



The *Jāmi'* of Ma'amar b. Rāshid: One of the Earliest Ḥadīth Anthologies -A Source Critical Study-

Mohammad Saeed Mitwally Alrahawan*

Introduction:

This paper attempts to answer the question about the authenticity of sources upon whom Ma'amar b. Rāshid relied while compiling his well-known *al-Jāmi'*. It tries to answer the question to what extent the traditions narrated by Ma'amar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770) in the *Jāmi'* can be regarded as an authentic source of ḥadīth. The study used source criticism which is based on a statistical analysis of *isnāds* to verify whether the sources of Ma'amar are fictitious or genuine. It counters Joseph Schacht's (d. 1969) premise and generalized conclusion that most of the *isnāds* which extend into the first half of the second/eighth and the first/seventh century are, without exception, arbitrary and artificially fabricated.¹

By a thorough analysis of Ma'amar b. Rāshid sources as found in his *Jāmi'* which was included at the end of 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muřannaḡ*, and through the application of source criticism of the books' chains of authorities we can conclude that the sources of Ma'amar b. Rāshid formed independent individual profiles of their respective materials which precludes the possibility of having an organized arbitrary attribution of materials by Ma'amar. Similarly, his use of anonymous sources, broken *isnāds*, anomalous informants, indirect transmission and reports from very weak transmitters confirm the conclusion that it is hard to believe it is the work of a forger. One also can reach the same conclusion by reviewing the life and works of the author in Muslim biographical sources which confirmed,

* Associate Professor, Department of Islamic Studies in English, al-Azhar University, Egypt and the Department of Orientalism, Taibahu University, Medina, msaid42@hotmail.com, orcid.org/0000-0002-9240-0110.

1 Joseph Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 163.

through a separate evaluation of these sources, the results obtained from the work itself. Therefore, Ma‘mar’s sources are real sources. Ma‘mar b. Rāshid must have received the materials from similar compilations that he received from his teachers.

1. The Question of Study and Research Method

Ma‘mar’s being the compiler and transmitter of the material contained in his *Jāmi‘* does not guarantee the reliability of the materials contained in it. Therefore, the main question of this paper is to what extent the traditions reported by Ma‘mar b. Rāshid in the *Jāmi‘* can be regarded as an authentic source of ḥadīth. In other words, who are Ma‘mar’s sources? Had Ma‘mar really received the material from the people he gave as his sources?

To answer these questions, we will investigate the sources of Ma‘mar by using source based criticism, which attempts to extract earlier sources not preserved as separate works from the compilations we have at hand. It primarily focuses on certain transmitters rather than on *ḥadīth* clusters dealing with specific topics. Sebastian Günter defines source criticism as follows:

Source criticism aims to determine those literary sources which as basic elements, make up the mosaic of the finished compilation in order to clarify their origin and the time when they came into being and to draw precise conclusions as to their nature, the ways and terms of their transmission and their value as sources of the literary work in question and finally to verify and evaluate the most important of these older literary materials as well as the individuals involved in their transmission.²

There are two well-known models for this methodology: 1) source criticism based on the analysis of *isnāds* of a compilation or the transmissions of one compiler. 2) *Isnād-cum-matn* analysis. This model employs intensive analysis of both *isnād* and *matn* to answer questions of the transmission history of a report or a number of reports by collecting all its/their transmission paths and relating *isnāds* to *matns*.

Both models have been used intensively in modern Western scholarship. The former, as Harald Motzki (d. 2019) remarks, became familiar in modern Western studies since the work of Julius Wellhausen (d. 1918).³ Heribert Horst applied this method for checking the authenticity of al-Ṭabarī’s (d. 310/923) transmission.⁴ Similarly, G. Stauth adopted source-critical approach based on

2 Sebastian Günter, “Due Results in the Theory of Source-Criticism in Medieval Arabic Literature,” *Al-Abḥath*, 16 (1994): 4,5.

3 Harald Motzki, “the Muṣannaf of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-San‘ānī as a Source of Authentic Aḥādīth of the First Century A. H.,” *JNES*, 50 (1991): 1.

4 H. Horst, “zur Überlieferung in Korankommentar at-Ṭabarī,” *ZDMG*, 103 (1953): 290-

the transmission of Mujāhid's (d. 103/721) exegesis, mostly relying on isnād to establish his thesis.⁵ It has also been used by ar-Rahawān⁶ to check the reliability of ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaḡ*.

I am also going to apply this model of source criticism based on *isnāds* found in Ma' mar b. Rāshid's *Jāmi'*.

2. A brief history of Ma' mar's life and his compilation of *al-Jāmi'*

His full name is Ma' mar b. Rāshid Abū 'Urwa b. Abī 'Amr al-Muhallabī al-Baṣrī. He was born at Baṣrah in 95/714 or 96/715 and died at Yemen in 153/770. He started his studies in 110/728, the year when al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī died.⁷ Ma' mar was 14 years then.⁸ He also attended the sessions of Qatāda b. Di' āma al-Sadūsī (60/680-100H/719) when he was fourteen, i.e. in 110/728.⁹

Ma' mar travelled to al-Ruṣāfa, Kufa, Wāṣiṭ, Hijāz and Yemen.¹⁰ He met with al-Zuhrī (58/678-124/742) at al-Ruṣāfah.¹¹ He was known for his long stay and companionship with al-Zuhrī.¹² Abū Ḥātim confirms Ma' mar's study for a long time with 'Amr b. Dinār (d. 126/744) in Hijaz, Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī (d. 129/747) and al-A' mash (d. 147/764) in Kufa, Qatāda b. Di' āmah (d. ca. 113-119/-119/731-737) in Baṣra and Yaḥya b. Abi Kathīr (d. 132/750) in Yemen.

It is most probable that Ma' mar met with Yaḥya b. Abi Kathīr in Medina where he lived for 10 years.¹³ Ma' mar has also stayed in Mecca where 'Abdullah b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) attended his sessions.¹⁴ He returned to Baṣrah to visit his mother. On his journey from Mecca, he accompanied Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī

306.

5 Stauth, *Die Überlieferung des Kommentars Mujāhid b. Gabrs*, (Gießen, 1969).

6 Ar-Rahawan, Muhammad Said Mitwally, *Early Sources for Prophet Muhammad's Biography*, (Riyadh: IIPH, 2015).

7 al-Mizzī, Yūsuf b. al-Zakī 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū al-Ḥajjāj, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma' rūf (Beirut: Muasasat al-Risāla, Beirut, 1400/1980), vol. 11, p. 378.

8 Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mughīra al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārikh al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān (Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma' ārif al-'Uthmāniyya), vii. 378.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibn al-Ja' d, 'Alī b. al-Ja' d b. 'Ubayd al-Jawaharī al-Baghdādī, *Musnad ibn al-Ja' d*, ed. 'Amir Aḥmad Ḥaydar (Beirut: Muassasit Nādir 1410/1990), 350.

11 al-Fasawī, Abū Yūsuf Ya' qūb b. Sufyān, *al-Ma' rifa wa al-tārikh*, ed. Khalil al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya 1419/1999), i. 639.

12 Abū Zur' a 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. 'Abdullah b. Ṣafwān al-Naṣrī, *Tārikh Abū Zur' a*, ed. Shukrullah Ni' matullah al-Qawjānī (Damascus: Majma' al-Lughā al-'Arabiyya), i. 437.

13 al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, xxxi. 510.

14 al-Fasawī, *al-Ma' rifa wa al-tārikh*, ii. 199.

(d. 131/749) which means that Ma‘mar stayed with him in Mecca.¹⁵ According to al-Mizzī, Ma‘mar took tradition from 57 scholars¹⁶ while al-Bukhārī and Ibn Abū Ḥātim mentioned a further 44 teachers from whom Ma‘mar received traditions. Additionally, some of Ma‘mar’s teachers, such as Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (66/684-131/748), ‘Amr b. Dīnār and Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī also reported ḥadīths from him. Moreover, some of his colleagues such as Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), Shu‘ba (d. 160/777) and Sa‘īd b. Abū Arūba (d. 156/782) also reported from him.

Ma‘mar also had many students who studied and took ḥadīths from him, including some renown scholars such as Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ulayya (d. 194/810), Rabāḥ b. Zayd al-Ṣan‘ānī (d. 187-803) and ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād (d. 176/792). Two of his students were known for their long-standing companionship with him, i.e. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Yashkurī (d. 182/798) and ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan‘ānī (d. 211/826). ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan‘ānī studied seven to eight years with Ma‘mar, from 145/762-63 until his death in 153/770.¹⁷ Ma‘mar died in Yemen.¹⁸

3. External Criteria of Authenticity

By external criteria, I mean those which confirm the authenticity of Ma‘mar’s traditions. These criteria include an analysis of all the *aḥādīth* found in his compilation with reference to his teachers and their percentages. Based on the distribution of the *aḥādīth* found in his *Jāmi‘*, we would be able to conclude whether Ma‘mar forged these *aḥādīth* and attributed them arbitrarily to his sources or not.

3.1. The Volume of Ma‘mar’s Corpus

The number of ḥadīths found in Ma‘mar’s *Jāmi‘* is 1614.¹⁹ The majority of those reports were taken from four key sources who are scholars of the highest calibre in the field of ḥadīth and known for their reliability among all ḥadīth scholars, these are:

al-Zuhri: 16%

Qatāda: 13%

15 Abū ‘Abdullah Muḥammad b. Sa‘d b. Manī‘ al-Hāshimī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubra*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir 1968), v. 546.

16 al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxvii. 304-5.

17 Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa al-ta’dī*, iii. 38; al-Dhahabi, Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdullah Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, (Hyderabad, 1375), i. 364.

18 Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa al-ta’dī*, viii. 256.

19 I referred to both the edited version of ‘Abdur-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaḥ*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A‘zamī, vols. 10 and 11 (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islami 1403/1983) and to Fayzullah manuscript of ‘Abdur-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaḥ*, no. 541.

Ayyūb: 12.5%

Ibn Ṭāwūs: 6.2%

Their reports make up 47.7% of his *Jāmi*'. Moreover, 14% of the book has been reported through five other scholars but who does not reach the standard of the first five scholars mentioned above, these are Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'i, Hishām b. 'Urwa, al-A'mash, Zayd b. Aslam and Yaḥya b. Kathīr.

There follows in the list of frequency a group of fifteen people with a total share of 7.8%. The quota for individual reporters lies between barely 2 and 0.5%: Hammām b. Munabbih, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Abān b. 'Uthmān, 'Aṣim b. Sulaymān b. Abī al-Nujūd, 'Aṭā' b. Yazīd al-Laythī, Maṣṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir, 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jazarī, Abdul-Karīm al-Jazarī, Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ, Sa'īd al-Jarīrī, Ismā'il b. Umayya, Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jaḥshī, Ja'far b. Burqān, Abu Hārūn al-'Abdī, 'Abdullah b. Khuthaym. The remaining 34% come through 94 narrators.

some of them are famous scholars such as Abu al-Zinād, Yaḥya b. Sa'īd, ibn Abī Dhi'b, 'Aṭā al-Khursānī,

1. a few are unknown,
2. There are also some anonymous traditions and

Finally, it contains some of Ma'mar's own views.²⁰

The above distribution of the sources of Ma'mar's traditions clearly refutes the assumption that Ma'mar projected his own ideas and the ideas of those of his time on earlier authorities. Why should Ma'mar take the risk of quoting unknown sources? Similarly, why does he quote those renowned sources like al-Zuhrī, Qatāda and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī very frequently if he is a forger? The materials of these renowned scholars were known and widely circulated within ḥadīth circles of their times and this would clearly expose his weakness if there were any. However, this was not the case. The variety and the proportion of ḥadīth reported by him from his teachers reflect what has already been maintained in the brief history about Ma'mar in which his teachers were highlighted.

al-Zuhrī seems to be Ma'mar's main teacher over a relatively long period of time since, measuring by date of death, he was the eldest of Ma'mar's top three significant authorities -he died in 125/734. He met with al-Zuhrī in Madina.²¹ During this period, Ma'mar was a slave and worked as a merchant for his master.

20 These calculations were based on the 1614 traditions which represent the whole book of *Jāmi*'. According to the *Muṣannaḥ* edition of Ḥabīb al-Rahmān, the book of *Jāmi*' extends from number 19419 through 21033 of the *Muṣannaḥ* numbering.

21 Ibn 'Asākir, Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibatullah, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, ed. 'Amr b. Gharāma al-'Amrawī, (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr wa al-Ṭibā'ah, 1415/1995) 59, 393.

Also, the considerably high percentage of Qatāda (13%) shows Ma‘mar’s early connection with him since both are from Baṣra.

Moreover, the high number of Ma‘mar’s teachers can be explained by his wide range of travels throughout the Muslim world and also by his long stay in Mecca which, as a place of pilgrimage, offered him the opportunity to meet with scholars from all corners of the Islamic world. He met with Ayyūb in Mecca and accompanied him on his journey to Baṣra. This clearly explains Ayyūb’s high percentage of traditions reported by Ma‘mar from him in his *Jāmi‘* (13%). The frequent appearance of scholars of Medina with Ma‘mar would be attributed to his stay in Medina. Due to his long stay in Yemen, where he died, he met many of his teachers there, such as Hammām b. Munabbih.

3.2. Indirect transmissions

If Ma‘mar’s authorship of texts were wholly or partially forged, it would not be expected that he would frequently report his well-known authorities indirectly to confirm that he learned them by way of a third party. This is very common throughout the *Jāmi‘* book. Most frequently he directly quotes Abān b. Abī ‘Ayyāsh (d. 140/757) as in *aḥādīth* 19466, 19624, 19635, 19648 and 20212. In other cases he quotes him through an intermediary as in ḥadīth 19794 where the isnād goes as follows: Ma‘mar – Wuhaib b. al-Ward – Abān.

Most frequently, Ma‘mar quotes his main authorities directly. In some other cases, he quotes them through an unusual intermediary. If he is a forger, why should he take the risk of adding a strange name to the chain of his authorities? He is an admitted student of Qatāda. Why should he run the isnād atypically as follows:

Ma mar from someone who heard Mujāhid and Qatāda saying, “When you enter a house where no one is in it, you should say, ‘Peace be on you an on God’s righteous salves,’ because the angels answer your greeting.”²²

Such is the case of Ma‘mar’s transmission of Hammām b. Munabbih. Most frequently he quotes him directly. In some occasions, he reports his traditions through a third party as in ḥadīth 19762, where ‘Aqīl b. Ma‘qīl is the connection between Ma‘mar and Hammām.²³ A forger would easily attribute all information to his immediate informant without giving an intermediary. Indeed, it speaks for Ma‘mar’s precession and credibility, because he could have eliminated the shorter version of his source in favour of his own.

22 Ma‘mar b. Abī ‘Amr Rāshid al-Azdī (d. 153), *al-Jāmi‘*, (ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A‘zamī, (Pakistan: al-Majlis al-‘Ilmī and Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1403), x. 389.

23 Ibid, xi. 13.

3.3. Ma‘mar’s Uncertainties

Occasionally Ma‘mar expresses uncertainty about his teachers. For example, He is uncertain whether Layth or Mughīra who received the report from Sha‘bī (ḥadīth 20201 and).²⁴ In ḥadīth 19513, he is unsure whether it was ibn Ṭāwūs who informed him or somebody else.²⁵ He did not provide the name of this probable alternative. Such is the case of ḥadīth 19514²⁶ and 19712²⁷ where he does not know whether Qatāda informed him or someone else he does not know. Sometimes he expresses his doubt about the name of his teacher’s teacher as in ḥadīth 19599²⁸ where he quoted Zuhri reporting ‘Ubaidullah or ‘Aṭā’ b. Yazīd. ‘Abur-Razzāq confirms that this uncertainty comes from Ma‘mar.²⁹ In some reports Ma‘mar is not sure whether Qatāda, al-Ḥasan or both of them reported the ḥadīth³⁰ as follows:

Ma‘mar – Abbān – Anas; Ma‘mar – Wuhayb – Abbān; Ma‘mar – Ismā‘il b. Ibrāhīm – Abbān

Ma‘mar-Layth – Mujāhid : Ma‘mar – ‘Umar -Layth : Ma‘mar – Ja‘far b. Barqān – Layth.

3.4. Anomalous Sources

Ma‘mar transmits materials from his sources by expressing direct reception through his using of the word *sami‘tu* (I heard), but this is very rare throughout the *Jāmi‘*. In most cases, he receives directly from unknown men such as in ḥadīth 19455³¹, where he receives a report from a man from the peninsula named Dāwūd or in ḥadīth 19647³², where he heard a man quoting the Prophet without even providing any isnād or even identifying the name of the man. In ḥadīth 19699,³³ he mentions a man whom he heard speaking to Hishām b. ‘Urwa. He introduces the dominant majority of his reports with the word ‘*an* (from), which does not decisively confirm that he has received those materials orally and directly from his teachers. So, if Ma‘mar wishes to project his own statements or his own materials why should he provide them in uncertain terms. It would be better for

24 Ibid, xi. 161.

25 Ibid, x. 406.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid, x. 462.

28 Ibid, x. 429.

29 Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-San‘āni b. Nāfi‘ al-Ḥumayrī, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A‘ẓamī (India: al-Majlis al-‘Ilmī and Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1403), x.349.

30 Ma‘mar b. Rāshid, *al-Jāmi‘*, xi. 183.

31 Ibid, x. 390.

32 Ibid, x. 442.

33 Ibid, x. 459.

him to claim direct reception to lend more credence to his sources.

Moreover, Ma‘mar frequently quotes anomalous sources. In almost 46 instances he quotes from a man whose name is not provided. Sometimes he provides the name of his tribe as in ḥadīth 19573³⁴ but in most cases, he does not provide any information about him. This is extended to his teachers too, i.e. Ma‘mar sometimes does not know the informant of his teacher. He sometimes quotes al-Zuhri reporting a man such as in ḥadīth 19605³⁵ or Layth from a man as in ḥadīth 19636.³⁶ Occasionally, he credits his materials to a group of narrators without identifying their names as in ḥadīth 19495. In more than 35 cases he does not know whether he received his materials from one source or more than one source as in ḥadīth 19461. The question is: Would a forger projecting traditions that goes back to famous authorities rely on such insignificant details from almost unknown persons? This does not seem plausible.

3.5. Unqualified Informants

Ma‘mar does not only confine himself to renown and reliable transmitters. Thus, if one thoroughly analyses his informants, he can easily identify many unreliable and weak narrators from whom it is claimed that Ma‘mar received a great part of his materials. For example, Ma‘mar received 26 traditions which represent 1.7% of his materials from Abān b. Abi ‘Ayyāsh who is graded by al-Nasā‘ī³⁷ and Aḥmad as *matrūk* (whose traditions are rejected)³⁸. Yaḥya b. Ma‘īn labelled him as a liar.³⁹ He further reported from Ja‘far b. Burqān al-Kilābī (d. 150/767), who is not trustworthy in transmitting the reports of al-Zuhri.⁴⁰

The following informants of Ma‘mar are labelled as very weak narrators: Suhayl b. Abī Šāliḥ, ‘Atā’ b. Abī Muslim al-Kurasānī (d. 135/752), ‘Abdullah b. Muḥammad b. ‘Uqayl (d. after 140), Abū Hārūn al-‘Abdi, Umārah b. Juwayn (d. 134/751). He has been accused of being a forger (al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* 21:233), Maṭar al-Warrāq (d. 125/742), Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fi (d. 128/746), Hārūn b. ‘Uthmān (d. 150/767).

Additionally, some of his authorities are considered controversial among scholars, such as Hishām b. ‘Urwa (d. 145/762), al-Layth b. Abī Sulaym (d.

34 Ibid x. 434.

35 Ibid, x. 431.

36 Ibid, x. 440.

37 al-Nasā‘ī, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad b. Shu‘ayb b. ‘Alī al-Khursānī, *al-Du‘afā’ wa al-matrūkūn*, ed. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyid (Ḥalab: Dār al-Wa‘y, 1396), 14.

38 al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, ii. 21.

39 Yaḥya b. Ma‘īn b. ‘Awn b. Ziyād Bustām b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Murī (185/774-233/847), *Ma‘rifat al-rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Kāmil al-Qaṣṣār (Syria: Majma‘ al-Lughā al-‘Arabiyya, 1405/1985), i. 64.

40 al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, v. 13.

148/765), Muḥammad b. ‘Ajlān al-Qurashī (d. 148/765), ‘Abdullah b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aqīl (d. 140/757).

Deficiencies in Isnāds

On many occasions, Ma‘mar introduces his materials with incomplete isnāds. In ḥadīth 19859,⁴¹ he introduces al-Layth b. Abī Sulaymān quoting ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Layth died in 148/765. Thus, there must be at least two or even three links between him and ‘Umar who died in 23. He also quoted al-Layth as directly reporting the Prophet without naming his informants, their teachers or even the companion who received it from the Prophet (ḥadīth 19903)⁴².

Additionally, Ma‘mar precludes some of his texts with the phrase, *balāghanī* ‘it is reported to me’ without verifying the reliability of his informants. In those *balāghāt*, Ma‘mar directly quotes the Prophet without introducing any intermediaries as in ḥadīth 19511,⁴³ where he has omitted the entire *isnād*. The fact that Ma‘mar’s sources are mentioned with broken and incomplete isnāds does not give credence to the conclusion that incomplete isnāds were later completed and gaps in the chain have been filled at a later period since Ma‘mar is considerably a later source. Had he been a forger, he would fill all those gaps and presents his materials in the most accepted and ideal manner in order to convince those who reported from him that his sources are, to a very great extent authentic and reliable.

4. Conclusion

By a thorough analysis of Ma‘mar b. Rāshid sources as found in his *Jāmi‘* which was included at the end of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaḥ*, and through the application of source criticism of the books’ chains of authorities we can conclude that the sources of Ma‘mar b. Rāshid formed independent individual profiles of their respective materials which precludes the possibility of having an organized arbitrary attribution of materials by Ma‘mar. Similarly, his use of anonymous sources, broken *isnāds*, anomalous informants, indirect transmission and reports from very weak transmitters confirm the conclusion that it is hard to believe it is the work of a forger.

One also can reach the same conclusion by reviewing the life and works of the author in Muslim biographical sources which confirmed, through a separate evaluation of these sources, the results obtained from the work itself. Therefore we can safely say that Ma‘mar’s sources are real sources.

41 Ma‘mar b. Rāshid, *al-Jāmi‘*, xi. 42.

42 Ibid, xi. 58.

43 Ibid, x. 405.

**Appendix of Ma‘mar’s Informants and the Number of
their Tradition as Appearing in the *Jāmi‘***

Name	Number of Traditions
Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī	311
Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī	202
Qatāda b. Da‘amah al-Sadūsī	210
‘Abdullah b. Ṭāwūs	101
Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī	73
Hishām b. ‘Urwa	46
Sulaymān al-A‘mash	41
Yahya b. Abī Kathīr	41
Zayd b. Aslam	41
Hammām b. Munabbih	31
al-Hasan al-Baṣrī	28
Abān b. Abī ‘Ayyāsh	26
‘Asim b. Sulaymān b. Abī al-Nujūd	21
al-Laythī b. Abī Sulaym	18
Manṣūr b. al-Mu‘tamir	12
‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jazarī	12
Ja‘far b. Burqān	10
Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Jaḥshi	10
Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ	10
Sa‘īd al-Jarīrī	10
Ismā‘īl b. Umayyah	10
‘Abdullah b. Khuthaym	9
Abū Hārūn al-‘Abdī	8
Yahya b. Sa‘īd	8
Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād	7
‘Uthamān b. Yazdawayh	7
Zayd b. Jud‘ān	7
Aṭā’ al-Khursānī	7
Thābit al-Bunānī	6
Muḥammad b. Ziyād	6
al-Mughira b. Ḥabīb	5
Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umayr	5

Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir	5
Ibn Abī Dhi'b	5
Ḥarām b. 'Uthmān	5
Abū Hārūn al-'Abdī	4
Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī	4
Budayl al-'Aqīlī	4
Khallād b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān	4
al-Ḥakam b. Abān	4
Sulaymān al-Tamimī	4
Hārūn b. Ri'āb	4
Abū al-Zinād 'Abdullah b. Dhakwān	3
'Abdullah b. Muslim	3
Simāk b. al-Faḍl	3
Hishām b. Hassān	3
Maṭar al-Warrāq	3
Khālīd al-Ḥadhā'	3
Bahz b. Ḥakīm	3
Abū Hārūn al-'Abdī	3
Yūnus b. 'Ubayd	2
Ja'far al-Jazarī	2
'Abdullah b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl	2
'Uthmān b. Zufar	2
Kathīr b. Ziyād	2
Muḥammad b. 'Ajlān	2
Ishāq b. Rāshīd	2
Abū Ḥāzim	2
Ash'ath b. 'Abdullah	2
'Abdullah b. 'Ad al-Raḥmān b. Abī Husayn	2
Abū 'Imrān al-Jūnī	2
Uthman b. Zufar	2
Ibn Abī Ḥusayn	2
'Abdullah b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl	2
Abū 'Amr al-Nadbī	1
'Awf al-'Abdī	1
Yaḥya b. Abī Yaḥya	1

Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Layla	1
‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jazarī	1
‘Uthmān al-Jazarī	1
Abū Naḍrah	1
Abū ‘Amr al-Nadbī Bishr b. Ḥarb al-Azdi	1
Wuhayb b. al-Ward	1
Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh	1
Amr b. Abī Bakr	1
Abdullah b. Sa‘id b. Abī Hind	1
Ismā‘il b. Sarrūsh	1
Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān	1
‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Rawwād	1
Sa‘id b. Hibbān	1
Aṭā’ b. al-Sa‘ib	1
Şāliḥ b. Mīsmar	1
Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ta’ifi	1
Abu Hāshim al-Wāsiṭī	1
Qurra b. Khālīd	1
Yahya b. ‘Abdullah b. Raysān	1
Alī b. Badhimah	1
‘Aṣim al-Aḥwal	1
Muhammad b. Wāsi‘	1
Zayd b. Rufay‘	1
Mūsa b. Ibrāhīm	1
Ziyād b. Jil	1
Farqad al-Sabkhī	1

Bibliography

- ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām, *Muṣannaḡ*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A‘zam, India: al-Majlis al-‘Ilmī and Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1403/1983.
- Fayzullah manuscript of ‘Abdur-Razzq’s *Muṣannaḡ*, no. 541.
- Abū Zur‘a**, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Amr al-Naṣrī, *Tārīkh Abū Zur‘a*, ed. Shukrullah Ni‘matullah al-Qawjānī, Damascus: Majma‘ al-Lughā al-‘Arabiyya.
- al-Bukhārī**, Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mughīra, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mu‘īd Khān, Hyderabad: Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya.
- al-Fasawī**, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān, *al-Ma‘rifā wa al-tārīkh*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya 1419/1999.
- Günter**, Sebastian, “Due Results in the Theory of Source-Criticism in Medieval Arabic Literature”, *Al-Abḡath*, 42 (1994): 3-15.
- Horst**, H., “zur Überlieferung in Korankommentar aṭ-Ṭabarī”, *ZDMG*, 103 (1953): 290-306.
- Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī**, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs, *al-Jarḡ wa al-ta‘dīl*, Hyderabad: Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1271/1952.
- Ibn ‘Asākir**, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibatullah (d. 499/1105-571/1176), *Tārīkh Dimashq*, ed. ‘Amr b. Gharāma al-‘Amrawī, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr wa al-Ṭibā‘ah, 1415/1995.
- Ibn al-Ja‘d**, ‘Alī b. al-Ja‘d al-Jawaharī al-Baghdādī, *Musnad ibn al-Ja‘d*, ed. ‘Amir Aḡmad Ḥaydar, Beirut: Muassasat Nādir 1410/1990.
- Ibn Sa‘d**, Abū ‘Abdullah Muḥammad b. Sa‘d b. Manī‘ al-Hāshimī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubra*, ed. Iḡsān ‘Abbās, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir 1968.
- Ma‘mar b. Rāshid**, *al-Jāmi‘*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A‘zamī, Pakistan: al-Majlis al-‘Ilmī and Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1403/1983.
- al-Mizzī**, Yūsuf b. al-Zakī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Abū al-Ḥajjāj, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf, Beirut: Muasasat al-Risāla, Beirut, 1400/1980.
- Motzki**, Harald, “the Muṣannaḡ of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-San‘ānī as a Source of Authentic Aḡādīth of the First Century A. H.,” *JNES*, 50 (1991): 1-21.
- al-Nasā‘ī**, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Aḡmad b. Shu‘ayb, *al-Ḍu‘afā’ wa al-matrūkūn*, ed. Maḡmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyid, Ḥalab: Dār al-Wa‘y, 1396.

ar-Rahawan, Muḥammad Said Mitwally, *Early Sources for Prophet Muhammad's Biography*, Riyadh: IIPH, 2015.

Schacht, Joseph, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Stauth, G., *Die Überlieferung des Kommentars Mujāhid b. Gabrs*, Gießen, 1969.

Yahya b. Ma'īn, *Ma'rifat al-rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Kāmil al-Qaṣṣār, Syria: Majma' al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya, 1405/1985.