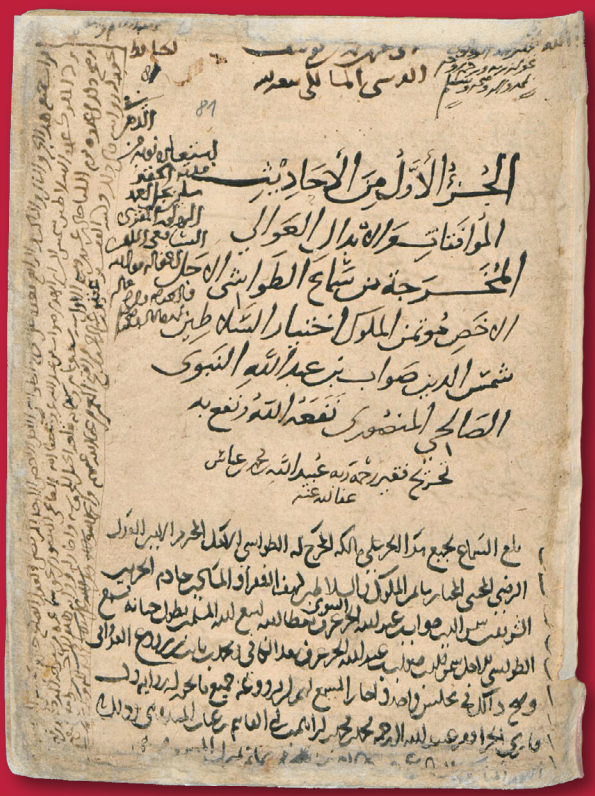
Beyond Authenticity

Alternative Approaches to Hadith Narrations and Collections



EDITED BY

MOHAMMAD GHARAIBEH

ISLAMIC HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION. STUDIES AND TEXTS

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Beyond Authenticity

Islamic History and Civilization

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Cover illustration: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, mağmūʿ ḥadīṯ, Ms. or. quart. 125, fol. 81r.

This Publication is based partially on research that has been supported financially by the German Federal Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF) (Förderkennzeichen: 01UD1907Y).

Publication of this volume has been made possible through the generous support of the Academy for Islam in Research and Society (AIWG) at Frankfurt University.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022052371

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0929-2403
ISBN 978-90-04-52907-6 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-52908-3 (e-book)

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INTRODUCTION

Beyond Authenticity

Alternative Approaches to Hadith and Hadith Literature

Mohammad Gharaibeh

For more than a century, the focus of studies dealing with hadith has been primarily on the question of the authenticity of the hadith attributed to the Prophet. Stemming from the interest of reconstructing the historical events of early Islam, the hadith material was treated as a historical source. Accordingly, the nature of the oral transmission of hadiths in early times as well as the conflicting debates over individual traditions in the context of theological debates led a group of Orientalists to take a very skeptical stance towards the hadith material. Scholars such as Ignaz Goldziher and Joseph Schacht—who were sometimes described as the founders of Western hadith studies—, or Gautier H.A. Juynboll built their opinions on the assumption that the major body of transmitted hadith was forged. Goldziher, for example, saw the corpus of hadith in the context of the theological debates, political struggle, and the emergence of legal schools. For him, the Umayyad dynasty played a major role in the forgery of hadith for their political agenda.[1]

Schacht basically set off in the same direction as Goldziher, however, focusing almost exclusively on legal hadith, which—as he argues—barely reflects any actual aspects of the Prophet's life. Instead, the emerging legal schools or even later traditions of them cited hadith to support their doctrines. Hence, legal hadith, for Schacht, constitutes a source of authority for legal or doctrinal opinions. The historical origin of most legal hadith can be dated around the *common link*, i. e. the narrator from whom a hadith spreads out.[2] Schacht's *common link* theory became an important concept that was developed further by later skeptics of whom Juynboll was the leading proponent.[3]

1 See Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle an der Saale: Niemeyer, 1889–1890.

2 See Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950.

3 See for example Gautier H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition. Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Hadith*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; and idem, *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Hadith*, London: Routledge, 1996. For an overview of the various Western approaches towards hadith, see Harald Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions:

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The opinions of these three scholars and their methods to approach the hadith literature have inspired many studies on hadith just as they have provoked countless controversial discussions. Perhaps the most critical reaction to this skeptical approach came from Wael Hallaq who found the authenticity question of the hadith to be a "pseudo problem" and perceived the "scholarly output concerned with authenticity [to be] largely, if not totally, pointless."[4] Others dealt with this line of argumentation by proposing a counter view. The most prominent of them are Harald Motzki and Gregor Schoeler, who developed a method well-known under the term *isnād-cum-matn* analysis. Motzki in particular did not share the skepticism of the previously mentioned scholars and rather stated that the complexity of the transmission system as well as the ways of transmission point to the facts that some hadith can be dated to the late 1st/7th century and that *isnād*s do have some historical value. The *isnād-cum-matn* analysis, hence, does not aim exclusively to determine the origin of a certain tradition. With the analysis of chains of transmission (*asānīd*) in relation to their texts (*mutūn*), this method attempts to determine how precisely the texts were narrated through the chains. If the chains and the texts correlate up to a *partial common* or a *common link* it is likely that the texts were narrated reliably, while the lack of any correspondence rather indicated the opposite.[5]

Moreover, the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis can also be used to analyze text variations and to approximately date their origins. With a cross-reference of the variations with the narrators within the chains and their biographical information, one can determine the origin of a certain variation. This narrator is then the *common link* from whom the variation in question spreads out further. The many studies that have applied this kind of analysis, mostly came to the conclusion that many hadiths should be dated back to the first/seventh and 2nd/8th century and therefore much earlier than skeptics usually assume. The studies based on the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis are mostly dedicated to topics of Islamic law or the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad. Primarily, one must mention the studies of Harald Motzki and Gregor Schoeler, but the contributions of Pavel Pavlovitch, Nicolet Boekhoff-van der Voort, and Thomas Eich, just to name a few, are also of high importance.[6]

A Survey," in *Arabica* 52.2 (2005), 204–253; and Jonathan Brown, *Hadith. Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2009, 197–239.

4 Wael B. Hallaq, "The Authenticity of Prophetic *Ḥadîth*: A Pseudo-Problem," in *Studia Islamica* 89 (1999), 75–90, 77.

5 See Motzki, "Dating"; and idem, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz. Ihre Entwicklung in Mekka bis zur Mitte des 2./8. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991.

6 See for example Harald Motzki, "The Muṣannaf of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Sanʿānī as a Source of

These and other studies certainly enrich our understanding of hadith material as well as demonstrate the complexity of it and the challenges one faces while approaching the rich material. However, no matter how one personally stands towards the theories and methods to analyze the hadith, the focus on the question of the authenticity of hadith often results in three outcomes that have limited Western hadith studies significantly. First, studies often focus on an individual hadith or a certain body of hadith to evaluate its authenticity, origin, or different variations. Second, most studies concentrate on the early centuries of Islamic history up to the 3rd/9th or 4th/10th century and mostly neglect to analyze the hadith scholarship in later periods, even though later scholars, such as al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), and others, are frequently quoted. And third, the focus on individual hadiths and earlier periods does not give a complete picture of hadith as a concept within Muslim thought and its theological, social, and cultural function in Muslim society that changed over time.

This firstly results in a severe research gap regarding many hadith compilations and collections, biographical dictionaries, and treatises of the hadith science (*ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*). While researchers have caught up with theories and methods of the social sciences as well as cultural and linguistic studies to analyze and contextualize a work, its author, its function, and the audience in other disciplines, such as Sufism, law, or history, most hadith collections were merely seen as 'neutral' repositories of hadith. Rarely do we ask for the authorial voice behind the selection and omission of hadiths in a certain collection, the reason for its particular structure, or for the (theological) argument that drove the 'author'—or, if you want, the collator—to put together his collection. The studies of Newman and Burge are groundbreaking in this regard, as they reflect on the authorial voice of the four acknowledged Shīʿī collections as well as several Sunnī hadith collections respectively.[7]

Authentic Aḥādīth of the First Century A.H.," in *JNES* 50.1 (1991), 1–21; Gregor Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1996; Pavel Pavlovitch, "Some Sunni Ḥadīth on the Qurʾānic Term Kalāla: An Attempt at Historical Reconstruction," in *ILS* 19.1–2 (2012), 89–159; Nicolet Boekhoff-van der Voort, "The Kitāb al-Maghāzī of ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī: Searching for Earlier Source-material," in Nicolet Boekhoff-van der Voort, Kees Versteegh, and Joas Wagemakers (eds.), *The Transmission and Dynamics of the Textual Sources of Islam. Essays in Honour of Harald Motzki*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011, 27–47; see also the other contributions of Schoeler, Görke, Scheiner, and others in Nicolet Boekhoff-van der Voort, Kees Versteegh, and Joas Wagemakers (eds.), *The Transmission and Dynamics of the Textual Sources of Islam. Essays in Honour of Harald Motzki*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011; Thomas Eich, "Patterns in the History of the Commentation on the So-called *ḥadīth Ibn Masʿūd*," in *JAIS* 18 (2018), 137–162.

7 See Andrew J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shīʿism. Ḥadīth as Discourse Between*

Most of the text sorts and genres of hadith seem to be known today. Usually, one comes in contact with them in preliminary courses that introduce students to the history of hadith and some of its genres and text sorts. But most of the individual texts (or collections) have not yet been subject of a detailed study. Even researchers who deal with hadith in their studies usually cite certain collections as sources, but do not dedicate further thought to the structure, the content, the selection of hadiths, and the function of the collection. At the same time, the history of collecting hadith raises many questions and draws the attention to aspects that make it rather impossible to ignore any longer the study of hadith collections, the transmission system, the actors and their networks, the intertextuality of the texts, the various manuscript copies and their variations, and their theological, social, and cultural meaning and function. For example, the regional and temporal concentration of the various genres point to the fact that the history of hadith literature does not constitute an 'evolutionary' development that naturally results in the compilation of *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. It is hard to ignore the fact that the early *muṣannaf* works were produced by scholars from the Arab Peninsula who were closely connected to each other, shared the same idea of what their *muṣannaf* should look like, what material it should include, and that they serve the function of documenting their legal opinions.[8] Accordingly, the works of Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767), who collated the earliest known *muṣannaf*, Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), of whom the earliest surviving *muṣannaf* originates from, and ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/826) with maybe the largest surviving *muṣannaf* evolved from a similar cultural and religious context. The *muṣannaf* of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849) is very similar to the other works in terms of structure and content. However, its complex transmission history and the fact that he was based in Iraq highlights the importance of the study of the text in its context.[9]

The hadith scholars in Iraq in the 3rd/9th century took a different route than their colleagues of the Arab Peninsula. While the *muṣannaf* works were structured thematically and include only a small percentage of Prophetic sayings, the *musnad* works were organized according to the *isnād*—i. e. the Prophet's Companions (*ṣaḥāba*)—and include almost exclusively Prophetic sayings. The

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Qum and Baghdad, Richmond: Curzon, 2000; Stephen R. Burge, "Reading between the Lines: The Compilation of *Ḥadīth* and the Authorial Voice," in *Arabica* 58 (2011), 168–197; idem, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature.' What Is It and Where Is It?," in *Arabica* 65.1–2 (2018), 64–83.

8 See for a general introduction in the various hadith genres and the ones discussed here and in the following paragraphs, Brown, *Hadith*, 15–66.

9 Lucas discusses this point in his article on the *muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba. See Scott C. Lucas, "Where are the Legal *Ḥadīth*? A Study of the *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba," in *ILS* 15 (2008), 283–314.

authors of the *musnad* works were also closely connected to each other and shared educational ties, often through student-teacher relations, and were most likely of the same intellectual and theological orientation. Moreover, since some of these scholars of the likes of Abū Dawūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. 204/818), al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219/834), Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma (d. 282/896), al-Musaddad (d. 228/834), Abū Bakr al-Bazzār (d. 292/904–905), and the Ḥanafī scholar Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī (d. 307/919) also compiled biographical dictionaries—on the basis of which later critics employed their *isnād* evaluation—, the *musnad* works must be seen in the context of the formation of Sunnī belief, as Lucas has shown in his groundbreaking book *Constructive Critics*.[10]

Similar observations can be made about the authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* and *sunan* works. Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), Muslim (d. 261/875), Ibn Māja (d. 273/886), Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/888), al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), and al-Nasāʾī (303/915) all came from northeastern Iran Transoxania and were connected to each other through educational ties. Despite their transregional connections to other cities of learning, one can assume that their collections reacted upon local and regional needs. Although the collections differ from each other in detail, the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* as well as the *sunan* works show similar characteristics. They all contain exclusively Prophetic narrations, usually include a full chain of transmission, and are structured thematically. Despite the fact that these collections are usually referred to as *muṣannaf* works, one should question the widespread narrative that groups them together with the early *muṣannaf* works. As Brown and others have stated correctly, early *muṣannaf* works are not strictly hadith collections—the percentages of Prophetic traditions included are actually quite low—, but they document the legal discourse of their time while highlighting their own opinion and also cite incomplete chains of transmission.[11]

Against this backdrop, it seems appropriate to touch upon the classification of hadith collections. It might be convincing to a certain degree to group collections together that are structured according to the first narrator (*musnad*) or according to their thematic structure (*muṣannaf*). However, would we classify books and group them together just because they consist of an introduction, a main part, and a concluding part? And how many works deal with the same topic or the same idea, but are distinguished scholarly pieces, composed by

10 See Scott C. Lucas, *Constructive Critics, Ḥadīth Literature and the Articulation of Sunnī Islam. The Legacy of the Generation of Ibn Saʿd, Ibn Maʿīn, and Ibn Ḥanbal*, Leiden: Brill, 2004.

11 See for a description of the early *muṣannaf*-works Brown, *Hadith*, 25–28.

authors of different contexts, from different times, regions, and religious orientations, and employ very different ways of reasoning and argumentation? If the same standards of research would be employed to hadith collections including a contextualization of the author, his work, its function, and its possible audience, then one would reach the conclusion that hadith collections are distinct scholarly pieces. Like other scholarly works, hadith collections carry an agenda or a (theological) statement, seek to convince the audience, to develop an idea, to introduce innovative solutions, and to stand out within the scholarly community. Hadith collections are not simply repositories of hadith, they are theological works and a form of literature. And what the hadith literature should be and how it should be understood is a question that has only recently been brought up by Stephen Burge.[12]

Second: Previous studies on hadith tend to focus on the earlier periods of Islam. This focus might be justified when pursuing the issue of the authenticity of hadith material or to date narrations. However, it leaves several aspects untouched and many questions even unasked. For example, the fact that most of the hadith literature was produced in later periods. This includes hadith collections, biographical dictionaries, treatises on the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, *takhrīj* works, and commentaries on collections or individual hadiths. Manuscript collections in various libraries contain material that has not been studied or even discovered yet.

Since the basic assumption seems to be that hadith collections are 'simple' repositories of hadith rather than works meant to aim at something, later collections do not offer any additional 'value' due to the fact that they mostly contain material that is included in earlier collections already. However, this assumption neglects the fact that with their collections scholars reacted to the changing political and social circumstances in the same way they did with their other works. *Forty hadith* collections, for example, might not include previously unknown hadiths in the 12th or 13th century. Yet, the composition, selection, and omission of hadiths, the structure of the collection, and the comments of the author create a unique work that contains a religious, credal, or even sectarian statement.[13] Similarly, genres like the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* collections,

12 See Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature.'"

13 See, e. g., the analysis of the *forty hadith* collection on jihad of Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176) in the context of Ayyūbid religious policy in Suleiman A. Mourad and James E. Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period. Ibn ʿAsākir of Damascus (1105–1176) and His Age with an Edition and Translation of Ibn ʿAsākir's The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*, Leiden: Brill, 2013; and the analysis of the *forty hadith* collections also on jihad of al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) and al-Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480) in Burge, "The

works of *takhrīj*, or commentaries on collections are still largely neglected and their functions not fully understood.

Moreover, Jonathan Brown has shown the importance and significance of the effort of hadith scholars in later periods with regard to the canonization of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. While the collections were controversially discussed among the scholars of their time, later generations—mostly students of the authors—studied the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* and transmitted them to other regions. The intense 'canonical process,' as Brown has termed it, is characterized by a focused inquiry of the works from several perspectives and yielded the emergence of new genres which were dedicated to the study of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. Among them were the *mustakhraj*, *ʿilal*, and *ilzāmāt*, also known as *mustadrak* genres. One might even see the emergence of the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* genre in the context of the canonization of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. The most fascinating finding of Brown's study, though, is the fact that the intense canonical process was almost exclusively an enterprise of Shāfiʿī scholars.[14] This is actually also true for most of the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* works and most of the commentarial tradition around the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*.[15]

Despite the groundbreaking and thorough study of Brown, many aspects of the canonization still need to be examined in detail. The genres of the intense canonical process, for example, have not been subject of a study yet. And since Brown traced the reception history of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* until the 5th/11th century in detail, but then 'rushed' from Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ to the modern Salafī movement, their reception during the Mamluk and Ottoman period as well as in North Africa also needs to be studied further. This is decidedly needed to fully understand the iconic function of both works for the Sunnī scholarship. Needless to say, such an exhaustive study—as it was provided by Brown for the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*—still needs to be dedicated to other collections as well, first and foremost to the four other so-called 'canonical' Sunnī collections.[16]

ḥadīṯ Literature.'" For an overview of the *forty hadith* collections in the post-canonical period, see Garrett A. Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition. A Social and Intellectual History of Hadith Transmission across a Thousand Years*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020.

14 See Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007.

15 Authors of works on the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, such as al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014), al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245), al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), all adhered to the Shāfiʿī school of law.

16 Brown's paper on the Canonization of Ibn Māja does not come close to the analytical effort he put in his monograph and actually attempts to answer different research questions. See Jonathan Brown, "The Canonization of Ibn Mâjah. Authenticity vs. Utility in the Formation of the Sunni Ḥadîth Canon," in *REMMM* 129 (2011), 169–181.

The study of hadith, its literature, and transmission in later periods not only helps to understand the usage of hadith in the various disciplines of Islamic scholarship or the canonization of certain collections. It also raises further questions that are worth pursuing. It is particularly interesting that certain genres were only produced, studied, and transmitted within restricted regions and across defined scholarly networks. Those networks seem to coincide with law school affiliations, as was the case with the genres of the intense canonical process, while other collections and genres are widely accepted and transmitted. Apparently, they have transcended any regional limitations or the boundaries of schools. As mentioned above, another fascinating example is the genre of the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*. It is interesting to notice that the most popular works of this genre—the *Muqaddima* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) and the *Nukhbat al-Fikr* as well as *Nuzhat al-naẓar* of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449)—witnessed a broad reception and were studied in *madrasas* and *dūr/dār al-ḥadīth*, primarily in Damascus and Cairo. More importantly, they provoked a noticeable commentarial tradition at a time when most of the hadith scholars had reached the consensus that almost the entire hadith material had already been evaluated.[17] Therefore, one has to ask for the function of this genre in later periods instead of just assuming that it served as a manual to evaluate hadith.[18]

Beyond that, larger trends have yet to be understood, as well, for example, the regional focus of certain hadith collections, as mentioned above, or the fact that centers of hadith scholarship seem do have shifted from region to region over time, probably starting with Baghdad, then moving to Transoxania, to Damascus, and to Cairo. One must assume that an interplay of various factors, such as political patronage, the establishment of the *waqf* system, the mobility of scholars, or the emergence of local traditionalism fostered hadith studies or local rationalism to oppose them. Also, the entire Ottoman period still seems to

17 Some hadith scholars actually managed to evaluate hadiths that had not been declared as *ṣaḥīḥ* before. Ibn al-Mulaqqin (d. 804/1402) names, for example, Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-Qaṭṭān (d. 628/1231), al-Ḍiyāʾ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī (d. 643/1245), and al-Zakī ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Mundhirī (d. 656/1258). However, the limited number of those hadiths do not change the fact that the majority of the hadith material was well known and already evaluated around the 6th/12th century. See ʿUmar b. al-Mulaqqin, *al-Muqniʿ fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. ʿA. al-Jadīʿ, 2 vols., Riyadh: Dār Fawwāz, 1992, i, 54–55.

18 See for a study of the commentarial tradition of the *Muqaddima* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and its educational function in the schools of Damascus and Cairo, Mohammad Gharaibeh, *The Sociology of Commentarial Literature. An Analysis of the Commentary Tradition of the Muqaddimat Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) from the Perspective of the Sociology of Knowledge*, habilitation thesis, Bonn University, 2019; and Brown, *Hadith*, 67, who also states that it is falsely assumed that these works help to understand how hadith criticism operated.

be a blank page regarding hadith studies and must still be studied comprehensively. The same holds true for the hadith movement in India, which Blecher has recently pointed at in his study on commentaries on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and their reception history.[19] Finally, the so-called post-canonical hadith movement that Garrett Davidson has recently addressed in his book and that seemed to have dominated the hadith scholarship from the 6th/12th century onward, still needs further attention.[20]

Thirdly, the focus on the question of the authenticity of hadiths tends to overshadow the bigger picture of the hadith as a concept and its theological, social, and cultural function. Scholarship on hadith and on Islam in general is built on the assumption that the Prophetic Sunna constitutes the second source of Islamic theology and law. While there is no dispute regarding the importance of the Prophet Muḥammad and his theological authority, the Sunna is not equally integrated in all schools of Islamic thought. The Twelver Shīʿa might be the best school of theology to demonstrate this point. In their theological thinking, the Family of the Prophet has inherited His authority to interpret the meaning of the Qur'an and to lead the community. Moreover, the selected members of this family—the Imams—not only inherited the Prophet's authority but also His Prophetic knowledge.[21] Therefore, their sayings and rulings were perceived as equally authoritative as those of the Prophet. In fact, the most important Shīʿī hadith collections—the so-called 'four books' (*al-kutub al-arbaʿa*)—rather demonstrate quite noticeably that the majority of the material consists of sayings of the Imams instead of the Prophet Himself. And even those narrations that contain the Prophet's words or a description of His deeds are mostly narrated through the Imams. The narrations require no complete chain of transmission from the Imam to the Prophet, since the Imam himself already inherited the knowledge of the Prophet. Therefore, the imamate must be seen as much more than the equivalent of the Sunnī concept of the umma. It rather constitutes a counter concept to the duality of revelation as al-Shāfiʿī had formulated it and, hence, is equal to the Prophetic authority itself.[22] Hence, the common assumption that the Qur'an and the Sunna are

19 There, Blecher devotes two chapters to the reception in India. See Joel Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God. Hadith Commentary across a Millennium*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2018, ch. 9–10.

20 See Davidson, *Carrying on*.

21 See for example the many traditions on this in Muḥammad al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, 8 vols., Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmīya, 1962, i, 223–226 (ch. *The A'imma inherited the knowledge of the Prophet and of all the Prophets*).

22 See for al-Shāfiʿīs concept of the duality of revelation Aisha Y. Musa, "al-Shāfiʿī, the Ḥadīth, and the Concept of the Duality of Revelation," in *IS* 46.2 (2007), 163–197.

the source of 'Islam' is a very Sunnī concept and needs to be verified for other Islamic theological schools.[23]

But even in Sunnī Islam, the usage of hadith differs with regard to the discipline and school. For example, in the context of devotional literature and practice, in which the Prophetic traditions are used to encourage good deeds and manners, the question of authenticity did not seem to matter very much. Traditions that were rated as weak are wide-spread in this kind of literature, and some scholars even used fabricated hadith (*mawḍūʿ*) to encourage people to 'the virtuous of deeds' (*faḍāʾil al-aʿmāl*).[24]

Various schools went very different ways, especially in law (*fiqh*) and theology (*kalām*), and the early *muṣannaf* works already demonstrate that the Prophetic sayings were not the only basis upon which scholars based their rulings. Scholars such as Mālik b. Anas and ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī based their legal rulings predominantly on their own reasoning or the reasoning of the Prophet's Companions and their Successors. The early community seemed to have believed that the rulings and the reasoning of the Companions reflect the Prophet's authority—the very opposite of the later Shīʿī belief that restricted this to the family of the Prophet. The deeds and customs of the inhabitants of Medina (*aʿmāl ahl al-madīna*), hence, are among the major sources for the later Mālikī school. The first genre of hadith collection that saw the hadith as a representative of the Prophet's authority was the *musnad* genre, the emergence of which was closely connected to the constructive critics that articulated Sunnī Islam in its early stage.[25]

It was mainly the Ḥanbalī school—together with the traditionalist-oriented representatives of the Shāfiʿī school—that followed the footsteps of those early critics, and its adherents devoted themselves to the compilation of hadith collections after the first two centuries. The other two major law schools—the Ḥanafīya and the Mālikīya—built their legal reasoning on a (closed) body of legally relevant hadith. This did not genuinely change even after the canonization of al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥayn* and both works gaining iconic status. While the intense canonical process was predominantly a Shāfiʿī enterprise during the long 4th/10th century, it was not before the 8th/14th century

23 See also the general remarks on Shīʿī hadith transmission in Newman, *Formative Period* xiii–xxvii; and Brown, *Hadith*, 123–149.

24 See for a lengthy study on this aspect Jonathan Brown, "Even If It's Not True It's True: Using Unreliable Ḥadīths in Sunni Islam," in *ILS* 18 (2011), 1–52.

25 This also includes the other two genres of hadith literature: the biographical dictionaries of hadith transmitters and the expositions of the hadith disciplines. See Lucas, *Constructive Critics* 1–21.

that scholars from the Ḥanafī school joined the engagement with the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. In general, the engagement in hadith studies by Ḥanafī scholars increased significantly during the Mamluk period and expressed itself in commentaries on hadith collections and treatises of *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* as well as works of *takhrīj*. Their legal reasoning, however, was barely affected by that development.[26]

This fact highlights another dimension of hadith material, namely its social and cultural function. Hadith literature as well as certain genres and concepts—such as Sunna being a part of the duality of revelation—apparently developed alongside school affiliation. Therefore, the social dynamic as well as questions of identity are important aspects of the hadith movement just as they are for other movements. According to theories of sociologists of knowledge, such as Pierre Bourdieu and Randall Collins, ideas determine the group's identity in the same way ethnic belonging or regional origin do.[27] Members of a group hold on to certain ideas because of who in their social circle supports the ideas and not necessarily because of the adequacy of the idea itself.[28] Moreover, "a model of 'right' mode of intellectual activity" constitutes an almost binding matrix of argumentation and reasoning that members of groups need to follow to be accepted and to gain status within the group.[29] Through educational ties, this knowledge is passed down through generations, defining what is acceptable as well as inacceptable, and with that creating a certain 'culture' and 'habitus' for a certain group of scholars.

Hadith scholars, with their focus on upright intention and behavior, their emphasis on accuracy, their oral transmission and memorization of the material, and their often conscious distinction to other schools of thought make them—sociologically speaking—a group with strong solidarity. Moreover, the fact that they author the biographical dictionaries, based on which they evaluate hadith transmitters and their upright religiosity (!), also gives hadith scholars a powerful means to control membership of their group. Those distinct-

26 See for example the study on Ibn Quṭlūbughā, who was an established Ḥanafī scholar in Cairo in the Mamluk period but also compiled hadith collections and commented on the *Nukhbat al-fikr* of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī. Talal al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation and Binding Precedent in the Madhhab-Law Tradition. Ibn Quṭlūbughā's Commentary on The Compendium of Qudūrī*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017.

27 See Randall Collins, *The Sociology of Philosophies. A Global Theory of Intellectual Change*, Harvard: Harvard University Press, ^{4}2002, 20–28.

28 Theodore D. Kemper, *Status, Power and Ritual Interaction. A Relational Reading of Durkheim, Goffman and Collins*, Burlington: Ashgate, 2011, 34.

29 For a convincing usage of Bourdieu's concepts in the study of Islamicate educational practices, see Dale F. Eickelman, "The Art of Memory: Islamic Education and Its Social Reproduction," in *CSSH* 20.4 (1978), 485–516.

ive characteristics, i. e. the well documented interaction rituals and the rich source material, make the hadith scholarship perfect for the study of social and cultural aspects. Biographical dictionaries as well as the chains of transmission reveal important information about teacher-student-relations, their idea of the 'right' belief, and allow tracing the spread of narrations and ideas through scholarly networks. Reading certificates on manuscripts demonstrate how the educational practice worked, where and when teachers used to transmit, who would attend those sessions, and how scholars valued the materiality of collections which became symbols of those relations and practices. Hadith collections give valuable insight into what scholars believed in and the (theological) message they wanted to send out, instead of 'just' repeating the Prophet's words. The popularization of hadith transmission, reading, and the compilation of popular hadith collections inform us about when laypeople entered the realm of the learned and when and how certain hadith collections became symbols and icons for Sunnī Islam. Hadith inscriptions on (inside and outside) walls of mosques, schools, *khānqā*s, and mausoleums tell something about the expectations and imaginations of the both the founders and the visitors, revealing whatever the message was aiming for: justice, integrity, piety, or concepts of life and death.

A good example to point to the social and cultural dimension of hadith is the Ayyubid and Mamluk period. During this time, Damascus and Cairo witnessed an increase in hadith scholarship, not only among the scholarly elite. Besides the many hadith collections that aimed to promote the piety of laypeople in particular, 'ordinary men' (and women) engaged in the transmission of hadith and the compilation of collections themselves.

The information that Davidson provides on the post-canonical hadith tradition equally involving the scholarly elite and laypeople is nothing but impressive and convincing. In fact, most of the text sorts and cultural phenomena that Davidson describes in his work were produced mostly—even though not exclusively—in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods in Cairo and Damascus.[30] Hadith had become part of the social practice and the cultural capital of the two cities Cairo and Damascus, which explains why Ḥanafī scholars, who are usually described as a hadith-wary law school, engaged in hadith studies as well when they were actively invited to Cairo by Mamluk sultans. They had to compete with their Shāfiʿī colleagues, who dominated the hadith studies, over social status, cultural capital, and, of course, paid positions in schools and mosques. Rivalries were even played out at the sultan's court, as Blecher could show in

30 See Davidson, *Carrying on*.

his research and his recent book on the commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.[31] Nowhere in the premodern history of the Ḥanafī school before did scholars produce as much hadith-related material as Ḥanafī scholars did during the Mamluk period.[32] This clearly speaks for a social trigger rather than intellectual motifs.

Besides the social function and cultural meaning of hadith scholarship, hadith inscriptions on material objects also have mostly escaped the attention of researchers. Hadith, for example, inscribed on walls of mosques, *khānqā*s, or mausoleums in premodern societies are often ignored or taken for granted without asking what they have meant for the people who use these buildings frequently or what kind of (additional) meaning was created by the hadith in an interplay with other inscriptions or architectural elements.[33]

With this in mind, the potential of hadith material for the study of intellectual, theological, social, and cultural history of Muslim societies is high. In order to exploit the full potential of hadith studies, scholars need to go beyond the question of authenticity and approach hadith as more then 'just' a carrier of historical information as well as hadith collections as more than 'just' (neutral) repository of hadith. The present volume adds to the already existing and excellent scholarship that highlights different aspects of the hadith material and leaves the question of authenticity aside.

The volume is divided into two parts. The first part contains contributions that present understudied genres of hadith collection or demonstrate different approaches to the material. The contributions take it upon themselves to introduce collections and genres that are often cited but rarely studied to demonstrate their great potential for a better understanding of the intellectual history of Muslim societies. The second part focuses on various aspects of hadith scholarship, such as the materiality of hadith collections, hadith inscriptions, or the localities in which hadith were read. By highlighting this often-ignored side of hadith scholarship, these contributions offer a unique and innovative view on hadith as a cultural phenomenon.

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31 See Joel Blecher, "Ḥadīth Commentary in the Presence of Students, Patrons, and Rivals: Ibn Ḥajar and Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī in Mamluk Cairo," in *Oriens* 41 (2013), 261–287; and idem, *Said the Prophet*.

32 The Deobandi scholars of the past 150 years have probably outdone them in terms of quantity. See for this Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

33 See for a good example of studies of hadith inscription Scott C. Lucas, "An Efficacious Invocation Inscribed on the Dome of the Rock: Literary and Epigraphic Evidence for a First-Century *ḥadīth*," in *JNES* 76 (2017), 215–230.

The first contribution by Stephen Burge emphasizes the fact that authors of hadith collections make conscious choices while putting together their collections. The structure of a collection, its chapters and headings, and its content are not randomly set. Instead, they display the author's religious agenda behind his collection and constitute the elements through which he can amplify his authorial voice. Therefore, Burge addresses the aspect of structuring hadith collections. Since hadith collections consist of individual, self-contained units, a compiler has no control over the narrative structure of the collected sayings. However, he can control the arrangement of the material to develop a discourse and to express his argument. Burge, therefore, applies compilation criticism to the *six books* with a focus on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* to "explore whether the overarching structures of the collections can be read as contributing to the discourse of the collections." For this, he investigates the importance of the pillars, the arrangement of subsidiary chapters and the chapter on jihad in each of the *six books*, as well as the opening and closing sections of each collection.

The second and third contributions by Scott C. Lucas and Swantje Bartschat put the *forty hadith* collections in the center of their studies. This genre is without a doubt the most popular among the hadith collections. Every attempt to count how many collections have been authored over time is nearly pointless. However, one must emphasize that, as in many other cases as well, it is not about quantity but about quality. Each collection is unique and needs to be approached independently from others. Lucas looks into *forty hadith* collections that were popular among Zaydī scholars, which makes the contribution especially valuable since it also grants access to the hadith scholarship of the Zaydī school. The contribution of Bartschat, in contrast, introduces the reader to the fascinating history of Sunnī *forty hadith* collections. Moreover, she focuses on the *forty hadith* collection on jihad by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī as a case study.

Contributions four and five approach very different collections. Both, however, focus on the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods which are often characterized as the heydays of Sunnī hadith scholarship. In his article *The Aḥādīth al-aḥkām Genre and the Ḥanbalī School*, Jewel Jalil describes the collections that contain hadith used for legal reasoning. It is of particular interest, that this genre seemed to have emerged in the context of Ḥanbalī and traditionalist scholarship at a time when the political elite promoted a stronger integration of hadith in legal reasoning. The general higher goal behind every legal system—predictability of law—might also be the reason why traditionalists and later other scholars as well authored those collections in the first place. By limiting the number of hadiths, they limit the outcome of possible interpretations and legal judgement, an aspect that is not that easy to control if the entire material

of hadith with its variations and alternative narrations are considered. In *The ʿawālī Genre and its Social Dimension*, Mohammad Gharaibeh introduces the reader to the history of the so-called post-canonical hadith scholarship. Since almost all Prophetic traditions in circulation were already evaluated, hadith scholarship discussed the use of the *isnād* in later periods. Although some scholars explicitly state that the *isnād* is not a necessary tool to guarantee the authenticity of hadith anymore, hadith scholarship held on to it. Instead of abandoning the *isnād*, it became a means to express the spiritual proximity to the Prophet. The post-canonical hadith scholarship is very much characterized by the pursue of those 'elevated' hadith, i. e. hadith with short chains of transmission, which resulted in the compilation of *ʿawālī* collections, among other genres. Gharaibeh focuses on two of those collections, in which scholars include narrations with their shortest chains of transmission and considers the social motivation behind their compilation.

The seventh and eighth contributions address the devotional dimension of hadith literature and hadith transmission. *For the Love of the Prophet* focuses on *faḍāʾil* collections in premodern Ottoman context. After a short overview of this genre, Dženita Karić takes a closer look at the *faḍāʾil* treatise of the Ottoman Bosnian author Ḥasan Imām-zāde al-Būsnawī and "how the arguments in favor of the Prophet focus on emotional, intercessional, and spatial aspects, with the ultimate aim of promoting the *ziyāra* and residing (*mujāwara*) in Medina." This contribution enriches our understanding of Prophet-oriented devotional life in the Ottoman period. In *As if the Prophet Stood in Front of You*, Ruggero Vimercati Sanseverino focuses on the ritual power and performative meaning of hadith transmission and Prophetic traditions. Highlighting the fact that Western scholarship emphasizes the technical and historical aspect of hadith, Vimercati Sanseverino calls for a stronger consideration of the anecdotes that fill hadith manuals and that sets hadith, its reading, and transmission in a devotional, ritual, and performative context. To prove his point, he focuses on the writings of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ.

As for the second part, the ninth contribution, *Two Hadith Papyri*, demonstrates clearly how much work there is still to do when it comes to hadith papyri. Ursula Hammed stresses the great potential that Arabic literary hadith papyri from the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th century bear for our understanding of how "life in Egypt and beyond during Late Antiquity and the Early Islamic Middle Ages has taken big steps forward towards a more complete understanding of governance, trade, legal proceedings, and social life in general."

Contributions ten and eleven, again, target the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. However, in contrast to the previous contribution, they focus on the mater-

ial and local aspect of the hadith movement. In his contribution *The Materiality of Hadith Transmission*, Konrad Hirschler introduces the reader to the fascinating world of manuscript hadith collections as physical objects. While manuscripts are often seen as passive carriers of the text "that could seemingly be lifted with ease from one carrier (the manuscript) to another (the printed book) without undergoing substantial transformation," the individuality of each of those manuscripts is highlighted. Moreover, by contextualizing the material within the Damascene scholarship, Hirschler can show that material culture was an integral part of the hadith, or even the religious culture. In addition to this, *Where Was Hadith Read in Damascus?* investigates another aspect of the Damascene hadith scholarship of this period, namely the locations in which hadith was read. In this enlightening article, Garrett Davidson shows where the Damascene scholarship used to read hadith by analyzing audition notes.

The last two contributions, twelve and thirteen, devote their attention to hadith inscriptions on monuments of Cairo and Anatolia. Noha Abou-Khatwa examines examples of architectural elements in Cairo that carry hadiths from the Ayyubid up to the Ottoman period. In her contribution, Abou-Khatwa connects the content of the hadiths with the foundation history of the building in question. In *Hadith Inscriptions on Medieval Monuments in Anatolia*, Mehmetcan Akpınar examines monuments in Anatolia. In his fascinating contribution, he manages to identify even the specific collection from which the respective founder or architect took the inscribed hadith from. This not only allows to reconstruct the motivation behind the installment of hadith inscriptions on monuments, but also broaden our understanding of what collections and hadiths were wide-spread and commonly known.

Finally, it must be noted that this volume can only be a starting point for many studies to come. We are still far from understanding what happened to hadith scholarship in the Ottoman period, how it developed in North Africa and in India, or how the Safawid dynasty and the Shiʿī scholars integrated hadith scholarship in their educational system. And there is still a lot to say about how the perspective on hadith transformed in Modern times in Muslim societies and for Muslim thinkers in comparison to premodern scholarship. Overall, the contributions in this volume make an effort to step away from the question of mere authenticity towards a broader understanding of hadith and hadith literature.

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CHAPTER 1

Compilation Criticism

Exploring Overarching Structures in the Six Books

Stephen R. Burge

As a hadith collection comprises the statements of other people, most often the Prophet Muḥammad, the ways in which a hadith compiler can develop a discourse are limited: A compiler only has control over what is included and how that material is arranged. For those collecting *ṣaḥīḥ* hadith, the intervention of the compiler in the material included is also further derogated to the method being used to determine the soundness of the hadith, as the choice of what is included is generally subject to the assessment of each hadith's chain of transmission. This chapter will explore the ways in which the compilers of the six 'canonical' collections structured their hadith collections as a whole to form broader discourses by mapping out the general overarching structures of each collection: the *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* of Muḥammad b. Ismāʾīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), the *Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875), the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889), the *al-Mujatbā* of al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915), also known as the *Sunan al-Nasāʾī*, the *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), also sometimes known as the *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, and the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja (d. 273/887). Although the designation and canonization of the *six books* is problematic, these works will be considered 'canonical' in the sense that they have been received as such in the Sunnī community. By employing compilation criticism, as I have done elsewhere,[1] this chapter will explore whether the overarching structures of the collections can be read as contributing to the discourse of the collections.

Hadith collections bring together individual, self-contained units and then arrange those units in some sort of order. This is not a literary phenomenon that is unique to Islam, and other disciplines have developed ways of exploring processes of compilation and order. After a brief discussion of these approaches, this chapter will look at the approaches to al-Bukhārī and his *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the secondary literature. The focus on al-Bukhārī is purely practical, since al-Bukhārī is

1 I have cited references to other articles where I have pursued compilation criticism and theoretical approaches to hadith as and when they are relevant.

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the author/compiler who has received the most attention in the scholarly literature. There is very little scholarship on the other hadith compilers, especially Ibn Māja, al-Nasā'ī, Abū Dāwūd, and al-Tirmidhī. This chapter will explore the overarching structures of the 'canonical' collections from a number of angles. First it looks into the importance of the 'pillars' (*arkān*) of Islam for the structures of the 'canonical' collections; second, it examines the arrangement of 'subsidiary' chapters that are related to a general theme, such as the ritual prayers; third, it explains the placement of the chapter on *jihād* in each of the *six books*, and lastly it elucidates the ways in which each compiler choses to begin and end his collection.

There have been some studies on the importance of arrangement in the context of Islamic studies, the most important being Andrew Newman's study of the 'canonical' Shī'ī hadith collections,[2] Louis Pouzet's study of the *forty* collections of al-Nawawī,[3] and Hilary Kilpatrick's study of al-Iṣfahānī's *Kitāb al-Aghānī*.[4] Each of these authors seeks to understand the way in which these works have been put together and to draw conclusions about the wider discourse that each author is attempting to make. This study builds on their work, particularly that of Pouzet and Newman, who are both dealing with hadith, rather than literary, compilations.

1 Theories and Interpretations of Order

In non-religious contexts there are types of text that include individual textual units that are complete in and of themselves while being a part of larger collections, such as collections of poetry or some types of encyclopedia.[5] The way collections of poetry have been arranged and organized has been the subject of recent research, and literary critics are beginning to address

2 Andrew J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism. Ḥadīth as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad*, Richmond: Curzon, 2000.

3 Louis Pouzet, *Herméneutique de la tradition islamique: le commentaire des Arba'ūn al-Nawawīya de Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Nawawī (m. 676/1277). Introduction, texte arabe, traduction, notes et index du vocabulaire*, Beirut: Dār al-Mashrīq and Librairie Orientale, 1982.

4 Hilary Kilpatrick, *Making the Great Book of Songs: Compilation and the Author's Craft in Abû I-Faraj al-Isbahânî's Kitâb al-Aghânî*, London: Routledge, 2003.

5 The term 'encyclopedia' was an invention of the Renaissance but is now also used to describe similar types of work that bring together different pieces of information. For the history of the term, see Michael W. Twomey, "Inventing the Encyclopaedia," in Alasdair A. MacDonald and Michael W. Twomey (eds.), *Schooling and Society. The Ordering and Reordering of Knowledge in the Western Middle Ages*, Louvain: Peeters, 2004, 73–92.

the form of anthologies of poetry.[6] These are not simply modern phenomena, but can be traced back into the medieval period and beyond. As in the Muslim world,[7] the medieval west saw the production of significant numbers of anthologies and encyclopedia which were created to aid breadth and depth of learning.[8] When approaching the Biblical text, collections or anthologies are also encountered, with some individual books or groups of books—such as the Psalms, the Book of Proverbs, and the Minor Prophets—raising questions as to why they were canonized in the order and form in which they were received. For example, the books of the twelve Minor Prophets of the Hebrew Bible are not arranged according to any easily discernible scheme, neither by chronology (either believed or actual), nor by length, nor alphabetically.[9] Similarly, the Psalms, the Book of Proverbs, and extra-Biblical texts such as the Gospel of Thomas, contain a series of texts that are complete, individual units in and of themselves, but placed in the context of a wider collection.[10] Why are they in that order? Is there an underlying theological reason to arrange the books in that way?

Several scholars within the field of Biblical Studies, such as James Nogalski,[11] Barry Jones,[12] Christopher Seitz,[13] Edgar Conrad,[14] and others,[15] have attemp-

6 Neil Fraistat (ed.), *Poems in Their Place: Intertextuality and Order of Poetic Collections*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

7 Cf. Elias Muhanna, *The World in a Book. Al-Nuwayri and the Islamic Encyclopedic Tradition*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018. For encyclopedia in the Jewish tradition, see Steven Harvey (ed.), *The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopaedias of Science and Philosophy. Proceedings of the Bar-Ilan University Conference*, Amsterdam: Springer, 2000.

8 See Peter Binkley (ed.), *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1–4 July 1996*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, 19–44.

9 The Twelve Minor prophets are the books of Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

10 For discussions of 'rhetorical analysis' of the Gospel of Thomas, see April D. DeConick, *Recovering the Original Gospel of Thomas: A History of the Gospel and its Growth*, London: T & T Clark, 2005, 113–116.

11 James D. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012.

12 Barry Alan Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.

13 Christopher R. Seitz, *The Goodly Fellowship of the Prophet: The Achievement of Association in Canon Formation*, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009.

14 Edgar W. Conrad, *Reading the Latter Prophets: Toward a New Canonical Criticism*, London: Bloomsbury, 2004.

15 An interesting resource in this type of research is this significant edited volume: Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle (eds.), *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insight*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012.

ted to explore the ordering of the Minor Prophets to discern whether there is an underlying discourse around the way in which they have been presented. The question that the Minor Prophets raise is concerned with the redaction or editing of the texts: Have they been placed in a particular order for a reason? If so, what is that reason?—Nogalski highlights the presence of theological links and catchwords between each of the books of the Minor Prophets that—in his reading—create a sense of unity between the distinct texts of the Minor Prophets, which seems to support a basis for the grouping of these texts together.[16] The canonical criticism of figures such as Nogalski, but especially its original proponent, Brevard Childs, was criticized for its seeming rejection of historical-critical methods. Christopher Seitz, however, argues that what "the canonical approach has done is to use the findings of historical-critical methods and then ask historical questions about what has in fact been discovered in the light of the text's final presentation."[17] What is meant here is that a canonical critic, given what is known both about the historical context and the history of the text itself, seeks to ask why the text has been redacted or presented in that way.

Canonical criticism highlights two important ideas: first, that a principle of thematic unity underlies collections of text and by close study this unity can be discerned; and second, that historical context has an impact on the redaction of texts, so understanding the context in which a text or collection was created is important. The principle of thematic unity is one that can be applied to hadith collections, although in a slightly different way. In hadith collections, the hadiths contained within a *kitāb* or a *bāb* have thematic unity: They are given a specific title, to which the hadiths that have been included have been conceptually linked by the compiler. This is evident because in other forms of hadith collection, such as a *musnad* collection, the order is determined by other factors. Knowing that the *kitāb* is a unified whole, the question for a compilation critic is to ask how and why all of the hadiths relate to that title.

The second idea—that the historical context bears an important influence on the creation of text—is highlighted by Andrew Newman within the context of Hadith Studies in his *Formative Period of Twelver Shi'ism*. He argues that knowing what was happening at the time of compilation can help to aid our understanding of how a collection has been put together and the ideas it is

16 James D. Nogalski, "Recurring Themes in the Book of the Twelve. Creating Points of Contact for a Theological Reading," in *Interpretation* 61 (2007), 125–136.

17 Christopher R. Seitz, "The Canonical Approach and Theological Interpretation," in Craig Bartholomew et al. (eds.), *Canon and Biblical Criticism* Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006, 58–110.

engaging with.[18] To what extent do the 'canonical' collections engage with theological and legal debates that were happening concurrently with their compilation? How this plays out in individual collections is something that certainly warrants further analysis and discussion, although it is not a primary focus in this chapter. The relationship of hadith collections to their historical and geographical environment raises some important theoretical questions about the extent to which the 'canonical' collections are universal or whether each compilation addresses specific local issues.

The canonical approach used by some scholars in Biblical Studies draws on aspects of literary theory and structuralism. One important assumption—that there is an inherent order to material—warrants considering: Texts are not aleatoric jumbles of material that have no sense of order. This is particularly proven in debates about the arrangement of the *Book of Proverbs*, which has generated much discussion because its structure is much harder to discern.[19] Like the *Book of Proverbs*, some collections of hadith have a structure that is difficult to identify, since there is very little in the way of direct authorial comment. However, a structural analysis of a text presumes that there is always an underlying structure to texts. In his *From Text to Action*, Paul Ricœur comments that

> [t]he objectification of discourse in a structured work does not abolish the first and fundamental feature of discourse, namely that it is constituted by a series of sentences whereby someone says something to someone about something. Hermeneutics, I shall say, remains the art of discerning the discourse in the work; but this discourse is only given in and through the structures of the work.[20]

In this passage, Ricœur emphasizes the fact that discourse is generated by a succession of statements that build upon each other. Hadith compilations can be—and I would argue: *should* be—regarded as an establishing a discourse through the development of individual statements (i. e. hadith), within a broader overarching structure (i. e. *bāb* or *kitāb*).[21] Such a procedure requires

18 Newman, *Formative Period* 50–51.

19 See Tremper Longman, "Reading Wisdom Canonically," in Craig Bartholomew Scott Halm, Robin Parry, Christopher Seitz, and Al Wolters (eds.), *Canon and Biblical Criticism*, Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006, 352–373, 352–360 and 364–366.

20 Paul Ricœur (transl. Kathleen Blamey and John B. Thompson), *From Text to Action. Essays in Hermeneutics*, ii, repr. London: Continuum, 2008, 79.

21 See Stephen R. Burge, "Myth, Meaning and the Order of Words: Reading *Ḥadīth* Collec-

moving the reading of a collection from what is being read individually (i. e. a single hadith) to the place of a hadith within the work as a wider whole (what I have called elsewhere the "*ḥadīth*-in-compilation"),[22] and then to the world outside of text itself (i. e. the hadith in the rest of the 'hadith literature').

This way of 'reading' hadith collections by moving from individual hadiths to the hadith-in-compilation to the hadith literature, and back again, is rooted in Schleiermacher's first forays into hermeneutic thinking. As Hans-Georg Gadamer notes:

> Schleiermacher elaborated this hermeneutic circle of part and whole in both its objective and its subjective aspects. As the single word belongs in the total context of the sentence, so the single text belongs in the total context of a writer's work, and the latter in the whole of the literary genre or of literature. At the same time, however, the same text as a manifestation of a creative moment, belongs to the whole of its author's inner life.[23]

Thinking of hadiths as words or sentences helps a reader to understand the underlying message and discourse of a hadith compilation. Within this particular study, the scope is broadened to whole chapters and the way they contribute to a deep-rooted and embedded discourse. Here, instead of dealing with 'words' and 'sentences,' this study will be looking at much broader units of text, i. e. 'paragraphs.' The idea of reading hadith compilations as through-texts is fundamental to compilation criticism: The order of the hadiths is the main means by which a hadith compiler generates a discourse.[24]

Before moving into the analysis of the composition and arrangement of the *six books*, it is important to address the issue of the titles ascribed to *kitāb*s and *bāb*s. In his *Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* Muslim left the *kitāb*s untitled and later scholars attached titles to the divisions.[25] Similarly, the internal *bāb*s and their titles may have also been added at a later date. One aspect of canonical criticism may be useful here too: Canonical critics interpret the text as it has been received,

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tions with Northrop Frye and the Development of Compilation Criticism," in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 27 (2016), 213–228.

22 Burge, "Myth, Meaning and the Order of Words" 220.

23 Hans-Georg Gadamer (transl. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall), *Truth and Method*, London: Continuum, ²2012 (rev. ed.), 291.

24 For discussion of this concept in literary theory, particularly the approach of Northrop Frye and the semiotics of text developed by Algirdas Julien Greimas, see Burge, "Myth, Meaning and the Order of Words" 214–216.

25 Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007, 84 and 384–386.

rather than attempting to uncover and then interpret the 'original' text. For example, while text-critical interpreters of the Bible divided the prophecy of Isaiah into First, Second, and Third Isaiah, canonical critics read the book as a whole unit, as it has been received.[26] Consequently, it is possible to read hadith compilations both as they were originally conceived (which may be conjectural) or as they have been received by later generations and in the contemporary period. Although this chapter does discuss the titles of Muslim's *kitāb*s, the fact that they may have been added at a later will not be overly problematic, as the titles, whenever they may have been conceived, still provide a helpful summary of the focus of each section, and the emphasis is not on the titles themselves but on the material contained with them.

2 Approaches to al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*

Despite his fame and importance within the history of Islamic religious thought, particularly in the area of hadith studies, there has been relatively little written on either al-Bukhārī or his monumental *Ṣaḥīḥ*, something often noted in the secondary literature.[27] As of yet, there are only two monographs in English that deal exclusively with his life and works;[28] in addition, there are some articles that deal with more specific areas of his thought, most notably by Christopher Melchert and Scott C. Lucas.[29] More recently, there has been some significant work on the reception of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, especially by Jonathan Brown.[30] The lack of attention on the life and works of al-Bukhārī is summed up by Scott C. Lucas in his discussion of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and law when he comments that "the legal methodology sketched out by al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* has eluded the attention of nearly all modern scholarship on early Islamic law."[31] Given

26 Robert R. Wilson, "The Prophetic Books," in John Barton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 212–225, 218–222.

27 E. g., Christopher Melchert, "Bukhārī and his *Ṣaḥīḥ*," in *Le Muséon* 123 (2010), 425–454, 425; Ghassan Abdul-Jabbar, *Bukhari*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2007, 127–132.

28 Namely, Abdul-Jabbar, *Bukhari*; Sylvia Akar, *But if You Desire God and His Messenger: The Concept of Choice in Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2006.

29 Melchert, "Bukhārī and his *Ṣaḥīḥ*"; and, idem, "Bukhārī and Early *ḥadīth* Criticism," in *JAOS* 121 (2001), 7–19; Scott C. Lucas, "The Legal Principles of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī and Their Relationship to Classical Salafī Islam," in *ILS* 13 (2006), 289–324.

30 Brown, *Canonization;* see also Joel Blecher, "Ḥadīth Commentary in the Presence of Students, Patrons, and Rivals: Ibn Ḥajar and Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī in Mamluk Cairo," in *Oriens* 41 (2013), 261–287.

31 Lucas, "The Legal Principles" 291–292.

the stature of al-Bukhārī, it is surprising that he has received such scant study, although with the work that has been produced recently an idea of al-Bukhārī's thought, theology, and methodologies is slowly beginning to emerge.[32]

For Lucas, al-Bukhārī's thought is rooted in the Qurʾan and the reports of Muḥammad's life and action: "Al-Bukhārī's message is crisp and clear: one who adheres firmly to the Qurʾān and the Prophet's teachings, and who considers the teachings of the Companions, will not go astray."[33] More broadly, Lucas portrays the *Ṣaḥīḥ* as a legal work, albeit one in which the legal framework is not as explicitly stated as it is in other contemporaneous works of *fiqh*.[34] According to Lucas, the legal idea that al-Bukhārī critiques the most is *qiyās*, which he appears to regard as frippery; Lucas comments:

> Although al-Bukhārī mentions *qiyās* in the titles of only two chapters of *Kitāb al-Iʿtiṣām*, the chapters leading up to them contain unambiguous criticism of overzealous questioning and preoccupation (*takalluf*) with unimportant matters.[35]

For al-Bukhārī, in Lucas' reading, the key elements to legal theory should be the Qurʾan and hadith, which leads Lucas to argue that "the legal principles and fiercely independent styles of al-Bukhārī and Ibn Ḥazm are easily recognizable as being consistent with the hadith-centric Salafism of classical and early-modern Islam."[36] This position is much more questionable and has been criticized by Melchert who argues that al-Bukhārī is more aptly placed somewhere between the *qiyās*-heavy approach of figures like Abū Ḥanīfa and the rigid application of hadith pursued by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.[37]

Melchert, Lucas, and Brown—like many others—regard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* as essentially a work of law.[38] The *Ṣaḥīḥ* does certainly contain chapters that pertain

32 The relatively extensive entry for al-Bukhārī in the *Encyclopaedia Islamica* also considers his views and positions on some specific areas of law and theology; see Aḥmad Pakatchi (transl. Rahim Gholami), Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad, in *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, eds. Wilferd Madelung and Farhad Daftary, Brill: online, 2015, dx.doi.org/10.1163/1875-9831_isla_COM_05000023 (last accessed 3 August, 2020).

33 Lucas, "The Legal Principles" 310.

34 This is also the position of Brown, see *Canonization* 72.

35 Lucas, "The Legal Principles" 303.

36 Lucas, "The Legal Principles" 322.

37 Melchert, "Bukhārī and his *Ṣaḥīḥ*" 447–451.

38 Lucas, "The Legal Principles" 291–297; Melchert, "Bukhārī and his *Ṣaḥīḥ*" 447. For a discussion of his legal studies and positions, see M. Ḥusayn Ghayb Ghulāmī, *al-Imām al-Bukhārī wa-l-fiqh ahl al-ʿIrāq*, Qum and Beirut: n. p., 1420/2000.

to law and to legal theory,[39] however, the chapters that have nothing to do with *fiqh* far outnumber those that do. Furthermore, in many of the chapters—which, in other works, would normally be a place where a *faqīh* would develop a legal response to an issue or debate—it is very difficult to see how the *Ṣaḥīḥ* could be used to construct anything resembling a legal opinion. Many chapters do not cover any of even the most common debates and problems found in legal works. For example, in his chapter on foods (*Kitāb al-Aṭʿima*), al-Bukhārī does not include hadiths that cover issues such as the prohibition of eating pork, as can be found in works such as Ibn Rushd's *Bidāyāt*,[40] but the *Kitāb al-Aṭʿima* is, rather, mainly focused on the etiquette of eating.[41]

In his entry on al-Bukhārī in the *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, Aḥmad Pakatchi considers the *fiqh*-related matter in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to be part of the work, but reasons that the work is not exclusively concerned with *fiqh*:

> As expected from a traditionist in the 3rd/9th century, al-Bukhārī also gave special attention to the science of *fiqh* (jurisprudence). He dedicated some chapters of his *Ṣaḥīḥ* to a discussion of *fiqhī* topics: from *ṭahāra* (purification) to *diya* (blood money). [...] In the same manner that he expressed his theological beliefs in implicit fashion, in the field of *fiqh* al-Bukhārī expressed his jurisprudential positions not through the language of *fatwa* or legal opinions, but by a means of a carefully structured presentation of relevant *ḥadīth*s.[42]

Here Pakatchi makes a much more convincing portrayal of the relationship between the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and *fiqh*. Pakatchi's emphasis on the fact that al-Bukhārī only "dedicated *some* chapters of his *Ṣaḥīḥ* to a discussion of *fiqhī* topics" is crucial: *Fiqh* only covers part of what the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is. Consequently, to say that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is a work of *fiqh* is problematic and not representative of the work as a whole. Furthermore, al-Bukhārī does not compile or write the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the form of a work of *fiqh* and does not utilize "the language of *fatwa* or legal opinions." A number of scholars have noted the importance of genre within Muslim literatures; for example, Jane Dammen McAuliffe highlights the fact that in *tafsīr*

39 Lucas highlights al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Iʿtiṣām* and *Kitāb Akhbār al-āḥād* as being the two chapters in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* that deal with legal theory. See Lucas, "The Legal Principles" 292–297.

40 E. g., Ibn Rushd (transl. Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee), *The Distinguished Jurist's Primer—Bidāyat al-mujtahid wa-Nihāyat al-Muqtaṣid*, Reading: Garnet, 1994, 563–578.

41 See Stephen R. Burge, "Reading between the Lines: The Compilation of *Ḥadīth* and the Authorial Voice," in *Arabica* 58 (2011), 168–197.

42 Pakatchi, al-Bukhārī.

a series of boundaries are inherent within the genre that actually determine what can and cannot be said;[43] similarly *fiqh* works have their own "boundary constraints."[44] The *Ṣaḥīḥ* clearly lies outside of these boundaries. Lastly, Pakatchi argues that al-Bukhārī generates theological and legal positions through the arrangement of the hadiths within the collection.

This chapter follows the positions and assumptions taken by Pakatchi: namely, that the order of the hadiths within the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is important, although this will be extended to look at the arrangement of the chapters in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and the other 'canonical' collections. This chapter will also be approaching the 'canonical' collections from a literary perspective and will not be based on the assumption that they are works of *fiqh*, albeit they do have areas that clearly overlap and are connected with *fiqh*.[45]

The arrangement of the chapters of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* has some interesting and unique features that aroused interest in some of the classical critics and interpreters of the collection, such as al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385/995), al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 386/996 or 388/998), and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448), who have each been the subject of studies in the secondary literature, most notably by Jonathan Brown,[46] Vardit Tokatly,[47] and Mohammed Fadel.[48] Although relatively few scholars have seen the way in which he arranged his hadith as significant, many have noted the unusual method of compilation that al-Bukhārī employed, with his rather arcane arrangements often being compared to the more outwardly logical method of Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj. Christopher Melchert, for example, notes that "Bukhārī's usual style of repetition under different

43 Jane Dammen McAuliffe, "The Genre Boundaries of Quranic Commentary," in Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Barry D. Wallfisch, and Joseph W. Goering (eds.), *With Reverence for the Word. Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, 445–461.

44 See, for example, Khadiga Musa, "Legal Maxims as a Genre of Islamic Law. Origins, Development and Significance of *Al-Qawāʿid al-Fiqhīya*," in *ILS* 21 (2014), 325–365; Wael B. Hallaq, "*Uṣūl al-fiqh*: Beyond Tradition," in *JIS* 3 (1992), 172–202; Mohammad Hashim Kamali, "Legal Maxims and Other Genres of Literature in Islamic Jurisprudence," in *Arab Law Quarterly* 20 (2006), 77–101.

45 Indeed, al-Nasāʾī is known to have been a Shāfiʿī jurist; Christopher Melchert, "The Life and Works of al-Nasāʾī," in *JSS* 59 (2014), 377–407, 401–403.

46 Jonathan Brown, "Criticism of the Proto-Ḥadīth Canon. Al-Dāraquṭnī's Adjustment of al-Bukhārī and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥayn*," in *JIS* 15 (2004), 1–37.

47 Vardit Tokatly, "The *Aʿlām al-ḥadīth* of al-Khaṭṭābī. A Commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Saḥīḥ* or a Polemical Treatise?," in *SI* 92 (2001), 53–91.

48 Mohammed Fadel, "Ibn Ḥajar's *Hady al-sārī*. A Medieval Interpretation of the Structure of al-Bukhārī's *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*. Introduction and Translation," in *JNES* 54 (1995), 161–197. See also Blecher, "Ḥadīth Commentary" 261–287.

headings differs from, for example, Muslim's usual style in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which is to report variants one after another, not widely separated."[49] In contrast, al-Bukhārī includes the same hadith, or minor variations in either *matn* or *isnād* throughout a wide range of chapters, some of which may not be expected. This method raises two important questions: Why does al-Bukhārī employ this method? And what advantage does it give him?

The importance of the arrangement of hadith in the development of a discourse has been noted by a number of scholars, particularly by Andrew Newman and Louis Pouzet,[50] and I have argued that the arrangement of hadith collections needs to be considered more deeply within the field.[51] Sylvia Akar adds a further dimension to the role of arrangement and the repetition of hadith. In her study of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, she notes the complex set of interactions that al-Bukhārī generates by repeating hadiths through different contexts. She comments:

> [I]n al-Bukhārī's collection, hadith, which might be grouped in the same theme clusters, can be located anywhere in the collection. In fact, a great part of the hadiths in the collection—it would indeed be astonishing if this did not apply to all the hadiths in the collection—are interlinked in some way. There are so many themes in the texts and the same themes are repeated in so many instances that the texts seem to produce unending chains of references. The whole collection becomes a spider's web with the intertwining linkages reaching out to all parts.[52]

Akar argues that when al-Bukhārī repeats hadiths, he is not simply doing so because the hadith is relevant in two or more chapters, but that something more intricate is going on. She argues that in doing so, al-Bukhārī creates a series of relationships between the chapters; so, when a hadith is cited in two chapters, there is a resonance from one chapter to the other.[53] Akar's understanding of 'interlinking linkages' is reminiscent of the way in which Nogalski

49 Melchert, "Bukhārī and his *Ṣaḥīḥ*" 435.

50 Newman, *Formative Period*; Pouzet, *Herméneutique*.

51 Burge, "Reading between the Lines"; idem, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature.' What Is It and Where Is It?," in *Arabica* 65.1–2 (2018), 64–83.

52 Akar, *But If you Desire God and His Messenger* 75–76.

53 For a similar idea seen in the use of Qur'anic quotations in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, see Omar Alí-de-Unzaga, "Citational Exegesis. Towards a Theoretical Framework for the Construction of Meaning in Classical Islamic Thought. The Case of the *Epistles of the Pure Brethren* (*Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*)," in Abdou Filali-Ansary and Aziz Esmail (eds.), *The Construction of Belief*, London: Saqi, 2012, 168–193.

sees theological 'catch-words' operating through the Twelve Minor prophets,[54] suggesting that research and methodologies in Biblical Studies may provide some interesting avenues for new research into hadith. The arrangement of the hadiths is significant and the arrangement itself carries meaning. This chapter will explore the extent to which the overarching structure of the whole work is meaningful.

The chapters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* are divided into two clearly defined clusters, the first on the pillars of Islam (§ 2–33) and the second on finance (§ 34–55), with the remaining chapters (§ 56–96) being less clearly arranged. The main bulk of the work is buttressed by the theologically important opening and closing chapters, the *Kitāb Bad' al-waḥy* (*Chapter on the First Revelation*, § 1) and the *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (*Chapter on Divine Unicity*, § 97). As I have argued elsewhere,[55] such divisions of a text are purely personal, and others may wish to divide them differently. In his discussion of the sections of *Sūrat al-Kahf*, Ian Netton states that there "are a number of different ways of dividing *Sūrat al-Kahf* into constituent units. All are, of course, artificial, but they may be presented as an aid to understanding what is a very complex and variegated *sūra*."[56] The same is the case here: The chapters could be grouped together and clustered in a number of different ways, and the desire is simply to try and aid understanding and to suggest a possible explanation for the arrangement of the chapters. The aim of compilation criticism is not to make an unimpeachable claim about how a compiler envisioned the structure of the work, but rather to explore potential meanings that may lie behind the structure of a chapter, or here a whole work. In some cases, there is a clear division within the text; in other cases, as in the final section, the division of the chapters is more interpretative.

3 The 'Pillars of Islam' and *Fiqh* Manuals

As will be seen in other collections, the arrangement of the opening of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is strongly influenced by the pillars (*arkān*) of Islam, which becomes obvious in the first half of the collection. In these chapters, the work takes each of the pillars in turn, the *shahāda* or the more generic concept of

54 James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993, 13.

55 Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature'" 70.

56 Ian Richard Netton, "Towards a Modern *Tafsīr* of *Sūrat al-Kahf*: Structure and Semiotics," in *JQS* 2 (2000), 67–87, 69.

TABLE 1.1

§	al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*	
8	*Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*	Ritual Prayers
9	*Kitāb Mawāqīt al-ṣalāt*	Times of Prayer
10	*Kitāb al-Adhhān*	Call to Prayer
11	*Kitāb al-Jumuʿa*	Friday Prayer
12	*Kitāb Ṣalāt al-khawf*	The Fear Prayer
13	*Kitāb al-ʿĪdayn*	The Two Festivals
14	*Kitāb al-Witr*	Witr Prayer
15	*Kitāb al-Istisqāʾ*	Prayer for Rain
16	*Kitāb al-Kusūf*	Prayer for an Eclipse
17	*Kitāb Sujūd al-Qurʾān*	Prostration during Qurʾanic Recitation
18	*Kitāb al-Taqṣīr*	The Shortening of the Prayers
19	*Abwāb al-tahajjud*	Chapters on the Night Vigil
20	*Kitāb Faḍl al-ṣalā fī masjid Makka wa-l-Madīna*	Section on the Merits of Performing the Prayers in Mecca and Medina
21	*Kitāb al-ʿAmal*	Actions
22	*Kitāb al-Sahw*	Inattention
23	*Kitāb al-Janāʾiz*	Funerals

faith (*īmān*) (§ 2), the ritual prayers (§ 8), obligatory charitable giving (§ 24), pilgrimage (§ 25), and the fast of Ramaḍān (§ 30), but these are interspersed with chapters detailing relevant related subsidiary concepts. For example, the section on the ritual prayers (*ṣalāt*) is followed by a series of other chapters (§§ 9–23) that discuss practical matters, such as the times of prayer (*mawāqīt al-ṣalāt*, § 9), the prayer for rain (*al-istisqāʾ*, § 15), and inattentiveness in prayer (*sahw*, § 22).

The same is seen in the chapters related to the *ḥajj*, namely the chapters on the minor pilgrimage (*ʿumra*, § 26), discussions of what happens if someone is unable to complete the *ḥajj* (*al-muḥṣar*, § 27), the prohibition on hunting during the *ḥajj* period (*jazāʾ al-ṣayd*, § 28), and the merits of Medina (*faḍāʾil al-Madīna*, § 29).

Before looking at the way in which authors make use of subsidiary chapters, it is important to reflect on the importance of the influence of the 'pillars' of Islam on the structure of hadith collections. In his study of *fiqh* manuals, Wael Hallaq shows that the 'pillars' of Islam form the basis of the structure of the opening of *fiqh* manuals:

> Apart from the first [pillar], a foundational theological pronouncement of faith accompanied by neither substantive nor procedural rules, the rest occupy a prominent place in the legal literature, having for the entire history of Islam been regarded as the bedrock of religion and religious practice, melding the theological with the legal. It is not without good reason that they, together with purification (*ṭahāra*)—a preface to prayer—have come to constitute the opening chapters of legal works, occupying as much as one-quarter to one-third of the entire body of these works.[57]

Neither al-Bukhārī nor any of the other 'canonical' collections include a specific chapter on the *shahāda*, the profession of faith, which is the first 'pillar' of Sunnī Islam. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, however, both have a *Kitāb al-Īmān* (§ 2) before they move on to the topic of the ritual prayer, which functions in a theologically similar way to the *shahāda*. Al-Nasāʾī, al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd, and Ibn Māja all begin with a chapter on ritual purity. In some circumstances, Muslim authors considered *ṭahāra* in the spiritual sense 'purity of faith' and an acceptance of *tawḥīd*, the Oneness of God. However, this is clearly not what is intended by these compilers: For example, in al-Nasāʾī's *al-Mujtabā* all of the hadiths within the *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra* are about physical ritual purity. Indeed, the first hadith in the whole work states: "When one wakes up after sleeping, do not let him dip his hand in the water used for ritual purification (*wuḍūḥih*), until he has washed it three times; no one knows where his hand has been."[58] The rest of the *Kitāb* deals with issues relating to ritual purity, such as having clean teeth, trimming in the beard, going to the toilet, and so on. Al-Nasāʾī takes *ṭahāra* in its strict jurisprudential and orthopractic sense—as do Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Māja—and like many works of *fiqh*, a discussion of ritual purity precedes a discussion of the ritual prayers, for which being in a state of *ṭahāra* is obligatory.[59] Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, who both begin with chapters on faith, place the *arkān* within a theological rather than orthopractic or legal context.

Ibn Māja is the only compiler who does not follow the structure of the *arkān* completely rigorously. He includes all issues relating to money and transactions after the chapter on *zakāt*. The *kitāb*s that follow, from the *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ* (*The*

57 Hallaq, *Sharīʿa: Theory, Practice, Transformations* 225.

58 Al-Nasāʾī, *al-Mujtabā*, in Jamʿīyat al-Maknaz al-Islamī (ed.), *Jamʿ jawāmiʿ al-aḥādīth wa-l-asānīd wa-maknaz al-ṣiḥāḥ wa-l-sunan wa-l-masānīd*, 7 vols., vii, Vaduz: Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation, 2000, *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra* (§ 1) [my own translation].

59 For a discussion of this, see Marion H. Katz, *Body of Text. The Emergence of the Sunnī Law of Ritual Purity*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002, 60–75.

Book of Marriage, § 9) to the *Kitāb al-Farā'iḍ* (*The Book of Inheritance*, § 23), are all loosely related to financial transactions of some sort. The only exceptions are the *Kitāb al-Aḥkām* (*The Book of Rulings*, § 13) and the *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd* (*The Book of Prescribed Punishments*, § 20), but even many of these, such as theft and adultery, can be linked to property and financial transactions. After this long section on matters relating to finance, Ibn Māja introduces his *Kitāb al-Jihād* (§ 24) before his chapter on the pilgrimage (*Kitāb al-Ḥajj*, § 25). The reasons behind this unique approach cannot be discussed here, but it does raise some initial questions about how Ibn Māja organized his work and why he did it this way.

4 Subsidiary Chapters

The method of taking a broad theme and then adding subsidiary *kitāb*s that explain more specific detail is found in all of the *six books*; and it is a logical way of organizing the material. What differs, however, are the ways in which the compilers both name and arrange the material that is included. Al-Nasā'ī's *al-Mujtabā*, for example, follows the same pattern, with a basis in the 'pillars of Islam' and a series of blocks of *kitāb*s in which the lead topic generates further related chapters. His opening *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra* (*The Book of Purity*, § 1), is followed by three other related chapters: *Kitāb al-Miyāh* (*The Book of Water*, § 2), which includes hadiths that discuss what pollutes (or does not pollute) water used for purification; *Kitāb al-Ḥayḍ wa-l-istiḥāḍa* (*The Book on Menstruation and Hæmorrhages*, § 3), which deals with issues relating to ritual purity, menstruation, and blood-discharge;[60] and finally, *Kitāb al-Ghusl wa-l-tayammum* (*The Book of Washing and Washing with Sand*, § 4).[61] These three chapters come after the general *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra* and discuss more specific issues related to the same topic. The same can be seen after *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt* (*The Book of Prayer*), where §§ 6–20 all deal with issues related to the ritual prayers, from the *adhān* (§ 7), to inattentiveness in prayer (*sahw*, § 12), to the liturgies for eclipses (§ 15), and funerals (§ 20).

If the titles of the subsidiary *kitāb*s relating to the ritual prayers in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and al-Nasā'ī's *al-Mujtabā* are placed together, some interesting

60 See Katz, *Body of Text* 135–144.

61 For more on *tayammum*, see Ze'ev Maghen, "Three Shafi'ites in Search of Water. The Indulgence of *Tayammum* and its Rigorous Preconditions," in *Der Islam* 82 (2005), 291–348.

TABLE 1.2

5	***Kitāb al-Ṣalāt***	**Prayer**
6	*Kitāb al-Mawāqīt*	Times of Prayer
7	*Kitāb al-Adhān*	Call to Prayer
8	*Kitāb al-Masājid*	Places of Worship
9	*Kitāb al-Qibla*	Direction of Prayer
10	*Kitāb al-Imāma*	Leading the Prayers
11	*Kitāb al-Iftitāḥ*	Beginning the Prayers
12	*Kitāb al-Sahw*	Inattentiveness in Prayers
13	*Kitāb al-Jumuʿa*	Congregations
14	*Kitāb Taqṣīr al-ṣalāt fī l-safar*	Shortening the Prayers while on a Journey
15	*Kitāb al-Kusūf*	Prayer for an Eclipse
16	*Kitāb al-Istisqāʾ*	Prayer for Rain
17	*Kitāb Ṣalāt al-khawf*	The Fear Prayer
18	*Kitāb Ṣalāt al-ʿīdayn*	The Prayer of the Two Festivals
19	*Kitāb Qiyām al-layl wa-l-taṭammuʿ al-nahar*	Private Devotions at Night and during the Day
20	*Kitāb al-Janāʾiz*	Funerals

differences come to light that highlight the extent to which authorial control plays a part in the formation of the 'canonical' collections.[62]

Although both al-Nasāʾī and al-Bukhārī contain sixteen *kitāb*s relating to prayer, and hold a number of *kitāb*s in common, the majority of the chapters that are included in both are positioned differently. Only the opening *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt* (§ 8/§ 5), *Kitāb Mawāqīt al-ṣalāt* (§ 9/§ 6), *Kitāb al-Adhān* (§ 10/§ 7), and the final *Kitāb al-Janāʾiz* (§ 23/§ 20) are arranged in the same order (not italic). Of the sixteen *kitāb*s, eight are held in common but placed differently (in italic), and four are unique to each compiler (in bold).

Al-Nasāʾī's structure for these *kitāb*s is loosely based on how one would encounter them at the ritual prayers: the times of prayer (§ 6), the call to prayer (§ 7), the mosque itself (§ 8), the direction of prayer (§ 9), establishing who leads the prayer (§ 10), the opening of the prayers (§ 11), and finally what to do when one stops paying attention (§ 12). After this, al-Nasāʾī introduces special forms of prayer or occasions that do not happen every day: the Friday congreg-

62 For more on hadith and authorial control, see Burge, "Myth, Meaning and the Order of Words."

TABLE 1.3

Al-Bukhārī		Al-Nasā'ī	
8	Kitāb al-Ṣalāt	5	Kitāb al-Ṣalāt
9	Kitāb Mawāqīt al-ṣalāt	6	Kitāb al-Mawāqīt
10	Kitāb al-Adhān	7	Kitāb al-Adhān
11	*Kitāb al-Jumuʿa*	8	**Kitāb al-Masājid**
12	*Kitāb Ṣalāt al-khawf*	9	**Kitāb al-Qibla**
13	*Kitāb al-ʿĪdayn*	10	**Kitāb al-Imāma**
14	**Kitāb al-Witr**	11	**Kitāb al-Iftitāḥ**
15	*Kitāb al-Istisqā'*	12	*Kitāb al-Sahw*
16	*Kitāb al-Kusūf*	13	*Kitāb al-Jumuʿa*
17	**Kitāb Sujūd al-Qur'ān**	14	*Kitāb Taqṣīr al-ṣalāt fī l-safar*
18	*Kitāb al-Taqṣīr*	15	*Kitāb al-Kusūf*
19	**Abwāb al-tahajjud**	16	*Kitāb al-Istisqā'*
20	**Kitāb Faḍl al-ṣalā fī masjid Makka**	17	*Kitāb Ṣalāt al-khawf*
21	**Kitāb al-ʿAmal**	18	*Kitāb Ṣalāt al-ʿīdayn*
22	*Kitāb al-Sahw*	19	**Kitāb Qiyām al-layl**
23	Kitāb al-Janā'iz	20	Kitāb al-Janā'iz

ational prayers (§ 13), what to do when travelling (§ 14), the eclipse prayer (§ 15), the prayer for rain (§ 16), the 'fear' prayer (§ 17), the festal prayers (§ 18), vigils and devotions (§ 19), and finally the prayers for funerals. Al-Nasā'ī's organization is highly logical and also deeply considered and well-constructed.

Al-Bukhārī adopts a different ordering, but one that still has obvious thought behind it. Having established the times and location of the prayer in the opening three *kitāb*s (§§ 8–10), al-Bukhārī arranges the following chapters according to how often they would be used or encountered, firstly the weekly congregational prayers (§ 11). The following fear prayer (§ 12) with its roots in military conflict could be used less often than once a week, but more often than the yearly, fixed festal prayers (§ 13).[63] After these, there are three further chapters on prayers arising out of specific circumstances, which are again ordered according to how often they would be encountered: the *witr* prayer (§ 14), the prayer for rain (§ 15), and the prayer for an eclipse (§ 16). The follow-

63 For more on this, see Nesya Rubinstein-Shemer, "Larger than Life: Prayer during Wartime in Islamic Law," in *SO* 112 (2012), 103–126.

ing chapters deal with practical aspects: prostration (§ 17), the shortening of prayers on a journey (§ 18), the night vigil (§ 19), and performing the prayers in Mecca and Medina (§ 21)—these four could also be ordered according to how often they would be encountered. Finally, there is a chapter on ritual actions (§ 21) and inattention (§ 22). Al-Bukhārī, like al-Nasāʾī, ends with a chapter on the funeral prayers. In general, al-Bukhārī appears to be creating small groups or clusters of *kitāb*s, which are then ordered according to their general frequency. Chapters 11–16 are applicable to the whole community, in the sense that when there is no rain, the whole community performs a prayer for rain as a communal supplication;[64] likewise the *ṣalāt al-khawf* is a communal prayer;[65] whereas chapters 17–23 focus on the individual and each individual's own responsibilities. This would seem to suggest both al-Nasāʾī and al-Bukhārī actively ordered their works in certain ways to convey certain ideas.

This short case study comparing the arrangement of subsidiary chapters in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and al-Nasāʾī's *al-Mujtabā* shows that it is possible to discern the underlying principles behind the arrangement of the *kitāb*s. Although the arrangement of the *kitāb*s concerning the ritual prayers do not necessarily reveal anything particularly dramatic, neither legally nor theologically, it does illustrate that these works were arranged carefully and the material that was included in these works was controlled to develop a discourse. Therefore, it is important to look at the way in which these works have been constructed.

It was argued above that al-Bukhārī had a much more theological focus in the way in which he prefaced the chapters on the *arkān* with a book dealing with aspects of faith, and that al-Nasāʾī had a more orthopractic, legal approach. It does seem possible that, by placing all of the *kitāb*s relating to communal actions before those concerned with individuals, al-Bukhārī may be making a statement about the importance of the community as the focus of identity and spirituality. Al-Nasāʾī's arrangement of the subsidiary chapters is—like his use of the *arkān*—much more focused on the performance of the ritual prayers.

64 See Marion H. Katz, *Prayer in Islamic Thought and Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 26–27 and Nadia Abu Zahra, "The Rain Rituals as Rites of Passage," in *IJMES* 20 (1988), 507–529. The Talmud also requires a series of fasts and communal prayers during times of drought, see *Taʾanit* 10[a]–12[b].

65 Rubinstein-Shemer, "Larger than Life" 108–109.

5 The Place of Jihad

Comparing the overarching structure of the 'canonical' collections and the placement of individual *kitāb*s can generate some interesting questions, and this section will look at chapters on *jihād* and military activity. Above, it was noted that the 'canonical' collections begin with hadiths related to the *arkān*, as is also commonly found in *fiqh* manuals, so it will be helpful to look at the placing of *jihād* in legal manuals, as a means of comparison. In his survey of *fiqh* manuals, Hallaq presents a 'standard' ordering of chapters for the Shāfiʿī school, noting other deviations.[66] Using the *al-Mīzān al-kubrā* of the late Mamluk scholar al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565), Hallaq outlines four 'standard' quarters of *fiqh* manuals: (i) ritual, i. e. the *arkān*; (ii) sales, i. e. commercial transactions, inheritance, etc.; (iii) marriage, i. e. marriage, divorce, child welfare, custody, etc.; and (iv) injuries, i. e. criminal law, judges, etc.[67] Shāfiʿīs usually place the chapter on *jihād* in the fourth quarter; the Mālikīs, some Ḥanbalīs, and Ithnā ʿAsharīs place *jihād* immediately after the chapters on the *arkān*. Mālikīs and Ḥanafīs will also often have the second and third quarters reversed.[68] In al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the book on *jihād* (§ 56) is not placed immediately after the section on fasting (§§ 30–33), but after the long section on financial contracts (§§ 34–55). There is a clear shift in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, marked by the move from the discussion of *ṣawm* and the devotional practice of seclusion during Ramaḍān (*Kitāb al-Iʿtikāf*, § 33), to a discussion of sales (*Kitāb al-Buyūʿ*, § 34) and matters relating to trade and finance. So, how should al-Bukhārī's arrangement be understood? Al-Bukhārī's placement of the chapters on financial issues (i. e. al-Shaʿrānī's second quarter) after the chapters on the *arkān* has a precedent in legal manuals, but his placing of the chapter on *jihād* immediately after the chapter on sales is unusual.

Al-Bukhārī's arrangement of the chapters in and around the *Kitāb al-Jihād* also generates some interesting questions, the most challenging being why the *Kitāb al-Jihād* (§ 56) and the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (§ 64) which would appear to be related are separated. Take, for example, the broader section from §§ 56–70, seen below in Table 1.4.

The chapters related to military matters appear to be divided into a small neat section, which covers *jihād* and military campaigns (§ 56), the division of spoils after victory (§ 57), and the *jizya*/poll tax on people of the Book (§ 58). There seems to be a sudden change in topic with a section on the broader theo-

66 See Hallaq, *Sharīʿa: Theory, Practice, Transformations* 551–555.

67 The titles of the four quarters are taken from Hallaq's interpretation of al-Shaʿrānī, Hallaq, *Sharīʿa: Theory, Practice, Transformations* 551.

68 Hallaq, *Sharīʿa: Theory, Practice, Transformations* 554.

TABLE 1.4

56	*Kitāb al-Jihād wa-l-siyar*	Jihad and Campaigns
57	*Kitāb Farḍ al-khums*	Division of the Spoils of War (*khums*)
58	*Kitāb Jizya wa-l-muwāḍaʿa*	Poll Tax and Truces
59	*Kitāb Badʾ al-khalq*	Origin of Creation
60	*Kitāb Aḥādīth al-anbiyāʾ*	Hadith about the Prophets
61	*Kitāb al-Manāqib*	Virtues [of the Prophet]
62	*Kitāb Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*	The Merits of the Companions
63	*Kitāb Manāqib al-anṣār*	The Character of the Helpers
64	*Kitāb al-Maghāzī*	Raids
65	*Kitāb Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*	The Interpretation of the Qurʾan
66	*Kitāb Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*	Merits of the Qurʾan
67	*Kitāb al-Nikāḥ*	Marriage
68	*Kitāb al-Ṭalāq*	Divorce
69	*Kitāb al-Nafaqāt*	Maintenance
70	*Kitāb al-Aṭʿima*	Foods

logical issues of creation (§ 59) and prophecy (§ 60), then leading into hadiths about Muḥammad's own prophethood (§ 61) and community (§§ 62–63). After this discussion of prophecy, it is not surprising to find reference to the scripture and message revealed to Muḥammad and its subsequent interpretation and holy status (§§ 65–66). This creates a suitable flow from one theme to another and would suggest that there are two main groupings here, the first on military activity (§ 56–58), and then one on more religious themes connected with prophethood, both past and present (§ 59–66).[69] Beyond the chapter on the merits of the Qurʾan (§ 66), we see a move into social issues relating to women (§§ 67–69), and then food (§ 70–74), and so on. However, the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (§ 64) causes some problems for this division of the text. As they are both about military activity, the *Kitāb al-Jihād wa-l-siyār* and the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* are thematically and conceptually linked, so why has al-Bukhārī placed them so far apart, in an arrangement that seems illogical?

If the position of the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* is taken as a way of indicating a larger section of chapters from the *Kitāb al-Jihād wa-l-siyār* to the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*

69 In his study of the Minor Prophets, Nogalski notes the way in which the ends of some books contain ideas or words that are then found in the following book, suggesting a sense of unity (and flow) between the works. See Nogalski, *Literary Precursors* 13.

(i. e. §§ 56–64), the kerygmatic message behind the arrangement may indicate a deeper theological significance. A specific and openly made change in topic is taken to signal the demarcation of sections within a collection, and the move from the chapter on wills (§ 55) to the chapter on *jihād* (§ 56) is noticeable, as is the move from raids (§ 64) to the interpretation of the Qur'an (§ 65). The *Kitāb Bad' al-khalq* (§ 59) would also appear to be an openly made change in topic; however, when the text is read, the change in topic is much less noticeable. The final hadith of the *Kitāb al-Jizya* (§ 58) is a statement made by Muḥammad after the Conquest of Mecca in which he states that "there is no migration [any longer], but there is *jihād* and intent."[70] This reference to *jihād* creates a conceptual link back to the chapter that opens the section *Kitāb al-Jihād wa-l-siyār* (§ 56), but this same final hadith in the *Kitāb al-Jizya* (§ 58) goes on to include another statement in which the Prophet refers to God as the creator of the heavens and the earth, which segues into the chapter on the origins of creation (§ 59). The change in topic suggested by the titles of the chapters is not as noticeable when the material included is read as a linear text. This could suggest that al-Bukhārī intended the material from the *Kitāb al-Jihād wa-l-siyār* (§ 56) to the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (§ 64) to be read as a group. It also suggests that al-Bukhārī may have intended the work as a whole to be read through, rather than it simply being a collection or repository of hadith, which would make the *Ṣaḥīḥ* a much more literary work than it has been considered in the past.[71]

If the chapters from *Kitāb al-Jihād wa-l-siyār* to *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* are read as a whole (§§ 56–64), it is possible to see an underlying statement. This section places the military expansion of Islam within its salvation-historical context. With the Islamic Empire at the height of its powers, al-Bukhārī was compiling his collection from the perspective of a victorious community whose power had spread throughout most of the known world, through the Near East, North Africa, into Europe in the West, and into Iran and Transoxania, and beyond in the East. Thus, the chapters present the Muslim conquests not simply as a sign of Muslim worldly power and strength, but as part of the divine cosmic plan. The chapters on the creation of the world (§ 59) and the prophets (§ 60) are central to al-Bukhārī's argument. Consequently, the acts of war that bracket this section—the chapters from *jihād* (§ 56) to the *maghāzī* literature (§ 64)—

70 Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, in Jam'īyat al-Maknaz al-Islamī (ed.), *Jam' jawāmi' al-aḥādīth wa-l-asānīd wa-maknaz al-ṣiḥāḥ wa-l-sunan wa-l-masānīd*, 8 vols., ii, Vaduz: Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation, 2000, *Kitāb al-Jizya: Bāb Ithm al-ghādir li-l-barr wa-l-fājir*.

71 See Burge, "Reading between the Lines."

move from a realm of worldly power and growth to one that is not simply a vision of divinely-permitted expansion, but expansion that is divinely and cosmically pre-ordained.[72]

If al-Bukhārī's placement of the *Kitāb al-Jihād* is compared to the other 'canonical' collections, the amount of variance as to where each of the collections places it is easily seen. Muslim, like al-Bukhārī, places his section on *jihād* immediately after a series of chapters on financial issues, which themselves come after the chapters relating to the pillars. Muslim, like al-Bukhārī also combines *jihād* and *siyar* ('campaigns') into a single chapter (§ 32). The preceding chapter, *Kitāb al-Luqṭa* (*The Book on Lost Property*, § 31) does not appear to be readily linked to the topic of *jihād*; however, the final hadith in the section concerns a miracle in which Muḥammad and 1400 men were on a campaign. When they are hungry and have no food, they share what they have, which amounts to a pile of food about the size of a goat, but all 1400 people are fed.[73] This, then, means that the *Kitāb al-Luqṭa* flows into the *Kitāb al-Jihād wa-l-siyar*.[74] The following chapter is on government (*Kitāb al-Imāra*, § 33), before moving into a series of chapters on hunting (§ 34), sacrifices (§ 35), foods (§ 36), and drink (§ 37).

Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasā'ī both include their chapters on *jihād* immediately after their chapters on the *arkān*, which in Hallaq's model of *fiqh* manuals is more typical of Mālikī, some Ḥanbalī, and Ithnā 'Asharī legal works.[75] Like Muslim, Abū Dāwūd follows his chapter on *jihād* with chapters on sacrifices (*Kitāb al-Ḍaḥāyā*, § 10) and hunting (*Kitāb al-Ṣayd*, § 11), after which he moves onto a series of chapters on financial matters. Al-Nasā'ī moves from his chapter on *jihād* to chapters on marriage (*Kitāb al-Nikāḥ*, § 25), divorce (*Kitāb al-Ṭalāq*, § 26), horses (*Kitāb al-Khayl*, § 27), endowments (*Kitāb al-Aḥbās*, § 28),

72 Donner's comment: "The oldest view of the Islamic conquests is, of course, that of the Islamic community itself, which traditionally saw the conquest as the result of religious zeal for the new faith and as a truly miraculous demonstration of the divine favour that Islam is supposed to enjoy." Fred M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981, 3.

73 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; in Jam'īyat al-Maknaz al-Islamī (ed.), *Jam' jawāmi' al-aḥādīth wa-l-asānīd wa-maknaz al-ṣiḥāḥ wa-l-sunan wa-l-masānīd*, 7 vols., iv, Vaduz: Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation, 2000, *Kitāb al-Luqṭa: Bāb Istijāb khalṭ al-azwād idhā qallat wa-l-mu'āsa fīhi* (*Chapter on the Necessity of Sharing Provisions When There Is Little and the Beneficence in That*).

74 This may also indicate that Muslim intended his *Ṣaḥīḥ* to be read through as a linear, rather than a non-linear, text.

75 Hallaq, *Sharī'a: Theory, Practice, Transformations* 554. As mentioned above, al-Nasā'ī was a Shāfi'ī jurist, so there is some break with *fiqh* manuals, although his collection was compiled as *fiqh* manuals were beginning to emerge.

and wills (*Kitāb al-Waṣāyā*, § 29), which—if marriage is understood as a financial transaction[76]—are all related to goods and property. In the arrangements of al-Nasāʾī and Abū Dāwūd, the general organizing principle seems to be a move from formal communal actions—the five pillars and *jihād*—to chapters that are more focused on individuals and their relationships with one another. Muslim's placing of *jihād* much later on in his collection suggests a different principle of organization.

Muslim also appears to divide his hadith into chapters relating to communal and personal actions; however, his definition of a communal action is different to that suggested by the arrangements of Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasāʾī. By placing his *Kitāb al-Jihād wa-l-siyar* (§ 32) and *Kitāb al-Imāra* (§ 33) together, which are clearly part of Muslim communal identity, it would seem to suggest that everything in between the chapters on the pillars and *Kitāb al-Imāra* is being considered as communal or public actions. Indeed, all of the chapters included in-between refer to areas of social contact between different members of the community: wills, marriage, business, legal punishments, and so on. It is only after the *Kitāb al-Imāra* that Muslim includes chapters that pertain to individuals: sacrifices, etiquette, personal devotions, and so on.[77] Through his arrangement of the *kitāb*s, Muslim may be saying something very different about what constitutes communal activity in Islam, perhaps with the implication that all members of the community have a role in the administration and supervision of business transactions, marriages, and others. By placing *jihād* immediately after the *arkān* Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasāʾī suggest that *jihād* is being given more prominence than in either Muslim's or al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*s, since they both discuss *jihād* much later in their works.

Al-Nasāʾī's choice for his first hadith in the section on *jihād* is also quite interesting:

> ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Sallām—Isḥāq al-Azraq—Sufyān—al-Aʿmash—Muslim—Saʿīd b. Jubayr—Ibn ʿAbbās: "When the Prophet was expelled from Mecca, Abū Bakr said, 'They have expelled their prophet. Indeed, we belong to God and to him we will return. They will be utterly destroyed.' The following verse was sent down: 'To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged—and verily, Allah is Most Powerful for their aid [Q 22:39]'" [And he said:]

76 Kecia Ali, *Sexual Ethics and Islam*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2016, 1–27.

77 Christopher Melchert highlights the importance of the 'moralistic community' amongst traditionalists/'*ḥadīth*-folk'; see Christopher Melchert, "The Piety of the *ḥadīth* Folk," in *IJMES* 34 (2002), 425–439, 428–431.

> "So I knew that there would be fighting." Ibn ʿAbbās said: "This was the first verse sent down concerning fighting."[78]

This opening hadith is not the first reference to *jihād* in the standard chronology of the Qurʾan, as there are a number of uses of the root *j-h-d* in relation to the struggles of members of the nascent Muslim community in Mecca. This hadith is specifically about war and fighting (*qitāl*), but the fact that the opening hadith in this chapter is linked to the expulsion of Muḥammad from Mecca, and that it follows immediately after the chapter on the rites of the pilgrimage suggests a link between the *ḥajj* and the need for the Muslim community to defend the holy site from external aggressors. The final hadith of *Kitāb Manāsik al-ḥajj* does not, however, necessarily suggest a move to a discussion of *jihād*:

> ʿAmr b. ʿAlī—Yaḥyā—Sufyān—Salama b. Kuhayl—al-Ḥasan al-ʿUranī—Ibn ʿAbbās; he said: "When one has thrown [rocks] at the Pillars, all things are permitted (*ḥalla*), except for [sexual intercourse with] women." It is said: "What about perfume (*al-ṭīb*)?" He said: "As for perfume, I saw the Messenger of God and he had doused himself (*yataḍammakhu*) with musk—is that not a perfume?"[79]

This hadith and several of the *bāb*s that precede it deal with the stoning of the pillars at Mina, which does not suggest a segue into a chapter on *jihād*. At the same time, however, the first hadith in the chapter on *jihād* also does not explicitly deal with *jihād*, but does allude to the sanctity of Mecca and the Muslims' religious associations with the city. In this particular instance, al-Nasāʾī is very conscious of *place*: The *Kitāb al-Jihād* begins by placing the abstract notion of *jihād* within its physical, geographical, and historical context.

The way in which the six compilers have placed their *Kitāb al-Jihād* can reveal some underlying nuances. For al-Bukhārī, there appears to be an emphasis on the salvation-historical idea of Islam's pre-ordained victory and conquests; for Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasāʾī *jihād* is given importance as a communal action, almost akin to the *arkān*, and al-Nasāʾī's move from a hadith extolling the virtues of Mecca in his *Kitāb al-Manāsik al-ḥajj* to the defense of Mecca in the opening of his *Kitāb al-Jihād* implies a conceptual link between *jihād*

78 Al-Nasāʾī, *al-Mujtabā, Kitāb al-Jihād* (§ 25), § 1.

79 Al-Nasāʾī, *al-Mujtabā, Kitāb Manāsik al-ḥajj: Bāb Mā taḥillu li-l-muḥrim baʿda ramī al-jimār*.

and its protective function within the community. Muslim seems to be making a different conceptual link, in his case, the relationship between *jihād* and the government of the community. If each of these chapters was read independently, without considering their context within the rest of the work, such nuances would not be heard.

6 First and Last Hadith

In literary criticism and theory, the way works begin and end is of particular importance, and various understandings of what happens when a work begins and ends have been put forward.[80] In Biblical Studies the opening and closing words of the Gospels (and other texts) have been seen as incredibly important theologically, with significant disputes over whether, for example, the *Gospel of Mark* began "The beginning of the Good News of Jesus Christ" *or* "The beginning of the Good News of Jesus Christ, the Son of God."[81] In the case of fiction, the opening is seen by some to be rooted in mystery, and the aim of the novel is then to set a resolution into place; for others, the opening of a work is concerned with informing the readers of the world that is about to entered.[82] The 'canonical' collections are not fiction, so they function and operate in a different way to novels, but their beginnings and endings remain important to the development of discourse. According to Adamo, Claude Duchet argues that the beginning of a novel is "a strategic place conditioned by four elements: 1) relationship with the title; 2) relationship with the *hors-texte*; 3) relationship with the text; 4) rhetoric of beginnings […]"[83] These four elements also play a part in hadith collections.

Each work, at its outset, is read in light of its title (*Ṣaḥīḥ*/*Sunan*/*Mujtabā*), which are all epistemologically loaded.[84] The title *Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* used by

80 For a survey of different positions on both beginnings and endings, see Giuliana Adamo, "Twentieth Century Recent Theories on Beginnings and Endings of Novels," in *Annali d'Italianistica* 18 (2000), 49–76.

81 See Peter M. Head, "A Text-Critical Study of Mark 1:1. The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," in *New Testament Studies* 37 (1991), 621–629; N. Clayton Croy, "Where the Gospel Text Begins: a Non-theological Interpretation of Mark 1.1," in *Novum Testamentum* 43 (2001), 105–127; Santiago Guijarro, "Why Does the Gospel of Mark Begin as It Does?", in *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 33 (2003), 28–38.

82 See Adamo, "Twentieth Century Recent Theories" 51–59.

83 Adamo, "Twentieth Century Recent Theories" 55.

84 Gérard Genette (transl. Bernard Crampé), "Structure and Functions of the Title in Literature," in *Critical Inquiry* 14 (1988), 692–720.

Muslim, and *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Bukhārī, and also al-Tirmidhī, establishes an immediate connection with the *Ṣaḥīḥ* movement and gives an important statement about the authenticity of the hadiths that are included.[85] ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda argued that the use of the word '*al-Jāmiʿ*' by al-Bukhārī and al-Tirmidhī in the title of their works reflects the bringing together of different aspects of the Prophetic tradition: law, biography, manners, interpretation of the Qurʾan, and so on, and that Muslim did not use the word '*al-Jāmiʿ*' because his collection did not include all aspects of hadith, such as *qirāʾāt* material.[86] The term *Sunan* creates a sense that what is included is *the* established practice of the Prophet, in this case the emphasis is not on authenticity or *ṣaḥīḥ*-ness of the hadith, but on the function that the hadith included has, which is to articulate the practice of the community. Al-Nasāʾī's use of *al-Mujatbā* ('the chosen ones') designates the hadith that are included as being particularly significant, as compared to others which have not been included.[87]

Each work is interpreted in light of its *hors-texte*: Hadith collections do not emerge out of nothing. Sylvia Akar has argued that the hadiths within al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* create links between the chapters; this also operates on a large scale too. Muslim scholars knew many hadith and had ideas about what sort of material would be included under specific titles: The reader then interprets the text through these connections and disjunctions. Hadith collections generate discourse and comment through both what is included and what is *not* included in the work.[88] Andrew Newman has also highlighted the importance of hadith selection in the development of Shīʿī hadith compilations in their formative period, where he argues that both selection and arrangement were vehicles of discourse.[89]

Each individual hadith is also read in context of the compilation, which itself generates a discourse through arrangement.[90] Each hadith gains meaning because of the context in which it has been placed by a compiler.[91] Both the

85 Brown, *Canonization* 54–59.

86 ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda, *Taḥqīq ismay al-Ṣaḥīḥayn wa-ism Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, Aleppo: Maktab al-Maṭbūʿāt al-Islāmīya, 1414/1993, 50.

87 For the story of the naming of *al-Mujtabā*, see Melchert, "The Life and Works of al-Nasāʾī" 387.

88 See Stephen R. Burge, "Compilation Criticism: Reading and Interpreting *Ḥadīth* Collections Through the Prism of Fragmentation and Compilation," in Asma Hilali and Stephen R. Burge (eds.), *The Making of Religious Texts in Islam: The Fragment and the Whole*, Berlin: Gerlach, 2019, 87–110.

89 Newman, *Formative Period*.

90 See Burge, "Myth, Meaning and the Order of Words."

91 See Burge, "Compilation Criticism."

hadith in light of their surroundings and the chapter titles themselves establish what Umberto Eco calls the "textual topic": the frame in which all subsequent material is read.[92]

Finally, each work is read according to the established 'grammar' of the hadith collection as a literary phenomenon: Hadith collections are subject to a number of conventions.[93] The most obvious example is in al-Bukhārī's *tarājim*, which generated significant debate and criticism: His *tarājim* contravened the expected 'grammar' or 'conventions' of the genre.[94]

So how do the 'canonical' collections open and close their works and what theological or legal impact do they have on the works as a whole? Al-Bukhārī's choices for the opening and closing of his *Ṣaḥīḥ* are unusual but very theologically loaded. Of the *six books*, he is the only compiler to begin with a chapter on the prophethood of Muḥammad (*Kitāb Badʾ al-waḥy*). Of the other 'canonical' collections al-Nasāʾī, Abū Dāwūd, and al-Tirmidhī begin with a *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra* followed by a *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*, which, as has already been discussed, is very common among *fiqh* manuals. However, each of these three begin in rather different ways.

Al-Nasāʾī begins with a hadith about the need to purify oneself on waking up:

> Qutayba b. Saʿīd—Sufyān—al-Zuhrī—Abū Salama—Abū Hurayra—the Prophet; he said: "When one wakes up after sleeping, do not let him dip his hand in the water used for ritual purification (*wuḍūʾihi*), until he has washed it three times; no one knows where his hand has been."[95]

Abū Dāwūd begins with a hadith about going to toilet:

> ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama b. Qaʿnab al-Qaʿnabī—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [meaning Ibn Muḥammad]—Muḥammad [meaning Ibn ʿAmr]—Abū Salama—al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba—the Prophet: "When he went to go [to the toilet] he would go far off."[96]

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92 Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979, 24–27.

93 See Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature.'"

94 See Fadel, "Ibn Ḥajar's *Hady al-sārī*"; Tokatly, "The *Aʿlām al-ḥadīth* of al-Khaṭṭābī" 53–91.

95 Al-Nasāʾī, *al-Mujtabā, Kitāb al-Ṭahāra* (§1) [my own translation].

96 Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd,* in Jamʿīyat al-Maknaz al-Islamī (ed.), *Jamʿ jawāmiʿ al-aḥādīth wa-l-asānīd wa-maknaz al-ṣiḥāḥ wa-l-sunan wa-l-masānīd*, 8 vols., v, Vaduz: Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation, 2000, *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra: Bāb al-Nakhallī ʿind qaḍāʾ al-ḥāja* (§1) [my own translation].

This seems to be an unusual choice: Whereas al-Nasāʾī structures his *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra* loosely around the way in which an individual would encounter such issues during a normal day, Abū Dāwūd begins his chapter with a hadith about bodily fluids. Admittedly, going to the toilet does cause contact with urine or feces, which are both sources of impurity,[97] and urination is common on waking up after sleep, so it is not a completely surprising place to begin, but it still does strike as an unusual choice. Perhaps, Abū Dāwūd wished to begin by emphasizing the everyday aspect of the *sunna*, the fact that Muslim spirituality is rooted in normal lived experience.

Al-Tirmidhī, who also opens his *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, with a *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra*, begins with a much more abstract hadith:

> Qutayba b. Saʿīd—Abū ʿAwāna—Simāk b. Ḥarb—Hannād—Wakīʿ—Isrāʾīl—Simāk—Muṣʿab b. Saʿd—Ibn ʿUmar—the Prophet; he said: "Prayer is not accepted without ritual washing (*bi-ghayr ṭuhūr*); alms are not accepted from the faithless (*ghulūl*)."[98]

This much more general hadith establishes the reason for following the directions for maintaining ritual purity that are given in the chapter. Each of these three authors, al-Nasāʾī, Abū Dāwūd, and al-Tirmidhī, do not appear to be using the first hadith in their collection to make a more general statement about the work as a whole: The hadith are all very much focused on the topic of ritual purity. These authors do not appear to use their opening hadith to convey anything particularly theologically, legally, or interpretatively significant; but, rather, their collections are focused on normal human activity from the outset.

This does not appear to be the case for either al-Bukhārī or Ibn Māja who open their collections with hadith that are interpretatively significant for the collection as a whole. Ibn Māja begins with a *Kitāb al-Muqaddima* (*The Book of Introduction*), and his opening hadith is:

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97 See Brannon Wheeler, "Touching the Penis in Islamic Law," in *History of Religions* 44 (2004), 89–119; A. Kevin Reinhart, "Impurity/No Danger," in *History of Religions* 30 (1990), 1–24; and Stephen R. Burge, "Impurity/Danger!," in *ILS* 17 (2010), 320–349.

98 Al-Tirmidhī adds a further comment about this hadith which has not been included here. al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, in Jamʿīyat al-Maknaz al-Islamī (ed.), *Jamʿ jawāmiʿ al-aḥādīth wa-l-asānīd wa-maknaz al-ṣiḥāḥ wa-l-sunan wa-l-masānīd*, 7 vols., vi, Vaduz: Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation, 2000, *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra* (§1) [my own translation].

> Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba—Sharīk—al-Aʿmash—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Abū Hurayra—the Messenger of God said: "Whatever I have commanded you to do, do it; whatever I have forbidden you from doing, leave it."[99]

This hadith establishes the ultimate purpose of collecting and placing together the *ṣaḥīḥ* hadith included in his *Sunan*: The Muslim community was commanded to copy what Muḥammad did and said, and the hadith in his *Sunan* help to substantiate what that is. Christopher Melchert has noted that the

> tendency of the collection is staunchly traditionalist, expressly opposed to the Murjiʾa (those who thought that all Muslims would be saved in the end and that faith did not depend on performing works), Qadariyya (those who disbelieved in predestination), Khawārij (extremists who denied to grace sinners the legal status of membership in the Muslim community), Jahmiyya (those who believed that the Qurʾān had been created in time), and raʾy (rationalism in law and theology), unambiguously endorsing the Sunnī doctrine of the four Rightly Guided Caliphs.[100]

The way in which Ibn Māja opens his *Sunan* corroborates Melchert's view that it is attempting to defend Sunnī Islam against heterodox and/or heretical ideas. Furthermore, it refers directly to the *sunna* of the Prophet, which the collection that follows seeks to articulate.

Similarly, al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* begins with his slightly unusual *Kitāb Badʾ al-waḥy*, in which the very first hadith has little, or in fact nothing, to do with the first revelation:

> al-Ḥumaydī ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr—Sufyān—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī—ʿAlqama b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī—ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, when he was in the pulpit—the Messenger of God; he said: "Deeds are judged by their intentions, and for every matter is what was intended by it. Whoever has emigrated for worldly gain or for a woman to marry, his emigration is what he emigrated for."[101]

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99 Ibn Māja, *Sunan*; in Jamʿīyat al-Maknaz al-Islamī (ed.), *Jamʿ jawāmiʿ al-aḥādīth wa-l-asānīd wa-maknaz al-ṣiḥāḥ wa-l-sunan wa-l-masānīd*, 8 vols., viii, Vaduz: Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation, 2000, *Kitāb al-Muqaddima* (§1) [my own translation].

100 Melchert, Ibn Māja.

101 Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, in Jamʿīyat al-Maknaz al-Islamī (ed.), *Jamʿ jawāmiʿ al-aḥādīth wa-l-asānīd wa-maknaz al-ṣiḥāḥ wa-l-sunan wa-l-masānīd*, 8 vols., ii, Vaduz: Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation, 2000, *Kitāb Badʾ al-waḥy* (§1) [my own translation].

This hadith has often been read as a general introduction for the whole work,[102] with the implied theological point being that those who read the *Ṣaḥīḥ* need to read it with the correct intentions, and also that the actions the work goes on to describe need to be completed with the correct intentions, otherwise the action is of no value. Whereas Ibn Māja highlights the importance of following the practice of the Prophet and the Companions who transmitted the *sunna* of the Prophet, al-Bukhārī emphasizes the importance of intention (*nīya*), suggesting that the hadith need to be approached in a suitably humble way.[103]

Muslim is the only compiler to begin with a full introduction, in which he explains how he has established the authenticity or *ṣaḥīḥ*-ness of the hadiths that he has included in his collection.[104] Juynboll divides the introduction into three sections:[105] the first dealing with his general methodology, the second dealing with the transmission of hadith and the injunctions against lying and propagating false hadith. It is in this second section that Juynboll says that

> step by step a more practical approach toward *ḥadīth* criticism becomes visible and vague sweeping statements gradually make place for detailed criticism and precise accusations leveled at certain individual transmitters [...].[106]

The third section deals with the validity and authenticity of *muʿanʿan isnād*s (i. e. hadith transmitted with *ʿan*, rather than direct speech), in which Muslim engages with an unnamed person who rejected his *muʿanʿan isnād*s. The overall sense of the introduction to Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is a stress on the importance of assessing and categorizing hadith: The work begins with a detailed explanation of what being *ṣaḥīḥ* actually means.

The final hadith of each of the 'canonical' collections is also worth reflection. The main theme that runs through the final hadiths of the collections is personal eschatology. Al-Bukhārī, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Māja all end

102 See Burge, "Reading between the Lines."

103 For more on the way in which the *nīya* hadith can be used in different contexts, see Paul R. Powers, "Interiors, Intentions, and the 'Spirituality' of Islamic Ritual Practice," in *JAAR* 72 (2004), 425–459.

104 Gautier H.A. Juynboll, "Muslim's Introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Translated and Annotated with an Excursus on the Chronology of the *fitna* and *bidʿa*," in *JSAI* 5 (1984), 263–311.

105 Juynboll, "Muslim's Introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*"; see also Brown who follows Juynboll and delineates a three-part structure to the introduction, see Brown, *Canonization* 82–86.

106 Juynboll, "Muslim's Introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*" 264.

with highly eschatological hadiths, all of which appear to present something of a challenge or a 'final thought' to the reader. Al-Bukhārī ends his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* with this hadith:

> Aḥmad b. Ishkāb—Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl—ʿUmāra b. al-Qaʿqāʿ—Abū Zurʿa—Abū Hurayra—the Messenger of God: "'Two beautiful phrases for the Merciful One—two [phrases] that are easy on the tongue! Two [phrases] that are heavy on the Scales are Praise be to God for His Mercifulness!' and 'Praise be to God for His Greatness!'"[107]

This hadith is a common type of *faḍā'il* hadith that highlights prayers, supplications, or actions that can increase an individual's chances of entering paradise. Personal eschatology is an important element of hadith literature[108] and underlines the ultimate aim of everything that has been read before it: The purpose of the *six books* is to give people the opportunity to enter paradise, through the guidance that the hadith and the *sunna* of the Prophet establish. Al-Bukhārī's whole work is—as has been seen above—encircled by very theological chapters: the *Kitāb Bad' al-waḥy* and the *Kitāb al-Īmān* at the beginning and then the *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* at the end. There is a sense that the final hadith is both a statement from which a reader can take steps to lead a life as God demands, a final message of hope in divine mercy, and a closing doxological laudation of God.

Al-Tirmidhī ends with a hadith that provides more of a challenge and a choice to the reader:

> Hārūn b. Mūsā b. Abī ʿAlqama al-Farwī al-Madanī—his father—Hishām b. Saʿd—Saʿīd b. Abī Saʿīd—his father—Abū Hurayra—the Messenger of God; he said: "God has taken the haughtiness of the Time of Ignorance away from you and boasting in ancestors. [You can only be] a God-fearing believer or an unhappy libertine. Humans are the children of Adam, and Adam was made from earth."[109]

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107 Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-Tawḥīd: Bāb Qawl Allāh taʿālā wa-nadaʿ al-mawāzīn al-qisṭ li-yawm al-qiyāma.*

108 See Willem A. Bijlefeld, "Eschatology. Some Muslim and Christian Data," in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 15 (2004), 35–54.

109 Al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ, Kitāb al-Manāqib*. Al-Tirmidhī adds a short comment that this hadith is sound, and adds a second chain of transmission: Sufyān al-Thawrī—Hishām b. Saʿīd, Saʿīd al-Maqburī—Abū Hurayra—the Prophet.

The parting shot of the work emphasizes an individual's own moral responsibility to become either a 'God-fearing believer' (*muʾmin taqīy*) or an 'unhappy libertine' (*fājir shaqīy*). Ibn Māja ends with much the same choice:

> Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba and Aḥmad b. Sinān—Abū Muʿāwiya—al-Aʿmash—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Abū Hurayra—the Messenger of God; he said: "Among you there is no one who does not have two abodes: an abode in the Garden and an abode in the Fire. If you die and enter the Fire, then the people of the Garden inherit his abode; for thus says His Word, Most High, 'These will be the heirs.'" (Q 23:19)[110]

The choice is one of receiving great bounties in the afterlife or being not only deprived of those bounties but having them given to others. Abū Dāwūd chooses to end with a famous hadith *qudsī*:

> Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāḥ b. Sufyān—Ibn al-Sarḥ—Sufyān—al-Zuhrī—Saʿīd—Abū Hurayra—the Prophet; he said: "God, mighty and glorious is He, says, 'The son of Adam hurts me when he curses time (*dahr*); for I am Time. Authority is in My hand: I change night and day.'"[111]

This hadith is less overtly eschatological, but the power and sovereignty of God is clearly and definitively stated. The eschatological endings crafted by al-Bukhārī, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Māja look beyond the realm of the text and move the focus away from here and now to the potential future that awaits all individuals. In this way, the collections gain a spiritual dimension, which standard manuals of *fiqh* do not: Each of the works ends by prompting their readers to ask themselves how they wish to respond.

But what about Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and al-Nasāʾī's *al-Mujtabā*? Although Muslim does not end with an eschatological text, his final hadith is equally powerful:

> ʿAmr b. Zurāra—Hushaym—Abū Hāshim—Abū Mijlaz—Qays b. ʿUbbād—Abū Dharr—he swore an oath that the verse "These two antagonists dispute with each other about their Lord" (Q 22:19) was sent down on the day Ḥamza, ʿAlī, ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith, ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Shayba b. Rabīʿa, and al-Walīd b. ʿUtba went out on the day of [the Battle of] Badr.[112]

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110 Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-Zuhd*.

111 Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-Adab: Bāb Fī l-rajul yasubbu al-dahr*. Abū Dāwūd adds a note saying that a different version of the hadith was transmitted with Ibn al-Musayyab in the place of the Saʿīd.

112 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb Tafsīr al-Qurʾān: Bāb Qawlihi taʿālā hadhān khaṣmān ikhtaṣamū fī*

This hadith invokes two key ideas. First it lists the names of figures who fought at the Battle of Badr. At the beginning of the battle, Muḥammad called Ḥamza, ʿAlī, and ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith to fight on the community's behalf: ʿUbayda fought with ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Ḥamza fought Shayba b. Rabīʿa, and ʿAlī fought al-Walīd b. ʿUtba.[113] This final hadith, then, invokes heroes of the community; but even more significant is the fact that Ḥamza, ʿAlī, and ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith were close companions of the Prophet and often perceived as his personal bodyguard and defenders,[114] presenting the reader with exemplars of pious Muslims to emulate, as well as the idea of defending the Prophet and Islam as a whole. The hadith also invokes a Muslim victory in the face of attack. The final word in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is a powerful statement about the defense of the Prophet, the examples of pious companions, and the victory of Islam.

Of the six collections, only al-Nasāʾī ends with a hadith that appears to have no particular final message for his reader, which in itself is quite surprising. He ends with his *Kitāb al-Ashriba* and the final hadith of the collection is fairly inconsequential: "Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm—Jarīr: Ibn Shubruma only ever drank water and milk."[115] Why al-Nasāʾī chose to end his collection like this is difficult to determine. However, James Robson shows that the transmission of the *Mujtabā* through Ibn al-Sunnī did not include the *Kitāb al-Ashriba*.[116] If this is the case, the preceding chapter, *Kitāb al-Istiʿādha*, ends with a hadith that functions as a kind of prayer:

> Muḥammad b. Bashshār—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Sufyān—Manṣūr—al-Shaʿbī—Umm Salama—the Prophet; When he went out of his house, he used to say: "In the name of God, Lord, I seek refuge in you from committing error, or falling astray, or doing wrong, or being wronged, or being ignorant, or being treated ignorantly."[117]

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rabbihim. Muslim adds a second chain of transmission with the same *matn*: Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba—Wakīʿ—Muḥammad b. al-Muhannā and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Sufyān—Abū Hāshim—Abū Mijlaz—Qays b. ʿUbbād—Abū Dharr.

113 Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* (*transl. A. Guillaume*), *The Life of Muhammad. A Translation of Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah*, repr. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006, 299.

114 See Mohammed Ali Amir-Moezzi and Francisco José Luis, "The Silent Qurʾan and the Speaking Qurʾan. History and Scriptures through the Study of Some Ancient Texts," in *SI* 108 (2013), 143–174, 154.

115 Al-Nasāʾī, *al-Mujtabā, Kitāb al-Ashriba: Bāb Dhikr al-Ashriba al-mubāḥa*.

116 See James Robson, "The Transmission of al-Nasāʾī's 'Sunan,'" in *JSS* 1 (1956), 38–59, 54–55.

117 Al-Nasāʾī, *al-Mujtabā, Kitāb al-Istiʿādha: Bāb al-Istiʿādha min duʿa lā yustajāb*.

This hadith works much more successfully as a final hadith than the hadith about Ibn Shubruma only ever drinking water and milk. The reference to seeking refuge in God also invokes the ending of the Qurʾan itself and the *Muʿawwidhatān* (Q 113 and 114) which also functioned as prayers of protection.[118] From a structural perspective, the ending of the *Mujtabā* would be best placed at the end of the *Kitāb al-Istiʿādha*, with the *Kitāb al-Ashriba* as a later addition disrupting the original message of the work. However, it is noteworthy that Christopher Melchert has argued that it seems likely that al-Nasāʾī was responsible for the collection of *al-Mujtabā*.[119] Although more research is necessary to establish whether this is the proper ending to al-Nasāʾī's *al-Mujtabā*, the invocation of God's protection at the end of the work is much more powerful.[120]

The beginnings and ends of the 'canonical' collection place the material that is contained within them in a textual frame that can aid an understanding of what each compiler—or author—is attempting to achieve with the collection. Al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is imbued with a sense deep sense of spirituality, in which he places the *sunna* of the Prophet within the frame of God's mercy: After the *nīya* hadith he describes the beginnings of Muslim salvation history in the accounts of the Prophet's first revelation, and he ends with the two doxological laudations that can help individuals gain a better eschatological reward. Muslim begins with a detailed introduction to his methodology and what being *ṣaḥīḥ* means, which includes a confrontation with an unnamed interlocutor, and he ends with a hadith about confrontation, the victory of the Muslim community over falsehood and error, and the defense of the Prophet. The beginnings and ends of these works, as well as the other 'canonical' collections are theologically important and illustrate the literariness of these collections—an aspect of the 'canonical' collections that has often gone unnoticed.

118 See Walid A. Saleh, *The Formation of the Classical Tafsīr Tradition. The Qurʾān Commentary of al-Thaʿlabī* (427/1035), Leiden: Brill, 2004, 104–105; and Stephen R. Burge, "Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, the *Muʿawwidhatān* and the Modes of Exegesis," in Karen Bauer (ed.), *Aims, Methods and Contexts of Qurʾanic Exegesis* (*2nd/8th–9th/15th C.*), London: Oxford University Press, 2013, 277–307, 291–295.

119 Melchert, "The Life and Works of al-Nasāʾī" 386.

120 Cf. the discussions about the 'short' and 'long' endings of the Gospel of Mark, where an addition to the original Gospel appear to change the impact and theology of the original text; for a summary of the problem of the two endings, see Joel Marcus, *Mark 8–18: A New Translation, with Introduction and Commentary*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, 1088–1096.

7 Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to illustrate the benefit of exploring the way in which hadith collections have been constructed and the extent to which there is evidence of *authorship* in the process. Past scholarship has tended to reject the idea that hadith compilers had any significant impact on the meaning of their collections. I have argued such a position in a number of places elsewhere, building my approach on the work of Andrew Newman and Louis Pouzet, as well as on the use of canonical criticism in Biblical Studies. Compilation criticism presents a tool with which the structures of hadith collections can be analyzed, and the underlying theologies and opinions can be unearthed.

Working on such a large scale as whole collections does present a number of methodological problems and difficulties, but I hope that by applying compilation criticism to the *six books* as a whole, particular themes and nuances have been revealed. This chapter has shown that the parts of the 'canonical' collections have been arranged in a careful and considered manner by each of the compilers/authors, and that there is a need to read and to listen to the impact that these nuances may have on the discourse that these authors are articulating. These tentative steps into exploring the collection, construction, and arrangement of the *six books* raise many questions for future research that would warrant further exploration. To what extent, for example, are the broader approaches to arrangement and compilation employed by these six authors manifested in individual *kitab*s? Does al-Nasā'ī's orthopractic and chronological approach to the subsidiary chapters relating to ritual prayer play out in other areas of this collection? Does al-Bukhārī's bracketing of the hadith in overtly spiritual and theological terms have an impact on the way in which other chapters are read? And so on.

The six collections, despite their importance in the history of Muslim thought, have received very little attention. We know very little about how they have been constructed, whether there is an underlying discourse, and what significance this may play in the interpretation of the text. Andrew Newman's work on the importance of structure and arrangement in the development of early Shīʿī discourses and debates has largely gone unnoticed in the field, particularly in the study of Sunnī hadith collections. The tendency has been to read these texts in a non-linear fashion, in the sense that one can dip in and out of hadith collections, without considering how they have been constructed or what contexts and textual topics the compiler may be placing the hadith in.[121]

121 Such an approach to reading hadith collections is, in my opinion, methodologically problematic; see Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature'" 83.

Very few scholars have argued that whole works or even individual *kitāb*s should be read cover to cover. However, there are indications within the *six books* that seem to suggest that they have been arranged in a particular order to convey certain ideas. There have also been several examples in this chapter where the final hadith in one *kitāb* flows thematically into the next. Does this mean that hadith collections have been misread? To what extent are ideas and nuances being missed because the collections are being used as a resource rather than read as a literary text? These are significant questions that cannot be answered here, and although compilation criticism cannot answer all of these questions, it can provide a means to ask questions of the text that have not necessarily been asked before, and to reveal textual nuances that may have been unheard.

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CHAPTER 2

Teaching Islam in Yemen

Insights from Two Forty Hadith *Collections*

Scott C. Lucas

Since the 3rd/9th century, Muslim scholars have produced countless collections of *forty hadith*s, generally called *arbaʿūn ḥadīthan*. Hundreds of these short works survive, and new ones continue to be compiled even today. Given the vast size of most standard hadith collections, the enduring popularity of these short works should come as no surprise. They are the ideal size for copying and memorization and the perfect medium for popularizing a selection of the Prophet Muḥammad's teachings. Despite their omnipresence in Muslim libraries and homes, Western scholarship on Islam has given *forty hadith* collections virtually no attention.

In a short contribution to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, I proposed a fourfold classification of *forty hadith* collections on the basis of reading several dozen of these works.[1] The earliest *forty hadith* books, such as those by Muḥammad b. Aslam al-Ṭūsī (d. 242/856–857) and al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān al-Nasawī (d. 303/915–916), consist overwhelmingly of hadiths on (1) basic Islamic teachings, such as how the Prophet performed ablutions, performed the funeral prayer, and urged men to treat their wives well.[2] A much larger group of these works are (2) thematic, such as Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī's (d. 412/1021–1022) *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn fī l-taṣawwuf* on Sufism and Mullā ʿAlī al-Qārī's (d. 1014/1606) collection of divine hadiths (hadith *qudsī*), titled *al-Aḥādīth al-qudsīya al-arbaʿīnīya*. The third category of *forty hadith* collections arose after many of these works had been composed and consists of those in which their compilers claim to be bringing together forty hadiths in novel and unprecedented ways. I call this the (3) 'boasting genre,' and a good example of it is Ibn ʿAsākir's (d. 571/1176) *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn al-buldānīya ʿan arbaʿīn min arbaʿīn li-arbaʿīn fī*

1 Scott C. Lucas, Forty Traditions, in *EI*^{3}, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd ed., Leiden: Brill, 2007/2016, dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_27174 (last accessed 11 March 2022).

2 For example, al-Ṭūsī's collection (see Muḥammad b. Aslam al-Ṭūsī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn*, ed. Mashʿal al-Muṭayrī, Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2000, 90.) includes the famous hadith

ان أكمل المؤمنين ايماناً أحسنهم خُلقاً و خياركم خياركم لنسائكم.

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arbaʿīn, which, filling in the ellipses, means, "The book of *forty hadiths* from forty different teachers, from forty different towns, passing through forty different companions of the Prophet, on forty different topics."[3] The fourth and final category of these works are collections of (4) exceptionally profound prophetic statements, most of which tend to be succinct, such as those found in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīth fī qawāʿid al-aḥkām al-sharʿīya wa-faḍāʾil al-aʿmāl wa-l-zuhd*.[4]

The objective of this chapter is to analyze the contents of two *forty hadith* collections that have been popular among Zaydī Muslims of northern Yemen since at least the 6th/12th century. Like their Sunnī and Twelver Shīʿī coreligionists, Zaydīs cultivated a rich tradition of hadith literature, much of which the exceptional scholar Qāḍī Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad (d. 573/1177–1178) imported from Persia and Iraq. For three years, Qāḍī Jaʿfar collected hadith collections composed by Zaydī Imāms from the Caspian region, such as the Hārūnī brothers, al-Muʾayyad bi-Allāh (d. 411/1020) and al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib (d. 424/1033), as well as Muʿtazilī scholars, such as al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025) and al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī (d. 494/1101). Subsequent generations of Zaydī scholars and Imāms studied Sunnī hadith collections, which were easily available among the Shāfiʿī scholars of the central highlands, as well as among Sunnī scholars of various schools located in the coastal plain (the Tihāma), especially in the city of Zabīd. This adoption of Sunnī hadith collections stands in sharp contrast to the absence of references to Twelver Shīʿī hadith collections and a lack of interest or awareness of their contents. For example, the significant late commentary *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr sharḥ Majmūʿ al-fiqh al-kabīr* by al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sayyāghī (d. 1221/1806) on the *Majmūʿ al-fiqh* containing hadiths and teachings from Zayd b. ʿAlī (d. 122/740) displays the author's exceptional knowledge of Sunnī (and Zaydī) hadith literature, but makes no reference to Twelver Shīʿī collections.[5]

3 Abū l-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn al-buldānīya ʿan arbaʿīn min arbaʿīn li-arbaʿīn fī arbaʿīn*, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1992.

4 This short collection actually has only 39 hadiths. Six of these hadiths are identical to hadiths in *Silsilat al-ibrīz*, a short *forty hadith* collection I discuss below, and another six share a common meaning; see Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan fī qawāʿid al-aḥkām al-sharʿīya wa-faḍāʾil al-aʿmāl wa-l-zuhd*, Damascus: Dār al-Maʾmūn li-l-Turāth, 1987.

5 Al-Ḥusayn al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr sharḥ Majmūʿ al-fiqh al-kabīr*, 5 vols., Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿāda, 1928–1931. Al-Sayyāghī lived in Ṣanʿāʾ and was only 40 years old when he died, making him a contemporary of al-Shawkānī (1760–1824). All references will be to the first edition of *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, which includes its *Tatimma*, v, completed about a century after al-Sayyāghī's death by al-ʿAbbās b. Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī (d. 1376/1956–1957), and which is available online at: dlib.nyu.edu/aco/book/columbia_aco001544/1 (last accessed 11 March 2022).

After Qāḍī Jaʿfar's fruitful journey to Persia and Iraq, Zaydīs produced or transmitted at least four *forty hadith* collections. The oldest of these was composed by Zayd b. Rifāʿa (d. before 390/1000?), a member of the Brethren of Purity in Basra, who travelled to Persia. His collection was narrated by al-Ḥasan b. Mahdī al-Saylaqī and became known in Yemen as *al-Arbaʿūn al-Saylaqīya*.[6] Qāḍī Jaʿfar brought this book back to Yemen, where the son of his student, the Imām ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (ruled 583–614/1187 or 8–1217), wrote a commentary on it that is extant and has been published. This work is unusual in that it consists of forty alleged sermons by the Prophet, several of which are very long, and none of which is transmitted by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib or his descendants. Qāḍī Jaʿfar composed his own *forty hadith* collection, *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, which I will be discussing in the second section of this chapter. It was based on the previously mentioned *Majmūʿ al-fiqh*, containing the alleged teachings and hadiths of Zayd b. ʿAlī,[7] which Qāḍī Jaʿfar also brought to Yemen from Rayy. A third collection, which I shall discuss in the first section of this chapter, was composed by the Sayyids of Balkh, in either the 5th/11th or 6th/12th century, and brought to Mecca where it was transmitted for centuries. This collection is known in Yemen as *Silsilat al-ibrīz*, the title of which is a reference to its 'golden' chain of transmitters, the majority of which are descendants of the Prophet through al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. The final *forty hadith* collection was compiled by the Zaydī Imām al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (ruled 1006–1029/1597–1620), who selected forty hadiths from Qāḍī Jaʿfar's reorganization of the *Āmālī* of the Caspian Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḤaqqAbū Ṭālib. This text, which remains unpublished, is available online in manuscript, courtesy of the Princeton University Digital Library and the Yemeni Manuscript Digitization Initiative (YMDI), under the title *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn al-Ṭālibīya*.[8]

6 I am grateful for Hassan Ansari bringing to my attention the complicated history of this popular *forty hadith* collection. These details can be found in ʿAbd al-Salām al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydīya*, Amman: Muʾassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Thaqāfīya, 1999, 438. The *al-Arbaʿūn al-Saylaqīya* is identical to the later Sunnī *arbaʿūn* by Ibn Waḍʿān (d. 494/1101), which Sunnī hadith critics considered to be a forgery. Interestingly, Ibn Waḍʿān's plagiarism was incorporated wholesale into al-Bāqir al-Majlisī's (d. 1110/1699) massive Twelver Shīʿī hadith compilation, *Biḥār al-anwār*.

7 This work has inspired a variety of titles in the manuscript tradition. Here are two examples from the Ambrosiana collection: 1) *Kitāb al-Majmūʿ mimmā jamaʿahu al-Imām al-walī Zayd b. ʿAlī ʿalayh al-salām* (MS Ambrosiana F 227, fol. 135[a]); 2) *Majmūʿ Imām al-hudā wa-l-rashād, fātiḥ abwāb al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar wa-l-jihād, amīr al-muʾminīn Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, ṣalawāt Allāh ʿalayhim ajmaʿīn* (MS Ambrosiana D 337, fol. 3[a]).

8 See pudl.princeton.edu/viewer.php?obj=5425kb994#page/241/mode/2up (last accessed 11 March 2022).

This chapter shall restrict its analysis to only two of these *forty hadith* collections for the following reasons. Firstly, each of these four works has a complicated transmission history, the full discussion of which would leave little room for the more important analysis of these works' contents. Secondly, the collection known as *Silsilat al-ibrīz* and Qāḍī Jaʿfar's *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* share a few common features that are not found in either *al-Arbaʿūn al-Saylaqīya* or *al-Arbaʿūn al-Ṭālibīya*. These two collections 1) consist of a single *isnād* for all of their respective hadiths; 2) both *isnād*s are anchored in ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and at least three of his descendants; and 3) both collections frequently are transmitted with a commentary. Finally, these two collections align well with two of the four categories I proposed for the *forty hadith* genre: The *Silsilat al-ibrīz* is an exemplary collection of exceptionally profound Prophetic statements, while *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* is a good example of a collection of basic Islamic teachings.

More broadly, these two *forty hadith* collections demonstrate the significant role of hadiths in the articulation of basic Islamic ethics and practice. Nearly all the teachings they espouse can be appreciated by Muslims of all theological orientations, not just Zaydīs. While the *isnād*s for these collections are important because they serve to ground their teachings in the family of the Prophet, their singular appearances at the opening of each collection means that the reader (or listener) focuses the vast majority of their attention on the actual content of the Prophet's alleged teachings rather than their transmission history. By moving beyond the question of the authenticity of the *isnād*s attached to these collections of forty hadiths and analyzing their contents, we can learn a great deal about Zaydī Islam in Yemen as well as the role of hadiths in shaping Islamic education more broadly.

1 The *Forty Hadith* Collection Known as *Silsilat al-ibrīz*

The *forty hadith* collection known as *Silsilat al-ibrīz* consists of three elements: 1) A chain of transmitters with fourteen descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib;[9] 2) forty short hadiths, most of which are only two to five words; 3) a commentary, titled *al-Qawl al-wajīz*, by Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣiddīq al-Namāzī (d. 975/1567–1568), that he wrote in al-Rabīʿ II 945/September 1538 in Taʿizz.[10] This work has been

9 See Appendix 1, below, for the complete 'golden' *isnād*.

10 For the date and place, see the final note on MS Ambrosiana F 307, fol. 56ª. The note says that it was completed "the morning of Saturday, the sixth of al-Rabīʿ al-Ākhir, in the year 945, in my house in Taʿizz, ʿAdan."

published at least seven times under various titles **(table 2.1)**, the most misleading of which is *al-Arbaʿīn* (*sic*), attributed to Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1762). While it is true that Shāh Walī Allāh acquired this collection during his sojourn in Mecca from 1731 to 1732, he merely narrated this collection from his teacher, Abū Ṭāhir al-Madanī (d. 1733) and did not select these forty hadiths himself. This collection is also included in the modern South Asian hadith scholar Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Bāqī l-Ayyūbī al-Laknawī's (d. 1364/1945) collection of *musalsal ḥadīth*s,[11] *al-Manāhil al-salsala fī l-aḥādīth al-musalsala*.

How do we know that the *Silsilat al-ibrīz* was popular in Yemen? Currently, the most accessible evidence for the popularity of this collection can be found in the Caprotti Collection of Yemeni manuscripts, which contains nine copies of this short hadith collection **(table 2.2)**.[12] Nearly all of these texts were copied in the 17th century or later, and nearly half of them are accompanied by Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣiddīq al-Namāzī's commentary, *al-Qawl al-wajīz*. The title of the text fluctuates between manuscripts; two attractively written copies have the title *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan al-mulaqqab isnāduhā bi-silsilat al-ibrīz wa-l-iksīr al-ʿazīz*.[13] The *isnād*s of these manuscripts identify three entry points for *Silsilat al-ibrīz* into northern Yemen by way of Mecca and the Tihāma. The earliest was

11 According to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, a *musalsal ḥadīth* "consists of the consecutive succession of the transmitters of the *isnād* and their common adherence, one after another, to a single state or condition;" Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *An Introduction to the Science of the Ḥadīth* 197 (topic 33). In other words, it is one in which each narrator in the *isnād* of the hadith does something unique, such as clasp the listener's hand or begin with the same hadith in his teaching session. In the case of *Silsilat al-ibrīz*, the recurring feature among the narrators is that most of them said, "I heard [these hadiths] from my father."

12 The Caprotti Collection refers to the large corpus of Yemeni manuscripts assembled by the Italian merchant Giuseppe Caprotti (1862–1919) who lived in Ṣanʿā' for thirty years. Most of this collection is held in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan under the name *Nuovo Fondo* and has been completely catalogued; see Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, 3 vols., Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1981–1995; and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, 4 vols., Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2011. An additional part of his collection is held by the Vatican Apostolic Library and consists of shelf marks Vat. Ar. 946–1206 and 1357–1375. For details of the Vatican's share of the Caprotti Collection, see Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei Manoscritti Arabi Islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935.

13 It appears this way in MS Ambrosiana F 307 and MS Ambrosiana D 337; MS Vatican Ar. 1159 has *al-isnād al-mulaqqab bi-silsilat al-ibrīz wa-l-iksīr al-ʿazīz*, while MS Ambrosiana D 244 has *Silsilat al-ibrīz wa-l-iksīr al-ʿazīz*; MS Vatican Ar. 1112 has *al-isnād al-mulaqqab bi-silsilat al-dhahab al-ibrīz wa-l-iksīr al-ʿazīz*; and Ambros. E 68 has just *Silsilat al-ibrīz*. There is no visible title on MS Ambrosiana B 35, while MS Ambrosiana D 374 seems to have the title *Sulālat al-ibrīz*. Note that MS Ambrosiana F 309 only contains al-Namāzī's commentary.

TABLE 2.1 Published editions of *Silsilat al-ibrīz*

	Author to whom it is ascribed	Title	Editor	Date of publication	Place of publication
1	Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī	*Chahal ḥadīs*	NA	1890	Lahore[a]
2	Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Ayyūbī	*Al-Manāhil al-salsala* (pp. 213–217)	NA	1983	Beirut
3	al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib	*Silsilat al-ibrīz bi-l-sanad al-ʿazīz*	Muḥammad Jawād al-Jalālī	1413/1992–1993	Qum
4	Al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza	*Majmūʿ al-rasāʾil al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh* (2:562–564)	ʿAbd al-Salām al-Wajīh	2002	Ṣanʿāʾ
5	al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib	*Silsilat al-ibrīz bi-l-sanad al-ʿazīz*	al-Murtaḍā al-Maḥaṭwarī	1425/2004	Ṣanʿāʾ
6	Shah Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī	*al-Arbaʿīn*	NA[b]	2008	London
7	Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ṣiddīq al-Namāzī	*al-Qawl al-wajīz fī sharḥ aḥādīth—Silsilat al-ibrīz*	ʿAmmār Fahdāwī	?	online[c]

a This edition, which has the Arabic original with an Urdu translation, is available through the following database: *Early Arabic Printed Books from the British Library*, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4uwu77 (last accessed 6 June 2017).

b This edition has a commentary by Shaykh Nemat Ullah and Marcia Hermanson, and an English translation by Safaruk Zaman Chowdhury. There is no indication from where the publisher obtained the Arabic text of the hadiths, which is included with the translation.

c See ketab.kateban.com/post/1180.

from the Yemeni Zaydī ʿImrān b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir b. Yaʿqūb al-ʿUdharī (d. after 630/1232), who heard it directly from Ibn Abī Ḥaramī in Mecca during "the last 10 days of Dhū l-Qaʿda 609/April 1213," according to the *isnād*s of some of the manuscripts.[14] ʿImrān b. Abī l-Ḥasan transmitted this copy to the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza according to the print edition of his

14 See, for example MS Ambrosiana B 35 (fol. 42[b]); MS Ambrosiana D 337 (fol. 93[b]). This date also appears in the *isnād* of Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza, *Majmūʿ al-rasāʾil*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Wajīh, 2 vols., Amman: Muʾassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Thaqāfīya, 2002, 2: 562. In MS Vatican Ar. 1112 (fol. 111[a]), the audition date is Friday, the 24th of Dhū l-Qaʿda, 603.

TABLE 2.2 Overview of Yemeni manuscripts of *Silsilat al-ibrīz*

Ms.	Manuscript shelf number & folios	Date	The golden *Isnād*	All 40 hadiths	al-Namāzī's commentary
1	MS Ambrosiana B 35 (fols. 42–46)	1070/1659–1660	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	MS Ambrosiana D 244 (fols. 152–154)	11th/17th century (?)	Yes	Yes	Fragment
3	MS Ambrosiana D 337 (fols. 93–94)	1068/1657–1658	Yes	Yes	No
4	MS Ambrosiana D 374 (fol. 24[a])	1262/1846 (?)	Yes	Yes	No
5	MS Ambrosiana E 68 (fols. 183–184)	11th/17th century	Yes	Yes	No
6	MS Ambrosiana F 307 (fols. 45–56)	11th/17th century (?)	Yes	Yes	Yes
7	MS Ambrosiana F 309 (fols. 125–127)	1072/1661–1662	No	No	Yes
8	MS Vatican Arab 1112 (fol. 111[a–b])	12th/18th cent. (?)	Yes	Yes	No
9	MS Vatican Arab 1159 (fols. 82[b]–87[a])	Jumādā II 1073/ 1663	Yes	Yes	Yes

Majmūʿ al-rasā'il mentioned above. It also served as the basis for Saʿd al-Dīn al-Miswarī's written copy (*nuskha*) that mentions several surviving manuscripts of the text.

The second scholar to circulate *Silsilat al-ibrīz* was the aforementioned Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ṣiddīq al-Namāzī, who wrote the popular commentary *al-Qawl al-wajīz*. Al-Namāzī is a fascinating scholar who merits a detailed study in his own right.[15] Little is known about al-Namāzī's background and family, beyond his teachers and books. He was a Sunnī scholar, immersed in Sunnī hadith lit-

15 For more on him, see Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydīya al-kubrā: al-qism al-thālith*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Wajīh, 3 vols., Amman: Muʾassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Thaqāfīya, 2001, iii, 1465–1479. In this entry, al-Namāzī is presented as a major conduit of Sunnī hadith collections to Zaydī scholars and Imāms.

erature, and ultimately befriended the Zaydī scholar and Imām Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Shams al-Dīn (claimed the imamate from 912–953/1506–1547; he died 965/1558), the grandson of the famous Zaydī scholar Ibn al-Murtaḍā (d. 740/1436–1437).[16] Most of al-Namāzī's corpus is available only in manuscript, and fortunately the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan preserves the following works he authored, in addition to *al-Qawl al-wajīz*:[17] a commentary on al-Būṣīrī's famous *Mantle Poem*;[18] a versification of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's Ashʿarite creed;[19] and a commentary on Sharaf al-Dīn's legal book, *al-Athmār fī fiqh al-aʾimma al-aṭhār*, which is itself an abridgement of his grandfather's famous *Kitāb al-Azhār*.[20] Four of the manuscripts of *Silsilat al-ibrīz* in the Caprotti collection are narrated by al-Namāzī from his hadith teacher in Zabīd, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī al-Dubayʿ,[21] and which he in turn narrated to Sharaf al-Dīn's son, ʿAlī.[22]

The third and latest channel of transmission is found in only one of the Caprotti manuscripts of *Silsilat al-ibrīz*. In this case, al-Ḥusayn (d. 1050/1640–1641), son of the famous Zaydī Imām al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, heard *Silsilat al-ibrīz* from the Sunnī hadith scholar in Zabīd, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Mujtanā al-Hattār. This encounter is mentioned in *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydīya al-kubrā*,[23] and the manuscript in which it is found, MS

16 For Sharaf al-Dīn, see Richard Blackburn, "The Era of Imām Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā and His Son al-Muṭahhar (10th/16th Century)," in *Yemen Update* 42 (2000), 4–8, cks.catalog.dlir.org/no-42-2000/78-the-era-of-imam-sharaf-al-din-yahya-and-his-son-al-mutahhar-10th16th-century.html (last accessed 11 March 2022); Christoph Rauch, "Zaydī Scholars on the Move," in David Hollenberger, Christoph Rauch, and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*, Leiden: Brill, 2015, 203–226, 204–208; and al-Qāsim al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt* iii, 1232–1243. According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, Sharaf al-Dīn claimed the imamate while in his native town of Ẓafīr in 912/1506–1507; he conquered Ṣanʿā' in 924/1518 but did not conquer Ṣaʿda in the north until 940/1533–1534. Ẓafīr is a town near Shibām and Kawkabān, about 40 kilometers northwest of Ṣanʿā'.

17 For a slightly longer list, see his biography in the online edition of *al-Sharḥ al-wajīz*, available at ketab.kateban.com/post/1180.

18 MS Ambrosiana F 87 (fols. 1–24); see Traini, *Catalogue* iv, 38.

19 MS Ambrosiana C 181 (fols. 41–43); see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue* i, 216; a second copy is MS Ambrosiana F 269 (fols. 1–8); see Traini, *Catalogue* iv, 141–142.

20 By a stroke of good fortune, MS Ambrosiana A 33 is an autograph copy of the third volume of al-Namāzī's commentary on *al-Athmār*, dated 949/1543; see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*.

21 Little is known about his life; see ketab.kateban.com/post/1180.

22 These are MS Ambrosiana D 244, D 374, E 68; and MS Vatican Ar. 1159.

23 Al-Qāsim al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt* i, 371; also, i, 375–376, which dates his audition of this text to around the year 1045/1635–1636 in al-Turayba, a settled region ten kilometers east of Zabīd (page 376, note 1).

Ambrosiana F 307, is the most carefully written copy we have of this work, with only fourteen lines of medium-large text per page. This manuscript also includes al-Namāzī's *al-Qawl al-wajīz* (48a–56a) and was collated with Saʿd al-Dīn al-Miswarī's *nuskha*, mentioned above, according to a note in the margin of fol. 46[a].

Who was the compiler of *Silsilat al-ibrīz*? Both al-Jalālī and al-Maḥaṭwarī ascribe it to Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 532/1137–1138) of Balkh, who appears in all the *isnād*s of this collection.[24] There can be little doubt that this *sayyid* is the *terminus ante quem* for two reasons. Firstly, all of the chains of transmission of the print and manuscript copies of *Silsilat al-ibrīz* pass through his student, Sirāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yāsir al-Jayyānī (d. 563/1168–1169),[25] a peripatetic Andalusī scholar who visited Balkh and settled ultimately in Aleppo. Several of the manuscripts report Sirāj al-Dīn saying, "He read it more than once in 527/1133."[26] The second reason is that Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Balkhī (d. after 610/1214) includes 14 of the initial 16 hadiths of *Silsilat al-ibrīz* in his entry for his teacher, Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī, in his book, *Faḍā'il Balkh*.[27] These hadiths are identical to hadiths 2–6 and 8–16 in *Silsilat al-ibrīz* both in content and sequence. The *isnād*s of a few of the Yemeni manuscripts report that this collection was read by al-Ḥasan's father, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥusaynī in 466/1073–1074, and by his grandfather, Abū Ṭālib b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, in 434/1042–1043.[28] This is the earliest audition note written among the *isnād*s of the Yemeni manuscripts of *Silsilat al-ibrīz*, which, if historically true, would push the date of its compilation back to the early or middle 5th/11th century. Given the ambiguity of who made the compilation, the safest

24 Al-Jalālī discusses this attribution at length in his introduction to *Silsilat al-ibrīz*; see al-Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Ḥusaynī al-Balkhī, *Silsilat al-ibrīz bi-l-isnād al-ʿazīz*, ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Jalālī, Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Marʿashī, 1413/1993, 15–23.

25 His full name is Sirāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yāsir al-Anṣārī al-Jayyānī; for a biographical sketch, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Silsilat al-ibrīz* 40–41.

26 See, for example, MS Ambrosiana B 35 (fol. 42[b]); MS Ambrosiana D 244 (fol. 152[b]); MS Ambrosiana D 337 (fol. 93[b]); MS Ambrosiana D 374 (fol. 24); MS Ambrosiana F 307 (fol. 46[a]); MS Vatican Ar. 1112 (fol. 111[a]).

27 This book only survives in its Persian translation, although the fourteen hadiths from *Silsilat al-ibrīz* are retained in their original Arabic; see Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Wāʿiẓ al-Balkhī, *Faḍā'il Balkh*, transl. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran: Bunyān-i Farhang-i Iran, 1971–1972, 352–353. The presence of these hadiths in *Faḍā'il Balkh* was noted earlier by al-Jalālī in his edition of *Silsilat al-ibrīz* (page 25). For an insightful study of *Faḍā'il Balkh*, see Arezou Azad, *Sacred Landscapes in Medieval Afghanistan*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

28 These additional audition dates are mentioned in MS Ambrosiana B 35, MS Ambrosiana D 244, MS Ambrosiana D 337, and MS Ambrosiana F 307.

attribution of this popular *forty hadith* collection would be to the Sayyids of Balkh in the 5th–6th/11th–12th centuries.

The forty hadiths of *Silsilat al-ibrīz* are narrated in no obvious order and without chapter headings.[29] Despite this random arrangement, it is possible to group its teachings into three broad categories: 1) general life principles, 2) specific virtues and practices, and 3) exhortations to integrity and honesty. The first category contains multiple general principles for living a good life, such as "Anything small and sufficient is superior to anything copious and distracting"; "True wealth is self-sufficiency"; and "The best affairs are the moderate ones."[30] Two of the longer prophetic quotes in *Silsilat al-ibrīz* are found in this category: "Truly, in poetry there is wisdom; truly, in eloquence there is magic"; and "Hearts are inclined to love whoever is kind to them and hate whoever is cruel to them."[31] A couple of these hadiths are rather obvious, such as "A report is unlike observation," and "A witness sees that which an absentee cannot see,"[32] while others are more mysterious, such as, "People are like the teeth of a comb," and "A man is with whom he likes."[33] There are several 'life lessons' one might expect to hear from a spiritual master (or grandparent) in this category, such as "Happy is he who learns from others' [mistakes]"; "The man who knows his measure is not ruined"; and "Your love for a thing blinds and deafens [you]."[34] *Silsilat al-ibrīz* also warns ambitious or adventurous souls that "The master of a people is their servant," and "Travel is a portion of torment."[35] While several of these teachings encourage asceticism, such as the hadith "This world is prison for the

29 The forty hadiths of *Silsilat al-ibrīz* are found on pages 57–59 of al-Jalālī's 1992–1993 edition. Al-Jalālī's edition is based on the Yemeni manuscript tradition, as he relied primarily upon MS Ambrosiana B 35 for his edition, along with the living tradition of Sunnī scholars teaching this text in Mecca. In the paragraphs that follow, I shall abbreviate *Silsilat al-Ibrīz* as *SI* and merely identify the number of the hadith according to al-Jalālī's edition. (This enumeration differs slightly from the other print editions of the *Silsilat al-ibrīz*, mentioned above, save for that found in the *Majmūʿ al-rasāʾil* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza and the online edition of *al-Qawl al-wajīz*.) The Arabic text is that found in al-Jalālī's edition, which also agrees with MS Ambrosiana D 337 and MS Ambrosiana F 307. The differences between the nine Yemeni manuscripts are extremely minor and found in fewer than half of the hadiths in *Silsilat al-ibrīz*.

30 *SI* #14 (خير الأمور أوساطها); #18 (ما قلّ و كفى خير مما كثر و ألهى); and #36 (الغنى غِنَى النفس). All translations in this chapter are mine.

31 *SI* #20 (جُبلت القلوب على حبّ من أحسن إليها و); #28 (إنّ من الشعر لحكمة و إنّ من البيان لسحراً بغض من أساء إليها).

32 *SI* #1 (ليس الخبر كالمعاينة); #30 (الشاهد يرى ما لا يرى الغائب).

33 *SI* #17 (الناس كأسنان المشط); #22 (المرؤ مع من أحب). This hadith is echoed by another one: "A Muslim is the mirror of a Muslim," *SI* #4.

34 *SI* #19 (السعيد من وعظ بغيره); #23 (ما هلك امرء عرف قدره); #27 (حبّك للشيء يعمي و يصمّ).

35 *SI* #35 (سيد القوم خادمهم); #39 (السفر قطعة من العذاب).

believer but paradise for the disbeliever,"[36] the Prophet states unambiguously that "The upper hand is better than the lower hand,"[37] and warns that "Poverty is nearly disbelief."[38]

The hadiths in the second category of teachings in *Silsilat al-ibrīz* identify specific virtues or practices a person should adopt. The Prophet urges kings (and presumably all powerful people) to be forgiving and emphasizes that "Modesty—all of it—is good."[39] He exhorts his followers to repent,[40] be God-fearing,[41] and proclaims "No one thanks God who does not thank people."[42] Finally, the Prophet encourages all people to help their fellow men and women perform good deeds, with his encouraging statement, "One who guides to goodness is like one who does it."[43]

There are relatively few specific practices or rulings among the forty hadiths of *Silsilat al-ibrīz*. The only one that declares something unlawful says, "It is unlawful for a believer to repel his brother for more than three days."[44] The other unambiguously legal hadith is the famous report that resolves cases of uncertain paternity, namely "The child belongs to the [owner of the] bed; only stones are for the fornicator."[45] The only reference to martyrdom occurs not in the context of warfare, but rather in the case of defending one's property or being killed on a journey, far from one's property.[46] The Prophet admonishes his listeners to give charity even if it is merely "a date pit,"[47] to honor and provide hospitality for visiting dignitaries,[48] and warns that "One who takes back his gift is like one who takes back his vomit."[49] Near the end of *Silsilat al-ibrīz*, the compiler inserted a very succinct version of the famous hadith "Actions are

36 *SI* #9 (الدنيا سجن المؤمن و جنّة الكافر).

37 In other words, the person who gives charity is better than the one who receives it.

38 *SI* #25 (كاد الفقر أن يكون كفراً); #38 (اليد العليا خير من اليد السفلى).

39 *SI* #21 (عفو الملوك أبقى للملك); #10 (الحياء خير كله).

40 "One who repents from a sin is like the sinless person," *SI* #29.

41 "The best provision is piety," *SI* #40. This hadith is actually a clause from the Qur'anic verse 2:197, *khayr al-zād al-taqwā*.

42 *SI* #26 (لا يشكر الله من لا يشكر الناس).

43 *SI* #6 (الدالّ على الخير كفاعله).

44 *SI* #12 (لا يحلّ لمؤمن أن يهجر أخاه فوق ثلاثة أيام).

45 *SI* #24 (الولد للفراش و للعاهر الحجر). The stones in this hadith are understood to mean something valueless, rather than the stones used to lapidate a fornicator. In other words, the claims of a fornicator are worthless in establishing paternity, when the husband or owner of the fornicator is known. Al-Namāzī also says this hadith supports the penalty of lapidation for a previously-married fornicator; see ketab.kateban.com/post/1180.

46 "Whoever is killed defending his wealth is a martyr," *SI* #33.

47 "Guard against Hellfire, even with a date pit [of charity]," *SI* #8.

48 "When a dignitary comes to you, honor him," *SI* #31.

49 *SI* #15 (الراجع في هبته كالراجع في قيئه).

according to their intention,"[50] as well as the only supplication in the collection, in which the Prophet allegedly requested, "O Allah! Bless my community on Thursday mornings."[51]

The final category of hadiths in *Silsilat al-ibrīz* revolves around the themes of trust, honesty, and integrity. The Prophet demands of his followers that "Meetings must be secure" and "One whose consultation is sought should be trustworthy."[52] He states that "A believer's promise is like a handclasp," and threatens that "Anyone who cheats us is not one of us."[53] The Prophet warns that "Wicked oaths destroy the community," and that "Tribulations are triggered by talk."[54] He advocates privacy and discretion when people seek assistance for their basic necessities, saying "Seek help for your needs with discretion."[55] In fact, the only time when dishonesty is tolerated is indicated by the pithy expression, "War is deception (*al-ḥarb khudʿa*)."[56]

It should be clear from the preceding citations of the forty hadiths in *Silsilat al-ibrīz* why I have classified this collection among the works containing exceptionally profound prophetic statements. As early as the 3rd/9th century, many of these hadiths were recognized as being examples of Arabic eloquence by the philologist Abū Bakr b. Durayd (d. 321/933), twenty of which can be found in his book *al-Mujtanā*.[57] A striking feature of these hadiths—in addition to their general brevity—is their universalistic character, as relatively few of them contain overtly Islamic vocabulary. For example, the word 'believer' (*muʾmin*) occurs only in three of them,[58] while the word 'disbeliever' (*kāfir*) only appears in one of them.[59] The word 'Allāh' occurs a single time, while 'the Garden' and 'Hellfire' each appear only once.[60] It is devoid of exhortations to warfare in the

50 *SI* #34 (الأعمال بالنيّة). Note that in this case, the word 'intention' is in the singular, unlike the version found at the opening of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

51 *SI* #37 (اللهمّ بارك لأمّتي في بكورها يوم الخميس).

52 *SI* #2 (المجالس بالأمانة); #5 (المستشار مؤتمن).

53 *SI* #11 ([بالكف] عدة المؤمن كأخذ الكف); #13 (ليس منّا من غشّنا).

54 *SI* #32 (اليمين الفاجرة تدع الديار بلاقع); #16 (البلاء موكل بالمنطق).

55 *SI* #7 (استعينوا على الحوائج بالكتمان).

56 *SI* #3.

57 The identical hadiths are *SI* #1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 14 (quoted twice), 17, 18, 24, 25, 32, and 35; hadiths which differ solely by a few letters or a single word are #7, 11, 13, 16, 20, 27, and 34; see Ibn Durayd, *al-Mujtanā*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿAwwād, Beirut: Dār al-Mawāsim, 1996, 88–111.

58 *SI* #9, 11, 12. Note that the word 'Muslim' only occurs in #4.

59 *SI* #9. The word *kufr* also occurs once and probably means 'disbelief' here, although it might also mean 'ingratitude,' *SI* #38.

60 *SI* #26 ('Allāh'); #9 ('Garden'); #8 ('Hellfire'). The related expression *Allāhumma* occurs only in #37.

path of God (*al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh*), and the only reference to martyrdom, mentioned above, concerns someone who dies either defending or being remote from their property. Most of the teachings address people in general, and one of them, "People are like the teeth of a comb," may suggest a degree of equality among all people, regardless of creed or gender.[61] Finally, there is no trace of sectarianism—Sunnī or Shīʿī—among these forty hadiths, something which may explain their popularity both in Zaydī Yemen and—in the case of Shāh Walī Allāh and those who attributed this collection to him—Sunnī South Asia.

2 The *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* by Qāḍī Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad

Qāḍī Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad al-Buhlūlī was one of the most significant Zaydī scholars in medieval Yemen.[62] He hailed from a prominent Ismāʿīlī family in Ṣanʿā' and initially converted to the Muṭarrifī orientation of Zaydī Islam,[63] prior to joining the circle of the 'orthodox' Zaydī Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (ruled 532–566/1137–1170). After a brief appointment as judge of Ṣanʿā', Qāḍī Jaʿfar set out for Persia and Iraq with his teacher, Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī (d. 545/1150–1151). After his teacher died unexpectedly in the Tihāma region of Yemen, Qāḍī Jaʿfar continued without him to Mecca, Kufa, and Rayy. During his travels, Qāḍī Jaʿfar amassed an impressive collection of Zaydī and Muʿtazilī hadith books, most of which survived only in Yemen.[64] He established a school in the town of Sanāʿ (سناع), a suburb of the city Ṣanʿā', (صنعاء) next to the

61 Ibn Durayd says: "It means that [people] are equal (*mustawūn*), and that they only differ in excellence on account of their righteous deeds and beautiful actions. This is like [the Prophet's] statement, 'All of you belong to Adam, and Adam is from soil,'" *al-Mujtanā* 98.

62 For his biography, see Wilferd Madelung, Djaʿfar b. Abī Yaḥyā Shams al-Dīn Abu l-Faḍl, in *EI²*, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 1954–2004 [online edition]; idem, *Der Imam al-Ḳāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965, 212–216; Gregor Schwarb, "Muʿtazilism in the Age of Averroes," in Peter Adamson (ed.), *In the Age of Averroes*, London and Turin: Warburg Institute/Nino Aragno, 2011, 270–273; Aḥmad b. Abī al-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr wa-majmaʿ al-buḥūr fī tarājim al-rijāl al-Zaydīya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raqīb Ḥijr, 4 vols., Ṣaʿda: Markaz Ahl al-Bayt li-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīya, 2004, i, 617–624. Al-Qāsim al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt* i, 273–278; ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-Islāmī fī l-Yaman*, Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣrīya, 1988, 106–108; al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydīya* 278–282. For additional biographical references to Qāḍī Jaʿfar, see Jan Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism in the VIth/XIIth Century Zaydīya. The Role of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ," in *Arabica* 57.5 (2010), 517–535, 541 (note 24).

63 For more on the Muṭarrifīya Zaydī's, see Wilferd Madelung, Muṭarrifīya, in *EI²*, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 1954–2004, vii, 772–773.

64 For an extensive discussion of these works, see Scott C. Lucas, "Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana," in *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 26 (2018), 105–140.

prominent Muṭarrifī school, where he taught and wrote books until his death in 573/1177–1178.

The *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* consists of an introduction, 54 prophetic hadiths, 11 quotes of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and 134 lessons that Qāḍī Jaʿfar derives from these reports. It is arranged in forty chapters, which explains why it is called a 'forty hadith collection' even though it contains 65 reports.[65] The modern editor of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Kibsī, draws attention to the fact that two recensions of this work survive in the manuscript tradition. In what I am calling 'recension A,' the lessons of Qāḍī Jaʿfar, which serve as a commentary on each chapter, are not enumerated, save in four chapters.[66] In what I am calling 'recension B,' these lessons are clearly enumerated in every chapter, even in the rare cases when there are only two lessons. In other words, in recension B, Qāḍī Jaʿfar identifies how many lessons are in each chapter, and identifies each lesson as the first lesson, second lesson, and so on. Both recensions are also found in the four manuscripts of the text I have reviewed. The old, undated copy of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* in the British Library and MS Ambrosiana F 159[67] are copies of recension B,[68] while MS Ambrosiana H 61[69] and the Princeton YMDI[70] are recension A. We may cautiously assume that the non-enumerated recension was the original text, and then later scholars enumerated the outstanding 36 chapters, but the manuscript evidence accessible to me at this time does not allow for any firm conclusion. The important point is that Kibsī's edition is of recension B, although he frequently includes the variants from recension A in his critical apparatus,[71] while the online Princeton YMDI manuscript, copied in 1325/1907, is of recension A.

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65 See Appendix 2, below, for an overview of the names and content of all forty chapters.

66 These four chapters are 34, 37, 39, and 40. It should be noted that three of these four chapters contain five or more lessons, while most chapters contain three lessons. I am translating *fawāʾid* as 'lessons,' although this word has a broader meaning, including 'benefits, utilities, advantages, and profits'; see J.G. Hava, *Arabic–English Dictionary*, New Delhi: Goodword Books, 2003, 580.

67 This is a very recently copied manuscript; see Traini, *Catalogue* iv, 76 (#1454).

68 MS British Library Or. 3916, fols. 6^{b}, 10^{a}–38^{a}. The cataloguer estimates its date as 13th century; see Charles Rieu, *Supplement of the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London: Longmans & Co., 1894, 786 (#1230). Note that this edition is missing the chapters covering hadiths 10–12, along with the second half of chapter 9, of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*.

69 MS Ambrosiana H 61 (75b–80b); see Traini, *Catalogue* iv, 239.

70 Identified as MS Princeton ymdi_04_15 (pages 67–106) and available at: pudl.princeton.edu/viewer.php?obj=3x816n915#page/69/mode/2up (last accessed 11 March 2022).

71 What I am calling 'recension A' are Kibsī's manuscripts ب and ج.

I have classified Qāḍī Jaʿfar's *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* as a *forty hadith* collection in the genre of basic Islamic teachings. In fact, this work serves as an introduction to basic Islamic teachings, such as ablutions, prayer, fasting, and beliefs. It also serves as an unstated introduction to one of the most significant hadith collections among Zaydīs, the *Majmūʿ al-fiqh* of Zayd b. ʿAlī's alleged teachings,[72] often called *Musnad al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī*. Qāḍī Jaʿfar includes at least one hadith from all but three chapters of *Majmūʿ al-fiqh*,[73] and eight chapters of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* are directly taken from entire sub-chapters of the *Majmūʿ al-fiqh*. In his introduction, Qāḍī Jaʿfar explains what led him to compose this book:

> Verily, the narrators of hadiths attributed to the Prophet (ṣ) have narrated numerous reports concerning the merit of the person who memorizes forty [p. 41] hadiths for [the Prophet's] community, among his teachings (*sunnatih*).[74] For example, [consider] His (ṣ) statement, "Whoever memorizes forty hadiths of my teachings for my community, I shall grant him my intercession on Resurrection Day," and others like it. Many [hadith narrators] have desired to attain this merit, and have aspired to attain this majestic status, bringing together hadiths on all topics, selecting among them specific narrations, and choosing reliable narrators. And yet, I have not seen a single compilation of forty hadiths exclusively from the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (God's greetings upon him, and

72 This book actually consists of two books, as Eugenio Griffini explained in his 1919 edition of it, see *"Corpus Iuris" di Zaid ibn ʿAlī*, Milan: Hoepli, 1919. Or, to be more precise, the "complete recension" (Griffini's expression) of the *Majmūʿ al-fiqh* makes it very clear where the first book ends and the second one begins, while the "abbreviated recension" does not. In Griffini's edition, the first book ends on page 264. The two Yemeni print editions of this work I have seen also are of the "complete recension" and have a clear break between the two books; see Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Imām, *Musnad al-Imām Zayd*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ al-Wāsiʿī, Beirut: Manshūrāt Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1966, and Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Imām, *al-Majmūʿ al-fiqhī wa-l-ḥadīthī*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿIzzī, Amman: Muʾassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Thaqāfīya, 2002. The second book is not named in either recension, and it generally lacks chapter headings, unlike the first one. Interestingly, nearly all of the surviving manuscripts, including 9 of the 11 Griffini used, are of the abbreviated recension of *Majmūʿ al-fiqh*, which remains unpublished. For an accessible example of the abbreviated recension, dated 1026/1617, see MS Princeton ymdi_03_140, available at: pudl.prince/ton.edu/viewer.php?obj=5425kb994#page/19/mode/2up (last accessed 11 March 2022).

73 There are no hadiths from the chapters on divorce, *ḥadd* penalties, and inheritance in *Majmūʿ al-fiqh*.

74 Sunna includes the Prophet's oral teachings, practices, and tacit approval of conduct. It can also mean 'law.' For the sake of simplicity, I have used the word 'teachings.'

> his noble male descendants). [Hadith narrators] have not combined him with anyone else in any of these [compilations]. Rather, they narrate from [ʿAlī] just as they narrate from anyone else, except for what is probably a rare ruling for which he cannot be ignored, and a few which cannot be counted, despite his [close] position to the Messenger of God (ṣ)—a most solid position—and his superior knowledge of his law (*sharīʿatih*). [They do this despite] his deep knowledge of [the Prophet's] teachings, which is the clear bounty, while his probity and precision both are widely acknowledged by the early and late scholars. [p. 42] And yet, perhaps they have an excuse [for not having done this] that will protect them from the blame of the blamers and secure them from shame on Judgment Day.
>
> This [deplorable] situation has motivated me to relate, in this short book, forty hadiths from among the mass of [ʿAlī's] hadiths I have narrated with trustworthy chains of transmission back to him (upon him peace). It consists of what he narrated from the Prophet (ṣ), like spittle from a raging ocean, or a drop from a torrential downpour. I have [deliberately] put in it hadiths that share the identical chain of transmitters, so as to facilitate its memorization, for those who desire to do so, and to reduce the hardship on seekers [of knowledge]. I have put in it diverse topics, in order to amplify its benefit to the religion and increase its utility to those who seek guidance.[75]

Of all the hadith books that Qāḍī Jaʿfar brought back from Persia and Iraq, only *Majmūʿ al-fiqh* ascribed to Zayd b. ʿAlī consists exclusively of hadiths on the authority of ʿAlī, all narrated by a single chain of transmitters through ʿAlī's son al-Ḥusayn, to al-Ḥusayn's son ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, to Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's son Zayd, and, through a succession of Iraqi and Iranian scholars, to Qāḍī Jaʿfar. Thus, it was very efficient for Qāḍī Jaʿfar to restrict his source for *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* to *Majmūʿ al-fiqh*, and beneficial for his students to memorize only a single *isnād* for 56 prophetic hadiths.

Prior to an analysis of the teachings of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, it may be helpful to read a translation of a short, complete chapter, of this work. Here, then, is the chapter on commercial partnerships in its entirety:

75 Qāḍī Jaʿfar, *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, ed. Kibsī, 40–42. I shall abbreviate this edition as *AA* in the notes throughout the remainder of this section. References to manuscripts will be identified explicitly.

Chapter 33: On partnership

ʿAlī said: "There were two men at the time of the Prophet (ṣ) who were [business] partners. One of them devoted all his time to trading in the market, while the other one devoted all his time to praying behind the Messenger of God (ṣ) in the mosque. When it came time for them to divide their profits, the one who spent all of his time in the market said, 'Give me more, for I have been devoting all of my time to trading, while you have been devoting all of your time to the mosque.' Both [men] came to the Messenger of God (ṣ) and mentioned [their dispute], to which the Prophet (ṣ) said to the one who had devoted all of his time to the market, 'The only reason you prospered was because your companion devoted himself to the mosque.'" [p. 140]

ʿAlī (upon him peace) said, "The hand of God is with (or on) the two partners so long as they do not betray each other. When they betray each other, their trade is destroyed and blessings are removed from it."

The Qāḍī (May God have mercy on him) said:[76] "This report contains three lessons.

The first of them is that partnership is lawful, even if only one of the partners is responsible for the work, to the exclusion of his companion.

The second [lesson] is that God (Glorified is He) has bestowed of His provision (*rizq*) on whomever He wills among His servants, without effort or seeking. Rather, He has bestowed provision upon the one who did not engage himself in worldly affairs and instead directed his focus to preparation[77] for the Hereafter. That is why [the Prophet] said to the one who [devoted himself] to the market, 'The only reason you prospered was because your companion devoted himself to the mosque.' This [report] invalidates the claim of those who deny that provisions [can only be acquired] [p. 141] though effort and seeking (*al-ʿināya wa-l-ṭalab*).

The third [lesson] is that the provisions of two partners increase when there is no treachery between them and decrease when there is treachery. This is an exhortation to observe agreements and advice and warning against cheating and treachery."[78]

The content of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* can be divided into the following six categories: 1) general teachings and values; 2) practical teachings; 3) ʿAlī's personal teachings; 4) theology; 5) sectarian teachings; and 6) warfare and martyrdom.

76 In other words, Qāḍī Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad.

77 Literally, 'deeds [that will benefit him in] the Hereafter' (*ʿamal al-ākhira*).

78 *AA* 139–141.

2.1 *General Teachings and Values*

Qāḍī Jaʿfar opens his book with a series of chapters on the excellence of religious knowledge, the importance of acting in accordance with religious knowledge, the excellence of the Qurʾan, and the value of faith. Concerning this last topic, he relates the following hadith:

> ʿAlī said: "The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'You will not enter the Garden until you truly believe, and you will not truly believe until you love one another. Shall I not show you something that, if you were to do it, you would love one another?'—'But of course, O Messenger of God!' they said. He said, 'Spread greetings of peace among yourselves, maintain good mutual relations, and be generous to one another.'"[79]

Much later in *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, Qāḍī Jaʿfar dedicates an entire chapter to the following famous hadith:

> A man came to the Messenger of God (ṣ) and said, "O Messenger of God, who is the most deserving person, among all people, for good companionship and kindness?"—"Your mother," he replied. "Then whom?" he asked. "Your mother," he said. "Then whom?" "Your mother."—"Then whom?"—"Your father," he replied. "Then whom?" "Your close relative," he said, "[starting with] the closest ones."[80]

In the chapter devoted to marriage, Qāḍī Jaʿfar eschews narrating any hadiths that outline the stipulations for a valid marriage contract or reinforces patriarchy, and instead presents a remarkably tender description of marriage:

> The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: "When a servant looks at the face of his wife, and his wife looks at him, God looks at them both with mercy. And when he takes her hand and she takes his, their sins fall away between their fingers. Then, when he covers her like a garment, the angels surround

79 *AA* 55. For a parallel version of this hadith, on the authority of Abū Hurayra, see Muslim, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-Īmān: Bāb 22: Bayān annahu lā yadkhul al-janna illā al-muʾminūn wa-anna maḥabbat al-muʾminīn min al-īmān wa-anna ifshāʾ al-salām sabab li-ḥuṣūlihā*. In Muslim's version of this hadith, the clauses "maintain good mutual relations, and be generous to one another" are not mentioned. This hadith is widespread among Sunnī collections.

80 *AA* 131. Similar hadiths are found in many hadith collections, such as Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-Adab: Bāb* 129: *Fī birr al-wālidayn*.

> the two of them, from the ground to the clouds in the sky. All pleasures and desires [they enjoy] are good deeds, like mountains. When she is pregnant, her reward is that of a person fasting, praying all night, and fighting in the path of God.[81] When she gives birth, *no soul knows what delights are kept hidden for them* (Q 32:17)."[82]

In contrast to *Silsilat al-ibrīz*, Qāḍī Jaʿfar uses *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* to inculcate an appreciation of the Prophet Muḥammad's majesty by means of the following prophetic hadith:

> The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: "I have been given three things no prophet prior to me has received. The entire world has been made a place of prayer[83] and ritually pure for me, as God (Mighty and majestic is He) has said: '[…] *and you find not water, then go to clean, high ground and rub your faces and your hands with some of it* (Q 5:6).' Spoils of war have been made lawful for me, though they were not lawful for any [prophet] prior to me, according to His statement (Exalted is He): '*And know that whatever you take as spoils of war, lo! A fifth thereof is for God, and for the messenger and for the kinsman* (Q 8:41).' Finally, I was aided with [divinely-induced] fear for the period of a month.[84]
>
> I will be favored over the [previous] prophets on Resurrection Day in three ways: My community will come forth, blazing white in the places they performed ablutions [in their worldly life], recognizable to all the other communities and nations. Secondly, the prayer-callers (*muʾadhdhinūn*) will come with the longest necks of any people, calling out the testimony of faith, 'There is no god but God and Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger!' Thirdly, there is no prophet save that he will be taken to account for his sins on Resurrection Day, except for me, accord-

81 The print edition adds *muṣallī* at the beginning of this list, although this word is not found in MS British Library Or. 3916 (fol. 28ª), MS Princeton ymdi_04_15 (p. 93), or MS Ambrosiana H 61 (fol. 79ª).

82 *AA* 133. Recension A of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* completes this Qurʾanic verse; see MS Princeton ymdi_04_15, p. 93; and MS Ambrosiana H 61 (fol. 79ª): *jazāʾan bi-mā kānū yaʿmalūn*. This hadith is not found in the standard Sunnī hadith collections; see al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr* iv, 5.

83 Literally, 'a mosque' (*masjid*).

84 This is an allusion to Q 3:151, "We shall cast terror (*al-ruʿb*) into the hearts of those who disbelieve because they ascribe to God partners, for which no warrant has been revealed. Their habitation is the Fire, and hapless the abode of the wrong-doers"; see al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr* i, 280–281.

> ing to His statement (Exalted is He): '*That God may forgive you of your sin that which is past and that which is to come*' (48:2)."[85]

While Qāḍī Jaʿfar includes some general teachings in *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, he devotes greater attention to specific practical teachings, to which we shall now turn.

2.2 *Practical Teachings*

Like many Muslim teachers, Qāḍī Jaʿfar deploys prophetic hadiths to enhance his students' acts of worship and to address preemptively questions on which the Qur'an is silent. For example, he transmits the following supplication to be said after ablutions:

> The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: "There is no Muslim who says the [following supplication] after his ablutions, save that it will be written on vellum (*raqq*), then sealed, then put under the Throne until it is brought forth to him, with its seal, on Resurrection Day: 'Glory to You, O God, and with Your praise! I testify that there is no god save You—from You I seek forgiveness and to You I repent. O God, make me among the penitents, make me among those who are pure, and forgive me—truly, You are powerful over everything.'"[86]

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85 *AA* 61–62. In this case, recension A of the hadith includes several details not found in recension B. Here is the text of recension A (MS Princeton ymdi_04_15, p. 76; MS Ambrosiana H 61, fol. 76[b]):

قال: قال رسول الله (صلى الله عليه و اله و سلم): أُعطيتُ ثلاثاً لم يعطهن نبي قبلي: جُعلت لي الأرض مسجداً و جُعل ترابها لنا طهوراً، قال الله تعالى {فلم تجدوا ماء فأقيموا صعيداً طيباً}. و أُحلّ لي المغنم و لم يحلّ لنبي قبلي، قال الله تعالى {واعلموا انما غنمتم من شيء فإن لله خمسه و للرسول و لذي القربى و اليتامى و المساكين و ابن السبيل}. و نُصرت بالرعب مسيرة شهر.

و فُضلت على الأنبياء يوم القيامة بثلاث: تأتي أمتي غرّاً من اثار السجود، محجلين من اثار الوضوء، معروفين من بين الأمم. و يأتي المؤذّنون أطول الناس أعناقاً، ينادون بشهادة أن لا اله الا الله و محمداً عبده و رسوله. و الثالثة: ليس من نبي الا هو يُحاسب يوم القيامة بذنب غيري، لقوله تعالى {ليغفر لك الله ما تقدم من ذنبك و ما تأخر}.

86 *AA* 85.

Qāḍī Jaʿfar uses the following hadith as an opening to his discussion of the proper place to stand when praying as a group of two or more people:

> ʿAlī said: "The Messenger of God (ṣ) led us in prayer—me and a man from the Helpers. The Messenger of God (ṣ) went in front of us, and had us stand behind him, then led us in prayer. Then he said, 'When two of you pray together, let one of them stand to the right of the other.'"
>
> ʿAlī said: "A man prayed [alone] behind our row and when the Messenger of God (ṣ) finished, he said, 'Is that how you prayed, by yourself, and no one was with you?'—'Yes,' he replied. 'Go repeat your prayer,' said [the Prophet] (ṣ)."[87]

Since these hadiths do not fully clarify where exactly one should stand when only two people are praying together, Qāḍī Jaʿfar teaches in his commentary that "if only one person prays with the prayer leader, he stands to the prayer leader's right, while if two people pray with him, they stand behind him."[88] Finally, on the topic of the month-long Ramaḍān fast, Qāḍī Jaʿfar narrates the following long hadith:

> ʿAlī said: "When God (Mighty and Majestic is He) sent down the obligation of [fasting] during the month of Ramaḍān, a pregnant woman came to the Prophet (ṣ) and said, 'O Messenger of God, I am a pregnant woman, and [fasting] during this month of Ramaḍān is obligatory!' She was fearful of what would happen to what was in her womb were she to fast, and so the Messenger of God (ṣ) said to her, 'You are free [from fasting], so break your fast, and when you are capable [of fasting], fast.' Then a woman who was breast-feeding came to him and said, 'O Messenger of God, [fasting] this month of Ramaḍān is obligatory!' She was fearful that her milk would dry up and her child would die were she to fast, so the Messenger of God (ṣ) said to her, 'You are free [from fasting], so break your fast, and when you are capable [of fasting], fast.' Then a chronically thirsty man (*ṣāḥib al-ʿaṭsh*) came to him and said, 'O Messenger of God, [p. 118] [fasting] this month of Ramaḍān is obligatory, and I cannot last for a moment without water.' He was fearful of what would happen to him were he to fast, and so the Messenger of God (ṣ) said, 'You are free [from fasting], so break your fast, and when you are capable [of fasting], fast.' Then a very old man came

87 *AA* 94.
88 *AA* 95.

> to him, leaning on his legs, and said, 'O Messenger of God, [fasting] this month of Ramaḍān is obligatory and I cannot fast.' He (ṣ) replied, 'Go and feed a half *ṣāʿ* [of wheat][89] every day to poor people.'"[90]

While the Prophet Muḥammad is Qāḍī Jaʿfar's preferred authority in *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, he also occasionally cites ʿAlī's teachings, and it is to these reports that we shall now turn.

2.3 *ʿAlī's Personal Teachings*

In addition to narrating all its prophetic hadiths, ʿAlī serves as a direct teacher of his own knowledge in multiple interventions in *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*. For example, in his discussion of the excellence of the five daily prayers, ʿAlī offers a short clarification of the 'major sins' (*al-kabāʾir*) in Islam, which he identifies as

> The killing of a believer; devouring the property of orphans; the uncorroborated accusation of fornication against a chaste woman; false testimony; disobeying parents; fleeing from battle (*al-zaḥf*); and deliberate perjury (*al-yamīn al-ghamūs*).[91]

In another chapter, ʿAlī shares his insights into basic Islamic legal theory, saying in his own words:

> The Commander of the Faithful [ʿAlī] (as) said: "The first [source] for judgment is that which is in the Book of God (Mighty and majestic is He), then what the Messenger of God (ṣ) said, and then whatever the righteous folk (*al-ṣāliḥūn*) agree upon. If [the answer] is not found in the Book of God (Exalted is He) and not in the Sunna, and not among the matters upon which the righteous folk agreed, then the Imām must exert himself concerning that. He should not stop short, out of fearful caution, and should reflect deeply and compare (*qāsa*) some matters to others.[92] When the

89 This is Qāḍī Jaʿfar's interpretation, although he acknowledges that if one is giving barley or any other seed-like food, the exact amount is unclear. Therefore, he advises one just to give wheat (*burr*), because there is no disagreement that a *ṣāʿ* of wheat is sufficient to compensate for a missed day of fasting; *AA* 119. There exists significant disagreement about the exact measurement of a *ṣāʿ*; one estimate is approximately 3 kilograms.

90 *AA* 117–118.

91 *AA* 91.

92 Qāḍī Jaʿfar sees this as evidence for the legitimacy of analogical reasoning (*qiyās*) in jurisprudence; *AA* 144. The literal meaning of *qāsa* is 'to take the measure of; to compare anything with; to take anything as a pattern'; Hava, *Arabic–English Dictionary* 636.

> truth becomes clear to him, he must act on it. What applies to the Imām, applies to the judge as well."[93]

Finally, ʿAlī teaches that "Nothing interrupts prayer, and refrain from [all physical activities] you can,"[94] a ruling in stark opposition to the now controversial Sunnī hadiths in which the Prophet allegedly stated that the passing of a donkey, woman, or black dog invalidates one's prayers.[95]

2.4 *Theology*

Qāḍī Jaʿfar, who rearticulated Zaydī theology in a series of writings,[96] decided not to include many theological hadiths in *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*. He may have had no choice in this matter, given that the source for this work, the *Majmūʿ al-fiqh* ascribed to Zayd b. ʿAlī, has relatively little theological content itself. However, Qāḍī Jaʿfar does devote three chapters of this *forty hadith* collection to undermine the Muṭarrifī Zaydī position that God cannot be the immediate cause of trials or illness among humans, because there is no benefit in them, and God only does what is beneficial. Qāḍī Jaʿfar, who agrees with the Basran Muʿtazilī tradition of Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār and his Zaydī student, Mānkdīm (d. ca. 425/1034), argues that trials and suffering are beneficial, so long as there is compensation for the suffering or valuable lessons are learned from the trial. He devotes three short chapters near the end of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* to buttress this theological position:

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93 *AA* 142.

94 *AA* 96. In his lessons, Qāḍī Jaʿfar explains that 'refrain from whatever you can' means to refrain from any physical activities that do not invalidate prayer but decrease one's reverence and reward, like the man who played with his beard during prayer in the prophetic hadith in this chapter; *AA* 97.

95 For a critique of Sunnī hadiths, such as "The donkey, the woman, and the black dog interrupt prayer if they pass in front of the believer," found in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, see Fatima Mernissi, *The Veil and the Male Elite*, transl. Mary Jo Lakeland, Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1991, 64. They are also criticized by Khaled Abou El Fadl in his book *Speaking in God's Name*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2001, 226–227. Despite the inclusion of this hadith in the most prestigious Sunnī hadith collection, Khaled Abou El Fadl notes that "the jurists al-Shāfiʿī, [Sufyān] al-Thawrī, Abū Ḥanīfah, and Mālik b. Anas […] held that nothing that could pass in front of a praying person invalidates his or her prayers," 227.

96 Qāḍī Jaʿfar inaugurated the Zaydī tradition of expressing theology in thirty topics, as can be seen from his work *Kitāb al-Tābiʿa fī ʿilm uṣūl al-dīn*, which currently I am editing. His longer theological work, *Mishkāt al-miṣbāḥ fī ḥayāt al-arwāḥ*, also remains in manuscript; a copy of it is held in Munich, MS Cod.arab 1191, is available online here: daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/bsb00006253/images/index.html (last accessed 11 March 2022).

Hadith 35: On Illness and Visiting the Ill
The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: "Whoever is ill for a single night, a year's worth of sins are wiped away. And when an ill person is forgiven for his illness, his sins fall away, like how the desiccated leaves fall off a tree on a stormy day."[97]

Hadith 36: On the Affirmation of Compensation
The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: "Verily, a man will receive lofty stations of the Garden, unobtainable unless one has undergone trials (*balāyā*) that befell him, to the point (or moment) that he died. Anything that causes him to reach that level [of the Garden] intensifies in severity upon him, until he reaches it."[98]

Hadith 37: On How God Tests His Servants
The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: "Whenever God wishes to display His affection (*yuṣāfiḥ*) for a servant,[99] he pours trials upon him, in a torrential downpour of trials. When [the servant] calls out [to God], the angels say, 'A recognized voice!' and Gabriel says, 'O Lord, this is Your servant, so-and-so, who is calling out to You, so reply to him.' God (Blessed and exalted is He) says, 'Truly, I love to hear his voice.'[100] Whenever he says, 'O My Lord!' I say,[101] 'Here I am, My servant![102] You do not ask Me for anything, save that I respond to it in one of three ways: Either I hasten to you that which you have requested, or I store it away for you until the Hereafter, and it will be even more than what you requested, or I repel a trial/hardship (*balā'*) from you that is equal to that.'" [p. 155]

Then the Messenger of God (ṣ) said: "On Resurrection Day,[103] the warriors will be brought [to God], and they will sit for the Reckoning (*li-l-ḥisāb*). The people who prayed and gave much alms will be brought forth, and will sit for the Reckoning.[104] Then the people afflicted by trials will be

97 *AA* 147. I am merely translating the hadiths of these three chapters, not the lessons Qāḍī Jaʿfar draws from them.

98 *AA* 151.

99 *AA* adds *min ʿibādih*; this is not found in either MS British Library Or. 3916 (fol. 32[a]) or MS Princeton ymdi_04_15 (p. 98).

100 In MS Princeton ymdi_04_15: "the voice of my servant."

101 In MS British Library Or. 3916 and MS Princeton ymdi_04_15: "He says."

102 Note that God's alleged response—*labbayka ʿabdī*—mirrors what a Muslim pilgrim says in Mecca.

103 "On Resurrection Day" is missing from *AA*.

104 Following the wording of this sentence in MS British Library Or. 3916 (fol. 32[b]) and MS Princeton ymdi_04_15 (p. 98).

> brought forth, but neither the Balance will be set up, nor the register [of their deeds] be spread out.[105] Then they will travel to the Garden, without a reckoning, such that the people of ease will desire that their bodies had been mutilated by scissors (*qurriḍat bi-l-maqārīḍ*) in the temporal world."[106]

The message from these prophetic hadiths is unambiguous: illness expiates sins; trials elevate one's status on Judgment Day; and Muslims who have undergone trials will be admitted directly to the Garden without having all of their deeds weighed on the scales of judgment.

2.5 *Sectarian Teachings*

The vast majority of hadiths in *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, even when they lack a clear parallel in the Sunnī hadith literature, are free of overt sectarianism. Zaydīs, like Sunnīs, love the Qurʾan, the Prophet Muḥammad, and ʿAlī, and pray, fast, and peregrinate in largely the same manner. Unlike Twelver Shīʿa, they even accept the same four sources of Islamic law, as we saw above. While there is no chapter devoted to the excellences of Abū Bakr or the Companions of the Prophet more broadly, the chapter dedicated to ʿAlī contains a single hadith, parallels of which can be found in the Sunnī hadith literature.[107] The only chapter that overtly contradicts a core Sunnī teaching is the tenth one, "On the excellence of the family of the Prophet and their party (*shīʿatuhum*)." In addition to having the word *shīʿa* in its title, the single hadith this chapter contains would be scandalous among Sunnī readers:

> The Messenger of God (ṣ) said to me: "My Lord said to me on the night I was brought to him:[108] 'Who have you designated as successor (*man khallafta*) over your community, O Muḥammad?'" He said: "I said, 'You are

105 In MS Princeton ymdi_04_15: "Neither the register [of their deeds] will be spread out, nor the Balance set up."

106 *AA* 154–155.

107 This hadith is, The Messenger of God (ṣ) said to me (ʿAlī), "You are my brother and helper (*wazīrī*), and the best person whom I will leave behind (*ukhallifuhu*) after me, O ʿAlī. Believers will be recognized by their love for you, while hypocrites will be recognized by their hatred of you. Whoever loves you, from among my community, is absolved of hypocrisy, and whoever hates you will meet God (Mighty and majestic is He) as a hypocrite." For the many parallels to the clauses in this hadith, see al-Sayyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr* 5:241–242 (which contains the *Tatimma*).

108 The Arabic makes it clear that this is a reference to Muḥammad's famous Night Journey (*isrāʾ*) to Jerusalem: *qāla lī rabbī ʿazza wa-jalla* ***laylata usrīya*** *bī*; *AA* 70.

more knowing [than am I].' [God] said, 'O Muḥammad, truly I have selected you with My message, and I chose you for Myself, and you are My Prophet, and the best of My creation. Then, there is the sincerest one (*al-ṣiddīq al-akbar*), the purified one, whom I created from your flesh,[109] and I made him your helper (*wazīraka*), and the father [p. 71] of your two grandsons, who are the purified masters and martyrs. [They are] the masters of the youth among the people of the Garden. [ʿAlī's] wife is the best among the women of the worlds. You [Muḥammad] are the tree; ʿAlī is its branches; Fāṭima is its leaves; and al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are its fruits. I made you all from the clay of the ʿIllīyūn gardens,[110] and I made your partisans (*shīʿatakum*) [as if they were] from you.[111] Even if their necks were to be struck with swords, they would only increase in love for you.'"

I said, "My Lord, so who is the most sincere one?'"

"Your brother, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib," [God] replied.

[ʿAlī] said: "The Messenger of God (ṣ) informed me and my sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, of this good news, and that was prior to the Emigration by three years."[112]

This hadith is striking for several reasons. First, its setting is the famous Night Journey to Jerusalem and Ascension through the seven heavens, which dozens of hadiths describe. In the Sunnī tradition, this miraculous event is associated with the divine legislation of the five obligatory daily prayers, rather than the political succession of the Prophet. Secondly, according to Sunnī tradition, Abū Bakr, the first caliph, acquired the sobriquet 'the sincere one' (*al-ṣiddīq*) because of his unwavering belief that the Prophet Muḥammad travelled to Jerusalem and back in a single night, in the face of ridicule from the Meccans. In this hadith, this sobriquet is reassigned to ʿAlī and augmented to *al-ṣiddīq al-akbar* ('the sincerest') by no less than God, during the miraculous journey. Finally, while the exact date of the Night Journey is ambiguous, there is unanimous consent among the early historians of Islam that it took place prior to the Emigration, while the marriage of ʿAlī to Fāṭima and the birth of their children al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn occurred after it. It would have been impossible for ʿAlī *and his sons* to have been informed of this extraordinary divine pronouncement "three years prior to the Emigration," given that al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn

109 Literally, 'your clay' (*ṭīnatika*).

110 A reference to the heavenly gardens mentioned only in Q 83:18–19.

111 This is one of Qāḍī Jaʿfar's explanations of the expression *khalaqtu shīʿatakum minkum*; see *AA* 74.

112 *AA* 70–71.

had not yet been born. In short, this hadith reads like a forced effort to link the miraculous Night Journey and Ascension, which happened before Muḥammad even became a political leader, to the issue of political succession that continues to divide the Muslim community to this day.

2.6 *Warfare and Martyrdom*

Given that Zaydīs were one of the only sects of Islam to require a religious leader to undertake a military campaign in order to qualify as Imām, Qāḍī Jaʿfar is surprisingly muted in his discussion of warfare and martyrdom in his *forty hadith* collection. In the chapter devoted to *jihād*, he narrates a prophetic hadith in which *jihād* is qualified as being one among several meritorious actions:

> The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: "The best deeds—after the obligatory prayers, necessary alms tax, Islamic pilgrimage, and Ramaḍān fast—are *jihād* in the path of God, inviting others to the religion of God, commanding right, and forbidding wrong. Commanding right is equal to inviting a disbelieving ruler to God (Exalted is He). Forbidding wrong is equal to *jihād* in the path of God. By God! An afternoon or evening [raid] in the path of God, or an early morning one, is better that the temporal world and all that is in it."[113]

Even though the merits of warfare are amplified by a quote from ʿAlī that immediately follows this hadith,[114] it is illuminating, and perhaps even comforting, to see Qāḍī Jaʿfar qualify the value of warfare, as being inferior to individual acts of worship.

Qāḍī Jaʿfar's presentation of martyrdom is even more interesting. After narrating a hadith which outlines the seven favors a martyr receives at the time of his death, such as an easy separation of the soul from the body and regular Friday receptions with God, Qāḍī Jaʿfar expands the notion of martyrdom far beyond warfare or defending one's property:

> The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: "A pregnant woman [who dies] is a martyr. A woman [who dies] in childbirth is a martyr. Anyone who drowns is

113 *AA* 123.

114 ʿAlī said, "A campaign is better than fifty pilgrimages, and a day in a military encampment (*ribāṭ*) in the path of God is better than fasting and voluntary night prayers for a month. Whoever dies in a military encampment, his deeds will continue [to accrue reward?] until Resurrection Day, and he will be protected from the Punishment of the Grave"; *AA* 124.

> a martyr. Whoever is crushed by a falling wall is a martyr. Anyone [who dies while] commanding right and forbidding wrong is a martyr."[115]

In his lessons, Qāḍī Jaʿfar clarifies that people who die undertaking these acts are not actually martyrs, but rather receive the same reward a martyr receives, and which was described previously in great detail in the initial hadith he narrated in this chapter.

The goal of this detailed discussion of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* has been to illuminate the pedagogical value of a *forty hadith* collection and to shed light on basic teachings of Zaydī Islam in Yemen. Within the space of forty chapters, Qāḍī Jaʿfar offers his students a rich array of fundamental teachings about Islam, in simple and memorable language. These teachings are both accessible and prestigious, as they are attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad and his 'brother and helper,' ʿAlī. They range from general admonitions, such as being especially kind to one's mother, to specific details, concerning where one should stand in communal prayer. Qāḍī Jaʿfar uses his limited space to settle only one theological dispute he had with his rival Muṭarrifī Zaydīs, and chose to narrate only a single hadith that explicitly addresses the sensitive issue of the political succession to Muḥammad. We have seen that he fulfilled the goal he articulated in the introduction to *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, namely to compose the first beneficial book that contained at least forty Prophetic hadiths, all of which were narrated by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The fact that this work survives to this day among the Zaydīs of Yemen suggests that Qāḍī Jaʿfar's efforts succeeded.

3 Conclusion

The objective of this chapter has been to assess the utility of *forty hadith* collections as pedagogical media in Islamic civilization. In the spirit of this edited volume, I have chosen to focus on the contents of two of these collections rather than on the question of whether they faithfully record the 1st/7th century teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad. The *Silsilat al-ibrīz* and *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* merit this attention for several reasons. Firstly, both works long have been popular among the Zaydī communities of northern Yemen, as can be seen from their manuscript traditions and the fact that they both have been published. Secondly, Zaydī hadith collections in Yemen have yet to receive any

115 *AA* 128.

detailed attention from Western Islamicists. Thirdly, both collections share several common features, the most significant of which is the presence of a single chain of transmitters for all of the hadiths they contain. This chain passes through the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, ʿAlī, and a series of his descendants. In the case of *Silsilat al-ibrīz*, the chain of transmitters contains the names of ʿAlī's descendants all the way down to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī of Balkh, who lived in the 6th/12th century, and which is nearly as long as the forty hadiths that follow it. In the case of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, the *isnād* passes from ʿAlī down to his great-grandson, Zayd b. ʿAlī, from whom it is transmitted by a series of individuals who were not his immediate descendants, to Qāḍī Jaʿfar himself. In both collections, the *isnād* disappears after the opening hadith of the text, leaving the reader or listener to concentrate entirely on the language of the hadiths they contain.

What do these hadiths tell us about Zaydī Islam? In the case of *Silsilat al-ibrīz*, we find an array of eloquent prophetic statements, most of which consist of general moral principles and specific practices a righteous person should adopt. The language of these hadiths is both extremely concise and universalistic, with few distinctly Islamic terms or concepts. The teachings they espouse transcend any orientation of Islam, and even Islam more broadly, for how many sages would agree that "Anything small and sufficient is superior to anything copious and distracting," and "The man who knows his measure is not ruined?" What moral teacher would object to the premises that "Meetings must be secure" and "Talk triggers tribulations?" Not only are the meanings of most of these hadiths evocative, they are also easy for a student to hear from a teacher in a single short session and to memorize in less than a day.

Due to its greater length, different focus, and more complex organization, *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* offers a more penetrating view of the core teachings of Zaydī Islam in Yemen. Unlike *Silsilat al-ibrīz*, *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* has a clear author, and he provides the student with clear lessons they should take away from each hadith. The forty chapter headings allow Qāḍī Jaʿfar to add supplementary hadiths and quotes from ʿAlī to reinforce the points he is trying to make. His book includes both general principles, such as the great value of religious knowledge, as well as numerous practical teachings, such as the correct times of the daily prayers and conditions under which a Muslim is not obligated to fast during Ramaḍān. He includes a chapter encouraging marriage, but says nothing about divorce or inheritance. Qāḍī Jaʿfar also emphatically stresses that Muslims receive divine compensation for illnesses or trials, against the teachings of the rival Muṭarrifī Zaydīs. He also contextualizes the obligation to engage in warfare and devotes more attention to almsgiving than martyrdom. Finally, he includes only one overtly sectarian hadith, perhaps reminding

his readers that this is a Zaydī *forty hadith* collection, even though parallels to most of the hadiths it contains can be found in Sunnī collections.

Whether the reader of these two *forty hadith* collections is a young madrasa student or a Western college student, she or he will gain valuable insight into Islam in general, and Zaydism in particular. The universal teachings in *Silsilat al-ibrīz* should be familiar or uncontroversial to most readers, as they seek to inculcate broadly shared values and refrain from denigrating any group of people on the basis of race, gender, or religion. Qāḍī Jaʿfar's *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya* provides evidence for the significance of the acts of worship—prayer, alms, fasting, and pilgrimage—among Muslims, given that the majority of chapters are dedicated to these topics. It also provides comfort to people suffering from calamities or illness, for it includes prophetic teachings that all these trials are not merely recorded by God, but also yield compensation at a future date. With the exception of the *Chapter on the Excellence of the Family of the Prophet and their Party*, there is little that is sectarian in *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, testifying to the significant proximity between Sunnīs and Zaydīs on many issues, a point worth highlighting in these highly sectarian times in which we live. Given the vast number of unstudied *forty hadith* collections produced by Muslims of all orientations throughout history, it is to be hoped that Western Islamicists direct far greater attention to these engaging short works in the future.

Appendix 1: The Common *Isnād* of *Silsilat al-ibrīz*[116]

Mecca 1) Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥaramī Futūḥ b. Banīn al-ʿAṭṭār (d. Rajab 645/Nov. 1247); "He read it during the last 10 days of Dhū l-Qaʿda 609/April 1213."

Aleppo 2) Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Ḥusaynī (d. 653/1255)

Peripatetic, 3) Sirāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī [b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad] b. Yāsir al-Jayyānī (d. 563/1168–1169 Aleppo)

Balkh 4) Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥusaynī (d. 532/1137–1138) "He read it more than once in 527/1133."

116 This *isnād* is found in all of the Yemeni manuscripts of *Silsilat al-ibrīz* mentioned in Table 2.2, above, except for MS Ambrosiana F 309. It is also found in the print editions with the title *Silsilat al-ibrīz*. The *isnād* differs slightly in *al-Arbaʿīn* incorrectly ascribed to Shāh Walī Allāh. Note that the dates mentioned in the *isnād* are not found in all of the manuscripts.

5) Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib: "He read it in 466/1073–1074."
6) Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī: "He read it in 434/1042–1043."
7) Abū ʿAlī ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad
8) Muḥammad [b. ʿUbayd Allāh]
9) ʿUbayd Allāh [b. ʿAlī]
10) ʿAlī [b. al-Ḥasan]
11) al-Ḥasan al-Amīr: "He was the first of this *ṭāʾifa* to enter Balkh."
12) al-Ḥusayn b. Jaʿfar
Medina (?) 13) Jaʿfar "al-Ḥujja" b. ʿUbayd Allāh (d. 3rd/9th century)
Iraq/Medina 14) ʿUbayd Allāh "al-Zāhid" (d. 141/758–759; before his father)
Medina 15) al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar (d. 157/773–774; 57 years old)
16) ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn
17) al-Ḥusayn [b. ʿAlī]
18) Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib]
19) The Messenger of God (ṣ)

Appendix 2: The Contents of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya wa-sharḥuhā*

Ch.	Title	Hadiths	ʿAlī quotes	Lessons[117]
1	On the Excellence of Knowledge and Its Devotees—*Fī faḍl/ faḍīlat al-ʿilm wa-ahlih*	1	0	3
2	On Acting in Accordance with Knowledge—*Fī istiʿmāl al-ʿilm*	1	0	2
3	On Urging One to Be Mindful of Knowledge—*Fī l-ḥathth ʿalā al-ihtimām bi-l-ʿilm*	1	1[118]	3
4	On the Excellence of the Qurʾan and Its Devotees—*Fī faḍl al-Qurʾān wa-ahlih*	2	1	4
5	On the Excellence of Faith—*Fī faḍl al-īmān*	2	0	4

117 As I mentioned in the chapter, the enumeration of lessons (*fawāʾid*) is not found in recension A of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, but it is found in recension B, which includes Kibsī's edition and MS British Library Or. 3916.

118 This report is ascribed to the Prophet in the print edition of *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAlawīya*, MS Ambrosiana H 61 (fol. 76[a]), and MS Princeton ymdi_04_15 (p. 73), but to ʿAlī in MS British Museum Or. 3916 (fol. 11[b]) and *al-Majmūʿ al-fiqhī wa-l-ḥadīthī* of Zayd b. ʿAlī (p. 257, #603).

(*cont.*)

Ch.	Title	Hadiths	ʿAlī quotes	Lessons
6	On Clarifying the Rankings of Faith—*Fī bayān tafāḍul al-īmān*	1	0	3
7	On the Excellence of the Prophet—*Fī faḍl al-nabī* (ṣ)	1	0	3
8	On Urging One to Recite Blessings on the Prophet—*Fī l-ḥathth ʿalā ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī* (ṣ)	2	0	3
9	On the Excellence of the Commander of the Faithful[119]—*Fī faḍl al-amīr al-muʾminīn* (*ʿalayh al-salām*)	1	0	3
10	On the Excellence of the Family of the Prophet and Their Party—*Fī faḍl ahl al-bayt* (*ʿalayhim al-salām*) *wa-faḍl shīʿatihim*	1	0	5
11	On Ablutions—*Fī l-wuḍūʾ*	1	0	3
12	On the Ablutionary Bath—*Fī l-ghusl*	1	0	1
13	On the Excellence of Ablutions after Cleaning One's Teeth—*Fī faḍl al-wuḍūʾ baʿd al-siwāk*[120]	2	0	3
14	On the Fact that Ablutions Are a Necessary Condition for Prayer—*Fī kawn al-wuḍūʾ sharṭan li-l-ṣalāt*[121]	1	0	3
15	On the Supplication to Be Made during Ablutions—*Fī l-duʿāʾ ʿinda l-wuḍūʾ*[122]	1	0	3
16	On the Prayer Times—*Fī mawāqīt al-ṣalāt*	1	0	3
17	On the Excellence of Prayers and Group Prayers—*Fī faḍl al-ṣalawāt wa-ṣalāt al-jamāʿa*	1	1	3
18	On the Correct Way to Pray Group Prayers—*Fī tartīb ṣalāt al-jamāʿa*[123]	2	0	2
19	On Reverence during Prayer—*Fī khushūʿ al-ṣalāt*	1	1[124]	3
20	On the Excellence of Mosques—*Fī faḍl al-masājid*	3	1	5
21	On the Excellence of Alms-giving—*Fī faḍl al-ṣadaqa*	1	1	3
22	On Anonymous Almsgiving—*Fī ṣadaqat al-sirr*	1	0	3

119 In other words, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

120 In MS British Museum Or. 3916 (fol. 16[a]): *Fī faḍl al-wuḍūʾ wa-l-siwāk*.

121 In MS Ambrosiana H 61 (fol. 76[b]) and MS Princeton ymdi_04_15 (p. 80): *Fī kawn al-wuḍūʾ sharṭan fī ṣiḥḥat al-ṣalāt*.

122 Kibsī's edition (p. 85): *Fī l-duʿāʾ baʿd al-wuḍūʾ*.

123 MS Ambrosiana H 61 and MS Princeton ymdi_04_15 (p. 83): *Fī kayfiyat ṣalāt al-jamāʿa*.

124 According to MS Ambrosiana H 61 (fol. 77[b]) and MS Princeton ymdi_04_15 (p. 84), this report is a prophetic hadith.

(*cont.*)

Ch.	Title	Hadiths	ʿAlī quotes	Lessons
23	On Loans—*Fī l-qarḍ*	1	0	2
24	On the Excellence of the Month of Ramaḍān—*Fī faḍl shahr Ramaḍān*	1	0	4
25	On the Excellence of Fasting—*Fī faḍl al-ṣiyām*	2	0	4
26	On Those Who Are Excused from Fasting—*Fī l-maʿdhūrīn min al-ṣawm*	1	0	4
27	On the Greater Pilgrimage to Mecca—*Fī l-ḥajj*	2	0	4
28	On Religiously-sanctioned Warfare—*Fī l-jihād*	1	1	5
29	On the Reward of Martyrs—*Fī thawāb al-shahīd*	2	0	3
30	On Kindness to One's Parents and Maintaining Good Family Relations—*Fī birr al-wālidayn wa-ṣilat al-raḥim*[125]	1	0	3
31	On Marriage—*Fī l-nikāḥ*	2	0	3
32	On Lawful Earning—*Fī kasb al-ḥalāl*	1	1	3
33	On Partnership—*Fī l-mushārika*	1	1	3
34	On Being a Judge—*Fī l-qaḍāʾ*	1	1	7
35	On Illness and Visiting the Ill—*Fī l-maraḍ wa-ʿiyādat al-marḍā*	2	0	3
36	On the Affirmation of Compensation [for Illness and Calamities]—*Fī ithbāt al-ʿiwaḍ*	1	0	2
37	On How God Tests His Servants—*Fī mā yabtalī ʾllāhu bih ʿibādahu*	1	0	6
38	On Exhorting One to Worship God—*Fī l-targhīb fī ʿibādāt Allāh*	1	0	2
39	On the Remembrance of Death—*Fī dhikr al-mawt*	3	0	5
40	On the Remembrance of the Garden and the Fire—*Fī dhikr al-janna wa-l-nār*	1	1	3

125 In MS Ambrosiana H 61 (fol. 78^{b}) and MS Princeton ymdi_04_15 (p. 92): *Fī birr al-wālidayn wa-ṣilat al-arḥām*.

Acknowledgements

This article was written during a membership in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, and was supported financially by an ACLS Fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies. I am very grateful for the generous support I received from both institutions.

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CHAPTER 3

The Prophet's Ideal in Pocket-Size

Sunni Forty Hadith *Collections*

Swantje Bartschat

1 Introduction

Being widely spread within and beyond the Arabic speaking world, the *forty hadith* are one of the most popular and varied types of hadith collection until today. Based on a quantitative research bringing up more than nine hundred relevant collections, this article introduces the so far less regarded field of *forty hadith* with their importance in Muslim believe and life praxis from the 9th century onwards. Dealing with the rearing of children, religious practices, jihad, and others, the selected traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad in the *forty hadith* cover a wide range of topics. In their function as overview of specific aspects as well as religious edification, the *forty hadith* are accessible to academics and non-academics alike. Their emerging in different ideological as well as linguistical contexts necessitates a subject limitation; therefore, the focus of this article will be on the Arabic *forty hadith* collections with a Sunni background, discussing at first their peculiarities and the collectors' efforts to compile differing collections of that type. Factors of motivation and the collections' function will be outlined then, and within this general overview, several key figures of the *forty hadith* will be introduced. By choosing a well-known Egyptian hadith scholar and his *forty hadith* on jihad, the collector's motivation and the topic of the 'exertion on the path of God' will then be exemplarily treated on the basis of this specific type of hadith collection. Next to the formulation of the thought and ideology of jihad, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's positioning within the circle of hadith scholars and towards the usage of written material will be of interest, since it illustrates his very own way of thinking.

2 Emergence and Development of the *Forty Hadith* Collections

Besides extensive hadith compilations, there are small collections of less than ten up to a few hundred hadiths, in which the number of forty soon turns out to be dominant. The hadith scholar ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) is said to

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have been the first writing down a collection called *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn fī l-ḥadīth*. Since he is well known for his treatise on jihad, consisting of less than three hundred hadiths, it seems likely that he is also the compiler of other comparatively limited hadith collections. But his belonging to the collectors of *forty hadith* is questionable, since his *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn* did not survive, and spreading the idea of Ibn al-Mubārak being the first goes back to the most famous collector of *forty hadith*, Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277). Scholars and editors calling him the first collector of *forty hadith* usually refer to al-Nawawī, while there seems to be no biographical dictionary before the 7th/13th century mentioning this information about Ibn al-Mubārak. Even the collectors of *forty hadith* contemporary to al-Nawawī or living afterwards usually refer to him.

As for the collectors before al-Nawawī, they do not even mention preceding scholars collecting forty hadiths, until one century before him: In the 6th/12th century, hadith scholars eventually start introducing their collections by talking about their reason to compile such a book and then enumerating preceding collectors. Even then it seems that only one of them mentions Ibn al-Mubārak as the first collector.[1] So a proof for the emergence of a collection of *forty hadith*

1 Cf. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn ḥadīthan: al-Arbaʿūn min arbaʿīn ʿan arbaʿīn* […], ed. M. Maḥfūẓ, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, ⁴2005, 24–25; Swantje Bartschat, *„Wer meiner Gemeinde vierzig Hadithe bewahrt …". Entstehung und Entwicklung eines Sammlungstyps*, Baden-Baden: Ergon, 2019, 86–89; Jonathan Brown, *Hadith. Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2014, 55; Ezzeddin Ibrahim and Denys Johnson-Davies (transl.), *An-Nawawī's Forty Ḥadīth: An Anthology of the Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad*, Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1997, 20–21; Abdülkadir Karahan, *İslâm—Türk edebiyatında kırk hadis toplama, tercüme ve şerhleri*, Istanbul: n. p., 1954, 47; Scott C. Lucas, Forty Traditions, in *EI*[3], *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd ed., Leiden: Brill, 2007–2016, dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_27174 (last accessed 11 March 2022); Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī, *Das Buch der vierzig Hadithe: Kitāb al-arbaʿīn mit dem Kommentar von Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd*, ed. and transl. Marco Schöller, Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2007, 380; Louis Pouzet, *Une herméneutique de la tradition islamique: le commentaire des Arbaʿūn al-Nawawīya de Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Nawawī (m. 676/1277). Introduction, texte arabe, traduction, notes et index du vocabulaire*, Beirut: Dar el-Machreq Éditeurs, 1982, 43; James Robson, Ibn al-Mubārak, in *EI*[2], *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 1954–2004, iii, 879; Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn al-mustaghnī bi-taʿyīn mā fih ʿan al-maʿīn*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Rābiḥ, Damascus: Dār al-Bayrūtī, 1992, 25; Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn al-mustaghnī bi-taʿyīn mā fīh ʿan al-maʿīn*, ed. A. ʿA. al-Saʿdanī, Riyadh: n. p., 1997, 5. Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī seems to be the first mentioning Ibn al-Mubārak as the first collector in his *forty hadith*, whereas the following bio-/bibliographical dictionaries contain an entry on Ibn al-Mubārak without listing a collection of *forty hadith*: Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 5 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1937–1943, 1949, *Supplement* i, 256; Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-aʿlām*, 52 vols., ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1989–2000, xii, 220–248; Abū Ḥātim b. Ḥibbān b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-Thiqāt*, 10 vols., Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmānīya,

in the 2nd/8th century dates to the 6th/12th century, four hundred years later, and therefore should be taken with caution.

3 First Collections

There are a few indications verifying the existence of *forty hadith* collections in the 3rd/9th century. The entire number of these early collections does not exceed ten, and half of the few hints seem to be dubious, suspected of being false or later attribution. The total amount of *forty hadith* collections in the 4th/10th century is almost the same, but each one of them is better documented and at least three of them are already edited.[2]

Most of the 3rd/9th- and 4th/10th-century collections bear an indefinite title, like *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn*, *Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan* or just *al-Arbaʿūn*, and the catalogues, biographical dictionaries, or later *forty hadith* collections mentioning them do not give any hint of their contents. However, there are altogether four edited collections from that period, which give an impression of the composition of the early *forty hadith*.[3] Their hadith selections cover a wide range of mixed topics and resemble the division of *al-kutub al-sitta*. While the extensive compilations, the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim in particular, offer authentic hadiths to use in all fields of Islamic law and dogma, the early *forty hadith* of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th century give an overview or somehow a shortened version of these subject fields, offering for each of them in general

1981, vii, 7–8; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, 10 vols., Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1986–1993, ii, 361–363; Abū l-ʿAbbās b. Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān*, 6 vols., Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1948, ii, 237–239; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn: Tarājim muṣannifī l-kutub al-ʿarabīya* 15 vols., Damascus: n. p., 1957–1961, vi, 106; Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-Salām*, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, n. d., x, 152–169; Zayn al-Munāwī, *al-Kawākib al-durrīya fī tarājim al-sāda al-ṣūfīya: al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Adīb al-Ǧādir, 5 vols., Beirut: Dār Ṣadir, 1999, i.ii, 350–354; Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* (BI 6q), ed. Dorothea Krawulsky, xvii, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982, xvii, 419–420; Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (GAS), 17 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1967–1984, i, 95; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām. Qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿarab wa-l-mustaʿribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn*, 11 vols., Beirut: n. p., 1969, iv, 256.

2 The given numbers are the result of a quantitative research conducted by the author between 2011 and 2014 to record and analyse collections mentioned in catalogues, chronicles, introductions of later *forty hadith*, etc.; the results are published in Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 85–112, 237–240.

3 The collections of Muḥammad b. Aslam al-Ṭūsī (d. 242/856), Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī (d. 360/970), and ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385/995) were edited in the years 1420–1421/1999–2000, the one of al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān al-Nasawī (d. 303/915) in 1429/2008, cf. Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 89–92, 99–104, 106–108, 238–240.

only one or two hadith(s). Dealing with topics like belief, ablution, the five pillars of Islam, jihad, dress regulations, marriage and divorce, funeral, and others, there is partial overlap between the early *forty hadith*.

Nonetheless, the *forty hadith* collections should not be considered too homogenous. While two of the edited early collections—like many others of the following centuries—are limited to a pure sequence of their hadiths, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī (d. 360/970) provides a short introduction inviting to compile forty hadiths by presenting the benefits of collecting hadiths in general. He seems to have had thereby a significant influence on later generations and set the earliest example for al-Nawawī.[4]

Another of the four edited collections of the early times is compiled by ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385/995) and shows a peculiarity in its structure, which occurs again in later collections. Al-Dāraquṭnī's so called *forty hadith* are a selection of the *Musnad Burayd*, dealing with morals and manners (*akhlāq* and *ādāb*). Since al-Dāraquṭnī gives several versions for each hadith, his collection indeed contains 104 hadiths.[5] So right from the beginning, collections even bearing the title *forty hadith* do not necessarily contain the exact number of hadiths.

4 Numbers

Next to collections like the one of al-Dāraquṭnī being divided into forty chapters with even more hadiths, there are varying numbers from 29 up to 48 hadiths in collections called *forty hadith*, the most prominent example being the *Forty Hadith* of al-Nawawī which contain indeed 42 counted prophetic traditions.

There is a special meaning of the number forty, making it the central number in the title of limited hadith collections. 'Forty' generally occurs more often than most other numbers in sayings, fables, or tales—there are a lot of examples for it in *Alf layla wa-layla* and stories of Nasreddin Hodja. Though

4 Cf. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn ḥadīthan. Wa-yalīh Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn min masānīd al-mashāyikh al-ʿīshrīn ʿan al-aṣḥāb al-arbaʿīn li-Abī Saʿd ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Abī Naṣr al-Qushayrī* [*al-Ṣaffār*], ed. Badr al-Badr, Riyadh: Aḍwāʾ al-Salaf, ²2000, 65–71; al-Nawawī, *Das Buch der vierzig Ḥadīthe* 315. In his entry on *forty hadith*, Scott C. Lucas offers a brief comparison of some early collections, cf. Lucas, Forty Traditions.

5 Cf. Abū l-Ḥasan al-Dāraquṭnī, *Kitāb fī Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan min Musnad Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Burayda ʿan Jaddih ʿan Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī* (*raḍiy Allāh ʿanh*), ed. M. b. ʿUbayd, Mecca: Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurā, 1999.

Muslim scholars in general do not explain this special meaning, at least a handful of collectors of *forty hadith* refer to its occurrence in Qurʾan and Sunna. Regarding the number forty with its special meaning in the Muslim culture as one of several reasons for compiling *forty hadith* seems more or less the opinion of 'western' scholars of the last century.[6] To my understanding, less priority should be given to the idea that a meaning of the number is of importance for the collection of *forty hadith*, since there are other, far more important reasons for Muslim scholars, respectively for Muslims in general today to compile *forty hadith*: First of all, the Prophet Muḥammad himself is said to have called upon his followers to collect forty traditions, promising them a high reward in the hereafter. Additionally, the *forty hadith* are considered easy to memorize and convenient to protect the Sunna, since their limited size is accessible to scholars and non-scholars alike. These reasons will be further discussed in the chapter on factors of motivation below.

6 Cf. al-Bakrī, *Arbaʿīn* 46–48; Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 79–85; Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 4 vols., ed. Ludolf Krehl, Leiden: Brill, 1862/1864/1868/1908, i, 10, 138; iii, 35–36; iv, 292–293; Lawrence I. Conrad, "Abraha and Muḥammad: Some Observations Apropos of Chronology and Literary 'topoi' in the Early Arabic Historical Tradition," in *BSOAS* 50.2 (1987), 225–240, 230–234, 237, 239–240; al-Dāraquṭnī, *Arbaʿūn* 25–26; Franz Carl Endres and Annemarie Schimmel, *Das Mysterium der Zahl. Zahlensymbolik im Kulturvergleich*, München: Diederichs, 1990, 262–267; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAqīl, *al-Arbaʿūn fī faḍl al-masājid wa-ʿimāratihā mimmā rawāh Shaykh al-Ḥanābila ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAqīl bi-asānīdih ʿan shuyūkhih*, ed. Muḥammad al-ʿAjamī, Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmīya, 2005, 14; Abū ʿAbdallāh Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad. Wa-bi-hāmishih Kitāb Muntakhab kanz al-ʿummāl fī sunan al-aqwāl wa-l-afʿāl li-ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Mutaqqī al-Hindī*, 6 vols., Cairo: n. p., 1895, i, 249; Taqī b. Taymīya, *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan. Mashyakhat Ibn Taymīya bi-riwāyat al-Imām al-Dhahabī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Sīrwān, Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1986, 20–21; Abdülkadir Karahan, "Aperçu Général sur les 'Quarante Hadiths' dans la Littérature Islamique," in *SI* 4 (1955), 41; Ulrich Marzolph (ed.), *Das Buch der wundersamen Geschichten. Erzählungen aus der Welt von Tausendundeine Nacht*, München: C.H. Beck, 1999, 9–10; al-Nawawī, *Das Buch der vierzig Ḥadīthe* 310–311; Pouzet, *Herméneutique* 42–43; Oskar Rescher, "Einige nachträgliche Bemerkungen zur Zahl 40 im Arabischen, Türkischen und Persischen," in *Der Islam* 4 (1913), 158–159; idem, "Einiges über die Zahl Vierzig," in *ZDMG* 65 (1911), 517–520; Sahl al-ʿŪd, *al-Muʿīn ʿalā maʿrifat kutub al-arbaʿīn min aḥādīth Sayyid al-Mursalīn*, Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tauzīʿ, 2005, 14–17; Ziyād ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ūzūn, "al-Arbaʿīnāt al-ḥadīthīya," in *Majalla Jāmiʿa Dimashq li-l-ʿUlūm al-Iqtiṣādīya wa-l-Qānūnīya* 27.1 (2011), 604; Arent Jan Wensinck and Johan Peter Mensing, *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane*, 8 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1943, ii, 215–216. The number forty occurs four times in the Qurʾan (2:51, 5:26, 7:142, 46:15).

5 Increasing Interest and Regional Spread of the *Forty Hadith*

From the 5th/11th century onwards there is an increasing interest in collecting forty hadiths, visible in the number of mentioned collections in catalogues and introductions of later *forty hadith* collections, but also regarding editions. There are soon more than forty collections coming up especially in the east of the Islamic world: It's above all the surrounding area of Isfahan and Bagdad where scholars travel around learning and teaching hadiths and writing them down as collections of *forty hadith*.

Traveling in search of knowledge plays a key role in the development of the science of hadith in general.[7] On the one hand, it is the way to gain and increase knowledge contributed to the contents of a collection then. On their journeys, scholars collect rare or unique hadiths, which is important in the time of increasing interest in *forty hadith*, since the rising number of collections is accompanied by a topic differentiation: In order not to repeat the work done by preceding collectors, scholars are in search of something special like a topic not yet included in the *forty hadith*.

On the other hand, traveling in search of knowledge also means a spread of knowledge and collections.[8] A significant example is a scholar of the 6th/12th century: Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Silafī (d. 576/1180) is born and educated in Isfahan. After having met all scholars living in or crossing Isfahan, he starts his journey in search of knowledge towards Bagdad, Mecca, and Medina, back to the east, where he visits Rayy, Nisabur, and other cities, up to the north, where he spends some time in Tiflis, and then to the west through Damascus and Tyros. It takes him 18 years in all to reach Egypt, where he settles and teaches for further 63 years.[9]

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7 Cf. Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 111; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Duri, "The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century—a Sketch," in Bernard Lewis and Peter M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London et al.: Oxford University Press, 1962, 52; Sam Gellens, "The Search for Knowledge in Medieval Muslim Societies: a Comparative Approach," in Dale Eickelman and James Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim Travellers. Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*, London and New York: Routledge, 1990, 53–54; Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Riḥla fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn ʿItr, Damascus: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 1975; Manuela Marín, "The *ʿulamā'*," in Maribel Fierro (ed.), *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, 6 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, ii, 685–686.

8 In the third part of this article an opposing example will be introduced: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī does almost ignore following the idea of traveling abroad in search of knowledge to extend his studies and spread his books. He decides to keep to the local scholars as well as written material instead and asks his students to spread his texts abroad.

9 Cf. Swantje Bartschat, "Abū Ṭāhir as-Silafī: Ein Reisender in der Zeit der Abbasiden," in Kultur

Decisive for this long journey may be the political situation: Inner conflicts of the Seljuq state lead to a splitting into principalities from Iran to Syria. Conflicts like these and the one between the Seljuqs and Egyptian Fatimids as well as the second crusade take place during the lifetime of al-Silafī and cover the whole region he travels through. He does not mention any of it in his writings, though, but rather seems to be well-known for his neutrality, always in care of not getting involved in any political conflict. Moreover, it is clear from his writings and the biographies of him that he is constantly endeavoring to broaden his knowledge and network,[10] this being the main motive for his extensive journey.

Ending up in Alexandria is a result of the city's central location, next to the fact that al-Silafī gets married here and is appointed head of a school that is built for him. Al-Silafī meets North African and Andalusian scholars in Alexandria, crossing the city on their way to and from Mecca, thus benefitting from other scholars fleeing from crisis areas they might not have left in peacetime.

Amongst other writings, his three extensive lexicons of teachers (*maʿājim al-shuyūkh*) give evidence to the great number of scholars al-Silafī has met. One lexicon is compiled for his teachers in his hometown Isfahan, containing six hundred entries. The second one is even more voluminous, mentioning about two thousand scholars he has met in Bagdad, and the third one, called *Muʿjam al-safar* ('Lexicon of Travel'), involves nearly eight hundred teachers from other regions, North African and Andalusian scholars in particular. The full list of his

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und Stadthistorisches Museum Duisburg (ed.), *Häuser der Weisheit*, Mainz: Nünnerich-Asmus, 2015, 60–65, idem, "Methoden und Verhalten bei Erwerb und Tradierung von Aḥādīṯ am Beispiel Abī Ṭāhir as-Silafīs," in *Jahrbuch für Islamische Theologie und Religionspädagogik* 1 (2012), 124–127; Brockelmann, *Geschichte, Supplement* i, 624; Garrett A. Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition. A Social and Intellectual History of Hadith Transmission across a Thousand Years*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020, 215–216; Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, "Ahl al-miʾa faṣāʿida," in *Al-Mawrid* 2.4 (1973), 134; idem, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Hyderabad: Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-Niẓāmīya, 1958, iv, 1300–1303; Claude Gilliot, al-Silafī, in *EI²*, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 1954–2004, ix, 607–609; Muḥammad b. al-Abbār, *al-Muʿjam fī aṣḥāb al-Qāḍī al-Imām Abī ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī*, Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-ʿArabī li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 1968, 50–52; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* iii, 255; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* i, 88; Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ, *al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī*, Beirut and Damascus: n. p., 1977, 34; Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, Beirut: n. p., 1969, vii, 352–354; al-Silafī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn* (1992) 10; Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿīya al-kubrā*, 6 vols., ed. M.ʿA. ʿAṭā, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 1999, iii, 319–321; Sher Muhammad Zaman, "Silafī's Biography. His Birth and Family Background," in *IS* 25 (1986), 1–10; idem, "Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (d. 576/1180). Acquisition of Ḥadīth and Qirāʾat in Isfahan," in *IS* 25 (1986), 151–159; Muḥammad Maḥmūd Zaytūn, *al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī: Ashhar ʿulamāʾ al-zamān* (*470–576 H.*), Alexandria: n. p., 1972, 27, 32, 69.

10 Cf. Zaytūn, *Ḥāfiẓ* 93–109.

students is even longer, and it is said that al-Silafī is known for being the one with the highest number of students amongst all Muslim scholars.[11]

Al-Silafī is thus being considered a key figure for spreading the concept of *forty hadith*. His biography contains examples for his learning of *forty hadith* from his teachers in Isfahan and Bagdad at an early age, later teaching these collections in Alexandria himself. Al-Silafī even seems to be the one introducing *forty hadith* in the west of the Islamic world at all. It is conceivable that his extensive connection to other scholars and his influence on them is decisive for the increasing interest in *forty hadith* collections.

It is also possible that at least a part of the hadith scholars in general start a reorientation of their work on prophetic traditions after the so-called 'canonization'[12] of al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's collections. Why should they still sift hadiths, distinguishing between authentic and forged ones and compiling them in extensive books, when several preceding scholars—being increasingly acknowledged for their work—did just that already? Hadith scholars in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th century may therefore focus mainly on smaller collections, offering an overview of the hadith canon or a selected topic.

6 Topic Differentiation

The increasing interest in collections of *forty hadith* is accompanied by a topic differentiation: *Forty hadith* are compiled for example on knowledge, medi-

11 Cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte, Supplement* i, 624; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat* iv, 1300–1302; Gilliot, Silafī 608; Ibn al-Abbār, *Muʿjam* 47–48; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* iii, 255; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* i, 87; al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, vii, 354; Ṣāliḥ, *Ḥāfiẓ* 27–28, 104–106; Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī, *Muʿjam al-safar*, ed. ʿAbdallāh ʿUmar al-Bārūdī, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1993; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* iii, 321; Zaytūn, *Ḥāfiẓ* 28–31, 128; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām* i, 209. The *Muʿjam al-Iṣfahān* of al-Silafī is said to be lost, his *Muʿjam Baghdād* preserved in a shortened version, cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte* i, 365; *Supplement* i, 624; al-Dhahabī, "Ahl al-miʾa faṣāʿida" 134; Gilliot, Silafī 608–609; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam* ii, 76; al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, vii, 352; al-Silafī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn* (1992) 11; idem, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn* (1997) 12–13; Zaytūn, *Ḥāfiẓ* 44.

12 On the process of accepting the extensive collections of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and others as canon see for example Muhammad Mustafa Azami, *Studies in Ḥadīth Methodology and Literature*, repr. Oak Brook: American Trust, 2012, 87–107; Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 51, 111; Brown, *Hadith* 38–40; al-Nawawī, *Das Buch der vierzig Hadithe* 300–307; Muhammad Zubayr Siddiqi, *Hadith Literature. Its Origin, Development and Special Features*, ed. Abd al-Hakim Murad, Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, [repr.] 2008, 61–69. On the problem of the term 'canon' see Thomas Bauer, *Die Kultur der Ambiguität: Eine andere Geschichte des Islams*, Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2011, 146–148; Stephen R. Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature.' What Is It and Where Is It?," in *Arabica* 65.1–2 (2018), 66.

cine, specific persons like the Prophet Muḥammad, one or all of the four caliphs, or other Companions of the Prophet. Apart from this specialization in regard to content, we find another orientation towards formal aspects like specific expressions in the hadiths, their classification, or their length, the latter meaning a collection of forty hadiths with the same number of transmitters in each chain of transmission (*sanad*). In case of four transmitters this is called *rubāʿīyāt*, chains of seven transmitters are called *subāʿīyāt*, and so on. The most popular topics emerging in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th century and still of great interest today are asceticism, *buldānīyāt*, and jihad. The latter has its beginning in the context of the Sunni-Shiʿite-conflict of the 6th/12th century, when a scholar of Damascus, Abū l-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), compiles his *forty hadith* on jihad, contrary to expectations not only to encourage Muslims to fight against the crusaders, but mainly to support the Sunni ruler of Damascus in his combat against Shiʿites.[13] Since then, the jihad is of permanent interest within the collections of *forty hadith*, being taken up in one or two of them in every century.

As for the *buldānīyāt*,[14] we find even several collections per century, until a break for about three hundred years after the 10th/16th century. The title some-

13 Cf. Swantje Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge, des Stifts und des Schwertes? Vierzig Dschihad Ḥadīthe im Vergleich*, Baden-Baden: Ergon, 2019, 95–109; Nikita Elisséeff, "Un document contemporain de Nūr ad-Dīn. Sa notice biographique par Ibn ʿAsākir," in *BEO* 25 (1972), 127, 137; idem, Ibn ʿAsākir, in *EI²*, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 1954–2004, iii, 714; Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999, 117–132; Abū l-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Muḥibb al-ʿAmrawī, 80 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995–2000, lvii, 119; idem, *al-Arbaʿūn fī l-ḥaththʿalā al-jihād*, ed. ʿAbdallāh b. Yūsuf, Kuwait: Dār al-Khulafāʾ li-l-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1984, 47–48; James E. Lindsay, "Ibn ʿAsākir, His *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* and its Usefulness for Understanding Early Islamic History," in James E. Lindsay (ed.), *Ibn ʿAsākir and Early Islamic History*, Princeton: The Darwin Press, 2001, 7–8; Suleiman A. Mourad and James E. Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period. Ibn ʿAsākir of Damascus (1105–1176) and His Age with an Edition and Translation of Ibn ʿAsākir's The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, 10, 132–133; idem, "Rescuing Syria from the Infidels. The Contribution of Ibn ʿAsākir of Damascus to the Jihad Campaign of Sultan Nur al-Din," in *Crusades* 6 (2007), 46–47.

14 This article focuses especially on the *arbaʿūn buldānīya*, whereas the *buldānīyāt* in general are a genre in itself, containing much more than the collections mentioned here. Mohammad Gharaibeh recently worked on at least three exemplary collections of both fields, cf. Mohammad Gharaibeh, "Innovation im Kontext. Die *buldāniyyāt* von as-Silafī (gest. 576/1180) und Ibn ʿAsākir (gest. 571/1176) im Vergleich," in Ömer Özsoy, Daniel Birnstiel, and Serdar Kurnaz (eds.), *Genese, Exegese und Hermeneutik der islamischen Quellen*, Berlin: EB Verlag [forthcoming]; idem, "The *Buldāniyyāt* of as-Saḫāwī (d. 902/1496). A Case Study on Knowledge Specialization and Knowledge Brokerage in the Field of Ḥadīṯ

how explains itself, meaning the collection relates to places. In the *buldānīyāt* of previous decades (published between the years 1364/1945 and 1424/2003),[15] the collectors demonstrate their far-reaching connections throughout the Islamic world. Today's technological development taken into consideration, this seems much less impressive than al-Silafī's 18 years of traveling to collect hadiths.

Being the first ones with a collection called *al-Arbaʿūn al-buldānīya*, both al-Silafī and his contemporary and acquaintance Ibn ʿAsākir collate hadith learned at forty different places they have definitely been to. One of today's collectors, however, compiles hadiths he learns from forty scholars being natives of forty different places the collector himself has not necessarily been at. Though the scholars' countries of origin cover the area from Morocco in the West to Indonesia in the East of the Islamic world, the process of transmitting hadiths mainly takes place in Mecca. But the contemporary *buldānīyāt* are at least impressive insofar as they still contain full *isnād*s from the collector back to the Prophet Muḥammad.[16]

Even in case of *forty hadith* on asceticism, al-Silafī plays an important role by transmitting the earliest collections of that kind from the beginning of the 5th/11th century as well as compiling one himself. These early collections are compiled at the same time and even edited one immediately after the other in the 1990s (respectively in the year 1428/2007). They differentiate insofar, as one of them emphasizes Sufi scholars, mentioning forty of them with a scant information on each scholar and one or two hadiths transmitted by them. The other two show a lot of overlapping with regard to content, though one contains forty hadiths, while the other one is divided into forty chapters with sixty

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Collections," in Stephan Conermann (ed.), *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517)*, Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2016, 81–105; Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 147.

15 ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Fāsī al-Fihrī (d. 1383/1963) compiled his *buldānīya* already in the year 1353/1934, but it was published posthumously in 1424/2003, cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ al-Fāsī al-Fihrī, *Istinzāl al-sakīnat al-raḥmānīya bi-l-taḥdīth bi-l-arbaʿīn al-buldānīya*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī Bayḍūn, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 2003, whereas his student Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī (d. 1410/1990) published his collection even 20 years before the former died, noting that he was inspired by his teacher al-Fāsī and Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī, cf. Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī, *al-Arbaʿūn al-buldānīya: Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan ʿan arbaʿīn shaykhan min arbaʿīn balada*, Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmīya, 1945, ²1987. The third of today's *buldānīya* was published in 1420/1999 by Saʿūd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Fanīsān and contains traditions from only one city: Najd, cf. Saʿūd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Fanīsān, *al-Arbaʿūn al-buldānīya fī l-aḥādīth al-Najdīya: Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan min arbaʿīn kitāban*, Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1999.

16 Al-Fādānī offers an overview of the 'origin' of his selected traditions in the index at the end of his collection, cf. Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 146–155, 375–379; al-Fādānī, *Arbaʿūn* 79–80.

hadiths in all. All three have in common that most of their hadiths are not considered authentic.[17]

7 The Collectors' Efforts for New Ideas

Because of the increasing topic differentiation, finding an individual topic in the 6th/12th century is an extremely difficult task. Scholars already shift to combine several aspects which have individually been treated in preceding collections. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 656/1258) complains about trying several times to compile an innovative collection.

He finally succeeded by putting together a collection containing forty hadiths from forty different collections of *forty hadith*. This collection has been edited several times and is especially valuable to the *forty hadith* collections in general: Al-Bakrī provides in it an extensive introduction, discussing therein the reasons for collecting forty hadiths, enumerating a lot of preceding collectors from Ibn al-Mubārak up to al-Silafī and Ibn ʿAsākir, and even mentioning the occurrence of the number forty in the Qurʾan and Sunna. He not only provides names and titles of early collectors and their *forty hadith* collections—half of them being lost—, but also by quoting a hadith from each of his forty selected collections he even gives an insight into the lost and so far unknown *forty hadith*.[18]

Discussing the problem of finding a topic not yet included in other *forty hadith* collections, al-Bakrī mentions outstanding ideas of scholars especially from North Africa and Andalusia. The most outstanding collection, which is usually mentioned in chapters on *forty hadith*, for example in Marco Schöller's commentary on the *forty hadith* of al-Nawawī and Jonathan Brown's study of

17 A kind of small lexicon on forty ascetics is compiled by al-Mālīnī, whereas Abū Nuʿaym's collection contains forty chapters with sixty hadiths about half of them overlapping with the selection of al-Sulamī, cf. Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn ʿalā madhhab al-mutaḥaqqiqīn min al-ṣūfiya. Wa-yalīh al-juzʾ al-khāmis min Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn fī faḍl al-duʿāʾ wa-l-dāʿīn li-Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿAlī al-Maqdisī*, ed. Badr al-Badr, Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1993; Abū Saʿd al-Mālīnī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn fī shuyūkh al-ṣūfiya*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥ. Ṣabrī, Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmīya, 1997; Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, *al-Arbaʿūn fī l-taṣawwuf*, Beirut: Sharika Dār al-Mashāriʿ, 2007. Al-Silafī's own collection with a focus on asceticism bears the title *al-Arbaʿūn fī ḥaqq al-fuqarāʾ* and seems to be lost, cf. Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 121–145; Brockelmann, *Geschichte* i, 365. For a brief overview on thematic works see also Lucas, Forty Traditions.

18 Cf. al-Bakrī, *Arbaʿīn* 26, 29–52; Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 168, ch. 11—Liste D; al-Nawawī, *Das Buch der vierzig Hadithe* 321. Lucas lists al-Bakrī's collection as one of the "boasting works," cf. Lucas, Forty Traditions.

hadith, is compiled by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Ghāfiqī from Granada (d. 619/1222), called

> Forty hadiths from forty different teachers from forty different books by forty different scholars via forty different *isnād*s to forty different Successors, from forty different Companions with forty different names from forty different tribes of forty different issues.[19]

From the 7th/13th century onwards, the *forty hadith* reach a total amount of more than sixty collections per century. Taking also the Persian and Turkish *forty hadith* into consideration, an almost equivalent amount per century is recorded until today, showing the still unbroken interest in this type of collection. With the amount of nearly two hundred Arabic collections of *forty hadith*, only the 10th/16th century is outstanding. The peculiarity of this increase is that it only concerns the collections of *forty hadith*, but not the collectors compiling them, since their amount remains almost equivalent to the ones of the previous and following centuries. Due to the furtherance of establishing educational institutions, writing down local history and biographies, as well as compiling *fiqh* and hadith books in the Ottoman Empire, the 10th/16th century is the time of several hadith scholars extensively compiling *forty hadith*. As a compiler of at least seventeen *forty hadith*, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī is one of them: Although living under Mamluk rule, he refers to an Ottoman ruler and the hadith scholars surrounding him in a collection being of further interest. Therefore, al-Suyūṭī will be introduced in a later part of this article as one of the famous representatives of the *forty hadith*.

In general, many of the collections are compiled under the influence of the most popular *forty hadith* of al-Nawawī. Although he does not stick to a specific topic or combination of topics and other aspects making his collection a unique one, al-Nawawī's selected forty-two hadiths are still considered outstanding, since they are the most important ones on the principles of the religion: Al-Nawawī calls each one of them a key element of Islam.[20]

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19 Brown, *Hadith* 56. Cf. al-Bakrī, *Arbaʿīn* 26; Ibn Taymīya, *Arbaʿūn* 17–18; al-Nawawī, *Das Buch der vierzig Hadithe* 321; ʿŪd, *Muʿīn* 152–153.

20 Cf. Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 169–171, ch. 11—Liste B; Brockelmann, *Geschichte* i, 165; al-Fāsī, *Istinzāl* 18; Ibn Taymīya, *Arbaʿūn* 16; al-Nawawī, *Das Buch der vierzig Hadithe* 11, 321–341, 261, 309.

8 Contemporary Quantitative Studies on *Forty Hadith*

The few studies on *forty hadith* being published within the last decades show that the 'inventory' of these collections is still in progress—or in words of Scott C. Lucas, "the genre shows no signs of exhaustion and [...] should remain popular for years to come."[21] When Abdülkadir Karahan brought out his pioneer work in 1374/1954, he knew about 252 collections, remarking that he mentions only a selection of especially the Persian *forty hadith*.[22] As for Arabic collections, there seems to be a slightly decreasing interest in compiling such books from the 11th/17th to the 13th/19th century, whereas the number of Persian and Turkish collections is rising steadily since their emergence in the 6th/12th, respectively 8th/14th century. But this is just a momentary statement since Arabic publishers are working constantly on editing still unknown manuscripts. Apart from Karahan's study, another noteworthy attempt to record as many *forty hadith* as possible is the research of Sahl al-ʿŪd, *al-Muʿīn ʿalā maʿrifa kutub al-Arbaʿīn min aḥādīth Sayyid al-Mursalīn*, which he published 1426/2005 in Beirut, already listing more than five hundred collections. Ten years later, I came across more than nine hundred *forty hadith* during my own quantitative research. This shows that there is an increasing interest also in Arabic collections today, partly thanks to the publishers who not only edit *forty hadith* but frequently compile some themselves, and partly because of al-Nawawīs collection with its translations into more than twenty languages already. Nowadays, scholars and non-scholars alike get easy access to books like the *forty hadith* and feel motivated to compile likewise.

9 Factors of Motivation and Function of the *Forty Hadith*

A few motivating factors to compile such a collection as well as several functions of the *forty hadith* are closely linked and aim at both, this world and the hereafter. A clear separation into the latter two areas—that is motives with consequences for this world, and motives with consequences for the hereafter—seems nearly impossible.

21 Lucas, Forty Traditions.

22 Cf. Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 179–187; Karahan, *İslâm* 69, 92, 125, 128–129, 292–294.

9.1 *The Request of Collecting Forty Traditions to Preserve the Sunna: The* 'man ḥafiẓa-*Hadith'*

Most of the collectors indicate that their motivation to compile a book of *forty hadith* originates from a hadith of the Prophet Muḥammad, promising a high reward for the one who collects, memorizes, and teaches forty hadiths. This hadith is transmitted in 23 variant versions, 17 of them again transmitted with several variations. Some of the most common ones are the following:

> "Whoever preserves for my *umma* forty hadiths about the instructions of her religion, God will resurrect him on Judgement Day as a learned and knowing (person)."[23] or "[…] resurrect him in the group of scholars and theologians."[24]
>
> Whoever memorizes for my community forty hadiths from the Sunna, I will be his intercessor on the Day of Judgement.[25]

The clear message in all these versions is that whoever deals with *forty hadith* will be rewarded for it in the hereafter. The main expression in this case is 'preserve' (*ḥafiẓa ʿalā*), generally understood as both, memorizing hadiths by oneself and encourage others to memorize. Other, rarely transmitted expressions like *taʿallama*[26] instead of *ḥafiẓa* indicate the same meaning. A few scholars and editors of the last four centuries are, nevertheless, of the opinion, that *ḥafiẓa*, like *ḥamala* or *naqala*,[27] just means 'transmitting' or 'giving the information to

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23 *"Man ḥafiẓa ʿalā ummatī arbaʿīna ḥadīthan min/fī amri dīnihā, baʿathahu llāhu yawma l-qiyāmati faqīhan ʿāliman."* Al-Bakrī, *Arbaʿīn* 35–36; Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 196, 210–214; al-Fanīsān, *Arbaʿūn* 32–33; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Arbaʿūn* 11–14; al-Silafī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn* (1992) 28, 33–34.

24 "[…] *baʿathahu llāhu fī zumrati l-fuqahāʾi wa-l-ʿulamāʾi."* Al-Bakrī, *Arbaʿīn* 38–39; Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 195–196, 201–205; al-Fanīsān, *Arbaʿūn* 33–34; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Arbaʿūn* 41; Ibn Taymīya, *Arbaʿūn* 7, 19; al-Silafī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn* (1992) 34–35; al-Sulamī, *Arbaʿūn* 7.

25 *"Man ḥafiẓa ʿalā ummatī arbaʿīna ḥadīthan min-a s-sunnati, kuntu lahū shafīʿan yawma l-qiyāmati."* Al-Ājurrī, *Arbaʿīn* 65; al-Bakrī, *Arbaʿīn* 30–32; Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 196, 205–210; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Arbaʿūn* 42; Ibn Taymīya, *Arbaʿūn* 19.

26 *"Man taʿallama arbaʿīna ḥadīthan min amri dīnihā, baʿathahu llāhu yawma l-qiyāmati faqīhan ʿāliman."* Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm wa-faḍlih wa-mā yanbaghī fī riwāyatih wa-ḥamlih*, ed. Fawwāz ʿA. Zamarlī, Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2003, *i*, 97 (no. 160).

27 Cf. al-Bakrī, *Arbaʿīn* 34; Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 200, 232–233; Ibn Taymīya, *Arbaʿūn* 7, 19; e. g. *"Man ḥamala min ummatī arbaʿīna ḥadīthan, laqiya llāha yawma l-qiyāmati faqīhan ʿāliman."* Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ i*, 95 (no. 156).

someone,' notwithstanding learning it by heart or understanding it at all.[28] For them, writing down hadiths is like 'learning by heart' a means to preserve the words and deeds of Muḥammad. The prevention of losing knowledge about Muḥammad is all that matters; the way to preserve it does not make any difference and should be rewarded in any case.

There is an advantage not stated directly: The *forty hadith* collections are not exclusively meant for hadith scholars but accessible to scholars and non-scholars alike because of their limited size. Renouncing the task of learning by heart makes it even easier to deal with *forty hadith* and may therefore encourage more Muslims to compile such a collection. It is the same reason why al-Nawawī and his contemporaries start leaving out full *isnād*:[29] In their case it is the memorizing of hadiths that will be easier without mentioning the huge number of transmitters' names.

Both options of understanding *ḥafiẓa* finally lead to the same result, which is to enable any Muslim to save Prophetic hadiths. It just happens on different levels—while in case of renouncing to memorize, the preservation is limited to a formal way, in case of memorization this may have far-reaching consequences in a positive way (for the Islamic religion): The probability of Muslims implementing the instructions of the religion may even increase due to the learning by heart.

9.2 *Following an Unreliable Hadith*

Several Arabic studies indicate in each individual *isnād* of the above-mentioned *man ḥafiẓa*-hadiths a weak transmitter, whether known as a liar or unknown at all. So how comes that an unreliable hadith has such a great influence on the science of hadith and that so many scholars follow an appeal of the Prophet Muḥammad, not knowing if he made it at all?

It is because of the great number of narrations through which the hadith is attributed to Muḥammad. Muslim scholars agree on its unreliability, but they also agree on dealing with weak hadiths if the result is a positive one. There

28 Cf. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī, *Sharḥ Arbaʿīn ḥadīthan*, ed. Kemalettin Özdemir, Istanbul: Maktabat Aḥmad al-Thālith, 2003, 15–20; Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 43–49; al-Sulamī, *Arbaʿūn* 7.

29 In general, this so-called *taʿlīq* becomes a common practice among the hadith scholars from the 4th/10th century onwards. As for the *forty hadith* collections in particular, it is not until the 7th/13th century, that al-Nawawī and two of his contemporary collectors introduce leaving out full *isnāds* and restricting to a mere mention of the Companions names, the text (*matn*) of a hadith and its occurrence in the six canonical books.

are different levels of classifying a hadith as weak. If a hadith is transmitted through an *isnād* containing a defect, and there is no other strand of transmitters supporting the first one in any way, the scholars generally forbid dealing with it. In case of the *man ḥafiẓa*-hadith, the great number of *isnād* cause a rising to a higher level within the category of weak hadiths. As a result, the majority of hadith scholars agree on the permissibility to deal with it, as long as it serves the Islamic *umma* and religious matters.[30] Or in al-Silafī's words: "Dealing with unreliable hadiths within the context of acting excellently is permissible."[31] With regard to the functions of the *forty hadith*, it seems irrefutable that collecting forty hadiths bears several advantages, like the preservation of the Sunna and the educational function of the collections. That is why Muslim scholars and non-scholars alike follow the call of the Prophet Muḥammad despite its unreliability. They care for transmitting and preserving hadiths, serving thereby the purpose of the religion, which is what matters to them as protectors of the Sunna.

9.3 *Rewards in the Hereafter*

Next to the preservation of hadiths as a resulting advantage in this world, there are several advantages concerning the hereafter. Muslims collecting *forty hadith*s benefit in the ways that are described in the *man ḥafiẓa*-hadiths mentioned above, like being with the scholars on the Day of Judgement, like Muḥammad interceding on behalf of them, or like choosing the door to enter paradise directly. In addition to that, the scholars encouraging others to deal with *forty hadith* and therefore benefit from it, live in hope of an even higher reward.

30 Cf. Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 37–43; Bauer, *Die Kultur der Ambiguität* 150–152; al-Fanīsān, *Arbaʿūn* 9–50; Ibn Ḥasan Jabʿān, *ʿIlm al-arbaʿīnāt wa-l-Arbaʿūn al-Nawawīya*, n. pl.: n. p., n. d., 7–21; Abū al-Faraj b. al-Jawzī, *al-ʿIlal al-mutanāhiya fī l-aḥādīth al-wāhiya*, ed. Khalīl al-Mays, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, ²2003, 119–129; Ibn Taymīya, *Arbaʿūn* 18–19; al-Sulamī, *Arbaʿūn* 9; Ūzūn, *Arbaʿīnāt* 594, 601–602.

31 Al-Silafī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn* (1992) 34; cf. ibid., 23–27; idem, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn* (1997) 30–34; Karahan, *Aperçu* 40; al-Mālīnī, *Arbaʿīn* 48; al-Nawawī, *Das Buch der vierzig Hadithe* 10–11.

9.4 *Guidance for Everyone*

It is apparent from their introductions of *forty hadith* that many of the hadith scholars consider themselves protectors of the Sunna, respectively the religion in general. The *Forty Hadith* of al-Nawawī and many other collections should be read as a guide providing instructions for believers and at the same time as an insight into particular circumstances surrounding the scholars.

One of the numerous examples in which a scholar refers to his social circumstances in his collection is a manuscript available in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, including only the first part to the seventh hadith of a collection compiled by an unknown scholar of the 9th/15th century. In the introduction to his *forty hadith* (bearing even an indefinite title), the collector complains about science getting lost, people only being interested in false ideas, and books circulating with even more false opinions. The anonymous collector therefore intends to discuss the opinions and correct the false ones with reference to exclusively authentic hadiths. Since illness, poverty, and worries, as well as pressure of time prevent him from working thoroughly, he finally limits his writings to a collection of *forty hadith* with a commentary. The few preserved hadiths all deal with why and how to perform the ritual ablution before prayer (*wuḍūʾ*). Since there is a discussion on details of it with reference to a verse of the Qurʾan (5:6) in which it depends on the reading whether to understand a washing or just a wiping of the feet, the collection may be a statement to this discussion. Moreover, it is possible that the collector in general attempts to stop increasing differences in religious practicing by providing a kind of instructional handbook.[32]

The limited size of the collections makes it possible for non-scholars to get into contact with traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad being the model for pious and ordinary Muslim life. Next to the function of providing an overview of a specific topic and advising believers on religious matters or guiding through them, the *forty hadith* serve as a mirror of time, reflecting the circumstances

32 Cf. Wilhelm Ahlwardt, "Kleinere Traditionssammlungen," in Wilhelm Ahlwardt (ed.), *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, viii: Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften, ii: III. und IV. Buch, Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1889, 245 (Nr. 1548); Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 32–33; Rudi Paret, *Der Koran: Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart et al.: Kohlhammer, 1971, ^{5}1993, 115–116; Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān*, ed. Ṣidqī Jamil al-ʿAṭṭār, iv, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2001, 135–174. On the importance of circumstances see Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature'" 69 as well, referring to Andrew J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shīʿism. Ḥadīth as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad*, Richmond: Curzon, 2000.

a scholar lives in and indicating the problems he has to deal with. These functions of the *forty hadith* are of great importance, since they are the key to the emergence of the almost innumerable collections.

10 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: An Example of Extensive Compiling of *Forty Hadith*

Next to the collectors already mentioned, the group of key figures of the *forty hadith* is supposed to be extended by one example providing a huge amount of relevant collections: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). In his *forty hadith* on jihad, he dissociates himself from the common procedure of his contemporaries who refer to *al-kutub al-sitta* to authenticate their material, by referring to other extensive compilations as well, and, in general, relying on written material.

10.1 *Background of the Hadith Scholar*

Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī is born in Cairo 849/1445, after his father has left the eponymous city of Asyūṭ where numerous of his family members hold public posts. The father is the first amongst them to study in Cairo. Being less than six years old when his father dies, al-Suyūṭī mainly grows up in care of his father's friends and students, some of them leading an ascetic life like his father himself has done. According to the description in several biographical dictionaries, al-Suyūṭī memorizes the Qurʾan in childhood before studying Arabic grammar, law, and hadiths under supervision of renowned scholars, several of which are known as compilers of *forty hadith*.[33] As noted above, traveling in search of knowledge is central to the development of the science of hadith, and after al-Suyūṭī has completed his studies

33 Cf. Swantje Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge, des Stifts und des Schwertes? Vierzig Dschihad Hadithe im Vergleich*, Baden-Baden: Ergon, 2019, 132–138; Brockelmann, *Geschichte* ii, 143–145; Eric Geoffroy, al-Suyūṭī, in *EI²*, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 1954–2004, ix, 913; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* x, 74–75; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjām* v, 128; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, n. d., iv, 65; Marlis J. Saleh, "Al-Suyūṭī and His Works. Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present," in *MSR* 5 (2001), 73–74; Elizabeth M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1975, 19–29; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-Taḥadduth bi-niʿmat Allāh*, ed. Elisabeth M. Sartain, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1975, 5–6, 45, 50, 236–238, 240–247; idem, *Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan fī faḍl al-jihād*, ed. Marzūq ʿAlī Ibrāhīm, Cairo: Dār al-Iʿtiṣām, 1988, 12–13; Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke*, New York: Franklin, 1882, iii, 58–59; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām* iv, 71.

mainly in Cairo, it seems that the science of hadith makes him leave in 869/1464 and travel to Mecca in order to continue his studies and perform the pilgrimage:

> The proper study of Prophetic tradition could not be carried out thoroughly within the walls of a *madrasah*, and in this it differed from other subjects. Although al-Suyūṭī had already studied many compilations of traditions, or reports concerning the Prophet, this was not sufficient, and after he had completed the greater part of his education, and had himself begun to teach and write, he became attracted to the 'collection' of traditions (*ṭalab al-ḥadīth*). This involved collecting individual traditions by going to learn them from anyone who knew some by heart, even if this meant travelling abroad.[34]

Al-Suyūṭī travels a lot within Egypt, but only twice beyond to perform the pilgrimage. His first journey ends in the following year already; the second one to Mecca takes place four years later in 873/1469 and serves to escape the plague in Cairo. The notion that al-Suyūṭīs travels also brought him to Syria, India, North and West Africa, as well as Yemen, is mistaken and arises from al-Suyūṭīs own description of his books having 'traveled' to these areas. Al-Suyūṭī extensively works on spreading his texts, the result being that all his visitors are supposed to take some of his works with them on their way back home and induce others to visit al-Suyūṭī as well. In addition to that, he provides his students with his texts, requesting to sell them wherever they travel. It is said that even before turning thirty years old, al-Suyūṭī is much more famous outside of Egypt than in his hometown Cairo.

The editor of al-Suyūṭī's autobiography, Elisabeth M. Sartain, emphasizes in this context the importance of oral transmission in comparison to written transmission. Many hadith scholars regard the mere reading of traditions as insufficient, since in their understanding only learning by hearing from a scholar enables the student to be a transmitter himself later on. Next to this field called *al-riwāya*, the science of hadith contains a second field of methods to classify traditions and determine the reliability of transmitters: *al-dirāya*.[35]

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34 Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* 30.

35 Cf. Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 133–134, 136; idem, "Methoden und Verhalten" 131–139; Brockelmann, *Geschichte* ii, 143–145; Brown, *Hadith* 43–46; John O. Hunwick (ed.) and Michael Barry (transl.), "Ignaz Goldziher on al-Suyūṭī," in *MW* 68 (1978), 88; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'* iv, 65–66; Saleh, "Al-Suyūṭī and His Works" 77; Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* 41–42, 48–53; Sezgin, *Geschichte* i, 53–84; al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 9–10; idem, *Taḥadduth* 155–159.

The latter does not depend on traveling but can be studied in one madrasa and is favored by al-Suyūṭī, since he disagrees on the opinion of the aforementioned hadith scholars. Though al-Suyūṭī starts collecting traditions in the year 868/1463–1464 and therefore travels to increase his knowledge as noted above, his journey is comparatively short. The reasons he gives are the following:

> [The collection of traditions has been made pleasant to me, after I advanced my studies and became familiar with all that needs to be learned. I began with *al-samāʿ* (audition) and the acquirement of *al-ijāzāt* (license to transmit; […]), but][36] I did not indulge very much in *al-samāʿ* for (various) reasons, one of which was my preoccupation with *al-dirāyah*: I was teaching, writing, and studying with its esteemed masters, taking the opportunity to frequent them before the advent of their deaths. This, in my opinion, is more important than *al-riwāyah*. Another reason was that I found the transmitters of traditions (*shuyūkh al-samāʿ*) to be common people, rabble, women, and old men, and I disdained to study under these, being myself a teacher […][37]

Hence, al-Suyūṭī attaches less importance to traveling in search of knowledge and instead sees to meet the renowned local scholars of old age as long as it is possible. Since Cairo is one of the academic centers at that time, he is still able to meet with scholars from all over the Islamic world. Furthermore, he is of the opinion that the transmitted material is fully recorded and classified in the canonical collections, thereby reducing the relevance of oral transmission. Elisabeth M. Sartain highlights a peculiarity of the list of learned books given in his autobiography: Al-Suyūṭī frequently mentions to have learned only parts of books, since he is not obligated to attend the teaching sessions in their entirety. It is said that he compensates the missed parts through extensive reading. Contemporary hadith scholars highly criticize him for this, since the acquisition of knowledge by reading is not regarded equivalent to that by consulting teachers.[38]

Apart from critics on an academic level, al-Suyūṭī generally seems to have had a lot of conflicts with his contemporaries due to his raising of claims and

36 The translation of this first part is done by the author on basis of the Arabic text, whereas the following rest is a citation of the editor Elisabeth M. Sartains translation.

37 Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* 30–31; al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥadduth* 247.

38 Cf. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* 31–32; al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥadduth* 39–42, 241–242, 249–251.

frequently reprimanding his surroundings. Next to being accused of plagiarism and fraud, biographies on al-Suyūṭī as well as his autobiography contain statements of haughtiness—much clearer than it adumbrates in the above given citation—and draw the picture of him as an unpleasant character. However, he manages to have followers and make his career until he loses his position as professor in consequence of conflicts with his students. Al-Suyūṭī withdraws on Rawḍa Island in Cairo and seems to have written many of his books and probably most of his forty hadith collections there in his final years. He dies socially isolated in the year 911/1505.[39]

10.2 *Activity of Collecting: Al-Suyūṭī and the* Forty Hadith

In his autobiography, al-Suyūṭī lists the books he learned during his studies, among them at least fourteen collections of *forty hadith*. Most of the information on them is too unspecific to identify a particular collection, since al-Suyūṭī mainly writes to have learned "The forty of X" and in some cases, this 'scholar X' compiled several *forty hadith*. But the few collections given with definite title show that during his studies, al-Suyūṭī gains insight into various *forty hadith*, dealing for example with the pilgrimage, particular chains, or different places of transmission. In his own diverse *forty hadith* collections, al-Suyūṭī does not copy these foci, but sees to include other topics.[40]

Another list in his autobiography contains the better part of his own several hundred writings and is divided into seven parts. Sartain sums up al-Suyūṭīs description of these categories as follows: 1. Unique works; 2. Notable, but not unique works; 3. Notable works of smaller size; 4. Works of about one quire[41] in length without fatwas; 5. Works of about one quire in length concerning fatwas; 6. Works he considers mediocre; and 7. Unfinished works he lost interest in.[42] Of his all in all seventeen *forty hadith*, al-Suyūṭī includes only five to seven in the list's fourth and sixth category. Next to two writings with unclear title—

39 Cf. Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 137–138; Brockelmann, *Geschichte* ii, 143–145; Geoffroy, Suyūṭī 913–916; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* x, 76–79; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam* v, 128; Saleh, "Al-Suyūṭī and His Works" 75; Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* 80–81, 102–104; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber* iii, 58–61; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām* iv, 71.

40 Cf. Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 576–581; Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* 76–77; al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥadduth* 39–42, 249–251.

41 A quire (*kurrāsa*) contains ten sheets of paper, cf. Edward William Lane, *An Arabic–English Lexicon*, part. ed. Stanley Lane-Poole, 8 vols., London: Williams & Norgate, 1863–1893, vii, 2606.

42 Cf. Saleh, "Al-Suyūṭī and His Works" 85–88; Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* 46–47; al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥadduth* 105–136.

which may be part of the type of collection as well—,[43] al-Suyūṭī's *forty hadith* on *waraqa*[44] and the *forty hadith* on jihad, the latter being of further interest at the end of this article, are given in the fourth category of small works of about one quire. The second relevant category of works al-Suyūṭī considers mediocre contains three *forty hadith* and is described by him as follows:

> The sixth category contains writings, which do not count for me, since they emerged from the method of the idlers, who keep themselves busy merely with transmitting. I compiled these (collections) in the time of *al-samāʿ* and the acquirement of *al-ijāzāt*. (They don't count for me,) although they contain useful material compared to what was compiled by others.[45]

This statement allows drawing conclusions as for the collection's date of origin, since information about them in al-Suyūṭī's autobiography is in general meager. Al-Suyūṭī obviously started compiling his own collections of *forty hadith* in his time as a student. Apart from the listed five to seven collections, he compiled about ten other ones on aspects of law, religion and Sufiism, the Rāshidūn Caliphate, members of the Prophet's family, and the classification of traditions. Since he does not mention them in his list of own writings, it is most likely that he compiled the collections at the end of his life, after writing down that list.

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī has to be considered a key figure of the *forty hadith*, since he is in many respects linked to this type of collection: First of all, he not only followed the Prophet's call for compiling *forty hadith* in at least 17 cases but also wrote down a treatise discussing therein the different chains transmitting this *man ḥafiẓa*-hadith. Compared to the several hundred collectors who I am aware of by now, al-Suyūṭī learned as a student a great many *forty hadith* of previous collectors, and he was also in contact with other collectors of his time. Although his high number of own compilations has by far been outnumbered

43 For further information on this issue see Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 140–141.

44 This collection is only mentioned in H.A. Ibrāhīm, *Fihrist muʾallafāt al-Suyūṭī. Dirāsa wa-taḥqīq li-nuskha majmūʿa makhṭūṭāt al-baladīya bi-Maktabat al-Iskandarīya wa-l-Mudūna ʿām 1281 H*, Alexandria: n. p., 2005, 27 (No. 96) and did probably not survive. Therefore, one can only speculate about its content, maybe dealing with traditions about paper (*waraqa*), or focusing on a formal aspect, so that *waraqa* should be translated as 'leaf,' meaning that the selection of hadiths is written down on a leaf; cf. Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 72; idem, *Dschihad der Zunge* 140.

45 Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 141; Saleh, "Al-Suyūṭī and His Works" 88; al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥadduth* 126.

already by a contemporary,[46] no other collector of the *forty hadith* managed to compete with him as for the diversity of content he deals with in his collections.

10.3 Forty Hadith *on Jihad and al-Suyūṭī's Contribution to It*

Apart from the previously mentioned context of the crusades, *forty hadith* on jihad in general are compiled as guidance, to support (or honor) the conquests of the Ottomans from the 10th/16th century onwards, or the attempts of recapturing several cities at the Moroccan coast from the Portuguese and Spanish in the 11th/17th up to the 13th/19th century. Later collectors are opposed to all forms of influence from 'the West,' and through their *forty hadith* they intend to support the Ottoman Sultan as the most powerful Muslim ruler. Recently published collections emerge in support of fights in Afghanistan or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These current collections introduce a new component to the *forty hadith* in general: Instead of being published in the common form of a small book, the contemporary *forty hadith* on jihad are published online on different platforms; one of them was even part of a Palestinian competition to memorize hadiths, in which the winners were rewarded with a laptop and telephone cards.

Though all these *forty hadith* on jihad are compiled in different contexts and influenced by each of them, they have two aspects in common. Firstly, most of them are a reaction to physical attacks on Muslims or the fear of a disappearance of the Islamic religion, displaced by other religious or non-religious ideologies. And secondly, the content of all *forty hadith* on jihad can be separated into five main categories, four of them given by Mourad and Lindsay in their analysis of Ibn ʿAsākir's *forty hadith* on jihad:[47] The importance of jihad, the rewards and the punishments which result from waging or not waging jihad, and the requirements to wage jihad. Aspects defining jihad can also be found in the hadith selections, and therefore the definition should be added as a fifth category.

Through these five aspects, the collectors intend to inform the readers and listeners—and this can be everyone due to the accessible format of the *forty hadith* being an instructional handbook—about the necessity to conduct jihad,

46 It is Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī of Damascus (d. 909/1503), who is said to have compiled up to 400 *forty hadith*. About 91 titles are known, those demonstrate that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī mainly compiled with a focus on specific persons; cf. Laṭīf al-Raḥmān al-Bahrāʾijī al-Qāsimī, *al-Rasāʾil al-thulāth al-ḥadīthīya*, Mecca: al-Maktaba al-Imdādīya, 2004, 17–23; Bartschat, *Gemeinde* 73; ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭarīqī, "Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (Ibn al-Mabrad) 840–909h," in ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭarīqī, *Muʿjam muṣannafāt al-ḥanābila min wafayāt 241–1420 h.*, Riyadh: n. p., 2001, v, 48–56.

47 Mourad and Lindsay, *Intensification* 69–75.

and to convince and encourage them to act accordingly. Therefore, the majority of the hadiths in these collections concern the importance and the rewards, emphasizing the positive dimensions of jihad. In the following chapter, I will introduce one or two exemplary traditions of al-Suyūṭī's (or other) *forty hadith* on jihad for each category to present the different dimensions of jihad given in his collection.

10.4 *The Concept of Jihad in al-Suyūṭīs Hadith Selection*

The IMPORTANCE of the jihad is presented through several rankings, which al-Suyūṭī introduces for example in his third hadith:

> By Abū Hurayra, who said: "When the Messenger of God (ṣ) was asked which deeds the best are, he replied: 'The belief in God and his Messenger.' Hereupon he was asked: 'And what comes next?' 'The jihad in the path of God,' he replied. 'And what comes next?' he was asked again and answered: 'A blessed pilgrimage.'"[48]

Next to the ranking, many traditions underline the importance of the jihad by comparing it to fundamental religious practices. At least four times al-Suyūṭī picks up this idea by including traditions like the following one:

> By al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr (r), who said: "The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'The *mujāhid* in the path of God is like someone who fasts at daytime and stands for prayer in the nights until he [the *mujāhid*] returns.'"[49]

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48 Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 151–152, 230; al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 54. Al-Suyūṭī includes other examples of ranking in his 7th, 13th, 15th, 19th, 23rd, 24th, 31st, 36th, 37th, and 39th hadith, and as a metaphor in the second hadith.

49 Al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 55. Al-Suyūṭī offers three longer versions of this hadith as 8th, 9th, and 19th tradition in his collection. It is in general a famous hadith, which is included in variant versions in all *forty hadith* collections on jihad, see for example Ibn ʿAsākir, *Arbaʿūn* 67–69; Yūsuf al-Nabhānī, *Kitāb al-Aḥādīth al-arbaʿīn fī faḍl al-jihād wa-l-mujāhidīn. Wa-yalīh al-Muzdawija al-ḥusnā fī l-istighātha bi-asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*, Beirut: Maṭbaʿat al-Adabīya, 1914, 10; Shabakat Masājidinā al-Daʿwīya—Filasṭīn, *Musābaqat ḥifẓ aḥādīth al-arbaʿīn al-jihādīya* (1433/2012), www.sef.ps/vb/multka394000 (last accessed 1 June 2013, website unavailable as of October 2015), no. 3; Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Tiṭwānī, *Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan fī faḍl al-jihād*, ed. Muḥammad Bū Khubza, Tétouan: n. p., 1986, 13; cf. Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 152, 230–231. See also Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature'" 75, who follows a different approach in his article by analyzing al-Suyūṭī's jihad collection as well, focusing on the quite interesting question of what '*ḥadīṯ* literature' actually is.

Such rankings and comparisons form in general a large amount of the selected hadiths mentioning the jihad next to other important deeds, apart from believing in God, performing the pilgrimage, praying and fasting, caring for the parents or the Sacred Mosque, giving water to the pilgrims, and so on. The hadiths comparing the jihad with the main duties of Islam, like praying and fasting, give preference sometimes to the jihad, sometimes to the other duties, which seems to be confusing. In their analysis of Ibn ʿAsākir's *forty hadith* on jihad, Mourad and Lindsay offer an explanation for solving this matter: The comparison is not meant to highlight one deed being better than another, but by mentioning the jihad in relation to the most important deeds like the five pillars of Islam, the jihad's own importance is emphasized and enhanced. In addition to that, the *forty hadith* should be regarded as what they simply are—a pure collection of sayings. By not giving any comment on their selected material, all the collectors leave it to the reader or listener to understand and interpret the material and to choose which parts of it fit most to his or her needs.[50] This does not only concern the diversity within one collection but also the *forty hadith* on jihad in general: Though all of them are brought together under the term of jihad, each single collection has its peculiarity, focusing on different aspects, for example by including more hadiths on shooting or different forms of martyrdom.

In al-Suyūṭī's as well as other collections of *forty hadith* on jihad, the word jihad is extensively used in the traditions which can be summed up in the category of its importance. But: Those traditions do not explain what it means to wage jihad or how to do it. The hadiths providing a DEFINITION of jihad are scattered throughout the collections, and they are mainly connected to the idea of fighting. In some sayings, which are put together under the title of jihad, the Prophet Muḥammad explicitly commands to fight, but there is no report that bluntly says "jihad is fighting." In many other cases, Muḥammad praises the fight or specific weapons, like the sword or the arrow, and how the *mujāhid* uses them. The jihad consisting of different dimensions is stressed clearly in the following example, which is not to be found in al-Suyūṭī's collection but included in the *forty hadith* of Ibn ʿAsākir and the Palestinian competition:

> By Jābir, who said: "A man came to the Messenger of God (ṣ) and asked: 'What aspect of Islam is the best?' He [Muḥammad] replied: 'That of a person by whose hand the Muslims are not harmed.' The man asked again: 'What aspect of jihad is the best?' He replied: 'That of a person whose

50 Cf. Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature'" 81; Mourad and Lindsay, *Intensification* 56–57, 70.

> horse is wounded and whose blood is shed.' The man asked once again: 'What aspect of the prayer is the best?' He replied: 'The long continuance of the standing.'"[51]

This tradition shows a direct connection to fighting, while at the same time it is obvious that jihad has more dimensions, since shedding blood is 'just' the best aspect of it. There are a few hadiths in each collection stressing these other dimensions. One of the most definite traditions in this regard is the call for exerting "yourself against the polytheists with your wealth, with your lives, and with your tongues."[52] It is—again—not included in al-Suyūṭī's collection, who instead offers one version of those traditions which promise a high reward for the one equipping a fighter. Other *forty hadith* on jihad contain a different version, additionally promising this reward for the one supporting the fighter's family staying behind.[53] So, according to all these examples, jihad can also mean spending money, giving food, etc., as well as exerting oneself verbally against the so-called polytheists, which may also mean trying to convince them to become Muslims. Like other collectors of *forty hadith*, al-Suyūṭī finally links the jihad closely to asceticism by including traditions that call those 'the best of people,' who exert themselves or retreat to worship God and spare people from their iniquity, as well as by including the following one:

> By Anas, who said: "The Prophet (ṣ) said: 'Every community has its monasticism (*rahbānīya*), and the monasticism of this community is the jihad in the path of God.'"[54]

Being rewarded for fighting or exerting oneself for God is another main category in the collections. Al-Suyūṭī especially stresses this category: almost half of his hadith selection contains aspects of REWARD for fighting. Many hadiths mention the entering of paradise, or climbing the stairs in paradise, and people who die during their exertion are martyrs whom God grant highest reward. All collections of *forty hadith* on jihad contain several sayings concerning the martyrs. They are described as outstanding characters with a strong believe in God

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51 Mourad and Lindsay, *Intensification* 178–179. Cf. Ibn ʿAsākir, *Arbaʿūn* 113; Shabakat, *Musābaqat* no. 24.

52 Mourad and Lindsay, *Intensification* 170–171. Cf. Ibn ʿAsākir, *Arbaʿūn* 103.

53 Cf. Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 154, 238–239; al-Nabhānī, *Aḥādīth* 18–19; Shabakat, *Musābaqat* no. 4; al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 92; al-Tiṭwānī, *Arbaʿūn* 23.

54 Cf. Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 158, 232; Mourad and Lindsay, *Intensification* 25; Shabakat, *Musābaqat* no. 10, 29; al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 58, 64–65; al-Tiṭwānī, *Arbaʿūn* 31. See also Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature'" 74–75.

and no feeling of pain or fear. On Judgement Day and already after their death during a fight in this world, they will be recognized by their smell of musk and their fresh wounds, as well as by being rewarded with special dresses. While other *forty hadith* on jihad contain traditions expressing the direct entering of paradise, al-Suyūṭī includes two traditions describing the martyrs' whereabouts before the Day of Judgement as being next to the door but outside of paradise and being honored with throwing a glance at the martyrs' place in paradise. To increase the motivation of the readers and listeners, the collectors of *forty hadith* also include detailed descriptions of the paradise and the outstanding conditions that the martyrs will face after sacrificing themselves.[55]

Although many traditions on the different types of martyrs circulate,[56] only a few of them find their way into the collections of *forty hadith*. Al-Suyūṭī does not consider any of them—with one exception. This is noteworthy, since al-Suyūṭī once left his hometown to escape the plague, whereas diverse traditions count victims of the plague amongst others martyrs. Instead of considering those, the hadith scholar only includes a section of hadiths dealing with fighting on the sea including a specific reward for the fighters dying on it, called 'martyrs of the sea.'[57]

The category of PUNISHMENT is rarely found in the hadith selections, most likely because the content of the collections is mainly meant to encourage and not to frighten. The few hadiths mostly warn the believer against the negation of waging jihad and threaten them with hell. People who are not able to fight should support someone doing it or at least accept it as the best practice, otherwise they are called hypocrites and will be punished by hell.[58]

The REQUIREMENTS are also rarely mentioned in the collections of *forty hadith* on jihad. The idea to wage jihad is principally addressed at all Muslims and not meant to exclude anybody. One required aspect in some of the col-

55 The most relevant hadiths in this regard are the 26th, 29th, 34th, and 35th tradition of al-Suyūṭīs collection, cf. Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 157, 236–238; al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 81, 84, 89–91.

56 Ibn al-Mubārak and Ibn Baṭṭa al-Ḥanbalī for example include several relevant traditions in their small collections called *Kitāb al-Jihād*, cf. Abū ʿAbdallāh b. Baṭṭa al-Ḥanbalī, *Kitāb al-Jihād aw-sabʿūn ḥadīthan fī l-jihād*, ed. Y. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Bushrā, Cairo: Maktabat al-Qurʾān, 1989, 55–62; Ibn al-Mubārak, *Jihād* 95, 173–175.

57 Cf. Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 150–151, 154, 235–236; al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 79–81.

58 Cf. Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 154–155, 230–231, 234, 236–237; al-Nabhānī, *Aḥādīth* 24; Shabakat, *Musābaqat* no. 23; al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 56–57, 63, 72, 82–84 (mostly the punishment is indirectly mentioned and is to be derived from those traditions describing a good deed, preventing the punishment of hell); al-Tiṭwānī, *Arbaʿūn* 22.

lections is to be free of debts.[59] It is missing in al-Suyūṭī's selection of hadith, whereas he includes the central ideas of sincere belief and having the right intention before conducting jihad in prominent position at the beginning and the end of his collection. This means: Believing in God and waging jihad in favor of him, and not exerting oneself to get rich or show off. Al-Suyūṭī opens his collection with the metaphor of a house in which the ground floor can only be entered with the avowal of believing in God, and from here the believer is able to reach the upper floor of jihad. And he concludes his *forty hadith* with the following tradition: "The one who exerts oneself to raise the word of God, is in the path of God."[60]

10.5 *Characteristics of al-Suyūṭī's* Forty Hadith *on Jihad*

Al-Suyūṭī's and other *forty hadith* on jihad have in common to present the different dimensions of the jihad, primarily its component of fighting, but also the 'peaceable' dimensions of caring for families, believing sincerely in God, and worshipping him. Differences between the compilations of this specific type of hadith collection mainly arise from the varying focus chosen by each collector. By leaving out specific aspects—in al-Suyūṭī's case the different types of martyrs or the 'jihad of the tongue'—and emphasizing other aspects through the selection of several corresponding traditions, each collector presents material he considers most relevant and thereby differing in nuances from other collectors of *forty hadith* on jihad. Apart from such differences with regard to content, al-Suyūṭī's *forty hadith* show two peculiarities concerning the dedication of the collection and its sources.

Several collections with a focus on jihad contain a dedication to a Muslim ruler. In contrast to Ibn ʿAsākir and others supporting their contemporary ruler in the current warfare, al-Suyūṭī does not acknowledge the Mamluks under whose rule he lives in Egypt. Instead, he dedicates his collection to the antagonistic Ottoman ruler Mehmed II[61] and his conquest of Constantinople fulfilling a prophecy, thus a central element of Muslim eschatology. Since this event takes place in the year of 857/1453, when al-Suyūṭī is just eight years old, his collection is at least in first instance no reaction to a current physical attack on Muslims but dedicated afterwards near to the end of Mehmed's reign. Yehoshua

59 Cf. al-Nabhānī, *Aḥādīth* 21–22; Shabakat, *Musābaqat* no. 27; al-Tiṭwānī, *Arbaʿūn* 12–13.

60 Al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 96. Cf. Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 159, 240; Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature'" 76; al-Nabhānī, *Aḥādīth* 15; Shabakat, *Musābaqat* no. 38; al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 52–53; al-Tiṭwānī, *Arbaʿūn* 10.

61 Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Murād b. Bāyazīd b. ʿUthmān, reigned 848–850/1444–1446 and 855–886/1451–1481.

Frenkel notes that the hadith scholar's dedication is probably an expression of gratitude with regard to Mehmed's outstanding achievement for the religion of Islam.[62] This reason seems likely, but al-Suyūṭī's attitude towards the Mamluks taken into consideration it seems at the same time of secondary importance. The hadith scholar is known for his negative approach against the Mamluk rulers, refusing their duty calls and avoiding contact. He justifies his behavior by comparing himself with the early pious Muslims behaving in similar manner towards secular rulers.[63] Therefore, it is most likely that al-Suyūṭī chooses the dedication of his *forty hadith* on jihad as a thrust at the Mamluks reproaching them with their—in his understanding—neglected duty of jihad by pointing out a rival as embodiment of a successful *mujāhid*. So, in contrast to other collectors of *forty hadith* on jihad, he does not intend to support the ruler under whose reign he lives, but sees to provoke by dedicating his collection to a rival. A second thrust in his dedication may be addressed at his scholarly compatriots, since al-Suyūṭī wishes therein to join the scholarly environment of Mehmed II, emphasizing its exceptional sincerity and its superiority in transmitting hadiths.

In addition to that, al-Suyūṭī praises his own work by calling his collection a "splendid gift […] imbedding the best guidance for rulers, which can be dedicated to them."[64] He ends his introduction noting that he has compiled these *forty hadith* within one hour. This statement he takes up again at the end of his collection adding the exact day—it is Saturday, the ninth Rabīʿ al-Awwal of the year 882 (21st of June 1477)—and remarking that he hurried to select the hadiths in the time between the prayers of noon and afternoon from an uncountable amount of traditions concerning jihad.[65] It is possible that al-

62 Cf. Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 52–53, 147–150, 229, 240; Niall Christie, "Motivating Listeners in the Kitab al-*Jihād* of ʿAlī ibn Tahir al-Sulami (d. 1106)," in *Crusades* 6 (2007), 9–10; Yehoshua Frenkel, "Jihād in the Medieval Mediterranean Sea. Naval War and Religious Endowment under the Mamluks," in Stefan Leder (ed.), *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Corollaries of the Frankish Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean (12th–14th Centuries)* (ITS 24), Würzburg: Ergon, 2011, 111; al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 49–50, 97. Stephen Burge points out that temporary good relations between the Mamluks and the Ottomans may have been the reason for al-Suyūṭī's dedication, cf. Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature'" 73–74.

63 Cf. Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 137, 229; Geoffroy, *Suyūṭī* 913–914; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* x, 76; Saleh, "Al-Suyūṭī and His Works" 73–81; Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* 42–46, 80, 86–91, 104–106; al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 49; idem, *Taḥadduth* 88–91; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām* iv, 71.

64 Al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 50.

65 Cf. Bartschat, *Dschihad der Zunge* 240; al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād* 97. Burge seems to have missed the date of compiling given by al-Suyūṭī and conjectures a compilation "at some point during the 870s," Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature'" 77. Al-Suyūṭī's claim to have spent little

Suyūṭī mentions his haste compiling this collection because of just hearing about someone's intention to visit the Ottoman ruler, whom al-Suyūṭī himself most likely did not manage to meet at all. Besides, it is conceivable that he intends to highlight his skills: It just does not take him more than one hour to select and compile the most important hadiths on one topic.

Apart from his dedication and self-presentation, al-Suyūṭī's *forty hadith* on jihad stand out due to the sources he refers to. In contrast to the in his lifetime already common procedure of referring to *al-kutub al-sitta* to verify the selected hadith material, these extensive collections only play a little role in his selection. Mere six hadiths are linked to al-Bukhārī and/or Muslim, and additional four are extracted from the collections of al-Nasāʾī, Ibn Māja, Abū Dāwud, and al-Tirmidhī.[66] Al-Suyūṭī mainly refers to other extensive collections, like the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), the *Muʿjam al-kabīr* of Abū l-Qāsim Sulayman b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971), or the *Mustadrak* of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī (d. 405/1014). While later collectors tend to include as much sound material as possible in their *forty hadith* by extracting hadiths mostly up to exclusively from the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī uses this type of collection as a platform to present his broad knowledge of different hadith collections and thereby again his skills as hadith scholar.

11 Conclusion

For more than one thousand years, the *forty hadith* collections are in general of great interest due to their handy size, offering an overview of the Prophet Muḥammad's example concerning a specific topic or the religious and social life in general. Academic and non-academic believers alike therein find advice and guidance concerning religious matters. By collecting and transmitting such collections, they also take care of preserving the Prophet's ideal. Muslim scholars use the *forty hadith* for teaching their students but also to react on social circumstances or to create a 'best of' of their hadith corpus collected throughout their 'travels in search of knowledge.' The main motivation to deal with the *forty hadith* derives from a call of the Prophet Muḥammad himself, the *man*

more than one hour to select and compile the traditions might be a reason for the "lack of any obvious structural integrity to the collection" that Burge points out: Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature'" 74.

66 The hadiths with the numbers 3, 7, 8, 10, 20, 26, 31, 32, 37, and 40 refer to one or several of *al-kutub al-sitta*, the rest refers to the above-mentioned and further collections, cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Jihād*.

ḥafiẓa-hadith, promising a high reward on the Judgement Day for the one who collects, memorizes, and teaches forty traditions.

Since many collectors try to create an individual collection, the genre sees a topic differentiation from the 5th/11th century onwards, bringing up varied collections on all imaginable topics and combinations of them. The jihad is one of those topics that are repeatedly treated throughout the centuries, making Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī only one of at least 27 collectors who compile *forty hadith* on jihad. The historical and social background of all these collectors is as diverse as their intention to compile such a specific collection, although the vast majority is linked to the idea of supporting a leader in his warfare and fight a threat, be it one from outside or of actual fighting like the crusaders or imperialists conquering Muslim land; be it an ideological threat like the deteriorating Muslim educational system being replaced by a 'Western' counterpart; or be it an inner threat like the Sunni-Shi'ite conflicts.

In contrast to other collectors of *forty hadith* on jihad, al-Suyūṭī lives far from an actual battlefield and therefore does not directly react to physical attacks on Muslims. By honoring a ruler who—in al-Suyūṭī's understanding—is the epitome of a *mujāhid,* the hadith scholar rather sees in general the necessity of underlining the duty of jihad in his times. One of his claims is being the reviver (*mujaddid*) of his century, with whom in conjunction he mentions three incidents making the appearance of a *mujaddid* necessary: The reconquest of Spain by the Christians, the fighting against believers and the destroying of their cities in West Africa, and the spread of general ignorance accompanied by a disappearance of scholars in the world.[67] In all these incidents, al-Suyūṭī sees the need for a *mujaddid* to strengthen Islam, and he is of the opinion that this is his task. In his *forty hadith* on jihad, al-Suyūṭī neither gives a link to his claim of being *mujaddid* nor to these incidents; but since all three occurrences are also a reason to call for jihad, his *forty hadith* on jihad can be contextualized accordingly as a statement against a decreasing knowledge of Islam.

Acknowledgements

This article has been published within the framework of the Hessian Ministry for Science and Art funded LOEWE research hub *Religious Positioning: Modalities and Constellations in Jewish, Christian and Muslim Contexts* at the Goethe University Frankfurt and the Justus-Liebig-University Gießen.

67 Cf. Geoffroy, *Suyūṭī* 914; Hunwick, "Goldziher" 88–89; Saleh, "Al-Suyūṭī and His Works" 77–78; Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* 69–72; al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥadduth* 215–227.

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CHAPTER 4

The *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* Genre and the Ḥanbalī School

Jewel Jalil

This chapter provides the historical development of the 'law-related narrations' genre (*aḥādīth al-aḥkām*) in Islamic scholarship. It outlines the contents and characteristics of this genre which became prevalent after the 6th/11th century. The chapter critically explores the possible premeditated motives behind its compilations, the target readership, and how it became associated with epitomes (*mutūn al-fiqh*) of different law schools. It also highlights the competition between the law schools to articulate their respective legal doctrines through this genre of literature. The works of ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī (d. 581/1185), ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī (d. 600/1203), and others are explored to address their different approaches, originality, geographical concentrations, and how the genre has been received in modern times.

1 The Prophetic Sunna

"You are certainly an idiot! Do you find the Qurʾan specifying the number of units that needs to be prayed for *ẓuhr* [midday-prayer] or whether it needs to be prayed quietly!?"[1] This was the response from a Companion[2] of the Prophet to a man who only wanted to use the Qurʾan for legislation and not the Prophetic Sunna. Historically and presently the authoritative nature of the Prophetic Sunna has encountered much dialogues, debates, and scrutiny.[3] Nonetheless, the Prophetic Sunna has played a key role in the development of the Islamic legal system. Sunna is regarded as one of the essential components of Islamic law. However, in the framework of Islamic law, a greater status is given to the Qurʾan, hence the first choice for the diligent enquirer for inferring laws is the Qurʾan.[4] Sunna as a legal source was contested from as early as the 2nd/8th

1 Isḥāq al-Shāṭibī, *al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-sharīʿa*, 4 vols., Beirut: n. p., 2002, iv, 18.
2 The Companion was ʿImrān b. Ḥusayn (d. 52/672).
3 Muṣṭafā al-Ṣubāʿī, *al-Sunna wa-makānatuhā fī l-tashrīʿ*, Beirut: Dār al-Warrāq, 2000, 144.
4 ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Khallāf, *ʿIlm uṣūl al-fiqh*, Beirut: n. p., 2008, 30.

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century. The notion of taking law from mere humans, as it seemed, was not an option nor was it logical as a rationalist pointed out in a debate; he said:

> I will not accept anything from the Prophetic narrations! If there is room for doubt and error to occur in the narrators, then, I will not accept it—unless it is something I attest to, such as the Qurʾan. The Qurʾan is something impossible for anyone to doubt, even a single letter.[5]

Rationalists (*ahl al-kalām*) and their exponents accepted the Qurʾan as the chief source of law, therefore, anything that seemed to contradict the Qurʾan was rejected, including Prophetic narrations. A more recent movement, known as the *Qurʾānīyūn* ('The people of the Qurʾan'), initiated by ʿAbdallāh Chakrālawī (d. 1930), called for the acceptance of the Qurʾan and rejection of other sources of Islamic law.[6] But, although the Qurʾan is largely accepted as a chief source of Islamic law, it is not a legal textbook.[7] The Qurʾan lays down general principles for the religion, but for a limited number of topics it elaborates on the injunctions. This suggests that the laws and rulings of the Qurʾan are limited and require supplementary information for its elaboration. Early exegetes and legal theorists maintained there are passages in the Qurʾan that support the authority of the Prophetic Sunna. Qurʾanic injunctions such as "Obey God and His Prophet" were cited to establish the authority of the Prophet as a legislator, and in effect legitimize the Prophetic Sunna as a source of law. Accordingly, the Sunna became a supplementary material by which the laws and rulings in the Qurʾan were interpreted and expanded upon.[8]

2 The 'Law-Related Narrations' Genre (*aḥādīth al-aḥkām*)

Law manuals (*mukhtaṣarāt*) were generally authored for people aspiring to be jurists and judges.[9] The language used in the law manuals was difficult and often very paraphrased. These works did not include passages of the Qurʾan

5 Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Umm*, ed. Rafaʿat Fawzī ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, 11 vols., Beirut: n. p., 2001, ix, 7.

6 Jonathan Brown, *Hadith. Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2009, 244.

7 Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 2003, 25.

8 Noel Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1964, 55.

9 Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Hādī, *An Epitome of Ḥanbalī Substantive Law*, transl. Jewel Jalil, Birmingham: Dār al-Arqam, 2018, 17.

nor Prophetic traditions. One of the primary reasons for keeping law manuals concise was to make it easy for students to memorize the legal rulings therein. The *mukhtaṣarāt* genre became popular across all law schools. As the *mukhtaṣarāt* did not generally contain textual witnesses (*shāhid*) from the Qurʾan and Sunna in support of the rulings, later scholars authored works to explain the encrypted rulings. In the process, the scholars generally presented the legal sources for the rulings (*dalīl*), their reasoning (*taʿlīl*), and justified how the rulings were deduced. They furthermore dealt with subsidiary legal matters that stemmed from the original rulings. The scholars authored lengthy manuals in this manner, reaching several volumes; 'explanations' (*shurūḥ*) and the 'supercommentaries' (*ḥawāshin*) genres are examples of such works. The concise law manuals and their commentaries complimented each other. Classically, the law students would memorize a law manual and study the associated commentaries under the supervision of reputable scholars.

The *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* literature had a slightly different function to the *mukhtaṣarāt* genre. The former was primarily written as a reference and a teaching tool for scholars of law and hadith.[10] It also helped law students to be acquainted with the legal witnesses from the Prophetic Sunna in support of the rulings. The main legal witnesses for the articles of law (*masāʾil*) were presented in a systemic manner for easy citation. The *mukhtaṣarāt* and the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* genre went hand-in-hand for jurists and law students. The *mukhtaṣarāt* were memorized to retain the rulings for a particular law school, and their respective *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* works were cited to understand the origins of these rulings from the Prophetic Sunna. A person aspiring to be a judge or a scholar was required to know the rulings and the legal witnesses from the Qurʾan and hadith which supported the rulings.

The Prophetic narrations in the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* works were topically arranged according to the chapters of the *mukhtaṣarāt*. The books would commence with the chapter of purification, followed by the chapters in prayer, obligatory charity, fasting, pilgrimage, and so forth. The authors of the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* would carefully select Prophetic narrations from the major hadith collections that supported the rulings of their respective law school. The transmission chains for the narrations were generally removed, but the origins of the hadith were preserved.[11]

10 Brown, *Hadith* 61.

11 The scholars omitted the transmission chains in these works mainly for brevity. Recounting the was also unnecessary as by the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the hadith collection of al-Bukhārī and Muslim were already canonized and the materials therein were generally accepted, see Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The*

Forty-one manuals on *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* have been authored between the 4th/10th and 10th/16th centuries.[12] Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān b. al-Sakan's (d. 353/964) *al-Ṣaḥīḥ al-muntaqā* is thought to be the first manual authored in this genre,[13] however the earliest surviving work in manuscript form is of ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī (d. 581/1185). It seems this group of literature began to develop properly by the end of the 5th/10th century[14] and started reaching its summit at the beginning of the 6th/11th century. During the start of the 6th/11th century, we find a lot more scholars engaged in authoring this type of literature. The forty-one manuals listed by the editor of ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's work are not all *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* manuals. A few of them fall under the *ʿilm takhrīj al-ḥadīth* genre.[15]

3 Possible Reasons for the Appearance of This Genre

3.1 *Intellectual Challenges to Produce Better Literature in Hadith*

By the mid-5th/11th century, the major Sunnī hadith compilations (*dawāwīn al-sunna*) had already become established. The hadith scholars had written in length on the different hadith compilations, including its paths, transmission chains, transmitters, hidden defects, and methodologies. Also, during this era, there appeared to be a general unbalanced state that had crept into the

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Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007, 367–370. The same followed for the other hadith collections; by the end of the 5th/11th century, the six leading books of hadith, namely, *al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasāʾī*, and *Ibn Māja* (along with *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*) were generally endorsed by the Muslim community. The scholars did not consider it essential to include the transmission chains in the newer hadith works because the transmission chains were easily accessible, if and when required (i. e. for the purpose of authentication).

12 ʿAbd Allāh al-Ishbīlī, *al-Aḥkām al-sharīʿa al-kubrā*, ed. Ḥusayn b. ʿUkāsha, 5 vols., Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2001, i, 14–25; Yūsuf al-Mardāwī, *Kifāyat al-mustaqniʿ*, ed. Ḥusayn b. ʿUkāsha, 2 vols., Riyadh: Dār al-Kiyān, 2005, i, 42.

13 Al-Ishbīlī, *al-Kubrā* i 14.

14 ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Qaṭṭān, *Bayān al-wahm wa-l-īhām*, ed. al-Ḥusayn Saʿīd, 6 vols., Riyadh: Dār Ṭība li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 1997, 1, 161.

15 *ʿIlm takhrīj al-ḥadīth* is a category of literature that attempts to trace the Prophetic narrations and reports (*āthār*) that were presumably used by an earlier scholar to conclude the rules in a given *mukhtaṣar* work. In short, they are *mustakhraj*s of law manuals. The authors of *mukhtaṣarāt*s do not normally include 'textual evidences' (*al-adilla*) for the rules therein. To prove that the rules are based on 'textual evidences,' a succeeding scholar traces and gathers the presumed 'textual evidences' by examining each rule in the *mukhtaṣar* work. In this way, the later scholar gathers the Prophetic narrations and reports to its original sources in a separate work.

overall body of Islamic culture and education. This included people's inclination, adherence, and absolute loyalty (*taqlīd*) to existing institutions and traditions. Prior to the establishment of the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* genre, the two factors appeared to have put an intellectual 'block' in developing the existing hadith corpus. Forward-thinking hadith scholars such as ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī broke away from this mindset and offered something novel to further develop Islamic education and hadith studies. Hence, we find a great number of scholars producing new genres of literature in hadith after ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī.

The early hadith compilations were mainly suited for specialists. Some hadith scholars who authored on *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* believed there was a need for producing simplified hadith works for the general Muslim community. Islamic studies advanced and branched out greatly, but it became too difficult for the general non-specialist Muslim to follow all developments. Unlike the predecessors, the people of the later generation needed basic instructions and evidences for their daily worships and conducts. A number of scholars decided to compile short hadith manuals to meet these communal requirements. After the 5th/11th century, the six leading books of hadith (*al-Sitta*), namely, *al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasāʾī*, and *Ibn Māja* (along with *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*) were generally endorsed and accepted.[16] Muslims had confidence in the *six books* and considered them to be trustworthy owing to them being widespread. The hadith scholars used this to their advantage and compiled new user-friendly hadith works stemming from the six leading books. Hence, it is not coincidental that we find most of the materials in the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* works originating from the *six books* of hadith. Overall acceptance of the *six books* of hadith had an indirect impact on the compilation of the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* genre.

Another possible reason for the emergence of the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* genre was to engage jurists and law students to extract legal rulings directly from hadith and employ them to the requirements of the Islamic society.[17] This reasoning may be true to some extent, but it does not seem convincing enough. One may ask: "Why could the jurists and law students infer legal rulings directly from the primary books of hadith and apply it to the Islamic society?" The main books contained the hadiths to infer rulings, and scholars did use these books to present rulings. However, the material therein was broad; some books contained between 4000–7500 hadiths and not everything therein pertained

16 Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Ḥadīth Studies*, Leicestershire: Islamic Foundation, 2005, 40.
17 Al-Qaṭṭān, *Bayān al-wahm* i, 162.

to Islamic law. The *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* works included hadiths very specific to everyday Islamic law. Also, occasionally, the hadiths were selected to support the rulings of a particular law school. A follower of a law school was required to know the rulings and be able to understand how the rulings were inferred. In this way, the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* project was an initiative to encourage law students to be acquainted with law-related hadiths rather than be just a follower (*muqallid*). The authors of this genre in their introductions usually indicate the main reasoning behind their works.

3.2 *Selection Methodologies*

The methodologies used for composing the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* genre differed from author to author. The authors normally stipulate the way they select the Prophetic narrations in their introductions. In terms of the selection process (i. e. the sources the authors used), the manuals can be split into three main classes:

– Selections from *al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim*,
– Selections from *al-Sitta*,
– Selections from *al-Sitta* and other hadith compilations.[18]

An example of the first category is *ʿUmdat al-aḥkām* of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī; the author selected around 500 hadith from the two compilations. The purpose was to select authentic narrations. Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī's (d. 632/1234) *Dalāʾil al-aḥkām* is an example of the second category, which stands alone in this group. In the manual, the author presents the hadith along with its grade and source. Thereafter, he clarifies the difficult wordings and briefly presents the difference of opinions among the jurists regarding the hadith. The remaining manuals—being the majority—fall into the third category; examples include Majd al-Dīn b. Taymīya's (d. 652/1254) *al-Muntaqā* and Ibn Ḥajar's (d. 852/1449) *Bulūgh al-marām*. Within this category, the authors used different approaches in presenting the Prophetic narrations, some added more information than others. For instance, in *al-Muntaqā*, the author simply states the sources of the Prophetic narration without its grading, whereas in *Bulūgh al-marām*, the grading and defects are presented. Abū l-Qāsim al-Zaydūnī's *al-Jāmiʿ al-nukat al-aḥkām al-mustakhraja min al-kutub al-mashūra fī l-Islām* received heavy criticism, as it presented all types of hadith without distinction; it apparently contained fabricated narrations but the author did not specify.[19]

18 Al-Qaṭṭān, *Bayān al-wahm* i, 164.
19 Al-Qaṭṭān, *Bayān al-wahm* i, 166.

4 *Mustakharajāt* of Law Manuals (*ʿilm takhrīj al-ḥadīth*)

It is commonly understood that the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* works were authored by scholars of different Sunnī law schools to serve their respective law schools. The authors do not explicitly state this point in their introductions; however, deeper analysis of the chapter headings and the materials they included often suggests the orientations behind their manuals. It seems the overall goals behind the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* genre were very similar to the *mustakharajāt* of law manuals. This group of literature was developed slightly later than the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* genre. The latter attempts to trace the Prophetic narrations and reports (*āthār*) that were presumably used by an earlier scholar to conclude the rules in a given *mukhtaṣar* work. The authors of *mukhtaṣarāt* do not normally include 'textual evidences' (*al-adilla*) for the rules therein. To show the rules are based on 'textual evidences,' a succeeding scholar traces and gathers the presumed 'textual evidences' by examining each rule in the *mukhtaṣar* work. In this way, the later scholar gathers the Prophetic narrations and reports to its original sources in a separate work. Both the *mukhtaṣar* and new work go hand-in-hand: One only has the rules, while the other has the 'legal evidences' for the rules. *Naṣb al-rāyat fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-hidāya* is an example; the author of *Naṣb al-rāyat* traced all the 'textual evidences' for the famous Ḥanafī law manual, *al-Hidāya*.

Once the hadiths have been gathered for the rulings, the author usually follows them up by presenting information on the transmission chains, narrators, and grade.[20] The methodologies for the *mustakharajāt* of law manuals varied from one scholar to another; some were more rigorous than others in defending the positions of their law schools. Certain authors even included opinions of famous jurists and their legal maximums (*qāʿida faqīh*). *Mustakharajāt* of law manuals were much smaller than the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* genre. But over time, *mustakharajāt* covering all the other Islamic sciences appeared and became a significant genre in Islamic scholarship. *Mustakharajāt* of law manuals appeared after the scholars began to write amply in the various sciences of Islam, such as law, legal theory, exegesis, dogma, etc. They were primarily compiled to acquaint people with a law school's 'textual evidences' for the rulings. In this sense, the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* served a similar purpose and both *mustakharajāt* and *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* works went together and supplemented each other.

20 Muḥammad al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, ed. Muḥammad b. Ḥallāq, 16 vols., Riyadh: n. p., 2012, i, 60.

The *mustakharajāt* and the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* may seem identical at first glance, but they do differ subtly. The former presents specific 'textual evidences' for every rule included within a *mukhtaṣar* work in particular; whereas the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* offers a selection of hadiths that are generally used by a given law school. The *Kifāyat al-mustaqniʿ li-adillat al-Muqniʿ* of Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Mardāwī (d. 769/1367) is an example of a Ḥanbalī *mustakhraj* work. The author presented the hadiths used for Ibn Qudāma's famous Ḥanbalī *mukhtaṣar* work, *al-Muqniʿ*. Al-Mardāwī was explicit in his introduction about the aims behind the book. The chapter headings for his book have been kept the same as those of *al-Muqniʿ*.[21] The work contains around 1800 hadith that support the legal rulings in *al-Muqniʿ*. *Kifāyat al-mustaqniʿ* was considered to be a work on *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* by the author himself and others. This is true in terms of the material it contains (i. e. law-related hadiths). However, al-Mardāwī's work about Ibn Qudāma's law manual should not be fully equated to the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* works; one is more specific than the other. There are other subtle differences between the two which ought to be acknowledged.

Some famous *mustakharajāt* of law manuals included:

- *Naṣb al-rāyat fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-hidāya* by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Zaylaʿī (d. 762/1360) in Ḥanafī law; 5 volumes.
- *Talkhīṣ al-ḥabīr fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-rāfiʿī l-kabīr* by Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449) in Shāfiʿī law; 4 volumes.
- *Tanqīḥ al-taḥqīq fī aḥādīth al-taʿlīq* by Muḥmmad b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 744/1343) in Ḥanbalī law; 5 volumes.
- *Al-Hidāya fī takhrīj al-bidāya* by Aḥmad al-Ghumārī (d. 1380/1960) in comparative Mālikī law; 8 volumes. The Mālikī school authored the least in this genre.

5 ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī (d. 581/1185)

There is a lot of information on ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's life in the classical biographical dictionaries.[22] He was a reputable hadith scholar, raised in Seville,

21 Al-Mardāwī, *Kifāyat* i, 67.

22 Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, eds. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ and Bashshār Maʿrūf, 25 vols., Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1982, xxi, 197–202; Aḥmad al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis fī tārīkh rijāl ahl al-Andalus*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, 2 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Miṣrī, 1989, i, 508; Muḥammad b. al-Abbār, *al-Takmila l-Kitāb al-Ṣila*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Harrās, 4 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995, iii, 120–121; Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Yaʿmarī, *al-Dībāj*

Spain (al-Andalus). The biographers differed regarding when he was born; three different dates have been documented: 510/1116, 514/1120, and 516/1122. Although there is little information about the early years of his life and education, one can predict the probable upbringing he may have had, considering Seville's history of that era. During the 6th/11th century, Seville was a growing epicenter of Islamic sciences and learning. As with many of the notable scholars of Islam, al-Ishbīlī probably started his quest for sacred knowledge at an early age. After completing his studies with the resident scholars of Seville, he made excursions for advanced studies. However, the historical sources suggest that al-Ishbīlī was forced out of Seville owing to the great civil strife that befell the region. He was in his mid-thirties then. On the 1st of January 1146, the growing Almohad Caliphate (*al-Muwaḥḥidūn*) entered Seville after besieging the city. They rooted out any remaining factions of the Almoravids Caliphate (*al-Murābiṭūn*). The Almohad Caliphate considered the latter to be apostates and heretics, and consequently allowed their blood to be spilt and wealth to be looted.

Because of the civil strife, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī migrated to Niebla (Labla), a small town in Spain, approximately fifty miles away from Seville. He remained in there for several years and benefitted from its celebrated scholars and traditionalists. It was in Niebla where he encountered some of his prominent teachers including Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī (d. 549/1154). Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān was one of the greatest traditionalists and hadith experts of his time, so much so that people considered him to be the Ibn Maʿīn (d. 233/848) and al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) of that era! He was also an adherer of the Ẓāhirī law school.[23] He and his writings significantly influenced ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī. Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān authored a work on *aḥādīth al-aḥkām*, known as *al-Muntakhab al-muntaqā*. As suggested by the title, the author 'selected' a large number of authentic law-related Prophetic narrations from the widespread Sunnī hadith compilations.

Several historians, such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Mālik al-Marākishī (d. 704/1305) and al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) noted that ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's works on *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* were based on Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān book;[24] and certainly the works possibly resembled each other in term of content and methodology.

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al-mudhhab fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamāʾ al-madhhab, ed. Muḥammad al-Aḥmadī Abū l-Nūr, 2 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Turāth li-l-Ṭabʿ wa-l-Nashr, 1972–1976, ii, 59–61; and others.

23 Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Mālik al-Marākishī, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila*, eds. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Muḥammad b. Sharīfa, and Bashshār Maʿrūf, 6 vols., Tunis: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2012, i, 444.

24 Al-Marākishī, *al-Dhayl* i, 444.

According to these accounts, it seems Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān greatly influenced ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī as a professional hadith expert and a writer. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī himself did not indicate whether he consciously based his writings on Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān's book. He possibly left this information out because of the sensitive political situation of the time, as Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān was among the thousands that were executed by the Almohad Caliphate in Niebla. Furthermore, the people of Niebla were condemned as sinners and consequently, thousands were executed by the sword. Women and children were sold as commodities. According to some historians, it is estimated that around 8000 people were killed in Niebla, among them high-ranking scholars such as Aḥmad al-Anṣārī. Those who were spared death were either persecuted or imprisoned. This turmoil occurred on the 24th October 1154.

During his stay in Niebla, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī had become a qualified scholar and a prolific author; the resident scholars authorized him to teach and transmit hadith. He authored two encyclopedic works on hadith; however, both were confiscated during the turmoil in Niebla. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī roughly spent eight years there before migrating to the Mediterranean port town Bejaia (Bijāya) in Algeria. The exact date of his trip to Bejaia is unknown, but it occurred in the year 550/1155. He originally left Spain aiming to perform the pilgrimage but was not able to, and as a result, he settled in Bejaia permanently. At the time, Bejaia was a passing point for pilgrims; it was also a learning center and a hub for scholars and aspiring law and hadith students. Students would frequently pass through the Mediterranean port town on their way to pilgrimage and stop temporarily to learn from its specialists. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī was among the scholars whom the students flocked to in their hundreds because of his erudite scholarship and his mastery over the different sciences. During his stay in Bejaia, he taught and authored a lot of works including his three compilations on *aḥādīth al-aḥkām*.

ʿAlī b. Isḥāq (Ibn Ghāniya al-Mayūrqī) besieged Bejaia in the year 580/1184. He was then the emir of the Spanish island Mallorca. ʿAlī b. Isḥāq entered Bejaia and remained therein for seven days, addressing the public for the support of Banī al-ʿAbbās in governance. Astonishingly, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī responded to the call after refusing a formal Almohad government post before. This stance of ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's must have infuriated the Emir of the Almohad Caliphate, al-Manṣūr Yaʿqūb b. Yūsuf. During the short period he was in office, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī led the prayers in the great mosque of Bejaia. He became an orator and a judge for ʿAlī b. Isḥāq. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī died in 581/1185 after living through troubled times at the hands of Almohad Caliphate. Some historians suggested that he passed away from the effects of persecution

inflicted upon him by the Almohad Caliphate. This possibly occurred after the Almohad government's return to Bejaia in the year 581/1185, following ʿAlī b. Isḥāq's departure.

5.1 *ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī: Founder of* aḥādīth al-aḥkām *Genre?*

He authored three books on *aḥādīth al-aḥkām*:

– *Al-Aḥkām al-sharīʿa al-ṣughrā al-ṣaḥīḥa*—a short collection in one volume.
– *Al-Aḥkām al-wusṭā min ḥadīth al-nabī*—an intermediate collection in two volumes.
– *Al-Aḥkām al-sharīʿa al-kubrā*—an extended collection in five volumes.

It has already been mentioned that Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān preceded ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī in authoring a work on *aḥādīth al-aḥkām*. Few historians suggested that ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī depended on his teacher's work, *al-Muntakhab al-muntaqā*, for his compilations.[25] However, it is unclear to what extent it influenced him and how the work was used by ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī; he himself does not mention whether he used the works of his teacher. Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān's work is thought to be a compilation that consisted only authentic Prophetic narrations. This may have been one of the ideas ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī adopted when penning his works, because his 'small collection' consists of authentic narrations only. The Prophetic narrations in Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān's works were 'selected' from the widespread Sunnī hadith compilations. This method is also apparent in ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's works. He does not limit himself to choose from one or two Sunnī hadith compilations (such as al-Bukhārī and Muslim, owing to their authentic nature), but rather selected from a pool of hadith compilations. The other possible methods he could have adopted from his teacher's writing are its overall content and structure. However, this is difficult to ascertain, as Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān's work seems to be inextant in manuscript, and thus cannot be compared to ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's works.

In his introduction of 'intermediate collection' ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī cited a scholar who preceded him in authoring a similar work. He only mentioned the scholar by his agnomen, Abū l-Qāsim al-Zaydūnī, providing no other details of the author. He offered a lot of information regarding the book's content and methodology, but the title of the book is not given. It seems the book he is referring to was called *al-Jāmiʿ li-nukat al-aḥkām al-mustakhraja min al-kutub al-mashūra fī l-Islām*.[26] Abū l-Qāsim al-Zaydūnī's work was cited in ʿAbd

25 Al-Marākishī, *al-Dhayl* i, 444.
26 Al-Qaṭṭān, *Bayān* i, 165.

al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's introduction to explain why he was exhausting himself in writing another book when something similar had already existed (i. e. Abū l-Qāsim al-Zaydūnī's work on *aḥādīth al-aḥkām*). He went on to remark on the factors which required improving. The deficiencies of the book—in ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's opinion—include: little information on hadith criticism; omission of narrations under certain chapters; no mention of different wordings of a narration, despite citing many hadith compilations; and the usage of his referential material. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī does not openly state that he depended on Abū l-Qāsim al-Zaydūnī's work, however, he probably extracted from some of the author's positive points (perhaps, among others, the arrangement of chapter headings). It is also likely that he benefitted from the shortfalls, because it offered him the opportunity to develop this genre of literature further.

Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān and Abū l-Qāsim al-Zaydūnī both preceded ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī writing in this genre, but unfortunately none of their works are extant. The little information we have on these books is ascertained only through secondary sources. To some degree, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's works can be considered first of their kind, because his works are extant in manuscript and available in print form. However, examining ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's introduction to the 'short collection' as well as the 'intermediate collection' reveals his works are predominantly law-related, while containing other topics, too:

> In this book, I compiled some of the Prophetic narrations pertaining to the obligation of the Sharia, namely: its legal rulings; matters related to the prohibition and the permissible; the encouragements and discouragements, as well as mentioning its rewards and punishments and others.[27]

This short passage from the introduction suggests that ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī selected Prophetic narrations pertaining law as well other subjects; so, the books were not exclusively written for law. If he did cite the works of Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān and Abū l-Qāsim al-Zaydūnī, it can be assumed to some extent that their works were not exclusively written for law either. The later works that appeared after ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī included only law-related narrations. In this light, it is somewhat difficult to consider ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī the pioneer of this genre of literature. However, the later scholars who cited, refined, and enhanced the works of Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān, Abū l-Qāsim al-Zaydūnī,

27 ʿAbd Allāh al-Ishbīlī, *al-Aḥkām al-sharīʿa al-ṣughrā*, ed. Umm Muḥammad bint Aḥmad al-Halīs, Cairo: Maktabat Ibn Taymīya, 1993, 71.

and ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī will inevitably consider them to be the founders of this genre of literature.

5.2 Al-Aḥkām al-sharīʿa al-kubrā

ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī initially authored the 'extended collection,' which was later summarized to produce the 'intermediate collection.' This was further abridged and refined to produce the 'shorter collection.' Although the 'extended collection' was the foundation of the other two books, it did not gain as much popularity as the shorter summarized works. The 'extended collection' is a voluminous work on Prophetic narrations. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī predominantly included Prophetic narrations pertaining to law but did not restrict it to law-related narrations. Some of the other topics he added included: faith; sacred knowledge; Prophetic medicine; etiquettes; renunciation; heart-softeners; daily supplications; tribulations; sighs of Judgement Day; exegesis; and other subjects. Each narration in the 'extended collection' comes with its full transmission chains (*isnād*) originating from the Sunnī sources. On some rare occasions, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī presented some Prophetic narrations with his own transmission chains; namely, the narrations he heard from his teachers—most of it going back to Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064).

He predominantly cited from al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, although Muslim was given more precedence as mentioned by the author in his introduction to the 'intermediate collection.' Thereafter, he gave preference to *Mālik, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasāʾī*, and *al-Tirmidhī*. Some of the other Sunnī collections he cited include *al-Bazzār, al-Ṭaḥāwī, al-Dāraquṭnī, Ibn Abī Shayba, al-Ṭayālisī*, and others. The 'extended collection' has been arranged according to major chapters (*kutub*) and sub-chapters (*abwāb*), closely following al-Bukhārī's chapter headings. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī commenced his book with chapters on faith and creed and ended it with chapters pertaining to sighs of Day of Judgement. Scholars have praised his 'extended collection' because of the great deal of thought he put in arranging his chapter headings.

His collection seems to suggest that he was greatly influenced by al-Bukhārī's systemization of law. In fact, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī transferred many of al-Bukhārī's chapter headings (word-for-word) in his 'extended collection.' It seems ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī preferred al-Bukhārī's chapter sequence and his legal positions (often encrypted in the chapter titles selected by al-Bukhārī), but gave precedence to Muslim's way of presenting the Prophetic narrations' contexts (*siyāq*). Similarly, al-Nasāʾī's chapter sequence also influenced ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī, but not to the extent of al-Bukhārī's influence. Burge argued that form and structure of a work could give insights into a compiler's viewpoints and beliefs; he based his arguments using two case studies from al-

Bukhārī's collection.[28] However, medieval hadith scholars had already echoed this point in relation to al-Bukhārī and his chapter headings (without using Burge's methodology, namely, Canonical and Redaction Criticism from Biblical Studies). Regarding al-Bukhārī's chapter headings, some scholars said: "Al-Bukhārī's legal positions and stances (*fiqh*) are embedded in his chapter headings."[29] This is believed to be one of the earliest quotes regarding al-Bukhārī's chapter headings. The early hadith scholars recognized that al-Bukhārī had arranged his chapter's headings in a certain manner (and by default, the material which followed) to implicitly express his legal and dogmatic viewpoints.

The 'extended collection' did not include an introduction; it commenced with Prophetic narrations pertaining to faith and creed. However, in the 'intermediate collection' a detailed introduction is provided. Therein the author offers and clarifies his methodologies for selecting and presenting the material in his collection. The books that ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī consulted for hadith and transmitter criticism are also generally listed. Some of the chief features of the 'extended collection' include: the presentation of Prophetic narrations with their precise wordings as they appeared in the original sources; citation of their full transmission chains; and the inclusion of details (for a lot of narrations) in relation to their authenticity and transmitter criticism.

5.3 Al-Aḥkām al-sharīʿa al-wusṭā

As previously mentioned, the 'intermediate collection' is an abridgement of the 'extended collection.' It roughly contains 5000 hadith. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī summarized by omitting some of the narrations and the different wordings of a particular hadith, all of which originally appeared in the 'extended collection.' Similarly, his commentaries, clarifications, and notes to some of the chapter headings were left out. In this collection, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī did not cite the full wordings of a hadith if it had already appeared once. Rather, he stated the addition part (*ziyāda*) of the report (*riwāya*). If he narrated a hadith with his own transmission chain, he would occasionally mention the full transmission chain; yet sometimes he simply directs the reader to his 'extended collection.' ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī explained why the 'intermediate collection' was written in a summarized fashion:

28 Stephen R. Burge, "The Compilation of ḥadīth and the Authorial Voice," in *Arabica 58* (2011), 168–197.

29 Nāṣir b. al-Munayyir, *al-Mutawārī ʿalā abwāb al-Bukhārī*, ed. ʿAlī Ḥasan ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Karīm, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1990, 33.

> I made this work a summary, free from the transmission chains, to make it easy for memorization, simple to grasp, and to accomplish the benefits therein effortlessly.[30]

In the past, the 'intermediate collection' became to be known as *al-Aḥkām al-kubrā* ('extended collection'). The retitling of the 'intermediate collection' confused later researchers and students of hadith. The reason for the change of name was because two out of the three books became popular and widespread among people—the 'short collection' and the 'intermediate collection.' Consequently, the historians and scholars coined the name *al-Aḥkām al-kubrā* for the 'intermediate collection,' as it was larger in volume than the 'short collection.' The 'intermediate collection' spans two volumes containing around 5000 narrations, whereas the 'short collection' fits in one volume, consisting roughly 1015 narrations. The key difference between the 'extended collection' and the 'intermediate collection' in terms of its content is the omission of transmission chains. Furthermore, the former does not include the author's introduction, whereas in the latter, the author penned a detailed introduction clarifying his methodologies.

5.4 Al-Aḥkām al-sharīʿa al-ṣughrā

The 'short collection' is a summarized version of the 'intermediate collection.' ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī wanted to refine his works further; he did so by eliminating all the weak hadiths in his 'intermediate collection.' Consequently, the 'short collection' became a collection of authentic hadiths only. This was his main method in abridging the 'intermediate collection,' while the arrangement of the materials remained the same except on some rare occasions. He also removed authentic narrations in very few instances.

5.5 *The Reception and the Influence of ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's Collections*

The 'intermediate collection' drew a lot of attention from the hadith scholars. A number of works emerged stemming from the 'intermediate collection,' some of which are:

– *Bayān al-wahm wa-l-īhām al-wāqiʿayn fī Kitāb al-Aḥkām* by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, commonly known as Ibn al-Qaṭṭān (d. 639/1241). This is a work primarily on hadith criticism (*ʿilm al-ʿilal*). It resembles a follow-up (*dhayl*) and a

30 ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī, *al-Aḥkām al-wusṭā*, eds. Ḥamdī al-Salafī and Ṣubḥī al-Sāmurrāʾī, 2 vols., Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1995, i, 70.

correction to ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's 'intermediate collection.' It inspects and clarifies the subtle points where the author slipped and erred in relation to the transmission chains, the narrators, the hidden defects, etc.

– *Al-Maʾākhidh al-ḥufāl* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Mawwāq (d. 642/1244) This work is a retraction of Ibn al-Qaṭṭān's work. Al-Mawwāq was not able to finish the work; it was eventually completed by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Rushayd (d. 721/1321).
– *Manār al-islām bi-tartīb Kitāb al-Wahm wa-l-īhām* by Mughulṭāy b. Qalīj b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥanafī (d. 762/1360). The author penned his book combining materials from the 'intermediate collection' and Ibn al-Qaṭṭān's book.

ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's 'intermediate collection' became a reference work for the later generation. A great number of hadith scholars cited his work in their writings; the list includes: Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd (d. 702/1302), al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), Mughulṭāy, al-Zaylaʿī, Ibn al-Mulaqqīn (d. 804/1401), Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1453), Ibn Ḥajar, and others.[31] The 'small collection' received a few commentaries. The co-editor of the 'short collection,' Khālid al-ʿUnayzī, listed four commentators: (i) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Marzūq al-Tilmīsānī (d. 842/1438); (ii) Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī (d. 716/1316), usually known as Ibn al-Wakīl; (iii) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm al-Qurayshī (d. 662/1263), commonly known as Ibn Bazīza; and (iv) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khalaf b. Idrīs al-Shāṭibī (d. 662/1623). However, all commentaries seem to be inextant.[32]

6 Were the Materials in the Three Collections Arranged according to a Particular Law School?

It has already been noted that ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī had a strong inclination towards al-Bukhārī's legal positions, as a great number of al-Bukhārī's chapter headings were transferred word-for-word to his three collections. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī was considered to be a follower of the Mālikī law school by several biographers. In fact, some even presumed that he was among the elite scholars of the Mālikī law school. Ibn Farḥūn al-Mālikī (d. 799/1390), for instance, made an entry of him in his bibliographical dictionary.[33] So did ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī pen his three collections in support of the Mālikī law school? That is, did he present Mālikī 'textual evidences' or arranged the chapters according to a typical Mālikī law manual? None of the biographers attributed a law or a legal

31 Al-Ishbīlī, *al-Kubrā* i 52–53.
32 Al-Ishbīlī, *al-Ṣughrā* 60–61.
33 Al-Yaʿmarī, *al-Dībāj* ii 59–60.

theory manual to ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī; a possible indication to suggest that he did not follow the Mālikī law school or any other law schools. He could have well been a Mālikī during his early years, though, since he resided in a region where the Mālikī law school flourished alongside the Ẓāhirī law school.

His chapter headings imply that he was well acquainted with substantive law as he listed its main evidences and organized them well according to the chapters of law manuals. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's three collections appear to suggest he was more of a jurist from among the traditionalists (*fuqahāʾ al-muḥaddithūn*), scholars who did not adhere to a particular law school. Their decisions circulated around texts, namely, the Qurʾan, the Prophetic Sunna, and reports of the predecessors—while limiting the use of analogy (*qiyās*) to infer law. Throughout the three collections, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī does not seem to mention the evidences specific for a particular law school; his works encompass evidences for all Sunnī law schools. Furthermore, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī is believed to have composed lines of poetry, encouraging students to adhere to sacred texts.[34] All these factors collectively suggest that his purpose for authoring the three collections was to acquaint people with the Prophetic Sunna in a simplified manner. He alluded to this point in the introduction of his work.

7 ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī (d. 600/1203)

Most biographers discussed the life of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī in great length and detail. Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1392?) dedicated over thirty pages in his biographical dictionary to him, making it probably one of the lengthiest entries.[35] ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī was a celebrated sixth-century hadith scholar and cousin of the great Ḥanbalī jurist Ibn Qudāma (d. 620/1223). The biographers all agreed on his specialty in the sciences of hadith. The people of his era recognized ʿAbd al-Ghanī's authority and leadership, and he was appointed the noble title 'Commander of the believers in hadith' (*amīr al-muʾminīn fī l-ḥadīth*)—a title reserved only for the elite. The biographies of ʿAbd al-Ghanī discuss four primary aspects: his travels, his studies, his career, and his lifestyle. The accounts regarding his ascetic lifestyle, devotion to God and worship, and people's admiration for ʿAbd al-Ghanī's scholastic life are numerous. For instance, one of his early biographers, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 643/1245), described a typical day in ʿAbd al-Ghanī's life:

34 Al-Ishbīlī, *al-Ṣughrā* 33–34.

35 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad (Ibn Rajab), *Kitāb al-Dhayl ʿalā ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, 2 vols., Beirut: n. p., 1999, i, 1–34.

> Our teacher, he never used to do anything unless there was some benefit. He used to pray the dawn prayer and teach Qurʾan, and sometimes Prophetic traditions. Thereafter, he will make ablution and pray three hundred units, reciting *al-Fātiḥa* and the last two chapters of the Qurʾan. This, he did until the noon prayer, and after a short nap he would perform the noon prayer.
>
> Then he will be busy narrating Prophetic reports or transcribing them until the sunset prayer. If ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī happened to be fasting, he will break his fast, and if he was not, he would perform voluntary prayers between the sunset and the evening prayers. After this, he slept until the middle or the latter part of the night. He would get up naturally as though someone had awakened him!
>
> He would pray the voluntary prayers until it was close to dawn. Sometimes, he will make ablution up to seven times or more throughout the night and say: "The prayer is delightful to me as long as my limbs are wet." After this, he would have short a nap just before performing the dawn prayer (*fajr*)—and all this was just his regular habit.[36]

ʿAbd al-Ghanī was born in Nablus, Palestine, and passed away in Egypt on the 24th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal 600/1203, aged sixty. A brief glimpse into the biographies of ʿAbd al-Ghanī echoes a similar lifestyle to that of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). He allocated much of his time in the pursuit of hadith, a field which he mastered and became recognized for. The ascetic-scholarly lifestyle caused ʿAbd al-Ghanī to be revered by the people. Besides being a devout worshipper, he was an educator and a prolific author. He was put to trial on account of three statements: first, he does not assert God's transcendence to a degree that denies His descent from the Throne to the lowest heaven; second, that God had existed without space, but today He is not as He had been; and third, he spoke about the sound and the letter (i. e. opposed those who argued that the pronunciation of the Qurʾan is created). His stances aggravated some Ashʿarī-Shāfiʿī scholars; the group enraged by ʿAbd al-Ghanī's ways permitted his blood to be shed. Apparently, a legal verdict was issued suggesting all the jurists agreed that he became an apostate and was not allowed to live among Muslims. Another group of scholars interceded for ʿAbd al-Ghanī and requested the Sultan to pardon and allow him to leave Damascus for Egypt. The request was granted; ʿAbd al-Ghanī resided in Egypt until he passed away. Another account of the story suggests that he was prohibited from teaching hadith in Damas-

36 Ibn Rajab, *al-Dhayl* i, 11–12.

cus, so he left for Egypt. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī (d. 600/1203) authored two prominent works:

– *ʿUmdat al-aḥkām min kalām khayr al-anām*—the 'short collection,'
– *al-ʿUmdat al-kubrā fī aḥādīth al-aḥkām*—the 'extended collection.'

The compilations of ʿAbd al-Ghanī only included hadith pertaining to law. In this sense, we can consider him to be the leading figure for this genre of literature. It is possible that he may have encountered ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's compilations and desired to refine it further. However, from his introduction to the 'shorter collection,' it does not seem to be the case.

7.1 ʿUmdat al-aḥkām min kalām khayr al-anām

The compilation includes over four hundred hadiths that were carefully selected from *al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim*. This work was well received despite being one of the early entries. It was memorized and taught widely as an elementary text for hadith studies. Scholars authored a number of classical and contemporary commentaries based on the text. Some were detailed, while others only briefly explained the legal implications of the narrations and clarified any obscure wordings the narrations contained. ʿAbd al-Ghanī mentioned his motive and the methodology behind the work, stating:

> Some of my brothers requested me to compile an abridged work on the Prophetic narrations pertaining to law, which were agreed upon by the two Imams: al-Bukhārī and Muslim. I responded to the request, hoping that it will be beneficial.[37]

From this brief introduction, several observations can be made: firstly, the importance of hadith and its interrelationship with law, secondly, the significance of authentic narrations in matters of law. The people who requested ʿAbd al-Ghanī to compile the work are not mentioned specifically; it is possible they could have been fellow scholars or some hadith-law students. Besides being well versed in hadith, ʿAbd al-Ghanī was also an ascetic Ḥanbalī jurisconsult. It is difficult to assume from the introduction that his methodology for selecting the hadith had some Ḥanbalī orientation. ʿAbd al-Ghanī did not indicate in any way that he was compiling and presenting evidences for the Ḥanbalī positions from *al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim*. Considering its content, we can assert he was interested in presenting the authentic hadith pertaining to law in general.

37 ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī, *ʿUmdat al-aḥkām min kalām khayr al-anām*, Riyadh: n. p., 2007, 5.

However, one thing that seems to point to his Ḥanbalī orientation in compiling the material is the way he structured his book. The chapters were topically arranged in accordance with Ḥanbalī law manuals. On one hand, this suggests that he probably had a specific methodology in mind on what to select from al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's authentic narrations, whereas on the other hand—since he was a Ḥanbalī—he perhaps just adopted the school's chapter arrangements because he was simply accustomed to them.

Whatever the case might be, it appears that ʿAbd al-Ghanī started a trend for later Ḥanbalī jurists to produce a genre of literature which focused on compiling Prophetic evidences for the Ḥanbalī school's positions. However, the authors do not explicitly state this. ʿAbd al-Ghanī's *ʿUmdat al-aḥkām* became a celebrated piece of work across law schools. It probably inspired and encouraged scholars such as Majd al-Dīn b. Taymīya (d. 652/1254), Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, Ibn Ḥajar, and others to compile similar works. Some of the early commentators admitted that despite adhering to different law schools, they devoted themselves to memorize and profit from ʿAbd al-Ghanī's compilation. In fact, Ibn al-Mulaqqin noticed some reluctance from his non-Ḥanbalī students while teaching, but despite this he wrote an eleven-volume all-inclusive commentary.[38] Popular commentaries of ʿAbd al-Ghanī's book include:

- *Iḥkām al-aḥkām sharḥ ʿUmdat al-aḥkām* of Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd,
- *al-ʿUdda* of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 1182/1768), who added notes to Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's commentary and retitled the work,
- *al-Iʿlām bi-fawāʾid ʿumdat al-aḥkām* of Ibn al-Mulaqqīn; this is considered to be the most comprehensive commentary,
- *Taysīr al-ʿallām sharḥ ʿumdat al-aḥkām* of ʿAbd Allāh al-Bassām (d. 1423/2002),
- *Tanbīh al-afhām* of Muḥammad b. al-ʿUthaymīn (d. 1422/2001).

Other *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* manuals in the Ḥanbalī school that appeared after ʿAbd al-Ghanī's include:

- *al-Sunan wa-l-aḥkām ʿan al-Muṣṭafā* of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (incomplete),
- *al-Muntaqā min al-aḥkām al-sharīʿa* of Majd al-Dīn b. Taymīya, which was summarized from his extended work, *al-Aḥkām al-kubrā*,
- *al-Muḥarrar fī aḥādīth al-aḥkām* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 744/1343),
- *Iḥkām al-dharīʿa ilā aḥkām al-sharīʿa* of al-Surramarrī (d. 776/1374).

38 ʿUmar al-Mulaqqīn, *al-Iʿlām bi-fawāʾid ʿumdat al-aḥkām*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mashayqiḥ, 11 vols., Riyadh: Dār al-ʿĀṣima, 1997, i, 71.

7.2 Al-ʿUmdat al-kubrā fi aḥādīth al-aḥkām

The 'extended collection' contains approximately twice the number of hadiths of the 'short collection.' For the former, ʿAbd al-Ghanī selected Prophetic narrations from the 'six main books of hadith': *al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abu Dāwūd, al-Nasāʾī, al-Tirmidhī*, and *Ibn Māja*. He mentioned in his introduction that on some occasions he would cite other books, which he did. He predominantly adhered to his stated methodology. The other hadith books he used include Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad* for six narrations; al-Dhuhlī's (d. 258/871) *Zuhriyāṭ* for one narration; Mālik's (d. 179/795) *Muwaṭṭaʾ* for one narration; and al-Ṭabarānī's (d. 360/918) *Kitāb al-Dūʿaʾ* for a narration, but he graded it to be weak. There is a narration from al-Bayhaqī's (d. 458/1065) *al-Sunan al-kubrā* and al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, but it was incorrectly referenced.[39]

Ibn Rajab's biography of ʿAbd al-Ghanī did not list *al-ʿUmdat al-kubrā* as one of his works, but mentioned another title, *al-Aḥkām ʿala abwāb al-fiqh*. This is probably referring to the same work, as the content of *al-ʿUmdat al-kubrā* fits the description of Ibn Rajab's title. In some biographies, the 'extended collection' is referred as *al-Aḥkām al-kubrā*, whereas the 'short collection' is referred as *al-Aḥkām al-ṣughrā*. ʿAbd al-Ghanī did not state a title for his work in the introduction; he simply explained what it covered. The copyists probably gave these different names considering the size of his 'small collection' in comparison to his 'extended collection.'

The author did not clarify whether he would only select authentic narrations for the 'extended collection.' Some editors of the work considered the majority of the hadith to be authentic. So, while it is possible that ʿAbd al-Ghanī intended to select only authentic narrations, he did not mention it in the introduction. The methodology of the book is very similar to the 'short collection.' He starts with a brief introduction stating what he intends to do and mentions his approach for selecting and arranging the material of his work. What follows is a translation of the first three small chapters pertaining to purification; thereafter, some observations are listed in relation to ʿAbd al-Ghanī's style and presentation.

39 ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī, *ʿUmdat al-aḥkām al-kubrā*, ed. Samīr al-Zuhayrī, Riyadh: n. p., 2009, 63.

7.3 *Purification*

Chapter: ***Evidences for the Obligation of Purification***

(1) Abū Hurayra narrated, he said: "The Messenger of God said, 'God will not accept a person's prayer who is in state of ritual impurity, until he performs the ablution.'"

[al-Bukhārī and Muslim, Abū Dāwūd]

(2) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Khaṭṭāb narrated, he said: "The Prophet said, 'God does not accept the prayer without purification or charity that has been stolen from spoils of war.'"

[Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī] Abū Dāwūd narrated from Abū l-Mulīḥ, and he narrated from his father.

(3) ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl narrated from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, who narrated from ʿAlī, he said: "The Prophet said, 'The key to the prayer is purification, the opening exaltation is the prayer's beginning, whereas the salutation is the prayer's conclusion.'"

[Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī]

ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl is considered to be a truthful narrator, however, there is a discussion amongst scholars about his memory and retention. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Isḥāq b. Rāhaway, and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī would cite his narrations, whereas al-Bukhārī said that he was passable (*huwa yuqārib al-ḥadīth*).

Chapter: ***The Obligation of Intention in Purification and all the Other Acts of Worship***

(4) ʿUmar al-Khaṭṭāb narrated, he said: "I heard the Messenger of God say, 'Actions occur by intention—in another narration: by intentions; a person achieves what he intends. So, whomsoever emigrated for God and His Messenger, his emigration will be for that cause; and whomsoever emigrated for a worldly matter or for a woman's hand in marriage, the person's emigration will be for what he intended.'"

[al-Bukhārī and Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasāʾī, Ibn Māja]

Chapter: ***Whomsoever Leaves a Little Part Unwashed, His Purification Will Be Incorrect***

(5) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀṣ narrated, he said: "The Prophet lagged behind in one of our expeditions, and then eventually caught up with us. The

time for the afternoon prayer was almost about to end (*arhaqnā al-ʿaṣr*) and so we started making ablution for the prayer. During the ablution, we were wiping our feet with water (rather than washing them). The Prophet upon seeing this screamed at the top his voice and said: 'Woe to the heels from the fire!' The Prophet said this twice or three times."

[al-Bukhārī and Muslim]

(6) Abū Hurayra narrated: "The Messenger of God said, 'Woe to the heels from the fire!'"

[al-Bukhārī and Muslim]

(7) 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb narrated, he said: "A man performed the ablution but left out washing a little part of his feet. The Prophet saw this and said to the man, 'Go and perform your ablution properly.' The man re-performed the ablution and offered his prayers."

[Muslim]

(8) Khālid b. Maʿdān narrated from some Companions, they said: "The Prophet saw a man praying, he noticed a part of his upper foot—perhaps the size of a coin—was not washed with water. The Prophet ordered the man to repeat his ablution and prayer."

[Abū Dāwūd]

Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭāb said: "The phrase, '*arhaqnā al-ʿaṣr*' is explained to mean, 'we delayed the noon prayer.' Accordingly, if a person said, '*arhaqtuh*,' it means, 'I delayed it.' The phrase, '*irhaqatnā*' implies when a time is imminent to do something, i. e. the noon prayer."[40]

7.4 *Observations*

The following observations can be made from the extended collection:

1) The major-chapters (*kutub*) were arranged according to the chapters of law manuals, starting with purification (*ṭahāra*) and ending with emancipation (*ʿitq*).
2) Each major-chapter was split into smaller chapters (*abwāb*); for example, the section of purification was divided into twenty-three small chapters.
3) The author starts each major chapter and the small chapters with a hadith that he considered to be the most authentic; usually from al-Bukhārī and Muslim followed by others.

40 Al-Maqdisī, *al-Kubrā* 5–10.

4) The Companion who narrated the hadith is mentioned. The transmission chains have been omitted. If clarification was required, the author would mention other personalities pertaining to the hadith's transmission chain.
5) The narrations were carefully selected to keep close to the chapters of law manuals.
6) Occasionally, different forms (*riwāyāt*) of the same hadith are mentioned under one chapter to show its different wordings.
7) The author at times would merge additions (*ziyādāt*) of a hadith to another, making it as a single script.
8) Following the hadith, the sources are mentioned; predominantly the *six books* of hadith.
9) The grades of some of the hadith are mentioned; the author usually imports al-Tirmidhī's grading.
10) Unfamiliar words (*gharīb*) and ambiguities (*mubhāmāt*) which have been mentioned in the hadith are clarified.

8 The Genre's Geographical Concentration and Background of Its Authors

As previously mentioned, forty-one manuals on *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* have been authored between the 4th/10th and 10/16th centuries. The background of these authors varied. They resided in different parts of the Islamic world and adhered to different the law schools; some were closer adherers of a particular law school than others. To get an idea of the writers' different law orientations (although it is not a definitive conclusion), percentages have been presented. Authors with Shāfiʿī background issued 53% of the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* works; Ḥanbalī, 21%; Mālikī, 7%; Ḥanafī, 4%; Ẓāhirī, 2%; and the remaining 13% are by scholars with unnamed law schools. Overall, it suggests that the Shāfiʿī scholars dominated writing in this genre. It was a common trend among many of these scholars to initially author an extended work on the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* and then summarize it; ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī, Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, and others did this. Normally, it was the summarized versions which became famous and, consequently, got widely taught and commented upon. Some of the authors penned several works for the same genre but of varying scale; for instance, Ibn al-Mulaqqin authored three works, some being briefer than others.

In terms of the works' geographical concentrations, it seems the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* genre initially gained momentum in Islamic Spain (al-Andalus) with

the works of Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī, and, possibly, Abū l-Qāsim al-Zaydūnī. It then shifted to the regions of the Greater Levant (al-Shām), especially Damascus and Jerusalem, where the Ḥanbalī scholars lead the way. Between the 6th/11th and 8th/13th centuries, the Levant-Ḥanbalī scholars authored a number of works, initiated by ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī. During this phase, few of the Levant Shāfiʿī scholars penned their works; however, it was in Egypt where the Shāfiʿī scholars dominated writing in this genre. The *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* works became widespread in Egypt, especially after Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's masterpiece *al-Imām fī maʿrifat al-aḥkām*. A handful of Ḥanafī-orientated scholars then began to compose their works in Egypt, for instance Mughulṭāy b. Qalīj b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥanafī (*al-Durr al-manẓūm*). Some Shāfiʿī scholars from Mecca also contributed towards this programme, for example, Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 694/1294) authored several works in this genre.

9 Traditionalist Salafis and the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* Genre

The *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* genre gained much stronger momentum from the 18th century onwards in certain geographical regions owing to the rise of the Salafi revival movement.[41] The founding principle of these programs was to reignite the use of Prophetic narrations in law and creed. One particular branch of the movement, the Traditionalist Salafis, called for a number of changes including: keeping Islam pure from local customs that do not derive from Islamic legal sources; prioritize the Prophetic Sunna in all spheres of life; abandon the usage of weak hadiths; and be independent from adhering to the classical law schools if the practices contradicted authentic Prophetic traditions. When it came to studying law, the Prophetic Sunna was the focal point; consequently, manuals such as *ʿUmdat al-aḥkām* and *Bulūgh al-marām* became a popular choice over law epitomes in certain Salafī study circles. For instance, in Yemen before the 2011 civil war, certain Salafi institutions in Maʿbar,[42] Dammāj,[43] Maʾrib,[44] and Aden[45] gave precedence to the aforementioned manuals for studying law. Such institutes would complement the study of hadith along with brief manuals in terminology of hadith science (*muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*)—which was another revival feature of the Traditionalist Salafis. This movement received criticism

41 Brown, *Hadith* 61.
42 Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Salafīya, headed by Muḥammad al-Imām.
43 Dār al-Ḥadīth, headed by Yaḥyā al-Ḥujūrī.
44 Dār al-Ḥadīth, headed by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Maʾribī.
45 Dār al-Ḥadīth, headed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marʿī al-ʿAdanī.

from the adherents of the law schools for neglecting the study of legal theory. They often accused them of ignorantly following random Prophetic narrations instead of understanding how the hadith corpus fitted into the bigger picture of inferring law.[46]

10 Conclusions

This genre aimed to serve two main purposes: firstly, to confirm the articles of law through a primary source, namely, the Prophetic narrations; and secondly, to facilitate training for aspiring jurists and law students by enabling them to effortlessly cite the main corpus of hadith used for Islamic law. The authority of hadith in Islam have long been recognized by scholars of Islam, and recently by some modern Western scholars. The *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* genre highlighted the importance of Prophetic narrations for legislation and its greater influence on Islamic law as a whole. The *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* genre became centralized in two geographical locations, Greater Levant and Egypt. The Ḥanbalī scholars of Greater Levant added significantly to this genre, considering the small following the law school had historically, whereas the Shāfiʿī scholars exerted their efforts in Egypt, especially from the 8th/13th century onwards.

The authors do not explicitly state whether the works are conceived according to a particular law school; however, subtle indicators such as chapter headings and their arrangements allude to their legal positions. This can be extended to those who authored commentaries for the manuals. When explaining the Prophetic narrations, most commentators leaned towards the positions of their respective legal schools. Many commentators adhered to a law school and were not independent diligent inquirers (*mujtahid-muṭlaq*); consequently, they founded and built their explanations based on the legal principles (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) of their respective law schools.

The authors of this genre presented the main Prophetic narrations according to the chapters of law manuals, creating a connection between hadith and law. For instance, ʿAbd al-Ghanī's *ʿUmdat al-kubrā* contains around twenty-two major chapters, which is almost the same amount as in Ibn Qudāma's *ʿUmdat al-fiqh*, a basic Ḥanbalī law manual. The aim behind ʿAbd al-Ghanī's and Ibn Qudāma's manuals is near identical: to present Islamic law in one form or another. Ibn Qudāma endorsed the technique of paraphrasing, whereas ʿAbd al-Ghanī thematically presented the appropriate evidences for the legal rulings.

46 Brown, *Hadith* 260.

Ibn Qudāma probably used a lot of Prophetic narrations listed by ʿAbd al-Ghanī to build his epitome. However, Ibn Qudāma cited additional law sources to infer and present the articles in a simple manner to be memorized by law students.

The case of ʿAbd al-Ghanī and Ibn Qudāma is very interesting in Islamic scholarship. They were cousins but also shared a unique bond throughout their early pursuit of sacred knowledge. They travelled and studied together until they became celebrated scholars of Islam in their own right. Though one was more inclined to hadith than *fiqh*, there were no polemics between them—unlike today's petitioners of hadith followers. The great difference between them and today's hadith claimants appear to be their extensive acquaintance with hadith and their full appreciation of how vast it was[47] and, ultimately, how the Prophetic Sunna fitted with the other legal principles and substantive law as a whole. Today's hadith claimants do not seem to understand how the Prophetic Sunna fits into the paradigm of Islamic law, thus making them seem somewhat dichotomous—as if to say, a person cannot be an adherent of a law school and still be considered to be a follower of hadith, which never seemed to be the case in the history of Islamic scholarship.

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47 Christopher Melchert, *Ahmad ibn Hanbal*, London: Oneworld Publications, 2006, 81.

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CHAPTER 5

The *ʿawālī* Genre and Its Social Dimension

Mohammad Gharaibeh

The *ʿawālī* genre is one of the most popular genres of the post-canonical hadith movement. The number of personal collections of hadiths with short chains of transmission (*isnād ʿālī*) are as countless as the *forty hadith* collections of which they seem to be a subgenre. Regardless of whether these collections contain forty hadiths or another number, they contain the most elevated chains of transmission of a scholar and, hence, display their high position in the transmission system in relation to their time. Therefore, these collections not only demonstrate the scholarly skills of the scholar, they most certainly also serve as a means to gain social status, reputation, and prestige among hadith scholars. Besides that, elevation of a chain of transmission was also perceived as establishing a close(r) connection and a proximity to the Prophet, hence also serving a religious function.

This article aims to introduce this rarely studied genre and highlights its peculiarity and characteristics. Two case studies shall also demonstrate how these collections can be read in the social and intellectual context of the authors/collectors.

1 Introduction

Hadith appears in modern scholarship—Western and Muslim—rarely as 'text,' let alone 'literature,' but as a window to 'how the Prophet lived.' Modernist Muslim thinkers in general and Modern Salafists—in particular those at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries who proclaimed to return to the Sunna or the way of life of the Prophet and His Companions—have (re-)discovered the hadith as the (only) means to achieve their goal or express serious concern about the authenticity of the hadith.[1] Through the hadith, Modernist Muslim thinkers and Salafī scholars attempt to reconstruct the teachings and

1 See for the comprehensive study on the stance of modernist Muslim thinkers, Daniel Brown, *Rethinking Tradition in Modern Islamic Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

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deeds of the Prophet to purify what they believe is *Islam* from the cultural influence of the centuries[2] and to overcome the legal plurality of the law schools in favor of one 'true' school based on Qur'an and Sunna.[3] The usual way to achieve those goals is to go through the hadith material at their disposal and to select narrations that fulfill their standards of authenticity or other (probably content-related) criteria. This procedure isolates single narrations out of large and small collections, paying little or even no attention to the place and function of the narration within the collection.

While modernist configurations of authority and authenticity have underpinned contemporary attitudes towards the hadith, this has clouded the way we understand the premodern engagements with hadith and hadith literature. On the one hand, scholars have never really only relied on 'authentic' material, which becomes obvious by the many narrations used in different works across almost all disciplines that were classified as *ḥasan* ('good') or even *ḍaʿīf* ('weak').[4] On the other hand, the many smaller and larger collections that were compiled according to certain themes, topics, *isnād*-variations, or other kind of criteria show that hadith scholars understood their collections as a whole (comprised of pieces) with a certain message and not as a collection of single items that stand alone. Hadith collections, hence, are much more than simply repositories of hadith, rather they are religious statements of the authors.[5]

Moreover, hadith collections fulfill the function of educating Muslims about certain aspects of their religion while binding these aspects to the Prophetic way of life (*sunna*). Examples of such collections that usually come as *forty*

2 Cf. Olivier Roy, *Globalized Islam. The Search for a New Ummah*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. According to him, the deculturation of Islam is the most distinctive characteristic of Modern reform movements. See also Bernard Haykel, "On the Nature of Salafi Thought and Action," in Roel Meijer (ed.), *Global Salafism. Islam's New Religious Movement*, London: Hurst, 2009, 33–57, 36–37.

3 Many Salafī and other Modern scholars aim for such an undertaking. See for example the case of the Sudanese scholar Muḥammad Majdhūb (1795/1796–1831), Albrecht Hofheinz, "Transcending the Madhhab-in Practice: The Case of the Sudanese Shaykh Muḥammad Majdhūb (1795/1796–1831)," in *ILS* 10.2 (2003), 229–248; or the case of the Egyptian scholar al-Sayyid Sābiq with his work *Fiqh al-sunna*, 3 vols., Cairo: [Dār al-Fatḥ li-l-Iʿlām al-ʿArabī, 2010].

4 Jonathan Brown, "Even If It's Not True It's True: Using Unreliable Ḥadīths in Sunni Islam," in *ILS* 18 (2011), 1–52.

5 See for this aspect the remarkable work of Andrew J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shīʿism. Ḥadīth as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad*, Richmond: Curzon, 2000; Stephen R. Burge, "Reading between the Lines: The Compilation of *Ḥadīth* and the Authorial Voice," in *Arabica* 58 (2011), 168–197; idem, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature.' What Is It and Where Is It?," in *Arabica* 65.1–2 (2018), 64–83.

hadith collections are asceticism (*zuhd*) or good deeds and virtues (*faḍā'il al-aʿmāl*). Another aspect of hadith collections is the performative aspect of reading and transmitting them. Reading and listening as well as transmitting hadith and hadith collections became an expression of piety. In this context, the pursuit of short chains of transmission became more relevant as well. While hadith scholars had already attributed a particular importance to short *isnād*—the fewer narrators, the lower the possibility of errors—, scholars and especially Muslim laymen from the 5th/11th century onward strove for short chains, since they expressed a spiritual connection and proximity to the Prophet.[6]

While for earlier generations short chains of transmission might have come naturally while hearing hadith from early hadith scholars, the majority of chains of transmission, however, actually shows that hadith was often narrated with an 'unnecessary high number' of intermediaries to the Prophet. At the same time, it becomes also quite clear that scholars were holding on to their shorter chains of transmission as valuable ones. The later generations were especially eager to achieve chains of transmission with fewer links between them and the Prophet, thus establishing a short chain (viewed as 'high chain,' *isnād ʿālī*). Scholars would gather those hadiths with short chains in a separate collection to demonstrate the wealth they acquired through many travels and long years of collecting hadith material. Since the focus of such collections—called *ʿawālī* ('high *isnād*s')—was entirely on the *isnād*, *ʿawālī* collections are characterized by a great variety of topics and not rarely contained weak *isnād*s. This makes the *ʿawālī* collection particularly uninteresting for Modern scholarship, both Western and Muslim ones, whose focus is still primarily the authenticity and normativity of hadith. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that almost no secondary literature is found on this genre.[7]

This article explores the genre of the *ʿawālī* collections together with its related text sorts. For this, the history and function of the chain of transmission (*isnād*) is introduced, as it traces the transformation of the chain of transmission from an epistemological tool in early periods to a spiritual means in the so-called post-canonical period. This period is characterized by the fact that especially the *ṣaḥīḥ* and *sunan* works, but ultimately other collections as well,

6 See especially for the last aspect Garrett A. Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition. A Social and Intellectual History of Hadith Transmission across a Thousand Years*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020.

7 An exception is Davidson's recent monograph on the post-canonical hadith studies, *Carrying on*.

were established as acknowledged and almost 'canonical' collections. Citing hadiths from these collections was as valid as citing an individual *isnād*, so that the chain of transmission lost some of its epistemological function. After this, the *ʿawālī* genre and its peculiarities are introduced, before turning to two case studies of *ʿawālī* collections from the Mamluk period. By contextualizing the authors and their collections within their social and intellectual context, we will attempt to catch some of the social and intellectual dimensions of these collections.

2 Post-Canonical Hadith Transmission and the *isnād* as Cultural and Social Capital

2.1 *The* isnād *as an Epistemological Tool*

Within the oral culture of the Arabs of the early period, it comes as no surprise that the teachings, sayings, and deeds of the Prophet were mainly transmitted orally. However, the political upheaval and theological controversies in the 7th and 8th centuries have provoked suspicions against many narrations that were used to justify the different political and theological positions. Scholars have felt the need to evaluate these and other narrations attributed to the Prophet to counter this development. One way of doing so was the evaluation of those men and women who narrated the hadith and were mentioned in the chain of transmission as authorities.[8] In early times, scholars did not seem to have agreed on a standardized terminology or on terms of how to narrate and accept an *isnād*. Even in the 2nd/8th century, there are many hadiths that were cited by scholars with either an incomplete or even without an *isnād* at all.[9] Only at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century and after al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) highlighted the importance of a sound hadith with a flawless *isnād* over the authority of scholarly opinions in his *Risāla*,[10] hadith scholars began to insist on a complete *isnād* while citing and transmitting hadiths.[11]

8 For more details on the early development and function of the *isnād* see James Robson, "The Isnād in Muslim Tradition," in Harald Motzki (ed.), *Ḥadīth. Origins and Developments*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, 163–174.

9 See Christopher Melchert, "Traditionist-Jurisprudents and the Framing of Islamic Law," *ILS* 8.3 (2001), 383–406, 391–392. There, Melchert shows that figures such as Abū Yūsuf (113–182/731–798), Mālik b. Anas (93–179/711–795), and even Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (164–241/780–855) frequently cited hadiths with an incomplete or even without an *isnād* at all.

10 Melchert, "Traditionist-Jurisprudents" 393–396.

11 Davidson, *Carrying on* 5–6.

The *isnād*, hence, as an epistemological tool, decided over the degree of trustworthiness and authenticity of a certain narration. Consequently, the way of life, the piety, and religiosity of the narrators became a central aspect of the analysis of an *isnād*, and hadith scholars have invested a lot of effort to gather information about the transmitting individuals in biographical dictionaries.[12] Eventually, this movement resulted in the compilation of collections that claimed to include mostly—or only—sound narrations with flawless *isnād* during the 3rd/9th century. The existence of the so-called *ṣaḥīḥ* and *sunan* collections has itself raised the question among scholars whether it should be necessary to cite a complete personal *isnād* for each tradition they wanted to use in discussions and legal reasoning.[13]

For another half a century, this question was debated controversially. It was not uncommon to narrate traditions from a specific hadith collection. However, the collections usually were received through a complete *isnād*, so that all narrations in these collections, e. g. the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal or the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik b. Anas, were perceived as transmitted individually via the same *isnād* as well. Moreover, the traditionist-jurists, mostly Ḥanbalī and hadith-oriented Shāfiʿī scholars, continued the narration of hadith through complete and 'living' *isnād*. With the establishment of the hadith canon, which was primarily pushed forward by Shāfiʿī scholars, the *ṣaḥīḥ* and *sunan* works became accepted sources, since their hadith were repeatedly evaluated and confirmed.[14]

In the 5th/11th century at the latest, Sunnī scholars from almost all schools of law and theology acknowledged the reliability of the *ṣaḥīḥ*-collections, so that they became a common reference framework that scholars could refer to and rely upon. Even the group of *ahl al-ḥadīth*—maybe best translated as 'traditionalists'[15]—who, generally, insisted on the continuation of a personal *isnād* for each narration that was cited, as well as Ḥanafī scholars, despite their hadith-wary hermeneutic,[16] eventually accepted the broad tendency to accept the authority and reliability of the *ṣaḥīḥ*-collections.[17] Abū l-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī

12 Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007, 51–52.

13 Brown, *Canonization* 63.

14 For the complex process of canonization of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* and the fact that it can be described as an enterprise of Shāfiʿī scholars, which was especially challenged by Ḥanbalī scholars, see Brown, *Canonization* 54–64 and 135–149.

15 Or as Brown also calls them, the "über-Sunnis," see Brown, *Canonization* 77–78.

16 On the position of Ḥanafī scholars towards the hadith and the hadith-canon see Brown, *Canonization* 7, 102, 146–147, 209–210.

17 Brown, *Canonization* 194–200.

(d. 487/1085) was among the first scholars who, in his *al-Burhān*, expressed the opinion that it should be sufficient to refer to the *ṣaḥīḥ*-collections when citing a hadith, without providing a personal *isnād* himself.[18] In the following decades and centuries it became a common practice to refer to the 'canon' without citing a personal *isnād* when quoting hadiths as well as to refer to a hadith's place within the canon while evaluating a narration that was cited in a work without *isnād* (*takhrīj*).

2.2 *A Change of Perspective*

The growing acknowledgement of the canon changed the scholars' perspective on the *isnād* dramatically. The former function of the *isnād*—to ensure the trustworthiness of a chain of transmission and hence guarantee the correctness of a certain hadith—has become obsolete. Despite this development, hadith scholars did not stop to transmit hadiths in particular and knowledge in general through personal relations. Hence, the *isnād* did not lose any of its overall importance. Instead, a change of perspective on the *isnād* took place that gave new meanings to the former epistemological tool. First, the *isnād* became a means of transmitting authority and legitimacy from the Prophet to later generations. Similar to the assumption that God has 'transmitted' authority to the Prophet through revelation, the Prophetic authority was passed down through the *isnād*. Scholars who could maintain a connection through a chain of transmission distinguished themselves from individuals without a chain of transmission, no matter how knowledgeable they were through personal reading.[19] Second, the *isnād* also became a spiritual connection to the Prophet much desired not only by scholars but later also by laypeople. Through the *isnād*, individuals were personally connected to the blessing of the Prophet, a logic that stood behind Sufi inauguration practices as well.[20]

This new perspective on the *isnād* now was not only attractive for scholars anymore. Since the complicated and complex task of evaluating individuals by going through endless biographical information was not the focus of the *isnād*, it moved into the center of popular religious practice. Particularly in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, the number of non-scholarly individuals who joined the reading and transmission sessions grew continuously.[21] This trend

18 Davidson, *Carrying on* 7.

19 Jonathan Brown, *Hadith. Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2009, 45.

20 Davidson, *Carrying on* 17–18.

21 See for this Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands. A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012, where

went alongside an increase in the veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad and His relicts, such as His hair or His sandals. It was within this development that for instance the Prophet's sandal was stored in the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafīya in Damascus upon the request of the founder of this Dār, the Ayyūbid ruler al-Ashraf Mūsā in 632/1235.[22]

In addition to these two aspects, Muslim scholars perceived the *isnād* also as a distinctive feature of the Muslim community (*umma*) that distinguishes it from the Jews and Christians. In their view the *isnād* had prevented the Muslim community from changing their scripture and from falsifying their religion. Muslim scholars should only speak about religious matters with a connected *isnād* to achieve God's blessing and to ensure that their positions are within the Islamic framework. Especially Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ has promoted this position in his *Muqaddima*, but it was also expressed by many other scholars before him, such as the Sufi Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), the Andalusian scholar Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), as well as Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014), and the Mālikī scholar al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr b. ʿArabī (d. 543/1148).[23]

This theoretical and theological perspective on the *isnād* also left its traces on the transmission practices and the hadith compilations. As mentioned above, laymen increasingly participated in the transmission sessions which also included women who had access to the transmission as well, as attested to by the studies of Asma Sayeed and the voluminous work of Mohammad Akram Nadwi.[24] Moreover, children were brought to those sessions to 'initiate' them so that they become—once they were old enough—a valid link within the transmission system. As for the hadith compilations, several genres appeared that almost exclusively focused on the *isnād* and its variations. Besides the *ʿawālī* genre, which is discussed below in further detail, the *forty hadith* collections formed a genre that reflected the changing meaning of the *isnād*. Some col-

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he also demonstrates that the literacy of laypeople increased as well in cities like Damascus from the 6th century onwards. For the 16th century, with a focus on Ottoman lands, see Helen Pfeifer, "A New Hadith Culture? Arab Scholars and Ottoman Sunnitization in the Sixteenth Century," in Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioglu (eds.), *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, C. 1450–C. 1750*, Leiden: Brill, 2020, 31–61.

22 Eerik Dickinson, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī and the Isnād," in *JAOS* 122.3 (2002), 481–505, 484–489.

23 See Davidson, *Carrying on*, 11–12.

24 See Asma Sayeed, "Women and Ḥadīth Transmission. Two Case Studies from Mamluk Damascus," in *SI* 95 (2002), 71–94; and Muhammad Akram Nadwi, al-*Muhaddithat. The Women Scholars in Islam*, rev. 2nd ed., Oxford: Interface Publications, 2013.

lection, for example, included hadiths that were entirely narrated by Ṣūfīs,[25] by individuals from one town, by narrators from forty different cities,[26] or by a certain number of narrators.

One of the most characteristic features of post-canonical hadith collection was to acquire short chains of transmissions. A short chain of transmission in times of growing temporal distance to the Prophet was not only a skillful goal to achieve. It also guaranteed a high social status among the scholarly elite that seemed to have competed in gaining short chains and putting together collections of hadith with short chains. Scholars and non-scholars alike intensively focused on the idea to acquire those short chains. Therefore, scholars and non-scholars used to bring their children to transmitters of hadith to attend hadith reading sessions. Although there have been discussions about a minimum age for children to hear hadith in earlier times, in the context of the post-canonical hadith transmission the minimum age dropped significantly, so that children of the age of one year, several months, newborns (*ijāza li-l-ṭifl al-ṣaghīr*) and even unborn children (*ijāza li-l-maʿdūm*) were recognized as later transmitters. Of course, nobody believed or expected a newborn to be able to comprehend anything that was read during such sessions. Rather, the idea was that those children would grow old and eventually could transmit the material they heard after they have reached a certain age. This way, those individuals with child-*ijāzāt* became valuable members of the transmission system, as they could easily bridge sixty or even seventy and eighty years with their narrations, creating valuable short chains of transmission.[27]

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25 See for a general overview of the forty-hadith collections Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī, *Das Buch der vierzig Ḥadīthe: Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn mit dem Kommentar von Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd*, ed. and transl. Marco Schöller, Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2007; and Swantje Bartschat, *„Wer meiner Gemeinde vierzig Ḥadīthe bewahrt …". Entstehung und Entwicklung eines Sammlungstyps*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2019. For the *isnād* variations of those collections, see al-Nawawī, *Das Buch der vierzig Ḥadīthe* 314–316.

26 See for the so-called *buldānīyāt* collections Bartschat, *Vierzig Hadithe*, 70–74; Mohammad Gharaibeh, "The *Buldāniyyāt* of as-Saḫāwī (d. 902/1496). A Case Study on Knowledge Specialization and Knowledge Brokerage in the Field of Ḥadīṯ Collections," in Stephan Conermann (ed.), *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517)*, Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2016, 81–105; and idem, "Innovation im Kontext. Die *buldāniyyāt* von as-Silafī (gest. 576/1180) und Ibn ʿAsākir (gest. 571/1176) im Vergleich," in Ömer Özsoy, Daniel Birnstiel, and Serdar Kurnaz (eds.), *Genese, Exegese und Hermeneutik der islamischen Quellen*, Berlin: EB Verlag [forthcoming].

27 See Davidson, *Carrying on* 66–75. In the normative hadith literature, the phenomenon of child-*ijāzāt* was discussed, for instance, by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ in his *Muqaddima*. There he also addresses the question of a minimum age and lists the different opinions on that.

The pursuit of short chains of transmission required archives of names of transmitters to determine who was the youngest individual to transmit from another individual who had reached an old age. Those archives were usually compiled by a scribe who attended the reading sessions and documented the names of all individuals in a document called *ṭabaqa*. Many scholars would consult these *ṭabaqāt* whenever a high-ranked transmitter died to determine who was the last and youngest individual to hear from him.

In some cases, individuals were brought (*ḥuḍūr*) to reading sessions in their infancy, but later pursued a non-scholarly career. Decades later, scholars would consult the *ṭabaqāt* and find their names as attendees of reading sessions, what made them to transmitters much sought after. Such an example was the case of Abū ʿAbbās al-Ḥajjār, as Davidson illustrates. Al-Ḥajjār attended a reading session of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* as a child, then never even learned to read or write but earned his money as a tailor and stone mason. After decades, scholars turned to him due to his early hearing of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and even paid him for each reading of the work between fifty and one hundred dirhams, making him a rich man at the end of his life.[28]

Another important text sort that fulfilled the function of archives of chains of transmissions were the *mashyakhāt* and *thabat* works. They resembled dictionaries in which scholars noted the collections and individual hadiths they heard. Some *mashyakhāt* were so detailed that they not only documented the title or hadith in question and the scholar they had heard from, but also the date and place of the reading.[29] The personal *mashyakhāt* and the 'public' *ṭabaqāt* documents came in handy every time a scholar intended to show his high status within the transmission system or sought to put together another collection of remarkable hadiths with their chains of transmission.

It seems self-evident that scholars knew their own hearings (*samāʿ*) well. However, the post-canonical hadith transmission with the changing function of the chain of transmission lead to a reality in which hadith scholars did not oversee their own material entirely. The reason for that was the fact that reading sessions and a personal transmission of hadith material were not the only way to acquire new transmissions. Scholars regularly issued general *ijāzāt* permitting the beneficiaries to narrate all their material, sometimes by handing it

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See ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ṣalāḥ, *Maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Hamīm and Māhir Yāsīn al-Faḥl, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 2002, 247–251 and 271–274.

28 See Davidson, *Carrying on* 163–165.

29 See for further details on text sorts of *mashyakhāt* and *thabat* see Davidson, *Carrying on* 241–275.

over physically (*munāwala*) all at once. It was also common for scholars to write their hearings down (*mukātaba*) and send it to a beneficiary permitting him to narrate the material through his chain of transmission, in addition to the practice of bequest all hearings to a student while on the deathbed or documenting it in the will.[30]

This practice led to the situation that scholars acquired hadith material that they were permitted to transmit but had not heard or read in detail. This opened opportunities to sift this material and find alternative chains of transmission characterized by shortness or other features. Interestingly, not all scholars used to go through the material by themselves. Often, they would appoint students to do that for them, or students would voluntarily take this task upon them to prove their capacity. Going through the material and putting together collections of, for instance, hadiths with short chains of transmission was called *takhrīj*. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, for example, provided this service for multiple teachers at an early stage of his career. He sifted the material of his teachers al-Burhān Ibrāhīm al-Tanūkhī (d. 800/1397) and al-Zayn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿIrāqī (d. 802/1400) and put together collections of short chains. For al-Tanūkhī, Ibn Ḥajar found one hundred hadith each of which contains only ten narrators between al-Tanūkhī and the Prophet. This collection with the title *al-ʿAwālī al-tāliya li-l-miʾa al-ʿāliya* was deemed to contain the shortest chains possible at this time, and its preparation and presentation was properly celebrated in the mosque in 797/1395. For al-ʿIrāqī, Ibn Ḥajar collected sixty hadiths of ten-link-chains (*ʿushārīya*). Since al-ʿIrāqī was slightly younger than al-Tanūkhī, this collection with the title *al-ʿUshārīya al-sittīn li-takmilat miʾa bi-l-arbaʿīn* was perceived even more valuable than the one of al-Tanūkhī, and its composition and presentation was similarly celebrated by the Cairene scholarly community.[31]

30 See for an overview of the different types of *ijāzāt* including the *munāwala* and Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Maʿrifat*, 265–291.

31 See for more detail on this practice and the two examples Mohammad Gharaibeh, "Brokerage and Interpersonal Relationships in Scholarly Networks. Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī and His Early Academic Career," in Stephan Conermann (ed.): *Everything is on the Move. The Mamluk Empire as a Node in (Trans-)Regional Networks*, Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2014, 223–266, 253–255.

3 The *ʿawālī* Genre and Its Relation to the Canon

It does not come as a surprise that the pursuit of short chains of transmission yielded collections that contained only hadiths with short *isnād*. These *ʿawālī* works included the shortest chains of transmission of a certain scholar and, therefore, were deemed as very prestigious among the scholarly elite. Since the acquisition of short chains of transmission was difficult and sometimes also a random task, the collections were not bound to any specific number, such as the *forty hadith* collection. This, of course, does not mean that scholars did not try to meet the number forty in their *ʿawālī* collections or other numbers, such as sixty or one hundred, as mentioned in the example of Ibn Ḥajar above. The first *ʿawālī* collection was compiled by the Samarqandī scholar ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 345/956) whose collection included ninety-one of his shortest chains of transmission. Soon, this genre became a common and popular means to demonstrate a scholar's high status within the transmission system (*ṭabaqāt*), also displaying the social status among the scholarly elite.[32]

From the *ʿawālī* works a slightly more specialized text sort emerged around the 6th/12th century. Still including the shortest chains of transmission, these collections gathered hadiths with chains that contain a specific number of links. Accordingly, they bear the number of the links between the Prophet and the scholar in their titles. Collections, for instance, with a six-link or seven-link chain were entitled *sudāsīyāt* and *subʿīyāt*. These collections also often came in form of a *forty hadith* collection, which characterized them as collections that combined the features of the *ʿawālī* and the *forty hadith* collections.[33] Similar to the more general *ʿawālī* collections, the link-themed *forty hadith* collections remained a popular means to display a scholar's status both with regard to the transmission system and the social standing among the scholarly elite. Further collections with eight, nine, and ten links were produced in the following centuries. Especially the temporal distance to the Prophet made these collections more valuable with each decade and century passing. However, instead of continuing these types of collections until today, it seems that the peak of production was reached during the 10th/16th century. Although few collections were found later with eleven- and twelve-link chains, the interest in this genre obviously decreased radically.[34] The reasons for that are not clear and apparently

32 See Davidson, *Carrying on* 218–221 where he also cites some other early *ʿawālī* works.

33 See Davidson, *Carrying on* 209–210.

34 See Davidson, *Carrying on* 211.

relate to two major factors. The first to mention here is the general observation that many hadith genres, text sorts, and hadith related practices found their end with the end of the Mamluk rule over Egypt and Syria and the transition from the Mamluk to the Ottoman rule as well as the relocation of the scholarly center from Cairo to Istanbul.[35]

The second reason is related to the inner logic of the *ʿawālī* genre in the context of the hadith transmission itself. While the *ʿawālī* genre aims for a demonstration of the scholar's status within the transmission system in a general sense (*ʿulūw muṭlaq*), the link-themed collections seem to aim for a demonstration of the status in a relational sense. For this, the works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim stood in the center of the comparison as they did for almost all post-canonical hadith collections. Since the shortest chains in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* were three-link and the longest ten-link chains, scholars demonstrated their ability to collect chains of transmission with the same length as the canonical collections. After it became basically impossible due to the temporal distance to acquire hadiths with a ten-link chain, the comparison was not possible anymore. The compilation of collections with eleven-link chains seemed pointless at this moment.[36]

The comparison with the hadith canon brought an additional side aspect to the scholars' attention: the relative shortness (*ʿulūw nisbī*) of a certain hadith. The chains of those hadiths that were also narrated by al-Bukhārī or Muslim were put in relation to the chains of the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. The basic idea was to collect a chain that agreed with that of al-Bukhārī, for instance, in the most parts of the chain. However, the chain needed to be shorter that the chain that were to be narrated through al-Bukhārī himself. For this aspect, scholars introduced four concepts that should express this relation, i. e. the agreement (*muwāfaqa*), the substitution (*badal*), the equivalence (*musāwā*), and the hand-shaking (*muṣāfaḥa*). From the 6th/12th century onwards, it was common among hadith scholars to refer to these concepts every time they narrated a hadith that was found in the canon or even in the collections of Ibn Māja, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasāʾī, or Abū Dawūd. Scholars also tended to compile collections that focused on one of these aspects with regard to the hadiths included. Examples of those collections include Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan min al-musāwāt* or the collections of scholars such as Ibn Ḥājib (d. 630/1223), Ibn al-Ẓāhirī (d. 696/1297), and al-Dimyāṭī (d. 630/1223). Since this kind of relation to the canon was naturally limited by the passing of time, collections were either

35 See for this Pfeifer, "A New Hadith Culture?"

36 See Davidson, *Carrying on* 211.

entirely dedicated to one of these aspects or refer to them for an individual hadith in the collection. However, these works became rare around the 9th/15th century.[37]

Since these four concepts also appear in the collections presented below, they shall be explained further in what follows. The equivalence (*musāwā*) describes the fact that a scholar was able to narrate a hadith found in al-Bukhārī, for instance, with the same number of transmitters in the chain. If al-Bukhārī, for example, were to narrate a hadith with a six-link chain, the scholar is equal to him if he managed to find a chain with the same number of links.[38]

The handshaking (*muṣāfaḥa*) is similarly defined as the equivalence (*musāwā*), but instead of comparing the chain with the number of links of al-Bukhārī, the scholar compares himself with the student of al-Bukhārī. Hence, if al-Bukhārī narrates a hadith with a six-link chain, consequently the student of al-Bukhārī maintained a seven-link chain. If a scholar in later times managed to acquire the same hadith with a seven-link chain, he would be considered equal to the student of al-Bukhārī, and, therefore, be able to figuratively shake al-Bukhārī's hand.[39]

Hence, the equivalence and the handshaking take the total number of links in a chain of transmission into consideration and compare them to the canonical collections. The two other concepts, i. e. the agreement (*muwāfaqa*) and the substitution (*badal*), focus on slightly different aspects. Instead of counting the total number of links to the Prophet, they focus on the number of links to the teacher of al-Bukhārī, for instance. The chain of transmission from the teacher of al-Bukhārī to the Prophet is identical. For example, al-Bukhārī narrates a hadith through Qutayba b. Saʿīd (d. 240/854) through Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795). For the agreement, it is necessary for a scholar in later times to acquire at least two chains of the same hadith, one of them connects with Qutayba b. Saʿīd through al-Bukhārī and the other chain connects with Qutayba through another scholar. The scholar compares both chains with each other and counts the links between him and Qutayba. If the second chain counts less links—e. g. seven links—than the chain through al-Bukhārī—e. g. eight links—, then the scholar has successfully achieved an agreement (*muwāfaqa*).[40]

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37 See Davidson, *Carrying on* 211–212.

38 See Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥajar, al-ʿAsqalānī, *Nuzhat al-naẓar fī tawḍīḥ nukhbat al-fikr fī muṣṭalaḥ ahl al-athar*, Damascus: Dār al-Qādirī, 2008, 149.

39 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Nuzhat al-naẓar*, 149.

40 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Nuzhat al-naẓar*, 148.

The substitution (*badal*) represents a similar situation. But instead of connecting with the teacher of al-Bukhārī (i. e. Qutayba), the scholar is supposed to connect with the teacher of the teacher, e. g. Mālik b. Anas, through another scholar. Therefore, the 'substitution' (*badal*) is similar to the 'agreement' but on a different level in the chain.[41]

These four concepts appear constantly in collections authored between the 6th/12th and 9th/15th century. Therefore, one has to assume that the comparison to the canon was one of the major driving forces behind the compilation of post-canonical hadith collections. It also appears that these types of comparisons to the canonical collections and collectors were important aspects in the life of a hadith scholar that defined their social status among the scholarly elite.

Another interesting and particularly distinctive feature of the post-canonical hadith transmission was the trend to detect *ʿawālī* works in all their variations for other great scholars. Instead of going through their self-acquired material, scholars went through collections of al-Bukhārī, Mālik b. Anas, Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfiʿī, and other well-known and influential scholars, putting together the shortest chains found in their collections or their individual narrations. Collections such as the *ʿAwālī Mālik b. Anas* by Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim al-Kabīr (d. 378/998), the *Thulāthīyāt al-Bukhārī*, the *Rubāʿīyāt* of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, or the *Rubāʿīyāt* of al-Nasāʾī's *Sunan* are just a few of many.[42]

In what follows, two examples of *ʿawālī* works will be introduced to demonstrate the peculiarities of the genre and to highlight the driving motive behind their compilation.

3.1 *Example 1: Ibn Ḥajar and His* al-ʿAshara al-ʿushārīya

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī is a well-known hadith scholar who earns much of his fame to his contributions in the fields of law, history, and hadith.[43] Especially his historical writings proved to be valuable sources for the political and social

41 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Nuzhat al-naẓar*, 148.

42 See Davidson, *Carrying on* 221–229.

43 For an extensive biography of Ibn Ḥajar see Aftab A. Rahmani, "The Life and Works of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī," in *Islamic Culture* 45 (1971), 203–212, 275–293; 46 (1972), 75–81, 171–178, 265–272, 353–362; 47 (1973), 57–74; Sayyid Abul Fazil, "Ibn Hajar His Times and His Life," *Islamic Culture* 32 (1958), 28–45; and Kevin Jaques, *Ibn Hajar*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009. The student of Ibn Ḥajar, Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, has also compiled a comprehensive biography of his teacher that includes valuable information about Ibn Ḥajar's scholarly career. See Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir al-durar fī tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis ʿAbd al-Majīd, 3 vols., Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999.

history of the Mamluk period. In the field of hadith, especially his commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* entitled *Fatḥ al-bārī* drew the attention of the scholarly elite of his time and later periods, and even Modern academia took an interest in it.[44] Despite the extensive scholarship on the writings of Ibn Ḥajar, Western academia has largely neglected his shorter collections so far.

The number of those works in the œuvre of Ibn Ḥajar is quite impressive. The collections include all kinds of *ʿawālī* works. Among others, al-Sakhāwī lists the following titles:

- *ʿAwālī al-Bukhārī*,
- *al-Abdāl al-ʿawālī min Abī Dawūd al-Ṭayālisī*,
- *Abdāl ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd wa-muwāfaqātuh*,
- *al-Abdāl al-ʿawālī wa-l-muwāfaqāt al-ḥisān min Musnad al-Dārimī ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān*,
- *al-Abdāl al-ṣafīyāt min al-thaqafīyāt*,
- *al-Abdāl al-ʿalīyāt min al-khilʿīyāt*,
- *Thunāʾīyāt al-Muwaṭṭaʾ min intiqāʾih*,
- *Khumāsīyāt al-Dāraquṭnī*,
- *Juzʾ min ʿAwālī al-Dabbūsī*,
- *Juzʾ min ʿAwālī Ibn al-Muqayyar*,
- *al-Arbaʿūna al-ʿāliya li-Muslim ʿalā al-Bukhārī fī Ṣaḥīḥayhimā*,
- *Ḍiyāʾ al-anām bi-ʿawālī Shaykh al-Islām al-Bulqīnī*,
- *al-Arbaʿūn al-mumtāza bi-ʿAwālī shuyūkh al-ijāza min ḥadīth al-Marāghī*, also known as *Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan ʿan arbaʿūn shaykhan min ʿawālī al-mujīzīn*,[45] and
- *al-Arbaʿīn al-mutabāyana bi-sharṭ al-samāʿ*.[46]

In addition to these collections, Ibn Ḥajar also performed the service of collecting hadiths of elevated chains of transmission from the material of his teachers (*takhrīj*). As mentioned above, for this, Ibn Ḥajar sifted through the material that his teachers received through different types of *ijāzāt* without going through it by themselves in detail. The result of his *takhrīj* were several collections of short *isnād* for his teachers, such as the *Juzʾ ḥadīth al-Najm al-Bālisī*, *Juzʾ ḥadīth al-Taqī al-Dajawī*, or *Juzʾ ḥadīth al-ʿIzz al-Ṭībī*.[47] The two

44 See Joel Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God. Hadith Commentary across a Millennium*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2018. Blecher places the *Fatḥ al-bārī* in the center of his study on hadith commentaries, see esp. ch. 3–8.

45 See Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan ʿan arbaʿīn shaykhan min ʿawālī al-mujīzīn li-l-imām Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Marāghī*, ed. Muḥammad Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiz, Riyadh: Maktaba at-Tawba, 1999.

46 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir*, ii, 667–669.

47 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir*, ii, 670.

forty hadith collections mentioned above—*Ḍiyāʾ al-anām* and *al-Arbaʿūn al-mumtāza*—were also collections that Ibn Ḥajar put together for his teachers al-Sirāj ʿUmar al-Bulqīnī (d. 805/1405) and Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Marāghī (d. 816/1413). The most valuable collections seem to be those that he compiled for his closest teachers, the already mentioned al-Tanūkhī and al-Zayn al-ʿIrāqī. For the first, Ibn Ḥajar compiled the *Miʾa al-ʿushārīyāt*, which also bears the title *al-Laʾālī bi-l-miʾa al-ʿawālī*. According to al-Sakhāwī, Ibn Ḥajar compiled this *ʿawālī* collection of one hundred ten-link chains in 796/1394 and it was the first collection he put together for his teachers. Since al-Burhān Ibrāhīm al-Tanūkhī (d. 800/1397) was recognized as a hadith scholar with shortest chains of transmission in his time and generation (*ṭabaqa*), the collection had particular value for Ibn Ḥajar as a testimony of his scholarly capability. Accordingly, the official reading one year later in 797/1395 was celebrated in a mosque. Later, Ibn Ḥajar even collected an additional *forty hadith* with short chains for al-Tanūkhī, entitled *al-ʿAwālī al-tāliya li-l-miʾa al-ʿāliya*. An additional feature of these two collections was the fact that all hadiths included were categorized either as a fair (*ḥasan*) or an authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) hadith.[48] For al-Zayn al-ʿIrāqī, Ibn Ḥajar also compiled a ten-link collection of sixty hadiths, that was celebrated as much as the collection for al-Tanūkhī. Later, Ibn Ḥajar added to this collection forty ten-link hadiths to complete one hundred ten-link hadiths for al-ʿIrāqī.[49]

One can barely oversee the vast interest Ibn Ḥajar had in the ten-link hadiths of his teachers. With al-Zayn al-ʿIrāqī, al-Burhān al-Tanūkhī, and the *forty* collection for al-Sirāj al-Bulqīnī, which also consists of ten-link hadiths, he compiled these types of *ʿawālī* collections for three of his teachers. On the one hand, this certainly highlights the high status his teachers had within the *ṭabaqāt* system. For this generation, the ten-link hadith was the shortest chain possible. On the other hand, it also emphasizes the high status of Ibn Ḥajar as well.

During his scholarly career, he managed to collect hadith that also have a ten-link chain. For this, Ibn Ḥajar did not have to travel far. Of the ten hadiths he listed in his collection entitled *al-Aḥādīth al-ʿashara al-ʿushārīya al-ikhtiyārīya*, Ibn Ḥajar acquired six in Cairo and four in Damascus. He even maintained personal contact to all narrators with which he either read (*qirāʾatan*) or from

48 See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir*, ii, 670; Gharaibeh, "Brokerage and Interpersonal Relationships in Scholarly Networks" 253–254.

49 See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir*, ii, 671; Gharaibeh, "Brokerage and Interpersonal Relationships in Scholarly Networks" 254.

whom he heard (*akhbaranā*, *anbaʾanā*) the hadiths. However, due to the focus on the shortness of the chain, Ibn Ḥajar had to accept some compromises regarding the classification of the hadith and the topics. None of the hadiths that Ibn Ḥajar included in this collection reached the status of a sound narration (*ṣaḥīḥ*). Therefore, Ibn Ḥajar invests much effort to comment on each hadith with regard to the trustworthiness of the narrator and the existence of supporting narrations.[50]

The topics of the hadiths all differ from each other, and there is no coherence between them. Hadith #1 treats the distribution of the spoils of war at the day of Ḥunayn (classified as *ḥasan gharīb*). In hadith #2 Jamra bt. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yarbūʿīya, a companion of the Prophet, tells the story of her being brought to the Prophet in her childhood for Him to pray for her (classified as *ḥasan*), while hadith #3 contains God's promise that He does not take the eyesight of His believers without rewarding them with paradise (classified as *ḥasan*). Hadith #4 describes how the Prophet used to perform the ablution (*wuḍūʾ*) and is classified as *gharīb*, and hadith #5 reports that Anas b. Mālik used to ride on a horse wearing a hat every Friday (classified as *ḥasan mawqūf* [ending with the Companion]). Similar to hadith #5, hadith #6 also goes back to a statement of a Companion of the Prophet who said that he witnessed the prayer to the two directions, i. e. to Jerusalem and to Mecca. In hadith #7, the Prophet says that His community is divided into five generations (*khams ṭabaqāt*), this hadith is classified as *ḍaʿīf*. A companion recites a poem in hadith #8 (classified as *gharīb* or even *ḍaʿīf*), while the Prophet fed His Companions with a dish that was prepared by Umm Sulaym in hadith #9 (classified as *gharīb*). Hadith #10 concludes the collection with a tradition in which the Prophet informs His Companions about six advices that would lead everyone following them to Paradise (classified as *ḥasan*).[51]

3.2 *Example 2:* ʿAwālī al-Ṭaḥāwī *of Ibn Quṭlūbughā*

The previous example of the *ʿawālī* genre was a collection of absolute shortness. Ibn Ḥajar put together his own ten-link chains to demonstrate his high status within the *ṭabaqāt* system, especially in comparison to his teachers. As mentioned above, collections of absolute shortness (*ʿulūw muṭlaq*) were perceived as particularly valuable. However, due to the fact that scholars compared themselves to the authors of the canonical collections, the 'longest shortest' chains desirable consisted of ten links. Another way of gaining recognition and status

50 See Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Aḥādīth al-ʿashara al-ʿushārīya al-ikhtiyārīya*, ed. Firas Muhammad Walid Ways, Beirut: n. p., 2003, 19–20.

51 See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Aḥādīth al-ʿashara*, 21–47.

among the scholarly elite was, hence, the collection of short chains from other scholars. The following example is such a collection.

Although there were link-themed collections composed of former scholars' collections before, the case of Ibn Quṭlūbughā and his *ʿAwālī al-Ṭaḥāwī* is a special one for several reasons. As a student of Ibn Ḥajar, he naturally could only acquire eleven-link chains, so that the compilation of an *ʿawālī* collection from another scholar's collection seemed to be the only way for him to demonstrate his status. Ibn Quṭlūbughā adhered to the Ḥanafī school of law, which is worth mentioning since most of the hadith scholars belonged to either the Ḥanbalī or the Shāfiʿī school of law. This also gives some indications about the social function of the collection in the context of inter-madhhab rivalries. And, last but not least, the collection which he based his *ʿawālī* collection on was a rather unpopular one compared to the canonical collection.

Zayn al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAdl Qāsim b. Quṭlūbughā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Maṣrī al-Ashrafī al-Ḥanbalī was born in 802/1399 in Cairo. His father died shortly after the birth of Ibn Quṭlūbughā, leaving him an early orphan. Despite the early demise of his father, Ibn Quṭlūbughā enjoyed a religious education memorizing the Qurʾan and studying some disciplines under the tutelage of al-ʿIzz Muḥammad b. Jamāʿa (d. 819/1416), a prominent Shāfiʿī scholar of the 15th century. To support himself financially, Ibn Quṭlūbughā worked as a tailor, while, apparently, he continued his scholarly career. Following the footsteps of his father, he adhered to the Ḥanafī school of law, in which Ibn Quṭlūbughā became a master after years of studying. One of his most important teachers with whom he enjoyed a long-standing fellowship was Kamāl al-Dīn b. Humām (d. 861/1457).[52]

Besides the discipline of law, which seems to have been Ibn Quṭlūbughā's main field of expertise, he specialized also in hadith studies. Rather untypically for a Ḥanafī scholar, Ibn Quṭlūbughā intensively dedicated himself to the study of hadith. His principal teacher was Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī with whom he read several collections but also treatises on the hadith science. Among those

52 The main source for his biography is al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ*, iv, 184–190. See also Talal al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation and Binding Precedent in the Madhhab-Law Tradition. Ibn Quṭlūbughā's Commentary on The Compendium of Qudūrī*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017, 36–44. Al-Azem is also the first Western scholar who has dealt with Ibn Quṭlūbughā in detail focusing on his juridical legacy. A PhD thesis has been submitted at the University of Karachi (date unknown) on the life and work of Ibn Quṭlūbughā with an edition of his *Takhrīj aḥādīth Uṣūl al-Bazdawī*, see Muḥammad al-Ḥanbalī al-Najdī b. Qāsim, *al-Imām al-ḥāfiẓ Qāsim b. Quṭlūbughā al-Ḥanafī. Ḥayātuh wa-āthāruh maʿa taḥqīq kitābih Takhrīj aḥādīth al-Bazdawī*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Karachi University, Karachi: n. p., n. d.

writings were the treatises of Ibn Ḥajar himself, but also the *Muqaddima* of the famous Damascene Shāfiʿī scholar Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245). Besides the more common hadith collections such as the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, Ibn Quṭlūbughā had a particular interest in the few collections written by Ḥanafī scholars. In addition, he occupied himself with the Ḥanafī juridical works from the perspective of hadith studies. With this he could show his expertise in both fields and distinguish himself from his colleagues. While his Shāfiʿī acquaintances tended to focus on hadith studies, his Ḥanafī colleagues mainly engaged with jurisprudence. Ibn Quṭlūbughā's writings demonstrate clearly that he tried to combine both lines of scholarship. He compiled works that focused on the Ḥanafī hadith legacy such as *al-Amālī ʿalā Musnad Abī Ḥanafī*, *Tabwīb Musnad Abī Ḥanīfa*, *Tartīb Musnad Abī Ḥanīfa li-Ibn al-Muqriʾ ʿalā abwāb al-fiqh*, and *al-Ajwiba ʿan iʿtirāḍāt Ibn Abī Shayba ʿalā Abī Ḥanīfa fī l-ḥadīth*.[53]

In the field of Ḥanafī jurisprudence, Ibn Quṭlūbughā worked through the standard works of this discipline and identified the Prophetic traditions that were cited in these works. He performed the service of *takhrīj* for a couple of works of other disciplines as well, including mysticism, exegesis, and creed. Among those works that were dedicated to Ḥanafī *fiqh* are *Bughyat al-rāʾid fī takhrīj aḥādīth Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafīya*, *Takhrīj aḥādīth Kanz al-wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat al-uṣūl*, *Takhrīj aḥādīth tafsīr Abī al-Layth al-Samarqandī*, *al-Taʿrīf al-ikhbār bi-takhrīj aḥādīth al-Ikhtiyār*, and *Munyat al-Almaʿī fī mā fāta min takhrīj aḥādīth al-Hidāya li-l-Zaylaʿī*.[54] Ibn Quṭlūbughā also addressed the field of *ʿilm al-rijāl*, i. e. the biographies of narrators, where he authored a couple of works. These demonstrate that his activities within the hadith studies needed to be taken seriously and were more than just a temporary excursion. Among those works the following should be mentioned: *al-Ihtimām al-kullī bi-iṣlāḥ thiqāt al-ʿAjalī*, *al-Īthār bi-rijāl Maʿānī al-Āthār*, *Tāj al-tarājim fī man ṣannafa min al-Ḥanafīya*, *Tarājim mashāyikh shuyūkh al-ʿaṣr*, *Tarājim mashāyikh al-mashāyikh*, *Tartīb al-tamyīz li-l-Jawzaqānī*, *Tartīb al-Irshād fī ʿulamāʾ al-bilād*, *Taqwīm al-Lisān fī l-ḍuʿafāʾ*, *al-Thiqāt mimman lam yaqaʿ fī l-kutub al-sitta*, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā al-Taqrīb li-Ibn Ḥajar*, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā al-Muthbita li-Ibn Ḥajar*, *Rijāl al-Muwaṭṭaʾ bi-riwāyat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan*, *Rijāl al-Āthār li-Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī*, and *Rijāl Musnad Abī Ḥanīfa li-Ibn al-Muqriʾ*.[55]

The collection that is of interest here is a selection of short-chain hadiths taken from the hadith work of Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933). Al-Ṭaḥāwī was born in Egypt in 239/853. He began his scholarly career with a Shāfiʿī education,

53 See Ibn Qāsim, *al-Imām*, 76 and 82.

54 See Ibn Qāsim, *al-Imām*, 82–87.

55 See Ibn Qāsim, *al-Imām*, 87–93.

which has much to do with his father, Muḥammad b. Salāma, being himself a respected Shāfiʿī hadith scholar. In addition to this, his uncle was a famous student of al-Shāfiʿī himself, Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā al-Muzanī (d. 264/878). He introduced him into the Shāfiʿī jurisprudence and the hadith studies in extensive detail. However, ironically, al-Muzanī also became the reason al-Ṭaḥāwī turned away from the Shāfiʿī school and became a prominent Ḥanafī scholar. According to an anecdote, al-Muzanī once told the young al-Ṭaḥāwī that nothing good will come from him. Furious about this comment, al-Ṭaḥāwī turned to the Ḥanafī school and became one of its most prolific representatives.[56]

What distinguished al-Ṭaḥāwī from his other Ḥanafī colleagues was his engagement in hadith studies. Two works became particularly prominent among his Ḥanafī colleagues and within the Ḥanafī school. These are the *Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār* and the *Bayān mushkil al-āthār*. The first work deals with hadiths that were frequently cited by members of other schools of law, mainly the Shāfiʿī school, though, or that seem to contradict each other. Al-Ṭaḥāwī, hence, arranged this work according to the chapters of works of jurisprudence. Each listed hadith is discussed by al-Ṭaḥāwī, analyzed from different perspectives, and the Ḥanafī position is usually favored.[57] Similarly, the *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār* also deals with contradictory hadiths and those narrations that are difficult to comprehend. Since it does not deal exclusively with topics of jurisprudence, the work is not structured after fiqh chapters, but rather groups hadith of same topics together.[58]

Ibn Quṭlūbughā's collection of *ʿAwālī ḥadīth Abī Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī* is exclusively based on the latter's *Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār*. He extracted from the *Sharḥ* the shortest chains, which consist of four links. Other than the aim to collect the four-link chains, there seem to be no other criterion that underlies Ibn Quṭlūbughā's collection. The twenty-three Prophetic narrations he extracted all touch on different topics. In addition to this number of Prophetic narrations, Ibn Quṭlūbughā also included one narration that goes back to the Companion Anas b. Mālik. The topics vary from prayer (*ṣalāt*), the Prophet's model function, trade, etiquette of eating, the *ḥijāb*-verse, how to name children, cupping (*ḥijāma*), prohibition of alcohol, donations, and riding of working animals.[59]

56 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Ḥassān ʿAbd al-Mannān, 3 vols., Amman: Muʾassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Thaqāfīya, 2004, i, 979–980.

57 See Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn, 4 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 2001.

58 See Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ, 16 vols., Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1994.

59 Ibn Quṭlūbughā (Zayn al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAdl Qāsim b. Quṭlūbughā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Maṣrī al-

The hadiths appear in the *ʿAwālī* in a different order than they are included in the *Sharḥ*, begging the question whether there is a logic or a wisdom behind Ibn Quṭlūbughā's order. The hadiths #1–8, and #10 were taken from the first volume of the *Sharḥ*, hadith #17 and #22 from the second, hadith #12, #18, and #20 from the third, and hadith #9, #11, #13–16, #19, #21, and #23–24 are from the fourth and last volume.[60]

Ibn Quṭlūbughā narrates the hadith included in the *ʿAwālī* through a single chain with which he read al-Ṭaḥāwī's *Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār*. **Figure 5.1** shows the chain that connects Ibn Quṭlūbughā to the entire *Sharḥ*.[61] It also indicates the type of transmission between the single narrators:

Ibn Quṭlūbughā's effort does not only restrict to the extraction of the four-link chains in al-Ṭaḥāwī's *Sharḥ*. He rather demonstrates his expertise in the hadith studies as well as his own status within the transmission system by providing information about who included the hadith in his collection (*takhrīj*) for the hadiths #1–3, and #5. The selection of and focus on these four hadiths, of course, is not random. Ibn Quṭlūbughā's motivation stems from the goal to demonstrate the high status of al-Ṭaḥāwī within the transmission system through the latter's absolute short chains (*ʿulūw muṭlaq*), as well as his own status through his relational short chains (*ʿulūw nisbī*), i. e. in relation to the other (canonical) collections.[62] With regard to the four aspects of relational shortness introduced above, namely equivalence (*musāwā*), handshaking (*muṣāfaḥa*), agreement (*muwāfaqa*), and substitution (*badal*), only the last two could be of interest here, since Ibn Quṭlūbughā does not maintain a chain of transmission shorter than eleven links. Of the other two, Ibn Quṭlūbughā could only achieve one agreement with al-Bukhārī with hadith #2. Nevertheless, for hadith #1, #3, and #5 he points out that he still managed to achieve a relational shortness.

As for the first hadith, Ibn Quṭlūbughā compares it with the narration in *Ṣaḥīḥ* Muslim as well as with the narrations in the collections of Abū Dawūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasāʾī, and Ibn Māja. Their chains meet with the chain of

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Ashrafī al-Ḥanbalī), *ʿAwālī ḥadīth Abī Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī*, in Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shatwī, "'Awālī ḥadīth al-Imām Abī Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī (239–321). Jamaʿahā al-shaykh al-imām al-ʿallāma Abū l-ʿAdl Zayn al-Dīn Qāsim Quṭlūbughā al-Ḥanafī (802–879)—dirāsa wa-taḥqīq," in *Majallat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿīya* 19 (1432/2011), 95–156, 120–151.

60 Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shatwī, "'Awālī ḥadīth al-Imām Abī Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī (239–321). Jamaʿahā al-shaykh al-imām al-ʿallāma Abū l-ʿAdl Zayn al-Dīn Qāsim Quṭlūbughā al-Ḥanafī (802–879)—dirāsa wa-taḥqīq," in *Majallat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿīya* 19 (1432/2011), 95–156, 106.

61 Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *ʿAwālī* 120.

62 Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *ʿAwālī* 121–124, and 127.

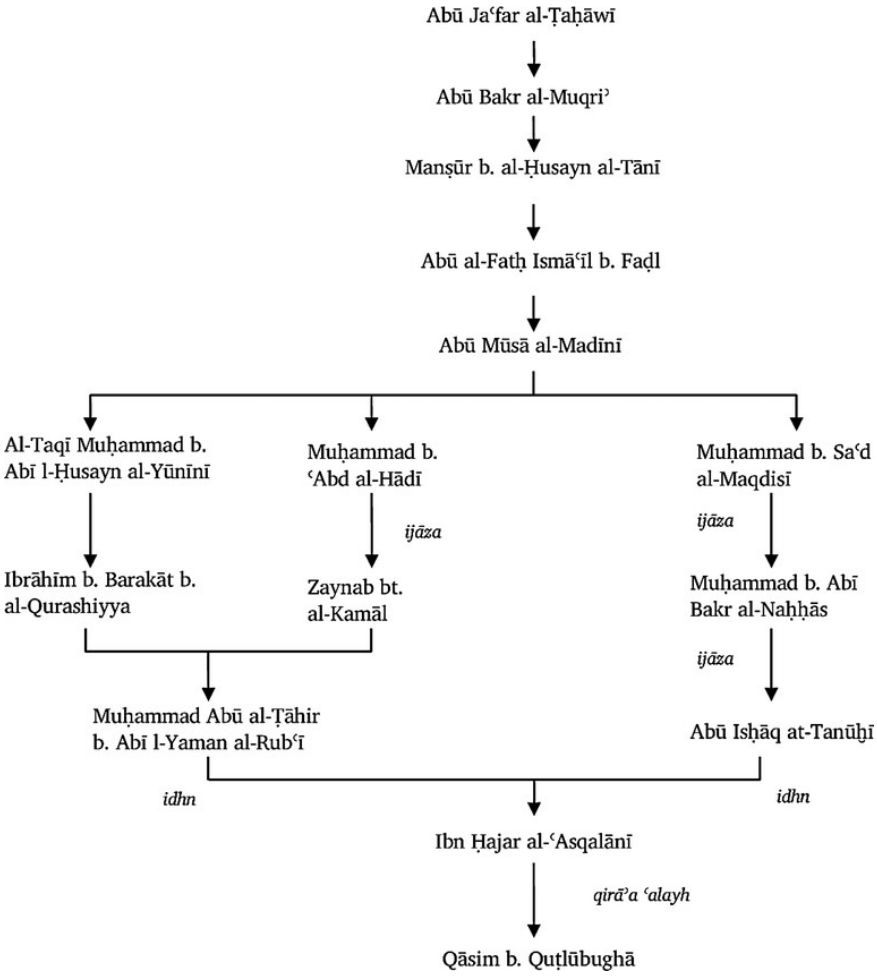

FIGURE 5.1 Transmission chain connecting al-Ṭaḥāwī to Ibn Quṭlūbughā, indicating the type of transmission between the single narrators

al-Ṭaḥāwī at the Successor (*tābiʿī*) Ḥumayd.[63] The chains of al-Ṭaḥāwī, Muslim, and others look as follows:

Al-Ṭaḥāwī ← Abū Bakra ← ʿAbd Allāh b. Bakr ← **Ḥumayd** ← Anas b. Mālik ← Prophet

Muslim ← Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā and Abū Bakr ← Hashīm ← ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb and **Ḥumayd**

63 Abū ʿUbayda Ḥumayd b. Abī Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl (d. 143/760), a famous successor who narrated many hadiths. See for his biography al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, ii, 1575–1576.

Abū Dawūd ← Mūsā ← Ḥammād ← **Ḥumayd**
Al-Tirmidhī ← al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Zaʿfarānī ← ʿAffān ← Ḥammād ← **Ḥumayd**
Al-Nasāʾī ← ʿAlī b. Ḥajar ← Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar ← **Ḥumayd**
Ibn Māja ← Naṣr b. ʿAlī ← ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī ← **Ḥumayd**[64]

Ibn Quṭlūbughā seems to be interested in two aspects of this hadith or its chain, respectively. First, al-Ṭaḥāwī could narrate this hadith with a similar number as Muslim, i. e. with four narrators. In addition, both, al-Ṭaḥāwī and Muslim, at least meet at Ḥumayd, and so do all the other compilators. The second aspect relates to the relational shortness. At the end of the hadith, Ibn Quṭlūbughā states that "it is as if he narrated the hadith from the teachers of his teachers."[65] Apparently, Ibn Quṭlūbughā indicates with this expression that his chain of transmission through al-Ṭaḥāwī seems to be shorter by two narrators in comparison to the common or his own chains through Muslim and the compilators of the other known collections. This aspect can only be concluded upon Ibn Quṭlūbughā's own remark. One can only assume that his colleagues must have been familiar with the necessary information to value his personal chain.

The hadiths #3 and #5 show similar characteristics as the first hadith. Here too, Ibn Quṭlūbughā was neither able to achieve an agreement (*muwāfaqa*) nor a substitution (*badal*). The chains of transmission are as follows:

Hadith #3 in comparison to al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja:

Al-Ṭaḥāwī ← ʿAlī b. Maʿbad ← ʿAbd Allāh b. Bakr ← **Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl** ← Anas b. Mālik ← Prophet
Al-Nasāʾī ← ʿAlī b. Ḥajar ← Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar ← **Ḥumayd**
Ibn Māja ← Ibn al-Mathnā ← Khālid ← **Ḥumayd**[66]

Hadith #5 in comparison to al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja, too:

Al-Ṭaḥāwī ← ʿAlī b. Maʿbad ← ʿAbd Allāh b. Bakr ← **Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl** ← Anas b. Mālik ← Prophet (same as in hadith #3)
Al-Nasāʾī ← [Ibn] al-Mathnā ← Khālid ← **Ḥumayd**
Ibn Māja ← Naṣr b. ʿAlī ← al-Thaqafī ← **Ḥumayd**[67]

64 See Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *ʿAwālī* 121.
65 Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *ʿAwālī* 121.
66 See Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *ʿAwālī* 124.
67 See Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *ʿAwālī* 127.

In all three cases, i. e. #1, #3, and #5, the chains meet at the Successor Ḥumayd. In the last two cases, i. e. #1, #3, Ibn Quṭlūbughā comments the comparison of chains with the remark that "[w]ith this, we ascend one step" (*fa-ʿalawnā fīh daraja*).[68] Although he could neither achieve an agreement (*muwāfaqa*) nor a substitution (*badal*), these two chains still are of value for Ibn Quṭlūbughā. Apparently, he indicates with this expression that his chain of transmission through al-Ṭaḥāwī seems to be shorter by one narrator in comparison to the common or his own chains through al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja, so that it is as if he equals his teachers.

As for the second hadith in the *ʿAwālī hadith Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī*, Ibn Quṭlūbughā could achieve an agreement (*muwāfaqa*). Ibn Quṭlūbughā states the following:

> [Al-Ṭaḥāwī says], "ʿAlī b. Maʿbad narrates to us from Makkī b. Ibrāhīm through Yazīd b. Abī ʿUbayd through Salama b. al-Ukūʿ that he said: 'We prayed the evening prayer (*maghrib*) together with the Prophet after the sun went down.' Al-Bukhārī has narrated this hadith trough Makkī so that we obtained a high agreement (*muwāfaqa ʿāliya*), since this is one of the shortest chains in the Ṣaḥīḥ—Praise be to Allāh."[69]

The chains of al-Ṭaḥāwī and al-Bukhārī in comparison go as follows:

> Al-Ṭaḥāwī ← ʿAlī b. Maʿbad ← **Makkī b. Ibrāhīm** ← Yazīd b. Abī ʿUbayd ← Salama b. al-Ukūʿ ← Prophet
> Al-Bukhārī ← **Makkī b. Ibrāhīm** ← Yazīd b. Abī ʿUbayd ← Salama b. al-Ukūʿ ← Prophet

As one can see now, the chains from the Prophet to Makkī b. Ibrāhīm in both collections, *Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār* and *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, are similar. While al-Bukhārī, hence, narrates this hadith with a three-link chain, al-Ṭaḥāwī narrates it with a four-link chain. In terms of the absolute shortness, al-Bukhārī's chain is obviously shorter. However, what concerns Ibn Quṭlūbughā here is not the absolute but the relational shortness. For this, the relevant part of the chain is not the first one, i. e. from the Prophet to Makkī, but rather the second one, i. e. from Makkī to Ibn Quṭlūbughā. Ibn Quṭlūbughā found in the narration through al-Ṭaḥāwī a chain that agrees (*muwāfaqa*) with al-Bukhārī in his teacher Makkī b. Ibrāhīm. In addition, Ibn Quṭlūbughā's chain through al-

68 See Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *ʿAwālī* 124 and 127.
69 See Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *ʿAwālī* 123.

Ṭaḥāwī is shorter than that through al-Bukhārī. Therefore, he states that he has achieved a high agreement.[70]

In addition to these peculiarities of the collection, Ibn Quṭlūbughā might have had another motivation to compile this *ʿawālī*-work. This becomes apparent if we look at the broader context of the hadith studies and the scholarly scene in Cairo at that time in general. Since the 3rd/9th century, Ḥanbalī and Shāfiʿī scholars dominated the hadith transmission and hadith studies. This becomes obvious with a look at the hadith collections, treatises on the hadith science (*ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*), and the biographical dictionaries (*rijāl* works) that were produced at this time until the 7th/14th century. Even the canonization process together with its text sorts, such as *ʿilal*, *mustakhraj*, *mustadrak*, and *aṭrāf* works, were almost exclusively compiled by Shāfiʿī scholars,[71] which also displays the situation in Cairo from the 12th to the 14th century. Ibn Quṭlūbughā's affiliation to the Ḥanafī school of law needs to be emphasized here. It seems as if Ibn Quṭlūbughā wanted to draw the attention of the Cairene scholarly elite to the accomplishments of Ḥanafī scholars within the hadith studies.

Ibn Quṭlūbughā's efforts to promote Ḥanafī hadith scholarship can be seen in a larger movement that rose in Cairo. A number of Ḥanafī scholars began engaging in hadith studies more actively from about the 7th/14th century onward. Mamluk sultans and amirs invited Ḥanafī scholars to Cairo and promoted them during this time, so that there was an increasing influx of Ḥanafī scholars to the city. This resulted in an inter-madhhab rivalry between the foreign (Turkish) Ḥanafī scholars and the (Arab) Shāfiʿī local elite.[72] To be able to compete with the local elite, Ḥanafī scholars engaged in hadith studies as well. Several scholars can be named here. Early scholars were ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Turkmānī (d. 750/1349),[73] Mughulṭāy b. Qalīj (d. 762/1361),[74] and Jamāl al-Dīn

70 See Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *ʿAwālī* 123.

71 In his study on the canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, in which he analyzed the network of scholars involved in the canonization together with their writings, Brown reached the conclusion that the canonization was actually a Shāfiʿī enterprise. See Brown, *Canonization* 135–143.

72 See for this Michael Winter, "Inter-Madhhab Competition in Mamlūk Damascus. Al-Ṭarsūsī's Counsel for the Turkish Sultans," in *JSAI* 25 (2001), 195–211, for similar developments in Damascus; and Amalia Levanoni, "Who Were the 'Salt of the Earth' in Fifteenth-Century Egypt?," *MSR* 14.1 (2010), 1–22.

73 For his biography see Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina*, 4 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 1997, iii, 84–85; and idem, *Rafʿ al-Iṣr ʿan quḍāt Miṣr*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1998, 277–278; Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, 29 vols., ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnaʾūṭ and Turkī Muṣṭafā, Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2000, xxi, 205–206.

74 For a comprehensive biography of Mughulṭāy see the introduction of the editor of Ibn

ʿAbd Allāh al-Zaylaʿī (d. 775/1373), while later scholars include al-Kamāl b. Humām (d. 861/1457), al-Badr al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1453),[75] and Ibn Quṭlūbughā. While Ibn al-Turkmānī and Mughulṭāy, for example, commented on the *Muqaddima* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ—a text on the hadith sciences particularly popular among Shāfiʿī scholars and traditionalists—, Mughulṭāy also authored a commentary on *Sunan Ibn Māja*, and al-Zaylaʿī performed the service of *takhrīj* upon the *Hidāya*, a standard text for Ḥanafī *fiqh*. Ibn Humām, too, engaged with the *Hidāya*, but wrote a commentary on it entitled *Fatḥ al-qadīr*, in which he introduced more hadiths to support the Ḥanafī position.[76] Al-Badr al-ʿAynī is another example of a Ḥanafī scholar who strongly engaged in the hadith studies. Besides his famous commentary on al-Bukhārī, *ʿUmdat al-qārī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, and his commentary on *Sunan Abī Dawūd*, he also authored a commentary on one of al-Ṭaḥāwī's collections. The commentary entitled *Tuḥfat al-afkār fī tanqīḥ mabānī al-akhbār fī Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār* includes twenty volumes in the printed edition.[77]

The *ʿAwālī ḥadīth Abī Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī* is, hence, not randomly put together but is part of a larger campaign of Ḥanafī scholars, who engaged in hadith studies to gain social and cultural capital and to compete with their Shāfiʿī colleagues in Cairo. This enterprise, in return, also influenced Shāfiʿī scholars in their works, too. Ibn Ḥajar had already received a permission to narrate the collection of al-Ṭaḥāwī through an *ijāza*, as can be seen in the *isnād* of Ibn Quṭlūbughā demonstrated above. Although he did not read this work with his teacher, he constantly refers to al-Ṭaḥāwī and the latter's opinions in his *Fatḥ al-bārī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. And his student, al-Sakhāwī, also referred frequently to al-Ṭaḥāwī's collection, for example in his *Buldānīya* collection.[78]

Therefore, the *ʿAwālī ḥadīth Abī Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī* is not only one of many other *ʿawālī* works. It serves Ibn Quṭlūbughā to demonstrate his own high status

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Qalīj: Mughulṭāy b. Qalīj, *Iṣlāḥ Kitāb Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ li-l-Imām al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Muḥaddith Abī ʿAbd Allāh ʿAlā al-Dīn Mughulṭāy. Maʿa dirāsa ʿan al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿAlā al-Dīn Mughulṭāy wa-juhūduh fī l-ḥadīth*, ed. by Nāṣir ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Faraj Aḥmad, Riyadh: Aḍwāʿ al-Salaf, 2007, 9–20. See also on him Monika Balda-Tillier, "The Forbidden Passion. Mughulṭāy's Book on the Martyrdom of Love and its Censorship," in *Al-Qantara* 35.1 (2014), 187–212.

75 See for his biography Shaun E. Marmon, al-ʿAynī, Badr al-Dīn, in *EI*^{3}, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd ed., Leiden: Brill, 2007.

76 See for an example of this the chapter on times of prayer (*mawāqīt al-ṣalāh*) in Muḥammad b. al-Humām, *Sharḥ Fatḥ al-Qadīr ʿalā al-Hidāya sharḥ Bidāyat al-mubtadī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Mahdī, 8 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 2003, 218–242.

77 See Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, *Tuḥfat al-afkār fī tanqīḥ mabānī al-akhbār fī Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār*, ed. Abū Tamīm Yāsir b. Ibrāhīm, 20 vols., Qaṭar: n. p., 2008.

78 See Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *al-Buldānīyāt*, ed. Ḥusām al-Qaṭṭān, Riyadh: Dār al-ʿAṭāʾ, 2001, 52–53.

in the transmission system and also to compete with his Shāfiʿī colleagues. Furthermore, it is part of a larger campaign of Ḥanafī scholars in Cairo, aiming to highlight valuable contributions in the field of hadith studies by Ḥanafī scholars. The *ʿawālī*, therefore, is an innovative work from many perspectives.

4 Concluding Remarks

In the post-canonical hadith transmission, scholars and laypeople alike paid special attention to the chains of transmission and their variations. The shortness of chains of transmission was of particular interest since a short chain was perceived as a spiritual connection to the Prophet and an expression of proximity to Him. This led to the development of concepts that highlight the scholar's status within the transmission system. Although a scholar could achieve an absolute short chain of transmission consisting of three to ten links during the 3rd up to the 10th century, even the absolute shortness was usually set in relation to the canonical collections. Since the canonical collections' shortest chains consisted of three and the longest of ten links, scholars imitated them to show their high status and their agreement with the great collectors. A particularly peculiar characteristic of the post-canonical hadith transmission was the relative shortness (*ʿulūw nisbī*). Here, a scholar sets himself in relation to the canon with a chain of transmission that—taken for itself—has nothing out of the ordinary to offer.

Against this backdrop, it needs to be emphasized that the post-canonical hadith transmission in general and the *ʿawālī* genre in particular unfold their real significance when seen in the historical and social context of a certain scholar. The two case studies presented in this paper demonstrate this fact clearly.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī compiled a collection of ten hadiths, that, if taken out of the context, seems to be of no particular value. Neither is the content of the narrations very significant for theological debates, nor do the hadiths reach the status of sound narrations. The value of Ibn Ḥajar's *al-Aḥādīth al-ʿashara al-ʿushārīya al-ikhtiyārīya* reveals itself to the audience when it is set in the context of his time. During his educational years, Ibn Ḥajar made huge efforts to sift the material of his teachers, al-Tanūkhī, al-ʿIrāqī, and al-Bulqīnī, to collect their shortest and most valuable chains of transmission, yielding three collections that included ten-link chains for all three scholars. Those chains were perceived as the shortest chains possible for their time. With this, Ibn Ḥajar not only proved to be an excellent student and scholar of hadith. He also laid the groundwork for the demonstration of his own status. Collecting ten-

link narrations on his own meant that he became equal to his teachers, despite the natural age difference. Possessing these narrations, therefore, was a highly distinctive characteristic. And putting together this collection was an achievement the value of which only reveals itself in the context of Ibn Ḥajar's time and context.

Similarly, the collection of Ibn Quṭlūbughā needs to be seen in the context of his time to reveal its uniqueness and features. First, Ibn Quṭlūbughā adds to the already existing *ʿawālī* works a collection that has not been authored yet. *ʿAwālī* collections for scholars such as al-Bukhārī, Mālik b. Anas, or even Abū Ḥanīfa were already compiled multiple times up to Ibn Quṭlūbughā's time. However, a collection that contains the shortest chains of al-Ṭaḥāwī's work was a novum. No other scholar seemed to have invested effort to highlight this aspect of al-Ṭaḥāwī's collection. Therefore, Ibn Quṭlūbughā was credited for this service.

The second feature lies in the simple fact of four-link chains within this collection. This absolute shortness (*ʿulūw muṭlaq*) highlights the high status of al-Ṭaḥāwī within the transmission system. By connecting to these four-link chains with a personal chain of transmission, Ibn Quṭlūbughā—in the logic of the post-canonical transmission—adapts the proximity to the Prophet. In addition to that proximity to the Prophet, Ibn Quṭlūbughā also compares himself successfully to the canonical collections and their authors. This constitutes another feature that Ibn Quṭlūbughā attributes himself with and distinguishes himself from his Cairene colleagues.

A third aspect of this collection is Ibn Quṭlūbughā's wish and efforts to promote Ḥanafī hadith scholarship within the field of hadith scholarship in Cairo that was dominated by Shāfiʿī scholars. His collection should highlight valuable contributions in the field of hadith studies by Ḥanafī scholars as well as it was an attempt to gain social and cultural capital and to compete with his Shāfiʿī colleagues in Cairo.

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CHAPTER 6

For the Love of the Prophet

Faḍā'il *in the Early Modern Ottoman Context*

Dženita Karić

This article investigates premodern Ottoman devotional uses of hadith in *faḍā'il* works. The focus of the analysis is on the *faḍā'il* treatise of the Ottoman Bosnian author Ḥasan Imām-zāde al-Būsnawī titled *Dalīl al-sā'irīn ilā ziyārat Ḥabīb rabb al-ʿālamīn* (*A Guidebook to the Visitors of the Beloved of the Lord of the Worlds*).[1] After an overview of the genre and its Ottoman fate, I discuss the employment of hadith in Imām-zāde al-Būsnawī's work and how the arguments in favor of the Prophet focus on emotional, intercessional, and spatial aspects, with the ultimate aim of promoting the *ziyāra* and residing (*mujāwara*) in Medina. This sheds light on dimensions of Prophet-oriented devotional life in the early modern Ottoman period which heavily relied on an array of hadith literature and pre-Ottoman intellectual production.

1 Introduction

The recent shift of research focus in Islamic Studies (broadly conceived) in English language to questions of political and social underpinnings of hadith literature[2] has been most productive for a wider range of disciplines, including Ottoman studies. What close readings of hadith collections and compilations brought to light was the way in which the seeming timelessness of the hadith text contrasted with particular theological, political, or social causes

1 For a shorter analysis of this *faḍā'il* treatise in the context of the changing discourses on the pilgrimage, see Dženita Karić, *Bosnian Hajj Literature: Multiple Paths to the Holy,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022, 50–59. For more information on the Ottoman Bosnian context of the treatise, see: Dženita Karić, "Djelo 'Dalīl al-sā'irīn' Imām-zāde Ḥasana al-Būsnawīja i fadā'ilska literatura: tekstualni autoritet i sveti prostor," in *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, (2015), 51–87.

2 The term 'hadith literature' itself is contested, in common scholarly use referring to—as Stephen Burge emphasizes—"an atemporal body of literature," which is, however, still grounded in a particular "temporal and historical context." Stephen R. Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature.' What Is It and Where Is It?," in *Arabica* 65.1–2 (2018), 64–83, 68.

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and circumstances of its use.[3] In that regard, *faḍā'il* collections on regions and cities proved to be an extremely fertile source for investigation of the connection between atemporality of hadith text, social and political context, textual authorities, and rhetorical techniques.[4]

The *faḍā'il* compilations of hadith which originated in the first centuries after the Prophet's death spread widely and retained their popularity up to the modern age. The resilience of this genre can be ascribed to the multiplicity of themes it could contain, variable length of the produced works, and, significantly, its incorporation of various hadith beyond the criteria of authenticity. This widely positioned framework of the *faḍā'il* genre allowed it to be used in different intellectual spaces and for sets of purposes, including gaining social precedence in political contexts.[5] Yet, despite the pervading presence of the genre in a range of different contexts, its functionality—especially in the postclassical period—has been almost completely neglected. What types of *faḍā'il* were composed in the Ottoman period, how the earlier material was recombined, what the textual sources of compilations were, and what the genre meant in devotional lives are just some of the questions that await their answers. Thus, this paper will look closer at one Ottoman *faḍā'il* in praise of Medina, in order to shed light on the thematical use of hadith in Prophet-oriented devotion, as well as to look at the intellectual framework this treatise uses to promote the *ziyāra*. Before turning to the analysis, we need to briefly situate the genre, the author and the *faḍā'il* in question in its thematic and historical contexts.

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3 In relation to the formative period of Shi'ī theology and the role of hadith, Andrew Newman writes that circumstances "clearly informed the selection process." See more in Andrew J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism. Ḥadīth as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad*, Richmond: Curzon, 2000, 51; and Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature'" 69.

4 One notable example is the examination of the *faḍā'il al-Shām* literature in the period before the Crusades in Paul Cobb, "Virtual Sacrality: Making Muslim Syria Sacred Before the Crusades," in *Medieval Encounters* 8.1 (2002), 35–55. For a different approach to a later period, see the social implications of the production of hadith literature by the Mamluk scholars in Mohammad Gharaibeh, "The *Buldāniyyāt* of as-Saḫāwī (d. 902/1496). A Case Study on Knowledge Specialization and Knowledge Brokerage in the Field of Ḥadīṯ Collections," in Stephan Conermann (ed.), *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517)*, Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2016, 81–105, 87–105.

5 The tension between atemporality of the general framework of the genre and "richly circumstantial applied genres that were context-engaged, historically specific and linguistically stratified" is present on a wider scale in Islamic textual history, as Brinkley Messick shows by observing Sharia traditions. See more in Brinkley Messick, "Islamic Texts: The Anthropologist as Reader," in Léon Buskens and Annemarie van Sandwijk (eds.), *Islamic Studies in the Twenty-First Century: Transformations and Continuities*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Pres, 2016, 29–46, 32–34.

2 *Faḍā'il*, hadith, and the World

As the name of the genre expresses, the *faḍā'il* are dedicated to description of the virtues of a particular subject.[6] Through the study of the ways in which a virtue or precedence was formulated, it is possible to observe practices of inclusion and exclusion of certain textual elements (such as the hadith). The hadith, in the context of this genre, serves as the main bolstering argument for the discussion of the topic at hand together with the Qur'an. Since the hadith possessed a significant religious and social value, recognized by both the compiler and his audience, numerous ways of manipulation of the hadith material could occur. The proliferation of the hadith for various purposes throughout history, consequently, provoked reactions of the hadith scholars who tried to curb that practice.[7]

The topics that *faḍā'il* dealt with were diverse, starting from the compilations of hadith praising the *ṣaḥāba*, the Qur'an, different rituals and time periods in which they were observed (e. g. Ramaḍān), religious wars, certain ethnicities, to the widely popular *faḍā'il* of places and regions.[8] Some *faḍā'il* were also part of larger works belonging to other genres. Translations of *faḍā'il* to other languages, such as Turkish and Persian, suggest wide appeal of the genre beyond the domains of the scholarly elites. While there is a multitude of texts belonging to the *faḍā'il* genre in the archives and libraries across the world, and as the vast number of these remain in manuscript form, more studies are needed to explain how these works functioned in the context of Islamic literacy and devotional piety.

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6 See the overview of the genre in Rudolf Sellheim, Faḍīla, in *EI*, Leiden: Brill, 1991. A growing list of studies in English language on *faḍā'il* includes Asma Afsaruddin, "Excellences Literature," in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, eds. Josef W. Meri and Jere L. Bacharach, New York and London: Routledge, 2006, 244–245; eadem, *Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Islamic Discourse on Legitimate Leadership*, Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 2002. The *faḍā'il* was also in focus of studies related to Jerusalem in works of Ofer Livne Kafri, Amikam Elad, and others; see also Kāmil Jamīl al-ʿAsalī, *Makhṭuṭāt faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis: dirasāt wa-bibliyugrāfiya*, ʿAmmān: Maǧmaʿ al-Luġa al-ʿArabīya al-Urdunīya, 1981. Recently, the *faḍā'il* of Medina have been in focus of Harry Munt's study *The Holy City of Medina: Sacred Space in Early Islamic Arabia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

7 This was explored in particular with regard to the *faḍā'il* tradition of Bayt al-Maqdis. See Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship, Holy Ceremonies, Pilgrimage*, Leiden: Brill, 1995, 6–22.

8 There has been a steady increase in academic attention related to different types of *faḍā'il*. See, for example Asma Afsaruddin, "The Excellences of the Qur'ān: Textual Sacrality and the Organization of Early Islamic Society," in *JAOS* 122.1 (2002), 1–24; and eadem, "In Praise of the Caliphs: Re-Creating History from the Manaqib Literature," in *IJMES* 31.3 (1999), 329–350.

While the genre itself is very wide and flexible, some of the *faḍā'il* texts can be observed in the framework of Prophet-oriented devotional literature, with its focus being on hadith, centering of the Prophet's personality through employment of His biography and descriptions, and implicit or explicit encouragement of practices that increase love and respect towards Him. Similarly, and possibly to a lesser extent, it could be employed for luminaries from Islamic religious history, such as the Companions or the *awliyā'*. There is a close connection of the *faḍā'il* to other devotional genres; authors such as Abū l-Buḥturī (d. 200/815) wrote *faḍā'il* together with *mawlid* (dedicated to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib), *akhbār*, and works of genealogy.[9] The similarity between *faḍā'il* and other devotional works in the context of literature dedicated to the Prophet Muḥammad would be in the particular ordering of narrative elements with the aim to inspire an emotion or a religious practice,[10] or to cultivate a particular emotional regime[11] or, more broadly, emotional style.[12] While the comparison between the *mawlid* and the *faḍā'il* needs to be explored in more detail elsewhere, it should to be emphasized that both genres throughout their long history relied on established scholarly sources which engaged with the Qur'an and the hadith.[13]

Faḍā'il treatises, similarly to works on *miʿrāj* or the Prophet's Night Journey, could use a wide range of source material and thus could be adjusted to different levels of reading audiences.[14] In the context of *faḍā'il* works in Arabic in the Ottoman period, it could be argued that the reading audience had to be relatively well educated; however, a number of the *faḍā'il* works were also

9 See Marion Katz, *The Birth of the Prophet Muḥammad: Devotional Piety in Sunni Islam*, London and New York: Routledge, 2007, 6.

10 In the context of *mawlid*, Marion Katz discusses the "devotional model of the Prophet's biography" or the selection of events from the Prophet's biography for devotional purposes, see Katz, *Birth of the Prophet* 8. Likewise, some of the events from the Prophet's life but also the early Muslim community, according to the *aḥādīth*, were also carefully chosen for the purposes of establishing the *faḍā'il*, as this article shows.

11 The term coined by William M. Reddy in 2001 here refers to mechanisms of cultivation of "normative emotions" and the ways and manners in which they are expressed. William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 129.

12 "'Emotional styles' encompass, instead, the experience, fostering, and display of emotions, and oscillate between discursive patterns and embodied practices as well as between common scripts and specific appropriations." Benno Gammerl, "Emotional Styles—Concepts and Challenges," in *Rethinking History* 16.2 (2012), 161–175, 163.

13 Katz, *Birth of the Prophet* 1.

14 Likewise, with the textual sources which were used. While some of the *faḍā'il* written in this period used more controversial stories on cosmogony, the *faḍā'il* treatise which will be analyzed in more detail used more widely accepted Prophetic narrations.

translated into Ottoman Turkish, which indicates that the intended reading public had to be wider and more diverse.[15] And finally, the large number of prayers that are interspersed throughout the *faḍā'il* treatises speak about its primary devotional purpose, offering the reader designed formula for attaining blessings (*baraka*).[16]

While *faḍā'il* literature created during the Ottoman period has not been studied in a significant manner, it is possible to suggest that major types of the genre were written until the 20th century. Thus, compilations written in praise of rituals, months, and knowledge (*'ilm*) are abundant in the Ottoman manuscript libraries, but with the important addition of *faḍā'il* works on *jihād* (significantly appearing at different points of the Ottoman history) and on the virtues of the Ottoman family. However, it should not be presumed that the categories of the *faḍā'il* were sharply divided. In the 17th century, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, an Indian scholar from Hijaz, wrote his work titled *al-I'lām bi-a'lām Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām* on the history of Mecca. He combined the praise of Mecca with detailed history of the ruling dynasties that controlled the holy place (the Abbasids, the Mamluks, and the Ottomans), while especially celebrating the sultans of his own time. Prompted by the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, the Ottoman poet Baki translated the work into Ottoman Turkish under the title *Fezail-i Mekke*.[17]

The works in praise of both the holy places and the ruling Ottoman dynasty were not rare. The Ottoman supervision of the hajj, combined with a peculiar chiliastic atmosphere of the 10th/16th century, inspired several works in praise of the dynasty in the form of a *faḍā'il* of holy places. At the same time, the *faḍā'il* dedicated specifically to the virtues of Mecca, Medina, or Jerusalem were also in circulation, ranging from religious manuals intended for the wider audi-

15 The famous Ottoman polymath Kātib Çelebi gives an extensive list of different *faḍā'il* that circulated in the early modern period, including information on the *faḍā'il* translated into Ottoman Turkish. Muṣṭafā Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn 'an asāmī al-kutub wa-l-funūn*, eds. Muhammad Sharaf al-Din Yaltkaya and Rif'at Bilkah al-Kilisi, 2 vols., Beirut: n. p., 1941, 1274–1280, ii.

16 While the contemporary scholarship paid significant attention to the question of *baraka* and how the Prophet's body functions in its transmission, the connection between virtue (*faḍīla*) and *baraka* remains to be explored. On the *baraka* and the Prophet's body see Michael Muhammad Knight, *Muhammad's Body: Baraka Networks and the Prophetic Assemblage*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020.

17 See more in Halil Sercan Koşik, "Baki'nin Arapçadan Tercüme Mensur Bir Eseri: Fezā'il-i Mekke Yahut el-İ'lām bi-A'lāmi Beledillāhi 'l-Harām Tercümesi," in *Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları* (2014), 131–148; also see Guy Burak, "Between Istanbul and Gujarat: Descriptions of Mecca in the Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean," in *Muqarnas* (Vol. 34 (2017), 287–320, for a detailed analysis of the visual descriptions of the holy places in the 16th century, and the competing claims over these spaces in this period.

ence to elaborate Sufi treatises that explored the connection between the outer forms of the ritual and the inner meanings it carried. The popularity of these treatises, attested by their numerous copies, also speaks about a devotional culture of the early modern Ottoman period which was marked by "diverse forms of personal and collective devotion to Mohammad,"[18] both visual and textual. The spatial aspect of Prophet-oriented devotion or what exactly Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem meant to early modern Ottomans remains to be explored.

One of the numerous *faḍā'il* treatises from the early modern Ottoman period dedicated to the virtues of a holy place is the compilation *Dalīl al-sā'irīn ilā ziyārat Ḥabīb rabb al-ʿālamīn* (*A Guidebook to the Visitors of the Beloved of the Lord of the Worlds*) by Ḥasan Imām-zāde al-Būsnawī (around 1660) on the virtues of Medina. With the scant information we have and which is derived from the notes from the autograph of this work, now preserved in the Bosniak Institute in Sarajevo, Ḥasan Imām-zāde al-Būsnawī seems to have remained in Medina long enough to earn the *nisba* al-Madanī. The earliest extant manuscript of the work *Dalīl al-sā'irīn* is Imām-zāde's autograph, and dates from 1072/1661. According to the note in the manuscript, it was sent to his brother Ali-Aga Imočanin (Moçkalı) in Bosnia, and later found its way to Ibrahim Opijač (d. 1725), a famous scholar from Mostar. There are other manuscript copies of the same work, such as the Istanbul copy, dating from 1106/1694–1695 and produced by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Aḥmadī al-Maḥallī, while the copy extant in Cairo was a gift of a certain ʿAlī Afandī in al-Azhar in 1116/1704–1705 in the quarter for the students coming from 'Rūm' (*rawāq al-arwām*). The Vatican copy dates from 1167/1753–1754 and was produced by a certain Ismāʿīl al-Mukhalladī.

Apart from *Dalīl al-sā'irīn*, whose several copies are extant across the Balkans, Turkey, and Egypt, indicate that it may have been Imām-zāde al-Būsnawī's "bestseller,"[19] Imām-zāde was in all probability also the author of two other treatises which contained elements of *faḍā'il*, one titled *Tashwīq al-labīb ilā maḥabbat al-Ḥabīb* (*Inciting a Sensible Person to Desire Loving the Beloved*) which is found together with the Cairo copy of the *Dalīl al-sā'irīn*[20] and a treatise titled *al-Ilhām al-ilāhīya fī miʿrāj Khayr al-barīya* (*Divine Inspiration in the*

18 Jonathan Parkes Allen, "Up All Night out of Love for the Prophet: Devotion, Sanctity and Ritual Innovation in the Ottoman Arab Lands, 1500–1600," in *Journal of Islamic Studies* 30.3 (2019), 303–337, 305.

19 While it is harder to ascertain what truly constituted a 'bestseller,' the number of extant copies and the probability that it was read by different audiences might suggest that. Compare it with the case of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, a "middling" scholar, in Konrad Hirschler, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture: The Library of Ibn Abd al-Hādī*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020.

20 Another copy of both works is preserved in Gazi Husrev-Bey's Library as well.

Ascent of the Best of the Creatures).[21] Although the information on the authorship is scant and indicated only by the copyist's note in the beginning of each respective manuscript (in which we find out that Ḥasan al-Būsnawī became al-Madanī and that he was famous as Imām-zāde), the subject matter of all three works indicates a common preoccupation of the author. Namely, all three treatises give the Prophet Muḥammad a central position in devotion, from three distinct angles. *Dalīl al-sā'irīn* is a work in praise of Medina, for numerous reasons related to events from the Prophet's life, but also his place in the overall hierarchy of Islamic piety. The second treatise, *Tashwīq al-labīb*, centers the Prophet Himself and indicates the necessity of love shown towards Him. The third work, *al-Ilhām al-ilāhīya*, deals with the event of the *miʿrāj* which, again, positions the Prophet Muḥammad on a place that is comparably better from those of other prophets who are also part of Islamic prophetology. All three treatises point not only to the centrality of the Prophet in structuring the devotions, but also to the crucial constitutive element of comparison in the genre of *faḍā'il*. In other words, the Prophet is centered through the *faḍā'il* technique of argumentation which posits the Prophet over all created beings, and likewise the space which pertains to the Prophet—Medina—is contrasted to other places (including Mecca) as the place which the Prophet chose as his abode. Furthermore, the rational, intentional love towards the Prophet is preferred over the 'natural' love (as explained in *Tashwīq al-labīb*); and the structure of the *miʿrāj* treatise itself (*al-Ilhām al-ilāhīya*) is such to emphasize the superiority of the Prophet over other prophets.

The fact that Imām-zāde is the author of three different works dedicated to the Prophet frames our understanding of some aspects of 17th century piety and as such contributes to the growing research on the Prophet-oriented or "Prophet-centered"[22] forms of piety. The centrality of the Prophet was constructed through a series of arguments, mostly based on Qur'anic or hadith quotations, and enhanced by a range of prayers and instructions for the pilgrims for cultivation of their behavior in the Prophetic presence. In this way, while the *faḍā'il* of Medina seeks to focus on the city as the object of praise, it necessarily engages with arguments that favor the Prophet. The considerations of the space are thus tied in with cultivation of proper behavior and emotional purport in the Prophet's presence. This is why the analysis that follows treats the intertwinement of arguments in favor of Medina and the Prophet and how they merge into a promotion of *ziyāra*.

21 Available in the Special Collections at the Princeton University Library.

22 Christiane Gruber, *The Praiseworthy One: The Prophet Muhammad in Islamic Texts and Images*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018, 20.

3 Building a Case for Medina through the *hadith*

The title of Imām-zāde's work *Dalīl al-sā'irīn* potentially carries an ambiguity that its more proficient readers were supposed to resolve. The word *dalīl* can have the meaning of a 'guide'—whereby this work uncovers its function as a guidebook for those who want to go on a pious visit to the Prophet's grave. However, the word can also carry the meaning of a proof, which means that it was intended for those who wanted to know more about the reasoning behind the *ziyāra*. The focus of the work is on the reader who is a potential devotee, visitor, and interlocutor, which is visible through the outline of the structure given in the beginning of the work. The author gives the following list of contents:

> The first chapter explains the merit of the visit to the Prophet (may peace be upon Him). The second chapter expounds on the benefits that are related to the visit. The third chapter elaborates what is preferred for the visitor upon completion of his visit. The fourth chapter explains what the visitor needs to refrain from. The fifth chapter describes the virtues of Abū Bakr (may God be pleased with him). The sixth chapter is about the virtues of ʿUmar (may God be pleased with him). The fourth section delineates the border of the Prophet's Mosque and Rawḍa the Pure. The fifth section describes the Virtuous Columns. The sixth section explains the visit to those who are in al-Baqīʿ. The seventh section is about the visit to the al-Qubbā Mosque and its merits. The seventh section describes virtues of Uḥud, the visit to the martyrs of Uḥud and the lord of martyrs, our master Ḥamza (may God be pleased with him). The conclusion consists of the rules of *adab* of return (of the pilgrim) to his city and country.[23]

As could be observed from the outline of the structure, there are several words that described different types of virtue ascribed to the visit of Medina, places of spiritual interest, and people buried there: *kayfīyat, fawā'id, faḍā'il, faḍīla*. Furthermore, the rules of *adab* point to the limitations imposed on those who visited this space or returned from it. Meanwhile, although the word *faḍīla* and its plural *faḍā'il* is abundant on the pages of the treatise,[24] the very notion is never explicitly defined, and we have to assume that it is gradually created by

23 Imām-zāde's autograph does not note the contents, but the Istanbul copy MS 0719 3b of the work contains the full list.

24 On the notion of *faḍl* and how it changes throughout history, see: Sarra Tlili, *Animals in the Qur'an*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 227–237.

ordering of several key elements, all based on the hadith and consequently the mechanism of comparison, which puts both the city and the Prophet in a position of superiority.

There are several key hadith clusters that emerge as structuring arguments for the virtue of Medina. Those elements are the appeal to the Prophet's love towards the place which is derived from God's love and which place Medina in the center of textual attention; the power of intercession of the Prophet for His umma; and the array of arguments in favor of Medina as a place of various aspects of life and death (including bodily experiences of illness and disease), again based on examples from the Prophet's life and experiences of the early Muslim community. All of the aforementioned arguments are combined in order to promote the practice of *ziyāra* as one of the greatest deeds that bring proximity and best deeds of obedience.[25]

4 Circulation of the Motive of Love in the *faḍā'il*

The motive of love in the treatise is multidirectional. God's love towards the Prophet (emphasized in the title of the treatise itself) underlies other layers, directions, and objects of love which appear in the work. The Prophet Himself is in the center of devotion, as exemplified by the beginning of the treatise:

> He is the intention of all existence and the lord of what gives birth and is born. He is the point around which circle the spheres of creation and He is the light that fills earth and heavens. He is the first in the order and the last in the seal.[26]

As is the case with the other two Imām-zāde's treatises, this centering of the Prophet, using the symbol of light, is a part of the larger and older Sufi tradition of the "Muhammedan Light," harking back to some of the early reports.[27] The formulated idea is ascribed to the 3rd/9th century Sufi mystic Sahl al-Tustarī[28] (heavily quoted by Imām-zāde in this and his other treatises) and

25 MS 0719 16a.

26 MS 0719 2a.

27 Katz, *The Birth of the Prophet* 13.

28 See more in Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975, 215.

taken by a long line of devotees. The Muhammedan Light becomes prominent in the early modern Ottoman piety through textual and visual imagery and "extends the prophetic corpus beyond literal forms of physical imagination and visualization."[29]That this treatise begins with luminous image of the Prophet who is also spatially, temporally, and cosmically centered implies that even though the *faḍā'il* extols Medina, it is solely on account of the Prophet.

The relationship between the two is positioned through the emphasis on love. The love, however, is embedded in a derivative framework, reflected in the dominant tradition interweaved throughout the treatise:

> There is not a place on this earth dearer to me to have my grave in it, that is in Medina. And it is dearer to the Prophet (Peace be upon Him), and to His Lord (Almighty) because the Love of the Prophet follows from the Love of His Lord. And if it is most beloved to Allah and His Prophet, how can it not possess virtue?[30]

The juxtaposition of love and virtue as in this narration further develops into a rationalizing discourse: Why should believers love Medina, and why is it so exalted? Through the listing of different textual authorities including, but not limited to hadith scholars, Imām-zāde states that there is a consensus on "preference of the place which contains the Prophet's body even over Kaʿba."[31] The variations of the motive of the Prophet's burial place interweave the text, which could point to the placement of the narration into the context of a wider fascination with the fate of the prophetic bodies; this was particularly intense in the late Mamluk period.[32] Moreover, with the emphasis on Medina as the place where Prophet Muḥammad was buried, other people buried there (in al-Baqīʿ, for example) are also noted. However, Imām-zāde mentions a range of discussions that emphasized the uncertainty: If all the places of prophetic bodies possess virtue, where does it place the body of the Prophet Muḥammad? Using a range of narrations and relying on al-Tirmidhī's (d. 209–279/892) *Shamā'il* and Ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 597/1201) *al-Wafā*, the author stresses that the superiority

29 Gruber, *The Praiseworthy One* 260.

30 MS 0719 3b–4a.

31 MS 0719 3b.

32 See more on this debate in Fritz Meier, "Eine Auferstehung Mohammeds bei Suyūṭi," in *Der Islam* 62 (1985), 20–58.

of the Prophet's burial place is, again, derived from God's decision to take the Prophet's soul in Medina.[33]

Derivative aspects of love are further demonstrated by the obligation of love towards people of Medina, and more specifically the Prophet's Family (*ahl al-bayt*), the instructions of which are interspersed throughout the treatise.[34] Virtue, which is derived out of love or proximity to the Prophet, encompasses those in close relation to the Prophet, such as the first two caliphs Abū Bakr and Umar, who receive separate sections related to places of their burial. The particular spots in Medina also receive the *faḍā'il* blessing, such as Uḥud where the Prophet's uncle Ḥamza was buried. In this way, by spatial ordering of the text, the *faḍā'il* descends beyond the Prophet Himself, but in a constant relation to Him.[35]

While love draws devotees to Medina, and Medina is chosen because of the interlocking relationships of love, the wilful departure from the city (other than for approved reasons such as spreading of knowledge, conquest of the lands of unbelievers, and fighting enemies) is blameworthy, if accompanied by denial of its virtue or virtue of its inhabitants.[36]

In emphasizing the virtue of Medina in relation to the emotion of love, Imām-zāde reflects on the power of places that surpass even the limits of *madhāhib*, but still remains connected to them. Imām-zāde, himself *al-Ḥanafī*, turns against the founder of the *madhhab* and emphasizes the power of the place in conjunction with emotion:

> We have prolonged our speech about arguments for the preference of Medina, even though the school of our Imam (may God have Mercy on him) prefers Mecca over Medina—every soul desires where its lover is.[37]

Even though the place where the Prophet was buried assumed primary significance and preference in relation to the question of God's choice and love,

33 Laleli 1363 3b.

34 MS 0719 29a; the obligation of love towards the Prophet's family is presented as a religious obligation (*farā'iḍ al-dīn*). MS 0719 30b.

35 This could be compared to the networks of *baraka* which centers the Prophet's body and brings different actors in relation even when geographically or temporally removed. See Knight, *Muhammad's Body*.

36 MS 0719 4b.

37 MS 0719 5b.

narrations about other events from the Prophet's life and wider Islamic sacred history (such as hijra and the repeated coming of Jibrīl to Medina, which is another way of describing the process of Revelation) also influenced the construction of the virtue of Medina to show its peculiarity. Yet, they all function in order to cultivate love towards the Prophet, which throughout the treatise turns to instructions on ways to increase love (*maḥabba*) by clearly defined and verbalized acts of devotion.[38] In that context, the Cairene copy of Imāmzāde's *faḍā'il* is especially interesting, because it is paired with his treatise on *tashwīq*—incitement of love directed more closely to devotees through a number of delineated prayers.[39] If observed together, the writings lay down a framework for *ziyāra*—sometimes treated separately for men and women—as well as encouragement of *mujāwara*. The cultivation of this framework, however, was tied to the importance of active seeking of knowledge about the Prophet through hadith and narrations of the Companions, taken from a range of different sources. The second part of the paper will look into these sources more closely.

5 Intercession in the *faḍā'il*

While love was cultivated as a primary motivation for pilgrims and devotees, drawing on cosmological and ontological grounds of the Prophet's chosenness, the argument of intercession (*shafā'a*) directly addressed their soteriological concerns. According to this framework, the authority of Medina was derived from the 'intermediary' position of the Prophet between God and the humankind. The hadith which forms the core of this argument is: "Whoever visits my grave, I will be their intercessor" (*man zāra qabrī wajabat la-hū shafā'atī*), tying the visit to the Prophet's grave with the wider concept of intercession.

The hadith itself was followed with instructions directed to the believers. The ideal believer was encouraged to be patient with the difficulties of the harsh climate of Medina, in compensation for the Prophet being their intercessor (*shafī'*) or witness (*shāhid*).[40] In a side note of his autograph copy,

38 MS 0719 16b.

39 Imām-zāde himself starts the treatise by noting how some of his contemporaries (*ikhwān zamāninā*) do not know that love towards the Prophet Muḥammad is a commanded religious duty and that they are not working on knowing this duty (*lā yashtaghilūn bi-ma'rifat hādhā al-farḍ*). (R–8584 2a). The love is not a one-dimensional notion in this Imām-zāde's work. It is divided into natural (*ṭabī'ī*) and rational (*'aqlī*), in which the rational love is appreciated more because of the effort which has to be put in it (R–8584 2b).

40 MS 0719 7b.

Imām-zāde offered a definition of the intercession (*shafāʿa*) taken from Mullā ʿAlī al-Qārī's interpretation of the hadith on intercession for those who suffer the excess of the climate and environment and die in Medina. According to that definition, the intercession (meant in this hadith) is granted only to those who died in Medina, as a response to a wider polemic about virtues of *mujāwara* in Mecca and Medina.[41] All of this aimed at persuading the believer that they should wish to die in Medina, because it is a religious obligation.[42]

In a similar way the first argument on precedence of Medina centers the Prophet's grave, the second argument on the intercession is related to a believer's death in its vicinity. However, in correspondence with the characteristic comparative nature of *faḍāʾil*, even the event of death had different categories of virtue: Death in the righteous war (*jihād*) is given a high esteem, which is why Imām-zāde brings forth the discussion of possible combination of two types of death: death in Medina, while engaged in *jihād*.[43] While intercession still cannot be spatially limited, one of the narrations orders the precedence of those in Medina for obtaining the *shafāʿa* first, after which come the inhabitants of Mecca and Taif.[44]

The intercession also extended to those who visit the Prophet's grave, according to the narration that the one who goes on a pilgrimage and visits the grave after the Prophet's death is like the one who visited Him in His lifetime.[45] This narration is amplified by others emphasizing the Prophet's sentience (ability to hear, recognize, and respond) even in the grave.[46] Such ordering of the narrations implies interest in the question of *baraka* or the possibilities offered by the interacting prophetic body to believers.[47]

The sentience of others in the graves of Medina is emphasized as well, especially on certain days, such as Friday.[48] The importance of having one's earthly remains in Medina is elaborated by a section on narrations related to the possibility that the head of the Prophet's grandson Ḥusayn is in this city (and not

41 MS 0719 8a.

42 MS 0719 8b.

43 MS 0719 8a.

44 This hadith was introduced without reference to an authoritative work, with the simple remark '*ruwiya ʿan*': 9a–9b.

45 MS 0719 11a.

46 MS 0719 11b.

47 "Muhammad's grave enables access to *baraka*, whether *baraka* should be understood here as a force emanating from the remains of Muhammad's materiality or divinely awarded credits earned for approved devotional acts." Knight, *Muhammad's Body* 143.

48 MS 0719 55b.

elsewhere).[49] This particular detail is indicative of the intersection between sectarian consciousness, geographical relevance, and symbolic value of earthly remains and graves that directs the narrative towards historically unreliable conclusions. Observed in a larger context of upholding orthodoxy of geography, this could be interpreted as involving "re-evaluation and sometimes rewriting of the past."[50]

6 Benefits of Medina for the Body and Soul

The third broad category of arguments in favor of Medina is based upon an array of the hadith related to all the beneficial characteristics of the city that might help believers in different aspects of their lives. Thus, it includes hadiths related to the curing aspects of its dust,[51] hadiths concerning the safety of Medina even in the last of days (because Dajjāl will not enter the city) and in the case of plague (*ṭāʿūn*),[52] or the number of different names of Medina.[53] By quoting al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1533) who confirmed that some of the *ʿulamāʾ* tried the dust for healing the fever and also that the news about its healing powers were correct,[54] Imām-zāde fortified his argument on the common benefits of residing in Medina.

While the preference of Medina could be justified for reasons connected to the Prophet's life and death as well as *hijra*, the author/compiler had to envision a way to place Medina in relation to other places of spiritual and soteriological value for Muslims. This is where another type of 'chain of transmission' comes into focus. In accentuating the virtue of Medina, Imām-zāde had to accentuate where the superiority of Medina is shown and also over which other places. The superiority of Medina is demonstrated by numbers, amongst others: A prayer in the mosque of this city is compared to the validity of prayers in

49 MS 0719 59a–59b.

50 Aḥmed El Shamsy, "The Social Construction of Orthodoxy," in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 109.

51 *Fī ghubārihā shifāʾ min kulli dāʾ*. MS 0719 5b.

52 That mention of narrations related to the plague was not a random act is confirmed by a number of treatises about this disease that are found together with prayer-books on visits to Medina.

53 The number of names of Medina is frequently referred to as an additional element pointing to the extent of its virtue. MS 0719, 7b. The names of Medina are, moreover, appealing to its different qualities sought after by the believers.

54 MS 0719 6a.

other sacred cities, and its virtue is emphasized by thousands.[55] The comparative element in the *faḍā'il* overlaps with its insistence on the hierarchy: Mecca is almost always posed above Medina in terms of the benefits and blessings to be earned, which is why al-Masjid al-Ḥarām is posed above the Prophet's mosque.[56] Still, the power of prayer is used in other directions as well—Imām-zāde mentions prayers for incitement of greater love towards Medina than Mecca.[57] At the same time, however, the author is careful about instructions related to the physical approach to the Prophet's grave (*al-ḥujra al-sharīfa*) and kissing it, because that would interfere with customs connected to approaching the Qibla.[58] On the other hand, Medina and the Prophet's mosque were consistently positioned above Masjid al-Aqṣā[59] which completed the canonical triad of the mosques.[60]

7 Shaping the *faḍā'il*

The hadith arguments were thus thematically aligned to appeal to the future pilgrim in those aspects tackling the emotional, soteriological, and devotional-practical. But how were the hadiths introduced into the text? The hadiths used for the formulation of distinct arguments in favor of Medina were presented in several variants, indicating changes in order of the sentence or in wording. Imām-zāde also provided explanations for lesser known words on the margins, while occasionally giving a further explanation by a *muḥaddith*, such as Mullā ʿAlī al-Qārī. When the author did not give a source (such as a reliable book or a chain of transmitters), he usually introduced the hadith as *riwāya*. This word was also used to denote a variant of the previous narration.[61] Some of the narrations were introduced only through the chain of transmitters; more often, however, the author simply relied on one of the compilations of the hadith as

55 MS 0719 13b.

56 Ms 0719 12a.

57 MS 0719 9b.

58 MS 0719 35b. While offering different types of narrations elsewhere, the author is keen on careful distinguishing between licit and illicit actions of devotion on that site, and invokes the authority of the *'ulamā'* on the issue.

59 MS 0719 13a.

60 On debates regarding the hadiths referring to these three mosques and other devotional places see: Meir J. Kister, "'You Shall Only Set out for Three Mosques'. A Study of an Early Tradition," *Le Muséon* 82 (1969), 173–196.

61 MS 0719 11b.

the authority. The chain of transmitters—when used—was usually listed in an abbreviated form, focusing on several narrators only.[62] In general, all the variants of a particular hadith would be exhausted during treatment of a topic or build-up of an argument. The hadith would sometimes be introduced with a qualification (such as *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, *gharīb*[63]). However, numerous narrations depicting the Prophet (usually in the form of a dream) and placing him in the company of historical figures such as Timur Lenk[64] show how a build-up of an argument included employment of narrations that did not conform to the established hadith methodology. Likewise, when quoting narrations about the Prophet or the companions from sources such as histories, Imām-zāde did not comment on their veracity.[65]

The seeming atemporality of the hadith material that was used in *faḍā'il* works should not blind us to the fact that the hadiths were chosen upon a criterion bound by strong contextual forces. The three groups of arguments outlined above were built on the premise that Medina is superior to other spaces (sometimes including Mecca). Considering the moment in which the treatise was written, this is strongly related to particular early modern Ottoman intellectual trends that revolved around devotion to the Prophet. It also included wider considerations of boundaries of permissibility of religious acts, which further on translated into tackling the limits of devotional life in the early modern Ottoman period.

The hadith was a crucial argumentative tool for the construction of the virtue of Medina. Additionally, it confirmed the centrality of the Prophet Muḥammad for the devotional piety of the 17th century Ottoman *'ulamā'*. Hadith compilations had their own metatextual value—they were bought and read for devotional purposes of their own.[66] As such, *faḍā'il* texts join a range of other devotional genres such as *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* and *An'ām al-sharīf* in their widespread use as common prayer-books.

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62 This corresponds to post-canonical use and cultivation of short chains of transmission described by Garrett Davidson. See more in ch. "Brevity, Breadth and Elevation: The Forty Hadith-and 'Awālī Genres," in Garrett A. Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition. A Social and Intellectual History of Hadith Transmission across a Thousand Years*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020, 203–240.

63 MS 0719 14b.

64 MS 0719 34a–34b.

65 Such is the case with the curious story of a rose in India that carries the shahada and names of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Imām-zāde quotes the story from Ibn al-'Adīm's *Tārīkh*, but does not comment on its veracity. MS 0719 42b–43a.

66 Thus Imam-zāde suggests looking into virtues of Medina given in *āthār* and *akhbār* as part of the *adab* required for the proper visit. MS 0719 20a.

Considering the scant information we have about the author and the intellectual network he belonged to both in Hijaz and Ottoman Bosnia, it is necessary to pay close attention to the textual authorities used in the structure of the work, but also to take a glimpse into the wider contextual forces that may have shaped this treatise.

How can we reveal the underlying forces that shaped the *faḍā'il*? A part of the answer lies in observation of the topic itself. The large number of works dedicated to the virtue of Mecca and Medina, such as *Dalīl al-sā'irīn*, could on the primary level suggest an increased Ottoman interest in promotion of the pilgrimage, combined with a "reemphasis on a prophetic Islam."[67] Yet, Imāmzāde's *faḍā'il* does not mention the Ottoman sultans or their role in control over Hijaz or holy places, focusing instead on a collage of citations in order to build up the sanctity of the Prophet's city. While information about Imāmzāde's intellectual path remains hidden, we can gather valuable insights from the multitude of works that were quoted in the *faḍā'il*, not only about his personal scholarly predilection but also wider scholarly trends in the Ottoman Hijaz. Every book necessarily came with a "reputation,"[68] and a range of sources used in a particular work reflected the 'intellectual angle' of the author/compiler or his circle. In the process of establishing the *faḍl* of Medina, Imām-zāde relied on a number of textual sources, ranging from *tafsīr* works to poetry. Many of the sources were used through the mediation of ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Samhūdī's *Wafā' al-wafā bi-akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā*, a colossal history of Medina from the late Mamluk period. The following list gives an overview of most of the textual authorities used in the construction of this *faḍā'il* which are explicitly stated in the text:[69]

1) **Hadith collections**: famous *kutub al-sitta*, which in the context of this *faḍā'il* mean six canonized collections starting from *Ṣaḥīḥayn* (Muslim

67 Nir Shafir, *The Road from Damascus: Circulation and the Redefinition of Islam in the Ottoman Empire, 1620–1720*, unpublished PhD thesis, Los Angeles: n. p., 2016, 222.

68 Helen Pfeifer, "Encounter After the Conquest: Scholarly Gatherings in 16th-Century Ottoman Damascus," in *IJMES* 47 (2015), 219–239, 232.

69 There is a noticeable difference between the autograph copy of the work and the Istanbul copy from 1106/1694–1695 regarding works quoted; namely, the Istanbul copy offers a larger range of names and books quoted. There are two possibilities in this regard: It is possible that the copyist of the Istanbul version was copying from an unknown version of the *faḍā'il* or that he added the works in question as he was copying from Imām-zāde's version. Since both copies (the autograph and the Istanbul copy) were created in the 17th century, books and names from both are in the comprehensive list above, with some of the works quoted in the Istanbul copy referred to under the point 8.

and al-Bukhārī),[70] *sunan* works of al-Nasāʾī, Abū Dawūd, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Māja. A very prominent position in the treatise is held by *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* by Imām Mālik which bears a special relevance for its legal orientation. Apart from these collections, other works cited in this work are collections of al-Dārimī, al-Nawawī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Abu Baʿlī, and al-Bazzār.

2) **Commentaries of hadith collections**. Imām-zāde refers to Mullā ʿAlī al-Qārī's *Sharḥ al-mishkāt* and *Jāmiʿ al-wasāʾil—Sharḥ al-shamāʾil*, al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Kabīr, al-Awsaṭ*), al-Qastallānī (*Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*), and al-ʿAynī (*Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*).

3) A large portion of works cited includes ***sīra*** and other works that center the Prophet, including the following: Ibn al-Jawzī's *Kitāb al-Wafāʾ fī faḍāʾil al-Muṣṭafā*, al-Ḥalabī's *Insān al-ʿuyūn*, al-Qāḍī's *al-Shifāʾ*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (without being precise which work was being used in this treatise), and Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī's *al-Uns al-jalīl*.

4) **Biographical dictionaries**, especially Ibn ʿAsākir's work *Tāʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*.

5) **Histories and *faḍāʾil* of Medina**, such as *Khulāṣat wafāʾ al-wafāʾ bi-akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā* by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Samhūdī, Ibn Zabāla (*Akhbār al-Madīna*),[71] and Ibn Shabba.

6) **Histories and *faḍāʾil* treatises of other cities**: *Akhbār Makka fī qadīm al-dahr wa-ḥadīthih* by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. al-ʿAbbās al-Fākihi, *Faḍāʾil Makka* (a treatise attributed to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī), *Tarjamat ṣāḥib Makka al-sharīfa* (al-Ḥusaynī), and *Tārīkh* by Ibn al-ʿAdīm.

7) **Different types of other works which are more difficult to classify**. The author often does not mention the title of work or, in other cases, the name of the author, which indicates that he assumed his audience is familiar with these scholars and their works to realize the reference. Imām-zāde thus mentions a range of authors, including Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Ibn Muthannā, al-Najm b. Fahd, al-Jamāl al-Murshidī, al-Shihāb al-Kūrānī, (al-)Zubayr b. Bakkār, al-Zaʿfarānī, Abī Ḥāzim, Abū ʿAlī al-Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Aṣmaʿī, al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū l-ʿUlā al-Hamadanī, al-Taqī al-Fāsī, al-Taqī al-Farīzī, al-Ḍiyāʾ (perhaps Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī) and Ibn al-ʿArabī,[72] but also the author al-Jamāl al-Murshidī as well as al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ*. The following works are mentioned without the names of

70 There are several places in the manuscript where Muslim and al-Bukhārī are referred to as the "Shaykhān."

71 Imām-zāde mentions the title as "Khabar" (MS 0719 53b).

72 Reference to Ibn al-ʿArabī is very significant, since it occurs in the context of the interpretation of a hadith. MS 0719 46a.

their authors: *Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl, al-Majd*, *Sharḥ al-muwāhib al-ladūnīya*. Other names mentioned are Nūḥ Efendi (*Sharḥ li-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*), Ibn al-Malak (*Sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār*), *Fawāʾid* by al-Qāḍī Abī l-Ḥasan, Sayyid ʿAlī (*Sharʿat al-Islām*), Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (*Makārim al-Akhlāq*), *Shuʿab al-īmān* and *al-Dalāʾil* by Imam al-Bayhaqī, Ibn Ḥabīb al-Sulamī (*al-Wāḍiḥa*), Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (*Ṣawāʾiq al-muḥriqa, Sharḥ al-hamzīya*), and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (*al-ʿUḥud al-Muḥammadīya*), al-Qurṭubī (*Tadhkira*), al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (*Nawādir al-uṣūl*), al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī (*Riyāḍ*), Ibn al-Malak (known as *Shāriḥ al-Mashāriq*). Imām-zāde also mentions dictionaries (*qāmūs*). When he refers to the sources of his own work, he mentions using *sunan al-mursalīn wa-siyar al-salaf*.[73]

8) Some of the authors quoted in the Istanbul copy of the *faḍāʾil*, but not in the autograph are al-Shawbarī, al-Shabrāmallisī, al-Khafaji, and Ibn Taymīya.

The above list of sources for this treatise shows a wide range of genres, spread across one thousand years of learning in Islam. However, particular emphasis on works of hadith reveals broader concerns of the Medinan intellectual circles.[74] Imām-zāde's *faḍāʾil* shows predominance of classical Sunni sources, such as the six canonical hadith collections, and several smaller ones. Heavy reliance on the *siyar* is in line with the emphasis on the Prophet-centered devotional piety, while the histories of the sacred places of Mecca and Medina belong to the long line of literature that promoted ritual visit to these two cities.[75]

Reliance on hadith works compiled or commented on by authors belonging to all four legal schools can tell us more about the overall socio-cultural outlook of the author. Closely related to the preoccupation with Sunni hadith literature is a focus on legalistic aspects of the material: Hadith serves to bolster a legal opinion regarding an aspect of practices related to *ziyāra* and *mujāwara* or the

73 MS 0719 14a.

74 Especially when this list is compared to lists of works circulated at the *majālis* in Hijaz, as seen, for example, in Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ṣūfī b. al-ʿUjaymī's *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1382/1963. Ibn al-ʿUjaymī lists a wide range of works from hadith collections to Ibn ʿArabī's treatises, and there is a close overlap between a number of the works used between the two. For a fuller list, see Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā* 46a–47a. While the sources differ in number and range, there are some obvious similarities, such as a focus on hadith literature, representation of authors from all four madhāhib, and overall Sunni orientation of the corpus with the inclusion of works of Sufi provenance.

75 A recent study by Harry Munt shows the longevity of historiographical works on Medina. See Munt, *The Holy City of Medina*.

proper ways of revering the Prophet.[76] While a range of hadith works by different authors/compilers is given, their Sunni provenance is indisputable.[77] In the Istanbul copy of the work, both Ibn ʿArabī and Ibn Taymīya are quoted (albeit in different contexts),[78] proving that for the author valuable information could be gathered from seemingly mutually discordant sources.[79]

The use of the hadith as a proof of the excellence of Medina as well as the legal validation of various practices was most likely aimed at the promotion of *ziyāra* amongst a wider range of population. This promotion was framed in strict terms to avoid any potential controversy that would place the *ziyāra* outside of the limits of the licit. Thus, all aspects of the pious visit were observed: intention, physical and emotional preparation, prayer at different places, licit and illicit bodily movements in closeness of the sacred, verbal expressions, the order of visit to different graves, and, finally, proper ways (*ādāb*) of return.[80]

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76 This was a common case in the *faḍā'il* tradition. A work titled *La'l al-Muṣaffa fī ziyārat al-Muṣṭafā* (*The Purified Gem in Visit to al-Muṣṭafā*), Ibrāhīm Ḥanafī's 18th-century Ottoman Turkish translation of the late 17th/early 18th-century work *Natījat al-fikr fī khabar Madīnat Sayyid al-Bashar* by Zayn al-Dīn al-Madanī al-Khalīfatī, brings a thorough discussion where opinions of representatives of different legal schools are juxtaposed in the context of the question of *ziyāra*. Terms such as *al-ijmāʿ* and *al-qiyās* are also employed to further cement the legal basis of the practice. R–5456 3a.

77 However, the neutral stance given to the four Sunni legal schools is not accorded to the Shiʿa, as seen from the narrations that liken *rafḍ* ('rejection') to disability (MS 0719, 32b–33a). A strong Sunni orientation of the *faḍā'il* is further enhanced by discussions of the virtues of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, that also included a defense of the Prophet's wife ʿĀ'isha in the case of slander (*ifk*) (MS 0719, 40b). Similarly, and in context of the motive of love that pervades the treatise, the Prophet's love towards Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are emphasized with separate sections on the related hadith (MS 0719, 41a ff.). A further expression of the Sunni character of the treatise is shown by the preference given to Muʿāwiya over ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (MS 0719 49a).

78 Ibn ʿArabī is quoted in relation to the mystical interpretation of a dream upholding the virtue of ʿUmar (MS 0719, 46a), while Ibn Taymīya is cited in relation to a qualification of a hadith as a *mawḍūʿ* (Laleli 1363, 15a).

79 Furthermore, this is also confirmed by the heavy reliance on Mullā ʿAlī al-Qārī's works that refuted Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas but still showed respect for his authoritative figure, see Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 246. This carries an additional weight if we consider the moment in which the work was written. The 17th century saw the peak of debates on controversial aspects of Ibn ʿArabī's thought, and the brunt of the polemic was carried out by Hijazi ulama. See more in Alexander Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1999, 164.

80 By quoting al-Ghazālī, the author tries to draw the limits of the licit through prohibitions on certain actions, such as touching and kissing of the tombs (*mashāhid*) as a custom of the Christians and the Jews (*al-Naṣārā wa-l-Yahūd*). MS 0719 35b.

Descriptions and injunctions related to different parts of *ziyāra* do not take on esoteric explanations, in line with the general rationalizing tone of the work, which is why it is harder to ascertain whether the work belongs to a wider trend of Sufi inspired spatial literature.[81]

Finally, a few words should be said about the potential audience of this work. There are some occasional remarks that are interspersed throughout the *faḍā'il* which indicate who the intended audience was. Thus, Imām-zāde states that he wrote the treatise in order to admonish "the hearts of those who have no luck in this skill and for those who ponder enough."[82] The fact that the autograph of the treatise was sent (presumably from Medina, but also possibly from another city in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire) to the author's brother in the Bosnian province could suggest the intention to engage the text in the debate or to inform potential scholarly readership of the debates relevant in the imperial cities.[83]

8 Conclusion

Imām-zāde's lifepath, career, and fate will remain unknown unless new information appears in archives in Cairo, Istanbul, or some of the former Ottoman provincial seats. Works he has written, preserved in several copies across the Middle East and the Balkans, have not attracted any scholarly attention, and were usually referred to as 'prayer-books' (*ad'iya*) in the catalogues. Some of the reasons for this might have been the obscurity of the author, lack of sophisticated or controversial argument, or the proliferation of similar material in the early modern period across the Muslim world. The last reason, however, holds a key to resolving several issues that I tried to address in this paper. Despite the lack of research, hadith compilations of *faḍā'il* abound in the premodern period. They reflect political, sociocultural, and intellectual changes of respective periods in which they were compiled as well as personal predilections of authors on the move. And finally, their number, range, and versatility point to a lively devotional culture that engaged hadith traditions in order to center the Prophet.

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81 Elizabeth Sirriyeh notices such a trend in 17th century Arabic literature of the Ottoman period. Elisabeth Sirriyeh, *Sufi Visionary of Ottoman Damascus: 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi, 1641–1731*, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005, 111.

82 MS 0719 10b.

83 It is hard to speculate more on the intended audience of the treatise in respect of distribution of its copies. It was written in Arabic, not in Ottoman Turkish, which means that it could not have been widely read in the Bosnian province.

The challenge posed by the seeming timelessness of the hadith compilations was overcome by close reading of the arguments employed in construction of the argument. The virtue of Medina was built on lining several arguments, prominently including cultivation of emotion, intercession, and an array of traditions that point to the healing and protective qualities of that city. While the hadiths present in this *faḍā'il* and used as an argument were also used in earlier works on the virtues of the cities, what their presence in early modern Ottoman treatises can tell us about is their persistence and relevance for proclamation and upholding of status of this city by giving it a universal quality. Observed from another angle, the large number of hadith works used for the compilation of this *faḍā'il* is a testament to Medina as a city of hadith scholarship, which is a reputation it held in other Muslim regions as well. The focus on Medina might imply promotion of the city for reasons ranging from Ottoman hold of the city or the scholarly community that was thriving there. The elaborate encouragement of the practice of *ziyāra* points to the prolongation of piety focused on the Prophet. As such, this treatise could be observed as a "constitutional text" that offers only "a partial rather than a full sense of the encompassing event,"[84] that is shown even in the œuvre of a single author.

Imām-zāde wrote three treatises dealing with different aspects of piety that centers the Prophet, while basing all three (up to a certain extent) on (Prophetic and non-Prophetic) hadith. In that context, hadith was used as levelling device, adding veracity to claims and practices of the period. While the hadiths were not used for legal purposes strictly, they still carried strong textual authority, regardless of their status according to the scale of soundness (although this aspect was never disregarded completely). The hadith corpus was given a more prominent place over other textual sources used. Pre-Ottoman hadith scholarship influenced Ottoman intellectual trends through direct transmission of ideas, which in the course of time would be enhanced with Ottoman Turkish translations of the Arabic texts.

Further research on hadith in the Ottoman context (both early modern and late Ottoman periods) would have to look at the vast material created for devotional purposes and for different types of audience. Multiple techniques of dealing with the hadith material (inclusion, exclusion, shifts of textual context), as well as the accompanying commentaries, reflect not only the sociopolitical and cultural circumstances of the period, but the resilience of the hadith as a pool of available material for construction of different types of arguments.

84 Messick, "Islamic Texts" 40.

With a wide approach to material extant in the libraries and archives, scholars and preachers such as Imām-zāde could resurface again from the neglected pages of history, pointing to the ways in which people argued the holy.

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CHAPTER 7

"As If the Prophet Stood in Front of You"

The Performative Meaning of Hadith Transmission and Its Prophetological Background in Late Formative Sunnism

Ruggero Vimercati Sanseverino

1 Introduction: Towards a Multidimensional Understanding of Hadith Transmission

"Muḥammad b. Sīrīn [d. 33/729] may have laughed occasionally, but when a hadith of the Prophet was uttered in his presence, he would instantly enter into a state of humility and humbleness (*khashaʿa*)."[1] A contemporary of the Companion Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/352) reported that he rarely dared to pronounce the expression *qāla rasūl Allāh* ('the Messenger of God said'), but that when he did, "he was afflicted with distress, so that I could see the sweat flowing down his forehead,"[2] and according to another version, "his eyes were flooded with tears and his jugular veins puffed up."[3] Anecdotes like these are part of the scholars' discourse of hadith about their own discipline and activity.[4] However, they arose only scarce interest in academic research about hadith, interested primarily in the historical authenticity of hadith or the origins of Islamic law and of exegesis. Nonetheless, for the scholars of hadith, these anecdotes obviously express a significant and important aspect of hadith and its transmission. For the Companions and scholars mentioned in these anecdotes, and probably for those scholars who quote them as well, the hadith seemingly meant and involved more than simply a report conveying a historical information, and its transmission involved more than the problem of guaranteeing the authenticity of its text. Considered in this way, these anecdotes question our unidimensional conception of hadith and represent an oppor-

1 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā bi-taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā*, ed. Nawāf Jarrāḥ, Beirut: n. p., 2006, 247.

2 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 246–247.

3 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 247.

4 Already the first surviving manual of hadith transmission has a chapter on the eminence of hadith scholarship, on the purity of intention, and on the necessary qualities and manners of the hadith scholars, see al-Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna al-rāwī wa-l-wāʿī*, ed. Abū Zayd Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn, Cairo: Dār al-Dakhāʾir, 2016, 136–201.

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tunity to deepen our understanding of the significance of hadith transmission in Islamic thought.

This becomes evident when we consider how the notion of hadith is usually approached. The following explanation of the term 'hadith' in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* makes use of the technical definitions usually found in manuals of hadith sciences or in works of legal theory:

> *Ḥadīth* (Ar. lit., speech, narrative, pl. *aḥādīth*) is the technical term for Muslim Tradition about the exemplary practice of the prophet Muḥammad, enshrined in his words (*aqwāl*, sing. *qawl*) and deeds (*afʿāl*, sing. *fiʿl*) and his tacit approval (*taqrīr*) of his Companions' words and deeds [...]. *Ḥadīth* is also each individual tradition about what the Prophet said, did, or tacitly approved. In contrast to the ontological status of the Qurʾān as God's uncreated (*qadīm*) speech, *ḥadīth*—the substantive form of the adjective 'new'—connotes created speech [...]. With respect to its epistemological function, *ḥadīth* may be designated as *ʿilm* (knowledge).[5]

Accordingly, 'hadith' is commonly translated in an unambiguous way with notions such as 'tradition,' 'report,' or 'narration,' depending whether one wishes to emphasize the fact that the hadith is the product of a transmission, that it relates something from the past, or that it is presented in a narrative form.

However, several recent interdisciplinary studies have shed new light on the use and meaning of hadith or of religious scripture in general, and suggest that a more comprehensive conception of hadith is needed, in order not to reduce its meaning to its technical definition or to a one-sided understanding of it.[6] Conditioned by the perspectives of jurisprudence or of history, academic research generally considers hadith as a historical textual document and limits its meaning to the conveyance of a historical or normative information.[7]

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5 Pavel Pavlovitch, "Ḥadīth" in Gaborieau and Krämer (eds.), The Encyclopaedia of Islam: Three, Leiden 2018, 48–61.

6 See for example Sebastian Günther, "Fictional Narration and Imagination Within an Authoritative Framework. Towards a New Understanding of Ḥadīth," in Stefan Leder (ed.), *Story-Telling in the Framework of Non-Fictional Arabic Literature*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998, 433–471; Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature'"; Stefan Sperl, "Man's 'Hollow Core': Ethics and Aesthetics in Ḥadīth Literature and Classical Arabic Adab," in *BSOAS* 70.3 (2007), 459–486; Rainer Brunner, "The Role of Ḥadīth as Cultural Memory in Shīʿī History," in *JSAI* 30 (2005), 318–360.

7 See also Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 2 vols., ii, ed. C. Renate Barber and Samuel Miklos Stern, London: Allen & Unwin, 1971, 1–2.

However, this understanding of the term 'hadith,' reflecting a positivist vision of its nature and of its transmission, raises some questions. The first interrogation is linguistic and concerns the meaning of the word 'hadith' which Pavlovitch accurately translates as 'speech, narrative.' As the linguist Pierre Larcher has remarked, the classical definitions and the English explanations assume that 'hadith' means at the same time a statement *of* the Prophet and a statement *about* what the Prophet said, did, or approved.[8] Furthermore, as Larcher explains, if the "primitive meaning" of 'hadith' is "what is said," there must be a verb to which it can be related to, and the sole possible verbs are *ḥadatha* ('to occur') or *ḥadutha* ('being recent'). Thus, 'hadith' is to be interpreted as signifying both "that which occurred (or has occurred)" and "expression of what occurred (or has occurred),"[9] representing in other words, at the same time "event" and "narration," the "the implicit reference point" of both being "indeed the present of the enunciator."[10] Inquiring into the process that led from these two meanings to the primacy of the meaning of "the Prophet's saying" (*qawl al-nabī*),[11] Larcher shows through a linguistic analysis how the meaning of hadith, being initially the product of the act of relating something, becomes the saying of Muḥammad and thereby the event itself of which it actually is the narration.[12] From the perspective of the history of religions, William Graham argued in his survey of the ways that texts are performed through reading, recitation, and memorization, that research on religious scriptures has ignored their *performative* function. He pointed out that the most characteristic uses of scriptures in various religious traditions and cultures have to do with their reading, recitation, and memorization rather than with their interpretation. Graham claimed that such textual performances are just as import-

8 Pierre Larcher, "Le mot de ḥadīṯ vu par un linguiste," in Tilman Nagel and Claude Gilliot (ed.), *Das Prophetenhadīt. Dimensionen einer islamischen Literaturgattung*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005, 7–13, 8.

9 Larcher, "Le mot de ḥadīṯ" 10.

10 Larcher, "Le mot de ḥadīṯ" 9.

11 Having said this, it should be noted that hadith literatures actually distinguish between 'verbal' (*qawlīya*) and non-verbal or 'action-related' (*fi'līya*) hadith, attributing a superior value to the first.

12 Similarly, the dynamic character of the term 'hadith literature' has raised academic attention. Stephen Burge, "The '*ḥadīṯ* Literature.' What Is It and Where Is It?," in *Arabica* 65.1–2 (2018), 64–83 shows that our use and understanding of the term 'hadith literature' needs to take into account its 'paradox' meaning as an "abstract, conceptual, and ontological vehicle of authority" (80) which at the same time is rooted in the theological and historical context of a compilation.

ant as exegesis, often more important, for understanding the cultural significance of scriptures.[13] Arguing that Graham "omitted or downplayed practices of performing the *contents* of scriptures," James Watts shows how scriptures possess a semantic, performative, and iconic dimension, related respectively to authority, legitimacy, and inspiration of the interpreters.[14] While both researchers referred to the Qurʾan, thereby failing to pay attention to the significance of hadith recitation and transcription in Islamic culture, Eerik Dickinson notes that in the Ayyubid period, "recitations [of hadith] in the presence of the most celebrated transmitters were public events of great magnitude."[15] Similarly, Jonathan Brown draws attention to the "ritual power" of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*.[16] Research beyond Islamic studies offers interesting impulses for a more comprehensive understanding of hadith, too. Referring to pragmatic analysis and the theory of speech acts, Kyriakoula Papademetriou shows how a concept such as *parrhesia* (freedom of speech) in Ancient Greek and the Greek Bible needs to be understood through its lexical basis as well as of its "performative meaning." In this way, "the complete meaning should be drawn from the study of the relation between the linguistic meaning and the communicative force that the use of the word had for the contemporary speakers and perceivers."[17]

Against this background, it is necessary to consider the anecdotes which fill hadith manuals more seriously than it has been done hitherto, in order to obtain a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of the meaning of hadith in its multidimensionality. While the understanding of hadith in Western academia renders faithfully the technical definitions of hadith, meant—as any technical definition—to standardize and codify the consensual use of a

13 William A. Graham, *Beyond the Written Word. Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

14 James W. Watts, "The Three Dimensions of Scriptures," in *Postscripts: The Journal of Sacred Texts and Contemporary Worlds* 2.2 (2008), 135–159, 138. On "iconic books and gestures" in hadith transmission as a public event, see Livnat Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism in Islam: The Challenge of Traditionalism 700–1350*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019, 267–359.

15 Eerik Dickinson, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī and the Isnād," in *JAOS* 122.3 (2002), 481–505, 484.

16 Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007, 346 ff.

17 Kyriakoula Papademetriou, "The Performative Meaning of the Word παρρησία in Ancient Greek and in the Greek Bible," in Peter-Ben Smit and Eva van Urk (eds.), *Parrhesia. Ancient and Modern Perspectives on Freedom of Speech*, Leiden: Brill, 2018, 15–38, 15. It should be noted that whereas the author analyses the performative meaning of 'free speech' in order to understand its social dimension, the present study focuses on the religious dimension.

term within a certain discursive and functional context, it fails to pay attention to the 'narrative definition' articulated in manuals of hadith science in the chapters about the requirements of the practice of hadith transmission. The issue of narrative definition shows how for the scholars of hadith, pronouncing the phrase "the Prophet said" implied much more than a factual statement; it rather constitutes what pragmatics calls a "performative utterance."[18] The latter is defined as serving a function in communication and is to be understood as the performance of an act which is intended to produce specific effects on the persons involved. As pragmatics allows to understand, the performative meaning of an utterance depends on its purpose and becomes visible through the context, conditions, and circumstances in which it takes place.[19] In this way, a 'speech event' becomes recognizable, indicating how more is communicated than what is explicitly articulated. From this perspective, limiting the meaning of hadith to its technical definition reduces the act of saying 'x heard that the Prophet said' to a 'constative utterance,' that is to the description of a fact which is either true or false. It therefore neglects what is communicated beyond the factual information contained in the text through the performance of hadith transmission. This can only be understood if the performance is considered in relation to the 'assumptions' shared by the persons involved in the performance.

Taking seriously the semantic implications of the term 'hadith,' this study is interested in what occurs in hadith transmission according to the description of the actors and as expressed in their own terms.[20] It proposes to explore

18 In the foundational text of pragmatics, John L. Austin fundamentally questions "the assumption that to say something, at least in all cases worth considering, i. e. all cases considered, is always and simply to state something," see John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, Cambridge: Clarendon, repr. 1967, 12. First distinguishing between constative and performative utterances, he then rejects it, arguing that performatives must be counted simultaneously in constatives.

19 In pragmatics, as an approach investigating the relationship between linguistic forms and their uses, particular attention is payed to the 'performative verbs' making explicit the performative meaning of an utterance. In this study, rather than analyzing linguistic forms, I will focus on the contextual features—also described as 'speech event'—which serve the same function, but in an implicit manner. Further studies on the 'performative verbs' in hadiths, such as "it has been *narrated* to me by x that …" or "I *heard* from x that …," would certainly yield fruitful results, too, especially as the elaborations of the modalities of transmission, the *anwāʿ al-akhdh wa-l-taḥammul*, establish a hierarchy of these locutions arguably based on both their probative and their communicational force.

20 Similarly, "the ethnography of communication forces the sociolinguist to describe speech communities on their terms, sensitive to their norms of communication," Barbara Johnstone and William Marcellino, "Dell Hymes and the Ethnography of Communication," in

the performative meaning of hadith transmission as well as the way this meaning is informed by prophetological assumptions. How can we make sense of anecdotes like those mentioned at the outset, and what do they tell us about how the meaning of hadith and of its transmission were perceived and articulated by its actors? How did the actors themselves understand and explain what has been called the 'ritual power' or the 'performative meaning' of hadith transmission, and how is this 'communicative force' related to certain assumptions about the role of hadith transmission and its meaning? In order to address these queries, it is necessary to consider the discursive context in which these anecdotes are generally embedded. This is above all the literature in which the practice of hadith transmission is described, codified, and explained. The two works explored in this study can be considered as the outcome of a discourse the textual origin of which can be traced back to earlier hadith compilations and handbooks. The first text analyzed here is *al-Jāmiʿ li-akhlāq al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmiʿ* (*The Comprehensive Treatise on the Character Traits of the Transmitter and the Conducts of the Listener*) of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī[21] (293–463/1002–1071). It isan anthology of sayings and anecdotes related to the ethics and etiquettes of hadith transmission and audition, written by a major theoretician of the sciences of hadith. It seems to be the first monography dedicated to this theme. Dealing with the qualities of the actors of transmission and their propriety, with the act of transmission and its circumstances, and finally with its purpose and expected results, the work provides us with a comprehensive picture of the way scholars of hadith conceived of the practice of hadith transmission. It thereby brings to light what we would call the conditions of its 'performative meaning.' For the second aspect of the interrogation, concerning the assumptions which confer meaning on the performance, the celebrated *al-Shifā bi-taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* (*The Healing through the Recognition of the Rights of the Chosen Prophet*) of the Maghrebi hadith scholar and theologian al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (544–476/1083–1149) represents a fruitful source. In this comprehensive prophetological work, the transmission of hadith is presented as one of the practices of veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad. This allows to explore the prophetological background of the above-mentioned assumptions, thereby

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Ruth Wodak, Barbara Johnstone, and Paul E. Kerswill (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, London: SAGE, 2010, 57–66, 65.

21 For biographical data see in particular Jonathan Brown, "A Segment of the Genealogy of Sunni Ḥadīth Criticism: The Mysterious Relationship between al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī," in Maurice A. Pomerantz and Aram Shahin (eds.), *The Heritage of Arabo-islamic Learning. Studies Presented to Wadad Kadi*, Leiden: Brill, 2016, 227–235; and Maḥmūd Ṭaḥḥān, *al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī wa-atharuhu fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, Beirut: Dār al-Qurʾān al-Karīm, 1981.

relating the transmission of hadith to a certain image of the one whose teaching and authority it claims to represent.[22] Therefore, the second part of this study will explore in particular the chapter *Concerning the Reverence for the Transmission of Hadith* and will analyse how al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ develops this topic from the background of his prophetology.

2 The Performative Meaning of Hadith in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *al-Jāmiʿ li-akhlāq al-rāwī*

The *al-Jāmiʿ li-akhlāq al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmiʿ* is complementary to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Sharaf aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* (*The Eminence of the Scholars of Hadith*)[23] and, as the author explains in the introduction, is intended to show the distinct standing of hadith scholars and their discipline.[24] Moreover, it is explicitly directed against those who pretend to have reached the status of hadith transmitters and scholars without having fulfilled the necessary requirements. The author reproaches these persons for their arrogance and their lack of respect of the sacred status (*ḥurma*) of the masters of hadith transmission, "contrary to what requires the science [i. e. the hadith] that they are listening to."[25] The purpose of the *al-Jāmiʿ* consists then in expounding and elucidating these requirements and to show that the transmission of hadith constitutes an independent and comprehensive science with its own history, experts, rules, and ethos. As the title of the work indicates, the focus is laid on the ethical (*akhlāq*) and behavioral (*ādāb*) dimension of hadith transmission. It contains, according to the

22 Although the thematic connection is quite obvious, this issue has not yet been treated in a systematic manner. The relation between hadith and prophetology has until now mostly been considered from one perspective only. As a representative example, in his chapter on Muḥammad in *The Wiley Blackwell Concise Companion to the Ḥadīth*, Andreas Görke limits the scope of his study to the question to what extent the image of the Prophet in hadith literature is rooted in history. There is no consideration about the prophetological background of hadith and of its transmission. See Andreas Görke, "Muhammad," in Daniel W. Brown (ed.), *The Wiley Blackwell Concise Companion to the Ḥadīth*, Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2019, 57–90.

23 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Sharaf aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muhammad Saʿīd Khatib Oglu, Ankara: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Sunna al-Nabawīya, 1971. If the *Sharaf* can be understood as an appeal to Islamic students to study the hadith, the *Jāmiʿ* elucidates what a student needs to do in order to achieve this. In other words, whereas the *Sharaf* seeks to answer the question 'why' to engage with hadith transmission, the *Jāmiʿ* is concerned with answering the 'how.'

24 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmiʿ li-akhlāq al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmiʿ*, ed. Ṣalāḥ b. ʿUwayḍa, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, ^{3}2016, 6.

25 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 7.

author, "what the transmitter and bearer of hadith needs to know and to put into practice as concerns the adoption of pure character traits and the pursuit of accepted ways of procedure."[26] Against those who abuse the hadith for worldly purposes or who simply disrespect the ethos of hadith scholarship, al-Khaṭīb argues in the introduction that hadith transmission cannot be reduced to the supply of normative information[27] but that it involves a moral and spiritual engagement from both the transmitter and the student, as well as a collaboration between them, determined by rules of conduct.

Within this argumentative framework, centred on the requirements of hadith transmission which go beyond the rather technical question of authenticity, al-Khaṭīb in fact introduces nothing new but merely contents himself to relate and structure, and sometimes to comment, on the various statements of known hadith scholars.[28] These are organized in two principal parts: The first part concerns the qualifications and conduct of the 'listener' (*sāmiʿ*) and 'seeker' or 'student' (*ṭālib*). It comprises of sections on intentionality (1)[29] and exclusive consecration (2) of the student, on the criteria for the selection of transmitters (3–4), as well of as several sections about the appropriate conduct (*ādāb*) for the 'quest' of hadith audition (5–7), towards the transmitter (8, 10) and during audition (9). Finally, it consists of sections on the memorization, transcription, and verification of the received narrations (11–16). The second part, treating the qualities and conduct of the 'transmitter' (*rāwī*) and 'hadith scholar' (*muḥaddith*), constitutes about one quarter of the work and consists of sections about the moral propriety of the transmitter (17), the criteria for the

26 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 9.

27 At the same time, al-Khaṭīb clearly demonstrated the complementary function of normative understanding (*tafaqquh*) in his work, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Faqīh wa-l-mutafaqqih*, ed. Ismāʿīl al-Ansārī, Cairo: Maktabat Anas b. Malik, 1979.

28 For other early sources, see Christopher Melchert, "The Piety of the *ḥadīth* Folk," in *IJMES* 34 (2002), 425–439; and idem, "The Etiquette of Learning in the Early Islamic Study Circle," in Joseph Lowry, Devin J. Stewart, and Shawkat M. Toorawa (eds.), *Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of Professor George Makdisi*, Cambridge: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004, 33–43. Despite their interest for the history of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* movement and of early legal practice, both studies do neither reflect upon the meaning of 'piety' and 'etiquette' for the transmission of hadith nor upon their significance for our understanding of it.

29 In the edition by Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān (Riyāḍ, 1983), the work is divided into 'parts' (*juzʾ*) and numbered 'chapters' (*bāb*). Whereas the first are not thematically organized but are related to the redaction process, the 'chapters' visibly represent a topical organization. The numbers given above correspond to these chapter numbers. Unfortunately, the more recent edition by Ṣalāḥ b. ʿUwayḍa (Beirut, ^{3}2016) does not specify the manuscript on which it relied and does not include the chapters with the corresponding numbers.

selection of students (18), the conduct towards them (19), the exclusive consecration of the transmitter (20), and a relatively long section on his conduct during transmission (21). Dealing with behaviour and conduct, inner attitudes and circumstances concerning the act of hadith transmission, but also with the relationship between transmitter and listener, as well as the purpose and result of their collaboration, the work presents a precious tableau of the practice of hadith transmission, as its actors themselves represent it and want it to be represented.

2.1 *Receptivity, Authority, and Cooperation: The Actors of Transmission, Their Suitability, and Interaction*

It is certainly significant that the *Jāmiʿ* begins each of the two parts concerning respectively the student and the transmitter with the theme of *akhlāq*. In the chapter *The Noble Character Traits Which Ought to Distinguish the Transmitter* (*al-rāwī*) *and the Listener* (*al-sāmiʿ*),[30] al-Khaṭīb insists upon the intrinsic correlation between science and virtuous behaviour: The acquisition and transmission of science is only effective and valid when it comports with the realization of its moral and spiritual content. Thereby, he shows that in hadith transmission the whole personality of the scholar is involved; his personality is a decisive factor for the validity and value of hadith transmission. The author argues this point by referring to the Prophetic teaching about the soteriological and eschatological value of good character: Mere theoretical knowledge of hadith transmission and its rules is insufficient, it rather requires the moral integrity of the persons involved by virtue of its Prophetic content and origin.[31]

The student of hadith is defined as 'listener' (*sāmiʿ*) or 'the one who is in quest for audition' (*ṭālib al-samāʿ*). This quest for the spoken word, in order to be truthful and yield the expected results, requires the fulfilment of certain conditions. For example, the student must be prepared to face poverty[32] and is preferably unmarried.[33] Al-Shāfiʿī is quoted to have said that "the research of hadith is convenient only for the destitute one (*lā yuṣlaḥ ṭalab al-ḥadīth illā li-muflis*)."[34] This is to say that hadith transmission ideally requires an exclusive engagement and consecration, excluding the pursuit of worldly interests. This

30 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 18–31.

31 On this issue, see Ruggero Vimercati Sanseverino, "Transmission, Ethos and Authority in *ḥadīth* Scholarship: A Reading of al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's (476–544/1083–1149) Handbook of *ḥadīth* Science 'The Elucidation of the Principles of Transmission and of the Transcription of Audition'," in *MIDEO* 34 (2019), 35–80.

32 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 22–23. This aspect, especially in terms of the "journey in quest of hadith" is equally developed at the end of the work, al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 378–393.

33 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 23–26.

34 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 25.

is obviously relevant in a time when hadith scholarship begins to benefit from an institutionalized social standing. It is also relevant in view of the reliability of transmission, minimizing the danger of falsification or manipulation for the obtention of material or social advantages. But there is another aspect which concerns the moral suitability of the one who seeks to become a bearer of the Prophetic word and teaching. His personality, and in particular his motivation and the quality of his commitment, have to correspond to the significance and scope of what he seeks, because the transmitter represents what he transmits. One can conclude that the discourse about the conditions that the 'seeker of audition' must fulfil is a discourse about receptivity: It aims at setting the circumstances which engage the seeker's receptivity of the Prophetic word, and at the same time responsibilizes him in view of his role as its representative in the Muslim community.

The responsibility of the student is not limited to his own qualifications; his suitability is equally determined by his ability to choose his teachers or transmitters. The highest value is attached to the transmitter who disposes of short (lit. 'elevated') *isnāds*,[35] so that one should, indeed, begin with the transmitter who disposes of the most 'elevated' *uluw al-isnāds* narrations.[36] This recommendation establishes a hierarchy in terms of proximity to the Prophet[37] and the 'freshness' of the transmitter's recitation. Nonetheless, against those students who seek to collect elevated *isnāds* only to increase one's reputation at the expense of the reliability, al-Khaṭīb warns that the trustworthiness of transmitters is more important than their number, according to the principle "a *ḥadīth* with a distant (*baʿīd*) *isnād* which is sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) is better than a near (*qarīb*) *isnād* which is corrupt (*saqīm*) or weak (*ḍaʿīf*)."[38] In this way, it becomes apparent how the relationship between reliability and proximity is to be determined, considering the fact that both are interrelated: Proximity to the Prophet constitutes a criterion allowing to establish a hierarchy of reliable transmissions.

Various qualities are mentioned as criteria for the choice of a transmitter whose audition one should attend. These relate to his character as well as to his moral and religious integrity. So, one should choose a transmitter after hav-

35 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 32–39.

36 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 40.

37 In his *Muqaddima*, Ibn Ṣalāḥ explains this hierarchy as being led by "proximity to the Messenger of God (*al-qurb min rasūl Allāh*)," see Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, *Muqaddima fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn ʿIṭr, Beirut: n. p., 1986, 256. For this issue in particular, see Dickinson, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī."

38 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 39.

ing observed the way he prays and his 'silence.'[39] The chapter ends with the classical statements to the effect that the human source of a science is crucial for its religious value and validity[40] and that the value of the text of a hadith is dependent on the trustworthiness of its transmitters and the continuity of their transmission. Consequently, it is strongly recommended to keep away from the audition performed by an unreliable transmitter.[41] Al-Khaṭīb even proposes methods to 'test' the transmitter's suitability (*imtiḥān al-rāwī*), such as asking him about the time of his audition[42] or the qualities of his teachers.[43] Strictly forbidden is the audition from "the people of personal inclinations and innovation,"[44] meaning hereby those who do not belong to the Sunni orthodoxy to which al-Khaṭīb himself belonged. Equally discouraged is audition from those who are ignorant of the rules of transmission, despite their piety,[45] and from those who are lenient in transmission and who lack the necessary intellectual rigor and precision.[46] In these recommendations, al-Khaṭīb's endeavour to restrict hadith transmission to a certain religious and scholarly elite is clearly visible. According to his implicit argumentation, the transmission of the Prophetic word, in order to be valid and yield the desired results,[47] has to take place within the community of authorized scholars whose reconnection to the Prophet has been agreed upon to be rightful. It claims a distinctive expertise of hadith scholarship, the authority of which, as indicated in the title of the work, is founded, amongst other things, on its moral (*akhlāq*) and behavioural (*ādāb*) requirements.

It is interesting that the assimilation of Prophetic characters concerns primarily the transmitter (*al-rāwī*), whereas the adoption of a certain form of behaviour regards the hearer (*al-sāmiʿ*) of hadith. As we will see in the study of al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's work, this has to do with the prophetological background of hadith transmission. Accordingly, the transmitter represents the Prophet speaking, and as a consequence, the listener is required to adopt the corresponding behaviour. However, regarding the question why the moral dimension of hadith transmission is so important in the view of al-Khaṭīb and the scholars he quotes, the *Jāmiʿ li-akhlāq* emphasizes what could be called the 'felicity

39 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 41.
40 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 42–43.
41 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 43–44.
42 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 44–45.
43 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 45–46.
44 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 48.
45 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 49–50.
46 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 50.
47 See below chapter 3, *Memorization, Transcription, and Moral Development*.

conditions.' In pragmatics, these describe the factors determining the success of a speech act, that is the communication of the intended meanings.[48] From this angle, the 'cooperation' between speaker and listener is of crucial importance. For hadith transmission as described by al-Khaṭīb, this means that the receptivity of the listener and the authority of the transmitter constitute the conditions for a 'cooperation,' which then facilitates the effective communication of the Prophetic speech. The cooperation of the listener is expressed, amongst other things, in terms of veneration of the transmitter. As shown in the chapter *The Exaltation of the Hadith Scholar* (*taʿẓīm al-muḥaddith*) *and His Veneration* (*tabjīlih*),[49] the listener needs to adopt a certain attitude and behaviour towards the one who 'performs' the hadith. This includes fundamentally a sentiment of awe (*hayba*), but also a code of gestures like holding his stirrups or kissing the transmitter's hand or head, expressing basically an attitude of humility and veneration. Considering this practice from within the perspective of hadith transmission,[50] the exaltation of the transmitter which is requested here is obviously based on what he transmits and does not stem from his individuality. The exaltation in fact exteriorizes the Prophetic reality of the transmitter's authority. It thereby inculcates into the student the awareness of the Prophetic presence which the transmitter represents by virtue of the hadith that he performs. At the same time, as we will see below, the transmitter or teacher is requested to interact with his students in a manner inspired by the Prophetic way of interaction with his Companions.[51] One can see very clearly how the actors of hadith transmission are required, by virtue of their moral integrity and behaviour, to be capable to symbolically reproduce the event of which the hadith is the narration.

2.2 *Exaltation, Aesthetics, and Awareness: The Act of Transmission and Its Circumstances*

Al-Khaṭīb's treatise includes various sections which concern the actual event of transmission and its circumstances. The section on the various forms of conduct that the student is summoned to adopt begins with the circumstances of audition. The 'early morning' is recommended as the moment most propitious for the audition of hadith, according to a Prophetic prayer asking God to bless this moment for his community.[52] Furthermore, silence is required in a session of audition, allowing for an atmosphere that is worthy of the dignity of hadith

48 This point will become clearer in the second part of this study.

49 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 76–84.

50 It goes without saying, that there is an evident social aspect attached to it which is not the object of our considerations here.

51 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 164–191.

52 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 55.

and that inculcates the necessary receptivity and the awareness of the significance of the event into the participants.[53] In the same sense, the section on *The Respect towards the Session of Hadith* quotes the known report from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (d. 63–74/682–693): "We were seated in the mosque when the Messenger of God came out and seated himself with us, and it was as if birds were on our heads—nobody from us dared to speak."[54] The circumstances of hadith audition are meant to reproduce the atmosphere experienced by the Companions when listening to the Prophet, and therefore reflect the situation distinguished by the presence of the Prophet Muḥammad.

This conception is particularly visible in the section treating the attitudes and the behaviour the transmitter (*al-muḥaddith*) should adopt. As bearer of the Prophet's speech, he is to represent the authority and dignity of this speech as well as its Prophetic scope. This representation must be expressed in the transmitter's attitude of detachment towards the representatives of temporal power (*salāṭīn*),[55] but also towards his own students and the possibility to receive loan from them.[56] Again, the text depicts the transmitter as representing the Prophet Muḥammad teaching his community. For example, the chapter *The Transmitter's Adapting His Session to His Participants and His Being Turned towards Them with His Face* begins with a hadith according to which "the Messenger of God never stretched his knees in front of somebody sitting in his presence" and adds that "it is part of the *sunna* that when he speaks to people that he turns to all of them."[57] There follow several reports about hadith transmitters showing how they conformed to the Prophet's example and acted during their transmission according to the way the Prophet taught his followers. This structure, beginning with the Prophetic example, followed by the practice of hadith transmitters, is utilized in the whole work and is characteristic of the literature about the practice of hadith transmission. Thus, the hadith transmitter is shown to represent in a formal way the Prophetic proclamation and its continuity after the Prophet's passing.

The significance of the actual act of transmission has to be represented and made visible in the person of its principal actor, the transmitter. Hence, a very long section is dedicated to the multiple circumstances and aspects of a ses-

53 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 58–60.

54 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 83. On this hadith, see Denis Gril, "Comme s'il y avait des oiseaux sur leur têtes: L'attitude des Compagnons envers le Prophète," in *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 178 (2017), 25–42.

55 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 194–202.

56 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 192–194.

57 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 227.

sion of hadith transmission, describing details in terms of "the rectification of the transmitter's appearance and stature (*iṣlāḥ al-muḥaddith hay'atahu*)."[58] A great focus is laid on the physical appearance of the transmitter, beginning with the recommendation of cleaning the teeth according to the Prophetic practice, shortening the nails and the beard, perfuming, paying attention to the recommended clothing, and more. The text indeed develops an aesthetics of hadith transmission, insisting upon the beauty and dignity that this event and its participants have to reflect. This holds equally true for the way the transmitter addresses his audience. He is recommended to use "a soft discourse," to avoid a humorous dealing with the audience in order not to compromise its "decency" and "respect."[59] In the same line, the transmitter is allowed to re-establish the necessary reverence and composure in the audience if a participant shows signs of negligence. One of the sons of the second Caliph ʿUmar (d. 23/644) is quoted to have said to a group of students who sought to hear hadith from him and who behaved in an indecent way in the mosque of Kufa, "you seek the hadith but you have extinguished its light."[60] Mālik (d. 179/795) is reported to have accomplished the ritual washing, performed ablution, and perfumed himself with incense before relating hadith and "when somebody raised his voice in his session, he rebuked him and said: 'God speaks [in the Qur'an]: O you who believe, do not raise your voices above the voice of the Prophet.'"[61] The Qur'anic verse warns of the gravity of showing disrespect towards the Prophet by interfering in his speech. By establishing a parallel between the Prophet's speaking and the relating of hadith, Mālik obviously seeks to make his audience aware of the sacrality of what is happening when the speech of the Prophet is performed. The one who disturbs the transmission of hadith is in the same situation as those whom God rebuked for raising their voices above that of the Prophet, because his behaviour equally expresses an unawareness of the status of the Prophet's person and speech. Hence, the necessity to adopt an attitude and behaviour which is rooted in the awareness of the value of the hadith transmission as the performance of the Prophet's speech.

This point sheds light on the general perspective developed in the work. The considerations about the optimal circumstances can be read as aiming to

58 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 202–232.

59 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 222–223.

60 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 223.

61 Q 49:2. The verse goes on: "[…] nor address him in the manner that you address one another, lest your deeds come to naught, while you are unaware," Seyyed Hossein Nasr (ed.), *The Study Quran. A New Translation and Commentary*, New York: HarperOne, 2017, 1258. Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 223–224.

encourage a situation, a climate, and atmosphere, in which an awareness of the significance of hadith is induced. In this regard, the chapter on the *Situations in Which the Performance of Hadith is Disapproved*[62] is particularly telling. Qatāda b. Diʿāma (d. 117/735) is quoted to have asked the Companion Abū Ṭufayl (d. 110/728–729) about a hadith. Abū Ṭufayl replied that "for each station there is an appropriate discourse."[63] Al-Khaṭīb then explains that

> it is disapproved to relate hadith while one is walking or standing, until the transmitter and the listener are seated together and have settled down, because this is more favourable for the presence of the heart (*aḥḍar li-l-qalb*) and the focus of understanding (*ajmaʿ li-l-fahm*).[64]

The insistence of ritual purity for relating hadith is to be understood in the same line of thought. It is again Qatāda who is reported to have "disapproved for someone to relate the hadith which are from the Messenger of God except when he is in the state of ritual purity."[65] As the whole personality of the transmitter participates in the transmission and in the communication of its meaning, his dignified behaviour and appearance have to express the beauty and solemnity of the event of hadith transmission.

2.3 *Memorization, Transcription, and Spiritual Growth: The Purpose and the Results of Transmission*

Al-Baghdādī does not contend himself with describing how hadith transmission is to be practiced and by whom. He equally addresses its purpose and the various anticipated outcomes. These are necessary for the accomplishment of hadith transmission. In the chapter *How One Safeguards What the Hadith Scholar Transmits*,[66] al-Khaṭīb insists, first of all, on the necessity of paying attention to the content of the transmitted hadith. Understanding (*fahm*) through 'presence of the heart' during audition is a constitutive part of hadith reception. Thus, the listener—instead of being a passive vessel to be filled—has an active role in the act of transmission. He is supposed to appropriate himself the hadith not only by memorizing it, but by intellectually permeating its meaning: "It is incumbent upon the scholar of hadith to be firm

62 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 224–227.
63 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 224.
64 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 224.
65 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 226.
66 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 234–239. One could also translate *kayfīyat al-ḥifẓ ʿan al-muḥaddith* more concretely with 'how one memorizes what the hadith scholar transmits.'

in his reception, and to understand what is spoken to him, to behold the transmitters, and to take his soul accountable for this."[67] By warning against seeking a high quantity of narrations (*al-ikthār min al-ḥadīth*), al-Khaṭīb presents the reception of hadith as a gradual process which involves the transformation of the student. He cites al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741–742), saying that "if you take this science with obstinacy, it will subdue you; instead take it gently along days and nights, [and] you will triumph!"[68] Hence, al-Khaṭīb expounds various procedures for assuring memorization such as the repetition of the utterance of a hadith for three times, as the Prophet himself did,[69] and the continuous repetition between the students, following thereby the practice of the Prophet's companions.[70] Two other chapters about the various means facilitating the memorization of hadith, placed at the end of the work, portray the life of the hadith student in a very ascetic way.[71] The fruit of this commitment is a form of intuitive knowledge beyond simple erudition, as al-Khaṭīb indicates in the section titled *The Knowledge* (*maʿrifa*) *of Hadith Is not from Conveyance* (*talqīn*)*, but It Is a Knowledge That God Bestows to the Heart* (*ʿilm yuḥdithuh Allāh fī l-qalb*).[72]

Another type of expected result of hadith transmission is its collection or 'registration' (*tadwīn*) in form of its transcription (*kitāba*) which has to fulfil certain conditions and requires the adoption of rules of conduct. Al-Khaṭīb develops this material aspect of hadith transmission in great detail, as in the chapter *The Collection of Hadith in Books and the Types of Conducts* (*anwāʿ al-adab*) *Pertaining to It*[73] which includes, for example, explanations on the various "instruments of transcription."[74] In the chapter on the *Embellishment of Scripture and its Rectification*,[75] the author treats every detail of the process of transcription, from the manner of writing "in the name of God" at the beginning to the circle that graphically marks the end of each hadith. The written document has then to be submitted to the teacher in order to ensure its 'soundness' (*ṣiḥḥat al-kitāb*),[76] since, as al-Khaṭīb quotes rather sarcastically, "the one who writes down [hadith] and does not submit it is like the one who passes

67 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 110.
68 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 111.
69 Al-Khaṭīb *al-Jāmiʿ* 112–113.
70 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 113–115.
71 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 394–414.
72 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 398.
73 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 122–127.
74 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 124–127.
75 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 128–137.
76 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 138–141.

stool and does not clean himself with water."[77] In these sections, the expertise of the hadith scholar appears as a distinct craft requiring a certain kind of manual knowledge and skill, but above all a strong sense of precision and diligence. It seems as if the written document, as the material outcome of the transmission, is expected to reflect the beauty and dignity of the audition of hadith, but also its reliability.

However, the appropriation of hadiths is not limited to the formal fixation and the theoretical understanding. It comports most of all the moral and spiritual assimilation (*takhalluq*) of the content of hadith, the Prophetic *sunna*, and the conformity with its source, the 'exalted character' (Q 68:4) with which God ennobled the Prophet:[78]

> It is obligatory that the seekers of hadith are the most perfect people in manners (*adab*), the strongest in modesty, and the greatest in probity and piety, as well as those who are the least frivolous and furious, because their hearing is continuously filled with reports relating the beautiful character traits of the Messenger of God and his manners [...].[79]

In this way, al-Khaṭīb stresses the point that the substance of hadith transmission, thus considered as a complex and comprehensive activity requiring the fulfilment of precise conditions, resides in the moral and spiritual development of the persons involved according to the Prophetic model. Exemplary for this vision, is, amongst others, the statement attributed to Baqī b. Makhlad (d. 276/889), via Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), himself an important figure for the association of hadith scholarship and ascetism: "We are more in need of a lot of *adab* than of hadith!"[80] In the chapter *The Etiquettes* (*ādāb*) *of Audition*, al-Khaṭīb explains that

> it is incumbent upon the student of hadith to distinguish himself in all his affairs from the ways of the common people by following the traces (*istiʿmāl āthār*) of the Messenger of God as much as it is possible for him and that he imposes the Prophetic practice on his soul, in accordance to what God says: "In the Messenger of God there is a beautiful example for you" (Q 33:21)[81]

77 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 138.
78 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 6.
79 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 8.
80 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 9.
81 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 51.

and "when a person hears something from the manners (*ādāb*) of the Prophet he should cling to it."[82]

Hence, the audition of hadith has a clear practical aspect, which involves the religious and spiritual education of the hearer. It must transform the state of being and behaviour of the hearer, so that the hearer himself becomes a bearer of hadith. For becoming a transmitter of hadith, memorization of a text is not sufficient; it is the assimilation of the content which accomplishes the reception of hadith: "Sufyān al-Thawrī [d. 161/778] said: 'Honour [lit. 'embellish'—*zayyinū*] the hadith with yourself and do not honour yourselves through the hadith!'"[83] Hence, as resumed by the lapidary statement attributed to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), "the scholar of hadith is in our view the one who puts it into practice."[84] Furthermore, as al-Khaṭīb explains, the perfection of character corresponds to the purpose of the Muḥammadan mission, as expressed in the hadith "I have been sent in order to accomplish the pious character traits (*ṣāliḥ al-akhlāq*)"[85] and "elevated character traits" are "loved by God," according to a hadith attributed to the Prophet via his grand-son al-Ḥusayn (d. 61/680).[86] Corresponding to this comprehensive view of hadith transmission, the transmitter represents—by virtue of his embodying the content of hadith—the continuity of the Prophetic mission.

3 The Prophetology of Hadith Transmission according to al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's *al-Shifā bi-taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā*

The analysis of the *Jāmiʿ al-akhlāq al-rāwī* has already pointed out in various ways that, for a major theoretician of the science of hadith like al-Khaṭīb, the practice of hadith transmission has a prophetological background. At the same time, the insistence on the necessity of an interior attitude and awareness hints at a spiritual dimension. Hence, pursuing our enquiry into how scholars of hadith understood the meaning of hadith and of its transmission, we have to ask now how the event of hadith transmission described and codified by al-Khaṭīb fits into what pragmatics call the 'network of beliefs' determining a speech event.[87] In fact, only by considering "the assumptions about the world"

82 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 51.
83 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 19.
84 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 53.
85 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 19.
86 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 18.
87 Similarly, the "ethnography of speaking" shows how communication events mirror world-

mutually recognized by the persons involved[88] in the performance of hadith transmission—that is principally the transmitter (*al-rāwī*) and the listener (*al-sāmiʿ*)—the meaning of the practice of transmission, its requirements, and codes, come to light.

The prophetological dimension of hadith transmission has not remained unnoticed. William Graham showed how the purpose of the *isnād*-paradigm, which characterizes "Islamic traditionalism", basically consists in the reconnection to the Prophet.[89] Stefan Sperl evokes a "background narrative" which is "instantly evoked by the words *qāla rasūl Allāh* […]" and "encompasses the whole of Islamic prophetology, eschatology, as well as the life story of the Prophet Muḥammad itself". As such, the background narrative "is, by implication, an integral part of every individual hadith, and knowledge thereof is tacitly assumed."[90] In his pioneering study about the continuing attraction of elevated *isnād*s after the formative period of hadith sciences, Eerik Dickinson shows for his part the spiritual dimension of hadith transmission:

> [T]he significance of elevation [of *isnād*s] lay[s] in the realm of spirituality rather than of the transmission of knowledge. The background of the composition of the *Muqaddima* [by Ibn Ṣalāḥ] suggests certain affinities between the circulation of *ḥadīth* and the circulation of Prophetic relics. Elevation turned *ḥadīth* into a special kind of relic. It allowed the believer *to come into closer contact with the spiritual power of the Prophet* [italics by R.V.S]. Whereas the believer was stuck at his own historically (inferior) station in terms of years (*taʾrīkh*), by a different view of time, shorter *isnāds* allowed him to be closer to the Prophet in terms of generations (*ṭabaqāt*).[91]

Besides showing that the considerations about the prophetological and spiritual background of hadith transmission are not peculiar to the generations of al-Khaṭīb and of al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, but that this background was even more explicit when the study of hadith became socially institutionalized, Dickinson's observations illustrate additionally the crucial significance of what he calls the

views. See Dell Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking," in Thomas Gladwin and William Sturtevant (eds.), *Anthropology and Human Behaviour*, Washington, DC: Anthropological Society of Washington, 1962, 13–53.

88 Papademetriou, "Performative Meaning" 15.

89 William A. Graham, "Traditionalism in Islam. An Essay in Interpretation," in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3.23 (1993), 495–522.

90 Sperl, Man's "Hollow Core" 462.

91 Dickinson, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī" 481.

Prophet's 'spiritual power', and its experience through hadith transmission. So, the question arises: what does this mean for the transmitters of hadith and how is it related to hadith transmission and its role in Islam?

As already alluded to in the introduction, these themes and questions are addressed very explicitly, even if within a particular framework, by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, himself a renowned hadith scholar,[92] in his famous *Shifā*.[93] In this major reference of prophetological writing in Sunni Islam, several chapters address themes which allow to understand the relationship between transmission of hadith and representation of the Prophet Muḥammad.

3.1 *Experiencing the Prophet Speak*

According to the argumentative structure of the *Shifā*, the 'exaltation of the transmission of hadith' (*taʿẓīm riwāyat al-ḥadīth*) is one of the rights (*ḥuqūq*) of the Prophet Muḥammad that Muslims are obliged to respect. In the literature concerning hadith transmission, the performative meaning of hadith

92 He is known as "leader of hadith scholars" (*imām ahl al-ḥadīth fī waqtih*) in the Islamic West of his time. See al-Bašīr ʿAlī Aḥmad al-Turābī, *al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ wa-juhūduhu fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth riwāyatan wa-dirāyatan*, Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1997; Ruggero Vimercati Sanseverino, "Transmission, Ethos and Authority." For biographical sources, see Delfina Serrano Ruano, "ʿIyāḍ, Abū al-Faḍl," in Lirola Delgado (ed.), *Biblioteca de al-Andalus: De Ibn al-Yabbāb a Nubdat al-ʿAṣr*, Almería: Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes, 2009, 404–434.

93 The work has been approached by a historian of religions, Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm: Norstedt, 1918, 257–289; by historians of al-Andalus, for example, Maribel Fierro, "El Tratado Sobre El Profeta Del Cadí ʿIyad Y El Contexto Almohade," in Raif Georges Khoury, Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, María Jesús Viguera, and Concepción Castillo Castillo (eds.), *Legendaria medievalia: En honor de Concepción Castillo Castillo*, Córdoba: El Almendro, 2011, 19–34; and by historians of the Muslim representation of the Prophet Muḥammad, such as Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger. The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985, 29; Tilman Nagel, *Allahs Liebling. Ursprung und Erscheinungsformen des Mohammedglaubens*, München: Oldenbourg, 2008, 135–198; Javier Albarrán Iruela, *Veneración y polémica. Muḥamad en la obra del Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ*, Madrid: La Ergástula, 2015; Tarif Khalidi, *Images of Muhammad. Narratives of the Prophet in Islam across the Centuries*, New York: Doubleday, 2009, 209–213; Ruggero Vimercati Sanseverino, "'Wer dem Gesandten gehorcht, der gehorcht damit Gott'. Normativität der prophetischen Tradition und Gnadenerfüllung im sunnitischen Denken der spätformativen Periode," in Mouez Khalfaoui and Bülent Uçar (eds.), *Islamisches Recht in Theorie und Praxis*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016, 57–78. See also Ruggero Vimercati Sanseverino, "Theology of Veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad. Knowledge and Love in the Shifāʾ of al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149) between *ḥadīth*, Philosophy and Spirituality," in Denis Gril and Stefan Reichmuth (eds.), *The Presence of the Prophet: Knowledge and Culture in Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 2021, 153–196.

is narratively expressed in the description of the physical and psychological state of important transmitters. Like 'verbal acts,' these descriptions are in fact intended to make visible how the transmitter perceives the occurrence of the uttered Prophetic word. It is not surprising then, that they form the substance of al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's chapter on hadith transmission. One passage, which reminds one of a very similar statement quoted by al-Baghdādī, mentioned in the first part of this study, is particularly explicit:

> When ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī [d. 197/813] recited hadith, he used to order his disciples to be silent and to say "Do not raise your voice above the voice of the Prophet";[94] he interpreted this Qurʾanic verse as meaning that it is incumbent to be silent during the reading of hadith as it is when hearing the Prophet speak.[95]

Whereas in al-Khaṭīb this anecdote was meant to explain the necessity of a certain awareness and behaviour during the audition of hadith, in the *Shifā* it is mentioned in view of the fact that "to venerate and exalt the Prophet after his death is as obligatory as it was during his lifetime."[96]

The various well-known anecdotes mentioned by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ illustrate this view through testimonies of lived experiences, offering a veritable phenomenology of hadith transmission:

> ʿAmr b. Maymūn [d. 74/693] reported that he stayed with [the Companion] Ibn Masʿūd about one year and that he rarely dared to pronounce the expression "the Messenger of God said," but that when he did, "he was afflicted with distress, so that I could see the sweat flowing down his forehead," and, according to another version, "his eyes were flooded with tears and his jugular veins puffed up." Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Quraym al-Anṣārī, the judge of Medina narrated: "Once Mālik b. Anas passed by Abū Ḥāzim while he was transmitting a hadith (*yuḥaddith*)," and then he went further saying: "I have not found a place to sit in, so I disliked to hear the hadith of God's Messenger while standing." And Mālik narrated: "Once, a man came to Ibn al-Musayyab [d. 94/712–713] asking him about hadith. Ibn al-Musayyab, who was laying down, sat and told him about that hadith. Therein, the man said to him: 'I wish you would not fatigue,'

94 Q 49:2.
95 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 246.
96 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 243–244.

> but Ibn al-Musayyab remarked: 'I disliked to tell you about God's Messenger while having been lain down.'" It is reported from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn that he may have laughed occasionally, but when a hadith of the Prophet was stated in his presence, he would observe humility and humbleness (*khashaʿa*).[97] [...] Muṣʿab b. ʿAbdallāh [al-ʿAwwām, d. 236/851] said: "Mālik b. Anas[98] would not utter any hadith of God's Messenger except in a state of ritual ablution out of exaltation (*ijlālan*). Intending to speak about a hadith of God's Messenger, Mālik b. Anas would perform ablution, prepare himself, and put on his clothes, and then only he would speak. When asked about this behaviour, Mālik is reported to have responded: 'I love to magnify the hadith of the Messenger of God [...]' and on another occasion 'I want the hadith of the Messenger of God to be understood.' Muṣʿab said: 'When Mālik was asked about that, he answered: 'This is the hadith of God's Messenger.'"[99]

These examples show in a very vivid and plastic way that for these emblematic figures of the Sunni tradition, the recitation and audition of hadith allows them to become witnesses of an event that is historically in the past. This dynamic between the Prophetic past and the present of transmission might be inherent to the meaning of hadith, as suggested, albeit in a different context, by Stefan Sperl. Referring to the literary theories about epic narrations, he remarks that "while the epic forges the image of an 'absolute past,' hadith transforms the image of the past into an absolute present."[100] The anecdotes quoted above indeed suggest that through the transmission of hadith the audience is summoned to relive, in the footsteps of the transmitters, the experience of the encounter with the Prophet and thus of the event of Prophetic revelation,[101] the significance of which is, by definition, beyond time and place.

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97 The notion of *khāshiʿa* is particularly interesting, because it is usually applied to the state of standing before God in ritual prayer. It is therefore related to the awareness of being in presence of somebody for whom one feels awe.

98 One may remark that whereas Ibn Masʿūd, the Companion teaching in Kufa, represents a major authority for Ḥanafism, Mālik is the founder of Mālikism. Hence, these anecdotes possibly were also intended to show that the exaltation of the act of transmission of hadith is consensual beyond the differences between schools of law concerning the use of hadith.

99 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 247.

100 Sperl, Man's "Hollow Core" 482.

101 It might be useful to remark that in the eyes of scholars like al-Baghdādī and al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, the reliable hadith represents a textual testimony of the *sunna* which has the status of non-verbal revelation (*al-waḥy ghayr al-matlūw*). On this point, see Vimercati Sanseverino, "Transmission, Ethos and Authority" 41–46.

3.2 *The Soteriological Meaning of the Prophet's Personality*

The *Shifā* allows us to understand that the experience of the Prophet's speech constitutes, for the theoreticians of the science of hadith, one of the functions of the practice of hadith transmission. Additionally, it explains why this experience is relevant and what meaning it has for them. Articulating a certain representation of the Prophet Muḥammad, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ seeks to explain in his *Shifā* why the believer's relationship to him has a soteriological meaning and a normative character. Considering the spread and popularity of this work, one has to conclude that this notion of prophetology proved to be enormously successful and can thus be considered as representative for the major trends of Sunni Islam, at least until the age of modern reformism.[102]

One particular theme of the complex prophetology of the *Shifā* is especially noticeable: the soteriological meaning of the believer's relationship to the Prophet Muḥammad, namely the theme of God's mercy and grace (*raḥma*) of which the Prophet is considered to be the instrument and embodiment in the realm of creation and history.[103] Right at the beginning of the *Shifā*, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ analyses the exegesis of Qur'anic evidence[104] and develops the idea that the Prophet Muḥammad represents God's supreme gift to mankind. This is further illustrated by a passage attributed to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), venerated by both Sunnis and Shiʿis as a major exponent of the Prophetic teaching with regard to both its religious and spiritual dimensions:

> God knew the incapacity (*ʿajz*) of His creatures to obey Him. He made this manifest to them so that they understood that they do not reach the purity (*ṣafā*) of service to Him. He established between Himself and them a created being from their own species according to its form, and He clothed this being with His attributes of compassion and mercy; He then made it come forth to creation as a truthful emissary and made obedience to him equivalent to obedience to Himself and conformity to him

102 The critique by Ibn Taymīya (d. 728/1328), directed in particular against the practical dimension of this prophetology, certainly represented a marginal theological position in his times, see Khaled El-Rouayheb, "From Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 1566) to Khayr al-Dīn al-Ālūsī (d. 1899). Changing Views on Ibn Taymiyya among Non-Ḥanbalī Sunni Scholars," in Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmed (eds.), *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 269–317.

103 Andrae speaks of "Muḥammad as the one through whom God's mercy is revealed," see Andrae, *Person Muhammeds* 252–256.

104 For example: "God certainly favored the believers when He sent a Messenger from among themselves […]," Q 3:164.

> equivalent to conformity to Himself, and said "Who obeys the messenger has therewith obeyed God"[105] and "And We sent thee not, save as a mercy unto the worlds."[106]

In the next passage, quoting a certain Abū Bakr b. Ṭāhir,[107] al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ explains a further aspect of the soteriological function of the Prophet:

> God embellished Muḥammad with mercy, so that his very being became mercy, and all his qualities and attributes became mercy to all creatures. Whoever is affected (*man aṣābah*) by anything of this mercy[108] is saved in both worlds from any despised thing and attains all that is loved. Don't you see that God says [in the Qur'an]: "And We sent thee not, save as a mercy unto the worlds?"[109] Indeed, his life was a mercy and his death was a mercy, as he himself said: "My life is a blessing for you and my death is a blessing for you [...]."[110]

Considering the prophetology expressed in these passages, it becomes clearer why the personality of Muḥammad, besides his teaching and mission, is considered to be spiritually significant. Representing God's gift to humankind, the Prophet is the locus where the believer can come in touch with His mercy and grace.

The question why a Muslim should seek to be connected to the Prophet Muḥammad is further answered in terms of another major theme of the *Shifā*, namely 'love for the Prophet.' There is a very large section on the normative character of the *maḥabbat al-nabī* and on its reason and meaning, forming the core of the second part of the *Shifā* that deals with the 'rights of the Prophet' and thus with the ways Muslims are to relate themselves to him.[111] Particularly relevant to our theme is the sub-chapter *On the Reward* (*thawāb*)

105 Q 5:80.

106 Q 21:107. Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 22.

107 The identity of this person is not clear. Commentators hesitate between Abū Bakr b. Ṭāhir al-Maʿāfirī al-Shāṭibī, or al-Ishbīlī al-Qaysī.

108 In fact, *raḥma* should rather be translated as 'grace' in this context, because what is meant here is the salvificatory working of God on man, so, the effect or operative aspect of God's mercy. However, for reasons of the consistency of the translation, the term 'mercy' has been maintained.

109 Q 21:107.

110 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 22.

111 For a more detailed discussion of this notion, see Vimercati Sanseverino, "Theology of Veneration" 173–176.

for Love for the Prophet.[112] 'Love for the Prophet' is the notion through which Islamic sources, beginning with the Qurʾan and the hadith,[113] qualify the relationship of the Muslim community to its founding figure and the normative character of its commitment and reconnection to him.[114] The theme of its 'reward' explains, in fact, the eschatological and spiritual meaning of this relationship. Hence, the argument developed through the various hadiths is that 'loving the Prophet' means to be associated with the one who will be in the most blissful position in paradise: "Whoever loves me, will be with me in paradise".[115] If 'being with the Prophet' is the supreme reward for loving him, it implies that it is so due to the association to the grace for which God singled him out.

This again is expressed, among other ways, in terms of love, specifically here in terms of 'God's love for the Prophet.' Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ deals with this last point in a chapter where he discusses, among other things, Muḥammad's specific designation *ḥabīb Allāh* ('the beloved of God') mentioned in a hadith.[116] In this way, the author of the *Shifā* is able to show why love for the Prophet plays a crucial role for the religious and spiritual life of Muslims. If, as al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ argues, the Prophet Muḥammad is God's supreme object of love, in the end this implies that to love the Prophet means to be associated with him and hence to benefit from God's unique love of him. It is obvious that God's love for His creature is defined in terms of the ultimate goal of human existence as

112 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 232–233.

113 In Q 9:24, probably addressed to "those Muslims who remained in Mecca after the migration" (Nasr, *Study Quran* 511), love for the Prophet Muḥammad, here in the sense of giving preference to him, appears as a mark which distinguishes his most loyal followers: "Say: 'If your fathers, your children, your brothers, your spouses, your tribe, your wealth you have acquired, commerce whose stagnation you fear, and dwellings you find pleasing are more beloved to you than God and His Messenger (*aḥabba ilaykum min Allāh wa-rasūlih*), and striving in His way, then wait till God comes with His command' […]." Evidence from the hadith is certainly more numerous, the most famous being the tradition found amongst others in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-Īmān, Bāb Ḥubb al-rasūl min al-īmān*, no. 14, "Nobody has faith until he loves me more than his father, his child, and the whole of mankind." See in particular Gril, "Comme s'il y avait des oiseaux sur leur têtes."

114 For the paradigmatic significance of the reconnection to the Prophet, see Graham, "Traditionalism in Islam."

115 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 233.

116 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 130–133: "[…] am I not the beloved of God, without any pride?" There is no full *isnād* given by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, but the hadith is to be found amongst others in al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, in Jamʿīyat al-Maknaz al-Islamī (ed.), *Jamʿjawāmiʿ al-aḥādīth wa-l-asānīd wa-maknaz al-ṣiḥāḥ wa-l-sunan wa-l-masānīd*, 7 vols., vi, Vaduz: Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation, 2000, *Kitāb al-Manāqib, Bāb fī faḍl al-nabī*, no. 3616.

> enabling [the one benefitting of it] to attain felicity, protecting him, guiding him to success, providing him with the means to draw closer to Him, and bestowing His grace upon him, and finally to take away the veil from his heart so that he perceives Him (*yarāhu*) with his heart and gazes (*yanẓura ilayhi*) towards Him with his inner sight (*baṣīra*), until he is as [God] said in the hadith [*qudsī*] "and when I love him, I am his hearing through which he hears, his sight through which he sees, and his tongue through which he speaks […]."[117]

3.3 *The Post-Mortem Presence of Muḥammadan Prophethood and Its Metahistorical Scope*

If in these passages of the *Shifā* the soteriological meaning of the Prophet's personality is brought to light, the question remains, why is this to be relevant after his death. Or, in other words, how is it possible for the Muslim community to benefit of the "spiritual power," as Dickinson calls it, or - one might say - of the benediction attached to his person, after his historical existence? The last sentence of the passage by Ibn Ṭāhir already alluded to the fact that the salvific mercy represented by the Prophet remains operative and accessible even after the Prophet's death: "Indeed, his life was a mercy and his death was a mercy, as he himself said: 'My life is a blessing for you and my death is a blessing for you.'"[118] This idea is to be found in various thematic contexts in the *Shifā*, as in the chapter *Concerning God's Informing His Creatures about His Prayer on (the Prophet), His Taking Him in Charge and Withdrawing Punishment through Him*.[119] Relating various interpretations of the verse "But God will not punish them while thou [oh Prophet] art among them […]."[120] al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ concludes:

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117 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 132. The hadith is transmitted by al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Kitāb al-Raqā'iq, bāb al-tawāḍuʿ* no. 6137.

118 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 22. The quotation finishes with the following hadith: "Whenever God intends to show mercy upon a certain community, He would take hold of its Prophet before it so that He would establish him as a forerunner preparing the way for it (*faraṭan wa-salafan*) [to the hereafter]." Here the meaning of the death of the Prophet is explained in terms of his eschatological role. In this sense, the Prophetic mission is not limited to this world, but extends to the realm of the hereafter, as is equally implied, amongst other things, by the notion of intercession (*shafāʿa*) discussed in the *Shifā*, see al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 133–139.

119 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 39.

120 Q 8:33.

> The Messenger is the supreme custody (*al-amān al-aʿẓam*). As long as he lives and as long as his *sunna* subsists, he subsists (*fa-huwa bāq*); but when his *sunna* dies, you have to expect [the advent of] trials and troubles.[121]

These and other passages are significant as they firstly indicate that the mere presence of the Prophet Muḥammad is a warrant for God's mercy and protection. Secondly, they indicate that this presence does not disappear with the Prophet's death, but that it subsists afterwards,[122] or rather that it can be experienced even then, here through the preservation of the *sunna*. A hadith mentioned in the context of the meaning of *ittibāʿ*, the act of following and imitating the Prophet, is even more explicit: "Who vivifies my *sunna* has therewith vivified me (*aḥyānī*), and who has vivified me will be with me in paradise."[123] The relation to the hadith transmission, which claims to fulfil precisely this role of conserving the *sunna* alive in the Muslim community, is quite evident here.

At the same time, the conception of a form of salvific and spiritual presence of the Prophet in his community after his death presupposes a certain vision of the scope of Muḥammadan prophethood not being limited to the historical existence of Muḥammad and to the historical period of his mission. This has consequences on how the role of hadith transmission is considered at this regard. Furthermore, it highlights the crucial significance of both the Prophetic presence and the transmission of hadith for the destiny of the Muslim community: Only by virtue of the presence of the Prophet through the *sunna* harm on the Muslim community and its fragmentation can be averted.[124] In other words, the vitality and health of the Muslim community depends on the quality and continuity of the hadith transmission.

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121 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 39.

122 On this point see also Andrae, *Person Muhammeds* 285–289; Fritz Meier, "Eine Auferstehung Mohammeds bei Suyūṭī," in *Der Islam* 62 (1985), 20–58; Uri Rubin, "Pre-Existence and Light: Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad," in *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), 62–119; Claude Addas, *La maison muhammadienne. Aperçus de la dévotion au Prophète en mystique musulmane*, Paris: Gallimard, 2015. See also a contemporary treatise on this theme which aroused a public controversy in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Syria, Muḥammad al-Makkī al-Mālikī Ibn ʿAlawī, *Mafāhīm yajibu an tuṣaḥḥaḥa*, Cairo 1985, transl. Suraqah Abdul Aziz, in Suraqah Abdul Aziz (ed.) *Notions That Must Be Corrected*, Rotterdam: Sunni, ²2010 [2018].

123 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 228.

124 For this point and its relation to al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's diagnosis of his times, see Vimercati Sanseverino, "Transmission, Ethos and Authority" 46–51.

Another chapter in the *Shifā* develops the practical dimension of this prophetology. In *The Exaltation of the Prophet after His Death*[125]—which, quite significantly, comes immediately after the chapter on the exaltation of the transmission of hadith—al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ explains:

> Know that [upholding] the sacrality (*ḥurma*) of the Prophet, his veneration and exaltation are necessary (*lāzim*) after his death as they are during his life, and this is valid when he is mentioned, or his hadith and *sunna*, when one hears his name or hears about his conduct, when one is dealing with his family and his descendants, and when the members of his household and his companions are exalted. Abū Ibrāhīm [Isḥāq] al-Tūjībī [d. 352/963] said: "It is obligatory for every believer that when he mentions [the Prophet], or when [the Prophet] is mentioned to him, that he be humble and awed (*yakhshaʿ*), and that he be reverential, and that he refrains from his movements and feels the reverence and exaltation that he would experience when the Prophet stands before him, and that he behaves according to how God has educated us with regard to him." And this has been the conduct of our pious forefathers and of our past imams.[126]

This passage is very clear about the reason why the act of relating or hearing hadith requires a certain behaviour and attitude. It expresses the view that the hadith allows for the experience of the Prophet's presence. Those who participate in the audition are in the situation of experiencing themselves "as if the Prophet stood in front of you." In this sense, the transmission of hadith has the power to create a spiritual resonance within those who relate and hear it. This experience and resonance, constituting the performative meaning of transmission, are made accessible and at the same time expressed by a behaviour and attitude of veneration.

This passage is followed by a series of reports and anecdotes illustrating the physical, psychological, and spiritual state of illustrious figures of early Islam following the mentioning of the Prophet and of his speech. By way of an example:

> Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh said: "When the Prophet was mentioned, the colour of Mālik's face would change and become so pale that it would be diffi-

125 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 245–246. The chapter title seems to be a later addition, resuming the first sentence.

126 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 245.

> cult to bear for those who were sitting with him. Yet, one day he was asked about this and he answered: 'Had you seen what I have seen, you would not have blamed me for this. I used to witness Muḥammad b. Munkadir [d. 130/748], the master of the Qur'an reciters, and each time he was asked about hadith, he cried until we felt pity for him. And I used to see Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad [al-Ṣādiq], who liked to joke and to laugh, but when the Prophet was mentioned in his presence, his face would turn pale [...]. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim[127] [d. 126/744] mentioned the Prophet, the colour of his face changed as if it had been emptied of all its blood and his tongue would dry up in his mouth out of his reverence for the Messenger of God. And I met al-Zuhrī who was one of the most delightful and sociable among the people; when the Prophet was mentioned in his presence, he appeared as if he had neither known you nor had you known him [...].'"[128]

These and other anecdotes can be interpreted as a discourse of authority, arguing both the sacrality of the Prophetic person and the piety of those who claim to transmit his teaching, in order to validate the privileged status of the hadith scholars. At the same time, the anecdotes can be considered to express, in a very vivid and palpable manner, namely through the narration of a concrete and describable experience, the prophetological background of hadith transmission which informs the 'assumptions' shared by those involved in it. Accordingly, an essential assumption consists of believing the Prophetic mission and the salvific force attached to the Muḥammadan personality, not to be terminated with its historical end, but to be continuously available and relevant. As a consequence, it is possible to experience the same reverence regarding Muḥammad, and to benefit from the resulting benediction, as did his contemporaries, because the experience of the Prophet's presence remains accessible through the metahistorical continuity of his mission. The hadith, claimed to be a textual materialization of the Prophetic revelation and teaching, is quite naturally regarded to play a privileged role in this respect. It is on the basis of the above-mentioned assumption, that the hadith is considered and experienced to be a privileged medium for the actualization of the Prophetic presence in the Muslim community. As such, the hadith represents, in the view of its scholars, a vital support of Muslim's love for their Prophet which, as shown in the previous chapter, allows access to God's sanctifying love.

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127 This is a great-grandson of the first calif Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (d. 13/634).

128 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā* 246.

4 Conclusion: Event and Authenticity, and the Meaning of Hadith Transmission Reconsidered

The transmission of hadith, *al-riwāya*, is usually considered in academic research primarily as a purely functional procedure the purpose of which would be to technically assure the historical accuracy of the transmitted material. However, the sources draw a picture of the transmission of hadith which goes beyond its mere technical and functional aspect. The numerous accounts reporting how the transmission of hadith was experienced by early authorities and renowned transmitters portray the *riwāya* as a religiously and symbolically meaningful *event*. Although this dimension of hadith transmission has not yet been studied in a systematic and focused manner, it has not gone unnoticed either. John Burton draw attention to its prophetological relevance already:

> The significance of the Tradition [of *ḥadīth*] is thus the sense that it preserves the Prophet alive in the midst of the believers, available still to be consulted on any and every question. ln this light, Muḥammad's death became irrelevant.[129]

Eerik Dickinson, as already mentioned, showed how the hadith had a function in Muslim society which can be compared to a relic of the Prophet and thus to a vehicle of the Prophet's benediction, allowing 'proximity' to him even after his death. Furthermore, Rüdiger Lohlker remarks that "in the recitation of *ḥadīth*, the living Prophetic word, continuously operating in the community, and bringing about salvation, is present."[130] Considering the Shiʿite hadith tradition in the light of the theory of 'cultural memory,' Rainer Brunner explains that the reference to the Prophetic past which is embodied in hadith aims primarily at keeping alive a "state of salvation."[131] Discussing "Aspects of Prophetic Piety in the Early Modern Period," Stefan Reichmuth speaks of the hadith "as a moral resource and medium of connection with the Prophet",[132] thereby

129 John W. Burton, *An Introduction to the Ḥadīth*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994, 21.

130 Rüdiger Lohlker, "Vorher ward ihr keine Erwähnung. Zur Renaissance der *Ḥadīth*wissenschaft im marokkanischen 18. Jahrhundert," in Rüdiger Lohlker (ed.), *Ḥadīthstudien—die Überlieferungen des Propheten im Gespräch: Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Tilman Nagel*, Hamburg: Nūr al-Ḥikma, 2009, 133–152.

131 Brunner, "Role of Ḥadīth" 327, who refers to Tilman Nagel, "Ḥadīṯ—oder: Die Vernichtung der Geschichte," in *ZDMG-Suppl.* 10, XXV. Deutscher Orientalistentag (1994), 118–128, 126.

132 Stefan Reichmuth, "Aspects of Prophetic Piety in the Early Modern Period," in *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 178 (Juillet–Septembre 2017), 129–150, 135–138.

showing that this view on hadith is not limited to the medieval period but represents an ongoing concern in the intellectual history of Islam.

The present study of two seminal texts on hadith transmission and prophetology allows us to deepen our understanding of this dimension of the hadith tradition and to see how it is actually argued and articulated in the sources.[133] Al-Khaṭīb's treatise on the ethical aspect of hadith transmission has shown how the description of the practice of hadith transmission in manuals of hadith science articulate the performative meaning of hadith, making evident its event character. Through the detailed physical and psychological description of how the transmitter experiences the utterance and the audition of the Prophetic word, these anecdotes present, in fact, a veritable phenomenology of hadith transmission. Hadith transmission is then the performance reproducing the event which it relates.[134] This event occurs within a particular speech community the members of which have to fulfil certain conditions and possess certain qualities. From this perspective, the particular expertise of the hadith transmitters resides in their capability to make the event of Prophetic speech happen, with all what this implies. Their capability is grounded, besides their technical skills, in their realization of the Prophetic model, qualifying them for their role as trustworthy and reliable vehicles and bearers of the Prophetic speech and teaching.

Considering the context of late formative Sunnism, it is evident that al-Khaṭīb equally sought to consolidate the authority of hadith transmission as a fundamental and reliable source for the Islamic tradition. Expounding the high moral exigences demanded from scholars of hadith is also a way to emphasize their prestige and distinction within Muslim scholarship and society. To the extent that they identify themselves with the meaning of hadith in their behaviour, attitude, and awareness, the hadith transmitters and students are sacralised by the Prophetic word. Insisting on this comprehensive character of hadith transmission, the author is able to determine the community in which valid transmission of the Prophetic teaching is possible. This explains why the moral and spiritual dimension plays a crucial role as criteria for the authority of the speaker and the receptivity of the listener.[135]

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133 However, both texts have not yet been sufficiently exploited. The present overview focuses on specific themes.

134 Interestingly, in his ethno-poetics, Dell Hymes remarks: "Performance is a mode of existence and realization that is partly *constitutive* of what the tradition is. The tradition itself exists partly for the sake of performance; performance is itself partly an end." Dell Hymes, *In Vain I Tried to Tell You. Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981, 86.

135 One could relate this to Asma Hilali's remark that "the authors of *ḥadīth*-sciences have

While the *Jāmiʿ* appears as a speaking testimony that for scholars of hadith transmission involved much more than the conveyance of historical information, the *Shifā* allows us to understand why this is so. The particular interest of Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's work resides in the fact that it shows how the theme of hadith transmission is imbedded in a complex prophetology. If the *Shifā* argues the soteriological meaning of the Muslim's relationship to the Prophet, the hadith is represented as one of the major means through which this relationship, articulated in terms of love for him, is established after his death.[136] Moreover, this study allows for further insights into the correlation between the consolidation of the hadith tradition and the beginning of the formalization and codification of the veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad in the 6th/12th century. In this way, it showed how transmission and veneration are interrelated in the Sunni tradition. For al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ the inappropriate or incomplete understanding of the Prophetic reality of Muḥammad's personality constitutes the real cause for the neglect of the Prophet's rights in the Muslim community, and hence is the root of the latter's critical situation. Against this background, the transmission of hadith, as a privileged medium of the Prophet's presence, represents a major measure against this neglect and is thus crucial for the destiny of the Muslim community.

Regarding our initial interrogation about the definition of the term 'hadith,' the results of this study show the need of a comprehensive understanding of hadith. It suggests that there is—besides the purely technical meaning of hadith and of its transmission, expressed in terms of a functional definition—an equally performative meaning. The latter is expressed in a narrative way and concerns the occurrence of the Prophet's speech through its narration.[137] In

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not the project to reconstruct what happened during the transmission of *ḥadīth*, but their task is to justify the authority of existing texts. Their aim is not authenticity of *ḥadīth* but authority of *ḥadīth*. Authenticity is the argument of the authority," Asma Hilali, "The Conceptual Framework of Authority in *ḥadīth* Literature," www.scm.uni-halle.de/reporting_list/study_days/sektion1/2303715_2303779 (last accessed 18 July 2018).

136 The Azhar rector ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd (d. 1398/1978) resumes this conception as follows: "In truth, he [the Prophet Muḥammad] is alive in his words, deeds, and spiritual states; he takes those who follow him and take hold of his *sunna* to the highest paradises of eternity," ʿAbd al-Bāqī Maḥmūd, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwa wa-muʿjizāt al-Rasūl*, Cairo and Beirut: Dār al-ʿArabīya, 1991, 546.

137 This function of the narrative aspect of hadith has been noted by Sebastian Günther: "By arranging—and fictionalizing—this world of experience of a former 'ideal' generation, the readers or recipients are left to draw conclusions and lessons from the happenings recounted. The ḥadīth becomes a model which encourages people's imagination by allowing the exemplary nature of the past event to emerge. This approach helps to explain the on-going educational potential of ḥadīth as well as its charismatic character," Sebastian

fact, both meanings cannot be separated, because they form the two complementary sides of the same process, that is the preservation and actualization of the Muḥammadan proclamation. Within this process, the hadith represents a medium of the Prophet's presence in the sense that it is through the transmission of hadith that the Prophet's charismatic and spiritual presence is made experienceable, and thus is actualized in the community. The strict moral and personal requirements on the hadith transmitter can thus be explained in terms of his function as the one through whom this presence is represented and actualized. In the same sense, the required circumstances of audition are meant to create an atmosphere which encourages an awareness for the symbolic meaning of the event.[138] The idea that hearing the hadith means hearing the Prophet speak reminds one of considerations about the meaning of Qur'anic recitation in relation to God's speech.[139] In both cases, revelation—through ritualized performance executed by authorized representatives—becomes an immediate reality prone to be experienced by those who were not contemporaries of the original event of revelation.

As this study brought to light,[140] the requirement of a formally established authenticity by the application of a formal methodology of critique—as important as it may be for the scholars of hadith—, does not constitute the only basis for the practice of hadith transmission. It is certainly helpful to acknowledge sources like the *Jāmiʿ li-akhlāq al-rāwī* and the *Shifā*, despite their somewhat historically unremarkable content. If considered without a reductive preconception of hadith, their distinct claim of articulating meaningful and relevant aspects of its transmission sheds new light on its function. In this way this type of sources helps avoid the pitfall of projecting modern conceptions

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Günther, "Modern Literary Theory Applied to Classical Arabic Texts: Ḥadīth Revisited," in Verena Klemm and Beatrice Gruendler (eds.), *Understanding Near Eastern Literatures. A Spectrum of Interdisciplinary Approaches*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000, 171–176, 175.

138 Indeed, generally speaking, for a performance, the mere utterance of words is not sufficient, but "it is always necessary that the circumstances in which the words are uttered should be in some way, or ways, appropriate, and it is very commonly necessary that either the speaker himself or other persons should also perform certain other actions, whether 'physical' or 'mental' actions […]," Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* 8.

139 See Anna M. Gade, Recitation of the Qur'ān, in *EQ*, iv, Leiden: Brill, 2001–2006, 367–385.

140 At this point, it should be noted that the purpose of making references to an interdisciplinary approach in this study lies in showing the possibility and interest of a new perspective on hadith and its transmission. It is obvious that these interdisciplinary impulses, in particular from pragmatics, yield further results if they are applied in a more consistent and precise way to concrete cases.

of authenticity and historicity onto hadith transmission.[141] The performative meaning and prophetological background of hadith transmission inform a different form of authenticity,[142] not so much grounded on the transmission's fulfilment of formal criteria, but on its capacity to actualize the Prophetic charisma and presence. Against this background, it is worth reconsidering the respective functions of the two constitutive elements of the hadith, the text ascribed to the Prophet, the *matn*, and the documentation of its transmission, the *isnād*. While the Prophetic revelation in word, act, and affirmation can be understood as the event related by the *matn*, the *isnād* can be considered as the documentation of the uninterrupted performance and actualization of this event through authoritative transmission and trustful transmitters. From this perspective, Ibn al-Mubārak's celebrated statement *al-isnād min al-dīn* ('the *isnād* is part of religion')[143] reveals its full meaning.

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141 On this issue, see especially Wael B. Hallaq, "The Authenticity of Prophetic *Ḥadîth*: A Pseudo-Problem," in *Studia Islamica* 89 (1999), 75–90.

142 Rainer Brunner usefully alludes to the concept of 'meta-authenticity' with regard to assumptions of the hadith tradition of Shiʿi Islam, see Brunner, "The Role of Ḥadīth as Cultural Memory in Shīʿī History".

143 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ* 363.

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CHAPTER 8

Old Is the New Authentic

Arabic Papyri as a Source for Early Hadith

Ursula Hammed

1 Introduction

It is no longer a secret that Arabic papyri are among the oldest and most elaborate original sources for Early Islamic History, despite their geographical limitation.[1] Their production during the first three Islamic centuries makes them an ideal source for developments of that time, among the most important daily practice of scholars involved in the primary sciences of Islam: hadith and Islamic law. In this contribution, I will share some results of the project *Studying, Teaching, Transmitting Knowledge* which was funded by the Austrian Science Fund FWF. Its focus lays on early hadith scholarship and transmission based on Arabic papyri.

The texts used for this study are Arabic literary papyri, most of them from the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th century. While I will only draw on papyri bearing hadith for specific traits, especially *isnād*; general traits all literary papyri share—like structure and composition techniques—will be taken from texts with a variety of contexts, given that they are literary.

2 Arabic Papyri and the Hadith

Arabic papyri and the hadith have one thing in common: Both fields have been worked on—but almost always separately. Trying to count the famous works of Goldziher, Schacht, Juynboll, Motzki, Sezgin, Schoeler, and many others on the hadith seems almost futile. At the same time, Arabic papyrology has seen considerable progress during the past twenty or thirty years, and although the

1 Cf. Josef Karabacek, *Der Papyrusfund von El-Faijûm* (Denkschrift der Philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 33), Wien: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1882, 4–8 for a very early assessment of the material's importance and, more recently, Petra Marieke Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State: The World of a Mid-eighth-century Egyptian Official*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

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vast majority of texts is still unpublished, our knowledge about life in Egypt and beyond during Late Antiquity and the Early Islamic Middle Ages has taken big steps forward towards a more complete understanding of governance, trade, legal proceedings, and social life in general.

It is surprising that little effort has been made towards bringing the two together.

On the one hand, hadith studies have not paid significant attention to their earliest documentary sources at hand, which papyri ultimately are, though arguably on a limited geographical scale. On the other hand, most scholars working on the administrative, religious, and social history of Early Islamic Egypt are familiar with papyrus texts, but they have widely neglected society's literary output, to which the hadith not only belongs, but among which it must be considered as highly important. The texts that scholars taught, discussed, and agreed upon—or rejected—formed the basis of the religious and legal norms they preached during the *khuṭba* or taught in lectures to the common public. Furthermore, Islamic religious practice belonged to the shared social capital, the fabric that ensured social coherence within the new Islamic society, and via the hadith, the Muslims of Egypt were taught how said practice should be carried out.

Due to the temporal limitations to the use of papyrus, we know that these texts were written during or some even before the canonization of both hadith and Islamic law.

The texts dealt with for this study are all papyri written in the 2nd or 3rd century AH (8th/9th century CE). As is practically always the case with literary papyri, they do not bear any date, so it is up to us to date them paleographically. Due to styles deliberately adopted by writers, this task is considerably harder than paleographic issues of documentary texts.

With hadith papyri containing *isnād*, the issue of dating has an additional dimension: If the first name, i. e. the latest transmitter in the *isnād*, is preserved, then his death date is our *terminus post quem* for the writing of the papyrus, though it still remains uncertain how much time had passed between his death and the writing of the respective tradition, especially when the *isnād* is introduced by other terms than *ḥaddathanī*, which means at least a claim to personal transmission from the last transmitter in the *isnād* to the writer of the papyrus. Since the beginning of the *isnād* matters most for this analysis, only papyri with *asānīd* whose beginnings have been preserved can be taken into account. Among the published and unpublished papyri studied so far for this project, 31 fall into this category. It seems that most transmitters mentioned first in the *asānīd* have died during the second half of the 2nd/8th century, with occasional earlier or later dates. This evaluation must be regarded with

caution, given that it depends on the information from the *rijāl* works on the one hand—which we will take at face value for the moment—and on the other hand on the *isnād*.

Our texts often mirror material that has not been included in the canonical collections, which is explicable in part with the geographical situation; Egypt is rather far away from the traditional centers of hadith scholarship in Iraq and Arabia.

This somewhat peripheral situation also means we can potentially find less discussed lines of transmission or even some later discarded, but also ideas and discourses that are absent from the *six books*. In respect of more technical matters, hadith on papyrus can deliver early proof for conventions in *isnād* treatment and in hadith composition and transmission in general.

Still, the number of published literary papyri remains very low, let alone the number of published hadith papyri. All published Arabic papyri make up about four percent of the existing material. Of these four percent, ninety-five percent are documentary, and only five percent are literary texts, by far not all of them hadith. Consequently, literary production and thereby the whole spectrum of texts that circulated in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt remain largely unknown.

What we do know, however, we know because of the work of Nabia Abbott and Raif Georges Khoury. Abbott wrote her monumental three-volume *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* about forty years ago, and it still remains the first reference for all research on literary papyri, vol. ii presenting an analysis of some hadith texts.[2] Nevertheless, it cannot be regarded as an entirely comprehensive study, mainly because the second volume treating the hadith relies on editions of fourteen papyri only, of which Abbott has not seen all originals, thus the material basis to which the book refers to is somewhat thin.

David-Weill's edition of 87 folii of ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb's *Jāmiʿ* on papyrus[3] as well as Khoury's books on ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa[4] and Wahb b. Munabbih[5] are, though indispensable reference works, still case studies that do not claim to make general statements on the hadith during the first Islamic centuries.

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2 Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* II, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967, ii.

3 Jean David-Weill, *Le Djâmiʿ d'Ibn Wahb*, 2 vols., Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1939–1948.

4 Raif Georges Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa (97–174/715–790). Juge et grand maître de l'école égyptienne. Avec édition critique de l'unique rouleau de papyrus arabe conservé à Heidelberg* (CAA 2), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986.

5 Raif Georges Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, 2 vols., (CAA 1), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972.

Then there is William Matthew Malczycki's doctoral thesis, which covers not only hadith, but literary papyri in general and remains unpublished until today,[6] and some articles that are again all studies of either single documents or relatively few texts.[7] However, it is only by a comprehensive study of a sufficiently big corpus that we will be able to trace developments and customs in hadith scholarship on papyrus and thereby learn to discern between special traits and general practice.

Documenting the traces of hadith scholars' daily practice is the first step in finding out about the ways they worked and passed on their knowledge. The ways they handled, composed, and structured their texts will show us which contents they emphasized, and, very basically, what the written material they worked with looked like.

This will be our first step in getting to know the people who stood behind early hadith production in Egypt.

Though it is difficult to fully grasp the scholarly milieu and the precise ways hadith was taught, the texts and topics we find on papyrus show distinct tendencies. Prayer is the dominant topic throughout the papyri, with accounts ranging from technical matters like how to perform prayer alone or with an imam or on ablution and prayer while travelling; to theoretical considerations like which prayer is meant exactly by *al-ṣalāt al-wusṭā* and moral aspects like what to think of someone who boasts about praying. The second recurring topic is *duʿā'*. References to supplication are plentiful, both on how it should be carried out and what words are recommended. It is in texts on *duʿā'* and in edifying or moral accounts that we notice the pious and renunciant trend that manifests in hadith papyri. Typical topoi of *zuhd* or *waraʿ*, Islamic renunciant piety, occur frequently, even in the form of *duʿā'* authored by Jesus (P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10126 + 10134r). P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1854a+b is the remainder of a florilegium of pious traditions in combination with the *Zabūr*, the Islamic Psalms of David.

Apart from prayer and supplication, hadith papyri treat different aspects of religious life, as the hadith generally does. Descriptions of the favors of certain Qur'anic verses, regulations concerning *ḥajj*, but also moral sayings find their place among other matters. Some legal hadiths also occur, but it is noteworthy

6 William Matthew Malczycki, "Arabic Literary Papyri from the University of Utah Arabic Papyrus and Paper Collection," unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Utah, 2006, cdmbuntu.lib.utah.edu/utils/getfile/collection/etd2/id/2125/filename/2148.pdf (last accessed 11 March 2022).

7 Bibliographical information on all of them can be obtained via the APD's Bibliography page: www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/apd/bibliography.jsp (last accessed 11 March 2022).

that legal handbooks *sui generi* on papyrus existed already and took on a distinct shape and structure that sets them apart from hadith texts (e. g. P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10132).

3 Hadith as a Written Text

It is difficult to assess when hadith was first written down, not to mention at which time conscientious and systematic writing of tradition began. Scholarly discussion on the subject has seen an abundance of works brought forward, some in favor of a very early written hadith culture, some arguing towards the other extreme, i. e. a predominantly oral transmission of the texts without or with only little written support. Reconciliatory views like that of Schoeler have taken up a more generous position that recognizes the reluctance some *muḥaddithūn* voiced towards writing, while at the same time acknowledging the existence of some kind of written material already during the early stages of the hadith's development. Schoeler has evaluated some possible reasons for the reluctance or even resistance some early scholars voiced towards written accounts of hadith. He outlined the most probable issues that made scholars refuse written hadith as follows:[8] Fear of the formation of a 'parallel Qurʾan' or of the dilution of the Qurʾanic corpus with hadith texts, up to a degree where the two can no longer be told apart, could have been one probable motivation for a certain reluctance towards written tradition. This development may have caused as another precarious step that the hadith would be treated as being equal to scripture. The third issue to consider would be fear of negligence towards the precise memorization of the text and therefore too much reliance on possibly erroneous writing. The fourth point concerns the fear of traditions falling into the wrong hands, a very plausible argument given the preliminary or at least unfinished character of many early hadith compilations on papyrus. It is imaginable that traditions that had not yet undergone the full collation process or were otherwise not meant to be transmitted as they were written—because they lacked the additional, necessary oral/aural element—were copied by students or colleagues after a scholar's death and passed on regardless of their incomplete character. Understandably, *muḥaddithūn* sought to prevent such events by trying to limit written hadith output. Finally, Basran opposition to the written hadith might have been influenced by the use of flex-

8 Gregor Schoeler, "Mündliche Thora und Ḥadīṯ. Überlieferung, Schreibverbot, Redaktion," in *Der Islam* 66.2 (1989), 213–251, 223.

ible oral lore in theological discussions. Defending and refuting positions based on orally transmitted reports was feasible as long as they had no stable, established body. Putting them down into writing would have changed the way the discourse was led in that context.[9]

Though there have been extensive debates on the subject, it is generally agreed that scholarly writing of some form had become indispensable by the 2nd century AH. Evidence for a written transmission of texts might be found in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10128r **(fig. 8.4)**. The word *ṣalāh* is written with *alif* on l. 6, whereas it appears with *wāw* on l. 7 and 8. Why would the compiler use two different ways of writing the word in his personal scribal practice, if not because he copied the different traditions from separate written sources? Unsurprisingly, there are also hints at aural transmission. P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1854b verso cites a passage from *Kitāb al-Zabūr* which, in comparison with later manuscripts of the text, reads *wa-ttabiʿū manhāj al-ṣiddīqīn*. On the papyrus, *manhāj* is clearly written as two separate words, giving something like *man hāja*, which makes no sense at all here. Therefore, it is clearly the result of writing after dictation, of notes taken hastily during a lecture, a situation that does not allow for reflection on the text's contents.

When looking at the earliest sources we still have from that time (or shortly after), we must ask ourselves for what purpose these texts were written down. Schoeler has made the crucial point that writing and publishing must be set apart in order to keep the right perspective.[10]

The texts we find in hadith papyri seem to be exclusively what Schoeler has described as *hypomnemata*, supports for memory, scholarly writings meant for teaching or generally for informal use, not final versions of complete books meant for publication. The fact that hadith scholars apparently made a considerable amount of notes or loose compilations of their material and that we find no complete, finished exemplars of continuous works of hadith seems barely surprising, given consideration of the following circumstances: On the one hand, the opinions against extensive writing and especially written transmission of the hadith gradually subsided during the 2nd century AH, and at the same time, the *six books* were not yet completed and had no real impact on the Egyptian scholarly milieu until into the 4th century AH. For the same reason, the urge to pass contents on as faithfully to the text as possible was not felt yet, their text having not yet been established as a coherent corpus. Lastly,

9 Schoeler, "Mündliche Thora" 233–234.

10 Gregor Schoeler, "Schreiben und Veröffentlichen. Zur Verwendung und Funktion der Schrift in den ersten Islamischen Jahrhunderten," in *Der Islam* 69.1 (1992), 1–43, 28.

the enormous increase of writing and "writerly culture"[11] happened only during the 3rd century, and even later in Egypt due to the later shift to paper. Consequently, neither the composition of established hadith text corpora meant for publication nor the authority of the *six books* forcing them to take up either an apologetic position in the face of 'Eastern' material or an assimilatory gesture of ingesting the canonical material into their own teachings—that did not necessarily contradict what was framed as 'canonical'—seems to have played a role in the 'daily business' of Egypt's early *muḥaddithūn*.

The papyrological evidence confirms Schoeler's statements. All examined hadith papyri seem to be drafts, rough copies or aide-mémoires, but there is no trace of final, beautiful copies of hadith fit for publication in the sense of a more or less public dissemination in written form. Several scenarios may explain this situation: The easiest explanation is that no hadith that was meant to be published was written down at that time. However, the easiest explanation is often also the most misleading approach. We do have reports of caliphs who commissioned works of hadith, at least in a pre-canonical *musnad*-like form that collected all traditions transmitted by certain scholars, like Marwān I. (reg. 684–685 CE), who had the hadith of Abū Hurayra written down,[12] or al-Manṣūr (reg. 754–775), who ordered Ibn Isḥāq to write down all of his historical traditions.[13] While Schoeler warns against considering these copies uniform standard texts that would be transmitted in the exact same words, we can assume that, at least from a merely optical and a material point of view, they were 'ornamental' copies adhering to aesthetic criteria we miss almost entirely in the papyri. Almost all texts have corrections, crammed writing, inelegant marginal notes or other aspects that make them unimaginable for a final, publishable text version from an aesthetic and structural point of view. So, if there was 'ornamental' hadith during the first Islamic centuries, where is it now? Speaking from a geographical point of view, these texts would not have been written in Egypt, if they were commissioned at the caliphal court. Then, even if governors of Egypt had an interest in possessing beautiful hadith copies of some kind, they would not have been found among papyrus material that ultimately comes from trash heaps, often from outside of the capital al-Fusṭāṭ. Furthermore, even if provincial towns in early Islamic Egypt had ornamental hadith books, they might have been written on more durable parchment, not on papyrus and, when worn out, disposed of with more care than the tossed slips of papyrus we mostly see.

11 Shawkat M. Toorawa, *Ibn Abi Tahir Tayfur and Arabic Writerly Culture. A Ninth Century Bookman in Baghdad* (RCSAMEL 7), New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005.

12 Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* ii, 90.

13 Schoeler, "Schreiben und Veröffentlichen" 15–16.

Special attention was called for when discarding religiously relevant texts, and although works of hadith did not require the same treatment like worn-out Qur'an exemplars, there might have been some reluctance towards throwing hadith texts away,[14] at least with beautiful texts closer to *syngramma* than to the probably often short-lived *hypomnemata* that most papyri represent. Works of hadith or grammar that held religiously relevant content or even Qur'an quotations were often re-used for the bindings of new books, as later material from Damascus impressively confirms.[15] We cannot exclude that early hadith publications in Schoeler's sense met the same fate.

4 Hadith Texts in Early Islamic Egypt

4.1 *Material*

The two sides of a papyrus sheet, called recto and verso, are distinguished by the alignment of the text towards the upper layer of papyrus fibers. Recto, on which the fibers run vertically, was traditionally written on first against the fibers; then verso with writing parallel to the horizontal fibers.[16]

When a text was short enough to occupy only one side of the papyrus, the other side could be used for another purpose, which sometimes led to multiple texts on one sheet. Papyrus was often expensive and hard to come by,[17] even to a degree that a trade in used papyrus evolved. This means that we must be careful when trying to establish a connection between different texts on one papyrus. Unless there is a specific relation between the texts, like names or wares appearing repeatedly, we should not suppose that the texts were even written by the same person. At this point, we could ask if the existence of elab-

14 Joseph Sadan, "New Materials Regarding Purity and Impurity of Books in Islam in Comparison with Judaism. Al-Burzulī and Other Muslim Scholars on Defiled Parchment, Papyrus and Paper," in *JSAI* 33 (2007), 193–218, 198–200.

15 Konrad Hirschler, "Document Reuse in Medieval Arabic Manuscripts," in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* 3.1 (2017), 33–44, 36.

16 For an overview on papyrus scrolls and in which way sheets were cut from them see Colette Sirat and Malachi Beit-Arié, *Les papyrus en caractères hébraïques trouvés en Égypte*, Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1985, 26.

17 Writers of papyrus letters often apologize for their writing material's poor quality or for not being able to write earlier on account of not having papyrus at hand, see Lucian Reinfandt, "Versuchte Einflussnahme auf einen behördlichen Entscheidungsträger: P. Vind.inv. A.P. 15228 aus der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," in Zuzana Gažáková and Jaroslav Drobný (eds.), *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honour of Ján Pauliny*, Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, 2016, 367–384, verso l. 2 (= PERF 845), P.Hamb.Arab. II 37, recto l. 1, P.Marchands III 5, l. 6, CPR XVI 12, l. 8.

orate literary texts on papyrus means their authors were necessarily wealthy, given what has been said about the price of papyrus. Without doubt, the group of people teaching and transmitting hadith in 'professional,' scholarly circles was small, but we have practically no information about scholars and their possible side (or main) occupations, of which trade (especially in wheat and flax products) would have been most lucrative at the time. At this stage, we ideally need a set of documents with multiple uses, one of them literary, in which a connection between the literary text and the other content can be identified. As a first step, this would help us to understand the surroundings in which our hadith papyri were written.

Multiple uses of papyri with a literary context can be seen in several examples, though without traceable connections between the texts. The fragmentary papyrus P.Vind.inv. A.P. 6666 bears part of a commercial letter on recto and hadith on verso **(fig. 8.2)**, the letter being written in a very casual, cursive hand. The hadith text on verso shows a deliberately archaicized, angular hand (cf. *infra*). Several scenarios are imaginable for this combination of texts. The commercial letter could have been reused at its recipient's house, either by the recipient himself or by someone from his family. The untrained literary hand points either to a young student who knew well how to write but had trouble with the archaization demanded by the genre of hadith, or someone to whom hadith studies were only a minor occupation besides his main activities. These had most likely something to do with trade, given his Islamic background combined with his level of literacy. Such literacy does not necessarily point to the scholarly milieu, unless of course the other assumption is true, and what we see are the notes of a young hadith student whose skills in literary handwriting were still developing.[18] The mere fact that a used slip of papyrus could be used for these notes tells us that the limited space was enough for the short text.

One of the few published hadith papyri is P.Vind.inv. A.P. 259 verso, written on the back of an official letter.[19] It also speaks about prayer, as does the

18 We might draw a parallel to the expansion of written culture into broader parts of society as described by Toorawa, *Ibn Abi Tahir Tayfur*. Some concepts of *adab* were certainly known in Egypt during the 3rd/9th century at the very latest, as papyri that point to *ʿudhrī* poetry (P.Vind.inv. A.P. 2410) and to edifying, pseudo-historiographical works can show (P.Berl.inv. P 15088). We can assume that wealthier groups would have engaged in some sort of *adab* activities, and even more so in hadith studies, which, apart from setting the basis for religious practice, certainly held 'social capital' in a way that it defined someone as being particularly pious and aligned with prevailing concepts of religious authority.

19 Petra Marieke Sijpesteijn, "A Ḥadīth Fragment on Papyrus," in *Der Islam* 92.2 (2015), 321–331.

majority of hadith papyri. Another reused official document is P.Vind.inv. 11802, which has a literary text on the verso of a tax document.

P.Vind.inv. A.P. 264 has been written on the back of a Coptic document. The Arabic text covers several traditions concerning prayer, especially the sequence of movements therein.

Used papyrus was also utilized for booklets, as we can see in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10130, an official letter from the 3rd/9th century that has been cut up into small pages and then sewn together at the margin, as can be seen from the remaining holes. The blank verso pages were used for a little collection of religious texts, among them the copy of a letter responding to a request about right guidance (*hudā*), a page entitled *ḥadīth qudsī*, and presumably a poem praising Mecca.

Hadith texts as secondary use of papyrus material confirm the assumption that some hadith texts on papyrus were notes with a rather limited extent and life circle, maybe except for P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10130. The little florilegium of religious texts was assumingly meant for private devotional purposes, so its simple and unrefined appearance might have been less due to a short life circle, but due to the very informal context in which it was produced and used.

All literary papyri have in common that they are suitable for the study of material used in longer texts, as opposed to documentary texts. Evidence for Arabic papyrus codices is extremely rare so far. P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1854a+b is an example of two (partially) surviving bifolii of what was in all likelihood a booklet made of at least three sheets of papyrus.[20] However, other hadith papyri corroborate the assumption that some hadith texts indeed extended over several bifolii.

P.Mich.inv. 5608a, published by Abbott as Nr. 13 in *Studies in Arabic Literary papyri II*, is part of a *musnad* of ʿAlī b. Maʿbad. The remaining half of another bifolio pertaining to the same text is now kept at Cambridge University Library under shelf mark P.Camb.inv. Michaelides D 953. Even if the sheets are now kept far apart, both their content and their hand show that they originally belonged together without any doubt.[21] Additionally, the Cambridge papyrus

20 For a thorough discussion of the papyrus see Ursula Bsees and David Vishanoff, *Arabic Literary Papyri and Islamic Renunciant Piety: Zabūr and Hadith in Vienna Papyrus A.P. 1854a–b* [forthcoming].

21 During the work on this article, P.Camb.inv. Michaelides D 953 was published in a study of ʿAlī b. Maʿbad's hadith, in which the author partially draws the conclusions I present here. Hüseyn Akgün, "Reviewing a Hadith Manuscript that is Thought to Belong to Ali ibn Maʿbad al-Miṣrī (d. 218/833) [in Turkish]," in *Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 45 (2018), 35–60.

still has holes where the sheets were stitched together, but since only half of the bifolio is preserved, the holes are now towards the right recto margin.

The only wholly preserved papyrus codex from the time that Arabic papyri were produced is P.Camb.inv. T-S 6 H 9 until H 21 written in Hebrew. It is the only papyrus found in the Cairo Geniza and has been examined in due extent by Colette Sirat.[22]

A very special case is the scroll P.Heid.inv. 50–53 published by Khoury.[23] Its format and material use remain unique among Arabic literary papyri until today. Other papyri consist of several sheets that originally belonged to notebooks bound or glued together, but there is no second example yet of an Arabic literary papyrus scroll.

4.2 *Format and Structure*

Literary papyri are at most times optically discernible.[24] Their content and significance differ from documentary texts, which is in most cases reflected by their outer shape. At first sight, the often wide margins can be recognized, along with headlines and paragraph or unit markers.

Almost all literary papyri are in some way recognizable as such. Even if the hand is rather cursive and less angular, literary texts are more often dotted than documentary papyri, many of them have text markers. Altogether these characteristics indicate that a distinctive optical appearance was sought, even though achieved by variant means. Wide line spaces can, especially in combination with other typical features, also point to a literary text, as is the case with P.Utah inv. 124. The text is almost fully dotted and its lines are way further apart than we would expect from a documentary text.

Those papyri that are surviving parts of bifolii show the landscape orientation of the sheets, a necessary alignment for the composition of booklets with reasonable writing space. Papyrus sheets that have been further cut down to size can be more individually shaped. The pages of P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1603 **(figs. 8.5, 8.6)** are almost quadratic with wide margins, optical features that fit well with the papyrus' aesthetic standard, also reflected in its unique illumination. These characteristics might or might not be a deliberate imitation of Kufi

22 Sirat and Beit-Arié, *Les papyrus*.

23 Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa*.

24 Exceptions from distinct 'literary hands' are P.Utah inv. 124 and P.Camb.inv. Michaelides D 710. Both are written in a cursive devoid of any archaizations or other adaptations of a 'literary' style, albeit they are almost completely dotted, which already qualifies for a non-documentary genre.

Qur'an manuscripts, whose production after all took place at roughly the same time. On the contrary, aesthetics have not played a major role in the fabrication of the booklet whose pages we see in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10130.

By now, it is evident that a considerable amount of hadith texts on papyrus was of sufficient length to require several pages of material. As a result, scholars had to devise ways of organizing their material.

Broad structure can be introduced into literary papyrus texts by simple and optically prominent techniques, the aim of which would be on the one hand to separate large units that do not belong to each other and on the other hand to facilitate navigation within the text.

The easiest way of separating paragraphs is leaving blank lines between them (e. g. in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 259 (ed. Sijpesteijn), P.Vind.inv. A.P. 814, P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10105). Here again, the fragmentary status of many papyri means we can either assume an entire blank line or a now lost headline for the next chapter in what looks like a blank line on the part of the papyrus that we are left with.

A way of marking parts of a text without wasting material can be seen in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10136. The writer has simply made the beginning of each new *isnād* protrude slightly into the right margin, which causes the rest of the text to be indented.

P.Utah inv. 118v has a thick bar drawn in ink that separates the two parts written in different styles and even in different inks. P.Philad.Arab. 148 and 149 (ed. Levi della Vida) show a decorative band with a zigzag pattern between text parts, as do P.Vind.inv. A.P. 600 verso and 600a verso. Similar elements of illumination—a kind of long, decorated bullet reminiscent of a sword—appear in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1603 **(figs. 8.5, 8.6)**.

Apart from separating bigger passages of text, scholars needed aids for quick navigation throughout the material. This was achieved by means of various elements of fine structure.

A typical trait of literary papyri is the unit or paragraph markers we often encounter. Most literary papyri use one way or the other for separating textual units, in our case single traditions. These markers appear in different shapes, the most common is a simple circle (e. g. in P.Camb.inv. Michaelides D 953). Then we find circles with dots inside or outside and also multiple circles (P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10101, P.Vind.inv. 10133, P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10118) or crossed through circles (P.Vind.inv. A.P. 600, P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1854a+b). Combinations of all of these elements occur (P.Vind.inv. A.P. 436) as well as more elaborate variations like a cloud or flower-like shape in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10136 recto.

A marker well-known from later manuscripts is the isolated letter *hā'* as an abbreviation for *intahā* (literally 'it has ended'). It occurs in Arabic papyri (e.

g. P.Camb.inv. Michaelides D 710, P.Vind.inv. A.P. 11014). In P.Vind.inv. A.P. 436 verso it is merging into a circle and combined with another circle with three dots inside.

The writers of literary papyri also used various kinds of points and dashes; combinations of them occur as well. P.Camb.inv. Michaelides D 1325 displays a hitherto unparalleled, complex system of dashes and points in different sequences. Due to the condition of the severely damaged papyrus, first conservation and then much later on further research will be needed in order to draw more precise conclusions on their meaning, particularly regarding which combination of signs classifies what kind of textual unit.

It is clear that the use of textual markers is not a random or individual mannerism. On the contrary, the consistency we see despite all variation points to one or several system(s) of text management that were practiced among hadith scholars. An important question is of course what precisely the different shapes meant, and if there was one unified system taught to all aspiring *muḥaddithūn* or if there were some generally recommended and used shapes with some space for individual variation, depending on the structure required by length and complexity of each text.

Abbott has proposed two explanations for the different forms in which textual markers appear: Her first suggestion is that they could have been subject to fashions that changed over time. The temporal proximity of the papyri seems to suggest a slightly different approach. Local preferences in scribal practice are definitely imaginable as they would have been taught in a certain region, but the word 'fashion' is in all likelihood to be less understood as meaning 'short-lived phenomena.' It should be regarded as an expression of locally established ways of dealing with texts and material that *muḥaddithūn* of one region used predominantly.

Abbott's other hypothesis is that complex signs pertain to certain stages of the collation process that the texts or even the individual traditions went through.[25] This assumption could be cautiously backed even at this early point in time if we found variations of one sign throughout one and the same papyrus.

As can be seen so far, marginal notes seem to appear in two ways of use in Arabic literary papyri. One kind serves to repeat an illegible or otherwise damaged word on the right-hand margin beside the corresponding line in order to ensure correct reading, examples being P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10129 where *al-umma* is written next to l. 15, even separated from the main text by some sort of bracket,

25 Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* ii, 88.

as well as P.Heid.inv. Arab. 23 GD 2 l. 19, PB 4 l. 10, and further places. Similar corrections, but probably also short explanations to the main text seem to occur in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 9937, first between lines 13 and 14, then between lines 17–19, 27–29 and 30–34. Together with frequent erasures, this text gives the impression of having been subject to a significant amount of rework. It seems to be some kind of (pseudo-)historiographic narration.

The other kind of marginal note visible in Arabic literary papyri would typically appear in texts that require more than one level of organization. P.Mich.inv. 5608a and its sister papyrus, P.Camb.inv. Michaelides D 953, are basically held in a structured *musnad*-style with traditions aligned according to transmitters. If the writer wanted to look up the thematic content of his booklet, he would have had to read all through it, had he not made notes about the topics of all passages on the right margin. While he could still be sure to have only material transmitted by ʿAlī b. Maʿbad in this collection, he could if needed easily gather all accounts concerning prayer by checking the margins for the note *ṣalāt*, all accounts concerning funerary rituals by *jināza*, etc.

4.3 *Mise-en-Page and Hands*

Another expression of scholarly practice in literary papyri can be found in scribal practice. 'Literary' hands are often more angular and the lines straighter than in documentary papyri, and empty spaces at the end of lines are avoided at any cost.

A considerable number of our texts is written in hands that can be classified as "broken Kūfī" or "new Abbasid book hands."[26] Indeed, the similarities between the examples shown by Adam Gacek and papyri like P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10103, P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10113 verso, P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10126 + 10134 **(figs. 8.1, 8.2)**, or P.Berl.inv. P 18134 are striking. The mere fact that these styles were derived from or developed along the lines of the Kūfī of Qur'an manuscripts shows the importance and relevance that were ascribed to scholarly texts, especially perhaps hadith texts, which were after all religiously more relevant than other literary genres. Abbott argues that, indeed, literary hands do originate from Qur'anic script on the one hand and from chancellery script on the other.[27] However, the highly specialized, scholarly context in which hadith was most likely produced does rather not suggest that her statement on casual styles

26 Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts. A vademecum for Readers* (HOS 98), Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009, 167.

27 Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* ii 2–5.

being "*naskhī* poorly executed in the manner of the bookseller-copyist"[28] can be applied to the scholarly hadith texts we find in papyri.

Though all literary text of one genre, the hands found in hadith papyri vary widely. Their spectrum ranges from the broken Kūfī, fully vocalized hand in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10126+10134, to texts like P.Camb.inv. Michaelides D 710, a papyrus with a late, cursive hand that could as well have written a private letter or any similarly informal document. The very simple explanation for this phenomenon lies in the personal character of practically all hadith papyri. They were in all likelihood not made to be read by anyone much except the author or compiler himself.

4.4 *Language*

Something practically all Arabic papyri have in common is that they show some level of what is commonly called 'Middle Arabic,' a kind of classical Arabic that also includes some dialectal tendencies. Though hadith is scholarly literature and therefore farther removed from daily speech than, say, private letters, we still encounter deviations from the classical, theoretical standard in grammar and orthography.

4.4.1 Non-standard Realization of Consonants

The writer of P.Vind.inv. A.P. 259 has written *yāʾ* or rather *alif maqṣūra* instead of *alif* in *yaqraʾ* (l. 4 & 5), as Petra Sijpesteijn has already remarked.[29] Hamza has therefore been totally omitted and replaced by an *ā* sound.

A phenomenon that is not uncommon in Arabic papyri in general is seeing *ẓāʾ* used instead of *ḍāḍ*. It occurs in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1603 recto on the top right page **(fig. 8.5)**, where *tuẓāʾu* is written instead of *tuḍāʾu* (l. 6).

On the same papyrus, but on verso top left, *udʿū* has been written with *ū* and even *alif* twice like a plural imperative form (l. 5, 6), despite the context clearly stating that second person masc. Sing. was meant by use of another verb, *shāʾa*, in 2nd pers.masc.sg. (*udʿū bi-mithli mā shiʾta baʿdu*, l. 6, **fig. 8.6**).

4.4.2 Verbs with Weak Radicals

P.Vind.inv. A.P. 6666v (l. 4, **fig. 8.3**) retains the weak consonant in imperative, *ṣallī* for *ṣalli*, but *ṣum* is correct. In *fa-l-yuṣallī*, again apocopate is retaining *yāʾ* in a non-standard form (l. 9).

28 Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* 4.

29 Sijpesteijn, *Ḥadīth fragment* 325.

4.4.3 Case Vowels

In P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1603 recto, the left top leaf has a hypercorrect form: *al-mūfūna bi-l-ʿuhūd* (l. 5) is used instead of the correct genitive *al-mūfīna* as required by *maʿa* further back in the sentence **(fig. 8.5)**. The writer was aware of the dialectal tendency to use the obliquus *-īna* ending for all cases and hypercorrectly switched to the nominative *-ūna* even at a place where genitive is required.

On the top right page, the writer has written what looks like *innī nasaluka* in l. 3, which might either mirror a tendency to express first person singular of verbs with an n-prefix, or, more likely, he used *yāʾ* instead of *alif* for *ā*, having *innā nasaluka* in mind. It might also just be a slip of the pen, because he correctly wrote *innī asaluka* in l. 3 of the verso top right page. The omission of hamza in papyri is almost too common to comment upon.

On verso on the top right page, the accusative *yaqīnan* should be used instead of *yaqīn* (l. 4), the word being the second object of the verb *asaluka*. The first object, *īmānan ṣādiqan* (l. 3), has been written correctly **(fig. 8.5)**.

P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10129 has 'Abū Bakr' where accusative requires 'Abā Bakr' (l. 4). Since "Alīyan' is used correctly in accusative on the next line, 'Abū Bakr' was probably perceived as a fossilized form and no longer declined, or the writer did not make the connection back to the verb *wallaytum*, whose object is 'Abū Bakr', due to the *qāla* inserted in between.

Some deviations are simple slips of the pen, often due to similarly looking consonants being close to each other, e. g. in P.Utah inv. 205 recto l. 3, described by Malczycki.[30]

4.5 *Transmission*

Any study involving hadith would be incomplete without some attention given to *isnād*. Hadith papyri show a variety of *isnād* treatments, from fully realized chains of transmitters (like in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10126+10134, [**figs. 8.1, 8.2**], P.Berl.inv. P 11998 or P.Camb.inv. Michaelides D 953) to simpler variants that still display some kind of *isnād*, on to texts that have mainly *matn* and little to no authorities listed (e. g. P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1854a+b or P.Utah inv. 205). However, we must bear in mind that we see only fragments of most hadith papyri, meaning that the complete text, however long it might have been originally, might have had initial *isnād* that was not repeated again later on in the text. What is not showing in its remaining part could have existed in the lost portion.

Nevertheless, we must work with what we have at our disposal. An explanation for the variations in *isnād* that we see in papyri could result from specific requirements of the audiences towards which the texts in question were

30 Malczycki, "Arabic Literary Papyri" 154.

addressed. It has already been noted that hadith papyri represent scholars' (and maybe students') notes as a support for memory, so depending on the audience the texts would be directed at, writers of hadith varied the degree of the technical details they might or might not include. Material meant to be taught to students or other scholars of hadith would have to include the technical, scientific side of tradition. Emphasis would have been put on correct transmission and exact *isnād*. Other texts with less or no *isnād* might have served as notes for *khuṭba* or *mawʿiẓa*, which would have had a 'lay audience.' For such listeners long and precise *isnād* would have been irrelevant, but it was the content of the *matn* they were meant to hear in order to follow the examples set forth in it or to enjoy the text's edifying character, as was most likely the case with texts like P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1854a+b.[31] Wealthy Muslims might even have paid for private teachings (*dars*), for which full *isnād* would not have played a major role either. Additionally, criteria of authenticity were applied much more generously anyway when it came to *adab*, *raqāʾiq*, *targhīb* and *tarhīb*, or hadith treating *faḍāʾil al-aʿmāl* than in legal matters. It was generally agreed that, while the latter required strict scrutiny of its *isnād*, the former could also be passed on with weak or doubtful chains of transmitters.[32] Both aspects combined show that scholars must have felt in no way obliged to apply strict *isnād* treatment where it simply did not need to be undertaken.

Another question is the terminology used in the *asānīd*. As far as the material hitherto studied tells, the most frequent introduction to the *isnād* is in fact none at all. *Isnād* mostly starts with the name of the first transmitter and is continued with *ʿan*. If individual traditions are introduced by specific terms, they seem to have *ḥaddathanā* most frequently, followed by *ḥaddathanī* and *qāla*. These do indeed reflect the trend towards oral transmission or at least a normative ideal regarding the oral transmission of hadith.

Still, if something like *qāla* introduces the *isnād*, we should not tacitly imply direct aural transmission but assume that there could have been other trans-

31 This differentiation between material meant for teaching the technical aspect of hadith and the content of the *mutūn* taught to a 'lay' audience can be paralleled to Shāfiʿī's distinction between *ʿilm al-khāṣṣa*, "The Knowledge of the Select, which consisted of matters of religious law on which no explicit Qurʾanic text existed and which was thus subject to the deliberation of scholars" and *ʿilm al-ʿāmma*, "the Knowledge of the Masses, […] information whose knowledge was incumbent upon the generality of Muslims and was also transmitted from generation to generation by the community as a whole, such as the obligation to pray five times a day," Jonathan Brown, "Did the Prophet Say It or Not? The Literal, Historical, and Effective Truth of Ḥadīths in Early Sunnism," in *JAOS* 129.2 (2009), 259–285, 268.

32 Jonathan Brown, "Even If It's Not True It's True: Using Unreliable Ḥadīths in Sunni Islam," in *ILS* 18 (2011), 1–52.

mitters involved between the first *muḥaddith* in the *isnād* and the scholar who wrote the tradition down on papyrus. Then again, we do not know in which way the material from the additional transmitter would have been passed on.

Another issue is the question if *isnād* terminology was uniform and systematic at that time, especially if the meaning of vague terms like *akhbaranī* was agreed upon and put to general use amongst scholars. Here we will argue in favor of a positive approach for two reasons: First, it has already been mentioned that the number of *muḥaddithūn* in Egypt at that time probably was not very high anyway and secondly, simple pragmatics rather than the authority of an established system may have caused consistency in *isnād* treatment and terminology. After all, scholars working on the same kind of text had to adhere to the same criteria and terms in order to ensure consistency, and they were clearly aware of the stages of transmission within the *isnād*, as P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10128v, l. 14 shows. In the *Isnād Abū Isḥāq from a Man from Ḥudhayfa*, the writer clearly states that there had to be a transmitter between Abū Isḥāq and Ḥudhayfa whose name could not be inserted at that point for some reason. He might not have heard which name his teacher mentioned during a lecture, or, if he copied from a written text, the name might have been illegible. Since Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī transmitted from Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān via Ṣila b. Ẓufar,[33] the name we miss here is probably Ṣila.

Going further into prosopographic matters, an analysis of names in the *asānīd* could grant some insights into a scholar's acquaintance with the traditionists appearing in his material. Short and seemingly vague mentions of names, perhaps only by *kunya* or even only by first name may point at transmitters who appeared so frequently in the writer's material and the discourses he normally engaged in that any further specification would not be needed, neither for him nor for those to whom he taught the content of his texts. Contrarily, elaborate names including one or several nisbas might, apart from helping tell people with the same name apart, have had an instructive aspect as to remind the scholar himself—or at least those to whom he transmitted the text—about that *muḥaddith*'s precise identity.

Due to the almost unexplored paleography of Arabic literary papyri, it is nearly impossible to tell which texts might have been written by one and the same scholar or even in one specific region of Egypt, but both *isnād* and *matn*—especially combined—could shed light on the popularity of certain transmitters and also texts that circulated. So far, only one text has appeared in two papyri with some variation: Prophet Muḥammad's recommendation for

33 Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa* 142–143.

the best *duʿāʾ*, transmitted by Abū Dāwūd (*Sunan*), Bukhārī (*Adab al-mufrad*), Tirmidhī (*al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*), Ibn Ḥanbal (*Musnad*), and Ibn Māja (*Sunan*), all via Anas b. Mālik. The text appears in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 11014v and P.Camb.inv. Michaelides D 710v. Apart from the *duʿāʾ* being mentioned in both papyri and isolated *hāʾ* being used at the end of traditions, no similarities between the two papyri exist. They have been written in very different hands, P.Vind.inv. A.P. 11014v is more frequently dotted and has straight lines with a balanced, sophisticated hand featuring hooks at the lower end of *alif*, *yāʾ* pulled to the right in a bow under the line. Part of the *isnād* is preserved in the Cambridge papyrus, but since it is completely absent from the Vienna text, no comparison can be made here. There is slight variation in the text: The Vienna text has *sal rabbaka*—'Ask your Lord,' whereas the Cambridge text has *sal Allāh*—'Ask God.' Overall, the Vienna text seems simpler. In the Cambridge text, the Prophet's answer is introduced by *qāla fa-qāla*, which implies another level of transmission by referring to a previously mentioned transmitter now lost from the remaining part. Instead of giving the answer as before when asked the same question for the third time, the Prophet interjects *wayḥaka!*—('Woe unto you!') before explaining why he need not to answer differently. This addition to the Cambridge text suggests an earlier version of the text in the Vienna document, and they underline the oral aspect of the tradition. It is well imaginable that a text with this kind of interlocutory character has been used for teaching or as material for a *khuṭba*.

The relation between *fiqh* and jurists on the one hand and hadith and the *muḥaddithūn* on the other hand is another issue that might or might not have had repercussions on hadith discourse and transmission in Early Islamic Egypt. From the year 780 CE onwards, there was a deliberate policy of installing foreign, i. e. Iraqi, judges in Egypt, with the aim of affirming central authority by weakening the local elites who gradually lost control over jurisdiction and religious life, especially in the capital al-Fusṭāṭ.[34] Even if we suppose the least possible connection between *fiqh* and hadith, we do have evidence for the influence of figures like al-Layth b. Saʿd on the appointment of the qadis of Fusṭāṭ.[35] Both *fiqh* and hadith were in the state of being consolidated but not yet canonized at that time—and also presented rather differently in papyri. Consequently one might argue that jurisprudence and jurisdiction cannot have been based on hadith from the very beginning,[36] but *muḥaddithūn* did have

34 Monika Tillier, "Les 'premiers' cadis de Fusṭāṭ et les dynamiques régionales de l'innovation judiciaire," in *AI* 45 (2011), 213–242, 226–227.

35 Tillier, "Les 'premiers' cadis" 219.

36 This assumption would conform to Juynboll's view that all legal hadith originates from the

contact with the judiciary system and were even actively engaging in it. The question remains whether this is true for all *muḥaddithūn* or only for the famous scholars of the capital, and whether scholars in provincial cities might have had a different approach. Not only by law, but also by hadith were rulers and scholars shaping the contemporaneous political landscape. Both in the Umayyad and the Abbasid era, scholars were personally dependent on rulers, a relation that would have had most direct impact in the East,[37] but its repercussions might as well have been felt in ideological orientation among the judges and scholars who travelled to and worked in Egypt.

5 Conclusion

As one of the earliest surviving sources for a culture of writing in Early Islamic society, papyri offer some insight into the ways writers handled and structured their material. The length of hadith treatises, even though they mostly consisted of *musnad* collections with tendencies towards an additional thematic division (see P.Camb.inv. Michaelides D 953), makes them an appropriate object for the study of the transition from *ṣaḥīfa* to *daftar*. The corrections made in the texts and sometimes loose combinations of reports largely confirm Schoeler's statements about early written hadith as being mainly meant as a support for lectures, not 'books' in the sense of established text corpora. Aural transmission did play an important role in the hadiths we find in papyri, though there are hints at texts copied from written sources as well.

The hadith as represented by Arabic literary papyri displays a complexity that is impressive but not surprising. Apparently, a system of *isnād* terminology was already in place in Egypt during the 2nd century AH, together with the awareness of varying degrees of strictness in *isnād* scrutiny as appropriate to audience, purpose, and content of the *matn*. Though the scholarly community that produced hadith on a more professional level was apparently rather small, the thematic range from pietistic *du'ā'* texts authored by Jesus, instructions for prayer and behavior in a mosque, to legal implications of breastfeeding and polemics in favor of the succession of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as first caliph suggests a lively discourse very much aligned with contemporaneous developments hitherto known from the East of the Islamic world through literary transmission.

2nd/8th century. Gautier H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition. Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Hadith*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 15–17.

37 Harald Motzki (ed.), *Ḥadīth* (FCIW 28), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, xix.

6 Figures

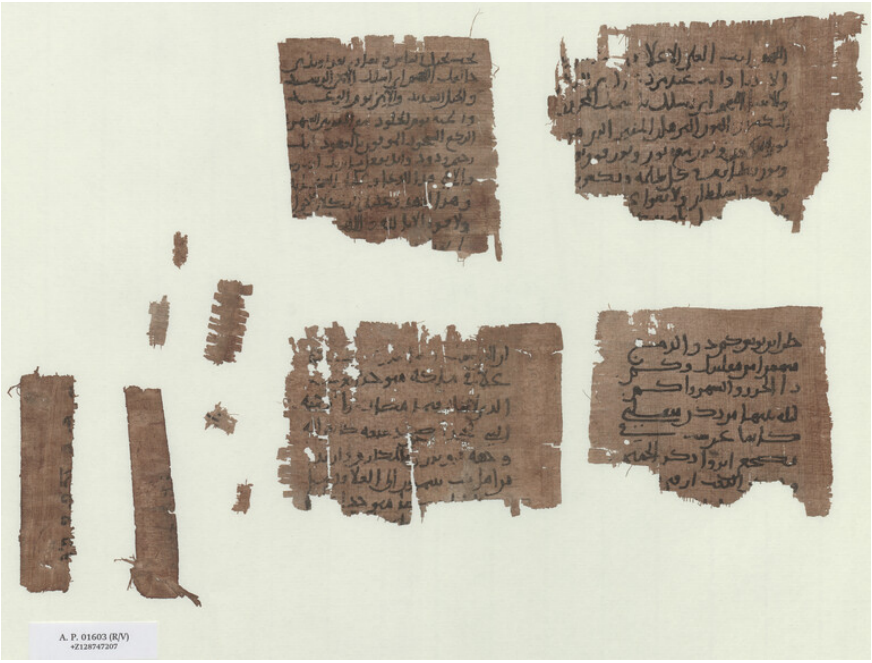

FIGURE 8.1 P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1603a

FIGURE 8.2 P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1603b

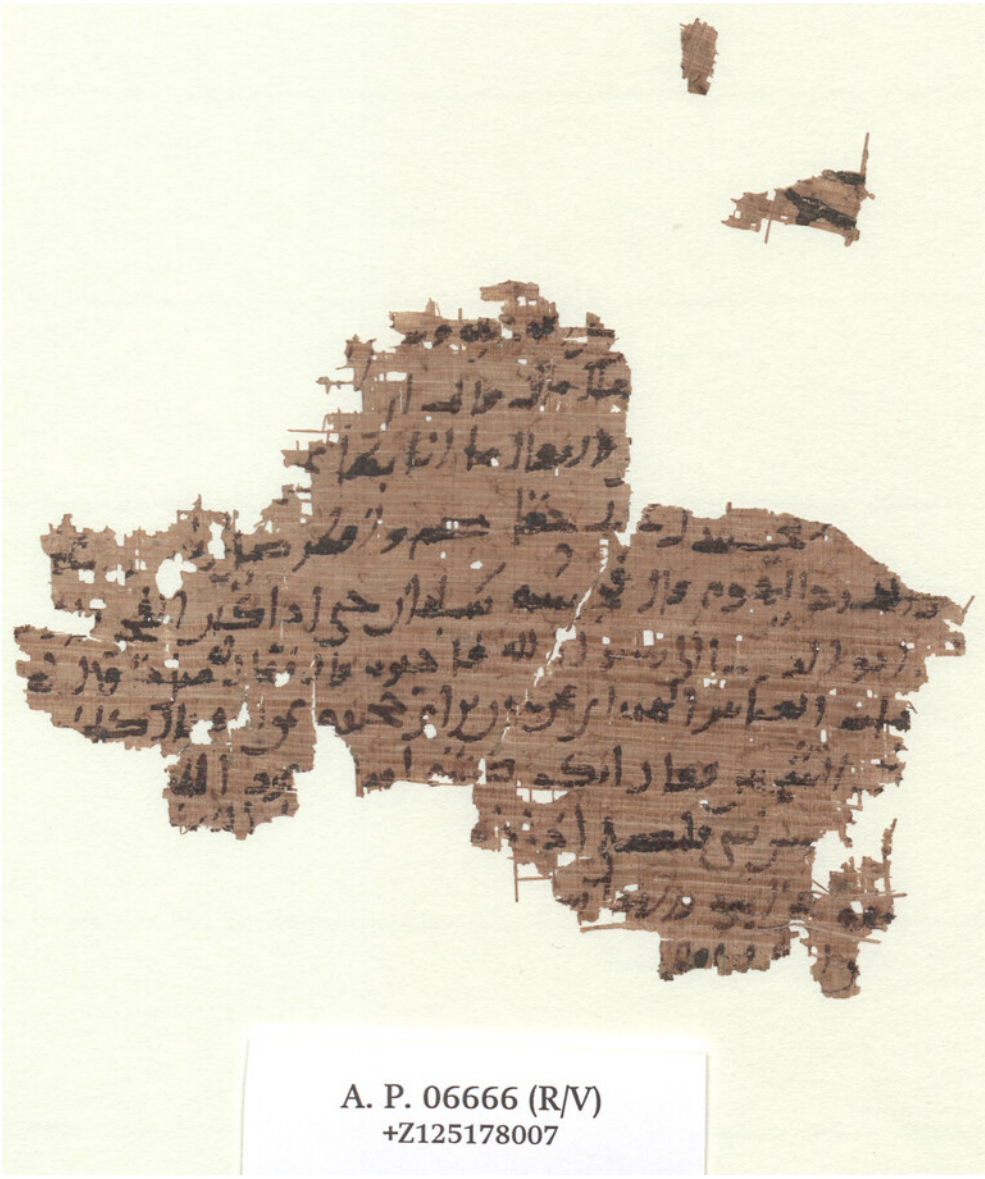

FIGURE 8.3 P.Vind.inv. A.P. 6666v

FIGURE 8.4 P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10126+10134r

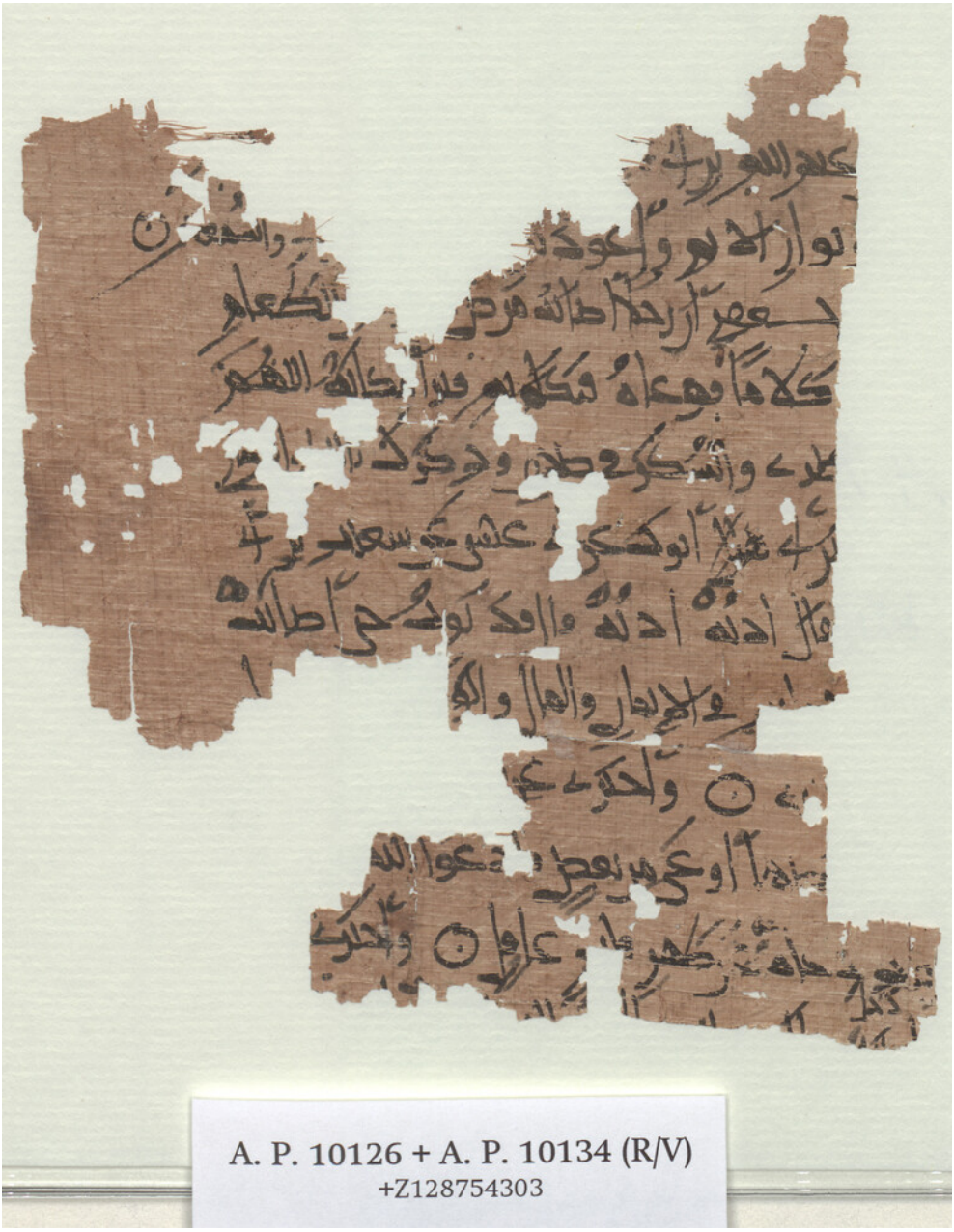

FIGURE 8.5 P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10126+10134v

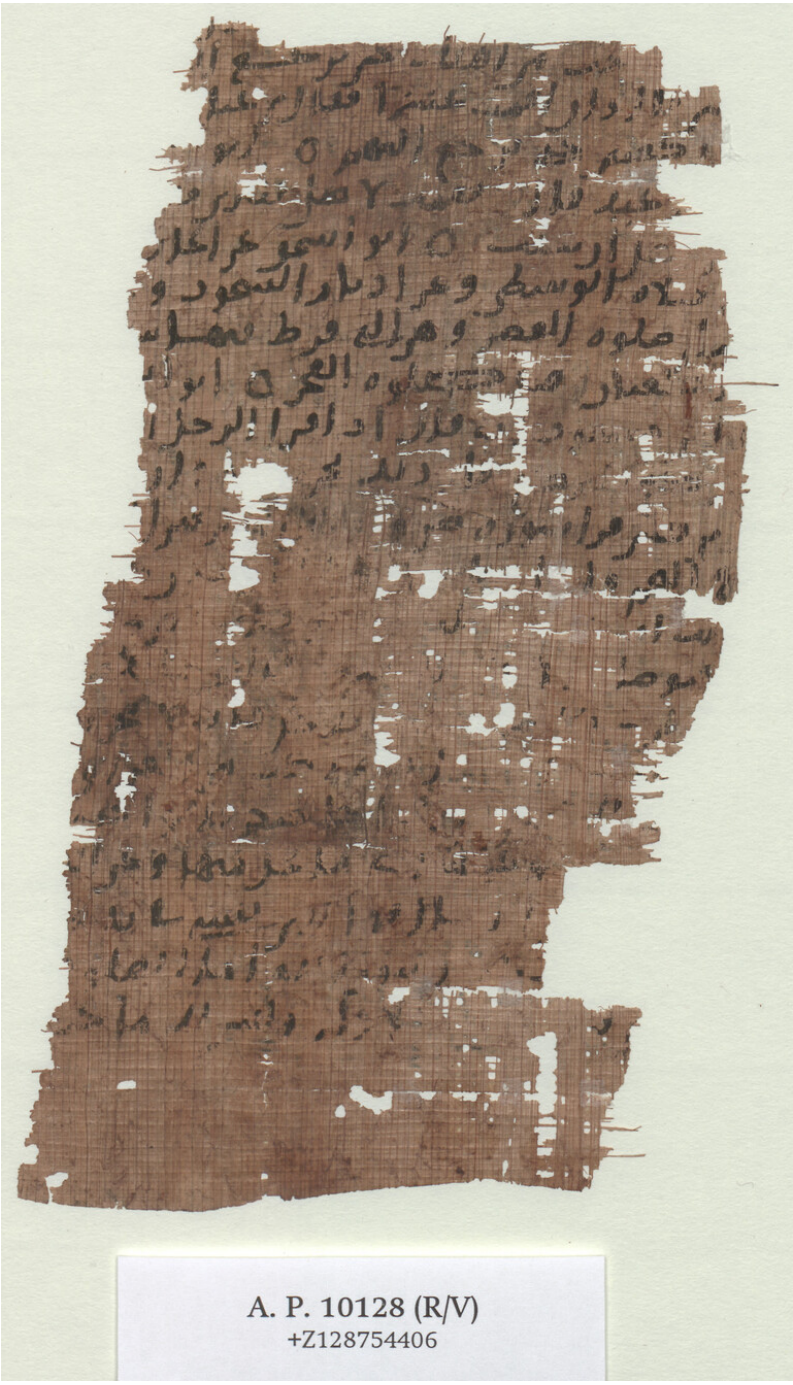

FIGURE 8.6 P.Vind.inv. A.P. 10128r

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CHAPTER 9

The Materiality of Hadith Scholarship in the Post-Canonical Period

Konrad Hirschler

The books that carry hadith-related texts discussed in this volume (whether printed or hand-written) are obviously very much physical objects. Owners carried them around, readers leafed through them, users left their traces, binders bound and rebound them, traders offered them on the market, librarians stored them on shelves, and insects fed on them. Yet the material side of hadith transmission has gained hardly any in-depth interest to date. When scholarship was primarily focusing on the question of authenticity, the manuscripts were mainly of interest to establish print editions. In this vein, as in most other subfields of history, the physical book was seen as nothing but the passive carrier of text—a text that could seemingly be lifted with ease from one carrier (the manuscript) to another (the printed book) without undergoing substantial transformation. The individuality of the manuscript with its specific binding, its size, the paper used, the *mise-en-page*, the notes written on it, the non-textual traces left on it, the existence of possible co-texts bound into the same volume, and so on was deemed marginal in this transfer from one medium to another.[1]

In scholarship on Islamic Studies/Middle Eastern history at large this textual perspective on the manuscript has been challenged from various sides in recent years. As a consequence, the manuscript has unequivocally gained a new status as an object deserving close scrutiny. This change is visible in numerous publications, but also in large-scale research projects. In Germany alone, there are by now two such long-term research projects: The Hamburg-based *Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures* and its Cluster of Excellence *Understanding Written Artefacts* has focused on manuscripts in various languages and

1 The research for this article was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no.390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

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pushed research towards taking materiality much more seriously than before.[2] The Leipzig-based *Bibliotheca Arabica* aims to rewrite the history of Arabic literature ('literature' in a very wide sense) based on the manuscript evidence and lays a particular emphasis on the usage context of individual objects. The shift towards the individual manuscript as a prime area of research has by now also become part and parcel of many monographs. For the context of this volume, it suffices to refer to Joel Blecher's wonderful study of the genre of hadith-commentary (*sharḥ*) where he combines a diachronic argument across regions with case studies of specific manuscripts. In these case studies, he pays meticulous attention to the production and usage context of the individual object, thus substantially enriching his argument.[3]

This change in scholarly practices of how to deal with the manuscript is part of the wider trend in humanities towards "material philology."[4] In this line of scholarship, the physical form of the text—the whole book and not just the text—has moved increasingly into focus with the aim of "decoding the material book."[5] Drawing to a large extent on the 'material turn' in humanities, itself very much a reaction to the wave of text-focused postmodernism from the 1960s onwards, the aim thus became to reconstruct "biographies of things", to use the term coined by Igor Kopytoff.[6] These biographies helped to reconstruct the 'social life of things,' whose production and circulation contexts became central to scholarly inquiry.[7] This in turn filtered down into the field of Islamic Studies/Middle Eastern history, and researchers have increasingly started to listen to the "manuscript's story," in the words of Paul Love.[8]

The present article takes up these changes and applies them to the field of hadith scholarship in its post-canonical period,[9] more specifically the 6th/12th

2 Jörg B. Quenzer (ed.), *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021.

3 Joel Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God. Hadith Commentary across a Millennium*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2018.

4 The seminal reference point remains Stephen Nichols, "Philology in a Manuscript Culture," in *Speculum* 65.1 (1990), 1–10.

5 Erik Kwakkel, "Decoding the Material Book: Cultural Residue in Medieval Manuscripts," in Michael Johnston and Michael van Dussen (eds.), *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 60–76.

6 Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 64–91.

7 Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

8 Paul Love, "Écouter le conte d'un manuscrit: Penser avec une copie d'une chronique Ibadite de la bibliothèque Barouni à Djerba," in *Etudes et Documents Berbères* 35–36 (2016), 301–313.

9 On this term, see the articles by Mohammad Gharaibeh, "The *ʿawālī* Genre and its Social

to 9th/15th centuries, that is the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. It takes as its regional focus the developments in one city in particular: Damascus. The reason for choosing this regionally focused case study is my hypothesis—it is far too early to call this an argument—that post-canonical hadith scholarship developed with very substantial regional differences. This hypothesis, in turn, is built upon the corpus of post-canonical hadith manuscripts that circulated in Damascus, show very distinctive regional features, and hardly ever travelled outside the city. I am not able to systematically test this hypothesis in the present article as this would require going through comparable substantial manuscript corpora that circulated in Cairo or other cities during the same period. However, what this article can argue is that Damascene scholars acted during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods within a very distinctive material culture of hadith manuscripts. This material culture was different from that of other fields of knowledge and was different from that of hadith scholarship of the preceding and following centuries. In a wider sense, the article proposes that the materiality of scholarship as embodied by manuscript culture is an important—perhaps even indispensable—element in order to understand the development of fields of knowledge.

The source corpus underlying the following discussion consists of 1500 Damascene hadith manuscripts of the pre-Ottoman period. I built up this corpus while working on the *fihrist* of the Damascene scholar Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503, sometimes also called Ibn al-Mibrad in modern scholarship).[10] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī wrote this *fihrist* in the late 9th/15th century to list the books he endowed as a family *waqf*.[11] These books eventually moved into the library of the ʿUmarīya Madrasa where they remained until the modern reconfiguration of endowment libraries in the Middle East in the late 19th century. The *fihrist* was much more than a list of books; it was a massive project to monumentalize the 'golden age' of post-canonical hadith scholarship in which its writer was deeply invested. This line of scholarship had been in steep decline for several decades and was on the verge of vanishing from the Damascene scholarly topography. With the vanishing of post-canonical hadith scholarship, its physical manifestation, the books, were also in danger of neglect, loss, and destruction.

Dimension" and Garrett Davidson, "Where Was Hadith Read in Damascus? Audition Notices and the Loci of Hadith Transmission in Medieval Damascus" in the present volume.

10 Konrad Hirschler, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture: The Library of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020. Research for this project has involved examination of the digital surrogates of the manuscripts held in Damascus combined with inspecting those manuscripts held in accessible libraries.

11 Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist al-kutub*, MS Damascus, National al-Asad Library, 3190.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī thus systematically bought up post-canonical books in order to safeguard them as part of his endowment, where we find some 3000 titles overall. The role of this scholar in safeguarding the material artefacts of post-canonical hadith scholarship in its Damascene form has not yet been recognized, but is of crucial importance for 'reading' the extant corpus. As we will see in the second part of this article, his monumentalization project was accompanied by a decisive intervention in the materiality of the extant Damascene post-canonical hadith manuscripts.

The crucial position of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī becomes evident when looking at the seminal *Index of Damascene Audition Certificates* (*Muʿjam al-samāʿāt al-Dimashqīya*) by Stefan Leder, Yāsīn Muḥammad al-Sawwās, and Maʾmūn al-Ṣāgharjī. This was the first serious endeavor to make one of the richest documentary source corpora of Middle Eastern history, the notes of transmission on manuscripts (the so-called *samāʿāt*), available to scholarship.[12] It indexes and reproduces over 1300 transmission notes with more than 6500 participants—a real milestone for the field, but still a drop in the ocean compared to the overall wealth of data we find on the hadith manuscripts of this period. The important point here is that if we look at the manuscripts that were used for this index, we see that an impressive 94 percent of all notes come from manuscripts that had been part of the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī collection.[13] In a sense, this work is thus rather the *Index of Damascene Audition Certificates According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī*.

In the following, the term 'Damascus corpus' will refer to these 1500 post-canonical hadith manuscripts. The term 'Damascus corpus' is completely appropriate for these booklets as the vast majority of them were produced in Damascus. This is evident from the colophons (there are not many) and from the initial notes of transmission, which often provide information on the production context of the booklet in question (there are many). Furthermore, the subsequent notes of transmission show that these texts continued to circulate in Damascus. Notes of possession and of endowment also invariably refer to owners and libraries within the city. The vast majority of the corpus is still held in Damascus, namely in the National al-Asad Library, the successor to the Ẓāhirīya Library. The class marks used in the following are the present

12 Stefan Leder, Yāsīn Muḥammad al-Sawwās, and Maʾmūn al-Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt al-Dimashqīya al-muntakhaba min sanat 550 ilā 750 h/1155 ilā 1349m*, 2 vols., Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1996–2000. On manuscript notes in general, see Andreas Görke and Konrad Hirschler (eds.), *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources*, Würzburg: Ergon, 2011.

13 Leder, al-Sawwās, and al-Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt*. The manuscripts that did not come from the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī collection are: MS 1070/5, 1070/10, 1150/7, 1180/4, 1231/2, 1592/1, 1592/3. These contributed a total of 79 notes to the index.

class marks (*raqm al-wurūd*) of the National al-Asad Library, not the Ẓāhirīya class marks that are unfortunately still used in some academic publications. The manuscripts came to the Ẓāhirīya Library in 1878 when Damascene endowment libraries were dissolved in the framework of the Ottoman drive for centralized and state-controlled cultural policies. At this point the name 'Ẓāhirīya' was not used; the new 'modern' library was rather called the Public Library (*al-Maktaba al-ʿUmūmīya*).[14] The 'Damascus corpus,' in turn, came into this Public Library from the library of the ʿUmarīya Madrasa, the most important library in the Ṣāliḥīya Quarter of Damascus, where Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's book endowment was held from the 9th/15th century onwards. In addition to these manuscripts with a continuous Damascene trajectory, a much smaller number made their way to libraries outside Damascus. This latter movement is mostly a phenomenon of the 19th and early 20th centuries, as a consequence of which we find parts of the Damascus corpus in libraries in the Middle East (in particular the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo), Europe (in particular Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin) and the US (in particular Princeton University Library).

1 The Booklet and Post-Canonical Hadith Scholarship

In textual terms, post-canonical hadith scholarship was characterized by the dominance of short collections of hadiths. Rather than engaging in the first place with the grand 'canonical' collections of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and so on, hadith scholars of this period centered their scholarly activities around these brief collections that (mostly) contained hadiths drawn from the canonical collections. The most well-known genre was that of a collection of forty hadiths (*arbaʿīnāt*) organized around a colorful range of criteria, such as: sharing the same theme (for instance *jihad*), and/or the same transmitters (for instance all transmitted to the compiler by the same teacher), and/or transmitted in the same city/village, and/or transmitted by a chain of scholars all carrying the same name, and/or all having a specific number of transmitters between the compiler and the Prophet (such as the *thulāthīyāt*, that is three transmitters), and so on.[15] There were also collections of five, ten, twenty, or eighty hadiths (to cite the most frequent). In some cases, an individual selection criterion for hadiths became so popular that these works emerged as a 'genre' in their own

14 On these events, see Hirschler, *Monument* ch. 2.

15 On these collections, see article by Swantje Bartschat in the present volume.

right. There is also some overlap between genres, for example works that fall into a 'criterion-based genre' could also have forty hadiths. Thus, it fell to the compiler to decide whether or not he wanted to emphasize the number of hadiths in a collection's title. For instance, we have the genre of *buldānīyāt*, that is collections of hadiths transmitted in the same city/village, but as we have just seen, a work with a set number of hadiths could also be organized around the very same criterion. Particularly prominent genres were those of *ʿawālī* ('high hadiths,' that is a collection of those hadiths for which a scholar had the shortest lines of transmission), *muṣāfaḥa* ('shaking hands,' that is with a line of transmission with only one more transmitter than the compiler of a canonical work) and *muwāfaqāt* ('being in agreement,' that is having the same line of transmission as an author of a canonical work, but to one of his contemporaries).[16] We still know relatively little about the development of these genres, but Mohammad Gharaibeh has suggested that these post-canonical collections were initially very much a phenomenon of Iraq and the lands farther East, until they started to appear in the course of the 6th/12th century in Syria and Egypt.[17]

This textual transformation from the grand canonical collections to short post-canonical collections also implied substantial changes in the material world of hadith scholarship. Most importantly, we have to bid farewell to the idea of grandiose and carefully produced volumes when we think about the physical objects of post-canonical hadith scholarship. The increasing importance of short texts meant those objects came to the forefront that are best thought of as booklets; a term such as 'manuscript' evokes associations that are far too grandiose for these very modest and cheaply produced items, and even 'pamphlet' is too formal. At any rate, these objects have nothing to do with the splendid books produced for elite consumption that are often associated with the term 'manuscript.' Rather, post-canonical booklets in Damascus were situated at the opposite end of the period's manuscript culture. They were very cheap to produce and they were clearly objects for everyday usage. They emphatically were not books with select paper, fine bindings, decoration, or careful *mise-en-page*. With the Damascus corpus we have a unique opportun-

16 Mohammad Gharaibeh, *Einführung in die Wissenschaften des Hadith, seine Überlieferungsgeschichte und Literatur*, Freiburg: Kalam, 2016 is an immensely valuable overview of post-canonical hadith scholarship and the resulting emergence of new genres.

17 Mohammad Gharaibeh, "The *Buldāniyyāt* of as-Saḫāwī (d. 902/1496). A Case Study on Knowledge Specialization and Knowledge Brokerage in the Field of Ḥadīṯ Collections," in Stephan Conermann (ed.), *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517)*, Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2016, 81–105, 7–8.

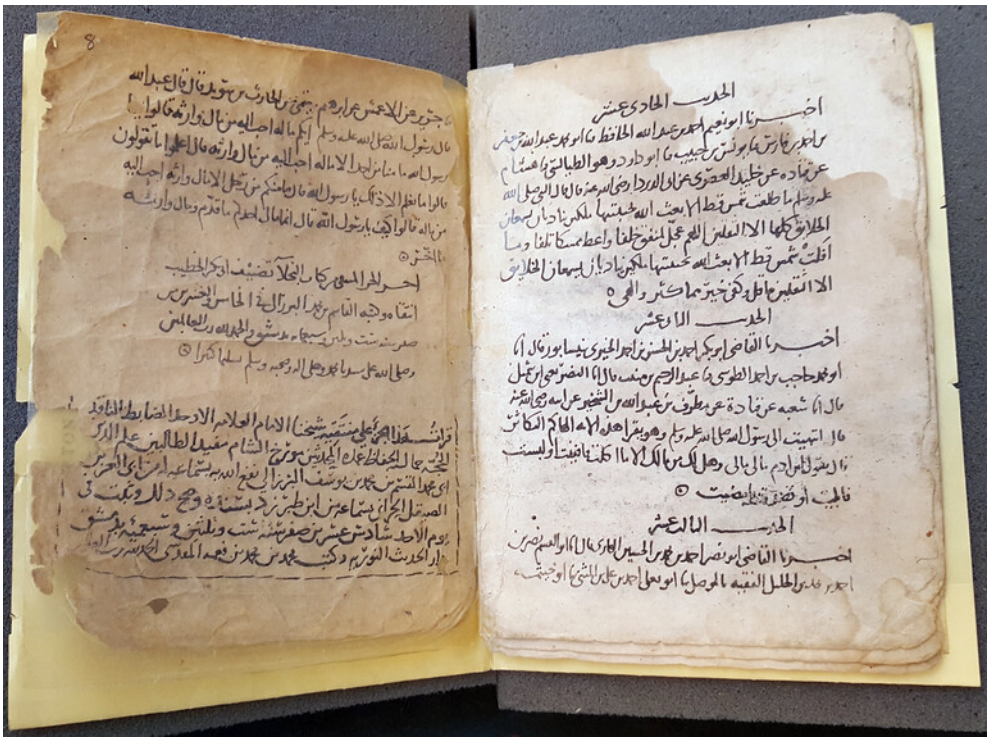

FIGURE 9.1 A post-canonical hadith booklet (al-Birzālī, *al-Muntaqā min Kitāb al-Bukhalā'*, fols. 7[b], 8[a]). MS Garrett Islamic Manuscripts, No. 3879y, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library

ity to discuss what the transition to post-canonical hadith scholarship meant in material terms for a chronologically and regionally defined context. Evidently, this substantive material change can only be discerned when we look at the actual manuscripts and/or their digital surrogates; working with printed editions gives at best a limited or at worst a false impression.

The booklets produced and circulating within post-canonical hadith scholarship in Damascus have six characteristic material features. These post-canonical booklets are first and foremost very thin and their typical range is between just five and twenty folia—hence my preference for the term 'booklet' rather than 'book' or 'manuscript.' Clearly this is a strikingly different format from the massive multi-volume canonical collections. A typical example of such a booklet from the Damascus corpus is the manuscript Princeton, Garrett 3879y, a hadith collection entitled *al-Muntaqā min Kitāb al-Bukhalā'* **(fig. 9.1)**. This is a selection of thirteen hadiths from the *Book of Misers* by the grand hadith-scholar of Baghdad, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071). It was compiled dur-

ing the heyday of post-canonical hadith transmission in the year 736/1335 by al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Birzālī (d. 739/1339), a Damascene scholar better known today for his historical work *al-Muqtafī ʿalā Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*.

This crisp booklet consists of just four bi-folia stacked on top of each other that thus make eight folia or sixteen pages. Yet, even these sixteen pages are not fully used as the actual text does not fill more than fourteen pages (fols. 1[b] to 8[a]): The first page is the title page (fol. 1[a]) and al-Birzālī left the final page blank, though it was subsequently filled by users with transmission notes (fol. 8[b]). The fourteen pages of actual text were not exactly overburdened with text, and **figure 9.2** shows the rather breezy layout of this booklet. As well as being thin, these booklets were also quite small. A typical manuscript has a height of no more than 20 centimeters and a width of no more than 15 centimeters. At 18.2×13.4 centimeters, al-Birzālī's *Muntaqā* was at the higher end of the scale, but post-canonical hadith booklets could easily be as small as 12.5×8.5 centimeters.[18]

The unspectacular appearance of these thin and small objects is reinforced by their second material characteristic, the unspectacular paper upon which they were written. The use of paper itself is not noteworthy at all as Damascene manuscript culture had fully transitioned from parchment to paper by the 6th/12th century. The only exception were Qur'ans and legal documents where we find the use of parchment well into the 8th/14th century.[19] What is noteworthy in the case of post-canonical hadith booklets, however, is that often different kinds of paper are randomly used within the same quire. It seems that at the moment of production whatever was lying around in the household, *madrasa*, or atelier was used.[20] Furthermore, for the producers of these manuscripts right angles or even edges were far from a concern, and having sheets of the same size was clearly not a priority. The booklets were almost inevitably produced in the way we have seen in the case of al-Birzālī's *Muntaqā*: Sheets of paper (the bi-folia) were stacked on top of each other and then vertically folded once (*in folio*) in the middle (in the example of the *Muntaqā* four sheets provided eight folia after folding). When these sheets were cut, users took surprisingly little care to cut them to the same size. The option of producing folia by further folding the sheets (*in quarto* and *in octavo*) and then cutting

18 For instance, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Supplément Turc 983.

19 For Damascene parchment documents, see Jean-Michel Mouton, Dominique Sourdel, and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, *Mariage et séparation à Damas au Moyen Âge*, Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2013.

20 For instance, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Manāqib al-Zubayr*, MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Ṭalʿat Majāmīʿ 188, fols. 45–111.

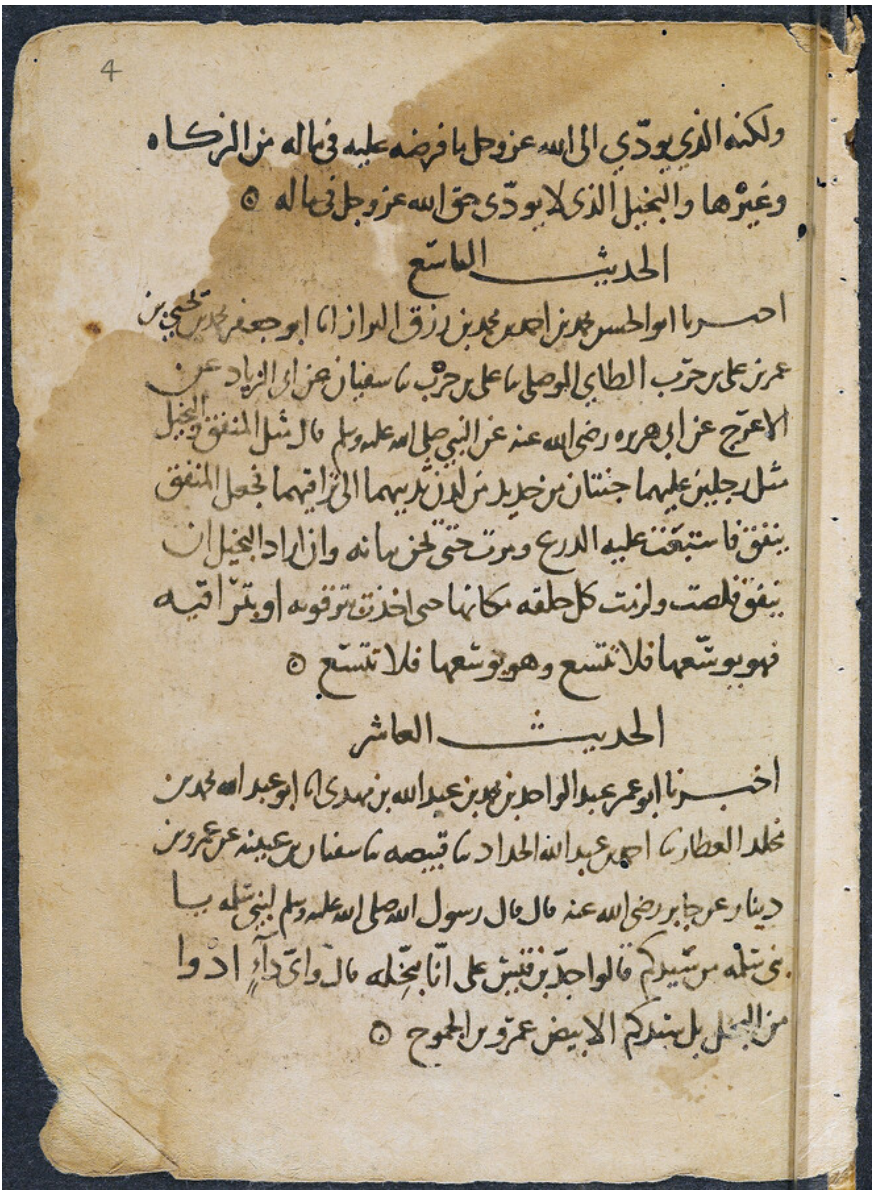

FIGURE 9.2 Al-Birzālī, *al-Muntaqā min Kitāb al-Bukhalā'*, fol. 4ª. MS Garrett Islamic Manuscripts, No. 3879y, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library

FIGURE 9.3 Varying paper formats in Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *Istidrākāt ʿalā Durar al-athar*. Paris, BnF, MS Supplément Turc 983/11
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them to regular sizes is not applied in the Damascus corpus. On the contrary, we see quite often that pages of wildly varying size that might have been leftover sheets are used (or rather reused) to produce such a booklet. **Figure 9.3** shows some pages from a work by one of the greatest Damascene hadith-scholars of the post-canonical period, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 643/1245). This is a wonderful example of the wide variety of paper formats we encounter in such booklets.

The third characteristic feature of these manuscripts is their binding, or rather the absence of it. Manuscripts from the Arabic heartlands, in contrast

to most Arabic manuscripts from sub-Saharan Africa, are generally thought of as bound books, and this is indeed the shape in which we see most of them today in the Special Collections Room of the modern library where we access the manuscripts. However, this was not the case for post-canonical booklets in the period in which we are interested (we will see further down when this changed), instead they circulated unbound. As these booklets were very thin and made of rather cheap paper, this should not come as much of a surprise. Producers and subsequent owners were evidently not willing to pay for proper leather binding for such thin and cheap booklets. In consequence, we repeatedly see that the most vulnerable parts of these booklets, the title page and the final page, are often missing or have at least been damaged. If we return to the *Muntaqā* by al-Birzālī **(fig. 9.4)**, we see that the title on the first page and the manuscript notes on the final page have been partly erased over time. Furthermore, we can see numerous folds and tears in the paper, especially on the edges, whereas the inside of this booklet (as evident from **fig. 9.2**) looks relatively clean.

Manuscript producers and users in Ayyubid and Mamluk Damascus were evidently concerned about the well-being of their booklets even if they did not go as far as to bind them. Rather, they engaged in a practice that brings us to the fourth characteristic of post-canonical hadith booklets, the phenomenon of 'protective wrappers.' We observe that manuscript producers and users repeatedly laid old parchment sheets around the paper booklet to provide these vulnerable booklets with a more stable wrapper. Reusing parchment sheets gave the booklets some protection from the vicissitudes of life that included water spillage, inattentive users ripping off the front page, being stuffed into bags, and so on. The medieval Damascene reuse of parchment sheets to produce protective wrappers comes in a variety of different shapes and forms. We find, to name but a few, parchment fragments of Arabic legal documents (especially those related to marriage), Greek liturgical texts, Latin hymns, Hebrew commentary literature, as well as bibles in Georgian, Syriac, and Armenian.[21] The reuse of these fragments has preserved an entirely new corpus from the Damascene manuscript culture of the pre-paper eras.[22] The

21 Konrad Hirschler, "Books within Books: The Links between Reuse Fragments and the Qubba al-Khazna", in Arianna D'Ottone Rambach, Konrad Hirschler, Ronny Vollandt (eds.), *The Damascus Fragments: Towards a History of the Qubbat al-khazna Corpus of Manuscripts and Documents*, Baden Baden: Ergon 2020, 439–473.

22 Konrad Hirschler "Saleroom Fiction versus Provenance: Historicising Manuscripts via their Marginal and Material Logic (Schøyen Fragments 1776)", in *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 13 (2022), 1–54.

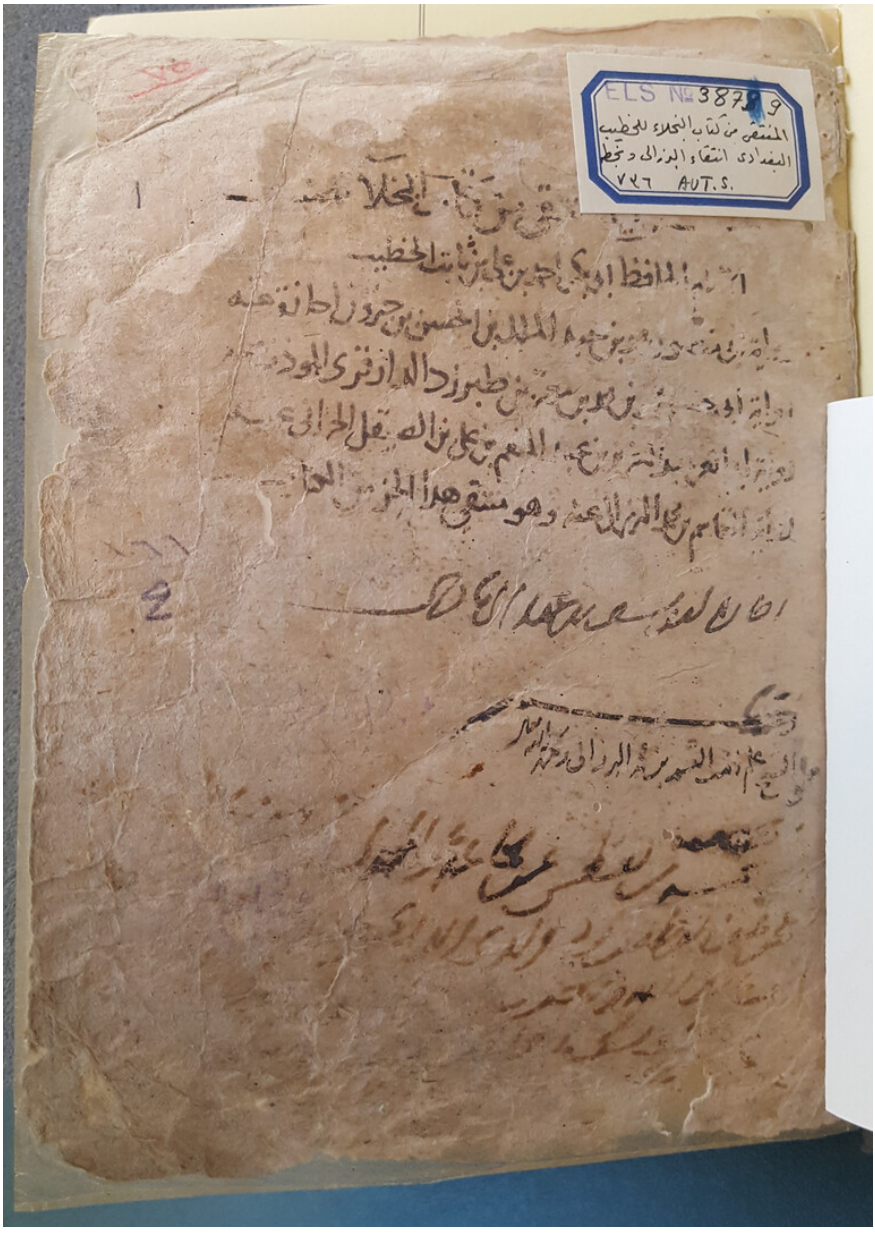

FIGURE 9.4 Worn-out title page (al-Birzālī, *al-Muntaqā min Kitāb al-Bukhalā'*, fol. 1ª). MS Garrett Islamic Manuscripts, No. 3879y, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library

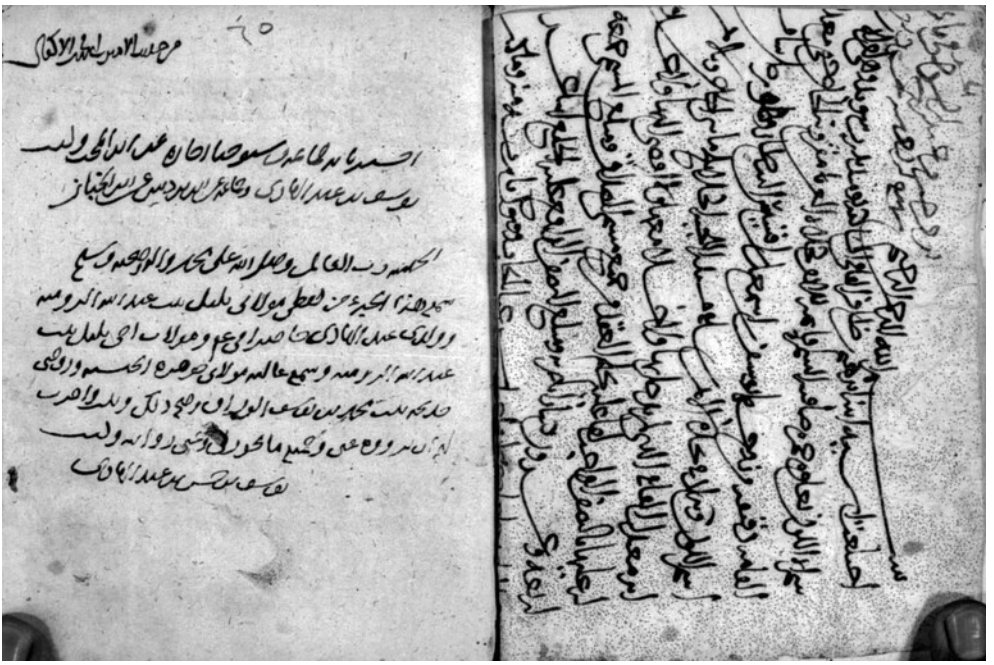

FIGURE 9.5 Left: Secondary title page; Right: Reuse of marriage-related contract as protective wrapper (*Ḥadīth al-Akfānī*). MS Damascus, National al-Asad Library, 3817/7, fols. 64ᵇ, 65ᵃ
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choice of the old parchments that were to be reused was often not a random process, rather we see that they were repeatedly chosen with a symbolic logic and an eye on the text they were meant to enwrap.[23]

To illustrate the material logic of these parchment wrappers, we can turn to a booklet with hadith transmitted by the Damascene scholar Hibat Allāh al-Akfānī (d. 524/1129), simply entitled *Ḥadīth al-Akfānī*. The copy preserved in the National al-Asad Library is a *unicum* as is the case with virtually all such booklets.[24] It was produced in the year 595/1199 in Damascus with three bi-folia that were, as usual, stacked on top of each other and vertically folded in the middle to produce a six-folia quire with twelve pages. This thin and flimsy paper booklet was subsequently enwrapped and sewn with a further parchment bi-folium to protect it, and also to create new writing space. **Figure 9.5** shows on the left-hand side the beginning of the paper booklet (the page carries

23 Konrad Hirschler, "Document Reuse in Medieval Arabic Manuscripts," in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* 3.1 (2017), 33–44.

24 MS Damascus, National al-Asad Library, 3817/7, fols. 65–72.

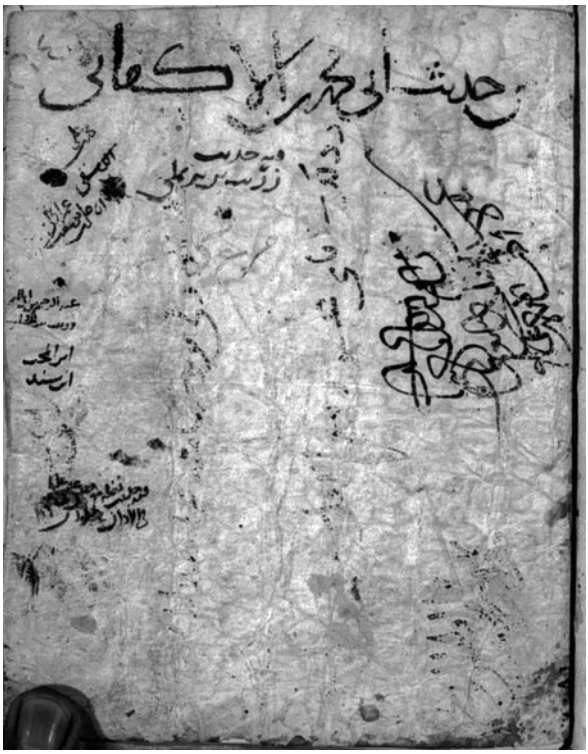

FIGURE 9.6 Reuse of marriage-related contract as protective wrapper (front of plate 5, right-hand side) (*Ḥadīth al-Akfānī*). MS Damascus, National al-Asad Library, 3817/7, fol. 64[a]
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notes of transmission) and on the right-hand side the inside of the protective parchment wrapper. On **figure 9.6** we see the parchment wrapper's other side, which had become the booklet's title page and the one that any subsequent user of the manuscript would first encounter.

There is no definitive proof of when this protective wrapper was added to the booklet, but it is very unlikely that it was at the point of production. The reused parchment wrapper carries on its back (**fig. 9.5**, right-hand side) a divorce agreement, *khulʿa*, and on its front **(fig. 9.6)** we see palimpsest practices with some faint writings of the couple's marriage contract still visible (the distinct scribble beneath the title on the right-hand side is a witness' signature). Now, the *khulʿa* document is dated to the year 595/1199, that is the exact year when the booklet was written and there are more precisely only four months between the writing of the document and the booklet. Such a document was

clearly of utmost importance for the former spouses as long as they were alive (and also for their offspring for as long as the inheritance was not settled). It is thus highly unlikely that such a document would have moved so quickly to the next stage of its life-cycle as a protective wrapper. As we have seen, the *al-Akfānī* booklet consisted originally of three bi-folia, but in the year 707/1307 a fourth paper bi-folium was laid around it (the page with transmission notes on **figure 9.5** is the first page of this fourth bi-folium) to create more space for transmission notes.[25] Most likely, it was at this point that the parchment wrapper was also added to protect a booklet that at this point already had a history of more than 100 years.

The phenomenon of using protective wrappers is closely linked to these booklets' fifth and probably most fascinating characteristic, namely that they were 'growing' manuscripts. These booklets did not remain unchanged after they had been produced, instead we see subsequent users adding further sheets. The discussion here does not refer to the protective parchment wrappers that we have just seen, for which it is often difficult to identify whether they were added at the very moment when the manuscript was produced or at a later point. Rather, what is meant here are paper folia that were added for the function that we have just briefly seen with reference to the *al-Akfānī* booklet, that is creating more space for transmission notes. The need to add further sheets for this purpose goes back to the fact that post-canonical hadith scholarship was intrinsically linked to writing transmission notes on these booklets—this line of scholarship really lived and breathed the documented transmission of texts. In material terms this means that the booklets are overflowing with notes such as those that Leder, al-Sawwās, and al-Ṣāgharjī indexed in their volume. Such transmission notes were usually placed at the end of the text, though manuscript users could also opt to use the title page (quite often) or the pages of the main text (rarely). However, there is a clear preference to add one's transmission note to the end of the manuscript to graphically represent the continuous and uninterrupted chain of transmission. In many cases, these notes became so numerous that there was no space left on the final folio and users opted for adding an additional sheet (bi-folium) around the booklet to create space for more notes at the end.

To illustrate the phenomenon of added bi-folia, let us take a typical small booklet, the *Ṭuruq man kadhaba ʿalayya* by Sulaymān b. Ayyūb al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971).[26] The copy preserved in the National al-Asad Library is in the

25 Hirschler, *Monument* ch. 3.

26 MS Damascus, National al-Asad Library, 3817/5, fols. 29–50.

FIGURE 9.7 Final page of booklet filled with transmission notes. MS Damascus, National al-Asad Library, 3817/7, fol. 47^{b}
© DAMASCUS, NATIONAL AL-ASAD LIBRARY

hand of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, the great Damascene hadith scholar whom we have already met. It was produced at the end of the 6th/12th century in Damascus with nine bi-folia that were, as usual, stacked on top of each other, folded, and sewn together to produce an eighteen-folia quire with thirty-six pages. At the end of this booklet, the back of folio eighteen (fol. 18^{b} or page 36) was left blank at the point of production to accommodate what the producer knew was to come: a barrage of transmission notes. Inevitably, subsequent users of the manuscript started to fill this void starting at the top of folio 18^{b} with a note dated to the year 599/1203 until some thirty years later they reached the end of this folio with the fourth transmission note and thus the end of the booklet's capacity to accommodate more notes **(fig. 9.7)**.

In response, a manuscript user laid a new, tenth, bi-folium around the original booklet to create new space for transmission notes. S/he must have cut

the original thread and then sewed the enlarged booklet with a new thread (we hardly ever find double threads). Thereby s/he created two new folia, one at the front and one at the back of the quire, the new folia 1 and 20. The two pages of the new folio 20 at the back were duly filled with transmission notes starting in the year 631/1234 on folio 20^{a}, and continue up to the year 692/1293 on the bottom of folio 20^{b}. After this, yet another (eleventh) bi-folium was laid around the booklet (again, the original thread must have been cut and the new enlarged booklet sewed with a new thread), the new folia 1 and 22, with the two pages of folio 22 duly filled once again with transmission notes. Finally, a twelfth bi-folium was added in the same way with the last transmission note dated to the year 770/1369. At this point the transmission of this booklet came to an end and the booklet thus stopped growing.

This phenomenon of growing booklets is very typical of post-canonical hadith booklets because the phenomenon of transmission notes, rare in other fields of knowledge, is a characteristic of this field. This ever-growing chain of transmission notes required the addition of further folia, so growing booklets or books only existed in those fields of knowledge where transmission notes were an important element of scholarly practices. That these booklets were an ever-growing species arguably also contributes to the explanation for their third material characteristic, the absence of binding. The producers, owners and users of these booklets surely opted not to bind them to avoid the expense. However, a solid binding would also have been particularly irksome whenever a new folium was to be added. Unbound booklets meant this operation could be undertaken with minimal effort (get a new bi-folium, cut the thread, lay the new bifolium around it, re-sew it, done).

The two phenomena of protective wrappers and growing booklets share one outcome: the creation of an additional title page at the beginning. These additional title pages, our sixth characteristic feature, were in a sense quite a drawback for the manuscript owner and its users as they covered the original—and generally quite lovingly produced—primary title page with a blank folio. Manuscript users in Damascus responded to this problem by writing the title on this new blank sheet once again (though much less lovingly) so that subsequent users could easily identify the text via this new secondary (or tertiary and so on) new title page.[27] **Figure 9.6** shows one such title page for the *al-Akfānī* booklet that we saw earlier for its protective wrapper. At the top of the

27 The terms 'primary,' 'secondary,' etc. refer to the temporal succession in which these title pages were added, not their order when opening the manuscript. A user of the manuscript would first encounter the tertiary title page, then the secondary, and only then the primary, of course.

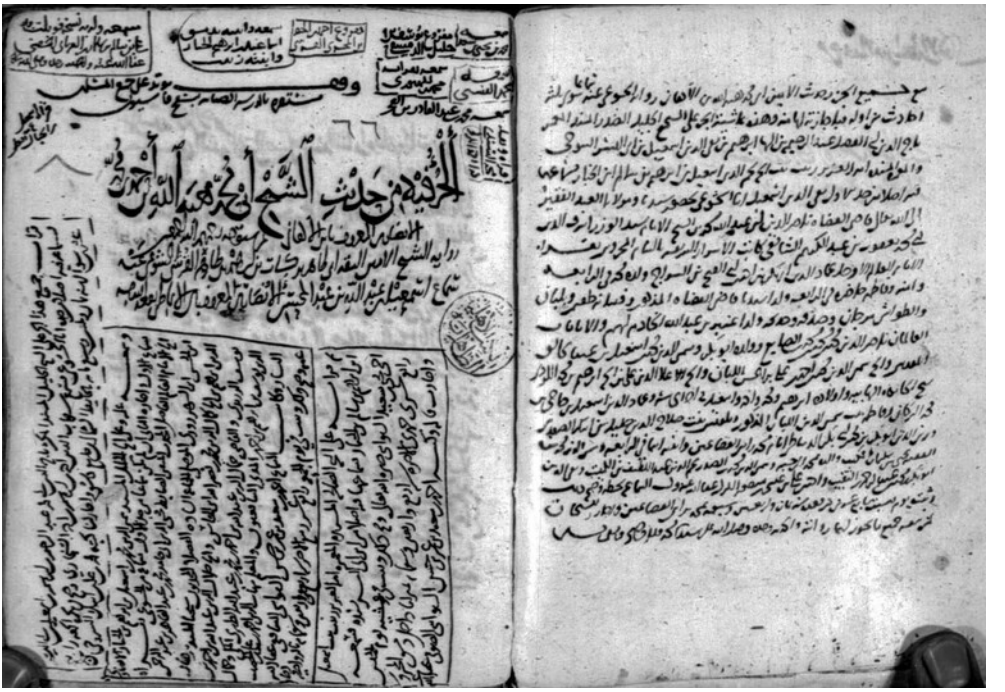

FIGURE 9.8 Primary title page (*Ḥadīth al-Akfānī*). MS Damascus, National al-Asad Library, 3817/7, fol. 66ª
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page a manuscript user wrote the title quite neatly and we can see that users added some further notes on this page (they are mostly concerned with the content of the booklet). This parchment wrapper is de facto what I call the 'tertiary' title page of this booklet. If we leaf one page further, we come to the pages of **figure 9.5** where we see on the left-hand side a secondary title page where a user scribbled the title of the work in the top left corner in an unspectacular fashion. Once again, we see a user—in this case we know that it was Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī—leaving notes (in this case notes of transmission).

If we turn one more page, we finally see the original or primary title page **(fig. 9.8)** that is indeed much more lovingly produced than the secondary (**fig. 9.5**, left) and tertiary **(fig. 9.6)** title pages. We have a carefully written calligraphic title and beneath it the *riwāya*, the line of transmission, in three lines that are aligned with the position of the title on the page. This line of transmission clearly shows that this was indeed the first, or original, title page. The *riwāya* was an essential element to provide a newly produced booklet with the required authoritative line of transmission up to the point when it was written. In addition, we see above the title an endowment note that states that this

booklet was endowed into the Ḍiyāʾīya Madrasa (or Dār al-Ḥadīth) that Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī had founded.[28] The positioning of this absolutely crucial bit of information on the legal status of the booklet was surely added to what was at the point of endowment the first (and only) title page.

Multiple title pages have not yet caught the attention of modern scholarship, and we do not even have a terminology for them yet. Even in the catalogues on these manuscripts, the cataloguers have generally not taken the multiple title pages as integral part of the physical object. In the otherwise excellent catalogues on *majmūʿāt* in the National al-Asad Library in Damascus, for instance, the page ranges given for each item only cover the main text including the primary title page, but they systematically exclude the secondary (and subsequent) title pages. These additional title pages were seemingly not seen as significant elements of the codicological unit and just omitted. When looking at the catalogue for the first time there are so many holes that one has the impression one is looking at a Swiss cheese.[29] In the same vein, editors of such texts have generally not considered these additional title pages to be worthy of mention, let alone discussion. In consequence, the phenomena of protective wrappers and growing booklets have until now not been commented on in scholarship.

The exploration of the materiality of post-canonical hadith scholarship has brought up six fundamental characteristics that the booklets in this field share. They are

(1) thin and small,
(2) they were made with unspectacular paper,
(3) they were unbound,
(4) they had protective wrappers,
(5) they were growing booklets, and
(6) they carried additional title pages.

The first three of these characteristics are valid for the vast majority of booklets and hold the corpus together as one material group. The last three characteristics, by contrast, are much less universal and will only be encountered in a minority of booklets. Growing booklets have survived in decent numbers as

28 Muḥammad Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Dār al-ḥadīth al-Ḍiyāʾīya wa-maktabatuhā bi-Ṣāliḥīyat Dimashq ansha'ahā al-imām al-ḥāfiẓ Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī*, Damascus: Dār al-Bayrūtī, 2006.

29 Yāsīn Muḥammad al-Sawwās, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhirīya: al-majāmīʿ*, 2 vols., Damascus: Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabīya, 1984–1986; idem, *Fihris majāmīʿ al-Madrasa al-ʿUmarīya fī Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhirīya bi-Dimashq*, Kuwait: Jāmiʿat al-Duwal al-ʿArabīya/Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīya, 1987.

there was a clear logic to preserving the pages with transmission notes together with the booklet itself. Yet, the number of extant protective wrappers is considerably lower. This is unlikely to be a reflection of these booklets' historical form, and I assume that many more carried such wrappers. However, when these booklets stopped circulating as independent booklets and were bound into larger codicological units with 'proper' bindings (a process we will see in a moment), these protective wrappers lost their function and were in many cases probably removed. These parchment wrappers were often once again reused, this time for the outside of the binding of the new large codicological units.[30] Yet, though low in number, these wrappers are typical for post-canonical hadith booklets because they almost without exception appear only in this genre. One can find thin and unbound booklets with uneven paper in other genres, too, although I doubt that there are many other corpora as large and as coherent as this one. What I have not seen so far in other genres is the material instability of booklets in terms of adding further folia, be it paper or parchment and be it for the purpose of creating more space for notes or protecting the booklet.

2 The Vanishing of Damascene Post-Canonical Hadith Scholarship

The booklets that carry the characteristic features discussed above display a coherent regional and chronological profile: They were almost all produced in Damascus between the 6th/12th and 8th/14th centuries. If we only look at the Damascus corpus, this is evidently a somewhat circular argument as the initial regional criterion predetermines this outcome. However, in terms of diachronic development it is indeed possible to make an argument on the basis of this corpus: In my work in recent years on manuscripts from the Nation al-Asad Library it has become evident that the production of small hadith booklets with several of the six material characteristics came to an end by the 9th/15th century. This is certainly not conclusive proof, and the collection of the National al-Asad Library is in no way an unproblematic reflection of Damascene manuscript culture of the preceding centuries. On the contrary, the collection from the ʿUmarīya library is the only medieval collection that went straight into the new Public Library in 1878. Other libraries had been dissolved and reconfigured in the

30 One example is the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Supplément Turc 983 where the binding is most likely the protective wrapper of the booklet that is today MS3796/6 in the National al-Asad Library, cf. Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library—The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016 ch. 3.

Ottoman period with substantial corpora such as that of the 7th/13th-century Ashrafīya library, for instance, moving to a large extent to Constantinople.[31]

The acceleration of manuscript movement during the 19th and early 20th centuries had a significant impact on the profile of the manuscripts that are still in Damascus today and those that have moved elsewhere. Who the main actors were, how manuscripts were moved from Damascus, and what corpora were taken is still largely unresearched. We know that individuals such as the Prussian consul Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (1815–1905) purchased manuscripts in abundance.[32] He acted as the middleman for the sale of an entire private library to Leipzig, the Rifāʿīya, and his other large-scale purchases in the city constitute the largest collection of Arabic manuscripts within the Staatsbibliothek Berlin—arguably the largest library of Syrian manuscripts outside the Middle East. To cite another example: As a consequence of this massive intervention in the local Damascene manuscript market, ninety percent of the manuscripts that had once been in the private library of an Aḥmad al-Rabbāṭ are today in libraries outside the Middle East.[33]

In light of the current state of research it would thus be premature to offer definitive diachronic statements on the basis of the Damascus corpus. However, there is one phenomenon that makes a strong case for a substantial change in scholarly practices—at least in Damascus—in the field of hadith towards the end of the 8th/14th century: If we consider the booklets in the Damascus corpus, we see in most cases an uninterrupted flow of notes of transmission from the point of production (often in the 6th/12th or 7th/13th centuries) onwards. These notes of transmission are neatly interlaced, so that a continuous chain of transmission can be traced. However, in virtually all booklets this chain suddenly breaks off at some point in the late 8th/14th century. For instance, we have seen above the continuous notes of transmission for the booklet of al-Ṭabarānī's *Ṭuruq man kadhaba ʿalayya* from the date of production in the year 599/1203 onwards, but this chain of transmission breaks off in the year 770/1369. The post-canonical booklets must have fallen out of use at

31 Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus*.

32 On Wetzstein see Boris Liebrenz, *Die Rifāʿīya aus Damaskus: eine Privatbibliothek im osmanischen Syrien und ihr kulturelles Umfeld*, Leiden: Brill, 2016; Ingeborg Huhn, *Johann Gottfried Wetzstein: Orientalist und preußischer Konsul im osmanischen Syrien (1849–1861)*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2016; Boris Liebrenz and Christoph Rauch (eds.), *Manuscripts, Politics and Oriental Studies: Life and Collections of Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (1815–1905) in Context*, Leiden: Brill, 2019.

33 Ibrahim Akel, *Ahmad al-Rabbât al-Halabî: sa bibliothèque et son rôle dans la réception, diffusion et enrichissement des Mille et une nuits*, Ph.D. dissertation, Paris: INALCO, 2016, II, 347.

this point, and scholarly practices must have undergone a substantial transformation. What these changes exactly represent is beyond the framework of this article, but that a massive number of booklets were no longer used as before and sat on the shelves, gathering dust, indicates that the period of standalone, thin, cheap, unbound, and growing hadith booklets had come to an end.

Before moving on to the next material life-cycle of these booklets, it needs to be underlined that there is a much more striking coherence in terms of their historical context than has been alluded to above. These booklets circulated in a social environment for which even 'Damascene' is way too broad and unspecific. Rather, most of these booklets were produced in the milieu of Ḥanbali scholars centered around the Maqdisī family and positioned in the Ṣāliḥīya suburb on Mount Qāsiyūn. Even within Ṣāliḥīya, we see that three sites emerge as the hotspots where these booklets were produced and where they subsequently circulated, as is evident from the notes of transmission: the Muẓaffarī Mosque, the Ḍiyā'īya Dār al-Ḥadīth, and the 'Umarīya Madrasa. All three sites were closely connected to the Maqdisī family: Abū 'Umar al-Maqdisī (d. 607/1210) founded the Muẓaffarī Mosque and the 'Umarīya Madrasa, while the above-named Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī founded the Ḍiyā'īya Dār al-Ḥadīth. Abū 'Umar's father Aḥmad b. Qudāma (d. 558/1162) had come to Damascus and quickly established a dynasty of leading scholars and judges, sometimes fused with saintly standing, within the Ḥanbalī community of the city. Damascene Ḥanbalism itself decisively gained in strength with this family and remained inextricably linked to its members in the next centuries.[34]

The generations of the al-Maqdisīs that followed preserved with the name 'al-Maqdisī' a shared identity around what Stefan Leder has called 'charismatic scripturalism,' that is a fusion of traditionalist scholarship centered around hadith-scholarship with charismatic religious leadership.[35] That an outside family was able to insert itself into the scholarly fabric of a city such as Damascus is not too surprising in Middle Eastern history. However, the Maqdisīs did something quite unusual: A few years after their arrival in the city, dissatisfied with local conditions, they decided to found their own quarter outside the city walls. This was the Ṣāliḥīya quarter on Mount Qāsiyūn, which had a very unusual and distinct identity in terms of kinship (Maqdisī) and *madhhab* (Ḥanbalī) identity when compared with other city quarters in Syria or Egypt of that period.

34 Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VII^e^/XII^e^ siècle. Vie et structures religieuses dans une métropole islamique*, Beirut: Dār al-Mashrīq, ²1991, 80–96.

35 Stefan Leder, "Charismatic Scripturalism. The Ḥanbalī Maqdisīs of Damascus," in *Der Islam* 74.2 (1997), 279–304.

It was not by chance that it was Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī who assembled the Damascus corpus. He spent his entire life—from birth to death—in Ṣāliḥīya and he was a very local character who travelled no farther than Baalbek (Baʿlabakk), some 34 miles from Damascus, distinguishing him from those scholars who embarked on the clichéd voyages for seeking knowledge. The Banū ʿAbd al-Hādī belonged to the Maqdisī family, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī was himself a staunch Ḥanbalī. Most importantly, he can probably be called the last Damascene scholar who tried to revive this line of scholarship. This attempt to revive post-canonical hadith scholarship in Damascus is on the one hand evident in that he assembled the Damascus corpus and on the other from the list of his own works. We are far from having a stable number of the titles he authored, and there probably never will be one. According to my own estimate, he authored over 800 works,[36] and of these over 50 percent fall into the genre of post-canonical hadith collections. This is clearly evident from his auto-bibliographical title list *Naming My Books* (today held in Princeton) where the margins are overflowing with works of forty hadiths.[37] His student Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 955/1548), with whom he had an extraordinarily close relationship, certainly also had a strong interest in works such as collections of forty hadiths. Yet, it is striking that Ibn Ṭūlūn opted for a completely different material format, namely autograph multiple-text manuscripts, rather than stand-alone booklets.

3 Changing Materialities: The End of the Post-Canonical Hadith Booklet in Damascus

So far, we have discussed the materiality of post-canonical hadith booklets as stand-alone booklets. However, the attentive reader has already seen that the plates tell a very different story: The *al-Akfānī* booklet, for instance, is today part of a large manuscript, MS 3817 in the National al-Asad Library, wherein it is the seventh text and occupies folia 65 to 72. In the same vein, the booklet of al-Ṭabarānī's *Ṭuruq man kadhaba ʿalayya* is today the fifth text in the same manuscript where it occupies folia 29 to 50. It is these large volumes that we

36 These include the over 670 titles mentioned in the *fihrist*, in addition to those mentioned in his auto-bibliography (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Tasmiya*) and to those that are extant in manuscript, but not mentioned in the *fihrist*. On methodological issues of identifying Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī titles, see Hirschler, *Monument* ch. 5.

37 Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Tasmiya li-kutubī*, MS Princeton, Garrett 273H/2, fols. 47–58. Said Aljoumani, Konrad Hirschler, *Muʾallafat Yūsuf b. Ḥasan Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī wa-musāhamatuhu fī ḥifẓ al-turāth al-fikrī,* Leiden: Brill, 2021.

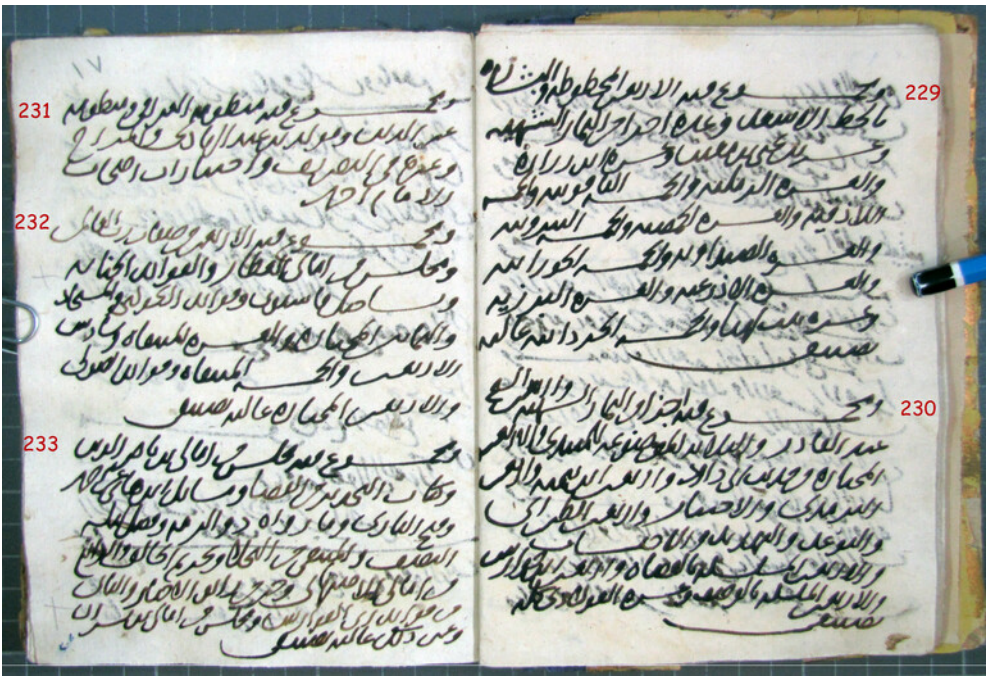

FIGURE 9.9 Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's *Fihrist*, composite manuscript no. 233 (numbers added for purpose of this article) with a total of 12 titles. MS Damascus, National al-Asad Library, 3190, fol. 17ª
© DAMASCUS, NATIONAL AL-ASAD LIBRARY

encounter today in the Special Collections Room of the modern libraries. In fact, there are very few booklets that survive today as stand-alone booklets, such as al-Birzālī's *Muntaqā*. Even in this case this apparently 'original' format as a stand-alone booklet is really a modern phenomenon that conceals the fact that it was also bound into one of these large manuscripts in the intervening period. We know of the existence of this large manuscript in the late 9th/15th century as it is listed in the *fihrist* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī with the *Muntaqā* as its seventh item **(fig. 9.9)**.[38] However, in this case the large manuscript was taken apart at some point.

The 'large' manuscripts into which these booklets were placed are really the dominant material form of the Damascus corpus as we see it today. More precisely, every one of them is a composite manuscript, that is a codicological unit in which formerly independent units, small booklets, were bound together.[39]

38 Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist al-kutub*, fol. 17ª, l. 11–17, cf. no. 233 in Hirschler, *Monument*.

39 Johann Peter Gumbert, "Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy

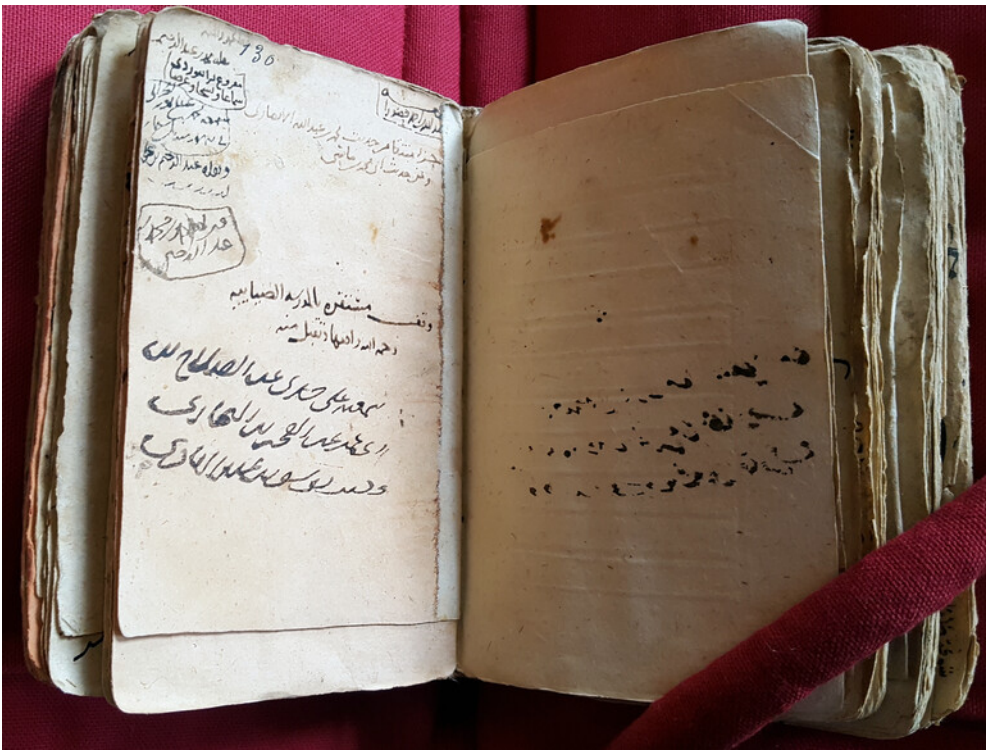

FIGURE 9.10 Composite manuscript with various hadith booklets. Paris, BnF, MS Supplément Turc 984
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The composite form is highly relevant as it is clearly different from multiple-text manuscripts, a codicological unit worked in a single operation by one scribe.[40] As we have seen, Ibn Ṭūlūn favored this latter material form for his short hadith texts, such as collections of forty hadiths, and it is my general impression that the multiple-text manuscript was overall the preferred material format for short hadith texts in the Ottoman period. **Figure 9.10**, by contrast,

of the Non-Homogeneous Codex," in Edoardo Crisci and Oronzo Pecere (eds.), *Il codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni*, Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino, 2004, 17–42.

40 For the term 'multiple-text manuscript' see Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke (eds.), *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016. For a study of one such Mamluk-period multiple-text manuscript see Élise Franssen, "What was There in a Mamlūk Amīr's Library? Evidence from a 15th-Century Manuscript," in Yuval Ben-Bassat (ed.), *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History. Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, 311–332.

FIGURE 9.11
Stitching of composite manuscript. Paris, BnF, MS Supplément Turc 984
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depicts a typical composite manuscript from the Damascus corpus where we see formerly independent hadith booklets of various formats bound together.

As stated above, the argument here is that these composite manuscripts were put together by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī. His central role in shaping the booklets into the composite manuscript form that we have today is discussed elsewhere and rests on observations such as him binding his own booklets (and his own documents) into these manuscripts.[41] It is worth drawing attention to the fact, however, that the bindings of these composite manuscripts were definitely not the work of a professional binder. The rather ad hoc system of stitching together booklets and cover **(fig. 9.11)** is certainly not the work of an experienced artisan, but of a scholar—Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī—and most likely other members of his family who had a go at this task. The non-professional craftsmanship is also evident

41 Hirschler, *Monument* ch. 3.

from the rather basic knots that we find in some quires, as in what is today the twelfth booklet in the composite manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Supplément Turc 983 **(fig. 9.12)**.

The binding of these booklets was evidently a massive intervention in their materiality. Most importantly, the binding process completely undermined the original function of these booklets. In the heyday of post-canonical hadith scholarship, they had circulated as individual objects as is clear from the wide range of transmission notes and ownership notes on the different booklets that we encounter today in one single composite manuscript. The intricate system of these numerous booklets moving through the Damascene topography of libraries and private book collections is also evident from external sources, such as the *thabat* work by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī. This work lists the rights of transmission he had received in the course of his life for hundreds of post-canonical texts. In this fascinating 'diary' of practices of transmission he repeatedly states who owned the booklet that carried the respective transmission note that mentioned him. In his entries, he only ever refers to owners of individual booklets, never to larger *majmūʿāt*. It is evident that the 'archive' of his rights, that is the notes on the manuscripts, was widely distributed across the urban topography of Damascus.[42]

To place these works into composite manuscripts entirely changes their function within the scholarly field. Booklets that were once highly mobile now appeared within hefty volumes together with up to twenty other booklets; booklets that had once been growing were now locked inside stable covers. However, binding them into composite manuscripts was an expression of a change that had happened much earlier. As we have seen, the continuous chains of transmission in Damascene manuscript notes systematically broke off in the late 8th/14th century. Similarly, there are very few post-canonical booklets that were copied as stand-alone works after this point. This way of engaging with the word of the Prophet was by no means wiped out and Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's own œuvre bears testimony to the fact that pockets of the scholarly field in Ṣāliḥīya, and probably also Damascus as a whole, continued this specific mode of engagement. Yet they were only pockets, last remains, and the booklets found very little traction compared with their central role in the preceding centuries. On these hundreds of booklets there is hardly a single note that refers to the period after Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī. In fact, there are few notes at all

42 Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *Thabat masmūʿāt* (MS Damascus, National al-Asad Library 3828/10, fols. 138–157 & 3842/6, fols. 54–67). Similar (though much shorter) lists can be found in ibid., 3851/12, fols. 149/150 and ibid., 3755/18, fols. 225–234 which is the fragment of a similar list by al-Birzālī organized by months.

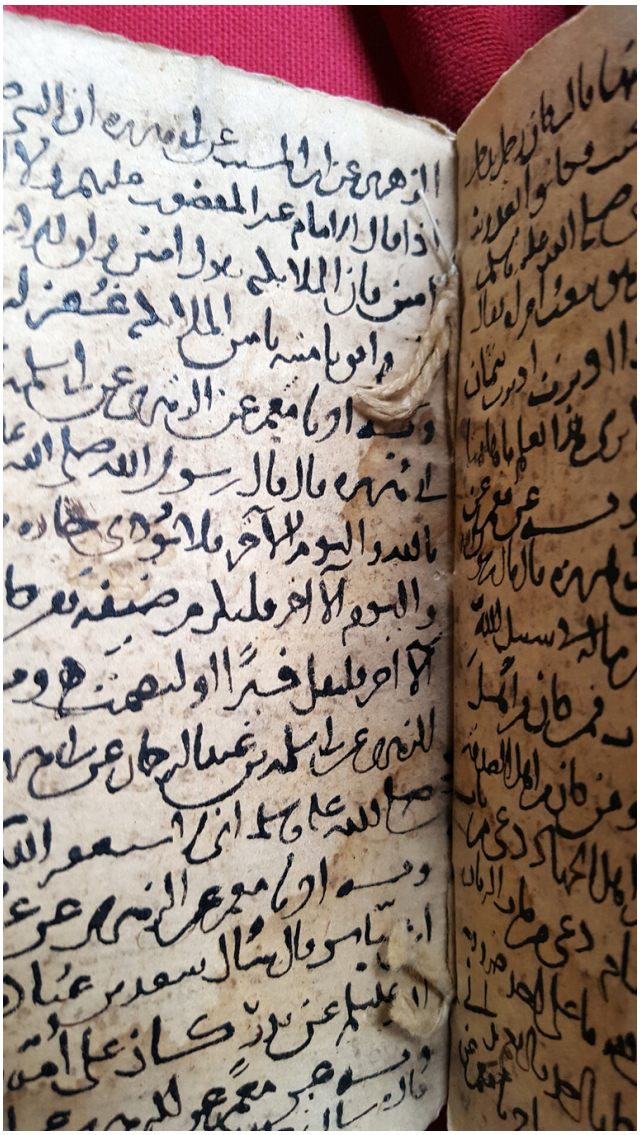

FIGURE 9.12 Knotted thread in composite manuscript. Paris, BnF, MS Supplément Turc 983, fols. 155b/166a
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after the 8th/14th century with one single exception: We find on them over 1000 transmission notes for the late 9th/15th century, but the overwhelming majority of these notes were written by a single person—Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī himself (we see his notes on **figs. 9.4, 9.5**, and **9.10**).

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī was acutely aware that the post-canonical mode of engagement with these booklets had come to an end by his lifetime. In ownership notes that he scribbled on these booklets, he repeatedly states that he 'rescued' a booklet or that he did not buy it from the book market, but rather from the Damascene trinket market.[43] These booklets were often heavily damaged, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī had to undertake restoration work such as gluing pieces of paper over large tears. It is possible to identify him as the one carrying out this work—generally it is obviously very difficult to identify who and when such work was undertaken—as we have, for instance, the case of a strip of paper glued over a tear in the manuscript National al-Asad Library 3767/8, fol. 207[a] **(fig. 9.13)**.[44] This strip carries the characteristic hand of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī and it is thus highly likely that he reused one of his drafts, cutting it into pieces for the purpose of repairing this damaged folio.

That Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī so radically transformed the materiality of this massive corpus of hadith booklets was thus not meant to change their function in the scholarly field as this had happened well before his time. Rather, his aim was to build a monument to what he perceived as one of the glorious episodes in the scholarly past of his quarter, Ṣāliḥīya, of his hometown, Damascus, of his Ḥanbalī *madhhab*, and of his family, the Maqdisīs. It was a monument that was ultimately placed in the ʿUmarīya Madrasa, an institution that was so closely linked to this by-gone world of post-canonical scholarship. With his *fihrist* he set up this material monument with an accompanying textual monument; in fact, every single one of the composite monuments that he created was in itself a carefully curated object meant to commemorate the past. Each of these objects embodied the texts and—at least as importantly—the thousands of transmission notes that reflected this very local, *madhhab*-specific and family-specific scholarly field.

One of the most surprising elements in this story of post-canonical booklets as put together by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī is that this monument has endured in large part in Damascus until the present day. As stated above, the collection from the ʿUmarīya library is the only medieval collection that went straight into the new Public Library in 1878. What is more, the collection of the ʿUmarīya lib-

43 Hirschler, *Monument* ch. 3.

44 Aḥmad b. Marwān al-Dīnawarī (d. 333/944–945), *al-Mujālasa*.

FIGURE 9.13 Repair of tear in title page with strip in hand of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī. MS Damascus, National al-Asad Library, 3767/8, fol. 207a
© DAMASCUS, NATIONAL AL-ASAD LIBRARY

rary was so heavily depleted before 1878 that the vast majority of the ʿUmarīya books that went into the Public Library were the very same books that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī had endowed. In other words, what we find today in the National al-Asad Library in terms of hadith manuscripts from the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras is a heavily slanted collection. It is heavily slanted in favor of booklets that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī considered worth preserving within the regional and social parameters that he considered relevant, and it is heavily slanted in favor of the material form of the composite manuscript that merely represents a very late stage in the life-cycle of these booklets. His monumentalization project was so

successful that it dominates the respective section in the Syrian national repository for manuscripts and renders the *Index of Damascene Audition Certificates* as basically an index to the manuscripts that he chose to include. Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī would have clearly loved to see his book collection playing such a central role in scholarly practices some 500 years later.

That his project was so successful, however, has not really been down to him, but a range of much wider factors. Climatic conditions in Damascus are quite good for long-term manuscript survival, as is evident from the large number of items that have survived in the city's non-curated depository of handwritten material, the Qubbat al-Khazna.[45] Furthermore, throughout the Ottoman period the city was spared from large-scale warfare and invasions. However, the most important factor that led to books being moved out of endowed libraries in Damascus was the day-to-day life of borrowers not returning books as well as users and librarians stealing books to sell them off. Even though an endowment is theoretically held for eternity, book endowments, at least in Damascus, were in practice rather short-lived.[46] Books moving out of an endowment is in itself not noteworthy; what requires an explanation is rather why Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's books remained on the shelves of ʿUmarīya library for some 400 years until 1878.

The main reason for the survival of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's monumentalization project is, somewhat ironically, that library users and potential buyers on the markets were simply not interested in these composite manuscript books. The reason for their survival in Damascus as a historical corpus is down to the best protection a book collection could get: having endowment status, being in an institution that survives, and being of limited scholarly and social relevance. The endowment status saved them from simply being reused as pulp paper (at least in most cases), the institutional stability prevented them from being dispersed at the moment the institution was dissolved, and their limited

45 On this depository see Arianna D'Ottone Rambach, Konrad Hirschler, Ronny Vollandt (eds.), *The Damascus Fragments: Towards a History of the Qubbat al-khazna Corpus of Manuscripts and Documents*, Baden-Baden : Ergon 2020 and Arianna D'Ottone, "Manuscripts as Mirrors of a Multilingual and Multicultural Society: The Case of the Damascus Find," in Barbara Crostini and Sergio La Porta (eds.), *Negotiating Co-Existence: Communities, Cultures and Convivencia in Byzantine Society* (BAC 96), Trier: WVT, 2013, 63–88.

46 The best discussion of book endowment practices in Ottoman Damascus is Liebrenz, *Rifāʿīya aus Damaskus* 124–227. On the question of 'eternal' endowments, see Astrid Meier, "Für immer und ewig? Befristete Formen islamischer Stiftungen in osmanischer Zeit," in Astrid Meier, Johannes Pahlitzsch, and Lucian Reinfandt (eds.), *Islamische Stiftungen zwischen juristischer Norm und sozialer Praxis*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009, 191–212.

relevance shielded them from the main threats: users and buyers. Certainly, we do find today manuscripts from this Damascus corpus in libraries around the world, and these manuscripts must have left the endowment in some way before 1878. Yet, this number is below 100 and thus limited to a relatively insignificant proportion. The main point of the Damascus corpus is that it is such an exceptionally large pre-Ottoman corpus with a continuous trajectory as a corpus until today.

4 Conclusion

This article has argued that examining the manuscripts and their materiality is an important element for understanding the history of hadith scholarship. Whether it is their format (the difference between the role of a stand-alone booklet and a composite manuscript is striking), their size (smallness matters), added bi-folia (a sign of a an actively used text) or repairs to tears or parchment wrappers—they are all crucial indications as to the various stages of the life cycle of a manuscript. Each of these hundreds of booklets do tell rich stories of how they were used and what they were meant to do in these various stages. Looking at the materiality of these booklets is not an exercise in assembling codicological factoids, but it is a crucial element in understanding the cultural and social contexts in which they were circulating.

Perhaps most importantly, such an exercise allows the development of various forms of engagement with hadith to be firmly set into historical context. The example of post-canonical scholarship in Damascus has shown that this exercise enables a much better understanding of the periodization of this line of scholarship in one specific city. Hadith texts seem at first glance the cosmopolitan texts par excellence, effortlessly travelling long distances between the extremes of Marrakesh and Samarkand. While this is true to some extent for the texts, the case is very different for the objects that carry them. The post-canonical protocol of transmission notes in particular quickly pinned the specific manuscripts down to a very local context. The Damascus corpus certainly has notes that harked back to Baghdad or other cities in order to link a Damascene scholar to a prestigious line of transmission. Yet, once this had been done, the notes became fiercely parochial; for a manuscript to move beyond the borders of Ṣāliḥīya and Damascus was an exception. While this article has taken the case study of the Damascus corpus to show the specific Damascene diachronic development of how to engage with the Prophet's words, future examination of other corpora will enrich our understanding of further localized scholarly eco-systems.

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CHAPTER 10

Where Was Hadith Read in Damascus?

Audition Notices and the Loci of Hadith Transmission in Medieval Damascus

Garrett Davidson

The narrative sources make it clear that the reading and transmission of hadith were central activities in the lives and careers of medieval hadith scholars. In the beginnings of their careers, students, often from the early years of their childhood, spent long hours listening as hadith was read. Then, if one was fortunate to live long enough to, in turn, become a transmitter, long hours would again be spent reading, or sitting and listening as hadith was read to one. While the narrative sources are full of lists of the transmitters from whom biographers heard hadith, as well as those who took from them, they do not provide a clear view of the contexts and environments in which these activities took place. We are fortunate, however, to have a rich source of documentary evidence in the form of audition notices (*samāʿāt*) that identify some of the contexts of medieval hadith transmission. Through the lens of Damascene audition notices this chapter attempts to understand one fundamental detail about medieval hadith transmission, namely where it took place. One might assume that formal educational institutes, such as madrasas and *dūr al-ḥadīth*, were the primary domain for such activities, however, the documentary evidence tells a far more nuanced story revealing that educational institutions were but one of a diverse range of loci where hadith was transmitted.

1 The Audition Notice

For medieval hadith scholars paratextual audition notices were an invaluable source for the history of the transmission of texts and the communities that transmitted them. As an important archival source, scholars expended considerable energy to produce, collect, and preserve these documents. Scholars and copyists routinely reproduced these paratextual documents alongside the texts they copied.[1] For the better part of a century, modern historians of Islam have

1 Said Aljoumani, "Ṣuwar al-ijāzāt al-manqūla fī l-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya: al-sabab wa-l-waẓīfa," in *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 9 (2018), 100–172.

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also recognized the richness of audition notices as a source. In the 1950s, al-Munajjid was one of the first to write on the importance of audition notices as a documentary source for Islamic social and intellectual history.[2] A decade before that, when Abraham Shalom Yahuda offered his collection of Arabic manuscripts for sale, he specifically noted the large number of audition notices preserved in it as one of its valuable features.[3] Yet, although students of Islamic history have long been aware of the richness of audition notices as a documentary source, only a few studies, most notably those of Konrad Hirschler, have utilized them extensively. On the whole, the potential of audition notices has remained unrealized.[4]

Audition notices have been neglected in part due to the practical challenges faced by the researcher wanting to use them. To begin with, the researcher faces the fundamental challenge of actually locating audition notices. The vast majority of these documents remain uncatalogued, and any existing references to audition notices in catalogs are generally haphazard. Thus, locating them requires extensive surveying of collections. In most cases, the researcher seeking to locate audition notices has no recourse other than to open manuscript after manuscript and peruse their pages. The time required for such work is, of course, often prohibitive. Moreover, the policies of manuscript libraries often make such surveys difficult, if not impossible. The difficulty of reading audition notices is another barrier the researcher must overcome, as they are often composed in challenging hands that require a significant investment of time to read and decipher.

Unfortunately, there have only been few efforts to remedy these problems through the collection and publication of audition notices. The one notable exception to this is Leder, al-Sawwās, and al-Ṣāgharjī's 1996 publication *Muʿjam al-Samāʿāt al-Dimashqīya* (MSD).[5] The work compiles and catalogs the 1306 audition notices recorded on manuscripts held in the Syrian National Library between the years 550/1155 and 750/1349. In general, audition notices consist of

2 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, "Ijāzāt al-samāʿ fī l-makhṭūtāt al-qadīma," in *Majallat maʿhad al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya* (November 1955), 232–251.

3 Yahuda, to Garrett, June 16, 1941, Robert Garrett Papers, Box 2, folder 9, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

4 Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands. A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012; idem, Konrad Hirschler, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture: The Library of Ibn Abd al-Hādī*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020.

5 Stefan Leder, Yāsīn Muḥammad al-Sawwās, and Maʾmūn al-Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt al-Dimashqīya al-muntakhaba min sanat 550 ilā 750 h/1155 ilā 1349m*, 2 vols., Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1996.

six primary elements: the text being read, the name of the transmitting authority, the name(s) of the reader(s), the names of the attendees, the date, and the place, although the date and the place are sometimes omitted. Rather than edit and provide a full text for each entry, Leder, al-Sawwās, and al-Ṣāgharjī chose to summarize the primary elements of each audition notice. So in the case of the auditors, rather than identifying each individual auditor, only the total number of auditors is given.[6] Indices are provided for much of the data contained in the notices, including indices for individual transmitters, readers, registrars, some auditors, as well as the locations where the auditions occurred.[7]

It is essential to point out that although the title of *MSD* (*Catalog of the Audition Notices of Damascus*) suggests that it is a comprehensive compilation of Damascene audition notices, it is actually only a small selection of Damascene audition notices. It catalogs those found on eighty-nine of the more than ten thousand manuscripts held in the Syrian National Library Collection. As Hirschler has noted, the criteria Leder, al-Sawwās, and al-Ṣāgharjī used to select these eighty-nine manuscripts are not explained.[8] A large percentage of these manuscripts were originally housed in the ʿUmarīya Mosque in the Ṣāliḥīya suburb of Damascus. Al-Sawwās cataloged the composite manuscripts originally held in the ʿUmarīya, and one wonders if they were not chosen based on his familiarity with these manuscripts. In any case, the introduction to the work makes it clear that they envisioned it as a first step towards editing and publishing the entire corpus of Damascene audition notices. Unfortunately, in the close to twenty-five years since its publication, no further work has been done. Nevertheless, despite the fact that *MSD* represents only a portion of Damascene audition notices and that one neighborhood may be disproportionately represented in this sample, it is an amazingly rich resource and a large enough sample to reasonably make assumptions about the larger corpus of audition notices.

It is important to note that the majority of the eighty-nine manuscripts in this corpus belong to various post-canonical genres of hadith literature and, as

6 The disadvantage of this approach was remedied by the publication of the images of the audition notices a few years later.

7 Leder, al-Sawwās, and al-Ṣaghārjī's *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt*. Unfortunately, however, these indices are riddled with errors and cannot be completely relied upon. All of the indexing for the area of the Umayyad mosque known as Qubbat al-Nasr, for instance, is inaccurate. None of the entries in the index for Qubbat al-Nasr match the entries in the catalog. Moreover, several of the entries indexed under Qubbat al-Nasr reference manuscript numbers that do not exist in the catalog; see MSD 648.

8 Hirschler, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture* 52.

such, they were most likely read and transmitted primarily for devotional purposes. Only a small minority of these collections, in fact, are topically coherent texts that might have been read for purposes of education.[9] The vast majority of these manuscripts are brief collections of hadiths that could be transmitted through short chains of transmission and would have been read primarily for the perceived spiritual benefits of establishing such a short connection to the Prophet and the revered figures of the hadith tradition. Such works would have also been read for the pious preservation of the unbroken connection to the Prophet that was considered a unique trait of the Muslim community. The preservation of the chain of transmission and the cultivation of short chains of transmission were the primary aims of continued hadith transmission after the emergence of the hadith canon made the original aims of hadith transmission effectively obsolete.[10]

It is also essential to note that although the medieval authors of protocols for hadith transmission recommended that locations be recorded in audition notices, the scholars who composed them did not always do so. In total, 401 of the 1306 total audition notices in the *MSD* do not provide any location data.[11] Of the remaining 905 notices, 106 document auditions that took place far outside of Damascus, ranging from Alexandria to Isfahan. What follows is a breakdown and analysis of the remaining 799 audition notices and the locations in which they were recorded.

2 Damascus Proper

A total of 45 audition notices document readings that took place in "Damascus," but provide no further specification, and so it is impossible to know what the exact contexts of these readings were, whether they were held in institutions, private, or commercial spaces. Five more notices mention a more

9 These include, *Sharḥ madhāhib Ahl al-Sunna*, MS 955,3; *Mukhtaṣar makāram al-akhlāq*, MS 955,5; *Karāmāt al-awliyā'*, MS 1039,7; *Faḍl yam al-Tarwiya wa-'Arafa*, MS 1039,9; *Juz' fīhi dhikr ṣalāt al-tasbīḥ*, MS 1070,10; *Kitāb al-Shukr*, MS 1137,1; *Arbaʿūn ḥadīth fī l-ḥathth ʿalā al-jihād*, MS 1592; *Masāwiʿ al-akhlāq*, MS 3757,1; *Kitāb al-Qaḍā'*, MS 3759,9; *Kitāb al-Fitan*, MS 3775,4; *Tuhfat ʿīd al-Fiṭr*, MS 3817,15; *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba*, 3828,8.

10 For a comprehensive study of the devotional nature of post-canonical hadith transmission, see my book *Carrying on the Tradition: A Social and Intellectual History of Hadith Transmission Across a Thousand Years* (Leiden: Brill, 2020). For the idea of the chain of transmission as a unique trait of the Muslims community in particular, see pages 21–25.

11 The authors mention that there are 1300 total audition notices, by my count there are actually 1306.

precise location within the city, such as a neighborhood or another place, but without specifying a more exact location. For instance, one notice states that the audition session took place in "the Lane of Ibn Mahraz, Damascus,"[12] while another references the "Eastern Gate."[13] Two notices mention the market where the auditions took place. One of these states that it was recorded in the "copper market of Damascus,"[14] while the other notes that it was recorded in the "woodworkers market."[15] Fortunately, many other notices reference an exact location within Damascus, including specific mosques, madrasas, homes, and more.

2.1 *The Umayyad Mosque*

The Umayyad Mosque is the most prominent religious space in Damascus, and it does not come as a surprise that it is the most recorded single location in this corpus of audition notices.[16] In total, 141 notices document audition sessions in various locations within it. The Umayyad Mosque is, of course, a rather massive building and unfortunately the majority of these notices, eighty to be precise, do not mention a specific location within the Mosque, but simply state that the audition took place "in the Umayyad Mosque" without specifying where exactly. The remaining 61 notices, however, specify precise locations within the Mosque. It is not clear why the authors of some notices mentioned specific locations within the Mosque and others did not. Perhaps those that do not mention a specific location simply occurred in a nondescript place within the Mosque, and those that record a specific location do so because of the perceived sacrality or prominence of that place within the mosque. It could be due to varying personal scribal habits, constraints of time, or simple neglect. In any case, the loci we have provide us a fascinating and fairly detailed view of use of the Umayyad Mosque for hadith readings.

12 *MSD* 1088,14 #4.

13 *MSD* 3817,7 #10.

14 *MSD* 1088,2 #8.

15 *MSD* 3828,8 #5.

16 For more on the origins of the Umayyad Mosque and its early history see Alain George, *The Umayyad Mosque of Damascus: Art, Faith and Empire in Early Islam*, London: Gingko Press, 2021. For a study and edition of the 16th-century deed of the Mosque's 15th-century endowment, see Mathieu Eychenne, Astrid Meier, and Élodie Vigouroux, *Le waqf de la mosquée des Omeyyades de Damas. Le manuscrit ottoman d'un inventaire mamelouk établi en 816/1413*, Beirut: Presses de l'IFPO, 2018.

2.2 *The Kallāsa Annex*[17]

The most frequently referenced location within the Umayyad Mosque is the area known as al-Kallāsa. 16 notices give their location as al-Kallāsa,[18] or "al-Kallāsa min Jāmiʿ Dimashq."[19] Al-Kallāsa was not a part of the original Mosque, but was built as an annex by Nūr al-Dīn al-Zankī in 555/1160 outside its north wall and connected to the main Mosque by a door next to Maʾdhinat al-ʿUrūs (the 'Bride's Minaret').[20] Fifteen years later, it was destroyed in a fire, and then in 570/1174 it was rebuilt by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.[21] The narrative sources indicate that the space was a site of substantial scholarly and ritual activity.[22] It was one of the up to thirteen sites within the Mosque where the five daily prayers were held. Al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1331) mentions that in his time, in the hierarchy of the mosque's multiple *imām*s, the *imām* of al-Kallāsa was the first to lead the prayer, which seems to give some indication of its relative importance in the hierarchy of the Mosque's spaces.[23] Al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521) notes that there was an endowment to pay the salary of an *imām* in the space. Al-Nuʿaymī also mentions that there was at least one salaried teaching position in the space, but

17 According to Badrān it was called 'Kallāsa' because the lime plaster or *kalas* were produced there when the mosque was originally built. ʿAbd al-Qādir Badrān, *Munādamat al-aṭlāl wa-musāmarat al-khiyāl*, ed. Zuhayr al-Shāwīsh, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1405/1985.

18 Three notices simply state that the audition took place "in al-Kallāsa," which creates a certain ambiguity because this is also the name of the neighborhood to the north of the mosque. As is seen here, however, the annex was a site of considerable scholarly activity, and although it is impossible to establish with certainty, it seems reasonable to assume that these are references to the Mosque annex rather than the general neighborhood.

19 *MSD* 955,2 #1; 9552,2 #5; 9552,2 #14; 955,2 #25; 1121,2 #2; 1139,4 #7; 1592,2 #14; 1592,3 #11; 3777,20 #4; 3803,3 #26; 3817,7 #17; 3817,10 #6; 3828,7 #5.

20 ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī tārīkh al-madāris*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 1990/1410, 1:340. For more on al-Kallāsa, see Anne-Marie Eddé's Anne-Marie Eddé, "Saladin's Pious Foundations in Damascus: Some New Hypothesis," in Yasir Suleiman (ed.), *Living Islamic History: Studies in Honour of Professor Carole Hillenbrand*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010, 63–68. According to George the gate was originally also known as Bāb al-Farādis, Bāb al-Naṭifīyīn, and Bāb al-Sumaysāṭīya. George, *The Umayyad Mosque* 153.

21 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:340. It would be destroyed again at some point after the 8th/14th century and was never rebuilt.

22 Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, 29 vols., ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnaʾūṭ and Turkī Muṣṭafā, Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2000, 4:186, 22:118; Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīya al-kubrā*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Ṭanāḥī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥilū, Cairo: Hijar li-l-Ṭibāʿ wa-l-Nashar, 1413/1992, 8:345.

23 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī funūn al-adab*, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīya, 1423/2002, 33:266. It does not seem to have always held this status. Ibn Jubayr lists al-Kallāsa fourth in the order of the thirteen imams. Eddé, "Saladin's Pious Foundations in Damascus" 66.

does not specify what subject was stipulated to be taught there.[24] Others indicate that there was a paid position for the teaching of Shāfiʿī law in the space.[25] Al-Nuʿaymī further notes that there was an endowment to pay for orphans to read *Surat al-Ikhlās* for the soul of Nūr al-Dīn al-Zankī.[26] The sources also mention that it was a place where judges regularly held court and settled disputes.[27]

The narrative sources confirm that al-Kallāsa was a center of considerable hadith activity within the mosque. This is perhaps in part due to the presence of a paid *mashyakha* supporting the reading and transmission of hadith within the al-Kallāsa annex, most commonly known as Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Fāḍilīya, established in the 6th/12th century by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 596/1199).[28] Three notices recorded in the 7th/13th century specifically mention this institution and may have been supported by it.[29] Ibn Kathīr notes that the library of the prominent hadith transmitter Taqī al-Dīn al-Yaldānī (d. 665/1266), who held the hadith *mashyakha* of the al-Fāḍilīya, was a *waqf* in the institution.[30] Al-Dhahabī likewise references the presence of endowed hadith books in al-Kallāsa.[31] These libraries likely added to the attraction of the space as a site for hadith transmission. There is also evidence suggesting that al-Kallāsa was a recognized space for hadith related activities in general. In an interesting anecdote, Ibn Kathīr notes that in his time, a youth from Tabrīz arrived in Damascus claiming to have memorized the entirety of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. To test this claim a session was arranged in al-Kallāsa for the youth to recite the massive text from memory before a large crowd while Ibn Kathīr followed along in a manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[32] The audition notices demonstrate that the popularity of the space as a center for the study and transmission of hadith endured for at least a century and a half, documenting sessions ranging from 574/1178 to 733/1332, including sessions attended by major figures of the hadith tradition, such as Ibn ʿAsākir and al-Birzālī.

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24 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:341.

25 There is indeed some discussion on whether the space was actually a Shāfiʿī madrasa. Eddé, "Saladin's Pious Foundations in Damascus" 63.

26 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:343.

27 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 2003, 13:84.

28 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:67.

29 Two notices give their location as "*zāwiyat al-ḥadīth* al-Ashrafīya al-Fāḍilīya in the al-Kallāsa of Jāmiʿ Dimashq." *MSD* 3803,3 #16, #21. A third notice references "al Zāwiya al-Fāḍilīya min Kallāsat Jāmiʿ Dimashq." *MSD* 3757,1 #1.

30 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 13:197; al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:70.

31 Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 1419/1998, 4:103.

32 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 14:294.

2.3 *The Ḥanbalī Circle*

Ten notices document auditions that took place in the area of the Mosque referred to as the "Ḥanbalī Circle (*Ḥalqat al-Ḥanābila*)" between 589/1193 and 706/1306.[33] The area, which is also referred to in the sources as "Riwāq al-Ḥanābila" and "Miḥrāb al-Ḥanābila," is described as being located in the mosque's "third western portico (*al-riwāq al-thālith al-gharbī*)."[34] Initially, the 'Ḥanbalī Circle' seems to have been somewhat informal; it was the designated space within the mosque where Ḥanbalīs performed the prayer according to the rites of their school and studied its law. It is not entirely clear when it began to become a more formal institution within the mosque. Already by the late 6th/12th century though there seems to have been a paid position for an imam to lead the Ḥanbalī prayer there.[35] Around the same time, the area also had its own *minbar* as well as chests and lockers for the storage of books and other educational materials. The activities in the area were temporarily interrupted in 596/1199 after the famous unrest ensuing ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī's anthropomorphic creedal proclamations that resulted in his expulsion from Damascus. In the wake of this controversy, the Ḥanbalī *minbar* was destroyed, their prayer was banned, and "the books-chests and lockers kept there were removed."[36] In the midst of this, it was also proposed that the Ḥanbalīs be permanently banned from the mosque.[37] Although it would seem the area remained a point of sectarian tension within the mosque for some, this was a temporary setback for the Ḥanbalī Circle, and its fortunes would soon improve.[38] In 617/1220, under the patronage of Amīr Rukn al-Dīn al-Muʿẓẓam ʿIsā, a *miḥrāb* was built for the area. The renowned Ḥanbalī scholar al-Muwaffaq b. Qudāma (d. 620/1223) was the first in a series of prominent Damascene Ḥanbalīs to lead the Ḥanbalī prayer in the new *miḥrāb*.[39] It is unclear to what extent there were endowments to support the activities of the Ḥanbalīs in this space. In any case,

33 *MSD* 955,4 #21, 48; 1039,7 #14, #4; 1139,14 #1; 1178,20 #20; 1180,4 #4; 3740,3 #3; 3755,23 #10; 3823,8 #14.

34 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 2:302.

35 Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-aʿlām*, 52 vols., ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1989–2000, 50:296.

36 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 13:26. Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ and Bashshār Maʿrūf, Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1412–1419/1992–1998, 21: 460.

37 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 21:460.

38 According to al-Dhahabī, Fakhr al-Dīn b. ʿAsākir (d. 620/1223) avoided the area out of scrupulousness because he was afraid they would commit the sin of backbiting him due to their creedal differences. Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām* 44:502.

39 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 13:108.

as is demonstrated by the audition notices, it remained an active center of hadith transmission into at least the 8th/14th century.

2.4 *Mashhad Ibn ʿUrwa*

Eight audition notices document sessions that took place in a space on the western side of the Mosque alternately known as Mashhad ʿUrwa, Mashhad Ibn ʿUrwa, and Dār al-Ḥadīth al-ʿUrwīya.[40] In the context of the Umayyad Mosque, the term *mashhad* refers to a prayer area within the Umayyad Mosque where an appointed *imām* led the prayer according to the rites of one of the four schools of law. According to Ibn Kathīr and al-Nuʿaymī, the space was originally a storage area for the Mosque's equipment and supplies.[41] A wealthy refugee from Jerusalem and close associate of al-Malik al-Muaʿẓẓam, Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUrwa al-Mawṣilī (d. 620/1223), had the area cleared out and renovated and then commissioned the building of a *miḥrāb* there.[42] Al-Mawṣilī also endowed a position for the reading of hadith in the new space and furnished it with a small library that was stored in two chests (*khizānatayn*). Unfortunately, the sources do not mention exactly what the position entailed nor the salary that it paid. They do, however, note that the position was first held by Abū Manṣūr al-Fakhr b. ʿAsākir (d. 620/1223), who was followed by Zakī al-Dīn al-Birzālī (d. 636/1239).[43] They were followed by a number of prominent hadith scholars and transmitters, including al-Fakhr al-Ḥanbalī (d. 688/1289),[44] al-Wānī (d. 735/ 1334),[45] and al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347).[46] According to al-Nuʿaymī, there was some confusion about whether the Ibn ʿUrwa *mashyakha* was distinct from a *mashyakha* for the larger Umayyad Mosque, however, he held that they were most likely two separate endowments.[47]

2.5 *The Northern Wall*

Six notices document audition sessions that took place at "the Northern Wall" of the Umayyad Mosque.[48] The sources have little to say about this space, but they do note that reading and educational circles were held at the Northern

40 According to Badrān, the area was originally known as Mashhad ʿAlī. Badrān, *Munādamat al-aṭlāl* 47.

41 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 17:122; al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:62.

42 *Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 17:122.

43 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:65.

44 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:65.

45 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 1:44.

46 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 1:44.

47 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:65.

48 *MSD* 1088,14 #21; 3775,11 #9; 3817,7 #3, #13; 3817,10 #5; 3817,15 #3.

Wall from very early on. Already in the 1st century, Umm al-Dardāʾ al-Ṣughrā (after 81/700) is reported to have sat at the Northern Wall and taught fiqh in lessons attended by the Umayyads.[49] By the 7th/13th century, the sources note that there was an endowed chair (*kursī*) on the Northern Wall of the Mosque that was dedicated to the reading of hadith.[50] There is no indication of when exactly this endowment was established or how long it functioned, but the dates of the reading sessions recorded there range from 602/1205 to 738/1337, and some of them may have been supported by it.

2.6 *Qubbat al-Nasr*

One of the original elements of the Umayyad Mosque built by the caliph al-Walīd (r. 86/705–796/715), the Nasr Cupola, is one of the most prominent and striking architectural features of the Umayyad Mosque. The current dome stands at some thirty-six meters.[51] It is also one of the Mosque's most central spaces, sitting at the center of the two main wings of the Mosque.[52] Some also believed the space possessed rare spiritual properties, having been built from materials originally part of the palace of Bilqis.[53] The prominence, centrality, and perceived sacrality of the space under the cupola made it an attractive area for the performance of a variety of rituals, among them the reading of hadith, as is attested by the five audition notices recorded there.[54] From at least as early as the 7th/13th century, the space was also regularly used in funerary rituals, which would seem to support both the prominence of the space and its perceived sacrality.[55] Al-Dhahabī, for instance, notes that when Abū Yuman Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Kindī died in 613/1216, they performed the ritual mourning (*ʿazāʾ*) under the dome for two days.[56] Similarly, in 619/1222 when Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb (the brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) was removed from his original burial place in the Citadel to be moved to the tomb in the Madrasa al-ʿĀdilīya that his son had built, he was first

49 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 9:58. One wonders if the Northern Wall was perhaps frequently chosen as a site of transmission because it would be cooler in the afternoon.

50 Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, 10 vols., Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1986–1993, 7:622.

51 The current cupola dates to the 19th century. It has been destroyed at least four times, in the fires of 1069, 1401, and 1479, and in the earthquake of 1758. For more on the history of the cupola see George, *The Umayyad Mosque*, 135–136.

52 According to Ibn Kathīr it was called 'al-Nasr' because it resembled the head of an eagle, the wings of the mosque being its outstretched wings. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 9:168.

53 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1416/1995, 2:469.

54 *MSD* 1137,1 #28; 1139,14 #13; 1232,2 #5; 3757,8 #29; 3774,10 #7.

55 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* 10:226, 21:229.

56 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 22:41.

taken to the space under the dome and prayers were performed for him.[57] Al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362) reports a similar use of the space.[58] The space also seems to have been used in ceremonies for the appointing of judges. Al-Nuʿaymī notes that in 731/1330 when ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan Abū Mūsā al-Maqdisī was appointed the chief judge of Damascene Ḥanbalīs, he was cloaked in a robe of honor under the Nasr Cupola in the presence of the judges and other members of the city's elite.[59]

As early as the 6th/12th century, the Nasr Cupola was being used for the reading of hadith. Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176) may have been the first to establish the practice of reading hadith under the Cupola. Ibn Kathīr narrates that Ibn ʿAsākir transmitted hadith under the Cupola every Monday and Thursday following afternoon prayer.[60] His nephew Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr (d. 620/1223) is noted to have revived and carried on this tradition.[61] Roughly a century later, after the Friday congregational prayer, ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm b. Taymīya (d. 667/1268) transmitted a collection of one hundred hadith attributed to Ibn Abī Shurayḥ al-Anṣārī (d. 392/1001) under the Cupola with several other members of the Ibn Taymīya family to an audience of twenty-eight.[62] Perhaps the hope that the central position within the Mosque would expose more believers to the recitation of the words of the Prophet was a factor in the decision to hold the readings There. The acoustics of the space under the cupola might also have been a factor. Likely for these reasons, there was an endowed position and a designated chair (*kursī*) under the Cupola for the recitation of the Qurʾan.[63] Already by the 8th/14th century, there was also a regular reading of al-Bukhārī (*miʿād al-Bukhārī*) under the Cupola,[64] and much later in the 11th/17th century, there was an endowed position that supported reading the *Ṣaḥīḥ* under the Cupola.[65] All of the five notices that were recorded under the Cupola took place

57 Mohammad Gharaibeh, *The Sociology of Commentarial Literature: An Analysis of the Commentary Tradition of the Muqaddimat Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) from the Perspective of the Sociology of Knowledge*, habilitation thesis, Bonn University, 2019, 80.

58 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr wa-aʿwān al-naṣr*, ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd, Nabīl Abū ʿAmsha, Muḥammad Mawʿid, and Muḥammad Sālim Muḥammad, 6 vols., Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1998, 2:99.

59 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 2:31.

60 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:62.

61 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:62.

62 *MSD* 3757,8 #29.

63 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 14:294.

64 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 14:37.

65 Muḥammad Amīn b. Faḍl Allāh al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, [1996], 2:25. In his *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Bayṭār notes that from the year 1008/1677 onward an endowed position for the reading of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* under the dome during the months of Rajab, Shaʿbān, and Ramaḍān was established. He also lists the numerous

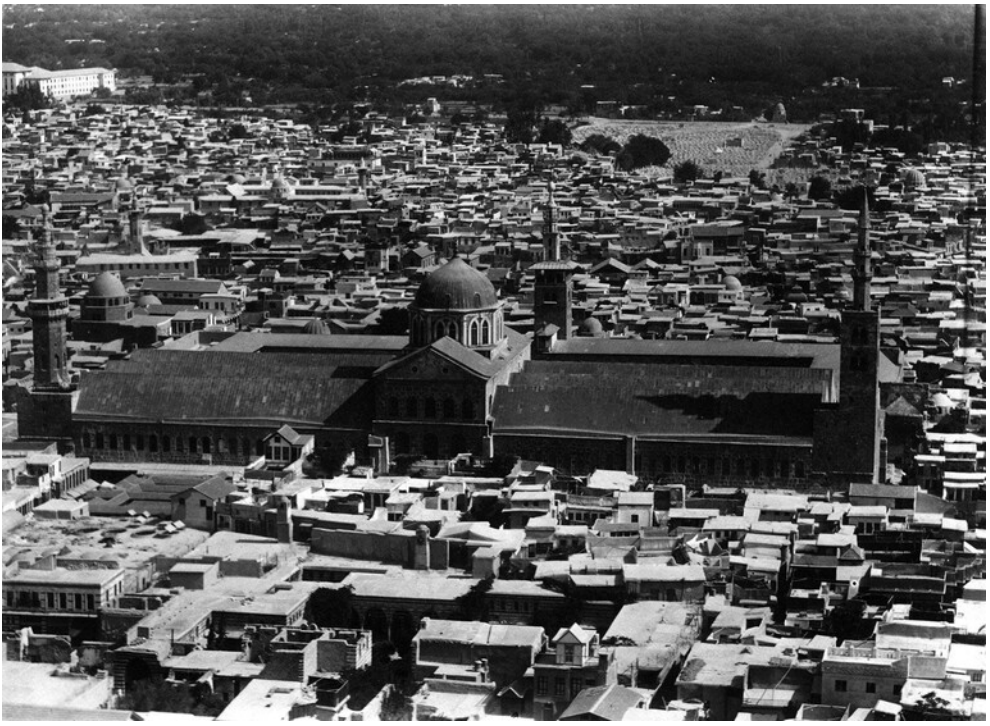

FIGURE 10.1 The Umayyad Mosque from the south. Al-Nasr Cupola (center), Maʾdhinat al-ʿArūs (north side), al-Zāwīya al-Ghazālīya (northwestern corner), Mashhad ʿUthmān (northwest side)

in the late 7th/13th century, and there is no indication that they were supported financially in any way, nor that they were anything but devotional readings. It is worth noting that none of these sessions were attended by very large audiences, but the centrality of the space likely meant that many more would have heard portions of the recitations.

2.7 *Al-Zāwiya al-Ghazālīya*

The area of the Mosque most commonly referred to as al-Zāwiya al-Ghazālīya, but also known as Zāwiyat Naṣr al-Maqdisī, and al-Zawiya al-Gharbīya, is recorded as the location in three audition notices.[66] This area, in the north-western

scholars who held the position in the centuries since its establishment. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1993, 148. Badrān notes that the main position received a salary of sixty Qirsh, the assistant (*al-muʿīd*) received a salary of thirty qirsh, and the reader received ten qirsh. ʿAbd al-Qādir Badrān, *Munādamat al-aṭlāl* 363.

66 *MSD* 1139,1 #16; 1088,3 #17; 1592,3 #7. According to al-Nuʿaymī, al-Ghazālī had initially wanted to stay at al-Khānqā al-Sumaysāṭīya, but the Sufis there did not know him and

corner of the Mosque, is closely associated with scholars of the Shāfiʿī school.[67] It is said to be where Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) secluded himself during his famous spiritual retreat in Damascus. The space is also associated with the lessons of the Shāfiʿī jurist and ascetic Naṣr al-Maqdisī (d. 490/1097). After al-Maqdisī, his student, the Shāfiʿī jurist al-Masissī, is noted to have taught law in the Zāwīya until his demise in 542/1147.[68] In 572/1176, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn endowed the revenue produced by the village of Ḥazm in Ḥawrān to the Zāwiya in order to support those "who busy themselves with the shariah disciplines" in the space.[69] As Manstetten notes, the establishment of this *waqf*, which supported a prestigious teaching position, deputy teachers, and teaching assistants, marks a shift in the history of the space from an informal study circle to a more formal institution akin to a madrasa.[70] Al-Quṭb al-Naysabūrī (d. 578/1182) was the first to hold this teaching position, and he was followed by a number of prominent Shāfiʿī scholars. Ibn ʿAsākir notes that beginning in the late 5th/11th century, the space had its own library to which a number of prominent scholars endowed their personal collections.[71] Although the space was primarily dedicated to the study of Shāfiʿī law, as these three notices indicate, it was also sometimes used for the transmission of hadith and likely other activities. All three auditions took place after the establishment of the *waqf*, however, they seem to unrelated to the Shāfiʿī identity of the institution.[72] None of the transmitters for these sessions is known to have held a position in the institution, and the shaykh in the largest of the sessions was the well-known Ḥanbalī shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥarrānī (d. 671/1273).

2.8 *Mashhad ʿUthmān*

Two audition notices document sessions that took place in the area of the Mosque most commonly known as Mashhad ʿUthmān.[73] Situated on the north-

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so he was denied entry. As a result, he stayed in this *Zāwiya* in the Mosque. Eventually, however, the Sufis of the al-Sumaysāṭīya learned of his status, apologized to him, and hosted him there. Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:313.

67 For more on the various names of the space and its history see Paula Manstetten, *Ibn ʿAsākir's History of Damascus and the Institutionalisation of Education in the Medieval Islamic World*, PhD Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London: n. p., 2018, 172–186.

68 Manstetten, *Ibn ʿAsākir's History of Damascus* 180–182.

69 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 12:295.

70 Manstetten, *Ibn ʿAsākir's History of Damascus* 180–182.

71 Manstetten, *Ibn ʿAsākir's History of Damascus* 177.

72 Only two of the notices are dated, one in 624/1226, and the other in 625/1227, but the shaykh in the third notice, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥarrānī, was born in 603/1207.

73 It is unclear why it was called Mashhad ʿUthmān, perhaps some relic related to the caliph

western side of the Mosque, just west of al-Zāwīya al-Ghazālīya, the area was also known as Mashhad al-Nā'ib, and Mashhad al-Mu'adhinīn.[74] When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377) visited the Mosque, this was one of the thirteen areas in which the five daily prayers were held.[75] According to al-Nuʿaymī, the space was established in 698/1298 when Nāṣir al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Salām renovated the area, built an enclosure (*maqṣūra*) there for the Mosque servants, and established an endowment for a salaried *imām* to lead the prayer there.[76] Ibn Kathīr mentions that the Mashhad included a window known as al-Shubāk al-Kamālī and that there was a tradition of judges holding court there every Friday after the congregational prayer.[77] The sources also contain references to scholars sitting under al-Shubāk al-Kamālī and issuing fatwas to petitioners.[78] Ibn Kathīr also mentions that charity was distributed there.[79] The evidence demonstrates that Mashhad ʿUthmān was a site of considerable prominence within the religious landscape of the Umayyad Mosque that was used for a variety of religious activities. The narrative sources do not seem to reference any endowments to support educational activities nor hadith transmission there, but as these three audition notices illustrate, it was also occasionally used for the reading of hadith.

2.9 *Other Sites within the Umayyad Mosque*

Various other sites within the Umayyad Mosque are mentioned by name in one or two audition notices. The Shrines of Zakariya,[80] Yaḥyā,[81] and Hūd[82] each occur in one audition notice. Various architectural features within the Mosque

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ʿUthmān was stored there. The term 'Mashhad al-Nā'ib' references the fact that judges held court there. According to al-Ṭanṭāwī, the term 'mashhad' in Damascus refers to a small prayer area inside a larger mosque. ʿAlī b. Muṣṭafā al-Ṭanṭāwī, *Dhikiriyāt* 3:119.

74 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 2:306.

75 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *al-Riḥla*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1998, 70. According to al-Nuʿaymī, roughly a century and a half later, there were nine imams in the Mosque, and he does not list the Mashhad of ʿUthmān as one of them. Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 2:315.

76 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 2:306.

77 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 12:242. It seems it is called this after Kamāl al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī (d. 572/1176) who had the Shubāk built. Ibn Qāḍī al-Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīya*, Hyderabad: Osmania Oriental Publications Bureau, 1978, 2:16. Badrān notes that by his time the madrasa was defunct. Badrān, *Munādamat al-aṭlāl* 146.

78 Ibn ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* 9:243.

79 Ibn Kathīr, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyīn*, ed. Aḥmad ʿUmar Hāshim, Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Thaqāfīya al-Dīnīya, 1413/1993, 701.

80 *MSD* 3764,12 #21.

81 *MSD* 3798,21 #16.

82 *MSD* 1088,14 #14.

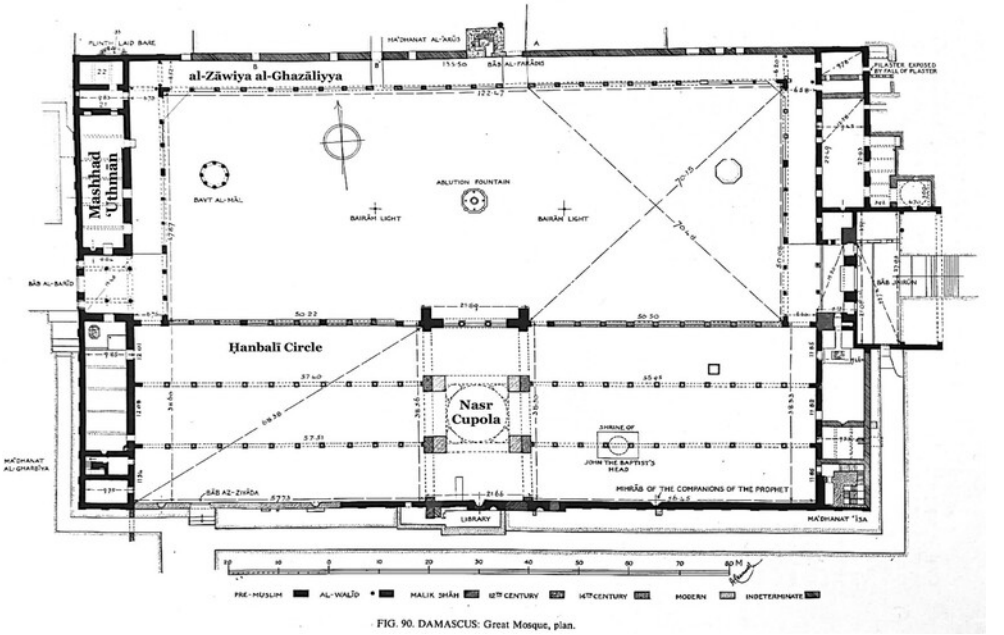

FIGURE 10.2 Plan of the Umayyad Mosque showing common sites of hadith transmission
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are specified in a handful of notices. Two notices were recorded under the sundials (*taḥt al-sāʿāt*). The entrance to the Mosque known as Bāb Maʾdhinat al-ʿArūs occurs in one notice.[83] The *qibla* wall of the Mosque occurs in two notices.[84] Dār al-Khaṭāba also occurs in two notices.[85] The Mashhad of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn[86] occurs in just one notice, as does the 'Ḥanafī enclosure' (maqṣūrat al-Ḥanafiya).[87]

2.10 *Other Mosques in Damascus Proper*

The Umayyad Mosque was the premier mosque in Damascus proper, but the city was, of course, home to many more minor mosques of various sizes, and some of these appear in the *MSD* corpus of audition notices. None of these mosques, however, appear with any frequency in this corpus of audition notices. In fact, Masjid al-Bayāṭira is the only mosque that appears twice,

83 *MSD* 3775,7 #3.
84 *MSD* 955,9 #37, 3817,15 #6.
85 *MSD* 3778,8 #15.
86 *MSD* 3778,8 #1.
87 *MSD* 3817,10 #7.

once in 714/1314 and again in 718/1318.[88] The other nine mosques in which audition notices were recorded each appear only once.[89] One can only speculate as to why, but it seems reasonable to assume that because these smaller mosques inhabited a comparatively minor place in the sacred geography of the city, they simply did not have the cache and draw that the Umayyad Mosque had.

2.11 *Dūr al-Ḥadīth* in Damascus Proper

2.11.1 *Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūrīya*

Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūrīya, also referred to in some notices as 'Dār al-Sunna,' is generally recognized as the first ever institution entirely dedicated to the study and transmission of hadith. The Dār was built by Sultan Nūr al-Dīn al-Zankī in 565/1170 for the prominent Damascene hadith scholar and historian Abū Qāsim b. ʿAsākir. It has been described as the "intellectual epicenter of Nūr al-Dīn's jihad propaganda," although it should be noted that only one of the hadith collections audited in the institution is dedicated to the subject of jihad.[90] The institution, however, did provide generous support for the transmission of hadith[91] and it does indeed emerge as an important center of hadith transmission, occurring in a total of 14 audition notices recorded between 571/1175 and 724/1324.[92] It can be reasonably assumed that the bulk of these readings was

88 *MSD* 1088,3 #24; 3803,3 #1. Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī was the reader for the second audition, with an audience of thirteen.

89 *MSD* 1178,22 #10; 3817,14 #4; 3817,7 #2; 3803,3 #14; 3828,7 #6; 3755,23 #25, 3817,14 #4; 1178,22 #10; 3803,3 #14. Although it was technically outside of the chronological parameters of the corpus, the editors of *MSD* also included one audition notice recorded in 948/1541 in the mosque built by the Ottoman sultan Salīm. *MSD* 3838 #29.

90 Suleiman A. Mourad and James E. Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period. Ibn ʿAsākir of Damascus (1105–1176) and His Age with an Edition and Translation of Ibn ʿAsākir's The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, 50. Suleiman Mourad and James Lindsay have also studied the audition notes (which they erroneously referred to as 'colophons') recorded on a copy of Ibn ʿAsākir's *Forty Ḥadīths for Inciting Jihād*, "Sunnī Jihād Propaganda in Seventh/Thirteenth-Century Damascus: An Analysis of the Colophons (samāʿāt) on Ibn ʿAsākir's *Forty Ḥadīth for Inciting Jihād*," in Steven Judd and Jens Scheiner (eds.), *New Perspectives on Ibn ʿAsākir in Islamic Historiography*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, 64–92.

91 The original endowed land that supported the institution was destroyed by the widening of a canal in 611/1214 but was then reendowed by al-Ashraf. Eerik Dickinson, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī and the Isnād," in *JAOS* 122.3 (2002), 481–505, 483.

92 *MSD* 1070,5 #1; 1139,1 #17; 1139,4 #11; 1139,4 #25; 3775,5 #6; 3775,11 #7; 3798,9 #1; 3817,15 #9; 3818,3 #4; 1592,3 #10; 1088,3 #3; 1088,3 #16; 1088,3 #21; 1088,3 #38.

supported in some way by the income produced by the Dār's generous endowments. If this is the case, it is worth noting that the fortunes of the Dār as a site of transmission might have been very different. In 611/1214, less than fifty years after it was founded, the agricultural land originally endowed to support the institution was destroyed by the widening of a canal and the institution went bankrupt. Shortly thereafter, al-Malik al-Ashraf established a new endowment to support the institution. Without this new endowment the popularity of the Dār as a locus of hadith transmission would likely not have been so enduring.

2.11.2 *Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafīya*

Built in 630/1232 by al-Malik al-Ashraf, the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafīya was one of the most prestigious Damascene institutes for the study and transmission of hadith. The *mashyakha* of the institution was very well-funded, and the scholars of the city competed over it for generations.[93] Indeed, a list of the scholars who taught there reads like a who's who of Damascene Shāfiʿī scholars, including Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, al-Nawawī, al-Mizzī, both Taqī al-Dīn and Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, and Ibn Kathīr.[94] In addition to the *mashyakha*, the endowment provided for a salary for visiting transmitters of hadith with elevated chains of transmission.[95] The Dār also occupied a central place in the religious landscape of Damascus, as it housed an important relic, a sandal attributed to the Prophet that al-Malik al-Ashraf had brought to Damascus. It is not surprising then that it occurs relatively frequently in in this corpus of audition notices with ten notices documenting auditions held there.

2.11.3 Other Damascene *Dūr al-Ḥadīth*

Beside the premier hadith institutes discussed above, Damascus was home to a number of smaller *dūr al-ḥadīth*; al-Nuʿaymī, in fact, lists some twenty in Damascus proper alone.[96] Only a few of these appear in audition notices, however, and then as relatively infrequent sites of transmission only. Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ṣāliḥīya appears in two notices,[97] Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ẓāhirīya, too.[98] An institute referred to as "Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Malkīya" was likewise the site of two

93 Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus* 19.
94 Gharaibeh, *Sociology* 161–163.
95 Dickinson, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī and the Isnād" 490.
96 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:15–185.
97 *MSD* 3817,7 #12, 3803,3 #1.
98 *MSD* 1231,2 #11, 3775,11 #17.

auditions.[99] The Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Taḥtīya, Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Sharqīya,[100] and Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Shaqayshqīya all occur in just one notice each.[101] Unfortunately, the narrative sources provide few clues as to why these institutions dedicated to the study and transmission of hadith appear so comparatively infrequently in this corpus of audition notices. Perhaps their endowments were too modest to support frequent transmission sessions. It might also be that—as was almost the fate of the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūrīya—their endowments did not survive and as a result their activities could not continue.

3 Other Institutions in Damascus

Several audition notices in this corpus document hadith readings that took place in various other educational and religious institutions in Damascus that were primarily dedicated to the teaching and practice of subjects other than hadith, but nevertheless were occasionally sites of hadith transmission. With one exception, none of these readings appear to have enjoyed explicit financial support, but rather seem to be devotional readings tangentially related to the activities of the institutions.

3.1 *Madrasas*

A total of thirty auditions took place in various madrasas. While they were for the most part primarily dedicated to the teaching of law or other disciplines, they apparently also occasionally served as sites of hadith transmission. Four notices record auditions that between 595/1198 and 745/1344 took place in the Khātūnīya Ḥanafī madrasa built by Khātūn bt. Muʿīn al-Dīn (d. 581/1185).[102] Interestingly, three notices documents readings of Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī's *al-Majālis al-Khamsa* that took place in the medical college known both as Madrasat al-Ṭibb and al-Madrasa al-Dakhwārīya in the early 8th/14th century.[103] It is not entirely clear why these readings were held in this institution founded by the physician ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Dākhūr in 622/1225. The *musmiʿ* in all three readings was one Abū Faḍl Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar al-Ḥamawī (d. 727/1327) who does not seem to have possessed any knowledge of medicine. His biographers note little

99 *MSD* 1139,4 #21, 3775,9 #4.
100 *MSD* 3823,8 #37.
101 *MSD* 377,20 #31; 3774,6 #4; 3823,8 #37.
102 *MSD* 1592,3 #5; 3774,6 #15; 3775,1 #1; 3817,7 #8. Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:388.
103 *MSD* 1178,22 #5, #6, #28.

about him other than that he was a hadith transmitter and that he lived to the advanced age of ninety-two.[104] The medical college may have just been a convenient place to hold the readings, as one of the notices mentions that the college was "near al-Ḥamawī's house (*bi-jiwār manzil al-musmiʿ*)."[105] This seems especially likely when we take into consideration that al-Ḥamawī would have been advanced in years when these readings took place. In the first reading in 707/1307,[106] he would have been seventy, in the next reading in 717/1317[107] he would have been eighty, and in the final reading in 725/1325 he would have been ninety years old.[108] Five notices were recorded between 623/1226 and 745/1344 in the Ṣadrīya Ḥanbalī madrasa built by Ṣadr al-Dīn Asʿad b. Manjā (d. 657/1259).[109] The Madrasa known as al-Madrasa al-ʿIzzīya, built by ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak (d. 645/1247) in 626/1228 just outside the city walls, was the site of five auditions between 671/1272 and 764/1362.[110] This madrasa differs from the previously mentioned madrasas, as al-Nuʿaymī notes that the *waqf* included an endowed *mashyakha* of hadith.[111] Perhaps some of these readings were related to this *mashyakha*. Al-Mizzī was the *musmiʿ* in two of these auditions, however, his biographies give no indication that he ever held the *mashyakha* there.[112]

Various other madrasas appear once or twice in audition notices. Al-Madrasa al-Rawāḥīya, where Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ once taught, appears in two 8th/14th-century audition notices.[113] Two notices record auditions that took place in the early 7th/13th century in the al-Mujāhidīya Madrasa; one of these was quite large with sixty attendees.[114] Al-Madrasa al-Mismārīya occurs in two notices.[115] The joint Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī al-Madrasa al-Asadīya[116] occurs in two notices, as does the Ḥanafī madrasa, al-Qulayjīya,[117] and al-Madrasa al-Kāmilīya, located north of the Umayyad Mosque, likewise occurs in two notices.[118] Al-Madrasa

104 Ibn ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* 8:136.
105 *MSD* 1178,22 #5. The readings were attended by 8, 12, and 13 auditors.
106 *MSD* 1178,22 #5.
107 *MSD* 1178,22 #6.
108 *MSD* 1178,22 #28.
109 *MSD* 955,9 #48, 1178,22 #3; 3774,10 #5; 3739,4 #1; 1139,1 #30.
110 *MSD* 1178,22 #23; 3775,2 #7; 3775,5 #2, #21; 3818,3 #16.
111 Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:426.
112 Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīya al-Kubrā* 10:395; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* 6:299.
113 *MSD* 3774,13 #1; 3817,7 #4.
114 *MSD* 1088,14 #19; 3817,15 #4.
115 *MSD* 1088,4 #5; 3818,12 #7.
116 *MSD* 3823,8 #26, #28.
117 *MSD* 3817,10 #4; 1088,2 #9.
118 *MSD* 3823,8 #26, #28.

al-ʿĀdilīya al-Sayfīya,[119] al-Madrasa al-Qaymāzīya,[120] al-Madrasa al-Amīnīya,[121] and al-Madrasa al-Jawzīya[122] each all occur in just one notice.[123] None of these institutions is noted to have explicitly supported the transmission of hadith.

3.2 *Sufi Institutions*

A total of four notices document audition sessions that took place in various Sufi institutions (*khānqā* and *ribāṭ*) in Damascus, although it should be noted that the distinction between institutions is not always distinct, and some institutions are referred to both as *ribāṭ* and madrasa.[124] The Ribāṭ/Khānqa of al-Sumaysāṭī was the site of two sessions,[125] the Khānqa of one al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī was the site of one session,[126] as was the Khānqā al-Asadī.[127]

4 Commercial Spaces

A total of four audition notices recorded in Damascus document readings that took place in shops. Two notices from the 7th/13th century record readings of *al-Fawāʾid al-Muntaqā* of ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Nuṣrawayh al-Samarqandī (d. 439/1047) in the shop of Ibn ʿAllān Makkī b. Muslim b. Makkī (d. 652/1254) in Qaysārīyat al-Fars ('The Persian Covered Market').[128] Ibn ʿAllān was in the perfume business and hailed from a prominent family who was involved in hadith transmission (*bayt taqadum wa-riwāya*), as a child, he had heard hadith from Ibn ʿAsākir and also received an *ijāza* from al-Silafī.[129] A third notice dated 668/1269 documents a reading of a *juzʾ* of the hadith of Hishām b. ʿAmmār al-Sulamī (d. 245/859) that took place in the shop of one Ibrāhīm b.

119 *MSD* 3755,11 #1.

120 *MSD* 1592,1 #15.

121 *MSD* 955,2 #10.

122 *MSD* 3755,23 #9.

123 *MSD* 3755,11 #1; 1592,1 #15.

124 Further, at least by al-Nuʿaymī's time, some *dār al-ḥadīth* institutes had *khānqā*s inside of them, and at least one *dār al-ḥadīth* is later converted into a *khānqā*. Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:36.

125 *MSD* 955,2 #15; 1137,1 #32. For more on the Khānqa of al-Sumaysāṭī see Aljoumani's article, "Maktabat al-khānqā al-Sumaysāṭīya bi-Dimashq khilāl al-ʿahdayn al-Ayūbī wa-l-Mamlūkī" 376–343.

126 *MSD* 1139,4 #15.

127 *MSD* 3775,11 #13.

128 *MSD* 1088,3 #23, #35. Only one of these notices is dated with the year 632/1234.

129 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 23:286.

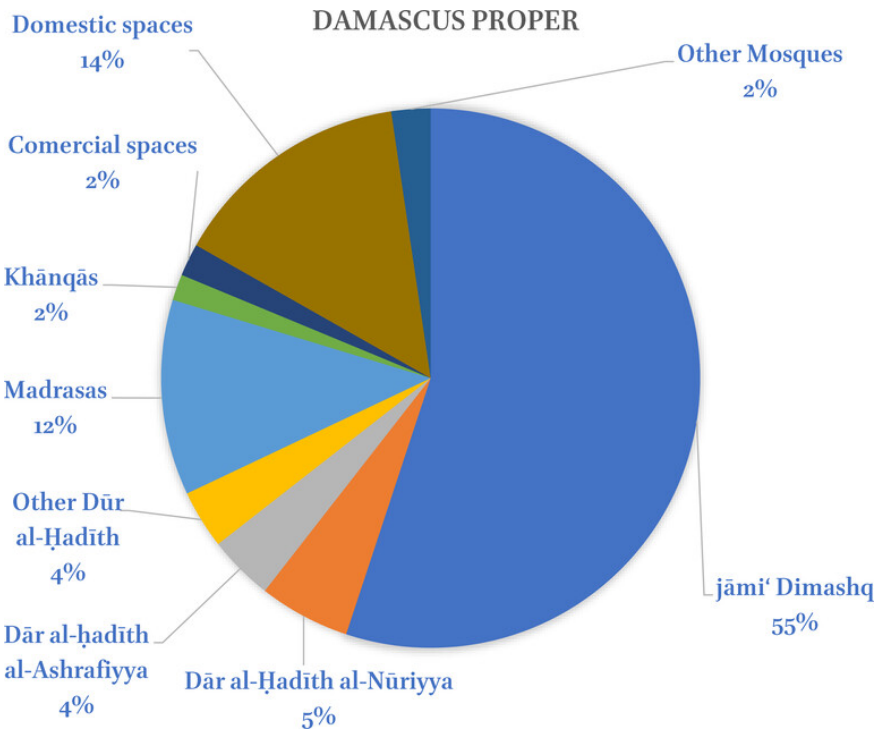

FIGURE 10.3 Loci of hadith transmission in Damascus proper

Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā near the Umayyad Mosque.[130] A fourth notice documents an audition that took place in 724/1324 in the shop of one Ayyūb b. Naʿama b. Muḥammad in the book market (*al-kutubīyīn*).[131]

5 The Suburb of al-Ṣāliḥīya

As was noted in the introduction to this chapter, the suburb of al-Ṣāliḥīya is one of the most frequent sites of transmission in this corpus of Damascene audition notices. Al-Ṣāliḥīya, located roughly two kilometers from the city center, was established around 551/1156 by a clan of Ḥanbalī scholars, often collectively referred to as the ʻMaqdisīs (*maqādisa*). They came to Damascus as refugees from the village of Jammāʿīl near Nablus, then governed by the Frank-

130 *MSD* 3828,7 #8.
131 *MSD* 3798,9 #3.

ish kingdom of Jerusalem.[132] After spending roughly two years in Damascus, they moved outside the city walls under the leadership of Aḥmad b. Qudāma (d. 558/1162) and established a settlement at the base of Mount Qāsyūn that came to be known as al-Ṣāliḥīya. Within a generation, the Maqdisīs had established themselves as important figures in the Damascus *ʿulamāʾ* scene and made Ṣāliḥīya a center of a strain of learning and piety that Leder has described as "charismatic scripturalism."[133] Hadith transmission was one of the core elements of this brand of religiosity, and, as a result, al-Ṣāliḥīya became an important center of hadith transmission within Damascus, as well as a significant node in larger regional networks of transmission.[134] In total, 268 notices were recorded in al-Ṣāliḥīya. As was seen with Damascus proper, 74 notices only mention that the reading took place in Qāsyūn, al-Ṣāliḥīya, or one of its other names, such as al-Jabal, but provide no specific information about where exactly the session was held.

5.1 *Al-Ḍiyāʾīya*

The Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ḍiyāʾīya is the single most popular site of transmission in Ṣāliḥīya within this corpus of audition notices.[135] In total, 62 notices in this corpus document auditions that took place in the Ḍiyāʾīya. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī (d. 643/1245) built the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ḍiyāʾīya on land he had inherited from his father immediately to the east of the al-Muẓaffarī Mosque. He reportedly began building the *Dār* himself and continued in stages as materials and resources became available to him. The exact date of its completion is unclear, but the earliest known audition notice recorded there indicates that it existed in some form no later than 603/1207.[136]

According to al-Dhahabī, Ḍiyāʾ completed construction of the building with the donations of philanthropists (*ahl al-khayr*) from the community.[137] However, according to Ibn Ṭūlūn, Ḍiyāʾ's nephew ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (d. 690/1291), who was both a hadith transmitter and a merchant, donated generously to help complete the building.[138] Although according to other (probably hagio-

132 Stefan Leder, "Charismatic Scripturalism" 283.
133 Stefan Leder, "Charismatic Scripturalism" 283.
134 Hirschler, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture* 104.
135 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fī tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīya*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, Damascus: Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabīya, 1401/1980, 1:130. It also seems to sometimes be referred to as Dār al-Sunna, as well as al-Madrasa al-Ḍiyāʾīya.
136 Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiẓ, *al-Tanwīh wa-l-tabyīn fī Sirat al-muḥaddith al-Shām al-Ḥāfiẓ Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn*, Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmīya, 1420/1999, 228.
137 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām* 47:212.
138 Leder, "Charismatic Scripturalism" 295.

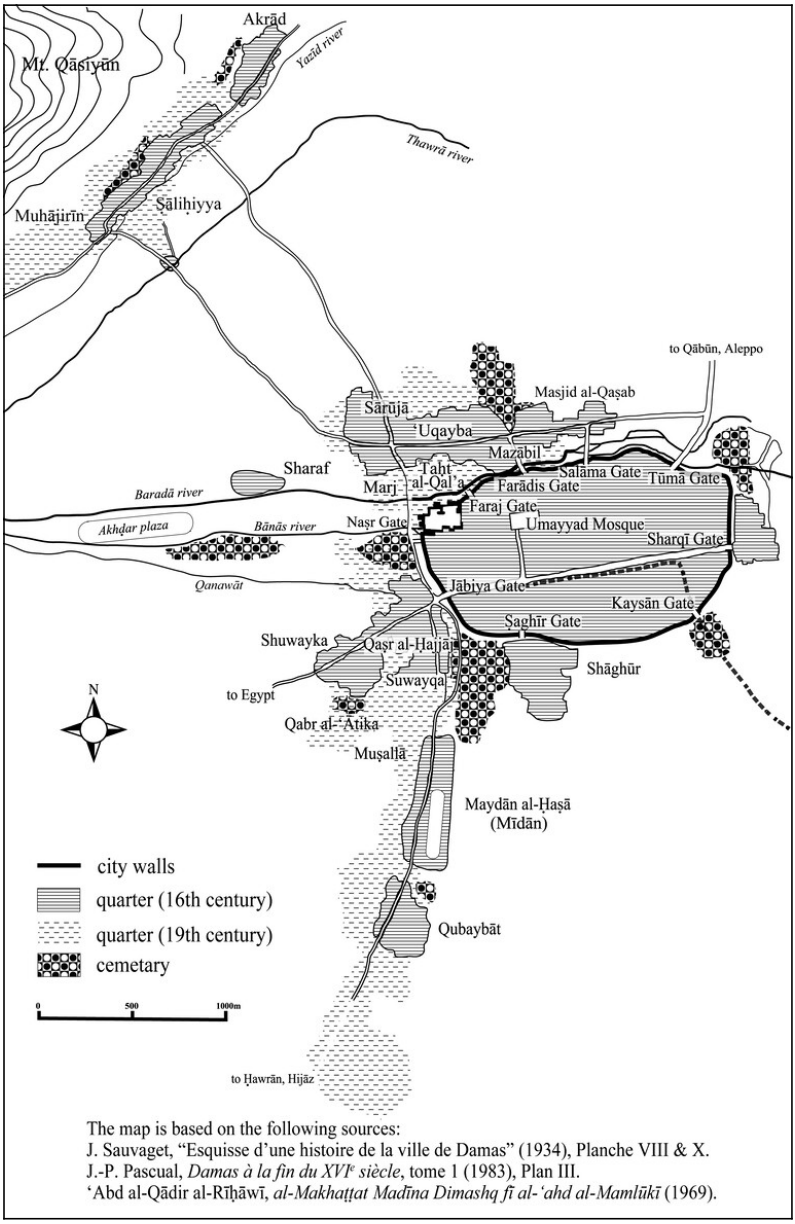

FIGURE 10.4 Damascus and its Suburbs at the Beginning of the 10th/16th Century. *Ṣāliḥīya Quarter in the Suburbs*. With friendly permission taken from Tora Miura, *Dynamism in the Urban Society of Damascus. The Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016, Map. 1, p. xvii

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graphical) accounts, Ḍiyāʾ built the *Dār al-ḥadīth* entirely himself, and out of scrupulousness, did not accept any charity to fund its construction. In any case, according to the contemporary Syrian historian Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiẓ, it was likely completed around 620/1223.[139] Eventually, the Ḍiyāʾīya and the activities of the scholars who resided there came to be supported by extensive endowments, including numerous commercial and agricultural properties.[140] Significantly, the *Dār* also housed Ḍiyāʾ's extensive personal library of post-canonical hadith collections, including the valuable manuscripts he acquired on his hadith-collecting voyages to eastern centers of hadith transmission. Among these were manuscripts from the cities of Baghdad, Mosul, Isfahan, Hamadān, Herat, and Merv that he endowed to the *Dār*. Ḍiyāʾ was not the only scholar to endow his personal library to the institution; numerous other scholars later endowed their personal libraries focused on post-canonical hadith literature.[141] These combined endowments gave the Ḍiyāʾ Library such renown as a depository for this literature that, generations later, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī would remark, "in that Library there were copies of all of the books and hadith booklets of the world."[142] The combined charisma of the founder and the presence of this uniquely rich library of post-canonical hadith collections must have been important factors in its popularity as a site of transmission. For several generations, it was an active center of hadith transmission, as is well evidenced by the notices in *MSD*. Ibn Ṭūlūn also mentions that the *waqf* financially supported the children of the neighborhood to attend hadith auditions there; this must have further contributed to its popularity as a site of transmission.[143] Eventually though, the *waqf* fell under mismanagement, and the collection housed in the Ḍiyāʾīya Library began to be taken out of the institution and dispersed. According to Ibn Ṭūlūn, Tamerlane's sacking of Damascus contributed to the scattering of the Library. Afterwards, he says, a series of scholars openly removed endowed manuscripts and never returned them to the Library. Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1448), for one, is reported to have taken several loads of manuscripts from the Library to Cairo.[144] The scattering of the Ḍiyāʾīya Collection is significant because in the 9th/15th century much of it would end up on the book markets of Damascus where it would be purchased by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503). Subsequently he would endow his library, and this material would end up in the ʿUmarīya

139 Al-Ḥāfiẓ, *al-Tanwīh wa-l-tabyīn* 228.
140 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalāʾid al-jawharīya*, Damascus: Maṭbaʿa at-Taraqqī, 1947, 1:139.
141 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalāʾid al-jawharīya* 1:138.
142 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalāʾid al-jawharīya* 1:138.
143 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalāʾid al-jawharīya* 1:138.
144 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalāʾid al-jawharīya* 1:138.

Madrasa.[145] As was noted above, the *MSD* consists almost entirely of this material that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī endowed to the ʿUmarīya. It is impossible to know until we have a complete account of all Damascene audition notices, but the fact that the *MSD* is so dependent on Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's collection may give a disproportionate sense of the importance of the Ḍiyāʾīya as a site of transmission. This is by no means to diminish its role as a site of transmission—it was clearly an active site of transmission. Rather it is to say that the historical circumstances that led to the formation of the ʿUmarīya Collection may give us a somewhat distorted view of its relative popularity as a site of transmission.

5.2 *Al-Jāmiʿ al-Muẓaffarī*

Within al-Ṣāliḥīya, al-Jāmiʿ al-Muẓaffarī was one of the oldest and most important religious institutions and is the second most frequently recorded site of transmission in the suburb. A total of 49 audition notices in this corpus were recorded in the Muẓaffarī. The Jāmiʿ al-Muẓaffarī, which is also sometimes referred to as Jāmiʿ al-Jabal, Jāmiʿ al-Ḥanābila, Jāmiʿ al-Ṣāliḥīn, and Masjid al-Shaykh Abī ʿUmar, is reported to be the first congregational mosque built in the Ṣāliḥīya quarter. Abū ʿUmar al-Maqdisī, the son of Aḥmad b. Qudāma and a central figure in the religious history of Ṣāliḥīya, is reported to have begun building the Mosque himself in 598/1202 with funds donated by a local merchant, and completed the Mosque and established an endowment with a donation by the Ayyubid governor of Irbil Muẓaffar al-Dīn al-Kawkabūri (d. 630/1232).[146] As the first congregational mosque in Ṣāliḥīya, built by one of the founding fathers of the neighborhood and its religious tradition, the Muẓaffarī inhabited one of the premier positions in the sacred geography of Ṣāliḥīya. Indeed, Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī reports that one of his contemporaries saw Abū ʿUmar in a dream and asked him about the relative virtue of the Muẓaffarī Mosque compared to another important institution in the religious imagination of the neighborhood, the Madrasa al-ʿUmarīya, which will be discussed further below. Abū ʿUmar responded that the Muẓaffarī Mosque was the superior of the two institutions.[147] It is not surprising then, that the Muẓaffarī is one of the most frequent sites of transmission in this corpus of audition notices. In total, auditions held in the Muẓaffarī Mosque involved more than one thousand five hundred auditors. It is also distinguished by the fact that it hosted the

145 Hirschler, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture* 113.

146 Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Jāmiʿ al-Ḥanābila al-Muẓaffarī bi-Ṣāliḥīya Jabal Qāsiyūn Manārat al-nahḍa al-ʿilmīya al-Maqādisa Dimashq*, Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmīya, 1423/2002, 25.

147 Al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Jāmiʿ al-Ḥanābila* 22.

FIGURE 10.5 The minaret of the Muẓaffarī Mosque with the Umayyad Mosque visible in the upper left
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largest auditions in the *MSD* corpus by far. The largest single audition in this corpus, attended by three hundred and thirty-eight auditors, took place in the Muẓaffarī Mosque.[148] No other single audition notice in this corpus even comes close to this.[149]

5.3 *Al-ʿUmarīya*

Interestingly, although the ʿUmarīya (also referred to as Madrasat al-Shaykh Abī ʿUmar or Madrasat al-Ṣāliḥīn) was the largest and most important madrasa in al-Ṣāliḥīya, it is hardly mentioned as a site of transmission in *MSD*. Only four notices identify al-ʿUmarīya as the location where the audition session took place.[150] This is noteworthy, because like the Muẓaffarī Mosque the ʿUmarīya was built by Abū ʿUmar and was one of the most revered institutions in the religious landscape of al-Ṣāliḥīya. Indeed, it reportedly possessed a unique spiritual efficacy, and it was believed that the prayers of the faithful were answered there. The infrequency of the ʿUmarīya in this corpus can perhaps be explained by the fact that its primary function was that of a madrasa, and the devotional

148 *MSD* 3757,8 #1.

149 The third largest audition in the corpus, attended by one hundred and twenty-two auditors was also held in the Muẓaffarī mosque. *MSD* 1039,5 #3.

150 *MSD* 1178,22 #19; 3757,1 #8; 3775,5 #1; 3817,10 #24.

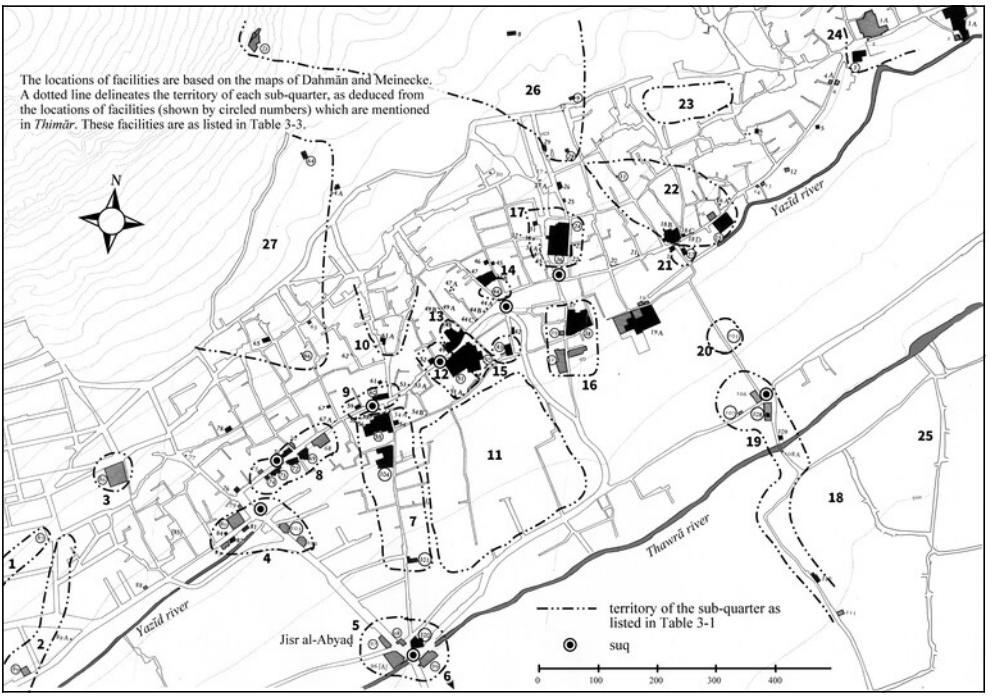

FIGURE 10.6 Ṣāliḥīya at the end of the Mamluk Period. Al-Ḍiyā'īya and al-Muẓaffarī: 17; al-'Umarīya: 16. With friendly permission taken from Tora Miura, *Dynamism in the Urban Society of Damascus. The Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016, Map. 6, p. xxii
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reading of hadith that produced audition notices may not have been common there. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's description of the institution, as cited by Ibn Ṭūlūn, its activities seemed to be focused on the teaching of Ḥanbalī fiqh.[151] According to Miura, lessons in Shāfi'ī, Ḥanafī, and Mālikī fiqh were also given there on other days of the week.[152] Neither source, however, mentions hadith reading as an activity the madrasa supported. Still there were numerous hadith masters highly engaged in hadith transmission who lived and taught at the 'Umarīya. If this sample is representative, it is somewhat surprising that they only rarely transmitted there.[153]

151 By Ibn Ṭūlūn's time there were lessons for other *madhhab*s there also. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalā'id al-Jawharīya* 260.

152 Tora Miura, "The Ṣāliḥīya Quarter in the Suburbs of Damascus: Its Formation, Structure and Transformation in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods," in: *Bulletin d'études orientales* (1995), 141–145, 151.

153 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalā'id al-jawharīya* 266.

5.4 *The Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafīya in al-Ṣāliḥīya*

Fifteen notices document auditions that took place in the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafīya in Ṣāliḥīya. Like the better known Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafīya in Damascus proper, the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafīya in al-Ṣāliḥīya was built by al-Malik al-Ashraf. It is sometimes distinguished from the *dār* in Damascus proper as al-Ashrafīya al-Maqdisīya. The renowned hadith scholar ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī (d. 629/1232) was meant to be the first resident scholar at the institute, however, he died before it was completed in 634/1236. To support the activities of the institution, al-Malik al-Ashraf endowed the revenue from five agricultural villages in the Beqaa valley.[154] While the endowed teaching position in the Ashrafīya in Damascus proper was limited to Shāfiʿī scholars, the Ashrafīya in al-Ṣāliḥīya was reserved for Ḥanbalīs. The institution was inaugurated in 634/1236 with a special reading of *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī by the famous transmitter al-Mubārak b. al-Zabīdī (d. 631/1234), who was then visiting Damascus from Baghdad. Thereafter, the teaching position was held by some of the most prominent members of the Maqdisī hadith network. Ibn Abī ʿUmar al-Maqdisī, Shams al-Dīn b. al-Kamāl (d. 688/1289), who was the nephew of Ḍiyāʾ al-Maqdisī, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 695/1295), the grandson of Ibn Abī ʿUmar, the great-great grandson of Ibn Abī ʿUmar, Sulaymān b. Ḥamza (d. 715/1315), and his son Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (d. 731/1330) all held the position.[155]

5.5 *Al-Murshidīya al-Khātūnīya*

Seven notices in this corpus document readings held in the al-Murshidīya al-Khātūnīya Madrasa in al-Ṣāliḥīya, located just next door to the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafīya on the Yazīd river.[156] Al-Murshidīya was a relatively small but generously-endowed institution dedicated to the teaching of Ḥanafī law and does not seem to have directly supported the transmission of hadith. It was built in 650/1252 by Khadīja Khātūn al-Ayyūbīya, the daughter of the Ayyubid *amīr* of Damascus, al-Malik al-Muʿẓẓam ʿIsā b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (r. 615/1218–624/1227), and when she died in 654/1256, she was buried within the Madrasa. The hadith collection read in all seven of the sessions that took place there was the *Juzʾ al-Baṭāqa* compiled by Abū Qāsim Ḥamza b. Muḥmmad al-Kannānī (d. 357/967). The *musmiʿ* for all of these sessions was the nephew of Khadīja

154 Ibn Ṭūlūn lists these five properties as al-Manṣūra, al-Talīl, al-Shabarqīya, Bayt Ibn al-Nāblusī, and Ḥakar Ḥārat al-Jawbān. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalāʾid al-jawharīya* 164.

155 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalāʾid al-jawharīya* 159.

156 *MSD* 959,9 #1, #2, #7, #12, #32, #70, #79. For more on the institution, see Stephen Humphrey, "Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus," in *Muqarnas* xi (1994), 35–54, 44.

Khātūn, Asad al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿIsā al-Ayyūbī (d. 737/1336). Born in 642/1244, as a small child ʿAbd al-Qādir had attended audition sessions with a number of prominent transmitters including Khaṭīb Marḍā (d. 656/1256).[157] As an adult, he specialized in Ḥanafī fiqh and resided in Cairo where he served as the administrator (*nāẓir*) of his family's many endowments. This position regularly took him to Damascus and Jerusalem.[158] According to these audition notices, he began transmitting hadith at the al-Murshidīya in 719/1319, when he would have been seventy-seven years old. It seems reasonable to assume that he chose al-Murshidīya as the location for these audition sessions due to his familial connection to the institution, and perhaps he also regularly visited the site as part of his duties as the administrator of its endowment. These seven sessions in the Murshidīya are the only sessions in which ʿAbd al-Qādir participated in this corpus of audition notices, however, these were not the only sessions in which he transmitted. A manuscript of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāzī's *Mashyakha* preserves an audition notice of the text countersigned by ʿAbd al-Qādir at the al-Murshidīya on the sixteenth of Rajab in 736/1335.[159] Five out of the seven notices preserved in this corpus were recorded in the 730s, when ʿAbd al-Qādir was in his nineties, and his age would have made his chain of transmission unusually elevated and desirable. Perhaps the novelty of hearing hadith through such an elevated chain of transmission in a royal madrasa from an elderly member of the royal family gave these sessions further cache. In any case, these sessions were quite popular. Two of the sessions held in 732/1334 were attended by eighty and eighty-eight auditors.[160] Two years later, in 734/1334, ʿAbd al-Qādir transmitted to an even larger audience of 112 auditors.[161] ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Muḥibb al-Maqdisī (d. 737/1333), who was a resident of al-Ṣāliḥiya, served as the reader in all these sessions, and perhaps he also arranged them. It seems possible that the proximity to the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafīya was also a factor in the popularity of these sessions.

5.6 *The Tombs of al-Ṣāliḥīya*

The notices recorded in the al-Murshidīya do not specify where within the building the readings took place, whether they were held at the actual tomb of

157 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 23:325.

158 Al-Subkī notes that he died on his way to Damascus and was then carried to Jerusalem, buried, and then buried in the madrasa his grandfather built. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Muʿjam shuyūkh al-Subkī*, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2004, 246.

159 Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāzī, *Mashyakhat Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāzī*, Riyadh: Markaz al-Turāth li-l-Barmajīyāt, 2013, 315. Another was recorded in Jumādā al-Ūlā 732/1331, 311.

160 *MSD* 955,9 #2, #7.

161 *MSD* 959,9 #1.

Khadīja Khātūn or elsewhere in the building. Seven of the notices recorded in al-Ṣāliḥīya, however, specifically mention that the readings took place at tombs or graves. One notice, recorded in 628/1230, notes that the audition, which was attended by sixteen auditors, took place at the grave (*maqbara*) of Khaṭāba al-Najmī (d. 635/1237).[162] Another audition notice, recorded in 665/1266 and mentioning three auditors, documents a session that took place at al-Turba al-Ṣārimīya of Ṣārim al-Dīn Burghash al-ʿĀdilī (d. 608/1211) to the west of the Muẓaffarī Mosque.[163] One audition notice from 721/1321 notes that it took place in "Turbat Ibn al-Ḥalabī, Qāsyūn"; unfortunately, however, I was not able to trace any references to this location in the sources.[164]

Two audition notices record sessions that took place at al-Turba al-Kāmilīya. It is important to note that while the al-Kāmilīya is identified as a tomb, it also had an endowment that supported a salaried position for the teaching of hadith that was held by the son of the builder of the tomb, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Muhandis (d. 733/1333).[165] Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Muhandis was the *musmiʿ* in both of these sessions, one in 707/1307 attended by four auditors and another in 723/1323 attended by five auditors.[166] The narrative sources note that his younger brother Aḥmad (d. 747/1346) held the position after him, but there is no record of his transmitting hadith there in this corpus of audition notices.[167] Two sessions are noted to have taken place in al-Turba al-Ṣāliḥīya, one is not dated, and the other is dated to 636/1238. Like al-Kāmilīya, al-Turba al-Ṣāliḥīya had an endowed teaching chair, however, it seems to have been dedicated to the teaching and the recitation of the Qur'an.[168]

One of the questions these notices raise, is why tombs and graves were chosen as sites of hadith transmission? Moreover, why, as in the case of the al-Kāmilīya, some people endowed positions for the reading and transmission of hadith at their tombs? Unfortunately, there is little explicit evidence to answer

162 *MSD* 1088,3 #34.

163 *MSD* 3774,4 #2.

164 This is perhaps the *turba* of the *amīr* ʿIzz al-Dīn Ay Dumar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥalabī. It is the only *turba* I could identify in al-Ṣāliḥīya related to the *nisba* al-Ḥalabī. Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 2:176.

165 Al-Nuʿaymī, notes that this position was held by Shams al-Dīn b. al-Muhandis. Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 2:212.

166 He also transmits in one session downtown at the ʿIzzīya in 731/1330 with seven auditors. *MSD* 3838,3 #16.

167 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalā'id al-jawharīya* 329.

168 Ibn Ḥajar reports that the *waqf* stipulated that the position should be given to whoever was most knowledgeable in the recitation of the Qur'an in Damascus. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* 5:37.

these questions, and clearly there can be no-one-size-fits all explanation. Audition notices do not, of course, explain the process of choosing the site in which the audition was held. It may be that if the endowment deed was extant for an institution like al-Kāmilīya, which had an endowed position for a hadith transmitter, it might shed some light on the latter question. In the absence of such evidence, we can only speculate. It seems reasonable to assume, especially in the case of the al-Kāmilīya, that the function of reading hadith at a tomb was parallel to the reading of any other sacred text, such as the Qurʾan, at a tomb. That is to say that the reading was thought to bring *baraka* and blessings to the person buried in the tomb. It may be that for this reason some of these tombs also had endowments to support the reading of hadith like al-Kāmilīya, but were not mentioned in the narrative sources. In other cases, it may be that the choice of the location was a matter of convenience. In the case of the al-Turba al-Ṣāliḥīya, for instance, the fact that the scholars who held the endowed position there were specialists in the recitation of the Qurʾan and were intended to use it to teach that discipline, does not, of course, mean that they did not also engage in hadith transmission and other activities at the *turba*, because it was a convenient space to which they had access. Nor does it mean that other scholars who did not hold the position might also use the space for hadith transmission if it was available to them. There is in fact evidence for both scenarios. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dimashqī (d. 743/1342), who was a specialist in Qurʾan recitation and held the position at al-Turba al-Ṣāliḥīya, had also heard hadith with several prominent transmitters there.[169] Alternatively, Abū al-Manjā b. al-Lattī al-Baghdādī (d. 635/1237) was a complete layman and not employed at the *turba*. Nevertheless, he was one of the most prominent transmitters of hadith of his age and had spent time in the neighborhood and served as the *musmiʿ* for one audition session held at the *turba* in 633/1235.[170]

5.7 *Other Sites of Transmission in al-Ṣāliḥīya*

A handful of audition notices document readings that were held in other sites of transmission within al-Ṣāliḥīya. Three notices document readings that took place in Dār al-Ḥadīth al-ʿĀlimīya. Al-Madrasa al-Nāṣirīya occurs in two notices.[171] Dayr al-Ḥawrānī and Maktab Wajīh al-Dīn each occur in one

169 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* 5:37.

170 Among other accolades, al-Dhahabī refers to him as "the destination for hadith collectors in his age (*riḥlat al-waqt*)." Further he notes that he alone took hadith from over eighty people who had taken from al-Lattī. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 23:15.

171 *MSD* 955,2 #21; 3823,8 #38.

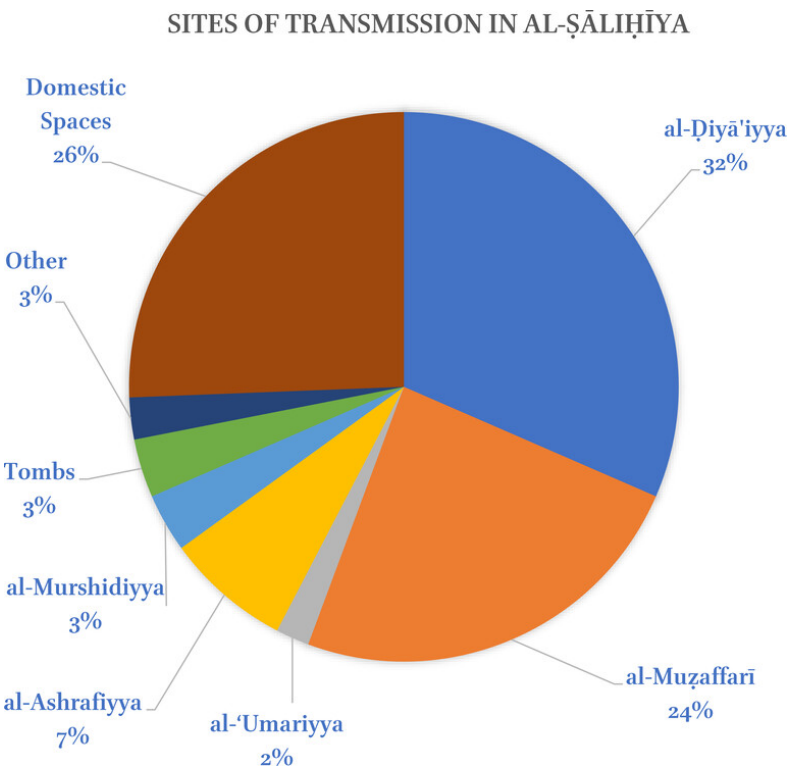

FIGURE 10.7 Sites of transmission in al-Ṣāliḥīya

notice. The mosque of one "Majd al-Dīn"[172] occurs in one notice, as does a mosque referred to as "al-Masjid al-Muʿallaq."[173] One notice states that the audition took place on the Yazīd river, and another even documents a reading that took place on top of "the Minaret of al-Ṣāliḥiyya."[174]

6 Domestic and Private Spaces in Damascus and al-Ṣāliḥīya

Most audition notices in this corpus were recorded in institutions such as mosques, madrasas, *zawiya*s, and *turba*s, nevertheless, private and domestic spaces also emerge as quite frequent sites of transmission. As will be seen

172 *MSD* 1139,1 #22.
173 *MSD* 3775,9 #7.
174 *MSD* 1088,8 #11.

below, this is especially true for women transmitters. Indeed 134 of 797 audition notices were recorded in various private spaces (close to 17%). These spaces include the homes of the transmitters and their relatives, the homes of the readers, the homes of the men who recorded the audition notices, domestic spaces within madrasas, the homes of *amīr*s, as well as private pleasure gardens.

The residences of male transmitters are by far the most frequently occurring private space in the *MSD* corpus. In total, 77 notices were recorded in the home or residence of a male transmitter. It seems likely that convivence made transmitters' residences such popular sites of transmission. For the most part, the collections of hadith that were read in these sessions were rarely more than a *juz'* or two, and entertaining a small group of hadith collectors at home would probably not have been a major inconvenience to the host. Holding the audition session at home also saved them the inconvenience of going out and arranging for the use of another space. Convivence might have been a particular factor when we consider that many transmitters were quite elderly and might not have been able to easily leave their homes. It might also be noted that hadith collectors seeking out hadith transmitters in their homes was something of an old tradition found in early hadith literature.[175]

As might be expected, most of the sessions held in domestic settings were fairly small gatherings. The majority of these gatherings had less than ten attendees, 29 sessions had between one and five, and 34 between six and ten, 14 gatherings had between 11 and 15 attendees, and 15 had between 16 and 20. Only seven gatherings had between 21 and 30 attendees. Finally, only four gatherings in private residences had more than 30 attendees. One gathering held in in the home of Zaynab bt. al-Kamal, in 733/1332, four years before she died, had a whopping 61 attendees.[176]

6.1 *Women Transmitters and Domestic Spaces*

In total, 47 audition sessions in which women participated as transmitters were held in domestic or other private spaces. This is significant because in comparison with men, women served as transmitters in only a fraction of the total audition notices in this corpus (90 out of 1300), however, they transmitted in domestic spaces far more frequently than men in relative terms. Of the 115

175 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmiʿ li-akhlāq al-rāwī*, ed. Muḥammad Rāʾfat Saʿīd, Manṣūra: Dār al-Wafāʾ, 1422/2002, 2:263.

176 *MSD* 955,9 #73.

notices that were recorded in domestic or private spaces, 47 (slightly more than 35%) involved women transmitters. Men, on the other hand, transmitted in domestic locations in just 68 out of 799 notices that record a location.

The most common private spaces in which women transmitted hadith were their own homes. 29 notices record auditions held in the homes of female transmitters. As was suggested for male transmitters, convenience was likely a primary factor in the selection of domestic spaces for sessions involving female transmitters. Gender norms were also almost certainly a factor. Women did not hold positions in madrasas, institutions, or other public spaces, and they also probably did not frequent those spaces nearly as often as men.[177] To be clear, this is not to say that women did not transmit in public spaces at all, rather that they transmitted in private spaces much more frequently than men. Zaynab bt. al-Kamāl (d. 740/1339) is by far the most active woman transmitter in the *MSD* corpus. In total, she transmitted in 34 sessions, of these 23 notices specify a location, thirteen of these were held in private locations,[178] ten in her own home, two in the house of the reader,[179] and one in the private garden of Amīn al-Dīn al-Wānī (d. 735/1334).[180] Her age does indeed appear to have been a factor in where she transmitted. Zaynab began transmitting in the year 722/1322, when she was 75 years old, and during the first decade of her career as a transmitter, she transmitted in a number of public locations including the al-Muẓaffarī Mosque. After 733/1332, when she was eighty-seven years old, however, all the sessions in which she transmitted were held in her home, and she does not again transmit in public.

While the majority of the audition sessions in which women transmitted took place in their own homes, some audition notices document sessions that were held in shared homes or in the homes of their relatives. For instance, in one audition that took place in 665/1266, a transmitter and his mother-in-law, Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm b. Salmān b. al-Muṭawaʿ and Umm ʿAbd Allāh bt. Rashīd al-ʿAjamī, transmit to a group of six auditors in their shared fam-

177 Berkey has shown that the biographical dictionaries and chronicles "of the Mamluk period yield not a single instance of the appointment of a woman to a post in a madrasa, or to an endowed post in any educational institution." Jonathan Berkey, "Women and Islamic Education in the Mamluk Period," in Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991, 143–160, 145.

178 *MSD* 955,9 #4, #8, #16, #73, #76, #77, #78, #80; 1039,7 #4, #5; 1137,1 #18, #22; 3764,5 #7; 3817,10 #27.

179 *MSD* 1039,7 #4.

180 *MSD* 1039,7 #5.

ily home (*manzil al-musmiʿayn*).[181] Another notice recorded in 682/1283 documents an audition session that took place in Zaynab bt. Makkī's (d. 688/1289) daughters' house with an audience of four.[182] A notice recorded in 700/1300 records a session in which al-Birzālī served as the reader for an audition of *Juzʾ al-Baṭāqa* with two readers Umm Muḥammad Khadīja bt. al-Raḍī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maqdisī and ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Maqdisī in the home of Khadīja's brother al-Sayf b. al-Raḍī.[183]

6.2 *Domestic Spaces in Institutions*

In addition to transmission in purely domestic spaces, several notices record transmission in domestic spaces within institutions. In total, six notices in this corpus were recorded in domestic spaces within institutions. Three of these notices were recorded in the room where Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-Ṣābūnī (d. 680/1281) lived above the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūrīya (*sakan al-musmiʿ ʿulūw Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūrīya*). Two of these were very intimate sessions attended by only al-Ṣābūnī and the reader, ʿAlī b. Masʿūd b. Nafīs al-Mawṣilī (d. 704/1304). Both occurred on the 19th of Muḥarram 673/1274. In the first session, they read the opening *juzʾ* of ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī's (d. 439/1047) *al-Fawāʾid al-muntaqā*, and then took a short break. Some unspecified time later the same day, they then read the second *juzʾ* and composed both audition notices.[184] A third session took place in al-Ṣabūnī's room the following year and was attended by al-Mawṣilī and two auditors.[185] Another notice records an audition that took place in the residence of Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr b. Abī Fatḥ al-Ṣayrafī al-Ḥarānī (d. 678/1279) inside the Umayyad Mosque in 665/1266.[186] This audition of the hadith collection of Ibn Shadhān (d. 426/1034) was also quite intimate, attended by just four people: al-Ḥarānī and a second transmitter of the text, one reader, and one auditor. Another audition notice recorded in 703/1303 documents a much less intimate gathering in the residence of one ʿIsā b. Muḥammad al-Maʿārī (d. 704/1304) in the Ribāṭ al-Qalānsī, attended by fourteen auditors.[187] A final notice from 764/1362 records an audition held in

181 *MSD* 3764,12 #21.

182 *MSD* 3828,6 #14.

183 *MSD* 955,9 #19.

184 *MSD* 1088,3 #21, #38.

185 *MSD* 3723,22 #5.

186 *MSD* 1139,1, #14. Al-Nuʿaymī in his *al-Dāris* notes that in the later years of his life, al-Fakhr b. ʿAsākir also lived in small room in the Mosque next to the "Miḥrāb al-Ṣaḥāba." Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris* 1:62.

187 *MSD* 3838, #2. According to Ibn Ṭūlūn, this institution was once known as Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Qalānsī, but eventually came to function as a *khānqā*.

the residence of Muḥammad b. Azbak al-Kazandārī (d. 765/1363) in al-ʿIzzīya Madrasa, attended by at least nine auditors.[188]

6.3 *Gardens*

In total, 28 audition sessions were held in various gardens outside Damascus. As with domestic spaces, women transmitted in these gardens much more frequently than men. 18 out of the 28 garden sessions had women transmitters. In the case of Karīma bt. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Qurayshīya (d. 641/1243), her garden was her primary location for transmission. 13 out of the 18 audition sessions in which Karīma transmitted were held in her garden in the al-Mayṭūr area east of al-Ṣāliḥīya.[189]

7 Conclusion

Read and analyzed as a group, the *MSD* corpus of audition notices reveals much about the nature of hadith transmission in medieval Damascus, and arguably by extension beyond. Perhaps one of its most illuminating contributions is to debates regarding the transmission of knowledge in medieval Islam and the role of institutions therein.[190] This seems particularly relevant given the extensive role that private spaces played in the transmission of hadith. As can be seen

188 *MSD* 3755,4, #2. The editors state that no information beyond the place and date is available, however, in the image of the notice the names of at least seven auditors can be seen, and one auditor is noted to have had an unspecified number of his children with him. *MSD* 351, #2. Ibn Rafiʿ notes that he died in the ʿIzzīya in the month of Rajab of the following year. Ibn Rāfiʿ, *al-Wafayāt*, 2 vols., Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa fī l-Jumhurīya al-ʿArabīya al-Sūrīya, 1985–1986, 2:208.

189 Eight specifically mention her garden, four mention al-Mayṭūr, four give no location, and two only mention only Damascus. All of these may have been held in her garden in al-Mayṭūr. *MSD* 1178,20, #4–6, #11–14, #16, #18; 3803,3 #6, #12, #13, #18–20, #23–25.

190 Abdul Latif Tibawi, "The Origin and Character of the Madrasah," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 25.2 (1962): 225–238; George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981; Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992; Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; Daphna Ephrat, *A Learned Society in a Time of Transition: The Sunni ʿUlama in Eleventh-Century Baghdad*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000; Devin Stewart, "The Doctorate of Islamic Law in Mamluk Egypt and Syria," in Joseph Lowry, Devin J. Stewart, and Shawkat M. Toorawa (eds.), *Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of George Makdisi*, Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004, 45–91.

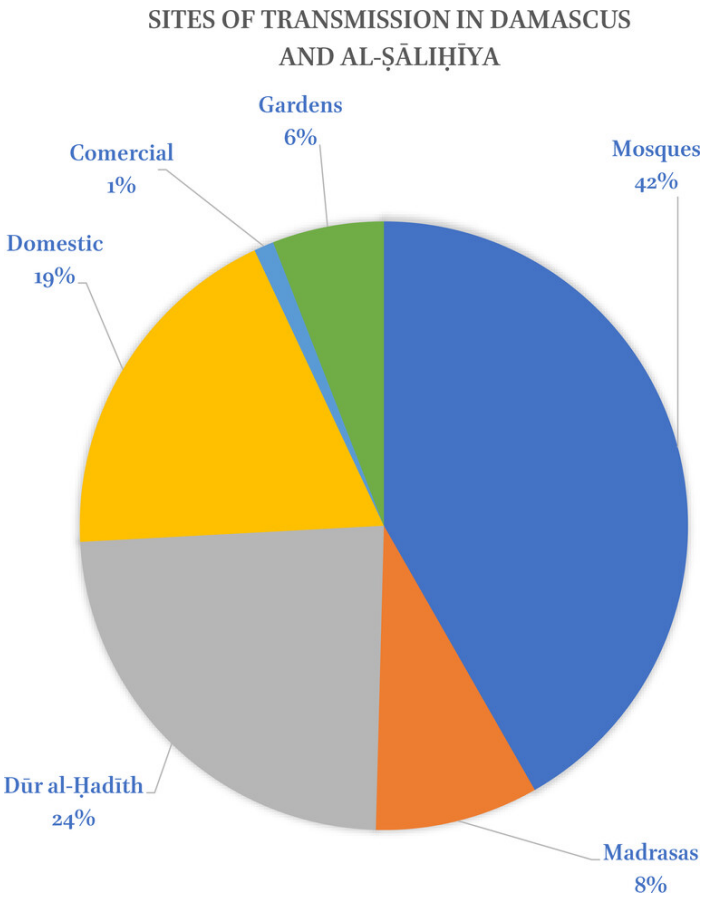

FIGURE 10.8 Sites of transmission in Damascus and al-Ṣāliḥīya

in the chart above, domestic spaces, gardens, and commercial spaces make up 26% of the sites of hadith transmission identified in this corpus. Remarkably, this is slightly more than the total number of audition notices that were recorded in institutions dedicated to the study and transmission of hadith. This is significant because many of these institutions provided generous financial support for the transmission of hadith. We can only speculate as to why private spaces were as likely to host hadith auditions as the institutions specifically dedicated to the study and transmission of hadith, but perhaps the devotional nature of hadith transmission can provide a partial explanation.

In the introduction to this chapter, it was suggested that post-canonical hadith transmission revolved around the belief in the spiritual power of the chain of transmission and the necessity of piously preserving the community's connection to the Prophet. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, both laymen and

scholars participated in this form of devotional hadith transmission.[191] In this regard, perhaps the apparent locational ubiquity of hadith reading in Medieval Damascus can be understood as somewhat analogous to the recitation of the Qur'an, which, although we do not have the kind of documentary evidence we have for hadith, likely also took place in an equally diverse range of spaces. This hypothesis can perhaps not only help to explain the large percentage of audition notices that were recorded in private spaces. It can also help to explain the fact that 42% of the notices in this corpus document hadith auditions that took place in mosques. Of course, as has been noted, some of the hadith readings that took place in mosques enjoyed financial support, however, many, perhaps even most of them seem to have been of a primarily devotional nature.

To say that the pious devotional nature of hadith transmission played a role in determining the sites where hadith was read in Damascus is, of course, not to diminish the roles that institutions played. The *dūr al-ḥadīth* played an important and enduring role in encouraging and supporting the transmission of hadith, and 24% of auditions were recorded in these spaces. It should be noted, however, that although these were institutions dedicated to the study and transmission of hadith—and were the domain of scholars—, they were not the exclusive domain of the scholarly elite. As Dickinson has shown, *dūr al-ḥadīth* were accessible to the public and also functioned as devotional sites. Indeed, the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafīya was also a site of public visitation as it housed the revered relic of the Prophet's sandal.[192] As can be seen in the chart below, madrasas, which were primarily the domain of scholars, were considerably less frequent, yet still important, sites of transmission, but make up only 8% of recorded locations of auditions.

At this juncture, we can only speculate if the patterns that emerge in the *MSD* corpus of audition notices are paralleled in the larger body of audition notices produced in Damascus and other contexts. It is a large enough sample, however, that it seems probable that it is fairly representative of at least Damascus, and probably other cities as well. The transregional nature of the culture of hadith transmission supports this view. Hadith transmitters moved regularly between urban centers, and upon studying notices recorded in other cities one gets the impression that they seem to have read hadith in as diverse loci in Cairo as in Damascus. Finding and cataloging a much larger and more diverse body of audition notices is necessary to fully answer these questions.

191 Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition* 152–201.

192 Dickinson, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī" 484.

There are currently several projects being undertaken that should make this possible. I am editing and cataloging a corpus of some three hundred audition notices discovered on manuscripts held in libraries in the United States at the moment. IlM Institute in Cairo is working on a massive cataloging project that will ultimately contain entries on more than a million manuscripts including their paratextual elements. At the time of writing they have transcribed some 45,000 audition notices. Konrad Hirschler and Said Aljoumani are also currently undertaking a project to survey and catalog the audition notices found on the manuscripts of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and other libraries. These and other efforts to locate and make audition notices accessible will no doubt shed further light on the question of the location of hadith transmission and many other previously overlooked aspects of medieval hadith transmission.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Rana Mikati, Konrad Hirschler, Paula Manstetten, and Mohammad Gharaibeh for their comments on drafts of this chapter.

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CHAPTER 11

The Word of the Beloved Prophet of Islam

Hadiths Inscribed on Cairo's Islamic Architecture

Noha Abou-Khatwa

Cairo's rich architectural heritage, unequalled by any other city in the Muslim world, majestically combines the three ingredients of Islamic art: geometry, calligraphy, and arabesque. The written word, in the most beautiful calligraphic manifestations, has always been present on the buildings, beautifying, encrypting, or delivering messages all at once. The most used content of these inscriptions derives from Qur'anic verses. Naturally, the Word of God, which is an integral part of the soul of the Muslim throughout his daily activities, is always the first choice to magnanimously adorn buildings. The sayings and traditions of the Prophet of Islam in the form of hadith also served to represent the persona of the Prophet and as such imbuing *baraka* on the place, beautifying it, and delivering various messages to those using the buildings as well as visitors. The Prophet is the prolongation of "piety, combativeness, and magnanimity."[1] He is the means to accessing God's *baraka*, and through him God can be reached. The word of the Prophet and his *sunna* as well as his family are the means by which the Prophet can be accessed after his death. The *Prayer on the Prophet*[2] includes his family and his companions; both are found in the various chains of transmission of the hadiths. Several *āyat* in the Qur'an refer and emphasize the sacramental importance of the Prophet and of following him. These include Q 3:132, 3:172, and 4:59.

As the tradition of the Prophet was being recorded in the decades following his death to help guide the believers through the minutiae of their lives, his sayings became the material used to develop laws, and they also were the textual representation of the Prophet's persona, making his legacy accessible.[3]

1 Frithjof Schuon, *Understanding Islam*, London: Roy Publishers, 1963, 85.

2 This prayer is what Muslims recount every time the Prophet's name is mentioned; it is based on Qur'an 33:56: "Verily God and His angels bless the Prophet, O ye who believe! Bless him and give him greetings of Peace."

3 Jonathan Brown, *Hadith. Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2009, 15.

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Through them his *baraka* can be drawn. He is in the Hereafter for Muslims summoned as "the Key of Mercy, the Key of Paradise, the Spirit of the Truth, the Happiness of God."[4]

The hadith used served as a "synecdoche"[5] to the Prophet. In Cairo, the usage of some hadiths on the buildings relay a wonderful calligraphic and epigraphic experience. It is thus the aim of this paper to survey, investigate, and analyze the employment of hadiths on the monuments of Islamic Cairo.

Eleven examples in Cairo have been documented to carry one hadith or more, of which a couple are unfortunately no longer extant.[6] The earliest surviving is Ayyubid and the latest is understandably Ottoman. Our survey will begin with the Ayyubid example, which carries various hadiths all used on a wooden door.

1 Ayyubid

1.1 *The Madrasa-Mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (al-Ṣāliḥīya,), Monument Nr. 38,*[7] *641–648/1243–1250* (*Figures 11.1–3*)

The Right leaf of a wooden door that used to be in the mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ is now in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (registry number 602) and carries nine different short hadiths around it.[8] These read:

4 Martin Lings, *Muhammad. His Life Based on the Earliest Sources*, Rochester: Inner Traditions, 2006, 348.

5 'Synecdoche' is the word used by Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim* and in *The Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007 to describe the two works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

6 This research is based on the material found on the database of *The Monumental Inscriptions of Historic Cairo* by Bernard O'Kane, "The Monumental Inscriptions of Historic Cairo," in islamicinscriptions.cultnat.org (last accessed 11 March 2022).

7 This is the number given to the building by the *Comité de conservation des Monuments de l'Art arabe*, which is a committee established in 1881 by the monarch of Egypt Khedive Tawfiq for conservation and/or restoration of Islamic and Coptic monuments in Egypt. The *Comité* made an inventory of all the buildings and identified each with a number. This number will be given for each of the monuments included in this survey.

8 Not all the details of this wooden door have survived. Both leaves are on display in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo. Text and images have been published in Jean David-Weill, *Catalogue general du Musée arabe du Caire: Bois à Épigraphes*, 2 vols., Cairo: Imprimerie nationale, 1931/1936, i, 18–20 and plates 30–31. J. Burgouin drew its details in his *Précis de l'Art arabe*, but identified it as a door from the madrasa of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, which is the neighboring building of the madrasa-mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. See Jules Burgouin, *Précis de l'Art arabe et matériaux pour server à l'histoire, à la theorie, et à la technique des arts de l'Orient musulman*, Paris: Leroux, 1889–1892, 12 and plates 48–50.

الاعمال بالنيات—المجالس بالامانات[9]—المستشار مؤتمن[10]—العدة عطية[11]—العدة دين[12]—الحرب خدعة[13]—الندم توبة[14]—الجماعة رحمة والفرقة عذاب[15]—التودد نصف (العقل)[16]

> Verily, actions are according to intentions—Trust must reign in meetings of council (those attending must keep its discussions private)—the advisor/councilor should be trustworthy—a promise has to be delivered—a promise is a debt—war is treacherous—remorse is penitence—the community is merciful—disunion is suffering—loving is half the intellect

Each of the nine sentences is a separate hadith; they constitute a series of admonitions or aphorisms. They represent the Prophet speaking to the morality and spiritual wellbeing of the individual. In a sense they are a group of aphorisms aimed at helping the believer become virtuous. They are also excellent advice in conflicting times. To understand the context of these hadiths, we need to get closer to the building, the circumstances in which it was built, and the intellectual life around it.

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9 This is hadith 14919 in the *Musnad* of Imām Aḥmad quoting *Musnad Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh*. I would like to thank Mr. Ahmad Hosni, independent hadith scholar, for his help in finding the hadiths mentioned in this research in the different collections (*takhrīj*). With a few exceptions, the hadiths cited here can be found in the searchable database of the IHSAN Network (www.ihsanetwork.org) developed by the Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation. If the hadith is not in the database the reference is mentioned.

10 This is hadith 5130 in *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-Adab: Bāb fī l-mashūra*.

11 This is hadith 1752 in *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ* of al-Ṭabarānī, see Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, ed. Tāriq bin ʿAwaḍ Allāh bin Muḥammad et al., 10 vols., Cairo: Dar al-Ḥaramayn, 1995, ii, 209.

12 This is hadith 3513 in *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ* of al-Ṭabarānī, see al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ* iv, 23.

13 This is hadith 3066 in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, in Jamʿīyat al-Maknaz al-Islamī (ed.), *Jamʿ jawāmiʿ al-aḥādīth wa-l-asānīd wa-maknaz al-ṣiḥāḥ wa-l-sunan wa-l-masānīd*, 8 vols., ii, Vaduz: Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation, 2000, thereof *Kitāb al-Jihād wa-l-sayr, Bāb al-ḥarb wa-l-khidʿa*.

14 This is hadith 3638 in the *Musnad* of Imām Abū ʿAbdallāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad. Wa-bi-hāmishih Kitāb Muntakhab kanz al-ʿummāl fī sunan al-aqwāl wa-l-afʿāl li-ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Mutaqqī al-Hindī*, 6 vols., Cairo: n. p., 1895, quoting *Musnad ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd*.

15 This is hadith 18740 in the *Musnad* of Imām Aḥmad, quoting *Musnad al-Kufiyīn*.

16 This is hadith 20 in the *Musnad al-shihāb*, see Muḥammad al-Quḍāʿī, *Musnad al-shihāb*, ed. Ḥamdī ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Salafī, 2 vols., Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1985, i, 54.

FIGURES 11.1–3 The madrasa-mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (al-Ṣāliḥīya), 641–648/1243–1250, right leaf of wooden door, now in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo kept under number 602

Figure 11.2

Figure 11.3

Work on the madrasa of al-Ṣāliḥ began in 639–641/1243 on part of the remains of the Fatimid Eastern Palace, when al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the last Ayyubid monarch, ordered the construction of a madrasa for the four schools of Sunni jurisprudence. Al-Maqrīzī refers to the madrasa as *al-Madrasatayn* because of the plan which splits the building into two. Two *iwān*s in two sets flank the south and north side of an alley. The area was part of the Fatimid Eastern Palace, and its dedication to the four schools of jurisprudence was unprecedented in Cairo.[17] Next to the madrasa is the mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ, built by his wife Shajar al-Durr in 647/1250,[18] thus starting a seamless tradition in Cairo where the madrasa and tomb of the founder are coexistent in one building. The door in question was brought from the mausoleum built by the widow of the Sultan, Shajar al-Durr (d. 655/1257).[19]

She was one of his concubines and mother of his son Khalīl, who died in infancy. Due to her status as the mother of Khalīl and her political astuteness, Shajar al-Durr was able to become the first female ruler of Muslim Egypt.[20] She was not only al-Ṣāliḥ's favorite courtesan but was also very close to him as one of his advisers. She was taken prisoner alongside al-Ṣāliḥ when he was trying to claim himself as the rightful ruler of the Ayyubid throne of Egypt.[21] Being intelligent and shrewd, she hid the death of her husband when he died while the battle with the crusaders in al-Manṣūra was taking place. She did this to avoid the demoralization of the army or the loss of a sense of solidarity.[22] After his death was announced, she became the first sultana of Egypt.

17 Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, 5 vols., London: Muʾassasat al-Furqān li-l-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2003, iv, 485.

18 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* iv, 492.

19 David-Weill, *Catalogue* 18.

20 A few works have been written about her in modern scholarship. To name just a few: David J. Duncan, "Shajarat al-Durr: A Brief Biographical Sketch," in *Arab Studies Quarterly* 22 (2000), 51–70; Amalia Levanoni, "S. al-Durr: A Case of Female Sultanate," in Urbain Vermeulen and D. De Smet (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras, III*, Leuven: Peeters, 2001, 209–218; and Mohammad Gharaibeh, "Šağarat al-Durr, Die einzige Sultanin Ägyptens," in M. Eldamaty, F. Hoffmann, and M. Minas-Nerpel (eds.), *Königinnen in Ägypten*, Vaterstetten: Patrick Brose, 2014, 159–174.

21 They were both imprisoned in Karak in Jordan by al-Ṣāliḥ's cousin al-Nāṣir Dāwūd. For details of the story, see Gharaibeh, "Šağarat al-Durr."

22 The defeat of the Crusaders by the Mamluk army of al-Ṣāliḥ signals the rise of a great empire, the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria, and one wonders how the course of history would have been altered had Shajar al-Dur not been wise enough to hide her husband's death until after the war ended. The demise of the Mamluks in 1517 was partly caused by their defeat by the Ottoman army upon the sudden death of the Sultan in the middle of battle during the time. A state of disarray occurred in the troops and Selim I was able to win.

The mint was issued in her name and the royal edicts signed by her as *Wālidat Khalīl*.[23] Historians of the period who were almost contemporaneous differ in how they handled her biography or the events surrounding her, some showing utter respect and some not so much.[24]

These accounts are important in as much as they tell us of her status and her political astuteness. In a sense she was a visionary and this included the building of the mausoleum of her husband next to his madrasa. No sources discuss that this might have been a request of his, it is thus broadly assumed that it was her decision—and a very clever one indeed. When it came to her own resting place, she decided to be buried near *Ahl al-Bayt* where Sayyida Ruqayya, Sayyida Sukayna, Sayyida Nafīsa, Sayyida ʿAtika, and Sīdī Muḥammad al-Jaʿfarī are buried. Having ordered a building where ten different hadiths were used to adorn a door is thus no coincidence when one considers her reverence for *Ahl al-Bayt*. Unfortunately, inscription bands in her mausoleum are mostly lost,

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Adam Ali thoroughly discusses this episode in history and the psychological defeat of the Mamluks his *Mighty to the End. Utilizing Military Models to Study the Structure, Composition, and Effectiveness of the Mamluk Army*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Toronto: n. p., 2017.

23 Coins carried her titles: المستعصمة الصالحية ملكة المسلمين والدة المنصور خليل خليفة امير المؤمنين. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* iii, 765.

24 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, author of *al-Rawḍ al-Ẓāhir*, showed a respectful attitude when recounting her story. He referred to her as "*Wālidat Khalīl*" and made sure to inform his readers that she knew her husband's ways and understood the hierarchies of the Mamlūks. In Zubdat al-Fikra, Baybars al-Manṣūrī does not use the same respectful tone and refers to her as "the one named or so called Shajar al-Durr." Nevertheless, he emphasizes how loyal the Mamlūks were to her and blames the unstable state of affairs on this loyalty. Ibn al-Dawādārī was also not very happy about a woman being in charge, but he shows respect by referring to her as "*al-Malika Shajar al-Durr Umm Khalīl*." Later 14th- and 15th-century historians also show respect and admiration: Al-Ṣafadī mentions her beauty and *shahāma* ('chivalry'), al-Maqrīzī considers her the first Mamluk ruler, and Ibn Taghrī Birdī describes her as a good administrator and manager of affairs who was also wise. The latter's account is the most interesting given that also informs us of her relationship with her husband al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. See Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-ẓāhir*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir, Riyadh: Muʾassasat Fuʾād, 1976, 52; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra fī tārīkh al-hijra*, ed. Donald S. Richards, Beirut: al-Maʿhad al-Almānī li-l-Abḥāth al-Šarqīya, 1998, 3–4; Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmiʿ al-ghurar*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann, 9 vols., Cairo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1971, viii, 12–13; Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, 29 vols., ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnaʾūṭ and Turkī Muṣṭafā, Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2000, x, 57; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyāda and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr, 4 vols., Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub wal-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīya, 2006–2007, i, 361–416; and Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, 16 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 1992, vi, 373–377.

and while there are no hadiths decorating her building, one cannot dismiss the idea that they might have been used in it as well.

Another plausible scenario about the origin of the door is that it was reused from the madrasa of her husband. Carrying a series of admonitions and maxims, a prescription to good behavior as it were, the door would have functioned well in the madrasa. The mausoleum encroached on the *Mālikī* section of the building and was built on it[25]—one of the four schools of jurisprudence making up the madrasa of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn. It might have been used in the speedy construction, given that it only took three months to construct the dome. This scenario would make al-Ṣāliḥ the patron of the door. He is a very important Ayyubid ruler because it was him who formed the huge corps of loyal slave soldiers that paid their allegiance only to him, thus ushering the rule of the Mamluks for the coming 250 years. Even though he was the rightful ruler after the death of his father al-Kāmil, he did not ascend the throne of Egypt peacefully; he had to dethrone his brother al-ʿĀdil after having to fight most of his family members in Syria. He is described as a mighty ruler, eloquent, pious, and politically astute.[26]

Twenty-four hadiths including the ten quoted above and inscribed on our door were used to adorn the marble frame of the Qaraṭay Madrasa in Konya, which has been thoroughly studied by Mehmetcan Akpınar in his contribution to this volume.[27] This is not a coincidence, since the Qaraṭay Madrasa was built a year after the mausoleum or seven years after the madrasa of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn. Was it one of the students or a visiting craftsman who decided to copy the hadiths and carve them around the door? Each hadith is carved in marble in an individual cartouche looking like a leaf.[28] The Cairo example

25 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* x, 57.

26 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* x, 56.

27 Mehmetcan Akpınar details the hadiths used and that they are all extracted from the same source, the hadith manual by the Fatimid jurist al-Qāḍī al-Quḍāʿī (d. 454/1062) entitled *Shihāb al-akhbār* (*Light in the Heavens*); Mehmetcan Akpınar, "Hadith Inscriptions in Medieval Anatolian Architecture: The Case of the Qaraṭay Madrasa in Konya and the Great Mosque in Birgi," in Mohammad Gharaibeh (ed.), *Beyond Authenticity—Alternative Approaches to Hadith and Hadith Literature*, Leiden: Brill, 2023, 399–441; Löytved, Julius, *Konia: Inschriften der Seldschukischen Bauten*, Berlin: Julius Springer, 1907, 48; Scott Redford, "Intercession and Succession, Enlightenment and Reflection. The Inscriptional and Decorative Programme of Qaratay Madrasa, Konya," in Anthony Eastmond (ed.), *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 148–169, 150–153.

28 Mehmetcan Akpınar explains rigorously and in depth how the arrangement on the Qaraṭay Madrasa was intentional to stress and emphasize certain hadiths over others, see Akpınar, "Hadith Inscriptions in Medieval Anatolian Architecture" in this volume.

is aesthetically very different, the script is a *naskh* verging on a *rayḥān*, the hadiths going around hexagons enveloping a geometric center piece and continue without any separations. A beautiful arabesque is carved in the background of the script. This design is bordered on each side with a band carrying a miniature *kufī* repeating benedictions and blessings.[29] Since there are missing panels from our door, we can assume that the extra hadiths in the Qaraṭay Madrasa were also carved on our door.

Mehmetcan Akpınar explains that the common thread connecting these hadiths is the beseeching of "good behavior for any average Muslim in a wide range of circumstances,"[30] and Scott Redford elaborated that the hadiths quoted are all with a "pedagogical intent."[31] They are befitting an institution of religious learning: a madrasa and give advice on general moral conduct that aids at purifying one's heart and in making the individual better at social interactions. It starts with a very important premise in Islam: Actions are according to intentions. In other words, it instructs the student/disciple/believer that the intention or the inner meaning one holds inside is what counts and what will determine the value and efficacy of one's action.

The encounter of such hadiths in the last Ayyubid building in Cairo culminates all the efforts of the Ayyubids. Upon establishing his rule in Egypt, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, introduced the madrasa and the khānqā to the milieu of the religious architecture of Cairo. It was part of their jihad, and as such the sacramental value of the hadiths is insurmountable. In this specific case in the building of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the admonitions, besides their pedagogical function, aimed at making the individual more virtuous fits with the idea of *al-jihād al-akbar*, fighting one's *nafs*, and purifying one's heart.

The hadith "in community there is mercy" is very befitting of the Sunni idea that in the sayings of the Prophet the Sunni community is bound.[32] The inscription program accentuates this by stressing the evil side of the opposite: "War is deceitful." After everything that al-Ṣāliḥ has witnessed fighting his brother in Egypt as well as his cousins in Greater Syria and seeing part of his army defecting to his cousin's camp, it is understandable that these would be the sayings of the Prophet he would decide to use. He is calling upon the Prophet through his tradition for help.

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29 The full text of these benedictions can be consulted in David-Weill, *Catalogue* I, 18–19.

30 Akpınar, "Hadith Inscriptions in Medieval Anatolian Architecture" in this volume.

31 Redford, "Intercession and Succession" 152.

32 Brown, *Canonization* 337.

It is no surprise that the 7th/13th century is the era that sees such usage of hadiths first occur in Cairo. This is when the two canonical texts carrying the hadiths, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, in their manuscript/codex form, have taken on monumental roles in the spiritual and political lives of Muslims.[33] And this is also the century when Sufism, Sufi literature, and major figures in Sufism flourished.[34]

Jonathan Brown has already detailed how the two canonical texts carrying the hadiths of the Prophet, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, carry with them the persona of the Prophet and symbolize his presence with the community and his legacy.[35] They function as "a synecdoche for Muhammad himself."[36] The same can be said of the text of the hadiths and not just the books that carry them. The hadiths just quoted above and chosen for the door were part of the different hadith collections. The inscription itself carries this extended *baraka*. Apart from the moral and pedagogical value to the inscriptions, their mere presence bestowed protection by representing the Prophet. If seafarers carried the heavy volumes of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* with them for protection,[37] inscribing the hadiths would have been used for the same purpose.[38] All following examples inevitably carried this function as well.

The rule of Shajar al-Durr was both the end of the Ayyubid period and the beginning of the Mamluk rule, an era that saw all forms of intellectual activities blossom and flourish. The abundance of patrons with both the sincere investment and means to sponsor scholarship, arts, and culture was not to reoccur in Egyptian history. The era during which hadith scholars and scholarship thrived has commenced.

33 Brown, *Canonization* 359, and Joel Blecher, "*Ḥadīth* Commentary in the Presence of Students, Patrons, and Rivals: Ibn Ḥajar and Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī in Mamluk Cairo," in *Oriens* 41 (2013), 261–287, 262.

34 Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (d. 672/1273), and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) to name the main figures. Martin Lings, *Splendours of Qur'ān Calligraphy and Illumination*, Vaduz: Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation, 2005, 37–38.

35 Brown, *Canonization* 335–359.

36 Brown, *Canonization* 335.

37 Blecher, "Ḥadīth Commentary" 262.

38 The inscription is an apotropaic written relic, one might say in this case. For relics of the Prophet in Mamluk Cairo and their importance please see Iman R. Abdulfattah, "Relics of the Prophet and Practices of His Veneration in Medieval Cairo," in *Journal of Islamic Archaeology* (2014), 75–104.

2 Mamluk

2.1 *The Madrasa of Aydamur al-Bahlawān—The Madrasa Aydamurīya/Baydamurīya, Monument Nr. 22, 745/1345* (*Figure 11.4*)

This dainty mamluk madrasa is identified in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Khiṭaṭ* as *al-Madrasa al-Badrīya*,[39] in his *Sulūk* as *al-Madrasa al-Aydamurīya*,[40] and in *al-Nujūm* by Ibn Taghrī Birdī as *al-Madrasa al-Baydamurīya*.[41] Around the base of the dome from the exterior we find inscribed in a beautiful *thuluth*:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال رسول الله صلي الله عليه وسلم انما الاعمال بالنيات ولكل امرئ ما نوى[42] صدق صلي الله عليه

> In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate. The Prophet of God, peace and blessings be upon him, said verily actions are according to intentions, and to each what he has intended, the one whose God's Blessings are on spoke the truth.

This madrasa is located behind the mosque of al-Ḥusayn, on the grounds where the Eastern Fatimid Palace once stood. The inscription carved in stone encircles the small ribbed dome placed next to the minaret. The madrasa is not one of the well-known buildings of the Mamluks, and it has unfortunately been left in neglect. This band is the only complete and fully preserved one from the epigraphic program of the building. The rest of the inscriptions are incomplete. It speaks to who this amir was.

Amir Sayf al-Dīn al-Badrī, also known as Baydamur/Baydumur (d. 748/1347),[43] is the patron of this building, his contemporary and acquaintance is the historian and scholar al-Ṣafadī. He spent a lot of time in Greater Syria in his capacity as the *nāʾib* in Tripoli and later Aleppo. Al-Ṣafadī describes him as a compassionate man who is invested in doing good.[44] He spent 5000 dirhams per month on alms giving (*ṣadaqa*), which was reported to al-Ṣafadī in person

39 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* iv, 570.
40 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* ii, 754.
41 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm* x, 180.
42 This is hadith 1 in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb badʾ al-waḥy, Bāb kayf kān badʾ al-waḥy*.
43 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* ii, 754.
44 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr wa-aʿwān al-Naṣr*, ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd, Nabīl Abū ʿAmsha, Muḥammad Mawʿid, and Muḥammad Sālim Muḥammad, 6 vols., Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1998, ii, 98.

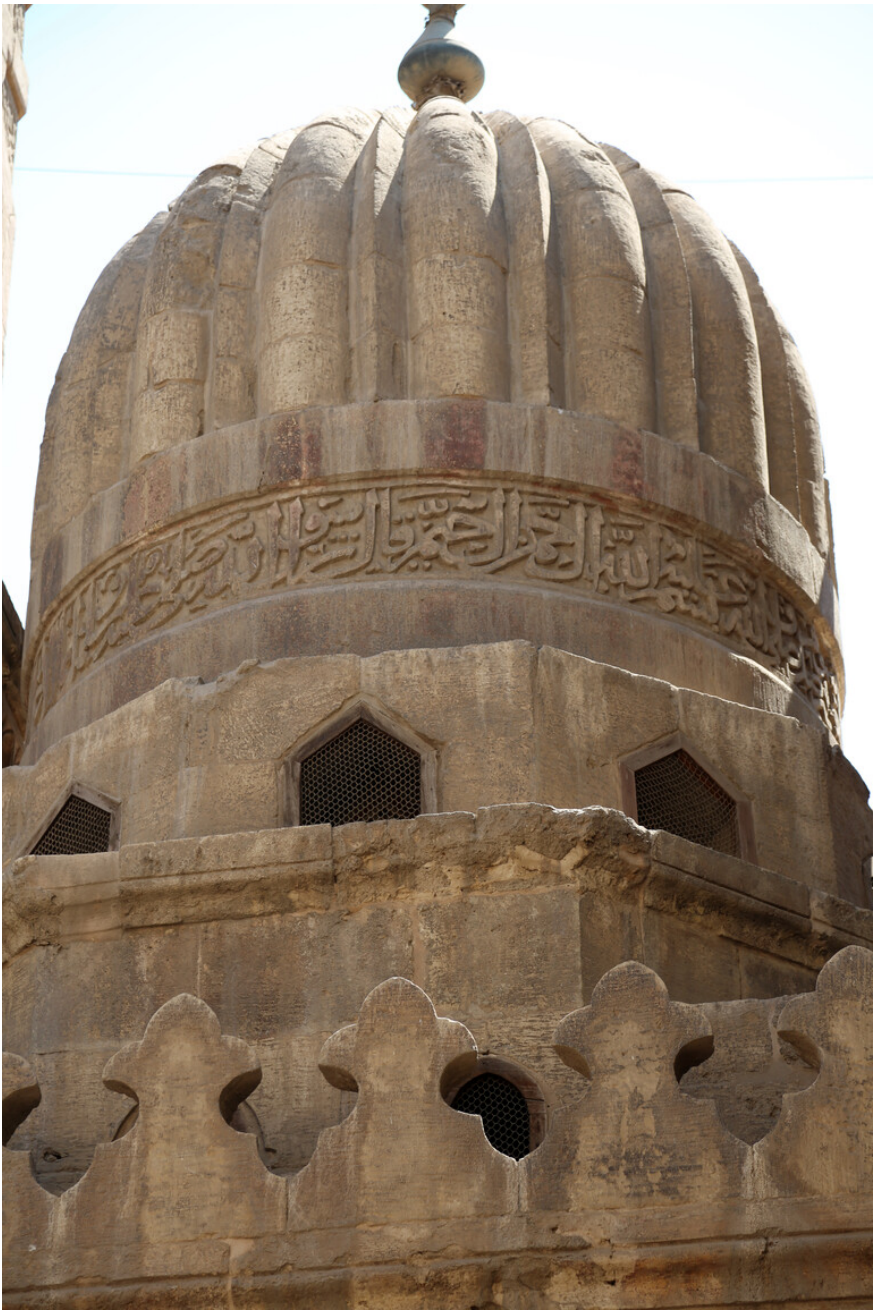

FIGURE 11.4 The madrasa of Aydamur al-Bahlawān, 745/1345, dome

by the amir's *kātib* ('secretary'), the *qāḍī* Zayn al-Dīn b. al-Farfūr.[45] It seems that he was a Sufi, since al-Ṣafadī informs us that he had a *wird* that he would spend the night reciting. Very important is his love of Qur'an manuscripts. He calligraphed, elaborately illuminated, and bound multivolume Qur'an manuscripts (*rabaʿāt*); this seems to have been a passion of his. He also collected Qur'an manuscripts. He tried to acquire one from al-Ṣafadī and al-Ṣafadī vehemently refused![46] Sayf al-Dīn al-Badrī was an amir with a refined taste and a practicing artist as well. Being a Sufi explains why he would be eager to pen and illuminate Qur'an manuscripts.

Sayf al-Dīn al-Badrī started his career as one of the amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn who joined him in the *hajj* in 733/1333.[47] He moved between many posts in Greater Syria, but had enough time to commission his building in Cairo. He was murdered in Gaza in 748/1347 during the first reign of Sultan Ḥasan after having served al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī and al-Kāmil Shaʿbān.[48]

The choice of the hadith "verily, actions are according to intentions" makes sense as it speaks to the inner motives and heart matters to which this amir was drawn to. It is the quintessential hadith in Islam. The amir was making the statement by using it to adorn the most prominent part of his building and to have it magnificently carved in the script *thuluth*. The statement being that he has done everything with an intention that God knows and only He will judge. How does this reflect on his political career? An important note that shows a side that al-Ṣafadī only alludes to is found in al-Maqrīzī. As the *nāʾib* in Aleppo, injustice befell many of the amirs and the administrative class there. Was he trying to say that his intentions which might not be clear to everyone in these instances of injustice can explain his actions? Is this a way of saying that there was a very good reason for what he did?

2.2 *Buildings of Amir Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī (d. 758/1357)*

Shaykhū was a lover of hadith literature, and he reused and commissioned several copies of hadith compendia, some of which survive today and are majestic examples of Mamluk calligraphy and illumination.[49] It is thus not surprising

45 Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* ii, 99.

46 Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* ii, 98.

47 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* ii, 351–352.

48 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* ii, 754; and Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm* x, 180.

49 Examples include *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vi, MS number 623 Hadith, The National Library of Egypt, commissioned by amir Sunqur al-Muḥammadī and reused by amir Shaykhū al-Nāṣirī. Also, *Saḥīḥ Muslim*, i, Ms. Yah. Ar. 24, The National Library of Israel, commissioned by amir Shaykhū al-Nāṣirī.

FIGURE 11.5 The mosque-madrasa of amir Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī, 750–756/1349–1355, wooden panel above *miḥrāb*

that three of the eleven buildings we are surveying here carrying hadith in Cairo are the commissions of this amir.

2.3 *The Mosque-Madrasa*[50] *of Amir Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī, Monument Nr. 147, 750–756/1349–1355* (*Figure 11.5*)

This building was part of a two-building campaign by amir Shaykhū l-Nāṣirī flanking two sides of Saliba street. The mosque in question is on the north side while the khānqā is on the south side of the street. The inscription is carved in wood and is now hung above the *miḥrāb*. Only two lines of the text survive. It was a foundation inscription that is preceded by a hadith speaking of the motive behind the construction of the mosque. It reads:

> بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال رسول الله صلي الله عليه وسلم خيركم من تعلم القرآن وعلمه[51] انشأ هذا ...
>
> In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate. The Prophet of God, peace and blessings be upon him, said the best of you is the one who learns the Qur'an and teaches it. Has ordered the construction of this [...]

The inscription, in refined *naskh*, makes it clear that the building had a primary function: to serve those who want to study the Qur'an and to enable them

50 Identified as a mosque in the foundation inscription band around the jambs of the portal. Al-Ṣafadī identifies it as a madrasa. Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* ii, 535.

51 This is hadith 5079 in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān, Bāb khayrakum man taʿalam al-Qurʾān*.

to teach it. Who was Shaykhū and what were the circumstances surrounding his building? Shaykhū started his career when he was bought by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn. His escalation to higher ranks happened under al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī, reaching utmost power under Sultan Ḥasan. He was one of the wealthiest amirs of the Baḥrī period with an income amounting to 200,000 dirhams per day.[52]

Under Sultan Ḥasan, he served as one of the de facto rulers of the country.[53] An anecdote by several historians makes this clear. Sultan Ḥasan's *nā'ib* (Baybughā Arūs), *wazīr* (Manjak), and *amīr kabīr* (Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī)[54] ruled on his behalf and managed the country during his first reign.[55] Their regency was considered bad by al-Maqrīzī, who says that all state matters were in limbo because of them.[56] They also psychologically tortured Ḥasan by giving him a stipend of only 100 dirhams per day, controlled by Shaykhū, and delivered to Ḥasan by his servant. Ḥasan once needed three more dirhams and Shaykhū denied his request. This anecdote not only reveals how controlled Ḥasan was, but also shows that Shaykhū was possibly the most determined of the three regents to keep him this way.[57] Later on during Sultan Ḥasan's second reign, his main helpers were the amirs Shaykhū, Ṣirghatmish, and Ṭāz.[58] Once again, the reign of these three strong amirs did not last for long. In 758/1357, Shaykhū was struck with a sword by one of the minor amirs, Quṭlūqujā (Bāy Qujā), who was vexed about not being granted a promotion. While the blow did not kill him on the spot, in a few days he was dead.[59] He was buried in his khānqā by the south side of Ṣalība.[60]

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52 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* iv, 262; and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq, 5 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1966–1967, ii, 196.

53 Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* ii, 531.

54 Shaykhū was the first amir ever to bear the title *amīr kabīr* in Egypt. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iii, 34.

55 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* xii, 266; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-ʿayān al-mufīda*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, 4 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2002, ii, 27; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar* ii, 38.

56 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* ii, 27.

57 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* ii, 28; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar* ii, 39.

58 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar* ii, 39; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* ii, 29; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* ii, 249.

59 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iii, 33–34; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar* ii, 196–197; and Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī wa-l-mustawfī baʿd al-wāfī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, 13 vols., Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīya, 2008, vi, 261.

60 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* iv, 262–264.

Shaykhū's mosque-madrasa, built in 750/1349, was the first major construction project right after the Black Death hit Egypt, while the khānqā was finished six years later in 756/1355. Shaykhū endowed his khānqā in 756/1355 with teachers of the four schools who taught jurisprudence, hadith, and Qurʾan recitation.[61] The mosque, which is also referred to by his contemporary al-Ṣafadī as a madrasa, was assigned to teach the four schools of Sunni jurisprudence and was abundantly endowed.[62]

It was certainly a dreary and difficult time. The outbreak of the bubonic plague first came to Egypt while the country was suffering from famine, and it was followed by regular bouts of the pneumonic plague.[63] It hit Alexandria in the autumn of 748/1347 and spread through the Delta. It escalated in January 750/1349 and subsided in February of the same year.[64] The population drastically decreased and entire villages were left deserted. No muezzins were around to call to prayers, and the crops were left in the fields, because there were not enough peasants to harvest them. Thus, agricultural work was abandoned.[65] The Black Death claimed a large number of Cairo's population, but left many of the remaining individuals with religious zeal.[66] As a matter of fact there was a rise in the endowment of religious buildings of all types. People were asked to meet in mosques and to say certain prayers. They recited the Qurʾan and read the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.[67] In this case, we can clearly see how reciting from the main canonical text carrying the sayings of the Prophet had become a vehicle for the Prophet's presence, or the presence of his *baraka* that would help aid in difficult times.

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61 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* iv, 762.

62 Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* ii, 535.

63 Linda Northrup, "Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultanate, 1250–1390," in Carl F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 242–289, 287; Michael Dols, *Black Death in the Middle East*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977, 227. The pneumonic plague which was very infectious claimed a large number of lives every time it hit. Fifty-five bouts of pneumonic plague struck Egypt between 1347 and 1517. Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986, 136.

64 Dols, *Black Death* 154–155.

65 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm* x, 160; William F. Tucker, "Natural Disasters and the Peasantry in Mamlūk Egypt," in *JESHO* 24.2 (1981), 215–224, 219; and Dols, *Black Death* 160.

66 At least a third of the population of Egypt died. Dols, *Black Death* 172–200; Stuart J. Borsch, *The Black Death in Egypt and England*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2005, 24; and R. Stephan Humphreys, "Egypt in the World System of the Later Middle Ages," in Carl F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 445–461, 457.

67 Dols, *Black Death* 246–247.

In such times, building activity should not be viewed only as a drain on funds. The constructed buildings, especially those with an educational purpose, participated in the economic environment of the city by providing jobs of various sorts. Large numbers of people were directly employed in these institutions, hundreds of students were paid stipends by the endowments to the religious establishments, and a vibrant service industry catering to the students existed.[68]

The mosque was assigned a Friday sermon and twenty Sufis, and their shaykh was Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rūmī.[69] They were moved to the khānqā when it was completed six years later and they were increased in number.[70] It makes sense that al-Ṣafadī referred to the building as a madrasa, as it was endowed with classes in jurisprudence. Pending an inspection of its *waqf* document, there might have been classes in hadith and Qur'an recitation as well. Given the hadith used in the mosque, one can assume that there was such a position: Qur'an studies.

2.4 *The Khānqā of Amir Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī, Monument Nr. 152, 756/1349–1355*[71] (*Figures 11.6–7*)

Shaykhū ordered the construction of his khānqā in 756–757/March 1355, and it was completed in October of the same year. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba reports that the amir worked hard on the construction (*ijtahada fī ʿimāratihā*) and that he

68 Gary Leiser, "The Madrasa in Medieval Islamic Society," in *The Muslim World* 76 (1986), 16–23, 21–22.

69 The intimate and nuanced master-disciple relation that existed between Shaykh Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rūmī and amir Shaykhū and the ostensible role this Shaykh played in the choice of the inscriptions in khānqā is the topic of another article I worked on entitled "The Shaykh and the Amir: The Inscription Programs in the Buildings of Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī," in Bernard O'Kane, A.C.S. Peacock and Mark Muehlhaeusler (eds), *Inscriptions of the Medieval Islamic World,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023.

70 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* iv, 258.

71 Like most of the buildings covered in this article, this one is replete with inscriptions in many areas. The ones beneath the ceiling of the qibla *riwāq* are mostly taken from Sufi writings. The band beneath the ceiling of the second *riwāq* is a saying ascribed to "*al-sāda al-ṣafwa al-abrār*" in the inscription itself. While it is not recorded as a hadith, the later 15th century Moroccan Sufi Shaykh Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Zarrūq al-Fāsī (d. 899/1493) states that this is indeed a hadith in his work *al-Anwār al-ilāhīya bi-l-madrasa al-Zarūqīya*. It reads:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وان مما يزيد بيوت العبادة جميل اثار و حسن سلوك و طهورا نورا كلام الساده الصفوة الابرار فمن كلامهم رضي الله عنهم: ان الله اخفي ثلاثا في ثلاث، اخفي رضاه في طاعته و اخفي غضبه في معصيته و اخفي ولائه في عباده فلا تحقرن شيئا من طاعاته لعل فيه رضاه و لا تحقرن شيئا من معاصيه فقد يكون فيه غضبه و لا تحقرن احدا من خلقه فعساه ان يكون من اوليائه. الناس كلهم

worked on it himself (*wa-ʿamal fīhā bi-nafsihi*).[73] It makes sense to assume that he was involved in the choice of inscriptions as well.

Shaykhū endowed it with a Sufi shaykh, a hadith mentor, instructors teaching the four schools of jurisprudence, and another one for Qurʾan recitation.[74] Akmal al-Dīn al-Rūmī was the hadith mentor, since he was one of the important hadith scholars of the period, leader of the Sufi *ḥaḍra*s, and dedicated Sufi shaykh, in addition to being the Hanafi instructor in the khānqā. He was also the *nāẓir* of the *waqf*. Unlike many amirs, Shaykhū did not assign himself as the administrator of the *waqf* and handed over the *niẓāra* to Akmal al-Dīn, who was reported to have had a special relationship with the amir and that the khānqā was constructed for him: *kān lahu wajāha ʿind al-amīr Shaykhū wa-fataḥa bi-sababihi al-*khānqā.[75]

Hadiths of the Prophet were the chosen medium of communication, painted on wood, beneath the ceiling of a *qāʿa* annexed to the south of the qibla *riwāq* of the *khānqā*. This *qāʿa* was where *ḥaḍra*s probably used to take place, as they still do today on special occasions.

Beneath the ceiling of the east/*qibla īwān* is the hadith recorded by al-Tirmidhī in his *al-Jāmiʿ al-Saḥīḥ* (hadith #3), by Abū Dāwūd in his *Sunan* (hadith #61), by Ibn Māja in his *Sunan* (hadith #275), and in the *Musnad* of Imām Aḥmad (hadith #129/1), inscribed **(fig. 11.6):**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و تعالى الذي جعل كل مطلوب متاحا فيها، مفتاح الصلاة الطهور ومفتاح [...] و مفتاح البر الم [...] و مفتاح [...] و مفتاح ال [...] و مفتاح النصر [...] الولايه و ال [...] و مفتاح الفلاح التقوي و العمل

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate, and may He be exalted Who made all needs available in the World. The key to praying is

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اموات الا العلماء المخلصين و المخلصون. علي خطر من نظر في عيوب الناس عمي عن عيب نفسه، و من عني بذكر الجنة و النار سعا(؟) عن القيل و القال

See al-Zarrūq, *al-Anwār al-ilāhīya* 127.

72 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* iv, 762; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī tārīkh Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, ed. Muhammad Ibrahim, 2 vols., Cairo: ʿIsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1967–1968, ii, 266.

73 Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*, ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh, 4 vols., Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1977–1994, ii, 76.

74 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* iv, 762.

75 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* iii, 151. All the details pertaining to this shaykh and how important he was to the amir are in my article, yet to be published, "The Shaykh and the Amir: The Inscription Programs in the Buildings of Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī."

FIGURE 11.6 The khānqā of amir Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī, 756/1349–1355, *qāʿa* annexed to the south of the qibla *riwāq*, band beneath the ceiling of the east/*qibla īwān*

> purification, the key to hajj (pilgrimage) is *al-iḥram*—ritual consecration, the key to reverence is truthfulness, the key to heaven is proclaiming the oneness of God, the key to knowledge is proper questioning and proper listening, the key to victory is patience, the key to having more is being thankful, the key to being a friend of God and the key to His love is His remembrance, the key to success is piety, the key to getting an answer is praying, the key to desiring the hereafter is abstention from this world, the key to faith is contemplation.[76]

Beneath the ceiling of the west *īwān* another hadith is inscribed **(fig. 11.7):**

> بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، اذا رضي الله عن عبد [...] و رزقه من حيث لا يحتسب [...] و اهلا بدين لا فضل [...] تقبل الله الغفور القهار [...] في الدنيا و الاخرة

> In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate, if God is pleased with one of his slaves [...] he will bestow on him with no measure [...] and grant him a kin with religion which has no bias [...] May God the Forgiving, the Absolute Vanquisher [...] in this world and the hereafter [...]

76 In this English translation, the missing Arabic words were translated and inserted.

FIGURE 11.7 The khānqā of amir Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī, 756/1349–1355, *qāʿa* annexed to the south of the qibla *riwāq*, band beneath the ceiling of the west *īwān*

While this has not been recorded in any of the hadith's compendia, it is assumed that it was used as such and thus recorded here.

Unlike the hadiths used in his mosque or on his sabīl, as shall be explained shortly, where the function of the building is derived from the text, these details speak of virtuous behavior and how to access it. As the Sufis need to be constantly 'polishing' their hearts, they can do so by following the example of the Prophet and becoming virtuous. The intent behind the usage of the hadith and the other Sufi texts is rather disciplinary; it is a manual for the Sufis on their spiritual path and for new initiates to follow.

2.5 *The Sabīl of Amir Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī, Monument Nr. 147, 755/1354* (*Figures 11.8–9*)

The same amir also left us a magnificent sabīl in 755/1354. The sabīl's entrance that still stands today is a pointed arch verging on a rounded arch, the conch of which is decorated with smaller recessed niches. Each of these is decorated with a flat stone-carved arabesque in a square shape, beneath radiating voussoirs that make up the conch of each of the small recesses. The arabesque in each niche surrounds either a medallion with the amir rank, the cupbearer insignia—the cup, or a medallion with a 'glory to the Sultan' benediction. The one in the middle, however, carries a hadith in a rectangle in four lines. This rectangle is bordered by a floral band of lotuses like those used on the frontispieces of Qur'an manuscripts, alternating with six-petalled rosettes.[77] The text

77 The usage of the lotus is a characteristic of the period and is found in the Qur'an manu-

of the hadith, the *matn*, fits the function of the structure and is followed by a foundation inscription. It reads:

بسم الله الرحمن قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في كل ذات كبد اجر[78] وسئل صلى الله عليه أي الاعمال افضل قال سقي الماء[79] امر بانشاء هذا السبيل المبارك المبرور العبد الفقير الي الله تعالي شيخوا الملك الناصري وكان الفراغ في شهر ذي القعدة سنة خمس وخمسين وسبعمائة

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate. The Prophet of God, peace and blessings be upon him, said in each creature there is requite. Blessing upon him, [as he] was asked what is the best of acts, he said quenching water (thirst). Has ordered the construction of this blessed and joyous sabīl the poor slave of God Almighty Shaykhū the royal, of al-Nāṣir (Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad). It was finished in the months of Dhī l-Qiʿda the year 755/1354.

It's not only that words of the Prophet will imbue *baraka*, but following his example and his instructions is the *raison d'être* behind a building program. This is why the text is followed by a foundation inscription as a para-text. It concisely provides a motive for construction to the onlooker.

The text of the first hadith speaks of kindness to all creatures and stresses the recompense of caring for them. The hadith addresses quenching thirst. This quenching applies to all creatures as well and not just to human beings. Thus, the two hadiths tell us that this structure was for animals and human beings and is meant to fulfill one of the most important pious acts there is.

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scripts of Sultan Ḥasan, amir Ṣirghatmish, and the complex of Sultan Ḥasan. Now we see it here as well, preceding the building of Sultan Ḥasan. I have argued elsewhere that this is partly due to the sponsorship of Ṣirghatmish of Persians coming over from Ilkhanid lands: Noha Abou-Khatwa, "Shaping the Material Culture of Cairo in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century. A Case Study in the Patronage of Amir Ṣirghatmish al-Nāṣirī," in Bethany Walker and Abdelkader Al Ghouz (eds.), *Living with Nature and Things: Contributions to a New Social History of the Middle Islamic Periods*, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020, 311–348.

78 This is hadith 7196 in the *Musnad* of Imām Aḥmad, quoting *Musnad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ*. The original text of the hadith also has the word حراء before اجر

79 This is hadith 24368 in the *Musnad* of Imām Aḥmad, quoting *Musnad al-Anṣār*.

FIGURE 11.8 The sabīl of amir Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī, 755/1354, portal

FIGURE 11.9 The sabīl of amir Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī, 755/1354, foundation inscription above door

FIGURE 11.10 The mosque of Sultan al-Mūʾayyad Shaykh, 818–823/1415–1420, remains of a wooden band, now in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo kept under number 650

2.6 *The Mosque of Sultan al-Mūʾayyad Shaykh, Monument Nr. 190, 818–823/1415–1420* (*Figure 11.10*)

Now in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo are the remains of a wooden band, kept under number 650,[80] where the remains of a painted hadith can be seen. It originally belonged to the mosque of al-Mūʾayyad Shaykh by Bāb Zuwayla. This fragment must have been part of a longer band which carried more of the inscription program. It reads:

المجالس بالامانات

Trust must reign in meetings of council[81]

This is one of the hadiths seen earlier on the wooden door of the mausoleum of Ṣāliḥ-Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. The assumption is that had the complete band survived, we would have seen the rest of the hadiths inscribed as those in al-Ṣāliḥ's mausoleum or even as long as those in the Qaraṭay Madrasa. The mosque of al-Mūʾayyad is one of the biggest and most elaborately decorated in the whole of Cairo, with an ingenious choice for the location of its minarets on top of Bāb Zuwayla, the southern gate of the Fatimid city.

Al-Mūʾayyad Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī al-Ẓāhirī was a Circassian mamluk who started his career when al-Ẓāhir Barqūq purchased him. Al-Mūʾayyad was

80 This wooden piece is currently being restored, and I am very grateful to Dr. Mohamed Ahmed Abd El-Salam, Assistant Director of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, and the restoration team for allowing me to inspect and photograph it.

81 Its extended meaning is that those involved in meetings should be able to keep it private and protect the information shared.

around twelve years old then. Eventually, al-Mūʾayyad became Sultan Barqūq's cupbearer and a *muqaddim* of a thousand. After serving Sultan Barqūq, he served his son Faraj but was part of the junta that murdered Faraj. He was thus enthroned in 815/1412.[82] Strong, courageous, and with a keen interest in the intellectuals of the period, al-*Muʾayyad* made a great sovereign for the eight years he ruled. Like his master, Sultan Barqūq, he had to fight many contenders to the throne and kept fighting them throughout his reign. This hadith is the perfect council for ruling and its underlying trustworthiness, especially when betrayal was always around the corner.

He was a great patron of architecture and architectural works, as witnessed by his mosque. He also ordered the construction of a mosque at al-Rawḍa island, a khānqā in Giza, a palace overlooking the Khalīj, a palace in Imbāba, and *ḥamām*s. He also reconstructed the hippodrome of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn, to mention only some of his works. Unfortunately, none of these is still extant. But his *Bimāristān* at the foot of the Citadel still survives. The mosque in question functioned as a madrasa and khānqā as well. Previously, the site of construction was a prison in which al-Mūʾayyad was detained. He vowed that upon his freedom he would construct a mosque in place of the prison. He also added two mausolea for the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence in addition to the madrasa. Classes were dedicated for the study of exegesis, Qurʾan recitation, and hadith.[83]

Of everything that was written about al-Mūʾayyad, his sponsorship of studies and hadith manuscripts are of interest for our purposes. Al-Mūʾayyad was a great patron of the book. He moved several tomes from the library in the Citadel to this mosque and commissioned more. Several manuscripts of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in Dār al-Kutub carry his name.[84]

As a patron of scholars, he encouraged and sponsored a few, most importantly Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) and Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451). By the early 15th century, Cairo had established itself for decades as a center for the *ʿulamāʾ* and their intellectual environment of writing and debating.[85]

82 Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-anbāʾ al-ʿumr*, 4 vols., Cairo: al-Majlis al-Aʿlā li-l-Shuʾūn al-Islāmīya, Lajnat Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1969, ii, 505–513.

83 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks. A History of the Architecture and Its Culture*, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007, 239–241.

84 This is by no means a survey of all the hadith manuscripts he commissioned, but just to mention a few, I have seen in Dār al-Kutub five manuscripts of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in the name of al-Mūʾayyad. These are kept under registry number Ḥadīth 83, 69, 16, 886, and 66.

85 Blecher, "Ḥadīth Commentary" 264; Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands. A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012, 3.

Al-Mūʾayyad's status within the scholarly circles is underscored, because he is one of the few political figures who were mentioned by name in a hadith commentary. The great *muḥaddith* Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī composed *Fatḥ al-bārī* as a commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, and he mentioned al-Mūʾayyad by name in the commentaries on four of the hadiths in the book.[86] All of the four mentions were in a positive light: He praised his attention to the *kiswa* and its adornment; his repairing of the Kaaba; his facilitation of hajj routes and transportation; and clearing the road the Prophet took to reach Mecca.[87] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī is a monumental religious figure, primarily because of his reputation as a great *muḥaddith* of the early 15th century, and al-Mūʾayyad was close to him. He listened to Ibn Hajar and followed his advice.[88] This fragment remaining from the mosque is only a part of what would have been a much longer and bigger program of hadith inscriptions in his mosque given his interest in the study of hadith and the *muḥaddithūn* of the period.

2.7 *Stone Band that Used to be in al-Azhar Mosque, Monument Nr. 97; the Band is Most Probably a Commission of Sultan Qāytbāy, c. 1469*

This beautifully carved stone plaque that used to be behind the main entrance of al-Azhar mosque by Bāb al-Muzayinīn reads:

انما الاعمال بالنيات ولكل امرئ ما نوى

> Verily, actions are according to intentions and to each what he has intended

Our last Mamluk example is most probably a commission of Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–1496) for the mosque of al-Azhar. Qāytbāy had ordered additions and renovations of al-Azhar on three difference occasions.[89] On one of these occasions, he ordered the construction of a portal and minaret which are located behind the ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā's portal in the present-day mosque. During this campaign, several inscriptions were carved in stone around the portal. One of them, documented by Ali Mubarak, is our inscription. Below it was the *shahāda*, followed by *naṣr min Allāh wa-fatḥ qarīb*.

86 Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy and the Timurid monarch Shāh Rūkh are mentioned in one hadith. Blecher, "Ḥadīth Commentary" 269.

87 Blecher, "Ḥadīth Commentary" 269–270.

88 Blecher, "Ḥadīth Commentary" 269.

89 Nasser Rabbat, "Al-Azhar Mosque. An Architectural Chronicle of Cairo's History," in *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), 45–67, 58.

This is further bordered by his foundation inscription at the lowest level.[90] The foundation inscription that names Qāytbāy as the patron is around the jambs of the portal and gives us the date 873/1469.

Alongside the Baḥrī Mamluk Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn, Qāytbāy is the most important Sultan in Cairo's aesthetic history.[91] He is also no stranger to the 'love of the Prophet' or his word. Seeking its *baraka*, the footprint of the Prophet was installed in Qāytbāy's mausoleum, which is part of his Complex in the Northern Cemetery.[92] This sultan is also renowned for his interest in the Hijaz. He ordered new constructions and renovated several buildings in Mecca and Medina.[93] He had faith in the strength of using the *baraka* associated with the Prophet, his relics, and his word.

3 Ottoman

The Ottomans, too, are no strangers to the veneration of the Prophet, his family, and companions by all possible means. A quick visit to Istanbul's Topkapı Palace Museum's *Chamber of Holy Relics* speaks of an avid royal interest in collecting anything related to the Prophet and those who were in his presence. This was made possible after their invasion of Mamluk lands and the gradual relocation of many of these relics. A comprehensive record of all hadiths in their center of power, Istanbul, will yield excellent comparative data for our purposes. However, such a study does not exist and this research focuses only on Cairo, which now has become part of a province and not the center of power any more. We lack any early examples of hadith usage on the Ottoman buildings in Cairo, as the earliest surviving example available dates more than two hundred years after their occupation of Egypt. Still, the usage of hadith to adorn, bestow *baraka*, and provide a motivation for construction was part of Cairo's architectural heritage. Data on Ottoman patrons in Cairo and circumstances of construction pale in comparison to the data we

90 Alī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīya al-Jadīda li-Miṣr al-Qāhira*, Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣrīya al-'Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1987, iv, 37–38.

91 Behrens-Abouseif, "Al-Nasir Muhammad and al-Ashraf Qaytbay—Patrons of Urbanism," in: *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and D. De Smet, Leuven: Peeters 1995, 257–274. By the same author there are several articles on the works of Qāytbāy.

92 Abdulfattah, "Relics of the Prophet and Practices" 95–98.

93 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Qaytbay's *Madrasah*s in the Holy Cities," in *MSR* 3 (1999), 129–147.

have on Mamluk buildings, this is due to the presence of a plethora of chronicles left to us from the Mamluk era.

3.1 *The Mosque of Shaykh Muṭahhar, Monument Nr. 40, 1157/1744* (*Figure 11.11*)

Overlooking al-Muʿizz street at the intersection with al-Muskī street lies the building carrying the earliest surviving hadith inscription of Ottoman Cairo. A rather serene building which has a fairly complex history. At the back of the building there are two chambers with two cenotaphs; one of them has the following inscription on the south stele:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أخرج البيهقي عن عكرمة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من مات يوم الجمعة أو ليلة الجمعة ختم بخاتم الإيمان ووقي عذاب القبر صدق رسول الله[94]

There is no divinity but Allah, Muḥammad is the Prophet of God, peace and blessings be upon him. Was recorded by al-Bayhaqī, that ʿIkrima said, that the Prophet of God, peace and blessings be upon him, said: "whomsoever dies on Friday or the night of a Friday, will be sealed with the seal of faith and will be spared the torment of the grave."

The north stele reads:

هذا قبر أمة الله سمية أم رسول الله والدة من أحيا هذا المسجد لعبادة الله فيا أيها الداخل لطاعة الله أسالك الفاتحة ابتغاء لوجه الله وكان وفاتها ليلة الجمعة سابع عشر من ربيع الأول سنة ألف و مائة و سبعين رحمها الله أمين

This is the tomb of the slave of God, the one whose name is like that of the mother of the Prophet, mother of the one who renovated this mosque for the worship of God. Oh! You entering for the obedience of God, I ask you (to recite) the Fātiḥa for the sake of God. Her death was on the night of Friday, the tenth of the month of Rabīʿ I in the year 1170/Friday December 3rd 1756. May God have mercy on her. Amen.

94 This is hadith 158 in Abī Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Ithbāt ʿaḏāb al-qabr*, ed. Sharaf Maḥmūd al-Quḍāt, Amman: Muʾassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Thaqāfīya, 1983, 103–104.

FIGURE 11.11 The mosque of Shaykh Muṭahhar, 1157/1744, Āmina's cenotaph, south stele

The spot where the edifice stands was originally the house for the Fatimid *wazīr* Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī (d. 518/1125) and later became a madrasa made *waqf* by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (d. 589/1193) for the Ḥanafī madhhab. As it stands today it is an Ottoman renovation and reconstruction by the famous Circassian Mamluk *amīr* under Ottoman rule, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā, in 1170/1744. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan Jawīsh of the Qāzdughlī household (d. 1190/1776) began as a *jawīsh* and later became the leader of the Egyptian janissaries in the tumultuous 18th century. The man who helped him get his promotion was his step father, Sulaymān Katkhudā. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā endowed the mosque of Shaykh Muṭahhar with teachers and Qurʾan reciters. His *waqf* also documents details of all the functionaries assigned for the upkeep of the building. The mosque has a sabīl-kuttāb which was abundantly endowed by him. He also assigned many feedings for the poor through this edifice. This amir was an avid builder who embellished Cairo with many architectural beauties and is credited with the most buildings in Ottoman Cairo.[95]

The tombstone carrying the hadith is that of Āmina, the mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā and the wife of Sulaymān Katkhudā. Āmina was previously the widow of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's father, Ḥasan Jawīsh, and also of amir ʿUthmān Katkhudā.[96] She has been married to three important grandees at the time. In Ottoman Egypt, when a member of the Mamlūk elite died, it was the norm that his successor would marry his widow and take his title. Few such cases have been studied and recorded by scholars specializing in Ottoman Egypt.[97] These women had wealth and agency within their given households. Āmina was the daughter of Ḥasan Gurbagī al-Qandaggī (d. 1716). Her story began when she was married to Ḥasan Katkhudā al-Qāzdughlī. Her second husband, ʿUthmān, was one of the close Mamlūks of her deceased husband, and after ʿUthmān's murder, she married Sulaymān, another of her first husband's

95 His obituary and list of constructions are in al-Jabartī's *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār* as *Ṣāḥib al-ʿamāʾir*. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār fī l-tarājim wa-l-akhbār*, Cairo: n. p., 1986, 2, 5–10. A full list of his buildings can be found in André Raymond, "Les constructions de l'émir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katḫudā au Caire," in *AI* 11 (1972), 235–251, 291–298. See also for more data on his architecture: Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā Style in the 18th Century Cairo," in *AI* 26 (1992), 117–126. His *waqf* document, kept under no. 940 in the Ministry of Awqāf, gives amazing details of his constructions, their upkeep, and the pious acts associated to them. There is even a section for the assigned bread for feeding the dogs.

96 Mary A. Fay, "Shawikar Qadin. Woman of Power and Influence in Ottoman Cairo," in Mary A. Fay (ed.), *Auto/Biography and the Construction of Identity and Community in the Middle East*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, 95–108, 100.

97 See Fay, "Shawikar Qadin."

Mamlūks.[98] Āmina's wealth grew tremendously upon inheriting the amassed fortunes of her deceased husband ʿUthmān Katkhudā, who was one of the wealthiest amirs in Ottoman Cairo. He also had appointed her the *nāẓir* of the *waqf*, so that she was now in control of extensive estates.[99]

Could Āmina, the mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā and a woman of strength, wealth, and power, have instructed him to renovate the mosque and bury her there? Did she want to be linked to the Prophet?—As can be seen from the inscription on the north stele of the cenotaph, her name is not explicitly scribed but rather mentioned as "the one whose name is like that of the mother of the Prophet." Instead of writing 'Āmina,' an association with the Prophet had to be made. Thus, this connection was carried out by placing the Prophet's hadith on the south stele and by mentioning his mother on the north stele. The north stele also tells us that she died on a Friday night (*laylat al-jumʿa*), harking back to the text of the hadith.

A further association with the Prophet can be found around the marble cenotaph where verses from the *Burda* of the Shādhilī Shaykh Imām al-Būṣīrī are carved: verses 154, 155, 157, and 158. These are followed by verses composed especially for the deceased who is praying for forgiveness and is using the *Burda* as a form of intercession. The *Burda* is the quintessential panegyric written for the Prophet of Islam and is the most used for its blessing powers. In Ottoman Cairo, its usage in domestic architecture gained popularity.[100] The choice of the verses here is perfect, the first (verse 154) asks for the Prophet's intercession on the Day of Judgement. It then beseeches the Prophet not to reject the person when God's retribution is in order. The final verse is a reminder that God's mercy encompasses everything, hoping that one's sins will be forgiven.

The presence of the Prophet in his words is called upon by quoting a hadith that is also relevant to the date of the death of Āmina. This is coupled with recalling the *baraka* of the *Burda* to emphasize the reverence ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā and/or his mother had for the Prophet. This takes us to the choice to refurbish and reconstruct this building. As this is the spot where Shaykh al-Muṭahhar was buried. This shaykh is most probably ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Abī l-ʿIzz who

98 Mary A. Fay, *Unveiling the Harem. Elite Women and the Paradox of Seclusion in Eighteenth-Century Cairo*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2012, 237–238.

99 Fay, *Unveiling the Harem* 239.

100 For details on its origins and some of its apotropaic usage and its carving on Cairo's monuments, see Abdulfattah, "Relics of the Prophet and Practices"; and Noha Abou-Khatwa, "An Ode to Remember. The Burda of al-Busiri in Cairene Ottoman Houses," in Bernard O'Kane (ed.), *Creswell Photographs Re-examined*, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2009, 43–69.

FIGURE 11.12 The non-extant sabīl-kuttāb of Muṣṭafā Zammār, marble panel, now in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo kept under number 4005

is a descendant of the 14th-century Sufi pillar ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.[101] Were ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā or Āmina members of the Jīlānīya order?

3.2 *The Sabīl-Kuttāb of Muṣṭafā Zammār, 1178/1764–1765* (*Figure 11.12*)

A carved marble panel from this non-extant sabīl-kuttāb is now in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, kept under number 4005. It carries the following:

قال النبي عليه السلام خيركم من تعلم القرآن وعلمه حرره أحمد أبو العز سنة ١١٧٨

> The Prophet, peace be upon him, said the best of you is the one who learns the Qurʾan and teaches it. Was written by Aḥmad Abū al-ʿIzz the year 1178/1764–1765.

The same hadith used in Shaykhū's mosque-madrasa is also used here to explain a function. In this instance it is logical for this hadith to be used in association with a kuttāb. The kuttāb's primary function is teaching the Qurʾan, and thus it is a direct connection. This building was demolished by the *Comité de conservation des Monuments de l'Art arabe* in 1912. This decision was taken upon a request put through by the residents of the area of Ḥārat al-Bazābīz who had grown in number and the structure was now blocking their street. The structure was deemed uninteresting to be kept as a monument and was thus dismantled.[102] The marble carving was then taken to the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.[103] Unfortunately, nothing is known of the building or its founder.

101 Muḥammad Abū al-ʿAmāyim, *Āthār al-Qāhira al-Islāmīya fī l-ʿaṣr al-Uthmānī*, Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, 2003, 292.

102 Comité de conservation des Monuments de l'Art arabe, *Comité Bulletin* (1912), www.islamic-art.org/Comitte/BArchTOC.asp?NodeID=65247#65247 (last accessed 17 June 2022), 3.

103 Comité de conservation des Monuments de l'Art arabe, *Comité Bulletin* (1913), www.islamic-art.org/Comitte/BArchTOC.asp?NodeID=65719#65719 (last accessed 17 June 2022), 81.

FIGURE 11.13 The mosque of Maḥmūd Muḥarram, 1207/1792, lintel above portal on north wall of prayer hall

It is not uncommon to find the signature of the artisans on buildings in Cairo, but it is not usual either. Instead of being followed by an order of construction it is followed by the craftsman's name, Aḥmad Abū l-ʿIzz. Was the decision to use the hadith his, and is this why he sought to put his name after it? Such decisions were not only taken to advertise one's deeds but for the *baraka* of associating one's name with the Prophet. In this case, it is the words of the Prophet.

3.3 *The Mosque of Maḥmūd Muḥarram, Monument Nr. 30, 1207/1792 (Figure 11.13)*

Inside this small Ottoman mosque and above the portal on the northern wall of the prayer hall is a carved stone lintel with a line of *thuluth* inscription bordered with a floral band that reads:

قال عليه الصلاة والسلام الوضؤ سلاح المؤمن[104]

> Said the one whose God's peace and blessings are upon, ablution is the weapon of the believer.

104 This hadith was not found in any source. But since it is preceded here with "Said the one whose God's peace and blessings are upon," it is recorded as a hadith since the patron construed it as such.

Located in the Jamālīya quarter, this small hanging Ottoman mosque, with its beautifully crafted *miḥrāb*, has an ablutions area that is beneath it. The portal surmounted by the lintel carrying the hadith leads to the ablutions area. It is placed there to remind praying people of the importance of their ablutions by admonishing them of what the Prophet had to say about it. Ablutions are a weapon because of the pure state they keep the person in.

The patron of this mosque is Maḥmūd Muḥarram who lived very close by in his palace al-Musāfirkhāna.[105] In 1207/1792, he renovated the mosque which has been there since 940/1534 and added to its endowments, assigning it many teachers. His family was originally from Fayyūm, and they moved to Cairo where he grew up. He became a wealthy and renowned merchant whose good reputation reached Hijaz. Most important about him was his piety.[106] Ali Mubarak stresses the beauty of his house, the Musāfirkhāna, which is reflected in the meticulous work carried out on the qibla wall in his mosque. A painted wooden band around the prayer hall, the main area of the mosque, carries in *naskh* verses 1 to 31 from the *Burda* of Imām al-Būṣīrī, followed by the foundation inscription dating of 1207/1792. Once again, the juxtaposition of the *Burda*, which is an evocation of this veneration of the Prophet, and his words in the form of hadith come together to call upon his presence.

3.4 *The Sabīl-Kuttāb of Nafīsa al-Bayḍā, Monument Nr. 358, 1211/1796* (*Figure 11.14*)

At the southern tip of Fatimid Cairo and with Bāb Zuwayla overlooking the last stretch of al-Qaṣaba lies this ornate late Ottoman sabīl-kuttāb across the street of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. It is the last monument surveyed here. Its southern facade has a small entrance with a lintel carved in stone that reads:

قال النبي عليه السلام خيركم من تعلم القرآن وعلمه ١٢١١

> The Prophet, peace be upon him, said the best of you is the one who learns the Qur'an and teaches it 1211/1796.

105 Unfortunately, it was destroyed by blazing fires in the 1990s. In the 19th century, this palace was bought by a member of the Muḥammad 'Alī family and converted into a lodging area for royal visitors and ambassadors. Bernard Maury, Jacques Revault, and Mona Zakariya, *Palais et maisons du Caire, du XIV au XVII Siècle*, 3 vols., Paris and Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1997, ²1983, iii, 133.

106 More details about him are in Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ* v, 110.

FIGURE 11.14 The sabīl-kuttāb of Nafīsa al-Bayḍā, 1211/1796, south façade, lintel above door

The hadith first encountered in the mosque-madrasa of Shaykhū uses the same preceding formula that we saw in Muṣṭafā Zammār thirty years earlier. This sabīl, which also has a kuttāb attached to it, built by Nafīsa al-Bayḍā (d. 1231/1816), was also part of a wikāla.[107] It is the fifth sabīl in Ottoman Cairo to be ordered by a woman.[108] The hadith usage tells us that the building included a kuttāb as well and that the portal decorated by its employment was used to reach the kuttāb.

Nafīsa al-Bayḍā, like Āmina before her, was one of the women of the Mamluk amirs under Ottoman rule. She started her career as a slave girl who married the famous independent governor of Egypt, ʿAlī Bay al-Kabīr, and after him the governor Murād Bay. She was a custodian of power on account of her marriages. When Murād Bay lead the resistance to the French occupation of Egypt in 1801 and had to flee to Upper Egypt, she was the arbitrator between

107 André Raymond, "Les fontaines publiques (sabīl) du Caire à l'époque ottoman (1517–1798)," in *AI* 15 (1979), 235–292, 284.

108 Mahmud Ḥamid al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Asbila al-ʿUthmānīya bi-madīnat al-Qāhira 1517–1798*, Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1988, 280.

both powers and mediated between her husband and the French ruler Napoleon Bonaparte.[109]

The designation *al-bayḍā* ('the white') means that she was most probably Circassian or Georgian.[110] Most of these women were bought from the Caucasus. She grew in power and wealth, but it was her reputation as a pious and charitable woman that made her popular. Her sabīl-kuttāb is a building resulting from an act of piety and the only one in the name of woman overlooking this important thoroughfare.[111]

A pious woman of power who was also known for her wealth and political astuteness chose her motive to follow the Sunna of the Prophet as several did before her. She too wanted to participate in this *baraka* of teaching the Word of God by following the word of His Prophet.

4 Conclusion

Hadith inscriptions in Cairo, while not abundant in nature, are telling of many things. They are a medium by which the patron is explaining his act of piety. Following in the footsteps of the Prophet meant doing by his example and following his instructions. As such, the hadith was used to explain and give a reason for building; whether it is a place to teach Qur'an or a place to quench the thirst of all beings. Explaining the motive behind construction using the word of the Prophet was the perfect delineation of devotion to the Sunna of the Prophet and—by extension—to God.

Using his words was also a means to symbolize his presence, as he is present in his words. This presence was sought after because of the *baraka* associated with it. As mentioned earlier, by the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras the canonical hadith texts had become sacraments in themselves because they contain the word of the Prophet. Especially in the Mamluk era, their apotropaic usage was extensive. The chronicles of the Mamluk period have several anecdotes about the recitation of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* to ward off bad or evil happenstance. When the Black Death hit Anatolia, the *qāḍī* and *nā'ib* in Damascus asked people to gather in the Great Mosque of Damascus and read the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* continuously for three days and three nights, and reportedly the effect of the plague

109 Caroline Williams, *Islamic Monuments in Cairo: The Practical Guide*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2017, 193.

110 Fay, "Shawikar Qadin" 97.

111 Williams, *Islamic Monuments* 193.

was lessened.[112] In the same year 748/1347, the plague was ravaging the inhabitants of Egypt during the winter. People gathered outside of Bab al-Nasr and in al-Azhar mosque and were reading *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* for several days. They were joined by important amirs including Shaykhū.[113] In 680/1281, people in Cairo were praying, reading the Qur'an and *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* until they received the news of the victory against the Mongol-Ilkhanid forces.[114] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī reported a story recounted to him by his master about a mystic who said that every time the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* has been read in difficult times, the ordeal was relieved.[115] In 695/1295, the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* was read in Damascus because of shortage of rain, and the problem was thence resolved.[116] The intrinsic value of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* lies in the fact that it is the most important compilation of hadith, the word and the tradition of the Prophet that is sought after.

In good times as well, the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* was read, for example, to bring in *baraka* and ward off potential evil. Upon finishing his complex in Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, for instance, Sultan Barqūq (r. 784–791/1382–1389 and 792–801/1390–1399) assigned a scholar with the reading of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in Shaʿbān and Ramaḍān.[117]

The hadiths of the Prophet, like his relics and his family or descendants, "personified the Prophet's role as the intercessor between humanity and the divine."[118] What better way to personify him could there be than inscribing his words on enduring materials on buildings?

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112 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm* x, 203–204.
113 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm* x, 205.
114 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* i, 697.
115 Brown, *Canonization* 341.
116 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* i, 815.
117 Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge* 213.
118 Brown, *Canonization* 359.

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CHAPTER 12

Hadith Inscriptions in Medieval Anatolian Architecture

The Case of the Qaraṭay Madrasa in Konya and the Great Mosque in Birgi

Mehmetcan Akpınar

Questions of authenticity have dominated the specialist discourse on hadith for centuries.* At the same time, their role in guiding the faithful in daily life has been emphasized. The following contribution will focus on the latter by studying hadith inscriptions in the religious architecture of 13th- and 14th-century Anatolia.

1 Studying Hadith Inscriptions on Medieval Monuments

1.1 *The Historical Context: The Popularization of Hadith in the 4th/11th–8th/15th Centuries*

Once the recording of the Prophet's words in the compilations of the classical period had been achieved, the hadith literature entered a new phase in the 4th/11th century. New genres began to flourish, such as digest collections, *forty hadith* books, addendums, commentaries, and others.[1] At the same time, the example of the Prophet Muḥammad and his word were more rigorously integrated into the daily religious routine of people than ever before. Both his persona and his sayings became the focus of greater public interest and the prime source for devotional guidance. Besides the *muḥaddithūn*, who had been the carriers of the Prophetic traditions for centuries, new actors appeared on the stage: Story tellers populated bazaars and mosques, narrating stories from the life of Muḥammad as well as the previous prophets to larger crowds.[2] 'Common' people, who previously had had very limited access to specialist circles, began to attend gatherings at mosques and elsewhere to hear works on the bio-

* I would like to thank Profs. Oya Pancaroğlu and Scott Redford for their valuable comments on earlier versions of this paper. Needless to say, any mistakes are mine.

1 Jonathan Brown, *Hadith. Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2009, 41–46, 51–62.

2 Jonathan Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001, 36–87.

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graphy of the Prophet and other prominent Muslims, or commentaries on the Prophet's words.[3] Rulers and benefactors as the guardians of faith initiated festivals to celebrate important incidents of the Prophet's life, such as his birth (*mawlid*), the first revelations during the night of destiny (*laylat al-qadr*), or his ascension to heaven (*miʿrāj*), with public banquets.[4]

The increase in such communal practices was one of the many motivations to erect new monuments: Spaces were needed in which such public events could take place. Especially after the 5th/12th century, we can observe a noticeable intensification of efforts directed towards the building of public architecture including mosques, madrasas, and caravansaries in various centers of the Islamic world. These construction projects, resulting in some of the finest examples of Islamic art and architecture, were sponsored by the ruling elite and became an important medium of displaying their prestige and exemplary generosity, as well as their piety. In accordance with the Prophet's prominent place in public religiosity and the special importance given to his words, many monuments built between the 5th/12th and 8th/15th centuries were embellished with inscriptions of his sayings, especially on doors, door frames, and window shutters. Their placement on such openings—or liminal spaces—might suggest that these inscriptions also had an apotropaic function transcending their literal meaning, which would have also been appreciated by illiterate members of society. We hence witness the creation of an innovative medium for the display of hadith texts in this period: They were inscribed on newly erected public architecture.

The Islamic architecture of medieval Anatolia is especially suited to showcase the widespread use of hadith inscriptions, particularly in the 6th/13th–8th/15th centuries. The Seljūq sultanate of Rūm (*al-Salājiqa al-Rūm*, ca. 483–707/1081–1307), as well as the principalities founded after various Muslim Turkic groups had settled in the former Byzantine lands of Anatolia, were the first to oversee ambitious construction programs.[5] These were continued by those principalities that took over after the demise of the Seljūq dynasty. Within the framework of these construction programs, the Prophet's words became

3 Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands. A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012, 32–81; Joel Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God. Hadith Commentary across a Millennium*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2018, 80–97.

4 Marion Katz, *The Birth of the Prophet Muḥammad: Devotional Piety in Sunni Islam*, London and New York: Routledge, 2007, 143–168.

5 Scott Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque in Konya Reconsidered," in *Artibus Asiae* 51.1–2 (1991), 54–74, 54.

an integral part not just of the epigraphic program of the buildings, but also played a central role in the communication of ethical values of religion and society. As such, they were inscribed on mosques and *masjid*s, *madrasa*s and tombs, hospitals, and fountains—just as they were engraved in various materials, ranging, for example, from stone to wood, from ceramic tiles to metal objects.

More precisely, it can be observed that the earliest examples of hadith inscriptions in Islamic architecture were usually engraved in wood. The Fatimid *minbar* in the Ibrāhīmī Mosque of al-Khalīl/Hebron, commissioned in 484/1091, bears the earliest known dated hadith inscription in an architectural context.[6] In Anatolia, Prophetic sayings start appearing in the epigraphic programs of public buildings roughly 100 years later, in the late 6th/12th century. They gain currency in the following decades, but slowly fall out of fashion by the second half of the 9th/15th century.[7] The earliest hadith inscriptions there can be found on the wooden door wings of the Kale Cami (Citadel Mosque) of Divriği, dated by inscription to 576/1180.[8] Together with the wooden *min-*

6 The *minbar* bears the well-known 'hadith of *thaqalayn*,' which is quoted in the context of a longer inscription aiming to establish the supremacy of the Prophet's family. The *minbar* was commissioned by the Fatimid vizier Badr al-Jamālī (d. 487/1094), to be placed in a shrine in Ashkelon. Less than a century later, the Ayyubid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (d. 589/1193) moved the *minbar* to the mosque in al-Khalīl/Hebron. For the text and its analysis, see Gaston Wiet, "Notes d'épigraphie syro-musulmane," in *Syria: Archéologie, Art et Histoire* 5.3 (1924), 216–253, 217–223. The 5th/11th century wooden *miḥrāb* of the congregational mosque in Iskodar, Tajikistan, also bears hadith inscriptions and should be considered among the earliest examples. Sheila Blair dated this inscription to around 400/1010 on the basis of its decorative details; see Sheila Blair, *The Monumental Inscriptions from Early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana*, Leiden: Brill, 1992, 78–79.

7 From the 16th century onwards, hadith inscriptions were abandoned in favor of Qur'anic verses. The Selimiye Mosque in Edirne is a notable exception to this trend; see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Qur'anic Inscriptions on Sinan's Imperial Mosques: A Comparison with Their Safavid and Mughal Counterparts," in Fahmida Suleman (ed.), *Word of God—Art of Man: The Qur'an and its Creative Expressions*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 69–104, 74–88.

8 Ali Yardım, *Hadis Kıvılcımları: Şihab'ül-ahbar Tercümesi*, İstanbul: Damla Yayınevi, 1999, 18. Yardım notes inscriptions on the wooden door wings of the Kale Cami as the earliest examples in Anatolia, but I have not been able to locate them. However, there are two door wings exhibited at the Sivas Congress and Ethnography Museum, which are allegedly from Ulu Cami in Divriği (638/1240), not from Kale Cami. Images of these two door wings can be found within the English Wikipedia article on "Sivas Congress and Ethnography Museum," en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sivas_Congress_and_Ethnography_Museum. Cf. Oya Pancaroğlu, "The House of Mengüjek in Divriği: Constructions of Dynastic Identity in the Twelfth Century," in Andrew C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds.), *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2013, 25–67, 30–35.

*bar*s of the magnificent Ulu Cami (Great Mosque) in Divriği (638/1240) and the Burmalı Minare Cami in Amasya (640/1242), respectively, these examples seem to have set the trend for *minbar*s lavishly inscribed with Prophetic texts in high relief.[9] In the two centuries to follow, the portal of the Qaraṭay Madrasa in Konya, the wooden window shutters and the *minbar* of the Ulu Cami (Great Mosque) in Birgi, the marble column capitals of the İsa Bey Mosque in Ephesus (776/1375),[10] and the tiles of the Green Mosque in Bursa (822–824/1419–1421) are among the prime architectural elements copiously adorned with hadith inscriptions.[11] According to my preliminary survey, over fifty Anatolian monuments from the 6th/13th–8th/15th centuries are furnished with the Prophet's words, though the number of hadith texts inscribed on each of them varies considerably. This substantial corpus still awaits systematic study.

1.2 *Previous Research, and the Pitfalls of the Modern Segregation of Disciplines*

Despite the wealth of material available, the field of Hadith Studies outside of Turkophone academia is largely unaware of the Anatolian epigraphic corpus. Several reasons can account for this gap in our knowledge. The first is a certain geographical bias which is reinforced by the modern division of disciplines: Anatolia is often considered beyond the imagined landscapes of medieval hadith activities which are commonly located in the Arabic speaking lands. At the same time, Anatolia is seen as belonging to the research agenda of Turkish Studies. This is also partly due to a considerable language barrier. The majority of the research on Anatolian hadith inscriptions has been undertaken by Turkish scholars who predominantly publish in Turkish, while researchers in Hadith Studies are primarily trained in Arabic.[12] Moreover, studies by Western-educated historians of Islamic art occasionally deal with specific hadith inscriptions on specific monuments in their respective architectural

9 Ali Yardım, *Amasya Burmalı Minâre Câmii Kitâbeleri*, Ankara: Amasya Valiliği Kültür Yayınları, 2004; Apa Gülay Kurtişoğlu, "Anadolu Selçuklu Döneminin İki Minberi: Amasya Burmalı Minare Camii Minberinin Divriği Ulu Camii Minberiyle İlişkisi Üzerine," in *The Pursuit of History—International Periodical for History and Social Research* 11 (2014), 93–126.

10 Ali Haydar Bayat, "Anadolu Beylikleri Döneminin En Önemli Eserlerinden Aydınoğlu İsa Bey Camii Kitabeleri," in *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 22–26 Eylül 1986, Bildiriler*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991, 357–374, 951–960.

11 Abdülhamit Tüfekçioğlu, *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarisinde Yazı*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001, 135–176.

12 Cf. Robert Hillenbrand, "Studying Islamic Architecture: Challenges and Perspectives," in *Architectural History* 46 (2003), 1–18, 9–11.

context, but generally only briefly, as they lack expertise in hadith texts. Conversely, hadith specialists lack training in art history.

This results in a lack of comprehensiveness that characterizes the research on hadith inscriptions generally, irrespective of regional focus. One can therefore distinguish three major approaches to the corpus of hadith inscriptions on public monuments. The first is the epigraphical approach, aimed at recording all inscriptions of various contents across time and space in catalogues, with little scope for analysis.[13] Sometimes hadith inscriptions are even consciously excluded from such collections, as they are considered to be devoid of historical information.[14] The second approach is art historical. Here, inscriptions are studied only as part of the wider epigraphic and architectural program of the monument in which they are engraved.[15] The third approach, finally, is theological. It is pursued by researchers from divinity departments, whose main interest lies in delineating the broader themes of the epigraphic hadith material, establishing the level of their authenticity, and red-flagging those that do not pass the tests of classical hadith criticism.[16]

In these investigations, hadith inscriptions are generally not studied as artefacts possessing a historical value of their own, but always as part of a grander narrative focusing on other questions. Therefore, a comprehensive corpus of hadith inscriptions on Anatolian public architecture, which could form the

13 See, e. g., Clément Huart, *Épigraphie arabe d'Asie-Mineure*, Paris: Lemaire, 1895; Friedrich Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien, Sommer 1895: Forschungen zur Seldjukischen Kunst und Geographie des Landes*, Berlin: Reimer, 1896; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Afyon Karahisar, Sandıklı, Bolvadin, Çay, İsakli, Manisa, Birgi, Muğla, Milas, Peçin, Denizli, Isparta, Atabey ve Eğirdir'deki Kitabeler*, Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1929; Max van Berchem and Halil Edhem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, troisième partie, Asie Mineure*, Cairo: Institut francais d'archéologie orientale, 1917; Tüfekçioğlu, *Erken Dönem*; Blair, *The Monumental*.

14 E. g., Löytved, *Konia* 46–49; Rudolf Meyer Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931, 69–116.

15 E. g., Scott Redford, "Intercession and Succession, Enlightenment and Reflection. The Inscriptional and Decorative Programme of Qaratay Madrasa, Konya," in Anthony Eastmond (ed.), *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 148–169; Adrian Saunders, "Form and Meaning in the Mosque of İsa Bey at Ayasoluğ," in Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino (eds.), *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages*, Wien: Holzhausen, 2019; Necipoğlu, "Qur'anic Inscriptions."

16 E. g., Bekir Tatlı, *Mimari Hadisleri: Türk-İslam Mimarisini Taçlandıran Peygamber Sözleri*, Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2012; Hüseyin Hansu, "Mimari Eserlerde Nakşedilen Hadisler Üzerine Bir İnceleme," in *Dicle Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi* 9 (2007), 35–52; Ahmet Tahir Dayhan, "Birgi Ulu Camii Hadisleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme," in *Hadis Tetkikleri Dergisi* 12.1 (2014), 35–59.

basis for an extensive historical analysis, has never been compiled. One exception is the late Ali Yardım (d. 2006), a professor at the divinity school in Izmir,[17] whose attempts at identifying Anatolian monuments that bear hadith inscriptions have largely remained unrecognized. He published two articles describing his preliminary survey of architectural hadith inscriptions.[18] Though he listed the relevant monuments, he never published the actual texts.[19] Bekir Tatlı, a hadith specialist at the divinity school of Çukurova University in Adana, published a book cataloguing hadith texts mainly inscribed on Anatolian mosques, which he arranged according to their content. In treating each of these Prophetic statements, Tatlı's work gives occasional reference to the monuments on which the text, or a similar version of it, can be located.[20] The study, however, primarily aims at documenting the attestations of the hadith texts in the classical hadith works and at assessing the degree of their authenticity. In its disregard for chronological and spatial distribution, epigraphic variations, and the architectural contexts of the inscriptions, it lacks any historical framework. Moreover, although it is useful to have a certain number of monuments listed for any given hadith, the compilation is far from comprehensive and lacks some notable examples, such as the inscriptions on the window shutters of the Ulu Cami (Great Mosque) in Birgi, which I will analyze below.

1.3 *Bridging the Gaps*

The present study forms part of a larger investigation that seeks to address some of the deficiencies in current research. By examining hadith inscriptions on Anatolian monuments built between the 6th/13th and 8th/15th centuries from a more comprehensive perspective, the project attempts to bridge

17 For his obituary, see Mustafa Fayda, "Vefeyât: Prof. Dr. Ali Yardım (1939–1932 Ocak 2006)," in *Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 27.2 (2004), 179–183.

18 Ali Yardım, "Kuzâî'nin 'Şihâbü'l-Ahbâr' Adlı Hadis Kitabı: Türk-İslam Kültürü Üzerindeki Tesirleri," in *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası* 12 (January 1983), 67–76; idem, "Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikleri Devri Mimârî Eserlerinde Kullanılan Hadisler ve Bu Hadislerin Kaynakları," in *Prof. Dr. İsmail Aka Armağanı*, İzmir: Millî Kütüphane Vafkı, 1999, 95–104.

19 Occasional references to inscriptions on certain buildings are only found in a hadith manual Yardım translated into Turkish, namely in al-Quḍā'ī's *Shihāb al-akhbār*: Yardım, *Hadis Kıvılcımları*. In the obituary for Yardım, M. Fayda mentions that Yardım completed a little booklet in 1989 with the title "Anadolu Selçuklular ve Beylikler Devri Mimari Eserlerinde Kitabeleşen Hadisler" in order to obtain his professorship, which included the list of inscriptions he studied. However, I have been unable to locate a copy of this unpublished work. See Fayda, "Vefeyât" 182; cf. Dayhan, "Birgi Ulu Camii" 38, n. 6.

20 Tatlı, *Mimari Hadisleri*.

the gaps between the three approaches outlined above. Tracing these inscriptions in their spatial and chronological distribution and considering them not only within their architectural but also their wider socio-historical context, allows for a nuanced assessment of a hadith corpus that has been largely overlooked.

The present paper illustrates my approach by focusing on two particular Anatolian monuments, namely the Qaraṭay Madrasa in Konya (649/1251–1252) and the Ulu Cami (Great Mosque) in Birgi (712/1312). As will be shown in the following pages, they are exceptional in that they derive (nearly) all the hadith from the same source, namely a popular hadith manual compiled by the Fatimid jurist al-Qāḍī al-Quḍāʿī (d. 454/1062) entitled *Shihāb al-akhbār* (*Light in the Heavens*). By examining the adaptation of al-Quḍāʿī's work into new architectural contexts, the study will demonstrate that the public relevance of, and reverence for, hadith went far beyond the scholarly concerns of authenticity. At the same time, it will highlight the benefit of a more comprehensive approach to hadith inscriptions, as previous scholars—unaware of the textual source—struggled to explain the placement and function of the individual inscriptions in their architectural context. Now that al-Quḍāʿī's *Shihāb* has been identified as the source book, it becomes possible to fully explore the interplay between the hadith manual and its realization on monuments. By comparing the organizational principles of the *Shihāb* and the strategies of selection and arrangement of hadith on the architectural elements of the two buildings, I can explain the hitherto elusive choice of Prophetic sayings. Thus, the study of the epigraphic program at Konya and Birgi also sheds light on the status of al-Quḍāʿī's *Shihāb* in 6th/13th–7th/14th century Anatolia, where it emerges as the most popular guiding source for the hadith inscriptions on religious architecture of the period.

2 The Qaraṭay Madrasa in Konya

The Qaraṭay Madrasa is located at the base of the citadel mound of Konya, the capital of the Seljūq Sultanate of Rūm. It was built in 649/1251–1252 by the influential court emir Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭay who ruled the Seljūq sultanate between 647–652/1249–1254 as a regent for three under-age child sultans.[21] A close friend of the famous Konyan mystic Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, he was re-

21 Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330*, New York: Taplinger, 1968, 272–275.

nowned for his unusual ascetism.[22] After his death, he was buried inside the madrasa he endowed, a common practice of honoring the patrons of madrasas and mosques in the 7th/13th century.[23]

The portal of the madrasa is exceptional in its decoration.[24] Besides its foundation text, the façade contains quotations from the Qur'an as well as hadith inscriptions.[25] Because of the particular style of its interlaced marble decoration, it is compared to the portal of the nearby Alaeddin Mosque which had been built atop the citadel hill several decades earlier.[26] While the façade of the Alaeddin Mosque only bears Qur'anic inscriptions (sura *al-Fātiḥa*), the portal of the Qaraṭay Madrasa displays an unparalleled number of Prophetic sayings, 24 hadiths in total, which are inscribed on its marble doorframe. No other monument in Anatolia displays the Prophetic word in such high concentration right at the entrance, ensuring maximum visibility. But let us start by examining the Qur'anic inscriptions.

2.1 *The Qur'anic Inscriptions on the Entrance*

At the level of the hadith inscriptions, above the doorway, a Qur'anic quotation runs along the two sides of the entrance. The verse (Q *Naml* 27:19) is Solomon's invocation to God. The quotation, however, does not render the beginning of the verse which describes a scene from Solomon's famous dialogue with an ant. Rather, it reproduces only Solomon's supplication, in which he prays to the Lord to make him a servant grateful for His favors, grant him

22 Annemarie Schimmel, *The Triumphal Sun: A Study of the Works of Jalāloddin Rumi*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1993, 25.

23 Redford, "Intercession and Succession" 162–167. For a detailed comparison of tombs from this period displaying a similar structure, see Nermin Şama Doğan, "Anadolu Selçuklu Medreseleri ve Darüşşifalarında Türbe," in *Belleten* LXXXIII.297 (August 2019), 519–554, 526–529.

24 The European traveler and Orientalist Friedrich Sarre described his awe at the sight of the portal during his visit to Konya in the summer of 1895 as follows: "das künstlerisch bedeutendste Bauwerk, das Konia aus der Epoche der Seldjuken-Herrschaft aufzuweisen hat," *Reise in Kleinasien* 48.

25 Löytved, *Konia* 46–49; Mehmet Önder, "Konya'da Karatay Medresesi Portali," in *Vakıflar Dergisi* 25 (1995), 267–270, 267–268; J. Michael Rogers, "Waqf and Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia: The Epigraphic Evidence," in *Anatolian Studies* 26 (1976), 69–103, 79.

26 Redford, "Alaeddin Mosque" 69; Michael Meinecke, "Muhammed b. Muhammed b. Uṭmān al-Bannā' at-Tūsī. Eine Fayence-Dekor-Werkstätte des 13. Jahrhunderts in Konya," in *Türk Etnoğrafya Dergisi* 11 (1968), 75–80; Sophia Vassilopoulou, "Imperial References: The Gök Medrese in Sivas as an Example of the Use of Marble in Thirteenth-century Anatolia," in *kunsttexte.de, E-Journal für Kunst- und Bildgeschichte* 3 (2014), 1–12, 5. Cf. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien* 48.

the power do good deeds (*an aʿmala ṣāliḥan*) in order to please Him, and include him in the ranks of His righteous servants (*ʿibadika al-ṣāliḥīn*). The focus thus lies on the wish to become a virtuous person. Such a prayer would reasonably reflect Qaraṭay's own aspirations as the founder of the madrasa, since the invocation of God through his charitable work can justifiably be considered a good deed (*ʿamal ṣāliḥ*). The foundation inscription above begins with the phrase *qāla Allāh taʿālā*, before quoting another Qurʾanic verse (Q *Tawba* 9:120, *innahu lā yuḍīʿu ajra al-muḥsinīn*—"God never wastes the reward of those who do good") which guarantees compensation for the ones who do good. Both Qurʾanic verses on the façade should be read in combination; good deeds are at the center of both.[27] This constitutes a clear reference to Qaraṭay's charitable work, and indeed we find his name mentioned in the remainder of the foundation inscription.[28] The tile inscriptions inside the building and their innovative display also reveal a strong connection between the patron's spiritual motivations and the inscriptional program of the building.[29] Here again, it is the Qurʾanic passages that run around the arch of the *īwān* (Q *Baqara* 2:255), as well as the interior of the dome of the madrasa (Q *Baqara* 2:256), that establish this connection.[30] Hadith inscriptions, on the contrary, are restricted to the portal, welcoming the visitors.

2.2 *The Hadith Inscriptions on the Portal*

Altogether 24 hadiths (see **table 12.1** and **figs. 1** and **2**) are carved into a series of 37 cells in the form of shallow niches that form the main frame around the entrance, written in cursive yet legible script.[31] The chosen hadith texts are short nominal sentences delivering wisdom in the Arabic *mubtadāʾ–khabar* (subject–predicate) form. Thus, the majority of them either consists of one pair of words or combines multiple pairs in a single statement. While 13 of the hadith texts are carved to fit into a single cell (nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 21), the other 11 hadiths are spread over several. However, it is noteworthy that the choice for allocating a hadith to a single or to several cells does not necessarily depend on the length of the saying. Curiously, some state-

27 Although not included in the foundation inscription, the term *ʿamal ṣāliḥ* also appears in the immediately preceding part of the Qurʾanic verse (Q *Tawba* 9:120) that is inscribed: […] *illā kutiba lahum bihi ʿamalun ṣāliḥūn, innahu lā yuḍīʿu ajra al-muḥsinīn*.

28 For the complete text of the foundation inscription, see Löytved, *Konia* 46–49; Önder, "Konya'da Karatay Medresesi Portali" 267–268; Rogers, "Waqf and Patronage" 79.

29 For alternative interpretations of this unusual choice of Qurʾanic verses, see Redford, "Intercession and Succession" 161–167.

30 Redford, "Intercession and Succession" 152–162.

31 Redford, "Intercession and Succession" 150–151.

FIGURE 12.1 The front façade and the portal of the Qarataỵ Madrasa
PHOTOGRAPH: MEHMETCAN AKPINAR

ments consisting of three Arabic words are carved tightly to fit into a single cell (e. g., nos. 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 21), whereas some shorter ones consisting only of two words are inscribed in two cells containing one word each (nos. 1, 2, the second part of no. 11, and the first part of no. 20). At first sight, this inconsistent distribution of words into cells appears to be random. However, as I will demonstrate below, such choices prioritize certain hadith texts over others and draw attention to those arranged around the lintel, which are best placed to catch the eye of the visitors who are about to enter the madrasa. Regarding the contents of the 24 hadiths, one cannot help but notice that they are thematically diverse, which makes it almost impossible to relate them to the remainder of the epigraphic program that has been described above. For that reason, the order, coherence, and relevance of the chosen hadith texts have puzzled many historians, and attempts to offer a unified theme have been fruitless.

The first hadith (no. 1) on the right side of the doorway is a well-known maxim that prioritizes one's intentions over one's actions (for the entire list of the original texts of the hadiths on the portal and their translations, see

FIGURE 12.2 The hadith inscriptions around the entrance of the Qaraṭay Madrasa
PHOTOGRAPH: MEHMETCAN AKPINAR

table 12.1). In the second and third hadith (nos. 2 and 3), the topic switches to encourage reliability and the protection of privacy. This is followed by two other hadiths (nos. 4 and 5) that underline the importance of keeping one's promises. The remaining hadiths acknowledge the cunning nature of warfare (no. 6), recognize regret as a form of repentance (no. 7), praise unity over dissent (no. 8), and promote integrity (no. 9) and true faith (no. 10). Similar moral precepts are expressed in the hadith texts that are engraved on the left side of the door. There, the encouraged virtues include establishing good habits (no. 19), being tolerant towards others (no. 20), prudence (no. 21), generosity (no. 22), and the avoidance of foul language (no. 23). The last hadith (no. 24) proclaims the Qur'an as the source of real cure, which reads as a good summary.

Above the entrance, similar admonitions are inscribed. They promote virtue and magnanimity as ensuring wealth and piety (no. 11), remind people to greet before conversing (no. 12) and that asking good questions leads to understanding (no. 13), define supplication as the best form of worship (no. 14), warn of debt (no. 15) and encourage good planning to avoid it (no. 16), and finally advise being affectionate in one's judgement of others (no. 17). This diversity of themes in content is also mirrored by a diversity of forms: Three of the hadith texts above the doorway (nos. 13, 16, and 17) follow the formula "half of x is y," to which the first hadith on the left-hand side (no. 18) can be added. Only three of the four occur in sequence: the final two above the door frame (nos. 16 and 17) and the first one on the left (no. 18).

TABLE 12.1 Qarataỵ Madrasa portal

Hadith no	Cell position	Hadith text in Arabic	English translation	*Shihāb al-Akhbār*
1	RC1	الأعمال	Acts are only worth the inten-	ShA 1.1
	RC2	بالنيات	tions that accompany them	
2	RC3	المجالس	Keep what is said at gatherings	ShA 1.2
	RC4	بالأمانة	private	
3	RC5	المستشار مؤتمن	Advice is sought in trust	ShA 1.3
4	RC6	العدة عطية	A promise to give is binding	ShA 1.4
5	RC7	العدة دين	A promise is a debt	ShA 1.5

TABLE 12.1 Qaraṭay Madrasa portal (*cont.*)

Hadith no	Cell position	Hadith text in Arabic	English translation	*Shihāb al-Akhbār*
6	RC8	الحرب خدعة	Warfare is cunning	ShA 1.6
7	RC9	الندم توبة	Regret is a form of repentance	ShA 1.7
8	RC10	الجماعة رحمة	Unity is mercy, dissent punish-	ShA 1.8
	RC11	الفرقة عذاب	ment	
9	RC12	الأمانة غنى	Integrity is a form of wealth	ShA 1.9
10	RC13	الدين النصيحة	True faith is giving good counsel	ShA 1.10

11	TC1	الحسب المال	Virtue is wealth, magnanimity	ShA 1.11
	TC2	الكرم	piety	
	TC3	التقوى		
12	TC4	السلام	Greet before conversing	ShA 1.25
	TC5	قبل الكلام		
13	TC6	[حسن] السؤال	Half of learning is asking [good]	ShA 1.24
		نصف العلم	questions	
14	TC7	الدعاء هو	Supplication is the best form of	ShA 1.18
	TC8	العبادة	worship	
15	TC9	الدَين شين الدين	Debt disfigures devotion	ShA 1.19
16	TC10	التدبير نصف العيش	Half of living is planning well	ShA 1.20
17	TC11	التودّد نصف العقل	Half of discernment is affection	ShA 1.21

18	LC1	الهمّ نصف الهرم	Half of aging is worrying	ShA 1.22
19	LC 2	الخير عادة	Goodness is habitual, wicked-	ShA 1.12
	LC3	الشر لجاجة	ness obstinacy	
20	LC4	السماح	Leniency brings profit, harshness	ShA 1.13
	LC5	رباح	deficits	
	LC6	العسر شؤم		
21	LC7	الحزم سوء الظن	Prudence is to expect the worst	ShA 1.14

TABLE 12.1 Qaraṭay Madrasa portal (*cont.*)

Hadith no	Cell position	Hadith text in Arabic	English translation	*Shihāb al-Akhbār*
22	LC8 LC9	الولد مبخلة مجبنة	Offspring cause stinginess and timidity	ShA 1.15
23	LC10 LC11	البذاء من الجفاء	Obscenities offend	ShA 1.16
24	LC12 LC13	القرآن هو الدواء	The Qur'an is the real cure	ShA 1.17

As this brief summary shows, there is no overarching theme that connects these 24 hadith texts on the portal of the Qaraṭay Madrasa, other than that they all exhort good behavior for any average Muslim in a wide range of circumstances. The miscellaneous nature of the statements and their seemingly independent content—which only occasionally allows for the identification of thematic clusters—might suggest that the choice of the hadith texts was arbitrary and that they were placed around the doorway in a rather random fashion. This assumption is, however, rendered implausible by a close parallel.

2.3 *Al-Qāḍī al-Quḍā'ī's* (*d. 454/1062*) Shihāb al-akhbār *as the Source for the Hadith Inscriptions*

The same selection of hadith texts that were engraved on the right-hand side of the Qaraṭay Portal were also inscribed on the right-hand side wooden door leaf belonging to the Ṣāliḥīya Madrasa in Cairo, built in 639–641/1243.[32] As in Konya, the site of the madrasa also hosts the mausoleum of its patron, al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, one of the last Ayyubid rulers, who was buried there after his death in 647/1250.[33] Only a few years separate the Ṣāliḥīya Madrasa/Mausoleum and the Qaraṭay Madrasa, as the latter, according to its foundation document, was completed in 649/1251–1252.[34] The wooden door leaf of the Ṣāliḥīya Madrasa

32 See Noha Abou-Khatwa's contribution in this volume, "The Word of the Beloved Prophet of Islam: Ḥadīths Inscribed on Cairo's Islamic Architecture," in Mohammad Gharaibeh (ed.), *Beyond Authenticity—Alternative Approaches to Hadith and Hadith Literature*, Leiden: Brill, 2022, pp. 359–368.

33 Abou-Khatwa, "The Word of the Beloved Prophet of Islam," pp. 364–365.

34 Due to the confusion of names of the Seljūq sultans in the foundation inscription, Tanju Cantay, "Konya Karatay Medresesinin İnşa Tarihi ve Kapısının Mimari Kuruluşu," in *Rölöve*

is currently located in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo. It has interlaced hexagons as geometric decoration in four parts of the door, two in the upper part and two in the lower part.[35] The only fully preserved selection of hadith is engraved on the lower right-hand side of these hexagons, as discussed in detail by Noha Abou-Khatwa in her contribution to this volume. These hadith texts of the lower right-hand side correspond to the inscriptions nos. 1–8 on the right-hand side of the Qaraṭay portal in exactly the same order and wording. The only other hadith preserved on the door leaf is located in the lower left-hand side hexagon. It is identical with the seventeenth hadith of the Qaraṭay portal (no. 17: "Half of discernment is affection"). Unfortunately, the remainder of this panel is missing, as is the text on the two upper panels of the door.

Could the commonalities between the portal of the Qaraṭay Madrasa and the wooden door leaf of the Ṣāliḥīya Madrasa/Mausoleum be explained by a common craftsman who travelled between Cairo and Konya in the mid-7th/13th century to carve the same hadith texts on different monuments, a question raised by Abou-Khatwa?[36] This is, in my opinion, not very likely. While both artworks belong to the same period, the material on which they are engraved (as well as the script) is different. Moreover, it is doubtful if it was at the discretion of the artisan to decide the epigraphic program of the building he was hired to adorn.[37] The answer must therefore lie elsewhere.

In fact, Ali Yardım had already demonstrated in the 1980s that all the hadiths on the portal of the Qaraṭay Madrasa are taken from a popular hadith manual entitled *Shihāb al-akhbār*, which was compiled in the 5th/11th century by the Fatimid jurist and statesman al-Qāḍī al-Quḍāʿī.[38] This important discovery,

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ve Restorasyon Dergisi 6 (1987), 25–30 argues that some parts of the inscription were replaced, and that the portal should date to an earlier period. However, I accept 649/1251 as the date of completion.

35 See the images in Abou-Khatwa's article on pages 361–363, figures 11.1–3.

36 See Abou-Khatwa's article on page 366.

37 See also Meinecke's ("Eine Fayence-Dekor-Werkstätte" 75–80) identification of the Konyan artisan and his mosaic tile workshop. He was possibly responsible for the tilework at the Qaraṭay Madrasa.

38 Ali Yardım presented this finding for the first time during the *Atatürk'ün doğumunun 100. yıldönümünde akdedilen II. İslami İlimler Kongresi* which was organized in 1981. His presentation, however, was only published in 1999; see Yardım, "Anadolu Selçukluları" 95–104. Prior to that, he published a summary of these findings in 1983; see Yardım, "Kuzâî'nin 'Şihâbü'l-Ahbâr.'" He must also have explored this topic in his unpublished work *Anadolu Selçuklular ve Beylikler Devri Mimari Eserlerinde Kitabeleşen Hadisler* submitted to İzmir Dokuz Eylül University in 1989. In his 1999 edition and translation of the *Shihāb al-akhbār* (*Hadis Kıvılcımları* 12–13), Yardım discusses the connections between al-Quḍāʿī's work and the Portal of Qaraṭay Madrasa in relative detail.

however, has escaped the notice of most historians who carried out research on the Qaraṭay Madrasa in Konya, let alone the Ṣāliḥīya Madrasa in Cairo.[39] The 24 hadiths adorning the Qaraṭay Madrasa were chosen from the first 25 hadiths of the *Shihāb*, and the ones on the left and right-hand sides of the door follow exactly the same sequence as in al-Quḍāʿī's work. Only the ones inscribed above the doorway, which are the most easily legible, are rearranged to achieve a certain focus (see **table 12.1**).[40] Even there, however, the hadiths have been excerpted from the *Shihāb* (*ShA*) en bloc, resulting in the following overall sequence: Hadiths ShA 1.1–10 are inscribed on the right-hand side, with ShA 1.11 running around the top right corner. Then, atop the doorframe, follow ShA 1.25–24 and ShA 1.18–21, with ShA 1.22 running around the top left corner. The left-hand side then contains the remaining ShA 1.12–17 of the *Shihāb*.

The wooden door of the Ṣāliḥīya Madrasa apparently follows the same order: The first eight hadiths of the *Shihāb* (Qaraṭay no. 1–8 = ShA 1.1–8) are located in the lower right panel, where the inscriptions begin. The writing should have continued first on the upper right panel, then on the upper left panel, ending in the lower left panel, had they been fully preserved.[41] The only other remaining hadith that is inscribed on the top section of the lower left panel corresponds to the twenty-first hadith of al-Quḍāʿī's work (Qaraṭay no. 17 = ShA 1.21). This strongly suggests that the Prophetic sayings ShA 1.9–20 were placed on the now-lost upper panels of the wooden door and that the lower left panel should have continued with another four or five hadiths after the preserved twenty-first hadith of the *Shihāb* (ShA 1.21).

2.4 *Replicating and Re-arranging the* Shihāb

As noted above, the sequence of hadiths in the first chapter of the *Shihāb* is slightly adjusted on the Qaraṭay portal in order to give priority to certain sayings, which are centrally displayed on top of the doorway. The uneven distribution of these seven hadiths (nos. 11–17 = ShA 1.11, 1.25, 1.24, 1.18–21) over the eleven cells above the lintel suggests that the 13th hadith (no. 13 = ShA 1.24) is

39 Cf., for example, Redford, "Intercession and Succession" 150–153.

40 My translation and numbering of the hadiths of the *Shihāb* follow Tahera Qutbuddin's critical edition and English translation of the work *Light in the Heavens*. Her edition is primarily based on the Egyptian manuscript, copied by one of al-Quḍāʿī's students who read it with the author himself in the year 449/1057. The Arabic text is freely available under the link www.libraryofarabicliterature.org/assets/Qutbuddin-Light-in-the-Heavens-Arabic-only-2.pdf.

41 See Abou-Khatwa, "Ḥadīths Inscribed," pages 360–362, figures 11.1–2 (the wooden door).

intentionally placed in the middle (TC6). While the two Prophetic sayings that precede it span over five cells,[42] the 13th hadith consisting of three words (*al-su'āl niṣf al-'ilm*—'asking questions is half of learning') is squeezed to fit into a single cell. In this context, it is noteworthy that the inscription also renders a shorter version of the hadith than is recorded in the *Shihāb*. This is the only case where an inscription on the portal differs from the version found in the *Shihāb*. The original saying consists of four words rather than three, containing the word *ḥusn* ('good') at the beginning of the statement: "asking 'good' questions is half of learning."[43] The shortening of the hadith further corroborates the hypothesis that the arrangement of hadiths above the doorway considers this saying as central and worthy of occupying the position in the very middle of the entrance. It is directly related to the educational function of the building: Attracting the gaze of those who enter the madrasa, it conveys the message that learning requires active mental and verbal engagement.[44] The central hadith (no. 13 = ShA 1.24) is preceded by ShA 1.25, asserting that a greeting should precede any conversation (*al-salām qabla al-kalām*). This is the only time that the relative sequence of hadiths in the *Shihāb* is inverted with the intention of creating a logical sequence: While sensible inquiry is said to advance knowledge and understanding, it needs to take place in a respectful setting: First you greet, then you converse.[45] As such, hadith no. 12 = ShA 1.25 admonishes collegiality and mutual respect as the prerequisite for scholastic discussion, and hence can be seen to form a pair with no. 13 = ShA 1.24. The rest of the Prophetic sayings around the doorway neither display any overt reference to life at the madrasa nor do they contain biographical elements connected to its patron, as suggested by Scott Redford,[46] but again faithfully follow the sequence of the *Shihāb*.

42 No. 11 = ShA 1.11 consists of four words inscribed in three cells and no. 12 = ShA 1.25 of three words in two cells.

43 A slightly different case is presented by hadith no. 22, where some manuscripts of the *Shihāb* (ShA 1.15) offer a variant with the added word *maḥzana* ('sorrowful'). It is well possible that the artisan executing the Qaraṭay portal worked from a manuscript that omitted this word. In the case of the 13th hadith, however, all *Shihāb* manuscripts I checked contain *ḥusn*. Moreover, minor variants can be observed in nos. 8, 11, 19, and 20, where the *wa* ('and') that connects two different parts of a hadith is eliminated in order to present each part as a separate clause.

44 Redford, "Intercession and Succession" 156.

45 Redford, "Intercession and Succession."

46 Cf. Redford, "Intercession and Succession" 150–153.

3 The Great Mosque in Birgi

There is just one other Anatolian monument that uses al-Quḍāʿī's compilation as practically the sole source for its epigraphic program and follows the sequence of hadith texts from the *Shihāb* as strictly as the Qaraṭay Madrasa in Konya: the Ulu Cami (Great Mosque) in Birgi, the former Byzantine Pyrigion, situated about 100 km to the east of İzmir. It was built in 712/1312–1313 by Mehmed Bey (d. 1334), the first ruler of the Aydinids, one of the Turkish principalities (*beylik*) that established themselves in western Anatolia after the demise of the Seljūq state and the decline of the Ilkhanid suzerainty (1256–1335).[47] The historic inscription over the main door of the building informs visitors that construction work started after Mehmed Bey had captured the town in 707/1307.[48] Birgi was the capital of the Aydinid Principality until its demise at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. The mosque commissioned by Mehmed Bey was most likely built over the ruins of a church that was located on the site, as is suggested by some of the spolia used in the construction of the building.[49]

The mosque has a rectangular, almost square plan divided into five aisles, in north to south direction (see **fig. 3**). The middle aisle is wider and has a higher roof than the two aisles on each side.[50] On every wall there are two rows of windows, each with wooden shutters. In addition to the main entrance in the north, there is another marble portal that opens to the street on the eastern wall. Both portals have wooden door wings. The originals are exhibited inside the building, placed on both sides of the western window on the northern wall.

47 Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, Aydin-Oghlu, in *EI*², *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 1954–2004.

48 The original inscription was first published by Fuad Köprülü, "Aydınoğulları Tarihine Ait," in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928), 417–426, 422. Here I render Riefstahl's (*Turkish Architecture* 102–103) English translation: "In the name of God. Has conquered this city with the help and assistance of God our Lord, the Grand Emir, the *ghāzī* on the path of God, the exalted, Muḥammad, son of Aydin in the year 707 [1307 AD] and he constructed this mosque in the year 712 [1312 AD]." Although the inscription presents Mehmed Bey as the *ghāzī* warrior and the conqueror of the city, in reality he seized it from another Turkish *amīr*, Ghāzī Sāsān Bey, who had captured the city from the Byzantines earlier.

49 Oya Pancaroğlu, "Persianate and Anatolian: Tile Decoration and Its Architectural Context in Medieval Anatolia," in Olga M. Davidson and Marianna Shreve Simpson (eds.), *The Arts of Iran in Istanbul and Anatolia*, Washington, DC: Harvard University Press, 2018, 186–207, 201; Tuğrul Acar, *Architecture of the Islamic Frontier: Architectural Sources and Urbanism in the Aydinid Principality (1304–1390)*, M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, TX: n. p., 2018, 27–28.

50 Saunders, "Form and Meaning" 205.

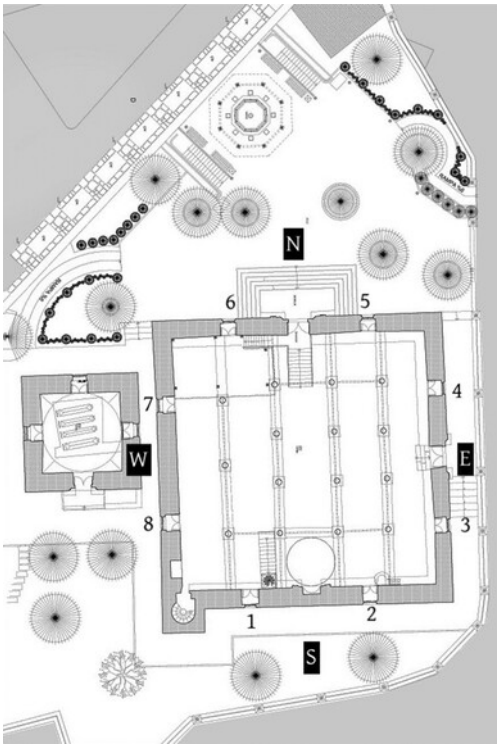

FIGURE 12.3
The ground plan of the Great Mosque in Birgi
REPRODUCED FROM MASTAR MIMARLIK'S WEBSITE HTTP://WWW.MASTARMIMARLIK.COM/CLOUD/350.JPG WITH KIND PERMISSION

There is a total of 26 hadith inscriptions, 16 on the wooden window shutters, 9 on the wooden *minbar*, and one on the east door wings, all carved in high relief in thuluth script.[51] With the exception of the one hadith on the eastern door, all the hadiths derive from the *Shihāb*. After the portal of the Qaraṭay Madrasa, the exceptionally high number of Prophetic sayings quoted from al-Quḍāʿī's work demonstrates its continuing popularity in Anatolia in the early 8th/14th century. The wooden *minbar* additionally bears the artisan's signature and the date of its construction. Accordingly, the craftsman was someone named Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaymān al-ʿUranī[52] and the year is given as 722/1322, which is ten years after the completion of the mosque. It was,

51 Instead of a hadith text, the wings of the northern door bear the *shahada* formula (right wing: *lā ilāha illā Allāh*; left wing: *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*); see Dayhan, "Birgi Ulu Camii" 56.

52 Several other possibilities for the craftsman's *nisba* have been offered, such as al-Gharbī, al-Maghribī, al-ʿArabī, or al-ʿArnī. For a discussion of the different readings, see Ali Haydar Bayat, "Beylik Dönemi Ahşap Sanatı Şaheserlerinden Birgi Ulu Camii Pencere Kapakları," in *Vakıf Haftası Dergisi* 9 (1992), 237–252, for images, see hdl.handle.net/11352/987 (last accessed 1 April 2021), 237–239.

however, still commissioned by Mehmed Bey.[53] We can presume that the wood craftmanship of the window shutters and the doors also belong to the same artisan and his workshop. Muẓaffar al-Dīn probably learned his craft from his father ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, who was also an Anatolian wood carver living and working in the 7th/13th century, as his name can be found on the hinges of a wooden folding Qur'an stand that is now exhibited in the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin.[54]

TABLE 12.2A Birgi Ulu Cami window shutters

Left wing			Right wing		
South wall					
1st window					
ShA 1.1	الأعمال بالنيات Acts are only worth the intentions that accompany them	1.b		قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم The Prophet, peace be upon him, said	1.a
2nd window					
ShA 1.3	المستشار مؤتمن Advice is sought in trust	2.b	ShA 1.2	المجالس بالأمانة Keep what is said in the gatherings private	2.a

53 The third line of the inscription on the right-hand side of the *minbar* names Mehmed Bey as the patron: "Has ordered the construction of this beautiful *minbar* the wise (*al-ʿālim*) and just (*al-ʿādil*) *amīr* Muḥammad, son of Aydin, resplendent be his victory." On the left-hand side, the artisan's signature is inscribed in the fourth line: "work (*ʿamal*) of Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaymān al-ʿUranī." The date of the construction is placed on a band bordering the middle part of the rail: "in the year 722." See Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture* 103–104; Mehmet Zeki Oral, "Anadolu'da Sanat Değeri Olan Ahşap Minberler, Kitabeleri ve Tarihçeleri," in *Vakıflar Dergisi* 5 (1962), 23–77, 60–62.

54 Bayat, "Birgi Ulu Camii Pencere Kapakları" 238. Annette Hagedorn, "Qur'an Stand," in *Discover Islamic Art, Museum With No Frontiers*, 2021, islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=object;ISL;de;Mus01;22;en (last accessed 1 April 2021).

TABLE 12.2A Birgi Ulu Cami window shutters (*cont.*)

Left wing			Right wing		
East wall					
3rd window					
ShA 1.9	الأمانة غنى Integrity is a form of wealth	3.b	ShA 1.8	والفرقة عذاب الجماعة رحمة Unity is mercy, dissent punishment	3.a
ShA 1.10	الدين النصيحة True faith is giving good counsel				
4th window					
ShA 1.98	الجنّة دار الأسخياء Paradise will be home to the generous	4.b	ShA 1.51	القناعة مال لا ينفد Contentment is wealth that is never used up	4.a
North wall					
5th window					
ShA 1.127	الحياء من الإيمان Faith includes modesty	5.b	ShA 1.126	الغيرة من الإيمان Faith includes a jealous sense of honor	5.a
6th window					
ShA 1.141	المهاجر من هجر ما حرّم الله عليه The true emigrant is one who abandons things prohibited by God	6.b	ShA 1.130	الإيمان نصفان نصف شكر ونصف صبر Faith has two halves: gratitude and forbearance	6.a

TABLE 12.2A Birgi Ulu Cami window shutters (*cont.*)

Left wing			Right wing		
West wall					
7th window					
ShA 9.41	أفضل الحسنات تكرمة الجلساء Generosity to people around you is the deed most rewarded	7.b	ShA 9.36	أفضل الصدقة اللسان The greatest charity comes from the tongue	7.a
8th window					
ShA 1.118	الصلاة نور المؤمن Ritual-prayer illumines the believer	8.b	ShA 1.117	الدعاء السلاح المؤمن Supplication is the believer's best weapon	8.a

3.1 *The Hadith Inscriptions on the Window Shutters*

There are eight windows in the Ulu Cami of Birgi, two on each wall, with a total of 16 wooden shutters. All of them are in very good condition and engraved with ornamentation and inscriptions. Although the size of the shutters appears similar to the naked eye, exact measures vary considerably (thickness 4–4,5 cm, width 56–61 cm, height 171–197 cm).[55] The formula "The Prophet said" (*qāla al-nabī ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-l-sallām*) is inscribed on the right panel of the window (1a) on the southern wall (*qibla* direction), to the right of the *minbar*, and marks the beginning of a series of the Prophetic sayings (see **table 12.2a** and **fig. 4**). The hadith "Acts are only worth the intentions that accompany them" (*al-aʿmāl bi-l-niyāt*) is the first saying inscribed on the left shutter (1.b) that follows this opening formula (see **fig. 5**).[56] It is also the first hadith on the Qaraṭay portal

55 For detailed descriptions of the shutters and the ornamentation, see Bayat, "Birgi Ulu Camii Pencere Kapakları" 238–239.

56 Bayat, "Birgi Ulu Camii Pencere Kapakları" 242–252 provides pictures of all these shutters in his article, which can be accessed online via this link: hdl.handle.net/11352/987 (last accessed 1 April 2021). For a recent study that examines the authenticity of all these hadiths in the Ulu Cami of Birgi and their *takhrīj* in classical hadith collections, see Dayhan, "Birgi Ulu Camii" 35–59.

FIGURE 12.4 Right wing of the 1st window at the Great Mosque in Birgi
PHOTOGRAPH: MEHMETCAN AKPINAR

FIGURE 12.5 Left wing of the 1st window at the Great Mosque in Birgi
PHOTOGRAPH: MEHMETCAN AKPINAR

and the wooden door of the Ṣāliḥīya Madrasa/Mausoleum, just as it is the first hadith of the *Shihāb* (ShA 1.1). The second window on the southern wall, to the left of the *minbar* and the *miḥrāb*, follows the order of the *Shihāb* and contains the second (ShA 1.2) and the third hadith (ShA 1.3) on its two shutters. The third window on the east wall makes a leap and displays a group of three hadiths (3.a = ShA 1.8; 3.b = ShA 1.9, ShA 1.10) that are recorded successively in the beginning section of the first chapter of the *Shihāb*. The left wing (3.b) is exceptional in that it contains two hadiths carved on one shutter. In the remaining windows, only one hadith is engraved on each.

The Prophetic statements on the first three window shutters (ShA 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.8, 1.9, 1.10) can also be found on the Qaraṭay portal. The selection here mostly concerns integrity and trust. The remaining ten hadiths displayed on the other five windows equally derived from the *Shihāb* and address a variety of topics. On windows four, five, and seven, the hadiths largely admonish contentment, modesty, generosity, and charity (see **table 12.2a**). On the sixth and eighth window, the topics are true faith, the power of the believers' supplications to God, and the illuminating character of ritual worship. Most of these sayings belong to the first section of the *Shihāb* (ShA 1) where al-Quḍāʿī lists nominal sentences. The only exceptions are the two hadith texts carved on both wings of the seventh window (ShA 9.36, 9.41) which belong to the "the best (*afḍal*) of x is y" type that is compiled in the ninth chapter of the *Shihāb* (ShA 9). When considered comprehensively, there is no overarching theme in the selection of the texts inscribed on the window shutters other than the communication of general moral precepts. Considering the organizing principle of the source text, the *Shihāb*, which I will detail below, this is hardly surprising. Thematic and structural patterns can, however, be observed on the micro level. Thus, it is noteworthy that the two shutters of each window are in harmony with one another: They are inscribed with hadiths that either have a similar syntactical pattern or come from the same thematic cluster.[57] Moreover, they are also often found in neighboring places in the *Shihāb* (e. g., fifth window: ShA 1.126 and 1.127; eighth window: ShA 1.117 and 1.118).

57 The two wings of the seventh window, for instance, are connected insofar as both begin with a superlative. The same can be observed for the two leaves of the *minbar* door, see below.

TABLE 12.2B Birgi Ulu Cami Minbar and the door

Front Side of the Minbar			
1. Over the Doorway			
ShA 17.1	اللّهمّ إنّي أعوذ بك من علم لا ينفع وقلب لا يخشع ودعا[ء] لا يُسمَع ونفس لا تشبع وأعوذ بك من شرّ هؤلاء الأربع		
	God, I seek refuge with you from knowledge without benefit, from heart without humility, from a prayer unheard, and from an appetite unsated. I seek refuge with you from the evil of four		
3. Left Door		2. Right Door	
ShA 9.46	ما من عمل أفضل من إشباع كبد جائع	ShA 9.51	أحَبُّ البقاع إلى الله المساجد
	There is no deed better than filling an empty stomach		God's most beloved places are places of worship
Right Side of the Minbar			
1.	ShA 7.52	إنّ الحسد ليأكل الحسنات كما تأكل النار الحطب	
		Envy consumes deeds just as fire consumes kindling	
2.	ShA 7.54	إنّ أكثر ما يدخل الناس الجنة تقوي الله وحسن الخلق	
		Most people are led to the paradise by consciousness of God and beauty of character	
3.	ShA 2.94	من أخلص لله أربعين صباحًا ظهرت ينابيع الحكمة من قلبه على لسانه	
		Wellsprings of wisdom will flow from the heart to the tongue of those who for forty mornings devote themselves completely to God	

TABLE 12.2B Birgi Ulu Cami Minbar and the door (*cont.*)

Left Side of the Minbar

1.	ShA 7.110	إنّ ربّي أمرني أن يكون نطقي ذكراً وصمتي فكراً ونظري عبرة
		My Lord commanded that with my words I should invoke him, in my silences I should reflect on him, and through my scrutiny I should learn about him
2.	ShA2.59	من يشتهِ كرامة الآخرة يدع زينة الدنيا
		Those who desire the glory of the hereafter foreswear the vanities of this world
4.	ShA 2.107	من طلب [عمل] الدنيا بعمل الآخرة فما له في الآخرة من نصيب
		Those who do good deeds only to receive worldly gain will receive no share of the hereafter

Eastern Entrance Wooden Door

Left wing	Right wing
أبواب السماء وأُستجيب الدعاء	إذا نودي بالصلوة فُتحت

When a call for prayer is recited, the gates of the heavens are opened and supplications are answered

3.2 *The Hadith Inscriptions on the* Minbar

The wooden *minbar* displays nine Prophetic sayings carved in high relief, all culled from the *Shihāb* (see **table 12.2b**). Three are placed on the front, three on the right-hand side, and another three on the left-hand side of the *minbar*. On the front part on the panel above the doorway, a long hadith (ShA 17.1) runs over two lines (see **fig. 6 and fig. 7**). This is a prayer that starts with the expression *Allāhumma* and reads as: "O God, I seek refuge with you from knowledge without benefit, from a heart without humility, from a prayer unheard, and from an appetite unsated. I seek refuge with you from the evil of four." Al-Quḍāʿī devotes a separate chapter (ShA 17) at the end of the *Shihāb* to the exclamation *Allāhumma* and lists 16 of the Prophet's supplications formulated according to this paradigm. ShA 17.1 is the first and longest of these hadiths compiled in this

FIGURE 12.6 Front side of the *minbar* at the Great Mosque in Birgi
PHOTOGRAPH: MEHMETCAN AKPINAR

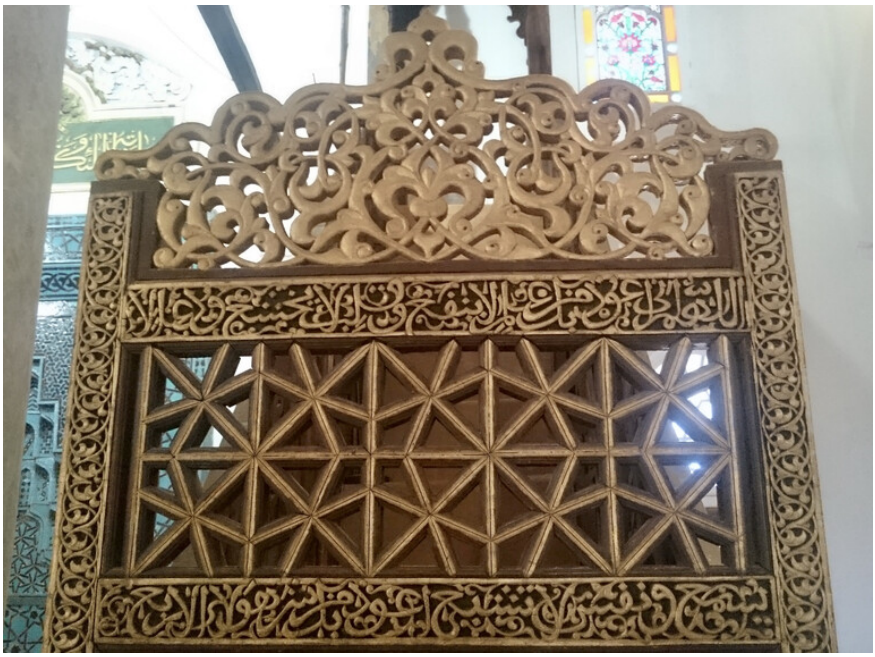

FIGURE 12.7 The inscription on the panel above the doorway of the *minbar* at the Great Mosque in Birgi
PHOTOGRAPH: MEHMETCAN AKPINAR

chapter. The choice for a such a supplication and its visible placement on the top of the *minbar*'s doorway is evidently related to the *minbar*'s ritual function within the mosque. On Fridays or on the days of religious festivals, the imam customarily recites supplications before his ceremonial ascent to the top of the *minbar* to deliver his *khuṭba*.[58] Although certain aspects of this ritual may vary across different schools, it is at the door of the *minbar* that the recital of supplications starts. God is invoked directly and often addressed in the second person, before similar prayers are uttered on the other steps of the *minbar* during the imam's ascent. The prayer in the Prophet's words inscribed over the doorway clearly belongs to this practice. In ShA 17.1, God is addressed twice with the formula *aʿūdhu bika* ('I take refuge with You') and His protection is sought from four undesirable things. One of these four is supplications that are not heard by Him (*duʿāʾ lā yusmaʿ*). This part of the hadith seems to be the central message of this long and centrally located inscription, as it indirectly asks God to accept all the supplications recited on this *minbar*.

58 Arent Jan Wensinck, Khuṭba, *EI² Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 1986, v, 74.

FIGURE 12.8 The inscriptions on the left side of the *minbar* at the Great Mosque in Birgi
PHOTOGRAPH: MEHMETCAN AKPINAR

Each of the two leaves of the wooden door of the *minbar* contains one hadith, both inscribed on the upper part, located in symmetrical position to each other, and carved inside two rectangular frames (see **fig. 6**).[59] On the right leaf, the following Prophetic saying is inscribed: "God's most beloved places (*aḥabbu*) are places of worship" (ShA 9.51). Hadith texts praising the places of worship are popular in the epigraphic program of medieval mosques, as we find the same saying inscribed on the *minbar* of the Ulu Cami of Divriği (638/1240) and around the *miḥrāb* of the Bergama Ulu Cami (801/1399) where the hadith is repeated 16 times.[60] The hadith on the left leaf addresses a social issue rather than worship: "There is no deed better (*afḍal*) than filling an empty stomach" (ShA 9.46). While these two hadiths on the two sides of the *minbar*'s door initially appear to be unrelated, both texts were taken from the same chapter of al-Quḍāʿī's *Shihāb* (ShA 9) where they are registered in close proximity, because both employ the superlative form (*aḥabbu*—'most beloved' and *afḍal*—'best') at the beginning of the sentence.[61]

On the right-hand side of the *minbar*, facing west, there are four bands of inscriptions, placed underneath one another (see **table 12.2b** and **fig. 9**). The uppermost one runs along the rail of the covered pulpit. The others surround the bottom of the pulpit and the large panel beneath it. Of these four bands, the first three are hadith texts. They are followed by a fourth inscription bordering the panel beneath the covered pulpit, which contains the artisan's signature. The first hadith inscribed on the rail (ShA 7.52) and the second one (ShA 7.54) beneath it, surrounding the bottom of the pulpit, both contrast vices and virtues. Envy is described as all-consuming, whereas pious consciousness of God (*taqwā*) and beauty of character are presented as the keys to enter paradise. These two hadiths are derived from the same cluster in the *Shihāb*, where al-Quḍāʿī in chapter seven lists all the hadiths that start with the particle *inna*. The third (ShA 2.94) deviates from this pattern but continues the theme of the second hadith by promising those who perform devotional morning prayers for forty days that wisdom will flow from their hearts to their tongues.

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59 The doors of the minbar were stolen on 15 May 1993 and soon after turned up at the London auction house Christie's. After a successful campaign led by the Turkish journalist Özgen Acar, the doors were returned to Birgi on 11 November 1995. See kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/TR-63151/izmir-birgi-aydinoglu-mehmet-bey-camiinden-calinan-minb-.html (last accessed 1 April 2021) and Dayhan, "Birgi Ulu Camii" 51 n. 46.

60 See Oral, "Ahşap Minberler" 46; Tüfekçioğlu, *Erken Dönem Yazı* 1:95. The hadith is found also in the foundation inscription of the *masjid* inside the Sivas Gök Madrasa built in 1271/669–670. See Yardım, *Hadis Kıvılcımları* 240 n. 41.

61 Note that the ShA 9.51 is also recorded as *aḥabbu al-bilād* instead of *aḥabbu al-biqāʿ* in variant hadith texts. See, e. g., Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 1:464, no. 671.

FIGURE 12.9 The inscriptions on the right side of the *minbar* at the Great Mosque in Birgi
PHOTOGRAPH: MEHMETCAN AKPINAR

The left-hand side of the *minbar*, facing east, mirrors the placement of the inscriptions on the right (see **table 12.2b** and **fig. 8**). Here, too, four bands contain three hadiths, but this time the hadiths occupy the first two and the lowest bands, while the *minbar*'s foundation inscription is located on the third band. The theme of the three hadiths revolves around the merits of pious behavior. The first inscription (ShA 7.110), which runs along the rail of the pulpit, imparts that all actions should be performed in the spirit of God. The second (ShA 2.59) and the third hadith (ShA 2.107) preach the renunciation of worldly gains in favor of the rewards that are offered in the hereafter.

3.3 *The Hadith Inscription on the Door*

In addition to the 25 hadiths inscribed on the window shutters and the *minbar*, there is one further Prophetic statement inscribed on the two wings of the original wooden door of the eastern portal: "When a call for prayer is recited, the gates of the heavens are opened and supplications are answered" (see **table 12.2b**). Unlike the rest, this hadith is not from the *Shihāb*. It concerns the call for prayer, which announces to believers the correct time for performing their prescribed prayers, but also marks the moment when the gates of the heavens open for God to hear and answer the supplications of the faithful. The placement of the hadith on the entrance to the mosque is hence far from

coincidental. By parallelizing the opening of the doors of the mosque at the prescribed times for prayer and the opening of the gates of heaven to receive the supplications, it marries the physical to the metaphysical. The door as a liminal space and thus assumes a double function: It separates the profane from the sacred, but also refers to, symbolizes, and anticipates the gates of paradise, blending the earthly with the celestial realm.

The earliest source mentioning a variant of this hadith is Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's (d. 241/855) *Musnad*.[62] It is conspicuous that among 26 hadith inscriptions, only one comes from a source other than al-Quḍāʿī's *Shihāb*. This raises the question whether the door may have been commissioned and/or manufactured independently from the window shutters and the *minbar*, perhaps at a different time and/or by a different artisan. Was the intention to adorn the door with a fitting hadith stronger than the indebtedness to the *Shihāb*? Only a more detailed study of the door that considers all its aspects, from the stylistic to the epigraphic, can attempt to answer this question.

4 Al-Quḍāʿī's *Shihāb* and the Interest in Hadith in 13th/14th Century Anatolia

After presenting the evidence from Qaraṭay and Birgi, we need to address a fundamental question: What was it that made al-Quḍāʿī's *Shihāb* a guiding source for inscriptions on monuments of this period? An answer may lie in the organization of the hadith texts in al-Quḍāʿī's compilation. This will also help to understand the arrangement of the hadiths in the religious architecture we examined.

4.1 *The Organization of the Hadith Texts in the* Shihāb

Al-Quḍāʿī's *Shihāb al-akhbār* is one of the earliest attempts to compile hadiths according to their lexical and syntactical pattern (*ʿalā ḥasb taqārub al-alfāẓ*), instead of organizing them according to their thematic content like in *muṣannaf* works or according to lines of transmissions like in *musnad* or *muʿjam* works.[63] Correspondingly, the first chapter of the *Shihāb* (ShA 1), from which

62 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ and ʿĀdil Murshid, 49 vols., Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1995, 23:42, no. 14689; also preserved in Abū Yaʿla, *Musnad*, ed. Irshād al-Ḥaqq al-Atharī, 6 vols., Jidda: Dār al-Qibla li-l-Thaqāfa al-Islāmīya, 1988, 7:119, no. 4072 and Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh madīnat al-salām*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 20 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001, 8:201.

63 See al-Quḍāʿī's introduction in al-Quḍāʿī, *Light in the Heavens: Sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad*, ed. and transl. Tahera Qutbuddin, New York: NYU Press, 2016, 3.

all the hadith in the Qaraṭay Madrasa were taken, collects those sayings that are nominal sentences consisting of a subject (*mubtadāʾ*) and a predicate (*khabar*). This allows for pithy statements with a pietistic and ethical orientation to be conveyed in two or three words only. In the following chapters, the *Shihāb* groups its material according to other lexical and grammatical patterns, such as those Prophetic sayings that start with *man* (ShA 2), *mā* (ShA 5), *lā*, *lan*, *iyyāka/iyyākum* (ShA 6), *innā*, *innamā* (ShA 7), *laysa* (ShA 8), *khayru*, *afḍalu*, *aḥabba* (ShA 9), *biʾsa*, *sharru* (ShA 10), *mathalu* (ShA 11), *idhā* (ShA 12), *kafā* (ShA 13), *rubba* (ShA 14), *law* (ShA 15), *Allāhumma* (ShA 17), or those that contain verbal sentences (ShA 3) or imperatives (ShA 4). Within this arrangement governed by lexical and grammatical categories, there are also occasional thematic or rhetorical clusters. Al-Quḍāʿī explains his choice of this novel form of arrangement in the introduction to his *Shihāb al-akhbār*: It is intended to facilitate comprehension and ease memorization (*li-yaqruba tanāwuluhā wa-yashula ḥifẓuhā*).[64] To that end, he also omitted the lines of transmissions, thereby freeing the readers of the burden of memorizing the names of the transmitters.[65] The resulting book was light to carry and readily available for daily consultation. This was a big advance in making the Prophetic statements accessible for large audiences outside of specialist circles.

For his choice of hadiths, al-Quḍāʿī explains that he selected those Prophetic statements that include "the wise sayings of the Prophet, his testaments, directions, counsels, and maxims,"[66] as is also indicated by the full title of the book: *Kitāb al-Shihāb fī l-amthāl wa-l-mawāʿīẓ wa-l-ādāb: alf kalima wa-miʾatā kalima min ḥadīth al-nabī ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa-l-sallām* ('The Book of the Blazing Star Containing Aphorisms, Counsels, and Directions for Refined Behavior: 1200 Maxims from the Hadith of the Prophet').[67] Although '1200 texts' are mentioned both in the title and the introduction, this should be understood as the number of clauses rather than Prophetic sayings. In modern editions of the book, the number of maxims amount to approximately 1000,[68] which cover about 25–30 folios in the medieval manuscripts.[69]

64 Al-Quḍāʿī, *Light in Heavens*.

65 Al-Quḍāʿī, *Light in Heavens*.

66 Al-Quḍāʿī, *Light in Heavens*.

67 Al-Quḍāʿī, *Light in Heavens* xx.

68 Different editions reach different numbers. For example, Qutbuddin's edition has 999 hadith reports, Yardım's edition has 897, whereas other editions offer more than 1200. For a complete list of different editions of the *Shihāb*, see ibid., 197–198.

69 The earliest complete manuscript of the *Shihāb* dates to the 6th/12th century and is written on 24 folios. For various manuscripts of the work, see ibid., xxviii–xxxii; Ali Yardım,

4.2 *Al-Quḍāʿī's* Shihāb *in Medieval Anatolia*

There is concrete evidence that al-Quḍāʿī's work was available in the Seljūq capital at the time the Qaraṭay Madrasa was constructed: A manuscript of the *Shihāb* in Konya has an audition note which dates to the year 607/1210.[70] This copy belonged to the private book collection of the great mystic Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274) who was one of the foremost disciples of Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and known for his engagement with the hadith discipline.[71] Unfortunately, this manuscript is no longer available, as it was stolen in 2000 from the Yusuf Ağa Library in Konya along with some 130 other manuscripts.[72] The renowned mystical poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), a friend of Ṣadr al-Dīn who reportedly joined the latter's hadith gatherings in Konya on occasions, also had access to the *Shihāb*.[73] Rūmī's famous mystical poem, the *Mathnawī*, uses a total of 158 Prophetic statements in addition to stories from the Qur'an and the Prophet's biography. 53 of the hadiths come directly from al-Quḍāʿī's work.[74] Among the 24 hadiths inscribed on the Qaraṭay Portal, six (nos. 3 = ShA 1.3, 8 = ShA 1.8, 10 = ShA 1.10, 13 = ShA 1.24, 20 = ShA 1.13, 21 = ShA 1.14) are also attested in the *Mathnawī*, including the centrally positioned inscription "greet before conversing," which I have discussed above.[75] Because of his close companionship with Qaraṭay, Rūmī frequented

"Kuzâ'î ve Müsned'üş-Şihâbı," in *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 4 (1987), 285–348, 339–342.

70 For information about this manuscript, see Yardım, "Kuzâ'î ve Müsned'üş-Şihâbı" 340.

71 For Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's private collection, see Mustafa Can, "Sadreddin Konevi'nin Eserler ve Kütüphanesi," in *Selçuk Üniversitesi Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (1989), 113–127. For a detailed study of specific works in this collection, cf. Ahmed Ateş, "Konya Kütüphanelerinde Bulunan Bazı Mühim Yazmalar," in *Belleten* XVI.61 (1952), 49–130; Gerald Elmore, "Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's Personal Study-List of Books by Ibn al-ʿArabī," in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 56.3 (July 1997), 161–181.

72 The manuscript of the *Shihāb* had the catalog number Yusuf Ağa 4894 (previously 5943) and comprised 39 folios. For a full list of stolen manuscripts from the same collection, see kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/TR-44517/yusufaga-yazma-eser-kutuphanesinden-calinan-yazma-eserl-.html (last accessed 1 April 2021).

73 According to Aflakī's biography of Rūmī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī asked Rūmī one day to take over the lead of the gathering to teach his own interpretations of certain Prophetic sayings—an anecdotal piece of evidence proving Rūmī's prowess in the field of hadith. Aḥmad Aflākī, *Âriflerin Menkıbeleri* (*Manāqib al-ʿārifīn*), transl. by Tahsin Yazıcı, 2 vols., Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basimevi, 1953–1954, 1:378 (III/no. 324).

74 Ali Yardım, *Mesnevi Hadisleri*, Istanbul: Damla Yayınevi, 2015, 8.

75 Jalāl al-Rūmī, *The Mathnawī of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī*, transl. Reynold A. Nicholson, 6 vols., Cambridge: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial, 1926–1934, I/no. 1044; VI/no. 2636; III/no. 3943; I/no. 1427; VI/no. 3572; III/no. 268.

the Qaraṭay Madrasa both during the patron's life time and after his death.[76] More specifically, according to Aflākī's biography, Rūmī was one of the notables of Konya who attended the opening ceremony of the Qaraṭay Madrasa[77] and paid a visit to Qaraṭay's tomb in order to commemorate him together with a small congregation by reciting verses from the Qurʿān and from his *Mathnawī*.[78] Significantly, two hadith inscriptions, both derived from the *Shihāb*, are found inside Rūmī's own mausoleum: ShA 1.117 and 1.118 are each carved into one door leaf of a wooden cabinet located at the entrance to the building.[79]

Regarding Birgi, we know that the famous medieval traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the Aydinid capital in 732/1332 during Mehmet Bey's rule and stayed there for several weeks. His travel account provides us with some glimpses into the interest in Prophetic sayings in the western frontier region of Anatolia. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa first visited the scholar of the town, Qāḍī ʿIzz al-Dīn Farishta, and attended one of his teaching sessions in the madrasa located next to the Ulu Cami. Then Mehmed Bey invited him to his residence in the nearby mountains, where Ibn Baṭṭūṭa spent two delightful weeks. In his account, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa not only praises Mehmet Bey for his warm welcome, his generosity, and the lavish meals he enjoyed at his court, but also the describes the ruler's particular interest in the hadith material:

> We continued in this way for several days, being sent for every day to join in his meal. One day he came to visit us after the noon prayer, and the *faqīh* [Qāḍī ʿIzz al-Dīn Farishta] sat in the place of honor, with me on his left, and the sultan [Mehmed Bey] sat on his right—this being due to the esteem enjoyed by the *faqīh* among the Turks. He asked me to write down for him a number of hadiths, of the sayings of the Messenger of God (peace be upon him). And when I had written them for him and the *faqīh* presented them to him in the same hour, he commanded the latter to write a commentary (*sharḥ*) of them for him in the Turkish language. He then rose and went out observing that our servants were cooking food for us [...][80]

76 Aflākī, *Manāqib al-ʿārifīn* 1:261–262 (III/n. 140); 459 (III/no. 495).

77 Al-Quḍāʿī, *Light in Heavens* 1:187 (III/no. 38).

78 Al-Quḍāʿī, *Light in Heavens* 1:127 (III/no. 254).

79 Yardım, *Hadis Kıvılcımları* 55; cf. the 8th window in the Ulu Cami of Birgi.

80 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325–1354*, transl. Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb, 5 vols., i, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958, 2:441.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account demonstrates Mehmed Bey's profound interest in Prophetic hadith. The fact that he first asked Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to write down several hadiths and then commissioned Qāḍī ʿIzz al-Dīn Farishta to write a commentary on them indicates that the 8th/14th century, principalities in Anatolia only had limited access to the larger pool of hadith material, but were keen to enlarge their collections. In this context, it is worth noting that ʿIzz al-Dīn Farishta's son Ibn Malak (d. 801/1399 or 821/1418) went on to become one of the first hadith specialists in Anatolia who wrote a commentary on al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī's (d. 650/1252) popular hadith work *Mashāriq al-anwār* with the title *Mabāriq al-azhār fī sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār*.[81] The work follows an arrangement similar to that of the *Shihāb* and includes some of the hadiths we find in the Ulu Mosque of Birgi, such as the long one placed over the doorway of the *minbar* that starts with *Allāhumma* (ShA 17.1).[82] Moreover, when Mehmed Bey's son İsa Bey (r. 761/1360–792/1390), the last ruler of the Aydinid dynasty, had a mosque built in Ayasoluğ (Ephesus) in 776/1375, he also had it adorned with 13 hadith inscriptions. A significant number of these inscriptions, carved on the capitals of columns reused from the baths of the ancient city of Ephesus, are also derived from the *Shihāb* (ShA 1.1, 1.2, 1.57, 1.71, 1.205, 2.104, 4.120), just like in his father's mosque in Birgi.[83]

Mehmet Bey's request for a commentary to be written in Turkish, as reported in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account, also offers some clues as to who would have been able to read the hadith inscriptions in mosques. It seems that the ruler, a native speaker of Turkish, was not able to decode the meaning of the Prophet's words without the help of the *faqīh* of the town. However, the *Shihāb*, with its short Prophetic maxims and often consisting of only two or three words arranged in repetitive syntactic patterns, may have eased comprehension considerably, and hence constituted a suitable source for hadith inscriptions in Anatolian mosques. On the graphical level, the brief inscriptions on the wooden window shutters of the Ulu Cami in Birgi with their large and visible letters, just like the cursive yet legible script on the portal of the Qaraṭay Madrasa, could be deciphered and understood with relative ease.

81 Mustafa Baktır, İbn Melek, in *Diyanet İşleri Ansiklopedisi* xx (1999), 175–176.

82 Ibn Malak, *Mabāriq al-azhār fī sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār*, ed. Ashraf b. ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd, 3 vols., Beirut: Dar al-Jīl, 1995, 3:393, no. 2227. For al-Ṣaghānī's critical engagement with the *Shihāb*, see Qutbuddin's introduction in al-Quḍāʿī, *Light in Heavens* xxvi.

83 Bayat, "İsa Bey Kitabeleri" 951–960; Saunders, "Form and Meaning" 205–208.

4.3 *The Enduring Popularity of the* Shihāb

In addition to the inscriptions on the portal of the Qaraṭay Madrasa in Konya and the Ulu Cami in Birgi, there are other 7th/13th century monuments in Anatolia which display a high number of hadith inscriptions and derive a substantial portion of them from the *Shihāb*. The wooden *minbar* of the Ulu Cami in Divriği, Sivas, built in 638/1240, and the wooden *minbar* of the Burmalı Minare Cami in Amasya, built approximately in 640/1242, are prime examples containing 24 and 15 hadiths respectively. Their construction was finished shortly before that of the Ṣāliḥīya Madrasa in Cairo (639–641/1243), a decade earlier than the completion of the Qaraṭay Madrasa (649/1251–1252) and seventy years before the Ulu Cami in Birgi (712/1312–1313). Unlike the selection of hadiths on the Qaraṭay and Ṣāliḥīya Madrasas, however, the *minbar*s of the Ulu Cami in Divriği, Sivas, and the Burmalı Minare Cami in Amasya were less strict in following a single source. Only about half of their hadith texts are derived from the *Shihāb*: 12 hadiths on the *minbar* of the Ulu Cami in Divriği (ShA 1.57, 1.71, 1.96, 1.118, 1.133, 1.159, 1.181, 1.203, 1.205, 2.16, 2.49, and 2.104) and seven hadiths on the *minbar* of the Burmalı Minare Cami (ShA 1.12, 1.164, ≈1.239, ≈2.1, 2.58, 4.45, and 4.85) were demonstrably quoted from al-Quḍāʿī's work.[84]

All this testifies to the fact that the endeavor of the 5th/11th century Fatimid statesman al-Qāḍī al-Quḍāʿī to make hadith accessible to broader audiences had long transcended the borders of his native country and enjoyed widespread popularity in 7th/13th and 8th/14th century Anatolian religious circles. His project with its considerable ethical and pragmatic dimensions proved to be highly successful: In the centuries that followed its compilation, al-Quḍāʿī's *Shihāb* became a popular reference book for many people who sought guidance in their daily life which they wished to lead in accordance with Prophetic wisdom and piety. There is also evidence that the *Shihāb* became an essential teaching tool for the education of young students, as it is featured in madrasa curricula in different centers of the medieval Muslim world.[85] The 6th/13th century literary critic and statesman Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn b. al-Athīr (d. 636/1239) recommends the *Shihāb* to those who aspire to become scribes in the state chancery as the first text to study and memorize hadith:

84 For a documentation of the inscriptions on the two minbars, see Oral, "Ahşap Minberler" 43–49; Yardım, *Amasya* 50–109; Kurtişoğlu, *İki Minber* 93–126.

85 For a discussion of the *Shihāb*'s popularity in different centers of Muslim learning of this period, extending from Andalus to Iran, see Qutbuddin's introduction in *Light in Heavens* xxv–xxvii.

> The first [book] you should memorize of [prophetic] reports is the *Shihāb*. It is a short book, and all that is in it may be used, for it contains the words of wisdom and manners. Once you have memorized it and are familiar with using it, as I have shown you here, you will have the capacity to deal with it, and know what [kinds of hadiths] may be used and what may be not. At that time, you can go on to study the *Ṣaḥīḥ* works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, [Malik's] *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, [the work] of al-Tirmidhī, the *Sunan* of al-Nasāʾī, and other works of hadith.

Al-Quḍāʿī's popularizing efforts, however, were also met with criticism. In response to the hadith specialists' contempt for a book that bereaved Prophetic sayings of their lines of transmission, al-Quḍāʿī composed a second work entitled *Musnad al-shihāb*. In the *Musnad*, he demonstrated the full lines of transmissions for each of the reports he had included in the *Shihāb*.[86] His efforts at averting the criticism, however, did not bar later medieval authors from critically engaging with his compilation. Here, I will limit myself to briefly mentioning of some of the *takhrīj* books of the *Shihāb*.[87] Compare, for example, *al-Kashf ʿan aḥādīth al-Shihāb wa-maʿrifat al-khatāʾ fīhā wa-l-ṣawāb* by the Ḥanbalī scholar Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (d. 507/1113) from Caesarea Maritima, *Bayān al-khatāʾ wa-l-ṣawāb ʿan aḥādīth al-Shihāb* by the Ḥanbalī scholar Abū l-Faraj b. al-Jawzī's (d. 597/1200), as well as *Kashf al-ḥijāb ʿan aḥādīth al-Shihāb* and *al-Durr al-multaqaṭ fī tabyīn al-ghalaṭ wa-nafy al-laghaṭ* by al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252). While they need to be understood against the backdrop of a more general trend of hadith specialists combating popular compilations that, according to their own standards, contained poorly attested words of the Prophet, the fact that so many prominent hadith scholars engaged with the *Shihāb* specifically testifies to how widely it circulated in different corners of the Muslim world.

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86 For a thorough examination of the *Musnad al-shihāb* and a detailed study of al-Quḍāʿī's lines of transmissions and sources, see Yardım, "Kuzâʾî ve Müsned'üş-Şihâbı" 285–348. I therefore do not provide any references to further attestations in the classical hadith sources for the hadith inscriptions derived from the *Shihāb*. The primary sources for such an exercise should be first al-Quḍāʿī's *Musnad al-shihāb*, ed. Ḥamdī ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Salafī, 2 vols., Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1985. Additionally, numerous *takhrīj* works of the *Shihāb* listed below offer plenty of relevant information.

87 *Takhrīj* books took a hadith work from another genre to identify and establish the status of reports in it. For a full list of the medieval works written on the *Shihāb*, see Khairil Husaini Bin Jamil, "A Reading of *Isnād* and *Tajrīd* Methodology: *Shihāb al-Akhbār* of al-Quḍāʿī (d. 454 H) and its Influence on Later Ḥadīth Compilations," in *Al-Burhān Journal of Qurʾān and Sunnah Studies* 3.1 (2019), 76–105, 87–96.

The evaluation of the hadith compiled by al-Quḍāʿī of course did not stop after the 7th/13th century. A recent study by Ahmet Tahir Dayhan, for example, examined the authenticity of the 25 individual hadiths derived from the *Shihāb* found in the Ulu Cami in Birgi. Dayhan reaches the conclusion that one fifth of these inscriptions have no authentic basis (five are considered forged [*mawḍūʿ*], nine weak [*ḍaʿīf*], two good [*ḥasan*], and nine authentic [*ṣaḥīḥ*]), and that al-Quḍāʿī should be blamed for it.[88] It is, however, obvious that the Prophet's words assumed a much broader function in medieval Islamic religious and social contexts that cannot be reduced to questions of authenticity. While specialists continued to compile, evaluate, and discuss the Prophetic sayings that have been transmitted, compilations such as the *Shihāb* for the first time made hadith accessible to less educated people, including those outside of the Arabic speaking world. Al-Quḍāʿī's decision to present hadith in a way that allows easy memorization enabled them to integrate Prophetic wisdom into their daily life. This arrangement certainly also facilitated the reading and understanding of hadith inscriptions on monuments, as everyone who had committed the hadith from the *Shihāb* to memory would encounter far fewer obstacles in deciphering the inscribed texts. The portal of the Qaraṭay Madrasa is a particularly good case in point, as it only quoted hadiths from the very beginning of the first chapter. At Birgi, the quoting of sequences and pairs equally suggests the intention to facilitate identification and understanding.

Read that way, the epigraphic program of religious architecture in 7th/13th and 8th/14th century Anatolia can be understood as participating in a larger trend of popularizing hadith, which can be observed across the medieval Muslim world. By integrating Prophetic sayings on various architectural elements regardless of the degree of their authenticity, religious monuments played an active role in communicating Prophetic wisdom and guiding the faithful in questions of ethics and piety.

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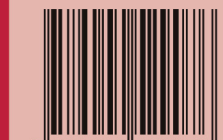
MOHAMMAD GHARAIBEH,
Ph.D. (2012), University of Bonn,
is Professor of Islamic Intellectual History at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. He has published on modern reform movements, Islamic creed, Arabic historiography, and Hadith Studies and approaches Islamic intellectual history from the perspective of the sociology of knowledge.

The studies in this volume go beyond the question of the authenticity of Prophetic narrations, which has occupied the field of Hadith Studies for over a century. By approaching hadith narrations and literature from various perspectives, the authors seek to uncover the potential that hadith material has to better understand the intellectual and social history of Muslim societies. Applying concepts and methods from other disciplines, the authors study the materiality of hadith collections, the places they were read, and the ways they were incorporated in architecture. Additionally, they explore understudied genres such as the forty-hadith, the *faḍā'il, aḥādīth al-aḥkām*, and *ʿawālī collections*. As such, they set a new course to push the field of Hadith Studies in a new direction.

ISBN 978-90-04-52907-6



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ISSN 0929-2403

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