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Author: Khalifa, Mohsen Abdelaty Haredy

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Chapter Five

Women and Ḥadīth During the Mamluk Period

5.1 Introduction: Women's Authority as Ḥadīth Transmitters

Before delving into the life and career of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam al-Adhra'īyyah, let me outline the position of Ḥadīth scholars on women's reports. The early scholars of Ḥadīth did not stipulate that a Ḥadīth's being reported by a man is a condition of its acceptability or its being reported by a woman is a condition for its rejection. The Mu'tazilah, a sect of rationalists in the early period, were the strictest in their rule that they would not consider a Ḥadīth as sound unless it came from two independent narrators in every generation going all the way back to the original speaker. However, they did not require that the two narrators had to be male.¹

While specifying the characteristics of those whose transmission is accepted and those whose transmission is rejected, the great expert in Ḥadīth, Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245), did not distinguish between a Ḥadīth reported by a male and another reported by a female.² In a section entitled "Enumeration of the ways in which a *muḥaddith* and *shāhid* are similar and dissimilar" al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) notes that: "As for the ways in which they are different, it is in terms of the prerequisites that a witness (*shāhid*) be free, not a parent or child or a relative [of the parties to the case] which would raise suspicion [of bias], and that he should not be a biased friend. [There are the additional requirements that] there be one man in some cases of testimony, and two men in some, and four men in other cases. All of these are not considered with regard to a person relating a Ḥadīth report (*mukhbir*) because we accept the report of a slave and a woman and a friend and others [who, in certain cases, may be unacceptable as witnesses]."³ Al-Khaṭīb also observed: "[after all,] our pious learned predecessors (*'ulamā' as-Salaf*) accepted the narrations of women, slaves, and those who were not known for their legal expertise even if they narrated merely one or two ḥadīths."⁴

The seventh century scholar Ibn Rushayq al-Mālikī (d. 632/1234) discussed the acceptability of reports originating in a single narrator. He mentioned some examples of accepted narrators, and it is worth noting that the names of three women Companions headed the list. He said: "They (the Companions and their successors) relied on the narration of a single person, like the narration of 'Ā'ishah (d. 57/676), Ḥafṣah (d. 41/661), Umm Salamah (d. 59/678), Abū Hurayrah (d. 59/678), Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687), Ibn 'Umar (d. 74/693), Abū Bakr (d. 13/634), 'Uthmān (d. 35/655) and countless other people."⁵

The thirteenth century leading jurist Muḥammad ash-Shawkānī (d. 647/1250) confirmed that it had never been reported that a scholar rejected a Ḥadīth because it had

¹ Nadwi, *al-Muḥaddithāt*, 23.

² *Ibid.*, 24.

³ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Al-Kifāyah fī 'Ilm ar-Riwāyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1988), 94, quoted from Asma Sayeed, *Shifting Fortunes*, 198. Emphasis was added by Asma Sayeed.

⁴ Asma Sayeed, *Shifting Fortunes*, 234.

⁵ Nadwi, *al-Muḥaddithāt*, 24

been transmitted by a woman.⁶ Adh-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) even said: "We have never known of a woman who was charged with lies or a woman whose reports were rejected."⁷ Ibn 'Arrāq al-Kinānī (d. 963/1556) devoted an entire chapter of his famous book *Tanzīh ash-Sharī'ah al-Marfū'ah 'an al-Aḥādīth al-Mawḍū'ah* to listing hundreds of fabrications, where no woman's name crops up, not even once.⁸

The soundness of a particular Ḥadīth is based on the personal qualities of the transmitters, male and female alike, and how well the links between the individuals in the chains of narration could be verified. Naturally, some chains were preferred over others. The reports that begin with 'Ā'ishah are considered to be among the best chains. This is substantiated by the following statement of Yahya ibn Ma'īn (d. 233/847) who is reported to have said: 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Umar (d. 147/764) from al-Qāsim (ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr as-Siddīq, d. 106/724 or 112/730) from 'Ā'ishah is a solid golden chain of transmission."⁹

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī reported that Wakī' ibn al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197/812) was once asked to indicate his preference among these three chains: (1) Hishām ibn 'Urwah (d. 146/763) from his father 'Urwah (d. 93/711) from 'Ā'ishah; (2) Aflāḥ ibn Ḥumayd (d. 158/774) from al-Qāsim (ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr) from 'Ā'ishah; (3) Sufyān (ath-Thawri, d. 161/777) from Manṣūr ibn al-Muṭ'amir (d. 132/749) from Ibrāhīm (an-Nakha'ī d. 96/714) from al-Aswad (ibn Yazīd d. 74/693) from 'A'ishah. He said: "We do not consider anyone equal to the people of our city [Kufa]. Sufyān from Manṣūr from Ibrāhīm from al-Aswad from 'Ā'ishah is more highly appreciated to me."¹⁰ His own reason for this choice, as noted by Nadwi, was that these transmitters were based in Kufa and he would have first-hand assurance of their quality.¹¹

Early Ḥadīth scholars also praised the reports transmitted from Umm Salamah. Al-Ḥākim An-Nīsābūrī reports that Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), Yahyā ibn Ma'īn, and 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī (d. 234/848) gathered with a group of Ḥadīth scholars and discussed the best of all good chains. "One of them said: The best is Shu'bah (ibn al-Ḥajjāj, d. 160/776) from Qatādah (d. 118/736) from Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab (d. 93/711) from 'Āmir (ibn Abī Umayyah) the brother of Umm Salamah from Umm Salamah [herself]."¹²

However, there are other scholars who consider gender to be a factor in assessing the legal validity of Ḥadīth. Here reference is made two narrations attributed to the female Companions Fāṭimah bint al-Qays and Busrah bint Ṣafwān. Four main variants of Fāṭimah's ḥadīth speak of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's criticism of her ḥadīth. The fourth

⁶ Ash-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-Awṭār*, 8:122.

⁷ Adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-Itidāl fī Naqd ar-Rijāl*, 4:64.

⁸ Ibn 'Arrāq al-Kinānī, *Tanzīh ash-Sharī'ah al-Marfū'ah 'an al-Aḥādīth al-Mawḍū'ah*, 1:19-133, cited in Nadwi, "Al-Muḥaddithāt: Notes for a talk on the women scholars In Islam", online post: http://www.interfacepublications.com/images/pdf/AKRAM_Article2.pdf (accessed July 5, 2009).

⁹ Nadwi, *al-Muḥaddithāt*, 24.

¹⁰ Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Kifāyah*, 174.

¹¹ Nadwi, *al-Muḥaddithāt*, 25.

¹² *Ibid.*

asserts gender-based rejection by Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam.¹³ Fāṭimah's ḥadīth was rejected in sum or in part by various jurists across regional centers. Not all of the jurists, however, mention Fāṭimah's gender as the reason for rejecting her tradition.¹⁴ Sayeed contextualizes the two reports in terms of early methodological debates on the legal authority of isolated reports and concludes that the *shahadah* (legal testimony) and *riwāyah* (Ḥadīth transmission) are distinct with respect to gendered criteria.¹⁵

5.2 Women's Education in the Mamluk Period: An Overview

Previous studies concluded that women played a very active role in the transmission of the Prophetic traditions (Ḥadīth) throughout much of Islamic history. Recent studies show that women of the Companion generation participated actively in this domain of religious knowledge. However, a decline of women can be observed in the historical record from the mid-second to the mid-fourth centuries. In the second half of the fourth century, women re-emerged in the sources on Ḥadīth learning and transmission. From this period until well into the Mamluk era, women acquired exemplary reputations as Ḥadīth transmitters.¹⁶ This revival is connected with the impact of traditionalist Sunnī Islam, as it was successful in mobilizing women in Sunnī circles after the fourth century and engaging them in one of the most public activities in the sphere of religious learning: Ḥadīth transmission.¹⁷ The education of any woman began within the closest kinship circle. When listing the names of those with whom a certain individual had studied, as-Sakhāwī and other biographers begin with a female biographee's father, grandfather, or uncle, and only then move on to others.¹⁸ For example, Amat ar-Raḥīm bint Muḥammad al-Yūnīniyyah (d. 739/1328) studied *Musnad an-Nisā'* from the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal with her father, the great *muḥaddith* and

¹³ Asma Sayeed, "Gender and legal Authority: An Examination of Early Juristic Opposition to Women's Ḥadīth Transmission," *Islam Law and Society* 16 (2009), p. 124.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

¹⁶ Asma Sayeed, *Shifting Fortunes*, iii. To the list mentioned in the introduction, one can add the following monographs: Amīnah Muḥammad Jamāl ad-Dīn, *an-Nisā' al-Muḥaddithāt fil-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī wa-dawruhunna fil-Ḥayāh al-Adabiyyah wa ath-Thaqāfiyyah*, (Cairo: Dār al-Hidāyah, 2003); Āmāl Qirdāsh, *Dawr al-Mar'ah fi khidmat al-Ḥadīth fil-Qurūn ath-Thalāthah al-'Ulā* (Doha: Wazārat al-Awqāf, 1999); Richard Bulliet, "Women and the Urban Religious Elite in the Pre-Mongol Period," in *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, ed. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 68-79; Asma Afsaruddin, "Muslim Views on Education: Parameters, Purview and Possibilities" *Journal of Catholic Legal Studies* 44:143 (2005), section VII, 163-66. For general works on Muslim education, see Arthur Stanley Tritton, *Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages* (London: Luzac, 1957); Mohammed Abdul Muid Khan, "The Muslim Theories of Education during the Middle Ages," *Islamic Culture* XVIII (1944): 418-433; George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions and Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981); *idem* "Madrasa and University in the Middle Ages", *Studia Islamica* 32 (1970): 255-64; *idem*, *Religion, Law, and Learning in Classical Islam*. London: Variorum, 1991; *idem*, "The Scholastic Method in Medieval Education: An Inquiry into its Origin in Law and Theology," *Speculum* 49:4 (1974): 640-61; *idem*, "The Madrasa as a Charitable Trust, and the University as a Corporation in the Middle Ages," *Correspondence d'Orient* 11 (1970): 329-37; Ahmad Shalabi, *History of Muslim Education* (Beirut, 1954).

¹⁷ Asma Sayeed, *Shifting Fortunes*, 290. For a more detailed discussion on Sunnī Islam, see Scott Lucas, *Constructive Critics, Ḥadīth Literature, and the Articulation of Sunnī Islām* (Boston: Brill, 2004).

¹⁸ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 169.

great jurist Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Yūnīnī (8th c.)¹⁹ Umm al-Ḥusayn bint ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn As‘ad al-Yāf‘ī learned the art of writing, certain chapters of the Qur’ān and *al-Arba‘ūn* of An-Nawawī from her mother.²⁰ Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥāmid ash-Shāfi‘ī, one of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam’s teachers,²¹ is said to have heard Ḥadīths from his mother Mawhūbah bint ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Asākir.²²

Women could be educated and sexual boundaries preserved by providing for instruction from family members; fathers, brothers, or husbands. Even so, many women studied with and received *ijāzahs* from scholars outside the immediate family circles, and very often the scholars with whom they studied were themselves women.²³ This, asserts Berkey, is not to suggest that education took place in a group segregated by sex. On the contrary, many men and women were instructed by and received *ijāzahs* from learned women.²⁴ This is clearly illustrated in biographical dictionaries that cover the Mamluk period.

The father of Zaynab at-Ṭukhiyyah (d. 789/1388) made her memorize the Qur’ān, and taught her to write. He also instructed her in a number of books such as *al-Ḥāwī aṣ-Ṣaghīr fil-Furū‘* of Najm ad-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Qazwīnī, *al-Mukhtasar* of Abū Shujā‘ Aḥmad al-Iṣfahānī, and *al-Mulḥah* of Abū Muḥammad Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī.²⁵ After Zaynab’s marriage, her husband, ash-Shams ibn Rajab assumed the responsibility of her education. He undertook to continue her education guiding her through the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and that of Muslim.

Also Zaynab bint Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad studied Ḥadīth of Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān ibn Muḥammad as-Samarqandī (d. 345/956) with her husband Taqī ad-Dīn Sulaymān ibn Ḥamzah al-Maqdisī in his house in 715/1315.²⁶

Beyond the closest circle, women would study with other teachers in their towns. This supports the idea that women’s education was not confined to teachers within the family only, but women went to other teachers in their respective towns. For example, Zāhidah bint Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī al-Khabbāz studied *Intikhāb at-Ṭabarānī li-ibnihi ‘alā Ibn Fāris* with 21 teachers in 718/1318 in her town.²⁷

‘Ā’ishah al-Maqdisiyyah studied with Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥajjār: *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb Dhamm al-Kalām* of al-Harawī, the *Juz’* of Abū al-Jahm, the *Amālī* of Ibn An-Naṣīr, *Musnad ‘Umar* of An-Najjād, *al-Arba‘ūn* of al-‘Ājurī, the *Musnad* of ‘Abd ibn Ḥumayd. With Sharaf ad-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-

¹⁹ Nadwī, *Al-Muḥaddithāt*, 99. For her biography, see adh-Dhahabī, *Muj‘am ash-Shuyūkh* (At-Tā’if: Maktabat aṣ-Ṣiddīq, n. d.), 1:189.

²⁰ As-Sakhāwī, *Aḍ-Ḍaw‘ al-Lāmi‘ li ahl al-Qarn at-Tāsi‘* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, n.d.), 12:140; cf. Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 169.

²¹ For more on him, see biography no. 87.

²² Ibn Rāfi‘ as-Sallāmī, *Al-Wafayāt*, 1:269-70. For more on his mother, see adh-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, ed. Bashshār ‘Awwad Ma‘rūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2003), 15/514.

²³ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 172.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ As-Sakhāwī, *aḍ-Ḍaw‘*, 12:45; cf. Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 169.

²⁶ Nadwī, *Al-Muḥaddithāt*, 101.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 103.

Ghannī she studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim; with ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Mu‘azzam al-Ayyūbī she studied the *Sīrah* of Ibn Ishaq and *Juz’ al-Biṭāqah*.²⁸

Families belonging to the higher classes took care to educate their female offspring. This was done for many reasons; either to assure their opportunities in securing better husbands, and/or in order to enhance their social positions within their religious community. In the first place, through a religious education, women were expected to elevate their moral and social standards and behavior.²⁹

The biographical dictionaries comment that boys began their education and received *ijāzahs* at young ages. Their sisters shared in this distinction.³⁰ Zaynab bint ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-‘Irāqī al-Qāhirī (d. 865/1461) accompanied her brother to classes given by her father and other prominent scholars such as al-Farsīsī and al-Haythamī on the first day of her fifth year.³¹ Zaynab bint ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad (d. 855/1452) was brought before al-Jammāl ‘Abd Allāh al-Bājī for the first time at the age of two.³² Tatar bint Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad was brought before Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd ibn Ḥamzah al-Maqdisī at the age of two.³³ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī brought one of his daughters to hear the recitation of particular collections of Ḥadīth in the third year after her birth.³⁴ Sārah bint ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Kāfi as-Subkī received an *ijāzah* to transmit Ḥadīth before her fourth birthday.³⁵ In Ash-Shaykhah Maryam’s *Mu‘jam* there is a reference to Sitt al-‘Abīd bint ‘Umar ibn Abī Bakr ad-Dunaysirī (d. 734/1333) who attended the classes of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ruzmān (d. 661/1262) at the age of three.³⁶ The same holds true for Asmā’ bint Ya‘qūb ibn Aḥmad ibn Ya‘qūb. Ibn Rāfi‘ tells that she heard the second portion of the Ḥadīth of Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥammad, better known as Ibn al-Mutayyam (d. 409/1018), in the classes of Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārūthī at the age of three.³⁷ Khadījah bint ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar aṣ-Ṣanhāji attended the classes of al-Mu‘īn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ad-Dimashqī at the age of four.³⁸ Such exposure, as Berkey suggests, held value as the first step in a process of familiarizing the young students with the world of knowledge and the general interest that Mamluk families had in the learning of Prophetic traditions as an entry to the world of religious knowledge.

It had become a custom that both males and females learned Ḥadīth from teachers visiting their towns. When Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mubārak al-Zabīdī visited Damascus, the people crowded around him to read the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī with him in al-Jāmi‘ al-Muzaḥḥarī in 630/1232. Khadījah bint Muḥammad ibn Sa‘d ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Maqdisiyyah (d. 701/1301), Zaynab bint Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Is‘ardī (d. 705/1305),

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Huda Lutfi, "As-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb An-Nisā'*", 121.

³⁰ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 170.

³¹ As-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw'*, 12:41-2.

³² *Ibid.*, 12:42.

³³ *Ibid.*, 12:15. For similar cases, see as-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw'*, 12:15, 51, 79, 129, 158.

³⁴ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 170. For similar cases, see as-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw'*, 12:24, 34, 39, 99, 126.

³⁵ As-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw'*, 12:51; Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 170. For similar cases, see as-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw'*, 12:8, 15, 38, 53,

³⁶ Biography no. 103.

³⁷ Muḥammad ibn Rāfi‘ as-Sallāmī, *Al-Wafayāt*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Maḥdī ‘Abbās (Beirut: Mu‘assasat ar-Risālah, 1982): 2:237. For her biography in the *Mu‘jam*, see no. 63.

³⁸ See biography no. 94.

Umm al-Khayr Fāṭimah bint Ibrāhīm ibn Maḥmūd, Umm al-Ḥasan Fāṭimah bint ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn ‘Amr al-Farrā’ attended al-Zabīdī’s classes.³⁹

Although women of the Mamluk period did not enroll in formal classes, women may be found studying alongside men.⁴⁰ Khadijah and Zaynab, daughters of Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh, were brought by their father to hear the recitation of the *Saḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī at al-Zāhiriyyah school.⁴¹ Of course, this school was attended by both boys and girls. As-Sakhāwī tells us that he heard, in Damascus, a recitation of traditions by Sitt al-Quḍāh bint Abī Bakr ibn Zurayq (d. 863/1459) in the company of her granddaughter, ‘Āsiyah bint Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ad-Dimashqīyyah and her brother Ibrāhīm.⁴² Also, as-Sakhāwī heard Ḥadīths from some teachers in the company of ‘Ā’ishah bint Ibrāhīm ibn Khalīl ibn ‘Abd Allāh.

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam’s *Mu’jam* is full of teachers who heard from female teachers. Shāmiyyah bint al-Bakrī (d. 685/1286)⁴³ appears in the biography of ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn ‘Abd An-Nūr ibn Munīr al-Ḥalabī,⁴⁴ Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Ghannī,⁴⁵ ‘Abd ar-Raḥman ibn Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr al-Jawharī,⁴⁶ ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Qaysī,⁴⁷ ‘Uthmān ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Zāhirī,⁴⁸ ‘Alī ibn Bakr ibn Ṭayy al-Zubayrī,⁴⁹ and Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Ḥayyan al-Andalusī.⁵⁰

Zaynab bint Makkī (d. 688/1289)⁵¹ appears in the biography of Aḥmad ibn Muẓaffar ibn Bakkār An-Nābulī,⁵² Aḥmad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Rashīd al-Ḥalabī,⁵³ ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Maṣṣūr ar-Rib‘ī,⁵⁴ ‘Abd al-Ghālīb ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Māksīnī,⁵⁵ ‘Uthmān ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Zāhirī,⁵⁶ and ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Hamadḥānī.⁵⁷

Ḥalimah bint ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad (d. 653/1255)⁵⁸ appears in the biography of Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Muḥsin.⁵⁹ Zaynab bint Aḥmad ibn Kāmil al-

³⁹ Nadwi, *Al-Muḥaddithāt*, 103-4.

⁴⁰ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 171.

⁴¹ As-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw’*, 12:31, 47.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 12:3.

⁴³ For her biography, see adh-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 15/542; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, 5/391.

⁴⁴ Biography no. 4.

⁴⁵ Biography no. 53.

⁴⁶ Biography no. 140.

⁴⁷ Biography no. 157.

⁴⁸ Biography no. 159.

⁴⁹ Biography no. 167.

⁵⁰ Biography no. 297.

⁵¹ For her biography, see adh-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 15/606; Al-Zirikli, *Al-A’lām*, 3/67.

⁵² Biography no. 39.

⁵³ Biography no. 41.

⁵⁴ Biography no. 145.

⁵⁵ Biography no. 148.

⁵⁶ Biography no. 159.

⁵⁷ Biography no. 180.

⁵⁸ For her biography, see adh-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 14/742.

⁵⁹ Biography no. 45.

Maqdisiyyah (d. 687/1288)⁶⁰ and Fāṭimah bint ‘Alī ibn al-Qāsim ibn ‘Alī ibn Al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh ibn ‘Asākir (d. 683/1284)⁶¹ appear in the biography of ‘Uthmān ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Zāhiri.⁶² ‘Alī ibn ‘Isā ibn al-Muzaffar⁶³ heard Ḥadīth from his father’s aunt Mudallalah bint Muḥammad ibn Ilyās ibn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ash-Shayrajī (d. 670/1272).⁶⁴ Fāṭimah bint Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn ‘Ayyūb (d. 678/1279),⁶⁵ appears in the biography of ‘Umar ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar,⁶⁶ and Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Ashā‘ir al-Ḥalabī.⁶⁷ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Ḥaram al-Qalānisi⁶⁸ heard from Sayyidah bint Mūsā al-Mārāniyyah (d. 695/1295)⁶⁹ and Mu‘nisah bint Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb (d. 693/1293).⁷⁰ Of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam’s female teachers, Zaynab bint al-Kamāl is said to be the last to transmit from ‘Ajībah bint Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ghālīb al-Baqdārī (d. 647/1249).⁷¹

A survey on the education of women in medieval Islam cannot ignore the role of endowments.⁷² Women, like men, shouldered the responsibility of administering schools and their endowments. At least five schools owing their endowment to women were established in Cairo before or during the Mamluk period.⁷³ One significant institution was endowed by a daughter of Sultan An-Nāṣir Muḥammad who married a Mamluk amir named Baktimur al-Ḥijāzī, from whose *nisbah* the school took its name. Endowments of al-Ḥijāziyyah supported courses in Shāfi‘ī and Mālikī fiqh. The first professor to teach at the school was Sirāj ad-Dīn al-Bulqīnī. Another school was endowed by Barakat Khātun (d. 774/1372),⁷⁴ the mother of Sultan al-Ashraf Sha‘bān, in 771/1369-70 in at-Tibbānah near the citadel. The school became known as Madrasat Umm as-Sultān. It sponsored classes in Shāfi‘ī and Ḥanbalī fiqh.⁷⁵ There is mention in the sources about schools endowed and directed by women. Fāṭimah bint Qānībāy al-‘Umarī directed a school and established a permanent class for reading the Ḥanafī fiqh and reading the Tafsīr and

⁶⁰ For her biography, see adh-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 15/592.

⁶¹ For her biography, see Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Fāsī, *Dhayl at-Taḥyīd fī Ruwāt as-Sunnan wal-‘Asānīd*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1990) 2/388-9.

⁶² Biography no. 159.

⁶³ Biography no. 176.

⁶⁴ For her biography, see adh-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 15/188; al-Zirikli, *Al-A‘lām*, 7/197.

⁶⁵ For her biography, see adh-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 15/365; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, 5/362.

⁶⁶ Biography no. 189.

⁶⁷ Biography no. 221.

⁶⁸ Biography no. 285.

⁶⁹ For her biography, see al-Fāsī, *Dhayl at-Taḥyīd*, 3/377.

⁷⁰ For her biography, see al-Fāsī, *Dhayl at-Taḥyīd*, 2/394-5.

⁷¹ Biography no. 99.

⁷² For a detailed account of women's economic position in the Mamluk period, see 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): 104-24. On the origins of Waqf, see Mohammad Zain Bin Haji Othman, "Origin of the Institution of Waqf," *Hamdard Islamicus* VI, no. 2 (1983): 3-23; *idem*, "The Institution of Waqf," *Islamic Culture* VIII, no. 1 (1984): 55-62. For the economic history of waqf, see Murat Cizakca, "Towards a Comparative Economic History of the Waqf System," *Ash-Sharjarah*, 2, no. 1 (1997): 63-102. For a quantitative analysis of waqf, see, Roth Roded, "Quantitative Analysis of Waqf Endowment Deeds: A Pilot Project," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* IX (1989): 51-76.

⁷³ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 163.

⁷⁴ Ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-Durar*, 1:474.

⁷⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iz wal-I‘tibār*, 2:399-400.

Ḥadīth materials. She also endowed some books to the library of the school.⁷⁶ Women, who wished to continue to have detailed religious and literary training, attended lectures of male and female scholars, who may have come to their houses or may have delivered lectures in their own homes.⁷⁷ We shall return to this point shortly. The Syrian capital, Damascus, boasted even more such institutions.⁷⁸

Other women, as Berkey concludes, shared in the abiding interest felt by their families for schools established by some relative or ancestor, as when a female scion of the scholarly Bulqīnī family named Alif provided endowments to support Qur'ān readers in her grandfather's school. Two of her cousins at the end of their lives began to pass their time in the family school, and were eventually buried next to their scholarly relatives.⁷⁹

One may ask if women who worked as teachers or transmitters of Ḥadīth were paid in return for teaching. The answer to this question, Lutfi argues, comes from as-Sakhāwī who suggests that there does not seem to be any indication that these women earned any payments through their teaching except in very few cases. They may have done so on informal basis and as an activity that would enhance their prestige and authority in a society where the religious mode of life was most prized.⁸⁰

5.3 Women and the Transmission of Ḥadīth in the Mamluk Period

At a certain stage of their scholarly endeavor, women shouldered the responsibility of transmitting the knowledge they acquired to others. There were many venues through which they conveyed their message. Some women gave classes at their homes. A prime example is Zaynab bint al-Kamāl (d. 740/1339)⁸¹ who transmitted from a large number of teachers. One of her students, adh-Dhahabī, describes her as "soft-spoken, patient and polite in manner". He tells how the students of Ḥadīth crowded around her house and how she would teach through most of the day.⁸² The *Ḥadīth* of Hibat Allāh al-Akfānī was read to Zaynab bint Ismā'īl ibn al-Khabbāz in the house of Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Umar aṣ-Ṣūfī, one of her students, in 744/1343.⁸³ The house of another woman was a gathering place for divorced and widowed women and the instruction of young girls.⁸⁴ Another scholar offered his house as a forum for the instruction of women by a female teacher. The house of 'Izz ad-Dīn Aḥmad al-Kinānī (d. 875/1471) was a gathering spot for widows and the like.⁸⁵

Other women held classes in the mosques. An example is Umm al-Khayr Fāṭimah bint Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Jawhar al-Ba'labakkiyyah (d. 711/1311). She taught Ḥadīth in the mosque of the Prophet in Medina. Ibn Rushayd remarked about her: "She came in the Syrian caravan as visitor and pilgrim. I met her in the mosque of the Prophet

⁷⁶ As-Sakhāwī, *aḍ-Ḍaw'*, 12:98.

⁷⁷ Huda Lutfi, "As-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb An-Nisā'*", 120.

⁷⁸ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 164.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Huda Lutfi, "As-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb An-Nisā'*", 117.

⁸¹ For a detailed account of Zaynab's career as a *muḥaddithah*, see Asma Sayeed, "Women and Ḥadīth Transmission: Two Case Studies from Mamluk Damascus," *Studia Islamica* 95 (2004): 75-82.

⁸² Nadwi, "Al-Muḥaddithāt: Notes for a talk on the women scholars of Ḥadīth", 10; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 2:117.

⁸³ Nadwi, *Al-Muḥaddithāt*, 178.

⁸⁴ As-Sakhāwī, *aḍ-Ḍaw'*, 12:148

⁸⁵ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 173.

and Ḥadīth was read to her while she was leaning on the side of the wall of the grave of the Prophet in front of his head. She wrote an *ijāzah* with her own hand for me and for others."⁸⁶ In Damascus, women also used to teach at different mosques. Ibn Nāṣir ad-Dīn ad-Dimashqī says in his note on 'Ā'ishah bint 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 816/1413): "She was appointed to the post of teacher of Ḥadīth in the grand mosque of Banū Umayyah."⁸⁷

Women also taught in the schools and their classes were attended by male and female students. *Majlis al-Biṭāqah* of al-Kinānī (d. 357/967) was read to Zaynab bint al-Kamāl and Ḥabībah bint al-Zayn in al-Madrasah aḍ-Ḍiyā'iyah in 733/1332. The Ḥadīth of Bakr ibn Aḥmad ash-Shirāzī was read to Zaynab bint Makkī al-Ḥarrānī in al-Madrasah al-Mismāriyyah in Damascus in 688/1289.⁸⁸ *Kitāb al-Fitan* of Ḥanbal ibn Ishāq ash-Shaybānī (d. 273/886) was read to Sitt al-Ahal bint 'Alwān ibn Sa'd ibn 'Alwān al-Ba'labakkiyyah (d. 703/1303) in Madrasat al-Ḥanābilah in Damascus in 699/1299.⁸⁹ *Fawā'id Abī Aḥmad al-Ḥākim* was read to 'Ā'ishah bint Sayf ad-Dīn Abī Bakr ibn Qawālījī in 739/1338 in al-Madrasah al-Khātūniyyah.⁹⁰

Women taught Ḥadīth in *ribāṭs* and gardens as well. Some *ribāṭs* seem to have served, among others, as places of residence for elderly, divorced, or widowed women who had no other place of abode until their death or marriage.⁹¹ In addition to providing shelter, at least some of these institutions became, at the hands of some women, educational and training institutions, where *shaykhāt ar-Ribāṭ* would not only supervise the living conditions of its residents, but also offer them a basic level of religious instruction through hiring reciters of Qur'ān and other teachers.⁹² Women proved to be successful managers of these *ribāṭs* as is evidenced by the fact that the names of many of these famous institutions were related to the women who owned and worked in them.⁹³

Here are some examples of the transmission process at *ribāṭs* and gardens. The *Ḥadīth* of Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad as-Samarqandī (d. 345/956) was read to Zaynab bint al-Kamāl in Ribāṭ al-Qalānisī in Qaysūn in 743/1342.⁹⁴ The *Juz'* of Ḥanbal ibn Ishāq was read to Zaynab bint al-Kamāl in a *ribāṭ* in Damascus in 733/1332. The *Ḥadīth* of Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Shaddān (d. 426/1034) was read to Zaynab bint al-Khaṭīb Muḥibb ad-Dīn al-Ḥarastānī in Ribāṭ Baldaq in 722/1322. *Karamāt al-Awliyā'* of al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Khallāl was read to Sitt al-Fuqahā' al-Wāsiṭiyyah in a *ribāṭ* in Qaysūn in 723/1323.⁹⁵ The *Musnad* of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar was read to Karīmah bint 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Zubayriyyah (d. 641/1243) in her garden in 639/1241.⁹⁶ *Karamāt al-Awliyā'* was read to Zaynab bint al-Kamāl in the garden of Amīn ad-Dīn al-Wānī in the land of al-Arzah in 728/1327.⁹⁷ Historically speaking, the *ribāṭs* were associated with Sufi practices.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 174.

⁹² Omaima Abou-Bakr, "Teaching the Words of the Prophet", 325.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 182.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Therefore, it is safe to conclude, as Berkey suggests, that some women had been drawn into the world of learning through Sufism. A number of women were clearly initiated into Sufi orders: one young fourteenth-century male even received from his grandmother a *khirqah*, the robe that a Sufi novice received from his master.⁹⁸

As-Sakhāwī tells us that some women traveled far and wide to acquire knowledge from other scholars in other cities. For example, Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥādī obtained her teaching certificates in Damascus, Egypt, Aleppo, Hama, Homs, and other places, studying with renowned scholars like the famous Ḥadīth scholar Abū Muḥammad ibn ‘Asākir, Abū Naṣr ibn ash-Shirāzī, Yahyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa’d, among others.⁹⁹ Rābi‘ah bint Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī received teaching certificates from a large number of Egyptian and Syrian scholars.¹⁰⁰

5.4. Methods of Transmission

There are different expressions used by the biographers to refer to the activities of women in the transmission of religious knowledge, especially Ḥadīth. One expression is *haddathat* (she reported Ḥadīths to others). Ibn Ḥajar’s *ad-Durar* used the word *haddathat* in the biography of 46 women.¹⁰¹ As-Sakhāwī used the same word in the biography of 59 women.¹⁰² The transmission of words, i.e. speaking the words to the students, is the highest way of Ḥadīth transmission. Next in rank, after hearing the text from the teacher, is reading the materials to the teachers.¹⁰³ For example, as-Sakhāwī says in his account of eight women that he had been reading (Ḥadīth) to them.¹⁰⁴

A female teacher of Ḥadīth might also issue an *ijazāh* authorizing a certain student to teach others.¹⁰⁵ As-Sakhāwī mentions about fifty women from whom he got an *ijazāh*. The term used for that is either *ajāzat lī* (she gave me an *ijazāh*) or *ajāzat lanā* (she gave us an *ijazāh*).¹⁰⁶ In other cases, he mentions that a certain female teacher gave an *ijazāh* to his teacher Ibn Ḥajar.¹⁰⁷ Sometimes he quotes Ibn Ḥajar as referring, in his *Mu‘jam*, to certain female teachers who gave him an *ijāzah*.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ As-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw’*, 12:103; Asma Afsaruddin, "Muslim Views on Education", 165.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:360 (no. 901, 902), 1:412, 1:544, 2:5, 2:8, 2:110, 2:111, 2:116, 2:118 (no. 1744, 1745), 2:188, 2:121, 2:126 (no. 1780, 1781), 2:127 (no. 1784, 1785), 2:207, 2:235, 2:236 (no. 2081, 2083), 2:238 (no. 2092, 2093, 2094), 2:238 (no. 2092, 2093, 2094), 3:221 (no. 539, 542), 3:222 (no. 544, 545, 547) 3:223 (549, 550), 3:224, 3:268, 3:272, 4:364, 4:360, 4:385 (no. 1051, 1053), 4:397 (no. 1086, 1087, 1089), 4:407, 4:408.

¹⁰² As-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw’*, 12:3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 13 (no. 63, 65), 15 (no. 81, 82), 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 34, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 67, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 83, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 93, 96 (no. 601, 605), 99, 103, 107, 116, 121, 122, 126, 127, 129, 131, 132, 165.

¹⁰³ Nadwī, *Al-Muḥaddithāt*, 169.

¹⁰⁴ As-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw’*, 12:5, 7, 28, 38, 55, 79, 86, 96.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 2:126, 95, 123, 236, 3:222, 385, as-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw’*, 1:166, 5:155, 12:2, 3, 10, 21, 53, 73, 78, 81, 104, 151,

¹⁰⁶ As-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw’*, 12:4, 5, 9 (no. 46, 47), 12, 13, 14, 23 (no. 126, 127), 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34 (no. 201, 203), 43, 48, 48, 51, 53, 60, 61, 70, 71, 77, 89, 96, 97, 101, 106, 119, 120, 121 (737, 741), 124, 127 (780/783), 131, 133, 144, 156, 158, 159, 160.

¹⁰⁷ As-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw’*, 12:15, 30.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 12:23, 27, 57, 71, 116, 118, 127,

Writing to students was another means of transmitting Ḥadīth. This is equivalent to correspondence. Adh-Dhahabī was unable to receive Ḥadīth directly from Sayyidah bint Mūsā al-Mārāniyyah (d. 695/1295). He regretted missing the opportunity, but then he received her Ḥadīth from her by correspondence.¹⁰⁹

Many women distinguished themselves as transmitters of Ḥadīth. Among them is 'Ā'ishah bint Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Hādī¹¹⁰ who is mentioned in as-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary as having given *ijāzahs* to many students both male and female.¹¹¹ Ibn Ḥajar comments on 'Ā'ishah saying: 'Ā'ishah lived until she reached an advanced age when she was the only one to transmit from al-Ḥajjār." 'Ā'ishah was 4 and al-Ḥajjār was 103 years old when she heard from him the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.¹¹² Adh-Dhahabī, in his account of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn An-Najjār (d. 643/1245) writes: "Ibn as-Sā'ī says: His *mashyakhah* includes three thousand men and four hundred women."¹¹³ Of the 172 names on the list of Tāj ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb as-Subkī (d. 771/1370) 19 were women. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī left us the names of 53 different women with whom he studied Ḥadīth. Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (d. 910/1505) studied with 33 women out of his 130 teachers.¹¹⁴

Samā'āt and *ijāzāt* (certificates of oral or written transmission) are also other sources for understanding the role of women's participation of religious knowledge, especially Ḥadīth. The *Samā'āt* were often issued at a *majlis as-Samā'* (assembly for hearing Ḥadīth), the primary function of which was to verify the accuracy of the text being read.¹¹⁵ In *Mu'jam as-Samā'āt ad-Dimashqiyyah*, the name of Zaynab bint al-Kamāl appears in thirty three certificates as a presiding authority, either alone or in conjunction with other teachers over an assembly for hearing Ḥadīth.¹¹⁶ The *Samā'āt* were attached to the book studied. Often, they constituted the front-page of a collection or a *juz'* of Ḥadīths read out loud during a transmission session and/or copied.¹¹⁷ In the *Mashyakhah* of Ibn 'Abd ad-Dā'im, one of the chains of transmitters has the name of Sa'īdah bint 'Abd al-Malik ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisiyyah. The place of transmission was the house of Ibn 'Abd ad-Dā'im in Qasyūn in the year

¹⁰⁹ Nadwī, *Al-Muḥaddithāt*, 171.

¹¹⁰ For her biography, see as-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw'*, 12:81. For details on her career, see Asma Sayeed, "Women and Ḥadīth Transmission: Two Case Studies from Mamluk Damascus," *Studia Islamica* 95 (2004): 82-87.

¹¹¹ As-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw'*, 2:74, 306, 323, 3:52, 144, 306, 469 (enumeration is according to ash-Shamela library), 4:54, 315, 330, 5:43, 7:294, 8:80, 220, 9:167, 218, 11:102, 12:262.

¹¹² Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 174

¹¹³ Adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 23:133.

¹¹⁴ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 176.

¹¹⁵ Asma Sayeed, "Women and Ḥadīth Transmission", 80.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Stefan Leder, et al. eds. *Mu'jam as-Samā'āt ad-Dimashqiyyah* (Damascus: al-Ma'had al-Faransī li ad-Dirasāt al-'Arabiyyah, 1996), introduction; Yehoshua Frenkel, "Women in Late Mamluk Damascus", 413. For more on *samā'*, see R. Sellheim, "Samā'." (as a term in education) *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2007. Brill Online. UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK LEIDEN. 11 March 2011:

http://www.encyislam.brill.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_COM-0992.

627/1229.¹¹⁸ In the *Juz* of al-Mu'ammal ibn 'Ihāb, Amat al-Khāliq bint 'Abd al-Laṭīf is named in a *samā'āt* certificate written in the desert, not far away from Cairo.¹¹⁹

5.5 Conclusion

From this overview, we can conclude that women shared, to some extent, in the education process in the Mamluk period, though it was an informal education. We have noticed that women participated actively in the learning of religious knowledge in their early childhood and the dissemination of such knowledge at their advanced ages. With regard to the years between childhood and seniority, they were not deemed worthy of note by chroniclers and historians. There are two possible hypotheses. The first is that women, following the religious rules that put some restrictions on their interaction with men when they were of marriageable age, stopped attending public, co-educational Ḥadīth sessions. At advanced ages, women convened classes for male and female students as explained above.¹²⁰

The second scenario is that women's careers in this domain largely paralleled those of their male counterparts. That is, they may have continued their education in study circles open to both men and women rather than in cloistered or segregated settings.¹²¹ Occasionally, in biographical dictionaries we read a certain individual brought his daughter to the Zāhiriyyah School, for example, to hear the recitation of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.¹²² The school was attended by male and female students. The life of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam, which will be dealt with below, will reveal more on this aspect.

¹¹⁸ *Mashyakhat Abī Bakr ibn 'Abd ad-Dā'im takhrīj al-Birzālī*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣalīḥ (Damascus, 1997), 98.

¹¹⁹ *Juz' al-Mu'ammal ibn 'Ihāb*, ed. Abū al-Fidā' 'Imād ibn Farrah, quoted by Frenkel, "Women in Late Mamluk Damascus", 417. For other examples, see *ibid.*, 417.

¹²⁰ Asma Sayeed, "Women and Ḥadīth Transmission", 90.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹²² As-Sakhāwī, *aḍ-Ḍaw'*, 12:31. See above the example of as-Sakhāwī who heard from a woman in the presence of her granddaughters and brothers.