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HARALD MOTZKI



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THE HISTORICAL TRADITION ABOUT AL-ḤUDAYBIYA
A STUDY OF 'URWA B. AL-ZUBAYR'S ACCOUNT¹

ANDREAS GÖRKE

The events of al-Ḥudaybiya have been studied several times.² Some of these studies attempted to reconstruct the events by drawing on a number of sources—namely, Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqidi, Ibn Sa'd, al-Ṭabarī and the Qur'ān—to form a coherent narrative.³ Collating these reconstructions can derive the following standard account of the events:

- a) Because of a dream, Muḥammad decides to make an 'umra.
- b) He asks the Bedouin around Medina to accompany him, but they refuse.
- c) Therefore, Muḥammad sets out for Mecca with about 700-1400 men.
- d) In Dhū l-Ḥulayfa he enters the *iḥrām*, the state of ritual purity.
- e) When they learn of Muḥammad's plans, the Quraysh send 200 men on horseback commanded by Khālīd b. al-Walīd to Kurā' al-Ghamīm near 'Usfān.

¹ This is an abridged and modified translation of my M.A. thesis "Die frühislamische Geschichtsüberlieferung zu Ḥudaybiya", University of Hamburg, 1996. I wish to thank Behnam Sadeghi for helping me with the English translation.

² E.g. F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, trans. by H.H. Schaeder, Heidelberg, 1955, 284-92; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford, 1956, 46-62; C.E. Dubler and U. Quarella, "Der Vertrag von Ḥudaybiyya (März 628) als Wendepunkt in der Geschichte des frühen Islam", in *AS*, 21 (1967), 62-81; M. Alwaye, "The Truce of Hudeybiya and the Conquest of Mecca", in *Majallatu l-Azhar*, 45/9 (1973), 1-6; M. Rodinson, *Mohammed*, trans. into German by G. Meister, Luzern and Frankfurt am Main, 1975, 238-41; M. Muranyi, "Die Auslieferungsklausel des Vertrags von al-Ḥudaybiya und ihre Folgen", in *Arabica*, 23 (1976), 275-95; F.M. Donner, "Muḥammad's Political Consolidation in Arabia up to the Conquest of Mecca", in *MW*, 69 (1979), 229-47; F.B. Ali, "Al-Ḥudaybiya: An Alternative Version", in *MW*, 71 (1981), 47-62; M. Lings, *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources*, New York, 1983, 247-59; M. Lecker, "The Ḥudaybiyya-Treaty and the Expedition against Khaybar", in *JSAI*, 5 (1984), 1-12; G.R. Hawting, "Al-Ḥudaybiyya and the Conquest of Mecca: A Reconsideration of the Tradition about the Muslim Takeover of the Sanctuary", in *JSAI*, 8 (1986), 1-23.

³ E.g. Watt, *Medina*, 46-62; W.M. Watt, "al-Ḥudaybiya", in *ET*, III, 539; Buhl, *Leben*, 284-92; Rodinson, *Mohammed*, 238-41; Lings, *Muhammad*, 247-59; Alwaye, "Truce", 1-6.

- f) Muḥammad therefore decides to take a different route. At al-Ḥudaybiya his camel stops and refuses to go any further. Muḥammad orders that the camp be pitched there.
- g) Water is scarce at al-Ḥudaybiya, but Muḥammad revives a dry well using an arrow.
- h) Various delegates of the Quraysh come to negotiate with Muḥammad.
- i) 'Uthmān is sent to Mecca for negotiations. He does not return in time and the rumor spreads that he has been killed. Muḥammad therefore summons his Companions and demands that they pledge allegiance to him. This pledge is called *bay'at al-riḍwān* (after Q 48:18 which reads: *laqad raḍīya llāh 'an al-mu'minīn idh yubāyī'unaka taht al-shajara*). However, the news about 'Uthmān turns out to be false.
- j) The Quraysh send Suhayl b. 'Amr to Muḥammad with instructions to make peace with him.
- k) The treaty comprises the following points:
 - There will be a ten-year armistice.
 - The Muslims must retire this time but may enter Mecca in the following year for three days to perform the 'umra.
 - All tribes may decide freely to enter into an alliance with either Muḥammad or the Quraysh.
 - The Muslims have to surrender any person who comes to Muḥammad without his guardian's (*walī*) permission, even if he is a Muslim. (There is no corresponding obligation for the Quraysh.)
- l) After the treaty Abū Jandal, son of the afore-mentioned Suhayl, flees to Muḥammad but is handed over to the Quraysh.
- m) Muḥammad calls on his Companions to shave their heads and sacrifice their animals. However, they follow him only after he sets an example.
- n) On the way back to Medina, Q 48 (*al-fath*) is revealed to Muḥammad.
- o) Abū Baṣīr flees to Medina from Mecca but is handed over to two delegates from the Quraysh. He kills one of them and flees to the coast at al-ʿIṣ. Seventy men join him there, among them Abū Jandal. They raid Meccan caravans until the Quraysh ask Muḥammad to let them into Medina.
- p) Finally, some Muslim women come to Medina from Mecca. Q 60:10 is revealed on this occasion, a verse prohibiting their surrender to the Quraysh.

The different accounts contain some inconsistencies that have been discussed in some of the above-mentioned studies, for example, in the terms of the truce or on the question whether Khālīd b. al-Walīd converted to Islam before al-Ḥudaybiya. The accounts are mostly compilations of different reports of earlier transmitters. These earlier reports can be partly reconstructed when they are supplied with *asānīd*.

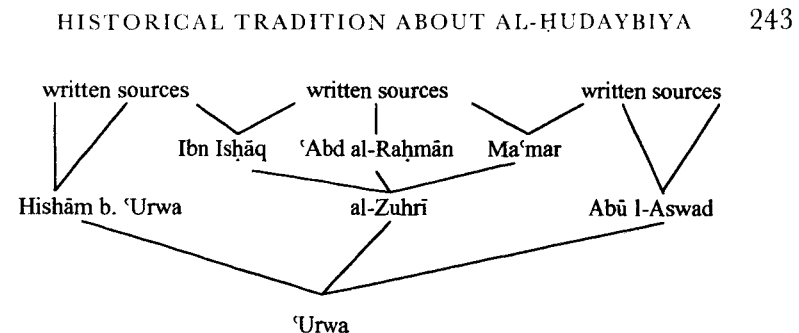
This study attempts to reconstruct ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr’s report which is by far the longest early account of al-Ḥudaybiya; the other accounts comprise only a few elements. Many issues appear only in ‘Urwa’s version, and his is the only one that gives a more or less complete account of the course of events. Most of the later accounts are based mainly on his report. Moreover, this version exists with numerous strands of transmission, thus making a reconstruction of his report possible. Finally, ‘Urwa is one of the most renowned scholars of the biography of the Prophet prior to Ibn Ishāq.

I. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ‘URWA B. AL-ZUBAYR’S TRADITION

‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr was born around the year 23/643-4 and died in the year 94/712.⁴ He was the son of al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, one of the first Muslims, and was one of a group of seven famous legal scholars who later became known as the seven *fuqahā’* of Medina, as well as a renowned expert in *ḥadīth*.⁵

I have tried to take into account as many sources as possible. I do not by any means claim exhaustiveness, however, and it is obvious that all the results and conclusions will have to be reconsidered with the emergence of new sources. Only those sources that mention ‘Urwa in the *isnād* were taken into account.

‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr’s report about al-Ḥudaybiya was transmitted by three of his students: Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, Abū l-Aswad, and Hishām b. ‘Urwa. Their original versions are not extant but have to be reconstructed from later written sources. The following diagram is a simplified representation of the purported transmissions:



1. *Zuhrī’s tradition*

The first strand of transmission to be discussed here is the one through al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742). Many of al-Zuhrī’s students transmitted the story of al-Ḥudaybiya from him. Only six of the total of forty-five versions studied for this article do not go back to him. The traditions can be divided into long versions which give a more or less complete account of the events, and short versions which contain only a few elements. First, the traditions of Ibn Ishāq, Ma‘mar b. Rāshid and ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz will be analyzed, of which both long and short versions exist. Afterwards the other short versions going back to al-Zuhrī (which are not recorded in the diagram) will be studied.

Ibn Ishāq’s recension

Let us first consider Ibn Ishāq’s (d. 150/767) version. His work is not extant in its original form (provided there *was* a single original form, which may be doubted), but only in different variants. The most famous one is that of Ibn Hishām, but numerous other traditions going back to Ibn Ishāq can be found in the written sources. These versions differ considerably in content, as has been shown in other studies.⁶

Ibn Ishāq’s account about al-Ḥudaybiya is based mainly on a tradition going back to al-Zuhrī—‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr—al-Miswar b.

⁴ A.A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs*, trans. by L.I. Conrad, Princeton, 1983, 77.

⁵ J. Horowitz, “The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors”, I, in *Islamic Culture*, 1 (1927), 547.

⁶ Cf. S.M. Al-Samuk, *Die historischen Überlieferungen nach Ibn Ishāq. Eine synoptische Untersuchung*, Frankfurt am Main, 1978, 80, 162; M. Muranyi, “Ibn Ishāq’s *k. al-Ma-gāzī* in der *riwāya* von Yūnus b. Bukair. Bemerkungen zur frühen Überlieferungsgeschichte”, in *JSAI*, 14 (1991), 269.

Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. In his book, as it was transmitted by Ibn Hishām, this tradition is interspersed with many shorter traditions going back to other transmitters. It is also furnished with an introduction by Ibn Ishāq. Since we want to reconstruct ‘Urwa’s account, only the parts going back to him will be considered.

Numerous long and short versions of his account can be found in the sources (see Figure A on p. 272: The traditions going back to Ibn Ishāq). Long versions are recorded by Ibn Hishām,⁷ al-Ṭabarī,⁸ Ibn Ḥanbal,⁹ and al-Bayhaqī,¹⁰ shorter versions by Ibn Abī Shayba,¹¹ Abū Dāwūd,¹² al-Balādhurī,¹³ Abū ‘Ubayd,¹⁴ al-Wāhidī,¹⁵ al-Ṭabarī,¹⁶ and al-Bayhaqī.¹⁷ Abū Yūsuf names Ibn Ishāq as one of his sources in addition to al-Kalbī and Hishām b. ‘Urwa. In his wording, however, he seems to follow Hishām b. ‘Urwa’s version. We will therefore study his version later.

The long versions differ in form. Ibn Ḥanbal records only al-Zuhrī’s tradition but not Ibn Ishāq’s additions and insertions of other traditions. Al-Ṭabarī uses different sources and does not quote the tradition of al-Zuhrī for every element. Thus only parts of the tradition can be found in his work. Similarly, al-Bayhaqī only gives parts of the tradition, mainly those dealing with the treaty itself and the events occurring after the treaty. In terms of the overall structure, Ibn Hishām’s version is closest to the one Ibn Ishāq laid down in his book. This, however, does not mean that he reproduces Ibn Ishāq’s wording more accurately than others.

A quick glance at the different versions shows that a single original version cannot be reconstructed, as the differences between the variants are too large. It is possible though to give an overview of the contents of the tradition. Parts that are in all versions identical in

⁷ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 308-27.

⁸ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 1528 ff.

⁹ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 323 ff.

¹⁰ Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 221 f., 227 f., 233 f.

¹¹ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, XIV, 434.

¹² Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 15:168.2. The numbering of the *aḥādīth* from the canonical collections follows al-Mizzī’s *Kashshāf* (first number = *kitāb*, number after the colon = *bāb*, number after the full stop = *ḥadīth*).

¹³ Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 351 f.

¹⁴ Abū ‘Ubayd, *Amwāl*, 157.

¹⁵ Wāhidī, *Asbāb*, 285 (on Q 48), 318 (on Q 60).

¹⁶ Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVI, 59.

¹⁷ Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 223, 228, 229.

wording can be assumed to provide Ibn Ishāq’s wording. However, they do not necessarily reflect al-Zuhrī’s wording, for Ibn Ishāq may have made additions, omissions, or other changes. This can only be verified by comparison with the other traditions going back to al-Zuhrī.

The order of the elements varies slightly in the different versions. The order given here is Ibn Hishām’s. Al-Zuhrī’s report as narrated by Ibn Ishāq then comprises the following elements: Muḥammad sets out for Mecca with 700 Companions and with peaceful intentions.¹⁸ In ‘Uṣfān Muḥammad learns of the opposition of the Quraysh to his plans and decides to take a different route.¹⁹ The camel stops and refuses to go any further. Muḥammad revives the dry well.²⁰ Negotiations with the Quraysh are held; the Quraysh send delegates to Muḥammad, but not vice versa. In the order of their arrival the delegates are Budayl b. Warqā’ al-Khuzā’ī,²¹ Mikraz b. Ḥaḥṣ,²² al-Ḥulays b. ‘Alqama,²³ and ‘Urwa b. Mas‘ūd al-Thaqafī.²⁴ Suhayl b. ‘Amr comes to conclude a treaty. ‘Umar protests against the treaty.²⁵ The treaty comprises the following points: a ten-year truce; a one-sided obligation for the Muslims to surrender fugitives from Mecca to the Quraysh; an agreement of mutual reconciliation and refrainment from war (*‘ayba makfūfa*),²⁶ and an agreement that there shall be no

¹⁸ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 306; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 1529; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 323.

¹⁹ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 309; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 1530 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* IV, 323. Here, one of the most important discrepancies can be observed: In the versions of Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī the tradition is interrupted after the question “*man rajulun yakhruju binā ‘alā tariqin ghayri tariqihim allatī hum bihā?*” A different tradition by ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr is quoted which contains an answer to this question: “*anā yā rasūla llāh.*” Ibn Ḥanbal does not report this passage. This question certainly is not part of al-Zuhrī’s tradition, since it only makes sense in connection with the following answer. Ibn Ishāq seems to have changed the tradition of al-Zuhrī to incorporate it into a coherent narrative. Since two of Ibn Ishāq’s students transmit this passage, it indeed does seem to go back to Ibn Ishāq. Whether the other variant goes back to Ibn Ishāq as well or whether Ibn Ḥanbal (or his source) eliminated this inconsistency cannot be established here.

²⁰ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 310; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 1522; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 323.

²¹ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 311 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 323.

²² Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 312; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 324.

²³ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 312; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 1538; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 324.

²⁴ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 313 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 324. Another discrepancy can be observed here: Ibn Ḥanbal reports that Khirāsh b. Umayya and ‘Uthmān are sent to Mecca. Ibn Hishām cites this report with a different *isnād*.

²⁵ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 316 f.; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 1545 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 325; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 221. Al-Bayhaqī does not mention the protests.

²⁶ See Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863-93, s.v. *‘y-b*.

raids against each other (*lā islāl wa-lā ighlāl*);²⁷ every tribe is free to form an alliance with either Muḥammad or the Quraysh; the Muslims have to retreat this time but may enter Mecca in the following year for three days.²⁸ After the signing of the treaty Abū Jandal flees to Muḥammad in chains, but is surrendered to his father Suhayl.²⁹ The witnesses of the treaty are named and ‘Alī is mentioned as the one who wrote down the treaty.³⁰ After the treaty Muḥammad performs the sacrificial rites; his Companions follow his example. On the way back to Medina the whole of Q 48 is revealed to Muḥammad.³¹ The passage ends with al-Zuhrī’s remark that there has been no greater victory than this in the history of Islam. In the two years between al-Ḥudaybiya and the conquest of Mecca more people converted to Islam than ever before.³² Then follows the story of Abū Baṣīr.³³ Finally the events surrounding the women’s flight to Medina are recounted. They are not surrendered because of the revelation of Q 60:10.³⁴ This passage is not recounted on the authority of al-Miswar and Marwān but is part of a letter of ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr to Ibn Abī Hunayda,³⁵ a companion of the caliph al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

In addition to the four long versions, there are some ten short versions going back to Ibn Ishāq.³⁶ As in the long versions, there are

²⁷ Lane’s translation of *lā islāl wa-lā ighlāl* as “there shall be no treachery, or perfidy and no bribe or: and no stealing” does not seem to be correct. H. Motzki has pointed out to me in a private communication that both *islāl* and *ighlāl* can have the meaning “campaign”, which seems to fit much better. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *s-l-l*. In the following, only the Arabic terms are used.

²⁸ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 317 f.; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 1546 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 325; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 221 f., 227. In al-Ṭabarī’s version the writing down of the treaty and the next two passages are reported with a different *isnād* (Burayda—Sufyān b. Farwa al-Aslamī—Muḥammad b. Ka’b al-Qurazī—‘Alqama b. Qays al-Nakha’ī—‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib) while in the other versions this is part of al-Zuhrī’s tradition. Al-Bayhaqī gives a different order for the elements of the treaty. The freedom to form alliances is not mentioned in his version.

²⁹ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 318 f.; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 1547 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 325 f.; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 227.

³⁰ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 319; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 1548.

³¹ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 319 ff.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 326.

³² Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 322; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 1550 f. In this and the following passage al-Ṭabarī records the same *isnād* going back to al-Zuhrī as the other versions.

³³ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 323 f.; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 1551 f.; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 229.

³⁴ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 326 f.

³⁵ Thus Ibn Hishām. Al-Wāqidi and Ibn Sa’d, who also mention this letter, have Hunayd.

³⁶ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, XIV, 434; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 15:168.2; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 351 f.; Abū ‘Ubayd, *Amwāl*, 157; Wāhidī, *Asbāb*, 285 (on Q 48), 318 (on Q 60);

some differences in wording and in the names of the original narrators. Nevertheless, the short versions are close enough to the long ones to confirm that the *asānīd* are basically correct. In one of al-Bayhaqī’s versions the *isnād* for the parts which in other versions only go back to al-Zuhrī or Ibn Ishāq seems to have been extended to al-Miswar and Marwān.³⁷

At first sight it may seem surprising how much the versions going back to Ibn Ishāq differ from each other. Some parts have different *asānīd*, and the order of elements differs slightly, such as in the clauses of the treaty. Smaller differences are common: different prepositions, omission of single words, omission of parts of a name, use of religious salutations such as *ṣallā llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam*, *radiya llāhu ‘anhu*, etc.; in some variants whole sentences are omitted. As to the distribution of these differences, it could not be established that some versions are closer to each other than other versions. This indicates that these most probably go back to the same source (Ibn Ishāq) independently of one another. Otherwise we would expect the versions dependent on each other to be closer to one another than to the rest.

In contrast to his predecessors, Ibn Ishāq composed a book in the stricter meaning of the word. We might therefore expect a written transmission by him. However, the observed differences cannot be explained in terms of written transmission alone. Schoeler accounts for the discrepancies in the different *riwāyāt* by assuming that Ibn Ishāq continued to transmit his work orally in lectures even after its written composition.³⁸ Under such circumstances, various causes may have led to the different versions handed down by his students: different renderings by Ibn Ishāq at diverse *majālis*, different compositions by his students, or different transmissions from them to their students.³⁹ The proposed combination of written and oral transmission explains adequately the emergence of the different versions.

Ma‘mar b. Rāshid’s recension

The next version to be studied is that of Ma‘mar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770). There are fewer variants of his version than of Ibn Ishāq’s.

Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVI, 59; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 223, 228, 229.

³⁷ Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 223.

³⁸ G. Schoeler, “Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im frühen Islam”, in *Der Islam*, 62 (1985), 212.

³⁹ G. Schoeler, “Weiteres zur Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im Islam”, in *Der Islam*, 66 (1989), 39.

The long versions fall into two strands: one transmitted by ‘Abd al-Razzāq (recorded by ‘Abd al-Razzāq,⁴⁰ al-Bukhārī,⁴¹ Ibn Ḥanbal,⁴² and al-Bayhaqī⁴³), and the other by Muḥammad b. Thawr (recorded by Abū Dāwūd,⁴⁴ and in the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī⁴⁵). In his *Taʾrīkh*, al-Ṭabarī names ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak as the authority in addition to Muḥammad b. Thawr⁴⁶ (see Figure B on p. 273: The traditions going back to Ma‘mar).

These versions are closer to one another than those of Ibn Ishāq. Not all of the versions are complete but the order of the elements is the same in all of them. The most complete versions are those of ‘Abd al-Razzāq, al-Ṭabarī’s *Tafsīr*, Ibn Ḥanbal, and al-Bayhaqī. There are some differences (mostly different prepositions, the use of “*nabī*” instead of “*rasūlu llāh*”, omission of single words), but these do not bring into question the existence of a written prototype by Ma‘mar. Some of the discrepancies can be clearly identified as copying mistakes, such as *fāṣala*⁴⁷ instead of *qāḍā*⁴⁸ or *min qiṣṣatihī*⁴⁹ instead of *min qaḍiyatin*.⁵⁰ In these cases the graphemes are similar, accounting for mistakes in copying. The discrepancies occur mainly between the two strands mentioned (through ‘Abd al-Razzāq on the one hand and through Muḥammad b. Thawr on the other) and not within these strands. In any case, these variants are more homogenous than those of Ibn Ishāq’s version.

Ma‘mar’s account of the events of al-Ḥudaybiya differs from Ibn Ishāq’s in some points: The number of the Companions is given as several hundred. No mention is made of peaceful intentions. At Dhū l-Ḥulayfa Muḥammad and his companions enter the *iḥrām* and put collars on the necks of their sacrificial animals. Muḥammad sends a scout. At ‘Usfān this scout reports that the Quraysh have summoned their allies to prevent Muḥammad from entering the sanctuary. The Muslims discuss what to do. Abū Bakr states that they have come to

make an ‘*umra* and not to fight.⁵¹ Muḥammad remarks that Khālīd b. al-Walīd is at Ghamīm with men on horseback from the Quraysh. He decides to take a different route. At al-Ḥudaybiya Muḥammad’s camel stops and refuses to go any further, which he interprets as a divine sign. The camp is set up. Muḥammad revives the dry well. The order of the delegates of the Quraysh is slightly different from the one reported by Ibn Ishāq. The first delegate is Budayl b. Warqā’ (as with Ibn Ishāq), then follows ‘Urwa b. Mas‘ūd (Ibn Ishāq: fourth place), with a report similar to Ibn Ishāq’s. The next delegate is a man from Kināna; his report is similar to Ibn Ishāq’s report of al-Ḥulays. Finally comes Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ (Ibn Ishāq: second place). Suhayl arrives to conclude the treaty. There are also some differences in the treaty compared with Ibn Ishāq’s version. The Muslims protest against the changes that Suhayl demands in the formulations. The changes are nevertheless made by order of Muḥammad. The treaty comprises only two points: the ‘*umra* which is to be held in the following year and the clause of the surrender of the fugitives (which provokes the Muslims’ protest). No truce is mentioned. When Abū Jandal is surrendered, Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ agrees to protect him. ‘Umar’s protest takes place only after the treaty and the surrender. No witnesses are named. It is not specified who put the treaty in writing. Muḥammad orders his Companions to perform the sacrificial rites, which they do only after Muḥammad follows the advice of Umm Salama and sets an example. While the Muslims are still at al-Ḥudaybiya, some women flee from Mecca to join them. Q 60:10 is revealed and they are not sent back. ‘Umar divorces two of his wives. The events surrounding Abū Baṣīr are recounted. After the Quraysh ask Muḥammad to allow him into Medina, Q 48:24-26 is revealed.

Several shorter versions of Ma‘mar’s account exist.⁵² The wording is in almost all cases the same as in the corresponding passages of the long versions. In two cases the tradition is reported on the authority of a different original narrator: Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Ṭabarī each record a tradition going back to ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak—Ma‘mar—al-

⁴⁰ ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 330 ff.

⁴¹ Bukhārī, *Jāmi*, 54:15.

⁴² Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 328 ff.

⁴³ Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 218 ff.

⁴⁴ Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 15:168.1.

⁴⁵ Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVI, 56-58 (on Q 48:24).

⁴⁶ Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1529, 1534-38, 1539, 1549 f., 1551 f., 1553.

⁴⁷ ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 338.

⁴⁸ Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVI, 57.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁵⁰ ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 340.

⁵¹ ‘Abd al-Razzāq does not mention Abū Bakr in his *Muṣannaf*. However, he is mentioned in the other variants, including those going back to ‘Abd al-Razzāq. In al-Bukhārī’s version this passage is missing. However, al-Bukhārī quotes this passage in a different chapter (*Jāmi*, 64:36.28).

⁵² Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 327 and 331; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVI, 58; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, VII, 181, IX, 228, X, 109; Bukhārī, *Jāmi*, 25:175.1 and 107.1; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 39:9.24; Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 24:62; see also Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, VIII, 372, 374, 383.

Zuhrī—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad.⁵³ This tradition reports the events surrounding Abū Baṣīr and, in al-Ṭabarī's variant, also records 'Umar's protest. The two variants are identical in wording in the corresponding passages and differ slightly from the wording of the other versions.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's recension

A third long version going back to al-Zuhrī exists alongside those of Ibn Ishāq and Ma'mar, namely, that of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 162/778-9). Only one version of his account exists.⁵⁴ (I exclude a short version transmitted by Ibn Sa'd which has nothing in common with the long version.⁵⁵) Therefore, the conclusions derived from this version have to be treated with caution, for the lack of parallel versions makes it impossible to determine which elements go back to which stage in the course of transmission.

On the whole the structure of his tradition resembles those of Ma'mar and Ibn Ishāq, although there are some clear discrepancies. The wording differs remarkably from the other versions. The outline of his account is as follows: Muḥammad marches off to Mecca with 1,800 Companions. He sends a scout, a member of the Banū Khuẓā'a. At Ghadīr, at 'Uṣfān, this scout reports that the Quraysh have called upon their Aḥābīsh to fight with them and that they have freed their slaves and offered them *khazīr*.⁵⁶ Muḥammad remarks that Khālid b. al-Walīd is at Ghamīm. Thus, he decides to make a detour via Balḍaḥ. The camel stops and refuses to go any further, which Muḥammad interprets as a divine sign. Muḥammad revives the dry well using an arrow. The order of the delegates is the same as that reported by Ma'mar, but al-Ḥulays is mentioned by name in contrast to Ma'mar's report. The Muslims protest against the changes in the formulation. 'Umar's protest is mentioned before the contents of the treaty (as in Ibn Ishāq's report). He protests at first with Muḥammad, then with Abū Bakr (as in Ma'mar's report). As in Ma'mar's report, the treaty comprises only the clauses concerning the surrender of fugitives and the pilgrimage. This part displays the largest differences

with the other versions. According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, each side has to surrender the other side's fugitives. Both the surrender of Abū Jandal and the events surrounding Abū Baṣīr are reported at this point. Afterwards the *'umra* is treated, which the Quraysh insist on taking place the next year. Then follows the order to perform the sacrificial rites, which is obeyed only after Muḥammad follows Umm Salama's advice to set an example. The tradition ends with two statements of al-Zuhrī: he reports that seventy sacrificial animals were slaughtered, and that the booty of Khaybar was divided into eighteen parts, one part for each hundred men of those present at al-Ḥudaybiya.

'Abd al-Raḥmān's version displays certain significant differences with the versions Ibn Ishāq and Ma'mar transmitted from al-Zuhrī. In addition to the differences concerning the clause of surrender in the treaty, there is an important variation in the position (with respect to the other elements) of the story of Abū Baṣīr and the absence of the story of the women coming to Medina. The latter might be due to this version being incomplete. On the other hand, in some parts the wording is identical to the versions of Ma'mar or Ibn Ishāq.

Other versions

In addition to these three long versions, a number of shorter versions going back to al-Zuhrī exist (see Figure C on p. 274: The traditions going back to al-Zuhrī). Several of these short traditions go back to Sufyān (b. 'Uyayna)—al-Zuhrī.⁵⁷ All of these versions are similar in wording to the beginning of Ma'mar's version. As they consist only of a few sentences, it is impossible to draw far-reaching conclusions from them. It seems probable, however, that Ma'mar and Sufyān transmitted identical versions of al-Zuhrī. Possibly Sufyān took (at least part of) his version from Ma'mar, as is suggested in one tradition.⁵⁸

The other short versions all deal with the revelation of Q 60:10 and the women coming to Muḥammad after the treaty was signed.⁵⁹ Parts

⁵³ Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 331; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVI, 58.

⁵⁴ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, XIV, 444.

⁵⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 168.

⁵⁶ A dish made of meat and flour (see E. Fagnan, *Abou Yousof Ya'koub. Le Livre de l'impôt foncier* (Kitāb el-Kharādj), trans. into French and comm. E. Fagnan, Paris, 1921, 320).

⁵⁷ Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, V, 235; Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 323, 328; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, XIV, 440; Bukhārī, *Jāmi'*, 64:36.10 and 36.28; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 11:15.3.

⁵⁸ In general al-Zuhrī's students transmit his traditions with different wordings (*riwāya bi-l-mā'nā*). Therefore, when two of his students give the same wording, it may be a sign that one copied the tradition from the other one. That is especially likely in this case, given Sufyān's explicit reference to the corroboration of his version by Ma'mar (*hafīztu ba'dahu wa-thabbatāni Ma'mar*; Bukhārī, *Jāmi'*, 64:36.28).

⁵⁹ Bukhārī, *Jāmi'*, 54:1 and 15, 64:36.29; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, VII, 170 f., IX, 228.

of these versions are reported on the authority of 'Urwa—his aunt, 'Ā'isha. One of these traditions⁶⁰ includes a statement of 'Ā'isha about the *bay'at* of the women, which is interesting insofar as the *bay'at al-nisā'*, which is based on Q 60:12, is usually connected with the meetings of 'Aqaba.⁶¹ A letter by 'Urwa in response to a question by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik also deals with Q 60:10 and the corresponding events. Ibn Ishāq reports part of it; longer versions are recorded by al-Wāqidi⁶² and Ibn Sa'd.⁶³ The latter also has another version of 'Abd al-Raḥmān going back only to al-Zuhrī.⁶⁴

Summary: al-Zuhrī's tradition

Let us summarize the results which can be derived from the study of the versions going back to al-Zuhrī. The order of the elements in the different long versions is roughly the same: Departure (element c of the standard version), the Muslims' realization that the Quraysh intend to prevent them from entering Mecca (e), detour via al-Ḥudaybiya, the camel's refusal to go any further (f), scarceness of water (g), negotiations with the Quraysh (h), treaty (j/k), Abū Jandal (l), sacrifice and shaving (m), Abū Baṣīr (o), and the women (p). The episode of the women is sometimes mentioned before that of Abū Baṣīr; it is altogether absent from 'Abd al-Raḥmān's version. Additionally, Ibn Ishāq reports the revelation of Q 48 (n), and Ma'mar mentions entering the *iḥrām* (b).

While the broad outline is the same, there are differences in details. The order of the delegates is different, and 'Umar's protest takes place at different points of time. In 'Abd al-Raḥmān's version the episodes of Abū Jandal and Abū Baṣīr are combined. There are discrepancies in content as well. The number of Companions is several hundred in Ma'mar's version, seven hundred in Ibn Ishāq's, and eighteen hundred in 'Abd al-Raḥmān's. This discrepancy can be explained as follows: 'Abd al-Raḥmān constructs a connection between the participants of al-Ḥudaybiya and the booty of Khaybar, which, according to other reports, was divided into eighteen parts and was distributed among those who took part in the campaign of al-

Ḥudaybiya.⁶⁵ Ibn Ishāq's number of seven hundred, on the other hand, appears to be an instance of the often symbolic significance of the number seven in the Islamic literature.⁶⁶ Another crucial discrepancy is the clause concerning the surrender of fugitives. 'Abd al-Raḥmān describes it as a mutual obligation, while all the other reports describe it as a unilateral obligation of the Muslims. It seems probable that 'Abd al-Raḥmān or his student Khālid b. Makhlad tried to make the report more favorable to the Muslims. The large number of reports with the unilateral obligation make it highly improbable that the obligation was originally mutual. Moreover, it would be difficult to explain how a forgery to the Muslims' disadvantage could become so widely acknowledged. The variants differ too much to allow a reconstruction of the wording of al-Zuhrī's report. However, the elements mentioned above, except those mentioned only by Ibn Ishāq or Ma'mar, certainly go back to al-Zuhrī.

The study of the *asānīd* yields further conclusions. Most of al-Zuhrī's traditions go back to 'Urwa—al-Miswar and Marwān, while some only to al-Miswar. There are indications that 'Urwa combined different reports into a single narrative. For example, some elements subsumed in the long tradition ascribed to al-Miswar and Marwān may go back to 'Ā'isha as the original narrator, particularly those dealing with the events connected to the revelation of Q 60:10 and the women's flight to Muḥammad after the truce. These elements also appear as independent traditions with 'Ā'isha as the original narrator, and in some variants of the al-Miswar and Marwān tradition, 'Ā'isha is named as the narrator of these elements. The same applies to al-Zuhrī, who probably not only used 'Urwa's report but also used information from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad. In some of the long versions, which are ascribed only to al-Miswar and Marwān, these reports are included. Possibly, originally independent reports were conflated in this case, leading to the loss of the various *asānīd* except for the one going back to al-Miswar and Marwān.

⁶⁵ E.g. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 349 f.

⁶⁶ See L.I. Conrad, "Seven and the *Tasbī'*: On the Implication of Numerical Symbolism for the Study of Medieval Islamic History", in *JESHO*, 31 (1988), for example, 48: "In *ḥadīth* there are many more examples [...] that illustrate how seven-symbolism was used to indicate a large number in a general way, or to suggest the presence of divine influence in the course of human affairs." Both motives may be at work in this case.

⁶⁰ Bukhārī, *Jāmi'*, 54:1; cf. Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 228.

⁶¹ E.g. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I, 431-34, especially 434.

⁶² Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, II, 631.

⁶³ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 6-7.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 168.

A similar observation holds in the case of Ibn Ishāq's traditions. In some variants parts of his tradition from al-Miswar and Marwān are transmitted with *asānīd* going back to narrators other than al-Miswar and Marwān. Most probably *asānīd* have been lost in these cases, therefore combining originally separated reports and making of them a single tradition.

Motzki observed similar phenomena in a different tradition. He observed two processes: (a) loss of *asānīd*: Two originally separate traditions are combined into one, but only one of the *asānīd* survives;⁶⁷ (b) growth of *asānīd*: A combined report is transmitted on the authority of the composer of the combined report, on the one hand, and on the authority of one of the original narrators, on the other hand.⁶⁸

2. Hishām b. 'Urwa's tradition

We have reconstructed the contents of al-Zuhrī's tradition, an account which was in circulation about one hundred years after the events it describes. The contents of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr's account, which was closer to the events by one generation, can be reconstructed as well. To that end we will study the versions going back to 'Urwa independently from al-Zuhrī and compare them with the account of al-Zuhrī.

Let us first consider the tradition of Hishām (d. 146/763), the son of 'Urwa (see Figure D on p. 275: The traditions going back to 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr). His report is recorded by Ibn Abī Shayba⁶⁹ and by Abū Yūsuf.⁷⁰ Ibn Abī Shayba's version is incomplete, amounting to approximately two-thirds of Abū Yūsuf's version. Since the two versions are to a large degree identical in wording, we can conclude that Hishām had a written version. Abū Yūsuf names Ibn Ishāq and al-Kalbī as his sources in addition to Hishām b. 'Urwa.⁷¹ However, the wording mostly follows that of Hishām as recorded by Ibn Abī Shayba.

There are some considerable discrepancies with al-Zuhrī's version. Hishām dates the events in Shawwāl, whereas in the later Islamic

historical tradition Dhū l-Qa'da is generally accepted as the date for the events. Hishām does not mention the number of Companions taking part in the campaign. At 'Usfān, some men⁷² of the Banū Ka'b report that the Quraysh have assembled their Aḥābīsh and offered them *khazīr* with the intention of hindering Muḥammad from reaching Mecca. After leaving 'Usfān, the Muslims encounter Khālid b. al-Walīd and therefore make a detour via Ghamīm. They discuss whether to march towards Mecca or to attack the Aḥābīsh. Abū Bakr convinces Muḥammad to march directly towards Mecca. Al-Miqdād remarks that, in contrast to the Jews, the Muslims would not have their Prophet fight alone. At the boundary of the *ḥaram* the camel stops and refuses to go any further, which Muḥammad interprets as a divine sign. Another detour is made via Dhāt al-Ḥanzal to al-Ḥudaybiya. Muḥammad revives the dry well using an arrow. The order of the delegates differs significantly from the traditions of al-Zuhrī, and some names are different. While in al-Zuhrī's traditions one of the delegates is named Ḥulays, in this tradition it is a man from the Banū Ḥulays (or Banū Ḥils). Budayl b. Warqā' is not mentioned at all. The first delegate is the above-mentioned man from the Banū Ḥulays/Ḥils. Then follows 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd. Mikraz b. Ḥaḥḥ and Suhayl together negotiate with Muḥammad to conclude a treaty. The treaty comprises more issues than Ma'mar's version, among others the clauses *lā islāl wa-lā ighlāl* and *'ayba makfūfa*,⁷³ but no truce is mentioned. As in Ibn Ishāq's version, no protests by the Muslims against the changing of the formulations are recorded. As in Ma'mar's version, Mikraz b. Ḥaḥḥ agrees to protect Abū Jandal. The remaining passages are recorded by Abū Yūsuf only, therefore we cannot establish whether they go back to Hishām, to al-Kalbī, or to Ibn Ishāq. What follows are the episodes of sacrificing and shaving, of Abū Baṣīr, who in this version flees to Dhū l-Ḥulayfa after Muḥammad refuses to allow him into Medina, and of the women in connection with the revelation of Q 60:10. Abū Yūsuf's account continues with the conquest of Mecca after mentioning that the treaty was observed until the Banū Bakr violated it.

⁶⁷ H. Motzki, "Der Fiqh des -Zuhrī: die Quellenproblematik", in *Der Islam*, 68 (1991), 39.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 34-38.

⁶⁹ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, XXIV, 429.

⁷⁰ Abū Yūsuf, *Khara'ij*, 128-30.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁷² According to Ibn Abī Shayba only one.

⁷³ On these terms, see note 26.

3. *Abū l-Aswad's tradition*

In addition to Hishām b. 'Urwa's version, there is another tradition that goes back to 'Urwa independently of al-Zuhrī: That of Abū l-Aswad (d. 131/748). It is recorded by Abū 'Ubayd,⁷⁴ al-Balādhurī,⁷⁵ Ibn Kathīr,⁷⁶ and above all by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, who gives by far the longest variant.⁷⁷ Al-Balādhurī has an abridged version of the traditions by Abū 'Ubayd. These versions, as well as that of Ibn Kathīr, have an *isnād* going back to Ibn Lahī'a—Abū l-Aswad, while Ibn Ḥajar does not give an *isnād*. All versions are reported on the authority of 'Urwa as the original narrator. Only fragments of Abū l-Aswad's account are extant; these show considerable differences with all the other versions studied. By combining all the fragments, we arrive at the following account:

The events are dated to Dhū l-Qa'da of the year 6/628.⁷⁸ After it is reported that the road is blocked by the Quraysh, Muḥammad asks if anybody knows a road to the coast, eliciting one man's affirmative response.⁷⁹ The Muslims reach al-Ḥudaybiya in the hot weather. There they have access to only one well.⁸⁰ Muḥammad rinses his mouth, pours the water into the well and stirs with an arrow, whereupon the well overflows with water.⁸¹ Two of the associates of the first delegate, Budayl b. Warqā', are named: Khārīja b. Karz and Yazīd b. Umayya.⁸² 'Uthmān is sent to Mecca to tell the Muslims there that their freedom (*faraj*) is near.⁸³ Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba tries to hide from one of the delegates, 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd.⁸⁴ While negotiations take place between Suhayl and Muḥammad, someone from one of the parties throws a stone at the other party. The parties clash due to this incident. The Quraysh take 'Uthmān and his associates hostage, as do the Muslims Suhayl and his associates. At this point the *bay'a* takes

place under a tree; the Muslims pledge not to flee. The Quraysh learn about this and are frightened by God (*ar'abahum Allāh*). Thereupon the treaty is concluded. Q 48:24 is revealed on this occasion.⁸⁵ The treaty comprises a truce for four years, the clause of the surrender of fugitives and the phrase *lā islāl wa-lā ighlāl*. In addition, it is agreed that Muslims coming to Mecca for a *hajj* or *'umra* or on the way south shall be safe, as shall be the Quraysh passing by Medina on the way to Syria or the east (*mashriq*). The Banū Ka'b enter into an alliance with Muḥammad, as do the Banū Kināna with the Quraysh.⁸⁶ Abū Jandal flees to Muḥammad,⁸⁷ but is handed over to the Quraysh. Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ promises to protect him and accompanies him to a tent.⁸⁸ Muḥammad orders that the animals be sacrificed. The Muslims attempt to drive them to the *haram* but are prevented from doing so by the Quraysh. Therefore, Muḥammad orders that they be sacrificed outside the *haram*.⁸⁹ Abū Baṣīr is surrendered to two delegates from the Quraysh, but kills one of them and escapes.⁹⁰ Abū Jandal flees from Mecca with seventy Muslim men on horseback to join Abū Baṣīr. They camp near Dhū l-Marwa and raid caravans of the Quraysh that pass by. They avoid going to Medina in order not to be handed over to the Quraysh. The Quraysh send Abū Sufyān to Muḥammad to make him take them in. The clause of the surrender of fugitives is nullified (*wa-man kharaja minnā ilayka fa-huwa laka ḥalālun ghayru ḥarajin*). Muḥammad takes in the rebels.⁹¹

This version is in large parts incompatible with the other traditions going back to 'Urwa. While some elements do occur in the other versions, there are many elements that are unique in this tradition. We do not know the path of transmission for most parts of the tradition. In the short parts which are supplied with *asānīd*, the name of Ibn Lahī'a, a weak traditionist according to *rijāl* critics, stands out.⁹²

⁷⁴ Abū 'Ubayd, *Amwāl*, 156.

⁷⁵ Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 351.

⁷⁶ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, IV, 164.

⁷⁷ Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, VI, 258 ff. A'zamī in his compilation of the *maghāzī* of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr (in the *riwāya* of Abū l-Aswad) does not include this tradition of Ibn Ḥajar but has a different tradition of his. See 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, *Maghāzī*, 192 f.

⁷⁸ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, IV, 164.

⁷⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, VI, 259 f.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 261.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 262.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 266.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 271; cf. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, *Maghāzī*, 192 f. Abū 'Ubayd only records the *bay'a* and the revelation. See Abū 'Ubayd, *Amwāl*, 156. In al-Balādhurī's version, this part of Abū 'Ubayd's tradition is missing altogether.

⁸⁶ Abū 'Ubayd, *Amwāl*, 156.

⁸⁷ Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, VI, 271.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 274 f.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 278.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 279.

⁹² G. Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*, Berlin, New York, 1996, 85; see also G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of early Hadīth*, Cambridge, 1983, 110 and 155.

Possibly he is responsible for this version. There are several indications that Abū l-Aswad's traditions do not go back to 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr or, at least, include material from other sources as well. Firstly, these additional elements are never reported on the authority of 'Urwa in any other tradition. They do occur in accounts about al-Ḥudaybiya, but not in those going back to 'Urwa. Parallels to other accounts can be shown. For instance, the motif of the scarceness of water at al-Ḥudaybiya displays many similarities with al-Wāqidi's account.⁹³ Both al-Wāqidi and Abū l-Aswad⁹⁴ mention the intense heat (*harr shadīd*) at al-Ḥudaybiya. The Quraysh occupy all but one well (al-Wāqidi: *innamā hiya bi'r wāhida, wa-qad sabaqa l-mushrikūn (...)* 'alā miyāhikā; Abū l-Aswad: *wa-sabaqat Quraysh ilā l-mā' (...)* *wa-laysa bihā illā bi'r wāhida*); Muḥammad rinses his mouth (*maḍmaḍa*) and pours the water into the well (*ṣabbahu fī l-bi'r*) before stirring with an arrow, as is familiar from the other versions. In these cases the versions of Abū l-Aswad and al-Wāqidi closely correspond to each other in both content and wording. It is therefore probable that they are not unconnected to each other. None of the major *ḥadīth* collections records Abū l-Aswad's version, nor do the important historiographical works, apart from Ibn Kathīr's citation of the date (Dhū l-Qa'da) on Abū l-Aswad's authority. It is not the only case in which a tradition of Abū l-Aswad does not match the other versions: Schoeler observed a similar problem in a different tradition. In that case, too, a variant going back to Ibn Lahī'a—Abū l-Aswad shows considerable discrepancies with the other versions.⁹⁵ Parts of Abū l-Aswad's tradition display embellishments, which might signify that the tradition is late.

Considering these facts, it seems probable that this tradition does not go back to 'Urwa. While it may include elements from 'Urwa's account, these cannot be separated from elements imported from other traditions.

4. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr's tradition: results

To reconstruct the contents of 'Urwa's account, we therefore have two versions at our disposal: Those of Hishām b. 'Urwa and al-Zuhrī. As these versions have been shown to be independent of each other,

⁹³ Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, II, 577.

⁹⁴ Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-bārī*, VI, 261 f.

⁹⁵ Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*, 81-85.

elements that occur in both most probably go back to 'Urwa. These elements are: departure (c); information about Khālid b. al-Walīd (e); detour via al-Ḥudaybiya where the camel stops and refuses to go any further (f); initial scarceness and subsequent replenishment of water (g); different delegates of the Quraysh (h); conclusion of the treaty with Suhayl (j); as elements of the treaty: the clause of the surrender of fugitives, probably the agreement on an 'umra in the following year, possibly the agreement on freedom of forming alliances (parts of k); Abū Jandal (l); sacrifice and shaving (m); Abū Baṣīr (o) and the revelation of Q 60:10 in connection with the women fleeing to Muḥammad (p). In all likelihood, some other elements go back to 'Urwa, since they can be found in some traditions of both al-Zuhrī and Hishām, for example, Mikraz's protection of Abū Jandal and the phrases *lā islāl wa-lā ighlāl* and 'ayba *makfūfa*.

'Urwa is the most famous of the early scholars dealing with *maghāzī*. Therefore, we may presume that his account reflects what was in circulation about al-Ḥudaybiya in the second half of the first century AH. His account, however, need not necessarily be a description of what really happened. Changes may have occurred in the process of transmission from the eyewitnesses to 'Urwa.⁹⁶

'Urwa's account is not homogenous but is composed of several shorter reports. This is indicated by the fact that some elements were transmitted separately, in some cases with different *asānīd*, and that the order of elements differs in the different variants. In the long versions these separate accounts have been concatenated, using formulae such as *thumma* (then) to connect the reports. At least some of these concatenations are due to 'Urwa himself, as al-Zuhrī and Hishām record the same elements mostly in the same order. It is impossible to say whether the different elements originally belonged together.⁹⁷ Since we do not have any other reports that draw on 'Urwa's sources, it is impossible to determine what redactional changes 'Urwa made when composing his account, whether he made abridgments or harmonized contradictory accounts. Thus, it is diffi-

⁹⁶ Cf. S. Leder, "The Literary Use of the *Khabar*: A Basic Form of Historical Writing", in A. Cameron and L.I. Conrad, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, I: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, Princeton, 1992, 278 f.

⁹⁷ Cf. A. Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study*, Princeton, 1994, 176.

cult to delve any farther back into the half century or so that separates ‘Urwa from the events.

A study of ‘Urwa’s material raises considerable doubts about whether his account describes what really happened. The Prophet’s image is already transfigured. He miraculously revives the well. Miracles in connection with water are a common motif in the legendary literature about Muḥammad and are encountered in various instances.⁹⁸ ‘Urwa b. Mas‘ūd is quoted as not having seen any ruler whose men honor him as Muḥammad’s Companions honor Muḥammad. This is further embellished in Ibn Ishāq’s version.⁹⁹ These glorifications and transfigurations can be observed in the earliest versions, making it difficult to determine what really happened.

Besides, signs of formalization call into question the historicity of the events. Geminations and triplications occur in all the versions, making it probable that ‘Urwa’s account already showed some formalization. For example, ‘Umar’s protest consists of three questions posed twice, the Muslims are ordered three times to perform the sacrificial rites before they obey, and the delegates of the Quraysh are addressed with the same formulae every time.

The *dramatis personae* on the Muslim side are the later caliphs Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, and al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba, which could signify a later construction. In Ibn Ishāq’s version ‘Alī is given a major role, a late development due probably to Ibn Ishāq himself. Here, at least three influences may have shaped the tradition. The “rightly guided” caliphs were regarded as models by subsequent generations.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, in the understanding of these generations, they must have played major roles in almost every incident. The mention of ‘Alī might be a politically motivated attempt to legitimize and bolster his claim to the caliphate. Finally, it was common to use well-known names to enhance the credibility of traditions.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 527; cf. T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm, 1918, 47 f.; J. Horowitz, “Zur Muḥammad-legende”, in *Der Islam*, 5 (1914), 47.

⁹⁹ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 314. In the traditions that go back to al-Zuhrī more legendary material can be found than in Hishām b. ‘Urwa’s version.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Noth, *The Early ... Tradition*, 80, also 138-42.

¹⁰¹ See Noth, *The Early ... Tradition*, 111-29, especially 128; see also R. Paret, *Die legendäre Maghāzī-Literatur: Arabische Dichtungen über die muslimischen Kriegszüge zu Moham-meds Zeit*, Tübingen, 1930, 190-211, especially 202.

In previous studies, parallels between some elements of the al-Ḥudaybiya tradition and biblical or other stories have been shown.¹⁰² Certain other elements seem to be *topoi*, i.e., they recur frequently in Muslim traditions. We have observed this already in the case of the water miracle. Ibn Ishāq mentions that the Quraysh sent two hundred men on horseback to Kurā‘ al-Ghamīm near ‘Uṣfān. On a different occasion, the Muslims are said to have gone to ‘Uṣfān with two hundred men on horseback and to have sent two scouts to Kurā‘ al-Ghamīm.¹⁰³ Among the participants in the campaign against Khay-bar, again, two hundred men on horseback are said to have been present.¹⁰⁴ It seems that part of the al-Ḥudaybiya account was composed by adjoining motifs that are more or less independent of (and not in the first instance connected to) al-Ḥudaybiya.

Having seen how the tradition was influenced by later redactions and opinions, the question remains as to what factual historical events, if any, can be extracted from it. Here we have to take into account that this study focuses on the tradition of ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, which is part of what has become the “canonical” tradition. Possibly other reports existed which just failed to make it into the collections. Thus, trying to reconstruct historical facts from ‘Urwa’s version alone might yield misleading results. Nevertheless, I would hold that certain elements are in all probability based on historical events, especially those presenting the Muslims in an unfavorable manner or in a way that is contrary to usual patterns. Thus, we can quite safely assume that there was a treaty which comprised at least the clause of the surrender of fugitives, since there is no apparent motive which would account for its fabrication. It seems that extraditions actually did take place. The place name may be historical as well, especially as it has no specific meaning. However, the special location of the place¹⁰⁵ could signify a fabrication. Several of the other elements might have a historical core which, however, cannot be determined. The problem is that, as we have seen above, ‘Urwa’s account is a composite of different reports. Therefore some of the elements which seem to be historical (due to the absence of apparent motives for their fabrica-

¹⁰² Dubler/Quarella, “Ḥudaybiyya”, 74, 76; R. Sellheim, “Prophet. Chalif und Geschichte. Die Muhammed-Biographie des Ibn Ishāq”, in *Oriens*, 18-19 (1967), 64.

¹⁰³ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 280.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 350.

¹⁰⁵ At the border of the *ḥaram*. Cf. Dubler/Quarella, “Ḥudaybiyya”, 77.

tion) possibly do not belong to the original tradition about al-Ḥudaybiya. They may be later accretions or authentic reports about events other than al-Ḥudaybiya.

II. 'URWA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STANDARD ACCOUNT

The standard account outlined at the beginning of this article is based largely on 'Urwa's report. Several elements can be found only in his tradition. The standard account, however, comprises some elements which do not go back to 'Urwa. The origin of these motifs will be studied in the following. The study will shed some light on the development of the al-Ḥudaybiya tradition and hence on the development of the early historical tradition in general. As will be seen, the tradition was influenced by above all the Qur'ān and, to a lesser degree, the *ḥadīth*. The name al-Ḥudaybiya is not mentioned in the Qur'ān, but Q 48 is generally believed to have been revealed on that occasion.¹⁰⁶ In this *sūra* all the elements of the standard account missing in 'Urwa's tradition can be found, namely, the *bay'at al-riḍwān*, the Bedouin, and the dream Muḥammad has. The verses remain too vague, however, to allow a reconstruction of the events from the Qur'ān alone.

Verses 11, 12, 15, and 16 deal with the Bedouin. The information which can be derived from these verses is all we know about this element; there is no additional information in the Islamic historical tradition. Ibn Ishāq mentions the Bedouin in his introduction to the events of al-Ḥudaybiya, but they do not figure in any of the traditions he gives. Al-Wāqidī, too, mentions them without any *isnād*. Therefore, we do not know from where he got his information. Al-Ṭabarī only quotes Ibn Ishāq. There are no traditions in the *ḥadīth*-collections that mention the Bedouin. Therefore, it seems that this element was not originally included in the tradition, otherwise we would expect other traces of it in the Islamic historical tradition. The element, however, is not detectable in the al-Ḥudaybiya traditions before Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī. The same is true of the dream, alluded to in Q 48:27, which Muḥammad is said to have had before the campaign. 'Urwa does not mention it. It is mentioned in some traditions given by Ibn Ishāq, but

¹⁰⁶ Ali, "al-Ḥudaybiya", 54.

not in his introduction. Al-Wāqidī mentions it without giving an *isnād*. Al-Ṭabarī has only the tradition of Ibn Ishāq. Here, again, the Qur'ān seems to be the only source for this event. The verse does not even fit into the tradition well, since it states that the dream was already fulfilled.¹⁰⁷

Q 48:18-19 deals with the *bay'a*, which is said to be connected to al-Ḥudaybiya. There are numerous traditions about the *bay'a*. Thus, it seems strange that 'Urwa does not mention it. It is unlikely that these elements were originally included in 'Urwa's tradition and yet failed to make it to any of the extant variants. In none of the traditions of Hishām b. 'Urwa and al-Zuhrī is the *bay'a* mentioned. Nor is it, to my knowledge, ever reported on the authority of 'Urwa in any *ḥadīth*-collection, historical work, or Qur'ānic commentary, barring the dubious ascription to 'Urwa by Abū l-Aswad.¹⁰⁸

Did 'Urwa fail to notice these elements? That is highly improbable, since the *bay'a* forms an integral part of the story in the later historical tradition. Numerous traditions show the outstanding importance of the *bay'a*, whose participants shall not enter Hell¹⁰⁹ and regard the *bay'a* as the first *fath* (before the conquest of Mecca).¹¹⁰ It is hard to believe that 'Urwa's informants did not mention this event.

More likely the above-mentioned verses of Q 48 did not originally refer to the events reported by 'Urwa but were applied to them only later. It cannot be established whether they refer to another event at al-Ḥudaybiya, or why they were applied to the events of 'Urwa's report. The connection seems to have taken place in Ibn Ishāq's generation, or possibly already in al-Zuhrī's time. In Ma'mar's tradition from al-Zuhrī, at least one verse of the *sūra* is cited. The only Qur'ānic allusions that definitely go back to 'Urwa are those to Q 60:10.

Some other facts corroborate the proposed dissociation of the events described in Q 48—traditionally believed to refer to al-Ḥudaybiya—and the events reported by 'Urwa: In the sources surveyed practically no tradition combines the motifs of 'Urwa's account, such

¹⁰⁷ See *ibid.*, 54 f.

¹⁰⁸ See above on Abū l-Aswad's tradition.

¹⁰⁹ See for example Tirmidhī, *Jāmi'*, 46:132, 133.3,4 (in this case the difference between al-Mizzī's numbering and that of the edition used is considerable. In the latter the traditions are recorded under 46:58 and 59.3,4); Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 37:33.9; Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, III, 349, 350, 396.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Bukhārī, *Jāmi'*, 64:36.4; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVI, 40; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 223; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 166.

as the treaty, with any of the Qurʾānic elements. Al-Yaʿqūbī does not mention the *bayʿa* in his account of al-Ḥudaybiya.¹¹¹ There is a tradition which states that the Byzantines defeated the Persians on the day of al-Ḥudaybiya, and that its news reached the Prophet on the day of *bayʿat al-riḍwān*.¹¹² This would entail at least a two-week interval between the two days. Paret holds that at least Q 48:1 alludes to Badr and not to al-Ḥudaybiya.¹¹³ Rubin mentions traditions dealing with events that occur after the *fath* but while the Quraysh are still *mushrikūn*.¹¹⁴ Thus, he proposes identifying “*fath*” with the conquest of Khaybar, which took place shortly after the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya. But the “*fath*” might also be identified with the *bayʿa* if it is dissociated from the treaty. It is clear from the context that the treaty was already concluded, making an identification of “*fath*” with the treaty impossible.

At this point it is worthwhile reconsidering a thesis that Hawting has proposed.¹¹⁵ He observed that material dealing with the opening of the Kaʿba is scarce in the accounts of the conquest of Mecca but does occur in other contexts. He concluded that this material was not originally part of the tradition of the conquest but was attached to it later. He also emphasized the importance of the term “*fath*” in connection with the campaign of al-Ḥudaybiya. Considering the findings of the present study, one might postulate three separate events that were later conflated into two reports: (i) the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiya and the treaty, (ii) the *bayʿa* and the opening of the Kaʿba, possibly connected with the revelation of Q 48, and (iii) the conquest of Mecca. In the later transmission some elements would have been included into the report about al-Ḥudaybiya, namely, the *bayʿa*, the dream of the opening of the Kaʿba, and the term “*fath*” via Q 48, while the term “*fath*” (used for the conquest) and the reports of the opening of the Kaʿba were included into the tradition about the conquest of Mecca.

¹¹¹ Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 54 f.

¹¹² Lecker, “The Ḥudaybiyya-treaty”, 9. This tradition implies that the *bayʿa* took place after the day of al-Ḥudaybiya (which most probably is the day on which the treaty was concluded), while usually the *bayʿa* is mentioned before the treaty. However, this tradition should not be overemphasized, as numerous traditions give the usual order.

¹¹³ R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, 4 Stuttgart, 1989, 451.

¹¹⁴ U. Rubin, “Muhammad’s Curse of Muḍar and the Blockade of Mecca”, in *JESHO*, 31 (1988), 256.

¹¹⁵ See Hawting, “al-Ḥudaybiyya”.

This disjunction of the three events is speculative, but it would help explain some of the anomalies in the reports about al-Ḥudaybiya, in particular the questions of how the *bayʿa* (and thus the treaty) came to be considered a great victory, and whether Khālid b. al-Walīd converted to Islām before al-Ḥudaybiya.¹¹⁶ Anyhow, the separation of the events of al-Ḥudaybiya as reported by ʿUrwa from those alluded to in Q 48 is likely.

The Qurʾānic elements seem to have been inserted into the historical tradition only at a later stage. It is irrelevant to this study whether verses from the Qurʾān were adduced in corroboration of existing traditions, as Rubin argues,¹¹⁷ or whether some events (such as the *bayʿat al-riḍwān*) owe their existence only to the interpretation of Qurʾānic verses, as Crone maintains.¹¹⁸ Q 48 may allude to a historical event, but probably not to the one in ʿUrwa’s tradition.

As to the *ḥadīth*, there are certain other traditions about al-Ḥudaybiya, but none of them comes close to ʿUrwa’s in terms of length and the number of elements treated. They mostly consist of short passages dealing with single aspects of alleged events at al-Ḥudaybiya. The main themes are in some respects relevant to law or other *ḥadīth* genres (such as *fadāʾil*). Zaman’s statement about al-Bukhārī applies to all the *ḥadīth* collections:

Al-Bukhari does seem to presuppose a narrative (or narratives) of Hudaibiyya; but his traditions do not themselves constitute one. [...] they are not *about* Hudaibiyya: Hudaibiyya is relevant to them (or they to it) solely because it was on that occasion that certain significant doctrinal and juristic matters were enunciated or precedents established.¹¹⁹

Ḥadīth collections deal with the following topics apropos of al-Ḥudaybiya: the *bayʿa*, the sacrificial rites, proper conduct during the state of *iḥrām*, the miraculous revival of the well, and the contents of the treaty. The historicity of these elements shall not be discussed here in detail. Nevertheless, some considerations that cast doubt on their his-

¹¹⁶ See for example Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1531. Ibn Hishām reports that Khālid’s conversion took place shortly before the *fath* (*qubayla l-fath*), but the corresponding passage is mentioned before al-Ḥudaybiya. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 276 ff.

¹¹⁷ U. Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder: The Life of Muhammad as Viewed by the Early Muslims*, Princeton, 1995, 227.

¹¹⁸ P. Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*, Princeton, 1987, 215.

¹¹⁹ M.Q. Zaman, “*Maghāzī* and the *Muḥaddithūn*”: Reconsidering the Treatment of ‘Historical’ Materials in Early Collections of *Ḥadīth*”, in *IJMES*, 28 (1996), 10.

toricity shall be mentioned. Part of this material consists of embellishments of individual elements, for example in the case of the miracle of the well, which is not yet a miracle in the traditions of al-Zuhrī and Hishām. Another part consists of events that are mentioned in other contexts as well. For example, the sacrifice of Abū Jahl's camel is mentioned in connection with both al-Ḥudaybiya¹²⁰ and the farewell pilgrimage,¹²¹ and the question of shaving the hair versus shortening it slightly is mentioned in connection with al-Ḥudaybiya,¹²² the *ʿumrat al-qadaʿ*,¹²³ and without historical context.¹²⁴ It seems that in these cases a setting was required in order to make the tradition sound more credible.¹²⁵ Many circumstances met this requirement, leading to the appearance of the same element in reports of different events.

This material from the *ḥadīth* cannot be found in ʿUrwa's tradition. Ibn Ishāq, too, only mentions a few of these elements, such as the sacrifice of Abū Jahl's camel and the issue of shaving versus shortening one's hair. Al-Wāqidī, however, mentions numerous such elements. In addition to those of Ibn Ishāq, he treats: proper conduct during the state of *iḥrām*, Muḥammad's refusal of gifts from heathens, additional sacrifices to be made when one shaves before the completion of the *ʿumra*, and Muḥammad's decision to immediately slaughter an animal that collapsed rather than sacrifice it at the end of the *ʿumra*. These can safely be presumed to have been added later to the historical tradition for various purposes. On the one hand, these decisions relevant to law cannot be found in the early al-Ḥudaybiya traditions going back to ʿUrwa. ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr was an important *faqīh*, and he would have probably mentioned such rulings by Muḥammad in his account. On the other hand, some of the rulings indicate an advanced state in the development of jurisprudence. An example is the expiatory rites in the case of shaving prematurely which consist of sacrificing a sheep, fasting for three days, or giving alms of two units of barley to six needy persons.¹²⁶ This ruling presumes the previous appearance of various problems, such as what

is to be done when no sheep are available. It does not seem to be a ruling made by Muḥammad during a specific situation.

III. CONCLUSION

The portrayal of al-Ḥudaybiya conveyed to us by the earliest extant sources is the result of a long process of transmission and redaction. Some phases of this process were studied in this article. We may summarize the development of the tradition as follows:

The earliest version that can be reconstructed is that of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr. He most probably had several eyewitness reports at his disposal dealing with al-Ḥudaybiya and events possibly connected with al-Ḥudaybiya. In the first stage of redaction he formed a single narrative from these reports. It cannot be established whether all the elements he combined in his account belonged originally to the same historical event. The salient components of his account are the treaty with the clause of the surrender of fugitives, and the subsequent extradition of some people. These elements can be regarded as the historical core of the tradition. Some legendary material can already be observed. Allusions to the Qurʾān, however, are still marginal.

The transmission of the report to ʿUrwa's students al-Zuhrī and Hishām b. ʿUrwa most probably took place orally, presumably in lectures. At any rate, their reports include the same elements in more or less the same order, but are completely different in terms of wording.

While Hishām seems to have written down his version—the variants are largely similar in wording—, al-Zuhrī presumably transmitted his version in lectures, since the versions going back to him are alike in content but not in wording. Written composition in this case began a generation later with Maʿmar b. Rāshid, Ibn Ishāq, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

Al-Zuhrī's tradition is best suited for studying redactional changes in the generation following ʿUrwa due to its wide distribution. *Asānīd* going back farther than ʿUrwa to al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and to ʿĀ'isha only occur in al-Zuhrī's version. These authorities may be responsible for parts of the tradition, but this cannot be established beyond doubt. Al-Zuhrī makes an allusion to a Qurʾānic verse (48:24 f.), but does not mention the other themes of Q 48. He may be responsible for some of the legendary elements.

¹²⁰ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, 314 f.; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 11:13; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 320.

¹²¹ Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ*, 7:6.1.

¹²² Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, II, 615; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 319.

¹²³ Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1109.

¹²⁴ Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 11:79.1; Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ*, 7:74.1.

¹²⁵ See E. Stetter, *Topoi und Schemata im Ḥadīth*, Tübingen, 1965, 4-8.

¹²⁶ Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, II, 578.

In the next stage of transmission and redaction (al-Zuhrī to Ibn Ishāq, Ma‘mar, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and others), significant changes take place. The most important one is the inclusion of the whole Q 48 into the tradition by Ibn Ishāq. Three of the motifs of the *sūra*—the dream as the cause for the campaign, the Bedouin who refuse to accompany Muḥammad, and the *bay‘at al-riḍwān*—are incorporated into the account at this stage¹²⁷ while the other elements occur only in the statement that the whole Q 48 was revealed on this occasion.

The report according to ‘Ā’isha, presumably still separated in al-Zuhrī’s version, is included into the tradition ascribed to al-Miswar and Marwān. More changes can be found in Ibn Ishāq’s version. He modifies al-Zuhrī’s report to combine it with other reports into a single tradition. A loss of *isnād* can be observed in his case due to the incorporation of a presumably independent tradition going back to a different original narrator into al-Zuhrī’s tradition.

While Ma‘mar’s version seems to have been passed on mostly by written transmission, Ibn Ishāq presumably continued to transmit his work in lectures even after it was written down, which could account for the differences in the versions going back to him. No statements about ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s work can be made here, since it only exists in a single version.

Two generations later, numerous themes specific to the *ḥadīth* literature are incorporated into the al-Ḥudaybiya tradition, as can be observed in al-Wāqidī’s work. Some of these elements show an advanced state of jurisprudence, while others occur in different contexts. They certainly have nothing to do with the actual events of al-Ḥudaybiya.

The very problematic tradition of Abū l-Aswad seems to indicate a stage of development between those of Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī, or possibly even later. The connection with the *bay‘a* is already made, and there are parallels to al-Wāqidī’s wording. This version definitely does not go back to ‘Urwa, although ‘Urwa’s tradition may have served as its basis.

¹²⁷ In Ibn Ishāq’s version the dream is not yet a separate element, but is alluded to in one tradition. Therefore, we may conclude that the connection prevailed at Ibn Ishāq’s time.

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Figure C: The traditions going back to al-Zuhrī

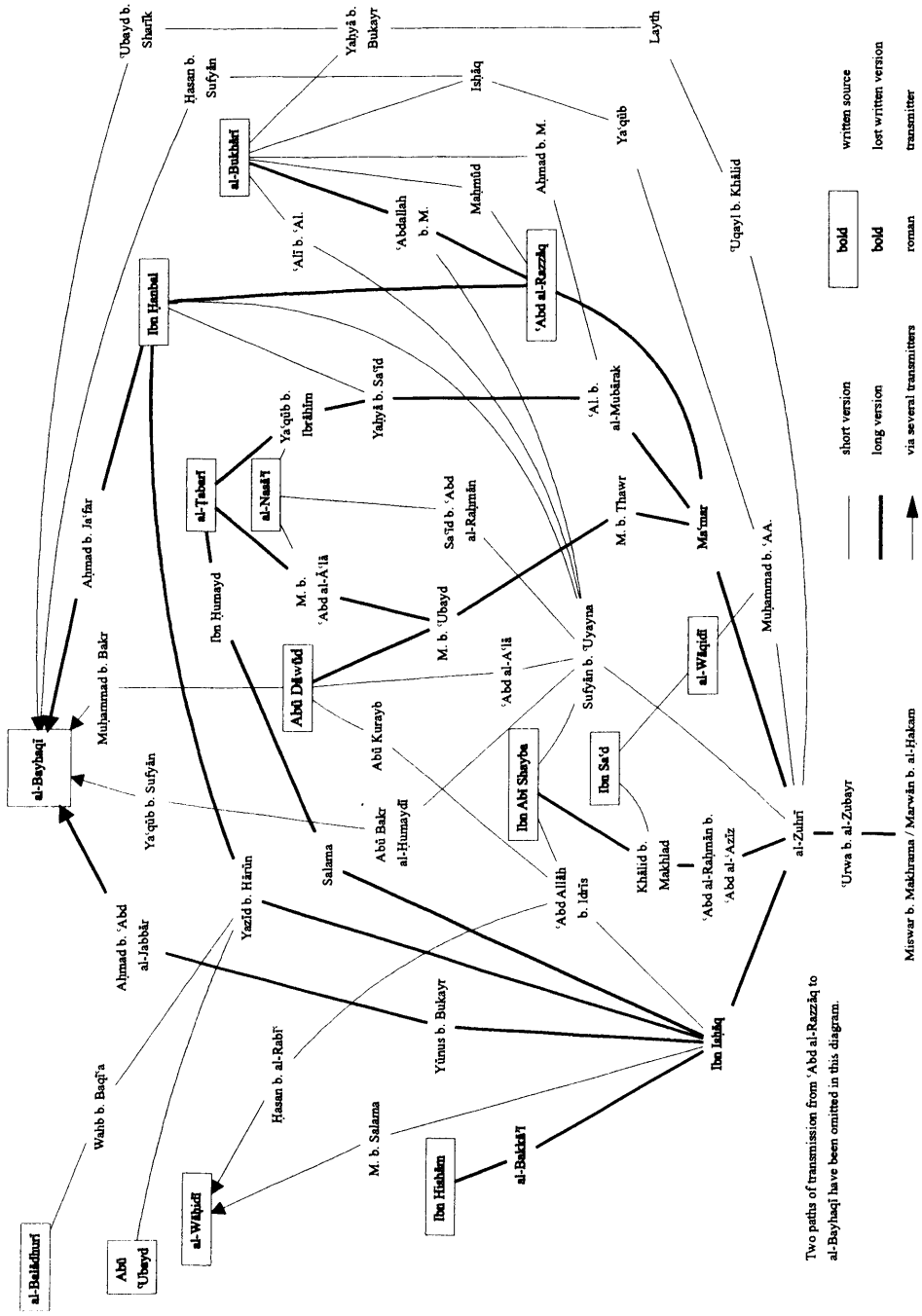
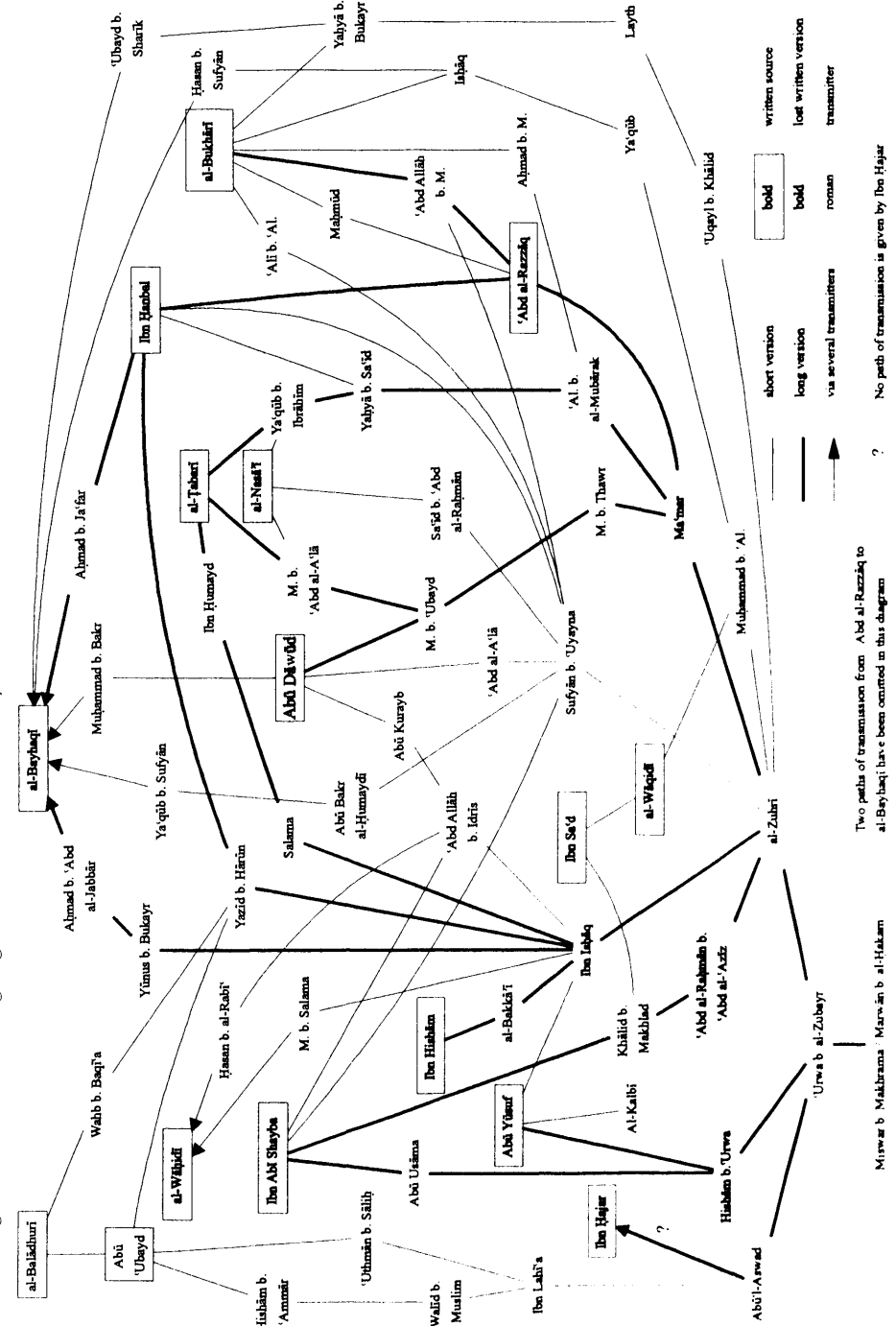


Figure D: The traditions going back to 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr



? No path of transmission is given by Ibn Hajar

Miswar b. Makhrama / Marwān b. al-Hakam