

al-Muhaddithat: the women scholars in Islam

MOHAMMAD AKRAM NADWI



al-Muḥaddithāt:

the women scholars in Islam

كلام الله

Kalamullah.Com

AL-MUHADDITHĀT:

the women scholars
in Islam

by

MOHAMMAD AKRAM NADWI

Interface Publications

Published by
INTERFACE PUBLICATIONS
Oxford • London

Interface Publications Ltd. Company address:
15 Rogers Street 2nd floor 145–157 St John St.
Oxford. OX2 7JS London. EC1V 4PY
[www. interfacepublications.com](http://www.interfacepublications.com)

Copyright © Interface Publications, 2007 (1428 AH)
The right of Mohammad Akram Nadwi to be identified
as the Author of this work has been asserted.

All rights reserved. Except for excerpts cited in a review or
similar published discussion of this publication, no part of it
may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted
in any form by any means whatever including electronic
without prior permission of the copyright owner, obtainable at
permissions@interfacepublications.com

paperback: 978–09554545–1–6
hardcover: 978–09554545–3–0

Typeset in Garamond, 11/12

Printed in Turkey by Mega Basım Yayın San. ve Tic. A.Ş.
Çobançeşme Ma. Kalender Sok. No: 9 3530 Yenibosna.
Istanbul.
e: export@mega.com.tr

Contents

PREFACE	xii
—Acknowledgements, xxiii	
List of tables, charts, maps, and illustrations	viii
INTRODUCTION —The impact of the Book and <i>Sunnah</i> , 3 —The women’s authority established by the Qur‘ān and <i>Sunnah</i> , 7 —The women’s authority established by their own actions, 13	1
1 THE LEGAL CONDITIONS FOR NARRATING HADĪTH —Testimony and narration, 17 (<i>The difference between testimony and narration</i> , 20) —The lawfulness of women transmitting ḥadīth, 22 —The public authority of ḥadīths narrated by women, 25 (<i>The ḥadīth of Fātimah bint Qays</i> , 29; <i>Another example: a ḥadīth from Ā’ishah</i> , 32)	17
2 WOMEN AS SEEKERS AND STUDENTS OF HADĪTH —The disposition to teach women, 35 (<i>The duty to teach</i> , 35; <i>Educating the children</i> , 36; <i>Keeping children on the Sunnah</i> , 39; <i>Encouraging girls and women to attend gatherings</i> , 40; <i>The duty to answer the women’s questions</i> , 41; <i>The practice of those who followed</i> , 43) —The women’s own efforts, 46 (<i>What the women asked about</i> , 48; <i>About shyness in the way of learning</i> , 50; <i>Women learning from the Companions</i> , 51) —Women’s preserving of the ḥadīth, 51 (<i>Memorization</i> , 52; <i>Writing</i> , 54; <i>Writing marginal notes</i> , 56; <i>Comparison and correction</i> , 56)	35
3 OCCASIONS, TRAVELS, VENUES FOR, AND KINDS OF HADĪTH LEARNING —Public occasions, 58 (<i>The hajj; hajjat al-wadā’</i> , 60) — Private occasions, 64 — Travelling, 71 (<i>Hajj journeys</i> , 72) —	58

Venues, 76 (<i>Houses</i> , 77; <i>Mosques</i> , 81; <i>Schools</i> , 82) — Ways of receiving ḥadīth, 84 (<i>Samā‘</i> (bearing), 84; <i>al-‘Ard</i> , 85; <i>Ijāzah</i> , 86; <i>al-Munāwalah</i> , 87; <i>al-Mukātabah</i> , 88; <i>al-I‘lām</i> , 88; <i>al-Wasiyyah</i> , 88; <i>al-Wijādah</i> , 89; <i>Documentation of the samā‘ and ijāzah</i> , 89; <i>Querying ijāzahs</i> , 92) — Fātimah bint Sa‘d al-Khayr (?525–600), 93	
4 THE WOMEN'S TEACHERS — Teachers within the family circle, 98 — Teachers of the locality, 102 — Visiting teachers, 103 — Teachers in other towns, 106 — Number of teachers, 107	97
5 THE READING MATTER — The first three centuries, 109 — The fourth to the sixth centuries, 110 — From the seventh to the ninth centuries, 114 From later ninth to thirteenth centuries, 119 — In the fourteenth century, 121 — Kinds of the books they studied, 123 (<i>al-Muwaṭṭa</i> , 123; <i>al-Jawāmi‘</i> , 124; <i>al-Sunan</i> , 128; <i>al-Masānid</i> , 128; <i>al-Ma‘ājim</i> and <i>al-Mashyakhāt</i> , 129; <i>al-Arba‘ūnāt</i> , 132; <i>al-Ajzā‘</i> , 132; <i>al-Musakalāt</i> , 134) — The reading list of Umm Hāni bint Nūr al-Dīn al-Hūrīniyyah (d. 871), 136	109
6 WOMEN'S ROLE IN DIFFUSION OF ‘THE KNOWLEDGE’ — The Companions and the scholars after them, 138 — Major scholars who narrated from women, 140 — Husbands narrating from their wives, 142 — Children learning from their mothers, 144 — Children narrating from their mothers, 146 — The manners of the women scholars, 149 (<i>Teaching unpaid; accepting small gifts</i> , 154) — The numbers of their students, 155 — How the <i>muhaddithāt</i> transmitted ḥadīth, 164 (<i>Narration of the words</i> , 164; <i>Reading to the teacher</i> , 169; <i>Correspondence</i> , 170; <i>Ijāzah</i> , 171) — Assemblies for narration and teaching, 176 (<i>Houses</i> , 177; <i>Mosques</i> , 179; <i>Schools</i> , 180; <i>Other places</i> , 182)	138
7 WOMEN'S ḤADĪTHS AND NARRATIONS — Women's ḥadīths in the Six Books, 184 — The narrators' eloquence, 189 — <i>Fiqh</i> dependent on women's ḥadīths, 195 (<i>The ḥadīth of Subay‘ah al-Aslamiyyah</i> , 196; <i>The ḥadīth of Busrah bint Ṣafwān</i> , 197; <i>The ḥadīth of Umm ‘Atiyyah</i> , 198;	184

	‘Ā’ishah’s ḥadīth about the wife of Rijā’ah al-Qurāzī, 199) — Women’s narration of different kinds of ḥadīth compilations, 199 (<i>Jawāmi‘</i> , 199; <i>Sunan</i> , 203; <i>Masānīd</i> , 206; <i>Ma‘ājim</i> and <i>Mashyakhāt</i> , 208; <i>Arba‘ūnāt</i> , 209; <i>Ajzā‘</i> , 210; <i>Musalsalāt</i> , 213; <i>Abundance of their narrations</i> , 214) — Collections of the women’s narrations, 219 — Higher <i>isnād</i> through women teachers, 227	
8	WOMEN AND HADĪTH CRITIQUE — Evaluation of narrators, 230 (<i>Ta‘dil</i> of women narrators, 233; <i>Jarḥ</i> of women narrators, 234) — Evaluation of women’s ḥadīths, 235 — Evaluation of narrators by women, 237 (<i>Women’s role in</i> <i>ta‘dil and jarḥ</i> , 237; <i>Examples of ta‘dil and jarḥ by women</i> , 238) — Women’s role in ḥadīth critique, 239 (<i>Checking the ḥadīth</i> <i>against the Qur’ān</i> , 240; <i>Checking the ḥadīth against another,</i> <i>stronger ḥadīth</i> , 241; <i>Checking the ḥadīth against a sunnah of the</i> <i>Prophet</i> , 242; <i>Checking the ḥadīth in the light of its occasion</i> (<i>sabab</i>), 243; <i>Checking a ḥadīth against the difficulty of acting upon</i> <i>it</i> , 244; <i>Checking a ḥadīth for misconstruction of its meaning</i> , 244)	230
9	OVERVIEW BY PERIOD AND REGION —First period: 1st–2nd c. ah, 246 — Second period: 3rd–5th c. ah, 250 — The third period: 6th–9th c. ah, 255 — The fourth period: 900–1500 ah — overview by region, 264 (<i>Hijāz</i> , 264; <i>Iraq</i> , 265; <i>al-Shām (Greater Syria)</i> , 266; <i>Egypt</i> , 268; <i>Spain</i> and <i>Morocco</i> , 270; <i>The region of Khurasan and Transoxania</i> , 271; <i>India</i> , 272)	245
10	FIQH AND ‘AMAL —The <i>fiqh</i> of the women scholars, 275 (<i>Understanding the Qur’ān</i> , 275; <i>Understanding the hadīth</i> , 278; <i>Women jurists</i> , 279; <i>Women giving fatwas</i> , 281; <i>Debate</i> <i>between men and women</i> , 282; <i>Reliance of the jurists on the fiqh of</i> <i>women</i> , 283; <i>The women’s holding opinions that others disputed</i> , 284) — <i>‘Amal</i> , 285	273
	REFERENCES	291
	INDEXES —The Companions and their Successors, 302 — The women scholars, 305 —The men scholars, 308 — Place names, 316	302

List of tables, charts, maps and illustrations*

Table 1. Different responses to ḥadīth of Fātimah bint Qays, 31
Table 2. Famous students of Shuhdah al-Baghdādiyyah, 156–58

Chart 1a–c. Transmission of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* to women, 125–27

Chart 2. Transmission of *Musnād Ibn Ḥanbal* to women, 130

Chart 3. Transmission of *Mu‘jam al-kabīr* to women, 130

Chart 4. Transmission of *Juz’ ‘Arafah* to women, 211

Chart 5. Transmission of *Juz’ al-Anṣārī* to women, 212

Chart 6. Transmission of *al-Ghaylāniyyāt* to women, 213

Chart 7. Transmission of *Juz’ Bibā* to women, 221

Map 1. Study journeys of Fātimah bint Sa‘d al-Khayr, 94

Map 2. Islamic world. Spread of *muhaddithāt* 1st–2nd c., 247

Map 3. Islamic world. Spread of *muhaddithāt* 3rd–5th c., 251

Map 4. Islamic world. Spread of *muhaddithāt* 6th–9th c., 256

Map 5. Islamic world. Spread of *muhaddithāt* 10th–14th c., 261

Illustrations

Photo. Great Umayyad Mosque, Damascus, x

Photo. al-Jāmi‘ al-Ḥanābilah al-Muẓaffarī, Damascus, 96

Photo. Dār al-Kutub al-Ζāhiriyah, Damascus, 137

MS copy. *Istid‘ā* of Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah, 91

MS copy. *Samā‘* of class of Zaynab bint al-Kamāl, 159–58

MS copy. *Ijāzah* signed by Sitt al-Katabah bint ‘Alī al-Tarrāḥ, 171

MS copy. *Samā‘* of class of Karīmah al-Zubayriyyah, 178

MS copy. *Samā‘* of class of Zaynab bint Makkī al-Harrānī, 181

MS copy. *Samā‘* of class of Karīmah al-Zubayriyyah, 183

MS copy. Title page of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* of Sitt al-Wuzarā‘, 200

MS copy. *Ijāzah* signed by Sitt al-Wuzarā‘, 201

*Maps drawn by Dr. Alexander Kent, FBCart.S., FRGS.

Photos from the personal collection of Yahya Michot.

MSS photocopies. See text and notes on the page for sources.



Qāsim ibn Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Alī said: ‘We were at the door of Bishr ibn al-Hārith, he came [out] to us. We said: O Abū Naṣr, narrate ḥadīth to us. He said: Do you pay the *zakāh* [that is due] on ḥadīth? I said to him: O Abū Naṣr, is there *zakāh* [that is due] on ḥadīth? He said: Yes. When you hear ḥadīth or remembrance of God you should apply it.’

(see pp. 285–86)



Courtyard of the Great Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, where Umm al-Dardā' (d. 81) taught ḥadīth and *fiqh*, and ‘Ā’ishah bint ‘Abd al-Hādī (d. 816) was appointed to the post of principal teacher of *Sahīb al-Bukhārī*.

(Photo: Yahya Michot)

Preface

This book was conceived as a translation of the *muqaddimah* to an as yet unpublished biographical dictionary in Arabic of the women scholars of ḥadīth in Islamic history. However, it was soon apparent that much of the original needed to be adapted, not simply translated. One reason is that this introduction to the material in the Dictionary is not accompanied by that work, and so the material in it needs to be adequately illustrated. Another reason is that the expectations of an English readership are somewhat different from an Arabic one. I know that to be so from questions put to me after talks I have given on the subject and from correspondence following announcement of this book. Those expectations oblige me to say what this book is not, which is rather an awkward way of explaining what it is.

Let me start by stating that this is not an exercise in ‘women’s studies’. I have no specialist knowledge of perspectives associated with that discourse. The admission of ignorance should not be taken as indifference to it. Rather, I hope that people skilled in ‘women’s studies’ will make proper use of the material presented here. That material is, though arranged and organized, a *listing*; it is, by analogy with a word dictionary, much nearer to ‘words’ than ‘sentences’, and far from ‘paragraphs’ linked into an ‘essay’. Much work needs doing on the information before anybody ventures to derive from it value-laden arguments about the past (still less, the future) role of women in Islamic society. Among the next tasks are, starting with the easiest:

selection and composition from the material: e.g., there are, in the Dictionary I have compiled, reams of information on at least a score of individual women that could be turned into distinct biographical studies. Of course, much labour is entailed: the little sketch of Fāṭimah bint Sa‘d al Khayr given here (pp. 93–96 below) needed looking up half a dozen different books – but at least the Dictionary enables one to know which books to start with.

quantitative analysis: e.g., relative numbers of *muhaddithāt* in different times and places, and their preferences within the material available for study. The overview in Chapter 9 lays out the main blocks of the big picture but it needs detailing.

historical and contextual background: e.g., how particular genres of ḥadīth compilation developed and were transmitted – some charts provided here (necessarily scaled down) may indicate directions for such focused inquiry; how ḥadīth study was affected by political events, administrative arrangements, relations between state and society, and by social and economic status; how it was documented; how it was funded (informally, or formally in the *waqf* deeds of the great madrasas/colleges).

thematically-oriented reflection: e.g., as their names show, many *muhaddithāt* were daughters of men bearing the title ‘qādī’, ‘imām’, ‘ḥāfiẓ’ (expert, master), etc. It appears that the men most committed to the education of women, to respecting and treating them as peers in scholarship, and in the authority that derived from that status, were (as people now use this label) the most ‘conservatively’ Islamic – their intellectual genealogy traces to the *Sunnah*; not to (that other long line in Islamic scholarly effort) Aristotle.

My fear is that some readers will not wait for the necessary next phases of work to be undertaken. Vilification of Islam as a misogynist social order is so intense and pervasive that people urgently want assurance that it is not, or was not, or ‘need not’, be so. Scholarly corrective will not suffice to end that vilification since it is not based upon truth, but upon an aversion to Islam as such, perpetuating itself by seeking, and soon finding, instances of abuse of women (and other negatives like misgovernment, etc.) among Muslim communities. Similar failures in other communities are rarely associated with their religious tradition but explained by local factors. One need only compare the level of attention given in television documentary to the situation of women in Pakistan with that of women of equivalent social class in India to realize that such attention is quite particularly targeted on Muslims. In part this is because in India (to stay with that example) many middle-class younger women are beginning to see, and to project, their bodily presence in styles taken from the West, with some accents from local fashions. By contrast, most of their Muslim peers in Pakistan or India are not

doing the same – like many Muslims elsewhere they are not willing to subordinate manners derived from their religious tradition to Western tastes. The exasperation with Islamic ways for showing no consistent tendency to fade out, combined with the ancient aversion to Islam – it predates the modern European languages in which it is expressed – is the principal reason for the virulence of some feminist critique of it. Muslims, understandably, want their religion defended from that.

The feminist agenda, as understood by this outsider to it, has a practical side and a theoretical side. The former is concerned with questions of justice for women: equality in pay, access to education, employment, political representation, etc. No fair-minded person can argue with that. Justice is a virtue; Muslims have no monopoly either on the definition or practice of virtues. Rather, they are to praise the virtues in whoever has them and, within the boundaries of the lawful, compete therein. It would be hard to improve on the conciseness of this statement on the matter by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d. 751), greatest of many great students of Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728):¹

A Shāfi‘ī said: ‘No politics (*siyāsa*) excepting something that corresponds with the Law (*shar‘*)?’ [...] If in saying ‘excepting something that corresponds with the Law (*shar‘*)’ you mean ‘which does not run against what the Law has pronounced upon’, it is correct. If [on the other hand] you mean [by that] ‘No politics except for what the Law has pronounced upon’, it is an error [...]. *When the signs (amāra) of justice appear and its face is radiant, by whatever means it may be, there [you find] the Law of God and His religion.* God, Praised is He, is too aware, too wise and too just to restrict the ways of justice, its signs and its marks, to a single thing, to then reject something that may be more evident than those [and] to not judge, when such a thing exists and subsists, that it is obligatory. Through the ways that He has instituted as Law, He has rather, Praised is He, made it plain that what is aimed at by Him is

¹I here quote (with italics added) the translation by Yahya MICHOT, in his discussion of sundry discourses of Ibn Taymiyyah on *Muslims under non-Muslim Rule* (2006), 105; the passage is from *al-Turuq al-hukmiyyah* (ed. S. Umran, Cairo, 1423/2002), 17–18.

that justice be made to rule among His servants and that people strictly practise equity. *Whatever the ways by which justice and equity obtain, they are a part of the religion and do not run against it.*

The aim of undoing injustices suffered by women (wherever they are suffered) is acceptable to Muslims. But it is entangled in the theoretical underpinning of feminist critique, which is not acceptable but which nevertheless invades Muslim minds. I hear it in the form and content of the questions put to me. The form is: if men can do X, why can't women do X? The X could be 'pray in a mosque', 'interpret the law', 'issue fatwas', 'lead prayer', 'travel unaccompanied', 'behave chastely without scarfing the head', etc. This approach succeeds in embarrassing Muslims by framing each issue as one of equity: if men can X and women can't, or if women must X but men needn't, it does appear to be unfair. Now, it is not possible here to deal properly with such questioning of Islam – as I have said plainly, I am not qualified to take on 'women's studies' discourse – but I do owe it to the women whose scholarly authority this book celebrates to say briefly what is necessary to distinguish their perspective. These were not feminists, neither consciously nor unconsciously. They were above all else, like the men scholars, *believers*, and they got and exercised the same authority by virtue of reasoning with the same methods from the same sources as the men, and by having at the same time, just as the men did, a reputation for *taqwā* (wariness of God), righteousness and strong intellect.

My concern is that some readers will misunderstand the resemblance, in form and content, between the questions above and those found in some of the Prophetic ḥadiths cited in this book – the women among the Companions say: men are mentioned in the Book, what about us? men are commanded to do this and that, while we are stuck with the children, what about us? Also, readers will find in the book abundant examples of women teaching ḥadith classes of men and women students in the principal mosques and colleges (when established, from the sixth century AH on); issuing fatwas; interpreting the Qur'ān; challenging the rulings of qādīs; criticizing the rulers; preaching to people to reform their ways – and in all this being approved

and applauded by their peers among the men... The sheer number of examples from different periods and regions will establish that the answer to some of the 'If men can, why can't women?' questions is 'Men can and women can too'. That is correct, and yet it is not right.

It is not right because the approach embedded in the question 'if men can, why can't women?' is, from the Islamic perspective of the *muhaddithāt*, misleading in itself. It leads astray by three main routes. (1) Except as an amusing irony the question is never put the other way – 'if women can X, why can't men?' Rather, it is taken as given that the traditional domain of women is inferior: running a home, bringing up children are menial chores, unpaid in money or prestige, not a calling. So women should strive to take responsibility in the traditionally male domain of earning a living and competing for economic and political power, and the domain of family life – however important it may be – must be squeezed in somewhere somehow between the public domain commitments of the man and woman. To the extent that a social order moves towards that goal, women are freed of economic dependency, of any need to 'wait upon' men, acting as fathers or husbands (or priests or professors, etc.), telling them what to do.

I have worked through much material over a decade to compile biographical accounts of 8,000 *muhaddithāt*. Not one of them is reported to have considered the domain of family life inferior, or neglected duties therein, or considered being a woman undesirable or inferior to being a man, or considered that, given aptitude and opportunity, she had no duties to the wider society, outside the domain of family life.

(2) The form of the question 'if men can, why can't women?' gives primacy to *agency* as the definitive measure of the value of being human. What counts is what one *can do*, not what one *can be*; moreover, this approach defines agency in terms of challenging an established order of privilege – here, the privileges men have – so that the emotions and attitudes in play are characterized by *resistance*, and success is measured in terms of how many *can-do* items have been *won over* from the exclusive ownership of men. Thus, an argument may be contrived along the lines of: these

extraordinary women, the *muhaddithāt*, were – perhaps unconsciously – striving from within (i.e. resisting) against an oppressive system, and they achieved as much dignity and liberty of action as the system could tolerate. (The implication is that now we can do better, go further, etc.)

This argument will not hold against the information I have presented. It will become clear from the first three chapters of this book that there is no period when men have certain privileges to speak or think or act, and then women find a way to ‘invade’ the men’s ground. Rather, the women and men both know, *from the outset of Islam*, what their duties are: women are there teaching and interpreting the religion from the time that the duty to do so passed, with the Prophet’s death, to the scholars among his Companions. Indeed, by the assessment of some later scholars, the Companion most often referred to for fatwas or *fiqh* was ‘Ā’ishah bint Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddiq. From the Companions it passed to their Successors. Women are prominent among both, and among the later generations, who continued (or revived) that precedent. There is no evidence of any campaign, overt or covert, to win rights from men for women.

Undue emphasis on agency (being able to *do*) as a measure of dignity and liberty is an error of more serious import. In the believers’ perspective, the best of what we do is worship and, especially, prayer. Prayer, in its immediate, outward effects in the world seems to do nothing. However, the doer of it (and only the doer) knows how he or she is measured by it – the quality of presence of will, of reflection and repentance, of the courage to stand alone and quite still on the line between fear and hope before God. Prayer builds (and tests) the stability of the qualities that Muslims have treasured most in their scholars, men or women, namely wariness (or ‘piety’ in relation to God) and righteousness (in relation to other people). It is in the practice and teaching of these qualities that the *muhaddithāt* were engaged. Their personal authority as teachers was no doubt a function, in part, of sheer technical mastery of the material they were teaching, but it was also a function of their ability to con-

vey their conviction about it, and its effect on their character, their *being*.

Because of the need to set down a lot of examples of the material about the *mubaddithāt*, I have, with one exception, avoided lengthy citation of the ḥadīths themselves that they were teaching. The one exception is ‘Ā’ishah’s recollection of the incident of the *ifk*, the slander against her. It is a long story (below, p. 190–95). It ends when her husband, the Prophet, advises her, if she has done wrong to repent and God will forgive her. She knows she is innocent and so turns away from the world that will not vindicate her, saying ‘there is no help but in God’. When the Revelation declares her innocent, her mother instructs her to now go to her husband. She flatly refuses: ‘By God, I will not go to him.’ Because she is a teenager at the time of this incident, it is tempting to read in this disobedience the accents of rebelling adolescence. But in ‘Ā’ishah’s mature telling of it, it is presented as the moment when her faith is perfected, when she realizes that any obedience that is not, first, obedience to God is a burden to the self, an indignity; and every obedience that is for only God is full liberty. She turns away from parents, husband, from the Prophet himself: ‘By God, I will not go to him. And I will not praise except God.’ The power of agency that comes from such perfected surrender to God (*islām*) is evident in her conduct when, having led a battle against Muslims – an action she sincerely (and rightly) repented – and suffered a humiliating rout, she went directly to Basrah, where people flocked to her, not as a political faction, but to learn her ḥadīth and her *fiqh*, her understanding of Islam. The rout took nothing from her personal energy – nor from her reputation as a resource for knowledge of the religion. The all but incredible feats of mental strength and stamina, which are reported of the women scholars of the later periods, derive from the same kind and source of agency, the same achieved freedom of being.

(3) The ‘If men can, why can’t women’ approach may also mislead readers of the material in this book for another reason. It rests on a string of unsafe assumptions: that the differences given in nature (gender is the one we are discussing), if enhanced

by law and custom, must lead to injustices *necessarily*; that those injustices should and can be reduced by social, legal and (since we *can do*) biological engineering; that such engineering is safe because the differences as given have little value in themselves, or in their connectedness with anything else.

I will not go into the familiar arguments about the negative effects of erasing the social expression of gender differences – from weakening the boundaries of personal and family life so that it is spilled into public space for the entertainment of others, to confused sexual behaviours, to impairment of the desire and drive, perhaps even the capacity, to have children. But the social experiment is only just into its second generation. So far there is not much evidence that women's entry into the high levels of government, business, etc. has led to any change in either the goals or the operations of these activities. The women do them just as well as the men and in just the same way; which suggests that their being women is not engaged when at work. But work patterns and structures take time to alter; it is rather early to be pronouncing on the long-term costs (personal and social) that have come along with the gains in justice for women. Those gains matter greatly. Here, I want only to explain that there is another effort for justice, coming from a different grounding, from different assumptions, and its distinctiveness should not be missed.

As this book shows, women scholars acquired and exercised the same authority as men scholars. Both did so *within* the well-known Islamic conventions of *hijāb* and of avoiding, to the extent practicable, such mixing of men and women as can lead to forbidden relationships. As Muslims understand it, *hijāb* is commanded by God as law-giver, as a social expression and marking of the gender differences commanded by Him as creator. The practice of *hijāb* is thus not dependent upon having reasons for it but upon its being His command. However, God as law-giver commands nothing that He as creator does not also enable, and a part of His enabling obedience is that His commands (like His creation) *are* intelligible, so that obedience can flow

from a more willing assent. Hence, Muslims are allowed to ask: what is the point of *hijab*?

Muslims, men and women alike, are required to control their behaviour, how they look at, and how they appear to, each other. But only of women is it required that, in public, they cover their hair, and wear an over-garment, or clothing that does not caricature their bodily form: the meaning is – the opposite of modern Western conventions – to conceal, not reveal and project, their bodily presence. The meaning is not that women should be absent or invisible, but that they be present and visible with the power of their bodies switched off. What are the benefits of this? (1) Most of the time men and women dress to look normal, not to entice one another. But dress normality for men – except for the ignominies and anxieties of early adolescence – is derived from what other men see as normal; women, even when dressing only for each other, still evaluate their look among themselves by its appeal to men. *Hijab* can screen women from the anxiety, at least when out in public, of being subject to and evaluated by the sexual gaze of men. (2) *Hijab* has an educative function: it teaches chastity to the individual, who learns by it to inhibit the need to be appealing to men, and to the society in which the need to be self-disciplined is signalled and facilitated. (3) *Hijab*, publicly and emphatically, marks gender differences; it therefore enables women – always assuming that they are active in the public domain – to project their being women without being sized up as objects of desire.

None of that will at all impress those whose landscape is intolerably impoverished by the absence of attractively presented women, or who need the seasoning of flirtation and associated behaviours to get through their day. Nor can it impress those who do not see *hijab* except in terms of its symbolizing the oppression of women, who are prevented by it from ever enjoying ‘the wind in their hair’ or ‘the sun on their bodies’. (In fact, such enjoyment is not forbidden, only the display of it to men.) Women who declare that they have *chosen* to wear *hijab* are said to have internalized their oppression, that is, they are not allowed the dignity of being believed. Yet no-one says of the

adolescent or younger girls who hurt their own bodies in order to have (or because they never can have) the right ‘look’: ‘they have internalized an oppressive system’. Rather, these negative outcomes are said to be offset by the benefits, overall, to the fashion and entertainment industries. It would be decent to allow Muslims to say: overall, the benefits of *hijāb* outweigh any nuisance in it.

Anyway, despite pressures, believing men and women will not, for the sake of Western tastes, abandon the commands of God and His Messenger to practice *hijāb*. It is a part of the faith. The great shaykhahs who are the subject of this book, never doubted its obligatoriness. Nor is there the least evidence that it inhibited them from teaching men, or learning from men. Clearly, however, there are practical issues involved of how space was used, how voices were projected so questions could be taken and answered, and how students and teachers could know how the other had reacted. There is no direct discussion of these practical matters in the sources. One infers from that, that people acted in good faith and, in the particular, local conditions, made such arrangements as were necessary to convey knowledge of the religion to those who came seeking it.

Within Islamic tradition, it is generally accepted that one should guard oneself and society from whatever leads to the prohibited. Inducements to the prohibited cannot strictly be called prohibited, but one tries to behave as if they were without calling them so. It is not so well accepted that impediments to what is commanded or expressly permitted should be minimized. Certainly, the risk of sin is not a sufficient ground for preventing behaviour that is in itself lawful and does not intend or systematically induce the unlawful. There is the ḥadīth about the man who came to the Prophet to confess that, in the marketplace of Madinah, he had kissed a woman who was just there doing her shopping. The Prophet did not order the market closed or forbid women doing lawful business in it. First, he turned away, trying not to hear the man’s confession; but the man persisted. Then, after the prayer, the Prophet asked the man to confirm that he too had prayed. He did so. Then God sent down the verse (*Hūd*, 11. 114: *Establish the prayer at the ends*

of the day and approaches of the night. Surely good deeds take away bad deeds. That is a reminder for those who remember. The man asked: ‘Is this for me?’ The Prophet said: ‘For whoever takes it.’¹ The meaning is that it is for everyone who takes the opportunity, by prayer, to undo the attraction of sin so that it is not established in the heart and therefore can have very limited, if any, entail.

One reason we do not have more records about more of the *muhaddithāt* is a broad interpretation of the duty of *bijāb*: so much weight is given to keeping public and private domains distinct that details about the accomplishments of the women of the household are held undisclosed. A reliable source states, for example, that Ḥāfiẓ Ibn al-Najjār (d. 643) had some 400 women teachers.² Who were they? I was able to track down the names of only a few of them. Al-Qurashī (d. 775) wrote a book on Ḥanafī jurists with a section on women called *Tabaqāt al-nisā'*, which he begins: ‘This is a book in which I will mention what has come to my knowledge about the women scholars among our companions [i.e. fellow-Ḥanafī jurists]. I got very little information [about them] and there is no doubt that the state of women is based on covering (*satr*).’³

The misreading or misuse of this book from a ‘women’s studies’ approach is possible because that approach has no basis in the sources of the *Sunnah*. Sadly, there is also a lot of Islamic scholarship – unlike that of the women whose work is recorded here – that is also weakly grounded in the *Sunnah*. An extreme example is the opinion that women should not be taught writing, because if they are they will write letters (presumably of some improper kind). Apart from its self-evident absurdity, and its preventing much good, this opinion is flatly contradicted by the

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Mawāqīt al-salāh*, bāb *al-salāh kaffārah*; MUSLIM, *Sahīb*, *Tawbah*, bāb *qawlī-bi ta‘ālā inna l-hasānāt yudhibbina al-sayyīdāt*; AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi‘*, *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*, bāb *wa min sūrah Hūd*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Iqāmat al-salāh*, bāb *mā jā‘a fī anna al-salāta kaffārah*.² AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā'*, xxiii. 133. ³ AL-QURASHĪ, *al-Jawāhir al-mudīyyah fī tabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyyah*, iv. 1–2.

precedent of the Companions and their Successors. I will not labour the point: there is no need to as the book is packed with fully referenced counter-examples to that kind of thinking.

Because of the number of names and the need to identify people by giving most elements of the name and (if known) date of death, it saved some space to use only Hijri dates. That is in any case my practice in the original Arabic from which this work is adapted. Readers who find this disorienting, may find the table below useful. The 1st Muḥarram of year 1 AH corresponds to 16 July 622 AD.

718	100 AH	1203	600 AH	1688	1100 AH
815	200	1300	700	1785	1200
912	300	1397	800	1882	1300
1009	400	1494	900	1979	1400
1106	500	1591	1000	15/7/2007	29/6/1428

Acknowledgements

The great *tābi‘īyyah* Umm al-Dardā' said (below, p. 154) that God's provision does not reach us as a raining down of gold or silver but through each other. I cannot mention individually all those through whom I have been enabled to do this work – all my teachers and colleagues; the patient, professional staff of all the libraries I have used. For access to precious documents, I am most grateful to Mawlānā Muhammad Deedat, librarian at Dār al-Ulum, Bury (UK); Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyah (Damascus), and the Shibli Library Nadwat al-Ulama (Lucknow). Among my local colleagues, I thank Hassan Abidin, Dijhan Skinner, and Alexander Kent for encouragement over many years; Jamil Qureshi for pushing for an English adaptation of the *Muqaddimah*, and for being always on hand to help with presentation, argument and language. I thank Carla Power for making my work known through her generous articles in the press. I thank my daughters, specially Sumaiya, for doing so much of the typing and proof-reading.

As this work is about teaching of the *Sunnah* of the Prophet, it is proper always to remember the supplication: *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* (God pray over him and grant him peace). I end in hope that good comes by this book to those who brought it about and to its readers – it may do so only if He wills, to Whom all praise and thanks are due.

Mohammad Akram

Oxford, July 2007

Introduction

It surprises people to learn that women, living under an Islamic order, could be scholars, that is, hold the authority that attaches to being knowledgeable about what Islam commands, and therefore sought after and deferred to. The typical Western view is that no social order has (or aspires to have) more ‘religion’ in it than an Islamic one, and the more ‘religion’ a society has in it, the more restricted will be the scope in that society for women to enjoy agency and authority. Behind that is the assumption that religion is ‘really’ a human construct, done mainly by men and therefore done to secure advantages for them at the expense of women. Muslims, of course, do not share this view.

One of the reasons for Muslim conviction that the Qur’ān is God’s word is that it is, though expressed in the vehicle of the human language of its first audience (Arabic), free of limiting human perspectives. The Qur’ān as a whole has neither narrative focus or structure: it is not the epic of an individual or a tribe, on which generations have laboured to give meaning to what the individual or tribe did or had done to them. It has no restrictive geographical focus: it does not build up or explain the charisma of a place or place-name. It does not build up or justify some particular human institution such as kingship or priesthood. It is not, on the other hand, either a random or closely connected assemblage of abstract moral or legal or philosophical principles. For believers it is a connecting of the divine will directly with a real human situation, made exemplary by that connection. It addresses the people in that situation with commands and consolation, with threat and promise, and guides them to what will better prepare their living in this world to earn contentment in the eternal life hereafter. Quite explicitly, it also gives to the

precepts and practice of the mortal on whom it was sent down a unique authority. The Qur'ān has authority, and the Messenger's *Sunnah* has authority by it. The divine promise is that these paired sources of guidance suffice as the framework within which the believers can order their affairs in a way that pleases their Creator. Accordingly, while Muslims have disagreed and fought over just about everything else, they have never done so about the authority of the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*. This book is a demonstration of women's access to that authority.

The best guidance, unassisted by Revelation, that human beings might hope for is that their law-givers establish rules as if 'from behind a veil of ignorance', as if they did not know who would benefit by such rules and who would suffer. In reality that can never happen, because human perspectives are always, even with the best of intentions, partial. In practice human law-givers always prefer their own tastes and interests, being always ready to believe that their interests are in fact to everybody's advantage in the long term – and so their laws prefer some people over others – for example, property-owners over those without property, or men over women, or the interests of their own nation over some other. There is some consolation in the fact that, through the effort of learning from experience, revision of past errors is possible.

In the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* Muslims believe they have a framework of guidance that is strictly impartial and sufficient because God's knowledge and mercy encompass all beings and all their pasts and futures. Any human derivation from and within that framework is subject to revision, but the framework itself is not. Accordingly, in the Islamic tradition, to say 'God says in His Book' decides the argument. Where it is not certain how the guidance of the Qur'ān is to be acted upon, Muslims look to the example of how God's Messenger acted in the same or a similar situation. The record of his example (*Sunnah*) is now, for all practical purposes, conveyed through a body of texts, known singly and collectively as ḥadīth (lit. 'saying'). A man who becomes expert in knowledge of the ḥadīth is called a *muhaddith*; a woman, *muhaddithah* (plural, *muhaddithāt*). Knowledge of ḥadīth is deci-

sive in informing *fiqh*, understanding the guidance as (legal) rules and (social) norms; one who attains skill in *fiqh* is called *faqīh(ab)*. It is decisive in informing *iftā'*, the responsa (fatwas) of scholars to questions the people put to them on specific matters; ‘mufti’ means one who gives fatwas. Knowledge of ḥadīth is decisive also in informing *tafsīr*, interpretative commentary of the Qur’ān, since, by its own command, the Prophet’s understanding of it must be preferred over anyone else’s. Readers should understand that, in the orthodox or Sunni tradition, a Muslim is not bound by anybody else’s *fiqh* or *iftā'* or *tafsīr*. The scholars in Islam dispose authority in society; they do not directly dispose power. The distinction was (and remains) of the utmost importance for their credibility and legitimacy with the people.

Women attained high rank in all spheres of knowledge of the religion, and, as this book will show, they were sought after for their *fiqh*, for their fatwas, and for *tafsīr*. Primarily, I am concerned here with their achievement and role as *muhaddithāt*. In this chapter I set out, first, the overall impact of Qur’ān and *Sunnah* in changing attitudes to women; in the second section, I explain different dimensions of the change as instituted or urged by Qur’ān and *Sunnah*; in the third what the women themselves did in the formative period of Islam so that men, in a sense, *had to* accept that change.

THE IMPACT OF THE BOOK AND SUNNAH

The Qur’ān rebukes the people of the *jāhilīyyah* (the Ignorance before Islam) for their negative attitude to women (*al-Nahl*, 16. 58–59): *When news is brought to one of them of [the birth of] a girl, his face darkens, and he is chafing within! He hides himself from his folk, because of the evil he has had news of. Shall he keep it in disdain, or bury it in the dust? Ab – how evil the judgement they come to!* The costly prospect of bringing up a daughter (a son was expected to enhance a clan’s military and economic potential) perhaps explains this negative response to the birth of a girl. Burying infant girls alive was a custom among some (not all) of the Arab tribes of the time. The Qur’ān warns of retribution for this gross atrocity

on the day *When the infant buried alive shall be asked for what sin she was killed* (*al-Takwīr*, 81. 8–9).

Human rights and duties indicated in the Qur'ān are pegged to two fundamentals that are the same for men and women – namely their being creatures and slaves of God, their Creator and Lord, and their being the issue of a single human self. God has said in the Qur'ān (*al-Nisā'*, 4. 1): *O humankind, be wary of your Lord who created you from a single self, and from it created its pair, and from the pair of them scattered many men and women. Be wary of God, through Whom you ask of one another [your rights and needs] and close kindred:*¹ *God is ever-watchful over you.* And (*al-A'rāf*, 6. 189): *He it is Who created you from a single self, and made from it its mate, so that he might settle at rest with her.* Male and female are created for the same purpose: *I have not created jinn and humankind except so that they worship Me* (*al-Dhāriyāt*, 51. 56). The Qur'ānic term 'abd signifies both 'worshipper' and 'slave' in relation to God. The duties owed to God, and the virtues that ensue from the effort to do them, are the same for men and women. This is affirmed in a well-known Qur'ānic verse. The verse, and the occasion of its revelation are recorded in this ḥadīth, narrated by 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Shaybah:

I heard Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – say: I asked the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – Why are we [women] not mentioned in the Qur'ān as the men are mentioned? [...] Then I was alerted that day by his call on the pulpit. [...] At that moment I was combing my hair. I gathered up my hair and went to one of the rooms of my house; I listened hard. I heard him saying on the pulpit: O people, God says in His Book: *The muslim men and muslim women; the believing men and believing women; the men who are obedient [to God] and women who are obedient [to God]; the men who are truthful and the women who are truthful; the men who are persevering and patient and the women who are persevering and patient; the men who give alms and the women who give alms; the men who are humble and the women who are humble; the men who fast and the*

¹'close kindred': literally, 'the wombs', here understood to mean the issue thereof.

*women who fast; the men who guard their chastity and the women who guard their chastity, and the men who remember God much and the women who remember God much – God has prepared for them forgiveness and a great reward.*¹

The burden of duties owed to God is carried individually: responsibilities in this world and the recompense hereafter are particular to each self. The diversity of human aptitudes and of the opportunities that come into particular lives must be seen in the light of God's affirmation that He does not burden any self with a responsibility that He has not also enabled it to discharge. We do not find in the orthodox Islamic tradition, therefore, any argument for an intermediate authority between human beings and God. In that tradition, all questions of how to serve God, as also of how to settle differences or disputes between people in their worldly affairs, are referred to the guidance of Qur'ān and *Sunnah*. Access to this guidance is not a function of belonging to a particular group (say, the tribe of Quraysh rather than some other Arab or non-Arab people), or to a particular gender (men rather than women) or to a particular social class (say, the nobility rather than slaves). It is a function strictly of knowledge of and personal adherence to Qur'ān and *Sunnah*.

Having 'the knowledge', and the conscientious preserving, transmitting and understanding of it, is the strong basis for the public authority that learned Muslims, men and women, were able to command. Necessarily, there were different opinions on the import of the knowledge people had, but the differences were not settled on the basis of the gender or the tribe or socio-economic class of the person who conveyed it.

An example is the ḥadīth of Fātimah bint Qays. She reports that when she was divorced from her husband, the Prophet did not require him to provide accommodation and expenses for her until the end of her 'iddah, the period after which she would be free to re-marry. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb rejected this ḥadīth; so did Zayd ibn Thābit, 'Ā'ishah, and other jurists. They argued that it contradicts the Qur'ān's command that men must support

¹ AL-HĀKIM, *al-Mustadrak*, ii. 416. The verse cited is *al-Abzāb*, 33. 35.

divorced wives during the *'iddah*. If they had been motivated by 'patriarchal attitudes', they would surely have acted on the ḥadīth of Fāṭimah, since it appears to favour men. In any event (details will come in the next chapter) Fāṭimah was never stopped from narrating the ḥadīth; it was recorded in all the books; over time, for their different reasons, jurists took different positions about it. It would have been so if the same ḥadīth had been narrated by a man, say the ex-husband, rather than the ex-wife.

Another example is narrated by Sa‘id ibn al-Musayyab about ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb during the caliphate of Abū Bakr. ‘Umar divorced the mother of his son ‘Āṣim, then saw her somewhere with their son and took him from her. She appealed her case to Abū Bakr. The caliph judged that ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Umar remain with his mother until grown up or until she re-married.¹ This verdict followed the *Sunnah*, established by the report (among others) that a woman came to the Prophet and said: 'O Messenger of God – *salla l-lābu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – my womb was his vessel, my arm was his container, and my breast was his drink. And now his father claims that he is going to snatch him from me. The Prophet – *salla l-lābu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – said: You have more right over the child while you do not re-marry.'² Neither ‘Umar's rank as one of the most senior of the Companions, nor his being Abū Bakr's dearest friend, nor his argument that he had more to give the boy, swayed the judgement in his favour. Abū Bakr said: 'O ‘Umar, the moisture of her lips is better for him than the honey in your house.'³

A great many examples will be presented in the course of this book of the imāms in ḥadīth and law – called imāms because they are followed – who had women teachers and praised their learning, intelligence and piety. In so doing, they were following the lead of the Companions and their Successors – and again, many examples will come – who turned to the learned women

¹ AL-BAYHAQĪ, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, *Nafaqāt*, bāb *al-umm tatazawwaj wa yaskuṭu haqqu-hā min hadānat al-walad wa yantaqilu ilā jaddati-h*. ² ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Talāq*, bāb *man abaqq bi-l-walad*. ³ AL-MARGHINĀNĪ, *al-Hidāyah*, ii. 317.

of their generation for general advice, for a particular ruling, for help in interpreting and implementing the guidance of Qur'an and *Sunnah*. To be sure, it was largely men who held the formal posts like qādī, but they could discharge their duties only from the authority of Qur'ān and *Sunnah*, to which women also could appeal. A striking case is that of 'Amrah bint 'Abd al-Rahmān, the great *tābi'iyyah* (Successor), *muhaddithah* and *faqīhah*, who intervened in a court case in Madinah to prevent a miscarriage of justice (details, p. 279–80). It is remarkable enough that she knew that the case was in progress and the circumstances of it and what sentence the qādī had passed but not yet carried out. Many famous men jurists were resident and active in the city; none of them intervened. What is astonishing is that she did intervene, and no-one questioned her right to do so. The defendant was a non-Muslim, not known to 'Amrah except as the defendant in this suit, in which she had no personal, private interest. The qādī reversed his decision and released the defendant only because he could have no argument against the authority of the ḥadīth she was able to cite. He did not know or remember it, or simply failed to bring it to bear when reaching his judgement: once he knew the ḥadīth, he did as a Muslim should – he acted upon it.

The distance is huge between a society in which some men held womanhood in such contempt that they could countenance burying infant daughters alive, and one in which they would defer to the authority of a woman just because she had knowledge that they did not. It is an extraordinary distance to have covered within a single generation. How was it possible?

THE WOMEN'S AUTHORITY ESTABLISHED BY THE QUR'ĀN AND SUNNAH

The short answer is that it was possible because, once they believed the Revelation to be the word of their Creator, it would have been irrational for them not to act upon its command. The Qur'ān speaks about women in general and specific terms. It does not associate womanhood with inferiority or deficiency of any sort, or any primordial sin, or any disposition to sin not

also found in men, or any disposition to induce sin in others not also found in men. It does not regard women as an appendage of men, but as distinct beings, each called individually, just as are men. The language of the Qur'ān, Arabic, like many others, uses masculine forms to mean women also, unless context expressly excludes them. The grammar does not require women to be expressly included; it is all the more striking therefore when that explicit including occurs. I have quoted above verse 33. 35 enumerating the virtues, distinctly for men and women. Starting with the next verse in that sūrah, here are a few more examples:

It is not for a believing man or believing woman, when God and His Messenger have decided a matter [...] (al-Āhzāb, 33. 36). Never will I allow to be lost the work of any of you, male or female (Āl 'Imrān, 3. 195). Whoever does righteous deeds, male or female, and is a believer, him We shall enliven to a good life, and We shall pay them certainly a reward proportioned to the best of what they used to do (al-Nahl, 16. 97). Whoever does righteous deeds, from among the male or the female, and he is a believer, those will enter Paradise [...] (al-Nisā', 4. 124). The believing men and believing women are protecting friends (awliyā') of one another, they bid to good (al-ma'rūf), and forbid from evil (al-munkar); they establish the prayer and give the alms (zakāh) and obey God and His Messenger (al-Tawbah, 9. 71).

Of course, there is subject-matter where we would expect women to be mentioned – for example, the injunctions, ethical and legal, related to marriage and divorce; or the command to be kind to parents, where the travail of mothers is singled out (*Luqmān*, 31. 14; *al-Āhqāf*, 46. 15). But even where women are not the subject, the Book is concerned to include them in the call to Islam: the threat and the promise apply to them no less or more than to men.

For believers, the Book is (as I explained earlier) a direct engagement of the divine will with a real human situation, made exemplary by that engagement. Of several such occasions related to women, one of the best known is the background of the sūrah called *al-Mujādalah*, ‘the disputing’. Yūsuf ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Salām narrates from Khawlah bint Tha'labah (wife of Aws ibn al-Sāmit the brother of 'Ubādah ibn Sāmit) that she said:

One day my husband entered upon me. He talked to me about something and he got annoyed. So I answered him back. He said: You are to me ‘as the back of my mother’ [a formula of repudiation]. Then he left and sat in a gathering of his people. Then he came back to me. He wanted me, and I refrained [from him], then he pulled me by force and I struggled with him. Then I overcame him by what a weak woman can overcome [a man by] and I said: By Him in Whose hand is Khawlah’s soul, never will your hand reach me until God sends down His judgement regarding my and your case. Then I came to the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – complaining to him [about] what [treatment] I had received from my husband. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: He is your husband and your cousin, so be wary of God. Then God sent down [the verses, from 58. 1]: *God has heard the speech of her who disputes with you concerning her husband, and complains to God. And God is hearing the exchange between you both. God is all-hearing, all-seeing.* Then God’s Messenger – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: Ask him to free a slave [by way of expiation]. I said, O Messenger of God, he does not have any slave to free. He said: Then he should fast two continuous months. I said: O Messenger of God, he is an old and elderly person, he cannot fast. He – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: Then he should feed sixty poor people. I said: By God, he does not own anything to feed the poor with. Then he said: We will help him with a big container of dates. I said: I will help him with another container. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – gave that [for him] in charity.¹

(The Qur’ānic verses not cited above (58. 2–5) go on to forbid use of the ugly formula of repudiation, and to specify the acts of expiation for the utterance of false oaths, as in the ḥadīth.)

By calling women to Islam directly, the Book compels men to recognize them as independent moral beings. For a clear example of that, see (below, p. 289) the response of ‘Umar – at this time the ruler of a mighty empire – to a public scolding by the same Khawlah bint Tha’labah, whose hadīth we have just read, and how he explains his response.

¹ AL-MIZZĪ (d. 742), *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxviii. 313–14.

Similarly, the Qur'ān establishes for women a distinct legal individuality, through rights of property and inheritance, and marriage contracts. The men are required to provide for their families; the women are not. Their property, including the dowry, remains theirs through the marriage, though they may choose to spend on their husbands (as in the example above) or their children, as free-will offering or charity. (This seeming inequality favouring women is balanced by the Qur'ān's stipulation of different inheritance portions for sons and daughters: *al-Nisā'*, 4. 7, 11). On marriage, the Qur'ān (*al-Baqarah*, 2. 232) declares the woman's competence to choose: *Do not obstruct them (lā ta'ḍulū-hunna) from marrying their husbands, if they mutually agree in the normal way (bi-l-ma'rūf)*. One Khansā' bint Khidhām al-Anṣāriyyah al-Awsiyah came before the Prophet to protest that her father had married her to someone she did not like. The Prophet annulled that marriage.¹ Ā'ishah has narrated that a young woman called on her and said: 'My father has married me to his nephew to raise [the nephew's] low class and I am not happy with this marriage.' Ā'ishah asked her to wait until the Prophet came. When he did, the woman informed him and he sent for the father. Then, in the father's presence he entrusted the matter to the young woman directly. She said: 'I have now allowed what my father did. I [only] wanted to teach the women that the fathers do not own anything of the matter.'²

Another illustration of the legal competence of women is the right to grant refuge to a stranger or enemy, which is then binding on the community. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Taymī narrates one such incident concerning Abū l-Āṣ ibn al-Rabī'. This man was an unbeliever formerly married to the Prophet's daughter, Zaynab. He and his trading caravan returning from Syria were captured in a raid by the Muslims and brought back

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, Nikāh, bāb *idhā zāwwaj al-rajul ibnatu-hu wa hiya kāribatun fa-nikābu-hu mardūd*. ² AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, Nikāh, bāb *yankib al-abu wa ghayru-hu al-bikr wa-l-thayyib illā bi-ridā-hā*; AL-NASA'I, *Sunan*, Nikāh, bāb *al-bikr yuzāwwi-jū-hā abū-hā wa hiya kāribatun*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, Nikāh, bāb *man zāwwaja ibnata-hu wa hiya kāribatun*.

to Madinah in year 6 AH. There he made his way to Zaynab, begged refuge and she granted it. She stood at her door and called out in a loud voice: 'I have granted protection to Abū l-Āṣ ibn al-Rabī'. The Prophet confirmed that the people had heard this announcement and then he said: 'The believers are one hand against other people. The lowest of the believers can grant protection on their behalf. And we have granted protection to whoever she has granted protection to.' Later, at Zaynab's request, the goods of Abū l-Āṣ were restored to him. However, while he remained an unbeliever, he was forbidden to go near to Zaynab. He returned to Makkah and discharged his obligations with the goods, then embraced Islam and made his way back to Madinah in Muḥarram of the following year. The Prophet restored his marriage to Zaynab.¹

Another such incident concerns Umm Hānī, told by herself. 'I said: O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – the son of my mother [meaning her brother 'Alī] claims that he is going to kill a man to whom I have granted protection, So-and-so son of Hubayrah. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – said: 'We have granted protection to whoever you have granted protection to, O Umm Hānī.'²

That women can think and act independently in such ways is the ground upon which the final judgement of their actions is based – as is the case for men. Women can choose the wrong path as well as the right one. The Qur'anic example of the former are the wives of the prophets Lūt (Lot) and Nūh (Noah); of the latter, the wife of Pharaoh, and the mother of the prophet Īsā (Jesus) (see *al-Tahrim*, 66. 10–12). Pharaoh's wife is praised for her spiritual insight, and her moral courage in refusing to be intimidated by her husband's arrogance and evil. Maryam is an example of perfect faith and purity (see *Āl Imrān*, 3. 37, 40–42). She suffers what was decreed for her of the slanders of her

¹IBN SA'D, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, viii. 33. ²AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb, Jizyah wa-l-muwāda'*ah, bāb *amān al-nisā'* wa *jīwāri-hinn*. MUSLIM, *Sahīb, Salāh al-muṣafirīn wa qaṣri-hā...*

people without any diminution of trust in God. The portrait of her is one of the most moving passages in the Qur'ān, specially the account of how she endures pain when the prophet Ḥisā is born, and how she is comforted after that (*Maryam*, 19. 16–34). Another remarkable portrait is that of the Queen of Sabā': she is a model of wise political leadership, intellectual curiosity and, eventually, spiritual insight (*al-Naml*, 27. 23–44).

Alongside the Revelation, there was the teaching and example of the Prophet. He was not teaching only the men. The women were included in the public assemblies when he preached; he also set time aside for them, separately from the men, and he dealt with their questions personally when they came to him or to his wives. A full account of this effort will come in Chapter 2. The Prophet, obedient to the Qur'ān's command, consulted his Companions, the women as well as the men, before critical decisions. He accepted their counsel if it seemed right to him. A famous incident of this kind happened on the occasion of the truce of Hudaybiyyah agreed with the unbelievers of Makkah. After the battle of Badr, this was the most important turning-point in the formative history of Islam.

The Muslims had gone to Makkah in the expectation of doing the ḥajj, but in the end, the unbelievers refused them entry to the city. After tense negotiations, the terms of the truce agreed included the Muslims' returning to Madinah without doing the ḥajj. This and other terms seemed to some of the Muslims humiliating and one-sided. The Prophet ordered his Companions to sacrifice their animals and shave their heads (to indicate coming out of the state of *ibrām*, the end of pilgrimage sanctity). The narrator of this ḥadīth says: 'By God, no single man from among them stood up on that [command to carry it out].' The Prophet commanded them three times, and none stood up. He went then to his wife Umm Salamah and told her what he faced from the men. She said: 'O Prophet of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – if you will, go out and do not utter a word to any of them until [after] you have sacrificed your camels and called your barber and he has shaved your head.'

The advice was, in essence, to act decisively and the men would follow, even if reluctantly. This is indeed what happened.¹

THE WOMEN'S AUTHORITY ESTABLISHED BY THEIR OWN ACTIONS

The affirmation that authority in Islam derives from Qur'ān and *Sunnah* is what distinguishes believers from unbelievers in their faith, their deeds and their style of life. Particularly in the first years, the consequences of that affirmation were opprobrium, persecution, torture and, for some, death. Sons were separated from fathers, husbands from wives, brothers from brothers, and all were excluded to some degree from the system of tribal allegiances and protections. Since women were called to and entered the faith individually, they too faced and suffered the very same separations and vulnerability, the same aloneness, and, perhaps, being women, suffered more acutely. A well-known case is Fātimah, the sister of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the future caliph, then one of Islam's most assiduous (and being 'Umar, most competent) detractors and persecutors. He struck her violently when he found her reciting the Qur'ān in secret, but then her steadfast dignity in answer to his ill-temper led to his embracing the religion he had wanted to destroy.

Many examples will come in the chapters ahead of the women's diligence in seeking knowledge of the religion, then recording, transmitting and implementing it. So too examples will come of their dedication to self-discipline, not for its own sake, but in order the better to embody Islam in their whole environment and instil it in the hearts of their students. The best of the believing women were no less devoted to supererogatory remembrances and prayer than the best of the believing men. They too wanted to attend the mosque for the night prayer, and they were to be permitted: Sālim ibn 'Abdillāh narrates from his father 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar that the Prophet said: 'When your women ask your permission to go to the

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb, Shurūt*, bāb *al-shurūt fi-l-jihād*.

mosque in the night, give them permission.¹ The women, no less than the men, strove to memorize the Qur'ān, to have it by heart and in the heart; and again, they too took note of the look and manner of the Prophet in all that he did, and committed to memory what they could of his sayings, telling one another what they had witnessed on occasions that some had missed but others not. Details will come in the course of the book.

After the truce of Hudaybiyyah, the tide turned, to the extent that God willed, in favour of the Muslims, and against their enemies among the idolaters and the People of the Book. Makkah was conquered without bloodshed and past enemies forgiven as they gave allegiance to the Prophet and to Islam. At the time of the death of the Prophet, when Revelation ceased, all the tribes of the Arab peninsula had embraced Islam, some politically, some in a better way. The believers needed to and did take stock of the turning-points in the formative years of this religion. To a limited extent, the notion was established of seniority in Islam, of commitment to it when this was a trial, and commitment after that. At most of the critical moments women were present. Women were among those who sought refuge in Abyssinia in the first or minor *hijrah*; among the Muslims of Yathrib (later called Madinah) who gave the second 'Pledge of 'Aqaba' before the great Hijrah itself. Again, women were witnesses of the time when, by divine command, the orientation of the Muslims was turned about, from Jerusalem to Makkah. Before the truce of Hudaybiyyah was agreed, and it seemed a battle would be imposed upon them, the Prophet, asked the Muslims (they were gathered by a tree), to re-affirm their allegiance to him. So decisive was this show of commitment, that 'the allegiance of the tree' is mentioned in the Qur'ān itself. Women took part in this also.

We can get a sense of the historical weight that some of the Companions carried from a couple of biographical notices. Ibn

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Salāh*, bāb *khurūj al-nisā'* ilā *l-masjid bi-l-layl wa-l-għallas*.

‘Abd al-Barr says in his account of Rubayyi^c bint Mu‘awwidh:¹ ‘She is a Companion of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – and she has narrated his ḥadīth. And the people of Madinah have narrated ḥadīth from her. Ahmad ibn Zuhayr says: I heard my father saying: Rubayyi^c bint Mu‘awwidh is from those women who did allegiance under the tree.’ Similarly, of Salmā bint Qays ibn ‘Amr from the clan of ‘Adī ibn al-Najjār, whose *kunyah* is Umm al-Mundhir, a sister of Salīt ibn Qays who was one of those present at the battle of Badr, Abū Nu‘aym says: ‘She was one of the maternal aunts of the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*. Some say: She was a paternal aunt of the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*. She prayed in the direction of both *qiblahs* and she was among those women who did allegiance with the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*.’²

The single most important event was the Hijrah from Makkah to Madinah. It tested the will of the believers to quit their past bonds, to apply the faith in their hearts to the building of a way of life, a social order. That is why, later, it was recognized as the beginning of the Islamic era. Many women passed this test, some going with husbands and family, some alone, without protection. Umm Kulthūm bint ‘Uqbah was from a house well-known for unbelief and enmity to the Prophet. She did the Hijrah by herself. Her brothers al-Walīd and ‘Umārah tracked her until they reached Madinah the day after she did, and demanded that she be handed over to them. Umm Kulthūm said: ‘O Messenger of God, I am a woman, and you know how frail women are; if you return me to the unbelievers, they will put me on trial for my religion, and I will not be able to stand firm.’³ Then the famous verses of *al-Mumtahanah* were sent down (60. 10–13). The first of them begins: *O believers! When believing women come to you as fugitives, examine them. God knows better about their faith. Then if you know them for true believers, do not send them back to the unbel-*

¹ IBN ‘ABD AL-BARR, *al-Isti‘āb*, ii. 731.

² ABŪ NU‘AYM AL-AŞBAHĀNĪ, *Ma‘rifat al-ṣahābah*, v. 248. ³ IBN SA‘D, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, viii. 230.

lievers. They are not lawful for the unbelievers and the unbelievers are not lawful for them.

I do not know of another religious tradition in which women were so central, so present, so active in its formative history. It follows that they were recognized as ‘senior’ in a social order in which authority was explicitly based upon commitment to and knowledge of the religion. It cannot then be a surprise that a woman had the authority to continue to narrate a ḥadīth that others did not recognize as one that should be acted upon – the case of the Companion Fātimah bint Qays; or that a woman could challenge the decision of a court and the decision be overturned because the ḥadīth she had reported was decisive and clear – the case of the Successor, ‘Amrah bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān. As a final point while reflecting on what authority women had and should have in Islam, we might remember that, after the Prophet himself, the first person to hear the first words revealed from the Book, was his wife Khadijah, who believed in him; and the first *mushaf* or collection of leaves on which the Qur’ān was secured in writing (that is, outside the hearts of the believers) was entrusted to the safe-keeping of his wife, Hafṣah bint Umar.¹

Before I turn to an exposition of how women acquired and exercised their role as *muhaddithāt*, I should perhaps note that ḥadīth is only one, though undoubtedly the most important, sphere of scholarly effort in which Muslim women excelled. This is not the place to report their varied contributions to *tajwīd* and *tafsīr*, *fiqh*, grammar and lexicography, poetry and other literary composition, theology, logic, philosophy, history and biography, medicine, the arts of the book and calligraphy, and many of the crafts that we recognize and admire as Islamic. However, I have provided brief notes with references, perhaps of interest to readers who want to follow them up, in an informal article available on line.²

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sabīb, Fadā'il al-Qur'ān*, bāb, *jam' al-Qur'ān*.

² www.interfacepublications.com/images/pdf/AKRAM_Article2.pdf

Chapter 1

The legal conditions for narrating ḥadīth

There is no difference between men and women as regards the legal conditions for receiving and transmitting ḥadīth. If some people have a doubt about this it is because they muddle the conditions that apply to giving testimony in a legal suit with those that apply to passing on reports. While there are clear similarities between the two, there are also important differences that jurists have recognized.

A Prophetic ḥadīth is a text which, it is claimed, includes words that the Prophet uttered or that record his unspoken response to some action or event that he witnessed. The qualifications of the person transmitting such a text are the same as those that apply to the reception and transmission of reports generally, namely truthfulness and integrity, a competent and accurate memory, and being free of prejudice or compulsion of any sort that might be presumed to distort the reporting. In respect of general qualifications like that there can be no difference between men and women. Unfortunately, people confound reporting with giving testimony; then, having wholly misunderstood the quite particular conditions under which the testimony of two women is accorded the same weight as the testimony of one man, make the false inference that women's reporting of ḥadīth might (or even must) be considered weaker than that of men. It is necessary therefore to explain the particular conditions of testimony (*shahādah*), and the differences between that and reporting or narration (*riwāyah*).

TESTIMONY AND NARRATION

Many people misunderstand the meaning of God's saying:

*O believers, when you make one another liable (*tadāyantum*), then put it in writing. And let a scribe write [it] between you justly (*bi-l-'adl*) [...]. And call to witness two witnesses from among your men. And if two men are not [to hand], then a man and two women from those you accept as witnesses, so that if one of the two errs [in what she remembers], then one of the two may remind (*tudhakkira*) the other. (al-Baqarah, 2. 282)*

What is meant by a liability (*dayn*) is not a bare lending (*qard*), but an arrangement whereby one party accepts an obligation to the other that must be discharged in a certain way. Often, such dealings are done in an idiom that people familiar with them become fluent in, but which outsiders do not necessarily understand fully or accurately because, between people familiar with a thing, much can be left implicit. The idiom varies between nations and regions, even between different markets in the same country. For example, how people transact business in a modern stock exchange would be quite difficult for me to follow because I am unfamiliar with it – it may even be incomprehensible. It follows that, for transactions like that,¹ I am unlikely to be considered among ‘those you accept as witnesses’. That kind of relative disability is what is meant, and what is understood in Islamic law, by the command to get, if two men are not available, one man and two women to witness a transaction that entails a liability. There is not, in Islamic law, a general preference for the testimony of men over that of women, but there is, following the command of the Qur‘ān, such a preference in the particular circumstances where men are more familiar with the

¹Shaykh Sa‘īd Ramadān AL-BŪTĪ reports on a visit to the New York stock exchange: ‘As I was looking at the crowd, and thinking about the great noise and hectic commotion, I was curious to find any woman busy in what the men were busy in. I could not see even one woman.’ (*al-Mar‘ah bayna ṭughyān al-nizām al-gharbi wa latā’if al-tashrīf al-rabbānī*, 149).

idiom of the matter than women. We can be quite sure of this because the same principle applies the other way – there are particular circumstances in which the testimony of women is preferred to that of men.

The qualities of ‘those you accept as witnesses’ are of two kinds. Firstly, the reputation of the witness for (i) *‘adālab* (i.e. integrity, probity), together with an absence of any cause of bias (like enmity against one party, or family relationship with the other party); and (ii) *dabt* ('strong grasp', i.e. a sound and reliable memory). Secondly, the reputation of the witness for familiarity with and understanding of the matter about which the testimony is to be taken.

The testimony of one whose *‘adālab* is defective, or the soundness of whose memory is doubtful, is not acceptable, whether the witness is a man or woman. Similarly, a testimony against an enemy, or on behalf of a relative, is not acceptable, whether the witness is a man or a woman. If those conditions are met, the witness must then be known to have some actual contact with the kind of matter about which the testimony is being taken; this is considered essential to safe testimony. If a fair degree of such contact is not established, then the testimony of that witness will be doubted, whether the witness is a man or a woman. If people differ in their contact with the kind of matter for which they are witnessing, then preference goes to those with greater experience in it.

Evidently, in matters related to feeding, care and upbringing of children, and lineage and what is like that, the testimony of women is better informed than that of men. It is narrated from Imām ‘Āmir al-Sha‘bī (d. ca. 100) that he said: ‘There are certain testimonies where only the testimony of women is allowed.’¹ As for financial matters and business issues, and the disputes and claims that rise in them, both men and women have contact with them; but men’s involvement with these issues is more than women’s. If we consider the question with an eye to

¹ IBN QAYYIM AL-JAWZIYYAH (d. 751), *al-Turuq al-hukmiyyah*, 152.

the everyday reality of the norms that prevail in most societies most of the time, and with the practical need to prevent and resolve disputes between people, then the Qur'ānic ruling will be understood to reflect social reality wisely and fairly. The eligibility of women to give legal testimony is clearly affirmed; requiring two women to testify in lieu of one man applies in relation to trans-actions women do not normally engage in, the idioms of which they would need to make an exceptional effort to understand. In most situations, the weight of testimony is not related to the witness being a man or woman; and in some, the woman's testimony is preferred over a man's. That is the known practice of, among others, the third and fourth caliphs, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, of renowned Companions like 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās (d. 68) and 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar (d. 73), and, from the generations after them, of widely followed scholars such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110), Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161), and Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150) and his students. All of them hold that the testimony of a single woman is enough in matters that normally concern women more than they do men.¹

The difference between testimony and narration

Testimony is a kind of report that can result in establishing a definite liability for one or more particular individuals. Narration (*riwāyah*), by contrast, is a report of information that is not the basis of a definite, particular liability. Abū l-Walid al-Bājī (d. 474) says: "The door of testimony is narrower; that is why being male and being free are considered in it."²

Imām al-Qarāfī (d. 684) says in his book *al-Furūq* ('the Distinctions'):

I have begun with this distinction between these two fundamentals (*qā'idah*), since for eight years I had been searching to get hold of [the distinction], and was unable to do so. And I kept asking the scholars what the difference between the two is, and what the real meaning of

¹See *ibid.*, 145–55; AL-BŪTĪ, *al-Mar'ab*, 147–53. ²Abū l-Walid AL-BĀJĪ (d. 474), *Iḥkām al-fuṣūl fī aḥkām al-uṣūl*, i. 364.

each of them is, since both are a kind of reporting. [So it continued] until I studied *Sharḥ al-Burbān* of al-Māzārī [d. 536, who writes]: ‘Testimony and narration are both reports; except if the report belongs to a general matter, not related to a specific individual, then it is a narration, like his saying – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – ‘Actions go with [are valued by] the intentions’. [...] On the other hand, if a truthful person confirms to the judge that this individual owes to that individual one dinar, then this is binding to a definite [thing], not going beyond [the concerned parties] to anyone else. That is sheer testimony, while the former is sheer narration.’¹

The commentator on *Musallam al-thubūt* observes:

The report of a reliable pious woman will be accepted without any endorsement by a man, in contrast to testimony, because the condition of being male has come with regard to testimony by the text [of the Qurān]. [...] This acceptance of the report narrated by a woman alone is in line with [the practice of] the Companions, may God be pleased with them, and they are enough to be followed. They accepted the report of Barīrah even before her emancipation, as they accepted the report of *umm al-mu'minīn*² Ā'ishah al-Siddīqah, the report of *umm al-mu'minīn* Umm Salamah, and of others.³

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463), a famed authority on the principles of ḥadīth, explicitly confirms that point:

There is no dispute about the obligatoriness of accepting the report of those in whom are gathered all the qualities (*sifāh*) required in a witness of the *buqūq* [rights of one party on another] – like being Muslim, adult, of sound mind, accurate memory, truthfulness, honesty, piety, etc. So too there is no dispute [about] the same obligatoriness [of the conditions] for narrator and witness – sound mind, awareness and memory [etc.]. Where narrator and witness differ from each other is in the obligatoriness of the witness being a free person, not parent or

¹ AL-QARĀFĪ , *K. al-Furūq*, i. 74–76. ²Lit. ‘mother of the believers’, an honorific title exclusive to the wives of the Prophet. ³Mullā ‘Abd al-‘Alī AL-ANŞĀRĪ (d. 1225), *Fawātiḥ al-rahāmūt* (his commentary on *Musallam al-thubūt* of Muhibullāh ibn ‘Abd al-Shakūr [d. 1119], appended to al-Ghazālī’s *al-Mustasfā*), i. 144.

descendant [of any party regarding whom the testimony is offered], not having any relation that leads to suspicion, not a close friend, and being a male in some types of testimony, and being two in some types of testimony, and being four in some others. And all that is not considered in the narrator. For we accept the report [narrated by] a slave, a woman and a friend, etc.¹

THE LAWFULNESS OF WOMEN RECEIVING AND NARRATING ḤADĪTH

The scholars are agreed that there is no difference between men and women in any type of narration, and that the two are alike in the right (and duty) to receive, hold and convey ḥadīth. The proofs for this are overwhelming and go back to the very first occasion that Islam was preached in public. We cannot be surprised by this, given that the study of ḥadīth is not an idle or leisure pursuit, but a means to understand the guidance of the Qur’ān and then implement it in personal life and in society. The lawfulness of receiving and transmitting ḥadīth is based on the duty of all Muslims to know their religion (*dīn*) and put it into practice: neither men nor women are exempted or excluded from this duty.

The first call to Islam is reported by Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab (d. ca. 90) and Abū Salamah ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān (d. 94) from Abū Hurayrah (d. 57), who said:

When God sent down this verse [*al-Shu‘arā*, 26. 214], ‘And warn your close kin’, then the Messenger of God – *ṣalla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – stood up and said: O people of Quraysh! Look to yourselves, I shall not avail you in anything against God. O children of ‘Abd Munāfi! I shall not avail you in anything against God. O ‘Abbās, son of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib! I shall not avail you in anything against God. O Ṣafiyah [aunt of God’s Messenger]! I shall not avail you in anything against

¹ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kifāyah*, 94. Here he is quoting, through Muḥammad ibn ‘Ubaydillāh al-MĀLIKĪ, the opinion of the qādī Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭayyib.

God. O Fātimah, daughter of Muhammad! Ask me whatever you like of my wealth, but I cannot avail you in anything against God.¹

The Prophet did not exclude the women from among the kindred he was commanded to warn first. Rather, he mentioned one man by name individually (his uncle), and two women by name individually (his aunt and daughter). It is also appropriate to recall that the very first person to hear and answer the call to Islam was the Prophet's wife, Khadijah. She strengthened his heart to carry the responsibility that God had laid upon him, and assured him of God's favour when he was anxious that he might prove unworthy and then be forsaken. It was she who led him to a learned relative of hers (a Christian monk), who also confirmed him to be the promised and chosen Messenger.

It is widely accepted that the rules of the disciplines that make up the science of ḥadīth did not begin to be formally written down until the end of the second century AH and after. Of course, the rules were not invented then; rather, scholars expressed in a systematic way what had long been established as good or best practice. This is analogous to how native users of a language know whether a phrase or sentence is correct or not; then, a quite different expertise is needed to work out the rules (the grammar) that native users are applying when they say that a particular usage is correct or incorrect.

We must affirm that, neither in the period of formally described and prescribed rules of the science of ḥadīth, nor in the generations of practice from which those rules derive, is a ḥadīth's being reported by a man a condition of its acceptability or its being reported by a woman a condition for its rejection. The Mu'tazilah, a sect of rationalists in the early period, were the strictest in their rules: they would not consider a ḥadīth as sound (*sahīh*) unless it came from two independent narrators in every generation going back to the original speaker of the text being reported. However, not even the Mu'tazilīs required that the two narrators in each generation had to be male. In mainstream

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīh*, *Tafsīr*, bāb *wa-andbir 'ashīrata-ka l-aqrabīn*.

Islam, one of the greatest experts on the principles of the science (*uṣūl al-hadīth*) is Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643). He defines a ḥadīth as sound if it goes back to the Prophet through a solid, well-connected chain of narrators, each characterized as ‘*adl*’ and *dābit* (just and truthful, with a strong memory). He defines as *shādbdh* (anomalous or aberrant) any report whose meaning does not fit with or corroborate other reports, of similar or related subject-matter, which are already established as sound. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ gives no weight whatever to whether a report was narrated by a male or female.¹

Among specialists in the field what weighed most heavily in discussions about the soundness of particular ḥadīths, were the personal qualities of the narrators, male and female alike, and how well the links between the individuals in the chains of narration (*isnād*) could be verified. Naturally, some chains were preferred over others, and among the preferred those most appreciated on account of their reliability were referred to as ‘golden chains’. Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn (d. 233) said: ‘Ubaydullāh ibn ‘Umar from Qāsim from ‘Ā’ishah is a solid gold chain of narration.’² Several chains that begin with ‘Ā’ishah are consistently described as among the best. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī reports

¹ See IBN AL-ṢALĀḤ, *Muqaddimah*, 15, 26–27. Similar arguments can be found in other of the great specialists in ḥadīth sciences. See, for example: AL-NAWAWĪ (d. 676), *al-Taqrīb* with its commentary *al-Tadrīb*, i. 300–01. IBN RUSHAYQ AL-MĀLIKĪ (d. 632) discusses the acceptability of reports originating in a single narrator; among his examples of accepted narrators, the names of three women Companions head the list (*Lubāb al-maḥṣūl fi ‘ilm al-uṣūl*, i. 356): ‘They [the Companions and their successors] relied on the narration of a single person, like the narration of ‘Ā’ishah, Ḥafṣah, Umm Salamah, Abū Hurayrah, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn ‘Umar, Abū Bakr, ‘Uthmān and countless other people.’ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ discusses and illustrates at considerable length the qualities looked for in narrators: *al-Kifāyah*, 16–17, 52–77; he goes on to note (p. 84) that ‘The scholars of the early generations accepted whatever has been narrated by women.’² AL-HĀKIM, *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-hadīth*, 69, reporting from Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Salmān the jurist, from Ja‘far ibn Abī ‘Uthmān al-Tayālisī, from Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn.

that Wāki‘ ibn al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197) was once asked to indicate his preference among three of them: (1) Hishām ibn ‘Urwah from his father ‘Urwah from ‘Ā’ishah; (2) Aflāḥ ibn Ḥumayd from al-Qāsim from ‘Ā’ishah; (3) Sufyān from Maṇṣūr from Ibrāhīm from al-Aswad from ‘Ā’ishah. He said: ‘We do not consider anyone equal to the people of our city [Kufah]. Sufyān from Maṇṣūr from Ibrāhīm from al-Aswad from ‘Ā’ishah is more beloved to me.’ His own reason for this choice is that the narrators were based in Kufah and so he would have first-hand assurance of their quality. Also, more particularly, al-Aswad was famous for being exactingly meticulous about wording; for example, he reports from ‘Ā’ishah that

God’s Messenger – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – when he prayed in the night would come to his wife, then he would *lie down*. She did not say ‘then he would sleep’. When the *mu’adhdhin* called [to prayer] he would *jump up*. She did not say, ‘he would stand’. Then he would *pour [water] over himself*. She did not say ‘he would bathe’.¹

The experts have also praised Umm Salamah for the soundness and strength of the chains of narration from her. Al-Ḥākim reports that Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241), Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn and ‘Alī ibn al-Madinī (d. 234) gathered with a group of experts of ḥadīth and discussed the best of all good chains. ‘One of them said: The best is Shu‘bah from Qatādah from Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab from Āmir the brother of Umm Salamah from Umm Salamah.’²

THE PUBLIC AUTHORITY OF ḤADĪTHS NARRATED BY WOMEN

As we have seen, the soundness of a ḥadīth was not in the least affected by whether a man narrated it or a woman. The importance of the question of the soundness of ḥadīths rests on the

¹ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kijāyah*, 174. However, Aḥmad ibn Sa‘īd al-Dārimī (d. 253), following his teachers, preferred the first of these chains (AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Jāmi‘ li-akhlāq al-rāwī wa ʿadāb al-sāmi‘*, ii. 299). ² AL-ḤĀKIM, *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-hadīth*, 68.

tendency of the Prophet's precepts and practice to become the foundation of legal rulings and social norms. On this question also, of the public authority of ḥadīths, the great imāms of the science, make no distinction on the basis of the narrator being a man or woman. Imām al-Shāfiʻī (d. 204, as reported by Rabiʻ ibn Sulaymān) says:

Someone asked me: Define for me the least by which a proof will be affirmed on the scholars so the individual report can be proven over them. I said: The report of a single person from a single person until it reaches the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – or someone after him [e.g. a Companion]. The report of single [narrators] will not be proof until it gathers some things: that the narrator is reliable in his religion, well-known for truthfulness in his speech, [that] he [is one who] understands what he narrates, [that] he knows what can change the meaning of the ḥadīth, or is among those who transmit the hadīth with its exact wording just as he heard it and does not transmit the meaning only. For if he narrates the meaning only and he is not aware of what changes the meaning, he will not know perhaps [but that] he may change lawful to unlawful. But if he narrates with exact wording then there will be no fear of [his unknowingly] changing the meaning. He should know his ḥadīth by heart if he is narrating [it] from memory. And he should preserve his writings well if he is narrating from writing [in notes or a book]. And if he shares ḥadīth [in common] with [others] who are known for being accurate, his ḥadīth should corroborate their ḥadīth. He should not be a *muddallis* – [i.e.] narrating from those whom he has [really] met what he has not [really] heard from them – and he should not be [one who ventures to go around] narrating from the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – what goes against the ḥadīth of people [with an established reputation as] reliable.¹

We can illustrate the point with some examples which show that women's ḥadīths were accepted (or not) as the basis of legal rulings, following the normal methods, and not because the narrators happened to be women.

Imām Mālik (d. 179) narrates from Sa‘d ibn Ishāq ibn Ka‘b ibn ‘Ujrah, from his paternal aunt Zaynab bint Ka‘b ibn ‘Ujrah

¹ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kifāyah*, 23–24.

that Furay'ah bint Mālik ibn Sīnān, sister of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, told her that she came to God's Messenger for permission to return to her parents' family home in the quarter of Banū Khudrāh. She explained that her husband had gone out in search of his slaves who had run away, until they reached the side of Qadūm, where he caught up with them and they killed him:

So I asked God's Messenger – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa-sallam* – to go to my family, because my husband did not leave for me any residence that he owned, and no [means with which to defray my] expenses. God's Messenger – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa-sallam* – said: Yes. She said: I moved away until when I was [still] in the room or in the Mosque he called me [back] or asked someone to call me [back]. I came back. He asked: What did you say? I repeated to him the story of my husband's murder. Then the Prophet said: Stay in your house until the waiting period (*'iddah*) passes.

She said: I stayed there for the whole waiting period, four months and ten days.

She says: When 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān was [the caliph] he called me and asked me about that. I told him. Then he followed it and judged accordingly.¹

'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, one of the four rightly-guided caliphs, ruled at a time when there were many male Companions. Yet he sought knowledge from a woman, she informed him and he judged accordingly. Had the report of a woman not been considered sufficient as a proof on which to base a ruling, he would not and could not have judged according to it. That she was a woman was not considered relevant. Similarly when a report was rejected as the basis for a ruling, the narrator's being a woman was not a relevant factor. Imām al-Shawkānī (d. 1255) says: 'It has not been narrated from any scholar that he rejected the report of a woman on the ground of her being female. There are plenty of *sunnahs* accepted by the *ummah* and they are [based on] the narration of a single female Companion. No-one

¹ ABŪ DĀWŪD (d. 275), *Sunan*, *Talāq*, bāb *fi l-mutwaffā 'an-hā tantaqil*.

² AL-SHAWKĀNĪ, *Nayl al-awfār*, viii. 22.

who has acquired a bit of knowledge of the *Sunnah* can deny this.²

This is well exemplified in the case of the ḥadīth of Fātimah bint Qays. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī reports that ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb would not act on her report ‘though she was a Muslim and on the straight path because her report was opposed to the Qur’ān’. ‘Umar said: We are not to leave the Book of our Lord and *Sunnah* of our Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – for the word of a woman [when] we do not know [for certain] whether she preserved [the matter fully] or not.¹ Now ‘Umar refused to give a ruling on the basis of Fātimah’s ḥadīth for the good reason that it contradicted the Qur’ān. Even so, though he (and others) might have wished that she would stop narrating this ḥadīth, he did not try to prevent her from doing so. What happened with this ḥadīth illustrates the respect accorded to women in the society of that time, the authority they enjoyed, and strong belief in the principle that neither men or women could be prevented from acquiring and transmitting their knowledge and understanding of the religion – not even if someone of the stature of ‘Umar was opposed. So, despite ‘Umar’s refusal to act on it and, more importantly, despite the very strong argument against it (i.e. its apparent opposition to the Qur’ān), people continued to record it in their books, and to discuss it.²

¹ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kifāyah*, 83. See also AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi'*, *Talāq*, bāb *mā jā'a fi l-muṭallaqah thalāthan lā suknā la-hā wa-lā nafaqah* '[The famous Kufan jurist Mughirah] says: I mentioned the ḥadīth of Fātimah to Ibrāhim al-Nakha'i, who then said that ‘Umar said: We will not leave the Book of God and the *Sunnah* of our Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – for the ḥadīth of a woman, [about which] we do not know if she remembered or forgot [something related to it].'

² Among those who have included Fātimah’s ḥadīth in their books are: MĀLIK, *Muwattā*, *Talāq*, bāb *mā jā'a fi nafaqat al-muṭallaqah*; MUSLIM, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Talāq*, bāb *al-muṭallaqah thalāthan lā nafaqah la-hā*; ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Talāq*, bāb *fi nafaqat al-mabtūtah*; AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi'*, *Nikāh*, bāb *mā jā'a fi an lā yakhaṭuba al-rajul ‘alā khitbah akibī-bī*; bāb *al-rukhsah fi khurūj al-mabtūtah min bayti-hā fi ‘iddati-hā*, bāb *nafaqat al-bā'inah*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Talāq*, bāb *al-muṭallaqah thalāthan hal la-hā suknā wa-*

Indeed, respect for the ḥadīth was such that, once accepted as *sahīḥ* by the normal conventions, some scholars and jurists felt obliged to reconcile it somehow with the Qur’ān.

The ḥadīth of Fātimah bint Qays

The meaning of Fātimah’s ḥadīth is that a divorced woman has no right of accommodation and living expenses from her former husband during the ‘iddah, the waiting period before the end of which she cannot re-marry. Fātimah bint Qays reports that her husband Abū ‘Amr ibn Ḥafṣ divorced her finally while away from home; he sent his agent to her with some barley to provide her expenses. She did not like this. He then said: ‘By God you do not have any right upon us.’ She came to God’s Messenger, and recounted the matter to him. ‘The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam* – said: Your expenses are not [an obligation] on him.’

‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd, Zayd ibn Thābit, ‘Ā’ishah and other jurists among the Companions held that a divorced woman has right of accommodation and expenses, whether the divorce is final or provisional, and whether she is pregnant or not. This is the view also of later scholars and jurists – Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Abū Ḥanīfah and his students, and the rest of the people of Kufah. Their view is based on the following verses of the Qur’ān (*al-Talāq*, 65. 1, 6):

O Prophet! When you [men] divorce women, divorce them for their ‘iddah, and count their ‘iddah [accurately] and be wary of God, your Lord. Do not force them from their homes, nor should they leave [of their own accord], except in case of blatant indecency (*fāhibshah*). And those are the bounds of God. [...] You [the one divorcing his wife] do not know – it may be that God will later bring about some new affair [i.e. some reconciliation or eventual re-marriage]. [...] Lodge them [divorced wives] where you dwell, according to your means, and do not be hurful to

nafaqah; IBN ḤANBAL, *Musnad*, *Musnad al-nisā'*; IBN ABĪ SHAYBAH, *Muṣannaf*, *Talāq*, bāb *man qāla idhā ṭallaqā-ha thalāthan laysa la-hā nafaqah*; Sa‘id ibn Mansūr, *Sunan*, bāb *mā jā'a fī l-munākahah*; AL-ṬAHĀWI, in *Sharḥ Ma‘āni al-āthār*, iii. 64–73; and many others with different chains of narrations.

them so that you constrain them [forcing them to leave]. And if they are pregnant, then spend on them till they deliver their burdens. Then if they breast-feed the children for you, give them their due payment, and consult each other in the normal way (bi-l-ma‘rūf). [...]

— with further support from the ḥadīth mentioned earlier of Furay‘ah bint Mālik, in which she is required to remain in her former husband’s home during her ‘iddah.

Some Companions criticized Fātimah for narrating the ḥadīth. ‘Ā’ishah did so,¹ and explained that the ruling for Fātimah was because of some danger for her in staying at her ex-husband’s home, with her in-laws.² Sa‘d ibn al-Musayyab says: ‘Fātimah was moved from her house because of her quarrelling with her in-laws.’³ But she continued narrating the ḥadīth, which left an impact on later jurisprudence. Some jurists tried to make it fit with the Qur‘ān. They said that the verse of the Qur‘ān is referring to a woman divorced provisionally, while Fātimah’s ḥadīth is about a woman divorced finally. That is the opinion of Hasan al-Baṣrī, ‘Atā ibn Abī Rabah, Āmir al-Sha‘bī, Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal and Ishāq ibn Rāhawayh.⁴ Others held that the divorcee has the right of accommodation by the Qur‘ānic verse, but by Fātimah’s ḥadīth not the right of maintenance. That is the opinion of Mālik ibn Anas, Layth ibn Sa‘d and al-Shāfi‘ī. Other jurists derived other, different rulings from the ḥadīth of Fātimah. For a summary and more references see Table 1.

¹ al-Qāsim narrated from ‘Ā’ishah: ‘What is it with Fātimah? Does she not fear God in narrating this ḥadīth?’ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, Ṣaḥīḥ, Ṭalāq, bāb *man ankara dhālika ‘alā Fātimah*; MUSLIM, Ṣaḥīḥ, Ṭalāq, bāb *al-muṭallaqah thalāthan lā nafaqah la-hā*. See also AL-TAHĀWĪ, *Sharḥ Ma‘āni al-āthār*, iii. 68.

² ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, Ṭalāq, bāb *man ankara dhālika ‘alā Fātimah*.

³ *Ibid.*, AL-BAYHAQĪ, *Sunan*, *Nafaqat*, bāb *al-mabtūtah lā nafaqah la-hā*.⁴ AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi‘*, Ṭalāq, bāb *mā jā‘a fī l-muṭallaqah thalāthan lā suknā la-hā wa-lā nafaqah*. Hushaym narrates from Ismā‘īl ibn Abī Khālid (*‘Ayn al-ma‘būd* commenting on the ḥadīth in *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*) that Sha‘bī said about ‘Umar’s saying he was uncertain whether Fātimah ‘remembered or forgot’ some bit of wording or of context relevant to understanding the matter: ‘A woman of Quraysh, known for her intelligence and wisdom, will forget a verdict that goes against her [interests]?!

hadirh narrated by	compilations recorded in [b. = bāb]	juristic positions	position held by	major works recording the controversy
‘Ubaydullāh ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Utbah ibn Mas‘ūd; Abū Salamah ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Awf; ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr; ‘Āmir al-Shāfi‘ī; ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Āsim ibn Thābit; Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Thawbān; Abū Bakr ibn Abī l-Jahm ibn Ṣukhayr al-‘Adawī; ‘Abd al-Hamid ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Abī ‘Amr ibn al-Hafs; Tamīm, <i>mawlā</i> of Fātimah; al-Bahī	al-Bukhārī, <i>Sahīb</i> , <i>Talāq</i> , b. <i>qissah Fātimah bint Qays</i> ; Muslim, <i>Sahīb</i> , <i>Talāq</i> , b. <i>al-muṭallaqah thalāthan lā nasaqata labā</i> ; Abū Dāwūd, <i>Sunan</i> , <i>Talāq</i> , b. <i>fī nasaqat al-mabtūtah</i> al-Tirmidhī, <i>Jāmi‘</i> , <i>Nikāh</i> , b. <i>mā jā‘a fi an lā yakhṣīha al-rajul ‘alā...; al-Nasa‘ī</i> , <i>Sunan</i> , <i>Talāq</i> , b. <i>al-rukhsah fī khurūj al-mabtūtah min baytihā fi ‘iddatihā</i> , b. <i>nasaqat al-bā‘inah</i> ; Ibn Mājah, <i>Sunan</i> , <i>Talāq</i> , b. <i>al-muṭallaqah thalāthan hal la-hā suknā wa nasaqah</i> ; al-Dārimī, <i>Sunan</i> , <i>Talāq</i> , b. <i>fī l-muṭallaqah thalāthan a-la-bā l-suknā wa-l-nasaqah am lā</i> ; Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal, <i>Musnad</i> , <i>musnad al-nisā‘</i> ; Ibn Abī Shaybah, <i>Muṣannaf</i> , <i>Talāq</i> , b. <i>man qāla idhā tullaqahā thalāthan laysa la-hā nasaqah</i> , b. <i>man rakkaṣa li l-muṭallaqah an ta‘tadda fī ghayri bayti-hā</i> ; Sa‘id ibn Mansūr, <i>Sunan</i> , b. <i>mā jā‘a fi l-munākahah Abū Ja‘far al-Taḥāwī</i> , <i>Sharḥ Ma‘āni al-āthār</i> , <i>Talāq</i> , b. <i>al-muṭallaqah talāqan bā‘inan mādhā la-hā ‘alā ḥawzīhā fi ‘iddati-hā</i> ; Ibn Ḥibbān, <i>Talāq</i> , b. <i>al-‘iddah</i> ; al-Ḥākim, <i>al-Mustadrak</i> , iv. 61–62; al-Dāraqutnī, <i>Sunan</i> , <i>Talāq</i>	she has right of neither accommodation nor expenses	‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110), Ṭikrīmah, ‘Atā’ ibn Abī Rabāh (d. 114), ‘Āmir al-Shāfi‘ī, Ishaq ibn Rāhawayh, Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241)	Mālik, <i>al-Muwatta</i> , <i>Talāq</i> , b. <i>mā jā‘a fi nasaqat al-muṭallaqah</i> al-Shāfi‘ī, <i>al-Umm</i> , <i>abwāb mutafarriqah fī al-nikāh wa-l-talāq wa ghayri-himā</i> Ibn al-Qāsim (d. 191), <i>al-Mudawwanah</i> , <i>Talāq al-sunnah</i> , <i>nasaqat al-muṭallaqah wa sukna-hā</i> Ibn Ḥazm, <i>al-Muballā</i> , <i>Talāq al-Sarakhsī</i> , <i>al-Mabsūt</i> , <i>Nikāh</i> , b. <i>al-nasaqah fī l-talāq wa-l-furgah wa al-zawiyiyah</i> al-Kāṣanī, <i>Bada‘i‘ al-ṣanā‘i‘</i> , iv. 448 al-Marghīnānī, <i>al-Hidayah</i> , <i>Talāq</i> Ibn Rushd, <i>Bidāyat al-mujtahid</i> , b. <i>al-‘iddah</i> al-Nawawī, <i>al-Majmū‘ Sharḥ al-muhadhdhab</i> , xviii. 164 Ibn Qudāmah, <i>al-Mughnī</i> , <i>Talāq</i> Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, <i>I‘lām al-Muwaqqi‘īn</i> , <i>fatāwā fi nasaqat mu‘taddah wa kiswati-hā</i> ; Zād al-Ma‘ād, v. 522–42
		she has right of accommodation but not of expenses	‘Abdullāh ibn Umar, ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179), Layth ibn Sa‘d (d. 175), al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204)	
		she has right of both accommodation and expenses	‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Āishah bint Abī Bakr al-Siddīq, Usāmah ibn Zayd, al-Aswad ibn Yazid, Sa‘id ibn al-Musayyab, Ibrāhim al-Nakha‘ī, Abū Hanifah, Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybānī	

Table 1. The right to disagree: different juristic responses to the ḥadīth of Fātimah bint Qays that an ex-husband is not obliged to provide expenses and accommodation for the divorced wife during the *‘iddah* (waiting period)

Another example: a ḥadīth from ‘Ā’ishah

This second example concerns a legal effect of breast-feeding. A wet-nurse is prohibited in marriage to the one who has been breast-fed by her, just as his natural mother would be, which in turn means that the restrictions on how the two meet are relaxed. ‘Ā’ishah narrated that Sālim, the slave of Abū Hudhayfah, lived with him in his house. Abū Hudhayfah’s wife, the daughter of Suhayl came to the Prophet and said: ‘Sālim has attained manhood and he enters in our house and I feel that my husband is not at ease about this. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – said to her: Give your milk to [Sālim], then you will become unlawful for him and then Abū Hudhayfah will be at ease.’ The daughter of Suhayl, reports that she did so and that her husband was then at ease about his being in the house.¹

On the basis of this ḥadīth ‘Ā’ishah held that if a woman gave her milk to an adult, it would then be as if she had been his wet-nurse, with the legal effect as explained above. She was opposed by others among the Companions, including other wives of the Prophet, and by the imāms of the later generations – Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik, al-Shāfi‘ī, Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal and others – because of the Qur’ānic verse (*al-Baqarah*, 2. 233):

The mothers shall breast-feed their children for two whole years, [that is] for those [parents] who desire to complete the breast-feeding.

Those who opposed ‘Ā’ishah also relied on a number of ḥadīths. For example, the Prophet’s saying: ‘Breast-feeding is out of hunger.’² This means that only that is to be considered breast-feeding which satisfies hunger, namely in early infancy before the child turns to solid foods. When the child reaches the age when milk does not satisfy his hunger, then foster-mother relationship is not established with that child, and the

¹MUSLIM, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Raḍā‘, bāb raḍā‘at al-kabīr*. ²AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Nikāh, bāb man qāla: lā rada‘ah ba‘da hawlayn*; MUSLIM, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Raḍā‘, bāb innā mā al-raḍā‘ah min al-majā‘ah*.

legal effects of that relationship do not apply.¹ Ibn Mas‘ūd has narrated something similar.² ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr has narrated from the Prophet: ‘There is no breast-feeding but what enters into the intestines.’³ Fātimah bint al-Mundhir has narrated from Umm Salamah that the Prophet said: ‘Only that breast-feeding forbids [marriage] which becomes a part of the intestines and happens before the age of weaning.’⁴ After citing that ḥadīth, al-Tirmidhī says:

Most scholars from among the Companions of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – and others hold the opinion that breast-feeding only forbids [marriage] if it is within two years [after birth] and what is after the full two years it does not forbid anything.

Abū Ubaydah ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Zam‘ah narrated that his mother Zaynab bint Abī Salamah told him that her mother Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – used to say: All wives of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – refused to allow anyone to enter upon them by that breast-feeding [which ‘Ā’ishah allowed] and they said to ‘Ā’ishah: That was a permission particular to the wife of Abū Hudhayfah, and no one can enter upon us by such breast-feeding and see us.⁷

Despite the opposition to it, ‘Ā’ishah continued to narrate the ḥadīth and be guided by it, and the jurists did not see any harm in citing it. Ibn Abī Mulaykah has reported that Qāsim ibn Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr told that ḥadīth of ‘Ā’ishah to him. He adds: ‘I endured one year or about one year not narrating this ḥadīth to anyone and I was afraid of [doing so]. Then I met Qāsim and I said to him: You narrated to me a ḥadīth which I could not [dare to] narrate to anyone. Qāsim said: What is that? I told him. He said: You can narrate it from me that ‘Ā’ishah narrated it to me.⁸

¹ See AL-BAGHAWĪ (d. 494) *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, v. 65. ² ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Nikāh*, bāb *fi rāḍā’at al-kabīr*. ³ IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Nikāh*, bāb *lā rāḍā’ah ba’da fiṣāl*. ⁴ AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi’*, *Rāḍā’*, bāb *mā dhukira anna l-rāḍā’ah lā tuharrim illā fi l-sīghar dūn al-hawlayn*. ⁷ MUSLIM, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Rāḍā’*, bāb *rāḍā’at al-kabīr*. ⁸ *Ibid.*

Three important points can be drawn from the foregoing discussion: (1) In the time of the Companions the desire to understand and implement the *dīn* was stronger than anything else, before there was any established division by doctrine, sect or political faction. The people did not suffer from loyalties competing with loyalty to Qur'ān and *Sunnah*, and so they were able to differ without dividing, to disagree on particular matters without loss of mutual respect and solidarity.

(2) Where there was discussion of how to understand and implement ḥadīths, the weight given to someone's knowledge or understanding was not a function of the individual's being a man or woman. If a broad consensus accrued around one understanding rather than another, it was not on account of so-called 'patriarchal attitudes'. The historical evidence will not sustain the view that the learned Companions or their Successors or the jurists and scholars who were followed (i.e. imāms) after them interpreted the guidance of Qur'ān and *Sunnah*, consciously or unconsciously, to serve vested interests of political, economic or gender privilege.

(3) The material, on the basis of which decisions were taken and directions given about how to live by the guidance, was in the public domain: people were required to bring it and keep it in public. The seniority of some Companions, the positions of power some had risen to, the fact that some had been specially close to the Prophet by relationship of birth or marriage, did not enable them to prevent the circulation of material or of interpretations that they opposed. The greater authority some enjoyed was not mysterious or charismatic; it derived from strictly known and demonstrable qualities: breadth and depth of knowledge, intelligence and understanding, combined with firm belief, God-wariness and righteousness. From the examples given thus far, in the text or the notes, it should be clear that Muslim scholars took great pains to record as much as they could of this material, how it passed from whom to whom, who agreed with one interpretation or another, and who disagreed and why. In the next chapters we shall see how the women of the *ummah* were included in this scholarly activity.

Chapter 2

Women as seekers and students of ḥadīth

We have seen that the Law places no formal impediment in the way of women acquiring the knowledge to understand and practise Islam. Rather, it is a duty for them to do so, just as it is for the men. But a law, whether it permits or forbids, while it has educative force, does not suffice by itself to enable the intended outcome. Also needed, alongside the law, is a wider societal effort to establish an ethos that welcomes and enables what the law intends. In the first part of this chapter I review how women were urged, from the outset of Islam, to learn the religion, and how that example was sustained in the period that followed, by the caliphs and other rulers, by the ulema and the men and women who enjoyed authority. It was sustained also by the dedication of the women themselves to the task, to travelling in the path of knowledge, to overcoming shyness. In the second part I set out the ways in which women acquired the necessary skills to preserve ‘the knowledge’, by committing ḥadīth to memory, then to writing.

THE DISPOSITION TO TEACH WOMEN

The duty to teach

The Prophet’s primary role was not as law-giver or ruler but as a teacher of the *dīn* – law and rule were as means to that end:

*He it is Who has sent among the unscriptured (*ummīyyūn*) a Messenger from among them, reciting to them His verses, purifying them, and teaching them the Scripture (*kitāb*) and the Wisdom (*bikmah*). And before [that] they had certainly been in manifest error. (al-Jumū‘ah, 62. 2)*

The duty of embodying Islam as a way of life entailed life-long sacrifice for the Messenger himself and for his household. The Qur'ān alludes delicately (*al-Āḥzāb*, 33. 28–29) to the occasion when, within that household, there was ill-feeling, perhaps reluctance to go on enduring hardship, perhaps desire for recompense in the form of present advantage or privilege. So ‘the choice’ was put to the wives of the Prophet – either him with hardship and the supreme recompense hereafter, or parting from him with some goods of this world. In the narration of Jābir, the Prophet first put ‘the choice’ to ‘Ā’ishah, advising her not to decide hastily but to take counsel with her parent:

She said: Will I consult my parent about you, O Messenger of God? Rather, I choose God, His Messenger and the hereafter, and I ask you not to inform any of your wives about what I have said. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – said: No-one among them will ask me but I will tell her. God has not sent me as *mu‘annit* [who makes it hard for people] or as *muta‘amit* [who lets others fall into error]. Rather, He has sent me to teach [people] and to make [the straight way] easy [for them].¹

We do not know what ‘Ā’ishah had in mind in asking what she did; but we do know his motive for refusing her because he states it himself – he was bound by his primary duty as teacher to communicate to people whatever would help them to choose the right path.

Educating the children

The first stage of teaching is the upbringing of children. An essential condition of doing that well is to respect and love the children, girls as well as boys. It required some effort to change attitudes that had become deeply ingrained. God's Messenger said: ‘God has disliked three things from you: being disobedient to mothers, burying [infant] girls alive, and the habit of taking and not giving.’² ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar, eminent Companion and son

¹MUSLIM, *Sahīb*, *Talāq*, bāb *bayān anna takhyīr imra‘ati-hi lā yakūn talāqan illā ba‘d al-niyyah*. ²AL-ṬABARĀNĪ, cited in AL-HAYTHAMĪ (d. 807), *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*, viii. 270.

of the second caliph, heard a man wishing his daughters dead, perhaps because he was worried about the economic burden. Ibn ‘Umar was angered and said: ‘Is it you who provide their provision?’¹ Uqbah ibn ‘Āmir (d. ca. 60) narrates that the Messenger of God said: ‘Do not be averse to daughters. For they are precious treasures that comfort your heart.’² ‘Ā’ishah narrates that he said: ‘Whoever is tested with anything of these girls – they will be his screen from the Fire.’³ Anas ibn Mālik narrates that the Messenger said: ‘Whoever brings up two girls until they become adult, he and I will come close to one other like this’ and he brought his fingers together to indicate closeness.⁴ Abū Sa‘id al-Khudrī (d. 63) narrates that he said: ‘Whoever has three daughters or three sisters or two daughters or two sisters and then he is good company for them and is wary of God in regard to them, he will have paradise.’⁵ The Prophet’s teaching was remembered by his community: Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmad, son of the great *muhaddith* and jurist said: ‘Whenever my father Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal had a daughter born to him, he would say: The prophets, upon them be peace, were the fathers of daughters. And he would say: About the daughters there has come [in the hadīths] the reward that is known.’⁶

The *Sunnah* is particular about treating sons and daughters equally. Al-Bazzār (d. 292) has cited the ḥadīth from Anas ibn Mālik that there was with the Prophet a man whose son came to him: the man kissed the boy and sat him on his lap. Then his daughter came and he sat her in front of him. ‘God’s Messenger – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – said to the man: Why did you not treat them equally?’⁷

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, i. 158. ² AL-HAYTHAMĪ, *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*, viii. 286. ³ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ṣahīb, Zakāh*, bāb *ittaqū l-nār*; MUSLIM, *Ṣahīb, Birr*, bāb *faḍl al-ihsān alā l-banāt*. ⁴ MUSLIM, *Ṣahīb, Birr*, bāb *faḍl al-ihsān alā l-banāt*. ⁵ AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi‘, Birr*, bāb *mā jā‘a fī l-naṣaqaḥ ‘alā l-banāt wa-l-akhwāt*. ⁶ Muḥammad Nūr ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ SUWAYD, *Manhaj al-tarbiyah al-nabawiyah li-l-tifl*, 324. ⁷ AL-HAYTHAMĪ, *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*, viii. 286–87.

The Prophet emphasized the need to fix in the hearts of the children, from as early an age as possible, a love for the *dīn*. He himself did this by engaging with them, playing with them, and involving them in his practice of it. The ḥadīths that record his affection for Hasan and Husayn, his grandsons, when they were infants, and how he would keep them by him even while doing the prayer, are widely known. Here it is fitting that we recall the ḥadīths that show the same care and concern for girls.

Khālid ibn Sa‘id narrates from his father, from Umm Khālid bint Khālid ibn Sa‘id, who had lived for a time in Abyssinia, that she said: ‘I came to God’s Messenger – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – with my father. I was wearing a yellow dress. The Messenger of God said: *Sanah, sanah*, which in the tongue of the Abyssinians meant, Nice, nice. She says: Then I started playing with the seal of prophethood on his shoulder. My father rebuked me [for that. But] the Messenger of God said: Let her be. Then he prayed for her dress to last a long time. It did last for a long time.’¹

Abū Qatādah (d. 54) narrates how they were sitting before the door of the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam*, when he came out carrying his granddaughter, Umāmah bint Abī l-Āṣ ibn al-Rabī‘, the daughter of his daughter Zaynab. She was then a little child. The Prophet led the prayer keeping her on his shoulder – he would set her on the ground when bowing, then put her back on his shoulder as he got up: ‘He went on doing this until he finished his prayer.’²

The Prophet did not forbid women from bringing their children and nursing babies to the mosques. Rather, their being there was expected and he would shorten his prayer out of consideration for the children and for their mothers’ need to attend them. Thābit al-Bunānī narrates from Anas ibn Mālik that he said: ‘The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-*

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Saḥīḥ, Adab*, bāb *man taraka sabiyyata ghayri-hi hattā tal‘aba bi-hi aw qabbala-hā aw mazhaba-hā*. ² IBN SA‘D (d. 230), *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, viii. 39.

sallam – would hear the cry of a child with his mother during the prayer. Then he would recite the light sūrah[s] – or [the narrator] said the short sūrah[s].¹ Qatādah (d. 118) narrated, also from Anas, that he said: ‘The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – said: I enter upon the prayer meaning to make it long then I hear the crying of a baby and I lighten the prayer for [the sake of] the child’s mother’s yearning [to attend to the baby].’¹

Keeping children on the Sunnah

Parents used to train their children from an early age to adhere to the *sunnahs* of the Prophet. Khālid ibn Dhakwān (*tābi‘i*) narrated from Rubayyi‘ bint Mu‘awwidh (d. ca. 70) that she said: ‘The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – sent his messenger on the morning of ‘Āshūrā to the houses of the Anṣār saying: Whoever started [the day] not fasting, he should complete the day [not fasting], and whoever started [the day] fasting he should fast. She says: Then after that we used to fast that day and make our children fast that day, and make woollen toys so when any of them cried for food, we would give him [the toys]; so they would be busy with them until the time of breaking the fast.’² Fasting on the day of ‘Āshūrā is not compulsory, but the believers were keen to encourage their children to grow in piety. As for fasting in Ramadān, children used to do it regularly. Umar said to someone who was not fasting in Ramadān: ‘Woe to you! even our children are fasting.’²

The Prophet said: ‘That the father teaches good manners (*yu‘addib*) to his child is surely better for him than giving charity of a *ṣā‘* in the path of God.’³

The reason for disciplining children is to correct them, not to hurt. The aim, that the child acquire the authority to command him or herself to do what is right, cannot be realized if

¹ MUSLIM, *Sahīb*, *Ṣalāh*, bāb *amr al-a‘immah bi-takhfīf al-ṣalāh fī tamām*.

² AL-BUKHARI, *Sahīb*, *Sawm*, bāb *sawm al-sibyān*. ³ AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi‘*, *al-Birr wa-l-ṣilah*, bāb *mā jā‘a fī adab al-walad*.

parents use words or blows in an uncontrolled way, to hurt the child or to relieve anger and frustration at being thwarted. The great jurist al-Kāsānī (d. 587) says: ‘The child is to be rebuked (*‘azzara*) to teach [him] manners, not to punish; because it is in the capacity of teaching manners [that it has been permitted]. Do you not see what is narrated from the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – that he said: Command your children to pray when they are seven, and strike them for that when they are ten.’¹

Encouraging girls and women to attend gatherings

The Prophet commanded girls and adult women, even those in a state of impurity, to attend those occasions of public assembly where knowledge of the religion would be presented. He did not recognize as an excuse that some poor women did not have a *jilbab* (loose over-garment) to put on when going out. Umm ‘Atīyyah al-Anṣāriyyah narrates:

The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – commanded us to bring them out on [*‘Id*] *al-fitr* and [*‘Id*] *al-adhā* – adult girls, adolescents, and those kept secluded (*buyyad dhawāt al-khudūr*). As for those in impurity, they were to leave the prayer but attend the good and the supplication of the Muslims. I said: O Messenger of God, if someone does not have *jilbab*? He said: Then her sister will lend her *jilbab* to her.²

‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās, the Prophet’s cousin, narrates that, the Prophet used to command his wives and daughters to go out to attend both *‘Ids*.³ They already had ample opportunity to learn from him directly; the reason he did this was to establish

¹ AL-KĀSĀNĪ (d. 587), *Badā’iṣ al-ṣanā’iṣ*, vii. 63. ² AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Hayd*, bāb *shuhūd al-hā’id al-‘idayn wa da‘wat al-muslimīn*. AL-BAGHAWĪ says about this ḥadīth (*Sharḥ al-sunnah*, ii. 611): ‘It holds evidence that a woman during her monthly period should not abandon remembrance of God, places of good, and assemblies of knowledge.’ ³ IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Abwāb iqāmat al-salah*, bāb *mā jā’a fī khurūj al-nisā’ fī l-‘idayn*.

the *sunnah* by implementing it in his own household – that was his customary way of teaching his community.

The duty to answer the women's questions

It is obligatory for any teacher who follows the example of God's Messenger that he listen attentively to the questions put to him and answer them in a way that meets the questioner's need. Anas ibn Mālik narrates that a woman with some mental disability wanted to put some matter to the Prophet but did not want anyone else to know of it. Anas reports that the Prophet said to her: 'O mother of so-and-so, suggest some street that you like so that I can respond to your need there.' So he answered her question in a public space, yet privately.¹ Al-Nawawī (d. 676) comments:

This ḥadīth informs [us] of the humility of the Prophet – *salla l-lābu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – that he would stand even with a weak-minded woman to [hear and] answer her question and solve her problem in privacy. That [way that he demonstrated] is not the forbidden [kind of] privacy with a woman stranger because this was in a thoroughfare of the people where they could see him and her, but could not hear her speaking.² For her question was about a matter such as could not be revealed.

Generally both men and women attended the Prophet's teaching in the mosque and other places. That is why we have many ḥadīths which record, through the narration of both men and women, the same *sunnabs*. However, on the occasions when men were present, the women were shy to raise matters that concerned them particularly. For such matters, a few women were able to call upon him at his house. To satisfy those who were thus left out, he was asked to set aside a day specifically for them. Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī says: 'The women asked the Prophet

¹MUSLIM, *Šabīh, Fadā'il*, bāb *qurb al-nabī ‘alay-hi l-salām min al-nās wa tabarruki-him bi-hi*.² AL-NAWAWI, *Sharḥ ‘alā Šabīh Muslim* (commenting in loco on the ḥadīth cited in the preceding note).³ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Šabīh, Ilm*, bāb *hal yaj‘alu li-l-nisā’ yawman ‘alā hidah*.

— *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* — to make a specific day for them. Then the Prophet promised them a day on which he met them and then preached to and instructed them.³

Sometimes the Prophet would teach using analogy so that the listener could grasp the reasoning supporting the ruling. For example, Ibn ‘Abbās has narrated that a woman from the tribe of Juhaynah came to the Prophet and said:

My mother vowed to God to do ḥajj, but she was not able to do ḥajj before she died. Should I do ḥajj on her behalf? The Prophet — *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* — said: Yes. Consider, if your mother had a debt, would you not pay it back? So pay the debt to God. A debt to God deserves the most to be paid.¹

About certain matters, people are shy of being explicit. The Prophet would answer using delicate hints that an alert, intelligent listener could understand. It is narrated from ‘Ā’ishah that Asmā² bint Shakal asked about the bathing at the end of the menstrual period. He said:

The woman should take water and leaves of the lotus tree and clean nicely, then pour water over her head, rubbing vigorously so that she reaches to the roots of her hair. Then she should pour water over herself. Then she should take a piece of cloth perfumed with musk and clean with it. Asmā² asked: How will she clean with it? The Prophet — *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* — said: *Subḥān al-lāh!*² You will clean with it. Then ‘Ā’ishah said to her in a subdued voice: Follow the traces of blood.³

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *abwāb al-iḥṣār wa jazā’ al-sayd*, bāb *al-hajj wa-l-nudhūr ‘an al-mayyit wa-l-rajul yahūju ‘an al-mar’ah*. ²This phrase (roughly ‘Glory be to God’) serves as a common exclamation to mark the moment when Muslims recognize a matter as being beyond their capacity to influence. ³AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Hayd*, bāb *dalk al-mar’ah nafsa-hā*; MUSLIM, *Sahīb*, *Hayd*, bāb *istibāb isti‘māl al-mughtasilah min al-bayḍ firṣab min mask fi mawdī‘ al-dam*; ABŪ DĀWUD, *Sunan*, *Tahārah*, bāb *al-ightisāl min al-mahīd*; AL-NASA‘I, *Sunan*, bāb *dhikr al-‘amal fi qiblat al-mahīd*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Tahārah*, bāb *al-hā‘id kayfa tagħtasil*.

The practice of those who followed

With the ending of prophethood, the learned among the community, took up the duty of teaching ‘the Book and the Wisdom’ because obedience to God cannot be well established without knowledge. The scholars urged the rulers to specify days for the teaching of women on the basis of what has been narrated from Ibn Jurayj, from ‘Atā’ that Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh said: ‘The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – stood up on the day of ‘Id al-fitr and did the prayer. He began with the prayer, then gave the *khuṭbah*. When he finished, he came down, then [came] to the women where, while leaning on the hand of Bilāl, he [preached to them and] reminded them.’ Ibn Jurayj asked ‘Atā’: ‘Do you think it is incumbent on the imām that he [preach to and] remind the women?’ ‘Atā’ said: ‘Surely it is incumbent on them. And why do not they do that?’¹ He meant that it is not something special for the Prophet.

Because of the concern among conscientious Muslims to follow the *Sunnah*, people generally concerned themselves to educate women in it. So the women carried and transmitted knowledge, as the men did, and among them were many who, being guided themselves, were able to guide others, to open the ways to good, and close the doors to evil. Knowledge is among the very best of the acts of obedience; the most learned scholar, Umm al-Dardā’ (d. 81) said: ‘I have sought worship in everything. I did not find anything more relieving to me than sitting with scholars and exchanging [knowledge] with them.’²

After explaining in detail what is incumbent on guardians regarding the education of dependants, Ibn al-Hājj (d. 737) said: ‘The scholar should free himself to teach these commands (*ahkām*) to the elders and the young, male and female. God says [and then he cites the whole of the verse, cited above pp. 4–5 (*al-Abzāb*, 33. 35): *The muslim men and muslim women... God has prepared for them*

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sabīb*, ‘Idayn, bāb *al-mashy wa-l-rukūb ilā l-‘id...* ² Abū Ubaydah MASHHŪR ibn Hasan Āl Salamān, *Ināyat al-nisā’ bi-l-hadīth al-nabawī*, 13.

forgiveness and a great reward]. The Prophet, *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam*, said: The women are pairs of the men. So husband and wife and male and female slave are equal in respect of their good qualities. The people of the early generation (*salaf*) were firm on this path. You will find that their children and their male and female slaves in most of their matters share in all these virtues [listed in the verse].¹

The biographical sources are full of examples of women whose fathers took care to teach them ḥadīth and other subjects. The Companions and, after them, the Successors were most particular in this. Among the latter, for example, Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab taught all his ḥadīths to his daughter; in the next generation, Mālik ibn Anas taught his daughter the whole of his *Muwattā*. Later still, Abū Hanīfah, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and indeed some scholars in every generation, attended with care to the education of their children. A few examples:

Under the care of her father, the qādī Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Kāmil ibn Khalaf ibn Shajarah al-Baghdādī (d. 350), student of the famous historian and Qur’ān commentator, Muhammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310), the *muhaddithah* Amat al-Salām, Umm al-Fath (d. 390) heard ḥadīths from Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Baṣlānī and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥumayd ibn al-Rabī‘ (both early 4th c.). Al-‘Atīqī (d. 441) confirms this and notes: ‘Her hearing ḥadīth is recorded in her father’s handwriting.’²

Shaykh al-Islām Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Maghribī al-Fāsī (d. 560), known as Ibn al-Ḥuṭay’ah, taught his daughter the seven recitations of the Qur’ān, the *Ṣabīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim and other books of ḥadīth. She wrote down a great number of ḥadīths and studied extensively with her father, yet it is recorded that somehow he never got to see her. When Shujā‘, one of the narrators was asked about this, he explained that it began by chance while she was a baby: he would be busy teaching until sunset by which time she would be asleep. This

¹ IBN AL-HĀJJ, *al-Madkhal*, ii. 215, cited in *ibid.*, 22. ² AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, xiv. 444.

somehow carried on until she had grown up, married and gone to her own house. Imām al-Dhahabī comments on this severely: ‘There is no praise in something like this; rather the *Sunnah* is the opposite of it. For the master of mankind – *salla l-lāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam* – used to carry his granddaughter Umāmah, while he did the prayer.’¹

Another example is what has come in the preface of *Kitāb al-Mu‘allimīn* of Ibn Saḥnūn (d. 256): ‘The pious qādī Īsā ibn Miskīn used to teach his daughters and granddaughters. Qādī Qiyād [d. 544] says: ‘After the *‘asr* prayer he would call his two daughters and the daughters of his brother to teach them the Qur’ān and the knowledge. The same was done before him by Asad ibn al-Furāt, the conqueror of Sicily, with his daughter Asmā’ who attained a high degree in knowledge.’²

Some scholars ensured that their daughters’ interest in ḥadīth and other branches of knowledge would continue by marrying them to other scholars. For example Shaykh al-Qurrā’, Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Abī l-Qāsim al-Andalusī (d. 496) first taught his daughter himself, then took her to his teachers from whom she heard their ḥadīths directly. When she completed her education, he married her to one of his more knowledgeable students. Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658) says:

She narrated from her father a lot and she learnt from some of her father’s teachers. [...] And she is the one whose father married her to Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, a youth who read [studied] with him. [This Aḥmad] was virtuous and poor, and [the Shaykh] was pleased with his manners and said to him once: Would you like that I marry my daughter to you? The young person became shy and mentioned to him an excuse that did not allow him to marry. The Shaykh married her to him, gave her *jihāz* [marriage portion] and took her to him.³

Imām ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (d. 539), author of *Tuhfat al-fuqahā’* and other books, had a daughter famed for her beauty

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubulā’*, xx. 347–48. ² ABŪ ‘UBAYDAH MASHHŪR, *Ināyat al-nisā’*, 131. ³ IBN AL-ABBĀR, *Takmilah silat al-silah*, 406.

and sought after by princes and the wealthy. Her father refused such offers because she was a scholar, one who had memorized his *Tuhfat al-fuqahā'*¹. One particular student stayed with him until he became an expert in both the principles and practical details of the Law, and then wrote *Badā'i' al-ṣanā'i'*, a commentary on his shaykh's *Tuhfat al-fuqahā'*. The latter was so pleased with the work that he married his daughter to this student, accepting the commentary as dowry. The student, who became a very famous jurist in his own right, was al-Kāsānī.¹

The sources also record the scholars' attentiveness to the education of their wives. Ibn al-Hājj says: 'In our time there was Sīdī Abū Muḥammad. His wife read the whole Qur'ān with him and memorized it. Similarly she read with him the *Risālah* of Shaykh Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386) and half of the *Muwatṭā'* of Imām Mālik.² Another example is the wife of Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar, Uns bint ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Aḥmad al-Karīmī al-Lakhāmī. Ibn Ḥajar enabled her to hear the *Musalsal bi-l-awwaliyyah* of his own shaykh, the great *muhaddith* Hāfiẓ al-‘Irāqī (d. 806); also the *Musalsal bi-l-awwaliyyah* of Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Kuwayk (d. 821). Then he got *ijāzabs* for her in Syria in Dhū l-Qa'da 798, in Minā in Ṣafar 800 and again in Rabī' al-Ākhir 800, and later on.³

THE WOMEN'S OWN EFFORTS

We have recounted some of the efforts of men to enable the teaching of women in order to illustrate how they followed the *Sunnah* in this regard. However, that does not mean that the women's interest in ḥadīth was prompted only by the interest of their guardians or husbands. Rather, for a great number of women interest in knowledge of the *dīn* was deeply personal, without anybody prompting them or paving the way for them.

¹^c Abd al-Qādir ibn Abī l-Wafā' AL-QURASHĪ (d. 775), *al-Jawāhir al-mudīyyah fī Tabaqāt al-Hanafīyyah*, ii. 244–46, 278–79. ²IBN AL-HĀJJ, *al-Madkhal*, ii. 215, cited in MASHHŪR, 'Ināyat al-nisā', 122. ³AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar fī Tarjamah Shaykh al-Islām IBN HAJAR*, iii. 1208.

Thābit has narrated from Anas that Abū Bakr called ‘Umar to go with him to visit Umm Ayman since the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam*, used to visit her. They found her crying, and asked her why, reminding her that whatever is with God is better for His Messenger. ‘She said: I am not crying because I did not know that what is with God is better for His Messenger. Rather, I am crying because the revelation from heaven has been cut off. [Saying that as she did] she made them weep also.’¹

During the Prophet’s lifetime women were anxious not to miss any opportunity to learn from him. Ahmād ibn Ḥanbal has narrated from ‘Abdullāh ibn Rāfi‘ that he said:

Umm Salamah narrated that while she was combing her hair, she heard the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – saying on the pulpit: O people. She said to her hairdresser: Wrap my hair. She said: May I be sacrificed for you, he is only saying, ‘O people’. Umm Salamah said: I said to her: Woe to you! Are we not from the people? Then she wrapped her hair and stood in a place in her room from where she could hear the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam*. Umm Salamah said: Then I heard him saying: O people, while I am at the *Hawd* on the Day of Judgement you will be brought in groups. Then some of you will be taken into other ways. So I will call to you: Come along the way to me. Then a caller from behind me will cry out to me: Leave them, they changed after you. So I will say: Keep away, keep away.²

Fātimah bint Qays (mentioned in the previous chapter), the sister of al-Daḥḥak ibn Qays, was among the early Emigrants. Her husband was killed in the first jihād. Soon after her waiting period had ended she heard the call to prayer and went to the mosque and prayed there. She says: ‘I was in the row of the women. When the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – finished his prayer, he sat on the pulpit and he was smiling. Then he said: Let everyone remain in his place. Then he asked: Do you know why I have gathered you? They said: God and His Messenger know best. He said: By God, I have

¹MUSLIM, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Fadā’il*, bāb *fi fadā’il Umm Ayman*, *radi Allāhu ‘an-hā*.

²Ibid., bāb *ithbāt hawd nabiyyi-nā* *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam wa sifāti-hi*.

not gathered you for [any] thing you desire or for any thing that you fear. Rather, I have gathered you because Tamīm al-Dārī, who was a Christian, came, pledged allegiance and embraced Islam, and told me a story which confirms what I have been telling you about Anti-Christ.' Then Fātimah narrated the whole long story of Tamīm al-Dārī.¹ Her dedication to learning can be gauged from the fact that, despite her recent bereavement, she hastened to the mosque when she learned that there was to be a sermon after it, then committed to memory the very long, detailed ḥadīth subsequently recorded in the *Sabīḥ* of Muslim and other compilations, and confirmed in almost every detail by other narrators (see below, p. 188).

What the women asked about

We have noted that, during the Prophet's lifetime, the women attended assemblies where men were present, and to have their particular matters dealt with they requested that a day be set aside exclusively for them. The Prophet indeed encouraged his Companions to ask him about whatever was concerning them and about any need relating to the duties and laws of the *dīn*. Jābir has narrated that the Prophet said: 'The cure of ignorance is asking.'² He meant that for the ailment of ignorance there is no remedy other than asking and finding out. Also, God says in the Qur'ān (*al-Nahl*, 16. 43): 'Then ask the people of remembrance if you do not know.'

The books of ḥadīth record many of the questions put by women. Some examples of that we have already seen. A few more will serve to demonstrate the range of matters that the women were concerned about:

‘Abdullāh ibn al-Qibtiyyah narrates from Umm Salamah that the Prophet stated that an army heading to the House of God will be destroyed by sinking into the earth. Umm Salamah

¹MUSLIM, *Sabīḥ*, *Fitan wa ashrāt al-Sā'ah*, bāb *kburūj al-Dajjāl*. ²ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Tabārah*, bāb *fī l-majrūh yatayummam*. ³MUSLIM, *Sabīḥ*, *Fitan wa ashrāt al-Sā'ah*, bāb *al-jaysh al-ladhbī ya'ummu al-bayt*.

asked: ‘What about one who was forced’ [who did not choose to be in that army]? The Prophet said: ‘He will be sunk with them. Then they will be raised according to their intentions.’³

Saīd ibn al-Musayyab narrates from Khawlah bint Ḥakīm that she asked about whether the woman sees in her dream what the man sees. The Prophet, affirming it implicitly, explained to her that bathing becomes compulsory for the woman as for the man if, as a result of the dream, there is some emission.¹

Fātimah bint Abī Hubaysh wanted to know if, when after her regular monthly period some bleeding continued, she should leave the prayer. The Prophet distinguished regular menstrual bleeding, the duration of which varies between individuals and which prohibits from prayer, from bleeding from a vein, which must be washed away and does not affect the duty to pray.²

Mujāhid (d. ca. 100) has narrated from Asmā' bint 'Umays the hadith about the wedding of 'Ā'ishah when there was only a bowl of milk for guests. When 'Ā'ishah offered some to her guests they said they did not desire any. The Prophet said: ‘Do not combine a lie with hunger. Then [Asmā'] said: O Messenger of God, if one of us says about something that she desires, “I do not desire”, will it be counted as a lie? The Prophet said: The lie is written as a lie and the small lie is written as a small lie.’³

Zaynab bint Abī Salamah narrates from her mother Umm Salamah that she said: ‘I said: O Messenger of God, is there reward for me in spending on the children of Abū Salamah [my husband]. I can not leave them like that – they are my children as well. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa-sallam* – said: Yes, there is a reward for you in what you spend on them.’⁴

¹ AL-NASA'I, *Sunan*, Ṭabarāh, bāb *ghusl al mar'ah tarā fi manāmi-hā mā yarā al-rajul*. ² AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ṣahīh*, Ḥayd, bāb *al-istihādah*; MUSLIM, *Ṣahīh*, Ḥayd, bāb *al-mustahādah*; ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, Ṭabarāh, bāb *man rawā anna l-hayda idhā adbarat lā tada'u l-salāh*; AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi'*, Ṭabarāh, bāb *al-farq bayna dam al-hayd wa-l-istihādah*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, Ṭabarāh *wa sunani-hā*, bāb *mā jā'a fi l-mustahādah al-latī qad 'addat ayyāma aqrā'i-hā qabla an yastamirra bi-hā al-dam*; IBN ABĪ SHAYBAH, *Musannaf*, Ṭabarāhāt, bāb *al-mustahādah kayfa taṣna'u*. ³ IBN HANBAL, *Musnad*, *Musnad al-nisā'*. ⁴ *Ibid.*

About shyness in the way of learning

As we have just seen in the examples of the kinds of questions they asked, the women did not allow shyness to prevent them from seeking the knowledge that would strengthen their faith and practice and prepare them for the hereafter. Mujāhid said: ‘The shy one (*mustahyī*) and the haughty one (*mustakbir*) cannot attain to knowledge.’¹ Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar has commented on that: ‘Shyness [*bayā*, shame] is a part of the faith. And that is the lawful [kind] that happens as respect and reverence for elders and great people, and it is praiseworthy. As for that shyness which leads to abandoning a legal matter – that is a rebuked and not a lawful shyness; rather, it is timidity and lowness, and that is what Mujāhid means when he said: the shy one cannot attain knowledge.’²

Thus the women Companions established the example for those after them of determined seeking after knowledge. They did not shy from asking even about what women feel shy to hear mentioned in front of men. Umm Salamah narrates that Umm Sulaym came to the Prophet and said: ‘O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – God is not shy of saying the truth. Is a bath compulsory on a woman when she has a wet dream? The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – said: [Yes.] When she sees the emission. Umm Salamah covered her face and said: O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – do women have wet dreams? The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – said: Yes. May your hand be dusty! How otherwise does [a woman’s] child become like her?’³ ‘Ā’ishah once said: ‘How good are the women of the Ansār! Shyness did not prevent them from acquiring understanding of their *dīn*.⁴

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, ‘Ilm, bāb *al-hayā fi l-ilm*. ² IBN HAJAR, *Fath al-bārī*, ‘Ilm, bāb *al-hayā fi l-ilm*. ³ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, ‘Ilm, bāb *al-hayā fi l-ilm*. (‘May your hand be dusty’, literally rendered from the Arabic, is typically used, though it seems otherwise, to express criticism in an affectionate tone; there are similar usages in most languages.) ⁴ *Ibid.*

Women learning from the Companions

The women in the generation after the Companions, that of the Successors, put their questions to the Companions, both to the women and the men among them. Here is an example:

‘Abdullāh ibn Jābir al-Ahmasī narrates from his paternal aunt Zaynab bint al-Muhājir that she said:

I went for hajj and with me was another woman. I set up my tent and I made a vow not to speak. Then a man came and stood by the door of the tent and said: *al-salamu ‘alaykum*. My friend answered. Then he said: What is the matter with your friend? I said: She will remain silent for she has vowed not to speak. He said: Speak, for [that kind of vow] is from the practice of Jāhiliyyah. She says: I asked him, who are you, may God have mercy on you? He answered: I am a man from the Emigrants. I asked: From which group of Emigrants? He said: From the Quraysh. I said: From which Quraysh? He said: You are a big one for questions! I am Abū Bakr. I said: O caliph of the Messenger of God! We are fresh from the Jāhiliyyah, when no one us would feel security from others. God has brought to us what you see [meaning the peace and security around them]. So how long this will continue? He said: As long as your imāms remain righteous. I said: Who are the imāms? He said: Are there not among your people those nobles and leaders who are obeyed? I said: Surely. He said: Those are the imāms.¹

WOMEN'S PRESERVING OF THE HADĪTH

A sound ḥadīth is defined as one whose narrator has preserved it unchanged from the time he heard it until he conveyed it. Preservation entails alert listening to the words, understanding their meaning, holding that meaning, holding the wording, being firm on it with full awareness and checking it until its transmission. It is by two means: memorization and writing.

¹IBN SAḌ, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, viii. 470.

Memorization

Memorization, or preserving by heart, was the most popular form among the Companions, the Successors, the Followers, and those who came after them among the imāms and experts of ḥadīth. This is because knowledge preserved in the heart becomes part of the person, accompanies them always, almost like a mother tongue. ‘Affān ibn Muslim (d. 219) said: ‘I asked ‘Ubaydullāh ibn al-Hasan to bring out for me the book of al-Jurayrī. He refused and said: Go to Hilāl ibn Haqq; he has got it. Then he said: I have found the most directly useful (*ahḍar*) knowledge is the one I preserved in my heart and uttered by my tongue.’¹ ‘Abd al-Razzāq said: ‘Any knowledge that does not “enter with its owner into the bathroom” – then do not consider it as knowledge.’ Al-Asmā’i (d. 217) says: ‘Any knowledge that does not “enter with me in the bathroom”, it is not knowledge.’²

What is narrated about the memory of the traditionists may seem to us to be exaggerated. ‘Alī ibn Khashram narrates that he discussed with Ishāq ibn Rāhawayh (d. 238) the report of al-Sha‘bī saying: ‘Any black that I wrote on any white – I know it by heart; and it never happened that anyone narrated a ḥadīth to me and I asked him to repeat it.’ Then Ishāq said to me [‘Alī ibn Khashram]: ‘Are you surprised at this, O Abū Hasan? I said: Yes. Then Ishāq said: Then let me tell you about myself. I never wrote anything but [that by doing so] I learnt it by heart. And now it is as if I am looking at more than 70,000 ḥadīths in my book.’² He meant that he knew the ḥadīths by heart and could see them as if reading from his book.

The women memorized the ḥadīths of the Prophet as the men did. The wives of the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam*, and other women who heard him knew his sayings by heart. Some among them narrated a large number of ḥadīths, notably ‘Ā’ishah. Nor are these ḥadīths narrated by women short texts.

¹ AL-KHATĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Jāmi‘ li-akhlāq al-rāwī*, ii. 250. The bathroom expression is used because that is where books were never taken. ²*Ibid.*

Rather, some are very lengthy. We mentioned how Fāṭimah bint Qays was able to commit to memory the long ḥadīth of Tamīm al-Dārī after hearing it once, and for years she taught it to her students from memory. Al-Ṭabarānī compiled *al-Aḥādīth al-tiwal* (The long ḥadīths), which contains several narrated by women.

Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab, considered the leading Successor, was exceptionally knowledgeable of Prophetic ḥadīths. His daughter learnt all of them by heart. Abū Bakr ibn Abī Dāwūd (d. 316) reports that ‘Abd al-Mālik ibn Marwān (the Umayyad caliph (r. 65–86) asked for Sa‘īd’s daughter’s hand in marriage for his son al-Walīd. Sa‘īd refused the proposal, preferring to marry her to one of his impoverished students. He, the husband, said about her: ‘She was among the most beautiful people, and most expert of those who know the Book of God by heart, and most knowledgeable of the *Sunnah* of the Prophet, *salla l-lāhū ‘alay-hi wa-sallam*, and most aware of the right of the husband.’ Abū Nu‘aym (d. 430) has narrated that ‘one morning her husband took his cloak to go out. She said: Where are you going? He said: To the assembly of Sa‘īd to get knowledge. She said to him: Sit here, I will teach you the knowledge of Sa‘īd.’¹

Similarly, Imām Mālik’s daughter learnt all of his ḥadīths and memorized the whole *Muwattā*, the best book of its time combining ḥadīth and *fiqh* (jurisprudence). Al-Zubayr (d. 256) says: ‘Mālik had a daughter who knew his knowledge [the *Muwattā*] by heart, and she used to be behind the door. When the reader made a mistake, she would correct him.’ Muhammad, his son, was not drawn to study and scholarship. Sometimes he would pass by with his clothes in disarray. Mālik would say to his students: ‘Good manners are in the hand of God. This is my son and this is my daughter.’² Another Madinan who narrated extensively from Mālik among others is Ābidah al-Madaniyyah. She was famed for knowing a lot of ḥadīths by heart Ibn al-Abbār says: ‘She narrated a lot of ḥadīths.’³

¹ ABŪ NU‘AYM, *Hilyat al-awliyā*, ii. 167–68. ² AL-QĀDĪ QIYĀD, *Tartib al-madārik*, i. 109–10. ³ MASHHŪR, *Ināyat al-nisā*, 75.

While these prodigious feats of memory may appear, to us, to be exaggerated, they are likely to be accurate. It is a question of will combined with training. As of this writing, there are in Damascus 35 women who know the whole *Sahīb* of al-Bukhārī (including its chains of narrations) by heart. They are students of my shaykh, the excellent *muhaddith*, Nūr al-Dīn Iitr.

Writing

Initially the Prophet prohibited the writing down from him of anything other than the Qur'ān, lest it be mixed with the Qur'ān. Later, he allowed the writing down of his sayings. It has been narrated from him, from ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and other Companions that they said: ‘Secure the knowledge by writing.’¹

Writing was rare in Arabia until, from the early days of Islam, its importance was recognized. The Companions acquired this skill, and they began in it by copying out the verses of the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth. Women also took part in this effort. The Prophet himself instructed Shifā’ bint ‘Abdullāh to teach writing to his wife Hafṣah.² Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (d. 463) says: ‘[Shifā’] was among the virtuous and intelligent women. The Prophet used to visit her.’³ Similarly, ‘Ā’ishah and Umm Salamah, and many other women Companions were well known for writing. The letters of ‘Ā’ishah and Umm Salamah are recorded in the sources. Al-Qalqashandī (d. 821) has mentioned that a group of women knew the skill of writing, and no one from among the *salaf* objected to that.⁴

The art of writing spread rapidly among women from the beginning of the second century AH onwards. The biographical dictionaries affirm that writing and the practice of calligraphy were taught from childhood, that even slave girls became proficient in it. They used to do calligraphy on shirts, flags, banners, cloaks, sleeves, turbans, bandages, headbands, pillows, handker-

¹IBN ‘ABD AL-BARR, *Jami‘i bayān al-ilm wa fadli-hī*, 91. ²IBN HANBAL, *Musnad*, *Musnad al-nisā’*, vi. 372. ³IBN ‘ABD AL-BARR, *al-Isti‘āb fī ma‘rifah al-ashbāb*, ii. 740. ⁴al-Qalqashandī, as cited in MASHHŪR *Ināyat al-nisā’ bi-l-ḥadīth al-nabawī*, 114.

chiefs, curtains, sheets, beds, sofas, cushions, crowns, the frames of windows and doors, and many other things.¹

When, in the later centuries, people relied on the major compilations of ḥadīth, which not all could memorize, writing became essential. There are many examples of women who wrote books of ḥadīth in their own hand. Here I will mention a few examples of *muhaddithāt* celebrated for their calligraphy.

Fātimah bint al-Hasan ibn ‘Alī al-Mu’addib al-‘Attār (d. 480), also known by her *kunyah* Umm al-Faḍl and as Bint al-Aqrā’, followed the famous calligrapher Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 413) in the art and passed it on to many. The people referred to her writing as exemplary.² Ibn al-Jawzī says: ‘Her writing was extremely beautiful; she used to write on the pattern (*tariqah*) of Ibn al-Bawwāb. The people practised under her. She was invited to write the peace treaty [with the Byzantines]. She travelled for the writing to ‘Amīd al-Mulk Abū Naṣr al-Kindī [d. 456].³ Ibn Kathīr says: ‘She used to write the ‘*mansūb*’ calligraphy on the pattern of Ibn al-Bawwāb.’⁴ Al-Sam‘ānī says: ‘I heard Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī saying: I heard Fātimah bint al-Aqrā’ saying: I wrote a paper for ‘Amīd al-Mulk and he gave me one thousand dinars.’⁵ Evidently she was an important figure whose art was highly regarded and valued, and she travelled in this work.

Al-Sam‘ānī says about ‘Fakhr al-Nisā’ Umm Muḥammad Shuhdah, daughter of the famous *muhaddith* Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn al-Faraj al-Dīnawarī (d. 574): ‘She was from among the descendants of traditionists, distinguished, eloquent, and had beautiful handwriting. She wrote on the way of Bint al-Aqrā’. In her time there was no one in Baghdad who had handwriting like her. Usually she wrote for the caliph al-Muqtāfi [r. 530–55].⁶ Ibn al-Jawzī praises her calligraphy, her goodness and works of charity

¹ AL-WASHSHĀ’, *al-Zarf wa-l-zurafā’*, 317, 355 ² AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, xviii. 480. ³ IBN AL-JAWZĪ (d. 597), *al-Muntazam fī ta’rīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umām*, ix. 40. ⁴ IBN KATHĪR, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihayah*, sub anno 480. ⁵ AL-DHAHABĪ *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, xviii. 481. ⁶ AL-DHAHABĪ *Ta’rīkh al-Islām* (sub anno 570–80), 147.

through a long life.¹ Al-Ṣafādī (d. 764) notes her extensive knowledge of ḥadīth, her piety, God-wariness, benevolence and calls her ‘the calligrapher, the pride of womanhood, a *muhaddithah* of Iraq with a high *isnād*.² Her style of writing (*mansūb*) gained much popularity and was taken up generation after generation.³

Another late example is of Fawz bint Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Yaḥyā ibn ‘Alī from the descendants of al-‘Afīf ibn Manṣūr. The vizier al-Hādī ibn Ibrāhīm says: ‘She was one of the scholars; she had a novel handwriting. Her calligraphy is well-known in the Qur’āns and prefaces that are with us and with others also. She used to teach Arabic to her relatives among the men. Her grave is in San‘ā at al-Mashhad al-Āḥmar near the mosque of Ibn Wahb.’⁴

Writing marginal notes

Another application of the skill of writing was the women’s scholarly annotation in the margins of the books they studied. The great man of letters al-Jāhīz (d. 255) says: ‘Ja‘far ibn Sa‘īd the milk-brother and chamberlain (*hājib*) of Ayyūb ibn Ja‘far told me that Ja‘far ibn Yaḥyā’s *Tawqī‘āt* (concise writings) was mentioned to ‘Amr ibn Maṣ‘adah. He said: I have read the *tawqī‘āt* of Umm Ja‘far in the margins and at the foot [of the pages] of the books, I found them better in shortness and more encompassing in the meaning.’⁵

Comparison and correction

The people of ḥadīth were very strict about writing. They would accept a book only if it had been compared with the original of the shaykh from whom the book’s author says he is narrating. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī says: ‘I asked the qādī Abū l-Tayyib Tāhir ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Ṭabarī about one who finds [in his written

¹IBN AL-JAWZĪ, *al-Mashaykhah*, 209. ²AL-ṢAFĀDĪ, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, xvi. 190. ³See IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-muḍassas*, iii. 255–56. ⁴Abdullāh Muḥammad AL-HIBASHĪ, *Mu‘jam al-nisā’ al-Yamāniyyāt*, 162. ⁵al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, i. 106–07.

notes a reference] to a shaykh named and described in the written [notes] but he does not [now] know him. The qādī said: It is not allowed for him to narrate that writing. The writing from which one narrates must have been compared with the original of the shaykh from whom [the narrator] is narrating.¹ Hishām ibn ‘Urwah (d. 146) recalls: ‘My father would ask me: Have you written? I would say: Yes; then he would ask: Have you compared? I would say: No. Then he would say: You have not written.’ Abū Muḥammad Aflah ibn Bassām says: ‘I was with al-Qa‘nabī and I wrote down his ḥadīth. He asked me: Have you written down. I said yes. Then he asked, have you compared? I said, no. He said, then you did not do anything.’¹

Women traditionists adhered to the same strict practice. The great *muhaddithah* Umm al-Kirām Karīmah bint Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥatim al-Marwaziyyah (d. 465) is a famous narrator of *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Her version of it has always been particularly popular. She compared her copy with her shaykh al-Kushmīhāni’s original. Later she settled in Makkah, where the people came to her from everywhere and heard the whole *Saḥīḥ* from her. She would not allow anyone to narrate from her unless they had compared with her original. Al-Dhahabī says: ‘Whenever she narrated, she would compare with her original. She had knowledge and good understanding [combined] with goodness and worship.’² Al-Ṣafādī says: ‘Her book was very accurate.’³ Ibn al-‘Imād (d. 1089) says: She would be most accurate with her book and compare its copies.⁴ Abū l-Ghanā’im al-Narsī says: ‘Karīmah brought for me her original copy of the *Saḥīḥ*. I sat down in front of Karīmah and wrote down seven pages and read them with her. I wanted to compare [my copy] with her original by myself. She said: No, [I do not permit it] unless you compare it with me. Then I did comparison with her.’⁵

¹ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kiṣāyah*, 237. ² AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā*², xviii. 233. ³ AL-ṢAFĀDĪ, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, xxiv. 338. ⁴ IBN AL-‘IMĀD, *Shadharat al-dhabab*, iii. 314. ⁵ AL-DHAHABĪ *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā*², xviii. 234.

Chapter 3

Occasions, travels, venues for learning ḥadīth, and kinds of learning

This chapter begins with an account of the conditions and circumstances of the occasions, some public, others private, on which the women had an opportunity to learn the religion from the Prophet and his Companions. Next, it explains the precedents for travelling for the sake of learning ḥadīth, how those precedents were followed up in later centuries, and the different venues where the women studied. The chapter ends with a brief survey of the ways in which ḥadīths were learnt and diffused.

PUBLIC OCCASIONS

The women sometimes attended as a group. Shahr ibn Ḥawshab has narrated from Asmā' bint Yazīd that, in one such gathering, on seeing a woman who had on two gold bracelets, ‘the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – said to her: Would you wish God to make you wear two bracelets of fire?’ Asmā' says: ‘By God, I do not remember if she took them off [herself] or I took them off.’¹ The group could include young girls: Umm 'Alī bint Abī l-Hakam narrates from Umayyah bint Qays Abī l-Ṣalt al-Ghifāriyyah that she came among a company of women of the Ghifārīyyah tribe to the Prophet. It was the occasion of the Khaybar campaign and the women wanted to go to the battlefield in order to tend the wounded. The Prophet permitted this, saying: ‘With the

¹IBN HANBAL, *Musnad, musnad al-nisā'*.

blessing of God.' Then, Umayyah bint Qays tells her own part of the story:

Then we set out with him. I was a young girl. He made me sit on his she-camel behind the luggage. He got off in the morning and made his camel sit down. I saw the bag had got traces of blood from me. It was the first time I had a period. Then I sat forward on the camel [to hide it] and I was embarrassed. When the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – saw what happened to me and the traces of blood, he said: Perhaps you have had menstrual bleeding? I said: Yes. He said: Attend to yourself. Then, take a container of water, then put salt in it, then wash the affected part of the bag, then come back.' I did so. When God conquered Khaybar for us, the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – took [out of the booty] this necklace that you see on my neck and gave it to me and put it on my neck with his hand. By God it will never be parted from me.

It remained on her neck until she died, and she made a will that it should be buried with her. Also, whenever she cleansed herself she used salt in the water and she stipulated in her will that salted water be used for the washing of her [body before burial].¹

This ḥadīth demonstrates that the Prophet permitted women to accompany him at home and while travelling – in this case on a military campaign, when he was surrounded by an army of men. Also, in its account of a personal memory (and the necklace) treasured for a lifetime, it presents a striking example of how fondly the Prophet was loved by those who learnt from him. Their fondness mirrors his solicitude for them, and the tenderness with which he responded when someone came to him with a need. The respectful attentiveness that has ever since characterized the traditional attitudes of Muslim students before their teachers, male or female, is derived as much from the example of the women as from the men who attended upon and served him. Shahr ibn Ḥawshab has narrated from Asmā' bint Yazīd that she said: 'I was holding the rein of 'Aḍbā', the she-camel of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa*

¹IBN SA'D, *al-Tabaqat al-kubrā*, viii. 293.

sallam – when [verses of the] sūrat *al-Mā'idah* [were] revealed to him. Because of the heaviness of the revelation the camel's leg ('aduā) was on the point of buckling (*daqqa*).¹

Another ḥadīth from Asmā' bint Yazīd illustrates how the women, when they called on the Prophet while he was with his Companions, were not inhibited from putting their questions to him.

Asmā' said: May my father and mother be sacrificed for you, O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – I am a representative (*wafidah*) of the women to you. God has sent you as a Messenger to all men and women. So we have believed in you and your God. [Now,] we women are confined to the houses and bearing your children. You men [in what has been commanded to you] have been preferred over us by the *jumū'ah* and [other] congregational prayers, visiting the sick, attending funerals, [doing] hajj after hajj and, more than that, the jihād in the path of God. When [you] men go for hajj or 'umrah or jihād, we look after your property, we weave your clothes, and bring up your children. Will we not share with you in the reward? The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – turned to his Companions with his whole face, then said: Have you heard any woman asking about her religion better than this? They said: O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – we never thought that any woman could be guided to something like that. Then the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – turned to her and said: Understand, O woman, and tell the other women behind you that [a wife's] looking after her husband, seeking his contentment and going along with his assent is equal to all that [i.e. all that the religion has commanded to the men]. [Narrator's comment:] The woman went back and her face was shining with happiness.²

The hajj; hajjat al-wadā'

The hajj pilgrimage, considered from the viewpoint of its being a public occasion, differs from the daily prayers at the mosque in that it happens only once a year, and indeed for the vast

¹IBN HANBAL, *Musnad*, *musnad al-nisā'*. ²IBN AL-ATHĪR (d. 630), *Usd al-ghābah*, vii. 17–18.

majority of believers only once a lifetime. The restrictions that apply to women's attendance at the mosque – praying in clearly separated rows and, where practicable, having different entrances to the mosque building, etc. – do not apply to the pilgrimage. By contrast with attendance at a local community mosque, in the great throngs of Makkah and Madinah during the hajj period, there is relatively little chance of repeat encounters between men and women of a kind that might distract them from the normal purpose of going to the mosque. Accordingly, we would expect that the women who attended the hajj during the lifetime of the Prophet would have heard as many ḥadīths as the men heard on the same occasion. That is indeed the case, and there is a reassuring identity in the content of what is narrated by different routes from the men and from the women.

Hajjat al-wadā', 'the farewell pilgrimage', so called because it was the last hajj to be led by the Prophet himself, was his final major address to the Muslims en masse. It was attended by a very large number of women and children, as well as the men. It is an important source of ḥadīths relating to the faith in general and to details of the rites of pilgrimage in particular. Some examples of the latter:

‘Ā’ishah narrates that Asmā’ bint ‘Umays the wife of Abū Bakr, while going for hajj, delivered beside a tree. The Prophet asked Abū Bakr to ask her to take a bath and then to put on *ihrām*.¹ From this report the jurists have derived that women, even in the state of impurity can put on *ihrām* and the bath is a *sunnah* of putting on the *ihrām* and does not mark the ending of the state of impurity. In another ḥadīth, ‘Ā’ishah said: ‘I could still see stains of perfume on the head of the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – when he was in the state of *ihrām*.’² Because of this ḥadīth Abū Ḥanīfah and other jurists

¹MUSLIM, *Sahīb*, *Hajj*, bāb *ihrām al-nufasā'* wa *istibābābi iqtisāli-hā li-l-ihrām*; AL-NASA'I, *Sunan Hajj*, bāb *mā taf'alu l-nufasā'* *inda l-ihrām*.

²AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Hajj*, bāb *al-ṭib* *inda al-ihrām*; MUSLIM, *Sahīb*, *Hajj*, bāb *al-ṭib li-l-muhrim* *inda al-ihrām*.

have held that before making the intention for hajj or ‘umrah one can apply perfume, even if traces of it remain after putting on *ihrām*. In another ḥadīth ‘A’ishah reports: ‘We were in the state of *ihrām* with the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*. When a stranger passed by us, we would let down our head-covering [i.e. so as to veil the face], and when [the stranger] had passed us, then we would raise it [again].’¹ The jurists have inferred from this that for women in general (i.e. other than the Prophet’s wives) head-coverings may be worn during the time of hajj provided they do not touch the face. Yūsuf ibn Māhak narrated from his mother from ‘A’ishah that she said: ‘I said: O Messenger of God, should we not build for you a house in Minā?’ He said: No, Minā is a station of those who arrive earliest.² The meaning is that one cannot reserve a place for oneself at Minā. Mughīrah ibn Ḥakīm narrated from Ṣafiyah bint Shaybah, from Tamlik (a woman Companion who had a house overlooking Ṣafā and Marwah) that she said: ‘I watched the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – while I was in my upper room between Ṣafā and Marwah and he was saying: O people! God has prescribed the *sā’y* [the running between Ṣafā and Marwah] for you, so do *sā’y*.³

The hajj was also an opportunity to get answers to more general questions, not connected to the rites of pilgrimage. A couple of examples must suffice to illustrate how the women, in spite of the press of people, managed to put their questions directly to the Prophet.

‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās has narrated that Faḍl ibn ‘Abbās (who is reported to have been an exceptionally handsome boy) was sitting behind the Messenger of God during the hajj. A woman from Khathām came and began to stare at Faḍl, who stared back. The Prophet turned Faḍl’s face away with his hand to

¹ ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Manāsik*, bāb *fi l-muḥrimah tuqbatī wajha-hā*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Manāsik*, bāb *al-muḥrimah tusdil al-thawb ‘alā wajhi-hā*.

² ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Manāsik*, bāb *tabrīm ḥaram Makkah*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Manāsik*, bāb *al-nuzūl bi Minā*. ³ IBN ABĪ ‘ĀSIM (d. 287), *al-Āḥād wa-l-mathānī*, vi. 222.

prevent that. Then the woman asked: ‘O Messenger of God, God’s command to do ḥajj has become valid on my father when he is very old and cannot sit on a camel. Can I do ḥajj for him? The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: Yes. And that was during *hajjat al-wadā‘*.¹ Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh narrates: ‘A woman brought her child to the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – during his ḥajj and said: O Messenger of God, is there a ḥajj for this child? He said: Yes, and you will get reward [for that].’²

It is remarkable that the women were so intent on finding out what the religion required of them and then so zealous in preserving and transmitting what they learnt. Equally remarkable is the degree of conformity between their different accounts – the minor variations serve as evidence of their truthfulness in reporting what they remembered.

Shabīb ibn Gharqadah narrates from Jamrah bint Quhāfab that she said:

I was with *umm al-mu‘minīn* Umm Salamah during *hajjat al-wadā‘*. Then I heard the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – say: O my *ummah* (*ya ummatā*), have I conveyed the message to you? She says: My little boy asked why is the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – calling to his mother? She says: I said: My son, he means his *ummah*. And he was saying: Listen! The property of each of you, your honour, your blood [i.e. life] is inviolable to you as this day is inviolable in this town in this month.³

Rabī‘ah ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Huṣayn narrated about his grandmother Sarra’ bint Nabḥān who had been a temple priestess before embracing Islam:

She heard the Messenger of God in *hajjat al-wadā‘* on the day that is called ‘the day of the heads’ [i.e. the day of the sacrifice] say: What is

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ṣabīb*, *Hajj*, bāb *wujūb al-ḥajj wa faḍlī-hi*; MUSLIM, *Ṣabīb*, *Hajj*, bāb *al-ḥajj ‘an al-‘ājiz*.² AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi‘*, *Hajj*, bāb *mā jā‘a fi ḥajj al-ṣabīb*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Maṇāsik*, bāb *mā jā‘a fi ḥajj al-ṣabīb*; MUSLIM has narrated it from Ibn ‘Abbās in *Ṣabīb*, *Hajj*, bāb *sīḥat ḥajj al-ṣabīb*.³ ABŪ NU‘AYM AŞBAHĀNĪ, *Ma‘rifat al-ṣabābah*, v. 206.

this day? [The people] said: God and his Messenger know best. He said: This is the best of the days of *tashrīq* [10 Dhū l-Hijjah]. Then he said: What is this town? They said: God and His Messenger know best. He said, *al-mash'ar al-harām*. Then he said: Listen! the blood of each of you, your properties and your honour, are inviolable in this town of yours. Listen! I do not know, perhaps I will not see you after this day, so the nearest of you must convey to the furthest of you. Listen! have I conveyed the message? They answered: Yes. Then he made his way back to Madinah where he died.¹

PRIVATE OCCASIONS

Women had an advantage over men in being able freely to visit the Prophet's wives and using this opportunity to learn. Some examples have come earlier. I give here a few more:

'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ḥumayd has narrated from his father, from his mother Umm Kulthūm bint 'Uqbah from Busrah bint Ṣafwān that she said: 'The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – called on [us] while I was combing the hair of Ā'ishah. He said: Busrah, who is proposing marriage to Umm Kulthūm? I said: So-and-so and 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Awf. He said: Then why not marry [her] to 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Awf, for he is among the best of the Muslims and of their leaders? I said: Umm Kulthūm dislikes to marry someone who already has a wife; nor does she like to ask 'Abd al-Rahmān [to divorce] his previous wife, for she is her cousin. Then the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – repeated his suggestion and said: If she marries [him] she will be happy and she will rejoice [in it]. I came back and I told Umm Kulthūm. She called 'Abd al-Rahmān, and [her relatives] Khālid ibn Sa'īd ibn al-Āṣ and 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. These two married her to 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Awf.²

Zaynab, the wife of 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd, was an artisan, able to make some income by selling the things she made. This

¹IBN ABĪ 'ĀSIM, *al-Āḥād wa-l-mathānī*, vi. 92. ²ABŪ NU'AYM AŞBAHĀNĪ, *Ma'rifat al-ṣahābah*, v. 195; AL-HĀKIM, *al-Mustadrak 'alā l-Saḥīḥayn*, iii. 350.

is an important ḥadīth narrated from her by ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥārith, and worth quoting in full:

She said: The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – gave a speech to us women in which he said: Give charity, even if it is from your jewelry, because [otherwise] you may be the most [numerous] among all the people of the Fire on the Day of Resurrection. She said: My husband ‘Abdullāh was a man of light hand [i.e. of little wealth]. I said to him: Ask the Messenger of God for me – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – is it enough for my [giving] charity that I spend on my husband and on orphans under my guardianship? She said: Awe of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – was settled in the heart of the people; [for that reason] my husband said to me: You go and ask him. She said: Then I went out until I came to his door, where I found a woman from the Anṣār, her name was also Zaynab, and she had come to ask the same question. She says: Then Bilāl came out to us; we said to him: Ask the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – for us: is it enough for our [giving] charity if we spend on our own husbands and orphans under our guardianship. She says then Bilāl went inside and said to the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – that it is Zaynab at the door. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: Which Zaynab? Bilāl said: Zaynab, the wife of ‘Abdullāh, and Zaynab, a woman from the Anṣār. They are asking you about spending on their husbands and orphans under their guardianship. Will that be enough for their [giving] charity? She says: Then Bilāl came out to us and said: The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – says: For you there is double reward: the reward of [being good to family] relations and the reward of [giving] charity.¹

The circumstances of this ḥadīth are of particular interest in that they demonstrate that ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd – famous as one of the leading jurists in the early period of Islam – saw no harm in his wife’s going out for advice on a matter that he could have followed up himself. Also, the Prophet’s concern to identify the questioner is a reminder that knowing about the

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sabīh*, *Zakāh*, bāb *al-zakāh ‘alā l-zawj wa-l-aytām fi l-bijr*, MUSLIM *Sabīh*, *Zakāh*, bāb *faḍl al-nafaqah wa-l-ṣadaqah ‘alā l-aqrabīn wa-l-zawj*... .

questioner is relevant to identifying their need precisely and making the form of the answer appropriate to their ability to understand and willingness to act upon the advice. That in turn means that he did not disdain to take an interest in the personal circumstances of his Companions. His concern for them was not formal or abstract, but warm, intimate, and that is why, or at least partly why, he was so deeply trusted and loved by them.

Anas ibn Mālik narrates from Salāmah, who looked after the Prophet's son, Ibrāhīm, that she said:

O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – you convey all good news and glad tidings to the men, and do not tell women glad tidings. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: Have your companions [meaning other women] sent you for this? She said: Yes, they have commanded me to ask you this question. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: Will one of you not be content [to know] that when she is pregnant by her husband and he is happy with her, she gets the same reward as one who is fasting the day and praying the night in the path of God? [That] when she has labour pains, those who are in the heaven and the earth do not know what comfort has been hidden in store for [her]? [And that] when she delivers the child, for every sucking that child does, she has a good deed [added to her reckoning]? [And that] when the child causes her to wake in the night, she gets the reward [the equal of] of freeing seventy slaves in the path of God? Salāmah, do you know, who I mean by this great reward? It is for those women who are pure, righteous, obedient to their husbands and never ungrateful to them.¹

We know that the Prophet visited his Companions in their houses, that he called on his female relatives and, when there was a need for that, also on other women. Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Abī Ḥathmāh has narrated that the Prophet prayed in the house of al-Shifā² on the right side as one enters. He prayed also in the house of Busrah bint Ṣafwān.² On such occasions

¹ABŪ NU‘AYM AŞBAHĀNĪ, *Ma‘rifat al-sahābah*, v. 253. ²Ibn Shabbah AL-NUMAYRĪ (d. 262), *Akhbār al-madīnah al-nabawiyah*, i. 74.

the women of that house were able to profit from the chance to hear his judgements, to put questions and learn from him.

‘Abdullāh ibn al-Hārith al-Hāshimī has narrated from Umm al-Fadl that she said:

The Messenger of God – *ṣalla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – was in my house. Then a bedouin came and said: O Messenger of God, I had a wife then I married another one. My first wife claims that she has breastfed the second one once or twice. The Prophet – *ṣalla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: One or two actions of breast-feeding do not make anyone unlawful.¹

Yazid ibn al-Hād narrated from Hind bint al-Hārith, from Umm al-Fadl that she said:

The Prophet – *ṣalla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – called upon [her husband] ‘Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet, while he was ill. ‘Abbās wished to die. The Prophet – *ṣalla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: O ‘Abbās, O uncle of the Messenger of God, do not wish death. For if you are a good-doer you will increase your good deeds and that will be better for you. And if you are a wrong-doer, then if you are respite, you will have a chance to ask forgiveness. So do not wish death.²

The Prophet visited al-Rubayyi^c bint Mu’awwidh on the morning of her marriage. She narrates:

The Messenger of God – *ṣalla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – called upon me on the day of my marriage and sat down on [this] spot on this bed of mine, and two girls were beating *duff* and singing about my fathers who were killed in the battle of Badr. In their song, they said: We have a prophet who knows what will happen tomorrow. The Prophet of God, *ṣalla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*, said: As for this bit, do not say it.³

¹MUSLIM, *Sabīḥ*, *Raḍā'*, bāb *al-maṣṣah wa-l-maṣṣatān*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Nikāḥ*, bāb *lā tuḥarrim al-maṣṣah wa lā al-maṣṣatān*; AL-NASA'I, *Sunan*, *Nikāḥ*, bāb *al-qadr al-ladhbī yuḥarrimu min al-raḍā'ah*; AL-DĀRIMI, *Sunan*, *Nikāḥ*, bāb *kam raḍ'ah tuḥarrim*. ²IBN HANBAL, *Musnad*, *musnad al-nisā'*.

³IBN SA'D, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, viii. 477; AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sabīḥ*, *Nikāḥ*, bāb *darb al-duff fi l-nikāḥ wa-l-walimah*; ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Adab*, bāb *fi l-nahy 'an al-ghinā'*; AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Sunan*, *Nikāḥ*, bāb *mā jā'a fi i'lān al-nikāḥ*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Nikāḥ*, bāb *al-ghinā' wa-l-duff*.

Anas ibn Mālik narrates that the Messenger of God visited Umm Sulaym and did *nafl* prayer in her house and said: ‘O Umm Sulaym, when you pray *fard salāh*, then say *subḥān al-lāh* ten times, *al-hamdu li-l-lāh* ten times and *al-lāhu akbar* ten times. Then ask God whatever you want: for you will be answered with Yes, Yes, Yes.’¹ Anas ibn Mālik also narrates:

The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – used to visit Umm Sulaym and she would offer him something that she prepared for him. I had a brother younger than me whose *kunyah* was Abū ‘Umayr. One day, the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – visited us and said: Why is Abū ‘Umayr down-hearted? Umm Sulaym said: his *sa‘wah* [a small bird] that he used to play with has died. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – began to stroke his head and said [consoling him with a little rhyme]: O Abū ‘Umayr, what befell *nughayr* [the bird]?²

The Messenger of God respected Umm Ḥarām for his kinship with her and used to visit her home and take rest there. She was the maternal aunt of Anas ibn Mālik. He narrates:

Umm Ḥarām bint Milḥān narrated to me that the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – took rest in her house once. Then he woke up and he was smiling. I said: O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – why are you smiling? He said: Some people of my community were shown to me riding the sea like kings on thrones. I said: O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – pray to God that He makes me among them. He prayed and said: You are among them. Then ‘Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit married her and travelled with her to [join] the naval campaign. [On the way] she died after falling down from her mount.³

¹ IBN SA'D, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, viii. 426. ² *Ibid.*, 427; AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sabīh*, *Adab*, bāb *al-kunyah li-l-sabī wa qabla an yūlad li-l-rajul*; MUSLIM, *Sabīh*, *Adab*, bāb *istihbāb tahnik al-mawlūd ‘inda wilādati-bi*; ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Adab*, bāb *fī l-rajul yatakannā wa laysa la-hu walad*. ³ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sabīh*, *Ta‘bir*, bāb *al-rūyah bi-l-nahār*, IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Usd al-ghābah*, vii. 305. (The naval campaign, to Cyprus in 27 AH, took place under Mu‘āwiyah’s governorship during the caliphate of ‘Uthmān.)

The Night Journey of the Prophet took place when he was in the house of his cousin Umm Hānī bint Abī Tālib. The biographer Ibn Ishāq cites the ḥadīth from her that she said:

That journey took place when the Messenger of God was in my house. He slept the night there. He prayed *'ishā*. Then he slept and we also slept. When it was a little before the dawn he woke us up. After he did the morning prayer and we also did it with him, he said: 'Umm Hānī, I prayed with you in the night prayer as you saw in this valley. Then I came to Jerusalem and prayed there. Then he mentioned the whole story.¹

With the ending of prophethood the duty to teach, for which the Prophet had prepared them, was carried by the learned ones among his Companions and those after them who emulated them in virtue and piety. Women were among these teachers but here our interest is on their efforts as students. A substantial body of information about the qualities of the Companions and their teaching relies on those efforts. In his account of Unaysah al-Nakha'iyyah, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr says that she said about Mu'ādh's coming to the Yemen: 'Mu'ādh said to us: I am the messenger of the Messenger of God to you. Pray five times a day, fast the month of Ramadān, do the hajj of the House [in Makkah], those among you who can manage it. And Mu'ādh at that time was eighteen years old.'² Ismā'il al-Bazzār has narrated that Umm 'Afif said: 'I saw 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib wearing a red cloak like the cloaks of labourers; it had a white patch on it.'³ Abū Ubaydah has narrated from Lu'lū'ah, the freed slave of Umm al-Hakam bint 'Ammār that she described 'Ammār for them and said that 'he was tall, brown... broad-shouldered, and he did not change [his] white hair [by dyeing it].'⁴

The women visited scholars in their homes to ask them about matters of religion or guidance in it. Umm Ṭalq narrates: 'I called on Abū Dharr and I saw him – hair disordered, dusty;

¹ IBN HISHĀM, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyyah*, ii. 43–44. ² IBN 'ABD AL-BARR, *al-Iṣrā'*, ii. 708. ³ IBN ABĪ L-DUNYĀ, *al-Khumūl wa-l-tawādu'*, no. 132. ⁴ IBN SĀD, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, iii. 264.

in his hand, wool [and] he had two sticks that he was knitting with. I did not see anything in his house. So I gave him some flour and grilled flour. Then he said: As for your reward, it is upon God.¹ Abū l-Šabāḥ has narrated from Umm Kathīr bint Marqad that she said: 'I and my sister called on Anas ibn Mālik. I said: My sister wants to ask you something, but she feels shy. He said: She should ask, for I have heard the Messenger of God say 'Seeking knowledge is a duty'. My sister said to him: I have a son who is [spending much time] playing with pigeons. He said: It is the pastime of hypocrites.'² Bishr ibn ‘Umar narrates from Umm ‘Abdān, wife of Hishām ibn Ḥassān, that she said: 'We were staying with Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn as guests. We used to hear his weeping in the night [i.e. during prayer and supplication] and his laughter in the day [as part of entertaining his guests].'³ Āsim al-Āhwāl narrates from Karīmah bint Sīrīn that she said: 'I asked ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar: I have bound myself to fast every Wednesday; and the coming Wednesday is the day of sacrifice. He said: God has commanded fulfillment of vows and the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – has prohibited fasting on the day of sacrifice.'⁴ Ibn ‘Umar was indicating that she must do the fast as she had vowed to, but on another day.

‘Umar ibn Qays narrated from his mother that she called on ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr in his house while he was praying. A snake fell from the roof onto his son Hāshim, and coiled itself on his stomach:⁵

All the people of the house cried Snake! and chased it until they killed it. But ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr continued praying. He did not turn his face and he did not hasten. He finished his prayer after the snake had already been killed. Then he said: What happened to you? Hāshim's

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar aṣ-ṣālām al-nubalā’*, ii. 74. ² BAHSHAL AL-WĀSITĪ (d. 292), *Ta’rīkh Wāsit*, 70. 'Hypocrites' in Islamic usage means those whose religion is, by the standards of the Companions, enfeebled by other goals than doing God's will. ³ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, v. 335. ⁴ IBN ḤIBBĀN (d. 354), *K al-Thiqāt*, v. 343. ⁵ IBN ‘ASĀKIR, *Ta’rīkh Dimashq al-kabīr (al-Juz’ al-thālith min tarājim harf al-‘ayn)*, 413.

mother said: May God have mercy on you! If we do not, does not your son also matter to you? ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr said: Woe to you! what would have been left of my prayer if I had turned away?

Hajjāj ibn Ḥassān narrates that he and his sister called on Anas ibn Mālik. Addressing Hajjāj, his sister al-Mughīrah said:

You, at that time were a young boy and you had two plaits in your hair. Anas ibn Mālik passed his hand over your head and blessed you and said: Shave these two plaits or cut them off, because they are [in a distinctively] Jewish style.¹

Sometimes, following the Prophet's example, it was the scholars who would call on the women. Hazzān ibn Sa‘īd has narrated from Umm al-Ṣa‘bah that she said: ‘Abū l-Dardā’ visited us at the time of *fitnah* when we were gathered and said: Die, [so that] the rule of children does not reach you [i.e. Die, so that you do not have to live to see Muslims subjected to dynastic rule].² Ismā‘il ibn ‘Ubaydullāh has narrated from Karīmah bint Ḥashās al-Muzaniyyah that she said: ‘I heard Abū Hurayrah in the house of Umm al-Dardā’ saying: The Messenger of God said: Three things are [remnants from the time] of unbelief – excessive bewailing of the dead; tearing of the clothes; and accusing people about their lineage.³

TRAVELLING

Travelling for knowledge is among the higher qualities that the Prophet encouraged: ‘Whoever walks a way for seeking knowledge, God will facilitate for him a way to paradise.’⁴ It has long

¹ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Tarajjul*, bāb *mā jā‘a fi l-rukhsa*. Muslims are discouraged from imitating non-Muslims in matters and manners connected to the non-Muslims' religious symbols or worship. ²AL-KHATĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Talkhiṣ al-muṭashābih*, i. 406. *Fitnah* here refers to the civil strife among the Muslims from the latter part of the rule of ‘Uthmān through the rule of ‘Alī. ³IBN ‘ASĀKIR, *Ta’rīkh Dimashq*, *tarājim al-nisā’*, 314. ⁴MUSLIM, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Dhikr wa-l-du‘ā’*, bāb *fadl al-ijtīmā‘* ‘alā tilāwat al-Qur’ān; IBN MAJAH, *Sunan*, *Muqaddimah*, bāb *fadl al-‘ulamā’ wa-l-hathth ‘alā ṭalab al-‘ilm*.

been an established tradition among Islamic scholars, particularly among the *muhaddithūn*. Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d. 162) said: ‘God removes the trial from this *ummah*, because of the travelling of the people of ḥadīth.’ Imām Mālik has narrated from Yāḥyā ibn Sa‘īd from Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab that he said: ‘I used to travel for days and nights for a single ḥadīth.’ Naṣr ibn Marzūq narrates from ‘Amr ibn Abī Salamah that he said: ‘I said to Awzā‘ī: Abū ‘Amr [*kunyah* of Imām Awzā‘ī], I have been accompanying you all the time for the last four days and I did not hear from you except thirty ḥadīths. He said: Do you consider thirty ḥadīths little in four days? Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh travelled to Egypt [for one ḥadīth]: he bought a camel and rode it until he arrived there and asked ‘Uqbah ibn ‘Āmir about a single ḥadīth and came back to Madina. And you consider thirty ḥadīths little in four days!’¹

It is preferred that study begins with the scholars of one’s own locality, and among them those with higher (i.e., shorter) *isnāds*, with fewer narrators in the chain, bringing one closer to the original source. After that, one should go to hear and study ḥadīth with teachers in other towns. Ahmad ibn Hanbal commended travelling to get a higher *isnād*, and gave this example: “Alqamah and al-Aswad received the ḥadīth of ‘Umar through other people, but they would not be satisfied until they travelled to ‘Umar [himself], then heard [the ḥadīth] from him [directly].”²

Hajj journeys

Women also travelled to get the knowledge of the scholars of other towns. We showed earlier that women accompanied the men on some military campaigns and, despite the rigours of this kind of travelling, accumulated ḥadīths and *sunnahs* on the way. However, for obvious reasons, the major focus of Muslim travelling was, and remains, the annual pilgrimage to Makkah and Madinah. The *hajj* quickly became established as the occasion

¹ AL-HĀKIM, *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, 10–11. ² IBN AL-SALĀH, *Muqaddimah*, 148.

for scholars from different centres of learning in the Islamic world to meet. Sometimes, students of ḥadīth undertook hajj journeys with the primary intention of meeting the ulema.¹ The meetings and exchanges among scholars diffused the *Sunnah* widely and thereby gave an enduring cohesion and solidarity to the Islamic way of life. This cultural unity was, for all practical purposes, disconnected from political power and was therefore only very briefly, and only regionally, reflected in political unity. It is important to reflect on, and properly acknowledge, the central role of women, as scholars and teachers, and as the first resource for children growing up in Islam, in preserving and sustaining, and diffusing, the *Sunnah*.

We have seen examples of ḥadīths that the women acquired during *hajjat al-wadā'*. I give below examples of their learning, after the Prophet passed away, from his Companions and their Successors.

Al-Hakam ibn Jahl narrates from Umm al-Kirām that she said: 'There [during the hajj] I met a woman in Makkah who had a lot of servants, and she had no jewelry other than silver. I said to her: Why does no one from among your servants have any jewelry other than the silver. She said: My grandfather was with the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – and I also was with him and I had two golden earrings. The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – said: Two metals of the Fire. So no-one from our house wears any jewelry other than silver.'²

Yūnus ibn Abī Ishāq narrates from his mother al-Āliyah bint Ayfa' ibn Sharāḥil that she did hajj with Umm Maḥabbah. The two of them called on Ā'ishah, greeted her with *salām*, and asked her questions and heard ḥadīths from her.³ Abū Ḥibbān narrates from his father from Maryam bint Tāriq that she told

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ (*Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, viii. 457) says: 'A large number of ḥadīth students took journeys and their motive would not be other than meeting Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah for his imāmah and the highness of his *isnād*'.² ABŪ NU'CAYM AŞBAHĀNĪ, *Ma'rifat al-sahābah*, v. 407. ³ IBN SA'D, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, viii. 487.

him how she, among a group of Anṣārī women had called on ‘Ā’ishah during the ḥajj and asked her about intoxicating drinks and their ingredients and containers. This is a long ḥadīth. Abū Ḥibbān says: ‘My father narrated this ḥadīth to me when Maryam bint Tāriq was still alive.’¹

Kathīr ibn Ziyād narrates from Mussah al-Azdiyyah that she said: I did ḥajj, then I called on Umm Salamah. I said: O *umm al-mu’mīnīn*, Samurah ibn Jundub commands the women to do the prayer missed on account of the menstrual period. She said: No, they are not to do the missed prayer. The women used to sit [i.e. not stand to pray] for forty days on account of post-natal bleeding. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – never ordered them to do the missed prayer of that time.² Ismā‘il ibn Abī Khālid narrated from his mother and his sister that both called on ‘Ā’ishah during the ḥajj in Minā. ‘A woman asked her: Is it allowed for me to cover my face while I am in the state of *ibrām*? [‘Ā’ishah] lifted her scarf from her chest and put it over her head.³ She demonstrated in this way that only the head should be covered, not the face.

In later periods also, the ḥajj served as an opportunity to meet scholars and learn from them. One example is Maryam (also known as Umm Hāni, d. 871) bint al-Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Qādī al-Quḍāt Taqī al-Dīn al-Hūrimiyyah. She was a granddaughter of the qādī Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Qayātī, and the mother al-‘Allāmah Ṣayf al-Dīn al-Hanafī, born on 15 Sha‘bān 678, a Friday, in Egypt. Her maternal grandfather was specially solicitous of her education and took her to Makkah, where she studied ḥadīth with ‘Afīf al-Dīn al-Nashāwārī, Abū l-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭī; Shihāb al-

¹Ibid., 488. ²ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, Tahārah, bāb *mā jā’ā fī waqt al-nufasā*; AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi’*, abwāb al-Tahārah, bāb *mā jā’ā fī kam tamkuthu al-nufasā*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, Tahārah, bāb *mā jā’ā fī l-nufasā* kam tajlis; AL-DĀRIMĪ, *Sunan*, Tahārah, bāb *al-mar’ah al-hā’idh tuṣallī fī thawbi-hā*.

³IBN SA'D, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, viii. 494. ⁴AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *Daw’ al-Lāmi’*, xii. 156.

Dīn Zahīrah and Muhibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī. She continued her studies in Egypt.⁴

Women also undertook journeys that were expressly for knowledge. The famous expert of ḥadīth, much sought after for her high *isnād*, Shaykhah Umm al-Kirām Karīmah bint Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim al-Marwaziyah, (d. 463) travelled in the path of knowledge to Sarakhs, Isfahan, Jerusalem, and then to Makkah. Al-Dhahabī says: ‘Her father was from Kushmīhan then travelled with her to Jerusalem and returned with her to Makkah [...] [...] She studied *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* with Abū l-Haytham al-Kushmīhanī; she studied also with Zāhir ibn Aḥmad Sarakhsī and ‘Abdullāh ibn Yūsuf ibn Bāmūyah al-Asbahānī.’¹

Another scholar who made many journeys in the cause of knowledge of the religion is the shaykhah of high *isnād* Umm ‘Abd al-Karīm Fāṭimah bint Sa‘d al-Khayr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sahl al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī al-Balansī (525–600). Her life’s work contributed greatly to consolidating and extending the knowledge of Baghdad and the Islamic east before the catastrophe brought to this region by the Mongols. She was following in the wake of other great scholars who responded to the (earlier) disruption and destruction, wrought by the Crusaders and their occupation, by carrying ‘the knowledge’ westwards through Syria and the Levant to Egypt. It is improbable that Fāṭimah, who travelled so much and so widely, did not travel to the Haramayn, but the sources do not record that she did the ḥajj. Her extraordinary toil (she was attending ḥadīth classes from the age of four or seven) and achievement are a fitting summary of this chapter. Following an overview of the venues where women (and men) studied ḥadīth, the different ways in which ḥadīths were passed from teachers to students, and the documentation that accompanied this, I present a brief sketch of the scholarly career of Fāṭimah bint Sa‘d al-Khayr. The map accompanying this sketch should give some sense, both of the physical effort of covering such distances at that time, and of the ‘travel networks’ among

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā'*, xviii. 233.

scholars. While the sources do not specify the route of scholars' journeys, the line of travel as shown follows well-established trade routes and so is fairly reliable – Sa‘d al-Khayr, the father, was a merchant as well as a *muhaddith*.

VENUES

The sources record that ḥadīth classes were sometimes held in shops whose owners were scholars of ḥadīth or interested in ḥadīth. This practice was very popular in the early period (there are examples from Kufah, Basrah, Baghdad, Wāsiṭ and Damascus), but there are also examples from later centuries.¹ Gardens or orchards and farms were also used for ḥadīth classes, but we will mention these in a later chapter. *Ribāṭs*,² typically located on the edge of cities, functioned as retreats where people would go to deepen their knowledge and understanding, and strengthen their practice, of the religion. Ḥadīth classes were a core element of the teaching and well-attended, specially in the later period. Ribāṭ Qalanīsī (Damascus) was perhaps the most important one, where ḥadīth classes were held regularly and well attended by both men and women. Shaykh Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Sulamī's *ribāṭ* in Damascus was also popular: Shaykhah Rabī‘ah bint ‘Alī ibn Maḥfūz ibn Şaṣrā studied *Ḥadīth Abī ‘Amr ‘Uthmān ibn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī* there in 572.³ Khadījah bint Abī Bakr ibn Salmān al-Wā‘iz al-Hamawī studied, in a class of twenty students, *Abādīth Tālūt* of Abū ‘Uthmān Tālūt ibn ‘Abbād al-Sayrafi al-Baṣrī (d. 238) with ‘Abd al-Jalīl ibn Abī Ghālib ibn Abī l-Ma‘ālī al-Surayjānī in a Damascus *ribāṭ* in 610.⁴ Āsiyah bint Muḥam-

¹ An example: Asmā' bint Aḥmad ibn ‘Alam ibn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar al-Harrānī attended a class of 17 students on *K. al-Adab* of AL-BAYHAQĪ (d. 458) with Zayn al-Dīn Ayyūb ibn Ni‘mah ibn Muḥammad ibn Ni‘mah al-Maqdisī in his shop in the book-sellers' market in Damascus in 724.

² *Ribāṭ*: originally a 'border stronghold or fortress'. The duty to guard the frontiers of Islam is strongly urged in several Prophetic hadīths; many eminent Companions served as sentries in the *ribāṭs*. ³ LEDER *et al.*, *Mu‘jam al-samā‘āt al-Dimashqiyyah*, 305–06. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 119, 290.

mad ibn ‘Alī al-Dimashqī al-Iskāf studied *Amālī Ibn Bishrān* of Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Mālik ibn Muḥammad ibn Bishrān (d. 430) with Diyā’ al-Dīn Īsā Abū Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Maghārī in Ribāṭ al-Qalānisī in 703.¹

However, in all periods, the principal venues where women studied ḥadīth were their own or relatives' houses, or the houses of others, and in mosques and schools.

Houses

Women's study of ḥadīth began in their homes if anyone from the family or from outside would teach them there. The teachers could be men or women. Sometimes the women students would attend classes in the teachers' houses, a practice that has lasted to our time. I give a few examples from the later periods, as found in the sources.

It is recorded that in Damascus in the year 685, the shaykhah Umm Muḥammad Āminah bint al-Imām al-Zāhid Taqī al-Dīn Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī Aḥmad ibn Faḍl al-Wāṣītiyyah al-Dimashqīyyah (d. 740), studied at home with her father *al-Fawā’id al-Multaqazah wa-l-Fawā’id al-Multaqatah*, containing the ḥadīths of Abū l-Fath ‘Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Fath al-Khirāqī (d. 579), selected by Muḥammad ibn Makkī ibn Abī l-Rajā’ ibn al-Faḍl.² In Qāsyūn in Damascus in 718, Maṭikah bint al-Jamāl ibn ‘Alī studied *K. al-Shukr li-l-lāh ta‘āla* of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d. 281) with her maternal grandfather Abū Bakr ibn Zayn al-Dīn Abī l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Dā’im al-Maqdisī in his house.³ She studied, also with him and in his house, *K. al-Karam wa-l-jūd wa-l-sakhā’ al-nufūs* of Abū Shaykh Muḥammad ibn al-Husayn al-Barjalānī (d. 238).⁴

Among those who attended classes in the houses of others is Asmā’ bint Abī Bakr ibn Yūnus al-Dimashqīyyah (d. 691). She studied the *Hadīth Quṣṣ Sā‘idah al-‘Iyādī* in the narration of Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mu‘addil al-Rāzī (d. 525), with Ja‘far ibn ‘Alī ibn Hibatillāh al-Hamadānī. in

¹Ibid., 142, 149. ²Ibid., 67–68, 149. ³Ibid., 57, 61. ⁴Ibid., 106–07.

the house of Ibn al-Hilāl in 635.¹ Another example is ‘Adliyyah bint Abī Bakr ibn ‘Ābidh, the grandmother of Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-‘Aqrabānī. She studied *Forty Hadīths* of Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Aslam ibn Sālim al-Kindī al-Tūsī (d. 242) with Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ḥazm in the house of a fellow-student, Ismā‘il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sālim al-Khabbāz.² Sometimes student and teacher were both women and the teacher’s house was the venue: for example, Khātūn bint ‘Abdillāh studied the sixth part of *al-Fawā’id al-Muntaqāh al-gharā’ib ‘an al-shuyūkh al-‘awālī*, narrated by Abī Tāhir Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Mukhalliṣ, selected by Abū l-Fath ibn Abī l-Fawāris, with the aged shaykhah Umm al-Fityān Ḥantamah bint al-Shaykh Abū l-Fath al-Mufarrij ibn ‘Alī ibn Maslamah (d. ca. 630) in her house in Damascus in 628.³ Then again the class might be held in a house other than that of either student or teacher: for example, Āminah bint Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Rājih studied *Amālī Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn al-Ḥārith al-Bāghindī al-Wāsiṭī* with Shaykhah Umm Muḥammad Hadiyyah bint ‘Alī ibn ‘Askar al-Baghdādī (d. 712) and Sa‘d al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa‘d ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Maqdisī (d. 721) in the house of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Umar Ibn Ḥwād al-Maqdisī in 710.⁴

The scale of the women’s efforts with ḥadīth study in private homes may be gauged from the list transcribed below of the women who, with Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ṭarkhān ibn Abī l-Ḥasan al-Dimashqī, were teaching a very large class in the house in Damascus of Shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn in 627. The class was on some of the ḥadīths of al-Dibājī and others.⁵ Most of the teachers were women – it is likely, as the names show, that they were family of the house-owner. I have not transcribed the

¹ *Ibid.*, 75, 216. ² *Ibid.*, 140, 418. ³ ṢĀLIH IBN GHĀLIB IBN ‘ALĪ, ‘*al-Fawā’id al-muntaqāh al-gharā’ib ‘an al-shuyūkh al-‘awālī*, *Muqaddimah*. ⁴ *samā‘at* at the end of *Sittah majālis min Amālī al-Bāghindī*, 220. ⁵ MŪTĪ‘ AL-ḤĀFIẓ, *al-Madrasah al-‘Umariyyah*, 131.

names of the students (there are too many), but I counted among them 24 women. A copy of the document itself is on the following page.

Umm Aḥmad Amīnah
 Umm ‘Abdillāh Khadījah bt.
 Shaykh Abī ‘Umar b.
 Qudāmah
 Umm Ḥamzah Sārah bt.
 ‘Ubaydillāh b. Aḥmad b.
 Muḥammad b. Qudāmah
 Umm Ibrāhīm ‘Aziziyyah bt.
 ‘Abd al-Hādī b. Yūsuf b.
 Muḥammad b. Qudāmah
 Umm Ibrāhīm Āsiyah bt.
 Shujah
 Umm Muḥammad Zaynab bt.
 Aḥmad b. Ubaydullah b.
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b.
 Qudāmah
 Umm ‘Abd al-Rahīm bint
 ‘Abd al-Rahīm b. ‘Abd al-
 Wāhid al-Maqdisī
 Umm Muḥammad Ṣafiyah
 and Umm Muḥammad
 Zaynab bt. Muḥammad b.
 Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d b. ‘Abdillāh
 al-Maqdisī
 Umm ‘Abd al-Rahīm bt. ‘Abd
 al-Rahīm b. ‘Abd al-Wāhid
 al-Maqdisī

Umm Sulaymān Ā’ishah
 Umm Aḥmad Ṣafiyah and
 Umm Muḥammad Fātimah
 bt. Shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn
 b. Qudāmah
 Umm Aḥmad Ṣafiyah bt.
 Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b.
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b.
 Qudāmah
 Umm ‘Abdillāh Āsiyah and
 Umm Muḥammad Fātimah
 bt. Muḥammad b. Khalf b.
 Rajih
 Umm ‘Umar Fātimah bt. ‘Abd
 al-Dā’im b. Ni‘mah
 Umm Muḥammad Zaynab
 and Umm Aḥmad Āsiyah
 bt. ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. Aḥmad
 b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b.
 Ismā‘il b. Manṣūr
 Umm Aḥmad Zaynab and
 Umm ‘Abdillāh Fātimah bt.
 Makkī b. ‘Alī al-Ḥarrānī
 Umm Muḥammad Ṣafiyah
 and Umm Muḥammad
 Zaynab bt. Muḥammad b.
 Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d b. ‘Abdillāh
 al-Maqdisī

Names of women teachers, extracted and transcribed
 from the *samā‘* shown on the next page.

Samā'c of a very large class on some of the ḥadīths of al-Dibājī and others, held in the house in Damascus of Shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn in 627.

سورة نص الأنجازة

Mosques

Since the beginning of Islam mosques have had a central role in the transmission of knowledge and, formally and informally, served as schools for the community.¹ The Prophet's mosque in Madinah was the first madrasa in Muslim history. The Companions taught in the main mosques in Makkah, Madinah, Kufah, Basrah, Damascus, Jerusalem and Egypt. After them, the Successors did the same. Later Abū Ḥanīfah, his students and others scholars did likewise. Sometimes in a single mosque many teachers would hold classes, each at a different pillar of the mosque. Particularly well-known and revered teachers attracted huge numbers of students.²

Women attended the mosques as the men attended. Hind bint Usayd ibn Hudayr al-Anṣāriyyah learnt sūrah *Qāf* from hearing the Prophet recite it in the prayer. Ibn Jābir and ‘Uthmān ibn Abī l-‘Ātikah say: ‘Umm al-Dardā’ was an orphan under the guardianship of Abū l-Dardā’; she used to come to the mosques with Abī l-Dardā’ in two garments [i.e. her head was not covered] and she prayed in the men’s rows, and used to sit in the circles of the teachers learning the Qur’ān, until Abū l-Dardā’ asked her one day to join the women’s rows.³

One of the famous mosques where women regularly attended ḥadīth classes was Jāmi‘ al-Ḥanābilah, also known as al-Jāmi‘ al-Muẓaffarī in Ṣalihiyah in Qāsyūn, Damascus. The building of the mosque started in 598. Dr. Muḥammad Muṭī‘ al-Ḥāfiẓ has written a 720-page history of this mosque,⁴ including in it records of the ḥadīth classes held there, with the names of

¹This is true of all communities, mainstream and minorities; for an interesting account of the use of mosques by women of the Ibbādī tradition, see Muḥammad ‘Alī DABŪZ, *Ta’rīkh al-maghrib al-kabīr*, 406–07, and Badriyyah bint Hamad AL-SHAQSIYYAH, *al-Sīrah al-zakīyyah li-l-mar’ah al-Ibbādīyyah*, 21. ²For examples, see ‘AJJĀJ AL-KHATĪB, *Uṣūl al-hadīth*, 145. ³AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *al-Ta’rīkh al-ṣaghbīr*, i. 193; AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, iv. 278. ⁴MUṬĪ‘ AL-HĀFIẒ, *Jāmi‘ al-Ḥanābilah al-Muẓaffarī* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah, in 1423/2002). (See photo, p. 96 below.)

the many women who studied different compilations of ḥadīth. Another prestigious teaching venue was the great Umayyad Mosque in Damascus: here too women students attended the same classes as men. For example: Asmā' bint Ahmad ibn 'Alam ibn Mahmūd ibn 'Umar al-Harrānī studied, in a class of 20, *al-Majālis al-khamsah* of Abū Tāhir Ahmad ibn Muḥammad al-Silafī al-Asbahānī (d. 576) with Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar ibn Abī l-Faḍl ibn Naṣr al-Hamawī Ḏiyā' al-Dīn in al-Jāmi' al-Amawī in 724;¹ Qatlū al-Rūmiyyah studied, in a class of 43, the third part of *K. al-Qadā'* of Abū l-Hārith Surayj ibn Yūnus ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Shuayh al-Balkhī (d. 235) with four teachers – Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn al-Zakī 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Yūsuf al-Mizzī, 'Alam al-Dīn al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Birzālī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ghanā'im al-Muhandis and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Raqqī in al-Jāmi' al-Amawī in 733.²

Another important mosque where women attended ḥadīth classes was the Jāmi' of Bayt al-Abbar (Syria). An example is Ruqayyah bint Dāwūd ibn 'Umar ibn Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā al-Shāfi'ī, who studied – in a class of 22 – *K. al-Karam wa-l-jud wa sakha al-nufūs* of Abū Shaykh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Barjalānī (d. 238) with Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Musallam ibn Salmān al-Irbalī, in 631.³

Schools

Women also attended ḥadīth classes in schools. The registers of attendance show that most such classes were attended by male and female students together, and their teachers, sometimes of the same class, were likewise both male and female.

Among the famous schools where the women attended ḥadīth classes in large numbers was al-Madrasah al-ʻUmariyyah, founded by Shaykh Abū 'Umar al-Maqdisī in 557 in Ṣālihiyyah in Damascus. Registers of attendance at this school have been

¹ LEDER *et al.*, *Mu'jam al-samā'āt al-Dimashqiyyah*, 307, 106. ² *Ibid.*, 93, 478.

³ *Ibid.*, 106, 307.

compiled in the history of it by Dr. Muḥammad Muṭī' al-Ḥāfiẓ. Among the earliest documents relates to the year 604, when the famous teacher of ḥadīth Abū Ḥafṣ ʻUmar ibn Ṭabrazad taught several books of ḥadīth including *Amālī al-Qādī Abī Yaʻlā al-Farrā'*. The class was attended by Khadījah bint al-Shaykh al-ʻImād Ibrāhīm ibn ʻAbd al-Wāhid al-Maqdisiyyah and other women in a class of 124 students.¹

Another famous Damascus school of ḥadīth was Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūriyyah, where the shaykhah Umm Muḥammad Āminah bint al-Imām al-Zāhid Taqī al-Dīn Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm ʻAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Faḍl al-Wāsiṭiyyah studied *K. Tuhfah ʻId al-Fitr* of Zāhir ibn Tāhir ibn Muḥammad al-Shāhīmī al-Mu‘addil (d. 533) and *Hadīth Abū Tābir al-Ziyādī* with ʻAlī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Dāwūd ibn al-ʻAṭṭār al-Dimashqī in 724.²

Equally prestigious was al-Madrasah al-Murshidiyyah, where Asmā' bint Aḥmad ibn ʻĀlam ibn Maḥmūd ibn ʻUmar al-Harrānī studied *Majlis al-Biṭāqah* of Hamzah al-Kinānī (d. 357) with three great teachers of ḥadīth: the sultan Asad al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Qādir ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Ayyūbī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-ʻAbbās Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Hasan ʻAlī ibn al-Hasan ibn Dāwūd al-Jazārī al-Kurdī, and ʻImād al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Jabbār al-Maqdisī in 733.³

In another school, the Madrasah al-Mismāriyyah Asmā' bint Abī Bakr ibn Hamzah al-Mardāwī studied, in a class of 19, *Hadīth Bakr ibn Aḥmad al-Shirāzī*, in 688 – her teacher was Zaynab bint Makkī al-Harrānī (d. 688).⁴

In the sixth century, perhaps the most important centre in Damascus for learning ḥadīth was Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyyah, where, later on, renowned scholars like Abū l-Hajjāj al-Mizzī (d. 742) would teach. Women also attended classes there in large number. For example, Asmā' bint al-Imām Taqī al-Dīn

¹Ibid., 138, 289. ²Ibid., 125, 149. ³samā'at in *Majlis al-Biṭāqah* from *Amālī Hamzah al-Kinānī*, MS Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyyah, Damascus. ⁴LEDER et al., *Mu'jam al-samā'at al-Dimashqiyyah*, 50, 215.

Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jābir studied in a class of 28 the *Forty Ḥadīths* of Ḥasan ibn Sufyān ibn ‘Āmir al-Shaybānī (d. 303), with the head of the school, Hāfiẓ Abū I-Hajjāj Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Mizzī in 741.¹

Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ḍiyā’iyyah was another school of ḥadīth in Damascus. Here Shaykhah Asmā’ bint Muḥammad ibn al-Kamāl ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Maqdisiyyah studied, in a class of 34, *Amālī al-Naqqāsh* with the most famous teacher of ḥadīth at that time, Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Bukhārī in 660.²

WAYS OF RECEIVING ḤADĪTH

Ḥadīth experts distinguish eight ways of receiving a ḥadīth, with corresponding formulas that should prefix the transmission of the ḥadīth to someone else. Women made as good use of each of these eight ways as did men:

1 *Samā‘* (hearing)

The high tradition has been to hear the ḥadīth, together with the chain of narrators connecting it to the Prophet, spoken by the teacher. About *samā‘*, hearing the words of the teacher spoken from memory or from the teacher’s book, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says: “This type is the highest of all according to the majority of the scholars. Whoever hears from the shaykh, he can say: “I heard (*sami‘tu*) so-and-so say” or “he narrated to me (*badath-nī*)” or “he narrated to us” or “he informed us (*akbarr-nā*)” or “he provided to us information (*anbā‘-nā*)”.³ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī affirms, from this range of expressions, that ‘the highest expression is to say: “I heard”.⁴

When reliable books of ḥadīths were compiled, people started ‘hearing’ these books from their teachers, with the chain of authority going back to the authors of these books and from them to the Prophet. This way has continued to our time.

¹Ibid., 64, 216. ²Ibid., 111, 216. ³IBN AL-ṢALĀH, *Muqaddimah*, 80. ⁴AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kifāyah*, 283.

Whether the books are small or large, the originals of the books (manuscripts) have a chain of references, starting with copyist(s) of the particular work and ending with its author(s); most also have an appendix documenting the occasions of *samā‘* with a list of those who attended. It is from such documentation that one realizes how commonly women attended these occasions, and often children also.

It was a controversy among scholars whether or at what age children could be counted as having ‘heard’ and therefore qualified to transmit ḥadīth. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī discusses the controversy in detail and then concludes: ‘The majority of scholars hold that hearing of ḥadīth is allowed even for those who are less than this age [five]. And that is the correct opinion according to us.’¹ Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says: ‘What the practice of the later people of ḥadīth has been established on [i.e. the general rule for them] is that they write for a five-year-old or more that “he heard” and for less than five that “he attended or he was brought [to the assembly]”. What is proper in [this matter] is that the condition of each [individual] child be examined: if we find him above the condition of one who does not comprehend what is said, we will validate his hearing [...].’ Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ then gives an example of someone who narrated what he heard when he was a child, was questioned about it, and his account of what he understood not found wanting.²

‘Ā’ishah was certainly what we would call a child prodigy, and so her hearing of ḥadīths as a young girl³ may be considered out of the ordinary. But the examples of young girls listening to ḥadīth and attending assemblies for that purpose, specially in the later centuries, are plentiful.

2 *al-‘Ard*

The term *al-‘ard* (literally, ‘offering’) refers to reading out the text to the teacher. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says: ‘It is the same whether you read out, or someone else reads and you are hearing [it being

¹Ibid., 54–56. ²IBN AL-ṢALĀḤ, *Muqaddimah*, 79. ³AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kifāyah*, 58.

read out], or whether you hear [it being read out] from a book or from your memory, or whether the shaykh knows by heart what is being read out to him or he does not know but is [himself] holding his original or another reliable person in the class is holding it.¹ Al-Khaṭīb says: ‘Most *fujahā*² and all the imāms of the knowledge [i.e. ḥadīth] and *āthār* hold that reading to the teacher is like hearing from him.³ Imāms Mālik ibn Anas and Sufyān al-Thawrī also considered the reading by the teacher or the reading to him as the same.⁴

The best and most usual expression to indicate reception through ‘*ard*’ is to say: ‘I read to so-and-so’; or ‘it was read to so-and-so and I was hearing and he approved it’. One may also use the same expression as for *samā‘* on condition of proper clarification: ‘He narrated to us by our reading to him’ or ‘he informed us by our reading to him’.⁴ In later periods people used ‘he narrated to us’ for *samā‘* and ‘he informed us’ for ‘*ard*’. Ibn al-Šalāḥ cites Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Tamīmī al-Jawharī as saying: “This is the opinion of most people of ḥadīth, whose number cannot be counted. They made ‘he informed us’ an indicator of saying ‘I read to him’.”⁵

3 *Ijāzah*

Ijāzah is the teacher’s formal permission to someone to narrate from him all of his narrations or his writings. The *ijāzah* can be of several kinds. (a) The teacher gives permission to a specified person for a specified thing, with words to the effect that ‘I have given you permission [to transmit] such-and-such a book or what is contained in my list’. This is the highest type of *ijāzah*, and the later scholars are unanimous in allowing it.⁶ (b) The teacher gives permission to a specified person for an unspecified thing, meaning: ‘I have permitted to you all my narrations.’ The majority among traditionists and jurists allow it.⁷

¹IBN AL-SALĀH, *Muqaddimah*, 82. ²AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kifāyah*, 259–60. ³AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Ilm*, bāb *mā jā'a fī l-ilm*. ⁴IBN AL-SALĀH, *Muqaddimah*, 83. ⁵*Ibid.* ⁶*Ibid.* 90–92. ⁷*Ibid.*, 92.

(c) That the teacher gives permission without specifying who or what is permitted; something like: ‘I have given permission to all Muslims, or to everyone who has lived [and so could have heard from me] within my lifetime.’ This kind of *ijāzah āmmah* is disputed and usually disallowed without some limiting attribute.¹

About *ijāzabs* in general, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī says: ‘The people differ regarding *ijāzah* of ḥadīths. Some of them allow it, others do not. Those who accept it are more numerous. Then, of those who accept it, some differ regarding the obligation to act upon those ḥadīths [that have reached them in this way]. The Zāhirīs and some later scholars hold that it is not obligatory to act upon the contents of these ḥadīths because they are like unconnected chains, or they are like narrations from obscure people. The majority of the scholars say that it is obligatory to act upon them.’²

4 *al-Munāwalah*

Munāwalah (presentation) is that the teacher hands his original or what is in its place, to the student, or the student brings the original to the teacher, who then says words to the effect: ‘This is my ḥadīth or my book, so narrate it’. The condition is that the teacher transfers control, either by making the student the new owner or by lending the text to him so he can copy from it and compare with it. The majority of earlier and later people affirm that it is not allowed, for narrating ḥadīths got through *munāwalah*, to use ‘he narrated to us’ or ‘he informed us’, unless the terms are sufficiently defined. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says: ‘The correct and chosen opinion, on which the practice of the majority of scholars is [based] – and it is preferred by the people of piety and accuracy – is that they disallow using the expressions “he narrated to us” or “informed us” or similar to that, unconditionally. Rather, one should detail it, so he should say, “So-and-so has informed us through *munāwalah* or *ijāzah*” or like that.’³

¹Ibid. ²AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kifāyah*, 311. ³Ibid., 101.

5 *al-Mukātabah*

The term *mukātabah* means correspondence whereby the teacher transmits a written copy of his ḥadīth to the student; if combined with explicit permission to narrate the ḥadīth from him, it becomes like an *ijāzah*.¹ Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says: ‘Many great scholars of ḥadīth like Layth ibn Sa‘d and Maṇṣūr allow in *mukātabah* use of the expression “he narrated to us” or “he informed us”. But the preferred way is of those who say “So-and-so wrote to me”. This is the correct way and appropriate to the people of caution. Similarly if he says “he informed [us] by writing”.² An early example of a woman’s using correspondence is Umm ‘Abdillāh bint Abī Hāshim. She wrote to the Companion, al-Nu‘mān ibn Bashīr (d. 65) asking him what had passed on the tongue of Zayd ibn Khārijah in his last moments of life. In effect she was asking for a report of what al-Nu‘mān ibn Bashīr ‘heard’, and he wrote her a detailed letter in reply.³

6 *al-I‘lām*

The term *i‘lām* is used where the teacher informs the student that this ḥadīth or this book is his hearing or narration from so-and-so without explicitly permitting that student to narrate it further.⁴ Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says, after mentioning the difference of opinion among scholars about this: ‘The preferred opinion is what has been mentioned by many scholars of ḥadīth that narration of [ḥadīth received like] that is not allowed.’⁵

7 *al-Wasiyyah*

Wasiyyah is when the shaykh by a will at the time of his death or by other writing consigns his original(s) to a specific individual. Some scholars have allowed narration on the authority of a *wasiyyah*, but the majority, in the absence of explicit permission (i.e. an *ijāzah*) from the shaykh, do not allow it.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, 103. ² *Ibid.*, 104. ³ Abū l-Hasan ‘Alī AL-MA‘ĀFIRĪ, *al-Hadā’iq al-ghannā’ fi akhbār al-nisā’*, 83–84. ⁴ IBN AL-ṢALĀH, *Muqaddimah*, 104. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 105. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 105–06.

8 *al-Wijādah*

Wijādah (literally, ‘finding’) is a person’s discovering a ḥadīth or book, recognizing its author by the handwriting, then saying: ‘I found in the handwriting of So-and-so...’ In this case he is not allowed to use the expression ‘So-and-so informed us’ unless he has an *ijāzah*.¹ An example of *wijādah*, from the time of the Companions’ Successors, is that Hammām ibn Yaḥyā narrated that the mother of Sulaymān al-Yashkūrī brought out his book, and it was read out to Thābit, Qatādah, Abū Bishr, al-Hasan and Muṭarrif. Then they, except for Thābit, narrated the whole of that; Thābit narrated from it only one ḥadīth.² Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-Shāfi‘ī says: Samānah bint Ḥamdān narrated to me saying: ‘I found in the book of my grandfather al-Waddāh ibn Ḥassān, where he says: ‘Amr ibn Shimār has narrated to us from Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, from ‘Alī ibn Ḥusayn, from Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh, that when the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – sat down on the pulpit he would say...’³

Documentation of the samā‘ and ijāzah

It has long been an established tradition among the scholars of ḥadīth to preserve *samā‘s* and *ijāzahs*. These documents are a precious resource. The *samā‘s*, typically found appended to the book or written into its margins, contain a statement of the date and venue of the assembly, the name of the person(s) keeping the record and other details; description(s) of the teacher(s), a list of those who attended with their titles, *kunyabs*, names and genealogy; also comments such as who and how many attended all the sessions in a course of study without missing any, those who missed something, even those who were dozing or talking in class. The reproductions should give some idea of what these *samā‘s* look like; they vary greatly in style, some being very formal and written in an accomplished

¹Ibid., 106. ²AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kiṭāb al-Kabīr*, 354. ³Id., *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, xiv. 440–41.

hand, others in the style of notes squeezed in where place could be found and less easy to read.

To get an *ijāzah* a common practice was to circulate a formal letter of request or *istid'ā*. Below, I give partial translation of two *samā'at*s mentioning the shaykhah, Umm Muḥammad Āminah bint Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭiyah; in one, she is recorded as attending, the other as hearing. She was born in about 664.¹

She attended, when she was three years old, a class on *Forty Hadīths* of 'Abd al-Khāliq ibn Zāhir ibn Ṭāhir al-Shāhīmī (d. 549), compiled by 'Alī al-Shahrastānī, with the shaykh, Badr al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa'īd ibn Aḥmad al-Kirmānī al-Naysābūrī, who heard the book from Abū Bakr al-Qāsim ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Ṣaffār, in al-Jāmi' al-Muẓaffarī in Mt. Qāsyūn on Saturday 25 Ṣafar 667 with the reading of Najm al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā al-Shaqrāwī, and he gave her permission.²

She heard *Juz'* Ḥanbal ibn Ishāq from her father Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Faḍl al-Wāsiṭī, by his hearing from al-Shaykh Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Barākāt ibn Abī l-Sa'adāt al-Harīmī, by his narration from Abū Shākir Yaḥyā ibn Yūsuf al-Saqlātūnī, by his hearing from Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Shādhān al-Baghdādī al-Bazzāz, from Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Sammāk, from Abū 'Alī Ḥanbal ibn Ishāq al-Shaybānī. That was on Sunday 17 Jumādā al-Ūlā 673 at the house of the shaykh in Mt. Qāsyūn in Damascus.²

In both translations above, the names of others attending the class are omitted. Next, translation of an *istid'ā* and *ijāzah* document (see photocopy on the next page):³

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

It is requested from the favour of the master of the people of ḥadīth, – may God increase their number – to grant *ijāzah* to the *faqīh* Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah, for his

¹IBN RĀFI', *al-Wafayāt*, i. 343. ²*samā'at* in *al-Arba'ūn* of 'Abd al-Khāliq ibn Zāhir al-Shāhīmī, *takhrīj* al-Shāhīmī, MS Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyah, Damascus. ²*Samā'at* at the end of *Juz'* Ḥanbal. ³Translated from the photocopy of the *ijāzah* in MUTĪ' AL-HĀFIẒ, *al-Madrasah al-Umariyyah*, 97.

son ‘Abdullāh, his daughter Zaynab, the son of his son Ahmad ibn ‘Umar, for Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Rājih ibn Bilāl ibn Ṭsā, for his son Abū l-Fath Aḥmad, daughter of Āsiyah, and for their mother Āminah bint Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah, for all the ḥadīths that they received by hearing and then received by *ijāzah*, and the rest of what is allowed for them to narrate, without them [the shaykhs, giving permission and] being responsible for whatever invalidates the *ijāzah*. May they continue doing service [to the people]. Written in the last ten [days] of Ṣafar in 579. And praise is due to God alone, and His Mercy on Muḥammad the Prophet and His peace.

**الْمَسْلُولُ مِنْ أَيْمَانِ الْمَنَادِيِّ كَرِيمُ اللَّهِ الْأَنْعَمُ سَخْنُولَا بِالْجَهَانِ الْمُكْتَبِ الْأَنْوَارِ
أَيْمَانُ عَصْنَانِ الْمَنَادِيِّ قَدَسَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ سَقْرَهُ مُؤْتَسِفُهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ
شَفَقَهُ بَلْهُ خَافِهُ نَاجِهُ بَلْهُ حَسَنَهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ حَدَّقَهُ سَهَّلَهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ
بَشِّيَّهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ فَلَمَّا جَمَعَهُ شَهِيَّهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ قَدَّمَهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ
مَرَّ الْأَنْوَارِ مَرَّ هَلَّهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ لَمَّا مَلَّهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ
مَلَّهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ وَكَمْ وَدَهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ سَلَّهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ حَسَّهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ
لَهُ أَحَدٌ كَمْ كَنْجَعَ مَا سَأَلَهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ حَسَّهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ حَمَّهُ لِلْأَنْوَارِ**

Istid’ā and first words of the *ijāzah* translated above. (Detail of p. 97
MUTI’ AL-HAFIZ, *al-Madrasah al-‘Umariyyah*.)

I have given them *ijāzah*, may God guide them to His obedience, in all that they asked *ijāzah* for, after avoiding what can weaken an *ijāzah*. May God guide us and them to what pleases Him. Written by Muḥammad ibn Ḥamzah ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ṣaqr on 24 Ṣafar, 579 in Damascus, while praising God, Glorified is He, and praying for mercy and peace on our master Muḥammad, his family and his Companions.

Like that I [too] say [that] I have given them – may God increase their number, and guide them [to] what pleases Him in this world and the next world – permission for all my *masmū’āt* and *ijāzāt* on the way of the *salaf*, may God have mercy on them. It is written by Barākāt ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭāhir ibn Barākāt al-Khushū’ī al-Qurashī. That was on Wednesday 12 Rabi’ al-Āakhir 579.

Querying ijāzahs

The scholars discussed and queried *ijāzahs* both assiduously and responsibly. They did not allow narration unless the *ijāzah* was confirmed. Here is an example:

The great scholar of ḥadīth Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Ya‘mūrī ibn Sayyid al-Nās [d. 734] was asked: Who gave *ijāzah* to Ruqayyah bint Ismā‘il ibn al-Anmātī [d. 676]?

Then he answered: As for Ruqayyah bint Ismā‘il al-Anmātī, I have got some *ijāzahs* with her father’s handwriting in the year 612 and around that [year]. In none of these *ijāzahs*, is she mentioned. Rather in those *ijāzahs* are mentioned her brother Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘il al-Anmātī, our Shaykh and his sister Zaynab. There are *ijāzahs* of the year 614 where she [i.e. Ruqayyah] is mentioned. That means she was born around that time. And I have seen in the handwriting of ʻIsā al-Anmātī [so] that I do not have any doubt of it.

‘It is requested from the masters, the imāms, to grant *ijāzah* for the people for whom the *ijāzah* is requested in the page opposite to this, and for Ruqayyah bint Ismā‘il ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Anmātī. Everyone narrates all that is valid from their narration and words, and for them is the reward.’

It was dated at the end of Jumāda al-Ūlā year 614, and similarly, they grant *ijāzah* to Ṣāfi and Jumū‘ah, both brothers and slaves of Ibn al-Anmātī with the group, whatever has been asked for, according to the conditions of *ijāzah*. May God benefit all thereby. Amen. Below that is:

‘I gave them *ijāzah*, may God guide them, to narrate what they have asked with the condition of its validity. Written by ‘Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Faḍl al-Anṣārī.’

Below that is:

Like that says Muḥammad ibn Ḥibatullāh, ibn Muḥammad ibn Mu‘ammil al-Shīrāzī on 26 Muḥarram year 615 in Damascus.

Then Abū l-Faṭḥ ibn Sayyid al-Nās records other *ijāzahs* for Ruqayyah with full documentation and dates to make it clear that she had *ijāzah* from those shaykhs.¹

¹Muhammad AL-RĀWANDĪ, *Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Ya‘marī al-Ajwibah*, ii. 229–32.

FĀTIMAH BINT SA'D AL-KHAYR (?525–600)

Fātimah's father, Sa'd al-Khayr, was himself a scholar. One of his eminent students, al-Sam'ānī (author of *al-Ansāb*), describes him as *muhaddith*, *faqīh*, and righteous. He travelled from his home-city of Valencia, at the western end of the Islamic world, all the way to China. The reason for his migration is not given. It is most probable that as Muslim power in Spain waned further, Christian rulers were emboldened to make life for their Muslim subjects increasingly intolerable and for learned, pious Muslims impossible. Al-Sam'ānī¹ says that Sa'd al-Khayr faced much hardship, crossed many seas and, through trade, attained considerable wealth. He studied with many teachers in Baghdad, Isfahan, Hamadan and other places. He had several daughters (then, much later, a son) and was most particular about their attending ḥadīth classes, travelling with them extensively and repeatedly to different teachers. He also taught them himself.

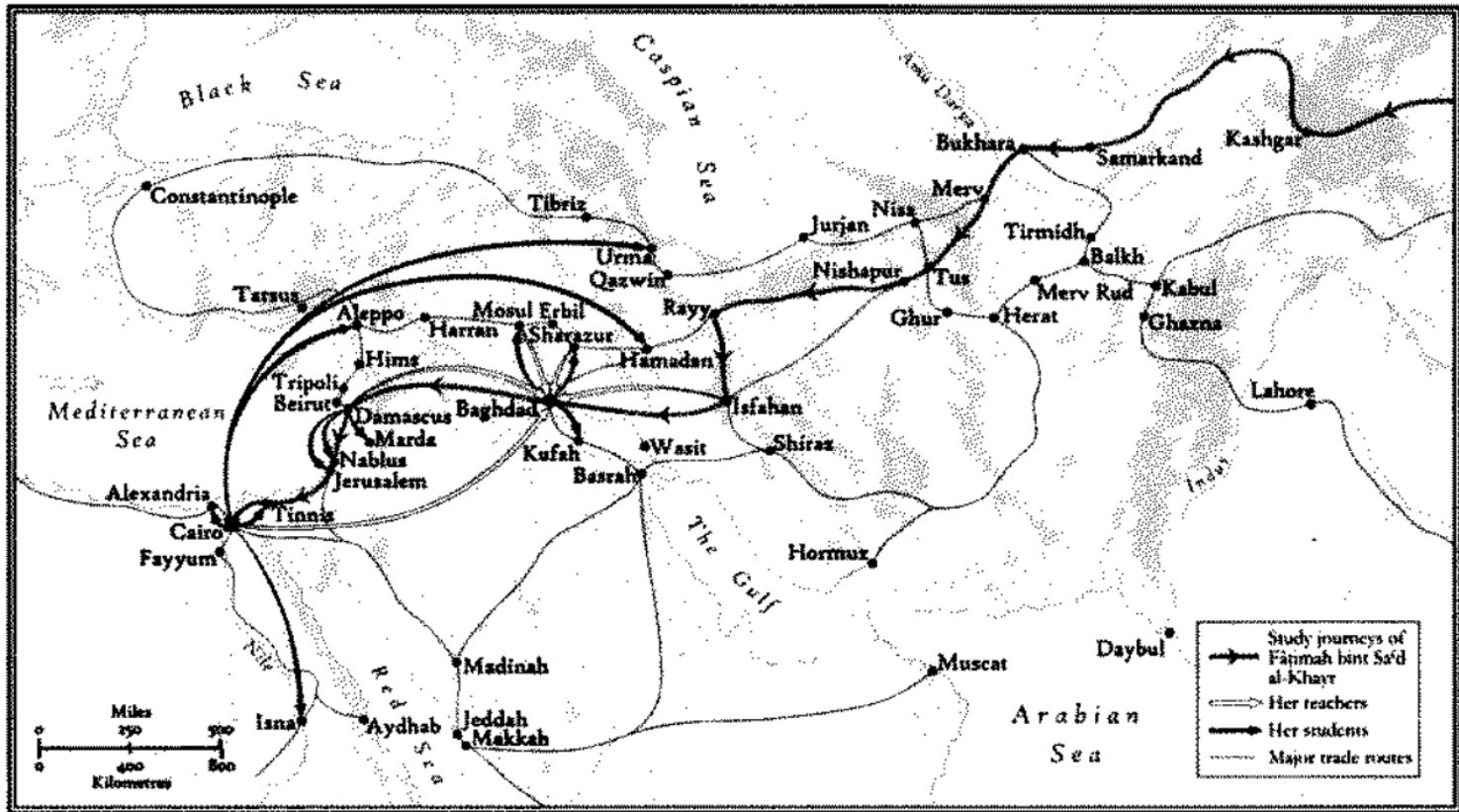
Fātimah's year of birth is given as 525; 522 is more likely.² The place is given only as 'in China', i.e. east of Kashghar. She began very young: a *samā'* records her hearing al-Darāquṭnī's *K. al-Du'afā' al-matrūkīn* in Dhū l-Qa'dah 529; a *samā'* at the end of a copy of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *al-Jāmi' li-akhlāq al-rāwī wa ādāb al-sāmī'* records her hearing it in Rabī' al-Awwal and Rabī' al-Āakhir 529. Al-Mundhirī notes that Sa'd al-Khayr took her several times to the same teachers to consolidate her knowledge.³

In Isfahan she studied with Fātimah al-Jūzdāniyyah, main narrator in her time of the compilations of al-Ṭabarānī. Fātimah Sa'd al-Khayr heard from her all of *Muṣjam al-kabīr* (printed now in 37 volumes) and *Muṣjam al-ṣaghīr* (2 volumes).

¹ AL-SAM'ĀNĪ, *al-Ansāb*, *in loco* 'al-balansī'. ² IBN NUQTAH, *al-Taqyīd*, 409.

³ AL-MUNDHIRĪ, *Takmīlah*, ii. 15.

The study journeys of Fātimah bint Sa‘d al-Khayr



In Baghdad, where it appears she was settled for a time, among her principal teachers were Abū l-Qāsim Ḥibatullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḫusayn, main narrator of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Muṣnad*, Abū l-Qāsim Zāhir ibn Ṭāhir al-Shahhāmī, Abū Ghālib Ahmad ibn al-Ḥasān ibn al-Bannā', and others travelling to the capital. The list of the books she mastered would be long indeed. After marriage, she moved with her husband to Damascus and from there to Cairo.¹ Much of her teaching career was based in those two cities, and many scholars travelled there expressly to study with her.

Fāṭimah married Zayn al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibrāhīm ibn Najā, one of her father's students who clearly impressed. He was born in Damascus in 508, and described as pious, noble, high-minded, of praiseworthy character, exceptionally eloquent. He was called *al-Wā‘iz* for his fame as a preacher, and *al-Rā‘is* for the social standing he enjoyed through relations with the Ayyubid court: he served as secretary for Nūr al-Dīn. The historian Abū Shāmā records that he was held in high esteem by both Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (famous for recovering Jerusalem) and his successor. Yet, despite the great wealth that had come to him, al-Dhahabī reports that Ibn Najā, died so poor that his friends paid for his shroud.² There is no account of how he unburdened himself of so vast a fortune. Perhaps he was very generous in giving it away and successfully concealed the fact. He died in 599, a year before Fāṭimah.

Al-Dhahabī says: 'She saw much honour and wealth.' Yet, neither father, nor husband, nor Fāṭimah herself appear to have been distracted by that wealth into any indiscipline or indolence. To the end of her life, she remained active in diffusing her vast body of knowledge. Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘il, later famed as Khaṭīb Mardā, carried to his home city her teaching of *Muṣnad Abī Ya‘lā*,³ *Hadīth al-Khiraqī*,⁴ *Ziyādāt Amālī Imām Mālik*,⁵ and

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām* (*sub anno* 591–600), 461. ²Id., *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, xxi. 393–96. ³IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 482–83.

⁴Ibid., i. 263. ⁵Ibid., ii. 114.

other works. Ismā'īl ibn 'Azzūn¹ read with her al-Tabarānī's *Mu'jam al-kabīr*, as did Dīyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī,² who carried it to Damascus. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid ibn 'Allāq studied with her *Hadīth al-Qudūrī*,³ *Fawā'id Abū Nasr*,⁴ and *Juz' al-Ghīrīfī*.⁵ His home-city was in Egypt. Her knowledge of ḥadīth passed to Tinnīs in Egypt through Abū l-Qāsim ibn Ḥusayn al-Qurashī al-Tinnīsī;⁶ to Hamadan through the jurist Abū Muḥammad Ishāq ibn Muḥammad al-Hamadānī; through Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Qāsim al-Jītī to Jīt (near Nablus).⁷ It is not practical to try to list here all her students or all the places they came from and returned to with her teaching. The entry for Fāṭimah bint Sa'd al-Khayr in the Dictionary that I have compiled of the *Muhaddithāt* runs to 20 pages.

She died in Cairo in the year 600, at the age of 78. She was buried below the mountain called Muqattam.⁸



Courtyard, al-Jāmi' al-Hanābilah al-Muzaaffarī, Damascus.
(Photo: Yahya Michot)

¹ *Ibid.* ² *Ibid.*, ii. 383–84. ³ *Ibid.*, i. 322. ⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 329. ⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 212. ⁶ AL-MUNDHIRI, *Takmilah*, ii. 50. ⁷ *Ibid.*, iii. 283. ⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 14.

Chapter 4

The women's teachers

The women were not restricted to learning from only other women. It appears rather that they studied with whoever they had the opportunity to study with. The minimum required of women in looking for teachers is well set out by Ibn al-Jawzī. He says:

The woman has [the same] duty as the man; so it is [incumbent] upon her to learn about her duties and obligations until she is firm and sure how to perform them. If she has a father or brother, or husband or any blood relation who can teach her the obligations of the religion and instruct her in how to do her duties, that will suffice her. If there is no one there [among close family] she must ask others [outside the family] and learn from them. If she is able to find a woman who can teach her, she will learn from her. If not, she will learn from the old and elderly men without privacy: and she will suffice with what is necessary [for her to know]. [After that] whenever any new situation arises about her religion she should ask and not be shy; for God does not shy from the truth.¹

For women who desired to go further or to specialize, it was permitted to study with younger teachers if the teaching was done in an open way, within the Shari'ah bounds. Typically, the women would begin with the knowledgeable women or men of the household, then continue with local teachers outside the family circle, and then to such teachers as might be visiting the locality, and finally teachers in other towns and cities. Some details follow in the examples below. The examples have been

¹IBN AL-JAWZI (d. 597), *Aḥkām al-nisā'*, 131.

chosen principally to demonstrate that this practice was consistent in all periods and in different regions.

TEACHERS WITHIN THE FAMILY CIRCLE

From the outset women learnt ḥadīth from their mothers – the Companions taught their daughters, who were their Successors. ‘Abd Rabbih ibn al-Ḥakam has narrated from the daughter of Ruqayqah from her mother that she said: ‘When the Prophet – *salla-l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – came seeking victory at Ṭā’if, he came to me [...]’¹ and then she mentioned the whole ḥadīth. Hubābah bint ‘Ajlān also got ḥadīth from her mother: She has narrated from Hubābah bint ‘Ajlān from her mother, Umm Ḥafṣ, from Ṣafiyah bint Jarīr, from Umm Ḥakīm bint Waddā‘ that she said: ‘I heard the Messenger of God – *salla-l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – saying: The prayer of a father passes the curtain’,² meaning that it reaches God directly, without being mediated or impeded. Similarly, in later centuries women learnt from their mothers: Altī bint Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad learnt ḥadīth from her mother, the great *muhaddithah*, Umm Muḥammad ‘Ā’ishah bint Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Īsā al-Ḥanafī (d. 793). One of the ḥadīth works that she studied with her was *Fawā’id* of Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim (d. 378) in Muḥarram 793 in the Madrasah al-Khatūniyyah al-Burāniyyah.³

Among women from the earlier period who studied with their fathers are: Buhaysah al-Fuzāriyyah (*tābi‘iyyah*), who narrated from her father from the Prophet;⁴ Jabalah bint Muṣaffah al-Āmiriyyah (*tābi‘iyyah*), who narrated from her father from ‘Ali;⁵ and Ḥafṣah bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.⁶ In the later centuries: Hind bint Ja‘far ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq (5th c.)

¹IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Usd al-ghābah*, v. 454. ²IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Du‘ā*, bāb *da‘wat al-wālid wa da‘wat al-mazlūm*. ³See Abū Aḥmad AL-ḤĀKIM, *Fawā’id* (*mā itṭasala ilay-nā*), 100. ⁴AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 138. ⁵IBN HAJAR, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, xii. 434. ⁶AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 153.

studied with her father;¹ Umm Salamah Āminah studied with her father, Abū Sa‘īd Ḥasan ibn Ishāq ibn Bulbul al-Naysābūrī (d. 348);² Wara‘ studied with her father Ahmād ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Khallāl (5th c.);³ Lu‘lu‘ah studied the whole *al-Arba‘īn ḥadīth min al-musāwāt mustakhrājah ‘an thiqāt al-ruwāt* of Ḥāfiẓ Ibn ‘Asākir, with her famous father, Shaykh Imād al-Dīn ibn ‘Asākir al-Dimashqī in 718;⁴ Amat al-Rahīm al-Yūnīniyyah (d. 739) studied the women's ḥadīth from *Musnād* of Ahmād ibn Ḥanbal with her father, the great *muhaddith* and jurist Muḥammad ibn Ahmād al-Yūnīnī (8th c.);⁵ in India the great scholar of ḥadīth and *fiqh*, Khadījah al-Dihlawiyyah (early 14th c.) studied ḥadīth and other subjects with her father, Imām Muḥammad Ishāq al-Dihlawī (d. 1262).

There are women who received knowledge of ḥadīth from their grandmothers. For example, Āminah bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Laylā narrated from her grandmother Umm Laylā that she said: 'We pledged allegiance to the Prophet – *salla-l-lāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam*'.⁶ The *muhaddithah* and jurist Fāṭimah bint al-Mundhir ibn al-Zubayr got many ḥadīths from her grandmother Asmā' bint Abī Bakr, which she then passed on to her students.⁷ A later *muhaddithah*, Asmā' bint Abī Bakr ibn Hamzah al-Mardawī studied *Hadīth Abū Bakr ibn Abmad al-Shirāzī* with her grandmother, Zaynab bint Makkī ibn ‘Alī ibn Kāmil al-Harrānī (the teacher of al-Mizzī, Ibn Taymiyyah and al-Dhahabī) in Madrasah al-Mismariyyah in Jumādah al-Ūlā 688.⁸ She also studied other books with her.⁹ Umm al-Khayr bint ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Zahīrah al-Qurashī studied *Nuskhah Abī Mu‘āwiyah*, *Nuskhah Bakkār ibn Qutaybah* and *al-Masābih* of al-Baghawī

¹ IBN ‘ASĀKIR, *Ta’rīkh Dimashq*, (*tarājim al-nisā’*) 436. ² See the account of al-Ḥasan ibn Ishāq ibn Bulbul in IBN AL-‘ADĪM, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 2295–98. ³ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām* (*sub anno* 561–70), 402. ⁴ See IBN ‘ASĀKIR, *al-Arba‘īn ḥadīth min al-musāwāt mustakhrājah ‘an al-ruwāt*, 228. ⁵ AL-DHAHABĪ *Muj̄am al-shuyūkh*, i. 189. ⁶ IBN HIBBĀN, *K. al-Thiqāt*, iv. 63. ⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 301. ⁸ See LEDER et al., *Mu‘jam al-samā‘at al-Dimashqiyyah*, 50, 215. ⁹ See *ibid.*, 139, 215.

(d. 494) with her maternal grandmother, Umm al-Hasan bint Ahmad ibn Qāsim al-Harāzī in Makkah in 762.¹

Among the women who received ḥadīth from their grandfathers is Munyah bint ‘Ubayd ibn Abī Barazah al-Aslāmī. Umm al-Aswad has narrated from Munyah bint ‘Ubayd that she narrated from her grandfather Abū Barazah that he said: ‘The Messenger of God – *salla-l-lāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam* – said: Whoever consoles a woman who has lost her child, God will grant him a cloak to wear in paradise.’² Umm Abān Hind bin al-Wāzī‘ ibn Zārī‘ also received ḥadīth from her grandfather, the Companion, Zārī‘ ibn ‘Āmir al-‘Abdi.³ Duḥaybah and Ṣafiyah, daughters of ‘Ulaybah al-‘Anbāriyyah, got ḥadīth from their grandfather Ḥarmalah ibn ‘Abdillāh al-‘Anbārī, a Companion, and also from their father’s grandmother, Qaylah bint Makhramah, another Companion.⁴ Sitt al-‘Arab bint Muḥammad ibn Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bukhārī (d. 690) studied a lot of books of ḥadīth with her grandfather Abū l-Hasan Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn al-Bukhārī (d. 767, a teacher of al-Mizzī and Ibn Taymiyyah). Among the books she studied with him are: the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *al-Sunan al-kubrā* of al-Bayhaqī and *Fawā’id Sammūyah*.⁵

Marriage did not stop women from continuing their study of the *Sunnah*. Indeed, some of them turned to their husbands to improve their store of knowledge (examples of husbands learning from wives will come in a later chapter). Buqayrah, wife of the great Companion Salmān al-Fārisī received and narrated ḥadīth from him.⁶ So also did Jumānah bint al-Musayyab ibn Najabah, wife of the Companion Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān.⁷ Similarly, Zaynab bint Ka'b ibn ‘Ujrāh, wife of the famous scholar among the Companions, Abū Sa‘id al-Khudrī, received ḥadīth from him, copiously recorded in the major

¹IBN FAHD, *al-Durr al-kamīn*, 1594. ²AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Sunan*, *Janā’iz*, bāb ākhar fi fadl al-ta‘ziyah. ³IBN HAJAR, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, xii. 485. ⁴AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 168. ⁵TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀSĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 375. ⁶IBN SA‘D, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, iv. 92. ⁷IBN MĀKŪLĀ (d. 475), *al-Ikmāl fi raf‘ al-irtiyāb*, ii. 532.

ḥadīth compilations.¹ Among the Successors, Umm al-Dardā² al-Ṣughrā received many ḥadīths from her husband Abū l-Dardā³. Ṣafiyyah bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Makhzūmiyyah al-Makkiyyah heard directly from her husband *Musalsal bi-l-awwaliyyah*, in Rabi‘ al-Awwal 743.⁴ Sitt al-Fuqahā⁵ bint Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭīyyah studied *Amālī Ibn Bisrān* of Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Bisrān (d. 430) with her husband Diyā⁶ al-Dīn Ḥisā ibn Abī Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Maghārī al-Ḥanbalī in Ribāt al-Qalānisī on 22 Ṣafar 703.⁷ Zaynab bint Ismā‘il ibn Aḥmad studied *Hadīth* of Abū ‘Amr Uthmān ibn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 345) with her husband Qādī Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn Ḥamzah al-Maqdisī in his house in 715.⁸ Dunyā bint Ḥasan ibn Balbān studied *Hadīth Abū Husayn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Walīd al-Kilabī* (d. 396) with her husband the great *mubaddith* and historian ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Birzālī in 728.⁹

Women received ḥadīth also from other members of the family and household – brothers, sisters, aunts and uncles, on the father's or the mother's side – and slaves received ḥadīth from their masters or mistresses. The great *mubaddithah* and jurist, Umm Hudhayl Ḥafṣah bint Sirīn, sister of the renowned Muḥammad ibn Sirīn, received ḥadīth from her master Anas ibn Mālik.¹⁰ Hishām ibn Hassān from Iyās ibn Mu‘awiyah saying: ‘I did not meet anyone whom I can prefer over Ḥafṣah’. He was asked: ‘What about Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Muḥammad ibn Sirīn?’ He said: ‘As for me I do not prefer anyone over her. She learnt the Qur‘ān by heart when she was twelve years old.’¹¹ Though born a slave, Ḥafṣah bint Sirīn made the best of the opportunity presented to her and became one of the most important scholars of her time. Some considered her superior to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Her ḥadīths from her master are in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. For

¹ IBN HAJAR, *al-Īṣābah fī l-tamyīz al-ṣahābah*, viii. 97. ² TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀṢĪ, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, vi. 41. ³ See LEDER et al., *Mu‘jam al-samā‘at al-Dimashqīyyah*, 142, 319. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 110. 312. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 130, 304. ⁶ IBN ḤIBBĀN, *K. al-Thiqāt*, iv. 194. ⁷ AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 152.

example, ‘Āsim narrates from her from Anas that the Prophet said: ‘Plague is martyrdom for every Muslim.’¹

TEACHERS OF THE LOCALITY

After learning within the near circle, the women would study with other teachers in their town. Again, the example was set by the first generations of Muslims: the Successors in Madinah narrated from the Companions, including wives of the Prophet. Similarly, in every city where the Muslims settled, the women received knowledge of the *Sunnah* from the scholars in that locality. The first three centuries are full of examples, but here I will mention examples from the later centuries:

Jumuaḥ bint Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maḥmiyyah of Nishapur received the ḥadīth from the teachers of her town.² Shaykhah Asmā’ bint Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Dimashqiyah (d. 595) studied ḥadīth with the judge of her home town Abū l-Mufaḍḍal Yaḥyā ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qurashī and Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Ḥamzah al-Sulamī.³ Umm al-Rajā’ Zubaydah bint Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad of Isfahan studied ḥadīth with the teachers of her town, Abū l-Husayn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dhakwānī, Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Qāsim ibn al-Faḍl al-Thaqafī and Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad al-Simsār.⁴ The famous tenth century ḥadīth expert from Baghdad, Shuhdah bint al-Muḥaddith Abī Naṣr Aḥmad ibn al-Faraj ibn ‘Umar al-Dīnawārī, studied ḥadīth with the famous teachers of Baghdad, Tīrād ibn Muḥammad al-Zaynabī, Ibn Ṭalḥah al-Ni‘ālī, Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb, Abū l-Khaṭṭāb ibn al-Batīr, Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Yūsuf, al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Salmān al-Daq-qāq, Thābit Bundar, Abū Yāsir Aḥmad, Abū l-Wāhid ibn ‘Alwān al-Shaybānī, Ja‘far al-Sarrāj, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Ḥarīṣah, Manṣūr ibn Ḥayd al-Naysābūrī, Abū l-Barakāt

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Tibb*, bāb mā yudhkaru fi al-ṭā‘ūn. ² AL-ṢAYRAFĪNĪ (d. 641), *al-Muntakhab min kitāb al-Siyāq li ta‘rīkh Nasīyābūr*, 183. ³ AL-MUNDHIRĪ, *al-Takmilah li-wafayāt al-naqlah*, i. 314. ⁴ AL-SAM‘ĀNĪ, *al-Muntakhab min Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh*, iii. 1883.

Hamd ibn 'Abdillāh al-Wakīl, Abū Ghālib al-Bāqillānī and a sizeable group of others.¹ Zāhidah bint Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Mawsilī al-Khabbāz studied *Intikāb al-Tabarānī li-ibni-hi 'alā Ibn Fāris* with 21 teachers in 718.² 'Ā'ishah bint Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī the great *muhaddithah* of her time studied with Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Hajjār: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *K. Dhamm al-kalām* of al-Harawī, *Juz'* *Abī l-Jabm*, *Amālī Ibn al-Naṣrī*, *Musnad 'Umar* of al-Najjād, *al-Arba'ūn al-Ājurriyyah*, *Musnad 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd*, with Qādī Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Ghanī: *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; with 'Abd al-Qādir ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Mu'aḍḍam Ḥisā al-Ayyūbī: the whole of the *Sīrah* by Ibn Ishāq in the rescension of Ibn Hishām, and *Juz'* *al-Bitāqah*.³

VISITING TEACHERS

Women also received ḥadīth from teachers visiting their towns. As before, the practice has the best precedent. On her way back from the Battle of the Camel, 'Ā'ishah stayed as the guest of Ṣafiyah bint al-Ḥārith al-Abdarī in the house of 'Abdullāh ibn Khalaf in Basrah. Here Ṣafiyah and other women of Basrah crowded round her to learn the *Sunnah* from her, and to put many questions of law, which she answered, and which are all well documented in the compilations of ḥadīth. Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, narrated from Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn that 'Ā'ishah came down as a guest to Ṣafiyah Umm Ṭalaḥah al-Ṭalaḥāt. On seeing Ṣafiyah's daughters 'Ā'ishah said: 'The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa-sallam* – entered and in my room there was a girl. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa-sallam* – gave me a piece of material he had and asked me to make it into two pieces, and give one piece to this girl and give the other piece to the girl who is in the house of Umm Salamah, because they seem to be

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, (*sub anno* 571–580) 146. ²Their names can be found in MUTĪ' AL-ḤAFIZ, *al-Jāmi' al-Muṣṭafārī*, 462. ³TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀṢI, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 381.

adults.¹ ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Ubayd, the *mu’adhdhin* of the mosque of Jurdān, narrated from ‘Udaysah bint Uhbān that he said: ‘When ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib came here to Basrah, he called on my father, and said: O Abū Muslim, are you not going to help me against these people? My father said: Yes I am. Then he called his slave-girl and said: O girl, bring [me] my sword. She brought it. Then he drew out a hand-span of it – there it was, a wooden sword. Then he said: My friend and your cousin [i.e. the Prophet] took from me this covenant that when there is *fitnah* among Muslims, then make a sword from wood. Now if you want I can come with you. [‘Alī] said: No. I do not need you and your sword.’² Similarly, when Abū Hurayrah came to Damascus and stayed as a guest in the house of Abū l-Dardā’, the women used the chance to learn from him. Ismā‘il ibn ‘Ubaydillāh has narrated from Karīmah bint al-Hashās al-Muzaniyyah that she said: ‘Abū Hurayrah narrated to us when we were in the house of Umm al-Dardā’ that he heard the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam* – narrating from his Lord that He said: I am with My slave as long as he remembers Me and his lips move with remembrance of Me.³

The most important and highest chain to *Sahīb al-Bukhārī* is one that goes through the great *muhaddith* Abū ‘Abdillah al-Husayn ibn al-Mubārak al-Zabīdī. His place of residence was Baghdad. When once he visited Damascus the people crowded to him to read the *Sahīb* with him. The class was arranged in al-Jāmi‘ al-Mużaffarī, beginning at the end of Shawwāl 630 and concluding on 10 Dhū l-Qa‘dah of the same year. The whole *Sahīb* was read to al-Zabīdī in 22 sessions, and the class was attended by the most eminent scholars and jurists. The last surviving person to narrate from al-Zabīdī after attending these sessions was Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī Tālib al-Hajjār, by

¹ ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Ṣalāh*, bāb *al-mar‘ah tuṣallī bi-ghayr khimār*. ² IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Fitnā*, bāb *al-Tathbīt fi l-fitnāh*. ³ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Tawḥīd*, bāb *qawl Allāh – lā tuharrūk bi-hī lisānak*; IBN HAJAR, *Fath al-bārī*, xiii. 611; AL-MIZZĪ, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 292–93.

whom the chain of narration to the *Sahīb* was much shortened for those after him because he lived such a long life. Women also benefited from this precious opportunity and attended the same sessions on the *Sahīb*, and in great numbers. Among them were Khadījah bint Muḥammad ibn Sa‘d ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Maqdisiyyah (d. 701),¹ and the long-lived Shaykhah Zaynab bint Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Rahmān al-Is‘ardī (d. 705). Ibn Ḥajar confirms this in his account of her: ‘She heard the *Sahīb* from Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Husayn ibn al-Mubārak al-Zabīdī.’² Shaykhah Umm al-Khayr Fātimah bint Ibrāhīm ibn Maḥmūd al-Baṭā’ihiyyah also attended and al-Dhahabī confirms it: ‘She heard the *Sahīb* from al-Zabīdī.’³

The long-lived shaykhah Umm al-Hasan Fātimah bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Amr al-Farrā’ only attended two sessions and narrated them.⁴ Al-Dhahabī says of Hadiyyah bint ‘Alī Ibn ‘Asākir al-Baghdādī: ‘She attended the class of al-Zabīdī.’⁵ Another shaykhah, one well known for her higher *isnād*, Sitt al-Wuzarā’ bint ‘Umar ibn As‘ad ibn al-Munajjā al-Tanūkhiyyah also attended. Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāṣī says of her: ‘She studied with Husayn ibn al-Mubārak al-Zabīdī, *al-Sahīb* in al-Jāmi‘ al-Muẓaffarī and also *Musnad al-Shāfi‘ī*.’⁶ Ibn Ḥajar says in his account of ‘Ā’ishah bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī al-Maqdisiyyah: ‘She was the last person who narrated *Sahīb al-Bukhārī* with high *isnād* by her hearing [it]; and it is a wonderful coincidence that Sitt al-Wuzarā’ was the last woman in the world among all those who narrated from al-Zabīdī and she died in 716, while this ‘Ā’ishah is similar to her in dying in 816 and she had above [Sitt al-Wuzarā’] this quality that even from among the men who heard from al-Hajjār, the colleague of Sitt al-Wuzarā’, none remained in the world other than herself. Between the death of ‘Ā’ishah and Sitt

¹ Muḥammad IBN JĀBIR (d. 749), *Barnamāj al-Wādī Āshī*, 169; AL-DHAHABĪ, *Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh*, i. 232. ² IBN HAJAR, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, ii. 119. ³ AL-DHAHABĪ *Dhayl al-‘ibār*, 60. ⁴ IBN HAJAR, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, iii. 351. ⁵ AL-DHAHABĪ *Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh*, ii. 362. ⁶ TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀṢĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 397. ⁷ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 351.

al-Wuzarā³ the difference is exactly one hundred years.⁷ In the thirteenth century Umm al-Faḍl Nafīṣah bint ‘Abū l-‘Izz Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Shanwānī studied with Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad al-Murtadā al-Zabīdī *Thulāthiyāt* of al-Bukhārī – i.e. those ḥadīths with only three narrators before al-Bukhārī – and *Arba‘ūn* of al-Nawawī in 1189 in the house of her father.¹

TEACHERS IN OTHER TOWNS

Women also got ḥadīths from teachers of other towns, either by travelling to them, or by correspondence, or by request of *ijāzabs*. Among those who travelled in the path of knowledge, the Kufan *muhaddithah* Jasrah bint Dajājah al-‘Amiriyyah, got ḥadīth in Madinah from ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib, ‘Ā’ishah and Umm Salamah, and from Abū Dharr al-Ghfārī.² Muḥammad ibn al-Sā’ib ibn Barakah narrated from his mother that she said: ‘I did *tawāf* of the House in a group of women from Banū al-Mughīrah in the company of ‘Ā’ishah. The women mentioned Ḥassān ibn Thābit and attacked him [for his part in the slander about ‘Ā’ishah]. ‘Ā’ishah reminded [them of] Ḥassān’s poetic verses in praise of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* – and said: I hope that God will enter him into paradise because of [it].’³

In later centuries Fāṭimah bint ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qazwīnī studied ḥadīth with Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn ‘Ali al-Jawharī al-Mawṣilī in Tripoli, and with Abū Muḥammad Ṭāhir ibn Naṣr al-Asfijābī and the qādī Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḫīṣā al-Sa‘dī in Egypt. She settled in Şur.⁴ Jumū‘ah bint Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Ubaydullāh al-Mahmiyyah of Nishapur (d. ca. 396), having studied with the teachers of her town, did hajj and heard from various teachers on the way.⁵ Al-Sulamī says: ‘I heard her say: In Baghdad I called upon Shaykh Abū l-Ḥusayn

¹ See *samā‘āt at the end of Juz’ fi-hi Thulāthiyāt AL-BUKHĀRĪ*. ² AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 143. ³ See AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, ii. 515. ⁴ AL-SUYŪTĪ (d. 911), *al-Minjam fi l-mu‘jam*, 95–97, 85. ⁵ AL-SAYRAFĪNĪ, *al-Muntakhab min kitāb al-Siyāq li-l-Ta’rīkh Naysābūr*, 183.

al-Khudrī, and he asked me: Who did you ‘accompany’ [i.e. study with for a long time]? I said: I ‘accompanied’ al-Naṣrābādī. Then he asked me: What do you remember of his sayings? I said: I heard him say: Whoever’s connection (*nisbah*) is correct, his knowledge is perfect. On that al-Khudrī [being impressed by what he heard] remained silent. When I came back al-Naṣrābādī was pleased and said: That is how it should be for anyone who calls upon a shaykh.¹ This woman scholar travelled continually to learn from different teachers in different places.

Where the women could not travel to the scholars they would resort to correspondence with them. For example Fātimah, also called Sutayyah, daughter of the qādī Kamāl al-Dīn Mahmūd ibn Shīrīn al-Hanafī, used to write letters to scholars. When Ḥāfiẓ al-Sakhawī’s brother died, she wrote to him to console him.²

The women got *ijāzabs* from the scholars of other towns. For example ‘Ā’ishah bint ‘Umar ibn Rushayd al-Fihri of Sabta in Morocco received *ijāzabs* from a lot of scholars in Egypt, Makkah, Madinah and Syria. Another example is Āsiyah bint Jārullāh ibn Ṣalīḥ al-Shaybānī (d. 873): the large number of scholars who gave her *ijāzabs* are listed by al-Suyūtī (d. 911): there are 105 names in his list, from different towns and places.³

NUMBER OF TEACHERS

Among the narrators of ḥadīth there are those who had no more than one or two teachers. About such narrators a genre of writing developed among the people of ḥadīth called ‘al-wuhdān wa-l-mathānī’. At the end of the most famous of these compilations, *al-Āḥād wa-l-mathānī* of Abū Bakr ibn Abī ‘Āṣim (d. 287), are mentioned those women who have narrated only one or two ḥadīths.

¹ AL-SULAMĪ (d. 412), *Dhikr al-niswah al-muta‘abbidat*, 423. The term of genealogy (*nisbah*) is here used metaphorically to indicate the spiritual connection between master and disciple. ² AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Daw’ al-lāmīc*, xii. 111. ³ AL-SUYŪTĪ, *al-Minjam fi l-mu‘jam*, 95–97, 85.

However, many women received ḥadīths from a great many narrators, most famously ‘Ā’ishah who, as well as narrating directly from the Prophet himself, also narrated from Ḥamzah ibn ‘Amr al-Aslāmī, Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqās, ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, her father Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, Judāmah bint Wahb al-Asadiyyah, and Fātimah, the daughter of the Prophet.¹ The Successor, Umm al-Dardā² narrated from her husband Abū l-Dardā³, Salmān al-Fārisī, Ka'b ibn ‘Āsim al-Ash‘arī, ‘Ā’ishah, Abū Hurayrah, Faḍālah ibn ‘Ubayd al-Anṣārī. In later centuries, the renowned *muhaddithah* Shuhdah received ḥadīth from Ṭirād ibn Muḥammad al-Zaynabī, Ibn Ṭalḥah al-Ni‘ālī, Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb, Abū l-Khaṭṭāb ibn al-Baṭīr, Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Yūsuf, Ḥasan ibn Salmān al-Daqqāq, Thābit Bundār, Abū Yāsir Aḥmad, ‘Abd al-Wāhid ibn ‘Ulawan al-Shaybānī, Ja‘far al-Sarrāj Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Ḥarīṣah, Manṣūr ibn Ḥayd al-Naysabūrī, Abū l-Barakāt Ḥamd ibn ‘Abdillah al-Wakīl, Abū Ghālib al-Baqillānī and many others.²

As for women who received *ijāzabs*, the lists of the teachers of some of them are, as I mentioned just above, very long indeed. For example Āsiyah bint Muḥammad al-Ṭrbīlī received *ijāzabs* of over two hundred teachers, both male and female. Among those teachers are: the Shaykhah Umm Muḥammad Zaynab bint Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar ibn Shukr al-Maqdisī, ‘Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn al-Shaykh Badrān al-Maqdisī, Muḥammad ibn Ḫibatullāh al-Shīrāzī, ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ibn ‘Umar al-Qawwās, ‘Ali ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Fahīm, Umm Muḥammad Sitt al-‘Arab bint al-Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Umar al-Sulamī, Umm Ibrāhīm Fātimah bint Ibrāhīm al-Baṣlabakkiyyah, the long-lived imam Kamāl al-Dīn Humām ibn Muḥammad al-Hanafī, Umm Muḥammad Zaynab bint al-Kamāl, and Amat al-‘Azīz Khadījah bint Yūsuf ibn Ghunaymah.³

¹ AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdīb al-kamāl*, xiii. 227. ² AL-DHAHABĪ, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām* (*sub anno* 571–580), 146. ³ *Majmū‘at al-Ijāzāt al-makhtūtāt fī l-Madrasah al-Diyā’iyah bi-saḥf Qāsyūn*.

Chapter 5

The reading matter

What women studied varied from one place to another, even between schools in the same city, and it varied between periods. It is therefore difficult to present a satisfactory overview of it. Nevertheless, it may still be useful to attempt a general sketch, and mention those elements of a formal curriculum in the later centuries that were stable across many parts of the Islamic world. After that, in the concluding section of this chapter, I survey the kinds of *hadīth* books that became and remained popular.

THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES

Women's education in pre-Islamic Arabia was, aside from the traditional household skills, mostly oral, confined to poetry, fine speech and horsemanship, with writing skills among them very rare. As Islam became established, the scope of their education and culture widened rapidly. They learnt the Qur'ān by heart, with some also studying variants among the known recitations; they acquired the *hadīth* of the Prophet and understanding of the religion through the *Sunnah*. Some were so proficient, and so devoted to the *dīn*, that they became jurists and muftis. They were also trained in writing and speaking, and the different modes of eloquence.

In the first three centuries, there was no established, formal programme of Islamic education for either men or women. However, we can derive from the general culture of that time that what students began with was language, with the aim of skill in different styles of expression. Arabic grammar, in the strict sense of the term, developed from the second century on. However, an awareness of the need to know grammar in order

to avoid errors in understanding the commands of God and the teaching of His Messenger is traditionally dated to the caliphate of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. According to the renowned man of letters al-Mubarrid (d. 285), awareness of the need to think about grammar may have arisen because of a woman. He said: ‘Al-Māzinī narrated to us that the cause of the foundation of grammar was that the daughter of Abū l-Aswad [d. 69] once said to her father *mā ashadda al-ḥarri?* [What is the most violent of heat? instead of *mā ashadda al-ḥarra!*] How violent the heat is! So] he said: Pebbles in the hot earth. She said: I meant to express my shock at the heat. Then he said: Have people begun to make mistakes [like that]? Then he told ‘Alī about that; [and then ‘Alī] dictated to him some basic rules that were later expanded by Abū l-Aswad.¹

After or alongside acquiring language skills, the girls would turn their attention to the Qur’ān, learning how to recite and memorize it, and understand its meaning. Only then would they start learning ḥadīths by memorizing and then narrating them. Those with more aptitude would go on to learn how to think about the ‘scholarly apparatus’ of the ḥadīths – their occasions and their narrators – how to distinguish among narrators and chains of narrators, and learn the *sunnahs* that derive from the ḥadīth and how to implement them.

THE FOURTH TO THE SIXTH CENTURIES

Systemization of the curriculum, beginning in the fourth, developed in the fifth century under the guiding hand of the great vizier Niẓām al-Mulk Qiwām al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī al-Hasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Ishāq al-Tūsī (408–84). A shrewd and far-sighted administrator, and himself interested in knowledge, he established scholarships and grants for students and founded large colleges in Baghdad, Nishapur and Tus. He also founded many madrasas, notably in Marw, Herat, Balkh, and Basrah. Philosophy, theology (*kalām*), logic, and practical sciences like mathe-

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, iv. 83.

matics, medicine and engineering were part of the curriculum of the 'Nizāmī' colleges and schools, and these subjects spread to other schools albeit taught at an elementary level.

From my study of biographies of the women scholars of this period I can affirm that girls usually began their studies with Arabic language and developed reading, speaking and writing skills. At the same time they would learn the Qur'ān, reciting and memorizing it. Some learnt the whole of it by heart at a remarkably early age. One example of that is Fātimah bint 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ja'far al-Tāwūsiyyah al-Husayniyyah (5th c.), who had memorized the Qur'ān before she was nine years old. Later, she learnt ḥadīth with her father (d. 464).¹

Grammar must have been part of the syllabus since the second–third century, though the earliest reference that I have found to a woman's expertise in it is from the fourth. It comes in the account of Maryam bint Jahsh, wife of the great Yemeni scholar Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Abī l-Fawāris al-Hamdānī (4th c.). It is an illustration of her knowledge and her acuteness of mind that she was able subtly to resolve a difficult point for her husband. He had been engaged in debate with some adherents of the Murji'i heresy. These are people who held that faith in the heart – even if undisclosed, regardless of what one utters with one's tongue, regardless of any deeds that one does with one's limbs – suffices to secure salvation. 'Alī alluded to the verse in sūrat *al-A'rāf* (6. 40), quoting the end of it: 'Indeed those who belie Our signs (*āyāt*) and disdain them – for them the gates of the heavens will not be opened, nor will they enter the Garden, until the camel passes through the eye of the needle.' The Murji'i who was debating said: 'This is easy for God, with His power, if He wills, *He passes the camel through the eye of the needle*.' When 'Alī returned home his mind was still preoccupied, and he was sleepless because of the Murji'i's retort. Maryam asked him what the matter was. After he had explained it, she said: 'In the verse of the Qur'ān the *camel* is the subject [of the verb], not

¹See 'Umar Ridā KAHHĀLAH (d. 1407), *Aqlām al-nisā'*, iv. 86.

object.' Her husband now understood what he could have said in answer to the Murji'i, was content and slept. Early next morning he went to his companions and told them what should render the Murji'is speechless.¹

The biographers' account of Amat al-Wāhid bint al-Husayn ibn Muhammad al-Dabbī al-Mahāmilī (d. 377) sheds light on the syllabus from the beginning of the fourth century. Al-Dāraqutnī says: 'She memorized the Qur'ān, and learnt *fiqh* according to the *madhab* of Imām al-Shāfi'i, inheritance law and its mathematical calculation, *dawr*, grammar and other sciences.'² Also, al-Dhahabī says: 'She narrated from her father, from Ismā'il al-Warrāq, 'Abd al-Ghāfir ibn Salamah, and memorized the Qur'ān and studied the *fiqh* according to the *madhab* of Imām al-Shāfi'i, inheritance law, *dawr*, and Arabic language and grammar, and other Islamic sciences.'³

In this period, study of *Sahīb al-Bukhārī* became widespread among men and women. The most famous woman of the fourth century to hear the whole *Sahīb* directly from her teacher – Abū l-Haytham al-Kushmīhanī (d. 389) – was the great scholar, Shaykhah Umm al-Kirām Karīmah bint Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim al-Marwaziyah (d. 463).⁴ Also in this period the *Sahīb al-Bukhārī* was introduced into Spain. Khadījah bint Abī Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'īd al-Shantiyālī (in the fifth century) heard the whole of it from its famous narrator, Abū Dharr 'Abd ibn Aḥmad al-Harawī.⁵ Ibn Bishkwāl (d. 578) says: 'I have seen her *samā'* in the originals of her father in his handwriting; and she came with him to Spain.'⁶

Women also studied the *Sahīb* of Muslim, even engrossing themselves in *mustakhraj* of it – the narration of its texts by a

¹See LEDER *et al.*, *Mu'jam al-nisā' al-Yamanīyyāt*, 177. ²AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Ta'rīk al-Baghdād*, xiv, 443. al-Jurjānī (d. 816; *al-Ta'rifat*, 76) defines *dawr* as a kind of argumentation in which each proposition is dependent upon the next in a circular chain. ³AL-DHAHABĪ *Ta'rīk al-Islām* (*sub anno* 351–80), 607. ⁴AL-DHAHABĪ *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, xviii. 223. ⁵IBN BISHKWĀL (d. 578), *K al-Silah*, ii. 696. ⁶Ibid.

different route with higher *isnād*. The renowned scholar Fātimah bint al-Ustādh Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī al-Daqqāq (d. 480), wife of Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī,¹ heard the whole *Sahīh Abī Awānah* (*mustakhraj* of *Sahīh Muslim*) and then later transmitted it. Ibn Ḥajar, in the account of his teacher Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Latīf al-Takrītī says, after mentioning his *isnād* for *Sahīh Abī Awānah* to ‘Abd al-Rahīm ibn al-Hāfiẓ Abī Sa‘d ibn al-Sam‘ānī: ‘He heard it from Abū l-Barākāt al-Furāwī, who heard it from Fātimah bint ‘Alī al-Daqqāq, who heard it from Abū Nu‘aym ‘Abd al-Mālik ibn al-Ḥasan al-Isfrayīnī, who heard it from Abū ‘Awānah.’²

Some women took an interest in ḥadīth books written on specific topics. For example, Fātimah bint Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl al-‘Anazī studied *Kitāb al-Ṣalāh* of Abū Nu‘aym al-Faḍl ibn Dukayn with Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Aṭṭāj Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Shādhān in 431.³ Others specialized in sub-disciplines of the sciences of the Qur‘ān and *Sunnah*. For example, Umm Sa‘d Asmā’ bint Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Aḥmad al-Bahrāniyyah (5th c.) specialized in the science of *nāsikh* (abrogating) and *mansūkh* (abrogated). Ibn Ḥajar narrated *K. al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh* of ‘Atā’ al-Khūrasānī (d. 135) from Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr from Sulaymān ibn Hamzah, from Ja‘far ibn ‘Alī from Abū Tāhir al-Silafī from Asmā’ bint Aḥmad al-Bahrāniyyah, with her *isnād* to the author.⁴

Tasawwuf became very popular in this period in many parts of the Islamic world and books on different aspects of the ascetic life were widely studied. Shaykhah Umm al-Dalāl Amat al-Rahmān bint Abī l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Wāhid ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Junayd (d. 487) studied *K. al-Tafarrud wa-l-‘uzlah* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī with Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Bishrān.⁵ One consequence of the

¹See IBN NUQṬAH, *al-Taḡyīd*, 497; AL-DHAHABĪ *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā'*, xviii. 479. ²IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-Mu‘assas*, ii. 481. ³See the *samā‘at* in ABŪ NU‘AYM al-Faḍl IBN DUKAYN, *K. al-Ṣalāh*, 51. ⁴IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Mu‘jam al-mufabras*, 113. ⁵IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 573–74.

emphasis on asceticism was deepened regard for preaching and the writings of those famous for affecting sermons. The long-lived Khadījah bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Wā‘izah al-Shāhja-hāniyyah (376–460) studied *Amālī* of Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Sam‘ūn al-Wā‘iz with its author.¹ Ḥishāh bint Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm al-Wā‘izah (d. 460) wrote down the *Amālī* of Ibn Mandah, receiving the work directly from him.²

Also in this period, interest in the ‘Forty ḥadīths’ genre blossomed. It is recorded in the account of Umm al-‘Alā’, the grand-daughter of Shaykh Abū l-Tāyyib ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Shammah that she attended the reading of the *Forty Hadīths* of Abū Bakr ibn al-Muqrī (d. 381) with her grandfather in 455.³

As for poetry and literature, there is the example of Ishrāq al-Suwaydā’ (*ca.* 450), the slave of Abū l-Muṭarrif ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ghālbūn al-Qurtubī, from Valencia in Spain. She studied Arabic grammar, language and literature and became so expert in ‘arūḍ (prosody) that she was called al-‘Arūḍiyyah. She also learnt by heart and lectured on two important works on literature: *al-Kāmil* of Abū l-‘Abbās al-Mubarrid and *Amālī* of Abū ‘Alī al-Qālī.⁴ Another woman, the daughter of Sharīf al-Raḍī learnt the *Nahj al-balāghah* from her uncle. Ibn al-Ikhwah al-Baghdādī (d. 548) narrated the book from her.⁵

FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE NINTH CENTURIES

The education of women did not change much in this period, though it became more organized. The early emphasis on the language and grammar remained, with students memorizing concise works on the subject: for example, Nuḍār bint al-Shaykh Abī Hayyān (d. 730) learnt by heart an elementary text on grammar.⁶

¹ AL-KHATĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Ta’rīkh Baghdaḍ*, xiv. 447. ² AL-DHAHABĪ *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, xviii. 302. ³ See the *samā‘āt* at the end of Ibn al-Muqrī, *al-Arba‘ūn* in TAKALAH, Muḥammad Ziyād ibn ‘Umar, *Jamharat al-ajzā’ al-ḥadīthiyyah*, 133. ⁴ See al-Awsī AL-MARĀKASHĪ, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmilah li-K al-mawṣūl wa-l-silah*, 480. ⁵ KAHĀLAH, *A‘lām al-nisā’*, ii. 295. ⁶ IBN HAJAR, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, iv. 395.

Commitment to memorizing the Qur'ān and understanding it also continued. Some learnt it at an early age – like Sharaf al-Ashrāf bint 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Tāwūsiyyah al-Hasaniyyah, who memorized the whole Qur'ān, when she was twelve;¹ others did so much later in life – like Umm al-Hasan Karīmah bint Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Abīwardī (d. 555), who memorized parts of the Qur'ān and recited them regularly, as well as studying the ḥadīth sciences.² Some women made a particular study of the seven recitations, like Umm al-Izz bint Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ghālib al-Abdarī al-Dānī (d. 617).³ Some of them learnt books of *tajwīd*. In 786 Ḥusn bint Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Sa'diyyah al-Makkiyyah (d. 842) learnt part of *al-Shāṭibiyah* and another work on the subject.⁴

There are other women who specialized in some sciences of the Qur'ān. 'Ā'ishah bint 'Abd al-Rahīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Zujāj studied with her teachers *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Azīz al-Sijistānī (d. 330),⁵ and *Fadā'il al-Qur'ān* of Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb al-Bajalī (3rd c.).⁶ The long-lived shaykhah, famed for her higher *isnād*, Daw' al-Šabāh 'Ajībah al-Bāqdāriyyah al-Baghdādiyyah (d. 647) learnt *Fadā'il al-Qur'ān* of al-Bajalī from Abū l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Shīrāzī with an *isnād* to its author.⁷ She studied *K. Akhlāq hamalat al-Qur'ān* of Abū Bakr al-Ājurī (d. 360) with Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī by his *isnād* to its author;⁸ and *Mushkil al-Qur'ān al-'azīz* of Muhyi l-Sunnah al-Baghawī with Hāfiẓ Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī, who got it from the author.⁹

Summaries of *fiqh* were popular in the syllabus: among the Ḥanafīs, *Mukhtaṣar al-Quḍūrī*; among Mālikīs, *al-Risālah al-Qayra-wāniyyah*; among Shāfi'īs *Mukhtaṣar al-Muṣanī*. Al-Dhahabī has

¹KAHHĀLAH, *A'lām al-nisā'*, ii. 292. ²AL-SAMĀNĪ, *al-Muntakhab min Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, iii. 1918. ³AL-DHAHABĪ says: 'She was well versed in the seven readings.' *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* (sub anno 611–20), 328. ⁴IBN FAHD, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, 310; *al-Durr al-kamīn*, 1411. ⁵KAHHĀLAH, *A'lām al-nisā'*, iii. 158. ⁶Ibid. ⁷Sirāj al-Dīn AL-QAZWĪNĪ, *Mushaykhah*, MS, 48. ⁸Ibid., 83. ⁹Ibid., 95.

recorded that *Mukhtaṣar al-Muzānī* was among those useful books given as dowry to the bride at the wedding.¹ Some specialized in works of *fiqh* written by and for experts. Fātimah al-Samarqandīyyah (6th c.) memorized all of *Tuhfat al-fuqahā'*.² Others studied specific topics in *fiqh* – for example Shaykhah Umm Muḥammad Khadījah bint Abī ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad al-Harrāniyyah (d. 634) studied *K. al-Amwāl* of al-Azdī with her father.

As for the ‘Six Books’, the principal compilations of ḥadīth, the examples of women’s interest in them will be given under a separate heading. Some were interested in other sound works of ḥadīth also, those less popularly known. Khadījah bint Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Dā’im studied *Sahīb Ibn Ḥibbān* with Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī 1-Hayjā’ ibn al-Zarrād al-Ḥarīrī.³ Umm al-Hayā’ Hafṣah bint Abī ‘Abdillāh Aḥmad ibn Mułā’ib al-Baghdādiyyah al-‘Azajīyyah (d. 612) learnt *Sahīfah* of Hammām ibn Munnabih (d. 131) from Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-Urmawī with his *sanad* to the Companion Abū Hurayrah.⁴ The long-lived shaykhah of high *isnād* Tajannī bint ‘Abdillah al-Wahbāniyyah (d. 575) learnt *Hadīth al-Mukharranī wa-l-Marwazī*⁵ and *Amālī al-Mahāmilī* with Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭalḥah al-Nī‘ālī,⁶ and *Juz’ Hilāl* with Ṭirād ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Zaynabī, who got it from its author.⁷ Umm al-Khayr Ḥalīmah bint al-Ḥafīz ibn ‘Asākir studied *Juz’ ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Himyārī* with her father in 541.⁸

Hadīths narrated principally through women were a special interest. Sitt al-‘Arab bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Bukhārī (d. 767) studied *Fada’il Fātimah* of Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar ibn Shāhīn with her grandfather.⁹ Sitt al-Shām bint Khalīl ibn Naṣr studied 41 ḥadīths from *Musnad al-nisā’ al-sabābiyyāt* with Yūsuf ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥādī in 808.¹⁰ ‘A’ishah bint Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, xiv. 233. ² Abd al-Qādir AL-QURASHĪ, *al-Jwābir al-mudiyyah fī Tabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyyah*. ³ DIYĀ’ AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyid*, ii. 364. ⁴ AL-QAZWĪNĪ, *Mushaykhah*, MS, 75–76. ⁵ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 19–20. ⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 234. ⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 346. ⁸ See *samā‘āt* at end of *Juz’ ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad AL-HIMYĀRĪ*. ⁹ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 225. ¹⁰ KAHĀHLAH, *A‘lām al-nisā’*, ii. 155.

studied with her father his book *al-İşābah fī mā istadrakat Ā'ishah 'alā l-sahābah* in 794.¹

From the sixth century onwards, women are found learning books written on the principles of ḥadīth and narrators of ḥadīth. Shaykhah 'Azīzah bint Abī l-Hasan 'Alī ibn al-Tarrāḥ (d. 600) received the whole of *al-Kifayah fī qawānīn al-riwāyah* of Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb (d. 463) from her grandfather, who narrated it directly from the author.² Khadījah bint 'Umar ibn Abī Bakr studied *K. al-Ta'rikh* of Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn with Abū l-Faḍl Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭraqī in 652.³ Fātimah bint al-Mubārak studied *al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr* of Imām al-Bukhārī in 503 with Hāfiẓ Abū l-Ghanā'im al-Narsī.⁴ The long-lived Shaykhah Zaynab bint Makkī al-Harrāniyyah (d. 688) studied *K. al-Nasab* of Zubayr ibn Bakkār with 'Umar ibn Ṭabrazad.⁵ Dāw' al-Šabāh 'Ajibah (d. 647) studied Ibn Mandah's (d. 395) *Ma'rifat al-sahābah* with Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī.⁶ Sitt al-Taraf bint al-Imām Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Husayn al-Tinnīsī studied part of *Ta'rikh Jurjān* of al-Sahmī (d. 427) with her father in 597.⁷ In 529, Rabī'ah bint Sa'd al-Khayr read *K. al-Du'afā' wa-l-matrūkūn* with Imām Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Khayrūn;⁸ and *al-Jāmi' li-akhlāq ar-rāwī wa ʻādāb al-sāmi'* with Abū l-Qāsim al-Mubārak ibn al-Buzūrī.⁹ The great scholar and expert in Qur'ānic reading, Umm al-Khayr Fātimah bint Abī l-Hasan 'Alī ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Baghdādiyyah (d. 532) studied *K. Gharīb al-ḥadīth* of Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī with Abū l-Husayn 'Abd al-Ġhāfir al-Fārisī.¹⁰ Umm al-Ḥusn Kamāl bint al-Hāfiẓ Abī Muḥammad 'Abdillāh ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn al-Samarqandī (d. 558) studied *Taqyīd al-*

¹ See the *samā'* on the last page of *al-İşābah fī mā istadrakat Ā'ishah 'alā l-sahābah*. ² DIYĀ' AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISI, *Thabat al-masmū'āt*, 205–06. ³ See *samā'āt* in Yaḥyā IBN MA'ĪN, *K. al-Ta'rikh*, iv. 509–10. ⁴ See *samā'* at the end of vol. 1 of AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ta'rikh al-kabīr*. ⁵ DIYĀ' AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISI, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 372. ⁶ Ibid., 383. ⁷ Abū l-Qāsim AL-SAHMĪ (d. 427), *Ta'rikh Jurjān*, 368. ⁸ See *samā'* at the end of AL-DĀRAQUTNĪ (d. 385), *al-Du'afā' wa-l-matrūkūn*. ⁹ See *samā'āt* in the first part of AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Jāmi' li-akhlāq ar-rāwī wa ʻādāb al-sāmi'*, p. 59, and what follows. ¹⁰ AL-SAM'ĀNĪ, *al-Tabbīr*, ii. 256.

‘ilm of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī with her father.¹ Asmā’ bint Abī Bakr ibn Mūsā ibn al-Khallāl studied *Su’ālāt al-Hāfiẓ al-Silafī* with Shaykh Imām Abū l-Fadl Ja’far ibn ‘Alī ibn Hibatullāh al-Hamadhānī in 635.² Umm al-Fadl Zaynab bint Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qaysī (d. 610) studied *K. al-Asmā’ al-mubhamah fi l-anbā’ al-muḥkamah* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī with Imām Abū l-Fatḥ Naṣrullāh ibn Muḥammad al-Miṣṣīšī.³ Umm al-Hasan Asmā’ bint al-Jamāl al-Mahrānī (d. 867) studied *Riwayāt al-abnā’ ‘an al-abnā’* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī with al-Kamāl Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣrullāh and Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Ghālib.⁴

Another focus of study was biography of the Prophet and the story of his battles. Shaykhah Dāwūd al-Šabāh ‘Ajibah al-Bāqdāriyyah studied *al-Shamā’il* of al-Tirmidhī with al-Qāsim ibn al-Fadl ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid and Rajā’ ibn Hāmid ibn Rajā’ al-Ma‘dīnī.⁵ Umm al-Hanā’ Asmā’ bint Abī Bakr al-Uthmānī al-Murāghī studied *al-Shifā’* and *al-Burdah* with al-‘Izz ibn Jamā‘ah in 767.⁶ Umm Aḥmad Khadijah bint Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Rājih al-Maqdisī studied the whole *Magħażi* of al-Wāqidī in 603.⁷ Interest in the battles of the Prophet led to interest in the history of later conquests. The famous eighth century scholar Zahrah bint al-Muḥaddith Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Ḥusayn ibn Abī Bakr al-Khutānī al-Ḥanafī studied *K. Futūh Miṣr wa-l-Maghrib* of Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam al-Misrī (d. 257) with Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Hasan ‘Alī ibn Shujā’ al-Miṣrī.⁸

Interest in theology also continued: Zaynab bint ‘Umar al-Kindī (d. 699) learnt *K. al-Tawḥīd* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Khuzaymah (d. 311) with Abū Rawḥ ‘Abd al-Mu‘izz

¹ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Taqyīd al-‘ilm, Muqaddimah*, 25. ² See *samā’at* at the end of *Su’ālāt al-Hāfiẓ AL-SILAFĪ*, 127. ³ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *K. al-Asmā’ al-mubhamah fi l-anbā’ al-muḥkamah, Muqaddimah*. ⁴ IBN FAHD, *Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh*, 397. ⁵ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 14–18. ⁶ AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Dawūd al-lāmi‘*, xii. 6. ⁷ See *samā’* in MUṬĪ AL-HĀFIẒ, *al-Madrasah al-Umariyyah*, 109. ⁸ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 14–42; *al-Mu‘jam al-muṣharas*, 179.

ibn Muḥammad al-Harāwī, with his *sanad* going back to Ibn Khuzaymah.¹ Daw' al-Šabāh 'Ajībah al-Bāqdāriyyah received *K. al-Tawbīd* of Ibn Mandah (d. 395) from Ḥasan ibn 'Abbās al-Rustamī, Mas'ūd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Thaqafī and Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Baghbān, all three from 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Mandah from his father, its author.² She also studied *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah* of al-Bayhaqī with al-Mubārak ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ṭabbākh,³ and *K. al-Imān* of Abū l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Umar al-Zuhrī, with Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī.⁴

FROM LATER NINTH TO THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

From the later ninth–tenth century on, there was a decline in ḥadīth scholarship across the Islamic world. The numbers of men and women engaged in it decreased and so did their reading material. Nevertheless, primary education remained more or less the same, with Arabic grammar as the starting point. Some students memorized concise works on grammar. Umm al-Ḥayā⁵ Umāmah bint Qādī al-Quḍāt Athīr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Shāhnaḥ al-Ḥanafī (d. 939) knew by heart some of *Mulḥat al-i'rāb* and other books.⁵

Besides grammar, interest in the Qur'ān remained strong. Būrān bint Muḥammad Athīr al-Dīn (d. 938) read the Qur'ān, studied books and copied them.⁶ The emperor Awrangzeb 'Alamgīr (d. 1113) paid Maryam al-Kashmīriyyah 30,000 gold dinars after his daughter Zayb al-Nisā⁷ memorized the Qur'ān with her. Zayb al-Nisā⁷ also learnt writing and different styles of calligraphy, and she studied ḥadīth and *fiqh* according to the syllabus of that time.⁷ The syllabus for women was then the same as the men's, and included Arabic grammar, mathematics, logic, philosophy and other sciences. That was not the case in India only: an example from Yemen in the same period is Zaynab

¹IBN HAJAR, *al-Mu'jam al-muṣharas*, 52. ²Id., *al-Majma' al-mu'assas*, i. 517.

³Ibid., ii. 38, 39. ⁴Ibid., 43. ⁵IBN AL-ḤANBALĪ (d. 971), *Durr al-bibab fi ta'rikh aṣyān Halab*, i. 338. ⁶Ibid., 403. ⁷Abd al-Hayy AL-HASANĪ (d. 1341), *Nuzhat al-khwāṭir*, vi. 99–100.

bint Muhammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muṣayyadī (d. 1114), who studied grammar, logic, theology, *fiqh*, astrology, astronomy, literature and other sciences.¹ Jahān Āra Begum bint al-Sultān Shāhjahān (d. 1092) studied the art of Qur’ānic recitation and *tajwīd* with Sitt Khānum, learnt calligraphy, Persian and became expert in composition, poetry, household management and other skills.²

Some women turned, after *tajwīd*, to ḥadīth. Khunāthah bint Bakkār ibn ‘Alī al-Ma‘afirī (d. 1159) was an expert in all seven recitations and a scholar of ḥadīth.³ ḥadīth education began with the *Forty Ḥadīths* of al-Nawawī. Zayn al-‘Arab bint Muhammad Kamāl al-Dīn (10th c.) knew by heart *al-Jazariyyah* in *tajwīd*, and al-Nawawī’s *Forty Ḥadīths*.⁴ Fātimah bint ‘Abdillāh al-Manshāwiyyah studied *Forty Ḥadīths* of al-Nawawī and *Thulāthiyyāt al-Bukhārī* with Hāfiẓ Murtadā’ al-Zabīdī in 1189.⁵

Some women did go further in ḥadīth study. Amat al-Khāliq bint Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Latīf al-Qāhirī (d. 902) studied in 816 with Jamāl al-Dīn al-Hanbalī some parts of *Fawā’id* of Tammām al-Rāzī (d. 414), large parts of the *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām, *Musnad Abī Ḥāmid* [ibn Hanbal], *al-Ghaylāniyyāt* and other books of ḥadīth. She received *ijāzahs* from many scholars.⁶ She also studied *Mashyakhabah* of Ibn al-Bukhārī and *al-Mu‘jam al-ṣaghīr* of al-Tabarānī.⁷ In 857 Aymalik bint Aḥmad studied with Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Hilāl al-Azdī *K. al-Tawwābīn* of Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah (d. 620).⁸ Bāy Khātūn bint Ibrāhīm al-Halabiyyah (d. 942) studied *Minhāj* of al-Nawawī and part of ‘Ibyā’ *‘ulūm al-dīn* with Zayn al-Dīn al-Shammā’.⁹ Bulbul bint ‘Abdil-lāh al-Rūmiyyah studied with her master, Shaykh Yūsuf ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī the *Forty Ḥadīths* of Abū Bakr ibn al-Muqrī in

¹ LEDER et al., *Mu‘jam al-nisā’ al-Yamaniyyāt*, 91. ² AL-ḤASANI, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, v. 135. ³ KAHHĀLAH, *A‘lām al-nisā’*, i. 375. ⁴ Aḥmad ibn Muhammad AL-ḤALABĪ (d. 1003), *Mut‘at al-adhbān*, ii. 871. ⁵ See *samā‘āt* at the end of *Thulāthiyyāt AL-BUKHĀRĪ*. ⁶ AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘*, xii. 12. ⁷ AL-SUYŪTĪ, *al-Minjam fi l-mu‘jam*, 98. ⁸ IBN QUDĀMAH, *K. al-Tawwābīn*, *Muqad-dimah*. ⁹ Muḥammad Rāghib AL-ṬABBĀKH (d. 1370), *I‘lām al-nubalā’* v. 507.

880,¹ and in 897 *Hadīth al-Baghawī wa Ibn Ṣā‘id wa-l-Hāshimī* and *Fadā’il Bayt al-Maqdis* of Hāfiẓ Diyā’ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 642).² Ḥabībah bint Shaykh al-Islām ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sanbātī (10th c.) studied with her father *Amālī al-Mahāmili* and *Hadīth Sa‘dān ibn Naṣr*.³ Khadījah bint Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Muqrī al-Ḥanafī (d. 935) studied the *Sabīb* of al-Bukhārī with Shaykh Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī.⁴ Sārah bint Numayr studied with Hāfiẓ ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashqī (d. 842) his book *al-Lafz al-mukarram bi-faḍl Ḩāshūrā’ al-Muharram*.⁵ Ṣābirīn al-Nūbiyyah (10th c.) studied the *Fawā’id al-‘Irāqiyīn* of al-Naqqāsh with Umm Hānī al-Hūrīniyyah.⁶ Zaynab bint Aktā (11th c.) studied *al-Mu‘jam al-awsat* of al-Ṭabarānī with Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq ibn Muḥammad al-Sanbātī.⁷

Besides general and specialized study of ḥadīth, women also studied *sīrah* and *kalām*. For example, in 906 ‘Ā’ishah bint Hasan ibn ‘Alī al-Kinānī read *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām and *Dalā’il al-nubuwah* with Hāfiẓ Yūsuf ibn ‘Abd al-Hādi.⁸

IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The Qur’ān continued to be the foundation of the syllabus in this century as before. Khadījah bint Aḥmad ibn ‘Azzūz al-Fāsiyyah (d. 1323) knew the Qur’ān by heart and read it with different readings, with Abū ‘Alī al-Hasan Janbūr.⁹ After that the women would study the common syllabus, comprising language and rational and traditional sciences. The long-lived *muhaddithah* Amatullāh bint ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Dihlawiyyah (d. 1357) studied

¹ See *samā‘āt* at the end of *al-Arba‘ūn* of Ibn al-Muqrī in TAKALAH, *Jamharah al-Ajza’ al-hadīthiyyah*, 130. ² See *samā‘āt* at the end of *al-Hadīth al-Baghawī wa Ibn Ṣā‘id al-Hāshimī*, *ibid.*, 270. ³ See *Shi‘ar al-ibrār fī l-ad‘iyah wa-l-adhkār* in IBN MANDAH, *al-Fawā’id*, 338. ⁴ Najm al-Dīn AL-GHAZZI, *al-Kawākib al-sā‘irah*, ii. 141. ⁵ See *samā‘* in *al-Lafz al-mukarram bi-faḍl Ḩāshūrā’ al-Muharram* in Majmū‘ *rasā’il*, 130. ⁶ See *Juz’ Fawā’id al-‘Irāqiyīn*, 161 in *al-Fawā’id* of IBN MANDAH. ⁷ See *samā‘āt* in *Mu‘jam al-awsat*, i. 106. ⁸ See the *samā‘* in LEDER et al., *al-Madrasah al-‘Umariyyah*, 294–95. ⁹ KAHĀHLAH, *A‘lām al-nisā’*, i. 322.

the Qur'ān, grammar, Arabic literature, and Ḥanafī *fiqh* with her father, then devoted herself to ḥadīth, reading the Six Books with him many times, and other more specialized works including *ajzā'* and *musalsalāt*.¹ Amatullāh Ā'ishah bint 'Abd al-Hayy al-Hasaniyyah (d. 1396) memorized much of the Qur'ān, and received her primary education, from her uncle Sayyid 'Azīz al-Rahmān al-Nadwī and her mother, Khayr al-Nisā'. She went on to study a large number of books.

Khadījah bint Aḥmad ibn Jandān (d. 1344) studied with her grandmother elementary *fiqh* and what is necessary for women (e.g. rules about purification and prayer), and with her father *Mukhtaṣar al-Safīnah* and other works.²

Some of them specialized in ḥadīth and studied the Six Books and others. Shams al-Nisā' bint Āmir Ḥasan al-Sahsawānī (d. 1308) studied the Qur'ān with *tajwīd*, then learnt calligraphy, Arabic grammar, *tafsīr*, *Mishkat al-masābih*, then the Six Books, with her father.³ Ṣāliḥah bint Ḥināyat Rasūl al-Abbāsī al-Chirayyākūtī (d. 1318) studied with her father all the books of the syllabus and accompanied him longer until she became expert in both rational and traditional sciences.⁴ Fātimah bint Sālim (d. 1339) of Java learnt reading and writing from her father and studied *al-Minhaj al-mukhtaṣar* of Bā Faḍl and *al-Ajrūmiyyah* with him.⁵ She studied *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* with Zubayr ibn Qāsim Bā Raqabah,⁶ and *Awā'il al-Ajlūnī* with Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Zaynī Dahlān.⁷ The great scholar Lihāz al-Nisā' bint Ṣābir Ḥusayn al-Sahsawānī (d. 1309) learnt calligraphy from her father, then studied Arabic grammar. She studied *Bulūgh al-marām* and some books of *Sahīh* and *Sunnah* with Mawlānā Muḥammad Bashīr al-Sahsawānī (14th c.), then other ḥadīth books with Shaykh Husayn ibn Muhsin al-Anṣārī (d. 1327).⁸

¹ Muḥammad 'Āshiq Īlāhī AL-BARNĪ, *al-'Anāqīd al-ghāliyah min al-asānīd al-āliyah*, 175. ² LEDER et al., *Mu'jam al-nisā' al-Yamaniyyāt*, 66. ³ AL-HASANĪ, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, viii. 185. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 195. ⁵ LEDER et al., *Mu'jam al-nisā' al-Yamaniyyāt*, 154. ⁶ *Ibid.* ⁷ *Ibid.*, 145–55. ⁸ AL-HASANĪ, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, viii. 382.

Some women also became interested in the study of books of *tašawwuf*. Mas'adah bint Aḥmad ibn Hādī ibn Aḥmad al-Haddār, for example, was well-known for her study of books like *Iḥyā²* 'Ulūm al-Dīn of al-Ghazālī (d. 505), *Awārif al-ma'ārif* of al-Suhrawardī (d. 632), and for having memorized *Forty Hadīths* of al-Nabhānī (d. 1350).¹

THE KINDS OF THE BOOKS THEY STUDIED

In this section, I try to describe briefly, with examples, the kinds of ḥadīth works the women studied, beginning with the *Muwaṭṭā* of Imām Mālik b. Anas. There is not enough space here to show with examples how intensive and extensive the reading material that some of the women studied was. The quantity is remarkable, even astonishing, and far exceeds what many ḥadīth scholars of our time would consider 'a lot'. To allow readers to get some sense of the scale, I have set out the list of the reading (with her teachers' names) of Umm Hānī bint Nūr al-Dīn al-Hūrīniyyah (d. 871): it will be found at the end of this chapter.

al-Muwaṭṭā

The *Muwaṭṭā* of Imām Mālik (d. 179) is the first major book combining ḥadīth and *fiqh*. It has been widely accepted by the community in all parts of the Islamic world; many have memorized it – among them, notably, Fātimah, the daughter of Imām Mālik, and Imām al-Shāfi'i. Shuhdah al-Baghdādiyyah (d. 574) studied the whole of it;² Daw³ al-Ṣabāḥ Ajibah al-Bāqdāriyyah studied it in the narration of al-Qa'natī from Yaḥyā ibn Thābit (d. 566);³ Khadījah (d. 873) bint Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Anṣārī from Egypt studied it in the narration of Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā, with al-Ṭizz ibn Abī l-Yumūn al-Kuwayk.⁴

¹LEDER et al., *Mu'jam al-nisā' al-Yamaniyyāt*, 180. ²AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, xxiii. 451. ³DIVĀ AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISI, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 383. ⁴AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, xii. 29.

al-Jawāmi'

Jawāmi' (plural of *jāmi'*), refers to the comprehensive compilations of ḥadīth that contain all the needed divisions of ḥadīth: belief, *'ibādah*, transactions, contracts, *zubd*, manners, *tafsīr*, *siyār*, history, *fītan*, *maṇāqib* etc. The most famous such compilations are three of the Six Books: namely, *al-Jāmi'* *al-Sāḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi'* *al-Sāḥīḥ* of Muslim, and *al-Jāmi'* of al-Tirmidhī.

As I noted earlier, the women's interest in *Sāḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* began in the fourth century and has been sustained throughout the centuries. The number of women who studied it is huge. I have given some examples; here is another: the great shaykhah of Isfahan, Umm al-Bahā² Fāṭimah bint Abī l-Faḍl Muhammad ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Asbahānī (d. 539) studied it with Sa'īd al-Āyyār.¹ Some women studied only a part of the book: for example, Āminah bint al-Mu'ayyad Abī Bakr ibn al-Āmīd (7th c.), who read it with Abū l-Waqt al-Sijzī.² Interest in *Sāḥīḥ Muslim* was only a little less. The renowned Nishapuri scholar, Umm al-Khayr Fāṭimah bint Abī l-Ḥasan 'Alī (d. 532) studied it with its most famous teacher of her time, Abū l-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī.³ Interest in the *Jāmi'* of al-Tirmidhī blossomed much later. The list of all its women students would be very long. One of them was Zaynab bint Makkī (d. 688), who read it with 'Umar ibn Ṭabrazad.⁴

On the following pages, three linked charts show the transmission of *Sāḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* to women up to 816. There were thousands who heard this very difficult book from its author. In later times people naturally went to the longest-lived of the most competent narrators in order to get the highest *isnād*. The most sought-after narrator from al-Bukhārī, Muhammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar al-Firabrī, lived around 65 years after the imām's death. Chart 1a goes through him; Charts 1b and 1c start with him.

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *al-'Ibar*, ii. 457. ² IBN FAHD, *al-Durr al-kamīn*, ii. 399. ³ AL-SAMĀ'ĀNĪ, *al-Taḥbīr*, ii. 256. ⁴ TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀSĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 372.

Chart 1a. Transmission of *Sahih al-Bukhārī* to women
from Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256, Samarcand)
to 'Ā'ishah bint 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 816)

Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, d. 256, Samarcand

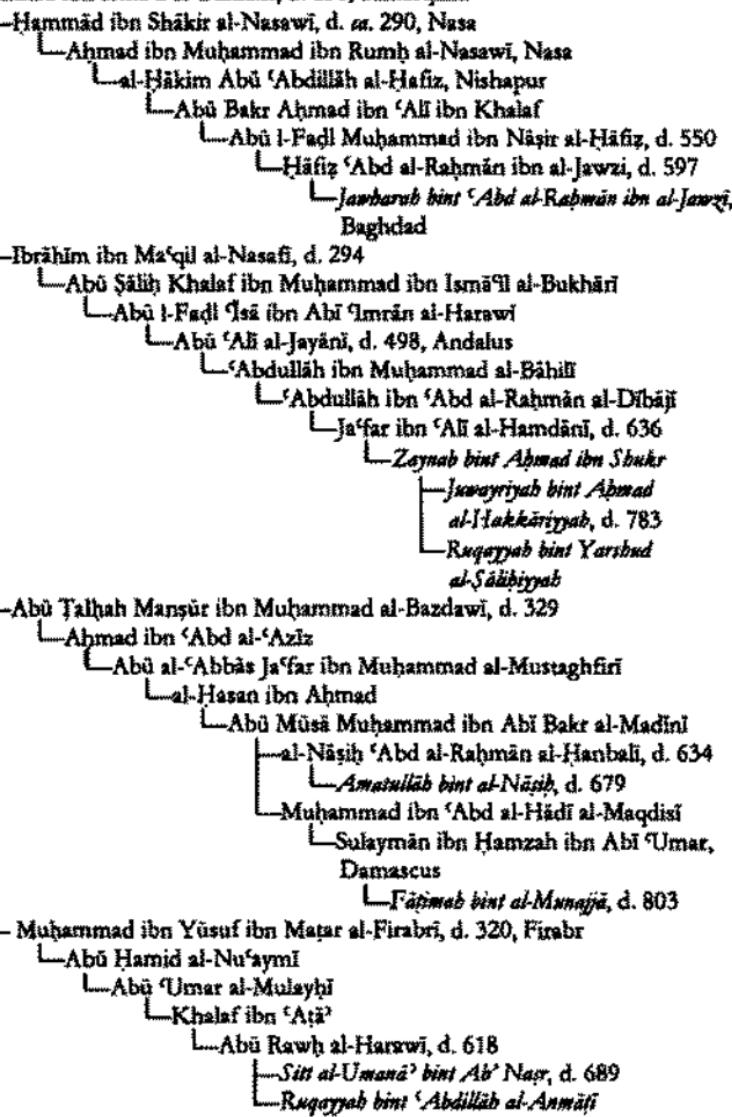


Chart 1b. Transmission of *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* to women
from Muhammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256, Samarcand)
to 'Ā'ishah bint 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 816)

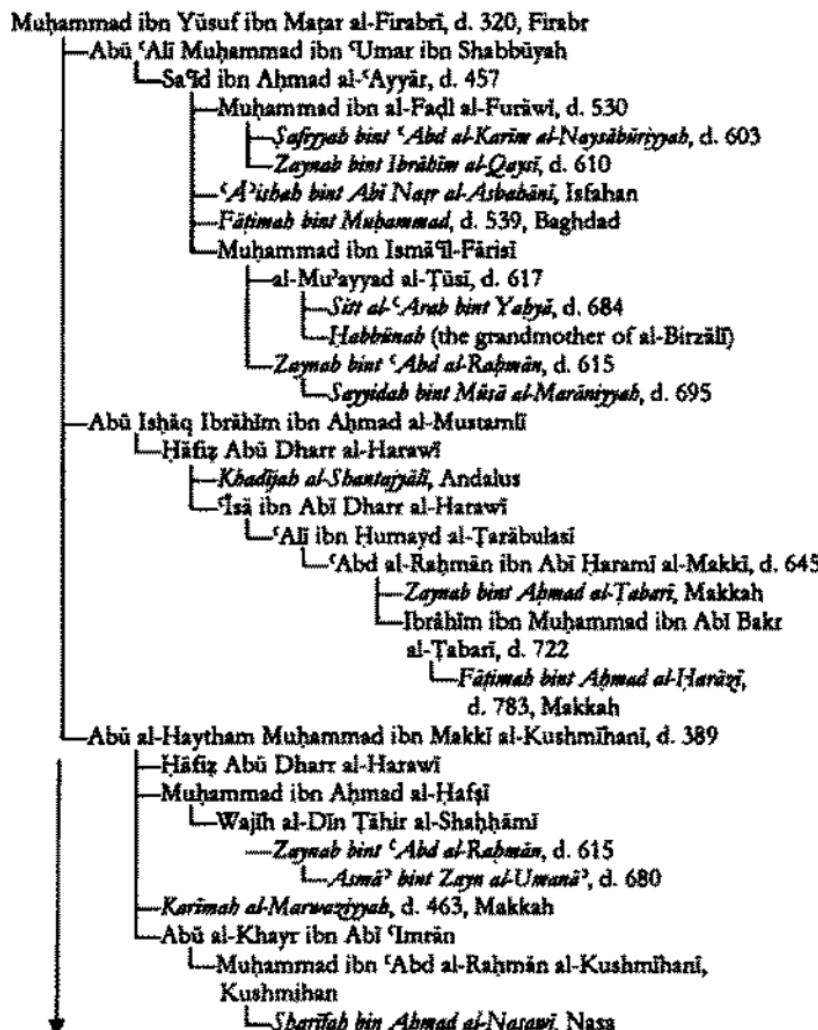
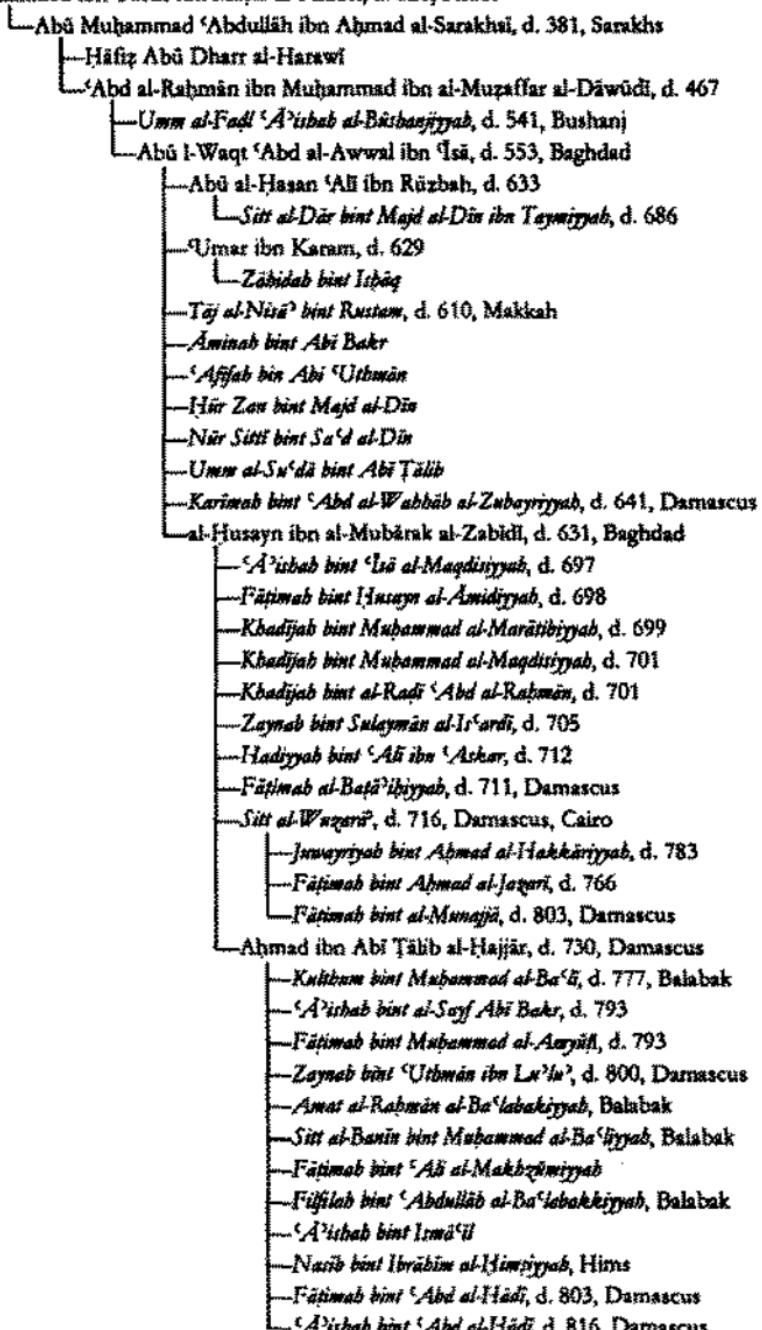


Chart 1c. Transmission of *Şabih al-Bukhārī* to women
from Muhammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256, Samarcand)
to 'A'ishah bint 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 816)

Muhammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar al-Firabī, d. 320, Firab



al-Sunan

The *Sunan*, like the *Jawāmi'*, are compilations of ḥadīths by topic arranged according to the divisions of *fiqh* – like *ṭahārah*, *ṣalāh*, *zakāh*, *ḥajj* etc. – but are restricted to Prophetic ḥadīth only, and exclude *tafsīr*, history and other topics covered in the *Jawāmi'*.

Of many book compiled on this pattern, three make up the Six Books: *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275), Aḥmad ibn Shu'ayb al-Nasa'i (d. 303), of Muḥammad ibn Yazid ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī (d. 273). Of almost equally high repute are: *Sunan* of 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Dāraqutnī (d. 385) and *Sunan al-kabīr* of Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 485). Many women studied these *Sunan*. One example for each must suffice:

Zaynab bint Makkī al-Harrānī (d. 688) studied *Sunan Abū Dāwūd* with 'Umar ibn Ṭabrazad.¹ Āminah bint Taqī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭī (d. 740) studied with her father *Sunan al-Nasa'i* in the narration of Ibn al-Sunnī.² Ṣafiyah bint 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Farrā'³ (d. 699) studied *Sunan Ibn Mājah* with Imām Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah.⁴ Fātimah bint Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Muqaddam studied *Sunan al-Dāraqutnī*.⁵ Sitt Quraysh Fātimah bint Taqī al-Dīn ibn Fahd (d. 879) studied *Sunan al-kabīr* of al-Bayhaqī with Nūr al-Dīn ibn Salāmah.⁵

al-Masānid

Masānid (pl. of *musnad*) refers to compilations of ḥadīth arranged by names of Companions and others who narrated them, rather than by topic. This reflects increasing interest in the scholarly references that come with the ḥadīth texts, rather than their relevance for the different divisions of *fiqh*. Among the famous *masānid* are: the *Musnads* of Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150), al-Shāfi'i (d. 204), al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219), Musaddad ibn Mušarhad (d. 228), Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241), of 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd (d. 249), and Abū Ya'qūl al-Mawṣilī (d. 307). Again, just one example for each:

¹TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀSĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 372. ²Ibid., 359–60. ³Ibid., 379.

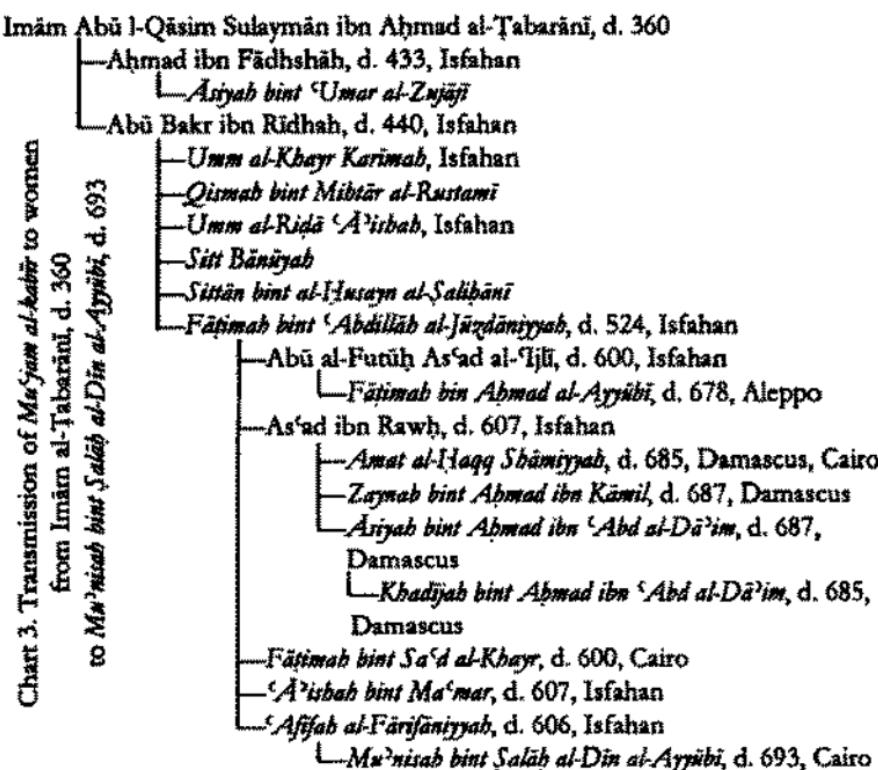
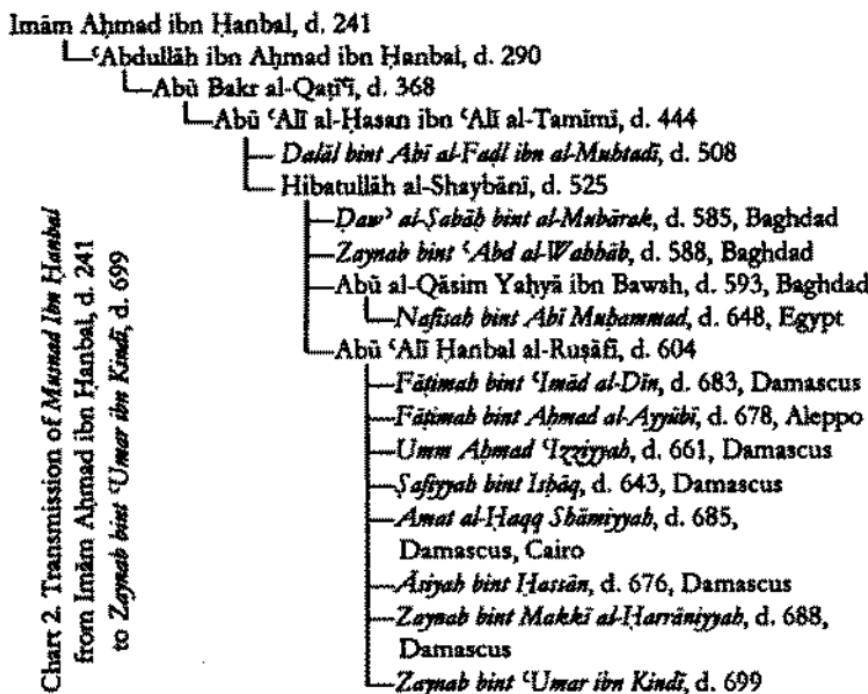
⁴KAHHĀLAH, *A'lām al-nisā'*, iv. 135. ⁵AL-SUYŪTĪ, *al-Minjam fī-l-mu'jam*, 123.

Daw² al-Šabāh Ajībah (d. 647) learnt *Musnad Abī Hanīfah*, in the version of Abī Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb al-Hārithī, from Abū l-Khayr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar al-Bāghbān;¹ she studied *Musnad al-Shāfi‘ī* with Abū Zur‘ah Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī (d. 566),² and *Musnad al-Humaydī* with two teachers: Abū l-Ḥasan Sa‘dullāh ibn Naṣr al-Dajājī and Abū l-Ma‘alī Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Bājisrāī.³ Umm al-Ḥayā Zuhrah bint Muḥammad al-Anbārī (d. 633) studied *Musnad Musaddad ibn Musbarad* with Yaḥyā ibn Thābit ibn Bundār.⁴ Zaynab bint Makkī (d. 688) studied *Musnad Abī Hanbal* with Ḥanbal ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Ruṣāfi.⁵ Asmā⁶ bint Ibrāhīm ibn Sufyān ibn Mandah al-Asbahāniyyah (d. 630) studied *Musnad ‘Abd ibn Humayd* with Abū l-Waqt ‘Abd al-Awwal ibn Īsā al-Harawī.⁶ Fātimah bint Sa‘d al-Khayr (d. 600) studied *Musnad Abī Ya‘lā* with Zāhir ibn Ṭāhir.⁷ (For the names of other women who studied the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, see Chart 2 on the next page.)

al-Ma‘ājim and *al-Mashyakhāt*

Ma‘ājim (pl. of *mu‘jam*): a compilation in which the ḥadīths are arranged according to the names of the Companions or other narrators or of the cities that they were most associated with. *Mashyakhāt* (pl. of *mashyakhah*): an arrangement of ḥadīths by the shaykhs or teachers of those ḥadīths. Fātimah bint ‘Abdillāh al-Jūzdāniyyah (d. 524) studied al-Ṭabarānī’s *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr* and *al-Mu‘jam al-saghīr* with their most famous narrator, Ibn Rīdhah.⁸ Fātimah bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī studied *al-Mu‘jam al-awsat* of al-Ṭabarānī with Abū Naṣr ibn al-Shīrāzī.⁹ (See Chart 3 on the next page.)

¹IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 482–83. ²TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FASĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 383. ³AL-QAZWĪNĪ, *Mashyakhah*, MS, 44. ⁴TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FASĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 366. ⁵Ibid., ii. 372. ⁶Ibid., ii. 357. ⁷IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 482–83. ⁸AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā‘*, xix. 505. ⁹IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 375.



‘Ā’ishah bint Ma’mar ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid ibn al-Fakīr al-Asbahāniyyah (d. 607) received *Mu’jam* of Abū Yaqīlā from Sa’id al-Šayrafi.¹ Shuhdah al-Baghdādiyyah (d. 574) received *al-Mu’jam* of Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Iṣmā’īlī from Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Harīṣah.² Asmā’ bint Taqī al-Dīn al-Jā’barī studied *al-Muj’am al-ṣaghīr* of al-Daqqāq with Abū l-Hajjāj Yūsuf ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Mizzī.³

Shuhdah al-Baghdādiyyah studied *Mashyakhah* of Ibn Shādhān with Abū Ghālib Muḥammad ibn al-Hasan al-Baqillānī (d. 500).⁴ Altī bint Baktāsh al-Rashīdī studied *Mashyakhah* of Abū ‘Abdil-lāh Muḥammad al-Rāzī with three teachers – the sultan Asad al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ayyūbī, Ḥimād al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār and ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Birzālī in 736 in the Madrasah al-Murshidiyyah.⁵ In 631 Tāj-Khātūn bint al-‘Izz Abī Bakr studied *Mashyakhah* of Ibn ‘Abd al-Dā’im with eight teachers: Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭarkhān al-Hanbalī; Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī Yūsuf ibn Isrā’īl al-Nāṣirī; Zayn al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Alī al-Takrītī; Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar al-‘Attār; Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad al-Fāmī; Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Arab-shāh al-Farrā'; Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdillah Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ni’mah Umm Muḥammad; Sitt al-‘Arab Zaynab bint ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Maqdisī.⁶ Khadījah bint ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Mardāwī studied *Asnā al-maqāṣid wa aḍhab al-awārid*, the *Mashyakhah* of Ibn al-Bukhārī with the author himself in 682.⁷ Zuhrah bint ‘Umar al-Khutānī

¹DIYĀ’ AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISĪ, *Taḥbat al-masmū’āt*, 87. ²IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma’ al-muḍassas*, i. 109–10. ³*Majmū’* containing *Mu’jam mashāikh Abī ‘Abdillāh al-Daqqāqī*, 321. ⁴AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, ii. 626.

⁵See *samā’āt* in *Majlis al-Biṭāqah* in *Amālī Ḥamzah al-Kinānī*, MS Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyah, Damascus. ⁶See MUṬĪ’ AL-HĀFIẓ, *al-Jāmi’ al-Muzaffarī*, 468–69. ⁷IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma’ al-muḍassas*, i. 258–59.

studied the *Mashyakhah* of Abū Ṭālib al-Ūshārī with Ibn Ṭabrazad.¹

al-Arba‘ūnāt

The term refers to compilations of ‘forty ḥadīths’. There are many of these selected by different scholars around themes or topics or narrators. I mention here a few of the more popular:

Asmā’ bint Abī Bakr ibn al-Khallāl (d. 691) studied *al-Arba‘ūn* of Abū l-Hasan Muḥammad ibn Aslam al-Kindī al-Ṭūsī (d. 242) with Abū l-Faḍl Ja‘far ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥibatullāh al-Hamadhānī in 635.² Fākhirah al-Baghdādiyyah (6th c.) learnt *al-Arba‘ūn* of Hasan ibn Sufyān al-Nasaī from ‘Abd al-Ghāfir ibn Muḥammad al-Fārisī.³ Umm al-Bahā’ Fātimah bint Abī l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (d. 539) received *al-Arba‘ūn* of al-Jawzaqī Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh (d. 388) from Abū ‘Uthmān Sa‘īd ibn Abī Sa‘īd al-‘Ayyān al-Šūfī.⁴ Umm al-Faḍl Mu’minah bint Muḥammad ibn Abī Zayd studied *al-Arba‘ūn* of Abū Bakr ibn al-Muqrī with Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd al-Mālik al-Khallād, and Abū Muḥammad Bakhtyār ibn Muḥammad in 532.⁵

Later, Imām Nawawī’s *al-Arba‘ūn* became the most popular. Sutayyah bint al-Zayn Abī ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad (d. 879) studied it with her father in 792.⁶

al-Ajzā’

Ajzā’ (plural of *juz’*) meaning component section of something, here referring to the ḥadīths of just one person or ḥadīths collected on just one topic. The number of *ajzā’* grew to thousands. From the beginning of the fourth century onward women had great interest in studying them. Again, just a few examples must suffice.

¹Ibid., i. 303. ²See LEDER *et al.*, *Mu‘jam al-samā‘āt al-Dimashqiyyah*, 140, 216. ³DIYĀ’ AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISĪ, *Tahbat al-mamu‘āt*, 78. ⁴Ibid., 123. ⁵See *samā‘āt* at the end of *al-Arba‘ūn* of Ibn al-Muqrī in TAKLAH, *Jamharah al-Ajzā’ al-ḥadīthiyyah*, 135–36. ⁶AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘*, xii. 60.

Shuhdah al-Baghdādiyyah studied the most famous *Juz'* *ibn 'Arafah* with its highest narrator Ibn Bayān;¹ *Juz'* *Hanbal* with Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Tuyūrī² and *Juz'* *Hilāl al-Haffār* with Ṭirād.³ Zaynab bint Makkī al-Harrānī (d. 688) studied the *juz'* with next highest *isnād*, *al-Ghaylāniyyāt*, with ʿUmar ibn Ṭabrazad.⁴ Sitt al-‘Arab bint Yaḥyā al-Kindī (d. 684) studied the third highest, *Juz'* *al-Anṣārī* with her master Abū l-Yumn al-Kindī.⁵ Amat al-Ḥamīd Khadījah bint Abī Ghānim studied *Juz'* *mā qaruba* of al-Samarqandī (d. 536) in 529.⁶ Umm al-Diyā' Sitt al-Jalil bint Abī l-Husayn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Warkānī (6th c.) studied *Juz'* *Luwayn* with Abū Bakr ibn Mājah.⁷ Umm al-Bahā' Fātimah bint Abī l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa‘d al-Baghdādī (d. 539) received *Juz'* *al-Baytūta* from Sa‘id al-‘Ayyār.⁸ Nūr Sittī bint ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Rāzī (6th c.) studied *Kitāb Thawāb al-a‘māl* of ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ḥātim al-Rāzī with her grandfather Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Bayādī.⁹ Umm al-Khayr Jamāl al-Nisā' bint Abī Bakr al-Baghdādiyyah studied *Juz'* *Ibn al-Baṭṭī* with its author Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Baqī al-Baṭṭī.¹⁰ Khadījah bint Abī Bakr al-Ḥamawī studied *Aḥādīth Tālūt* of Abū ‘Uthmān Tālūt ibn ‘Abbād al-Ṣayrafi (d. 238) with ‘Abd al-Jalīl ibn Abī Ghālib al-Surayjānī in a *ribāṭ* of Damascus in 610.¹¹ Umm al-Ḥayā Zuhrah bint Muḥammad al-Anbārī (d. 633) studied *Juz'* *al-Bānyāsī* with Ibn al-Baṭṭī.¹² Zaynab bint ‘Alī al-Wāsitī (d. 695) studied *Majlis al-Biṭāqah* of Abū l-Qāsim Ḥamzah ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Kinānī (d. 357) with Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl,

¹IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 504–16. ²See *samā‘āt* at the end of *Juz'* *Hanbal*. ³IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 276–77. ⁴DIYĀ’ AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISI, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 372. ⁵AL-DHAHABĪ, *Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh*, i. 288.

⁶See *samā‘āt* in *Muqaddimah* of *Juz'* *mā qaruba sanadu-hu min hadīth* of Abī l-Qāsim Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad al-Samarqandī. ⁷AL-SAM‘ĀNĪ, *al-Taḥbīr*, ii. 242. ⁸IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 158. ⁹AL-SAM‘ĀNĪ, *al-Muntakab min Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh*, iii. 1923. ¹⁰IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘sharas*, 248.

¹¹LEDER et al., *Mu‘jam al-samā‘āt al-Dimashqīyyah*, 119, 290. ¹²IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 214–21, and *al-Mu‘jam al-mu‘sharas*, 238–40.

Khaṭīb Mardā in 653.¹ Umm ‘Abd al-Ḥakam Sitt al-Ṭibād bint Abī l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Salāmah al-Miṣriyyah (d. 616) studied *al-Khila‘iyyāt* with its famous narrator Ibn Rifā‘ah.² Khadījah bint ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn ‘Uthmān studied *Juz’ al-Fil* with Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī and Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Fidā’ Ismā‘il ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Farrā’ in 693 in al-Jāmi‘ al-Muẓaffarī in Qāsyūn.³

al-Musalsalāt

The term *musalsal* refers to a ḥadīth around the narration of which there is some particular association that the tradition has deemed worthy of preserving, along with the ḥadīth itself. An example would be the Prophet’s shaking someone’s hand just before he said what the ḥadīth records, or giving them a date and water, etc.; then, each time that this ḥadīth is passed on the teacher will shake the student’s hand, or give out a date and water, etc. Much charm and pleasure is added to the teaching and learning of ḥadīths by these associations, and remembering one’s lessons is facilitated by them. There are many ḥadīths narrated as *musalsalāt*.

al-Musalsal bi-l-‘awwaliyyah. This is the ḥadīth of ‘Abdullāh ibn Āmr ibn al-Āṣ that the Prophet *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa-sallam* said: ‘Those who show mercy, the Most Merciful bestows mercy upon them. Show mercy to those who are in the earth, the One who is in heaven will have mercy upon you.’ It is narrated from Ibn ‘Uyaynah, who narrated it from ‘Amr ibn Dīnar, from Abū Qābūs, from his master ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Amr ibn al-Āṣ. His student ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Bishr al-Ḥakam heard it from him as his first ḥadīth; then it became a tradition that students would hear this as their first ḥadīth from their teachers. It has continued to this day. There are many women who received this ḥadīth. Here are some examples: Hasanah bint Muḥammad ibn Kāmil

¹ LEDER et al., *Mu‘jam al-samā‘āt al-Dimashqiyyah*, 33, 314. ² AL-DHAHABĪ, *Ta‘rīkh al-Islām* (sub anno 611–620), 291. ³ See MUTĪ‘ AL-HĀFIẒ, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Muẓaffarī*, 291.

al-Hasaniyyah (d. 765) heard it from al-Tawzarī through the *isnād* of Ibn al-Samarqandī.¹ Umm al-Hasan bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Makhzūmī heard this ḥadīth with her sister Ṣafiyah from al-Sharīf Abū l-Khayr ibn Abī ‘Abdillāh al-Makhzūmī in 742.² Khadijah bint Abī Bakr ibn ‘Alī known as Bint al-Kūrī (d. 803) heard it from Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Harrānī.³ Zaynab bint Muhibb al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbād Aḥmad ibn Zahīrah al-Qurashī (d. 863) heard it from the qādī Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn al-Husayn al-Murāghī.⁴ Ghazāl Umm ‘Abd al-Latīf al-Nūbiyyah (d. 802) heard it from its famous narrator al-Maydūmī (d. 754).⁵

Some traditionists compiled the *musalsalāt* they received from their teachers as books, which made it easier to study and transmit them. Women also heard some of these books of *musalsalāt* with their teachers. Sitt al-‘Arab bint Muḥammad ibn Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bukhārī (d. 767) heard *Musalsalāt al-Ibrāhīmī* from her grandfather.⁶ Umm Kulthūm ‘Ā’ishah bint Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Murshidī (d. 846) heard *Musalsal al-‘Alā’ī* from Majd al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī.⁷ Fāṭimah bint al-Munajjā heard *Nuzbat al-buffāz* of Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī from Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn Hamzah.⁸ Shuhdah al-Baghdādiyyah studied *al-Muṣāfiyah* of al-Barqānī.⁹ Umm Muḥammad Sitt al-Kull Āsiyah bint Jarullāh Muḥammad al-Makkī studied *Musalsal bi-l-awwaliyyah* and *Musalsal li-khatm l-du‘ā’* with Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim al-Rāfiqī.¹⁰

¹DIYĀ’ AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISI, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, vi. 377. ²IBN FAHD, *al-Durr al-kamīn*, 157. ³AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Daw’ al-lāmī*, xii. 26. ⁴IBN FAHD, *al-Durr al-kamīn*, 1434. ⁵AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Daw’ al-lāmī*, xii. 85. ⁶IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma’ al-mu’assas*, iii. 42–28. IBN FAHD, *al-Durr al-kamīn*, 157. ⁸IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma’ al-mu’assas*, iii. 360. ⁹AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, xxiii. 88. ¹⁰IBN FAHD, *K. Nayl al-Munā*, i. 217–18.

THE READING LIST OF
UMM HĀNĪ BINT NŪR AL-DĪN AL-HŪRĪNIYYAH (d. 871)¹

She studied:

with Najm al-Din ‘Abd al-Rahīm b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. Razīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Zaftawī: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*
 with ‘Afīf al-Dīn ‘Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad al-Nashāwī: *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* • *al-Arba‘īn* *al-Mukharrajah min Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī bi riwāyat al-Muḥammadīn min ḥadīth Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Alī ibn Yāsir al-Jayānī* • Juz² from *Fawā’id Abī Qāsim ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ubaydillāh al-Harfi* • Juz² with *Maṇām Ḥamzah b. Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt min ḥadīth Ibn Ghālībūn* • Juz² with *Ḥadīth Ḥalīmah al-Sādiyyah li-Abī l-Ḥasan b. Ṣakhr* • Juz² from *Ḥadīth ‘Alī b. Ḥarb al-Ṭā’ī* • Juz² with *Gharā’ib al-asānīd li-Abī l-Ghanā’im al-Narsī* • *al-Arba‘īn al-mukhtārab fī faḍl khaṣāl al-hajj wa-l-ziyārah li-Ibn Maṣ‘ūdī* • *al-Juz* *al-thānī min ḥadīth Sa‘dān b. Naṣr* • *Fawā’id al-‘Irāqīyyīn li-l-Naqqāsh* • *al-Arba‘īn al-Subā‘īyyāt li-‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. ‘Abdillāh al-Furāwī* • *Sudāsiyyāt Abī ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rāzī* • *Juz* *al-Jumū‘ah li-l-Nasa‘ī* • *Juz* *Ibn Nujayd* • *al-Majālis al-khamṣah al-sudāsiyyāt* • *‘Awālī Tirād* in two juz² (takhrīj al-Bardāmī) • *Maqāṣid al-sawm li-l-Imām Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Salām* • *Juz* with *Majlisān fī faḍl Rajab min imlā’ al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū l-Qāsim b. Asākir* • *Juz* with *al-Ṭaqbīl wa-l-mu‘ānaqah wa-l-muṣāfabah li-Abī Sa‘īd Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-‘Arabī* • *Juz* with *Ḥadīth al-Qādī Abū l-Faraj al-Mu‘afā b. Zakariyyā* • *Juz* with *‘Awālī Abī l-Waqṭ ‘Abd al-Awwāl b. Isā al-Harawī* (takhrīj *Abī Muḥammad Yūnus b. Yahyā al-Ḥāshimī*) • *Juz* with *Faḍl Ramadān siyāmi-hi wa-qiyāmi-hi li-Abī l-Yumn ‘Abdillāh b. al-Imām Abī l-Ḥasan b. Asākir* • *Juz* with *Hadīth Dhī l-Nūn al-Miṣrī* • *Nuskħah Abī Mu‘āwiyah Muḥammad b. Khāzīm al-Darīr* • *Juz* with *Hadīth Abī Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd...* • *al-Juz* *al-sābi‘ min ḥadīth Abī ‘Amr b. al-Sammāk (intiqā’ Abī Ḥafṣ al-Baṣrī)* • *al-Arba‘īn al-Thaqafīyyah* • *Mas‘alat al-ijāzah li-l-majhūl wa-l-ma‘dūm li-l-Khaṭīb* • *Juz* containing *Faḍl Rajab wa-ghayri-hi li-l-Khallāl* • *al-Majālis al-Makkīyyah li-l-Mayyāshī* • *Khumāsiyyāt Ibn al-Naqqāṣ* • *Juz* *Kākū* • *Juz* with *Majlisān min Amālī al-Wazīr Nizām al-Mulk* • *al-Arba‘īn li-Abī ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī* • *Juz* with *al-Miṣāt al-‘awālī min masmu‘ati-hi* • *Masā‘il Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-‘Aqlā min al-Imām al-*

¹ AL-SUYŪTĪ, *al-Mu‘jam fī l-mu‘jam*, 101–03.

Shāfi‘ī *raḍī al-lābu ‘an-bu *Juz’ Abī Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Abdillāh b. Sulaymān al-Haḍramī *Juz’ al-Bitāqab • al-Juz’ al-sabt̄ min Musalsalāt al-Hāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Maṣaddī al-Muṣṭamil ‘alā l-musalsal bi-l-‘add fi l-yad • Fadl Sha‘bān li-l-Imām Abī ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il b. Abī l-Ṣayf al-Yamānī *Qirā al-dāyf li-Ibn Abī l-Duryā • al-Sīrab li-l-Ṭabarī • Musalsalāt Ibn Shādhān • Tusā‘iyyāt al-Raḍī al-Ṭabarī • Fadā‘il Rajab li-Abī Muḥammad al-Khallāl*

with *Abū l-Faraj* b. *al-Shaykhah*: *al-Arba‘in al-mawsumah bi shi‘ār aṣḥāb al-hadīth li-l-Hākim* • *Juz’* with *Anāshid Abī Ghālib Shujā‘* b. *Fāris al-Dhublī*

with *Shihāb al-Dīn* *Aḥmad* b. *Muḥammad* b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘ī *al-Makkī al-Mālikī*: *Tusā‘iyyāt al-Raḍī al-Ṭabarī* • *al-Juz’ al-sabt̄ min Musalsalāt Ibn Maṣaddī* • *Fadl Sha‘bān li-Ibn Abī l-Ṣayf* • *Juz’ al-Bitāqab*

with *Shihāb al-Dīn* *Aḥmad* b. *Zahīrah*: *al-Arba‘in al-mukhtārab li-Ibn Maṣaddī* • *al-Awwal min Musalsalāt al-‘Allāf*, and a *juz’* containing *al-Musalsal bi-innī uhibbu-ka* of *Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī*.

with *Muhibb al-Dīn* *Muḥammad* b. *Aḥmad* b. *al-Raḍī Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarī*: *Musalsalāt al-Dibājī*

with *Abī ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad* ibn ‘Alī *ibn Aḥmad* ibn *Abī Dhūbā al-Miṣrī*: *al-Ghaylāniyyāt*.



Interior. Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyyah, Damascus.
(Photo: Yahya Michot)

Chapter 6

Women's role in diffusion of 'the knowledge'

The women who had knowledge of the religion transmitted that knowledge to men as well as women. Indeed, given that the majority of students of ḥadīth were men, we would expect the majority of the women's students to have been men. Their numbers varied in different periods, but in some periods were very high: for example, al-Dhahabī in his account of Hāfiẓ Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Najjār (d. 643) reports from Ibn al-Sā‘atī that '[Ibn al-Najjār's] teachers included 3000 men and 400 women.¹ It should suffice as evidence of the authority of women in preserving and transmitting the *Sunnah* of God's Messenger that some of the greatest of his Companions and, after them, some of the greatest imāms and jurists in the history of Islamic scholarship relied on women teachers.

THE COMPANIONS AND THE SCHOLARS AFTER THEM

Among the Companions who narrated from ‘Ā’ishah are: her father, Abū Bakr; Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb; ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar; Abū Hurayrah; Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī; ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās; Rabī‘ah ibn ‘Amr al-Jurashī; al-Sā‘ib ibn Yazīd; ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ; Zayd ibn Khālid al-Juhanī; ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Āmir ibn Rabī‘ah; ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Hārith ibn Nawfal and others. In addition, in the major compilations of ḥadīth, there are over 300 narrators from ‘Ā’ishah: al-Mizzī has listed them, in alphabetical order,

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā'*, xxiii. 133.

together with references to the books where their ḥadīths are recorded.¹ Among the men scholars who narrated from Umm Salamah are: Usāmah ibn Zayd ibn Ḥārithah al-Kalbī, al-Aswad ibn Yazīd al-Nakhaī, Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit, Ḥumayd ibn ‘Abd al-Rāḥmān ibn ‘Awf, Dhakwān Abū Ṣalīḥ al-Sammān, Sa‘īd ibn Abī Sa‘īd al-Maqburī, Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab, Sulaymān ibn Yasār, Abū Wā'il Shaqīq ibn Salamah al-Asadī, ‘Āmir al-Sha‘bī, ‘Abdullāh ibn Buraydah al-Aslāmī, ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abd al-Rāḥmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Abī Mulaykah, ‘Abdullāh ibn Wahb ibn Zam‘ah, ‘Abd al-Rāḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, ‘Ubaydullāh ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Utbah, ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, ‘Aṭā’ ibn Abī Rabāh, ‘Aṭā’ ibn Yasār, Ikrimah ibn ‘Abd al-Rāḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, Kurayb the *mawlā* of Ibn ‘Abbās, Mujāhid ibn Jabr al-Makkī, Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Husayn, Masrūq ibn al-Ajda‘, Nāfi‘ the *mawlā* of Ibn ‘Umar, Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-Rāḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, Abū Salamah ibn ‘Abd al-Rāḥmān ibn ‘Awf, Abū ‘Uthmān al-Nahdī.² Among the narrators from Ḥafṣah are: Ḥārithah ibn Wahb al-Khuzaī, her brother ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar, ‘Abd al-Rāḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, Abū Bakr ibn Sulaymān ibn Abī Khaythamah and others.³

The Companions narrated also from women other than the wives of the Prophet. ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, a prominent figure of knowledge among the Companions narrated from Maymūnah, a slave of the Prophet.⁴ From Durrah bint Abī Lahab, ‘Alī narrated that she said that the Messenger of God, *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*, said: ‘No living person should be given hurt through [criticism of] a dead person.’⁵ The Umayyad caliph ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz narrated: ‘The righteous woman, Khawlah bint Ḥakīm, the wife of ‘Uthmān ibn Maz‘ūn narrated that the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – came out holding in his arms the two sons of his daughter saying: ‘By God, you cause [one to be] undisciplined (*tujahhilū-nā*), cowardly (*tujabbinū-*

¹ AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 228–33. ² *Ibid.*, 317–19. ³ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 313. ⁵ IBN ‘ABD AL-BARR, *al-Iṣṭī‘āb*, ii. 726.

nā) and miserly (*tubakhhbilū-na*); and [yet also] you are indeed as a flower of Paradise.¹ The great *tābi‘ī* scholar Sa‘id ibn al-Musayyab also narrated from Khawlah bint Ḥakīm. ‘Āmir al-Sha‘bī narrated from Rāyiḍah bint Karāmah.²

In the next generation, Muḥammad ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (d. 124) narrated ḥadīth from ‘Amrah bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sa‘d ibn Zurārah al-Anṣāriyyah, Nadbah the *mawlāh* of Maymūnah, Fātimah al-Khuza‘iyyah, Hind bint al-Ḥārith al-Fārisiyyah and Umm ‘Abdillāh al-Dawsiyyah. Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn narrated that Abū Ḥanīfah narrated from ‘Ā’ishah bint ‘Ajrad that she said: ‘I heard the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – say: The largest army of God in the earth are locusts. I do not eat them and I do not forbid them.’³ Imām Mālik (d. 179) narrated from ‘Ā’ishah bint Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ al-Madaniyyah (d. 117). Among other narrators from her are: Ismā‘il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uqbah, Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, al-Ju‘ayd ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān, Junāḥ al-Najjār, al-Ḥakam ibn ‘Utaybah, Khuzaymah, Ṣakhr ibn Juwayriyyah, Abū l-Zinād ‘Abdullāh ibn Dhakwān, ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Ubaydah al-Rabadhī, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Waqqāṣī, Abū Qudāmah ‘Uthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Ubaydillāh ibn ‘Umar al-‘Umari, Muḥammad ibn Bijād ibn Mūsā ibn Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Muḥājir ibn Mismār, Yūsuf ibn Ya‘qūb ibn al-Mājishūn and others.⁴

MAJOR SCHOLARS WHO NARRATED FROM WOMEN

We find the same practice in the succeeding centuries. Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241), Abū Ibrāhīm al-Tarjumānī (d. 236), Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Jarjarātī (d. 240), Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Harawī (d. 244) and ‘Alī ibn Muslim al-Ṭūṣī (d. 253) narrated from Umm ‘Umar bint Ḥassān ibn Zayd al-Thaqafī.⁵

¹IBN BISHKWAŁ, *Għawāmid al-asmā’ al-mubbāmah*, i. 272–73. ²IBN HAJAR, *al-Isābah fī tamyżż al-sababah*, iv. 299. ³IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Usd al-ghābab*, vii. 190. ⁴AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 236. ⁵AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, xiv. 432.

Qādī Abū Yaqā al-Farrā² (d. 458), al-Azharī, al-Tanūkhī, al-Husayn ibn Ja‘far al-Salmāsī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ḥasnūn al-Narsī and Abū Khāzim ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Farrā² narrated from Amat al-Salām bint al-Qādī Abī Bakr Aḥmad ibn Kāmil ibn Khalaf ibn Shajarah al-Baghdādīyyah (d. 390).¹

Hāfiẓ Ibn ‘Asākir (d. 571) narrated from over 80 women, and dedicated a whole book to biographical accounts of them. His colleague Abū Sa‘d al-Sam‘ānī (d. 562) wrote down accounts of 69 women from whom he heard ḥadīth directly or who wrote *ijāzabs* to him. Hāfiẓ Abū Tāhir al-Silafī (d. 576) studied ḥadīth with tens of women scholars, Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597) narrated from three, and Hāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī (d. 600) narrated from ‘a number’.

In the seventh century, Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630), Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643), and al-Diyā² al-Maqdisī (d. 643), all narrated from several women teachers. Hāfiẓ al-Mundhiri (d. 656) narrated from a large number of women and provided accounts of them in *al-Takmīlah li wafayāt al-naqalab*, and Muhibb al-Ṭabrī (d. 694) also narrated from ‘a number’ of women.

Imām Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728), probably the greatest thinker and jurist of his time, received ḥadīth from a number of women and included some ḥadīths from them in his *Forty Hadīths*. He expressed very high esteem for their knowledge, understanding and intelligence, as well as their righteousness and piety, and he praised some of them fulsomely for their efforts in preaching and reform. Similarly, the following imāms studied with women: Ibn Jamā‘ah (d. 733); Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734); Abū l-Hajjāj al-Mizzī (d. 742) narrated from some of them in his *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*; Imām al-Dhahabī (d. 748) narrated from them in *Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh*, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, and *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā²*; Imām Ibn al-Qayyim (d. 751); Hāfiẓ al-‘Alā’ī (d. 761); Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771) narrated from them and provided accounts of them in his *Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh*; likewise: Hāfiẓ Ibn Kathīr (d. 774); al-

¹Ibid., 443.

Zarkashī (d. 794); Ibn Rajab al-Hanbalī (d. 795); al-Bulqīnī (d. 805); Hāfiẓ Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Irāqī (d. 806); Hāfiẓ Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī (d. 807); Hāfiẓ Walī al-Dīn al-‘Irāqī (d. 826). Hāfiẓ Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī (d. 832) mentioned some women teachers in his *Dhayl al-Taqīyāt* and other books; Ibn al-Jazārī (d. 833) mentioned some of them in his *Ta’rīkh*; Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852) mentioned them in his *Mu’jam* and gave accounts of them in *al-Durar al-kāminah* and *Inbā’ al-ghumr*, Najm al-Dīn Ibn Fahd (d. 885) provided accounts of his women teachers in his *Mu’jam*; so too Hāfiẓ Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhawī (d. 902) in *al-Daw’ al-lāmi’*; and Hāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī narrated from them and wrote biographical notices on them in his *Mu’jam* and other books.

HUSBANDS NARRATING FROM THEIR WIVES

Some of the *muhaddithāt* attained such eminence in the knowledge that it is unsurprising to find their husbands becoming their students and referring to them for the solution of different scholarly and juristic issues. Hishām ibn Sa’id narrated that he called on Mu’ādh ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Ḥabīb al-Juhanī: ‘Mu’ādh asked his wife: When should the child pray? She said: A man from our people mentioned from the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam* – that he was asked about that and he said: When [the child] knows his right from his left, command him to pray.’¹ Karīmah bint al-Miqdād ibn al-Aswad al-Kindīyyah (*tābi’iyyah*) is another example of a woman whose husband ‘Abdullāh ibn Wahb ibn Zam’ah narrated from her.² Ishāq ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Abī Ṭalḥah narrated from his wife Umm Yahyā Ḥumaydah bint Ubayy ibn Rifā’ah al-Anṣārīyyah al-Zuraqīyyah.³

Fātimah bint al-Mundhir ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām is considered one of the great scholars and jurists among the

¹ ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Ṣalāh*, bāb *matā yu’maru al-ghulām bi-l-ṣalāh*. ² IBN ḤAJAR, *Tahdbīb al-tahdbīb*, xii. 475. ³ AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdbīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 159.

Successors to the Companions. She knew a lot of ḥadīths, mostly through her grandmother Asmā' bint Abī Bakr. Great imāms narrated from her including Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, the author of the famous *Sīrah*. Most of her ḥadīths that are found in all the major compilations are through her husband Hishām ibn 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, one of the teachers of Imāms Abū Hanīfah, Mālik, Shu'bah, Sufyān al-Thawrī and others. I will mention here a few examples of her ḥadīths narrated by her husband. Hishām narrated from his wife Fātimah from her grandmother Asmā' that she said: 'A woman came to the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – and said: 'O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – I have a daughter who is a bride: she has a disease (*basbah*) that has thinned her hair. Can I join [another's hair] to it? The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – said: The curse of God is on the one who joins [another's hair in this way] and the one who asks for [this].' (This ḥadīth is narrated by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasa'ī and Ibn Mājah.¹) Hishām says: 'Fātimah narrated to me from Asmā' that she said: 'We ate meat of one of our horses in the time of the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*'.² Hishām narrated from Fātimah from Asmā' that she said: 'The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – said to me: Give [of your wealth], spend [from it] and pay out; do not cling to it, otherwise God will hold it over you; do not count [it] otherwise God will count [it] over you.'³ Hishām also narrated from her the long ḥadīth, found in the

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Libās*, bāb *al-wasl fi al-shā'ir*; MUSLIM, *Sahīb*, *Libās*, bāb *taḥrīm fi'l al-wāṣilah wa-l-mustawṣilah wa-l-wāshimah*; AL-NASA'Ī, *Sunan*, *Zīnah*, b. *la'n al-wāṣilah wa-l-mustawṣilah*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Nikāh*, bāb *al-wāṣilah wa-l-mustawṣilah*. ² AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Dhabā'ib*, bāb *al-nahr wa al-dhibb*; MUSLIM, *Sahīb*, *Sayd wa-l-dhabā'ib*, bāb *fi akl lubūm al-khayl*; AL-NASA'Ī, *Sunan*, *al-dahāyā*, bāb *al-rukhsah fi naḥr ma yudhbah*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Dhabā'ib*, bāb *lubūm al-khayl*. ³ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Zakāh*, bāb *al-taḥrīd 'alā al-ṣadaqah*; MUSLIM, *Sahīb*, *Zakāh*, bāb *al-ḥathth 'alā l-inṣāq wa karābat al-iḥsā'*; AL-NASA'Ī, *Sunan*, *Zakāh*, bāb *al-iḥsā' fi l-ṣadaqah*.

Sahīhs of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, about the prayer on the occasion of solar eclipse.¹

Fātimah, the daughter of Muḥammad ibn Ahmad ibn Abī Aḥmad al-Samarqandī (d. 540) the author of *Tuhfat al-fuqahā'*, was herself a great scholar and jurist, and renowned for it. She was married to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Mas‘ūd al-Kāsānī, the author of *Badā'i' al-sanā'i'*. Ibn al-‘Adīm says: ‘My father narrated that she used to quote the Ḥanafī *madhab* (doctrine) very well. Her husband al-Kāsānī sometimes had some doubts and erred in the [issuing of a] fatwa; then she would tell him the correct opinion and explain the reason for [his] mistake.’² An example from the ninth century is Fātimah bint Yahyā. Al-Shawkānī (d. 1255) says about her: ‘She was famous for her knowledge. She had debates with her father on several juristic issues. Her father the imām confirmed that Fātimah applies *ijtihād* in deriving rulings. This indicates that she was prominent in the knowledge for the imām would not say something like that except for one who deserved it.’³ Her father married her to al-Muṭahhar ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad (d. 879), who referred to her in the judgement of difficult juristic issues. Whenever a complicated issue was brought to him and to his students he would go to his wife and seek the solution from her. His students would then say: ‘This is not from you. This is from behind the curtain.’⁴

CHILDREN LEARNING FROM THEIR MOTHERS

We know from biographies of many of the great scholars in Islam that an important factor in the success they had in combining piety, righteousness and knowledge was the foundation in education they had been given by their mothers. The practice

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīh*, *Tahārah*, bāb *man lam yatwadda' illā min al-ghashy al-muthqil*; MUSLIM, *Sahīh*, *Salāh*, bāb *mā 'urida 'alā l-nabī salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam fi ṣalāt al-kusūf*. ² Abd al-Qādir AL-QURASHĪ, *al-Jawāhir al-mudīyah fi ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyah*, iv. 4. ³ AL-SHAWKĀNĪ, *al-Badr al-tālī'*, ii. 24. ⁴ See AL-HIBASHĪ, *Mu'jam al-nisā' al-Yamaniyyāt*, 149.

of introducing children to the ways of the religion at a young age was, as we saw in an earlier chapter, encouraged by the Prophet himself. Accordingly, mothers were motivated to bring children to the assemblies of learning, and to the mosques. Some of the children who came must have been very young indeed. ‘Ā’ishah has narrated that the children were brought to the Messenger of God, then he would bless them and do *tahnīk* (the ceremony of softening up a date, then putting a piece of it in the newborn’s mouth). On one occasion when a baby soiled his clothes with urine, the Prophet simply called for water, which was poured over the affected part.¹ The women’s being in the mosques with children was certainly not forbidden. On the contrary, as we saw earlier, the Prophet was aware of it and if, during the prayer, he heard a baby cry, he would shorten the recitation in order to relieve the mother of distress and distraction.²

The following incident, reported by Abū Burdah ibn Abī Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, sheds light on how mothers would impress the *sunnahs* on their children’s minds. In this instance, the mother gets Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī to explain to their son something that he had had the opportunity to explain but failed to do so:

I was with my father Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī in the house of Umm al-Fadl. She sneezed [and said *al-hamdu li-l-lāh*], then my father said to her: May God be merciful to you. Then I sneezed and he did not say it to me. When I came to my mother I told her [what happened]. When Abū Mūsā came home she said to him: My son sneezed in your presence and you did not pray for him and a woman sneezed and you prayed for her. He said: Your son sneezed and he did not praise God so I did not pray for him; whereas she sneezed and she praised God, so I prayed for her. I have heard the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – say: When someone sneezes in your presence, and he praises God, then pray for him, and if he does not praise Him, then do not pray for him. She said: You are right. You are right.³

¹MUSLIM, *Šahīb*, *Tahārah*, bāb *hukm bawl al-ṭifl al-rādi* *wa kayfiyyati ghasli-hi*.

²Ibid., *Šalāh*, bāb *amr al-a’immati bi takhfifi al-ṣalāh fi tamām*.³ AL-HĀKIM, *Mustadrak*, iv. 265.

Sometimes, the children were taught by explicit precept. For example, Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah narrates from Ibn al-Munkadir that he said: ‘My mother said to me: O my son, do not joke to excess with the children, otherwise they will treat you lightly.’¹ At other times, the teaching was by allusion: ‘Āsim ibn ‘Alī has narrated: ‘‘Abdullāh ibn Bakr ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Muzanī narrated to us saying: My mother told me that [my] father has vowed that whenever he heard two people disputing about destiny he would stand and pray two *rak‘ahs*.’² However, the best thing mothers could teach their children was the responsibility to be active in seeking the knowledge for themselves by attending on those who had it, for that is the basis of the established tradition among the people of ḥadīth, to travel in search of the higher *isnād*, of greater nearness to the original. ‘Affān narrates from Shu‘bah that he said: ‘My mother said to me: There is a woman here narrating ḥadīths from ‘A’ishah. Go and learn ḥadīths from her. Then I went to her and received ḥadīths from her. The name of that woman was Shumaysah Umm Salamah.’³

CHILDREN NARRATING FROM THEIR MOTHERS

In this next ḥadīth four women Companions are narrating from each other, two of them wives of the Prophet and two of them their daughters. Urwah ibn al-Zubayr narrated from Zaynab bint Abī Salamah, from Ḥabībah bint Umm Ḥabībah, from her mother from Zaynab bint Jahsh that she said: ‘The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – woke up, his face red, and said: ‘There is no god but God! Destruction is [coming] for the Arabs from an evil that is near. Today, there has opened in the wall of Gog and Magog [a breach] like this – and he indicated a circle [with his fingers]. She says: I said: O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – will we be destroyed when righteous

¹ AL-WASHSHĀ’, *al-Zarf wa-l-zurafā'*, 54. ² ABŪ NU‘AYM AL-ASBAHĀNĪ, *Hilyat awliyā'*, ii. 256. ³ BAHSHAL, *Ta’rīkh Wāsit*, 109.

people are among us? He said: Yes, when the evil becomes preponderant.¹

Yahyā ibn Bashīr ibn Khallād narrated from his mother that she called upon Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Quraṣī and heard him say: 'Abū Hurayrah narrated to me: The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – said: Make the imām [stand] in the middle [of the rows in prayer] and fill the gaps [in the rows].'²

'Abd Rabbīh ibn al-Hakam al-Thaqafī al-Tā'iifī narrated from his mother Bint Ruqayqah who narrated ḥadīth from her mother.³

Āmir al-Sha'bī narrated from Yahyā ibn Ṭalḥah, from his mother Su'dā al-Murriyyah that she said: 'Umar passed by Ṭalḥah after the death of the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – and said to him: Why are you so down-hearted? Do you dislike the rule of your cousin [i.e. Abū Bakr]? He said: No. Rather, [it is because] I heard the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – say: I know a word, no one utters it at the time of his death, but that word will be a light for his book of deeds; his body and soul will get comfort at the time of death. I did not ask him before he passed away. ['Umar] said: I know that word; it is the word that he wanted his uncle [Abū Ṭalib] to utter. Had he known anything better than that for his salvation he would have required him [to utter it].'⁴

Sufyān ibn Uyaynah narrated from Ibn al-Munkadir, from Ibn Rumaythah, from his mother that she said: 'I called upon Ā'ishah. She prayed eight *rak'abs* at the time of forenoon. My mother asked her: Tell me from the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – anything [that he said] about this prayer.

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Aḥādīth al-anbiyā'*, bāb *qīṣat ya'jūj wa ma'yūj*, *Fitan*, bāb *waylun li-l-'arab min sharrin qad iqtarab*; MUSLIM, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Fitan wa ashraṭ al-ṣā'ah*, bāb *iqtirāb al-fitān*; ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Fitan wa-l-malāḥim*, bāb *dhikr al-fitān wa dalā'ilī-hā*; AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi'*, *fitān*, bāb *mā jā'a fi khurūj ya'jūj wa ma'yūj*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Fitān*, bāb *mā yakūnu min al-fitān*; IBN 'ASĀKIR, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, *Tarājim al-nisā'*, 71–72. ² ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Ṣalāh*, bāb *maqām al-imām min al-ṣaff*. ³ AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 131–32. ⁴ IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Adab*, bāb *fadl lā ilāha illa l-lāh*.

She said: I will not tell you anything about it from the Messenger of God – *salla l-lābu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*. But if my father could be brought back to life on the condition that I quite [doing these *rak‘abs*], I would not quit [them].¹

‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Awn narrated from al-Hasan from his mother, from Umm Salamah that she said: ‘I will not forget the incident [during the preparations for the battle] of the Trench when the Prophet – *salla l-lābu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – was giving [the people] milk, and his chest-hair was dusty and he was saying: The good is the good of the hereafter, so [may God] forgive the Anṣār and the Muhājirūn.²

‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid narrated saying: Umm Janūb bint Numaylah narrated to me from her mother Suwaydah bint Jābir, from her mother Uqaylah bint Asmar ibn Muḍarris from her father Asmar ibn Muḍarris that he said: ‘I came to the Prophet and I pledged allegiance to him, then he said: Whoever comes to any water, where no Muslim has come before him, then it is his.³

Kathīr ibn Farqad narrated from ‘Abdullāh ibn Mālik ibn Ḥudhayfah, from his mother al-‘Āliyah bint Subay‘ that she said: ‘I had sheep on Mt Uhud, some of which died. Then I called on Maymūnah, the wife of the Prophet – *salla l-lābu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – and I mentioned that to her. Maymūnah said to me: If you had taken their hides, you could have made use of them. [al-‘Āliyah] said: Is it allowed (*balāh*)? She said: Some people from Quraysh passed by the Messenger of God – *salla l-lābu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – pulling a [dead] goat of theirs [behind them] as [one pulls] a donkey. The Messenger of God – *salla l-lābu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said to them: If you had taken its hide! They said: It is dead. The Messenger of God – *salla l-lābu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: Tanning will purify [its hide].⁴

¹ AL-MIZZĪ, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 180. ² ABŪ NU‘AYM, *Hilyat awliyā’*, iii. 49. ³ ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, Kharāj, bāb *fi iqṭā‘ al-araḍīn*. ⁴ *Ibid.*, *Libās*, bāb *fi uhub al-maytab*.

Among the Successors of the Companions, 'Amrah bint 'Abd al-Rahmān was renowned as a jurist and as a narrator. Among those who narrated from her was her son Abū l-Rijāl Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Anṣārī, a number of whose narrations of ḥadīth are recorded by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasaī and Ibn Mājah.¹

THE MANNERS OF THE WOMEN SCHOLARS

The sources that record the work of the *muhaddithāt* of later centuries do not provide much detail as to their manners, how they did their work. They are described not specifically but generally as pious, virtuous, deeply learned, intelligent, generous with their time and their wealth, and despite teaching for most of the day, of astonishing patience and forbearance. Also, about some of them, their rank in the field of ḥadīth is mentioned – either in the form of a title such as *musnidah*, or by quoting the judgements about them of famous students. By contrast, the scholars from the generation of the Companions and their Successors were far more present in the social space – they had to be for their knowledge to be passed on to many when they themselves were (relatively to the students) few in number. More specific accounts of their qualities are mentioned in the sources than is the case for the women teachers after them, who modelled their manners and character on theirs.

The study of ḥadīth texts and their chains of authority has many technical elements, suited to those with an academic bent. That said, the *Sunnah* which that scholarship is meant to serve is not an academic pursuit but a way of living. The scholars of ḥadīth, men and women, were aware that, as well as responsibility for accurately preserving and transmitting the knowledge that was with them, they carried a responsibility to transmit to their students the best manners in thought, speech and action. They had to be mindful that they were passing on what had reached them of the teaching of God's Messenger, not what

¹ AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 242.

might suit or serve a political or sectarian bias, nor what might improve their standing in this world. The best of the scholars were content with moral authority and kept clear of the temptations and burdens of political power. Insofar as women were further from those temptations, they were able to preserve a virtually flawless record for integrity and truthfulness in their reporting and in their personal conduct.

An excellent model of the virtues of the *muhaddithāt* is the *tābi'iyyah* Umm al-Dardā'. Ibrāhīm ibn 'Ablah narrates that a man came to her and told her that a certain individual had criticized her before the caliph, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. She said: 'If we are rebuked for something that is not found in us, then very often we are also praised for something that is not in us.'¹ It is wonderful how gently she criticizes the one who sought to bring her into the caliph's disfavour, without needing to say she has no awe or dread of the caliph's rank and power. In fact, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān used to attend her class in Damascus to learn the *fiqh* from her, and he sat as one among her other students.² Also, Ismā'il ibn 'Ubaydillāh has reported: "'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān was sitting in the Rock [of Jerusalem] and Umm al-Dardā' was sitting with him [teaching]. When the *adhan* of *maghrib* was called, he stood up and she stood up leaning on 'Abd al-Malik [and so they remained] until he entered the mosque with her. Then she sat with the women and 'Abd al-Malik went forward to lead the prayer.'³

Umm al-Dardā' commanded such respect because she had achieved the humility that comes through *taqwā*, wariness of God. 'Awn ibn 'Abdillāh narrates: 'We used to come to [the assembly of] Umm al-Dardā' and remember God there.'⁴ She was, in addition to teaching, famously relentless in devotions. Yūnus ibn Maysarah reports: 'The women used to worship with Umm al-Dardā' and when they became weak from standing they

¹ IBN 'ASĀKIR, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq, Tarājim al-nisā'*, 432. ² IBN KATHĪR, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah*, sub anno 82. ³ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, iv. 279. ⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 278.

would lean on ropes.¹ Intensity of worship is also reported of other women teachers: Hāfiẓ al-Silafī narrates from Abū l-Rijāl Fityān ibn Naṣrullāh al-Azdī that he said: ‘The mother of my children [i.e. my wife] narrated to me that she saw Khadījah bint al-Faqīh Abī l-‘Abbās al-Rāzī many times praying the whole night and not sleeping except when overcome by sleep.’²

The teachers’ work was a sacrifice on the path of God, and they attended to their students’ needs with the same care as a mother does her children. ‘Uthmān ibn Ḥayyān (d. 105) says: ‘We ate food with Umm al-Dardā’ and we omitted to praise God. She said: O my children, do not omit to season your food with remembrance of God. Eating and praising God is better than eating and being silent.’³ ‘Abd Rabbih ibn Sulaymān ibn ‘Umayr ibn Zaytūn reports that ‘Umm al-Dardā’ would write the wisdom that she taught me on my slate⁴ – we guess that he was then too young to have learnt to write himself. He also reports that she would say to him: ‘Learn the wisdom when you are little [young], then you will implement it when you grow up.’⁵ Sulaym ibn ‘Āmir says: ‘I set out intending [a journey to] Jerusalem. I passed by [the home of] Umm al-Dardā’. She gave me [something] to drink and she gave me a dinar.’⁶ This spirit of generosity, giving of their wealth as well as time, is a consistent and stable characteristic of the *muhaddithāt*. Mūsā ibn ‘Abdillāh says: ‘Ā’ishah bint Talḥah narrated to us and said [that] the people used to come to [*umm al-mu’mīnīn*] Ā’ishah from every city. They would write letters from their cities. I would sit before Ā’ishah [and say]: *Khālah* [aunt], this is a letter from so-and-so and a gift from him. Then Ā’ishah would say to me: My child, answer him and reward him. If you do not have anything to reward [him with], I will give you [something]. Then she would give me [something for him].’⁷

¹Ibid. ²ABŪ ṬĀHIR, *Mu’jam al-safar*, 83. ³IBN ‘ASĀKIR, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, *Tarājim al-nisā’*, 433. ⁴Ibid., 428. ⁵Ibid., 433. ⁶ABŪ ZUR’AH AL-DIMASHQĪ, *al-Ta’rīkh* i. 333. ⁷AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, bāb *al-kitābah ilā l-nisā’ wa jawābi-hinn*.

Some of the women were so engrossed in teaching that they devoted their whole day to it, holding extended sessions almost without rest. One *muhaddithah* renowned for stamina through all-day sessions of teaching was Sitt al-Wuzarā' bint 'Umar ibn al-Munajjā (d. 716).¹ She was popular in Damascus for teaching al-Bukhārī's *Sahīb*, then invited to Cairo where she taught it in the great mosque and other venues, her lessons being attended by notable men of the city, including its scholars. She lived beyond the age of ninety² and was still teaching on the last day of that long life.³ Al-Dhahabī (a student) says of her: 'She was steadfast, patient for long sessions of teaching.'⁴ The reason for such prolonged sessions was that students had often travelled great distances and wished to hear and read many ḥadīths in large compilations and in the shortest period. That needed exceptional endurance on the part of the teachers as, often, the students attended in large numbers. Al-Dhahabī says about another of his women teachers, Zaynab bint al-Kamāl (d. 740): 'She was devout, pious and generous, she narrated a lot of books. The students crowded round her, and read to her large books. She was of fine character, patient. Very often they would read to her most of the day, she was noble and kind.'⁵ Ibn Rāfi' (d. 774) says about her: 'She taught big books, and she was easy in teaching, loved the people of ḥadīth, [and she was] kind and noble.'⁶

'Awn ibn 'Abdillāh reports about Umm al-Dardā' that he once asked her: 'Have we wearied you? She said: You [pl.] weary me? I have sought worship in everything. I did not find anything more relieving to me than sitting with scholars and exchanging [knowledge] with them.'⁷ Revising with students was necessary to establish the knowledge securely in their minds and hearts.

¹IBN HAJAR, *al-Durar al-kamīnah*, ii. 129. ²IBN KATHĪR, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah*, *sub anno* 79. ³AL-DHAHABĪ, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, i. 292. ⁴AL-DHAHABĪ, *al-Juz' al-mafqūd min Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, 421. ⁵IBN HAJAR, *al-Durar al-kamīnah*, ii. 117. ⁶IBN RĀFI', *al-Wafayāt*, i. 318. ⁷AL-MIZZI, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 355.

Al-Dhahabī says about his teacher, Zaynab bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān (d. 704), that she was particularly good in revising.¹

Sometimes, as a break from the serious work of studying hadīth, the *muhaddithāt* would narrate interesting stories to relax their students. Sitt al-Fuqahā² al-Hamawīyyah (d. 720) used to do this.² There is precedent for it in the accounts we have of the Companions, who might sometimes joke with their students. ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Aswad narrates: ‘My father used to send me to ‘Ā’ishah and [as a child] I used to go to her [i.e. beyond the curtain]. When I became adult, I came to her and called to her from behind the curtain: O *umm al-mu’minin*, when does the bath becomes compulsory? She said: So, you have done it, O Luka!⁴ And [in answer to the question] when the private parts conjoin.’³

If the students erred, they would sometimes correct them with gentle admonition, sometimes with severity, according to the need. Yazīd ibn al-Asamm narrates: ‘I and a nephew of hers welcomed ‘Ā’ishah when she came [back] from Makkah. We had jumped into a garden of Madinah and picked its fruits. She was told about that. She turned to her nephew, rebuking him; then, she scolded me and said: Do you not know that God has brought you up in the house of his Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*? By God, Maymūnah has left [i.e. died] and now your rope has been thrown on your shoulder [so you are without a guardian and must guide yourself]. Listen! Among us she was among those most wary of God and most caring for her blood relatives.⁴ An example of appropriate severity is this response by Umm al-Dardā⁵ to a serious failure of manners in one of her students. It is reported by Ibn Abī Zakariyyā al-Khuzā‘ī: ‘We went out on a journey with Umm al-Dardā⁵. Then a man joined our company. Umm al-Dardā⁵ asked him: What is preventing you from reciting [the Qur’ān] and remembering God as your companions [are doing]? He said: I have [memorized] only one

¹ Al-Dhahabī, *Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh*, i. 258. ² *Ibid.*, i. 290. ³ AL-DHAHABI, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā*, v. 11. ⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 243–44.

sūrah of the Qur’ān, and I have repeated it so often that I have let it go. She said: Is the Qur’ān let go? I will not keep company with you – either you go ahead of us or come after us. The man mounted his camel and left.¹ Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Ubaydillāh narrates: ‘Umm al-Dardā’ said to me: O Ismā‘īl, how can one sleep if he has 10,000 under his pillow? Ismā‘īl said to her: Rather, how can one sleep if he does not have 10,000 under his pillow! She said: *Subhān al-lāh!* I see you will be tried (*tubtalā*) by [fortune in] this world.’ And Ismā‘īl was indeed tested by getting fortune in this world.² Zayd ibn Aslam narrates that ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, the caliph, once invited Umm al-Dardā’ and she was a guest in his house. One night, he got up in the night and called his servant, who came a little late. ‘Abd al-Malik cursed him. In the morning Umm al-Dardā’ said to him: I heard you last night cursing your servant. I have heard Abū l-Dardā’ say that the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: The cursers will not be intercessors or witnesses on the Day of Resurrection.³

Teaching unpaid; accepting small gifts

Most of the women taught without asking for or taking payment. However, they would accept from their students what they, unasked, could give as a gift. ‘Uthmān ibn Ḥayyān reports from Umm al-Dardā’ that she said: ‘One of them will say “O God, provide for me”. But he knows that God does not rain gold or silver over him. Rather, He provides people through each other. So whoever is given something he should accept [that]. If one is rich he should give to the needy, and if one is poor he should use that for his need.’⁴ Ibrāhīm ibn Abī ‘Ablah says: ‘I saw Umm al-Dardā’ in Jerusalem sitting among poor women. A man came and distributed some money among them. He gave Umm al-Dardā’ a *fals* [a copper]. She said to her servant: Buy camel meat

¹IBN ‘ASĀKIR, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, *Tarājim al-nisā’*, 431. ²Ibid., xxxix. 452. ³Ibid., *Tarājim al-nisā’* 435. ⁴AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, iv. 279.

with it. She said: Is not that money *sadaqah*? Umm al-Dardā' said: It came to us unasked.'¹ The sources record many instances of *muhaddithāt* who were needy, and when their students came to know of that, they would help them to the extent possible for them. Al-Sakhawī says in his account of his teacher 'Ā'ishah bint al-Zayn (d. 880): 'She became very poor, so much so that she stayed in the *ribāt* of Umm al-Zaynī ibn Muzhir for a time, and she accepted a little from her students. About his teacher Sārah bint 'Umar al-Hamawīyyah (d. 855), he says; 'She narrated a lot of ḥadīth; the imāms [of ḥadīth] heard from her; and [in terms of volume] I studied with her what is beyond description. She was righteous, with little wealth; that is why we used to help her. She was marked by intelligence, good taste, love of the students, patience in [her] teaching.'²

THE NUMBERS OF THEIR STUDENTS

Among the women scholars there were those who had a small number of students, and those who had a huge number. The huge number of narrators from *umm al-mu'minīn* 'Ā'ishah have already been mentioned. To illustrate the scale, from the later period, I have listed (see Table 2, below) the names of those of the students of Shuhdah bint Abī Naṣr Aḥmad ibn al-Faraj al-Baghdādīyyah (d. 574)³ who were, or who later became, famous as scholars, jurists, qādīs, and ascetics.⁴ After that, to show how heavily attended some of the *muhaddithāt*'s classes could be, I present a copy of, and then a transcription of the names of the students given on the attendance record (*samā'*) of a class, of which the most famous teacher out of 14 teachers was Zaynab bint al-Kamāl (d. 740). The class took place on 1st Rajab 718 in the Jāmi' al-Muẓaffarī, Qāsyūn, Damascus. She was teaching *Juz'* *Intikhāb al-Tabarānī li ibni-hi Abī Dharr 'alā ibn Fāris*, which

¹IBN 'ASĀKIR, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, *Tarājim al-nisā'*, 430. ²AL-SAKHAWĪ, *al-Daw' al-lāmī'*, xii. 52. ³AL-DHAHABĪ, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* (sub anno 571–580), 146. ⁴Accounts of Shuhdah's students can be looked up *in loco* in AL-MUNDHIRĪ, *al-Takmilah li-wafayāt al-naqalah*.

she heard from Ahmad ibn ‘Abd al-Dā’im, who heard it from Yaḥyā al-Thaqafī, who narrated it from Abū ‘Alī ibn al-Haddād, who narrated it from Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, who narrated it from its author, al-Ṭabarānī. Only a few women attended this class; their names are shown in italic.

Table 2. Famous students of Shuhdah bint Abī Naṣr
Ahmad ibn al-Faraj al-Baghdādīyyah (d. 574)

Name of student (d., place) [other places associated with]	place(s) mainly associated with
Abū Ismā’il Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Maqdisī al-Dimashqī (d. 614, Damascus)	Damascus
Shaykh Ibrāhīm ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Baghdādī (d. 622, Mosul)	Mosul, Sinjar
Abū l-Ma’ālī Ahmād ibn ‘Umar al-Nahrawānī (d. 629, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū l-‘Abbās Ahmād ibn Ya‘qūb al-Māristānī al-Ṣūfī (d. 639, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū Muḥammad Ismā’il ibn al-Husayn al-Azajī al-Māmūnī	
Abū Muḥammad Ismā’il ibn ‘Alī al-Jawharī (d. 631, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Shaykh Abū l-Fadl Ilyās ibn Jāmi‘ al-Irbilī al-Shurūtī (d. 601, Irbil)	Irbil
Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Husayn ibn ‘Umar al-Mawsili (d. 622, Mosul)	Mosul, Irbil
Abū Ṭāhir al-Khalil ibn Ahmād al-Šarṣarī (d. 633, Sarsar)	Baghdad, Sarsar
Abū Ahmād Dāwūd ibn ‘Alī al-Hammāmī	
Abū l-Ma’ālī Sa‘id ibn ‘Alī al-Baghdādī al-Wā‘iz	
Abū Muḥammad Ṭalhah al-‘Althī al-Hanbalī (d. 593, al-‘Alth)	al-‘Alth
Abū Bakr ‘Abdullāh ibn Ahmād al-Ṭāhhān (d. 623, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū Ja‘far ‘Abdullāh ibn Naṣrullāh al-Hāshimī (d. 622, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū l-Fath ‘Abdullāh ibn Abī Ghālib al-Sāmarrī (d. 636, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū l-Qāsim al-Diyā‘ ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad al- Qurashī (d. 616, Cairo)	Cairo
Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Maḥfūz al-Hanbalī (d. 630, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Najm al-Anṣarī (d. 634, Damascus)	Damascus
Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Rahīm ibn ‘Abd al-Razzaq ibn ‘Abd al- Qādir al-Jilī (d. 606, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Dulaf al-Baghdādī (d. 637),	Baghdad

Baghdad)	
Abū Tālib 'Abd al-Latīf ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Qubbātī (d. 641, Baghdad)	Baghdad
al-Muwaffaq Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Latīf ibn Yūsuf al-Mawṣilī (d. 629, Baghdad)	Baghdad, Damascus,
Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd al-Malīk ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Sukaynah (d. 602, Qanā, Egypt) [Aleppo, Jerusalem, Egypt]	Baghdad, Makkah Madinah
Abū Bakr Ubaydullāh ibn 'Alī al-Baghdādī	
Abū l-Ma'ālī Ubaydullāh ibn 'Alī al-Naghūbī (d. 622, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū l-Qāsim Ubaydullāh ibn al-Mubārak al-Azājī (d. 619, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū l-Futūḥ Uthmān ibn Abī Naṣr al-Baghdādī al-Mas'ūdī (d. 636, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Afḍal al-Hāshimī (d. 625, Makkah)	Basrah
Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Tilmisānī al-Mālikī (d. 599, Saïd, Egypt)	Egypt
Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥāfiẓ Abī l-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jawzī (d. 630, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Sulamī (d. 602, Hims) [Damascus]	Baghdad, Egypt
Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Nābit al-Azājī (d. 618, Rās al-'Ayn)	Rās al-'Ayn
Abū Ḥafṣ Umar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Turkistānī al-Šūfī (d. 602, Shiraz) [al-Jazirah, Diyar Bakr, Khurasan]	Wasit, Hijaz
Abū Ḥafṣ Umar ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Bundār al-Dimashqī (d. 600, Cairo)	Egypt, Damascus
Qaysar ibn Kumushikīn (d. 607, Tustar)	Baghdad
Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Farghānī (d. 623, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū l-Manāqib Muḥammad ibn Ahmad al-Tāliqānī (d. 623, Damascus) [?Egypt]	Qazwin, Baghdad
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ahmad al-Baghdādī	Baghdad
Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ahmad al-Tāliqānī (d. 614, Rome) [Irbil]	Qazwin, Baghdad
Abū l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad ibn Ahmad al-Jili al-Baghdādī (d. 627, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Mashshiq al-Baghdādī al-Bayyī (d. 593)	Baghdad
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Irbilī (d. 618, Irbil)	Irbil, ?Egypt
Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Yūsufī (d. 640, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Uthmān al-Zabīdī (d. 608, Kaysh island)	Baghdad
Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Anṣātī (d. 600, Asyut)	Asyut, Mosul

Abū l-Hasan Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Baghdādī al-Darī (d. 617)	Baghdad
Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ḥimād al-Harrānī (d. 632, Alexandria)	Harran, Alexandria
Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn ʻUmar al-Zafarī (d. 627, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Abdillāh al-Nawqānī (d. 637, Cairo)	Nishapur, Cairo
Abū l-Sa‘ūd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far al-Baṣrī (d. 629, Basrah)	Basrah
Abū Sa‘d Muḥammad ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Nafīs al-Ḥanbālī (d. 604, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Muḥammad ibn Yahyā al-Baghdādī (d. 639, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū Ṣalīḥ Naṣr ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Jili (d. 633, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū l-Futūḥ Naṣr ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (d. 634, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū l-Faḍā’il Ḥibatullāh ibn Salāmah ibn al-Musallam al-Lakhāmī al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 607, Cairo)	Cairo
Abū l-Majd Yahyā ibn Abī l-Wafā’ al-Mārdīnī (d. 620, Mardin) [Damascus]	Mardin, Baghdad
Abū l-Makārim Ya‘ish ibn Rayhān ibn Mālik al-Anbārī (d. 622, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū l-Walid Yūsuf ibn ʻUmar al-Baqillānī (d. 625, Baghdad)	Baghdad
Abū Muḥammad Yūnus ibn Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān (d. 630, Baghdad)	Baghdad

Continuation of *samā‘* of the class of Zaynab bint al-Karmāl

سَمَّاً لِلْجَنَاحِيَّةِ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ عَنْ زَيْنَبِ بْنِ الْكَرْمَالِ
 وَهُوَ مَنْ يَعْلَمُ بِحَدَّادِهِ وَأَنْجَدَهُ إِذْ أَمْرَهُ عَلَيْهِ مَطْلَقَهُ فِي كُلِّ الْجَنَاحِيَّةِ
 سَمَّاً لِلْجَنَاحِيَّةِ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ عَنْ زَيْنَبِ بْنِ الْكَرْمَالِ
 وَصَرَّعَ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ عَنْ زَيْنَبِ بْنِ الْكَرْمَالِ
 دَاهِدَهُ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ دَاهِدَهُ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ دَاهِدَهُ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ
 دَاهِدَهُ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ دَاهِدَهُ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ دَاهِدَهُ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ
 دَاهِدَهُ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ دَاهِدَهُ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ دَاهِدَهُ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ
 دَاهِدَهُ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ دَاهِدَهُ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ دَاهِدَهُ عَنْ حَدَّادِهِ

سمع جميع هذا الجواب هو اصحاب المدارس اذ عازم على غارف حل المشائخ الاربع عشر
 في الجملة الفعلية سعد الله بن عبد الله ثم سعد الله بن ابي العمار و سعد الله بن عبد الله المعا
 زد والهارثة النذراني سعد الله بن ابي العمار و سعد الله بن ابي العمار و سعد الله بن ابي العمار
 سعد الله بن عبد الله العمار و سعد الله بن ابي العمار و سعد الله بن ابي العمار و سعد الله بن ابي العمار
 و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 احمد بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 المدرسة لم يعيها سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 القوسى و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 مزدا و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 عطيل و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 الاكتناف و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 سعيد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 احمد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 راشد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 عيسى الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 الاخطب الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار
 سعيد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار و سعاد الله بن ابي العمار

Samā' of the class of Zaynab bint al-Kamāl (d. 740), teaching *Juz'*
Intikbāb al-Tabarānī li ibni-hi Abī Dharr ^{‘alā} *ibn Fāris* in *Jāmī'* al-
 Muẓaffārī, Qāsyūn, Damascus, 1 Rajab 718. Continues on previous
 page.

The document shown on the previous page¹ begins by stating the title of the book taught; then follow the names of the 14 shaykhs and shaykhahs taking the class, including Zaynab bint al-Kamāl; their *isnād* to the author; the names of the students who attended the whole session; those who attended only a part of it; the place and date of the class.

Partial transcription of the *samāc* of the class of Zaynab bint al-Kamāl (d. 740), teaching *Juz'* *Intikhāb al-Tabarānī li ibni-hi Abī Dharr* 'alā ibn Fāris in *Jāmi' al-Mużaffarī*, Qāsyūn, Damascus, 1 Rajab 718. (The names of the few women students in this class are in italic.)

<u>name of student (date of death if known; place associated with)</u>
Muhammad ibn Sa'd al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'd ibn 'Abdillāh al-Maqdisī
Shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥassān al-Farrā'
Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Salmān al-Bālisī Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abdullāh ibn Ya'qūb ibn Sayyidihim al-Iskandarī (d. 754; Alexandria)
Aḥmad ibn al-Shaykh Abī 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Tamām ibn Ḥassān al-Ḥanbalī (d. 760; Damascus)
Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Baqā' al-Baghdādī (d. 759; Damascus)
Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn 'Umar ibn Ṭwād al-Maqdisī
Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭizz 'Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Umar
Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Mulaqqīn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Ayyāsh
Ismā'īl ibn Sulṭān ibn Ghānā'īm al-Khabbāz the grandson of Naṣrullāh ibn 'Ayyāsh
Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar ibn 'Atīq al-Najm ibn 'Abbās al-'Aṭṭār 'Alī ibn al-Zayn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Mūsā
Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abī-l-Ḥarām al-Sanbūsalī
Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Āṭbāqī al-Tājīr

¹ MUTĀ' AL-HĀFIẒ, *al-Jāmi' al-Mużaffarī*, 445–46. MS M105–Q239.

‘Alī ibn Nāṣir ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn al-Khabbāz al-Nassāj
 ‘Abdullāh Aybak ‘Atīq ibn Sab‘ al-Majānīn
 ‘Umar ibn Ḥamzah ibn Yūnus ibn Ḥamzah al-Irbilī al-‘Adawī (d.
 782; Safad)
 ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d ibn ‘Awsajah al-Ma‘dhiri
 Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd al-Muhsin
 Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Nāṣih ‘Abd al-Rahmān
 ibn ‘Ayyāsh
 Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdillāh
 ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Shaykh Izz al-Dīn Ibrāhīm
 ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn al-Shaykh Abī ‘Umar
 ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Atīyyah ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid
 al-Sharīf Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muẓaffar al-Husaynī (d.
 776; Damascus)
 ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar ibn Musallam al-Kattānī (d. 777;
 Damascus)
 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣrullāh ibn Ḥasan
 ‘Umar ibn al-‘Imād ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Uqbah
 Muḥammad ibn al-‘Imād ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Uqbah
 Muḥammad ibn Fuḍayl ibn ‘Abd al-Muhsin
 Yaḥyā ibn Fuḍayl ibn ‘Abd al-Muhsin
 Ibrāhīm ibn Shibli ibn Ḥamdan al-Hammāl al-‘Aytī al-Sammān
 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turaykī
 Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turaykī
 Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad
 Aḥmad ibn ‘Isā ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Jamma‘ī
 Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir ibn Mansūr
 ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥājj Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Tannūrī
 ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar ibn Shibli al-Fiqā‘ī
 Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar ibn Shibli al-Fiqā‘ī
 ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alwān
 Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh, relative of al-Ṣāfi al-Hanafī al-Turkmānī
 ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh
 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-‘Izz
 Rāfi‘ ibn Rikāb ibn Rikāb al-Ṣarghānī
 al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Salmān ibn Muḥammad al-Ma‘marī al-
 Nu‘mānī
 Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān
 ‘Alī ibn al-‘Izz
 Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Sālim ibn Khalaf al-Maqdisī
 Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn

Kāmil al-Maqdisī

Muhammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Faqīr al-Ikhmīmī
 ‘Abd al-Salām ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Mutayyish
 Husayn ibn Aqsh ibn Shardah al-Kurdī
 Muḥammad ibn ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Khayyāt
 ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm
 Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh
 Muḥammad ibn al-Muhibb ‘Abdillāh al-Maqdisī
 his sister *Khadījah*
 her mother *Dunyā bint Yamān ibn Mas‘ūd ibn Jān*
 Muḥammad
 Ibrāhīm
 ‘Abd al-Rahmān
Zaynab, brothers and sister of Muhibb ‘Abdullāh al-Maqdisī
Zaynab and Muḥammad descendants of their brother
 their mother *Fatimah bint Muhibb ibn al-Muhibb*
 al-Imām Amīn al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn
 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Wānī (d. 735; Damascus)
 his son ‘Abdullāh
 Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Khalīl al-
 Makkī
 Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abdullāh ibn Ya‘qūb ibn Sayyidihim al-Iskandarī (d.
 754; Damascus)
 his children Muḥammad, Aḥmad and *Ā’ishah*
 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Rushayq al-
 Miṣrī al-Mālikī
 his daughter *Ā’ishah*
 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Naṣrullāh ibn Abī-l-Qizz al-Zaynī
 his son Muhammad
 ‘Umar and *Khadījah* descendants of ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Hāfiẓ
 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mizzī
 their aunt *Zaynab*
 ‘Abdullāh Aybak ‘Atīq ibn Sab‘ al-Majānīn
 ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥāzim ibn ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī
 Ibrāhīm ibn Sulaymān ibn Abī-l-Ḥasan al-Dayrqānūnī
 Husayn ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mannā‘ al-Tikrītī
 ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Khaḍir al-Taḥhān
 Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Tāmir al-Khayyāt al-Dallī
 ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Ṣāliḥī
 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qayyim al-Qatṭān
 ‘Umar and Aḥmad sons of Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn

Tarkhān with their father

Muhammad and Ahmad sons of Shams al-Dīn ibn Tarkhān
their slave Aydmar

Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad ibn Salāmah al-Khayyāt
Raslān ibn Ahmad ibn al-Muwaffaq Ismā'il al-Dhahabī (d. 796;
Damascus)

Ibrāhīm ibn Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd al-Rahīm ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn
Abī-l-‘Abbās al-‘Aṭṭār

‘Abdullāh ibn Muhammad ibn Ni‘mah ibn Sālim al-Nābulṣī
Taqī al-Dīn Ahmad ibn al-‘Alam ibn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar al-Harrānī
(d. 742; Damascus)

his children *Khadījah* and Muhammad

their grandmother *Zaynab* bint ‘Alī ibn Isrā’īl al-Kinānī

Sharaf al-Dīn Muhammād ibn Ahmad ibn al-Imām Zayn al-Dīn Abī
Bakr ibn Yūsuf ibn Abī Bakr al-Mizzī

‘Uthmān ibn al-Zayn ‘Umar ibn Muhammād ibn Bayān

Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Alī ibn Muhammād al-Mawṣilī al-
Khabbāz

his daughter *Zāhidah*

‘Abd al-Rahīm ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Salmān al-Jammā‘īlī

his son ‘Abd al-Qādir

al-Hājj ‘Uthmān ibn Khalaf ibn Īsā al-Harā’ījī

his son ‘Abd al-Rahmān

al-Šārim Muhammād ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar ibn Muslim al-Kinānī

his brother Ḥasan

their cousins Ahmad and Muhammād, sons of ‘Uthmān

Salāmah ibn ‘Āmir ibn Najwān al-Fuzārī

Fayyād ibn Fayyād ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Funduqī

‘Alī ibn Abī Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Ṣumādī

Ahmad ibn al-Zayn ibn al-Shihāb al-Halbūnī

Muhammād ibn ‘Umar ibn Ahmad ibn Ya‘qūb al-Ma‘arrī

‘Abd al-Rahmān and Ahmad sons of Shaykh Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī ibn
Muhammād ibn Baqā al-Mulaqqīn

Muhammād ibn Shams al-Dīn Muhammād ibn Abī Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-
Dā’im

Ahmad ibn Muhammād ibn Ghāzī ibn ‘Alī ibn Bashīr al-Turkmānī

Muhammād ibn Ahmad ibn Māni‘ al-Baytār

Abū l-Thanā’ ibn Mūsā ibn ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Furāwī

his son Muhammād

‘Abd al-Ghaffār ibn Muhammād ibn ‘Abd al-Ghaffār

‘Abd al-Hamīd

Abū Bakr and ‘Ā’ishah children of Shaykh Ibrāhīm ibn Barakāt ibn Abī-l-Fadl al-Ba’labakkī
‘Abdullāh ‘Atīq al-‘Irāqī
Muhammad and Fātimah children of Muhammad ibn Shaddād ibn ‘Uthmān al-Qatṭān
Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Sulaymān al-Warrāq
Fātimah bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Hajāwī
Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Thiqah al-Warrāq
Muhammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Mu‘allim
al-Shāghūrī al-Balkhī al-‘Atṭār
his son Muhammad
Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Shihāb Aḥmad ibn Muhsin
al-Māwardī
his son Muhammad
Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muhammad ibn Yūsuf al-Murshidī
Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn
‘Abdullāh ibn Marwān al-Fāriqī
‘Alī ibn ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar ibn Mu’min
‘Alī ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Umar ibn Naṣr al-Harrānī al-Nassāj
‘Alī ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Abdān al-Daqqāq
Yūsuf and Khalil sons of Ṣāliḥ ibn Ibrāhīm al-Hāfiẓī
‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Uthmān ibn al-Safī ibn ‘Uqbah
‘Alī ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Mawṣilī al-Dhababī
Muhammad ibn al-Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Tanbā ibn
‘Abdillāh ibn al-Halabīyyah and his brothers
and Muhammad ibn Ṭughrīl ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn al-Ṣayrafi

HOW THE MUHADDITHĀT TRANSMITTED ḤADĪTH

We saw in an earlier chapter that the women as students got ḥadīth and knowledge of the *Sunnah* through the same ways as men. This is also true of how, as teachers, they passed it on.

Narration of the words

The highest way of ḥadīth transmission is by the teacher’s speaking the words to the student. It is important to emphasize this lest people should suppose that the women teaching ḥadīth were less particular, less scholarly, about wording or that, since they were women, they conveyed the words at some remove, so

that their students did not directly hear them speak. As always, the precedent is established during the generation of the Companions. I will begin therefore with examples where it is explicit that the students *heard* the ḥadīths spoken to them, because variants are recorded, or because the words as spoken are interpreted to clarify the meaning, or because someone's saying particular words is questioned in order to clarify and confirm it.

Nāfi‘ narrated from Ṣafiyah bint Abī ‘Ubayd that

She heard Hafṣah bint ‘Umar, the wife of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – say that the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: ‘It is not allowed for any woman who believes in God and the Last Day’ or he said ‘in God and His Messenger’ – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – to be in mourning for a deceased for more than three days except for a husband.¹

Nāfi‘ narrated from ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar that he said:

Hafṣah narrated to me, and this is about a time when no one would enter upon him [*salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*], that he used to pray two *rak‘abs* when the dawn broke. She meant [when] the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – and the caller would call for the prayer.²

‘Abdullāh ibn Abī Sa‘id al-Muzanī says:

Hafṣah bint ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb narrated to me saying: The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – once had a garment [placed] over his thighs. Abū Bakr sought permission [to enter], and he allowed him while in the same state. Then ‘Umar came with the same happening, then other Companions came, while he was in the same state.

¹MUSLIM, *Ṣabīḥ, Talāq*, bāb *wujūb al-ihdād fi ‘iddat al-wafāh wa tahrīmi-hi fī ghayri dhālik illā thalāthata ayyām*; AL-NASA‘Ī, *Sunan, Talāq*, bāb ‘iddat al-mutawaffā ‘an-hā zavju-hā; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan, Talāq*, bāb *hal tuhidd al-mar‘ah ‘alā ghayri zavji-hā*.²AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ṣabīḥ, Ṣalāh*, bāb *al-adhān ba‘d al-fajr*, bāb *al-raka‘atayn qabla l-zuhr*, bāb *al-tatāwif ba‘da l-maktabah*; Muslim, *Ṣabīḥ, Ṣalāh*, bāb *istihbāb rak‘atay al-fajr wa-l-hathth ‘alay-himā*; AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi‘, Ṣalāh*, bāb *mā jā‘a anna-hu yuṣalli-himā fī l-bayt*; AL-NASA‘Ī, *Sunan, Ṣalāh*, bāb *waqt rak‘atay al-fajr wa dhikr al-ikhtilāf ‘alā nāfi‘*; bāb *rak‘atay al-fajr*; bāb *takhīr al-maghrib*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan, Ṣalāh*, bāb *mā jā‘a fī al-rak‘atayn qabla l-fajr*.

Then Uthmān came, sought permission and he permitted him then he took his garment and put it on [fully]. They talked for a while then they left. I said: O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Alī, and your other Companions came and you remained in your state [without changing it]. When Uthmān came you dressed [fully]. He said: Should I not be shy from one from whom the [very] angels would be shy?¹

Sālim ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Umar narrated from Abū l-Jarrāḥ that Umm Ḥabībah narrated to him saying:

I heard the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – say: Had it not been a hardship to my community (*ummah*), I would have commanded them to clean their teeth at the time of every prayer when they do *wudū’*.²

Zuhrī narrated from ‘Alī ibn Ḥusayn that Ṣafiyah, the wife of the Prophet, narrated to him:

I came to the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – and spoke to him when he was in *i‘tikāf* in the mosque. He stood up with me and took me to my house. On the way, two people from the Anṣār met him. She says: When they saw the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – they felt shyness and stepped back. He said: Come forward; this is Ṣafiyah, my wife. They said: We seek refuge in God, Glorified is He. He said – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*: I am not saying that you harboured a bad thought, but I know that the satan runs through the body like the blood.³

Qatādah narrates:

¹IBN HANBAL, *Musnad*, *musnad al-nisā’*. ²Ibid. ³AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ṣahīh*, *I‘tikhāf*, bāb *hal yakbruju al-mu’takif li-hawā’iji-hi ilā bāb al-masjid*; *Adab*, bāb *al-takbīr wa tasbīh ‘inda l-ta‘ajjub*; *Bad’ al-khalq*, bāb *sifat iblīs wa junūdī-h*; MUSLIM, *Ṣahīh*, *Isti‘dhān*, bāb *bayān anna-hu yustababhu li-man ru‘iya khāliyan bi imra‘atin wa kānat zāwjata-hu aw maḥraman an yaqūla hādbihī fulānatū li-yadfa‘a zānn al-sū’ bi-hi*; ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Ṣawm*, bāb *al-mu’takif yadkhalu al-bayta li-hajati-hi*; *Adab*, bāb *min busn al-zānn*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Ṣiyām*, bāb *fi al-mu’takif yazūru-hu ablu-hu fi l-masjid*. ABŪ NU‘AYM AL-AŞBAHĀNĪ, *Ma‘rifat al-ṣabābāh*, v. 168.

‘Abdullāh ibn al-Hārith ibn Nawfal narrated to me from ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās that Mu‘āwiyah prayed ‘asr then Ibn al-Zubayr stood up and prayed after it. Mu‘āwiyah said: ‘O Ibn ‘Abbās, what are these two *rak‘abs*? [Ibn ‘Abbās] said: It is an innovation and its doer is an innovator. When Ibn al-Zubayr turned [to them] he said: What did you say? They said: We were speaking about this and that. Ibn al-Zubayr said: I did not do an innovation. Rather, my maternal aunt (*khālah*) ‘Ā’ishah narrated [that] to me. Then Mu‘āwiyah sent someone to ask ‘Ā’ishah. She said: He is right; that is what Umm Salamah narrated to me. Then Mu‘āwiyah sent someone to Umm Salamah [informing her] that ‘Ā’ishah has narrated from you such-and-such. She said: She is right. One day the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – came and he prayed after the ‘asr. I stood up behind him and prayed. When he finished, he said: What is the matter with you? I said: I saw you, O Prophet of God, praying, so I prayed with you. He said, one of my *zakāh*-collectors came so I had been preoccupied [with him].¹

Sha‘bī says:

Whenever Masrūq narrated from *umm al-mu‘minin* ‘Ā’ishah, he would [begin by] say[ing]: ‘Narrated to me the truthful woman, the daughter of the truthful man, the one declared innocent by God, the beloved of the beloved of God’.²

As for the Companions among the women other than the Prophet’s wives, Kulayb said:

The step-daughter of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* –, whose name is Zaynab, narrated to me. I asked her: Tell me whether the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – was from among [the descendants of] Mudar? She said: Then who else was he from, other than Mudar? He was from among the descendants of Naḍr ibn Kinānah.³

About the famous long ḥadīth about the Antichrist, one version of which is narrated by Fātimah bint Qays, Āmir al-

¹IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Ṣalāh*, bāb *fī man fātathu al-rak‘atān ba‘da l-zuhr*.

²IBN SA‘D, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, viii. 64. ³AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *al-Ta‘rīkh al-saghir*, i. 12.

Sha'bī says the following, noting minor variants in the different tellings of it that are known to him:

I met al-Muhriz ibn Abī Hurayrah and I narrated to him the ḥadīth of Fātimah bint Qays. He said: I testify of my father [Abū Hurayrah] that he narrated to me as Fātimah bint Qays narrated to you. He said that the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said [the Anti-christ] is in the direction of the east.

Then I met Qāsim ibn Muhammad and I mentioned to him the ḥadīth of Fātimah. He said I testify of ‘Ā’ishah that she narrated to me as Fātimah narrated to you, except that she said: ‘both the sanctuaries of Makkah and Madinah are forbidden to him’.¹

Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah narrated that:

‘Ubaydullāh ibn Abī Yazid narrated to us saying that his father told him saying: I became a guest of Umm Ayyūb, whose guest was the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*. Then she narrated to me this ḥadīth that they made special food for the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – in which there were some of these vegetables [onions or garlic]. They brought the food to him. He did not like it and said to his Companions: Eat, for I am not like you. I fear lest I annoy my companion – meaning the angel [of the revelation, Gabriel].²

That precedent that we have just illustrated continued to be followed through all succeeding periods. The scholars heard the ḥadīths directly from their teachers, spoken by them. Hāfiẓ Ibn Hajar, while listing the works that he studied with Khadijah bint Ibrāhīm al-Baqabkiyyah, notes: ‘...and the *Musnad* of Musaddad; if not by hearing, from al-Qāsim ibn Mużaffar, with his *ijāzah* from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Dulaf and Zuhrah bin Muḥammad ibn Ḥādir, with ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s hearing it from Shuhdah.’³ It is

¹IBN ḤANBAL, *Musnad*, *musnad al-nisā'*; MUSLIM, *Ṣahīh*, *Fitan*, bāb *qissat al-jassāsah*; ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, K. *al-malāhim*, bāb *fī khabar al-jassāsah*; AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Sunan*, *Fitan*, bāb (*hadīth Tamīm al-Dārī*); IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Fitan*, bāb *fitnat al-dajjāl*. ²AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Sunan*, *Aṭīmah*, bāb *mā jā'a fī al-rukhsah fī l-thūm matbūkhan*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Aṭīmah*, bāb *akl al-thūm*; AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 331–32. ³IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 475–576.

clear here that 'Abd al-'Azīz heard the *Musnad* of Musaddad directly from Shuhdah, one of its renowned narrators. Ibn Hajar has stated that Ibrāhīm ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Khayyir heard *Amālī Abī Bakr Ahmad al-Najjād* from Shuhdah;¹ and that Naṣr ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn 'Abd al-Qādīr, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Duluf, Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Badr ibn Fityān and Ibrāhīm ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Khayyir and others heard *Mashyakhah Shuhdah* from Shuhdah herself.²

Reading to the teacher

Next in rank, after hearing the text spoken by the shaykh or shaykhah themselves, is reading it to them. In later centuries, when there were more books and more copyists, this way gained in popularity. Ibn al-Jawzī says in the account of Karīmah al-Marwaziyah that imāms like al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-Muṭṭalib, al-Sam'ānī, and Abū Ṭālib al-Zaynabī read to her.³ Al-Sam'ānī has stated that al-Khaṭīb read the whole of *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* to Karīmah al-Marwaziyah in five days.⁴ Similarly Abū l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal ibn Ḫisā ibn Shu'ayb al-Harawī read the *Juz'* *Bibā bint 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Harthamiyyah* with her.⁵ Al-Dhababī says in the account of Sitt al-Wuzarā' bint al-Munajjā: 'I read to her *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Musnad al-Shāfi'i*'.⁶ Muḥammad al-Wānī read to her *Thulāthiyāt al-Bukhārī*, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* from *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, then the whole of the *Saḥīḥ*, then the fifth part of *Fawā'id* 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Umar ibn Naṣr al-Dimashqī, a *juz'* containing 12 ḥadīths from *Musnad al-Shāfi'i*, three sections from the *Amālī* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.⁷ Similarly, readings to her were attended by Ahmād ibn Abī Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Hādī,⁸ Abū Hurayrah ibn al-Dhababī,⁹ 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Majd al-Dimashqī,¹⁰ Fātimah bint Muḥammad ibn al-Munajjā al-

¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 241. ² *Ibid.*, i. 144–45. ³ IBN JAWZĪ, *al-Muntazam*, viii. 270. ⁴ See *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* xviii. 277. ⁵ IBN AL-RUSHAYD AL-SABTĪ, *Mil' al-ṣaybah*, v. 301–02. ⁶ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Muṣṭam al-shuyūkh* i. 292. ⁷ KAHHĀLAH, *A'lām al-nisā'* ii. 173. ⁸ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma' al-mu'assas*, i. 267. ⁹ *Ibid.*, ii. 145. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. 273.

Tanūkhīyyah,¹² Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Zaftāwī,² Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Nāṣīḥ al-Hanbālī,³ Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣāmit,⁴ Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar, ibn Muḥammad al-Shāfi‘ī.⁵ A very large number of people read to Zaynab bint al-Kamāl.⁶ Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar says in the account of Fātimah bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī: ‘I read to her many books and *ajzā’* in Ṣalīhiyyah.’⁷ Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī also read many books with her.⁸

Correspondence

Students also received ḥadīth from the *muhaddithāt* by writing to them. An early example is scholars writing to Subay‘ah al-Anṣāriyyah about her ḥadīth. ‘Āmir al-Sha‘bī narrates that Masrūq and ‘Amr ibn Utbah wrote to Subay‘ah bint al-Hārith asking her about her case. She wrote back and explained the circumstances – that she had delivered at 25 days after the death of her husband, and with that ended her *‘iddah*; then, Abū l-Sanābil ibn Ba‘kak had come by and told her that she had rushed, that she should have waited for the later of the two dates, in this case the full four months and ten days of the known period of *‘iddah*. She had become concerned that she had made a mistake: ‘Then I came to the Prophet and I asked him to pray for my forgiveness. He said: Why is that? I told him. He said: If you find a suitable husband then marry him.’⁹

Correspondence with women for the purpose of establishing knowledge of their ḥadīth is well established in Islam. Hāfiẓ ‘Abd al-‘Azīm al-Mundhirī wrote to a large number of women scholars, whom he has mentioned in *al-Takmilah li-wafayāt al-nuqālab*. Another example is Sayyidah bint Mūsā al-Mārāniyyah (d. 695). She left Syria for Egypt and al-Dhahabī was unable to receive

¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 389. ² *Ibid.*, ii. 469. ³ *Ibid.*, ii. 594. ⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 646. ⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 651. ⁶ AL-DHAHABĪ, *al-Juz’ al-maqnūd min Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, 546. ⁷ IBN ḤAJAR, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, iv. 314. ⁸ TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀSĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 390–91. ⁹ IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Talāq*, b. *inqidā’* *‘iddati al-mutawaffā ‘anbā’ zanju-hā, wa ghayr hā bi wad‘i al-haml*.

ḥadīth directly from her. He much regretted missing the opportunity, and then he received her ḥadīth from her through correspondence.¹

Ijāzah

I explained earlier that *ijāzah* was an accepted form of receiving and transmitting ḥadīth and knowledge of the *Sunnah*, and was very popular in the later centuries. The *muhaddithāt* gave *ijāzah* both verbally and in writing. Below is an *ijāzah* from Sitt al-Katabah bint ‘Alī ibn Yahyā ibn ‘Alī al-Tarrāb:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 ارْزَاى السَّادَةِ امَّهَا كَدِشَ احْسَنَ اللَّهُ عَزَّلَهُمْ اَنْ يَعْرِفُ
 الْعَيْنَ لِمَنْ حَفَظَ مِنْ رَاجِعٍ مِنْ الْاَعْصَمِ الْمُهَرَّبِ وَالْوَارِدِ
 اَوْ اَكْبَرَ اَسَبِّهِ وَامِ اَكْسِرَ فَاطِهِ وَلَا يَعْلَمُ اَعْشَلُ حَدَّ دَائِي اَكْبَرِ
 وَلَا عُزْمَانُ مُوسَى وَابْنِ الْجَاهِ يُوتَسْتَ وَلَا هُمْ اَمْنَسَ تَحْرِفُ اَعْدَى
 كَهْرُتْ قَدَاسَ جَمِيعِ مُسُوكِهِمْ وَاحْزَارَهُمْ وَنَادَلَهُمْ سَارَادَ
 لَهُمْ رَوَاتِهِ مِنْ الْقُدُورِ عَلَى الْخَلَافَ اَوْ اَعْطَاهُمْ اَشْرَطَ الصَّحَّعِ
 اَسْتَلَ فَعُلَّا ذَذِكْرُ مُسَارِبِهِمْ وَرَأَرَهُمْ اَسْمَاعَهُمْ اَكْبَرَسَ وَلَا يَدْعُونَ
 وَكَسَّ وَبِرْ وَلَا هُمْ اَمْرَرَهُمْ بَلْ اَسْتَرَهُمْ اَكْبَرَسَ وَلَا يَدْعُونَ
اَحْرَدَ مَا سَأَلُو وَوَكَدَ
سَـ اـ الـ كـاتـبـةـ بـ عـلـىـ بـ
كـ مـ عـلـىـ الطـراـحـ

¹ AL-DHAHABI, *Mujam al-shuyūkh*, i. 294.

The document requesting *ijāzah*, the *istid'ā*, would often be circulated to different teachers, who would record their *ijāzah* on that document. Sometimes the *istid'ā* is addressed to a single shaykh or shaykhah. In the document copy showing on the previous page, the request is from one Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Rājih for himself and his children, male and female and for their mother. The shaykhah responding writes: 'I have given *ijāzah* for what they have asked.' Then, following the word 'written' is her signature: 'Sitt al-Katabah bint 'Alī ibn Yahyā ibn 'Alī al-Tarrāh'.¹

It was more typical, just as it was more practical, for the *istid'ā* to be circulated to many from many. The teachers would then register the names of several people within the document, for whom the *ijāzah* was valid. At times such *ijāzahs* included a very long list of students' names. For example, the shaykhah Umm Muḥammad Zaynab bint Aḥmad ibn 'Umar al-Maqdisiyah (d. 720) gave *ijāzah* in an *istid'ā*, written down in Damascus in 694, which names the following persons – the grouping of names, here indicated by a separating line not in the original, is of some interest – :

Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Rikāb b. Sa'ad al-Anṣārī, his children Muḥammad, Zaynab and 'Ā'ishah, her mother Fātimah bint 'Umar b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm al-Harīzī, their brothers Muḥammad and 'Alī, their mother Mudallalah bint Abī Bakr b. Ma'ālī b. al-Muhabbar al-Shawbakī, her brother Muḥammad, daughters of her sister Hājir and 'Ā'ishah daughters of Yūsuf b. Ismā'il al-Ba'li al-Sammān, Abū Bakr, Muḥammad, Zāhidah and Nafisah, children of Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Abī l-Fath al-Taḥāwī, their sister on their father's side Dunyā

'Alī and Sitt al-Riḍā, children of Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Adamī

the great *muhaddith* 'Alam al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim b. Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Birzālī, his father's slave Bulbul b. 'Abdullāh

¹MUṬṬI AL-HAFIZ, *al-Madrasah al-'Umariyyah*, 103. MS Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyah, 4565.

Muhammad and Zāhidah, both children of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Khabbāz, Muhammad Ahmād and Fātimah, children of Shāmah

Fakhr al-Dīn Umar b. al-Hajj Yūsuf b. Ṭālib al-‘Irbilī, his sisters Dayfah, Khadijah and Sitt al-Nasab: Khadījah's children Muhammād, ‘Alī and Mūlūk children of al-Hajj al-‘Irbilī; Dayfah's children

Muhammad Sitt al-Jamī‘ and Āsiyah children of Muhammād al-‘Irbilī

Muhammād and Fātimah children of Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Abdillāh al-Sirāj

Abū l-‘Abbās Ahmād b. Mużaffar b. Muhammād al-Nabulسī

Abū Bakr b. Ahmād b. Umar al-Khabbāz

Fātimah bint Muhammād b. Naṣr al-Maqdisī al-Mu‘adhdhin, her mother Nafisah bint Ibrāhīm b. Sālim al-Anṣārī, her brother Abū Bakr Ahmād b. Ibrāhīm

‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Yūsuf al-Mizzī

Ahmād b. Qādī al-quḍāt Sharaf al-Dīn Hasan b. Sharaf al-Dīn Abī Bakr ‘Abdullāh b. Abī ‘Umar Muhammād b. Ahmād b. Qudāmah al-Maqdisī

Muhammād b. Hasan al-Māzdānī al-Khayyāt, his mother Āminah bint Ahmād b. Naṣrullāh b. Umar b. al-Rikāb al-Shāghūrī

‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ahmād b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Munajjā

‘Alī and Abū Bakr sons of Salāḥ al-Dīn Muhammād b. ‘Alī al-Shahrazūrī

Yūsuf b. Muhammād b. Yūsuf b. Yahyā b. Muhammād b. ‘Alī b. Muhammād b. Yahyā al-Qurashī

Ahmād b. ‘Abd al-Barr b. Muhammād b. al-Husayn b. Razīn al-Hamāwī al-Shāfi‘ī

Muhammād b. Ahmād b. Ismā‘il b. Ahmād b. Ibrāhīm al-Sharā‘ihī
‘Umar and Muhammād sons of Muhammād b. Umar b. Muhammād b. Umar b. al-Hasūb, their slave Mas‘ūd b. ‘Abdullāh, their aunts Zaynab and Khātūn daughters of al-Badr Hasan b. Balbān al-Salūqī

Muhammād b. Yahyā b. Muhammād b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Quwayrah al-Hanafī al-Sulamī

Muhammād b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh, guardian Dār al-Hādīth al-Zāhirīyyah

Muhammād b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Anṣārī al-Zajjāj and his sisters living [at time of writing]

Marwān b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Marwān al-Najjār

Muhammād b. Umar b. Yūnus al-Najjār

Muhammād b. Ahmād b. Umar

Muhammād b. Ahmād b. Yūnus, Muhammād b. İddīq b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, his sister Dayfah and her sisters living [at time of writing]

Muhammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār
Aḥmad b. Dāwūd b. ‘Alī al-Dimashqī
Muhammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdillāh
Muhammad and ‘Alī sons of Izz al-Dīn Aybak b. ‘Abdullāh al-Rushaydī al-Ṣāliḥī
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Tājīr
‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ma‘tūq al-Shāfi‘ī al-Mu‘addib b. al-Lahhām and his living children, Muḥammad, ‘Alī and Aḥmad children of Imād al-Dīn Aḥmad and their sisters living [at time of writing]
Muhammad b. Ghāzī b. Muḥammad
Hasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Daqqāq
‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. ‘Umar
Muhammad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Āmir al-Tadmurī
Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Mawsilī, his sister on his mother's side
Muhammad b. Aqūsh b. ‘Abdullāh al-Qabāqībī
Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Hamīd b. ‘Abd al-Rahīm al-Muḥaddith and his existing brothers, their cousin Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Rahīm, his brothers and sisters living [at time of writing]
‘Alī b. al-Shujā‘ ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Rahīm and his brother, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahīm b. ‘Umar al-Ḥalabī
Muhammad b. Mujāhid b. Muḥammad al-Ṣahrāwī,
Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣahrāwī
Uzbik b. ‘Abdullāh slave of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Zāhirī
Muhammad, Ahmad and ‘Alī, children of Dāwūd b. Khuzaymah al-Khabbāz
Muhammad and ‘Alī sons of Yaqaṣān b. Ghazwān al-Daqqāq al-Samtī
Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Samtī al-Khabbāz
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad
Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Daqqāq
Muhammad and ‘Alī sons of Nāṣir b. Ṣalīḥ al-Shawī
Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Sharaf al-Daqqāq
Mūsā and Muḥammad sons of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad
Muhammad and ‘Alī sons of Mūsā al-Humaydī
Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Humaydī
Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Daqqāq
‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Harbī, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tājīr
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Nassāj

Ahmad b. Yūsuf b. Ahmad al-Sammān
Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Maqdisī
Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Alī al-Fāmī
Ahmad b. Ma‘tūq b. Ahmad al-Hammāmī
‘Alī b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Khayyāt
Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-‘Attār
Muhammad b. Hasan b. ‘Alī al-Nassāj
Ibrāhīm b. Sharaf b. Ya‘qūb al-Dimashqī
Mansūr b. Muhammad b. ‘Uthmān Fākhūrī
Ahmad b. Abī Bakr b. Muhammad al-Jāmūs
‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Alī al-Tahāwī
Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Qādīr al-Qattān
Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dimashqī
Muhammad b. Māhmūd b. Ahmad al-Dimashqī
Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Mujīb b. Abī l-Futūh al-Harīrī
‘Alī b. Hasan b. ‘Abdullāh al-Jammāl
‘Umar b. Muhammad b. ‘Alī al-Nassāj
Ahmad and Hasan sons of Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Mawsili al-Jundi
‘Umar b. ‘Uthmān b. al-Shihāb Ahmad al-Khashshāb
Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Tayyāḥ
Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. Muhammad
Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad b. Thumālah b. Minhāl al-Mu‘arbid
al-‘Izz ‘Umar b. Hasan b. ‘Abdullāh b. Habīb al-Tājir
Yūsuf b. Shams al-Dīn Muhammad b. Tammām al-Dimashqī al-Mu‘adhdhin
Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdillāh Muhammad b. Amīn al-Dīn Muhammad b. Abī Bakr al-Dimashqī, his sister Fātimah
Muhammad and Naṣrullāh sons of Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Qalānīsī, their sister Zāhidah
Muhammad b. Badr al-Dīn Lu‘lu’ b. ‘Abdullāh al-Mubārizī, his sister ‘Āishah
Imām Shams al-Dīn Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad b. Yūsuf al-Baqī, his children, Muhammad and Ahmad sons of Shams al-Dīn Muhammad b. Abī l-Fath
‘Umar, ‘Alī and Fātimah, children of al-Ḥājj Ahmad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Uthmān al-Dimashqī al-Anṣārī
Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad b. Yūsuf al-Muqrī
Fātimah bint al-Jamāl Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb al-Ghumārī al-Mālikī, her sister on her mother's side Zaynab bint Sirāj b. Muhammad b. Sa‘ūd al-

Mash'arānī

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Muhandis, his sons ‘Abd al-Rahmān and ‘Abdullāh

‘Abd al-Rahmān and Khadījah children of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Usāmah b. Kawkab al-Ta‘ī al-Sawādī, their father

Muḥammad and Amat al-Rahmān, children of Shaykh ‘Afif al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abdillāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Irbilī al-Shāfi‘ī,

Muḥammad, Fātimah and Zaynab, children of Imām Jamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. Shāwar al-Himyārī al-‘Adawī

Hasan and ‘Alī, sons of Shaykh Fatḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Anṣārī b. al-Zamlakānī

Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad

Khadījah bint al-Ra‘īs Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣrullāh b. al-Qalānīsī

Sulaymān b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Kāfi b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-Kāfi al-Shāfi‘ī

Muḥammad b. ʻIzz al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Haqq b. Khalaf

Muḥammad b. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ghālib al-Anṣārī

Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Anṣārī b. al-Baqabakkī

Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Tāj al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Fākhūrī al-Raqqī

Muhammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fuzārī

Ismā‘īl b. al-Qādī Najm al-Dīn Ishāq b. Ismā‘īl qādī al-Rahbah, Aḥmad, ‘Alī and their existing brothers children of ʻImād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Salmān b. Ghānim

Muhammad and ‘Abdullāh' sons of Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Qādī al-Fādil Abī ‘Alī

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, ‘Abdullāh and Ismā‘īl, sons of Shaykh Majd al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Jazarī and [...]¹

ASSEMBLIES FOR NARRATION AND TEACHING

The women organized their assemblies for teaching and narrating ḥadīth in their houses or the houses of others, in mosques,

¹ *Majmū‘ah al-Ijāzāt*, MS in the Madrasah al-Diyā‘iyyah, Qāsyūn.

madrasas and other places, like *ribāṭs* (retreats) and orchards or gardens, wherever was easy and convenient for the purpose. I have not found any evidence that the Companions or the jurists and traditionists of later centuries put any hindrance in the way of women's teaching. To the contrary, their assemblies were well attended by jurists and great scholars.

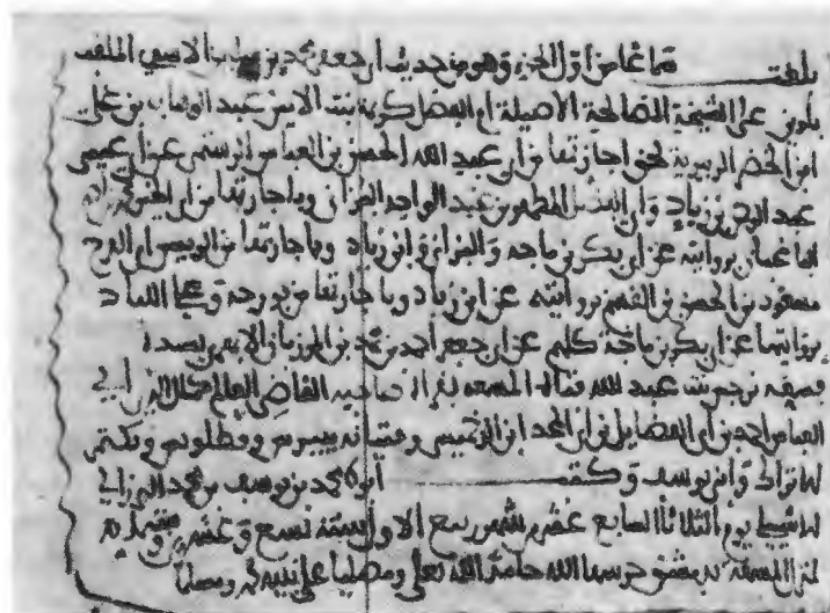
Houses

Umm al-*mu'minīn* 'Ā'ishah taught in her own house, and in Basrah in the house of 'Abdullāh ibn Khalaf where she was a guest of Ṣafiyah bint al-Hārith ibn Ṭalḥah ibn Abī Ṭalḥah al-'Abdarī. Similarly, others among the wives of the Prophet, and the Companions taught in private houses. That tradition has continued until our day. Among the *muhaddithāt* of the sixth century Fātimah bint 'Alī ibn al-Husayn taught at her home. Ibn 'Aṣākir attended her classes and narrated from her. Before citing the *ḥadīth*, he says: 'Umm Abīhā Fātimah bint 'Alī ibn al-Husayn narrated to us in her house while I was reading to her.'¹ Hāfiẓ Diyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī says: 'I heard the first, second and third [parts] from *Fawā'id al-Hājj* with Umm al-Fakhr Jumū'ah bint Abī Sa'd Rajā' ibn Abī Naṣr al-Husayn ibn Sālim al-Asbahāniyyah on Wednesday the 4th or 5th Safar 599 at her house in Isfahan.'² Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Birzālī says: 'I read the sixth part of *al-Fawā'id al-Muntaqāh al-gharā'ib 'an al-shuyūkh al-'Awātī al-ma'rīf bi-l-Mukhaliṣiyāt*, with the righteous shaykhah Umm al-Fityān Hantamah bint al-Shaykh Abī l-Fath al-Mufarrij ibn 'Alī ibn Maslamah in her house in Damascus on Tuesday 18 Jumādā al-Ūlā 630.'³ It is recorded in the account of Zaynab bint al-'Alām Al-hmad ibn Kāmil ibn 'Umar al-Maqdisī (d. 687) that Ibn Rushayd received *ḥadīth* from her in her house in Qāsyūn

¹IBN 'ASĀKIR, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, *Tarājim al-nisā'*, 297. ²DIYĀ' AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISĪ, *Thabat al-Masmū'āt*, 160. ³Ṣāliḥ ibn Ghālib AL-'AWJĪ, *Muqaddimah al-Fawā'id al-muntaqāh al-gharā'ib 'an al-shuyūkh al-'awātī* (M.A. thesis, University Umm al-Qura).

in 684.¹ Ibn Rushayd says in his account of Zaynab bint Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Latīf al-Lughawī: ‘I read to her a *juz'* from the *Hadīth Abī Ishaq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Husayn ibn Dīzil al-Hamadhanī* in the house of Umm al-Faḍl in Cairo on Monday 29 Rajab 684.²

Hadīth ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Kilābī was read to Zaynab bint ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Maqdisīyyah at her house in Damascus on Thursday 23 Sha‘bān 718.³ *Fadā’il al-Madīnah* of Abū Sa‘īd al-Mufaddal ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jundī al-Yamānī (d. 308) was read to Umm Aḥmad Khadījah bint Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Dā’im al-Maqdisī (d. 685) in her brother’s house on Wednesday 12 Rabī I-Ākhir 683.⁴ *Hadīth Hibatullāh al-Akfānī* was read to Zaynab bint Ismā’īl ibn al-Khabbāz in the house of Aḥmad ibn Sa‘īd ibn ‘Umar al-Ṣūfī – one of the students – on Thursday 24 Jumādā al-Ākhirah 744.⁵



¹ IBN AL-QĀDĪ, *Durratu al-Hijāl*, i. 278. ² IBN AL-RUSHAYD AL-SABTĪ, *Miṣbūh al-‘ayyabah*, iii. 319. ³ LEDER et al., *Mu‘jam al-aama‘at al-Dimashqīyyah*, 95, 316. ⁴ ABŪ SA‘ĪD AL-MUFADDAL, *Fadā’il al-Madīnah*, 55. ⁵ LEDER et al., *Mu‘jam al-samā‘at al-Dimashqīyyah*, 120, 312.

The document copied above is a *samā‘* for the book *Hadīth Luwayn*. It names the teacher as ‘the Shaykhah, the righteous, the authentic (*al-āṣilah*) Umm al-Fadl Karīmah bint al-Amīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Khaḍir al-Zubayriyyah. Then follows her *isnād* to the author of the book, the list of names of the men and women who attended, and the date and location of the class: Tuesday 17 Rabi‘ al-Awwal, 629 ‘in her house in Damascus’.¹

Mosques

The women also held their classes in the mosques. Umm al-Dardā’ is well known for teaching in the mosques of Damascus and Jerusalem. Her classes were attended by male and female jurists and traditionists as we noted earlier, even the caliph, ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān was a regular participant. Another example is of the righteous Shaykhah Umm al-Khayr Fātimah bint Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Jawhar al-Baqlabakkī al-Bātā’ihī (d. 711). Al-Dhahabī says in his account of her: ‘She heard *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* from Ibn al-Zabīdī, *Saḥīḥ Muslim* from Abū l-Thanā’ Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥaṣirī, and also studied with Abū l-Qāsim ibn Rawāḥah. She lived a long life and narrated a lot.’² Ḥāfiẓ Ibn al-Qayyim studied ḥadīth with her.³ Al-Dhahabī says: ‘My son, al-Subkī, Sirāj al-Dīn ibn al-Kuwayk, al-Taqī ibn Abī l-Ḥasan and a great number [of others] studied ḥadīth with her.’⁴ She taught ḥadīth in the mosque of the Prophet in Madinah. Ibn Rushayd says: ‘She came in the Syrian caravan as visitor and pilgrim. I met her in the mosque of the Prophet – *ṣalla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – and ḥadīth were read to her while she was leaning on the side of the wall of the grave of the Prophet – *ṣalla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – in front of his head. She wrote *iżāzah* with her own hand for me and for others.’⁵ There too Ibn Rushayd records

¹ LEDER et al., *Mu‘jam al-samā‘āt al-Dimashqīyyah*, 402. MS 3803 fol. 35^a.

² AL-DHAHABĪ, *Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh*, ii. 103. ³ AL-DĀWŪDĪ, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufassirīn*, ii. 91. ⁴ AL-DHAHABĪ, *al-Juz’ al-mafqūd min Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, 394. ⁵ IBN AL-RUSHAYD AL-SABTĪ, *Mil’ al-‘aybah*, v. 21.

that he read some ḥadīths with Fātimah. It is not possible that Fātimah bint Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad could have taught at a spot so revered by the whole community unless she enjoyed its respect and trust in the highest degree. How great an honour for her!

In Damascus the women used to teach in several mosques, like al-Jāmi‘ al-Muẓaffarī (Jāmi‘ al-Ḥanābilah) and Jāmi‘ Banū Umayyah. Hāfiẓ Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn Dimashqī says in his note on ‘Ā’ishah bint ‘Abd al-Hādī (d. 816): ‘She was appointed to the post of teacher of ḥadīth in the grand mosque of Banū Umayyah.’¹

Schools

The women scholars also taught in the schools, where their classes were attended by both male and female students of ḥadīth. The records are plentiful and unambiguous about this. *Majlis al-Biṭāqah* of Abū l-Qāsim Hamzah ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Kinānī (d. 357) was read to Zaynab bint al-Kamāl and Ḥabībah bint al-Zayn in al-Madrasah al-Ḍiyā’iyyah on Thursday 28 Ṣafar 733.² *Hadīth of Bakr ibn Abī Ahmad al-Shīrāzī* was read to Zaynab bint Makkī al-Harrānī in al-Madrasah al-Mismāriyyah in Damascus in 688 in a class of 19 students.³ *K. al-Fitan* of Hanbal ibn Ishaq al-Shaybānī (d. 273) was read to Sitt al-Ahl bin ‘Alwān (d. 703) in the Madrasat al-Ḥanābilah in Damascus on Saturday 16 Rabī‘ 1-Awwal 699 in a class of 16 students.⁴ *Fawā’id Abī Ahmad al-Hākim* was read to ‘Ā’ishah bint Sayf al-Dīn Abī Bakr ibn Qawālījī on Tuesday, 4 Muḥarram 793, in al-Madrasah al-Khātūniyyah.⁵

¹ *al-Intisār li-samā‘ al-Hajjār* included in *Majmu‘ fī-hi Rasā’il* of al-Hāfiẓ IBN NAṢIR AL-DĪN AL-DIMASHQĪ, 413. ² *al-Samā‘āt* recorded in *Majlis al-Biṭāqah min Amālī Hamzah AL-KINĀNĪ*. MS Dār al-Kutub al-Ζāhiriyah, Damascus. ³ LEDER et al., *Mu‘jam al-samā‘āt al-Dimashqīyyah*, 50. 215.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 103, 317. ⁵ *Mā ittaṣal ilay-nā min Fawā’id Abī Ahmad al-Hākim*, 100.

Below is a copy of a legible, beautifully written *samā‘* for a class on *Hadīth Abī al-Husayn al-Kilābī*.¹ The teacher is ‘the shaykhah, the righteous, the woman of high *isnād*, the long-lived’ Umm Ahmad Zaynab bint Makkī ibn ‘Alī ibn Kāmil al-Harrānī.

مَاتَتْ أَجْمَعَ وَهُوَ فِي حِدْثٍ أَيْ أَكْنَى الْكَلَامَ عَلَى الشِّيْخَةِ الصَّالِحَةِ
 الْمُسْتَدِقَةِ إِلَيْهِ أَمْ أَحْمَلَ زَيْبَ بْنَ مَكْرِيَّ عَلَى كَامِلِ الْأَخْرَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ
 بْنِ عَمَّا عَمَّا يَعْصِرُ طَبِيرَ رَدَ عَنْ الْفَاضِلِ أَيْ بْنِ عَزْنَى بْنِ خَسْنَتْوْنَ
 عَنْهُ فَتَمَعَدَ اجْمَاعُهُ السَّادَةُ بَمَا لَرَنَ أَبُو الْجَعْفَرِ أَبْنَ هُنَّى الْسَّعِيلِ
 بْنَ أَبْرَاهِيمَ تَرَانَى الْبَشِّرُ السُّوْجِيُّ وَابْنَهُ أَحْمَرُ وَأَبُو الْنَّاجِمِ ذَنْ
 يُونَفَرْزُ مُحَمَّدُ وَأَبُو الْرَّاجِوْهُنْ رَحِيدُ اللَّهِ الْفَلَيْسِيُّانُ وَسَالَدُ
 عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّطِيفِيِّنْ مُحَمَّدُ الْأَبْوَى وَأَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدُ عَبْرَى
 فَهُنَّ أَهْلُ الْقَوَافِشِ وَأَهْلُ قِصْرِ أَبْنَهِ زَيْنَ الْعِدَّةِ عَيَّاشُ رَاحِفُ
 أَبْنَ هُنَّى وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنَ حَلْزَنْ عَمَّا عَمَّا أَسْعِسَ وَأَخْتَاهُ نَسِيْبَ
 وَتَعْبِيْهِ وَابْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ وَوَسْفَ بْنَ الْأَزْكَى عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ وَسَفَرَ
 الْمَرْزِيُّ جَافِهُ أَنِّي التَّنَّةُ الْأَوْلَى مِنْ عَمَّةِ وَاهِ زَيْفَ بْنَتْ بَهْرَى عَلَى
 أَكْرَبِى وَأَخْرَوْنَ دَكَنَ وَلَكَائِنَهُ أَخْرِى وَصَحَّ ذَلِكَ فِي يَوْمِ
 الْجَمِيعِ الْعَاشِرِ مِنْهَا دِلِي الْأَخْرَى شَهْرُ شَانَ وَعَمَّا يَرِي وَتَسْمِيَاهُ
 بِلَلْوَرِسَهُ الْمُسْتَارِيَّهُ بِدِسْقَ الْمُحْرُوْسَهُ وَسَمِعُوا عَلَى
 الشِّيْخَهُ بِالْفَلَاهِ وَالْأَرَاهِ وَالْمَلَانِ حُبْرَانَ أَيْمَهُ حَسْنَهُ بِالْمَلَسِ ١٢٦٣

¹ LEDER et al., *Mujam al-samā‘at al-Dimasbqiyah*, 463. MS 3818 fol. 171^a.

She was one of the teachers of al-Mizzī, of Ibn Taymiyyah, al-Dhababī, al-Birzālī, and other famous scholars of that time. The document continues with her *isnād* to the author of the book, then lists the names of the men and women who attended. It says that the class included five sessions on *Amālī al-Jawharī*. The date given is: Friday, 10 Jumādā al-Ākhirah, 688; the venue: al-Madrasa al-Mismāriyyah in Damascus. The note in the margin names someone who had been omitted from the register, and another person has signed to verify the addition of that name.

Other places

The sources also record that women taught ḥadīth in *ribāṭs*¹ and gardens. For example, *Hadīth of Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān ibn Muham-mad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muhammad al-Samarqandī* (d. 345) was read to Zaynab bint al-Kamāl in Ribāṭ Ibn al-Qalānīsī in Qāsyūn on Tuesday, 1 Dhū l-Hijjah 743, in a class attended by 31 students.² *Juz'* of *Hanbal Ibn Ishāq* was read to her in a *ribāṭ* in Damascus in 733 and attended by a large number of students.³ *Hadīth of Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Shādhān* (d. 426) was read to Zaynab bint al-Khaṭīb Muhibb al-Dīn al-Ḥarastānī in Ribāṭ Baldaq in Damascus in 722.⁴ *Karāmat al-Awliyā'* of al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Khallāl was read to Sitt al-Fuqahā' al-Wāṣitiyyah in a *ribāṭ* in Qāsyūn in 723.⁵

Musnad ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Umar was read to the great shaykhah and famous *muhaddithah* of Syria Karīmah bint ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Zubayriyyah (d. 641) in her garden in 639.⁶ *Karāmat al-Awliyā'* was read to Zaynab bint al-Kamāl in the garden of Amīn al-Dīn al-Wānī in the land of al-Arzah in 728.⁷ *Hadīth Luwayn* of Abū

¹These *ribāṭs* were retreats for study and religious reflection, usually located outside major cities; they should not be confused with frontier strongholds and fortresses for which the same name is used. ²MUṬI AL-HĀFIẒ, *Mu‘jam al-samā‘āt al-Dimashqiyyah*, 110, 312. ³See *samā‘āt* at the end of, *Juz'* HANBAL. ⁴LEDER et al., *Mu‘jam al-samā‘āt al-Dimashqiyyah*, 60, 315. ⁵Ibid., 41, 319. ⁶Ibid., 69, 482. ⁷Ibid., 41, 311.

Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Miṣṣīṣī (d. 245) was read to Umm al-Faḍl bint al-Amīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī ibn al-Khaḍir al-Zubayriyyah, in the garden in al-Mayṭūr of Bayt Lahyā in 633. The copy, show on the next page, of the *samā'* for this class records, in the usual way, the name of the shaykhah, her *isnād* to the book's author, and the names of the men and women who attended. It records also that, when asked, the shaykhah gave her *ijāzah* verbally to those who attended. The date and place are given as Wednesday, 19 Jumādā al-Ūlā, 633, 'in her garden in Mayṭūr in the land of Bayt Lahyā'.¹

سَجَّعْ حَمَانِي عَلَى الشَّخْهِ الصَّالِحِ الْأَصْدِلِ الْفَرِيقِ الْمُبَتَّهِ بِالْمَوْعِدِ الْمَطْهَرِ
 رَأَيْتُهُ فِي أَجَارِنِهِ مُشَاهِدَةً لِلْمَطْهَرِ الْمَطْهَرِ الْمَطْهَرِ كَمَا يَعْلَمُ الْقَوْنِي
 عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ الْمَدْفُوسِ وَهُوَ أَخْطَلَهُ الْمَطْهَرُ بِكَوْهِ دَائِبِهِ عَبْدِ الصَّدِيقِ فِي خَانِسِهِ وَأَخْرَى
 وَلِيَهُ الْقَوْنِي سَوْدَانِهِ عَمَدَ الْمَطْهَرِ وَالْمَاضِي عَمَارَ حَرَبِلَ سَرْوَانَ الْمَسْمِيِّ الْمَهْرَجِيِّ الْمَهْرَجِيِّ
 دَاوَاهِيمَ حَمَانِي الْمَضْلُلِ الْمَبْلَغِيِّ وَعَدَالِ الْكَالِيِّ سَمِّيَ الْمَشْجِيِّ الْمَشْجِيِّ وَالْمَعْنَى
 الْمَوْلَى الْمَكْلُونِ الْمَكْلُونِ الْمَكْلُونِ الْمَكْلُونِ وَعَسْوَقَ حَلَّ الْمَكْلُونِ عَمَرَ عَمَدَ الْمَسْكَلِيِّ وَالْمَسْكَلِيِّ
 بَوَالْمَجَاتِلِمَ حَلَّ عَنَانَ الْمَرْجِيِّ وَهُوَ عَلَنِي الْمَجَارِشِ وَالْمَاجِزِيِّ الْمَشْجِيِّ حَمَهِ الْمَجَوِّدِيِّ وَالْمَاجِزِيِّ
 بَسَرَ الْمَهَادِيِّ الْمَهَادِيِّ بَهَادِيِّهِ وَجَذَلَكِ وَجَذَلَكِ سَوْمَ الْمَارِسَانِيِّ سَهَرَ حَمَرَ حَرَوَهُ طَهَرَ طَهَرَ طَهَرَ
 وَزَلَلَ الْمَلَكَلَكَ الْمَسْكَلِيِّ الْمَسْكَلِيِّ وَلَرَزَتَ لَهَا وَلَرَزَتَ لَهَا وَلَرَزَتَ لَهَا وَلَرَزَتَ لَهَا
 وَسَعَيْتُمُ الْمَهَادِيِّ طَالِبَهُ طَالِبَهُ وَلَهَارَنَ الْمَشْجِيِّ عَدَالِهِ عَدَالِهِ عَدَالِهِ عَدَالِهِ

¹ LEDER et al., *Mu'jam al-samā'āt al-Dimashqīyyah*, 402. MS 3803 fol. 35^a.

Chapter 7

Women's ḥadīths and narrations

In this chapter, I present some of the Prophetic ḥadīths narrated by the women Companions, the number of them recorded in the Six Books, those narrated by women only, and then those ḥadīths of women that are relied upon in *fiqh*. Thereafter I discuss the women's role in the narration and diffusion of the major kinds of ḥadīth compilations. The chapter ends with a survey of works specialized in the narrations of women and some discussion of the interest of scholars in women's ḥadīths and narrations.

WOMEN'S ḤADĪTHS IN THE SIX BOOKS

The Six Books do not comprehend all Prophetic ḥadīths, nor all the men and women narrators of them. Nevertheless, these books have received a degree of acceptance no other works of ḥadīth have received, so it makes sense in this introductory work to focus on them. The women narrators whose ḥadīths are recorded in the Six Books are Companions, their Successors, then others to the end of the second century.

The dictionary of *muhaddithāt* that I have compiled has accounts of about 2,000 women Companions; the ḥadīths of 130 are recorded in the Six Books. Some of them have only one or two ḥadīths and some hundreds. Imām al-Bukhārī has 31 Companions in his *Saḥīḥ*, Muslim 36, Abū Dāwūd 75, al-Tirmidhī 46, al-Nasaī 65, and Ibn Mājah 60. The number of narrators among the Companions' Successors and others after them up to the second century is about 1200, of whom 130 get a place in the Six Books. The total number of women's ḥadīths in the Six Books is 2,764 ḥadīths, of which 2,539 are from Companions.

The matter of those ḥadīths varies as it does in the ḥadīths narrated by men. Some are common to both men and women narrators, some narrated exclusively by either men or women. A brief overview follows of women's ḥadīths under the different topics. This survey excludes 'Ā'ishah's ḥadīths, partly because they are well known, partly because some of them will come in the chapters on hadith critique and *fiqh*. The ḥadīths narrated exclusively by women are discussed under a separate heading.

On *īmān* (faith), several well-known ḥadīths are narrated by women. An example was quoted earlier (see above, p. []) from Su'dā al-Murriyyah narrated by her son Yaḥyā ibn Ṭalḥah.

On *tahārah* (purification), women are sole narrators of the rites related to matters exclusive to women. However, they have also narrated much else on the topic. Particularly famous is the ḥadīth of al-Rubayyi^c bint Mu'awwidh describing the Prophet's *wudū'*. Scholars travelled from far and wide to hear this ḥadīth from her. 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib reports saying: "Alī ibn Ḥusayn [Zayn al-Ābidīn] sent me to al-Rubayyi^c bint Mu'awwidh to ask her about the ablution of the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*. She described [it] in detail, then she said to him: Your cousin [‘Abdullāh] Ibn 'Abbās also came to me and asked me about the description of the ablution of the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*."¹ Both 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, a Companion and cousin of the Prophet, renowned for his knowledge and *fiqh*, and Alī Zayn al-Ābidīn, a great scholar among the Successors and the grandson of Alī and Fātimah, referred to this woman for knowledge about the Prophet's *wudū'*.

On *salāh* (the rite of prayer) women have narrated ḥadīths on different aspects of it. I mention here only a ḥadīth on prayer on the occasion of eclipse of the sun narrated by Hishām ibn

¹ ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Tahārah*, bāb *sifat wudū'* al-nabī *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*; AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi'*, *Tahārah*, bāb *mā jā'a annabū yabda'u bi mu'akħkhar al-ra'*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Tahārah*, bāb *al-rajul yasta'iñu 'alā wudū'i-hi fa-yasubba 'alay-hi*.

Urwah from his wife Fātimah, from her grandmother Asmā¹ bint Abī Bakr: ‘Once there was an eclipse of the sun in the time of the Messenger of God—*salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*. I entered to [where] Ā’ishah [was praying] and said: Why are the people praying? She indicated with her head to the sky, and I said: Is it a sign? She [indicated]: Yes. [...]’ Afterwards, she described the prayer in detail.¹

On *janāzah* (funeral rites), there is a ḥadīth narrated by three generations of women – Umm Īsā al-Jazzār from Umm Ja‘far bint Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far ibn Abī Tālib, from her grandmother Asmā² bint ‘Umays:

I got up in the morning the day [my husband] Ja‘far and his companions suffered. The Messenger of God—*salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – came to me. I had tanned forty hides and had made flour dough, and I had taken my sons, and washed their faces and oiled them. The Messenger of God—*salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – called on me and said: O Asmā², where are the sons of Ja‘far? I brought them to him, and he embraced them and smelled them, then he got tears in his eyes and wept. I said: O Messenger of God—*salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – perhaps some news has come to you about Ja‘far? He said: Yes. He was slain today. She says: I stood up crying, and the women gathered to me. She says: The Messenger of God—*salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – started to say: O Asmā², do not say any wrong thing, and do not beat your breast. She says: Then the Messenger of God—*salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – went until he called on his daughter Fātimah, and she was crying out: O uncle! The Messenger of God—*salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: On someone like Ja‘far one who would weep should weep. Then he said: Make food for the family of Ja‘far for they are preoccupied.²

On *ṣiyām* (fasting), there are a number of ḥadīths from women. Abū Ayyūb has narrated that on one Friday when the Prophet called on his wife Juwayriyah bint al-Hārith he found

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Tahārah*, bāb *man lam yatwadda’ illā min al-ghashy al-muthqil*; MUSLIM, *Sahīb*, *Salāh*, bāb *ma ‘urida ‘alā l-nabī salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam fi salāt al-kusūf*. ² IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Janā’iz*, bāb *ma jā’ a fī l-tā‘ām yub‘athu ilā abl al-mayyit*.

her fasting: 'The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said to her: Did you fast yesterday? She said: No. Then he said: Do you mean to fast tomorrow? She said: No. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: Then break your fast.'¹ From this the scholars have derived that supererogatory fasting on the day of congregation alone, the day when people will be visiting and mixing with one another, is disapproved.

On *zakāh* and charity, there are many ḥadīths from the women. One enjoining charity is narrated by Muḥammad ibn ‘Amr ibn al-Hārith ibn Abī Dirār from his aunt ‘Amrah bint al-Hārith ibn Abī Dirār: 'The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: For sure, the world is green and sweet. Whoever gets anything from it in a lawful way, he will be blessed therein. How many a one there is engaging unlawfully in the wealth of God and His Messenger! For him, there is the Fire.'²

On *hajj*: some of the ḥadīths narrated by women related to the rites of the pilgrimage were given earlier. Another example: from Maṇṣūr ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān from his mother Ṣafiyah bint Shaybah, from Asmā’ bint Abī Bakr: 'We left in the state of *ihrām*. The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: Whoever has *hady* [sacrificial animal] he should continue in *ihrām*, and whoever does not have *hady*, he should come out of *ihrām*. She says: I did not have *hady*, so I became *halāl* [to my husband], and my husband Zubayr had *hady*, he did not become *halāl* [to me ...]. She says: Then I put on my [nice] clothes and came out of *ihrām*; then I came to Zubayr, so he said: Stand away from me. She says: I said [to him]: Are you afraid I will jump on you?!'³

Some examples of ḥadīths narrated by women related to food, clothing, business, *imārah* and *jihād* were given earlier. So also on *nikāh* and *talāq* (marriage and divorce), and on this topic

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Sawm*, bāb *sawm yawm al-jumū‘ah*. ² ABŪ NU‘AYM ASBAHĀNĪ, *Ma‘rifat al-sahābah*, v. 277. ³ MUSLIM, *Sahīb*, *Hajj*, bāb *mā ya’zamu man ṭafa bi-l-bayt wa sa‘ā min al-baqā‘* ‘alā al-ihrām wa tark al-tahallūt; AL-NASA‘I, *Sunan*, *Manāsik*, bāb *mā ya’falu man ahalla bi-l-‘umrah wa abdā*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Manāsik*, bāb *faskh al-hajj*.

others are discussed in the next chapter. On *mīrāth* (inheritance), there is the ḥadīth of Umm Sa‘d referred to by Dāwūd ibn al-Husayn: ‘I used to read the Qur’ān to Umm Sa‘d bint al-Rabī‘, and then she mentioned a ḥadīth related to inheritance.’¹

On *fitān* (sing. *fitnah*; trials and tribulations, civil strife), there are several ḥadīths narrated by women Companions. Asmā’ bint Yazīd al-Anṣāriyyah narrated the long ḥadīth of the Antichrist and the events leading to it; Fātimah bint Qays narrated the famous long ḥadīth of Tamīm al-Dārī containing the account of *Jassāsah* and the Antichrist.² And there is the ḥadīth from *umm al-mu’mīnīn* Hafṣah, narrated by ‘Abdullāh ibn Ṣafwān, that she said: ‘I heard the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – say: An army will head towards this house [the Ka‘bah] to invade it. When they reach Baydā’, the middle of the army will sink [into the earth] then the front part will cry out to the rear part. And none will be saved except the [one] survivor who brings news [of it].’³

There are a great many ḥadīths from the women on death, the punishment of the grave, and conditions of the Day of Judgment, the Garden and the Fire. Ibn Abī Mulaykah narrated from Asmā’ bint Abī Bakr that the Messenger of God said: ‘I will be at the *ḥawd* (Pool) looking for those from among you coming to drink from it. Some people will be taken away from me. I will say: My Lord, they are from me and from my *ummah*. [The angel] will say: You do not know what they did after you; they continued turning back on their heels.’⁴

On the Hijrah, battles, supplications, good manners, and *tibb al-nabī*, the medicine of the Prophet, there are a number of narrations through women. So too, there are many on *shamā'il*, his good qualities and appearance. On the virtues of the Com-

¹ ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Farā’id*, bāb *naskh mīrāth al-‘aqd bi-mīrāth al-rahīm*.

² MUSLIM, *Sahīh*, *Fitān*, bāb *qissat al-jassāsah*; ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Malāhim*, bāb *fi khabar al-jassāsah*; AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi‘*, *Fitān* (bāb not indicated by AL-TIRMIDHĪ); IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Fitān*, bāb *fitnat al-dajjāl*. ³ MUSLIM, *Sahīh*, *Fitān*, bāb *al-khasf bi al-jaysh al-ladhi ya‘um al-bayt*. ⁴ *Ibid.*, *Fadā'il*, bāb, *dhikr ḥawd al-nabī salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*.

panions, Sudaysah narrates from Hafṣah that she said: 'The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – said: The devil never encountered 'Umar after he embraced Islam but [that] he [the devil] fell on his face.'¹

THE NARRATORS' ELOQUENCE

The qualities of eloquence in the women's narrations have been much remarked, namely narrative fluency, aptness of diction, pertinence and directness – neither ornamenting nor straying from the important matter – concision, and the ease in rhythm of speech that comes from understanding, even mastery, of details that are loaded with meaning for those who have the mind or heart to reflect. It is hardly possible to illustrate these qualities in detail at a remove from the original language, and I will not try to do so. However it is possible, even in translation, to get a sense of the more general elements of rhetorical skill.

Consider, for example, in the ḥadīth of Asmā² bint 'Umays (cited in the previous section) about the day she receives news of her husband's death, the weight of emotion that is behind her mentioning that 'I got up in the morning the day Ja'far and his companions suffered.' Her stating this at all is a way of affirming that she did not complain that here was another day of anxious uncertainty. Instead she deliberately lists her routine labours of the day, before the Prophet came – her persevering, patient effort matching that of the men on the distant battle-field of Mu'tah. Her narrative (so affecting because in the form of direct speech) emphasizes two things: the tenderness with which the Prophet, being family and friend, feels and conveys the news, and his not neglecting, even at that moment, his duty to teach – in this instance to reform the excesses of the wailing of the Jāhiliyyah which indicates resentment and refusal of what God has caused to pass. In the later part of the narrative, we find the same balance: his feeling grief, and his allowing the kind of

¹MUSLIM, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Talāq, bāb wujūb al-iḥdād fī 'iddati al-wafāh wa tahrīmih fī ghayr dhālik illā thalāthata ayyām.*

expression of it that is a true acceptance of what God has caused to pass, which he combines with teaching another reform of custom. On the basis of this ḥadīth, among practising Muslims ever since, entertaining those who come to share the grief of bereavement is not a responsibility of the bereaved family but of their friends. Aṣmā's ḥadīth also records how the Prophet's teaching is practised by himself, the reform promulgated by being implemented in his own family. Then, who would not be willing to follow a man whose teaching them was an expression of his love for them, and vice versa?

As a second example, I cite below, a section of the ḥadīth of ‘Ā’ishah about ‘the slander’ (*ifk*). It is much too long to quote in its entirety. ‘Ā’ishah was without doubt what we would now call a child prodigy. At the time of the incident itself she will have been in her middle teens. At the time she reports it, she is an established figure with very formidable powers of intellect and speech and well aware of her capacity, and her responsibility, to inform and guide the community. Her narration weaves together details of social, historical and legal import with her emotions at the time seen through her mature understanding of how, as a believer, she stands in relation to God and to His Messenger. The intensity of her feelings at the time is not diminished but, in her re-telling, those feelings are restrained by the realization that through this crisis she was led to a direct experience of her absolute need of God and dependence on Him. That is the meaning, when relief finally comes, of her explicit refusal to go to her husband, as her mother tells her to do: ‘By God, I will not go to him. And I will not praise except God’

The parts of the ḥadīth not quoted below tell us much – when certain verses of the Qur’ān were revealed; the customs that had changed in the period between the incident and the telling of it; how the Anṣār, the Muslims local to Madinah, were not yet sufficiently united by Islam to overcome tribal and clan loyalties; how the slander was deliberately encouraged by a faction in Madinah. For that faction, Islam in Madinah was a political ascendancy that had to some degree displaced or diminished theirs, so their allegiance to Islam was nothing more than a waiting to see which way the wind would blow. However, the

true believers also listened to the slander and, not knowing what to do, were confounded by it and discussing it. Because so much anguish was imposed upon the Prophet himself and his household, the incident served to bring home to the believers the sheer destructiveness of slanderous gossip and the gravity of the sin of indulging in it. Only a few affirmed ‘Ā’ishah’s innocence; most remained uncommitted, perhaps because that is how they understood the Prophet’s behaviour. But he could not have declared her innocent without feeding the malice of the slanderers – he knew before ‘Ā’ishah did that in this crisis there was no help but from God. She reports with impeccable fairness what people said, without disguising her feelings about them at that time. Particularly touching is her report that her loving and loved husband asks after her during her illness in a coldly formal way, ‘How is that [condition] of yours?’; also the moment when, after turning to her parents in the vain hope that they will say she is innocent, her indignation so overpowers her she forgets the name of the prophet Ya‘qūb and invents for him the *kunyah* ‘Abū Yūsuf.

The highest of the many virtues of this ḥadīth is its demonstration that the Revelation, the Qur’ān, was a grace from God only; it could not be called down because of any deserving or needing of it as human beings understand their deserving or being needy. The Book was, for its first audience, a connecting of the divine will directly with a real historical situation, made for ever exemplary by that connection. Yet, its authority and its sending down remained transcendent because both are from God. Only when the transcendence of God is perfectly understood is human prayer perfected; and human need when it has fully grasped that no help is possible except by grace of God is prayer. ‘Ā’ishah’s report of the *ifk* comprehends all those aspects of the believer’s relationship to God and His Book. It shows that a heart filled with faith is not therefore empty of the concerns of this world; it is, instead, much better equipped to deal with them without losing either dignity or direction. ‘Ā’ishah distinguishes with a fierce severity between God and His Messenger; it is God has saved her and Him she praises, none else.

She draws out, in the form of narrative and speech, the moment when she realizes for herself the absolute aloneness of each being before its Creator and its need to be reliant on His being all-just and all-merciful. That quality of reliance upon God is the source from which flow true human agency and dignity.

Where could this understanding have come, if not from God's Messenger, whose complete conveyance of the message is thus also affirmed by this ḥadīth?

‘Ā’ishah is the daughter of Abū Bakr, the first *khalīfah*. His faith was of a quality subtly different from that of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who succeeded as the second *khalīfah*. Of ‘Umar it can rightly be said that if, after exercising reason and conscience and the wisdom he had got by experience, he reached a decision only to learn that the Prophet in a comparable case had decided otherwise, he *immediately* abandoned his way for the Prophet's way and adhered to it with full adherence; indeed, if need be, he would command others to adhere to it also. Of Abū Bakr, it can rightly be said that his faith was more supple in style, as if ready-conformed to the Prophet's way, so that the need to revise his decision seems never to have arisen. ‘Ā’ishah's faith, despite her independence of mind and temperament, was between the two, perhaps a little closer to her father's style than ‘Umar's. When ‘Umar was assassinated it is she who, for his love of God's Messenger, consented to his request to be buried beside the Prophet, a place she had thought to reserve for herself.

Excluding the sections that I have alluded to summarily above, here is her ḥadīth:

[...] After we returned to Madinah, I became ill for a month. The people were spreading the fabricated sayings of the slanderers while I was unaware of anything of all that, but it raised my doubts during my illness that I was not seeing the same sweetness (*lutf*) [of manner] from God's Messenger as I used to see from him when I became ill. He would only come, say *salām* and say, 'How is that [condition] of yours? (*kayfa tū-kum?*)' and leave. That raised my doubts, but I did not sense the evil till I went out while I was [still] weak from the illness. I went out with Umm Mistah [...]

[She] told me the slander of the people of *ifk*. So I heaped illness upon my illness, and when I reached my home, God's Messenger came to

me, and after greeting me, said: How is that [condition] of yours? I said to him: Do you allow me to go to my parents?" For I wanted to be sure about the news through them. God's Messenger allowed me [to go to my parents].

I said to my mother: Mother, what are the people talking about? She said: My daughter, make light of it. For, by God, there has hardly ever been a charming woman who loves her husband and is beloved of him and who has other wives but that they will do a lot against her.

[‘Ā’ishah] says: Then I said: *Subḥān al-lāh!* Are the people really talking in this way?

She says: I wept the whole night till dawn. My tears did not stop and my eyes did not know a particle of sleep. Then in the morning too, I continued weeping.

When the divine inspiration was delayed, God's Messenger called ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib and Usāmah ibn Zayd to ask and consult them about separating from his household [*sc.* his wife, ‘Ā’ishah].

She says: As for Usāmah ibn Zayd, he said what he knew of the innocence of [the Prophet's] household, and what he had in his heart [of respect] for them. Usāmah said: It is your household and we do not know anything except good about them. As for ‘Alī [ibn Abī Tālib], he said: O God's Messenger! God does not constrain you – women other than her are abundant. Yet, ask the maid-servant who will tell you the truth. On that God's Messenger called Barīrah and said: O Barīrah! Did you ever see anything that aroused your suspicion? Barīrah said to him: By Him Who has sent you with the Truth, I have never seen anything in her that I would conceal except that she is a young girl who falls asleep, leaving her family's dough unattended so that the domestic goats come and eat it.

So, on that day, God's Messenger got up on the pulpit and complained about ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy before his Companions, saying: O Muslims! Who will relieve me of that man who has hurt me with his evil speaking about my household? By God, I know nothing except good about my household. And they have blamed a man about whom I know nothing except good. And he never entered my home except with me. Sa‘d ibn Mu‘ādh, [one] of the Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal got up and said: O God's Messenger! I will relieve you of him. If he is from the tribe of Aws, then I will cut off his head. And if he is from our brothers [i.e. the Khazraj], then command us, and we will carry out your command. On that, a man from the Khazraj got up [...] the two tribes of Aws

and Khazraj got so worked up that they were about to fight [even] while God's Messenger was standing on the pulpit. God's Messenger continued calming them till they became silent and so did he.

All that day I continued weeping, my tears never ceasing, and I did not get a grain of sleep. In the morning my parents were with me and I wept for two nights and a day with my tears never ceasing and I could never sleep, until I thought that the weeping would burst my liver. So, while my parents were sitting with me and I was crying, an Anṣārī woman asked me to grant her admittance. I allowed her to come in, and she sat down and started crying with me.

While we were in this state, God's Messenger came, greeted us and sat down. He had never sat with me since what was said about the matter was said. A month had passed and no divine inspiration came to him about my case. God's Messenger recited *tashābbud* when he sat down, and then said: 'Amma ba'd. O 'Ā'ishah, I have been informed so-and-so about you. If you are innocent, then God will soon reveal your innocence, and if you have committed a sin, then repent to God and ask Him for forgiveness, for when a slave confesses his sins and asks God for forgiveness, God accepts his repentance.

When God's Messenger had finished his speaking, my tears ceased flowing completely so that I no longer felt a single teardrop flowing. I said to my father: Answer God's Messenger on my behalf as to what he has said. My father said: By God, I do not know what to say to God's Messenger. Then I said to my mother: Answer God's Messenger on my behalf as to what he has said. She said: By God, I do not know what to say to God's Messenger.

Although I was a young girl and had not read much of the Qur'ān, I said: By God! I know for sure that you heard this speech so that it has become planted in your hearts and you have taken it as a truth. Now if I tell you that I am innocent, you will not believe me. But if I admit a matter to you, and God knows that I am innocent of it, you will surely believe me. By God! I find no similitude for me and you except that of Abū Yūsuf [i.e. Ya'qūb, 'alay-hi al-salām] when he said: *Then [there is no recourse but] fitting patience! God it is Whose help is sought* [12. 18]. Then I turned to the other side and lay on my bed.

And God knew then that I was innocent and I hoped that God would reveal my innocence. But, by God, I never thought that God would reveal about my case divine inspiration that would be recited [forever] as I considered myself too unworthy to be talked of by God with

something of my concern. Rather, I hoped that God's Messenger might have a dream in which God would prove my innocence.

But, by God, God's Messenger did not move from his seat and none of the household moved, until it was sent down upon him. So there overtook him the same hard condition that used to overtake him. The sweat was dropping from his body like pearls though it was a wintry day and that was because of the weighty statement that was being revealed to him. When that state of God's Messenger was over, he got up smiling, and the first word he said was: O 'Ā'ishah! God has declared your innocence! Then my mother said to me: Get up and go to him. I said: By God, I will not go to him, and I will not praise except God, Great and Glorious is He.

So God revealed the ten verses *Surely those who spread the slander are a faction among you...* [24.11–20]. God revealed those verses to declare my innocence. [...]¹

FIQH DEPENDENT ON WOMEN'S HADĪTHS

As I mentioned, there are some ḥadīths that do not have any source, or any reliable source, other than women. A number of them have been the only basis for legal rulings. From the time of the Companions, jurists and scholars never hesitated to refer to women for the knowledge in their keeping. One example, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 10, is the ḥadīth of Barīrah. She was a slave emancipated by 'Ā'ishah, the story of which provided many good points for discussions among jurists. The great Mālikī scholar Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Zārqūn even compiled a book about it, called *Fiqh ḥadīth Barīrah*.² Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī says: 'Some imāms have collected the useful points of this ḥadīth, which exceeded three hundred points. I have summarized this [discussion] in *Faṣīḥ al-bārī*'.³

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Maghāzī*, bāb *ḥadīth al-ifk*. ² See AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, xxii. 311. ³ IBN HAJAR, *al-Isābah fi tamyīz al-ṣahabah*, iv. 252.

The ḥadīth of Subay‘ah al-Aslamiyyah

God has commanded in His Book that the waiting period for a widow, before she can re-marry, is four months and ten days; he has also commanded that for a pregnant widow the waiting period is until she delivers her child. Some jurists considered that four months ten days should be the minimum, even if a pregnant widow delivered before that. Subay‘ah al-Aslamiyyah narrated that a few days after the death of her husband, she delivered her child, and asked the Prophet, who allowed her to re-marry. ‘Uthmān, the third caliph, asked Subay‘ah to confirm what she narrated and then judged according to her report. Sulaymān ibn Yasār has narrated that Abū Salamah ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān and ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās had gathered with Abū Hurayrah and were discussing the waiting period for a pregnant widow. Ibn ‘Abbās thought her waiting period is the longer of the two periods. Abū Salamah thought that the waiting period ends with the end of the pregnancy. They continued to disagree. Abū Hurayrah said: ‘I am with my nephew [Abū Salamah]. Then they sent Kurayb, the *mawla* of Ibn ‘Abbās, to Umm Salamah to ask her. She told them about the incident of Subay‘ah al-Aslamiyyah and the Prophet’s permitting her to re-marry after she had delivered her child.¹ Ibn ‘Awn narrated from Ibn Sīrīn that he said: ‘I was sitting in Kufah in a big gathering of Anṣār. Among them was ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Laylā. They mentioned the story of Subay‘ah. I mentioned ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Utbah ibn Mas‘ūd’s saying ‘[the waiting period] is until she delivers. Ibn Abī Laylā said: But his uncle [i.e. ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd] does not say that. I raised my voice and said, I would be foolhardy if I lied about ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Utbah who is [not far away] in another corner of Kufah.’² Imām al-Tirmidhī says after quoting Subay‘ah’s ḥadīth: ‘The practice on this, according to the majority of the people of knowledge from among the Companions

¹MUSLIM, *Sabīḥ*, *Talāq*, bāb *inqiḍā’ iddat al-mutwaffā ‘anhā ḥawju-hā wa ghayri-hā bi-wad‘ al-haml*. ²AL-NASA’Ī, *Sunan*, *Talāq*, bāb *‘iddati l-hāmil al-mutwaffā ‘an-hā ḥanju-hā*.

of the Prophet and others, is that the pregnant woman when her husband dies, as soon as she delivers the child, it is allowed for her to [re-]marry. It is the opinion of Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-Shāfi‘ī, Ahmad [ibn Ḥanbal] and Ishāq [ibn Rāhawayh]. Some people of the knowledge from among the Companions and others say that her waiting period is the later of the two dates. But the first opinion is more correct.¹ Imām al-Nawawī says about this ḥadīth in his commentary on *Sahīḥ Muslim*: ‘The majority of scholars from early and late generations have held to this ḥadīth.’

The ḥadīth of Busrah bint Ṣafwān

Zuhrī narrated from ‘Abdullāh ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī that he heard ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr say: ‘Marwān, while he was governor of Madinah, mentioned that if a man touches his sexual organ, he must repeat his *wuḍū’*. I opposed Marwān and said it does not break the ablution. Marwān said: Busrah bint Ṣafwān has narrated to me that she heard the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – say: If one touches his sexual organ, he should do ablution. I went on disputing with Marwān until he called a man from among his guards and sent him to Busrah to ask her about her ḥadīth. Busrah’s answer was the same as what Marwān had narrated to me from her.² Imām al-Tirmidhī says after quoting Busrah’s ḥadīth:

It is the opinion of a number of people from among the Companions of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – and [their] Successors. It is the opinion of Imām Awzā‘ī, al-Shāfi‘ī, Ahmad [ibn Ḥanbal] and Ishāq [ibn Rāhawayh]. Muḥammad [al-Bukhārī] says: The most sound thing on this subject is the ḥadīth of Busrah. Imām al-Shāfi‘ī says: ‘Busrah bint Ṣafwān narrated this ḥadīth in the city of Emigrants and Helpers and they were in big number, and no one opposed her.

¹ AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi‘*, *Talāq*, bāb *mā jā‘a fī l-ḥāmil al-mutwaffā ‘anhā zanju-hā tada‘u*. ² ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Tahārah*, bāb *al-wuḍū’ mim mass al-dhakar*; AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi‘*, *Tahārah*, bāb *al-wuḍū’ min mass al-dhakar*; AL-NASA‘Ī, *Sunan*, *Tahārah*, bāb *al-wuḍū’ min mass al-dhakar*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Tahārah*, bāb *al-wuḍū’ min mass al-dhakar*.

Rather, it has come to our knowledge that some scholars after receiving her ḥadīth returned to it and gave fatwa according to it. Among them was ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr. He rejected [the opinion] that ablution can be affected by touching the organ. When he learnt Busrah’s ḥadīth he left his opinion and ruled according to [that]. ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar heard her narrate this ḥadīth and after that he continued, until he died, doing ablution after touching. And this [agreeing to differ on details] is the way of the people of jurisprudence and knowledge.¹

The ḥadīth of Umm ‘Atiyyah

This ḥadīth about the washing of the deceased² is considered to be the principal source on the topic. It became very famous. Bukhārī mentions or cites it many times in his *Sahīh*, deriving many rulings from it. When Umm ‘Atiyyah moved to Basrah and settled there, a group from among the Companions and Successors heard this ḥadīth on how to wash the dead from her.³ Qatādah has narrated that Ibn Sīrīn learnt washing the dead from Umm ‘Atiyyah,⁴ and Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr records that ‘Ibn Sīrīn, among all the Successors, was the most knowledgeable about washing the dead.⁵ Imām al-Tirmidhī says after quoting the ḥadīth: ‘Umm ‘Atiyyah’s ḥadīth is a sound and good ḥadīth, and the practice is upon it according to the people of knowledge.⁶ Ibn al-Mundhir says: ‘Among the ḥadīths of washing there is nothing higher than the ḥadīth of Umm ‘Atiyyah, and the imams have relied on it.’⁷

¹ AL-BAYHAQĪ, *Ma‘rifat al-sunan wa al-āthār*, i. 255. ² AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīh*, *Janā’iz*, bāb *ghasl al-mayyit wa wudū’ihi bi-al-mā’ wa al-sidr*; MUSLIM, *Sahīh*, *Janā’iz*, bāb *ghasl al-mayyit*; ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Janā’iz*, bāb *kayfa ghasl al-mayyit*; AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi‘*, *Janā’iz*, bāb *mā jā’ a fi ghasl al-mayyit*; AL-NASA’I, *Mujtabā*, *Janā’iz*, bāb *ghasl al-mayyit bi al-mā’ wa al-sidr*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan*, *Janā’iz*, bāb *mā jā’ a fi ghasl al-mayyit*. ³ AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 316. ⁴ ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan*, *Janā’iz*, bāb *kayfa ghasl al-mayyit*. ⁵ IBN HAJAR, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, iii. 163. ⁶ AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi‘*, *Janā’iz*, bāb *mā jā’ a fi ghasl al-mayyit*. ⁷ IBN HAJAR, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, iii. 164.

‘Ā’ishah’s hadīth about the wife of Rifa‘ah al-Qurazī

According to the Qur'an if a woman has been divorced three times (i.e. divorced irrevocably) by her husband, she cannot be remarried to him unless she marries someone else. ‘Ā’ishah narrated that the divorced wife of Rifa‘ah al-Qurazī married another man, then wanted to go back to Rifa‘ah. The Prophet said that she could not do so unless she had had relations with her present husband.¹ That condition – that the later marriage must be consummated – is not mentioned in the Qur'an but, on the basis of this ḥadīth, is generally accepted by the jurists and scholars. Imām al-Tirmidhī says: ‘‘Ā’ishah’s ḥadīth is good and sound, and the practice, [according] to all the people of knowledge from among the Companions of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – and others, is on this’, and then he clarifies the condition about consummation.²

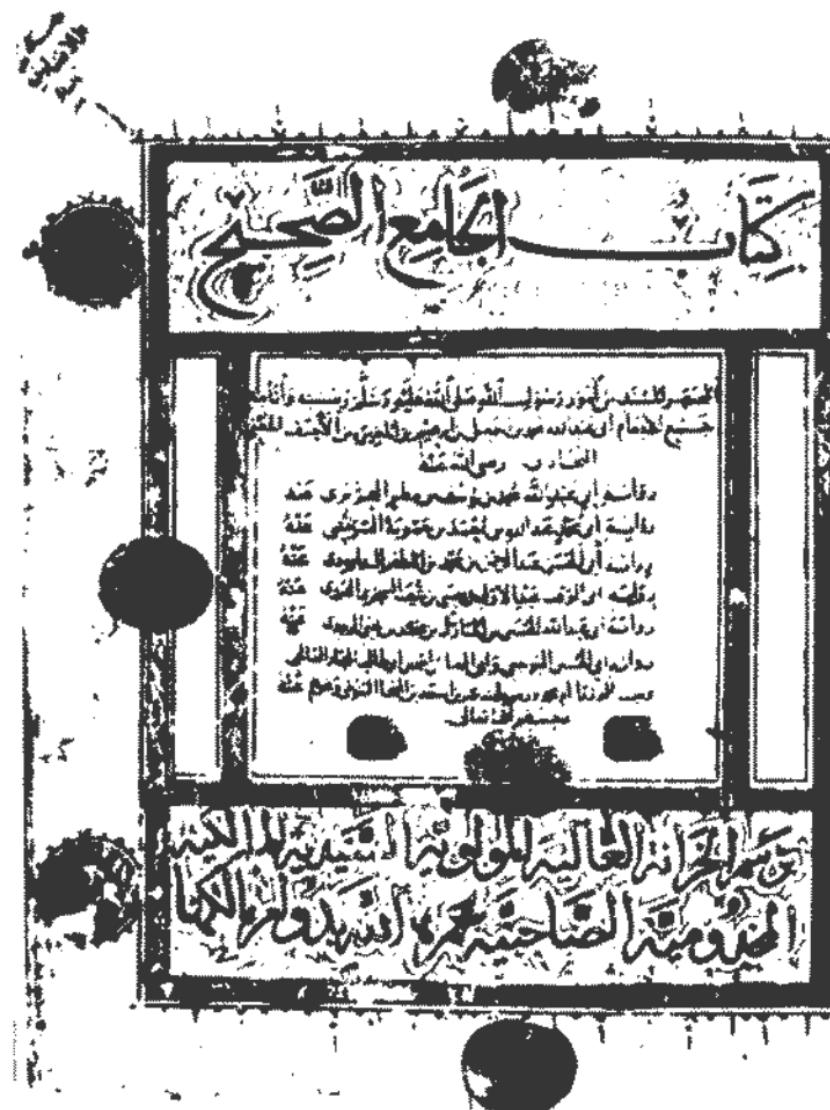
WOMEN'S NARRATION OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF HADĪTH COMPILATIONS

The major kinds of ḥadīth compilations – *jawāmi'*, *sunan*, *masānīd*, *ma‘ājim*, *arba‘ināt*, *ajzā'* and *musalsalāt* – were described in the account of women as students and their reading material. Here I review their role in the diffusion of these books.

Jawāmi'

The most popular of the *jawāmi'* is the *Saḥīb* of al-Bukhārī. Karīmah al-Marwaziyyah (d. 461) was a famous narrator of it, whose version has been continually handed on by scholars ever since. Among those who studied the *Saḥīb* with her was the renowned traditionist and historian al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.³

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Saḥīb*, *Talāq*, bāb *man jawwaza al-ṭalāq al-thalāth*. ² AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmī'*, *Nikāh*, bāb *fi man yuṭalliqu imra'ata-hu thalāthan fa yaṭzawaju-hā ākhar fa yuṭalliqu-hā qabla an yadkhula bi-hā*. ³ See AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, xviii. 277.



Ornamented title page of *Sahih al-Bukhari* written in the hand of Hāfiẓ Ahmad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nūwāyri (d. 733). Under the main title it is stated that this is the narration of al-Firabī, and then follows the *isnād* of Sitt al-Wuzarā’ to him.¹

¹IBN AZZŪZ, *Juhūd al-mar'ah al-Dimashqiyah fī riwāyat hadīth sharīf*, 275. MS, Maktabah al-Wazīr Kubrī, no. 362.

احذف لهم ما سأليوك السفيه الصالحة المسنة
 المروء ستالهذا سنت عزوز اسعد من سنهَا وكتابها
 افعى سواليهم من فخر سبط الابوي كثنا ابو الحسن

Ijāzah from Sitt al-Wuzarā' to narrate her ḥadīth¹

Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar narrated Karīmah's version from his shaykh ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar al-Hindī al-Hallāwī, who studied it with Muḥammad ibn Ghālī ibn Najm al-Dimyātī, who studied it with al-Mu‘īn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Dimashqī, who studied it with Abū l-Qāsim al-Būṣīrī, with his well known *isnād* to Karīmah.² Ibn Ḥajar also studied it with his shaykh, Hāfiẓ Zayn al-Dīn al-‘Irāqī, who studied it with Abū ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Rahīm ibn ‘Abdillāh, with his *isnād* to Karīmah.³ The famous narrator of the *Sabīb* of the sixth century is Umm al-Bahā’ Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (d. 539). Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar says in the account of Aḥmad ibn Khalīl ibn Kaykaldī al-‘Alātī: ‘Among his eminent narrations is the *Sabīb*, which he studied with Ghānim ibn Aḥmad al-Julūdī, who narrated it from Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad al-Baghdādī.⁴ Another and equally famous narrator of the *Sabīb* is the righteous shaykhah and *musnidah* of her time Sitt al-Wuzarā' bint ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d ibn al-Munajjā al-Tanūkhiyyah (d. 716) who taught the whole book many times in Damascus and Egypt. Among her students were: the qādī of Madinah ‘Abd al-Rahīm ibn Raziīn al-Hamawī, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ja‘farī, Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Thanā’ al-Hirmās al-Miṣrī, ‘Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Hasan al-Qurashī al-Isnātī, Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Husayn al-Dahrūtī, Muḥammad ibn Khalīl ibn Yarbak al-

¹IBN AZZŪZ, *Juhūd al-mar‘ah al-Dimashqiyah fī riwāyat ḥadīth sharīf*, 276. MS, al-Maktabah al-Zāhiriyah Damascus, no. 357 Hadīth. ²IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 77. ³*Ibid.*, 227. ⁴*Ibid.*, i. 354–55.

Nābulṣī, Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Zāfir al-Barlāsī, Qādī Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Miṣrī, Abū l-Baqā Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Subkī al-Shāfi‘ī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Hāshimī al-Āmidī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Umar al-Khalīlī al-Dārī, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Halabī l-Miṣrī, qādī of Hims Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Subkī, qādī of Madinah Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Mu‘tī, Ibn Khashshāb al-Miṣrī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Sa‘dī al-Miṣrī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfi‘ī, Ibn Qādī Shubhah, Muḥammad ibn al-Sirāj ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Fāriqī, Ibn Abī l-Majd al-Dimashqī and others.¹

The last woman who narrated *Sahīb al-Bukhārī* with very high *isnād* was ‘Ā’ishah bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī al-Maqdisiyyah.² Many famous scholars like Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar, Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashqī and Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī studied the whole book from her.

Sahīb Muslim has also been widely taught by the *muhaddithāt*. Umm al-Khayr Fātimah bint Abī l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn Ḥasan ibn Za‘bal al-Baghdādiyyah (d. 532) of Nishapur was a famous teacher of this book. Another popular teacher of it was Zaynab bint ‘Umar ibn Kindī (d. 699). Muḥammad ibn Qawālīj, a teacher of Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī studied the whole of it with her. She narrated it from al-Mu‘ayyad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Tūsī, who narrated it from Faqīh al-Ḥaram Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Furāwī, from Abū l-Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Ghāfir ibn Ḥusayn al-Fārisī, from Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad ibn Īsā ibn ‘Amrūyah al-Julūdī, from Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Sufyān, from its author Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj. (It is characteristic of the meticulousness of the scholars in this discipline that it is recorded that the Ibrāhīm

¹Ibid., i. 354–5, ii. 230, 279–280; TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀSĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, i. 50, 113, 115, 119, 122–23, 149, 146, 151, 153, 162, 164–65, 183–84, 195, 199, 203, 209. ²IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 351.

last mentioned did not hear some parts of three of the books in Muslim's compilation from Muslim himself, namely *Hajj*, *Waṣāyā* and *Imārah*.¹ Among the teachers of the book in the eighth century was Ṣafiyah bint Aḥmad ibn Qudāmah (d. 714) and in the ninth, ‘Ā’ishah bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī (d. 816), who narrated it with full hearing from Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Hasan, from Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī, from Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Harrānī.²

One of the famous teachers of *Jāmi‘* of al-Tirmidhī was Khadijah bint ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Ghashm ibn Muḥammad al-Mardawī (d. 734). Before her Zaynab bint Makkī taught this book several times. Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar says in the account of his teacher Aḥmad ibn Ṣalīḥ ibn al-Hasan al-Iskandarānī: 'He heard *Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidhī* in [his] old age from al-‘Urdī, who heard it from Zaynab bint Makkī'.³ Al-Tirmidhī's *Shamā'il* was also popular among women. Zaynab bint al-Kamāl narrated it from ‘Ajībah bint Abī Bakr al-Bāqdāriyyah, who narrated it from al-Qāsim ibn al-Fadl ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid and Rajā’ ibn Hamid ibn Rajā’ al-Ma‘dānī, both narrated it from Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Khuza‘ī, who narrating from al-Haytham ibn Kulayb, who narrated it from its author, Imām al-Tirmidhī.⁴

Sunan

The version of Imām Mālik's *Muwatta'*⁵ most popular among Mālikīs and others has been that of Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laythī. Women have narrated this and the less popular versions. For example, Shuhdah (d. 574) transmitted the version of al-Qa‘nabī. Al-Dhahabī says in his account of Imām Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Dulaf (d. 637): He heard *Muwatta'* of Mālik, version of al-Qa‘nabī, from Shuhdah.⁶ The version of Suwayd ibn Sa‘īd seems to have enjoyed more popularity among the *muhaddithāt*. For example, Zaynab bint al-Kamāl narrated it from Dāw⁷ al-

¹IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Mu‘jam al-muṭharas*, 27–29. ²IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 350. ³Ibid, i. 369. ⁴Ibid, ii. 14–18. ⁵See AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā'*, xxiii. 45.

Şabāh ‘Ajībah al-Bāqdāriyyah, who heard the whole of it from Abū l-Husayn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq ibn ‘Abd al-Khāliq ibn Yūsuf, from Abū Sa‘d Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Asadī with his *sanad*. Then it was read to Zaynab bint al-Kamāl in 726 in al-Jāmi‘ al-Muẓaffarī in Qāsyūn.¹

‘Ajībah al-Bāqdāriyyah narrated *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd from al-Hasan ibn al-‘Abbās al-Rustamī, who narrated from Abū ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Tustarī and Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Shukrawayh, both heard it from Qādī Abū ‘Umar al-Hāshimī, who heard it from Abū ‘Alī al-Lu’lu’ī, who narrated it from Abū Dāwūd.² Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī says in the account of Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Ashā’ir al-Ḥalabī: He studied some part of *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd with Fāṭimah bint al-Malik al-Muhsin Aḥmad ibn al-Sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb.³ Hāfiẓ Ibn Hajar read a part of this *Sunan* with Maryam bint Aḥmad al-Asadiyyah, who heard it from al-Dabūsī, who narrated it from Ibn al-Muqayyar, who narrated it from al-Fadl ibn Sahl al-Isfrāyīnī, who narrated it from al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who narrated it from Abū ‘Umar al-Qāsim ibn Ja‘far ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Hāshimī, who narrated from Abū ‘Alī Muham-mad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Amr al-Lu’lu’ī, who narrated it from Abū Dāwūd.⁴ A particularly famous narrator of *Sunan Abū Dāwūd* is Zaynab bint al-Kamāl.⁵ Many scholars up to the present have been narrating it through Zaynab’s chain of narration.

Zaynab bint al-Kamāl also narrated the bigger version of *Sunan al-Nasa’ī*.⁶ The smaller *Sunan* of al-Nasa’ī was taught by Āminah bint Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī,⁷ with the *isnād* of al-Qubbaytī from Abū Zur‘ah Tāhir ibn Muḥammad ibn Tāhir, who heard it from al-Dūnī, who heard it from Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn al-Husayn ibn al-Kassār, who narrated it from Abū Bakr

¹ See MUṬṬĪ AL-HĀFIẒ, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Muẓaffarī*, 591. ² IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-muḍassas*, ii. 322–23. ³ TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀSĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, i. 97. ⁴ IBN HAJAR, *al-Mu‘jam al-muṣharas*, 29. ⁵ Id., *al-Majma‘ al-muḍassas*, 479–80. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 479–80. ⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 230–31.

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sunnī, who narrated from al-Nasaī.¹

Sitt al-Fuqahā' bint Ibrāhīm al-Wāsitīyyah (d. 726) narrated *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah.² Imām al-Dhahabī says: ‘She narrated an abundance of ḥadīths, and the students heard from her *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah and other things.’³ al-Dhahabī also says: ‘I read to her for my son ‘Abd al-Rahmān.’⁴

Sunan of al-Dārimī has higher *isnāds* than even al-Bukhārī. Some scholars included it in the Six Books in place of Ibn Mājah, and it was very popular among the *muhaddithāt*. Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn narrated the *Thulāthiyāt* of Imām al-Dārimī from Umm ‘Abdullāh Zaynab bint Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Abd al-Halīm ibn Taymiyyah al-Harrānī, who narrated it from Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Hajjār who narrated it from Abū l-Munajjā with its well known *sanad*.⁵ Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Umar al-Qazwīnī says: ‘I read the whole *Sunan al-Dārimī* with Sitt al-Mulūk Fāṭimah bint Abī Naṣr ibn Abī l-Badr in Rajab 707 in Bāb al-Marātib, east of Baghdad, who heard all of it with Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Mas‘ūd ibn Bahrūz al-Ṭabīb al-Māristānī in Dhī l-Qa‘dah 636, who heard it in Sha‘bān 553, in Jāmi‘ al-Manṣūr with Abū l-Waqt ‘Abd al-Awwal ibn Īsā al-Harawī, who heard it in Jumādā al-Ākhirah 464 from Abū l-Ḥasan al-Dāwūdī, who studied it in Ṣafar 381 with Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, who studied it with Abū ʻImrān Īsā ibn ‘Umar al-Samarqandī, who studied it from its author Imām al-Dārimī.’⁶

Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar studied part of *Sunan al-Dāraqutnī* with Ā’ishah bint al-Najm Abī Bakr al-Bālisīyyah.⁷ Sitt al-‘Arab bint Muḥammad ibn al-Bukhārī (d. 767) narrated *al-Sunan al-kabīr* of al-Bayhaqī.⁸

¹Ibid., 104–05. ²TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀSĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 375–76. ³AL-DHAHABĪ, *al-Juz’ al-maqnūd min Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, 492. ⁴Ibid. ⁵See *Majmū‘ fi-hi Rasā’il li-l-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashqī*, 286. ⁶Sirāj al-Dīn AL-QAZWĪNĪ, *al-Mashyakhab*, MS fol. 45. ⁷IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 358. ⁸TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀSĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 375.

Masāniḍ

Zaynab bint al-Kamāl narrated *Musnad Abū Hanīfah* (in the version of Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb al-Hārithī) from , who narrated it from Abū l-Khayr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar al-Bāghbān, who narrated it from Abū ‘Amr ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Mandah, who narrated it from his father.¹

Sitt al-Wuzarā’ bint ‘Umar al-Tanūkhiyyah and Zaynab bint Sulaymān al-Is‘ardī narrated *Musnad Imām al-Shāfi‘ī* with full hearing from Ibn al-Zabīdī, who narrated it from Abū Zur‘ah.² ‘Ajībah narrated *Musnad al-Humaydī*. Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī al-Qazwīnī says: ‘I studied *Musnad al-Humaydī* with Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Miṣrī al-Azājī, who narrated it from ‘Ajībah al-Bāqdāriyyah with her *sanad* to al-Humaydī.³ Shuhdah narrated *Musnad Musaddad*. Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar read it with Khadijah bint Ibrāhīm al-Ba‘lakkiyyah who narrated it from al-Qāsim ibn Mużaffar, who narrated it from ‘Abd ‘Azīz ibn Dulaf, who heard it from Shuhdah, who narrated it from Thābit ibn Bundār, who narrated it from Qādī Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Wāsiṭī, who narrated it from Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Wāsiṭī, who narrated it from Abū Khalīfah.⁴

Zaynab bint Makkī was a famous teacher of *Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal*. She narrated it with full hearing from Abū ‘Alī Hanbal ibn ‘Abdillāh, who heard it from Abū l-Qāsim Ḥibatullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Shaybānī, who heard it from Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Mudhib al-Baghdādī, who heard it from Abū Bakr al-Qaṭī‘ī, who heard it from ‘Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad, who heard it with his father, the author, Aḥmad ibn Hanbal.⁵

¹ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 482–83. ²Ibid., ii. 555–56. ³AL-QAZWĪNĪ, *al-Mashaykhah*, MS. fol. 44. ⁴IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 475–76. ⁵See *al-Maṣ‘ad al-Aḥmad fi khatm Musnad Ahmad* at the beginning of *al-Musnad*.

Abū l-Fath ibn Sayyid al-Nās read *Musnad 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd* with Umm Muḥammad Zaynab bint Aḥmad ibn Shukr al-Maqdisiyyah who studied it with Abū l-Munajjā 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar al-Lattī, who studied it with Abū l-Waqt al-Sijzī, who studied it with 'Abū l-Ḥasan al-Dāwūdī, who studied it with Abū Muhammād 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥammūyah, who studied it with Ibrāhīm ibn Khuzaym al-Shāshī, who studied it with 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd.¹

Fātimah bint Sa‘d al-Khayr (d. 600) narrated *Musnad Abū Ya‘lā*. Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar studied this *Musnad* with Abū Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Qudāmah al-Farā'īdī, who studied it with al-Ṭimād Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Raḍī and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ma‘alī al-Zabdānī, both narrating from Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘il al-Khaṭīb, who heard it from Fātimah bint Sa‘d al-Khayr, who narrated it from Zāhir ibn Ṭāhir, who narrated it from Abū Sa‘d al-Kanjarūdhī, who narrated from Abū ‘Amr ibn Ḥamdān from Abū Ya‘lā himself.²

Zaynab al-Shī‘riyyah (d. 615) narrated *Musnad al-Sarrāj*, and Sayyidah al-Mārāniyyah narrated it from her. Abū l-Fath ibn Sayyid al-Nās studied it with Umm Muḥammad Sayyidah bint Mūsā ibn 'Uthmān al-Mārānī, saying: 'Four shaykhs – Abū Bakr al-Ṣaffār, Abū Rawḥ 'Abd al-Mu‘izz al-Harawī, Ismā‘il al-Qārī and Zaynab bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shī‘rī – narrated to us.' Zaynab, Ibn al-Ṣaffār and al-Qārī studied it with Abū Bakr Wajīh ibn Ṭāhir, and Abū Rawḥ and Zaynab also studied it with Zāhir ibn Ṭāhir; and Zaynab alone narrated from Abū l-Muẓaffar 'Abd al-Mun‘im al-Qushayrī, all of them studied it with Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Khaffāf who studied it with Abū l-‘Abbās al-Thaqafī al-Sarrāj.³

¹See AL-RAWANDĪ, *Abū l-Fath al-Ya‘marī*, i. 256–58. ²IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Majmā‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 482–83. ³See AL-RAWANDĪ, *Abū l-Fath al-Ya‘marī*, i. 255–56.

Ma‘ājim and Mashyakhāt

Fātimah al-Jūzdāniyyah (d. 524) narrated both the small and large *Mu‘jam*s of al-Tabarānī. Most scholars narrate these two *Mu‘jam*s through her. Hāfiẓ Ḏiyā’ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī says: ‘I read the small *Mu‘jam* of al-Tabarānī with As‘ad ibn Abī l-Futūḥ ibn Rawḥ, who studied it with Fātimah, who studied it with Ibn Rīdhah, who studied it with al-Tabarānī.’¹ According to al-Ḏiyā’, As‘ad also narrated the large *Mu‘jam* of al-Tabarānī from Fātimah.² Among her students, Fātimah bint Sa‘d al-Khayr was also particularly famous for teaching of these two *Mu‘jam*s.³ Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar studied the middle-sized *Mu‘jam* of al-Tabarānī with ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar al-Hallawī who narrated it from Zaynab bint al-Kamāl, who narrated it from Yūsuf ibn Khalil, who narrated it from Khalil ibn Badr al-Rārānī, who narrated it from Abū ‘Alī al-Haddād, who narrated it from Abū Nu‘aym who narrated it from al-Tabarānī.⁴

‘Ā’ishah bint Ma‘mar narrated *Mu‘jam Abū Ya‘lā*. Hāfiẓ Ḏiyā’ al-Maqdisī says: ‘I studied *Mu‘jam Abū Ya‘lā* with ‘Ā’ishah bint Ma‘mar, who narrated it from Sa‘id al-Ṣayrafī, who narrated it from Abū Naṣr al-Kisātī, who narrated it from Ibn al-Muqrī, who narrated it from the author.’⁵

Shuhdah narrated *Mu‘jam* of al-Ismā‘īlī from Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥārithah, who studied it with Abū Bakr al-Barqānī, who narrated it from al-Ismā‘īlī.⁶

Shuhdah also narrated *Mashyakhah* of Ibn Shādhān.⁷ Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar read *Mashyakhah* of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḍā’im with Fātimah and Ḥabībah, daughters of Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Abī ‘Umar; both of them heard it from Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḍā’im.⁸ Zaynab bint al-Kamāl narrated *Mashyakhah* of Shuhdah. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī says: ‘I studied with Zaynab, *Mashyakhah* of Shuhdah,

¹ ḎIYĀ’ AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISĪ, *Thabat al-masmū‘at*, 77. ² *Ibid.*, 77–78. ³ IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 114. ⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 58. ⁵ ḎIYĀ’ AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISĪ, *Thabat al-masmū‘at*, 87. ⁶ IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 109–10. ⁷ AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, ii. 626. ⁸ IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 446.

with Zaynab's narration from Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Khayyir, Muḥammad ibn Muqbil, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn al-Sayyidī and al-Agharr ibn Faḍā’il ibn al-‘Ulayyiq, all of them heard it from Shuhdah.¹ Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar narrated *Mashyakhab* of Khaṭīb Mardā from Umm Aḥmad Tatar bint al-‘Izz Muḥammad al-Tanūkhiyyah, who narrated it from Zaynab bint al-Kamāl, who narrated from Khaṭīb Mardā.²

Arba‘ūnāt

Fākhirah al-Baghdādiyyah (6th century) narrated *Forty hadīths* of al-Nasawī. Ḥāfiẓ Dīyā’ al-Maqdisī says: ‘I read *Forty hadīths* of Ḥasan ibn Sufyān al-Nasawī with Mu’ayyad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūṣī, who narrated it from Fākhirah al-Baghdādiyyah, who narrated it from ‘Abd al-Ghāfir, who narrated it from Ibn Ḥamdān, from Ḥasan ibn Sufyān. Muhibb ibn Hilālah mentions that he has seen the record of al-Ṭūṣī’s hearing from Fākhirah.³ Umm ‘Amr Ḥafṣah bint Muḥammad ibn Abī Zayd Ḥamkā narrated *Forty hadīths* of Ibn al-Muqrī from Husayn ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Khallāl and his cousin Bakhtyār ibn Muḥammad, both of whom narrated it from ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn ‘Umar ibn Mūsā ibn Shammah al-Tajir, who narrated it from its author Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Āsim ibn al-Muqrī.⁴ Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar read *Forty hadīths* of Muḥammad ibn Muslim al-Ṭūṣī with ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Bālisī, who narrated it from Zaynab bint al-Kamāl who narrated it from ‘Ajibah bint Muḥammad, who narrated it from Maṣ‘ūd ibn al-Ḥasan, who narrated it from ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, who narrated it from Zāhir ibn Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, who heard 35 hadīths of it from Muḥammad ibn Wakī’, who heard all of it from Muḥammad ibn Aslam.⁵ Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar mentioned *al-Arba‘ūn*

¹ AL-SUBKĪ, *Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh*, 678–79. ² IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Mu‘jam al-muṭharas*, 202. ³ DīYĀ’ AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISĪ, *Thabat al-masmū‘āt*, 78. ⁴ See the *samā‘āt* at the end of *al-Arba‘ūn* of IBN AL-MUQRĪ included in *Jamharah al-ajzā’ al-hadīthiyah*, 129–30. ⁵ IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 340.

al-buldāniyyah al-mukharrajah min al-Mu'jam al-ṣaghīr li-l-Ṭabarānī
 by al-Dhahabī and said: ‘I read it with Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Haqq, who studied it with Ḥāfiẓ Abū l-Hajjāj al-Mizzī, who heard it from Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Mu’min al-Ṣūrī and Zaynab bint Makkī, who both narrated it from al-As‘ad ibn Sa‘īd ibn Rawḥ and ‘Ā’ishah bint Ma‘mar, both narrated from Fātimah al-Jūzdāniyyah, who narrated it from Fātimah al-Jūzdāniyyah, who narrated from Ibn Rīdhah, who narrated from al-Ṭabarānī.’¹

Ajzā'

Some *ajzā'* (sing. *juz'*) became very popular among the people of ḥadīth because of their high *isnād*, like *Ṣabīfah Hammām ibn Munabbih*, *Juz' al-Anṣārī*, *Juz' ibn ‘Arafah* and *Ghaylāniyyāt*. These *ajzā'* were taught and learnt by women extensively. Ḥafṣah bint Mulā'ib al-Azajīyyah narrated *Ṣabīfah Hammām ibn Munabbih*. Shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāj al-Dīn Umar ibn ‘Alī al-Qazwīnī read it with Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Abī l-Qāsim al-Azajī, who read it with Ḥafṣah bint Mulā'ib in 608. She narrated it from Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Umar al-Urmawī, who narrated it from Abū l-Ghanā'im ‘Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Abī l-Qāsim al-Hāshimī by reading it with him in 465, who studied it with Imām Abū l-Hasan al-Dāraqutnī in 385, who studied it with Qādī Abū Umar Muḥammad ibn Umar al-Azdī in Ṣafar 319, who narrated it from Ḥasan ibn Abī l-Rabī', who narrated it from ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām, who narrated it from Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid, who narrated it from Hammām ibn Munabbih, who said: ‘This is what Abū Hurayrah narrated to us from the Messenger of God.’²

Shuhdah narrated *Juz' Ibn ‘Arafah*. Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Hajar studied it with Abū Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Qudāmah al-Fara‘īdī with his *isnād* to Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn al-Sayyidī, who

¹IBN HAJAR, *al-Mu'jam al-muṭbaras*, 210–11. ²AL-QAZWĪNĪ, *al-Mashyakhab*, MS. fol. 75–6.

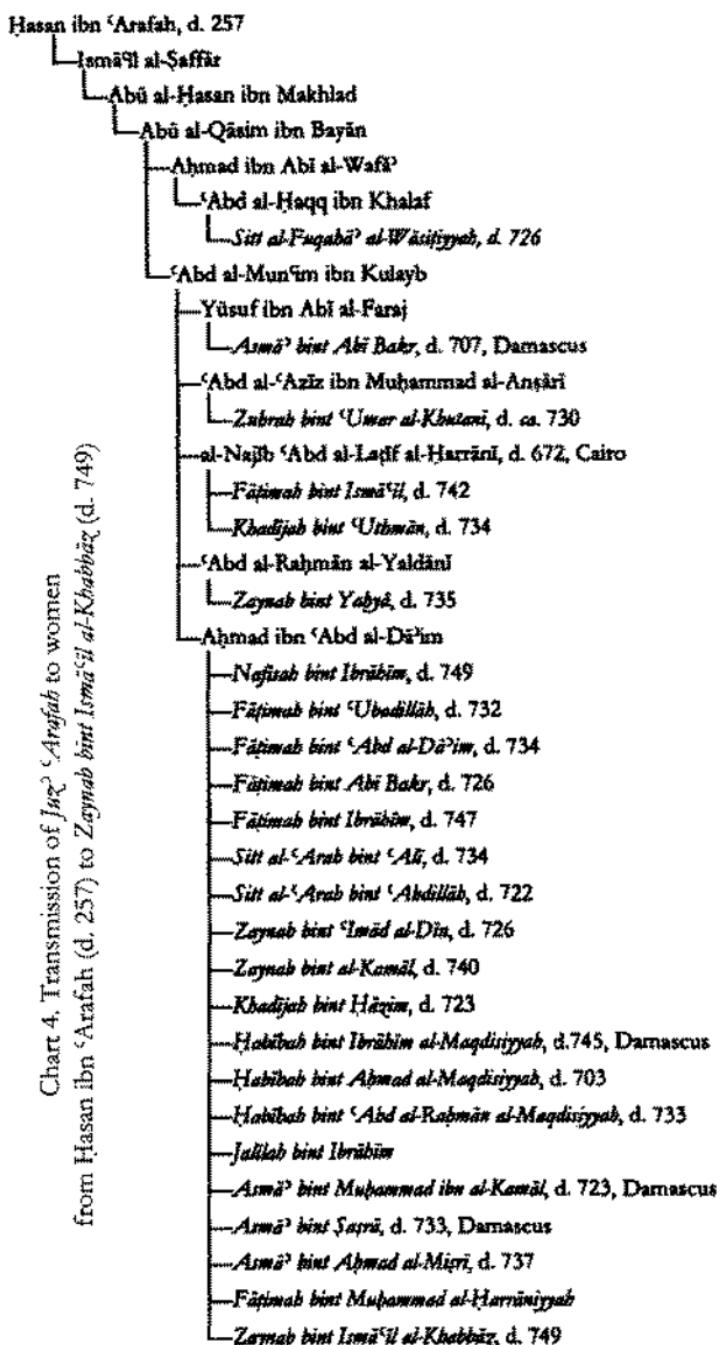


Chart 4. Transmission of *Juz'* *'Arafah* to women
from Hasan ibn 'Arafah (d. 257) to Zaynab bint Ismā'il al-Khabbāz (d. 749)

heard it from 'Abdullāh ibn Ahmad al-Muthannā who heard it from Shuhdah, who heard it from Ṭirād ibn Muḥammad al-Zaynabī, Ḥusayn ibn Ahmad ibn Ṭalhah, Abū Sa'īd ibn Khushaysh and Ibn Bayān, with the *isnād* to Ibn 'Arafah.¹

Zaynab bint Makkī (d. 688) narrated *Juz'* *al-Anṣārī*. Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar says in the account of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd al-Dīn: 'I have seen the record of his studying of *Juz'* *al-Anṣārī* with Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ayyūb ibn Manṣūr al-Maqdisī, who studied it with Zaynab bint Makkī who heard it from Ibn Ṭabrazad, with his *sanad*'.²

Chart 5. Transmission of *Juz'* *al-Anṣārī* to women from Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh al-Anṣārī (d. 215)

to Zābidah bint *Abī Bakr al-Sabrāwī* (d. 749)

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh al-Anṣārī, d. 215, Basrah

└ Abū Muslim Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abdillāh al-Kajī, d. 292, Baghdad

└ 'Abdullāh ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ayyūb ibn Māsī, d. 369,
Baghdad

└ Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm al-Barmakī, d. 445, Baghdad

└ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Baqī
al-Anṣārī, d. 535

└ Abū l-Yūnūn al-Kindī, d. 613

└ Sitt al-'Arab bint Yabyā, d. 684,
Damascus

└ Umar ibn Ṭabrazad, d. 607, Baghdad

└ Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Bukhārī, d. 690,
Damascus

└ Āminab bint Aydugbaī

└ Ruqayyab bint Muḥammad al-Harīrī

└ Āsiyah bint Abīmad ibn 'Abd al-Dā'im,
d. 687, Damascus

└ Zaynab bint Makkī, d. 688, Damascus

└ Asmā' bint Abī Bakr al-Sabrāwī

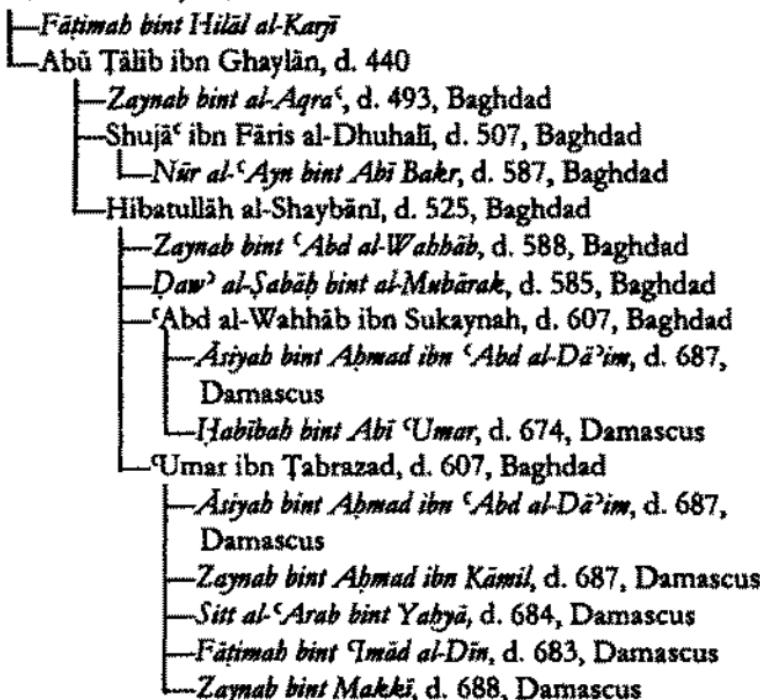
└ Zābidah bint Abī Bakr al-Sabrāwī,
d. 749, Damascus

¹ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma' al-mu'assas*, i. 504–16. ² *Ibid.* ii. 459–60.

Zaynab bint al-‘Alām Ahmad ibn Kāmil al-Maqdisī (d. 687) narrated *al-Ghaylāniyyāt*.¹ Tājānī al-Wahbāniyyah (d. 575) narrated *Hadīth al-Mukharramī wa-l-Marwazī*,² ‘Amālī al-Mahāmili.³ *Juz'* Hilāl ibn Muḥammad al-Haffār,⁴ *K. al-Samt* of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā⁵ and other *ajzā’*.⁶ ʻAzīzah bint ‘Alī (d. 600) narrated *Nuskhah Tālūt*.⁶ Karīmah bint ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Qurashīyyah (d. 641) narrated *Juz'* *Luwāyn*,⁷ and ‘Ā’ishah bint ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar al-Šīhājīyyah (d. 739) narrated *Juz'* *al-Biṭāqah*.⁸

Chart 6. Transmission of *al-Ghaylāniyyāt* to women from Abū Bakr al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 354) to Zaynab bint Makkī (d. 688)

Abū Bakr al-Shāfi‘ī, d. 354



¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 261. ² *Ibid.*, 19–20. ³ *Ibid.*, ii. 234. ⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 346. ⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 497.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 54. ⁷ Muḥammad IBN JĀBIR WĀDI ĀSH, *al-Barnamaj*, 240. ⁸ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 124–25.

Musalsalāt

As I mentioned earlier, *musalsalāt* are many, and some are compiled, so we find the narrators of most of these *musalsalāt* also narrated the major compilations of them. For example, Hind bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Urmawī heard *Musalsalāt al-Ibrāhīmī* from Sitt al-‘Arab bint Muḥammad ibn al-Fakhr, who narrated it from her grandfather, who narrated it from Abū l-Yumn al-Kindī, who narrated it from Sibṭ al-Khayyāt, who narrated it from its author.¹

Al-Musalsal bi-l-awwaliyyah is the most widely transmitted of all, and indeed scholars to this day narrate it to their students as their first ḥadīth. Great numbers of women narrated it; it will suffice by way of example to mention just those women from whom Hāfiẓ Ibn Hajar received it. They are: Sārah bint Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī,² Sūmlak bint al-Fakhr ‘Uthmān ibn Ghānim al-Ja‘fariyyah,³ Maryam al-Adhra‘iyyah, and Ghazāl the slave of al-Qalqashandi.⁴

Besides *al-Musalsal bi-l-awwaliyyah*, women also narrated others such as *Musalsal bi-qirā’at sūrat al-Ṣaff*, *Musalsal bi-l-samā‘*, *Musalsal bi-l-aswadayn*. Amatullāh al-Dihlawiyyah (d. 1357) even narrated *Musalsal bi qabd al-libyah*. In this *musalsal*, every narrator says certain words while holding his beard. Her student, Shaykh Yāsīn al-Fādānī, narrated that he heard this *musalsal* from her while she was holding her chin.

Abundance of their narrations

Some of the women, like Shuhdah al-Kātibah, ‘Ajibah al-Bāq-dāriyyah, Zaynab bint al-Kamāl, Fātimah bint al-Munajjā, and Fātimah bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī and her sister ‘Ā’ishah, taught and narrated a huge number of small and large books. As an example, below is a list of the books taught and narrated by Fātimah bint Muḥammad ibn al-Munajjā (d. 803):

¹Ibid., iii. 360. ²IBN HAJAR, *al-Mu‘jam al-muṣharas*, 162. ³IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 617. ⁴IBN HAJAR, *al-Mu‘jam al-muṣharas*, 221–22.

Sabīb al-Bukhārī

al-Mu'jam al-'alī li-l-Hāfiẓ al-Hanbālī

Mu'jam al-Taqī Sulaymān b. Ḥamzah b. Abī 'Umar

*Mashyakħħah Abī Ḥafs Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥusayn
b. Yābīya b. 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Qibābī*

*K. al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah tādhīb Ibn Hishām min al-Sīrah al-kubrā li-Ibn
Ishāq*

*Juz' fī-hi sittah majālis min amālī Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. al-
Hārith al-Bāghindī al-Wāsitī*

K. al-awā'il li-Abī Bakr b. Abī Shaybah

K. al-at'imah li-'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-Dārimī

K. al-qadā' wa al-shuhūd li-l-Naqqāsh

*K. Fadā'il al-Sāḥabah takhrīj Abī 'Alī al-Baradānī min hadīth Abī l-Fawāris
Tirād b. Muḥammad al-Zaynabī*

K. Fadā'il al-Imām al-Shāfi'i li-Ibn Shākir al-Qatṭān

Juz' from the Hadīth of al-Naqqāsh, narration of Abū Mutī' from him

K. al-karam wa-l-jūd li-l-Barjalānī

Hadīth al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd al-'Askarī

K. birr al-wālidayn li-l-Bukhārī

K. dhamm al-liwāṭ li-l-Haytham b. Khalaf al-Dūrī

K. Fadā'il Mālik b. Anas

K. Fadl al-ramy li-l-Qarrāb

K. al-Qanā'ah li-Abī l-Abbās Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Masrūq

K. al-Farā'id al-mustakhrājah min hadīth Sufyān b. Sa'īd al-Thawrī

K. al-Khidāb li-Abī Bakr Ahmad b. 'Amr b. Abī 'Āsim

K. al-'Uzlah wa-l-infirād li-Abī Bakr b. Abī l-Dunyā

K. Dhamm al-malāhī li-Ibn Abī l-Dunyā

K. al-'ilm li-Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb al-Qādī

K. al-Qanā'ah li-Abī Bakr b. Abī l-Dunyā

al-Mu'jam al-kabīr li-Abī l-Qāsim al-Tabarānī

K. al-Du'ā' li-Abī l-Qāsim al-Tabarānī

K. Amthāl al-hadīth li-l-Rāmahurmuzī

K. al-Mudārah li-Ibn Abī l-Dunyā

K. al-I'tikāf li-Abī l-Ḥasan al-Hammāmī

K. al-'Ishrah li-Abī l-Qāsim al-Tabarānī

K. al-Hadāyah li-Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Harbī

K. al-murū'ah li-l-Darrāb

K. al-'ilm li-Abī Bakr Ahmad b. 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Marwazī

K. Fadā'il al-Qur'ān li-Ibn al-Durays

K. al-Bukā' li-Ja'far b. Muhammad b. al-Mustafād al-Firyābī
K. al-Manāsik li-l-Tabarānī
Hadīth al-Mukhallis takhrīj Abī l-Fath b. Abī l-Fawāris
Mashyakhab Ya'qūb b. Sufyān
Hadīth Abī Bakr b. Khallād
Hadīth 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī al-Sufunni
Musnad Sa'īd b. Abī Waqqās of Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī
'Awālī 'Abd al-Razzāq
K. al-Ṣalāh from Muṣannaf 'Abd al-Razzāq
Hadīth Abī Muḥammad 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Uthmānī
Fawā'id al-Zubayr b. Bakkār
Hadīth Ahmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Miṣrī
Hadīth 'Alī b. Ḥarb
Intikhāb al-Silafi 'alā al-Sarrāj
Amālī al-Mahāmilī min riwāyat al-Āṣbahāniyyīn
Hadīth Abī 'Amr 'Uthmān b. Ahmad b. al-Sammāk
Hadīth Abī Ja'far b. al-Munādī
Fawā'id Abū 'Amr b. Ḥamdān
al-Jawāhir wa-l-la'ālī fī al-abdāl wa-l-'awālī li-Abī l-Qāsim b. 'Asākir al-Safinah al-Baghdādīyyah
Hadīth Ḥājib b. Ahmad al-Tūṣī
'Awālī al-Layth b. Sa'īd
Hadīth Abī Muḥammad b. Sa'īd
Amālī Abī Mutī'
Abdāl al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Ḍiyā'
Hadīth 'Alī b. al-Ja'īd
Hadīth Abī l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ahmad b. 'Umar al-Hammāmī
Amālī Abī l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Malīk b. Muḥammad b. Bishrān al-Thaqafīyyāt
Hadīth Abī Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-Bakhtārī
Amālī Ibn al-Jarrāḥ
Hadīth al-Khurāsānī
Hadīth Ḥanbāl b. Iṣhāq al-Shaybānī
Hadīth Abī Muḥammad 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī al-Ābnūsī
Amālī al-Bāghindī
Musnad Aḥmad b. Manī' al-Baghawī
Hadīth 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Āzīz al-Baghawī 'an Abī 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām
Hadīth Abī 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Makhlad

Hadīth Abī l-Hasan Ḥāfiẓ b. Muḥammad al-Aswārī

Hadīth Muṭayyān

Amālī Abī l-Hasan Ḥāfiẓ b. Yahyā b. Ḥabakūyah

Fawā’id Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥabīlāh b. al-Husayn al-Asbahānī

Hadīth Abī Ya‘lā Abīmād b. Ḥāfiẓ b. al-Muthannā

Juz’ Kākū

Hadīth Abī Nu‘aym

al-Muntakhab min hadīth Abī Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-‘Alā’ b. Kurayb

Hadīth Abī l-Hasan Ḥāfiẓ b. Zayd b. Ḥāfiẓ b. Shabrayār

‘Awālī Abī l-Shaykh al-Asbahānī

‘Amālī Abī l-Shaykh al-Asbahānī

Amālī l-Ustādh Abī Tāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūṣ al-Ziyādī

al-Āḥādīth al-latī khūlīfā fi-hā Mālik fi-l-Muwattā li-Abī l-Hasan al-

Dāraqūṭnī

Hadīth Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī

Arba‘una hadīthan min riwāyah Abī l-Fatḥ ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. al-Husayn al-Ṣābūnī

al-Akhbār wa-l-hikāyat wa-l-nawādir min riwāyah Da‘laj b. Abīmād

Hadīth Abū Ḥāfiẓ b. al-Ṣawwāf

‘Awālī Karīmah bint ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Zubayriyyah

al-Kanjarūdbiyyāt

Fawā’id Zāhir b. Abīmād al-Sarakhsī

Fawā’id Sammūyah

Amālī Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Hasan al-Shirāzī

Hāl Abī Abīmād al-Askarī li al-Silafī

Hadīth Abī Muslim Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīlāh b. Muslim al-Kajī

K al-Fitan of Abī Muslim Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīlāh b. Muslim al-Kajī

K al-Arba‘in of Ibn Shānbūyah

Hadīth Asmā‘ bint Abīmād b. Ḥabīlāh al-Bahrāniyyah

Hadīth Muḥammad b. Juḥādah

Hadīth Qutaybah b. Sa‘id

Hadīth Abū l-Qāsim Ḥāfiẓ b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Naysābūrī (Ibn ‘Ulāayyīk)

al-Muntaqā min ‘awali Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Shirāzī

Hadīth Māmūn b. Hārūn

Hadīth Abī Bakr b. al-Muqrī

Hadīth Abī Bakr Abīmād b. Kāmil, al-Qādi Abī Ḥabīb Muḥammad b.

‘Abdīlāh b. A‘lam, Abīmād b. Uthmān al-Admī

Hadīth al-Dabb li-Abī l-Qāsim al-Tabarānī

Hadīth Abīmād b. ‘Abd al-Ghaffār b. Ushtab

Majālis Abī l-Qāsim Ābd al-Rahmān al-Hurafī
Musnad Ka'b b. Mālik wa-Abī Ayyūb al-Anṣārī min Musnad Abī Āmr
Aḥmad b. Ḥazīm b. Abī Gharaṣbah al-Kūfī
Hadīth Ibn Abī Gharaṣbah
K. al-Intiṣār li-Imāmay al-amṣār li-Abī l-Fadl Muḥammad b. Tāhir al-Maqdīsī
Hadīth Sufyān al-Thawrī wa Shu'bah wa Mālik wa Abī Hanīfah wa jamā'ah
min al-muqillīn of al-Bakka'
K. al-Tafsīr 'an Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah
Hadīth Abī l-Husayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ābnūsī
Hadīth Abī Ya'la' al-Khalīl b. 'Abdillāh al-Khalīl al-Qazwīnī fī l-qahaqahah
wa-ghayri-hā
Fawā'id Yūsuf b. Āsim al-Rāzī
Hadīth Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī Ālī Aḥmad b. Ābd al-Rahmān al-
Hamdānī
Hadīth Nāfi' b. Abī Nu'aym al-Qārī
Hāl al-'Abbās li-Abī Tāhir al-Silafī
Hadīth Abī Bakr b. Khuzaymah (Fawā'id al-fawā'id)
Amālī Abī l-Qāsim Īsā b. Ālī b. Īsā b. al-Jarrāḥ
Hadīth Abī Ishaq Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī Thābit
Hadīth Abī 'Umar 'Abdillāh b. Muḥammad b. Ābd al-Wahhāb
Gharā'ib Shu'bah
Musnad Raqabah b. Misqalāh li-Abī l-Qāsim al-Tabarānī
al-Mu'jam al-'Ālī li-Qādī al-Hanbalī
Nuzhat al-Huffāz li-Abī Mūsā al-Madīnī
Hadīth al-'Atārūdī li-Abī Nu'aym al-Asbahānī
Hadīth al-Diyā' min Shuyūkhī-hi
al-Dhayl 'alā ahādīth al-'Atārūdī
Hadīth Abī Sahl Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdillāh b. Ziyād al-Qattān
Hadīth al-Hasan b. Mūsā al-Ashyāb
K. Turuq man kadhaba 'alayya li-Abī Muḥammad b. Sa'īd
Hadīth Ibn Ma'rūf 'an shuyūkhī-hi
K. Turuq man kadhaba 'alayya li-l-Tabarānī
K. al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah mimmā laysa fī l-Saḥīḥayn aw abādi-himā li-l-
Hāfiẓ Diyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ābd al-Wāhid al-Maqdīsī
K. al-Amr bi-ittibā' al-Sunan li-Hāfiẓ al-Diyā'
Manāqib aṣḥāb al-hadīth li-Hāfiẓ al-Diyā'
K. al-Ṭibb al-nabawī li-Hāfiẓ al-Diyā'
Turuq hadīth al-hawd li-Hāfiẓ al-Diyā'
Fadl al-'Ashr wa-l-uḍḥīyyah li-Hāfiẓ al-Diyā'

K. al-Naby 'an sabb al-ashāb li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 'Awālī l-asānīd li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 al-Ruwāḥ 'am muslim li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 Muwāfaqāt Sulaymān b. Ḥarb li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 Muwāfaqāt Rawḥ b. ʿUbādah li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 Muwāfaqāt 'Abdillāh b. Yazīd al-Muqrī li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 Muntaqāh min 'awālī 'Abdillāh b. Bakr wa 'Abdillāh b. Numayr wa Abī
 'abd al-Rahmān al-Muqrī
 Muntaqāh min 'awālī Sa'īd b. Mansūr
 'Awālī Abī 'Āsim al-Dabbāk b. Makhlad
 'Awālī Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Hāshimī
 'Awālī Abī Nu'aym al-Fadl b. Dukayn
 Muntaqāh min al-ruwāḥ 'an al-bukhārī
 Muntaqāh min faḍā'il al-shām
 Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 K. Dhikr al-hurūf wa al-ṣawt li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 K. al-Tibb al-nabawī li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 Turuq ḥadīth al-hawd al-nabawī li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 al-Ruwāḥ 'an Muslim li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 K. al-Baṭh li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 Muntaqāh min K. al-Ikhtīṣāṣ fī aḥwāl al-mawqif wa al-iqtisāṣ li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'
 al-Abdāl al-'awāl li-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīyā'¹

COLLECTIONS OF THE WOMEN'S NARRATIONS

The ḥadīths and narrations of many of the women scholars have been compiled separately. I list below a selection, with the briefest of notes, from the more famous of those compilations, making some effort to pick from different periods:

Musnad 'Ā'ishah. 'Ā'ishah, the wife of the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*, narrated from him a lot of ḥadīths. In *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, there are 2405 ḥadīths narrated by her. Abū Bakr ibn

¹ *Majmū'* fibi Rasā'il li-Ḥāfiẓ IBN NĀṢIR AL-DĪN AL-DIMASHQI, 296–98; IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma'* al-mu'assas, ii. 389–434; *idem*, *al-Mu'jam al-mufabras*, 56, 60, 65, 71, 95, 109, 111, 124–5, 137–38, 175, 183, 222, 238, 255, 257, 266, 317, 325, 344, 353, 364; 'Abd al-Hayy AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fabāris*, ii. 615–17, 937.

Abī Dāwūd collected those ḥadīths of ‘Ā’ishah which are narrated by Hishām ibn Urwah from his father from ‘Ā’ishah in a *juz'* called *Musnad ‘Ā’ishah*. The book does not include all ḥadīths of ‘Ā’ishah nor all the narrations of Hishām ibn Urwah from his father from ‘Ā’ishah. Only a single manuscript of it, in an unremarkable hand and with some marginal annotations, is known; it is held in al-Maktabah al-Zāhiriyah in Damascus. However, it does record many *samā‘at* of great scholars like al-Dīyā’ al-Maqdisī, Ibn al-Bannā’, Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhawī and others. The manuscript has been edited by Abū l-Ghaffār ‘Abd al-Haqq Husayn al-Balūshī; it was published in 1405 [1985] by Maktabat al-Aqṣā from Kuwait.

al-Istī‘āb li-mā istadrakathu ‘Ā’ishah ‘alā l-ashāb. Besides narrating a lot of ḥadīths and giving fatwas, ‘Ā’ishah critiqued the narrations and opinions of many Companions. Imām Abū Manṣūr ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Shihī al-Baghdaďī (d. 489) compiled her critique in a *juz'*. Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar has mentioned this *juz'* and narrated it.¹ Uzay Shams obtained the only manuscript of it from Khudā Baksh Library, Patna and edited it; it was published by al-Dār al-Salafiyyah in Bombay in 1416 [1996]. Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī (d. 794) included most of it in his *al-Ijābah li-irād mā istadrakathu ‘Ā’ishah ‘alā al-sahābah*. This was published in Damascus in 1939, edited by Sa‘īd al-Afghānī; a third edition appeared from Beirut in 1400 [1980]. Ḥāfiẓ al-Suyūtī (d. 911) summarized al-Zarkashī’s work and named it *Ayn al-Isābah fī istidrāk ‘Ā’ishah ‘alā al-sahābah*. It was published in 1396 [1976] from Azamgarh, India as an appendix to *Sīrah ‘Ā’ishah* by S. Sulaymān Nadwī. This edition of 1976 unfortunately has many mistakes. I have benefited from all three of these books, added to them and compiled a more comprehensive work under the title *al-Istī‘āb li-mā istadrakathu ‘Ā’ishah ‘alā al-ashāb*.

Musnad Fātimah. Ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī collected all ḥadīths of Fātimah, and those ḥadīths that refer to her virtues in a *juz'* named *Musnad Fātimah al-Zahrā’ rađī Allāhu ‘an-hā wa-mā warada fi fadli-hā*. It has 184 ḥadīths in all in no particular order, with 28 Prophetic ḥadīths, and al-Suyūtī did not write a preface or annotate the work. *Juz' Bibā*. This is a *juz'* of ḥadīths related to the great and long-lived shaykhah, Umm al-Fadl, Umm ‘Izzā Bibā bint ‘Abd al-Šamad al-

¹IBN HAJAR, *al-Mu'jam al-mufharas*, 59.

Harthamiyyah al-Harawiyah (d. 474). It was published, edited by 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Fariwā'i, by Dār al-Khulafā li al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, Kuwait in 1406. Its one hundred pages contain 119 ḥadīths. The editor's introduction has a biographical account of Bibā, with the names of her teachers and her famous students. It is a very high *juz'*. Al-Dhahabī says: 'She has a *juz'* which is known by her name.'¹ Ibn Rushayd al-Sabtī narrated it with his *isnād* to her.² Hāfiẓ Ibn Hajar read it twice with his shaykh Ibrāhīm ibn Ahmad al-Tanūkhī,³ with his shaykh Ahmad ibn Abī Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Hādī,⁴ and with Abū Hurayrah ibn al-Dhahabī.⁵

Bibā bint 'Abd al-Samad al-Harthamiyyah, d. 477, Herat

└ *Abū l-Waqṭ 'Abd al-Awwal ibn 'Isā al-Harawī*, d. 553

└ *Abū l-Munajjā 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar al-Lattī*, d. 635

└ *Khadījah bint 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdīsi*

└ *Habibah bint Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Abī 'Umar*

└ *Safiyah bint Muḥammad ibn 'Isā*

└ *Khadījah bint Abī al-Fadl Sulaymān*

└ *Habibah bint 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad*

└ *Fātimah bint 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd al-Malik*

└ *Khadījah bint 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd al-Malik*

└ *Safiyah bint Ahmad ibn Abī 'Abdillāh*

└ *Zaynab bint 'Abdillāh ibn 'Umar*

└ *Zaynab bint 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad*

└ *Khadījah bint 'Isā*

└ *'A'ishah bint Maħfuz ibn Hilāl*

└ *Amat al-'Azīz Khadījah bint Yūsuf ibn Ghunaymāh*

└ *Safiyah bint Sa'īd*

└ *Fātimah bint 'Abd al-Ghanī*

└ *Zaynab bint 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Ayyāsh*

└ *Zaynab bint Jābir ibn Habib al-Khabbāz*

└ *Abū l-'Abbās Ahmad ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Hajjār*,
d. 730, Damascus

└ *'A'ishah bint 'Abd al-Hādī*,
d. 816, Damascus

Chart 7. Transmission of *juz'* Bibā to women
from *Bibā bint 'Abd al-Samad al-Harthamiyyah* (d. 477)
to *'A'ishah bint 'Abd al-Hādī* (d. 816)

¹ AL-DHAHABI, *al-'Ibar*, ii. 336. ² Ibn Rushayd al-Sabtī, *Mil' al-'aybab*, v. 223. ³ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma' al-mu'assas*, i. 119. ⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 272. ⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 152.

Juz' *Bibā* has always been immensely popular and its teaching attended by large audiences. One reading of this *Juz'*, with Abū l-Munajjā 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar al-Lattī in al-Jāmi' al-Muẓaffarī in Qāsyūn, Damascus on Monday, 24 Shawwal 633, was attended by 338 people.¹

Mashyakhab Shuhdah. This *Mashyakhab* of Shuhdah bint Abī Naṣr Ahmad ibn al-Faraj al-Baghdādī al-Ibrī (d. 574) was compiled in her lifetime by her student 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Mubārak ibn al-Akhḍar (524–611). Most of its 114 narrations are Prophetic ḥadīths. In this work, Shuhdah has narrated from 27 of her shaykhs. Dr. Rafaat Fawzī 'Abd al-Muṭalib edited it from a MS of 26 folios in the library of Kaprili in Turkey. It was published from Cairo in 1415 [1994]. It is a well-known *mashyakhab*. Al-Dhahabī says in his account of her: 'She had a *mashyakhab* which we have learnt.'² Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar read it with Ibrāhīm al-Tanūkhī, who read it with Abū l-'Abbās al-Hajjār, Hāfiẓ Abū l-Hajjāj al-Mizzī, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Fakhr and Muhibb 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Muhibb with their *isnād*s.³

Mashyakhab Khadījah. This *Mashyakhab* of Khadījah bint al-Qādī al-Anjab Abū l-Makārim al-Mufaddal ibn 'Alī al-Maqdisī (d. 618) was compiled by Hāfiẓ Zakī al-Dīn al-Mundhirī and read to her.⁴

Mashyakhab Karīmah. This *Mashyakhab* of the great Syrian shaykhah Umm al-Faḍl Karīmah bint Abī Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Qurashīyyah al-Zubayriyyah (d. 641) was compiled by Hāfiẓ Abū 'Abdillāh al-Birzālī in eight *ajzā'*.⁵ Al-Dhahabī studied it.⁶ Karīmah also has a *juz'* containing her ḥadīths of high *isnād*, which Ibn Ḥajar studied with Fātimah bint Muḥammad al-Dimashqīyyah.⁷ There is mention in the sources of a third *juz'* containing *Aḥādīth musāwāh wa muṣafahāt wa muwāfaqāt wa abdāl wa ahādīth 'awāl*.⁸

Mashyakhab Ajībah. About this *Mashyakhab* of the great and long-lived shaykhah, Dāw' al-Ṣabāḥ 'Ajībah bint Abī Bakr al-Bāqdāriyyah (d. 643), al-Dhahabī says: 'She was unique in the world and her *Mashy-*

¹See *al-Jāmi' al-Muẓaffarī*, 509–12. ²AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, xx. 542. ³IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Majma' al-mu'assas*, i. 144–45. ⁴AL-MUNDHIRĪ, *al-Takmilah*, iii. 42. ⁵Id., *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* (*sub anno* 641–650), 94. ⁶Id., *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, xxiii. 93. ⁷IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Majma' al-mu'assas*, ii. 418. ⁸See MŪṬĪ AL-ḤAFIZ, *al-Jāmi' al-Muẓaffarī*, 337.

akhab was in ten *ajzā'*,¹ Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī al-Qazwīnī narrated it from many, among them: Rashīd al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Naṣīr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥalāwah, Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abdil-lāh al-Anbārī, ‘Afif al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Abī l-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Azāzī, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ḥīsā ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ma‘ālī ibn Ḥamad al-Muṭā‘am and Sitt al-Mulūk Fātimah bint ‘Alī ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī l-Badr.²

Mashyakhah Sayyidah al-Mārāniyyah. This is the *Mashyakhah* of Sayyidah bint Mūsā ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Dirbās al-Mārāniyyah (d. 695). Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar read the second part of it with Zayn al-Dīn al-‘Irāqī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī.³ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī also narrated it.⁴

Juz’ Nuḍār bint Abī Hayyān. Nuḍār bint Abī Hayyān (d. 730) studied with al-Dimyātī and a group of the students of al-Zabīdī, and she got *ijāzahs* from a group of teachers. She taught and also compiled this collection of her *hadīths*.⁵

Mashyakhah Wajīhab al-Ṣā‘idiyyah. Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar says about this *Mashyakhah* of Wajīhab bint ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sulṭān al-Anṣāriyyah al-Ṣā‘idiyyah al-Iskandarāniyyah: “Taqī al-Dīn ibn ‘Arām compiled her *Mashyakhah*. I read part of it with Tāj al-Dīn ibn Mūsā, who heard it from her. Ibn Rāfi‘ also compiled a *mashyakhah* for her before that.⁶ Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar read the whole of this *Mashyakhah* with Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Iskandarānī.⁷ Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī (d. 1382) also narrated it.⁸

Mashyakhah Zaynab al-Sulamiyyah. This *Mashyakhah* of Zaynab bint al-Khaṭīb Yaḥyā ibn Izz al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Abd al-Salam al-Sulamī al-Dimashqīyyah (d. 735) has been extensively narrated by the scholars. Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar read it with Abū Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm al-Farā‘idī.⁹

Mashyakhah Zaynab bint al-Kamāl. Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī narrated this *Mashyakhah* of Zaynab bint al-Kamāl Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā'*, xxiii. 233. ² AL-QAZWĪNĪ, *al-Maskaykhah*, MS. fol. 136. ³ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-Mu‘assas*, ii. 210.

⁴ See AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fabāris*, ii. 653. ⁵ IBN HAJAR, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, iv. 395. ⁶ *Ibid.* iv. 406. ⁷ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 492.

⁸ AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fabāris*, ii. 654. ⁹ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, i. 493.

al-Rahīm ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid ibn Ahmād al-Maqdisī (d.740).¹ Ibn Ḥajar says: ‘I read *Mashyakhab Zaynab bint al-Kamāl* with ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Bālisī in two huge *juz’*, compiled by Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘d.’² Zaynab also has a *Mashyakhab al-mashā’ikh*, which Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī has narrated with his *sanad* to Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar, who narrated it from Umm Muḥammad Āṣ bint Ahmād ibn Ḥassān, who narrated it from Zaynab herself.³ She also has a *juz’* containing a selection of ḥadīths, about which ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī says: ‘I have a *juz’* of ḥadīths of Umm ‘Abdillāh Zaynab bint al-Kamāl, compiled by Ḥāfiẓ ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Birzālī, it contains 31 ḥadīths, and there are some records of hearing by imāms in it.’⁴ Another book of hers, *Muwāfaqāt ‘alīyāt*, compiled by al-Birzālī, is referred to by Ibn Ḥajar, who says in his account of his Shaykh Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣāliḥī: ‘I read with him the second ten from *Muwāfaqāt Zaynab bint al-Kamāl*, compiled by al-Birzālī.⁵ Ibn Ḥajar read the whole *Muwāfaqāt Zaynab* with Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Baṣrī al-Hanbālī,⁶ Khadījah bint Abī Bakr al-Kūrī,⁷ ‘Alī ibn Ghāzī ibn ‘Alī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Kūrī,⁸ ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Bālisī,⁹ Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Simsār,¹⁰ and parts of it with ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Urmawī¹¹ and ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī.¹²

Mashyakhab Fāṭimah bint Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisīyyah. Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī narrated this *Mashyakhab* of Fāṭimah bint Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn al-Shaykh Abī ‘Umar al-Maqdisīyyah (d. 747) with his *sanad* to Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar, who narrated it from Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Urmawī, who narrated it from Fāṭimah herself.¹³

Mashyakhab Zaynab bint al-Khabbāz. Ibn Ḥajar narrated this *Mashyakhab* of Umm ‘Abdillāh Zaynab bint Najm al-Dīn Ismā‘il ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khabbāz (d.749) from his shaykh ‘Uthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Karkī, who heard it from Zaynab.¹⁴ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī narrated it with his *sanad* to Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar.¹⁵

¹ AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, ii. 653. ² IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*, ii. 347. ³ AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, ii. 644. ⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 460. ⁵ IBN HAJAR, *al-Majma‘ al-Mu‘assas*, i. 237. ⁶ *Ibid.* i. 566. ⁷ *Ibid.* i. 588. ⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 270. ⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 347. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 544. ¹¹ *Ibid.* ii. 232. ¹² *Ibid.* ii. 322. ¹³ AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, ii. 654. ¹⁴ IBN HAJAR, *al-Mu‘jam al-mufharas*, 208. ¹⁵ See AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, ii. 654.

Mu'jam Maryam al-Nābulsiyyah. Hāfiẓ Ibn Hajar compiled this *Mu'jam* of Amatullāh Maryam bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Aḥmad al-Nābulsiyyah (d. 758). Hājir bint al-Sharaf al-Maqdisī narrated it from Abū l-Ma‘ali ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar al-Hallāwī, who narrated it from Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ghālī al-Dimyāṭī, who heard it from Maryam herself. An incomplete version (ed. Majdī al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm, Cairo: Maktabah al-Qur’ān, n. d., about 80 pp.) has only one *juz'* out of the 24 *ajza'* of her *musnad*. The editor, regrettably, gives no information about the other parts.

Mu'jam Maryam al-Adhra'iyyah. This *Mu'jam* of Maryam bint Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Adhra'iyyah (d. 805) was compiled by Hāfiẓ Ibn Hajar in one volume.¹

Mashyakhab Hasanah al-Tabariyyah. Hāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī narrated this *Mashyakhab* of Hasnah bint Abī l-Yumn Muḥammad ibn al-Shihāb Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī al-Makkīyyah (d. 808) with his *sanad* to Hāfiẓ Ibn Hajar, who narrated it from her.

Mashyakhab Ā'ishah bint Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādi. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī has mentioned this *Mashyakhab*,³ and narrated it with his *isnāds* to Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī and al-Kamāl ibn Hamzah, all of them from Taqī al-Dīn ibn Fahd, al-Kamāl Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Zayn, both directly from her.⁴

Mashyakhab Fātimah bint Khaṭīl. This is the *Mashyakhab* of Umm al-Hasan Fātimah bint Khalīl ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Kinānī (d. 838). Hāfiẓ Ibn Hajar compiled it and joined with the *mashyakhab* of another of his teachers and called it *al-Mashyakhab al-Bāsimah li-l-Qibābī wa Fātimah*. This *Mashyakhab* is mentioned by Hāfiẓ al-Sakhāwī,⁵ al-Najm ibn Fahd⁶ and others. Hāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī has narrated it with *isnād* to Ibn Hajar, and mentioned that he has a manuscript of half of it, which is a copy of a version corrected by Hāfiẓ al-Sakhāwī.⁷ Dār al-Farfūr in Damascus published it in 1422 [2002] edited by Dr. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá al-Hāfiẓ from a single copy available in the library of Berlin. That copy, written in Cairo in 865, is in the hand of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Nābulṣī, a student of Hāfiẓ Ibn Hajar. In it there are altogether 166

¹IBN HAJAR, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, 88. ²AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, ii. 655. ³Ibid., 653. ⁴Ibid., 864. ⁵AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, xii. 91. ⁶IBN FAHD, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, 406. ⁷AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, ii. 635–36.

shaykhs mentioned. Among them 52 are common to both Qibābī and Fātimah, 84 Qibābī's alone and 30 Fātimah's alone; so all Shaykhs of al-Qibābī are 136 and all Shaykhs of Fātimah are 82.¹

Mashyakhah Ā'ishah bint al-'Alā' al-Hanbalī. This is the *Mashyakhah* of Ā'ishah bint al-'Alā' 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Hanbalī (d. 840). Zayn al-Dīn Rīḍwān compiled a *juz'*, starting with *al-Musalsal bi-l-awwaliyyah*, of her higher ḥadīths in which the number of narrators between herself and the Prophet is nine or ten.² Najm al-Dīn ibn Fahd says: 'Shaykh Rīḍwān compiled forty of her ḥadīths which she narrated.'³

Mashyakhah Zaynab bint al-Yāfi'i. This *Mashyakhah* of Zaynab bint 'Abdillāh ibn As'ad al-Yāfi'i (d. 846) was compiled by Najm al-Dīn ibn Fahd. Al-Kattānī referred to it by the title *al-Fawā'id al-Hāshi-miyyah*, and narrated it through his *isnād* to Ibn Tūlūn, who narrated it from Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ṣidq, who narrated it from her.⁴ Najm al-Dīn ibn Fahd also compiled her higher ḥadīths under the explanatory title, *Aḥādīth tusā'iyyāt al-isnād wa 'ushāriyyāt al-isnād*.⁵ Al-Kattānī has narrated it with his *isnād* to Abū l-Baqā Muḥammad ibn al-Imād al-Umarī, who narrated it from Ibn Fahd, who narrated it from Zaynab herself.⁶

Mashyakhah Asmā' al-Mahrāniyyah. This is the *Mashyakhah* of Asmā' bint 'Abdillāh ibn Muḥammad al-Mahrāniyyah al-Dimashqiyyah (d. 867). It was compiled by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Khalil al-Labūdī al-Dimashqī.⁷ Najm al-Dīn ibn Fahd has mentioned the work by a different title, *al-Fath al-asmā' al-rabbānī fi Mashyakhah Asmā' bint al-Mahrānī*.⁸ Hāfiẓ 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kattānī narrated it with his *sanad* to Shams al-Dīn ibn Tūlūn, who narrated it from Yūsuf ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, who narrated from Asmā' herself.⁹

al-Arba'un of Umm Kirām Uns bint 'Abd al-Karīm. This is the collection of Umm al-Karīm ibn Aḥmad al-Lakhamī, the wife (d. 867) of Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar, compiled by Hāfiẓ al-Sakhawī, who read it to her.¹⁰

¹Ibid. ²AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, xii. 78. ³IBN FAHD, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* 323. ⁴AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, ii. 653. ⁵IBN FAHD, *al-Durr al-kamīn*, 1443. ⁶AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, i. 294. ⁷AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, xii. 6. ⁸IBN FAHD, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* 397. ⁹See AL-KATTĀNĪ, *al-Mu'jam al-muṣharas*, ii. 653. ¹⁰AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar*, iii. 1211.

Mashyakhah Zāhidah bint al-Zāhirī. This is the *Mashyakhah* of Zāhidah bint Muhammad ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Zāhirī, compiled by al-Muqātilī.¹ She heard ḥadīth from Ibrāhīm ibn Khalīl, and got *ijāzahs* from Ibn al-Junayzī, al-Shāwī, Ibn al-Hubāb and others.

Humaydah's hadīth writings. Ḥumaydah bint Muḥammad Sharīf ibn Shams al-Dīn al-Asbahāniyyah (d. 1087) became known for her ḥadīth writings: Among those writings are her marginal notes on *al-Iṣibṣār* of Shaykh al-Tūsī: These notes were well received by scholars and they referred to them.² She also compiled a book on the narrators of ḥadīth known by the title *Rijāl Ḥumaydah*.³

Khunāthah's Notes. Khunāthah bint Bakkār ibn ‘Alī al-Ma‘afirī (d. 1159) wrote marginal notes on *al-Isābah fī tamyīz al-sahabah* of Ibn Hajar.⁴

Mashyakhah al-Sitt Fātimah. The full title of this *Mashyakhah* is *al-Fahāris al-qā’imah fī asānīd al-Sitt Fātimah*. Shaykh Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī (d. 1410) narrated it from Muḥammad ibn Arshad ibn Sa‘d, who narrated it from Sitt Fātimah herself.⁵

HIGHER ISNĀD THROUGH WOMEN TEACHERS

Ḥadīth scholars did not distinguish between men and women teachers as being more or less worthy for being men or women. They paid the same attention to preserving accurately the wording of ḥadīths narrated by women as to those narrated by men. In the later period interest in seeking out women scholars is a part of the effort to get higher *isnāds*. If a woman shaykhah outlived all the men in her generation, she would attract a lot of students, who would come to study with her in order to make their *isnād* higher. Seeking higher *isnād* is a well-established tradition among the people of ḥadīth. Al-Ḥākim cites examples of the Companions travelling for higher *isnāds*, and he calls doing so a *sunnah*.⁵

¹ IBN HAJAR, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, ii. 113. ² See AFANDĪ, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā'*, v. 404; AL-ḤAKIMI, *A‘yān al-nisā'*, 98; *Rayāḥīn al-shari‘ah*, iv. 185. ³ AL-TAHRĀNĪ, *al-Dhāri‘ah*, x. 14. ⁴ IBN HAJAR, *al-Isābah*, MS. al-Khizānah al-Hasaniyyah, no. 5932. MAMDŪH, *I‘lām al-Qāsi wa-l-dāni*, 66. ⁵ AL-ḤĀKIM, *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-hadīth*, 8–9.

An *isnād*'s being high is of three kinds. Firstly, assuming the *isnād* is sound (meaning each link is authenticated and the links unbroken), it is a measure of proximity to the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*. All the ḥadīths in *Sahīb al-Bukhārī* are *sahīb* (sound). Between al-Bukhārī and the Prophet there are usually five or six people, sometimes more, sometimes fewer. However, there are 22 ḥadīths in the book where there are only three people between al-Bukhārī and the Prophet. These are the highest *isnāds* in the *Sahīb*. One of them is: Makkī ibn Ibrāhīm ⇐Yazīd ibn Abī Ubayd ⇐Salamah ibn al-Akwa^c. In the later centuries, there are many ḥadīths which the scholars narrate through women teachers because doing so shortens the *isnād*. For example, the tenth-century scholar Abū l-Fath al-Iskandarī, narrated the Prophetic ḥadīth 'None from those who pledged allegiance under the tree will enter the Fire' through the two *isnāds* below:

Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar ⇐Abū Ishāq al-Tanūkhī ⇐Abū l-‘Abbās al-Ḥajjār ⇐Abū l-Munajjā ibn al-Lattī ⇐Abū l-Waqt al-Sijzī ⇐Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Fārisī ⇐Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī Shurayḥ ⇐Abū l-Qāsim al-Baghawī ⇐Abū l-Jahm al-Bāhilī ⇐Layth ibn Sa‘d ⇐Abū l-Zubayr ⇐Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh ⇐the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*

‘Ā’ishah bint ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī ⇐Abū l-‘Abbās al-Ḥajjār ⇐Munajjā ibn al-Lattī ⇐Abū l-Waqt al-Sijzī ⇐Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Fārisī ⇐Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī Shurayḥ ⇐Abū l-Qāsim al-Baghawī ⇐Abū l-Jahm al-Bāhilī ⇐Layth ibn Sa‘d ⇐Abū l-Zubayr ⇐Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh ⇐the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*

‘Ā’ishah bint ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī was the last surviving student of al-Ḥajjār; accordingly the *isnād* through her is a degree higher for Abū l-Fath al-Iskandarī than the other.

Secondly, there is highness of *isnād* indicating proximity to one of those accepted by the *ummah* as an *imām* (one to be followed) in the field. In our time, if scholars narrate the *Sahīb* of al-Bukhārī through ‘Ā’ishah al-Maqdisiyyah (d. 816), then between them and Imām al-Bukhārī there will be one less narrator than through any other *isnād*. Similarly, if scholars narrate a ḥadīth from Imām al-Ṭabarānī through Fātimah al-Jūzdāniyyah (d. 525),

there will be at least one narrator less than through any other *isnād*. Her *isnād* for the ḥadīths of Imām al-Ṭabarānī is the highest in the world.

Thirdly, there is highness of *isnād* for ḥadīths recorded in different compilations, such as the Six Books and other famous works. Thus a particular ḥadīth through Imām al-Bukhārī is not necessarily narrated by him with the highest *isnād* possible. This comparative highness is divided further into sub-kinds, details of which can be found in the standard works of *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*. Here, a single illustrative example must suffice. Ḥāfiẓ Abū l-Faḍl al-IRQĀQI (d. 805) narrates a ḥadīth with three *isnāds*, one through al-Bukhārī, one through Muslim, and this one:

Sitt al-Arab bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqdīsī ⇐ Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Bukhārī ⇐ Abū Ja‘far al-Saydlānī ⇐ *Fāṭimah al-Jūzdarīyyah* ⇐ Abū Bakr ibn Rīdhah ⇐ Abū l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī ⇐ Abū Muṣlim al-Kishshī ⇐ Abū ‘Aṣim ⇐ Yazīd ibn Abī ‘Ubayd ⇐ Salamah ibn al-Akwā‘.

The third one, with the two women narrators in it, is, al-IRQĀQI says, one degree higher compared to the one through al-Bukhārī, and two degrees higher compared to the one through Muslim.¹

¹ ABŪ L-FADL AL-IRQĀQI, *K. al-Arba‘īn al-Ushāriyyah*, 149–50.

Chapter 8

Women and ḥadīth critique

In the foregoing I have demonstrated that the *muhaddithāt* were much sought after for their knowledge and piety. Here I outline some formal aspects of evaluation of women narrators within the discipline of *jarḥ* (invalidating) and *ta‘dīl* (validating) the competence of an individuals to transmit reports or testimony. After that, I present what is known with certainty about the women’s contribution to ḥadīth critique.

EVALUATION OF NARRATORS

The duty to assay or evaluate narrators is founded primarily on God’s command (*al-Hujurāt*, 49. 6): *O believers, if an evil-doer (fāsiq) comes to you with news, then verify it (fa-tabayyanū) lest you injure a people in ignorance.* However, in the very same sūrah, God forbids excessive suspiciousness (*kathīran min al-zann*) and He describes backbiting (criticizing people behind their backs) in the strongest terms as abhorrent as would be eating a human corpse. (*al-Hujurāt*, 49. 12.)

Muhammad ibn Sīrīn, the great scholar among the Successors of the Companions, said: ‘The knowledge is religion, so be careful about those from whom you are taking your religion.’¹ Imām al-Nawawī said: ‘*Jarḥ* and *ta‘dīl* are made lawful for the protection of the religion.’² Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī has discussed the controversy at some length:

Some people [...] have criticized the commenting by the experts among our imāms and the people of knowledge from our ancestors

¹MUSLIM, *Sabīh, Muqaddimah*. ²AL-NAWAWĪ, *al-Taqrīb* (with commentary *al-Tadrīb*), ii. 298.

that so-and-so narrator is weak, and that so-and-so is not reliable, and whatever is similar to that, and they consider that as backbiting those about whom these comments are made if that fault [really] is found in them, and as slander if that fault is not found in them. Their ḥadīth [that they base this opinion on] is the ḥadīth of Abū Hurayrah that the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – was asked: What is backbiting? He said: To mention about your brother what he dislikes. The person asked: What if what I say [really] is in my brother? The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: If what you say is in your brother, then you have backbited him, and if it is not in him, then you have slandered him. What they say is not valid: for the people of knowledge are unanimous that a report should not be accepted except from an intelligent, truthful person who can be trusted in what he says. In that there is evidence of permissibility of *jarḥ* of the one who is not truthful in his narration. Also the *sunnah* of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – has come clearly attesting to what we have stated, and opposing the opinion of these who differ from us.¹

Al-Khaṭīb then cites the ḥadīth of the woman who came to the Messenger to consult him about two men who had proposed marriage to her.

She said: Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān and Abū Jahm have proposed to me. The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: As for Abū Jahm, he never takes his stick from his neck, and as for Mu‘āwiyah, he is a poor one and has no wealth. Marry Usāmah ibn Zayd.’ In this ḥadīth there is permissibility of *jarḥ* of the weak for a good cause. [...]

The backbiting that is forbidden is that where one mentions the faults of his brother in order to lower him and to humiliate him.²

From the earliest period, a group of Companions, their Successors and those after them commented on the qualities of the narrators of ḥadīth. Shu‘bah, known as ‘the commander of the faithful’ in ḥadīth, was the first to develop the practice as a distinct discipline. Yahyā ibn Sa‘id al-Qatṭān and others got this knowledge from him, and from Yahyā, it came to Yahyā ibn

¹ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kifāyah*, 38. ²Ibid., 39–40.

Maṣīn, ‘Alī ibn al-Madinī and Aḥmad ibn Hanbal. From them it came to al-Bukhārī, Abū Zur‘ah al-Rāzī, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and Muslim, and so on. Abū Bakr ibn Kallād said to Yahyā ibn Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān: ‘Don’t you fear that these people whose ḥadīth you have left will be claimants against you before God? Yahyā said: ‘If they are claimants against me, it is better than the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – being a claimant against me, saying: Why did you not push away lying from my ḥadīth?’¹

On balance, the need to prevent inaccuracies and fabrications from entering knowledge of the *Sunnah* prevailed over the unwillingness to say about someone what could hurt their feelings or their reputation. It suffices for our purpose here to summarize Ibn Ḥajar’s classification of narrators into twelve ‘grades’ – six positive, six negative – which has been widely accepted by the community:

- I. The Companions, who are accepted as narrators on the authority of the Qur‘ān’s praising their quality as believers.
- II. The narrators who have been consistently described as *awthaq al-nās* term ‘the most reliable of people’ or *thiqah thiqah* ‘reliable reliable’ or with terms meaning ‘reliable’ and ‘expert’ (*hāfiẓ*).
- III. The narrators who have been described at least once with words of high praise like *thiqah* or *mutqin* (‘accurate’) or *thabt* (‘firm’) or *‘adl* (‘just’).
- IV. The narrators whose quality has been indicated by saying of them, *sādiq* (‘very truthful’) or *lā ba’sa bi-hi* (‘no harm in [taking from] him’).
- V. The narrators whose quality is marginally less than IV, described as *sadūq sayyi’ l-bifz* (‘very truthful with sound memory’).
- VI. The narrators who narrate few hadīths, and no reason is known for turning away from those hadīths, and are described as *maqbūl* (‘accepted’).
- VII. The narrators from whom more than one person has narrated, but whose reliability is not explicitly confirmed, described as *mastūr* (‘hidden’), or *majbūl al-hāl* (‘whose condition is unknown’).

¹ AL-SUYŪTĪ, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, ii. 299.

- VIII. The narrators whose reliability is not affirmed by one whose affirmation matters, and who have pointed to as *da‘if* ('weak').
- IX. The narrators from whom only one person has narrated, and whose reliability has not been affirmed at all; described as *majhūl* ('unknown').
- X. The narrators whose reliability is not affirmed at all, and about whom something negative is known; described as *matrūk* ('left') or *sāqīt* ('fallen') or *wāhib al-hadīth* ('weak in hadīth').
- XI. Narrators who have been accused of lying.
- XII. Narrators about whom lying or fabricating is established, either by their confession or otherwise (*mutahabnil kadhib*).¹

Ta‘dil of women narrators

The expert assayers of ḥadīth have placed women narrators in all six positive grades, starting with the highest degree of reliability, namely the Companions, among them the wives and daughters of the Prophet. Several women are among those of the next rank (II), for example the great jurist *tābi‘iyyah* ‘Amrah bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān. About her, al-Dhahabī said: 'She was a scholar, jurist, proof, and holder of abundance of knowledge';² Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn said: 'reliable and proof'.³ Another example is ‘Ā’ishah bint Talḥah, about whom Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn said: 'reliable and proof'.⁴ And there are many others of this rank from the early and the later generations.

Among many women narrators ranked III by most experts is Hafṣah bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. Al-Ṭīlī (d. 261) said about her: 'a reliable *tābi‘iyyah*';⁵ about Fāṭimah bint al-Mundhir, he said: 'a reliable *tābi‘iyyah* from Madinah';⁶ about Ṣafiyah bint Abī Ubayd al-Thaqafiyah, he said: 'a reliable jurist of Madinah';⁷ about both Dīqrāh bint Ghālib al-Baṣriyyah⁸ and Qamīr bint ‘Amr al-Kūfiyyah,⁹ he said: 'reliable *tābi‘iyyah*'.

¹ IBN HAJAR, *Taqrib al-tabdhib*, *Muqaddimah*. ² AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā*, iv. 508. ³ AL-MIZZI, *Tabdhib al-kamāl*, xxxv. 152. ⁴ IBN ‘ASĀKIR, *Ta‘rīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, *Tarājim al-nisā*, 210. ⁵ AL-ṬIILĪ, *Ta‘rīkh al-thiqāt*, 523. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 523. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 520. ⁸ *Ibid.*, 519. ⁹ *Ibid.*, 524.

Among those women narrators ranked by most experts as IV, V, and VI are: ‘Umaynah bint Anas ibn Mālik,¹ Ḥabībah bint Maysarah ibn Abī Khuthaym,² Hasnah bint Mu‘āwiyah ibn Sulaymān al-Ṣarīmiyyah,³ Khayrah, the mother of al-Hasan al-Baṣrī,⁴ and many others.

Jarḥ of women narrators

Grades VII–XII are grades of negative valuation or *jarḥ*. The least of those (VII) includes those whose quality as narrators is not known. Among the examples of this rank is Bahiyyah, the *mawlāh* of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. Her ḥadīth is in *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd;⁵ Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar said: ‘She is not known.’⁶

Some women have been put in the VIIith category by mistake and the mistake later rectified. An example is ‘Ā’ishah bint Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ. Al-Khaṭīb narrates from Mālik: ‘I asked her about some ḥadīths; then I did not like to take anything from her because of her weakness.’⁷ According to the ḥadīth experts, this narration from Mālik must be wrong because Mālik has himself narrated from her – in his *Muwattā*, as Hāfiẓ Abū Zur‘ah al-Ṭrāqī pointed out. Ibn Ḥibbān has confirmed her reliability and al-Bukhārī has narrated her ḥadīth.⁸ Al-Ṭīlī says about her: ‘She is a reliable *tābi‘iyyah*.⁹ Al-Ṣafādī said: ‘She is among the reliable ones.’¹⁰

Among the women narrators at the rank indicated by the epithet ‘unknown’ (IX), is Unaysah. Ṣafwān ibn Sulaymān narrated from her and she narrated from Umm Sa‘id bint Murrah al-Fihri. Al-Bukhārī has quoted her ḥadīth in *al-Adab al-mufrad*. Ibn Ḥajar said about her: ‘She is not known.’¹¹ Bunānah bint Yazīd al-‘Abshamīyyah who narrated from ‘Ā’ishah and ‘Āsim al-Aḥwal narrated from her. Hāfiẓ says about her: ‘She is not

¹ IBN ḤAJAR, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 743. ² *Ibid.*, 745. ³ *Ibid.*, 746. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 746. ⁵ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Tajrīd asmā’ al-ṣahābah*, ii. 266. ⁶ IBN ḤAJAR, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 744. ⁷ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kifāyah*, 132–3. ⁸ Abū Zur‘ah AL-ṬRĀQĪ, *al-Bayān wa-l-tawdīh*, 329. ⁹ AL-ṬĪLĪ, *Ta’rīkib al-thiqāt*, 521. ¹⁰ AL-ṢAFĀDĪ, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, xvi. 606. ¹¹ IBN ḤAJAR, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 744.

known.¹ Again, some were put in this category wrongly, and the mistake corrected by later scholars. An example is al-‘Āliyah bint Ayfa‘, the wife of Abū Ishāq al-Şabīrī and the mother of Yūnus ibn Abī Ishāq. About her, al-Dāraqutnī said: ‘She is obscure’;² Ibn Hazm said: ‘Nobody knows who she is’;³ Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr said: ‘She is obscure’.⁴ However, Ibn Ḥibbān named her among the ‘reliable’ *tābi‘iyyāt*.⁵ Ibn al-Jawzī said: ‘They say: al-‘Āliyah is an obscure woman, so her report cannot be accepted. We say: rather, she is a woman of great position, well-known.’⁶ Ibn al-Turkmānī (d. 750) says: ‘al-‘Āliyah is well-known, her husband and her son have both narrated from her and both are expert in ḥadīth. Her ḥadīth is accepted by al-Thawrī, al-Awzā‘ī, Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal’.⁷

An example of the rank of those narrators whose ḥadīths are ‘left’ (X) is Ḥakkāmah bint Uthmān ibn Dīnār. Ibn Ḥibbān, al-‘Uqaylī, and al-Dhahabī have criticized her ḥadīth.⁸

As for the two lowest ranks (XI, XII), of narrators accused of fabricating ḥadīth, or whose fabrication is known, there is not a single woman among them. Al-Dhahabī says: ‘I did not know among the women anyone who has been accused [of lying] or whose ḥadīth has been left [for that].’⁹

EVALUATION OF WOMEN’S HADĪTHS

Women’s ḥadīths are described by the experts according to the same categories as men’s, as *sahīh* (sound), *hasan* (good) and *da‘if* (weak), although they are preferred over the men’s in that women are not known to have narrated any fabricated ḥadīths.

There are a great number of ḥadīths narrated by women alone; the traditionists have accepted them and jurists have acted upon them. Examples were given earlier. Here is another

¹ *Ibid.*, 744. ² AL-DĀRAQUTNĪ, *Sunan*, iii. 51. ³ IBN HAZM, *al-Muballā*, i. 240.

⁴ IBN ‘ABD AL-BARR, *al-Tambīd*, xviii. 20. ⁵ IBN ḤIBBĀN, *K. al-Thiqāt*, v. 289.

⁶ IBN JAWZĪ *al-Taḥqīq*, ii. 184. ⁷ IBN AL-TURKMĀNĪ, *al-Jawhar al-naqī*, v. 330.

⁸ AL-DHAHABĪ, *al-Mughnī fī al-dū‘afā*, ii. 425. ⁹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Mīzān al-i‘tidāl*, vii. 465.

example: al-Hākim narrated from ‘Ā’ishah that ‘the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – called on her and she had a curtain [hanging] which had some pictures [on it]. The colour of his face changed. Then he took the curtain and tore it with his hand and then said: The worst people being punished on the Day of Resurrection are those who copy the creation of God.’ Al-Hākim said: ‘This is a *ṣabīb sunnah*.¹

The experts have, in many cases, preferred ḥadīths narrated by women over those narrated by men, because the former have stronger *isnāds* and are further from containing mistakes. Al-Hākim narrated from Anas ibn Mālik ‘that the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – was riding a horse, fell from it and his right side was injured. Then he led one of the prayers while sitting and we also prayed behind him sitting. After he finished the prayer, he said: The imām is made to be followed; when he prays standing then pray standing, when he bows, then bow, and when he rises then rise [...] and when he prays sitting then pray together sitting.² However, ‘Ā’ishah narrated that the Messenger of God in his last illness prayed sitting and Abū Bakr followed him standing. Al-Hākim confirms that the ḥadīth experts have preferred ‘Ā’ishah’s narration over that of Anas because ‘Ā’ishah’s has the support of other narrators.³

Scholars traced some discrepancies or contradictions found with some narrations by women not to the women who originally narrated them but to later narrators. There are many examples of that; here is one:

Wahb ibn Jarīr narrated from Shu‘bah, from al-Hakam, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ‘Ā’ishah that she said: ‘When the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – was in [a state of] major ritual impurity, and he had to eat or sleep, he would do ablution (*wuḍū’*).⁴ This ḥadīth is opposed by another ḥadīth narrated by Abū ‘Āsim from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Aswad, from ‘Ā’ishah that she said: ‘The

¹ AL-HĀKIM, *Ma‘rifah ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, 160. ² *Ibid.*, 156. ³ *Ibid.*, 156–57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.

Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – would sleep while in [a state of] major impurity without touching any water.’ Al-Ḥākim says after looking through different *isnāds* for these ḥadīths: ‘All these *isnāds* are sound, and the two reports oppose each other. The reports of the people of Madinah and Kufah agree on ablution, and the reports through Abū Ishāq oppose them.’¹ So this mistake in ‘Ā’ishah’s ḥadīth is not from her: rather it is from some later narrators.

EVALUATION OF NARRATORS BY WOMEN

Women also made their contribution to the evaluation of ḥadīths and critique of narrators. What has been narrated from them in this regard is little, but it is significant that the experts of ḥadīth and *fiqh* have accepted it as valid. Before giving some examples, I will discuss the lawfulness of women doing *ta‘dīl* and *jarb*.

Women’s role in ta‘dīl and jarb

Most scholars hold that *ta‘dīl* and *jarb* by women is permissible. The reasoning of those opposed to this view is that women do not have enough information about people to pass judgement. However, this argument is useless, for if there not enough information to base *ta‘dīl* and *jarb* on, then it is disallowed anyway, whether done by a man or woman. Imām al-Ghazālī affirms in *al-Mustasfā* the permissibility of women’s *ta‘dīl* and *jarb*, and he compares it with their narration of ḥadīth. Imām al-Nawawī also affirms it.² Qādī Abū ‘Alī al-Walid al-Bājī (d. 474) says that ‘*tajrīb* and *ta‘dīl* of narrators of ḥadīth by women is valid.’³ The people of ḥadīth argue for this from the incident of the slander against ‘Ā’ishah when the Prophet called on the maid-servant Barīrah to inform him about her and took account of what she told him. Qādī Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭayyib says: ‘If it is

¹ *Ibid.*, 156. ² AL-NAWAWI, *al-Taqrīb* with its commentary *al-Tadrīb*, i. 321. ³ Abū l-Walid AL-BĀJĪ, *Iḥkām al-fuṣūl fī abhkām al-uṣūl*, i. 376.

said: Do you hold it obligatory to accept *ta‘dīl* by the woman who knows what *ta‘dīl* and *jarb* mean? The answer is: Yes. There is nothing that prevents from accepting that, neither any consensus nor anything else. Had there been any text or consensus then we would not have allowed it [...].¹ Khatīb al-Baghdādī says: ‘When it is affirmed that the report of the righteous woman is accepted, and that is the consensus of the early generation, then it is also obligatory that the *ta‘dīl* of the narrators by women should be accepted, so the *tazkiyah* by women, which means reporting the quality of the reporter and witness, will be – as regards necessitating action upon it – the same as the report by women.’²

Examples of ta‘dīl and jarb by women

‘Amrah bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān narrates that it was reported to ‘Ā’ishah that ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar says: ‘The deceased person is punished for the wailing of the living over him.’ ‘Ā’ishah said: ‘May God forgive Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān [the *kunyah* of ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar]; he did not lie but he forgot or made a mistake. The true story is that the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – passed by a deceased Jewish woman and said: They are wailing over her and she is being punished in her grave.’³ It is clear that ‘Ā’ishah has in this instance questioned Ibn ‘Umar’s preserving of knowledge (*dabīt*).

Another example of that is when it was reported to ‘Ā’ishah that Abū Hurayrah said: ‘The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: *Shu‘m* [ill-omen] is in three things, in the house, the woman and the horse.’ ‘Ā’ishah said: ‘Abū Hurayrah did not preserve [the whole of the matter]. He entered while the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – was saying: May God fight the Jews [for] they say there is *shu‘m* in

¹ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Kifayah*, 98. ² *Ibid.* ³ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sabīh*, *Janā‘iz*, bāb *qawl al-nabī salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam yu‘adhdhabu al-mayyit bi ba‘d bukā’ abli-hi ‘alay-h*; MUSLIM, *Sabīh*, *Janā‘iz*, bāb *al-mayyit ya‘adhdhabu bi bukā’ abli-hi ‘alay-h*.

three things, the house, the woman, and the horse. Abū Hurayrah heard the end of the ḥadīth and did not hear the beginning of the ḥadīth.¹

Yaqā al-Taymī narrated: ‘I entered Makkah three days after ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr was killed, while his body was hanging on the cross. His mother came. She was a tall, blind lady. She said to Hajjāj [wanting her son’s body taken down]: Has the time not come for this rider to dismount? He said: The hypocrite? She said: By God, he was not a hypocrite. Rather he was a *sawwām* [one who fasts much], a *qawwām* [one who stands much in prayer, and] an obedient [one]. He said: Go back, old woman! You have lost sense because of old age. She said: No, by God, I have not lost my sense. For I heard the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – say: In the tribe of Thaqīf there will be a liar and a destroyer. As for the liar, we have seen him – she meant Mukhtār – and as for the destroyer, that is you.’²

Ibn ‘Ammār narrated that Wāki‘ was asked about Umm Dāwūd al-Wābishiyyah. He said: ‘She was a woman with an intelligent heart.’ And Yahyā ibn Sa‘īd was asked about her; he said: ‘A man asked her about Shurayh. She said: He was like your mother.’³ In this report, Yahyā ibn Sa‘īd, one of the imāms of *jarḥ* is quoting Umm Dāwūd al-Wābishiyyah about a narrator (Shurayh). Shu‘bah narrates that his mother asked Hishām ibn Hassān: ‘Who does Muhammad ibn Sīrīn narrate from? He said: From Abū Hurayrah and Ibn ‘Umar. Then she said: Ibn Sīrīn did hear ḥadīth from them.’⁴

WOMEN’S ROLE IN ḤADĪTH CRITIQUE

The methodology of ḥadīth critique reached full development in the second–third century. Most of its principles relate to the

¹Abū Dāwūd AL-ṬAYĀLISĪ, *al-Musnad*, as cited in AL-ZARKASHĪ, *al-Ijābah*, 59. ²AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, ii. 294. ³AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Jāmi‘ li-akhlāq al-rāwī wa ādāb al-sāmi‘*, i. 133. ⁴BAHSHAL, *Ta’rīkh Wāsit*, 109.

critical study of *isnāds*, a sophisticated and difficult discipline entailing cross-checking the narrators in order to verify who met and studied what with whom, when and where. A part of that effort of critique was concerned with verifying the actual text of the ḥadīth, alongside the labour of deriving instruction or guidance from it. Among the Companions, ‘Ā’ishah is a famous practitioner of this art. While no formal or systematic statement of key principles of critique is attributed to ‘Ā’ishah, it is quite clear that those principles derive from her exemplary practice. Six are illustrated below:

Checking the ḥadīth against the Qur’ān

‘Ā’ishah consistently applied the principle, later formulated and agreed upon by all jurists and traditionist, that if a ḥadīth is contradicted by a Qur’ānic verse, and there is no way of reconciling them, then the ḥadīth will be ‘left’. For example, ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās used to say: ‘The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – saw [i.e. actually set eyes on] his Lord twice.’ Masrūq says that he asked ‘Ā’ishah:

O *umm al-mu’mīnīn*, did Muhammad see his Lord?

She said: What you have said has made my hair stand on end for fear! Where are you from [i.e. where is your grasp of] three things! Whoever tells you that, he is a liar. Whoever tells [you] that Muhammad saw his Lord, he is a liar. Then she recited [*al-An’ām*, 6. 104]: *No seeing [faculties] can encompass Him, and He encompasses all seeing [faculties]*. And [*al-Shūrā*, 42. 51]: *It is not for any human that God should speak to him unless by revelation or from behind a veil*. Whoever tells you that he knew what is in [store for] tomorrow, he has lied. Then she recited [*Luqmān*, 31. 34]: *No soul knows what it will earn tomorrow*. And whoever tells you that he concealed something, he has lied. Then she recited [*al-Mā’idah*, 5. 67]: *O Messenger, proclaim that which has been sent down to you from your Lord*. Rather, he saw [the angel of the Revelation] Jibrīl in his form twice.¹

Urwah ibn al-Zubayr narrated from ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar that he said: ‘The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – stood

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Tafsīr*, bāb *tafsīr sūrat al-Najm*.

up on the *qalīb* of Badr [the ditch in which the unbelievers were buried] and said [to the dead]: Have you found there what your Lord had promised? Then he said: They are hearing what I am saying to them.' When this ḥadīth was mentioned to ‘Ā’ishah, she said: 'Rather, the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: They know that what I am saying is true. Then she recited [*al-Naml*, 27. 80]: *Indeed you cannot make the dead hear.*¹

Checking the ḥadīth against another, stronger ḥadīth

Another key principle derived from the practice of ‘Ā’ishah is that if a ḥadīth goes against one stronger and more firmly established than it, then the weaker ḥadīth will be 'left', not acted upon. ‘Ubayd ibn Rifā‘ah al-Anṣārī says:

We were in an assembly where Zayd ibn Thābit also was. Then [the people there] discussed the bath after [sexual] emission. [Zayd ibn Thābit] said: If someone has intercourse and did not ejaculate, he has only to wash his private parts and do ablution like the ablution for the prayer. Somebody from that assembly stood up and came to Umar and told him that. Umar said to the man: Go yourself and bring him to me, so that you can be witness against him. The man went and brought him. There with Umar were sitting some Companions of the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – among them, ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib and Mu‘ādh ibn Jabal. Umar said to Zayd [ibn Thābit]: O enemy of yourself, do you give a fatwa like that? Zayd said: By God, I have not invented it. Rather, I have heard it from my uncles like Rifā‘ah ibn Rāfi‘ and Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī. Then Umar asked those Companions who were there with him and said to them: What do you say? They differed. Umar said: O slaves of God, you differ, while you are the elect of those who took part in [the battle of] Badr! Then ‘Alī said to him: Send someone to the wives of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – for they will be aware of there being something like that. Umar sent to Hafṣah and asked her. She said: I have no knowledge of that. They sent someone to ‘Ā’ishah. She said: When the circumcised part has passed the other circumcised part, then the bath is obligatory. Then Umar said: If I [come to] know

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sabīḥ, Maghāzī*, bāb *qatl Abī Jabl*.

anyone doing that and [after so doing] he does not have a bath, I will give him a lesson.¹

Checking the ḥadīth against a sunnah of the Prophet

Sālim narrates from his father ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar that he said: I heard ‘Umar say: ‘When [in the ḥajj] you have done the stoning [and sacrificed] and shaved, then everything becomes permissible for you except women and perfume.’ Sālim continues: ‘Ā’ishah said: Everything except women. I put perfume on the Messenger on that occasion’. Then Sālim comments: ‘The *sunnah* of God’s Messenger – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – is more worthy to be followed.²

Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān said: ‘I heard Abū Hurayrah giving a sermon and he said in his sermon: Whoever has got up at the time of dawn in the state of major impurity, then he should not fast. I [Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān] mentioned that to ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Hārith, who mentioned it to his father; he did not accept it. Then I and ‘Abd al-Rahmān went and called upon ‘Ā’ishah and Umm Salamah and we asked about that. ‘Ā’ishah said the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – used to get up in the morning in the state of major impurity and he used to fast.³

Qāsim ibn Muḥammad narrates that ‘Ā’ishah was informed that Abū Hurayrah was saying: ‘The passing of a woman in front of person praying invalidates the prayer.’ She said: ‘The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – would pray, and my leg would be in front of him, then he would turn it away and I would draw it back.⁴

¹ AL-TAHĀWĪ, *Sharḥ Ma‘anī al-āthār*, i. 58. ² AL-BAYHAQĪ, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, Ḥajj, bāb *mā yahillu bi-l-tahallul al-awwal min mahzūrat al-ihrām*.

³ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīh*, *Sawm*, bāb *al-ṣā’im yuṣbi-hu junūban*; MUSLIM, *Sahīh*, *Siyām*, bāb *sibḥat sawm man ṭala‘a ‘alay-hi al-fajri wa huwa junūb*.

⁴ ABŪ MANŞŪR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Istidrāk umm al-mu‘minīn*, 99.

Checking the hadīth in the light of its occasion (sabab)

Urwah ibn al-Zubayr narrates that it came to the knowledge of ‘Ā’ishah that Abū Hurayrah was saying: ‘The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: Being content with a whip in the path of God, is better to me than freeing an illegitimate child. And that the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: The illegitimate child is the worst of the three [father, mother, child]; and the dead person is punished for the wailing of the living.’ ‘Ā’ishah said:

God have mercy on Abū Hurayrah, he did not listen properly, so he did not answer properly. As for his saying, ‘Being content with a whip in the path of God is better to me than freeing an illegitimate child’: Now, when the verse [*al-Balad*, 90. 11–13] was revealed *But he has not attempted the steep ascent. And what will make you know what the steep ascent is? It is the freeing of a neck [from the yoke of slavery]*, it was said to him: O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*. We do not have anything to free, unless it be that some of us have slave-girls who serve us and work for us [and] we could ask them to do adultery and then have some children whom we could free. Then the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam*: Being content with a whip in the path of God is better to me than commanding adultery and then freeing an illegitimate child. [Then] as for his saying that ‘an illegitimate child is worst of the three’, the ḥadīth was not like that. A hypocrite used to cause hurt to the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – so he said: Who will defend me from him? Someone said: O Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – besides that [he does as you say] he is an illegitimate one. Then he said: He is the worst of the three, and God says [*al-An‘ām*, 6. 164]: *And no bearer of burden bears the burden of another.* [Then] as for his saying that the deceased is punished for the wailing of the living, so the ḥadīth is not like that. Rather, the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – passed by a Jew who had died and the people of his family were wailing over him. Then he said: They are crying over him and he is being punished. God says [*al-Baqarah*, 2. 286]: *God does not burden a self beyond its capacity.*¹

¹ AL-HĀKIM, *al-Mustadrak*, ii. 234.

Checking a ḥadīth against the difficulty of acting upon it

Ubayd ibn ‘Umayr narrates that it came to the knowledge of ‘A’ishah that ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Amr was commanding women, when they bathed, to unravel their plaits. She said: ‘Alas! why does he not command them to shave their heads?’¹

Yahyā ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ḥātib narrates from Abū Hurayrah that he said: ‘Whoever washes a deceased, he should bathe, and whoever carries [the body] should do ablution.’ When it came to the knowledge of ‘A’ishah, she said: ‘Are the dead Muslims impure?! What harm is there in carrying wood?’²

Checking a ḥadīth for misconstruction of its meaning

Abū Salamah narrates that when death approached Abū Sa‘id al-Khudrī, he called for new clothes and put them on. In doing so he was acting on what he remembered the Prophet as saying: ‘I heard the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – say: The dead person will be raised in those clothes in which he dies.’ When this came to the attention of ‘A’ishah, she criticized it and said: ‘God have mercy on Abū Sa‘id! The Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – meant the [garment of] actions on which a man dies. For the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – said: People will be resurrected, barefoot, naked, uncircumcised.’²

¹MUSLIM, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Ḥayd*, bāb *ḥukm dafā’ir al-mughtasilah*; IBN MĀJAH, *Sunan, Tahārah*, bāb *mā jā’ a fī ghusl al-nisā’ min al-janābah*. ²ABŪ DĀWŪD, *Sunan, Janā’iz*, bāb *yustahabbu min taṭhīr thiyyāb al-mayyit ‘inda l-mawt*; AL-ZARKASHĪ, *al-Ijābah*, 71.

Chapter 9

Overview by period and region

At no time in Islamic history including the present, and in no part of the Islamic world, past or present, has study of ḥadīth been considered among Muslims themselves as either redundant or obsolete. To the contrary, the relevance and utility of ḥadīth for teaching the believers how to embody the guidance of Islam in their transactions with God and with each other have always been securely fixed at the deepest level of their commitment as believers. That said, active engagement in the study and teaching of ḥadīth has varied in scope and volume in different times and places. In particular, the numbers of women engaged in the receiving and diffusing of ḥadīth, though not localized to a particular period or region, has varied markedly – at least if judged by the material that I have compiled on the *muhaddithāt*. Interestingly, the change by period and region in the numbers of men engaged in ḥadīth study does mostly, but does not always, correspond to the change in the numbers of women.

Variation in the quality or level of attention that a particular body of knowledge receives is normal; to some degree it can be observed in all branches of knowledge, all arts and crafts and patterns of industry and commerce, and in every civilization. It is a function of how, in a particular setting, interest in a body of knowledge is motivated, how costs and rewards for engaging with it are perceived, where it fits within broader conceptions of the purposes that education is supposed to serve in the community providing it. I try in this chapter to give a sense of the general outline of when and where ḥadīth study and teaching among the women intensified, declined, revived. The outline is what the material, in gross qualitative terms, suggests to me at this very early stage of studying the material. I offer only very

tentative explanations for the bigger shifts recorded. It will not be possible to offer more secure explanations until the biographical accounts and mentions of women scholars and students can be analysed systematically, and then set alongside relevant information about the socio-economic and legal and political conditions in which the work with ḥadīth was done.

The divisions by region are self-explanatory. As for time periods, the material seems to me to fall into four main phases:

1st–2nd c. AH. In this period women narrators of ḥadīth are both many and conspicuous. The ḥadīths of women Companions and Successors are widely circulated, and recorded in the precursors of the Six Books and other major collections.

2nd–5th c. AH. This is a relatively weak period for women narrators but a peak period for men scholars and students of ḥadīth. The Six Books and major specialist studies are written at this time. The third century is the weakest for women scholars, their numbers recovering gradually through the fourth and fifth centuries.

6th–9th c. AH. After the time of the women Companions, this is the brightest period in the history of the *muhaddithāt*. From the sixth century, their numbers grow rapidly, peaking in the eighth, beginning to go down in the ninth.

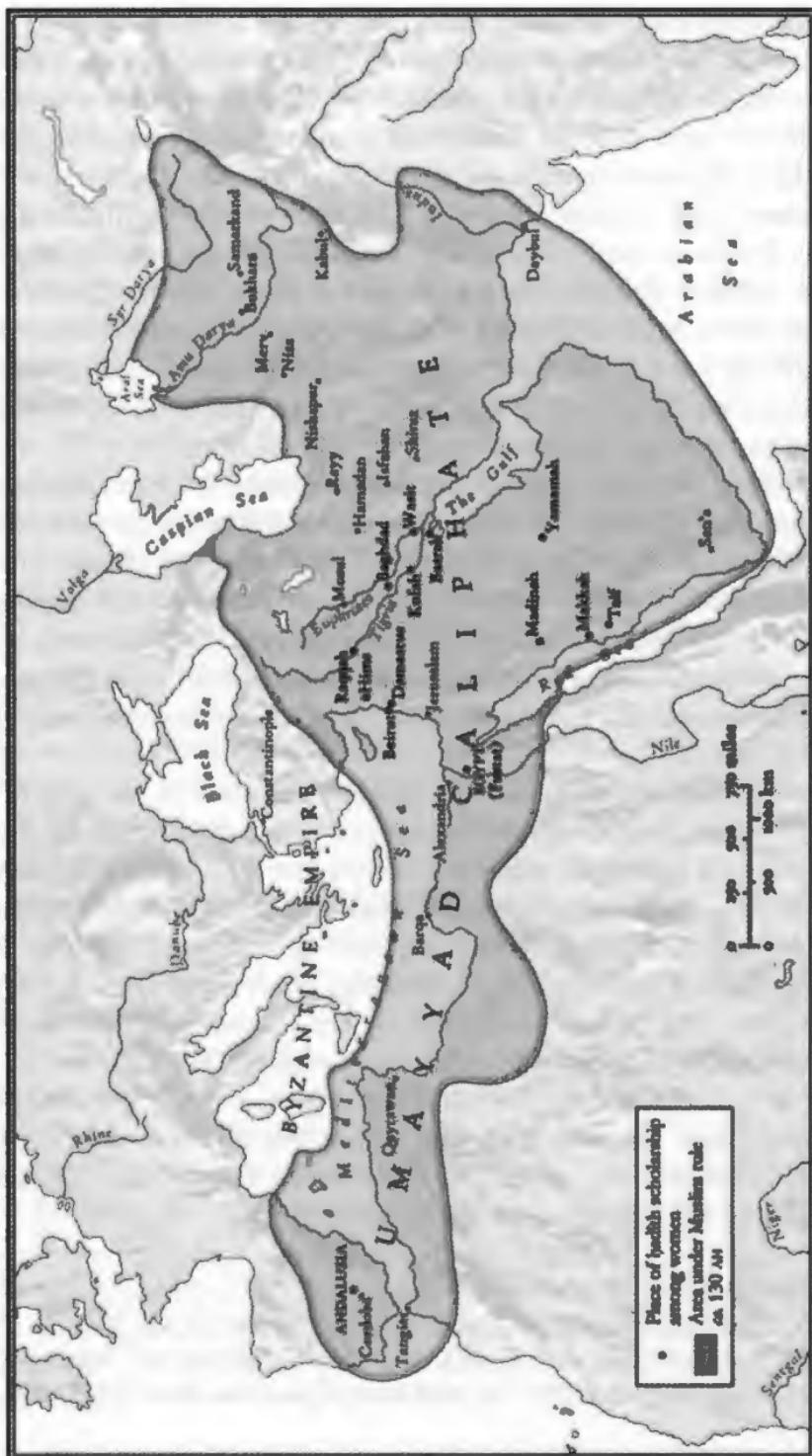
10th–15th c. AH. The period of clear scholarly decline among Muslims in all Islamic sciences including ḥadīth. The decline is not particular to women; it includes men too.

FIRST PERIOD: 1st–2nd c. AH

This is considered the best, the normative, period of Islam. It is the period of the Companions – men and women who learnt the religion from the Prophet himself – of their Successors, many of whom accompanied the Companions in long years of apprenticeship; and of those who followed the Successors and who, by the end of this period, had formalized the practice of their teachers into a strict and solid scholarly discipline.

The ḥadīths of the women of this period are recorded in the major compilations of ḥadīth. Among the Companions, the

Map 2. Islamic world. Spread of *muhaddithāt* 1st–2nd c.



most important and most famous figure in the ḥadīth and *fīqh* is ‘Ā’ishah. She narrated 2,210 ḥadīths. 297 of those ḥadīths are in the *Saḥīfs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim; 174 are found in both, with 54 in al-Bukhārī and 69 in Muslim not recorded in the other.¹ In sheer abundance of ḥadīths, in the Six Books, she is second only to Abū Hurayrah. The total of her ḥadīths in the Six Books is 2,081, of Abū Hurayrah’s 3,370. In knowledge of the religion ‘Ā’ishah was a point of reference for the Companions; Abū Mūsā al-Ash’arī said: ‘Whenever any matter became difficult for us, the Companions of the Prophet – *salla l-lābū ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – then we asked ‘Ā’ishah about it: we found she had got knowledge of that.’²

Next to ‘Ā’ishah in abundance of ḥadīths is Umm Salamah. Altogether she has 378 ḥadīths, of which al-Bukhārī and Muslim both record 13, while al-Bukhārī has another 3 and Muslim 13.³ Among other women Companions who narrated a lot of ḥadīths are: Aṣmā’ bint Yazīd ibn al-Sakan who narrated 81; *umm al-mu’mīnīn* Maymūnah, who narrated 76; *umm al-mu’mīnīn* Hafṣah, who narrated 60; and Aṣmā’ bint Umays, who also narrated 60 ḥadīths.

Among the most famous women narrators in the generation of the Successors is ‘Amrah bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān. In the Six Books and other major collections, her ḥadīths are plentiful. She grew up in the house of ‘Ā’ishah and learnt a lot of ḥadīths from her and others. ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz said: ‘No one is now [living] who has more knowledge of ‘Ā’ishah’s ḥadīth than ‘Amrah’, and he benefited much by her counsel.⁴ Al-Zuhrī said: ‘Qāsim ibn Muḥammad said to me: I see, my boy, that you are greedy for knowledge. Should I not inform you of the vessel of knowledge? Go and stick to ‘Amrah, for she was under the guardianship of ‘Ā’ishah.’ Al-Zuhrī said: ‘Then I came to her and I found her an ocean; its water never goes.’⁵

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar aṣlām al-nubalā’*, ii. 139. ² IBN HAJAR, *Tabdhīb al-tabdhīb*, xii. 463. ³ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar aṣlām al-nubalā’*, ii. 210. ⁴ IBN SAD, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, ii. 387. ⁵ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar aṣlām al-nubalā’*, iv. 508.

Another expert of this period is the great *muhaddithah* of Basrah, Hafṣah bint Sirīn, the sister of the renowned scholar Muḥammad ibn Sirīn. Her ḥadīths too are found in all major compilations. Iyās ibn Mu‘awiyah relied on her in preference even to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Muḥammad ibn Sirīn.¹ Al-Ṣafadī says: ‘She was unique in her time: jurist, truthful, virtuous and of great rank.’²

Another expert of this period is the famous scholar of Syria, Umm al-Dardā’, whose ḥadīths are also abundant in the sources. Al-Dhahabī praises her for her juristic knowledge and intelligence and for her devotion to worship.³ Ibn Kathīr said: ‘She was a *tābi‘iyyah*, devout, scholar and jurist. Men studied with her and learnt *fiqh* from her in her teaching places on the north side of the [Umayyad] Mosque, and ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān when he was caliph used to sit in her circle with other students.’⁴

Among many examples of well-known women scholars of the second century, after the *tābi‘iyyāt*, are Umm al-Aswad al-Khuza‘iyyah and ‘Ubaydah bint Nabil al-Hijāziyyah. Umm al-Aswad narrated ḥadīth from Munyah bint ‘Ubayd al-Aslamiyah and Umm Nā‘ilah al-Khuza‘yyah.⁵ Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Yūnus, ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Amr al-Bajalī, Muslim ibn Ibrāhīm al-Azdī and Yūnus ibn Muḥammad al-Mu‘addib narrated from her. Al-Ṭīlī said: ‘She was a reliable Kufan narrator.’⁶ ‘Ubaydah bint Nabil narrated from ‘Ā’ishah bint Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqās. Among her students were Ishāq ibn Muḥammad al-Farawī, al-Khaṣīb ibn Nāṣīḥ, Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-Waqīdī and Ma‘n ibn Ḫāṣa al-Qazzāz.⁷

It is clearly noticeable that, in terms of narrating ḥadīth, the time of the women Companions is the most shining period. This continued much the same into the time of their Successors. However, in the generation of those after the Successors, there are far fewer women whose ḥadīths are recorded in the famous

¹ AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 152. ² AL-ṢAFADĪ, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, xiii. 106. ³ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz* 53. ⁴ IBN KATHĪR, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah, sub anno 82*. ⁵ IBN HAJAR, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, xii. 486. ⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 239.

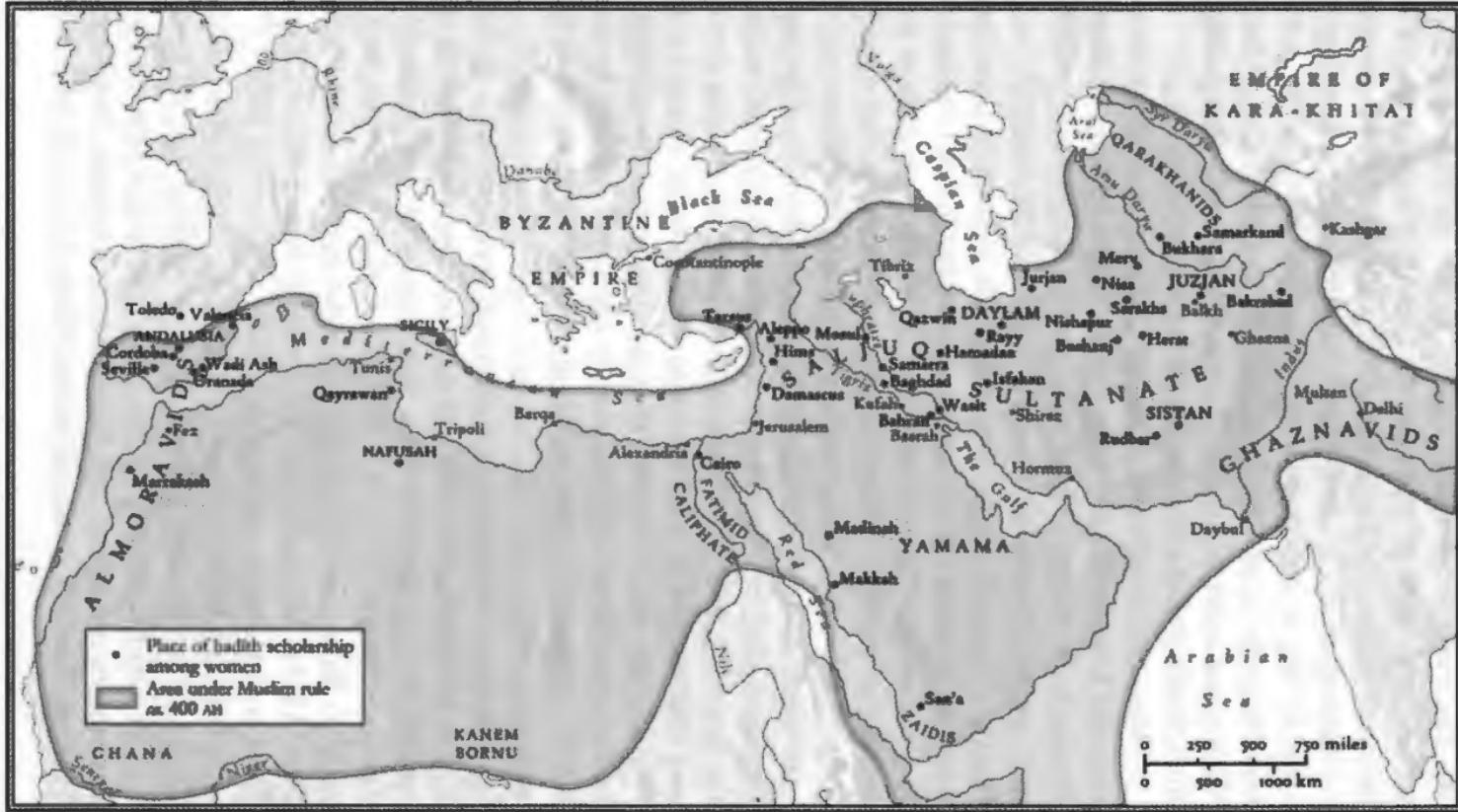
compilations. The most likely reason for this is that the men's interest in ḥadīth was becoming very strong and they were travelling extensively to collect ḥadīths from every city and in as short a time as possible – travelling then was arduous. So, when they were compiling ḥadīths, they recorded from the women of their generation only the ḥadīths that they could not get from men scholars, whom it was easier to find and find out about. This trend became still more pronounced in the next period.

SECOND PERIOD: 3rd–5th c. AH

This is the so-called 'golden period' of ḥadīth study, when the major genres of ḥadīth compilation and the major compilations are put together and circulated. It is also the period when travelling for 'the knowledge' is at its peak. In the beginning of the second century there are scholars of the rank of al-Zuhrī (d. 124) in Madinah, 'Amr ibn Dīnār (d. 123) in Makkah, Qatādah and Yaḥyā ibn Abī Kathīr in Basrah, Abū Ishāq al-Sabīlī and al-A‘mash in Kufah; at the end of the century Mālik in Madinah, Ibn 'Uyaynah in Makkah, Shu‘bah in Basrah, Sufyān al-Thawrī in Kufah. By the beginning of the third century all the major centres of ḥadīth – in Kufah, Basrah, Baghdad, the Ḥaramayn, Syria and Egypt – are dominated by the male scholars. Women appear to be so far absent from the circles of ḥadīth teachers that we do not find a single woman named among the long list of the teachers of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd, Nasa'ī and Ibn Mājah, the authors of the Six Books. Before this period, by contrast, we find women named among the teachers of Abū Hanīfah, Mālik, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Shu‘bah. So, what might explain this abrupt absence of women teachers?

We need to differentiate between receiving 'the knowledge' and transmitting it. As for the former, women continued to study ḥadīth, and there is no indication that people paid less attention to the education of their daughters. It will be remembered that Mālik's daughter Fātimah memorized the whole of his *Muwattā* and became a narrator of ḥadīth, while his son did not.

Map 3. Islamic world. Spread of *muhaddibat* 3rd–5th c.



The crucial difference appears to be the increased importance at this time of travelling between different teachers and different towns, and collecting the ḥadīth of every major centre of learning in the Islamic world. Women cannot have had the same facility to undertake long, arduous journeys in the path of knowledge or to absent themselves from their duties to family. With some exceptions, their ḥadīth were mostly acquired from their family and the scholars in the near locality.

Also, the travelling students are coming from outer regions into the heartlands of Islam – each of the authors of the Six Books is an example. In their places of origin ḥadīth scholarship, especially among women, is not yet established. So we cannot imagine them narrating from the women of their family or of their home towns. Then, on arriving in the heartlands of Islam, they have a very limited time in which to acquire as many ḥadīths as possible before moving on: naturally they would be inclined to sit with those teachers who have themselves travelled extensively and collected large numbers of ḥadīths. Also, being strangers, they can have had only limited, if any, knowledge of the women scholars active in the town they are passing through and only limited, if any, access to them. Finally, it will be very rare by the third century that a woman has knowledge of ḥadīths that have not been already circulated and can be heard reliably narrated by men, to whom the visiting students do have access.

That said, those scholars who had access to the *muhaddithāt* in the heartlands of Islam did narrate from them and so their names, as also their ḥadīths, have survived. For example, in Madinah: Imām Shams al-Dīn al-Jazārī (d. 813) narrates with his *isnād* to Bakr ibn Ahmād al-Qaṣrī, who narrated from Fātimah bint ‘Alī ibn Mūsā al-Ridā (3rd century) from Fātimah, Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm, all three daughters of Mūsā ibn Ja‘far (3rd c.), who narrated from Fātimah bint Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (2nd c.) that she said: ‘Fātimah bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī [2nd c.] narrated to me, saying: Fātimah bint ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn [1st c.] narrated to me saying that Fātimah and Sukaynah, daughters of Husayn ibn ‘Alī narrated to me from Umm Kulthūm bint

Fātimah bint al-Nabī – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – saying: Have you forgotten the Prophet’s word to ‘Alī: You are to me as Hārūn was to Mūsā.¹ Also in Madinah: ‘Ā’ishah bint al-Zubayr ibn Hishām ibn ‘Urwah, whose ḥadīths have been recorded by Qādī Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Mahāmilī.² In Baghdad in this period, Rayhānah wife of Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal, and his slave Ḥusn, both received ḥadīth from him.³ In Kufah there was Fātimah bint al-Zayyāt. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī has narrated her ḥadīth.⁴ In Kufah there was Fātimah bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sharīk, whose ḥadīths were recorded by Ḥafṣ Umar ibn Shāhīn.⁵ In Basrah, the ḥadīths of Ghufayrah bint Wāqid were recorded by Ibn Ḥibbān.⁶ In Wāsiṭ, there was Fātimah bint Ishāq ibn Wahb ibn al-‘Allāf al-Wāsiṭī; her ḥadīths were recorded by Imām al-Tabarānī.⁷ In Syria, there was Umm al-‘Abbās Lubābah bint Yaḥyā ibn Ahmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Kharrāz, whose ḥadīths were recorded by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.⁸

Near the end of the third century ḥadīth activity started to decline, a trend that continued until the fifth. Perhaps the fourth century is the weakest for ḥadīth activity among women. In this century Baghdad is the major centre of *muhaddithāt*. One of the famous ones among them is Amat al-Wāhid bint al-Ḥusayn ibn Ismā‘il al-Mahāmilī (d. 377). Al-Dāraqutnī says: ‘She learnt ḥadīth from her father, Ismā‘il ibn al-‘Abbās al-Warrāq, ‘Abd al-Ghāfir ibn Salāmah al-Himṣī, Abū l-Hasan al-Miṣrī, Ḥamzah al-Hāshimī and others. She memorized the Qur’ān and learnt *fiqh* according to imām al-Shāfi‘ī’s school and other sciences.’⁹ Another example is Fātimah bint ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Harrāniyyah (d. 312), who was born in Baghdad,

¹ See IBN AL-JAZĀRĪ, *Asnā al-maṭālib*, 49. ² See AL-MAHĀMILĪ, *K. al-Dū‘ā’*, 186. ³ Abū Ḥusayn IBN ABĪ YA‘LĀ, *Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, i. 429.

⁴ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Talkhīṣ al-muṭashābih*, i. 113. ⁵ IBN SHĀHĪN, *al-Targhib fī faḍā’il al-a‘māl wa thawāb dhālik*, 167. ⁶ IBN ḤIBBĀN, *K. al-Thiqāt*, iv. 9. ⁷ AL-TABARĀNĪ, *al-Mu‘jam al-saghīr*, ii. 151. ⁸ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Talkhīṣ al-muṭashābih*, i. 482. ⁹ Id., *Ta’rīkh Baghdaḍ*, xiv. 443.

then brought to Egypt where people studied ḥadīth with her.¹ Another examples is Amat al-Salām bint al-Qādī Abī Bakr (d. 390); the names of a number of her students² are found in al-Khaṭīb.³

An important feature of this century is that we begin to find *muhaddithāt* in Khurasan and Transoxania. Their numbers continued to grow in this part of the world until it was destroyed by the Mongols at the beginning of the seventh century. Among the famous traditionists of this area in the fourth century were: Umm Salamah ‘Āminah bint Abī Sa‘īd al-Hasan ibn Ishāq ibn Bulbul al-Naysabūrī,⁴ Jumū‘ah bint Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Mahmiyyah from Nishapur (who also taught ḥadīth in Baghdad),⁵ and Umm ‘Abdillāh Zaynab bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad al-T̄jliyyah, who taught ḥadīth in Jurjan in 347.⁶

Toward the end of the fourth century we find the first records of people bringing young children, even infants, to the ḥadīth classes. Those who heard ḥadīth before they were five were expected to report their hearing by using the formula ‘we attended the hearing’ rather than ‘we heard’. However, some scholars did not approve even this. Al-Dhahabī says in his account of Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥāfiẓ Abī Muḥammad al-Hasan ibn Muḥammad al-Khallāl (385–470), brought by his father to hear ḥadīth from Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kattānī: ‘His hearing from al-Kattānī was when he was in his fifth year. From this time [...] the system went upside down. Rather, *ijāzah* is better in strength than [this] attendance, for whoever heard ḥadīth just attending [a class] without understanding, he did not receive anything. The one who has got *ijāzah* has got something. Yes if, along with the attendance, there is a permission from the shaykh, that is better.’⁷

¹Ibid., 441. ²AL-DHAHABĪ, *Ta’rīkh al-islām* (*sub anno* 381–400), 195. ³AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, xiv. 443. ⁴See ‘Hasan bin Ishāq ibn Bulbul’ in IBN AL-‘ADĪM, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 2295–98. ⁵AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, xiv. 444. ⁶AL-SAHMĪ, *Ta’rīkh Jurjān*, 506. ⁷See AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, xviii. 369.

In the fifth century, women from non-Arab countries excelled the Arabs in the field of teaching and narrating ḥadīth. For example, in Nishapur Fātimah bint Abī ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī al-Daqqāq (d. 480) taught major books of ḥadīths including the *Musnad* of Abū ‘Awāmah.¹ Al-Sam‘ānī says: ‘She was the pride of the women of her time, no one similar to her has been seen in her good character; she was a scholar of the Book of God and virtuous.’² In Isfahan, there was ‘Ā’ishah bint Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm al-Warkāniyyah al-Asbahāniyyah (d. 460). She taught ḥadīth regularly. Ibn al-Sam‘ānī says: ‘I asked Ḥāfiẓ Ismā‘il about her. He said: She is a righteous woman scholar; she gives sermons to the women; she wrote down *Amālī* of Ibn Mandah from him. She is the first person from whom I got ḥadīth. My father sent me to study with her. And she was an ascetic.’³ In Herat, there was Bibā bint ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Harthamiyyah (d. 477). Al-Sam‘ānī says: ‘She was a righteous and pure woman’ and ‘The people who learnt ḥadīth from her cannot be counted.’⁴ In Marw there was Karīmah bint Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥaṭīm al-Marwaziyyah (d. 465) who taught *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* many times.⁵ About her al-Sam‘ānī wondered if anyone had seen her like among women.⁶

THE THIRD PERIOD: 6th–9th c. AH

In this period the Islamic world suffered two catastrophes the like of which it had never experienced before and has not experienced since then until our own time: the destruction of Jerusalem and parts of Palestine by Crusaders, and the Mongols’ destruction of major parts of the eastern Muslim world, including Baghdad and the ‘Abbāsid caliphate.

¹IBN NUQTAH, *al-Taqyid*, 497. ²AL-DHAHABĪ, *Ta’rīkh al-islām* (*sub anno* 471–480), 296. ³See AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā?*, xviii. 302.

⁴Ibid., 404. ⁵Ibid., 233. ⁶Ibid., 234.

Map 4. Islamic world. Spread of *mubaddithāt* 6th–9th c.



Yet, in spite of the destruction suffered during it, this period is characterized by a revival of ḥadīth sciences, after a long period when *fiqh* had been more dominant. This revival is also reflected in the women's role in study and teaching of ḥadīth. Indeed, except for the time of the women Companions, this period is the best for the women's advancement in, and major contribution to, ḥadīth. The comment by al-Dhahabī quoted earlier refers to this time: in his biographical account of Imām Hāfiẓ Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Najjār (578–643), he writes: 'Ibn al-Sā‘atī says: Among his teachers were three thousand men and four hundred women.'¹

How could so great a disaster as the loss of Jerusalem and major defeats in Central Asia and Mesopotamia coincide with the rise of interest in ḥadīth? The answer is that great catastrophes can shake people up, individually and collectively, enable them to re-think their commitments, to either save or forever lose their way of life. The terrible events the Muslims had to endure led them to return to their tradition and strive to rescue their religion and reform their society. For Muslims, the only reform that is sound Islamically is the one that strives to guide people by the *Sunnah* of God's Messenger, *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*. This explanation is supported by the fact that the revival began with the scholars of Jerusalem and the people of Syria – they were the ones most directly affected by the political and military disaster of the Crusades. Ibn Asākir al-Dimashqī and the family of Ibn Qudāmah, who left Jerusalem as the Crusaders occupied it, settled in Damascus. Here they revived the ḥadīth sciences; then, others of the same mind later joined them from elsewhere in Syria. Their women also participated in this great effort to consolidate and revive 'the knowledge'.

When the renewed quest for the knowledge first began, the major centres of ḥadīth were not in Damascus or Cairo. Rather, people in quest of the knowledge had to travel to Baghdad or, further east, to Isfahan. In Baghdad there were a large number

¹Ibid., xxiii. 133.

of female traditionists to whom the people travelled. The most important among them was Shuhdah bint al-Ibrī (d. 574) and Tājanni bint ‘Abdillāh al-Wahbāniyyah (d. 575). All the major traditionists of the time studied with them. In Isfahan the most important shaykhah at this time was Fātimah bint ‘Abdillāh al-Jūzdāniyyah (d. 524), considered one of the most outstanding figures in the whole history of ḥadīth. It is her student Fātimah bint Sa‘d al-Khayr (d. 600) who diffused ḥadīth in Damascus and then in Cairo. By the end of this century, ḥadīth sciences had strengthened greatly in Damascus so that it was becoming established as a major centre. Among the women teachers of ḥadīth of this period was Āminah bint Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Tāhir ibn al-Rār al-Dimashqiyyah (d. 595). She studied ḥadīth with her grandfather, the qādī Abū l-Mufaddal Yahyā ibn ‘Alī al-Qurashī and Abū Muhammad ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Hamzah. Her father obtained for her a copy of Sunan of Abū Dāwūd, and she read part of it with ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Hamzah.¹ Qādī Muhyī l-Dīn Abū l-Ma‘ālī ibn al-Zakī, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qūshī and others studied with her. She also endowed a *ribāṭ* in Damascus.²

That Ibn al-Najjār studied ḥadīth with four hundred women teachers during this period is not the only record we have of their activity. Hāfiẓ Ibn ‘Asākir (d. 571) received ḥadīth from more than 80 women. His colleague and a famous traditionist Abū Sa‘d al-Sam‘ānī (d. 562) has provided accounts of 69 of his shaykhahs. Abū Tāhir al-Silafī (d. 576) studied with a score of women teachers. Even Ibn al-Jawzī, a famous scholar and great preacher who never travelled, has narrated from three women.

The seventh century began with the cataclysm of the Mongol devastation. Chinggis Khan began his campaign against the Khwarizmshah in 616. His hordes destroyed Bukhara, Samarkand, Hamadan, Zinjan, Qazwin, Marw, and Nishapur. Under his grandson Hulagu they entered Baghdad and laid waste to the city, all its treasures, including its libraries, and massacred its

¹IBN ‘ASĀKIR, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, *Tarājīm al-nisā’*, 49. ²AL-DHAHABI, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām* (*sub anno* 591–600), 180.

people. Then they headed to Aleppo and did the same. They occupied Damascus in Jumādā al-Ūlā 658. On their march to Egypt they suffered their first major defeat in ‘Ayn Jälüt in Ramadān 658. Then the Mamlūk sultān Baybars turned the tide of war decisively in the Muslims’ favour and forced the Mongols to flee Syria, although they remained on its borders and the danger of incursions and looting raids persisted.

The consequences of the Mongols’ invasion were severe. The centres of scholarship of Samarqand, Bukhara, Nishapur and Baghdad were utterly devastated, and they never regained their importance as centres of ḥadīth study and teaching. It is a mercy that just before that disaster, Syria and Egypt had become established as major focal points for Islamic scholarship.

The Mamlūk rule over Egypt and Syria endured from 648 to 923. During this period scholarly life became more dynamic, and many grand colleges and mosques were built in the Mamluk domains. The revival of ḥadīth had begun in Syria, before it took hold in Egypt, when (as I noted earlier) the family, friends and followers of Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah left Palestine in 551 and settled in Qāsyūn in Damascus. Here Shaykh Abū ‘Umar Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī built al-Madrasah al-‘Umariyyah in 555. Some years later, in 599, Jāmi‘ al-Hanābilah was built there. Both were very important centres for ḥadīth science. The first centre dedicated expressly for the study of ḥadīth was Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūriyyah in Damascus in 559 founded by the sultān Nūr al-Dīn al-Shahīd. Al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Ayyūbī built Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Kāmiliyyah in 622 in Cairo and his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf built two more centres for ḥadīth study in Damascus. These institutions proved to be vital resources for the community in Syria and Egypt, in the seventh century and subsequently. They always included women teachers and women students, most of whose names are preserved in the records of *samā‘āt* attached to the ḥadīth books.

In my biographical dictionary of the *muḥaddithāt*, five volumes are devoted to the women of the seventh century, and six volumes each for the eighth and ninth centuries. As well as

Syria and Egypt, ḥadīth scholarship among women also grew in the cities of the Haramayn. Perhaps some 90% of the entries in the dictionary for the seventh to ninth centuries are for the women of Syria, Egypt, and the Haramayn.

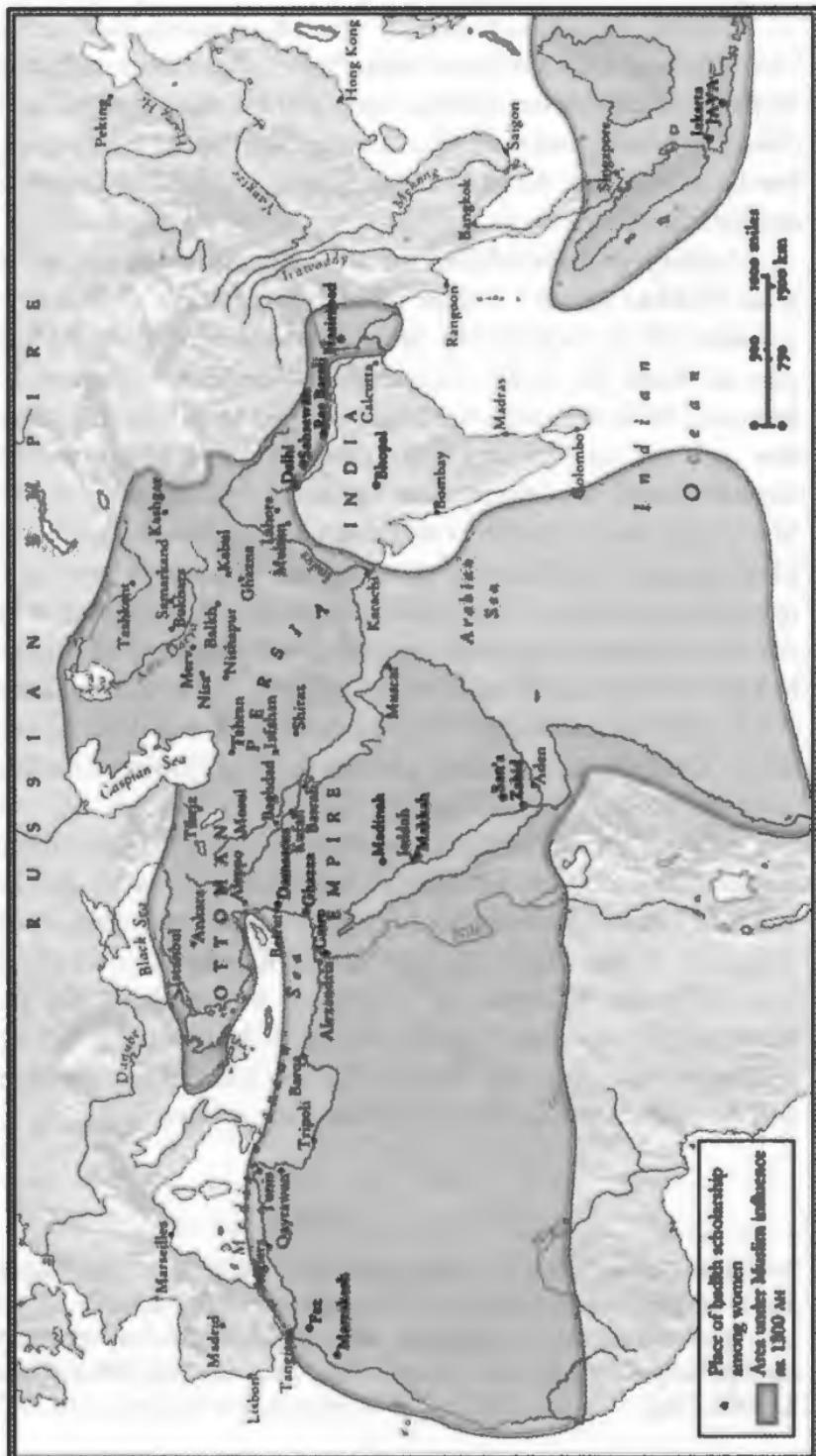
THE FOURTH PERIOD: 900–1500 AH

This period is one of decline, so that a single volume of the biographical dictionary suffices for each century. The decline is not confined to women, nor only to the study of ḥadīth. Rather, it is a general phenomenon affecting men as well as women, and all branches of the Islamic sciences.

Among the most prominent women teachers of ḥadīth in this period were: Umm al-Khayr Amat al-Khāliq al-Dimashqīyyah (d. 902). Al-Suyūṭī says about her: ‘By her death people fell one rank in ḥadīth; for she was the last person who narrated from ‘Ā’ishah bint ‘Abd al-Hadī, who was the last student of al-Hajjār.¹ Another important figure is ‘Ā’ishah bint Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī ‘Umar al-Hanbaliyyah (d. 906). Ibn Ṭulūn says about her: ‘She studied ḥadīth with a group of people including Abū Bakr ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, with whom she studied *al-Majlis al-Awwal* of his *‘Amālī*, which contains *al-Musalsal bi-l-awwaliyyah* and a commentary on it. Ibn Ṭulūn studied with her.² Another famous figure is Shaykhah of Zabid, Aṣmā’ bint Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā al-Dajāḥī (d. 904). Al-‘Aydrūsī says about her: ‘She was righteous; a devout; reciter of the Qur’ān; she used to read *tafsīr* and books of ḥadīth, and taught women, gave sermons to them, and taught them self-discipline. Her words had an impact on the heart. Sometimes she wrote letters of commendation to the sultan, qādī and *amīr*; her recommendations were accepted and not rejected.³

¹ AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Minjam fī l-mu‘jam*, 99. ² IBN HUMAYD, *al-Subūb al-wābilah*, 511. ³ AL-‘AYDRŪSĪ, *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, 40.

Map 5. Islamic world. Spread of *muhaddithat* 10th–14th c.



Another figure was Zaynab bint Muḥammad al-Ghazzī (d. 980). Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī says: ‘She read with her father, and studied a lot with her brother (my father). She read with him *Tanqīh al-Lubāb*, and part of *al-Minhāj*. She copied for him many books in her own hand.’ He goes on to praise her knowledge and uniqueness.¹

Among the *muhaddithāt* of the eleventh century are: the great Makkan scholar, holder of high *isnād*, Zayn al-Sharaf bint al-Imām ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Mukarram al-Ṭabarī (d. 1083). Her students included the *musnads* of her time, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (who revived ḥadīth in the Hijaz in this period), Ḥāfiẓ of Hijaz ‘Abdullāh ibn Sālim al-Baṣrī.² Another important figure was her sister Mubārakah (d. 1075). She taught major ḥadīth works such as *Sahīb al-Bukhārī* and *al-Jāmi’ al-saghrī* of al-Suyūṭī.³ Her student Hasan al-‘Ujaymī has recorded a long list of the ḥadīth works that he studied with her.⁴ Another important figure is the long-lived Shaykhah of Madinah, holder of high *isnād* and jurist, Fātimah bint Shukrullāh ibn Asadullāh al-Kūrāniyyah.⁵ Her students included Abū Ishāq al-Sibārī (d. 1155) who studied with her a lot of books of ḥadīth in 1081 in her house in Madinah.⁶

Among the women of the twelfth century is the famous *muhaddithah* and jurist of Makkah Quraysh al-Ṭabariyyah (d. 1107). Fāliḥ al-Zāhirī has counted her among the seven famous traditionists of the Hijaz responsible for the revival of ḥadīth in later centuries. Quraysh al-Ṭabariyyah was perhaps the most important female figure in the history of ḥadīth from the tenth century to our time. She had the highest *isnād* in her generation and deserves a whole research to be done on her.

¹Najm al-Dīn AL-GHAZZĪ, *al-Kawākib al-sā’irah*, iii. 138,139. ²‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dihlawī al-Makkī, *K. al-Az̄hār al-tayyibah al-nashr*, 1. ³See MARDĀD ABŪ L-KHAYR, *Mukhtaṣar nashr al-zuhūr*, 399. ⁴IBN AL-‘UJAYM, *Khabāyā al-żawāyā*, MS. fols. 182–83. ⁵See AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, ii. 1095. ⁶*Ibid.*

In the thirteenth century the great *muhaddithah* of Delhi, from a family of ḥadīth scholars, Amat al-Ghafūr bint Ishāq al-Dihlawī studied with her father, who was the best scholar of ḥadīth at that time. She acquired high authority in both ḥadīth and *fiqh*. When her husband, himself a great scholar, faced any difficulty in ḥadīth or *fiqh* he consulted her and benefited from her.¹ Other important figures were Rahmah bint al-Jinān al-Miknāsiyyah, who learnt many ḥadīths by heart from the Six Books,² and Fātimah bint Hamad al-Fuḍaylī (d. 1247). This Fātimah was an expert of *tafsīr*, ḥadīth, *fiqh* and *usūl*. She had studied many books of ḥadīth and received many *Musalsalāt*. Many famous scholars of Makkah studied with her and praised her piety and righteousness, devotion and asceticism, and for her writing of many books in beautiful calligraphy.³

In the fourteenth century the most important expert of ḥadīth was Amatullāh bint al-Imām ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Dihlawiyah (d. 1357) in Madinah. She studied with her father, many times over, all the Six Books, as well as many *ajzā’* and *thabats*.⁴ She also received from him all the *Musalsalāt*. Her father took a lot of interest in her education and obtained high *iżāzahs* for her from the leading traditionists of that time.⁵ At her home in Madinah, she taught *Qudūrī* as well as books of ḥadīth.⁶ Her students included the major scholars of the time, like ‘Umar Hamdān al-Mahrasī (d. 1368), Ahmad al-Ghumārī and Muhammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī (d. 1410).

¹See AL-HASANI, *Nuzhat al-khayātir*, vii. 93. ²KAHHĀLAH, *A‘lām al-nisā’*, i. 445. ³See IBN AL-HUMAYD, *al-Subub al-wābilah*, iii. 1227.

⁴Notebooks containing details of one’s narrations or teachers. ⁵AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, ii. 1115. ⁶Muhammad ‘Ashiq Ilāhī AL-BARNĪ, *al-‘Anāqid al-ghāliyah min al-asānid al-‘āliya*, 176.

OVERVIEW BY REGION

Hijāz

The centres of ḥadīth scholarship in the Ḥijāz were the cities of the Ḥaramayn, Makkah and Madinah. Madinah was the first centre for ḥadīth scholarship in the world for the good reason that the Companions were based there. Students travelled to Madinah from Iraq and Syria in order to learn the *Sunnah* from the Companions, men and women. Madinah remained an active locus of ḥadīth study until the end of the second century. After that only a small number of *muhaddithāt* were based there until the ninth century, when the revival of ḥadīth scholarship started in Madinah and continued until the fourteenth century. The traditionists, including women, who visited Madinah as part of their hajj or ‘umrah journeys, also sometimes taught ḥadīth there. The most important *muhaddithah* from among the outsiders was Fātimah al-Baṭā’ihiyyah, who came there from Syria. She taught in the mosque of the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam*, and great scholars studied with her. Among the last major traditionists in Madinah were the just mentioned Amatullāh bint ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Dihlawiyah (d. 1357) and Fātimah Shams Jahān al-Jarkasiyyah, the wife of Shaykh al-Islām ‘Ārif al-Turkī. Among those who studied with her were scholars such as Hāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Hayy al-Kattānī (d. 1382) and ‘Umar Hamdān al-Maḥrasī (d. 1368).¹

Because of hajj, Makkah always had some ḥadīth teachers. In the first centuries, ḥadīth was a little weak there among the women. Perhaps the most famous *muhaddithah* to teach there was Karīmah al-Marwaziyyah in the fifth century. She taught the whole *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* there many times. ḥadīth scholarship became stronger in Makkah in the eighth century and women traditionists continued to turn up there until the fourteenth century. Perhaps the last woman traditionist in Makkah was the

¹ AL-KATTĀNĪ, *Fibris al-fahāris*, ii. 724.

pious and righteous shaykhah, Āminah bint al-Habīb Muhammād ibn Husayn al-Hibashī (d. 1342). She studied ḥadīth with her father, the mufti of Makkah, and her husband Imām ‘Alawī ibn Ahmad al-Saqqāf.¹

Iraq

Basrah evolved in the first century as the second centre after Madinah for ḥadīth scholarship among women. It was strengthened there by the stay of ‘Ā’ishah, as I mentioned earlier. The ḥadīths narrated from that time are recorded in all the major compilations. It was further enhanced by the migration there of the famous Companion and great jurist, Umm ‘Aṭiyyah al-Anṣāriyyah. A number of the Companions and important Successors in Basrah received the knowledge from her.² Baqī‘ ibn Makhlad has recorded forty of her ḥadīth in his *Musnad*.³

Among the famous *muhaddithat* of the generation of the Successors were Hafṣah bint Sirīn, who diffused much knowledge in Basrah. There also was Mu‘ādhah al-‘Adawiyyah, wife of Ṣilāḥ ibn Ashyam. ḥadīth activity remained strong among the women of Basrah until the end of the second century. After that I did not find any record in the sources of an important *muhaddithah* based there.

For the women, the most important centre of ḥadīth after Basrah has been Kufah. Among the traditionist Companions who settled there are: Zaynab bint Abī Mu‘āwiyah al-Thaqafiyah the wife of ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd, Salāmah bint Ḥurr al-Fuzāriyyah,⁴ Jamrah bint ‘Abdillāh al-Yarbū‘iyah al-Tamīmiyah,⁵ Fātimah bint al-Yamān,⁶ Qutaylah bint Sayf al-Anṣāriyyah,⁷ Māriyah,⁸ the servant of the Prophet, Umm Yāsir al-Anṣār-

¹ See AL-HIBASHĪ, *al-Daīl al-mushīr*, 66. ² IBN ‘ABD AL-BARR, *al-Iṣṭī‘āb*, ii. 777.

³ See BAQĪ‘ IBN MAKHLAD (ed. Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhirī) *‘Adad mā li-Kull wāhid min al-sahābha min al-hadīth*, 87. ⁴ MUSLIM, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, i. 219.

⁵ AL-ASKARĪ, *Taṣbīfāt al-muḥaddithin*, 888. ⁶ MUSLIM, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, i. 219.

⁷ AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 270. ⁸ IBN ‘ABD AL-BARR, *al-Iṣṭī‘āb*, ii. 762.

iyyah,¹ and Jasrah bint Dajājah al-Kūfiyyah, whose being a Companion is disputed.² She narrated ḥadīth from Abū Dharr, ‘Alī, ‘Āishah and Umm Salamah; al-Ṭīlī has confirmed her reliability.³ The most important Companion who travelled and diffused knowledge there was Fātimah bint Qays.⁴ Among the Successors in Kufah the most important woman narrator was Qamīr bint ‘Amr al-Kūfiyyah, wife of the famous scholar Masrūq ibn al-Ajda⁵. ḥadīth scholarship remained active among the women of Kufah until the end of the second century.

From the beginning of the third century, Baghdad emerged as the main centre of women's ḥadīth scholarship. The most important figure there was Umm ‘Umar bint Abī l-Ghuṣn Ḥasān ibn Zayd al-Thaqafiyah, who narrated from her father, and from her husband Sa‘id ibn Yaḥyā ibn Qays. Abū Ibrāhīm al-Tarjumānī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣabbāh al-Jarjarā’ī, Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Harawī and ‘Alī ibn Muslim al-Ṭūsī are among those who narrated from her.⁶ Also figures of significance in this century were the women of the house of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, the sisters of Bishr al-Ḥāfi and others. For ḥadīth scholarship among women the greatest centre remained Baghdad until the end of the sixth century. The last of the major women scholars to teach ḥadīth there extensively were Shuhdah al-Kātibah (d. 574) and Tajannī al-Wahbāniyyah (d. 575). After the Mongols' devastation of Baghdad in the seventh century, its shining history as a centre of ḥadīth scholarship, whether for men or for women, ended and has never been recovered.

al-Shām (Greater Syria)

Ḥadīth scholarship was established in Syria also in the first century. At that time the excellent *muhaddithah* and jurist Umm al-Dardā’ taught ḥadīth and *fiqh* in her house and also in the mosques of Damascus and Jerusalem. Fātimah bint ‘Abd al-

¹ AL-MIZZĪ, *Tahdhib al-kamāl*, xxxv. 325. ² IBN HAJAR, *al-Isābah fī Tamyīz al-sabābah*, iv. 267. ³ *Ibid.*, 266. ⁴ IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Uṣd al-ghābah*, vii. 224.

⁵ IBN MĀKŪLĀ, *al-Ikmāl*, vii. 100. ⁶ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Tariq Baghdād*, xiv. 432.

Malik ibn Marwān, wife of the righteous caliph ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, was also an active ḥadīth narrator in Damascus at the end of the first century, as affirmed by the famous historian, Abū Zur‘ah al-Dimashqī.¹ After the generation of the Successors, ḥadīth scholarship among women in Syria lessened; the sources do not record any major Syrian *muhaddithah* until the end of the fifth century. The sixth witnessed a revival on a scale without parallel anywhere in the Islamic world in any period of its history. In the seventh, Syria became the most important centre of ḥadīth scholarship for both men and women. That continued throughout the eighth and ninth centuries. After the tenth it declined, as elsewhere in the Islamic world.

The quality and scale of interest of Syrian traditionists in major compilations of ḥadīth and small *ajzā’*, whether learning and hearing them or teaching and transmitting them is quite extraordinary. Here in this period we find women learning ḥadīth and teaching it in al-Madrasah al-‘Umariyyah and other colleges, in the grand Umayyad mosque, the Jāmi‘ al-Muẓaffarī and other mosques; in *ribāṭs*, in gardens and private houses. Sometimes the classes of these women were attended by hundreds of both men and women.

Some of these Syrian women teachers are distinguished by having the highest *isnād*. The one who narrated the whole *Sahīḥ al-Bukhārī* with the highest *isnād* among men or women was ‘Āishah bint ibn ‘Abd al-Hadī (d. 816) from Damascus, the last student of al-Hajjār in the world. Before her, by a century, was Sitt al-Wuzarā’ al-Tanūkhīyyah (d. 716), the last student of Husayn ibn al-Mubārak al-Zabīdī and Abū l-Munajjā Ibn al-Lattī among all the woman of the world. And there was Zaynab bint al-Kamāl (d. 740) who outdid men and women alike in the sheer abundance of her teaching of both major books and small *ajzā’*.

¹IBN ‘ASĀKIR, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq, Tarājim al-nisā’*, 291.

Egypt

Hadīth scholarship first came to Egypt also in the first century. Perhaps the best woman scholar to come to Egypt was the righteous and noble Nafisah bint Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Hasan ibn Zayd ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib al-'Alawiyah al-Hasaniyyah (d. 208). Ibn Kathīr says: 'She was a wealthy lady, did a lot of favours to the people, especially those paralysed, those with severe illness, and to all other ill people. She was a devout, ascetic, and of abundant virtue. When Imām al-Shāfi'ī arrived in Egypt, she did good to him, and sometimes Shāfi'ī led her in prayers in Ramaḍān.'¹ Al-Yāfi'ī says: 'It is narrated that when Imām Shāfi'ī came to Egypt, he called upon her and heard ḥadīth from her, and when he died, his funeral was carried to her and she prayed over him in her house.'² Ibn al-'Imād says: 'Her connections: al-Shāfi'ī receiving ḥadīth from her and being carried to her house after [his] death are the greatest [signs] of her merits. This could not have been without her popularity, fame, honour and respect among the people.'³

In Egypt in the fourth century there was the mother of Hasan ibn 'Alī al-Ṣadafī, Umm Ḥabīb Ṣafwah (d. 379). Al-Dhahabī says: 'She had a lot of ḥadīth. Her father was a *muhaddith*, his son and her sisters also. She taught ḥadīth.'⁴

But ḥadīth science was really activated among the women of Egypt when Fātimah bint Sa'd al-Khayr (d. 600) emigrated there. Al-Dhahabī says in his account of her: 'She married Ibn Najā al-Wā'iẓ who brought her to Damascus, then settled with her in Egypt. The Egyptians learnt much from her.'⁵ After Fātimah, there was Taqiyah bint Abī l-Hasan 'Alī ibn 'Abdillāh al-Qurashī, (d. 606) who learned ḥadīth from her father and got *ijāzah* from a group of scholars including Abū l-Hajjāj Yūsuf ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Tufayl, al-'Allāmah Abū 'Abdillāh Muham-

¹IBN KATHĪR, *al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, sub anno 208. ²AL-YĀFI'Ī, *Mir'āt al-jinān*, ii. 43. ³IBN AL-'IMĀD, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, ii. 21. ⁴IBN HAJAR, *al-Isābah fī tamyīz al-sahābah*, iv. 267. ⁵AL-DHAHABĪ, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* (sub anno 591–600), 469.

mad ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Asbahānī, Muḥammad ibn Amīrkā ibn Abī l-Fatḥ al-Dimashqī, Abū Nizār Rabī‘ah ibn al-Hasan al-Haḍramī, Abū ‘Abdillāh ibn al-Bannā’ al-Ṣūfī, ‘Alī ibn Abī l-Karam al-Khallāl ibn al-Bannā’ al-Makkī and others.¹ In Alexandria there was Khadījah bint al-Ḥāfiẓ Abī Tāhir al-Silafī (d. 623) who studied with her father, and taught ḥadīth. Her students included Ḥāfiẓ Zakī al-Dīn al-Mundhiri.²

Hadīth scholarship among women in Egypt reached its zenith in the eighth–ninth centuries. In the eighth, there was the famous *muhaddithah*, Wajīhah bint ‘Alī al-Anṣāriyyah (d. 732). She studied with Ibn Zuwayn, Ibn al-Nahhās, Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Qarāfī, ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn ‘Abd al-Bārī al-Ṣāfi and Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Futūḥ ibn Khalaf al-Ṣūfī, and she got *ijāzah* from Yūsuf al-Sāwī, Ibn Rawāj, Ya‘qūb al-Hamdānī and others.³ Another famous figure of Egypt in this period was the righteous shaykhah and holder of high *isnād*, Juwayriyah bint al-Imām Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad al-Hakkārī (d. 783). She studied *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* with Abū l-‘Abbās al-Hijjār and Wazīrah; *Sahīh Muslim* with Sharīf Mūsā ibn ‘Alī al-Mūsawī, *Musnad* of al-Dārimī and *Musnad* of ‘Abd ibn Hunayd with Hasan ibn ‘Umar al-Kurdī, part of *Sunan* of al-Nasa’ī and *Musnad* of ‘Abd ibn Humayd with ‘Alī ibn Naṣrullāh al-Ṣawwāf; *Kitāb al-Ba‘th wa-l-nushūr* of Ibn Abī Dāwūd with ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Tha’labī, the first part of *Hādīth Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah* of al-Thaqafī and a piece of *Mustakbraj* of al-Ismā‘īlī with ‘Alī ibn Īsā ibn al-Qayyim, *al-Faraj ba‘d al-shiddah* of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā with Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Īsā ibn al-Tabbākh; second part of *Hādīth Ibn al-Sammāk* with Zaynab bint Shukr, *Hādīth al-Buhayrī* and *al-Shāfi‘ī* with Mīnāl al-Asrafī and *Juz’ al-Hasan ibn ‘Arafah* with Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Shurayshī. Ibn al-Mihtār and others gave her *ijāzah*.⁴

¹IBN AL-ṢĀBŪNĪ, *Takmilah ikmāl al-ikmāl*, 52. ²AL-MUNDHIRĪ, *al-Takmilah li wafayāt al-naqlah*, iii. 187. ³IBN HAJAR, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, iv. 406.

⁴TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀSĪ, *Dhayl al-taqyīd*, ii. 361–62.

Hāfiẓ Abū Zur̄ah al-Ṭrāqī studied with her all the above-listed books,¹ which she taught many times.²

In the ninth century, there were many women teachers of Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar. Hāfiẓ al-Sakhawī and Hāfiẓ al-Suyūṭī had women teachers, among them Sārah bint Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 805), who taught many, including Ibn Ḥajar.³ Among other *muhaddithāt* there was Maryam bint Ahmad ibn Muḥammad al-Adhrā’ī (d. 805), the last student of al-Wānī and al-Dabūsī; Ibn Ḥajar studied a great number of books with her.⁴ Sārah bint ‘Umar ibn Jamā’ah al-Kinānī (d. 855) narrated a lot of ḥadīth and great experts studied extensively with her. Al-Sakhawī studied with her so many books and ḥadīths that he could not enumerate them all; he says: ‘She was righteous, poor; that is why we helped her. She had intelligence, and accuracy in teaching ḥadīth, and patience for long sessions. With her death, people of Egypt fell one degree.’⁵ Juwayriyah bint al-Hāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Rahīm al-Ṭrāqī (d. 863) studied ḥadīth with her father; heard the ḥadīth *al-Musalsal bi-l-awwaliyyah, Juz’ al-Ghadā’irī*, some parts of *Amālī* of Ibn al-Ḥusayn, part of *‘Ushariyyāt* of her father with Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, and some parts of *Mu‘jam al-Dabūsī* with Taqī al-Dīn ibn Jamā’ah. She got *ijāzahs* from a very large number of people.⁶ Experts of ḥadīth including al-Sakhawī studied with her.

Spain and Morocco

Ḥadīth became popular in this part of the world in the second century, especially after the arrival of students of Imām Mālik, and then Baqī ibn Makhlad. Here too there were women who studied *Sabīb al-Bukhārī* with Abū Dharr. Among the most well-known traditionists of Spain was Umm al-Hassān bint Abī Liwā’⁷

¹IBN AL-ṬRĀQĪ, *al-Dhayl ‘alā l-‘Ibar*, ii. 513. ²IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, i. 544. ³IBN ḤAJAR, *Inbā’ al-ghumr*, v. 102; AL-SAKHAWĪ, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi’*, xii. 52. ⁴IBN ḤAJAR, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, iv. 88. ⁵AL-SAKHAWĪ, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi’*, xii. 52. ⁶AL-NAJM IBN FAHD, *Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh*, 401–02. ⁷AL-SAKHAWĪ, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi’*, xii. 18.

Sulaymān ibn Aṣbagh al-Miknāsī from Cordoba, who narrated ḥadīth from Baqī ibn Makhlad, studied with him, accompanied him, and herself read to him *K. al-Duhūr*.¹

Another early narrator was Aṣmā' bint Asad ibn al-Furāt, who studied with her father, a student of Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik ibn Anas. She was well known for the narration of ḥadīth and *fiqh* according to the *madhab* of Abū Ḥanīfah. Her upbringing was exemplary: in the company of her father, she attended the assemblies of knowledge and participated in the questions and discussion.² Another famous *muḥaddithah* was Khadijāh bint al-Imām Sahnūn. She first received knowledge from her father and then went on to teach and give fatwas. Her father consulted her in important matters: when the post of judge was offered to him, he accepted it only after consulting her.³

Later on, after Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (d. 462), *fiqh* became more dominant in Spain and North African countries. Later on, Hāfiẓ Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far al-Kattānī and ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī revived the science of ḥadīth there and then many women became eminent in that field.

The region of Khurasan and Transoxania

The science of ḥadīth first appeared in Khurasan and Transoxania in the second century, and became very strong in the third, the period of the authors of the Six Books and many others. The sources record the involvement of women of this region in ḥadīth scholarship from the end of the third century, then its growth through the fourth and fifth centuries until, in the field of ḥadīth studies, the women of this region leave the women of the rest of the Islamic world far behind. In the fifth century there were women of the calibre of Karīmah al-Marwaziyah, famous teacher of *Sahīb al-Bukhārī*, and Bibā bint ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Harwiyyah. In the sixth, Fāṭimah al-Jūzdāniyyah was distinguished for her narration of *al-Mu‘jam al-ṣaghīr* and *al-Mu‘jam al-*

¹ IBN AL-ABBĀR, *Takmīlah ṣilat al-ṣilah*, 401. ² KAHHĀLAH, *A‘lām al-nisā'*, i. 45. ³ *Ibid.*, 332.

kabīr of al-Tabarānī. Scholars travelled from every part of the Islamic world in order to study ḥadīth with her.

The fifth and sixth centuries are the peak of ḥadīth activity among the women of this region. When the Mongols destroyed its major cities, the ḥadīth scholarship in them was destroyed too, and has not yet returned to this region.

India

Hadīth scholarship entered Sind and the western part of India in the second century, but failed to penetrate inside mainland India until very late. Some efforts in the field were made in India in the ninth–tenth century when ḥadīth scholarship was already experiencing decline in most parts of the Islamic world. In this period in India the activity of scholars of ḥadīth was confined to reading and writing commentaries on some books until Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahīm al-Dihlawī, better known as Shāh Walīullāh (d. 1176), breathed new spirit into the discipline as it was practised in India. Largely because of his efforts India became a centre for the revival of ḥadīth scholarship.

However, only a small number of women excelled in this field in India, most of them in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Important among them were women of the family of Shāh Walīullāh and those of the family of Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034). Among others, there were: Shams al-Nisā¹ bint Amīr Ḥasan al-Sahsawānī (d. 1308)¹ and Ṣalīḥah bint ʿInāyat Rasūl al-Chirayyākotī (d. 1318), both of whom were taught major books of ḥadīth.²

¹See AL-HASANĪ, *Nuzhat al-khwāṭir*, viii. 185. ²Ibid., 195.

Chapter 10

Fiqh and ‘amal

In this last chapter I come to what the whole effort of ḥadīth activity is for. Much of what the *muhaddithāt* were concerned with was the transmission of accurate texts through verified chains of narration. However, phrases like ‘they taught ḥadīth’ or ‘they narrated ḥadīth’ probably do not convey to a modern readership the whole of what they were engaged in, or its purpose. The bare fact is that – assuming motivation for the effort – even a non-Muslim could in theory be relied on to hold and transmit a bundle of texts accurately. Within functioning Islamic society, authority does not derive from that sort of academic integrity and competence alone. Rather, it derives from those qualities *combined with* piety and virtue in manners and conduct. The test and expression of the relevant qualities combined are *fiqh* and *‘amal*.

Fiqh means understanding the legal import of the texts: how they inform rules and norms to guide the transactions that believers have with each other and their transactions (the kind of relationship they build) with God. By *‘amal* (literally ‘doing’, ‘practice’) is meant implementation of what the texts preach. Strength in *fiqh* is not considered only in relation to expertise about individual texts or even individual chapters of *fiqh*, but to their connectedness and proportions, their harmony altogether. Weakness in this regard – we could call it narrowness in *fiqh* – can lead to distortions in *‘amal*. So, for example, it may be that an individual, isolated from the collective knowledge of the community of scholars, learns the detail of obligations related to prayer and presence in the mosque. However, if he does not also know what is allowed or forbidden regarding transactions in the marketplace, and then rules that women must be dressed

and behave in such-and-such a way, without allowance for the difference in conditions between doing the prayer and doing business, between mosque and marketplace, he is likely to issue rulings that constrain women's doing business well, making it uncomfortable, eventually impossible, for them. For 'doing business' we might substitute 'seeking knowledge' or another activity that we know to be permitted or commended by the religion, and similar outcomes result. A rich, broad *fiqh* enables a rich, broad '*amal*' so that individual and society live the largest area of their lives within the rule of their *islām*, their submission to God. The inverse is to inhabit a narrow core of behaviour ruled by Islam, while all the rest of life, piece by piece, is yielded up to (or seized by) the rule of non-Islam. This core can then harden into a token or symbol of identity, encouraging narrow sectarianism and destroying the plural solidarity of the *ummah*.

Fiqh and '*amal*' are the twin pillars on which is founded the community's recognition of the greater authority, among the Companions, of 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy ibn Ka'b, Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, Zayd ibn Thābit, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, and others. Similarly, the community did not bow to the authority, after them, of Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab, 'Alqamah, al-Aswad, Hasan al-Baṣrī, Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, 'Atā' ibn Abī Rabāh, Āmir al-Sha'bī, Ḥammād ibn Abī Sulaymān, Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Awzā'ī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Mālik, al-Qādī Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, al-Shāfi'ī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and others, except because of their excellence in combining scholarship with *fiqh* and '*amal*'. Did such authority accrue only to men and did women have no part in it? The answer is No; and I have provided in the foregoing chapters several examples of women whose authority was respected by their male peers in the scholarly community. In this chapter, because the precedent of the Companions and their Successors is so decisive for Muslims, I have concentrated mainly on examples from that period.

THE FIQH OF THE WOMEN SCHOLARS

A more precise definition of *fiqh* is ‘understanding the divine command by derivation from the Book of God and the *Sunnah* of His Messenger, *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*’. We must begin therefore with the women scholars’ command of these primary sources of the *dīn*.

Understanding the Qur'ān

The best recitation of the Qur'ān is the kind that enables its meaning to enter the heart. Ibn Abī Mulaykah has narrated from Umm Salamah that she said: ‘The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – recited the Qur'ān, pausing at the end of every verse. He would recite *al-hamdu li-l-lāhi rabbi l-‘ālamīn*, then he would pause and then he would recite *ar-rahmāni r-rahīm*, then he would pause and then he would recite, *mālikī yawmi d-dīn*.¹ All the major jurists in the history of Islam began their education by memorizing the Qur'ān, learning its different recitations, and gaining expertise in its interpretation. Women have also built this strong relationship with the Book, the fruit of which is that it is fully internalized, and they become fluent in it, speaking from it like a mother tongue.

In the later period, there was Fātimah bint Abī 'Alī al-Daqqāq al-Naysābūriyyah (d. 480). Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī said about her: ‘She was the pride of the women of her time, no parallel of her has been seen for her character. She was a scholar of the Book of God and virtuous.’² Al-Şayrafīnī said: ‘She knew the Book of God by heart, recited it day and night and knew its meaning.’³ Sayyidah bint 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Ghirnātīyyah (d. 647),

¹ AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Sunan*, *Qirā'ah*, bāb *fatibat al-Kitāb*. ² AL-DHAHABĪ, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* (sub anno 471–80), 269. ³ AL-ŞAYRAFĪNĪ, *al-Muntakhab min kitāb al-siyāq li al-ta'rīkh Naysābūr*, 459.

brought up in Murcia (Spain), excelled in Qur'ānic studies.¹ In the ninth century Bayram bint Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Dayrūtiyyah mastered the seven recitations under the tuition of al-Shams ibn al-Ṣā'igh, studying in the company of his daughter Fātimah. Then this Fātimah moved, along with her father, to Jerusalem, and practised reading of the Qur'ān with teachers there.² Fātimah bint Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Dayrūtī (9th c.), also excelled in the seven recitations and memorized *al-Shātibiyah*. She studied with several teachers before going on to teach the different recitations to both men and women.³

I turn now to examples of the women's understanding of the Qur'an. Urwah asked 'Ā'ishah about God's saying (in the verses beginning with *al-Nisā'*, 4. 3) *And if you fear that you will not deal fairly with the orphan girls [...]*:

'Ā'ishah said: O nephew: An orphan girl would be under the care of a guardian with whom she shared property. Her guardian, attracted by her wealth and beauty, would intend to marry her without giving her a just dowry [i.e. the same dowry as any other person might give her]. So such guardians were forbidden to do that unless they did justice to their female wards and gave them the highest dowry their peers might get. They were commanded [by God] to marry women of their choice other than those orphan girls. [...] The people asked God's Messenger's for instructions after the revelation of this divine verse, whereupon God revealed [4. 127]: *They consult you concerning women [...] [...] And the statement of God, And yet whom you desire to marry, as any of you refrains from marrying an orphan girl [under his guardianship] when she is lacking in property and beauty. [...] So they were forbidden to marry those orphan girls whose wealth and beauty they had a desire for unless with justice, and that was because they would refrain from marrying them if they were lacking in property and beauty.*⁴

¹ See K. *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmilah li-kitābi al-Mawṣūl wa-l-ṣilab* (*al-sifr al-thāmin*), 487. AL-DHAHABĪ says: 'She knew the whole Qur'ān by heart.' *Ta'rikh al-Islam* (*sub anno 641–650*), 361.

² AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, xii. 15. ³ *Ibid.*, 106. ⁴ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Ṣabīh, Sharikah, bāb sharikah al-yatīm wa ahl al-mirāth*.

'Ā'ishah's interpretation of these Qur'ānic verses became very popular among the jurists. The compilations of ḥadīth and books of *tafsīr* contain many other examples of her *tafsīr*. Su'ūd ibn 'Abdillāh al-Funaysān has put together a 500-page book of them, *Marwiyat umm al-mu'minīn 'Ā'ishah fi l-tafsīr*,¹ culled from the books of the famous *mufassirūn* like Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Baghawī, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Qurtubī, al-Khāzin, Ibn Kathīr, al-Suyūṭī, al-Shawkānī.

The *tafsīr* of other women is also recorded or attested in the sources. For example, al-Tirmidhī has recorded the *tafsīr* of Umm Salamah.² Al-Subkī has reported about the mother of al-Shāfi'ī, whom he describes as devout, God-wary and among the most intelligent of people, that she and the mother of Bishr al-Mirrīsī were summoned to witness in a case before the judge in Makkah. The judge wanted to separate them in order to cross-examine them separately. The mother of al-Shāfi'ī said to him: 'You have no authority to do that as God says in the Qur'an if one of the two errs [in what she remembers], then one of the two may remind (tudhakkira) the other [al-Baqarah, 2. 282].'³ The judge did not separate the two witnesses after that intervention although, technically, according to the doctrine of al-Shāfi'ī, it is allowable when necessary. Al-Subkī comments:

This is good derivation, strong meaning, and fine argument. Though the known thing in the *madhab* of her son is an absolute opinion (*i'tlaqu l-qawl*) that, if the judge has suspicions about the witnesses, it is better for him to separate them [in order to question and probe their testimony for collusion etc.]. Her word is clear in exempting the women on the basis of the proof that she mentioned and there is no harm in that.³

¹ Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdillāh al-Funaysān, *Marwiyat umm al-mu'minīn 'Ā'ishah fi l-tafsīr* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Tawbah, 1413). ² AL-TIRMIDHĪ, *Jāmi'*, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, bāb *min sūrat al-Baqarah*. ³ Tāj al-Dīn AL-SUBKĪ, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyah al-kubrā*, ii. 179–80.

Understanding the ḥadīth

Women are also known for their understanding of the import of ḥadīths and competence in basing argument on them. Some examples of that have come earlier. Here, I mention the case of the maidservant Barīrah. She had been a slave of Banū Hilāl, till ‘Ā’ishah emancipated her. The case contains many fine legal points; the ḥadīth could not have become, as it did, a text that the jurists depended upon if Barīrah and ‘Ā’ishah had not been aware of those fine points and preserved and conveyed them accurately. The whole incident is dispersed by al-Bukhārī in different parts of his *Sahīb* the better expose its relevance in different legal contexts. I summarize here from one occurrence of the Barīrah ḥadīth in the *Sahīb*.

‘Ā’ishah narrated that Barīrah came to her for help in drawing up the *mukātabah* (the emancipation contract whereby slaves were enabled to buy their freedom over a period of time). ‘Ā’ishah was willing to pay the whole sum, but required that Barīrah should then come into her care under the Arab system of *walā’*, which enabled an individual or clan to extend their family’s protection to someone who had no tribal connections. Barīrah’s owners refused this condition. They said to her: ‘If [‘Ā’ishah] is seeking reward from God [for freeing a slave] she can do so, but your *walā’* will be ours.’ ‘Ā’ishah reported this to the Prophet who said: ‘Buy and emancipate her, as the *walā’* is for the one who emancipates. Then [on an occasion after that] God’s Messenger stood up and said: What about those who stipulate conditions that are not present in God’s law? [No matter] who imposes conditions that are not present in God’s law, those conditions will be invalid, even if he imposed them a hundred times. God’s judgement is the truth and more solidly established [than any man-made custom or law].’¹

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīb*, *Mukātab*, bāb *isti‘ānah al-mukātab wa su‘āli-hi al-nās*.

Women jurists

Ā'ishah was, among the Companions, men and women, a principal resource for juristic opinion. 'Atā' ibn Abī Rabāh said: "Ā'ishah was the most expert in jurisprudence among all the people."¹ Masrūq said: 'I have seen the great jurists among the Companions of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – asking her about the law of inheritance.'² Urwah said: 'I have never seen anyone more knowledgeable of the *fiqh* than Ā'ishah.'³

Among the Companions Umm Salamah is also considered to have been a jurist, and her opinions are well recorded in the books of ḥadīth and *fiqh*. Another Companion well-known for her knowledge and expertise in the *sunnah* is al-Rubayyi' bint Mu'awwidh. Ibn 'Abbās, in spite of his excellent knowledge of the Book of God and juristic aspects of law, consulted her.⁴ So also did 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar, famously on a judgement related to divorce law during the rule of 'Uthmān.⁵

There is also record of women publicly intervening in court judgements in the expectation of being able to prevent grave miscarriage of justice. Mālik narrates from Yahyā ibn Sa'īd that he said: 'Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥazm [the qādī of Madinah] informed me that he was holding a Nabī who had stolen iron rings in prison [and intending] to cut off his hand. Then 'Amrah bint 'Abd al-Rahmān sent to me her client called Umayyah. [...] She came to me while I was among the people and said: Your aunt 'Amrah says: O nephew, are you holding a Nabī [in custody] for a minor thing that has been mentioned to me, and do you mean to cut off his hand? I said: Yes. She said: 'Amrah says to you that there is no cutting off of the hand except for stealing something worth a quarter of a dinar or more than that. [...] Then I released the Nabī.'⁶ This intervention by 'Amrah happened at the time when the city was

¹IBN 'ABD AL-BARR, *al-Iṣṭī'āb*, ii. 744; AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ii. 185. ²IBN 'ABD AL-BARR, *al-Iṣṭī'āb*, ii. 744. ³AL-MIZZĪ, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*, xxxv. 234. ⁴IBN 'ABD AL-BARR, *al-Iṣṭī'āb*, ii. 731. ⁵Ibid.

⁶MĀLIK, *al-Muwattā'*, 437–38.

graced by the residence of the much renowned ‘Seven Jurists of Madinah’.

It is a measure of how well respected knowledge was that even a well-informed slave could on occasion correct someone of established reputation. Al-Ash‘ab, a jurist of the school of Mālik, narrates that he was in Madinah, and he wanted to buy vegetables from a girl, and the people at that time would not sell their vegetables except for bread, for that is what they needed. He told her to wait till evening, then come and he would make the exchange then. She said: ‘That is not permissible.’ Ash‘ab asked why and she explained: ‘Because it is selling of food for food [which must be done directly, hand over hand, whereas what you are proposing is] not hand over hand.’¹ When Ash‘ab asked about the girl, he discovered that she was a slave in the household of Imām Mālik.

This respect for knowledge whoever had it was not confined to the formative period of Islam. I have given several examples from later centuries of women whose jurisprudence was respected and admired by their male peers. One scholar particularly worth mentioning is Umm Zaynab Fātimah bint ‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī al-Fath al-Baghdādiyyah (d. 714). She learnt *fiqh* with Shaykh Shams al-Dīn and other Maqdisī scholars.² Al-Dhahabī says: ‘I visited her and I liked her character, humility and God-wariness. She knew *fiqh* well. Ibn Taymiyyah was amazed by her knowledge and intelligence and praised her fulsomely.’³ Ibn Kathīr says: ‘I heard Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn ibn Taymiyyah praising her a lot and lauding her virtue and knowledge. He stated that she knew most of *al-Mughnī* by heart. And [he] used to prepare for her many juristic issues [adequately suited to] her questions and her sharp understanding.’⁴

¹MASHHŪR, *Ināyat al-nisā'*, 122. ²AL-DHAHABĪ, *al-Juz' al-mafqūd min Siyar a'lām al-nubālā'*, 416. ³Ibid. ⁴IBN KATHĪR, *al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, sub anno 714.

Women giving fatwas

Giving fatwas is conditional on having the appropriate degree of knowledge, not on gender. Imām Nawawī has stated explicitly that a woman can give fatwas.¹ Ibn Muflīḥ has also affirmed it;² so too has the greatest of Ibn Taymiyyah's disciples, Ibn al-Qayyim.³ Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhirī says: 'If a woman attains *fiqh* in the sciences of the religion it would be incumbent upon us to accept her warning. That actually happened. These are wives of the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*, and his woman Companions. Religious rulings have been narrated from them and the proof is established by their transmission. There is no difference among our companions [i.e. fellow Zāhirī jurists] in this regard. Among them, other than the wives of the Prophet, *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*, were: Umm Sulaym, Umm Ḥarām, and Umm 'Atiyyah.⁴ Ibn Ḥazm counted the Companions known for giving fatwas as 130. Of those, seven are known for giving a lot of fatwas; of those seven, one was 'Ā'ishah.

Mahmūd ibn Labīd says: "'Ā'ishah used to give fatwas in the time of 'Umar and 'Uthmān until she died; [those] great Companions of the Prophet, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, used to refer to her.'⁵ The great jurists among the Successors used to attend on her to get her juristic opinions.⁶ Abū Ḥanīfah narrated from Hammād, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad ibn Yazīd, the great jurist of Iraq, that he asked *umm al-mu'minīn* 'Ā'ishah: 'What cuts the prayer? She said: Listen, O people of Iraq, you think that a donkey, a dog, a woman, and a cat [passing in front of the one praying] cuts the prayer. You have equated us women with them?! Push away [whoever is coming in front of you] as much as is possible for you. For nothing cuts the prayer.' Muḥammad al-Shaybānī says: 'We hold the opinion of 'Ā'ishah, and it is the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfah.'⁷ Sometimes it is women who put to

¹ AL-NAWAWĪ, *Rawdat al-ṭālibīn*, xi. 109. ² IBN AL-MUSLIH, *al-Mubdi'*, x. 25. ³ IBN QAYYIM AL-JAWZIYYAH, *I'lām al-muwaqqi'in*, iv. 169. ⁴ IBN HAZM, *al-Ihkām fī -uṣūl al-ahkām*, iii. 324. ⁵ IBN SAD, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, ii. 375. ⁶ *Ibid.* ⁷ AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, *K. al-Āthār*, 38.

‘Ā’ishah issues that concerned them; here is an example from the domain of commerce:

‘Abd al-Razzāq says: Ma‘mar and [Sufyān] al-Thawrī narrated to us from Abū Ishāq, who narrated from his wife saying that she called among a company of women on ‘Ā’ishah. A woman said to her: O *umm al-mu’minin*, I had a slave girl, whom I sold to Zayd ibn Arqam for 800 with deferred payment of the price. Then I bought her from him for 600 and I paid those 600 on the spot and I wrote him 800 as debt. ‘Ā’ishah said: By God, how evil is what you bought! How evil is what you bought! Tell Zayd ibn Arqam that he has invalidated his jihād with the Messenger of God – *ṣalla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – except if he repents. [Then ‘Ā’ishah explained the issue further; this kind of transaction is a trick to lend money for interest.]¹

Debate between men and women

That women can raise issues and discuss them with men should be beyond dispute. The wives of the Prophet sometimes did so; a sūrah of the Qur’ān was sent down concerning the discussion of a woman with him.

Once the caliph ‘Umar gave a speech asking the people not to inflate dowries, and told them to keep them small. An old woman stood up and said: ‘God says in the Qur’ān [*al-Nisā’*, 4. 20]: *And if you mean to take a wife in place of another and you have given one of them a qintar [of gold] do not take a thing [back] from it.* Possibly the woman had in mind that a large dowry might serve to deter a husband from divorcing a wife in order to take another, but at very least the verse clearly states the permissibility of a large dowry. The caliph responded: ‘The woman is right and ‘Umar is wrong.’²

It is not always the case that the questioner is right, but the right of questioning is what is being illustrated here: ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd had said: ‘The curse of God is on women who wear tattoos...’ That came to the knowledge of a woman of Banū

¹ABD AL-RAZZĀQ, *al-Muṣannaf*, viii. 185. ²IBN HAJAR, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, *Nikāb*.

Asad called Umm Ya'qūb, who came to him to protest. He said: 'Why should I not curse one who has been cursed by the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – and who is mentioned in the Book of God? She said: I have read the whole Qur'ān and I did not find in it what you say. He said, if you have read it you must have found [it]. Did you not read in it [59. 7] *Whatever the Messenger gives you take it and whatever he forbids refrain from it*. She said: Yes. He said: The Messenger has forbidden it. She said: I think your wife does it. He said: Then go and look. She went and looked and she did not find what she was after. Then 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd said: 'If she did that I would not live with her.'¹

Reliance of the jurists on the fiqh of women

I illustrated earlier how the imāms among jurists relied on ḥadīths that are narrated exclusively by women. There are also examples of their relying on the *fiqh* of women. Examples can be found for most, if not all, the various 'chapters' or divisions of *fiqh*. Imām Mālik has referred in his *Muwattā* to the fatwas of the great *tābi'iyyah*, 'Amrah bint 'Abd al-Rahmān, on issues related to hajj. Abū Ḥanīfah relied on the saying of 'Ā'ishah (narrated from Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, from an old woman of al-'Atik) that: 'There is no harm in doing '*'umrah* in any time of the year that you want except five days – the day of 'Arafah, the day of *nahr* and the [three] days of *tashrīq*.' Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, the disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah, confirms that as the opinion of his master and of their school, 'with one exception, that is, we say that [on the] evening of 'Arafah, as [also on] the morning of 'Arafah – there is no harm in doing '*'umrah* at that time.'² Abū Ḥanīfah followed the ruling of 'Ā'ishah with regard to an issue in *tahārah*, namely when a bath becomes obligatory after sexual relations. He ruled, also according to 'Ā'ishah's practice,

¹ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Sahīh*, *Tafsīr*, bāb *wa mā ātā-kum al-rasūl fa-khudhū-b*; MUSLIM, *Sahīh*, *Libās*, bāb *tahrim fī'l al-wāsilah*. ² AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, *K. al-Āthār*, 84.

that if a woman leads other women in the *salāh*, she should stand in the middle of the front row rather than out in front of the front row.¹ And, as a last example, he ruled in favour of the lawfulness of a father in need being provided from the earnings of his children on the basis of ‘Ā’ishah’s saying, which he narrated from Ḥammād from Ibrāhīm, that: ‘The best that you eat is what comes out of your earning, and your descendants are your earning.’ Muḥammad al-Shaybānī said: ‘There is no harm for the father, if he is in need, to eat from the wealth of his son in the normal way (*ma’rūf*). But if he is rich and he took something from the wealth of his son, then it is a debt upon him. It is the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfah.’²

The women’s holding opinions that others disputed

Ibn Kathīr said that ‘Ā’ishah is distinguished for having noted and formed a judgement on a variety of issues (*masā’il*) that are not found with any of the other Companions. Moreover, she had ‘unique preferences’ on some matters, that is, opinions in which she differed from others. There are reports (*akhbār*) about her opinions, and others’ counter-opinions, which later imāms have collected.³

It is inevitable that when jurists do *ijtihād*, that is, exert conscience and reason to reach their judgement on a matter, sometimes their judgement is accepted by or conforms to the majority or consensus view, and sometimes is rejected by the majority and the consensus goes against it. All the great jurists, men as well as women, have held opinions that others disputed. Where the primary texts are not explicit and incontrovertible, it was their right to adhere to those opinions without pressure to conform.⁴ The strongest evidence for the respect that was accorded to women’s right to independent reasoning within the

¹ AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, K. *al-Āthār*, 57. ²Ibid., 198. ³IBN KATHĪR, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah*, sub anno 58. ⁴There is an extended discussion of this issue in Yahya MICHOT’s annotated translation of the discourses of Ibn Taymiyyah on *Power and Religion* (Oxford: Interface Publications, forthcoming Nov. 2007).

same boundaries as men, is that they publicly held to, and continued to teach, opinions that had been publicly refused. I gave the detail of two examples of that in Chapter 1, where the isolated women holding their own were Fātimah bint Qays and Ā'ishah. Similarly, idiosyncratic expression of an individual's personal preference in minor details of practice was also quite acceptable: for example, the great Syrian *tābi'iyyah* Umm al-Dardā' when sitting in the prayer used to adopt the posture usual for men rather than women.

'AMAL

One who has attained scholarly expertise in the knowledge of the rites but does not implement it, one who has accumulated vast knowledge of minor and major sins and does not use it to avoid those sins, or who knows the description of good deeds and good character but does not strive to adorn his life with those – all his knowledge has been useless and he is deluded in his religion and in himself. Imām Mālik said: 'Knowledge is not by abundance of narrations; rather, knowledge is a light that God puts in the heart.' Abū 'Āsim says: 'One who seeks the knowledge of ḥadīth, he is [seeking] the highest matters of the world, so he must be the best of all people.'¹ Fātimah bint al-Husayn narrates from Husayn ibn 'Alī that he said: 'The Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – said: God loves high and noble characters, and dislikes low characters.'² Ibrāhīm al-Harbī said: 'Whenever one hears something of the manners of the Prophet – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – one should hold fast to it.'³ Qāsim ibn Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī said: 'We were at the door of Bishr ibn al-Hārith, he came [out] to us. We said: O Abū Naṣr, narrate ḥadīth to us. He said: Do you pay the *zakāh* [that is due] on ḥadīth? I said to him: O Abū Naṣr, is

¹ AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *al-Jāmi'* *li-akhlāq al-rāwī wa ʿadāb al-sāmi'*, i. 78. ²Ibid., 92. ³Ibid., 42.

there *zakāh* [that is due] on ḥadīth? He said: Yes. When you hear ḥadīth or remembrance of God you should apply it.¹

It would fill another book to relate all the ways in which the *muhaddithāt* paid the *zakāh* on the knowledge they accrued and transmitted to others. In any case, the virtues – devotion in worship and continual remembrance of God; charity, whether giving of their time or their wealth; gentleness and kindness in their bearing, speech and manners; modesty and self-discipline in their dress and in their taking a share in the goods of this world; integrity and truthfulness in scholarship (meaning their recording and transmitting the knowledge that came to them from reliable sources, even if they did not like the doctrine or affiliation of those sources); humility and fear of God; love of the Prophet and his *Sunnah* in the full breadth of it; firmness, at times even implacability, in the face of speech or actions offensive to or corrosive of the *dīn*; and an enduring concern for the well-being of the *ummah* such that they were able to dedicate their lives to learning and teaching – can be illustrated just as well from the lives of the *muhaddithūn* as of the *muhaddithāt*. But we should acknowledge that for the latter the effort of will to take up and sustain such a life – absent the incentive of rewards in terms of employment or reputation in the world – had to be that much greater for women than men.

I here cite two incidents, side by side, that capture well the tone and temperament of Islamic teaching. Both demonstrate a strong consciousness of being seen by God, a powerful steadfastness, and a passion to improve human understanding and conduct.

Umm al-mu'minīn Hafṣah, the daughter of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, called on him in the final moments of his life. He had been stabbed by an assassin and there was no possibility of his recovering. During ‘Umar’s rule, the Muslims had defeated two long-lasting and far-flung empires, secured the territories and established the major forms of the institutions that have ever

¹*Ibid.*, 143–44.

since defined the heartlands of Islam. His son, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar, was already present at his death-bed. Miqdām ibn Ma'dikarib narrates:

When 'Umar suffered [his wounds], Hafṣah called on him and said: O Companion of the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam* – O in-law of the Messenger of God, O Commander of the Believers... 'Umar said to Ibn 'Umar: 'Abdullāh, help me to sit up, I cannot bear what I am hearing. So 'Abdullāh raised him up, leaning [him] against his [own] chest. Then 'Umar said to her: I am forbidding you, by the right that I have over you, from bemoaning me after this. As for your eye, I do not own it. For when a dead person is bemoaned for something that is not in him the angels hate him.¹

The second incident concerns Umm Sulaym and is related from Anas ibn Mālik. The son of Umm Sulaym was ill. While her husband, Abū Ṭalḥah, had gone to the mosque, the boy passed away. Umm Sulaym made the preliminary arrangements for that and told her people not to inform Abū Ṭalḥah. When he returned home she set out his dinner in the normal way. He ate his dinner, then husband and wife had relations with each other. Then:

when it was the end of the night, she said: Abū Ṭalḥah, did you not see [how it was] with such-and-such family who borrowed something, then they kept it; when they were asked to return it, it was very hard on them. He said: They were not fair [in their attitude]. She said: Your son was a loan from God and He has taken him [back]. He uttered the supplication and praised God. In the morning, he came to the Messenger of God, *salla l-lāhu 'alay-hi wa sallam*. When he saw him, he said: May God bless the two of you in your night. Then she bore 'Abdullāh ibn Abī Ṭalḥah.²

Umm Sulaym's teaching of how believers should manage grief may seem gentler than 'Umar's. Indeed it is; she has the same wisdom and with it 'the woman's touch'. Yet 'Umar's rebuke is not without tenderness, for he does not ask Hafṣah to

¹IBN SAD, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, iii. 361. ²IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Uṣd al-ghābah*, iii. 285–86.

control her tears. Rather, he was concerned – being well aware of the achievements of his reign – that no Muslim should build for him a mausoleum, neither in words nor in stones. The Taj Mahals of the Islamic world belong to a far different age, a different tone and temperament.

Some measured strictness, such as we hear in ‘Umar’s voice – one marvels that he could find energy for it at that moment – is necessary to defend the *Sunnah* against corrosion. For Muslims, the *Sunnah* is to be defended against one’s own family, even against one’s own preferences. Ṣafiyah bint Abī Ubayd al-Thaqafiyah narrates that, some days after Abū Sufyān died, his daughter, *umm al-mu’minin* Umm Ḥabībah, called for perfume and applied it to her arms and cheeks. Then she said:

I was in no need to do this if I had not heard the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – say: It is not permitted for any woman who believes in God and the Last Day to be in mourning (*iḥdād*) more than three days for any deceased, except for a husband. For him she is to be in mourning four months and ten days.¹

Sometimes the effort to correct is done by feeling or expressing aversion: ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Urwah ibn Zubayr narrates:

I said to my grandmother Asmā² [bint Abī Bakr]: How were the Companions of the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – when they heard the Qur’ān? She said: Their eyes shed tears, the hairs of their body stood on end, [just] as God has described them. I said: Here are some people when any of them hear the Qur’ān they fall unconscious. She said: I seek refuge in God from the outcast satan.²

Yazīd ibn al-Asamm relates that a relative of *umm al-mu’minin* Maymūnah called on her. She found on him the smell of drink. She said: ‘If you do not go to the Muslims so they can flog you, then never call upon me.’³

Women in the formative period certainly did not lack courage to challenge and correct misbelief and misconduct. The

¹IBN SA'D, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, viii. 100. ²IBN ‘ASĀKIR, *Ta’rīkh madinat Dimashq, Tarājim al-nisā'*, 20; see also IBN SA'D, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, viii. 253. ³AL-DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā'*, ii. 244..

best of them were not waiting for others to establish the *dīn* for them but took that responsibility, as did the best of the men. Here are two examples of women 'speaking truth to power', albeit a power willing to be spoken to and told off:

Qatādah says:

‘Umar came out from the mosque and with him was al-Jārūd al-‘Abdī. There was a woman on the main road. ‘Umar greeted her. She answered [his greeting] and [then] said: Be off, O ‘Umar! I have seen you [when you were] called ‘Umayr [little ‘Umar] in the marketplace of ‘Ukaz, tending the sheep with your stick. Then the days passed and you were called ‘Umar. Then the days passed and [now] you are called Commander of the Believers. So, be wary of God in respect of the subjects [whom you govern]. And she continued advising him. Then al-Jārūd said: Woman, you have said a lot to the Commander of the Believers. ‘Umar said: Let her be. Do you not know her? This is Khawlah bint Ḥakīm, the wife of ‘Ubayd ibn al-Ṣāmit, whose word was heard by God from above the seven heavens.¹ So it is most fitting for ‘Umar to listen to her.’²

Zayd ibn Wāqid narrates from ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān about the counsel he was given, before he became caliph, by Barīrah, the slave emancipated by ‘Ā’ishah:

I used to sit with [i.e. attend the class of] Barīrah before assuming the caliphate in Madinah. She said: ‘Abd al-Malik, I see in you some qualities, and you are worthy to assume this matter. Now if you do assume this matter, then avoid bloodshed. For I have heard the Messenger of God – *salla l-lāhu ‘alay-hi wa sallam* – say: After having sighted the gate of Paradise the man will be pushed away from it on account of a little blood of a Muslim that he shed unlawfully.³

Not only in the formative period but throughout Islam's history, there have been great women teachers, famous for their preaching and their effort to deepen and reform the Muslims'

¹The caliph is here alluding to the sending down of the opening verses of *al-Mujādalah* (58. 1 seq.) when Khawlah brought her dispute with ‘Ubayd ibn al-Ṣāmit before the Prophet. ²IBN ‘ABD AL-BARR, *al-Iṣṭī‘āb*, ii. 723. ³*Ibid.*, 708.

understanding of the *dīn*. Some of them funded, some lived and taught in, *ribāṭs* or retreats built for just this purpose. I close with a second mention of a famous reformer of the seventh–eighth century – not Ibn Taymiyyah, but one Ibn Taymiyyah revered and praised highly – great scholar, jurist, ascetic, leader of the women of her time and preacher: Umm Zaynab Fātimah bint ‘Abbās al-Baghdādiyyah (d. 714). Al-Dhahabī says:

A large number of women benefited from her and repented. She had abundance of knowledge, was content with little, keen to benefit people and give sermons with sincerity, God-wariness and for [the sake of] commanding the good. The women of Damascus [and] then [after her fame had spread, and she moved, to Cairo] the women of Egypt were reformed by her. She had a lot of popularity and influence over the hearts [of people].¹

Ibn Kathīr says:

She was among the scholars and women of virtue. She commanded good and forbade evil, and opposed the Ahmadiyyah sect for their [illicit] friendship with women and young boys. And she criticized their states (*ahwāl*) and the thinking and arguments [*usūl*] of the people of *bid‘ah* and others. In [all] that she did what men are unable to do.²

¹ AL-DHAHABĪ, *Dhayl al-‘Ibar*, 80; AL-YĀFI‘, *Mir‘āt al-jinān*, iv. 254. See also AL-DHAHABĪ, *al-Juz’ al-mafqūd* in *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, 416. ² IBN KATHĪR, *al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, sub anno 714.

References

- ‘ABD AL-RAZZĀQ (d. 211), *al-Muṣannaf*. Ed. Ḥabīb al-Rahmān al-Aṣzamī. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 11 vols., 1403/1983.
- ABŪ DĀWŪD, Sulaymān ibn al-Ash‘ath al-Sijistānī, (d. 275), *Sunan*. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Khalidī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 3 vols., 1416/1996.
- ABŪ ḤANĪFAH, al-Nu‘mān ibn Thābit (d. 150), *K. al-Āthār*. See AL-SHAYBĀNĪ.
- ABŪ NU‘AYM AL-ASBAHĀNĪ (d. 430), *Ma‘rifat al-ṣahābab*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 5 vols., 1422.
- Hilyat al-awliyā?*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 10 vols., 1932–38.
- ABŪ NU‘AYM, al-Faḍl ibn Dukayn (d. 219), *K. al-Ṣalāh*. Ed. Ṣalāh ibn ‘Āyid al-Shalāhī. Madinah: n.p., 1417/1996.
- AL-DIMASHQĪ, Abū Zur‘ah, ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Amr (d. 281), *al-Ta‘rīkh*. Ed. Shukrullāh ibn Ni‘matullāh al-Qawjānī. Damascus: Majma‘ al-Lughah al-‘Arabiyyah, 2 vols., n.d.
- AFANDĪ, Mīrzā ‘Abdullāh, *Rijāḍ al-‘ulamā’*. Ed. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Husaynī. Qum: Maktabah Āyatullāh al-Mar‘ashī, 1401.
- AL-ANŞĀRĪ, Mullā ‘Abd al-‘Alī (d. 1225), *Fawātiḥ al-rahamūt* (commentary on Muhibbullāh ibn ‘Abd al-Shakūr [d. 1119] *Musallam al-thubūt*, printed at foot of page in Abū Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī [d. 505], *al-Mustasfā*). Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī and Mu‘assasat al-Ta‘rīkh al-‘Arabī, 3rd edn., 2 vols., 1414/1993.
- AL-‘ASKARĪ, Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abdillāh (d. 382), *Taṣḥīfat al-muḥaddithīn*, Ed. Maḥmūd Aḥmad Mirah, Cairo, 1402.
- AL-‘AWJĪ, Ṣalīḥ ibn Ghālib (ed.) *al-Fawā’id al-muntaqāh al-gharā’ib ‘an al-shuyūkh al-‘awālī*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Library Jami‘ah Umm al-Qura, Makkah, n.d.
- AL-‘AYDRŪSĪ, Muhyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir, *al-Nūr al-sāfir ‘an akhbār al-qarn al-‘āshir*. Baghdad: al-Maktabah al-‘Arabiyyah, 1353/1934.
- AL-‘AZIMĀBĀDĪ, Shams al-Ḥaqqa (d. 1319), *‘Awn al-ma‘būd* (commentary on *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*). Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 9 vols., 1419/1998.
- AL-BAGHAWĪ, al-Ḥusayn ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 516), *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 7 vols., 1412/1992.

- AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Abū Mansūr ‘Abd al-Muhsin (d. 489), *Juz’ fīhi Istidrāk umm al-mu’mīnīn ‘Ā’ishah ‘alā al-sahābah*. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Uzayr Shams, Bombay: al-Dār al-Salafiyyah, 1416/1996.
- BAHSHAL, Aslam ibn Sahl al-Razzāz al-Wāsitī (d. 292), *Ta’rīkh Wāsit*. Ed. Korkis ‘Awwād. Beirut: n.p., 1406.
- AL-BĀJĪ, Abū I-Walīd (d. 474), *Iḥkām al-fuṣūl fī abkām al-uṣūl*. Ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd Turki. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2nd edn., 1415/1995.
- AL-BARNĪ, ‘Āshiq Ilāhī, *al-‘Anāqīd al-ghāliyah min al-asānīd al-‘āliyah*, Karachi: Maktabat al-Shaykh, 1408.
- AL-BAYHAQĪ, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 458), *al-Sunan al-kubrā*. Multan: Idārah Tālīfāt Ashrafiyyah, 10 vols., n.d.
- Ma’rifat al-sunan wa-l-āthār*. Ed. Sayyid Kisrawī Ḥasan, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 7 vols., 1412/1991.
- AL-BUKHĀRĪ, Muḥammad ibn Ismā’īl (d. 256), *al-Ṣabīḥ* (with commentary by Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*), Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 13 vols., 1410/1989.
- al-Adab al-mufrad*. Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1409/1989.
- al-Ta’rīkh al-kabīr*. Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma’ārif al-‘Uthmāniyyah, 4 vols., 1361.
- al-Ta’rīkh al-saghīr*. Ed. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Ziyād, Aleppo: Dār al-Wa‘y, 2 vols., 1397/1977.
- AL-BŪTĪ, Sa’īd Ramadān, *al-Mar’ah bayna ṭughyān al-niẓām al-gharbī wa laṭā’if al-tashrīf al-rabbānī*, Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1417/1996.
- DABŪZ, Muḥammad ‘Alī, *Ta’rīkh al-maghrib al-kabīr*. Egypt: Dār Ihyā’ al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyyah, 1963.
- AL-DAQQAQ, Abū ‘Abdillah (d. 516), *Mu’jam al-mashāyikh*. Riyadh: n.p., 1418/1997.
- AL-DĀRAQUTNĪ, Abū I-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar (d. 385), *al-Sunan*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 2 vols (4 parts), 1417/1996.
- al-Du’afā’ wa al-matrūkūn*, Ed. Muwaffaq ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir, Riyadh, 1404.
- AL-DĀRIMI, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān (d. 255), *al-Sunan*, Ed. Muṣṭafā Dīb al-Bughā, Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 2 vols., 1417/1996.
- AL-DĀWŪDĪ, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī (d. 945), *Ṭabaqāt al-mufassirīn*, Ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad ‘Umar, Cairo: Maktabah Wahbah, 2 vols., 1392/1972.
- AL-DHAHABĪ, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, (d. 748), *Sīyar a’lām al-nubalā’*. Beirut: Mu’assat al-Risālah, 9th edn., 25 vols., 1413/1993.

- al-Juz' al-maqnūd min siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*. Ed. Abū 'Abdillāh 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad 'Umar 'Alūsh, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1417.
- Ta'rīkh al-Islām*. Ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī. N.p.: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabi, 52 vols., 1410/1990.
- Tadhkira al-buffāz*. Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabi, 4 vols. n.d.
- Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*. Ed. Muḥammad al-Habib al-Haylah. Taif: Maktabat al-Šiddiq, 2 vols., 1408/1988
- al-'Ibar fī khabar man ghabar*, Ed. Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Sa'īd, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 4 vols. (Vol. 4: *Dhayl al-'Ibar*), 1405/1985.
- Tajrīd asmā' al-ṣahābah*, Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Uthmāniyyah, 1315.
- Mizān al-i'tidāl*. Ed. 'Alī Muḥammad Mu'awwad and 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 7 vols., 1416/1995.
- al-Mughnī fi al-dū'a'afā'*, Ed. Nūr al-Dīn Ḥitr, n.p., n.d.
- AL-DIMASHQI, Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr (d. 842), *Majmū' fīhi rasā'il*. Ed. Abū 'Abdillāh Mish'āl al-Muṭayrī. Beirut: Dār Ibn Hazm, 1422/2001.
- DIYĀ' AL-DĪN AL-MAQDISI (d. 643), *Thabat al-masmū'at*. Ed. Muḥammad Muṭī' al-Hāfiẓ, Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1420/1999.
- AL-GHAZZI, Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 1061), *al-Kawakib al-sa'irah bi a'yān al-mi'at al-'āshirah*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2 vols., 1418/1997.
- AL-ḤĀKIM, Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh al-Naysābūrī (d. 405), *Ma'rifat 'ulūm al-hadīth*, Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Uthmāniyyah, 1401/1981.
- al-Mustadrak 'alā l-Saḥīhayn*. Ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Atā. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 5 vols., 1411/1990.
- AL-ḤĀKIM, Abū Aḥmad (d. 378), *Mā ittaṣala ilay-nā min Fawā'id Abī Ahmad al-Ḥākim*. Ed. Aḥmad ibn Fāris al-Salūm. Beirut: Dār Ibn Hazm, 1425
- AL-ḤĀKĪM, Muḥammad Rīḍā, *A'yān al-nisā'*, Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Aqlamī, n.d.
- HANBAL ibn Ishaq al-Shaybānī (d. 273), *Juz' hanbal*. Ed. Hishām ibn Muḥammad, Riyad, 1419.
- AL-HASANI, 'Abd al-Hayy (d. 1341), *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*. Multan: Tayyib Academy, 8 vols., 1412/1991.
- AL-HAYTHAMI, Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī (d. 807), *Majma' al-zawā'id*. Ed. 'Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Darwīsh. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 10 vols.,

1414/1994.

- AL-HIBASHĪ, ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad, *Mu‘jam al-nisā’ al-Yamāniyyāt*, San‘ā: Dār al-Ḥikmah al-Yamāniyyah, 1409/1988.
- AL-HIBASHĪ, Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad (d. 1374), *al-Dalīl al-mušīr*, Makkah: al-Maktabah al-Makkiyyah, 1418/1997.
- AL-HIMYARĪ, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad (d. 323), *Juz’ al-Himyari*. Ed. ‘Abd al-Azīz ibn Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bu‘aymī, Riyadh, 1418.
- IBN AL-ABBĀR, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Quḍāṭī (d. 658), *al-Takmilah li-ṣilat al-ṣilab*, Madrid, 1915.
- IBN ‘ABD AL-BARR, Abū ‘Umar Yūsuf (d. 463), *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm wa faḍlibi*. Cairo: n.p., n.d.
- al-Isti‘āb fi ma‘rifat al-ashbāb*. Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-Uthmāniyyah, 1336.
- al-Tambīh li mā fi l-Muwatta’ min al-ma‘āni wa-l-asānīd*. Morocco: n.p., 21 vols., 1417.
- IBN ABĪ ḤĀSIM, Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Nabīl (d. 287), *al-Āḥad wa-l-mathānī*, Riyadh: n.p., 1411/1990.
- IBN ABĪ L-DUNYĀ, Abū Bakr ‘Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad (d. 281), *K al-Khumūl wa-l-tawādu’*. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad ‘Aṭā. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1409/1989.
- IBN ABĪ SHAYBAH, Abū Bakr ‘Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad al-Kūfi, (d. 235), *al-Muṣannaf*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 9 vols., 1416/1995.
- IBN ABĪ YĀLĀ, Abū Ḥusayn Muḥammad al-Ḥanbalī (d. 526), *Tabaqāt al-Hanābilah*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 4 vols., 1417/1997.
- IBN AL-‘ADĪM, Kamāl al-Dīn Umar (d. 660), *Bughyat al-ṭalab fi ta’rīkh Halab*. Ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus, 11 vols. 1408/1988.
- IBN ‘ASĀKIR, Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 571), *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 80 vols., 1415/1995.
- Tarājim al-nisā’*, Ed. Sukaynah al-Shihābī, Damascus, 1982.
- K al-Arba‘in hadīthan min al-musāwāh al-mustakhrājah ‘an al-ruwāb*. Ed. Tāhā ibn ‘Alī, Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1424, 2003.
- IBN AL-ATHĪR, Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Jazārī, (d. 630), *Uṣd al-ghābah fi ma‘rifat al-ṣahābah*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 8 vols., 1415/1995.
- IBN ‘AZZŪZ, Muḥammad, *Juhūd al-mar‘ah al-Dimashqiyah fi riwāyat al-hadīth al-sharīf*. Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1425/2004.
- IBN BISHKWAŁ, Abū l-Qāsim Khalaf ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (d. 578), *K al-Ṣilab*, Cairo: n.p., n.d.
- Għawāmid al-asma’ al-mubhamah*. Ed. Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Sayyid and

- Muhammad Kamāl al-Dīn Izz al-Dīn. Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1407/1987.
- IBN FAHD, Jārullāh al-Makkī (d. 954), *K. Nayl al-munā*. Ed. Muhammed al-Habib al-Haylah. N.p.: Mu’assasat al-Furqān li-l-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2 vols., 1420.
- IBN FAHD, Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar, al-Hāshimī al-Makkī (d. 885), *al-Durr al-kamīn bi-dhayl al-‘iqd al-thamīn fī ta’rīkh al-balad al-amīn*. Beirut: n.p., 1421/2000.
- Mu‘jam al-shuyūk* Ed. Muhammad al-Zāhī. Riyadh: Dār al-Yamāmah, n.d.
- IBN HAJAR, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852), *Fath al-bārī*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 13 vols., 1410/1989.
- al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifah, 4 vols., 1413/1992.
- al-Mu‘jam al-mufabras*. Ed. Muhammad Shakūr. Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risālah, 1418/1998.
- Tabdhīb al-tabdhīb*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 12 vols. 1404.
- Taqrīb al-tabdhīb*. Ed. Muhammad ‘Awwāmah. Aleppo: Dār al-Rashīd, 1411/1991.
- al-Isābah fī tamyīz al-sahābah*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 4 vols., n.d.
- al-Durar al-kāminah fī a‘yān al-mi‘at al-thāminah*. Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 4 vols., 1414/1993.
- Inbā‘ al-ghumr, bi abnā‘ al-‘umr*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 5 vols. (9 parts), 1406/1986.
- IBN HANBAL, Aḥmad (d. 241), *al-Musnad*. Ed. Aḥmad Muhammed Shākir, Cairo: Dār al-Hadīth, 20 vols., 1416/1995.
- IBN AL-HANBALĪ, Raḍī al-Dīn Muhammed ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf al-Ḥalabī (d. 971), *Durr al-ḥibab fī ta’rīkh a‘yān Ḥalab*. Ed. Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Fākhūrī and Yahyā Zakariyyā ‘Abbār. Damascus: n.p., 1974.
- IBN HAZM, Abū Muhammed ‘Alī ibn Ahmad (d. 456), *al-Muḥallā*. Ed. Aḥmad Muhammed Shākir. Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibā‘ah al-Munīriyyah, 11 vols., 1347.
- al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-ahkām*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 2 vols. (8 parts), 1345.
- ‘Adad mā li-kull wāḥid min al-sahābah min al-hadīth li-Baqī ibn Makhlad*. Ed. Ḏiyā‘ al-‘Umari. N.p., 1404.
- IBN HIBBĀN, Abū Ḥātim Muhammed, al-Bustī (d. 354), *K. al-Thiqāt*. Hyderabad: Dārīrat al-Ma‘rif al-‘Uthmāniyyah, 9 vols., 1393.
- Sahīb Ibn Hibbān*. Arranged by ‘Alā‘ al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Fārisī (d. 739), Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 6 vols., 1417/1996.
- IBN HISHĀM, Abū Muhammed ‘Abd al-Malik (d. 218), *al-Sīrah al-*

- nabawiyyah*. Cairo: Maṭba‘at Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī wa Awlādih, 4 vols., 1355.
- IBN HUMAYD AL-HANBALĪ, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh (d. 1295), *al-Suhūb al-wābilah ‘alā darā’ih al-Hanābilah*. N.p.: Maktabat al-Imām Aḥmad, 1409/1989
- IBN AL-QIMĀD, ‘Abd al-Hayy al-Hanbalī (d. 1089), *Shadharāt al-dhabab fī akhbar man dhahab*. Cairo: n.p., 8 vols., 1350.
- IBN AL-JAWZI, Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Alī (d. 597), *al-Munṭazam fī ta’rīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*. Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyyah, 10 vols., 1356–59/1937–40.
- al-Mushayakhab*. Ed. Muḥammad Mahfūz. Tunis: al-Sharikah al-Tūnisīyyah li-l-Tawzī’, 1977.
- Aḥkām al-nisā?*. Ed. Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Muḥammadi. Qatar: n.p., 1414/1993
- al-Taḥqīq fī ikhtilāf al-hadīth*. N.p.: al-Sunnah al-Muḥammadiyyah, 1373/1954.
- IBN KATHĪR, Ismā‘il ibn ‘Umar (d. 774), *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah*. Beirut: Maktabat al-Ma‘ārif, 1977.
- IBN MA‘İN, Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā (d. 233), *al-Ta’rīkh*. Ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Nūr Sayf. Riyadh: n.p., 1399/1979.
- IBN MĀJAH, Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī (d. 273), *Sunan*. Ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Naṣṣār, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 5 vols., 1419/1998.
- IBN MĀKŪLĀ, Abū Naṣr ‘Alī ibn Ḥibatullāh (d. 475), *al-Ikmāl fī raf‘ al-irtiyāb ‘an al-mu’talif wa-l-mukhtalif min al-asmā’ wa al-kunā wa al-ansāb*. Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyyah, 1381.
- IBN MANDĀH, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Asbahānī (d. 475), *al-Fawā’id*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1423.
- IBN MUFLIḤ, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Hanbalī (d. 884), *al-Mubdi‘ Sharḥ al-Muqni‘*. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Shāfi‘ī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 8 vols. 1418/1997.
- IBN NUQṬAH, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd l-Ghanī al-Baghdādī (d. 629), *al-Taqyīd li-ma‘rifah riwāt al-sunan wa-l-masānid*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, n.d.
- IBN AL-QĀDĪ, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 1025), *Durrat al-hijāl fi asmā’ al-rijāl*. Ed. Muḥammad al-Aḥmadī Abū l-Nūr. Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, 1391.
- IBN QUDĀMAH, Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abdullāh al-Maqdisī (d. 620), *K. al-Tawwābin*. Damascus: n.p., 1961.
- IBN QAYYIM AL-JAWZIYYAH, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr (d. 751), *al-Turuq*

- al-hukmiyyah*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, n.d.
- Zād al-mā‘ād fī hady khayr al-‘ibād*. Ed. Shū‘ayb al-Arnāwūt and ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Arnāwūt. Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risālah, 1409/1989.
- IBN RĀFI‘, Muḥammad, al-Salāmī (d. 774), *al-Wafayāt*. Ed. Ṣalīh Mahdī ‘Abbās and Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf. Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risālah, 2 vols., 1402/1982.
- IBN RUSHAYD AL-SABTĪ, Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar (d. 721), *Miṣbāh al-‘aybah bi-mā jumi‘a bi ṭūl al-ghaybah*. Ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb ibn al-Khūjah. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1408/1988.
- IBN RUSHAYQ al-Mālikī (d. 632), *Lubāb al-mahsūl fī ‘ilm al-uṣūl*. Ed. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī ‘Umar Jābī. Dubai: Dār al-Buhūth li-l-Dirāsat al-Islāmiyyah wa Ihyā’ al-Turāth, 1422/2001.
- IBN AL-ṢĀBŪNĪ, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid (d. 680), *Takmīlah ikmāl al-ikmāl*. Beirut: Ālam al-Kutub, 1406/1986.
- IBN SA‘D (d. 230), *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 8 vols., n.d.
- IBN AL-ṢALĀH, Abū ‘Amr Uthmān ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643), *Muqaddimah fī ‘ulūm al-hadīth*. Ed. Sa‘d Karīm al-Dar‘amī. Alexandria: Dār Ibn Khaldūn, n.d.
- IBN SHABBAH, Abū Zayd ‘Umar al-Numayrī (d. 262), *Akhbār al-Madīnah al-nabawīyah*. Ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt. Jeddah: n.p., n.d.
- IBN AL-TURKMĀNĪ, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Mārdīnī (d. 745), *al-Jawhar al-naqī* (commentary on *al-Sunan al-kubrā* of al-Bayhaqī). Multan: Idārah Tālīfat Ashrafiyyah, 10 vols., n.d.
- AL-ṬIQLĪ, Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdīllāh (d. 261), *Ta’rīkh al-thiqāt*. Beirut: n.p., 1405.
- AL-ṬIRĀQĪ, Abū l-Fadl ‘Abd al-Rahīm (d. 806), *K. al-‘Arba‘īn al-‘ushāriyyah*. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1415/1995.
- AL-ṬIRĀQĪ, Abū Zur‘ah Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahīm (d. 826), *al-Bayān wa-l-tawdīh li-man ukhrijā la-hu fī l-sabīh wa mussa bi darb min al-tajrīb*. Dār al-Jinān, n.d.
- al-Dhayl ‘alā l-‘ibar*. Ed. Ṣalīh Mahdī ‘Abbās. Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risālah, 1409.
- AL-JĀHIZ, Abū ‘Amr ibn Bahr (d. 255), *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*. Ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn. Cairo/Beirut: n.p., 1388/1968.
- AL-JURJĀNĪ, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad (d. 816), *al-Ta‘rīfāt*, Dār al-Manār, n.d.
- KAHHĀLAH, ‘Umar Riḍā (d. 1408), *A‘lām al-nisā‘*. Damascus: n.p., 5 vols., 1379.
- AL-KĀSĀNĪ, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 587), *Badā‘i‘ al-ṣanā‘i‘*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 10 vols., 1418/1997.

- AL-KATTĀNĪ, ‘Abd al-Ḥayy (d. 1382), *Fibris al-fahāris*. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2 vols., 1402/1982.
- AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Thābit, *Talkhīṣ al-mutāshabīh*. Ed. Sukaynah al-Shihābī. Damascus: n.p., 1985.
- al-Kifāyah*. Madinah: al-Maktabah al-‘Ilmiyyah, n.d.
- Ta’rīkh Baghdād*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 14 vols., 1349.
- K. al-asmā’ al-mubhamah fi l-anbā’ al-muḥkamah*, Cairo, 1405.
- Taqyīd al-‘ilm*. Ed. Yūsuf al-‘Ushsh. Dār Ihyā’ al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah, 1974.
- al-Jāmi’ li-akhlāq al-rāwī wa ādāb al-sāmī’*. Ed. Maḥmūd al-Tāhhān, Riyad: Maktabat al-Ma‘arif, 2 vols., 1403/1983.
- LEDER, Stefan, Yāsīn Muḥammad al-Ṣawwās and Ma’mūn al-Ṣāgharjī (eds.), *Mu‘jam al-samā‘āt al-Dimashqīyah*. Damascus: n.p., 2000.
- AL-MA‘FIRĪ, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī, *al-Ḥadā’iq al-ghannā’ fi akhbār al-nisā’*. Libya/Tunisia: al-Dār al-‘Arabiyyah li-l-Kitāb, 1398.
- AL-MAHĀMILĪ, al-Ḥusayn ibn Ismā‘īl (d. 330), *K. al-Du‘ā’*. Ed. Sa‘īd ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Qazqī, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1992.
- MAMDŪH, Maḥmūd Sa‘īd, *I‘lām al-qāṣī wa-l-dānī bi ba‘d mā ‘alā min asānīd al-fādānī*. Cairo: Dār Marjān li-l-Tibā’ah, 1401.
- MĀLIK ibn Anas, (d. 179), *al-Muwattā’*. Ed. ‘Ādil Khadīr. Beirut: Mu‘assat al-Ma‘arif, 1425/2004.
- AL-MARĀKASHĪ, Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Awsī, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmilah li-kitāb al-mawṣūl wa-l-ṣilah*. Ed. Muḥammad ibn Sharīfah. Morocco, n.d.
- AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ, Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī Bakr (d. 593), *al-Hidāyah*. Cairo: Maktabah Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, n.d.
- MASHHŪR, Abū ‘Ubaydah, ibn Ḥasan Āl Salmān, *Ināyat al-nisā’ bi-l-hadīth al-nabawī*. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1414/1994.
- MICHOT, Yahya. *Ibn Taymiyya: Muslims under non-Muslim Rule*. Foreword by James Piscatori. Oxford: Interface Publications, 2006.
- MICHOT, Yahya. *Ibn Taymiyya: Power and Religion*. Oxford: Interface Publications, forthcoming, Nov. 2007.
- AL-MIZZĪ, Abū l-Hajjāj Yūsuf (d. 742), *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*. Ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf. Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risālah, 35 vols., 1406/1985.
- AL-MAHALLĀTĪ, Dhabīhullāh, *Rayāhīn al-shari‘ah fi tarjamah ‘ālimāt nisā’ al-shi‘ah*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, n.d.
- AL-MUNDHIRĪ, Zākī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 656), *al-Takmilah li-wafayāt al-naqalah*. Beirut: n.p., 4 vols., 1401.
- MUSLIM ibn al-Hajjāj al-Naysābūrī, (d. 261), *al-Ṣabīb* (with the commentary by al-Nawawī). Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 9 vols (18

- parts), 1415/1995.
- al-Tabaqāt*. N.p.: Dār al-Hijrah li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī', n.d.
- MUṬĀ' AL-ḤĀFIẓ, Muḥammad, *al-Madrasah al-‘umariyyah bi-Dimashq*. Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1421/2000.
- Jāmi‘ al-Ḥanābilah al-Muṣṭafārī*. Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1423/2002.
- AL-NASĀ'I, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn Shu‘ayb (d. 303), *al-Sunan*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 4 vols. (8 parts), 1416/1995.
- AL-NAWAWI, Muhyi al-Din Abū Zakariyyā, Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf (d. 676), *al-Taqrīb* (with the commentary by al-Suyūtī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*). Cairo: Maktabat Dār al-Turāth, 2 vols., 1392/1972.
- AL-QĀDĪ QYĀD ibn Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544), *Tartīb al-madārik*. Ed. Aḥmad Bukayr Maḥmūd, Beirut: Maktabat al-Ḥayāh.
- AL-QARĀFĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Idrīs al-Ṣanhājī (d. 684), *K. al-Furūq*. Ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Sarrāj and ‘Alī Jumū‘ah Muḥammad. Cairo: Dār al-Salām, 4 vols., 1421/2001.
- AL-QURASHI, ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Abī l-Wafā’, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍīyah fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah*. Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyyah, 2 vols., 1332.
- AL-RĀWANDI, Muḥammad, *Abū l-Fath al-Ya‘marī: hayātu-hu wa āthāru-hu wa taḥqīq ajwibati-h*, Morocco: n.p., 2 vols., 1410/1990.
- AI-ṢAFĀDĪ, Salāḥ al-Dīn Khalil ibn Aybak (d. 674), *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, Beirut: n.p., 1962–83.
- AL-SAHMĪ, Abū l-Qāsim Ḥamzah ibn Yūsuf (d. 427), *Ta’rīkh Jurjān*. Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1401.
- SA‘ID IBN MANṢŪR (d. 227), *Sunan*. Ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A‘zamī, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 2 vols., 1405/1985.
- AL-SAKHĀWĪ, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 902), *al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar fī tarjumah Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Hajar*. Ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis ‘Abd al-Majīd. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 3 vols., 1419/1999.
- al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi‘*. Cairo: n.p., 6 vols (12 parts), 1353–55.
- AL-SAMĀ‘ĀNĪ, ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad (d. 562), *al-Ansāb*. Leiden: Brill, 1952.
- al-Muntakhab min Mu‘jam al-al-shuyūkh*. Ed. Muwaffaq ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir. Riyadh: Dār ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1417/1996.
- al-Taḥbīr fī al-mu‘jam al-kabīr*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1418/1997.
- AL-SAMARQANDI, Abū l-Qāsim Ismā‘il ibn Aḥmad (d. 536), *Juz’ mā qaruba sanadu-hu min hadīthi-hi*. Cairo: n.p., 1414.

- AL-ŞAYRAFĪNĪ, Taqī al-Dīn Abū Iṣhāq Ibrāhīm Muḥammad (d. 641), *al-Muntakhab min kitāb al-siyāq li-ta'rikhb Naysābūr*. Makkah: n.p., n.d.
- AL-SHAQŞIYYAH, Badriyyah bint Ḥamād, *al-Sīrah al-żakīyyah li-l-mar'ah al-Ibbādiyyah*. Oman: n.p., 1421/2000.
- AL-SHAWKĀNĪ, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, (d. 12550), *Nayl al-awtār Sharḥ Muntaqā al-akhbār*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 4 vols. (8 parts), 1420/1999.
- al-Badr al-ṭāli' bi-mahāsin man ba'd al-qarn al-sābi'*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 2 vols., n.d.
- AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 189). *Abū Ḥanīfah: K. al-Āthār*. Multan: Maktabah Imdādiyyah, n.d.
- AL-SILAFĪ, Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 576), *Su'ālāt al-Hāfiẓ al-Silafī*. Ed. Muṭā' al-Ṭurābīshī. Damascus: n.p., 1403.
- Mu'jam al-safar*. Ed. 'Abdullāh Umar al-Bārūdī. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1414/1993.
- AL-SUBKI, Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī (d. 771), *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*. Arranged by Ibn Sa'īd al-Maqdisī (d. 759). Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1425.
- Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah al-kubrā*. Ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Hulw and Maḥmūd al-Ṭināhī. Cairo: n.p., 1964–76.
- AL-SULAMĪ, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 412), *Dhikr al-niswah al-muta'abbiḍāt*, Ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Atā'. Beirut: n.p., 1419.
- SUWAYD, Muḥammad Nūr ibn 'Abd al-Hāfiẓ, *Manhaj al-tarbiyah al-nabawiyyah li-l-tijl*. Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1419/1998.
- AL-SUYŪTĪ, Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān (d. 911), *al-Mirjām fi-l-mu'jam*, Ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis 'Abd al-Majīd. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1415/1995.
- AL-ṬABARĀNĪ, Abū l-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad (d. 360), *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*. Ed. Hamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salafī. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 37 vols., n.d.
- al-Mu'jam al-awsat*, Ed. Maḥmūd al-Taḥīhān, Riyadh: Maktabat al-Ma'rif, 11 vols., 1405/1985
- al-Mu'jam al-ṣaghīr*. Ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad Uthmāna'far, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Salāmah, (d. 321), *Sharḥ ma'ānī al-āthār*, Ed. Muḥammad Zuhrī al-Najjār. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 4 vols., 1416/1996.
- AL-TABBĀKH, Muḥammad Rāghib (1370), *I'lām al-nubalā' bi ta'rikhb halab al-shahbā'*. Aleppo: n.p., 5 vols., 1342/1923.
- AL-TAHĀWĪ, Abū Ja'far, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Salāmah, (d. 321), *Sharḥ ma'ānī al-āthār*. Ed. Muḥammad Zuhrī al-Najjār, Beirut: Dār

- al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 4 vols., 1416/1996.
- AL-ṬAHRĀNĪ, Āqā Buzurg, *al-Dhāri‘ah ilā taṣānīf al-shī‘ah*. Beirut: n.p., 1403.
- TAKALAH, Muḥammad Ziyād ibn ‘Umar, *Jamharat al-ajzā’ al-hadīthiyyah*. Riyadh: n.p., 1421.
- TAQĪ AL-DĪN AL-FĀSĪ, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (d. 832), *Dhayl al-taqyīd fī ma‘rifah ruwāt al-sunan wa-l-masāniḍ*. Ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Hūt. Beirut; n.p., 2 vols., 1410/1990.
- al-‘Iqd al-thamīn fi ta‘rīkh al-balad al-amīn, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1419/1998.
- AL-TIRMIDHĪ, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan (d. 279), *Jāmi‘*. Beirut: Dār Ihyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 5 vols., 1415/1995.
- AL-WĀDĪ AL-ĀSHĪ, Muḥammad ibn Jābir, (d. 749), *Barnāmaj al-Wādī al-Āshī*. Ed. Muḥammad Maḥfūz, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1982.
- AL-WASHSHĀ, Abū l-Tayyib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *al-Zarf wa-l-zurafā’*. Ed. Fahīm Sa‘d, Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1405/1985.
- AL-YĀFTŪ, ‘Abdullāh, *Mir‘āt al-janān wa ‘ibrat al-yaqazān*. Hyderabad, 1337.
- AL-ZARKASHĪ, Badr al-Dīn (d. 794), *al-Ijābah li-irād mā istadrakat-hu ‘Ā’ishah ‘alā al-ṣabābab*. Cairo: n.p., n.d.

MANUSCRIPTS

- AL-DIHRAWI, ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Makkī, *K. al-Azhār al-tayyibat al-nashr*. MS, Personal collection of Shaykh Aḥmad ‘Āshūr, Madinah.
- IBN HAJAR, *al-Isābah fī tamyīz al-ṣabābab*. MS. al-Khizānah al-Hasaniyyah, no. 5932.
- IBN AL-‘UJAYMĪ, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*. MS, Personal collection of Sh. Aḥmad ‘Āshūr, Madinah.
- AL-KINĀNĪ, Hamzah, *Majlis al-Biṭāqah min amāli Ḥamzah al-Kinānī*. Dār al-Kutub al-Ζāhiriyah, Damascus, MS. 955.
- MARDĀD Abū l-Khayr al-Makkī, *Mukhtasar Nasr al-zuhūr*, MS, Personal collection of Sh. Aḥmad ‘Āshūr, Madinah.
- AL-QAZWĪNĪ, Sirāj al-Dīn (d. 750), *al-Mashyakhab*. Maktabah Fayḍullāh. Istanbul. 185 fols. MS.Q 178 S 190.
- AL-IJĀZĀT al-makhtūṭah fī l-madrasah al-diyā’iyyah bi safi qāsyūn*, Dār al-Kutub al-Ζāhiriyah, Damascus. 117 fols. MS no. 4565.

Indexes

The Companions and their Successors

- ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 22
‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, 53, 150, 154, 179, 249, 289
‘Abd Rabbih b. Sulaymān, 151
‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf, 31, 64
‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Laylā, 196
‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Aswad, 153
‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith, 139, 242
‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās, 20, 31, 40, 62, 138–9, 167, 185, 196, 274
‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, 139
‘Abdullāh b. ‘Āmir, 138
‘Abdullāh b. Āmr b. al-‘Ās, 134
‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr, 244
‘Abdullāh b. ‘Awn, 148
‘Abdullāh b. Buraydah al-Aslami, 139
‘Abdullāh b. al-Hārith al-Hāshimi, 67
‘Abdullāh b. al-Hārith b. Nawfal, 138, 167
‘Abdullāh b. Jābir al-Ahmasi, 51
‘Abdullāh b. Khalaf, 103, 177
‘Abdullāh b. Mas‘ud, 29, 31, 64, 65, 196, 265, 274, 282, 283
‘Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aqil b. Abī Ṭālib, 185
‘Abdullāh b. al-Qibtiyyah, 48
‘Abdullāh b. Safwān, 188
‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar, 13, 20, 24, 31, 36–7, 70, 138–9, 165–6, 198, 201, 207–8, 222, 238–40, 242, 274, 279, 286–7
‘Abdullāh b. Wahb b. Zam‘ah, 139, 142
‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr, 33, 70, 71, 167, 239
Abū Ayyūb, 186
Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣāri, 241
Abū Bakr, 6, 24, 31, 47, 51, 61, 98, 108, 131, 138, 139, 144, 147, 165, 166, 192, 204, 205, 208, 209, 210, 219, 229, 234, 236
Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, 242
Abū Bakr b. Sulaymān b. Abī Khaythamah, 139
Abū Bishr, 89
Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, 145
Abū Dharr, 69, 106, 266, 270
Abū l-Dardā’, 71, 81, 101, 104, 108, 154
Abū Hudhayfah, 32, 33
Abū Hurayrah, 22, 24, 71, 104, 108, 116, 138, 147, 168, 196, 210, 221, 231, 238, 239, 242, 243, 244, 248
Abū Ishāq al-Ṣabī, 235
Abū Ishāq al-Sabī, 250
Abū Jahm, 231
Abū Qatādah, 38
Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, 138, 145, 248
Abū l-Sanābil b. Ba‘kak, 170
Abū Talhah, 287
Abū l-Rijāl Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Anṣāri, 149
Abū Sa‘id al-Khudrī, 27, 37, 41, 100, 244
Abū Salamah b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, 139, 196
Abū ‘Ubaydah b. ‘Abdillāh b. Zam‘ah, 33
Abū ‘Uthmān al-Nahdī, 139
Abū Wā'il Shaqiq b. Salamah al-Asadī, 139
Aflāh b. Humayd, 25
‘Āishah bt. ‘Ajrad, 140
‘Āishah bt. Abī Bakr, vi, vii, 5, 10, 21, 24, 25, 29, 30–3, 36–7, 42, 49–50, 52, 54, 61–2, 64, 73–4, 79, 85, 98, 103, 105–6, 108, 117, 138, 145–6, 147, 151, 153, 155, 167–8, 177, 185–6, 190–5, 199, 219–20, 228, 234, 236–8, 240–4, 248, 265–6, 276–9, 281–5, 289
‘Āishah bt. Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqās, 140, 234, 249
‘Āishah bt. Ṭalhah, 151, 233
‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 20, 69, 71, 104, 106, 110, 139, 185, 193, 241, 266, 268
‘Alī b. Husayn, 89, 166, 185
‘Alī Zayn al-‘Abidin, 185
al-‘Āliyah bt. Ayfa‘, 73, 235
al-‘Āliyah bt. Subay‘, 148
al-A‘mash, 250
‘Alqamah, 72, 274
‘Ammār, 69, 239
Āminah bt. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Laylā, 99
‘Amr b. Utbah, 170

- ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, 138
 ‘Amr b. al-Hārith, 65, 187
 ‘Amr b. Dīnār, 250
 ‘Amrah bt. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, 7, 16, 140,
 149, 233, 238, 248, 279, 283
 ‘Amrah bt. al-Hārith b. Abī Dirār, 187
 Anas b. Mālik, 37, 38, 39, 41, 47, 66, 68,
 70, 71, 101, 102, 123, 236, 287
 Āṣim al-Ahwāl, 70
 Asmā’ bt. ‘Umays, 49, 61, 186, 189
 Asmā’ bt. Abī Bakr, 77, 83, 99, 143, 186–8
 Asmā’ bt. Shakal, 42
 Asmā’ bt. Yazid, 58, 59, 60, 188
 Asmā’ bt. Abī Bakr, 288
 Asmar b. Muḍarris, 148
 al-Aswad, 25, 31, 72, 100, 139, 236, 249,
 274
 ‘Awn b. ‘Abdullāh, 152
 Aṣmā’ bt. Umays, 248
 Aṣmā’ bt. Yazid b. al-Sakan, 248
 ‘Atā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, 31, 43, 139, 274, 279
 ‘Atā’ b. Yasār, 139
 Ayyūb al-Sakhiyānī, 103, 140
 Bahiyyah (*mawlah* of Abī Bakr), 234
 Barīrah, 21, 193, 195, 237, 278, 289
 Bilāl, 43, 65
 Bint Ruqayyah, 147
 Buḥaysah al-Fuzāriyyah, 98
 Bunānah bt. Yazid al-‘Abshamīyah, 234
 Buqayrah, 100
 Busrah, 64, 66, 197, 198
 al-Dahhak b. Qays, 47
 Dhakwān Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān, 139
 Durrah bt. Abī Lahab, 139
 Fadhlāh b. ‘Ubayd al-Anṣārī, 108
 Faḍl b. ‘Abbās, 62
 Fātimah al-Khuza‘īyyah, 140
 Fātimah bt. al-Nabī, 186
 Fātimah bt. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, 267
 Fātimah bt. Abī Hubaysh, 49
 Fātimah bt. ‘Alī b. al-Husayn, 252
 Fātimah bt. al-Ḥusayn, 285
 Fātimah bt. al-Mundhir, 33, 99, 142, 233
 Fātimah bt. al-Nabī, 23, 185
 Fatimah bt. al-Yamān, 265
 Fātimah bt. Qays, 5, 6, 16, 28, 29, 30, 31,
 47, 53, 167, 168, 188, 266, 285
 Fātimah bt. Husayn b. ‘Alī, 252
 Furay‘ah bt. Mālik, 27, 30
 Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit, 139
 Ḥabībah bt. Maysarah, 234
 Ḥabībah bt. Umm Ḥabībah, 146
 Ḥafṣah bt. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr,
 98, 233
 Ḥafṣah bt. ‘Umar, 16, 24, 54, 139, 165,
 188, 189, 286, 287
 Ḥafṣah bt. Sīrīn, 265
- Ḥafṣah bt. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr,
 233
 Ḥafṣah bt. Sīrīn, 101
 Hajjāj b. Hassān, 71
 al-Ḥakam b. Jahl, 73, 236
 Ḥakkāmah bt. ‘Uthmān, 235
 Hammād, 284
 Hammām b. Munabbih, 116, 210
 Hamzah b. ‘Amr al-Aslamī, 108
 Hasan al-Baṣrī, 20, 30–1, 101, 234, 249,
 274
 Hasan b. ‘Alī, 38
 Ḥasnah bt. Mu‘āwiyaḥ b. Sulaymān al-
 Ṣarīmiyyah, 234
 Ḥāshim b. ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr, 70
 Hassān b. Thābit, 106
 Hind bt. al-Hārith, 67, 140
 Hind bt. Usayd b. Hudayr al-Anṣāriyyah,
 81
 Hishām b. Hassān, 70, 101, 239
 Hishām b. Urwah, 25, 57, 143, 186, 220
 Hudhayfah b. al-Yamān, 100
 Hubābah bt. ‘Ajlān, 98
 Humayd b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf, 139
 Husayn b. ‘Alī, 38
 Ibn ‘Abbās, 24, 42, 63, 139, 167, 185, 196,
 279
 Ibn Abī Mulaykah, ‘Abdullāh b.
 ‘Ubaydullāh, 139, 188
 Ikrīmah b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, 139
 Ibn Mas‘id, 33, 136
 Ibn Sīrīn, Muhammad, 70, 101, 103, 196,
 198, 239, 249, 274
 Ibrāhīm al-Nakha‘ī, 25, 28–9, 31, 274, 236,
 284
 Ibrāhīm b. al-Nabī, 66
 Iyās b. Mu‘āwiyaḥ, 101
 Jābir, 36, 43, 48, 63, 72, 83, 89, 228
 Ja‘far, 186
 Jabalah bt. Muṣaffah, 98
 Jamrah al-Yarbū‘iyah al-Tamīmiyyah, 265
 Jamrah bt. Quḥāfab, 63
 Jasrah bt. Dajājah, 106, 266
 Judāmah bt. Wahb, 108
 Jumānah bt. al-Musayyab, 100
 Juwayriyah bt. al-Hārith, 186
 Ka'b b. ‘Āṣim al-Ash‘arī, 108
 Karīmah bt. al-Miqdād, 142
 Karīmah bt. al-Ḥashās, 104
 Karīmah bt. Sīrīn, 70
 Khālid b. Dhakwān, 39
 Khadījah, 16, 23, 79, 203, 206, 224
 Khansa‘ bt. Khidham, 10
 Khawlah bt. Tha‘labah, 8, 9, 289
 Khawlah bt. Hakīm, 49, 139, 140, 289
 Khayrah, Umm Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 234
 Kulayb, 167

- Kurayb (*mawlā* of Ibn ‘Abbās), 139, 196
 Lu’lu’ah, 69
 Māriyah, servant of the Prophet, 265
 Mansūr, 25
 Marwān, 197
 Maryam bt. Ṭāriq, 74
 Masrūq 139, 167, 170, 215, 240, 266, 279
 Maymūnah (slave of the Prophet), 139
 Maymūnah, the wife of the Prophet, 148, 153, 248, 288
 Mu’ād b. Jabal, 69, 142, 241, 274
 Mu’ādh al-‘Adawiyah, 265
 Mu’āwiyah, 68, 167, 231, 249
 Muhammad b. ‘Ali (al-Bāqir), 89, 139
 Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Quraṣī, 147
 Muhammad b. Sulaymān, 66
 al-Muhriz b. Abī Hurayrah, 168
 Mughīrah b. Ḥakīm, 62
 al-Mughīrah bt. Ḥassān, 71
 Mujahid, 49, 50, 139
 Munyah bt. ‘Ubayd, 249
 Mussah al-Azdiyyah, 74
 Muṭarrif, 89
 Nadbah (*mawlā* of Maymūnah), 140
 al-Nakha’ī, *see* Ibrāhīm āl-Nakha’ī
 Nāfi’ (*mawlā* Ibn ‘Umar), 139, 165
 al-Nu’mān b. Bashīr, 88
 al-Rubayyi’ bt. Mu’awwidh, 67
 al-Sā’ib b. Yazid, 138
 al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, 142
 Qāsim b. Muhammad, 24, 30, 33, 82, 101, 131, 168, 242, 248
 Qamīr bt. ‘Amr, 266
 Qatādah, 25, 39, 89, 166, 198, 250, 289
 Rabī'a b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥuṣayn, 63
 Rabī'ah b. ‘Amr al-Jurashī, 138
 Rāyiqah bt. Karāmah, 140
 Rifā’ah al-Qurāzī, 199
 Rifā’ah b. Rāfi’, 241
 Rubayyi’ bt. Mu’awwidh, 15, 39, 185, 279
 Ruqayqah bt. al-Nabī, 98
 Sālim (slave of Abū Hudhayfah), 32
 Sālim b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar, 166, 242
 Sa’īd b. Abī Sa’īd al-Maqbūrī, 139
 Sa’īd b. al-Musayyab, 6, 22, 25, 30–1, 44, 49, 53, 72, 139, 140, 274
 Sālih b. Ahmad, 37
 Safiyyah (aunt of the Prophet), 22
 Safiyyah bt. Abī ‘Ubayd al-Thaqafīyyah, 165, 233
 Safiyyah bt. al-Hārith al-‘Abdarī, 103
 Safiyyah bt. Jarīr, 98
 Safiyyah bt. Shaybah, 187
 Safiyyah Umm Talāḥah al-Talāḥāt, 103
 Safiyyah, wife ofg the Porophet, 166
 Sa’īd b. Abī Waqqās, 108, 140, 234, 249
 Sa’īd b. Ishāq b. Ka'b b. ‘Ujrah, 27
 Salāmah, 66, 128
 Salāmah bt. Ḥurr, 265
 Salmā bt. Qays, 15
 Salmān al-Fārisī, 100, 108
 Samurah b. Jundub, 74
 Sarra’ bt. Nabhān, 63
 al-Sha'bī, Amir, 19, 30, 31, 52, 139, 140, 147, 167–8, 170, 274
 Shabīb b. Gharqadah, 63
 Shahr b. Hawshab, 58, 59
 Shifa’ bt. ‘Abdullāh, 54
 Subay’ah bt. al-Hārith, 170, 196
 Su’dā al-Murriyyah, 147, 185
 Sudaysah, 189
 Suhayl, 32
 Sukaynah bt. Husayn b. ‘Ali, 252
 Sulaymān b. Yāsār, 139, 196
 Suwaydah bt. Jābir, 148
 Tamīm al-Dārī, 48, 53, 168, 188
 Tamlik, 62
 Thābit al-Bunānī, 31, 38, 47, 89, 123
 Umāmah bt. Abī l-Ās b. al-Rabi’
 (granddaughter of the Prophet), 38, 45
 Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit, 68
 Ubādah b. Sāmit, 8
 ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr, 244
 ‘Ubayd b. Rifā’ah al-Anṣārī, 241
 ‘Ubaydah bt. Nābil, 249
 ‘Ubaydullāh b. Abī Yazid, 168
 Udaysah bt. Uhbān, 104
 ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 165
 ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, 139, 248, 267
 ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 5, 6, 13, 28–31, 39, 47, 54, 72, 108, 138, 147, 192, 241, 282, 286, 287, 289
 ‘Umaynah bt. Mālik al-Anṣārīyyah, 234
 Umayyah bt. Qays Abī al-Ṣalt, 58
 Uqaylah bt. Asmar b. Muḍarris, 148
 Uqbah b. ‘Āmir, 37, 72
 Urwah, 25, 276, 279
 Urwah b. al-Zubayr, 139, 146, 198
 Uthmān b. ‘Affān, 20, 24, 27, 64, 68, 71, 76, 140, 166, 182, 196, 224, 279, 281
 Uthmān b. Hayyān, 151
 Umayyah bt. Qays, 59
 Umm ‘Abdān, 70
 Umm ‘Abdillāh al-Dawsīyyah, 140
 Umm ‘Abdillāh bt. Abī Hāshim, 88
 Umm ‘Afīf, 69
 Umm ‘Aṭīyyah al-Anṣārīyyah, 40, 198, 265, 281
 Umm ‘Alī bt. Abī l-Hakam, 58
 Umm al-Aswad, 249
 Umm al-Dardā’, 43, 71, 81, 101, 104, 108, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 179, 249, 266, 285
 Umm al-Faḍl, 55, 67, 145, 178

Umm al-Kirām, 57, 73, 75
 Umm al-Ḥakam bt. ‘Ammār, 69
 Umm Ayman, 47
 Umm Ayyūb, 168
 Umm Hāni, 11, 69
 Umm Ja‘far bt. Muhammad b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib, 186
 Umm Kathīr bt. Marqad, 70
 Umm Khālid, 38
 Umm Kulthūm bt. ʻUqbah, 15, 64
 Umm Kulthūm bt. Fātimah bt. al-Nabī, 253
 Umm Laylā, 99
 Umm Maḥabbah, 73
 Umm Nā’īlah, 249
 Umm Ṭalq, 69
 Umm Sa‘id bt. Murrah, 234
 Umm Sa‘d, 188
 Umm Salamah, 4, 12, 21, 24–5, 33, 47, 48–50, 54, 63, 74, 103, 106, 139, 146, 148, 167, 196, 242, 248, 266, 275, 277, 279
 Umm Sulaym, 50, 68, 79, 281, 287
 Umm Habibah, 146, 166, 288
 Umm Hafs, 98
 Umm Hāni al-Hūrīniyyah, 73–4, 111, 121, 123, 270

The women scholars, excluding Companions and their Successors

Ā’ishah bt. ‘Abd al-Hādī, 103, 105, 180, 214, 202–3, 228, 260, 267
 Ā’ishah bt. al-‘Alā’, 226
 Ā’ishah bt. ‘Abd al-Rahīm al-Zujāj, 115
 Ā’ishah bt. ‘Alī al-Šīħājiyyah, 213
 Ā’ishah bt. Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī, 117
 Ā’ishah bt. Hasan al-Kinānī, 121
 Ā’ishah bt. Hasan b. Ibrāhīm, 255
 Ā’ishah bt. Hasan al-Wāqīzah, 114
 Ā’ishah bt. al-Najm al-Bālisīyyah, 205
 Ā’ishah bt. Ma‘mar, 131, 208, 210
 Ā’ishah bt. Muḥammad al-Hanbaliyyah, 260
 Ā’ishah bt. Sayf al-Dīn Qawālījī, 180
 Ā’ishah bt. ʻUmar b. Rushayd, 107
 Ā’ishah bt. al-Zayn, 155
 Ā’ishah bt. al-Zubayr b. Hishām b. Urwah, 253
 Ābidah al-Madaniyyah, 53
 ‘Adliyyah bt. Abī Bakr b. ‘Ā’idh, 78
 Ajibah al-Baqdāriyyah, 115, 117, 119, 123, 203–4, 206, 214, 222
 Altī bt. Naṣir al-Dīn, 98
 Amatullāh ‘Ā’ishah, 122
 Amat al-Ghafūr bt. Ishāq al-Dihlawī, 263
 Amat al-Khāliq bt. Zayn al-Dīn, 120
 Amat al-Rahīm al-Yūnīniyyah, 99
 Umm Harām, 68, 281
 Umm Yāsir al-Anṣāriyyah, 266
 Umm Yaḥyā Ḥumaydah, 142
 Umm Ya‘qūb, 282
 Unaysah, 234
 Unaysah al-Nakha‘iyyah, 69
 Usāmah b. Zayd, 31, 139, 193, 231
 Yahyā b. Ṭalhah, 147, 185
 Yahyā b. Sa‘id, 72, 231, 232, 239, 279
 Ya‘lā al-Taymī, 239
 Yahyā b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥāfiṭ, 244
 Yazid b. al-Asamm, 153
 Yazid b. al-Hādī, 67
 Zayd b. Arqam, 282
 Zayd b. Khālid al-Juhanī, 138
 Zayd b. Khārijah, 88
 Zayd b. Thābit, 5, 241, 274
 Zaynab bt. Abī Mu‘awiyah (wife of Ibn Mas‘ūd), 64, 265
 Zaynab bt. Abī Salamah, 33, 49, 146
 Zaynab bt. al-Muhājir, 51
 Zaynab bt. Jahsh, 146
 Zaynab bt. Ka‘b b. ʻUjrah, 27, 100
 Zaynab bt. al-Nabī, 10, 11, 38, 167

- Asmā' bt. al-Mardāwī, 83, 99
 Asmā' bt. Muḥammad b. al-Hasan, 102
 Asmā' bt. Muḥammad b. al-Kamāl, 84
 Aymalik bt. Aḥmad, 120
 ‘Azīzah bt. ‘Alī b. al-Tarrāḥ, 117, 213
 Bāy Khātūn, 120
 Bībā, 169, 220–2, 255, 271
 Bint al-Aqrā' *see* Fātimah bt. al-Aqrā'
 Bint al-Kūrī, *see* Khadijah bt. Abī Bakr b.
 ‘Alī Bayram
 Būrān, 119
 Bulbul, 120
 Dunyā bt. Ḥasan b. Balbān, 101
 Fātimah bt. ‘Abd al-Hādī, 170
 Fātimah bt. ‘Abd al-‘Azzīz al-Qazwīnī, 106
 Fātimah bt. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-
 Harrāniyyah, 253
 Fātimah bt. Ahmad al-‘Anāzī, 113
 Fātimah bt. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, 177
 Fātimah bt. ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Ridā, 252
 Fātimah al-Batā’īhiyyah, 105, 179, 264
 Fātimah bt. al-Daqqāq, 113, 255, 275
 Fātimah al-Tawūsiyyah, 111
 Fātimah bt. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdullāh b. Abī
 ‘Umar, 208
 Fātimah bt. al-Munajjā, 135
 Fātimah bt. Ibrāhīm al-Baṭabakkiyyah,
 108
 Fātimah al-Jūzdāniyyah, 93, 129, 208, 210,
 228, 229, 258, 271
 Fātimah (Sutayyah) bt. Kamāl al-Dīn
 Māhmūd b. Shīrīn al-Ḥanafī, 107
 Fātimah al-Samarqandiyyah, 116
 Fātimah al-Manshāwiyyah, 120
 Fātimah bt. al-Aqrā', 55
 Fātimah bt. al-Malīk al-Muhsin Aḥmad b.
 al-Sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, 204
 Fātimah bt. al-Mubārak, 117
 Fātimah bt. al-Munajjā, 170, 214
 Fātimah bt. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Mu‘addib,
 55
 Fātimah bt. al-Zayyāt, 253
 Fātimah bt. Ishāq al-Wāsīti, 253
 Fātimah bt. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq,
 252
 Fātimah bt. Mālik b. Anas, 250
 Fātimah bt. Mūsā b. Ja‘far, 252
 Fātimah bt. Muḥammad al-Dimashqīyyah,
 222
 Fātimah bt. ‘Abd al-Hādī, 129, 214
 Fātimah bt. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-
 Rahmān b. Sharīk, 253
 Fātimah bt. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, 252
 Fātimah bt. Muḥammad al-Samarqāndī,
 144
 Fātimah bt. Sālim, 122
 Fātimah bt. Sa‘d al-Khayr, ii, 75, 93–6,
 207–8, 129, 258, 268
 Fātimah bt. Shams al-Ṣāīgh, 276
 Fātimah bt. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-
 Dayrūtī, 276
 Fātimah bt. Shukrullāh al-Kūrāniyyah, 262
 Fātimah bt. Ḥamad al-Fudāylī, 263
 Fātimah Shams Jahān al-Jarkasiyyah, 264
 Fawz bt. Muḥammad, 56
 Ghāzāl (slave of al-Qalqashandī), 214
 Ghazāl al-Nūbiyyah, 135
 Ghufayrah bt. Wāqid, 253
 Habībah bt. ‘Abd al-Haqq al-Sanbātī, 121
 Habībah bt. Ibrāhīm b. Abī ‘Umar, 208
 Habībah bt. al-Zayn, 180
 Hadiyyah bt. ‘Alī b. ‘Askar 78, 105
 Hafṣah bt. Mūlā‘ib, 116, 210
 Hājīr bt. al-Sharaf al-Maqdisī, 225
 Hasanah bt. Muḥammad b. Kāmil, 135
 Hasnah bt. Abī l-Yumn al-Makkīyyah, 225
 Hind bt. Ja‘far b. ‘Abd al-Razzāq, 98
 Hind bt. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Urmawī,
 214
 Ḥumaydah al-Asbahāniyyah, 227
 Husn (slave of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal), 253
 Husn al-Makkīyyah, 115
 Ishrāq al-Suwāydā', 114
 Jahān Āra Begum, 120
 Jum‘ah bt. Aḥmad al-Mahmīyyah, 102,
 106, 254
 Juwayriyah bt. al-Hakkārī, 269
 Juwayriyah bt. al-Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Rahīm al-
 Irāqī, 270
 Karīmah al-Marwāziyyah, 57, 75, 112, 169,
 199, 201, 264, 255
 Karīmah bt. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, 179, 182,
 213, 222
 Karīmah bt. Ḥaṣħās al-Muzāniyyah, 71
 Khadijah bt. Abī ‘Abdillāh al-Harrāniyyah,
 116
 Khadijah bt. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Anṣārī,
 123
 Khadijah bt. Yūsuf b. Ghunaymah, 108
 Khadijah al-Dihlawīyyah, 99
 Khadijah bt. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Mardāwī,
 131
 Khadijah bt. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. ‘Uthmān,
 134
 Khadijah bt. ‘Umar b. Abī Bakr, 117
 Khadijah bt. Aḥmad b. Azzūz al-
 Fāsiyyah, 121
 Khadijah bt. Aḥmad b. Jandān, 122
 Khadijah bt. Abī Bakr al-Ḥamawī, 76, 133
 Khadijah bt. Abī Bakr b. ‘Alī, 135
 Khadijah bt. Abī Muḥammad al-
 Shāntiyyālī, 112

- Khadijah bt. Abī l-‘Abbās al-Rāzī, 151
 Khadijah bt. Abī Ghānim, 133
 Khadijah bt. Saḥnūn, 271
 Khadijah bt. al-Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Alī al-Maqdīsī, 222
 Khadijah bt. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Maqdisiyah, 83
 Khadijah bt. Abī Ṭāhir al-Silafī, 269
 Khadijah bt. Ibrāhīm al-Ba‘labakkiyyah, 168
 Khadijah bt. Muhammād al-Wā‘izah, 114
 Khadijah bt. Muhammād b. Ibrāhīm al-Muqṭī al-Ḥanafī, 121
 Khadijah bt. Muhammād b. Sa‘d b. ‘Abdillāh al-Maqdisiyah, 105
 Khadijah bt. Muhammād b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Dā‘im, 116
 Khātūn bt. ‘Abdillāh, 78
 Khayr al-Nisā’, 122
 Khunāthah bt. Bakkār b. ‘Alī al-Ma‘afīrī, 120, 227
 Lihāz al-Nisā’, 122
 Lu’lu’ah, 99
 Malikah bt. al-Jamāl b. ‘Alī, 77
 Maryam al-Adhra‘iyah, 214, 225
 Maryam al-Kashmiriyah, 119
 Maryam bt. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nābulsiyyah, 225
 Maryam bt. Ahmad al-Asadiyyah, 204
 Maryam bt. Jahsh, 111
 Mu’mīnah bt. Muhammād b. Abī Zayd, 132
 Nafīsah bt. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, 268
 Nuḍār bt. Abī Ḥayyān, 114, 223
 Nūr Sitt bt. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Rāzī, 133
 Qaṭlū al-Rūmiyyah, 82
 Quraysh al-Ṭabarīyyah, 262
 Raḥmah bt. al-Jinān al-Miknāsiyyah, 263
 Rabī‘ah bt. Sa‘d al-Khayr, 117
 Rabī‘ah bt. ‘Alī b. Maḥfuz b. Şaṣrā, 76
 Rayhānah (wife of Ahmad b. Hanbal), 253
 Ruqayyah bt. Dāwūd, 82
 Ruqayyah bt. Ismā‘īl al-Anmātī, 92
 Sābirīn al-Nūbiyyah, 121
 Safiyyah bt. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Farrā’, 128
 Safiyyah bt. Ahmad b. Qudāmah, 203
 Safiyyah al-Makhzūmiyyah, 101, 135
 Sāliḥah bt. Ḥināyat Rasūl, 122, 272
 Samānah bt. Ḥamdān, 89
 Sārah bt. ‘Umar al-Ḥamawīyyah, 155
 Sārah bt. Numayr, 121
 Sārah bt. Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, 214, 270
 Sayyidah al-Ḥarāniyyah, 207, 223
 Sayyidah bt. ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Ḥiṣnātiyyah, 275
 Sayyidah bt. Mūsā al-Ḥarāniyyah, 170
 Shams al-Nisā’ bt. Amīr Ḥasan al-Saḥsawānī, 122, 272
 Shaqsiyyah, 81
 Sharaf al-Ashrāf al-Ṭawūsiyyah al-Hasaniyyah, 115
 Shuhdah al-Baghdādiyyah, 55, 102, 108, 123, 131, 133, 135, 155–6, 168, 169, 203, 206, 208, 209, 210, 212, 214, 222, 258, 266
 Sitt al-‘Arab bt. Ibn al-Bukhārī, 116, 135, 205, 214
 Sitt al-‘Arab bt. al-Sulamī, 108
 Sitt al-‘Arab bt. Yahyā al-Kindī, 133
 Sitt al-‘Arab Zaynab bt. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Maqdīsī, 131
 Sitt al-Ahl bin ‘Alwān, 180
 Sitt al-Fuqahā’ bt. Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭiyyah, 101, 205
 Sitt al-Jalīl bt. Muhammād b. al-Ḥasan al-Warkānī, 133
 Sitt al-Katabah bt. ‘Alī, 171–2
 Sitt al-Mulūk Fātimah bt. ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Abī l-Badr, 205, 223
 Sitt al-Šām bt. Khalīl b. Naṣr, 116
 Sitt al-Taraf, 117
 Sitt al-Wuzarā’, 105, 152, 169, 200, 201, 206, 267
 Sitt Fātimah, 227
 Sitt Khānum, 120
 Sitt Quraysh Fātimah bt. Taqī al-Dīn b. Fahd, 128
 Sutaytah bt. al-Zayn, 132
 Tājanni al-Wahbāniyyah, 116, 258, 266
 Taqīyyah bt. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdillāh al-Qurashī, 268
 Tāj-Khātūn, 131
 Umm īsā al-Jazzār, 186
 Umm ‘Abd al-Hakam Sitt al-Ṭbād, 134
 Umm ‘Abdillāh Zaynab al-Ṭiliyyah, 254
 Umm al-Bahā’ Fātimah, 124, 132–3, 201
 Umm al-Dalāl Amat al-Raḥmān, 113
 Umm al-Faḍl Nafīsah, 106
 Umm al-Faḍl Zaynab bt. Ibrāhīm al-Qaysī, 118
 Umm al-Fityān Hantamah, 78
 Umm al-Hanā’ Asmā’ bt. al-Murāghi, 118
 Umm al-Karīm b. Ahmad al-Lakhāmī, 226
 Umm al-Khayr Amat al-Khāliq al-Dimashqīyyah, 260
 Umm al-Khayr bt. ‘Abdillāh b. Zahīrah, 99
 Umm al-Khayr Fātimah bt. Abī l-Ḥasan ‘Alī, 117, 124, 202
 Umm al-Khayr Jamāl al-Nisā’, 133
 Umm al-Khayr Ḥalīmah, 116
 Umm al-Rajā’ Zubaydah, 102

Umm al-Hasan al-Harāzī, 100
 Umm al-Hasan bt. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī, 135
 Umm al-Hasan Fātimah bt. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Farrā’, 105
 Umm al-Hasan Fātimah bt. Khalīl al-Kinānī, 225
 Umm al-Hasan Karīmah bt. Aḥmad al-Abīwārdī, 115
 Umm al-Hayā Zuhra bt. Muḥammad al-Anbārī, 129, 133
 Umm al-Hayā’ Umāmah, 119
 Umm al-Husn Kamāl, 117
 Umm al-Zaynī b. Muzhir, 155
 Umm Janūb bt. Numaylah, 148
 Umm Kulthūm ‘Ā’ishah bt. Muḥammad al-Murshidī, 135
 Umm Kulthūm bt. Mūsā b. Ja‘far, 252
 Umm Salamah Āminah, 99
 Umm al-Shāfi‘ī, 277
 Umm Habīb Safwah, 268
 Umm Zaynab Fātimah bt. ‘Abbās al-Baghdādiyyah, 280, 290
 Uns bt. ‘Abd al-Karīm, 46
 Wajīhah bt. ‘Alī al-Anṣāriyyah, 223, 269
 Wazīrah: *see* Sitt al-Wuzārah
 Zāhidah bt. Ibrāhīm al-Khabbāz, 103
 Zāhidah bt. Muḥammad al-Zāhirī, 227
 Zahrah bt. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, 118
 Zayb al-Nisā’, 119
 Zayn al-‘Arab bt. Kamāl al-Dīn, 120

Zayn al-Sharaf bt. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ṭabarī, 262
 Zaynab al-Shī‘riyyah, 153, 207
 Zaynab bt. ‘Abdillāh b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, 178
 Zaynab bt. ‘Abdillāh al-Yāfi‘ī, 226
 Zaynab bt. Aḥmad b. Shukr al-Maqdisī, 108, 207
 Zaynab bt. Aktā, 121
 Zaynab bt. al-‘Alām Aḥmad b. Kāmil, 177, 213
 Zaynab bt. ‘Alī al-Wāsiṭī, 133
 Zaynab bt. al-Is‘ārdī, 105, 206
 Zaynab bt. Ismā‘īl b. Aḥmad, 101
 Zaynab bt. Ismā‘īl b. al-Anmātī, 92
 Zaynab bt. al-Kamāl, 208, 152, 155, 158, 160, 170, 180, 182, 203–4, 206, 208, 209, 214, 223, 224, 267
 Zaynab bt. al-Khaṭīb al-Harastānī, 182
 Zaynab bt. al-Khabbāz, 178
 Zaynab bt. al-Khaṭīb Yahyā al-Sulamī, 223
 Zaynab bt. Makki, 83, 99, 117, 124, 128–9, 133, 180–1, 203, 206, 210, 212
 Zaynab bt. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, 262
 Zaynab bt. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mu‘ayyadī, 120
 Zaynab bt. Muhibb al-Dīn Abū b. Zāhirah, 135
 Zaynab bt. Mūsā b. Ja‘far, 252
 Zaynab bt. Muwaqqaf al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Latīf, 178
 Zaynab bt. Shukr, 269
 Zaynab bt. Ūmar al-Kindī, 118, 202

Men scholars, excluding Companions and their Successors

‘Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, 117, 124, 132
 ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī, 141
 ‘Abd al-Hāfiẓ b. Badrān, 108
 ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sanbātī, 121
 ‘Abd al-Ḥumayd, 103, 128, 129, 207, 269
 ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Shāḥhāmī, 90
 ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ayyūbī, 83, 103, 131
 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Bishr, 134
 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, 133
 ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām, 52, 163, 169, 209–10, 216, 282
 ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Anṣāri, 92
 ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. Ūlawan, 108
 ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Mandah, 119, 206
 ‘Abdullāh b. al-Hasan al-Khallāl, 99
 ‘Abdullāh b. Yūsuf b. Bāmūyah, 75
 Abū l-‘Abbas Aḥmad b. ‘Abdillāh al-Maghribī al-Fāsī, 44
 Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Fārisī, 228

Abū ‘Abdillah al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl al-Thaqafī, 102
 Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī, 101
 Abū ‘Awānah, 113
 Abū Bakr al-Ājurī, 113, 115
 Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, 83, 131
 Abū Bakr b. Shādhān, 113
 Abū Bakr b. Abī ‘Aṣim, 107
 Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd, 53
 Abū Bakr b. al-Muqrī, 114, 120, 132
 Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Dā’im, 77
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurī, 113
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Anmātī, 92
 Abū l-Barakat Ḥamad b. ‘Abdillāh al-Wakil, 103, 108
 Abū Dāwūd, 6, 27–8, 30–1, 33, 42, 45, 48–9, 62, 67–8, 71, 74, 104, 128, 142,

- 147–8, 166, 168, 184–5, 188, 197–8, 204, 234, 239, 250, 258
- Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Andalusi, 45
- Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Irāqī, 229
- Abū l-Faḍl Ja‘far b. ‘Alī b. Ḥibatullāh al-Hamdānī, 132
- Abū l-Faraj b. al-Shaykhah, 137
- Abū l-Fath ‘Abdullāh al-Khiraqī, 77
- Abū l-Fath b. Abī al-Fawāris, 78
- Abū al-Ghanā’im al-Narsi, 117
- Abū Hafṣ Umar b. Shāhin, 116
- Abū Hanifah, 20, 29, 31–2, 44, 61, 81, 128, 140, 143, 206, 218, 235, 250, 271, 274, 281, 283–4
- Abū l-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb, 108
- Abū Hātim al-Rāzī, 232
- Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim al-Jītī, 96
- Abū l-Ḥusayn Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dhakwānī, 102
- Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Khuḍrī, 106
- Abū l-Khaṭāb b. al-Baṭir, 102, 108
- Abū Mansūr b. Harisah, 102, 108
- Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Khayrūn, 117
- Abū l-Mufaḍḍal Yāhiya b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qurashī, 102
- Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥamzah al-Sulamī, 102
- Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Fāmī, 131
- Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh b. Muhammād b. Ya‘qūb al-Hārithī, 129
- Abū Muhammād Ishāq b. Muhammād al-Hamadānī, 96
- Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī, 115, 135
- Abū Naṣr b. al-Shīrāzī, 129
- Abū Nu‘aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, 15, 53, 63–4, 66, 73, 113, 146, 148, 156, 166, 187, 208
- Abū Qābūs, 134
- Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Hakam al-Misri, 118
- Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, 113
- Abū l-Qāsim b. Husayn al-Qurashī al-Tinnīsī, 118
- Abū l-Qāsim Ḥibatullāh, 95
- Abū Rawh, 119
- Abū Sa‘id Ḥasan b. Ishaq b. Bulbul, 99
- Abū Sa‘id al-Mufaḍḍal, 178
- Abū Shāmā, 95
- Abū Tāhir, 151
- Abū Ṭālib al-Ushārī, 132
- Abū l-Tayyib Tāhir b. ‘Abdillāh al-Ṭabarī, 56
- Abū l-Wāhid b. ‘Alwān al-Shaybānī, 102
- Abū l-Waqt al-Sijzī al-Harawī, 124, 169, 207, 228
- Abū l-Yūmūn al-Kindī, 133, 214
- Abū Yāsir Ahmād, 102, 108
- Abū Ya‘lā, 128, 131, 141, 207, 208, 217, 253
- Abū Yūsuf, Qādī, 31, 274
- Abū Zurāḥ al-Dimashqī, 151, 267
- Abū Zurāḥ al-‘Irāqī, 142, 234, 270
- Abū Zurāḥ al-Rāzī, 206, 232
- Abū Zurāḥ Tāhir b. Muḥammad al-Maqdisī, 129
- ‘Afif al-Dīn al-Nashawārī, 136
- ‘Affān b. Muslim, 52, 146
- Aḥmad al-Ghumārī, 263
- Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Dā’im, 156
- Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Yūsuf, 102, 108
- Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr, 113
- Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Hādī, 169
- Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal: *see* Ibn Ḥanbal
- ‘Ajjāj al-Khaṭīb, 81
- ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Samarqandī, 45
- al-‘Alā’ī, 141
- ‘Alī b. Abī l-Majd, 169
- ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Fahim, 108
- ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Dāwūd b. al-‘Atṭār, 83
- ‘Alī b. Khashram, 52
- ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī, 25, 232
- Altī bt. Baktāsh al-Rashīdi, 131
- ‘Amīd al-Mulk Abū Naṣr al-Kindī, 55
- ‘Amr b. Dīnar, 134
- al-Anṣārī, 21
- Asad b. al-Furāt, 45, 271
- al-‘Askari, 215, 217, 265
- Abū Zurāḥ Asmā’ī, 52
- al-Aswad b. Yazid, 281
- ‘Atā’ al-Khūrasānī, 113
- al-‘Awājī, 177
- Awrangzeb ‘Alamgīr, 119
- al-Awzā’ī, 72, 197, 235, 274
- al-‘Aydrūsī, 260
- al-‘Ayyār, Sa‘id, 124
- Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, 121
- al-Baghawī, Muhyi l-Sunnah, 115
- al-Baghawī, 33, 40, 99, 216, 277
- al-Baghbān, Abū l-Khayr b., 119
- Baḥshal al-Wāsiṭī, 70, 146, 239
- al-Bajalī, Muḥammad b. Ayyūb, 115
- al-Bājī, Abū l-Walīd, 20, 237
- al-Bannā’, Abū Ghālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasān b., 95
- al-Bāqillānī, Abū Ghālib, 103, 108, 131
- Barākāt b. Ibrāhīm b. Tāhir al-Qurashī, 91
- al-Barjalānī, Abū Shaykh Muḥammad 77, 82
- al-Barnī, 122
- al-Bargānī, 135, 208
- al-Bayhaqī, 6, 30, 76, 100, 119, 128, 198, 205, 242
- al-Bazzār, 37

- al-Birzālī, ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Qāsim b. Muhammad, 82, 101, 131, 172, 181, 224
- al-Bulqīnī, 142
- al-Būtī, 18, 20
- Bishr al-Hāfi, 266
- Bishr b. al-Hārith, 285
- al-Bukhārī, xi, 10–11, 13–14, 16, 23, 30–2, 37–44, 49–50, 54, 57, 61, 63, 65, 67–8, 75, 81, 86, 100–6, 112, 117, 120, 121–2, 124, 136, 143–4, 149, 147, 151–2, 165–7, 169, 179, 184, 186–7, 197, 195, 198–200, 202, 205, 215, 228–9, 232, 234, 238, 240–2, 248, 250, 255, 262, 264, 267, 269, 270–1, 276, 278, 283
- al-Dabūz, 81
- al-Dhahabī, xi, 45, 55, 57, 70, 73, 75, 81, 95, 99, 103, 105–6, 108, 110, 112–16, 123–4, 129, 133–5, 138, 141, 150, 152–5, 163, 169–71, 179, 181, 195, 199, 203, 205, 210, 221–3, 233–5, 239, 248–9, 254–5, 257–8 268, 276, 279, 280, 288, 290
- al-Dāraqutnī, 31, 93, 112, 117, 128, 210, 217, 235, 253
- al-Dārimī, 25, 31, 67, 74, 205, 215, 269
- al-Dīhlawī, 99, 262
- al-Diyā’ al-Maqdīsī, 141, 220
- Diyā’ al-Dīn Ḥisārī, 101, 77
- Diyā’ al-Dīn al-Maqdīsī, 96, 117, 121, 123, 131, 132, 133, 135, 177, 208, 209
- al-Fādānī, Muḥammad Yāsīn, 227
- Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Irbālī, 82
- Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qayātī, 74
- Fākhirah al-Baghdādiyyah, 132, 209
- Falīḥ al-Zāhirī, 262
- al-Firābī, 124, 200
- al-Hajjār, Ahmad b. Abī Ṭālib, 103, 104, 180, 205, 222, 228, 260, 267
- al-Hākim, 5, 24–25, 31, 64, 72, 98, 145, 227, 236, 237, 243
- al-Halabī, 120
- al-Harawī, 103, 112, 136, 140, 205, 207, 266
- Hasan b. ‘Abbās al-Rustamī, 119
- al-Hasan b. Aḥmad b. Salmān al-Daqqāq, 102
- Hasan b. Salmān al-Daqqāq, 108
- Hasan b. Sufyān, 84, 132
- al-Haythamī 36
- al-Hibashī, 56, 144, 265
- Husayn b. Muḥsin al-Anṣārī, 122
- al-Ghazālī, 21, 123, 237
- al-Ghazzī, 121, 262
- Ibn al-Abbār, 45, 53, 271
- Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, 15, 54, 69, 139, 198, 235, 265, 271, 279, 289
- Ibn Abī Ḩāsim, 64
- Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, 69, 77, 137, 215, 269
- Ibn Abī Hātim, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, 277
- Ibn Abī Shaybah, 29, 49
- Ibn al-‘Adīm, 99
- Ibn ‘Arafah, 210, 212
- Ibn ‘Asākir, 70–1, 99, 105, 141, 147, 150–1, 154, 155, 177, 233, 258, 267, 288
- Ibn al-Athīr, 60, 68, 98, 140–1, 266, 287
- Ibn ‘Azzūz, 200, 201
- Ibn ‘Awīn, 196
- Ibn al-Bawwāb, 55
- Ibn al-Bukhārī, 120, 131
- Ibn Bishrān, 112, 140
- Ibn Bishrān, Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Mālik b. Muḥammad, 77, 101, 113
- Ibn al-Bukhārī, 84
- Ibn Dukayn, 113
- Ibn al-Dhahabī, Abū Hurayrah, 169
- Ibn Fahd, Najm al-Dīn, 100, 115, 118, 124, 135, 142, 225, 226, 270
- Ibn Ḥajar, 46, 50, 56, 95, 98, 100–401, 104–5, 113–14, 116, 118–19, 129, 131, 133, 135, 140, 142, 152, 168–70, 195, 198, 201–10, 212, 214, 219–28, 232, 234, 248–9, 266, 268–70, 282
- Ibn al-Hājjī, 43–4, 46
- Ibn Ḥanbal, 25, 29, 30–2, 37, 44, 49, 47, 54, 58, 67, 72, 95, 99, 120, 128–9, 140, 166, 168, 197, 206, 219, 232, 235, 253, 266, 274
- Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 119
- Ibn Hazm, 31, 235, 265, 281
- Ibn Ḥibbān, 31, 70, 99, 101, 116, 234, 235, 253
- Ibn Ḥishām, 103, 120, 121, 215
- Ibn Ḥumayd, 260
- Ibn al-Ḥutay’ah, 44
- Ibn al-‘Imād, 57
- Ibn al-‘Irāqī, Abū Zurāh, 270
- Ibn Ishāq, 69, 103, 182, 215
- Ibn Jabir, 105
- Ibn Jamā’ah, 141
- Ibn al-Jawzī, 55, 97, 141, 169, 235, 258, 277
- Ibn al-Jazarī, 142, 253
- Ibn Jurayj, 43
- Ibn Kathīr, 55, 141, 249, 268, 277, 280, 284, 290
- Ibn Khuzaymah, 118
- Ibn Mājah, xi, 10, 29, 31, 33, 40, 42, 49, 62–3, 67, 71, 74, 98, 104, 128, 143, 147, 149, 165–8, 170, 184–8, 197–8, 205, 244, 250
- Ibn Mākūlā, 100, 266
- Ibn Makhlad, 265, 270–1

- Ibn Mandah, 114, 117, 119, 121, 255
 Ibn al-Mundhir, 198
 Ibn al-Munkadir, 146, 147
 Ibn al-Muqrī, 114, 121, 132, 208, 209
 Ibn al-Muslih, 281
 Ibn Najā, 95, 268
 Ibn al-Najjār, xi, 258
 Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn Dīmashqī, 121, 180
 Ibn al-Najjār, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, 138, 257
 Ibn Nuqtah, 93, 113, 255
 Ibn al-Qādī, 178
 Ibn al-Qāsim, 31
 Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, iii, 19, 31, 141, 281
 [Ibn Qudāmah?], Muwaffaq al-Dīn, 78–79, 160
 Ibn Qudāmah, Muwaffaq al-Dīn, 31, 120, 257
 Ibn Qudāmah, Abū ‘Umar Muḥammad, 90
 Ibn Ridhah, 129, 208, 210
 Ibn Rāfi‘, 90
 Ibn Rajab al-Hanbālī, 142
 Ibn al-Rushayd al-Sabtī, 169, 178–9
 Ibn Rushayq al-Mālikī, 24
 Ibn Rushd, 31
 Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, 269
 Ibn Sa‘d, 11, 15, 38, 51, 59, 67–9, 73–4, 100, 248, 281, 287–8
 Ibn Sahnūn, 45
 Ibn al-Ṣalāh, 24, 72, 84–8, 141
 Ibn Shādhān, 131, 137, 208
 Ibn Shādhān, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī al-Bazzāz, 90
 Ibn Shāhīn, 253
 Ibn Sam‘ūn, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Wā'iẓ, 114
 Ibn al-Sunnī, 128
 Ibn Ṭabarazad, 83, 117, 124, 128, 132–3, 212
 Ibn Ṭalḥah al-Nī‘ālī, 102, 108, 116
 Ibn Taymiyyah, iii, 99–100, 141, 181, 280–1, 289
 Ibn Ṭulūn, 260
 Ibn al-Turkmānī, 235
 Ibn al-‘Ujaymī, 262
 Ibn ‘Uyaynah, 134, 250
 Ibn al-Zabidī, 206
 Ibn Zarqūn, Abū l-Ḥusayn, 195
 Ibrāhīm b. Adham, 72
 Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad al-Tanūkhī, 221
 Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, 262
 Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭī, 90
 al-‘Ijlī, 233, 234, 249, 266
 Imād al-Dīn b. ‘Asākir al-Dīmashqī, 99
 Īsā al-Anmātī, 92
 Īsā b. Miskīn, 45
 al-Isfrāyīnī, Abū Nuaym ‘Abd al-Mālik b. al-Ḥasan, 113
 al-‘Irāqī, Hāfiẓ Abū l-Faḍl, 46, 229
 Ishāq b. Rāhawayh, 30, 52, 197
 Ja‘far al-Sarrāj, 102, 108
 Ja‘far b. ‘Alī, 77, 113
 Ja‘far b. Ḥibatullāh al-Hamadānī, 77
 Ja‘far b. Yaḥyā, 56
 al-Jāhiẓ, 56
 Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Abī al-Fawāris al-Hamadānī, 111
 Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī Yūsuf b. Isrā’īl al-Nāṣirī, 131
 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Hanbālī, 120
 al-Jawharī, Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Mawṣilī, 106
 al-Jurjānī, 112
 Kahhālah, 111, 114, 115, 116, 120, 121, 128, 169, 271
 Kamāl al-Dīn Humām b. Muḥammad al-Hanafī, 108
 al-Kāsānī, 31, 40, 46, 144
 al-Kattānī, 131, 161, 208, 219, 223–6, 254, 262, 263–4, 271
 al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, 21–2, 24–6, 28, 44, 56–7, 70–1, 84–7, 89, 93, 114, 118, 140, 169, 199, 230, 231, 233, 234, 238, 239, 253, 254, 266, 285
 Khatīb Mardā, 44, 92, 95, 133–4, 204, 207, 209
 al-Khatṭābī, Abū Sulaymān, 117
 al-Kinānī, Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, 133
 al-Kinānī, 83, 131, 180, 270
 al-Kushmīhanī, 57, 75, 112
 Layth b. Sa‘d, 30, 31, 88, 228
 Leder, 82, 99, 101, 112, 120–3, 132, 133–4, 178–81, 183
 al-Lu‘lu‘ī, Abū ‘Alī, 204
 al-Mahāmilī, 253
 al-Malik al-Ashraf, 259
 al-Marghīnānī, 6, 31
 Mālik b. Anas, 27–8, 30–2, 44, 46, 53, 70–72, 86, 95, 101, 113, 117, 123, 140, 143, 154, 209, 203–4, 218, 234, 235, 250, 270, 271, 274, 279, 280, 283, 285, 289
 Mā’mar b. Rāshid, 210, 282
 Ma‘n b. Īsā, 249
 Mansūr b. Hayd, 102, 108
 Marākashī, 114
 Mardād Abū l-Khayr, 262
 Mashhūr b. Ḥasan Al Salamān, 43, 45–6, 54
 Mas‘ūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Thaqafī, 119
 al-Maydūmī, 135
 al-Māzarī, 21
 al-Māzinī, 110
 al-Mizzī, 9, 82–4, 98–100, 101, 104, 106, 108, 131, 138–42, 147–9, 152, 162–3,

- 168, 181, 198, 210, 222, 233, 249, 265, 266, 279
 al-Mu'ayyad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, 202
 al-Mubarrid, Abū l-‘Abbās, 110, 114
 Muḥammad Bashīr al-Sahsawānī, 122
 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Baṭṭī, 133
 Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Dhūbā al-Miṣrī, 137
 Muḥammad b. Aslam, 78, 132
 Muḥammad b. Hamzah b. Abī l-Ṣaqr, 91
 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Tamīmī, 86
 Muḥammad b. Hibatullāh al-Shīrāzī, 108
 Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Rājīḥ b. Bilāl b. Ḥisā, 91
 Muḥammad al-Wānī, 169
 Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī, 263
 al-Mukhallīs, 78
 al-Mundhīrī, 93, 102, 141, 155, 170, 222, 269
 al-Muqtafi, 55
 Murtaḍā' al-Zabīdī, 106, 120
 Musaddad, 129, 168–9, 206
 Muslim, xi, 11, 28, 30, 32–3, 36, 39, 41, 42, 44, 47, 48, 49, 61, 63, 65, 67, 68, 100, 112, 124, 143–5, 147, 149, 165, 187–9, 196, 198, 202, 229–30, 232, 238, 242, 244, 248, 250, 265, 283
 Muftī al-Hāfiẓ, 78, 82, 90, 103, 118, 131, 134, 204, 222, 225
 al-Muzānī, 146
 Najm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Zaftawī, 136
 al-Nasa'ī, 10, 31, 42, 49, 61, 67, 128, 143, 149, 165, 184, 187, 196, 197, 198, 204, 205, 269
 al-Naṣrābādī, 107
 al-Nawawī, 24, 31, 41, 106, 120, 132, 197, 209, 230, 237, 281
 Niżām al-Mulk, 110
 Nūr al-Dīn, 74, 95, 128, 142, 270
 Nūr al-Dīn ʻItr, 54
 Nūr al-Dīn al-Shāhid, 259
 Numayrī, 66
 Qādī ʻIyād, 45, 53
 al-Qālī, Abū 'Alī, 114
 al-Qalqashandī, 54
 al-Qa'natī, 57, 203
 al-Qarāfī, 20, 269
 al-Qayrawānī, Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Zayd, 46
 al-Qazwīnī, 115, 116, 128, 205, 206, 210, 218, 223
 al-Qurashī, xi, 46, 96, 116, 144, 201, 258
 al-Qurṭubī, 277
 Rabī' c b. Sulaymān, 26
 al-Rāwandi, 92, 207
 Sa'd al-Dīn Yahyā al-Maqdisī, 78
 Sa'd al-Khayr, 76, 93
 Sa'd b. Mansūr, 29, 31
 Sa'd al-Šayrafi, 131
 al-Šafādi, 56–7, 234, 249
 al-Sāhmī, 117
 Šalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, 95
 al-Sam'ānī 124, 133
 al-Sarakhsī, 31, 205, 209
 al-Sakhāwī, 46, 74, 107, 115, 117–18, 123–4, 132–3, 135, 142, 220, 225–6, 270, 276
 Sāliḥ b. Ghālib b. 'Alī, 78
 al-Sam'ānī, 55, 93, 102, 113, 141, 169, 255, 258, 275
 al-Sammāk, Abū 'Amr Uthmān b. Aḥmad b., 90
 Sayf al-Dīn al-Hanafī, 74
 al-Šayrafīnī, 106, 275
 Sayyid Aḥmad b. Zaynī Dahlān, 122
 al-Shahhāmī, Zāhir b. Tāhir, 95
 al-Shāfi'i, 26, 30–2, 105, 112, 123, 128–9, 137, 169, 197, 202, 206, 215, 253, 268, 269, 274, 277
 Shams al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. ʻIwād al-Maqdisī, 78
 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān, 131
 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Arabshāh al-Farrā', 131
 Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdillah Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Nīmah, 131
 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Raqqī, 82
 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ghānā'im al-Muhandis, 82
 Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abdullāh b. al-Hasan al-Hāfiẓ 'Abd al-Ghanī, 103
 Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim al-Rāfi'i, 135
 al-Shawkānī, 27, 144, 277
 al-Shaybānī, Ḥanbal b. Ishāq, 90
 al-Shaybānī, Muḥammad, 31, 274, 281, 283–4
 Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās al-Attār, 131
 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Jazārī, 83
 Shuayh, Abū l-Ḥārith Surayj b., 82
 Shurbah, 25, 143, 146, 231, 236, 239, 250
 al-Silafī, Abū Tāhir, 82, 113, 118, 141, 151, 216, 217, 218, 258
 al-Simsār, Abū Hafs ʻUmar b. Aḥmad, 102
 al-Suhrawardī, 123
 al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn, 141, 208
 al-Subkī, 179, 202, 209, 277
 al-Sulamī, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, 76, 107
 al-Sulamī, 106
 al-Suyūtī, 107, 120, 128, 136, 142, 220, 260, 262, 270, 277
 Su'ud b. 'Abdullāh al-Funaysān, 277
 Sufyān al-Thawrī, 20, 25, 29, 197, 218, 236, 250, 274, 282

- Sufyān b. ‘Uyaynah, 146, 147
 Sufyān Thawrī, 86, 143
 Sulaymān b. Hamzah, 101, 113, 135
 Suwayd b. Sa‘id, 203
 Suwayd, M. N. b. ‘Abd al-Hāfiẓ, 37
 al-Suyūtī, 106
 al-Tabbākh, 120
 al-Tabarānī, 253
 al-Ṭabarī, 44, 75, 277
 al-Ṭabarī, Muhibb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Raḍī Ibrāhīm 137
 al-Tabarānī, 36, 53, 93, 96, 103, 120–1, 129, 155–6, 208–9, 210, 215–8, 228–9, 253, 272
 al-Ṭahāwī, 29, 31, 30, 242
 Taklah, 114, 121, 132
 Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāṣī, 100–1, 103, 105, 124, 128–9, 142, 170, 202, 204–5, 269
 Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān, 78
 Thābit Bundar, 102, 108
 al-Tayālī, Ja‘far b. Abī ‘Uthmān, 24
 Ṭirād b. Muḥammad al-Zaynabī, 102, 108, 116, 212
 al-Tirmidhī, xi, 28, 30, 31, 33, 37, 39, 49, 63, 67, 74, 118, 124, 147, 165, 168, 184, 185, 188, 196, 197, 198, 199, 203, 250, 275, 277
 al-‘Uqaylī, 235
 Ūmar b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. al-Qawwās, 108
 Ūmar Ḥamdān al-Maḥrasī, 263
 Wāki‘ b. al-Jarrāh, 25
 al-Wāqidi, 118, 249
 al-Washshā‘, 55, 146
 al-Yāfi‘ī, 226, 268, 290
 Yahyā b. Ma‘n, 24, 25, 117, 140, 232, 233
 Yahyā al-Thaqafī, 156
 Yahyā b. Yahyā, 123, 203
 Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq, 73, 235
 Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Hādi, 116, 120, 121
 Yūsuf b. Khalil, 208
 al-Yūnīnī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, 99
 al-Zabidī, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak, 104–5, 157, 179, 223, 267
 al-Zarkashī, 142, 220, 239, 244
 Zāhir b. Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, 75
 Zāhir b. Tāhir, 83, 90, 95, 129, 207
 Zayn al-Dīn al-Murāghī, 135
 Zayn al-Dīn b. Najā, 95
 Zayn al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Takrītī, 131
 Zayn al-Dīn al-Shammā‘, 120
 Zayn al-Dīn Ridwān, 226
 Zubayr b. Bakkār, 117
 al-Zubayr, 31, 53, 122, 143, 187, 197, 216, 228, 240, 243
 Zuhrah bt. Ūmar al-Khutani, 131
 al-Zuhri, Ibn Shihāb, 20, 119, 140, 166, 197, 248, 250

Place names

- Abyssinia, 14, 38
 Aleppo, 259
 ‘Aqaba, 14
 al-‘Atik, 283
 Alexandria, 158, 160, 269
 ‘Ayn Jālūt, 259
 Azamgarh, 220
 Bāb al-Marātib, 205
 Badr, 12, 15, 67, 240, 241
 Baghdad, 55, 75, 76, 93, 95, 102, 104,
 106, 110, 156, 157, 158, 205, 250, 253,
 254, 255, 257, 258, 259, 266
 Balkh, 82, 110, 164
 Basrah, vii, 76, 81, 103, 104, 110, 157,
 158, 177, 198, 249, 250, 253, 265
 Baydā’, 188
 Bayt al-Abbar, 82
 Beirut, 81, 220
 Berlin, 225
 Bombay, 220
 Bukhara, 258, 259
 Cairo, 95, 96, 152, 156, 157, 158, 178,
 222, 225, 257, 258, 259, 290
 Central Asia, 257
 China, 93
 Damascus, 54, 76–8, 81–4, 90–2, 95–6,
 104, 131, 133, 150, 152, 155–8, 160–3,
 172, 177–82, 201, 220, 222, 225, 257–
 9, 267, 268, 290
 Damsus, 83, 179
 Delhi, 263
 Egypt, 72, 74, 75, 81, 96, 106–7, 123,
 157, 170, 201, 250, 254, 259, 260,
 268–70, 290
 Hamadan, 93, 96, 258
 Haramayn, the, 250, 260, 264
 Herat, 110, 255
 Hijaz, 262
 Hims, 202
 Hudaybiyyah, 12, 14
 India, ii, iii, 99, 119, 220, 272
 Isfahan, 75, 93, 102, 124, 177, 255, 257–
 8
 Jerusalem, 14, 69, 75, 81, 95, 150–1, 154,
 179, 255, 257, 267, 276
 Jurjan, 254
 Kaprili, 222
 Kashghar, 93
 Khathām, 62
 Khaybar, 59
 Khurasan, 157, 254, 271
 Kufah, 25, 29, 76, 81, 196, 237, 250, 253,
 265, 266
 Kuwait, 220–1
 Madinah, x, 7, 10–12, 14–
 15, 61, 64, 72, 81, 102, 106–7, 153,
 157, 168, 179, 190, 192, 197, 201, 202,
 233, 237, 250, 252, 253, 262, 263–5,
 279, 280, 289
 Makkah, 11–12, 14, 57, 61–2, 72–5, 81,
 100, 107, 153, 157, 168, 239, 250,
 262–5, 277
 Marw, 53, 110, 197, 255, 258
 Marwah, 62
 Mesopotamia, 257
 Minā, 46, 62, 74
 Mu’tah, 189
 Murcia, 276
 Nishapur, 102, 106, 110, 202, 254, 255,
 258, 259
 Pakistan, ii, iii
 Palestine, 255, 259
 Patna, 220
 Qāsyūn, 77, 81, 90, 108, 134, 155, 176,
 177, 182, 204, 222, 259
 Qadūm, 27
 Qazwin, 258
 Sabta, 107
 Samarcand, 45, 76, 101, 116, 117, 133,
 135, 144, 182, 205, 258–9
 San‘a, 56
 Sarakhs, 31, 75, 205
 Sind, 272
 Spain, 93, 112, 114, 270, 271, 276
 Sāfā, 62
 Sur, 106
 Syria, 10, 46, 75, 82, 107, 170, 182, 249–
 50, 253, 257, 259–60, 264, 266–7
 Tā’if, 98
 Tinnis, 96
 Transoxania, 254, 271
 Tripoli, 106
 Turkey, 222
 Tus, 110
 ‘Ukaz, 289
 Valencia, 93, 114
 Wāsit, 70, 76, 78, 128, 146, 204, 239, 253
 Yemen, 69, 119
 Zabid, 260
 Zinjan, 258

This book is an adaptation of the *Muqaddimah* or Preface to Mohammad Akram's 40-volume biographical dictionary (in Arabic) of the Muslim women who studied and taught hadith. It demonstrates the central role women had in preserving the Prophet's teaching, which remains the master-guide to understanding the Qur'an as rules and norms for life. Within the bounds of modesty in dress and manners, women routinely attended and gave classes in the major mosques and madrasas, travelled intensively for 'the knowledge', transmitted and critiqued hadith, issued fatwas, etc. Some of the most renowned scholars among men have depended on, and praised, the scholarship of their women teachers. The women scholars enjoyed considerable public authority in society, not exceptionally, but as the norm. The huge body of information reviewed in *al-Muhaddithat* is essential to understanding the role of women in Islamic society, their past achievement and future potential. Hitherto it has been so dispersed as to be 'hidden'. Akram's dictionary will greatly facilitate further study, contextualization and analysis.

Mohammad Akram, currently a fellow of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, is an alumnus of the prestigious Nadwatul Ulama, Lucknow. He has written many books on hadith, *fiqh*, Islamic biography, and Arabic grammar. This is his first major publication in English.



The cover shows the study journeys of Fatimah bint Sa`d al-Khayr, and of a few of her principal teachers and students. Her family moved from Valencia to the western edge of China; she died in Cairo in 600 AH. (Full map and details in ch. 3.)

ISBN 978-0-9554545-1-6

A standard linear barcode representing the ISBN number 978-0-9554545-1-6.

9 780955 454516