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MOTZKI, H. *Quo vadis, Ḥadīṭ-Forschung? Eine kritische Untersuchung von G.H.A.Juynboll: "Nāfi' the mawlā of Ibn 'Umar, and his position in Muslim Ḥadīṭ literature. Der Islam, 73 i (1996), pp.40-80; 73 ii (1996) pp.193-231*

Nāfi'
(140030)

21 05 1998

كالغراب أعور أفتس أشل أعرج . ثم عمى في آخر حياته . ولكن العلم والفضل والتقوى قد حجبت كل هذه العيوب الخلقية والعايات الجسمية وجعلت فضله يعرف ويحمد ويذكر ويخلد .

ومن الطرائف التي يذكرها الإمام أبو حنيفة - وللإمام طرائف كثيرة - أنه تعلم من حجاج عن عطاء . يقول الإمام : أخطأت في خمسة أبواب من المناسك بمكة فعلمنيها حجاج . وذلك أني أردت أن أحلق رأسي فقال لي : أعرنى أنت ؟ فقلت نعم . وكنت قد قلت له : بكم تحلق رأسي ؟ فقال : النسك لا يشارط فيه - يعني لا ينبغي المشاركة في مناسك الحج - اجلس . فجلست منحرفا عن القبلة . فأوما لي باستقبال القبلة . وأردت أن أحلق رأسي من الجانب الأيسر . فقال : أدر شقك الأيمن من رأسك فأدرته . وجعل يحلق رأسي وأنا ساكت . فقال لي : كبر . فجعلت أكبر حتى قمت لأذهب . فقال : أين تريد ؟ قلت : رحلي . قال صل ركعتين ثم امض . فقلت ما ينبغي أن يكون هذا من قبل هذا الحجاج إلا ومعه عالم . فقلت من أين لك ما رأيتك أمرتني به . فقال : رأيت عطاء بن أبي رباح يفعل هذا (٧) .

لقد كان عطاء في علمه وفضله جديرا بأن يلفت نظر الإمام النعمان أبي حنيفة . فيختلف إلى ساحته وينهل من فضله . لقد نهل من علم حجاج سمع من عطاء . فليس عجيبا أن يرد حوض عطاء نفسه . فإن عنده خيرا كثيرا . ومن كبار الفقهاء الذين سمع منهم أبو حنيفة في المدينة نافع مولى عبد الله بن عمر . وكان عبد الله قد أصابه في بعض مغازيه وهو غلام صغير فأكرمه وأحسن تربيته . ولذلك لم يكن نافع يعرف اسم أبيه أو اسم أحد من أهله . وقد قيل إنه ديلمى وكان يعرف بنافع مولى ابن عمر ويكنى بأبي عبد الله وينسب إلى المدينة المنورة فيقال له المدني . وكان يعرف أيضا بنافع الفقيه . وقد سمع نافع من عدد من الصحابة وفي مقدمتهم عبد الله بن عمر مولا .

(٧) وفيات الأعيان ترجمة عطاء بن رباح .

Hds

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Nâfi (Mawlâ Ibn Ömer)

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Tawadd

الأئمة الأربعة

(١)

الإمعة الأعظم أبو حنيفة النعمان



الدكتور

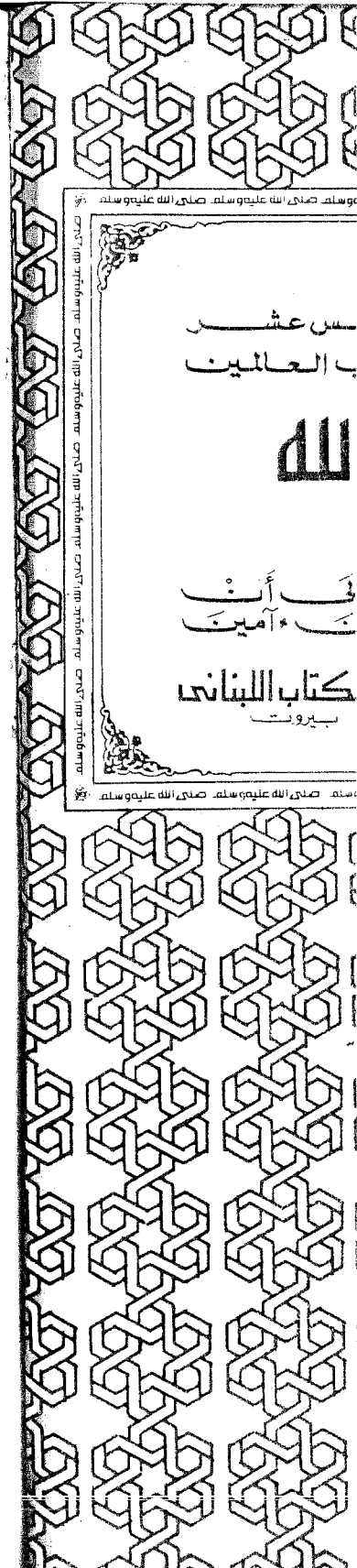
مصطفى الشكعة

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi P. 812.375	
Kayıt No. :	5563-1
Tasnif No. :	812.375 HAN

الناشرون

دار الكتب الإسلامية

دار الكتاب للمصرى دار الكتاب اللبناني
القاهرة بيروت



س عشر
العالمين

الله

فأنا
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بيروت



المكتبة العامة للجمهوريّة
لجائزته الامت لامية
بالمدينة النورة

المجلد العتلي
احياء التراث الانسلاي

- ٦ -

Nafi , Ebu Abdillah el-Medani
el-Adavi

الطبقات الكبرى

لابن سعد

القسم المتمم

لتابعي أهل المدينة ومن بعدهم

(من ربيع الطبقة الثالثة إلى منتصف الطبقة السادسة)

دراسة وتحقيق

زياد محمد منصور

Doğal / Kitap
Kütüphanede Mevcuttur

أخبرنا معن بن عيسى، قال: حدثنا مالك بن أنس^(١): أن عمر بن عبد العزيز رزق مسلم بن جندب دينارين «وكان قبل ذلك يقضي بغير رزق»^(٢).

أخبرنا محمد بن عمر، قال: سمعت عبد الرحمن بن أبي الزناد يقول: بلغ سعيد بن المسيب^(٣) أن مسلم بن جندب قال: الحج الأكبر يوم النحر فقال: إنه أعرابي هالته الدماء^(٤).

قال محمد بن عمر: وقد روى زيد بن أسلم^(٥) عن مسلم بن جندب^(٦).

٥٢ - نافع مولى عبد الله

ref: 117/35
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ابن عمر بن الخطاب، ويكنى أبا عبد الله، وكان من أهل أبر شهر^(٧)، أصابه عبد الله في غزاته^(٨).

(١) ستاتي ترجمة مالك رقم ٣٧٢.

(٢) تهذيب التهذيب ١٠/١٢٤.

(٣) سعيد بن المسيب. إمام التابعين وفقههم. مات بعد التسعين، وقد ناهز الثمانين. وأخرج له الجماعة.

(انظر: تقريب التهذيب ١٢٦).

(٤) انظر: معرفة القراء للذهبي ١/٦٦.

(٥) ستاتي ترجمته رقم ٢١٩.

(٦) قال ابن حجر: مسلم بن جندب الهذلي القاص، ثقة فصيح قارىء. أخرج له البخاري في خلق أفعال العباد. والترمذي.

(انظر: تقريب التهذيب ٣٣٥).

(٧) أبر شهر: بفتح الهمزة وسكون الموحدة وفتح الراء بعدها شين معجمة مفتوحة تليها هاء ساكنة. وهي كلمة فارسية، معنى «أبر»: «الغيم»، و«شهر» البلد. قيل إنها اسم لمدينة نيسابور بخراسان.

(انظر: مراصد الاطلاع ١/١١. ومعجم البلدان ١/٦٥).

(٨) تاريخ دمشق ١٧/٢/٢٥٧. أخرجها ابن عساكر من طريق الحارث بن أبي أسامة، عن ابن سعد به. ويضع «أبرهشر» بدل «أبرشهر».

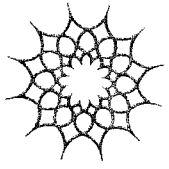
اليرانيون العرب

رجال علم الحديث

المجلد الثاني - القسم الأول

تأليف:

قيس آل قيس



مؤسسة البحوث والتحقيقات الثقافية

تهران ١٣٦٣

كنت اسير مع عبدالله بن عمر "رض" فسمع زمارة راع فوضع اصبعيه في اذنيه ثم عدل عن الطريق فلم يزل يقول يا نافع اتسمع حتى قلت لا فاخرج اصبعيه عن اذنيه ثم رجع الى الطريق ثم قال هكذا رايت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم ، وفي هذا الاثر اشكال تسأل عنه الفقهاء وهو ان ابن عمر كيف سدا اذنيه عن استماع صوت الزمارة ولم يأمر مولاه نافعاً بفعل ذلك بل مكثه منه وكان يساله كل وقت هل انقطع الصوت ام لا . وقد اجابوا عن الاشكال بان نافعاً حينئذ كان صبياً فلم يكن مكلفاً حتى يمنعه عن الاستماع .

و ذكره ابو زكريا محي الدين بن شرف النووي المتوفى سنة ٦٧٦ هـ وقال : -
" (نافع مولى ابن عمر) : تكرر في المختصر والمهذب وهو ابو عبدالله نافع ابن هرمز و يقال ابن كاوس " كاوس" ذكر الفوليين الحاكم ابو عبدالله في تاريخ نيسابور ، قال الحاكم : قال البخاري والحسن بن الوليد : هو من سبي نيسابور . و قال عبدالعزيز بن ابي رواد : هو من سبي خراسان سبي وهو صغير فاشتراه ابن عمر "عبدالله" وقيل من سبي كابل وقيل من سبي ايران شهر وهي نيسابور كذا ذكرها الحاكم ابو عبدالله في مواضع من اول تاريخه وقيل من سبي العرب وقيل من سبي جبال طالق "مدينة قرب اصفهان" ، وهو تابعي جليل سمع سيده ابن عمر ، و ابا هريرة ، و ابا سعيد الخدري ، و ابا لبابه ، و رافع ابن خديج ، و عائشة ، و الربيع بنت معوذ ، و رضى الله تعالى عنهم ، و سمع خلائق من التابعين منهم القاسم بن محمد ، و سالم بن عبدالله ، و يزيد بن عبدالله ، و اسلم مولى عمر ، و ابراهيم بن عبدالله بن حسين ، و عبدالله بن محمد بن ابي بكر الصديق وغيرهم . و روى عنه ابو اسحاق السبيعي ، و الحكم بن عيينه ، و محمد بن عجلان ، و بكير بن عبدالله بن الاشج ، و يحيى الانصاري ، و الزهري ، و صالح بن كيسان ، و ايوب ، و عبيدالله بن عمر ، و اخوه عبدالله ، و حميد الطويل ، و ميمون بن مهران ، و مرسى بن عقيبة ، و ابن عون ، و الاعمش ، و هؤلاء كلهم تابعيون .

و من غيرهم ابن جريج ، و الاوزاعي ، و مالك ، و الليث ، و يونس بن عبيد ، و ابن ابي ذؤيب ، و بنوه عبدالله و عمر و ابوبكر بنو نافع ، و ابن ابي ليلى ، و الضحاك بن عثمان ، و علائق بن يحيى . و اجتمعوا على توثيقه و جلالته . قال البخاري اصح الاسانيد مالك عن نافع عن ابن عمر . و قال عبيدالله بن عمر لقد من الله علينا بنافع .

و قال ابن عيينة : اي حديث اوثق من حديث نافع . قال ابن سعد بعث عمر بن

-Nafi' Abu Abdullah

" نافع الفقيه مولى ابي عمر ابو عبد الله المدني
Tehzib - Tehzib, X, 368-370 ;

Muhammad Ibn Sa'ad

ابو عبدالله نافع المدني

(١١٧ - ٠٠٠ هـ)

هو ابو عبدالله نافع المدني ديلمى الاصل (الديلم : التسم الجبلى من بلاد جيلان شمالي بلاد قزوین - ايران) اصابه عبدالله بن عمر صغيراً في بعض مغازيه ، لذا لم تجد اسم ابيه و جده في كافة الكتب التي ترجمت له سوى ما ذكرنا . (٤)
كان علامة في الفقه والدين ، من ائمة التابعين بالمدينة ، متفقاً على رياسته ، كثير الرواية للحديث ، ثقة ، لا يعرف له خطأ في جميع ما رواه .
نشأ صاحب الترجمة في المدينة فنسب اليها ، ارسله عمر بن عبد العزيز الى مصر ليعلم اهلها السنن .

و قال ابن خلكان : " من كبار التابعين سمع مولاه ، و ابا سعيد الخدري . و روى عنه الزهري ، و ايوب السختياني ، و مالك بن انس رضي الله عنهم . و هو من المشهورين بالحديث و من الثقات الذين يوخذ عنهم و يجمع حديثهم و يعمل به ، و معظم حديث ابن عمر عليه دار ، و قال مالك كنت اذا سمعت حديث نافع عن ابن عمر لا ابالي ان لا اسمعه من احد غيره . و اهل الحديث يقولون رواية الشافعي عن مالك عن نافع عن ابن عمر سلسلة الذهب لجلالة كل واحد من هؤلاء الرواة . و حكى الشيخ ابو اسحاق السيرازي رحمه الله تعالى في كتاب المهذب في باب الوليمة و النثر عن نافع قال :

(٤) ذكر ابو عبدالله الحاكم اسم والده "هرمز و يقال كاوس" و هو من باب الحدس و الطن (انظر تهذيب الاسماء للنووي ، ج ٢ ، ص ١٢٣ ، التسلسل ١٨٧) .

Indian Muslim scholar of this century, died at Karachi on 23 November 1953. An enlightened traditionalist, Nadwī later reverted to rigidness in the wake of initiation in 1940, by the Ṣūfī *murshid*, Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī (d. 1943), to the point of recanting in January 1943 some of his earlier views.

Bibliography: In addition to the volumes iii-vii of *Sīrat al-Nabī*, cited above, Nadwī's other works include: *ʿArḍ al-Kurʿān*, 2 vols., Aʿzamgaʿh 1916, 1918; *Sīrat-i ʿAyīsha*, Aʿzamgaʿh 1924; *Khutbat-i Madrās*, lectures on the life of the Prophet in 1925, Aʿzamgaʿh 1926; *ʿArab awr Hind ke taʿalluqāt*, lectures on the Indo-Arab relations at Allāhābād in 1929, Allāhābād 1930; *Khayyām*, Aʿzamgaʿh 1933; *ʿArabon kī dhahāzrānī*, lectures on the history of the Arab navigation, at Bombay in March 1930, Bombay 1935; *Nuḳūsh-i Sulaymānī*, a collection of Urdu literary articles and lectures, Aʿzamgaʿh 1939; *Rahmat-i ʿālam*, a book on Sīra for children, Aʿzamgaʿh 1940; *Hayāt-i Shīblī*, the life of his mentor, Aʿzamgaʿh 1944; *Yād-i raftagān*, Karachi 1955. *Maḳālāt-i Sulaymān* (3 vols.) is a posthumous collection of Nadwī's articles. Collections of his letters have also been published in India and Pakistan. A collection of his Urdu poems has been compiled by Ghulām Muḥammad as *Armughān-i Sulaymān* (see *Maʿārīf*, 108/1 [July 1971], 5).

Maʿārīf, 75/5 (May 1955) and *Riyād*, Karachi (March 1954), published special issues on Nadwī. Other works on him include: Ghulām Muḥammad, *Tadhkira-yi Sulaymān*, Karachi 1960; Shāh Muʿīn al-Dīn Aḥmad Nadwī, *Hayāt-i Sulaymān*, Aʿzamgarh, 1973; Sayyid Muḥammad Hāshim, *Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī: hayāt awr ʿilmī kārnamey*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, AMU 1982; ʿAbd al-Kawī Desnawī, *Yādgar-i Sulaymān*, Patnā 1984; ʿAtīq Aḥmad Šiddīkī (ed.), *Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī*, proceedings of a seminar held by the Department of Urdu, AMU in 1984, ʿAlīgaʿh 1985; Āfāk Šiddīkī (comp.), *Awraq-i Sulaymān*, Karachi 1985; Muḥammad Naʿīm Šiddīkī Nadwī, *Allāma Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī*, Lucknow 1985; Masʿūd al-Raḥmān Khān Nadwī and M. Ḥassān Khān (eds.), *Muṭālaʿa-yi Sulaymānī*, proceedings of a seminar in 1985, Bhopāl 1986; Khalīq Anjum (comp.), *Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī*, Delhi 1986; Sayyid Šabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Mawlānā Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī kī taṣānīf*, i, Aʿzamgarh 1988. (ZAFARUL-ISLĀM KHĀN)

NAFAL [see GHANĪMA].

NAFAS [see NAFS. I. c, and NEFES].

NĀFĪ, the *mawla* of ʿAbd-Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb [q.v.], according to early tradition sources a major transmitter of Prophetic *ḥadīth* [q.v.], who is described as having been a resident of Medina. His year of birth does not seem to be recorded and his year of death is variously given as 117/735, 118/736, 119/737 or 120/738 (cf. Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 414, Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. A.Ḍ al-ʿUmarī, 256).

The sources contain hardly any information on his person and the little they say is often contradictory. Ibn ʿUmar is alleged to have acquired Nāfī on a campaign in which he participated but which one is left unspecified. Nāfī is said to have hailed from Abruḥāh (Nīsābūr) according to Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-maʿārīf*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 190, 460, but according to Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, 206, he was one of the captives at the conquest of Kābul in 44/664. What is most striking about him in the early sources is his near-absence from those in which he should have been mentioned in the first place. Thus there is no trace of him in Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaḳāt*, in which one would

expect his name to be included among the *mawālī* Successors of Medina (ed. Sachau *et alii*, v, 208-29), which, by all standards, presents a seemingly exhaustive list. (Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 413, quotes a remark attributed to Ibn Saʿd that he was a *ḥika* and *kathīr al-ḥadīth*; whether or not this non-committal evaluation was an original part of the *Ṭabaḳāt* remains to be investigated). Even if it is maintained that Ibn Saʿd's text in its current editions may not be complete, the reason why Nāfī did not receive mention among Medina's Successors in Ibn al-Djawzī's *Ṣīfat al-ṣafwa*, ii, 42 ff., or for that matter in a number of comparable sources, remains to be explained. In sources other than *ḥadīth* he turns up only occasionally as a purveyor of legal as well as historical data. He never does so, however, as a person whose historicity could be postulated, acting or speaking against a tangible historical backdrop, but rather as a mechanical *isnād* insert. If Nāfī was indeed a historical figure, he received singularly little attention in all those sources which are otherwise typified by their generous treatment of Nāfī's peers, those who preceded him as well as those who came later.

His fame rests mainly in his alleged position in *isnāds* [q.v.] in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections. One *isnād* in particular was considered by al-Bukhārī [q.v.] as the soundest in the entire tradition literature: Mālik b. Anas [q.v.] → Nāfī → ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar → Prophet (cf. Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 6). Moreover, Mālik is reported to have said: When I hear Nāfī transmit traditions on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar, I do not mind that I did not learn them from somebody else (cf. Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 413). This encomium, although at first sight undeniably positive, may not be rooted in reality: if we set store by the age Mālik is said to have reached at his death in 179/795, namely ca. eighty-six (lunar) years, and if he did hear traditions directly from Nāfī, he must have been still very young at the latter's death, which fell sometime between 117 and 120 (735 and 738). And this does not tally with another piece of information describing Mālik as still a *shābb*, or (in a variant) even a *fatā*, some 14 or 17 years after Nāfī's death (see Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī, *K. al-Maʿrifa wa'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, i, 682; Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 7). If the indications *shābb* or *fatā* for Mālik in the year 134/751 are taken as factual, he must have been born approximately at the time Nāfī is recorded to have died, a computation more in line with Mālik's year of death, and this especially in view of the life expectancy for a man in those days. (For studies on the 7th and 8th century practice of artificially stretching one's age into the past, see *Bibl.*) On the basis of the latter chronology, traditions on the alleged authority of Nāfī cannot have reached Mālik in a way other than as written material, which must have come into his possession a good number of years after Nāfī's reported year of death.

That Mālik may eventually have come by one or more *ṣahīfas* [q.v.] in circulation which purportedly contained traditions recorded by Nāfī on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar and others, is not entirely out of the question, although this is suggested nowhere in the sources. Transmitting traditions according to the procedure that goes by the technical term *ʿarḍ* or *muʿārada* (which means that someone claimed that he had "presented" a *ṣahīfa* in which he had copied a certain master's traditions to that master for approval, after which he was free to transmit them to his own pupils) was a practice which seems to have come into existence some 110 years after the death of the Prophet (cf. al-Fasawī, ii, 157). The general practice

Naafi

نَافِع مَوْلَى ابْنِ عَمْرٍ (- -)

(المدينة ١١٧ هـ / ٧٣٥ م)

نافع بن هرمز (ويقال ابن كاوس) العدوي بالولاء ، المدني ، أبو عبد الله ، من كبار التابعين وأئمتهم .

وهو ديلمي الأصل ، مجهول النسب ، اشتراه عبد الله بن عمر صغيراً ، ونشأ في المدينة وتعلم حتى صار من المتقنين

روى عن عدد كبير من الصحابة ، ومعظم حديث ابن عمر دار عليه ، وروى عنه الأئمة ، كمالك والأوزاعي والزهري وخلائق لا يحصون .

كان علامة في فقه الدين ، متفكراً على رياسته ، وكان كثير الحديث ثقة ، لا يعرف له خطأ في جميع ما رواه .

وأجمع العلماء على توثيقه وجلالته ، وأخرج أحاديثه أصحاب الكتب الستة ، وقال البخاري : « أصح الأسانيد : مالك عن نافع عن ابن عمر » وقال مالك : « كنت إذا سمعت

من نافع حديثاً عن ابن عمر ، لأبالي أن لأسمعه من غيره » .

ويقول علماء الحديث : « رواية الشافعي عن مالك عن نافع عن ابن عمر : سلسلة الذهب » لجلالة كل واحد من هؤلاء الرواة .

ويعتد عمر بن عبد العزيز نافعاً إلى أهل مصر يعلمهم السنن ، مات بالمدينة سنة سبع عشرة ومائة من الهجرة ، وقيل سنة عشرين ومائة (١) .

(١) تذكرة الحفاظ ١/٩٨ ، الخلاصة ٣/٧٤ ، طبقات الفقهاء ص ٧٧ ، مشاهير علماء الأماص ص ١١٦ ، طبقات ابن سعد ٧/٤٧٧ ، حلية الأولياء ٤/٨٢ ، المعارف ص ٤٤٨ ، الأعلام ٣٠١/٨ .

bundle allegedly supporting a tradition on the first collection of the Qur'ān under Abū Bakr, see Zuh-rī's *tarjama* under no. 3729.

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, the famous tradition collector is, together with Bukhārī, by far the most celebrated author in canonical ḥadīth. Both were commonly referred to as the two shaykhs. The Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī edition of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (used in this book) does not constitute a new textual approach: on several occasions one finds shortcomings, e.g. names dropped from *isnāds*, mistakes that are identical in the eighteen volume edition with Nawawī's commentary. A case in point is found in *ḥayḍ* 115 from which the name Bakr was omitted. This suggests that when the five-volume 'Abd al-Bāqī edition had to be printed, the eighteen-volume edition was simply placed in the hands of a printer without a new text edition having been prepared. The phenomenon is too frequent to dismiss as coincidence.

A needless repetition of a tradition is offered in *'itq* 1, 1 (= II, p. 1139) and *aymān* 12, 1 (= III, p. 1286). Nawawī is quoted as saying that this unnecessary reiteration is contrary to Muslim's usual procedure and therefore astonishing, cf. III, p. 1286, note 1.

For Muslim's preference for certain second/eighth century *muḥaddithūn* in his search for convenient diving SSs, see Ḥammād b. Salama under Mz., I, nos. 319-90.

Nāfi' (d. 117-20/735-8) always identified as the *mawlā* of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, was supposedly a Medinese successor of considerable repute. Nāfi' is credited with a *ṣaḥīḥa* in which he is said to have recorded what he heard from his patron and he was a *thiqa kathīr al-ḥadīth*, as is stated in IS, *qm*, pp. 142 ff. He constitutes one of the clearest examples in the entire canonical tradition literature of a seeming common link in whom, in numerous *isnād* bundles, such masses of dives come together that a superficial scanning of the resulting bundles may give rise to the verdict that he is indeed their common link. However, from a detailed analysis of the more than thousand numbers in Mz., according to which he is recorded as having transmitted traditions from his patron Ibn 'Umar, it appeared that he should rather be regarded as a much sought-after, and indeed spectacular, target of innumerable dives in bundles whose real common link is in the first instance Mālik b. Anas, in due course imitated by a few dozen or so contemporary and younger common links from Iraq, Mecca, and Egypt¹. Other

1. For studies of the Nāfi' phenomenon, see *Islam* (I), and

researchers have come to divergent appraisals of Nāfi', mostly displaying a trust in his position in tradition literature, which is marked by a generous dose of credulity and therefore on the whole untenable². All traditions in whose *isnād* bundles Nāfi' could be identified as the SCL will be enumerated under those persons of whom it could be postulated that they were the real CLs. A survey of Mālik/Nāfi' / Ibn 'Umar / Prophet traditions with Mālik as well-nigh undeniable CL is given in *Der Islam*, LXX, 1993, pp. 242 ff, and see above in the *tarjama* of Mālik as from no. 8321*.

It is furthermore significant, although at the same time not altogether astonishing, that the tradition material allegedly transmitted from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar via his son Sālim produces hardly any overlap with the material allegedly transmitted via Ibn 'Umar / Nāfi' strands. In Mz., V, pp. 402 f, ult. we read: Sālim and Nāfi' on the authority of Ibn 'Umar differed in only three traditions: this one, i.e. the one under scrutiny no. 6977, and two others. For those two, see the *tarjama* of Mālik under no. 8330, and a SS-supported one, for which see Mz., no. 6765.

Naṣr b. 'Alī al-Jahḍamī (d. 250) was a transmitter of Baṣra who moved later to Baghdad. After relating there a blatantly pro-Shī'ite tradition, he was about to be flogged by order of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mutawakkil. But he was released at the instigation of the *qāḍī* Ja'far (b. Muḥammad) b. 'Abd al-Wāhid, because he insisted that Naṣr was *min ahl as-sunna*, IHj., *Tahdhīb*, X, pp. 430 f, TB, XIII, p. 288.

With a strand on the authority of Nūḥ b. Qays—'Abd Allāh b. 'Imrān—'Aṣim b. Sulaymān al-Aḥwal—'Abd Allāh b. Sarjis, who related the Prophet's words:

- "To proceed purposefully in a direct but moderate and leisurely manner constitutes one of the twenty-four constituents of prophethood",

cf. Mz., IV, no. 5323 (*t*, IV, p. 366, confirmed in Ṭabarī, *Annales*, III, p. 2396). Naṣr is admittedly no more than a SCL in this spidery bundle, but *t*'s com-

EI 2, s.n. In an effort to lend Nāfi' more prestige, one occasionally finds references to his having been able to write, cf. IASh., XIV, p. 427.

2. Cf. H. Motzki's overall unconvincing excursions in *Der Islam*, LXXIII. Quite unexpectedly, M. Schöller went to another extreme. He seems to identify Nāfi', the *mawlā*, with Nāfi' b. 'Umar (d. 169/785), the one listed in IHj., *Tahdhīb*, X, no. 732, cf. his paper in ZDMG, CX-LVI, on an otherwise unrelated cluster of traditions.

is not tenable. He advanced the opinion: "Yaḥyā is responsible for the transmission of a considerable amount of *fictional* information on the ancient Medinese authorities, information which had come into existence in his time; he also transmits *recently created* traditions and *isnads*."⁶³⁹

Yaḥyā's traditions are introduced by Ibn Jurayj primarily with "an" (59%), but also with "akhbaranī" (32%), rarely with "ḥaddathanī" or "samī'ū."

Mūsā ibn 'Uqba

He died in 135/752-3 or 141/758-9.⁶⁴⁰ His father was a *mawlā* (freedman) of al-Zubayr. Nevertheless, his tradition is completely different from that of the Zubayrids Hishām ibn 'Urwa—'Urwa. It is pure Nāfi' material which contains neither legal *dicta* of Mūsā's own nor those of Nāfi', but only traditions in which Nāfi'—i.e. the *mawlā* of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar—who died in 118/736 or 119,⁶⁴¹ is his informant.⁶⁴² They are exclusively traditions from and about the family of 'Umar and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar. *Ḥadīths* about the Prophet and other *ṣahāba*—such as Abū Bakr—are very rare. They, too, have an *isnād* of the family of Ibn 'Umar.

Ibn Jurayj probably actually has these traditions of Nāfi' from Mūsā. Since he himself also transmits directly from Nāfi', it is not comprehensible why he should fabricate an extra intermediary link. The fact that he himself met Nāfi'⁶⁴³ and perhaps in this way came into contact with Mūsā speaks for the assumption that Mūsā's material actually derives from Nāfi'. Ibn Jurayj would surely have recognized forgeries. The hypothesis that the two could have colluded to fabricate Nāfi' traditions is not acceptable as long as no sensible motive for the Meccan Ibn Jurayj to forge Medinan traditions of 'Umar and Ibn 'Umar—not *ḥadīths* of the Prophet!—is discernible.

⁶³⁹ Schacht, *Origins*, p. 248. Emphases mine.

⁶⁴⁰ Cf. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 267. Ibn Hibbān, *Mashāhīr*, No. 584. "Mūsā b. 'Uqba," in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second edition, vol. 7, p. 644.

⁶⁴¹ Cf. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 256. Ibn Hibbān, *Mashāhīr*, No. 578. G. H. A. Juynboll, "Nāfi'," in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second edition, vol. 7, pp. 876-877.

⁶⁴² The one exception—AM 7: 13312: Mūsā ibn 'Uqba—Ṣafiyya bint abī 'Ubayd—Abū Bakr—is probably based on an oversight by later (?) transmitters who forgot Nāfi' between Mūsā and Ṣafiyya.

⁶⁴³ Also see pp. 136, 279.

Let us set aside the question of whether Nāfi' invented it all. This will surely be brought out by an analysis of the preserved Nāfi' material, in which, among others, the strands of transmission of Ibn Jurayj—Nāfi' in the *Muṣannaḥ* and Mālik—Nāfi' in the *Muwatta'* will have to be consulted.⁶⁴⁴

Ibn Jurayj cites Mūsā ibn 'Uqba either with "an" (60%) or with "akhbaranī" (40%).

Nāfi'

The tradition which Ibn Jurayj has not from Mūsā ibn 'Uqba but directly from Nāfi' is very similar to that of Mūsā. It too is largely limited to traditions about or from the family of 'Umar, but sporadically contains Nāfi's own legal *dicta*.⁶⁴⁵ Texts of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar transmitted directly by Nāfi' dominate.⁶⁴⁶ For isolated reports about the wives of the Prophet 'Ā'isha or Ḥaḥṣa, 'Umar's daughter, he names as sources 'Umarids such as Sālim ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar or Ṣafiyya bint abī 'Ubayd, the wife of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar;⁶⁴⁷ however, he also sometimes cites 'Umar directly, which must be at second hand and in one case presumably derives from Ṣafiyya.⁶⁴⁸ Some indicators speak for the assumption that Ibn Jurayj's reference to Nāfi' is authentic. He emphasizes having heard many Nāfi' traditions;⁶⁴⁹ however, he cites the majority with a simple "an." It has already been mentioned elsewhere that Ibn Jurayj, when he was still a student of 'Aṭā's, took advantage of a stay in Mecca by Nāfi' to question him through an intermediary about a tradition of Ibn 'Umar,⁶⁵⁰ which—because of the intermediary—is presumably not invented. What was said in connection with Mūsā ibn 'Uqba applies to the question of the genuineness of the Nāfi' material.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁴ Also see my remarks on Schacht's evaluation of the Mālik—Nāfi' tradition on pp. 132-136.

⁶⁴⁵ E.g. AM 7: 12516.

⁶⁴⁶ Cf. AM 7: 13018, 13205, 13255.

⁶⁴⁷ AM 7: 13928, 13929.

⁶⁴⁸ AM 7: 13470, 13471.

⁶⁴⁹ AM 7: 12516, 13928, 13929.

⁶⁵⁰ See p. 136.

⁶⁵¹ G. H. A. Juynboll has argued that probably there was "not a man called Nāfi', the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar" and that all transmissions claimed from him are fictitious. Cf. his "Nāfi', the *Mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar, and his Position in Muslim *Ḥadīth* Literature," *Der Islam* 70 (1993), pp. 207-244 and my answer in "Quo vadis *Ḥadīth*-Forschung."

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Nāfi' 140030

Quo vadis, Hadīṭ-Forschung?

Eine kritische Untersuchung von G. H. A. Juynboll: „Nāfi‘ the *mawlā* of Ibn ‘Umar, and his position in Muslim Hadīṭ Literature“*)

Harald Motzki (Nijmegen)

Wir müssen unseren eigenen Theorien in einer *sehr kritischen* Haltung gegenüberstehen, wenn wir nicht in Zirkelschlüsse verfallen wollen: wir müssen immer bestrebt sein, unsere Theorien zu falsifizieren (Karl R. Popper, *Logik der Forschung*)

I. Einleitung

Es ist ein bekanntes Problem der Forschung über den frühen Islam, daß als Quellen neben einer sehr begrenzten Zahl von „Überresten“ vor allem „Überlieferungen“¹⁾, überwiegend muslimischer Provenienz, zur Verfügung stehen. Eine weitere Schwierigkeit ist, daß diese „Überlieferungen“ erst in Quellen zugänglich sind, die mehr als anderthalb Jahrhunderte nach den Ereignissen, über die sie zu berichten vorgeben, entstanden sind. Es stellt sich daher zu Recht die Frage, welchen Erkenntniswert diese muslimischen Überlieferungen für eine Rekonstruktion der Geschichte des frühen Islam haben. Diese Frage wurde durch die westliche Forschung seit dem ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert sehr unterschiedlich beantwortet. Die Auffassungen reichen von weitgehender Akzeptanz als historische Quellen bis zur völligen Ablehnung, da sie nicht etwa nur durch spätere politische, religiöse und juristische Entwicklungen gefärbt, sondern daraus überhaupt erst entstanden, al-

*) Ich danke meinem Kollegen Kees Versteegh für seine wertvollen Anmerkungen zur ersten Fassung des Manuskripts.

¹⁾ Zu diesen Termini der historischen Quellenkunde siehe Ahasver v. Brandt, *Werkzeug des Historikers*, Stuttgart 1973, S. 51–64.

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so Projektionen seien. Solange der Quellenwert der muslimischen Überlieferungen derart umstritten ist, steht jeder Versuch, die Geschichte des frühen Islam zu rekonstruieren, – die politische Entwicklung ebenso wie die religiöse und rechtliche – auf tönernen Füßen.

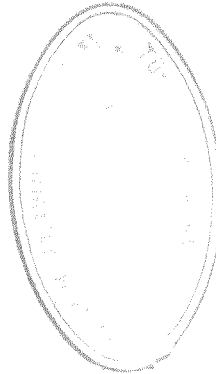
Zwei Wege bieten sich an, um aus dieser unfruchtbaren Situation herauszukommen: 1. Eine kritische Überprüfung der bisherigen Versuche, den Quellenwert der muslimischen Überlieferung zu bestimmen. Zu fragen wäre: Sind die Prämissen, Methoden und Schlußfolgerungen wirklich akzeptabel? 2. Eine erneute Untersuchung der Quellen selbst mit dem Ziel, Kriterien zu finden, die gesicherte Aussagen über ihren historischen Wert zulassen²⁾. Im folgenden soll dieser doppelte Weg besprochen werden, um eine kürzlich in dieser Zeitschrift erschienene Studie zum Quellenwert von Überlieferungen, die mit dem Namen Nāfi‘, einem angeblichen Klienten (*mawlā*) des Prophetengefährten ‘Abd-allāh b. ‘Umar,³⁾ verbunden sind, zu überprüfen.

Wie allgemein bekannt, besteht die Mehrzahl der muslimischen Überlieferungen über das erste Jahrhundert aus einem Text (*matn*) und dazugehörigen Überlieferungsangaben (*isnād*), die angeblich Auskunft geben, auf welchem Weg der Text zu dem Kompilator des Werkes, in dem der Text sich findet, gelangt ist. Während die muslimische Hadīṭ-Kritik die Vertrauenswürdigkeit einer Überlieferung traditionell vor allem nach ihrem *isnād* beurteilt, hat man sich in der westlichen Forschung bei den Versuchen, den Quellenwert der muslimischen Überlieferungen zu bestimmen, vorwiegend auf die Texte selbst beschränkt. Letzteres hing einerseits mit der Überzeugung zusammen, daß der *isnād* weitgehend fiktiv sei, eine Auffassung, die schon I. Goldziher, einer der Begründer der westlichen Hadīṭ-Forschung, vertreten hat.⁴⁾ Andererseits war es aufgrund der beschränkten Anzahl von Quellen äußerst schwierig, wenn nicht unmöglich, die Zuverlässigkeit der Überliefererketten auf eine Weise zu kontrollieren, die nicht von den Auskünften, die die Muslime selbst in biographischen Werken über die Überlieferer zur Verfügung stellten, abhängig war.

²⁾ Beispiele für solche Unternehmungen sind z. B. A. Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition. A Source-critical Study*, Princeton, N. J. 1994² (1973¹) und H. Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz. Ihre Entwicklung in Mekka bis zur Mitte des 2./8. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1991.

³⁾ *Der Islam* 70 (1993), S. 207–244.

⁴⁾ Ignaz Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien*, II. Halle 1889–90 [Hildesheim 1961]. In diesem Standardwerk über den Hadīṭ wird der *isnād* lediglich am Rande erwähnt.



most remarkable of all "Koran"-specimens of the century: Andreas Acoluthus (1654–1704)⁵⁹). His *Tetrapla Alcoranica, sive Specimen Alcorani quadrilinguis* (Berlin 1701) contained the Arabic, Persian and Turkish text of Surah I together with three separate Latin translations of each version and a "specimen annotationum". The following "Introduction" is a very long old-fashioned piece of Protestant scholarship displaying Acoluthus' vast knowledge rather than introducing the reader to the Koran. An untimely death prevented the author from accomplishing this remarkable achievement.

But meanwhile Marracci's translation had already appeared and made any other effort to publish a new Latin Koran translation superfluous.

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Der Islam, 70/2, 1993 Berlin, 207-244

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Nāfi', the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar, and his position in Muslim *Hadith* Literature*

G. H. A. Juynboll (The Hague)

Introduction

In this study several technical terms will be used, some of which are newly coined. All these terms are linked to new methods of *isnād* analysis with which I have been occupied during the last few years¹). These analytical methods will be applied here to Nāfi' and his entourage and the introduction of said technical terms is meant to facilitate the illustration of this analysis. Nāfi' occurs more than one thousand times as the purveyor of prophetic traditions and it is the purpose of this study to assess what (part of his) role, if any, can lay claim to being historical. Since practically no *hadith* texts are found in the sources whose historicity and origin can be established in any sort of way, and since it is virtually only *isnād* analysis which sometimes yields answers to the three questions where, when and at the hands of whom a certain tradition originated, *isnāds* are on the whole indispensable²). Traditions unearthed from a source which does not record *isnāds* have, therefore, to be traced to collections which duly mention them in order that questions as to that tradition's origins can be answered successfully.

*) I thank Arne A. Ambros (Vienna) for his many valuable comments.

¹) Previous publications on these terms are G. H. A. Juynboll, 'Some *isnād*-analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several woman-demeaning sayings from *hadith* literature', in *al-Qanṣara*, X, 1989, pp. 343–84; idem, 'The role of *mu'annarūn* in the early development of the *isnād*', in *WZKM*, 1991, pp. 155–75; idem, 'Some notes on the earliest *fuqahā'* of Islam distilled from *hadith* literature', in *Arabica* 1992, pp. 207–314; idem, 'On the origins of the poetry in Muslim tradition literature', forthcoming in the Ewald Wagner jubilee volume; idem, 'Analysing *isnāds* in *hadith* and *akhbār* literature', in Lawrence I. Conrad (ed.), *Early Arabic historiography. New perspectives and methodologies*, Princeton 1993 (in the press).

²) These three questions took a central position in G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early hadith*, Cambridge 1983 (in the following abbreviated to: *MT*).

⁵⁹) For the following, cf. Tautz, pp. 215 ff.; H. Bobzin, 'Die Koranpolyglotte des Andreas Acoluthus (1654–1704)', in: *Germano-Turcica. Zur Geschichte des Türkisch-Lernens in den deutschsprachigen Ländern*, Bamberg 1987, p. 57 ff.

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3. *Nāfi‘ Ibn ‘Abdullah *mawlā**

Quo vadis Hadīt-Forschung?

Eine kritische Untersuchung von G. H. A. Juynboll: „Nāfi‘ the *mawlā* of Ibn ‘Umar, and his position in Muslim Hadīt Literature“, Teil 2

Harald Motzki (Nijmegen)

IV. Eine überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der *zakāt al-ḥiṭ*-Tradition

Bei Juynbolls Analyse der *zakāt al-ḥiṭ*-Überlieferung fällt auf, daß sie sich ausschließlich auf die Überlieferungsketten konzentriert. Man bekommt den Eindruck, als gäbe es *einen matn*, der in den „kanonischen“ Sammlungen mit vielen verschiedenen *asānīd* auftauche, die dann zu einem „*bundel supporting a matn*“¹⁾ zusammengestellt werden könnten. Wenn das so wäre, dann hätte Juynboll auch den Wortlaut des *matn* des *zakāt al-ḥiṭ*-*ḥadīt* zitieren können, was er wohlweislich nicht tut – und eigentlich nicht tun kann –, denn einen solchen einheitlichen *matn* mit immer identischem Wortlaut gibt es nicht. Das ist keine Ausnahme in der *ḥadīt*-Literatur, sondern die Regel, selbst bei kurzen Texten. Je länger der *matn*, desto größer ist die Bandbreite der Varianten im Wortlaut. Juynboll begnügt sich daher mit einer Umschreibung des Inhalts der Überlieferung: „*a general injunction to submit after Ramaḍān the zakāt or ṣadaqat al-ḥiṭ plus indications of the quantities of products to be submitted and of the persons for whom the injunction is obligatory.*“²⁾

Juynboll weiß natürlich, daß es Varianten des Textes gibt. Mizzi, seine Hauptquelle bei den *isnād*-Analysen, weist bei gravierenden Abweichungen darauf hin. Jedoch spielen die Varianten bei Juynbolls Interpretation der Überlieferungswege keine Rolle, zumindest nicht in seiner Nāfi‘-Studie. Das hängt möglicherweise mit seiner Überzeugung

¹⁾ Juynboll, „Nāfi‘“, S. 228.

²⁾ Op. cit.

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