CRITICISM OF THE PROTO-HADITH CANON: AL-DĀRAQUṬNĪ'S ADJUSTMENT OF THE ṢAḤĪḤAYN

JONATHAN A. C. BROWN
University of Chicago

Although in modern times the *Ṣaḥīḥ* Hadith collections of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875) have achieved canonical status in the Islamic world, Muslims studying the Prophetic legacy have a long and elaborate tradition of criticizing these authoritative compilations.[1] The most salient and influential

---

[1] Goldziher concluded that 'the veneration [of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and Muslim] never went so far as to cause free criticism of the sayings and remarks incorporated in these collections to be considered impermissible or unseemly...'; see Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies II*, ed. S. M. Stern (Chicago: Aldine Atherton, 1971), 236. Although Goldziher adduces ample proof for his conclusion from the pre-modern period, today only some senior scholars such as Shaykh Ṭāhā Jābir al-ʿUlwānī (personal communication) and Salafī clerics such as Ibn ʿUthaymīn (d. 2001) and the controversial Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (d. 1999), dare to question some of the collections' contents (for more on this issue see Muhammad Abd al-Rauf, 'Ḥadīth Literature – I: The Development of the Science of Ḥadīth', in *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, i: *Arabic Literature until the End of the Umayyad Period*, eds. A. F. L. Beeston et al., 5 vols. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), i. 285; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (ed.), *Mukhtaṣar ṣaḥīḥ al-imām al-Bukhārī*, 6 vols. (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1399/1978); and Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b ʿUthaymīn, *Sharḥ al-bayqūniyya fī muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*, ed. Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Julaymī [Cairo: Maktabat al-Sunna, 1415/1995], 24). Shīʿī scholars, of course, are not bound by Sunnī consensus, and scholars like ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī have severely criticized the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* by discounting all of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth*s as unreliable; see ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mūsawī, *Abū Hurayra* (Beirut: Dār al-Zahrāʾ, 1397/1977).

Although in al-Dāraquṭnī's time the Hadith canon as we now understand it did not yet exist, the works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim had already emerged as leading collections: see Goldziher, 240. We should therefore view al-Dāraquṭnī's criticisms as part of the canonization process and not a challenge to it. As such, I have selected the term 'proto-Hadith canon' for this emerging canonical literature. For more discussion on Hadith canonization, see Mohammad Fadel, 'Ibn Ḥajar's *Hady al-Sārī*: a Medieval Interpretation of the Structure of al-Bukhārī's al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ: Introduction and Translation', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 54 (1995), 162–3 and Bernard Weiss, *The Search for God's Law* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 259–60.

critique has been the *Kitāb al-ilzāmāt wa-l-tatabbuʿ*, 'The Book of Suggested Additions and Revisions', of ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385/995). When Muslim scholars first pronounced the formula of the *umma*'s infallible consensus over the works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the material al-Dāraquṭnī objected to was excluded.[2] Even today, this fourth/tenth-century scholar's criticisms have proven to be the little-known Achilles' heel of those Muslims who defend these works against the attacks of secularists and Islamic modernists.[3]

Several modern scholars have mentioned al-Dāraquṭnī's critique of the two *Ṣaḥīḥ* works (the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*) of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, yet none has explored the author's objectives or the nature of his criticism.[4] This article investigates the possible methodological and ideological factors that could have driven al-Dāraquṭnī's critique. Unfortunately, al-Dāraquṭnī proves to be one of Islamic civilization's more laconic scholars, leaving no introductions or explanatory works setting out his approach to Hadith criticism. By examining his collective output, however, and focusing on the *Kitāb al-ilzāmāt wa-l-tatabbuʿ*, we can both identify the scholar's methods and isolate his motives. This process demonstrates that al-Dāraquṭnī took a profound interest in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* and sought to correct any imperfections he found in them. He understood Hadith to be wholly the product of chains of transmission, and his approach thus revolved around questions of a narration's form to the exclusion of its content. Consequently, his own opinions on legal, ritual, or theological questions played no discernible part in his efforts.

---

[2] Abū ʿAmr ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyānat ṣaḥīḥ Muslim min al-ikhlāl wa-l-ghalaṭ*, ed. Muwaffaq b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qādir (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1408/1987), 85–7. Although Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ does not mention al-Dāraquṭnī by name in this specific location, his comments come in the context of a book of which a large chapter is devoted to addressing his criticism of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn Ḥajar makes a direct reference, however, to al-Dāraquṭnī in his *Fatḥ al-bārī* and also alludes to al-Nawawī's exemption of the material to which the scholar objected. See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, ed. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb and Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 17 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿārif [1959]), i. 246.

[3] See (or listen to) Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥuwaynī's lecture series, 'Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī', part 1, available online at Islamway.com, http://www.islamway.com/bindex.php?section=scholars&cache=3000, last accessed Mar. 2002. A student of the late Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, he effectively devotes the entire lecture to preparing his audience for the needling of opponents who use al-Dāraquṭnī's criticism and the commentary that it spawned to question the absolute authenticity of al-Bukhārī's collection.

[4] Goldziher and Muhammad Abd al-Rauf both deal with al-Dāraquṭnī's criticism of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* in their discussion of the development of Hadith literature. Although helpful and highly insightful, these two studies are too general to delve into the specifics of al-Dāraquṭnī's work; see Goldziher, 236; and Abd al-Rauf, i. 285.

Rather, al-Dāraquṭnī's objections to items in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections stemmed from a methodological sternness and a demand for accuracy that exceeded that of their authors as well as the majority of later Sunnī scholars.[5]

AL-DĀRAQUṬNĪ'S LIFE AND WORK

Abū Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Mahdī b. Masʿūd al-Dāraquṭnī was born in Baghdad in 306/918. He took his unusual *nisba* from *Dār al-Quṭn*, the large quarter of the city in which his family lived. His father appears to have been at least an amateur Hadith scholar. Aside from the narrations that his son dutifully included in his *Sunan*, he evidently had little impact on the field in which his son would later excel.[6] Al-Dāraquṭnī pursued the study of Hadith primarily in Iraq, travelling only to Basra, Kufa, and Wāsiṭ until he reached middle age, at which time he voyaged to Egypt and Syria. He spent most of his life, however, in his native Baghdad. There he remained a prominent attraction to ambitious scholars of traditions passing through the 'navel of the world' in their quest for mastery of the Prophetic word. He had several famous students, including al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 404/1014). Although history has left us no works of a specifically legal nature, al-Dāraquṭnī was a committed Shāfiʿī. Al-Subkī devotes several pages to him,

---

[5] For the Sunnī tradition that eventually built the science of Hadith around the canonical collections, sharing al-Dāraquṭnī's lofty standards was a contradiction in terms. Ibn Ḥajar furnishes a definitive if ironic summary of this fact in the introduction to his mammoth commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Quoting al-Nawawī, he describes al-Dāraquṭnī's methods as 'the deficient principles of some *ḥadīth* scholars, contrary to the majority (*al-jamhūr*) of legal scholars and theorists (*ahl al-fiqh wa-l-uṣūl*), so don't be swayed [by them]!' See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, i. 246. Why does he not mention the majority of *ḥadīth* scholars?

Al-Nawawī and Ibn Ḥajar have provided the most comprehensive efforts to rebut al-Dāraquṭnī's criticism of al-Bukhārī and Muslim's work. Briefly, they defend the two *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections by asserting that (*a*) al-Dāraquṭnī's objections do not call into question the provenance of the substantive meaning of any *aḥādīth*, (*b*) later Muslim *ḥadīth* experts concluded that, with only a few exceptions, any shortcomings that al-Dāraquṭnī might have identified in the two books fall well within the pale of acceptable scholarship. For more details, see the edited version of *Kitāb al-ilzāmāt wa-l-tatabbuʿ* cited in this article, which includes Ibn Ḥajar and al-Nawawī's responses to the author's criticisms as well as the original text of al-Bukhārī and Muslim's *aḥādīth*.

[6] Abū Muḥammad al-Ghassānī, *Kitāb takhrīj al-aḥādīth al-ḍiʿāf min sunan al-Dāraquṭnī*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1411/1990), 14.

mentioning that he studied *fiqh* at the hands of Abū Saʿīd al-Iṣṭakhrī.[7]
Al-Dāraquṭnī died in 385/995 at the age of 77, and was buried in the
Baghdad cemetery of Bāb al-Dayr. While Western scholars of Islamic
intellectual history have paid relatively little attention to al-Dāraquṭnī,
he was known as 'the *imām* of his time' and *amīr al-muʾminīn fī
al-ḥadīth*.[8]

The sources for al-Dāraquṭnī's life offer no direct indication of his
socio-economic position or his relationships with the major institutions
of late ʿAbbāsid society. One scholar recalls a young Dāraquṭnī tailing
groups of older Hadith students while eating a loaf of bread covered
with pickled vegetables (*kāmikh*).[9] Otherwise considered improper,
al-Dāraquṭnī's eating while studying was probably excused because of
his youth. Presumably the sons of more humble families would be
working for their fathers and would not have been free to attend
Hadith study sessions at such a young age. We might then infer that
al-Dāraquṭnī's childhood was, relatively, one of ease. As an adult, we
know that al-Dāraquṭnī received patronage from the state at least once.
He travelled to Egypt partly to help Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī's vizier Jaʿfar b.
al-Faḍl compile a *musnad*, a service for which the latter paid him well.[10]
Otherwise, al-Dāraquṭnī probably lived off an inheritance, for none of
the anecdotes about his scholarly life indicate any career or consistent
government employment.

Al-Dāraquṭnī lived in interesting times. The ʿAbbāsid caliphs had
ended their long struggle for independence from their Turkish praetorian
by accepting the *de facto* dominance of the Shīʿī Buyid family from the
mountains of Iran. Yet there are no indications that al-Dāraquṭnī ever
had any dealings with either the caliph's Turkish bodyguard or the Buyid
family. Though he faced the same orthodox litmus tests as other scholars
of his time, such as ranking the *Rāshidūn* caliphs,[11] it seems safe to
conclude that he wrote and taught without the kind of pervasive political

---

[7] Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Ṭanāḥī
and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, 10 vols. (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat ʿĪsā al-Bābī,
1384/1964), iii. 464. Note also that he also heard *aḥādīth* from another strongly
Shāfiʿī scholar, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ziyād (d. 324/936); see al-Ghassānī, 14.

[8] J. Robson, 'al-Dārakuṭnī', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., CD-ROM
edn. v.1.0 (1999), henceforth *EI²*.

[9] Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 4 vols. (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat
al-Maʿārif, 1390/1970), iii. 994. For the nature of education in the Islamic
middle period, see Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3 vols. (Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1974), ii. 440–3.

[10] J. Robson, *EI²*. See also S. Wajahat Husain, '*Kitāb al-Askhiyāʾ* of ad-
Dāraquṭnī', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 30 (1934), 56.

[11] See n. 20 below.

and social tension that marked the careers of many prominent Muslim scholars in earlier times.

Al-Dāraquṭnī was born only half a century after the deaths of al-Bukhārī and Muslim (the *Shaykhayn*), and his scholarly ties to them were evident in his writings. The Iraqi traditionist devoted no less than nine works to analysing, adjusting, and commenting on their collections. Such extant works include the following (asterisks indicate published works):

- *al-Ilzāmāt ʿalā ṣaḥīḥay al-Bukhārī wa-Muslim**
- *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ**
- *Kitāb fī dhikr riwāyāt al-ṣaḥīḥayn*
- *Dhikr asmāʾ al-tābiʿīn wa-man baʿdahum mimman ṣaḥḥat riwāyatuhu min al-thiqāt ʿind Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī**
- *Dhikr asmāʾ al-tābiʿīn wa-man baʿdahum mimman ṣaḥḥat riwāyātuhu ʿind Muslim**
- *Asmāʾ al-ṣaḥāba allatī ittafaqa fīhā al-Bukhārī wa-Muslim wa-mā infarada bihi kull minhumā*[12]

In addition to these books, al-Dāraquṭnī also won acclaim for other Hadith works such as:

- *al-Sunan**
- *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-l-matrūkīn**
- *al-Mukhtalif wa-l-muʾtalif fī asmāʾ al-rijāl**
- *al-ʿIlal al-wārida fī al-aḥādīth al-nabawiyya**[13]

Both his studies of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* and his other work clearly demonstrate that al-Dāraquṭnī based his study of traditions on a detailed mastery of Hadith transmitters, or *rijāl*, and the chains of transmissions they formed. Although competency in this field has always been essential for any serious Hadith scholar, al-Dāraquṭnī delved deeper into it than most other experts. He either predated or simply chose not to address other subjects of Hadith study such as the criteria for accepting

---

[12] Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 12 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), i. 207–9.

[13] Al-Dāraquṭnī's *Kitāb al-ʿilal* does not represent any comprehensive attempt to identify the flaws in the entire corpus of existing Hadith. Rather, the book was assembled by one of al-Dāraquṭnī's students from the latter's examination of the Hadith collection of only one of his teachers, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. al-Karajī; see ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Damfū, *Marwiyyāt al-imām al-Zuhrī al-muʿalla fī kitāb al-ʿilal li-l-Dāraquṭnī*, 4 vols. (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1999), i. 110; cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1966; repr. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanjī, 1349/1431), vi. 59.

sound traditions (*al-shurūṭ*),[14] or the technical terms used in the study of Hadith (*muṣṭalaḥāt*).[15] While later scholars such as al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278) would often structure their commentaries on the canonical collections according to Muslim or al-Bukhārī's methodology (*manhaj*), al-Dāraquṭnī based his studies on the *Shaykhayn* on the transmitters found in their works. And it seems that al-Dāraquṭnī particularly enjoyed the most tedious minutiae of the *rijāl* field: one of his most famous books, *al-Mukhtalif wa-l-mu'talif fī asmā' al-rijāl**, consists of a mammoth and assiduous examination of those transmitters whose names appear similar in writing or differ only in the short vowels so rarely indicated in the Arabic script. His *Taṣḥīf al-muḥaddithīn*, which has not survived, probably dealt with scribal errors in copies of Hadith texts.[16] His *al-Mudabbaj*[17] (also not extant) probably addressed chains of transmission that included students who studied together in the same circles. Even those works whose titles appear more general, such as *al-Aḥādīth allatī khūlifa fīhā al-imām Mālik**, often consist merely of lengthy lists of transmitters' names and the chains of transmission in which they appear.[18] This paper's examination of his *Ilzāmāt* and *al-tatabbu'* will further testify to the central role that transmission plays in al-Dāraquṭnī's vision of *'ilm al-ḥadīth*.

As a denizen of fourth/tenth-century Baghdad scholarly society, al-Dāraquṭnī sided with the traditionists (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) in the debate raging over God's attributes and the broader acceptability of

---

[14] The most famous works of *shurūṭ* are those of Abū Faḍl al-Maqdisī (d. 507/1113), *Shurūṭ al-a'imma al-sitta* and Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ḥāzimī's (d. 585/1189), *Shurūṭ al-a'imma al-khamsa*. Earlier, al-Dāraquṭnī's student, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, had also directly addressed issues of *shurūṭ*. The earliest known works on *muṣṭalaḥāt* were written by Abū Muḥammad al-Rāmahurmuzī (d. c. 360/971) and al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī; see Leonard Librande, 'The Supposed Homogeneity of Technical Terms in Ḥadīth Study', *Muslim World*, 72 (1983), 34.

[15] Dr Muḥammad b. Sa'd Āl-Su'ūd definitely sees al-Dāraquṭnī as preceding the maturation of Hadith science, stating, 'al-Dāraquṭnī . . . defined the notion of *ta'līq*, then came al-Ḥākim [al-Naysābūrī] . . . , who established the principles of ḥadīth as an independent science and set up the structure that remains [the basis for that science] until the present day'. See Ḥamd Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī, *A'lām al-ḥadīth fī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. Muḥammad b. Sa'd Āl-Su'ūd, 4 vols. (Makka: Mu'assasat Makka li-l-Ṭibā'a wa-l-I'lām, [n.d.]), i. 26. Sezgin prefers the reading *I'lām . . .* for this book's title; see Sezgin, ii. 211.

[16] Abū 'Amr ibn al-Salāḥ, *Muqaddimat ibn al-Salāḥ wa-muḥāsin al-iṣṭilāḥ*, ed. 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, [1409/1989]), 471.

[17] See al-Ghassānī, *Kitāb*, 23.

[18] I believe this work has been published under the title *Aḥādīth al-muwaṭṭa' wa-ittifāq al-ruwāt 'an Mālik wa-ikhtilāfuhum fīhā ziyādatan wa-nuqṣān*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid b. al-Ḥasan al-Kawtharī (Cairo: Dār al-Hidāya, [1985]).

dialectical theology in Islam.[19] Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) records that al-Dāraquṭnī hated *kalām* and espoused the *ahl al-sunna* position on the comparative virtues of the first four caliphs.[20] Like Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), he limited his response to theological questions to a literal reliance on the text of the Qur'ān and Hadith. He wrote several works that presented *aḥādīth* affirming God's attributes and addressing His place and movement. Of these, *Kitāb al-ṣifāt* (*aḥādīth* on God's attributes), *Aḥādīth al-nuzūl* (*aḥādīth* dealing with God descending into the lowest heavens),[21] and *Kitāb al-ru'ya* (*aḥādīth* on seeing God on the Day of Judgement)[22] have been published. Al-Dāraquṭnī even rebutted the Muʿtazilite ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (d. 144/761) on the subject of anthropomorphism.[23]

TERMINOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

Understanding the scope and implications of al-Dāraquṭnī's critique of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* requires a conceptual review of the manner in which Muslims transmitted and recorded Prophetic traditions. The transmission of *aḥādīth* involved a series of individuals hearing a certain statement and then passing it on through multiple chains of narrators, each chain subject to different interpolations or discrepancies, until scholars recorded these transmissions in the written collections we have today. The original, essential Prophetic statement—undocumented in its own time (or at least we have no documentary evidence of it) and only manifested decades or even centuries later in written sources—is what the fully matured science of Hadith would refer to as *aṣl al-ḥadīth* (the core of the report). This paper will refer to this essential statement as the Prophetic *tradition*. In the language of textual criticism, the tradition is the intangible *urtext*, reflected in variant *witness* texts. This

---

[19] See Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft,* 6 vols. (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), iv. 415.

[20] Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, iii. 994. He is quoted saying, 'Whoever favours ʿAlī over ʿUthmān ridicules the Emigrants and the Helpers (*man qaddama ʿAliyyan ʿalā ʿUthmān faqad azrā bi-l-muhājirīna wa-l-anṣār*)'. See Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 496.

[21] These two books are published as one under the title *Kitāb al-nuzūl*, ed. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Faqīhī ([Makka]: Silsilat ʿAqāʾid al-Salaf, 1403/1983).

[22] Published as *Kitāb al-ru'ya*, ed. Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-ʿAlī and Aḥmad Fakhrī al-Rifāʿī (Zarqaʾ, 1411/1990).

[23] Sezgin, i. 207–9. The work *Akhbār ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd* is partially translated in van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, iv. 109–10; and the entire text is reproduced in van Ess's *Traditionistische Polemik gegen ʿAmr b. ʿUbaid: Zu einem Text des ʿAli b. ʿUmar ad-Dāraquṭnī* (Beirut and Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1967).
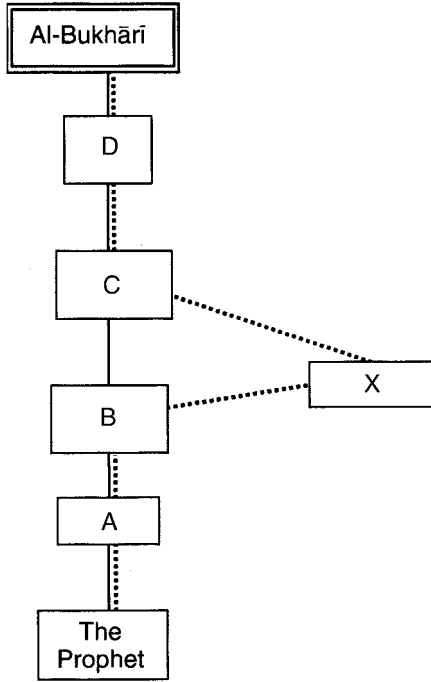
Fig. 1.0. Addition in the *isnād*

paper will refer to each of the witness reports embodying the tradition as a *narration* (*riwāya*). One might therefore encounter ten narrations (some with variant wording, contextual information or *isnād*s) of the tradition 'all intoxicants are prohibited' (*kullu muskir^{in} ḥarām*).[24]

This article also requires an introduction to the complicated and layered notion of *ziyāda*, or addition. There are two kinds of addition: the addition of a narrator in the *isnād* (*isnād addition*) and the addition/ shift of words or phrases in the *matn* (*matn addition*). *Isnād* addition is relatively simple, appearing when two otherwise identical chains of transmission differ only in the addition of one or more narrators. Figure 1.0 portrays two narrations (dotted and solid), the dotted one constituting an instance of *isnād* addition.

Matn addition, however, can manifest itself in the form of both literal and normative increase. Figure 1.1 demonstrates a case of literal *matn* addition, as the text of one of the narrations adds the qualifier 'Muslim' onto the other. Figure 1.2 shows normative *matn* addition, where one

[24] For a parallel discussion of this topic, see Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 66–70.
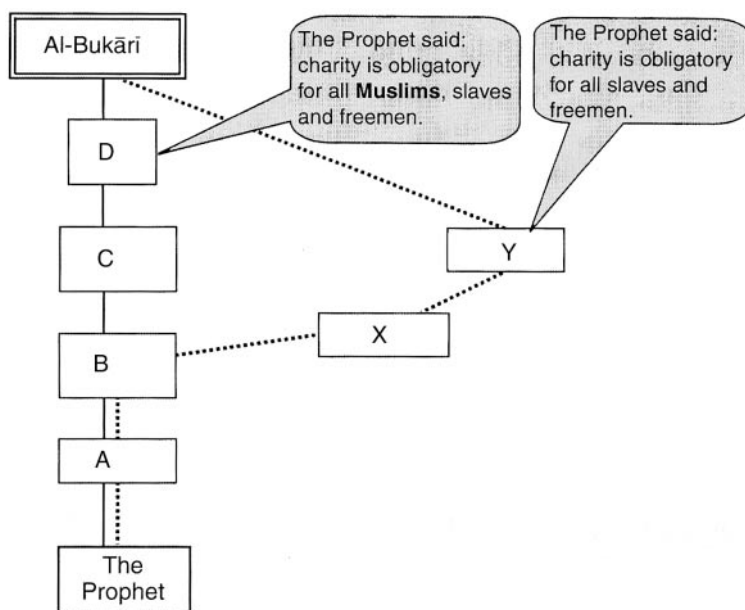
Fig. 1.1. Literal addition in the *matn*
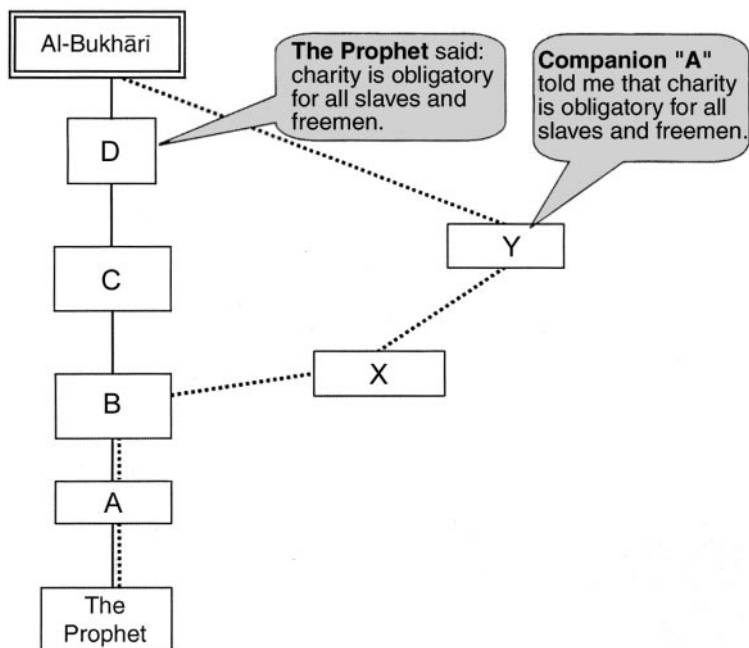
Fig. 1.2. Normative addition in the *matn*

narration increases the normative value of the *matn* above the text of its counterpart. In the B–C–D narration the *ḥadīth* carries all the legal and religious weight of the Prophet's own authority, while the X–Y version rests only on the shoulders of the Companion 'A'. As the Muslim study of *aḥādīth* matured in the first three centuries of Islamic history, narrations from the Prophet became more legally and morally compelling than similar reports from Companions.

This rigid distinction between literal and normative *matn* addition represents the reaction of a Western student of Islamic intellectual history, whereas the representatives of that tradition, such as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245),[25] rarely distinguished between these two species. For Muslim scholars, reproducing the text of a *ḥadīth* was fundamentally an act of attributing words to the Prophet. In many cases, they found that some narrations of a tradition originated from the mouth of a Companion while others cited the Prophet himself as the source of the archetypal statement.

In such cases, the *muḥaddithūn* would consider the narration attributed to the Prophet to be an addition to the first version because it elevates the *ḥadīth* to the Prophet, increasing its normative and probative value. In the mind of a Muslim traditionist, this normative increase is effectively no different from a narration that simply adds words to a less lengthy version. Whether a whole *ḥadīth* or just a phrase, both are considered 'raised up' (*rufiʿa*) to the Prophet. Moreover, when Hadith scholars were dealing with reliable and trustworthy transmitters, they precluded the possibility that one had brazenly forged part of the narration. An addition, like the phrase 'for all Muslims,' was thus often viewed as the commentary of one of the transmitters that had been mistakenly elevated and attributed to the Prophet. The concept of *ziyāda* in the *matn* is thus inextricably tied to the notion of *idrāj (insertion, attribution)*, or instances where the words of a Companion or any other person in the chain of transmission are accidentally heralded as the Prophet's own speech. For al-Dāraquṭnī and other traditionists of the classical period, the distinction between *idrāj* and literal *matn* addition was highly subjective.[26] As with the distinction between literal and

[25] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ addresses both topics indistinctively; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 250–6.

[26] Ḥadīth no. 98 in the *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* demonstrates this vagueness, as al-Dāraquṭnī considers the entire last portion of one of Muslim's narrations to be the addition of the famous *muḥaddith* al-Shaʿbī (d. 104/722–3). The scholar exposes the extent of his colleagues' disagreement on this point, however, in his *Kitāb al-ʿilal*. There he explains that Yaḥyā b. Abī Zāʾida (d. 183/799) and other Kufan traditionists attribute (*adrajūhu*) the section in question to the Companion Ibn Masʿūd; see ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Dāraquṭnī, *Kitāb al-ilzāmāt wa-l-tatabbuʿ*,

normative *matn* addition, any strict separation between *idrāj* and *ziyāda* represents an attempt to analyse the conceptual implications inherent in *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* and not a recreation of the authentic mindset of Muslim traditionists.

ORGANIZATION AND COMPOSITION OF *KITĀB AL-ILZĀMĀT WA-L-TATABBUʿ*

Kitāb al-ilzāmāt and *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* represent al-Dāraquṭnī's comprehensive addendum to the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. The former consists of 109 narrations whose *isnād*s the scholar believes should have earned them a place in one or both of the canonical collections. These include *isnād*s that the *Shaykhayn* used in some cases but not others, or unused chains that al-Dāraquṭnī deems to be of equivalent value. The *Kitāb al-ilzāmāt* possesses no discernable organization.

The *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* criticizes 217 narrations found in either al-Bukhārī, Muslim, or both.[27] Of these, ten are either additions or simply references to criticisms made earlier in the *Tatabbuʿ*. Seven actually belong to the *ilzāmāt* genre, as the author chastises one of the *Shaykhayn* for not including a narration presented by the other in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[28] Although the two books are sometimes mentioned separately (see Sezgin), the student who transmitted the manuscript used by the editor who published them tells his reader that the two books form one unit. They therefore share one very brief introduction by the author, in which al-Dāraquṭnī states that he will 'show the flaws (*ʿilal*) [of the narrations found in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*] and correct them'.[29] The extremely diverse subject matter of the *aḥādīth* included in these two books defies any pattern, ranging from eschatological predictions to the proper way to perform ablutions.

ed. Muqbil b. Hādī b. Muqbil (Madina: al-Maktaba al-Salafiyya, 1398/1978), 301 (henceforth KIT). Al-Dāraquṭnī's wording in *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* is ambiguous, and my understanding follows al-Nawawī's interpretation. The information taken from *Kitāb al-ʿilal* is cited from Muqbil's comments. The *Maʿrifat ʿilm al-ḥadīth* of al-Dāraquṭnī's student al-Ḥākim underscores the ambiguity between addition (*ziyāda*) and *idrāj*. In fact al-Ḥākim uses the same terminology for both subjects, with the only element distinguishing *idrāj* from *ziyāda* being the scholar's ability to identify exactly which narrator inserted the comment; see al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifat ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muʿaẓẓam Ḥusayn (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif, 1385/1966), 50–1, 162.

[27] *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* includes 78 narrations from al-Bukhārī, 100 from Muslim, and 32 from both collections; see Abd al-Rauf, i. 285.

[28] KIT, 575.

[29] Ibid. 73.

Unlike the topically organized works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* is organized according to chains of transmission (*isnād*s). The book contains thirteen *isnād* sections, beginning with the *musnad* of Abū Hurayra, which includes the largest number of narrations (twenty-seven). Other large sections include that of ʿĀʾisha (seventeen narrations altogether), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (fifteen), Ibn ʿAbbās (thirteen), Anas b. Mālik (eight), and ʿUthmān (six). This *musnad* format is only approximate, however, for many narrations appear randomly between the sections. Sometimes the author places different *aḥādīth* from the same Companion in two different places. The work is certainly not alphabetical, so it appears that al-Dāraquṭnī proceeded through the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* extracting problematic narrations, roughly organizing them according to Companions and making errors in the process. Shifting between the *muṣannaf* (topical) format of these two books and the *isnād*-based layout of the *Tatabbuʿ* probably accounts for the inexact organization of the work.

THE CENTRALITY OF THE *RIWĀYA* IN AL-DĀRAQUṬNĪ'S HADITH VISION

It has been correctly posited that early Hadith criticism revolved almost entirely around the examination of *isnād*s.[30] Al-Dāraquṭnī certainly proves no exception to this rule, for both the scope of his writings and the nature of his work underscore the critical notion that his evaluation of Prophetic traditions centres first and foremost on their chains of transmission. He bases his analysis of Hadith on the collection and comparison of different narrations from which he selects the most solid and reliable versions. Like other traditionists in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, al-Dāraquṭnī envisaged the universe of Hadith scholarship as a community that ultimately corroborated truth and isolated error. If one of al-Zuhrī's (d. 124/742) students relayed a report with which his comrades disagreed then its authenticity was suspect.[31] For al-Dāraquṭnī, identifying correct narrations was thus a process of weighing scholarly corroboration (*mutābaʿa*) and disagreement (*khilāf*), a procedure that the science of Hadith terms *tarjīḥ al-riwāya*.

[30] Christopher Melchert, 'Bukhārī and Early Hadith Criticism', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 121 (2001), 8.

[31] Eerik Dickinson proves that this process also served as the mainstay of earlier pillars of Hadith criticism such as Muslim and Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327/939); see his *The Development of Early Sunnite Ḥadīth Criticism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), 105.

The following description of al-Dāraquṭnī's appraisal of a narration is typical of Hadith criticism in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries: 'The *ḥadīth* of Aʿmash narrated from Abū Wāʾil from ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd is the *ḥadīth* of such and such a person. So and so as well as so and so corroborate his narration, while so and so differs with him'.[32]

In light of this method, the distinction between narration and tradition becomes indispensable. Many students of Islamic history conceive of Prophetic *aḥādīth* as messages conveying specific legal, ritual, or eschatological maxims. While students recognize that a maxim's authority depends on a chain of transmission, this *isnād* simply provides them a means of authentication and is not an integral part of the *ḥadīth*'s message. In short, the *ḥadīth* is a maxim supported by an *isnād*. Yet for early critics the *isnād* and *matn* were bound together inseparably as the organic product of the transmission process. As the above example shows, narrations were associated with specific transmitters, whose version of that Prophetic tradition could then be contrasted with other transmitters' narrations.

Although *tarjīḥ al-riwāya* formed an important tool in any *muḥaddith*'s arsenal, al-Dāraquṭnī made much greater use of it than many other traditionists. His contemporary and fellow resident of Baghdad, Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 386–8/996–8), also wrote a commentary on al-Bukhārī's collection and addressed some of the same issues as al-Dāraquṭnī. In a group of narrations in which the Prophet adjudicates the case of a feuding couple who had mutually renounced each other (*talāʿanā/mutalāʿinān*), both scholars note that one of al-Bukhārī's narrations describes the Prophet himself separating the couple while in the rest of the narrations they divorce each other before coming to him. While al-Dāraquṭnī faults al-Bukhārī for including a narration in which Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 196–8/811–14) diverges from the majority of al-Zuhrī's trustworthy students by transmitting this inconsistency, al-Khaṭṭābī uses juridical gymnastics to negate any error. He explains that the couple had indeed already split, and any mention of the Prophet separating them only signifies his *ex post facto* recognition of the event. Thus, where al-Dāraquṭnī sees a blatant case of contrasting *riwāya*s, al-Khaṭṭābī sees a legal explanation.[33]

---

[32] Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, xii. 37.

[33] KIT, 252 and al-Khaṭṭābī, *Aʿlām*, iii. 1884. The narration that al-Dāraquṭnī criticizes is through al-Zuhrī and Sufyān via Sahl b. Saʿd (see al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, no. 6631 according to the ʿĀlamiyya numbering system or, according to the *kitāb/bāb* system used in A. J. Wensinck's *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, *Kitāb al-aḥkām/man qaḍā wa-lāʿana fī al-masjid*) versus the majority through al-Zuhrī's other companions (ʿĀlamiyya nos. 4376, 4379,
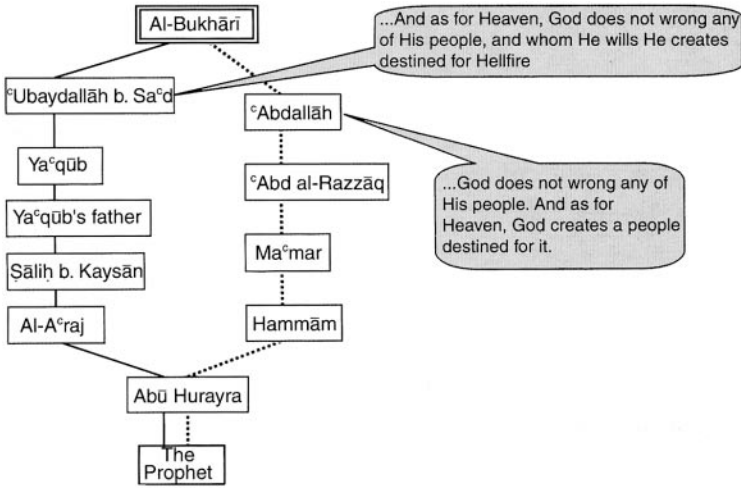
Fig. 2.0. Differences in sections of the *matn*s

For al-Dāraquṭnī, in fact, two almost identical *matn*s share no relation if they were narrated through radically different chains of transmission. For example, both al-Bukhārī and Muslim include several narrations of a tradition in which the Prophet tells of Heaven and Hell coming before God and complaining about the dramatically different quality of people whom they host. God then explains that they are the instrument of His wrath and mercy, respectively. Al-Bukhārī features two narrations of this *ḥadīth*,[34] as shown in Figure 2.0. A contemporary of al-Dāraquṭnī, Abū Ḥasan al-Qābisī (d. 403/1012), and later scholars such as Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) and Ibn ʿUthaymīn (d. 2001 CE),[35] criticize ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd's (solid) narration of this tradition in al-Bukhārī's book. They assert that this narration inverted the wording of the tradition, stating that God created people 'destined for Hellfire' instead of 'for Heaven', the correct order that occurs in all the other versions of this tradition. Al-Qābisī states that ʿUbaydallāh's narration is the only known

4855, 4896, 4897, and 6760, all found in either *Kitāb tafsīr sūrat al-nūr*, *Kitāb al-ṭalāq/min ijāzat al-ṭalāq al-thalāth-/al-liʿān wa-man ṭallaqa . . .*, or *Kitāb al-iʿtiṣām bi-l-kitāb wa-l-sunna/mā yukrahu min al-taʿammuq . . .*). Al-Khaṭṭābī refers to a narration (no. 4379, or *Kitāb tafsīr sūrat al-nūr*) via Ibn ʿUmar (as opposed to the others nos. 4377, 4855, 4891, 4897, see above mentioned *kitāb/bāb*s). For my reference to al-Khaṭṭābī, I am indebted to Vardit Tokatly's article 'The *Aʿlām al-ḥadīth* of al-Khaṭṭābī: A commentary on al-Bukhârî's *Ṣaḥīḥ* or a polemical treatise?' *Studia Islamica*, 92 (2001), 53–91.

[34] Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*ʾ, viii. 595 for *ḥadīth* no. 4850 and xiii. 434 for no. 7449 according to the *Fatḥ* numbering system.

[35] Ibn ʿUthaymīn, 24.

version to contain the wording 'creates for Hellfire (*yunshi'u li-l-nār*)', while the other versions feature the phrase 'creates for Heaven'. Ibn al-Qayyim alludes to al-Bukhārī's other narration as evidence as well.[36]

Unlike these scholars, who saw the two versions as narrations of the same tradition, al-Dāraquṭnī seems to have considered them two separate traditions. While al-Dāraquṭnī criticizes a host of al-Bukhārī's narrations for literal *matn* addition or incorrect wording in the *matn*, he never mentions any form of this tradition in his *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ*. He was without a doubt very aware of all its extant variations, for he includes thirteen narrations of it in his *Kitāb al-ṣifāt*.[37] He does not, however, include ʿUbaydallāh's version. His silence in the *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* probably stems from the sizeable differences between the two chains of transmission. They originate with the same Companion, Abū Hurayra, but diverge after him. Clearly, al-Qābisī and Ibn al-Qayyim assumed that both al-Bukhārī's narrations were versions of the same *ḥadīth* because their *matn*s were so similar. Al-Dāraquṭnī's close focus on the *isnād*, however, seems to have led him to distinguish between the two. Since to him they were two separate instances of Prophetic speech, a difference in their wording presented no problem.

When al-Dāraquṭnī does condemn entire Prophetic traditions, he does so only after considering all the relevant narrations. For example, he denies the authenticity of a tradition about the virtues of a munificent man (*sakhī*) only after explaining that none of its versions is reliable (*lā yathbutu fīhi ḥadīthᵘⁿ bi-wajhⁱⁿ*).[38] We must not assume, however, that such a rejection entails some disagreement with the content of the tradition; he objects only to those who transmit it. For example, al-Dāraquṭnī states that any narration conveying the specific tradition 'a woman should not be executed for apostasy' is similarly baseless.[39]

---

[36] Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bāri'*, xiii. 437.

[37] Al-Dāraquṭnī, *al-Nuzūl*, 27–33.

[38] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Naqd al-manqūl*, ed. Ḥasan al-Sammāḥī Suwaydān (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1411/1990), 115. As a devout traditionist who despised speculative thinking, al-Dāraquṭnī dismissed an entire book of Hadith lauding human reason (*ʿaql*). He criticizes this book, however, not based on its contents but because he traces the *aḥādīth*'s *isnād*s to one transmitter who, he believes, forged them and another who attached them to a set of legitimate *isnād*s. For him, objectionable content 'necessarily' indicates spurious *isnād*s; see ibid. 61.

[39] '*Lā tuqtalu al-mar'a idhā irtaddat*'. Al-Dāraquṭnī states that this tradition '*lā yaṣiḥḥu ʿan al-nabī*'; See al-Dāraquṭnī, *Sunan al-Dāraquṭnī*, ed. ʿAbdallāh Hāshim al-Madanī, 4 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Maḥāsin li-l-Ṭibāʿa, 1386/1966), iv. 118 (*henceforth* SD), and Ibn al-Qayyim, *al-Manār al-munīf fī al-ṣaḥīḥ wa-l-ḍaʿīf*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda (Aleppo: Maktab al-Maṭbūʿāt al-Islāmiyya, 1390/1970), 135.

He subsequently provides, however, other traditions (nine narrations in all) with both analogous and dissimilar wordings that order Muslims to do just that.[40]

Conversely, other Hadith scholars, specifically later critics such as Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, often disparage entire traditions expressly owing to their content. For example, Ibn al-Qayyim condemns Prophetic traditions chauvinistically praising certain cities or disparaging blacks. Even when criticizing a *ḥadīth* found in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* for eschatological implications, he takes issue with its content *per se* and not its chain of transmission.[41]

THE MOTIVATIONS FOR AL-DĀRAQUṬNĪ'S ADJUSTMENT

As was mentioned above, the brief treatments that al-Dāraquṭnī's work has received acknowledge its critical nature but do not investigate its purpose or its author's motives. In order to understand why al-Dāraquṭnī undertook an adjustment of the two most revered works in the entire corpus of Islamic religious thought, one must first determine both his Hadith methodology and his ideological leanings. We must then place the scholar in the context of the changing science of *ḥadīth* evaluation and its religious and legal environment. As both a master traditionist and a Shāfiʿī jurist espousing literalist theological views, al-Dāraquṭnī could have objected to two aspects of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*: their content and the methodologies that their authors used to compile them. By comparing the material that the scholar criticized with his own legal and *ḥadīth* output, we can identify any possible ideological objections he might have had with al-Bukhārī and Muslim's work. By constructing a typology of the characteristics that al-Dāraquṭnī found problematic in his *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ*, and then finding his place in the development of *ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, we can determine any methodological motivations.

---

[40] SD, iv. 118–119. Such narrations include the wording 'al-murtadda ʿan al-islām tuḥbasu wa-lā tuqtal', '…fī al-marʾa tartaddu…tujbaru wa-lā tuqtal'.

[41] Ibn al-Qayyim, *Naqd*, 78. The tradition he criticizes in Muslim's book has only one *isnād*. Ibn al-Qayyim, however, objects to it because of its contents; see *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *Kitāb Ṣifāt al-Munāfiqīn* / 27, or *ḥadīth* no. 4996 according to the *ʿĀlamiyya* numbering system. This *ḥadīth* is also found in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad* (Wensinck: 1: 233, 306 et seq.) and in the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd (Wensinck: Ṣawm: 9, 51, 52).

I. Ideology

Form: The Tone of the Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ and its Relation to the Ṣaḥīḥayn

In their studies, neither Goldziher nor Muhammad Abd al-Rauf delves deeply enough into al-Dāraquṭnī's work to address the critical distinction between Prophetic traditions and their disparate narrations, nor do they discuss the scope or tone of al-Dāraquṭnī's critique.[42] Yet such nuance is indispensable in this case. Unlike that in later critical works, al-Dāraquṭnī's tone in the Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ is overwhelmingly constructive, and he does not aim at challenging the overall authenticity (ṣiḥḥa) of the traditions collected in the Ṣaḥīḥayn.[43] As will be demonstrated, the Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ comprises a formal adjustment of narrations rather than a polemical criticism of any traditions that its author deemed problematic in the Ṣaḥīḥayn. This explains the favourable light in which the Sunnī tradition came to view al-Dāraquṭnī's work. Although al-Nawawī devotes a huge amount of energy to rebutting the scholar's criticisms of Muslim's narrations, he nonetheless places the Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ in the acceptable genre of mustadrak works.[44]

The nature of al-Dāraquṭnī's work does not stem from any inherent reverence for the Shaykhayn. Rather, it results primarily from the salient characteristic of his approach to Hadith: he addresses narrations and not traditions. He therefore does not criticize al-Bukhārī and Muslim's individual aḥādīth, but rather specific narrations of some traditions included in their two books. It would thus be wrong to state that al-Dāraquṭnī criticized Muslim's ḥadīth in which the Prophet states 'If I were to take someone from my community as a bosom companion

---

[42] Goldziher, 236 and Abd al-Rauf, i. 285. Both scholars simply state that al-Dāraquṭnī reveals the weakness in a number of al-Bukhārī and Muslim's aḥādīth.

[43] In his Kitāb al-mawḍūʿāt (Book of Forgeries), Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) often resorts to a condescending tone, frequently lambasting Hadith scholars who fell short of his expectations. Ironically, Ibn al-Jawzī finds al-Dāraquṭnī himself guilty of incompetence. He states, 'And indeed I am astounded by those scholars who are aware of forged Hadith and yet narrate them without clarifying [the defects], knowing full-well that the Prophet of God, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, said, "He who narrates a ḥadīth that he knows is a lie is among the liars".' See Abū Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Jawzī, Kitāb al-mawḍūʿāt, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, 3 vols. (Madina: al-Maktaba al-Salafiyya, 1386/1966), iii. 91.

[44] Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī, Al-Manhaj fī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ed. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Abū al-Khayr, 19 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Khayr, 1420/1999), i. 33. Here al-Nawawī puts al-Dāraquṭnī's Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ in the same category as respectable mustadrak works such at that of Abū Masʿūd al-Dimashqī (d. 401/1010).

(*khalīl^{an}*), I would choose Abū Bakr'; he criticizes just one narration of that *ḥadīth*, making no statement about the overall authenticity of that Prophetic tradition. In fact Muslim includes five other narrations of this tradition with a completely different *isnād*.[45] This is the case for the vast majority of the traditions that al-Dāraquṭnī mentions in his *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ*. Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim habitually included multiple narrations for a Prophetic tradition, and al-Dāraquṭnī rarely has occasion to critique a lone narration.[46]

In addition, al-Dāraquṭnī draws over forty of the narrations appearing in *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* from auxiliary narrations (called *mutābiʿ*, 'follow-up,' or *shāhid*, 'testimonial' *aḥādīth*[47]) that the *Shaykhayn* included after the principal narrations in question. Auxiliary narrations served to bolster the authenticity of the Prophetic tradition, but neither al-Bukhārī nor Muslim felt obliged to meet their usual rigorous standards for authenticity when dealing with them.[48]

In fact, al-Dāraquṭnī never overtly questions the overall authenticity of any traditions found in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. He certainly dismisses many narrations, but he often underscores the general soundness of a Prophetic tradition. In *ḥadīth* number 105 of *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ*, for example, he details prominent Hadith scholars' differing opinions on the narration but stresses that their doubts do not affect the 'soundness' (*ṣiḥḥa*) of the *ḥadīth*.[49] After criticizing one of Muslim's narrations of a *ḥadīth*

[45] The narration that al-Dāraquṭnī criticizes is through the Companion Jundub, while the others are through Ibn Masʿūd; see *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb al-Masājid* / 28, *Kitāb Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥāba* / 6, 7, or ʿĀlamiyya nos. 4391–5.
[46] One instance in which al-Dāraquṭnī does criticize the only *isnād* included by Muslim is *ḥadīth* no. 78 in the *Tatabbuʿ* (see *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ʿĀlamiyya no. 266, or *Kitāb al-Imān* / *Bāb Ithbāt Ruʾyat al-Muʾminīn*). This tradition deals with God's rewarding the believers by granting them the beatific vision on the Day of Judgement; for details see n. 73 below.
[47] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ explains that *mutābiʿa* reports are usually abbreviated or auxiliary versions of the same narration, while *shāhid* reports tend to be narrated through different *isnād*s but share the same meaning, or may be a similar tradition; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 247–8.
[48] In his introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim makes explicit his policy towards auxiliary narrations. He includes them if they provide some indispensable additional material or in order to support a defective *isnād*; see G. H. A. Juynboll, 'Muslim's Introduction to his Sahih', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 5 (1984), 267. He thus acknowledges that his *Ṣaḥīḥ* contains some lacklustre narrations, and he pledges to indicate and explain any defects that appear; see Juynboll, 'Muslim's Introduction', 270. There is some indication, however, that Muslim died before he could address all these weak *isnād*s (see KIT, 246). Had he completed his work to his satisfaction, it is possible that al-Dāraquṭnī would not have wasted his time pointing out their flaws.
[49] Ibid. 313–14.

(number 187), al-Dāraquṭnī reminds the reader that Muslim also includes the correct *isnād* in his book.[50] Here it is important to note that the soundness of a tradition is an inter-textual question: al-Dāraquṭnī may find fault with the only narration that Muslim provides for a tradition, but he is well aware that al-Bukhārī or Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal offers numerous reliable versions.[51]

Al-Dāraquṭnī's constructive tone throughout the *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* also expresses itself in his presentation of alternatives to problematic narrations. For example, in a tradition in which the Prophet lists a number of hygienic duties that Muslims should perform (number 182), the scholar suggests two superior narrations that the *Shaykhayn* did not mention. His desire to improve on, not necessarily to criticize, the two works is also clear in *ḥadīth* number 137, where al-Dāraquṭnī simply states that another *isnād* could have provided a more direct link to the Prophet.[52]

Content: Was al-Dāraquṭnī Trying to Alter the Contents of the Ṣaḥīḥayn?

Even by al-Dāraquṭnī's time, the Muslim community had dubbed the works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim crucial sources for their understanding of the Prophet's religious and legal legacy. Yet for critical scholars like Schacht such an understanding, and even the details composing the Prophet's Sunna, 'are not based on authentic historical recollection . . . but are fictitious and intended to support legal doctrines'.[53] As *muṣannafāt*, the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* were certainly designed to serve ritual and legal purposes.[54] Was al-Dāraquṭnī's critique wholly or even partially a vehicle for advancing his specific understanding of Islam and the Sharīʿa? We can answer this question by examining the extent to which the scholar promoted his own opinions and selection of *aḥādīth* in the

---

[50] Ibid. 456.

[51] Ibn Ḥajar emphasizes this intertexuality in his response to al-Dāraquṭnī's criticisms; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, i. 246. In one instance, the author of *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* offers no criticism, but instead defends one of al-Bukhārī's narrations against other unnamed critics. Concerning *ḥadīth* no. 201 in the *Tatabbuʿ*, he argues that the material that al-Bukhārī included is correct; see KIT, 481.

[52] Ibid. 356. The author refers to the concept of *ʿulūw*, or the brevity of an *isnād*. The shorter the *isnād*, and the fewer the transmitters between the compiler and the Prophet, the more favourable and reliable the narration.

[53] Joseph Schacht, 'A Revaluation of Islamic Tradition', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1949), 151.

[54] Goldziher and, more recently, Muḥammad Fadel have discussed how al-Bukhārī used the headings in his collection to guide the reader towards the legal ruling one should derive from the text; see Muḥammad Fadel, 'Ibn Ḥajar's *Hady al-Sārī*', 163–4; cf. Goldziher, 200–20.

Kitāb al-ilzāmāt and the *Tatabbuʿ*. The traditions that he preferred can be found in the collection of legal and ritual *aḥādīth* for which al-Dāraquṭnī became famous: the *Sunan*.[55]

A comparison between the narrations in the *Sunan* and those that al-Dāraquṭnī advances to correct faulty versions in al-Bukhārī and Muslim's work shows a clear separation between the two groups. In *ḥadīth* number 35 of the *Tatabbuʿ* he criticizes al-Bukhārī's narrations in which the Prophet prohibits all intoxicants. As a Shāfiʿī, al-Dāraquṭnī supports this ruling. Yet he does not advance any of the thirteen narrations on this subject that he includes in his *Sunan* to replace the problematic narration, despite their shared wording of 'every intoxicant is prohibited'.[56] The scholar's perennial emphasis on *isnād*s provides a ready explanation. While al-Bukhārī's narrations begin with Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, al-Dāraquṭnī's rely on Ibn ʿUmar and ʿĀʾisha. It seems likely that al-Dāraquṭnī considered his own narrations irrelevant to his discussion of al-Bukhārī's reports. On only one occasion does al-Dāraquṭnī use material from his *Sunan* to make a correction. In *ḥadīth* number 148 he faults al-Bukhārī for including a narration that describes the Prophet performing his *witr* prayer while riding a donkey. Al-Dāraquṭnī explains that the correct version features the Prophet praying on a camel and that it was the Companion Anas who prayed on the donkey. He cites this same narration through Ibn ʿUmar in his *Sunan*.[57]

An even clearer divide exists between the reports that al-Dāraquṭnī appends to the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* in his *Kitāb al-ilzāmāt* and those he chose for his *Sunan*. He states that Muslim should have included one of al-Bukhārī's narrations in which the Prophet instructs his followers not to abandon their afternoon prayers.[58] Yet al-Dāraquṭnī does not include this narration in his *Sunan*'s chapter on 'The Severity of Leaving the Afternoon Prayer and the Unbelief of Him who Leaves It'.[59] He also feels that both al-Bukhārī and Muslim erred in not including a narration detailing the wording of the Prophet's *qunūt* (an invocation said during prayer). In the *Sunan*, however, he presents no such narration in his chapter on reading the *qunūt*.[60] Again, his narrations addressing this

---

[55] In his *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, al-Dhahabī introduces al-Dāraquṭnī as 'ṣāḥib al-Sunan'. See al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, iii. 991.

[56] KIT, 198-9; SD, iv. 250–260; Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Marwazī, *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad Ṭāhir Ḥakīm (Riyadh: Maktabat Aḍwāʾ al-Salaf, 1420/2000), 470–2.

[57] KIT, 390–1; SD, ii. 21.

[58] KIT, 81.

[59] SD, ii. 52. The title is '*Bāb al-tashdīd fī tark ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr wa-kufr man tarakahā, al-nahyu ʿan qatl fāʿilihā.*'

[60] KIT, 135; SD, ii. 31.

topic have *isnād*s differing completely from those of the *Shaykhayn*. Al-Dāraquṭnī was a master traditionist who did not think himself unworthy of pointing out al-Bukhārī and Muslim's oversights. When he did so, however, he only employed narrations with *isnād*s related to the *Shaykhayn*'s own chains of transmission.[61]

Al-Dāraquṭnī thus clearly does not advance his own versions of specific traditions. More important, however, is the detachment of his criticism of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* from his theological and legal stances. At no point in the *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* does al-Dāraquṭnī attempt to counter a tradition conveying a non-Shāfiʿī legal ruling. Contrary to the efforts he put forth in the *Kitāb al-ruʾya* to present *aḥādīth* affirming that believers will see God on the Day of Judgement, al-Dāraquṭnī criticizes Muslim's only narration for a tradition that portrays God lifting the veil (*ḥijāb*) dividing Him from the resurrected believers and allowing them the beatific vision.[62] That al-Dāraquṭnī understood that he was undermining the only support for this traditionalist narration in either of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* testifies to the integrity of the scholar's critique. His decision not to use his adjustment as a forum for promoting his own vision of the Prophet's *sunna* ultimately obviates the possibility of ideological or polemical motivations.

II. Methodology

A Typology of the Flaws Mentioned by al-Dāraquṭnī

Unfortunately, al-Dāraquṭnī provides few clues about the methodology he followed in reviewing the works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.[63] An analysis of the narrations he criticizes, however, reveals that he recognized nine species of flaws in the material he examined. These consist of objective flaws, which stand out independently as defects in al-Dāraquṭnī's opinion, and comparative flaws, which the scholar identifies only by comparing the narration in question with other versions of the same tradition. He exposes comparative flaws by

---

[61] The *Sunan* contains many problematic narrations to which the author himself draws attention, so he might have been aware that some of his material did not meet the standards of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. For an example of an admittedly weak narration, see SD, ii. 99.

[62] KIT, 266; see n. 72 below for the details on this case of normative *matn* addition.

[63] In his introduction to *al-ʿIlal al-wārida fī al-aḥādīth al-nabawiyya*, Maḥfūẓ al-Raḥmān al-Salafī devotes a section to '*manhaj* al-Dāraquṭnī', but it consists only of a non-analytical collection of the various manners in which the scholar reacted to problematic *aḥādīth*; see al-Dāraquṭnī, *al-ʿIlal al-wārida fī al-aḥādīth al-nabawiyya*, ed. Maḥfūẓ al-Raḥmān al-Salafī, 11 vols. (Riyadh: Dār al-Ṭayba, 1422/2001), i. 89.

contrasting numerous existing narrations and then selecting those of greater quality or quantity.[64]

Objective Criticisms:

1. *Defective* Isnād. A significant number of the narrations criticized in the *Kitāb al-tatabbu'* suffer from broken (*munqaṭi'*) chains of transmission. Often, the *isnād*s lack the human link necessary for two people who could never have met each other to have transmitted a *ḥadīth* orally. Since this is one of the criteria of a sound *ḥadīth*, this flaw undermines the reliability of the narration. In *ḥadīth* number 80, in which the Prophet states that the Day of Judgement will not occur until the Byzantines are the largest nation on Earth, al-Dāraquṭnī asserts that 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥārith never met the Companion al-Mustawrid b. Shaddād.[65] He uses the work of al-Bukhārī's foremost teacher, 'Alī b. al-Madīnī (d. 234/849), to show that where the former assumed two transmitters had communicated a narration by word of mouth, the latter believed that they had in fact depended on an intermediary.[66]

2. *Defective transmitter.* Occasionally, al-Dāraquṭnī also criticizes chains of transmission if he considers one of their constituents weak or religiously deviant. In one instance of confusion over the correct version of the *isnād*, al-Dāraquṭnī dismisses the *isnād* cited by the prominent *ḥadīth* transmitter Qatāda because he frequently omitted his teachers' names from *isnād*s.[67] Regarding another narration (number 192), al-Dāraquṭnī refers to various scholars' opinions that one of the transmitters was simply unreliable.[68] He rejects one 'Imrān b. Ḥiṭṭān because as an adult he supported the Khārijites and even praised 'Alī's murderer in a poem.[69]

---

[64] The editor of *Kitāb al-ilzāmāt wa-l-tatabbu'*, Muqbil b. Hādī, provides a typology of the *aḥādīth* criticized in his introduction to the book. This typology, however, focuses on how al-Dāraquṭnī's criticisms were later rebutted and not on the characteristics of the flaws that he identified. Another excellent summary of the flaws that occur in Prophetic *aḥādīth* can be found in Maḥfūẓ al-Raḥmān al-Salafī's introduction to al-Dāraquṭnī's *Kitāb al-'ilal*. This typology, however, deals only with the superficial characteristics of the flaws and does not attempt to tie them together conceptually or identify the overarching problems on which al-Dāraquṭnī's Hadith criticism focuses.

[65] KIT, 281. Muslim includes another narration of this *ḥadīth*.

[66] Ibid. 413. Al-Dāraquṭnī shows that Ibn Burayda did not hear the *ḥadīth* directly from Abū al-Aswad, but rather through Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar.

[67] Ibid. 338.

[68] Ibid. 465.

[69] Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, 4 vols. ([Beirut]: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, n.d.; repr. Cairo: 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1963–4), iii. 235.

Comparative Flaws:

1. *Addition in* Isnād. Problematic *isnād* additions make up the bulk of the flaws that al-Dāraquṭnī identifies in the *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ*. The scholar does not deem the addition of a transmitter appropriate if he is not verifiably reliable (*thiqa*) or if several esteemed authorities transmit narrations without the addition. Such *isnād* addition often occurs when a narration links someone who never met the Prophet to him through a Companion. In a *ḥadīth* (number 107 from Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*) that Ibn ʿAbbās supposedly narrated about the Prophet's supplications in times of worry, al-Dāraquṭnī presents an expert whose *isnād* for the tradition does not extend back to that Companion. Rather, the narration comes from Abū al-ʿĀliya, a *tābiʿī* who never encountered the Prophet. By revealing the inappropriate addition of a Companion in the *isnād*, al-Dāraquṭnī shows that Muslim's narration is incomplete because it lacks the last link in the chain (i.e. that it is *mursal*).[70]

When the preponderance of scholars supports an *isnād* addition, however, al-Dāraquṭnī accepts it. In *ḥadīth* number 100, he defends Muslim's selection of a *musnad* narration against others promoting an *isnād* lacking a Companion (*riwāya mursala*). He asserts that the one featuring the *isnād* addition is more favourable, for it enjoys the support of five trustworthy transmitters.[71] When Muslim and al-Bukhārī include a narration (number 92) from an authority named ʿAmr b. ʿAlī that adds ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir to the *isnād*, al-Dāraquṭnī supports them due to ʿAmr's outstanding reliability.[72]

2. *Normative* Matn *addition.* For some traditions, the majority of its narrations ascribe its wording to a Companion. When one of its narrations cites the Prophet himself as the source of the *ḥadīth*, al-Dāraquṭnī alerts the reader to *ziyāda*. In this case, the species of addition is the normative increase of the *matn's* legal and ritual bearing (see Fig. 1.2). *Ḥadīth* number 78 presents an excellent example, where al-Dāraquṭnī indicates that an *isnād* comparable to the chain of transmission cited by Muslim mentions neither the Companion, Ṣuhayb, nor the Prophet as the original sources for the tradition.[73] Regarding one of Muslim's *ḥadīth* (number 133) in which the narration quotes the Prophet's statements about the virtues of praying the dawn

---

[70] KIT, 447.

[71] Ibid. 304.

[72] Ibid. 287–8.

[73] Ibid. 266–7. Muslim provides two *isnād* branches converging on the following common section: [Ḥammād b. Salama – Thābit al-Bunānī – Ibn Abī Laylā – Ṣuhayb – Prophet]. Al-Dāraquṭnī asserts that this is a case of normative *matn* addition, because other narrations cite neither the Prophet nor Ṣuhayb as the source: [Ḥammād – Thābit – Ibn Abī Laylā].

prayer in a group, al-Dāraquṭnī adduces a myriad of narrations that trace the tradition to the caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.[74] In another instance (*ḥadīth* number 102), al-Dāraquṭnī criticizes Muslim's *marfūʿ* (ascribed to the Prophet) narration because 'the correct [version] . . . is the *mawqūf* one (ascribed to a Companion) because those who attribute it to the Prophet (*rafaʿūhu*) are scholars who cannot compete with Manṣūr and Shuʿba (supporters of the *mawqūf* narration)'.[75]

3. *Literal* Matn *addition.* Al-Dāraquṭnī also finds fault with the inappropriate addition of material in the text of the *ḥadīth*. Like the examples in the two previous sections, the acceptability of literal *matn* addition depends entirely on the relationship between the different narrations of the tradition; ultimately, al-Dāraquṭnī promotes the narration favoured among the scholars whose opinions he respects. In *ḥadīth* number 71, al-Dāraquṭnī thus rejects the narration of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh because no other Hadith scholars vouched for his addition of a lengthy phrase about a Muslim fighter's rewards in heaven.[76] In the aforementioned *ḥadīth* (number 69) of the *mutalāʿinān*, al-Dāraquṭnī states that the eminent traditionist Sufyān b. ʿUyayna erred in transmitting the additional phrase 'he [the Prophet] separated them'.[77]

4. *Idrāj/insertion.* Al-Dāraquṭnī also criticizes the *Shaykhayn* for allowing the phenomenon of *idrāj* to go unnoticed in several narrations. In *ḥadīth* number 199, both al-Bukhārī and Muslim include several narrations of a tradition in which the Prophet forbids his followers to sell date palms until they are in blossom (*ḥattā tuzhiya . . .*). All the versions (except one from al-Bukhārī) that they detail feature an explanatory comment telling those listening that God has forbidden any exchange in which someone wrongfully deprives another Muslim of his property. While the context of al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's narrations suggest that the Prophet himself offered this explanation, al-Dāraquṭnī presents several prominent traditionists who trace this statement to Anas b. Mālik, the Companion who narrated the tradition.[78]

5. *Differences in* Isnāds. Comparing and contrasting different chains of transmissions provides the basis for identifying comparative flaws. Yet al-Dāraquṭnī often favours a narration to those listed in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*

---

[74] Ibid. 360.

[75] Ibid. 308.

[76] Ibid. 254. Here al-Dāraquṭnī rejects this narration because it is *mufrad*, or unique, and thus an unreliable addition.

[77] Ibid. 252.

[78] Ibid. 477. Among the authorities that al-Dāraquṭnī cites are Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar (d. 180/796), Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), and Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206/821). Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī considers this a case of *matn* addition; see al-Ḥākim, 167.
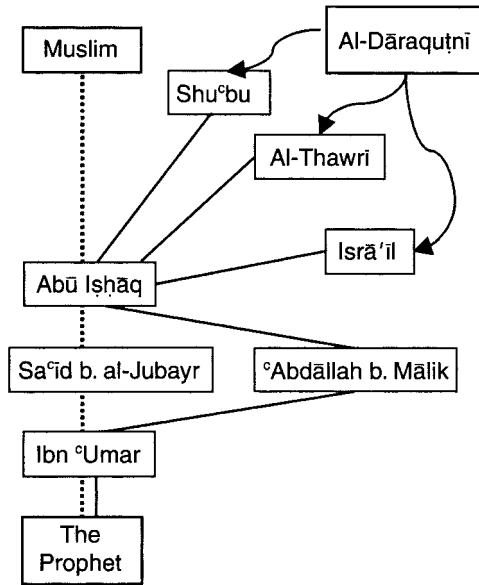
Fig 3.0. Al-Dāraquṭnī's alternative *isnād*s

simply due to superior narrators or a clearer indication that they met and heard from each other. Sometimes al-Dāraquṭnī also finds mistakes in al-Bukhārī or Muslim's *isnād*s. Such errors may result from conflating two transmitters or confusing their names.[79]

The *Shaykhayn* might also have misrepresented an *isnād*. Like other types of comparative flaws, the quality and quantity of traditionists preferring different *isnād*s sways al-Dāraquṭnī's opinion. In an instance very typical of *isnād* difference (number 151), the Companion Ibn ʿUmar teaches a new generation of Muslims that the Prophet sometimes combined his evening and night prayers. Al-Dāraquṭnī states that various master *muḥaddithūn* disagreed with the course of Muslim's narration. Figure 3.0 above demonstrates how the scholar advances a better chain of transmission preferred by three leading Hadith scholars of the second century: Shuʿba b. Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778),[80] and Isrāʾīl b. Yūnus (d. 160–2/776–8).[81]

6. *Inversion of* Matn *and* Isnād. A common error among the *muḥaddithūn* was incorrectly attaching a *matn* and *isnād*. In light of the enormous quantity of Hadith material in circulation by the

[79] For an example, see no. 135 in *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ*; KIT, 365.

[80] H. P. Raddatz, 'Sufyān al-Thawrī', *EI*². This death date is according to Ibn Saʿd.

[81] KIT, 396.

third/ninth century, fixing a tradition to the correct chain of transmission took great expertise. It is thus a testament to al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's mastery of their field that al-Dāraquṭnī discovers only two instances of *maqlūb* (inverted or switched) *aḥādīth*. In *ḥadīth* number 166, this inversion plays a large role in the overall problem of this narration. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim collectively present three chains of transmission from the Prophet ending with two distinctly different *matn*s, one from ʿAlī and the other from Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī. Al-Dāraquṭnī states that one of the three narrations must be inverted because al-Bukhārī and Muslim each ascribe the same *matn* to both ʿAlī and Abū Dharr.[82]

7. Matn *difference*. Hadith authorities also differed on the content of a tradition. Unlike literal *matn* addition, a phenomenon endemic to a science in which transmitters sometimes repeated only the essential part of an account and sometimes recounted it in its entirety, *matn* difference (*al-ikhtilāf fī al-matn*) resulted from a fundamental disagreement on the wording of a tradition. In *ḥadīth* number 128, al-Bukhārī includes two narrations in which the caliph ʿUthmān praises the virtues of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. In the first, the caliph states 'Indeed you know that he is the best among you,' and in the second he says 'By Him who holds my soul in His hand, from what I know [al-Zubayr] is the best among them, and indeed he was the most beloved of God's Prophet...'[83] Al-Dāraquṭnī shows no preference for either narration, perhaps because they share much of the same *isnād* and authorities were divided on the matter. He merely states that, where the *isnād* splits, the two narrators disagree on the wording (*lafẓ*) of the *ḥadīth*. This lack of unanimity constitutes a flaw in his opinion.[84]

Here we must note that at no point in the *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* does al-Dāraquṭnī object to the theological, legal, or ritual content of any *ḥadīth*. His criticisms do sometimes involve the texts of the reports, but only to the extent that they contain elements differing from other narrations.

---

[82] Ibid. 418.
[83] Ibid. 353.
[84] The first version: *innakum lataʿlamūn annahu khayrukum*'. The second version: *...innahu lakhayruhum mā ʿalimtu...*. These two narrations also differ in the amount of contextual explanation they provide. ʿAlī b. Mushir's narration (second) explains the setting of the caliph's statement: his illness in the Year of the Nosebleed (*sanat al-ruʿāf*, 24 AH) and the community urging him to name a successor. Ḥammād b. Usāma's (al-Dāraquṭnī refers to him as Abū Usāma) narration only includes the caliph's words. The reason that al-Dāraquṭnī did not consider this an instance of literal *matn* addition is that the contextual explanation was not the caliph's own speech. Rather, it was the work of one of the witnesses to the event, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. The '*ḥadīth*' itself, in the sense of reported speech, is the caliph's statement about al-Zubayr.

III. Methodological Context

The Development of Ziyādat al-Thiqa: *al-Dāraquṭnī's Context*[85]
Detailing the flaws that al-Dāraquṭnī identified in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*
informs us how he critiqued the two works, but it does not explain
his motivations. Isolating any methodological differences between
al-Dāraquṭnī and the *Shaykhayn* might explain the driving force
behind his critique. The study of the Prophetic tradition did not stop
after the Six Books were written. As such, ample space existed in which
serious methodological differences could arise between their authors
and al-Dāraquṭnī.

The above typology demonstrates the dominant role of problematic
addition (*ziyāda*) in al-Dāraquṭnī's adjustment of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. The
majority of the narrations for which the scholar faults Muslim and many
of al-Bukhārī's inclusions suffer from inappropriate additions in either
the *isnād* or the *matn*, examples of which appear in the previous section.
In their rebuttals of al-Dāraquṭnī's criticisms, both al-Nawawī and
Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) thus devote significant effort to
addressing the controversy surrounding *ziyādat al-thiqa*, the addition
made by a reliable transmitter.

Beginning in the third/ninth century, Muslim Hadith scholars
gradually developed their understanding of addition, evolving from a
broad vision of *ziyāda* to treat the more nuanced questions of law and
transmission that it raised. Their initially uniform notion of the subject
flowed directly from their focus on the *isnād* as the main guarantor of
authenticity; if a trustworthy transmitter makes an addition, whether in
the *isnād* or *matn*, his status alone should guarantee its veracity. While
traditionists dealt with both *isnād* and *matn* addition in their daily
studies, a theoretical distinction between the two appears not to have
arisen until the time of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in the fifth/eleventh
century. Before him, scholars like Ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Khuzayma (d. 311/
924), and Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965) had commented on the issue but had
made no technical study. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal appears to have accepted
matn addition if the person providing it was reliable and the great Iraqi
expert could locate a corroborating report.[86] Ibn Ḥibbān approved of

---

[85] The study of *ziyāda* is regrettably underdeveloped in both Muslim and
Western scholarship. The only two Arabic works devoted to the subject are
Khaldūn al-Aḥdab's *ʿIlm al-zawāʾid* (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1992) and ʿAbd
al-Salām Muḥammad ʿAllūsh's *ʿIlm zawāʾid al-ḥadīth* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm,
1415/1995). I have found no significant study of it in any European language.

[86] Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Rajab, *Sharḥ ʿilal al-Tirmidhī*, ed. Subḥī Jāsim al-Badrī
(Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-ʿĀnī, [1396/1976]), 306–7. Ibn Ḥanbal would not even
accept a *ziyāda* narration from Mālik b. Anas until he had found a report that
seconded the addition.

isnād addition as long as the added transmitter possessed the legal acumen to understand the material he was passing on.[87] Similarly, al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892) accepted *isnād* addition if he could rely on the transmitter's memory.[88] Muslim left no extant opinion, and al-Bukhārī's terse acceptance of *isnād* addition lacks the context necessary to clarify his stance. One can only glean their positions from the work of later scholars such as al-Nawawī and Ibn Ḥajar.

By the fifth/eleventh century, some Muslim jurists and Hadith scholars had distinguished between the two types of *matn* addition and *isnād* addition, upholding a variety of positions on their acceptability. Al-Dāraquṭnī's own student, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, accepted both literal and normative *matn* addition without reservation.[89] This question received its most extensive treatment in al-Baghdādī's comprehensive *al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, where the author summarizes the varying positions held by scholars until his time and defends his own stance on the topic.[90] He tackles the question of *isnād* addition in the form of the argument over the priority of a *musnad* report, one that can be traced back to the Prophet through an uninterrupted *isnād*, and a *mursal* report, one that is ascribed to the Prophet but lacks a Companion to complete the chain of transmission. When presented with several narrations of a tradition, some *mursal* and some *musnad*, al-Baghdādī states that most Hadith scholars (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) and jurists deem the tradition *mursal* and thus question its reliability. He further states that another party judges by the number and quality of the differing narrations. If the number of *musnad* chains is greater than their *mursal* counterparts and their transmitters more reliable (*aḥfaz*), then scholars should accept it as *musnad* (and thus as potentially sound). Al-Baghdādī concludes by describing a third group that accepts any *musnad* report provided that the narrator satisfies all the requirements of reliability, regardless of the number or provenance of competing *mursal* chains. Al-Baghdādī himself adheres to this last position, and he adduces a

---

[87] ʿAbd al-Salām Shaʿbān ʿAlī, *Ikhtilāfāt al-muḥaddithīn wa-l-fuqahāʾ fī al-ḥukm ʿalā al-ḥadīth* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1417/1997), 304. *Henceforth* IKH.

[88] IKH, 302.

[89] Al-Ḥākim states that 'an addition [of a phrase in the *matn*] by a reliable transmitter is acceptable'. When one narration is *mawqūf* and the others *marfūʿ*, he considers the tradition to be *marfūʿ*; see al-Ḥākim, 27, 50.

[90] Al-Baghdādī's work was a milestone in the Islamic elaboration of *ʿilm al-ḥadīth*. The traditionist Abū Bakr b. Nuqṭa (d. 629/1231) elegized al-Baghdādī by saying 'all who have written [about the science of Hadith] after al-Khaṭīb [al-Baghdādī] are dependent on his books (*ʿiyāl ʿalā kutubihi*)'; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 12. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ informs us that al-Baghdādī devoted an entire book (now lost) to the subject of *ziyāda* in the *isnād*, entitled *Kitāb tamyīz al-mazīd fī muttaṣil al-asānīd*; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 480.

report from al-Bukhārī to support it. Apparently, when that towering scholar was asked about a *musnad* version of a report transmitted by Isrā'īl b. Yūnus, he stated 'an addition by a trustworthy transmitter (*al-ziyāda min al-thiqa*) is acceptable, and Isrā'īl b. Yūnus is trustworthy. Even if Shuʿba [b. al-Ḥajjāj] and [Sufyān] al-Thawrī consider it *mursal*, that does not affect the report.'[91]

Al-Baghdādī also addresses the issues of literal and normative *matn* addition, although he identifies them in a different manner. For this scholar, the roots of normative *matn* addition lie in Companions on one occasion quoting the Prophet and on another uttering religious judgement directly inspired by his words. A report in which a Companion repeats a ruling without citing the Prophet thus does not contradict another narration ascribing that statement to the Prophet.[92] Al-Baghdādī does, however, acknowledge that the majority of traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*) feel more comfortable accepting the *mawqūf* (Companion's) version and rejecting the Prophetic narration as an illegitimate attempt to bolster the reliability of the report.[93]

The acceptability of literal *matn* addition follows in the next chapter of the *Kifāya*. There al-Baghdādī poses the question: do we accept a report with additional material if only one reliable transmitter narrates it? He feels that the majority of traditionists and legal scholars (*jamhūr al-fuqahā' wa-aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) accept such a narration.[94] He goes on to

---

[91] Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, ed. Aḥmad ʿUmar Hāshim (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1405/1985), 450–1. He describes the requirements of the third group as '*idhā kāna thābit al-ʿadāla ḍābiṭan li-l-riwāya*', or 'if he [the transmitter of the *mursal* report] is sound of character and accurate in his report'.

[92] Ibid. 456. This material appears under the title '*bāb fī al-ḥadīth yarfaʿuhu al-rāwī tāratan wa-yaqifuhu ukhrā, mā ḥukmuhu?*'; translated, 'Chapter on the ruling of reports that are sometimes attributed to the Prophet and sometimes to Companions: How it should be judged'.

[93] Al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya*, 449; cf. al-Nawawī, i. 37.

[94] Muslim scholars have found the different opinions cited by al-Baghdādī to be at loggerheads. The great ninth/fifteenth-century traditionist Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) struggled with what he considered opposing statements: al-Baghdādī's claim that the majority of traditionists reject *ziyāda* but that the body (*jamhūr*) of both legal scholars and traditionists accept it. Al-Sakhāwī reconciles the two statements by explaining that '*jamhūr*' does not apply to legal scholars and traditionists equally. It is thus very possible for the majority of both groups taken together to accept *ziyādat al-thiqa*. If the traditionists were considered separately, however, they would generally reject it; see IKH, 305. I believe that my distinction between normative and literal *matn* addition better explains al-Baghdādī's statement. His first statement deals with normative *matn* addition, while his second addresses the separate issue of literal *matn* addition.

describe a school of thought that only accepts such a report if it actually has bearing on a legal ruling. Interestingly, he describes a group identifying themselves with the Shāfiʿī doctrine (*firqa mimman yantaḥilu madhhab al-Shāfiʿī*) that accepts this sort of addition only if the narration with *ziyāda* is transmitted by someone other than the person who carried the original report. Presumably this group faulted someone who narrated both versions for his oversight. A last group of traditionists rejects any *matn* addition that does not enjoy the support of at least several skilled narrators (*ḥuffāẓ*). Like his stance on *isnād* addition, al-Baghdādī accepts all forms of *matn* addition by a reliable transmitter. All arguments against this categorical acceptance, he asserts, rely on notions of probability that fail to account for all the circumstances in which an honest, consistent narrator might transmit a report with additional phrases.[95]

Although other leading traditionists such as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1392) continued the study of addition in the centuries following al-Baghdādī, the orthodox ruling on its acceptability took its definitive form in the work of al-Nawawī and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī. These two scholars present not only the culmination of the study of *ziyāda*; they also made the most concerted attempts to recreate Muslim's and al-Bukhārī's stances on the subject. Unfortunately, the writings of the *Shaykhayn* did not fully explain their methodologies to later generations. Indeed, al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* does not set out his approach at all. In the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim does describe his project as well as his criteria for trustworthy narrations, but he never addresses the minute technical issues that would become matters of contention for later scholars seeking to reconstruct the criteria of the *Shaykhayn*.[96]

Al-Nawawī echoes al-Baghdādī's unquestioning acceptance of an addition made by a reliable transmitter (*ziyādat al-thiqa*). 'Additions [in the text or *isnād*] made by reliable transmitters are categorically acceptable according to the body of traditionists as well as legal scholars and theorists (*ahl al-ḥadīth wa-l-fiqh wa-l-uṣūl*)', he states, relying on al-Baghdādī's testimony as proof. Al-Nawawī grants similar acceptance to normative *matn* addition, regardless of the number and quality of opposing narrations.[97] He defends this position in his introduction to his *sharḥ* of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and his broad acceptance is certainly hostage to Muslim's extensive use of narrations containing additions.

[95] Al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya*, 464–9. Al-Ghazzālī echoes this probability-based acceptance in his *al-Mustaṣfā fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām ʿAbd al-Shāfī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1413/1993), 133.

[96] See G. H. A Juynboll's 'Muslim's Introduction to his Sahih', 263–311.

[97] Al-Nawawī, i. 37.

Almost 200 years later, Ibn Ḥajar displays considerably more nuance on the subject of addition. Unconcerned by al-Baghdādī's dominant opinions or the rulings of later scholars, he plumbs the work of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Zurʿa (d. 264/877), and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277/890) for their views on addition. He determines that they did not operate according to any rigid guidelines for the acceptability of addition but rather judged each instance according to its specific circumstances (qarāʾin).[98] 'It cannot be demonstrated that any of them categorically accepted addition,' he concludes.[99] This echoes the position of the Ḥanbalī traditionist Ibn Rajab, who died some 60 years before Ibn Ḥajar. He contends that the story in which al-Bukhārī approves of ziyādat al-thiqa represents a specific ruling only and does not apply universally.[100] While al-Nawawī defends Muslim's inclusion of addition-narrations by accepting ziyādat al-thiqa categorically, Ibn Ḥajar's emphasis on the subtleties of circumstance allows al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's expertise to defend itself. He states that al-Bukhārī and, after him, Muslim were the greatest Hadith scholars in Islamic history. This not only justifies their acceptance of addition in certain circumstances de facto, it also precludes any general ruling on the subject that does not take circumstances (qarāʾin) into consideration.[101]

al-Dāraquṭnī's Stance on Ziyādat al-Thiqa

Unfortunately, the lack of any methodological introduction in al-Dāraquṭnī's works deprives us of comprehensive, first-hand information about his stance on ziyādat al-thiqa. The author does, however, refer to it once in his Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ and a few times in his Kitāb al-ʿilal. The work of scholars like al-Baghdādī, Ibn Rajab, and Ibn Ḥajar also provides external indications. Combined with the typology of the flaws he documented in the Ṣaḥīḥayn as well as his ʿIlal, we can reconstruct al-Dāraquṭnī's beliefs on the issue. These data suggest that the scholar adhered to a middle position that accepted addition when supported by a preponderance of evidence, but preferred not to give narrators the benefit of the doubt. As a rule, al-Dāraquṭnī appears to have been very stringent about preserving the text of traditions. Contrary to his own opinion and that of the majority of fifth/eleventh-century traditionists, al-Baghdādī cites al-Dāraquṭnī teaching his students the words of an

---

[98] Other narrations criticized in the Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ that Ibn Ḥajar says involved circumstances in which ziyāda was acceptable include nos. 108, 110, 114, 177, and 186.

[99] IKH, 309.

[100] Ibn Rajab, 312.

[101] KIT, 53.

early *muḥaddith* who disliked abbreviating the *matn* in any circumstances because it 'corrupted the meaning'.[102]

Surviving Hadith texts explicitly state that al-Dāraquṭnī neither categorically accepted nor denied *ziyādat al-thiqa*, and eminent traditionists who knew his work unanimously respected his understanding of addition. Ibn Rajab states that al-Dāraquṭnī was correct in accepting addition in certain circumstances and rejecting it in others.[103] When Ibn Ḥajar turned to the early pillars of Hadith criticism and deduced that none followed any set policy on addition, he included al-Dāraquṭnī in their ranks.[104]

There is more that can shed light on al-Dāraquṭnī's attitude towards the different aspects of *ziyāda*. Statements attributed to him strongly suggest that he distinguished between *matn* and *isnād* addition. He once praised one Abū Bakr b. Ziyād by exclaiming, 'he had mastered the addition of phrases in the texts of *aḥādīth* (*kāna yaʿrifu ziyādāt al-alfāẓ fī al-mutūn*).'[105] Yet al-Dāraquṭnī's *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* makes only one reference to addition in any form. This occurs in *ḥadīth* number 209, which the scholar criticizes for both a defective *isnād* and *isnād* addition. Oddly, it is the author's explanation of the defective *isnād* that leads him to mention *ziyāda*. Al-Dāraquṭnī challenges Muslim's principal narration by presenting another in which the transmitter Qatāda receives the report from someone named ʿAmr b. Murra instead of Sālim. Concerning this addition, he adds, 'although he [Qatāda] is trustworthy (*thiqa*), *and we accept addition by a trustworthy transmitter*, he sometimes pretends he heard a report from someone when in fact he received it through an intermediary (*yudallis*)' (my emphasis).[106]

Other segments of *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* also allude to this acceptance of *isnād* addition under certain conditions. In *ḥadīth* number 100, al-Dāraquṭnī authenticates Muslim's choice of a *musnad* narration in the face of opposing *mursal* reports because five trustworthy transmitters support it. Only the renowned traditionist Sufyān al-Thawrī proposes the *mursal* version.[107] It therefore seems clear that al-Dāraquṭnī accepts *isnād* addition when the evidence for it outweighs opposing arguments.

---

[102] Al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya*, 225. This opinion was attributed to Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl (d. 212/827). Al-Baghdādī states that 'many people allow a transmitter to [abbreviate a narration's text] in any condition and make no specifications'. The author personally accepts abbreviating the *matn* as long as it does not affect the ruling or the gist (*murād*) of the tradition; see ibid. 224.

[103] Ibn Rajab, 312.
[104] IKH, 309.
[105] Ibn Rajab, 314.
[106] KIT, 492.
[107] Ibid. 304.

We should probably understand al-Dāraquṭnī's acceptance of *ziyādat al-thiqa* in its broadest sense, for it seems likely that the same principle applied to normative *matn* addition. In *ḥadīth* number 102 (mentioned above), al-Dāraquṭnī favours the *mawqūf* narrations over the *marfūʿ* because 'those who attribute it to the Prophet (*rafaʿūhu*) are scholars who cannot compete with Manṣūr and Shuʿba' (supporters of the *mawqūf* narration).[108] Extrapolating from the scholar's explanation, he probably would have championed the *marfūʿ* narration had it enjoyed more support.

The most useful external clues to al-Dāraquṭnī's stance on addition come from al-Baghdādī's lengthy description of the various schools of thought on the subject. The two Baghdad scholars died only 76 years apart, and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī was quite familiar with his predecessor's work.[109] From the indications illustrated above (and number 71 in the typology section on Literal *Matn* Addition), al-Dāraquṭnī seems to fit into the group of traditionists whom al-Baghdādī describes rejecting any lone literal *matn* addition (*mufrad*) that lacks the support of several experts (*ḥuffāẓ*).[110] Of particular interest is al-Baghdādī's reference to a group of Shāfiʿīs who would not accept any 'addition from a reliable transmitter' if he also narrated the version without the addition. In his *Sunan*, al-Dāraquṭnī rejects literal *matn* addition when the same transmitter communicates an addition and non-addition version.[111] Moreover, many of the narrations that al-Dāraquṭnī discredits in his *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ* are cases of *isnād* addition in which the transmitter making the addition clearly heard from both the original narrator and the newly added person in the *isnād*. Such instances demonstrate that al-Dāraquṭnī did not accept additions in the *isnād* or the *matn* from

---

[108] Ibid. 308. See the section on Normative *Matn* Addition above for the discussion of this narration.

[109] Al-Baghdādī claimed an extended *ijāza* relationship with al-Dāraquṭnī based on the *ijāza* of one of his teachers; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 343.

[110] Al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya*, 465.

[111] SD, ii. 83–4. I conclude that al-Dāraquṭnī rejected this instance of *ziyāda* because the same person transmitted both the *ziyāda* and non-*ziyāda* version, not because he was not *thiqa*. This transmitter is none other than the problematic Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 150/767), compiler of the *Sīra*. He was generally considered reliable by critics like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and al-ʿIjlī, but Ibn Ḥajar states definitively that he did not meet al-Bukhārī's standards (see KIT, 484). Although al-Dāraquṭnī seems to have shared al-Bukhārī's standards on many occasions, in the one instance that Ibn Isḥāq is mentioned in the *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ*, al-Dāraquṭnī does not explicitly identify him as weak. Nor does al-Dāraquṭnī share Mālik b. Anas's damning opinion of Ibn Isḥāq, for he does not include him in his *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-l-matrūkīn*.

people who also transmitted an original version. As a Shāfiʿī, he may thus have belonged to the group mentioned by al-Baghdādī.[112]

Higher Standards in Men

While many of the comparative flaws in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* resulted from trenchant differences between al-Dāraquṭnī's stance on *ziyādat al-thiqa* and that of the *Shaykhayn*, his criticism of weak transmitters stems from far less dramatic disagreements. The scholar seems to have been only marginally more stringent than other major *rijāl* critics, for the standards he uses to evaluate transmitters do not seem to differ drastically from those of his fellow scholars. Oddly, al-Dhahabī considers al-Dāraquṭnī one of the more lenient Hadith critics.[113] But in a sample of 75 men selected randomly from al-Dāraquṭnī's *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-l-matrūkīn*, the author rejects 9.3 per cent of the transmitters approved by other major Hadith scholars of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, including the *Shaykhayn*, as well as al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar.[114]

In the context of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, at least, Al-Dāraquṭnī proves only slightly more demanding than the *Shaykhayn*, and as a result he identifies no more than three defective transmitters in their two books.

---

[112] Faulting such narrations continually baffles both Ibn Ḥajar and al-Nawawī, who constantly remind the reader that the narrations suffer from no flaw because the transmitter also conveyed the non-addition report; see KIT, 439.

[113] Scott Cameron Lucas, 'The Arts of Ḥadīth Compilation and Criticism: the Study of the Emergence of Sunnism in the Third/Ninth Century', Ph.D. diss., 2 vols. (University of Chicago, 2002), i. 58. Cf. al-Dhahabī, *al-Mūqiẓa fī ʿilm muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda (Aleppo: Maktab al-Maṭbūʿāt al-Islāmīya bi-Ḥalab, 1405/[1984–1985]), 83. I disagree with al-Dhahabī's description, for there is ample evidence that al-Dāraquṭnī's contemporaries and immediate successors esteemed his standards in *rijāl*. For example, the *muḥaddith* al-Khalīl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khalīlī (d. 446/1055) can only express his astonishment when he finds that al-Dāraquṭnī narrated certain *aḥādīth* solely on the authority of the decidedly weak al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAdawī; see Khalīl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khalīlī, *al-Irshād fī maʿrifat ʿulamāʾ al-ḥadīth*, ed. ʿĀmir Aḥmad Ḥaydar (Makka: Dār al-Fikr, 1414/1993), 158.

[114] The other *rijāl* critics include Ibn Ḥibbān, al-ʿIjlī, Abū Ḥātim, and Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Nasāʾī, and al-Bukhārī. For example, in the case of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Atish, whom al-Dāraquṭnī considers weak, Abū Ḥātim and Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī consider him *thiqa* and Ibn Ḥajar calls him *ṣadūq*; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, ed. ʿĀdil Murshid (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1416/1996), 409; and al-Dāraquṭnī, *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-l-matrūkīn*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Badrī al-Sāmarrāʾī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1404/1984), 153. See also *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-l-matrūkīn* for narrators rejected by al-Dāraquṭnī: entries no. 251 (Abū Ḥātim: *lā baʾsᵃ bihi*, Ibn Ḥibbān: *thiqa*), 311 (Aḥmad: *ṣāliḥ al-ḥadīth*), 312 (Ibn Maʿīn: *thiqa*), 322 (Ibn Ḥajar: *ṣadūq khalaṭa baʿd iḥtirāq kutubihi*), 475 (al-Dhahabī, Abū Ḥātim, Abū Zurʿa: *thiqa*), 610 (Abū Ḥātim: *ṣadūq*), and 516 (Abū Ḥātim, Abū Zurʿa: *thiqa*).

The Baghdad scholar seems to have had slightly higher standards than Muslim, for later apologists such as al-Nawawī were unable to refute al-Dāraquṭnī's attack on one ʿAbdallāh b. Khuthaym, on whom Muslim depends in one narration.[115] Al-Dāraquṭnī accuses Ibn Khuthaym of being weak (ḍaʿīf),[116] but one can find no hint of this serious accusation in al-Dhahabī's staunchly canonical compilation of expert opinions on this transmitter.[117] In al-Mizzī's (d. 742/1341) *Tahdhīb al-kamāl,* al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915), Ibn Ḥibbān, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, and Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad al-ʿIjlī (d. 261/875) also vouch for Ibn Khuthaym's strength and probity.[118] Amid this tremendous praise, however, Ibn Ḥajar notes that Ibn al-Madīnī, al-Bukhārī's most illustrious teacher, labelled Ibn Khuthaym '*munkar al-ḥadīth* (that he alone contradicts more reliable experts)'.[119] It thus seems likely that, even with so much support behind him, al-Nawawī could not defend Muslim's decision in the face of Ibn al-Madīnī's venerable opposition. As a principle, *muḥaddithūn* generally considered one negative evaluation of a transmitter (*jarḥ*) weightier than multiple approvals (*taʿdīl*).[120]

Al-Dāraquṭnī also demonstrates his unusually high standards when criticizing one of al-Bukhārī's transmitters, ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān, whom he faults for deviant beliefs (*sūʾ iʿtiqādihi*). Although Ibn Ḥajar admits that this Khārijite propagandist's heretical leanings undermine the narration and can only excuse al-Bukhārī by reminding us that it is an auxiliary narration, other prominent traditionists argue that al-Bukhārī only included this narration because ʿImrān had transmitted it before joining the Khārijite camp.[121] Nonetheless, in his *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ibn Ḥajar

---

[115] See *ḥadīth* no. 4246 in Muslim's *Bāb al-Faḍāʾil*.

[116] KIT, 465.

[117] See al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ii. 460.

[118] Yūsuf b. Zakī al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 35 vols. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1400/1980), xv. 281. Al-ʿIjlī: *thiqa*, Abū Ḥātim: *lā baʾs^a bihi ṣāliḥ al-ḥadīth*, al-Nasāʾī: *thiqa laysa bi-qawī*, Ibn Ḥibbān: *thiqa*.

[119] KIT, 465 and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 12 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968; repr. Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif, 1326/[1908–9]), v. 537. Al-Nasāʾī also demonstrated some reservations about Ibn Khuthaym, but his opinion was apparently based on that of Ibn al-Madīnī.

[120] J. Robson, 'al-djarḥ wa al-taʿdīl', *EI²*.

[121] KIT, 333. It is extremely interesting to note, however, that even after specifically calling them either weak or deviant, al-Dāraquṭnī includes neither ʿAbdallāh b. Khuthaym nor ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān in his *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-l-matrūkīn*. There are several possible explanations for this fact: (*a*) these two transmitters represent changes in the scholar's opinion between his writing of the KIT and *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-l-matrūkīn*; (*b*) the author applied a more rigorous set of standards when reviewing the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* than in his own work; or (*c*) the author or copyist erred.

attempts to exonerate ʿImrān with a barrage of approving experts such as al-ʿIjlī, Qatāda b. Diʿāma (d. 118/736), and Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/888).[122] Al-Dāraquṭnī therefore proves not only more demanding than a host of other critics, including al-Bukhārī and Muslim, but is also unwilling to accept narrations that may have predated a transmitter's deviant beliefs.

CONCLUSION

Al-Dāraquṭnī cuts an interesting figure in the pantheon of Sunnī scholarship. As one of the most prominent Hadith masters of the classical period, his critique of the two most esteemed collections of Prophetic traditions provides irrefutable proof of the critical review process through which even these canonical texts have passed. His persona disorients the historian accustomed to the contours of modern Sunnī orthodoxy and its reverence for the Ṣaḥīḥayn: a champion of the Prophetic legacy, his Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ seems to flout its canonization; a staunch theological literalist opposed to free reasoning, his criticism of the Ṣaḥīḥayn never touches on any matters of substance or content.

We can resolve this conundrum, however, by realizing that al-Dāraquṭnī was, above all, a master of form. In a scholarly world that esteemed attention to rote detail, he was more meticulous than most. His approach to Hadith criticism centred solely on the processes and vagaries of transmission, to the exclusion of its ideological content. He concerned himself with transmitters and the chains they formed, limiting his interest in the matn to the part it played in the holistic course of transmission. His focus on comparing and evaluating individual narrations without addressing their content meant that al-Dāraquṭnī never overtly rejected any of the Prophetic traditions included in al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's collections. As his œuvre demonstrates, al-Dāraquṭnī was undeniably fascinated with the Ṣaḥīḥayn. He clearly deemed them seminal embodiments of the Prophet's Sunna, and his adjustment of them constituted an act of productive criticism. Al-Dāraquṭnī certainly never intended to alter the theological, ritual, or legal material of the Shaykhayn with his own opinions. Rather, we must understand al-Dāraquṭnī's objections to certain aspects of al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's compilations through specific methodological developments within ʿilm al-ḥadīth between the third/ninth and ninth/fifteenth

---

[122] Ibn Ḥajar, Lisān al-mīzān, 6 vols. (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif, 1331–9/[1911–18]), iii. 333. Al-ʿIjlī: wathaqahu; Qatāda: lā yuttahamu fī al-ḥadīth; Abū Dāwūd: laysa min ahl al-ahwāʾ.

centuries. Al-Dāraquṭnī simply proved more systematically stringent on issues such as addition (*ziyāda*) than al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and mainstream Sunnī scholarship as it coalesced after the fourth/tenth century. As the writings of al-Baghdādī, al-Nawawī, and Ibn Ḥajar demonstrate, the centuries following al-Dāraquṭnī's death saw first a more lenient approach to addition and later an abandonment of the general rules of *ziyādat al-thiqa*, embodied in works such as the *Kitāb al-tatabbuʿ*, in favour of a reliance on the expert judgement of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. It was this later development in Sunnī Hadith scholarship and al-Dāraquṭnī's lack of interest in questioning the actual substance of al-Bukhārī or Muslim's *aḥādīth* that allowed later scholars such as al-Nawawī and Ibn Ḥajar to reconcile the tenth-century critic's work with the Hadith canon.