account for the much smaller number of transmissions recorded through 'Abd al-Wārith.

The hadiths associated with ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd²¹³ calling for obedience to a ruler who prays state something like the following:

Prophet: You will have rulers who comfort hearts and put bodies at ease.²¹⁴ Then you will have rulers who disgust hearts and cause bodies to quiver [in fear].

They said: Do we not fight them, O Messenger of God?

He replied: No, not as long as they uphold the prayer.²¹⁵

All hadiths follow this same basic structure. However, there are some discrepancies in wording. These include a reverse order of phrases in the hadith,²¹⁶ which are not linked to any particular transmitter. It is possible that ‘Abd al-Wārith, or more likely his son ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Wārith, narrated the hadith with both phrase orders.²¹⁷

Additionally, the variant recorded by al-Marwazī (d. 294/906)²¹⁸ is different from the other variants of this cluster. It includes an element linked only to a transmitter found under the CL Muslim b. Qaraza.²¹⁹ No other variant associated with ‘Abd al-Wārith includes this element. Here the wording particular to one version of the hadith is found in another. This is likely due to the collector’s error. As al-Marwazī records both versions of the hadith (one from the ‘Abd al-Wārith cluster and one from Muslim b. Qaraza), this shift in wording likely comes from him.

Neither is this a singular case of wording misassociation from al-Marwazī. He is again found misplacing wording of one common link with another. He records a phrase not found in the other variants under ‘Abd al-Wārith but is a feature in those linked to Ḥasan al-

²¹³ Recorded by al-Marwazī, *Ta‘zīm Qadar al-Salāt: Bāb Dhakara al-Nahī ‘an Qatl al-Musallīn wa Ibāḥa* (#954); Abū Ya‘la, *Musnad Abū Ya‘la: Musnad Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī* (#1300); and Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad: Musnad Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī* (#11224).

²¹⁴ Al-Shajarī (d. 499), states *sayalīkum man* in place of *yakūnu ‘alaykum amarā’*. This is not surprising considering the hadith collection dates to the late fifth century—between two and three hundred years after the time of the other hadith collectors.

²¹⁵ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: "يَكُونُ عَلَيْكُمْ أَمْرَاءُ تَطْمِنُنُ إِلَيْهِمُ الْقُلُوبُ، وَتَلِينُ لَهُمُ الْجُلُودُ، ثُمَّ يَكُونُ عَلَيْكُمْ أَمْرَاءُ تَسْمِنُنُ مِنْهُمْ الْقُلُوبُ، وَتَقْسَعُرُ مِنْهُمْ الْجُلُودُ" فَقَالَ رَجُلٌ: أَنْقَاتِلَهُمْ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ؟ قَالَ: "لَا مَا أَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ". *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī*.

²¹⁶ For example, *tashma‘iz minhum al-qulūb* may come before or after *taqsha‘ir minhum al-julūd*.

²¹⁷ ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Wārith (d. 206/7), the son of the common link, transmits to three students, two of which are the hadith collectors Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Marwazī. However, their phrase orders differ from one another—Abū Ya‘la and al-Marwazī record the same pattern while Ibn Ḥanbal’s variant inverts the phrases. It is unlikely that the collectors would mistakenly invert the phrases, making ‘Abd al-Ṣamad responsible for this discrepancy.

²¹⁸ Al-Marwazī ← Ishāq ← ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Wārith

²¹⁹ These hadiths specify fighting by the sword found in three variants of a transmitter in the bundle under Muslim b. Qaraza, all of which have the isnad: Ishāq ← ‘Isā b. Yūnus ← Al-Awzā‘ī ← Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir ← Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān ← Muslim b. Qaraza (recorded by Muslim (#65 [1855]), Abū ‘Awāna (#7186) and al-Marwazī (#951)). This chain of transmission is analysed on the section under Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān below.

Baṣrī.²²⁰ As these errors in word patterns are found in no other sources, it can be concluded that al-Marwazī is responsible for the mix-up of language found in the variant recorded by him.

In short, no patterns emerge linking differences in wording to the students of ‘Abd al-Wārith. It is likely that the minor inconsistencies found in the variants originate from either him or his son. However, these minor differences change little in the overall message of the hadith, which states that there will be good rulers who will generate feelings of comfort and ease in people and bad rulers who will generate feelings of disgust and fear. When the Prophet is asked about fighting the latter group, he responds in the negative, stating that they cannot be combatted as long as they uphold the prayer. It can be concluded that ‘Abd al-Wārith transmitted the hadith with the structure and meaning given above.

2.1.2. Muslim b. Qarāza al-Ashja‘ī as CL
Muslim b. Qarāza transmits the hadith about the ruler who prays from his uncle,²²¹ the Companion ‘Awf b. Mālik al-Ashja‘ī. 35 isnads are associated with this line of transmission found in the works of 15 collectors.²²² Two students transmit this hadith from Muslim b. Qarāza—Rabī‘a b. Yazīd and Abū al-Miqdām Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān. Another two students transmit from Rabī‘a and Ruzayq each.

The hadiths do not differ markedly from one another, strengthening its association to Muslim b. Qarāza as common link. A typical hadith in this cluster states,

Prophet: The best of your leaders are those whom you love and who love you and you pray for and who pray for you. And the worst of your leaders are the ones you hate and who hate you, and you curse and who curse you.
They said: “Should we not overthrow them?”

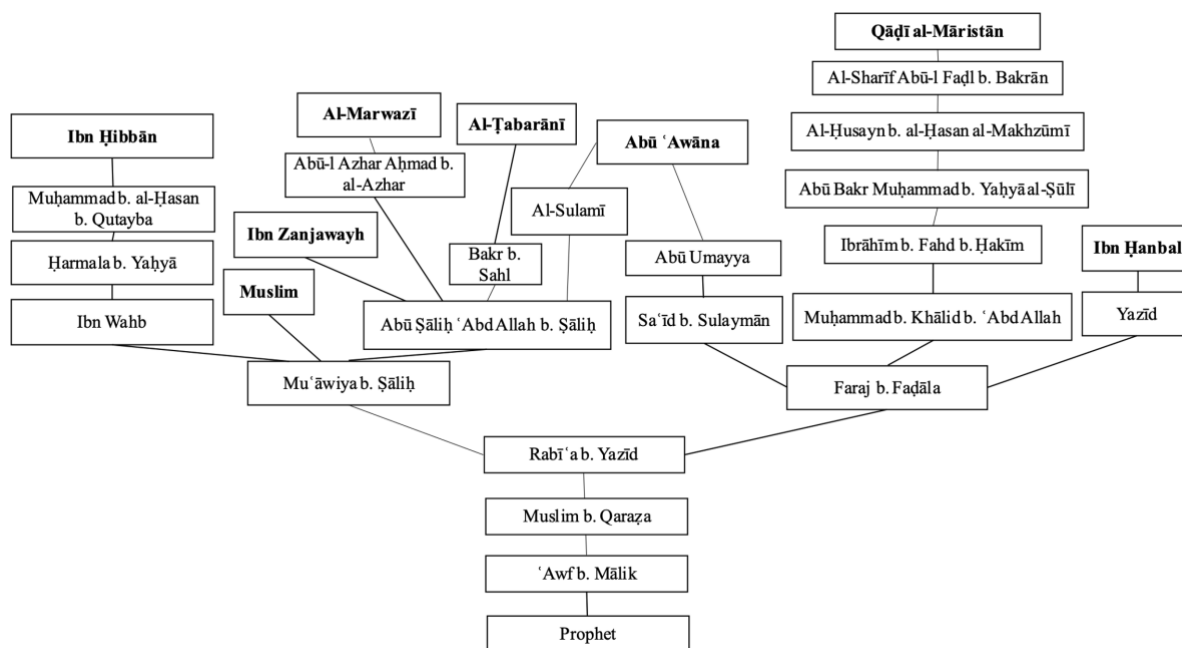
²²⁰ The Prophetic answer given to the question of fighting the unjust ruler is different in the variant recorded by al-Marwazī. Whereas all other variants under to ‘Abd al-Wārith state *lā mā aqāmū al-salāt*, this variant states *lā mā sallaw*, found in variants linked to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, discussed in his bundle analysis below.

²²¹ Or cousin, depending on the sources. Considering the generational gap, the relation was more likely uncle-nephew.

²²² They are Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb Khīyār al-A‘imma wa Shirārihim* (#1855, #65 [1855], #66 [1855]); Ibn Rāhawayh, *Musnad*, *Bāb mā yarwī ‘an ahl al-Kufa al-Sha‘bī* (#1895); Al-Marwazī, *Ta‘zīm Qadar al-Salāt*, *Bāb Dhakara al-Nahī ‘an Qatī al-Muṣallīn* (#951-953); Ibn Zanjawayh, *Al-Amwāl*, *Bāb al-Tashdīd fī Muḥāriqa al-A‘imma wa al-Khurūj* (#48); Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, *Bāb Ḥadīth ‘Awf b. Mālik al-Ashja‘ī al-Anṣārī* (#23981 and #23999); Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *Al-Sunna*, *Bāb fī Dhakara al-Sam‘ wa al-Ṭā‘a* (#1072); Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *Al-Fitan*, *Bāb al-‘Iṣma min al-Fitan wa mā Yastahib fīhā min* (#382); Al-Bazzār, *Musnad*, *Bāb min Ḥadīth ‘Awf b. Mālik al-Ashja‘ī* (#2752); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kubrā*, *Bāb al-Ṣabr ‘alā Azā Yaṣībīhi min Jahha Imāmihi* (#16623); Al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, *Bāb fī al-Ṭā‘a wa Luzūm al-Jamā‘a* (#2839); Al-Ajarī, *Al-Sharī‘a*, *Bāb fī al-Sam‘ wa al-Ṭā‘a liman Walī Amr* (#72), Abū ‘Awāna, *Mustakhraj*, *Bāb Bayān al-Khabar al-Mawjib Naqḍ mā yatī al-Wālī* (#7182-7188), Ibn Hibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb Dhakara al-Zajār ‘an al-Khurūj ‘alā Umarā’ al-Sū’* (#4589); al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr*, *Bāb Muslim b. Qarāza al-Ash‘arī ‘an ‘Awf b. Mālik* (#115-117); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyīn*, *Bāb Yazīd ‘an Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān* (#637) and *Bāb Ibn Jābir ‘an Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān* (#586 and 587); Qāḍī al-Māristān, *Mashaykha*, *Bāb al-Sharīf Abū al-Faḍl ‘Abbās b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās* (#597).

He said: “No, not as long as they establish the prayer among you. If you find anything detestable in them, you should hate their administration but do not withdraw yourselves from their obedience.”²²³

Rabī‘a b. Yazīd



Rabī‘a b. Yazīd transmits from Muslim b. Qaraḥa to two students, totalling nine variants.²²⁴

All variants follow the above hadith structure with some wording unique to Rabī‘a b. Yazīd.

The transmissions linked to Rabī‘a specify that the ruler not to be fought is the one who prays the five daily prayers. The two students of Rabī‘a also transmit wording unique to each of them. The variants transmitted via Faraj b. Faḍāla state specifically *mā ṣallaw lakum al-khams* while those transmitted through Mu‘āwiya b. Šāliḥ state *mā aqāmu al-ṣalawāt/al-ṣalāt al-khams*. These minor, consistent differences in wording illustrate the natural progression of oral transmission and strengthen the likelihood that this hadith was narrated as the chain of transmission indicates.

In addition, Rabī‘a b. Yazīd begins the hadith with, “The best of you and the best of your leaders...” (*khiyārukum wa khiyāru a’immatikum*) as opposed to only “The best of your leaders...” (*khiyāru a’immatikum*) found in the variants through the other student of Muslim

²²³ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «خِيَارُ أَيْمَتِكُمُ الَّذِينَ تُحِبُّونَهُمْ وَيُحِبُّونَكُمْ، وَتُصَلُّونَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَيُصَلُّونَ عَلَيْكُمْ، وَشِرَارُ أَيْمَتِكُمُ الَّذِينَ تُبْغِضُونَهُمْ وَيُبْغِضُونَكُمْ، وَتَلْعَنُونَهُمْ وَيُلْعَنُونَكُمْ» فَلَمَّا: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، أَفَلَا نُنَابِدُهُمْ عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ؟ قَالَ: «لَا مَا أَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ فِيكُمْ وَمَنْ وُلِيَ عَلَيْهِ وَالِا فَرَأَى مِنْهُ شَيْئًا مِنْ وَبْغِضُونَكُمْ، وَتَلْعَنُونَهُمْ وَيُلْعَنُونَكُمْ» فَلَمَّا: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، أَفَلَا نُنَابِدُهُمْ عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ؟ قَالَ: «لَا مَا أَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ فِيكُمْ وَمَنْ وُلِيَ عَلَيْهِ وَالِا فَرَأَى مِنْهُ شَيْئًا مِنْ وَبْغِضُونَهُمْ وَيُبْغِضُونَكُمْ، وَتَلْعَنُونَهُمْ وَيُلْعَنُونَكُمْ». مغصبة الله، فليكره ما يأتي من مغصبة الله، ولا ينزع يدا من طاعة». Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr* (#117).

²²⁴ They are found in the works of eight collectors: Muslim (#1855), Ibn Ḥanbal (#23999), Ibn Zanjawayh (#48), al-Marwazī (#953), al-Ṭabarānī (#115), Abū ‘Awāna (#7187 and #7188), Ibn Ḥibbān (#4589) and Qādī al-Māristān (#597).

b. Qaraḏa.²²⁵ Additionally, *shirārukum wa shirāru a'immatikum* is found in the variants recorded through Rabī' a b. Yazīd,²²⁶ giving the variants narrated through him a clarification in which the Prophet addresses the people in addition to the rulers.

The above analysis finds that Rabī' a b. Yazīd was a consistent narrator responsible for the transmission of a hadith in which the Prophet describes the best and worst kinds of rulers. When asked if the worst rulers should be overthrown, the Prophet responds in the negative so long as they pray. Two unique features are associated with Rabī' a b. Yazīd. The first includes a specification that the rulers pray the five (daily Islamic) prayers. The second feature clarifies that the Prophet addresses not only the best and worst leaders but also the best and worst people. Together, these features give shape to Rabī' a's transmissions which relay the same overall message and the same structure as the other student of the common link, Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān. The unique phrases transmitted by Rabī' a b. Yazīd maintain his independence of Ruzayq.

Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān

Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān transmits the above hadith from Muslim b. Qaraḏa to two students—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir and Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir.²²⁷ There are 26 variants linked to Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān, 19 of which are related through 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd. Another seven chains of transmission go through Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir.²²⁸

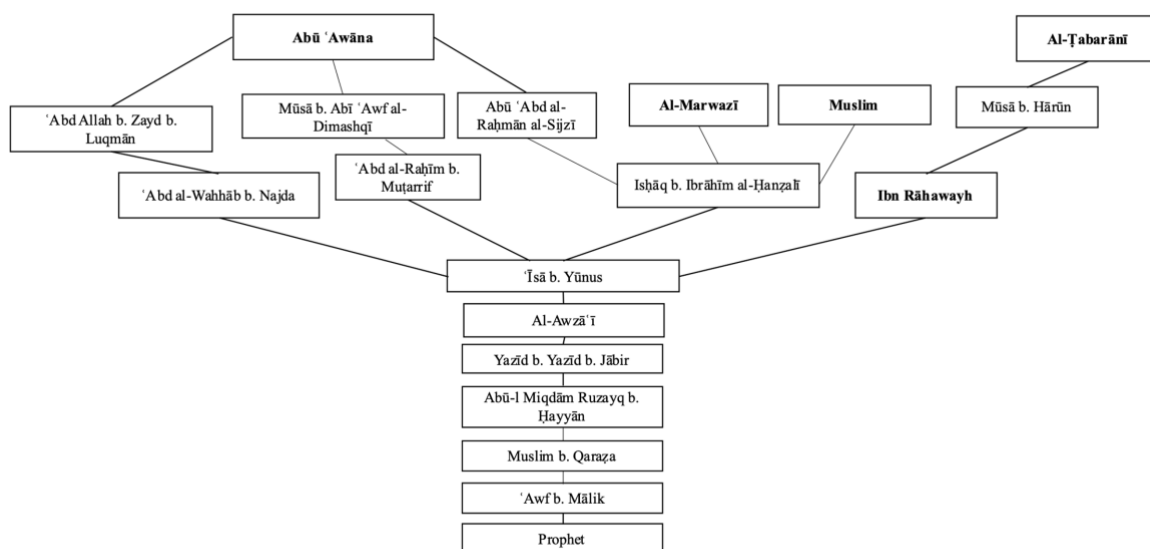
Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir

²²⁵ All variants except Abū 'Awāna include "*khiyārukum*" in the matn. Abū 'Awāna records two variants, one from each of Rabī' a's students (#7187 and #7188). Both variants omit part of the matn. The first omits the abovementioned "*khiyārukum*" while the second omits everything except "*khiyārukum wa khiyāru a'immatikum alladhīna yuḥibbūnakum wa tuḥibbūnahum*" (خِيَارُكُمْ وَخِيَارُ الَّذِينَ يُحِبُّونَكُمْ وَتُحِبُّونَهُمْ) and ends there. The omission possibly results from Abū 'Awāna or, more likely, is a typographical error that took place in the process of publishing his *Mustakhraj*.

²²⁶ One variant recorded in al-Marwazī does not include the word *shirārukum*, likely a typographical error as *wa shirāru a'immatikum* is included in the text.

²²⁷ As the students of Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān are brothers and have more than one name attributed to them (sometimes nicknames are used, sometimes names are shortened), some of the chains of transmission are unclear and therefore omitted from analysis.

²²⁸ One isnad gives the name Yazīd b. Jābir: Ibn Rāhawayh ← 'Īsā b. Yūnus ← Al-Awzā'ī ← Yazīd b. Jābir (#1895). However, as the same chain of transmission is recorded by four other collectors with the name of Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir, it is likely that the collector Ibn Rāhawayh was either mistaken in the name of the transmitter or that the omitted "Yazīd" was a typographical error. Since al-Ṭabarānī recorded the same chain of transmission through Ibn Rāhawayh with the name Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir, it is more likely the latter. It can be assumed that the one variant given with the name of Yazīd b. Jābir is a typographical mistake for the name Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir (who is found in the same chain of transmission linked to six other variants.)



There are unique features to the transmissions through both students. Most notably, variants linked to Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir discuss the overthrow of the ruler by the sword (*bi-sayf*).²²⁹ This wording is found nowhere else in the hadith cluster²³⁰ which describes the manner in which the unjust ruler cannot be fought. Other features of these variants include the phrase “hate their deeds” (*fakrahū ‘amalahu*) in describing the disliked actions of the ruler. All variants also use the same wording in the Prophetic response to the rulers’ overthrow.²³¹ These variants also lack phrases found in other lines of transmission.²³² As these examples illustrate, the hadith variants transmitted via Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir have their own distinct characteristics that separate them from the variants so far analysed as well as those transmitted through his brother, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

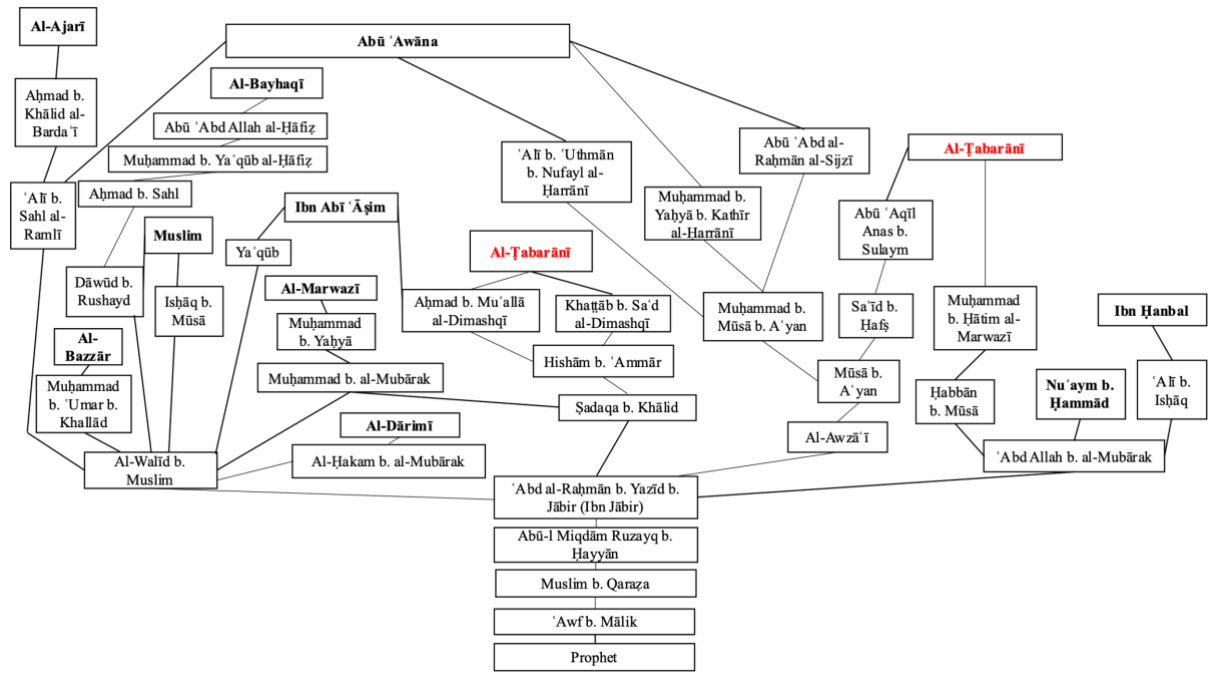
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir

²²⁹ Al-Ṭabarānī does not include this unique wording (#116).

²³⁰ Except for one variant recorded by al-Marwazī discussed in the section on ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd above, which is likely the collector’s mistake.

²³¹ “no, as long as they establish the prayer among you” (*lā mā aqāmū fikum al-ṣalāt*). The variant recorded in al-Ṭabarānī inverts the last two words (*lā mā aqāmū al-ṣalāt fikum*).

²³² Most variants do not include the phrase “you pray for them and they pray for you” (*tuṣallūna ‘alayhim wa yuṣallūna ‘alaykum*). Only two variants maintain this wording, both transmitted via Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanzalī (Al-Marwazī #951 and Abū ‘Awāna #7182). One variant recorded in al-Ṭabarānī substitutes the phrase for *wa tad’ūn Allah lahum wa yad’ūn Allah lakum* (#116). As the same chain of transmission is found in Ibn Rāhawayh without the phrase, it is possible that it was a later addition by either al-Ṭabarānī himself or the narrator from whom he transmitted, Mūsā b. Hārūn.



The variants transmitted by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir follow the general pattern of the above hadith associated with Muslim b. Qarāza. One noticeable difference of some variants in this bundle is an additional conversation at the end of the hadith between 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān.²³³ All variants including this conversation are transmitted via 'Abd al-Raḥmān's student, al-Walīd b. Muslim.

Another difference in these hadiths is linked to one of al-Walīd b. Muslim's students. These variants give additions to both the conversation between 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān²³⁴ as well as within the Prophetic dialogue.²³⁵ These features associated with

²³³ In this addition, 'Abd al-Raḥmān asks Ruzayq about the authenticity of the hadith to which Ruzayq gets on his knees and faces the direction of prayer and swears on having heard the hadith from the chain of transmitters given (from Muslim b. Qarāza who heard from 'Awf b. Mālik who heard from the Prophet):
 قَالَ ابْنُ جَابِرٍ: فَقُلْتُ: - يَعْنِي لِرُزَيْقٍ - جِئْتُ حَدَّثَنِي بِهَذَا الْحَدِيثِ: اللَّهُ، يَا أَبَا الْمُقَدَّامِ، لَحَدَّثَكَ بِهَذَا، أَوْ سَمِعْتَهُ هَذَا مِنْ مُسْلِمٍ بِنِ قَرظَةَ يَقُولُ: سَمِعْتُ عَوْفًا، يَقُولُ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ؟ قَالَ: فَجِئْنَا عَلَى رُكْبَتَيْهِ وَاسْتَفْتَيْلَ الْقِبْلَةَ، فَقَالَ: "إِي وَاللَّهِ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ، لَسَمِعْتُهُ مِنْ مُسْلِمِ بْنِ قَرظَةَ، يَقُولُ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ". قَالَ ابْنُ جَابِرٍ: وَلَمْ أَسْأَلْهُ إِثْمًا لَهُ، وَلَكِنِّي اسْتَحْلَفْتُهُ اسْتِثْبَاتًا
Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Bāb Khiyār al-A'imma wa Shirārihim (#1855)

²³⁴ Two variants include an additional sentence which 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir responds to Ruzayq's swearing on the validity of the chain of transmission. He states, "I did not ask him (Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān) to swear because I thought he was culpable, rather I asked him to swear because I wanted him to prove his firm position."
 قَالَ ابْنُ جَابِرٍ: وَلَمْ أَسْأَلْهُ إِثْمًا لَهُ، وَلَكِنِّي اسْتَحْلَفْتُهُ اسْتِثْبَاتًا
 'Awāna #7182). This addition was likely included by him or possibly transmitted by al-Walīd both ways.

²³⁵ When the Prophet is asked if the bad rulers should be overthrown, the response given in the variants recorded through 'Alī b. Sahl repeat the phrase *lā mā aqāmū fikum al-salāt* twice. One other variant recorded by the collector Muslim through another of al-Walīd b. Muslim's students, Dāwūd b. Rushayd also repeats the injunction. However, this student is included in another variant recorded by al-Bayhaqī without the repetition. As these two variants are not consistent, it is not possible to say whether Dāwūd b. Rushayd transmitted the hadith with or without the injunction's repetition, or if he did so both ways on different occasions.

specific transmitters helps distinguish between what was likely introduced by them and what was narrated by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

The consistency in variants linked to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir evidence his transmission of the hadith from Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān to his students, while the additional conversation between ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān was probably introduced by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s student al-Walīd b. Muslim.

To conclude, the hadiths associated with Abū al-Miqdām Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān are similar to those linked to Rabī‘a b. Yazīd. However, each of these bundles display unique features, making them independent of each other. These include all variants linked to Rabī‘a b. Yazīd specifying the ruler praying the five daily prayers. The hadith bundle of Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān is also associated with unique features depending on his students. The variants associated with his student Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir mention fighting the ruler with the sword. Variants through ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir’s student al-Walīd b. Muslim include an additional conversation between his teacher ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd and Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān.

While these differences reinforce the independent transmission of the students of the CL,²³⁶ they also give shape to what the CL transmitted. As the hadith maintains its overall structure, wording, and phraseology, these features can be reasonably associated with Muslim b. Qaraḥa. This includes the Prophet speaking of leaders to come, both good (who will love and be loved, pray and be prayed for) and bad (who will hate and be hated, curse and be cursed). This is followed by a question of whether the bad rulers should be overthrown to which the Prophet responds in the negative on the condition that the ruler establishes the prayer. While these rulers’ wrongs should be hated, the people cannot withdraw themselves from obedience to them.

2.1.3 Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as CL

The famous scholar and hadith transmitter of the second half of the first century AH, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is the most prolific common link for this hadith bundle. 45 chains of transmission are linked to him which state that the ruler who prays cannot be fought. Six of his students narrate these transmissions from Ḥasan—two of which do so on a large scale (almost all

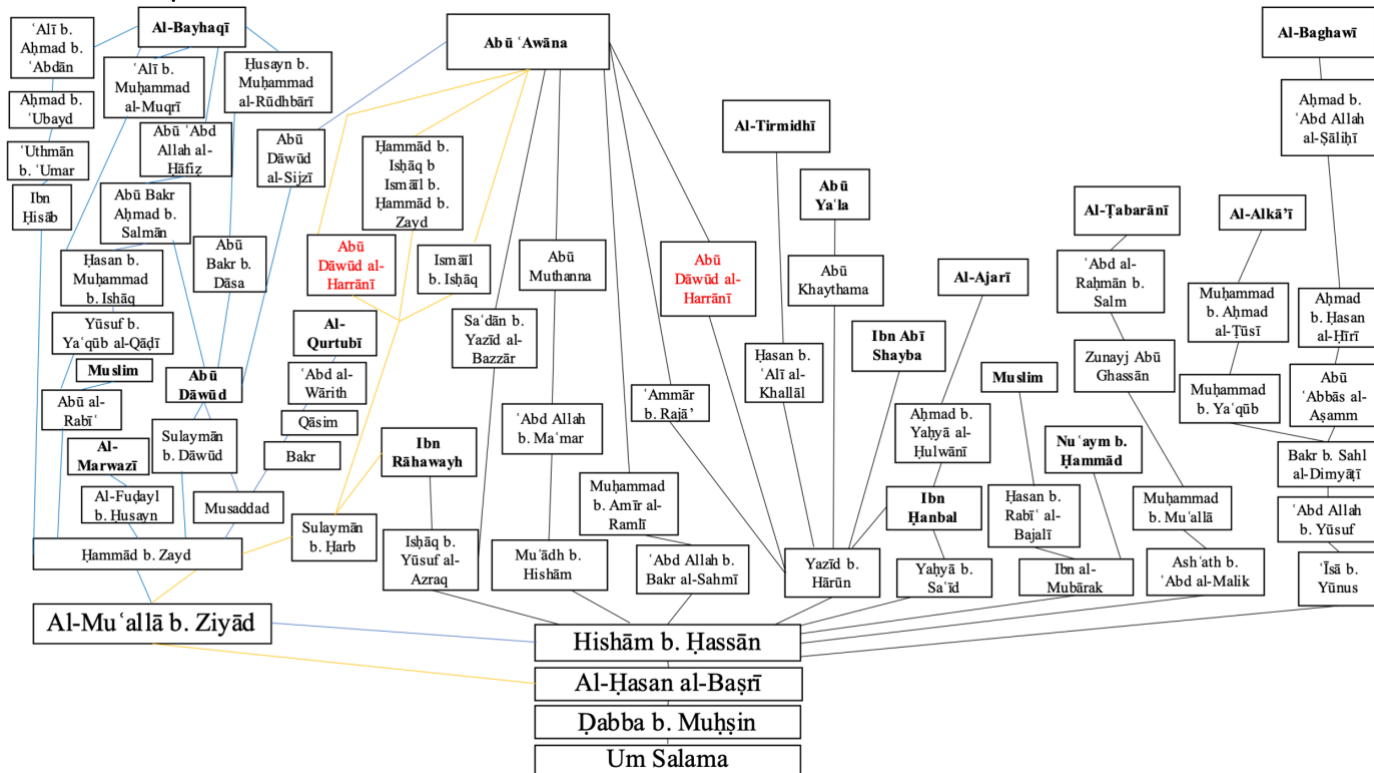
²³⁶ In this hadith bundle we find three generations of students to which unique features can be ascribed, from the students of the CL (Rabī‘a b. Yazīd and Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān) to their students (Faraj b. Faḍāla, Mu‘āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir) and their students (al-Walīd b. Muslim) and possibly even the generation of students after (‘Īsā b. Yūnus). The unique features consistent with each of these transmitters coming from different generations further strengthens the independence of these narrators from one another, increasing the probability that they were transmitted as the isnads state.

others are single strands). They are Hishām b. Ḥassān and Qatāda. The hadiths transmitted through these students will be analysed first, followed by the remaining students.

Similar to the hadiths linked to Muslim b. Qaraḏa and ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd, the hadiths associated with Ḥasan al-Baṣrī begin by describing the good and bad leaders to come. This version then differs from the other two in its description of the followers of the bad rulers. While all versions present the negative relationship of the bad rulers with their subjects, the version linked to Ḥasan allows a more oppositional approach by the followers. Here, they are encouraged to dislike the bad rulers and can even speak out against them. Then the Prophet is asked if they should be fought. He gives the same negative answer, on the condition that the ruler prays. A typical example states:

You will have leaders you will approve of and others you will denounce. Whoever denounces such leaders is innocent, and whoever dislikes [that leader] has done a sound thing except for he who acquiesces and follows [that leader]. It was said: O Messenger of Allah, should we not fight them? He said: No, not as long as they pray.²³⁷

Hishām b. Ḥassān



²³⁷ إِنَّهُ سَيَكُونُ عَلَيْكُمْ أَيْمَةٌ تَعْرِفُونَ وَتُنْكِرُونَ فَمَنْ أَنْكَرَ فَقَدْ بَرِيَ وَمَنْ كَرِهَ فَقَدْ سَلِمَ وَلَكِنْ مَنْ رَضِيَ وَتَابَعَ، فَقِيلَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ أَفَلَا نُعَاتِبُهُمْ؟ قَالَ: لَا، Sunan al-Tirmidhī, Bāb 78 (#2265).

26 variants are found with Hishām b. Ḥassān in the chain of transmission.²³⁸ Hishām transmits to 10 students. All variants provide the same structure of the hadith as mentioned above, with minor differences in wording. These include the substitution of the word *a'imma* for *amarā'* found in nine variants.²³⁹ The differences in word usage cannot be linked to any transmitters after Hishām and both are linked to many of his students.²⁴⁰ As both words are transmitted from several of Hishām's students and cannot be seen as deriving from any figure(s) after him, it is likely that Hishām b. Ḥassān narrated this hadith using both terms.

12 variants are transmitted through Hishām's student Ḥammād b. Zayd.²⁴¹ Of these, seven include an addition to the text in which Hishām clarifies the hadith of denying the ruler *bi-lisānihi* (i.e. through speaking out) and hating him *bi-qalbihi* (i.e. sincerely). These variants are linked to the students of Ḥammād.²⁴² Two variants give this clarification at the

²³⁸ Found in the works of 16 collectors: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb Wujūb al-Inkār 'ala al-Umarā' fīmā* (#1854 and #64 [1854]); Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath, *Sunan*, *Bāb fī Qatl al-Khawārij* (#4760); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, *Bāb 78* (#2265); Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, *Bāb Hadith Umm Salama Zawj al-Nabī* (#26528 and #26606); Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, *Bāb man Kariha al-Khuruj fī al-Fitna wa Ta'udh 'anha* (#37296); Ibn Rāhawayh, *Musnad*, *Bāb mā yarwī 'an ahl al-Kufa al-Sha'bī* (#1894) and *Bāb Ziyādāt Riwaya ahl Mecca wa al-Medina wa Ghayrihim* (#1919); Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *Al-Fitan*, *Bāb al-'Iṣma min al-Fitan wa mā Yastahib fihā min* (#380); Al-Marwazī, *Ta'zīm Qadar al-Salāt*, *Bāb Dhakara al-Nahī 'an Qatl al-Muṣallīn* (#949 and #950); Ibn 'Abd al-Birr, *Jāmi' Bayān al-'Ilm wa Faḍlihi*, *Bāb ḥam al-'Alim 'alā Madākhila al-Sultān al-Dhālim* (#1092); Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-I'tiqād*, *Bāb fī Tā'a al-Wala wa Luzūm al-Jamā'a wa Inkār*; Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kubrā*, *Bāb al-Ṣabr 'alā Azā Yaṣībīhi min Jahha Imāmihi* (#16620 and #16621) and *Bāb mā Yastadil bihi 'alā al-Marād bi-hadha* (#6503); Al-Bayhaqī, *Ma'rifa al-Sunna wa al-Athār*, *Bāb al-Qawm Yadhharun Ra'y al-Khurūj lam Yahil bihi* (#16525); Abū 'Awāna, *Mustakhraj*, *Bāb Dhakara Ḥazar Qitāl al-Wāli al-Fājir bi-Fajawra* (#7158-7160 and #7164-7165); Abū Ya'la, *Musnad*, *Bāb Musnad Umm Salama Zawj al-Nabī* (#6980); Al-Ajarī, *Al-Sharī'a*, *Bāb fī al-Sam' wa al-Tā'a liman Walī Amr* (#63); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ*, *Bāb man Ismuhu 'Abd al-Raḥmān* (#4745); Al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunna*, *Bāb al-Ṣabr alā mā Yakruhu min al-Amūr wa Luzūm* (#2459); Al-Alkā'ī, *Sharḥ Uṣūl I'tiqād Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a*, *Bāb Sayāq mā Rawā 'an al-Nabī* (#1523).

²³⁹ There is a correlation between the usage of *amarā'* and certain chains of transmission. For example, both variants through Hishām's student 'Īsā b. Yūnus use *amarā'* as do both variants through Yahyā b. Sa'īd. Of the five variants transmitted by Yazīd b. Hārūn, three use the word *amarā'* while another two do not. Two collectors (Ibn Abī Shayba #37296 and Ibn Ḥanbal #26528) report directly from Yazīd b. Hārūn and include *amarā'* in their variants while Abū Ya'la also includes the word but with one person in between the chain of transmission: Abū Ya'la ← Abū Khaythama ← Yazīd b. Hārūn (#6980). The other two variants recorded in al-Tirmidhī (#2265) and Abū 'Awāna (#7158) use the word *a'imma* instead and include another person in the chain of transmission between them and Yazīd b. Hārūn. A variant through Ishāq b. Yūsuf al-Azraq also uses the word. Another variant with Ishāq does not include the full text of the hadith and cannot be said to have reported the text with *amarā'* or *a'imma*.

²⁴⁰ Two students of Hishām appear to have transmitted the hadith using the word *amarā'*. Six other students of Hishām transmitted the hadith using the word *a'imma*.

²⁴¹ Included in all 12 variants is the name of al-Mu'allā b. Ziyād. In 10 variants, al-Mu'allā is coupled with Hishām in the isnad. The remaining two variants exclude Hishām, giving only al-Mu'allā's name in the isnad. Both of those variants are transmitted through Ḥammād's student Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, making him responsible for the absence of Hishām's name from those two transmissions. The inclusion of al-Mu'allā in the isnads of this hadith bundle come from Ḥammād b. Zayd.

²⁴² Ḥammād transmits to six students, four of which include the addition (found in seven variants), and two who do not (found in five variants). The students who do not include this text are Sulaymān b. Ḥarb (recorded by Ibn Rāhawayh #1919 and Abū 'Awāna #7164) and Abū al-Rabī' (recorded by Muslim #64 [1854] and al-Bayhaqī #16620).

end of the text²⁴³ while five include it within the text of the hadith.²⁴⁴ The placement of this addition in the hadith appears to be based on the discretion of the hadith collector.²⁴⁵ All seven variants are transmitted via Ḥammād b. Zayd. It can be concluded that this expansion on the hadith was introduced by Ḥammād b. Zayd. He likely transmitted the hadith both ways.

Another word difference found is in the question to the Prophet about fighting the ruler. Although most variants use the word *nuqātiluhum*, six state *naqtuluhum*²⁴⁶ and another three transmit both words in the text.²⁴⁷ The usage of one or both terms in the variants linked to Hishām b. Ḥassān suggest he transmitted the hadith both ways.

Some variants transmitted by students of Hishām include language not shared by any of the other students.²⁴⁸ This unique wording linked to some of Hishām's students, while

²⁴³ In the narration transmitted through 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdān, al-Bayhaqī records the text separate from the hadith, stating: وَقَالَ الْحَسَنُ: فَمَنْ أَنْكَرَ بِلِسَانِهِ فَقَدْ بَرَأَ وَمَنْ كَرِهَ بِقَلْبِهِ فَقَدْ جَاءَ زَمَانُ هَذِهِ. *Al-I'tiqād, Bāb fī Ṭā'a al-Wala wa Luzūm al-Jamā'a wa Inkār*

Al-Marwazī records the hadith from al-Fuḍayl b. Ḥusayn and then states in the following hadith: وَقَالَ الْحَسَنُ وَفَسَّرَهُ: فَمَنْ أَنْكَرَ بِلِسَانِهِ فَقَدْ بَرَأَ، وَقَدْ ذَهَبَ زَمَانُ هَذَا، وَمَنْ كَرِهَ بِقَلْبِهِ فَقَدْ سَلِمَ، وَقَدْ جَاءَ زَمَانُ هَذَا، قَالَ: وَلَكِنْ مَنْ رَضِيَ وَتَابَعَ، قَالَ الْحَسَنُ: فَأَبْعَدَهُ اللَّهُ (#950)

²⁴⁴ The variant found in Abū Dāwūd place the addition at the end of the hadith:

قَالَ أَبُو دَاوُدَ: قَالَ هِشَامٌ « فَمَنْ أَنْكَرَ بِلِسَانِهِ فَقَدْ بَرَأَ، وَمَنْ كَرِهَ بِقَلْبِهِ فَقَدْ سَلِمَ

Three variants recorded by al-Bayhaqī follow this pattern. One transmission via Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiḍ states:

قَالَ سُلَيْمَانُ: قَالَ هِشَامٌ: فَمَنْ أَنْكَرَ بِلِسَانِهِ فَقَدْ بَرَأَ وَمَنْ كَرِهَ بِقَلْبِهِ، فَهُوَ سَلِمَ

The variant linked to Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Rudhbārī includes another transmitter clarifying the hadith, this time the figure is Ḥasan himself (according to Mūsāddad):

قَالَ مُسَدَّدٌ فِي حَدِيثِهِ: قَالَ الْحَسَنُ، وَقَالَ سُلَيْمَانُ، قَالَ هِشَامٌ فَمَنْ أَنْكَرَ بِلِسَانِهِ - فَقَدْ بَرَأَ وَمَنْ كَرِهَ بِقَلْبِهِ فَقَدْ سَلِمَ

A third variant recorded by al-Bayhaqī through 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Muqri' skips other transmitters and simply states that Hishām added the clarification, stating:

#16620 فَمَنْ أَنْكَرَ قَالَ هِشَامٌ: بِلِسَانِهِ فَقَدْ بَرَأَ، وَمَنْ كَرِهَ بِقَلْبِهِ فَقَدْ سَلِمَ

The last variant to include this clarification of the text by a transmitter is recorded in Abū 'Awāna:

#7165 قَالَ سُلَيْمَانُ: قَالَ هِشَامٌ: فَمَنْ أَنْكَرَ بِقَلْبِهِ فَقَدْ بَرَأَ وَمَنْ كَرِهَ فَقَدْ سَلِمَ

Here we find wording which is omitted as well as wording which is switched. Instead of denial through one's lips, the denial is done in one's heart and speaking out is not mentioned at all.

²⁴⁵ Four of the five hadiths including this clarification within the text are transmitted via Abū Dāwūd who decided to add the clarification within the text.

²⁴⁶ Of the six variants that only state *naqtuluhum* two variants are linked to the same student of Hishām b. Ḥassān, namely 'Isā b. Yūnus. As the two variants recorded through 'Isā b. Yūnus share the same chain of transmission until Bakr b. Sahl al-Dimyati, it cannot be said that 'Isā is responsible for the wording of the transmission. Indeed, it is more likely that Bakr is responsible for the wording, as they are identical. One other variant is recorded in al-Ṭabarānī through Hishām's student Ash'ath b. 'Abd al-Mālik (the only variant recorded through this student). The remaining three variants recorded in al-Bayhaqī (#16620), Abū 'Awāna (#7164) and al-Marwazī (#949) share the transmitter Ḥammād b. Zayd in the chain. However, his name is also linked to several variants giving the word *nuqātiluhum*. It is possible that he transmitted the hadith using both words.

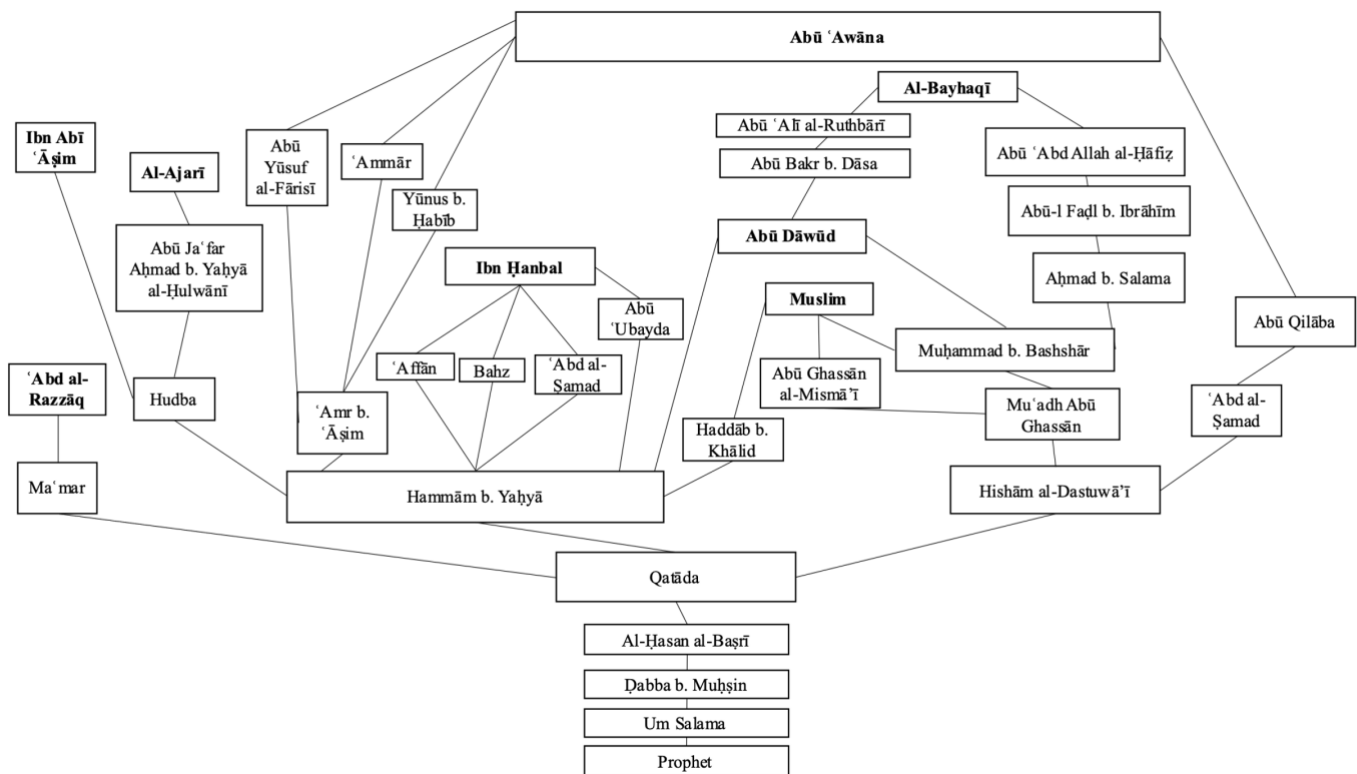
²⁴⁷ Of those that transmit both words, variants found in Abū Dāwūd (#4760) and al-Bayhaqī (*Al-I'tiqād, Bāb fī Ṭā'a al-Wala wa Luzūm al-Jamā'a wa Inkār*) explicitly state that Abū Dāwūd says *nuqātiluhum* although Hishām stated *naqtuluhum*. Here, Abū Dāwūd is correcting Hishām's mistake though also faithfully transmitting what he said. The third variant giving both words is recorded by Nu'aym b. Ḥammād without any explanation as to which transmitter gives both wordings.

²⁴⁸ Two variants specify that the prayers are the five daily prayers (as appear in some of the variants linked to Muslim b. Qarāza). Both are transmitted through Yazīd b. Hārūn (recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal #26528 and Abū Ya'la #6980). One variant recorded in al-Ṭabarānī states *lā mā aqāmū al-salāt* #4745. This variant is the only

retaining the hadith's central elements, support the position that they did indeed narrate the hadith from their teacher Hishām, but independent of one another. If they had merely copied the hadith from each other, there would not be the unique features in wording and phrasing found in the variants associated with them.

The hadiths associated with Hishām b. Ḥassān are consistent in structure and wording. It can be concluded that Hishām transmitted these shared elements. These include a discussion on leaders to come who will either be approved or denounced by the people. This denunciation is acceptable and disliking the ruler commendable while followers of these bad rulers are criticized. The Prophet is then asked about fighting these bad rulers and responds in the negative so long as they pray.

Qatāda



The variants linked to Ḥasan's student Qatāda are not as numerous as those associated with Hishām. Three students transmit this hadith from Qatāda, found in 14 chains of

one linked to Hishām's student, Ash'ath b. 'Abd al-Mālik. Another two variants repeat the injunction *lā mā sallaw, lā mā sallaw*. Both of these variants are transmitted through Hishām's student 'Īsā b. Yūnus.

transmission.²⁴⁹ Though patterns do emerge in the wording of the hadith,²⁵⁰ they are not as prominent as those found in the variants linked to Hishām b. Ḥassān.

Some word discrepancies are linked to certain transmitters after Qatāda. Two variants do not begin the hadith with *satakūnu amarā*' but rather use variations of the word *'amal*.²⁵¹ Both variants are associated with a student three generations after Qatāda, Muḥammad b.

Bashshār.²⁵²

Another word difference is the use of *'arafa* in place of *kariha*. This discrepancy is linked to one of Qatāda's students, Ḥammām b. Yaḥyā, in which both ways are included.²⁵³ Ḥammām is also linked to the transmission of another part of the hadith with several different phrases.²⁵⁴ The differences in wording among Ḥammām's students (and their insistence on specifying what they heard) makes it more likely that he transmitted the hadith in different ways at different times. These inconsistencies indicate that Ḥammām was a prolific though less diligent transmitter.

A final language discrepancy of variants linked to Qatāda is found in the only variant transmitted through his student Ma' mar.²⁵⁵ Ma' mar includes unique wording found nowhere else. The variant linked to Ma' mar adds the phrase *faya lamūna a mālan* after *satakūna amarā*'. In another instance, the text substitutes *tāba 'a* for *shāya 'a*, though this is likely a typographical error as the word *shāya 'a* would not make sense in this context.

The analysis of the hadiths associated with Qatāda do not seem to form any obvious patterns at first. However, upon closer examination of the variants linked to his student

²⁴⁹ These hadiths are found in the works of seven collectors: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb Wujūb al-Inkār 'ala al-Umarā' fīmā* (#63 [1854] and #64 [1854]); Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Bāb fī Qatīl al-Khawārij* (#4761); Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, *Bāb Hadith Umm Salama Zawj al-Nabī* (#26577, #26607, #26728), Ibn Abī 'Āsim, *Al-Sunna*, *Bāb fī Dhakara al-Sam' wa al-Ṭā'a* (#1083); Al-Ajarī, *Al-Sharī'a*, *Bāb fī al-Sam' wa al-Ṭā'a liman Walī Amr* (#64); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kubrā*, *Bāb al-Ṣabr 'alā Azā Yaṣībīhi min Jahha Imāmihi* (#16622); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sha'b al-Imān*, *Bāb al-Tamsik bimā 'alayhi al-Jamā'a* (#7097); Abū 'Awāna, *Mustakhraj*, *Bāb Dhakara Ḥaṣar Qitāl al-Wāli al-Fājir bi-Fajawra* (#7161-7163).

²⁵⁰ Some variants do not include the full wording of the hadith or give any text at all (simply stating it is the same as the previous). These variants cannot be analysed in full as they are not recorded in full.

²⁵¹ *Innahu yusta 'mal 'alaykum amarā*' in Muslim #63 (1854) and *saya 'malu 'alaykum* in al-Bayhaqī #7097.

²⁵² One other variant is associated with Muḥammad b. Bashshār (Bundār), recorded by Abū Dāwūd. However, this variant does not include the beginning of the text of the hadith and so cannot be analysed in this regard.

²⁵³ About half of the variants linked to Ḥammām use *'arafa* in place of *'amal*. This is likely the result of Ḥammām transmitting the hadith both ways. One variant recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal even includes an addendum in which one transmitter disagrees with the term *'amal*, stating Ḥammām said *'arafa* (#26577). It is therefore likely that Ḥammām transmitted the hadith using both terms.

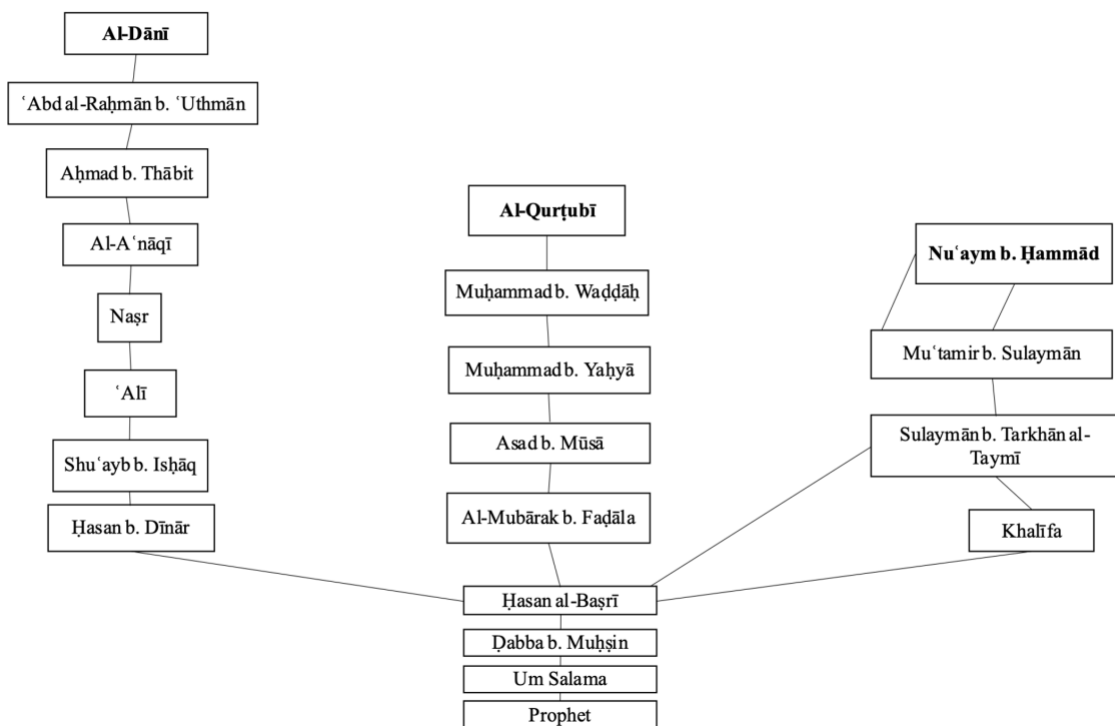
²⁵⁴ In addition to the same phrase transmitted by the other student of Qatāda, Ḥammām is linked to three other phrases: *afalā naqtul fajaratuhum* (Abū 'Awāna #7162) or *afalā naqtul fujjārahum* (Ibn Ḥanbal #26728) or *alā naqtuluhum* (Ibn Ḥanbal #26577). The last variant gives the unique wording as well as the common one where one transmitter disagrees with the more popular wording *alā naqātuluhum* and instead states he heard it as *alā naqtuluhum*.

²⁵⁵ Recorded in 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaḥ*.

Ḥammām b. Yaḥyā, we find much of the matn inconsistencies linked to him. Many hadith variants are reported by Ḥammām’s students in different ways and even disputed in the same narration by different students. This points to Ḥammām as likely responsible for these inconsistencies in wording.

The overall differences in the reports transmitted through Qatāda’s students show that they include their own unique features, making them separate transmissions. Their overall similarities in structure and wording make it likely that Qatāda transmitted the hadith as given above, similar to the other student of Ḥasan, Hishām b. Ḥassān. These include the prophesizing of good and bad rulers to come. The people are given permission to denounce the bad rulers and are encouraged to dislike them while those who follow such rulers are condemned. When asked if these rulers should be fought, the Prophet states, “no, not as long as they pray.”

Other Students of Ḥasan



Four other students of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī were found in single strands variants. They all include their own unique wording and features although they maintain the same structure as the hadith variants through Qatāda and Hishām b. Ḥassān.

Two variants include unique wording found nowhere else in the hadith cluster. Ḥasan’s student Mubārak b. Faḍāla is associated with one of these variants (and is found in

no other transmission) recorded by Ibn Waḍḍāḥ.²⁵⁶ Another variant by Ḥasan’s student Ḥasan b. Dīnār recorded in al-Dānī also includes language found in no other hadith.²⁵⁷

Both variants also include wording found in variants linked to Qatāda as well as wording linked to Hishām b. Ḥassān.²⁵⁸ The similarities with the other students of Ḥasan as well as the unique wording found in these variants increase the likelihood that they did come from other students of Ḥasan and were not copied from either Qatāda or Hishām. However, as they are single strands, their analysis remains inconclusive.

The remaining two variants are both recorded by Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād. Little can be gleaned from these as this collector employed a methodology in which he divided hadiths.²⁵⁹ This is also seen in another hadith bundle analysed in this study.²⁶⁰ As a result of his methodology, one variant is strikingly different from all others²⁶¹ while the other is only partially recorded.²⁶²

As the above analysis of the students of Ḥasan illustrates, the structure of the hadith remains consistent in almost all variants linked to him. They include a prophecy of rulers to come, both good and bad. Those who denounce and dislike the bad ruler are described as being in the right while those who follow that ruler are in the wrong. This is followed by questioning over fighting the bad ruler. The Prophet responds in the negative on the condition

²⁵⁶ In this variant *satakūnu amarā’* is replaced with *satarawna mā*, making it unclear that the subject of the narration is the rulers. This ambiguity may be a reason why this variant did not gain the popularity found in the other variants through Ḥasan’s students. Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, *Al-Bud’*, *Bāb fī Naqḍ ‘Arā al-Islām wa Dafn al-Dīn* (#182).

²⁵⁷ The variant linked to Ḥasan b. Dīnār takes an opposite approach in the discussion on the ruler. Rather than the ambiguity of the variant found in Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, this variant clarifies what happens to the one who follow bad rulers: *faqad halaka* (he is damned).

²⁵⁸ Both variants give the same wording when questioning the Prophet: *afalā nuqātilu fujjārahum?* This phrase is also found in two variants linked to Qatāda. It is possible that Ḥasan transmitted the hadith with this wording as well as the more common *alā naqātiluhum*. The variant found in al-Dānī also repeats the Prophetic injunction *lā mā sallaw*, *lā mā sallaw* found in some of the variants connected with Hishām b. Ḥassān.

²⁵⁹ Nu‘aym does this on several occasions. His hadith work, *Kitāb al-Fitan*, was based on a chronology of the end of times. If a hadith included descriptions from several stages of the end times, he did not hesitate to divide the hadith and place it within those stages as categorized by him.

²⁶⁰ See Chapter 4: Strike Their Backs and Take Their Wealth, Section 4.1.

²⁶¹ The first half of the hadith appears to be paraphrased while different language is used when asked about overthrowing the rulers:

ذَكَرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَمْرًا سَوِيًّا، وَأَيْمَةً أَيْمَةً سَوِيًّا، وَذَكَرَ ضَلَالَةً بَعْضُهُمْ تَمَلُّأُ مَا بَيْنَ السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ، قَالَ: قِيلَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، أَلَا نَضْرِبُ وَجْهَهُ بِالسَّيْفِ؟

The response of the Prophet is given in two possible forms:

«لَا مَا صَلَّى» أَوْ قَالَ: «مَا صَلُّوا الصَّلَاةَ فَلَا».

Although the structure of the hadith remains (the Prophet discusses bad rulers, is questioned about overthrowing them, and responds in the negative), it differs markedly from all others in wording.

²⁶² #381. Only the question and answer of the Prophet are given. The question is consistent with the general pattern while the answer is: *ammā mā aqāmū al-salat falā*. The *aqāmū* here is found in no other variant linked to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but is found in most variants linked to Muslim b. Qaraḥa. This could indicate a corruption in the transmission or possibly a combination of both versions. As it is a single strand, there is not enough proof to state whether it is a later fabrication or a transmission from a student of Ḥasan.

that the bad ruler prays. The two main students of Ḥasan transmitting this hadith provide wording unique to each of them. Other students follow a similar pattern in structure with minor differences of wording. However, as these students of Ḥasan are linked to single transmissions, their analysis cannot yield solid results. Overall, the above section illustrates that a similar narration was transmitted by the common link Ḥasan with minor differences linked to his students (as well as the students of his students).

The above three common links of this hadith cluster are responsible for the widespread transmission of a hadith calling on people to obey the ruler who prays. All hadiths present the same situation in which the Prophet describes good and bad rulers to come. He is then asked if these rulers should be opposed. The Prophet responds in the negative, on the condition that the ruler prays. Each common link also includes elements within the transmission unique to him.

All common links give a different description of the rulers to come. ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd states they will either comfort or repulse the hearts of the people, and either put their bodies at ease or have them quivering in fear. Muslim b. Qaraḏa explains who good and bad rulers are. There is a mutual exchange of love and prayer for and from the good ruler, while there is hate and cursing for and from the bad ruler. The hadiths linked to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī focus on the conduct of the followers, who are told to dislike or denounce the bad ruler. Following that ruler in his misconduct is wrong.

These different versions of the same hadith are nuanced in their approaches to the ruler. Each displays a certain level of political quietism. The version linked to ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd is the most politically quietist where bad rulers are portrayed in the harshest light—they are repulsive and cause people to shake in fear. However, there is no discussion of opposing them, even verbally. Variants through Muslim b. Qaraḏa are less quietist, allowing for the verbal opposition to the bad ruler who is cursed and hated. The least politically quietist version of the hadith comes from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who goes so far as to say that speaking out against the ruler is acceptable. All versions maintain that as long as he prays, the ruler cannot be physically opposed. The following section will explore these figures responsible for the popularization of this hadith.

2.2 Common Links and Key Figures

As the above analysis shows, three main figures are found propagating versions of the same hadith. These differences display a variation, though slight, in their political quietism. The

below glimpse into the lives of these figures—Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Muslim b. Qaraḏa, and ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd—may help in understanding these variations.

2.2.1. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī

The most famous of all common links discussed thus far, Abū Sa‘īd Ḥasan b. Yasār al-Baṣrī, was born in Medina in 21/642 but moved to Basra as a young man.²⁶³ There he spent the remainder of his life as a scholar and jurist. Ḥasan built a reputation as one of the most knowledgeable men of his time. His name is found in virtually every field of the Islamic sciences, from tafsir and hadith to fiqh and Islamic mysticism.

Ḥasan is portrayed in the Sunni sources as one who opposed the authorities when necessary. However, his relationship with the Umayyads appears to have been more conciliatory. As a young man, Ḥasan participated in the Islamic campaigns in Persia. He worked in an administrative role, setting up the diwan of taxes under the governor Rabī‘ b. Ziyād in 46/666 under the first Umayyad ruler, Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. He also served as a qadi in Basra under ‘Umar II.²⁶⁴

Notably, Ḥasan lived through many uprisings against the Umayyads and participated in none of them. Even when these uprisings reached his city and even family, he is still tellingly absent. Ibn al-Zubayr succeeded in taking control of Basra, but Ḥasan only reminded him of the duties of the ruler. Ḥasan’s own brother took part in the uprising of Ibn al-Ash‘ath, but Ḥasan stayed away. And with the uprising of Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab, Ḥasan is found in the service of the Umayyads. When Yazīd was defeated, Ḥasan participated in a delegation to the rebel’s brothers to dissuade them from further revolt. He is even believed to have succeeded in this.²⁶⁵

His only opposition to the rulers recorded by the classical biographers was against al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, the Umayyad governor of Iraq.²⁶⁶ His harsh language against al-Ḥajjāj is recorded on a few occasions, most notably when al-Ḥajjāj moved his seat of power from Basra to Wasīṭ. Josef Van Ess suggests this was because Ḥasan worked for the Umayyads and a move in administration between cities would also affect administration officials.²⁶⁷

²⁶³ He moved the year after the Battle of Ṣiffīn (657), making him 16 years old at the time of his move. Ritter, H., “Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,” *EI2*.

²⁶⁴ Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra: A History of Religious Thought in Early Islam*, Vol 2, p. 47.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 47-8.

²⁶⁶ Ritter describes Ḥasan as having “criticized fearlessly the rulers of his time, the governors of Irak” but only gives the criticism of al-Ḥajjāj’s move to Wāsiṭ as an example. *EI2*.

²⁶⁷ Van Ess, p. 48.

It has been argued that Ḥasan did participate in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash‘ath. Suleiman Mourad defends the political activism of Ḥasan based mainly on three sources—al-Ya‘qūbī, Ibn al-Nadīm, and Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī.²⁶⁸ While Mourad does mention these figures may have a bias in connecting Ḥasan to the revolt of Ibn al-Ash‘ath, he maintains that the Sunni sources’ insistence on Ḥasan’s quietism makes him more likely to have been an activist. He concludes, “It is the particularly awkward whitewashing of Ḥasan orchestrated by proto-Sunnite and Sunnite sources that leaves little doubt that he was involved, especially in the uprising of Ibn al-Ash‘ath.”²⁶⁹

This argument is not enough to establish Ḥasan’s political views. While it is reasonable to state that many different schools of thought try to claim Ḥasan as one of their own, it cannot be reasoned that the Sunni claim for his quietism makes him a political activist. In fact, other revered figures in the Sunni sources are described as having taken part in the same revolt. Many of the *qurrā*’ of Basra in the time of Ibn al-Ash‘ath are viewed as respectable figures in the classical Sunni sources, despite their large numbers participating in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash‘ath.²⁷⁰ Had Ḥasan taken part of this revolt, why would his name not be included with such highly praised figures as Sa‘īd b. Jubayr (d. 93/712), Dharr b. ‘Abd Allah, ‘Awn b. ‘Abd Allah (d. c. 110-20/728-38), Mujāhid b. Jabr, al-Sha‘bi (d. 103/721-110/728) and Muṭarrif b. ‘Abd Allah (d.c. 95)? Sa‘īd b. Jubayr is arguably more revered in the Sunni sources than Ḥasan and is explicitly mentioned as fighting for Ibn al-Ash‘ath and being killed for it.²⁷¹ He is even described as a martyr.²⁷² If the Sunni sources were so biased as to conspire an image of a quietist Ḥasan, why not do the same for the more prominent Sa‘īd b. Jubayr?

Mourad also argues that Ḥasan went into hiding from the Iraqi governor al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf as a result of his participation in the revolt. However, Ḥasan is reported to have fled

²⁶⁸ Mourad concedes that al-Ya‘qūbī was a Shia and Ibn al-Nadīm Mu‘tazili. For more information on Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī’s Kharijite tendencies see: "Yāqūt Al-Ḥamawī Al-Rūmī, Shihām Aldīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Yāqūt Ibn ‘Abd Allāh." *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 14, pp. 546-548.

²⁶⁹ Mourad, Suleiman Ali. *Early Islam between Myth and History: Al-Ḥasan Al-Basrī (d. 110 H/728 CE) in Classical and Modern Scholarship*, pp. 49-50.

²⁷⁰ 500 *qurrā*’ reportedly participated in the revolt. Khalīfa b. Khayyāt. *Tārīkh, Bāb Tasmiyya al-Qurrā’ alladhina Kharajū ma‘a Ibn al-Ash‘ath*.

²⁷¹ Pamela Klasova remarks on the significant impact of Ibn Jubayr’s political activism on later Sunni classical (and modern) sources. “The drama revolving around a revered Companion [sic] Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, who rebelled against his ruler and who remains a hero of the pious Sunnis even today, as we have seen with al-Qaraḍāwī’s book, is for Ibn ‘Asākir more important than the whole rebellion of Ibn al-Ash‘ath.” Klasova, Pamela Marketa. *Empire through Language: Al-Ḥajjāj B. Yūsuf Al-Thaqafī and the Power of Oratory in Umayyad Iraq*, pp. 169-70.

²⁷² Ibn Sa‘īd, *Tabaqāt al-Kubrā, Bāb Sa‘īd b. Jubayr (#2317)*; Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar, Bāb Sa‘īd b. Jubayr (#484)*; Al-Suyūṭī, *Is‘āf al-Mubattā’ fī Rijāl al-Muwaṭṭā’*, *Bāb Ḥarf al-Sīn*.

from al-Ḥajjāj for other matters.²⁷³ He dismisses Sunni claims of Ḥasan's praise of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib or his criticism of al-Ḥajjāj as legitimate reasons that incurred al-Ḥajjāj's anger.²⁷⁴ However, many other scholars fled from the reputedly brutal governor for saying far less than Ḥasan.

Even more telling of Ḥasan's quietism is his lack of participation in other revolts. The (counter-)caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr is presented as a legitimate Islamic government in the (proto-) Sunni sources. If Ḥasan were to be elevated in the eyes of later schools of thought, it would have been much more appealing to link him with Zubayrid rule. However, neither Sunni nor Shia sources link him to this revolt or any others in his lifetime except for the few that maintain his support for Ibn al-Ash'ath.

The above information available about Ḥasan al-Baṣrī illustrates that he was a man of knowledge and high standing in his time. For this reason, many schools of thought have tried to claim him for themselves and place him within their various ideological camps, leading to much contradictory information surrounding this figure. Most sources portray him as an extraordinarily eloquent figure who did speak out against rulers when he felt it necessary to do so. Even the Sunni sources are forced to admit to this display of verbal opposition to the rulers. However, the Shia or Mu'tazili sources sparingly link Ḥasan to the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath. They do not even attempt to link him to the numerous other revolts in his lifetime. It is therefore likely that he was not physically confrontational with those in power.

Rather, he appears to have taken a cautious approach and worked within the power structures of his time, placing him within a middle ground between the total political quietism of unquestioning obedience to the ruler and total political activism allowing for the violent overthrow of government. Ḥasan likely stayed away from activist elements within his surroundings as well as the less palatable authority figures of his time. His role within Umayyad administration during the rule of Mu'āwiya I and 'Umar II is not particularly surprising as neither ruler is perceived in Sunni Muslim sources as illegitimate or oppressive.²⁷⁵ This is perhaps why his participation in their administrations is mentioned by biographers. His strong stance against the moving of the seat of Iraqi power does suggest he was an official within the Umayyad administration of that time as well. Additionally, Ḥasan's

²⁷³ Namely, in criticizing the founding of Wasit. Ritter, *EI2*.

²⁷⁴ Mourad, *Early Islam*, pp. 48-49.

²⁷⁵ 'Umar II is viewed as a pious, legitimate ruler and working for him did not require justification. Ḥasan's participation in Mu'āwiya I's administration may have caused some hesitations. Any unease of this association is put to rest with the alleged hadith attributed to Ḥasan, "If you see Mu'āwiya in the pulpit then kill him!" (Van Ess, p. 326).

reported participation in the quelling of the Muḥallabid revolt further supports the position of his working within the Umayyad administration.

The above hadith as transmitted by Ḥasan seems to reflect his own position very well. In it, vocal opposition to the ruler is allowed. However, to take an active stand against him is forbidden as long as he prays. Ḥasan is recorded as having spoken out against a governor of his time, though he never took a violent stand against anyone. This may create the appearance of a pro-Umayyad figure. But neither did Ḥasan oppose the short rule of Ibn al-Zubayr over Basra, making it more likely that he was a supporter of consolidated power in general rather than a particular dynasty or group. His attitude reflects a general quietism, no matter who was in control. But as he lived all his adult life under Umayyad rule (he died in 110/728 at 86 (solar) years old), his quietism worked mostly to their benefit.

2.2.2. ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd

Abū ‘Ubayda ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd b. Dhakwān al-Tamīmī al-Tannūrī (102/720-180/796) was also a scholar of Basra. He lived two generations after Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. ‘Abd al-Wārith was a client of the Banū al-‘Anbar (a clan of the large Tamīm tribe of eastern Arabia) and became a major hadith scholar of his time. Notably, his name is found in every quietist hadith cluster analysed in this study.²⁷⁶

‘Abd al-Wārith was one of the main students of ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd, a well-known Basran ascetic who practiced political quietism under both the Umayyads and Abbasids.²⁷⁷ ‘Amr was also one of the most prominent students of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, along with Qatāda, both of whom narrate this hadith on a large scale. ‘Amr, however, is noticeably absent despite his pupil ‘Abd al-Wārith also spreading this hadith widely. ‘Abd al-Wārith is even described as the traditionist successor to ‘Amr.²⁷⁸ But ‘Amr’s views did not age well within the developments of Sunni thought. He was characterized as a forefather of Mu‘talizite thought and as a result, was all but erased from hadith literature.²⁷⁹ It would not be far-fetched to argue that ‘Abd al-Wārith heard this hadith from ‘Amr who heard it from Ḥasan. Because of

²⁷⁶ He transmits the ‘strike your backs’ hadith from Abū Tayyāh, from the CL Khālid b. Subay‘. He transmits the ‘die a jahiliyy death’ hadith in two bundles—directly from the CL al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān and through a student of another CL Ghaylān b. Jarīr. He is also found transmitting the ‘give him his right’ hadith from (the Kufan) Muḥammad b. Juhāda, from the CL Furāt al-Qazzāz, even though that hadith cluster is Kufan. This is not surprising as ‘Abd al-Wārith was connected with Kufan jurists. See Van Ess, p. 369.

²⁷⁷ Though generally standoffish with authorities, ‘Amr was believed to be a partisan of the Umayyad Yazīd III (Van Ess, p. 325). In the time of the Abbasids, his quietism becomes more apparent when he states that commanding right can only be allowed by the tongue and not by the sword. An alleged conversation between himself and the Abbasid ruler Maṣṣūr reiterates this position when Maṣṣūr asks if he still holds to his quietism, and ‘Amr responds in the affirmative. Ibid, p. 334.

²⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 367.

²⁷⁹ Van Ess, pp. 58-9, 345.

‘Amr’s later notoriety, his line of transmission may have been substituted for Muḥammad b. Juhāda, a Kufan whose name is found nowhere else in this hadith bundle.²⁸⁰

The connection between the above Basran figures—‘Abd al-Wārith, ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd, Qatāda, and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī—is further solidified in their theological leanings. All were adherents of *qadar*—or the belief in human free will. As the precursors to the Mu‘tazila, the Qadariyya are argued to have been opponents of the authorities.²⁸¹ But as the belief in *qadar* is a theological position, its adherents are scattered across the political spectrum. Indeed, Van Ess argues that the Qadariyya were more inclined to political quietism.²⁸² This position is certainly supported by the above analysis which shows that the spread of quietist hadiths in Basra are found mainly from its Qadarite circles in the early second century.²⁸³ This extends into the middle of the century with ‘Abd al-Wārith, who was of the Qadarite persuasion.

2.2.3. Muslim b. Qarāza

Muslim b. Qarāza al-Ashja‘ī was the cousin or nephew²⁸⁴ of the Companion ‘Awf b. Mālīk al-Ashja‘ī (d. 73/692).²⁸⁵ He comes from the same generation as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī although no date of birth or death is given for him. His tribe, the Banū Ashja‘, came from the western part of the Najd, being one of the Bedouin tribes of the powerful Ghaṭafān confederation.²⁸⁶ Its members took part in the Muslim campaigns, many of whom settled in the areas they fought. ‘Awf b. Mālīk was among them. He settled in Ḥims during the caliphate of Abū Bakr and is

²⁸⁰ Van Ess argues that ‘Abd al-Wārith nearly held a monopoly on transmissions from Muḥammad b. Juhāda (Ibid, p. 368, fn 21). However, many other transmitters are found relaying hadiths from him. It is possible that Van Ess meant that ‘Abd al-Wārith held a monopoly on transmissions from Muḥammad b. Juhāda in his city of Basra. In any case, the statement remains untrue as Basran narrators are found in isnads transmitting from Muḥammad b. Juhāda, most notably the well-known Basran scholar Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj.

²⁸¹ Steven Judd argues that the Qadariyya were systematically persecuted under the Umayyads. Of those figures he discusses as being persecuted, the only one involved in the spread of this hadith is Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. However, he gives no evidence of Ḥasan’s persecution. Rather, he argues that Ḥasan was evasive in his answering the caliph regarding his Qadarite position and was able to avoid punishment. “Muslim Persecution of Heretics during the Marwānid Period (64-132/684-750)”, *Al-Masāq*, pp. 1-14; and Judd, Steven, “The Early Qadariyya”, *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*.

²⁸² Van Ess, p. 61. One figure used by Van Ess to support this position is Qatāda, stating, “nobody was shocked by Qatāda’s Qadarite opinions during his lifetime, as is clearly shown by his good relations with the authorities.” Ibid p. 159.

²⁸³ In addition to the abovementioned transmitters of this hadith, the students of Qatāda, Hammām b. Yaḥya and Hishām al-Dastuwā‘ī also transmit the hadith on a large scale and are described by biographers as Qadarites. Other students of Ḥasan are also labelled Qadarites, but found in single strands, such as Ḥasan b. Dīnār and Mubārak b. Fadāla. This indicates a popularity of the ‘as long as he prays’ hadith among the Qadarites of Basra.
²⁸⁴ Most biographers say they were cousins, but some state Muslim was ‘Awf’s nephew. See, Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq, Bāb Ruzayq wa Yuqāl Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān Abū al-Miqdām* (#2178).

²⁸⁵ ‘Awf b. Mālīk converted before the Battle of Ḥunayn in 8/627. Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā, Bāb ‘Awf b. Mālīk al-Ashja‘ī* (#3704).

²⁸⁶ The Ghaṭafān are best known in the Islamic sources for their opposition to the Prophet and the early Muslims’ campaigns against them. There were several conflicts between the Ghaṭafān and the early Muslims, most notably in the Battle of the Trench (5/627) where the Ghaṭafān allied with the Quraysh. However, the Banū Ashja‘ were the first among them to make peace with the Muslims (right after the Battle of the Trench), being the closest in proximity to Medina.

consequently considered a Syrian figure.²⁸⁷ It was there that Muslim b. Qarāza presumably heard this hadith from him.

This is the only hadith associated with Muslim b. Qarāza. In fact, this hadith and his familial ties to a Companion seem to be the only features given in the biographical sources for this figure. One could even question his existence, if not for the differences in transmission from his students. As his students Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān and Rabī‘a b. Yazīd share key points in the hadith’s transmission, but display individual characteristics, it is likely that their transmissions derive from a common source, identified as Muslim b. Qarāza.²⁸⁸ However, the lack of identification for Muslim b. Qarāza, coupled with disagreement over the only information given about him (whether he was the cousin or nephew of a Companion), create some uncertainty about Muslim’s transmission.

An additional question regarding Muslim’s transmission is found in al-Walīd b. Muslim’s account of the hadith.²⁸⁹ Al-Walīd narrates that Muslim b. Qarāza’s student Ruzayq b. Hayyan swore to his own truthfulness in hearing this hadith from Muslim.²⁹⁰ This raises suspicions about the isnad as it indicates there that there were doubts about this account among the transmitters just one generation after Muslim b. Qarāza’s alleged time.²⁹¹

While not much can be discerned from the figure of Muslim b. Qarāza, he likely lived in Syria during the time of the Umayyads, where he narrated this hadith. As the seat of Umayyad power, much support for the monarchy was found there. If this figure is as described, he came from a well-known Arabian tribe whose previous policies showed that they fought on the more powerful side (as illustrated in their alliance with the Quraysh against the still vulnerable early Muslim community in Medina). As generally found among the well-connected Arabians, they upheld the status quo which worked in favour of their

²⁸⁷ Al- Bukhārī, *Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, *Bāb Muslim b. Qarāza al-Ashja‘ī b. ‘Amm ‘Awf b. Mālik* (#1142).

²⁸⁸ It is unlikely that they colluded to make up this figure, or that one would intentionally create discrepancies to form their own versions of the hadith. It is more likely that someone who went by the name Muslim b. Qarāza did in fact exist and narrate this hadith.

²⁸⁹ Al-Walīd ← ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir ← Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān ← Muslim b. Qarāza. There are 9 variants of this hadith transmitted from al-Walīd to seven students, found in the works of Muslim, al-Bayhaqī, al-Ajarī, Ibn Abī ‘Asim, al-Dārimī, Abū ‘Awāna, al-Marwazī, and al-Bazzār (the only variant that does not record this additional conversation).

²⁹⁰ In this addition, Ibn Jābir questions Ruzayq with a dialogue as follows:

Ibn Jābir: By God, O Abū al-Miqdām, did Muslim b. Qarāza tell you this? Or did you hear him say he heard ‘Awf say he heard the Messenger of God say [the hadith]?

Ruzayq got on his knees and faced the Ka‘ba and said: By God, besides Whom there is no other God, I heard it from Muslim b. Qarāza and he said that he heard ‘Awf b. Mālik say he heard it from the Messenger of God.

²⁹¹ The uncertainty surrounding Muslim b. Qarāza’s transmission directs the focus of the source of this hadith’s widespread transmission even more pointedly toward Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who is also possibly the origin of the other Basran CL, ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd.

tribes. In light of this, Muslim b. Qarāza transmits a hadith calling on people not to overthrow the hated and cursed leaders, as long as they establish the prayer.

2.3 Conclusion

The hadith calling on people to follow the bad ruler ‘as long as he prays’ is found in widespread transmission in an early period of Islamic history. Its main propagator appears to be Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who comes from the Successor generation.²⁹² This places the spread of the hadith in Basra in the late first to early second century AH.

The historical context of the hadith’s popularization is keenly aligned with the political unrest of the time. This narration addressing the issue of the ruler who prays was circulated around the same period in which the rulers were being accused of tampering with the prayer. In particular, the Iraqī Umayyad governors Ibn Ziyād and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf were publicly accused of delaying the prayer. In the revolt of Ibn al-Ash‘ath against the Umayyads (including al-Ḥajjāj), the *qurrā*, or devout Quran-reciters, supported the opposition and provided the religious justification for it. At the centre of their indignation was the allegation of the “death of the prayer” by the Umayyads²⁹³ which is further illustrated in their battle cry to avenge the prayer (*yā lathārāt al-salāh!*).²⁹⁴

This hadith emerges either within or around that period of political turmoil. While it cannot be known if this hadith spread at the time of the revolt, Ḥasan only lived for about 25 years after it. Despite, or perhaps because of, the defeat of Ibn al-Ash‘ath in 83/702, the hadith became popular. It is unlikely a coincidence that Ḥasan is found disseminating a hadith mandating obedience to the ruler who prays, in the same place and (at most) within a couple of decades of a revolt based on the religious justification that the rulers were destroying the prayer. This is further supported by another hadith calling on people to “pray

²⁹² The other Basran CL, ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd, could be argued as an extension of this hadith’s transmission, as his main teacher, ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd, was one of the most prominent students of Ḥasan. ‘Amr is not involved in ‘Abd al-Wārith’s chain of transmission in this cluster, perhaps because he was considered a controversial figure by contemporaries of ‘Abd al-Wārith. A hadith with ‘Amr in the transmission would not be well received. ‘Abd al-Wārith was himself perceived with some hesitation by his more traditional colleagues. (See, for example, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-Jāmi‘ li ‘Ulum Imam Aḥmad: al-Rijāl, Bāb ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd b. Dhakwān (#1707)*. The third figure spreading the hadith is virtually unknown. With one CL unknown and the other a prominent student of a prominent student of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, it makes it possible that Ḥasan is its inventor.

²⁹³ In al-Tabari’s *History*, one of the most prominent scholars of the Qurrā is recorded on the day of battle at Dayr al-Jamājim. Sa‘īd b. Jubayr states, “Fight them. You will not sin by fighting against their tyranny in rule, their insolent behaviour in [matters pertaining to] religion, their abasing of the weak, and their ‘causing the death of’ ritual prayer”. *History of al-Tabari, vol. 23: The Zenith of the Marwānid House*, p. 36.

²⁹⁴ Khaled Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law*, p. 71, fn 40. (Abou El Fadl states *yā thārāt al-salāh* instead of *yā lathārāt*, likely a typo as other slogans from that period state ‘*yā lathārāt*’, for example after the death of al-Husayn ‘*yā lathārāt al-Husayn*’.)

with your leader” which was also circulating in this same period.²⁹⁵ Both of these hadiths are likely responses to the *qurrā* and their militant opposition to the Umayyads. In any case, the popularization of this hadith parallels the political activities of the time.

Those responsible in its propagation lived in either the same city as the rebels in Basra or at the centre of Umayyad power in Syria. These common links are documented political quietists themselves (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) or associated with them through their teachers (as in the case of ‘Abd al-Wārith) or possibly tribal groups (Muslim b. Qaraḏa). These figures were key in the spread of a Prophetic narration countering the religious basis for the most formidable political opponents of the Umayyad rulers.

Chapter 3: To Die a *Jāhilī* Death

This chapter delves into the phrase not uncommon in the hadith literature on dying as if one was in the pre-Islamic period known as the Age of Ignorance (*jāhiliyya*). To die a ‘*jāhilī*’ death means to die outside the Islamic domain, and therefore as a non-Muslim. The overwhelming majority of hadiths discussing a *jāhilī* death pertain to power and allegiance.²⁹⁶ One in particular stands out as strongly politically quietist. In it, people are told to be patient with the ruler who is disliked/hated because to break away from the community is to die a *jāhilī* death. This version of the hadith is the most applicable to this study on politically quietist and activist Prophetic narrations. However, as the other hadiths pertaining to power/allegiance and dying a *jāhilī* death are relevant, they are also analysed in relation to the above version.

This politically quietist hadith calling for patience in the face of unpopular rule can be traced back to Basra. Most of the common links (CLs) and other key figures are Basran and the spread of the hadith originates from that Iraqi city in the early to mid-second century AH. The below chapter will first analyse the different versions of the hadith, identifying the common links and key figures. This is followed by a discussion of those main figures and any reports about them which may have affected the spread of the narration.

²⁹⁵ The other quietist hadith regarding prayers and the ruler states (in its basic form): The Prophet asked me, "What would you do if you were confronted with leaders who delay the salāt beyond its time or who kill [neglect] it beyond its time?" I said, "What do you order me to do?" The Prophet replied, "Observe the salāt at its appointed time and if you happen to be there together with them, then perform the prayer, and it will be a supererogatory prayer for you." The analysis of this hadith places its oldest versions in the 60s/680s and 80s/700s. See: Stijn Aerts, “‘Pray with Your Leader’: A Proto-Sunni Quietist Tradition”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol 136, Iss. 1 (Jan-Mar 2016): pp. 29-45.

²⁹⁶ Around 125 hadiths were found pertaining to dying a *jāhilī* death, specifically *mayta jāhiliyya*. Of these, 11 are not associated with power, allegiance, leadership and other political concepts.

3.1 Hadith Analysis

114 transmissions attributed to power and dying a *jāhili* death are analysed in this hadith bundle.²⁹⁷ Of these, 22 variants are linked to al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān, 27 to Ghaylān b. Jarīr, 16 to ‘Āṣim b. ‘Ubayd Allah, 33 to ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Umar, and another 16 to miscellaneous figures. Ghaylān b. Jarīr is the only figure who is unquestionably the source of the version of the hadith linked to him. However, I argue that al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān is likely the source of another version of the hadith, though at first it appears to be one of his students (Ḥammād b. Zayd). The same cannot be said for ‘Āṣim b. ‘Ubayd Allah whose name is linked to two different hadiths that include the phrase on dying as a *jāhil*. Each of these hadiths is associated with his students Sharīk and Ibn Jurayj. Neither is ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Umar found to be the common link of another hadith cluster. The narrator Zayd b. Aslam, who is found in half the variants associated with Ibn ‘Umar, is the source of the hadith’s widespread dissemination. The remaining miscellaneous hadiths are connected with two figures from the late second century.²⁹⁸

In short, although the variants are linked to very early figures, a lack of consistency in transmission can only date the hadiths to one or two generations after them. It is likely that the propagators of these hadiths are Ghaylān b. Jarīr, al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān, Ḥammād b. Zayd, Zayd b. Aslam and Sharīk. Other key figures are found in the spread of this phrase but not on a wide scale or through enough transmitters. They are Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh and ‘Āṣim b. ‘Ubayd Allah.

3.1.1. Al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān

The most politically quietist Prophetic hadith about dying a *jāhili* death is attributed to the Companion Ibn ‘Abbās. A typical example of this hadith states: “He who sees something in his leader that he hates must be patient, for the one who separates from the community [of Muslims] even an inch/span and dies [in that state], will die as those who died in the *jāhiliyya*.”²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷ This is by no means an exhaustive study of these hadiths. It is likely that other variants exist. The ones included are simply the ones that were found.

²⁹⁸ One version transmitted via Mu‘āwiya b. Abū Sufyān is spread by the Kūfan Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh (d. 193) while another single strand going back to Ibn ‘Abbās is spread by the Damascene Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān Abū Jamāhir (d. 204).

²⁹⁹ مَنْ رَأَى مِنْ أَمِيرِهِ شَيْئًا يَكْرَهُهُ فَلْيَصْبِرْ عَلَيْهِ فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ فَارَقَ الْجَمَاعَةَ شَيْئًا فَمَاتَ، إِلَّا مَاتَ مَيِّتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً; Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* #7054.

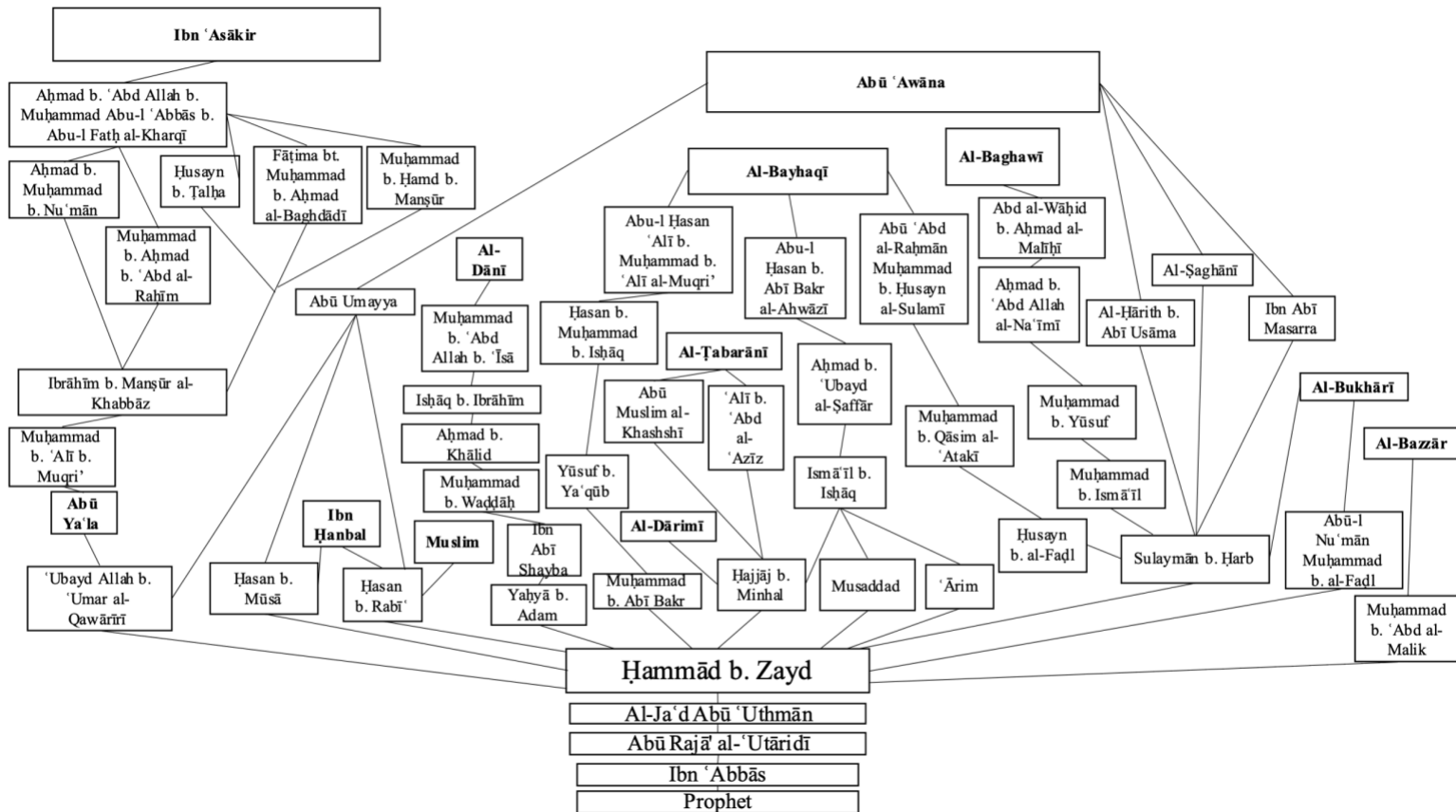
Of the 22 variants in this hadith cluster, 21 are linked to the Basran al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān (d. 127)³⁰⁰ who appears two generations after Ibn ‘Abbās.³⁰¹ They are recorded in the works of 12 collectors.³⁰² Al-Ja‘d transmits the hadith to four students—‘Abd al-Wārith, Ḥammād b. Salama, Sa‘īd b. Zayd, and Ḥammād b. Zayd. 17 variants are linked to Ḥammād b. Zayd. While his transmissions qualify him as a common link, the below analysis of the remaining variants indicate an earlier source of the hadith’s dissemination. The versions transmitted through Sa‘īd and ‘Abd al-Wārith differ from Ḥammād, with their own unique characteristics as well as shared features. Their differences suggest an independent line of oral transmission, separating them from Ḥammād b. Zayd while simultaneously showing enough commonality with Ḥammād to indicate a shared source. As all variants include the same chain of transmission—to al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān—it is tentatively concluded that he is the common source of these transmissions.

³⁰⁰ One other variant is transmitted by a contemporary of al-Ja‘d, through the same teacher, Abū Rajā’ al-‘Uṭāridī. However, this variant is only recorded in Ibn Abī Shayba and the name of the contemporary is disputed, either Aḥmar or Ibn Aḥmar. The chain is as follows: Ibn Abī Shayba ← Ghundar ← Shu‘ba ← Aḥmar/Ibn Aḥmar ← Abū Rajā’ al-‘Uṭāridī ← Ibn ‘Abbās ← Prophet

³⁰¹ The chain to al-Ja‘d is as follows: Al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān ← Abū Rajā’ al-‘Uṭāridī ← Ibn ‘Abbās ← Prophet

³⁰² They are: Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb Qawl al-Nabī Satarawna ba’dī Umūran Tunkirūnahā* (#7053 and #7054) and *Bāb al-Sam‘ wa al-Ṭā‘a li-l Imām mā lam takun* (#7143); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb al-Amr bi-Luzūm al-Jamā‘a inda zuhūr* (#55 [1849] and #56 [1849]); Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, *Bāb Musnad ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib* (#2702 and #2825); Al-Bazzār, *Musnad*, *Bāb Musnad Ibn ‘Abbās* (#5343); Abū Ya‘la, *Musnad*, *Bāb Awwal Musnad Ibn ‘Abbās* (#2347); Al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, *Bāb fī Luzūm al-Ṭā‘a wa al-Jamā‘a* (#2561); Abū ‘Awāna, *Mustakhraj*, *Bāb Bayān al-Khabar al-Mawjib li-l Ikhrāj min Umma Muḥammad* (#7178 and #7179); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr*, *Bāb Abū Rajā’ ‘an Ibn ‘Abbās* (#12759); Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Ādāb*, *Bāb fī Faḍl al-Ṣabr wa Intizār al-Faraj wa al-Rujū’* (#760); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sha‘b al-Imān*, *Bāb Faṣl fī Dhakara mā Warada min al-Tashdīd fī al-zulm* (#7093 and #7094); Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-I’tiqād*, *Bāb Ṭā‘a al-Walā wa Luzūm al-Jamā‘a wa Inkār*; Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Saghīr*, *Bāb al-Sam wa al-Ṭā‘a li-l Imām wa man Yanūb ‘anhu* (#3143 and #3144); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kabīr*, *Bāb al-Ṣabr ‘alā Adhā Yasībīhi min Jahha Imāmihi* (#16616); Al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunna*, *Bāb al-Ṣabr ‘alā mā Yakruhu min al-Amūr wa Luzūm* (#2458); Al-Dānī, *Al-Sunan al-Wārīda fī al-Fitan*, *Bāb al-Nahī ‘an al-Khurūj ‘alā al-A‘imma* (#137); Ibn ‘Asākir, *Mu‘jam*, *Bāb Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allah b. Muḥammad Abū al-‘Abbās b. Abī al-Faṭḥ* (#41).

Ḥammād b. Zayd



Ḥammād b. Zayd transmits to eleven students, three of which transmit to at least three others.³⁰³ Two other students are found transmitting to two others.³⁰⁴ All versions going back to Ḥammād are identical in the majority of the text. They all say, “He who sees something in his leader that he hates must be patient,” because to “separate from the community [of Muslims] even an inch/span and dies [in that state], will die as those who died in the *jāhiliyya*.”

The differences in wording are very slight. In order to determine any patterns in the text, the variants through the students of Ḥammād who transmitted to more than one other person must be analysed. However, every single one of these students is part of a combined isnad.³⁰⁵ For example, Ḥasan b. Rabī', Ḥasan b. Mūsā, and 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Umar are all included together in the same transmission, making it impossible to distinguish what was exactly said by each. Because the wording differences are so slight between the variants transmitted through Ḥammād b. Zayd, it is important to know what slight word differences are transmitted if any patterns are to be found in the wording of his students. As these

³⁰³ Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, Ḥajjāj b. Minḥal, and Ḥasan b. Rabī'.

³⁰⁴ Ḥasan b. Mūsā and 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Umar al-Qawāriri.

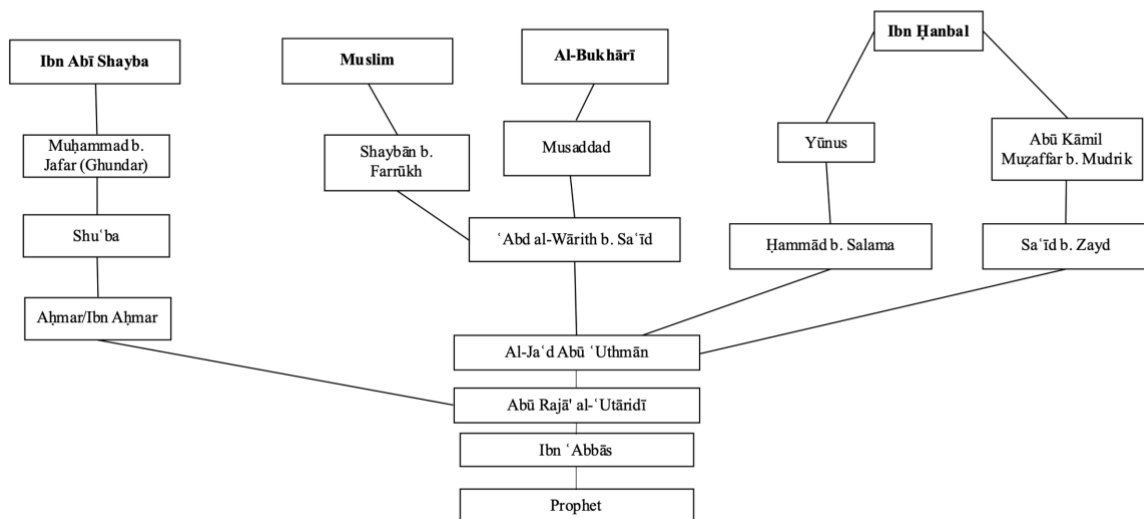
³⁰⁵ A combined isnad is one in which names are shared in the chain, i.e., a transmitter states that he heard the hadith from two or more people of the same generation.

students are part of a combined isnad, it becomes problematic to identify differences between them.

However, a couple of patterns do emerge. For instance, all five versions transmitted through Sulaymān b. Ḥarb state *fa innahu laysa aḥadun yufāriq al-jamā'a*. The word *yatrūk* is also used in place of *fāraq/yufāriq* in the only transmission recorded through Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik.

In short, the transmissions through Ḥammād b. Zayd are nearly indistinguishable in text. The minor differences found are difficult to trace.³⁰⁶ However, some patterns can be seen among Ḥammād's students. This supports the general *isnad-cum-matn* model in which hadith variants become more homogenous among later generations of transmitters when transcription became standardized.

Other Students



One other student of al-Ja'd transmits to more than one other—'Abd al-Wārith transmits to two students, Musaddad³⁰⁷ and Shaybān b. Farrūkh, who transmit to al-Bukhārī and Muslim respectively. Both versions state, “He who hates something from his leader must be patient” for he who “departs from the *sulṭān* even an inch/span” will have “died a *jāhili* death”. Both transmissions include the word *kharaja* instead of *fāraq/yufāriq*. They also both use the word

³⁰⁶ This is because all Hammād's students who narrated to more than one student of their own are combined in transmissions with fellow students of Hammād. This makes it difficult if not impossible to determine what each of his students transmitted word for word.

³⁰⁷ Al-Bayhaqī also records the isnad from Musaddad but does not provide a matn. As a result, this variant cannot be analysed. *Shā'ib al-Imān*, #7094.

sulṭān in place of *jamā'a*. Although there are only two variants transmitted through 'Abd al-Wārith, they share their own distinct features, making them similar to each other and different from variants found transmitted through Ḥammād b. Zayd.

Another student includes wording like the variants linked to 'Abd al-Wārith.³⁰⁸ Although he is the brother of Ḥammād, the variant linked to Sa'īd b. Zayd is closer in wording to 'Abd al-Wārith.³⁰⁹ This variant also introduces new words found nowhere else in this hadith bundle. The first is the word '*amr* instead of *shay*'. The second is the use of *rajul* in the place of *man*. The analysis of this variant shows that it shares some features with the variants transmitted via 'Abd al-Wārith (and not those transmitted through his brother Ḥammād) as well as displaying its own unique features, suggesting it was indeed transmitted independent of the other two students of al-Ja'd. However, as this is the only variant found transmitted via Sa'īd b. Zayd, its attribution to Sa'īd is cautiously proposed.

Ḥammād b. Salama is the last student of al-Ja'd found in a variant recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal. This variant appears to be a hybrid of the other students, including wording found in the variants through Ḥammād b. Zayd (*rā'a*) as well as wording linked to 'Abd al-Wārith and Sa'īd b. Zayd (*yakhruj and sulṭān*).³¹⁰ Though this makes the variant unique (no other variants include both these elements), it does not have any other distinctive features to separate it as autonomous from the other variants. It is possible that Ḥammād b. Salama transmitted this variant independently of the other students of al-Ja'd. It is also possible that the variant is an amalgamated version of the other students. In any case, as it is a single strand, no conclusive results can be provided.

The above discussion of the hadith calling on patience with disliked rulers shows that its definitive propagator is Ḥammād b. Zayd. However, the differences between the variants transmitted via Ḥammād and other students of al-Ja'd indicates a separate line of transmission through the students of al-Ja'd,³¹¹ making them independent of each other. The overall structure of the hadith, with its same message of quietism as well as patterns in wording, suggest a common source, identified as al-Ja'd Abū 'Uthmān.

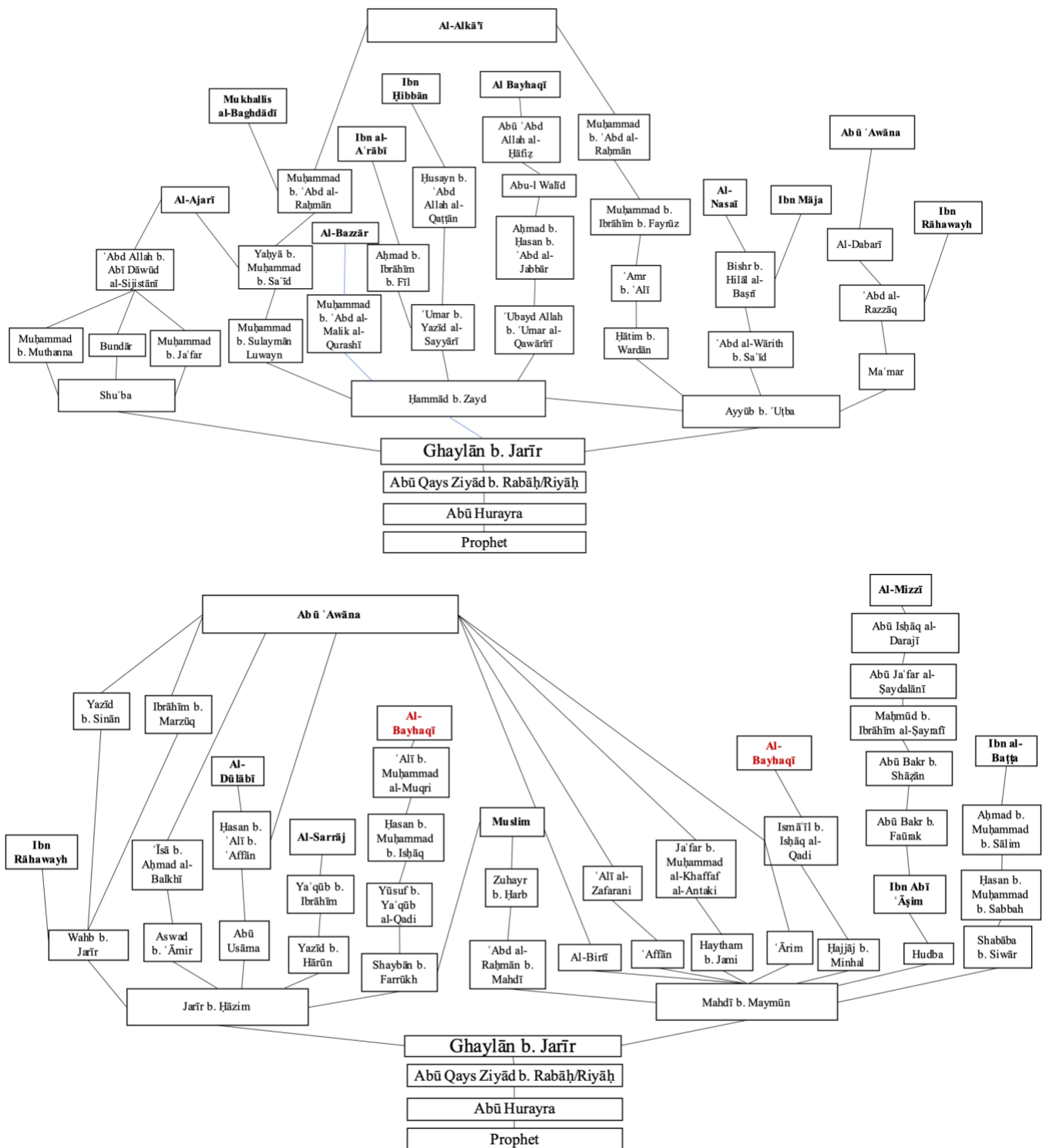
3.1.2. Ghaylān b. Jarīr as CL

³⁰⁸ This version states, "Any man who hates a command from his leader must be patient, for there is not a person who departs from the sulṭān an inch/span, and dies, except that he dies a *jāhili* death." Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* #2825.

³⁰⁹ The differences in wording of variants through 'Abd al-Wārith are shared by Sa'īd b. Zayd, namely the use of *sulṭān* in place of *jamā'a* and *kharaja* instead of *fāraq/yufāriq*.

³¹⁰ The full hadith states, "He who sees something from his leader that he hates should be patient, for there is no person who departs from the sulṭān even an inch/span and dies, except that he dies a *jāhili* death." Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* #2826.

³¹¹ With the possible exception of Ḥammād b. Salama.



A second version of the hadith pertaining to allegiance and dying a *jāhili* death is linked to the Basran Ghaylān b. Jarīr (d. 129). He transmits to five students, all of which transmit to three or more of their students. They are Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, Ḥammād b. Zayd, Ayyūb b. ‘Uṭba, Mahdī b. Maymūn, and Abū Wahb Jarīr b. Ḥāzim. This group of hadīths includes 27

variants recorded in the works of 17 collectors.³¹² These variants begin with,³¹³ “He who defects from obedience and separates from the community [of Muslims] and dies will have died a *jāhilī* death.”³¹⁴ Most variants include two other elements which state:

And whoever fights under the banner of blindness, riled up by tribalism (*yaghḍab li-l ‘aṣabiyya*) and fights for it, calls others to it, and supports others in it—if he is killed for it, will have died a *jāhilī* death. And whoever attacks my *umma*, killing the righteous and the wicked, not sparing even the believer (*mu’min*), and not honouring his pledge, is not from my *umma*/is not from me (and I am not from him).³¹⁵

As most variants of this version of the hadith include long texts, it is unsurprising to find that they are not as consistent in structure as the previous hadith cluster. Although the above wording is generally given, sometimes the sentences are switched, sometimes phrases within sentences are inverted, and some phrases are added while others are absent. Unique wording linked to certain figures is also found.

Some patterns emerge from these variants which can be linked to the students of Ghaylān, as well as others further along the chain of transmission. Among his students, distinct phraseology emerges. For example, in the section warning those who attack the Prophet’s *umma*, all variants which state that those people are not from the Prophet/from the Prophet’s *umma* are transmitted via Jarīr b. Ḥāzim. In the section describing those who fight blindly, most variants state they will die a *jāhilī* death. However, those variants stating they are not from the Prophet or from his *umma* are traced back to Maḥdī b. Maymūn.

³¹² They are Ibn Abī ‘Aṣim, *Al-Sunna, Bāb mā Dhakara ‘an al-Nabī min Amrihi bi-Luzūm al-Jamā’a* (#90); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Bāb al-Amr bi-Luzūm al-Jamā’a inda zuḥūr* (#53 [1848] and #54 [1848]); Al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan al-Kubrā, Bāb al-Taghlīz fīman Qātil Thāt Raya ‘Umyā* (#3566), Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Bāb al-‘Aṣabiyya* (#3948); Al-Bazzār, *Musnad, Bāb Musnad Abī Ḥamza Anas b. Mālīk* (#9465 and #9563); Ibn Baṭṭa, *Al-Ibāna al-Kubrā, Bāb Dhakara ma Amar bihi al-Nabī min Luzūm al-Jamā’a wa al-Tahdhīr min al-Furqa* (#108); Al-Dūlābī, *Al-Kunya wa al-Asmā’, Bāb man Kunyatuhu Abū Qays wa Abū Qayla Abū Qays* (#1625); Al-Sarrāj, *Ḥadīth, Al-Juz al-Ḥadī ‘Ashar min Ḥadīth Abī al-‘Abbas* (#2701); Abū ‘Awāna, *Mustakhraj, Bāb Bayān al-Khabar al-Mawjib li-l Ikhrāj min Umma Muḥammad* (#7171 and #7172); Ibn Rāhawayh, *Musnad, Bāb mā Yarwi ‘an Khilās b. ‘Amr wa ‘Ammār b. Abī* (#145 and #146); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kubrā, Bāb al-Ṣabr ‘alā Adhā Yasibihi min Jahha Imāmihi* (#16611) and *Bāb Shahāda ahl al-‘Aṣabiyya* (#21075); Al-Alkā’ī, *Sharḥ Uṣūl I’tiqad ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā’a, Bāb Siyāq mā Rawā ‘an al-Nabī fī al-Ḥathth ‘alā Ittibā’ al-Jamā’a wa al-Sawād al-‘Azam* (#141); Al-Ajarī, *Al-Sharī’a, Bāb Dhakara Amar al-Nabī Ummatuhu bi-Luzūm al-Jamā’a wa Tahdhīrihi Iyyahum al-Furqa* (#10); Mukhallīṣ al-Baghdādī, *Al-Mukhallasiyyāt, al-Juz al-‘Ashir min al-Mukhallasiyyāt* (#2271); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Bāb Dhakara Waṣaf al-Rāya al-‘Amiyya allati Athbāt liman* (4580); Ibn al-‘Arābī, *Mu’jam, Bāb Yā* (#925); Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl* (#4037).

³¹³ Only one variant recorded in the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja (#3948) leaves out this text entirely. The remaining 26 variants include it.

³¹⁴ Seven variants end the hadīth here. Three of these are linked to the same key figure Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣā’id, recorded by al-Alkā’ī (#141), al-Ajarī (#10), and Mukhallīṣ al-Baghdādī (#2271). The remaining four variants are linked to two students of Ghaylān, Maḥdī b. Maymūn and Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, recorded by Ibn Baṭṭa (#108), al-Dūlābī (#1625), al-Sarrāj (#2701), and Ibn Abī ‘Aṣim (#90). These variants do not appear to be linked to any transmitters.

³¹⁵ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّهُ قَالَ: مَنْ خَرَجَ مِنَ الطَّاعَةِ، وَفَارَقَ الْجَمَاعَةَ فَمَاتَ، مَاتَ مَيِّتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً، وَمَنْ قَاتَلَ تَحْتَ رَايَةٍ عَمِيَّةٍ يَعْصِبُ لِعَصْبَةٍ، أَوْ يَدْعُو إِلَى عَصْبَةٍ، أَوْ يَنْصُرُ عَصْبَةً، فَقَتِلَ، فَقَتْلُهُ جَاهِلِيَّةٌ، وَمَنْ خَرَجَ عَلَى أُمَّتِي، يَنْصُرُ بَرَّهَا وَفَاجِرَهَا، وَلَا يَتَخَانُنِي مِنْ مُؤْمِنِيهَا، وَلَا يَفِي لِيذِي عَهْدِي عَهْدَهُ، فَلَيْسَ مِنِّي وَلَسْتُ مِنْهُ. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, #53 (1848).

Distinctive wording is linked to certain transmitters. Two variants include ‘Abd al-Razzāq and Ma‘mar in the chain of transmission. Both use the same wording not found in any other variant.³¹⁶ The single strand linked to Ghaylān also possesses unique features.³¹⁷ Patterns are found in the structure of the text associated with students of the common link.³¹⁸

There are some shared elements among these variants. All the longer texts begin the hadith with the first sentence. All longer variants also include a warning to “whoever fights under the banner of the blind for tribalism” as being distanced from the Muslims. Lastly, the longer variants state that whoever, “defects from the *umma*, killing the righteous and the wicked, not sparing its believers (*mu‘min*) and not honouring his pledge” is not part of the Muslims.³¹⁹ It can be assumed that these consistently transmitted elements were likely transmitted by Ghaylān b. Jarīr to his students.

To conclude, the version of the hadith describing a *jāhili* death as one who defects from obedience can be traced to Ghaylān b. Jarīr. Most of these variants include two additional elements about fighting for tribalism and/or attacking Muslims. According to this hadith version, these actions also equate to a *jāhili* death. As the above analysis shows, the textual patterns are connected to students of the common link as well as others in the chain of transmission. These patterns are found in wording, phraseology and structure. The patterns illustrate the unique features linked to certain transmitters, evidencing their independence of one another while linking them to the same source—Ghaylān b. Jarīr.

As has likely been noticed, both above hadith versions share names in the transmission process. Most notably is Ḥammād b. Zayd, whose prominence in the first hadith group made him the central figure in the spread of that tradition. He is not as prominent in the transmission of the second version of the hadith. In fact, he only narrates directly from Ghaylān on one occasion. In the other six variants, he narrates via Ayyūb b. ‘Uṭba from

³¹⁶ “*kharaja ‘alā ummatī bi sayfihī*”, “*ahdin bi ‘ahdihī*”, and “*mu‘minan li-īmānihī*”.

³¹⁷ This variant is linked to Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, recorded by al-Ajarī. It is the only one to use the term *khalafa* instead of *kharaja* as well as *i‘tarada* instead of *kharaja*. A unique phrase found nowhere else in this bundle is also given—*wa wala li ‘asaba*. These characteristics suggest the variant evolved independently of the transmissions through the other students of Ghaylān. However, as this variant is a single strand, it is unknown whether it was transmitted by Shu‘ba.

³¹⁸ In all the longer variants linked to Jarīr b. Ḥāzim and Mahdī b. Maymūn, the sentence on fighting blindly comes before the one about attacking the *umma*.

³¹⁹ One variant recorded in Ibn Māja (#3948) only transmits the second sentence. However, al-Nasā‘ī (#3566) also records the same chain as Ibn Māja with the longer text. This discrepancy is likely due to Ibn Māja not including the full text of the hadith.

Ghaylān.³²⁰ Some of Ḥammād's students transmitting the version of the hadith linked to al-Ja'd are also found in those linked to Ghaylān.³²¹

Other names found in both versions of the hadith include 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd,³²² Shu'ba,³²³ Ismā'īl b. Ishāq,³²⁴ and Shaybān b. Farrūkh.³²⁵ The overlap in names is not particularly surprising considering both common links and their students in these two hadith versions are categorized as Basran and were spread at the same time. The likelihood of students and teachers transmitting these two versions of the hadith, which relays the same message about practising obedience or else dying a *jāhili* death, is increased by the close proximity in which its propagators lived.

³²⁰ It is more likely that Ḥammād transmitted via Ayyūb, and that his name was dropped in the variant linked directly from Ḥammād to Ghaylān (recorded by al-Bazzār #9465 and #9563).

³²¹ Some of these students are found narrating both versions of the hadith from Ḥammād while others do not. Ḥajjāj b. Minhal and 'Ārim are two figures who transmit from Ḥammād in the first version but not the second. In the second version, they are found transmitting from Maḥdī b. Maymūn instead. This is likely because the chain of transmission was shorter from Maḥdī than from Ḥammād. Transmitters linked to Ḥammād in both versions of the hadith include Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik (who is the only student of Ḥammād to not include Ayyūb in the transmission) and 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Umar al-Qawārīrī.

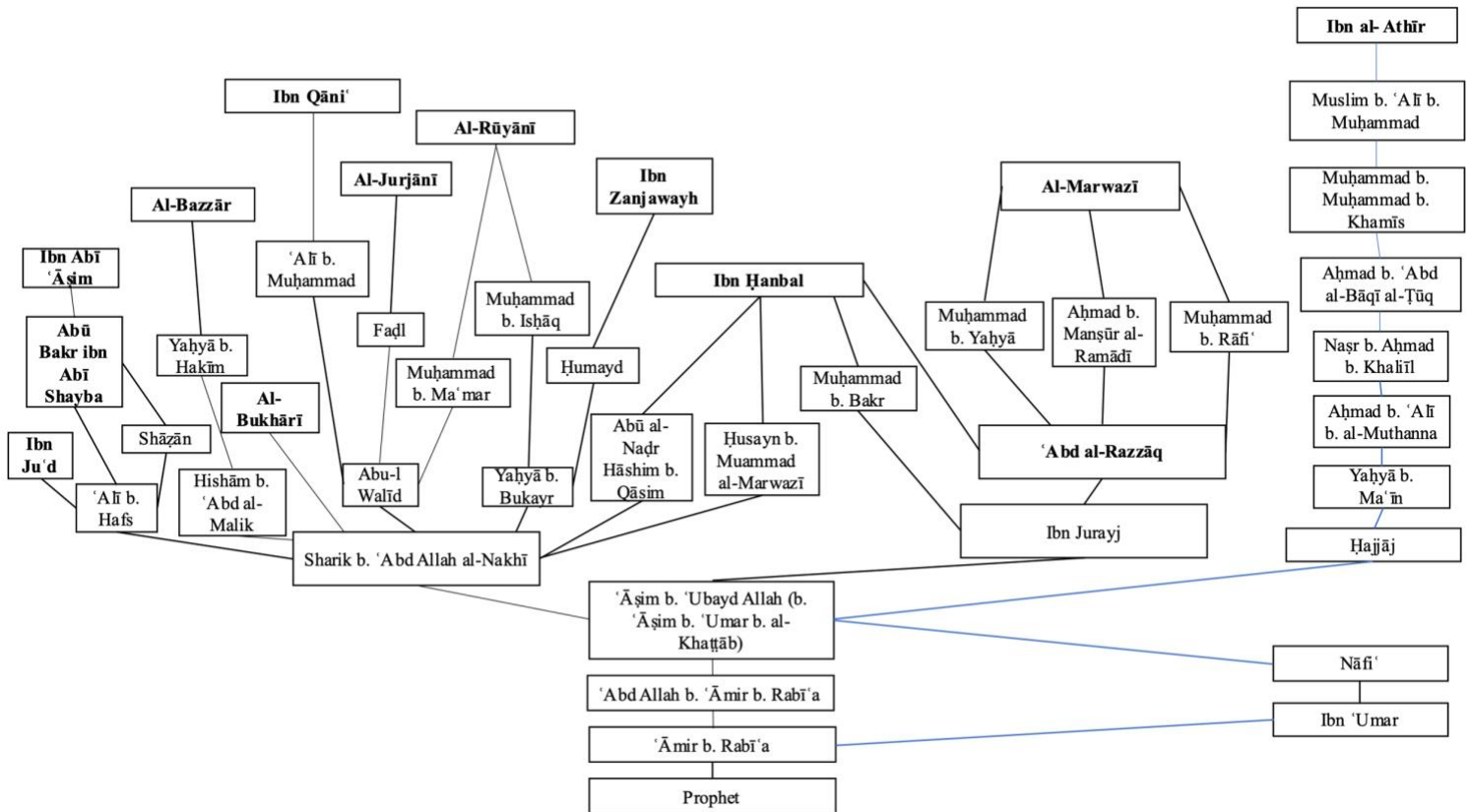
³²² 'Abd al-Wārith does not transmit directly from Ghaylān but through Ayyūb b. 'Uṭba in two variants recorded by al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja.

³²³ In both cases, Shu'ba is found in one collector's work. In the first group, the variant with Shu'ba in the transmission is the only one to not be linked to al-Ja'd Abū 'Uthmān (Ibn Abī Shayba ← Ghundar ← Shu'ba ← Aḥmar/Ibn Aḥmar ← Abū Rajā' al-'Uṭāridī ← Ibn 'Abbās ← Prophet). In the second group, Shu'ba transmits directly from Ghaylān but is only found in the work of al-Ajarī (#10).

³²⁴ Recorded by al-Bayhaqī in the first hadith cluster (#7093 and #16616) and al-Bayhaqī (#7092) and Abū 'Awāna (#7172) in the second hadith cluster.

³²⁵ Shaybān transmits to and is recorded by Muslim in both versions of the hadith.

3.1.3. 'Āṣim b. 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

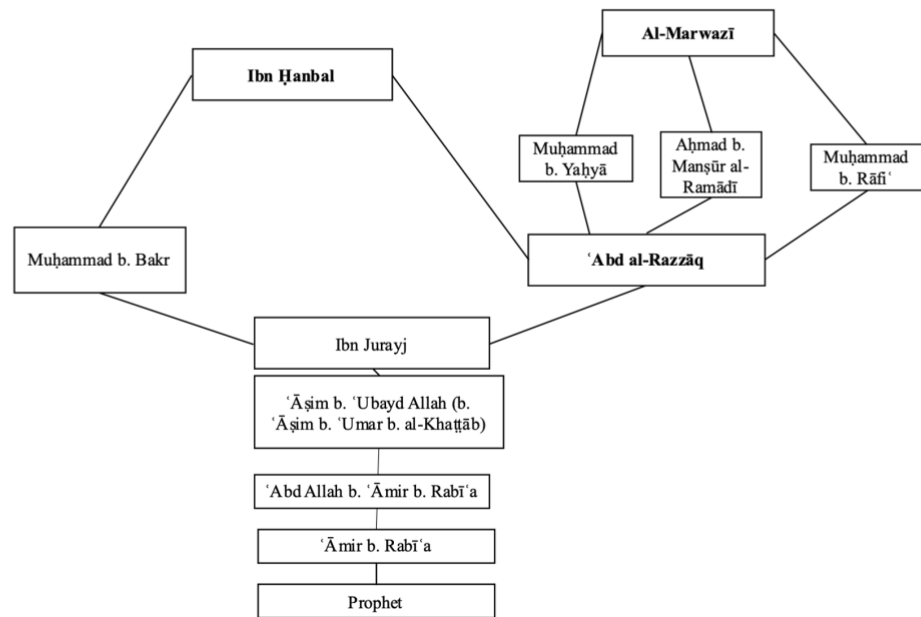


Another name linked to dying a *jāhilī* death is 'Āṣim b. 'Ubayd Allah. 16 variants including his name are found in the works of 13 collectors.³²⁶ However, he is linked to two different hadiths, making it less likely, though not impossible, that he is the source of their transmission. Two students of 'Āṣim are linked to two separate hadiths—Ibn Jurayj and Sharīk. The hadith associated with Ibn Jurayj states the following:

There will come a time after I am gone when there will be rulers who pray on time and those who will postpone praying on time. Pray, nevertheless, with them (in congregation); for if they pray on time and you pray with them it is to your and their advantage, and if they postpone it and you nevertheless pray with them, it is to your advantage and their disadvantage. Whoever breaks from the community [of Muslims] dies a *jāhilī* death. And whoever rescinds his pledge will come forward on the Day of Resurrection having no justification (for such behaviour).³²⁷

³²⁶ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ, Bāb man Kariha al-Khurūj fī al-Fitna wa Ta'ūdh 'anhā* (#37200); Ibn Abī 'Āṣim *Al-Sunna, Bāb fī Dhakara al-Sam' wa al-Tā'a* (#1058); Ibn Ju'd, *Musnad, Bāb 'Āṣim b. 'Ubayd Allah* (#2266); Al-Bukhārī, *Tārīkh, Bāb 'Āmir b. Rabī'a al-Anazī* (#2943); al-Jurjānī, *Al-Kāmil fī Ḍu'afā al-Rijāl, Bāb 'Āṣim b. 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar*; al-Rūyānī, *Musnad, Bāb Ḥadīth 'Āmir b. Rabī'a* (#1341); Ibn Qānī, *Mu'jam al-Ṣaḥāba, Bāb 'Āmir b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Mālik b. Rabī'a*; Ibn Zanjawayh, *Al-Amwāl, Bāb al-Tashdīd fī Mufāriqa al-A'imma wa al-Khurūj* (#42) and al-Bazzār record hadiths through Sharīk. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaḥ, Bāb al-Umarā' Yu'akharun al-Salāt* (#3779) and al-Marwazī, *Ta'zīm Qadar al-Salāt, Bāb Dhakara al-Akḥbār allati Aḥtajjat bihi* (#1022 and #1023) record hadiths through Ibn Jurayj. Ibn Ḥanbal records both hadiths, *Musnad, Bāb Ḥadīth 'Āmir b. Rabī'a* (#15681 and #15693).

³²⁷ إِنَّهُ سَتَكُونُ أَمْرَاءُ بَعْدِي، يُصَلُّونَ الصَّلَاةَ لَوْ قَتَبَتْهَا، وَيُؤَخَّرُونَ عَنْ وَقْتِهَا، فَصَلُّوْهَا مَعَهُمْ، فَإِنْ صَلُّوْهَا لَوْ قَتَبَتْهَا وَصَلَّيْتُمْوْهَا مَعَهُمْ فَلَكُمْ وَلَهُمْ، وَإِنْ أَخْرَوْهَا عَنْ وَقْتِهَا فَصَلَّيْتُمْوْهَا مَعَهُمْ فَلَكُمْ وَعَلَيْهِمْ، مَنْ فَارَقَ الْجَمَاعَةَ مَاتَ مَيِّتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً، وَمَنْ نَكَثَ الْعَهْدَ فَمَاتَ نَاكِثًا لِعَهْدِهِ جَاءَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ لَا حُجَّةَ لَهُ 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaḥ* #3779.



This version appears to be a combination of two separate hadiths—one calling on people to pray with the leader when he delays it and another calling on people to follow the leader or else die a *jāhili* death. The above narration adds the phrase about dying a *jāhili* death to reinforce the argument that the ruler must be prayed behind. As the focus of the hadith is on praying with the ruler, it likely belongs in another hadith cluster emphasizing the role of the ruler as prayer leader.³²⁸ This was discussed in the preceding chapter.³²⁹

Two students of Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767) are recorded as transmitting this hadith from him, for a total of six variants.³³⁰ A third name is given as a transmitter from ‘Āṣim → Ḥajjāj who narrates the same hadith as Ibn Jurayj but is only found in a (broken) single strand

³²⁸ Another study analyses (what is likely) the same hadith, stating: “The Prophet said, ‘O Abū Dharr! After me you will be confronted with imams who kill [neglect] the ṣalāt. Should you come across them, observe the ṣalāt at its appointed time and perform your prayers with the imams as an act of supererogation.’” See: Stijn Aerts, “‘Pray with Your Leader’: A Proto-Sunni Quietist Tradition”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, pp. 29-45.

³²⁹ I argue that these hadiths calling on people to pray with the leader were likely a response to the activist elements of early Muslim society who accused the rulers of ‘killing’ the prayer (i.e. delaying it beyond its time limit).

³³⁰ Recorded by three collectors: ‘Abd al-Razzāq (#3779), Ibn Ḥanbal (#15681 and #15693) and al-Marwazī (#1022 and #1023).

recorded by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630).³³¹ In total, seven variants are found transmitting the above tradition. Four of the seven variants include an additional section after the Prophetic tradition in which ‘Āṣim is asked who he heard this hadith from, to which he responds with the other two names in the transmission.³³² However, there are no patterns to be found in this narration. For example, ‘Abd al-Razzāq records the hadith in his *Muṣannaf* without reporting the questioning over the chain of transmission while al-Marwazī, who narrates through ‘Abd al-Razzāq, reports one variant without the questioning and another one with it. Ibn Ḥanbal also narrates through ‘Abd al-Razzāq and includes the questioning at the end.³³³

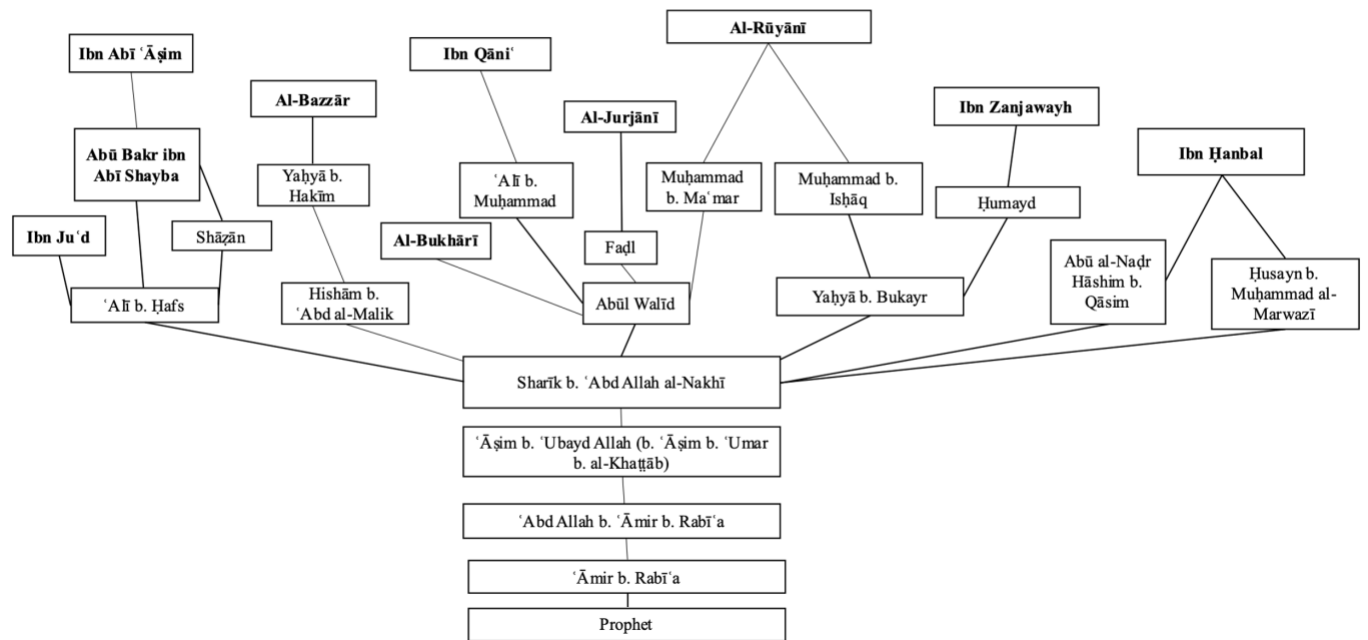
These inconsistencies would suggest that Ibn Jurayj is not the source of this hadith’s transmission. Only a few hadiths are linked to him and of those, most are transmitted through ‘Abd al-Razzāq. Of those narrated through ‘Abd al-Razzāq there is some discrepancy, producing doubt over the variants transmitted through him. As a result, Ibn Jurayj cannot be claimed as the source of this hadith.

Sharīk b. ‘Abd Allah al-Nakh‘ī

³³¹ Ḥajjaj (d. 205) is a student of Ibn Jurayj, and the text of the variant associated with him is the same as the one given by Ibn Jurayj. It is possible that this broken hadith is linked to Ibn Jurayj whose name was omitted from the chain of transmission. It is more likely that someone in the line of narrators created the isnad. This is supported by the fact that the isnad is given through two chains—one is the same as the others in this hadith cluster (‘Āṣim b. Ubayd Allah ← ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Āmir b. Rabī‘a ← ‘Āmir b. Rabī‘a ← Prophet) while the other goes through Nāfi‘ (‘Āṣim b. Ubayd Allah ← Nāfi‘ ← Ibn ‘Umar ← Prophet) and was likely confused with another hadith version discussed in the next section. Because this is a single strand, it cannot be connected to any name in the line of transmission.

³³² ‘Āṣim b. Ubayd Allah ← ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Āmir b. Rabī‘a ← ‘Āmir b. Rabī‘a.

³³³ This discrepancy may be due to ‘Abd al-Razzāq attempting to clear any confusion in the isnad. Instead of giving one half of the isnad before the Prophetic tradition and the other half after, he puts the entire chain of transmission before the matn, as per the standard structure of hadith transmission. In one case, al-Marwazī follows this method and does the same. In the other, he reports the hadith as was likely transmitted by Ibn Jurayj, as does Ibn Ḥanbal. Ibn al-Athīr also records the original confusing structure through Ḥajjāj from ‘Āṣim b. Ubayd Allah. However, as there are only six variants of this hadith version, it remains unknown if ‘Abd al-Razzāq narrated the hadith both ways.



The other student of 'Āṣim b. 'Ubayd Allah linked to a hadith on dying a *jāhili* death is Sharīk b. 'Abd Allah al-Nakhī (d. 177). There are two forms of this hadith, a short version (found in six variants) and a long version (found in four variants).³³⁴ The shortened hadith states, “Whoever dies without obedience will have died a *jāhili* death and he who casts off his pact after he has made it will have no justification when he meets with God.”³³⁵ The long form adds to the above with something like the following, “No man shall be with a woman in private as *Shayṭān* becomes their third [in company]; he [*Shayṭān*] keeps a distance from two [men]. Whoever is pleased with doing good and displeased with doing bad is a *mu'min*.”³³⁶

Again, the hadith on dying a *jāhili* death appears to be coupled with another popular hadith, this one about Satan being in the company of a man and a woman who are alone. It is curious that both Sharīk and Ibn Jurayj are linked to hadiths which include the phrase about dying a *jāhili* death with entirely different Prophetic sayings—one calling on people to pray with the leader (Ibn Jurayj) and the other warning men and women not to be alone (Sharīk).³³⁷

³³⁴ These ten variants are recorded by ten of the collectors in the works already mentioned: Al-Bukhārī, Ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Ju'd, Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, Ibn Zanjawayh, Al-Bazzār, Al-Jurjānī, al-Rūyānī and Ibn Qānī'.

³³⁵ مِنْ مَاتَ وَلَا طَاعَةَ عَلَيْهِ مَاتَ مِيتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً , وَمَنْ خَلَعَهَا بَعْدَ عَقْدِهِ إِذَاهَا فَلَا حُجَّةَ لَهُ . *Muṣannaḥ* Ibn Abī Shayba, #37200.

³³⁶ أَلَا لَا يَخْلُونَ رَجُلٌ بِأَمْرَةِ فَإِنَّ الشَّيْطَانَ ثَالِثُهُمَا، وَهُوَ مِنَ الْإِنْتِنِينَ أُبْعَدَ مَنْ سَرَّتْهُ حَسَنَتُهُ وَسَاءَتْهُ سَيِّئَتُهُ فَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ #3817. *Musnad* al-Bazzar

³³⁷ It seems less plausible that these two transmitters coupled the phrase with other hadiths and more likely that their mutual teacher 'Āṣim is the source of these amalgamations.

Variants linked to Sharīk display consistencies among his students, suggesting he is the source of their transmissions. Six students reportedly transmit this hadith from Sharīk, three of which give only the shorter version.³³⁸ One student is only linked with the long version.³³⁹ A difference in wording can also be attributed to three of Sharīk’s students in which “from his neck” is added to “casting off his pact”.³⁴⁰ These minor divergences suggest that Sharīk’s students did transmit from him, independent of one another.

As this hadith varies significantly from the one transmitted via Ibn Jurayj, it cannot be traced to anyone before Sharīk. Neither is the version from Ibn Jurayj traced back to ‘Āṣim. The discrepancies between the two are too great to link together in the figure of ‘Āṣim b. ‘Ubayd Allah. However, these two versions share many commonalities. In addition to sharing the same chain of transmission,³⁴¹ all hadith variants describe ways in which a person would die a *jāhili* death resulting from a lack of allegiance or unity with the larger body of Muslims. Most variants also include the consequence for breaking one’s pact for which the pact breaker will have no justification/excuse when he meets with God. Though this is not enough to establish the common link as ‘Āṣim, it does suggest a connection between Sharīk and Ibn Jurayj, possibly through their teacher ‘Āṣim. Furthermore, the combination of the *jāhili* death phrase with other hadiths reinforces the impression that a mutual figure transmitted these peculiar amalgamations, which would indicate ‘Āṣim as the source. However, this is not enough evidence to establish ‘Āṣim as a key figure.

3.1.4. Ibn ‘Umar

‘Abd Allah b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is linked to 33 hadith variants describing a *jāhili* death in relation to governance and allegiance. Half of these hadiths are transmitted through Ibn ‘Umar’s student Zayd b. Aslam, sometimes through Zayd’s father, a mawlā of Ibn ‘Umar. Nine variants are transmitted through another mawlā of Ibn ‘Umar, Nāfi‘ (in two variants, Nāfi‘ shares the chain of transmission with a third mawlā, Sālim). The remaining eight variants are single strands through six students of Ibn ‘Umar. Their analysis is less conclusive. As a result, this section will focus mainly on the transmissions through Zayd b. Aslam and Nāfi‘/Sālim.

Zayd b. Aslam

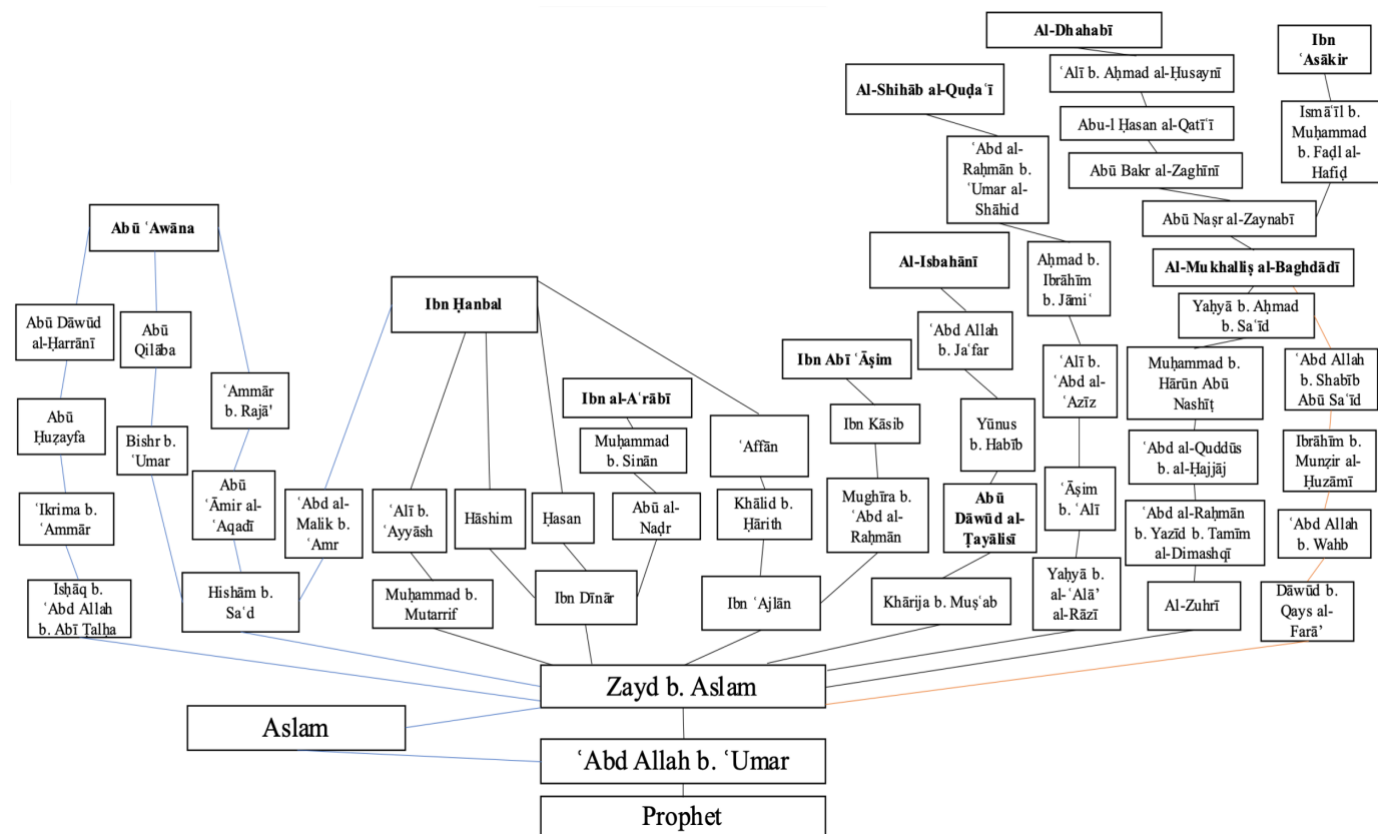
³³⁸ They are Abū al-Naḍr Hashim b. Qāsim and Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Marwadhī who are in a combined isnad recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal (#15696). The third student of Sharīk is ‘Alī b. Ḥafṣ who narrates to three students, all with separate chains of transmission found in the works of Ibn Ju’d, Ibn Abī Shayba, and Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim.

³³⁹ The chain with Sharīk’s student Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik is recorded by al-Bazzār.

³⁴⁰ They are Abū al-Naḍr and Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad (in the same transmission) as well as Yaḥya b. Abī Bukayr in two variants recorded in Ibn Zanjawayh and al-Rūyānī.

³⁴¹ ‘Āṣim b. Ubayd Allah ← ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Āmir b. Rabī‘a ← ‘Āmir b. Rabī‘a ← Prophet

16 hadith variants are linked through the figure of Zayd b. Aslam.³⁴² The text of the variants reaching Zayd usually state, “whoever removes his hand from obedience will have no excuse on the Day of Resurrection. And whoever dies separated from the community [of Muslims] will have died a *jāhilī* death.”³⁴³



Patterns emerge in the variants transmitted from the students of Zayd. All three variants from Zayd’s student, Hishām b. Sa’d, give the same unique phrase³⁴⁴ as well as provide a context.³⁴⁵ All variants through Zayd’s student ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allah b. Dīnār are identical in wording. Two variants through a third student, Khārīja b. Muṣ‘ab, do not include

³⁴² Found in the works of nine scholars: Ibn Abī ‘Āšim, *Al-Sunna, Bāb fī Dhakara al-Sam‘ wa al-Tā’a* (#1075) and *Bāb mā Dhakara ‘an al-Nabī min Amrihi bi-Luzum al-Jamā’a* (#91); Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad, Bāb ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Umar* (#5386, #5551, #5676, #6048, #6423); Abū ‘Awāna, *Mustakhraj, Bāb Bayān ‘Iqāb man Taraka al-Tā’a wa Nakatha al-Bay’a* (#7155-#7157); Ibn al-A’rabī, *Mu’jam, Bāb Yā* (#695); *Mukhalliṣ al-Baghdādī, Al-Mukhallasiyāt, Juz al-Awwal min al-Mukhallasiyāt* (#208 and #209); Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad, Bāb Zayd b. Aslam ‘an Ibn ‘Umar* (#2025); Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat al-Awliyā’ wa Tabaqāt al-Asfiyā’, Bāb Zayd b. Aslam wa minhum al-Ḥalīm al-Aḥlam*; Al-Qaḍā’ī, *Musnad, Bāb man Naza’a yaduhu min al-Tā’a lam yakun lahu Yawm* (#450); Ibn Khallāl, *Al-Sunna, Bāb Awwal Kitāb al-Musnad mā Yabtada’ bihi min Tā’a* (#10).

³⁴³ مَنْ نَزَعَ يَدًا مِنْ طَاعَةٍ، فَلَا حُجَّةَ لَهُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ، وَمَنْ مَاتَ مُفَارِقًا لِلْجَمَاعَةِ، فَقَدْ مَاتَ مِيتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* #5386

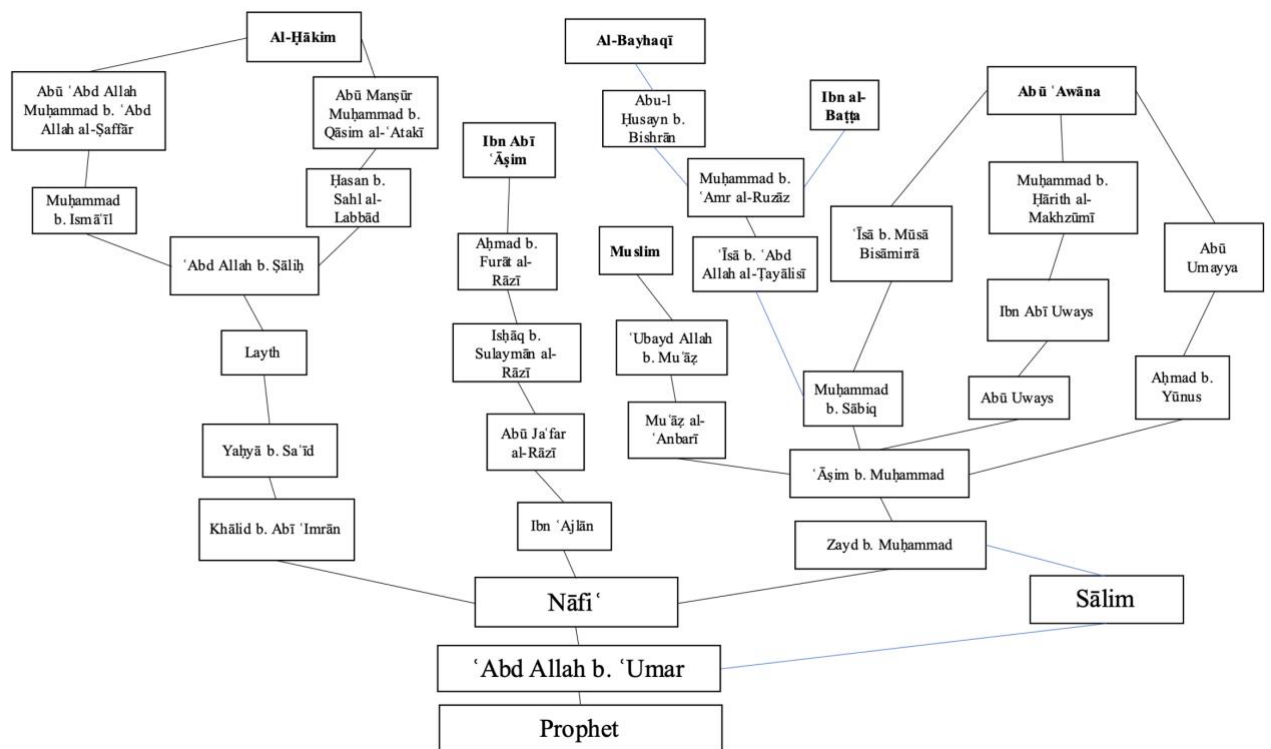
³⁴⁴ *Fa innahu yu’ṭi yawm al-qiyāma*

³⁴⁵ In this context the father of Zayd b. Aslam is with ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Umar who enter the home of ‘Abd Allah b. Muṭī’. After an exchange of greetings, Ibn ‘Umar tells Ibn Muṭī’ that the purpose of his visit is to narrate a Prophetic hadith he had heard and does so.

a phrase found in other variants as well as substitute one phrase for another.³⁴⁶ The remaining variants include slight word variations. However, as they are all single strands, it is difficult to attach any names to them. The unique features transmitted by the students of Zayd as well as their overall consistency indicate he is the common source of their transmissions.

Nāfi‘

The only other student of Ibn ‘Umar associated with more than one person is Nāfi‘, linked to three students: Zayd b. Muḥammad, Ibn ‘Ajlan, and Khālīd b. Abī ‘Imrān. Nine chains of transmission include these figures.³⁴⁷ However, only two figures in these chains transmit to more than one person—‘Āṣim b. Muḥammad³⁴⁸ and ‘Abd Allah b. Ṣāliḥ.³⁴⁹



³⁴⁶ The phrase on removing one's hand is missing in these variants. Both variants also exclude the phrase on dying separate from the Muslim community, replacing it with death without an imam (*bi ghayr imām*). The chains of transmission include Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī ← Khārijā b. Muṣ'ab ← Zayd b. Aslam. Either Abū Dāwūd or Khārijā are responsible for these discrepancies, likely Khārijā as Abū Dāwūd was a collector and would not likely change a hadith he had written down. However, Khārijā orally transmitted the hadith and was more likely to make the smaller changes in wording expected in the process of oral transmission. These variants are recorded by Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī and Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī.

³⁴⁷ Recorded in Abū 'Awāna, *Mustakhraj, Bāb Bayān al-Khabar al-Mawjib li-l Ikhraj min Umma Muḥammad* (#7153 and #7154); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kubrā, Bāb al-Ṣabr 'alā Adhā Yasībīhi min Jahha Imāmihi* (#16612); Ibn al-Baṭṭa, *Al-Ibāna al-Kubrā, Bāb Dhakara ma Amar bihi al-Nabī al-Luzūm al-Jamā'a wa al-Tahdhīr min al-Furqa* (#138); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Bāb al-Amr bi-Luzūm al-Jamā'a inda zuhūr* (#58 [1851]); Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *Al-Sunna, Bāb fī Dhakara al-Sam' wa al-Ṭā'a* (#1081); Al-Ḥākīm, *Mustadrak 'alā Ṣaḥīḥayn, Bāb Ammā Ḥadīth Ash'ath b. Jābir* (#259) and *Bāb minhum Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Muṭā' al-Qurashī* (#403).

³⁴⁸ The chain is transmitted as follows: 'Āṣim b. Muḥammad ← Zayd b. Muḥammad ← Nāfi' ← Ibn 'Umar ← Prophet

³⁴⁹ 'Abd Allah b. Ṣāliḥ ← Layth ← Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd ← Khālīd b. Abī 'Imrān ← Nāfi' ← Ibn 'Umar ← Prophet

Six variants are linked to ‘Āṣim who transmits to four students.³⁵⁰ The texts of these variants give the same basic structure and meaning, stating, “Whoever removes his hand from obedience will have no justification when he meets God on the Day of Resurrection. And whoever dies without allegiance on his neck will have died a *jāhili* death.”³⁵¹ Of the four collectors who recorded these variants, three include the same context (with slightly different wording) as the one found in transmissions to Zayd b. Aslam.³⁵² Although these patterns suggest the common source of ‘Āṣim b. Muḥammad for this hadith, they do not reach back further in the chain of transmission. An analysis of the other transmitters from Nāfi‘ does not show any pattern which could indicate where differences in wording emerge.

The second student of Nāfi‘ is Ibn ‘Ajlān, but he is found in only one variant. This hadith variant provides the same context as the ones found in variants linked to ‘Āṣim. It includes particular wording found in two variants associated with ‘Āṣim (wording found nowhere else).³⁵³ However, the variants associated with Ibn ‘Ajlān differ in matn from ‘Āṣim, stating, “Whoever breaks his deal has no justification, and whoever dies separated from the community [of Muslims] will have died a *jāhili* death.”³⁵⁴ Though the meaning remains similar to the hadiths transmitted through ‘Āṣim, the wording is substantially different. Interestingly, Ibn ‘Ajlān’s name appears in the narrations of Zayd b. Aslam as his student. However, the two variants through Zayd follow the wording patterns associated with his name, which are markedly different from the variant transmitted via Nāfi‘. This increases the likelihood that Ibn ‘Ajlān did indeed transmit the hadiths as he heard them from Zayd b. Aslam and Nāfi‘ as they are distinct from one another.

The last student of Nāfi‘, Khālid b. Abī ‘Imrān, is found in the transmission of two variants, both of which are recorded by al-Ḥākim. The wording of these variants is also different from the other two students of Nāfi‘, “Whoever defects from the community [of Muslims] even an inch/span will have cast off (*ribqa*) Islam from his neck until he returns to it. Whoever dies without an imam will have died a *jāhili* death.”³⁵⁵ Although each student of

³⁵⁰ Recorded in al-Bayhaqī, Ibn al-Baṭṭa, Muslim and three variants in Abū ‘Awāna.

³⁵¹ مَنْ خَلَعَ يَدًا مِنْ طَاعَةٍ، لَقِيَ اللَّهَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ لَا حُجَّةَ لَهُ، وَمَنْ مَاتَ وَلَيْسَ فِي عُنُقِهِ بَيْعَةٌ، مَاتَ مِيتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً. Muslim #1851.

³⁵² Recorded in Muslim, Ibn al-Baṭṭa and al-Bayhaqī (although none of these collectors included any variants linked to Zayd b. Aslam in their works). Abū ‘Awāna does not include this context in either of the two variants linked to ‘Āṣim b. Muḥammad recorded in his *Mustakhraj* (although he does also record the transmissions linked to Zayd b. Aslam).

³⁵³ When Ibn ‘Umar visits ‘Abd Allah b. Muṭī‘, he tells him that he is not there to sit down (*lam aji’ka li ajlis*) but to tell him a hadith (*wa lākin ji’tuka li uḥaddithaka ḥadīthayn*).

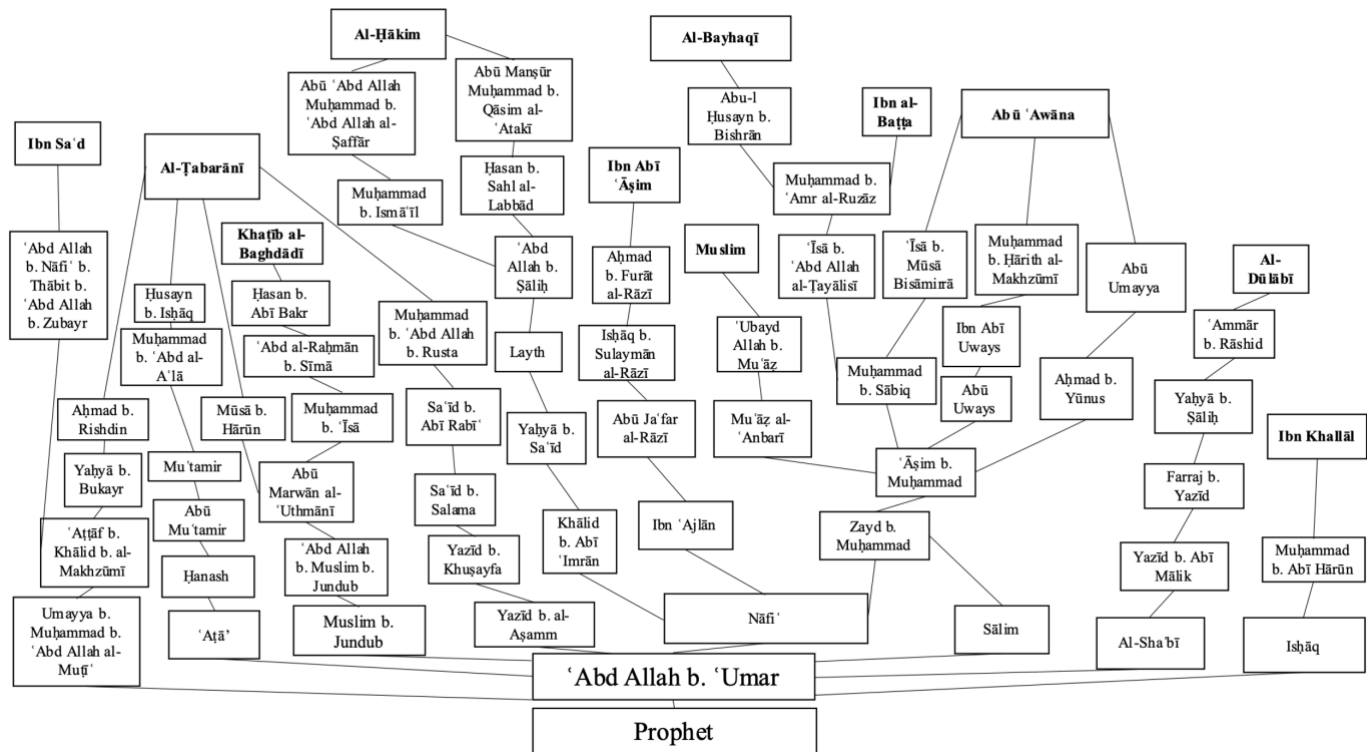
³⁵⁴ مَنْ نَكَثَ صَفْقَتَهُ فَلَا حُجَّةَ لَهُ، وَمَنْ مَاتَ وَهُوَ مُفَارِقٌ لِلْجَمَاعَةِ فَمَوْتُهُ مِيتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً. Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim #1081.

³⁵⁵ مَنْ خَرَجَ مِنَ الْجَمَاعَةِ قَبْدَ شِبْرٍ، فَقَدْ خَلَعَ رِبْقَةَ الْإِسْلَامِ مِنْ عُنُقِهِ حَتَّى يُرَاجِعَهُ، وَقَالَ: «مَنْ مَاتَ وَلَيْسَ عَلَيْهِ إِمَامٌ جَمَاعَةٍ، فَإِنَّ مَوْتَهُ مَوْتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً». Al-Ḥākim #259 and #403.

Nāfi' is consistent in the variants linked to him, they differ from one another in the text of the hadith. They share similarities in context which is always about Ibn 'Umar visiting 'Abd Allah b. Muṭī'. In three variants linked to two students (Zayd and Ibn 'Ajlān), the same unique wording is given in the contexts found nowhere else.

However, these similarities are not enough to prove a shared connection between the students of Nāfi' and Nāfi' himself. It does not make it impossible that some form(s) of the hadith was transmitted by Nāfi'. As the same overall meaning is given in these variants, it is possible that Nāfi' transmitted the same hadith in different ways, with his students and their students after having also transmitted the hadiths slightly different from the original transmission. As these figures are from a very early period, it is unlikely that anything was written down, increasing the likelihood of changes to the narration by each succeeding generation. While this remains a possibility, there are not enough variants available for analysis.

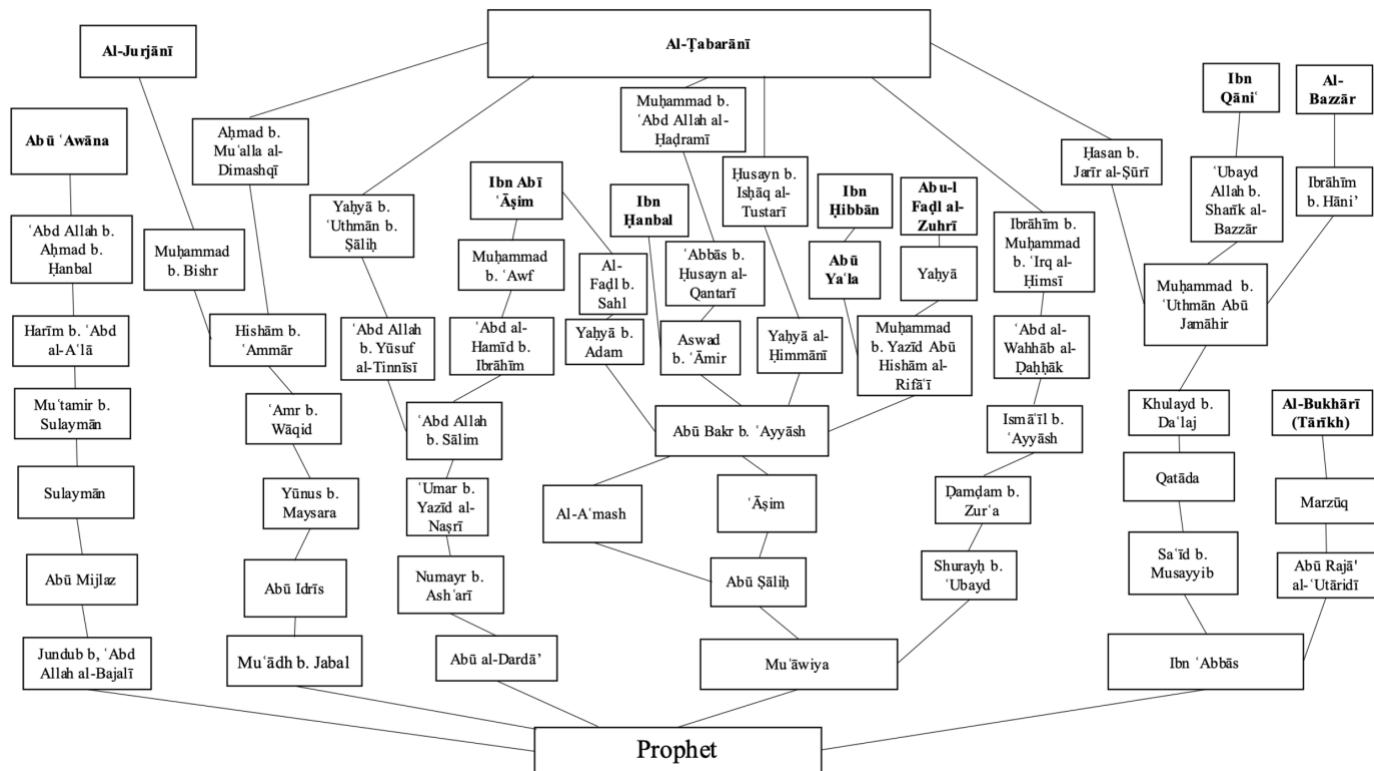
Remaining Variants



The remaining variants linked to Ibn 'Umar are single strands. They are also very different from one another and cannot be linked. The only connection in these variants is the overall message of the necessity of either allegiance, a leader, or not separating from the Muslim community, the consequence of which will be dying a *jāhili* death. These features are shared by all variants linked to Ibn 'Umar.

The lack of textual consistencies means that the hadiths cannot be confidently linked to Ibn ‘Umar. However, those variants linked to his (pupil’s) pupil Zayd b. Aslam do illustrate the consistencies in wording and overall structure necessary to a common link. There are also smaller differences in the wording and structure of variants connected to Zayd’s students which supports the claim of each student spreading the hadith independent of one another. In short, though Ibn ‘Umar cannot be claimed as a source of the hadith’s transmission (though certain phrases and the overall message of the hadiths remain the same throughout), Zayd b. Aslam is the likely source of the hadiths linked to him.

3.1.5. Remaining Hadiths on Power and Dying a *Jāhili* Death



The remaining 16 variants discussing a *jāhili* death in relation to power dynamics are found in the works of 11 collectors.³⁵⁶ These are traced back to five Companions, four of which are only associated with single strands. One variant going back to Jundub b. ‘Abd Allah is a

³⁵⁶Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *Al-Sunna, Bāb fī Dhakara al-Sam‘ wa al-Ṭā‘a* (#1050 and #1057); Abū Ya‘la, *Musnad, Bāb Ḥadīth Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān* (#7375); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Bāb Dhakara Waṣaf al-Rāya al-‘Amiyya allati Athbāt liman* (#4573); Abū al-Faḍl al-Zuhrī, *Ḥadīth, Bāb man Māt wa Laysa lahu Imām* (#155); al-Bazzār, *Musnad, Bāb Musnad Ibn ‘Abbās* (#4695); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu‘jam al-Awsaṭ, Bāb man Ismuhu Muḥammad* (#5820); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn, Bāb Damḍam ‘an Shurayḥ b. ‘Ubayd* (#1654) and *Bāb Yūnus b. Maysara ‘an Abī Idrīs al-Khūlānī* (#2211); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr, Bāb Dhakwān Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sīmān ‘an Mu‘āwiya* (#769) and *Bāb Shurayḥ b. ‘Ubayd ‘an Mu‘āwiya* (#910) and *Bāb Abū Idrīs al-Khūlānī ‘Ā‘idh Allah* (#163); Abū ‘Awāna, *Mustakhrāj, Bāb Bayān al-Khabar al-Mawjib li-l Ikhrāj min Umma Muḥammad* (#7180); Al-Jurjānī, *Al-Kāmil fī Du‘afā al-Rijāl, Bāb ‘Amr b. Wāqid al-Qurashī al-Dimashqī*; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*; Ibn Qānī, *Mu‘jam al-Ṣaḥāba, Bāb ‘Abd Allah b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib*; Al-Bukhārī, *Tārīkh, Bāb Ḥammād b. Salama Abū Salama al-Baṣrī*.

single strand all the way to the collector, Abū ‘Awāna making it impossible to trace to any figure.³⁵⁷

Four isnads are linked to Mu‘ādh b. Jabal and Abū Dardā’.³⁵⁸ All variants give nearly the same wording:

Paradise is not allowable to an insubordinate. And surely whoever approaches God as a person who disavowed his oath (to his commander) meets Him as a mutilated person (or leper). And whoever defects from obedience/the Muslim community an inch has cast off Islam from his neck (renounced Islam). And whoever dies without obedience to the leader of the community (of Muslims) will have died a *jāhili* death.³⁵⁹

The two variants through Abū Dardā’ share wording as do the two through Mu‘ādh.³⁶⁰ Additionally, the two variants transmitted through Abū Dardā’ give the same context³⁶¹ while those through Mu‘ādh have no context. No names are shared between all four variants. As a result, no link can be established between them based on the chains of transmission.

Another four variants are associated with the Companion Ibn ‘Abbās. His name was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, within the chain of transmission of the most politically quietist version of the hadith on dying a *jāhili* death. In that version, he narrates to Abū Rajā’ al-‘Uṭāridī who then narrates to al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān, who is most likely the source of that hadith’s propagation. The name of Abū Rajā’ is mentioned again in one of the single strand variants linked to Ibn Abbas.³⁶² This variant differs from all others. It does not explicitly state that the hadith is prophetic and ends the chain of transmission at Ibn ‘Abbās. The matn is also different from the other three variants, stating, “He who defects from the *jamā‘a* even an inch/span dies a *jāhili* death.”³⁶³ This variant also differs from the ones with al-Ja‘d as common link, which use the word *amīr/sultān* instead of *jamā‘a*.

³⁵⁷ This hadith gives the same wording as part of the hadith traced back to Ghaylān b. Jarīr (“to fight under the banner of blindness, calling others to tribalism, or being victorious in tribalism, will have died a *jāhili* death”). However, no name in the transmission is shared by any of those found in the variants linked to Ghaylān. Only the collector, Abū ‘Awāna (who is the most copious collector of the Ghaylān variants), gives isnads reaching both Companions. Therefore, it cannot be known where this variant came from.

³⁵⁸ Recorded by three collectors—Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim (#1050), al-Jurjānī, and al-Ṭabarānī (#163 and #2211).

³⁵⁹ إِنَّ الْجَنَّةَ لَا تَجُلُّ لِعَاصٍ، إِنَّهُ مِنْ لَقِيِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَهُوَ نَاكِتٌ بِيَعْتَهُ، لَقِيَهُ وَهُوَ أَجْدَمٌ. وَمَنْ خَرَجَ مِنَ الطَّاعَةِ شِبْرًا مُتَعَمِّدًا، فَقَدْ خَلَعَ رِبْقَةَ الْإِسْلَامِ مِنْ عُنُقِهِ. وَمَنْ أَصْبَحَ عَلَيْهِ أَمِيرٌ جَمَاعَةٍ وَلَا لِأَمِيرٍ جَمَاعَةٍ عَلَيْهِ طَاعَةٌ، بَعَثَهُ اللَّهُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ مَيِّتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً. وَلِوَاءِ الْغَادِرِ عِنْدَ اسْتِهِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ. Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim (#1050).

³⁶⁰ Both versions through Abū Darda give the wording of *tā‘a* from which a person defects while both versions through Mu‘ādh use the term *jamā‘a*. The versions through Mu‘ādh also give the word imam where Abū Darda say *amīr*.

³⁶¹ In this context, the Prophet stands among the people (one variant specifies the location as Ḥunayn) and states the above hadith.

³⁶² In this version, Abū Rajā’ transmits to Marzūq rather than al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān, recorded in al-Bukhārī’s *Tārīkh al-Kabīr*.

³⁶³ وَعَنْ مَرْزُوقٍ سَمِعَ أَبَا رَجَاءَ الْعَطَارِدِيِّ عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ: مَنْ خَرَجَ مِنَ الْجَمَاعَةِ شِبْرًا فَمَيِّتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً

The other three variants reaching Ibn ‘Abbās are transmitted from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib. Except for a couple of word variations,³⁶⁴ the text is consistent, stating that the one to depart from the community an inch/span will have cast away the *ribqa* of Islam from their necks, and he who dies without an imam dies a *jāhili* death and he who dies under the banner of the blind and succeeds in his tribalism dies a *jāhili* death.³⁶⁵ All variants are traced to Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān Abū Jamāhir (d. 224), four generations after Ibn ‘Abbās. It is possible that he transmitted the hadith as stated above. But this cannot be determined as only three chains of transmission are linked to him.

The last of the Companion generation allegedly transmitting hadiths on power and *jāhili* deaths is Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. Eight variants are found with his name, recorded by six collectors.³⁶⁶ All versions state that whoever dies without an imam will die a *jāhili* death.³⁶⁷ Two versions use the word *bi-ghayr* instead of *laysa ‘alayhi*.³⁶⁸ As the text of this hadith version is short, it is not surprising that there are no other discrepancies. The main figure in this hadith set is Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh (d. 193) whose name is found in seven of the eight variants.

Two transmitters emerge in the above analysis on the remaining hadiths on power and dying a *jāhili* death—Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh and Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān Abū Jamāhir. They are later figures, having died in the late second to early third century AH (the first in Kūfa and the second in Damascus). The common links of the other hadith bundles analysed were early figures, having died around the early to mid-second century.

The above analysis of hadiths which include the phrase on dying a *jāhili* death resulted in the emergence of four sources, each transmitting their own version of the hadith. These figures are linked to many students with their own unique features in the transmission of the hadith, while maintaining an overall structure and meaning consistent to the version associated with them. These points of hadith dissemination are found in the figures of al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān, Ghaylān b. Jarīr, Zayd b. Aslam and Sharīk and another figure prominent in the transmission of the first two clusters—Ḥammād b. Zayd.

³⁶⁴ The variant in al-Ṭabarānī states *al-muslimīn* instead of *al-jamā‘a*, while the variant in al-Bazzār adds the additional phrase *yad ‘ū ilā ‘aṣabiyya*.

³⁶⁵ مَنْ فَارَقَ الْجَمَاعَةَ شِبْرًا فَقَدْ خَلَعَ رِبْقَةَ الْإِسْلَامِ مِنْ عُنُقِهِ , وَمَنْ مَاتَ لَيْسَ لَهُ إِمَامٌ مَاتَ مَيِّتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً , وَمَنْ مَاتَ تَحْتَ رَايَةِ عِمِّيَّةٍ , يُنْصَرُ عُنْبِيَّةً فَجَاهِلِيَّةً. Ibn Qānī, *Mu‘jam al-Ṣaḥāba, Bāb ‘Abd Allah b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib*.

³⁶⁶ Ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, Abū ‘Awāna, Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Ṭabarānī, and Abū al-Faḍl al-Zuhrī.

³⁶⁷ مَنْ مَاتَ وَلَيْسَ عَلَيْهِ إِمَامٌ مَاتَ مَيِّتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً. Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim #1057.

³⁶⁸ Recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Ṭabarānī #910 (the variant recorded by al-Ṭabarānī through Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ayyāsh).

The next section examines these figures as described in the biographical literature including their familial, tribal, and political ties. This discussion gives some context to the proliferation of the hadith addressing the ways in which a Muslim dies a *jāhilī* death.

3.2 Common Links and Key Figures

The most prolific sources of the propagation of the hadith about dying a *jāhilī* death are identified as Ghaylān b. Jarīr and Ḥammād b. Zayd. However, the analysis shows that the likely source of Ḥammād's transmissions is al-Ja'd Abū 'Uthmān. Sharīk b. 'Abd Allah and Zayd b. Aslam are another two figures found disseminating their own versions of the hadith widely, though not to the same extent.

All but one of the above figures lived in Iraq. Zayd b. Aslam is a Hijazi figure from Medina who transmits several hadiths either through his father from Ibn 'Umar or directly from Ibn 'Umar. He is the only Hijazi key figure found of all the hadith bundles analysed in this study. He is discussed first, followed by the Kufan and Basran figures.

3.2.1. Zayd b. Aslam

Abū Usāma Zayd b. Aslam (d. 136) was a member of the prestigious Quraysh tribe from the Successor generation. His father Aslam, which some variants include in the chain of transmission, was a client of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Zayd remained in the clientage of the family of 'Umar and is best known as a jurist, reciter and interpreter of the Quran. He is described as a contemporary of 'Alī b. Ḥusayn (Zayn al-'Ābidīn), the fourth Shia Imam who narrated to Zayd. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn is reported to have participated in Zayd's class, somewhat controversially.³⁶⁹ The sharing of knowledge between the two indicates mutual respect. As Zayd is reported to have narrated from 'Alī regarding *fitna*, there may have been shared political views.³⁷⁰ Zayd is also (deficiently) described as having employed rational thought (*ra'y*) in his Quran interpretation.³⁷¹ As a common practice of the later Shia, this may indicate some inclination toward them.

³⁶⁹ One report states that when 'Alī b. Ḥusayn attended Zayd's class, another man asked why someone of his station would sit with a slave [lit. *'abd*] to which 'Alī responded, "A man sits with one who will benefit his *dīn*." Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, *Bāb Zayd b. Aslam Abū Usāma Mawlā 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb*, *Al-'Adawī al-Qurashī* (#1287).

³⁷⁰ Ibn Manjawayh (d. 1036-37 CE) makes this claim in *Rijāl Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* though the only hadith Zayd narrates from Ali was found pertaining to the punishment of those who do not free their believing slaves. There is no indication of any hadith pertaining to *fitna* with this chain of transmission.

³⁷¹ Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 938 CE) - *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl*, *Bāb Zayd* (#2511).

Zayd was also loosely tied to the Umayyads. He is described as “being with ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz”,³⁷² likely at the time of his succession.³⁷³ Zayd was also recruited by al-Walīd b. Yazīd to join a group of jurists in giving a legal ruling on a personal marital matter.³⁷⁴ This does not necessarily make him a partisan of the Umayyads. Many scholars disapproved of the rulers but answered their requests when summoned on technical legal matters.

The hadith linked to Zayd b. Aslam is also not as politically quietist. It relays a less ruler-based and more community-centred approach to obedience. This version states, “whoever removes his hand from obedience will have no excuse on the Day of Resurrection. And whoever dies separated from the community [of Muslims] will have died a *jāhili* death.” It is not necessarily supportive of the unjust ruler. Rather, to withdraw one’s obedience after it has been given is depicted as a sort of excommunication, to be punished by God accordingly. The obedience described appears to be to an overall power structure rather than a particular person or group.³⁷⁵ This does not convincingly place Zayd in the Umayyad camp.³⁷⁶

In short, the biographical sources are silent on the political leanings of Zayd b. Aslam. He is mostly known for his ties to the household of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second of the *Rāshidūn* Caliphs. This is followed by his prominence as a Medinan jurist, with Quranic exegesis and recitation attributed to him. He is loosely connected with both the family of the Prophet in the figure of the fourth Shia Imam, ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn, as well as the Umayyads with ‘Umar II and al-Walīd II. While there is no information to confidently link him to either group, the hadith relayed through him excommunicates those who remove their hands from obedience (likely to the community rather than ruler). This would indicate a leaning toward the power structures of the time, although it does not assert complete obedience to the rulers.

³⁷² Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq, Bāb Zayd b. Aslam Abū Usāma wa Yuqāl Abū ‘Abd Allah al-‘Adawī*.

³⁷³ As ‘Umar II was a great grandchild of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb on his mother’s side, it is possible that Zayd witnessed the caliph’s accession ceremony due to the tribal ties that bound the two.

³⁷⁴ Specifically, the granting of divorce before the consummation of marriage. Al-Walīd was said to have wanted to divorce his wife Umm Salama and gathered a group of jurists to give their opinion on the matter. Zayd was among them. *Tārīkh Dimashq, Bāb Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Hāshimī*.

³⁷⁵ This early narration may reflect the problem of the disobedience of Arabs after the death of the Prophet. His successor, Abū Bakr, spent most of his rule fighting those who reneged (during the Ridda Wars) on their pact with the Muslims. The renegades justified their oath breaking by stating their agreement was with Muḥammad only. In this case, the object of the disobedience is the entire Muslim body rather than a particular leader (as the renegades argued). The narration reflects this history well in the second part of the hadith in which the subject is identified as those separated from the community (i.e. the Muslim body).

³⁷⁶ It is possible that his ties to the Umayyads extended further than the biographers indicate. This information may have been overlooked due to an anti-Umayyad bias, coupled with Zayd’s own connection to the family of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

The remainder of the key figures are from Iraq. Ghaylān b. Jarīr, Ḥammād b. Zayd and al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān are all Basran. Sharīk is the only key transmitter from Kufa. This section will first look at Sharīk followed by the Basran figures.

3.2.2. Abū ‘Abd Allah Sharīk b. ‘Abd Allah al-Nakh‘ī al-Kūfī

Sharīk b. ‘Abd Allah (95-177 AH) was one of the most prominent scholars of Kufa in his time and served as a judge under the Abbasid rulers al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī.³⁷⁷ There is some confusion around his name, possibly because he did not want to be associated with his grandfather who was a reported killer of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, the grandson of the Prophet.³⁷⁸

Sharīk was believed to have some ‘Ālid sympathies and is linked to a well-known Shia hadith.³⁷⁹ Many scholars from Kufa were thus classified as the city was the centre of proto-Shia activity. While it is possible that Sharīk had Shia leanings, it would also have served in Sharīk’s interests to appear so as a judge in a city strongly sentimental toward the family of the Prophet. This is especially so considering the notoriety of his progenitor.

The hadith associated with Sharīk about dying a *jāhili* death does not contradict his possible Shia inclinations. It describes the necessity of obedience without specifying to whom and casting off one’s pact after it has been made as having no justification for it before God. This message does not explicitly favour the Umayyad rulers, and given Sharīk’s geographical location, more likely favoured their challengers.

This hadith version also appears to be an amalgamation of two hadiths—one on dying a *jāhili* death and another on a man and woman being alone. The second hadith is attributed to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb which would link the hadith to Sharīk’s teacher, ‘Āṣim b. ‘Ubayd Allah (the great-grandson of ‘Umar). As ‘Āṣim had a reputation for confusing hadiths and is categorically labelled a weak narrator, it is possible that Sharīk transmitted the hadith as he heard it from his teacher.

3.2.3. Ghaylān b. Jarīr

³⁷⁷ He was reportedly very hesitant to take on the judicial role, as is a common *topos* in the literature to highlight the piety of the scholars ‘forced’ into governmental positions. His reputation as an isolated judge who did not wish to interact with people in a judicial capacity would support this claim. Al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, *Bāb Sharīk b. ‘Abd Allah Abū ‘Abd Allah al-Nakh‘ī*.

³⁷⁸ His name is Sharīk b. ‘Abd Allah b. Sinān b. Anas though he is more commonly referred to as Sharīk b. ‘Abd Allah b. Abī Sharīk b. Mālīk b. al-Nakha’. Sinān b. Anas is the notorious figure who stabbed and/or decapitated al-Ḥusayn. Al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, *Ibid*.

³⁷⁹ In this hadith, the Prophet says, “‘Alī is from me and I am from ‘Alī. And don’t follow anyone except me or ‘Alī.” (عَلِيٌّ مِنِّي وَأَنَا مِنْ عَلِيٍّ، وَلَا يُؤَدِّي عَنِّي إِلَّا أَنَا أَوْ عَلِيٌّ), *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, *Bāb Manāqib ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*. This hadith is also found in *Musnad Ibn Abī Shayba*, *Musnad Aḥmad*, *Sunan Ibn Māja*, *Al-Sunna Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim*, *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā al-Nasā’ī*, *Al-Mu‘jam al-Kabīr al-Ṭabarānī*, and *Manāqib ‘Alī Ibn Abī Maghāzilī*.

Ghaylān b. Jarīr Abū Yazīd al-Mawālī al-Azdī (d. 129/747) is the earlier of the two most prolific disseminators in this hadith bundle. He is an Arab of the large Azd tribe³⁸⁰ and lived all his life under Umayyad rule. He is from the Successor generation, placing the spread of this hadith in the early second century AH.

Ghaylān is believed to be among the early Qadarites of Basra.³⁸¹ There may be a connection between the quietist Basran hadiths of the early second century and Qadarite circles in that city. The ‘As Long As He Prays’ chapter has two Basran common links, both tied to the Qadariyya (as were several of their students). The ‘Strike Back’ hadith also includes a Qadarite Basran key figure, Qatada (also found transmitting the prayer hadith on a large scale).³⁸²

The version of the hadith transmitted by Ghaylān has two additions—the first about fighting with tribalistic motivations and the second about fighting against the *umma*. These people are condemned to *jāhili* deaths and are not from the *umma*.³⁸³ This hadith is pertinent to Ghaylān’s Basran background, as it was a tribally structured city that had been involved in two failed uprisings in Ghaylān’s lifetime.³⁸⁴ Within this context, it is not hard to see the appeal of this hadith and its popularization in Basra.

3.2.4. Al-Ja‘d Abū Uthmān

Al-Ja‘d b. Dīnār Abū ‘Uthmān al-Yashkurī (d. 127) is another figure found in the spread of this hadith in Basra. He reportedly worked as a moneychanger and jeweller.³⁸⁵ He was an Arabian from the Banū Yashkur, a tribe of Yamama, though he lived in Basra.³⁸⁶ Other than his tribal affiliation and occupation, little is known of al-Ja‘d.

3.2.5. Hammād b. Zayd

The most prolific of al-Ja‘d’s pupils in the transmission of this hadith is Hammād b. Zayd b. Dirham Abū Ismā‘īl al-Azdī, al-Azraq (b. 98-179). Originally from Sijistan, Hammād was a client of the Azd tribe, specifically the family of Jarīr b. Ḥāzim³⁸⁷—another hadith transmitter

³⁸⁰ Specifically, the ‘Atakī and Ḍubbī families.

³⁸¹ Van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, p. 68.

³⁸² The only quietist hadith bundle analysed in this study without this Basran Qadarite connection is the ‘give them their rights’ cluster. That cluster has been shown to be firmly spread from Kufa.

³⁸³ “And whoever fights under the banner of blindness, riled up by tribalism (*yaghḍab li-l ‘aṣabiyya*) and fights for it, calls others to it, and supports others in it—if he is killed for it, will have died a *jāhili* death. And whoever attacks my *umma*, killing the righteous and the wicked, not sparing even the believer (*mu’min*), and not honouring his pledge is not from my *umma*/is not from me (and I am not from him).”

³⁸⁴ The revolts of Ibn al-Ash‘ath (81/701) and Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab (101/719).

Chapter 1: ³⁸⁵ Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta‘dīl, Bāb al-Ja‘d* (#2195).

³⁸⁶ This is the same background as another common link from the ‘Strike Your Back’ hadith bundle, Khālīd b. Subay‘.

³⁸⁷ After the death of his father, Jarīr and his brother Yazīd are reported to have freed Hammād’s father, Zayd. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta‘dīl, Bāb wa min al-‘Ulamā’ al-Jahābidha al-Niqād bi al-Basra Hammād b. Zayd b. Dirham* (#60).

of this bundle. Jarīr transmits the hadith from Ghaylān b. Jarīr (another member of the Azd tribe) in a different version of the hadith. Ḥammād also transmits that version of the hadith from Ghaylān, though on a much smaller scale than the version through al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān. This is possibly due to the lengthiness of Ḥammād’s chain of transmission, making it a less attractive isnad for later transmitters.³⁸⁸

Ḥammād is described as an ‘Uthmānī,³⁸⁹ which was the official Umayyad position of preferring the third caliph ‘Uthmān to the fourth, ‘Alī. In view of this political leaning, it is unsurprising that Ḥammād is found widely transmitting a hadith calling on people to be patient with the disliked ruler, or else die a *jāhilī* death. He also takes a lesser role in another version of the hadith and is found in the transmissions of two other bundles analysed in this study.³⁹⁰ It is possible that his role in the transmission of these hadiths were not political, but rather professional. Ḥammād was known for his large collection of hadiths.³⁹¹ However, his record shows significant transmissions of politically quietist hadiths³⁹² without finding any transmissions of politically activist ones. This suggests a bias in favour of the quietism found in the hadiths he relayed.

The key figures in the propagation of the hadith requiring obedience or else dying a *jāhilī* death are Ghaylān b. Jarīr, Ḥammād b. Zayd, al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān, Sharīk b. ‘Abd Allah, and Zayd b. Aslam. These figures came from different backgrounds and mostly lived in Iraq (with the exception of Zayd b. Aslam of Medina). All are from the same two generations, either as Successors or from the following generation. This places the spread of the Prophetic phrase on obedience and dying a *jāhilī* death to the early second century AH.

There also appears to be some tribal and familial ties between the key figures. Ghaylān b. Jarīr and Ḥammād b. Zayd are the two main propagators of this hadith in Basra,

³⁸⁸ Most variants narrated from Ḥammād in the Ghaylān bundle are transmitted through another of Ghaylān’s students, Ayyūb b. ‘Uṭba. Only one of the seven variants through Ḥammād did not include Ayyūb’s name in the transmission (recorded by al-Bazzār).

³⁸⁹ Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā, Bāb Ḥammād b. Zayd* (#3306).

³⁹⁰ The hadith on the ruler striking one’s back and taking their wealth is transmitted from Ḥammād via Abū Tayyāḥ Yazīd b. Ḥumayd under the CL Khālīd b. Subay‘ (recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal and Abū Dāwūd). He is also found in the transmission of the hadith calling on people to obey the ruler as long as he prays under the CL Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. In that cluster, 12 variants were found with Ḥammād in the transmission.

³⁹¹ He reportedly had an excellent memory and allegedly memorized 4000 hadiths (Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar, Bāb Ḥammād b. Zayd*. *Dirham al-Azdī* #169). As a result, many biographers report that he has no book attributed to him, although a few sources say he did (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ, Bāb wa min al-‘Ulamā’ al-Jahābidha al-Nuqād bi al-Baṣra Ḥammād b. Zayd*. *Dirham*). Considering the general consistency in transmissions linked to him, it is more likely that he did write his hadiths down. It is even reported that Ḥammād took issue with his teacher Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī for his disapproval of writing down hadiths. (Van Ess, *Theology, Vol. 2*, p. 397).

³⁹² He is also found in the transmission of another hadith condemning Muslims who fight and kill other Muslims to hell—both the killer and the killed. See: Juynboll, G.H.A. “Ḥammād b. Zayd”, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Hadīth Online*.

the former being a member of the Azd and the latter a client. Those hadiths spreading from the Hijaz are connected to the family of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—Zayd b. Aslam was a client of the family and ‘Āṣim (the alleged source of Ibn Jurayj and Sharīk’s versions of the hadith) his great-grandson. Despite these connections, this Prophetic phrase cannot be attached to one figure or location.

3.3 Conclusion

The hadiths about dying a *jāhili* death appear to have gained popularity in different centres of Islamic scholarship. The versions popularized in these centres are notable. The version linked to the Basran Ghaylān b. Jarīr includes an addition on tribalism and its destructive effects while fellow Basran al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān provides the most politically quietist version of the hadith, requiring obedience to the disliked ruler. Both of these variants fit well within the context of a highly tribalistic society in Basra as well as the ‘Uthmānic preferences of the people.³⁹³

The hadith(s) emanating from the Hijaz do not specify obedience to the leader.³⁹⁴ Rather, they focus on allegiance to the Muslim community as a whole. Specifically, those who break their agreement after having made them with the Muslims are described as having no justification before God and dying *jāhili* deaths.

The two versions of the hadith found in Kufa are mixed. The hadith linked to Abū Bakr b. Ayyash does specify obedience to the ruler, following the general Iraqi trend. However, the hadiths transmitted by Sharīk parallel the Hijazi versions, suggesting that he did indeed transmit the hadith as he heard it from his Hijazi teacher, ‘Āṣim.

The spread of the versions of the hadith regarding those who die a *jāhili* death reflects the preferences of the people of those cities. It can be argued that the Hijazi versions do not require obedience to the ruler, rather obedience to the general Muslim body. Those versions of the hadith spreading in Iraq are somewhat mixed—the strongest politically quietist version of the hadith comes from al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān in Basra. Another linked to Abū Bakr in Kufa also focuses on the need for obedience to a leader. The remaining two versions do not mention any ruler but follow the Hijazi model of allegiance to the Muslim community. All

³⁹³ The city by and large was aligned with the Umayyads. Van Ess, p. 1-4.

³⁹⁴ Of the variants connected to Zayd b. Aslam, two do mention the leader. However, they come from the same chain of transmission (Khārija b. Mus‘ab ← Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī). One of the two figures is responsible for this inconsistency. Another six variants mention obedience to the leader in variants connected to ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Umar. As they are all single strands, there is no way to tell where they came from (recorded by al-Dūlābī, Ibn Khallāl, al-Ṭabarānī, Al-Baghdādī, and two variants in al-Ḥākim).

these hadiths emerge in a period of political turmoil and ideological fragmentation. It is unsurprising that a hadith calling for unity was spreading around the Muslim world. Interestingly, Hijazi hadiths remain ambiguous enough where support for the ruler is not stipulated. Versions of the hadith explicitly giving support to the ruler are spread in Iraq.

Chapter 4: Strike Your Back and Take Your Wealth

The hadith bundles analysed thus far support obedience to the leader of the Muslims in language that displays a soft tone toward the disliked or bad ruler. To be a good follower means giving the ruler his ‘right’ while asking God for yours, being patient with their flaws so as not to die in excommunication, and not opposing them as long as they pray. But the following hadith bundle, while stressing the importance of obedience to the ruler, lacks this softness in language. In it, the Muslim follower is told to listen and obey the rulers even if they strike their backs and take their wealth.

This hadith is the strongest in its quietist language, leaving little room for opposition to the ruler in any condition—even if they are violently aggressive toward their followers or rob them of their material possessions. As such, it was perhaps a less palatable hadith for collectors and the transmitters before them, accounting for its lesser popularity in the hadith collections.³⁹⁵

However, there is another set of hadiths closely matching the wording and structure of the ‘strike your back’ cluster. Though they do not contain the phrase in question, they mirror those hadiths that do to such an extent that they must be from the same narration.³⁹⁶ Both versions of the hadith share a common link along with other shared names in the chains of transmission. Hadiths from both versions give the same context, the same structure, and much of the same wording. The commonalities shared by these two versions in both the matn and isnad leave little room to doubt that these are one and the same Prophetic tradition that took different forms over time. As a result, the analysis of this hadith bundle includes both versions.

The majority of transmitters from within this hadith bundle are found in single strand chains of transmission. Of those successful in transmitting this hadith on a large scale are two

³⁹⁵ While the previous three hadith bundles include over 100 variants each, this hadith version consists of 30 variants altogether. It is found in the works of Muslim, Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, al-Nasā’ī, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Ḥanbal, ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-San’ānī, Ibn Abī Shayba, Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, Abū ‘Awāna, al-Bazzār, Ibn al-Bay‘, al-Baghawī, al-Bayhaqī, and al-Ṭabarānī.

³⁹⁶ These include another 30 or so variants in which the same questions are being asked the Prophet by the same Companion narrating this tradition, but without the phrase about rulers who will ‘strike their backs and take their wealth’. These variants are found in the works of 12 of the 14 above collectors (all except ‘Abd al-Razzāq and al-Baghawī). It is also found in al-Bukhārī, Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, al-Dānī, al-Iṣbahānī, Ibn Hibbān, and Ibn ‘Asākir.

figures—Khālid b. Subay‘ and al-Walīd b. Muslim.³⁹⁷ They are the only two common links of this hadith bundle. Zayd b. Sallām is another name found transmitting this hadith, though on a lesser scale. The first figure comes from the Successor generation. Zayd b. Sallām lived in the following generation while al-Walīd b. Muslim lived the generation after. This places the spread of the hadith from the beginning to middle of the second century AH.

Khālid b. Subay‘ is found in transmissions of both versions of the hadith. As such, his is the most popular name, linked to 25 chains of transmission (over one third of all variants found in this bundle). Al-Walīd b. Muslim is associated exclusively with the version not mentioning the ‘strike your back’ phrase. That bundle includes 18 chains of transmission.³⁹⁸ Zayd b. Sallām narrates the hadith with the phrase, found in six chains of transmission. Altogether, 48 of 61 chains of transmission in this hadith bundle are associated with one of the above three figures. The following section analyses the hadiths of these key figures and the more prolific transmitters after them. The remaining variants are also analysed and briefly discussed separately.

4.1 Hadith Analysis

4.1.1. Khālid b. Subay‘ as CL

The earliest key figure, Khālid b. Subay‘, is also referred to as Subay‘ b. Khālid and Khālid b. Khālid al-Yashkurī as well as al-Ḍub‘ī. His lesser-known status as transmitter coupled with his placement in early Islamic history—just one generation from the Prophet—creates some confusion around his name. As a result, the chains of transmission include all the above names.

All versions of this hadith include a primary context involving the Companion in the chain of transmission, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān. Some variants also provide a secondary context in which Khālid discusses how he came upon the Companion. The only secondary context provided in this hadith cluster is transmitted through Khālid b. Subay‘. In it, Khālid places the narration within a specific backdrop—he went to Kufa to obtain cattle and came upon the Companion Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān in the masjid. Ḥudhayfa then states the primary

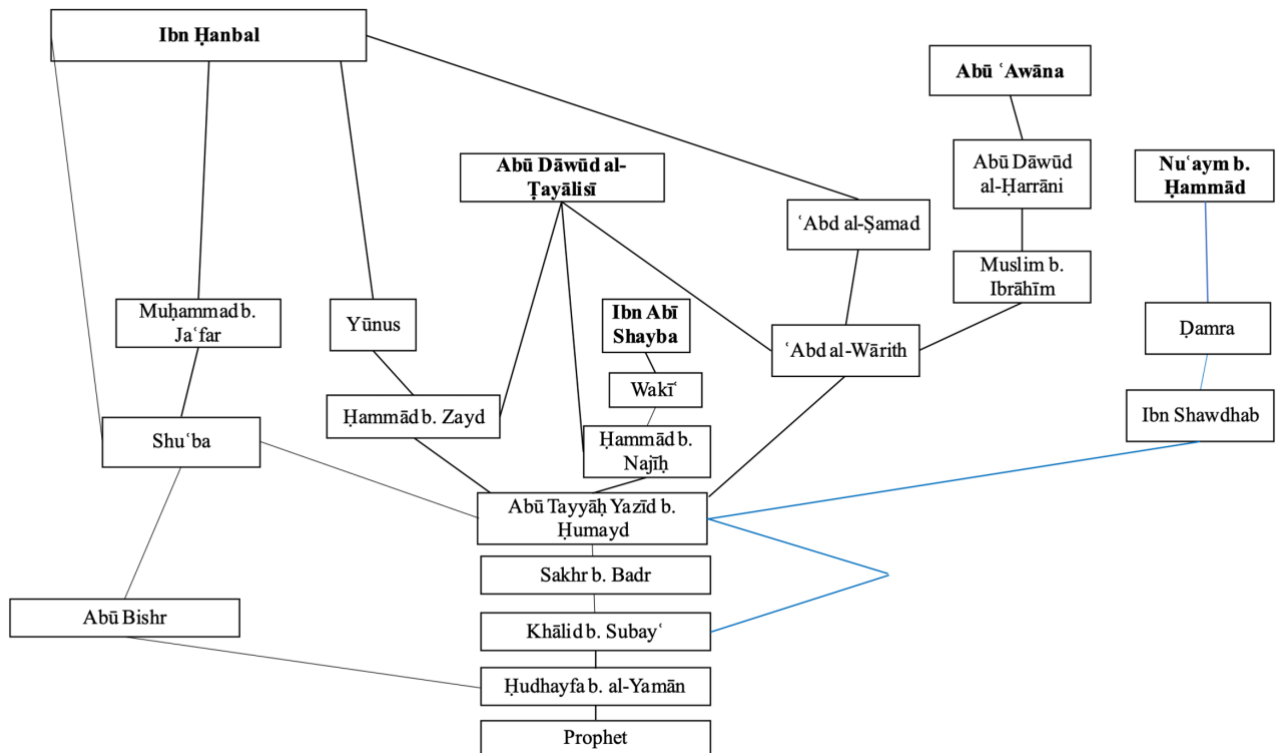
³⁹⁷ Another figure, Mudrak b. Abī Sa‘d al-Fazārī, is associated with a different hadith which includes the phrase on striking backs and taking wealth. However, this hadith includes a completely different context, narration and chain of transmission. Though it does not belong to this hadith bundle, it is discussed briefly as it includes the phrase in question.

³⁹⁸ Al-Walīd’s name is found in 15 isnads while another two isnads are combined with those that include him. That leaves one isnad with a matn not associated with al-Walīd’s name. It is linked to his contemporary, Bishr b. Bakr (recorded by Abū ‘Awāna). This may suggest that the ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir, the teacher of both al-Walīd and Bishr, is the CL of this bundle. However, as this is the only hadith variant excluding al-Walīd, it can be assumed that al-Walīd is the CL.

context of the hadith where he and other Companions asked the Prophet about good and evil, and what is to come after him. The Prophet describes the successive stages of bad and good that will come. These include a period of grudging truce followed by a rise of figures who will misguide people. This leads to the *Dajjāl* or a period of *fitna*. About half of the variants add that after this is the Final Hour.

Three key figures are successful in the spread of the hadith; two are separated from the CL by one generation—Qatāda (d. 117) and Abū Tayyāḥ Yazīd b. Ḥumayd (d. 128-130).³⁹⁹ Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra al-Qaysī (d. 165) is the third main transmitter, separated from the CL by two generations. The variants through each of these key figures show patterns in the contexts and wording of the Prophetic narration. They also display some differences and unique features, evidencing that they are not wholly disconnected from one another.

Abū Tayyāḥ



³⁹⁹ Although five students are recorded as having transmitted this hadith from Khālid, Qatāda and Abū Tayyāḥ most likely did not transmit this hadith directly from him (as they are recorded to have done on two occasions), but through the two others in the chains of transmission, Naṣr b. 'Āṣim and Sakhr b. Badr (as the remaining 14 variants record).

Eight transmissions include the name Abū Tayyāh, found in the works of five collectors.⁴⁰⁰ All variants except the two recorded by Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād include a context.⁴⁰¹ They all give the same chain of transmission from Abū Tayyāh to the common link except, again, in the variants recorded by Nu‘aym.⁴⁰²

The remaining six variants all include a context in which the CL describes going to Kufa to buy cattle⁴⁰³ and enters a masjid⁴⁰⁴ where he hears Ḥudhayfa⁴⁰⁵ narrate the following hadith. Ḥudhayfa explains to those listening that the Companions⁴⁰⁶ asked the Prophet about the good⁴⁰⁷ while he himself asked the Prophet about evil.⁴⁰⁸ The following is an example of the exchange between Ḥudhayfa and the Prophet:

Ḥudhayfa: Messenger of Allah, will there be evil after this good which Allah has bestowed on us as there was evil before [Islam]?

Prophet: Yes.

Ḥudhayfa: Wherein does the protection from it lie?

Prophet: In the sword.

Ḥudhayfa: Messenger of Allah, what will then happen?

Prophet: A begrudging truce.⁴⁰⁹

Ḥudhayfa: What is after the truce?⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁰ Abū Dāwūd, *Musnad, Bāb Ahādith Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān* (#444); Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf, Bāb man Kariha al-Khurūj fī al-Fitna wa Ta‘ūd al-anhā* (#37113); Abū ‘Awāna, *Mustakhraj, Bāb Bayān Dhakara al-Khabar al-Mawjib Ṭā‘a al-Imām* (#7168); two variants recorded by Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *Al-Fitan, Bāb al-‘Iṣma min al-Fitan wa mā Yastajīb fihā min* (#357) and *Bāb mā kāna min Rasūl Allah min al-Taqaddum wa min Aṣḥābihi ba‘dahu fī al-Fitan* (#34); and three variants by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad, Bāb Ḥādith Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān ‘an al-Nabī* (#23425, #23427 and #23428).

⁴⁰¹ This is likely a collector issue rather than transmitter difference. One variant gives the first half of the Prophetic narration while the other the second half. Both variants give duplicate chains of transmission. Together, they would look similar to the other variants linked to Abū Tayyāh. This discrepancy is due to a difference of methodology by Nu‘aym in categorizing hadiths. Nu‘aym organized his *Kitāb al-Fitan* chronologically. As a result, the first part discussing the evil to come is placed in the early part of his book while that on the Last Hour is placed at the end. This is again displayed on two other occasions within this hadith bundle where Nu‘aym places the first half of the hadith in one section of his book and the second in another.

⁴⁰² Nu‘aym does not include Sakhr b. Badr who is responsible in all other variants as transmitting from the CL Khālid b. Subay‘ to Abū Tayyāh.

⁴⁰³ All cattle referred to as دَوَابٌّ except in the variant recorded in Abū ‘Awāna, which states بَعَالًا.

⁴⁰⁴ All variants recorded in Ibn Ḥanbal and Abū ‘Awāna use the word كُنَّاسَةً instead of مَسْجِدًا.

⁴⁰⁵ One variant recorded by Abū Dāwūd does not explicitly name Ḥudhayfa as the Companion telling the story, but rather a man of Hijaz “رَجُلٌ صَدَعٌ مِنَ الرِّجَالِ حَسَنُ الشَّعْرِ يُعْرَفُ أَنَّهُ مِنْ رِجَالِ الْحِجَازِ وَإِذَا نَاسٌ مُشْتَرِبُونَ عَلَيْهِ”.

⁴⁰⁶ Variants found in Ibn Ḥanbal and Abū ‘Awāna use the word أَصْحَابٌ while in Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Ḥammād, and Ibn Abī Shayba those asking the Prophet are simply described as النَّاسُ.

⁴⁰⁷ Abū ‘Awāna adds that the Companions asked the Prophet about the Quran and the knowledge God relayed through it وَقَدْ كَانَ اللَّهُ أَنَايَ مِنْهُ عَلِمًا.

⁴⁰⁸ One variant recorded by Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād (#34) adds, مَخَافَةٌ أَنْ أُذْرَكَهُ, likely a mistake as this phrase is otherwise exclusive to the variants transmitted through the CL al-Walīd b. Muslim.

⁴⁰⁹ هُدْنَةٌ عَلَى نَخٍ, literally “a truce of smoke”. نَخٌ also means rancour or corruption or resentment. I have translated it as a “begrudging truce”. In Ibn Abī Shayba, it simply says “a truce”. The variant in Abū ‘Awāna leaves out this reply, stating instead “and then he [Ḥudhayfa] recalled, I said, “Oh Messenger of Allah, what is after the truce?” It suggests a break by Ḥudhayfa between the Prophet’s reply of the sword and the remainder of the narration.

⁴¹⁰ The recording in Ibn Ḥanbal simply states, “then what?”

Prophet: The Callers to Error. If Allah has on earth a caliph who strikes your back⁴¹¹ and takes your wealth, obey him, and if there is no caliph flee even if you die and are holding on to the stump of a tree.⁴¹²

Ḥudhayfa: What will come next?

Prophet: The *Dajjāl*.

This hadith as transmitted by Abū Tayyāḥ includes the description of the ruler who inflicts pain and takes wealth. Interestingly, the wording used to describe the caliph varies. In Abū ‘Awāna, Abū Dāwūd, and Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, the caliph is from Allah—*lillah*.⁴¹³ The variant in Ibn Ḥanbal describes him as “*Khalīfat Allah*” while he is simply “*Khalīfa*” in *Musnad Ibn Abī Shayba*. Though *Khalīfat Allah* may also suggest that the caliph is following God’s commands, it was also used as a title for caliphs in general in the early period.⁴¹⁴ However, to say the caliph is from Allah implies that he follows the dictates of God and is therefore a valid ruler, whose commands would also be justified.⁴¹⁵

Four of the eight variants continue with an added dialogue:⁴¹⁶

Prophet: The *Dajjāl* will come forth

Ḥudhayfa: What does he bring with him?

Prophet: A river⁴¹⁷ and fire. He who falls into his fire will certainly receive his reward, and have his load taken off him, but he who falls into his river will have his load retained and his reward taken off him.⁴¹⁸

Ḥudhayfa: What is after the *Dajjāl*?⁴¹⁹

⁴¹¹ This phrase is found in Abū Dāwūd and Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād while in Ibn Ḥanbal it is *نَهَكَ ظَهْرَكَ* or *نَهَكَ جِسْمَكَ*, in Abū ‘Awāna *نَهَكَ ظَهْرَكَ*, and in Ibn Abī Shayba *نَهَكَ ظَهْرَكَ صَرْبًا*. *نَهَكَ* can be translated as the ruler who wears the body out, or overworks his followers. Either way, the ruler is meting out physical abuse to his subjects. All variants say *أَخَذَ مَالَكَ* except the transmitter Yūnus who disagrees with his contemporaries recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal as saying instead *أَكَلَ مَالَكَ*.

⁴¹² One variant recorded by Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād does not include this (#34), although the second one (#357) does.

⁴¹³ In Abū ‘Awāna *يُؤْمِنُ لِلَّهِ خَلِيفَةً*; in both variants of Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād *بِاللَّهِ يُؤْمِنُ خَلِيفَةً*; and in Abū Dāwūd *يُؤْمِنُ لِلَّهِ* *يُؤْمِنُ لِلَّهِ* *عَزَّ وَجَلَّ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً*. Abd al-Wārith is likely responsible for the *lillah* as he is found in both Abū Dāwūd and Abū ‘Awāna, while Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād does not share any names in his isnaḍ with the other collectors.

⁴¹⁴ A practice employed by the Umayyads, who were in power at the time this version of the hadith spread. “The Umayyads alone in the history of Islam claimed the title of God’s deputy (*Khalīfat Allah*) and held that the Caliph gave the community its legal existence, guided it in both religious and political matters, defended it against enemies, sought to expand its domain, maintained internal order, and formulated and exemplified God’s law.” March, Andrew, “Caliphate,” *Encyclopaedia of Political Theory*.

⁴¹⁵ This argument could be used to contest the general understanding of this hadith bundle by later scholars in which one must obey the ruler who does not follow God’s dictates.

⁴¹⁶ Three variants recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal as well as in Ibn Abī Shayba. The transmitter likely responsible for the omission of this section is ‘Abd al-Wārith as he is in the isnaḍ recorded by both Abū ‘Awāna and Abū Dāwūd, neither of whom include it. Neither do the variants recorded by Nu‘aym include this addition.

⁴¹⁷ Ibn Ḥanbal records the wording as either river or water.

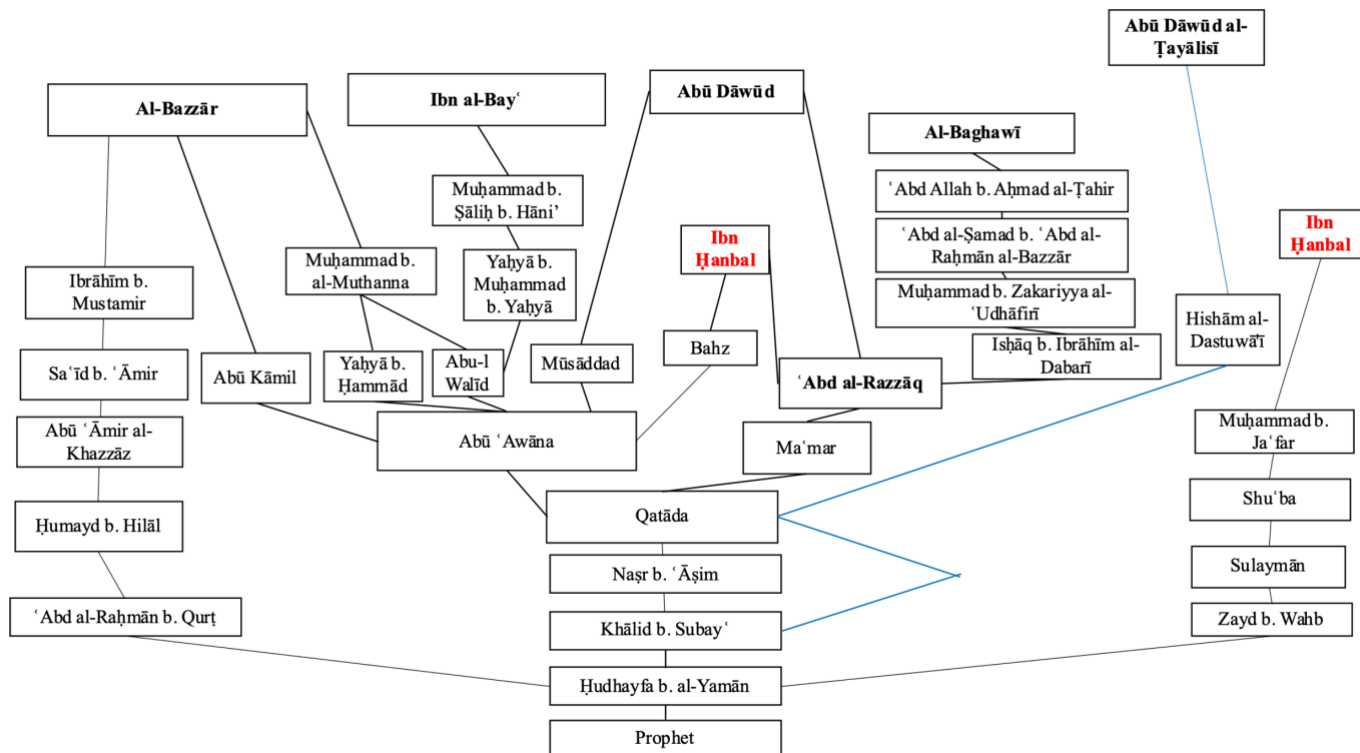
⁴¹⁸ There is disagreement in some of the wording as well as the word order. Transmitters ‘Abd al-Ṣamad and Yūnus both state the wording is *وَحُطَّ وَرُزُّهُ* and *وَحُطَّ أَجْرُهُ*, while Muḥammad b. Jafar states *وَوَجِبَ وَرُزُّهُ* and *حُطَّ أَجْرُهُ*, as does the variant recorded in Ibn Abī Shayba. Additionally, Ibn Abī Shayba records the order as stated where falling into the fire comes before the river while Ibn Ḥanbal inverts it, falling into the river before the fire.

⁴¹⁹ In Ibn Ḥanbal, “then what?”

Prophet: Even if you make a mare produce offspring,⁴²⁰ you will not be able to ride it [offspring] until the coming of the Hour.⁴²¹

The hadith variants transmitted through Abū Tayyāḥ include minor variations in word and pattern, which are the result of transmitter differences. Those transmissions through ‘Abd al-Wārith exclude the second part of the narration as do the partial variants recorded by Nu‘aym. Together, transmitter and collector discrepancies account for the differences in wording, pattern, and length of hadith variants linked to Abū Tayyāḥ.

Qatāda



The famous *muḥaddith* Qatāda is linked to ten variants in this hadith cluster, found in the works of seven collectors.⁴²² Though they differ slightly from the variants linked to Abū Tayyāḥ, they maintain the overall structure and meaning of the hadith.

Differences among variants of this group come from Qatāda’s students—Abū ‘Awāna and Ma‘mar. Five variants are transmitted through Abū ‘Awāna and four through Ma‘mar.

⁴²⁰ Ibn Ḥanbal records *فَلَوْهَا* while in Ibn Abī Shayba it’s *مُهْرَهَا*

⁴²¹ This refers to the length of time between the *Dajjāl* and the Final Hour. The production of offspring (gestation of a horse is around a year) and the growth of that offspring to an age it can be mounted (another 2-3 years) totals 4 years or so. This is the maximum length of time between the *Dajjāl* and the Final Hour.

⁴²² Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad, Bāb Aḥādīth Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān* (#444); Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Bāb Dhakara al-Fitan wa Dalā‘ilihā* (#4244 and #4245); Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad, Bāb Aḥādīth Jāmi‘a ‘an ‘Alāmāt al-Sā‘a* (#23429 and #23430); ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-San‘ānī, *Jāmi‘ Ma‘mar, Bāb Luzūm al-Jamā‘a* (#20711); Ibn al-Bay‘, *Mustadrak ‘alā Ṣaḥīḥayn al-Ḥākim, Bāb Kitāb al-Fitan wa al-Malāḥim* (#8332); Al-Bazzār, *Musnad, Bāb Subay‘ b. Khālīd ‘an Ḥudhayfa* (#2959 and #2960); Al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunna, Kitāb al-Fitan* (#4219).

The hadiths linked to these figures share some features while also displaying differences expected from transmitters independent of one another.

All variants include a context in which the CL goes to Kufa during the period Tustar was taken. Those transmissions through Abū ‘Awāna further state that the CL was buying cattle while transmissions through Ma‘mar do not.⁴²³ All variants state the CL went into a masjid where a well-known man of the Hijaz was speaking.⁴²⁴ Both students mention the CL not knowing who the speaker was and asking those around him who express astonishment in his ignorance of this famed figure. He is then answered that it is Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, the Companion of the Messenger of Allah.⁴²⁵

Ḥudhayfa then addresses those around him, stating that people used to ask the Prophet about good while he asked about evil.⁴²⁶ An additional dialogue is reported by Ma‘mar,⁴²⁷ after which he repeats that people asked about good while he asked about evil. The rest of the hadith follows the same pattern as that reported through Abū Tayyāḥ with minor differences. All variants give the Prophetic response of the sword and after it a begrudging truce.⁴²⁸ After that come the callers to error, at which point the people are ordered to obey the *Khalīfa* even if he strikes their backs and takes their wealth.⁴²⁹ After this comes the *Dajjāl*⁴³⁰ who brings

⁴²³ One transmission linked to Abū ‘Awāna does not include this as the collector, Ibn Ḥanbal, places it directly under another variant transmitted through ‘Abd al-Razzāq, giving it a different chain of transmission without including a text. Instead, he states that this variant has the “same meaning” فَذَكَرَ مِثْلَ مَعْنَى حَدِيثِ مَعْمَرٍ. The same is also done with an isnad linked to ‘Abd al-Razzāq that is placed by the collector al-Bazzār next to a hadith related by Abū ‘Awāna. By placing these variants next to each other and stating they say the same thing, the collectors only record the chains of transmission without a body of text, disqualifying these variants from further analysis.

⁴²⁴ Only the variants through Ma‘mar remark on Ḥudhayfa’s physical appearance. “حَسَنُ النَّعْرِ” in Ibn Ḥanbal, ‘Abd al-Razzāq, al-Baghawī and *Musnad* Abū Dāwūd.

⁴²⁵ In variants linked to Abū ‘Awāna, the people stare at him in disbelief of his ignorance “فَحَدَّثَنِي الْقَوْمُ بِأَبْصَارِهِمْ،” (Ibn al-Bay‘, al-Bazzār) and then answer him هَذَا خَدِيقَةُ صَاحِبِ سِرِّ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. In variants through Ma‘mar, the people ask the CL if he doesn’t know who the person is. The CL responds in the negative, after which the people answer. قَالَ الْقَوْمُ: أَوْ مَا تَعْرِفُهُ؟ قَالَ: قُلْتُ: لَا، قَالُوا: هَذَا خَدِيقَةُ بَنِّ الْيَمَانِ صَاحِبِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

⁴²⁶ Variants through Ma‘mar add that the people disliked his saying that (he asked the Prophet about future evils). Whether this was expressed verbally is unclear, however he does respond that he will relate to them what they don’t like. قَالَ: فَانْكَرَ ذَلِكَ الْقَوْمُ عَلَيْهِ، فَقَالَ لَهُمْ: إِنِّي سَأَحَدْتُكُمْ مَا أَنْكَرْتُمْ مِنْ ذَلِكَ. Ibn Ḥanbal, ‘Abd al-Razzāq, al-Baghawī, *Sunan* Abū Dāwūd.

⁴²⁷ Ḥudhayfa states, “Islam came when it did with a different order than the order of the *jāhiliyya*, and I had been given understanding of the Quran.” جَاءَ الْإِسْلَامُ جِئًا فَجَاءَ أَمْرٌ لَيْسَ كَأَمْرِ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ، وَكُنْتُ قَدْ أُعْطِيتُ فِي الْقُرْآنِ فَهْمًا، فَكَانَ. *Musnad* Abū Dāwūd also conveys a similar dialogue but in slightly different wording, which is unsurprising as the chain of transmission is not through Ma‘mar, but another student of Qatāda—Hishām al-Dastuwā’ī.

⁴²⁸ Ma‘mar adds وَهَنَتْنَا عَلَى أَقْدَاءِ وَهَنَتْنَا عَلَى دَخْنِ بَيْتِي عَلَى أَقْدَاءِ.

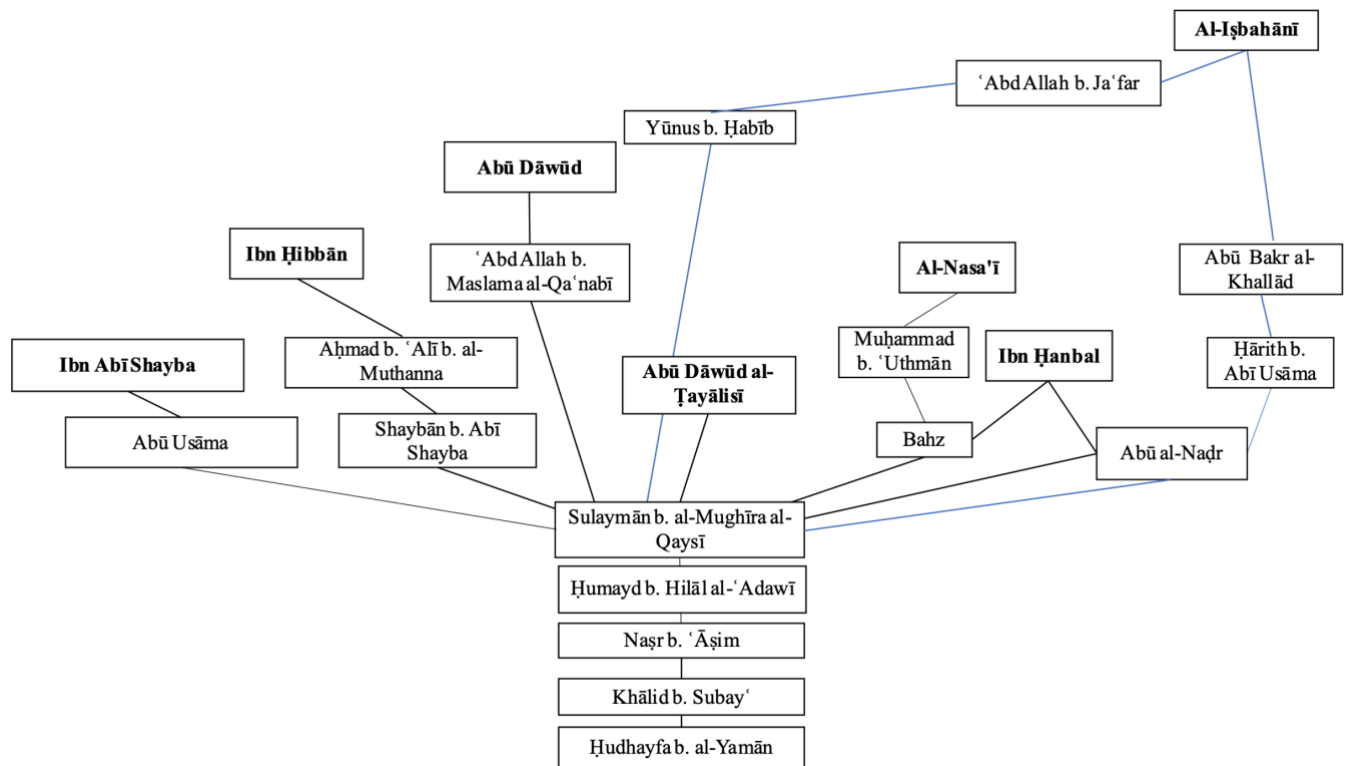
⁴²⁹ Variants through Ma‘mar state جَلَدَ طَهْرَكَ (‘Abd al-Razzāq, Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Baghawī) while those through Abū ‘Awāna specifically command obedience to the ruler (Ibn al-Bay‘, al-Bazzār, *Sunan* Abū Dāwūd). Two variants through Abū ‘Awāna say that the community will be divided عَلَى فُرْقَةٍ وَجَمَاعَةٌ (Ibn al-Bay‘ and al-Bazzār). This likely addition comes from the shared transmitter in these two variants, Abū al-Walīd al-Ṭayālīsī.

⁴³⁰ Only one variant, transmitted through al-Dastuwā’ī, ends the narration here. As he is another student of Qatāda, it reinforces the understanding that he narrated independently of either Abū ‘Awāna or Ma‘mar.

with him a river and fire, with the same descriptions of falling into them. Then comes the Last Hour.⁴³¹ The variants through Ma‘mar, like those transmitted by Abū Tayyāh, adds the description of the offspring of the horse.⁴³²

In short, the transmissions through Qatāda are similar to those of Abū Tayyāh in context, structure, and wording. Qatāda provides some additional details, like the time period of the liberation of Tustar and the expression of surprise by those around the CL for not knowing who the Hijazi man was. Smaller differences in wording can be attributed to the students of Qatāda, like Ma‘mar adding dialogue attributed to Ḥudhayfa and Qatāda, or Abū ‘Awāna mentioning the CL’s obtaining cattle. These consistencies begin to give shape to what the CL had transmitted, further illustrated in the last of the key figures, Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra.

Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra



Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra comes one generation after the above two transmitters. His name is found in seven variants recorded by seven collectors.⁴³³ Most variants provide a context to

⁴³¹ Variants through Abū ‘Awāna end the hadith here (in al-Bazzār, Ibn al-Bay‘, and *Sunan* Abū Dāwūd).

⁴³² يُنْتَجُ الْمُهْرُ فَلَا يُرْكَبُ حَتَّى تَقُومَ السَّاعَةُ. ‘Abd al-Razzāq, Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Baghawī. Ma‘mar adds that Qatāda gave clarification to some of the words

⁴³³ Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, *Bāb Aḥādīth Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān* (#443); Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Bāb Dhakara al-Fitan wa Dalā‘ilihā* (#4246); Al-Nasā‘ī, *Sunan al-Kubrā*, *Bāb al-Amr bi-Ta‘llam al-Qur‘ān wa Ittibā‘ mā fīhi* (#7978); Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, *Bāb Ḥādīth Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān ‘an al-Nabī* (#23282); Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, *Bāb man Kariha al-Khurūj fī al-Fitna wa Ta‘ūdh ‘anhā* (#37113); Ibn Hibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb*

the hadith, though it differs somewhat from the previous two, suggesting this report was narrated on a different occasion than the other two versions. In it, Naṣr b. ‘Āṣim al-Laythī states that a group from his tribe⁴³⁴ approached the CL who asked what they wanted. They respond that they came to ask about the hadith of Ḥudhayfa.⁴³⁵

The CL then describes going to Kufa, usually with a companion,⁴³⁶ regarding cattle⁴³⁷ and entering the masjid where a gathering formed intensely around a man.⁴³⁸ He asks who that person is and is told he must not be from Kufa to ask such a question. He replies that he is from Basra. He is then told it is Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān who narrates that the people asked about good while he asked about evil⁴³⁹ “because I knew the good would not last”. The Prophet responds: “Oh Ḥudhayfa, learn the Quran and follow what is in it.” Ḥudhayfa repeats the question and is given the same answer three times until the Prophet states, “A begrudging truce”.⁴⁴⁰ Ḥudhayfa asks, “Oh Messenger of Allah what is the begrudging truce?” The Prophet responds that it is that the hearts of people will permanently change (lit. “will not return to what they had previously been”).⁴⁴¹ “A *fitna* of the blind and deaf, from which are the callers to the doors of the fire⁴⁴² and if you die O Ḥudhayfa clinging to the stump, it is better for you than the one who follows them.”⁴⁴³

The variants transmitted through Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra describe much of what the previous two transmitters stated in the preface to the Prophetic dialogue as well as the dialogue itself. But this version differs considerably in the dialogue as well. This includes the Prophet telling Ḥudhayfa to learn the Quran (usually repeated three times) and an explanation

Dhakara al-Bayān bi-anna al-Du‘ā ilā al-Fitan ‘inda (#5963); Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat al-Awliyā, Bāb Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān wa minhum al-Ārif bil Maḥan*.

⁴³⁴ Banū Layth tribe. Ibn Abī Shayba is the only collector to leave out the context entirely.

⁴³⁵ Al-Iṣbahānī does not include the dialogue between the CL and the group, likely omitted by someone in the chain of transmission.

⁴³⁶ An unspecified companion is recorded by Abū Dāwūd. This companion is identified as Abū Mūsā in Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Nasā’ī, al-Iṣbahānī, and Ibn Ḥibbān.

⁴³⁷ Al-Iṣbahānī is again found missing this information.

⁴³⁸ They were listening so intensely to Ḥudhayfa that they are described as if they had severed heads, كَأَنَّمَا قُطِعَتْ رُءُوسُهُمْ مُجْتَمِعُونَ عَلَى رَجُلٍ, i.e. they were silent and still in order to hear what Ḥudhayfa had to say. Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Iṣbahānī

⁴³⁹ Abū Dāwūd does not include this preface to the narration.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibn Ḥibbān records “*fitna* and evil” before being asked about good after the evil, and then the Prophet responds, “a begrudging truce.” Al-Iṣbahānī records the two versions. Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Nasā’ī add, هُدْنَةٌ عَلَى نَخْنٍ، وَجَمَاعَةٌ عَلَى أَقْدَاءٍ

⁴⁴¹ Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Nasā’ī, and Ibn Ḥibbān include Ḥudhayfa asking the Prophet if evil will come after this good before the Prophet responds.

⁴⁴² Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Nasā’ī, Ibn Ḥibbān and Ibn Abī Shayba use the term أَبْوَابِ النَّارِ while al-Iṣbahānī and Abū Dāwūd record two possibilities—the callers to error or the callers to the fire.

⁴⁴³ Ibn Abī Shayba is missing most of the dialogue, only including the repeated response of learning the Quran followed by the last statement about *fitna*.

of what the truce is, followed by a description of a time of trial. Notably, this version of the hadith does not include the phrase on the ruler striking backs and taking people's wealth.

Variants through both Sulaymān and Qatāda share a common transmitter—Naṣr b. 'Āṣim, a student of the CL. As a result, it would be expected that variants transmitted through them have more in common. Indeed, they do share a similar context—both versions express astonishment that the CL is unaware of Ḥudhayfa's identity. This element is reported by the above two key figures but are not found in variants through Abū Tayyāḥ. It can be reasonably adduced that this context was relayed by the shared transmitter between Qatāda and Sulaymān—Naṣr b. 'Āṣim.

However, there is also a discrepancy in the variants linked to Sulaymān and Qatāda. Qatāda is similar to Abū Tayyāḥ in the Prophetic dialogue linked to him. Both transmit the dialogue regarding the protection of the sword, rulers who will strike backs and take wealth, the *Dajjāl*, and the Last Hour while Sulaymān does not. Sulaymān also narrates a Prophetic injunction regarding the Quran, describes the begrudging truce and a coming *fitna*.

There are two possibilities to explain this discrepancy. One explanation is that the versions of the hadith from Qatāda and Abū Tayyāḥ are more compatible due to cross-contamination as they lived in the same city and are of the same generation. It is possible that one took elements of another's transmission, or that they took from each other. However, as they each kept their respective contexts and show patterns in wording unique to each of them, they maintain their integrity as independent transmissions.

The second possibility is that the discrepancy is due to Sulaymān's transmissions—either with Sulaymān himself or Ḥumayd b. Hilāl before him (Ḥumayd and Qatāda both transmit from Naṣr b. 'Āṣim). Indeed, the biographers have commented on this relationship, casting doubt on transmissions from Ḥumayd to Sulaymān. Sulaymān was questioned as to his ability to narrate such long hadiths from Ḥumayd without having them written down, which he defends.⁴⁴⁴ The possibility remains that Qatāda and Abū Tayyāḥ borrowed from each other but share a common source for this hadith—Khālīd b. Subay'. However, the many differences in the version of Sulaymān coupled with his questionable transmissions from Ḥumayd make it more likely that the discrepancy comes from Sulaymān (or possibly Ḥumayd).

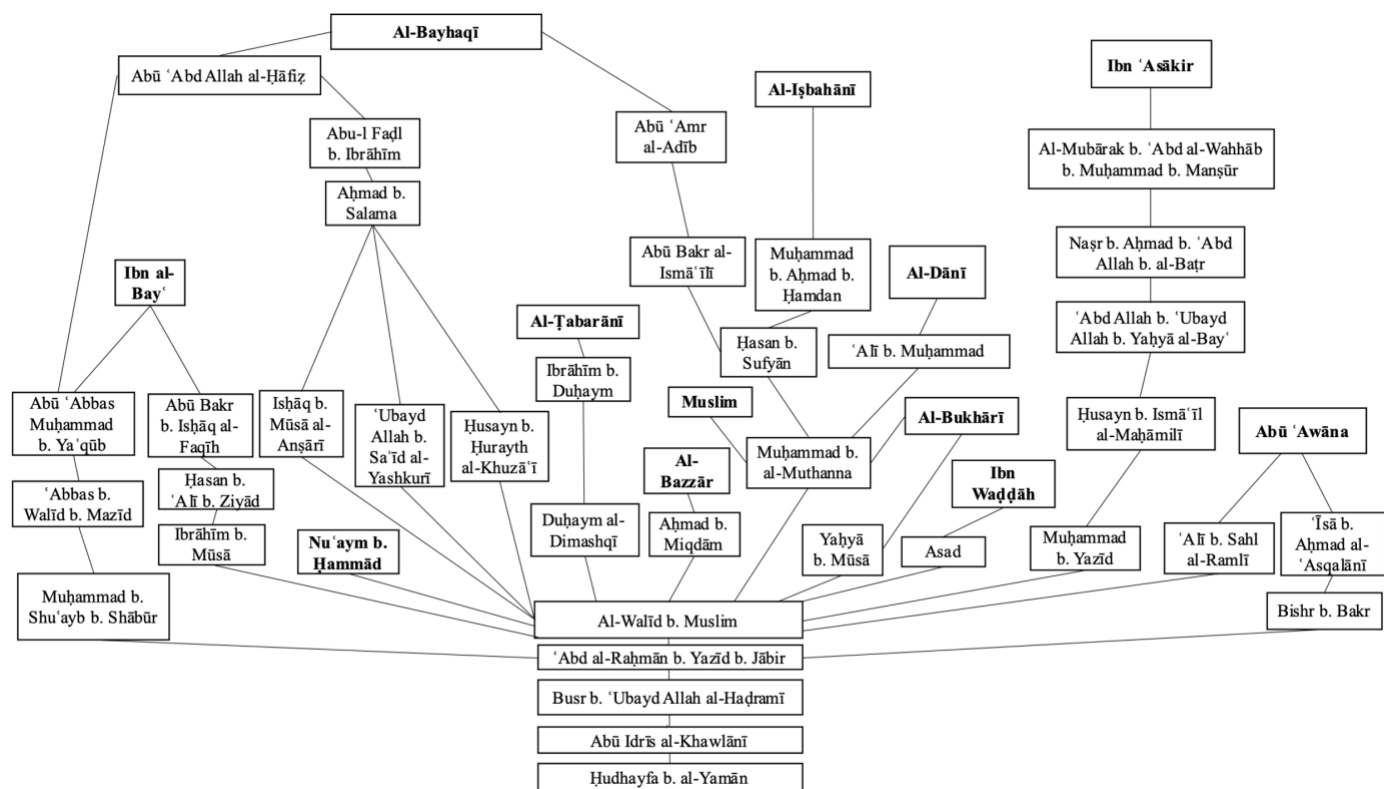
⁴⁴⁴ Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Al-Jāmi' li-'ulūm Imām Aḥmad: al-Rijāl, Bāb Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra al-Qaysī Abū Sa'īd al-Baṣrī* (#1150).

Despite these differences, all key figures include several elements of the hadith. It can be concluded that the CL in this hadith group, Khālīd b. Subayʿ is responsible for the transmission of these elements such as his going to Kufa, usually with regard to cattle,⁴⁴⁵ and entering a masjid where a gathering forms around Ḥudhayfa. The CL does not recognize him and asks those gathered for the identity of the Companion, usually to their surprise. All versions include a dialogue between Ḥudhayfa and the Prophet that he prefaces, “The people asked the Prophet about good [to come] while I asked him about evil.” The Prophet gives vague responses including “a begrudging truce” and those who will lead people astray. This is followed by the coming of either the *Dajjāl* or a great trial. Two versions continue that afterwards is the Final Hour.

Although there are some discrepancies, this is likely the result of dubious transmitter practices or the cross-contamination between two of the key figures. However, each key figure includes its own unique features that do not mirror one another. These include transmissions through Qatāda placing the CL’s meeting with Ḥudhayfa at the time Tustar was taken, or Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra transmitting that the CL had a companion who went with him to Kufa. While these smaller unique details can be attributed to the respective key figures linked to the variants, the hadith cluster nevertheless maintains the overall structure and meaning of the hadith.

4.1.2. CL Al-Walīd b. Muslim

⁴⁴⁵ Variants through Maʿmar omit this.



Al-Walīd b. Muslim is responsible for the widespread transmission of a hadith which is linked to his teacher, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir. Ibn Jābir is found in 18 chains of transmission in the works of 12 collectors.⁴⁴⁶ Three students are seen transmitting from him, though only al-Walīd does so on a large scale.⁴⁴⁷ Only one variant in this bundle is not linked to a chain of transmission including al-Walīd's name. It is therefore safer to argue that al-Walīd is the CL of this bundle rather than Ibn Jābir.⁴⁴⁸ Almost all variants follow the same pattern:

⁴⁴⁶ Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Bāb 'Alāmāt al-Nubuwwa fī al-Islām* (#3606) and *Bāb Kayf al-Amr idhā lam takun Jamā'a* (#7084); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Bāb al-Amr bi-Luzūm al-Jamā'a 'inda zuḥūr* (#51 [1847]); Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *Al-Fitan, Bāb al-'Iṣma min al-Fitan wa mā Yastajib fihā min* (#354) and *Bāb mā kāna min Rasūl Allah min al-Taḡaddum wa min Aṣḥābihi ba'dahu fī al-Fitan* (#29); Al-Bazzār, *Musnad, Bāb Subay' b. Khālīd 'an Hudhayfa* (#2962); Al-Dānī, *Al-Sunan al-Wārīda fī al-Fitan, Bāb Kayf al-Amr idhā lam takun Jamā'a wa la Imām* (#202); Ibn Waḍḍāh, *Al-Bud', Bāb Kul Muḥaddatha Bud'a* (#79); Ibn 'Asākir, *Mu'jam, Bāb al-Mubārak b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr* (#1407); Abū 'Awāna, *Mustakhraj, Bāb Bayān al-Khabar al-Mawjib al-I'tiṣām bi-l Imām* (#7166 and #7167); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kubrā, Bāb al-Targhīb fī Luzūm al-Jamā'a wa al-Tashdīd* (#16610) and *Bāb al-Nahī 'an al-Qitāl fī al-Furqa wa man Tarak* (#16795); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shamiyyīn, Bāb Ibn Jābir 'an Bishr b. 'Ubayd Allah al-Ḥaḍramī* (#583); Ibn al-Bay', *Mustadrakh 'alā Ṣaḥīḥayn al-Ḥākim, Bāb wa minhum Yahya b. Abī al-Muṭā' al-Qurashī* (#386); Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat al-Awliyā, Bāb Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān wa minhum al-'Arif bil Maḥan*.

⁴⁴⁷ Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb b. Shābūr is found in two variants while Bishr b. Bakr only transmits in one. The remaining isnads go through the CL's student al-Walīd b. Muslim.

⁴⁴⁸ Al-Walīd is also recorded by Nu'aym as transmitting this hadith through a different isnad to the Companion Ḥudhayfa. Nu'aym ← al-Walīd ← al-Awzā'ī ← Ḥassān b. 'Atiyya ← Ḥudhayfa. This chain is found nowhere else in the bundle. Considering that it includes the famous *muhaddith* al-Awzā'ī, it is questionable that no other transmitter is found narrating this hadith from him. As al-Walīd transmits isnads found nowhere else in the bundle, and is the only figure transmitting this version of the hadith, it would suggest that he is its originator.

Ḥudhayfa: The people would ask the Messenger of Allah about the good and I would ask about evil, fearing that I would live to see it.⁴⁴⁹ I said, “Oh Messenger of Allah, we were in a *jāhiliyya* and evil, but God brought this good, so is there evil after it?”

Prophet: Yes

Ḥudhayfa: Is there good after the evil?

Prophet: Yes.

Ḥudhayfa: After this evil will there be good?⁴⁵⁰

Prophet: Yes. In it there will be rancour.⁴⁵¹

Ḥudhayfa: What is the nature of this rancour?

Prophet: A group following other than my guidance,⁴⁵² you will know them and reject them.

Ḥudhayfa: After this good is there evil?

Prophet: Yes. Callers to the gates of hell, whoever responds to them are thrown in.

Ḥudhayfa: Oh Messenger of Allah, describe them.

Prophet: They are of our skin and speak our language.⁴⁵³

Ḥudhayfa: And what do you order me to do⁴⁵⁴ when this happens?

Prophet: Follow the community of Muslims and their leader.

Ḥudhayfa: And if there is neither a community nor leader?

Prophet: Cling to the trunk of a tree until death takes you.

In this version of the hadith, there is an added phrase to the context where Ḥudhayfa explains that he asked about the evil out of “fear that I would live to see it.” Al-Walīd is the only key figure linked to this phrase. Additionally, hadiths associated with al-Walīd include a command from the Prophet to follow the Muslim community and its leader. These variants also describe the Callers as being (presumably) from among the Arabs—having the same skin (colour?) and speaking the same language. These descriptions are again characteristic of variants through al-Walīd and no other key figure. Noticeably absent from all variants associated with al-Walīd is the phrase regarding the ruler who will strike people’s backs and take their wealth.

Despite these differences, the hadith variants found through al-Walīd follow a similar pattern to those of Khālīd b. Subay‘. In all versions of the hadith, Ḥudhayfa first provides a

⁴⁴⁹ Lit. “afraid that I would realize it” (مَخَافَةَ أَنْ أَدْرِكَهُ). This additional phrase is found in all variants but three—one in Abū ‘Awāna includes the context but leaves out the phrase and two variants in al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn Waḍḍāḥ exclude the entire context from the narration. This phrase is exclusive to variants in this cluster with one exception recorded in Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād in the grouping with Abū Tayyāḥ as key figure (likely the collector’s mistake).

⁴⁵⁰ Two variants leave out this question and the Prophetic response. As several isnads are associated with these two variants, it is difficult to pinpoint where this exclusion took place.

⁴⁵¹ The variant through Ibn Waḍḍāḥ is the only one to omit the word كَخُنْ.

⁴⁵² Both variants in Abū ‘Awāna, one through al-Bayhaqī, al-Iṣbahānī, and Muslim add the additional phrase يَسْتَنْتُونَ بِغَيْرِ سُنْبِي. Hasan b. Suḫayb narrates the hadith with the added phrase recorded in al-Bayhaqī and al-Iṣbahānī. It appears that Muḥammad b. al-Muthanna likely transmitted the hadith both ways as three variants through him report this addition while another two do not.

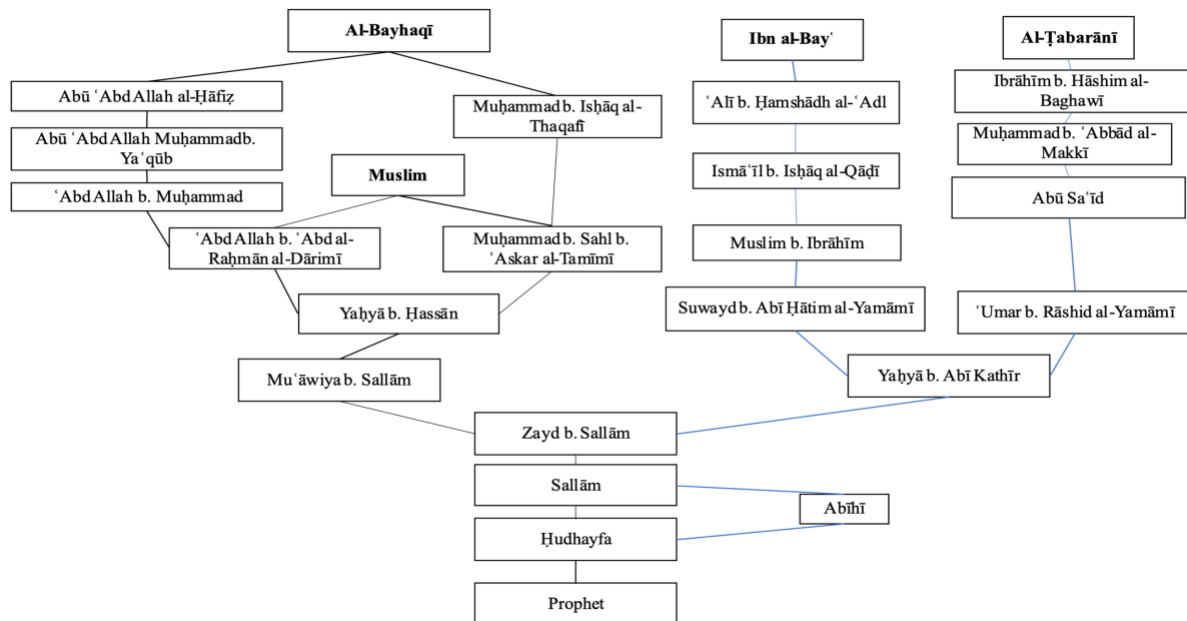
⁴⁵³ Nu‘aym again splits the same hadith in two. The first ends here while the second includes the remainder.

⁴⁵⁴ The variants through Abū ‘Awāna and Muslim use the word تَأْمُرُنِي instead of تَأْمُرُنِي.

context where people would ask the Prophet about good and he would ask about evil, followed by a dialogue between himself and the Prophet about the good and bad to come, all of which include mention of rancour. All versions give descriptions of callers to wrong (either they are callers to misguidance, or the fire, or to the gates of hell). Most of these versions also include a phrase about clinging to the trunk of a tree (except for variants through Qatāda who narrates clinging to the *Khalīfa* instead).

In short, the variants linked to al-Walīd share the overall structure and meaning with those variants linked to Khālid. However, they are unique in wording found in both context and dialogue. These differences in wording are found nowhere else in this hadith bundle, illustrating that al-Walīd’s narrations were independent of Khālid b. Subay‘ or any of the key transmitters after him.

4.1.3. Key Figure Zayd b. Sallām



Zayd b. Sallām (d. 121-130) lived one generation after Khālid b. Subay‘. However, the chains of transmission connected with him are longer than those linked to Khālid. While Khālid reportedly transmitted directly from the Companion Ḥudhayfa, Zayd heard from his father, who (usually) heard from his father who then heard Ḥudhayfa narrate the hadith. This may account for the many transmissions linked to Khālid, while only six are found linked to Zayd⁴⁵⁵ through two students.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁵ Two variants combine isnads while presenting the same body of text. Muslim and al-Bayhaqī each report two chains of transmission for the same narration, linking only four variants with a body of text to Zayd b. Sallām.

⁴⁵⁶ Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb al-Amr bi-Luzūm al-Jamā'a 'inda zuhur* (#52 [1847]); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kubrā*, *Bāb al-Targhīb fī Luzūm al-Jamā'a wa al-Tashdīd* (#16617); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ*, *Bāb man Ismuhu Ibrāhīm* (#2893); Ibn al-Bay', *Mustadrak 'alā Ṣaḥīḥayn al-Ḥākim*, *Bāb Ammā Ḥadīth Abī 'Awāna* (#8533)

There are similarities in the transmissions through both of Zayd’s students. These hadiths can be split into two parts. In the first Ḥudhayfa asks the Prophet about the coming bad and good. The second part consists of the Prophet’s long response at the end of the dialogue. The isnads through Mu‘āwiya b. Sallām to his student Yaḥyā b. Ḥassān give near identical wording for both parts, stating:

Ḥudhayfa: Oh Messenger of Allah, we were in evil and Allah brought good which we are now in. Will there be evil after this good?

Prophet: Yes.

Ḥudhayfa: And will there be good after this evil?

Prophet: Yes.

Ḥudhayfa: And will there be evil after this good?

Prophet: Yes.

Ḥudhayfa: How will it be?

Prophet: There will be after me Imams who are not guided by my guidance, or live by my *Sunna*, and among them will be men with the hearts of devils in the bodies of humans.

Ḥudhayfa: What should I do, oh Messenger of Allah, when this happens?

Prophet: Listen and obey the ruler even if he strikes your back and takes your wealth, still, listen and obey.

A third variant through the other student of Zayd, Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr, gives the same dialogue with an additional preface⁴⁵⁷ and a slightly different injunction to follow the ruler, implying there will be more than one.⁴⁵⁸ It also includes the same phrase found in the variants of the previous CLs that the people would ask about the good while Ḥudhayfa would ask about evil.

The last variant through Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr leaves out the initial dialogue between Ḥudhayfa and the Prophet, giving the bulk of the hadith from the Imams to come until the injunction to follow them. Both variants through Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr state to follow the greatest leader “*al-amīr al-a‘ẓam*”.

Though these variants differ somewhat in isnad,⁴⁵⁹ context⁴⁶⁰ and wording,⁴⁶¹ they all give the same near identical Prophetic saying describing bad rulers who must be listened to and obeyed. In these variants, the Prophet gives a unique description of leaders to come who will have “the hearts of devils in the bodies of humans”. Neither of the above two CLs is associated with this description. Additionally, descriptions found in the other two groups are

⁴⁵⁷ قَالُوا لَهُ: يَا حُدَيْفَةُ، مَا نَرَاكَ إِلَّا مُقْبِوضًا، فَقَالَ لَهُمْ: عِبُّ مَسْرُورًا، وَحَبِيبٌ جَاءَ عَلَى فَاقَةٍ لَا أَفْلَحَ حُدَيْفَةُ بِنَ الْيَمَانِ لَمَّا اخْتَصِرَ أَنَاهُ نَاسٌ مِنَ الْأَعْرَابِ
in Ibn al-Bay‘

⁴⁵⁸ in Ibn al-Bay‘

⁴⁵⁹ Isnads recorded by Muslim and al-Bayhaqī do not include the grandfather while those in al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn al-Bay‘ do.

⁴⁶⁰ Al-Ṭabarānī provides no context at all while Ibn al-Bay‘ gives an addition.

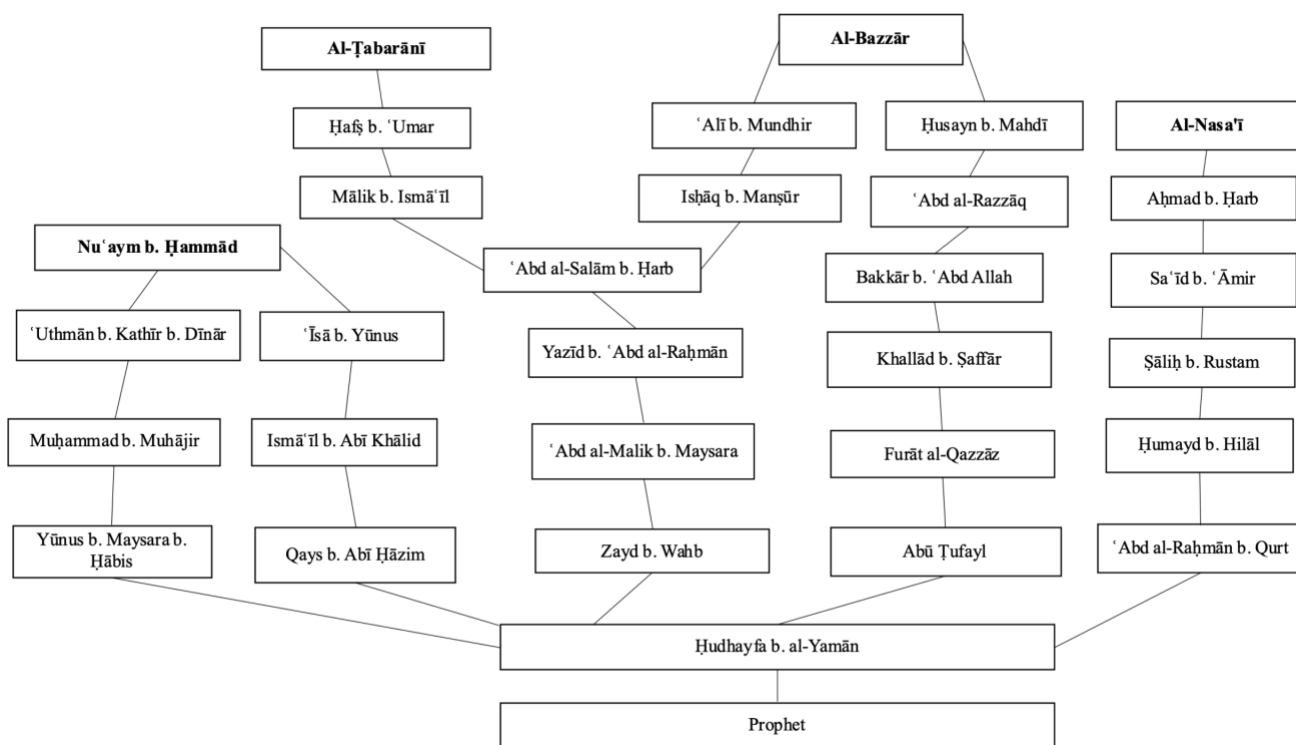
⁴⁶¹ Ibn al-Bay‘ describes those asking about good while he asked about evil, as in variants linked to CL Khālid.

missing here. Variants transmitted from Zayd do not mention a begrudging truce or clinging to the trunk of a tree. These wording patterns found only in variants linked to Zayd separate this cluster from the other two.

In conclusion, all the main sources of this hadith's transmission include a context in which the Companion Ḥudhayfa is addressing those wishing to hear the Prophetic narration, explaining that during the lifetime of the Prophet other people would ask him about the good that was to come while he, Ḥudhayfa, would ask about evil. This is followed by a dialogue that all three versions report. All of them state that Ḥudhayfa tells the Prophet that they had lived in a bad time (before Islam) and were currently living in a good time (after Islam). He asks if bad will follow that good and if good will follow the bad (and usually if bad will again follow the good). The Prophet always responds in the positive, with added descriptions in between some responses. All these descriptions mention a group who will be misguided. All of them also include a command from the Prophet to follow the leader, although the conditions around this differ between the key figures.

There are also unique features that can be attributed to each key figure. Variants linked to Zayd b. Sallām describe rulers with the hearts of devils in the bodies of humans. Variants through al-Walīd specifically describe the Callers to the gates of hell as being from the same language and skin of the people. Khālid b. Subay' is associated with mention of the *Dajjāl* or a *fitna*. Each of these unique features of the key figures separates them from one another while maintaining an overall context and structure to the Prophetic narration.

4.1.4. Single Strands



The remaining variants of this hadith cluster are single strands. All go back to the Companion Ḥudhayfa. They consist of six chains of transmission⁴⁶² although only five include a complete Prophetic text.⁴⁶³ These texts generally follow the same patterns as those already analysed.

All variants transmit the dialogue about the coming bad and good. However, the Prophetic responses differ. One variant uses unique wording in its context,⁴⁶⁴ while three of the four mention *fitna*.⁴⁶⁵ Two variants share transmitters and give the same Prophetic responses with a couple of matching phrases, one of which is found nowhere else in the bundle.⁴⁶⁶ This would suggest that these variants are not merely copies of others but genuine

⁴⁶² Another six isnads give different chains of transmission from the above-mentioned clusters but are arranged by collectors as having the same text as those clusters. The texts they're connected with include variants transmitted through Qatāda and Abū Tayyāḥ (under the Subay' b. Khālid CL) as well as al-Walīd. I have included these single strands within those bundles that the collectors associated them with.

⁴⁶³ Recorded by al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan al-Kubrā, Bāb al-Amr bi-Ta'allam al-Qur'ān wa Ittibā' mā fīhi* (#7979); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ, Bāb man Ismuḥu Hafḍ* (#3531); Al-Bazzār, *Musnad, Bāb Subay' b. Khālid 'an Ḥudhayfa* (#2799 and #2811); Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *Al-Fitan, Bāb mā kāna min Rasūl Allah min al-Taḡaddum wa min Aṣḥābihi ba'dahu fī al-Fitan* (#31 and #32). Two variants with the same isnad recorded by Nu'aym b. Ḥammād are analysed as one variant, since the second is a continuation of the first, and together they look similar to the other variants in this cluster (in particular those found in the bundle under al-Walīd).

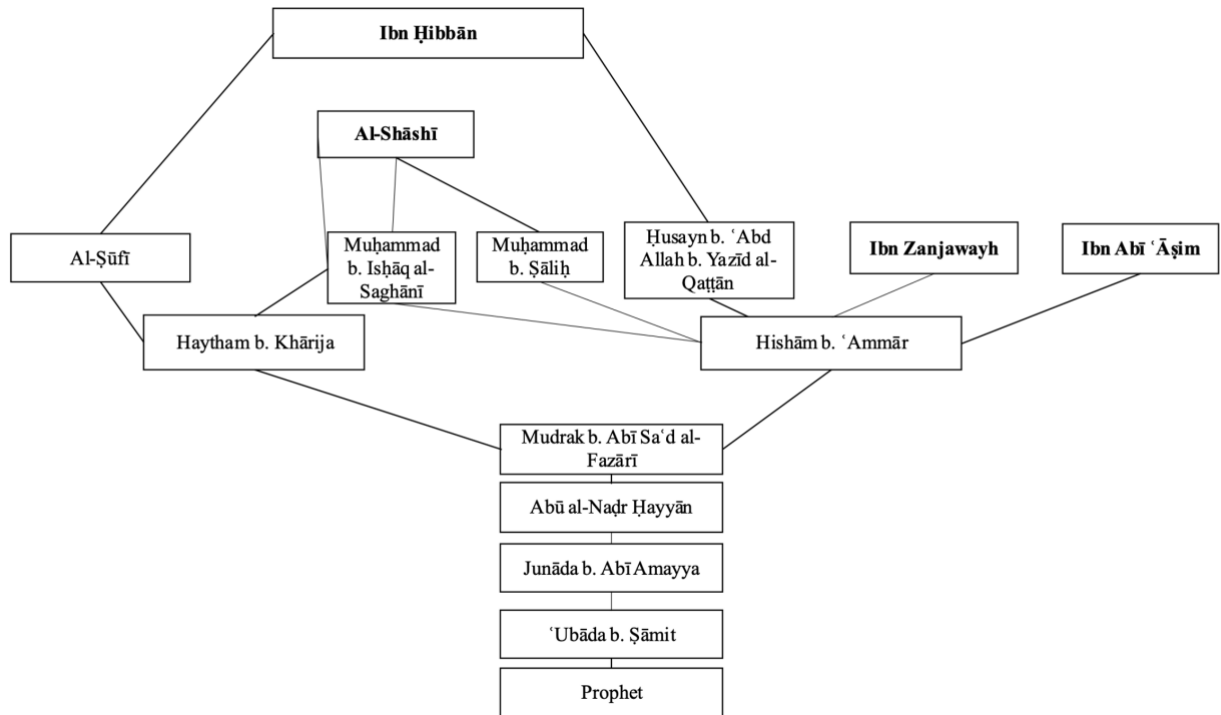
⁴⁶⁴ Variant found in al-Nasā'ī: وَكُنْتُ أَسْأَلُهُ عَنِ الشَّرِّ كَيْمَا أَعْرِفُهُ فَاتَّقِيَهُ، وَعَلِمْتُ أَنَّ الْخَيْرَ لَا يَفُوتُنِي

⁴⁶⁵ Found in al-Nasā'ī, al-Ṭabarānī and one in al-Bazzār.

⁴⁶⁶ Recorded by al-Ṭabarānī and al-Bazzār, the two share an isnad which splits at 'Abd al-Salām b. Harb who may be responsible for the phrase *تَسْتَجِيبُ إِلَى أَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ* unique to these two variants. These variants also share the phrase *أَفْدَاءٌ عَلَى وَجْمَاعَةٍ* which is found in three other variants in this cluster; one is another single strand recorded by al-Bazzār while the remaining two are found in the section on Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra (under CL Khālid b. Subay'), recorded in al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Ḥanbal. Some variants under Qatāda also use the word *أَفْدَاءٌ* but in a different phrase (discussed in the Qatāda section above). As this phrase/word is found all throughout the hadith bundle, it is not possible to locate its origin to any transmitter(s) or collector.

transmissions possessing unique features. But as these are only single strands, they cannot be connected to any figures.

4.1.5. Mudrak b. Abī Sa‘d al-Fazarī



The variants through Mudrak⁴⁶⁷ give a different chain of transmission to a different Companion, ‘Ubāda b. Šāmit, and are altogether a different Prophetic narration. Six variants are found under this figure in the works of four collectors.⁴⁶⁸ The wording is nearly identical:

Prophet: O ‘Ubāda

‘Ubāda: I am coming to you!⁴⁶⁹

Prophet: Listen and obey in difficulty and ease, in times of activity⁴⁷⁰ and in times of idleness, and in selfishness against you⁴⁷¹, even if they eat your wealth and strike your back. Otherwise, you will be in disobedience to Allah.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁷ Mudrak b. Abī Sa‘d (d. c. 181-190) is the latest of the figures discussed in this chapter, having died at the end of the second century while the others died at its beginning or middle.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibn Hibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb Dhakara al-Takhṣīṣ al-Thānī alladhi Yakhid ‘Umūm* (#4562 and #4566); Al-Shāshī, *Musnad*, *Bāb Junāda b. Abī Amayya al-Azdī ‘an ‘Ubāda* (#1221 and #1225); Ibn Zanjawayh, *Al-Amwāl*, *Bāb fī Wujūb al-Sam‘ wa al-Ṭā‘a ‘alā al-Zu‘ya* (#24); Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *Al-Sunna*, *Bāb fī Dhakara al-Sam‘ wa al-Ṭā‘a* (#1026).

⁴⁶⁹ One variant through Ibn Hibbān and Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim does not include the Prophet’s address and ‘Ubāda’s response. The variant through Ibn Zanjawayh leaves out ‘Ubāda’s response.

⁴⁷⁰ One variant in Ibn Hibbān does not have *وَمُنْشَطِك*

⁴⁷¹ In Ibn Zanjawayh reports *عَلَى نَفْسِكَ* instead of *عَلَيْكَ*. The language here is similar to the al-A‘mash cluster in the ‘give them their rights’ hadith bundle. Al-A‘mash also describes future selfishness against the people which they must endure.

⁴⁷² One variant in Ibn Hibbān and Ibn Zanjawayh leave out “to Allah” while the variant in Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim leaves out the entirety of being in disobedience.

These variants are very different than the previous versions discussed as they are linked to a different chain of transmission. They are included in this hadith bundle as the injunction regarding those who strike your back and take your wealth is part of the narration (albeit inverted). As the language and structure of the variants are almost identical with minor differences, it was likely transmitted by Mudrak b. Abī Sa‘d. However, it does not belong to this hadith bundle and is therefore irrelevant to this chapter’s hadith analysis.

4.2 Common Links and Key Figures

As the above analysis illustrates, two common links are identified in this hadith bundle—Khālid b. Subay‘ and al-Walīd b. Muslim. Three additional key figures are also seen transmitting this hadith from Khālid on a large scale—Qatāda, Abū Tayyāḥ, and Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra. Only a handful of variants are associated with a fourth key figure, Zayd b. Sallām, all of which give a different version of the hadith.

All the above transmitters are placed in either Basra or Damascus and died anywhere from the beginning to the end of the second century AH. Zayd b. Sallām lived in Damascus at the beginning of the second century while al-Walīd died there at the end of the century. Khālid b. Subay‘ comes from Basra along with the three key transmitters after him, all of whom lived anywhere from the beginning to the middle of the second century. The first part of this section will look at the Basran figures, including their tribal associations, political affiliations and ideological leanings while the second will concentrate on their Damascene counterparts.

4.2.1. Khālid b. Subay‘

Very little is known about this figure from the Successor generation. No date of birth or death is given in the biographical literature, though his generation includes those who lived to the beginning of the second century AH. He is described as being from Basra although his tribe, the Banū Yashkur,⁴⁷³ were mainly located in the nearby province of Yamama. This hadith seems to be the only one associated with Khālid, accounting for his insignificance in the classical sources.

473 The Banū Yashkur are believed to be an obscure branch of the Bakr b. Wā’il, notable for their appointments within Umayyad governance. Webb, P., “Bakr b. Wā’il”, *EI3*. Others state it is a branch of the Qays Aylan, most famous for the pre-Islamic Arabian poet al-Munakhh al-Yashkurī. MacMichael, H.A., *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan: And Some Account of the People who Preceded Them and of the Tribes Inhabiting Dārfūr*, p. 250, fn 4.

4.2.2. Qatāda

Abu al-Khaṭṭāb Qatāda b. Di‘āma al-Sadūsī was one of the great scholars of Basra. He was known not only for the transmission of a vast number of Prophetic narrations, but for his expertise in the fields of tafsir, fiqh, grammar, genealogy and even cultural practices.⁴⁷⁴ He died of the plague in Wasit around 117 AH (at the age of 55-57), placing his birth around 61 AH.⁴⁷⁵

Qatāda’s father was a Bedouin Arab, a people famous at the time for their mastery of the Arabic language. As a result of his desert upbringing, Qatāda earned a reputation for impeccable Arabic. His blindness contributed to his reputation for having a strong memory, though he was sometimes accused of being careless with his scholarship. According to Josef Van Ess, he did not adhere to the parameters of isnad eligibility in his earlier years, though it is believed that he later did so under Kufan influence.⁴⁷⁶

Some of Qatāda’s detractors begrudged him his close relations with the authorities. He is a documented supporter of the Umayyads, an advisor to them, and opponent of the rebel Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab—who had Qatāda deported to and imprisoned in Ahwaz. He is believed to have had a very positive image of the Syrians, unlike many other intellectuals of his time, whom he regarded as “champions of the faith.”⁴⁷⁷

This close relationship between Qatāda and the Umayyads correlates with his prominent role in the transmission of a hadith calling on people to obey the ruler even if he strikes their backs and takes their wealth. The wording of the hadiths transmitted through Qatāda not only forbid disobedience to the ruler but require an emphatic obedience (فَالزُّمَةُ) where the people must necessarily comply with his mandates even to the extreme of the ruler flogging or robbing them.

4.2.3. Abū Tayyāḥ

Yazīd b. Ḥumayd was referred to as Abū Tayyāḥ from a young age.⁴⁷⁸ He came from the northern tribe of Sulaym and lived as a jurist in Basra, where he died around 130/747-8.⁴⁷⁹ Though not much information is given about his life, he was considered a well-known ascetic figure of his time and transmitted hadiths from some of the most famous narrators of the previous generation—Anas b. Mālik and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

⁴⁷⁴ Some of his *fatāwa* are allegedly compiled in the *Aqwāl Qatāda*, reflecting matters of cultural relevance of his day. These range from punishments for *ḥadd* crimes to the permissibility of eating horse meat. See Van Ess, *Theology*, Vol. 2, p. 165-7.

⁴⁷⁵ Van Ess argues he was born after 65 AH (Ibid, p. 156).

⁴⁷⁶ Qatāda “transmitted from Muhājīd and Sa‘īd b. Jubayr without ever having met them in person.” Ibid, 161.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid, 159-160.

⁴⁷⁸ *Al-Dhahabī, Siyar, Bāb Abū al-Tayyāḥ Yazīd b. Humayd al-Dabī (#115)*.

⁴⁷⁹ *The History of al-Tabarī, Vol. 39, p. 312, fn 1436.*

There is no mention of Abū Tayyāḥ participating in any political activities of his time. He is, however, found in a chain of transmission regarding another Prophetic narration commanding obedience to the ruler.⁴⁸⁰ As this hadith has not been analysed with the *isnad-cum-matn* methodology, it cannot be stated if Abū Tayyāḥ is involved in its widespread transmission. It is nevertheless noteworthy that his name is found in another tradition calling on people to listen and obey the ruler.

4.2.4. Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra
Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra (d. 165/782) is the last of the key figures transmitting this hadith from Khālid b. Subay‘. As with the others, Sulaymān was a resident of Basra and a poor client⁴⁸¹ of a northern Arabian tribe—the Banū Qays. Unlike the other figures, he lived in the middle of the second century AH, living through both Umayyad and Abbasid rule. He was a prolific hadith transmitter and Shu‘ba is reported to have called him “the lord of the people of Basra.”⁴⁸² However, as previously mentioned, there seems to be some question as to the hadiths Sulaymān narrated from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl. In short, the sources look upon this *isnad* with some scepticism.⁴⁸³

4.2.5. Zayd b. Sallām
Zayd b. Sallām (d. 121/739-130/748) lived at the same time as Qatāda and Abū Tayyāḥ—the late first to early second centuries AH, when this hadith is first found to be transmitted on a large scale. All key figures identified so far—Khālid b. Subay‘ and after him Abū Tayyāḥ, Qatāda, and Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra—lived in Basra. With Zayd, the hadith is found spreading from Syria.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸⁰ “Listen and obey, even if he [the ruler] is an Abyssinian with the head of a raisin.” (اسْمَعْ وَأَطِعْ، وَلَوْ لِحَبَشِيٍّ كَأَنَّ رَأْسَهُ زَبِينَةٌ).

⁴⁸¹ His poverty was reportedly serious enough that he sometimes could not carry out daily activities. In one instance, he was given financial assistance by another prominent hadith transmitter, Shu‘ba, who gave him three dinars to buy a donkey when his own died. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* #156.

⁴⁸² Juynboll, G.H.A., *Encyclopaedia of Canonical Hadith*, p. 621.

⁴⁸³ A man reportedly asks Sulaymān how he was able to transmit such long hadiths from Ḥumayd, to which he replies, “خضت فيها الرداغ”. The doubt surrounding these transmissions derives from Sulaymān not writing them down, which had become a common practice by his time. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Al-Jāmi‘ li-‘ulūm Imām Aḥmad: al-Rijāl* #1150.

⁴⁸⁴ He is mentioned as having moved to Yamama, Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq, Bāb Zayd b. Sallām b. Abī Sallām Mamṭūr al-Aswad al-Ḥabashī* (#2338). At first glance, it would seem possible that he transmitted this hadith in Yamama which neighbours Basra. This would seem even more likely considering one of the two transmitters from him, Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr, lived in Yamama. However, the sources state that Yaḥyā never met Zayd and only transmits his hadiths through what he has read in Zayd’s book(s). Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī Asmā’ al-Rijāl, Bāb Zayd b. Sallām b. Abī Sallām wa Ismuhu Mamṭūr al-Ḥabashī al-Dimashqī* (#2111). The other transmitter from Zayd, his brother Mu‘āwiya, was based in Syria. Zayd himself is referred to as Syrian. As a result, this hadith maintains its location within Syria.

Zayd was of Abyssinian descent. His father, grandfather and younger brother Mu‘āwiya⁴⁸⁵ are all recorded as hadith transmitters as well.⁴⁸⁶ Many of his hadith transmissions are from his father Sallām and grandfather Abī Sallām, although many times the isnads are confused between the father and grandfather (as illustrated in this cluster). Zayd’s grandfather Abī Sallām was also located in Syria, making Zayd a third-generation Syrian resident.

As regards tribal ties, biographers speculate that Abī Sallām came from a branch of the Ḥimyār. Al-Dhahabī considered Abī Sallām to be one of the great scholars of Syria.⁴⁸⁷ He was said to have been honoured by Umar II, to whom he sent hadiths by post. This gave Zayd an attractive pedigree in the world of scholarship and loosely attaches him to the Umayyads.

4.2.6. Al-Walīd b. Muslim

Another Syrian figure, al-Walīd b. Muslim (119/737-194/810), is the latest of the transmitters to have spread this hadith coming two generations after Zayd. He was a Berber⁴⁸⁸ client of the Umayyads—who had lost their throne to the Abbasids about 13 years after al-Walīd’s birth. He is also referred to as al-Umawī al-Dimashqī.

Al-Walīd, like Qatāda, enjoyed a reputation as a learned scholar in many fields including hadith, fiqh, and history.⁴⁸⁹ He was one of the great scholars of Syria⁴⁹⁰ though also a controversial figure who is sometimes accused of lying or corrupting hadith as well as practising *tadlīs*.⁴⁹¹ Al-Walīd took a particular interest in collecting eschatological hadiths (like the one analysed in this chapter).⁴⁹² A large collection of books is attributed to him, though they are lost.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁵ Mu‘āwiya is described as the more prominent transmitter of the two brothers.

⁴⁸⁶ Al-Bukhārī mentions another brother, ‘Abbās b. Sallām, though he is only reported as transmitting to one person (Muḥammad b. Muhājir), *Tārīkh al-Kabīr, Bāb ‘Abbās b. Sallām b. Abī Sallām al-Ḥabashī al-Shāmī Akhu Mu‘āwiya* (#27). Ibn ‘Asākir believes this is likely an error by al-Bukhārī who confused ‘Abbās b. Sālim for a brother of Zayd; *Tārīkh Dimasq* (#2338).

⁴⁸⁷ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar, Bāb Abū Sallām* (#504).

⁴⁸⁸ The biographical literature state he was one of the Akhmas, the name given to Berber captives taken “for the service of the state.” “*Takhmīs*”, *EI2*.

⁴⁸⁹ Sean Anthony, “The Prophecy and Passion of al-Harith b. Said al-Kaddab: Narrating a Religious Movement from the Caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwan,” *Arabica*, p. 5.

⁴⁹⁰ Muslim sources describe him as one of the two most knowledgeable scholars in Syrian hadith. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī Asmā’ al-Rijāl, Bāb al-Walīd b. Muslim al-Qurashī Abū al-‘Abbās al-Dimashqī Mawlā Banī Umayya* (#6737).

⁴⁹¹ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar, Bāb al-Walīd b. Muslim* (#1373 and #60). In modern scholarship, Juynboll took a damning view of al-Walīd, stating, “nobody seems to have doubted that he was a great inventor of *ṣāliḥ* traditions with ‘doctored’ *isnād* strands”, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 649.

⁴⁹² He is one of the major sources of Nu‘aym b. Hammad’s *Kitāb al-Fitan*. Although he is described as “close to the later Umayyad regime,” this cannot be so as he was a child when the Umayyads were overthrown. *The Book of Tribulations: The Syrian Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. and trans. By David Cook, p. xxiv.

⁴⁹³ Al-Dhahabī states he had 70 books, *Siyar, Bāb al-Walīd b. Muslim* (#1373 and #60).

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the phrase ‘strike your back and take your wealth’ in the hadith literature. This phrase is found mostly in one hadith, which includes versions without this phrase describing the ruler. An analysis of this hadith found two common links and four key figures, all of which had certain contexts, word structures, or phrases attributed to them, illustrating the natural progression of oral transmission. A brief look into the backgrounds of these figures offers a clearer picture of why they would transmit hadiths which support the rulers. Some key figures are directly associated with those in power (Qatāda supported the Umayyads while al-Walīd was a client of theirs) while others are indirectly linked to them (Zayd’s family history). Notably, the biographical sources give no information tying any of the key figures to oppositional forces. Neither are their names tied to activist hadiths, while some figures are found in other quietist Prophetic narrations.

An interesting development of this hadith regards the phrase ‘strike your back and take your wealth’. All earlier transmitters included this phrase describing the rulers. But the two later ones—Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra in Basra and al-Walīd b. Muslim in Syria—do not transmit the hadith with this description. This is despite the fact that they lived in the same cities that circulated the versions of the hadith with the phrase. It leaves one with the impression that it was purposely omitted from the tradition. As these transmitters are the only two who spent the bulk of their adult lives in Abbasid times, it is significant that they did not include the phrase. The evolution of this hadith shows a softening of language with regard to those in power either as a development with time or with a change in rule.

It is possible that there was no omission at all. The phrase could have simply been forgotten or otherwise lost in the process of oral transmission. However, the analysis would suggest that this was not the case. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that the key figures in the Umayyad period included the phrase but those under Abbasid rule did not. Rather, it suggests a shift in attitude toward the rulers, reflected in the language of the hadiths transmitted. The next section looks at the opposing ideological camp and whether patterns can also be found in hadiths calling on people to oppose the unjust ruler.

Chapter 5: Speak Truth to the Tyrant

One of the most popular hadiths supporting a politically oppositional approach by Muslim subjects states that the greatest jihad is speaking truth to an unjust ruler. Within the spectrum of political attitudes, this narration falls on the activist side, though not to the extreme of physical confrontation. Rather, this prophetic tradition allows for verbal opposition against the tyrant.

An analysis of this hadith found 51 variants in some of the major Sunni hadith works. These variants are found spreading from four sources (Abū Ghālib, ‘Alī b. Zayd, Isrā’īl, ‘Alqama b. Marthad) and another three key propagators (Ḥammād b. Salama, Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-‘Alā’ b. Tha‘laba). There are four versions of the hadith, two of which may be linked.⁴⁹⁴ All hadiths state that the greatest jihad is speaking out against the oppressive ruler. The context in which this statement is given differs depending on the common link or key figure.⁴⁹⁵

The following analyses the key figures in numerical order, from largest to smallest clusters. All clusters show shared features consistent with patterns found in common links, as well as unique features separating students of the common links from one another. Overall, these various characteristics strengthen the position that the different hadith versions associated with the key figures were indeed transmitted by them.

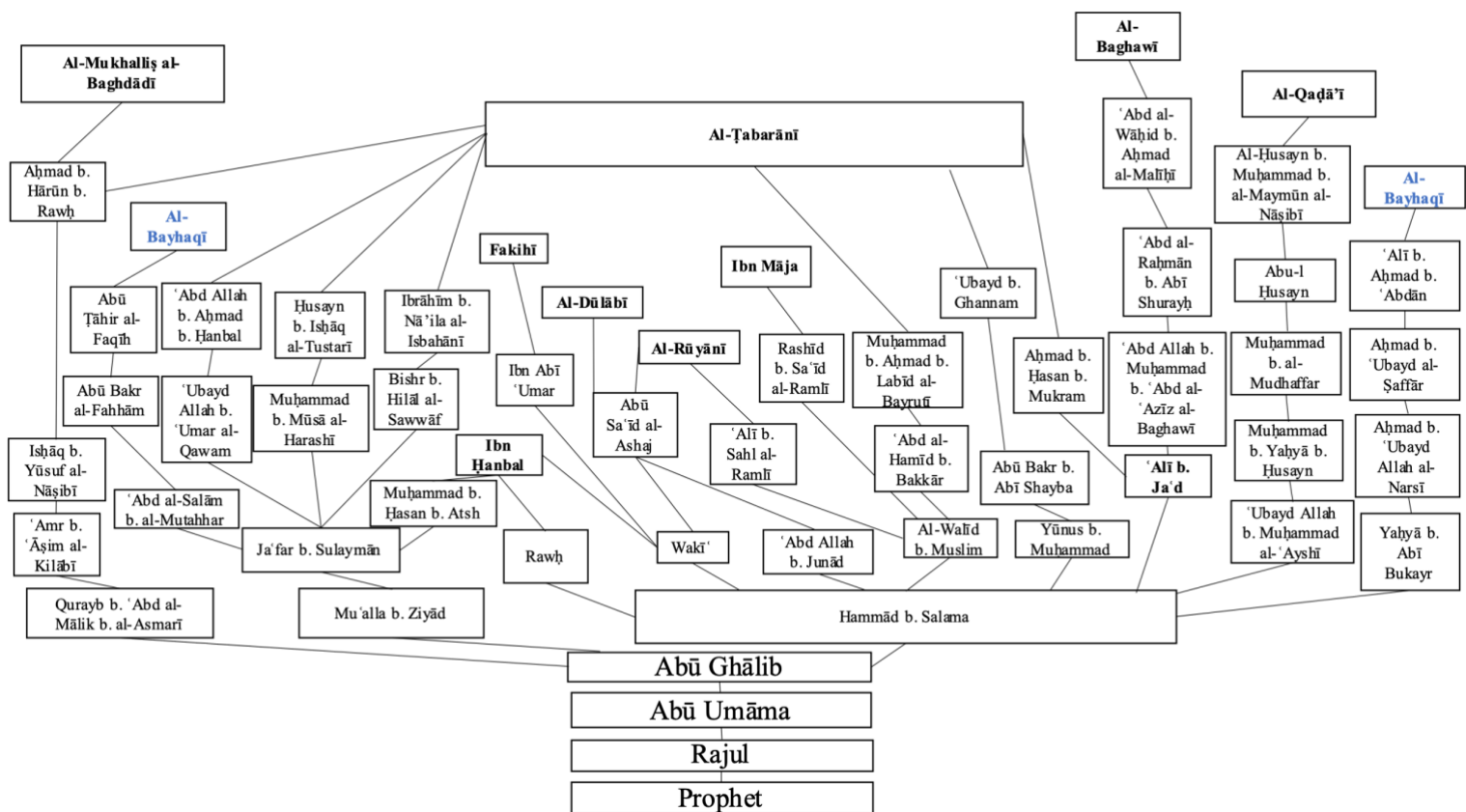
The second part of the chapter focuses on the key figures and their backgrounds. All figures are located in Iraq, one half in Basra and the other in Kufa. The chapter concludes with a summary of the results of this hadith’s analysis and comparison of its key figures with those of previous politically quietist bundles.

⁴⁹⁴ The same phrase is found in the version of the hadith through ‘Alqama b. Marthad as Abū Ghālib. Both also give incomplete isnads, with an unknown ‘*rajul*’ as the Companion in the chain of transmission.

⁴⁹⁵ One version of the hadith is linked to Abū Ghālib, another to ‘Alī b. Zayd. A third short and non-contextualized version is found in the clusters linked to Isrā’īl and ‘Alqama b. Marthad. A fourth version of the hadith is given by al-‘Alā’ b. Tha‘laba, although only three variants are linked to him.

5.1 Hadith Analysis

5.1.1. CL Abū Ghālib



Abū Ghālib Ḥazzawr al-Baṣrī is linked to the most widespread version of this hadith.⁴⁹⁶ This version takes place during the Hajj pilgrimage and states something like the following:

A man came to the Prophet while he was performing the *jamra* and asked, “Oh Messenger of God, which jihad is the greatest?” He (Prophet) was quiet and did not answer. Then he asked again at the second *jamra* and he (Prophet) was quiet again. And after he had thrown (stones) at *jamra al-‘aqaba*, he put his foot in the saddle stitch to ride and said, “where is the questioner?” He replied, “Me, oh Messenger of God.” He said, “A word of truth to a tyrant.”⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁶ 18 variants were found in the works of 11 collectors: Ibn Ja’d, *Musnad, Bāb Ḥadīth Hammād b. Salama* (#3326); Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Bāb al-Amr bi-l Mar’uf wa al-Nahī ‘an al-Munkar* (#4012); Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad, Bāb Ḥadīth Abī Umāma al-Bāhilī al-Ṣuddī ‘an ‘Ajlān* (#22158 and #22207); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sha’b al-Imān, Bāb Ahādīth fī Wujūb al-Amr bi-l Mar’uf wa al-Nahī ‘an al-Munkar* (#7174); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kubrā, Bāb mā Yastadīl bihi ‘ala an al-Qaḍā’ wa Sā’ir* (#20185); Al-Qaḍā’ī, *Musnad, Bāb Afḍal al-Jihād Kalima al-Ḥaqq ‘inda Amīr Jā’ir* (#1288); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu’jam al-Kabīr, Bāb Abū Ghālib Ṣāhib al-Muḥajjin wa Ismuḥu Ḥazzawr* (#8080 and #8081); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu’jam al-Awsaṭ, Bāb man Ismuḥu Muḥammad* (#1596 and #6824); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu’jam al-Saghīr, Bāb man Ismuḥu Muḥammad* (#151); Al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunna, Bāb Thawāb mā Takallam bi-Ḥaqq ‘inda Sulṭān Ja’ir* (#2473); Al-Rūyānī, *Musnad, Bāb Abū Ghālib ‘an Abī Umāma* (two variants); Al-Dūlābī, *Al-Kunya wa al-Asmā’, Bāb Abū ‘Abd Allah Ṭāriq b. Shihāb* (#427); Mukhalliṣ al-Baghdādī, *Al-Mukhalliṣiyāt, Bāb Bu’ḍ al-Khāmīs min al-Mukhalliṣiyāt* (#1010 [130]); Al-Fākihī, *Akhbār Mecca, Bāb Dhakara Ramyī al-Jimār wa Awwal man Ramāhā* (#2641).

⁴⁹⁷ حَدَّثَنَا رَاشِدُ بْنُ سَعِيدٍ الرَّمْلِيُّ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا الْوَلِيدُ بْنُ مُسْلِمٍ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا حَمَّادُ بْنُ سَلَمَةَ، عَنْ أَبِي غَالِبٍ، عَنْ أَبِي أُمَامَةَ، قَالَ: عَرَضَ لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ رَجُلٌ عِنْدَ الْجَمْرَةِ الْأُولَى، فَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ أَيُّ الْجِهَادِ أَفْضَلُ؟ فَسَكَتَ عَنْهُ، فَلَمَّا رَمَى الْجَمْرَةَ الثَّانِيَةَ، سَأَلَهُ، فَسَكَتَ عَنْهُ، فَلَمَّا رَمَى الْجَمْرَةَ الْعَاقِبَةَ، وَضَعَ رِجْلَهُ فِي الْعُرْزِ لِيُرِكَبَ، قَالَ: «أَيْنَ السَّائِلُ؟» قَالَ: أَنَا، يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ قَالَ: «كَلِمَةٌ حَقٌّ عِنْدَ ذِي سُلْطَانٍ جَائِرٍ» Ibn Māja #4012.

It is possible that Abū Ghālib is not the common link of this hadith cluster but rather his most prolific student Ḥammād b. Salama. However, the results of the analysis below find that the differences between Ḥammād and the other students of Abū Ghālib make it more likely that Abū Ghālib is the source of this version of the hadith.

Abū Ghālib is recorded as narrating this hadith to three students—Ḥammād b. Salama, Mu‘alla b. Ziyād, and Qurayb b. ‘Abd al-Malik. The first two students⁴⁹⁸ display consistencies and unique features, making them similar enough to connect them to the same source (presumably Abū Ghālib) but different enough to be independent of one another. This strengthens the validity of the chains of transmission associated with them. Further consistencies are found among the students of Ḥammād.⁴⁹⁹ All these patterns support the claim that this version of the hadith was transmitted by Abū Ghālib, with the differences expected among his students as well as theirs. The following will first analyse the variants transmitted through Ḥammād b. Salama, followed by Mu‘alla b. Ziyād, and finally Qurayb b. ‘Abd al-Malik (who is not firmly connected to the CL).

Ḥammād b. Salama

14 of the 19 chains of transmission in this cluster are linked to Ḥammād b. Salama.⁵⁰⁰ The version of the hadith through Hammad includes an exchange between the Prophet and a questioner who persistently repeats his inquiry a second and third time. After the third question, the Prophet finishes his ritual stone throwing and asks for the inquirer. The unidentified man presents himself. The Prophet then answers him, stating that the best jihad is a word of truth (sometimes justice) to an oppressor.

Of the eight students recorded as transmitting from Ḥammād, three narrate to more than one other—Wakī‘, al-Walīd b. Muslim, and ‘Alī b. Ja‘d. All display shared patterns as well as unique features which can be explained through their own students.

Wakī‘ is found in four isnads—two of which go through the same student,⁵⁰¹ whose variants are nearly identical and somewhat different from the other two variants.⁵⁰² All

⁴⁹⁸ The third student, Qurayb b. ‘Abd al-Malik, is linked to a single strand for several generations. It cannot be known if he transmitted the variants associated with him or someone else in the chain of transmission all the way to the collectors (Mukhalliṣ al-Baghdādī #1010 and al-Ṭabarānī #151).

⁴⁹⁹ Ḥammād transmits the hadith on a large enough scale that some of his students transmit to several others as well. The variants linked to his students also display certain patterns and unique wording associated with them.

⁵⁰⁰ One variant, recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal, includes chains of transmission from both Ḥammād b. Salama and Mu‘alla b. Ziyād (#22158).

⁵⁰¹ Abū Sa‘īd al-Ashajj, recorded by al-Dūlābī (#427) and al-Rūyānī (*Bāb Abū Ghālib ‘an Abī Umāma*).

⁵⁰² The two variants through Abū Sa‘īd al-Ashajj are missing two phrases found in the other two variants (recorded in Ibn Ḥanbal #22207 and al-Fākihī #2641)—وَوَضَعَ رِجْلَهُ فِي الْغُرُزِ and وَلَمْ يُجِبْهُ—.

variants through Wakī‘ have their own consistencies as well.⁵⁰³ Another student, ‘Alī b. Ja‘d, is similarly consistent. Two variants including his name are identical in wording⁵⁰⁴ while the third, through al-Ṭabarānī, omits most of the matn. This appears to be a stylistic choice by al-Ṭabarānī himself, who is found cutting out most of the matn through a third student of Ḥammād as well, al-Walīd b. Muslim.⁵⁰⁵ The other two variants through al-Walīd show wording unique to him.⁵⁰⁶ These patterns support the validity of the isnad as having indeed been transmitted from the students of Ḥammād to their own students.

The remaining chains of transmission reaching Ḥammād b. Salama include small, but unique differences in wording.⁵⁰⁷ These features are found in no other variants transmitted through Ḥammād b. Salama and are likely attributable to someone in the chain of transmission after him. The patterns found in the transmissions linked to Ḥammād b. Salama show that he transmitted a hadith in which a man asks the Prophet during the *jamra* about the greatest jihad. The Prophet performs the three *jamarāt* and asks for the questioner who then presents himself. The Prophet tells him that the greatest jihad is a word of truth to an oppressive ruler.

Other Students of Abū Ghālib

Three isnads⁵⁰⁸ are linked to another student of the CL.⁵⁰⁹ These variants give unique wording not found in those transmitted by Ḥammād b. Salama⁵¹⁰ (or anywhere else in the

in the wording of the phrase analysed in this chapter. While the two variants recorded in Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Fākihī state, *كَلِمَةُ حَقِّ عِنْدَ سُلْطَانِ جَائِرٍ*, those transmitted through Abū Sa‘īd al-Ashajj state, *كَلِمَةُ حَقِّ عِنْدَ إِمَامٍ جَائِرٍ*. The two variants replacing ‘*haqq*’ with ‘*adl*’ are the only two in this hadith cluster to do so.

⁵⁰³ All variants through Wakī‘ state *جَاءَ رَجُلٌ إِلَى النَّبِيِّ*. The Prophet’s initial reaction to the questioner is also consistent throughout transmissions including Wakī‘, *فَسَكَتَ عَنْهُ*.

⁵⁰⁴ *حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ، أَخْبَرَنِي حَمَّادٌ، عَنْ أَبِي غَالِبٍ، عَنْ أَبِي أُمَامَةَ، أَنَّ رَجُلًا قَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، أَيُّ الْجِهَادِ أَفْضَلُ؟ وَرَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَزِي مِي الْجَمْرَةَ الْأُولَى فَأَعْرَضَ عَنْهُ، ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهُ عِنْدَ الْجَمْرَةِ الْوَسْطَى فَأَعْرَضَ عَنْهُ، فَلَمَّا رَمَى جَمْرَةَ الْعَقَبَةِ، وَوَضَعَ رِجْلَهُ فِي الْعُزْرِ قَالَ: «أَيُّنَ السَّائِلِ؟» قَالَ: أَنَا ذَا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ قَالَ: «أَفْضَلُ الْجِهَادِ مَنْ قَالَ كَلِمَةَ حَقِّ عِنْدَ سُلْطَانِ جَائِرٍ»*

⁵⁰⁵ Al-Ṭabarānī leaves out the Prophet’s movements through the *jamarāt* and the questioner’s repetition. In both variants recorded through ‘Alī b. Ja‘d (#1596) and al-Walīd (#6824), this middle section is missing. He only records the first part questioning the Prophet followed by its answer. However, his wording of these shortened versions of the hadith are consistent with the students of Ḥammād b. Salama.

⁵⁰⁶ The two complete texts share the phrases *ذِي سُلْطَانِ جَائِرٍ* and *وَضَعَ رِجْلَهُ فِي الْعُزْرِ لِيَزْكَبَ*. Even the shortened variant recorded by al-Ṭabarānī shows shared features with the other two. All three variants state: *عَرَضَ رَجُلٌ لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ*.

⁵⁰⁷ The variant recorded by al-Qaḍā‘ī has the questioner respond when the Prophet asks for him, “*هَذَا أَنَا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ!*” The variant recorded by al-Bayhaqī (#7174) states a man asked the Prophet, *sa’ala al-nabī*. The third variant recorded by al-Ṭabarānī (#8081) states that a man said while at the *jamra*.

⁵⁰⁸ One variant recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal (#22158) includes two isnads, one of which transmits through Ḥammād b. Salama and the other Mu‘alla b. Ziyād. As a result, this variant includes features of both students of the CL.

⁵⁰⁹ Mu‘alla b. Ziyād is the student of the CL. However, he only transmits to one person, Ja‘far b. Sulaymān, who is responsible for the spread of the hadith through Mu‘alla.

⁵¹⁰ All variants describe this jihad as the most loved by God (*aḥabb*), as opposed to the greatest jihad found in variants through Ḥammād b. Salama. This wording (*aḥabb*) is unique to the variants linked to Mu‘alla, not found anywhere else in the entire bundle. The Prophetic response is identical in all variants, *كَلِمَةُ حَقِّ تُقَالُ لِإِمَامٍ جَائِرٍ*.

hadith bundle). Two of these three also include an addendum.⁵¹¹ These different features between variants linked to Ḥammād and Mu‘alla (or Ja‘far b. Sulaymān) show an independence of these two figures from one another.

The last student of the CL, Qurayb b. ‘Abd al-Malik, is found in two isnads. Both include unique wording.⁵¹² However, no shared features could be found between these two variants. Additionally, as the isnad is a single strand until the collectors, it cannot be known what, if anything, was transmitted by Qurayb.⁵¹³ He is therefore not associated with the CL in this cluster.

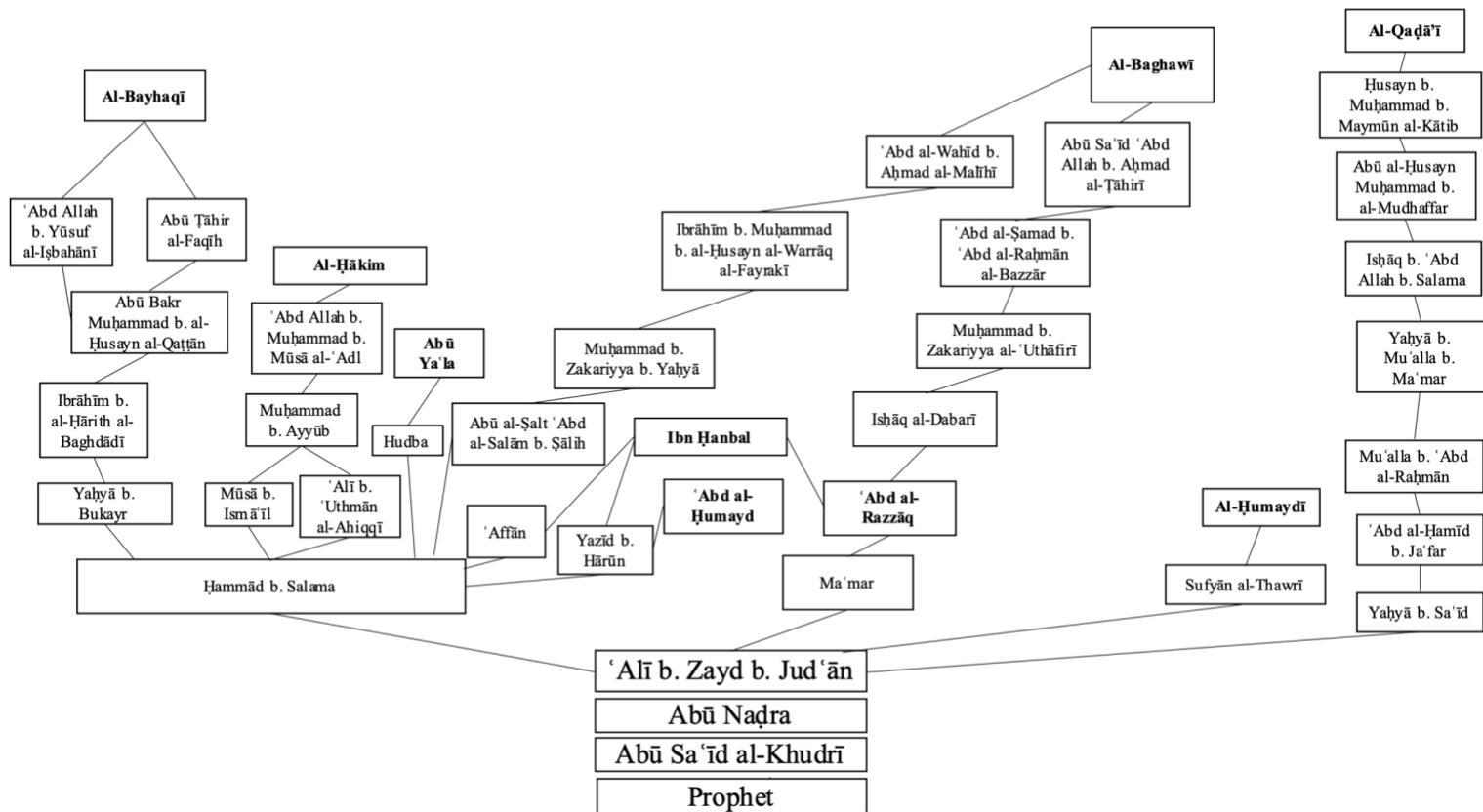
In short, the above version of the hadith on the greatest (or most loved) jihad being a word of truth to an unjust ruler is linked to Abū Ghālib al-Baṣrī. While his student Ḥammād b. Salama was most successful in propagating it, the variants through another student, Mu‘alla b. Ziyād, show unique and consistent differences indicating a transmission independent of Ḥammād. It can be concluded that Abū Ghālib transmitted the above phrase within the context of the Hajj pilgrimage, specifically during the stone-throwing ritual.

⁵¹¹ The variants recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal (#22158) and al-Bayhaqī (#20158) present an addition where Ḥasan (Mu‘alla b. Ziyād’s *kunya*) gives the additional term “*imām ḡālim*”. The third variant which leaves this out is recorded by al-Ṭabarānī (#8080), who characteristically omits parts of this hadith, as seen in the variants he records through Ḥammād b. Salama.

⁵¹² The variant found in al-Mukhalliṣ states ‘*Ātā al-nabī rajul*’ while the one recorded by al-Ṭabarānī gives different wording in the question, *ayyu al-a‘māl aḡḡal?*

⁵¹³ Even the pupil recorded as transmitting from Qurayb, ‘Amr b. ‘Āṣim al-Kīlābī not mentioned in the biographical sources as narrating from Qurayb.

5.1.2. CL 'Alī b. Zayd b. ('Abd Allah b.) Jud'ān



12 variants⁵¹⁴ reach 'Alī b. Zayd b. Jud'ān⁵¹⁵ in another version of the hadith which describes speaking out against the unjust ruler as the greatest jihad. This phrase is framed within a larger speech discussing different aspects of Islam.⁵¹⁶ As a result, the variants linked to Ibn Jud'ān are quite long, though there are less differences than expected from such a long narration. These differences appear in context, wording and pattern.

⁵¹⁴ Found in the works of nine collectors: Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad, Bāb Musnad Abī Sa'īd al-Khudrī* (#11143 and #11587); Al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak 'alā' Ṣaḥīḥayn, Bāb Amma Hadīth Abī 'Awāna* (#8543); Al-Qaḍā'ī, *Musnad, Bāb inna al-Dunyā Ḥulwa Khaḍra wa inna Allah Mustakhlafkum* (#1141); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sha'b al-Imān, Bāb Faṣl fī Tarak al-Ghaḍab wa fī Kaḍam al-Ghayz* (#7936); Al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunna, Bāb al-Tajāfī 'an al-Dunyā* (#4039 includes two chains of transmission); Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad, Bāb Aḥādīth Abī Sa'īd al-Khudrī* (#769); Abū Ya'la, *Musnad, Bāb min Musnad Abī Sa'īd al-Khudrī* (#1101); 'Abd al-Ḥumayd, *Al-Muntakhib min Musnad, Bāb min Musnad Abī Sa'īd al-Khudrī* (#862 and #864); 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Jāmi' Ma'mar, Bāb al-Umarā'* (#20720).

⁵¹⁵ Two of these are recorded by al-Baghawī, who does not differentiate between what was precisely transmitted through each isnad. These two variants are largely excluded from analysis as they cannot specify what wording is linked to each isnad—which are linked to the two prominent students of the CL (Ḥammād b. Salama and Ma'mar b. Rāshid).

⁵¹⁶ There are other variants in the hadith collections which give parts of this speech. These variants suggest that the CL of the overall narration is Abū Naḍra and possibly even the Companion Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī. But as the other versions of the hadith do not include the phrase about the unjust ruler, they are not analysed. Only the version through 'Alī b. Zayd b. Jud'ān, who added the phrase, are discussed in this section.

Ibn Jud‘ān transmits to four students, two of which are found in single strand variants.⁵¹⁷ The remaining variants are transmitted through two prominent narrators, Ḥammād b. Salama and Ma‘mar b. Rāshid. Like the previous version, most variants are transmitted through Ḥammād b. Salama,⁵¹⁸ giving the impression that he may be the common link of this cluster. On closer analysis, there are differences in both context and matn between the variants transmitted through each student of Ibn Jud‘ān, indicating that Ibn Jud‘ān is the common link of this version of the hadith. Due to the lengthiness of this version of the hadith, its analysis is split into two parts. The first part analyses the contexts linked to each student of the CL while the second examines the Prophetic speech. The section concludes with what was likely transmitted by Ibn Jud‘ān.

This version of the hadith takes place after the afternoon (‘Aṣr) prayer when the Prophet is said to have given a long speech that lasted until near sunset. Within the context, variants display their own unique wording⁵¹⁹ while sharing an overall meaning with one another.⁵²⁰ There are also unique features⁵²¹ and missing phrases⁵²² within the contexts linked to either student of the CL. Of the two remaining single strands, one gives no context⁵²³ while the other provides wording found nowhere else in the bundle.⁵²⁴ These differences indicate an independent transmission of the hadith by the students of Ibn Jud‘ān. The shared features illustrate the context that was transmitted by Ibn Jud‘ān. In it, the Prophet gave a speech after the afternoon prayer. The speech itself disclosed what was to happen from that time until the end of time. Some of those listening to the speech remembered it while others forgot. He then proceeds to narrate the Prophet’s words.

⁵¹⁷ The variants through Ali’s students Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd and Sufyān al-Thawrī are recorded by al-Qaḍā‘ī and al-Ḥumaydī respectively.

⁵¹⁸ Six variants are linked to Ḥammād b. Salama while three include Ma‘mar.

⁵¹⁹ Wording associated with Ḥammād b. Salama include “*mughayribān al-shams*”, “*kā’in*,” and “*ḥamida Allah wa athnā ‘alayhi*” while those attributed to Ma‘mar b. Rāshid are “*ghābat al-shams*,” “*bi-nahār*,” and “*falam yada‘ shay’an mim mā yakūn ilā yawm al-qiyāma*.” There are also pattern differences. In variants through Ḥammād, the phrase mentioning the Day of Judgment comes before the phrase about remembering and forgetting, while those variants through Ma‘mar invert the order.

⁵²⁰ All variants describe the Prophetic narration taking place after the Asr prayer in a speech that lasted until the setting of the sun, in which the Prophet had disclosed what will happen from that time until Resurrection Day. Both students also mention that some congregants listening to the Prophetic speech remembered it while some others forgot (حَفِظَهَا مِنْ حَفِظَهَا، وَنَسِيَهَا مِنْ نَسِيَهَا).

⁵²¹ In the variant recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal through Ḥammād b. Salama’s student ‘Affān, Ibn Ḥanbal records that ‘Affān told him that Ḥammād told him that he memorized most of it [the khutba]. (#11143)

⁵²² The phrase about Resurrection Day is missing from the variant recorded by Abū Ya‘la and the two variants found in ‘Abd al-Ḥumaydī. These two variants also do not include the phrase praising God. Additionally, the two variants through al-Bayhaqī do not mention the ‘Aṣr prayer. All these missing elements are from variants linked to Ḥammād b. Salama.

⁵²³ The variant through Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd recorded by al-Qaḍā‘ī.

⁵²⁴ The variant through Sufyān al-Thawrī (who is a key figure in another version of this hadith) states, فَلَمْ يَبْقَ شَيْءٌ يَكُونُ إِلَى قِيَامِ السَّاعَةِ إِلَّا أَخْبَرْنَا بِهِ، عَلِمَهُ مَنْ عَلِمَهُ، وَحِجْلُهُ مَنْ حِجْلُهُ. Al-Ḥumaydī #1101.

This lengthy speech includes several elements shared between the students of the CL as well as their own unique features. The elements shared by Ma‘mar and Ḥammād b. Salama include beginning the speech with, “The world is green and sweet, and indeed Allah has left you to remain [in it] to see how you behave. So beware of the world, and beware of women.”⁵²⁵ Both also describe the characteristics of the best and worst of men⁵²⁶ as well as man’s general tendency to anger.⁵²⁷ Treacherous people are mentioned,⁵²⁸ and humanity is ranked as believers and/or disbelievers.⁵²⁹ Both students also include the Prophet telling people not to forbid anyone from doing their duty in speaking the truth.⁵³⁰ The more specific order to speak truth to the unjust ruler is also included by both students. All variants end with the coming of sunset and the Prophet’s conclusive words about the past and future.⁵³¹

There are also notable differences between the transmissions of the two students. Ma‘mar includes a couple of elements not found in any of the transmissions through Ḥammād. These include the Companion in the transmission, Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, crying after the part of the narration on not preventing people from speaking the truth, and swearing, “By Allah! He forbade us this [prohibiting others from speaking the truth].” A second element found only in the variants linked to Ma‘mar mentions seventy communities.⁵³² All

⁵²⁵ أَلَا إِنَّ هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا خُلُوَّةٌ خَضِرَةٌ، وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ مُسْتَخْلِفُكُمْ فِيهَا، فَنَاطِرٌ كَيْفَ تَعْمَلُونَ، أَلَا فَاتَّقُوا الدُّنْيَا وَاتَّقُوا النِّسَاءَ

⁵²⁶ Something like the following is given to describe these characteristics: “Among them is the slow to get angry, the quick to calm. Among them is the quick to anger and the quick to calm, so this is with that. Behold! Among them is the quick get angry and the slow to calm, and indeed the best of them is the slow to get angry and the quick to calm, and the worst of them is the quick to get angry and the slow to calm. Behold! Among them is he who pays back well and collects well. Among them is he who is bad with paying back and good when collecting. Among them is he who pays back well and is bad with collecting, so this is with that. Behold! Among them is he who is bad with paying back and bad with collecting. Indeed, the best of them is the one who is good in paying back and good in collecting. And the worst of them is the one who is bad with paying back and bad with collecting.”

⁵²⁷ This anger is described as, “an ember (*jamra*) in the heart of the son of Adam, as you see it in the redness of his eyes and the bulge of his jugular veins. So whoever senses something from that, then let him cling to the ground.” Interestingly, the word *jamra* is found in both major versions of the hadith but mean completely different things. In the version linked to Abū Ghālib, the *jamra* is the ritual that takes place during the Hajj. In this version of the hadith linked to ‘Alī b. Zayd, the *jamra* is part of the descriptive language used in the Prophetic speech on man’s anger. Although it is possibly a coincidence that the same uncommon word is found in both versions, it may also indicate a shared connection between the two versions of the hadith.

⁵²⁸ “Indeed, for every treacherous person there shall be a banner erected on the Day of Resurrection in proportion to his treachery. And there is no treachery greater than the treachery of a leader to the masses.”

⁵²⁹ “Behold! Indeed, the children of Adam were created in various classes. Among them is he who was born a believer, lives as a believer, and dies a believer. Among them is he who was born a disbeliever, lives as a disbeliever, and dies a disbeliever. Among them is he who was born a believer, lives as a believer, and dies a disbeliever. Among them is he who was born a disbeliever, lives as a disbeliever, and dies a believer.”

⁵³⁰ أَلَا لَا يَمْنَعَنَّ رَجُلًا مَهَابَةٌ النَّاسِ أَنْ يَقُولَ بِالْحَقِّ إِذَا عَلِمَهُ

⁵³¹ “Whatever time span is left of life on Earth is comparable to the time that remains of your day,” i.e. the life of this world is very short.

⁵³² ثُمَّ قَالَ: «وَأَيْتُكُمْ تُبْمُونُ سَبْعِينَ أُمَّةً، خَيْرُهَا وَأَكْرَمُهَا عَلَى اللَّهِ

transmissions through Ḥammād include an element on the best and worst of merchants not found in the variants through Ma‘mar.⁵³³

In addition to the unique speech associated with each student, there is also unique wording linked to each student⁵³⁴ as well as differences in pattern⁵³⁵ and paragraph and sentence structure.⁵³⁶ All of these features illustrate the independence of transmissions through Ḥammād b. Salama and Ma‘mar.

Matn differences are also found in the single strand transmissions of Ibn Jud‘ān’s other two students. One variant is transmitted through Yahya b. Sa‘īd.⁵³⁷ This variant is notable in its length. It is the shortest of any variant in this hadith version. It only includes the introductory words followed by the statement on speaking justice to an oppressive ruler. Notably, this variant differs from all others analysed in this chapter in that it does not mention jihad.⁵³⁸

The other single strand variant is transmitted from the CL to Sufyān al-Thawrī, who is himself a propagator of another version of this hadith (analysed below). This variant introduces a new element to the Prophetic speech⁵³⁹ but is still substantially shorter than the variants through Ma‘mar or Ḥammād.⁵⁴⁰ This variant is also unique in wording found nowhere else.⁵⁴¹ The unique features associated with these single strands further support Ibn Jud‘ān as the CL of this hadith version.

⁵³³ أَلَا إِنَّ خَيْرَ النُّجَّارِ مَنْ كَانَ حَسَنَ الْفَضَاءِ حَسَنَ الطَّلَبِ، وَشَرَّ النُّجَّارِ مَنْ كَانَ سَيِّئَ الْفَضَاءِ سَيِّئَ الطَّلَبِ

⁵³⁴ In describing the classes of humanity, Ḥammād b. Salama transmits طَبَقَاتٍ شَتَّى while Ma‘mar leaves out شَتَّى. Ḥammād also states بِحَيَا where Ma‘mar says بِعَيْشٍ. (The variant recorded by Abū Ya‘la is excluded from this analysis as it does not include this section).

⁵³⁵ The phrase حُلُوَّةٌ خَضِرَةٌ (in al-Baghawī #4039, Abū Ya‘la #1101 and al-Ḥākim #8543) and خَضِرَةٌ حُلُوَّةٌ (in Ibn Ḥanbal #11143, al-Bayhaqī #7936 and ‘Abd al-Ḥumayd #862 and #864) are equally transmitted in variants through Ḥammād b. Salama. He likely narrated it both ways.

⁵³⁶ While the variants through Ma‘mar are almost identical, those through Ḥammād b. Salama differ. These include some wording difference, the order in which the parts of the speech are transmitted, and even patterns within each part of a speech. For example, al-Baghawī places the section on *mu‘mins/kāfirs* later in the narration while most other variants place it earlier. In addition, most variants first describe *mu‘mins* who are born, live, and die as such, followed by *kāfirs*, and then those born and living one way while dying another. The variant recorded by ‘Abd al-Ḥumayd switches this order, while the variant recorded by Abū Ya‘la leaves out this section entirely.

⁵³⁷ Recorded by al-Qaḍā‘ī #1141.

⁵³⁸ Only one other variant does not mention jihad in this hadith bundle. It is a single strand isnad that does not reach the Prophet but is instead associated with an Umayyad administrator (Maymūn b. Mihrān) who states that the greatest *ṣadaqa* is a word of truth to an oppressive imam.

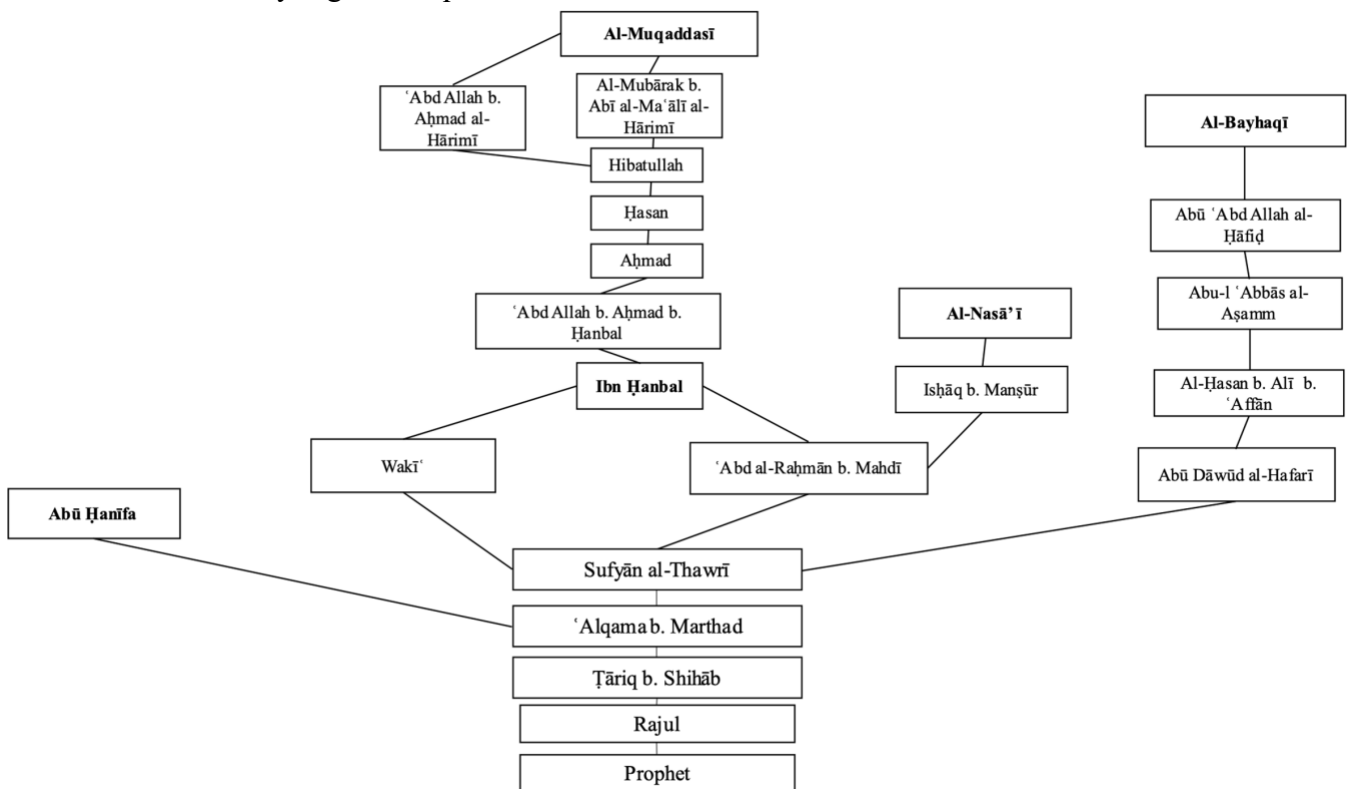
⁵³⁹ فَمَنْ وَجَدَهُ مِنْكُمْ وَكَانَ قَائِمًا فَلْيَجْلِسْ، وَإِنْ كَانَ جَالِسًا فَلْيَضْطَجِعْ.

⁵⁴⁰ This variant excludes mention of the best and worst of men, the best and worst of merchants, not preventing people from speaking the truth, and the coming of sunset and the Prophet’s final words on the fleetingness of this worldly life.

⁵⁴¹ While it includes the same element as the two prominent students of the CL, the wording is unique: أَلَا وَإِنَّ الْغَضَبَ جَمْرَةٌ مِنَ النَّارِ

To conclude, the patterns found among the students of the CL as well as unique features found in the single strands indicate Ibn Jud‘ān as the source of this version of the hadith. This hadith places the phrase on speaking out against the tyrant within a lengthy speech given by the Prophet. This speech describes many things, including the attractiveness of this worldly life and its fleetingness, the characteristics of good and bad people, the ranks of believers/disbelievers, punishment for treachery, not preventing people from speaking the truth and the greatest jihad being a word of truth to the unjust ruler. It can be concluded that these elements were likely transmitted by ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān.

5.1.3. Key Figure ‘Alqama b. Marthad



Seven variants are found in five sources⁵⁴² with this incomplete chain of transmission.⁵⁴³ Although there are only two pupils who transmit from ‘Alqama b. Marthad, one is Abū Ḥanīfa, one of the earliest hadith collectors. The other is Sufyān al-Thawrī, found in six chains of transmission. While he is a key figure, the analysis below shows that the likely source of this hadith version is ‘Alqama.

⁵⁴² Abū Ḥanīfa, *Musnad, Bāb Kitāb al-Adab* (#25); Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad, Bāb Ḥadīth Ṭariq b. Shihāb* (#18828 and #18830); Al-Muqaddasi, *Al-Aḥādīth al-Mukhtāra, Bāb Ḍamīra b. Sa’d al-Salmī Taqaddam Ḥadīthuhu fī Abīhi* (#122 and #124); Al-Nasā’i, *Sunan al-Kubrā, Bāb Faḍl min Takallam bi-l Ḥaqq ‘inda Imām Jā’ir* (#7786); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sha‘b al-Imān, Bāb Ahādīth fī Wujūb al-Amr bi-l Ma’ruf wa al-Nahī ‘an al-Munkar* (#7175).

⁵⁴³ The Sahaba generation is missing from the chains of transmission through Sufyān al-Thawrī: ‘Alqama b. Marthad ← Ṭariq b. Shihāb ← Rajul ← Prophet

This version of the hadith is short with little to no context and gets to the point. It generally states that a man asks the Prophet what the greatest jihad is. He responds, “a word of truth to a tyrannical ruler.” Despite the brevity of this version of the hadith, three differences are found in variants linked to Sufyān and Abū Ḥanīfa—in the isnad, the context, and the matn. While both students share the same teacher, ‘Alqama b. Marthad, from there the chain of transmission differs all the way to the Prophet. In context, the variants through Sufyān al-Thawrī state a man asks the Prophet what the greatest jihad is. The variant through Abū Ḥanīfa provides no context.⁵⁴⁴ In the text of the narration, the variant through Abū Ḥanīfa states, “The greatest jihad is” while those through Sufyān al-Thawrī do not. These differences between the two students of ‘Alqama make it more likely that he is the common link of this cluster. However, as only one variant goes through Abū Ḥanīfa, this cannot be stated with certainty.⁵⁴⁵

Those variants connected to Sufyān also display differences which are linked to his students. The main difference is the label of the ruler—either sultan or imam, depending on the student of Sufyān.⁵⁴⁶ The wording of the context also depends on the student.⁵⁴⁷ These differences show that the wording of this short Prophetic narration differs depending on each of Sufyān’s three students. While the structure of the hadith and most of its wording remains similar, the differences illustrate the independence of each of Sufyān’s students from one another. It can be concluded that the version of the hadith through Sufyān states that a man asked the Prophet about the greatest jihad to which he responds, “a word of truth to a tyrannical ruler.” This likely extends to his teacher, ‘Alqama, although his status as the source of this hadith version is cautiously proposed. In any case, ‘Alqama, Abū Ḥanīfa and Sufyān are all (at least partially) Kufan figures, placing this cluster in that Iraqi city.

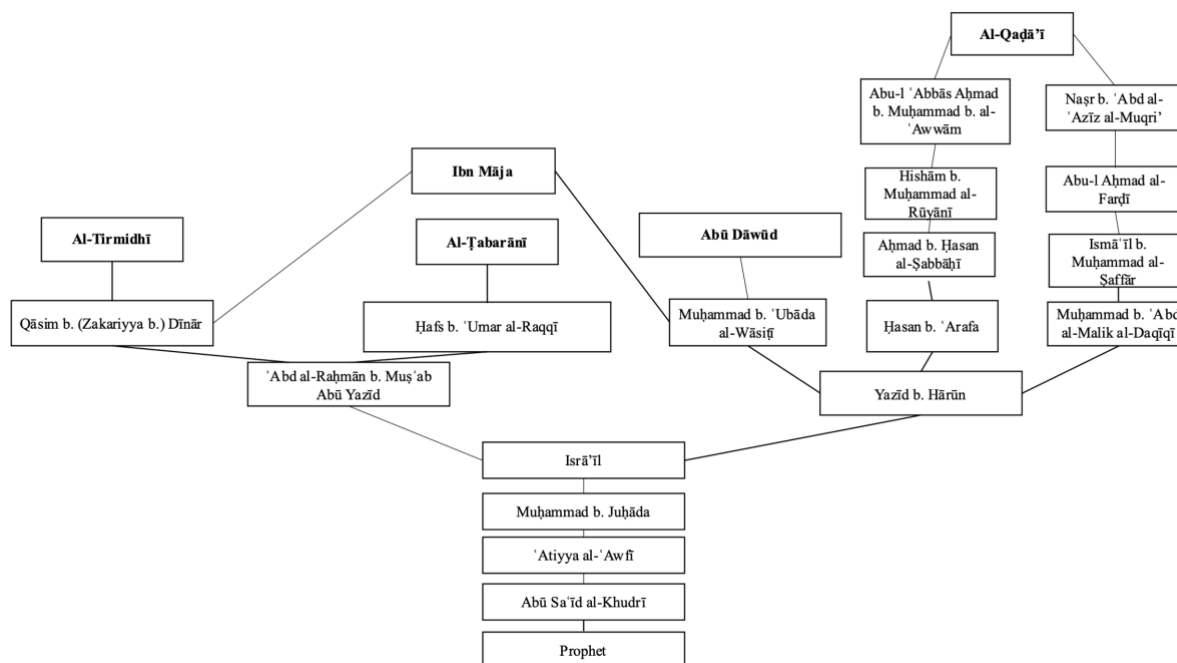
⁵⁴⁴ This variant simply states that the Prophet said, “The greatest jihad is a word of truth to a tyrannical sultan.”
 أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، قَالَ: «أَفْضَلُ الْجِهَادِ كَلِمَةٌ حَقٌّ عِنْدَ سُلْطَانٍ جَائِرٍ

⁵⁴⁵ But as this student is Abū Ḥanīfa, one of the earliest figures to which a surviving hadith collection is attributed, it strengthens the probability that ‘Alqama is the common link.

⁵⁴⁶ Those variants transmitted through Sufyān’s student ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī all state *sultān* while those through Wakī‘ say *imām*. The one variant through Abū Dāwūd al-Ḥafarī also gives the word *imām*.

⁵⁴⁷ Both variants through Wakī‘ state, جَاءَ رَجُلٌ إِلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقَالَ. All three variants through ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī state that a man asked the Prophet, followed by جَاءَ رَجُلُهُ فِي الْعِزْرِ. Only one variant is found through Sufyān’s student Abū Dāwūd al-Ḥafarī. That variant is also different from the other two in context, which takes a passive form. While ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Wakī‘ both state a man asked the Prophet, this variant does not use the word رَجُلٌ, stating instead that it was asked of the Prophet (سُئِلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ).

5.1.4. CL Isrā'īl



Another short version of the hadith is linked to the figure of Isrā'īl.⁵⁴⁸ This version gives no context, simply stating that the Prophet said, “The greatest jihad is a word of justice to a tyrannical ruler.”⁵⁴⁹ The hadith is narrated from Isrā'īl to two students—both of whom exhibit wording patterns.⁵⁵⁰ One discrepancy in wording is also observed, which is likely the result of later transmitter differences.⁵⁵¹ Similar to the variants associated with Sufyān al-Thawrī, this version of the hadith is also very short, yet patterns emerge in the wording linked to his students. These patterns suggest independence of the students of Isrā'īl from one another, establishing Isrā'īl as the common link.

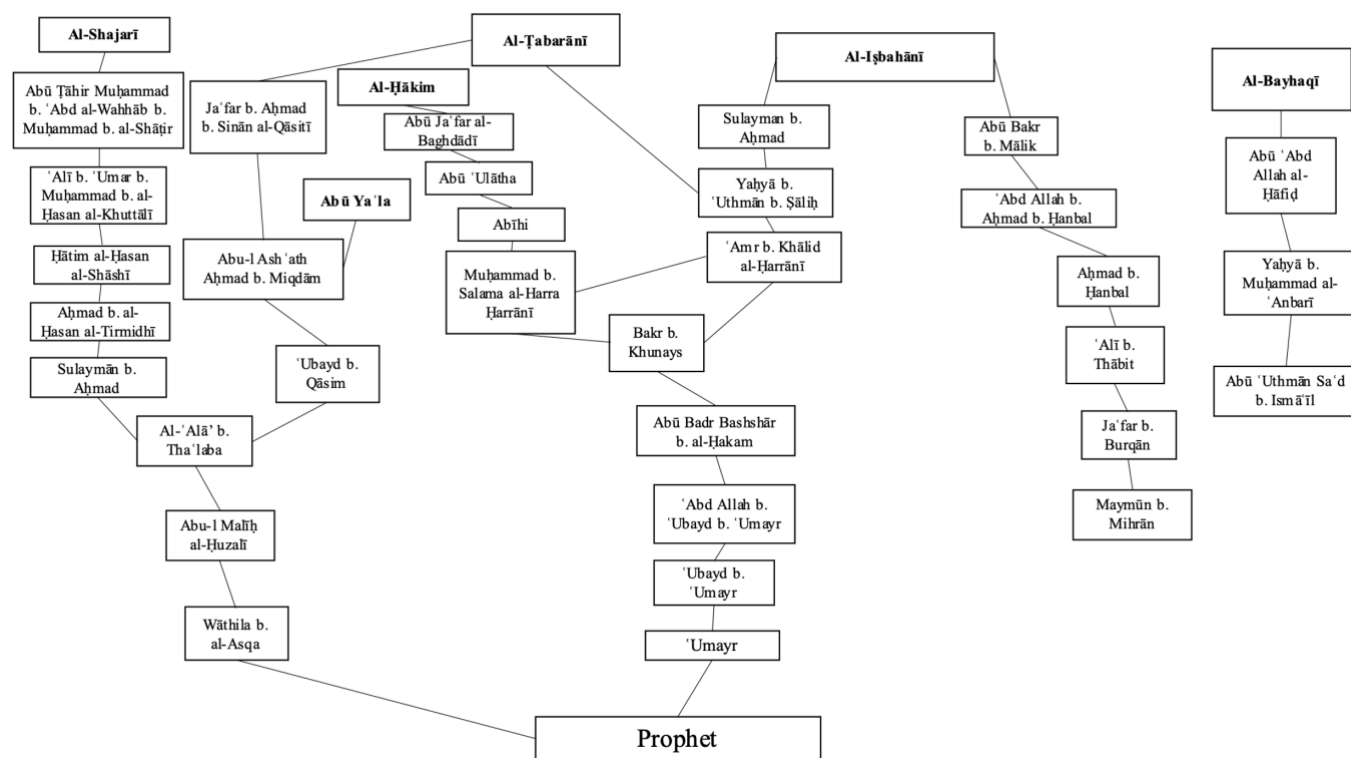
⁵⁴⁸ Six variants are transmitted from Isrā'īl in: Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Bāb mā Jā'a Afḍal al-Jihād Kalimat al-Ḥaqq* (#2174); Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Bāb al-Amr bi-l Mar'ūf wa al-Nahī 'an al-Munkar* (#4011); Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Bāb al-Amr wa al-Nahī* (#4344); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mukārim al-Akhlāq, Bāb mā Jā'a fī Faḍl Hawā'ij al-Muslimīn* (#133); Al-Qaḍā'ī, *Musnad, Bāb Afḍal al-Jihād Kalimat al-Ḥaqq 'inda Amīr Jā'ir* (#1286 and #1287).

⁵⁴⁹ أَفْضَلُ الْجِهَادِ كَلِمَةُ عَدْلٍ عِنْدَ سُلْطَانٍ جَائِرٍ *Sunan Ibn Māja* #4011.

⁵⁵⁰ All the hadiths through Isrā'īl's student 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muṣ'ab describe the ruler as “*sulṭān jā'ir*” while those through Yazīd b. Hārūn introduce “*amīr jā'ir*.” Two of the three variants linked to 'Abd al-Raḥmān also begin the hadith with “*inna min a'zam al-jihād*”. The third variant is attached to two isnads and as a result, shares features of both students of Isrā'īl (Ibn Māja #4011).

⁵⁵¹ The word ‘*adl*’ is found in four of the six variants. Each of the remaining two state ‘*haqq*’ and are linked to each of Isrā'īl's students (recorded by al-Ṭabarānī #133 and al-Qaḍā'ī #1287). It is possible that Isrā'īl narrated the hadith both ways. But as the phrase “*kalimatu haqq*” was the more widespread term found in other versions of the hadith, it is also possible that others in the chain of transmission are responsible for this discrepancy. In the case of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muṣ'ab, it is likely his student Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar al-Raqqī, as he is the only name between 'Abd al-Raḥmān and the collector (al-Ṭabarānī). Al-Ṭabarānī is likely not responsible for this change in wording as he records the phrase with two other descriptions, corresponding to the key figures connected to those variants. The discrepancy in wording found in the variant through Yazīd b. Hārūn likely comes from any of the four names between him and the collector, al-Qaḍā'ī.

5.1.5. Remaining Variants



Eight remaining variants which include the phrase on speaking out against the tyrant were found.⁵⁵² Of these, six are linked to two figures—Bakr b. Khunays and al-‘Alā’ b. Tha‘laba. The remaining two are incomplete chains of transmission and do not reach the Prophet. This section will first analyse the two figures followed by the broken chains.

Three variants reach the key figure al-‘Alā’ b. Tha‘laba recorded by three collectors.⁵⁵³ Of these, two go through the same figure⁵⁵⁴ and the last is a single strand all the way to the collector (al-Shajarī). All three variants share features in wording and dialogue.⁵⁵⁵ However, the two variants sharing an isnad are more aligned in wording⁵⁵⁶ and include a

⁵⁵² Al-Shajarī, *Tartīb al-Amālī al-Khamīsiyya, Bāb fī Dhakara al-Wilā wa al-Umarā’ wa al-Amr* (#2582); Abū Ya‘la, *Musnad, Bāb Ḥadīth Wāthila b. al-Asqa’* (#7492); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr, Bāb Abū al-Malīḥ b. Usāma al-Hudhalī ‘an Wāthila* (#193) and *Bāb ‘Umayr b. Qatāda al-Laythī Abū ‘Ubayd wa huwa ‘Umayr* (#105); Al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak ‘alā’ Ṣaḥīḥayn, Bāb Dhakara ‘Umayr b. Qatāda al-Laythī* (#6628); Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat al-Awliyā’ wa Tabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā’, Bāb ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr wa minhum* and *Bāb Maymūn b. Mihrān wa minhum al-Ḥākim al-Yaqzān*; Al-Bayhaqī, *Shā‘b al-Imān, Bāb Mujāniba al-ḥalāma* (#8978).

⁵⁵³ Al-Shajarī #2582, Abū Ya‘la #7492, al-Ṭabarānī #193.

⁵⁵⁴ Abū al-Ash‘ath Aḥmad b. Miqdām al-‘Ijlī, who transmits directly to the collectors Abū Ya‘la and al-Ṭabarānī through another transmitter (Ja‘far b. Aḥmad b. Sinān al-Wāsiṭī).

⁵⁵⁵ These include the Companion of this isnad, Wāthila, questioning the Prophet on different aspects of Islam such as evil, devils, believers, and jihad.

⁵⁵⁶ These two variants include two questions and their corresponding answers in the dialogue that are not found in the third (one regarding freedom and the other Muslims). Unique wording is also associated with these two variants. For example, the word *al-‘aṣabiyya* is used while the third variant states *al-ma‘ṣiya*. They also state *kalimatu ḥukm*, while the third variant gives the more common *kalimatu ḥaqq*. The phrase *بأبي أنت وأمي يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ* is also found in the shared variants while the third does not include it.

context which the third does not.⁵⁵⁷ The shared features between all three variants as well as the smaller differences between them suggest the shared source of al-‘Alā’ b. Tha‘laba. As there are only three variants linked to him, he cannot be established as a common link but is rather a key figure.

Another figure found in this hadith bundle is Bakr b. Khunays. Like al-‘Alā’ b. Tha‘laba, he is found in three chains of transmission.⁵⁵⁸ However, unlike al-‘Alā’, there are no wording patterns to be found among his students. The variants including Bakr in the isnad are questionably similar despite the lengthy matn. The very small differences to be found are not linked to any figure after Bakr.⁵⁵⁹ It is possible that these variants were written down by Bakr’s students, accounting for their homogeneity. It is more likely that some copying took place in the transmission of this version of the hadith. As a result, it is unknown if this version does indeed go back to Bakr b. Khunays. He is therefore not a key figure in this hadith bundle.

The remaining two variants in this bundle are both broken chains of transmission, neither of which reach the Prophet or even the Companion generation. They appear to be sayings of two figures⁵⁶⁰ which may indicate a familiarity of this phrase within society at the time, or at least among its educated classes. Little else can be ascertained from these variants. In short, the above analysis finds one additional key figure from the remaining variants of this hadith bundle—al-‘Alā’ b. Tha‘laba.

⁵⁵⁷ In this context, Wāthila sees the Prophet at Maṣjid al-Khayf (a maṣjid in the south of Mecca near the smallest *jamarāt* in Mina, which has survived to the present-day). The Prophet is surrounded by other Companions who try to dismiss Wāthila’s inquiry to the Prophet. The Prophet tells them to let him ask his question. Interestingly, the location of the maṣjid corresponds to the first version of the hadith linked to Abū Ghālib in which the Prophet is asked about the greatest jihad while at the *jamarāt*. Here, too, we find a similar location where the Prophet is asked (among many other questions) about the greatest jihad. This also links with a third version of the hadith through ‘Alī b. Zayd which mentions the word *jamra* (though with a completely different meaning). While these links are subtle and cannot concretely associate the different versions with each other, they may suggest an underlying connection.

⁵⁵⁸ Recorded by al-Ṭabarānī #105, al-Ḥākim #6628, and al-Iṣbahānī, *Bāb ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr wa minhūm*.

⁵⁵⁹ Bakr’s student, Muḥammad b. Salama, is recorded as transmitting to two students. The similarities of these variants are not greater than the variant found through Bakr’s other student, ‘Amr b. Khālid. In one instance, the variant through ‘Amr uses the word ‘*al-nās*’ instead of ‘*al-muslimūn*’ found in the other variants. But in another instance, the word ‘*al-nās*’ is found, corresponding to a variant through Muḥammad b. Salama, while the other variant through Muḥammad b. Salama uses ‘*al-muslimūn*’. No patterns are found in the two variants through Muḥammad b. Salama compared to those through ‘Amr b. Khālid.

⁵⁶⁰ Maymūn b. Mihrān (40/660-117/735) is recorded by al-Iṣbahānī (*Bāb Maymūn b. Mihrān wa minhūm al-Hākim al-Yaqẓān*) as stating this hadith. Notably, he does not state that speaking truth to the ruler is the greatest jihad, but rather the greatest *ṣadaqa* (charity). As he was an Umayyad administrator, it is understandable that he would transform the militant feature of this hadith to a charitable one. The other figure associated with this phrase is Sa‘īd b. Ismā‘īl.

An analysis of the hadith referring to the greatest jihad as speaking truth (sometimes justice)⁵⁶¹ to the oppressive ruler resulted in a few different versions of the hadith. The two main versions are linked to two figures—Abū Ghālib Ḥazzawr al-Baṣrī and ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān. Smaller versions of the hadith were also found linked to Isrā’īl and ‘Alqama b. Marthad.

A few key figures were also found in the spread of this hadith. Al-‘Alā’ b. Tha‘laba is associated with a version of this hadith not found elsewhere. However, only three variants are linked to this unknown (*majhūl*) person. Sufyān al-Thawrī is another key figure found in two versions of the hadith, each of which follows the patterns of its own hadith cluster. Lastly, Ḥammād b. Salama is the main propagator of the two most popular versions of the hadith. He would appear to be the common link due to his widespread transmission of the hadith.⁵⁶² However, upon closer scrutiny, the variants transmitted by Ḥammād correspond to the common links of the different versions and their other students. There are no indications that these versions transmitted by Ḥammād influenced one another, or that they could have been copied from others, or that others could have copied from him. Rather, the main students of the common links display both the similarities and differences that make up the natural progression of oral transmission from a common source. The next section examines these sources.

5.2 Common Links and Key Figures

The main figures identified above come from various political and ideological backgrounds but are connected in their geographical locations. All known figures are Iraqī, either Basran or Kufan. Although it is not surprising for a politically oppositional hadith to spread from Kufa, the bulk of the variants actually spread from Basra (through Abū Ghālib, ‘Alī b. Zayd, and Ḥammād b. Salama). While the hadith also spread from Kufan figures (‘Alqama b. Marthad/Sufyān al-Thawrī, Isrā’īl), they did so on a much smaller scale.

A brief description of these individuals based on the biographical sources provide some context to the spread of this hadith. The most prominent transmitters are discussed first—Abū Ghālib, ‘Alī b. Zayd, and Ḥammād b. Salama, followed by the smaller scale transmissions through ‘Alqama b. Marthad, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Isrā’īl. Al-‘Alā’ b.

⁵⁶¹ 12 of the 51 variants in this hadith bundle state ‘*adl*’ while the remaining say ‘*haqq*’. No evident patterns are found in the variants stating ‘*adl*’, which are included in every CL cluster (three variants under Isrā’īl, one under Sufyān, two under Abū Ghālib, and six under ‘Alī b. Zayd).

⁵⁶² Of the 51 variants making up this entire hadith bundle, 20 are linked to Ḥammād b. Salama.

Tha‘laba is not discussed as he is categorized as a *majhūl* figure (an unknown person with no record of existence).

5.2.1. Abū Ghālib Ḥazzawr al-Baṣrī

Also known as Sa‘īd b. Ḥazzawr and sometimes Nāfi‘ b. Ḥazzawr, Abū Ghālib was born in Isfahan but is considered an early Basran figure. He was possibly the manumitted slave of the Companion ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥaḍramī,⁵⁶³ making Abū Ghālib of the Successor generation. He is also reported as being a client of several people or tribes.⁵⁶⁴ These figures associated with Abū Ghālib place him within an approximate period of the early second century AH.

Little information can be gleaned from the biographical sources about Abū Ghālib. He is described as a Basran figure, although he had a house in Syria.⁵⁶⁵ He worked as a merchant in Damascus, where he befriended the Companion Abū Umāma, from whom he transmitted hadiths. This includes the hadith about speaking out to tyrants. While he may have heard this version of the hadith in Syria, it spread in Basra through two Basran pupils.⁵⁶⁶

Abū Ghālib is most famous for his close friendship with Abū Umāma (d. 81-86/700-704), believed to be the last Companion to die in Syria. This friendship could possibly help to understand Abū Ghālib’s own political sympathies. Abū Umāma fought for the Caliph ‘Alī in the Battle of Ṣiffīn against his contender and first of the Umayyads, Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. It is possible this support extended to Abū Ghālib, who held Abū Umāma in great esteem.⁵⁶⁷

There is no information given about Abū Ghālib and the authorities of the time, although he reportedly lived in the capital of Umayyad administration.⁵⁶⁸ His situation in Basra may also be indicative of a dislike of the Umayyads. Abū Ghālib reportedly said that he would visit Syria often to be with Abū Umāma (presumably from Basra, as this is the only

⁵⁶³ There is some debate about his status as Companion, with a minority opinion stating he was not. See, Ibn Manzūr, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq, Bāb Ḥazzawr wa Yuqāl Nāfi‘*.

⁵⁶⁴ These include the possibility of his clientage to the Umayyad governor of Mecca, Khālid b. ‘Abd Allah al-Qaṣrī (d. 125/743). However, this is only one of many possibilities (including clientage to the Banū Usayd, the Banū Rāsib, and the Banū Ḍabī‘a). See, Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb, Bāb man Kunyatuhu Abū Ghalib (#904)*. As there were many rumoured tribal affiliations, it does not evidence any relationship Abū Ghālib had with the Umayyads.

⁵⁶⁵ *كان أبو أمامة يسكن حمص، وكان لي صديقاً، وكان مسكني دمشق* Ibn Manzūr, *Mukhtaṣar*.

⁵⁶⁶ Both Ḥammād b. Salama and Mu‘alla b. Ziyād are Basran figures. The narrations linked to Mu‘alla were all spread by his student Ja‘far b. Sulaymān (d. 178/784), who is also a Basran transmitter. Ja‘far was also a Shia, a small minority in Basra, who were generally viewed unfavourably, and was himself labelled a Rafidite by critics. See Van Ess, *Theology and Society*, Vol. 2, p. 480.

⁵⁶⁷ Abū Ghālib is reported to have increased his trade in Syria for the purpose of being near Abū Umāma. Al-Bukhārī, *Tārīkh al-Kabīr, Bāb Ḥazzawr Abū Ghālib al-Baṣrī*.

⁵⁶⁸ If the rumours of his clientage to the Umayyad governor Khālid b. ‘Abd Allah al-Qaṣrī had merit, one could expect that some record of his dealings with the Umayyads would be found. However, there is no association to be made with them.

other location given for him).⁵⁶⁹ This places Abū Ghālib in Basra before the death of Abū Umāma, which would mean he lived in Basra around the time of the revolt of Ibn al-Ash‘ath. As much of that city united behind Ibn al-Ash‘ath in what became the greatest of all the rebellions under Umayyad rule, it is possible that Abū Ghālib joined in it. After their defeat, the Basran elite eagerly accepted the amnesty offered by the Umayyads, pardoning some 11,000 Basrans.⁵⁷⁰ Even if Abū Ghālib was not part of this army, he must have been influenced by these conflicts transpiring around him (when he was likely a young man in his 20s or 30s).

In short, Abū Ghālib is an early Basran figure from the Successor generation most prominently known for his friendship with the last Companion to die in Syria. While little mention is made of his political ties, this association suggests a less supportive approach to the Umayyads, and a greater one for their opponents (whether through his ‘Ālid Companion whom he greatly respected or his own situation in Basra at a time of rebellion).

5.2.2. ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān
 ‘Alī b. Zayd b. ‘Abd Allah b. Abī Malika b. ‘Abd Allah b. Jud‘ān (d. 131/749) was a blind Basran figure of high pedigree, coming from the Banū Taym clan of the Quraysh tribe. He was a polarizing figure on account of his Shia leanings. While some of the biographical sources say he had a little *tashayyu‘* in him,⁵⁷¹ others describe him as an ‘exaggerated’ Shia⁵⁷² and even a Rāfiḍī.⁵⁷³ He was known mostly as a Basran figure (Meccan as well, but settled in Basra),⁵⁷⁴ which may account for some of the harshness toward him, as Shias in Basra were not regarded kindly.⁵⁷⁵

The hadiths associated with Ibn Jud‘ān reflect this ‘Ālid support. He reportedly narrates a hadith in which ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb congratulates ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib after the now famous Prophetic narration (among Shias) of Ghadīr Khumm.⁵⁷⁶ Ibn Jud‘ān is not only linked

⁵⁶⁹ كنت اختلف إلى الشام في تجارتي وعظم ما كنت اختلف فيه من اجل أبي امامة *Ibn ‘Asākir, Tārīkh Dimashq, Bāb Ḥazzawr wa Yuqāl Nāfi‘ wa Yuqāl Sa‘īd b. Ḥazzawr.*

⁵⁷⁰ Veccia Vaglieri, L., “Ibn al-Ash‘ath”, *EI2*.

⁵⁷¹ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-A‘lām wa al-Nubulā‘*, *Bāb ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān al-Taymī* (#82).

⁵⁷² Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-Jāmi‘ li-l ‘Ulūm: Al-Rijāl*, *Bāb ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān* (#1900); Al-Jurjānī, *Al-Kāmil fī Du‘afā al-Rijāl*, *Bāb ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān al-Qurashī Makkī Nazala al-Basra* (#1351).

⁵⁷³ For example, the Basran traditionist Yazīd b. Zuray‘ (b. 101/720-d. 182/798) refused Ibn Jud‘ān’s hadiths, labelling him a Rafidite. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, *Bāb man Ismuhu ‘Alī* (#544).

⁵⁷⁴ Al-Jurjānī, *Al-Kāmil* #1351.

⁵⁷⁵ According to Van Ess, “Life for Shi‘ites was not easy in Basra. There were some, but they were always in danger of being branded extremists straightaway.” *Theology*, p. 479.

⁵⁷⁶ On this occasion the Prophet is reported to have stated, “whomever I am his master, ‘Alī is his master.” In the version (allegedly) transmitted by Ibn Jud‘ān, after this announcement ‘Umar turns to ‘Alī and says, “Congratulations O Ibn Abī Ṭālib, today you have become the master of every believer.” Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya fī al-Tārīkh*, *Bāb Īrād al-Ḥadīth al-Dāl ‘alā’ annahu Khaṭaba bi-Makān bayn Makka wa al-Madīna Marjī‘a min Ḥajja al-Wadā‘*.

to pro-‘Ālid hadiths, but anti-Umayyad ones such as the Prophetic order to stone or kill Mu‘āwiya if he is seen on the Prophet’s pulpit (minbar)⁵⁷⁷ or the Prophet’s grief at seeing Banū Umayya on his pulpit.⁵⁷⁸ These narrations attributed to Ibn Jud‘ān as well as his decisively Shia label in the biographical sources place him squarely in the ‘Ālid camp. Ibn Jud‘ān lived his entire life under Umayyad rule.⁵⁷⁹ His connection to a hadith calling on people to speak out against oppressive rulers fits well within his anti-Umayyad and pro-‘Ālid profile.

5.2.3. Ḥammād b. Salama

While the previous two figures are viewed somewhat cautiously by later Sunni hadith collectors and biographers, Ḥammād b. Salama is much more esteemed. Considered as one of the great scholars and muḥaddiths of his time, Ḥammād is linked to many hadiths (although the numbers attributed to him are exaggerated).⁵⁸⁰ He was highly respected by some of the greatest names of the *ahl al-sunna*, like ‘Alī al-Madīnī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.⁵⁸¹

For such a distinguished Sunni hadith narrator, it is puzzling that Ḥammād is found widely transmitting this hadith from two sources that are not well received in the biographies, one being a Shia and the other given the generic label of ‘weak’ transmitter. One reason for this hadith’s widespread transmission from Ḥammād was his own popularity in his time. Having a reputation for excellent memory and a large collection of hadiths,⁵⁸² many went to him to record his transmissions.⁵⁸³

Another reason for this hadith’s transmission may be Ḥammād’s reputation for transmitting hadiths with opposing views.⁵⁸⁴ In this way, he was a more neutral figure and transmitted all he heard, not just beliefs or views he himself was inclined to. These factors

⁵⁷⁷ Interestingly, this hadith gives the same chain of transmission from ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān ← Abū Naḍra ← Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī ← Prophet. Even those transmitting the hadith from Ibn Jud‘ān are the same students as transmitting the above bundle—Ḥammād b. Salama and Ma‘mar b. Rāshid (through his student ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī). Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islam, Bāb Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān* (#95).

⁵⁷⁸ وَقَالَ النَّوْرِيُّ، عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ رَبِيعِ بْنِ جُدْعَانَ، عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ الْمُسَيَّبِ قَالَ: «رَأَى رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بَنِي أُمِّيَّةَ عَلَى مَنبَرِهِ، فَسَاءَ لَهُ ذَلِكَ، فَأَوْجَى إِلَيْهِ: إِنَّمَا هِيَ دُنْيَا أُعْطُواهَا. فَفَرَّتْ عَيْنُهُ. وَهِيَ قَوْلُهُ: «وَمَا جَعَلْنَا الرُّؤْيَا الَّتِي أَرَيْتَكَ إِلَّا فِتْنَةً لِلنَّاسِ» [الإسراء: 60]. يَعْني بِلَاءَ لِلنَّاسِ.

Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya, Bāb Ikhbāruhu ‘an Khulafā’ Banī Umayya*.

⁵⁷⁹ Though a date of birth is not given, Ibn Jud‘ān is reported to have been born during the rule of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya. His death around 131/749 took place just before the overthrow of the Umayyads and founding of the Abbasids. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* #82.

⁵⁸⁰ “‘Amr b. ‘Āṣim said, ‘I wrote 10,000 hadiths from Ḥammād.’” Al-Dihlawī, *Bustan al-Muḥaddithīn*, p. 61, fn. 2. This same ‘Amr b. ‘Āṣim does not record either version of this hadith from Ḥammād, but his name is found in the single strand from Abū Ghālib.

⁵⁸¹ According to ‘Alī al-Madīnī, ‘He who has something critical to say about Ḥammād b. Salama, that man’s religiosity is suspect.’ Juynboll, *Encyclopaedia of Canonical Hadith*, p. 156.

⁵⁸² He was one of the first compilers of a large hadith collection, or *Muṣannaḥ*. Lucas, S. C. *The arts of hadith compilation and criticism: A study of the emergence of sunnism in the third/ninth century*, p. 12, fn 36.

⁵⁸³ Van Ess states that his fame was a “burden to him. People crowded to him, and everyone wanted personal dictation.” *Theology*, p. 430.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 428.

allowed for the widespread transmission of a politically activist hadith within Sunni collections which is mainly attributed to two weak, and even controversial, figures.

5.2.4. ‘Alqama b. Marthad

The geographic location of the hadith widens from Basra to Kufa with the figure of ‘Alqama b. Marthad al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 120/738). From ‘Alqama, the hadith remains Kufan through his students Abū Ḥanīfa and Sufyān al-Thawrī (both of whom are progenitors of their own schools of jurisprudence). This version of the hadith is therefore firmly fixed in Kufa.

‘Alqama came from the Successor generation, like Abū Ghālib and Ibn Jud‘ān. He was known mainly for his *irjā’* in the biographical literature. The later Murji’a were notorious for their political quietism and even accused of supporting the unjust rulers of their time. However, this position evolved over time, and the early Murji’a were more likely to be found on the activist side of the political spectrum.⁵⁸⁵ Consequently, the spread of this hadith calling on people to speak out against oppressive rulers reflects the early Murji’ism of ‘Alqama rather than contradicting it.

5.2.5. Sufyān al-Thawrī

Sufyān b. Sa‘īd al-Thawrī (97/716-161/778) is one of the key figures of this bundle, responsible for the widespread transmission of the hadith associated with his teacher ‘Alqama. Sufyān was a great scholar, like Abū Ḥanīfa, and reportedly found himself on the wrong side of the authorities on many occasions (again like Abū Ḥanīfa). Interestingly, he is believed to have ‘detested’ Murji’ites.⁵⁸⁶

Sufyān’s relationship with the authorities was contentious. He is unanimously reported as anti-Abbasid in the classical sources.⁵⁸⁷ Some modern scholarship argues that he was pro-Umayyad,⁵⁸⁸ as he lived through both dynasties. This must be questioned, as his actions, words, and own personal background paint a different picture. In action, Sufyān

⁵⁸⁵ As argued by Michael Cook “Activism and Quietism in Islam: The Case of the Early Murji’a.” *Islam and Power: Vol. 3*, p. 15–23.

⁵⁸⁶ Van Ess gives the example of his refusal to attend the funerals of two Murji’ites in evidence of his dislike. However, it seems hardly the case if he felt comfortable enough to transmit a hadith from a known Murji’ite. Even Van Ess who makes this claim admits that ‘it is difficult to work out his motives.’ *Theology and Society, Vol. 1*, pp. 254-55.

⁵⁸⁷ He reportedly died while in hiding from the authorities. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyār, Bab Sufyān b. Sa‘īd b. Masrūq al-Thawrī* (#82).

⁵⁸⁸ Steven Judd argues that Sufyān was pro-Umayyad based on his tutelage in Basra with some pro-Umayyad scholars as well as some theological similarities with them. *Religious Scholars and the Umayyads: Piety-Minded Supporters of the Marwanid Caliphate*, pp. 80-88. This support by association is countered by Asma Afsaruddin who argues that Sufyān’s promotion of military warfare only by defensive means is but one expression of conflict with the Umayyads. “This position in itself may be regarded as an act of opposition to the Umayyad rulers who were promoting their military campaigns as instances of authentic combative jihad on a part with those of the Prophet.” In *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 137, pp. 210-213.

never took any governmental position with either monarchy and is only found speaking against the rulers.⁵⁸⁹ In words, he is not associated with any of the quietist hadiths discussed in this study,⁵⁹⁰ but takes a prominent role in the popularization of both activist hadiths analysed in this study.⁵⁹¹

His familial and geographic ties also support a politically activist profile. He appears to have come from an 'Ālid supporting family, with his grandfather having fought with 'Alī at the Battle of Şiffin. In addition, the characteristic feature of his city of Kufa was its pro-'Ālid leanings, or at the very least its anti-Umayyad biases. Even the Sunni sources acknowledge Sufyān's Shia influences,⁵⁹² which they reason away by claiming he abandoned them after studying in Basra.

Sufyān al-Thawrī was a highly prominent figure in early Islamic history. As such it is unsurprising that several political camps tried to claim him. However, there is little to suggest a pro-governmental or even neutral political character but much to support an anti-Umayyad and anti-Abbasid figure. Not only is there no indication of support for either monarchy, but his own family background, his Kufan heritage, his friction with the Abbasid rulers, and his words (in both his own sayings and the Prophetic sayings he transmits) evidence the opposite.⁵⁹³

5.2.6. Isrā'īl

Isrā'īl b. Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq (100/719-160/777) is from a line of Kufan hadith transmitters beginning with his grandfather, Abū Ishāq. Although he does not feature as a prominent figure in the biographical sources, he does not appear to fall into any of the sketchy groups that gave Kufa its reputation for dissent. While he is found narrating the above politically activist hadith, he is also found in the hadith on giving the rulers their 'right'. In that hadith bundle, Isrā'īl transmits from CL Simāk b. Ḥarb in a strongly politically quietist version of the hadith (that explicitly mentions the rulers as being given their 'right'). These are not the only political hadiths connected to Isrā'īl.⁵⁹⁴ His transmissions of Prophetic narrations with

⁵⁸⁹ In addition to his numerous disputes with Abbasid rulers, he speaks more generally on distancing oneself from the rulers, not even giving them advice. Cook, *Commanding Right*, p. 53.

⁵⁹⁰ He does appear as one of the students of al-A'mash in the hadith on giving the ruler their right even if they do not give their subjects their rights. However, as noted, that particular version of the hadith gives no context and is not linked to rulers at all, effectively depoliticizing a politically quietist hadith.

⁵⁹¹ For his role in the second activist hadith, see Chapter 6: Take the Oppressor by the Hand.

⁵⁹² "He had a little bit of *tashayyu* ' and was thus averse to the opponents of Imam 'Alī, like Mu'āwiya and 'Amr raḍīya Allahu 'anhumā. May Allah *subhana wa ta'āla* forgive him for that." Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* #82.

⁵⁹³ For more of Sufyān's activism, see this study's conclusory chapter.

⁵⁹⁴ The hadith about listening and obeying the ruler even if he is an Abyssinian slave includes Isrā'īl in the chain of transmission. See, Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā, Bāb Umm Ḥuşayn al-Aḥmasiyya* (#4266).

opposing political messages, like his Basran contemporary Ḥammād b. Salama, illustrate Isrāʿīl's role as a hadith collector.

His own grandfather and father are linked to a strongly ʿĀlid narration (pointedly placing ʿAlī above Abū Bakr and ʿUmar).⁵⁹⁵ However, there is no ideological association between this hadith and Isrāʿīl, or even his father and grandfather.⁵⁹⁶ Rather, transmissions supporting differing views are connected with Isrāʿīl (and his family), placing them within an acceptable category of Sunni hadith transmitters. As a result, it is difficult to gauge what Isrāʿīl's own leanings might have been. He most likely falls into the same camp as Ḥammād b. Salama—that is, a neutral figure.

5.3 Conclusion

The politically activist hadith which equates speaking out against unjust rulers to the greatest jihad is found spreading from Iraq in the early to mid-second century AH. Like the politically quietist hadiths discussed in this study, all gained popularity at the same time and in the same two cities of Basra and Kufa. While a couple of the figures found spreading this hadith are also seen in the politically quietist bundles, namely Ḥammād b. Salama in Basra⁵⁹⁷ and Isrāʿīl b. Yūnus in Kufa, many new names also appear. These new figures are cast in a cautious light by the biographers, either through their weaknesses like Abū Ghālib, or their associations like Ibn Judʿān's Shiism or ʿAlqama b. Marthad's Murji'ism. All three of these transmitters have politically activist ties, through the obvious Shiism and Murji'ism of the latter two and the companionship of the former with a reportedly pro-ʿĀlid Companion.

The final key figure in the transmission of this hadith is Sufyān al-Thawrī, a giant in the realm of Islamic scholarship. Like other great personalities of his time, reports on Sufyān's life are riddled with controversy and contradiction, with many attempting to claim him for their own. This includes some modern scholarship which tries without much success

⁵⁹⁵ Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad – al-Aḥwas b. Jawāb – Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq – Abū Ishāq – Zayd b. Yathīʿ – Abū Dharr: The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said, “If the Banū Walīʿa do not desist, I will appoint over them a man who is exactly like myself to implement my command among them. So, he will execute the combatants and take the offspring as war captives.” I had not even moved when ʿUmar held my cloth and asked, “Who is he referring to?” I replied, “He is not referring to you or your companion (i.e. Abū Bakr).” He said, “In that case, who is he referring to?” So, I said, “(He is) referring to the one repairing the shoe.” And ʿAlī was repairing a shoe. See, al-Nasaʿī, *Sunan al-Kubrā, Bāb Dhakara Qawluhu ʿAlī Ka-Nafsī* (#8403).

⁵⁹⁶ The lack of suspicion around these figures is due to their transmissions on both sides—positive transmissions of ʿAlī as well as Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (who are included, in another narration, in a group of those honoured in Paradise). See for example Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad, Bāb Musnad ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib* (#835).

⁵⁹⁷ Although he is most prominent in the spread of this hadith, Ḥammād is also found in one chain of transmission in the ‘Die a Jahili Death’ bundle from CL al-Jaʿd Abū ʿUthmān (to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal) and another chain of transmission in the ‘Give Them Their Rights’ bundle from CL Simāk b. Ḥarb (to Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī).

to paint him as an Umayyad supporter. There is little indication of any Umayyad support on Sufyān's part but many instances of his distance from the rulers. This includes the next hadith analysed in this study in which Sufyān is again found spreading prominently. This hadith widens the scope of opposition to the ruler. While the current chapter advocates verbal opposition to the unjust ruler, the last hadith analysed in this study calls for staying the hand of the oppressor, effectively allowing for physical confrontation with the rulers.

Chapter 6: Take Oppressor by the Hand

The second activist hadith and final bundle of this study takes a more forceful approach to the oppressor or wrongdoer (*ẓālim*). In it, people are ordered to take the *ẓālim* by the hand, i.e. physically, and place him within the bounds of what is right—*al-ḥaqq*.⁵⁹⁸ It is one of the most activist hadiths within the Sunni sources, allowing for a physically confrontational approach between the Muslim subjects and their oppressive ruler. In this hadith, the example of the Children of Israel is given and their laxity with wrongful behaviour among themselves. This results in God punishing and cursing them. Quranic verses which describe this punishment are cited. The Prophet then tells the people they must restrain the oppressor (lit. ‘take him by the hand’) and place him within the bounds (*aṭran*) of right (*al-ḥaqq*).

The hadith can be separated into two parts. The first describes the Children of Israel’s lack of forbidding wrong and serves as a clarification of Quranic verses referring to them.⁵⁹⁹ The second part of the hadith, with which this study is concerned, describes the forceful approach toward the *ẓālim* by those around him. The first part appears to be apolitical. The *ẓālim* is identified as any wrongdoer and does not necessarily include the ruler. The cited verses are unanimously interpreted in this politically neutral manner. Michael Cook gives a brief summary of the differing exegetical views on these verses, almost all of which describe the personal responsibility of believers to ‘forbid each other’. He concludes that there is a consensus among exegetes that the verses serve “as a reference to the mutual forbidding of wrongs committed within the community.”⁶⁰⁰

The second part of the hadith has been interpreted more widely to include those in power. This lesser-known political interpretation of the hadith is found in both classical and modern Muslim scholarship. The Hanafi jurist al-Sarakhsī (d. 483/1090) mentions the hadith in a discussion on the occupation of Muslim lands. He argues that when polytheists conquer an Islamic domain, other Muslim polities are required to fight the polytheists and free the oppressed Muslims. In defence of this argument, al-Sarakhsī quotes the hadith.⁶⁰¹ Although the argument is made against non-Muslims (and not within a Muslim-ruled society), it calls

⁵⁹⁸ According to Lane, the phrase is translated as “He laid hold upon the two hands (or arms) of the wrongdoer [or prevented, restrained or withheld him from doing that which he desired] and bent him to [conformity with] what was right.” *Lane’s Arabic Lexicon*, p. 66.

⁵⁹⁹ The verses cited are (mostly) from Sura al-Mā’ida: 78-81.

⁶⁰⁰ *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought*, p. 27.

⁶⁰¹ *Al-Sharḥ al-Siyar al-Kabīr, Bāb al-Jihād mā Yasī’ minhu wa lā mā Yasī’*.

for physical opposition to those in power. Al-Sarakhsī presents this hadith as validation for his politically activist position.

In modern times, Muḥammad Asad has discussed this hadith within the framework of social justice in the Muslim domain. He warns that if the collective does not do its duty in striving for justice—particularly in the political realm—God may punish all of society as a result.⁶⁰² Muhammad Haniff Hassan mentions the hadith in support of civil disobedience and even physical confrontation against unjust Muslim rulers.⁶⁰³ A.R. Moten directly links the hadith to fighting against the oppressive Muslim ruler, stating it reflects the Quranic attitude that “makes it obligatory upon the believers to rebel against injustice; to defend themselves whenever tyranny afflicts them (13:39) and ‘to fight in the cause of Allah and of the utterly helpless men, women and children’ who are oppressed (4:75).”⁶⁰⁴

These views show the width of interpretation for this Prophetic narration. While most Sunni scholarship holds that the hadith refers to the believers doing their duty in prohibiting wrongful behaviour in their community, a small minority includes rulers among those being held to account. The following chapter will analyse this hadith which calls upon people to force the hand of the wrongdoer/oppressor in conformity with what is right—*al-ḥaqq*. This analysis will hopefully aid in contextualizing the hadith’s popularization and subsequent usage in Islamic (a)political discourse.

6.1 Hadith Analysis

40 variants were found in this hadith bundle, transmitted by two main figures. Both versions share the same meaning, structure and even similar phrases. These include the hadith beginning with the Children of Israel and their laxity toward those misbehaving in society. As a result, they are punished and cursed by God. This is followed by a recitation of Quranic verse(s), ending with the Prophet’s statement that the people must bend them (usually the wrongdoer or abuser) in conformity with *al-ḥaqq*.

The first part of the analysis looks at the two key transmitters of this hadith, Sufyān al-Thawrī (b. 97/716- d. 161/778) and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī (d. 195/811). The analysis shows that these two key figures transmitted their versions of the hadith independent of each other and likely from their teachers, ‘Alī b. Badhīma (d. c. 133-136/752-755) and al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib (d. 160/776). The versions transmitted by Sufyān

⁶⁰² *Principles of State and Government in Islam*, p. 81.

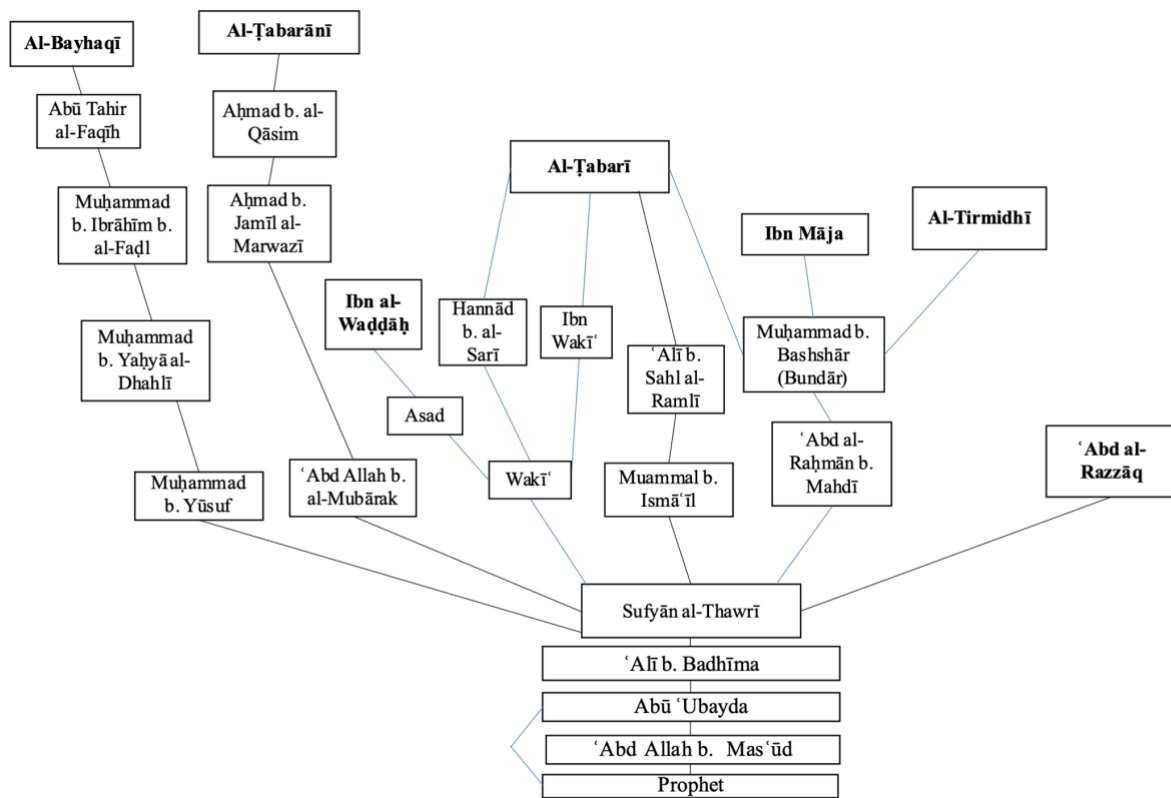
⁶⁰³ *Civil Disobedience in Islam: A Contemporary Debate*, p. 53.

⁶⁰⁴ *Political Science: An Islamic Perspective*, p. 109.

and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān are compared to other students of ‘Alī and al-‘Alā’, concluding that these two teachers are most likely the sources of this hadith bundle.

The second part of the chapter looks into the key figures in the spread of this hadith, namely ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, ‘Alī b. Badhīma and al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib. Sufyān al-Thawrī is not included in the biographical section of this chapter as he has already been discussed in the previous chapter. All figures are Kufan, locating the spread of this hadith in that Iraqi city around the early second century AH, becoming more popular by the middle to late second century.

6.1.1. Sufyān al-Thawrī



Sufyān al-Thawrī is the most prominent figure in the spread of the hadith linked to ‘Alī b. Badhīma. Of the 24 variants linked to ‘Alī, 10 are transmitted through Sufyān. Six students of Sufyān transmit from him found in the works of seven collectors.⁶⁰⁵ The hadith states something like the following:

⁶⁰⁵ Four of these variants come from the Tafsīr literature—three variants are recorded in *Tafsīr* al-Ṭabarī, *Bāb 88* (#12308, #12309, and #12311) and one in *Tafsīr* ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Bāb Sura al-Mā’ida wa hiya Madaniyya* (#741). The remaining are found in the hadith works: Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, *Bāb wa min Sura al-Mā’ida* (#3048); Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, *Bāb al-Amr bi-l Ma’rūf wa al-Nahī ‘an al-Munkar* (#4006); Ibn al-Waḍḍāḥ, *Al-Bud’*, *Bāb fīmā Yudāl al-Nās ba’duhum min ba’d* (#266); Al-Bayhaqī, *Shā’b al-Imān*, *Bāb al-Ḥukm bayn al-Nās* (#7138); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu’jam al-Awsaṭ*, *Bāb man Ismuhu Aḥmad* (#519).

The Messenger of Allah said: “When the Children of Israel became deficient in religious commitment, a man would see his brother committing sin and would tell him not to do it, but the next day, what he had seen him do did not prevent him from eating or drinking or mixing with him. So God struck their hearts against each other, and He revealed Quran concerning them and said: “Those among the Children of Israel who disbelieved were cursed by the tongue of David and Jesus, son of Mary” until he reached: “And had they believed in God, and in the Prophet and in what has been revealed to him, never would they have taken them [the disbelievers] as their friends; but many of them are disobedient.” [Al-Mā’ida:78-81] The Messenger of Allah was reclined and sat up and said: "No, not until they take the hand of the *ẓālim* [i.e. restrain him] and force him to follow the right way."⁶⁰⁶

While the variants generally follow the same structure and wording, unique features do appear in the transmission, wording, and phrasing of the hadith. The differences in the isnads depend on the students of Sufyān. Two students do not include ‘Abd Allah b. Mas‘ūd in the transmission while the remaining four do.⁶⁰⁷ The variants through Bundār (via ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī)⁶⁰⁸ are very similar in wording⁶⁰⁹ with some minor differences.⁶¹⁰ This is likely due to his proximity to the collectors—all three narrated directly from Bundār.

Minor differences are also found in the narrations through Sufyān’s other students. These include some missing words. The variant through ‘Abd Allah b. al-Mubārak⁶¹¹ does not include the description of the Prophet sitting up (*muttaki’an fajalasa*) found in the other variants. The variant through Muḥammad b. Yūsuf⁶¹² is missing ‘*wa ākīlahu*’. The variant through Wakī‘⁶¹³ substitutes the word ‘*khalīṭahu*’ with ‘*jalīsahu*’.⁶¹⁴

⁶⁰⁶ إِنَّ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ لَمَّا وَقَعَ فِيهِمُ النَّقْصُ، كَانَ الرَّجُلُ يَرَى أَخَاهُ عَلَى الذَّنْبِ فَيَنْهَاهُ عَنْهُ، فَإِذَا كَانَ الْعَدُوُّ لَمْ يَمْنَعَهُ مَا رَأَى مِنْهُ، أَنْ يَكُونَ أَكِيلَهُ وَشَرِيْبَهُ وَخَلِيْبَتَهُ، فَضَرَبَ اللَّهُ قُلُوبَ بَعْضِهِمْ بِبَعْضٍ، وَنَزَلَ فِيهِمُ الْقُرْآنُ، فَقَالَ: {لَعْنُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ عَلَى لِسَانِ دَاوُدَ وَعِيسَى ابْنِ مَرْيَمَ} حَتَّى بَلَغَ {وَلَوْ كَانُوا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالنَّبِيِّ وَمَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْهِ مَا اتَّخَذُوا لَهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءَ وَلَكِنْ كَثِيرًا مِنْهُمْ فَاسِقُونَ} [المائدة: 81]، قَالَ: وَكَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، مُتَّكِنًا فَجَلَسَ، وَقَالَ: «لَا حَتَّى تَأْخُذُوا عَلَى يَدِي الظَّالِمِ، فَتَأْطُرُوهُ عَلَى الْحَقِّ أَطْرًا»

Ibn Māja, *Sunan* #4006.

⁶⁰⁷ Variants through Wakī‘ (recorded in Ibn al-Waḍḍāḥ and al-Ṭabarī #12311) as well as those through ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī (recorded in al-Tirmidhī, al-Ṭabarī #12309 and Ibn Māja) do not include ‘Abd Allah b. Mas‘ūd in the isnad while all variants through Muammal b. Ismā‘īl, ‘Abd Allah b. al-Mubārak, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf and ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣana‘āni do.

⁶⁰⁸ Recorded in Ibn Māja, al-Tirmidhī, and *Tafsīr* al-Ṭabarī #12309.

⁶⁰⁹ Notably, the last sentence of the hadith is the same in all three variants:

فَقَالَ: لَا، حَتَّى تَأْخُذُوا عَلَى يَدِي الظَّالِمِ فَتَأْطُرُوهُ عَلَى الْحَقِّ أَطْرًا. While the wording differs in four other variants which state: (in ‘Abd al-Razzāq, Ibn al-Waḍḍāḥ, al-Ṭabarānī and al-Bayhaqī).

⁶¹⁰ For example, Ibn Māja records الذَّنْبِ عَلَى أَخَاهُ while al-Tirmidhī adds الذَّنْبِ عَلَى أَخَاهُ يَقَعُ and al-Ṭabarī substitutes *al-dhanb* with *al-rayb*.

⁶¹¹ Recorded by al-Ṭabarānī.

⁶¹² Recorded by al-Bayhaqī.

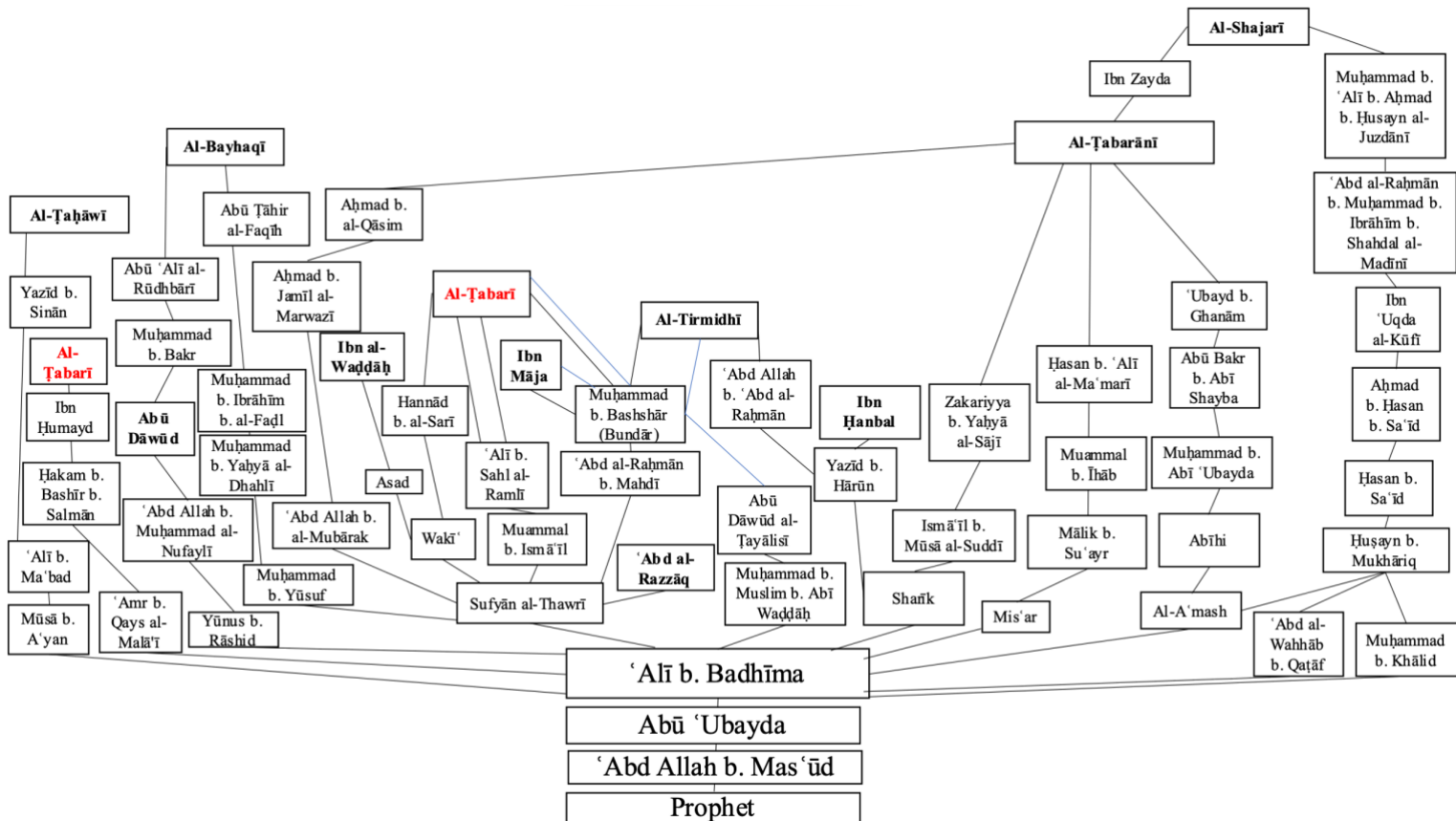
⁶¹³ Recorded by Ibn al-Waḍḍāḥ.

⁶¹⁴ Similar to the variants transmitted through ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī, the key figure of the other version of the hadith. Cross-contamination in this case is likely as Ibn Waḍḍāḥ records both versions of the hadith through the same figure of Asad. In one variant, Asad transmits directly from al-Muḥāribī (Ibn Waḍḍāḥ ← Asad ← al-Muḥāribī) while in the other he transmits from Wakī‘ (Ibn Waḍḍāḥ ← Asad ← Wakī‘ ← Sufyān).

The variant through ‘Abd al-Razzāq states the Prophet recited until verse 80 of Sura al-Mā’ida while all others state it was to verse 81. The variant through Muammal b. Ismā‘īl⁶¹⁵ has a larger number of discrepancies compared to the other students of Sufyān. It does not include the words *al-naqṣ* or *al-dhanb*. It substitutes the word ‘*khalīṭahu*’ with ‘*naḍīmahu*’ and includes a description of the Prophet becoming angered before the final statement. The wording at the beginning of the hadith also differs from all other variants.⁶¹⁶

Despite these smaller differences, the variants linked to Sufyān al-Thawrī share a common structure and wording. In addition, smaller features are found in the variants transmitted through Sufyān that are not found in the other students of ‘Alī b. Badhīma. These include a description of the Children of Israel as having deficiency (*al-naqṣ*) and committing sin (*al-dhanb*). Their brothers (*akhāhu*) forbid these wrongdoers at first. But the wrongdoers continue in their offences and are accepted in society. As a result, God punishes them with conflicted hearts. After a recitation of the verses related to this story, the Prophet sits up from a reclined position and states that the *ẓālim* must be taken by the hand and bent to conform with *al-ḥaqq*.

6.1.2. ‘Alī b. Badhīma

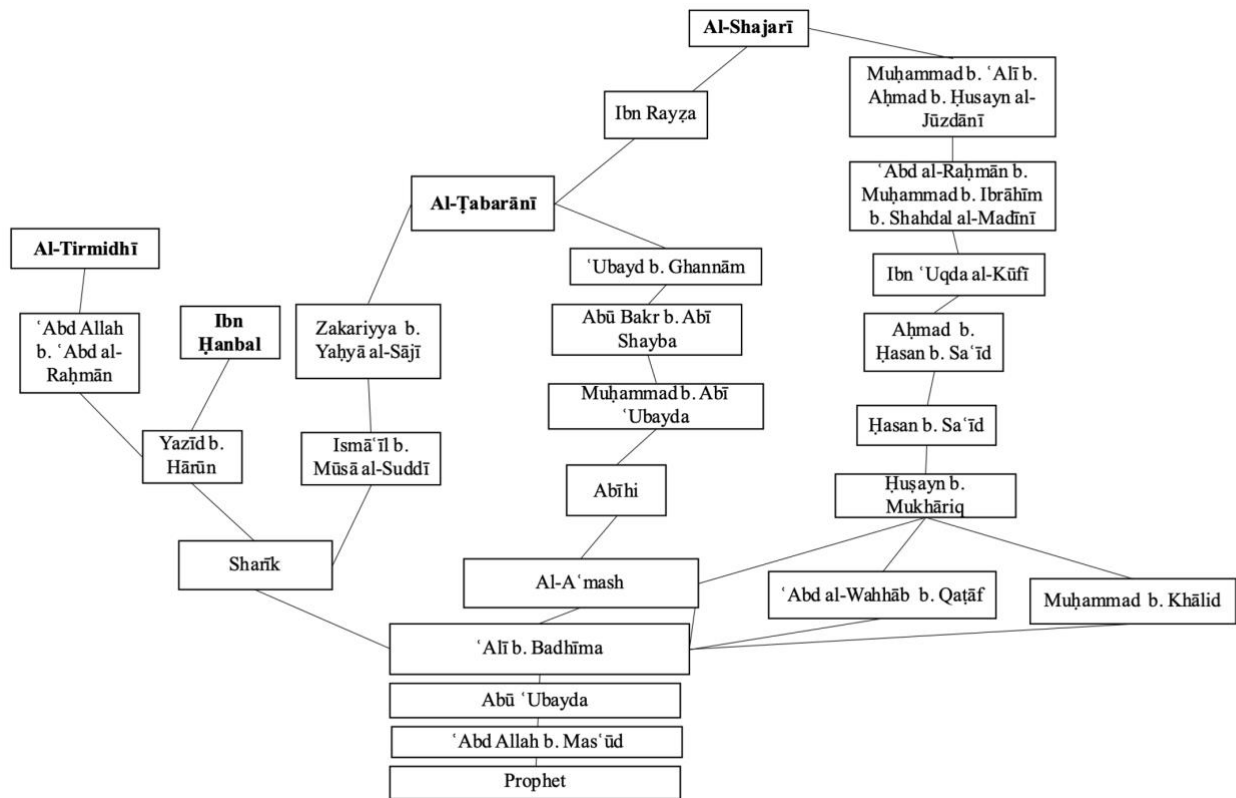


⁶¹⁵ Recorded by al-Ṭabarī #12308.

⁶¹⁶ إن بني إسرائيل لما ظهر منهم المنكر، جعل الرجل يرى أخاه وجارَه وصاحبه على المنكر، فينهاه

A cursory look at the chains of transmission in this cluster suggest that ‘Alī b. Badhīma is its source. Out of a hadith bundle of 40 variants, 24 are linked to this figure. Sufyān was one of ten students to transmit this hadith from ‘Alī. However, only two other students (Sharīk and al-A‘mash) transmit to more than one figure. Of these two, one (al-A‘mash) is included in a combined chain of transmission with two other students of ‘Alī.⁶¹⁷ The below will first analyse the variants linked to Sharīk and al-A‘mash followed by the other students. The analysis shows that enough unique features are found among the students of ‘Alī to distinguish them from Sufyān al-Thawrī while maintaining similarities that link them all to ‘Alī b. Badhīma. It is likely, then, that ‘Alī b. Badhīma is the common link for this version of the hadith while Sufyān al-Thawrī is its most successful propagator.

Sharīk and al-A‘mash



Three variants are linked to Sharīk and al-A‘mash each.⁶¹⁸ Like Sufyān, these variants display their own unique features which can be attributed to them. All variants through both students use different wording from Sufyān al-Thawrī. These variants describe the Children of Israel as disobedient (*al-ma‘āsī*) instead of deficient (*al-naqs*). They also specify those

⁶¹⁷ ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Qaṭāf and Muḥammad b. Khālid are coupled with al-A‘mash in the same chain. This makes it difficult to decipher what al-A‘mash may have transmitted as compared to the other students of ‘Alī.
⁶¹⁸ In al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Bāb wa min Sura al-Mā‘ida* (#3047); Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad, Bāb Musnad ‘Abd Allah b. Mas‘ūd* (#3713); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr, Bāb (ba‘d) al-Ikhtilāf ‘an al-A‘mash fī Hadīth ‘Abd Allah* (#10264 and #10265); Al-Shajarī, *Tarīb al-Amālī al-Khamīsiyya, Bāb fī Dhakara al-Wilā wa al-Umarā’ wa al-Amr* (#2596 and #2597).

who do not forbid wrong as being their scholars (*'ulamāūhum*).⁶¹⁹ No variant linked to any other student includes this element. Two variants are transmitted through the same student of Sharīk, Yazīd b. Hārūn,⁶²⁰ and are very similar in wording.⁶²¹ The third includes wording found nowhere else⁶²² and is the only variant in this cluster to leave out the hadith after the recitation of the verse. This discrepancy likely takes place somewhere in the chain of transmission between Sharīk and the collector.⁶²³

The two variants recorded by al-Ṭabarānī and al-Shajarī are linked to al-A‘mash. These variants are nearly identical and include unique wording found nowhere else in the cluster.⁶²⁴ This is unsurprising as the isnad recorded by al-Shajarī is an extension of al-Ṭabarānī’s. The third chain connected to al-A‘mash is quite different but includes two other names in the isnad. These names may be responsible for the changes but this cannot be said with certainty as no other variants are linked to them.

The variants associated with both Sharīk and al-A‘mash do not specify the oppressor as being taken by the hand, while those through Sufyān do. Rather, the Prophet states, “No, by Him in Whose Hand my soul resides, not until you bend them to conformity with *al-ḥaqq*.”⁶²⁵ Notably absent from this statement is who must be placed within the scope of *al-ḥaqq*.⁶²⁶

The shared features in variants linked to Sharīk and al-A‘mash not found in other variants make it likely that there is some interdependence between them. While variants through Sufyān al-Thawrī are clearly independent of the other students of ‘Alī, Sharīk and al-A‘mash cannot be said to be independent of each other. It is still possible that these two

⁶¹⁹ All three variants through Sharīk mention the ulama while two of the three variants linked to al-A‘mash do the same. The third variant that does not mention the ulama is the combined isnad with two other names shared with al-A‘mash (recorded in al-Shajarī #2596).

⁶²⁰ Recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal directly from Yazīd b. Hārūn and by al-Tirmidhī through another figure (‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān).

⁶²¹ The two variants differ slightly. Al-Tirmidhī includes a clarification of the isnad given by the transmitter he reports directly from, stating: قَالَ يَزِيدُ: وَكَانَ سَفِيَانُ الثَّوْرِيُّ لَا يَقُولُ فِيهِ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ: Ibn Ḥanbal also includes clarification from within the matn, stating: قَالَ يَزِيدُ: أَحْسِبُهُ قَالَ: وَأَسْوَاقِهِمْ.

⁶²² Instead of ‘eating and drinking’ found in other variants, it states, ‘and they continued’ (*wa wāṣalūhum*). Al-Ṭabarānī #10265.

⁶²³ Sharīk ← Ismā‘īl b. Mūsā al-Suddī ← Zakariyya b. Yaḥyā al-Sājī ← al-Ṭabarānī.

⁶²⁴ *Qurrāūhum* is included along with *'ulamāūhum*.

⁶²⁵ وَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ حَتَّى تَأْطُرُوهُمْ عَلَى الْحَقِّ أَطْرًا. Four of the six variants linked to Sharīk and al-A‘mash include this element while one other omits the entirety of the phrase (through Sharīk, recorded in al-Ṭabarānī #10265) and the last (through al-A‘mash and two others, recorded by al-Shajarī #2596) states:

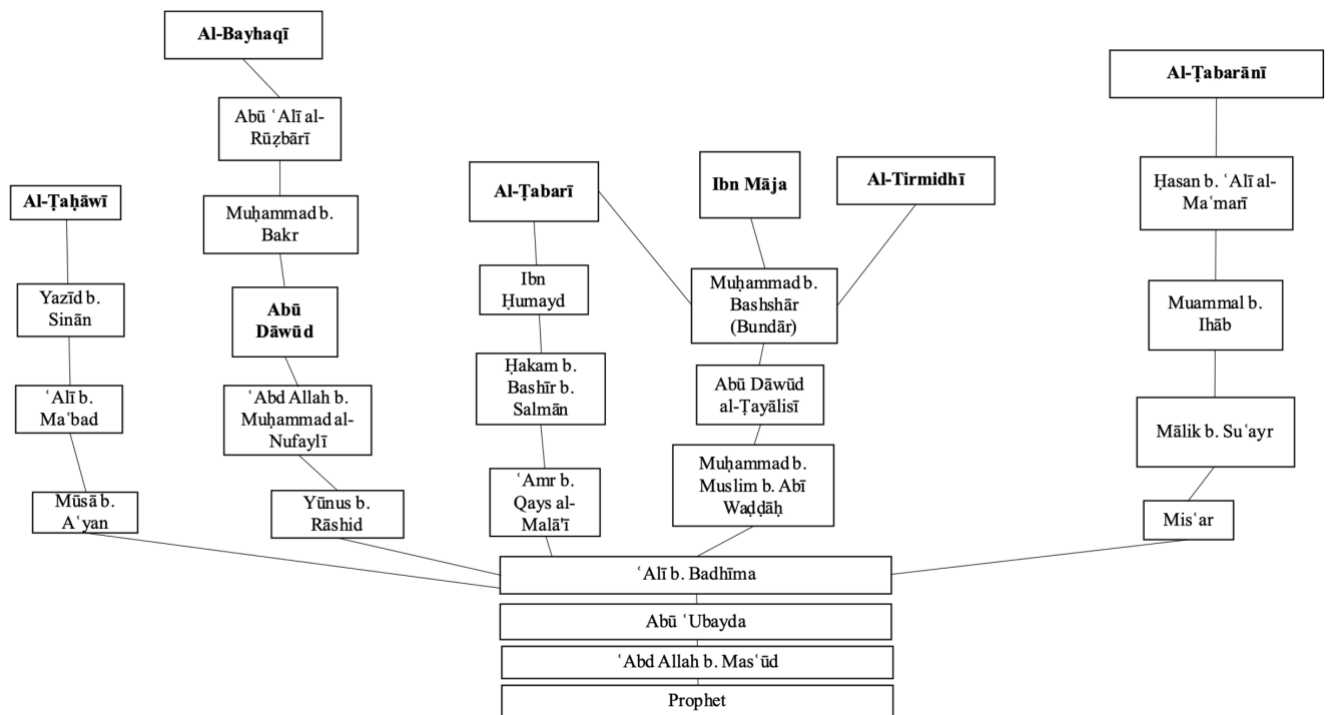
وَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ , لِتَأْمُرُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ , وَلِتَنْهَيْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَلِتَأْخُذْنَ عَلَى يَدِ السَّقِيَةِ أَوْ يُلْعَنُكُمْ كَمَا لَعَنَهُمْ

⁶²⁶ This may be a feature of (political) narrations linked to al-A‘mash who omits the subject of the hadith, effectively depoliticizing it. This is seen in the ‘give them their rights’ chapter where he does not mention the ruler who must be given his right. The one to whom his ‘right’ must be given is unknown. Here again we find al-A‘mash does not mention the oppressor but simply states to ‘bend them in conformity with *al-ḥaqq*’.

figures transmitted separate from one another. But their shared features not found among the other students of ‘Alī make it more likely that there was some influence in the transmissions linked to them. If any copying or borrowing took place, it likely came from Sharīk (d. 177) as he was the student and junior of al-A‘mash (d. 147-8).

The variants through all three students of the CL—Sufyān, Sharīk, and al-A‘mash—follow the general structure of the hadith with its story of the Children of Israel, the recitation of the verses, and the prophetic statement of placing them on ‘*al-ḥaqq*’. But differences also emerge. These include the use of the word deficiency in variants linked to Sufyān while those through Sharīk and al-A‘mash state disobedience as well as their identification of those not doing their duty in forbidding the wrongdoers as the scholars. Notably, the variants through Sufyān specify that the *ẓālim* must be taken by the hand and put to right while those through Sharīk and al-A‘mash do not.

Remaining Variants



The remaining eight variants are linked to five other students of the common link. These variants each display unique features.⁶²⁷ The two variants through Yūnus b. Rāshid⁶²⁸ are almost identical⁶²⁹ and unique in wording.⁶³⁰ The variant recorded in al-Ṭaḥāwī relays the same overall meaning with a different form of dialogue for the first half of the hadith⁶³¹ and an expansion by the collector at the end.⁶³² The last variant recorded in al-Ṭabarī⁶³³ also gives different wording with the same overall meaning and pattern to the hadith.⁶³⁴ This variant also does not indicate that it is the Prophet stating the first half of the hadith but rather the Companion in the isnad, ‘Abd Allah b. Mas‘ūd. All variants specify the *zālim* as the one to be put on ‘*al-ḥaqq*’, with slight differences.⁶³⁵

These single strand variants cannot be identified as coming from the students of ‘Alī b. Badhīma as there are no other variants from those students to compare them to. However, the differences in these variants suggest independent lines of transmission. While it is not possible to definitively link the remaining variants to the students of ‘Alī b. Badhīma, the minor differences found in those variants indicates a natural progression of oral transmission. In addition to the variants linked to Sufyān al-Thawrī, Sharīk and al-A‘mash, these single

⁶²⁷ Four of these variants cannot be analysed as the collectors only provide the chains of transmission and state that the text is similar to other variants. These variants are linked to two of ‘Alī’s students, the first being Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Abī Waḍḍāḥ recorded in al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Bāb wa min Sura al-Mā’ida* (#3048); Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Bāb al-Amr bi-l Ma’rūf wa al-Nahī ‘an al-Munkar* (#4006); and *Tafsīr* al-Ṭabarī, *Bāb 88*, (#12310). The second student is Mis‘ar recorded in al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu’jam al-Kabīr, Bāb (ba’d) al-Ikhtilāf ‘an al-A‘mash fī Ḥadīth ‘Abd Allah* (#10266).

⁶²⁸ Recorded by Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Bāb al-Amr wa al-Nahī* (#4336) and al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kubrā, Bāb mā Yastadil ‘alā an al-Qaḍā’ wa Sā’ir* (#20196) who transmits from the same chain as Abū Dāwūd.

⁶²⁹ The only difference is in how much of the verse is pronounced in the hadith as opposed to being cited.

⁶³⁰ " يَا هَذَا , اتق الله واذع ما تصنع , فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَجَلُ لَكَ " , " ثُمَّ يَلْقَاهُ مِنَ الْغَدِ , فَلَا يَمْنَعُهُ ذَلِكَ أَنْ يَكُونَ أَكِيلَهُ وَشَرِيْبَهُ وَقَعِيْدَهُ "

وَلْتَقْصُرُنَّهُ عَلَى الْحَقِّ قَصْرًا

⁶³¹ " هَلْ تَذْرُونَ كَيْفَ خَلَّ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ النَّفْسَ؟ " قَالُوا: اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَرَسُولُهُ أَعْلَمُ قَالَ: " إِنَّ الرَّجُلَ مِنْهُمْ كَانَ يَعْجِبُ عَلَى أَحِبِّهِ الْأَمْرَ يَنْجُرُهُ فَمَا " Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ Mushkil al-Āthār, Bāb Bayān Mushkil mā Ruwiya ‘an Rasul Allah fīmā Yanbaghī ‘an Yuf’al biman Ra’ā minhu Munkar* (#1164).

⁶³² قَالَ أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ: فَتَأَمَّلْنَا قَوْلَهُ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي هَذَا الْحَدِيثِ " وَلْتَأْطُرُنَّهُ عَلَى الْحَقِّ أَطْرًا " فَوَجَدْنَا أَهْلَ اللَّغَةِ يَخْكُونَ فِي ذَلِكَ عَنِ الْأَصْمَعِيِّ أَحْمَدَ أَنَّهُ قَالَ: يُقَالُ: أَطْرَتِ الشَّيْءَ إِذَا تَنَبَّيْتَهُ وَعَطَفْتَهُ، وَأَطْرَ كُلُّ شَيْءٍ عَطْفُهُ كَالْمَحْجَنِ وَالْمَنْجَلِ وَالصَّوْلَجَانِ وَوَجَدْنَاهُمْ يَخْكُونَ فِي ذَلِكَ عَنِ الْأَصْمَعِيِّ أَنَّهُ قَالَ: يُقَالُ: أَطْرَتِ الشَّيْءَ , وَأَصْرَتُهُ إِذَا أَمَلْتَهُ إِلَيْكَ وَرَدَدْتَهُ إِلَى حَاجَتِكَ فَكَانَ مَا فِي هَذَا الْحَدِيثِ مِنْ قَوْلِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: " وَلْتَأْطُرُنَّهُ عَلَى الْحَقِّ أَطْرًا " أَي تَرُدُّوْنَهُ إِلَيْهِ وَتَعْطِفُوْنَهُ عَلَيْهِ وَتُمِيلُوْنَهُ إِلَيْهِ حَتَّى يَكُونَ فِيمَا تَفْعَلُوْنَهُ بِهِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ كَالْمَحْجَنِ وَالْمَنْجَلِ وَكَالصَّوْلَجَانِ الَّذِي لَا يَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ يَخْرُجَ مِمَّا عَطَفَ عَلَيْهِ وَتَنِيَّ عَلَيْهِ وَرَدَّ إِلَيْهِ إِلَى خِلَافِ ذَلِكَ أَبَدًا. وَاللهُ سَأَلَهُ التَّوْفِيقَ

⁶³³ ‘Alī b. Badhīma ← Amr b. Qays al-Malā’ī ← Ḥakam b. Bashīr b. Salmān ← Ibn Ḥumayd ← *Tafsīr* al-Ṭabarī, *Bāb 88*, (#12307).

⁶³⁴ لما فشا المنكر في بني إسرائيل، جعل الرجل يلقي الرجل فيقول: يا هذا، اتق الله! ثم لا يمنعه ذلك أن يؤاكله ويشاربه.

This variant also includes a phrase found in variants linked to the other version of the hadith: فلما رأى الله ذلك منهم

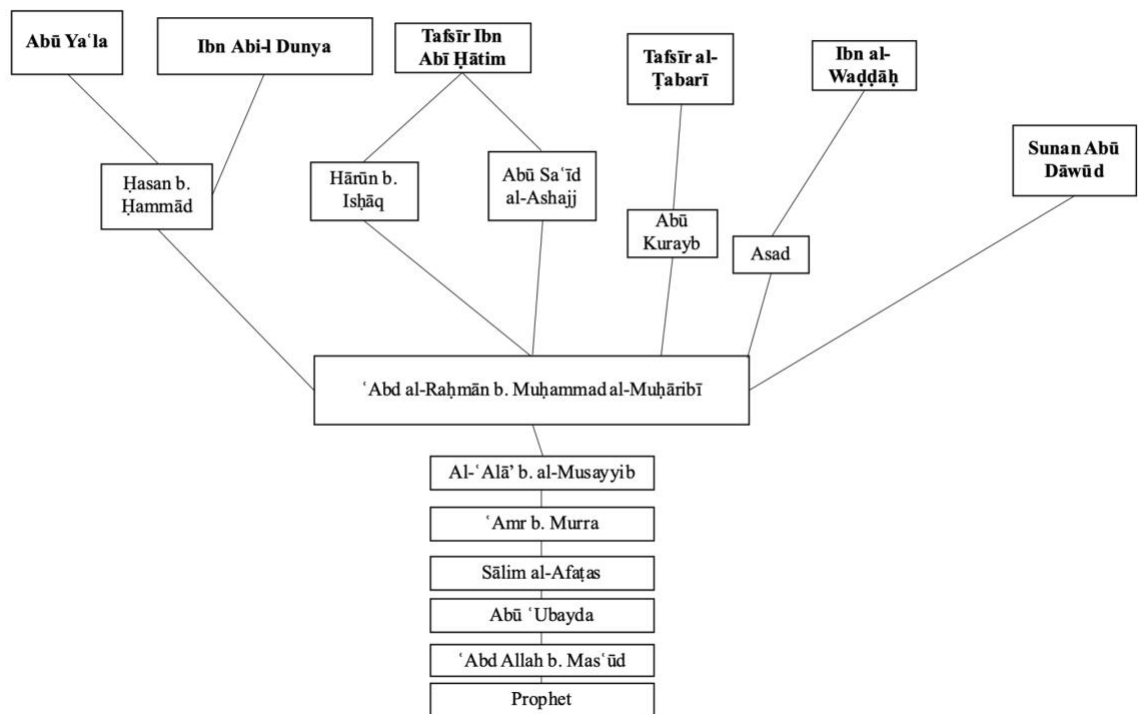
⁶³⁵ Three of the four variants give the same wording, similar to variants linked to the second CL, al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib:

كَلَّا وَاللَّهِ لَتَأْمُرَنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَلَتَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ، وَلَتَأْخُذَنَّ عَلَى بَدِي الظَّالِمِ، وَلَتَأْطُرُنَّهُ عَلَى الْحَقِّ أَطْرًا. The two variants recorded in Abū Dāwūd and al-Bayhaqī are identical while the variant recorded in al-Ṭaḥāwī includes “فَوَرَبِّ مُحَمَّدٍ” at the beginning of the statement. The last variant recorded in *Tafsīr* al-Ṭabarī states: كلا والذي نفسي بيده، حتى تأطروا الظالم على الحق أطراً

strands (tentatively) support the position that the source of propagation of this version of the hadith is ‘Alī b. Badhīma.

To conclude, the above version of the hadith stating that the *ẓālim* must be taken by the hand and placed within the bounds of *al-ḥaqq* was likely transmitted by ‘Alī b. Badhīma, most successfully through his student Sufyān al-Thawrī. The variants linked to ‘Alī provide the same general structure and meaning. This includes a discussion about the waywardness of the Children of Israel, whose wrongdoers were not held to account by the rest of society and were thus punished by God with conflicted hearts. The Prophet then recites four verses from Sura al-Mā’ida. This is followed by his sitting up from his previously reclined position and stating that the oppressor must be taken by the hand and bent to conformity with what is right.

6.1.3. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī



A second version of the hadith calling on people to conform the wrongdoer to *al-ḥaqq* is linked to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī.⁶³⁶ He transmits the hadith to six others, recorded by six collectors.⁶³⁷ This version of the hadith gives the same structure as the

⁶³⁶ One source mistakenly names him Bukhārī instead of Muḥāribī, likely a typographical error. Ibn al-Waḍḍāḥ, #267.

⁶³⁷ Ibn al-Waḍḍāḥ, *Al-Bud‘*, *Bāb fīmā Yudāl al-Nās ba‘duhum min ba‘d* (#267); Ibn Abī al-Dunya, *Al-Amr bi-l Ma‘rūf wa al-Nahī ‘an al-Munkar*, *Bāb li-Ta‘murunna bi-l Ma‘rūf wa la-Tanhawna ‘an al-Munkar* (#20); Al-

version linked to ‘Alī b. Badhīma but with a longer chain of transmission and smaller textual differences. For example, the Quranic verses quoted and cited are from Sura al-Baqara rather than al-Mā’ida. The word *ta‘zīran* is found in variants linked to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān but in none linked to ‘Alī b. Badhīma. The wrongdoer is also described as the abuser (*al-mustī*) rather than *al-zālim*.⁶³⁸ These variants also include two additional phrases not found in those linked to ‘Alī, “when God saw this from them”⁶³⁹ and “or else God will set your hearts against one another and curse you as He cursed them.”⁶⁴⁰

In addition to the similarities in the variants linked to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, they also display unique features depending on his student. The variant recorded by Ibn al-Waḍḍāḥ cites the Quranic verse being discussed and provides two descriptions of the wrongdoer.⁶⁴¹ The variant recorded by al-Ṭabarī leaves out the name of God and the Prophet in two instances.⁶⁴² It also gives another form of the same verb of bending the abuser to what is right.⁶⁴³ The variant recorded by Ibn Abī Ḥātim is transmitted from two students of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān which includes one difference in wording between them.⁶⁴⁴ He also includes an addendum at the end of the hadith.⁶⁴⁵ The two variants recorded by Abū Ya‘la and Ibn Abī al-Dunya are predictably similar as they both record from the same student of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

A couple of words found in variants linked to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān are also found in variants transmitted through Sufyān al-Thawrī. These are the ‘sin’ (*al-dhanb*) being committed among the Children of Israel by their ‘brother’ (*akhāhū*).⁶⁴⁶ It is possible that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s transmissions were influenced by Sufyān al-Thawrī. However, the many differences described above strongly supports the position that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s transmissions were independent of Sufyān, even if slightly influenced by them.

Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Bāb 88, (#12306); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr*, Bāb *Qawluhu Ta‘āla ‘alā Lisān Dāwūd wa ‘Īsā ibn Maryam* (#6661); Abū Ya‘la, *Musnad*, Bāb *Musnad ‘Abd Allah b. Mas‘ūd* (#5035); Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, Bāb *al-Amr wa al-Nahī* (#4337). The variant given by Abū Dāwūd cannot be analysed as it only provides a (broken) chain of transmission without a matn. As a result, five variants linked to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān are included in the analysis.

⁶³⁸ One variant uses both words: *وَأَتَّخَذْنَ عَلَى يَدَيِ الْمُسِيِّءِ الظَّالِمِ* (Ibn al-Waḍḍāḥ).

⁶³⁹ “فَلَمَّا رَأَى اللَّهُ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ” is included before God strikes their hearts against each other.

⁶⁴⁰ “أَوْ لِيُضْرِبَنَّ اللَّهُ بِقُلُوبِ بَعْضِكُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ، ثُمَّ لِيَلْعَنُكُمْ كَمَا لَعَنَهُمْ” is added to the end of the hadith after the Prophet tells the people to restrain the abuser (*al-mustī*).

⁶⁴¹ *Al-mustī ‘al-zālim*, #267.

⁶⁴² “قال: والذي نفسي بيده” is missing the name of the Prophet (#12306).

⁶⁴³ *وَأَتَّخَذْنَ لَهُ* instead of *وَأَتَّخَذْنَ لَهُ* found in all other variants. Ibid.

⁶⁴⁴ One student transmits the standard “they ate with them” while the other states “they associated with them” (the two words are phonetically similar in the Arabic language):

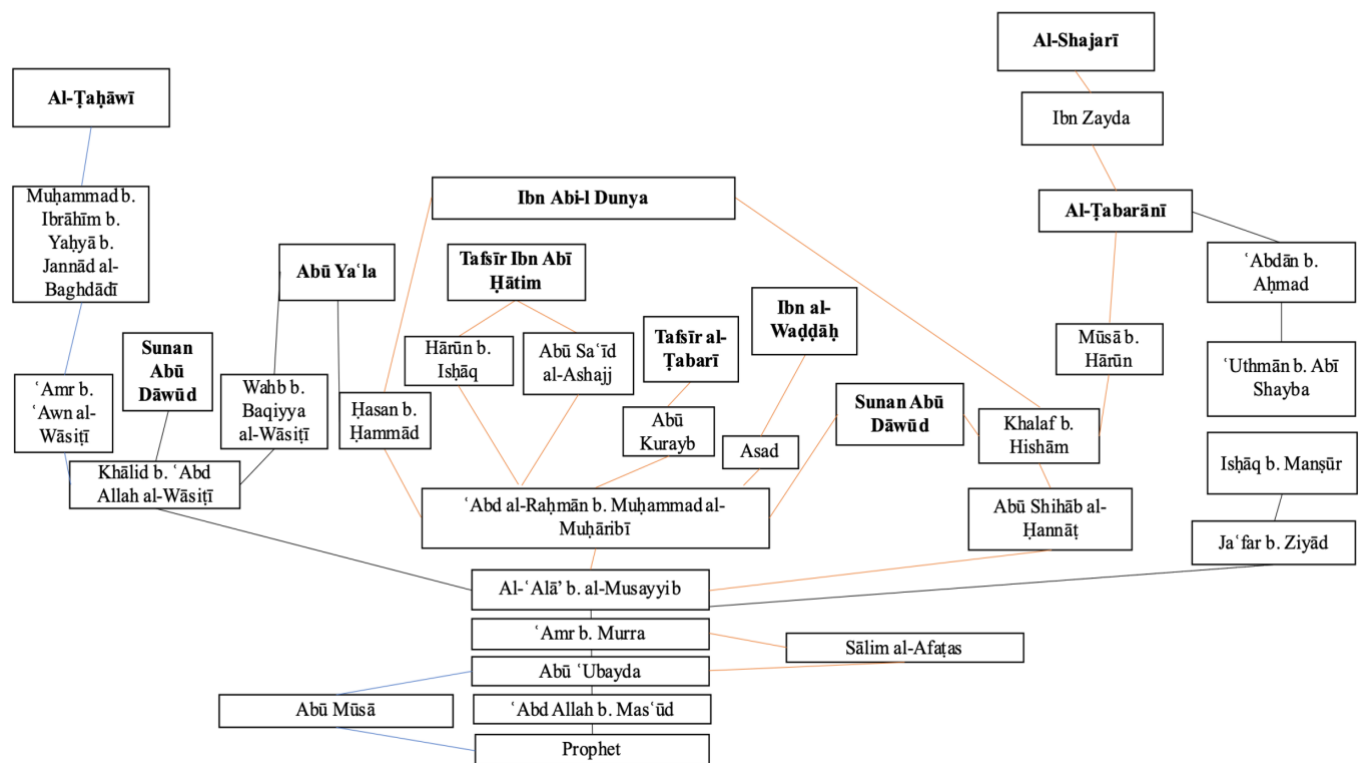
#6661, *أَكِيلُهُ وَخَلِيطُهُ وَشَرِيكُهُ* - وفي حديث هارون وشريبه ثم اتفقا في المثنى

⁶⁴⁵ “والسبب لآبي سعيد”, Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ The wording is slightly different between the two transmitters. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muḥāribī transmits *akhāhū* while Sufyān al-Thawrī states *akhūhū*.

The similarities in structure and wording of the variants through ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī evidence his transmission of the hadith to his students. The differences between the transmissions show an independence in transmission between his students. These transmissions are most likely traced back one generation earlier to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s teacher al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib who is found in mostly single strand variants of this hadith.

6.1.4. Al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib



Al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib is linked to 16 variants, transmitted to four students. Of these, only two—‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad and Khālid b. ‘Abd Allah⁶⁴⁷—are linked to three or more figures. Another student of al-‘Alā’ transmits only to one other but from there we find other chains of transmission.⁶⁴⁸ All variants through al-‘Alā’ follow the same basic structure and meaning: the Children of Israel⁶⁴⁹ do not forbid the wrongdoing of their brethren. As a result, God strikes their hearts with conflict and they are cursed. If a verse is cited, it is from

⁶⁴⁷ Recorded in Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Bāb al-Amr wa al-Nahī* (#4337); Abū Ya‘la *Musnad, Bāb Musnad ‘Abd Allah b. Mas’ūd* (#5094); Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ Mushkil al-Āthār, Bāb Bayān Mushkil mā Ruwiya ‘an Rasul Allah fīmā Yanbaghī ‘an Yuf’ al biman Ra’ā minhu Munkar* (#1163).

⁶⁴⁸ Al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib → Abū Shihāb al-Ḥannāt → Khalaf b. Hishām. Khalaf transmits directly to Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Abī al-Dunya and through one other to al-Ṭabarānī.

⁶⁴⁹ Three variants coming from the same student of al-‘Alā’—Abū Shihāb al-Ḥannāt—do not mention the Children of Israel (recorded in al-Ṭabarānī, al-Shajārī and Ibn Abī al-Dunya). This is due to either Abū Shihāb or his student Khalaf, whose transmissions are recorded by the above three collectors as well as Abū Dāwūd (who does mention the Children of Israel).

Sura al-Baqara, after which the Prophet states to command right and forbid wrong and take the offender's hand and conform him to *al-ḥaqq*. All variants through al-‘Alā’ include an additional statement at the end of the hadith in which the Prophet tells his followers that if they do not do the above, God will put conflict into their hearts and curse them as those (Children of Israel) were cursed before them.⁶⁵⁰

The variants linked to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad include all of these features in addition to the unique wording already described.⁶⁵¹ The variants linked to Khālid b. ‘Abd Allah al-Wāsiṭī⁶⁵² give different wording describing the Children of Israel from the variants linked to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.⁶⁵³ They describe the offence committed as a mistake (*al-khaṭī’*) rather than sin. They also do not refer to the one being taken by the hand as the oppressor or abuser.⁶⁵⁴ In addition, the two students differ in their chains of transmission. All variants linked to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad include Sālim al-Afaṭas in the chain of transmission while those through Khālid b. ‘Abd Allah do not.

A third student of al-‘Alā’, Abū Shihāb al-Ḥannāṭ, is linked to four variants.⁶⁵⁵ Of these, two can be analysed in full.⁶⁵⁶ These variants display elements linked to both ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad and Khālid b. ‘Abd Allah. The wording of these variants is similar to those linked to Khālid b. ‘Abd Allah.⁶⁵⁷ However, all four chains of transmission include Sālim al-Afaṭas, like the variants linked to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad. A couple of differences are also found in these variants. One is in the use of the word ‘fool’ (*al-safīh*) to

⁶⁵⁰ أَوْ لِيُضْرِبَنَّ اللَّهُ بِقُلُوبٍ بَعْضَكُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ، ثُمَّ لِيَلْعَنَنَّكُمْ كَمَا لَعَنَهُمْ

⁶⁵¹ Namely in the name of the wrongdoer, which he describes as *al-musī’*. This word is found in all variants associated with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and none of the variants associated with the other students of al-‘Alā’.

⁶⁵² He is found in three transmissions. However, one of them, Abū Dāwūd records three chains of transmission for only one body of text associated with another student of al-‘Alā’—Abū Shihāb al-Ḥannāṭ. As a result, the isnad recorded by Abū Dāwūd does not include a separate matn and cannot be analysed in relation to Khālid b. ‘Abd Allah. In any case Abū Dāwūd (b. 202) could not have heard directly from Khālid (d. 179) and likely mentions his chain of transmission to show the extensiveness of the hadith’s propagation.

⁶⁵³ مَنْ كَانَ قَبْلَكُمْ مِنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ إِذَا عَمَلَ الْعَامِلُ مِنْهُمْ بِالْخَطِيئَةِ نَهَاَهُمُ النَّاهِي تَعْزِيرًا (عَلَى الْخَطِيئَةِ بِالْأَمْسِ) found in al-Ṭaḥāwī and Abū Ya‘la. They also give different wording about offenders and their ‘mistakes on the day before’.

⁶⁵⁴ The variant recorded in Abū Ya‘la gives no label while the one recorded in al-Ṭaḥāwī describes him as ‘the fool’ (*al-safīh*).

⁶⁵⁵ Recorded by Abū Dāwūd (#4337); Ibn Abī al-Dunya, *Al-Amr bi-l Ma‘rūf wa al-Nahī ‘an al-Munkar, Bāb inna man kān Qablakum kān idha ‘Amal al-‘Amil* (#4); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr, Bāb (ba‘d) al-Ikhtilāf ‘an al-‘A‘mash fī Ḥadīth ‘Abd Allah* (#10268); Al-Shajarī, *Tarīb al-Amālī al-Khamīsiyya, Bāb fī Dhakara al-Wilā wa al-Umarā’ wa al-Amr* (#2592).

⁶⁵⁶ Abū Dāwūd only partially records the hadith while al-Shajarī’s is identical to the one recorded by al-Ṭabarānī.

⁶⁵⁷ With some slight wording differences. For instance, the variants linked to Khālid b. ‘Abd Allah state, “جَالَسَهُ” while those through Abū Shihāb al-Ḥannāṭ state “جَالَسَهُ وَوَأَكَلَهُ وَشَارَبَهُ”.

describe the wrongdoer in one variant⁶⁵⁸ while the other variant adds a clarification at the end of the narration.⁶⁵⁹

The overall similarities and smaller differences between the students of al-‘Alā’⁶⁶⁰ suggest an independent transmission of the hadith by them. These include a description of the offensive behaviour by the Children of Israel as either sin or mistake and differences in the phrases describing them. Some homogeneity is seen in the description of the one to be taken by the hand,⁶⁶¹ as well as some discrepancy.⁶⁶² The students of al-‘Alā’ also appear consistent in their chains of transmission, either including the name of Sālim al-Afaṭas as found in variants linked to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī and Abū Shihāb al-Ḥannāṭ, or excluding it as found in variants linked to Khālid b. ‘Abd Allah al-Wāsiṭī.

These patterns point to al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib as the source of the hadith’s propagation. This cannot be stated with certainty as only two variants can be analysed from each of his two other students—Khālid b. ‘Abd Allah and Abū Shihāb al-Ḥannāṭ. However, all indicators from the information available signal the minor differences expected while maintaining the integrity of the overall narration with its structure, meaning, and most of its wording. As a result, al-‘Alā’ is cautiously proposed as the source of this version of the hadith.

The differences between this version and the one linked to ‘Alī b. Badhīma indicate what al-‘Alā’ likely transmitted. This includes the word *ta’zīran* not found in variants links to ‘Alī b. Badhīma as well as the clarifying phrase, “when God saw them do this...”. While both versions of the hadith contextualize verses of the Quran, they cite different chapters.⁶⁶³ The variants linked to al-‘Alā’ also include an additional sentence at the end of the hadith warning that if the people do not command right and forbid wrong, God will put conflict in their hearts and curse them as He cursed those before them.

⁶⁵⁸ In Ibn Abī al-Dunya, #4.

⁶⁵⁹ قَالَ خَلْفًا: تَأْطُرُونَهُ: تَقْهَرُونَهُ recorded in al-Ṭabarānī and al-Shajarī.

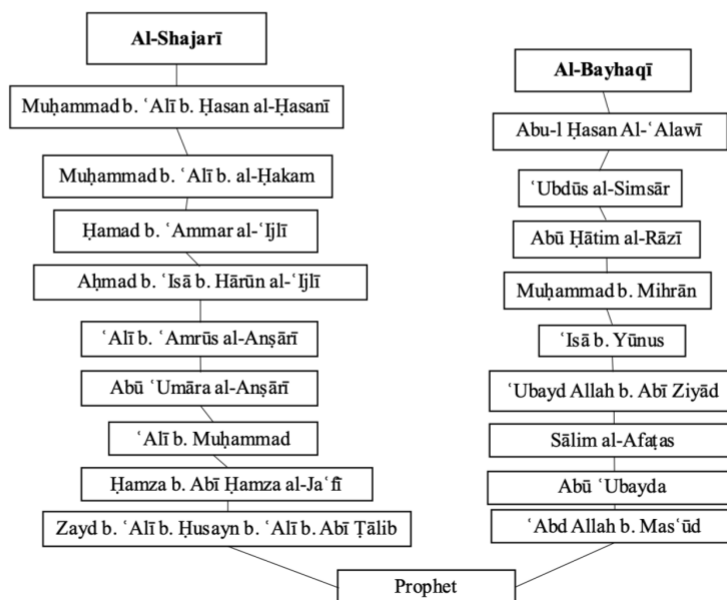
⁶⁶⁰ One other student, Ja‘far b. Ziyād, is recorded as transmitting this hadith from al-‘Alā’. However, this variant is only partially recorded by al-Ṭabarānī *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr, Bāb (ba‘d) al-Ikhtilāf ‘an al-‘A‘mash fī Ḥadīth ‘Abd Allah* (#10267) and little information can be gleaned from it.

⁶⁶¹ Variants linked to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān describe him as an abuser (*al-musī’*). The only variant includes a description through Khālid b. ‘Abd Allah. That variant states ‘fool’ (*al-safīh*).

⁶⁶² The discrepancy is found in variants linked to Abū Shihāb. The variant recorded by Ibn Abī al-Dunya also uses the word *al-safīh* while the one through al-Ṭabarānī (and subsequently al-Shajarī) gives the more popular description of wrongdoer/oppressor (*al-zālim*). It is possible that al-Ṭabarānī is responsible for this discrepancy. He records two other variants giving a description of the offender in this bundle, both of which name him *al-zālim* (one linked to the last student of al-‘Alā’ and the other to Sufyān al-Thawrī). See al-Ṭabarānī #10267 and #519.

⁶⁶³ ‘Alī b. Badhīma cites Sura al-Mā’ida while al-‘Alā’ cites Sura al-Baqara.

6.1.5. Miscellaneous Variants



Badhīma were found. One has a completely different, broken chain of transmission and appears to be an amalgamation of another hadith relating to bribery with this hadith bundle⁶⁶⁴ attached to it.⁶⁶⁵ This hadith was not found anywhere else in the hadith corpus. The other variant includes the same chain of transmission as the version of the hadith through al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib⁶⁶⁶ and is closer in wording to that version of the hadith.⁶⁶⁷ It also includes a feature found in one variant from the ‘Alī b. Badhīma bundle.⁶⁶⁸ Its similarities with the version through al-‘Alā’ might suggest a shared source, possibly Abū ‘Ubayda. However, as this variant is a single strand, there is not enough evidence to substantiate it.

⁶⁶⁴ It includes features from both versions of the hadith like the wording ‘*ta’zīr*’ and the phrase on commanding right and forbidding wrong found in the al-‘Alā’ cluster as well as the use of ‘*al-naqṣ*’ to describe the Children of Israel found in the ‘Alī b. Badhīma cluster.

⁶⁶⁵ Al-Shajari, *Tartīb al-Amālī al-Khamīsiyya, Bāb fī Dhakara Ākhar al-Zamān wa Ashrāt al-Sā’a* (#2761).

⁶⁶⁶ The chain of transmission differs from Abū ‘Ubayda → Sālīm al-Afaṭas recorded in al-Bayhaqī, *Shāb al-Imān, Bāb al-Ḥukm bayn al-Nās* (#7139).

⁶⁶⁷ It includes the description of the Children of Israel as being in disobedience (*ma’ṣiya*), God seeing this disobedience, the Prophetic order to command right and forbid wrong, and the warning that not doing so would lead to their cursing and striking hearts as was done to the Children of Israel before them.

⁶⁶⁸ The format of the beginning of the hadith of the Prophet questioning his followers about the Children of Israel to which they respond ‘God and His Messenger know’ is found in this variant as well as one variant through ‘Alī b. Badhīma’s student Mūsā b. A‘yan (recorded in al-Ṭahāwī).

The hadith about taking the hand of the oppressor⁶⁶⁹ and bending it in conformity to *al-ḥaqq* is most strongly linked to two figures—Sufyān al-Thawrī and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī. However, a closer analysis of variants transmitted from their teachers to other students show consistencies and patterns to strongly suggest that the teachers of these two figures are the source of the hadith’s propagation. While Sufyān is the most prolific figure in the popularization of one version of the hadith, his teacher ‘Alī b. Badhīma is the likely source. Similarly, while ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad is the most successful propagator of the other version of the hadith, his teacher al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib is the likely source. Both versions of the hadith share a structure, meaning and most wording,⁶⁷⁰ suggesting an earlier source of this hadith’s narration. As Abū ‘Ubayda is the shared name in the transmission of both hadith versions, it is possible that he is this source. However, only one other variant is linked to Abū ‘Ubayda in this hadith bundle.⁶⁷¹ There is therefore not enough evidence at the moment to support this connection.⁶⁷²

6.2 Common Links and Key Figures

The main figures in this hadith bundle are all located in Kufa. The strongest links are found in the figures of Sufyān al-Thawrī and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī. Their teachers al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib and ‘Alī b. Badhīma have been shown to be their likely sources. It is possible that the hadith goes back further to Abū ‘Ubayda. However, as there is not enough evidence to substantiate this, he is not included in the biographical discussion below. Neither is Sufyān al-Thawrī, who has already been discussed at length in the previous chapter. The following discussion focuses on the three (new) figures strongly linked to the dissemination of this hadith bundle—‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī, al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib, and ‘Alī b. Badhīma.

6.2.1. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī

⁶⁶⁹ Sometimes abuser, rarely fool or nothing at all.

⁶⁷⁰ These similarities include a story about the Children of Israel’s negligence with the improper behaviour of some of their members, ‘eating and drinking with them’ the day after their prohibiting them. God punished them for this by ‘striking their hearts against one another’ and cursed them ‘by the tongues of their Prophets David and Jesus son of Mary.’ The Prophet then states that the oppressor/abuser (in a few variants it is neither) must be taken by the hand and placed on *al-ḥaqq*.

⁶⁷¹ The hadith is only widely transmitted a generation after Abū ‘Ubayda, through ‘Alī b. Badhīma and another two generations later with al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib.

⁶⁷² Although there is no empirical evidence to make this argument, the similarity in structure between the two versions and a third single strand variant, and their shared source of Abū ‘Ubayda warrant mentioning him and his possible connection to this bundle.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī (d. 195/811), sometimes known simply as al-Muḥāribī, lived in Kufa in the mid-second century AH. Despite coming from a later period, he is an obscure figure in the biographical sources.⁶⁷³ He is found in chains of transmission praising the first two rulers after the Prophet and condemning the killing of the third. In at least one of these hadiths, he is a likely key figure.⁶⁷⁴ These positions fall in line with the historical interpretation of the later Sunni schools of thought.

However, al-Muḥāribī also diverges somewhat in his narrations from the later Sunni political framework. In addition to transmitting the above hadith calling on people to place the oppressor within the bounds of *al-ḥaqq*, he is found in the transmission of a similar hadith condemning people who do not speak out against the *ẓālim*.⁶⁷⁵ Another narration linked to al-Muḥāribī denounces the Umayyad governor al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf.⁶⁷⁶ No hadiths were found in support of the authorities. Neither is his name associated with any politically quietist variants, despite their prominence in the Sunni corpus.

While no information is given about the background of al-Muḥāribī, the hadiths associated with him give him a politically activist colouring. These hadiths demonstrate a later Sunni (or possibly Zaydi) position praising the first two Caliphs. They also indicate a distaste for at least one Umayyad governor. Most tellingly, he is found transmitting two different hadiths holding the *ẓālim* to account but remains absent in any variants supporting a quietist political position.

6.2.2. Al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib

Al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib b. Rāfi’ (d. 160/776) was a teacher of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī and another Kufan figure. He appears to have come from the Banū Kāhil clan of the Asad tribe, although there is some conflicting information in the biographical sources.⁶⁷⁷ However, the same sources are in agreement that his father was from the Banū Kāhil, placing al-‘Alā’ within that northern Arabian tribe. The Banū Kāhil was mentioned in the first chapter of this study in the discussion on al-A‘mash, who was a client

⁶⁷³ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-A‘lām, Bāb al-Muḥāribī Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad* (#46).

⁶⁷⁴ This hadith states that the first Caliph after the Prophet, Abū Bakr, will be the first to enter paradise: "أَمَا إِنَّكَ يَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ أَوَّلُ مَنْ يَدْخُلُ الْجَنَّةَ مِنْ أُمَّتِي". Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Faḍā’il al-Ṣaḥāba* #258 and #593; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Bāb fī al-Khulafā’*; Ibn Shāhīn (d. 385), *Sharḥ Madhāhib Ahl al-Sunna* #96; Ibn Bishrān (d. 430), *Amālī, Juz Awwal*.

⁶⁷⁵ إذا رَأَيْتَ أُمَّتِي تَهَابُ الظَّالِمَ أَنْ تَقُولَ لَهُ: أَنْتَ ظَالِمٌ، فَقَدْ تُورِغُ مِنْهُمْ. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, #6784; Al-Bazzār, *Musnad*, #2375.

⁶⁷⁶ This hadith takes place in the context of the assault on Mecca (72/692) in the second fitna during the rule of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. When a Companion is injured, the Umayyad governor al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf attempts to console him only to be blamed for the infliction of the wound. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīh, Kitāb al-‘Eidayn*, #966.

⁶⁷⁷ While he is mostly referred to as Asadī or Kāhilī (see: al-Dhahabī, *Siyar, Bāb al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib b. Rāfi’ al-Asadī al-Kufī* #142), it is also suggested that he was from the Banū Taghlīb of the larger Rabī’a tribe (see: Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Al-Jarḥ wal Ta’dīl, Bāb al-‘Alā’* #1991). The Banū Tha’lab, are also mentioned although this is likely a typographical error on Taghlīb (see: Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt, Bāb al-‘Ayn* #9984).

of the clan. The larger Asad tribe was known for its support of the family of the Prophet, notably in its alliance with ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib at the Battle of Ṣiffīn as well as al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī at the Battle of Karbala. Many members of the Asad tribe settled in Kufa.

Al-‘Alā’ is best known for his ties to his father, a more prominent scholar than himself. Al-Musayyib b. Rāfi‘ (d. 105/723) is also labelled a Kufan, known for his piety.⁶⁷⁸ His students include his son al-‘Alā’ as well as al-A‘mash. His relations with the ruling powers are only discussed in one instance when the reputedly brutal Umayyad governor ‘Umar b. Hubayra wanted to appoint him as a judge.⁶⁷⁹ Al-Musayyib refused the position, with some insulting words to the authorities.⁶⁸⁰ While this incident gives the father a political colouring, al-‘Alā’ is not linked to any groups or ideologies either conforming to the later Sunni framework or opposed to it.⁶⁸¹ He is altogether an unremarkable figure. His position as a scholar is unsurprising as his tribe had a reputation for learning and religious studies.⁶⁸² He likely continued in a tradition of scholarship in Kufa typical of his tribesmen (including his father).

In short, two activist elements can be discerned from the information given about al-‘Alā’—his own father’s refusal of an Umayyad position as well as his tribe’s reputation as supporters of the family of the Prophet. However, these are only loosely connected to al-‘Alā’, who is not himself expressly tied to any group or ideology. This lack of association makes it possible that he was a more neutral figure and merely successful in transmitting a hadith he heard from his own teacher.⁶⁸³ His familial and tribal proximity to politically active elements in society made his own exposure to activism more likely and the dissemination of such hadiths unsurprising.

6.2.3. ‘Alī b. Badhīma

‘Alī b. Badhīma (d. 133/751-136/753) was originally from Kufa but moved to Harran. The biographers refer to him as both Kufan and Harrani. His father Badhīma is listed as a

⁶⁷⁸ He reportedly recited the entire Quran every three days, fasting every third day. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, *Bāb al-Mīm* #5594.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, *Bāb al-Musayyib b. Rāfi‘* (#2342). For information on ‘Umar b. Hubayra, see Kennedy, Hugh. *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, p. 106-8.

⁶⁸⁰ إِنَّ عُمَرَ بْنَ هُبَيْرَةَ الْأَمِيرَ أَرَادَ أَنْ يُؤَلِّيَ الْمُسَيَّبَ الْفَضَاءَ، فَقَالَ: مَا يَسْرُنِي، وَإِنَّ سَوَارِي مَسْجِدِكُمْ لِي ذَهَابٌ. See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, *Bāb al-Musayyib b. Rāfi‘ Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Asadī* (#36).

⁶⁸¹ Al-‘Alā’ did transmit hadiths from his father. As his father and teacher, al-Musayyib may have influenced his son. But al-Musayyib reportedly died when al-‘Alā’ was a teenager, diminishing this influence.

⁶⁸² “Most of the Asad were absorbed by al-Kūfa; here in the course of time, they evolved from warriors to men of learning; as a result many of those who handed down the *Shī‘a* tradition, were men of the Asad from al-Kūfa.” Kindermann, H., “Asad”, *EI2*.

⁶⁸³ His teacher ‘Amr b. Murra (d. 116/734-120/738) was a known Murji’ite with close ties to Abū ‘Ubayda. Although Van Ess describes him as a ‘quietist’ (vol. 1, p. 204) since “no political activities have been transmitted to us” about him, hadiths such as the one above do just that and attribute a more characteristic activism to him which was common among the Murji’ites of his time.

In short, ‘Alī b. Badhīma was a minor transmitter in the Sunni hadith corpus, likely accounting for the brevity of information about him in the classical sources. While he is not described as taking any strong political positions, his dissemination of the above cluster, his association with a pro-‘Alid hadith, and the description of him as Shia all indicate a possible activism in this figure.

6.3 Conclusion

The above figures linked to the dissemination of the hadith calling on people to put the oppressor on the right course can all be traced to the Iraqi city of Kufa. The four main figures associated with the hadith, and even the earlier figure linking both versions of the hadith, Abū ‘Ubayda, come from that politically contentious city. Some of the prominent figures spreading these hadiths are found in the same circles, such as al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib of the Banū Kāhil and al-A‘mash who was a client of the same clan (both from the same generation). From the following generation, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī was a student of both al-‘Alā’ and al-A‘mash. Another student of al-A‘mash, Sufyān al-Thawrī,⁶⁹¹ is found spreading both activist hadiths analysed in this study.

Sufyān is also a student of ‘Alī b. Badhīma. While ‘Alī’s tribal ties do not connect him with the Banū Asad of al-‘Alā’ and al-A‘mash, both tribes were allies of the Banū Hāshim, the clan of the Prophet and his family. It is possible that these tribal ties influenced the above key figures in their dissemination of politically activist hadiths. In any case, a political circle does emerge in the Iraqi city of Kufa in the early to mid-second century AH where the same names are found in close proximity to one another. These figures are responsible for the widespread propagation of the activist hadiths analysed in this study.

⁶⁹¹ Raddatz, H.P., “Sufyān al-Thawrī”, *EI2*.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

“*Oh Ḥajjāj, I have given you Kufa as a gift, therefore, control it so firmly that the people of al-Basra will be intimidated.*”⁶⁹²

The results of this study show a concentration of political hadiths in Iraq. These Prophetic narrations pertain to the Muslim subjects’ relationship with the unjust ruler—either to obey or confront. Both the politically quietist and activist hadiths are found spreading overwhelmingly from the Iraqi cities of Basra and Kufa in the late first to the late second century AH. These hadiths spread from 26 main transmitters.⁶⁹³ Of them, 22 are Iraqi—12 from Basra and 10 from Kufa. Three others are Syrian⁶⁹⁴ and only one comes from the Hijaz.⁶⁹⁵ It is therefore safe to conclude that these highly political narrations were most pertinent to and hotly contested in Iraq, from which they spread to other parts of the Muslim world. These hadiths were ultimately immortalized in the works of many prominent Sunni hadith collectors.

The following discussion centres mainly on the two Iraqi cities in the time these hadiths were propagated. The generally accepted view of these cities paint Kufa as a centre of rebellion and confrontation with the authorities while Basra served mainly as the Iraqi support base for the rulers. The results of this study partly support and partly challenge this view. In line with the prevalent view of these cities, most key figures transmitting quietist hadiths are Basran and those spreading activist ones Kufan. However, a substantial portion of the activist transmitters are also found spreading messages of political confrontation with the rulers from Basra. Additionally, one of the four quietist hadith bundles analysed in this study was spread entirely from Kufa. It can be concluded that while these cities leaned toward quietism or activism, respectively, they were above all highly political. Indeed, Iraq in the first and second centuries AH was the ideological (and literal) battleground in which Muslims fought for or against obedience to authority. In short, while the general understanding of the

⁶⁹² A letter from the Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān to his Iraqi governor al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusuf. Al-Balādhurī, *Anṣāb al-Ashrāf*, taken from Marín-Guzmán, R. “Arab Tribes, the Umayyad Dynasty, and the ‘Abbasid Revolution.” *American journal of Islam & society (Online)*, p. 70.

⁶⁹³ 27 key figures were found altogether. However, one figure is found in the widespread transmission of two hadith bundles, totalling 26 different individuals linked to the popularization of all six hadith bundles analysed in this study.

⁶⁹⁴ This accounts for around 11.5% of all transmitters.

⁶⁹⁵ The Hijaz is not discussed in this study as its contribution to the transmission of these hadiths is nominal—equalling less than 4% of all transmitters.

political makeup of these cities holds true, a more nuanced discussion is needed as a substantial number of opposing views are also found proliferating from these cities.

Another contribution of this study relates to key figures within these landscapes. Most of these figures transmit political messages that conform to the groups with which they are associated. For example, most quietist Basran transmitters are Arabs from the tribes making up the military aristocracy of that city.⁶⁹⁶ This background fits well with the more reportedly supportive approach of that group toward the authorities in the second century AH. Likewise, several figures transmitting activist hadiths or even versions of the quietist hadiths that omit the messaging of obedience to the bad ruler are associated with the Shia in the biographical sources.⁶⁹⁷ This background also matches the mostly antagonistic attitude of the early supporters of the *ahl al-bayt* toward the Umayyad (and later Abbasid) authorities. A third category of neutral figures also appear.

More prominent individuals are also found in the spread of these hadiths. They include Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Sufyān al-Thawrī, and al-A‘mash.⁶⁹⁸ These individuals were towering figures of early Islamic historiography, and as a result much conflicting information regarding their political character is found in the biographical sources. The hadith literature can help to resolve some of this confusion. Their role in spreading messages of political quietism or activism evidence the political leanings of these great figures. As a result, this study both challenges and supports aspects of the political discourse surrounding these figures.

The analyses also show how individual transmitters at times changed and adapted hadiths in the course of transmission. Whereas the majority of hadith variants in a bundle give similar messages of non-confrontation with the authorities, some versions tone down the political messaging of the hadith while others depoliticize it altogether. This is most clearly exemplified in the version of the ‘give them their rights’ tradition transmitted by al-A‘mash as well as the ‘die a *jāhili* death’ tradition transmitted by Sharīk. Both figures transmit

⁶⁹⁶ For example, al-Ja‘d Abū ‘Uthmān, Khālid b. Subay‘ and Qatāda are all Arab members of the Bakr tribe. The only Kufan transmitter of a quietist hadith requiring obedience to the bad ruler is also an Arab of the Bakr—Simāk b. Ḥarb.

⁶⁹⁷ ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān, ‘Alī b. Badhīma, and Sufyān al-Thawrī have all been described as having possible Shia inclinations. ‘Alqama b. Marthad is described as an early Murji’ite, which would also fit into that group’s early political activism. Al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib is an Arab of the Asad tribe (known for its support of the family of the Prophet). The political messaging transmitted in the hadiths propagated by these figures fit well with these associations ascribed to them.

⁶⁹⁸ Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is portrayed as oppositional to the authorities but transmits a hadith forbidding physical confrontation with them while Sufyān al-Thawrī has been portrayed in more recent scholarship as pro-Umayyad although he is prominent in the propagation of both activist bundles.

versions of quietist hadiths without the quietism (i.e. obedience to the bad ruler). Notably, both are Kufan figures.⁶⁹⁹

Finally, the data acquired through hadith analysis is discussed within the wider framework of the study of early Islamic political history and more broadly, the development of ideas in the Islamic world. Drawing on the wealth of hadith literature that has survived the centuries, well-attested Prophetic narrations can give historical context to the ideologies they propound. Answering the question of when, where and by whom these hadiths (and therefore the ideological messaging they convey) are transmitted brings new information to light regarding these ideas, allowing for a greater understanding of their origins, applications, and motivations behind their spread.

In short, this paper contributes to current academic discourse in a number of fields. Most notably, it shows Iraq to be the most politically dynamic region of the early Muslim world. It also clarifies some of the contradictory political positions given on major scholars of early Islam. Thirdly, it illustrates the evolution of hadith and how the biases of transmitters affect them. Finally, the method of hadith analysis employed allows for greater insight into early Islamic political thought, creating another avenue by which information from this murky period can be gleaned.

7.1 Iraqi Politics: A Multifaceted Province

The introduction of this study showed an early political history of Iraq in which its two major cities aligned with either political quietism or activism. An analysis of the hadiths espousing these political ideas broadly supports this description. Most politically quietist hadiths spread from Basra, generally viewed as an Umayyad-aligned city while activist hadiths spread from Kufa, the centre of rebellion to Umayyad rule.

However, the results of the above hadith analysis also illustrate prominent opposing views spreading from these cities. Of the nine key figures transmitting the activist hadiths, six are Kufan and three are Basran.⁷⁰⁰ Of the 17 key transmitters of the quietist bundles, nine are Basran and four are Kufan (two of which spread quietist messages in their versions of a hadith).⁷⁰¹ These numbers show the political minorities of these cities were loud and large

⁶⁹⁹ Both figures are also linked to the Shia in the biographical literature.

⁷⁰⁰ While 10 key transmitters were found in these two bundles (six from the 'Speak Truth' hadith and four from the 'Take the Oppressor by the Hand' hadith), one figure is found in the spread of both hadiths, resulting in nine different key figures. Sufyān al-Thawrī is the only figure of this study found in the widespread transmission of two hadith bundles.

⁷⁰¹ Two of these figures (Sharīk and al-A'mash of Kufa) are arguably not quietist in the hadiths they transmit. However, they are still found in the quietist hadith bundles.

enough to take up a considerable space in the intellectual discourse. It can be concluded that these cities were not just supporters or opponents of the rulers, but held a diversity of complex views on one's relationship to the authorities.

In addition, the sheer number of Iraqi transmitters illustrates the vibrant political atmosphere in that province. 26 different key figures are found spreading the six hadith bundles analysed. All the activist transmissions spread only from Iraq while 13 of the 17 key transmitters spreading quietist hadiths are also Iraqi. In total, 22 out of 26 key figures transmitting messages of political activism or quietism through the hadith works do so from Iraq.

In sum, this study illustrates through the lens of the hadith corpus that in the early Muslim world Iraq was by far the province most concerned about one's relationship with the ruler. Hadiths propagating both acceptance and opposition to the bad ruler spread almost entirely from its two main cities. While a general understanding of Basra's quietism and Kufa's activism hold true, the substantial opposing political views voiced from these cities reveal that they are not one-dimensional in their politics but were lively centres of debate on the subject. The hadith analysis demonstrates the need for a more nuanced approach to politics in early Islamic Iraq.

7.2 Hadith Transmitters and Regional Politics

In addition to the place and time in which these hadiths proliferate, this study finds similarities with the key figures responsible for the hadiths' dissemination. A closer look into their backgrounds links many of these figures together and connects them with the politics of their period. Generally, quietist hadiths calling for obedience to the ruler spread from the elites of society—the Arab tribes allied with the authorities. The activist hadiths are spread by the more disenfranchised minorities at odds with the rulers.

7.2.1. Basran Transmitters: A Tribal Connection

Almost half of the key figures found in this study come from Basra. A cursory look into the Basran hadith transmitters shows that they were mostly Arabs of the four prominent tribes or their clients. However, as the versions of the hadiths differ depending on the transmitter, it is important to analyse these figures in relation to the narrations linked to them. Namely, some versions of a hadith are more quietist than others. Some require total obedience to the ruler while others do not (explicitly) require any. Therefore, the following analysis of transmitters includes their position within the Basran tribal structure as well as the degree to which they

propound political narrations. These begin with the nine transmitters found in the quietist hadith bundles followed by the three activist transmitters.

Quietist Basran Transmitters: Arab Tribal Elites and Their Clients

Basran figures are found in the proliferation of three of the four quietist hadith bundles analysed in this study.⁷⁰² 14 figures were prominent in the spread of these three hadiths, nine of which come from Basra. Eight of the nine transmitters are associated with the elite tribes of Basra—the Tamīm, Qays, Bakr b. Wā'il and Azd.⁷⁰³ Five are Arab members of these tribes while another three are their clients. These associations strongly correlate the spread of politically quietist hadiths calling on people to obey the disliked or unjust ruler with the elite Arab tribes of Basra.

ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd (d. 180/796) was a client of the Tamīm and is found transmitting the hadith about obeying the bad ruler as long as he prays. He is the only Basran affiliated with one of the major tribes to transmit this hadith. He is also the only quietist hadith transmitter linked to the Tamīm tribe.

Of the three Basran transmitters of the hadith about dying a *jāhili* death, two are associated with the Azd; one is an Arab, Ghaylān b. Jarīr (d. 129/747) while the other is a client, Ḥammād b. Zayd (d. 179/795). The hadith as transmitted by Ghaylān is not explicit in its quietism, condemning only those who 'defect from obedience'. This version also includes a section about the evils of fighting for tribalism. These are not characteristics of either a political quietist or a tribalist. However, the version of the hadith transmitted by Ḥammād b. Zayd plainly calls for obedience, stating that one must be patient with the hated ruler. This version of the hadith is also linked to the third Basran transmitter, the Arab al-Ja'd Abū 'Uthmān of the Bakr b. Wā'il tribe. Here we find an Arab of one major Basran tribe and the client of another clearly calling for obedience to the hated ruler, while a third Arab erases the question of the bad ruler from the narration, replacing it with a need for obedience once allegiance has been given.

⁷⁰² Two of the three established common links of the bundle requiring obedience to the ruler 'as long as he prays' are Basran—Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd. Three of the five transmitters of the 'die a *jāhili* death' bundle are Basran—Ghaylān b. Jarīr, al-Ja'd Abū 'Uthmān, and Ḥammād b. Zayd. Four of the six transmitters of the most politically quietist hadith bundle requiring obedience to the ruler even if 'he strikes your back and takes your wealth' come from Basra—Khālid b. Subay', Qatāda, Abū Tayyāḥ, and Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra.

⁷⁰³ The only figure not associated with these tribes is Ḥasan al-Baṣrī who is the son of a freed Persian man and a woman who allegedly worked in the household of the Prophet. For more on his background, see Chapter 2: As Long as He Prays.

The third hadith bundle in which Basrans are found transmitting widely is the most politically quietist of this study, requiring obedience to the ruler who strikes the people's backs and takes their wealth. Four of the six key transmitters are Basran. Of these two are Arabs of the Bakr b. Wā'il—the Successor Khālid b. Subay and Qatada (d. 117/734). The other two are from the Qays—the Arab Abū Tayyāḥ (d. 130/747-8) and the client Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra (d. 165/782). Notably, three versions of this hadith include the injunction to obey the violent and oppressive rulers, all spread by the three Basran Arabs. The fourth version of the hadith, spread by the client Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, does not include this phrase.

Some patterns are found in the various messages of quietism relayed by the transmitters and their tribal affiliations. For example, all three Arab transmitters of the Bakr b. Wā'il unequivocally call for obedience to the bad ruler. The Arab transmitter of the Qays does the same (while the Qaysi client does not). The one transmitter associated with the Tamīm also spreads the hadith calling for obedience to the feared and hated ruler. The remaining two transmitters linked to the Azd differ in their political messaging. While the Azdi client relays the same message as the other quietist transmitters—that the bad ruler must be obeyed—the Arab of the Azd tribe does not include obedience to the disliked or unjust ruler. On the contrary, this version of the hadith calls on people to desist from tribalistic fighting, a pointed message to the highly tribalistic society in which he lived.⁷⁰⁴

Activist Transmitters

The three remaining Basran hadith transmitters are all found in the propagation of the activist hadith describing the greatest jihad as verbal confrontation with the tyrant. Only one of these is certainly affiliated with the above tribes.

Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167-783) is described as a Tamimi client and the discussion into his background shows that he was an extremely prolific hadith scholar.⁷⁰⁵ He was famous in his own time and transmitted many hadiths, including those on the quietist side of the political spectrum. His transmissions likely do not reflect any tribal influences but rather attest to his prominence as a scholar and hadith transmitter.

The same cannot be said of the Successor Abū Ghālib Ḥazzawr. It is unknown if his tribal connections affected his hadith transmissions, or if he had any tribal connections at all.

⁷⁰⁴ This hadith also appears to send a message to the Kharijites, disassociating them from the Muslims for killing other Muslims. Both of these elements, the tribes and the Kharijites, played prominent roles in the first centuries of Basra.

⁷⁰⁵ Discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3.

It is likely that he was a client, as all classical sources label him as such. However, the sources do not agree on which tribe he was a client of and give several possible affiliations.⁷⁰⁶

The third Basran transmitter of an activist hadith is ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān (d. 131/749), described as a Qurayshi Shia. While his pedigree is high, his Shia affiliation places him among the disreputable in the classical Sunni sources. Indeed, in his own time the Shia of Basra were a minority treated with hostility.⁷⁰⁷ It is somewhat surprising that his transmissions made it into the Sunni hadith works at all, though unsurprising that these transmissions would be of a politically activist nature.

Two transmitters cannot be associated with the tribes, one being unknown and the other the famous scholar and jurist Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Both figures allow for verbal opposition to the unjust ruler. As already mentioned, Abū Ghālib transmits the hadith about speaking truth to the tyrant. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī transmits a version of the hadith about the bad ruler who prays, allowing for their denunciation and even disapproving those who follow that ruler.

These associations show a strong link between the Basran tribes and the propagation of Prophetic narrations commanding obedience to the unjust ruler. The majority of transmitters of these narrations came from these major tribes. The widespread dissemination of these hadiths correlates well with the socio-political standing of the tribes in the first centuries of Basra. These tribes mainly aligned with the Umayyad royals who were a strong force in an otherwise politically unstable Muslim world. Being in positions of power in society, the tribes gained from the continued rule of a strong and steady authority. Especially with the constant threat of the chaotic and egalitarian movements of other groups surrounding them,⁷⁰⁸ the tribes must have been alert to what they had to lose should the Umayyads fall. It is from within these tribes that the spread of hadiths calling on obedience to the ruler are mainly found.

7.2.2. Kufan Transmitters: Overt and Covert Activism Within Hadith
Kufan hadith transmitters are found from among both the quietist and activist hadith bundles. Six Kufan figures transmit the majority of the two activist hadiths. Another four are found in the spread of the quietist traditions. However, two of these figures transmit versions of the

⁷⁰⁶ He’s described as an Umayyad client, an Azdi client, from the Banū Usayd, or the Banū Ḍabī‘a. See Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.

⁷⁰⁷ While their numbers at the time are unknown, “life for Shi’ites was not easy in Basra.” Van Ess, *Theology: Vol 2*, p. 479.

⁷⁰⁸ These movements mainly came from the Kharijites. They not only threatened the status of the tribes but their violence and chaotic shifts of power oftentimes shook the very political foundations on which society stood. However, other movements also threatened the *Ashrāf*, for instance the revolt of Mukhtār al-Thaqafi who elevated the status of the *mawālī* and other non-Arabs. These various movements made the need for an Arab tribal authority all the more necessary for the Basran *Ashrāf*.

hadiths that do not call for obedience to the bad ruler. As a result, the Kufan figures are mostly responsible for the spread of activist traditions in addition to diminishing the politicization of the quietist traditions.

The hadith calling on people to take the oppressor by the hand, arguably the most activist hadith in the Sunni corpus (allowing for physical confrontation with the ruler), is only spread by Kufan figures. Two of these are mentioned as having Shia influences— ‘Alī b. Badhīma (d. 133-136/752-755) and Sufyān al-Thawrī (b. 97/716-d. 161/778). A third, al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib (d. 160/776), comes from the Asad tribe, believed to be supporters of the *ahl al-bayt* at the time.⁷⁰⁹ The fourth figure transmitting this hadith, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī (d. 195/811) is a lesser-known figure.

The second activist hadith equating the greatest jihad with speaking truth to the tyrant is spread by six figures—three of which are Kufan: ‘Alqama b. Marthad (d. 120/738), his student Sufyān al-Thawrī, and Isrā’īl b. Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq (b. 100/719-d. 160/777). ‘Alqama b. Marthad is described in the sources as a Murji’ite. His spread of a hadith encouraging opposition to the unjust ruler falls in line with the activism of the early Murji’ites. Sufyān al-Thawrī is prominent in the spread of both activist bundles as previously mentioned. Isrā’īl appears to have been a neutral figure, more concerned with the transmission of Prophetic narrations than with the political messaging found in them.⁷¹⁰ The prominent role of Kufans in the spread of activist hadiths parallels the early history of that city which served as the centre of ‘Alid support in the Muslim world and was a general breeding ground for opposition to the rulers.

Of the four Kufan transmitters found spreading two of the quietist hadith bundles, two figures spread versions of the hadith that do not call for obedience to the bad ruler. In the Kufan hadith about giving the ruler his right, spread by three Kufan figures, two explicitly mention the bad qualities of the ruler while a third, transmitted by al-‘A‘mash (d. 147-7/764-5), does not specify that it is the ruler that must be obeyed.⁷¹¹ Similarly, the hadith about dying a *jāhili* death transmitted by the Kufan jurist Sharīk (95/714-177/794) centres on one’s obedience, without specifying to whom and the need to maintain said obedience and not

⁷⁰⁹ As previously discussed on the biographical section on him in Chapter 6, Section 6.2.2. as well as the biography of al-‘A‘mash in Chapter 1, Section 1.2.1.

⁷¹⁰ He is also a minor transmitter in the versions of the “Give Them Their Right” hadith transmitted by Simāk b. Ḥarb and Furāt al-Qazzāz (both versions call for obedience to the bad ruler).

⁷¹¹ The Prophet said, “After me there will be selfishness and things that you will dislike.” They said, “What do you order us to do when this happens?” He said, “Give the right due upon you and ask God for that [right] due to you.” Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, #45 [1843].

betray one's leader.⁷¹² Considering the early history of Kufa and the many pledges made to 'Alids which were subsequently broken, it is more likely that the obedience described is not to the Umayyads but their contenders.

The remaining two Kufan figures transmit quietist versions of the hadith about giving the disliked or bad ruler his right. These figures, Simāk b. Ḥarb (d. 123/741) and Furāt al-Qazzāz (d. unknown), appear to be from the Kufan *Ashrāf*. They were both Arabs of the Bakr and Tamīm respectively. This background aligns with the political quietism propagated by the tribes to which they belonged, as reflected in their compatriots in Basra.

The transmitters of Kufa found in the propagation of the hadiths analysed in this study show that they mostly spread politically activist messages. Even among the transmitters relating quietist hadiths, half of them spread versions that took out the explicit messaging of obedience to the unjust ruler, effectively eradicating their quietism. These figures and the spread of the hadiths associated with them show a connection between their own political views and the hadiths they spread, namely that their views were reflected in the political messaging of the above hadiths.

7.2.3. Syrian Hadith Transmitters: Scholarly Support for Authority

As discussed in the Introduction, early Muslim Syria fostered a culture of deference to authority figures and loyalty to the Umayyad dynasty. Within this culture, three Syrian figures are found in the spread of the hadith bundles analysed. All three are common links in the spread of quietist traditions, all of which mandate obedience to the bad ruler. Two of these figures are found in the hadith bundle about obeying the ruler who 'strikes your back and takes your wealth' while the third propagates the hadith about obeying the ruler who prays.

Zayd b. Sallām (d. 121/739-130/748) is reportedly a Damascene figure of Abyssinian descent from the Ḥimyār tribe. He transmits the hadith about rulers who strike backs and take wealth. The hadith transmitted by him characterizes the rulers to come as devils (lit. "hearts of devils in the bodies of humans"). Yet they must be listened and obeyed. This figure was a third generation Syrian whose father and grandfather were also scholars. He also lived his entire life under Umayyad rule. His is a typical example of Syrian scholarship, being both born and raised in Damascus and coming from a family of scholars. His transmission of a tradition of absolute obedience to the tyrannical ruler reflects the loyalty in Umayyad-ruled Syria.

⁷¹² Whoever dies without obedience will have died a *jāhili* death and he who casts off his pact after he has made it will have no justification when he meets with God." Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, #37200.

A second figure found spreading the hadith about obeying the ruler as long as he prays is practically unknown. Muslim b. Qarāza al-Ashja‘ī of the Successor generation is reportedly Syrian. However, little else is said about him in the classical sources. He is believed to come from the Ghatafān confederation of Western Arabia with possible connections to Homs. The hadith transmitted by him is less unequivocal in its support for the unjust ruler. His version of the hadith allows animosity toward the bad ruler. However, this dislike cannot be transformed into opposition against them. “You should hate their administration but do not withdraw yourselves from obedience to them.”⁷¹³ As little else is known about this figure, it cannot be said where he stood within Syrian society.

This hadith is also spread by the Damascene al-Walīd b. Muslim (119/737-194/810), from the same cluster where Muslim b. Qarāza is CL. Al-Walīd plays a minor role in transmitting this hadith as well as a major role in the ‘strike backs’ hadith bundle. However, his version of the ‘strike back’ hadith is missing the phrase about rulers who strike people’s backs and take their wealth. Instead, al-Walīd’s version speaks about an evil time to come in which people must follow the “community of Muslims and their leader”.⁷¹⁴ A third hadith bundle in which al-Walīd plays a minor role in transmitting is the hadith about speaking truth to the tyrant.⁷¹⁵

Al-Walīd was himself a very well-known and prolific scholar of Berber origin. As a result, he belongs to a category of transmitters who were politically neutral. He also lived in a later period—one or two generations after most of the CLs of this study. Those CLs by and large reflect the political attitudes of the areas in which they lived. Similarly, in observing the chains of transmission in the previous two generations before al-Walīd (the same generations of the bulk of CLs), we find similar patterns. In the quietist bundles, the two previous generations from whom al-Walīd transmits are Syrian⁷¹⁶ while the previous two generations of the activist bundle are Basran.⁷¹⁷ While al-Walīd is himself a hadith collector, the figures from whom he transmits political hadiths reflect the biases of their regions. Al-Walīd transmits a hadith allowing for verbal opposition to the rulers from Iraqi figures while those hadiths requiring obedience come from Syrian figures. While these hadiths do not indicate

⁷¹³ See Chapter 2, Section 2.1.3.

⁷¹⁴ Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2

⁷¹⁵ Chapter 5, Section 5.1.1.

⁷¹⁶ In both quietist bundles, al-Walīd transmits from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir, a Syrian figure. In the ‘as long as he prays’ bundle, Abd al-Rahman narrates from Abū al-Miqdām Ruzayq b. Ḥayyān who narrates from the CL Muslim b. Qarāza—all Syrian figures. In the ‘strike backs’ bundle, Abd al-Rahman allegedly transmits from Busr b. ‘Abd Allah al-Ḥadramī, another reported Syrian figure.

⁷¹⁷ In the ‘speak truth’ bundle, al-Walīd transmits from Ḥammād b. Salama who transmits from Abū Ghālib. Both figures are Basran (See Section 5.1.1.).

much about al-Walīd's politics, they support the descriptions of Syria as a loyal base of support for the Umayyads.

However, one might wonder why more of the quietist transmitters found in this study are Basran rather than Syrian. As the hub of governmental support, it would appear more appropriate that Syria would be the location from which narrations justifying obedience to the rulers would spread. However, of the 17 key figures spreading quietist hadiths, three times as many transmitters are Basran (nine) than Syrian (three).

As the early history of these regions has shown, Umayyad-ruled Syria was an uncontested centre of governmental support. The issue of obeying the ruler, whether just or not, was likely of less concern in Syria. It was simply an unquestioned reality. In juxtaposition, Basra was friendly with the government inasmuch as it served its interests. The question of obedience and allegiance made for much more lively debate in Basra, which is likely why the hadiths regarding this subject found a keen audience in that city. Although more of these transmitters were found relaying a message of obedience to the rulers, a few figures also spread opposing messages of confrontation with the authorities. In a similar vein, Kufa served as a base of opposition to the Umayyads. While the dominant political culture allowed for confrontation, a minority view stood against opposing the authorities. The spread of these hadiths addressing the question of one's relations with unjust authorities mainly from Kufa and Basra illustrates that these issues were most pertinent to the people of these cities. The proliferation of hadiths from Iraq about obedience to the bad rulers demonstrates that a lively and hotly contested dialogue and debate was taking place, culminating in a collection of political hadiths with Iraqi origins.

7.3 The Politics of Islamic Scholarly Giants

The previous section described the political backgrounds for most of the key figures responsible in the spread of the quietist and activist hadith bundles in their respective geographical locations. The following expands on the role of some of the most prominent scholars of this period in spreading these hadiths and its contribution to the discourse surrounding their political characters. The behemoths of early Islamic scholarship found in the transmission of these Prophetic narrations include Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-A'mash, and (possibly) Abū Ḥanīfa.

7.3.1. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: The Quietist Negotiator
Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is one of the most renowned scholars in early Islamic history. As such, a large body of scholarly work exists regarding his life. When describing his political character, a

prominent view found in these works argue for his brave opposition to the oppressive authorities. This view continues to be held in modern scholarship.⁷¹⁸ Suleiman Mourad wrote perhaps the most thorough modern work on Ḥasan al-Baṣrī with the purpose of dispelling some of the myths surrounding the legendary figure. In it he concludes that Ḥasan was a political activist.⁷¹⁹

However, as this study has found, there is little evidence to support this position. On the contrary, Ḥasan is quite vocal about his opposition to armed revolt, both in the biographical sources as well as the hadith literature.⁷²⁰ While the biographies may be less reliable, in that much conflicting information is to be found, the hadith works clearly provide evidence for his opposition to physical rebellion. He features prominently in the transmission of a hadith stating that the bad ruler cannot be fought. One may dislike and even denounce him. However, to take up arms against the ruler is not permitted.

Interestingly, while Ḥasan is found widely transmitting this hadith which allows for verbal confrontation with the unjust ruler, he is not found in the transmission of the more activist hadith encouraging verbal confrontation with said ruler. This may indicate the development of the ‘as long as he prays’ hadith with Ḥasan, whose version is the least politically quietist of the three key figures found spreading this hadith bundle. Here we find a negotiation between the activists and quietists where the bad ruler is allowed to be disliked and spoken out against. However, the ultimate judgment is that the ruler cannot be physically opposed. Ḥasan is allowing space for political confrontation not in order to oppose the bad rulers, but to ultimately accept them. It would account for him not transmitting the activist hadith about speaking truth to the tyrant (which was also spread in Basra, likely during his lifetime). That hadith praises verbal confrontation with the bad rulers, while the ‘as long as he prays’ hadith disseminated by Ḥasan simply permits it as a means of accepting them.

7.3.2. Abū Ḥanīfa

In this study Abū Ḥanīfa’s name is found in only one variant of the hadith about speaking truth to the tyrant. As this is the only variant linked to him, it does not provide clear evidence

⁷¹⁸ Ḥasan is described as having “criticized fearlessly the rulers of his time, the governors of Irak.” Ritter, H., “Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,” in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

⁷¹⁹ Discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.1.1.

⁷²⁰ Wilferd Madelung also disagrees with Mourad’s “radical” proposal of Ḥasan’s politics, stating that his presence in the camp of Ibn al-Ash’ath (as reported by biographers) does not evidence his support of the rebel as it was a likely possibility that he was speaking out against fighting. “Even at that time there had been those who felt obliged to oppose the fighting in public rather than withdraw quietly.” Madelung, W. “Suleiman ‘Alī Mourad: Early Islam between Myth and History: Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 CE) and the Formation of His Legacy in Classical Islamic Scholarship. (Islamic Philosophy Theology and Science, LXII.) Xi, 339 Pp. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006. 90 04 14829 9.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. University of London*, vol. 70, no. 1, pp. 157-160.

for his political views. However, coupled with the reports found in the biographical sources as well as the discussions surrounding him in the secondary literature, a better picture of Abū Ḥanīfa's political views emerges.

The classical sources portray Abū Ḥanīfa variously in an activist and in a quietist light. He is cited as having allowed for physical confrontation if there is a strong support base.⁷²¹ He is also reported to have financially and verbally supported two major revolts in his lifetime—that of Zayd b. 'Alī (d. 122/740) and al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (d. 145/762). Reports of his quietism are also found in the classical sources.⁷²²

Recent scholarship has attempted to reconcile these conflicting images of Abū Ḥanīfa, arguing that his students may in fact be responsible for the quietist views attributed to him. For instance, a work ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa, the *Fiqh al-Abṣat*, argues against armed opposition to the ruler. However, as Josef Van Ess has shown, the *Fiqh al-Abṣat* “in its basic core goes back to Abū Muṭī' al-Balkhī (d. 199/814).”⁷²³ A second prominent student of Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf (d. 183/798), was also a known quietist.⁷²⁴

The hadiths analysed in this study reinforce this position. Abū Ḥanīfa is found in the transmission of an activist hadith in one of the earliest hadith works available. Perhaps more tellingly, he is not found in any transmissions of the quietist hadiths. He was a prolific scholar who lived in a time and place where quietist narrations were spreading. Had he supported politically quietist views, it should be expected that he also transmitted quietist hadiths. His absence from the quietist hadith bundles suggest that he was not a quietist.

The primary sources highlight Abū Ḥanīfa's activism through reports of his direct support of armed opposition to the rulers as well as through statements allowing for pragmatic physical confrontation. The recent findings that much of the quietism attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa may have originated with his students in addition to the absence of Abū Ḥanīfa from the quietist hadiths and his inclusion in an activist transmission indicate that Abū Ḥanīfa rather stood on the activist side of the political spectrum.

7.3.3. Sufyān al-Thawrī: Overt Activist

⁷²¹ Al-Rāzī al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/981), *Aḥkām al-Quran*, 2:34.17. Taken from Cook, Michael. *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought*, 7. For more on his political views, see Tsafrir, Nurit. “Abu Ḥanīfa (699–767).” *Princeton Encyclopaedia of Islamic Political Thought*, pp. 14–15.

⁷²² Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767f.) (attrib.) al-Fiqh al-absat, ed. M. Z. al-Kawtharī, in a collection of which the first item is Abū Ḥanīfa (attrib.), *al-'Alim wal-muta'allim*. Taken from Cook, *Commanding*, p. 8. Cook describes his encounters with a particularly zealous dissident in detail, concluding that Abū Ḥanīfa “was not a political activist.”

⁷²³ *Theology*, vol 1., 221

⁷²⁴ He states that following the ruler in good would earn one reward while following him in bad would place the blame on the ruler. *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, no. 17. Taken from Crone, Patricia. *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, p. 138.

Sufyān al-Thawrī is the only major transmitter in this study found in the spread of two hadith bundles—both the activist hadiths. He also features in the transmission of the hadith about giving ‘them their right’. He transmits that hadith from al-A‘mash, who was found to spread a version of the ‘give the ruler their right’ hadith without mentioning the ruler. In effect, al-A‘mash depoliticizes the hadith and Sufyān transmits this depoliticized version from him.

Sufyān is one of the most prolific hadith transmitters of this study, and the hadiths he transmits relay the same consistent political messaging. These hadiths require taking the hand of the oppressor and speaking truth to the tyrant. He also spreads a depoliticized version of a quietist hadith. These results evidence Sufyān as a thoroughly activist figure which is also reflected in much of the literature about him. As discussed in Chapter 5, the classical sources mostly depict him as a man at odds with the authorities who spent much of his life as a fugitive. As these negative interactions mostly took place under Abbasid rule, there is little doubt that Sufyān was not friendly with that dynasty. This is further reinforced by other hadith studies, where Sufyān is a prominent transmitter of two anti-Abbasid hadiths (perhaps even the inventor of one of them).⁷²⁵

However, some modern studies have tried to argue for his alliance with the Umayyads.⁷²⁶ This is mostly an *ex silentio* argument, based on the scarcity of information in the classical sources on his relations with the Umayyads. Steven Judd argues that his move from Kufa to Basra to study under some pro-Umayyad scholars evidence his support for the dynasty. However, if that were the case, Sufyān should be found transmitting politically quietist hadith bundles spreading from Basra. Sufyān takes a prominent role in the spread of every hadith bundle transmitted from Kufa. As these bundles are narrated from him to other Kufans, he likely transmitted them while living in Kufa in his earlier years, years spent under Umayyad rule.⁷²⁷ The political messaging of these hadiths were likely directed at the Umayyads who were in power at the time of the hadiths’ transmission. In contrast, Sufyān is

⁷²⁵ Juynboll argues that Sufyān is the likely inventor of one anti-Baghdad (and therefore Abbasid) tradition. Juynboll, G. H. A. *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Hadith*, pp. 206-213. Andreas Gorke similarly finds transmissions of an activist eschatological hadith supporting the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (and is therefore anti-Abbasid) by both Sufyān and al-A‘mash. Gorke, A. “Eschatology, History and the Common Link: A Study in Methodology,” in: *Method and theory in the study of Islamic origins*. Ed. Berg, H., pp. 179-209.

⁷²⁶ He is described as having a “political, pro-Umayyad commitment.” Raddatz, H.P. ‘Sufyān Al-Thawrī’. *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.EI2.

⁷²⁷ All three teachers of Sufyān from the hadith bundles he is found transmitting are Kufan. He narrates to three others in the ‘Give Them Their Rights’ bundle as well as the ‘Word to Tyrant’ hadith. Two of the three figures he transmits to in these bundles are Kufan. From the Give Rights bundle, Muḥammad b. Kathīr and ‘Iṣām b. Yazīd are both Kufan while from the ‘Word to Tyrant’ bundle Wakī‘ and Abū Dāwūd al-Ḥafari are also Kufan (the remaining two students are Basran). In the Take Oppressor by the Hand bundle, Sufyān transmits to six figures from all over the Muslim world, making it impossible to geographically locate its transmission.

found in none of the quietist hadith bundles disseminated from Basra. This negates the view of him as being conciliatory with the authorities whether Umayyad or Abbasid. It also illustrates his lack of neutrality in the transmission of political hadiths, evidencing his intentional transmission of activist narrations—most likely while the Umayyads were still in power.

In short, the mainstream view of Sufyān al-Thawrī based on the classical sources show a figure who was oppositional with those in power and spent much of his life on the run from them. Modern scholarship has attempted to challenge this view, making him a more complex figure who was pro-Umayyad and anti-Abbasid. The results of this study prove this view to be wrong. Sufyān al-Thawrī may have studied in Basra with some pro-Umayyad scholars. However, he is not found narrating Basran hadiths that would legitimize their rule and require obedience to them. On the contrary, he spreads hadiths praising active opposition to the rulers. These narrations were likely transmitted by Sufyān while he was in Kufa since most of the students who transmit from him are Kufan. As he spent his early life in Kufa, the spreading of these narrations most likely took place during Umayyad rule, making him a messenger of religiously sanctioned activism against the ills of their governance.

7.3.4. Al-A‘mash: Politics by Omission

As previously discussed, al-A‘mash is a key figure in the spread of a quietist hadith bundle calling on people to give the bad ruler his right, i.e. to obey him. The three main versions of this hadith are linked to three different figures. The two other key figures in this bundle explicitly require that the people obey the bad ruler. However, the version transmitted by al-A‘mash omits the ruler entirely from the narration. Rather, his version describes in vague terms things that will be disliked from selfish people who must nevertheless be given their right. This would indicate a kind of covert activism within the quietist tradition. While the other versions of the hadith relay a strong message of political quietism and obedience to those in power, this version does not. This lack of political messaging in the hadith may also indicate a political neutrality by al-A‘mash, who simply wishes to relay a message of patience with the negative traits of people.

Al-A‘mash’s name is found in two other hadith bundles in this study. In the ‘die a *jāhili* death’ hadith, he is found in a single strand narration which cannot be linked to him but only to a figure after him.⁷²⁸ As a result, not much can be said about his role in the spread of

⁷²⁸ Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh is possibly responsible for the dissemination of that version of the hadith which simply states to die without an imam is dying a *jāhili* death. However, al-A‘mash cannot with any certainty be linked to the hadith. In any case, the hadith simply relays the message of the importance of leadership, not the quietism of obeying any (bad) ruler.

this variant. However, he is found in three variants in the hadith bundle about taking the oppressor by the hand. Interestingly, all three variants omit the oppressor as the one to be taken by the hand. This version simply states one must ‘bend them in conformity to *al-ḥaqq*’. Similar to the other hadith cluster, the actual subject is omitted. While this may be a stylistic characteristic of al-A‘mash’s narrations, it is curious that the most political aspects of the political hadiths relayed by him (either in mentioning the bad ruler or the oppressor) are the features absent from the hadiths.

In short, al-A‘mash is a key transmitter of a politically quietist hadith bundle as well as a minor transmitter in a politically activist one. However, the versions of the hadiths transmitted by him do not include the elements that make them political. In both cases, we find him depoliticizing the messages of the hadiths—both the quietist and the activist. While the biographical literature on this figure shows al-A‘mash to be a pragmatist who nonetheless had his conflictual encounters with the authorities, the hadiths illustrate an individual who actively sought to stay out of political issues. As he was a very prominent scholar in his own time, it would probably have been impossible to keep entirely apolitical, having lived in one of the most politically dynamic cities within a highly volatile political period. It is perhaps because of this somewhat chaotic environment that al-A‘mash is linked to Prophetic narrations lacking the feature of relations with the authorities.

The above four scholars of the early Muslim world were highly reputed figures in their own time. The centuries only increased their reputations to the extent that they have become legendary. As with all legendary figures, much analysis has been dedicated to their personages, resulting in oftentimes contradictory information. This especially holds true of their political characters, as the subject of scholarly relations with the authorities was and remains a sensitive issue in Islamic scholarship.

The results of this study’s hadith analyses illustrate the importance of the hadith works in contributing to a better understanding of the positions of several early figures. This source of information is an important addition to the current discourse which otherwise relies almost entirely on the biographical sources. Due to the nature of the dialogue surrounding political relations, a highly sensitive subject throughout Islamic history, as well as the legendary status accorded to these figures, the importance of utilizing other avenues of knowledge to better understand them cannot be underestimated and should not be overlooked.

7.4 The Influence of Transmitters on the Hadiths

This study shows that different versions of a hadith were spread depending on the key transmitter responsible for its dissemination. These differences are oftentimes associated with the political leanings of the transmitter. While there are some notable neutral figures, for example Ḥammād b. Salama and Isrā'īl, most transmitters are found in the spread of one political side or the other.

Sometimes the political messaging of the hadith changes depending on who is spreading it. This can most clearly be seen with al-A'mash and Sharīk, both Kufan figures found in the widespread dissemination of quietist hadith bundles. Al-A'mash has been described at length in relation to the hadith about giving 'them their right'. Sharīk is another key transmitter who does not call for obedience to the bad ruler, but rather to the one to whom allegiance has been given. To renege on one's allegiance is to 'die a *jāhili* death'. Both are Kufan figures associated with the 'Alids whose versions of quietist hadiths do not include obedience to the bad ruler.

Another figure transmitting the hadith about dying a *jāhili* death is Ghaylān b. Jarīr. While the other two key Basran figures in this hadith bundle transmit a version of the hadith requiring patience with the hated ruler, Ghaylān's version is similar to Sharīk's in that the one who defects from obedience and breaks from the Muslim community will have died a *jāhili* death. He also adds two elements to the hadith which are highly relevant to his own time. These condemn fighting for tribalism and killing other Muslims. This can be seen as a pointed political message to the highly tribalistic Basran society in which Ghaylān lived. The second message of breaking away from the Muslims and killing them would appear to be aimed at the Kharijites who were reportedly wreaking havoc throughout the Muslim world in their confrontation with most other Muslims. Both these messages fit the context in which Ghaylān lived and indicate a change in the hadith based on its transmitter.

The above three figures illustrate the development found within a hadith depending on the figure responsible for its widespread propagation. Al-A'mash depoliticizes a politically quietist hadith altogether while Sharīk removes the quietist aspect of the hadith although it remains political. Both figures are Kufan and reportedly associated with the 'Alids. Ghaylān adds elements of tribalism and civil conflict to his version of the hadith, likely aimed at members of his own tribalistic society. These elements allow for a better understanding in the shaping of different versions of a hadith and the motivations behind them.

7.5 Hadith as Source for the History of Islamic Political Thought

This study has shown that certain political ideas can be traced back to a certain time and place in history through an analysis of the hadith works. When enough well-attested variants of a hadith sending the same overall political message are analysed in relation to one another, patterns emerge, and certain figures are usually found to be responsible for the dissemination of specific versions.

Based on where and when these figures are located, a historical context to these ideas emerges. By analysing the figures spreading these hadiths, information is ascertained on what motivated them to transmit these hadiths. After all, in this study most transmitters have been found spreading hadiths with either a politically quietist or an activist message. Few neutral figures are involved in spreading both. This suggests that the narrators had personal biases and motivations in spreading hadiths with particular political messaging. Similarly, the evolution in some versions of the hadiths, either in the change of wording, omission or addition to the narration indicates the biases of its main propagators. These variations in hadiths coupled with their spread from particular places and times help understand the origins, applications and motivations behind the ideas found in them.

Interestingly, the wording used in the various hadiths to describe the ruler remain relatively consistent. Usually one of three words is used—*amīr* (pl. *umarā'*), *imām* (pl. *a'imma*), or *khalīfa* (pl. *khulafā'*). One noticeable pattern is in the word *sulṭān* which is found in a minority of transmissions describing the ruler in the hadith about dying a *jāhili* death. The word is found more prominently in the activist hadith about speaking truth to the tyrant, described as a *sulṭān jā'ir*. The wording implies stronghandedness in the description of the ruler, reinforced by Lane's definition of the term, "the possession, or exercise, of superior power or force, or of dominion, or authority, and power, or of absolute dominion or authority and power".⁷²⁹ The figures linked to this word all come from a later period, from the mid to late second century AH.⁷³⁰ It suggests *sulṭān* is a later term from the Abbasid period. However, as all the hadiths including the word have not been studied, this cannot be said with certainty. Nevertheless, it remains a subject for further research and highlights the importance of hadith analysis in understanding the development of language and terminology as it pertains to politics.

⁷²⁹ Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 1405).

7.6 The Spread of Political Hadiths Then and Now: Parallels with the Modern World

This study analysed hadiths regarding the Muslim subject's duty toward the ruler, whether just or unjust. These hadiths were found proliferating in a particular political setting, allowing for a better understanding of their origins and spread. But these hadiths do not only have a historical relevance. They have also been frequently used in recent years in the lectures and sermons of clergy throughout the Muslim world. The reason for these hadiths' proliferation in the modern world can be explained, in part, by the historical context in which they originally spread.

Iraq in the first two centuries AH was an environment fraught with political divisions. These divisions led to many movements that took on different political colourings. Some were more combative in their response to perceived governmental injustices, most prominently seen in Kufa. Others were more conciliatory though still engaged in armed confrontation with the rulers, as witnessed in Basra. All these manifestations of physical opposition meant instability and at times chaos in Muslim societies. As a result, voices of pragmatism emerged, calling on people to be patient with the authorities rather than resort to armed insurrection. A negotiation between physical opposition and absolute obedience to the authorities took place, with the pro-governmental camp eventually defeating the revolutionaries within mainstream political discourse. This negotiation is reflected and can be observed in the hadith literature where certain versions of a hadith allow for some activism, like verbal opposition, while other versions do not.⁷³¹

The arguments against the activist camp were reinforced by the activities of the Kharijites. Their violence against other Muslims (even other groups of Kharjites)⁷³² reportedly created terror throughout Muslim societies. The quietists capitalized on this fear to make their argument for a pragmatic non-violent approach to those in power, spurred by hadiths supporting their position.

This reaction to violent, chaotic groups is paralleled in the modern world. The Kharijites of early Muslim history are the ISIS of the modern age. This group has similarly created terror and revulsion in the mainstream Muslim population, which has led to the

⁷³¹ In the 'As long as He Prays' bundle, three variations of quietism are found depending on the key transmitter. 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd allows for no opposition to the rulers. Muslim b. Qaraza allows for verbally opposing them, likely in private (they are cursed by people). Ḥasan al-Baṣrī permits public verbal opposition, stating that people may speak out against him. These different versions illustrate the negotiations between the activist and quietist camps taking place at the time.

⁷³² For instance, the Azāriqa are an "archetypal case of sectarian extremism." Lewinstein, Keith. "The Azāriqa in Islamic Heresiography." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, vol. 54, no. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1991, 251–68.

wholesale condemnation of this group(s) who serve as a cautionary tale of armed activism against Muslim governments. As a result, the same hadiths circulating in the second century AH about obedience to the ruler (partially) in response to Kharijite violence, emerge once again in reaction to ISIS terror.

It is not only the most extreme cases of violence that led to the circulation of these hadiths in the modern world. Even non-violent resistance to oppressive rule has been religiously prohibited. For instance, the popular uprisings throughout the Arab world in the early 2010s led many religious scholars to cite these hadiths.⁷³³ Particularly when these movements proved unsuccessful, leading to instability and sometimes total anarchy (for example in Libya), religious voices in support of a quietist approach multiplied. Consequently, people are reminded more and more of the hadiths calling on Muslims to obey the (bad) ruler.

This study has taken a political message found in the hadith corpus with the aim of providing it with a historical context. The findings show that these messages spread where there is a willing audience and where there are conflicting views. In the late first to mid-second century AH, these hadiths found a captive audience in the people of Iraq—specifically in Basra and Kufa. From there, they spread throughout the Muslim domain in the works of many prominent hadith collectors. Today, these messages have the benefit of legitimacy through precedent and legal discourse. Consequently, they can be found circulating all throughout the Muslim world. Whether in the time of their origins or over a thousand years later, these hadiths spread in relation to the increased political tensions of Muslim societies. This can be expected to continue into the future. Wherever there is opposition to Muslim governments, these hadiths will follow.

⁷³³ As discussed in the Introduction.

Appendix I: List of Hadith Versions

Chapter 1: Give Them Their Rights

Simāk:

A man asked, “Oh Messenger of God! If we have rulers who ask up for their rights but do not give us our rights, what should we do?” He said, “Listen and obey them for on them is their responsibility and on you your responsibility.”

Furāt:

“The Children of Israel were guided by prophets. Whenever a prophet died, another would take his place. There will be no prophet after me, but there will be caliphs who will increase in number.” They asked, “What do you order us to do?” He said, “Give *bay‘a* to the first [caliph], for he was first. Give them their right, for God will ask them about that which they took.”

Al-A‘mash:

“There will be selfishness and things that you will dislike.” They said, “Oh Messenger of God, what do you command us to do?” He said, “Give the right that is due upon you and ask God for that [right] due to you.”

Chapter 2: As Long As He Prays

‘Abd al-Wārith:

Prophet: You will have rulers who comfort hearts and put bodies at ease. Then you will have rulers who disgust hearts and cause bodies to quiver [in fear].

They said: Do we not fight them, O Messenger of God?

He replied: No, not as long as they uphold the prayer.

Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī:

You will have leaders you will approve of and others you will denounce. Whoever denounces such leaders is innocent, and whoever dislikes [that leader] has done a sound thing except for he who acquiesces and follows [that leader]. It was said: O Messenger of Allah, should we not fight them? He said: No, not as long as they pray.

Muslim b. Qaraza:

Prophet: The best of your leaders are those whom you love and who love you and you pray for and who pray for you. And the worst of your leaders are the ones you hate and who hate you, and you curse and who curse you.

They said: “Should we not overthrow them?”

He said: “No, not as long as they establish the prayer among you. If you find anything detestable in them, you should hate their administration but do not withdraw yourselves from their obedience.”

Chapter 3: Die a Jahili Death

Al-Ja‘d:

“He who sees something in his leader that he hates must be patient, for the one who separates from the community [of Muslims] even an inch/span and dies [in that state], will die as those who died in the *jāhilīya*.”

Ghaylān:

“He who defects from obedience and separates from the community [of Muslims] and dies will have died a *jāhilī* death. MOST INCLUDE ADDITION: And whoever fights under the banner of blindness, riled up by tribalism (*yaghḍab li-l ‘aṣabiyya*) and fights for it, calls others to it, and supports others in it—if he is killed for it, will have died a *jāhilī* death. And whoever attacks my *umma*, killing the righteous and the wicked, not sparing even the believer (*mu‘min*), and not honouring his pledge is not from my *umma*/is not from me (and I am not from him).

Ibn Jurayj:

There will come a time after I am gone when there will be rulers who pray on time and those who will postpone praying on time. Pray, nevertheless, with them (in congregation); for if they pray on time and you pray with them it is to your and their advantage, and if they postpone it and you, nevertheless, pray with them it is to your advantage and their disadvantage. Whoever breaks from the community [of Muslims] dies a *jāhilī* death. And whoever rescinds his pledge will come forward on the Day of Resurrection having no justification (for such behaviour).

Sharīk:

“Whoever dies without obedience will have died a *jāhili* death and he who casts off his pact after he has made it will have no justification when he meets with God.” HALF OF VARIANTS INCLUDE ADDITION: “No man shall be with a woman in private as *Shayṭān* becomes their third [in company]; he [*Shayṭān*] keeps a distance from two [men]. Whoever is pleased with doing good and displeased with doing bad is a *mu'min*.”

Nāfi :

“Whoever removes his hand from obedience will have no justification when he meets God on the Day of Resurrection. And whoever dies without allegiance on his neck will have died a *jāhili* death.” OR “Whoever breaks his deal has no justification, and whoever dies separated from the community [of Muslims] will have died a *jāhili* death.” OR “Whoever defects from the community [of Muslims] even an inch/span will have cast off (*ribqa*) Islam from his neck until he returns to it. Whoever dies without an imam will have died a *jāhili* death.”

Zayd b. Aslam:

“Whoever removes his hand from obedience will have no excuse on the Day of Resurrection. And whoever dies separated from the community [of Muslims] will have died a *jāhili* death.”

Mu'ādh and Abu Dardā':

Paradise is not allowable to an insubordinate. And surely whoever approaches God as a person who disavowed his oath meets Him as a mutilated person (or leper). And whoever defects from obedience/the Muslim community an inch has cast off Islam from his neck (renounced Islam). And whoever dies without obedience to the leader of the community [of Muslims] will have died a *jāhili* death.

Mu'āwiya:

Whoever dies without an imam will die a *jāhili* death.

Chapter 4: Strike Their Backs and Take Their Wealth

Khālid b. Subay':

Ḥudhayfa: The people would ask the Messenger of Allah about the good, but I would ask him about evil, fearing that it would catch up with me. While I was with the Messenger of Allah one day I asked, “Messenger of Allah, will there be evil after this good which Allah has bestowed on us as there was evil before [Islam]?”

Prophet: Yes.

Ḥudhayfa: Wherein does the protection from it lie?

Prophet: In the sword.

Ḥudhayfa: Messenger of Allah, what will then happen?

Prophet: A begrudging truce.

Ḥudhayfa: What is after the truce?

Prophet: The Callers to Error. If Allah has on earth a caliph who strikes your back and takes your wealth, obey him, and if there is no caliph flee even if you die and are holding onto the stump of a tree.

Ḥudhayfa: What will come next?

Prophet: The *Dajjāl* will come forth

Ḥudhayfa: What does he bring with him?

Prophet: A river and fire. He who falls into his fire will certainly receive his reward, and have his load taken off him, but he who falls into his river will have his load retained and his reward taken off him.

Ḥudhayfa: What is after the *Dajjāl*?

Prophet: Even if you make a mare produce offspring, you will not be able to ride it [offspring] until the coming of the Hour.

Al-Walīd b. Muslim:

Ḥudhayfa: The people would ask the Messenger of Allah about the good and I would ask about evil, fearing that I would live to see it. I said, “Oh Messenger of Allah, we were in a *jāhiliya* and evil, but God brought this good, so is there evil after it?”

Prophet: Yes

Ḥudhayfa: Is there good after the evil?

Prophet: Yes.

Ḥudhayfa: After this evil will there be good?

Prophet: Yes. In it there will be rancour.

Ḥudhayfa: What is the nature of this rancour?

Prophet: A group following other than my guidance, you will know them and reject them.

Ḥudhayfa: After this good is there evil?

Prophet: Yes. Callers to the gates of hell, whoever responds to them are thrown in.

Ḥudhayfa: Oh Messenger of Allah, describe them.
 Prophet: They are of our skin and speak our language.
 Ḥudhayfa: And what do you order me to do when this happens?
 Prophet: Follow the community of Muslims and their leader.
 Ḥudhayfa: And if there is neither a community nor leader?
 Prophet: Cling to the trunk of a tree until death takes you.

Zayd b. Sallām:

Ḥudhayfa: Oh Messenger of Allah, we were in evil and Allah brought good which we are now in. Will there be evil after this good?
 Prophet: Yes.
 Ḥudhayfa: And will there be good after this evil?
 Prophet: Yes.
 Ḥudhayfa: And will there be evil after this good?
 Prophet: Yes.
 Ḥudhayfa: How will it be?
 Prophet: There will be after me Imams who are not guided by my guidance, or live by my *Sunna*, and among them will be men with the hearts of devils in the bodies of humans.
 Ḥudhayfa: What should I do, Oh Messenger of Allah, when this happens?
 Prophet: Listen and obey the ruler even if he strikes your back and takes your wealth, still, listen and obey.

Mudrak b. Abī Sa‘d:

Prophet: O ‘Ubāda
 ‘Ubāda: I am coming to you!
 Prophet: Listen and obey in difficulty and ease, in times of activity and in times of idleness, and in selfishness against you, even if they eat your wealth and strike your back. Otherwise, you will be in disobedience to Allah.

Chapter 5: Speak Truth to Tyrant

Abū Ghālib Ḥazzawr:

A man came to the Prophet while he was performing the *jamra* and asked, “Oh Messenger of God, which jihad is the greatest?” He (Prophet) was quiet and did not answer. Then he asked again at the second *jamra* and he (Prophet) was quiet again. And after he had thrown (stones) at *jamra al-‘aqaba*, he put his foot in the saddle stitch to ride and said, “where is the questioner?” He replied, “Me, oh Messenger of God.” He said, “A word of truth to a tyrant.”

‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān:

“The world is green and sweet, and indeed Allah has left you to remain [in it] to see how you behave. So beware of the world, and beware of women. Behold! Indeed, the children of Adam were created in various classes. Among them is he who was born a believer, lives as a believer, and dies a believer. Among them is he who was born a disbeliever, lives as a disbeliever, and dies a disbeliever. Among them is he who was born a believer, lives as a believer, and dies a disbeliever. Among them is he who was born a disbeliever, lives as a disbeliever, and dies a believer. Indeed, an ember (*jamra*) burns in the heart of the son of Adam, as you see it in the redness of his eyes and the bulge of his jugular veins. So whoever senses something from that, then let him cling to the ground. Behold! Among them is the slow to get angry, the quick to calm. Among them is the quick anger and the quick to calm, so this is with that. Behold! Among them is the quick get angry and the slow to calm, and indeed the best of them is the slow to get angry and the quick to calm, and the worst of them is the quick get angry and the slow to calm. Behold! Among them is he who pays back well and collects well. Among them is he who is bad with paying back and good when collecting. Among them is he who pays back well and is bad with collecting, so this is with that. Behold! Among them is he who is bad with paying back and bad with collecting. Indeed, the best of them is the one who is good in paying back and good in collecting. And the worst of them is the one who is bad with paying back and bad with collecting. Indeed, for every treacherous person there shall be a banner erected on the Day of Resurrection in proportion to his treachery. And there is no treachery greater than the treachery of a leader to the masses. Indeed do not frighten the people from speaking the truth if they know it. Indeed the greatest jihad is a word of truth to the tyrannical ruler. Behold! Whatever time span is left of life on Earth is comparable to the time that remains of your day [the life of this world is very short].”

‘Alqama b. Marthad/Sufyān al-Thawrī:

A man asked the Messenger of Allah, “What is the best jihad?” The Prophet said, “A word of truth in front of a tyrannical ruler.”

Isrā’īl:

“The greatest jihad is a word of justice to a tyrannical ruler.”

Chapter 6: Take Oppressor by the Hand

‘Alī b. Badhīma/Sufyān al-Thawrī:

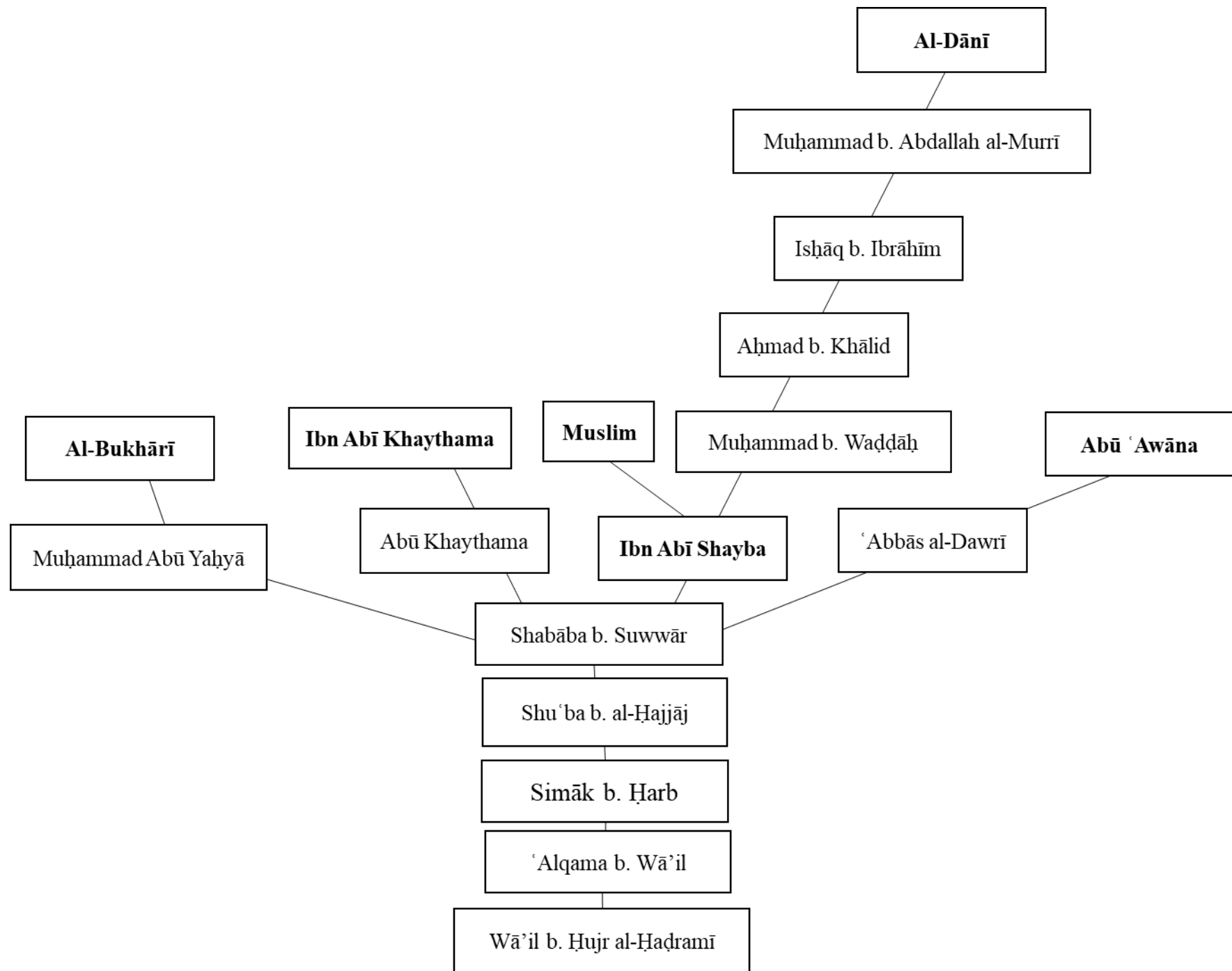
“When the Children of Israel became deficient in religious commitment, a man would see his brother committing sin and would tell him not to do it, but the next day, what he had seen him do did not prevent him from eating or drinking or mixing with him. So God struck their hearts against each other, and He revealed Quran concerning them and said: “Those among the Children of Israel who disbelieved were cursed by the tongue of David and Jesus, son of Mary” until he reached: “And had they believed in God, and in the Prophet and in what has been revealed to him, never would they have taken them [the disbelievers] as their friends; but many of them are disobedient.” [Al-Mā’ida:78-81] The Messenger of Allah was reclined and sat up and said: "No, not until they take the hand of the *ẓālim* [i.e. restrain him] and force him to follow the right way."

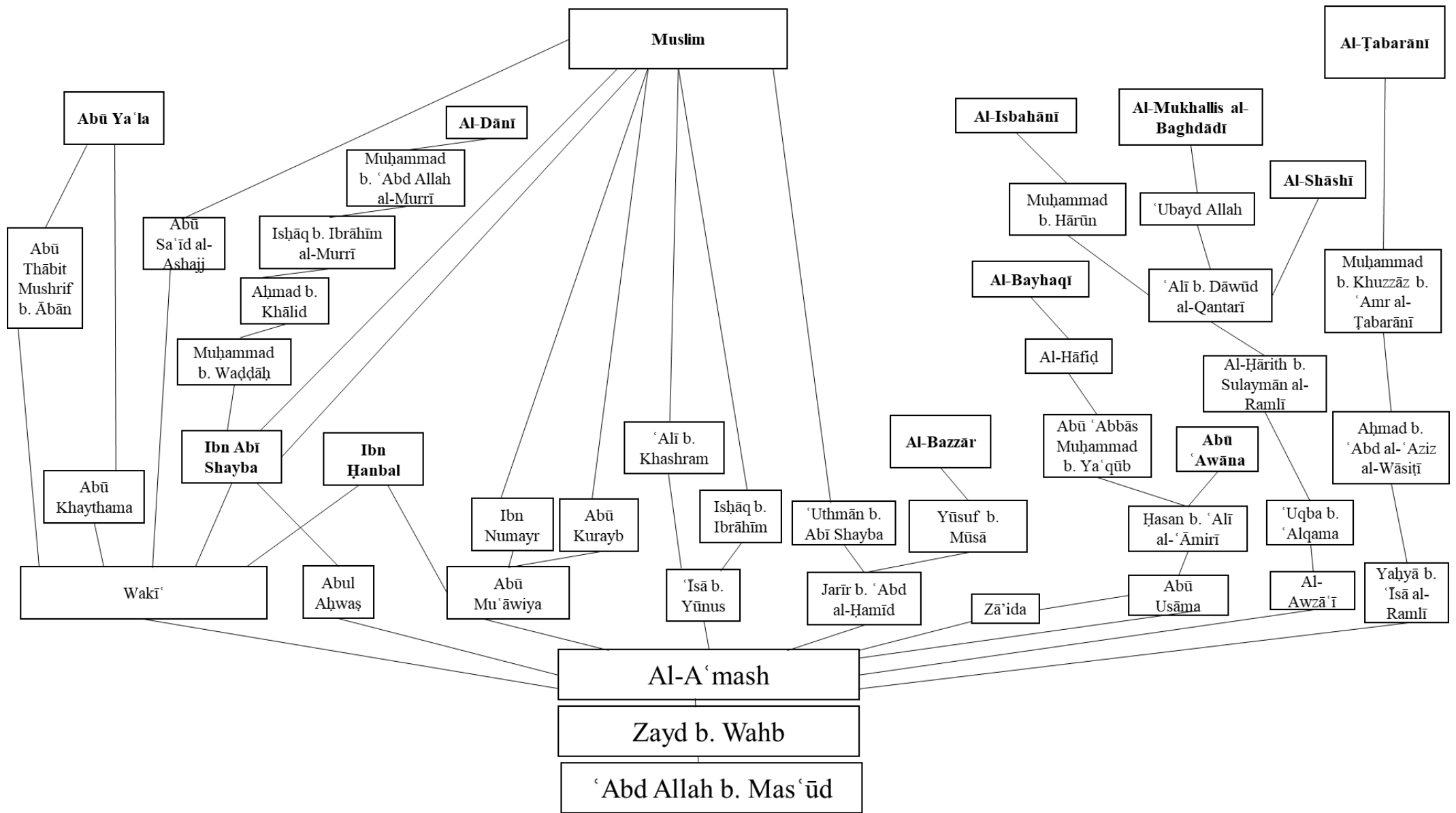
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī/al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyib:

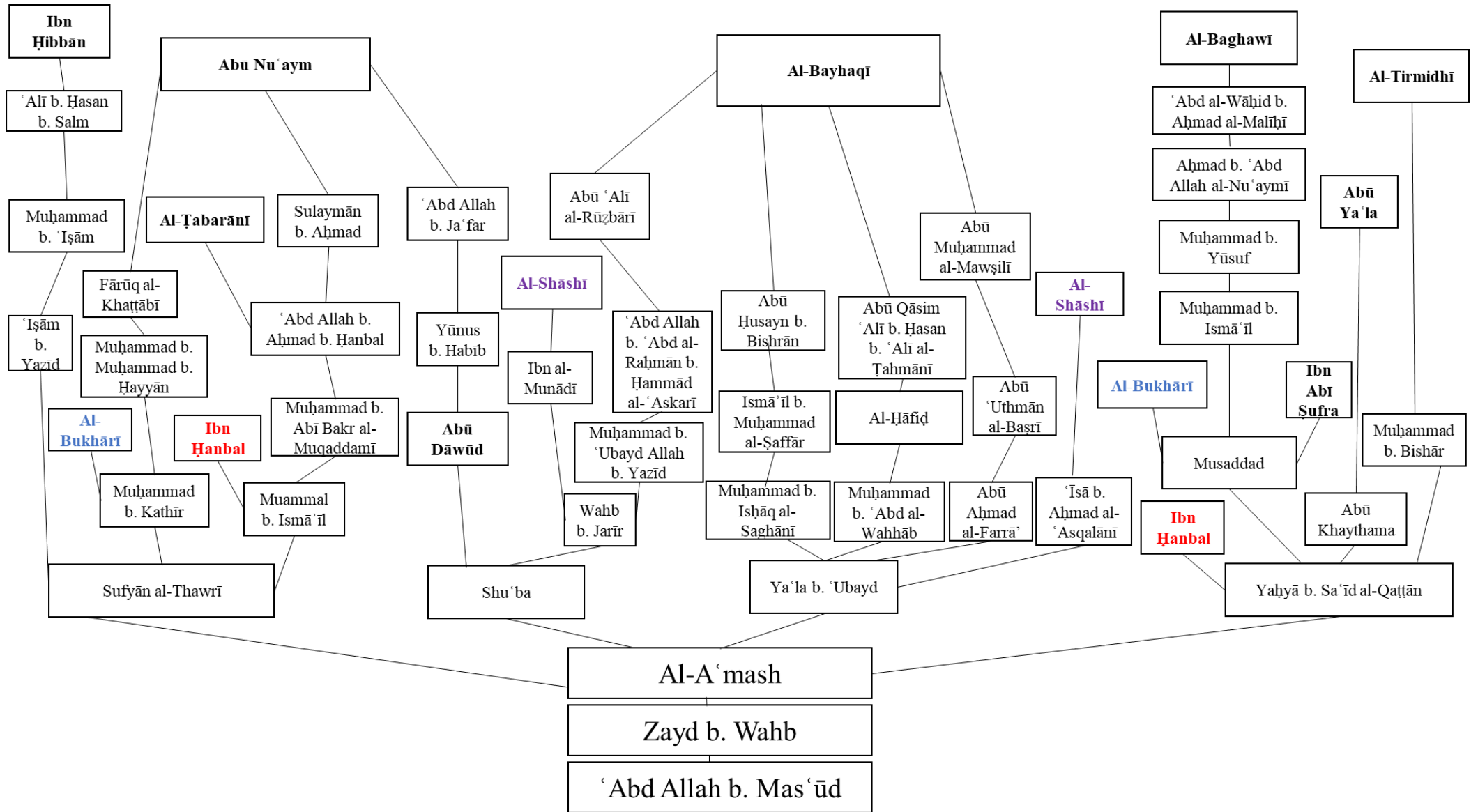
“When a man from the Children of Israel would see his brother committing sin and would tell him not to do it, but the next day, what he had seen him do did not prevent him from eating or drinking or mixing with him. When God saw this from them, He struck their hearts against each other, and He cursed them by the tongue of their Prophets David and Jesus, son of Mary “because they were disobedient and were transgressing.” [Al-Baqara:61] Then the Messenger of Allah said, "No, by Him in Whose Hand my soul resides, not until they enjoin good and forbid evil and take the hand of the abuser [i.e. restrain him] and force him to follow the right way or else God will set your hearts against one another and curse you as He cursed them."

Appendix II: Isnad Charts

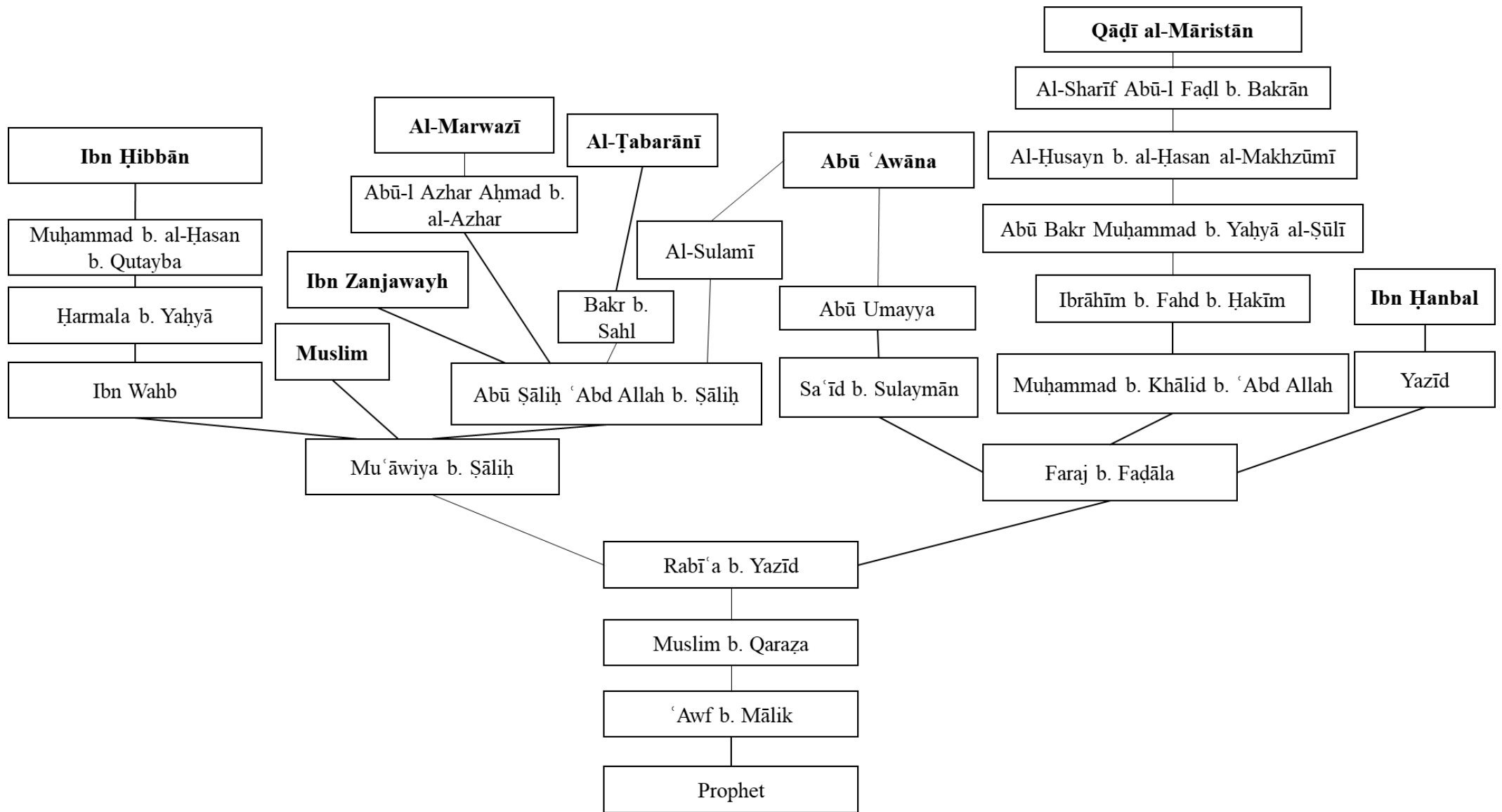
Give Them Their Rights

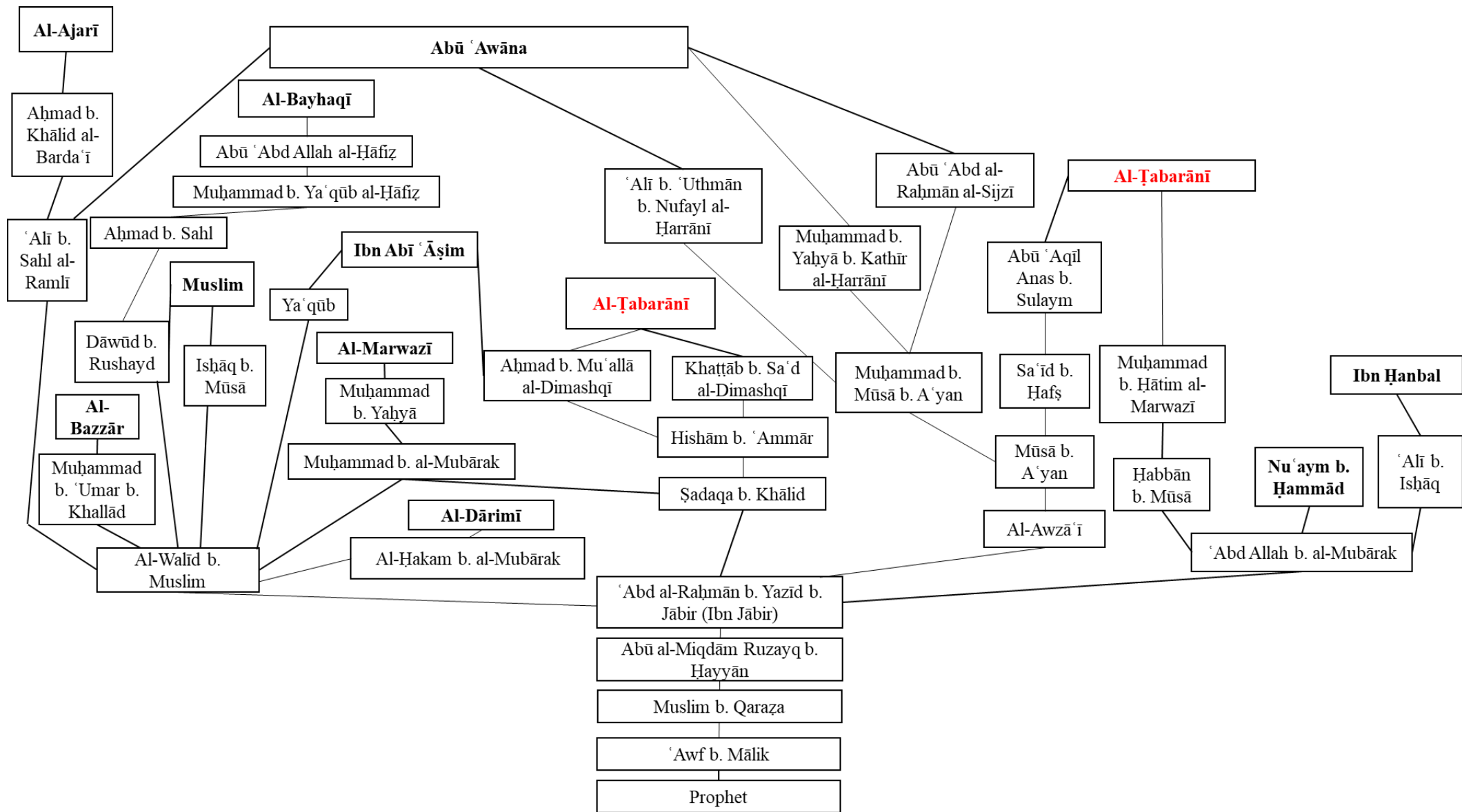


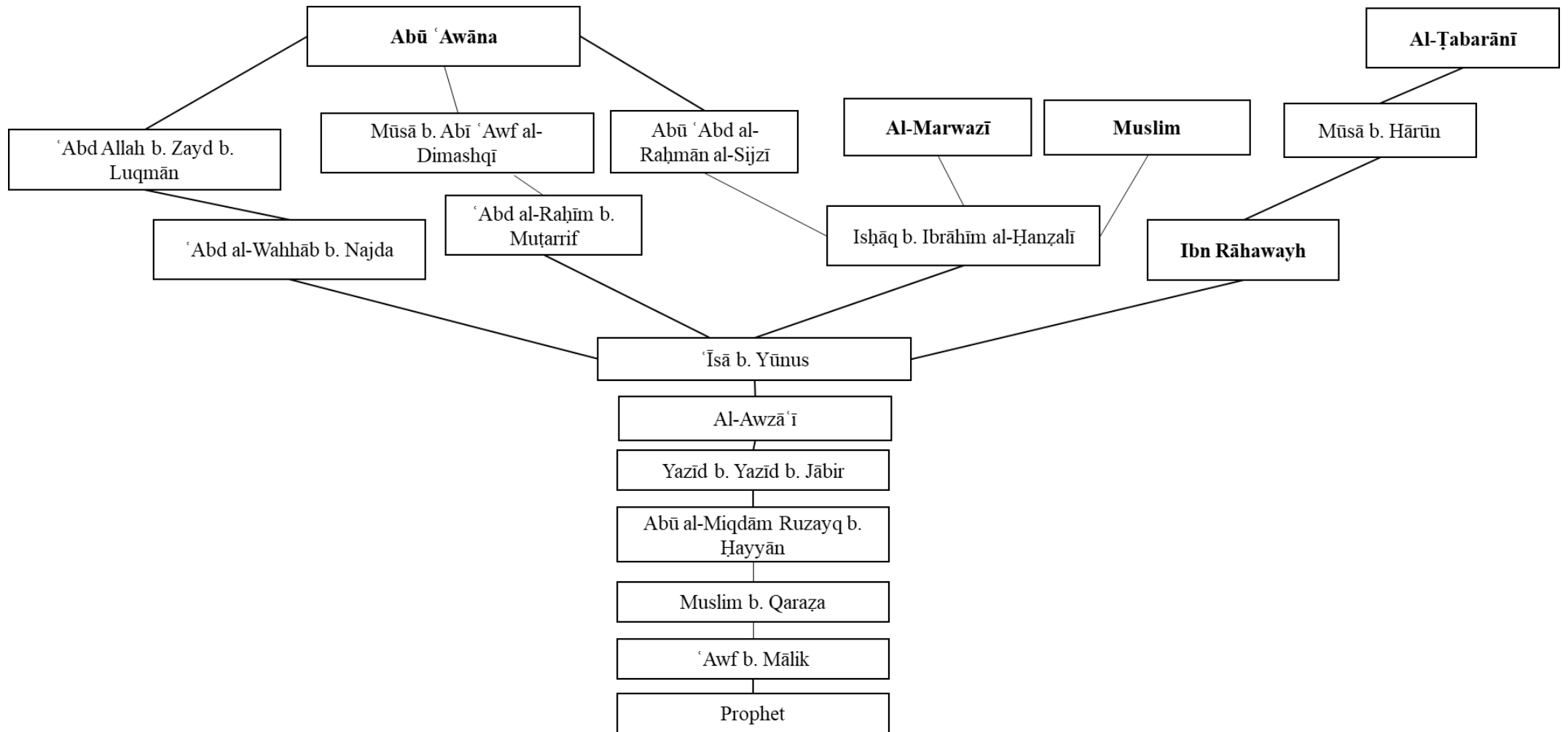




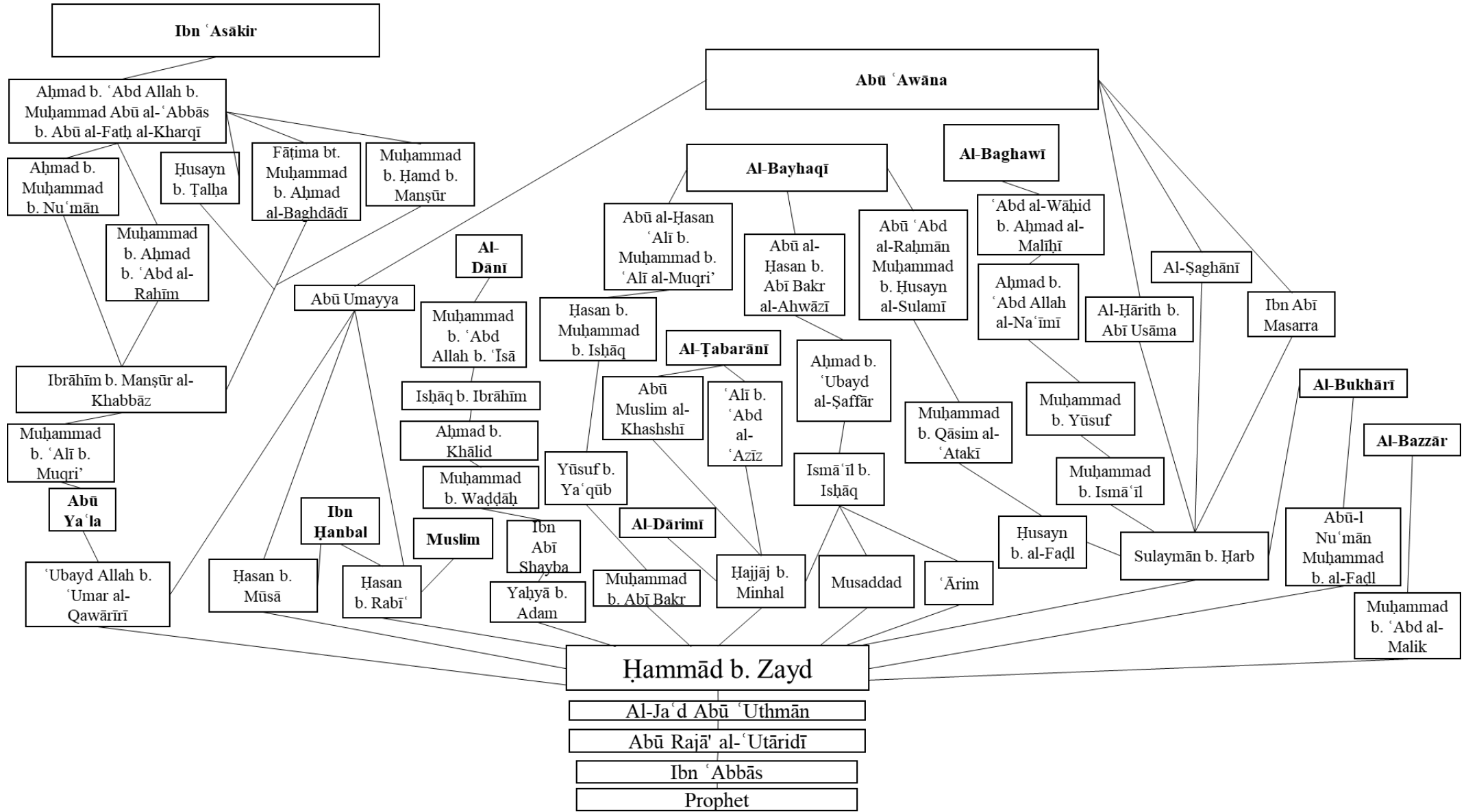
As Long As He Prays

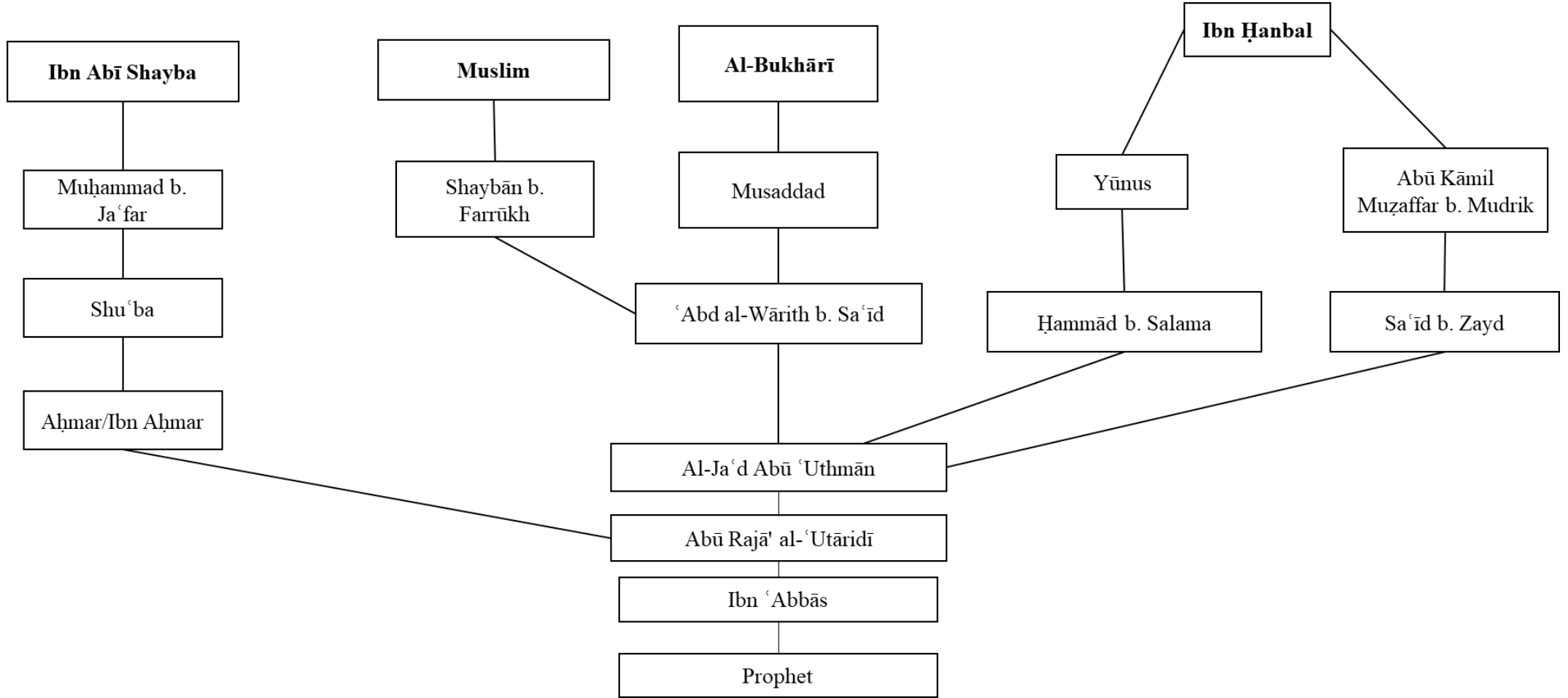


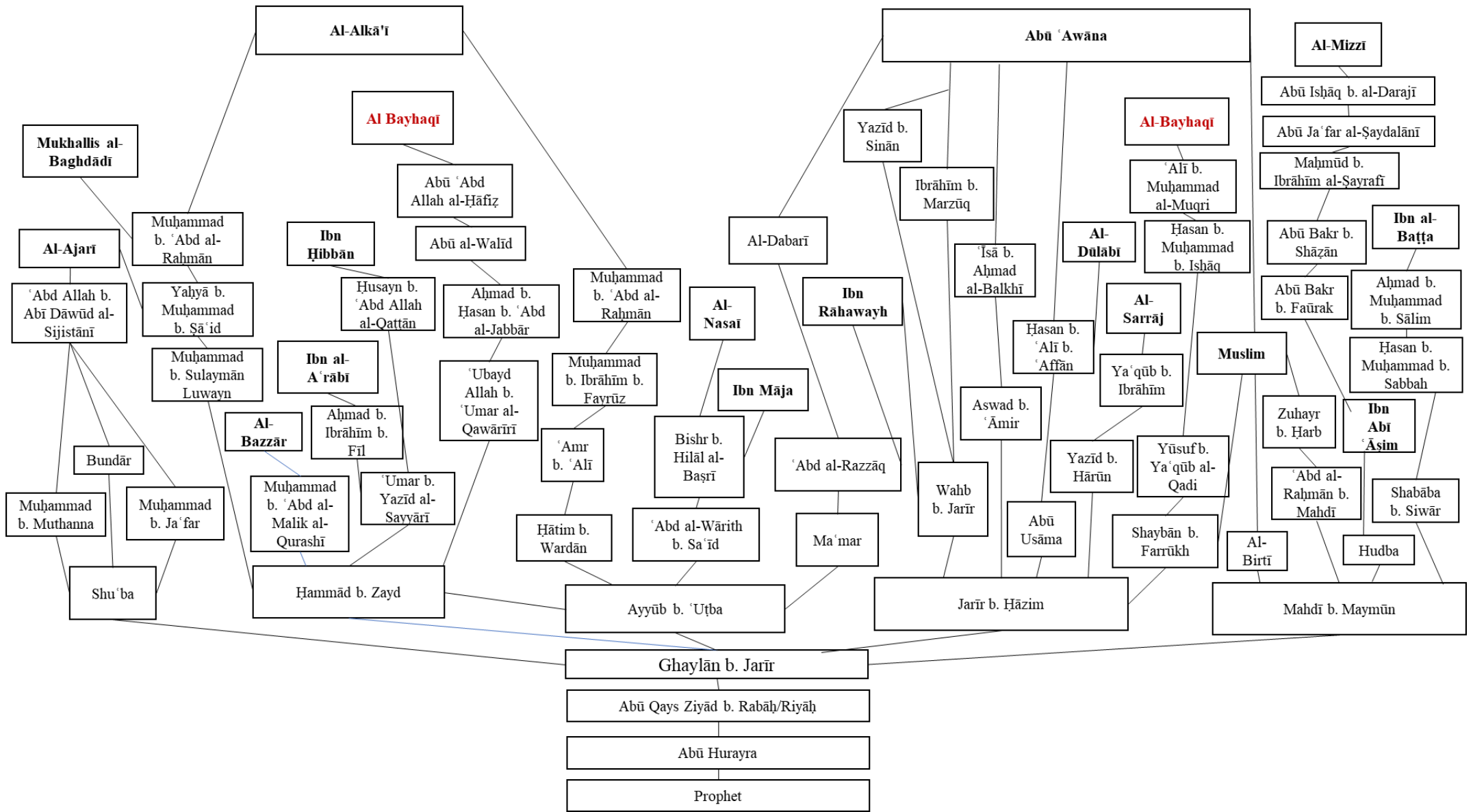


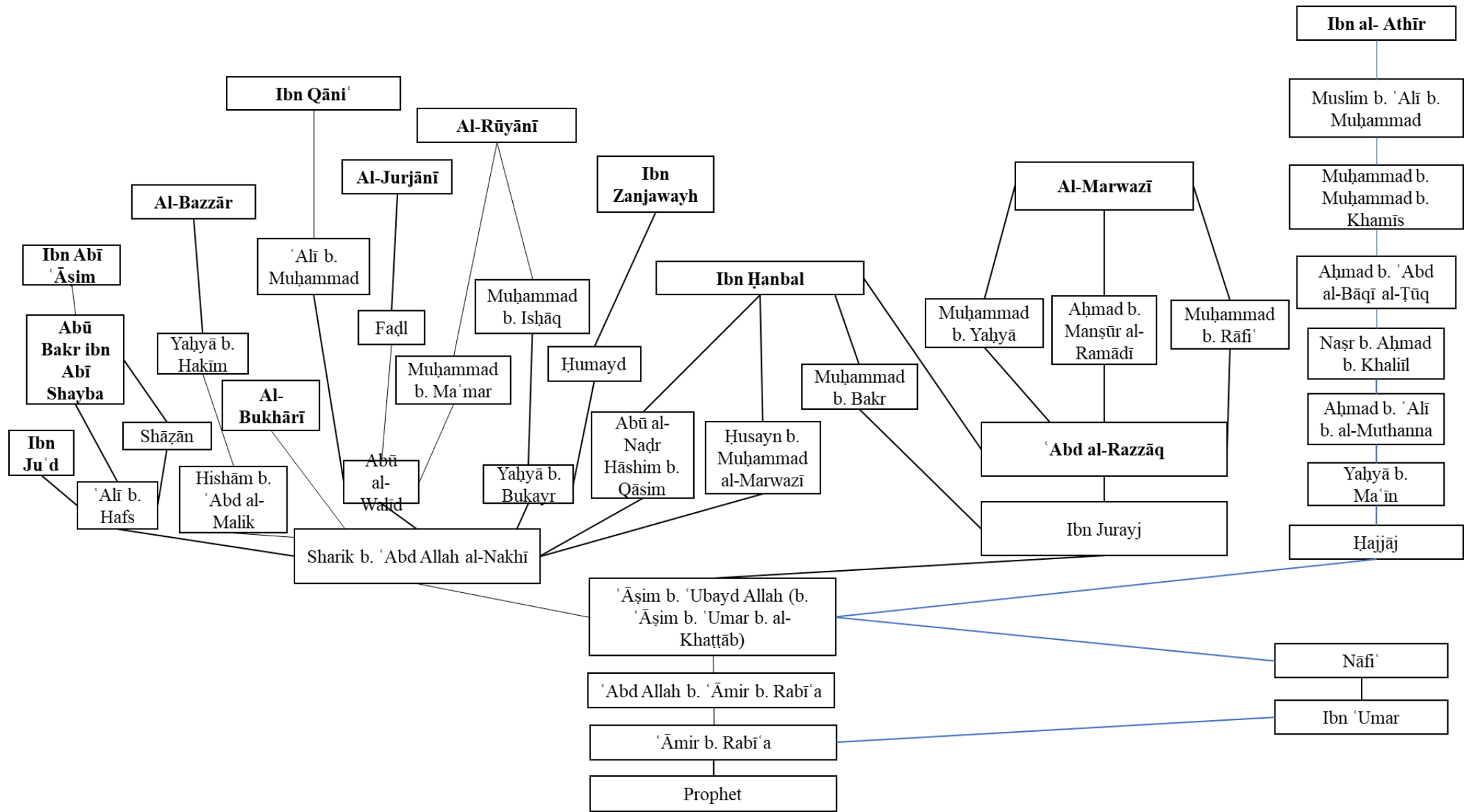


Die a *Jāhilī* Death

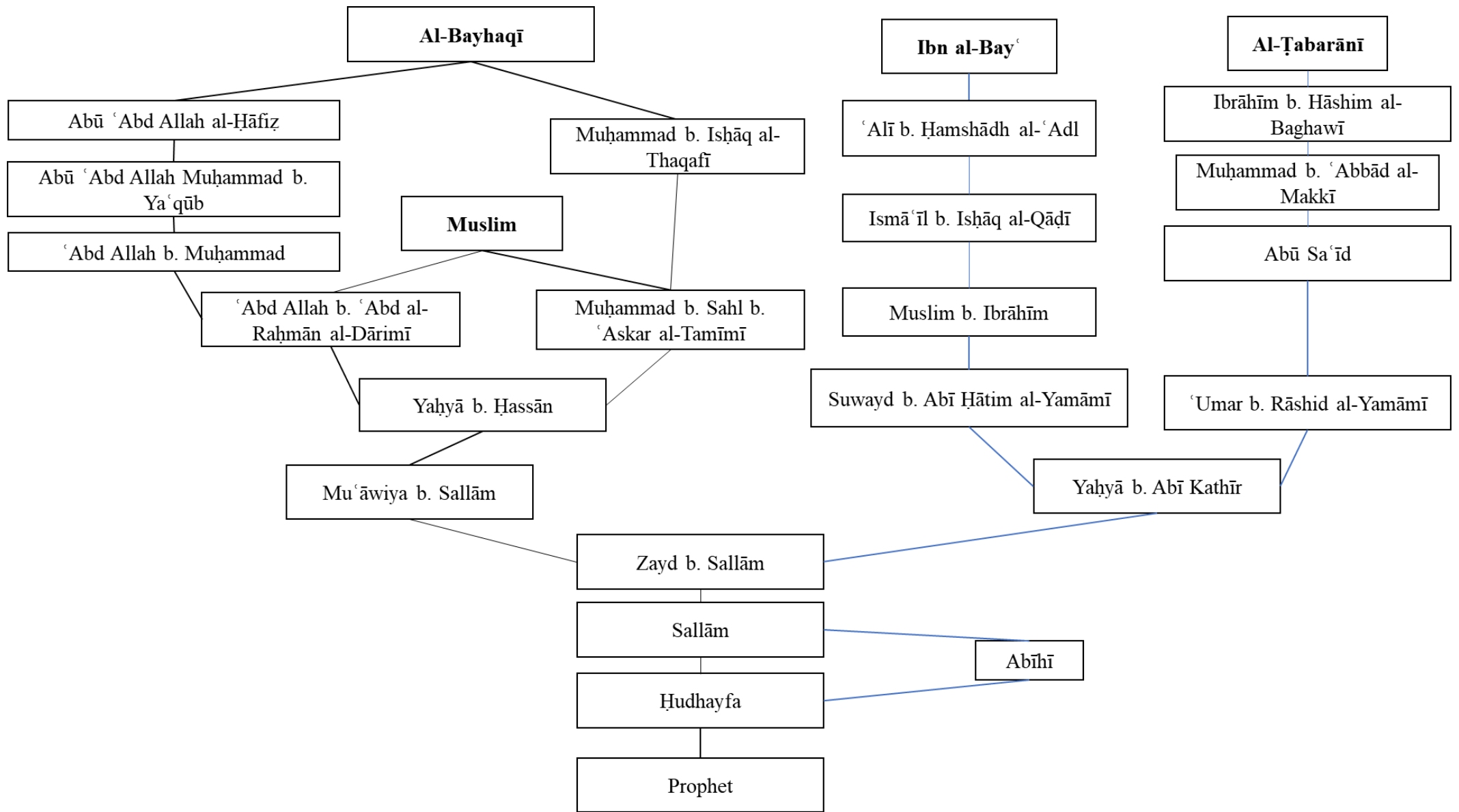


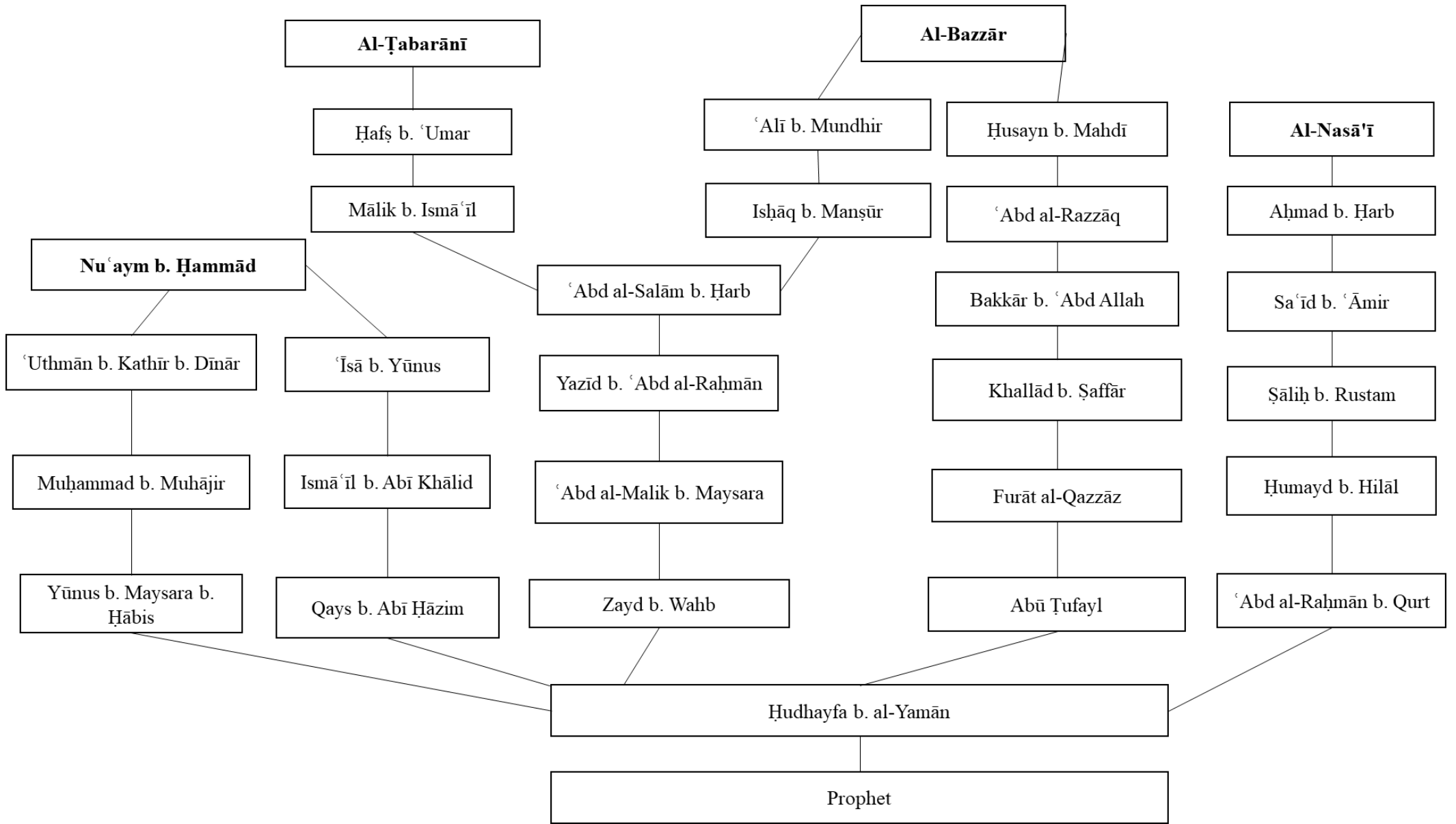


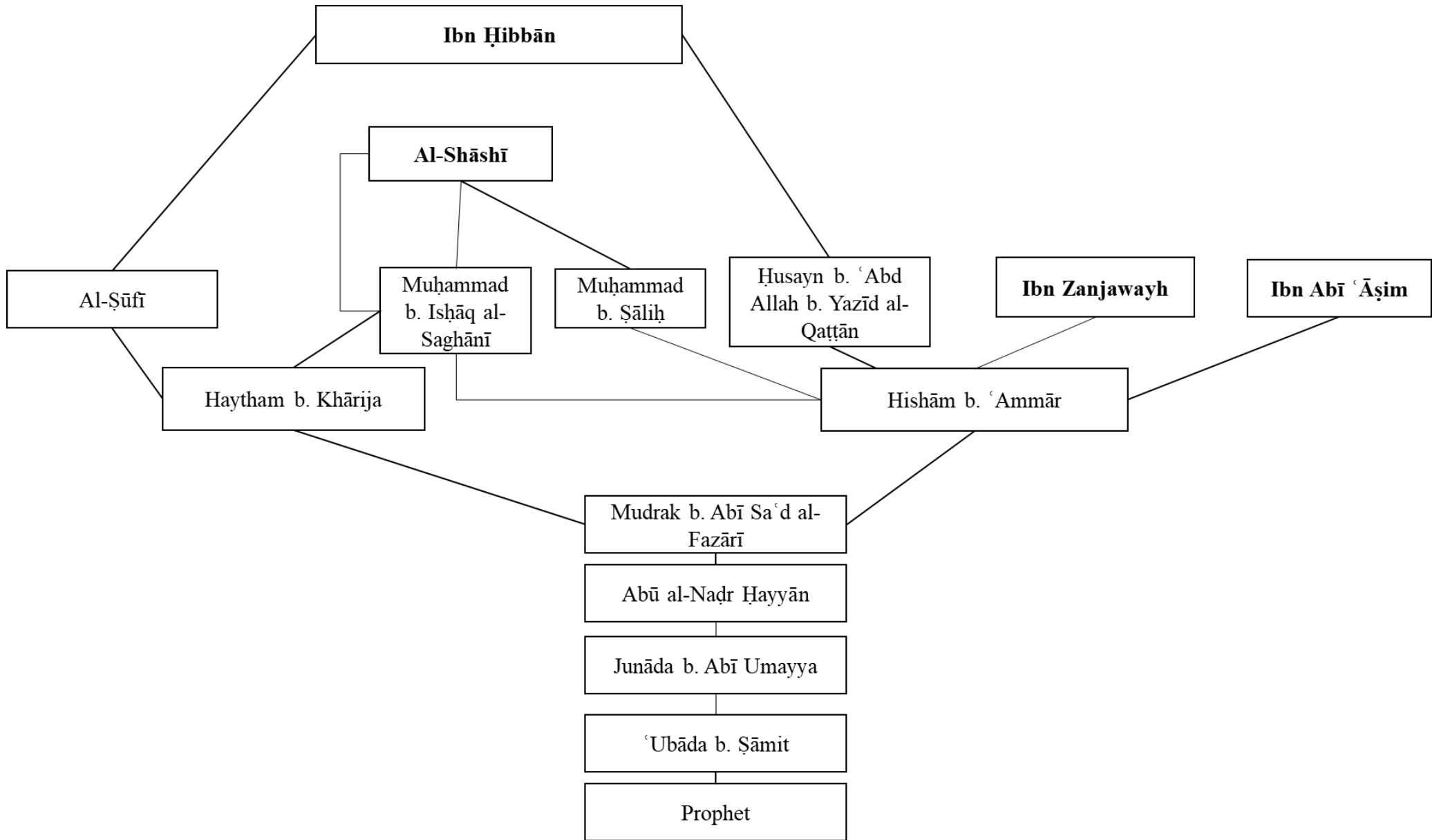


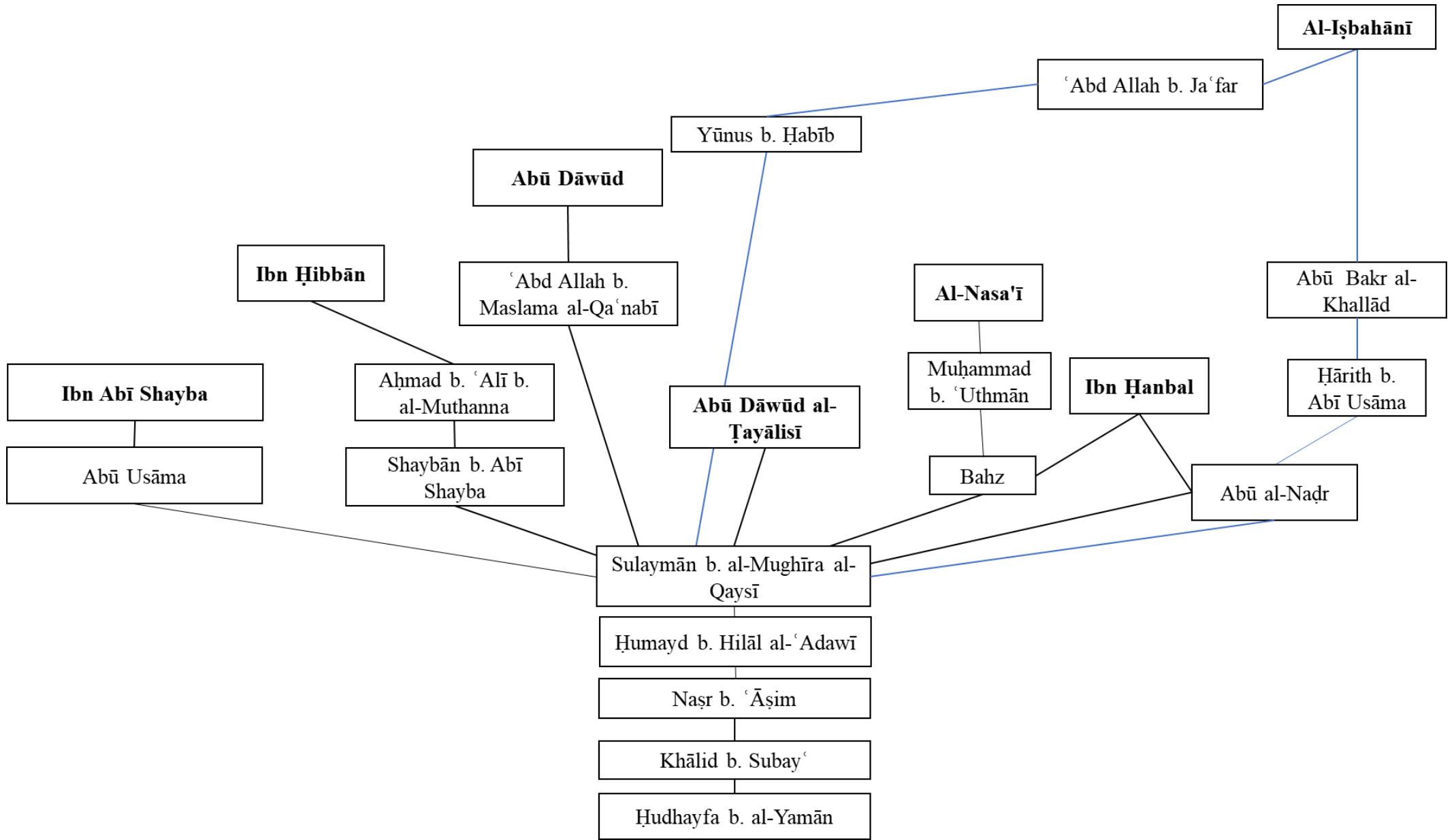


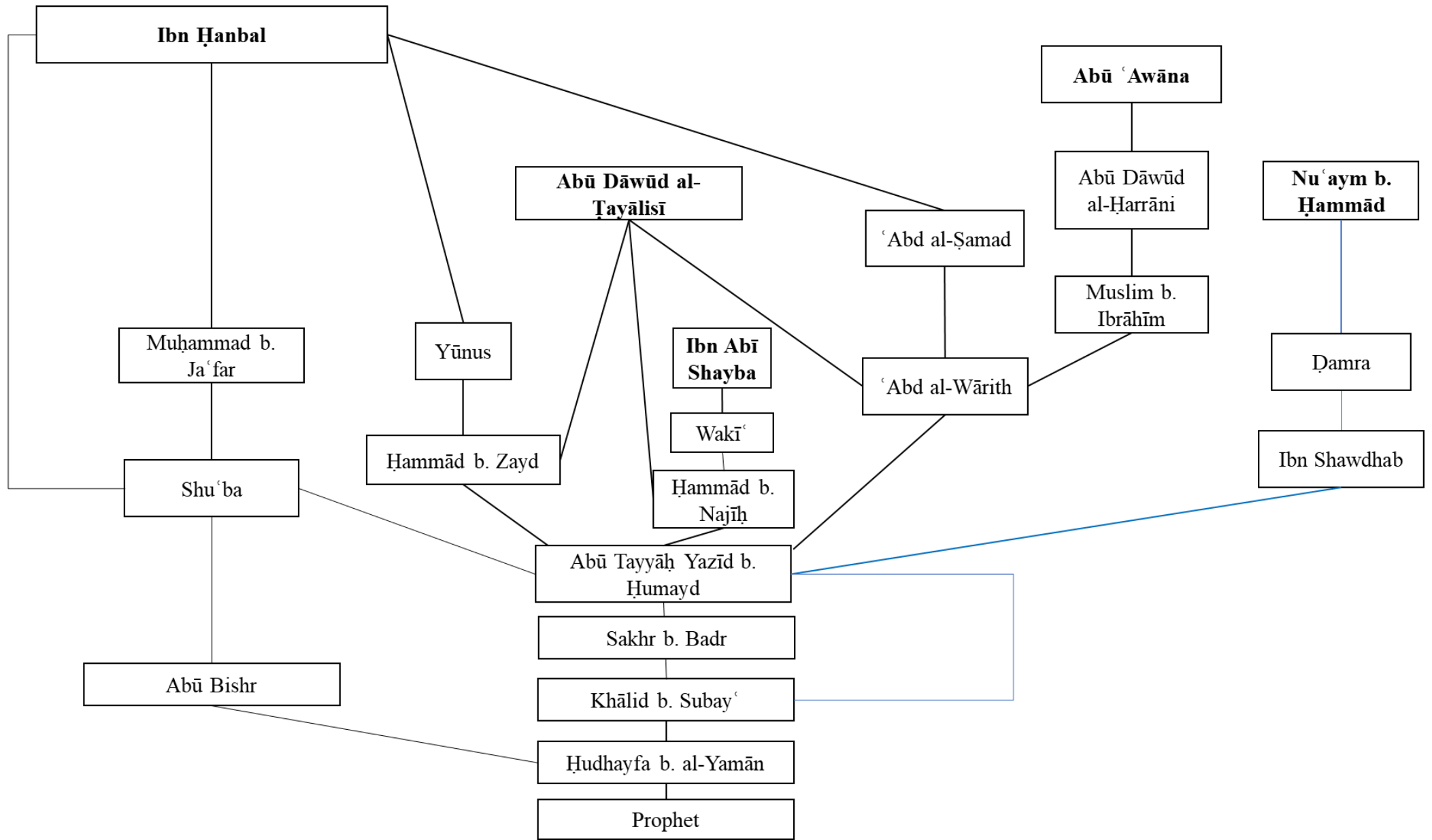
Strike Their Backs and Take Their Wealth

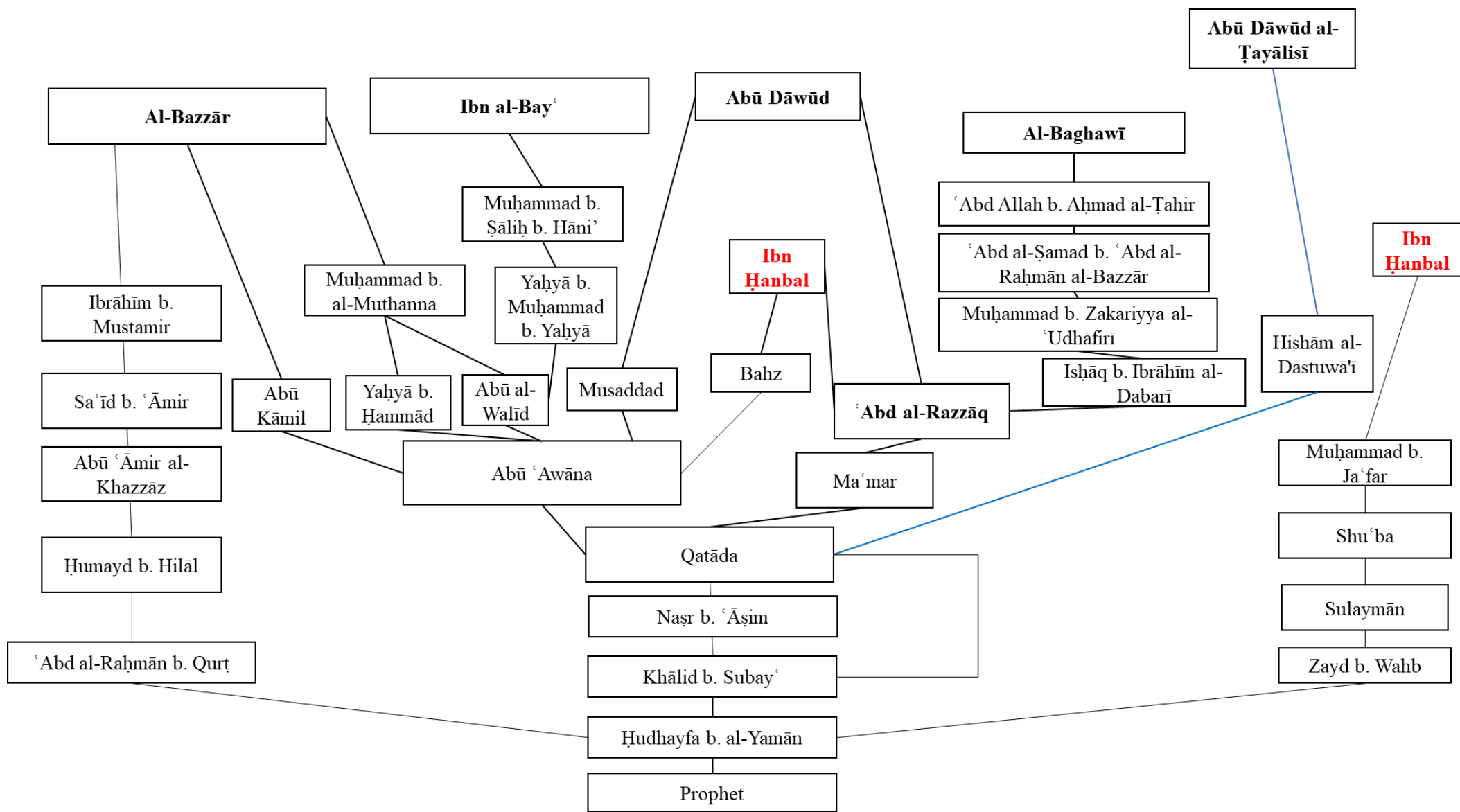




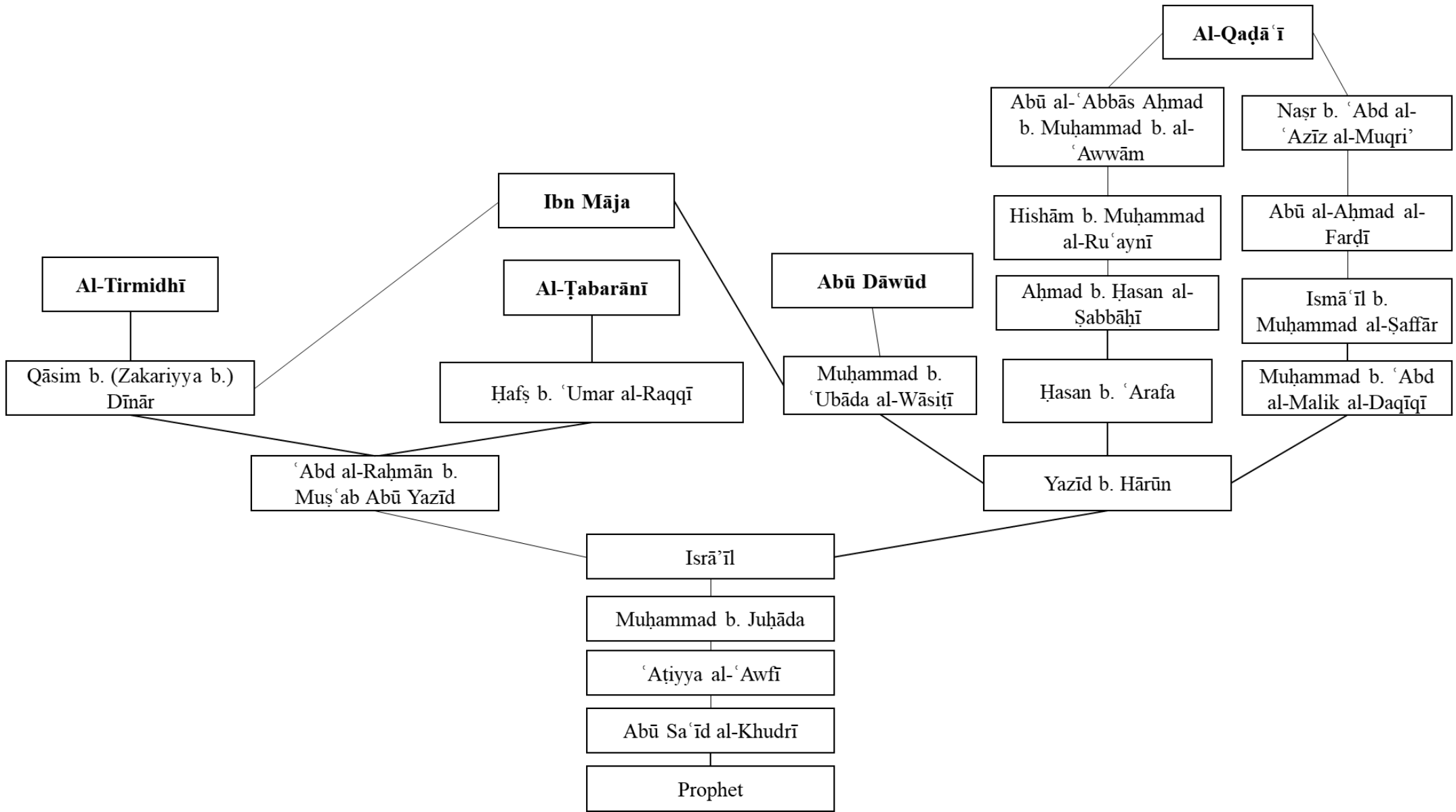


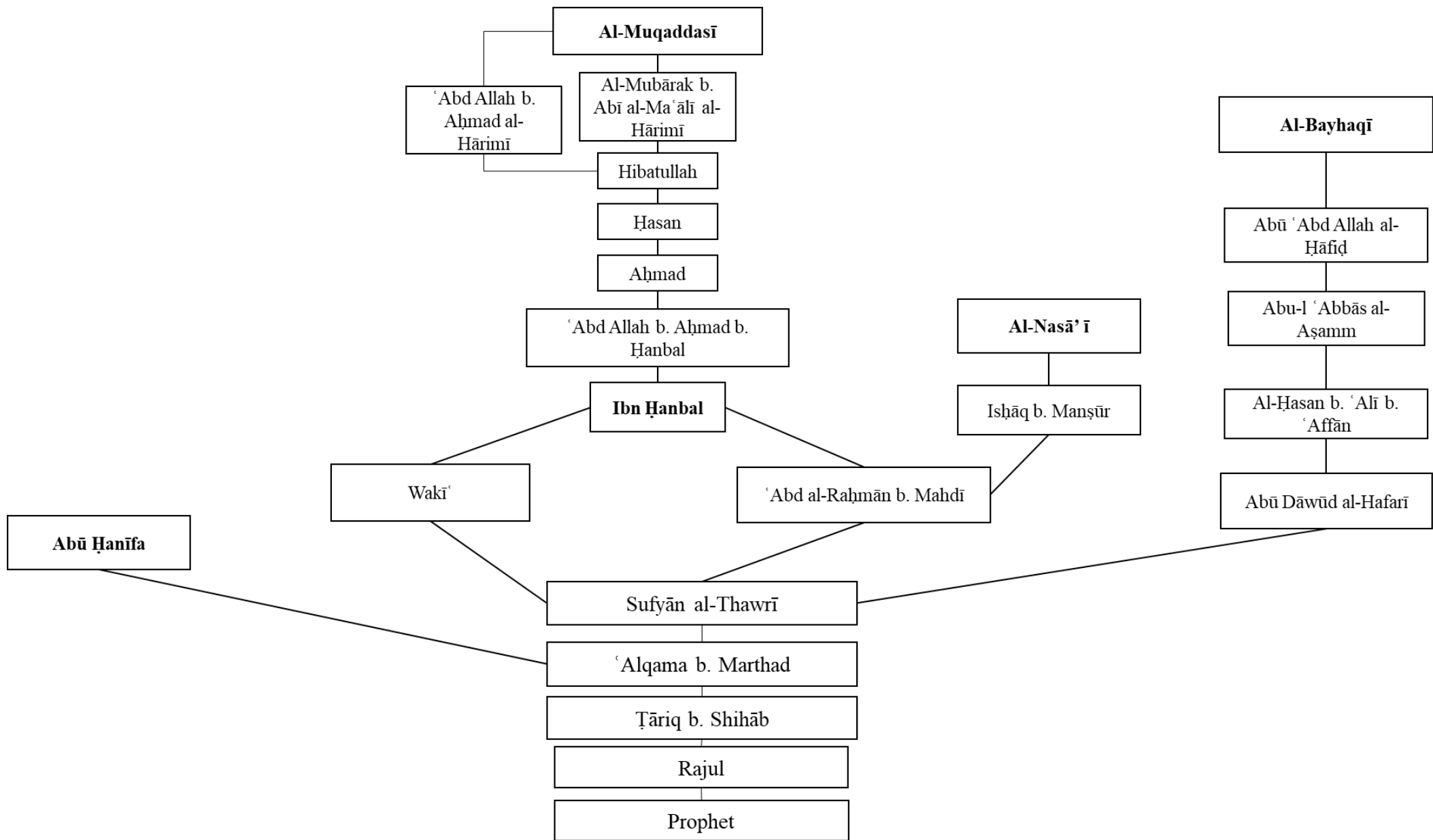


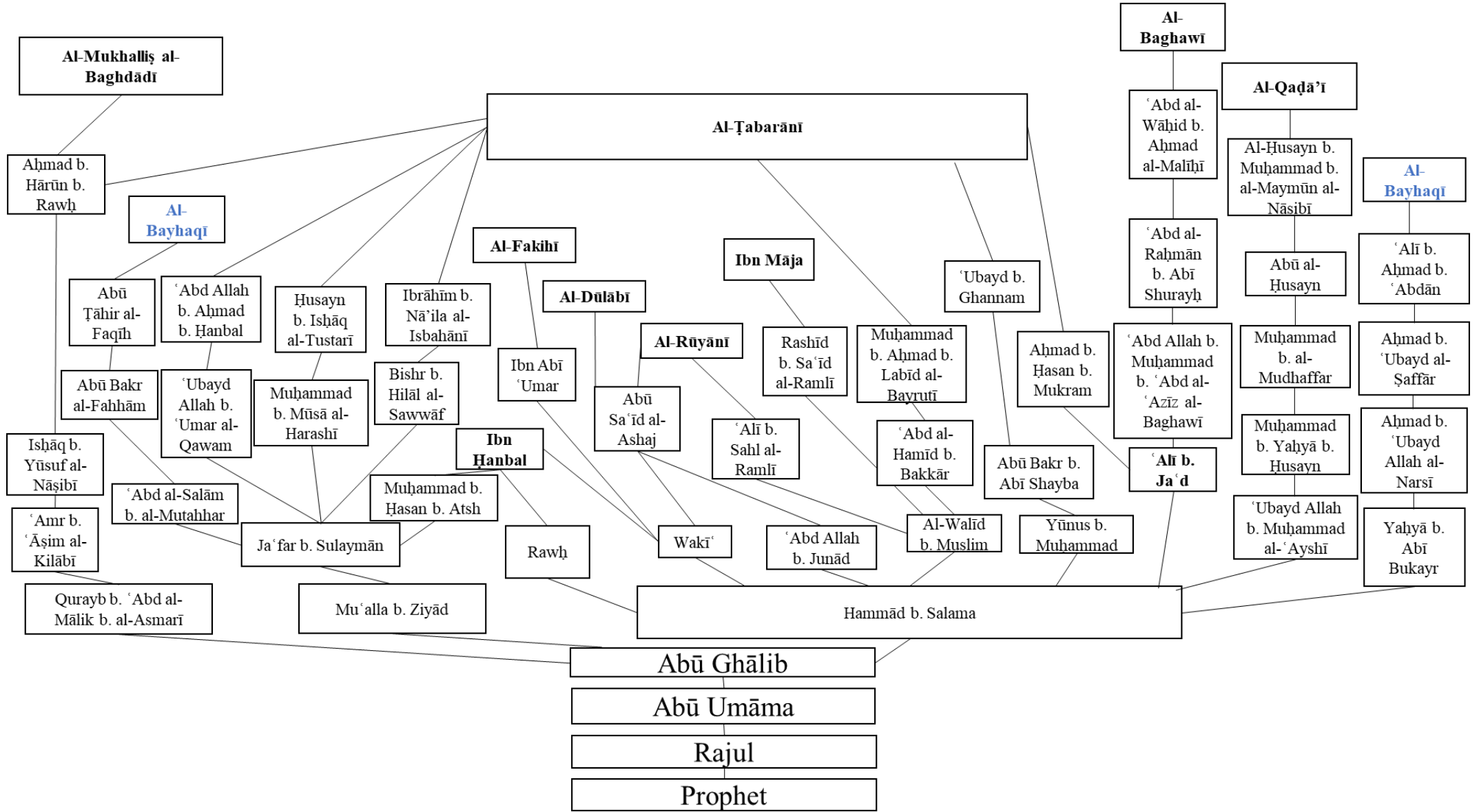




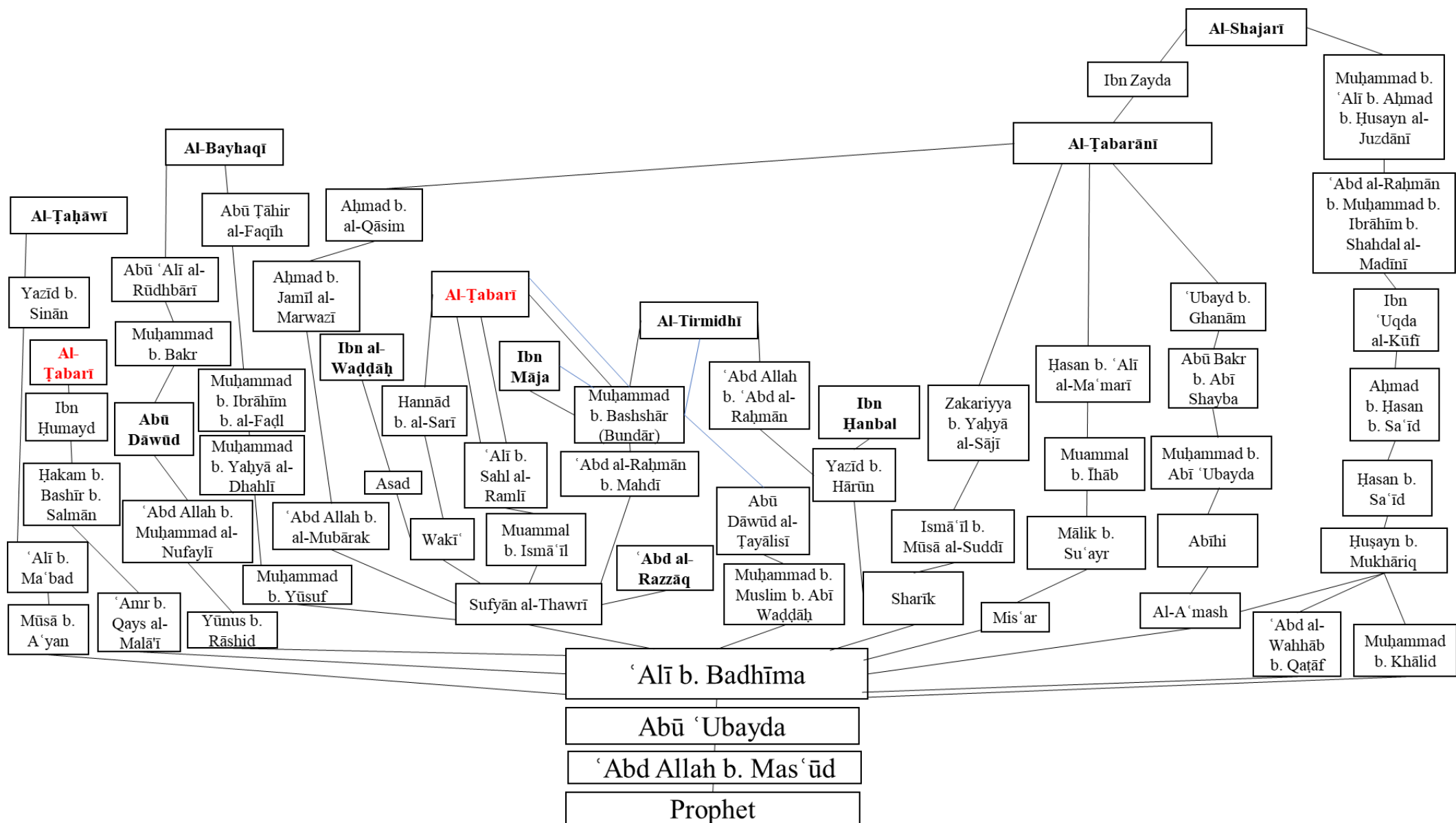
Word of Truth to a Tyrant

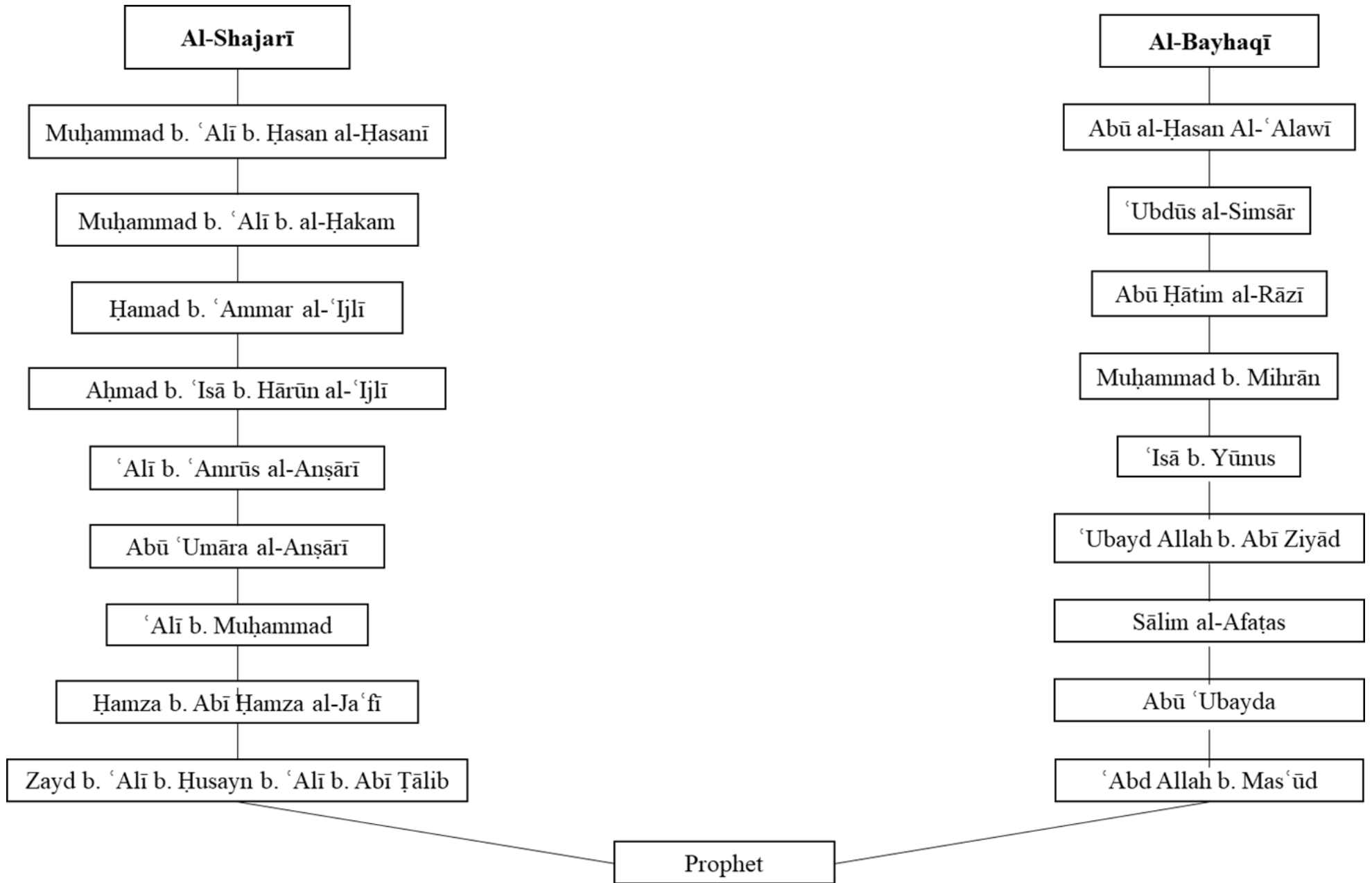






Take Oppressor by the Hand





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Introduction

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ⁱ The bibliography includes the primary sources by chapter. This is followed by the secondary sources which are arranged all together.