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Notes on Alfred von Kremer's edition of Wāqidy's Campaigns.—By
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(SECOND NOTICE.)

I possess an Arabic MS. which has the title of *Jamharat al-'Arab* and contains seven times seven ancient poems (the first seven being the *Mo'-allaqát*) and also episodes from the early history of the Arabs in a poetical garb.

The first episode is the story of Barráq (Persian authors call him *Majnún*) and *Laylà*. She was the youngest and handsomest daughter of an Arab chief and had two sisters. The eldest of them *So'dà* was married to *Tha'labah*, the *Lame*, king of *Petra*, and the second to *Shabyb*, a chief of the *Tay* Arabs. Barráq, the hero of the story, fell in love with the youngest.

When Barráq was young he used to go out to the pasture grounds, milk the camels and carry the milk to a Christian hermit, who instructed him in reading the gospel, for our hero was a Christian.

He had hardly attained the age of twenty-five when the celebrated war broke out between the Arab tribes of *Mesopotamia* and the *Syrian desert*, and afforded Barráq an opportunity of giving proofs of his bravery. Without following the original in the historical details of this war, I content myself with saying, that he surpassed all other warriors in courage and obtained the title of *Father of Victory*.

Ibn Náfi' who tells us the story next introduces specimens of the liberality and generosity of his hero. Some *'Adwán* families were in debt and they sent to Barráq to solicit his assistance. He gave them all his own camels, and as they were not sufficient to extricate them from their difficulties, he gave them also those of his father and of his brother. The former reproved him for his prodigality, but the strain in which he extolled the merits of liberality not only moved his father to similar feelings, but it induced the *Tay* tribe to give to the needy *'Adwánities* more than double as much as they required.

Lokayz, the father of *Laylà* was a friend of *'Amr b. Morrah*, the Laird of *Çahbán*, and used now and then to spend a few days in his

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castle. The beauty and soft feminine character of Laylà had become known all over the desert, and were the theme of conversation among the Arabian chiefs. One day as Lokayz was staying with the Laird, he demanded his daughter in marriage. Lokayz had not the courage to refuse him, but he did not give him a promise.

The rivalry of these two lovers is the plot of the story which throughout is with great art connected with the political history of the time to heighten its interest. It is not my intention to give the outline of it, but I wish to call the attention of the reader to the method of treating the subject, which is peculiar to the Arabs and constitutes their epos. The narrative is in prose, whose only charm is its great simplicity, and it forms only a small proportion of the work. The greater part of the story consists of speeches, disputations, and monologues, which are all in verse and not without poetical beauty. They are always dignified and contain noble passions, and much wisdom.

Compositions of this description seem at all times to have been popular among the Arabs. The earliest and most beautiful specimen is the book of Job. It consists almost entirely of speeches, which are highly poetical. One of the productions, which up to this day are popular at Damascus is the *Dywán Bany Hilál*, which consists chiefly of poetical monologues and disputations.

The first century after the conquests of the Arabs was the most poetical age recorded in oriental history. Savages, with great natural talents, were the masters of the fairest countries in the world. The luxuries of civilized life have a great charm which they could not resist. They lived in great ease in the cities of Syria, Egypt and Persia, their only occupation being the exercise of arms and the defence of the country. The wealthy ryots were the slaves of the Musalmán community and had to support them. As these barbarians advanced in civilization they looked back with pride and veneration on the simple manners and exalted heroism of their fathers. Refinement and luxury deprived them of the energy to imitate their example but they filled them with a taste for what is beautiful and great. The traditions regarding the original condition and exploits of their ancestors assumed therefore more and more an ideal character; and a poetical light was poured over the history

of Arabia and of the origin of the Islám, and like the heroes of olden times, the actors were endowed with every quality which they considered noble. It was during this age that the genealogies of the Arabic tribes were invented or constructed out of ethnographical materials and that most of the poems ascribed to the time of paganism were made. Poetry was in those days the vehicle of public opinion, and exercised the same influence on politics which in our days is exercised by newspapers.

One of the most favorite themes of the poets of those days seems to have been the history, not only of Arabia but also the sacred history and all history which had reached them. It does not appear that they made many alterations, the shape in which it reached them being fabulous enough for all purposes, but they filled it with poetical effusions. The early Arabic historians quote seriously elegies which Adam recited on the death of Abel, hymns which Noah chanted in descending from the ark, and songs which Kayumorth recited on ascending the throne.

Up to this day we have two sets of works on the life of Moḥammad. The one professes to be historical, and it would be profanation to read a work like Ibn Hishám in a coffee-house. The other set of works is legendary, and intended to be read before meetings in the month of Raby' I. and such books are frequently related for edification and amusement in coffee-houses by paid story-tellers. These legendary biographies of Moḥammad are usually called *Moled* مولد, because they contain more particularly the birth of the prophet. The most celebrated *Moled* is that of Bakry, who wrote in 763.

It is but natural that the history of the prophet should have occupied the historical poets or poetical historians of the first century more than any other episode of the history of our race. And much that was legend in the first century was regarded as history in the second, although the difference between history and legend was even then carefully kept in view.

In referring to Ibn Isháq, d. 151, we find that his biography of the prophet contains a great deal that has the character of what I called above the epos of the Arabs. Thus in page 106, he gives an account of the death of 'Abd al-Mottalib, the grandfather and guardian of the prophet, and he relates that he sent for his six

daughters, and said to them: I am dying, but I should like to hear in my last moments how you express your grief on my death. Each of them repeated improviso an elegy which Ibn Isháq has preserved.

This scene and the manner in which it is treated mark the peculiarity of what I call the Epos of the Arabs. Their poets delight to view an important or touching occurrence from all its sides, and in order to make this kind of moralizing less tedious, they put the expression of their sentiments into the mouths of persons, who were most concerned in it. Thus in the story of Barráq and Laylà, the chiefs of the tribe, successively give their opinion to Lokayz on his intention of *selling* his daughter to a man of another tribe. And in the book of Job the story is subordinate to the speeches which contain the different views which people entertain on the changes of fortune. Similar remnants of the early poetical and legendary biography of the prophet are frequent in Ibn Isháq, and, if we only know what view to take of them, they are of great interest.

It would be a matter of great interest to ascertain the names of these poetical historians. Before attempting to identify them, it appears to be expedient to bring to the notice of the reader, some of the men who in the first century propagated the history of the prophet, true or false.

If we compare the oldest accounts we possess as those of Ibn Isháq, d. 151; of Abú Isháq 'Amr b. 'Abd Allah, d. 127 (quoted by Ibn Hibbán and Bokháry), of Ibn Aby Shaybah, d. 235; of Ibn 'Oqbah, d. 141 (quoted by Ibn Sayyid alnás), we find a very great resemblance in the division of the subject and even in the expression. If we follow up the authorities which these writers quote we find the further we go back the closer the various accounts approach, so that they appear to be different texts of the same original with trifling, but sometimes important and evidently intentional alterations, and also with some additions and omissions, I might quote numerous examples to prove this assertion, but they would take up several pages, and I therefore content myself with referring for an instance to my notes in this Journal, Vol. 21 p. 576 on Bahyrah's journey to Makkah.

The natural inference from these premises, seems to be that in

the first century the biography of the prophet had assumed a stereotype form, and that the earliest works which we have on it are copies of this stereotype biography. To suppose that a *written* record (beyond memoranda), has reached the authors whom we have just mentioned would be an assertion which cannot be proved. The similarity of the earliest accounts can be sufficiently accounted for by assuming that they all come from the same place, and from the same school, and that some eminent persons took the lead in that school.

During the first century of the Hijrah, the principal seat of learning was Madynah. Even during the second century, it was superior to any other city, though many learned men emigrated to Babylonia, which rose rapidly to importance.

About the year 100 of the Hijrah, there flourished a man at Madynah of the name of Shorahbyl b. Sa'd, who attained to great celebrity for his knowledge of the campaigns and life of the prophet in which, it was thought he surpassed all his contemporaries. He was a client of the Hotamah, an Ançar family, and like other learned men, he was daily to be found in the great mosque of Madynah, ready to relate traditions of the prophet to any one who liked to listen to them. At the same time he was himself anxious to obtain new ones from his elders. Among those from whom he collected his information in his youth were the best informed contemporaries of the prophet, as Zayd b. Thábit who used to write down the revelations for the prophet and d. in 48 or after 50; Jábir b. 'Abd Allah, d. at Madynah after A. H. 70, aged 94; 'Abd Allah, a son of the Khalif 'Omar, d. 73; 'Abd Allah b. 'Abbás, d. at Táyif in 68, aged 71 years; Abú Sa'yd Khodry, d. 74, and Abú Horayrah, joined the prophet three years before his death and d. in A. H. 59. Though these men are mentioned among his shaykhs, on comparing dates we find that he was too young when they died, for him to have derived much information from them; the bulk of his historical knowledge he must have obtained from later authorities. He was unfortunately very poor, and tried to turn his celebrity to account. If a man made him a handsome present, he would assure him that his father or grandfather or some other member of his family fought in every campaign of the prophet and held a high place in his favour;

but woe to the ancestors of a man who did not pay! They never had distinguished themselves during the age of the prophet except perhaps in the ranks of his enemies. Owing to this description of industry he got a bad name among his own biographers. Towards the end of his life his faculties failed him, and he died at an advanced age in A. H. 123.

Among those who took traditions from him are, according to the *Kamál*:

1. Músà b. 'Oqbah, d. 141.

2. Ibn Isháq, d. 151.

3. Abú Ma'shar, d. 175.

4. Yaḥyà b. Sa'yid Ançáry who was Qádhíy of Madynah and subsequently in the 'Iràq, where he died in 143. He was the most learned man of his age besides Zohry, Bokayr b. Ibn al-Ashajj and Abú-l-Zinnád. He had so faithful a memory that he used to dictate traditions to his pupils from memory, and if he subsequently rehearsed them, they found that he could repeat them literally as he had dictated them.

5. Ibn Aby Dzyb born in 80, died in 158.

6. 'Omárah b. 'Azyyah, d. 140.

7. Malik b. Anas, born in 93, d. 179.

8. Fíẓr b. Khalyfah, d. 155 or 153.

9. Moḥammad b. Ráshid, d. in 160 odd.

10. Ziyád b. Sa'd.

11. Abd al-Raḥmán b. Solaymán b. Ghasyl, d. 171.

12. 'Açim b. al-Aḥwal, d. 142.

The three first named pupils of Shoraḥbyl, have left biographies of the prophet. The work of Ibn Isháq we have, that of Músà b. 'Oqbah is frequently quoted by Bokháry, Ibn Sayyid alnás, Sohayly, and Ibn *Hajar* and other writers, and it is very likely that a copy of it will yet be discovered. I made enquiries regarding this book wherever I went, and at Damascus I was assured that there existed a copy, but I was unable to obtain a sight of it. Abú Ma'shar we find also sometimes quoted but much less frequently. It appears to me that Shoraḥbyl had a great hand in giving to the biography of Moḥammad, a stereotype form. Much had been done before him, more particularly by 'Orwah, Sa'yid b. Mosay-

yab and others, but in the first years after the Hijrah as long as eye-witnesses were alive, they would be chiefly consulted and it is not likely that they all would choose the same set phrases in relating what they had seen.

I do not mean to say that these three authors merely wrote down what they heard from Shoraʿbyl, nor that he was the only man who had a hand in completing the stereotyping of the main parts of the biography of Moḥammad. As it has already been stated and will be further shown lower down, much has been done before him. And during his life time it must have been the subject of daily conversation in the mosque of Madynah. Still I am led to suppose that he took a great part in it and my reasons for this supposition are: 1. The testimony of Najjār and Dzohaby, who say that he was better versed in the biography of Moḥammad than any of his contemporaries. 2. The circumstance that three of his pupils left works on the subject. 3. The very silence of Ibn Ishāq. Though it is distinctly stated in the Kamál that Ibn Ishāq obtained information from him, he nowhere quotes his authority by name; on the contrary there are some sentences preserved from him in which he expresses a very unfavorable opinion of his teacher.

The fact is, many parts of the stereotyped version were evidently not to the taste of Ibn Ishāq, and on perusing his book it gives us the idea that one of his objects in writing it, was to improve and critically to illustrate it. He therefore seldom mentions his authorities for those parts of the story which were generally believed to be true. Thus for instance he like Bokháry and others takes the history of the Miʿrāj from Khodry, but he does not say through whom it has reached him. As Khodry is mentioned among the teachers of Shoraʿbyl, it is not impossible that he was the medium of communication. Ibn Ishāq generally gives the authorities only where he has additions to make to the stereotyped and generally received versions, where he has more clearly ascertained a fact or where he suggests corrections. I will mention an instance. In p. 100 he relates that *Hassán* heard, when he was seven years of age, a Jew publicly proclaiming that a star had risen the preceding night announcing the birth of *Almad* (the Messiah). To throw light on this story, Ibn Ishāq enquired of the grandson of *Hassán* how old

he was, when the prophet came to Madynah, and was informed that he was sixty years old. It hence follows that he was just seven years of age when the prophet was born, and that therefore, there is no anachronism in the above statement. Similar instances in which he made enquiries from persons, who, owing to their family connection, must have been accurately acquainted with certain facts are frequent.

In the commencement of some chapters however, he gives an isnād which apparently refers to the main sources of the stereotype version. It runs at the heading of the battle of the ditch, *حدثني يزيد بن رومان مولا آل الزبير عن عروة بن الزبير ومن لا اثم عن عبد الله بن كعب بن مالك و محمد ابن كعب القرظي والزهري وعاصم بن عمر بن قتادة وعبد الله بن ابي بكر وغيرهم*

“I have been informed by Yazd b. Rúmán, a client of the Zabayr family on the authority of 'Orwah, the son of Zobayr, also by a person against whom I have no suspicion on the authority of 'Abd Allah b. Ka'b b. Málík and of Moḥammad b. Ka'b Qoratzy, and also by Zohry, by 'Açim b. 'Omar b. Qatádah and by 'Abd Allah b. Aby Bakr and others.”

The battle of Badr is headed by the following isnād *حدثني محمد بن مسلم الزهري وعاصم بن عمر بن قتادة وعبد الله بن ابي بكر ويزيد بن رومان عن عروة بن الزبير وغيرهم من علمائنا عن ابن عباس*

“I have been informed by Zohry and by 'Açim b. 'Omar and by 'Abd Allah b. Aby Bakr and by Yazd b. Rúmán on the authority of 'Orwah, and by others of our men of learning on the authority of Ibn 'Abbás.”

At the head of the story of the campaign called Sawyq the isnād runs *حدثني محمد بن جعفر بن الزبير ويزيد بن رومان ومن لا اثم عن عبد الله بن كعب بن مالك **

“I have been informed by Moḥammad, by Ja'far b. Zobayr, and by Yazd b. Rúmán and by a person against whom I have no suspicion on the authority of 'Abd Allah b. Ka'b b. Málík.”

In the commencement of the campaign of the Banú Moçṭaliq it runs *حدثني عاصم بن عمر بن قتادة وعبد الله بن ابي بكر و محمد بن يحيى بن جبار كل قد حدثني بعض حديث بني المصطلق **

“I have been informed by 'Açim b. 'Omar b. Qatádah and by 'Abd Allah b. Aby Bakr and by Moḥammad b. Yahyà b. Jabbár.

Every one of these men related to me a portion of the story of the Banú Moçtaliq (and I completed one statement through the other)."

As authorities for his account of the *Ohod* campaign, he mentions in addition to Zohry and Moçammad b. Yahyá and 'Açim b. 'Omar also al-*Hoçayn* b. A'bd al-Rahmán b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mo'adz.

These isnáds give us the names of eight Shaykhs of Ibn Isháq and comparing them with other quotations strewed over the book, we find that from some of them he received an almost complete account of the life of the prophet. I will now give a short notice of the latter and with a view of tracing the sources regarding the biography of Moçammad up to eye-witnesses, also of their authorities.

The first Shaykh mentioned is Yazyd b. Rúmán Abú Rúb of Madynah. He was a client of the Zobayr family and derived the greater part of his information on the biography of Moçammad from 'Orwah the son of Zobayr. He was particularly strong in explaining the Qorán, having studied it under 'Abd Allah b. 'Abbás b. 'Raby'ah, who is to be distinguished from the famous Ibn 'Abbás. He died in 129 or 135. Ibn Isháq quotes him particularly often in his accounts of the campaigns but also in the first part, as pp. 221, 415, 417, 454, &c.

The Shaykhs most frequently quoted by Ibn Isháq were relations of 'Orwah b. Zobayr, and like Yazyd b. Rúmán, they derived most of their information from him. I will first name them and then give a short account of 'Orwah himself.

Moçammad b. Ja'far b. Zobayr a nephew of 'Orwah is quoted in Vol. I. pp. 34, 327, 393, 456, Vol. II. pp. 95, 117, 180, 198 and *passim*.

Hishám a son of 'Orwah was born at Madynah. As long as he resided in his native town, he was considered a trustworthy teacher of traditions, but when he came into the 'Iráq he related many traditions on the authority of his father which he had received from him only second hand. He died in 145 or 146. Ibn Isháq introduces accounts which Hishám professed to have received from his father 'Orwah in Vol. I. pp. 143, 204, 403 and Vol II. p. 153.

'Omar, a son of the preceding. In Vol. I. p. 403, is an account which he had received from 'Orwah.

Yahyà, a son of 'Orwah is quoted in Vol. I. p. 201. He took

traditions from 'Orwah and also from 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. al-'Aç, Vol. I. p. 181.

Çálih b. Kaysán, the friend of the Khalif 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azyz and the tutor of his children, is also quoted, but very rarely. He took traditions from Zohry, Vol. I. p. 153, and also from others Vol. II. p. 22. He died about ninety years of age after A. H. 140.

Zohry, whom I shall mention lower down, took most of his traditions from 'Orwah and his relations.

'Orwah b. al-Zobayr was born at Madynah in A. H. 23. His mother Çafyyah was an aunt of the prophet. His brother 'Abd Allah gained a large party and was proclaimed Khalif in Arabia, Egypt and Khorásán, but after he had maintained himself nine years in his lofty position, he was defeated by the lieutenant of the Omayyides and crucified at Makkah in A. H. 73. 'Orwah seems not to have meddled with politics, and he even spent the last days of his life at the Omayyide court at Damascus, where it became necessary to amputate one of his legs on account of a malignant ulcer. No man of that age had better opportunities to collect information regarding the history and tenets of the Islám than him, and he made the best use of them. He was one of the seven men who are called the great divines of Madynah, and his distinguished pupil Zohry said, that he found that he was an inexhaustible sea and was able to give an answer to any question that might be proposed to him. He wrote down the result of his enquiries and to judge from the quotations which occur in Ibn Isháq, Bokháry and Ibn Sa'd, the assertion of Hájy Khalyfah, No. 12464, that he has written a biography of Moçammad, seems to be correct. But unfortunately the prejudice, that it was not proper to have any other book than the Qorân, induced him to efface all his writings.* He regretted it subsequently and took great pains to teach the numerous traditions with which his memory was stocked to his children and pupils, and they have preserved a great portion of his labours. He died in 94 A. H.

* Dzohaby says قال عروة كنا نقول لا نتخذ كتابا بعد كتاب الله فمحوته كتبتي فوالله لو ددت ان كتبتي عندي. The Khatyb Baghdády thinks that the reason why he repented to have destroyed his writings was, because when he got old, his memory got weak; but in one version he says his books would be very useful for his children.

Another Shaykh of Ibn Ishâq whose name occurs in all but one of the above isnâds is 'Abd Allah b. Aby Bakr b. Mohamnâd b. Hazm Ançary of Madynah, who died in 130 or 135 at the age of seventy. His teacher was his own father, Abú Bakr whom the Khalif 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azyz (came to the throne in 99) appointed judge of Madynah, and to whom he sent orders to collect and write down traditions, more particularly those of his aunt 'Amrah, a daughter of 'Abd al-Rahmán b. Sa'd b. Zorârah of the Ançâr and those of Qâsim. When this order was given, 'Abd Allah was no longer a pupil, but a companion of his father, and no doubt assisted him in his labour. Hence it happens that he mostly quotes the same Shaykhs as his father. Abú Bakr died at the age of eighty-four in 117 or 120. Ibn Ishâq takes in many instances the account of 'Abd Allah as the basis of his narrative, as in Vol. II. p. 135. In some instances 'Abd Allah does not state his authority as in Vol. I. pp. 287, 295, 296, 427, 434, 449, 451, 454; Vol. II. pp. 131, 133, 135, 187, 191 and *passim*. He quotes his father in Vol. I. p. 48. He quotes 'Amrah Vol. I. pp. 52, 105, and Vol. II. p. 102. He quotes in several instances 'Othmán b. Aby Solaymán b. Jobayr from his uncle Nâfi' b. Jobayr from his father Jobayr. He quotes Yahyâ b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Rahmán b. A'sad (Sa'd?) b. Zorârah, Vol. I. p. 339. He quotes Ibn Abbâs second hand Vol. I. pp. 435, 442. He quotes a man of the Banú Sá'idah from Abú Osayd Málik b. Raby', who was present at the battle of Badr, Vol. I. p. 436. He quotes Omm 'Ysà, a lady of the Khozá'ah from Omm Ja'far, Vol. II. p. 174, and he quotes several other authorities. 'Amrah, whom he and his father quote had collected a great many traditions from 'Áyishah and other wives of the prophet, and died in 106 or according to others as early as 98 at the age of seventy-seven.

'Açim b. 'Omar b. Qatâdah was equally a native of Madynah, but during the reign of the pious 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azyz he came to Damascus and taught traditions in the great mosque. Subsequently he returned to his native town where he died in 120 or 129. Ibn Sa'd *apud* Dzohaby states, that he was particularly strong in the biography of the prophet, and Ibn Ishâq quotes him almost in every chapter, as Vol. I. pp. 141, 283, 286, 295, 339, 366, 432; Vol. II. pp. 13, 17, 18, 19, 53, 94, 111 and *passim*. 'Açim, it would appear

taught the stereotype version, he therefore seldom quotes his authorities and only in cases where he deviates from it. Among the Shaykhs whom he quotes is Maẓmúd b. Labyd who died in 96 aged ninety-nine years. In his days, it was so common to preserve traditions in writing, that there is little doubt that he kept note books.

The anonymous Shaykh against whom Ibn Isháq had no suspicion, and who derived his information from Moḥammad b. Ka'b Qoratzy and from 'Abd Allah b. Ka'b b. Málik (d. 97 or 98) seems to me to be Shoraẓbyl, of whom I have spoken above. Ibn Isháq had apparently several informants, whom he does not think proper to mention. One of them took traditions from Miqsam, and Sohayly supposes that he is identical with Hasan b. 'Omárah. He is evidently a different man from the one alluded to in the above isnáds.

Moḥammad b. Ka'b Qoratzy of Madynah was the son of a converted Jew. He resided for some time at Kúfah, but returned to his native town, where he died in 108, or 117 or 120 by the fall of the roof of the mosque, whilst he was engaged in literary discussions with his learned friends. He was particularly strong in the explanation of the Qorân. His authority for traditions on the life of Moḥammad is not only quoted by the anonymous Shaykh but also by Yazyd b. Ziyád *apud* Ibn Isháq, Vol. I. pp. 184, 320, 276; Vol. II. p. 85 and *passim*. He is also quoted by Boraydah, (*apud* Ibn Isháq Vol. II. p. 25) who had received his traditions through Sofyán Aslamy. The name of Moḥammad b. Ka'b also frequently occurs in Ibn Sa'd's isnáds.

At length I come to Moḥammad b. Moslim Zohry, who is also called Ibn Shibáb. He is one of the most remarkable men in the literary history of the Islám, and with him closes the first period of the Moḥammadan church history. He was a native of Madynah and a soldier by profession. He spent part of his life at the court of the Khalif 'Abd al-Málik, at Damascus, and was the tutor of Hishám's children, who at one time owed him seven thousand dynars on that account. He was very rich and liberal, nay extravagant. On one occasion a friend reminded him of his debts, which amounted to twenty thousand dynars, and he answered, I possess five springs, every one of which is worth double that sum.

Zohry had so retentive a memory that he learned the Qorân by-heart in eighty days. Being passionately fond of honey he

ascribed to it the property of improving the memory. He was anxious to obtain the best information and spent several years in the company of Ibn Mosayyab (died shortly after A. H. 90) who was then one of the most celebrated traditionists and theologians. He was particularly anxious to obtain information on the origin of the Islám from the descendants of the Refugees and Ançar, but did not neglect to consult their freed slaves and other hangers-on (موالي). Zohry like some other men of his age thought it objectionable to write down traditions, but gradually this practice became universal and he gave up this prejudice.* Abú Zinnád (d. in 131, aged sixty-six years) relates that he used sometimes to accompany him in his walks, and wherever he went he took tablets and a note-book with him, and wrote down whatever he heard. Çáliż b. Kaysán (died about 140) was a fellow-student of his, and as they were consulting with each other on the best method of study, they agreed to take down traditions and they both wrote all the sayings of the prophet which they could gather, subsequently Zohry proposed to take down also the sayings of his companions bearing on dogmas, but on this point they differed. Çáliż did not consider them as decisive in law, but Zohry did, and wrote them down. 'Obayd Allah b. 'Omar relates of him that they saw him giving a book of traditions to his pupils, telling them, that they might propagate the contents thereof on his authority. On one occasion he mentioned to Málik a very long tradition, and as he could not remember it he requested him to repeat it, but instead of repeating it, he wrote it down for him. The amount of traditions, poems and other information which Zohry taught was very great, and when al-Walyd moved he found that the books (دفاتر, now this term is used for account or office-books) containing what Zohry had taught made several loads for beasts of burden.

To illustrate the light in which writing was viewed even in the commencement of the second century, I may mention that Sofyán Thawry, died 161, received some traditions from Zohry in writing,

* Ma'mar apud Ibn Sa'd folio 178 and Dzohaby. The tradition does not run alike in both authors, one reads amr, where the other reads omará, and they alter the other words accordingly, but the sense which I give in the text, results from both readings. I shall give the version, which we find in Ibn Sa'd and the Khatyb Baghdády in another article in the original.

and because they were not at the same time communicated to him verbally, he did not avail himself of them. But Sofyán Thawry was altogether a very eccentric man. Al-A'raj (d. in 117) who used to copy the Qorán was induced by Zohry also to write down traditions, but as soon as he had learned them by-heart he tore them up (مزق الرقعة). The great boast in those days was, to know as many traditions by-heart as possible. From the earliest time however, they assisted memory by keeping notes. This we are told was done by Zayd and Ziyád. In 'Abd al-Haqq Dehlawy's *Madárij*, Vol. II. p. 284, occurs a very important passage bearing on this subject, which is taken from the Mawáhib, Vol. I. p. 304, "Wáqidy states, giving his isnád up to 'Ikrimah (a client and a pupil of Ibn 'Abbás, d. in 107), that he ('Ikrimah) said, I found the following letter among the books (كتب) of Ibn Abbás (was born three years before the Hijrah and died in 68) after his death, and I copied it."

But these notes were only intended to be used privately on the sly, for they were almost ashamed to be obliged to have recourse to them, and they were seldom arranged and not intended to be propagated by the process of transcription only. But genealogies and lists of names, it seems, were made use of without reserve even by the most prejudiced and conceited. It is related of Zohry that he used a genealogical table of his tribe and family.

Ibn Isháq sometimes says in quoting Zohry *حدثني الزهري* and sometimes *ذكر الزهري* (in Vol. I. pp. 149, 404 and *passim*). In page 130, he uses this expression also in reference to information received from 'Orwah, saying, *ذكر عروة*). They were rather strict in those days in distinguishing between the terms which they used to indicate the manner, in which they received a tradition, and writers on the canons of historical criticism hold that *ذكر* without the addition of *لي* or *لنا* does not imply that a man has *heard* the tradition from the shaykh quoted, or that he received it in any manner from himself; and I suspect, that wherever Ibn Isháq uses this term, he found a tradition in books or writings only, and perhaps second-hand. Even where he says *حدثني* it does not imply that he obtained it orally. He may have received it orally and in writing or in writing only, but from the informant himself.

Hájy Khalyfah, Halaby and others say that Zohry left a work on the biography of Moḥammad, and Sohayly several times quotes

it. There is no doubt that he collected an immense number of notes on the subject, and Ibn Isḥáq refers to them in almost every chapter, but I doubt, whether he left them arranged and in the shape of a book on his death, and think that like the commentary on the Qorân ascribed to Ibn 'Abbás, they were collected and arranged by a later hand, perhaps by his nephew, Moḥammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Moslim, who is quoted by Wáqidy in the first page as one of his Shaykhs.

Having said so much on the origin of writing down traditions, though it is my intention to enter into the subject at some length in a separate article, I may advert to a statement of Ibn Hanbal, recorded by Ghazzály, Shahráshúb, Nawawy and others. He says, the first man who composed books was Ibn Jorayj (d. in 150, it is said, at the age of one hundred years). If this is correct at all, he refers to systematic works on traditions or law. There is evidence to show that there existed Arabic works on profane subjects before his time. Mas'údy speaks of a public library at the time of 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'azyz, and I possess the history of Ibn Monajjim, who wrote in 131, and he quotes in pp. 68, 184 and 103, an older author whose name was Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allah Injly. In page 103 he says, *وزعم الانجيلي في كتاب خشين عيلم ان رجلا الخ* "Injly expresses an opinion in his work, which has the title of Khashyn 'Aylam that, &c." I do not know when Injly died, but from Ibn Monajjim, p. 184, it appears that he was a nephew and pupil of 'Abd Allah b. Sallám, of whom we find the following notice in the Kamál of 'Abd al-Ghanyy, "'Abd Allah b. Sallám b. al-Háarith Khazrajy was called Abú Yúsof, and was a confederate of the Qawáqilah, a family of the Banú 'Awf b. Khazraj. He was an Israelite of the tribe of Joseph, and embraced the Islám when Moḥammad came to Madynah. The prophet changed his name which had been Hoçayn into 'Abd Allah, and promised him the paradise. To him alludes the verse of Qorán, 46, 9 (in which Moḥammad refers to his testimony) and also verse 13, 43. But as to the bearing of the latter verse, the opinions of the commentators of the Qorán are divided. He was present with the Khalyf 'Omar at the conquest of Jerusalem, and died according to Ibn Sa'd at Madynah in 43."

Mas'údy mentions the work of Injly as well as that of Ibn

II

Monajjim among his authorities in the preface to the Golden Meadows.

Regarding the authorities on which Zohry's biography of Mohammad was founded, there occurs an interesting passage in Ibn Isháq, in the commencement of the account of the war against the Qoraytzah. He takes Zohry as his guide and copies the list of the authorities, from whose information Zohry had put together his story. They are, 'Alqamah b. Waqqáç Laythy of Madynah (who died during the reign of 'Abd al-Málik b. Merwán), Say'd b. Jobayr (was put to death by Hajjáj in 95 before he had completed his 50th year of age), 'Orwah (mentioned above), 'Obayd Allah b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Otbah b. Saby'ah (d. in 94 or 84). From Bokháry, p. 573, we learn that Zohry related the adventure of 'Ayisháh on the authority of 'Orwah, Sa'yd b. Mosayyab, 'Alqamah b. Waqqáç and 'Obayd Allah b. 'Abd Allah. Numerous other passages might be adduced, from which it appears that Zohry derived his knowledge of the main facts in the life of Mohammad from these five men. Among them he quotes most frequently 'Orwah (as *apud* Ibn Isháq, Vol. I. pp. 130, 415; Vol. II. pp. 130, 144 and *passim*, also *apud* Bokháry, pp. 2, 572, 573, 574 and times innumerable) and it seems that in his biography of the prophet, he restored the work of 'Orwah as far as he could recollect it from his lectures, and gather it from his other pupils, and that he enriched it, with additional information from a very great variety of authorities.

Ibn Isháq takes from Zohry the story of the adventure of 'Ayishah. The young lady accompanied her decrepid husband in one of the campaigns, and lost her way, but had the good luck to meet a young man who brought her back to the arms of her spouse. This story affords the best specimen of Zohry's manner of treating the subject, which is far from candid. The story being too long for being inserted here, I give 'Orwah's and Zohry's version of the expedition of Ibn Ja'ash, which I related according to other authorities in a preceding number, p. 65, we see from it that these men were far too skilful theologians for being good historians.

"The prophet sent 'Abd Allah Ibn Ja'ash b. Rayáb Asady on an expedition in Rajab immediately after the first Badr campaign, and he gave him eight men. They were refugees, and there was no



Anḡár among them. He wrote a letter for him and told him not to look into it before he had proceeded two days journey. Then he should read it and go to the place indicated in it, but that he was not to compel any of his men to accompany him. The men of *Jahsh* were: (see list *suprà*, p. 65 note). When Ibn *Jahsh* had advanced two days he opened the letter and read it, and he found in it what follows: 'When you have read this letter proceed as far as Nakhlah between Makkah and al-Táyif. Watch the movements of the Qorayshites and give me information.' When he had done reading it he said, I hear and obey, and then addressing his followers, he spoke: The prophet orders me to proceed to Nakhlah to watch the movements of the Qorayshites and to bring him the intelligence thereof, and he ordered me not to force any of you to accompany me. Let those of you who wish to earn the glory of martyrdom, accompany me, but those who have no inclination may return. As to myself I carry out the orders of the prophet. Having said so he proceeded, and they all went with him, not one of them remained behind. They went along the *Hijáz* road until they came to a Ma'dan above al-For', which is called Bahrán or Bohrán. There a camel, which Sa'd and 'Otbah were riding in turn, went astray. They went in search of him and were left behind. Ibn *Jahsh* and his other followers proceeded until they reached Nakhlah. There a Qorayshite caravan passed them laden with raisins, leather and other articles, in which the Qorayshites used to trade. The persons in charge of the caravan were 'Amr b. al-*Hadhramy*, 'Othmán b. 'Abd Allah, his brother Nawfal and *Hakam* b. *Kaysán*. When these men saw the party they were afraid; because they had encamped quite close to them. 'Okkáshah, after he had his head shaved, showed himself to them, and they were put on their ease and said to each other, They are pilgrims, they will do us no harm. As this was the last of *Rajab*; the Moslems consulted among each other what to do, some said, If you do not attack them to-day they will slip into the sacred territory, where you cannot attack them, and if you do kill them, you kill them in the sacred month. They were doubtful what to do, and afraid to attack them. At last they took courage and agreed to kill as many of them as they could, and carry away the booty. *Wáqid* shot 'Amr with an arrow and killed him.

'Othman and Hakam gave themselves up as prisoners and Nawfal escaped. Ibn Jaʿsh and his followers went back with the two prisoners and the booty until they reached Madynah. Some one of the Jaʿsh family states, that Ibn Jaʿsh said, the prophet has a claim to one-fifth of the booty, and having set one-fifth aside he divided the rest among his followers. This was before the order regarding "the fifth" was revealed. Ibn Isháq observes, when they came to the prophet he said to them, I did not order you to fight in the sacred month, and he gave no orders regarding the prisoners and the booty, and did not accept any thing of it. When the prophet had thus spoken to them they were very much grieved, and afraid that their souls were lost, and their brethren severely reproached them. The Qorayshites said, Mohámmad has abolished the sacred month [of Rajab] and his party sheds blood in it, makes prisoners and kills. The Moslims, who were at Makkah, answered them and maintained that the attack had taken place in Sha'bán. The Jews drew an evil omen for the prophet from the names (see p. 71 note) and said, God has turned this matter to his detriment and not to his advantage. As there was so much talk about the matter, God revealed the verses (see p. 68 *suprà*). This revelation cheered up the Moslims, and the prophet took now the booty and prisoners in hand. The Qorayshites sent men to ransom the two prisoners, but the prophet refused to give them up before his own two men, Sa'd and 'Otbah, who were missing had returned, saying, If you have killed them, I put your men to death. When Sa'd and 'Otbah had come back he took the ransom for them. Hakam embraced the Islám, and turned a sincere Moslim and remained with the prophet until he fell a martyr at Byr Ma'únah. 'Othmán returned to Makkah, and died there as a Káfir. When the first verse was revealed, which absolves Ibn Jaʿsh and his party from guilt, they came to the prophet and said, that they would now expect some reward from God for their exploit, and upon this the second verse was revealed, which they conceived, contains a promise of a reward. The account of this affair is taken from Zohry and from Yazyd b. Rúmán, who quotes 'Orwah as his authority."

In the original, the account is not without poetical merit, but it is far from genuine. I might quote a number of similar instances,

in which both 'Orwah and Zohry must have been in possession of more genuine information than the one which they communicate to their readers. Both 'Orwah and Zohry were great admirers of poetry. The former repeated after every tradition some national verses to mix the *utile* with the *dulce*, and perhaps also in explanation of the tradition, and the latter used to say, when he sat down to deliver his lectures, Now let us hear your traditions and the poetry, which you know. This leads us to suppose that not only many edifying legends but also a great part of the poetical history adverted to in the introduction to this article, owes its currency to these two men. For a long time I subscribed to the high opinion, which Bokháry, Moslims, and other authors entertain of these two men, but a deeper study of the sources caused me to alter it. I must bring here another Father of the Moslim church to the notice of the reader, who belongs to the same class. This is Sa'yid b. Mo-sayyab, who died shortly after A. H. 90. His son Moḥammad, who repeats only what he heard from his father, gave currency to the elegies of the daughters of Abú Tálib adverted to above. It is very likely, that these men are not the inventors of stories or poetry, but only preferred legends to true history. But to Anas b. Málik, who was ten years the servant of the prophet, and died in 92, upwards of one hundred years of age; Abú Horayrah, Ibn 'Abbás, and some other companions of the prophet, we must apply the very hardest epithets. There are stories of miracles attributed to them, which have been handed down by several independent isnáds, whereby the invention is brought home to them. And it cannot be said that they have been deceived, because Anas and also the others profess in many instances to have been eye-witnesses. As it is of great importance to know the character of the witnesses, I intend to embrace the first opportunity which I may have to publish the notes which I have collected on the inventors of miracles and of legends regarding Moḥammad. The literary history of those days deserves to be carefully investigated for its interest both as regards the biography of Moḥammad, and in regard to the development of his doctrines. Mr. W. Muir has lately published a very valuable pamphlet: "The testimony borne by the Qorán to the Jewish and Christian scriptures." From the passages which he collected, it appears that Mo-

hammad considered the scriptures as divine revelation. Whilst on the other hand from a number of incidents in his life, it is clear that neither he nor any of his early converts considered him infallible unless he pretended to speak from inspiration. It was to be expected that the Musalmans would refer to the scripture for information on law and religion not contained in the Qorân. They followed quite the contrary course: they relied entirely on the accidental sayings of the prophet and even of his companions, and if the Bible were lost, and we had no other information regarding it than that contained in the theological writings of the Musalmans, we should hardly know that it ever existed. This tendency of the Moḥammadans, to separate themselves from Christianity and to supersede it is the leading fact of the Moḥammadan church history of the first two centuries during which the Islám received its present form.

There remains that I should say a few words on Músà b. 'Oqbah and Abú Ma'shar, who, as I have stated above, were pupils of Shorabyl and left works on the biography of Moḥammad.

Músà b. 'Oqbah Asady was a client of the family of Zobayr or rather of Omm Khálid, who was either the mother or step-mother of 'Orwah. He was one of the learned men of Madynah. His two brothers, Moḥammad and Ibráhyim were also men of great erudition, and they all three when they sat in the mosque of Madynah, were surrounded by large circles of pupils. Sibṭ Ibn 'Ajamy puts him in his "Black-Book," which has the title of *Tabyyin biasmá al-modallisyin*, accusing him of Tadlys,* but it appears to me that he does not substantiate his charges. Ibn 'Oqbah's campaigns are

* Tadlys is of two kinds; first the Tadlys al-isnád: a man relates from a contemporary what he has not heard from him, but believes to have heard from him omitting the name of his real informant. Sometimes he does not omit the name of his Shaykh but of another witness, who is of weak authority or close to his own time, with a view to enhance the value of the tradition. Second, Tadlys al-shoyúkh: a man gives a name or *cognomen* to his Shaykh by which he is not known. Persons are frequently induced to commit the latter kind of Tadlys by a desire to make the reader believe that they have consulted a great number of authorities. Thus a man might say: "Zohry informed me" then "Ibn Shibáb informed me" then "Moḥammad b. Moslim informed me," meaning one and the same person, yet the reader would probably think three distinct authorities are quoted. Sometimes the intention is to disguise the name of a weak witness.

very highly spoken of. Soyúty says in his *درر المنتثرة* as follows: *اما المغازي فكتب الواقدي قال الشافعي كذب وكتب ابن اسحق اكثرها عن اول الكتاب وليس فيها اصح من مغازي موسى بن عقبة*. "As to the works on the campaigns [and life of Mohammad] it has been observed by Sháfíy that the works of Wákidy are a tissue of lies. The beginning of the work of Ibn Isháq is equally for the greater part a lie. There exists no more correct book on the subject than that of Músà b. 'Oqbah." Málik's opinion of Ibn 'Oqbah's work is equally favorable. His words are "He was a trustworthy, good man and his work on the campaigns is good." Ibn Mo'yn says: *كتاب موسى بن عقبة عن الزهري من اصح هذه الكتب*. "The work of Músà b. 'Oqbah, who follows the authority of Zohry, is one of the most trustworthy books on this subject." It would appear from this that it was but a new edition of Zohry, which as I have said was but a new edition of 'Orwah. But some authors deny that he heard Zohry. This however, is contrary to Bokháry, p. 573. Ibn 'Oqbah was also instructed by 'Orwah himself, by 'Ikrimah, the client of Ibn 'Abbás, and generally speaking by the same class of men as Ibn Isháq. He died at Madynah in 141, ten years before Ibn Isháq.

Abú Ma'shar Najyá b. 'Abd al-Ra'zmán was a native of Sind, and a freed slave of a woman of the Makhzúm family. Some authors maintain that he was not a Sindian but a Himyarite. How he fell into slavery and gained his liberty is not mentioned. He lived at Madynah, but in 160 the Khalif Mahdiy visited that city and took him to the 'Iráq, allowing him an annual stipend of one thousand dynars. He attained a high age, but lost the use of his faculties before his death, which overtook him in 175. Imám A'zmád put a high value on his work. Among his informants were Hishám, a son of 'Orwah, Mohammad Ibn al-Monkadir, d. 131, and Sa'yd b. Mosayyab, and he enjoyed the advantage of being instructed by Mohammad b. Ka'b Qoraytzy himself, whereas Ibn Isháq received traditions from him second-hand only.

There were several other men, who during the first 150 years after the flight collected materials for the history of the prophet. Two of them, Abú Mijlaz and Abú Isháq are of peculiar interest, because they are not quoted by Ibn Isháq nor it would appear have

they been consulted by Ibn 'Oqbah and Abú Ma'shar, but nearly the whole of Ibn Hibbán's biography of Moḥammad is taken from Abú Isḥáq, and he as well as Abú Mijlaz are constantly quoted by Bokháry, Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Aby Shaybah (d. 235).

Abú Isḥáq 'Amr b. 'Abd Allah Hamdány, was a soldier by profession and took part in several campaigns. His pay amounted to 300 dirhams a month, and according to another account, referring perhaps to a different time, to one thousand. He saw a great many companions of the prophet and among them 'Alyy, and recorded traditions from thirty-eight of them. His principal informant is Bará b. 'Ázib, who offered his services for the Badr campaign, but was rejected on account of his youth, and died in 72. We have details on every chapter of the biography of Moḥammad from Abú Isḥáq, but in many instances though palpably fictitious they agree literally with those contained in Ibn Isḥáq, though they rest on different authorities. Abú Isḥáq attained the high age of ninety-nine years, and died in 127 or 128.

All the men whom I have hitherto mentioned were of Madynah, or at least belonged to the Madynah school, but Abú Mijlaz Láziq b. Homayd Sodúsy was of Baçrah, and spent the greater part of his life in Persia. He came with Qotaybah b. Moslim to Marw and settled there, and it would appear that he was placed in charge of the public treasury and mint of Khorásán. He died between 100 and 109. Among his informants were Jondob b. 'Abd Allah, d. after A. H. 60, Hasan, the son of 'Alyy, Ibn Nohayk and others. His traditions are of greater importance for the life of Moḥammad than those of any other authority. They are numerous, and there is every reason to suppose that they have been taken down during his lifetime.

It was my intention to bring the history of the biography of Moḥammad down to the time of Wáqidy and his secretary, and to examine their authorities as well as those of the historical traditions contained in Ibn Aby Shaybah, d. 235, but this article already extends to such a length, that I must conclude my history with the year 140, after the death of Moḥammad. There is another subject which might have been of some interest, and that is the manner in which traditions were propagated in those days, and the canons of criticism which were in vogue.



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