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**Title:** Female Transmission of Hadith in the Mamluk Period : an annotated edition and study of Ibn Hajar's Mu`jam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam

**Issue Date:** 2014-04-29

## Chapter Four

### The World of the *Mu'jam*

#### Introduction

The purpose of the earliest biographical or *rijāl* works was to provide a means of testing the authenticity of Ḥadīth. Accordingly, a compendium of traditionists, or *mu'jam*, listed a traditionist's pre- and post-links in all the chains of transmission he was known to have taken part in, as well as his date of birth and date of death, and his known accuracy and probity, or otherwise. It was, therefore, as suggested by Morray, able to answer, in respect of a link in an *isnād*, three key questions: Did his verifiable dates allow him to have heard from the link after him? If they did, was he known to have heard from and passed on to the people in question? If he could, and did, hear from and recount to them, was he known to have been competent and disinterested enough to transmit the Ḥadīth exactly as he had heard it?<sup>1</sup>

The different styles of compiling such *Mu'jams* have been illustrated by Ibn Ḥajar in his introduction to his *mashyakhah* where we read: "It is the custom with learned men to collect the names of their shaykhs, in order to set a memorial for them and for later generations. In this, the scholars have adopted different methods. Some of them have made a difference between those from whom they had really heard the books and those from whom they had only received the *ijāzah*. Other scholars have put both groups in the same category. Some have recorded only one Ḥadīth after the name of the shaykh, so that the chain of *isnād* might not be broken. Others have indicated only those shaykhs from whom they had received a 'high *isnād*'.<sup>2</sup>

We are confronted with two styles of *Mu'jams* and *Mashyakhahs*. One is compiled by the teacher himself, the other by one of his students. The *Mu'jam* of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam is not a new invention. Long before Ibn Ḥajar, there are references in biographical dictionaries to *Mu'jams* and *Mashyakhahs*.

With regard to the *Mu'jams* and the *Mashyakhahs* composed by the teachers themselves, al-Kattānī gives a list of titles, the earliest of which dates back to the fourth/tenth century whereas the closest to Ibn Ḥajar is by 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Qazwīnī (eighth/fourteenth century).<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the *Mu'jams* compiled by a teacher's student or someone, al-Kattānī gives a list of more than thirty titles, the earliest of which goes back to the third/ninth century, while the closest to Ibn Ḥajar is the *Mashyakhah* of Ibn al-Khabbāz (eighth/fourteenth century). Of this list, 15 *Mu'jams* are devoted to female scholars.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> David Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable and his world: Ibn al-'Adīm and Aleppo as portrayed in his biographical dictionary of people associated with the city* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 8.

<sup>2</sup> Hellmut Ritter, "Autograph in Turkish Libraries." *Oriens VI* (1953):81.

<sup>3</sup> For the *Mu'jams*, see al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, 2:610-5; for the *Mashyakhahs*, see 2:629-52.

<sup>4</sup> The *Mashyakhah* of Shuhdah al-Kātibah, compiled by her student 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Mubārak (d. 574/1178) (for her biography, see Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, 4:248; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 3:178; the *Mashyakhah* of Sayyidah bint Mūsā al-Mārāniyyah (d. 695/1295); the *Mashyakhah* of 'Afifah al-Fārfāniyyah (d. 606/1209) (for her biography, see Adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 19:459.); the *Mashyakhah* of Wajīhah bint 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Iskandarāniyyah (d. 732/1331), compiled by Ibn Rāfi' and Taqī ad-Dīn ibn 'Arrām (for her biography, see Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 4:406, al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 8:111); the

#### 4.1. An Overview of the Development of *Mashyakhah*, *Mu'jam*, *Fahrasah*, and *Barnāmiḡ*

The rich literature on *Mu'jams* and *Mashyakhahs* compels us to sketch the headlines of the development of this genre. With the emergence of Islamic tradition (Ḥadīth), several genres of Islamic literature have developed. As important as the content of the Ḥadīth, is the chain of transmission, the *isnād*, which precedes each Ḥadīth. For accepting a certain Ḥadīth, the *isnād* has to be authentic and the content (*matn*) has to be in conformity with the Qur'ān and other authentic Ḥadīths. In the early stages, both *isnād* and text were written down but disseminated orally. But with the expansion of Islam and the enormous diversification of the different disciplines of learning, it was impossible to maintain the oral transmission as the only vehicle for passing on knowledge.<sup>5</sup>

At a later stage, historical and Tradition texts were written in all sorts of personal notebooks of transmitters, and later, in more organized collections that were indented for a larger audience. Though, in the end, books became accepted as the ordinary medium, the individual and personal approach nevertheless remained intact. Biographical literature emerged as one of the consequences of this individual and personal approach.<sup>6</sup> The "science of men", or *ilm ar-Rijāl*, developed into a critical method for the assessment of scholarly authority. Many biographical works were devoted to describing networks of scholarship and chains of transmission.<sup>7</sup> Several individual and personal genres developed, like the *fahrasah*, the *mashyakhah*, the *ma'ājim*, etcetera. In what follows I will try to sketch the evolution and development of the different kinds of these genres.

Studying at the hands of a certain teacher was one of the key features of Islamic education. The educational sessions (*ḥalaqah*) which the scholars of Ḥadīth used to hold, started very early in Muslim history. The prophet Muḥammad himself used to gather those who followed him in the house of al-Arqam ibn Abī al-Arqam (d. 53/672) to teach

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*Mashyakhah* of Ḥabībah bint al-Zayn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad al-Maqdisī (d. 733/1332) (for her biography, see Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 2:5-6.); the *Mashyakhah* of Zaynab bint Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd as-Salām (d. 735/1334) (for her biography, see Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, 6:110); the *Mashyakhah* of 'Ā'ishah bint Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Salāmah ibn al-Bahā' al-Ḥarrānī aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyyah (d. 736/1335), compiled by Shams ad-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd aṣ-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanbalī (759/1357) (for her biography, see Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 2:238, adh-Dhahabī, *Mu'jam Shuyūkh adh-Dhahabī*, 2:93-4.); the *Mashyakhah* of Zaynab bint al-Kamāl (d. 740/1339); the *Mashyakhah* of Fāṭimah bint al-'Izz Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar al-Maqdisiyyah (d. 747/1346) (for her biography, see Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 3:220); the *Mashyakhah* of Zaynab bint Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khabbāz (d. 750/1349) (for her biography, see Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 2:118-9); the *Mashyakhah* of 'Ā'ishah bint Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Hādī al-Maqdisiyyah (d. 816/1413) (for her biography, see as-Sakhāwī, *aḍ-Ḍaw'*, 12:81); the *Mashyakhah* of Zaynab bint 'Abd Allāh ibn As'ad al-Yāfi'ī aṣ-Ṣufī (d. 846/1442); the *Mashyakhah* of Sitt al-Ahl bint aṭ-Ṭabarī, compiled by Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Aqfahsī (d. 867/1462) (for her biography, see as-Sakhāwī, *aḍ-Ḍaw'*, 12:19-20, 53, 58.); the *Mashyakhah* of Asmā' bint 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Mahrānī (d. 867/1462) (for her biography, see as-Sakhāwī, *aḍ-Ḍaw'*, 12:6.); the *Mashyakhah* of Amatullāh bint 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Qurashī (d. deathdate unknown). Al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, 2:652-655.

<sup>5</sup> Jan Just Witkam, "The *Ijāza* in Arabic Manuscripts", 124-125.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

them.<sup>8</sup> It is narrated that: "While the prophet was sitting in the mosque with some people, three men came. Two of them came in front of him and the third one went away. The two persons kept on standing before the Prophet for a while and then one of them found a place in the circle and sat there ...."<sup>9</sup> After the death of the Prophet, his companions and followers applied the same methodology.

Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ ash-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245 ), in his *Muqaddimah*, mentioned two main styles of arranging Ḥadīths: 1. Arrangement by legal topics: this is the inclusion of Ḥadīths according to the legal and other issues they address, and grading them by type, bringing together the relevant material for each legal issue and each type, subject by subject.<sup>10</sup> 2. Arrangement of the Ḥadīth by *musnad* (‘*alā al-masānīd*) and the collections of the Ḥadīths of each Companion individually, even if the types of Ḥadīths differed.<sup>11</sup> He also mentioned a third type of arranging Ḥadīths, that is the collection of the Ḥadīths of particular teachers, each one of them separately.<sup>12</sup> He quoted ‘Uthmān ibn Sa‘īd ad-Dārimī (d. 280/894) as saying: "It is said that whoever does not collect the Ḥadīths of these five is bankrupt in Ḥadīth: Sufyān [ath-Thawrī], Shu‘bah (ibn al-Ḥajjāj), Mālik, Ḥammād ibn Zayd and [Sufyān] ibn ‘Uyaynah. They are the bases of the right religion."<sup>13</sup>

Imam as-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1496) added that some scholars used to write the biography of their teachers in their *Mu‘jam*s like aṭ-Ṭabarānī in his *al-Mu‘jam al-Awsaṭ* which was arranged alphabetically according to the names of the teachers.<sup>14</sup> As Fahndrich rightly stated: "Arabic biographical literature developed in close connection with *isnād*-criticism, i.e., the criticism of the validity of chains (*isnāds*) of transmitters of religio-legal stipulations from the early days of Islam. The interest in a person's reliability, however, soon led some biographers to an interest in more personal aspects of the persons he mentioned. The most important questions to be answered concerning every personality in this kind of biographical works, called *Ṭabaqāt*, or "Generations," were: Whom could he have seen? Whom did he actually see? From whom did he learn traditions? To whom did he teach traditions? And finally, traditions about what or whom did he hand down?"<sup>15</sup>

This genre is also considered as the first level of historiography because it provides firsthand information about the network of scholars. The drawback of this literature is the extent to which one can rely on a person's own writing about himself. However, there are ways to double check this information from other sources, especially from the *mashyakhah* of scholars whose names are mentioned as teachers and students.<sup>16</sup>

The increasing number of *ijāzah*s awarded to scholars was one of the reasons for introducing the genre of *Mu‘jam ash-Shuyūkh*. Leading Ḥadīth experts in Andalusia and

<sup>8</sup> Muwaffaq ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir, *‘Ilm al-Athbāt wa Ma‘ājim ash-Shuyūkh wal-Mashyakhāt wa fann Kitābat at-Tarājim* (Makkah: Jāmi‘at Umm al-Qurā, 2000), 61.

<sup>9</sup> Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2002), 29.

<sup>10</sup> Ash-Shahrazūrī, *An Introduction*, 179-180.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Abd al-Qādir, *‘Ilm al-Athbāt*, 76.

<sup>15</sup> Hartmut E. Fahndrich, "The Wafayāt al-A‘yān of Ibn Khallikān: A New Approach." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93, no. 4 (1973): 437.

<sup>16</sup> Recep Senturk, *Narrative Social Structure: Anatomy of Hadith Transmission Network, CE 610-1505* (Stanford University Press, 2005), 167.

the Maghreb took the initiative and compiled lists of the teachers with whom they studied.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the *ijāzah* became an important source for the history of scholarly and cultural networks in providing the details by which an entire cultural environment can be reconstructed.<sup>18</sup> A survey of biographical dictionaries of the Mamluk period would reveal that many women were awarded *ijāzahs* to transmit the texts they read before or heard from their teachers. Ibn Ḥajar reports that Zaynab bint al-Kamāl possessed a camel load of *ijāzahs*.<sup>19</sup>

## 4.2. General Definitions

### 4.2.1. The *Mashyakhah*

The *mashyakhah* is a collection in which the main attention is focused on the teachers with whom someone studied. The content of the *mashyakhah* includes the biographies of the teachers and the books studied under their direction. Late scholars included also in their *mashyakhahs* all important information about their teachers. An example of this is the *mashyakhah* of Ibn Jamā'ah (d. 733/1332).<sup>20</sup> He included, for instance, information about Ibrāhīm ibn Khalīl ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ādamī (biography no. 2), and Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Shākir (biography no. 16) and al-Ḥusayn ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Yūsuf al-Hamadhānī (biography no. 20). The criterion of the arrangement of the *mashyakhah* varies from one *mashyakhah* to another. Some *mashyakhahs* are arranged according to the significance of the teachers in the career path of the student.<sup>21</sup> Other *mashyakhahs* are arranged according to the death date of the teachers.<sup>22</sup> Others are arranged alphabetically according to the names of the teachers.<sup>23</sup>

### 4.2.2. The *Mu'jam*

Its distinctive feature is its alphabetical arrangement, as indicated by its name. Many of the *mu'jams* are in fact a subcategory of the *mashyakhah*. *Al-Mu'jam aṣ-Ṣaghīr* and *Al-Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ* of aṭ-Ṭabarānī belong to this category. Sometimes, the *mu'jam* was composed to list the names of the Companions in general, so it is not necessary that the *Mu'jam* is always about the names of the teachers of the author. *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* of aṭ-Ṭabarānī belongs to the second category. Some scholars define the *mu'jam* as a collections of Ḥadīths arranged according to the death dates of the teachers, or arranged in an alphabetical order. In some cases, the Ḥadīths are arranged according the status that the teacher occupied, but in most cases it is arranged alphabetically.<sup>24</sup> In fact, there are two more kinds of *Mu'jam*, the *mu'jam* exclusively dedicated to Ḥadīth teachers, and the *mu'jam* of all the teachers of whatever branch of scholarship.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Qāsim as-Samarrā'ī, "Al-Ijāzāt wa Taṭawwuruhā at-Tārīkhī," *Ālam al-Kutub* 2, no. 2 (1981), 283.

<sup>18</sup> Jan Just Witkam, "The *Ijāza* in Arabic Manuscripts", 135.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 2:118.

<sup>20</sup> *Mashyakhah Qādī al-Qudāh Shaykh al-Islām Badr ad-Dīn Abī 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Jamā'ah*, ed. Muwaffaq ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Qādir (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1988).

<sup>21</sup> Such as the *Mashyakhah* of Ibn al-Jawzī.

<sup>22</sup> Such as the *Mashyakhah* of Ibn al-Bukhārī.

<sup>23</sup> Such as the *Mashyakhah* of Ibn Jamā'ah.

<sup>24</sup> Al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, 2:610.

<sup>25</sup> Senturk, *Narrative*, 167-168.

In Andalusia and the Maghreb, *mu'jams* and *mashyakhahs* were given different names such as *fahrasah*, *thabat*, and *Barnāmaj*. They are all no more than synonyms of *mu'jam* and *mashyakhah*. By the fall of Andalusia, the word *Barnāmaj* almost disappeared and was replaced by the term *Fahrasah*. There was a very limited mention of the word in later collections.<sup>26</sup> The use of the word *Barnāmaj* alone in the titles of books by scholars in Andalusia and the Maghreb did not refer exactly to its content. Other words were used along with *Barnāmaj*, such as *Marwiyyāt*, *Riwāyāt*, or *Masmū'āt*. In some cases, the materials of the *Barnāmaj* are limited to the narrations of Ḥadīth and their chains of transmissions without any reference to the biographies of teachers. In other cases, words like *Shuyūkh*, *Ashyākh*, or *Mashyakhah* are added to the title of the *Barnāmaj*. In those cases, the materials are focused on the biographies of teachers. Scholars in Andalusia followed the style of scholars in the East when they included in the introductions to their works their methodological methods.

#### 4.3. Different Structures of *Mu'jams* and *Mashyakhahs*

There is a huge number of *Mu'jams* and *Mashyakhahs* available to us, whether printed or still in manuscript form, and they have different styles of composition. Experts in this genre of literature have identified five different structures.<sup>27</sup>

##### 4.3.1. The School of *Isnāds* and Teachers' Transmissions (*Marwiyyāt*)

All the *Mu'jams* and *Mashyakhahs* that were written in the early period lead us to conclude that the main focus of their authors was on the transmissions of a certain Ḥadīth, or a book or a *juz'*<sup>28</sup> through a certain *isnād* all the way to its first source. In so doing, the authors did not pay any attention to the biographies of the Shaykhs. They mentioned only their names, their fathers' names, their schools of thought, their birth place, the place where they read such Ḥadīths to their teachers, and the date of meeting them in some cases.<sup>29</sup>

In many cases, the author of a certain *Mu'jam* or *Mashyakhah* does not mention the title of the book or the *juz'* which he narrates, but only the *isnād* thereof all the way back to the original author of the book using one of the different methods of transmission.<sup>30</sup> Not focusing on the detailed biography of the teacher does not necessarily mean that the authors of the *Mu'jam* or *Mashyakhah* did not talk about their reliability. Some *Mu'jams* and *Mashyakhahs* mentioned in brief the status of certain scholars as being of a good reputation in the field of transmission or otherwise. Other *Mu'jams* and *Mashyakhahs* commented on the Ḥadīths being narrated and on whether they were authentic, weak, or fabricated.<sup>31</sup>

As mentioned above, giving the *Mashyakhahs* the name of *Mu'jam ash-Shuyūkh* meant that the names of the teachers were arranged in accordance with the letters of the

<sup>27</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Qādir, *Ilm al-Athbāt*, 79.

<sup>28</sup> *Juz'* refers to the Ḥadīths of a one person or Ḥadīths collected on just one topic. See, Mohammad Akram Nadwi, *Al-Muḥaddithāt: The Women Scholars in Islam* (Interface Publications, Oxford-London, 2006), 132.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Qādir, *Ilm al-Athbāt*, 79.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

alphabet in their oriental sequence. But the consistency, as al-Qadi notes, does not go very far: only the first letter of the first name of a given teacher was taken into consideration. Thus people with names like "Ibrāhīm", "Aḥmad", "Ishāq", and "Ādam" came first, simply because the first letter of their names is an *alif*. Within this letter, as in all other letters, there was no particular order whatsoever: neither the second nor the following letters of the name were taken into consideration. The reader, al-Qadi argues, thus knows approximately where the biographies of certain persons are going to be, but only within the large range of the first letter of their first names.<sup>32</sup> This kind of arrangement was followed in later centuries. Many authors of *Mu'jams* used to begin with the name Muḥammad or Aḥmad as they are the names of the Prophet. The *Mu'jam*<sup>33</sup> of Abū Ya'la Aḥmad ibn al-Muthannā at-Tamīmī al-Mawṣilī (d. 307/919) and the *Mu'jam* of Ibn Jamī' aṣ-Ṣaydāwī (402/1012) are good examples of this category. In some other cases, the author began with his father's name or the name of one of his leading teachers, especially if it began with the letter *alif*.

Examples of this first structure include: the *Mu'jam ash-Shuyūkh* of Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571/1175)<sup>34</sup> which he arranged alphabetically, starting the letter *alif* with those named Aḥmad; the *Mu'jam*<sup>35</sup> of ad-Dimiyāṭī (d. 705/1305)<sup>36</sup> who began with those named Muḥammad followed by those named Aḥmad, while ending each letter with the names of his female teachers;<sup>37</sup> the *Al-Mu'jam al-Laṭīf*<sup>38</sup> of adh-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347)<sup>39</sup> who began with those named Aḥmad but was unable to maintain the alphabetical order because many of his teachers co-narrated certain *Āḥād Ḥadīths*.<sup>40</sup>

#### 4.3.2. The School of the Transmission and Teachers' Biography

The second structure of *Mu'jams* and *Mashyakhas* is based on two elements: The first element presents some details about the social, historical, and scientific aspects of the life of the author's teachers. The second element focuses on narrating as many transmissions of the teachers and tracking some chains of transmissions in some cases. 'Abd al-Qādir argues it is very difficult to identify the first *Mu'jam* or *Mashyakha* that applied this new style because some *Mu'jams* are still in manuscript, or have been lost. However, the available materials tell us that the sixth century of the Hijrah represents a developed phase of this structure.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Wadad al-Qadi, "Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance," in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. George N. Atiyer (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 105.

<sup>33</sup> The *Mu'jam* has been edited by Ḥusayn Salīm Asad (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'mūn li at-Turāth, 1989).

<sup>34</sup> The *Mu'jam* has been edited by Wafā' Taqī ad-Dīn (Damascus: Dār al-Bashā'ir, n.d.).

<sup>35</sup> A microfilm of the MS is available at Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyyah, Tunisia. See 'Abd al-Qādir, *Ilm Al-Athbāt*, 97, note 2.

<sup>36</sup> Sharaf ad-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn Khalaf ad-Dimiyāṭī ash-Shāfi'ī. For his biography, see Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, 8:23-24

<sup>37</sup> 'Abd al-Qādir, *Ilm al-Athbāt*, 97.

<sup>38</sup> The *Mu'jam* has been edited by Jāsim Sulaymān ad-Dusarī (Kuwait: Ad-Dār as-Salafiyyah, 1988)

<sup>39</sup> Shams ad-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān adh-Dhahabī. For his biography, see al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 5:326.

<sup>40</sup> 'Abd al-Qādir, *Ilm Al-Athbāt*, 97-98

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

An example of this structure is the *Ghunyah*<sup>42</sup> of al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (d 544/1149).<sup>43</sup> He arranged the *Mu'jam* alphabetically. He began the book with those named Muḥammad and then began the letter *alif* with those named Aḥmad, followed by those named Ibrāhīm. The rest of the biographies cover the letters *hā'*, *kha'*, *'ayn*, *ghayn*, *mīm*, *sīn*, *shīn*, *hā'* and *yā'*. Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ divides each biography into two sections. In the first section, he is mainly concerned with providing short biographies of his teachers and highlighting the social, cultural, and historical aspects of their life. He also provides some details about the famous teachers of his own teachers. In addition to this, he mentions some of the positions his teachers occupied. In the second section of the biography, he mentions the books or the Ḥadīths which he heard from his teachers. In some entries, he cites some abstracts of those books or Ḥadīths. The length of the biographies differs from one entry to another according to the scientific position of the teacher or based on the efforts that al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ had put in collecting the raw materials of each biography.<sup>44</sup>

#### 4.3.3. The School of Arranging *Mu'jams* and *Mashykhahs* Chronologically According to the Death Dates of Teachers

Many *Mu'jams* and *Mashykhahs* made the death dates of the teachers the basis of their structure. This style is similar to the *Wafayāt* biographical dictionaries.<sup>45</sup> The *Wafayāt* works follow the events of a given year or decade with obituaries of the notable persons who died therein.<sup>46</sup> Knowing the death dates of teachers is very important in sifting out Ḥadīths. It is recorded that Sufyān ath-Thawrī said, "When transmitters use falsehood, we employ dates against them."<sup>47</sup> Ḥafṣ ibn Ghiyāth (d. 195/810 or 196/811) is reported to have said, "When you have suspicions about a teacher, settle his account by years."<sup>48</sup> Also Ismā'īl ibn 'Ayyāsh<sup>49</sup> (d. 181/797) said, "I was in Iraq and the scholars of Ḥadīth came to me and said, 'There is a man who transmits Ḥadīth from Khālīd ibn Ma'dān over there.' I went to him and said, 'In which year did you write Ḥadīth from Khālīd ibn Ma'dān?' He said, 'In the year, 13', that is, 13/731. I said, 'Do you claim that you heard Ḥadīth from Khālīd ibn Ma'dān seven years after his death?'"<sup>50</sup>

An example of this type is Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mirzibān al-Baghawī's (d. 317/929) *Tārīkh wafayāt ash-Shuyūkh alladhīn adrakahum al-Baghawī*.<sup>51</sup> Al-Baghawī arranged the book according to the death dates of his teachers in the period from 255 to 280. He sometimes mentioned the places where they were buried, but he was not concerned with mentioning what he transmitted from them.<sup>52</sup> It is noteworthy, however, that the *Mu'jams* and the *Mashyakhahs*, which were not arranged

<sup>42</sup> The *Fihris* has been edited by Māhir Zuhayr Jarrār (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1982).

<sup>43</sup> Abū al-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ ibn Mūsā ibn 'Iyāḍ ibn 'Amrūn ibn Mūsā ibn 'Iyāḍ ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī as-Sabtī. For his biography, see Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, 6:226-7.

<sup>44</sup> 'Abd al-Qāḍir, *Ilm al-Athbāt*, 100-102.

<sup>45</sup> 'Abd al-Qāḍir, *Ilm al-Athbāt*, 128.

<sup>46</sup> R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., London. New Work, 1992), 189.

<sup>47</sup> Ash-Shahrazūrī, *An Introduction*, 299.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> For his biography, see adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 8:312-328, al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 1:320.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> The book has been edited by the India scholar Muḥammad 'Uzayr Shams (Bombay: ad-Dār as-Salafiyyah, n.d.).

<sup>52</sup> 'Abd al-Qāḍir, *Ilm al-Athbāt*, 134.

on the basis of the death dates of the teachers, did not neglect mentioning those death dates.<sup>53</sup>

#### 4.3.4. The School of *Mu'jams* and *Mashyakhahs* Based on the Biographies of Teachers Who Gave an *Ijāzah*

Some authors confined their *Mu'jams* and *Mashyakhahs* to the biographies of the teachers who conferred upon them an *ijāzah* (the right to transmit a text). In the usual formula of the *ijāzah*, the teacher tells the students orally, in writing, or through correspondence, "I give you the right to transmit such and such books from me, or my authentic transmissions that you have heard from me."<sup>54</sup> The arrangement of each *Mu'jam* within this genre differs from one text to another. Some authors arranged the biographies of their teachers who gave them an *ijāzah* according to the cities they visited. An example of this is Abū Ṭāhir as-Silafī's *al-Wajīz fī Dhikr al-Mujāz wal-Mujīz*.<sup>55</sup> Other authors arranged the biographies chronologically according to the death dates of the biographees. An example of this is the *Mashyakhah* of Ṣā'in ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Anjab an-Na'āl al-Baghdādī (d. 695/1295).<sup>56</sup> Other examples include Ibn Ḥajar's *Mashyakhah ibn al-Kuwayk*<sup>57</sup> *al-ladhīn ajāzū lahu*, and Ibn Ḥajar's *al-Arba'ūn al-Mujtāzah 'an Shuyūkh al-Ijāzah*.<sup>58</sup> Another concrete example of this genre is the *Mu'jam ash-Shuyūkh* of 'Umar ibn Fahd al-Hāshimī al-Mālikī (d. 885/1480).

#### 4.3.5. The School of *Mu'jams* and *Mashyakhahs* Based on the Teachers of Cities Visited by Scholars

Traveling to other cities to hear Ḥadīths from other scholars is one of the highly recommended customs of Ḥadīth students. Ibn Aṣ-Ṣalāḥ said: "When the student starts to study Ḥadīth, let him buckle down and work hard. He should begin by hearing Ḥadīth from the teacher in his city with the best *isnād* and the one most worthy from the standpoint of knowledge, fame, nobility, and so forth, and then the next most worthy. When he finishes hearing the elevated and important Ḥadīth of his town, let him travel to other lands. We heard that Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn said, 'There are four people in whom you cannot detect any proper behavior: the watchman of a street, the herald of a judge, the son of a Ḥadīth transmitter, and the man who writes Ḥadīth in his own land and does not travel to study Ḥadīth.' We heard that Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal was asked, 'Should a man travel to acquire elevation in Ḥadīth?' He said, 'Yes, by God! Energetically!' Ḥadīth from 'Umar [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] used to reach 'Alqamah [b. Qays] and al-Aswad<sup>59</sup> and they were not satisfied with them until they went to 'Umar and heard from him directly. God knows best. We heard that Ibrāhīm ibn Adham said, 'God deflects adversity from this community through the traveling of the scholars of Ḥadīth'."<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>55</sup> The book has been edited by Muḥammad Khayr al-Biqā'ī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, Beirut, 1991).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>57</sup> Sirāj ad-Dīn Abū aṭ-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Abī al-Faṭḥ ar-Rib'ī (d. 807/1404). For his biography, see Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, 9:108

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>59</sup> Abū Sallām al-Aswad al-Hilālī al-Kūfī (d. 84/703). For his biography, see adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4:257.

<sup>60</sup> Ash-Shahrazūrī, *An Introduction*, 175-76.

Due to the many travels undertaken by Ḥadīth students, many of them arranged their *mu'jams* based on the teachers of the cities they traveled to. A unique example of this genre is the *Mu'jam* of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Sufyān al-Fasawī (d. 277/890) which has the biography of 300 teachers from different cities. As-Sakhāwī informs us that he arranged the biographies according to the cities he visited.<sup>61</sup> Another example is the *Mu'jam* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī ibn 'Āṣim al-Muqri' (d. 381/991). Ibn al-Muqri' said, "This is a book in which I collected the names of the Ḥadīth teachers from whom I heard Ḥadīth in al-Hijāz, Mecca, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, etc..."<sup>62</sup> Other examples include Ibn 'Abdūs<sup>63</sup> *Shuyūkh al-Buldān*, as-Silafī's *al-Mashyakhah al-Baghdādiyyah*, *Mu'jam Shuyūkh Aṣbahān*, and *Al-Arba'ūn al-Baladiyyah*, Ibn 'Asākir's *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*,<sup>64</sup> as-Sabtī's<sup>65</sup> *Mal' al-'Aybah bimā jumi'ah bi-ṭūl al-ghaybah fil-wajhah al-wajīhah ilā al-Ḥaramayn Makkah wa Taybah*.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> 'Abd al-Qādir, *Ilm al-Athbāt*, 153-154.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>63</sup> Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdūs (d. ca 400/1009). For his biography, see adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 17:58.

<sup>64</sup> The book has been edited by Muḥammad Muṭī' al-Ḥāfiẓ (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āṣir, n.d.), another edition by Muṣṭafā 'Āshūr under the title *Arba'ūna ḥadīthan li arba'īna shaykhan min arba'īna baldah* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān, n.d.).

<sup>65</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Rushayd al-Fihri as-Sabtī (d. 721/1231). For his biography, see Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, 8:102

<sup>66</sup> The book has been edited by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥabīb ibn al-Khūjah (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, n.d.).