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BREVITY IN *ḤADĪTH* TEXTS: DATING OF SHORT AND LONG VERSIONS OF *ḤADĪTH* BASED ON LAPIDATION

Mohammad Said Alrahawan*

Abstract: This paper attempts to determine, in cases where a prophetic tradition was reported in two different variants of differing lengths, which version was first through an experimental focus on the report of Mā‘idh’s lapidation, which followed his confession of adultery. It uses the *sanad-cum-matn* analysis, which relies on the examination and analysis of both chains of narrators and the texts of versions under discussion. It argues against Joseph Schacht’s supposition that short versions of *ḥadīth* always originate earlier and then are elaborated at later stages through refinements and additions made by narrators. Similarly, it opposes Irene Schneider’s assumption that long, detailed variants of *ḥadīth* are newer than their corresponding short versions. Schneider concludes the short versions of *ḥadīth* could not have been based on an original “long version.”

Keywords: *brevity, ḥadīth text, sanad-cum-matn analysis, lapidation, Ma‘idh, short version*

INTRODUCTION

In *ḥadīth* criticism, the differences in length of various versions of *ḥadīth* have been a subject of debate as to whether it can be evidence of chronology. Joseph Schacht states short texts are older whereas long texts, especially “detailed stories,” are newer than corresponding short ones – *brevior lectio potior* (the short reading emerges first). He applies this viewpoint only to legal maxims, which he argues “reflect a stage when legal doctrine was not yet automatically put in the form of traditions.”¹ Based on Schacht’s supposition, Pavel Pavlovitch concludes “in the latter case, the shortest reading is not necessarily the oldest one.”²

Irene Schneider concurs with Schacht on his assumption that long, detailed variants of *ḥadīth* are newer than their corresponding short versions. Schneider concludes the short versions of *ḥadīth* could not have been based on an original “long version,” but the long

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¹ Joseph Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 188; However, there is a great debate on the principle of textual brevity in Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 212–4.

² Pavel Pavlovitch, *The Formation of the Islamic Understanding of Kalāla in the Second Century AH (718–816 CE)* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 37.

variants were “later revisions” of a short version.³ She alleges the long versions were developed through specification, embellishment and revision.

By referencing his earlier analysis of the legal maxim *al-walad li-l-firāsh wa-li-l-‘āhir al-ḥajar* (the child belongs to the nuptial bed and the fornicator gets nothing)⁴ as well as the story about the murder of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq, Harald Motzki proposes the hypothesis that “legal maxims can also be formulated on the basis of reports on legal cases and their solutions and thus be secondary.”⁵ With respect to the former example, Motzki does not discuss the principle of textual brevity while the latter example is a historical narrative that does not refer to a legal maxim. This is the reason he considers it a hypothesis.⁶

Later, with the aid of *isnād-cum-matn* analysis, he demonstrates not all long versions are mere copies or improved upon from short versions. He maintains that long texts can have proven dates more than short ones. According to him, long texts can be models for short texts. He proves this by referencing the *corpora* of Zuhri, as reported by Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid and Ibn Jurayj, which is included in Mālik’s *Muwatta’*. Motzki concludes “from the point of view of literary genres, short legal maxims are found beside elaborated cases and detailed narratives (*qiṣaṣ*).”⁷

RESEARCH METHOD AND EXPERIMENTAL MATERIALS

In this paper, I will attempt to date long and short versions of *hadīth* by means of source criticism based on the *sanad-cum-matn* analysis. The aim of *sanad-cum-matn* analysis, as defined by Motzki, is to trace the transmission history of a tradition by comparing the variants retained in different compilations of traditions that are available.⁸ It combines the investigation of *isnād* for a certain report with literary analysis of its respective texts. Further, it uses an exhaustive corpus of sources. Charts are drawn to determine common and partially common links. A study of the *isnād* with analysis of texts is conducted to trace changes and date original copies of each version. This method, as described by Motzki, “proceeds from several premises: 1) Variants of a tradition are (at least partially) the result of a process of transmission. 2) The *isnāds* of the variants reflect (at least partially) the actual paths of transmission.”⁹

This article will focus on Abū Hurayrah’s and Buraydah’s reports regarding the lapidation of Mā‘idh, which takes place after his confession of adultery. There are several reasons for choosing Mā‘idh’s report as experimental material. The first reason is that it is provided in

³ Irene Schneider, “Narrativität und Authentizität: Die Geschichte vom weisen Propheten, dem dreisten Dieb und dem koranfesten Gläubiger,” *Der Islam* 77, no. 1 (2000): 91, 92.

⁴ Harald Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence: Meccan Fiqh before the Classical Schools*, 41 of *Islamic History and Civilization Studies and Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 126-31.

⁵ Harald Motzki, “The Murder of Ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq: On the Origin and Reliability of Some Maghāzī Reports,” in *The Biography of Muhammad: The Issue of Sources*, ed. Harald Motzki (Leiden: Brill 2000), 188.

⁶ Harald Motzki, “Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey,” *Arabica* 52, no. 2 (2005): 211-212.

⁷ Harald Motzki, “The Jurisprudence of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri: A Source-Critical Study,” in *Analysing Muslim Traditions*, ed. Harald Motzki (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 29.

⁸ Motzki, “The Murder of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq,” 174.

⁹ *Ibid.*

various versions in early works of *hadīth*. Most of these versions have parallels in other Iraqi and Hijāzī sources. This will enable comparison of these versions and elaboration on their development. A second advantage of these episodes is there are varying accounts preserved in different sources, which is a prerequisite for the application of *sanad-cum-matn* analysis. The third reason is that these reports were transmitted through two variants – one short and the other longer and more elaborate. It is thus an ideal example for discussing Schacht’s presumption. However, I will try to date each longer and shorter version of the two traditions. I will start with the *sanad* and *matn* analyses of Abū Hurayrah’s report.

SANAD ANALYSIS OF ABŪ HURAYRAH’S TRADITION

Abū Hurayrah’s report was transmitted by three of his students: Abū Salamahh ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awf, Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Šāmit, the cousin of Abū Hurayrah. I cannot single out Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab’s version since it was amalgamated with Abū Salamahh’s version and later introduced by ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. I will analyse the *isnād* of each version to identify common as well as partial common links.

Abū Salamahh ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s Version

As shown in *isnād* diagram 1 at the end of the article, Abū Salamahh ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s version was solely received by Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Alqamah ibn Waqqāṣ al-Laythī (d. 762), who is regarded as a common link by virtue of five students who claimed to have received the report from him. The first transmitter is Yazīd ibn Hārūn ibn Zadhāy (735-821), whose version is in Nasā’ī’s *Sunan*¹⁰ and Aḥmad’s *Musnad*.¹¹ The second transmitter is ‘Abbād ibn al-‘Awwām ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mundhir (d. 801). His version was transmitted by Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybahh (whose version exists in ibn Abī Shaybah’s *Muṣannaḥ*¹² and ibn Mājah’s *Sunan*¹³) and Zakariyya ibn Yaḥya ibn Šubayḥ al-Yashkrī al-Wāsiṭī (d. 850), whose version exists in al-Ṭabarānī’s *al-Mu‘jam al-Awṣaṭ*.¹⁴ The third transmitter is ‘Isa ibn Yūnus ibn Abī Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī (d. 803 or 807), whose version was transmitted by Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Makhlad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Maṭar al-Ḥanzalī, known as ibn Rāhawiyh al-Marwazī (783-852) and ‘Alī ibn Khashram ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Aṭā’ al-Marwazī (d. 257). The former’s version exists in ibn Ḥibbān’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*.¹⁵ ‘Alī ibn Khashram is a partial common link.

10 Aḥmad ibn Shu‘ayb abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā’ī, *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ghaffār Sulaymān al-Bindārī and Sayed Kasrawī Ḥasan (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1991), vol. 6, 436.

11 Abū ‘Ab Allāh al-Shaybānī Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-Musnad*, ed. Shu‘ayb al-Arnā’ūt (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risālah, 2001), vol. 15, 502.

12 Abū Bakr ‘Ab Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Shaybah, *Al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. ‘Adil ‘Azzāzī and Aḥmad Farīd al-Muzaydī (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1988), vol. 5, 534.

13 Abū ‘Ab Allāh Moḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah, *Sunan ibn Mājah*, ed. Shu‘ayb al-Arnā’ūt (Beirut: Dār al-Risālah, 2009), vol. 2, 854.

14 Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu‘jam al-Awṣaṭ*, ed. Ṭāriq ibn ‘Awād Allāh ibn Muḥammad and ‘Abd al-Muḥsin ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī, (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥaramayn, 1994), vol. 8, 14.

15 Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān ibn Aḥmad ibn Mu‘ādh ibn Ma‘bad al-Bustī ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ ibn Ḥibbān*, ed. Shu‘ayb al-Arnā’ūt (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risālah, 1998), vol. 10, 287.

His version is quoted by two informants: Imām Aḥmad¹⁶ and Moḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Khuzaymah (d. 923), whose version exists in Bayhaqī's *Sunan*.¹⁷ The fourth student of Moḥammad ibn 'Amr is 'Abdah ibn Sulaymān al-Kilābī (d. 803), whose version is claimed to have been received by Abū Kurayb Moḥammad ibn al-'Alā' al-Hamadānī (777-861), whose version exists in Tirmidhī's *Sunan*.¹⁸ The fifth student is Yaḥya ibn Zakariyya ibn Abū Zā'idah (d. 799). He reported two short versions, which are in al-Ḥākim's *Mustadrak*¹⁹ and Ṭaḥāwī's *Sharḥ*.²⁰

Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab's Amalgamated Version

The second version of Abū Hurayrah's report on the lapidation of Mā'idh is that of Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf and Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab. Al-Zuhrī amalgamated these versions into one report without distinguishing the former's version from the latter's. As shown in *isnād* diagram 2 at the end of the article, he is the common link for this report by virtue of four students. The first transmitter is 'Uqayl ibn Khālid ibn 'Uqayl al-Aylī (d. 761), who is claimed to have delivered this version to al-Layth ibn Sa'd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fahmī (713-791), who is seemingly a common link by virtue of five students:

1. Shu'ayb ibn al-Layth ibn Sa'd (753-815), who delivered it to his son 'Abd al-Malik ibn Shu'ayb ibn al-Layth (798-882). His version is in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.²¹
2. Yaḥya ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Bukayr al-Qurashī (771-846), whose version is in Bukārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*²² and Bayhaqī's *Sunan*.²³
3. Hajjāj ibn Moḥammad al-Maṣṣī (d. 821), whose version exists in Aḥmad's *Musnad*²⁴ and Abū 'Awāna's *Mustakhraj*.²⁵
4. Sa'īd ibn Kathīr ibn 'Ufayr ibn Muslim ibn Yazīd (d. 841), whose variant exists in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*²⁶ and Abū 'Awāna's *Mustakhraj*.²⁷

¹⁶ Aḥmad, *Musnad*, vol. 15, 502.

¹⁷ Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsa al-Khusrawjirdī al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, ed. Moḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭa (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah 2003), vol. 8, 397.

¹⁸ Tirmidhī Moḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn Sawrah ibn Mūsā ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī; al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1998), vol. 4, 36.

¹⁹ Abū 'Ab Allāh al-Ḥākim ibn 'Ab Allāh ibn Moḥammad ibn Ḥamdāwayh ibn Nu'aym al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'ala al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, ed. Muṣṭafa 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭa (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1990), vol. 4, 404.

²⁰ Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Moḥammad ibn Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Salamah al-Azdī al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ ma'ānī al-Āthār*, ed. Moḥammad Zuhri An-Najjār and Moḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq (Riyadh: 'Alam al-Kutub, 1994), vol. 1, 380.

²¹ Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth, n.d.), vol. 3, 1318.

²² Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīra Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. Muṣṭafa Dīb al-Bughā (Beirut: Dār ibn Kathīr and al-Yamāma, 1987), vol. 8, 165.

²³ Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, 371.

²⁴ Aḥmad, *Musnad*, vol. 15, 525.

²⁵ Abū 'Awānah Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Isfrāyīnī, *Mustakhraj Abū 'Awānah*, ed. 'Abbās ibn Ṣafākhān et al. (Madinah: Islamic University of Madinah, 2014), vol. 4, 124.

²⁶ Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 8, 168.

²⁷ Abū 'Awānah, *Mustakhraj*, vol. 4, 125.

5. Ḥujayn ibn al-Muthanna al-Yamāmī (d. 820), whose version exists in Nasā'ī's *Sunan*.²⁸

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's second student is Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamza (d. 779). By reviewing the *isnād*, Shu'ayb delivered the report to Abū al-Yamān al-Ḥakam ibn Nāfi' al-Bahrānī al-Ḥimṣī (d. 837), who is a common link by virtue of seven students: 1) Bukhārī;²⁹ 2) Ibn Abū Dāwūd al-Anbārī (d. 849), whose version exists in al-Ṭahāwī's *Sharḥ*;³⁰ 3) 'Amr ibn Manṣūr al-Nasā'ī, whose version is in Nasā'ī's *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*;³¹ 4) 'Umar ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb al-Sijjīstānī Abū Ḥafṣ al-Qushayrī (d. 878), whose version is in al-Bazzār's *Musnad*;³² 5) Moḥammad ibn Yaḥya ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Khālīd ibn Fāris al-Dhuhālī (788-872), whose version exists in Abū 'Awāna's *Mustakhraj*;³³ 6) Abū Zur'ah Al-Dimashqī 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Amr (d. 894), whose version exists in al-Ṭabarānī's *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn*;³⁴ and 7) Moḥammad ibn 'Isa ibn Al-Mundhir al-Ḥimṣī, whose version exists in Bayhaqī's *Sunan*.³⁵

The third student of al-Zuhrī is 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālīd ibn Musāfir (d. 745). His version was received by al-Layth ibn Sa'd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fahmī (713 or 715-791). Al-Layth's version was received by Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Moḥammad ibn Muslim al-Juhanī (754-837), whose version is contained in Bayhaqī's *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*,³⁶ and Sa'īd ibn Kathīr ibn 'Ufayr (d. 841), whose version is in Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*³⁷ and Abū 'Awāna's *Mustakhraj*.³⁸

The fourth student of Ibn Shihāb is 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd ibn Tamīm al-Sulamī al-Dimashqī, whose report was received by Yaḥya ibn Ya'la ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥarb al-Muḥārībī (d. 831), whose version exists in Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ*,³⁹ and Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abī Shaybah Abū Sulaymān al-Rahāwī (d. 875), whose version is included in Nasā'ī's *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*.⁴⁰

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ṣāmit's Version

This is a short version that was reported by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Al-Ṣāmit al-Dawsī, Abū Hurayrah's cousin. As shown in *isnād* diagram 3 at the end of the article, this version was received by Abū al-Zubayr Moḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Tadrus al-Qurashī (d. 744). As the common link, he is claimed to have delivered the *ḥadīth* to four students:

1. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Jurayj, the well-known Meccan scholar (d. 767). His version was received by 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣan'ānī (744-826), whose version exists

²⁸ Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, 421.

²⁹ Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 7, 46.

³⁰ Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ*, vol. 3, 143.

³¹ Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-KubrāKubrā*, 6, 433.

³² Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Amr ibn 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Bazzār, *Musnad al-Bazzār*, ed. Maḥfūz al-Raḥmān Zayn al-Ilāh (Beirut and Medina: Mu'asasa 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān, 1409), vol. 14, 157.

³³ Abū 'Awānah, *Mustakhraj*, vol. 4, 124.

³⁴ Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn*, ed. Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salāfi (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1984), vol. 4, 169.

³⁵ Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-KubrāKubrā*, vol. 8, 381.

³⁶ *Kubrā*ibid., vol. 8, 392.

³⁷ Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 8, 167.

³⁸ Abū 'Awānah, *Mustakhraj*, vol. 4, 125.

³⁹ Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ*, vol. 6, 24.

⁴⁰ Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-KubrāKubrā*, vol. 6, 436.

in his well-known *Muṣannaf*⁴¹ in addition to Ibn al-Jārūd's *al-Muntaqa*⁴², Dārquṭnī's *Sunan*⁴³, Abū Dāwūd's *Sunan*⁴⁴ and Abū 'Aṣim al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Makhlad al-Shaybānī al-Baṣrī (d. 855-864), whose version exists in Nasā'ī's *al-Sunan al-Kubra*⁴⁵ and Abū Ya'la's *Musnad*.⁴⁶

2. Hammād ibn Salamah, who is regarded a common link by virtue of three students, Abū Al-Nu'mān al-Sadūsī Moḥammad ibn al-Faḍl (d. 847 or 848); Yazīd ibn Hārūn (735-821), whose version exists in Ṭaḥāwī's *Sharḥ*;⁴⁷ 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak (736-797), whose version exists in 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak's *Musnad*⁴⁸ and Nasā'ī's *al-Sunan al-Kubra*;⁴⁹ and Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 819), whose version exists in his *Musnad*.⁵⁰
3. Ḥajjāj ibn Ḥajjāj al-Bāhilī al-Baṣrī, whose version was received by Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭahmān ibn Shu'bah al-Harawī (d. 785) and exists in Abū al-Shaykh's *Juz' of Aḥādīth Abī al-Zubayr*.⁵¹
4. Zayd ibn Abī Unaysah Abū Usāmah al-Rahāwī (d. 742), whose version is in Bukhārī's *al-Adab al-Mufrad*.⁵²

MATN ANALYSIS OF ABŪ HURAYRAH'S TRADITION

The main goal of *matn* analysis is to identify wording in the versions transmitted through Abū Hurayrah's students – Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Šāmit – in pursuit of the relationships built through the *isnad* analysis. This may help determine approximate dates for the complete and abridged versions of their versions.

41 Abū Bakr 'Ab al-Razzāq ibn Hammām ibn Nāfi' al-Ḥumayrī al-Yamānī al-Šan'ānī, *Muṣannaf 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Šan'ānī*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī (Beirut: Al-Maktab Al-Islāmī, 1983), vol. 7, 321.

42 Abū Moḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn al-Jārūd, *al-Muntaqa*, ed. 'Abd al-Ilāh 'Umar al-Bārūdī (Beirut: Mu'assasa al-Kitāb al-Ṭaqāfiyyah, 1988), 206.

43 Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Mahdī ibn Mas'ūd ibn al-Nu'mān al-Dāraqūṭnī, *Sunan al-Dāraqūṭnī* (Beirut: Mu'assasa al-Risālah, 2004), vol. 4, 267.

44 Abū Dāwūd, Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Ishāq ibn Bashīr ibn Shaddād, *Sunan abī Dāwūd*, ed. Moḥammad Moḥiy al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-'Aṣriyyah, n.d.), vol. 4, 148.

45 Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, 415.

46 Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Muthannā ibn Yaḥyá ibn 'Isá ibn Hilāl al-Tamīmī abū Ya'la, *Musnad*, ed. Ḥusayn Salīm Asad (Damascus: Dār al-Ma'mūn, 1984), vol. 10, 524.

47 Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ*, vol. 3, 143.

48 'Abdullah ibn Waḍḍāḥ Al-Ḥanzalī ibn Al-Mubārak, *Musnad*, ed. Ṣubḥī Al-Badrī As-Sāmmurrā'ī (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, 1987), 91.

49 Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, 417.

50 Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Jārūd al-Ṭayālīsī abū Dāwūd, *Musnad Abī Dāwūd*, ed. Moḥammad 'Abdul-Moḥsin At-Turkī (Cairo: Dār Hajar, 1999), vol. 4, 218.

51 Abū Moḥammad 'Abdullah bin Moḥammad bin Ja'far bin Ḥayyān al-Anṣārī, *Juz' of Aḥādīth Abī al-Zubayr*, ed. Badr ibn 'Abdullah al-Badr (Riyadh: Al-Rashīd, n.d.), vol. 1, 201.

52 Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīra Bukhārī, *Al-Adab al-Mufrad*, ed. Moḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī (Beirut: Al-Bashā'ir, 1989), vol. 1, 256.

Abū Salamah ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s Version

The goal of this analysis is to outline Abū Salamah ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awf’s version, which he claims he received from Abū Hurayrah. I will start with the common link: Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr. His version was disseminated by five of his students. Comparing the texts of those five students, I can determine the main outline of Abū Salamah’s report. I started with the copy contained in Aḥmad’s *Musnad* since it is the oldest version available in print form. However, Aḥmad related two variants branching from Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr’s version, that of Yazīd ibn Hārūn and ‘Īsa ibn Yūnus. In addition to being reported by Aḥmad, Yazīd’s version also exists in Nasā’ī’s *Sunan* while ‘Īsa’s version exists in Bayhaqī’s *Sunan*.

A cursory review of the variants from Yazīd ibn Hārūn, as retained in Aḥmad and Nasā’ī, leads to the conclusion that the versions are almost identical. Only three minor variances, most likely copy errors, could be identified: a) Mā’idh’s family name is provided in Aḥmad’s version but does not exist in Nasā’ī’s version; b) The word *lahu* in his saying ‘*fa qāala la-hu dhālika arba ‘a marrāt* (which he repeated to him four times) is added to Aḥmad’s version but does not appear in Nasā’ī’s version; and c) Both variants mention a man carrying the jaw of a camel and hitting Mā’idh. According to Nasā’ī, the addition reads *fa-ḍarabahu fa-ṣara ‘ahu* (he hit and killed him). The word *fa-ṣara ‘ahu* is missing from Ahmad’s report. So, this version of the *ḥadīth* was introduced into a consistent, written form long before 855, the year Aḥmad died, and 875, the year Sulaymān al-Ruhhāwī died.

Next, I will compare Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr’s four students. According to *isnād* analysis, they are ‘Īsa ibn Yūnus, Yazīd ibn Hārūn, ‘Abbād ibn al-‘Awwām and ‘Abdah ibn Sulaymān. Before deciding the exact wording of ‘Īsa’s version, I must emphasise there are two nearly identical versions from him, one based on ‘Alī ibn Khashram’s narration and the other based on Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm’s narration. Most of the differences in these variants are stylistic. The majority of these variances are the result of relying on memory and taking notes at the time when ‘Īsa delivered his variant to Ishāq and ‘Alī. More important is the comparison between Yūnus’ and ‘Īsa’s variants. The following table includes both versions. I relied on the two versions preserved in Aḥmad’s *Musnad* since it is the oldest printed compilation that contains both versions. The differences are underlined.

Table 1: Textual comparison between Yazīd ibn Hārūn’s and ‘Īsa ibn Yūnus’ versions

Yazīd ibn Hārūn’s version	‘Īsa ibn Yūnus’ version
<p>Yazīd informed us that Moḥammad reported Abū Salamah narrating that Abū Hurayrah said, “Mā’idh ibn Mālik al-Aslamī came to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and said, ‘<u>O Messenger of Allah I have committed fornication.</u>’ The Prophet (peace be upon him) turned away from him. <u>He came to his right and said, ‘O Messenger of Allah I have committed fornication.’</u> He turned away from him. <u>Then he came to his left and said, ‘O Messenger of Allah I have committed fornication.’</u> He turned away from him. <u>Then he said, ‘O Messenger of Allah I have committed fornication.’</u> He said that to him four times. Then he said, ‘Go and stone him.’ They took him and while he was being <u>struck with</u></p>	<p>‘Alī ibn Khashram reported that Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr quoted Abū Salamah, who narrated that Abū Hurayrah said, “Mā’idh ibn Mālik came to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and said, ‘I have committed fornication.’ The Prophet (peace be upon him) turned away from him until he said that four times. He said, ‘<u>Take him and stone him.</u>’ He went [with them]. While he was being stoned, <u>he became terrified by the striking of the stones and ran away.</u> He passed by a man who had a camel’s jawbone in his hand; he struck and killed him. They mentioned his</p>

<p>stones, he ran away in <u>bad [condition]</u>. Then a man who had a camel's jawbone in his hand <u>met</u> and struck him <u>therewith</u>. His fleeing when the stones hit him was mentioned to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and he asked, 'Why did you not let him?'"</p>	<p>fleeing, <u>as the stones hit him</u>, to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and he asked, 'Why did you not let him be?'"</p>
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From this, I can conclude both versions must have originated from one source. Although they differ in their choices of some synonyms and structure, the content and ideas are almost the same. These differences affirm the *ḥadīth* was delivered on two different occasions and in two distinct styles or each transmitter relied on his own memory or notes to recall what he received from his teacher. This conclusion is further confirmed by the *isnad*, which distinguishes Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr as the common source for Yazīd and ‘Īsā. It is additionally confirmed by comparing Yazīd’s and ‘Īsā’s versions with other versions from ‘Abbād ibn al-‘Awwām and ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān. The former’s version exists in Tirmidhī’s *Sunan* while the latter’s version is found in many books, including ibn Abī Shaybah’s *Muṣannaf*, whose version will be quoted since it is the oldest version available.

Table 2: Textual analysis of ‘Abbād ibn al-‘Awwām’s and ‘Abdah ibn Sulaymān’s versions

‘Abbād ibn al-‘Awwām’s version	‘Abdah ibn Sulaymān’s version
<p>Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah informed us that ‘Abbād ibn al-‘Awwām reported from Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr from Abu Salamah from Abū Hurayrah who said, “Mā’idh ibn Mālik came to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and said, ‘I have committed fornication.’ The Prophet (peace be upon him) turned away from him until he came to him four times. He ordered him to be stoned. While he was stricken by the stones, he ran away in bad [condition]. Then a man holding a camel’s jawbone <u>met him</u>, struck and <u>killed him</u>. His fleeing from the striking of the stones was mentioned to the Prophet (peace be upon him). He asked, ‘Why did you not let him?’”</p>	<p>Abū Kurayb informed us that ‘Abdah ibn Sulaymān quoted Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr from Abu Salamah from Abū Hurayrah, who said, “Mā’idh ibn Mālik came to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and said that he committed fornication. The Prophet (peace be upon him) turned away from him. <u>He came to his side and said that he committed fornication. He turned away from him. Then he came to his other side and said, ‘O Messenger of Allah, I have committed fornication.’</u> He ordered after the fourth time [for him to be stoned]. <u>He was taken out to al-Ḥarra and was struck by stones.</u> When he felt the striking of the stones, he ran away in bad [condition] till <u>he passed by a man with a camel’s jawbone who struck him, and people hit him until he died.</u> They mentioned that he fled when he felt the striking of stones and <u>being hit by death.</u> Then, the Prophet (peace be upon him) asked, ‘Why did not you let him?’”</p>

One can arrive at the same conclusion upon analysing the texts of ‘Abbād ibn al-‘Awwām and ‘Abdah ibn Sulaymān. Their differences are more stylistic but all follow the same line and flow of events. The same differences discerned between the variants of Yazīd and ‘Īsā are also found between the variants of ‘Abbād and ‘Abdah. Yazīd’s variant is very close to that of ‘Abdah while ‘Īsā’s variant is very close to that of ‘Abbād. It confirms my supposition that Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr conveyed the report on two different occasions with slightly different styles and wording. The four versions must, then, belong to one source who delivered his story from memory on different occasions or gave his students the freedom to replace a few words or phrases when writing down those reports. This conclusion is further upheld by the fact the four versions differ in ways that make it impossible to find two identical or near identical

versions. Therefore, Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr’s version should be dated before 762, the year of his death.

There is, however, a fifth variant reported by Yaḥya ibn Zakariyya ibn Abī Zā’idah (d. 799). It is narrated by two of his students, Ṣa’īd ibn Masrūq and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣāliḥ. Both copies are identical and rely intensively on the complete version. Their wording and content strongly support they were both phrased by Yaḥya ibn Zakariyya ibn Abī Zā’idah, who is not reported as quoting a complete version of the *ḥadīth*. It seems he replied with a sentence when being questioned on whether a withdrawal of confession waives the penalty. The sentence supporting his juristic view is enclosed in quotations. Thus, while the complete version is traced back to 762, the short version cannot be traced back earlier than 755, the year of Yaḥya’s death.

Abū Salamah ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Sa’īd ibn al-Musayyab’s version

The main goal of this analysis is to identify the differences between Abū Salamah’s and Sa’īd ibn al-Musayyab’s versions. It should also help me to date Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr’s version. This analysis is based on comparisons of Abū Salamah’s version (as repeated by his student Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr) and al-Zuhrī’s amalgamated version, which includes Abū Salamah’s and Sa’īd’s version. First, to get the main content of this amalgamated copy, I need to analyse it at its different stages by al-Zuhrī’s different students. However, al-Zuhrī is responsible for combining the two versions. Upon a cursory review of the various copies from al-Zuhrī’s students, I found them to be almost the same. Al-Zuhrī must have had access to a written source from which he dictated his *ḥadīth*, since the differences are minor. By comparing al-Zuhrī’s version with that of Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr, I could conclude that both versions have many commonalities. Al-Zuhrī’s version does not explicitly mention Mā’īdh’s name. It either refers to a man from among the Muslims of the people or tribe of Aslam. I noticed this difference in various versions from Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr. For example, Moḥammad ibn ‘Amr’s report, as received from ‘Isa ibn Yūnus, does not mention Mā’īdh’s name but does provide the name of his tribe. Al-Zuhrī’s version includes the addition of the Prophet’s questions to Mā’īdh on his sanity and marital status. It does not provide details on how he was stoned to death or attempted to flee when the stones struck him. It also does not include details on the man carrying the jawbone and striking.

I could not discern the wording in Sa’īd’s version but could find additional phrases not included in Abū Salamah’s version. Al-Zuhrī most probably relied on Sa’īd’s report. This can only be confirmed by referring to the variant from Yaḥya ibn Sa’īd al-Qaṭṭān (d. 814), a parallel version of Zuhrī’s that was received by one of his contemporaries. It exists in the Mālik’s *Muwatta’*:

Mālik related to me from Yaḥya ibn Sa’īd from Sa’īd ibn al-Musayyab that a man from the Aslam tribe came to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and said to him, “The last one [he referred to himself] committed adultery.” Abū Bakr said to him, “Have you mentioned this to anyone else?” He said, “No.” Abū Bakr said to him, “Repent to Allah and cover it up with the veil of Allah. Allah accepts repentance from his slaves.” His conscience did not settle so he went to ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb He told him what he said to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar said to him Abū

Bakr's answer. This did not settle well with him so he went to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and said to him, "The last one has committed adultery". Sa'īd said, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, turned away from him three times. Each time the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, turned away from him. When it became too much, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless and grant him peace, sent [someone to] his family to ask, 'Does he have an illness [which affects his mind], or is he mad?' They said, 'Messenger of Allah, by Allah, he is well.' The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless and grant him peace, said, 'Unmarried or married?' They said, 'Married, Messenger of Allah.' The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless and grant him peace, gave the order and he was stoned.⁵³

The problem with Sa'īd's version is that he does not mention the name of his informant. It is possible Sa'īd heard the *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayrah or someone else. A comparison of Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab's version as retained by Zuhri and his version as retained by Yahya reveals some differences that confirm both variants include the main events relating to Mā'idh's confession, the Prophet turning away from him several times, the Prophet's command to stone him to death and the implementation of the penalty. There are some additions and omissions in both versions, but the common points confirm both were received from one source, who, according to the *isnād*, is Abū Hurayrah. The similarities between Sa'īd's version as retained by Zuhri and Yahya ibn Sa'īd confirm Sa'īd's version is very similar to that of Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, whose version was introduced before 713, the year of Abū Salamah's death. Due to the noticeable similarities between Sa'īd's and Abū Salamah's versions, it is suggested both versions were most probably introduced before 709. Sa'īd's version seems more concise and abridged while Abū Salamah's is full of details. This confirms both versions originated at the same time. The reason behind narrating one of them with elaborate details while abridging the other is standard among transmitters who repeat reports according to their understanding of the story and their ability to retain details. They did not have written materials to provide exact copies at different spans of time.

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ṣāmit's Version

The four variants of 'Abd al-Raḥmān – specifically that of ibn Jurayj, Ḥammād, Ḥajjāj and Zayd ibn Abī Unaysa – must be compared. Ibn Jurayj's report was transmitted by two of his students, 'Abd al-Razzāq and Daḥḥāk. All the variants received from 'Abd al-Razzāq are almost identical. This means 'Abd al-Razzāq used written materials that were received by his students. 'Abd al-Razzāq's and Daḥḥāk's versions differ in their phrases and wording. The sequence of events and wording of the two variants are similar to a great extent. Most probably, ibn Jurayj dictated his materials to his students, who rewrote them later according to their capacities. However, both versions must have emanated from a common source, ibn Jurayj. The four variants of abū al-Zubayr have certain segments in common, which can be classified into two major groups: the variants of ibn Juaryj, Ḥajjāj and Zayd are very similar in content and wording, while Ḥammād's variant has some additions, such as the insertion of Hazzāl's

⁵³ Mālik ibn Anas ibn Mālik ibn 'Āmir al-Aṣḥab, *al-Muwatta' through the Transmission of Abū Muṣ'ab al-Zuhri*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād and Maḥmūd Khālīl (Beirut: Mu'asasah al-Risālah, 1990), vol. 2, 820.

name into the story, his persuading Mā'idh to go to the Prophet and the Prophet's wish that Hazzal keep the issue a secret before forwarding it to him. Ibn Jurayj's, Ḥajjāj's and Zayd's variants all agree on the following details: Ma'idh sought the Prophet to confess, he turned away from him, he asked about the meaning of adultery, Ma'idh confirmed his knowledge of its meaning, the Prophet commanded Mā'idh's lapidation under a tree, he passed a group of people who spoke badly about Ma'idh, he invited those men to eat of a dead animal and confirmed Mā'idh is being immersed in the rivers of paradise.

According to the *isnād*, abū al-Zubayr's report is attributed to 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ṣāmit, the cousin of Abū Hurayrah. A comparison of the content of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's tradition with that of 'Amr ibn Salma and Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab leads to the conclusion that they correspond to a great extent. There is an obvious structural similarity between the two texts, which is further affirmed by the fact the sequence of the units is nearly the same. In addition, there are many instances where content and specific wording have equivalents. Such similarities could give credence to the idea that one may be based on the other, but the structural and textual differences and additions apparent in both texts rule this out. Moreover, abū al-Zubayr's report does not have an abridged version, which confirms my preliminary conclusion that Yaḥya ibn Zakariyya's abridged versions must have been introduced at least between 777 and 799, the years Yaḥya was active in *hadīth* circles.

SANAD ANALYSIS OF BURAYDAH'S REPORT

In order to date Abū Buraydah's report, I need to first analyse its *isnād*. As shown in *isnād* diagram 4 at the end of the article, one can easily discern two parallel lines of transmission, the first initiating with 'Abd Allāh ibn Buraydah (d. 723) and the other with his brother Sulaymān ibn Buraydah (d. 723 or 733). Both are sons of Buraydah ibn al-Ḥaṣīb Al-Aslamī (d. 683). As shown in diagram 4, 'Abd Allāh's report is solely reported by Bashīr ibn al-Muhājir al-Kufī al-Ghanawī (d. 758-767), who is a common link by virtue of seven students: 1) 'Īsa ibn Yūnus (d. 794 or 807), whose version is recorded by Abū Dāwūd;⁵⁴ 2) 'Abd Allāh ibn Numayr al-Khārifi (d. 815), whose version exists in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*;⁵⁵ 3) Khallād ibn Yaḥya al-Sulamaī (d. 828 or 832), who has two versions that are preserved in al-Ḥākim's *Mustadrak*, one reported by Aḥmad ibn Moḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn Al-Aṣbahānī and Abū al-Naḍr al-Faqīh;⁵⁶ 4) Abū Nu'aym al-Faḍl ibn Dukayn (748-833), whose version exists in Dārimī's *Sunan*,⁵⁷ Aḥmad's *Musnad*⁵⁸ and Ṭaḥāwī's *Sharḥ*;⁵⁹ 5) Abū Aḥmad Moḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr Al-Asdī (d. 819), both of whose versions exist in Abū 'Awānah's *Mustakhraj*;⁶⁰ 6) 'Ubayd 'l-llah

54 Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, vol. 4, 152.

55 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 1321.

56 Al-Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, vol. 4, 402.

57 Abū Moḥammad ibn 'Abd al-llah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Faḍl ibn Bahrām al-Dārimī, *Sunan al-Dārimī*, ed. Ḥsayn Salīm Asad al-Dārānī (Saudi Arabia: Dār al-Mughnī, 2000), vol. 3, 1494.

58 Aḥmad, *Musnad*, vol. 38, 26.

59 Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ*, vol. 12, 240.

60 Abū 'Awānah, *Mustakhraj*, vol. 4, 135.

ibn Mūsa, whose version is in Abū 'Awāna's *Mustakhraj*;⁶¹ and 7) Moḥammad ibn Fuḍayl (d. 908), whose version is in al-Nasā'ī's *Sunan*.⁶²

The other parallel line of Buraydah's version is attributed to Sulaymān ibn Buraydah (d. 723 or 733), whose version was solely received by 'Alqamah ibn Marthad al-Kūfī, who transmitted his version to Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit (699-767), the prominent jurist, and Ghaylān ibn Jāmi' al-Muḥāribī (d. 750). The former's version was received by his student Abū Yūsuf, whose report is in his *al-Āthār*⁶³ and Al-Mukhalliṣ' *Mukhallaṣiyyāt*.⁶⁴ The latter's version was received by Ya'la ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥarb (d. 785), who delivered it to his son Yaḥya ibn Ya'la ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥarb (d. 831), who is regarded as a common link by virtue of four students: 1) 'Abbās ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī 'Īsā (d. 881), whose version was related by al-Bazzār;⁶⁵ 2) Abū Kurayb Moḥammad ibn al-'Alā' (d. 861), whose version exists in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*⁶⁶ and Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu'jam al-Waṣīṭ*;⁶⁷ 3) Ja'far ibn Moḥammad al-Ṣā'igh (d. 892), whose version exists in Dāraquṭnī *Sunan*;⁶⁸ and 4) Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb al-Jawzajānī (d. 873), whose version is related by al-Nasā'ī.⁶⁹

MATN ANALYSIS OF BURAYDAH'S REPORT

I will next compare the two versions from Buraydah's sons by first analysing the text of Yaḥya ibn Ya'la, the common link whose version is claimed to have been received through Sulaymān and is in five *ḥadīth* compilations and Bashīr ibn al-Muḥājir's version. His version comes from 'Abd Allāh and exists in ten other compilations. In addition to these two standard versions, I have seven abridged versions. Three of them are attributed to Sulaymān and four claim to have come from 'Abd Allāh ibn Buraydah. A cursory review of the five texts from Yaḥya ibn Ya'lā, as attributed to Ja'far, Abū Kurayb, Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb, Moḥammad ibn Naṣr and Moḥammad ibn al-'Alā', reveals they are almost identical in wording, style and structure. They must have been received through a standard written source. This means Yaḥyā ibn Ya'lā used written materials that all his students could access. None of his students reported an abridged version; all of them had the complete story. This raises the following question: Does Yaḥyā's version represent the version that Sulaymān ibn Buraydah relayed? The answer to this question, I will compare Ghaylān ibn Jāmi''s version with Abū Ḥanīfah's version. Both versions are claimed to have been received from 'Alqamah ibn Marthad, Sulaymān's student. Abū Ḥanīfah's abridged version shares some broader ideas with the standard version, such as Mā'idh's confession, his going back and forth to the Prophet four times, the Prophet's command to lapidate Mā'idh, as well as people's conflicted views on his situation, with some

⁶¹ Ibid., vol. 4, 136.

⁶² Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, 418.

⁶³ Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb ibn Sa'd ibn Ḥabta al-Anṣārī abū Yūsuf, *al-Athār*, ed. Abū al-Wafa (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, n. d.), vol. 1, 157.

⁶⁴ Al-Mukhalliṣ, *Mukhallaṣiyyāt*, vol. 4, 15.

⁶⁵ Al-Bazzār, *Musnad*, vol. 10, 329.

⁶⁶ Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 132.

⁶⁷ Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-waṣīṭ*, vol. 5, 117.

⁶⁸ Al-Dāraquṭnī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, 77.

⁶⁹ Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, 414.

claiming he had already perished and others presuming Allah accepted his repentance. Abū Ḥanīfah's report reveals additional points not included in the complete version, such as the Prophet asking his people about Mā'idh's sanity, his fleeing to a land with few stones, death overcoming him slowly, his fleeing to a land full of stones, his people looking for his body, the Prophet's command to shroud Mā'idh's body, bury him and offer the funeral prayer as they would normally do for any Muslim. Ghaylān's report distinguishes itself in its elaboration of extra details, such as Mā'idh's request for the Prophet to purify him of his sins, the Prophet's command to seek Allah's forgiveness, his question about his sin, Mā'idh's confession, the Prophet's enquiry on his sanity and whether he was drunk, a man volunteering to smell him, the Prophet's question about his marital status, Ma'idh's request to the Prophet to be killed with stones, and the Prophet coming to his people after two days to ask them to seek Allah's forgiveness for Mā'idh. The fact these versions have much in common and only differ in details that do not openly contradict one another further buttresses the conclusion that both versions should be attributed to a common source, who, according to *isnād*, is 'Alqamah ibn Marthad. However, one question remains: at what point did the abridged version begin to be circulated? It was possibly phrased by Abū Ḥanīfah or 'Alqamah ibn Marthad, who might have repeated the story on different occasions in two variants. At least one can say with certainty that the abridged version must have been circulated in *ḥadīth* circles before 729, the year 'Alqamah is claimed to have died.⁷⁰ *Ḥadīth* critics have said 'Alqamah only received *ḥadīth* from Sulaymān ibn Buraydah and did not study in Abdullah's circles.⁷¹

An intensive comparison of 'Abd Allāh's and Sulaymān's versions seems essential. My analysis covered a range of detailed and abridged versions. The following table includes all segments of Mā'idh's story, as preserved in 'Abd Allāh's and Sulaymān ibn Buraydah's variants. Each version is given a symbol⁷² with its corresponding segments.

70 Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh Moḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāymāz al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa Wafāyāt al-Mashāhīr wa al-a'lām*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb, 2003), vol. 3, 282.

71 Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-'Ilal wa Ma'rifah al-Rijāl*, ed. Waṣīy Allāh ibn Moḥammad 'Abbās (Riyadh: Dār al-Khānī, 2001), vol. 2, 320.

72 Abū Hanfiah from 'Alaqama (HA1); Abū Hanfiah from 'Alaqama, abridged version (HA2); Al-'Abbās from Yahyā (AY); Abū Kurayb from Yahyā (KY); Ġa'far from Yahya (JY); Ibrāhīm from Yahya (IY); 'Isā from Bashīr (IB); Ibn Numayr from Bashīr (NB); Khallād from Bashīr (KB); Abū Nu'aym from Bashīr, full version (AB1); Abū Nu'aym from Bashīr, abridged version (AB2); Abū Aḥmad from Bashīr (HB); and Ibn Fuḍayl from Bashīr (FB). Abū Hurayra's versions were also considered in this comparison. Abū Salamah's version is given the symbol (AH) while Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab's is given the symbol (SA) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ṣāmit is represented as (ṢA). Abridged versions are highlighted.

Table 3: Comparison of ‘Abd Allāh’s and Sulaymān’s variants

Segments	Sulaymān from Buraydah						‘Abd Allāh from Buraydah						
	ḤA 1	ḤA 2	AY	KY	JY	IY	IB	FB	KB	AB 1	AB 2	ḤB	NB
Buraydah was sitting with the Prophet when Mu‘ādh came.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	•	•	•	•	•	X
The name of the man is Mā‘idh ibn Mālik al-Aslamī.	•	X	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Mā‘idh said he wronged himself and committed adultery/ approached a woman in an illegal way.	X	•	X	X	X	X	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
He asked the Prophet to cleanse him of his sin.	X	X	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	X	X	X
The Prophet commanded him to leave/turn away from him.	•	•	X	X	X	X	•	•	•	•	X	X	X
The Prophet further commanded him to seek Allah’s forgiveness and turn to Him to repent.	X	X	•	•	•	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
The next day he came and confessed he committed adultery/approached him from the other side and confessed adultery.	X	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	X	•	•	•	•
The Prophet asked him to leave/turn away from him.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	X	X	•	X	X	X
The Prophet asked for his family to come.	X	X	X	X	X	X	•	X	X	•	X	X	•
He asked his family about Mā‘idh, whether he had a problem or suffers from insanity.	•	X	X	X	X	X	•	X	•	•	X	X	•
They answered that he does not have a problem.	•	X	X	X	X	X	•	X	•	•	X	X	•
They further praised him.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	•	•	X			X
Mā‘idh returned for the third time and confessed he committed adultery.	•	•	•	•	•	•	X	•	•	•	•	•	•
He insisted to be cleansed of his sin.	X	X	•	•	•	•	X	X	X	•	X	X	X
He asked for his people again and they confirmed he is sound.	X	X	•	•	•	•	X	•	X	•	X	X	•
He returned for the fourth time confessing adultery and insisted to be cleansed of his sin.	•	•	•	•	•	•	X	X	X	•	•	•	X
The Prophet commanded them to smell him.	X	X	•	•	•	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
A man started to smell him but he found no smell of wine.	X	X	•	•	•	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Segments	Sulaymān from Buraydah						‘Abd Allāh from Buraydah						
	ḤA 1	ḤA 2	AY	KY	JY	IY	IB	FB	KB	AB 1	AB 2	ḤB	NB
The Prophet asked him whether he had previously married. He answered in the affirmative.	X	X	•	•	•	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
The Prophet commanded a ditch be made for him.	X	X	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
He was put in the ditch up to his chest.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	•	•	•	•	•	•
The Prophet commanded the people to stone him/they stoned him to death.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
He was brought to a land with few stones. Death overcame him slowly.	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
He fled to a land full of stones, the people followed him and killed him there.	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
A man followed him carrying a camel's jawbone and hit him with it.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
When the Prophet was informed, on his fleeing, he wished they would release him.	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
People differed on his status. A group of them maintained his sin had already perished him.	•	X	•	•	•	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Another group said he introduced the best repentance since he admitted his sin.	•	X	•	•	•	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
They disagreed on his status until the Prophet came to them and asked them to seek Allah's forgiveness for Mā'idh.	X	X	•	•	•	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
They sought Allah's forgiveness for Mā'idh and the Prophet said, if his repentance was to be divided among a people, it would have been enough for all of them.	•	X	•	•	•	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
His people spoke to the Prophet on what to do with his body. He commanded them to shroud the body and bury him and offer funeral prayer on him in the normal way like other Muslims.	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

I could discern two distinct variants for Sulaymān ibn Buraydah, which appeared during the time of ‘Alqamah ibn Marthad or after, one being phrased by Abū Ḥanīfah and the other kept

by Ghaylān ibn Jāmi‘ and later retained by Ya‘lā ibn al-Ḥārith, who communicated it to his son Yaḥya. Yaḥya kept a written copy of the report, which was disseminated to his students. This explains the uniformity in wording, phrases, sequence of events and structure for all variants from Yaḥya’s students, al-‘Abbās, Abū Kurayb, Ja‘far ibn Moḥammad and Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb. Slight differences are attributed to copying errors or scribes’ differences. Probably, Abū Ḥanīfah is responsible for phrasing his version. This is supported by the fact he had disseminated two distinct versions of considerably differing lengths, the complete one delivered through Abū Yūsuf and the abridged version through Zufar ibn al-Hudhayl ibn Qays al-‘Anbarī (d. 775). The former is succinct and concise. It primarily focuses on Mā‘idh’s repeated confession of adultery and the Prophet’s command to stone him; other details are not included in the text. In most cases, the report is quoted in a juristic discussion or in response to a question. This is the reason Abū Hanīfa only mentions phrases that include proof. However, the abridged version cannot be dated earlier than 767. It cannot be attributed to ‘Alqamah ibn Marthad, whose version was retained by Ghaylān ibn Jāmi‘ and later delivered by Yaḥya ibn Ya‘la. This conclusion is further supported by similarities between Abū Ḥanīfah’s and Ghaylān ibn Jāmi‘’s complete versions, which strongly suggest they emanated from a common source who, according to *isnād* analysis, is ‘Alqamah ibn Marthad. Other evidence for this conclusion is that Abū Ḥanīfah has been reported as introducing a third variant through Ḥaṣkafī, which seems identical to Abū Yūsuf’s version. I will compare this short version with other short versions from ‘Abdulla ibn Buraydah to check whether it was introduced in imitation of ‘Abd Allāh’s version.

Bashīr ibn al-Muhājir was the sole recipient of ‘Abd Allāh’s report. Four of its variants are abridged and three are retained in seemingly complete forms. A cursory review of the complete variants reveals ‘Abd Allāh ibn Numayr’s report is different in wording, phrasing and structure from Moḥammad ibn Fuḍayl’s report, yet they have a common flow of sequence and events. According to Ibn Fuḍayl’s report, Buraydah was sitting with the Prophet when Mā‘idh came. The name Mā‘idh ibn Mālik al-Aslamī is given in this order, according to Ibn Numayr’s version while Ibn Fuḍayl’s version mentions the family name first. According to Ibn Numayr, Mā‘idh admitted he wronged himself by committing adultery and sought to purify himself of his sin. According to Ibn Fuḍayl, Mā‘idh proclaimed his confession of adultery immediately without introducing his statement with the phrase, “I have wronged myself.” The Prophet called for his family after his second confession, according to Ibn Numayr’s report, but in another report from Moḥammad ibn Fuḍayl, he called upon them after the third confession. His family was also invited to give testimony on his mental fitness and behaviour after the fourth confession, according to Ibn Fuḍayl’s report, but Ibn Numayr’s report suggests he was stoned immediately upon his fourth confession without his people being summoned. These differences suggest Bashīr ibn al-Muhājir did not have written materials: he would deliver the report and each student would repeat it in his own wording and according to his own understanding. In fact, Bashīr delivered his materials orally without any reliance on written materials, but he communicated the report on different occasions with different styles and wording. This is justified by the fact Ibn Fuḍayl’s report is identical in wording, phrasing, style and structure

with Khallād ibn Yaḥya's report. Abū Aḥmad's report differs in its details, length and phrasing from that of Ibn Fuḍayl and Ibn Numary. Abū Nu'aym is reported as having two variants of differing lengths. The former is very close in wording to Moḥammad ibn Fuḍayl's report, although it differs from it with respect to certain details and word choices while the latter is very similar in length, phrasing and structure to Abū Aḥmad's short version. One can safely conclude that Bashīr ibn al-Muhājir delivered the report on two occasions, once in its complete form and the other abridged. Later, during Abū Nu'aym's time, Abū Bashīr's report was unified and standardised. This is explained by the identical copies reported from Abū Nu'aym through Fahd ibn Sulaymān, Abū Umayyah, Imam Aḥmad and Aḥmad ibn Yaḥya al-Ṣūfī. Therefore, the abridged form must have emanated at least before 757. However, can this abridged version be dated earlier than the year of Bashīr's death or at least attributed to 'Abd Allāh ibn Buraydah? This would rely on comparisons of all abridged versions related by Bashīr and Abū Ḥanīfah's short version, as previously discussed. A review of both versions reveals great contrast in details, structure, wording and sequence of events. These differences emphasise that each copy emerged from a different source. Therefore, one cannot attribute those abridged versions to Sulaymān ibn Buraydah or 'Abd Allāh ibn Buraydah. Abū Ḥanīfah and Bashīr ibn al-Muhājir must have developed them independently.

By comparing the versions attributed to 'Abd Allāh ibn Buraydah and Sulaymān ibn Buraydah, one can confirm that both versions have 14 segments in common with similar or closely related content. Thirteen segments of content were missing in both versions and only three segments are not completely compatible. They may be completely missing in all Sulaymān's or 'Abd Allāh's variants. The result of this analysis proves both versions emanate from one common source, who, according to the *isnād* chart, is Buraydah ibn al-Ḥaṣīb, who is claimed to have disseminated the complete report to his sons. Therefore, Buraydah's complete report must have existed at least before 682, the year Buraydah died. This conclusion is further confirmed by comparing the content of Buraydah's report with that of Abū Hurayrah.

CONCLUSION

By analysing Abū Hurayrah's report, I concluded that Moḥammad ibn 'Amr's complete version existed at least before 762 so the short version cannot be attributed to him. It must have been phrased by Yaḥya ibn Zakariyya ibn abī Zā'idah, who introduced it before 799. It emerged considerably later than the complete version. The short version cannot be traced to Moḥammad ibn 'Amr for many reasons, one of them being that none of his four students were quoted as reporting it. Further, neither the parallel line (of transmission) of Zuhri nor any of his students reported a similar or approximate short version like that of Yaḥya's. By analysing Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab's and Abū Salamah's reports, I also concluded that Sa'īd's and Abū Salamah's reports originated at approximately the same time. They seem distinct from each other although they share many commonalities. Sa'īd's version seems more concise and abridged, while Abū Salamah's version includes more details. Both versions emerged at least before 712. By analysing 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ṣāmit's report, which did not include any abridged version

that may compared to Yaḥya ibn Zakriyya's variant, I confirmed those short copies cannot reach the level of Moḥammad ibn 'Amr's or abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān's reports.

By conducting additional analytical comparison of the short versions of Buraydah's report, I concluded the versions from Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, Abū Nu'aym and Abdullah ibn Numayr from Bashīr ibn al-Muhājir are almost identical. This means Bashīr is responsible for phrasing this short version. He issued two versions, one short and the other complete. His role in narrating these short versions is further confirmed by great differences found between them and the version from 'Abd Allāh ibn Numayr, who received it from Bashīr. Bashīr is mostly responsible for this short copy, which apparently is an imitation of 'Abd Allāh ibn Buraydah's complete report. Therefore, 'Abd Allāh ibn Buraydah's short versions cannot have been issued before 738, the year Bashīr possibly delivered the report. 'Abd Allāh ibn Numayr's version was likely phrased between 777-815, the years 'Abd Allāh was most actively involved in transmission of *ḥadīth*. These short versions, which were attributed to Bashīr ibn al-Muhājir or 'Abd Allāh ibn Numayr, are completely different in style, wording, content and structure from al-'Abbās' version, which he received from Yaḥya ibn Ya'la, who should be responsible for this short version since it cannot be attributed to any earlier authorities. Such is the case for Abū Ḥanīfah's version, which cannot be compared to that of Yaḥya ibn Ya'la. This conclusion conflicts with Joseph Schacht's view. He argued short texts are older and long texts, especially "detailed stories," are newer than their corresponding short ones.

Importantly, the conclusion of this paper does not have any bearing on the ruling and application of lapidation in Islamic law. This falls within the realm of Islamic legal theory, which does not solely rely on the veracity and authenticity of legal sources but extends to verify their implication, continuity and efficacy in the sense of not being abrogated in addition to their preponderance in case of the presumption of an apparent conflict with other sources of law.

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Diagram 1: Abū Salamah’s version

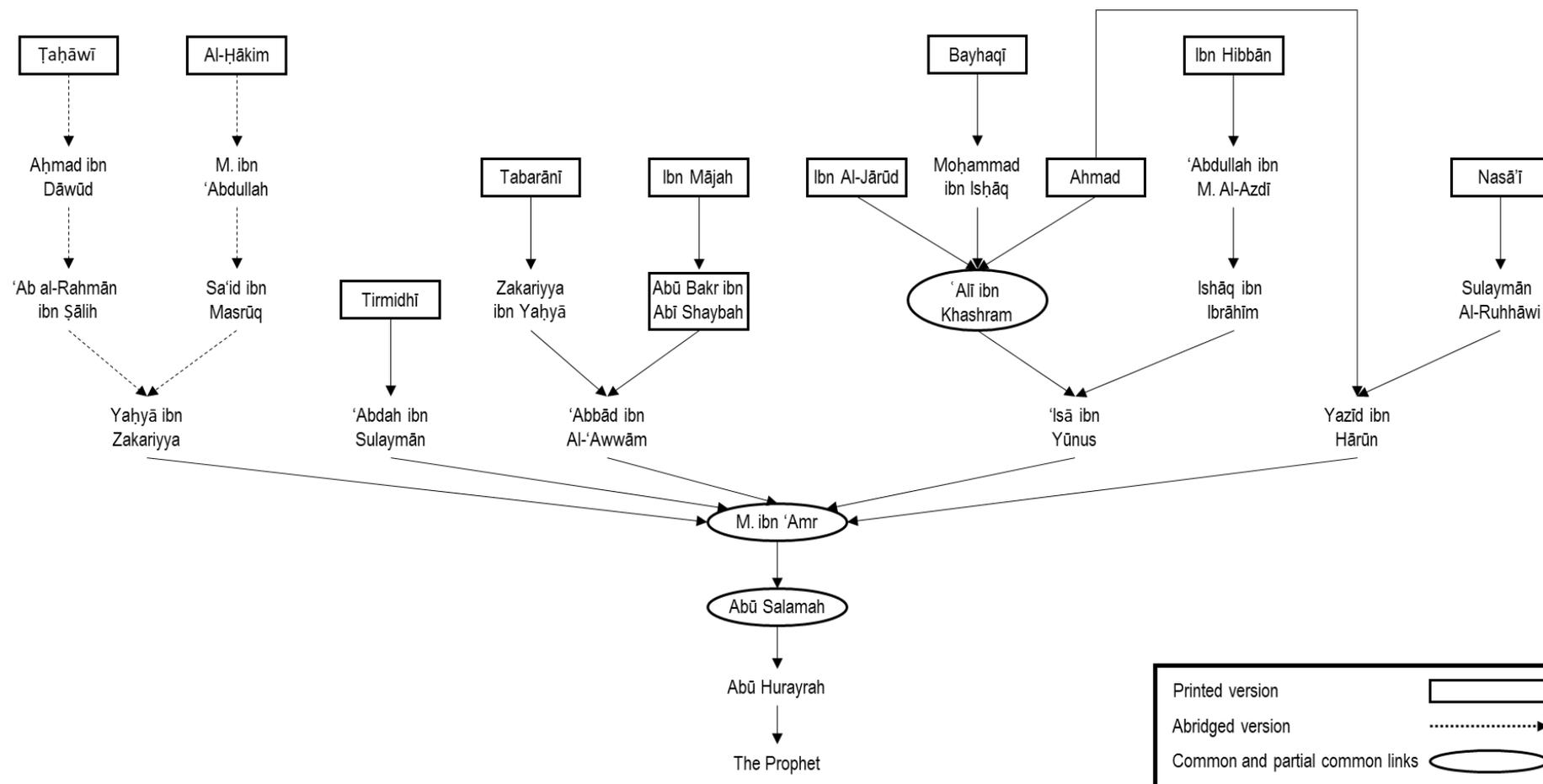


Diagram 2: Abū Salamah and Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab’s amalgamated version

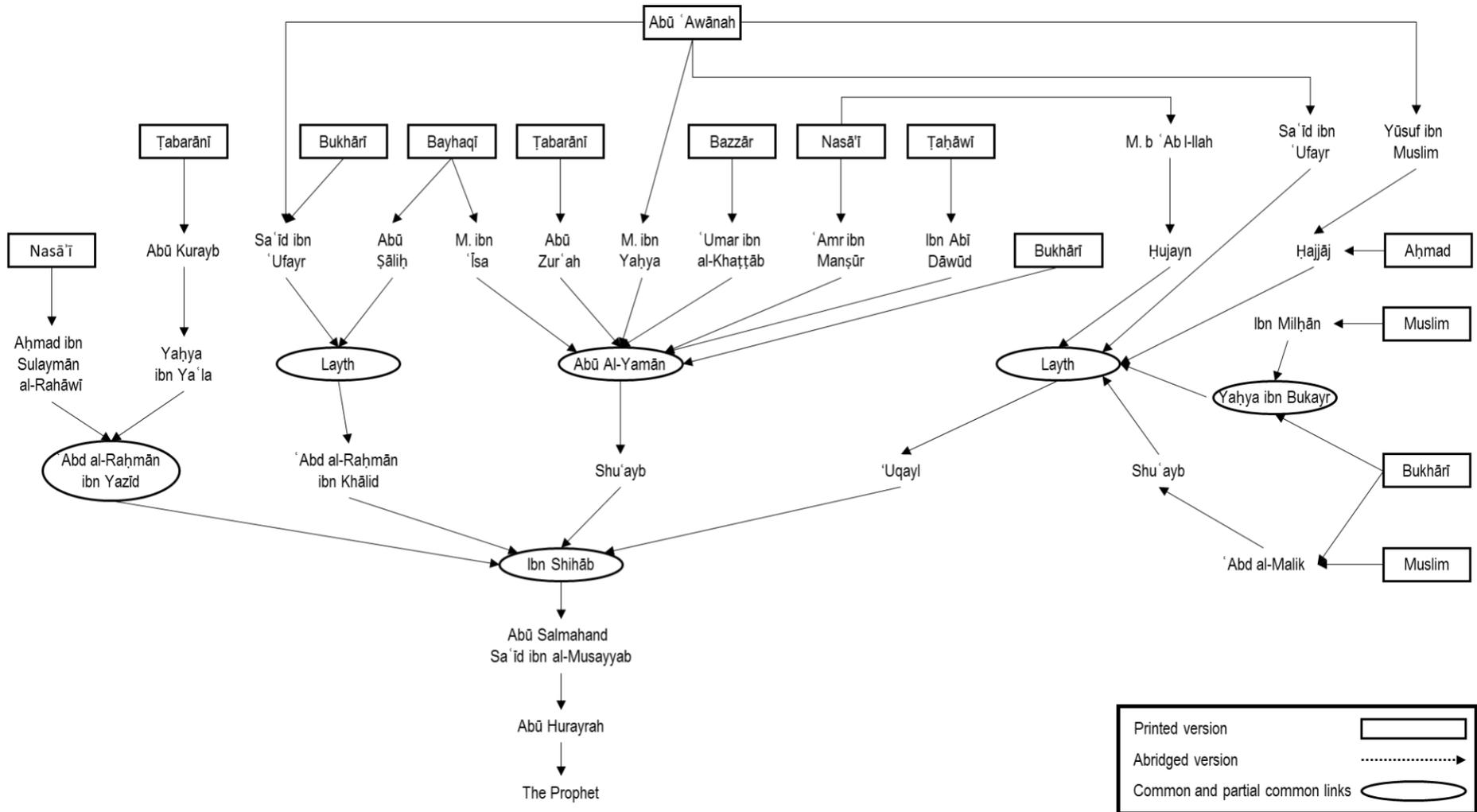


Diagram 3: ‘Abdur-Raḥmān ibn al-Ṣāmit’s version

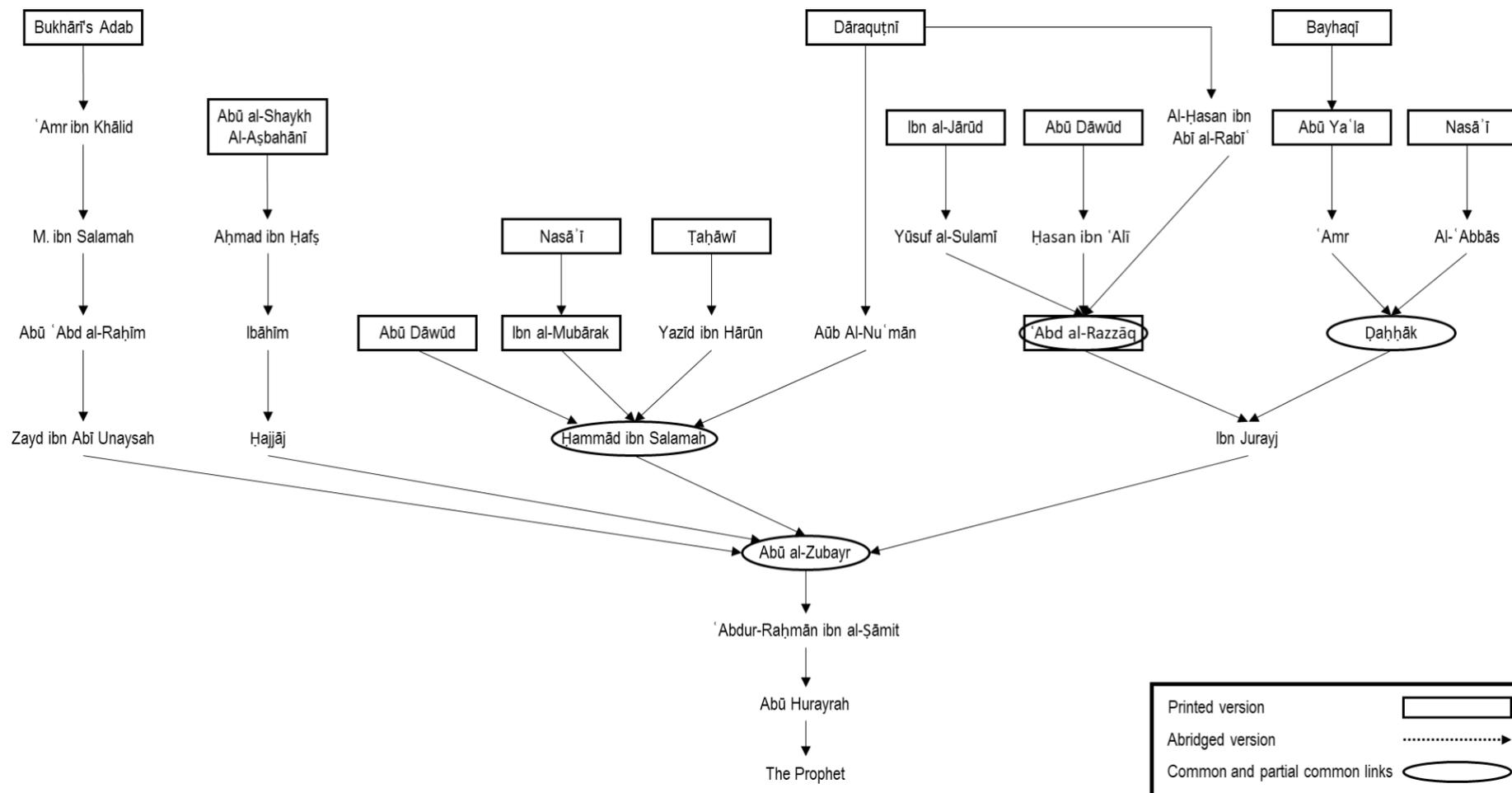


Diagram 4: Abū Buraydah’s version

