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Introduction

Of the four main sources of Islamic Sharīʿah, Ḥadīth occupies a place second only to the Qurʾān. It is, therefore, not surprising to note that the Ḥadīth debate is not new. Towards the end of the twentieth century the study of Ḥadīth made considerable progress and received increased attention in both Muslim and Western worlds. This is due to the discovery of new sources and to developments in the field of methodology. Prophetic Traditions and their transmitters have been subject to scholarly investigation throughout Islamic history. This also holds true for the role of women in Ḥadīth transmission. Women’s participation in Ḥadīth transmission is, in fact, one of the few areas of early and Medieval Muslim women's history for which we have considerable source material. Information on female participation in Ḥadīth transmission can be found mainly in biographical dictionaries, chronicles, legal compendia, Ḥadīth collections, as well as certificates of reading sessions (ṣamāʿāt) and diplomas (ijāzāt).

Studying at the hands of a certain teacher is one of the key features of Islamic education. The educational sessions (ḥalaqah), which the scholars of Ḥadīth used to hold, started very early in Muslim history and with the emergence of Islamic Traditions (Ḥadīth), several genres of Islamic literature developed. In order to accept a certain Ḥadīth, the isnād (chain of transmission) had to be authentic and the content (matn) had to be in conformity with the Qurʾān and other authentic Ḥadīths. In the early stages, both isnād and the text were written down but disseminated orally. But with the expansion of Islam and the enormous diversification of the different disciplines of learning, it was impossible to maintain oral transmission as the only vehicle for passing on knowledge.

At a later stage, historical and Tradition texts were written in all sorts of personal notebooks of transmitters, and later, in more organized collections that were intended for a larger audience. Though, in the end, books became accepted as the ordinary medium, the individual and personal approach nevertheless remained intact. Biographical literature emerged as one of the consequences of this individual and personal approach. 'Ilm ar-Rījāl (the science of men) developed into a critical method for the assessment of scholarly authority. Many biographical works were concerned with describing networks of scholarship and chains of transmission. Other individual and personal genres developed, like the fahrāsah, the mashyakhah, the maʿājm, and so on. This highlights the significance of studying with teachers and its role in preserving the Ḥadīths of the Prophet.

4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
Previous Contributions on Women's Participation in Ḥadīth Transmission

Previous contributions concluded that women played a very active role in the transmission of the Prophetic traditions (Ḥadīth) throughout much of Islamic history. Recent studies show that women of the Companions generation participated actively in this domain of religious knowledge. However, there is a decline of women in the historical record from the mid-second to the mid-fourth centuries. In the second half of the fourth century, women re-emerged in the sources on Ḥadīth learning and transmission. From this period until well into the Mamluk era, women acquired exemplary reputations as Ḥadīth transmitters.6

This revival is closely correlated with the impact of traditionalist Sunnī Islam, as it was successful in mobilizing women in Sunnī circles after the fourth century and engaging them in one of the most public activities in the sphere of religious learning: Ḥadīth transmission.7

Very few studies have been written on the contribution of women's participation in Ḥadīth transmission. Ignaz Goldziher composed an appendix on it in his Muslim Studies.8 In this appendix, Goldziher recognized the role played by women in transmitting great collections of Ḥadīth such the Ṣaḥīḥ of Al-Bukhārī. He also mentioned some names of women who mastered Ḥadīth in Andalusia in the sixth century. At the end of the appendix, Goldziher refers to Egypt where learned women gave ijāzahs to people listening to their lectures up to the Ottoman conquest.9

Muhammad Z. Siddiqi in his Ḥadīth Literature10 included a sub-section entitled "The Part Played by Women in the Transmission and Cultivation of Ḥadīth and Ḥadīth Literature" as part of a chapter entitled "Some of the Special Features of the Ḥadīth Literature." Siddiqi has surveyed the participation of women in Ḥadīth scholarship over the centuries, listing dozens of women who authoritatively interpreted the prophetic Sunnah for generations of men and women.11

Recently, some detailed studies have seen the light of the day and drew the attention of researchers to add more to the conclusions they have reached. These include:

- Ruth Roded's chapter on female Ḥadīth transmitters in her analysis of women in Muslim biographical collections.12 Roded devoted a chapter of her work to the transmission of knowledge by learned women and scholars. She tried to emphasize the point that oral transmission of information was the keystone of early Islamic culture and continued to be the preferred method of transmission even when written works were compiled. Along with this, she surveyed different Ḥadīth collections to show the percentage of female transmitters as a primary source of Ḥadīths. She mentioned in passing the different categories of women included in Islamic biographical collections.

6 Asma Sayeed, Shifting Fortunes, iii.
7 Ibid., 290. For a more detailed discussion on Sunnī Islam, see Scott Lucas, Constructive Critics, Ḥadīth Literature, and the Articulation of Sunnī Islām (Boston: Brill, 2004).
9 Ibid., 368.
11 For more on this work and its reprint, see Asma Sayeed, Shifting Fortunes, 7-9.
Among the 37 biographical dictionaries that Roded surveyed, she referred to the two 
centenary biographical dictionaries composed in the eighth and ninth Islamic centuries:   
Ibn Ḥajar's *Ad-Durar* and as-Sakhāwī's *Ad-Dawʾ*. Roded mentioned in numbers the type 
of women included by both Ibn Ḥajar and his student As-Sakhāwī without giving detailed 
accounts of what was going on during the Mamluk period. Roded's fourth chapter 
examines the phenomenon of Mamluk biographical dictionaries. Various authors, 
including Ibn Ḥajar and as-Sakhāwī, cite many women as their teachers or their students. 
This indicates that there was a massive presence of women in the educational system. It is 
evident from Roded's materials, although she herself could not spell this out, that women 
were confined to the oral side of the culture. Roded goes on to quote the work of Lutfī 
and Berkey to show that no women had an endowed teaching position in the Mamluk 
madrasa. The book is a useful contribution to social and gender history. However, as Paul 
Auchterlonie puts it, the social and the gender historian will not be content with the book, 
as the social historian would require more corroborative sources and detailed 
argumentation to support many of the conclusions. The gender historian would prefer a 
firmer theoretical underpinning.  

- Jonathan Berkey's article on Mamluk women's religious education with a focus 
on their Ḥadīth transmission activity. Berkey provides us with an excellent study of 
medieval Islamic education in Cairo during the Mamluk period. Berkey argues that the 
transmission of knowledge in medieval Islamic societies depended on the informal world 
of personal instructional relationships of teachers and students, not on the formal 
institutional structures of higher learning. This system allowed a few women to 
participate in higher education. Berkey devoted a chapter to the education of women in 
the Mamluk period in Cairo. He discussed the place of women in educational institutions. 
He refers in passing to the madrasas and ribāṭs endowed by women. He also tackles the 
issue of women and the transmission of Ḥadīth in a few pages, giving examples of 
women who excelled in this field. He concludes that the extent of women's contribution 
to the transmission of Ḥadīth is difficult to measure, obscured as it is by the indifference 
and embarrassment of the sources written exclusively by men, and by the venue in which 
much of their teaching would have taken place. One has to agree with Abou-Bakr, who 
criticized Berkey for focusing on the role of women as mere 'transmitters', 
underestimating them as active educators and scholars in their own right. Historians of 
gender will raise more questions than Berkey, as Michael Chamberlain noticed, and the 
sources we have used allow us to address questions such as the following as well: how 
did women make use of acquired knowledge in their struggle in their households? Did
women have a different conception of knowledge than men.\textsuperscript{18} The only important aspect of this work lies in the context of women's education. Rather than here, the interest of Berkey's social history lies elsewhere.\textsuperscript{19}

- Huda Lutfi's article \textit{as-Sakhāwī's Kitāb an-Nisā']}.\textsuperscript{20} Lutfi studied the twelfth volume of \textit{as-Sakhāwī's ad-Daw’ al-Lāmi’ li ahl al-Qarn at-Tāsi’}. As-Sakhāwī called this volume \textit{Kitāb an-Nisā’}, as he devoted it to the biographies of some 1070 women during the Mamluk period. Lutfi pointed out as-Sakhāwī's methodology and aim as an exercise in personality criticism in order to place each person in his or her proper rank.\textsuperscript{21} As-Sakhāwī was not interested in average Muslim women, but in women as traditionists (\textit{muhaddithāt}). These women came from the same social background as as-Sakhāwī himself, i.e. from the middle and upper social classes, which included religious scholars, administrators, and merchants, among others.\textsuperscript{22} Lutfi showed in her article how as-Sakhāwī composed the content of each entry in \textit{Kitāb an-Nisā’}. Later, she focused on the position of women in the family as reflected in \textit{Kitāb an-Nisā’}. She refers to how girls were treated in their families at the time of as-Sakhāwī. Women were subject to close control by the responsible male members of the group.\textsuperscript{23} Lutfi touched upon some issues related to the position of women, marriage, the role of women as mothers, the issue of divorce, and so on. The main theme of her article is that of women's economic position. She concludes that a careful perusal of \textit{Kitāb an-Nisā’} suggests that women who belonged to the higher classes of an urban Muslim society did not work to earn their own living. However, some women worked as singers, entertainers, midwives, and coiffeurs. One woman worked as a merchant. As-Sakhāwī does not make any negative remark about these working women. Lutfi argues that in the field of education and scholarship, women's contributions and participations were but marginal, compared to those of men.\textsuperscript{24}

By this argument, Lutfi shows that she did not study the book deeply, as the number of women covered in this book is everything but small, while it proves that there was a huge movement of women's participation in transmitting and teaching the words of the Prophet.

- Elizabeth Sartain's \textit{Jalāl Ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background}.\textsuperscript{25} In volume I of her study on Jalāl Ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, Elizabeth Sartain devoted Section three of Part I to the academic life in as-Suyūṭī's time. She discussed, among others, women as transmitters of Ḥadīth. She attributed the greater recognition that women achieved in Ḥadīth literature to the fact that the wives of the Prophet had played a very important part in transmitting reports of the Prophet's words and deeds. She also sees another reason for excelling in Ḥadīth transmission. She states that to achieve distinction in any other branch of knowledge a good general education was essential, and this was something that most


\textsuperscript{21} Huda Lutfi, "As-Sakhāwī's \textit{Kitāb an-Nisā’}", 108.

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Ibid.}, 108-109.

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Ibid.}, 112.

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Ibid.}, 123.

\textsuperscript{25} (Cambridge University Press, 1975).
women lacked. Sartain opens the door for more discussion on the nature of women’s education during the Mamluk period, as she wonders how women managed to arrange for these activities considering the custom of segregating the sexes.

- Leila Ahmed’s *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. Leila Ahmed devoted very few pages of her book to the issue of recounting the Traditions of the Prophet by women. She acknowledges that although the early reports were written down by men, a significant proportion of the accounts of the Prophet were recounted on the authority of women, and thus at least the first generation of Muslims had no difficulty in accepting women as authorities. Later in the book, she shows how the Traditions narrated by women, especially the Prophet’s wives, contributed to scholarly dispute. Leila Ahmed wonders how many of the world’s living religions incorporate women’s accounts into their central texts or allow a woman’s testimony as to the correct reading of a single word of a sacred text to influence decisions. In Chapter Six of the book, she mentions some names of the women who contributed to Ḥadīth literature in medieval Islam.

- Omaima Abou Bakr’s article on female Ḥadīth transmission as represented in two Mamluk biographical dictionaries. Abou Bakr’s article deals with the biographical information provided in the two source references (Ibn Ḥajar’s *Ad-Durar* and as-Sakhāwī’s *Ad-Daw’ al-Lāmī*) as an important historical indication of the total picture of their conditions. She starts with the vocation of the muḥaddithāt, then moves to the evolution of Muslim education and methods of instruction, and finally concludes with the characteristics of the muḥaddithāt. After exploring the involvement of women in the social, cultural, intellectual, and educational domains of their societies, Abou Bakr tries to consolidate the view that medieval and pre-modern societies were dynamic societies in the very sense of the word. Abou Bakr did not touch upon all the different social dimensions that contributed to the flourishing of women as muḥaddithāt in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In addition to these studies, some other books have been authored on our subject. These books focus on women’s activities in certain periods. They include:

- Şāliḥ Maṭūq’s *Juhūd al-Mar`āh fi Riwayat al-Ḥadīth: al-Qārn ath-Thāmin al-Hijrī*;
- Mashhūr Salmān’s *In′āyat an-Nisā′ bil-Ḥadīth an-Nabawī: Saḥābīt Muḍī′ ah min Ḥayāt al-Muḥaddithīt ḥatta al-Qārn ath-Thālith ′ashar al-Hijrī*.

Maṭūq gives an overview of the political, cultural, and social life during the Mamluk period. He outlines the contribution of men to the study of Ḥadīth. After that, he

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29 *Ibid.*, 73
34 (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-İsālmiyyah, 1997).
brieves us on the participation of women in social and religious life. The focus of his book is the female transmission of Ḥadith. The author briefly discusses the role of females in the transmission of Ḥadith from the first century to the end of the seventh century of the Hijrah. The rest of the books is devoted to female contributions to the study of Ḥadith during the eighth century. In a separate chapter, the author gives details on 15 famous women scholars of ḤadITH during the eighth century. Maṭṭūq’s doctoral dissertation focused on Ḥadith Literature in general in Mecca during the Mamluk period.36

Salmān gives a general picture of the role played by women in the transmission of Ḥadith from the first century to the thirteenth century. He also focuses on the transmission of certain Ḥadith collections by women throughout Islamic history. He gives examples of how early Muslim families paid attention to the education of their female offspring. These studies undertake the task of collecting data on women’s student-teacher networks and the works they are said to have narrated.37

- In 2005, Asma Sayeed submitted her doctoral dissertation to Princeton University entitled: *Shifting Fortunes: Women and Ḥadith Transmission in Islamic History (first to eighth centuries)*. The dissertation covers the period from the generation of the Companions up to the Mamluk era. Reviewing the dissertation, I discovered that she did not cover the Mamluk period completely, where she stopped her research at the eighth century. She mentioned only one case study concerning the Mamluk era in the fourth chapter of her work.38 Sayeed’s dissertation focuses on the earlier centuries, as she believes there are no studies which undertake an analysis of those centuries, and her dissertation aims to fill that lacuna.39 In a separate article published in *Studia Islamica*, she covered two other case studies from Mamluk Damascus.40 Sayeed’s work highlights the most important five factors for the revival of women’s Ḥadith transmission, which will be further discussed within the course of the present study.

- In 2006, Mohammad Akram Nadwi published his *Al-Muhaddithat: The Women Scholars in Islam*.41 This study is an adaptation of the preface to his 40-volume biographical dictionary (in Arabic) of the Muslim women who studied and taught Ḥadith. The yet to be published dictionary will help researchers to decide where to start when focusing on individual women. In fact, many modern biographical dictionaries focus on the contribution of women in different fields such as poetry, Fiqh, Ḥadith, and Qur’anic studies. Mention should be made here of Kahhāl’s *A lām an-Nisā’,*42 and al-Zirikli’s *al-A’lām.*43

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37 Asma Sayeed, *Shifting Fortunes*, 6
38 See the part on Zaynab bint al-Kamāl, 253-63
39 In this connection, I would like to mention that there is a dissertation conducted by Amal Qirdash at the International Islamic University in Pakistan in 1998 on the role of women in the service of Ḥadith in the first three Islamic centuries (*Dawr al-Marʿaḥ fī Khidmat al-Ḥadīth fī al-Qurʾān al-ʿUlā*, Qatar: Wazarat al-Awqāf wa ash-Shuʿāʾn al-Islāmiyyah, 1999) I guess Sayeed was not aware of this work as there is no mention of it in her study.
Despite their various limitations, the above mentioned publications have contributed many elements to the present study. The findings of Asma Sayeed's recent studies served as a springboard for me to the investigation and the study of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's life.

**Scope of Our Study**

This study focuses on the life of one individual Ḥadīth female transmitter, Ash-Shaykhah Maryam Al-Adhraʿiyyah⁴⁴ (719/1319-805/1402), based on Ibn Ḥajar's *Muʿjam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam* that he had compiled about her. At the end of the study, an annotated edition of the *Muʿjam* will be provided. As the scope of women's participation in Ḥadīth transmission is very large and has been covered in many other publications, I chose to focus on the life of one individual female Ḥadīth scholar and her role, both as a student of Ḥadīth and a transmitter thereof. This will help in drawing a clearer picture of the general role of women as participants in transmitting the words of the Prophet. The first factor that aroused my interest in the *Muʿjam* was the absence of a careful decipherment of the (unique) surviving manuscript in previous printed editions of the *Muʿjam*. The second factor was the difficulty faced by previous editors of the *Muʿjam* in identifying who Ash-Shaykhah Maryam was. By studying Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's life and work, it is hoped that women will be recognized, as Sayeed suggested, as examples of a normal and important phenomenon in Islamic history, not as anomalies, and their role in both the scholarly environment and the broader context of Mamluk society will be more widely accepted.

Our study will try to answer the following questions:
What can be said about the social background of female participation in Ḥadīth transmission in the light of Ash-Shaykhah Maryam al-Adhraʿiyyah's *Muʿjam*? Were Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's activities mainly confined—as has been suggested in several publications about women's participation in Ḥadīth transmission—to her youth and her old age, as during the period between both she was restricted by the moral code of Islam in her mobility in the public sphere? Did she read or study all Ḥadīth books or specific titles only? Did she also read the *ajzāʾ*? Are there any specific critical and evaluative criteria to be found in the Ḥadīth sources with reference to female transmitters? What was the number of *ijāzahs* that Ash-Shaykhah Maryam could obtain in comparison with her male counterparts? What can the *Muʿjam* add to our knowledge about women's participation in Ḥadīth transmission?

Apart from the introduction, the study will consist of two parts. **Part I** will focus on the study of the *Muʿjam* and other related issues. In **Part II**, an annotated edition of the *Muʿjam* will be provided based on the only manuscript available, viz. at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah (Reference number: 1421 Ḥadīth).

The first part will be divided into six chapters. **Chapter One** is devoted to a description of the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah's manuscript, dealing mainly with the location of the manuscript, its physical properties, the methodology I applied in editing the manuscript, and a biography of its copyist. **Chapter Two** will establish Ibn Ḥajar's authorship of the *Muʿjam* and the sources used and the method followed in composing it. **Chapter Three** will place the *Muʿjam* among Ibn Ḥajar's writings and contemporary similar works. A

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⁴⁴ It can be pronounced al-Adhriʿiyyah, but I will use one spelling throughout the present work.
biographical sketch of Ibn Ḥajar will be provided, focusing on his role as an author and his interest in women's biographies. A comparison between Ibn Ḥajar's Muʿjam Ash-Shaykhah Maryam and ad-Durar al-Kāminah will be made in an attempt to place the Muʿjam among Ibn Ḥajar's writings. Chapter Four will explore the world of the Muʿjam and will give an overview of the development of the genre of the individual bibliography like the fahrasah, the mashaykhah, the muʿjam, and so on. Chapter Five will focus on the role of women in Ḥadīth transmission, especially during the Mamluk period. This will be preceded by introductory remarks on women's authority as Ḥadīth transmitters, i.e. what the Ḥadīth scholars said about reports transmitted by women, and an overview of women’s education in the Mamluk period. On Ash-Shaykhah Maryam’s life, Chapter Six will try to answer the following questions: Who were Ash-Shaykhah Maryam's teachers, men or women? Were they family members or non-family members? How old was she when she received her first ijāzah to transmit learning? Where did she study? Where did she teach? What was her position as a female Ḥadīth transmitter in comparison to that of other muḥaddithāt? What does this tell us about the Islamic learning at the time? In which aspects is Ash-Shaykhah Maryam similar to her predecessors?