

The Sunnification of *Ḥadīth* and the Hadithification of *Sunna*

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Introduction

Today, the words hadith and sunna are nearly synonymous in the minds of most Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Since the time of Muhammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi^cī (d. 204/820), the hadīth have been seen as the primary repository of the Prophetic Sunna and an essential part of Islamic scripture. Indeed, the Sahīh of al-Bukhārī is considered by many to be the second most important text after the Our'an. Thus, the concept of *sunna* is seen by most as inextricably linked to hadith literature. This chapter will contribute to the work in this volume by demonstrating the ways in hadith literature developed in the service of figh, and the ways in which that literature solidified both the sunnification of *hadīth* the hadithification of *sunna*. The usage of the term *sunna* will be examined at two levels. First, at the level of the hadīth collections themselves; this includes how the compilers use the word in the titles of sections and subsections and how they organize sections and subsections in relation to each other, as well as appearance of the term in the titles of *hadīth* collections. As the following analysis will show, hadithification of the concept of sunna—and indeed, religious knowledge more broadly—is clearly apparent in the evolution of *hadīth* collections, the internal organization of those collections, and in the composition of the Sunni-canon. The second level of analysis is of the terminology in individual hadith reports: how and in what contexts is the word sunna and/or

its related verbs used in those reports and by whom? What is described as *sunna*? Who institutes a *sunna*? This analysis at both the level of the collections themselves and the level individual reports will help to shed light on the evolution of the Muslim community's understanding of the nature and scope of *sunna* in the formative period.

The Arabic noun *sunna* is derived from the verb *sanna*. Among the meanings of this verb is "he instituted, practiced, or prescribed" a custom or practice, whether good or bad, that others followed after him. The noun *sunna* means "a way, course, rule, mode, or manner, of acting or conduct or life," in particular, one "that has been instituted, or pursued, by former people, and has become one pursued by those after them." The term *sunna* relates first and foremost to actions. As a technical religious term, it has come to mean the behavior of the Prophet Muḥammad, and Islamic law recognizes three categories of behavior: those things that the Prophet said (*al-sunna al-qawliyya*), those things that he did (*al-sunna al-fi²liyya*), and those things of which he tacitly approved (*al-sunna la-taqrīriyya*).

Despite the common and widespread conflation of the two terms, in his seminal work on the topic, Ignaz Goldziher notes that early Muslim scholars drew a clear distinction between the terms sunna and hadīth. Goldziher cites the examples of the three early jurists⁴ Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) who was characterized as "an imam in the hadīth but not in the sunna;" his contemporary, al-Awzā'ī (d.157/774), who was described as an imam in the sunna but not the hadīth, and Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) "was an undisputed master in both" fields. Goldziher describes the authority on hadīth as having "gathered much material about the Prophet's sayings," while an authority on sunna knows "what is to be taken as the traditional norm in rights and laws."5 Given this clear early distinction, how and when did the two terms become linked? The linkage between the concept of sunna with the vehicle of hadith was forged over the course of the second and third Hijrī centuries, as the community shifted from relying on recitation and memorization to writing as the primary means of preserving and disseminating information about the Prophet and the early community, and *hadīth* literature was born.6

The Importance of Stories: Forging the Link between *hadīth* and *sunna*

The importance of stories as a means for informing the ever growing, multicultural Muslim *umma* about the practices of Muḥammad and the community of Medina contributed to the emergence and evolution of *hadīth*









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literature, from brief personal collections, often referred to as sahīfa (notebook), ajzā' (volume), and nuskha (copy), to the large formal collections that make up the canon. Stories about the Prophet Muhammad and the earliest community of Muslims served as an important source of practical knowledge, first orally and then in writing, as Islam spread. The use of stories for elucidation and edification is not unique to Islam or to the Qur'an. Stories are integral to human society and play a crucial role in all religious traditions. Richard Bulliet, in *Islam: the View from the Edge*, notes the mention of Muhammad's companions (as opposed to any mention of who in an area was the first to memorize or own a copy of the Qur'an) in Muslim literature as evidence of the primary importance of those companions as sources of information for the early Muslims in newly conquered lands. He argues that these companions used their memories of Muhammad—or what they learned from others about him—to answer questions about the faith and practice asked by new converts in the conquered lands. He further supports this argument with the fact that the most important collections of hadīth focus primarily on matters of practical importance in the daily lives of Muslims.8

The Qur'an itself sets the precedent for the role of stories in the Muslim community by recounting stories of previous Prophets and communities as teaching examples. The term *hadīth* is one of the words that the Qur'ān uses for such stories. The other term that the Qur'an uses is *qasas*, which it uses both alone and in combination with hadīth. 10 A third Arabic word khabar (pl. akhbar), meaning report, is also used in relation to such stories. While it does not appear in the Qur'an, the word *khabar* (report) is used interchangeably with hadīth in the works of Muhammad ibn Idrīs of al-Shāfi^cī (d. 204 AH/820 CE), who plays a critical role in forging the link between sunna and hadīth. 11 In the late second/early third hijri centuries, al-Shāfisī (d. 204 AH/820 CE) articulated arguments that were pivotal in defining the term sunna as the behavior of the Prophet Muhammad—rather than the behavior of the early community more broadly—and in defining hadith as the indispensable repository of *sunna*. By correlating the Qur'anic term *hikma*, in the phrase al-kitāb wal-hikma, with sunna, al-Shāfiºī laid the foundations for arguments that would eventually grant *hadīth*the status of a secondary form of unrecited revelation (wahy ghayr matlū). It is this understanding of the nature and role of *hadīth* as the repository of the Prophetic *sunna* (as a secondary form of revelation) that has led to the common understanding of the terms *hadīth* and *sunna* as quasi-synonyms and conferred scriptural authority on the. hadīth 12

Although they appear to be used synonymously in the Qur'ān and other early literature due to their lexical affinity, over time, the three words came to have distinct uses. The term *qasas* has come be used in the broadest sense



of religious preaching, ¹³ and *khabar* has come to be used for almost any type of informative report, while *hadīth* has generally come to be limited to those stories that report the Prophet's own words and deeds, that is, the Prophetic *sunna*. ¹⁴ The process of linkage and limitation demonstrates the sunnification of *ḥadīth*. The importance of legal concerns dominated the use of *ḥadīth* leading to the corollary phenomenon—that in this volume is referred to as the hadithification of *sunna*.

The Impact of Figh

Figh is a separate Islamic science, with a separate body of literature, and is addressed in another chapter of this volume; however, it is discourses in figh that have had perhaps the greatest impact in forging the seemingly necessary and inextricably link between sunna and hadīth. Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī-(d. 204 AH/820 CE) has been long been recognized for his contributions to Islamic law, in particular, for defining the outlines of jurisprudential methodology (uṣūl al-fiqh). Wael Hallaq has shown that his status as the premier theorist of Islamic jurisprudence came in later generations rather than during his lifetime and has recognized that al-Shāfiʿī's greatest contribution was establishing hadīth as an indispensable source of law. Al-Shāfiʿī argued that it is only through stories of the Prophet's teachings and behavior that Muslims can know the details of key religious obligations, such as prayer and almsgiving. Widespread acceptance of al-Shāfiʿī's arguments for hadīth as the repository of sunna eventually led to the hadithification of sunna.

Sunnī Ḥadīth Collections

Hadīth collections evolved over the course of the first two Hijri centuries from small personal collections apparently meant as memory aids and teaching devices to volumes arranged by legal topics or the identity of narrators and, finally, to those arranged by the sunna, established by reports, and appropriately titled "sunan" works. The most revered hadīth collections are referred to by Sunni Muslims as al-kutub or al-siḥāh al-sitta. Over the course of the sixth-seventh AH/twelfth-thirteenth centuries CE, 17 these came to include the two Ṣaḥīḥs of al-Bukhārī (d. 256 AH/870 CE) and Muslim (d. 261 AH/875 CE) and the Sunan works of Abū Dawūd (d. 275 AH/888 CE), al-Tirmidhī (d. 279 AH/892 CE), al-Nasā'ī (d. 303 AH/915







CE), and Ibn Māja (d. 273 AH/886 CE). Of these, the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja was the last to gain a place in the *Sound Six*. Thus, of *al-ṣiḥāḥ al-sitta*, four are *sunan* works, making them the majority of the Sunnī canon.

These canonized *sunan* collections are:

- Sunan Abū Dawūd (d. 275 AH/888 CE)
- Sunan al-Nasā'ī (d. 303 AH/915 CE)
- Sunan al-Tirmidhī (d. 279 AH/892 CE)
- Sunan Ibn Māja (d. 273 AH/886 CE)¹⁹

While these works—together with the Ṣaḥāḥs of al-Bukhārī and Muslim—take pride of place in the canon, there are several other collections that are currently also treated as part of the canon. These include yet another sunan work, the Sunan of al-Dārimī (d. 255 AH/868 CE).²⁰ Additional collections both predate and exist outside the canon. With the exception of Sunan al-Dārimī, the extant Sunan collections postdate the other major collections of ḥadāth. This lateness, together with their predominance in the Sunnī canon, represents the climax of hadīth literature clearly reveals development in the community's understandings sunna and its relationship with hadīth.

Muşannaf Collections

Following small personal collections, topically arranged (musannaf) works appear in the mid second/eighth century. The earliest extant *musannaf* work is the Muwatta of the Medinan scholar Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 AH/795CE), the eponymous founder of the Maliki school of Sunni jurisprudence and teacher of Muhammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204 AH/820 CE). The Muwatta is discussed in detail in the chapter on figh in this volume, but it merits mention here because it is considered part of the Sunni hadīth canon and is evidence of both the influence of *figh* on *1-hadīth* iterature and evidence for the evolution of that literature in service to the demands of figh. The Muwaṭṭa is clearly a book of figh, rather than a ḥadīthcollection, per se. Brown notes that the Muwatta combines Prophetic reports with the statements of his companions and their successors, as well as the opinions of Mālik himself. Yasin Dutton has convincingly argued that the Muwatta is representative of a time when the term *sunna* was not yet linked intimately to hadīth, a time when the term hadīth referred to text and sunna referred to action.²¹ It would be Mālik's student, Muhammad b. Idrīs al-Shafi^cī, whose





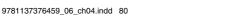


arguments would be instrumental in making the texts of <code>hadīth</code> integral to the understanding of the term <code>sunna</code>. Although it is not technically a collection of <code>hadīth</code> proper, Mālik's <code>Muwaṭṭa</code> is generally considered part of the Sunnɨ canon and is therefore included in the digital encyclopedia of Sunnɨ <code>hadīth</code> literature (<code>mawsūeat al-hadīth</code>) published online by Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Religious Affairs. What is pertinent to the current discussion is the fact that the term <code>sunna</code> appears more often in the <code>Muwaṭṭa</code> than in any of the other canonized collections of <code>hadīth</code>. Brown describes the <code>Muwaṭṭa</code> and similar early <code>muṣannaf</code> works as essentially being "transcripts of legal debates," the result of attempts by pious scholars to answer questions about faith and practice. ²⁴

Musnad Collections

Musnad collections are those in which the reports are arranged according to the name of the original narrator, beginning with the first four caliphs (khulafā' al-rāshidūn), followed by the companions (sahāba), with the reports further subdivided according to the successors—the next generation of Muslims who came after the companions—who transmitted from them. Emerging after the musannaf collections of the late second/eighth and early third/ninth centuries, these collections focus on reports with chains of narrators that go back to the Prophet, himself. Because of this, according to Brown, they are considered *ḥadīth* collections proper.²⁵ This focus on Prophetic reports, in preference to reports of the Prophet's companions and their successors, reveals a further refinement of the concept of sunna as the words and deeds of the Prophet. As Brown observes, "the testimony of Muhammad would trump all other figures of authority and become the predominant focus of hadith collections."26 At the same the time *musnad*, which literally means supported, demonstrates an increasing interest in determining the reliability of hadīth texts. Thus, the musnad collections responded to both an increasing interest in the reliability of reports and the delineation of *sunna* as the example of the Prophet himself, to the exclusion of others.

The earliest extant *Musnad* is that attributed Abū Dawūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. c. 203 AH/819 CE). Siddiqi notes, on the basis of internal evidence, that although it is attributed to al-Ṭayālisī, this *Musnad* was actually compiled and organized by al-Ṭayālisī's student, Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, who had learned the traditions from his teacher.²⁷ *Musnad* collections are also attributed to a number of others scholars of the third/ninth century as well.²⁸ One report found that *Musnad al-Ṭayālisī* and other later collections bear particular





importance for the nature and scope of the term *sunna*. It is a report on the authority of Jarīr b. ^cAbd Allāh, who quotes the Prophet as saying:

One who introduces a good *sunna* in Islam which is done after him will have a reward like those who did it, without their rewards being diminished in any way, and one who introduced an evil *sunna* in Islam which is done after him will bear the burden like that those who did it without theirs being diminished in any way.²⁹

Although this might be understood as a sunna qawliyya—because the Prophet reportedly said it when an unidentified man among the Ansār responded to the Prophet's call for his followers to give whatever they could in charity, and the people then followed the man's example—two factors suggest otherwise. First, not all versions of the report give the surrounding context but only report the Prophet's declaration, as is evident in the variants found in later collections, including the most well-known Musnad—that of Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241 AH/855 CE).30 Second, this report makes a key distinction between sunna that is good and sunna that is bad. This report suggests that, according to the Prophet himself, sunna is something broader than his own practices, or even those of his companions, and in keeping with the meaning of the verb sanna, as mentioned above, but includes good or bad practices instituted by anyone, which are followed by others. Variations of this particular report appear across the spectrum of hadīth collections and introduce a degree of ambivalence related to the nature of sunna as recommended attitude or behavior following the example of Muhammad himself.

Sunan Collections

The word *sunan* is the plural of *sunna*. These collections are generally given the title of *Sunan*, followed by the name of the compiler. For example *Sunan Abū Dawūd*, is the title of the Hadīth collection attributed to Abū Dawūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275 AH/888CE). The majority of the *sunan* works appear rather late as a genre of Hadith literature, well after the appearance of the *sahīfah*, *muṣannaf*, and *muṣnad* collections, and after al-Shāfic (d. 204/820) arguments for linking the concept of *sunna* exclusively to the precedents set by the Prophet Muḥammad, defining the *sunna* as *sunnat al-nabī*. Therefore, the *sunan* works are perhaps the most important demonstration of the linkage of *sunna* with *ḥadīth*. According to Siddiqi, "the *sunan* works constitute the richest branch of *ḥadīth* literature." These collections are arranged





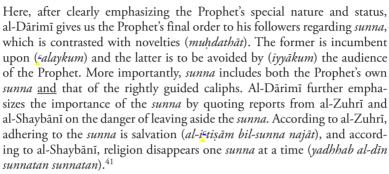
topically according to the practices (sunan) that they report, and represent further progress in the development of hadīth literature, combining a focus on Prophetic reports with the topical arrangement needed to facilitate addressing questions of faith and practice. A major aim of the *sunan* works was to include reports that would be particularly applicable to law, ritual, and behavior.³² Although the compilers of *sunan* works frequently included useful reports that were doubtful or disputed in terms of their authenticity, they did not do so haphazardly or carelessly. On the contrary, they carefully noted weaknesses of and disputes about those reports.³³ Among the most important of the Sunan works are those of Abū Dawūd (d. 275 AH/888 CE), al-Tirmidhī (d. 279 AH/892 CE), al-Nasa'ī (d. 303 AH/915 CE), Ibn Māja (d. 273 AH/886 CE), al-Dārimī (d. 255 AH/868 CE), 34 and al-Dāragutnī (d. 385 AH/995 CE). All but the last two of these collections are considered to be part of the al-sihāh al-sitta. (literally, the six authentic collections), which together with the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, form the Sunni Hadīth canon. It is in the sunan works that we find the most clear and sustained treatment of *sunna* and its importance

Sunan al-Dārimī is among the earliest sunans, and it provides important insights into the compiler's understanding of the nature and scope of sunna. Before addressing topics of doctrine, ritual, and behavior, he begins with an introduction that opens with a subsection on the ignorant and misguided state of the Arabs prior to the Prophet's call.³⁵ He follows this with a section on descriptions of the Prophet found in previous scriptures;³⁶ this is followed by subsections containing reports on the various miracles with which God had blessed the Prophet throughout his life.³⁷ After this, al-Dārimī includes reports of the Prophet's goodness, generosity, and humility, followed by reports of his death and miracles that occurred after his death, 38 including a report of 70,000 angels surrounding his grave, beating their wings and praying for the Prophet.³⁹ All of these reports highlight the specialness of the Prophet and his status, vis-à-vis believers, and build up to what follows: a subsection on following the *sunna* (*ittibā*^c*al-sunna*). Al-Dārimī opens this subsection with a report about the Prophet's farewell sermon, related on the authority of Irbād b. Sāriya:

The Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) prayed the dawn prayer with us and then preached a sermon that brought tears to our eyes and fear to our hearts. Then someone said: "O Messenger of God, this seems to be a farewell sermon. So, what do you command us?" Then he [the Prophet] said: "I command you to beware God and listen and obey, even if an Abyssinian slave is your leader after me. You will see many disputes, but and the *sunna* of the rightly guided Caliphs is incumbent upon you (fa-falaykum bi-sunnatī wa sunnat al-khulafā'al-rāshidīn al-mahdiyyin). Hold fast to it and avoid novelties, for every novelty is innovation."







In a later subsection of his introduction, al-Dārimī deals with the preservation of hadīth from the Prophet, relating a variety of reports in which the Prophet declares that hellfire awaits anyone who attributes things to the Prophet that he did not say. There are also many subsections on a broad range of issues related to knowledge (*ilm), including its importance, the status of the learned (*ulamā'), the importance of sincere intention in seeking knowledge, and the question of committing hadīth and *ilm to writing. This shows the hadithification of the concept of *ilm in addition to the hadithification of the concept of sunna, and is representative of the strong influence that hadīth came to have on all Islamic intellectual disciplines.

Immediately following the subsection on committing knowledge to writing is one titled "One who introduces a good or evil *sunna*" (*man sanna sunnatan hasanatan aw sayyi'tan*). ⁴³ This subsection includes two variants of the report found in the *Musnads* of al-Ṭayālisī and Aḥmad; one does not give the context in which the Prophet reportedly said this, the other does.

Al-Dārimī ends his introduction with a treatise of 'Abbād b. Abbād b. al-Khawwāṣ al-Shāmī, highlighting the blessing of intellect (al-ʿaql) and contrasting that with opinion (ra'y) and innovation (bid'a), which can mislead those whose hearts are occupied with them. The answer to this problem is following the example of the Prophet and his companions: "the Qur'ān is the imām of God's Messenger (peace and blessings be upon him), and God's Messenger (peace and blessings be upon him) is the imām of his companions, and his companions are the imāms of those who come after them."⁴⁴ This brings the introduction back to the place where it began, with the idea that this sunna is the sunna of the Prophet and his companions. Al-Dārimī's arrangement of section topics and the reports he includes in the various sections of the introduction suggest that the nature of sunna and its relation to hadīth texts was intimately connected with questions of religious knowledge and hadīth as the source of that knowledge. However, the inclusion of the Prophetic reports promising heavenly rewards for anyone who introduces



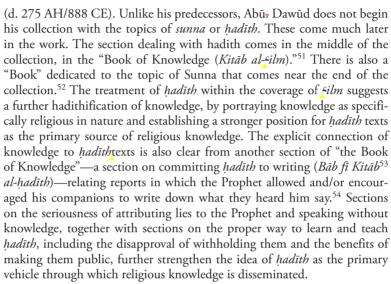


a good *sunna* that is followed by later generations again imparts a degree of ambiguity as to who may originate a *sunna*.

While al-Dārimī began by building up the person and status of the Prophet in preparation for dealing with the need to follow the sunna, the next compiler of a Sunan, Ibn Māja, focuses immediately on the necessity of following the Prophetic Sunna (ittibāc sunnat rasūl allāh), beginning with a report on the authority of Abū Hurayra in which the Prophet says: "Take what I command you and abstain from what I forbid you" (mā amartukum bihi fa-khudhū wa mā nahaytukum ^canhu fa-antahū). ⁴⁵ This report is a paraphrase of Qur'an 59:7, which al-Shafie used in his arguments in support of the obligation to follow all orders of the Prophet beyond what is contained in the Qur'an. 46 Other reports in this section paraphrase the Qur'anic association of obedience to the Prophet with obedience to God. Immediately following the section of the book under discussion, titled "the Prophetic Sunna," Ibn Māja addresses the importance of Prophetic Hadīth and harshness against those who reject them. ⁴⁷ This too mirrors the earlier arguments of al-Shāficī, who cites one such hadīth in his challenge to those who guestioned the authority of -hadīth 48 After establishing the importance of the Prophetic Sunna and hadīthin this way, Ibn Māja continues with sections indicating the wariness of the Prophet's companions in relating *hadīth* from the Prophet and warning of the serious punishments in store for those who lie in reporting *hadīth*. It is only after dealing with issue related directly to Prophetic hadīth that Ibn Māja turns to the sunna of the rightly guided caliphs. Here, he cites the two variations of Irbad b. Sariya's report of the Prophet's farewell sermon in which the Prophet mentions both his own sunna and that of the rightly guided caliphs, as source of guidance for the community. 49 Ibn Māja also includes a subsection on "One who introduces a good or evil sunna," which includes three variants of that report, two of which do not mention the context of the Prophet's words. ⁵⁰ After this is a subsection titled "One who revives a sunna that has died out," (man ahyā sunnatan qad umītat). Here Ibn Māja includes two variant reports in which the Prophet says: "Whoever revives a sunna of mine that has died out after me will have a reward like that of the people who perform it, without diminishing the reward of the people in any way." While reports in the previous subsection distinguish between good and evil sunna, this report contrasts sunna with bidsa (innovation). Here, he cites a report that is also found in Sunan al-Dārimī, in which there is an emphasis on the Prophetic Sunna and the importance of Hadith that is followed by Prophetic reports that broaden the definition of *sunna* to include the Prophet's companions and anyone who introduces something that is done by others after him.

Following al-Dārimī and Ibn Māja in chronological order is the one of the most important of the *sunan* collections, that of Abū Dawūd al-Sijistānī





Abū Dawūd situates his treatment of sunna in the context of sectarian divisions, opening his book on the sunna with the report in which the Prophet predicts his community will divide into 73 sects.⁵⁵ The book contains subsections condemning disputes over the Qur'an and following the allegorical verses of the Qur'an, along with specific sections dedicated to various sects present during Abū Dawūd's time. The subsection on the necessity of adhering to the sunna, makes it clear that this means accepting extra-Our'anic reports by the Prophet's declaration: "I have been given the Qur'an and something like it, yet the time is coming when a satisfied man sitting on his couch will say: 'Keep to the Qur'an; what you find permitted in it treat as permitted, and what you find prohibited in it treat as prohibited."56 This is a variant of a report also cited earlier by Ibn Māja and al-Shāfi^eī in support of *ḥadīth* as the essential repository of *sunna*. Abū Dawūd's work represents a continuation and expansion on the works of his predecessors. As in their works, there is a clear call for adherence to sunna as a means to protect the community. While his predecessors portray the sunna as protecting from general misguidance, Abū Dawūd portrays the sunna as the antidote to sectarian divisions. By addressing the question of hadīth in great detail, including the question of writing and dealing with it before and at greater length than the topic of sunna, Abū Dawūd's Sunan represents another stage in the development of the community's understanding of the nature and scope of sunna and the increasing importance of hadīth as a necessary vehicle for knowledge of the sunna. The Sunans of al-Tirmidhī (d. 279 AH/892 CE) and al-Nasā'ī (d. 303 AH/915 CE)







complete the Sunni canon and show even further development of the relationship between *sunna* and *hadīth*.

Al-Tirmidhī does not have a section dedicated specifically to the topic of sunna and, like Abū Dawūd, the discussion of hadith is dealt with in the section on knowledge.⁵⁷ Though not as long or exhaustive as those of earlier sunan works, the section on knowledge contains a selection similar to the selection of reports on knowledge and hadith found in the sunan works already discussed. It includes reports that praise seeking knowledge, warn of dire consequences for attributing lies to the Prophet, and warn against the time when people will claim to follow only what they find in the Qur'an. In a subsection on taking up the sunna and avoiding innovation, al-Tirmidhī includes a variant of Irbad b. Sāriya's report on the Prophet's farewell sermon, in which the Prophet declares his *sunna* and that of the rightly guided caliphs to be incumbent upon the community, as a safeguard against innovation; al-Tirmidhī declares this hadīth to be hasan sahīh (good, sound). Following this is a variant of the report on the reward for one who revives a *sunna* that has died out, which al-Tirmidhī declares to be *hasan* (good).⁵⁸ The content and arrangement of al-Tirmidhī's Sunan seems to summarize the key issues dealt with at greater length and in greater detail in the earlier collections. The latest of the canonized *sunan* collections, that of al-Nasa'ī (d. 303 AH/ 915 CE) does not contain sections dedicated to the topics of sunna, hadīth, or film, dealing only with the various details of religious belief, practice, and law common to all *sunan* and *musannaf* collections.

The Saḥīḥs of Al-Bukhārī and Muslim

Predating most of the *sunan* collections, the two *Saḥīḥs* reveal key aspects of how *ḥadīth* literature meets the legal and doctrinal needs of the Sunai Muslim community. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* al-Bukhārī (d. 256 AH/870 CE) is considered the most influential and authoritative book after the Qur'ān in Sunai Islam. A contemporary of al-Dārimī, al-Bukhārī is said to be the first to attempt to develop a system of authentication that could serve to determine the relative reliability with which such stories might be traced back to the Prophet. He does not describe his methodology, but later scholars have inferred it from detailed study of al-Bukhārī's life and works. It took several centuries for his *Ṣaḥīḥ* to become part of the emerging canon of Sunni *ḥadīth* literature. He includes a lengthy section on knowledge (*Kitāb al-Ṣilm*) near the beginning of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in which he presents Qur'ānic verses and Prophetic reports that emphasize the merits of knowledge, the permissibility of studying with a learned person, and demonstrating how





the Prophet taught people, either through direct admonition or in response to their questions. ⁶¹ Near the end the Ṣaḥāḥ he includes a section titled "Adhering to the Book and the Sunna" (al-iṣtiṣām bil-kitāb wal-sunna). ⁶² This section includes stories of the four rightly guided caliphs, as well as those of the Prophet himself, which highlight the importance of the Qur'ān and the importance of following the practices of the Prophet. Dealing with the issue of knowledge early, immediately after sections on revelation and faith, lays the foundation for everything that follows. Placing the discussion of the Book and Sunna at the end, just before the final section on the oneness of God, rounds out the work by putting everything that has gone before in the context of obeying God and the Prophet.

The second work at the center of the Sunni canon is the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261 AH/875 CE). Like al-Bukhārī, Muslim considered a report to be sound only if it came through an unbroken chain of trustworthy narrators. In the introduction to his Ṣaḥīḥ, Muslim states directly that he has compiled the work in response to the keen interest in a collection of the Prophet's sayings on "the practices and rules of the religion" (sunan al-dīn wa aḥkāmihi). The overall impression left by his introduction is that, for Muslim, the sunna is foremost, the sunna of the Prophet and is transmitted by reports of trustworthy narrators. The structure and organization of the two works clearly demonstrate the hadithification of both knowledge and sunna and highlight the primacy of the Prophet as an originator of sunna.

However, Muslim also includes, in his "Book of Knowledge," a subsection on "one who introduces a good *sunna* or an evil *sunna* and one who invites to guidance or error" (*man sanna sunnatan ḥasanatan aw sayyi'tan wa ma daṣā ilā huda aw ḍalāla*),⁶⁴ in which he includes variants of the reports found in a number of earlier and later collections. While the introduction to Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* seemed to clearly associate the *sunna* with the Prophet and reports of his words and deeds, this subsection of the *Saḥīḥ* introduces ambiguity in that regard. Muslim gives no indication that he considers these reports problematic. Indeed, given the standards he sets for himself in his introduction, he deems these reports reliable.

The Word sunna in Specific Hadīth Texts

The ambivalence introduced by the *man sanna sunnatan* reports included in both canonical and non-canonical collections of *ḥadīth* is intensified by an examination of the usage of the word *sunna* and the related verbs *sanna* and *istanna* that appear in the texts (*mutūn*) of individual ḥadīth reports, which, given the importance of the concept, is surprisingly limited. Software



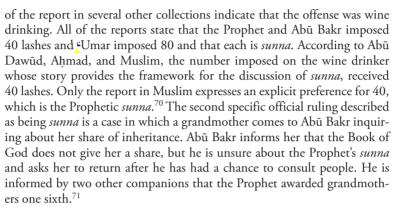


advances have made it possible to search for specific words or phrases in hadīth collections on the web in both English and Arabic, and while this is in many ways a boon to researchers, search results can be misleading. For example, a search for the English term "sunna" at www.alim.org includes reports in which the word "sunna" is inserted parenthetically by the translator but does not occur in the original Arabic. 65 However, searching in the original Arabic is also problematic. The most comprehensive and flexible site for searching Hadith collections in Arabic is www.al-islam.com, 66 a site maintained by Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Religious Affairs. This site contains the nine most widely recognized Sunni collections of hadīth: Sahīh al-Bukhārī, Sahīh Muslim, Sunan Abū Dawūd, Sunan al-Nasā'ī, Sunan al-Tirmidhī, Sunan Ibn Māja, Sunan Dārimī, Musnad Ahmad, and Muwatta *Mālik*, together with seven later commentaries. A search for the noun *sunna*, with internal vowels and enclitic prefixes and suffixes, but without case endings displays 125 pages containing nearly 1250 results. Search parameter limitations do not allow searching only in particular collections, so this number includes not only occurrences in the collections themselves, but also in the later commentaries, as well as repetitions of reports throughout the collections and repetitions of the particular words within individual reports. A search for *sunna's* closely related verbs in the various possible conjugations presents similar challenges. The number of particular occurrences in the collections themselves is approximately 200. Many of these are repetitions, where individual hadith are included multiple times in a single collection. Although determining the precise number of discrete reports containing the word *sunna* or one of its related verbs in some permutation requires a far more painstaking analysis of the data, a general analysis reveals that the term or one of its related verbs occur in only a fraction of the thousands of *hadīth* in the canonized collections. An examination of the reports that contain the word *sunna* or one of its associated verbs shows, not surprisingly, that the concept relates to primarily to actions. The actions to which concept of sunna is applied in the hadīth texts fall into three general categories: legal rulings, religious practices, and personal behaviors.

The concept of *sunna* in relation to ruling and governance is shown in several ways: either quite generally⁶⁷ and through stories of Muḥammad,⁶⁸ or through references to ⁶Umar⁶⁹ either querying or instructing someone entrusted with governorship of a province on which sources to consult in legal rulings. The sources mentioned are the Qur'ān, the *sunna*, and either consensus or *ijtihād*. In addition to this general discussion, there are two specific types of judgments that are described as *sunna*. One is the imposition of flogging as a punishment. The reports in al-Dārimī and Ibn Māja do not specify the crime for which the flogging was imposed, but versions







In the realm of personal behaviors, a *sunna* may be good or evil, as reports on the reward for instituting a sunna, discussed above, indicate. Variants of the reports already discussed are repeated throughout the collections, either as a general statement of the Prophet, or in relation to giving in charity, as noted above. In addition to being included in general discussions of charity, variants of this report are also included in the chapters on the obligatory charity, *zakat*, in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*. While charity serves as the example of a good sunna, which has been established by an unnamed man from the Anṣār of Medina, murder serves as the example of an evil sunna, which has been established by Cain, who is described in various reports as "awwal man sanna al-qatl" (the first to establish the sunna of killing). A

The most frequent use of the term *sunna* occurs in relation to various details of religious rituals: prayer, charity, fasting, and pilgrimage. Of these, the fewest reports containing the word *sunna* are those on fasting. These reports identify breaking the fast while traveling as a *sunna*.⁷⁵ Interestingly, reports on the details of rituals include not only those things that are *sunna*, but also those that are "not *sunna*,"⁷⁶ demonstrating that the concept of *sunna* is used to discourage as well as encourage particular actions. Other issues with which the term *sunna* is also associated in the texts of the Ḥadīth are personal and social matters such as the proper way to bury the deceased⁷⁷ or the appropriate ways of handling marriage and divorce.⁷⁸

Among the actions described as *sunna* within the prayer are resting the two hands on the knees while bowing, which Abd Allah b. *Umar says is "among the *sunna* of prayer" (*min sunnat al-ṣalāt*), ⁷⁹ the sitting on the heels between prostrations, which Ibn Abbas is quoted as calling "a *sunna* of your Prophet" (*sunna nabīkum*), ⁸⁰ and keeping the right foot erect while folding the left under during the final sitting of the prayer. ⁸¹ It is noteworthy that





none of the reports contains a description of the Prophet's actions during prayer. Instead, the companions' declarations are presented as part of general discussions on the correct postures in prayer. Moreover, the texts of the reports included by Abū Dawūd do not mention the placement of the hands on the knees while bowing. Rather this information appears only in Abū Dawūd's section title. In addition to specific details of the prayer itself, particular types and occasions of prayer are also identified as *sunna*, including shortening the prayer when traveling,82 the witr prayer,83 praying two rakacas individually after arriving at the mosque, 84 and praying two rakacas in congregation during an eclipse. 85 Although it is the only the eclipse prayer among these that is presented within a narrative describing the Prophet's own actions, these and other actions related to prayer are instances of alsunna al-fi-liyya, (action oriented sunna). An example that can be seen as either action oriented sunna or verbal sunna (al-sunna al-gawliyya) related to the ritual prayer appears in Sunan al-Nasa'ī. When Ibn Shihāb is asked about bathing on Friday, he says it is "a sunna" and that Sālim b. Abd Allāh told him, on the authority of Abd Allah that "the Prophet talked about it from the pulpit."86

Reports in relation to oth the lesser and the greater pilgrimages are both action oriented *sunna* and verbal *sunna* (*al-sunna al-qawliyya*), as they present both the Prophet's own actions and his instructions to his followers. For example, the Prophet reportedly instructed that those who were prevented from completing Ḥajj could fulfill ʿSUmra by circumambulating the Sacred House and going between Ṣafa' and Marwa. The Prophet is also cited as giving specific instructions on the how to properly slaughter the sacrificial animals. As in the case of reports discussing the *sunna* of ritual prayer, the discussions of Ḥajj-related matters are frequently declarations that something is a *sunna*, rather than an actual narration of the words or actions of the Prophet himself. For example, a report in al-Bukhārī cites Ibn ʿSUmar as instructing a man to slaughter his sacrificial camel "standing and bound, according to the *sunna* of Muḥammad."

The relationship between personal behavior and religious observance is also highlighted in the use of the term *sunna*. According to one of the most widely repeated sayings attributed to the Prophet, "whoever dislikes my sunna is not of me" (*man raghiba fan sunnatī fa laysa minnī*). The context in which the Prophet is said to have uttered this declaration provides key information about the nature of *sunna*. Some of the Prophet's companions decided to give up food during day, sleep during the night, and marital relations, in favor of a life devoted to fasting and prayer. When the Prophet heard of this, he said, "I stand [in prayer] and I sleep; I fast and I break fast; and I marry women. Whoever dislikes my *sunna* is not of me." These reports emphasize the quality of moderation in religious observance as a







type of *sunna*, nuancing the understanding of *sunna* to include not only actions, but the qualities of character those actions embody.

Conclusion

As the foregoing analysis of key texts shows, in spite of the hadithification of sunna and the sunnification of hadith that occurred over the course of the first several Hijrī centuries, the concept of *sunna* was initially linked to the actions of the Prophet and others and also to the character qualities those actions embody, such as attitudes of charity and moderation. Over time, the Muslim community granted higher status to the words, deeds, and attitudes of the Prophet over those of others, developing the concept of the Prophetic Sunna and granting that Sunna the status of a secondary form of divine inspiration, or wahy. The shift from memorization and recitation to books as the means of preserving and disseminating information that occurred in the third/ninth century led to emergence of *hadīth* collections. Collections arranged by topics (musannaf), transmitters (musnad), and Prophetic practices (sunan) emerged in order to meet the needs of scholars and jurists seeking to answer questions of faith and practice for the Muslim community. hadīth became an indispensable repository of religious knowledge, in particular, knowledge of the Prophetic Sunna. As such, hadith collections came to be the vehicle through which later generations of Muslims access that knowledge. Together, these factors blurred the distinction that earlier scholars had drawn between sunna as action, in particular, the words and deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad, and hadīth texts, leading to the commonplace conflation of hadīth and sunna in popular consciousness. The size and scope of collections, the specific reports the compilers include, the subject headings under which reports are placed, and the arrangement of sections and subsections clearly demonstrate the hadithification of both sunna and knowledge and the primacy of the Prophet Muhammad as the originator of *sunna*. However, the impression given by the limited occurrences of the word sunna and its related verbs in the texts (mutūn) of individual hadīth reports is often at odds with the impression given by structure, organization and even titles of the collections. While the Prophet is often designated as the originator of sunna, so are the Abū Bakr, Umar, and the rightly guided caliphs. The greatest ambiguity, however, is introduced by the Prophet's declaration about "whoever establishes a sunna" (man sanna sunnatan), found in both canonical and non-canonical collections, including Muslim's Sahīh. What remains consistent throughout is the idea of *sunna* as precedent, whether it is a practice, character quality, or attitude, that is established by someone and then emulated by others.







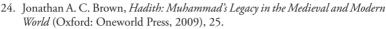


Notes

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- 3. Aisha Y. Musa, "Hadith Studies," in *The Bloomsbury Companion to Islamic Studies*, ed. Clinton Bennett (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 76.
- 4. These jurists are discussed in detail in the chapter on figh.
- Ignaz Goldziher, Muslim Studies, Vol. II, trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), 24–25.
- Gregor Schoeler, The Genesis of Literature in Islam, trans. Shawkat M. Toorawa (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 68.
- 7. William A. Graham, Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam: A Reconsideration of the Sources, with Special Reference to the Divine Saying or Hadith Qudsi. Religion and Society (Hague, Netherlands: Mouton, 1977), 7.
- 8. Richard W. Bulliet, *Islam: the View from the Edge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 31–32.
- 9. Qur'ān 20:9, 51:24.
- 10. Qur'an 12:3, 111.
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- 16. Musa, Hadith as Scripture.
- Muhammad Zubayr Siddiqi, Hadith Literature Its Origin, Development & Special Features (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1993), 73–74.
- 18. Ibid., 242-243.
- 19. Siddiqi, 73-74.
- Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. http://hadith.al-islam.com/Loader.aspx?pageid=261. (accessed February 2, 2014).
- 21. Yasin Dutton, *The Origins of Islamic Law:the Qur'an, the Muwaṭṭa' and Madinan 'Amal* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 3.
- Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. http://hadith.al-islam.com/Loader.aspx?pageid=261. (accessed February 2, 2014).
- 23. A search of the term "sunna" in the Hadīth collections at www.alim.org reveals 65 instances in the *Muwaṭṭa*, less than half that number in Ṣaḥāḥ al-Bukhārī and none in the other collections. This search is limited to the actual *matns* of the hadīth themselves, however, and does not return results from the introductions of compilers such as Muslim, Ibn Māja, and al-Tirmidhī who each discuss the sunna directly, as addressed elsewhere in this chapter.







- 25. Ibid., 28
- 26. Ibid., 29.
- Muhammad Zubayr Siddiqi, Hadith Literature Its Origin, Development & Special Features (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1993), 45.
- 28. Brown, Hadith, 30.
- Abū Dawūd al-Ṭayālisī, Musnad Abū Dawūd al-Ṭayālisī, ed. Muḥammad b. ^cAbd al-Muhsin al-Turkī (N.P.: Dār Hijr), 2:55–56.
- Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad Aḥmad (Riyadh: International Ideas Home, 1998), 1402–1404.
- 31. Siddiqi, 61.
- 32. Goldziher et al., 230
- 33. Ibid., 231.
- 34. As Siddiqi notes, al-Dārimī's collection is sometimes consider a musnad work; however, Siddiqi argues convincingly in Ḥadīth Literature for it being properly a sunan work, see Siddiqi, 68–69.
- 35. °Abd Allāh b. °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī, *Musnad al-Dārimī al-ma°rūf bi Sunan al-Dārimī*, ed. Ḥusayn Salīm Asad al-Dārānī (Riyadh: Dār al-Mughnī, 2000), 1:153–156.
- 36. Ibid., 1:156-163.
- 37. Ibid., 1:163-202.
- 38. Ibid., 1:202-228.
- 39. Ibid., 1:228.
- 40. Ibid., 1:229.
- 41. Ibid., 1:230.
- 42. Ibid., 1:308.
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- 44. Ibid., 1:506-507.
- 45. Ibn Māja, Sunan Ibn Māja, ed. Şidqī Jamīl al-Atār (Beirut: Dar el-Fikr, 2004), 19.
- 46. Musa, Hadīth as Scripture, 42.
- 47. Ibn Māja, Sunan Ibn Māja, 21-24.
- 48. Musa, Hadīth as Scripture, 53.
- 49. Ibn Māja, Sunan Ibn Māja, 28-29.
- 50. Ibid., 68-70.
- Abū Dawūd al-Sijistānī, Sunan Abū Dawūd, ed. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Rājḥī (Riyadh: International Ideas Home, Inc., N.D.), 403.
- 52. Ibid., 503.
- For a detailed discussion of the meanings of kitāb and kitāba in this context see Gregor Schoeler's The Oral and the Written in Early Islam (New York: Routledge, 2006).
- 54. Abū Dawūd, Sunan Abū Dawūd, 403.
- 55. Ibid., 503.
- 56. Ibid.
- 57. Abū [°]Īsā Muḥammad ibn [°]Īsā al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, ed. Ṣidqī Jamīl al-[°]Atār (Beirut: Dar el-Fikr, 2005), 761–771.







- 58. Ibid., 768.
- 59. Jonathan A. C. Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim: The Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
- 60. Ibid
- Muḥammad ibn Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ismaʿīl al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, ed. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Rājḥī (Riyadh: International Ideas Home, Inc., 1998), 36–52.
- 62. Ibid., 1387-1405.
- 63. Muslim b. al-Hajjāj, Sahīh Muslim (Beirut: Dar el-Fikr, 2004), 9.
- 64. Ibid., 1316-1317.
- 65. Alim.org. http://www.alim.org./search/node/sunna. (accessed May 1, 2014).
- 66. The information contained here is the result of Arabic searches for the noun sunna and the verb sanna with varying declensions and conjugations, using the advanced search options, in the collections of Hadīth at www.al-islam.com. (accessed March-May 2014). The reports are identified by collection title and Hadīth number.
- 67. Sunan Abū Dawūd 3592; Sunan al-Dārimī 168, 1167, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
- 68. Musnad Aḥmad 21556, Sunan al-Dārimī 2168, Sunan al-Tirmidhī 1327, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
- 69. Sunan al-Nasā'ī 5399, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
- 70. Musnad Aḥmad 625, 1188, 1234; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim 1707; Sunan Abū Dawūd 4480; Sunan al-Dārimī 2312; Sunan ibn Māja 2571, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
- Musnad Aḥmad 17519; Sunan Ibn Māja 2894; Sunan Abū Dawūd 2724; Sunan al-Tirmidhī 2101, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
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- 74. See for example, Musnad Aḥmad 3623; Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī 3158; Sunan ibn Māja 2616; Sunan al-Nasā'ī 3985, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
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- 78. Sunan Abū Dawūd 2245, 2248, 2186, 2187, 2308; Sunan al-Dārimī 2229; Sunan Ibn Māja 2025, 2066, 2083; Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī 4777, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).







- 79. Sunan Abū Dawūd 958, 959, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
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- 82. Sunan al-Nasā'ī 1444, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
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- 84. Musnad Aḥmad 1997, in Mawsūcat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
- 85. Sunan al-Nasā'ī 1497, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
- 86. Sunan al-Nasā'ī 1443, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
- 87. Musnad Aḥmad 2224, 5172; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim 2186, in Mawsūcat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
- 88. Sunan al-Dārimī 1909, 1914, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth, Al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
- 89. Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī 1627, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. al-islam.com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).
- Musnad Aḥmad 6441, 13122, 13316, 13631, 22963, 25776; Ṣaḥiḥ al-Bukhārī 4776; Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim 2478; Sunan Abū Dawūd 1369; Sunan al-Dārimī 2169; Sunan Ibn Māja 1846; Sunan al-Nasāi 3217, in Mawsū^cat al-Ḥadīth. Al-islam. com. http://hadith.al-islam.com. (accessed May 1, 2014).



