An Insight into the *Hadith* Methodology of Jamāl al-Din Aḥmad b. Ṭāwūs¹)

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Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāwūs al-'Alawī al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī (d. 673/1274-5) was a Shī'ī theologian from the seventh/thirteenth century, a scion of the famous Āl Ṭāwūs from Ḥilla in central Iraq.²) Among the eighty-plus works that his biographers say he wrote is his Binā' al-maqāla al-fāṭimiyya (or al-'alawiyya) fī naqḍ al-risāla al-'uthmāniyya.³) As the title suggests, this was a polemical work written in refutation of the Risālat al-'uthmāniyya by the celebrated ninth-century belle-lettrist 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiz. In the Binā' al-maqāla, Ibn Ṭāwūs criticizes al-Jāḥiz' methodology of hadīth critism in order to undermine the latter's position and consequently, explains his own, so that we are afforded a unique insight into the application of his hadīth methodology.

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²) For more biographical information on Ibn Tāwūs, see al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Dāʾūd al-Ḥillī, Kitāb al-rijāl (Tehran, 1342/1963-4), pp. 45-47; Ibn Zuhra, Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār (Najaf, 1382/1963), p. 57; Ibn ʿInaba, ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Tālib, ed. Nizār Riḍā (Beirut, 1390), pp. 156-57; Mīr Muṣṭafā al-Tafrishī, Naqd al-rijāl (Qumm, n.d.), p. 35; al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, Amal al-āmil fī tarājim ʿulamāʾ Jabal ʿĀmil, 2 vols. (Najaf, 1385/1965), v. 2, pp. 29-30; Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisi, Biḥār al-anwār, 110 vols. (Tehran, 1956-1983), v. 1, pp. 147-48; ʿAbd Allāh Afandī, Riyād al-ʿulamāʾ wa ḥiyād al-fuḍalāʾ, 6 vols. (Qumm, 1401/1981), v. 1, pp. 73-77; Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī, Luʾluʾ at al-baḥrayn fī al-ijāzāt wa tarājim rijāl al-ḥadīth (Najaf, 1386/1966), pp. 243-45; Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khwānsārī, Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa al-sādāt, 8 vols. (Tehran, 1382/1962), v. 1, pp. 148-53; ʿAbbās al-Qummī, al-Kunā wa al-alqāb, 3 vols. (Najaf, 1376/1956), v. 1, pp. 334-45; Muḥsin al-Amīn, Aʿyān al-shiʿa, 56 vols. (Beirut, 1960-63), v. 10, pp. 182-83.

³) In my following analysis and commentary upon the *Binā' al-maqāla*, I have used both the Qumm, 1411/1990 (ed. 'Alī al-'Adnanī al-Ghurayfī) and Amman, 1985 (ed. Ibrāhīm al-Samarrā'ī) editions. I have also had at my diposal microfilm copies of the Tehran and Baghdad manuscripts.

Ibn Ṭāwūs' Methodology of Ḥadīth Criticism

Ibn Tāwūs was responsible for a significant development in hadīth criticism and classification for which he has earned himself a unique niche in Shī'ī 'ilm al-ḥadīth. According to his student, Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭah-har al-Ḥillī, known as al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), Ibn Ṭāwūs coined new terminology for traditions and his method of ḥadīth classification came to be widely used in Imāmī jurisprudence. Following Ibn Ṭāwūs' method of classification, traditions in Imāmī Shī'īsm are grouped into four main categories (three of which are common to both Sunni and Imāmī Shī'ī ḥadīth criticism), based on analysis of the isnād ("chain of transmission") as follows:

⁴) A'yān, v. 10, p. 181; Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, Ta'sīs al-shī'a li-'ulūm al-islām (Tehran, n.d.) p. 270; Hossein Modarressi, An Introduction to Shī'ī Law (London, 1984), p. 48 and n. 2.

It was commonly assumed until recently that al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī himself had devised this method of classification and coined the terminology for the four types of hadith; for example, cf. Rawdāt, v. 4, p. 251; Wilferd Madelung, "Akhbāriyya", Encyclopedia of Islam, ed. H. Gibb et al., 2nd ed. (proceeding) (hence forth referred to as EI²; Leiden, 1985–); v. 1, p. 57; Etan Kohlberg, "Akbāriya", Encylopedia Iranica, ed. Ehsan Yarshater et al. (proceeding), (Leiden 1985–), v. I, p. 718; N. Calder, "Doubt and Prerogative: The Emergence of an Imāmi Shī'ī Theory of Ijtihād", Studia Islamica, 70 (1989), p. 67; Moojan Momen, An Introduction to Shī'ī Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shī'ism (New Haven, Conn., 1985), pp. 184, 185. To Professor Modarressi belongs the credit of being the first to point out in a work published in the West that this classification originated with Ibn Ṭāwūs.

⁵) Before this method of hadith classification, Shi'i scholars classified hadith into sahih traditions (i.e. those that were attributed to the Imams) and da'if traditions (i.e. those that were not). Basically, traditions found in the four canonical hadith compilations (al-kutub al-arba'a) were all considered to be sahih; those not included in these works were considered to be da'if. This remained the Akhbāri attitude towards hadith classification while the rijāl-based analysis of hadith was embraced by scholars later considered to be among the Uṣūliyyūn.

⁶) The reason for this overlap is that *ḥadīth* criticism in Imāmī Shī'ism was strongly influenced by Sunni methodology. Al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, among others, mentions in his biographical notices on al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī and al-Shahid al-Thānī, two of the most important traditionists in Shī'i Islam, that they studied under both Sunni and Shī'i teachers (*Amal al-āmil*, v. 2, pp. 81–85 for al-Ḥillī; and v. 1, pp. 85–91 for al-Shahīd al-Thānī).

It is not clear if Ibn Tāwūs studied with Sunni scholars which would have explained the provenance of his *ḥadith* methodology. It is very likely he did, but his biographers list the names only of men known to be Shī'i scholars. We know that his brother Raḍi al-Dīn 'Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266) studied with non-Imāmī teachers for he transmitted from them, asserting that there was benefit in

1) al-Ṣaḥiḥ ("sound"). According to Sunni definition, this type of tradition regarding whose soundness there is no doubt must be attributed to the Prophet and reported by men and women considered to be highly reliable transmitters in an unbroken chain of transmission. From the Imāmi Shiʿi viewpoint, a ṣaḥiḥ tradition can be attributed to one of the twelve Imams as well, for the Imams, like the Prophet, were infallible.⁷)

The chain of transmission of such traditions must without interruption reach back to a Companion of the Prophet, or, in Shī'ī Islam, also reach back to a companion of one of the Imams.⁸) Similar to Sunni requirements, the narrators of *ṣaḥiḥ* traditions must be of flawless reputation and of unimpeachable integrity.⁹

- 2) al-Ḥasan ("good"). In both Sunni and Shi 'i 'ilm al-ḥadīth, these are traditions very close in rank to the above. Only minor defects are perceived in the narrators of such types of ḥadīths.¹⁰)
- 3) al-Muwaththaq ("trustworthy" or "reliable"). This is a category that occurs in Shi'i 'ilm al-hadith only. A muwaththaq tradition is one narrated by a non-Imāmi authority; its text might even be at variance (mukhālif) with that of a şaḥīḥ tradition (as defined in Imāmi Shi'ism). In general, ḥasan and muwaththaq reports are considered very reliable, for they are only a notch below ṣaḥiḥ traditions. 12)

that for the Shi'a; see Etan Kohlberg, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Tāwūs and His Library (E. J. Brill, 1992), p. 7. One of these teachers was the Sunni traditionist and historian Muḥibb al-Din Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, known as Ibn al-Najjār al-Baghdādi al-Shāfi'i (d. 643/1245), the author of Dhayl ta'rīkh Baghdād; for whom see El², art. "Ibn al-Nadjdjār", v. 3, pp. 896–97. We also know that Aḥmad Ibn Tāwūs' son, Ghiyāth al-Din 'Abd al-Karīm, studied with Sunni teachers; see, for example, Riyād, v. 3, p. 165; there was thus no apparent ideological bias against this practice. Why similar documentation is lacking for Ibn Tāwūs is somewhat puzzling since we can detect an obvious Sunni influence upon him.

- ⁷) Zayd al-Din Al-'Āmili, al-Shahid al-Thāni, *Sharḥ al-bidāya fī 'ilm al-dirāya* (No place or publisher, 1982 (?)), p. 79.
- ⁸) The companions of the Imams related the sayings of the various Imams, which together came to be called al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, i.e. "the four hundred bases or fundaments". For more information on these uṣūl and the companions who transmitted them, see Etan Kohlberg's "al-Uṣūl al-arba'umi'a", in Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam, 10 (1987), pp. 128–66; and the article by M. Khodayar Mohebbi, "Les Principes Essentiels de la Theologie Chiite", in Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen), 22 (1972), pp. 126–33.
 - 9) Sharh al-bidāya, p. 88.
 - ¹⁰) El² v. 3, p. 25; Sharh al-bidāya, p. 83.
 - 11) Sharh al-bidāya, p. 86.
- ¹²) Ibid., p. 88, where al-Shahid al-Thāni refers to the *ḥasan* and *muwaththaq* traditions as "its (i.e. the *ṣaḥiḥ* tradition's) two brothers" (*akhawayh*).

4) al-Da'if ("weak"). In both Sunni and Shi'i hadith criticism, when a report cannot be attributed to an infallible source, or it is transmitted by authorities of questionable integrity, or its chain of transmission is interrupted, it is considered weak and unreliable. Such traditions are not considered valid for forming legal decisions.¹³)

In fully developed Shī'i 'ilm al-ḥadīth, traditions are further analyzed with regard to the nature of the isnād and the number of ḥadīth transmitters. Many of these categories were added to Ibn Ṭāwūs' basic system of classification in the post-Safavid period. Some of these categories, however, are already adumbrated in the Binā' al-maqāla and are of the following principal types:

- 1) al-Mursal. Among the Sunnis, this type of tradition was narrated by one of the $T\bar{a}bi^{\epsilon}\bar{u}n$; i.e. the Successors to the Companions of the Prophet, directly from the Prophet himself. Therefore, in the $isn\bar{a}d$ of this kind of tradition, there is no mention of the Companion who would have been the direct link between the Successor and the Prophet.¹⁵) According to the Imāmī perspective, such a tradition is also attributable to a successor of a companion of the Imam $(t\bar{a}bi^{\epsilon}mus\bar{a}hib\ al-im\bar{a}m)$. On this account, this type of tradition is considered defective.¹⁷)
- 2) al-Marfū'. Among the Sunnis, this is a tradition directly "raised" or attributed to the Prophet. In Shi'i hadīth terminology, a $marf\bar{u}'$ tradition can also be attributed to an Imam. A tradition is $marf\bar{u}'$ regardless of whether its $isn\bar{a}d$ is broken or uninterrupted, and whether its narrators are explicitly named or are obscure (mubham).\(^{18}\) When a $marf\bar{u}'$ tradition has an uninterrupted chain of transmission, it is known as $muttasil\ marf\bar{u}'$ (also referred to as musnad in Sunni terminology).
- 3) al-Mutawātir. Among both Sunnis and Shī'is, a mutawātir tradition is one that has numerous transmitters in every generation of its transmission, all considered reliable, and one that is so widely-disseminated and well-

¹³) Al-Baghawi, Abū Muḥammad b. al-Farrā', *Mishkāt al-maṣābiḥ*, tr. James Robson, 2 vols. (Lahore: 1975), v. 1, p. X; *Sharh al-bidāya*, pp. 88, 94.

¹⁴) $A^{\epsilon}y\bar{a}n$, v. 10, p. 181. Muḥsin al-Amin refers to this period as the period of the two Majlisis ($zaman\ al$ -majlisiyayn), which gets its name from two influential theologians, Muḥammad Taqī Majlisi (d. 1070/1659) and his famous son, Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisi (d. 1110/1699), author of the voluminous $had\bar{i}th$ collection $Bih\bar{a}r\ al$ - $anw\bar{a}r$; see also Momen, $Introduction\ to\ Shi^{\epsilon}i\ Islam$, pp. 114-19.

¹⁵) El², v. 3, p. 26.

¹⁶) Sharh al-bidāya, p. 139.

 $^{^{17}}$) See infra, for Ibn Ṭāwūs' opinion concerning the mursal tradition and its eligibility as a hujja.

¹⁸) Sharh al-bidāya, p. 100; El², v. 3, p. 25.

known that it is above suspicion. There is no consensus regarding the number of concurrent chains required to make a report $mutaw\bar{a}tir$. Few traditions exist that are $mutaw\bar{a}tir$ bi al-lafz (i.e. identical in wording); relatively more exist that are $mutaw\bar{a}tir$ bi al-ma (i.e. identical in meaning only. ¹⁹) Ibn Tāwūs considers $mutaw\bar{a}tir$ traditions to constitute the best proofs (hujaj, sing. hujja) in polemical disputations.

- 4) $al\text{-}W\bar{a}hid$ (pl. $\bar{A}h\bar{a}d$). This is an isolated tradition transmitted by one narrator (or only a few narrators) in contrast to the $mutaw\bar{a}tir$ traditions. A distinction is sometimes made between a tradition that is transmitted by a single authority, when it is called $khabar\ al\text{-}w\bar{a}hid$, and a tradition that is narrated by more than one but less than the number that would make it $mutaw\bar{a}tir$ (roughly between two and five), in which case it is called $khabar\ al\text{-}\bar{a}h\bar{a}d.^{20}$) In general, the terms are used quite interchangeably. Ibn Tāwūs expresses his view quite clearly regarding the use of the isolated tradition as polemical proof, a point which will be discussed later.
- 5) al-Maqbūl. In Sunni Islam, these are traditions considered acceptable because they fulfill the requirements for sahīh or hasan traditions. Al-Shahīd al-Thānī maintains that these kind of hadīths can be of the four main categories mentioned above, i.e. any type ranging from sahīh to da' if. In the case of a da' if tradition, if the Companions were known to have endorsed its matn and acted according to it, then such a tradition would be considered maqbūl. According to Ibn Tāwūs, the $t\bar{a}$ ' ir tradition could be considered a maqbūl tradition for polemical purposes.

After Ibn Ṭāwūs, his student al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī implemented the quadripartite system of hadīth classification widely in his legal works, which met with strong resistance from the Akhbāriyyūn.²⁴) Some of the Akhbāriyyūn detested this innovation so much that they went so far as to claim

¹⁹) See the art. "Mutawātir" in El², v. 7, p. 781.

²⁶) See the art. "Khabar al-Wāḥid" in El², v. 4, p. 896; see also Hossein Modarresi, Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shi'ite Islam (Princeton, 1993), p. 127 ff. for a discussion of how the concepts of mutawātir and āḥād traditions evolved over time.

²¹) EI² v. 3, p. 26.

²²) Sharh al-bidāya, pp. 133-34.

The above classification of hadiths as developed by Ibn Tāwūs is also outlined (with further additions) in the Shorter Islamic Shi^c ite Encyclopaedia, ed. Hasan al-Amin (Beirut, 1969), pp. 202-3.

²³) See infra.

²⁴) One of the most vocal opponents of this new *hadith* system was Muhammad Amin b. Muhammad Sharif al-Akhbāri al-Astarabādi (d. 1036/1627). He is recognized as the founder of the later Akhbāri school and author of the work *al-Fawā'id al-madaniyya* (see *Rawdāt*, v. 1, pp. 308–36). He inveighed against the four-part *hadīth*

that religion had been destroyed on two occasions: the first being when this novel method of *hadīth* classification had been introduced, and the second being the day when al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī had been born.²⁵) This system, however, was to survive this opposition to become very popular.

Ibn Tawūs utilizes these principles of 'ilm al-ḥadīth in the Binā' almaqāla to establish the validity of traditions which demonstrate the supremacy of 'Alī's position in Islam after the Prophet and his superior qualifications for the caliphate over Abū Bakr. This counters the polemical arguments advanced by al-Jāḥiz in his Risālat al-'uthmāniyya and the tradition-based evidence that he presents to establish the validity of Abū Bakr's claim to the caliphate.

Ibn Ṭāwūs, first and foremost, is concerned with establishing the reliability of transmitters and the nature of the chain of transmission, i.e. essentially whether it is broken or continuous for a particular <code>hadīth</code> and to establish its <code>tawātur</code>. This kind of analysis, according to Ibn Ṭāwūs, is crucial for determining the reliability of <code>hadīths</code> and their acceptability for use as polemical proofs. In his refutation of the proofs that al-Jāḥiz presents in the 'Uthmāniyya, Ibn Ṭāwūs takes the former to task severely for having departed from this stringent methodology of establishing the validity of <code>hadīths</code>.

The importance of *hadith* in the religious sciences is emphasized by Ibn Tāwūs. He states that traditions serve two useful purposes; firstly, for the derivation of (legal) principles from them, and secondly, as proofs against one's polemical opponent who may thereby be compelled to acknowledge the validity of one's position.²⁶) A tradition can serve this two-fold beneficial purpose when its narrator(s) are known to possess moral probity ('adāla) and the tradition itself is widely-disseminated (mutawātir).²⁷)

system of classification made popular by the rationalists (whom he refers to as "almuta'akhkhirūn"), namely al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī, al-Shahīd al-Awwal (d. 786/1384), al-Shahīd al-Thānī (d. 965/1558), his son Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn al-'Āmilī (d. 1011/1602), and al-Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī (d. 1030/1621) (Rawdāt, v. 1, p. 313; Art. "Akbāriya", Encyclopedia Iranica, v. 1, p. 717). He states (Rawdāt, v. 1, p. 313) that the one who initiated this system (this would be Ibn Ṭāwūs although it is not clear if this was known to al-Astarabādī) did so because he had no regard for the sayings of past generations (al-qudamā') and the reason for his lack of regard was that "his mind was steeped [only] in the books of the commonalty (al-'āmma, i.e. the Sunnis)" [as opposed to the books containing the sayings and practices of the Imams].

²⁵) See Muḥammad al-Mahdi Baḥr al-'Ulūm al-Tabāṭabā'i, *Rijāl* [known as *al-Fawā'id al-rijāliyya*], 4 vols. (Najaf, 1965), v. 2, p. 260; *A'yān*, v. 10, p. 181.

²⁶) This is more succinctly rendered in Arabic as, "inna al-ḥāl fī al-riwāyāt wa al-intifā' bihā yanqasim qismayn aḥaduhumā fīmā yarji' ilā al-binā' 'alayhā wa al-thānī fīmā yarji' ilā al-ilzām bihā (Binā' [Amman ed.], p. 140; [Qumm ed.], p. 292).

²⁷) Ibid. (Amman ed.), pp. 140-41; (Qumm ed.), pp. 292-93).

In his discussion of *hadīth* material, Ibn Tāwūs thus emphasizes the following criteria, deemed indispensable in determining the acceptability of *hadīth*:

- 1) The reliability of the transmitters (al-ruwāt) of the hadīth in question.
- 2) The nature of the transmission of the hadith: a) continuity in the chain of hadith transmitters ($ittis\bar{a}l\ al-isn\bar{a}d$) and b) the wide-spread dissemination and attestation ($al-taw\bar{a}tur$) of the hadith.

Each of these points will now be illustrated with examples drawn from the $Bin\bar{a}$, al-maq $\bar{a}la$.

1) The Reliability of *Ḥadīth* Transmitters

The most important of the above two criteria is the reliability of the hadith transmitters.²⁸) According to Ibn Tāwūs, it is not enough for one's adversary to advance in support of his position a tradition with an impeccable isnād muttaṣil, and one that is, furthermore, widely-attested and widely-disseminated, i.e. mutawātir. If on close inspection, the isnād of such a tradition is found to contain the name of a narrator whose veracity can be impugned, the tradition cannot be used as proof for polemical purposes. To state this positively, Ibn Ṭāwūs emphasizes the importance of this criterion by stating that only those hadīths whose transmitters are regarded as reliable and upright can serve as useful and irrefutable polemical proofs.²⁹)

For example, in the case of the *hadīth* related by Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba which affirms that Abū Bakr was the first to accept Islam, Ibn Tāwūs finds fault with the chain of transmission which consequently invalidates the *hadīth*. Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba relates,

²⁸) Ibn Tāwūs wrote a *rijāl* work in which he evaluated the reliability of certain hadīth transmitters. This work, called Hall al-ishkāl fī ma'rīfat al-rījāl was modeled after al-Kishshī's Rijāl (which survives today as the Ikhtiyār ma'rifat al-rijāl edited by al-Shaykh al-Tūsi). It was completed by Ibn Tāwūs in the year 644 A. H. It is supposed to have been the only compendium of five principal rijāl works: the Rijāl of al-Najashi, the Rijāl of al-Kishshi, the Rijāl of al-Shaykh al-Ţūsi and his Kitāb alfihrist, and the Rijāl of Ibn al-Ghaḍā'iri. Al-Shahid al-Thāni obtained a copy of the Hall al-ishkāl written in Ibn Tāwūs' hand and mentions this fact in the ijāza he granted to al-Shaykh Husayn b. 'Abd al-Samad (d. 984/1576), father of the well known Shi'i scholar al-Bahā' al-Din al-'Āmili. This copy was passed down in a poor condition to al-Shahid al-Thāni's son, Hasan b. Zayn al-Din al-'Āmili, known as Şāḥib al-Ma'ālim (d. 1011/1602), who edited it and renamed it al-Taḥrir al-ţāwūsi, under which name it is known today; see al-Dhari'a, v. 7, pp. 64-65; the introduction to Hasan b. Zayn al-Din's al-Tahrir al-ţāwūsi, ed. Muhammad Ḥasan Tarhini (Beirut, 1408/1988), pp. 7-11; Āghā Buzurg al-Ţihrāni, Muşaffā al-maqāl fī muşannifī 'ilm alrijāl (Beirut, 1408/1988), pp. 71-72.

²⁹) Binā' (Amman ed.), pp. 140-41; (Qumm ed.) pp. 292-93.

A shaykh of ours related to us from Mujālid from al-Sha'bī from Ibn 'Abbās that he was asked about who was the first among the people to accept Islam and he said, "Did you not hear what Ḥassān (b. Thābit) said?", indicating Abū Bakr.³⁰)

Ibn Ṭāwūs responds that this hadith is to be considered $da^{\epsilon}if$ because of the weakness of the narrators involved. The identity of the shaykh referred to in the isnad is unknown and Mujālid was considered by Ibn Ḥibbān (d. $354/965)^{31}$) to have a poor memory, to list mixed-up $isn\bar{a}ds$, and to pass off mursal traditions as $marf\bar{u}^{\epsilon}.^{32}$) Finally, the narrator is al-Sha'bī who "was biased against the $ahl\ al$ -bayt, was a companion of 'Abd al-Mālik and an embezzler of funds..." 33)

³⁰) Ibid. (Amman ed.), p. 153; (Qumm ed.), p. 318.

³¹ This is al-Imām al Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Ibn Ḥibbān b. Aḥmad Abī Ḥātim al-Tamīmī al-Bustī, author of the well-known rijāl work Kitāb al-majruḥīn min al-muḥaddithīn. This Abū Ḥātim al-Tamīmī is not to be confused with his contemporary, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-Mundhir al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanzalī al-Rāzī (d. 327/938), author of another rijāl work Al-Jarh wa al-ta' dīl; see Fuat Sezgin's Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, 9 vols. (Leiden, 1967–1984; henceforth referred to as GAS), vol. 1, pp. 178–79. Al-Samarrā-'ī, the editor of Binā' al-maqāla, seems to have succumbed to this confusion, and identifies Ibn Ḥibbān as the author of Al-Jarh (Binā,' [Amman ed.], p. 124, n. 350), which consequently leads to his misreading of the names of two traditionists (see infra, n. 49).

³²) This is Mujālid b. Sa'īd b. 'Umayr al-Hamdānī (d. 143 or 144 A.H.), for whom see Ibn Ḥibbān's *Kitāb al-majruḥīn min al-muḥaddithīn*, ed. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyid, 3 vols. (Aleppo, 1396/1976), v. 1, pp. 10-11.

³³) Binā' (Amman ed.), p. 153; (Qumm ed.), pp. 318-19. Abū 'Amr 'Āmir ibn Sharāḥil, better known as al-Sha'bi (d. 103-10/721-8), was one of the Tābi'ān. He was a traditionist, maghāzī scholar, and a jurisprudent. He is believed to have heard traditions from Ibn Mas'ūd but this has been questioned. He served under the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān who sent him as his special emissary to the Byzantine emperor; see GAS, v. 1, p. 277; G. H. A. Juynboll, Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth (Cambridge, 1983), p. 59.

The following anecdote recorded in the *Kitāb al-istī'āb* may be related as an example of what Ibn Tāwūs probably construed as a display of hostility by al-Sha'bī towards the *ahl al-bayt*. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr quotes the following tradition on the authority of Isma'īl b. Abī Khālid who reported, "I told al-Sha'bī that Mughīra (b. Shu'ba) had sworn by God that 'Alī had never erred in a legal decision". Al-Sha'bī replied, "Surely he has exaggerated (*laqad afraṭa*)". See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Kitāb al-istī'āb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Hyderabad, 1336/1908), v. 2, p. 461.

Posited against this is a tradition narrated by Ibn Isḥāq from 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sufyān from Qāsim b. Aṣbagh from Aḥmad b. Zuhayr b. Ḥārith from al-Ḥasan b. Ḥammād from Abū 'Uwāna from Abū Balkh from 'Umar b. Maymūn from Ibn 'Abbās which states that 'Alī was the first among the people to become a believer after Khadīja. Abū 'Umar (al-Maghribī)³⁴) in his analysis of this *isnād* declares that none of the transmitters can be discredited (*lā maṭ'an fīh*) by anybody on account of their veracity or sincerity. This is in contrast to the *ḥadīth* mentioned above with regard to Abū Bakr, which is also attributed to Ibn 'Abbās, but whose *isnād* is vitiated by unreliable transmitters.

The reliability of the hadith transmitters is such an impotant criterion that Ibn Tāwūs states that an isolated tradition (called here al-hadith al-wahid) narrated on the authority of one reliable transmitter (al-thiqa) who quotes from a source is better than a mursal tradition, i.e. a tradition with several narrators going back to a Successor only. This is true, "especially with regard to arguing with an opponent". ³⁵)

Ibn Tāwūs makes the above observation during his discussion of the " $t\bar{a}$ 'ir" (or "tayr") tradition. According to this tradition, once, when the Prophet was sitting down to a meal of roasted fowl ($t\bar{a}$ 'ir), he prayed that God would send to him the most beloved of all men to share this meal with him. This man turned out to be 'Alī.³6) Al-Jāḥiz had dismissed this tradition as unreliable, since only one man, Anas ibn Mālik, had reported it, and, therefore, this tradition alone, according to al-Jāḥiz, could not constitute a proof (wa laysa bi hujja). Moreover, al-Jāḥiz claims that the Shiʿa repudiate Anas' testimony, for they consider him to be an unbeliever ($k\bar{a}fir$); therefore this tradition should be discounted.³7)

Ibn Tāwūs accuses al-Jāḥiz of talking wilfully and recklessly with regard to prophetic traditions, for it is known that "the report (khabar) of one person constitutes a proof among the Muslims unless he be one who

³⁴) He is better known as Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the author of Kitāb al-istī'āb.

³⁵) Binā³ (Amman ed.), p. 156; (Qumm ed.), pp. 322-23.

Thus, his pupil al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī, would later argue for the admissibility of the khabar al-wāḥid as a legal proof, "wa-huwa ḥujja fī al-shar';" see his Mabādi' al-wusūl ilā 'ilm al-usūl, (Najaf, 1970), p. 204.

³⁶) According to Wensinck, this tradition is recorded by al-Tirmidhī in chapter 20 entitled *Manāqib*; see *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, 14 vol. in 6 (Leiden, 1936–69), v. 4, p. 72.

³⁷) al- Uthmāniyya, p. 150.

For a brief description of the proliferation of *isnāds* with Anas' name in it, see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 144-45.

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deviates from them $(man \, shadhdha' \, anhum)$ ". ³⁸) As for Anas being considered an unreliable narrator by the Shī'a, that is simply an unfounded claim put forward by al-Jāḥiz to discredit the $t\bar{a}$ ' ir tradition and to discredit 'Alī. ³⁹)

Ibn Tāwūs then makes a statement that appears to be at odds with his staunchly maintained position that the reliability of the hadith transmitter is the supreme criterion in determining the acceptability of a hadith. This is with regard to the " $t\bar{a}$ 'ir" tradition, which enjoys great esteem among the Shī'a and, consequently, its validity is important to establish. Ibn Tāwūs states that if al-Jāḥiz' claim regarding Anas' ambivalent status among the Shī'a is to be accepted for the purposes of argument, the " $t\bar{a}$ 'ir" tradition should still not be rejected on that account for the propagation of such a hadith would serve a good polemical purpose. Such an argument brings strongly to mind Sunni receptivity towards traditions that have an acceptable matn but lack a sound $isn\bar{a}d$, because such traditions would still serve a laudable purpose. Ibn Tāwūs thus considers this khabar $al-w\bar{a}hid$ to be a $maqb\bar{u}l$ tradition. 40

From the analysis of the two hadiths above concerning precedence in conversion to Islam, it is obvious that Ibn Tāwūs readily discounts the report of any narrator, like al-Sha'bi, who is known to have harbored ill will toward the ahl al-bayt or is known to have consorted with the Umayyads, the sworn enemies of the 'Alids, or was known to have committed a criminal or an immoral act. Al-Jāḥiz is also disqualified as a hadīth narrator on account of his malice towards 'Alī, for "whoever is of this disposition, his claims are not to be accepted and his accounts are to be strenuously rejected". Al-Jāḥiz is also disqualified as a hadīth narrator on account of his malice towards 'Alī, for "whoever is of this disposition, his claims are not to be accepted and his accounts are to be strenuously rejected".

A list of narrators, who are *a priori* regarded with suspicion or deemed unreliable by Ibn Tāwūs, is given below. Abū Hurayra, who was considered suspect by 'Umar and other prominent companions $(a'y\bar{a}n\ al-sah\bar{a}ba)$, is a

³⁸) Binā' (Amman ed.), pp. 156-57; (Qumm ed.), pp. 322-23.

 $^{^{39}}$) Al-Majlisī, author of the $Bih\bar{a}r$ al- $anw\bar{a}r$, in fact lists numerous traditions on the authority of Anas b. Mālik; see the $Fah\bar{a}ris$ $bih\bar{a}r$ al- $anw\bar{a}r$, 10 vols. (Beirut, n.d.), v. 8, pp. 186–87 under Anas b. Mālik to get an idea of the many traditions related by Anas that were accepted as reliable among the Shi'a.

⁴⁰) Binā' (Amman ed.), p. 156; (Qumm ed.), p. 323.

Thus we find this view echoed by al-'Allāma al-Hillī when he says, "fa-inna khabar al-wāḥid maqbūl fī al-taqwā wa al-shahādāt ma' intifā' al-'ilm" ("the isolated tradition is accepted in matters of piety and in juridical testimonies in the absence of [certain] knowledge"), see Mabādi' al-wuṣūl, p. 204.

⁴¹) See also *Binā*' (Amman ed.), p. 174; (Qumm ed), p. 353, where Ibn Tāwūs repeats these charges against al-Sha'bī.

⁴²⁾ Ibid., (Amman ed.), p. 33; (Qumm ed.), p. 74.

narrator whose reports are to be treated with caution.⁴³) His reports may be relied upon only when corroborated by other companions of the Prophet.⁴⁴) Mujālid's reports, as mentioned before, are to be discounted as well for he was known to have narrated weak and confused traditions.⁴⁵)

Ibn Ṭāwūs further states that the narrators of tradition cited by al-Jāḥiz to support the interpretation of a Qur'anic verse (5:54) as being laudatory of Abu Bakr are highly unreliable transmitters. One of these narrators is al-Faḍl Ibn Dalham. Ibn Ṭāwūs says that Muḥammad b. Sufyān Abū Ḥātim, also known as Ibn Ḥibbān, is an impeccable source who indicates there was considerably controversy surrounding al-Faḍl Ibn Dalham. Ibn Ḥibbān quotes al-Ḥanbalī who reports that he heard Aḥmad b. Zuhayr⁴⁶) say that he had asked Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn⁴⁷) about al-Faḍl Ibn Dalham, and he replied that Ibn Dalham's traditions were to be regarded as weak (da'if).⁴⁸)

⁴³) Ibid. (Amman ed.), p. 103; (Qumm ed.), p. 220. Ibn Shahrāshūb calls Abū Hurayra "one of the deceivers" ($fa\ huwa\ min\ al-khādhilin$). He also mentions that 'Umar had struck Abū Hurayra once on account of the large number of reports that had emanated from him and called him a "liar" ($kadh\bar{u}b$) see $Man\bar{a}qib\ \bar{A}l\ Abi\ T\bar{a}lib$, 4 vols. (Qumm, 1401/1981), v. 2, p. 5.

⁴⁴) See, for example, $Bin\bar{a}$ (Amman ed.), p. 145; (Qumm ed.) p. 302, where Abū Hurayra, along with other Companions such as Jābir b. 'Abd Allah, Barā' b. 'Āzib, and Zayd b. Arqam, report the $Ghadir\ Khumm$ tradition, in which case Abū Hurayra's report is accepted.

⁴⁵) See *supra*, n. 32.

 $^{^{46}}$) This is Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythama Zuhayr b. Ḥarb al-Nasā'ī, who was born in 185/801. He lived in Baghdad and was a student of Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī. Theologically, he was a follower of the Qadariyya. He was considered to be one of the more reliable muhaddiths; al-Tabarī related reports from him and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī mentions in his $Ta'r\bar{t}kh$ $Baghd\bar{a}d$ that Ibn Zuhayr's work on history was very useful. He died in 279/892; see GAS, v. 1, pp. 319-20.

⁴⁷) Abū Zakariyya Yaḥyā b. Ma'in b. 'Aun al-Murri (b. 158/775) was a student of 'Abd Allāh b. Mubārak, Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, and Waki' b. al-Jarrāḥ b. Mulayḥ. He has been greatly praised for his reliability and al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and Abū Dā'ūd have related traditions from him. Yaḥyā was also renowned for his knowledge regarding biographical details and the genealogies of hadīth transmitters. He died in 233/847 in Madina.

Yaḥyā b. Ma'in wrote a rijāl work entitled Kalām Yaḥyā b. Ma'in fī al-rijāl which is also known as the Kitāb al-majrūḥin, which must not be confused with the work by Ibn Hibbān; see GAS, v. 1, pp. 106-7.

⁴⁸) Binā' (Amman ed.), p. 124; (Qumm ed.), p. 261. Ibn Ḥibbān, Kitāb al-majrūḥīn, 1st ed., 3 vols. (Ḥyderabad, 1390/1970), v. 2, p. 204. It is interesting to note that Ibn Ḥibbān mentions that Yaḥyā b. Ma'in's teachers, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak and Wakī', narrated from Faḍl Ibn Dalham. However, Ibn Dalham must not have been

Another narrator of a tradition in favor of Abū Bakr in reference to verse 9:119 is called al-Daḥḥāk. Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes Ibn Ḥibbān who states that there are three men with that name who narrated weak traditions. They are al-Daḥḥāk b. Nibrās, al-Daḥḥāk b. Zayd al-Ahwāzī, and al-Daḥḥāk b. Ḥajwa al-Manbiji. 49) He further states that the traditions narrated by Juwaybir b. Sa'd, who hails from Balkh, were regarded as weak by Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, and Juwaybir was known to have narrated "transposed things" (ashyā' maqlūba) from al-Daḥḥāk. 50) Ibn Ḥibbān says that Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn and 'Abd al-Raḥmān (al-Nasā'ī) did not relate any traditions from Juwaybir b. Sa'd. Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn was queried regarding Juwaybir's reliability by Muḥammad b. Maḥmud and the former replied that his traditions were weak. 51)

Moreover, any *ḥadīth* related by a member of the family of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr is not to be trusted for the family of Zubayr was hostile to the *ahl al-bayt*.⁵²)

Ibn Tāwūs stressed the point that it is irrelevant whether a narrator of hadith is Sunni or Shi'i. In fact, he appears to take great pains in establishing the identity of those narrators who are not "one of us" (min ghayrinā), i.e. those who are of the Sunni persuasion, who are beyond moral reproach, and above all, well-disposed towards the family of the Prophet. Therefore, he quotes hadiths frequently that have been transmitted and/or recorded by men like al-Tha'labī (d. 427/1035)⁵³), Ibn 'Abd

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considered completely unreliable, for Ibn Ḥibbān also mentions that "he was one of those who made mistakes but his mistakes were not so egregious as to invalidate polemical argumentation based on them" (ibid.).

⁴⁹) These names are garbled in the original manuscripts; see $Bin\bar{a}^{\flat}$, (Amman ed.), p. 124; (Qumm ed.), p. 261. The editor of the Amman edition al-Samarrā i was unable to find these names in the Jarh because they are listed in the $Majr\bar{u}hin$ (v. 1, p. 379) as given here.

⁵⁰) *Kitāb al-majrūḥin*, v. 1, p. 217.

 $^{^{51}}$) $Bin\bar{a}^{\flat}$, (Amman ed.), p. 124; (Qumm ed.), p. 261; cf. Ibn Hibbān Kitāb almajrūhin, v. 1, p. 217.

⁵²) Binā' (Amman ed.), p. 120; (Qumm ed.), p. 254.

⁵³) He is Abū Ishāq al-Tha'labī, the author of a well-regarded Qur'an commentary Al-Kashf wa al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān. He was generally regarded as a reliable and trustworthy transmitter of hadīth (sahīh al-naql mawthūq bih); see Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-a'yān wa anbā' abnā' al-zamān, 2 vols. (Bulāq, 1299 A. H.), v. 1, p. 30; Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, supplements, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1943–9; subsequently referred to as GAL; the supplements referred to as GAL, S) vol. 1, p. 592.

al-Barr al-Maghribī (d. $463/1070)^{54}$), Abu Nu'aym (d. $430/1038)^{55}$), Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. $150/767)^{56}$), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā (d. 148

Al-Khwānsāri describes him as a devoted Sunni, an Ash'arī, and very partisan in his sentiments (Rawdat, vol. 8, p. 222). His well-known work Kitab al-isti'āb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb is a collection of biographies of the Prophet's family and Companions, in which Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's great attachment to the Āl Muḥammad is clearly evident. See El², vol. 3, p. 674; Rawdat, vol. 8, pp. 222–26.

- ⁵⁵) Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mahrān al-Isbahānī was one of the prominent huffāz and a prolific traditionist. Ibn Khallikān reports that he related the traditions of the best authorities (al-afādil) while others narrated from him and "benefited from him" (intafa'ū bih). (Wafayāt, v. 1, p. 37). One of Abū Nu'aym's irreproachable authorities was another Abū Nu'aym (al-Fadl b. Dukayn b. Ḥammād al-Taymī, d. 219/934) from whom al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal also narrated ḥadīths (GAS, vol. 1, p. 101). See also GAL, vol. 1, pp. 445–46; S, vol. 1, pp. 616–17; al-Subkī, Tabaqāt al-shāfi'iyya (Cairo, 1324 A. H.), v. 5, p. 17.
- ⁵⁶) Abū al-Ḥasan Muqātil b. Sulaymān b. Bashir al-Azdī al-Khurasānī al-Balkhī was a traditionist and commentator on the Qur'ān of the second/seventh century. He wrote several commentaries on the Qur'an, among which is his *Tafsīr al-Qur'an*, surviving in the recension of Abū Ṣaliḥ al-Hudhayl al-Dandānī (fl. early ninth century).

It should be noted, however, that Muqātil b. Sulaymān has been criticized both for providing faulty $isn\bar{a}ds$ for traditions as well as for not providing complete $isn\bar{a}ds$ for them. His Qur'ānic exegesis has also been subject to criticism. His biographers circulated reports concerning his propensity to fabricate matters. For this he was labeled as $al\text{-}Kadhdh\bar{a}b$ ("the pathological liar") and $al\text{-}Dajj\bar{a}l$ ("the impostor") by his critics. Al-Bukhārī forbade anyone to narrate $had\bar{i}ths$ from him. Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath counseled people to avoid his $had\bar{i}ths$. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Al-Nasā'ī remarked that those liars $(al\text{-}kadhdh\bar{a}b\bar{u}n)$ known for fabricating $had\bar{i}ths$ on the authority of the Prophet were four: Ibn Abī Yaḥyā in Madīna, al-Wāqidī in Baghdad, Muqātil b. Sulaymān in Khorasān, and Muḥammad b. Sa'īd, known as "al-Maslūb", in Syria. (For the specific opinions of other scholars regarding him, see Ibn Khallikān, Wafayat, v. 2, p. 166).

Muqātil b. Sulaymān was linked to various sectarian groups, such as the Murji'a and the Zaydiyya. (The latter affiliation is significant, for we know from the $Bin\bar{a}$ ' al- $maq\bar{a}la$ that Ibn Tāwūs favored the views of the Jārūdiyya, also a Zaydī sect.) He was also accused of being a strong proponent of anthropomorphism (see Ibn Ḥibbān, $Kit\bar{a}b$ al- $majr\bar{u}h\bar{i}n$, v. 3, p. 14 where he states "wa $k\bar{a}n$ shibhiyy yushabbih al-rabb bi al- $makhl\bar{u}q\bar{i}n$ "). All of these accusations further eroded his credibility. His commentaries therefore did not gain popularity nor prestige; al-Tabarī, for example, makes no reference to his work. Muqātil, however, enjoyed renown in his own day

 $^{^{54}}$) Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Barr was born in 368/978 into a family of Cordovan scholars. He was regarded as the best traditionist of his time and was also a distinguished jurist and genealogist. He was a contemporary of Ibn Ḥazm whom he knew personally. He was appointed $q\bar{a}d\bar{t}$ of Lisbon and Santarem.

A. H)⁵⁷), Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭriq (d. 600/1023 or 606/1210)⁵⁸), Ibn al-Maghāzilī (d. 483/1090)⁵⁹), Aḥmad b. Mūsa b. Mardawayh (d. 410/1019)⁶⁰), Razīn al-ʿAbdarī (d. 525/1130 or 535/1140)⁶¹), Akhṭab Khuṭabā' Khwārazm (d. 568/1172)⁶²), Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967), the author of the *Kitāb al-*

as a prolific commentator on the Qur'an and it is assumed that his works were utilized by later scholars but without formal acknowledgement. See El², v. 7, Fasc. 121–22, pp. 508–9; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, v. 2, pp. 165–66; Nabia Abbot, Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. II: Qur'anic Commentary and Tradition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 92–113; GAS, vol. 1, pp. 36–37.

⁵⁷) This is Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Abī Laylā, born in 74 or 76 A. H. His father Abū 'Īsā (born 17/638) wa a supporter of 'Alī, took part on the latter's side in the Battle of the Camel, and related traditions from him. Ibn Abī Laylā was appointed $q\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ of Kufa in 123/741 and remained in this office under both the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids. His contemporary was Abū Ḥanifa who was a bitter rival. Some of his traditions have been recorded in the *Musnad* of Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal in the section entitled "Firdaws". (El², v. 3, pp. 687-88; Rawdāt, v. 7, pp. 252-57).

However, Ibn Hibbān has a very poor opinion of him; he states that Ibn Abī Laylā had a bad memory, was inclined to imagine things and prone to grievous mistakes ("kān radī' al-ḥifz kathir al-wahm fāḥish al-khaṭa'"; see Kitāb al-majrūḥīn, v. 2, p. 244). Yaḥyā b. Ma'in, for example, would not narrate from him (ibid.).

- ⁵⁸) Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Biṭrīq (in the *Riyād*, it is Biṭrīq without the definite article) al-Ḥillī is generally accepted as a reliable transmitter of ḥadīth. His book, Kitāb al-'umda (it's full name: al-'Umda fī 'uyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār) contains many traditions in praise of 'Alī. For his biography, consult Riyād, v. 5, pp. 354–59; Rawdāt, v. 8, pp. 196–97, Amal al-āmīl, v. 2, p. 345.
- ⁵⁹) Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jullabī Ibn al-Maghāzilī was a Shāfi'i $q\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ with strong pro-'Alīd sentiments and author of $Kit\bar{a}b$ al-manāqib $am\bar{i}r$ al-mu'-minin 'Alī b. Abī $T\bar{a}lib$; see 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī, $Kit\bar{a}b$ al-ans $\bar{a}b$, 13 vols. (Hyderabad, 1962–82), v. 3, p. 446.
- ⁶⁰) Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Mardawayh b. Fūrak al-Iṣfahāni b. Murdawayh was a traditionist, a Qur'ān commentator, a historian, and a geographer, see GAS, v. 1, p. 225; Ibn Shahrāshūb, $Ma^{c}\bar{a}lim\ al^{c}ulam\bar{a}^{o}$ (Najaf, 1380/1961), p. 138, # 957; Ibn al-'Imād, Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab, 8 vols. (Cairo, 1350–1 A. H.), v. 3, p. 190; al-Dhahabi, Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz, 4 vols. (Hyderabad, 1955–58), v. 3, p. 238.
- ⁶¹) Razīn b. Mu'āwiya Abū al-Ḥasan al-'Abdari al-Andalusi was a prominent traditionist. He is the author of the work *Tajrīd al-ṣiḥāh*, in which he quotes frequently from al-Bukhāri and Muslim. He resided in Makka and died there in Muḥarram, 535 A.H.; see *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, v. 4, p. 106; GAL, S, v. 1, p. 630.
- ⁶²) Abū al Mu'ayyad al-Muwaffaq b. Ahmad b. Abī Sa'īd Ishāq known as Akhtab Khutabā' Khwārazm (or Khwārizmi) was a student of al-Zamakhshari and a Hanafi scholar. He is an important source for Ibn Ţāwūs for the latter refers to him frequently; see GAL, S, v. 1, p. 623.

aghānī⁶³), and the authors of the six Sunni canonical compilations of hadīth: al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasā'ī, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Māja, and Abū Dā'ūd as well as Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal.

Finally, from a close analysis of Ibn Tāwūs' use of *hadīth* as polemical proofs, it becomes apparent that many of the traditions he quotes are ultimately attributed to the great Companion of the Prophet Ibn 'Abbās. It is clear that, on the whole, Ibn 'Abbās would meet with Ibn Tāwūs' overwhelming approval. He had sterling credentials as a *hadīth* and Qur'ān scholar and his sympathies appear to be essentially pro-'Alid. It is not only the Shī'a who venerate him; his stature among the Sunnis is just as great for all acknowledge his voluminous knowledge and understanding of the religious sciences. Both Ibn Tāwūs and al-Jāḥiz quote numerous traditions on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās for no one offered legitimation for a *hadīth* as readily and surely as he. both Ibn Tāwūs and al-Jāḥiz quote numerous traditions on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās for no one offered legitimation for a *hadīth* as readily and surely as he. both Ibn Tāwūs and al-Jāḥiz quote numerous traditions on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās for no one offered legitimation for a *hadīth* as readily and surely as he. both Ibn Tāwūs analysis of Ibn 'Abbās for no one offered legitimation for a *hadīth* as readily and surely as he.

With regard to women narrators, 'Ā'isha is the most often quoted. The following four women who related the Ghadir Khumm tradition were also declared to be reliable transmitters:⁶⁶) Fāṭima bint Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭtalib, the Prophet's cousin; Umm Salama, the daughter of Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra and wife of the Prophet; Umm Hāni', the daughter of Abū Tālib

⁶³) Ibn Dā'ūd considers al-Isfahānī to be a narrator of weak hadiths (min al- $du'af\bar{a}'$); see his $Rij\bar{a}l$, v. 2, p. 568.

⁶⁴) Al-Jāḥiz, for example, on his part states his admiration for Ibn 'Abbās in no unmistakable terms. He claims that there was none more knowledgeable regarding the interpretation of the Qur'ān than Ibn 'Abbās and that other well-known exegetes of his generation such as Mujāhid, Daḥḥāk, and 'Ikrima were a notch below him, see the 'Uthmāniyya, p. 119.

For biographies of Ibn 'Abbās, see, for example, Ibn Sa'd, Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr, ed. Edward Sachau, 8 vols, (Leyden, 1904–8), v. 2, pt. 2, pp. 119–24; al-Ṭūsī, Ikhtiyār ma'rifat al-rijāl, ed. al-Sayyid Mahdī al-Rajā'ī, 5 vols. (no place or publisher, n.d.), v. 1, pp. 271–80; Ibn Kathir, Tafsir al-Qur'ān al-'azīm, 7 vols, (Cairo, 1356/1937), v. 1, pp. 4–5; Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba, 8 vols. (Cairo, 1328 A. H.), v. 2, pp. 807–10; Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, Tārīkh al-islām wa ṭabaqāt al-mashāhir wa al-a'lām (Cairo, 1367/1947), v. 3, pp. 30–33; El², under "'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās", v. 1, pp. 40–41; Claude Gilliot, "Portrait 'mythique' d'Ibn 'Abbas," Arabica, 32 (1985), pp. 127–83.

⁶⁵) The medieval Muslim jurist, al-Shāfi'i, had come to the conclusion that fabrications in the name of Ibn 'Abbās had been so widespread that only about a hundred traditions attributed to him could be held to be reliable; see Rashid Ahmad's "Qur'ānic Exegesis" in *Islamic Quarterly*, 12 (1960), p. 80.

⁶⁶⁾ Binā (Amman ed.), p. 145; (Qumm ed.), p. 301.

and 'Alī's sister; and Asmā' bint 'Umays al-Khath'amiyya.⁶⁷) It is interesting to note that since the *Binā' al-maqāla* was written as a polemical treatise with a Sunni audience in mind, relatively few *ḥadīths* are quoted on the authority of Shī'ī sources.⁶⁸)

2) The Nature of the Transimission of Hadith

According to Ibn Tāwūs, one of the principal differences between himself and al-Jāḥiz is that he always provides detailed $isn\bar{a}ds$, when available, for the traditions that he uses, whereas al-Jāḥiz provides either a perfunctory one or none at all. The most reliable traditions are those which have $isn\bar{a}ds$ that are $muttasil\ marf\bar{u}^c$, i.e. having an uninterrupted chain of transmission going back to the source, and those that are called $mutaw\bar{a}tir$, i.e. those traditions which enjoy wide attestation and circulation so as to preclude the possibility of fabrication.

For example, the Ghadir Khumm and the manzila traditions are two of the most important traditions employed by the Shī'a in defense of their position that 'Alī enjoyed a unique relationship with the Prophet and was designated as the successor to Muḥammad during the latter's life-time. It is of the utmost importance therefore that these traditions be presented with their full $isn\bar{a}ds$ and attributed to as many different sources as possible

In the case of the Ghadir Khumm tradition, Ibn Ṭāwūs thus takes great care in establishing the *ittisāl* or "continuity" for the different chains of

⁶⁷) Asmā' bint 'Umays occupies a special place in hadīth transmission among the Shi'a for they believe that she was vouchsafed a special book (kitāb) containing prophetic traditions. She was the sister of Maymūna bint al-Ḥārith, wife of the Prophet and was one of the early converts to Islam, having accepted Islam before the Prophet entered the house of Arqam. She emigrated to Abyssinia with her first husband, Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, 'Alī's brother. When Ja'far died, the Prophet gave her in marriage to Abū Bakr and she gave birth to their son, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. She later married 'Alī and gave birth to their son, 'Aun.

Asmā' related several traditions from the Prophet. Those who have narrated traditions on her authority are Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib, 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, her son, 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, her grandson, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, and her nephew, the celebrated 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās, the son of her sister, Lubāba bint al-Ḥārith; see Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, v. 8, pp. 205–9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, v. 4, p. 231, #51; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1883) v. 2, p. 114, 128.

⁶⁸) It is interesting to note that in deference to his Sunni audience, Ibn Tāwūs refers to the Shi'i Imams by their actual names instead of by their *kunyas* as would be customary in a Shi'i work; for example, he refers to the sixth Imam as Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (*Binā*', [Amman ed.], p. 125; [Qumm ed.], p. 263) and not as Abū 'Abd Allāh.

transmission he records for the hadīth, while documenting at the same time its tawātur. In one version of the tradition related by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (whom Ibn Ṭāwūs calls "the great learned shaykh, a quarter of those who are affiliated with the sunna", with an isnād "in which I do not know of any Rāfīdī"), Barā' 'Āzib, the Companion of the Prophet, states the following:

[The Prophet] took the hand of 'Alī and asked [the people present]: "Don't you know that I am the friend and patron $(wali)^{69}$ of the believers [to a higher degree] than their own souls?" they said, "Yes, indeed". Then he said, "Don't you know that I am closer to $(awl\bar{a})$ every believer than his own soul is?" They said, "Yes, indeed". So he took 'Alī by the hand and said [to them], "O God, he whose friend and patron $(mawl\bar{a})$ I am, 'Alī is his friend and patron too. O God, befriend those who befriend him and be hostile to those who are hostile to him".

After that 'Umar met him and said, "Congratulations, O son of Abū Tālib, you have become the friend and patron of every believing man and woman".⁷⁰)

A shorter variant of this tradition with an *isnād* that has no Rāfiḍi narrator in it is attributed to Zayd b. Arqam. Other versions of the tradition⁷¹) are attributed to Shu'ba, to Abū Ayyūb, to Zādhān, to Zayd b. Arqam (that is, in a different chain of transmission other than the one give above), to Sa'īd b. Wahb, to Abū Isḥāq, to Barā' b. 'Āzib (other than the one given above), to Zayd b. Arqam again, to Ṭāwūs from his father, to Ibn Burayda from his father, and to Ibn Burayda himself. Ibn Mardawayh has

⁶⁹) Words derived from the Arabic root wly are particularly problematic for translation, since as is well known, they are prone to different interpretations depending on the context and also, depending on one's own preferences. The word $mawl\bar{a}$ in particular has caused much spirited discussion, since its meanings range from diametrically opposed "a master" or "a patron" to "a client" or "a protegé".

The translation here is mine. I have used the most common interpretation of the various derivatives of wly, being aware that the English equivalents are deficient in capturing the full range of the semantic content of the original Arabic lexemes.

⁷⁰) Binā' (Amman ed.), p. 142; (Qumm ed.), p. 293.

⁷¹) See Ibid. (Amman ed.), p. 143 ff., (Qumm ed.), p. 294 ff. for Ibn Tāwūs' detailed documentation of this *ḥadīth*.

related this tradition in numerous ways (min turug kathira jiddan). Ahmad Ibn Hanbal has related six versions of this tradition. This tradition is also reported by Razin al-'Abdari and Abū Dā'ud al-Sijistāni in their hadith compilations. Al-Tirmidhi records this tradition in his Sahih, which is narrated by Abū Surayḥa from Zayd b. Arqam. Al-Dāraquṭni relates this tradition in his Jāmi' from 'Umar b. al-Khattāb with two different chains of transmissions; from Ibn 'Abbās and from 'Adī b. Thābit with one line of transmission each. In his Khaṣā'is amir al-mu'minin, al-Nasā'i records nine versions of this tradition; two are related by Zayd b. Yuthay'a, another two by Zayd b. Argam, one from al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, and another from Ibn Ḥusayn on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar. Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabari, the Qur'ān commentator and historian, records seventy-five chains of transmission for this tradition while Abū Bakr al-Juwayni gives one hundred twenty-five chains of transmission in his work. Ibn Manda⁷²) narrated one hundred and five versions of the tradition. Abū al-'Alā' al-Hamadhāni claims to have narrated the tradition with two hundred and thirty different chains of transmission. The tradition has also been related by Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, by Muslim b. al-Haytham al-Nisābūri, and by Abū Nu'aym al-Ḥāfiz in his work entitled Hilyat al-awliyā'. Abū al-Hasan 'Ali b. Khamarawayh al-Shāfi'i al-Wāsiţī related the tradition in seventy-two ways, and their isnāds contain the names of Fatima bint Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muttalib; Umm Salama, the wife of the Prophet; Umm Hāni', the daughter of Abū Tālib; and Asmā' bint 'Umays al-Khath'amiyya. The tradition has also been reported by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Uqda in hundred ways.

Another unassailable authority, Abū 'Umar al-Shāṭibī [i.e. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr], who is not among the Rāfiḍa, has narrated the Ghadīr Khumm tradition. Many of the Prophet's close companions such as Abū Hurayra, Jābir b. 'Abdallāh, al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, and Zayd b. Arqam have reported the hadīth directly from the Prophet. Abū 'Umar al-Shāṭibī affirms that all of the above reports are well-established.⁷³)

This lengthy list of the chains of transmission that Ibn Ţāwūs provides for the Ghadīr Khumm tradition is meant to prove that it is a *mutawātir*

⁷²) This name appears in both editions of the *Binā'* al-maqāla as Ibn 'Anda, which leads al-Ghurayfi to identify him with Qāḍi al-Quḍāt Muḥammad b. 'Abda b. Ḥarb al-'Abādāni al-Baṣri (d. 313/922). Al-Samarrā'i suggests the reading Ibn Manda, which seems to be the most plausible. This would refer to the traditionist Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Ibn Manda al-'Andī al-Iṣfahāni (d. 395/1005), a contemporary and rival of Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī; see GAS, v. 1, pp. 214–15.

⁷³) Binā', (Amman ed.), pp. 145-46; (Qumm ed.), pp. 392-93.

tradition, the soundness of which therefore cannot be disputed. Ibn Tāwūs also takes care to point out that many of these reports have come down from impeccable, non-Rāfiḍi sources. This contradicts al-Jāḥiz' assertion and makes it impossible for someone endowed with understanding $(dh\bar{u}lubb)$ to reject these reports.⁷⁴)

Ibn Tāwūs follows the same procedure for the *manzila* tradition, listing the various authorities who have affirmed its soundness. According to this tradition, the Prophet is believed to have stated to 'Alī the following,

Your position (manzila) with regard to me is like that of Aaron's with regard to Moses except that there is no Prophet after me.⁷⁵)

Al-Jāḥiz remarks that the Shī'a quote the manzila tradition on the authority of one man only, 'Āmir b. Sa'd, who understood it differently. The surface states are sufficiently and that this hadīth has been narrated by a majority of the Companions of the Prophet, and that it is one of the best ducumented and most reliable traditions. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās has related this tradition from the Prophet himself, and the tradition consequently has been passed down on Sa'd's authority through many chains of transmission, as reported by Abū Khaythama and many others. Ibn 'Abbās, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, Umm Salama, Asmā' bint 'Umays, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, and many others besides them have narrated it. Ibn Mardawayh has documented this tradition in two tomes; Ibn al-Biṭrīq in one. The great Sunni compilers of tradition, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī, and Muslim have also reported this tradition.

Ibn Tāwūs goes through the same lengthy process for the $t\bar{a}$ ir tradition and the mu $\bar{a}kh\bar{a}t$ tradition⁷⁹), two more traditions which also testify to the special relationship that existed between 'Alī and the Prophet. Ibn Tāwūs

⁷⁴) Ibid., Amman ed), p. 145; (Qumm ed.), p. 292.

⁷⁵) According to Wensinck, this tradition is reported by al-Bukhārī in his section on Fadā'il aṣḥāb al-nabī, ch. 9; by al-Tirmidhī in his section on Manāqib, ch. 20; by Ibn Māja, and by Ibn Ḥanbal in his Musnad.

⁷⁶) *al-'Uthmāniyya*, p. 160.

⁷⁷) Kitāb al-istī 'āb, v. 2, p. 459.

⁷⁸) Binā' (Amman ed.), pp. 146-47; (Qumm ed.) p. 303 ff. According to Wensinck (v. 6, p. 422), this tradition is recorded by al-Bukhārī, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Māja and Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, but not by Muslim.

⁷⁹) This is the tradition which states that the Prophet chose 'Alī as his brother in Madina when the Makkan Muhājirūn were being paired with the Madinese Anṣār.

meticulously documents the various sources which confirm the authenticity of these two traditions in the manner described above. ⁸⁰) It should be pointed out here that although the various chains of transmission documented by Ibn Tāwūs for the $t\bar{a}$ ir tradition ultimately go back to only one man, Anas b. Mālik (as mentioned earlier), this has no bearing on the $taw\bar{a}tur$ of the tradition for Ibn Tāwūs. A tradition is $mutaw\bar{a}tir$ because it has been transmitted by a significant number of narrators of unimpeachable reputation in several lines of transmission so as to invite belief in it and making possible the derivation of legal principles from it, regardless of whether it is ultimately attributed to one Companion only, such as Anas in the $t\bar{a}$ ir tradition, or Ibn 'Abbās in a majority of others, or whether it is attributable to several Companions. ⁸¹)

In the *Binā* al-maqāla, Ibn Ṭāwūs engages in ḥadīth criticism of this nature to support on the one hand, his basic thesis that Alī alone enjoyed a special standing in Islam, second only to the Prophet, and that he was the designated successor to the Prophet and leader of the Muslim community, and on the other, to discredit the traditions that show Abū Bakr in a positive light.

Appraisal of Ibn Ţāwūs' Methodology of Ḥadīth Criticism

In a final appraisal of Ibn Tāwūs' contribution to Shī'i 'ilm al-ḥadīth, the following remarks seem apposite. Ibn Tāwūs sets up rigorous criteria for determining the reliability of ḥadīths, the most important of which is the reliability of the ruwāt or the ḥadīth transmitters. To be considered reliable, ḥadīth transmitters must possess personal integrity and must be able to provide flawless isnāds for their traditions. What is also apparent from the preceding analysis is that the ruwāt must, above all, be favorably disposed towards the family of the Prophet, in particular towards 'Alī. As we read through the Binā' al-maqāla, we discover upon closer scrutiny that the last of the three requirements often outweighs the first two when it is convenient to Ibn Tāwūs' polemical reasoning.

For example, Ibn Tāwūs repudiates al-Sha'bī's commentary upon the Qur'ān and the traditions he narrates because the latter had been a close

⁸⁰) See $Bin\bar{a}^{5}$ (Amman ed.), pp. 146-48 for the $t\bar{a}^{5}ir$ tradition; (Qumm ed.), pp. 307-9 and (Amman ed.), p. 148; (Qumm ed.), pp. 309-11 for the $mu^{5}\bar{a}kh\bar{a}t$ tradition.

⁸¹) This view was also adopted by al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī who defines the *mutawātir* tradition as one leading to immediate knowledge (*inna khabar al-mutawātir yufīd al-'ilm al-ḍarūrī*); see *Mabādī' al-wuṣūl*, p. 199; cf. El², v. 7, p. 781, where knowledge engendered by the *mutawātir* tradition is described as "'immediate' (*ḍarūrī*) just like senseperception and not 'acquired' (*muktasab*) by reasoning".

associate of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik. This presumably meant that al-Sha'bī was not favorably disposed towards the *ahl al-bayt*; he had also moreover been accused of embezzling funds. But similar charges could be levied against the celebrated Ibn 'Abbās, for he is believed to have consorted with the Umayyads later in his political career and, according to some accounts, had made off with the treasury of Basra. ⁸²) The important difference is that there are numerous traditions attributed to Ibn 'Abbās that speak of 'Alī and the *ahl al-bayt* in an exceptionally favorably light. Al-Sha'bī, on the other hand, is on record as having questioned 'Alī's infallibility.

It is also curious that Ibn Ṭāwūs considers Ibn Abī Laylā to be a reliable transmitter. Ibn Ḥibbān clearly indicates in his *Kitāb al-majrūḥīn* that Ibn Abī Laylā had an unsavory reputation as a *muḥaddith* and that he narrated from al-Sha^cbī whose reports Ibn Ṭāwūs had repudiated. However, since Ibn Abī Laylā had also narrated *ḥadīth*s in favor of the *ahl al-bayt*, his shortcomings as a narrator appear to have been overlooked.

I had earlier mentioned that Ibn Ţāwūs criticizes al-Jāḥiz severely for not providing complete $isn\bar{a}ds$ for the traditions the latter quotes or for providing defective $isn\bar{a}ds$ for them. It is therefore disconcerting to find that in the $Bin\bar{a}$ al-maqāla, there are instances when Ibn Ṭāwūs relies on Muqātil b. Sulayman for commentary on Qur'ānic verses that reflect favorably upon 'Alī and the ahl al-bayt. This is significant because, as we noted earlier, Muqātil b. Sulayman had acquired notoriety among Qur'ānic scholars and traditionists for being inclined to fabricate traditions and for providing faulty or imcomplete $isn\bar{a}ds$ for the traditions he quoted in favor of his interpretations.⁸³) Yet, Ibn Ṭāwūs shows no reluctance in relying upon the

After Ibn 'Abbās' resignation from public office, he is reported to have emptied out the treasury (bayt al-māl) of Basra and absconded with the funds to the Ḥijāz. Al-Kishshi in his Rijāl gives a detailed account of the heated correspondence that took place between 'Alī and Ibn 'Abbās after this event; see al-Ṭūsī, Ikhtiyār ma' rifat al-rijāl, v. 1, pp. 279-80. When 'Alī reproached Ibn 'Abbās severely in a letter for this apparently criminal act, Ibn 'Abbās replied defiantly, "By my life, I have much more in God's treasury than I have taken". During a second run of correspondence, Ibn 'Abbās responded to another reproachful letter from 'Alī by saying, "It is preferable that I meet God with all the gold and carnelian on the face of the earth than meet him with the blood of Muslim men". This was a pointed reference to Muslim blood shed during the battle of Nahrawān against the Khawārij, of which Ibn 'Abbās seems to have disapproved. Ibn 'Abbās may also no longer have recognized 'Alī's right to the caliphate considering the latter to have been effectively deposed by the decision of the arbitrators at Siffin.

⁸³⁾ See *supra*, n. 56.

traditions cited by Muqātil to prove that a particular Qur'ānic verse was in reference to 'Alī and his virtues. Ibn Ṭāwūs could not have been unaware of the controversy surrounding Muqātil. The author of Kitāb al-istī'āb, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Maghribī, whom Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes profusely, indicates quite plainly that Muqātil's reputation as a muḥaddith was severely blemished as does Ibn Ḥibbān in his Kitāb al-majrūḥīn. This requirement thus appears to have been waived in the case of an authority who can provide corroboration for Ibn Ṭāwūs' position.

The above appraisal should not, however, detract in any way from Ibn Tāwūs's preeminent position in Shī'ī 'ilm al-ḥadīth. He remains the scholar who gave Shī'ī ḥadīth studies a whole new direction and provided the necessary groundwork and impetus for a new intellectual trend within Imāmī Shī'ism which would eventually usher in the Uṣūlī movement. An understanding of Ibn Tāwūs' methodology of ḥadīth criticism helps illumine an important realm within the evolving discipline of Shī'ī studies.