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Chapter Six

The Life and Career of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam

6.1. A Biographical Sketch

The woman whose life and principal work are the subject of this study, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam al-Adhra'iyyah, was born in the city of Cairo in 719/1319.¹ In medieval biographical dictionaries, we are offered only a few details of her educational career.² Nevertheless, by combining her biographical data with those of her teachers and students, it is possible to construct a more complete picture. We also need to gain additional information from other sources in order to explore an overall perspective of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's milieu.

6.1.1. Her Name

Her full name was Ash-Shaykhah Maryam bint Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Dāwūd ibn Ḥāzīm al-Adhra'ī al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī. Ibn Ḥajar gives her the *kunyah* of Umm 'Īsā.³ Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's contemporary biographers do not mention anything about her marital status. Therefore, it is not certain that the *kunyah* is a real one or an honorary one, as her name is the same as that of Lady Maryam, mother of Jesus.⁴

Concerning her *nisbah* of al-Adhra'iyyah, sources tell us that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's family descended from the Adhri(u) 'āt (today's Dir'ā)⁵, a village in Syria. Many great scholars who belong to this family travelled to Egypt to learn Ḥadīth. As-Sakhāwī lists the names of the people who have the *nisbah* of al-Adhra'ī.⁶

¹ In a footnote in al-Zirikli's *al-A'lām*, her birth year is given as 721/1231. But most of her biographers give it as 719/1319. Al-Zirikli, *al-A'lām*, (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 2002), 7:210.

² Her biography is available in the following works: Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Dhayl ad-Durar al-Kāminah*, ed. 'Adnān Darwīsh (Cairo, 1992), 138; *idem*, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi Abnā' al-'Umr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo: al-Majlis al-'Alā li ash-Shu'ūn al-Islāmiyyah, 1998), 2:245-6; *idem*, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis lil-Mu'jam al-Mufahras*, ed. Yūsuf 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mar'ashlī (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1992), 2:559-571 (270); Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, 7:54; 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām an-Nisā' fī 'Ālamay al-Gharb wal-Islām* (Beirut: Mu'assasat ar-Risālah, 1959), 5:37; al-Zirikli, *Al-A'lām*, 7:210; Taqī ad-Dīn ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2002), 3:469-470; as-Sakhāwī, *aḍ-Ḍaw'*, 12:124 (757); Muḥammad ibn 'Azzūz, *Juhūd al-Mar'ah ad-Dimashqiyyah fī Riwayāt al-Ḥadīth* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 2004), 400-404; She is listed in the obituaries for the year 805 in the work of Ibn Fahd al-Makkī, *Lahz al-Alḥāz bi Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, printed as a supplementary to *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, ed. Zakariyyah 'Umayrāt (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1998), 1:142.

³ Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 1:254.

⁴ One can give examples of female transmitters who had a *kunyah* though they were for sure unmarried. Examples include Umm al-Kirām al-Marwaziyyah, Karimah al-Marwaziyyah (d. 463/1070). There is a reference in the biographies of Ḥabībah bint al-Zayn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm that she had the *kunyah* of Umm Muḥammad though she did not get married. Ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-Durar*, 2:5-6 (1479) quoting adh-Dhahabī. For more on her, see her biography no. 83 in Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's *Mu'jam*.

⁵ Al-Zirikli, *al-A'lām*, 3:131.

⁶ As-Sakhāwī, *aḍ-Ḍaw'*, 11:183-184. The list includes: 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdān ibn Aḥmad (d. 838/1434), Ḥasan (Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 2:497) and Ḥusayn (d. 814/1411) (as-Sakhāwī, *aḍ-Ḍaw'*, 3:152) sons of 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān. Ḥasan had two sons, Aḥmad (d. 851/1447) (as-

No biographical dictionary provides any information about a possible husband. Therefore, we cannot exclude that she was never married.

6.1.2 Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's Father⁷

Maryam's father was born in the year 686/1287. He excelled in the field of Fiqh, its principles and the Arabic language. He was given the position of *Iftā'* (issuing legal pronouncements) and teaching for many years. He also used to teach at al-Ḥākimī Mosque. He acquired an *ijāzah* from Abū Ḥaḥṣ 'Umar Ibn al-Qawwās (d. 698/1298),⁸ Abū al-Faḍl ibn 'Asākir and al-'Izz Ismā'īl ibn al-Farrā' (d. 729/1328). He attended the assemblies of at-Taḳī Sulaymān ibn Ḥamzah al-Ḥanbalī (d. 715/1315), al-Ḥasan al-Kurdī, and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Wānī. He played a great role in his daughter's education as he brought her to the assemblies or meetings in which she heard scholars such as al-Wānī and ad-Dabbūsī read works aloud. He died in 741/1341.

6.1.3 Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's Mother

It is a general phenomenon that biographical dictionaries and chronicles are silent on the issue of maternal descent or mothers.⁹ Therefore, it is not surprising that we are told nothing about Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's mother and her possible contributions to her daughter's education.

6.1.4 Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's Brother

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam had a famed brother named Muḥammad. He was born in 738/1337. At the age of one, he was brought to Ḥadīth assemblies of Ṣāliḥ al-Ushnahī (d. 738/1337). He was also brought to hear Ḥadīths from aṣ-Ṣadr al-Maydūmī (d. 754/1353), al-'Izz ibn Jamā'ah (d. 767/1365),¹⁰ and Abū al-Ḥaram al-Qalānisī (d. 765/1364).¹¹ He learned Ḥadīth from Shams ad-Dīn al-Mawṣilī (d. 765/1363).¹² Many scholars, including Ibn Ḥajar, heard Ḥadīths from him. He was appointed as the Shaykh of al-Jāmi' al-Jadīd

Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw'*, 1:276) and Al-Jammāl 'Abd Allāh. Al-Jammāl 'Abd Allāh had one son, al-Badr Muḥammad (d. 888/1481) (as-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw'*, 8:85), and one daughter, Khadījah, the wife of Abū Al-Faḍl ibn Sha'bān. Aḥmad, the son of Ḥasan had eight sons, Ibrāhīm, (as-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw'*, 1:13) ash-Shihāb Aḥmad (as-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw'*, 1:210), Badr ad-Dīn Ḥasan (d. 880/1475) (as-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw'*, 3:93), 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān, Karīm ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Karīm (as-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw'*, 4:307), al-Kamāl Muḥammad (d. 895/1489) (as-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw'*, 6:304), al-Muḥhib Yūsuf (as-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw'*, 5:174), and al-Zayn Abū Bakr (d. 885/1480) (as-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw'*, 11:18-19). Ḥusayn the brother of Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad had a son called Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammad best known as Ḍufdu' (as-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw'*, 11:176). Most of the above mentioned family members migrated to Cairo and settled there until their death.

⁷ His biography is available in Jamāl ad-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsīn, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal aṣ-Ṣāfi wal-Mustawfi ba'dal-Wāfi*; 1:105 (CD edition) Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:240 (613).

⁸ For his biography, see adh-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2003), 15:877.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 259, note. 99.

¹⁰ 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd Allāh. For his biography, see Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 2:378-82.

¹¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 4:235.

¹² Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Mawṣilī. For his biography, see Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 3:325.

in Egypt and the *Khatīb* of Shīkhū Mosque. As-Sakhāwī is said to have been granted an *ijāzah* from Muḥammad al-Adhraʿī. He died in 805/1402.¹³

6.1.5. Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's Grandfather

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's grandfather, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, was born in 644/1246. He was brought to the assemblies of Ibn ʿAbd ad-Dāʾim and Ibn An-Nushbī (d. 656/1256). He learned Fiqh from ar-Rashīd Saʿīd ibn ʿAlī ibn Saʿīd (d. 684/1285)¹⁴ and Ibn ash-Shammāʾ Imād ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn ʿUthmān al-Mārdīnī (d. 676/1277).¹⁵ He taught at ash-Shibliyyah school and other schools in Damascus. He traveled to Aleppo and stayed there for a while. In the year 705/1305, he was appointed in the position of judgeship of Damascus. Then he traveled to Cairo and stayed there until he died in 712/1312.¹⁶

What we notice from this brief sketch is that both Ash-Shaykhah Maryam and her brother heard from al-Maydūmī which reflects their father's concern for their education.¹⁷

6.2. The Collections Transmitted by Ash-Shaykhah Maryam

As noted above, the *Muʿjam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam* lacks the element of listing the books and Ḥadīth collections that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam transmitted. However, this information can be gleaned from other sources. Ash-Shaykhah Maryam is listed as transmitting the following works:¹⁸

- the *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim;
- *Juzʾ al-Musalsal bil-ʿAwwaliyyah*;
- the *Mashyakhah* of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Wānī (d. 727/1326) compiled by Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Aybak;
- *Al-Arbaʿūn al-Buldāniyyah* of as-Silafī (d. 576/1180);
- a minor Ḥadīth compilation (*juzʾ*) of Ḥasan ibn ʿArafah (d. 257/870);
- the first, second, third, fourth, sixth portions of the work entitled “*Muʿjam Abī An-Nūn Yūnus ibn Ibrāhīm ad-Dabbūsī* (d. 729/1328)” compiled by al-Ḥasan ibn Aybak;
- the first portion of the work entitled “*Makārim al-Akhlāq*” of aṭ-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/970);
- the seventh portion of the work entitled “*Amālī al-Maḥāmīlī*”;
- a portion of the work entitled “*Majlisā Abī ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī wa Abū Muḥammad ibn Bālawayh* (d. 410/1019)”;
- a portion of the work entitled “*Ḥadīth Maṣṣūr ibn ʿAmmār* (d. 225/839)”;

¹³ As-Sakhāwī, *ad-Dawʿ*, 7:39.

¹⁴ For his biography, see Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi al-Wafayāt*, ed. Aḥmad al-Arnaʿūt and Turkī Muṣṭafā (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ at-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2000), 15:153-4.

¹⁵ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa an-Nihāyah*, 13:359-60.

¹⁶ Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 3/278 (738).

¹⁷ Al-Ziriklī mistakenly refers to Sitt al-Quḍāh Maryam bint ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān as the sister of Muḥammad al-Adhraʿī while there is no relation between them. The same mistake has been committed by the editor of the *Muʿjam* of Maryam who quoted al-Ziriklī without acknowledging him. Al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 7:210.

¹⁸ This list is taken from Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majmaʿ al-Muʿassis*, 2:559-571, cf. ʿAzzūz, *Juhūd*, 400-404.

- the *Juz* ' of Ibn Nuḡayd (d. 365/975)";
- "*Al-Muntaqā min al-Juz ' al-Awwal min Ḥadīth Ibn Akhī Mīmī*";¹⁹
- the nineteenth and twentieth portions of the work entitled "*al-Khila 'iyyāt*";²⁰
- a portion of the work entitled "*Ḥadīth 'Amr ibn Dīnār (d. 126/743)*" compiled by Abū Bakr ash-Shāfi 'ī;
- "*Juz ' al-Arba 'īn*" of ath-Thaqafī compiled by al-Ḥaddād;²¹
- *Al-Arba 'ūn* of Imām al-Ḥaramayn (d. 478/1085)";
- the ninth and tenth portions of the work entitled "*ath-Thaqafiyyāt*";²²
- a portion of the work entitled "*Imla ' Ma 'mar ibn al-Fākhīr (d. 564/1168)*";
- the first portion of the work entitled "*Amālī al-Maḥāmīlī*"²³ with the narration of Abū 'Umar ibn Maḥdī from him;
- the seventh and eighth portions of the work entitled "*Ḥadīth Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah (d. 198/813)*";
- a portion of the work entitled "*Fawā'id al-Ḥāfiẓ Abī al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir (d. 507/1113)*";
- a portion of the work entitled "*Ḥadīth al-Anmāṭī*"²⁴ wal-Qirmisīnī (d. 358/968)";²⁵
- a portion of the work entitled "*Ḥadīth ad-Dabbūsī*";
- a portion of the work entitled "*al-Juz ' as-Sādis min Ḥadīth al-Mukhalliṣ (d. 394/1003)*";
- a portion which consists of six assemblies of the work entitled "*Amālī Abī Sa 'īd An-Naqqāsh (d. 414/1023)*";
- the "*Arba 'ūn*" collection of al-Bayhaqī;
- "*Al-Arba 'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*" of Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 656/1258);
- a portion of the work entitled "*Sudāsiyyāt ar-Rāzī (d. 525/1130)*";
- a portion of the work entitled "*Musnad Ṣuḥayb*" of Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ al-Za 'farānī (d. 369/979);
- a portion of the work entitled "*Ḥadīth al-Ḥusayn ibn Yahyā ibn 'Ayyāsh al-Qaṭṭān (d. 334/945)*";
- a portion of the work entitled "*Ḥadīth 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja 'far ibn Aḥmad ibn Fāris (d. 346/957)*";
- a portion of the work entitled "*Ḥadīth al-Qāsim Naṣr ibn Aḥmad al-Marjī*";
- a portion of the work entitled "*Ḥadīth Ibn al-Busrī (d. 474/1081)*";²⁶
- a portion of the work entitled "*Khamsah min Shuyūkh ad-Dabbūsī*";
- a portion of the work entitled "*Muwāfaqāt Juz ' adh-Dhuhālī*";²⁷
- a portion of the work entitled "*Muwāfaqāt Abī Muṣ 'ab 'an Mālik fil-Muwaṭṭa 'a*";

¹⁹ Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ad-Daqqāq al-Baghdādī (d. 390/999).

²⁰ A collection of 20 *juz* 's of Ḥadīth written by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Khila 'ī (d. 492/1098).

²¹ Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sa 'īd al-Ḥaddād (d. 500/1106).

²² A collection of 10 *juz* 's of Ḥadīth written by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Qāsim ibn al-Faḍl ibn Aḥmad ath-Thaqafī (d. 489/1096).

²³ Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Ismā 'īl al-Maḥāmīlī (d. 330/941).

²⁴ Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Anmāṭī.

²⁵ Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan.

²⁶ Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Baghdādī al-Bandār.

²⁷ Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ḥumayd ibn 'Alī adh-Dhuhālī (d. 452/1060).

- the fourth portion of the work entitled “*Ḥadīth Ibn Ziyād al-Qaṭṭān* (d. 350/961)” selected by ‘Umar al-Baṣrī;
- a portion of the work entitled “*‘Ashrat Aḥādīth muntaqāh min al-Muntaqā min Ḥadīth al-Layth* (d. 175/791)” with the narration of ‘Īsā ibn Ḥammād from him;
- the book of “*Al-Arba ‘īn li Muḥammad ibn Aslam*”;
- a portion of the work entitled “*Ḥikāyat al-Maṣqalī*”;²⁸
- the eleventh portion of the work entitled “*Fawā’id Abī aṭ-Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣr adh-Dhuhālī* (d. 367/977)”;
- a portion of the work entitled “*Muntaqā min Ḥadīth Abī Maṣṣūr ibn al-Wakīl wa Abī Ḥaṣṣ ibn al-Ḥaytham wa Abī al-Qāsim al-Khallāf*” with the narration of al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr ibn Mardawayh from them.²⁹

In addition to this list, Ibn Ḥajar provides us with another list in his *al-Mu’jam al-Mufahras*,³⁰ a collection of *isnāds* through which Ibn Ḥajar acquired authority to transmit specific works. The list includes the following works which he heard from Ash-Shaykhah Maryam or read to her:

- “*Mukhtaṣar al-Muzanī* (d. 264/877)”;³¹
- “*Al-Muttafaq*”³² of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Jawzaqī (d. 388/998);
- the “*Muṣannaḥ*”³³ and “*Raf‘ al-Yadayn fī aṣ-Ṣalāh*”³⁴ of Ḥammād ibn Salamah;
- “*Al-Farā’iḍ*”³⁵ of Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Marūzī (d. 294/906);
- “*Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān al-‘Azīm*”³⁶ of Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (d. 224/838);
- the “*Musnad*”³⁷ of Ishāq ibn Rāhawayh (d. 238/852);
- the “*Musnad*”³⁸ of Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah (d. 235/849);
- “*Mu’jam aṣ-Ṣaḥābah*”³⁹ of Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī (d. 317/929);
- the “*Musnad*”⁴⁰ of Abū Bakr al-Bazzār (d. 292/905); “*Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*”⁴¹ of al-Ḥākim An-Nīsābūrī (d. 378/988); “*al-‘Ilal*”⁴² and “*at-Tamyīz*”⁴³ both of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/869);

²⁸ ‘Alī ibn Shujā’ ibn Muḥammad al-Maṣqalī (d. 443/1051).

²⁹ ‘Azzūz, *Juhūd*, 400.

³⁰ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Mu’jam al-Mufahras*, ed. Muḥammad Shakkūr al-Mayādīnī (Beirut: Mu’assasat ar-Risālah, 1998).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

³² *Ibid.*, 48.

³³ *Ibid.*, 50.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 71.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 106.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 131.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 135.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 158.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 160.

- “*Al-Jarḥ wa at-Ta’dīl*”⁴⁴ and “*al-Ikhwah wal-Akhawāt*”⁴⁵ both of Ibn Abī Ḥātim ar-Rāzī (d. 327/938);
- “*Asmā’ aṣ-Ṣaḥābah*”⁴⁶ of Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ad-Daghūlī;
- “*Al-Ma’ārīf*”⁴⁷ of Ibn Qutaybah ad-Dīnawārī (d. 276/889);
- “*Tārīkh Miṣr*”⁴⁸ of Abū Sa’īd ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūnus ibn ‘Abd al-A’lā;
- a portion of the work entitled “*Ḥadīth Ibn al-Muqayyar*”;⁴⁹
- “*Kifāyat al-Muta’abbid*”⁵⁰ of ‘Abd al-‘Azīm ibn ‘Abd al-Qawī al-Mundhirī (d. 643/1246);⁵¹
- “*Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*”⁵²; and
- the “*Musnad*”⁵³ of al-Ḥasan ibn Sufyān An-Nasawī (d. 303/915).
- In the *Thabat* of Shaykh Ṣubḥī ibn Jāsim al-Badrī as-Samarra’ī, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam is quoted in the *isnād* of the transmission of Ibn Abī Ḥātim’s *al-‘Ilal*.⁵⁴ She is also quoted in the *isnād* of Imām Muslim’s *Ma’rifat al-Akḥbār*, *Kitāb al-Kunā*, *Kitāb al-Waḥadān*, and *Kitāb al-Ikhwah wal-Akhawāt*.⁵⁵

From this listing of books, it is clear that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam’s most notable lectures have given attention to Imām Muslim’s collections of Ḥadīth. However, she was also famous for other collections. First and foremost among these, is *al-Ḥadīth al-Musalsal bil-Awwaliyyah*. Ibn Ḥajar is noted for having heard the recitation of *al-‘Awwaliyyah* from her, among others. In this genre, the distinctive conditions of transmission relate to the practice that the first Ḥadīth that the teacher relates to the receiving person be the same Ḥadīth in a chain of first presentations from teacher to receiver, using the famous Ḥadīth of *ar-Raḥmah*.⁵⁶

6.3. Transmission of Certain Ḥadīth Collections to Ash-Shaykhah Maryam

Ibn Ḥajar, in his *Al-Mu’jam al-Mufahras* and *al-Majma’ al-Mu’assis*, did not only mention the collections that he transmitted from Ash-Shaykhah Maryam, but also how those collections had been transmitted to her. Ibn Ḥajar confirms that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam was a reliable authority for different Ḥadīth compilations from diverse genres.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 166

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 177.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 365.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 403.

⁵¹ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Fāsī, *Ṣilat al-Khalaf bi mawṣūl as-Salaḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥijjī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1998), 1:346.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 417.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 138

⁵⁴ *Ni’mat al-Mannān fī Asānīd Shaykhina Abī ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān*, ed. Muḥammad ibn Ghāzī ibn Dāwūd al-Baghdādī. 1:21.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:22.

⁵⁶ John O. Voll, “‘Abdallāh ibn Sālim al-Baṣrī and 18th Century Ḥadīth Scholarship.” *Die Welt des Islam* 42, no. 3 (2002): 362. An example of how this process is reported can be found in the first biography of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam’s *Mu’jam*.

Among the works that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam transmitted are major Ḥadīth collections, including the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim which she heard from her teacher Al-Wādī Āshī. She also heard from her teacher al-Wānī his *Mashyakhah* along with the following works: the *Juz* of Ibn ‘Arafah, the *Makārim al-Akhlāq* of aṭ-Ṭabarānī, the *Amālī* of al-Maḥāmīlī, the two *Majlis* of Abū ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī and Abū Muḥammad ibn Bālūwayh, the *Ḥadīth* of Maṣṣūr ibn ‘Ammār, the *Juz* of Ibn Nuḡayd, *al-Muntaqā min al-Juz* of al-Awwal min *Ḥadīth Ibn Akhī Mīmī*, the *Al-Arba‘ūn* of ath-Thaqafī, the *Al-Arba‘ūn* of Imām al-Ḥaramayn, the *Thaqafīyyāt*, the *Fawā'id* of Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir, the *Ḥadīth* of al-Anmāṭī and al-Qirmīsīnī, the *Al-Arba‘ūn as-Sughrā al-Mukharrajah fī Aḥwāl ‘Ibādī-llāhi ta‘ālā wa Akhbārihim* of al-Bayhaqī, the *Al-Arba‘ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, the *Musnad* of Ṣuhayb, the *Ḥadīth* of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja‘far ibn Aḥmad ibn Fāris, and the *Muwāfaqāt* of the *Juz* of adh-Dhuhālī, the *Ḥikāyāt* of al-Maṣqalī.⁵⁷

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam heard from her teacher ad-Dabbūsī his *Mu‘jam*, along with the following works: the *Khila‘īyyāt*, the *Ḥadīth* of ‘Amr ibn Dīnār, the *Amālī* of al-Maḥāmīlī, the *Ḥadīth* of Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah, the *Imlā’* of Ma‘mar ibn Khālīd, the *Ḥadīth* of al-Mukhallīṣ, the *Amālī* of Abī Sa‘īd ibn An-Naqqāsh, the *Sudāsīyyāt* of ar-Rāzī, the *Ḥadīth* of al-Ḥusayn ibn Yaḥyā ibn ‘Ayyāsh al-Qaṭṭān, the *Ḥadīth* of Abī al-Qāsim Naṣr ibn Aḥmad al-Marjī, the *Muwāfaqāt* of Abī Muṣ‘ab, the *‘Ashrat Aḥādith muntaqāh min al-muntaqā min Ḥadith al-Layth*, the *Al-Arba‘ūn* of Muḥammad ibn Aslam, the *Fawā'id* of Abī aṭ-Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣr adh-Dhuhālī, and the *Muntaqā min Ḥadīth Maṣṣūr ibn al-Wakīl wa Abī Ḥafṣ ibn al-Haytham wa Abī al-Qāsim al-Jallāb*.⁵⁸ From her teacher al-Ḥajjār, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam heard the *Ḥadīth* of Ibn Ziyād al-Qaṭṭān intiqā ‘Umar al-Baṣrī.⁵⁹

From the above illustration, we can conclude that two teachers figure prominently in the transmission of Ḥadīth collections to Ash-Shaykhah Maryam. These two teachers are al-Wānī and ad-Dabbūsī. Ibn Rāfi‘ mentions that al-Wānī lived until he became a coveted authority among the surviving scholars.⁶⁰ Ibn Ḥajar also comments on this by saying that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam heard a lot from al-Wānī and ad-Dabbūsī.⁶¹ In the *Durar*, he asserts that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam transmitted Ḥadīth to him from al-Wānī through attending al-Wānī’s auditions.⁶² Ad-Dabbūsī and al-Wānī were a sought-after source, as they were among those from whom Ibn Kathīr, the famous commentator on the Qur’ān, heard Ḥadīths,⁶³ was the last to transmit from Ibn al-Muqayyār by hearing Ḥadīth from him.⁶⁴ All this affirms that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam’s reputation rested partly on her link to both ad-Dabbūsī and al-Wānī.

In addition to al-Wānī and ad-Dabbūsī, there are two other teachers who played a great role in Ash-Shaykhah Maryam’s career, namely al-Wādī Āshī (749/1338)⁶⁵ and al-

⁵⁷ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma‘ al-Mu‘assis*, 2:560-70.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 3:90.

⁶¹ As-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw‘*, 12:124

⁶² Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 3:90.

⁶³ Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:374.

⁶⁴ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih bi Ṭaḥrīr al-Mushtabih*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī an-Najjār (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-‘Ilmiyyah, n.d.), 568.

⁶⁵ His full name is Muḥammad ibn Jābir ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥassān al-Wādī Āshī. See biography no. 229; Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 3:413-4.

Ḥajjār (730/1329).⁶⁶ Al-Wādī Āshī is best known as Ibn Jābir or *Ṣāhib ar-Riḥlatayn* (the one who made two journeys). His *nisbah* is taken from his origin in the Andalusian city of Guadix.

Al-Ḥajjār, from the city of Damascus, was a famous transmitter of Ḥadīth. Students from all countries travelled to hear him. We are told that when he died, the level of scholarship declined.⁶⁷ He was among those who had heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn al-Zabīdī (d. 649/1251), another prominent *muḥaddith*. Al-Ḥajjār's repute was such that he narrated the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukūārī no less than seventy times in Damascus, aṣ-Ṣālihiyyah, Cairo, Ḥamāh, Ba'labakk, Ḥomṣ, Kafr Baṭnā, and other surrounding regions.⁶⁸ Finally, it is safe to conclude that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's appearance in the abovementioned *isnāds* signifies that she acquired permission to transmit these works.

The subjects covered by these compilations underscore that her reputation was based on the transmission of a range of works in diverse areas of Islamic knowledge. She transmitted personal collections of Ḥadīth, *Musnads*, *al-Amālī*, *al-Arba'ūn*, *al-Fāwa'id*, *al-Muwāfaqāt*, and *Sudāsiyyāt*. This list includes works on ascetic piety, such as the book of *Makārim al-Akhlāq* of aṭ-Ṭabarānī. Ash-Shaykhah Maryam also transmitted *mashyakhas*, such as the *mashyakhah* of her teacher al-Wānī.

6.4. The Beginning of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's Education

As mentioned before, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's father brought her to the assemblies of Ḥadīth scholars, but it is not clear at what age exactly. However, in the *Mu'jam*, there is a reference to two teachers who died in the year 722/1322 when Ash-Shaykhah Maryam was three.⁶⁹ In the *Dhayl at-Taqqīd*, al-Fāsī mentions that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam heard from al-Wānī when she was five.⁷⁰ This indicates that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's career as a *muḥaddithah* began surprisingly early.

Five of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's teachers are named in the biographical sources, and by the time she was sixteen, all of them had died. Al-Wānī died by the time she was nine, ad-Dabbūsī when she was ten, al-Ḥalabī when she was sixteen, at-Taqī aṣ-Ṣā'igh when she was six, and al-Ḥajjār⁷¹ when she was eleven. She was the last to transmit from

⁶⁶ His full name is Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭālib ibn Ni'mah ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Bayān aṣ-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥajjār. See biography no. 14; Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar*, 1:142-3.

⁶⁷ Ruth Roded, *Women in Islam and the Middle East: A Reader* (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co.Ltd, 1999), 133.

⁶⁸ Asma Sayeed, "Women and Ḥadīth Transmission", 84.

⁶⁹ See biographies no. 141 and 251.

⁷⁰ Taqī ad-Dīn Abū aṭ-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Makkī al-Fāsī, *Dhayl at-Taqqīd fī Ruwāt as-Sunan wal-Masānīd*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Hūt (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1990), 1:64.

⁷¹ The editor of as-Sakhāwī's *aḍ-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, on which Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's biographies in other sources is based, mistakenly read the text "*wa ajāza lahā at-Taqī aṣ-Ṣā'igh wa ghayruhu min musnidī Miṣr wal-Hijāz, wa ghayruhu minal-'A'immaḥ bi Dimashq.*" The context suggests that at-Taqī aṣ-Ṣā'igh and other scholars from Egypt granted her an *ijāzah*, al-Ḥajjār and other scholars from Damascus also granted her an *ijāzah*. So the text should be read as follows: "*wa ajāza lahā at-Taqī aṣ-Ṣā'igh wa ghayruhu min musnidī Miṣr, wal-Ḥajjār wa ghayruhu minal-'a'immaḥ bi Dimashq.*" The only editor who read it this way is Ḥasan Ḥabashī, the editor of Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbā' al-Ghumr*. He gave the reason for this reading as that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam is not reported to have traveled to al-Hijāz. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 2:254, note 5.

most of these scholars.⁷² Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Faraḍī (d. 700/1300), heard Ḥadīths from ad-Dabbūsī (d. 729/1328) and Ash-Shaykhah Maryam heard also from ad-Dabbūsī. There is a span of 100 years between their deaths. This is an example of what is known in Ḥadīth literature as *as-Sābiq* and *al-Lāḥiq* (early and late students of transmitters).⁷³ Al-Fāsī asserts that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam was a unique example of the Egyptian teachers in this regard.⁷⁴ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ defines this category of Ḥadīth as "those from whom two transmitters relate, one early and one late, with a great difference between their dates of death. So, there is a great difference in the time interval between them. Both transmit from the same person, even if the later one of them is not regarded as a contemporary of the first or a member of his generation."⁷⁵

There is a reference in the sources to a certain Nāsir ad-Dīn ibn Sam‘ūn⁷⁶ as one of her teachers, but no biographical information is found in the *Mu‘jam* or any other source except in al-Zirlikī’s *al-A‘lām*.⁷⁷

From the entries of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam in different biographical dictionaries, it is clear that she began her education, especially attending the auditions of scholars, at an early age. She mentions in the *Mu‘jam* that she heard a certain Ḥadīth from her teacher Abū An-Nūn ad-Dabbūsī in the year 726/1325, i.e. when she was seven.⁷⁸

The phenomenon of transmission authority passing from the very old to the very young has been observed during the Mamluk period.⁷⁹ Sayeed observed: "Written transmission enabled individuals who could not independently participate in the oral transmission of knowledge to do so. For example, fathers could obtain certification for young children who had not yet acquired the ability to speak, read, or write, and husbands could do the same for wives and daughters who were less likely to undertake long journeys to seek out scholars. In cases where infants and toddlers were brought to hear texts to maintain the façade of oral transmission, it was the written text and not the hearing of it by fledglings that guaranteed the accurate transfer of knowledge. Due to the prevalent notion that the written text would guarantee what orality and memory had for the early generations of Muslims, even unborn children could participate in this liberal transfer of authority."⁸⁰

It is difficult to imagine that those who were granted *ijāzahs* at an early age meaningfully studied or even memorized (without comprehension) the works for which they were granted certificates before the age of five.⁸¹

The number of female teachers mentioned in the *Mu‘jam* is twenty-eight out of three hundred and nineteen.⁸² The death dates of four of them are unknown.⁸³ The

⁷² Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 2:254.

⁷³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘Uqūd*, 470.

⁷⁴ Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl at-Taqqyīd*, 1:65.

⁷⁵ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, *An Introduction*, 235. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī has a book on this category of Ḥadīth titled: *As-Sābiq wal-Lāḥiq fī tabā‘udi mā bayna wafāti rāwīyyan ‘an shaykhin wāḥid*, ed. Muḥammad ibn Maṭar al-Zahrānī (Riyadh: Dār aṣ-Ṣamī‘i, 2000).

⁷⁶ See as-Sakhāwī, *aḍ-Ḍaw’*, 12:124; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 2:254; Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl ad-Durar al-Kāminah*, 138.

⁷⁷ His name is Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad in Sam‘ūn (d. 737/1337). He was a mathematician and an astronomer. Al-Zirlikī, *al-A‘lām*, 5:325.

⁷⁸ See biography no. 3.

⁷⁹ Asma Sayeed, "Women in Ḥadīth Transmission", 88.

⁸⁰ Asma Sayeed, *Shifting Fortunes*, 238-9.

⁸¹ For more on this point see 6.6. below.

confirmed death dates for the other female teachers indicate that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's contact with them must have occurred when she was young; Ḥafṣah bint 'Ubayd and Sharīfah bint Abī al-Barakāt died by the time Ash-Shaykhah Maryam was five, Lawzah bint 'Abd Allāh by the time she was six, Dunyā bint Yūsuf al-Hakkārī by the time she was seven, Zaynab bint 'Abd Allāh by the time she was twelve, Mu'nisah bint 'Alī by the time she was thirteen, Ḥabībah bint 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Maqdisiyyah, Khadījah bint Ibrāhīm al-'Asqalānī and Fātimah bint Fakhrāwar by the time she was fourteen, Sitt ash-Shām Khadījah bint 'Alī, Sitt al-'Abīd bint 'Umar ibn Abī Bakr ad-Dunaysīr, Fātimah bint 'Abd ad-Dā'im, and Khadījah bint 'Uthmān ibn at-Tuzarī by the time she was fifteen, Sitt al-'Ujm Fātimah bint Muḥammad by the time she was eighteen, Khadījah bint Fakhrāwar and Sitt al-'Arab 'Āishah bint 'Alī aṣ-Ṣanhājī by the time she was twenty.⁸⁴

Upon comparison with male biographies in the same *Mu'jam*, it is worth noting that the criteria used to justify the inclusion of these female teachers are the same as those used in the case of the male teachers. Female teachers included in the *Mu'jam* are described as being from families which were known for a tradition of learning and producing religious knowledge.

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam heard Ḥadīths from teachers who were skilled in the field of medicine.⁸⁵

From one of the extracts mentioned in the *Mu'jam*, we learn that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam happened to travel to Damascus before the year 736/1335 to take Ḥadīth from 'Abd 'Al-Azīz ibn 'Abd Al-Laṭīf al-Ḥarrānī⁸⁶, and maybe other scholars, as the *Mu'jam* has so many teachers who either lived or died in Damascus.

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam received Ḥadīth also from four members from as-Sunhājī family. She heard from Mu'nisah bint 'Alī,⁸⁷ her son 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn 'Umar aṣ-Ṣunhājī,⁸⁸ 'Ā'ishah bint 'Alī ibn 'Umar aṣ-Ṣunhājī,⁸⁹ Khadījah bint 'Alī ibn 'Umar aṣ-Ṣunhājī,⁹⁰ and Hājar bint 'Alī ibn 'Umar aṣ-Ṣunhājī.⁹¹ The sources tell us this family had their origins in the Maghrib.⁹² Some members of this family lived in Egypt, for example, 'Ā'ishah died in Egypt,⁹³ and Hājar used to teach in Cairo.⁹⁴

⁸² See biographies no. 63, 66, 69, 83, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 112, 192, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 304, and 308.

⁸³ See biographies no. 69, 91, 98, and 200.

⁸⁴ For the sources, see the notes in our appended edition.

⁸⁵ Ibn Hajar comments on Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān al-Miṣrī that he belonged to family famous for practicing medicine. See biography no. 255. See also biography no. 206.

⁸⁶ Biography no. 146.

⁸⁷ Biography no. 304.

⁸⁸ Biography no. 128.

⁸⁹ Biography no. 192.

⁹⁰ Biography no. 94.

⁹¹ Biography no. 308.

⁹² Adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 19:264.

⁹³ Ibn Hajar, *Ad-Durar*, 2:237 (2089).

⁹⁴ See biography no. 308.

6.5. Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's Students

Although it is likely that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam convened assemblies for many students, she appears in the biographies of twenty-three students; three of them are female students. Twenty of these students are culled from as-Sakhāwī's *aq-Ḍaw'*.

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's Male Students

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's teaching career has left few traces in published sources. Like many scholars, students of Ḥadīth sought out Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's transmission authority. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī is perhaps her best-known student. Adh-Dhahabī confirms that Ibn Ḥajar heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī from a group of Egyptian scholars including Ash-Shaykhah Maryam after the year 790/1388,⁹⁵ i.e. when Ash-Shaykhah Maryam was over seventy.

The author of *Dhayl at-Taḳyīd*, Abū aṭ-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Makkī al-Fāṣī (d. 832/1428) was also another famous student. In his autobiography, he mentioned some books that he transmitted on the authority of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam such as *al-Arba ʿūn al-Buldāniyyah* of as-Silafī, *al-Arba ʿūn ath-Thaqafiyyah* and the *Juz'* of al-Ḥasan ibn ʿArafah.

In his *al-Buldāniyyāt*, as-Sakhāwī gave the name of Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-ʿUqbī (d. 861/1456)⁹⁶ as one of those who heard from Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.⁹⁷ Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-ʿIryānī (d. 852/1448) is said to have been brought to the assembly of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.⁹⁸ Ibn Abī al-ʿIṣbīʿī Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf (d. 856/1452) was granted an *ijāzah* by Ash-Shaykhah Maryam ca.788/1386).⁹⁹ Aḥmad ibn Yaʿqūb al-ʿItfīḥī, who was born in the year 790/1388, was brought to hear Ḥadīths from Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.¹⁰⁰ Khalīl ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ashqar (d. 820/1417) read Ḥadīth in the presence of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.¹⁰¹ Ash-Shaykhah Maryam was credited with giving an *ijāzah* to ʿAbd as-Salām ibn Dāwūd ibn ʿUthmān al-Maqdisī (d. 850/1446).¹⁰²

ʿAbd al-Ghannī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Barmāwī (d. 856/1452) was brought by his father to hear Ḥadīths from Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.¹⁰³ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 864/1459)¹⁰⁴ and Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Zakī (d. 838/1434) also heard Ḥadīths from Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.¹⁰⁵

Bulliet notes a trend among Ḥadīth teachers to have young students, particularly in their final years of teaching. The teachers that Ḥadīth students had at a young age

⁹⁵ Adh-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, ed. Zakariyyah ʿUmayrāt (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1998), 1:220. See also, Ibn Fahd al-Makkī, *Laḥz al-Alḥāz bi Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 1:211.

⁹⁶ On him, see As-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw'*, 2:212-2.

⁹⁷ As-Sakhāwī, *al-Buldāniyyāt*, ed. Ḥusām ibn Muḥammad al-Qaṭṭān (Saudi Arabia: Dār al-ʿAṭā', 2001), 86.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:70-71.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:245 (682).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:245.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 2:202

¹⁰² As-Sakhāwī, *aq-Ḍaw'*, 4:205.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 4:245.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 9:148.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 11:19.

appear frequently in their biographies.¹⁰⁶ In Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's case, we are told that she gave a certificate to Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn 'Alī al-Yāfi'ī (d. 823/1420) when he was young.¹⁰⁷

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's reputation attracted students traveling in the search of knowledge to her study circles. The Damascene scholar Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Qamāqīm (d. 864/1459) heard Ḥadīth from her during his travels to Cairo.¹⁰⁸ The Meccan scholar 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Fāsī (d. 827/1423) traveled with his brother 'Abd al-Laṭīf (d. 822/1419) to Cairo also to hear Ḥadīth from Ash-Shaykhah Maryam and other scholars of Ḥadīth.¹⁰⁹ Another Meccan scholar, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥāhīrah (d. 802/1399) traveled to Cairo and he heard Ḥadīth from Ash-Shaykhah Maryam during his travel.¹¹⁰

The Damascene scholar Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qaysī (d. 842/1438) and the Meccan scholar Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ash-Shaybī (d. 837/1433) were awarded an *ijāzah* by Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.¹¹¹ The Meccan scholar Idrīs ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 832/1429) is reported to have heard Ḥadīths from Ash-Shaykhah Maryam in Cairo.

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam is mentioned among a list of scholars who gave a certification to Ibn Zabraq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb (d. 840/1436) ca. 788/1386.¹¹² Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Ḥāhīrah, from Mecca, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā at-Tā'ifī, from At-Tā'if, (d. 840/1436) were also given an *ijāzah* by Ash-Shaykhah Maryam ca. 794/1319.¹¹³

The death dates of these students indicate that they studied with her in her late age. Ibn Ḥajar, for example, heard from her after the year 790/1388, i.e. when she was over seventy.

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's Female Students:

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's teaching career continued until after the year 797/1395. Ash-Shaykhah Maryam and her brother Muḥammad appear in the biography of Sitt al-'Irāq bint Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Bālisī (d. in Mecca 867/1462) as having awarded her an *ijāzah* after the year 797/1395.¹¹⁴ Ash-Shaykhah Maryam also appears in the biography of a Meccan, Ghuṣūn bint 'Alī An-Nūwayriyyah (d. 855/1451).¹¹⁵ Ghuṣūn was born in the year 794/1392, which means that her meeting with Ash-Shaykhah Maryam must have taken place between the years 794 to 805. This is another indication of the continuation of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's teaching career until the beginning of her eighties. Another female student is Ḥājar bint Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī (d.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Bulliet, "The Age Structure of Medieval Education," *Studia Islamica* (1983), 105-17, quoted from Asma Sayeed, *Shifting Fortunes*, 89.

¹⁰⁷ As-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw'*, 5:13 (enumeration is according to Ash-Shaamela library).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 7:95.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 4:322

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 9:5-6.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 8:103, 9:13.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 2:211

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 5:60, 8:191.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 12:55.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12: 85.

874/1468), who is mentioned as having heard or attended the sessions of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.¹¹⁶

From the biographies of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's students, we can figure out the geographical extent of her reputation. Some of the students went to see Ash-Shaykhah Maryam in Cairo and she met some of them in the cities of their origin. If Ash-Shaykhah Maryam had not convened assemblies in such places, it is possible that her students recounted her reputation after returning home from travels in which they encountered her. A good reconstruction of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's network of students and teachers places her in the scholarly elite of Cairo. It also reveals her connection with scholars from other cities.

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's teaching career indicates that in the intervening years between her childhood and seniority, she must have continued her search for knowledge by studying the works for which she was awarded *ijāzahs* to transmit for her students without undertaking any teaching activities, i.e. she did not teach during the period of her sexual maturity.

To conclude, the different accounts tell us that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam conducted her activities in different settings with both men and women and after being authorized by her teachers to transmit the knowledge she acquired from them, she would go on to teach both men and women. This means that she was empowered by certain conditions that did not see a gender barrier in acquiring religious knowledge and instructing others.

6.6. Elevation (‘uluww)¹¹⁷

From the various narrations extracted in the *Mu‘jam*, we notice that most of these narrations are characterized by having shorter *isnāds*. This helps us understand the phenomenon of elevation (‘uluww). Students of Ḥadīth sought after older teachers who had a (comparatively) shorter narrative string. Therefore, "Ḥadīth education must begin at a young age for the chains of authorities to be shorter than one's colleagues, because one's chances later in life as a teacher will depend on how short his chain of authorities is."¹¹⁸

Throughout the *Mu‘jam*, we encounter expressions like *wa akhbarana bihi ‘āliyan* (this (ḥadīth) was narrated to us through a high *isnād* by...),¹¹⁹ *hādhā ḥadīth ‘ālin jiddan*, (this ḥadīth has a very high *isnād*),¹²⁰ *fa waqa ‘a lanā badalan ‘āliyan* (we reported this ḥadīth through a higher *isnād* from another teacher than that of al-Bukhārī or Muslim's

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 12:132.

¹¹⁷ For a detailed discussion on elevation, see Asma Sayeed, *Shifting Fortunes*, 264-273. For the morphology of the terms used by early Ḥadīth scholars to express elevation and its opposite, see Leonard Librande, "The Categories of High and Low as Reflections on the *Riḥlah* and *Kitābah* in Islam," *Der Islam* 55 no. 2 (1978): 267-80. See also Eerick Dickinson, "Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ Ash-Shaahrazūrī and the Isnād," *Journal of American Oriental Society* 122 (2002): 481-505. The library of Leiden university has a good treatise on elevation entitled "*Faḍl al-aḥad fil-‘ilm bi-‘ulwuw as-Sanad*" by Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Faḍl al-Ḥusaynī, 44 folio, (27)

¹¹⁸ Recep Sentruk, "Narrative Social Structure: Anatomy of the Ḥadīth Transmission Network, CE 610-1505" unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Colombia University, 1998), 102

¹¹⁹ See the Ḥadīths cited in biographies no. 1, 4, 27, 75, 133, 179, and 181.

¹²⁰ See the Ḥadīth cited in biography no. 2.

teacher),¹²¹ *‘alā al-muwāfaqah*¹²² or *fa waqa ‘a lana muwāfaqatan*,¹²³ (we reported this ḥadīth from the teacher of, for example, Imām Muslim with a number of masters less than the number of masters if he transmits from Imām Muslim directly.) This frequency reflects Ash-Shaykhah Maryam’s quest for short *isnāds*. Searching out short *isnāds* became a phenomenon. Therefore, the significance of the term *isnād ‘ālī* (lit. "high" or elevated chain of transmission) evolved to place emphasis on the number of narrators in a chain over and above other considerations.¹²⁴

On the elevated *isnād*, Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) remarked: "Seeking elevation in Ḥadīth is a sunnah. For that reason, undertaking journeys was recommended. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said: "Seeking an elevated *isnād* is a sunnah from those who came before." Indeed, we heard that in his final illness Yahyā ibn Ma‘īn was asked, "What do you desire?" He replied, "An empty house and an elevated *isnād*."¹²⁵ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ went on to clarify the importance of elevation by stating that: "Elevation keeps defectiveness away from the *isnād*, because it is possible for defectives to come, either inadvertently or deliberately, from every transmitter in the *isnād*. Therefore, a small number of transmitters represents a small number of sources of defectiveness and a large number of men represents a large number of sources of defectiveness."¹²⁶

Of the five categories of elevation mentioned by Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, I will focus on the third, related to the transmission of one or both of the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim or other famous authoritative books: the agreement (*muwāfaqah*), "substitutions" (*abdāl*), "equivalence" (*musāwah*), and "hand-shaking" (*muṣāfahah*). These are types of "elevation" which have become famous and are often referred to in the sources.¹²⁷

The two sub-categories of "agreement" and "substitutions" are used frequently in the *Mu‘jam*. The technical term of "agreement" refers, for instance, to cases when a Ḥadīth comes to you from the teacher who transmitted it to Imām Muslim with an elevated *isnād* with fewer intermediaries than the Ḥadīth would have when you related it through Imām Muslim from his teacher. An example of *substitutions* would be that for a particular Ḥadīth the same elevation as described above comes to you from a teacher other than the teacher of Imām Muslim.¹²⁸ Of the first sub-category of elevation that is of *agreement*, there are eight Ḥadīths mentioned in the *Mu‘jam*. Of the second sub-category of elevation of *substitutions* there are twenty-five examples mentioned throughout the *Mu‘jam*.

Sayeed notes that ar-Rāmahurmuzī and al-Ḥākim emphasized the importance of travel, orality, and the personal exertion as conditions to obtain elevation. By that, they were reflecting the standards and milieu familiar to the early scholars of Ḥadīth transmission. But because these standards were observed strictly, women were barred

¹²¹ See the Ḥadīths cited in biographies no. 2, 5, 11, 22, 23, 28, 36, 37, 60, 64, 73, 75, 76, 102, 104, 110, 114, 122, 147, 175, 179, 180, 184, 305, and 311.

¹²² See the Ḥadīths cited in biographies no. 16, 88, 105, 132, 145, and 181. This is when one’s *isnād* was identical to that of one of the great compilers beginning at the level of the shaykh of the compiler. Asma Sayeed, *Shifting Fortunes*, 271, note 139.

¹²³ See the Ḥadīths cited in biographies no. 20 and 21.

¹²⁴ Asma Sayeed, *Shifting Fortunes*, 263.

¹²⁵ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, *An Introduction*, 183.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 184.

from the field. However, from the end of the fifth to the seventh century, the very definition of elevation was under revision and increasingly came to refer to a short chain of transmission without the scrutiny of the type of transmission involved (oral or written) and without taking into account whether the authority was granted directly or procured by an intermediary.¹²⁹ This change affected the possibility for women to acquire *elevation* in Ḥadīth transmission.¹³⁰

In the case of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam, her fame derived from her *isnād* of certain Ḥadīths reported in al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Mājah, at-Tirmidhī, and an-Nasā'ī. The *Mu'jam* highlights two specific categories of *isnāds*, i.e. an *isnād* which has nine transmitters and an *isnād* which has ten transmitters. An example of the first is the following narration:

“Ash-Shaykhah Maryam said: Abū An-Nūn informed us, Abū al-Ḥasan informed him by way of *ijāzah* from al-Mubārak ibn al-Ḥasan, from Abī Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad that al-Kinānī and Ibn Ḥatatah transmitted to him that Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī transmitted to them that Ṭālūt ibn ‘Abbād transmitted to him that Faddāl ibn Jubayr transmitted to him that he heard Abū Umāmah Sa’d ibn ‘Ajlān saying that I heard the messenger of God (peace be upon him) saying: ‘If you guarantee me six things on your part, I shall guarantee you Paradise. Speak the truth when you talk, keep a promise when you make it, when you are trusted with something fulfill your trust, avoid sexual immorality, lower your eyes, and restrain your hands from injustice.’”¹³¹

An example of the *isnād* with ten transmitters is the following Ḥadīth:

Abū Bakr ibn al-‘Izz Ibrāhīm ibn Abī ‘Umar informed us by way of *ijāzah* that his father, his uncle Abū al-Faraj, ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad, Aḥmad ibn Shaybah, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn an-Nāsiḥ, and Abū Bakr al-Harawī said that Abū al-Yamān Zayd ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Kindī and ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mu’adhdhin said that Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī informed them that Ḥumayd transmitted to him from Anas that he said: "When the Prophet (peace be upon him) arrived in Madinah Umm Sulaym took me to the Prophet and said: "O messenger of God, this is Anas an intelligent scribe, take him to serve you." Anas said: "The Prophet accepted me.”¹³²

Thus, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's *Mu'jam* offers an authentic testimony to the importance of seeking higher *isnāds* in Ḥadīth literature.

6.7. Methods of Receiving Ḥadīth

Ibn Ḥajar extracted one Ḥadīth or so with an elevated *isnād* from various works that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam had been authorized to transmit. As mentioned above, the *Mu'jam* is a valuable source for checking the authenticity of the Ḥadīths mentioned throughout it. The *Mu'jam* includes 151 narrations. Of the 28 female teachers, from whom Ash-Shaykhah Maryam received knowledge, Ibn Ḥajar quotes reports from 8 teachers only.¹³³ In four cases, Ibn Ḥajar gives the beginning of the *isnād* but does not

¹²⁹ Asma Sayeed, *Shifting Fortunes*, 267-8

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 272.

¹³¹ Entry no. 3. The narration is reported in at-Ṭabarī, *al-Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ*, 6:94 (2638). Enumeration is according to Shamela library.

¹³² Entry no. 119. The narration is reported in ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-‘Irāqī, *Al-Arba‘ūn al-Ushāriyyah*, ed. Badr ‘Abd Allāh al-Badr (Beirut: Dār ibn Ḥazm, 1993), 1:160.

¹³³ See biographies no. 83, 92, 99, 102, 195, 196, 198, and 308.

complete it. Ibn Ḥajar cites 16 reports from Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's teachers al-Wānī and ad-Dabbūsī; 8 from each.¹³⁴ This is an indication of the close relation she had with both teachers and the role they played in her education. In one case, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam provided Ibn Ḥajar with an extract which she transmitted through five *isnāds*.¹³⁵ Though most of the reports were considered as authentic, Ibn Ḥajar cites one Ḥadīth and gives the ruling that it has a weak *isnād*,¹³⁶ and on another report, he says: "This is a *mawqūf* (halted Ḥadīth) and scholars doubted its *isnād*."¹³⁷ Ibn Ḥajar extracts one report through an *isnād* which has a teacher, his brother, and their father,¹³⁸ and another one which has a teacher, his father, and Ash-Shaykhah Maryam transmitted it from them based on an *ijāzah* which they conferred on her.¹³⁹ She also received Ḥadīth from two brothers such as Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Kulwatātī¹⁴⁰ and Abū Bakr ibn al-Kulwatātī,¹⁴¹ Aḥmad ibn Ruḍwān al-Zinhār¹⁴² and his maternal brother Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq ibn Sha'bān ash-Shayyākh;¹⁴³ 'Atīq ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Makkī¹⁴⁴ and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Makkī;¹⁴⁵ Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Ya'murī¹⁴⁶ and Abū Sa'īd al-Ya'murī.¹⁴⁷ This suggests the role of kinship networks in the transmission of Ḥadīth. Ash-Shaykhah Maryam also included an incomplete report which she heard from a teacher and his uncle.¹⁴⁸

Throughout the *Mu'jam*, Ibn Ḥajar, quoting the *samā'āt* and *ijāzāt* which had been provided to him by Ash-Shaykhah Maryam, provides the different methods by which Ash-Shaykhah Maryam received Ḥadīth from her teachers. He uses expressions like *akhbaranā* (informed us) and *ḥaddathanā* (transmitted to us) to indicate the transmission of Ḥadīth through *sama'* (audition). Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ views that this type of transmission is the most elevated according to the majority of scholars.¹⁴⁹ On the different expressions used to indicate this type of transmission, Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ quotes al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ as saying: "There is no dispute that in reference to this form of taking up Ḥadīth, it is permissible for the student who heard the teacher to say, 'He transmitted to us' (*ḥaddathanā*), 'He informed us' (*akhbaranā*), 'He told us' (*anba'anā*), (I heard X saying' (*sami'tu fulānan yaqūlu*), X said to us' (*qāla lanā fulān*), 'X mentioned to us' (*dhakara*

¹³⁴ See biographies no. 2 and 3.

¹³⁵ See the extract mentioned in biography no. 278.

¹³⁶ The Ḥadīth reads: "Allamānī rasūl Allāh alfa bābin kullu bābin taftaḥu alfa bāb."

¹³⁷ See the Ḥadīth extracted in biography no. 314.

¹³⁸ The *isnād* has Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Fayūmī, his brother Muḥammad and their father. See biography no. 54.

¹³⁹ The *isnād* has Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bakrī and his father. See biography no. 286.

¹⁴⁰ Biography no. 25.

¹⁴¹ Biography no. 74.

¹⁴² Biography no. 12.

¹⁴³ Biography no. 243.

¹⁴⁴ Biography no. 158.

¹⁴⁵ Biography no. 246.

¹⁴⁶ Biography no. 282.

¹⁴⁷ Biography no. 284.

¹⁴⁸ The *isnād* has Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Majīd ibn Khalaf ibn 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb, his uncle 'Abd Allāh ibn Khalaf and 'Umar ibn Yaḥyā al-'Utbī. See biography no. 252. For the uncle's biography see no. 125. For 'Umar's biography see no. 190.

¹⁴⁹ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, *An Introduction*, 97.

lanā fulān)¹⁵⁰ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī confirms that the expression '*sam 'itu*' (I heard so and so say) is the highest expression.¹⁵¹ This reflects the role of *samā'āt* as an important source for the study of Ḥadīth transmission. The traditions of the Prophet were transmitted in small circles and in mass gatherings. Hence, the reading of and listening to Ḥadīth were considered an exceedingly esteemed performance because these meetings created a multi-generation social group.¹⁵² The social importance of this type of tradition is clearly highlighted by chroniclers as many obituaries include words to the effect that the deceased "had learned Ḥadīth with" or "read with" a well-known teacher."¹⁵³

In some other cases, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam confirms the method of transmission by the expression '*qirā'tan 'alayhi wa anā asma*' (It was recited to so and so while I was listening). This is another method of taking and receiving Ḥadīth; it is called '*al-qirā'a 'alā ash-Shaykh*' (recitation to the teacher). Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ said: Most of the transmitters call it "presentation" ('*arḍ* ') since the reciter presents the Ḥadīth to the teachers just as the reciter presents the Qur'ān to the Qur'ān instructor. It makes no difference whether you are the reciter or someone else recites while you listen. You may recite from a book or from your memory. The teacher may have memorized the material recited to him or not. In the latter case, he or some other reliable individual should hold his text."¹⁵⁴ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī said: "Most jurists and scholars of Ḥadīth hold that reading to the teacher is like hearing from him."¹⁵⁵

The usage of the expression '*qirā'tan 'alayhi wa naḥnu nasma*' implies that she attended the assemblies of her teachers along with other colleagues; male and female. These two methods indicate oral transmission.

Along with the expression *akhbaranā*, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam adds the word *ijāzatan* to emphasize that she was granted an *ijāzah* to transmit a particular Ḥadīth to others on behalf of her teacher. This is the third method of receiving Ḥadīth. *Ijāzah* signifies the teacher's permission to a student to transmit from him all his narrations or his writings. The *ijāzah* could be of several kinds:

(a) Licensing a specific text to a specific person, where the teacher says, "I hereby license book X or the contents of this book list of mine to you." This is the highest type of *ijāzah*, and, according to Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, the later scholars are unanimous in allowing it.¹⁵⁶

(b) Licensing an unspecified text to a specific person: for instance the teacher says, "I hereby license everything I heard", or "everything I relate", "to you". According to Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, the majority of jurists and traditionists allow it.¹⁵⁷

(c) Licensing an unspecified person under a general designation: for instance, the teacher says, "I hereby license the Muslims," or "I hereby license everyone." According to Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, most scholars disallow this form of *ijāzah*.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁵¹ Nadwī, *Al-Muḥaddithāt*, 84.

¹⁵² Yehoshua Frenkel, "Women in Late Mamluk Damascus", 411.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, *An Introduction*, 100.

¹⁵⁵ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 259-60, here quoted from Nadwī, *Al-Muḥaddithāt*, 86.

¹⁵⁶ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, *An Introduction*, 110.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 111.

In all the narrations mentioned throughout the *Mu'jam*, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam uses the terminology '*akhbaranā* so and so *ijāzatan*', (so and so informed us while providing us permission to transmit the same information on his authority.)¹⁵⁹ In one instance, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam uses the terminology '*fīmā ajāzahu lanā wa kataba bi khaṭṭihi*' (in what he licensed us in his own handwriting) confirming that her *ijāzah* had been written or signed by the teacher himself.¹⁶⁰ In eight other cases, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam uses the terminology of '*akhbaranā* so and so *idhnan*' (So and so informed us by granting permission) to express *ijāzah*.¹⁶¹

In one case, the *Mu'jam* confirms that the *ijāzah* was coupled with correspondence (*mukātabatan*)¹⁶² which is another type of receiving Ḥadīth. It consists of the teacher sending some of his Ḥadīths in his own handwriting to an absent student, or the teacher writing them for him while he is present.¹⁶³ Correspondence took two forms. One of them was correspondence without licensing. The second was correspondence coupled with licensing.¹⁶⁴ The second form applies to the case of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.

In order to indicate that the *ijāzah* was obtained without audition (for instance, by correspondence), Ash-Shaykhah Maryam uses the terminology '*ijāzatan in lam yakun samā'an*'¹⁶⁵ (by way of licensing, even though I had not heard the text itself during an audition) or '*idhnan in lam yakun samā'an*'.¹⁶⁶

When it comes to poetry, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam uses the expression '*anshadanā*'¹⁶⁷ (he recited to us). In one case, the recitation of verses was conveyed through an *ijāzah* coupled with writing from the teacher.¹⁶⁸

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* For other forms of *ijāzah*, see *Ibid.*, 111-117. For a classical commentary on *ijāzahs*, see Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad as-Silafī (d. 576), *al-Wajīz fī Dhikr al-Mujāz wal-Mujīz*, (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1991). For the significance of *ijāzahs* in contemporary studies, see Aḥmad Ramaḍān Aḥmad, *Al-Ijāzāt wa at-Tawqī'āt al-Makhṭūṭah fil-'Ulūm an-Naqliyyah wal-'Aqliyyah* (Cairo: Wizārat ath-Thaqāfah, 1986); 'Abd Allāh al-Fayyād, *Al-Ijāzāt al-'Ilmiyyah 'indal-Muslimīn* (Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-Irshād, 1967); Hisham Nashabi, "The *Ijāzah*: Academic Certification in Muslim Education," *Hamdard Islamicus*, Spring 1985, 7-20; Jan Just Witkam, "The Human Element between Text and Reader: The *Ijāza* in Arabic Manuscripts", in *Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts*, ed. Yasin Dutton (London: 1995), 123-136.

¹⁵⁹ See biographies no. 1, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 45, 46, 48, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 64, 68, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 81, 83, 86, 88, 90, 100, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 1123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 154, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173, 175, 177, 179, 180, 181, 182, 184, 186, 194, 195, 196, 198, 201, 215, 222, 225, 230, 243, 248, 251, 258, 262, 266, 278, 285, 286, 289, 291, 294, 297, 299, 302, 305, 306, 308, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, and 324.

¹⁶⁰ See biography no. 72. Ash-Shaykhah Maryam narrated some verses from her teacher Bilbān to the effect that he granted those who asked him for *ijāzah* to transmit the collections he narrated. These collections include the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim and the *Juz* ' of ar-Rāzī.

¹⁶¹ See biographies no. 1, 116, 176, 188, 202, 230, 236, and 305.

¹⁶² See biography no. 203.

¹⁶³ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, *An Introduction*, 123.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ See biographies no. 1, 179, 180, 186, 227, and 277.

¹⁶⁶ See biography no. 116.

¹⁶⁷ See biographies no. 3 and 260.

¹⁶⁸ See biography no. 262.

6.8. Ibn Ḥajar and Reading Certain Ḥadīths in the presence of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam

By certain Ḥadīths, I mean specific texts of reports, not whole collections or *ajzā'*. In Aḥmad ibn Shaybān ar-Ramlī and Maṣṣūr ibn 'Ammar al-Wā'iz's entries in *Lisān al-Mizān*, Ibn Ḥajar quotes two specific Ḥadīths he heard from his teacher Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.¹⁶⁹ In his *al-Aḥadīth al-'Asharah al-Ikhtiyāriyyah 'ushāriyyat al-Isnād*, Ibn Ḥajar mentioned that he read the second and the tenth Ḥadīths in this collection, which have ten people in the *isnād*, to Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.¹⁷⁰ In his *Taghlīq at-Ta'līq 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ibn Ḥajar quotes eight Ḥadīths which he transmitted on the authority of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam.¹⁷¹

6.9. Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's Death

Ash-Shaykhah Maryam died in 805/1402 at the age of eighty-four. Ibn Ḥajar praises her as a pious and chaste woman and one who had great love for knowledge.¹⁷² Kaḥḥālāh describes her as pious and of good character.¹⁷³ Ibn Fahd al-Makkī calls her *Musnidat Miṣr* (the authoritative transmitter of Egypt).¹⁷⁴ According to al-Maqrīzī, she well deserved the great respect in which she was held, for she "stood alone (as a transmitter) from the majority of her teachers".¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 2002) 1:482 (546); 8:167 (7931).

¹⁷⁰ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Aḥadīth al-'Asharah al-Ikhtiyāriyyah 'ushāriyyat al-Isnād*, ed. Abū Muḥammad al-'Alfī (n.p., n.d.) 1:7. The Ḥadīth is best known as the Ḥadīth of Jamrah bint 'Abd Allāh al-Yarbū'iyyah. For more on it, see *ibid.*, 1:7.

¹⁷¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Taghlīq at-Ta'līq 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. Sa'īd 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Mūsā al-Qazqī (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1984) 3:48, 262, 265, 4:366, 367, 469, 5:296, 299.

¹⁷² Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 2:254-255.

¹⁷³ Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām an-Nisā'*, 5:37.

¹⁷⁴ Ibn Fahd al-Makkī, *Lahẓ al-Alḥāẓ*, 1:142. Zakariyyah 'Umayrāt in his introduction to adh-Dhahabī's *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ* defines the term *musnid* as one who narrates traditions in his possession.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd*, 470.