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study of Ibn Hajar's Mu`jam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam

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Chapter Three

The Place of the *Mu jam* Among Ibn Ḥajar's Writings and Some Similar Contemporary Works

3.1. Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī: A Biographical Sketch¹

Having established the authorship of the manuscript, and before looking at what the Mu jam can add to our knowledge of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam, we need to pay attention to the historical and literary background of its compiler, Ibn Ḥajar. I will give a brief sketch on some important elements in his life. His full proper name is Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Kinānī al-'Asqalānī. His laqab is Shihāb ad-Dīn. Later, he was given the kunyah of Abū Al-Faḍl after Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad An-Nuwayrī, the $q\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ of Mecca.² He is known simply as Ibn Ḥajar. He was born in Cairo in 773/1372.

3.2. Ibn Ḥajar as an Author

Ibn Ḥajar is known as a teacher, a jurist, an author and a merchant.³ I will focus in these few pages on his position as a prolific writer, especially in the field of Ḥadīth, as he surpassed in that field most other scholars of his time, at least measured by the number of compilations that carry his name.⁴ Ibn Ḥajar left behind a huge number of writings. Historians differ on the exact number of the books he composed. Muhammad Zubayr Siddiqi gives the number 150 for both incomplete and complete works.⁵ In his *lbn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī: A Study of the Background Education and Career of an ʿĀlim in Egypt*, Sabri Khalid Kawash divides Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's works into four main categories: Ḥadīth, history, fiqh and poetry. Since Ḥadīth is a broad religious discipline, Kawash specifically divides Ibn Ḥajar's works in this field into seven categories: 1) collections of Ḥadīth; 2) annotations of some works on Ḥadīth; 3) commentaries; 4) methodology; 5) *rijāl*; 6) biographical works; 7) bibliographical works.⁶

¹ The life and career of Ibn Ḥajar have been studied in detail in three doctoral dissertations. The first is a Cambridge dissertation, A. A. Rahmani, "The Life and Works of Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalani", which has been printed in installments in consecutive issues of *Islamic Studies*, XLV/3 (July 1971)- XLVII (July 1973). The second is a Princeton dissertation (1996), Sabri Khaled Kawash, *Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī: A Study of the Background, Education, and Career of an ʿĀlim in Egypt* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1969.). The third is Shākir Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Munʿim, *Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī wa dirasāt Muṣannafātih wa manhajihi wa mawāridihi fī kitāb al-Iṣābah*, Baghdad: Dār ar-Risālah liṭ-Ṭibāʿah, 1978. This sketch is based on Kawash's and Andi Muhammad Ali Amiruddin, *Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī on Tajrīḥ and Taʿdīl of Ḥadīth Transmitters: A Study of His Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb*, (MA thesis, McGill University, 1999).

² Kawash, *Ibn Ḥajar al- ʿAsqalānī*, 41.

³ For details on these four positions, see Kawash, *Ibn Hajar al- Asqalānī*, 115-218.

⁴ Amiruddin, *Ibn Ḥajar al- ʿAsqalānī on Tajrīḥ and Ta ʿdīl*, 14.

⁵ Muhammad Zubayr Siddiqi, *Ḥadīth Literature*, 182 quoted from Amiruddin, *Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī on Tajrīḥ and Taʿdīl*, 14.

⁶ Kawash, *Ibn Hajar al- 'Asqalānī*, 192-193.

Another pivotal study on the works of Ibn Hajar is Shākir Mahmūd 'Abd al-Mun'im's Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī wa-Dirāsat Musannafātih wa-Manhajih wa-Mawāridih fī Kitābih al-Isābah. Abd al-Mun'im gives the total number of Ibn Hajar's works as 282 books. He divides these works into twenty-four categories as follows: the sciences of the Qur'ān (7 books); the principles of Hadīth (8 books); commentaries (shurūh) on Hadīth (12 books); the content (matn) of Hadīth (16 books); the defects ('ilal) and criticism of Hadīth (11 books); methods of Hadīth (41 books); classification (takhrīj) of Hadīth (8 books); the collections of ten traditions (al-'Ushāriyyāt) (11 books); the collections of forty traditions (al-arba 'īniyyāt) (11 books); the books of al-Aṭrāf⁸ (9 books), additions $(zaw\bar{a}'id)^9$ (7 books), substitutions $(Abd\bar{a}l)^{10}$ and accordances $(al\text{-}muw\bar{a}faq\bar{a}t)^{11}$ (6 books), rearrangement $(at\text{-}Tart\bar{\imath}b)^{12}$ (5 books), jurisprudence (figh) and its principles (28 books), theology (6 books); dictionaries and biographies of the masters (11 books); bibliographies (7 books); books of men (rijāl) (22 books); biographies and virtues (7 books); books of history (18 books), literature and language (13 books); collections of poems (dawāwīn) (3 compilations); scattered writings (mutafarriqāt) (3 books); answers (ajwibah) (13 books) and compilations attributed to him (musannafāt mansūbah) (38 books).

It is argued that Ibn Ḥajar lost many books during his second trip to Yemen. It is reported that while on his way from Mecca to Yemen, the ship on which he was traveling was wrecked off the shore. Ibn Ḥajar lost all he had aboard. As-Sakhāwī mentions the titles of the books that Ibn Ḥajar lost. He lost his Aṭrāf al-Mizzī, Aṭrāf Musnad Aḥmad, Al-Aṭrāf al-Mukhtārah, Tartīb Musnad aṭ-Ṭayālisī, and Tartīb Musnad 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd. 14

Within the scope of the present study we focus on the biographical dictionaries composed by Ibn Ḥajar. It was a common practice in early Muslim scholarship to collect the biographies of the teachers of a certain individual in a *mashyakhah* or a *mu jam*. This was done by the students who wanted to venerate their teachers on the one hand, and show the amount of their own learning on the other hand. This kind of work made it easier for subsequent generations of students of Ḥadīth to make the connection between one generation of scholars and the preceding one. (See further Chapter 4, below).

Ibn Hajar wrote a few books within this genre, the most important of which is al-Mu'jam al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras. This Mu'jam is divided into two parts.

⁷ (Beirut: Mu'assast ar-Risālah, 1997)

⁸ *Al-Aṭrāf* is an index of the beginnings of *isnāds* of canonical collections. The most famous work on *al-Aṭrāf* is *Tuḥfat al-Aṣhrāf bi-maʿrifat al-Aṭrāf* of the Syrian scholar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341).

 $^{^9}$ Zawā'id are the Ḥadīths that are reported in one of the collections and are not included in other collections.

¹⁰ *Abdāl* is when a student of Ḥadīth transmits from the teacher of, for example, Imām Muslim's teacher with a number of masters less than the number of masters if he transmits from Imām Muslim directly.

¹¹ See Chapter 6 below.

¹² Ibn Ḥajar arranged many Ḥadīths according to the *musnads* ('alā al-masānīd) or legal topics to make it easy for students to locate the Ḥadīths in the canonical collections.

¹³ Kawash, *Ibn Hajar al- Asqalānī*, 227; as-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir*, 151.

¹⁴ As-Sakhāwī, al-Jawāhir, 151.

¹⁵ Kawash, *Ibn Hajar al- 'Asqalān*ī, 204.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ The *Muʿjam* has been edited by Yūsuf ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1992).

The first part contains the biographies of people whom Ibn Ḥajar calls shuyūkh ar-Riwāyah, the teachers of narration. This group consists of Ibn Ḥajar's teachers with whom he studied Hadīth or other disciplines. It also contains the biographies of the shaykhs from whom Ibn Hajar obtained *ijāzahs* without having studied with them. The second part contains the biographies of Ibn Hajar's teachers who taught him other branches of knowledge. He calls this group shuyūkh ad-Dirāyah¹⁸ (the teachers of the science which investigates the isnād, contents, subject, and the mode of transmission of Hadīth).

Ibn Hajar compiled some Mu jams on behalf of some of his teachers. One of these is Mu'jam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam, the focus of this study. He also compiled Mu'jam at-Tanūkhī or al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr li ash-Shāmī for his teacher Burhān ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Ahmad at-Tanūkhī (d. 800/1398). The book is divided into 24 parts and contains the biographies of more than four hundred teachers from whom at-Tanūkhī either obtained ijāzahs or heard Ḥadīth. 19 Ibn Ḥajar also has a book entitled Al-Muntaqā min Mu jam as-Subkī.²⁰

Sources tell us that Ibn Hajar also compiled a Mashyakhah called al-Mashyakhah al-Bāsimah lil-Qibābī wa Fātimah.²¹ In this Mashyakhah, he compiled the teachers of Taqī ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Umar al-Qibābī al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 838/1434) from whom he heard some Ḥadīths or was given an ijāzah to transmit such Ḥadīths, along with the teachers of Fātimah bint Khalīl ibn Ahmad al-Kinānī al-Magdisī al-'Asqalānī (d. 833/1429). This Mashyakhah contains the biographies of 166 teachers, 136 biographies for al-Qibābī's teachers, 30 biographies for Fāṭimah's teachers, and 52 biographies of their common teachers. ²² This *Mashyakhah* has an introduction in which Ibn Hajar explained the structure of the Mashyakhah. Ibn Hajar focused on the biographees and their relation to al-Qibābī and Fātimah bint Khalīl. Ibn Hajar did not quote any Hadīth or so after each biography as he did in the Mu'jam ash-Shaykha Maryam. He explained that the purpose of the Mashyakhah was to list transmitted works, including the Sahīhs, Musnads, Mu'jams, Mashyakhahs, Fawā'id, and other books which both al-Qibābī and Fātimah heard from or read to their teachers.²³ Ibn Hajar made an index at the end of the Mashyakhah of these transmitted works, a valuable element missing in the Mu'jam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.²⁴ In another index, Ibn Hajar gave a list of the teachers for whom he could not find a biography. This element is missing in the Mu'jam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam as well. 25 A very unique characteristic of this Mashyakhah is that Ibn Ḥajar mentions the year in which the biographee gave an ijāzah

¹⁸ Kawash, *Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī*, 204.

¹⁹ As-Sakhāwī, al-Jawāhir, 669; 'Abd al-Mun'im, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, 289.

²⁰ 'Abd al-Mun'im, *Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī*, 290.

²¹ The Mahshyakhah has been edited twice; first by Jacqueline Sublet (unpublished dis. École Pratique des Hautes Études. J. Sublet wrote an intensive article on the Mashyakhah, see Jacqueline Sublet, "Les Maitrese et les etudesds de deux traditionnistes de l'epoque mamelouke: Al-Mashyakha al-basima lil-Qibabi wa Fatima de Ibn Hagar al-Asqalani," Bulletin d'etudes orientales 20 (1967). It has also been published by Muḥammad Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiz (Damascus: Dār Farfūr, 2002).

Al-Kattānī, Fihris al-Fahāris, 2:636.

²³ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Mashyakhah al-Bāsimah lil-Qibābī wa Fāṭimah*, ed. Muḥammad Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiz (Damascus: Dār Farfūr, 2002), 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 165-173.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 174.

to al-Qibābī and Fāṭimah, 26 a very important element also missing in the Mu $^{\prime}jam$ of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam. A comparison of both mashyakhahs seems to underline that Ibn Ḥajar left the Mu $^{\prime}jam$ Ash-Shaykhah Maryam as a first (perhaps even unfinished) draft.

Ibn Ḥajar also compiled the *Mashyakhahs* of Abū aṭ-Ṭāhir ibn al-Kuwayk (d. 821/1418), Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Majd (death date unknown), al-Burhān al-Ḥalabī (Ibrāhim ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalīl (d. 841/1438),²⁷ and Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā al-ʿAzāzī best known as Ibn al-Kayyāl (d. 732/1331). He also compiled selections from the *Mashyakhahs* of Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), Ibn as-Sarārī, and al-Fakhr ibn al-Bukhārī (d. 690/1291). Ibn Ḥajar composed a *juz* ʿ which had the comments of Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429) on the *Mashyakhah* of his teacher al-Junayd ibn Aḥmad al-Balyānī (d. 809/1406).²⁸ Unfortunately, these texts are not available to us.

3.3. Ibn Ḥajar's Care for Women's Biographies

It is worth drawing attention to Ibn Ḥajar's interest in including women's biographies in his works. In his al-Iṣābah fī Tamyyīz aṣ-Ṣaḥabah, he devoted the fourth volume to the biographies of female Companions.²⁹ Also in his *Taqrīb at-Tahdhīb*, he introduced 300 entries of female Companions, female Followers and female transmitters in the six major collections.³⁰ In his *Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb*, Ibn Ḥajar devotes a special place to female transmitters, women known by their kunyah or lagab, and those known by "obscure names" (asmā' mubhamah). 31 Ibn Ḥajar's ad-Durar al-Kāminah 32 is also abundant with female biographies which reflect the female participation in the cultural and religious spheres in Egypt and Syria during the Mamluk period. Interestingly, Ibn Hajar was not the first to devote a special place to female transmitters. It has been a common practice by early biographers to devote a separate volume to females in their biographical dictionaries. This practice was first developed in the third/ninth century after Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/844) wrote his at-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā and supplemented it with a volume on female transmitters. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī included a short section on the women of Baghdad in his *Tārīkh Baghdād*. ³³ Both Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1070) in his *al-Istī* 'āb fi Ma'rifat al-Ashāb and Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1232) in his Usd al-Ghābah fi Ma'rifat as-

²⁶ In many biographies, we read *wa ajāz li ṣāḥib al-mashyakhah* (and he gave an *ijāzah* to the owner of this *Mashyakhah...*). See for example, *al-Mashyakhah al-Bāsimah*, entries no. 27, 28, 36, 39, 43, 46-7, 52, 53, 56, 63, 70, 74, 75, 76, 83, 84, 94, 97, 99, 106, 107, 108, 110, 114, 118, 131, 139, 140.

²⁷ As-Sakhāwī, al-Jawāhir, 670; 'Abd al-Mun'im, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, 291-292

²⁸ 'Abd al-Mun'im, *Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalān*ī, 292.

²⁹ Amīnah Muḥammad Jamāl ad-Dīn, *An-Nisāʾ al-Muḥaddithāt fil-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī wa dawruhunna fil-Ḥayāh al-Adabiyyah wa ath-Thaqāfiyyah* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥidāyah, 2003), 10. The volume covers 1543 entries on women.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Amiruddin, *Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī on Tajrīḥ and Taʿdīl*, 61.

³² It is a collection of 5204 biographies of the persons, who died in the eighth Islamic century— mainly, but not exclusively, Egyptians and Syrians—and who in Ibn Ḥajar's opinion, made a contribution to Islamic society, whether that contribution was political, military, religious, educational, literary, or economic in character. This work has been published twice, four volumes (Hyderabad, 192932); five volumes ed. M. Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq, (Cairo 1966). References in this study are to the first edition. Donald P. Little, "As-Safadi as Biographer of His Contemporaries," in Donald P. Little, ed. *Essays on Islamic Civilization Presented to Niyazi Berkes* (Leiden: Brill, 1976) 195.

³³ Huda Lutfi, "As-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb an-Nisā'* as a Source for the Social and Economic History of Muslim Women during the Fifteenth Century, AD," *Muslim World*, 71, (1981), 108.

 $Sah\bar{a}bah$ followed the same trend. ³⁴ It is not surprising, then, that Ibn Hajar's student and biographer as-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) devoted the twelfth volume of his ad-Daw' al-Lāmi 'li ahl al-Qarn at-Tāsi 'to noteworthy women in the ninth/fifteenth century. He entitled the volume *Kitāb an-Nisā*. 35 He included nearly three hundred women who earned *ijāzahs* or awarded them to their own students.³⁶

3.4. A Comparison Between Ibn Hajar's Mu jam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam and ad-Durar al-Kāminah

To place the Mu jam of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam among Ibn Ḥajar's writings, I will make a comparison between it and ad-Durar al-Kāminah. The Durar is concerned mainly with biographies of people who lived in the eighth Islamic century. Therefore, it includes a reference to Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's teachers whom Ibn Hajar did meet personally. As-Sakhāwī gives another name to the Durar, which is al-Wafayāt al-Kāminah li a 'lām al-mi 'ah ath-Thāminah. Ibn Ḥajar expressed his wish to make the book in four volumes, but as-Sakhāwī tells us that he made a fair copy of two volumes only.³ Ibn Hajar completed it in 830/1426. The *Durar* covers the period from 701/1301 to 800/1397.³⁸ Later, the author made a supplement to it and included the biographies of those who lived until 837/1433. He gave it the name of *Dhayl ad-Durar al-Kāminah*. There are two abridgements of the *Durar*: one by Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suvūtī (d. 911/1505) and the other by Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503).³⁹

It is noteworthy that the information contained in biographical dictionaries usually presents both factual and illustrative material. Generally speaking, the factual material is employed, suggests Fahndrich, to designate a certain amount of information that is offered in almost every biography and that establishes each personality genealogically, historically, geographically, philosophically, professionally, and politically. It is the information that is usually not changed except in volume and arrangement, on its way from one historical work to another. This kind of information can be contrasted with illustrative material that, within the limits of an author's respect of tradition and his

³⁴ Amīnah Muḥammad Jamāl ad-Dīn, *An-Nisāʾ al-Muḥaddithāt*, 10.

³⁵ For an overview of the roles of women in this work, see Huda Lutfi, "As-Sakhāwī's Kitāb an-Nisā'", 104-24.

Asma Sayeed, *Shifting Fortunes*, 239, note. 48.
 As-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir*, 685.

³⁸ Ibn Hajar was the first to introduce the genre of centenary biographical dictionaries. In the ninth/fifteenth century as-Sakhāwī wrote ad-Daw' al-Lāmi' li ahl al-Qarn at-Tāsi'. In the tenth/sixteen century 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Aydarūs wrote an-Nūr as-Sāfir fī A'yān al-Qarn al-'Āshir, and Najm ad-Dīn al-Ghazzī (1061/1650) wrote al-Kawākib as-Sā'irah bi A'yān al-Mi'ah al-'Āshirah. In the eleventh/seventeenth century, al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699) wrote Khulaşat al-Athar fī A'yan al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar. In the thirteenth/eighteenth century, Muḥammad ibn Khalīl al-Murādī (d. 1206/1791) wrote Salk ad-Durar fī Tārikh al-Qarn ath-Thālith Ashar. However, it should be mentioned that before the eighth/fourteenth century there is a reference to similar works such as al-Badr as-Sāfir wa Tuḥfat al-Musāfir fī Tarājim mashāhīr al-Qarn as-Sābi' by al-Idfawī and Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Qarn as-Sābi' by al-Qāsim ibn Muhammad al-Birzālī. 'Abd al-Mun'im, Ibn Hajar al-'Asgalānī, 574.

³⁹ 'Abd al-Mun'im, *Ibn Ḥajar al- 'Asqalānī*, 577.

personal literary capabilities and taste, is changed and modified in order to express changes in the image of the person he depicts.⁴⁰

As mentioned before, Ibn Hajar drafted the Mu jam of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam in 803/1400. This means that he started it before compiling the Durar. One might suppose that the lacunae found in the Mu jam should be missing in the Durar, as Ibn Hajar could have gathered the missing information from other sources and added them to the Durar. But to one's surprise, it is possible to find almost the same lacunae in the Durar too. It is of no special value to list the numerous occasions when Ibn Hajar borrows information from the Mu jam in the Durar. Since Ibn Hajar had a tendency to paraphrase rather than quote his sources verbatim, it is difficult to trace all the details in his Durar which have the Mu jam as their source.

Both books arrange the biographies alphabetically and insert the biographies of women within the alphabetical order, not in a separate volume. There is no consistency in terms of the length of biographies included in both books. Some biographies are very short and they do not exceed one line, while others may be very long. In the Mu 'jam, Ibn Ḥajar's sources are mainly Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's $sam\bar{a}$ ' $\bar{a}t$ and $ij\bar{a}z\bar{a}t$, in addition to other sources which were covered in **Chapter Two**. In the Durar, the sources are more numerous. Ibn Ḥajar says in the introduction: ⁴² "I drew the information contained in this book from:

Aʻyān al-ʻAṣr of Abū aṣ-Ṣafāʾ aṣ-Ṣafadī;⁴³
Majānī al-ʿAṣr of Abū Ḥayyān;⁴⁴
Dhahabiyyat al-ʿAṣr of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī;⁴⁵
Tārīkh Miṣr of Quṭb ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī;⁴⁶
Dhayl Siyar an-Nubalāʾ of Shams ad-Dīn adh-Dhahabī;⁴⁷
Dhayl Dhayl al-Mirʾāh of ʿAlam ad-Dīn al-Birzālī;⁴⁸
Al-Wafayāt of Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Rāfiʿ;⁴⁹
Dhay al-Wafayāt of Shihāb ad-Dīn Ibn Hijjī;⁵⁰
Al-Mawāʿiz wal-Iʿtibār of al-Maqrīzī;⁵¹

⁴³ Aṣ-Ṣafadī is quoted more than 100 times. See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:16 (24, 26), 1:27 (65), 1:71 (190), 1:135 (379). These may be cases in point.

⁴⁰ Hartmut E. Fahndrich, "The Wafayāt al-A'yān of Ibn Khallikān: A New Approach." *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 93:4 (1973): 438.

⁴¹ Ibn Ḥajar, ad-Durar, 2:116 (1739), Ibn Ḥajar, Mu jam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam, no. 98.

⁴² Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:5.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:111 (307), 1:152 (410), 1:185 (480), 1:221 (569), 1:274 (700). These may be cases in point.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:71 (189), 1:191 (495), 1:259 (664), 1:346 (855), 1:432 (1134), 1:475 (1282). These may be cases in point.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:9 (9), 1:553 (1440), 2:124 (1773), 2:136 (1819), 2:161 (1858). These may be cases in point.

⁴⁷ See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:11 (14), 1:526 (1424), 2:210 (1964), 2:253 (2129), 2:357 (2390). These may be cases in point.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:44 (111), 1:112 (310), 1:167 (424). These may be cases in point.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:9 (11), 1:15 (23), 1:16 (24), 1:27 (66), 1:36 (89). These may be cases in point.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:62 (166), 1:200 (515), 1:338 (842), 2:24 (1530), 2:104 (1706). These may be cases in point.

The Mu 'jams of our teachers;

Al-Wafayāt of Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Aybak ad-Dimyāṭī;⁵² Dhayl al-Wafayāt of Abū al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥusayn al-ʿIrāqī.⁵³ Tārīkh Ghirnāṭah of Lisān ad-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb;⁵⁴ and At-Tārīkh of Walī ad-Dīn ibn Khaldūn al-Mālikī"⁵⁵

In the *Durar*, Ibn Ḥajar made use of all these sources. However, in the female biographies, he did not make it clear whether he used some of them except in a very few cases. ⁵⁶ The main sources from which he drew information on female biographies are the *Wafayāt* of Ibn Rāfi ⁵⁷ and the *Dhayl Siyar an-Nubalā* of adh-Dhahabī. ⁵⁸ We can also notice that Ibn Ḥajar did not depend on books of history or obituaries for collecting data on female biographies. We mentioned earlier that he made use of the *Muʿjams* and the *Mashyakhahs* of his teachers. These *Muʿjams* and *Mashyakhahs* were very accurate, as they were composed from data obtained in personal contacts between the student and the teacher. The *Muʿjams* and *Mashyakhahs* have abundant information on the *muḥaddithāt* as their main focus falls upon the Ḥadīth teachers (including the women among them) of the author of the *Muʿjam* or the *Mashyakhah* or their principal protagonist(s). ⁵⁹ These *Muʿjams* and *Mashyakhahs* include the following:

The *Mu jam* of Abū Hamid ibn Zahīrah (11 biographies);⁶⁰

The Mu'jam of Ibn Rāfi' (10 biographies);⁶¹

The Mu jam of adh-Dhahabī (4 biographies);⁶²

The *Mashyakhah* of al-'Izz ibn Jamā'ah, compiled by Abū Ja'far ibn al-Kuwayk (3 biographies);⁶³

The Mu jam of al-Birzālī (3 biographies);⁶⁴

The *Mashyakhah* of Wajīhiyyah aṣ-Ṣaʿīdiyyah al-Iskandārāniyyah, compiled by Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Rāfiʿ (1 biography);⁶⁵

⁵¹ See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:137 (384), 1:272 (695), 2:89 (1662). These may be cases in point.

⁵² See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:259 (666), 1:300 (760), 2:234 (2071). These may be cases in point.

⁵³ See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:17 (27), 1:75 (201), 1:107 (296), 1:137 (384). These may be cases in point.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:59 (157), 1:77 (204), 1:102 (279), 1:135 (378), 1:178 (455). These may be cases in point.

⁵⁵ See, for example, Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar*, 3:377 (999), 2:309 (2248), 3:289 (766). These may be cases in point.

⁵⁶ Amīnah Muḥammad Jamāl ad-Dīn, "Tarājim al-Muḥaddithāt fil-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī: Dirāsah Awwaliyyah fil-Maṣādir," *Majjalt Buḥūth as-Sunnah wa as-Sīrah* (Qatar 1992), 483. For these cases, see Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 4:406 (his sources are *al-Wafayāt* of Ibn Rāfiʿ and *Aʿyān al-ʿAsr* of aṣ-Ṣafadī), 3:227 (his source is *Tārīkh Miṣr* of al-Quṭb al-Ḥalabī, 2:123, 3:224, 225 (his source is *Dhayl Dhayl al-Mirʾāh* of al-Birzālī; 2:127, 128, 3:220 (his source is *Dhaly al-Wafayāt* of Abū al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥusayn al-ʿIrāqī).

⁵⁷ Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:361, 2:120, 121, 126, 3:222, 224, 228, 4:386.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:221, 129, 3:221, 225, 4:390.

⁵⁹ Amīnah Jamāl ad-Dīn, "Tarājim al-Muḥaddithāt", 484.

⁶⁰ Ibn Hajar, ad-Durar, 1:360, 412, 2:120, 121, 123, 189, 236, 3:225, 268, 4:385, 404.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1:361, 2:120, 121, 126, 3:222, 224, 228, 4:386.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 3:221, 223, 225, 4:397.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 3:224, 225, 5:385.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 3:221, 223, 225.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 4:406.

The *Mashyakhah* of Zāhidah bint Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh aṭ-Ṭāhirī, compiled by al-Muqātilī (1 biography);⁶⁶

To one's surprise, Ibn Ḥajar never mentioned the Mu jam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam as one of his sources. There is no clear reason for this, but it is possible that he did not have access to the Mu jam at the time of compiling the Durar.

In more than one case, Ibn Ḥajar cites what has been recorded in more than one Mu jam about the same biographee and compares between the different stories, selects the authentic one and adds it to the biography. In the biography of Fāṭimah bint Abī Bakr, he says: "Al-Birzālī, adh-Dhahabī, and Ibn Rāfi heard Ḥadīth from her and they cited Ḥadīths on her authority in their Mu jams." In the biography of Nafīsah bint Ibrāhīm ibn Sālim, we read: "Al-Birzālī, adh-Dhahabī, and Ibn Rāfi heard Ḥadīth from her and mentioned her in their Mu jams. She transmitted a lot until she died in 15 Jumāda al- Ūlā 15, 749, according to Ibn Rāfi "Though Ibn Ḥajar drew his information from the Mu jams of Nafīsah's three students, he preferred to quote the date of her death from the Wafayāt of Ibn Rāfi "In six female biographies, Ibn Ḥajar drew the information orally from one of the biographee's students. One final source, which is not mentioned in the introduction, is the book of Man kān ḥayyan min Shuyūkh Ḥalab by Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sa d.

A closer look at the biographies in both the *Mu'jam* of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam and the *Durar* reveals that the space of time covered by them is common, as they include the biographies of those who died in the eighth century of the Hijrah. Ibn Ḥajar pays much attention to the biographies of Ḥadīth scholars and he relates this to the fact that many of the biographees were the teachers of his teachers. Surprisingly enough, in the *Durar*, we may find lacunae which do not figure in the *Mu'jam*. For example, in the biography of Āminah bint Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Maqdisiyyah, the date of her birth is mentioned in the *Mu'jam* while Ibn Ḥajar misses it in the *Durar*. There is no clear reason for that. The *Durar* is supposed to have been compiled many years after the *Mu'jam*, hence Ibn Ḥajar could have made use of it to fill out such a lacuna. Before venturing into an explanation, let us first pay attention to another inconsistency between the *Mu'jam* and the *Durar*. The following biographies which Ibn Ḥajar included in the *Mu'jam* of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam are missing in the *Durar*: no. 69, 70, 71, 78, 79, 91, 92, 94, 96, 112, 136, 140, 161, 167, 170, 171, 182, 186, 201, 205, 211, 228, 233, 240, 246, 249, 260, 287, and 299.

It is noteworthy that some biographies are almost identical in both the *Durar* and the *Mu'jam*. The However, some biographies are very short in the *Durar* while they are

⁶⁷ Amīnah Jamāl ad-Dīn, "Tarājim al-Muḥaddithāt", 485.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:112-113.

⁶⁸ Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 3:223.

⁶⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 4:397.

⁷⁰ Amīnah Jamāl ad-Dīn, "Tarājim al-Muḥaddithāt", 485.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* For examples, see Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:361, 2:188, 237, 3:227 (no. 569, 570).

⁷² Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 2:129. Amīnah suggests that the book has been lost as there is no reference to it anywhere. Amīnah Jamāl ad-Dīn, "Tarājim al-Muḥaddithāt", 485.

⁷³ Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:4.

⁷⁴ See, for example, the biography of Yūnus ibn al-Qaṣṣār. In the *Durar* we read: "Yūnus ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūnus ibn Abī al-Qāṣim al-Ḥarrānī Abū an-Nūn ad-Dallāl. Wulida sanat 650 wa 'usmi 'a 'ala an-Najīb al-Ḥarrāni as-Sādis wal-'āṣhir wal-ḥādī 'ashar min Muwāfaqātih wa min Abī Bakr ibn al-'Imād Muṣāfaḥātih wa ḥaddath. Māta fī 12 Jumāda al-'Ūlā sanat 739." Ibn Ḥajar, ad-Durar, 4:488 (1340).

more detailed in the Mu jam. 75 On the other hand, some biographies are short in the Mu'jam but are much more detailed in the Durar. 76 Sometimes the details added to a biography complete the picture about the life of a certain scholar. For example, in the biography of Ahmad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Afāf al-'Attār, included in the Mu'jam, Ibn Hajar adds that he suffered from a slight form of blindness when he was of an old age. He also adds that al-'Attar was an experienced pharmacist. Both pieces of information are not included in his biography in the *Durar*. This opens the possibility that he in fact worked on the Mu'jam and added information to it, even after having completed the Durar. Now we have a complete picture about al-'Attar. By stating that he was blind, people are warned against relying much on reports from him. Having had some experience in pharmacy is an indication of the vast knowledge that al-'Attar had even in non-religious sciences.

Ibn Hajar shows an interest in mentioning the relation between him and the biographee. For example, in the biography of Ibn al-Kayyāl, he says: "I compiled a mashyakhah for him, which contains the biographies of 80 teachers."⁷⁷ We can also notice that in both works, Ibn Hajar attaches great value to mentioning the person's dates of birth and death. If there is more than one possibility, he records them all without giving the reference. The usual term used in this case is $q\bar{\imath}la$ (it is said).⁷⁸ Ibn Hajar's reliability becomes evident by reading the *Durar* and the *Mu'jam* hand in hand with the sources referred to by him wherever this is feasible. Such a comparison proves his reliability in excerpting other works, which enables us to obtain trustworthy references to and extracts from works non-extant or data on authors unknown to us. If we pay special attention to female biographies, we can notice that in the Durar Ibn Hajar was very careful to state whether a female biographee worked as muhadditha or not. However, he left out this item in the biography of 3 female biographees, 79 while in the Mu'jam of Ash-

In the Mu jam we read: "Yūnus ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Qaṣṣār al-Ḥarīrī Abū an-Nūn Badr ad-Dīn ad-Dallāl, sami a min an-Najīb ath-Thālith min Mashayakhatih aş-Şughrā as-Sādis wal- āshir wal- ḥādī 'ashar min Muwāfaqātih wa sami a aydan min Abī Bakr ibn al- Imād Muṣāfaḥātih, wa ḥaddath. Mawliduhu sanat khamsin wa sittmi'ah wa mat fī thāni 'ashar Jumāda al-'Ākhira min sanat tis' wa thalāthin wa sab 'mi 'ah." Ibn Ḥajar, Mu 'jam Maryam, no. 323.

⁹ Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar*, 2:103 (1701), 2:126 (1782), 4:399 (1098)

⁷⁵ See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar, ad-Durar, 2:326, (2287). We read " 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Ismā 'īl ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Mūsā al-Maqdisī Zayn ad-Dīn Abū Muḥammad wulida sanat Wa 'usmi 'a 'alā al-Yaldānī wa ḥaddath wa māta ..." In the Mu jam Maryam we read: "Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Ismā īl ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Maqdisī ibn aṣ-Ṣaffī al-ʿAṭṭār Zayn ad-Dīn samiʿa min Ibrāhīm ibn Khalīl Juz' Ibn al-Furāt wa Nuskhat Abī Mushir wa Juz' Ibn Ubayy al-Furātī wa 'alā Ibn 'Abd ad-Dā'im wa 'alā al-Yaldānī Juz' Ibn 'Arafah wa 'alā Ibn 'Abd ad-Dā'im wa Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī wa Khatīb Mardā Juz' Bakr ibn Bakkār wa sami 'a min hā 'ulā ' ghayra dhālik wa min ghayrihim wa ajāza lahu as-Sibṭ wa Muḥammad ibn Anjab wa Ibn Banīn wal-Mundhirī wa Ibn 'Abd as-Salām wa ghayrihim wa haddatha mawliduhu fī Ramadān sanata sitt wa arba 'īn wa sittmi 'ah wa tuffiya fī sādis 'ashar shahr Rabī' al- 'Awaal sanata sab ' wa 'ishrīn wa sab' mi 'ah." (Biography no. 135).

⁷⁶ For example, we read in the Mu jam: "Asmā' bint Ya qūb ibn Aḥmad ibn Ya qūb ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Muqri'." (Biography no. 63) While we read in the Durar: "Asmā' bint Ya'qūb ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd ar-Rahmān al-Ḥalabiyyat al-aṣl thumma al-Miṣriyyah al-maʿrūf wāliduha bi Ibn aş-Şābūnī tuknā Umm al-Faḍl uḥḍirat fī ath-Thālitha 'alā al-'Izz al-Fārūthī wa ḥaddathat wa mātat fī thālith 'ashar Şafar sanat 762 wa qad zādat 'alā t-Tis 'īn arrakhahā Ibn Rāfi '." Ibn Ḥajar, ad-Durar, 1:361. ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:76.

⁷⁸ In the *Mu jam Maryam*, see biographies no. 87, 90, 139, and 141. In the *Durar*, see 1:70 (187), 1:223-4 (573), 1:477 (1289), 2:27 (1537), 4:26 (71), 4:37 (100), 4:64-5 (184), 4: 125 (324), 4:168 (450),

Shaykhah Maryam the position of the same biographees in $Had\overline{\iota}$ th transmission is well documented. The preceding discussion supports the possibility that Ibn Hajar never made any use of the Mu'jam of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam at all. There may be a very simple explanation for this, for instance that the papers of his draft had been put in a place where he did not succeed to trace them.

3.5. The Mu jam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam and Similar Contemporary Works

Upon comparing the Mu'jam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam with similar contemporary works, I will try to point out the different styles of compiling Mu'jam ash-Shuyūkh in the age of Ibn Hajar. This will tell us about how certain details were collected and how each compiler came by his information. If we compare the Mu'jam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam with one of its contemporary Mu jams such as that of Tāi ad-Dīn as-Subkī (d. 771/1369). the following remarks are pertinent. Both Mu'jams were compiled by a student of the author. The Mu'jam of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam had been compiled by her student Ibn Hajar, that of as-Subkī by his student Ibn Sa'd aş-Şāliḥī (d. 759/1357). Both Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn Sa'd aṣ-Ṣāliḥī compiled Mu'jams for other male and female scholars. Abū al-Maḥāsin al-Ḥusaynī (d. 765/1364) said about Ibn Sa'd: "And he compiled (mu'jams and mashyakhahs) for many of his teachers and colleagues."81 Ibn Sa'd aṣ-Ṣāliḥī compiled mashyakhahs for 'Ā'ishah aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyyah, 'Abd al-Karīm ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ba'labakkī (d. 760/1358), 82 'Abd ar-Raḥīm ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb as-Salmī al-Ba'labkki (d. 737/1337), 83 and Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Najm al-Anṣārī (751/1350). 84 Ibn Kathīr attributes Ibn Sa'd's interest in compiling the mashyakhas to the fact he had a good knowledge of the names of ajzā' of Ḥadīth and their transmitters.85 Apart from the Mu'jam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam, Ibn Hajar also compiled, among others, the Mashyakhah of al-Qibābī and Fāṭimah.86

Ibn Sa'd al-Anṣārī died in 759/1357, that is 12 years before the death of as-Subkī. In fact, as-Subkī had seen a draft of his *Mu'jam* and made comments on it. ⁸⁷ Ibn Sa'd al-Anṣārī read the 16 gatherings of the *Mu'jam* in the presence of as-Subkī; the first gathering in seven sessions, the second in nine sessions. ⁸⁸ In the case of the *Mu'jam* of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam, it is true that Ibn Ḥajar finished its compilation in 803/1400, that

⁸⁰ See biographies no. 97, 103, 30^A.

⁸¹ Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī, *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1998), 60.

⁸² For his biography, see as-Subkī, *Mu jam ash-Shuyūkh*, 257.

⁸³ For his biography, see Ibn al- Imād, *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, 6:225.

⁸⁴ Mu jam ash-Shuyūkh li Tāj ad-Dīn Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ali as-Subkī, ed. Bashshār Awwād Ma rūf and others (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2004), 16. For the biography of Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā, see as-Subkī, Mu jam ash-Shuyūkh, 591-20.

⁸⁵ Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa an-Nihāyah* (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' at-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1988), 14:236.

⁸⁶ For other works compiled by Ibn Ḥajar, see Chapter 3.

⁸⁷ As-Subkī added to the *Mu'jam* the biographies of Khalīl ibn Aybak aṣ-Ṣafadī (entry no. 47), Khalīl ibn Kaykaldī al-'Alā'ī (entry no. 48), Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Asjadī (entry no. 33), and Jibrīl ibn Yāqūt al-Maṣrī (entry no. 45). The comments made by as-Subkī may be in the form of adding some more *ajzā* or books which he heard from a certain teacher. *Mu'jam ash-Shuyūkh*, 17.

⁸⁸ Muʻjam ash-Shuyūkh, 17.

is 2 years before the death of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam, but it is not clear whether she had seen a draft of it or not, nor whether it had been read to her.

The Mu'jam of as-Subkī includes the biographies of 172 male and female teachers, and is arranged alphabetically. The biographies of female teachers come at the end of the biographies of male teachers, not interspersed among them, as is the case of the Mu'jam of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam. The total number of female teachers in the Mu'jam of as-Subkī is twenty, but in the Mu'jam of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam there are 28 female teachers.

The compiler of the *Muʿjam* of as-Subkī divides each biography into three main parts. In the first part he gives some details on the personal life of the biographee. This includes his/her lineage, his/her teachers, what as-Subkī heard from him/her, his/her educational background, and what other scholars say about him/her, and the date of his/her death and birth. His main sources for this part are as-Subkī's *at-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, al-Birzālī's *Muʿjam ash-Shuyūkh*, and adh-Dhahabī's *Muʿjam ash-Shuyūkh*. In the second part, the compiler lists a report which as-Subkī heard from his teacher. In the third part, the compiler locates this report in the Ḥadīth collections based on al-Mizzī's *Tuḥfat al-Ashrāf*. What is unique about this part is that the compiler gives many details about the report quoted and its authenticity. He might explain difficult words in the text or give a short biography of the transmitter from al-Mizzī's *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*.

Usually, a biography of the author of a *Muʿjam*, or of the person for whom the *Muʿjam* was compiled, is provided within the *Muʿjam*. Such a biography can tell us about the places the author or the main protagonist visited, and the people he/she met. It also gives us an idea about the way of life he/she led, the events of his/her time he/she was involved in, and the sort of company he/she kept. Unfortunately, the compilers of the *Muʿjam* of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam and the *Muʿjam* of as-Subkī did not include a biography for the authors for whom the *Muʿjams* have been compiled.

⁸⁹ In very few entries, he quotes *Musnad Aḥmad*, *Sunan al-Bayhaqī* and the *Mustadrak* of al-Ḥākim.

⁹⁰ For comments on the narrators, see *Mu jam as-Subkī*, 173, 217, 249, 250, 261, 266, 272, 274, 276, and 296. For comments made by Ibn Hajar on the narrators, see for example biographies no. 3, 61, and 243. In one case Ibn Hajar identifies the name of one transmitter referred to in the *isnād* by his *kunyah* and family name. See the report quoted in biography no. 125.

⁹¹ See, for example, Mu 'jam as-Subkī, 40, 65, 75, 82, 130, 142, 171, 176, 200, 212,

⁹² See al-Majma' al-Mu'assis lil-Mu'jam al-Mufahras, 400-5.