The Infancy and Development of Hadith in Central Asia

Shamsiddin Kamoliddin

Abstract: This article discusses process of beginnings and development of the Hadith study in Central Asia in the Early Islamic period. The first transmitters of hadith in Mawarannahr were the Arabs who participated in the wars of invasion. Among the first narrators of hadith (isnad) in Central Asia, were eyewitnesses the Prophet's life, called as'hab or companions of the Prophet. The second link in the chain of narrators of hadith was represented by at-tabi'in, i.e. followers of the Prophet's companions, who communicated hadith from the words of as'hab. In Mawarannahr, the followers were represented mostly by the 'Arabs that settled in Maw and settlements in its environs in the second half of the 7th century. The next link in the chain of narrators of hadith is the tabba' at-tabi'in, the apprentice of a follower of the companions of Muhammad the Prophet, many of whom lived in Maw and its environs in the 8th century. Though at the beginning of the 8th century it was mainly the 'Arabs and their Iranian mawali (pl. of mawla) who narrated hadith, by the mid-8th century this science had already been adopted by representatives of the Central Asian peoples. In subsequent centuries, the study of hadith was widespread in Central Asia and it became one of the leading centers of development of 'Arab-Muslim scholarship and culture. Besides Marw and the other towns of Khurasan, the most important centers of hadith study in the region were Samarqand, Bukhara, Ternitz, Nasaf, Kesh, Khwarizm, and Shash. The development of the science of hadith criticism gave impulse to another branch of science—the historical-biographical one. In the 9th century the first collections containing biographies of famous narrators of hadith were compiled. This practice fasted until the late Middle Ages. Written sources give us the biographies of 3,000 transmitters of hadith that lived in different Central Asian cities before the beginning of the 13th century.

Key words: Central Asia, Arabs invasion, Arabian Caliphate, hadith transmitters, hadith studies, Islamic scholarship.

I. INTRODUCTION

Hadith is a medieval word for a legend about a saying or deed of Muhammad the Prophet. Hadith give guidance for almost all aspects of life in the Muslim society. Having appeared as a practice in the mid-to-late 8th century, the study of the Hadith entered into a new stage of development in succeeding centuries, becoming one of the major sources of al-shari'a — Muslim law — and historical study in the Islamic world.

In the epoch of the Arab Caliphate, the study of hadith was considered a duty for every orthodox Muslim, from the ordinary craftsman to the caliph himself. In the Central Asia, for example, serious study of hadith was undertaken by such distinguished persons as the poet al-Rudaki (9th c.), the philologist al-Zamakhshari (12th c.), the encyclopaedist al-Khwarizmi (10th c.), the Samanid's vizir Abu-I-Fadl al-Bal'ami (10th c.), the vicegerent of Khurasan Khalid b. Ahmad al-Zuhuli (9th c), and even some rulers of the Samanids dynasty.

The first researchers of hadith in Mawarannahr were the Arabs who participated in the wars of invasion. Among them were such famous Arab military leaders as al-Ahmar b. Qays, Swords b. Zayd: Uthman, Ziyad b. Salih, Qutayba b. Muslim, Abu Muslim, and others. The early stronghold of Arab power in Mawarannahr was Marw, and the study of hadith first developed chiefly in this town. Among the first narrators of hadith (isnad) in Central Asia, were eyewitnesses the Prophet's life, called as'hab or companions of the Prophet. Two such narrators, al-Hakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifari (d. 50 AH/670 AD), vicegerent of Khurasan, and Burayda b. al-Khusayb al-Aslamyi (d. 61/681) — lived and recited in Marw, and both are buried in the Tamnargarun cemetery there. Two mausoleums were erected on their tombs in the 15th century. The tombs were held to be sacred in succeeding centuries and survive to the present day. Many legends about the so-called "martyrdom" of Muhammad's companions in the Central Asia have reached our time as well. Jamal al-Qarshi, an author of the 13th century, tells us about the death of 2700 companions of the Prophet and their followers in the Safid Bulan district in Farghana. According to the legend, they were sent there by Caliph 'Usman b. 'Affan (ruled in 23-35/644-656) under the command of Muhammad b. Jarir and all fell in action while fighting against the unfaithful. Now, their supposed tomb is located in the Kasansay Valley in the Namangan Region. In the 11th century the Mausoleum Shakh Fazil was erected on it, which still stands. In Samarqand, there is another supposed tomb in which, as legend has it, lies Qutham b. al-'Abbás, a cousin of Muhammad the Prophet, who was killed in Samarqand in 54/673-74 or 56/ 675-76; in the 11th century, a mausoleum was built on this tomb, known today as Shah-i Zinda. Qutham b. al-'Abbás, was canonized as the first preacher of Islam in the Central Asia and a large cemetery, intended for the most distinguished people of Samarqand, was established round his tomb. At the cemetery near Shah-i Zinda, there are some other tombs, in which, according to legend, companions of Qutham b. al-'Abbás: Shaikh al-Islam Khwaja Abu-I-Hasan, Khwaja Muhammad al-Hamavi, Khwaja 'Abdi Berun, Khwaja Daniyal, Khwaja Muhammad b. Wasi', Abu Nasr al-Qassab, Muhammad b. Malik Ashtari, an uncle of Qutham b. al-'Abbás, and contemporary emir of Khurasan were buried. Bukhara is also home for several tombs of companions of Muhammad, namely, Abban b. 'Uthman b.
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‘Affān (d. 86/705); Ka‘b b. Mut‘i, known as Ka‘b al-Akhbar (d. 32/652-53); ‘Abd Allah b. al-‘Abbas b. ‘Abd al-Muttalib’s (d. 68/687) son ‘Ukrama, who was a client of ‘Abd Allah b. Abban b. ‘Abd al-Muttalib; Abu ‘Uqbat Uban b. Aus al-Aslami, and others. Another legend says that, under Caliph Abu Bakr al-Siddiq’s rule (11-13/632-634), ‘Abd ar-Rahman b. Khalid b. al-Walid left al-Madina for Uzgand, located in Farghana, at the head of a big army consisting of 12,000 companions of the Prophet, all of whom died in action “as martyrs” fighting against the unfaithful. Additionally, 30,000 followers of the Prophet’s companions were allegedly killed in Uzgand under Caliph ‘Ali b. Abu Talib.

The presence of the above-mentioned tombs and legends indicates that many companions of Muhammad the Prophet probably participated in the early campaigns of the ‘Arabs to the Central Asia, or at least considered it their duty. According to one legend, one of the as’hab named Ibn ‘Uuyayna declared that "a night on the bedding beyond the river of Jayhun is better than a hundred pious excuses". Another of as’hab’s, Anas b. Malik asserted that "if you visit Samarqand, you are in no debt to Allah the Most High, and a person who dies for the faith in Samarqand will go straight to paradise."

In several hadith, Muhammad himself attached great importance to the city of Samarqand, calling it "al-madina al-mahfuza" — "a city guarded by angels"—a phrase picked up in many sayings of as’hab. The Prophet said: "After me a city called Samarqand will be conquered in Khurasan beyond the river of Jayhun. On the Judgment day, all the dead citizens of this city, old and young, men and woman, will stand up. They will be standing together with those who died for the faith." According to another hadith, Muhammad the Prophet said:

This city, located in a stony place, is called ‘guardian’, because 500,000 angels stand near each of its gates, guard and eulogize it. Over the city, there also stand 500,000 angels who spread their wings to protect its citizens and all those who are in. Over the city, there is one more angel with a thousand heads, a thousand mouths, and a thousand tongues that all call out: "Oh, the Most High! Oh, the Only! Oh, the Eternal! Oh, the Only! Oh, the Constant! Keep this city from harm as you created it!" Outside the city there is one of the Gardens of Paradise called the Qatwan Desert. Away from the city there is a well with white, sweat, and fresh water. Those who drank water from it drink water from paradise. He who washed his face in it is absolved from his sins and again becomes the person he was on the day when his mother gave him birth. Outside the city at a distance of three farsakhs, there stand four angels with human appearance: the first one on the right, the second on the left, one more to the left of qibla, and one more to the left of qibla. They all circle the city and defend it. Beside the angels, there is a valley with a snake in it. The snake has a human appearance and cries: "Oh, the Merciful of the World! Oh, the Gracious of the Next World! Have mercy on those who are in the city!" Moreover, He complies with their request. If one says two rak’ats of prayer in this city, Allah will accept it as seventy rak’ats. If one prays during a whole night, Allah will accept it as a 60-year long prayer. If one keeps the fast during a day, it will be equal to a fast a century long. If one feeds one poor person in the city, destitution will never enter that one’s house. If one dies in this Guarded City, be dies in the seventh heaven. He who dies in the seventh heaven joins the angels in Paradise.

These two hadiths evidence the great importance Muhammad the Prophet attached to Samarqand. In advance he did prophesy and predispose his companions to conquer the city, meaning the whole state that was a part of the Western Turkeic Qaghanate at that time. These two hadith were recognized as authentic, as part of the body of true hadith. Because of them, participation in jihad, i.e. fighting against the unfaithful in Central Asia — aggressive wars—became a duty and an honor for every orthodox Muslim. It was because of this that in the days of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate, especially during the rule of the Tahirids and Samanids dynasties under the ‘Abbasid caliphs, numerous brigades of the so-called ghazzi’s (fighters for faith), were nowhere so active as in Samarqand. Orthodox Muslims thronged to the brigades from every corner of the ‘Arab Caliphate. Constantly reinforced with new volunteers, the brigades fought against "the unfaithful"

— Soghdians and Turks struggling for the liberation of their Motherland from foreign conquerors. By the 10th century, brigades of ghazi troops had lost their initial purpose and actually deserted to their former enemy and took the most active part in anti-caliphate and anti-Samandi uprisings started by the local population of Samarqand—Soghdians and Turks.

The second link in the chain of narrators of hadith was represented by at-tabi’in, i.e. followers of the Prophet’s companions, who communicated hadith from the words of as’hab. In Mawarannahr, the followers were represented mostly by the ‘Arabs that settled in Marw and settlements in its environs in the second half of the 7th century. Among the narrators of this link the sources mention Mu‘ammar b. Wasi’ al-‘Auzy, ‘Amr b. A’yan al-Fannini, Muhammad b. al-Khusayb al-Khusaybi, Khalid b. Abu Burza al-Aslami al-Bursanjirdi, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Habib al-Asadi al-Darijaqi, Darar b. ‘Amr al-Buzzanshahi, Qurayt b. Yathribi al-Shawwali, Matar b. al-‘Abbas al-Mihrijani, Ra’is b. Sulayman al-Julashjirdi, Rafi’ b. ‘Amr al-Ghifari, and ‘Atiya b. ‘Amr al-Ghifari. The last two were brothers of a fellow companion of the Prophet and vicerect of Khurasan—the above-mentioned al-Hakam b. ‘Amr al-Ghifari.

The next link in the chain of narrators of hadith is the tubba’ at-tabi’in, the apprentice of a follower of the companions of Muhammad the Prophet, many of whom lived in Marw and its environs in the 8th century. Such researchers of hadith as Murja’ b. Raja’ al-Zariyani, Sura b. Shaddad al-Junajirdi, Sulayman b. Burayda al-Fannini, his brother ‘Abd Allah b. Burayda al-Fannini, ‘Abd al-Hamid b. Humayd al-Fursabadi, Ibrahim b. Maymun al-Sayigh al-Khurasani, Lahiz b. Qurayt al-Shawwali, and others lived in Marw at the beginning of the 8th century. All the above hadith scholars were the ‘Arabs. Many of them adopted nisba — a name denoting the place of birth or life’s work. It is interesting that, in the written sources, the ‘Arabs in the settlements of the Marw region were considered equals of the...
local citizens and were not distinguished from them in any way. Only either a direct indication, or a person's genealogy reaching back to an identifiable ancestor could determine the ethnic origin of a person.

Though at the beginning of the 8th century it was mainly the ‘Arabs and their Iranian mawali (pl. of mawla) who narrated hadith, by the mid-8th century this science had already been adopted by representatives of the Central Asian peoples. The most outstanding of them was well-known Turkic scientist and encyclopaedist Abu ‘Abd al-Rahman ‘Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak al-Hanzali al-Marwazi (118 - 96181/736 - 797). A client of the ‘Arabian tribe of Banu Hanzala descended from Khwarizmian Turks that moved to Marw, he participated in the ‘Arab campaigns against the Byzantine Empire. Later, ‘Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak became a scholar and collected a huge library including, according to some sources, even the books from the Sasanid Dynasty’s court library. ‘Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak was one of the greatest hadith transmitters, lawyers, Sufis, historians, philologists, and poets of his time. He had many students spread throughout the countries of the Islamic world. He was the author of at least 14 works in the fields of hadith study, Sufism, fiqh, history, philology, and Qur’an commentary. He became wealthy and traveled widely pursuing his scholarly work. ‘Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak died on his way home from Tarsus in Syria and was buried in Hit on the banks of the Euphrates. There was a ribat named "'Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak's ribat" in Marw in the 11th century, the creation of which was most likely financed by the scholar himself. ‘Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak was indeed one of the prominent scholars and encyclopaedists in the Islamic world of the 8th century. He was the first representative of Turks who achieved such fame and high standing among Muslims. ‘Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak was highly cultured and well educated, and his works grew in fame throughout all succeeding ages.

In subsequent centuries, the study of hadith was widespread in Central Asia and it became one of the leading centers of development of ‘Arab-Muslim scholarship and culture. Besides Marw and the other towns of Khurasan, the most important centers of hadith study in the region were Samarqand, Bukhara, Terniz, Nasaf, Kesh, Khwarizm, and Shash. The development of the science of hadith criticism gave impulsion to another branch of science—the historical-biographical one. In the 9th century the first collections containing biographies of famous narrators of hadith were compiled. This practice lasted until the late Middle Ages. Written sources give us the biographies of 3,000 transmitters of hadith that lived in different Central Asian cities before the beginning of the 13th century.

The most outstanding of all hadith scholars in Central Asia, indeed in the whole Islamic world was a native of Bukhara: Imam Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad b. Isma‘il b. Ibrahim b. al-Mughira b. Bardazbeh (or Barzazbeh) al-Ju‘fi al-Bukhari (194 - 256/810 - 870). His great-grandfather al-Mughira was a Zoroastrian who adopted Islam with the assistance of Arab vicegerent Yaman al-Ju‘fi in the 8th century. This gave al-Mughira the nisba al-Ju‘fi. Written sources do not contain any exact indications to the ethnic origin al-Mughira. It is known only that his father was a Zoroastrian and bore the non-Muslim name of Bardazbeh (Barzarbeh). We can thus exclude the possibility of Iranian origin, as the Iranians that came to Bukhara among the Arab conquerors had already professed Islam and had Muslim names. Therefore, we have every indication that Bardazbeh was a native Bukharan or Turk professing Zoroastrianism. In the 8th century, his son al-Mughira, whose real name is unknown to us, adopted Islam with the assistance of an Arab vicegerent of Bukhara, which implies that both he and his father enjoyed a rather high position in the Bukhara of pre-Islamic times and probably belonged to the local spiritual-religious elite.

Imam al-Bukhari started studying hadith during his childhood. At the age of 16, he started travelling and wandered through many of the cities of Khurasan, Iraq, Syria, Hidjaz, and Egypt studying hadith. Over a thousand shaykhs revealed their knowledge to Imam al-Bukhari, and he wrote down about 600,000 hadith based on their words. In addition, he wrote down over 200,000 little-known hadith from the recitations of his own teachers. Having subjected all the written hadith to critical analysis, Imam al-Bukhari selected only 7400 that he considered genuine hadith transmitted by authentic sources. These hadith were included in his collection called Al-Jami‘ al-Sahih (A Truthful Collection). Already in the 10th century his collection was recognized to be the best in existence. Even now it is considered the most authoritative source of the Muslim law and issues of faith after al-Qur’an. Besides this principal work of his, al-Bukhari also created an authoritative historic-biographical work At-Tarikh al-Kabir (A Big History), which was a collection of biographies of hadith narrators. In all he is the author of 15 works in the fields of hadith study, history, fiqh, and philology.

III. RESULTS & DISCUSSIONS

However, despite his outstanding achievements and wide knowledge, al-Bukhari did not win full recognition in his lifetime. The ruler of Bukhara, Abu-l-Khaytham Khalid b. Ahmad al-Zuhli (d. 269/882), who was also a narrator of hadith, was a hostile rival of al-Bukhari. Eventually, he expelled al-Bukhari from Bukhara because the latter exposed him as a disrespectful person. After this, al-Bukhari lived in the Bayan district of Nasaf for a short while, then left for Samarqand. However, he died on his way to Samarqand near the settlement of Khartank where he was buried in the courtyard of hadith scholar Ghaliib b. Jubrayl al-Khartanki. This settlement, now called Kharjang, is in the Samarqand Region, and al-Bukhari’s sepulchre, Mazur Khwaja Isma‘il, is located there.

In the 9th-10th centuries Mawaranhahr witnessed the activity of a number of other great lawyers and researchers of hadith from among the apprentices, contemporaries and followers of Imam al-Bukhari. The most famous was Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Farabri (d. 320/932) from the town of Farab on the banks of the Amu-Darya river, who was the very last narrator of al-Bukhari’s hadith to learn them from


Schools also existed in various towns and settlements of the Marw region. For instance, in the 9th century the school of Sulayman b. Ma‘bad al-Sinj operated in the town of Sinj which is seven farsaks away from Marw, while in the 10th century the schools of Muhammad b. Hamduwayh al-Hurqani and Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Sinj were there. The school of Hisham b. Musa al-Kushmihi met in the settlement of Kushmihan in the 9th century. In the 10th - 11th centuries, this settlement was the site of the schools of Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Hafsi, Yahya b. ‘Ali al-Hamduwayyi and some other scholars.


Some other Central Asian towns also had their schools of hadith studies. There was the school of Ahmad ibn Shu‘ayb al-Nisa’i in the town of Nisa in Khurasan and the school of Yahya b. al-Fadl al-Khujandi in Khujand in the 9th century, the school of Muhammad ibn Is’hak al-Mazizi in Sarkhah, the school of al-Hasan b. Sahib al-Shashi and Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Ghannaj in Shash, the school of Muhammad b. Ahmad ar-Rayyn in Nisa, the school of Muhammad b. ‘Ali al-Termizi in Termiz, and the school of Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Hazzam in Isfjath in the 10th century, the schools of Zahir b. Ahmad al-Sarakhshi and Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Shuja‘i in Sarkhah, and the school of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Karim al-Dihistani in Dihistan in the 11th century.

In the Middle Ages, hadith scholars lived in almost every town and settlement of Mawarannahr, and most usually had several students, often from among their fellow-townsmen or relatives. Hadith science played a major role in the formation and development of the principles of scientific criticism and analysis in the Islamic world and beyond. Researchers of hadith developed and utilized these principles in their scholarship, applying them to determine the “irreproachability” and “trustworthiness” of hadith and the “authenticity” of the informants and sources who recited them. Imam al-Bukhari, for example, collected over 800,000 hadiths in his travels and conducted a thorough examination and analysis of them. The examination resulted in selecting only 7400 hadith that he considered authentic. All the other notable researchers used similar principles of authentication. Scholars determined which hadith were “truthful” hadith from “authentic” sources. They also judged that some “knew hadith badly,” “were deceitful,” “distorted the meaning of authentic hadith,” and even “stole hadith from other books, claiming them as their own.” The negative assessments the scholars made of some authors prove how seriously and critically they treated their science. Their fidelity to scientific principles could not be broken even by high authorities. For example, al-Bukhari did not fear to denounce the ruler of Bukhara Khalid b. Ahmad al-Dhuhi, though he suffered exile for it.

Thus, study of hadith was the first science to develop after the ‘Arab-Muslim conquest in Mawarannahr. It gave the Islamic world the genius of Imam al-Bukhari. The formation and development of principles of scientific criticism and critical analysis, which were first used in hadith study, gave impulse to the development of other Muslim and secular sciences, both natural sciences and social sciences. It is this factor that brought about the phenomenon known as the “Oriental Renaissance”—a result of the synthesis of the cultures of East and West which became possible after the establishment of the ‘Arab Caliphate.

Taking into account the importance of hadith study in the development of the sciences, and the fact Soviet scholars did not take much notice of the history of hadith science, it would be expedient to pay more attention to this branch of science and to include it alongside the secular humanities. It is especially relevant in the light of the critical principles of historical and textual study which have played such a prominent part in defining modern scientific method.

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