

Ḥadīth-Amālī Sessions: Historical Study of A Forgotten  
Tradition in Classical Islam

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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## Acknowledgement

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## Abstract

This thesis is motivated by the shortage of research on the historical phenomenon of ḥadīth dictation sessions (*al-amālī*). It is the first to investigate the subject of ḥadīth dictation sessions, an extraordinary and highly-valued intellectual phenomenon in Islamic cultural history. It focusses on the writings of al-Khaṭīb and al-Samʿānī and compares them to other manuscripts on *amālī* held in libraries in various parts of the Muslim world. The study has tried to bring together a large number of manuscripts to explore aspects of this area, *imlāʾ al-ḥadīth*. The main objective of this research is to shed light on this important genre and to uncover its major characteristics, structures and value, and ultimately to address the relative neglect this area of research has suffered.

The major finding of this study is that *amālī* was the most highly-regarded and most trusted method in transmitting, preserving and analysing *ḥadīth* within scholarly circles. Also the study has demonstrated that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and al-Samʿānī's approaches are descriptive and lack the precision in regards to the main principles of *imlāʾ*, a method that was a particularly robust way of documenting only valid ḥadīth. The study also reveals that the claims of several scholars to reviving this method are not accurate. Particularly, the study shows that al-Suyūṭī did not lead a movement to revive the ḥadīth dictation sessions after Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ.

This is the first dedicated study on *imlāʾ* in either English or Arabic and should be of particular interest to students of *ḥadīth* and scholars interested in pedagogical methods in the Medieval East and West.

## Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgement</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	<b>vi</b>
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	<b>xii</b>
<b>List of figures</b> .....	<b>xiii</b>
<b>Arabic Transliteration System</b> .....	<b>xiv</b>
<b>Declaration</b> .....	<b>xvi</b>
<b>1.1. Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.2. Overview of Research.....	4
1.3. Rationale of Research .....	5
1.4. Research Objectives .....	6
1.5. Research Methodology .....	7
1.6. Research Contribution.....	7
1.7. Research Value .....	8
1.8. Literature Review .....	8
1.9. Structure of the thesis.....	17
<b>2. Chapter One: Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions (<i>Amālī al-ḥadīth</i>)</b> .....	<b>20</b>
2.1. Introduction.....	20
2.2. Definition of Ḥadīth Dictation .....	20
2.3. Historical Development of Ḥadīth Dictation .....	21
2.3.1. During the Prophet's Lifetime.....	21
2.3.2. During the Companions' Lifetime .....	23
2.3.3. During the Successors' Lifetime.....	23
2.4. Phases of Development of Ḥadīth Dictation.....	24
2.4.1. Formative Phase of Ḥadīth Dictation.....	24
2.4.2. Growth Phase of Ḥadīth Dictation .....	26
2.4.3. Stagnation of Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions.....	30
2.5. The Significance of Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions.....	33
2.6. Methods of Ḥadīth Dictation ( <i>ṭara'iq al-implā'</i> ).....	35
2.6.1. Dictation from Memory .....	35
2.6.2. Dictation from a Book.....	36

2.6.3.	Dictation from Both Memory and a Book .....	36
2.7.	Dictation in Ḥadīth Learning .....	37
2.7.1.	Position of Dictation in Ḥadīth Learning .....	37
2.7.2.	Conditions of Ḥadīth Learning .....	39
2.7.3.	Methods of Ḥadīth Learning .....	40
3	<b>Chapter Two</b> .....	<b>46</b>
3.1.	Introduction .....	46
3.2	Major Threats to Manuscripts .....	46
3.3.	Importance of the Present Discussion .....	47
3.4	al-Khazānah al-Shawishiyyah (Personal Libraries) .....	48
3.5.	Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions in Printed Form .....	50
3.5.1.	Major Published Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions .....	50
3.6.	Lone Ḥadīth Dictation Session Manuscripts .....	55
3.6.1.	Identification of the Lone Manuscript .....	56
3.6.2.	Data Collection on Lone Manuscripts .....	56
3.6.3.	List of Lone Ḥadīth Dictation Session Manuscripts .....	57
3.7.	Ḥadīth Dictation Session Manuscripts of More Than One Copy .....	80
3.7.1.	List of Ḥadīth Dictation Session Manuscripts of More Than One Copy .....	80
	<b>Chapter Three: The Ḥadīth Scholar (al-mumli)</b> .....	<b>124</b>
4.1	Introduction .....	124
4.2.	Who is the Ḥadīth Scholar ( <i>al-mumli</i> )? .....	124
4.2.1.	Prerequisites for the Ḥadīth Scholar .....	125
4.3.	Categories of Ḥadīth Scholars .....	125
4.4	Distinction Between the Traditionist and the Ḥadīth Scholar .....	127
4.5.	Moral Standards of the Ḥadīth Scholar .....	128
4.5.1.	Justice .....	128
4.5.2.	Expertise .....	130
4.5.3.	Sound Intention .....	133
4.5.4	Truthfulness .....	134
4.5.5.	Respect for Discipline .....	135
4.5.6.	To be Exemplary .....	136
4.5.7.	Patience and Lenience .....	136
4.5.8.	Justice and Equality for All students .....	137

4.5.9	Uprightness and Self-dependence .....	137
4.5.10	Awareness of Students' Aptitude .....	138
4.5.11.	Endeavours to Disseminate and Teach Ḥadīths Through Travelling .....	139
4.6.	Checking the Accuracy of a Ḥadīth Scholar's Narration.....	139
4.7.	Ḥadīth Accuracy Measures in Modern Time .....	140
4.8.	Procedural Rules of the Ḥadīth Scholar .....	140
4.8.1.	Time of the Session.....	140
4.8.2.	Preparing the Teaching Material.....	141
4.8.3.	Taking Care of What to Wear .....	142
4.8.4.	Sitting in an Elevated Place .....	143
4.8.5.	Opening the Session with a Recitation of the Qur'an.....	143
4.9.	The Age of the Ḥadīth Scholar .....	145
<b>Chapter Four: The Repeater (<i>al-mustamli</i> or the assistant dictator).....</b>		<b>146</b>
4.10.	Introduction.....	146
4.11.	Emergence of the Need for a Repeater .....	146
4.12.	The Role of the Repeater .....	149
4.13.	Criteria required for the Repeater .....	152
4.14.	The Role of the Repeater .....	156
4.15.	Major Repeaters .....	157
4.16.	Number of Repeaters .....	158
4.17.	Procedural Rules of the Repeater.....	161
4.18.	Can Ḥadīth be Taken from a Repeater or only from a Ḥadīth Scholar?.....	164
4.19.	Status of the Repeater Among Ḥadīth Scholars.....	166
<b>5.</b>	<b>Chapter Five: The Ḥadīth Student.....</b>	<b>167</b>
5.1.	Introduction.....	167
5.2.	The Ḥadīth Student's Moral and Academic Commitments.....	167
5.3.	Criteria of the Ḥadīth Student .....	168
5.3.1.	Student's Respect for His Ḥadīth Teacher.....	168
5.3.2.	Genuine Intention and Devotion to Study.....	171
5.3.3.	Hastening versus Procrastination ( <i>al-Ta'ajjul wal-Tā'jīl</i> ) .....	174
5.3.4.	The Selection of Ḥadīth Scholars.....	175
5.3.5.	Travelling in Search for Knowledge.....	177

5.3.6.	Acting According to Ḥadīth's dictates .....	186
5.3.7.	Time Management .....	191
5.4.	<i>Al-Wijādah</i> in Ḥadīth Studies .....	194
5.4.1.	The Self-Study Ḥadīth Student .....	195
5.4.2.	Acting According to <i>al-Wijādah</i> .....	197
<b>6.</b>	<b>Chapter Six: Characteristics of the Teaching Material of Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions .....</b>	<b>198</b>
6.1.	Introduction.....	198
6.2.	What is the Teaching Material? .....	198
6.2.1.	Criteria of the Teaching Material .....	198
6.3.	The Pedagogical Plan ( <i>al-khiṭṭah al-taʿlimiyyah</i> ).....	199
6.3.1.	Objectives of the Pedagogical Plan.....	199
6.4.	Major Features of the Teaching Material.....	200
6.4.1.	Digression ( <i>al-istiṭrād</i> ).....	200
6.4.2.	Isnād-based details ( <i>tawthīq al-khabar bil-isnād</i> ) .....	201
6.5.	Major Features of the Teaching Material in Terms of Chain of Narration ( <i>Isnād</i> ).....	203
6.5.1.	Reliance on the narration given by trustworthy narrators... ..	204
6.5.2.	Avoiding the narration given by weak narrators and transgressors of a command ( <i>mukhalif</i> ) .....	204
6.5.3.	Explanation of ḥadīth defects ( <i>al-ʿilal</i> ) .....	205
6.5.4.	Making sure that the soundness of a particular ḥadīth is explained and the other categories of ḥadīth are mentioned .....	210
6.5.5.	Mentioning details when reference is made to <i>isnād</i> .....	214
6.5.6.	Paying attention to biographical details and to impugment and vindication ( <i>al-jarḥ wal-taʿdil</i> ) .....	215
6.6.	Major Features of the Teaching Material in Terms of the Content of the Ḥadīth ( <i>matn</i> ).....	219
6.6.1.	Paying attention to jurisprudential ḥadīths: .....	219
6.6.2.	Paying attention to the virtues of the Companions .....	219
6.6.3.	Paying attention to ḥadīths on the virtues of good deeds ( <i>fadāʾil al-aʿmāl</i> ) .....	220
6.6.4.	Paying attention to explaining ambiguous words in a ḥadīth.....	220
6.6.5.	Paying attention to the level of understanding of the students.....	222

6.7.	Major features of the teaching plan in terms of anecdotes and poetry .....	223
6.7.1.	Anecdotes for the purpose of admonition .....	223
6.7.2.	Verses of poetry for admonition purposes .....	226
6.8.	Time of Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions .....	229
6.8.1	How Many Times a Week?.....	230
6.8.2.	Which Day and What Time During the Day?.....	231
6.9.	Place of Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions .....	236
6.9.1.	Mosques .....	236
<b>7.</b>	<b>Chapter Seven: The Ḥadīth Student's Learning Aids.....</b>	<b>242</b>
7.1.	Introduction .....	242
7.2.	The Paper Industry .....	242
7.3.	The Writing Tools Used in Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions .....	243
7.3.1.	Factors Affecting Paper .....	244
7.4.	Paper, Ink and Calligraphy.....	245
7.4.1.	Features of Appropriate Calligraphy.....	248
7.4.2.	The Quality and Perfection of the Handwriting Style.....	249
7.4.3.	Calligraphers' Equipment .....	252
7.5.	Defining the Writing Rules .....	262
7.5.1.	Setting the Ḥadīth in Terms of Vowelling ( <i>tashkīl</i> ) and Dotting Consonants ( <i>i'jām</i> ).....	263
7.5.2.	Connecting the Narrator to the Ḥadīth Scholar.....	265
7.5.3.	The Verification of ḥadīth ( <i>takhrīj al-ḥadīth</i> ).....	266
7.5.4.	The Corrections.....	267
7.5.5.	Incomplete Text of Ḥadīth( <i>taḍbīb</i> ) and Ailment of Ḥadīth ( <i>tamrīd</i> ) .....	268
7.5.6.	Deletion of Unwanted Content Detected in the Text of the <i>Muḥaddith</i> .....	270
7.5.7.	The Circle Separating Two Ḥadīths.....	271
7.5.8.	Recording What the Ḥadīth Student Heard.....	272
<b>8.</b>	<b>Research Conclusions .....</b>	<b>275</b>
8.1.	Recommendations for Future Research .....	282
	<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>284</b>
	Appendix A: <i>Amālī</i> Ibn al-Ghūrī (Third Century) .....	284
	Appendix B: <i>Amālī</i> al-khatli al-Sukkari (Fourth Century) .....	288

Appendix C: <i>Amālī</i> Ibn al-Banāni (Fifth Century) .....	293
Appendix D: <i>Amālī</i> Abu al-Qāsim al-Taīmi al-Faḍil (Sixth Century).....	297
<b>Bibliography:</b> .....	<b>304</b>

## **List of Tables**

<b>Table 1 Methods of ḥadīth learning and the expressions used in each method.....</b>	<b>24</b>
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## **List of figures**

<b>Figure 1 The three major methods of ḥadīth dictation .....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Figure 2 the best method of ḥadīth learning.....</b>	<b>45</b>

## Arabic Transliteration System

Throughout this thesis, the Library of Congress transliteration system has been consistently employed whenever an Arabic expression is quoted. The following table explains the Arabic transliteration system for Arabic consonants and vowels:

Arabic	Transliteration	Arabic	Transliteration
أ	a	ط	ṭ
ء	'	ظ	ẓ
ب	b	ع	ʿ
ت	t	غ	gh
ث	th	ف	f
ج	j	ق	q
ح	ḥ	ك	k
خ	kh	ل	l
د	d	م	m
ذ	dh	ن	n
ر	r	هـ	h
ز	z	و	w
س	s	ي	y
ش	sh		
ص	ṣ		

Arabic short - long vowels and case endings:

Arabic	Transliteration	Arabic	Transliteration
آ	<i>ā</i>	ـَ	-an
و	<i>ū</i>	ـُ	-un
ي	<i>i</i>	ـِ	-in
ا	<i>a</i>		
و	<i>u</i>		
ي	<i>i</i>		

## **Declaration**

I, the author of this thesis, declare that none of the material in this thesis has been previously submitted by me or any other candidate for a degree in this or any other university

## 1.1. Introduction

Long before the advent of Islam Arabs were already known for excelling in eloquent speech; for their ability to construct language in a way that best articulated what was contained in their hearts. They competed in adapting language for different uses and vied in regard to who had most mastery over this skill. Yet the primary mode of communication for Arabs remained oral. It is undeniable that poetry was one of the means of transferring both Arab tradition and news at that time. Rhythm, rhyme and other figures of speech helped the Arab memory to preserve information. According to James Monroe (1987: 4): “Muslims were the best to use regulation of the oral narration that, later on, became independent disciplines known as sciences of chain of narration (*isnād*), impugment and vindication (*jarḥ wa ta’dīl*)”.

On the other hand, writing was also a phenomenon in pre-Islamic Arabia. The evidence for this is Labīd’s famous poem preserved among the *Mu‘allaqāt* and written in gold on the cloth covering of the Ka‘ba at Mecca. In this poem, Labīd mentioned the writing process on white stone and paper. Another example of the use of written materials in the pre-Islamic era is the famous story of ‘Amr bin Hind, who was satirised by Ṭarāfa bin al-‘Abd, the famous poet. ‘Amr decided to get rid of him along with his uncle, Al-Mutalāmis. In order to do this, he sent, with each one of them a letter to his agent in Bahrain, in which an order of death was written on the enclosed letter for the carrier. This was unknown to the poets, each of whom thought that the letters contained an order of payment (Alzouzna, 1990: 97-99).

Thus, it is clear that the king used the written form of instruction to convey his message. The written form of instruction, furthermore, was used in trade. A good example of this is the journey of the “Winter and Summer” which the Quraysh would make (see Q2). Politicians and senior tribes used to write treaties among them. Yet, these writings were few and far between because of lack and scarcity of the written instruments.

Oral narration therefore remained the most common and the most adopted method of transmission. Earlier Arabs used to send their children into the desert, where they could find a pure environment that was free from distractions and

drawbacks. The desert tongue represented the purity of the Arabic language, untarnished by other languages. Bedouin depended on repetition of speech, talking directly to young people, sitting with adults in their councils and listening to poems in their councils, mentioning the “days of the Arabs of old” (*ayyām al-ʿArab*). Using their memories from their earliest years of life, children received direct and indirect *amālī*. Their memories, consequently, were trained well and became sharp. This was known about Arabs when they sent their children to the Bedouin; this is what happened in turn to the Prophet Muḥammad, who as a child was sent to be raised by the Banī Saʿīda (Ibn Ḥibbān, 6441).

With the advent of Islam, at the instruction of the Prophet, the writing of ḥadīth was prohibited in order for it not to be confused with the Qurʿan. The Prophet’s Companions relied on oral narration for as long as the Prophet was among them. When the Companions learnt of something from the Prophet they used to circulate it among each other, hoping for it to inform behaviour.

It is important to state that in his book, *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm wa faḍlih*, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, mentioned that the Prophet Muḥammad used to speak to his companions and repeat it three times while his companions listened. However, some companions were excluded from preventing writing ḥadīth. ʿAlī ibn ʿAbī Ṭalib, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar and others were examples. Furthermore, Quraysh captives were redeemed in the battle of Badr, on condition that they teach Muslims reading and writing. The Prophet’s letters to the kings and princes, his treaties with Jews, and the Hudaibiyya treaty agreed between Madina and the Quraysh are all examples of writing in early Islam.

It is essential to state that most Companions did not accept every ḥadīth from the traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*) unless the carrier or narrator swore that he heard it from the Prophet or brought a witness to assure the authenticity of his claim. An example of this is a case in which a grandmother came to Abū Bakr Al-Siddīq demanding her share of inheritance from the estate of her deceased grand-son. Abū Bakr retorted that he could not find a verse in the Qurʿan that would permit her this, but that he would consult al-Mughīra, an expert in the law of inheritance. Al-Mughīra explained that the Prophet used to give grandmothers one-sixth of deceased’s estate in cases where there were no children. At this, Abū Bakr asked

him if he had a witness; Al-Mughīra brought Muhammed bin Maslama, who confirmed this was indeed the case and so Abū Bakr (Al-Kholi, 1988: 35). ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was particularly diligent about scrutinising ḥadīth that were reported to him. He would refrain himself from reporting a ḥadīth if he found it had only one narrator supported it or had any cause to doubt it. There is an incident reported in which Abū Mūsā greeted ʿUmar three times from outdoors. When he got no permission from ʿUmar to enter, he turned away. ʿUmar immediately sent for him, asking him why he had done this. Abū Mūsā replied that he had heard the Prophet saying that, if a man greets a person three times asking to enter his house without getting an answer, he should turn to leave. ʿUmar demanded evidence be brought for this or Abū Mūsā would face severe punishment.

As Islam spread, and the territories under Muslim control expanded, religious diversity increased to the point where Islam itself was increasingly susceptible to foreign influences. As the Prophet's Companions dispersed across the territories, it was the belief of some that the accuracy of ḥadīth was less certain. It is said that this situation led to the necessity of writing and codifying ḥadīth. When ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz became caliph in 100/718, he sent for his agent and judge in Madina, commanding him to search out ḥadīths of the Messenger of Allah in order to write them down (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, 1982).

The Prophet's companions followed the same footsteps in various educational and governmental activities. When the early Islamic scholarly revolution started after Islam spread beyond the Arab world, and met with other nations, writing was used for educational purposes and the documentation of the new sciences, especially, the *Sunnai*.e. the normative practice of the Prophet. Soon after that, this became the favorite way of the ḥadīth scholars in most Islamic territories after they had started to develop that way of writing and its operational, formal and stylistic practices (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, 1982). Writing became the most important way of receiving and conveying ḥadīth. Resources that are concerned with preserving ḥadīth in this historical era indicate that dictation was more widespread than other ways of receiving and conveying ḥadīth, highlighted also by the fact that many ḥadīth students refrained from accepting narrations from ḥadīth scholars except by dictation. In addition to this, this way was publicly held and quickly the same

resources dictated by the ḥadīth scholars reached tens of thousands or even more. Other ways of preserving ḥadīth did not have such position, to the degree that the caliphs of the time desired to take control of such gatherings. Those that did this ensured people were gathered for them ready to write what they dictated.

In centuries to follow, dictation became an educational style with unique features, and became a freestanding art adopted by many ḥadīth scholars, and aided with the advancement of composition and the spread of education across the Islamic territories. Studies indicate that dictation gatherings became cultural resources for knowledge and a motive for scientific and cultural life for many centuries all over the Islamic and Arabic world. They also showed that most scholars of the legal sciences and sciences of ḥadīth held this method in high regards for its effectiveness and liveliness, as students always accessed them and many major scholars graduated from the dictation gatherings. Today ḥadīth dictation (*al-amālī al-ḥadīthiyya*) and its many volumes are one of the most important references for a ḥadīth student and researcher. It is not only among the pioneering forms of ḥadīth preservation, but also subsumes many types of ḥadīth sciences, such as the science of chains of narration (*isnād*) and text (*matn*). It also contains a lot of ḥadīths, explanations of Qur'anic verses, information about narrations and narrators, quotes and works of literature, and analyses of various classical scholars – and above all, makes ḥadīth a treasure worthy of studying.

This thesis draws from source material on the subject of *imlā'* in order to present information on a hitherto understudied intellectual phenomenon in Islamic cultural history. Furthermore, important questions are broached, such as why *amālī* was considered so highly, particularly in ḥadīth transmission. The hope is that as a consequence of this study, more attention is given to research on *amālī* by scholars of Islamic intellectual history.

## **1.2. Overview of Research**

The present thesis provides an in-depth investigation into the subject of ḥadīth dictation sessions known in Arabic as ḥadīth-*amālī*. The current work is a critical and historical analysis of the development of the ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions. It provides a detailed discussion of the vital educational role of the ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions from the



2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century to the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. It is important to note that the focus of this study is the phenomenon of *amālī* in Sunni Islam. Therefore, excluded from it are surveys of the same phenomenon in Shi'ī Islam or indeed other Islamicate cultures.

Although the study of ḥadīth has attracted some interest among Western ḥadīth scholars in the last few decades (Wilferd Madelung, George Makdisi and Mez Adam are examples), none has undertaken more than a cursory look at ḥadīth dictation sessions. Similarly, although many Arab and Muslim scholars have written about ḥadīth dictation sessions, none of them has provided a consistent research methodology that accounts for this discipline in a coherent manner similar in rigour to what has been provided in this thesis. Most of them have tended to deal with this matter either briefly or in a section as part of a book.

Some of the sources used for this study remain as manuscripts. These manuscripts have been of significant value to the present study. It is hoped that this work will provide a valuable contribution to our knowledge and understanding of this unique discipline within ḥadīth studies, in general, and to ḥadīth dictation sessions, in particular.

### **1.3. Rationale of Research**

This is an original area of study that has not been previously investigated in such detail. *Amālī* represents a system of instruction and transmission adopted by ḥadīth scholars. It is concerned with the methods of documenting the ḥadīth's chain of narration. One may wonder why the chain of narrations is the focal point of the ḥadīth *amālī* sessions. This is attributed to the fact that without the chain of narrations, the ḥadīth heritage would have been lost, and forged ḥadīths would have been even more common than they were. It is likely that without the ḥadīth *amālī* sessions, Prophet Muḥammad's tradition and standard practice would have been forgotten. Furthermore, the ḥadīth *amālī* sessions are probably the most authentic of the means used to document ḥadīth. The sessions were one of the most important educational methods in the early centuries after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad. The present study will provide an historical account of the various stages through which the ḥadīth *amālī* sessions passed. It will also deal with the educational role of the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) and the relationship between the

ḥadīth scholar and his students. The study also provides details about the growing need for the ḥadīth*amālī* sessions, the places at which they were held, the times of these sessions, and the emergence of the repeater (*al-mustamlī*), a role created due to the attendance of huge numbers of students who would not all be within ear-shot of the ḥadīth scholar. The survey will also include a discussion of the ethics and etiquettes of *amālī*.

Although *amālī* sessions constitute a very rich source of ḥadīth documentation, they have not attracted much interest among researchers. There are still many valuable manuscripts which have yet to be edited and which are held in different libraries in various countries. The primary objective of this study is to provide a detailed critical analysis of the ḥadīth dictation sessions only. Therefore, other kinds of *amālī* such as *amālī* in linguistics, history, politics and literature fall outside the scope of this research. However, the last chapter will provide a comparative analysis of the various kinds of the *amālī* sessions according to al-Suyūṭī's points of view.

#### 1.4. Research Objectives

As a critical and historical analysis, the study aims to realise the following objectives:

- 1- To delineate the phenomenon of *amālī*;
- 2- To provide an historical account of the development of the ḥadīth*amālī* sessions;
- 3- To highlight the educational role of the ḥadīth*amālī* sessions;
- 4- To highlight the vital role of the ḥadīth*amālī* sessions in the preservation and documentation of ḥadīth;
- 5- To highlight the important role of the ḥadīth*amālī* sessions in Islamic studies in general and ḥadīth studies in particular;
- 6- To examine the reasons for the lack of books based on ḥadīth dictation sessions from the second and third Islamic centuries;
- 7- To provide a comparative analysis of the different kinds of *amālī* sessions in addition to the ones on the ḥadīth; and
- 8- To provide a critical assessment of al-Suyūṭī's claim that the ḥadīth*amālī* sessions came to an end in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century.

## 1.5. Research Methodology

This research adopts an historical-anthropological approach to the study of ḥadīth-*amālī*. Thick description is a signature of the work presented, providing informative details about the historical evolution of the ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions and the different methods applied in them. The vital role of the ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions in the preservation and documentation of ḥadīth has also been assessed.

The study examines historical details such as the respective roles of the traditionists, students and other attendees at the ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions; the organisational dimensions of such sessions and the locations where they took place. The study also provides some critical insights into the historiography of the subject, highlighting the importance of relevant manuscripts and published textual sources. The vital role of the ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions in the preservation and documentation of ḥadīth has also been assessed. An attempt is made to draw out the implications that this historical phenomenon has for later Muslim intellectual heritage; here deductive analysis will play an important role. The result, it is hoped, is a study that responds to the key questions set out above as well as a foundation for future study of this incredibly rich and important method of transmission.

Archive and field work in various international libraries and manuscript centres has been undertaken in order to enrich the theoretical part of my research. The libraries visited were the the Zahiriyah in Damascus, the Sulaimaniyyah in Istanbul, Alexandria library, the Manuscripts Library in Spain, Dār-al-Kutub al-Maṣriyyah in Cairo, private libraries in Egypt, King ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Centre, King Faisal Centre, manuscript sections in Saudi Universities, including al-Ḥaram (Mecca) library. Through this field work, I was able to compare some *amālī* manuscripts and ḥadīth works in order to enrich the practical part of my research.

## 1.6. Research Contribution

It is hoped that this original study will make a valuable contribution to knowledge in the following fields:

1. The present study will be a positive contribution to ḥadīth studies in terms of ḥadīth documentation and chains of narrations;

2. The present study will provide a detailed and methodological analysis of the various historical stages of development of the ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions;
3. It will be a valuable contribution to the critical study of some manuscripts on ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions;
4. This research will provide a detailed discussion of the vital educational role of the ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions from the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century to the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century, and
5. This research will provide useful recommendations to future researchers on ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions.

### 1.7. Research Value

The manuscripts on ḥadīth dictation sessions represent the cream of ḥadīth studies since such sessions are the core of ḥadīth literature which was dictated by eminent ḥadīth scholars to dedicated ḥadīth students. The study of manuscripts on ḥadīth dictation sessions which are in printed or manuscript form demonstrates the huge variance between the available manuscripts and those which are still in printed form. The study of ḥadīth dictation sessions which are in printed forms and those which are still in manuscript forms is of importance to:

- (i) Researchers who are interested in the study of Arabic manuscripts, in general, and ḥadīth manuscripts, in particular;
- (ii) Researchers who are interested in editing and publishing such manuscripts;
- (iii) Postgraduate research students who are interested in this field of research.

### 1.8. Literature Review

Although many studies have examined the history of ḥadīth, few have been done on ḥadīth dictation sessions. The prominent studies are Madelung's *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, George Makdisi's *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West* and Gregor Schoeler's *The Oral and Written in Early Islam*.

## A) Madelung's *Encyclopaedia Islamica*

Encyclopaedia Islamica is clearer and more inclusive than other studies that have attempted to clarify the meaning of *amālī*. It is more comprehensive in the sense that it mentioned the main aspects of this unique method according to the Muslims. Madelung approached *amālī* in practical terms in the sense that it is a style of education and a type of writing, especially in the field of modern jurisprudence and Arabic literature. The study, then, defined the modern *amālī* and its full image, i.e., dictation session, the shaykh who gives a lesson and then the students who attend the lesson and write the information provided by the shaykh in their notebook and write down what is being dictated. In his approach to *amālī*, Faramarz Haj Manouchehri (Wilfred Madelung: 2011, 653) defined it saying:

“A term referring to a specific method of instruction and genre of writing, particularly in the field of *Ḥadīth fiqh* (jurisprudence) and Arabic literature; by this method the sayings and teachings of a master (*shaykh*) were recorded in writing by students and listeners.”

Yet this definition is not special for ḥadīth science and its scholars. In point of fact, it applies to all the sciences which used the method of *amālī* such as *fiqh* and Arabic literature.

Madelung then proceeds to state that this technique was used for the *Ars Dictaminis* in a certain period by Italians and they used them probably because they might have got utility from transferring it from Muslims to their schools in the same era when the term was predominantly used by Muslims. Citing Makdisi, who said that *amālī*, “Was such a successful teaching method that it was later adopted as a model for the *ars dictaminis* by scholars in early Renaissance Italy (see Makdisi , 318,329-330).

Madelung then sheds light on contemporary *amālī*, mentioning its main aspects which can be summarized in Kattani’s definition, as approached in the first chapter of this study, where *amālī*, *mumālī*, *mustamālī*, the student and the material dictated in *amālī* sessions are delineated. Furthermore, Madelung points out the

contents and locations of *amālī* sessions such as the common sayings, anecdotes, ethics and asceticism. Commenting on these points, Faramarz Haj Manouchehri states:

As regards dictation sessions in the field of *ḥadīth* al-Nawawī implies that there was no requirement in such sessions to focus on a specific subject. As the audience included both common people and the well educated, the accounts and traditions were normally presented with a short but reliable chain of transmission by the dictation (*mumli*). It was common practice to have dictations from the different shaykhs who were *mumlis*, and to cite traditions which were easy for the listeners. The session often closed with parables and narratives, particularly on piety, renunciation (*zuhd*) ethics and literature) [...] On many occasions, a *mustamli* (the assistant dictator) or even several *mustamlis* were needed, in order to read out or dictate the master's sayings to larger audiences [...] This method of learning and transmitting knowledge, particularly amongst traditionists, was established alongside other approaches [...] and played a vital role in both the oral and literary heritage of Islam.

Interestingly Madelung did not mention the places or times of *imlā'* sessions there is only a simple reference to it without specifying and pinpointing the location or the time as they should be. Mumlis used to specify the time and the place of *imlā'* sessions to enable students to prepare themselves, bringing with them their pens and notebooks.

Madelung then deals with the importance of oral instruction and the reliance on the *mumli* in the process of memorisation, a phenomenon which was widespread during early Islamic centuries. Pointing out the reasons for developing this aspect of *imlā'*, he says: "Such a method developed because the emphasis on oral instruction in the early Islamic centuries led, in some cases, to the chain or text of a tradition becoming corrupted or absent due to the inattentiveness or carelessness of students in recording the lectures of a master. For example, Yaḥyā Nīsābūrī was only confident that he had heard Mālik's *Muwattā'* correctly after he had heard it back

three times to his master, Mālik, himself. Such problems sometimes arose from the particular way a Shaykh presented the material. In order to avoid such confusion in recording, the *imlā'* approach, refining the existing tradition of transmission, was adopted.

Besides being students, *mumli*s were also critics and scholars. They did not rely solely on their memory but also on *imlā'*. Here Madelung dates the existence of this method of *imlā'* back to the time of the Prophet, as he dictated to his Companions. They used to write and register what he said. Referring to this aspect, Madelung states that the *imlā'* approach “is rooted in the practice of the Companions in relation to the sayings of the Prophet. As a number of Ḥadīth sources attest, writing down the statements of the Prophet was common in many cases this being done according to the direct instruction of the Prophet himself. References to the Prophet’s *imlā'* can be found in the sources. Similarly, according to certain reports, because of the large audiences at the Prophet’s sermons, one or more individuals would convey his statements to others, which, for al-Suyūfī at least, established the principle of *imlā'*”.

Madelung described early *imlā'* sessions, among which were that of Anas bin Mālik, who dictated in the palace of the caliph, surrounded by his students. Ibn ʿAbbas was another good example of one who dictated while he was sitting on his couch. Referring to this idea, Madelung states, “*Imlā'* was also practised among the Companions themselves, and between them and the followers (*tābiʿūn*): for example, Ibn ʿAbbās and Wāthila b. Aqsa held *imlā'* and preaching sessions on specific days of the week, and the earliest *amālī* works in Quranic exegesis are attributed to Ibn Abbās”.

Madelung then proceeds to discuss the period in which *amālī* flourished, mainly in the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century, an age in which science reached its peak and where great scholars such as Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj and Wakī b. al-Jarrāḥ appeared. “The method of *imlā'* reached a peak in the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century, when certain traditionist figures such as Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776) and Wakī b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197/812) laid particular emphasis on dictation session”. Madelung also mentions that *amālī* were not the monopoly of the traditionists but was also employed by jurists.

AbūYūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Al-Shaybānī (d. 187/803), two of AbūḤanīfa's brilliant students, were famous for their *Āmālī*.

As the genre of ḥadīth was being formulated, Madelung tells us, compilations known as *amālī* were also being produced from the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/ 8<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to *imlā'* sessions being held by such masters as Yazīd b. Hārūn al-Wāsiṭī (d. 206/821) and °Āṣim b. °Ali al-Tamīmī d. 221/836), a large number of *amālī* were composed. Of these only a few manuscript survive, including the *amālī* of °Abd al-Razzāq al- Ṣan°anī (d. 211/827), Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ghūrī (d. 239/827), Abū al-Qāsim al-Fasawī (late 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century ) and Ibn Dhḥaym (d. 303/916). However, this period was also characterized by the era of authorship, in which segregation of *amālī* manuscripts were very rare. *Amālī* manuscripts were merged with *amālī* of other sciences. Madelung mentions that there were other schools apart from the Sunnis. Twelver, Zaydi, Shi°is and Sufi schools employed *imlā'*, and paid a considerable attention to developing it:

“The writing of *amālī* was popular not only amongst traditionists and Sunni jurists, but also in a number of other schools and groups: for example, among the Zaydi Imāms of Tabaristān, the *Amālī* of al-Nāsir li al-Ḥaqq al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917)”. Likewise, Sufis, whose sessions were appropriate place for such presentations, turned to writing *amālī*: that of Abū Ūbayd al-Busrī (d. 245/859) dates back to this period. Several outstanding figures in the field of Arabic literature also initiated a movement in the direction of this method, resulting in the compilation of the earliest collections of literary *amālī* by writers during this period.”

There is much to agree with Madelung about. However, he fails to identify nuances which characterised different *imlā'* styles, as existed among ḥadīth scholars, linguists and others. His neglect to say much about *imlā'* among the traditionists will hopefully be rectified by this study. Madelung also ignores the pioneer of *imlā'*, who wrote many books of great length about dictation, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. As al-Suyūṭī's most important reference, who is cited by Madelung, this is of surprise. Similarly surprising is Madelung's acceptance of al-Suyūṭī's claim that he revived *imlā'* after the death of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. These gaps and assumption will be filled and



recited in what follows. One gap that this thesis cannot fill is that left by Madelung important but brief discussion of *amālī* among the Shī'is and Zaydīs. More work here must surely be undertaken; unfortunately this does not fall within the scope of the present study.

**B) George Makdisi's *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West*.**

George Makdisi depicts the two methods of *samā'*. The first is to dictate from shaykh to the student; the second is the process of offering the information from student to shaykh. Concerning the first type, Makdisi described *imlā'* in accurate terms. A student in an *imlā'* session takes the words from the shaykh as they are without any modifications. Makdisi says: "Thus a person could be certain to learn correctly the classical Arabic world only when he hears it correctly spoken, and sets it down correctly in writing, along with its diacritical and its vowel-signs. In his *Adab al-implā' wa l-istimplā'* (*The Technique of Dictation and Taking Dictation*), this is what Sam'ānī advises the student to do. The words, he says, should be written as pronounced by the dictator (*al-mumli*); and while the assistant-dictator (*al-mustamlī*) repeats the words (for those seated beyond earshot of the dictator), the consonants should be given their diacritical points and their vowel-signs" (1990: 119).

Makdisi further says, "Dictation was also the basic method in learning the Prophetic Traditions (ḥadīth), as well as any field of knowledge wherein the authoritatively correct form of the individual lexical item had to be established" (1990, 324).

As for the second type, i.e., offering the information from the side of the student to the shaykh, Makdisi believes that it is a weak and meagre method because the student may commit mistakes in reading the text while the shaykh did not pay attention to what is being read. Referring to this notion Makdisi says, "The best method for the dictator is to dictate to you, and for you to write from his formulation of the words. For if you recite the text to him, you may make

mistake {i.e. in vocalizing the words} which he may not hear; and if he reads to you, something may distract you from hearing all what he says). (Makdisi: 1990, 324).

Makdisi, furthermore, praised the process of dictating from the memory. He considers it one of the characteristic features of Muslims. Arabs were known for their ability of memorisation at an early age. They could memorise texts and maintain them. He also states that great scholars were famous for their great capacity of memorisation and dictating their students from their memories. Makdisi says, “Memory played a crucial role in the process of learning. It was a tool in the service of humanism[...] Memorisation involved great quantities of materials, their understanding, and their retention through frequent repetition at close intervals of time. When limited to mere transmission, memorisation was simply the attribute of the common man among the men of learning, e.g. the ḥadīth scholars and the lexicographers. Above this rudimentary level, the humanist, like the scholastic, aimed at the higher level of emulation. The road to creativity called for progression from authoritative reception and transmission (*riwāya*), to understanding the materials transmitted (*dirāya*) (Makdisi: 1990, 202).

Makdisi knew that *imlā'* depends on comparing the students' text to the shaykh's text to avoid mistakes. This process of comparison made the process of documentation of the text as perfect as it should be. He says, “The adab student's tools were the inkwell, maḥbare, and the notebook, daftar (pl. dafātir), or kitāb. These were also the tools of the ḥadīth student. Students of both fields shared the same methodology of learning as well; i.e. dictation (*imlā'*), memorization, (ḥifz), instructive conversation, and memory contests (*mudhākara*) and disputation (*munāzara*) when Dinawari, passed his father-in-law Thālab teaching outside his home, on his way to study Sibawaih's grammar under Mubarrad, the tools he carried were the inkwell and the notebook. The notebooks of Abu 'lī materials gathered among the Arabians were said to have filled a room up to the ceiling (Makdisi: 1990, 236-7).

Makdisi furthermore dealt with the process of *imlā'*. He also identified the first western scholar who employed *imlā'*, Adam Mez. He says: “In the chapter on

learned men ('Die Gelehrten'), in *Die Renaissance des Islam*, Adam Mez discussed two technical terms relating to methods of instruction, *imlā'* and *tadrīs*. He stated that *imlā'*, dictation, was the highest phase of instruction, and that in the ninth century it was very much used by the theologians and philologists. In the tenth century, however, according to Mez, the philologists Outgrew the theologian's method of teaching, gave up dictation in favour for explaining a work, which one of the students read, 'just as one explained compendiums (*mukhtaṣarāt*). 'Here the author refers to a text in the Subki's *Ṭabaqāt*'<sup>79</sup> Then relying on Suyūṭī, he goes on to say , that Zayjājī was the last to dictate lexicography, and that, in the field of theology, dictation continued to be the method of instruction. Mez explains that through the prevalence of *tadrīs*, which he understands as explication ('*Erklärung*'), the madrasas came into existence because disputation (*munāẓara*) , which went hand –in-hand with the madrasa, was not fit as a method of study in the mosque”(Makdisi, 1990: 215).

Because of its importance, Makdisi traced the term and found out its historical roots. Makdisi mentioned that Italians used *imlā'* in the context of education and documentation. Approaching this notion he stated, “It would be helpful perhaps to consider the medieval Arabic sources which, I believe, have something to offer by way of clarifying the so-called art of dictation, regarding its origins, its designation and its contents. This “art” was native to classical Arabic. I believe its parallel in the medieval Latin West preserved the original Arabic designation, as well as its essential contents. If this be true, the medieval Arabic sources would be a valuable addition to the fund of Medieval Latin sources, and the more worthy of consideration since the origing of the *ars dictaminis* continue to remain obscure”(Makdisi, 1990: 318).

Makdisi mentioned the time when Italians used this term. He stated that it was in the fifth Islamic century, i.e., the golden age of Islam. I will discuss the idea that the best *imlā'* manuscripts appeared in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Islamic centuries being the best of written materials since there is no mistakes and they are very accurate and authentic. Makdisi says, “When the *ars dictaminis* first began to appear, around the year 1100, the term dictation was, in my opinion, borrowed from the culture of

classical Islam, where it did indeed have the literal meaning of dictation, not composition” (1990, 323).

To sum up, Makdisi approached all kinds of *amālī*—the Arabic language, Jurisprudence and tradition. Yet, he focused on *amālī* in ḥadīth more than any other Western writer.

### C) Gregor Schoeler's *The Oral and Written in Early Islam*

Gregor Schoeler sheds light on the great role of *imlā'* in the transmission of Islamic and Arabic sciences, through genuine style and accuracy. This style was able to construct great sciences based on accurate documenting that enabled others to defend their sciences. Concerning this idea, he stated, “Arabic scholars held the view that a student should have heard the material being taught: *ār riwayat al masmūah*, the heard or audited transmission (for the most part inaccurately translated as oral transmission) was regarded by Muslims as the best method of transmission” (Schoeler: 2006, 210).

Schoeler considered this style the best way to transmit in early Islam. According to to him, transmission (*riwāya*) can be divided into two types: oral transmission and written. He also referred to the accurate approach of the oral style especially in poetry, epics and literature. He said, "On closer inspection, it seems as if oral and written transmission, instead of being mutually exclusive, supplemented each other. Thus, the question of either an oral or a written transmission of knowledge in early Islam can easily result in a dispute about definitions. What we do not have is in oral tradition in the sense of illiterate rhapsodies passing on their epics and song.”(Schoeler: 2006, 210)

Furthermore, Schoeler praised the structure of Islamic *samā'*. He also stated that it is similar to the lecture notes taken by students in Alexandria since there are notebooks, a lecture, students and subject matter. He said, “In sum, the structure of Islamic *samā'* conforms in many details to that of late Alexandrian lecture courses. The notebooks (*dafātir*) and "books" (*kutub*) Muslims used to record material "heard" from their teachers ( cf. the frequent expression *kataba an* ) are similar to the

lecture notes apo phones produced by students in Alexandria. The closest parallel to the exegetical teaching practices of the Alexandria in early Islam is to be found in Quranic exegesis. In both cases, lectures were based on a fixed text, on which a teacher commented. The students "heard" the commentary and took notes (Schoeler 2006: 210).

It is important to note that *imlā'* is part of the general method of *samā'*. Both are similar to the Alexandrian teaching lectures since, first, there is available space for students, second, a lecturer in both sides who dictates his students, third, books in the hands of both lecturer and his students. On this, Schoeler writes: "In that context, Alexandrian teaching methods have been described as follows: The lecturer had a copy of the work he was to comment on in his hand referred to it in each step of his exegetical discussion" (2006: 211). The system in these *imlā'* sessions was one in which the shaykh would edit, add or modify his own book with his students in audience and as part of the process of teaching. He might consult his book when he forgets a piece of information or wants to join a piece of information to another and consequently register all these modifications in his book. Schoeler approached this method of *samā'* from a general perspective, not delving deeply into the specific method of *imlā'*, as is done in this study.

On the basis of this literature review, it is clear that Western scholars have shown no serious research interest in the ḥadīth dictation sessions. It is also clear that only Schoeler treated the subject of ḥadīth dictation sessions, although even here he only referred to these sessions while indexing ḥadīth. It is here that the present study hopes to make its most important contribution.

## **1.9. Structure of the thesis**

This study is made up of an introduction, seven research-based chapters, a conclusion, recommendations, and a bibliography:

Chapter One: Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions (*amālīal-ḥadīth*). This chapter provides a detailed definition and analysis of the ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions. It also provides details of the three historical stages of the ḥadīth-*Amālī* sessions, and the three methods of ḥadīth dictation. This chapter also provides a critical analysis of the claim made by

Jalal al-Din al- Suyuti that the ḥadīth dictation sessions ceased during the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century.

Chapter Two: Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions in Printed and Manuscript Forms. This chapter investigates the ḥadīth dictation sessions in book form and those that are still preserved in international libraries in manuscript form. It also deals with lone ḥadīth dictation session manuscripts which are referred to in Arabic as (*makhṭūṭat farīdah*), and the data collected on the lone manuscripts through using a number of different research methods. The reader is also given a list of the ḥadīth dictation session manuscripts which have more than one copy. The chapter also sheds light on the danger encountering these valuable source of ḥadīth. The reader is told how seriously the *amālī* manuscripts have been affected by theft, exposure to light, dust and dampness. The chapter also provides information on the threat facing the storage and preservation of manuscripts in international libraries and how the manuscripts are reproduced on microfiche in some libraries.

Chapter Three: The Ḥadīth Scholar (*Mumli*). This chapter discusses the role of the ḥadīth scholar (*mumli*), his knowledge of ḥadīth, his methods of dictating ḥadīth, his character, and the way he deals with his students. This chapter also deals with the students, and the different ways they attain their ḥadīth learning from their teachers.

Chapter Four: *Mustamli* or the assistant dictator. This chapter deals with the repeater (*mustamli*) who repeats what the ḥadīth scholar says during each dictation session. The chapter investigates the role and characteristics of the repeater such as his voice quality and how he is selected.

Chapter Five: The Ḥadīth Student.

This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the ḥadīth student, including the

prerequisites of becoming one and his morals, etiquette and his good manners. It also sheds light on his genuine intention and devotion to study. It also investigates an important point, which is whether the ḥadīth student was merely an ordinary person who could take ḥadīth dictation sessions from a ḥadīth scholar. It then proceeds to consider how the student had to choose a ḥadīth scholar and enrol in his ḥadīth dictation sessions. The final part of this chapter focuses on a type of ḥadīth narration called *al-riwayah bil-wijadah* (narration by a self-study person).

Chapter Six: Characteristics of the Teaching Material of Ḥadīth Dictation Session and the Time and places. This chapter provides a comparative contrastive analysis between the ḥadīth *amālī* sessions and the other forms of dictation sessions for other disciplines such as the linguistics *amālī*, literature *amālī*, history *amālī*, etc the chain of narration is the best method which guarantees the authenticity of the ḥadīth. In order to guarantee the accuracy of the content (matn) of any ḥadīth, to make sure that the content of the ḥadīth is truthfully transferred by the narrator, and to maintain academic consistency. Chapter five also deals with the places where the ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions used to take place, such as mosques, schools, and palaces, as well as the ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions' times of teaching which were usually every week on Mondays and Fridays.

Chapter seven: The Ḥadīth Student's Learning Aids. This chapter accounts for the relationship between the ḥadīth student and the tools (paper, ink, pen, eraser) he needs during the recordation of ḥadīth or during the ḥadīth dictation sessions. It also deals with paper and the paper industry. It also accounts for the relationship between paper, ink and calligraphy, the quality of typeface and quality of the pen used in writing, the problems of semantic misrepresentation (*tashīf*) and distortion of the syntactic structure (*tahrīf*). The rules of writing during the recordation of ḥadīth by ḥadīth students are also discussed in detail.

## 2. Chapter One: Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions (*Amālī al-ḥadīth*)

### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an informative historical account of the development of ḥadīth dictation sessions. Before I deal with the historical development, I shall provide the definitions of ḥadīth dictation sessions from a linguistic perspective and also from the point of view of ḥadīth scholars (*muḥaddithūn*). This chapter provides an informative account of three major historical phases of the development of ḥadīth dictation starting from the 1<sup>st</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century and ending in the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century as the last historical phase of ḥadīth dictation sessions. I shall also provide findings about the impact of ḥadīth dictation sessions as a pedagogical approach to ḥadīth studies.

### 2.2. Definition of Ḥadīth Dictation

Ḥadīth dictation, referred to in Arabic as *al-āmālī*, or *āmālī al-ḥadīth*, is an expression which usually occurs with the word *majlis* (session) or *majālis*, the plural form. The expression *al-Āmālī* is the plural form of *imlā'* (dictation). Haji Khalifah (1982, 1:161) points out that jurists (*fuqahā'*), ḥadīth scholars (*al-muḥaddithūn*), the Shāfi'is, and linguists customarily used the expression *ta'liq*, and George Makdisi (1990, 235) says "...as a method of *ta'liq*" rather than "*Āmālī*" for the sessions of ḥadīth dictation. In the view of al-Farrā' (al-Razi 1985, 634), the root is *amlala* (to dictate to someone) which is the dialect of the tribes of Ḥijāz and Bani Asad. The word occurs in Q2:282 (*falyumlil walīyyuhu* – let his guardian dictate). However, the verb form *amlaya* (to dictate to someone) represents the dialect of the tribes of Tamim and Qaīs (al-Shehri 2007, 118). This has occurred in Q25:5 (*fahiya tumla 'alāhi* – they are dictated to him).

According to the *muḥaddithūn*, the expression *al-Āmālī* refers exclusively to the session in which a ḥadīth scholar dictates the ḥadīths to his students, and that after a number of sessions, the students produce a book of the ḥadīths dictated to them



(Haji Khalifah 1982, 1:352). We are also informed by al-Kittāni (1986:19) of a number of noteworthy facts: (i) that the ḥadīth memorisers (*huffāz al-ḥadīth*) used to attend the ḥadīth dictation sessions in which the ḥadīth scholar dictated the ḥadīth to them, (ii) that this ḥadīth scholar is called *al-mumli* (the one who dictates to someone else), (iii) that his students are called *al-mustamli* (the ḥadīth student who is being dictated to), (iv) that the ḥadīth student would write the date of each ḥadīth dictation session he attended, (v) that the ḥadīth student mentions the full chain of narrations of each ḥadīth (*isnād*) given to him by his teacher; that is, the ḥadīth scholar who is *al-mumli*, and (vi) that the ḥadīth student refers to the religious benefits of each ḥadīth.

### **2.3. Historical Development of Ḥadīth Dictation**

Historically speaking, the sessions of ḥadīth dictation would take place in the mosque. Thus, the expression *al-Āmālī* is best translated as 'ḥadīth dictation sessions' since the word *al-Āmālī* is always connected to a session in which the ḥadīth is being dictated. In this section, I shall explore how ḥadīth dictation sessions developed and the key historical phases of these sessions since the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad.

#### **2.3.1. During the Prophet's Lifetime**

There has been no reference by any classical or modern Muslim historian or ḥadīth scholar to any ḥadīth dictation sessions that have taken place during the lifetime of Muḥammad. Therefore, I believe a distinction should be made between two significant subject matters regarding ḥadīth dictation sessions:

- (i) The expression *al-Āmālī* (dictation) can be used as exclusive to the dictation of ḥadīth. We are informed by one of Muḥammad's ḥadīths in which he told his companions not to write down his ḥadīths, so that they would not become mixed up with the Qur'an: ( Muslim 2008, p1197, ḥadīth no. 3004). We can, therefore, safely claim that Muḥammad did not hold any ḥadīth dictation sessions for anyone.

- (ii) The expression *al-Āmālī* (dictation) can be employed with regard to:
- (a) The dictation by Muḥammad to any of his companions, of a revelation. It was a regular practice for Muḥammad to dictate any revelation (*wahī*); namely, the Qurʾān, to one of his companions, such as Muʿāwiyah or Ubai b. Kaʿb.
  - (b) The dictation by Muḥammad to any of his companions of:
    - (1) correspondence (letters) to his contemporary kings, rulers, and tribal leaders asking them to accept Islam, such as the letter he sent to Kisra the Persian King, to Hercules, the Roman Emperor, and to al-Muqawqas, the King of Egypt.
    - (2) correspondence to his governors (*al-wulāt*), judges, and tax collectors, giving them advice about their assigned duties.
    - (3) agreements, such as the *al-ḥudaībiyyah* agreement (*ṣulḥ al-ḥudaībiyyah*) (year 6) which he made with Quraish. Anas narrates an anecdote about this agreement in which Muḥammad pronounces the expression *uktub* (write down) when he asks ʿAli b. Abī Ṭālib to write down the Hudaībiyya agreement with Quraish in the presence of their representative Suhail b. ʿAmr ( Muslim 2008, p 1197 (ḥadīth number 3004)).
    - (4) Useful notes explaining ambiguous matters to an uneducated companion. For example, a companion from the Yemen attended a Friday speech given by Muḥammad. However, this companion told Muḥammad that he did not understand the Friday speech, and so Muḥammad dictated useful notes to one of his companions, explaining what he had said in his Friday speech, and gave them to the Yemeni companion.

It is worthwhile to note two significant points:

- (i) Although Muḥammad used to dictate to his companions either the revelation, correspondence, agreements, or explanatory notes, he neither dictated his ḥadīth to them nor held ḥadīth dictation sessions (*al-Āmālī*).

- (ii) Although some companions used to write down some ḥadīths for their own personal use in a *ṣahīfah* (booklet), we cannot claim that ḥadīth dictation sessions (*al-Āmālī*) were held by Muḥammad or any of his contemporary companions. Some of the companions who wrote down some ḥadīths (*ṣahīfah*) for their own personal use were °Ali b. Abi Ṭālib (d.40), °Abd Allāh b. °Amru b. al-°Aṣṣ (d.65), Abu Hurairah (d.57), Sa°ad b. °Ubādah (d.14), and Mu°adh b. Jabal (d.18). The ṣahīfah was called aṣahīfah al-ṣādiqah (the truthful booklet) i.e. the booklet of authentic or sound ḥadīth).

### **2.3.2. During the Companions' Lifetime**

Ḥadīth dictation sessions took place during the lifetime of some of the companions who outlived other companions. The sessions in fact began to emerge during the last decades of the 1<sup>st</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, Al-A°zami (2005, 1:23) claims that 52 companions wrote down ḥadīth and that some of them held ḥadīth dictation sessions. More examples will be given in the section on the formative phase of Ḥadīth Dictation ( p 5)

### **2.3.3. During the Successors' Lifetime**

Ḥadīth dictation sessions prospered and grew rapidly across the Muslim states. I shall explain from which year to which year.

Al-A°zami (2005, 1:24) claims that 151 early successors wrote down ḥadīth and each one of them held ḥadīth dictation sessions and that this discipline continued until the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century. I will give a number of examples in the section on the formative phase of Ḥadīth Dictation.

## 2.4. Phases of Development of Ḥadīth Dictation

Before I discuss the phases of development of ḥadīth dictation sessions, it is worth noting that it is not possible to provide a specific year in which one phase starts or ends. Therefore, historically speaking, the aim is to be as accurate as possible by using historical periods which represent the beginning or end of a given phase. Thus, ḥadīth dictation sessions (*Āmālī al- ḥadīth*) can be regarded as having progressed through three major phases:

- (i) a formative phase,
- (ii) a growth phase, and
- (iii) a stagnation phase.

### 2.4.1. Formative Phase of Ḥadīth Dictation

During this phase, ḥadīth dictation sessions began during the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century and lasted to the end of the 2<sup>rd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century. Among the companions who held ḥadīth dictation sessions during this phase were:

- (i) Shaddād b. Aws b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir b. Ḥarām (d. 677), who held ḥadīth dictation sessions for a number of young men in his area (al-Dhahabi 1992, 2:465).
- (ii) °Abd Allāh b. °Amr b. al-°Aṣṣ(d. 682), who held ḥadīth dictation sessions for Abu Ṣibrah who in the end made a booklet (*ṣaḥīfah*) of ḥadīths; Ibn al-Athīr (1977, 3:349); al-°Asqalanī 1968, 2:351).
- (iii) al-Bara' b. °Āzib Abu °Ammarah al-Anṣārī (d. 691), who held ḥadīth dictation sessions for his students (al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādi 1974:105).
- (iv) Wathilah b. al-Asqa° (d.704), who held ḥadīth dictation sessions for his students (al-Sam°ani 1985, 1:428; al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādi 1994, 2:55). He was the last companion and died in Damascus.
- (v) Anas b. Mālīk b. al-Naḍar Abu Ḥamzah al-Anṣari (d. 711), who held ḥadīth dictation sessions for his students (al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādi 1997, 8:259).

Early successors (*awā'il al-tābi'īn*) were contemporaries of the Companions and they also held ḥadīth dictation sessions during the formative phase. Among them were:

(i) Shāḥar b. Ḥuṣḥab al-Ash'ari (d. 718), who held ḥadīth dictation sessions in Kūfah for his student °Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahram al-Mada'ni (ibid, 11:59).

(ii) Ṭāwūs b. Kaiṣīn al-Yamani (d. 718), who held ḥadīth dictation sessions for his students, such as Laith b. Abi Sālim (Ibn al-Madini 1980, 1:63).

#### **2.4.1.1. Features of the Formative Phase of Ḥadīth Dictation**

Among the characteristic features of the formative phase of ḥadīth dictation sessions are:

##### 1. Oral dictation:

Ḥadīth scholars used to dictate to their students orally without reading from a book (al-Shehri 2007 : 139).

##### 2. Dictation from the ḥadīth scholar's own book:

Some ḥadīth scholars adopted the method of reading ḥadīths from their own book and dictating them to their students. For instance, the ḥadīth scholar Shu'aib b. AbīḤamzah used to follow this method of ḥadīth dictation for his students (Abu Zur'ah 1996:433).

##### 3. Dictation from a different book:

Some ḥadīth scholars adopted the method of reading ḥadīths from a book written by another ḥadīth scholar and dictating the ḥadīth to their students (al-Shehri 2007: 139).

##### 4. Revision (*al-mu'āraḥah* or *al-°arz*):

Some early successors, like °Urwah b. al-Zubāir b. al-°Awāmm (d. 711) of Madinah, used to urge students who attended the ḥadīth dictation sessions to revise the ḥadīths they wrote down during the sessions they attended, in order to

eliminate any typological mistakes or errors in the names of the chain of authorities (*al-isnād*).

#### 5. Limited number of students:

During the formative phase, the ḥadīth dictation sessions were not attended by many ḥadīth students.

#### 6. Tutorials:

In some ḥadīth dictation sessions, students discussed the ḥadīths with their ḥadīth scholar in the form of question and answer tutorials.

#### 7. Seminars:

At times, some ḥadīth dictation sessions were student-led. In other words, they followed a seminar approach to ḥadīth dictation where the students read the ḥadīths to their ḥadīth scholar and discussed their chain of authorities (*al-isnād*) and meanings together.

#### 8. Group work:

At times, ḥadīth students met together in some ḥadīth dictation sessions in order to revise or discuss some ḥadīths.

### 2.4.2. Growth Phase of Ḥadīth Dictation

This phase began from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century and was led by the late successors (*awākhir al-tabīʿin*) and culminated during the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century.

That *imlāʿ*, dictation, was the highest phase of instruction by the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and that it was very much used by the theologians and philologists, is confirmed by Mez (cited in Makdisi 1990, 215). In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, however, Makdisi (again

citing Mez) states that the philologists outgrew the theologian's method of teaching and gave up dictation in favour of explaining a work, which one of the students would read.

Among the major ḥadīth scholars who held ḥadīth dictation sessions during the growth phase are:

(i) The 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century:

Ibrāhīm °Abd Allāh b. °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dimishqī (d. 915), Yaḥyā b. Sa°īd Abi Muḥammad (d.930), Abu Bakr al-Malḥami, Ḥamad b. Muḥammad (d. 935), Abu Ishāq, Ibrāhīm b. °Abd al-Ṣamad (d. 936), Abu Bakr, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (d. 939), al-MuḥĀmālī, al-Ḥusain b. Ismā°īl (d.941), al-°Aṭṭar, Muḥammad b. Mukhlid b. Ḥafz (d. 942), al-Buḥturi, Muḥammad b. °Amru (d. 950), Ibn al-Sammak, Abu °Umar °Uthmān b. Aḥmad (d. 955), Abu al-°Abbās al-Aṣam, Muḥammad b. Ya°qūb al-Naisābūri (d. 957), al-Najād, Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. Salmān b. Isra°īl (d. 959), al-Istarabadhi, Abu al-Ḥasan Na°im b. °Abd al-Mālik (d. 965), al-Qaṭṭan, Abu Sahl Ahmad b. Muḥammad (d. 961), al-Ṭabarāni, Abu al-Qāsim Sulaimān b. Aḥmad (d. 970), Abu Ishāq al-Muzki, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (d. 972), al-Rudhbari, Abu °Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. °Aṭa° (d. 979), al-Buḥīri, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ja°far (d.985), al-Miyanaji, abu Bakr Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim (d. 985), al-Ḥakim al-Kabīr, Abu Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 988), Ibn Dust, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf (d. 991), Abu al-Ḥsan al-Dārqanti, °Ali b. °Amru (d. 995), Ibn Shahin, Abu Ḥafz °Amru b. Aḥmad (d. 995), al-Khatli al-Sukkari, °Ali b. °Umar (d. 996), Ibn Sam°un al-Wa°iz, Abu Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 998), Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, °Isa b. °Ali (d. 1000), Abu Ṭāhir al-Mukhlis, Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1002), Ibn Mundah, Muḥammad b. Ishāq (d. 969), al-Ḍabi, al-Ḥusain b. Hārūn (d. 1007), and Kaṭīb Ibn Khanzabah, Abu Muslim al-Kaṭīb (d.1008 ).

(ii) The 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century:

Muḥammad b. Maḥmash b. °Ali (d. 1019), Abu Bakr b. Mardawaih, Aḥmad b. Mūsā (d. 1019), al-Qāḍi Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1020), Abu al-°Abbās, Munīr b. Aḥmad (d. 1021), al-Naqqāsh, Abu Sa°id Muḥammad b. °Ali (d. 1023), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Umar b.al-Muslimah (d.1024), Abu °Abd Allāh al-Ḥusain b. °Ali (d. 1026), Hibat Allāh b. Manṣūr al-Ṭābāri (d. 1027), AbuMuḥammad Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1028), Ibn Makhlad Abu al-Ḥasan Muḥammad (d. 1028), Abu al-Ḥsan °Ali Baṣir b. Ja°far (d. 1031), Ibn Bashran, °Abd al-Mālik b. Muḥammad (d. 1038), al-Ḥāfiẓ Abu Na°im, Aḥmad b.°Abd Allāh al-Aṣbahāni (d. 1038), Abu Sa°id, °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥamdān b. Muḥammad (d. 1041), al-Buṣṭami, Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad (d. 1048), al-Qizwīni, Abu al-Ḥusain °Ali b.°Umar (d.1050), Abu al-Ḥasan al-Azdi Muḥammad b. °Ali (d.1051), al-Quḍā°i, Abu °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. salāmah (d. 1062), al-Ḥasan b. °Ali b. al-Ḥasan al-Shirazi al-Jawhari (d. 1062), al-QāḍiMuḥammadb. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad (d.1065), al-Baṭarqāni, Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl (d. 1067), al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi, Aḥmad b. °Ali (d.1070), al-Qushairi, °Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin b. °Abd al-Mālik (d. 1072), Ibn Muslimah, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. °Umar (d. 1072), al-°Attār, Abu Bakr Muḥammadb. Ibrāhīm b. °Ali (d. 1073), °Abd al-°Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kittani (d.1073), Abu Muḥammad, °Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaraifini (d. 1076), Abu al-Qāsim, °Ali b. Aḥmad al-BanDār (d. 1081), Abu Bakr, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥussain b. Finjuwaih al-ThaQāfi (d. 1085), al-Wazir al-Kabīr,Niẓām al-Mulk al-Ḥasan b. °Ali (d. 1092), Abu Bakr, Aḥmad b. °Ali b. °Umar al-Shirazi (d. 1094), Rizq Allāh, AbuMuḥammadb. Abi al-Faraj al-Tamīmī (d. 1095), Abu al-Faṭḥ, Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al-Nabulsi (d. 1097), Ṭarrad b. Muḥammad b. °Ali b. Ḥasan al-Baghdādi al-Zainabi (d. 1059), and Abu al-Ḥasan °Ali b. Aḥmad al-Madini (d. 1100).

#### 2.4.2.1. Features of the Growth Phase of Ḥadīth Dictation

The most characteristic features of the growth phase of ḥadīth dictation sessions are:



1. Increase in student numbers:

The number of ḥadīth students went up considerably due to the large-scale interest in ḥadīth studies among the Muslim communities. For instance, the ḥadīth scholar °Ali b. °Āṣim b. Ṣuhaīb al-Waṣīṭi (d. 816) used to have more than 30,000 students in each of his ḥadīth dictation sessions. Due to this large number of students, he used to sit on the roof of the mosque so that all his students could see him.

2. Dictation from the ḥadīth scholar's own book:

Ḥadīth scholars adopted reading ḥadīths from their own book and dictating them to their students.

3. Chain of authorities and details:

The ḥadīth scholars of this phase paid particular attention to the chain of authorities of each ḥadīth and provided details about its defects (*°ilal*), whether it was sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) or weak (*ḍa°īf*), and details about the narrators of ḥadīth and about the text (*matn*) of ḥadīth.

4. The repeater: (*al-Mustamlī* or the assistant dictator).

Due to the large numbers of students, repeaters were employed, where each one repeated the ḥadīths narrated by the ḥadīth scholar so that it was audible to students sitting at a distance.

5. The ḥadīths must be learned directly from the ḥadīth scholar:

Some ḥadīth students insisted that the only authentic way of collecting ḥadīths was that the ḥadīths must be taken directly from their ḥadīth scholar.

#### 6. Two sessions a week:

Some ḥadīth scholars used to hold two ḥadīth dictation sessions a week: one day for dictating the ḥadīths to their students, and another day for only reading and discussing the ḥadīths.

#### 7. State-led support:

Governors in different parts of the Muslim state supported ḥadīth dictation sessions and urged people to attend them, such as al-Manṣūr (d. 766), Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 809), al-Ma'mūn (d. 817) (al-Sam'ani 1985, 1:162-165).

Although there was a considerable amount of interest in attending ḥadīth dictation sessions during this period, few ḥadīth books based on the ḥadīth dictation sessions are extant. Indeed, the only books we have from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century are the *al-Āmālī fi Athar al-Ṣaḥābah* of Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan'ani (d. 835), the *al-Āmālī* of Aḥmad b. Ibrahīm b. Sulaimān al-<sup>c</sup>Assal (d. 895), and the *al-Āmālī* of Muḥammad b. Sulaimān al-Baghandī<sup>(1)</sup> (d. 896) (al-Dhahabi 1992, 6:16; al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādī 1997, 1:270; al-Ṣafadi 1962, 2:41).

There are a number of reasons as to why there is such a lack of books resulting from the ḥadīth dictation sessions of the second and third centuries: firstly, they were written in what is known as the age of authorship, a period that produced the most important collections in the history of Islam. Such books as the ṣaḥīḥ collections of al-Bukhāri and Muslim, the *musnads* and major dictionaries all found their way into dictation assemblies. These became relied upon as the authoritative books of scholars for generations.

#### 2.4.3. Stagnation of Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions

This phase marks the decline in interest among both ḥadīth scholars and ḥadīth students. It seems that the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, that is, after the death of Jalal al-Dīn al-Ṣuyūṭī (d. 911/1505), marks the end of ḥadīth dictation sessions as a robust

academic activity, thus ending the phase which had begun from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century or beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century.

Among the major ḥadīth scholars who held ḥadīth dictation sessions during the stagnation phase are: Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādi (d. 1135), al-Farawi, Abu °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl (d. 1109), al-Daqqāq, Abu °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahid (d. 1122), Hibat Allah b. Muḥammad °Abd al-Wahhāb al-Baghdādi (d. 1130), °Abd al-Ghāfir b. Ismā°īl b. °Abd al-Ghāfir (d. 1134), Abu Ḥamid al-Shujā°i Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 1139), Abu al-Qāsim al-Tamimi, Ismā°īl b. Muḥammad (d. 1140), Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Bāqi b. Muḥammad (d. 1140), Ismā°īl b. Aḥmad b. °Umar al-Ash°ath (d. 1141), Ibn Fakhir al-Aṣbahāni, Mu°ammar b. °Abd al-Wāḥid (d. 1151), Abu al-Qāsim b. °Asakir, °Ali b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1175), Abu Ṭālib Muḥammad b. °Ali al-Kattani (d. 1183), °Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Laṭīf al-Aṣbahāni (d. 1184), Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. °Umar al- Aṣbahāni (d. 1184), Abu °Amr °Uthmān b. °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kurdi, known as Ibn al-Ṣalah (d. 577/1181). Among late ḥadīth scholars who held ḥadīth dictation sessions are, for example, al-Murtaẓa al-Zubaidi (d./1204/179) who held about 400 ḥadīth dictation sessions (al-Kittani 1982, 1:530), and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣiddīq al-Ghamari (d. 1960) who held ḥadīth dictation sessions in al-Kakhya mosque and al-Ḥussain mosque in Cairo (Altalidi 1995, 210).

In the view of al-Ṣuyūṭi (d. 1505) (1994, 2:132), ḥadīth dictation sessions came to an end after the death of al-Kurdi Ibn al-Ṣalah in 1181. I believe this is inaccurate, for the following reasons:

- (i) Abu al-Faḍl Zain al-Dīn °Abd al-Raḥim al-°Iraqi (d. 1403) held more than 400 ḥadīth dictation sessions (*kharrāja*). This means, he chose some ḥadīths, the forty ḥadīths of al-Nawawi and dictated the *mustakhraj* on the *mustadrak* of al-Ḥākim.
- (ii) It would have been more accurate if al-Ṣuyūṭi had stated something like ‘this is true so far as I am aware’; in other words, implicitly telling his readers that he might not have been accurate and that there

might have been ḥadīth dictation sessions being held elsewhere in some other parts of the Muslim world.

- (iii) Due to a lack of good communication and transport facilities as well as the political disintegration and weakness of the Muslim state, I believe it was subjective for al-Suyuti to make an unverified claim like this.
- (iv) I have found some names of ḥadīth scholars who held ḥadīth dictation sessions after the death of Abu ʿAmru ʿUthmān al-Kurdi Ibn al-Ṣalaḥ, such as: Jāmālī al-Dīn Yusūf al-Mazzi (d. 1341), Aḥmad b. Abu al-Faḍl Zain al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāqī (d. 1403), Abu ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr known as Ibn Naṣir al-Dīn (d. 752/1351), Taqiy al-Dīn Abu al-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qalqashandi (d. 851/1447), Aḥmad b. ʿAli b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalāni (d. 852/1448) who held ḥadīth dictation sessions in Damascus, al-Sham and Cairo, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhawi (d. 902/1496) who held ḥadīth dictation sessions in Makkah and Cairo.

I would also like to point out that al-Ṣuyūṭī's (d. 1505) (1994, 2:139) claim that he was the first one to revive the ḥadīth dictation sessions after the death of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalāni in 1448, I believe, is an inaccurate claim, for the following reasons:

- (i) al-Sakhawi (d. 902/1496) held ḥadīth dictation sessions on the 10<sup>th</sup> of Jamadi al-Ula of 864/1459, while al-Ṣuyūṭī held his ḥadīth dictation sessions during the beginning of 872 as he himself has claimed (ibid:132).
- (ii) In the month of Dhi al-Qaʿdah of 871, al-Sakhawi received a letter from the well-known ḥadīth scholar al-Ṣanbaṭī (d. 891) urging him to hold ḥadīth dictation sessions as soon as possible, due to the pressing needs for this activity in Makkah.
- (iii) Ibn al-Shuḥannah al-Saghīrah Abu al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabi (d. 1485) held ḥadīth dictation sessions in al-Muʿaiyidi school and Mosque in Damascus, Syria 70 sessions, starting from the month of Dhi al-Qaʿdah of 871 until his last session on Sunday in the month of Dhi al-Qaʿdah of 1472 (manuscript no. 26/1, 119 leaves, Istanbul, Milit library).

### **2.4.3.1. Features of the Stagnation Phase of Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions**

The most characteristic features of the stagnation phase of ḥadīth dictation sessions are:

#### **1. Lack of interest:**

There was lukewarm interest among both ḥadīth scholars and ḥadīth students. I believe this was due to a number of factors such as:

(i) The spread, during this period, of Muʿtazili and Shiʿi theological views during the rule of the Buwayhids after the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century onwards and Fatimids after the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century onwards in North Africa and some parts of Sham region where anti-Sunni rulers practised a systematic politico-religious policy of undermining the Sunni-led ḥadīth dictation sessions and Sunni theological views. In this period, the ḥadīth scholars were involved in polemics with the Muʿtazilis as well as with the Shiʿites, and this led to less attention being paid to dictation.

(ii) The crusade campaigns against the Muslim states during the early 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century led the majority of ḥadīth scholars and ḥadīth students to become preoccupied with defending their land against the Crusaders' invasion. For more detail, see Abn Kthir (1990) and Norman Stillman (1998).

### **2.5. The Significance of Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions**

Among the benefits of ḥadīth dictation sessions are:

- (i) Ḥadīth dictation sessions played a significant role in the development of ḥadīth studies throughout the centuries.
- (ii) These sessions provided a primary but rich and varied material which was of great significance to ḥadīth scholars and ḥadīth students in the past, in terms of the ḥadīth text (*matn*) and its chain of authorities.

- (iii) This material is still of great value to modern ḥadīth scholars, in general, and to comparative-contrastive ḥadīth studies.
- (iv) It marks the beginning of a well-structured scholarly activity that aims to preserve Muḥammad's biography (*al-sīrah*) and his stanDārd practice (*al-Sunnah*).
- (v) Ḥadīth dictation sessions have given us an insight into the recording of the stanDārd practice of Muḥammad, as well as an insight into the recording of ḥadīths in the formative and growth phases.
- (vi) The ḥadīth material collected during the ḥadīth dictation sessions are well selected by the ḥadīth scholar al-Mumli; thus, I would argue that the ḥadīths he dictates can be regarded as sound or acceptable, since he used to pay special attention to their selection.
- (vii) The well-selected ḥadīths that are dictated and discussed in the ḥadīth dictation sessions have become vital research sources to students of ḥadīth in particular, and to students of Islamic studies in general.
- (viii) The ḥadīth books that have come out of the ḥadīth dictation sessions can be considered the best sources in the interpretation of ḥadīth (*takhrīj al-ḥadīth*) and in narration.
- (ix) Ḥadīth dictation sessions represent the ideal method of preserving the narration link (*ittiṣāl al-sanad*) between the ḥadīth scholar and the ḥadīth student, which is a major requirement in Islamic studies.
- (x) Ḥadīth dictation sessions have made a vital contribution to the development of human knowledge in general, and to Islamic religious education, in particular.
- (xi) Ḥadīth dictation sessions were tutorial-based. Thus, thanks to the method of extensive dictation, discussion, and consultation with the teacher, a new pedagogical approach in teaching and learning evolved.
- (xii) Ḥadīth dictation sessions provided a good scholarly tool to eliminate *al-ṣaqt*, the absence of a narrator at any given point in the chain of narration, and the text of ḥadīth ( *al-Ṣaqaṭ Fi al-Sanad*).
- (xiii) In addition, they provided a tool in differentiating between old and new narrations.

- (xiv) They provided good scholarly insight into the abrogating and abrogated ḥadīths.
- (xv) In addition, they offered insight by pinpointing the unauthentic names (*al-muhmal*) of ḥadīth narrators when similar narrator names were encountered. Ḥadīth scholars pointed out to their students the authentic names of ḥadīth narrators.
- (xvi) Through ḥadīth dictation sessions, any unknown names of narrators in the text and in the chain of authorities of the ḥadīth were marked and eliminated.
- (xvii) Such sessions provided scholarly insight into how to eliminate additions to the text (*matn*) of the ḥadīth.
- (xviii) They provided detailed comments about the semantic ambiguity (*gharīb*) of ḥadīth expressions.
- (xix) Thanks to the ḥadīth dictation sessions, specific procedures were set up to eliminate strange narrations (*gharīb al-sanad*).
- (xx) During the ḥadīth dictation sessions, unknown causes (*ʿilal*) of ḥadīth were explained.

## 2.6. Methods of Ḥadīth Dictation (*ṭaraʿiq al-implāʿ*)

There were three major methods that were adopted by ḥadīth scholars in the dictation of ḥadīth to their students: (i) dictation from memory, (ii) dictation from a book, and (iii) dictation from both memory and a book. These methods are discussed below:

### 2.6.1. Dictation from Memory

This was the most common method of ḥadīth dictation among ḥadīth scholars, who were well-known for their sharp memory and their skill in memorising both the Qurʾān and the two canonical books of ḥadīth, Sahih Muslim and Sahih Bukhāri. This method was also common during the early centuries of ḥadīth dictation, namely, the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> and beginning of 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> centuries when the chain of narrations was not long; in other words, it included only three or four names of narrators that were not difficult to remember and put them in the right order.

However, some ḥadīth students did not favour this method, due to the fact that a ḥadīth scholar might at times lack concentration or his memory might fail him, which would lead him to dictate an inaccurate chain of narration (*isnād*) or confuse one ḥadīth with another. This method was therefore abandoned during the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> centuries (al-Sakhawi 1992, 2:136). Among the ḥadīth scholars who had adopted this method were: 1. Maʿmar b. Rashid al-Azadi (d. 770) (Ibn ʿUdai 1988, 1988, 4:107; al-Dhahabi 1995, 1:235), 2. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdi (d. 813) (al-Baghdādi 1997, 10:247; al-Dhahabi 1995, 1:33), 3. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanzali (d. 869) (Ibn Ḥajar 1907, 1:218; al-Khaṭīb 1997, 6:354).

However, it is worthwhile noting that some of the ḥadīth scholars also used to read their book(s) before their sessions of ḥadīth dictation; that is, before teaching their students, so that they provided accurate ḥadīth details (al-Khaṭīb 1989:164, Ibn Saʿad 1983, 7:2).

### **2.6.2. Dictation from a Book**

This method was favoured by both ḥadīth scholars and students in order to achieve accuracy in ḥadīth narration. For instance, the ḥadīth student Yaḥyā b. Maʿin (d. 847) refused to write down ḥadīths from his teacher ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿāni (d. 826) (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:655). Similarly, Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855) always used to dictate ḥadīths through reading them from a book, as we are told by his student and friend ʿAli b. al-Madini and by his son ʿAbd Allāh (ibid:666; al-Aṣbahāni 1989, 9:165; al-Khaṭīb 1989, 14:11).

### **2.6.3. Dictation from Both Memory and a Book**

This method, which combined the other two methods, was considered the best method of ḥadīth dictation. It was adopted by Sufyān al-Thawri and al-Ṣuyūṭi. Sufyān used to dictate ḥadīths from memory but also used to refer to a ḥadīth book, although only when he was not sure about the ḥadīth text (*matn*) or its chain of narration (*isnād*) (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:667). We are also informed by ʿAffān b. Muslim (d. 831) that the ḥadīth scholar Abu ʿAwānah Wazzaḥ al-Yashkuri also used



to adopt the method of dictating ḥadīths from both memory and a book, especially with regard to long ḥadīths (Ibn Sa‘ad 1983, 7:20).

There were some ḥadīth scholars, such as al-Ṣuyūṭī, who would select particular ḥadīths and write them down in a booklet. This group of scholars used to dictate ḥadīths from memory but after they had finished, they compared the ḥadīths which were dictated with the same ḥadīths written in their booklets, in order to achieve maximum accuracy (al-Ṣuyūṭī 1994, 2:139). This method was widely used during al-Ṣuyūṭī’s lifetime and afterwards.

### Methods of Ḥadīth Dictation

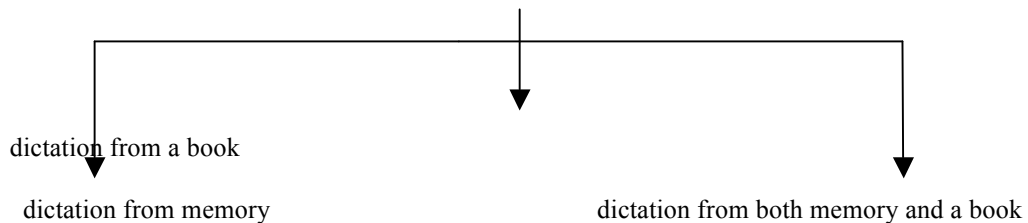


Figure 1 The three major methods of ḥadīth dictation

## 2.7. Dictation in Ḥadīth Learning

It is important to discuss the position of dictation in the process of ḥadīth learning (*taḥammul al-ḥadīth*). The learning of ḥadīth means the acquisition of ḥadīth from a ḥadīth scholar. There are several methods of ḥadīth learning which will be discussed below (see section 1.7.3). It is also important to discuss what position the dictation of ḥadīth holds among the eight methods of ḥadīth learning.

### 2.7.1. Position of Dictation in Ḥadīth Learning

Sharaf al-Qudat (2003:36) refers to two expressions: *al-taḥammul* (learning) and *al-ada* (teaching), and explains that the expression *al-taḥammul* is related to the meaning of ‘something valuable being carried by someone’; in other words, the

ḥadīth is something valuable and the ḥadīth student is entrusted to carry this as *anamānah* (trust). I have also noticed that, in the literature, I often find the method of dictation employed in both learning and teaching.

Dictation, however, has always been interrelated with the learning process of ḥadīth simply because there can be no teaching of ḥadīth without the willingness to learn on the part of ḥadīth students, and there will be no learning on the part of ḥadīth students without listening to their teacher. The method of dictation can thus be claimed to be the best method of ḥadīth learning and some students used to study with more than one ḥadīth scholar to achieve accuracy in both text and narration (*al-matn wal-isnād*). For Ibn Ḥajar al-<sup>°</sup>Asqalāni, the method of dictation occupies the highest position in the learning and teaching of ḥadīth (Ibn Ḥajar 2000, 79). Among the reasons that place the method of dictation of ḥadīth above others are:

- (i) The teacher who follows the method of dictation is more careful and accurate because he is aware that his students are being dictated to by him (Ibn <sup>°</sup>Uthaimin 2002:331). However, the teacher who gives a talk, for instance, does not pay much attention to the accuracy of details in terms of text and narration, and thus he may drop some names from the chain of narration (*tadlīs*), or add a word or two, unintentionally, to the text of the ḥadīth.
- (ii) The teacher who dictates may adopt the method of dictation from a book or from both memory and a book which makes his teaching of ḥadīth more accurate because he refers to a booklet when in doubt, and also at the end of the session, he compares the ḥadīths dictated with the ḥadīths written in his booklet, as al-Ṣuyūṭi (1994, 2:239) used to do.
- (iii) The teacher becomes well prepared before his dictation session starts, by reading ḥadīth books and learning the ḥadīths he has selected. Thus, through the method of dictation, errors in text and narration are eliminated.
- (iv) Through the ḥadīth dictation method, the student is always in direct contact with his teacher where direct supervision to the student can be provided. In other words, there is no gap and no intermediary in learning between the student and his teacher (Ibn <sup>°</sup>Uthaimin 2002:331).

(v) In the view of Ibn Hajar(2000, p 47) the expressions used in ḥadīth narration such as *sami<sup>ʿ</sup>tu* (I heard) and *ḥaddathani* (X told me) are the most reliable expressions in the sound narration of ḥadīth Ibn Hajar (2000, p 47). These expressions can be available in the narration of ḥadīths that have been learned through the method of dictation. However, these expressions can also be found in the narration of ḥadīths that have been collected by a student through meeting a ḥadīth scholar in a place such as a mosque or a market, or when a student accompanies a scholar on a journey. Thus, these two expressions do not involve an intermediary in the narration of a ḥadīth. They indicate a sound narration of ḥadīth. The occurrence of the expression *ʿan* (on the authority of) indicates the existence of an intermediary; that is, there was no direct link between the original narrator of ḥadīth and the student.

### 2.7.2. Conditions of Ḥadīth Learning

There is some disagreement among scholars about the age from which a person can attend ḥadīth dictation sessions. Most scholars agree that mental maturity (*tamyīz*) is the major criterion for an individual to attend ḥadīth dictation sessions. For scholars, mental maturity cannot be decided by a specific age, but can be the age by which a person can distinguish between ‘a cow and a donkey’, no matter how young the person is, even if he is five years old (Shakir 1995:100). Although some scholars mention the age of five, it is important to note that individuals are different in terms of mental maturity and memorisation. Sufyān and Waki<sup>ʿ</sup>, for instance, were very young when they were attending ḥadīth dictation sessions (Shakir 1995:100). For Ibn Kathīr (Shakir 1995:100), any person who attends ḥadīth dictation sessions is regarded as only attending, not learning the ḥadīth. However, the majority of scholars claim that a young person who has not reached puberty can be mentally mature and attend ḥadīth dictation sessions. Other scholars argue that mental maturity starts at the age of twenty, while still others mention the age of thirty (Shakir 1995:100).

It is worth noting that faith is not a criterion in the learning of ḥadīth or attending ḥadīth learning sessions. In other words, a non-Muslim is allowed to attend ḥadīth learning sessions. However, the narration of any ḥadīth by a non-Muslim can be

accepted only after he accepts Islam. Also, the teaching of ḥadīth must be practised by a Muslim teacher only (al-Qudat 2003:36).

### 2.7.3. Methods of Ḥadīth Learning

There are eight methods of ḥadīth learning. Each method of learning has its own specific expression(s) used by the student and usually placed before the text (*matn*) of the ḥadīth. These methods are discussed below, in order of priority:

(i) Listening (*al-samāʿ*): This is the major method of ḥadīth narration and is the method which was adopted by all the companions (al-Qudat 2003:37). It also refers to ḥadīth dictation (ʿAiyad 1970:69). In this method, the ḥadīth scholar narrates to his students while they listen to him and write down the narrated ḥadīths. This applies to whether the teacher narrates; that is, dictates, from memory or from his booklet. It also applies to whether the student only listens to his teacher and learns the ḥadīth by heart or writes down the ḥadīth.

The expressions used in this method are *samiʿtu* (I heard), *ḥaddathana* (X told us), and *ḥaddathani* (X told me).

(ii) Reading to the teacher (*al-ʿarḥ* or *al-qiraʿah*): The student reads the ḥadīths to his teacher orally or from a booklet he has made. In the view of al-Bukhāri, narration from this method of ḥadīth learning is acceptable (Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr 1992, 2:304; Ibn Ḥajar 1959, 1:137-138). However, for Iraqi ḥadīth scholars, this method of ḥadīth learning is unacceptable: the student cannot be a qualified ḥadīth scholar. Nonetheless, I believe that reading ḥadīths to the teacher is as good as listening to ḥadīths from the teacher, and Shakir (1995:103) has a similar point of view to mine. The expressions used in this method are *akhbarana* (X informed us) and *qaraʿtu ʿala fulan* (I read to X).

(iii) Licence (*al-ijāzah*): The ḥadīth teacher gives his permission to a ḥadīth student to narrate ḥadīths on his behalf. This applies to the narration of ḥadīth orally or in a booklet (al-Sakhawi 1992, 2:214). The main reason for adopting this method of

ḥadīth learning was due to the fact that a ḥadīth scholar did not have the time to listen to so many students reading the ḥadīths to him or revising their booklets (al-Qudat 2003:39). Instead, the ḥadīth scholar used to give his licence to reliable good students to narrate ḥadīths or to write a ḥadīth booklet (Shakir 1995:110). Set expressions were used in this method. Among them were *anba'ana* (X informed us) and *ajazani fulan* (X gave me the licence).

(iv) Handing over (*al-munāwalah*): This means the ḥadīth scholar hands over to his student some of the ḥadīths that he knows either in writing or by just narrating them to him. Then the ḥadīth scholar gives a licence to the student allowing him to narrate these ḥadīths or read them to people (al-Sakhawi 1992, 2:285). This form of handing over of ḥadīths with a licence is an acceptable method of ḥadīth learning to the majority of early scholars such as Imām Mālik, al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Ḥakīm and Ibn Kathīr, who consider this method of ḥadīth learning as equivalent to the method of listening (*al-samā'*) (Shakir 1995:113). For other *al-samā'* scholars, this method of ḥadīth learning is the best method of licence (*al-ijāzah*) (al-Qudat 2003:38). It should also be noted that this method of ḥadīth learning is better than the method of writing (*al-mukātabah*) without licence (al-Qudat 2003:38). The expressions used in this method are *anba'ana* (X informed us) and *nāwalani fulan* (X handing over me).

(v) Writing (*al-mukātabah*): This means the ḥadīth scholar either writes down some ḥadīths himself or asks a student to write them down for him. There are two types:

(a) writing without a licence (*mukātabah mujarradah 'an al-ijāzah*), which does not allow the student to narrate any of the ḥadīths written down. This was an acceptable method of ḥadīth learning to many early and late ḥadīth scholars.

(b) writing with a licence (*mukātabah maqrunah bil-ijāzah*) which allows the student to narrate any of the ḥadīths written down (al-Sakhawi 1992, 13:284-303; al-Şuyūṭi 1994, 2:44; Ibn Ḥajar 1959, 13:138).

For Shakir (1995:115), the method of writing (*al-mukātabah*) does not have to be with a licence but it is better if it is. Additionally, he claims that (a) the method of

writing with and without a licence is better than the method of handing over (*al-munāwalah*) with a licence, and that (b) the method of writing with a licence is better and more reliable than the method of listening (*al-samāʿ*) Shakir (1995:115). The expressions used in this method are *kataba ilaiyah fulān* (X wrote to me) and *akhbarani fulān* (X informed me).

**(vi)** Informing (*al-ʿlām*): This means the ḥadīth scholar informs the student that a particular ḥadīth is narrated by him or that the scholar has listened to a book without giving a licence to the student to narrate the ḥadīth (ʿAiyad 1970:108). The expression used in this method is *ʿlamani fulān* (X informed me).

**(vii)** Making a bequest (*al-waṣiyyah*): This means that a ḥadīth scholar on his death bed gives his authorisation to a student to write down a ḥadīth book and gives him the license to narrate or read the ḥadīths (al-Ṣuyūṭī 1994, 2:60). For Shakir (1995: 116) this method of ḥadīth learning is licensed and is therefore acceptable and is much better than the method of licensing (*al-ijāzah*).

The expression used in this method is *awṣa ilaiyah fulān* (X authorised me / made a bequest to me / gave me a licence).

**(viii)** Finding (*al-wajādah*): This means that someone finds a ḥadīth with its full chain of narration (*isnād*) or finds a book of ḥadīth written by someone and the ḥadīths are narrated by the same person. For Ibn Kathīr, this method allows the person who finds such ḥadīths to narrate them. This case applies to the ḥadīth book by Imām Aḥmad which was found by his son ʿAbd Allāh (Shakir 1995:117). The expression used in this method is *wajadtu bikhaṭṭi fulān* (I found ḥadīth written down by X).

Methods of Ḥadīth Learning	Expressions Used in Each Method
listening ( <i>al-samāʿ</i> )	<i>samiʿtu</i> (I heard), <i>ḥaddathana</i> (X told us), and <i>ḥaddathani</i> (X told me)
reading to the teacher ( <i>al-ʿarḥor al-qirāʾah</i> )	<i>akhbarana</i> (X informed us), <i>qaraʿtu ʿala fulān</i> (I read to X)
license ( <i>al-ijāzah</i> )	<i>anbaʿana</i> ( informed us) and <i>ajazani fulān</i> (X gave me the licence)
handing over ( <i>al-munāwalah</i> )	<i>anbaʿana</i> (X informed us) and <i>nāwalani fulān</i> (X handing over me )
writing ( <i>al-mukātabah</i> )	<i>kataba ilaiyah fulān</i> (X wrote to me) and <i>akhbarani fulān</i> (X informed me)
informing ( <i>al-iʿlām</i> )	<i>ʿalamani fulān</i> (X informed me)
making a bequest ( <i>al-waṣiyyah</i> )	<i>awṣā ilaiyah fulān</i> (X authorised me / made a bequest to me / gave me a licence)
finding ( <i>al-wajādah</i> )	<i>wajadtu bikhaṭṭi fulān</i> (I found ḥadīth written down by X)

Table 1 Methods of ḥadīth learning and the expressions used in each method

### 2.7.3.1. The “Best Method of Ḥadīth Learning”

Ḥadīth scholars have different opinions as to which method of learning ḥadīths is best. Some believe that listening (*al-samāʿ*) and reading to the teacher (*al-ʿarḥor al-qirāʾah*) are the best methods of ḥadīth learning. However, scholars have different opinions with regard to which of these two methods is better, and there are three major points of view:

- (i) Reading to the teacher is a better method of ḥadīth learning than listening (*taqdīm al-qirā'ah*): This view is held by Imām Abu Ḥanifah and Ibn Abi Dhi'b (al-Khaṭīb 1989:310-314; al-Ṣuyūṭī 1994, 2:14; al-Sakhawi 1992, 2:147).
- (ii) Both reading to the teacher and listening are equally good (*al-musāwat bainahuma*): This is the view of Imām Mālik and his students as well as the majority of scholars in Ḥijaz and Kūfah (al-Suyuti 1994, 2:14; al-Sakhawi 1992, 2:147; al-Ramaharmazi 1984:420; Ibn Ḥajar 1959, 1:150).
- (iii) Listening is a better method of ḥadīth learning than reading to the teacher (*taqdīm al-samā'*): This is the view of scholars from the eastern regions of the Muslim Empire and those of Khurasān (al-Khaṭīb 1989:307-309; al-Sam'ani 1995, 1:122-134; Ibn al-Ṣalah 1986:142; al-°Iraqi 2008:186; al-Ṣuyūṭī 1994, 2:14; al-Sakhawi 1992, 2:147; °Aiyad 1970:73). Among the scholars who support this view are Aḥmad b. °Ali b. Thābit al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādi (d. 1070), Abu Sa'ad °Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Sam'āni (d. 1166), and Abu °Amru b. al- Ṣalah (d. 1244) (Ibn al-Ṣalah 1986:142). Other ḥadīth scholars who supported this view are Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Nawawi (al-Ṣuyūṭī 1994, 2:15), Abu al-Faḍl Zain al-Dīn °Abd al-Raḥim b. al-Ḥusain al-°Iraqi (d. 1403) (al-°Iraqi 2008:186), Jalal al-Dīn al-Ṣuyūṭī (d. 1505) (al-Ṣuyūṭī 1994, 2:15), Abu °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhawi (d. 1496) (al-Sakhawi 1992, 2:147). For al-Sam'ani (1995, 1: 122-134), the method of ḥadīth dictation; that is, listening to the teacher, is the most acceptable one because the ḥadīth text and narration (*matn wa isnād al-ḥadīth*) are free from corruption. Similarly, for al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:55), the ḥadīth dictation sessions are the best means of learning ḥadīth and the best way of narrating the ḥadīth (*riwāyāt al-ḥadīth*).



## Which Method of Ḥadīth Learning is Best?

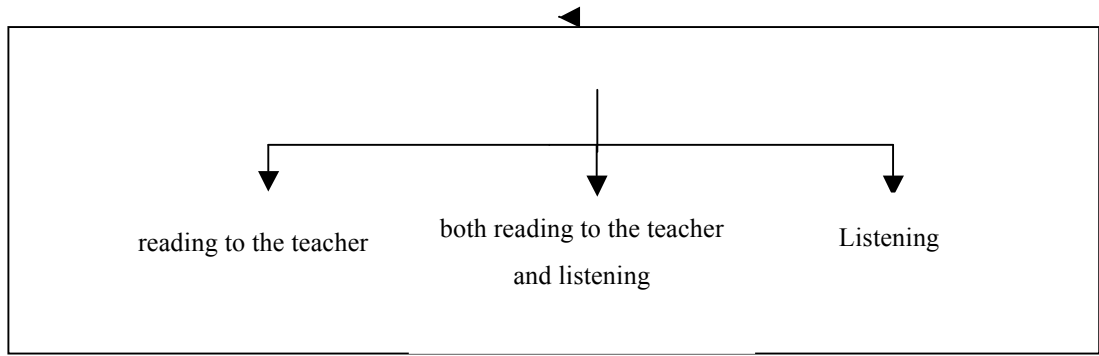


Figure 2 the best method of ḥadīth learning

### 3. Chapter Two

## Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions in Printed and Manuscript Forms

### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter investigates the ḥadīth dictation sessions in book form and those that are still preserved in international libraries in manuscript form. It also deals with lone ḥadīth dictation session manuscripts which are referred to in Arabic as *makhṭuṭat farīdah*, and the data collected on the lone manuscripts through using a number of different research methods. The reader is also given a list of the ḥadīth dictation session manuscripts which have more than one copy. In addition, the chapter sheds light on the danger encountering these valuable sources of ḥadīth. How seriously the *Āmālī* manuscripts have been affected by theft, exposure to light, dust and dampness is also discussed. The chapter provides information on the threat facing the storage and preservation of manuscripts in international libraries and how manuscripts in some libraries are stored on microfiche.

### 3.2. Major Threats to Manuscripts

Manuscripts represent the intellectual heritage of the nation. Because of their intellectual and historical value and the material they are made of, manuscripts are vulnerable to theft, loss and damage. Damage to a manuscript can be either from the dampness of the place it is stored in, or from fire, dust, too much sunlight, or, most seriously, insects. However, with the technological advancement, the preservation of manuscripts is easier nowadays. Today, manuscripts can be stored in the form of microfilms or microfiche.

The greatest threat to the Islamic heritage of manuscripts was the burning of Islamic libraries which included rare and valuable manuscripts in Andalus (Spain and Portugal) after the collapse of the Muslim Empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. More than three million manuscripts were burnt in public squares and continued burning for several days. Those salvaged were minimal and are no more than 300,000 manuscripts which are now kept in the Escorial Library in Spain. Despite this, they have been neglected for too long and have been poorly stored in corridors in open carton boxes. Thus, they have been seriously affected by exposure to light, dust and dampness, so two years ago these manuscripts were reproduced on microfiche and are kept in the Dār al-Kutub al-Maṣriyyah Library in Cairo, the Alexandria Library for Manuscripts, The Islamic University Library in Madinah, Saudi Arabia, and the Istanbul Library.

Another major threat to rare manuscripts is theft. I was informed by someone that he found a rare manuscript on sale. He said that he bought it and then returned it to the same library from which it had been stolen. A few months later, he saw some more manuscripts on sale. One of them was the same manuscript he had just bought and returned to the library.

### **3.3. Importance of the Present Discussion**

The manuscripts on ḥadīth dictation sessions represent the cream of ḥadīth studies, since such sessions are the core of ḥadīth literature which was dictated by top ḥadīth scholars to dedicated ḥadīth students. The study of manuscripts on ḥadīth dictation sessions which are in printed or manuscript form will demonstrate the huge difference between the manuscripts that are still available and those which are in printed form. The study of ḥadīth dictation sessions which are in either printed or manuscript form, are of great importance to:

- (i) researchers who are interested in the study of Arabic manuscripts, in general, and ḥadīth manuscripts, in particular,
- (ii) researchers who are interested in editing and publishing such manuscripts, and
- (iii) postgraduate research students who are interested in this field of research.

Ḥadīth dictation sessions are a major source for the stanDārd practice of Muḥammad (Sunnah). They also represent the selfless teaching effort by ḥadīth scholars over so many past centuries. However, what we have today of available ḥadīth literature in either published or manuscript form is very little compared to the long history of ḥadīth dictation sessions over the centuries and the very large number of ḥadīth dictation sessions which were given by ḥadīth scholars for several centuries in different Muslim countries. I believe it is impossible to collect all the manuscripts written by ḥadīth scholars and their students since the beginning of ḥadīth dictation sessions in the second century. My claim is verified by the fact that what is available of ḥadīth literature in manuscript or published forms in today's libraries is very little compared to what has been lost or damaged over the centuries.

It is also worth noting that what is available of ḥadīth dictation sessions in printed form is also very little compared to what is still available in manuscript form in many international and private libraries. Based on my visits to many international and private libraries, I can claim that there are several manuscripts on ḥadīth dictation sessions which are waiting to be investigated and brought to light in printed form to readers interested in ḥadīth studies.

#### **3.4. al-Khazānah al-Shawishiyyah(Personal Libraries).**

Personal libraries have played a major role in the preservation of rare manuscripts on ḥadīth dictation sessions and have provided a magnificent service to researchers. Owners of such libraries have also exerted selfless efforts in the preservation, maintenance, historical arrangement, indexing, and transporting of ḥadīth manuscripts. A unique example is the al-Khazānah al-Shawishiyyah in the al-Maidān area in central Damascus. The owner of this library was a ḥadīth scholar called Zuhair al-Shawish who had a tremendous interest in collecting rare ḥadīth manuscripts. In 1949, Zuhair al-Shawish started the collection of ḥadīth manuscripts from different sources. He used to buy them from those of his ḥadīth scholars who kept rare ones. Ḥadīth manuscripts used to become part of the inheritance of the family members after the scholar had passed away, and the inheritance of ḥadīth manuscripts could continue in the inheritance chain for several generations. It used

to be divided among the wife, sons, daughters, grandsons, and granddaughters of the ḥadīth scholar. However, due to lack of space at home, the danger of bookworms, mice and insects, lack of care, lack of sunlight, accumulated dust, and most importantly, the need for cash, people sold their personal library manuscripts.

Referring to the endless and delicate effort required to look after such manuscripts, Zuhair al-Shawish spoke of the problems which personal library owners face and the endless hours he spent in the preservation of his manuscript personal library. He mentioned the use of powder chemicals to fight bookworms, insects and mice, but also spoke about the health hazards and infections caused by such powder chemicals, such as different chest infections. He referred to his wife and children who take care of the family's manuscript library and who believe that these manuscripts are part of the heritage of the Muslim nation. However, after he moved home to Beirut, he divided his personal manuscript library into two parts. He kept some of his personal library with him in Beirut while the rest of it was sent to his daughter in Amman (Rashid 2011:12).

It is interesting to note that the al-Khazānah al-Shawishiyyah of Zuhair al-Shawish has provided an invaluable service to researchers in ḥadīth studies. This personal library receives a large number of visitors, including MA and PhD students, and specialist research centres have also benefited from it.

This personal library is characterised by its rare ḥadīth manuscripts, some of which date back to the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century, and include Ottoman decorations, the Awqāf documents of the two Holy mosques in Makkah and Madinah, and the manuscript *Bilād al-<sup>c</sup>Arab* (The Arab land) of al-Aṣfahāni (d. 310 /922) which was copied during the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript was sent by Zuhair al-Shawish to the ḥadīth scholar Ḥamād al-Jasir for editing. The latter managed to edit it in 1968 with another ḥadīth scholar called Ṣaliḥ al-<sup>c</sup>Ali and was it published by Dār al-Yamāmah in Riyadh in 1968 (Rashid 2011:22). According to Rashid b. Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Asakir, the al-Khazānah al-Shawishiyyah of Zuhair al-Shawish is classified as the personal library with the largest collection of manuscripts in the Muslim world (Rashid 2011:19).

We can thus argue that personal libraries have played a major role in the preservation of manuscripts on ḥadīth dictation sessions and in the provision of valuable research

service to ḥadīth researchers. That said, we believe that there is an apathetic attitude towards ḥadīth manuscripts. This can be attributed to two factors:

- (i) Ignorance among people, including the educated, of the value of manuscripts in general, and
- (ii) The lack of effort among scholars to make people aware of the great value of ḥadīth manuscripts. We believe that it is necessary to raise such awareness, through the media.

### 3.5. Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions in Printed Form

Compared to the volume of ḥadīth dictation sessions over so many centuries, there is a considerable gap between the number of that have been published of manuscripts on these sessions and the number of the actual ḥadīth dictation sessions that took place. In other words, there are many rare manuscripts on ḥadīth dictation sessions that are still unpublished. It is worthwhile noting that ḥadīth dictation sessions represent a valuable asset to ḥadīth studies such as the ḥadīth chain of narration (*isnād al-ḥadīth*), the biography of ḥadīth scholars, the sound ḥadīths attributed to reliable ḥadīth scholars, ḥadīth defects (*ʿilal al-ḥadīth*), and the odd ḥadīths which are explained by ḥadīth dictation sessions.

#### 3.5.1. Major Published Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions

Among the manuscripts on ḥadīth dictation sessions that have been edited and published are the following:

**1. al-Āmālī fi Athar al-Ṣaḥabah** of ʿAbd al-Razzaq b. Hamam b. Nafiʿ al-Ṣanʿani (d. 220/844), edited by Majdi al-Saiyid Ibrāhīm and published in 1989 by Maktabat al-Qur'an in Cairo (144 pages).

**2. Āmālī al-Baghandi** of Muḥammad b. Sulaiman b. al-Ḥārith al-Baghandi (d. 283/896), edited by Muḥammad Ziyad Taklah within a 19-volume ḥadīth series called "*Jamharāt al-Ajzā' al-ḥadīthiyyah*" and published in 2001 by al-ʿUbaikan in Riyadh.

3. **Āmālī Abi Ishāq** of Ibrāhīm b. °Abd al-Şamad (d. 325/937), edited by °Abd al-Raḥim b. Muḥammad al-Qashqari and published in 2001 by Dār al-Rushd in Riyadh (84 pages).

4. **Āmālī al-Maḥamli** of al- Ḥusain b. Isma°il b. Muḥammad (d. 330/942). This is edited by Ibrāhīm b. Ṭaha al-Qaisi as a PhD thesis in al-Imām University, Riyadh (1986) and published in 1991 by al-Maktabah al-Islāmiyyah. This manuscript is narrated by Ibn Yaḥya al-Baiyi°. It is worth noting that there are other published parts of this manuscript and that they are narrated by Abu °Umar °Abd al-Waḥid b. Maḥdi al-Farsi.

5. **Āmālī al-°Aṭṭar** of Muḥammad b. Mukhlid b. Ḥafs al-Khaṭīb (d. 331/943). This is edited by Nabil Sa°d al-Dīn Jarrar and published in 2001 by Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah in Beirut.

6. **Āmālī Ibn al-Sammak** of Abu °Umar °Uthman b. Aḥmad b. °Abd °Ubaid Allāh al-Daqqāq (d. 344/955). This was published in 2004 by Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah in Beirut and was in the narration of Abu °Abd al-Raḥman al-Salami. This manuscript was edited by Nabil Sa°ad al-Dīn jarrar.

7. **Āmālī al-Miyanji** of Abu Bakr Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim b. Yūsuf b. Faris Ibn Suwar (d. 375/985)<sup>1</sup>. This is edited by BadriMuḥammad Fahad and is published in 2005 by Dār Jarir lil-Nashr in Jordan.

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<sup>1</sup>Abu Bakr Ibn Suwar was also nicknamed as al-Qaḍi, al-Ḥafīz, and al-Muḥaddith al-Kabīr. His biography is found in al-Dhahabi 1992, 16:361, and in Ibn al-°Imād 1988, 3:86.

**8. Āmālī Nizām al-Mālik** of al-Wazir al-kabir Nizām al-Mālik al-Ḥasan b. °Ali (d. 485/1092). This is edited by Abu Ishaq al-Ḥuwaini al-Athari and is published in 1993 by Maktabat al-°Ilm in Saudi Arabia.

**9. Āmālī al-Buḥairi** of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ja°far b. Nuḥ b. Buḥair al-Naisabūrī (d. 375/987)<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting that this is still in manuscript form and is a lone manuscript in the Copreli Library in Turkey (525/10). This manuscript includes a number of other manuscripts on ḥadīth dictation sessions. However, the *Āmālī al-Buḥairi* manuscript of Aḥmad b. Buḥair al-Naisabūrī goes from page 90A-92A. Additionally, this manuscript is written in 623/1226, and I have managed to edit it and it is now awaiting publication.

**10. Āmālī Ibn Sam°un al-Wa°iz** of Muḥammad b. Isma°il al-Baghdādi (d. 386/998). This manuscript is edited by °Amir Ṣabri and published in 2004 by Dār al-Bashā'ir in Beirut.

**11. Āmālī Abu Ṭāhir al-Mukhlis** of Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Raḥman b. al-°Abbas (d. 393/1003). This manuscript is edited by Ghalib b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamdi and is published in 1998 by Dār al-waṭan in Riyadh. The same manuscript is also edited by Muḥammad b. Naṣir al-°Ajmi and is published in 2004 by Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah in Beirut (143 pages).

**12. Āmālī Ibn Murdawaīh** of Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsa (d. 410/1019). This manuscript is edited by Muḥammad Ziya' al-Raḥman al-A°zami and published in 1990 by Dār°Ulum al-ḥadīth in the United Arab Emirates (366 pages).

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<sup>2</sup>Aḥmad b. Buḥair al-Naisabūrī is also nicknamed as al-Shaikh and al-Imām. His biography is found in al-Dhahabi 1992, 16:366, and in Ibn al-°Imād 1988, 3:84. It is also worth noting that Abu °Abd Allah b. Muḥammad b. °Abd Allah b. al-Bai° was the repeater of Aḥmad b. Buḥair al-Naisabūrī although Abu °Abd Allah b. al-Bai° was a well-known ḥadīth scholar (al-Dhahabi 1992, 16:366).



**13. Ḥadīth Ibn Mukhlid °An Shiyukhih** of Abu al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm al-Baghdādi (d. 419/1028). In this manuscript, al-Baghdādi narrates from his four ḥadīth scholars: al-Khaldi, Abu Bakr al-Najjār, Abu Bakr al-Shafī°i, and Abu °Amru al-Daqqāq. It is edited by Nabīl Sa°d al-Dīn Jarrar and was published in 2001 by Dār al-Bashā'ir in Beirut. This manuscript is published within a number of other manuscripts and goes from page 183 to page 250.

**14. Āmālī Ibn Bushrān** of °Abd al-Mālik b. Muḥammad b. °Abd Allah b. Bushrān (d. 430/1039). This manuscript falls into two volumes. Volume one (496 pages) is edited by Abu °Abd al-Raḥmān °Adil b. Yūsuf al-°Azzazi and published in 1997 by Dār al-Waṭan in Riyadh. Volume two (408 pages) of this manuscript is edited by Aḥmad b. Sulaiman and published by Dār al-Waṭan in Riyadh.

**15. Āmālī al-Ḥāfiẓ Abu Na°im** of Aḥmad b. °Abd Allah al-Aṣbahāni (d. 430/1039). This is edited by Sa°id b. °Umar b. Ghāzi and published in 1984 by Dār al-Ḥadīth in Beirut (80 pages).

**16. Āmālī al-Qāḍi Abu Yu°la** of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. al-Farra' (d. 458/1066). This manuscript is edited by Muḥammad b. Naṣir al-°Ajmi and published in 2004 by Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah in Beirut.

**17. Āmālī al-Daqqāq** of Abu °Abd Allah Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Waḥid (d. 516/1122). This is edited by Ḥatam b. °Arif al-°Uni and published in 1997 by Maktabat al-Rushd in Riyadh. This manuscript is published within a number of other manuscripts and goes from page 303 to page 333.

**18. Āmālī Ibn Fakhir al-Aṣbahāni** of Ma°mar b. °Abd al-Waḥid b. Raja' al-Qurashi (d. 546/1151). This manuscript is edited by Nabīl Sa°d al-Dīn Jarrar and is published

in 2001 by Dār al-Bashā'ir in Beirut. This manuscript is published within a number of other manuscripts and goes from page 455 to page 481.

**19. Āmālī Ibn Naṣīr al-Dīn** of al- Ḥāfiẓ Abu ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. Abu Bakr known as Ibn Naṣīr al-Dīn (d. 752/1351). Only the first ḥadīth dictation session of this manuscript has been edited by ʿAbd Allah Mahmūd b. Muḥammad al- Ḥaddād and it was published in 1987 by Dār al-ʿĀshimah in Riyadh (78 pages).

**20. Āmālī Abu al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir**<sup>3</sup> of ʿAli b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allah al-Shāfiʿi (d. 571/1175)<sup>4</sup>. This manuscript has several volumes, each one representing a ḥadīth dictation session. Among such sessions that have been edited and published are the following:

**(i)** The ḥadīth dictation session on dispraise of the person who does not act according to what he/she preaches. This is edited by Muḥammad Muṭiʿ al-Ḥāfiẓ and published in 1978 by Dār al-Fikr in Damascus.

**(ii)** The ḥadīth dictation session on dispraise of accompanying the wrong-doers. This is the 53<sup>rd</sup> ḥadīth dictation session. This is edited by Muḥammad Muṭiʿ al- Ḥāfiẓ and published in 1978 by Dār al-Fikr in Damascus.

**(iii)** The ḥadīth dictation session on the virtues of Ramadhan. This manuscript is edited by Abu ʿAbd Allah Mishʿil b. Bani al-Jibrin al-Muṭairi and published in 2001 by Dār Ibn Ḥazm in Beirut. This manuscript is published within a group of other manuscripts.

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<sup>3</sup>Abu al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir gave 408 ḥadīth dictation sessions (al-Dhahabi 1992, 20:652).

<sup>4</sup>Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allah al-Shāfiʿi is also well-known for his book *Tāʾrīkh Dimishq* and his biography is given in *Kitaā al-Mustafad min Dhail Tāʾrīkh Baghdād* of al-Dumyāṭi (1988:186-189) and also in al-Dhahabi (1992, 20:554).

(iv) The ḥadīth dictation session on repentance. This is edited by Abu °Abd Allah Mish°il b. Bani al-Jibrin al-Muṭairi and published in 2001 by Dār Ibn Ḥazm in Beirut. This manuscript is published within a group of other manuscripts. This manuscript has also been published by °Abd al-Razzaq b. Khalifah al-Shaiji in *al-Dhakha'ir Journal*, volumes 17 (2003) and 18 (2004).

(v) The ḥadīth dictation session on the hypocritical person. This manuscript is the 127<sup>th</sup> volume within a group of 21 other manuscripts bearing the manuscript library label 'General 3759' , with the index letter Qāf 261-276. This manuscript is edited by Abu °Abd Allah Mish°il b. Bani al-Jibrin al-Muṭairi and published in 2001 by Dār Ibn Ḥazm in Beirut. This manuscript is published within a group of other manuscripts.

**21. Āmālī Ibn Ḥajar** of Taqīyyu al-Dīn Abu al-Faḍl °Abd al-Raḥman b. Aḥmad b. °Ali b. Ḥajar al-°Asqalāni (d. 852/1448)<sup>5</sup>. This is edited by Ḥammdi al-Salafī and published in 1995 by al-Maktab al-Islāmi in Beirut.

**22. al-Āmālī al-Ḥalabiyyah** of Taqīyyu al-Dīn Abu al-Faḍl °Abd al-Raḥman b. Aḥmad b. °Ali b. Ḥajar al-°Asqalāni (d. 852/1448). This manuscript is edited by °Awwad Khalaf and published in 1995 by al-Riān in Beirut.

### 3.6. Lone Ḥadīth Dictation Session Manuscripts

The expression "lone manuscript" is referred to in Arabic as *makhṭūṭah faridah*. In other words, there is no other copy of this manuscript in any personal or international library. Thus, a lone manuscript can be classified as a rare manuscript. Most lone

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<sup>5</sup>Ibn Ḥajar al-°Asqalāni used to hold his ḥadīth dictation sessions in Aleppo and a number of his other ḥadīth dictation sessions in Cairo. In total, he held more than 1100 ḥadīth dictation sessions.

ḥadīth dictation session manuscripts are the master copies that belonged to the ḥadīth scholars themselves. Such manuscripts require preservation in special manuscript cases and need to be maintained regularly to avoid damage.

### 3.6.1. Identification of the Lone Manuscript

There are two methods through which we can identify whether a manuscript is lone or not. These methods are:

- (i) A researcher who refers in his/her published work to a manuscript as "lone",
- (ii) A manuscript index which refers to a manuscript as "lone". The major Arab manuscript indexes are: *al-Muntakhāb min Makḥṭūṭāt al-Ḥadīth*(1970) by Muḥammad b. Naṣir al-Albani, *al-Zāhirīyyah Majāmiʿ*(1983) by Yasin Muḥammad al-Sawwas, *al-ʿUmarīyyah* (1987) by Yasin Muḥammad al-Sawwas, *al-Ḥadīth al-Sharīf* (2006) by Wizārat al-Thaqāfah in Syria, and *al-Ḥadīth al-Nabawī al-Sharīf* (1991) by Mu'assasāt Āl al-Bait.
- (iii) A researcher who through his/her field work in personal and international libraries refers to a manuscript as "lone".

### 3.6.2. Data Collection on Lone Manuscripts

We have collected our data on lone manuscripts through a number of research methods, including:

- (i) visiting a number of international manuscript libraries in different countries, such as Istanbul, Damascus, Cairo, Riyadh, Makkah and Madinah.
- (ii) consulting manuscript sources, such as:
  - (a) *al-Muntakhab min Makḥṭūṭāt al-Ḥadīth*(1970) by Muḥammad b. Naṣir al-Albani. This is the index of the manuscripts in Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhirīyyah in Damascus.
  - (b) *al-Zāhirīyyah Majāmiʿ*(1983) by Yasin Muḥammad al-Sawwas. This is the index of the manuscripts in Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhirīyyah in Damascus.
  - (c) *al-ʿUmarīyyah* (1987) by Yasin Muḥammad al-Sawwas. This is the index of the

manuscripts in al-Madrasah al-<sup>°</sup>Umariyyah in Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhirīyyah in Damascus.

(d) *al-Ḥadīth al-Sharīf*(2006) by Wizarāt al-Thaqāfah in Syria. This is the index of the manuscripts in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus.

(e) *al-Ḥadīth al-Nabawī al-Sharīf*(1991) by Mu'assasāt Āl al-Bait, Amman, Jordan. This is the index of all the Arabic manuscripts on ḥadīth and ḥadīth studies.

### 3.6.3. List of Lone Ḥadīth Dictation Session Manuscripts

The lone manuscripts on ḥadīth dictation sessions include the following:

**1. Āmālī al-Laith b. Sa<sup>°</sup>ad:** This is by al-Laith b. Sa<sup>°</sup>ad b. <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Raḥman al-Fahmi al-Maṣri Abu al-Ḥārith (d. 175/791)<sup>6</sup>. This manuscript has 5 leaves (Qāf 152-156). It is of one ḥadīth dictation session and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It was most probably copied in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century, has some samā<sup>°</sup>, the oldest of which is in 556/1161, and is written in the Naskh script. The manuscript's number in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus) is 3851/Tā'/15.

**2. Majlis min Imla' Ibn al-Ghuri:** This manuscript belonged to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abu al-Faraj Ibn al-Ghuri (d. 239/853). It has 10 leaves (Qāf 36-45), and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It was most probably copied in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. There are corrections to this manuscript and the copier has also included notes based on his comparison with other related manuscripts (*makhṭūṭah mushhahah wa muqābalah*). This manuscript also has a copyright label (*waqf*) in the name of <sup>°</sup>Ali al-Ḥasni which gives all readers the right of access to it and shows that no one has the authority to keep this manuscript for himself in his personal library.

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<sup>6</sup>al-Laith b. Sa<sup>°</sup>ad was also known as al-Imām, al-Ḥāfīz, the Shaikh al-Islam, and <sup>°</sup>Ālim al-Diyār al-Maṣriyyah. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 8:136), in Ibn <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Hadi (1989, 1:330), and also in Ibn al-<sup>°</sup>Imād (1988, 1:285).<sup>6</sup>

However, this right of access is limited to Muslims only. As for the non-Muslim reader, he/she has to obtain permission from the manuscript holder. This manuscript also has many *samā'āt*. The expression "*samā'āt*" is derived from the verb "*samā'a*" (to hear someone, to listen to someone) which means the ḥadīth scholar has several students attending his ḥadīth dictation sessions, listening to his lectures and writing down what he explains to them. Thus, when a manuscript is described as having many *samā'āt*, it means that the manuscript is found in different information forms by different students about the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. However, the information in each manuscript varies from one student to another depending on:

- (i) how much note-taking a student did,
- (ii) how many days he missed, and
- (iii) whether he arrived on time and did not miss any details from the ḥadīth scholar.

Some of the *samā'āt* of this manuscript were written by the copier of the manuscript, and the oldest copying dates back to 633/1236 in Damascus in the Naskh script. I have noticed that this copy suffers from some damp damage<sup>7</sup>. The manuscript's number in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus) is 3756/Tā'/4.

**3. Āmālī al-Qāḍī al-<sup>c</sup>Assal:** This lone manuscript is by Aḥmad b. Sulaiman b. Muḥammad, known as al-<sup>c</sup>Assal (d. 282/895)<sup>8</sup>. This is kept in the Copreli Library in Turkey within a group of other manuscripts whose number is 252/1/2.

**4. Āmālī Ibrāhīm b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥman b. Ibrāhīm al-Dimishqi (d. 303/915):** This

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<sup>7</sup>I believe the Egyptian government made the wrong decision in moving the Dār al-Kutub al-Maṣriyyah lil-Makḥṭūṭāt Library from its old place in central Cairo to its present place in the Kornish by the Nile, as the high level of humidity near the Nile will seriously damage the manuscripts.

<sup>8</sup>The biography of Aḥmad b. Sulaiman b. Muḥammad al-<sup>c</sup>Assal is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 16:11) and in al-Ṣafadi (1962, 2:41).

is a lone manuscript in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) (General 9400) which includes the first and second ḥadīth dictation sessions. There are details missing from the first and the last parts of the manuscript (Qāf 1-28).

**5. Āmālīal-Nasā'i:** This is by Abu °Abd al-Raḥman Aḥmad b. °Ali b. Shu°aib al-Nasā'i (d. 303/915). This is a lone manuscript of 10 leaves (Qāf 53-62) and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 954/ Tā'/4. There are corrections on it and the copier has added comparative notes on it taken from other manuscripts. It also includes many *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 442/105; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. This manuscript has serious damp damage.

**6. Āmālī Abu Bakr al-Malhami:** This lone manuscript is by Ḥamād b. Muḥammad b. Mūsa (d. 324/936). It is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus) and the library details are: Group 79, General 3815, from leaf 144 to leaf 152. Its number in the al-Asad National Library is 3815/Tā'/12. It is worthwhile noting that the expression "Group" means that a manuscript is kept with a number of other manuscripts within a group.

**7. Āmālī Abu Bakr:** This manuscript is by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Bashshār (d. 328/940)<sup>9</sup>. This lone manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), Group 88, and is of one ḥadīth dictation session and part of a second ḥadīth dictation session. This is from leaf 139 to leaf 196 (Qāf 139-196) .

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<sup>9</sup>Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Bashshar was a well-known linguist and reciter. His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 3:181-186), Ibn Abu Yu°la (1952, 2:6-73), and in al-Dhahabi (1992, 15:274).

**8. Āmālī Abu al-<sup>c</sup>Abbas al-Asamm:** This lone manuscript belongs to Muḥammad b. Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb b. Yūsuf al-Naisābūri (d. 346/958)<sup>10</sup>. This manuscript includes some corrections, and comparative notes are added on it which are taken from other manuscripts. Such a manuscript is called *Mūsahḥahāh wa muqābalah*. It has three leaves (Qāf 255- 257) and is part of a group of other manuscripts. This manuscript has some details on the margins and has many *samā<sup>c</sup>āt*, the oldest of which is from 631/1234; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. The manuscript is written in the Naskh script and suffers from damp damage. Its number in the Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus) is 3825/Tā'/16.

**9. Āmālī al-Khuldi:** This lone manuscript belongs to Abu Muḥammad Ja<sup>c</sup>far b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Khawwās al-Khuldi (d. 348/959)<sup>11</sup> and has 9 leaves (Qāf 177-185). However, the first four leaves are smaller in size than the rest. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and has many *samā<sup>c</sup>āt*, the oldest of which dates from 519/1125; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. This manuscript includes some corrections, and comparative notes are added on it which are taken from other manuscripts. Such a manuscript is called *Mūsahḥahāh wa muqābalah*. This manuscript also has a copyright label (*waqf*) in the name of al-Madrasah al-Diyā'īyyah. The expression "*waqf*" means that

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<sup>10</sup>Muḥammad b. Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb b. Yūsuf al-Naisābūri was a well-known jurist and was known as the Sheikh of Iraq. His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 7:189-192), Ibn Abu Yu<sup>c</sup>la (1952, 2:7-12), and in al-Dhahabi (1992, 15:502). According to al-Khaṭīb (1997, 7:189-192), al-Naisābūri used to have a session on giving legal judgements (*fatwa*) before Friday prayer and a ḥadīth dictation session after Friday prayer.

<sup>11</sup>Abu Muḥammad Ja<sup>c</sup>far al-Khawwās al-Khuldi is also nicknamed al-Sheikh, al-Qudwah (exemplary model), the traditionist (*al-muḥaddith*), the Sheikh of Sufis, and al-Baghdādi. His biography is found in al-Dhahabi (1992, 15:560) and Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Imād (1988, 3:80).



every Muslim reader has the right to have access to it without needing anyone's permission.

**10. Āmālī Abu Sahl al-Qaṭṭān:** This manuscript is by Abu Sahl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. °Abd Allāh al-Qaṭṭān (d. 350/961). It has one leaf only (Qāf 218)<sup>12</sup> and a hole in the lower end. It is part of a group of other manuscripts written in 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. It also has one *samā'* in 741/1340; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from a different ḥadīth student who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. The owner of this manuscript is Abu al-Faṭḥ Burhān al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Muqlid al-Dimishqī. The manuscript is written in the Arabic Naskh script and suffers from damp damage which has led to the obliteration of some of its words. Its number is 3771/Tā'/18 in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**11. Āmālī al-Shāfi'i:** This manuscript is by Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. °Abd Allah b. Ibrāhīm al-Bizzaz al-Baghdādi al-Shāfi'i (354/965)<sup>13</sup> and has 7 leaves (Qāf 1-7). It is part of a number of other manuscripts and has a copyright label (*waqf*) in the name of al-Ḥāfiẓ Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Makdisi who made the *waqf* for his school in Damascus. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Makdisi also wrote a note at the end of this manuscript: "al-Ḥāfiẓ Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Makdisi heard these two ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by Abu Bakr al-Shāfi'i Abu Maṣṣūr al-Khaiyaṭ and Abu Yasir Ṭāhir Asad al-Ṭabbākh

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<sup>12</sup>Abu Sahl Aḥmad al-Qaṭṭān is also nicknamed al-Imām, the traditionist (*al-muḥaddith*), the trustworthy, al-Baghdādi and the Musnid of Iraq (*al-musnid*) means the scholar who is able to narrate the ḥadīth with its chain of narrations, which means he is lower in status than *al-muḥaddith* (the traditionist)). His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 5:45), al-Dhahabi (1992, 15:521) and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 3:2).

<sup>13</sup>Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. °Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Bizzāz is also nicknamed al-Imam, al-Ḥujjah (the conclusive evidence), and the traditionist of Iraq. His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 5:456), al-Dhahabi (1992, 16:39), and Ibn °Abd al-Hadi 1989, 3:72).

in 430/1039". The first leaf of this manuscript is badly torn, the last part of the page is missing, and the writing is damaged. It also suffers from damp damage. It is written in the Arabic Naskh script, and its words have been written with full case endings. However, the copier has made little effort to differentiate between the three letters (*jim*, *ha'*, and *kha'*). Its number is Tā' 3778 in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**12. Āmālī al-Astarabādhi:** This lone manuscript is by Abu al-Ḥasan Na<sup>°</sup>im b. <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Mālīk b. Muḥammad (d. 354/965), has two leaves (Qāf 160-161), and is kept in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library within a group of other manuscripts (*majmu<sup>°</sup>* - Group 46).

**13. Āmālī al-Ṭabarāni:** This manuscript belongs to Abu al-Qāsim Sulaiman b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarāni (d. 360/971)<sup>14</sup>. It includes four ḥadīth dictation sessions, has 5 leaves (116 alif – 120 alif), and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It is kept in the Copreli Library in Turkey and its number is 252/13.

**14. Āmālī al-Mazkī:** This manuscript is by Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Yahya al-Naisāburī al-Mazkī (d. 362/973), has four leaves (Qāf 58-61), and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It includes one ḥadīth dictation session. It has corrections and many other *samā<sup>°</sup>āt* written in the margins; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. One of these students was called Ibn Ṭabarzad (d. 525/1131). The manuscript is written in the Arabic Naskh script and has suffered from damp damage. Its number is 3790/

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<sup>14</sup>Abu al-Qāsim Sulaiman b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarāni was nicknamed al-Imām, al-<sup>°</sup>Allāmah, al-Ḥafīz al-Kabīr, the *Musnid* of this life, al-Musnid (as mentioned in footnote 12, *al-musnid* means the scholar who is able to narrate the ḥadīth with its chain of narrations – which means he is lower in status than the *muḥaddith* (the traditionist)), and al-Thabt. He was well-known for his dictionaries (al-Kabīr), (al-Awsat), and (al-Saghīr). His biography is found in al-Dhahabi (1992, 16:119), Ibn <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Hadi (1989, 3:107), and Ibn al-<sup>°</sup>Imād (1988, 3:30).

Tā'/3 in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**15. Āmālī Abu al-Ḥasan al-Azdi:** This manuscript is by Muḥammad b. °Ali b. Muḥammad b. Ṣakhar al-Baṣri (d. 443/1015), has 4 leaves (Qāf 15-17), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and has a hole in the lower end. It includes some corrections, and comparative notes are added to it which are taken from other manuscripts. It includes five ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by Abu al-Ḥasan al-Azdi. The manuscript has many *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 897/1492; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. This manuscript is written in the Arabic Naskh script and has suffered from serious damp damage which has led to the disappearance of some words at the end of the manuscript. Its number is 3764/ Tā'/1 in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**16. Āmālī al-Qaṭī'i:** This manuscript is by Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. Ja°far b. Ḥamdān al-Baghdādi al-Qaṭī'i (d. 368/979), has 3 leaves (Qāf 7-9), and is part of a group of other manuscripts written in the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. It has many *ama'āt*, the oldest of which is from 494/1101; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. It is written in the Arabic Naskh script and has suffered from damp damage. Most of the words of this manuscript are written without dots. Its number is 3778/ Tā'/1 in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**17. Āmālī al-Rudhbari:** This manuscript belonged to Abu ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAṭā' b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 369/979)<sup>15</sup>. It is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus) within a group of other manuscripts (Group 26) dated 1263. It includes three ḥadīth dictation sessions starting from Qāf 116-208. Its number is 3763/ Tāʾ/17 in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**18. Āmālī al-Ḥākim al-Kabīr:** This manuscript is by Abu Ahmad Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Naisābūry (d. 378/988)<sup>16</sup>, has three leaves (Qāf 87-89), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and is kept in the Copreli Library in Turkey.

**19. Āmālī Abu al-Ḥasan al-Dārquṭni:** This manuscript is by ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Maḥdi Ibn Suʿūd al-Baghdādi (d. 385/995)<sup>17</sup>. It is kept in the Imām Muḥammad b. Suʿūd al-Islāmiyyah University in Riyadh and its number is 2098 Aff. One of its ḥadīth dictation sessions was narrated by al-Maḥdi Abu al-Ghanāʾim Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. It has five leaves (Qāf 103-107) and is part of a group of other manuscripts.

**20. Āmālī al-Khatli al-Sukkari:** This manuscript is by ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b.

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<sup>15</sup>Abu ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAṭā' b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad was nicknamed al-ʿĀrif (the knowledgeable), al-Zāhid (the ascetic), and the Sheikh of Sufis. His biography is found in al-Aṣbahāni (1989, 10:383-384), al-Khaṭīb (1997, 4:336-337), and al-Dhahabi (1992, 16:227).

<sup>16</sup>Abu Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Naisābūry was also known as the traditionist of Khurasān, the Imām, the Ḥāfiẓ, the critic, and the author. His biography is found in al-Dhahabi (1992, 16:370), Ibn ʿAbd al-Hadi (1989, 3:168), and Ibn al-ʿImād (1988, 3:93).

<sup>17</sup>ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Maḥdi Ibn Suʿūd al-Baghdādi was nicknamed al-Imām, the Ḥāfiẓ, the Sheikh of Islam, and the scholar of scholars. His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 12:34-40) and al-Dhahabi (1992, 16:449).

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarbi (d. 386/996)<sup>18</sup>, is in good condition, has six leaves (Qāf 175-180), and is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 55). It is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is General 3791/Kamm/Qāf.

**21. Āmālī Kātib Ibn Khanzābah:** This manuscript belongs to Abu Muslim al-Kātib Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. °Ali al-Baghdādi (d. 399/1009)<sup>19</sup>, has four leaves (Qāf 258-261), and is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 104, General 1340), and is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus). The number of this manuscript is 3840/Tā'/22.

**22. Āmālī Abu al-Faḍl al-Kawkabi:** This manuscript is by Abu al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. °Umar b. Aḥmad al-Kawkabi (d. 410/1019), has three leaves (Qāf 193-195) and includes one ḥadīth dictation session only. This manuscript includes some corrections, and comparative notes are added on it which are taken from other manuscripts. The manuscript has many *samā'āt*, the oldest of which dates from 612/1215; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. This manuscript is written in a good Arabic Naskh script but has suffered from damp damage which has led to the disappearance of some words at the end of the manuscript. Its number is 3844/ Tā'/8 in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

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<sup>18</sup>°Ali b. °Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarbi was also known as the Sheikh, the scholar, and the Musnid of Iraq (as mentioned in footnotes 12 and 14, *al-musnid* means the scholar who is able to narrate the ḥadīth with its chain of narrations – which means he is lower in status than *al-muḥaddith* (the traditionist)). His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 12:40-41) and al-Dhahabi (1992, 16:583). According to al-Khaṭīb (1997, 12:40-41), he used to give his ḥadīth dictation sessions in the al-Manṣur mosque in Baghdad.

<sup>19</sup>Abu Muslim al-Kātib Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. °Ali al-Baghdādi was also nicknamed the Sheikh and the reciter. His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 1:323), al-Dhahabi (1992, 16:558), and al-Ṣafadi (1962, 2:52).

**23. Āmālī Ibn Shadhan al-Ṣaidalāni:** This manuscript is by Abu al-Ṣādiq Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shādhān al-Ṣaidalāni (d. 415/1022)<sup>20</sup>, has nine leaves (Qāf 6-14), is part of a group of other manuscripts. We are told on the first page that the author of this manuscript is Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Naisaburi. However, I believe this is an error made by the copier of the manuscript. This manuscript includes some corrections, and comparative notes are added on it which are taken from other manuscripts. The manuscript has many *samāʿāt*, one of which is by Ibn al-Mubarrad Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, and at the end of this manuscript (on leaves 12-15), there is another (*amaʿ* which dates back to 536/1141, as well as many other *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which is from 689/1290; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. This manuscript is written in an Arabic Naskh script, its number is 3806/ Tāʾ/1, and it is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**24. Āmālī Ibn Muslimah:** This manuscript is by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-Muslimah (d. 415/1024)<sup>21</sup>, has 4 leaves (Qāf 118-121), and is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 104, General 3840). Its number is 3840/ Tāʾ/5 in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus). However, according to *The Comprehensive Index of Arabic and Islamic Heritage in Manuscript Form (al-Fihras al-Shāmil lil-Turath al-ʿArabi wal-Islami)*, this manuscript has three other copies. When I was searching for it, I discovered this claim is incorrect and I believe the error is caused by the confusion between the

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<sup>20</sup>ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarbi was also known as the Sheikh, the scholar, and the *Musnid* of Iraq (as mentioned in footnotes 12, 14 and 18, *al-musnid* means the scholar who is able to narrate the ḥadīth with its chain of narrations – which means he is lower in status than the *muḥaddith* (the traditionist)). His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 12:40-41) and al-Dhahabi (1992, 16:583). According to al-Khaṭīb (1997, 12:40-41), he used to give his ḥadīth dictation sessions in the al-Manṣūr mosque in Baghdad.

<sup>21</sup>Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-Muslimah was also called Abu al-Faraj al-Baghdādī and was nicknamed 'the exemplary Imām'. He used to have one ḥadīth dictation session each year (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 5:67-68). His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 5:67-68) and al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:341).

*Āmālī* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. °Umar b. al-Muslimah (d. 415/1024) and that of his son Abu Ja°far Muḥammad b. °Umar b. al-Muslimah (d. 465/1073) who also has an *Āmālī* in the same library in Damascus. Therefore, the librarians, I believe, have wrongly thought the two manuscripts belong to the same scholar (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. °Umar b. al-Muslimah (d. 415/1024)).

**25. Āmālī Ibn al-Naḥḥās:** This manuscript belonged to Abu Muḥammad°Abd al-Raḥman b. °Umar b. Muḥammad al-Maṣri al-Bizzāz al-Māliki Ibn al-Naḥḥās (d. 416/1025)<sup>22</sup>, has 9 leaves (Qāf 151-159), and includes the 9<sup>th</sup>ḥadīth dictation session narrated by °Ali b. al-asan b. al-Ḥusain al-Faqih al-Ḥalabi. It is part of a group of other manuscripts. It also has a copyright (waqf) by Ibn al-Ḥajib, is written in the Arabic Naskh script, and most of its words are left without dots. It has many (samā°āt, the oldest of which is from 537/1142; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. The number of this manuscript is 3747/ Tā°/11, and it is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**26. Āmālī Ibn al-Muslimah:** This manuscript is by Abu Ja°far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. °Umar al-Baghdādi Ibn al-Muslimah (d. 465/1073)<sup>23</sup> and has four leaves

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<sup>22</sup>Abu Muḥammad°Abd al-Raḥman b. °Umar b. Muḥammad al-Maṣri al-Bizzāz al-Māliki Ibn al-Naḥḥās was also nicknamed al-Sheikh, the Imām, al-Musnid of Egypt (as mentioned, *al-musnid* means the scholar who is able to narrate the ḥadīth with its chain of narrations – which means he is lower in status than the *al-muḥaddith* (the traditionist)), the jurist, and the trustworthy. His biography is found in al-Dhahabi 1992, 17:313), and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 3:204).

<sup>23</sup>Abu Ja°far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. °Umar al-Baghdādi Ibn al-Muslimah (d. 465/1073) was also nicknamed al-Sheik, the trustworthy, the dignified, the virtuous, and al-Musnid (the scholar who is able to narrate the ḥadīth with its chain of narrations – which means he is lower in status than *al-muḥaddith* (the traditionist)). His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 1:356), al-Dhahabi (1992, 18:213), and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 3:323).

(Qāf 10-11 and Qāf 21-22). It includes two ḥadīth dictation sessions and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It includes some corrections, and comparative notes are added on it which are taken from other manuscripts. The manuscript has a *samāʿ* which dates back to 459/1067, as well as another *samāʿ* from 463/1073, and at the end of this manuscript, there are other *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which is from 523/1129; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. This manuscript is written in an Arabic Naskh script, and has decorations on its cover and also on the edges of the cover.

**27. Āmālī Ibn al-Banāni:** This manuscript is by Abu ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusain b. ʿAli b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Banāni (d. 417/1026), and has four leaves (Qāf 166-169). It has one *samāʿ* which dates back to 535/1140, and there are also other *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which is from 610/1213; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. This manuscript is written in an Arabic Naskh script and there are decorations on its cover. This manuscript's number is 3774/Tāʾ/13, it is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 37, General 3774).

**28. Āmālī al-Lalkāʾi:** This manuscript is by Abu al-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr al-Ṭabari al-Rāzi al-Shāfiʿī al-Lalkāʾi (d. 418/1027)<sup>24</sup>. It has three leaves (Qāf 112-114), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and has one *samāʿ* which dates back to 617/1220 that was done in Damascus. There are some notes added to it in the margins. It is written in the Arabic Naskh script and only some of the words

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<sup>24</sup>Abu al-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr al-Ṭabari al-Rāzi al-Shāfiʿī al-Lalkāʾi was also known as al-Imām, al-Ḥafīz, al-Mujawwid (the reciter), and the jurist. His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 14:70-71), al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:419), and Ibn al-ʿImād (1988, 3:211).



are written with dots. This manuscript has suffered from damp damage. Its number is 3774/Tā'/13, and it is kept in al-Asad National Library (formerly known as al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus). Abu Tahir Muḥammad b. °Umar b. Qaidas has also written a manuscript in which he included one ḥadīth dictation session given by Abu al-Qāsim al-Ḥarfī and another ḥadīth dictation session given by Abu al-Qāsim Hibat Allāh al-Lalkā'i. This manuscript is part of a group (Group 63) and has 10 leaves (Qāf 120-129). The manuscript was copied by °Ali b. Fāḍil b. Sa°d Allah b. Ḥamdūn al-Sūri who copied the details from the manuscript of his teacher Abu Ṭāhir al-Salafī.

**29. Āmālī Muḥammad b. °Amru al-Bukhtari wa Aḥmad b. Sulaiman al-Najād wa Ja°far b. Muḥammad b. Naṣir:** This manuscript belonged to Abu al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm b. Mukhlid al-Baghdādi al-Bizzāz (d. 419/1028)<sup>25</sup>, has 95 leaves (Qāf 67-594), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and is most likely copied during the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript has one *samā°* which dates to 417/1206. It is written in the Arabic Naskh script and only some of the words are written with dots. The manuscript suffers from damp damage, its number is 3826/Tā'/5, and is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**30. Āmālī Abu Sa°ad al-Naṣrawī:** This manuscript is by °Abd al-Raḥman b. Ḥamdān b. Muḥammad al-Naisābūri al-Naṣrawī (d. 433/1041)<sup>26</sup>, has 12 leaves (Qāf 141-152), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and is most likely to have been

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<sup>25</sup>Abu al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm b. Mukhlid al-Baghdādi al-Bizzāz was nicknamed al-Sheikh, the elderly, the trustworthy, and the *Musnid* of his lifetime (the scholar who is able to narrate the ḥadīth with its chain of narrations, which means he is lower in status than *al-muḥaddith* (the traditionist)). His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 3:231), al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:370), and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 3:214).

<sup>26</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥamdān b. Muḥammad al-Naisābūri al-Naṣrawī was nicknamed the Honourable Sheikh and his biography is found in al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:553), and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 3:250).

written during the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript includes parts 34, 37 and 38, and some of part 39, is written in a fine Arabic Naskh script, and suffers from damp damage. Its number is 3763/Tā'/12, and is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**31. Āmālī al-Iswāri:** This manuscript belongs to Abu al-Ḥasan °Ali b. Muḥammad b. °Ali al-Iswāri (d. 434/1042), has 4 leaves (Qāf 120-123), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and is likely to have been written in the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. According to the Zāhirīyyah Manuscript Index, this manuscript includes a ḥadīth dictation session given in 434/. This manuscript includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which dates back to 632/; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. This manuscript has a copyright label in the name of Muḥammad b. Hāmil al-Ḥarrāni of al-Diyā'iyyah School in Damascus. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script, is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its library number is 3834/Tā'/12.

**32. Āmālī al-Biṣṭami:** This manuscript is by Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain (d. 440/1048), is kept in the Berlin State Library (1570), and two of its ḥadīth dictation sessions have 12 leaves. This manuscript was written in 642/1244.

**33. Āmālī Ibn Millah:** This manuscript is by Abu Sa°id Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ja°far Ibn Millah (d. 436/1044), has 3 leaves (Qāf 3-5), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and is probably written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript includes some corrections made in 436/1044 and also some corrections and additional notes written in the margins. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and has some (*samā'āt*, the oldest of which dates back to 599/1203 in Aṣbahān; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. It also suffers from some damp damage. The manuscript number is 3817/Tā'/1 and it is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zahiriyyah Library in Damascus).

**34. Āmālī Abu al-Muzaffar, or Āmālī Ibn Shabīb:** This manuscript belongs to Abu al-Muzaffar °Abd Allāh b. Shabīb b. °Abd Allāh al-Muqri' (d. 451/1059), has 8 leaves (Qāf 64-71), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and was probably written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. The manuscript has a *samā*<sup>c</sup> which dates to 511/1117, as well as another *samā*<sup>c</sup>; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. This manuscript is written in a poor quality Arabic Naskh script and suffers from damp damage. Its number is 3804/Tā'/8, and it is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**35. Āmālī al-Qaḍa'i:** This manuscript is of Abu °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Salamah b. Ja°far b. °Ali al-Shāfi°i (d. 454/1062)<sup>27</sup> and is kept in the Copreli Library in Turkey (252).

**36. Āmālī Abu al-Ḥasan al-Azdi:** This manuscript is by Muḥammad b. °Ali b. Muḥammad b. Ṣakhar al-Azdai al-Bašri (d. 443/1051)<sup>28</sup> who gave five ḥadīth dictation sessions. This manuscript is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 27, General 3764), has 4 leaves (Qāf 15-18) and includes only the first ḥadīth dictation session given by Muḥammad b. °Ali b. Muḥammad b. Ṣakhar al-Azdai al-Bašri. The first ḥadīth dictation session was selected by Abu Našr °Ubaid Allāh b. Sa°id Ḥātim al-Sajistāni. It includes comparative notes with the original manuscript from which it

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<sup>27</sup>Abu °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Salāmah b. Ja°far b. °Ali al-Shāfi°i was nicknamed the jurist, and the knowledgeable, and his biography is found in Ibn Mākūlā (1991, 7:147), al-Dhahabi (1992, 18:92), and al-Ṣafadi (1962:116-117).

<sup>28</sup>Muḥammad b. °Ali b. Muḥammad b. Ṣakhar al-Azadi al-Bašri was also known as the Trustworthy, the Imām and the traditionist. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:638) and al-Ṣafadi (1962, 4:129-130).

is copied, is written in an elegant Arabic Naskh script, and there is a hole on the end of its leaves. The manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**37. Āmālī al-Qushairi:** This manuscript is by Abu al-Qāsim al-Šūfī °Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin b. °Abd al-Mālik al-Shāfi°i al-Naisābūri (d. 465/1073)<sup>29</sup>, is part of a group of other manuscripts (New 443/3849), and includes 12 leaves (Qāf 107-118). The manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus) number 1135/Tā’/2.

**38. Āmālī al-°Aṭṭār:** This manuscript belonged to Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. °Ali al-Aṣbahāni (d. 466/1047)<sup>30</sup>, is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 252/12), includes two leaves (Qāf alif – Ba’), and is kept in the Koprely Library in Turkey.

**39. Āmālī al-Šaffār:** This manuscript is by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Abu Bakr al-Šaffār (d. 468/1075) and is narrated by Abu al-Wafa’ Ahmad b. °Ubaid Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Nahshaki of the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript has corrections and includes some *samā°āt*, the oldest of which dates from 569/1173 in Alexandria; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. It also has decorations on the cover and the edges of the cover. The manuscript's number is 3849/Tā’/4 and it is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

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<sup>29</sup>The biography of Abu al-Qāsim al-Šūfī °Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin b. °Abd al-Malik al-Shāfi°i al-Naisābūri is available in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 11:83), Ibn Khalkan (1990, 3:205-208), and al-Dhahabi (1992, 18:227).

<sup>30</sup>Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. °Ali al-Aṣbahāni is also nicknamed al-Imām, the Memorizer (al-Ḥāfiẓ), and the Trustworthy). His biography is available in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 1:417), al-Dhahabi (1955, 3:1159-1160), and al-Dhahabi (1992, 18:338).

**40. Āmālī Ibn Hazzār Mard al-Şarīfīni:** This manuscript is by Abu Muḥammad Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hazzār Mard al-Şarīfīni (d. 469/1076), has 22 leaves (Qāf 158-179), and includes one ḥadīth dictation session. It is part of a group, and was probably written during the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript includes some *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which dates back to 688/1289 in Alexandria; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. It also has decorations on the cover and the edges of the cover. In addition, it has two copyrights on it; the first is in the name of the al-Dhiyāʿiyyah School in Damascus, and the second is in the name of the al-ʿAmriyyah School. The manuscript is owned by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. It is written in the Arabic Naskh script and suffers from damp damage. The edges of the manuscript have golden decorations. The manuscript's number is 3787/Tāʾ/13 and it is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**41. Āmālī al-Başri:** This manuscript is by Abu ak-Qāsim ʿAli b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bandar al- Başri (d. 474/1081), is part of a group of other manuscripts, includes the 24<sup>th</sup> ḥadīth dictation session only, and was copied during the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript includes some corrections and some *samāʿat* the oldest of which dates back to 717/1317 in Cairo; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. The manuscript is written in a very good Arabic Naskh script and the copier has included all the case endings of words. The manuscript's number is 3856/Tāʾ/14 and it is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus).

**42. Āmālī b. Abu al-Şafar:** This manuscript is by Abu Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Anbāri Ibn Abu al-Şafar (d. 476/1083), has six leaves (Qāf 9-140), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and is likely to have been written during the

5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript includes some notes in the margins of the leaf and some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which dates back to 473/1080 in Baghdād; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. The manuscript is written in the Arabic Naskh script and all the words are written with the required dots. It suffers from damp damage, is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is 4531.

**43. Āmālī Ibn Fanjawaih:** This manuscript is by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Fanjawaih (d. 478/1085), has six leaves (Qāf 142-147), includes one ḥadīth dictation session on the virtues of Ramaḍān, and was probably copied during the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript has corrections and includes some additional notes on the edges of its leaves. It also includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which dates from 670/1271 in Baghdād; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. The manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is 3821/Tā'/10.

**44. Āmālī al-Timīmi:** This manuscript is by Abu Muḥammad Rizq Allāh b. °Abd al-Wahhāb b. °Abd al-°Azīz (d. 488/1095)<sup>31</sup>, has four leaves (Qāf 51-54), is part of a group of other manuscripts, includes some corrections, and has some additional notes on the edges of its leaves. The manuscript is written in a very good Arabic Naskh script and edges of its leaves are torn. It suffers from damp damage, and kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is 3428/Tā'/1.

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<sup>31</sup>Abu Muḥammad Rizq Allāh b. °Abd al-Wahhāb b. °Abd al-°Azīz al-Timīmi was the Jurist of Naisabur and his biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 18:437) and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 3:317).

**44. Āmālī al-Madīni:** This manuscript is by Abu al-Ḥasan °Ali b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d.494/1101), is kept in al-Azhar Library in Cairo, is part of a group of other manuscripts (Number 305/ Group/ 9936), and includes 23 leaves (Qāf 73-95).

**45. The Ḥadīth Dictation session given by Muḥammad al-Nahawandi in the al-Baṣrah Mosque in 500/1107:** This is the manuscript of Abu Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nahawandi (born in 500/1107), has two leaves (Qāf 154-1550), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and was probably written during the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which dates back to 541/1146 in Alexandria; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. It also has a copyright in the name of the al-Dhiyā'iyah School in Damascus. It is written in the Arabic Naskh script, is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is 3815/Tā'/13.

**46. Āmālī Ibn Mandah:** This manuscript belongs to Abu Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. °Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad al-°Abdi al-Aṣbahāni Ibn Mandah (d. 511/1117)<sup>32</sup>, is of four leaves (Qāf 253-256), is part of a group, and includes three ḥadīth dictation sessions. The manuscript was probably copied in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century and includes a *samā'* which dates to 565/1170, as well as another *samā'*; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. It suffers from serious damp damage and is written in *ta'leeq* (the writing was very fast) script.

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<sup>32</sup>Abu Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. °Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad al-°Abdi al-Aṣbahāni Ibn Mandah was also known as the Imām, the trustworthy, the orator (*al-Khaṭīb*), and the orator of Ṣarfīn of Iraq. His biography is available in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 10:146), al-Dhahabi (1992, 18:330), and Ibn al-Imād°Imād (1988, 3:334).

**47. Āmālī al-Yūnārti:** This manuscript is by Abu Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Yūnārti (d. 527/1123)<sup>33</sup>, has one leaf (Qāf 236), and is part of a group. It includes an additional page that has been inserted by someone else, and the manuscript has a hole. It is written in *ta'leeq* script and all the words are written with full case endings. It is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is 1024/Tā'/4.

**48. Āmālī Abu al-Ḥasan al-Fārsi:** This manuscript belonged to Abu al-Ḥasan °Abd al-Ghāfir b. Isma'īl b. °Abd al-Ghāfir al-Naisābūri al-Shāfi'ī al-Fārsi (d. 529/1135)<sup>34</sup>, has seven leaves (Qāf 18-24), is part of a group of other manuscripts, has some corrections, and is likely to have been written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which dates back to 632/1235 in Damascus; in other words, this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. It also has a copyright in the name of al-Dhiyā'īyyah School in Damascus. It has decorations on the cover and is written in the Arabic Naskh script. It is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is 3775/Tā'/1.

**49. Āmālī al-Ghāzi:** This manuscript is by Abu Naṣr Aḥmad b. °Umar b. °Abd Allāh al-Asbahāni al-Ghāzi (d. 532/1137)<sup>35</sup>, has five leaves (Qāf 72-76), and includes one

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<sup>33</sup>Abu Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Yūnārti was also known as the Sheikh, the Imām, the useful (*al-mufīd*), and the memorizer. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 19:621), Ibn al-Imād°Imād (1988, 4:80).

<sup>34</sup>Abu al-Ḥasan °Abd al-Ghāfir b. Isma'īl b. °Abd al-Ghāfir al-Naisābūri al-Shāfi'ī al-Fārsi was nicknamed the Imām, the scholar, and the memoriser. His biography is available in Ibn Khalkan (1990, 3:225), al-Dhahabi (1992, 20:16), and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 4:93).

<sup>35</sup>Abu Naṣr Aḥmad b. °Umar b. °Abd Allāh al-Aṣbahāni al-Ghāzi was nicknamed the Sheikh, the Imām, the memorizer, the accurate (*al-muṭqin*), the specialist in the chain of narration (*al-musnid*), the virtuous (*al-ṣāliḥ*), and the traveller (*al-*



ḥadīth dictation session. The manuscript is part of a group of other manuscripts and has a copyright in the name of the al-Ḍhiyā'iyyah School in Damascus. It is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Ẓāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is 1178/Tā'/8.

**50. Āmālī Abu Ḥamid al-Shuja'i:** This manuscript is by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sarkhi (d. 534/1139), has eight leaves (Qāf 42-49), and is part of a group of other manuscripts (General 3798, Group 62). It is narrated by Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Muḥhir al-Shaharzewri. It is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Ẓāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is 3798/Tā'/4. This manuscript includes some *samā'āt* and is written in a good Arabic Naskh script.

**51. Āmālī Qāḍi al-Maristān:** This manuscript belonged to Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Bāqi b. Muḥammad al-Bazzāz al-Anṣārī al-Ka'bi al-Baghdādi al-Ḥanbali, the jurist of Māristān (d. 535/1141)<sup>36</sup>. This manuscript has 14 leaves and includes six ḥadīth dictation sessions. It also has some *samā'āt*, and has been read aloud in the presence of several scholars at different times. This is a procedure to verify the authenticity and correct details of a manuscript. It is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Ẓāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is 4519.

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*raḥḥāl*). His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 20:8) and in Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 4:98).

<sup>36</sup>Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Bāqi b. Muḥammad al-Bazzāz al-Anṣārī al-Ka'bi al-Baghdādi al-Ḥanbali was also known as the Imām, the scholar, the accurate (*al-muṭqin*), the specialist in Islamic legal rulings (*al-faraḍi*), the just, and the specialist in ḥadīth chain of narration. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 20:23) and Ibn al-°Imād. A detailed biography of this scholar is also given in the PhD thesis of Ḥatim al-°Uni (2002) which is published in an edited version by Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Bāqi al-Anṣārī but bears the title *al-Mashyakhah al-Kubrā*.

**52. Āmālī al-Sallāmi:** This manuscript is by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir Muḥammad al-Fāsi al-Baghdādi al-Ḥanbali al-Sallāmi (d. 550/1155)<sup>37</sup>, has one leaf (Qāf 26), and is part of a group of other manuscripts. At the end of the leaf, there is a *samāʿ* by the author which dates back to 543/1148 and another *samāʿ* which belongs to a different scholar and dates back to 612/1215. The lines of the manuscript are too long; in other words, from edge to edge horizontally. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script, has decorations on the cover and the edges, and suffers from damp damage. It is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is 1121/Tāʾ/2.

**53. Āmālī Abu Ṭalib al-Kittāni:** This manuscript belonged to Muḥammad b. ʿAli b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAli al-Wāsiṭi al-Kittāni (d. 579/1183)<sup>38</sup> and has four leaves (Qāf 146-149). It is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 41, General 3778), and includes the second ḥadīth dictation session. It is kept in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus (today known as the al-Asad National Library) and its number is 3778/Tāʾ/21.

**54. Āmālī al-Khajandi:** This manuscript is by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Azadi al-Aṣbahāni al-Khajandi (d. 580/1184), has two leaves (Qāf 149-150), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and its title is taken from leaf number 140. This manuscript has some corrections and comparative notes with other

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<sup>37</sup>Muḥammad b. Nāṣir Muḥammad al-Fāsi al-Baghdādi al-Ḥanbali al-Sallāmi was nicknamed the Imām, the traditionist (*al-muḥaddith*), the memorizer (*al-ḥāfiẓ*), and the useful scholar of Iraq (*mufīd al-ʿirāq*). His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 2;265), and Ibn al-ʿImād (1988, 4;1550).

<sup>38</sup>Muḥammad b. ʿAli b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAli al-Wāsiṭi al-Kittāni was also known as the Sheikh, the esteemed (*al-jalīl*), the scholar, the benevolent (*al-khaiyir*), and the one who lived a long life (*al-muʿammir*) because he lived to over 100 years old. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 21:1150 and Ibn al-ʿImād (1988, 4:267).

manuscripts. It includes a *samāʿ* by a narrator called Aḥmad b. ʿAliyyah b. Abu Bakr b. Ismāʿīl al-Qurṭubī and another *samāʿ* which dates to 615/1218, and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. The manuscript is affected by damp damage and is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is 1178/Tāʾ/14.

**55. *Āmālī al-Ghassani*:** This manuscript is by Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf b. Manṣūr al-Sanhawri al-Ghassani (born in 612/1215) and has three leaves (Qāf 125-127). It is kept in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus), and its number is 3761/Tāʾ/14.

**56. *Āmālī Ibn al-Salāh*:** This manuscript is by Abu ʿAmru ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān b. Mūsa al-Kurdi who is known as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 663/1265).<sup>39</sup> It has seven leaves, which include the third ḥadīth dictation session. It is kept in the al-Azhariyyah Library in Cairo and its number is 3749-6030.

**57. *Āmālī al-Qalqashandi*:** This manuscript belonged to Taqiy al-Dīn Abu al-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qalqashandi (d. 851/1447). It was kept in the personal library of the engineer Alfrid Chester Beatty who lived in Ireland, its number is 3467. It has 17 leaves, and was written down by the author himself in 853/1449 in an ordinary handwriting.

**58. *Āmālī Ibn al-Shuhnah al-Saghir*:** This manuscript is by Abu al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Ghāzi al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanafī, (d. 890/1485) is kept in the Millat Library in Istanbul and includes a number of ḥadīth dictation sessions which were given in the Muʿaiyidi mosque. These ḥadīth

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<sup>39</sup>Abu ʿAmru ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān b. Mūsa al-Kurdi was also known as the Imām, the memorizer and the scholar. His biography is available in *Ibn al-Jawzi* (1990, 8:757-758) and al-Dhahabi (1992, 23:140).

dictation sessions started during the month of Di al-Qi<sup>c</sup>dah in 871/1466 and finished with the 70<sup>th</sup> ḥadīth dictation session given on Sunday the 8<sup>th</sup> of the month of Dhi al-Qa<sup>c</sup>dah in 877/1472. It is written in an ordinary handwriting by Abu al-Wafa' Muḥammad b. Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Maṣri al-Qahiri. This manuscript has 119 leaves and its number is 26/1 Amm Ṣādd.

### 3.7. Ḥadīth Dictation Session Manuscripts of More Than One Copy

This section deals with the manuscripts that have more than one copy. In other words, when a ḥadīth scholar has many students attending his ḥadīth dictation sessions, each student writes down his own notes daily from the same ḥadīth scholar until he gathers enough material to constitute a manuscript. Thus, although all the manuscripts are by the same ḥadīth students who attend the same ḥadīth dictation sessions given by the same ḥadīth scholar, each manuscript may contain details that are slightly different from another because each student may write down some lecture notes which the other students missed or did not take note of. Moreover, because there are different copies of these manuscripts, and because they are kept in different international libraries, the same manuscript has different library catalogue numbers. Such a manuscript cannot be classified as rare because there is more than one copy of it elsewhere and there is less concern about its possible loss, theft or damage. Below is a list of manuscripts that have more than one copy and are kept in different international libraries.

#### 3.7.1. List of Ḥadīth Dictation Session Manuscripts of More Than One Copy

1. **Āmālībn Sa<sup>c</sup>id:** This manuscript is by Abu Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. Ṣā<sup>c</sup>id (d. 318/930)<sup>40</sup> and has four copies:

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<sup>40</sup>Abu Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. Ṣā<sup>c</sup>id was also known as al-Imam, the memoriser, the reciter, and the traditionist (*al-muḥaddith*) of Iraq. His biography is available in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 14:231-234) and al-Dhahabi (1992, 15:501).

(i) The first copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 87, General 3823). Two ḥadīth dictation sessions are written in the handwriting of Ibn ʿAsākir, and his *samāʿ* dates from 540/1145. It also has another *samāʿ* taken from him in 567/1172. As mentioned earlier, the expression "*samāʿ*" means that this manuscript has other details taken from different ḥadīth students who attended the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. This manuscript has seven leaves (Qāf 82-88) and the narrator was Abu al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAli known as the Reciter (*al-muqriʿ*) and nicknamed *al-Ṣaidalāni* (the pharmacist) (d. 394/1004).

(ii) The second copy of this manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 90, General 3826). It has also a *samāʿ* taken from Muḥammad b. ʿAli al-Ahwāzi and the details of this *samāʿ* are from leaf 48-57 (Qāf 48-57); thus, it is a manuscript of 10 leaves and is written by Muḥammad b. ʿAli al-Ahwāzi who used an Arabic Naskh script. His writing is clear but he has not used dots for all the words of the manuscript. This manuscript narrator was Bu al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAli known as the Reciter (*al-muqriʿ*) and nicknamed *al-Ṣaidalāni* (the pharmacist) (d. 394/1004).

(iii) The third copy of this manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3770/Tāʾ/7. It has eight leaves (Qāf 112-1150) and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It was probably copied in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century and includes many *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which is from 616/1219. On the first leaf of this manuscript, there is a copyright in the name of Sheikh ʿAli b. Masʿūd al-Mūṣili on behalf of the al-Ḍiyāʿiyyah School in Damascus<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup>It is worth noting that the third and fourth copies are not included in "*The Comprehensive Index of Arabic and Islamic Manuscript Heritage*" (*al-fihras al-shamil lil-turath al-ʿarabi wil-islami*).

(iv) The fourth copy of this manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3777/Tā'/20. This manuscript is of one leaf only (Qāf 9) and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It was probably written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century and includes a *samā'* which dates from 522/1128. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and its cover and edges are decorated.

**2. Āmālī Ibn al-Anbārī:** This manuscript belongs to Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim Muḥammad Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328/940) and has two copies:

(i) The first copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 964/Tā'/5. It has two leaves (Qāf 26-27) and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It includes a *samā'* by Ibn Muḥammad (d. 897/1492), and is written in a fine Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage.

(ii) The second copy is kept in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and whose number is 3824/Tā'/9. It has four leaves (Qāf 139-142) and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It includes only one ḥadīth dictation session, given by Ibn al-Anbārī in the narration of Abu al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ma'mūn. On the first leaf of this manuscript there is a copyright in the name of al-Ḍiyā'īyyah School in Damascus. It also includes many *samā'āt*, the oldest of which dates from 497/1104. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and is affected by damp damage.

**3. Āmālī al-Buḥṭari:** This manuscript is by Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Amru b. al-Baghdādi al-

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Razzāz (d. 339/950)<sup>42</sup> and has two copies:

(i) The first copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library). It is of 22 leaves (Qāf 99-120) and is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 89, General 3852). This copy was the narrator by Abu ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Maḥdi. The manuscript is written in an old Arabic script but the copier has left most of the words without dots.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is also available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library). It has five leaves (Qāf 173-177 Alif), is classified as Recent 348<sup>43</sup>, and is dated 1639.

**4. Āmālīal-Azraq:** This manuscript is by Yusuf b. Yaʿqub b. Ishāq Ibn al-Bahlūl al-Anbārī al-Tannūkhī al-Kātib Abu Bakr al-Azraq (d. 329/940) and has two copies:

(i) The first copy of this manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zahiriyyah Library) and its number is (3775/Tāʿ). It has 15 leaves (Qāf 1-15). It is a complete manuscript with six ḥadīth dictation sessions, is part of a group of other manuscripts, includes some corrections on the edges, and was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. The manuscript has a copyright in the name of the al-Ḍiyāʿīyyah School in Damascus and also has some *samāʿat*, the oldest of which dates back to 612/1215. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and has decorations on its cover.

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<sup>42</sup>Muḥammad b. ʿAmru b. al-Baghdādi al-Razzāz was also known as the Sheikh, the traditionist (*al-muḥaddith*), the trustworthy, and the specialist in the ḥadīth chain of authorities (*al-musnid*). His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 1:302-303) and al-Dhahabi (1992, 15:444).

<sup>43</sup>It is worth noting that "*al-Albāni's Manuscript Index*" (*fihras al-Albāni*) does not refer to this copy of the manuscript. Moreover, it is classified as "Recent". I have checked this manuscript and found that it also includes the *āmālī* of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Makhladi.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is similar to the first copy mentioned above and is kept in al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (3823/Tā'/11). It has 19 leaves (Qāf 110-128). It is part of a group of other manuscripts and has corrections on the edges. It also has some *samā'at*, the oldest of which dates back to 569/1173 and 609/1212. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and is affected by damp damage.

**5. Āmālībn al-Khuld:** This manuscript is by Abu °Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Ja°far al-Duri al-°Attār (d. 331/943) and has three copies:

(i) The first copy of this manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyāh Library) and its number is (3787/Tā'/8). It has six leaves (Qāf 95-102), includes one ḥadīth dictation session, and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It also has several *samā'āt*, the oldest of which dates back to 484/1091.

(ii) The second copy of this manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (3806/Tā'/3). It has five leaves (Qāf 28-33), is similar to the first copy above, is part of a group of other manuscripts, and has corrections and comparative notes with other manuscripts. It has a copyright in the name of the al-Ḍiyā'īyyah School in Damascus. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script. Its last two pages are torn from the upper part.

(iii) The third copy of this manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (3841/Tā'/6). It has eight leaves (Qāf 75-92) but the first part of it is missing. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, has corrections and was probably written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. It also has some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which dates back to 502/1108 and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage.



**6. Āmālī al-Razzāz (or Āmālī Ibn al-Bukhturi):** This manuscript belongs to Muḥammad b. ʿAmru b. al-Bukhtari al-Baghdādi Abu Jaʿfar al-Razzāz (d. 339/950) and has seven copies:

(i) The first copy of this manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (3811/Tāʾ/6). It has eight leaves, is part of a group of other manuscripts and has corrections. The copier of the manuscript included ḥadīth dictation sessions which he heard from al-Razzāz in 618/1221, 619/1222, and 624/1227. It also has some *samāʿāt*, such as the one which dates back to 624/1227 in Baʿlabakk and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage.

(ii) The second copy of this manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (3782/Tāʾ/16). It has 13 leaves (Qāf 190-202). It is similar to the first copy above. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and has corrections. At the beginning and the end of the manuscript are some *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which is from 582/1186. The manuscript is written in an Arabic Naskh script and the majority of the words are written with their dots.

(iii) The third copy of this manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (3763/Tāʾ/1). It has 14 leaves (Qāf 19-32), is similar to the first copy above, and is part of a group of other manuscripts. The author of the manuscript dictated it in 337/948 to ʿAli b. Abu al-Ghanāʾim Sālim b. Ṣaṣri. It includes some *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which is from 632/1235 in Damascus. It also has a copyright in the name of the al-Diyāʾiyyah School and is written in a good Arabic Naskh script.

(iv) The fourth copy of this manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is

(3846/Tāʾ/11). It has 14 leaves (Qāf 108-121) and includes six ḥadīth dictation sessions. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, has some corrections, and includes comparative notes with other manuscripts. It includes some *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which is from 633/1236 in Baghdād and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is seriously affected by damp damage.

(v) The fifth copy of this manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (3809/Tāʾ/17). It has 11 leaves (Qāf 224-234). It includes six ḥadīth dictation sessions and is similar to the fourth copy above. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, has some corrections, and has many *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which are from 496/1103 and 735/1335 and written by Ḥasan b. ʿAli al-Asʿardi. The manuscript has comments on the edges, there is a copyright by the copier in the name of the al-Ḍiyāʿīyyah School and the manuscript is written in a good Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage.

(vi) The sixth copy of this manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (4520). It has 14 leaves and includes the third and fourth ḥadīth dictation sessions. It includes corrections, comparative notes with other manuscripts, and some *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which is from 869/1465. It also has a copyright in the name of Dār al-ḥadīth al-Ḍiyāʿīyyah al-Makdisiyyah and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage.

(vii) The seventh copy of this manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (3856/Tāʾ/16). It has four leaves (Qāf 174-179), is part of a group of other manuscripts and was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. It includes some *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which is in 651/1253. It also has a copyright in the name of Dār al-ḥadīth al-Ḍiyāʿīyyah al-Makdisiyyah. It is affected by damp damage and is written in an Arabic Naskh script.

**7. Āmālīal-Najād:** This manuscript is by Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. Salmān b. Isrā'īl (d. 348/959)<sup>44</sup>. It has three copies:

(i) The first copy has two leaves (Qāf 160-161), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is General 3782, Group 46. It includes only one ḥadīth dictation session.

(ii) The second copy has 10 leaves (Qāf 44-53) and includes five ḥadīth dictation sessions. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> century. It has some corrections and is a copy from the manuscript of al-Dimyāṭī. This manuscript has a copyright and a licence (namely, the permission for readers to read this manuscript) in the name of Yūsuf b. °Abd al-Hadī. It also has another copyright in the name of Muḥammad al-Dimyāṭī and the years it was read in 738/1337 and 893/1488. It also includes the year of its *samā°* in 648/1250 and other (*samā°āt*, the oldest of which is from 682/1283. The manuscript is written in an Arabic Naskh script and has decorations on its cover.

(iii) The third copy of this manuscript has four leaves (Qāf 13-16), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and includes only one ḥadīth dictation session. It was probably written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century, has some corrections, and includes some *samā°āt*, the oldest of which is from 566/1170. This manuscript is written in the Persian script, has additional notes in the margins, and has decorations on the cover. It is affected by damp damage.

**8. Āmālī al-°Allāf:** This manuscript belonged to Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-°Allāf (d. 381/991) and there are two copies:

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<sup>44</sup>Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. Salmān b. Isrā'īl was also known as the Imām, the traditionist (*al-muḥaddith*), the trustworthy, and the specialist of Iraq in the ḥadīth chain of narration (*musnid al-°irāq*). His biography is available in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 5:45-46), al-Dhahabī (1992, 15:521), and al-Ṣafadī (1962, 8:34).

(i) The first copy has 4 leaves (Qāf 6-9) and includes one ḥadīth dictation session. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. It has some corrections, and includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 602/1205 in Damascus. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script, is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (3791/Tā'/3). It is affected by damp damage.

(ii) The second copy has 19 leaves (Qāf 112-130), includes some ḥadīth dictation sessions, is part of a group of other manuscripts, and is likely to have been written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. It has some corrections and includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 611/1214 in Ḥimṣ. The manuscript has some additional notes and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (3803/Tā'/10). It is affected by damp damage.

**9. Āmālī Ibn Dust:** This manuscript is by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Abu 'Abd Allāh al-'Allāf (381/991) and there are two copies:

(i) The first copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3791, Group 55. One ḥadīth dictation session is from Qāf 6-7/Alif.

(ii) The second copy is also kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is General 3803, Group 67. One part of it is from Qāf 112-129.

**10. Āmālī Ibn Shāhīn:** This manuscript belonged to Abu Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Aḥmad b.

°Uthmān b. Aiyūb al-Baghdādi (d. 385/995)<sup>45</sup> and has five copies:

(i) The first copy has ten leaves (Qāf 63-72) and is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is General 3839, Group 103. This manuscript is narrated by the Jurist Abu al-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. °Ali b. Muḥammad b. °Ubaid Allāh in 464/1071 and is written in a clear Arabic Naskh script, except for its first leaf, which is written in a different script.

(ii) The second copy is also kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is General 3840, Group 104. It includes three ḥadīth dictation sessions from Qāf 83-92. It is narrated by Abu al-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. °Ali b. °Ubaid Allāh b. al-Muhtadi Billāh. It is written in a good Arabic Naskh script and does not have many dots on the words. It also includes some *samā°āt*.

(iii) The third copy of this manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (3819/Tā°/6). It has 14 leaves (Qāf 94-107), includes three ḥadīth dictation sessions and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century and has some corrections and additional notes in the margins. It includes a large number of *samā°āt* at the beginning and at the end, the oldest of which is from 681/1282 in Damascus. It has a copyright in the name of Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. °Abd al-Hadi al-Makdisi, is written in an Arabic Ta°līq script and has decorations on the cover. It is affected by damp damage<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup>Abu Ḥafṣ°Umar b. Aḥmad b. °Uthmān b. Aiyūb al-Baghdādi was also known as the trustworthy Sheikh, the memoriser, the scholar, and the Sheikh of Iraq. His biography is available in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 11:265-268) and al-Dhahabi (1992, 14:431).

<sup>46</sup>It is worth noting that from the second copy up the fifth copy are not referred to in "The Comprehensive Index of Manuscripts of the Arabic and Islamic Heritage".

(iv) The fourth copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3807/Tā'3. It has 8 leaves (Qāf 42-49). It is part of a group of other manuscripts and is likely to have been written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. It has corrections and some *samā'at*, the oldest of which is from 641/1243 in Aleppo and also has a copyright in the name of Muḥammad al-Ḥarrani for the al-Ḍiyā'iyah School in Damascus. It is written in a good Arabic Naskh script.

(v) The fifth copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is (1254/Tā'2). It has 7 leaves (Qāf 174-180). It is part of a group of other manuscripts, has some corrections, and is written in an Arabic Naskh script, but is affected by damp damage and acidity which have led to the disappearance of a large number of its words.

**11. Āmālī al-Makhladi:** This manuscript belongs to Abu Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. °Ali al-Naisābūri (d. 389/999)<sup>47</sup> and has three copies:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and its number is 3753, Group 16. It includes three ḥadīth dictation sessions from Qāf 90-93. It is written in an ordinary legible script and has many *samā'āt*.

(ii) The second manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus

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<sup>47</sup>Abu Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. °Ali al-Naisābūri was also known as the trustworthy Imam and the specialist in the ḥadīth chain of narration. He was also well-known for his precision in the narration of ḥadīth and used to give his ḥadīth dictation sessions in Dār al-Sunnah. His biography is available in Ibn al-Athīr (1980, 3:180).

(formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and its number is 3797, Group 61, General. It has three ḥadīth dictation sessions from Qāf 24-29.

(iii) The third manuscript is also kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and its number is 3847, Group 111, General. It has three ḥadīth dictation sessions from Qāf 67-76. This copy of the manuscript is written in an untidy handwriting and without any dots on the words. It also has some *samā'āt*.

**12.Āmālī al-Kaiyal:** This manuscript is by °Ali b. °Umar b. Muḥammad al-Khatli al-Sukkari al-Ḥarbi al-Ṣairafi Ibn Shādhān Abu al-Ḥasan al-Kaiyāl (d. 386/966). There are two copies of this manuscript:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3755/Tā'/19. It has 17 leaves (Qāf 236-252). It is part of a group of other manuscripts and has some corrections and comparative notes with another manuscript which was kept in the al-Kāmiliyyah School in 744/1343. It includes a number of *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 525/1131. It has a copyright in the name of Sheikh °Ali al-Mūšili for the al-Ḍiyā'iyyah School in Damascus.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3791/Tā'/16. It has 7 leaves (Qāf 175-181), is part of a group of other manuscripts and has some corrections and comparative notes with other manuscripts. It includes a number of *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 583/1187. This copy has a copyright in the name of Sheikh °Ali al-Mūšili for the al-Ḍiyā'iyyah School in Damascus, and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage.

**13. Āmālī al-Kaiyāl:** This manuscript is by °Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Baghdādi Abu Ḥafṣ al-Kittāni (d. 390/1000), and there are two copies:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 4573, and has 17 leaves. Only the first part of this manuscript is available and it is part of a group of other manuscripts. It includes a number of *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 577/1181. This copy has the year 731/1331 as the year in which it was read in the presence of a ḥadīth scholar. It also has a copyright in the name of the al-Ḍiyā'iyah School in Damascus, and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage, which has led to the disappearance of some of the words.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 3249/Tā'/11, and has 17 leaves. Only the first part of this manuscript is available and it is part of a group of other manuscripts. At the beginning and the end of it are a number of *samā'at*, the oldest of which was written in 531/1136. On the first leaf of this copy there is a licence (permission by the ḥadīth scholar Ibn al-Mubarrad for the manuscript to be read). It also has a copyright in the name of the al-Ḍiyā'iyah School in Damascus. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and there are decorations on its cover.

**14. Āmālī Ibn al-Jarrāḥ:** This manuscript belonged to °Isa b. °Ali b. °Isa b. al Jarrāḥ (d. 391/1001)<sup>48</sup> and there are two copies:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript is available in the library of the engineer Alfrid Chester Beatty in Ireland and is the second part of the manuscript. Its number is 3495/4, and is part of a group of other manuscripts (Qāf 26-45).

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<sup>48</sup>°Isa b. °Ali b. °Isa b. al-Jarrāḥ was also known as the well-respected Sheikh and the specialist in the ḥadīth chain of narration (*al-musnid*). His biography is found in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 11;179-180), al-Dhahabi (1992, 16:549), and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 3;137-138).



(ii) The second copy of this manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 3846/Tā'/16, and it is part of a group of other manuscripts<sup>49</sup>. It includes six ḥadīth dictation sessions and is likely to have been written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. It has a copyright on it and has some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 610/1213. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and this copy is affected by damp damage.

**15. Āmālī al-Mukhlīṣ:** This manuscript belonged to Abu Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-°Abbās al-Dhahabi al-Baghdādi al-Mukhlīṣ (d. 393/1003). There are four copies:

(i) The first copy has 11 leaves (Qāf 31-41). It includes seven ḥadīth dictation sessions and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century and has some corrections and comparative notes from other manuscripts. The manuscript is narrated by Abu Muḥammad°Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṣairafī, and refers to the death of the author of the manuscript and the place where he is buried. The manuscript includes a number of *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 603/1206 by Muḥammad b. Abu al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Ansari. It is written in a very fine Arabic Naskh script and has decorations on its cover. This copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 3744/Tā'/4, and it is affected by damp damage.

(ii) The second copy has 25 leaves (Qāf 95-119) and is similar to the first copy from the beginning to the end. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, is likely to have

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<sup>49</sup>It is important to note that the second copy of this manuscript has been overlooked by "*The Comprehensive Index of Arabic and Islamic Manuscript Heritage*" published by Mu'assasat Āl al-Bait, Amman, Jordan. This Index mentions only the first copy of the manuscript in its volume 1 page 238.

been written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century, and is narrated by Abu Muḥammad<sup>c</sup> Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṣairafi. The manuscript includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 633/1235 in Damascus. In the margins, there are some additional comments and corrections. The owner of this manuscript is named as Aḥmad b. al-Ḥalawāniyyah al-Azdi and it has also a copyright in the name of the al-Ḍiyā'iyyah School in Damascus. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library). Its number is 3796/Tā'/6.

(iii) The third copy of the manuscript is similar to the first copy from the beginning to the end. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, was probably written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century, and has some corrections. It has a number of *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 595/1199. It is written in a very fine Arabic Naskh script but the section titles are written in a bigger script size. It has decorations on its cover and the margins. It is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3854/Tā'/8.

(iv) The fourth copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3744/Tā'/3. It has six leaves (Qāf 25-30) and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It was probably written in the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century. It has a copyright in the name of Yūsuf b. Khalīl al-Ādami and includes some readings by Yūsuf<sup>c</sup> Abd al-Hadi in 869/1464. This copy is written on red paper in an Arabic Naskh script and has decorations on the cover. It is affected by damp damage.

**16. Āmālī Ibn Mandah:** This manuscript belonged to Muḥammad b. Ishāq b.

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā(d. 395/1005)<sup>50</sup>. There are four copies:

(i) The first copy is available in the Copreli Library in Turkey and its number is 252/4. It includes four ḥadīth dictation sessions (Qāf 28 Alif – 30 Ba' and Qāf 98 Alif – 101 Ba') and it is part of a group of other manuscripts. However, when I inspected this copy, I found that the leaves had been placed in the wrong order, due to negligence.

(ii) The second manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3772/Tā'/5. It is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 35) and includes the first ḥadīth dictation session from Qāf 24-72. It also includes ḥadīth dictation sessions which are different from the second and third parts of the same copy. It has many *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 406/1015. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script but not all the words are written with their relevant dots. It is affected by damp damage and this has in turn affected the legibility of some words.

(iii) The third copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3778/Tā'/10. It is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 41) (Qāf 48-54). It is likely to have been written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century and has a copyright in the name of the al-Ḍiyā'īyyah School. It has a number of *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 516/1122 and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage.

(iv) The fourth copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly

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<sup>50</sup>It is very important to note that in the "*The Comprehensive Index of Arabic and Islamic Manuscript Heritage*" we find that this manuscript has five copies. Among the names mentioned in one of the copies in "*The Comprehensive Index of Arabic and Islamic Manuscript Heritage*" is *Āmālī* Ibn Mandah Yaḥyāb. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad al-<sup>c</sup>Abdi al-Aṣbahāni Abu Zakariyyā Ibn Mandah (d. 511/1117). However, these are in fact two different names of two different scholars and this is evident in their different dates of death.

known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3792/Tā'/8. It is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 56) (Qāf 48-54). It includes one ḥadīth dictation session and was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. It also has a copyright in the name of the al-Ḍiyā'iyyah School and a number of *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 608/1211 in Aṣbahān. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script.

**17. Āmālī al-Ḍabi:** This manuscript is by al-Ḥusain b. Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Qāḍi (d. 398/1007)<sup>51</sup>. There are four copies:

(i) The first copy is available in the London Library. Its number is 2495, it has 12 leaves, and was written in 692/1293.

(ii) The second copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3759/Tā'/11. It is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 22), has seven leaves (Qāf 139-145), and includes the 61<sup>st</sup> ḥadīth dictation session. It has some corrections and a number of *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 670/1271. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script, has decorations on its cover, and is affected by damp damage.

(iii) The third copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3759/Tā'/10. It is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 22), has seven leaves (Qāf 134-136), and includes the 50<sup>th</sup> and the 61<sup>st</sup> ḥadīth dictation sessions. It was probably written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century and has a number of *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 525/1131 with the reading of Muḥammad b. Ṭabarzad. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script, has decorations on its cover and is affected by damp damage.

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<sup>51</sup>The biography of al-Ḥusain b. Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Qāḍi is available in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 8:146-147), al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:96), and Ibn al-Imād (1988, 3:15).

(iv) The fourth copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3799/Tā'/10. It is part of a group of other manuscripts (Group 63), has five leaves (Qāf 139-143), and includes two ḥadīth dictation sessions. It includes some corrections and comparative notes with other manuscripts, as well as a number of *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 578/1182. It is written in a good Arabic Naskh script, and is affected by damp damage.

**18. Āmālī al-Yazdi:** This manuscript belonged to Abu ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar al-Jurjāni al-Yazdi (d. 408/1018) and has two copies:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3810/Tā'/10. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and has 94 leaves (Qāf 105-195). It includes forty-one ḥadīth dictation sessions and has some corrections and comparative notes with the original manuscript. It includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 601/1204, and is written in a good Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by serious damp damage which has in turn affected its content.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 9406. It includes 16 leaves, the fifth part of which has holes from its ends. There are decorations on the edges of this copy. It is written mainly in Persian, but the last three leaves have a different handwriting and are badly torn.

**19. Āmālī Ibn Mardawaih:** This manuscript is by Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsa Ibn Mardawaih al-Aṣbahāni Ibn Mardawaih al-Kabīr (d. 410/1019) and there are two copies:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in

Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3782/Tā'/22. It includes 8 leaves (Qāf 279-286) and contains one ḥadīth dictation session. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, has some corrections and includes comparative notes with other manuscripts. At the end of this copy is a *samā'* by °Ali Abu Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Salafī, and the manuscript is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is seriously affected by damp damage, which has caused the disappearance of a considerable number of words.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is also available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3844/Tā'/7. It includes 13 leaves (Qāf 181-193) and has three ḥadīth dictation sessions. It is likely to have been written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century, and includes some corrections as well as comparative notes with other manuscripts. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and the words have full case endings. It is affected by damp damage.

**20. Āmālī al-Yazdi:** This manuscript is by Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Qāḍī Abu Bakr al-Yazdi (d. 41/1020)<sup>52</sup> and has two copies:

(i) The first copy has six leaves (Qāf 148-153) and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century, has corrections and includes some *samā'at*, the oldest of which dates back to 693/1294. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and has decorations on its cover. It has a copyright in the name of °Imād al-Dīn b. al-Mālik. This copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 842/Tā'/11.

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<sup>52</sup>Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Qāḍī Abu Bakr al-Yazdi was also known as the Imām and the jurist. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:306).

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript has five leaves (Qāf 60-66), is similar to the first copy and is part of a group of other manuscripts. The beginning of the manuscript refers to the name Abu Bakr al-Yazdi and his ḥadīth dictation session. This copy includes at the end a *samāʿ* by Abu Ṭāhir Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Salafi as well as other *samāʿ* at from 575/1179. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script, has decorations on its cover and its edges and is affected by damp damage. It is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 1148/Tāʾ/3.

**21. Āmālī Muḥammad b. Maḥmash:** This manuscript belonged to Muḥammad b. Maḥmash b. ʿAli b. Dāwūd (d. 410/1019)<sup>53</sup> and there are two copies:

(i) The first copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is Group 41, General 3778. It has one leaf (Qāf 99).

(ii) The second copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3799/Tāʾ/19 (Group 63, General 3799). It has five leaves (Qāf 190-194). It includes three ḥadīth dictation sessions. It is narrated by Abu ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Thaqāfi and is part of a group of other manuscripts. The first leaf refers to the title, the author, and the *samāʿ* of the Makdisi. At the end, there are other *samāʿ* at in the presence of Abu al-Ṭāhir al-Salafi, the oldest of which is from 574/1178. It has a copyright in the name of al-Ḍiyāʿiyyah School and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage.

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<sup>53</sup>Muḥammad b. Maḥmash b. ʿAli b. Dāwūd was also known as the jurist (*al-faqīh*), the scholar, the model (*al-qidwah*), and the Sheikh of Khurāsān. His biography is available in Ibn al-Athīr (1980, 2:84), al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:276), and al-Ṣafadi (1962, 1:271-272). It is reported that he held ḥadīth dictation sessions for nearly 30 years (al-Dhahabi 1992, 17:277).

**22. Āmālī al-Qāḍī:** This manuscript is by Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ja°far al-Qāḍī (d. 411/1020)<sup>54</sup> and there are two copies:

(i) The first copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is Group 106, General 3842. It includes a ḥadīth dictation session which al-Qāḍī held in 409/1018. It has six leaves (Qāf 148-153).

(ii) The second copy is also kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is General 1148, Ḥadīth 357. It includes one ḥadīth dictation session and has five leaves (Qāf 66-70).

**23. Āmālī al-Khashshāb:** This manuscript belonged to Abu al-°Abbās Munīr b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Maṣri al-Khashshāb (412/1022)<sup>55</sup> and has two copies:

(i) The first copy of this manuscript has four leaves (Qāf 44-47) and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It was probably written in the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century and is narrated by Ibrāhīm b. Sa°ad al-Jibal (d. 482/1089). It includes many *samā°āt*, the oldest of which dates back to 731/1331 in Cairo, and it is written in an Arabic Naskh script. This copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3764/Tā°/3. It is affected by damp and book worm damage.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is of seven leaves (Qāf 32-37) and is similar to the first copy. However, the copier has forgotten to include the last two lines of poetry. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and is likely to have been written in

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<sup>54</sup>Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ja°far al-Qāḍī was also called the Imām. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:306).

<sup>55</sup>Abu al-°Abbās Munīr b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Maṣri al-Khashshāb was nicknamed the trustworthy and the just. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:267) and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 3:197).



the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. It includes a copyright in the name of °Imād al-Dīn b al-Mālik and has many *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 624/1227. It is written in an Arabic Ta'liq script, has golden decorations on its cover and the edges, and is affected by damp damage. It has a copyright in the name of °Imād al-Dīn b. al-Mālik. This copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3849/Tā'/2.

**24. Āmālī Abu Sā'id:** This manuscript belongs to Muḥammad b. °Ali b. °Amru (d. 414/1023)<sup>56</sup> and has two copies:

(i) The first copy includes three ḥadīth dictation sessions, has four leaves (Qāf 82-85) and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3778/ General/ Group 20.

(ii) The second copy includes three ḥadīth dictation sessions, has 13 leaves (Qāf 40-52) and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3778/Group 20.

**25. Āmālī al-Dhakwāni:** This manuscript belonged to Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ma°dal al-Hamadhāni al-Aṣbahāni al-Dhakwāni (d. 419/1028)<sup>57</sup> and there are two copies:

(i) The first copy has 23 leaves (Qāf 1-23) and includes 12 ḥadīth dictation sessions.

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<sup>56</sup>Muḥammad b. °Ali b. °Amru was known as the Imām, the memoriser, and the virtuous. His biography is available in al-Aṣbahāni (1990, 2:308), al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:307), and al-Ṣafadi (1962, 4:119).

<sup>57</sup>Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ma°dal al-Hamadhāni al-Aṣbahāni al-Dhakwāni was also known as the scholar, the memoriser, the traveller, and the trustworthy. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:433), and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 3:213).

It is part of a group of other manuscripts and includes corrections and was probably written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. It has a copyright in the name of °Abd al-Ghani al-Makdisi, is written in an Arabic Naskh script and is affected by damp damage. This copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3799/Tā’.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript has three leaves (Qāf 93-95) and includes one ḥadīth dictation session in the narration of Abu Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Salafi al-Aṣbahāni (d. 576/1180). It includes many *samā’āt*, one of which is in the name of the narrator in 574/1178 and another *samā’* which dates from 635/1237. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script, has decorations on its cover, and is affected by damp damage. This copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 1148/Tā’/9.

**26. Āmālī Abu Muḥammad al-Hamadhāni:** This manuscript belonged to Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Hamadhāni al-Aṣbahāni (d. 419/1082)<sup>58</sup> and there are three copies:

(i) The first copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is General 3799/ Group 63. It includes 12 ḥadīth dictation sessions, each of which ends with a number of poetry lines on asceticism. It has 23 leaves (Qāf 1-23) and is narrated and copied by °Abd al-Ghani.

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<sup>58</sup>Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Hamadhāni al-Aṣbahāni was nicknamed the scholar, the memoriser, the traveller, and the trustworthy. His biography is available in al-Aṣbahāni (1990, 2:310), al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:433), and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 3:213).

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is General 3559. It includes seven ḥadīth dictation sessions, each of which ends with a number of poetry lines on asceticism. It has 15 leaves (Qāf 1-15).

(iii) The third copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is General 1148/ḥadīth 357. It has 3 leaves (Qāf 93-95).

**27. Āmālī Ibn ʿAbd Kūwih:** This manuscript is by Abu al-Ḥasan ʿAli b. Baṣīr b. Jaʿfar (d. 422/1031)<sup>59</sup> and has three copies:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript is kept in the Copreli Library in Turkey. Its number is 252/6 (Group 626) and includes three ḥadīth dictation sessions. This copy has 11 leaves (Qāf 51 Alif – 61 Alif) and is part of a group of other manuscripts.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is General 3802, Group 66) and it has 16 leaves (Qāf 1-16). Three whole manuscript of ḥadīth dictation sessions were dictated in 420/1029 and narrated by Abu al-ʿAlā' Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Muḥammad in 492/1099. It is written in a good Arabic Taʿlīq script.

(iii) The third copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is General 3845, Group 109. From Qāf 216-224 are the leaves that were narrated by Abu Ṭāhir

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<sup>59</sup>Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Hamadhāni al-Aṣbahāni was nicknamed the scholar, the memoriser, the traveller, and the trustworthy. His biography is available in al-Aṣbahāni (1990, 2:310), al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:433), and Ibn al-ʿImād (1988, 3:213).

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Salafi al-Aṣbahāni (d. 576/1180). It includes many *samā'āt* and is written in a good but ordinary Arabic script.

**28. Āmālīal-Qizwīni:** This manuscript belonged to Abu al-Ḥasan °Ali b. °Umar b. Muḥammad (d. 42/1050)<sup>60</sup> and there are five copies:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zahiriyyah Library) and its number is General 3759, Group 22. there are 14 leaves (Qāf 1-14) and it is five ḥadīth dictation sessions were dictated by the author Abu al-Ḥasan °Ali b. °Umar b. Muḥammad in 436/1044 in his local mosque in al-Ḥarbiyyah. This is a good copy which also includes some corrections and comparative notes with other manuscripts. Its number in the al-Asad National Library is 3759/Tā'. This copy includes five complete ḥadīth dictation sessions, is part of a group of other manuscripts, and has a large number of *samā'āt*, from around 624/1227. In the margins of this copy, we find personal comments and additional notes. It also has a copyright in the name of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Makdisi in Damascus, and has decorations on its cover. It is affected by damp damage.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), has four leaves (Qāf 103-106), and its number is General 384, Group 16. Its number in the al-Asad National Library is 1178/Tā'/2. It is likely to have been written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century, includes corrections, and has some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 617/1220. It also has a copyright in the name of the al-Ḍiyā'iyyah School in Damascus, and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage.

(iii) The third copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in

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<sup>60</sup>Abu al-Ḥasan °Ali b. °Umar b. Muḥammad was known as the model (*al-qudwah*), the knowledgeable, and the Sheikh of Iraq. His biography is available in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 12:42), al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:609), and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 3:268-269).

Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), has four leaves (Qāf 184-186), and its number is General 384, Group 104. Its number in the al-Asad National Library is 3840/Tā'/15. It includes corrections, comparative notes with other manuscripts, and has one *samā'* written in 548/1153. This copy is narrated by Abu al-<sup>c</sup>Izz Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār b. al-Mu'aiyad Billāh. It also has some additional notes, and is written in an Arabic Naskh script with dots used for only some of the words.

(iv) The fourth copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library). It includes a ḥadīth dictation session of six leaves (Qāf 197-202), and its number is Group 297, General 1088. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, and its number in the al-Asad National Library is 1088/Tā'/12. It includes corrections as well as comparative notes with other manuscripts. At the beginning and the end, there are *samā'āt*, the oldest of which was written in 619/1222 in Nablus. Also, on one leaf (Qāf 201 Ba'), there is one *samā'* which is dated 516/1122. The manuscript is written in an Arabic Naskh script but not many dots are used for the words.

(v) The fifth copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library). Its number is Group 378, General 1178. It includes two ḥadīth dictation sessions (from Qāf 23-27).

**29. Āmālīal-Shīrāzi:** This manuscript belonged to al-Ḥasan b. <sup>c</sup>Ali b. al-Ḥasan al-Shīrāzi (d. 454/1062)<sup>61</sup> and has nine copies:

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<sup>61</sup>Al-Ḥasan b. <sup>c</sup>Ali b. al-Ḥasan al-Shīrāzi was also known as the Sheikh, the Imām, the traditionist (*al-muḥaddīth*), the trustworthy, and the specialist in the ḥadīth chain of narration (*al-musnid*). His biography is available in al-Khaṭīb (1997, 7:393), al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:393), and Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Imād (1988, 3:292). He is highly praised by al-Dhahabi (1992, 17:393) for his knowledge of ḥadīth and the quality of his ḥadīth dictation sessions.

(i) The first copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is Group 117, General 3853). Four of its ḥadīth dictation sessions were consecutively held on the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, and 14<sup>th</sup> of the month of Sha<sup>c</sup>bān in 447/1055 and are narrated by Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī. They are on (Qāf 109-119). The manuscript was copied in 580/1184 in an untidy Arabic Naskh script.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is Group 110, General 3846. It has 12 leaves (Qāf 55-66) which include the second ḥadīth dictation session selected by Abu Muḥammad Zāhir al-Naisābūri based on the narration of Abu <sup>c</sup>Ali Ṭālib al-Anṣārī in 641/1243. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script but with little use of dots for the words.

(iii) The third copy of the manuscript has 11 leaves (Qāf 120-130) and contains four ḥadīth dictation sessions. The copy is part of a group of other manuscripts and has a copyright in the name of the al-Ḍiyā'iyyah School in Damascus. It also includes one *samā<sup>c</sup>* by its owner Aḥmad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Wahīd al-Makdisi. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and is affected by damp damage.

(iv) The fourth copy has six leaves (Qāf 94-99) and includes two ḥadīth dictation sessions. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and is likely to have been written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. It was selected by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and includes some *samā<sup>c</sup>āt* from the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century and 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century. It is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3815/Tā'.

(v) The fifth copy of this manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is

3846/Tā'/5. It has 3 leaves (Qāf 55-57) and includes the second ḥadīth dictation session. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, has corrections, and includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 593/1197. It has a copyright in the name of the al-Ḍiyā'iyyah School in Damascus and is written in an Arabic Naskh script without many dots used for the words. It is affected by damp damage.

(vi) The sixth copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3815/Tā'/10. It has 6 leaves (Qāf 129-134) and includes the 7th ḥadīth dictation session on the virtues of the middle of the month of Sha<sup>ḥ</sup>ban. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and has some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is dated 655/1257. It has a copyright in the name of <sup>ḥ</sup>Imād al-Dīn b. al-Mālik and is written in a good Arabic Naskh script.

(vii) The seventh copy of the manuscript has eight leaves (Qāf 135-142) and includes the 11<sup>th</sup> ḥadīth dictation session on the virtues of the month of Ramaḍān. It was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century and has some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 656/1258, that took place in the al-Ḍiyā'iyyah School in Damascus. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script.

(viii) This copy includes 10 leaves (Qāf 64-73) and has two ḥadīth dictation sessions. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, is likely to have been written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century and includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 684/1285. It includes corrections and additional notes in the margins. It is written in a poor Arabic Naskh script, is affected by damp damage, and is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library). Its number is 3841/Tā'/5.

(ix) The ninth copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3774/Tā'/2. It includes 3 leaves (Qāf 29-31) and has one ḥadīth dictation session. It

is part of a group of other manuscripts, and includes some corrections and comparative notes with other manuscripts. It also includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 710/1310. This copy of the manuscript has a copyright in the name of 'Ali al-Mūṣli for al-Diyā'iyyah Dār al-Ḥadīth. It also has another *samā'*, which took place in 604/1205 and was read in 673/1274. It has decorations on the cover.

**30. Āmālī al-Batarqāni:** This manuscript belonged to Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Aṣbahāni (d. 460/1068)<sup>62</sup>. There are three copies:

(i) The first copy is kept in the Islamic University of Imām Muḥammad b. Su'ūd in Riyadh in Riyadh, its number is 2122, and it is part of a group of other manuscripts (Qāf 221-288).

(ii) The second copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and its number is Group 26, General 3763, Qāf 153-172.

(iii) The third copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3777/Tā'/18, Group 40, General 1777. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and includes a ḥadīth dictation session (Qāf 264-270). It includes two *samā'āt* taken from the original copy, and the oldest of these two *samā'āt* took place in 497/1104. There are some other *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 596/1196. The manuscript is written in an Arabic Naskh script but without many dots used on the words, and it has decorations on the cover.

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<sup>62</sup>Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Aṣbahāni was also known as the grand Imām and the master of reciters. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 18:182), al-Ṣafadi (1988, 7:288), and Ibn al-Imād (1988, 3:308).



**31. Āmālīal-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi:** This manuscript belonged to Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. °Ali b. Thābit (d. 463/1071)<sup>63</sup>, and there are two copies:

(i) The first copy of this manuscript is kept in the al-Zaitūnah National Library (Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyyah) in Tunis, is part of a group of other manuscripts, and has three leaves (Qāf 54-56). Its number is 5032.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3764/Tā'/18. It has 10 leaves (Qāf 203-212), and is part of a group of other manuscripts. The fifth part of it has been read in the presence of a number of ḥadīth scholars in Baghdād, Cairo and Damascus. The copy also includes a number of (*samā'āt*), one of which took place in 633/1235, and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage which has led to some damage to the words.

**32. ĀmālīIbn Muslimah:** This manuscript belonged to Abu Ja'far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. °Umar b. al-Ḥasan (d. 465/1072) and has three copies:

(i) The first copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is Group 118, General 3854, Qāf 10 Ba' – 11 Jim and 21 Ba' – 22)). It includes a ḥadīth dictation session which was given in the al-Madīnah mosque in 459/1067. It is written in an ordinary Arabic Naskh script, by Yūsuf b. Mukhlid al-Tannūkhi in 523/1129.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is Group 1, Qāf 2-22.

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<sup>63</sup>Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. °Ali b. Thābit was nicknamed the only Imām, the scholar, the jurist, the critic and the traditionist of his time. His biography is available in Ibn al-Dimiyāṭi (1988:54-61) and al-Dhahabi (1992, 18:270).

(iii) The third copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is Group 104, Qāf 118-121. This copy was previously number general( 643

**33. Āmālī al-Kittāni:** This manuscript belonged to °Abd al-°Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn °Ali b. Sulaimān al-Dimishqi (d. 466/1073)<sup>64</sup> and there are two copies:

(i) The first copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 3846/Tā'/6 (Group 110, General 3846), and it has five leaves (Qāf 62-66).

(ii) The second copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 955/Tā'/10. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, includes some corrections, and has two leaves (Qāf 236-237). This copy also includes a *samā'* that took place in the presence of the author himself in 463/1071. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script without using many dots for the words. It is seriously affected by damp damage.

(iii) The third copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3818/Tā'/2. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, includes some corrections, and has two leaves (Qāf 32-33). It is likely to have been written in the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century with little use of the dots on the words, and is written in a poor Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage.

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<sup>64</sup>Abd al-°Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn °Ali b. Sulaimān al-Dimishqi was also known as the Imām, the memoriser, the useful scholar, the trustworthy, and the traditionist of Damascus. His biography is available in Mākūla (1991, 7:187) and al-Dhahabi (1992, 18:248).

**34. Āmālīal-Khabbāzi:** This manuscript belonged to Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqri' al-Ṭabari al-Khabbāzi (468/1075) and there are two copies:

(i) The first copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library and its number is 10999. It includes 24 ḥadīth dictation sessions, has some marginal notes, and has 17 leaves. It includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which took place in 531/1136. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script.

(ii) The second copy has three leaves (Qāf 36-38), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and is narrated by Abu al-Wafā' Aḥmad b. °Ubaid Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Nahkashi. It was probably written in the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century, includes some corrections, and on its first leaf there is a *samā'* and a copyright in the name of °Abd al-Ghani al-Makdisi. At the end of this copy, a number of *samā'āt* can be found, the oldest of which took place in 569/1173 in Alexandria. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3849/Tā'/3.

**35. ĀmālīAbu Bakr al-Shīrāzi:** This manuscript belonged to Aḥmad b. °Ali b. °Abd Allāh b. °Umar (d. 487/1094)<sup>65</sup> and has two copies:

(i) The first copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 3806/Tā' (Qāf 3-17), and it is part of a group of other manuscripts. It includes some marginal notes and has a copyright in the name of al-°Amriyyah School. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and is affected by damp damage.

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<sup>65</sup>Aḥmad b. °Ali b. °Abd Allāh b. °Umar was known as the scholar, the grammarian, the man of letters, and the specialist in the ḥadīth chain of narration (*al-musnid*). A large number of ḥadīth scholars visited him and attended his ḥadīth dictation sessions. He was known as a strict teacher. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 18:487) and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 3:378-380).

(ii) The second copy has 18 leaves (Qāf 1-18), is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3839/Tāʾ/. This copy includes seven ḥadīth dictation sessions, is part of a group of other manuscripts, and has some corrections. On its first leaf, there is a *samāʿ* written by Ibn al-Mubarrad Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan ʿAlī in the presence of one of his ḥadīth teachers. There is also another *samāʿ*, written by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Makdisi in 608/1211. The copy includes a copyright in the name of the copier for the al-Ḍiyāʾiyyah School. It also includes a number of other *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which took place in 558/1163. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script, and is affected by damp damage.

**36. Āmālī Abu al-Faṭḥ al-Nābulṣi:** This manuscript belonged to Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr al-Nābulṣi al-Makdisi (d. 490/1097)<sup>66</sup> and has five copies:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript is available in the Bell Library in the United States of America (119-124), (683), and has six leaves, and written before general (631).

(ii) The second copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as al-Zāhirīyyah Library), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and is of four leaves (Qāf 194-197).

(iii) The third copy is available in al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is Group 13, session number 347, and it has five leaves (Qāf 94-98). It is written in a good Arabic Naskh script and

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<sup>66</sup>Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr al-Nābulṣi al-Makdisi was also known as the Sheikh, the scholar, the model, the traditionist (*al-muhaddith*), the useful scholar of Sham, and the Sheikh of Islam. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 19:136) and Ibn al-ʿImād (1988, 3:395-396). According to al-Dhahabi (1992, 19:136), he gave five ḥadīth dictation sessions only.

includes a *samāʿ* written in 632/1234 by Abu Naṣr b. ʿUmar Bishāh b. Abu Bakr Abu Naṣr al-Hamadhāni al-Dimishqi.

(iv) The fourth copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is Group 79, session number 121, and it has seven leaves (Qāf 27-33). It is written in a good Arabic Naskh script, written in 657/1259 after being heard by Yaḥyā b. ʿAli b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmi.

(v) The fifth copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), in Group 26, and it includes a ḥadīth dictation session of eight leaves (Qāf 173-180).

**37. Āmālī Ṭarrād al-Zainabi:** This manuscript belongs to Abu al-Fawāris Ṭarrād b. Muḥammad b. ʿAli al-Hāshimi al-ʿAbbāsi al-Baghdādi al-Zainabi (491/1098). There are six copies:

(i) The first copy has 21 leaves (Qāf 76-96) and includes nine ḥadīth dictation sessions. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and is likely to have been written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. It has some corrections and includes some *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which took place in 548/1153. It has a copyright in the name of Ibn al-Ḥājib and is written in an Arabic Naskh script. It is affected by damp damage. This copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3772/Tāʾ/8.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3799/Tāʾ/11. It has five leaves (Qāf 147-151) and includes one ḥadīth dictation session. It is similar to the first copy above. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. It includes some *samāʿāt*, the oldest

of which took place in 633/1235 in Alexandria. It also has a copyright in the name of °Ali al-Kurdi for the al-Ḍiyā'iyyah School in Damascus. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and is affected by damp damage.

(iii) The third copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 3798/Tā'/13. It has four leaves (Qāf 120-123), includes one ḥadīth dictation session, is part of a group of other manuscripts and is likely to have been written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. It includes a *samā'* which took place in 492/1099 in addition to some other *samā'āt*. It also has a copyright right in the name of Ibn al-Ḥājib for the al-Ḍiyā'iyyah School in Damascus. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and is affected by damp damage.

(iv) The fourth copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 1135/Tā'/1, it has six leaves (Qāf 16-21), and includes one ḥadīth dictation session. It also includes a *samā'* from 577/1181 and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It was read in the presence of the author in 578/1182. It has leaves of different sizes, is written in an Arabic Naskh script and has decorations on its cover. It is affected by damp damage.

(v) The fifth copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 3830/Tā'/15, it has five leaves (Qāf 170-174), and includes one ḥadīth dictation session given on Friday of Sha<sup>c</sup>ban 478/1085. It includes a *samā'* from 612/1215 in Musol, Iraq and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It has a copyright in the name of Ibn al-Ḥājib and is written in an Arabic Naskh script.

(vi) The sixth copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 3774/Ta, it has five leaves (Qāf 1-5), and includes one ḥadīth dictation session. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, and includes some corrections and comparative notes

with other manuscripts. It also includes a *samāʿ* from 545/1150 and another *samāʿ* in from 605/1208. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, and has a copyright in the name of Ibn al-Ḥājjib for the al-ʿAmriyyah School. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script, has decorations on its cover and is seriously affected by damp damage.

**38. Āmālī Abu Muṭīʿ al-Maṣri:** This manuscript belongs to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Madīni Abu Muṭīʿ al-Maṣri (d. 497/1103), and there are three copies:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 3767/Tāʾ/1, and it has 8 leaves (Qāf 36-43). This is a complete copy in one volume which begins at leaf Qāf 36. It was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century the original was written by its author in 488/1095. It includes some corrections and comparative notes with the original manuscript in its margins. It has a copyright in the name of Muḥammad al-Ḥarrāni, and also includes some *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which is from 655/1257. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script.

(ii) The second copy is kept in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 1148/Tāʾ/1, and it has 4 leaves (Qāf 54-57). This copy includes the 5<sup>th</sup> ḥadīth dictation session and it is part of a group of other manuscripts. It is narrated by Abu Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Salafī and refers on leaf Qāf 58 Alif to the owner, Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar al-Shāfiʿi. The *samāʿ* took place in the presence of ʿAli Abu Ṭāhir al-Salafī in 574/1178. The writing is also from 574/1178 and is in an Arabic Naskh script. It has decorations on its cover and the edges, and is affected by damp damage.

(iii) The third copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 3834/Tāʾ/7, and it has 3 leaves (Qāf 94-96). It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and there is a hole before leaf Qāf 96. It was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century and includes

some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 635/1237.

**39. Āmālī Hibat Allāh:** This manuscript belonged to Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Baghdādi (d. 525/1131)<sup>67</sup> and there are two copies:

(i) The first copy is kept in the al-Taimūriyyah Library (403/1131) and was written in 833/1429. This is an incomplete copy.

(ii) The second copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is 3834/Tā'/1, and it has 4 leaves (Qāf 18-21). This is the second part of the manuscript and it is part of a group of other manuscripts. It includes corrections and comparative notes with other copies. It also includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 596/1200 and a *samā'* that is based on the copy it was taken from in 523/1129. The manuscript is written in an Arabic Naskh script.

**40. Āmālī al-Farāwi:** This manuscript belonged to Abu °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Abi al-°Abbās al-Şā'idi (503/1109)<sup>68</sup> and has two copies:

(i) The first copy is available in the Copreli<sup>68</sup> Library in Turkey and its number is 252/1/1. It includes four ḥadīth dictation sessions (Qāf 1 Alif – 9 Alif). It is part of a group of other manuscripts and was copied in 623/1226.

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<sup>67</sup>Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Baghdādi was also known as the well-respected Sheikh, the specialist in the ḥadīth chain of narration (*al-musnid*), and the trustworthy. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 19:536) and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 4:77). He gave many ḥadīth dictation sessions and a large number of ḥadīth students attended his sessions (al-Dhahabi (1992, 19:536).

<sup>68</sup>Abu °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Abi al-°Abbās al-Şā'idi was known as the Sheikh, the jurist and the specialist in Khurāsān in ḥadīth chain of narration. His biography is available in Ibn al-Jawzi (1985, 10:65), al-Dhahabi (1992, 19:615), and al-Şafadi (1962, 4:423).



(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is also kept in the Copreli Library in Turkey and its number is 252/1/2. It includes a ḥadīth dictation session (956, Qāf 67 Alif – 68 Ba').

**41. Āmālī al-Baghdādi:** This manuscript is by Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Baghdādi (d. 432/1131)<sup>69</sup> and there are two copies of this manuscript:

(i) The first copy is kept in the al-Taimūriyyah Library, has five leaves (Qāf 18-22, 3-4), and was written in 833/1429. This is an incomplete copy.

(ii) The second copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), its number is Group 98, General 3834, and it has 4 leaves (Qāf 18-21). This is the second part of the manuscript.

**42. Āmālī Abu al-Qāsim al-Taimi:** This manuscript is by Ismā°īl b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. °Ali b. Ahmad (d. 535/1140)<sup>70</sup> and there are three copies:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript is available in the Copreli Library in Turkey. It includes the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century and 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century ḥadīth dictation sessions, has two leaves (26 Alif – 27 Alif), and is part of a group of other manuscripts. Its number is

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<sup>69</sup>Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Baghdādi was also known as the well-respected Sheikh, the specialist in the ḥadīth chain of narration (*al-musnid*), and the trustworthy. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 19:536) and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 4:77). He gave many ḥadīth dictation sessions and a large number of ḥadīth students attended his sessions (al-Dhahabi (1992, 19:536).

<sup>70</sup>Ismā°īl b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. °Ali b. Aḥmad was also known as the scholar, the Imām, the memoriser, and the Sheikh of Islam. His biography is available in al-Dhahabi (1992, 2:8), al-Şafadi (1962, 9:211), and Ibn al-°Imād (1988, 4:154). According to al-Dhahabi (1955, 20:2), Ismā°īl b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. °Ali b. Aḥmad gave 3,500 ḥadīth dictation sessions based on his instinct (*al-badīhah*).

1/136, 252/3 Alif).

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is kept in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library with the number 129 General 4531 and parts of it has 8 leaves (Qāf 1-8). It includes some *samā'āt* from the 6<sup>th</sup>/ 12<sup>th</sup> century and 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century, the oldest of which is from 563/1168. The leaves from Qāf 3-4 are different from the rest of the manuscript. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script. Its number in the al-Asad National Library is 3778/Tā'/2. It is affected by damp damage.

(iii) The third copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library with the number 129 (General 41) and parts of it has 19 leaves (Qāf 24-37). Its number in al-Asad National Library is 3778/Tā'/7.

**43. Āmālī Abu al-Qāsim al-Samārqandī:** This manuscript belonged to Abu al-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad b. °Amr al-Samārqandī (d. 536/1141) and has two copies:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript has 9 leaves (Qāf 182-190). It includes the first part only and is part of a group of other manuscripts. It has corrections and comparative notes with other manuscripts. This copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3792/Tā'/9. It includes some *samā'āt*, the oldest of which is from 648/1250 and also includes a copyright on its first leaf in the name of Shams al-Din Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Hadi for the Ziyā'īyyah School in Damascus. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript has 11 leaves (Qāf 1-11) and includes only 128<sup>th</sup> ḥadīth dictation session. It is part of a group of other manuscripts, was probably copied in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century, and has corrections in the margins. This copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library), and its number is 3842/Tā'/. It includes some *samā'āt*, the

oldest of which is from 525/1131, and also includes a copyright on its first leaf in the name of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-hadi for the Ziyāʿiyyah School in Damascus. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script but with little use of dots on the words, has decorations on its cover, and is affected by damp damage.

**44. Āmālī Abu al-Qāsim Bin ʿAsākīr:** This manuscript belonged to ʿAli b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh al-Shāfiʿī (571/1175)<sup>71</sup>. According to *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ* (name of al-Dhahabi 1992, 20:652), this ḥadīth scholar held 408 ḥadīth dictation sessions. This manuscript has several parts, some of which have been edited and published, while the rest are still awaiting scholars to edit and publish them. There are nine parts of this manuscript:

(i) The first part is available in the al-Asad National Library, its number is 3816/Tāʾ/4, and it has 13 leaves (Qāf 39-51). It includes three ḥadīth dictation sessions: The first (137) is on the capacity of God (*siʿat Allāh*), the second (138) is on the negation of anthropomorphism (*nafi al-tashbīh*), and the third (139) is on the attributes of God (*ṣifāt Allāh*). It is part of a group of other manuscripts and is narrated by Abu al-Qāsim b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad. It includes a *samāʿ* written by the copier in 566/1170. It has a copyright in the name of the al-Diyāʿiyyah School in Damascus, and is written in an Arabic Naskh script.

(ii) The second part includes the 19<sup>th</sup> ḥadīth dictation session which is on the step-daughter. It is still in manuscript form; that is, unpublished. It is available in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus (Group 9, General 3746) and has three leaves (Qāf 165-167).

(iii) The third part includes the 14<sup>th</sup> ḥadīth dictation session, which is on the dispraise of whoever does not act according to what he preaches. This unpublished manuscript

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<sup>71</sup>ʿAli b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh al-Shāfiʿī was the author of "*The History of Damascus*". His bibliography is available in Ibn al-Dimyāṭī (1988:186-189) and al-Dhahabi (1992, 20:554).

is available in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus (Group 87, General 3823) and has six leaves (Qāf 55-60).

(iv) The fourth part includes the 221<sup>st</sup> ḥadīth dictation session, which is on the virtues of °Ali b. Abī Ṭālib. It is still unpublished and is available in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus (Group 103, General 3753). It has six leaves (Qāf 95-100).

(v) The fifth part includes the 238<sup>th</sup> ḥadīth dictation session, which is on the virtues of Sa°ad b. Abi Waqqāṣ. It is still unpublished and is available in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus (Group 103, General 3839) and has four leaves (Qāf 114-117). Its number in the al-Asad National Library is 3839/Tā'/7. It includes corrections and comparative notes with other manuscripts, and the script is written by the author himself. It includes some *samā°āt* done in the presence of the ḥadīth teachers of Ibn al-Mubarrad Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan. At the end of the manuscript, there is a *samā°c* dated 573/1177. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script without many dots used on the words and is seriously affected by damp damage.

(vi) This part of the manuscript includes the 280<sup>th</sup> ḥadīth dictation session, which is on the virtues of °Abd Allāh b. Mas°ūd. It is still unpublished and is available in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus (Group 3, General 3740). It includes eight leaves (Qāf 78-85). Its number in the al-Asad National Library is 3740/Tā'/4 and includes corrections and comparative notes with other manuscripts. It was read in the presence of the author himself. It includes a *samā°c* done in the presence of the ḥadīth scholar Yūsuf b. °Abd al-Ḥadi and another *samā°c* from 549/1154. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script without many dots used on the words and is affected by damp damage.

(vii) The seventh part of this manuscript is on the virtues of the day of °Arafah. It is still unpublished and the manuscript is available in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus (Group 4496) and includes six leaves (Qāf 1-6).

(viii) The eighth part of the manuscript is on the virtues of the month Rajab and includes two ḥadīth dictation sessions. It is still unpublished and the manuscript is available in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus (Group 71, General 30107). It includes eight leaves (Qāf 107-114).

(ix) The ninth part is on the virtues of the month of Sha<sup>c</sup>bān. It is available in the al-Asad National Library. Its number is 3834/Tā'/8 and it includes one ḥadīth dictation session which is the 47<sup>th</sup> ḥadīth dictation session and is on the virtues of the month of Sha<sup>c</sup>bān. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and is written by the author himself in an Arabic Naskh script. The upper side is badly torn, due to damp damage.

**45. Āmālī al-Salafī:** This manuscript belonged to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Salafah al-Aṣbahāni Ṣadr al-Dīn Abu Ṭāhir al-Salafī (d. 576/1180) and there are three copies:

(i) The first copy of the manuscript has 19 leaves (Qāf 227-245). It includes five ḥadīth dictation sessions by al-Salafī and is part of a group of other manuscripts. Its title and the name of its author are taken from leaf Qāf 230, and it has corrections and comparative notes with other manuscripts. This copy is available in the al-Asad National Library in Damascus (formerly known as the al-Zāhirīyyah Library) and its number is 1178/Tā'/22. It includes a *samā<sup>c</sup>* done in the presence of the author in 576/1180 and another *samā<sup>c</sup>* done in the presence of the narrator Abu al-Ḥusain Murada b. Abī al-Jawad Ḥatim in 634/1236. It also includes a copyright in the name of its copier and author for the al-Ziyā'īyyah School in Damascus. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and is affected by damp damage.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Asad National Library and its number is 3800/Tā'/8. It has nine leaves (Qāf 156-164) and includes five ḥadīth dictation sessions given by the author to his students from Salmās in 506/1112. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and includes corrections. It also includes some *samā<sup>c</sup>āt*, the oldest of which is from 630/1233 and is written in an Arabic Naskh script

(iii) The third copy of the manuscript has 12 leaves (Qāf 1-12) and its first leaf has been completely damaged. It includes a *samāʿ* done in 569/1173 in Alexandria. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and is affected by damp damage which has affected the writing of the manuscript, especially in the first part. The first and the second leaves are badly damaged and torn and a considerable amount of the writing has been lost. It is kept in the al-Asad national Library and its number is 9399.

**46. Āmālī Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Aṣbahānī** (d. 581/1158)<sup>72</sup>. There are two copies of this manuscript:

(i) The first copy is available in the Copreli Library in Turkey, number 1584/12. It is part of a group of other manuscripts and one of its ḥadīth dictation sessions is on the leaves Qāf 121/ Alif – 123 Alif.

(ii) The second copy of the manuscript is available in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library (Group 68, General 3840). One part of it is from Qāf 54-63. It is part of a group of other manuscripts. It is a well-kept copy and is written in an Arabic Naskh script which may have been written by ʿAbd al-Ghani ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Makdisi (d. 600/1203) and includes a *samāʿ* done in his presence. It also includes a copyright in his name. It is affected by damp damage and, as a result, some of its words have disappeared.

**47. Āmālī Abu Mūsā al-Madīnī or Rubaʿī al-Tabīʿīn:** This manuscript belonged to Abu Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Aṣbahānī al-Madīnī (d. 581/1184) and there are two copies:

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<sup>72</sup>Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Aṣbahānī was known as the Imām, the scholar, the grand memoriser, the trustworthy, the Sheikh of the traditionists (*al-muḥaddithun*). His biography is available in al-Ṣafadī (1962, 4:146), Ibn al-ʿImād (1988, 4:373), and al-Dhahabī (1992, 21:156).

(i) The first copy has ten leaves (Qāf 18-27), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and includes the fourth ḥadīth dictation session. Its number in the al-Asad National Library is 3842/Tā'/2. It was probably written in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century and has a *samā'* from 731/1331, done in the presence of al-<sup>°</sup>Azīz, and a copyright in the name of <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Ghani b. <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Wāḥid al-Makdisi. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script with little use of dots for the words, and has decorations on its cover. It is seriously affected by damp damage.

(ii) The second copy has ten leaves (Qāf 54-63), is part of a group of other manuscripts, and was probably written in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. It includes a number of *samā'āt*, one of them in the presence of <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Ghani al-Makdisi and other *samā'āt* that took place in the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century and 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century. It is written in an Arabic Naskh script and is affected by damp damage. Its number in the al-Asad National Library is 3804/Tā'/7.

**48. Āmālī al-<sup>°</sup>Iraqī:** This manuscript belonged to Ahmad b. <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Rahīm b. al-Ḥusain al-<sup>°</sup>Iraqī who gave more than one thousand ḥadīth dictation sessions in Makkah, Madinah and Cairo. This manuscript has three copies:

(i) The first copy is available in the Leiden Library, has six leaves, its number is 2468-95 and it includes five ḥadīth dictation sessions only. It was written in 867/1462.

(ii) The second copy is kept in the Khadapensh Library in India, its number is 318, it has eight leaves, and is likely to have been written in the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century.

(iii) The third copy is available in the Copreli Library in Turkey, its number is 251, and it includes one ḥadīth dictation session.

## Chapter Three: The Ḥadīth Scholar (*al-mumli*)

### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*), focusing on the prerequisites of becoming one. This chapter also investigates an important question, which is whether the ḥadīth scholar is merely an ordinary person who can narrate ḥadīths or dictate them without specific prerequisites and criteria, or whether he is one who enjoys particular characteristics that qualify him to act as a scholar who can teach the discipline of ḥadīth, for students to benefit from his knowledge, and ultimately for him to win their trust. In this chapter, I shall also distinguish between the different categories of ḥadīth scholars, as well as discussing the major distinction between the traditionist (*al-muḥaddith*) and the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) who dictates the ḥadīth. This chapter also provides a thorough discussion of the moral criteria of the ḥadīth scholar. In this chapter, I have also discussed the procedural rules of the ḥadīth scholar as well as the expected age.

### 4.2. Who is the Ḥadīth Scholar (*al-mumli*)?

In this section, I shall investigate an important question; namely, whether the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) is an ordinary person who simply narrates or dictates ḥadīths without any specific conditions and criteria, or whether he is an encyclopaedic scholar who enjoys specific characteristics that qualify him to act as a ḥadīth specialist attaining particular terms of teaching and learning quality. Generally, however, a ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) must satisfy specific conditions in order for him to qualify for practising the dictation of ḥadīth (*mumli al-ḥadīth*) to ḥadīth students. Makdisi (1990, p 325) The best method for the person who dictates is to dictate to you, and for you to write from his formulation of the words. For if you recite the text to him, you may make a mistake (i.e. in vocalizing the words) which



he may not hear; and if he reads to you, something may distract you from hearing all that he says.

#### 4.2.1. Prerequisites for the Ḥadīth Scholar

For a person to be a ḥadīth scholar, he needs to satisfy particular conditions. The primary ones being: The ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) should be one who has mastery of all the major disciplines of Islamic studies (Madelung 2011, 3:655), such as understanding the Qur'an and its exegesis, understanding the Qur'an's general and specific legal rulings (*aḥkām*), the reasons for revelation, the abrogated and abrogating *ayahs* (*al-nāsikh wal-mansūkh*), the discipline of ḥadīth (*ʿilm al-ḥadīth*), the scrutiny of the chain of narration of ḥadīth to ascertain the accuracy of the content (*matn*) of the ḥadīth (*takhrīj al-ḥadīth*), the discipline of jurisprudence (*ʿulum al-fiqh*), Arabic linguistics (*ʿulum al-lughah al-ʿarabiyyah*), Arabic rhetoric (*al-balāghah al-ʿarabiyyah*), and the discipline of the biography of famous characters (*ʿilm al-rijāl*). The ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) should also be knowledgeable about the views of all the jurists (*al-fuqahā'*) who represent all the schools of Islamic thought and should be aware of the jurisprudential differences between the different Islamic schools of thought and sects (*al-madhāhib al-fiqhiyyah*). The ḥadīth scholar additionally needs to be knowledgeable about the discipline of the defects of ḥadīth (*ʿilal al-ḥadīth*), the correction of ḥadīth narration (*takhrīj al-ḥadīth*), and the verification of ḥadīth. More details will be provided in the discussion below (p 29-30).

#### 4.3. Categories of Ḥadīth Scholars

There are three categories of Ḥadīth scholars:

1. The autonomous/independent master (*mumli mutqin mustaghni*): This ḥadīth scholar possesses comprehensive understanding of the discipline of ḥadīth, its defects (*ʿilal*), its different forms of content, and its different chains of narrations. Such a ḥadīth scholar has attained the highest level of ḥadīth knowledge and has learned and mastered all. In other words, he knows perfectly every part of the

ḥadīths and so he has become qualified to hold ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis imla' al-ḥadīth*). An example of this category of ḥadīth scholars is Abu ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (al-Sakhawī 1992, 3:276; al-Dhahabī 1992, 12:409).

2. Encyclopaedic ḥadīth scholar (*mumli mutqin*): This is the ḥadīth scholar who has been affected by an illness, blindness or old age. For this reason, he is assisted by a *Ḥāfiẓ*<sup>73</sup> *al-ḥadīth*, to help him conduct his ḥadīth dictation session. (For more detail, see Scott C. Lucas, 2004). An example of this category of ḥadīth scholar is Abu Bakr Ibn Abī Dāwūd who, according to Ibn Shāhīn, dictated each ḥadīth from memory without reading from a book. He was assisted by his son Abu Maʿmar, who would sit next to his father and hold a ḥadīth book in his hand while Abu Bakr Ibn Abī Dāwūd would recite the ḥadīth from memory and his son followed from a book to make sure that the ḥadīth was relayed correctly (al-Sakhawī 1992, 3:277; al-Dhahabī 1992, 13:224-225).

3. Non-encyclopedic ḥadīth scholar (*mumli ghair mutqin*): This category of ḥadīth scholar includes those who ask for assistance from qualified ḥadīth memorisers to provide them with ḥadīths which they do not know, and also to copy (*yukharrij*) for them, on separate sheets of paper, ḥadīths from major ḥadīth sources as teaching material for their ḥadīth dictation sessions. Ḥadīth scholars of this category are also unaware of the discipline of the biography of famous people (*ʿilm al-rijāl*) which is an important component of the discipline of ḥadīth studies. This method of ḥadīth dictation was allowed and was practised by ḥadīth scholars such as Abu al-Ḥusain

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<sup>73</sup>The term ḥadīth is synonymous with the word muḥadith called on to save the ḥadīth and well done and knew a lot of the kinds of text and chine of narration (matn , isnad).

It was: Ḥafiz is to save one hundred thousand ḥadīth(<http://www.ahlalhdeth.com/vb/showth>).

Ibn Bushrān, the jurist Abu ʿUmar al-Hashimi, and Abu al-Qāsim al-Siraj (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:277).

Based on the above three categories of ḥadīth scholars, it is clear that the task of ḥadīth dictation (*imlaʾ al-ḥadīth*) can only be undertaken by masters of ḥadīth who have satisfied all the prerequisites discussed above in Section 2.2.1. At this point it is useful to discuss the major difference between two types of scholars, namely the traditionist (*al-muḥaddith*) and the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*).

#### 4.4. Distinction Between the Traditionist and the Ḥadīth Scholar

Although the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) is a specialist in ḥadīth, he is not of the same rank, in terms of knowledge, as the traditionalist (*al-muḥaddith*). Therefore, one needs to distinguish between these two categories of scholars, both of whom are specialists in ḥadīth studies.

##### (i) The Traditionist (*al-muḥaddith*)

The traditionalist is a specialist in the study of ḥadīth, its chain of narration (*isnād*), and its content (*matn*), and such traditionalists include, for example, Imām Mālik, Imām Aḥmad, ʿAli Ibn al-Madīni, Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn, Imām al-Bukhāri, and Imām Muslim. The *muḥaddith* was also known to have dictated ḥadīth to his students. Therefore, every traditionist (*muḥaddith*) is also a ḥadīth scholar (*mumli*) due to the fact that he possesses the qualified mechanisms of dictating the ḥadīth if his students request it from him or if they wish to record the ḥadīths they have received from him. Imām Mālik and al-Bukhāri, for instance, used to have students but their major interest was to teach and explain the ḥadīth rather than merely to dictate it. Students however, were allowed to write down what they heard from their ḥadīth scholar, and the number of students of any *muḥaddith* could range from a hundred to a thousand. It is also important to note that it is not common practice to refer to or consider a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad as a ‘traditionist’ (*muḥaddith*). This is due to the term gaining currency only during the era of the Successors (*al-Tabiʿūn*) as the disciplines of ḥadīth, jurisprudence, Qurʾanic exegesis and logic began to take

shape. It is also worth noting that traditionally the companions who narrated ḥadīth would not be described as ‘traditionalists’ (*muḥaddith*) because they were perceived to be reliable sources (*thiqāt ʿudūl*) of prophetic traditions (*ḥadīth*) and the standard practice of Muḥammad(*Sunnah*). Such a title was therefore deemed superfluous.

#### (ii) The Ḥadīth Scholar (*al-mumli*)

The ḥadīth scholar is the specialist mainly concerned with dictating the narrated and non-narrated ḥadīths during his dictation sessions. The ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) may depend upon his own teachers or their books, or on his own ḥadīths taken directly from his ḥadīth teachers. It is worth noting that every ḥadīth scholar is a ḥadīth specialist but he does not necessarily qualify as a traditionist (*muḥaddith*). The ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) may have a large number of students ranging from anywhere between 10,000-100,000 students. ʿAli b. ʿAsim is a good example: he used to have 100,000 students and had seven repeaters (*mustamli*).

#### 4.5. Moral Standards of the Ḥadīth Scholar

Certain moral standards (*al-maʿāyir al-akhlāqīyyah*) are expected of a ḥadīth scholar, and without these he will be disqualified by the public, in general, and by his students, in particular. It was not enough for someone to have memorised large numbers of ḥadīth. The ḥadīth scholar would also have to display certain moral standards with regard to his ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis al-implaʿ*). The literature of ḥadīth studies abounds with discussion of the moral values with which the ḥadīth scholar should be armed, since the dictation session (*majālis al-implaʿ*) was a teaching and learning process, on the one hand, and an inspirational educational process, on the other. The major moral and ethical traits of the ḥadīth scholar are discussed below.

##### 4.5.1. Justice

This is referred to in Arabic as *al-ʿadl*. A ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) should be just *ʿadl*. and is expected to deal justly and fairly with people and his students. This

moral trait is linked to the fact that the ḥadīth scholar specialises in ḥadīth studies, a science connected with the tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad, who was the epitome of justice and truthfulness. Thus, the ḥadīth scholar is expected to emulate this quality that is found in the prophetic model.

According to the Imām and renowned scholar in Baghdād (d.584/1188), Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ḥazimi (1990:108), the ethical character trait of ‘justice’ is a general concept and involves more than merely being just. Justice (*al-<sup>ḥ</sup>adālah*), for him, is also related to other significant characteristics such as: following the commands of God (*ittibā<sup>ḥ</sup> awāmir Allāh*), refraining from doing what is forbidden, refraining from vile deeds (*al-fawāḥish*), striving for the truth, being careful in the use of language in order to avoid causing harm to Islam, or its customs and moral values (*al-murū<sup>ḥ</sup>ah*), refraining from committing grave sins (*al-kabā<sup>ḥ</sup>ir*), and not persisting in minor sins (*al-saghā<sup>ḥ</sup>ir*). If a ḥadīth scholar has these moral characteristics, he can satisfy the prerequisites of being ‘just’ and his witness (*shahādah*) can be accepted (Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ḥazimi, 1990:108).

It should be pointed out that the moral feature of justice (*al-<sup>ḥ</sup>adālah*) is in fact directly related to their adherence to Islam and to customs and behavioural values (*al-murū<sup>ḥ</sup>ah*). In other words, a person has to do justice to his/her faith. This means that a ‘just’ ḥadīth scholar should adhere completely to the principles of Islam (*arkān al-Islām*) such as performing all the five daily prayers, fasting in the month of Ramadan, performing the recommended, in other words optional (*mustahabb*) fasting which includes fasting for three days each month (13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>) throughout the year, as well as fasting on Mondays and Thursdays every week throughout the year, performing the supererogatory prayers (optional prayers, *al-nawāfil*) before and after the compulsory prayers, performing late night prayers (*qiyām al-lail*), performing the three-unit prayers after the evening prayers (*al-witr*), avoiding polytheism (*al-shirk billāh*), not to kill others whether Muslims or non-Muslims, not to commit suicide, to avoid disobedience to parents (*ḥuqūq al-walidāin*), to avoid giving false witness (*shahādāt al-zūr*) which leads to injustice against innocent people, to avoid adultery as this leads to injustice against children,

the partner and the community, and not to commit minor sins repeatedly and deliberately, such as swearing at others or pronouncing vulgar words.

In the view of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (1993:29), ḥadīth specialists and jurists unanimously agree that a person's narration of a ḥadīth cannot be accepted if he is neither just nor accurate in what he narrates. This means that a ḥadīth narrator; that is, a ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) should satisfy specific conditions such as (i) being a Muslim, (ii) having reached the age of puberty, (iii) being in full possession of his mental faculties; that is, *compos mentis* (*‘āqil*), and (iv) being free from sinfulness (*al-fisq*)<sup>1</sup>. However, Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawzīyyah (1988, 1:321) adds another condition, namely (v) adherence to customs and behavioural values (*al-muru'ah*) which, for him form an important moral value which the ḥadīth scholar has to possess.

I believe it is worth noting that the notion of adherence to custom and behavioural values is culture-specific. In other words, what is acceptable in one culture may be unacceptable in another. For instance, according to Islamic custom, it is counter to moral values if a man does not cover his head, or if he eats while walking along the street. Similarly, today, it is unacceptable in some conservative countries or communities to wear jeans, or to go on a ride in a theme park. For this reason, Ibn ‘Uthaymin (2002:84), in his *Sharḥ Nuzhat al-Nazar*, considers the adherence to custom and behavioural values as a pivotal ethical component of one's character, and he urges that people should adhere to what they have traditionally inherited of moral customs. For him, eating even an apple while walking in the street or wearing clothes with odd colours constitutes an infringement of custom and behavioural values (Ibn ‘Uthaymin, 2002:84). For some Saudi tribes, when a guest is served with a sheep on a big plate, it is their custom to start eating the head first. However, if the guest starts first eating from other parts of the sheep other than the head, this constitutes a major insult to them. Similarly, in some Saudi tribes, harming a pet dog is equal to harming children; if a person does so, they can expect a similar fate (Ibn ‘Uthaymin, 2002:84).

#### **4.5.2. Expertise**

In ḥadīth studies, expertise is a reference to *al-dabt*, which literally means 'accuracy' or 'precision'. However, technically, the expression *al-dabt* means a

ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) is expected to be a talented specialist in ḥadīth studies and, therefore, should be capable of accurately memorising the ḥadīth which he learned from his teacher(s). Accuracy (*al-ḍabt*) means to remember accurately and consciously what the precise words of the ḥadīth scholar were, and falls into two categories: (i) accurate memorisation, and (ii) accurate narration from one's own ḥadīth codex. These two categories are explained below. The Islamic technique or discipline of dictation was one of the elements that came along as part and parcel of that new learning .

#### 4.5.2.1. Accurate Memorisation

In ḥadīth studies, this is referred to as *ḍabt al-ṣadr*. Among the major character traits of a ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli, al-rawi*) are his capacity to memorise a large number of ḥadīths in addition to having a sharp memory. Accurate memorisation means that the ḥadīth scholar who acts as a narrator, narrates from his own memory what he learned, that is, heard, from his ḥadīth teacher, and can memorise accurately any ḥadīth, whenever he wants (al-Dhahabi 1992, 11:360). (Makdisi : 1990 , 323). Among the ḥadīth scholars who are wellknown for their competence in memorising a large number of ḥadīths and for their sharp memory are Ishāq b. Rahwaiha (d.256) who was gifted with a sharp memory and reputedly memorised 30,000 ḥadīths as well as writing 100,000 ḥadīths. He is said to have dictated from memory 11,000 ḥadīths to his students. Then he read them aloud from his book to his students without making “any addition or deletion” (al-Dhahabi 1992, 13:374). The same applies to ḥadīth scholars such as Sa‘īd b. Mansūr (d.227) who is reported to have dictated from memory 11,000 ḥadīths (al-Dhahabi 1992 15:275), Abu ‘Ali al-Tannukhi (al-Dhahabi 1992, 15:436), Abu ‘Abd Allāh al-Khatli (al-Dhahabi 1992, 16:455), and Abu al-Ḥasan al-Dārquṭni who dictated from memory the famous ḥadīth book *al-‘Ilal* (ḥadīth defects) (al-Dhahabi 1992, 16:460).

However, some ḥadīth scholars have objected to the method of dictating the ḥadīth from memory for two reasons:

(i) The risk of errors in transmission and forgetfulness: in the interest of accuracy and avoiding speculation about the chain of narrations (*isnād*) and ḥadīth content (*matn*), it is preferable for the ḥadīth students to be dictated to from a book. Forgetfulness on the part of the ḥadīth scholar can lead to scepticism among the students about the chain of narration and the wording of the ḥadīth content.

(ii) To avoid boasting: Genuine and pious ḥadīth scholars often avoid dictating ḥadīths from memory as this may lead unconsciously to conceit, self-importance, vanity, and hypocrisy. Moreover, because ḥadīth scholars (*al-mumli*) have devoted their work to the cause of God, their intention has been to serve the discipline of ḥadīth, achieved by reading these aloud to their students (al-Dhahabi 1992, 11:360).

#### **4.5.2.2. Accurate Narration from the *Mumli*'s Own Ḥadīth Codex**

In ḥadīth studies, this is referred to as *ḍabṭ al-kitāb* (Madelung 2011, 3:655), which means that the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) preserves and updates his own codex of ḥadīth which he learned from his teacher(s) and which he revised with his teacher(s) so that he can refer to his codex of ḥadīth during his ḥadīth dictation sessions (*Āmālī al-ḥadīth*) (Ibn ʿUthaimin 2002:95). However, commenting on al-ʿAsqalāni, Ibn ʿUthaimin (2002:95) claims that in order to achieve accurate narration through one's personal ḥadīth codex, the ḥadīth student needs to be fully aware of what he is writing down and should listen attentively when he receives a new ḥadīth from his ḥadīth teacher; otherwise, the ḥadīth student may risk making errors in narration or content if he is not aware of what he listening to, or if he is not focused on what is said by the ḥadīth teacher (Ibn ʿUthaimin 2002:95).

That said, how can one be sure that this has been achieved by the ḥadīth student who is going to use his own codex for dictating ḥadīth in the future? Ibn ʿUthaimin (*ibid*) provides two methods that can guarantee the accuracy of narration from one's own codex:



1. The ḥadīth scholar needs to revise his own codex with his teacher; in other words, every ḥadīth codex should be read out to the ḥadīth teacher to correct possible errors.
2. The ḥadīth scholar needs to compare his own ḥadīth codex with other students' codices to correct possible errors.

### 4.5.3. Sound Intention

The term 'intention' by definition refers to something imperceptible, that cannot be seen or heard. It is referred to as *taṣḥīḥ al-niyyah* or *al-niyyah al-ṣaḥīḥah* which means that the ḥadīth scholar's intention should be based on his sincere willingness to teach and benefit his students rather than teaching with the aim of boasting about his knowledge and achieving a high social status in the community. Sound intention has many different meanings, such as: (i) determination (*al-ʿazm*) (al-Jawhari 1984, 6:2516), (ii) keenness (*al-qaṣd*) (al-Zubaidi 2002, 10:379), (iii) personal need (*al-ḥājah*), and (iv) memorisation (*al-ḥifẓ*). However, in terms of ḥadīth studies and jurisprudence, al-Ashqar (2005:29) provides two main categories of sound intention, which are:

**(i)** Determination to do something through which one aims to become closer to God and achieve God's pleasure. Acts with this category of intention include all acts of worship such as fasting, prayer, jihad and belief.

**(ii)** Determination to do something through which one neither aims to become closer to God nor to attain God's pleasure. Acts with this kind of intention include marriage, divorce and transactions.

#### 4.5.3.1. Objectives of Sound Intention

For Ibn ʿUthaimin (2002:357-358), the sound intention through which the ḥadīth scholar aims to become closer to God and may attain God's pleasure can achieve three major objectives. These are:

(i) To achieve God's pleasure, since the ḥadīth scholar's intention is focused exclusively on God.

(ii) To preserve Islamic law, since the ḥadīth scholar plays a crucial role in preserving it through his dictation and teaching of ḥadīth.

(iii) To protect Islamic law from corruption through the knowledge of ḥadīth and through the sound intention of the ḥadīth scholar who aims to care for Islamic law (al-Khaṭīb 1996, 1:666).

#### 4.5.4. Truthfulness

This is referred to in Arabic as *al-ṣidq*. The character trait of truthfulness can be considered as the soul and life-line of the ḥadīth scholar and of the discipline of ḥadīth. This is due to the fact that this discipline hinges upon the chain of narration (*al-isnād*). If the chain is forged, the ḥadīth content can be forged, too. It is through truthfulness that the ḥadīth scholar can acquire his reputation, through people's trust in him as a scholar, and their acceptance of the ḥadīths which he narrates to them. It is for this reason that ḥadīths cannot be accepted from a ḥadīth narrator who is untruthful.

An interesting anecdote summarizes this character trait of truthfulness: It is reported that a ḥadīth scholar (al-Bukhārī) travelled to a far-away country to meet and learn from a well-known ḥadīth narrator. After his arduous journey, the ḥadīth scholar met the narrator outside his house where he was busy trying to catch his riding animal. The ḥadīth narrator was holding the lower part of his gown with both hands to make it look as if there was some food in it for the animal. When the ḥadīth scholar found out that in fact there was no food in ḥadīth narrator's gown and that it was merely a trick to catch the animal, the ḥadīth scholar was no longer interested in learning ḥadīths from the ḥadīth narrator, simply because the latter was lying to his riding animal. In other words, the ḥadīth narrator was not truthful. Thus, the ḥadīth narrator could neither qualify to be a narrator of ḥadīth nor could he be a source of knowledge. The ḥadīth scholar decided to go all the way back home (al-Aṣbahānī

1985, 8:370). According to Waki<sup>c</sup> b. al-Jarrah(al-Aṣbahāni 1985, 8:370), the career of ḥadīth dictation and narration can only be performed by those who are truthful. Due to the paramount significance of truthfulness, most ḥadīth scholars (*al-mumli*) used to dictate ḥadīths by reading them aloud from a ḥadīth book rather than relying on their own memory. Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241), for instance, used to dictate ḥadīths from a book and not from memory although he was a wellknown ḥadīth scholar (al-Aṣbahāni 1985, 9:165; al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:666; al-Khaṭīb 1997, 10:68). Ḥadīth students, too, were well aware of and appreciated truthfulness. They used to prefer learning the ḥadīth or writing it down when it was read aloud to them from a book rather than spoken to them by their ḥadīth scholar (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:665). Some ḥadīth scholars also used to prepare and read their own codex of ḥadīths or a ḥadīth book before going to their ḥadīth dictation session to dictate the ḥadīths to their students. By doing so, the ḥadīth scholar would not make errors in either the chain of narration or in the ḥadīth content. Thus, the ḥadīth scholar could attain the ethical characteristic of truthfulness (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:277).

#### **4.5.5. Respect for Discipline**

A ḥadīth scholar was expected to respect the discipline of ḥadīth. Respect could be represented in a number of ways, such as:

**(i)**Preserving the teaching materials; that is, the ḥadīth's chain of authority (*isnād*) and the ḥadīth content (*matn*).

**(ii)** Making sure not to answer questions which the ḥadīth scholar has no knowledge of.

**(iii)**Teaching what the scholar has mastered well.

**(iv)**Giving the discipline of ḥadīth a high status and urging people to show respect for this discipline.

For instance, when Shārik b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 178/794) was asked by a young member of the Abbāsīd ruling family about a ḥadīth, Shārik refused to answer the young man's question because the latter asked his question while leaning against a wall, which was considered inappropriate in the Arab-Islamic culture of the time. Shārik requested the young man to sit down and put his query forward, as a sign of respect for the discipline of ḥadīth (Ibn al-Jaʿad 1990, 1:353). Moreover, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī was asked by the governor Khālīd b. Aḥmad al-Thuhālī prince of (Bukharā) to teach his sons ḥadīth and give them private tuition at home. Al-Bukhārī rejected the governor's offer and told him that his (the governor's) children were not better than other people and should therefore join his (al-Bukhārī's) ḥadīth dictation sessions, which were open to the public (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 2:34). The same anecdote applies to Sulaiman b. al-Ashʿath al-Sijistani (d. 275), when his governor asked him to teach his children at home (al-Mazzi 1993, 11:355; al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:582).

#### **4.5.6. To be Exemplary**

It is human nature to imitate iconic figures whether they are dead or contemporary. Thus, a ḥadīth scholar whose acts are based on the Qur'an and the ḥadīth, in other words, he is putting them into practice, can be easily accepted by the people as an iconic person in terms of knowledge, piety and truthfulness. People usually imitate such a scholar who has become exemplary, such as ʿAli b. al-Madini, whom people used to imitate in his words, actions, the way he dressed, and the way he stood and sat down (Shehhrī 2007: 197).

#### **4.5.7. Patience and Lenience**

In spite of the large number of students attending the ḥadīth dictation sessions, a ḥadīth scholar is required to be patient and lenient with his students. Although ḥadīth scholars used to encounter difficult teaching circumstances, they managed to conquer these through their patience and leniency (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:385 and 240; al-Samcāni 1995, 1:191, 240 and 381; al-Dhahabi 1995, 1:239).

#### 4.5.8. Justice and Equality for All students

The ḥadīth scholar is required to be just and should exercise equality among his students regardless of their age, status, background, race or colour. All students should receive equal attention from their ḥadīth teacher who is also required to show equal compassion towards them. This character trait is of great importance, due to the large number of students and of queries during the ḥadīth dictation session. Thus, the ḥadīth scholar should answer the student who first raised his hand, should not favour one student over another, and no student should be ignored (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:244-245).

#### 4.5.9. Uprightness and Self-dependence

This is referred to in Arabic as *al-<sup>c</sup>iffah wal-taraffu<sup>c</sup>* and has two components in terms of character traits:

(i) Uprightness refers to being morally upright with regard to teaching and dictating the ḥadīths. Although the ḥadīth scholar has an encyclopedic knowledge of ḥadīth, he should neither display a sense of superiority nor should he feel he is above his students and other people in the community because people are in need of his knowledge.

(ii) Self-dependence refers to the fact that the Companions used to be self-sufficient and they hardly used to ask any one for a favour.

Thus, in terms of the ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis al-<sup>c</sup>imla'*), the ḥadīth scholar should exercise uprightness and self-dependence. In other words, he should not take advantage of his students and ask them for favours. There are many examples of ḥadīth scholars who used to possess the ethical trait of uprightness and self-dependence, such as Maṣūrah b. al-Mu<sup>c</sup>ammar al-Salāmi (d. 132), a ḥadīth scholar famed for his knowledge and piety, who would not allow his students to walk him home, so that he would not feel boastful and blemish his sound intention of teaching ḥadīth. Moreover, the Kūfī ḥadīth scholar <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Idrīs (d. 192), a pious worshipper, who wanted to know the price of a herb used as a detergent, would not allow one of his students who volunteered to go to the shop, to do so.

Instead, al-Salami went himself to the shop and asked about it (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:580).

Thus, ḥadīth scholars have enjoyed and exercised the moral dimensions of uprightness and self-dependence. They used to give equal opportunity to all their students in terms of appointments for questions and enquiries and did not give any ḥadīth private tuition. Thus, ḥadīth sessions have provided an equal opportunity for everyone.

#### **4.5.10. Awareness of Students' Aptitude**

This academic requirement was observed by the ḥadīth scholars in order to achieve effective learning and teaching interaction during the ḥadīth dictation sessions. Ḥadīth scholars were well aware of their students' learning aptitude, so this applied to homes and private ḥadīth dictation session.

Accordingly, the ḥadīth scholar used to give particular attention to students with low aptitude and teach them 3-4 ḥadīths in a session, unlike students with a high aptitude who used to be taught 30 in a session. The difference in the number of ḥadīths is attributed to the student's aptitude for memorising and understanding the ḥadīths taught. For instance, when the famous ḥadīth scholar Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhāri was a student, he was able to learn and memorise a whole page of ḥadīths simply by reading them once, as he had a photographic memory. Imām al-Shāfi'i also noticed al-Bukhāri's high aptitude for learning and his sharp memory ( al-Dhahabi 1995). Ḥadīth scholars also used to partner a weak student with a high aptitude student so that the latter could help the former. Weakness in learning is not exclusively due to weak memory. It also relates to other learning difficulties, such as poor spelling and writing slowly. Through the employment of strong students during the session, the ḥadīth scholar could guarantee effective learning outcomes in terms of:

**(i)** Improving the weak student's understanding.

**(ii)** Most importantly, making sure that the ḥadīths learned were accurately written and soundly understood.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalāni, for instance, was among the ḥadīth scholars who adopted this pedagogical technique (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:277).

#### **4.5.11. Endeavours to Disseminate and Teach Ḥadīths Through Travelling**

In section 2.5.3, the requirement of sound intention was discussed, which also includes the ḥadīth scholar's willingness and keenness to sacrifice his time and money for the sake of teaching and propagating ḥadīth through travelling to other countries. Such ḥadīth scholars include<sup>c</sup>Urwah (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:340), Ibn al-Muhibb al-Ṣamit (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:218). Ibn al-Muhibb, for instance, travelled from Baghdād to Damascus to teach ḥadīth based on Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's ḥadīth book (al-Dhahabi 1992, 21:433; al-Sakhawi 1994, 3:218). This can be summed up by Abu Sufyān al-Thawri's statement: "Learn the ḥadīth; when you've learned it by heart, put it into practice through your actions; when you applied it in practice, disseminate it" (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:340). According to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri, Muḥammad is reported to have said: "It is charity that someone learns something and acts by it and then teaches it." (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:220).

#### **4.6. Checking the Accuracy of a Ḥadīth Scholar's Narration**

The narration of ḥadīth by a ḥadīth scholar is checked against the narration by other reliable ḥadīth scholars who are renowned for their accuracy. If the narration of the ḥadīth scholar matches that of other reliable ḥadīth scholars who are well-known for their accuracy, then his narration is accepted even though his narration differs slightly in meaning to that of the others, or when on the whole his narration is similar to that of the others. al-Jawzīyyah (1988, 1:321). In this case, the ḥadīth scholar can be considered to be accurate in his narration of ḥadīth and his knowledge is regarded as encyclopedic (*mutqin*). However, if it is found that his narration of ḥadīth differs significantly from the narration of reliable ḥadīth scholars who are

known for their accuracy, then this ḥadīth scholar's narration is inaccurate and therefore cannot be accepted.

#### **4.7. Ḥadīth Accuracy Measures in Modern Time**

One may wonder whether modern technology has helped as a measure of ḥadīth accuracy in terms of narration (*isnād*) and content (*matn*). One can argue that the accuracy of ḥadīths can be preserved through recording ḥadīth dictation sessions, or dictating ḥadīths via TV, radio, or BskyB programs through which one can guarantee what the ḥadīth scholar has said in terms of the accuracy of ḥadīth narration and content. In the view of Ibn ʿUthaimin (2002:100), the preservation of the accuracy of ḥadīth through modern technology is much better than that through books. However, there is a danger of parts of the recording being erased in error. Thus, this is worse than relying on books. Ibn ʿUthaimin (2002:100) further recommends that if we rely on recording machines, one needs to say: ‘I have heard the ḥadīth recorded on a tape’ so that we can avoid forgery because some people may imitate the ḥadīth scholar’s voice.

#### **4.8. Procedural Rules of the Ḥadīth Scholar**

Ḥadīth dictation sessions had specific procedures in terms of organisation of the place where the session was held, the teaching environment, the beginning of a session, the ḥadīth scholar's revision of his teaching materials and books before delivering the session, the students' circumstances, and their motivation. Among the major procedural rules which the ḥadīth scholar adopted are discussed below.

##### **4.8.1. Time of the Session**

The ḥadīth scholar decided in advance the exact time of his ḥadīth dictation session. The announcement of the specific time of teaching was important because students would have other commitments such as family and work. Establishing in advance the time of the session was also important for both the ḥadīth scholar and



his repeater (*al-mustamli*). The ḥadīth scholar needed time to revise his teaching materials and prepare himself physically, while the repeater needed to prepare by drinking enough water and other prepared drinks such as herbal drinks, which were useful for the vocal cords and the throat in order to help him perform his demanding task. The physical preparedness of the ḥadīth scholar and his repeater also included having honey before the start of the session. The ḥadīth scholar needed to take honey with yanoon before going to bed or immediately after waking up and it had to be before he had his breakfast, while the repeater needed to have the honey mixed with yanoon just before the start of the dictation session. The yanoon needed to be boiled and cooled down to be mixed with honey. No food could be taken after this drink for at least two hours. Students were also required to be well-organised in terms of time management to be prepared for the session and attend on time to find a place as close to the ḥadīth scholar or his repeater as possible. Otherwise, if they sat far away, they might not be able to hear the ḥadīth clearly and would miss out useful details. As a sign of respect and in order not to disturb the process of teaching, some ḥadīth students who experienced this problem did not find it appropriate to ask the repeater to repeat once more what he had just said. This happened, for instance, to Sufyān b. °Uyainah, Yazīd b. Hārūn, al-A°mash, Sa°īd b. Jubair, °Amru b. Dinar, al-Zuhri, Sufyān al-Thawri, and al-Faḍīl b. °Ayad.

#### **4.8.2. Preparing the Teaching Material**

A major task which the ḥadīth scholar encounters is the selection and preparation of ḥadīths for his teaching. The ḥadīth scholar needs to consult the major sources of ḥadīth and his own master ḥadīth codex which he has prepared himself. After the selection of specific ḥadīths, he also needs to write them down on separate sheets of paper to refer to them and dictate them to his students during the ḥadīth dictation session. Before he starts his ḥadīth session, the ḥadīth scholar asks someone reliable and well-educated in ḥadīth to proofread the ḥadīths he has selected and to double-check any errors in ḥadīth content and chain of narration. However, there are special circumstances in which the ḥadīth scholar is either physically unable to do so, due to old age or being blind. In such a case, the ḥadīth scholar asks a person who is knowledgeable in ḥadīth to select and write down for

him some ḥadīths for each ḥadīth dictation session. Among the ḥadīth scholars who have resorted to this method of selecting the teaching materials are Abu al-Ḥasan b. Bushran who used Muḥammad b. Abi al-Fawaris to select the required ḥadīths and write them down for him, Abu ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Hashimi al-Baṣri who was helped by Abu al-Ḥusain b. al-Sarraḡ, al-Naisabūri who was helped by Abu Ḥazim al-ʿAbdawi, and Saʿīd b. Muḥammadal-Istiwa'i who was helped by Aḥmad b. ʿAli al-Aṣbahāni. An interesting example is the ḥadīth scholar Abu al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Rizqawaih, who used to undertake the task of selecting the ḥadīths for each of his ḥadīth dictation sessions until he lost his eyesight. At this stage, Abu al-Ḥasan b. Rizqawaih asked Abu Muḥammad al-Khilal to select the ḥadīths and write them down for him as a teaching material (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:117-118; al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:271-272).

#### 4.8.3. Taking Care of What to Wear

As the ḥadīth scholar is facing a large number of students, he needs to pay particular attention to what he is wearing during the ḥadīth dictation session. The ḥadīth scholar Imām Mālik b. Anas (d. 179), for instance, used to wear his best clothes, wear his turban tidily (tartīb ʿimāmateh ), and not touch his beard, as a sign of respect for the ḥadīth, which represents Muḥammad's statements (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:385; al-Samʿani 1995, 1:191). Ḥadīth scholars also used to brush their teeth with the *miswāk*<sup>74</sup> before starting to teach, and also trim their nails, moustache and hair. They used to wear a white dress, comb their beard, wear a nice perfume, and check in the mirror before their students (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:586-642; al-Samʿani 1995, 1:214). Walking was also part of the etiquette. The ḥadīth scholar used to walk respectfully and greet everyone he passed, including very young boys (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:586).

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<sup>74</sup>*al-Miswāk* is a root of the arak tree which grows in southern Saudi Arabia. These roots are similar to toothbrushes.

#### 4.8.4. Sitting in an Elevated Place

Due to the large number of students, the ḥadīth scholar needs to sit in a high place where students can see and hear him clearly (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:413; al-Samʿani 1995, 1:278; al-Ṣuyūṭī 1994, 2:134; al-Ḥusaini 1990,p38). For al-Sakhawi (1992, 3:255), sitting in an elevated place is a desirable requirement (*mustahabb*) since it reflects respect for and glorification of the ḥadīth. Abu Zarʿah b. ʿAmru b. Jarir reports through Abu Hurairah and Abu Dharr who claim that when the number of people coming to Muḥammad continually increased, and some of them would not know who he was from among the crowd sitting with him, the companions proposed to him to sit in an elevated place. Muḥammad accepted this idea and a chair-like place was built for him that was high enough for him to be seen by the crowd sitting in front of him. This became known as the platform (*manbar*), and it became the first platform used in the Prophet's mosque (*al-masjid al-nabawi*) in Madinah (al-Ḥusaini year:38). Muḥammad also used to sit on the roof-top of a house. It is worth noting that the houses at that time were not as high as today's. ʿIkramah also used to sit on a roof-top to teach the ḥadīth (ibid). It is likely that seeing the ḥadīth scholar's face had a psychological and pedagogical impact on the students who were looking at him, and also on the teaching and learning outcomes of those sessions.

#### 4.8.5. Opening the Session with a Recitation of the Qur'an

Starting the ḥadīth dictation session with a recitation of the Qur'an became a recommended procedure by ḥadīth scholars (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:255). Directly after sitting down, the recitation of the Qur'an began. One may wonder who performed this recitation. There are, in fact, different opinions about this procedure. For al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:68) and al-Samʿani (1995:98), the task of recitation was undertaken by the ḥadīth repeater, while al-Sakhawi (1992, 3:255) is of the opinion that the recitation of the Qur'an was performed by the ḥadīth scholar. However, al-Sakhawi (ibid) also argues that this task was also undertaken by someone other than the ḥadīth scholar or his repeater. I believe that the latter opinion is more viable, due to the fact that:

(i) The ḥadīth scholar was very busy and therefore physically and psychologically unable to perform this role before the start of the ḥadīth dictation session.

(ii) The repeater of the ḥadīth scholar was also too busy organising the session, making the place ready for teaching, and keeping students quiet on arrival.

(iii) Some repeaters were either not good enough in recitation or did not have accurate reading skills.

Therefore, it can safely be assumed that the role of Qur'an recitation used to be performed by an independent person with recitation and reading competencies and a loud voice. One may also wonder what part of the Qur'an used to be selected for recitation. Was it a long or short *sūrah*? The ḥadīth scholars for example al-Khaṭīb, al-Rafi'ī, and al-Sam'ani, the recitation would have been a *sūrah* Q112, which is short enough to be suitable for the time of the ḥadīth dictation session (al-Sakhawī 1992, 3:256). However, al-Sakhawī (ibid) also claims that some ḥadīth scholars used to start their session with the recitation of Q87, because it includes the ayahs 6 (We will make you recite (O Muḥammad) and you will not forget), 9 (So remind, if the reminder should benefit), and 19 (the Scriptures of Abraham and Moses) which refer to reading, seeking help from God to acquire knowledge, urging people to act in accordance with what they have learned, and the Scriptures of Abraham and Moses which intertextually refer to writing, dictation, paper and knowledge. However, it is unlikely that al-Sakhawī is correct in his assertion that Q87 was always recited before the start of the ḥadīth dictation sessions. More likely Q87 was recited on Fridays, as reported by al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr about the habit of the Prophet Muḥammad, who used to read Q87 on Fridays (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:68; al-Sam'ani 1995:48).

After the recitation of the Qur'an, the repeater (*al-mustamli*) of the ḥadīth scholar requested the students to pay attention to the ḥadīth scholar as teaching would start straight away (Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ 1987:219; al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:69). However, for al-Sam'ani (1995:49 and 97) and al-Sakhawī (1992, 3:256), the task of requesting the students to be seated and be quiet to prepare for the session had to be undertaken by the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) himself. This was based on the fact that

Muḥammad requested people to be quiet during his farewell pilgrimage speech (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:256).

#### **4.9. The Age of the Ḥadīth Scholar**

Scholars, such as ʿAiyad(1970:77) have different opinions about the age of the ḥadīth scholar. Some scholars believe that a ḥadīth scholar could hold ḥadīth dictation sessions before the age of 50, others suggested the age of 40, while others argued that age should not be an issue since everyone who was knowledgeable about ḥadīth and able to undertake ḥadīth dictation sessions should do so even if he was in his 20's. Examples of young ḥadīth scholars who held ḥadīth dictation sessions at the age of 20 or younger were al-Bukhāri, Imām Mālik, Imām al-Shāfiʿi.

#### **Notes**

1. The expression (*l-fisq*) refers to committing grave sins such as the consumption of alcohol, or committing minor sins repeatedly.

## Chapter Four: The Repeater (*al-mustamlī* or the assistant dictator)

### 4.10. Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the repeater (*mustamlī*, assistant dictator) who is the second important element in ḥadīth dictation sessions. Just as today, where modern sound equipment such as the microphones and loudspeakers are used to enable people standing far away to hear what the speaker is saying, the *mustamlī* was employed by the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) to repeat loudly what the ḥadīth scholar was saying to his students. I shall also discuss how, in the past, a very large group of people attending ḥadīth dictation sessions managed to hear the ḥadīth scholar while they were sitting far away from him. This chapter will deal with who the repeater was, what his role was, his major features, the difference between him and the ḥadīth scholar, the importance of his role in the teaching and learning process, whether his role could have been dispensed with, the age at which the repeater was allowed to undertake such a role, why a ḥadīth scholar needed several repeaters, and how the repeaters used to be distributed and placed in certain positions among the ḥadīth students and other people attending the ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majalis al-impla'*).

### 4.11. Emergence of the Need for a Repeater

Historically, the Arabs, before the inception of Islam, used to employ sonorous individuals to call people to war at times of general mobilisation, to repeat what had been said by a speaker, or to attract people's attention to what was going to be said. Similarly, during the early years of Islam when the battle of Ḥunaīn (8<sup>th</sup> in Muḥammad time / 7<sup>th</sup> century) took place, Muḥammad employed repeaters calling for the Muslims to go to al-Ṭā'if to fight the polytheists of the tribes of Thaqif and Hawāzin. The repeaters were acting as war drums encouraging the Muslims to go to battle (Ibn al-Jawzīyyah 1998, 1:42) . The repeater was also employed during the

congregation of mass prayers so that people performing the prayer in the back rows could follow the Imām leading the prayer.

During the early phase of the ḥadīth dictation sessions, the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) did not feel the need for a repeater, simply because his dictation session was small, with only a few ḥadīth students sitting in front him. It seems therefore that the idea of having a repeater first emerged during the lifetime of Muḥammad. For instance, Rāfi° Ibn °Umar reported that when he came with his father on the day of the farewell pilgrimage (*ḥajjat al-wada°*), he saw Muḥammad delivering his speech to a large crowd of Muslims, some of whom were standing while the rest were sitting down, and °Ali b. Abī Ṭālib was repeating what Muḥammad was saying. Arguably °Ali b. Abi Ṭālib was the first repeater in Islam (Abu Dawūd 2008, p 1368 (ḥadīth number 1956); al-Baihaqi 1911, 5:140; al-Bukhāri 1987, 3:302; al-Khaṭīb 1990, 2:65 (ḥadīth number 1193); al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:382 (ḥadīth number 250)). Therefore, repeating (*al-istimla°*) emerged first during Muḥammad's lifetime as a task relegated to someone to relay precisely what the speaker was saying.

A glimpse at Muḥammad's biography supports this idea, as there were more than 100,000 people who attended Muḥammad's farewell pilgrimage speech and who at the same time performed the pilgrimage with Muḥammad. We are also told by Rāfi° b. °Umar al-Mazini that when he was either five or six years old, he attended the farewell pilgrimage with his father, who held his hand and they walked together until they reached where Muḥammad was delivering his farewell speech riding his own light brown mule and °Ali b. Abi Ṭālib was repeating to the crowd what Muḥammad was saying (al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:383 [ḥadīth number 251]; Ibn al-Athīr 1997, 2:195).

Similarly, we are told by Abu Ḥamzah that he was the repeater of Ibn °Abbās who used to ask him to sit next to him on his bed to repeat what he was saying to a large crowd of people who came to learn ḥadīths from him ( Muslim 2008, p 684 (ḥadīth number 27 ); al-Sakhawi 1992:253). It is worth noting that although Ibn °Abbās was young and accepted Islam at a later time, he had an encyclopaedic knowledge of ḥadīth and held dictation sessions (*majālis al-imla°*) in the Makkan holy mosque attended by wellknown contemporary companions. Moreover, °Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to select Ibn °Abbās, in spite of his young age, and involve him in the decision-

making bodies dominated by elderly companions. Thus, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb became renowned for his knowledge and as such his teaching sessions were well attended by a large number of people. For this reason, he needed a repeater and used to seat Ibn ʿAbbās next to him on his bed as a gesture of honour and respect to the repeater and also to enable people hear the repeater's voice<sup>75</sup>.

However, with the massive increase in student numbers and the widespread genuine interest among laymen in learning ḥadīth, the need for repeaters emerged; they would become a major teaching and learning aid for ḥadīth scholars (*al-mumliṣ*) who would encounter enormous teaching problems when they were without a repeater or repeaters (Madelung 2011, 3:655).

For instance, Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar b. Sullam describes the arrival in Baghdād, during the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century, of the ḥadīth scholar Muslim Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kijji (d. 292): "When al-Kijji arrived in Baghdād, he held ḥadīth dictation sessions for people in Ghassān's mosque courtyard. A large number of people attended his ḥadīth session and, thus he had seven repeaters, each of whom stood at one side of the ḥadīth session, and each repeater shouted as loud as he could to the other repeater at the other side what he had heard from the ḥadīth scholar. Thus, the message continued to be passed on each time by the other repeaters in turn. Ḥadīth students used to write down the ḥadīth from al-Kijji while holding their ink pots (*maḥbarah*) while at the same time standing up due to lack of space. The courtyard was prepared and swept in advance. The number of ḥadīth students attending with ink pots exceeded 40,000, excluding the number of ḥadīth students present in the mosque's annex." (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 7:197; al-Dhahabi 1992, 16:94).

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<sup>75</sup>There is also an interesting anecdote about the high status of the ḥadīth scholar and the repeater: ʿAbdān b. Muḥammad al-Maruzi narrated that, in a vision, he saw Yaʿqūb b. Sufyan al-Fasawī and asked him: "What has God done for you?" Yaʿqūb al-Fasawī responded: "God has forgiven all my sins and commanded me to hold ḥadīth dictation sessions in the sky. Thus, I held a ḥadīth dictation session in the seventh sky and was attended by all the angels who were writing in golden pens and my repeater was Gabriel. Similarly, Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar al-Tustari narrated that he had a vision in which he saw Yaʿqūb b. Sufyan al-Fasawī holding a ḥadīth dictation session in the seventh sky and Gabriel was his repeater (al-Suyūṭī 1994, 2:126).



More interestingly, during the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century, the number of repeaters increased dramatically. °Umar b. Muḥammad b. °Ali al-Zaiyat describes the arrival in Baghdād of the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) Abu Bakr Ja°far b. Muḥammad al-Faryabi (d. 301) and how people received him with their boats. We are told that the people of Baghdād received al-Faryabi with their motor-powered boat (*al-ṭaiyarat*) and other kinds of small ships (*al-zabāzib*), and that they took him to al-Manār Street by the Kūfah Gate<sup>76</sup> (*bab al-Kūfah*) to learn ḥadīths from him. The crowd was estimated at 30,000 people, and so was too large to hear al-Kijji directly. Thus, there were 316 repeaters during his ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis al-impla'*) held in Baghdād (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 7:201; al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:159). Similarly, we are told by Abu Bakr al-Khatli (d. 283) that the ḥadīth dictation sessions of the ḥadīth scholar Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Warah (d. 270) were attended by an audience of nearly 20,000 people and that there were about 20 repeaters (al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:412).

It is worth noting that early iconic ḥadīth scholars used to employ repeaters in their ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis al-impla'*). For instance, the ḥadīth scholar Sa°id b. Abi °Urubah had a repeater called °Abd al-Wahhāb b. °Aṭa' (al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:385 (ḥadīth number 255); al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:65 (ḥadīth number 1195)). Similarly, the ḥadīth scholar Abu °Āṣim had a repeater called Yaḥyā b. Rashid (al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:387; al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:66 (ḥadīth number 1197; al-Ramaharmazi 1990, 3:603 (ḥadīth number 872))).

#### 4.12. The Role of the Repeater

The repeater is referred to in Arabic as *al-mustamli* or the assistant-dictator, being the one who, through his loud voice, was the direct link between the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) and the ḥadīth students and other people attending the ḥadīth dictation session (*majlis al-impla'*). The repeater was an individual whose main task was to repeat precisely – and most importantly truthfully;

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<sup>76</sup>Baghdad used to have four major gates. The Kūfah Gate was one of them.

that is, word for word – the statements made by the speaker; namely, the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*). The repeater was someone who had, in principle, an interest in ḥadīth, but was not necessarily a knowledgeable person in ḥadīth studies. The repeater, at times, was a layman who had neither an interest in nor knowledge of ḥadīth but possessed a good quality voice and was able to speak loudly. In other words, the repeater was sonorous (*jahuri al-ṣawt*) and his voice was clear and melodious, but thunderous and deep (al-Shehhri 2007, 206). The repeater's role in ḥadīth dictation sessions has been likened to that of the drummer in the army (al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 2:393 (ḥadīth numbers 266 and 267). The repeater was also the one responsible for starting the ḥadīth dictation session by asking the ḥadīth scholar: "*man ḥaddathaka raḥimaka Allāh?*" (Who were your ḥadīth teachers, may God have mercy upon you?). The ḥadīth scholar would then immediately start his ḥadīth dictation session (Ibn Daqiq 2006:367).

Due to the fact that the ḥadīth scholar's voice could not reach all the students whose number at times is estimated to have been in the thousands, and who also sat at a distance from the ḥadīth scholar, the role designated to the repeater became vital to the success of ḥadīth dictation sessions. The circumstances which necessitated the presence of a repeater in ḥadīth dictation sessions included:

- (i) when the number of ḥadīth students and people attending increased to a large extent
- (ii) the area where they sat was too vast
- (iii) the ḥadīth scholar's face could not be seen by the audience
- (iv) the ḥadīth scholar's voice could only be heard by the audience through the repeater(s) (Madelung 2011, 3:655).

Repeating in ḥadīth dictation sessions became a profession of some people and, interestingly, also became a nickname of some repeaters such as Abu <sup>c</sup>Umar the Repeater (*Abu <sup>c</sup>Umar al-mustamli*) who undertook this job for the most of his life . The same applies to Hārūn al-Mustamli (al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 2:385). When the place became extremely crowded the repeater(s) had to climb a curved date palm in order to repeat for the ḥadīth scholar. This used to be practised by the ḥadīth repeater Abu

SufyānHārūn b. Sufyān b. Rashid, the repeater of the ḥadīth scholar °Āṣim b. °Ali b. °Aṣm (d. 221) who used to sit at the top of a house surrounded by date palms at the Rasafah mosque in Baghdād (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 12:248). Although there were repeaters within close proximity of the ḥadīth scholar, sometimes the latter's voice was still not clear enough due to noise from the crowd or the ḥadīth scholar's voice being too quiet. We are told of an example of such an incident, by the ḥadīth scholar Dawūd b. Rashid (d. 304) who was attending the ḥadīth dictation sessions of Ibn °Aliyyah who was asked by his repeater to raise his voice more so that he could hear him (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:66; al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:392).

The value of having a sonorous voice is not sufficient. The repeater's voice should also be melodious (*ḥasin al-ṣawt*). According to Fudalah b. °Ubaid, Muḥammad is reported to have said: "God enjoys listening to a man with a melodious voice reciting the Qur'an more than the owner of a slave-girl enjoys listening to her sing." (al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:402 (ḥadīth number 281); Ibn al-Athīr ( 1949,1:33). This ḥadīth demonstrates that the quality of a melodious voice is required for both the recitation of the Qur'an and for the transmission of Prophetic ḥadīths in ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis al-impla'*). For instance, the well-known ḥadīth scholars Ibn Shihāb, Anas b. Mālik, and Imām al-Shāfi°i were known for their melodious voices as well as for their eloquence (al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:282 and 404 (ḥadīth number 283); al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:284 (ḥadīth number 608)).

The melodious voice quality also leads us to consider why Muḥammad described Abu Sa°īd al-Khidri as sounding like a clarinet (*mizmār*) similar to that of the nation of David. In other words, the companion likened the voice of Abu Sa°īd al-Khidri to that of the Prophet David, which was so pleasant and musical, and also to the beautiful voice of the Prophet Muḥammad himself (al-Bukhāri 2008, p437(ḥadīth number 5048); Muslim 2008, p 802(ḥadīth number 2113)). Similarly, one may wonder why Muḥammad selected Bilāl b. Rabaḥ from among a large number of companions to be the person responsible for raising the call for prayer (*adhān*) in both Makkah and Madinah. Thus, the phonetic quality of a melodious voice became a prerequisite during Muḥammad's lifetime for raising the call for prayer. This quality also constituted a character trait of a successful repeater and at the same time

was a necessary requirement for the repetition (*istimla'*) of ḥadīths in ḥadīth dictation sessions.

As for the age of the repeater (*al-mustamli* or *assistant-dictator*), Muslim scholars are of the opinion that a person of any age can undertake this role so long as he satisfies the conditions even if he is a pre-pubescent boy (*ṣabī*). The ḥadīth scholar Shabīb °Abd al-Razzāq narrates that he saw the successor ḥadīth scholar Sufyān al-Thawri dictating (*yumli*) ḥadīth for students and that his repeater was a young boy (al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:386 (ḥadīth number 256); al-Baihaqī 1984:373 (ḥadīth 636)).

#### 4.13. Criteria required for the Repeater

In the view of Muslim scholars, the repeater constitutes the link between the ḥadīth scholar and students, as well as representing the ḥadīth scholar. Muslim scholars refer to a number of conditions which the repeater should meet (al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:384-385 (ḥadīth numbers 252, 253, and 254); al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:65 (ḥadīth number 1194)). Thus, among the major characteristics of the repeater are the following:

**(i) Lightheartedness (*khaṭīf°ala al-fu'ād*):** Lightheartedness added cheerfulness to the ḥadīth dictation session. It was a character trait which was a prerequisite for the majority of ḥadīth scholars who also referred to the opposite word of this attribute which is *thaqīl* (dull), meaning a grumpy-looking person. In other words, the repeater was to sport a cheerful attitude rather than a boring one.

The lightheartedness of the repeater would encourage the ḥadīth students and other people interested in ḥadīth studies to attend the ḥadīth dictation sessions. Thus, this particular character trait of the repeater had an effect on the reputation and success of the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*).

**(ii) Use of respectful expressions and good etiquette:** The repeater had to possess good manners, especially in terms of language use, whether with the ḥadīth scholar or the ḥadīth students.

**(iii) Humility (*al-tawāḍu'*):** The repeater was required to exercise humility, especially towards the ḥadīth scholar, showing him great respect for his knowledge

and status as a scholar. The repeater needed to employ a special style and expressions when he asked the ḥadīth scholar a question or asked him to repeat an expression or a statement. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdi narrates a story about the famous exegete and ḥadīth scholar Sufyān al-Thawri, who acted as a repeater of the ḥadīth scholar Ḥammad b. Zaid. On one occasion, °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdi claims that he saw Sufyān on his knees while making a request to Ḥammad b. Zaid (al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:287 (ḥadīth number 257); al-Razi 153, 1:182).

**(iv) Sonorous and clear loud voice:** Phonetically, the repeater had to be sonorous (*jahuri al-ṣawt*), with a melodious voice (*ḥasin al-ṣawt*). As mentioned earlier, the repeater's voice was to be clear but thunderous and deep. A repeater was expected to speak loudly while repeating the ḥadīth scholar's words and statements in a clear voice. Among the well-known repeaters with a loud voice were Hārūn Mikḥalah, whose voice was compared to thunder (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:66; al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:392). Among the famous sonorous repeaters were Hārūn b. Sufyān Ibn Bashir, who was nicknamed the rooster (*al-dīk*) and was the repeater of the ḥadīth scholar Yazīd b. Hārūn (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 7:25), and Abu Sufyān Hārūn b. Sufyān b. Rashid who was nicknamed khol stick (*al-mikḥalah*) because his voice was likened to thunder (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 7:24).

**(v) Punctuality:** The repeater had to be present at the ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis al-īmā'*) well before the ḥadīth scholar, the ḥadīth students, and other people so that he could take his designated position at one of the sides of the place where students were sitting. Because the place of the ḥadīth dictation session used to become very crowded with students and other people, the repeater's task was to make sure that he arrived early to the ḥadīth dictation session.

**(vi) Articulate and rhetorically able:** The repeater had to possess the following linguistic, stylistic and phonetic qualities, such as:

1. Advanced linguistic competencies.
2. The ability to employ classical Arabic effectively (Makdisi 1990, 324).
3. Making use of accentuation skills during his repetition; in other words, the repeater had to be aware of pausing and stressing skills which enabled him to know

where to pause, when to raise his voice more, and which expressions needed to be accentuated.

4. Being eloquent, able to employ an elevated style, and not repeat quickly.

5. Not using colloquial Arabic.

6. Not suffering from pronunciation difficulties of any particular sound (Makdisi 1990, 324).

7. Not having a strong accent which would prevent his listeners from understanding his words.

8. A melodious voice (*ḥasin al-ṣawt*).

9. Clear pronunciation.

10. The ability to pronounce the Arabic sounds accurately in terms of their places of articulation (*makhārīj al-aṣwāt*) (al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 2:402).

**(vii) Intelligence and sharp memory:** The repeater had to be an intelligent person with a sharp memory, and possessing advanced comprehension skills to enable him repeat precisely what the ḥadīth scholar has said.

**(viii) Knowledge of ḥadīth studies:** The repeater had to be able to understand what he was repeating to the ḥadīth students and be able to comprehend the ḥadīthjargon and the chain of narration technique. A knowledgeable repeater could guarantee the accurate and faithful transfer of the ḥadīth content (*matn*), the statements and expressions spoken by the ḥadīth scholar. Thus, it could be ensured that the teaching materials being dictated to the ḥadīth students were the precise ones delivered by the ḥadīth scholar (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:286; al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 2:406). I believe that errors in the transfer of accurate ḥadīth content could only be eliminated by the employment of a repeater who was knowledgeable about ḥadīths and ḥadīth studies. In the view of al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani (1993, 2:396), ḥadīth scholars appointed only the best and most knowledgeable people as repeaters and those who could memorise a large number of ḥadīths with accuracy of content and chain of narration (*isnād*).

**(ix) Trustworthy:** Ḥadīth scholars were concerned about the accuracy and precise wording of the ḥadīth content (*matn*) and its chain of authorities (*isnād*). Therefore, they were very careful in the appointment of a repeater. The repeater had to be

trustworthy in terms of maintaining the precise wording of the ḥadīth content and the exact names in each chain of authorities. The repeater also had to be trustworthy in terms of maintaining the classical Arabic style of the ḥadīth and would never rephrase it in his own dialectal Arabic (*an la uliḥn*).

**(x) Mentally alert (*faṭīn*):** Due to the pressure of work stemming from the large audience of ḥadīth students and other people, the repeater had to be mentally alert, focused, and not wander off the point. The repeater had to be able to replicate precisely what he heard from the ḥadīth scholar, and be able to read what was written in the book he was reading from (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 7:201; al-Samʿani 1993, 2:159). However, we are informed by scholars such as al-Khaṭīb(1994, 2:67) and al-Samʿani (1993, 2:396) about incidents of stupid (*ghabī* or *balīd*) repeaters. For instance, Muḥammad b. ʿAmru al-Baṣri, who was nicknamed al-Jammāz, was the repeater of the ḥadīth scholar Khālīd b. al-Ḥārith al-Hajimi (d. 186). In one of his ḥadīth dictation sessions, al-Hajimi was reading a ḥadīth and was referring to the content of the ḥadīth. He said: "Narrated by Ḥamid from Anas, the Prophet said. But in my own codex, it is: 'the Prophet of Allāh' – *in sha' allāh*" (if God wills). The insertion by the ḥadīth scholar al-Hajimi of the last expression (*in sha' allāh* – if God wills), which was not part of the ḥadīth content, led the repeater al-Baṣri al-Jammāz to believe that al-Hajimi was sceptical of God, and so he repeated to the students what he had heard but added: "al-Hajimi doubts God". On hearing what his repeater had just said, the ḥadīth scholar al-Hajimi was extremely upset and rebuked the repeater, saying: "You, the enemy of God, I have never doubted God." What the ḥadīth scholar al-Hajimi meant was that there must be a word missing which was *Allāh* (God) in the ḥadīth after the word *rasul* (Prophet). He then confirmed this by saying that the deleted word (*Allah* - God) existed in his codex of ḥadīth, and that by adding *in sha' allah* (if God wills), he meant, "I hope I am right", that this was his intention.

In another incident, a gentleman called Barbakh was the repeater of the ḥadīth scholar Yazīd b. Harūn. When a ḥadīth student asked Yazīd b. Harūn about a ḥadīth, he replied: "*ḥaddathana bihi ʿiddah*" (Many ḥadīth scholars have reported it to me), where the word *ʿiddah* means 'many'. However, the repeater, Barbakh, repeated it as: "*ḥaddathana bihi ʿuddah*"( ʿUddah reported the ḥadīth to me), thus changing the

word *‘iddah* (many) to *‘uddah* (‘Uddah) which is a man's name. The ḥadīth scholar Yazīd b. Harūn cursed his repeater, Barbakh, and corrected him (al-Sam‘ani 1993, 2:394 (ḥadīth number 268); al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:66 (ḥadīth number 1201); al-Sakhawi 1992, 2:336; Ibn al-Salāh 1987:242).

**(xi) To be slim and tall:** Physically the repeater was required to be slim rather than overweight so that he could climb a tree or a rooftop, for example, and also had to be tall so that he could be seen by the audience.

**(xii) To be patient and cooperative:** Due to the nature of the teaching and learning process involved in the ḥadīth dictation sessions, as well as to the large size of the audience, I believe the repeater had to be both patient and cooperative. In other words, I believe the repeater was frequently asked by several students as well as by ordinary people of the audience to either re-repeat or explain a particular expression or statement. Thus, he was required to cooperate with the audience and be patient.

#### 4.14. The Role of the Repeater

It has been a controversial issue in ḥadīth studies as to whether the repeater's role in ḥadīth dictation studies (*majālis al-impla'*) includes correcting the oversights made by the ḥadīth scholar. Muslim scholars have been divided over whether or not the repeater would correct the ḥadīth scholar if he made an error in the ḥadīth content (*matn*), in the chain of authorities (*al-isnād*), or in explaining the ḥadīth. Scholars like al-Awzā‘i and ‘Abd Allāh b. Mubārak are proponents of the view that the repeater had to correct the oversights of the ḥadīth scholar and provide the correct information to the ḥadīth students. Thus, the qualities of being intelligent, encyclopaedic, and mentally alert were of paramount importance to the repeater. However, scholars like Muḥammad b. Sirīn, Abu Ma‘mar ‘Abd Allāh b. Sakhbarah, and Shakir (1990:140) are opposed to this view. They believe that the repeater had to repeat precisely what he had heard from the ḥadīth scholar without altering or modifying any statement or expression. My own view is that the repeater had to be intelligent enough to pick up the oversights made by the ḥadīth scholar and relay to the students the correct form in terms of an expression, ḥadīth content, or an explanation of a ḥadīth. I personally find the views of Ibn Sirīn, Ibn Sakhbarah, and



Shakir inconsistent and illogical, due to the fact that the ḥadīth students were entitled to learn correct information, and it was vital for the accuracy of ḥadīth content and its chain of authorities to be transferred to students in their correct form. However, Shakir mentions a different opinion when he refers to the story of ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, the son of Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who claimed that his father, (i.e., Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal), used to correct the oversights of his ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) but overlooked the minor errors and repeated them precisely as they were since they did not affect the meaning.

Generally speaking, the role of asking the audience to be quiet is undertaken by the repeater. Disruption during the ḥadīth dictation sessions was not uncommon, and a noisy environment could impede the teaching process. This could be caused by students turning the pages they were writing on, the late arrival of some students or other people, interruptions by students or other people, asking the repeater to re-repeat or to explain something. All such incidents led to disruption of the ḥadīth scholar's teaching. Thus, the repeater was the person responsible for creating and maintaining a quiet atmosphere so that the ḥadīth teacher and his repeater would be able to focus. I can refer to an incident which took place during the farewell speech delivered by Muḥammad on the day of ʿArafah, in order to substantiate the claim that the speaker does not have the role of requesting the audience to be quiet. Due to the large crowd of Muslims, estimated at more than 100,000, who were accompanying Muḥammad in his pilgrimage, the atmosphere was too noisy. Therefore, Muḥammad asked Bilāl b. Rabāḥ: “O Bilāl, will you request people to be quiet?” (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:414; Ibn Mājah 2008, p2660 (ḥadīth number 3024)).

#### **4.15. Major Repeaters**

Based on al-Samʿani (1993, 2:406) and al-Khaṭīb (1994, 1:284), we can list the following repeaters as the most renowned individuals in terms of their encyclopaedic knowledge of ḥadīth, linguistic competencies, and trustworthiness, among other character traits listed above in Section 3.4:

1. °Abd al-Wahhāb b. °Aṭa' al-Khaffaf, known as Abu Naṣr al-°Adli (d. 204), who was the repeater of the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) Sa°īd b. Abi °Urubah b. Mahran al-Yashkuri (d. 157).
2. Sufyān b. Sa°īd al-Thawri (d. 161), who repeated for the ḥadīth scholar Ḥammad b. Zaid (d. 197).
3. Adam b. Abi Iyās (d. 221), who was the repeater of the ḥadīth scholar Shu°bah b. al-Hajjāj (d. 160)
4. Ismā°īl b. °Aliyyah (d. 193), who repeated for the ḥadīth scholar ImāmMālik b. Anas (179).

According to al-Sam°ani (1993, 2:406 (ḥadīth number 286)) and al-Khaṭīb (1994, 1:285 (ḥadīth number 609)), there were ḥadīth dictation sessions whose repeaters were not linguistically able, could not read Arabic properly, and used colloquial Arabic. For instance, the ḥadīth scholar °Amru b. °Awn al-Waṣiṭi had a repeater of this kind, who used to read to ḥadīth scholar he said : *hashim* instead of the correct pronunciation and this mistake change of meaning (hushaim and ḥaṣin instead of the correct form *ḥuṣain*. This repeater was soon sacked by al-Waṣiṭi and another repeater was appointed instead, but he was a specialist in literature (warrāq) and had no knowledge of ḥadīth.

#### 4.16. Number of Repeaters

Literature on ḥadīth studies and biography sources of ḥadīth scholars refer to the large numbers who attended the ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis al-imla'*) (al-Sam°ani 1993, 2:409 (ḥadīth number 288); al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:56 (ḥadīth number 1157); al-Dhahabi 1992, 9:263). The audience were of five categories:

- (i) Ḥadīth students who attended with ink pots (*maḥabir*) and paper.
- (ii) Ordinary people who were merely listeners; they had an interest in learning ḥadīth, but attended without ink pots and paper.
- (iii) Distinguished official figures, such as Caliphs, governors, and ministers.

(iv) Pious people who attended the ḥadīth dictation sessions for the sake of receiving a blessing (*barakah*) as they believed that these sessions were supervised by angels.

(v) Women and young children.

Due to the extraordinary size of the audience, more than one repeater was needed so that each repeater relayed to the other repeater the ḥadīth scholar's statements and ḥadīths. Below are examples of ḥadīth scholars with the number of people attending their ḥadīth dictation sessions:

Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206) held his ḥadīth dictation sessions in Baghdād, and they were attended by an estimated audience of 70,000 (al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 1:155).

°Āṣim b. °Ali b. °Āṣim Abu al-Ḥasan al-Wṣaiṭi (d. 210) held his ḥadīth dictation sessions in the al-Raṣafah mosque<sup>77</sup>. These sessions were attended by an estimated audience of more than 100,000 (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 7:24).

Abu Muslim al-Kijji (d. 292) held ḥadīth dictation sessions which were attended by an estimated number of more than 40,000 ḥadīth students with their ink pots and there were many other people in the audience as well without ink pots and paper (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 6:121-122; al-Dhahabi 1992, 13:424). That said, it is worth considering where the repeater would stand, and the direction in which he would face.

Based on the ḥadīth literature sources I have consulted, the repeater would stand on an elevated or a high place so that the audience could see him and hear his voice clearly. The elevated place would be, for instance, a bed, a tree, or a rock. However, when the audience was not so large, the repeater would do his job while standing up. The case of the bed took place with Ibn °Abbās, when he seated his repeater on his

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<sup>77</sup> The Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mahdi built a massive mosque on the Raṣafah side of Baghdad in 159H, i.e., during the third year of his caliphate. This mosque was bigger and better than that built by his father al-Manṣūr. Ḥadīth dictation sessions were held in this mosque and among the famous repeaters who repeated in the ḥadīth dictation sessions (majālis al-īmāla') were Harun al-Dīk and Harun Mikḥalah, who were well-known as being sonorous repeaters (al-Hamawi 1957, 9:46).

bed. There are examples of repeaters standing up while repeating, such as the case of ʿAli b. Abi Ṭālib when he acted as the repeater for Muḥammad's farewell speech. Also, during the Successors' period, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAliyyah repeated while standing for the ḥadīth scholar Mālik b. Anas (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:391 (ḥadīth number 263); al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:66 (ḥadīth number 1200)). Having said that, the repeater could sit down in a tree, and this leads me to believe that the repeater would have had to be slim, and light in weight, as overweight people do not have the physical ability to climb up a tree and sit in it. However, the slim physical feature of the repeater has not been discussed by any of the resources on ḥadīth dictation sessions.

Based on a close look at the ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis al-impla'*) it is clear that the repeater faced the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*), then, after having heard what the ḥadīth scholar had said, the repeater turned his face to the audience and repeated to them what he had heard. As to whether the repeaters would stand in different places but forming a circle, it seems that this was a matter dictated by the shape and size of the place where the ḥadīth dictation sessions took place. For instance, if the place was rectangular, such as a public road, this would require the repeaters to stand in a file, at a distance, of course, from each other. This was the case with the ḥadīth scholar Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Warat, whose ḥadīth dictation sessions used to take place in a public road with an audience estimated at 20,000, and who had 20 repeaters, such as Abu Dawūd al-Ṭāyālsi, Abu al-Walid al-Ṭāyālisi, ʿAffān, Abu ʿUmar al-Hawdi, ʿAmru b. Marzuq al-Bāhili, and Sulaimān b. Ḥarb (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:410 (ḥadīth number 290)). Therefore, this leads one to argue that there was one repeater for every 1000 students and people. However, the ḥadīth scholar Abu Muslim al-Kijji held his ḥadīth dictation session with 7 repeaters only, while the number of people in the audience exceeded 40,000 ḥadīth students in addition to a large number of ordinary people. Al-Kijji's ḥadīth dictation sessions used to take place in the vast yard of the Ghassan mosque. One may wonder how the 7 repeaters managed to cover such a vast area filled by a massive audience (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:410 (ḥadīth number 289); al-Khaṭīb 1997, 6:121-122; al-Dhahabi 1992, 13:424).

Although the number of repeaters in this case was minimal compared to the large audience, I believe there were other factors involved in this case. For example (i) the shape of the mosque's yard played a role in the voice quality of the repeaters and enabled students to hear them clearly, (ii) the repeaters were sonorous and their voice quality was loud and clear enough for the audience, and (iii) the places where the repeaters stood in the yard enabled their voices to be heard clearly by the audience; in other words, the repeaters stood in a circle rather than in a line. The well-known ḥadīth scholar Abu Bakr al-Qurbani held ḥadīth dictation sessions whose audience exceeded 30,000 and had 316 repeaters (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:159; al-Khaṭīb 1997, 7:201).

#### **4.17. Procedural Rules of the Repeater**

When working in ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis al-impla'*), the repeater of a ḥadīth scholar usually followed specific procedures in terms of organisation of the place where the ḥadīth session was held, the coordination with the other fellow repeaters in the same ḥadīth dictation session, what he had to repeat, what material he needed to prepare, and whether he was required to prepare such material. Undoubtedly, the repeater used to know what he was going to repeat for the ḥadīth scholar and he was also aware of what he would provide to the audience. Among the major procedural rules which the repeater adopted are listed and explained below (al-Khaṭīb 1990, 2:70, 104; al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:66-72, 78; Ibn al-Ṣalḥa 1986:242; al-Samʿani 1993, 1:328, 425; al-Samʿani 1993, 2:284, 295, 319, 390-392, 415-419, 421-422, 424, 427-437; al-Sakhawi 1983, 3:255; al-Sabki 1976, 1:12; al-Ṣuyūṭi 1994, 30:235; al-Shāfi'i 1980, 2:183):

**1.Preparation of the place:** The repeater was responsible for making the place ready for the ḥadīth dictation session. The repeater used to employ other people to sweep the floor and tidy it up well before the arrival of the audience and the ḥadīth scholar.

**2.The teaching/learning material:** The repeater used to familiarise himself with the most recurrent expressions that were likely to be used in each ḥadīth dictation session.

**3.The beginning of the ḥadīth dictation session:** The repeater usually used to start the ḥadīth dictation session by praising and introducing the ḥadīth scholar to the audience. He would also mention the ḥadīth scholar's nickname and family lineage. This was vital information for ḥadīth students.

**4.The position of the repeater:** The repeater would stand or sit on something elevated, such as a chair, a big box, a tree, a roof top<sup>78</sup>, a camel (either standing or sitting), a mule, or a man-made small dust hill where he would be seen and clearly heard by the audience. At times, the repeater would be held by another person (sitting on someone's shoulders), or be seated on a coffin-like box held by other people. The most common position for the repeater was to stand on his own feet, as we are informed by al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 2:391-392 (ḥadīth numbers 263 and 264); al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:66 (ḥadīth number 1200); Makdisi 1990, 324; Madelung 2011, 3:655.

**5. Focus of the repeater:** In order to concentrate on what the ḥadīth scholar said, the repeater had to be in a comfortable position, whether standing or sitting, so as to enable him undertake his job and be able to repeat precisely what he had heard from the ḥadīth scholar.

**6.Need for the toilet:** In order to be focused, the repeater had to be physically able in terms of relieving himself. Before the ḥadīth dictation session the repeater should go to the toilet, therefore, the repeater had to use the toilet so that he would not need to do so (*ḥāqin*), during the recital.

**7. Food and drink:** In order to be focused, the repeater would have something to eat and drink before the beginning of the ḥadīth dictation session.

**8.Keeping the audience quiet:** The repeater made sure that the audience kept quiet by asking them to do so. At times though, the ḥadīth scholar requested the audience to be quiet.

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<sup>78</sup>It is worth noting that houses during the early centuries of Islam were not as high as today's. The roof top of a house then was no more than 3 metres high.

**9. Recitation of the Qur'an:** The repeater started the ḥadīth dictation session by a recitation of the Qur'an. After the recitation, he declared: "In the name of God, the entirely Merciful, the especially Merciful, praise be God the Lord of the world, peace and blessings upon His Messenger Muḥammad and upon all his household and all companions."

**10. Supplication to the ḥadīth scholar:** The repeater read prayers (*du'ā'*) for the ḥadīth scholar and said: "May God be pleased with our scholar, his parents, and all Muslims". Some ḥadīth scholars did not like their repeater to read prayers for them, as was the case with the ḥadīth scholar Abu al-Qāsim °Ali b. al-Ḥusain al-°Alawi (d. 543). Some repeaters used to pray for the ḥadīth scholar to be granted a long life. However, again, some ḥadīth scholars did not like this, as was the case with the ḥadīth scholars such as Sa°id b. °Abd al-°Azīz and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. I believe that some ḥadīth scholars objected to such prayers because they feared that their sound intention of teaching the ḥadīth to the public would be ruined, as too much praise may lead to corruption. Secondly, it may be argued that the ḥadīth scholars' refusal of prayers by the repeater was a symbol of the ḥadīth scholars' humble attitude, as they did not like to be praised in front of the public. Most importantly, the ḥadīth scholars did not like to be glorified. They considered glorification was only for God and that accepting glorification was a sign of hypocrisy.

**11. The start of the ḥadīth dictation session:** After the repeater had finished the prayers for the ḥadīth scholar, he (the repeater) would approach the ḥadīth scholar and ask him: "*man ḥaddathaka raḥimaka allāh?*" (Who were your ḥadīth teachers, may God have mercy upon you?). The ḥadīth scholar would then immediately start his ḥadīth dictation session (Ibn Daqiq 2006:367).

**12. The end of the ḥadīth dictation session:** At the end of the ḥadīth dictation session, the repeater would read prayers for the audience, asking God to grant them forgiveness and mercy.

#### 4.18. Can Ḥadīth be Taken from a Repeater or only from a Ḥadīth Scholar?

Scholars of ḥadīth studies are divided on whether one should learn ḥadīth from the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) or from the repeater (*al-mustamli*). If one can accept the ḥadīth from both, this rule puts them both on an equal footing, as having similar scholarly authority and an identical status. There are, therefore, two opinions:

**First:** The repeater was an intelligent and knowledgeable person, a reliable vehicle who repeated the ḥadīth precisely as he heard it from the ḥadīth scholar. Therefore, during ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis al-impla'*), whatever the students heard from the repeater was to be accepted as sound ḥadīth transmitted from a knowledgeable ḥadīth scholar through a trustworthy repeater.

As for incidents where repeaters are reported to be stupid (*balīd* or *ghabi*), these, I believe, should be considered as exceptional cases and, therefore, one should not generalise from one or two isolated cases. Such cases, one can argue, are attributed to the fact that the ḥadīth scholar chose the wrong repeater, someone who had not enough knowledge of ḥadīth and who had the habit of rephrasing the ḥadīth by either adding to it or deleting something from it. Nonetheless, this is an exception, and the general rule is in support of a reliable repeater.

**Second:** The repeater could be equal to a ḥadīth scholar for a number of reasons, such as:

(i) The repeater was human and therefore could make mistakes while repeating the ḥadīth, especially when working under pressure in difficult circumstances such as the extraordinary size of the crowd, the noise, and the large number of questions from the audience.

(ii) The repeater might become confused or misunderstand an expression or a ḥadīth used by the ḥadīth scholar.

(iii) The repeater might rephrase words, or add to or delete expressions. This was a serious problem, especially when the ḥadīth content (*matn*) or its chain of authorities (*isnād*) were involved.



Scholars like Khalaf b. Sālim, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muṣili, and Abu al-Ṣalt Za'idah b. Qudamah were proponents of the latter opinion and argued that one could only take ḥadīth from the ḥadīth scholar directly and not through the repeater (al-Khaṭīb 1989:125).

There were also ḥadīth scholars who expressed views against any unprofessional conduct by repeaters and also against what the ḥadīth students wrote down. For instance, the ḥadīth scholar Abu ʿUbaidah said: "*law amlaitu ʿala insān marratan (ana ʿamru) fastamla (ana basher) wakutiba (ana zaid)*" (If I dictate to a repeater: "I am ʿAmru", he will repeat it as: "I am a human being", and it will be written down as: "I am Zaid") (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:400 (ḥadīth number 278)). We are also informed about other incidents in which the ḥadīth scholar says something but the repeater says something completely different to the extent that the audience starts laughing. For instance, the expression *al-umūr* (matters, things) was repeated to the audience as *al-qubūr* (graves) (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:401 (ḥadīth number 279)).

Generally speaking, the repeater constituted a knowledgeable and reliable source of ḥadīth, and thus one might classify the ḥadīth taken from a repeater as authentic and sound. When ḥadīth students missed out a word in a ḥadīth content or a name in a chain of authority, they used to enquire about it immediately by asking the repeater or their fellow students sitting next to them. Thus, one can have no doubt about the precise nature of ḥadīth content and its chain of authority written down by ḥadīth students. To substantiate this claim, one can consider the story of the companion Jābir b. Samurah who heard Muḥammad saying something but missed out a word. Jābir then asked his father about it because he was present with him. Muḥammad is reported to have said: "*akunu hunaka ithna ʿashara amīran. . .*" (There will be twelve governors . . .). Jabir missed out the rest of the ḥadīth but soon he learned the missing words from his father who told him: "*yakunu hunaka ithna ʿashara amīran kulluhum min quraīsh*" (There will be twelve governors. All of them will be from Quraīsh.) (al-Bukhāri 2008, p602 (ḥadīth number 7222); Muslim 2008, p1004 (ḥadīth number 1821); al-Sakhawi 1992, 2:50).

The repeater usually read the ḥadīth to the ḥadīth scholar; in other words, the repeater was already supervised by the ḥadīth scholar who double checked the accuracy of the repeater's reading and comprehension skills, explained ambiguities to the repeater and corrected him if he made any error. Moreover, in most ḥadīth dictation sessions, the repeater dictated to the audience from a ḥadīth book approved by the ḥadīth scholar which most probably was the codex of the ḥadīth scholar. In conclusion, one can trust the ḥadīths spoken by the repeater provided he could hear the ḥadīth scholar.

#### **4.19. Status of the Repeater Among Ḥadīth Scholars**

The majority of ḥadīth scholars used to have repeaters well-known for their knowledge of ḥadīth, as well as for their intelligence and trustworthiness. Based on ḥadīth literature, the majority of ḥadīth scholars employed such a category of repeaters and most importantly, the majority of ḥadīth scholars praised their repeaters and categorised them as *akhyār wa afāḍil* (the best, virtuous, honest people) (al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 2:396 (ḥadīth number 270)). However, there were some incidents of clashes between the ḥadīth scholar and the repeater during which the ḥadīth scholar became angry and cursed his repeater (al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 2:396 (ḥadīth number 271); al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:68). Some ḥadīth scholars also made subjective and rude statements about the repeaters in general (al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 2:396 (ḥadīth number 271); al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:68). For instance, the ḥadīth scholar Shu<sup>c</sup>bah, said: "*la yastamli illa nadhil*" (repeaters are villains) and "*la yastamli illa safalah*" (repeaters are despicable and mean) (al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 2:397 (ḥadīth numbers 272 and 273); al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:68 (ḥadīth number 1204)). Similarly, the ḥadīth scholar Ibn <sup>c</sup>Uyainah said: "*inna likulli qawmin ghawgha' wa ghawgha' aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth al-mustamlun*" (There is a mob for each group of people, and the mob of the ḥadīth scholars are the repeaters) (al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 2:398 (ḥadīth number 274)).

## 5. Chapter Five: The Ḥadīth Student

### 5.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the ḥadīth student, including the prerequisites of becoming one. It also investigates an important question, which is whether the ḥadīth student was merely an ordinary person who could take ḥadīth dictation sessions from a ḥadīth scholar. It then considers how the student had to choose a ḥadīth scholar and enrol in his ḥadīth dictation sessions. Finally, this chapter focuses on a type of ḥadīth narration called *al-riwāyah bil-wijādah* (narration by a person who self-studied).

### 5.2. The Ḥadīth Student's Moral and Academic Commitments

The ḥadīth student has always been the focal point of ḥadīth studies and a major concern for scholars who were engaged in the recording of ḥadīth (Madelung (2011 3:653). The student was also the focal point in the teaching and learning processes. If we want to investigate the student as playing a major part in the ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis al-impla'*), it is necessary to consider a number of factors which I believe can constitute a major academic character trait of the student who had the potential to become a knowledgeable ḥadīth scholar.

Among the educational and academic factors listed by al-Khaṭīb (1994), al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani (1993), Ibn Daqīq (2006), and al-Sakhawī (1992), discussing the student in terms of ḥadīth dictation sessions, are the following:

- (i) The student's morals and etiquette, including his good manners, which he was expected to adopt throughout his studentship and search for knowledge (see Section 5.3 below for more details).
- (ii) The student's genuine intention.
- (iii) The student's method of taking lecture notes from his ḥadīth teacher.

- (iv) The student's learning aids, which were the tools that he brought with him to the ḥadīth dictation sessions.
- (v) The student's academic motivation.
- (vi) The student's willingness to study first with his local ḥadīth scholars.
- (vii) The student's willingness to travel abroad and to faraway places to acquire ḥadīth knowledge from ḥadīth scholars of good repute.
- (viii) The student's time management and respect of time rather than wasting it.
- (ix) The student's patience in learning ḥadīth, since this discipline required several years in order to have a thorough understanding of it.
- (x) The student's good organisation in terms of his lecture notes, punctuality and attendance rate.
- (xi) The student's effective participation during the ḥadīth dictation sessions, and whether he was a passive or active learner, whether he had the necessary debating skills with his ḥadīth teacher and with the rest of the students when a controversial matter was debated.
- (xii) Most importantly, the student's willingness to accept his teacher's terms and conditions of the teaching process, such as the place and time of the ḥadīth dictation sessions, the teaching material taught by the ḥadīth teacher, and the teaching methods of his ḥadīth teacher.

### **5.3. Criteria of the Ḥadīth Student**

There is some literature (*ādāb*) concerning the criteria for relations between the student and the teacher, as well as between the student and the place to learn it.

These criteria include the following:

#### **5.3.1. Student's Respect for His Ḥadīth Teacher**

Any contact or communication between the two needed to be based on mutual

respect and trust, to facilitate speaking and listening to each other .

#### **5.3.1.1. Forms of Student's Respect for His Ḥadīth Teacher**

The student was expected to show a high level of respect to his ḥadīth teacher. This could be manifested in different forms, such as:

- (1) Arriving at the ḥadīth dictation session before his teacher.
- (2) The student had to make every effort to attend the ḥadīth dictation session.
- (3) The student was expected to accompany his teacher to the place where the ḥadīth dictation session was being held. The student usually waited for his teacher outside the latter's house until he appeared and then the student accompanied the teacher to the venue. This applied to anyone who wanted to ask something important with respect to the past, or where the student listened to questions that were answered by the ḥadīth teacher.
- (4) The student had to ask for permission for any matter three times, when the ḥadīth teacher was in his house. If his teacher did not give him permission, the student had to respect this and remain where he was without leaving the place if permission was not granted.
- (5) If there was a student who was older than him, the student had to allow his colleague to enter the ḥadīth teacher's house first, unless given permission by his colleague to enter first.
- (6) If the student wished to ask his teacher about a matter but was sitting far away from the teacher, he was not allowed to cause inconvenience to other students by forcing his way to the front row where the teacher was sitting. The student was only

permitted to move forward as much as space allowed him, no matter how far away he still was from the teacher, so as to ensure he did not disturb other students.

**(7)** The student had to be compassionate with his teacher and to choose a suitable time for his enquiry. He had to understand his teacher's mood and physical ability during a particular time of the day. The student could not impose on his teacher and had to be able to discern whether his teacher was tired or not after the ḥadīth dictation session or because of the temperature in the summer or winter.

**(8)** The student was obliged to address his teacher respectfully, using expressions such as *ya ʿĀlim* (O scholar) or *ya Ḥāfiẓ* (O memoriser [of the Qur'an and ḥadīth]) This only applied to ḥadīth student; in other words, not to other people attending the session.

**(9)** When the student sat in front of the teacher to discuss something, the student had to sit in a way that reflected his respect for his teacher, such as folding both legs underneath him in a posture of prayer. If the student did not sit in a way that expressed respect, the ḥadīth teacher might ignore him.

**(10)** If the student needed to ask his teacher a question, for instance on an ambiguous problem, he was expected to be wellprepared.

**(11)** The student needed to be mentally focused during the ḥadīth dictation session. He was required to listen attentively to his teacher and especially when ḥadīths were dictated.

**(12)** The student was expected to have eye contact with his teacher when the latter was talking to him and could not leave while the teacher was still talking or had not given him permission to leave.

(13) The student was not allowed to interrupt his teacher, but if something went wrong or it was necessary for some reason to interrupt the lesson he could do so, because of his clear interest in the lesson.

(14) The student was required to be a humble person, both with his teacher and the other students.

(15) The student was not allowed to inconvenience his teacher by asking him too many questions.

(16) The student was required to revise the earlier lectures and memorise the ḥadīths very well. He had to try to memorise four ḥadīths at a time. Most importantly, however, the student had to understand the moral lessons of the ḥadīths he has learned and memorised, and to act upon them and apply them in his daily life.

### **5.3.2. Genuine Intention and Devotion to Study**

If a student decided to study ḥadīth, he was required to be devout in his study for the sake of God. In other words, his pure intention was to serve humanity in order to gain the pleasure of his Lord rather than for personal interests, worldly gain, or for personal fame.

Ḥadīth scholars used to focus on this criterion and encourage their students to observe it in order to be successful in their lifelong study of ḥadīth. For al-Sakhawi (1992, 3:274) and al-Khaṭīb (1994, 1:666), the benefits earned from learning ḥadīth could only be achieved if someone devoted his study to God and his intention was focused purely on the hereafter. Devotion to study and a pure intention were guarantees for gaining more knowledge, eminence in status, and winning success both in this world and in the hereafter. Al-Sakhawi (1992, 3:274) also warned ḥadīth students against boasting, vain-glory, seeking governmental high posts,

looking for supporters, and holding ḥadīth dictation sessions for others. Ibn Daqīq (2006:371) compared the study of ḥadīth to money and argued that the pure intention of studying ḥadīth was the capital of the student, in addition to his good manners and accepted social etiquette. The student with a bad intention might not benefit, but could still be encouraged to learn ḥadīth, as others might benefit from his knowledge Ibn Daqīq (2006:371).

### **5.3.2.1. What is Intention?**

According to al-Ashqar (2005:29), intention can be classified into two categories:

- (i)** The intention of a deed to gain the pleasure of God. This applies to acts through which the person aims to become closer to God, such as acts of worship like prayers, fasting, and jihad.
- (ii)** The intention of a deed for a personal interest. This applies to such acts as business transactions, marriage, divorce, or travel.

Ibn ʿUthaimin (2002:357-358), referring to good intention, classifies it into:

- (1)** The intention of performing deeds which are done purely to gain God's pleasure.
- (2)** The intention of preserving Islamic law through seeking Islamic knowledge, because neglect of this knowledge would lead to the deterioration of Islamic law through negligence.
- (3)** The intention of defending Islamic law and protecting it against Islam's critics and sceptics. This includes Islamic books which explain the principles of Islam and which can provide answers to enquiries about Islam.

Bad intention (*niyyah fāsidah*) and insincerity in any deed is the opposite of good intention (*niyyah ḥasanah*). The majority of Muslim scholars, such as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalāni (Ibn ʿUthaimin 2002:377), are of the view that if someone seeks Islamic knowledge for a bad intention, he is still allowed to do so and should be welcomed to study sessions on Islamic law or religious matters. Muslim scholars argue that even if the student's intention is insincere, his knowledge in Islam will lead him to



the right path and eventually his intention will be for the purpose of seeking the pleasure of God and serving Islamic law. Some students of later Islamic generations supposedly had the bad intention of seeking ḥadīth knowledge to achieve social status, fame, and wealth. Ḥadīth students with the bad intention to achieve such worldly gains were called *al-ghawghā'* (commoners) whose main objective was not to seek the pleasure of God but to gain wealth and social status (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:280). In the view of Muslim scholars, students with such a bad intention would not be successful (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:216 and 280; al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:338). However, after a while their intention changed to seeking the pleasure of God and serving Islam (Shakir 1995:139).

It is worthwhile noting that some scholars criticised students who spent their time learning ḥadīth. For instance, the famed ḥadīth scholar Sufyān al-Thawri is reported to have said that seeking ḥadīth knowledge is not a tool to prepare you for death but rather it is just something that people keep themselves busy with (al-Dhahabi 1992, 7:255). What Sufyān meant by "is not a tool to prepare you for death" (*laisa min ʿuddāt al-mawt'*) is that learning ḥadīth was not regarded as something that would bring you closer to God and thus it would not be of value to an individual in the hereafter since the study of ḥadīth would be time consuming, thus preventing a person from engaging in good deeds which would be fruitful in the hereafter. Nevertheless, Sufyān al-Thawri is also reported to have said that "there is no better knowledge than that of ḥadīth if someone aims to achieve the pleasure of God" (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:216). I believe that Sufyān al-Thawri's first statement has been taken out of context, and that what he meant by his first statement "learning ḥadīth is not a tool to prepare you for death" was that someone might become too preoccupied with collecting ḥadīth manuscripts, asking about very short chains of narrations (*isnād<sup>ʿ</sup> ali*) as opposed to long chains of narrations, ignoring the original chain of narration and looking for alternative chains of narrations, studying with as many ḥadīth scholars as possible in different places and countries, looking for fame, and having the desire to refute other ḥadīth scholars and defame them. This would therefore constitute a bad intention and is, I believe, what Sufyān al-Thawri was warning against.

Both al-Sakhawi (1992, 3:280) and al-Khaṭīb (1994, 1:115) argue that if someone had the good intention to study ḥadīth, he should go ahead regardless of his age since his main intention was learning ḥadīth for the pleasure of God who would support him and make him a successful ḥadīth scholar. Sufyān Ibn ʿUyainah, for instance, was very young when he started learning ḥadīth, and students used to lift him up during the ḥadīth dictation session when he needed to ask a question or speak to his teacher, so that he was able to do so.

### 5.3.3. Hastening versus Procrastination (*al-Taʿajjul wal-Tāʾīl*)

In everyday life situations, we need to contemplate for a while and sometimes for a long time before we make up our mind and take a decision about doing or not doing something. Thus, delays in decisionmaking in worldly affairs are commendable. However, according to Muslim scholars, delays in decisionmaking about performing an act of worship or learning the Qur'an or the ḥadīth are not commendable. Both the Qur'an and the ḥadīth urge us to hasten in performing all acts of worship, especially in seeking religious knowledge.

Muḥammad, for instance, is reported to have said: "*iḥriṣʿala ma yanfaʿaka wastaʿin billāh walā taʿjaz*" (Keep on [doing] what is beneficial to you for your hereafter, rely on God, and do not delay things.) (Muslim 2008, p 1142: ḥadīth number 2664) and : "*al-Tāʾuddah fī kulli shaiʿin khair illa fī ʿĀmālī al-ākhirah*" (Taking time in decision-making is good in everything except in things related to the hereafter) (Abu Dawūd 2008, p 1577: ḥadīth number 4810; al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:280). This supports Q3:133 "Hasten to forgiveness from your Lord and a garden as wide as the heavens and earth, prepared for the righteous", which admonishes the reader not to delay their repentance to a later time. We can also argue that procrastination in seeking knowledge is not commendable in Islam. This is supported by the first word of the first surah revealed to Muḥammad which is Q96:1 (*iqraʿ* – Read) which urges the person to seek knowledge as soon as possible without delay. Similarly, the Qur'an makes a clear distinction between those who seek knowledge and those who are illiterate: "Are those who know equal to those who do not know?", (Q39:9). Muslims believe that their scholars are the inheritors of the Prophets, while the value

of knowledge is also demonstrated through the valuable contribution made by scientific inventions and medical achievements.

The ḥadīth scholar Yaḥyā Ibn Abu Kathīr (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:280) also claims that seeking knowledge cannot be achieved easily but through hard work. It is worthwhile noting that procrastinating over acts of worship and seeking knowledge is attributed in Islam to the influence of Satan upon the individual, since Satan urges the person to delay and postpone any act of worship and discourages the person from seeking Qur'anic or ḥadīth knowledge. Muslims are encouraged to hasten to acts of worship and to take steps to seek knowledge without delay, because of the fleeting nature of life. The believer cannot be sure of when death will approach them, thus the encouragement to not delay in these matters. Ibn al-Jawzi (1985:389), for instance, talks about the Arabic word *sawfa* (will) which signifies the future and semantically means 'I will do something later on'. For Ibn al-Jawzi, this really means *min akbar junūd iblīs* (One of the most loyal soldiers of Satan). He argues (1985:390) that so many people have thought about embracing Islam but because of Satan's whispers encouraging them to delay their decision, they died without doing so.

#### **5.3.4. The Selection of Ḥadīth Scholars**

The student had to choose a ḥadīth scholar and enrol in his ḥadīth dictation sessions. This was a major decision to make: whether to choose a local teacher, to avoid the trouble of travelling and being away from his family, or to travel outside his area and enrol with another ḥadīth scholar. The decision made would invariably have shaped the type and quality of education a student of ḥadīth received, especially since he would spend a long period of his life with his teacher. The student could also study with more than one ḥadīth scholar, to gain maximum knowledge. If the student decided to stay with a local ḥadīth scholar, he could, at a later stage of his study, travel either to other scholars in a different city or travel abroad to further his knowledge regardless of the distance. Travelling abroad was often necessary for the student especially when the alternative ḥadīth scholar was reputed for having ḥadīths which the student had not learned yet from his local teacher. It was more

advantageous to travel by sea than by land, because travelling by land meant that the student would meet several other ḥadīth scholars in the areas where he stopped along his way. This meant that the student's chain of narration would be very long, which was a disadvantage. Thus, travelling by sea was a better alternative, as it meant going directly to the selected teacher; this would also have enabled the student to reduce any trouble, and most importantly, to minimise the number of narrators in his chain of narration. In other words, the student would achieve an important element in narration called *isnād<sup>ḥ</sup>ali* (a short chain of narration) which was a merit for the student.

#### 5.3.4.1. Criteria for Selecting a Ḥadīth Scholar

In the selection of a ḥadīth scholar, the student had to consider a number of selection criteria before he enrolled in his ḥadīth dictation sessions. These criteria included:

(1) A short chain of narration (*isnād<sup>ḥ</sup>ali*), especially ḥadīths which had a very short number of narrators and the earliest person had narrated directly from the Prophet Muḥammad. A very short chain of narration guaranteed accuracy in ḥadīth narration and eliminated errors in the ḥadīth content (*matn*). When there was more than one ḥadīth scholar with ḥadīths of a short chain of narration, the student was recommended to attend both of their ḥadīth dictation sessions to learn as many ḥadīths as possible with a short chain of narration (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:276-280, Aiyad 1970, 54).

(2) Accuracy in ḥadīth narration (*itqān al-isnād*): If there were two or three ḥadīth scholars who were equal in the knowledge of ḥadīths with a short chain of narration, the student had to choose a teacher who had a reputation for precision (*al-itqān*) in his narration and precision in the content (*matn*) of ḥadīth (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:276-280, Aiyad 1970, 54).

(3) Being the only narrator (*al-tafarrud bil-ḥadīth*): It was highly recommended that the student should choose a ḥadīth scholar who was known for being the only narrator of a ḥadīth in the chain of narration (*tafarrada bil-ḥadīth*) or at least the

second narrator in the chain of narration (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:276-280, Aiyad 1970, 54).

(4) Honour and lineage (*al-sharaf wal-nasab*): When ḥadīth scholars were equal in the above three criteria, the student had to choose a ḥadīth scholar who was from a high status family name, especially those with an honourable lineage (*shurafā'*) due to the tribe to which he belonged, such as the tribe of Quraīsh (°Abd al-Razzaq 1983, 11:54). However, I disagree with this criterion for two reasons: First, it is based on racism. Secondly, the ḥadīth "*qaddimu quraīsh wala taqaddamūha*" (Select the tribe of Quraīsh and do not make it your second choice) (al-Shāfi'i 1980:278), which is used in support of this criterion, is misinterpreted. The context of this ḥadīth was based on understanding a reason for revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*), the selection of a ruler (*khalifah*) after the death of Muḥammad, social affairs during the lifetime of Muḥammad, and the scholar's linguistic abilities. However, when the student was choosing a ḥadīth teacher, honour and lineage should not have been taken into account.

(5) Old age (*kubr al-sinn*): When ḥadīth scholars were equal in the above five criteria, the student had to choose a ḥadīth scholar who was older than the others. This selection criterion was based on the fact that the older the ḥadīth scholar was, the more expertise and knowledge he had (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:276-280).

### 5.3.5. Travelling in Search for Knowledge

Travelling for the sake of knowledge is referred to in Arabic as *al-riḥlah fi ṭalab al-ilm*. Ḥadīth students were expected to travel to different towns within their country or to different countries abroad looking for well-known ḥadīth scholars from whom to learn new ḥadīths. According to Ibn Hanbal (1981:439), the famous ḥadīth places with reliable ḥadīth scholars were Baṣrah, Kūfah and Syria. As we are told by Ibn °Abd al-Birr (1982, 1:7) and by Ibn °Udai (1999, 4:1438), travelling for the sake of knowledge is implied by the ḥadīth: "Seek knowledge even if it is in China". Moreover, Sa°id b. al-Mūsaiyab is reported to have said; "I used to spend days and

nights looking for one ḥadīth" (Ibn Sa'ad 1983, 2:181; al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:226; al-Sakhawī 1992, 3:287).

During the early centuries, ḥadīth students were attracted by specific Muslim countries or places with famous ḥadīth scholars and scholars with short ḥadīth narrations. These countries or places were the focal points of ḥadīth studies and were visited by several ḥadīth students. Such places were Makkah, Madinah, Baṣrah, Syria, al-Yamāmah, the Yemen, Egypt, Maru, al-Rawi, and Bukhara.

#### **5.3.5.1. Types of Travelling for Learning Ḥadīth**

As mentioned earlier, ḥadīth students usually travelled abroad either by land or by sea. The preference of sea travel over land has already been stated, but I believe travelling by sea was not only preferable in order to achieve short chains of narration, but that it was a better and safer means of transport for a number of reasons. Firstly, land routes were too dangerous for travelling due to wild animals such as wolves and dangerous creatures such as snakes and scorpions. In addition, travellers by land used to be attacked by highway robbers, or suffer from fatigue due to the long distance, lack of water or food. Furthermore, because of riding an animal for long hours a day and for several weeks, such travellers used to suffer from different types of ulcers and skin diseases.

Obviously today, the above dangers and problems do not exist any longer, due to modern means of travel.<sup>79</sup> However, reading al-Sam'ani's book *Adab al-Imla' wal-Istimla'* (The Etiquettes of Ḥadīth Dictation and Repeating), I am impressed by this 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> (11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup>) century ḥadīth scholar, who used to travel to various countries looking for ḥadīth yet at the same time had several hundred students. I believe that travelling might not have been necessary if there had been good ḥadīth scholars nearby who could be consulted and with whom students could study.

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<sup>79</sup> I personally travelled by car to different countries, including Syria and Jordan, looking for sources and manuscripts.

### 5.3.5.2. Was Travelling for Learning Ḥadīth Recommended or Obligatory?

According to al-Sakhawi (1992, 3:287), travelling for the sake of learning ḥadīth was recommended for a number of reasons:

(i) If the ḥadīth student was absolutely sure that the chain of narration of a ḥadīth was not available in the town where he lived. In other words, if the narrator of a ḥadīth lived somewhere else, it was recommended that the ḥadīth student should travel to meet him and learn the chain of narration directly from him.

(ii) If the purpose of travelling is to learn a short chain of narration of a ḥadīth (*‘ulu al-ḥadīth*).

(iii) If the ḥadīth to be learned was related to Islamic legal rulings and the ḥadīth student could only find out about this particular ḥadīth through travelling to meet the narrator of the ḥadīth.

(iv) If travelling was to learn a ḥadīth related to something that was absolutely necessary such as:

(a) obligatory matters such as prayer,

(b) the principles of Islam (*arkān al-Islām*),

(c) belief (*al-‘aqīdah*),

(d) monotheism (*al-tawḥīd*),

(e) biography of scholars (*‘ilm al-rijāl*),

(f) something that can be used to substantiate an argument or weaken an argument.

The above reasons are considered to be conditions for travelling for the sake of learning ḥadīth. According to Islamic law, this was regarded as very important for a ḥadīth student especially when he was starting out. If the ḥadīth student did not travel to fulfil any of the aforementioned issues, his learning would be severely compromised. It is known that a student who does not travel in order to learn ḥadīth would be weak in his speciality. According to al-Sakhawi (1992, 3:288), once the

ḥadīth student arrived at his destination, he had to immediately visit the person from whom he wished to learn the ḥadīth. We are told about the ḥadīth student al-Aṣbahāni, who travelled for several days to meet Abu Bakr Ibn al-Batr, a well-known ḥadīth scholar and an authority in the chain of narration in Baghdād. Abu Bakr Ibn al-Batr was ill and al-Aṣbahāni was concerned that Ibn al-Batr might pass away. Thus, he made sure to meet him straightaway.

### **5.3.5.3. Travelling for Learning Ḥadīth by the Companions**

Although the Companions were contemporary to Muḥammad, not all of them heard all of his ḥadīth. Thus, their level of knowledge differed from one Companion to another. Having said this, some Companions travelled to learn ḥadīths which they had not heard from Muḥammad.

Among the Companions who travelled for the sake of learning ḥadīths was Jābir b. °Abd Allāh, who travelled to meet °Abd Allāh b. Anis in Syria. His journey lasted for a month. The main reason for Jābir's trip was to learn one ḥadīth from °Abd Allāh b. Anis (al-Bukhāri 1987, 1:29; Ibn °Abd al-Barr 1982, 1:93; al-Khaṭīb 1989:402). Jābir b. °Abd Allāh also travelled to Egypt to meet Mūsallamah b. Makhlad and learn one ḥadīth from him (al-Khaṭīb 1989:402 and 1969:57).

According to al-Dārmi (1931, 1:188; al-Khaṭīb 1969:57), another companion travelled to Egypt to meet Faḍalah b. °Ubid for the sake of learning one ḥadīth from him. Furthermore, the prominent companion Ibn Mas°ūd is reported to have said: "If I know a person more knowledgeable in the Qur'an than me, I will travel to meet him" (al-Khaṭīb 1989:402).

#### **5.3.5.3.1. Reasons for Companions Travelling**



The Companions were highly interested in the accuracy of both the chain of narration (*al-isnād*) and the content (*al-matn*) of the ḥadīth. Due to this huge interest in learning ḥadīths, the Companions used to travel for more than one or two months. There were two main reasons for the companions to travel to other countries or places to learn a new ḥadīth. These were either:

(i) To learn new ḥadīths which the Companion had not heard from Muḥammad.

(ii) To make sure that the content (*matn*) or the narration of the ḥadīth (*isnād*) he knew was accurate. Thus, he travelled elsewhere to double check with another companion the accuracy of the ḥadīth he knew.

#### 5.3.5.4. Travelling for Learning Ḥadīth by the Successors

The high level of motivation to learn new ḥadīths continued during the Successors' phase. Many companions left Makkah and Madinah and lived in different Muslim countries and the ḥadīth students among the Successors, were extremely keen to learn new ḥadīths from the Companions wherever they lived. In the manuscript entitled *al-Muḥaddith al-Fāṣil* of al-Ramaharmazi (d. 360), we are told that during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, travelling for the sake of learning ḥadīth had become a common practice among ḥadīth students of the second generation, and Al-Ramaharmazi provided a list of ḥadīth scholars who travelled frequently to many different countries. He classified the travellers according to the number of their journeys to different countries (al-Ramaharmazi (manuscript, 2/Qāf 19, 1-2). Among the successors who travelled to learn ḥadīths from the companions were:

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri (d. 110), who travelled from Basrah in southern Iraq, to Kūfah in Iraq to learn one jurisprudential matter mentioned in a ḥadīth (al-Khaṭīb 1989:402).

Saʿīd b. al-Mūsaiyab (d. 94) is reported to have said: "I would travel for the sake of learning one ḥadīth even if it required travelling for many days and nights." (Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr 1982, 1:94; al-Khaṭīb 1989:402).

The successor ḥadīth student Abu Qallabah travelled to Madinah and stayed for three days waiting for a man who knew a ḥadīth which Abu Qallabah did not know. On the third day, he managed to meet the man, learned the ḥadīth, and left Madinah straight away (al-Dārmi 1931, 1:136).

The well-known successor scholar °Amir al-Sha°bi used to live in Kūfah. He travelled to Makkah with a number of ḥadīths and wanted to meet some Companions to check the ḥadīths' accuracy in terms of content (*matn*) and chain of narration (*isnād*) (Manuscript of al-Ramaharmazi, Qāf 18 Waw/1). °Amir al-Sha°bi is reported to have taught a ḥadīth to another Successor. He told the Successor ḥadīth student: "I have taught you this ḥadīth while you made no effort to travel. I travelled a lot to learn this particular ḥadīth." (al-Bukhāri 1987, 1:35; Ibn °Abd al-Birr 1982, 1:94). It is worthwhile noting that one of the major reasons for ḥadīth students from amongst the Successors, to travel to other places or countries was to learn a new ḥadīth with a very short chain of narration (*isnād°ali*). Rather than learning a ḥadīth from a Successor who heard it from a number of other Successors, the ḥadīth student preferred to hear the same ḥadīth directly from either the Companion who heard it directly from Muḥammad, or to hear it from another Successor who heard it directly from a Companion. In doing so, he minimised the chain of narration (Ibn al-°alāḥ 1993:105; al-Khaṭīb 1969:49).

#### **5.3.5.4.1. Reasons for Successors' Travelling**

Successorḥadīth scholars and students travelled for the sake of learning ḥadīth for a number of good reasons. These included the following:

(1) The spread of forged ḥadīth (*al-waḍ° fi al-ḥadīth*): A large number of ḥadīths were in wide circulation during the Successors' phase. However, some ḥadīths suffered from forgery (*ḥadīth mawḍu°*) either in their chain of narration (*isnād*) or in

content (*matn*). Thus, it became an absolute necessity for the Successors to travel for the sake of scrutinising the accuracy of each ḥadīth.

(2) The determination of the Successor ḥadīth scholars and students to learn the ḥadīths that had a short chain of narration (*al-sanad al-ʿali*): According to Imām Aḥmad, seeking knowledge of a ḥadīth with a short chain of narration became a common practise of the Successors (*sunnat al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*) (Ibn al-Salāh 1993:105). Imām Aḥmad also argues that "seeking a short chain of narration is an essential part of religion" (al-Khaṭīb 1969:49).

The story of the successor Shuʿbah b. al-Hajjāj is a good example of this:

Shuʿbah's story is about the forged ḥadīth "*man tawadda'a fa'ahsana al-wuḍu' dakhala min ayyi abwab al-jannah sha*" (Whoever does ablution and perfects it, he will enter Paradise from any door he chooses). Shuʿbah b. al-Hajjaj learned that Abu Ishāq narrated this ḥadīth from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAṭa' from ʿUqbah b. ʿAmir from Muḥammad. Shuʿbah went to see Abu Ishāq and asked him: "Did you hear ʿAbdallāh bin ʿAṭa' narrate this ḥadīth from ʿUqbah b. ʿAmir?" Abu Ishāq replied: "Yes, I heard ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAṭa'." Then Shuʿbah asked Abu Ishāq: "Did ʿAbdallāh hear this ḥadīth from ʿUqbah b. ʿAmir?", to which Abu Ishāq responded: "Keep quiet." But Shuʿbah said: "I will not be quiet." A gentleman called Misʿir b. Kidam was present and when he heard this conversation, he informed Shuʿbah that ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAṭa' was still alive in Makkah. Once Shuʿbah had heard this, he travelled to Makkah and managed to meet ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAṭa'. Shuʿbah asked ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAṭa' about the above ḥadīth and its narrators. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAṭa' replied: "The narrator was ʿUqbah b. ʿAmir." Then, Shuʿbah requested ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAṭa' to swear that he heard this ḥadīth about ablution from ʿUqbah b. ʿAmir. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAṭa' responded: "No, in fact, I heard it from Saʿad b. Ibrāhīm." Then Shuʿbah travelled from Makkah to Madinah to meet Saʿad b. Ibrāhīm. Once in Saʿad's presence, Shuʿbah asked: "Who did you hear the ḥadīth about ablution from?" Saʿad replied: "I heard it from someone from your country. He was here in Madinah but he left. He was called Ziyad b. Mikhraḡ." Shuʿbah left Madinah and travelled to Basrah to meet Ziyad b. Mikhraḡ. The latter was pale, was wearing dirty scruffy clothes, and had thick hair. When Shuʿbah asked him about the ḥadīth, Ziyad

responded: "In fact, I heard it from Shahar b. Ḥawshab from Abu Raiḥanah." Shu'bah was disappointed and said: "This ḥadīth has gone up and down. It cannot be sound since it has no origin." (*Ma'rifat al-majruhin min al-Muḥaddithin*, a manuscript of Ibn Ḥabban; al-Khaṭīb 1969:64-65). This story demonstrates the selfless effort made by the Successors and their high level of motivation to learn ḥadīths and to verify the accuracy of the chain of narration of a ḥadīth.

Ḥadīth scholars gave great importance to travelling for the sake of ḥadīths. Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, for instance, was once asked about whether a ḥadīth student could stay in his home town learning from a ḥadīth scholar or whether he should travel abroad to learn from knowledgeable scholars. Imām Aḥmad responded: "The ḥadīth student needs to travel to other places such as Kūfah, Baṣrah, Madinah and Makkah to debate with and listen to famous ḥadīth scholars (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:86).

Similarly, Ibrāhīm b. Adham supported the idea that a ḥadīth student should travel abroad to learn from ḥadīth scholars wherever they were. He argued that "God protects the Muslim nation from a tribulation (*balā'*) if a journey is made by a ḥadīth scholar" (al-Khaṭīb 1969:4; al-Sakhawi 1992, 2:87).

Yaḥya b. Ma'īn also supported ḥadīth students who travelled to other parts of the world for the purpose of learning ḥadīth (al-Khaṭīb 1969:47).

I believe that journeying to other countries for the sake of learning ḥadīths should have a clear learning objective, rather than being a journey for the sake of socialising and merely meeting ḥadīth scholars for the purpose of introducing oneself to them. Such a journey is futile since it does not have any learning objectives. The major objectives of travelling should be for the purpose of learning ḥadīths of a short chain of narration (*al-sanad al-ʿali*) and for making sure that the content (*matn*) of a ḥadīth is accurate and authentic. In any case, there are scholars who have argued that a ḥadīth student did not need to travel for the purpose of learning ḥadīth if there was a knowledgeable scholar living nearby. For instance, Abu Mishir ʿAbd al-Aʿla b. Mishir al-Ghassāni al-Dimishqi argued that a ḥadīth student should only learn from the ḥadīth scholars available in his community

or town. Abu Mishir further claims: "I, for instance, have learned all my life from Sa'id b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and I do not need any other ḥadīth scholars." (Ibn 'Asākir, Kitāb Tā'rikh Dimishq, manuscript no. 7, Qāf 114, the biography of Sa'id b. 'Abd al-'Azīz).

Similarly, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi believed that travelling for the sake of learning ḥadīth should be for four reasons:

- (i) for the purpose of learning a ḥadīth of a short chain of narration,
- (ii) to meet ḥadīth scholars to debate matters related to ḥadīth and benefit from scholars' knowledge and views,
- (iii) there are no ḥadīth scholars available, and
- (iv) there are no knowledgeable ḥadīth scholars in the community. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi argued that if the above four factors were present, then travelling for the purpose of learning ḥadīths would be desirable. Otherwise, it would be preferable to learn ḥadīths from the ḥadīth scholar in the same town (al-Sakhawi 1992, 2:86).

#### **5.3.5.5. Significance of Travelling**

Notwithstanding the views above, travelling for the purpose of learning ḥadīth has several benefits. These benefits include:

- (1) The spread of ḥadīth and the increase of knowledgeable narrators,
- (2) Knowing ḥadīth scholars well and at first hand,
- (3) To minimise the differences in opinion with regard to the ḥadīth content and its chain of narration. This has helped considerably in reducing differences in opinion. In other words, the student will be more open-minded and accepting of opinions of others, unlike the discipline of jurisprudence where there were many different opinions among jurists from different parts of the Muslim world, such as the differences between the jurisprudence school of Iraq and that of Madinah during the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century.

(4) To achieve unanimous agreement among ḥadīth scholars with regard to the standard practice of Muḥammad (*Sunnah*), the content of ḥadīth (*al-matn*), and the chain of narration (*al-isnād*). This is evident in the major books of ḥadīth written during the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century. Because the way of the muḥaddithūn was to base practise on sunnaic evidence, it is said that some would go as far as to say do not rub your head without evidence. They do not look to the opinion and speech, but men are looking for anything that was brought by the Prophet peace be upon him or his companions. Ḥadīth students who used to travel for the sole purpose of learning the ḥadīth were not interested in recording the details and descriptions of towns or villages, and people's habits and customs. If they were, they would have written several books on such matters similar to the travel literature by major travellers such as Ibn Jubair and Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, whose major purpose of travelling was to report descriptive details on people and places.

### 5.3.6. Acting According to Ḥadīth's dictates

The ḥadīth student should apply the ḥadīth's dictates to himself first before asking other people to do so. The teaching material of the ḥadīth dictation sessions represented the normative practice of Muḥammad (*al-Sunnah*). As such, the ḥadīth scholar was expected to be the first person to put the ḥadīth into practice. This also applied to the ḥadīth student throughout the long years of his learning. Ḥadīth scholars during the Successors' stage were fully aware of this moral behaviour requirement. For instance, Waki<sup>c</sup> and al-Sha<sup>c</sup>bi stated: "The best way to learn a ḥadīth is through putting it into practice." (Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Birr 1982, 2:11). Moreover, Sufyān al-Thawri said: "Knowledge calls for action. If action does not respond, knowledge will come to an end." (Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Birr 1982, 2:10).

Similarly, Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said: "I've never written a ḥadīth unless I have acted upon it." (al-Dhahabi 1992, 11:213; al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 2:445). This is illustrated by the story of a ḥadīth student who was praying next to the prominent ḥadīth scholar, Ibn Maḥdi (d.198). The student did not raise his hands when he was saying "*Allāhu akbar*" (God is great). Having noticed this, Ibn al-Maḥdi asked the ḥadīth student when he finished his prayer: "Did you not write the

ḥadīth from Ibn ʿUyainah from al-Zuhri from Salim from his father that the Prophet used to raise his hands every time he said *Allāhu akbar?*" The student replied: "Yes, I did." Ibn Maḥdi said: "What will you tell your Lord when He meets you and asks you about neglecting this part in your prayer?" (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:385). Similarly, the ḥadīth scholar al-Samʿani (1993, 2:442) differentiated between the ḥadīth student who learns ḥadīth for the sake of learning and the ḥadīth student who puts the ḥadīth into practice. He also reiterated this fundamental principle of moral behaviour and argued that the ḥadīth student should be distinguished from among other ordinary people by his manners and application of the standard practice of Muḥammad and that he should remember the *ayah*: "There has certainly been for you in the Messenger of God an excellent example" (Q:21). And Ibn Kathīr (Shakir 1994:151) urged the ḥadīth student to apply the morality of the ḥadīth in daily life.

The ḥadīth scholar Abu Aiyūb Sulaimān b. Ishāq al-Jallab reports the advice given to him by the ḥadīth scholar Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbi: "If someone hears something about the Prophet's manners, he/she should put it into practice." (al-Samʿani (1993, 2:442). Thus I believe learning can be more beneficial through practice and when it takes place through personal experience<sup>80</sup>.

Bishr al-Ḥāfi (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:445-446; Shakir 1994:151; al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:143) argued that the ḥadīth student should pay what he called "the charity of ḥadīth" (*zakat ḥadīth*). Thus, ḥadīth students used to focus on five ḥadīths out of 200, which is like two and a half percent for the *zakat* of gold and silver.

Parents also influenced their children who were ḥadīth students. The mother of Sufyān al-Thawri is a good case in point. She told her son: "Go and study ḥadīth. I

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<sup>80</sup> While I was reading *Zād al-Mustqnaʿ* to the ḥadīth scholar Ibn ʿUthaimin, I made an error in the subject of the passive voice (*nāʾib al-fāʿil*). He corrected my mistake with a nice joke and this made me remember the grammatical rule for ever.

will fund your education with my spindle. However, if you have written down a few ḥadīths, you have to make sure that you are able to put them into practice in your daily life before you learn more. If you cannot apply them in your life, then there is no need to write down any more ḥadīths and I will not fund your study anymore." (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:444).

It is also interesting to note that ḥadīth teachers drew a distinction between *ṣaḥīb ḥadīth* and *ṭalīb ḥadīth*. The ḥadīth students who acted upon the morality of the ḥadīths they learned were classified as *ṣaḥīb ḥadīth*. While those who learn the ḥadīth just for the sake of learning it were classified as *ṭalīb ḥadīth* (a ḥadīth student). For instance, Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal refused to use the expression "*ṣaḥīb ḥadīth*" when he was asked by one of his students to write him a recommendation letter which that student needed to take to another ḥadīth scholar. Instead, Imām Aḥmad only mentioned in his letter that the student was a *ṭalīb ḥadīth* (a ḥadīth student). (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:144).

Iconic examples of ḥadīth students who applied the ḥadīth in their daily life include Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdi, and Imām Aḥmad.

#### 5.3.6.1. The Student and the Application of Ḥadīth

In his daily life, the ḥadīth student was required to be aware of a number of matters related to the accurate understanding of the standard practice of Muḥammad and how he could put his knowledge of ḥadīth into practice. Among these matters were:

**(1) Avoiding hypothetical opinion:** The ḥadīth student needed to avoid hypothetical and personal opinion (*al-ijtihād*) when giving a legal judgement about a particular matter. In other words, he was required to provide conclusive evidence (*ḥujjah*) from the Qur'an, the Sunnah, or a Companion's opinion before passing a legal judgement. For instance, the propagation for Islam (*daʿwah*) can be done in two



different ways: **(i)** propagation according to the traditional way used by Muḥammad and his companions,

**(ii)** propagation according to a modern way that can attract more people.

In the second method of propagation, for example, a football match is played in which the behaviour of team A is morally acceptable, and whose players observe the praying times, have beards, and behave respectfully during the match and do not use vulgar language. However, this method of propagation is unacceptable, since it is not based on an *ayah*, a ḥadīth, or an opinion of a companion. Although football is not Islamically illegal, this propagation approach can be classified as an innovation (*bid'ah*). Thus, to pass on a legal ruling, the ḥadīth student should provide conclusive evidence (*hujjah*) based on the major canons of Islamic law: the Qur'an, the Sunnah, and the Companions' views. According to Sufyān al-Thawri (al-Sam'ani 1993, 2:443), "the ḥadīth student cannot even scratch his head without reference to the Qur'an and the Sunnah." Muḥammad also used to adopt an easier option in passing a legal ruling in order to provide the easiest solution to a problem as a means for propagating Islam and making the Muslim community adhere firmly to Islamic moral principles. Ibn Daqīq (2006:373) argued that the ḥadīth student should employ ḥadīths that encourage rather than discourage people to do good deeds, should avoid weak ḥadīths, and should look for ḥadīths that can substantiate a legal ruling.

Another example of the application of a legal ruling when conclusive evidence is available to substantiate it, is the performance of the *hajj* (pilgrimage). The ḥadīth student should be aware of the fact that if there is an *ayah* or a sound ḥadīth in support of a legal judgement on whether or not a person should perform a pilgrimage, the ḥadīth student should consider the conditions for performing a pilgrimage, should encourage the person to go ahead with performing the pilgrimage since it is a good deed, but most importantly, should establish his legal ruling on a sound ḥadīth. Although some scholars have used weak ḥadīths to support their legal judgement concerning the performance of pilgrimages and to encourage more people to undertake this act, I believe this is counter to Islamic law, as it should be based only on sound ḥadīths. I do support the idea that one should encourage people to do good deeds. However, the admonition provided to people should, as

mentioned, be based on sound ḥadīth. Reading books, for instance, is a good thing to do to educate oneself. However, not all books are of value, morally speaking, to the reader. Thus, the ḥadīth student, when asked about reading, should alert the person who asked him about the dangers of this matter and should refer to examples from the major canons of Islamic law. Yet some scholars believe that they can use a weak ḥadīth since they can find more weak ḥadīths in support of the first one. For such scholars, when there is more than one weak ḥadīth, it is possible to use a weak ḥadīth in support of passing a legal ruling (Ibn Daqīq 2006:373) These scholars argue that when a ḥadīth has different chains of narration (*isnād*) and different styles of content (*matn*), it can be classified as a sound ḥadīth. An example of this are the remembrance of God sentences or expressions (*al-adhkār*) which can still be recited as a means for coming closer to God and improving one's piety, even though there is no evidence that such sentences or expressions were in fact uttered by Muḥammad. I believe this is acceptable, for two reasons:

- (i) The reciting of sentences or expressions of remembrance of God can improve the person's piety and morality,
- (ii) most importantly, they neither have a negative impact upon the sound belief (*al-imān*) of the person nor have a negative effect on his/her dogma (*ʿaqīdah*).

(2) Acting upon a ḥadīth rather than blindly following an Imām's personal view: The ḥadīth student should not blindly follow a ḥadīth scholar who may be referred to as an Imām. Instead, the ḥadīth student should always act upon adopting an opinion based on the Qur'an or the Sunnah rather than an opinion that is expressed by a well-known ḥadīth scholar, since ḥadīth scholars are human, can make mistakes, and can be subjective at times. Imām al-Shāfiʿi, for instance, is reported to have said: "If you find some evidence in the Sunnah of Muḥammad which is counter to my opinion, you should follow the Sunnah because I support it." (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:443). Thus, although al-Shāfiʿi is the Imām of a reputable school of thought, his personal opinion can be ignored if we find a ḥadīth that contradicts his legal ruling.

Ibn ʿUthaimin, Mohammad b. Šālih said that the novice student who does not distinguish the evidence and cannot know the ruling must imitate one of the scholars

whose knowledge he trusts and has mastery in his speciality as a scholar ([http://alaDārbessalaf.blogspot.co.uk/2014/09/blog-post\\_8.html](http://alaDārbessalaf.blogspot.co.uk/2014/09/blog-post_8.html)).

### 5.3.7. Time Management

The real age of the ḥadīth student was not his years of life but the number of years he spent in studying and gaining knowledge. A third of a person's life is spent in sleeping, eating, drinking, and working. The rest of the time is allocated for studying. Therefore, it was imperative that the ḥadīth student had to respect time and manage it very well in the best interests of his academic life. Thus, it was commonly believed that whoever devoted only some of his life to studying did not devote anything at all to knowledge, and whoever spent all his life acquiring knowledge, could only use some his time for others. Since classical scholars and pious people knew that they could not guarantee their age and which day they would pass away, they used to manage their time meticulously. Although some scholars lived for only a short period of time, they left behind valuable contributions for the generations after them in their discipline of Islamic studies. For instance, the well-known companion Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>ādh b. Jabal was very young but quite knowledgeable. He passed away when he was only 34 years old. However, a 60-year-old companion used to ask Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>ādh about different religious matters.

In Islamic studies, Muslim scholars also refer to the notion of "blessed time" (*al-barakah fi al-waqt*) or "the blessed age" (*barakat al-<sup>ʿ</sup>umr*). The example usually given for this notion is the incident that took place during the conquest of Makkah (*fath Makkah*) when Muḥammad managed his time very well and found time to perform eight units of the after-sunrise prayer (*ṣalat al-duḥa*). Although he was extremely busy during that particular day with preparing the army for battle, dealing with reports of some Muslims deserting the army, receiving many important delegations coming to have a meeting with him, and saying goodbye to other delegations, Muḥammad managed to keep a portion of his time so as to perform the eight units of the post-sunrise prayer.

### 5.3.7.1. Early Morning Time (*al-bukur*) for Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions

Ḥadīth students valued time as much as their life and they measured it in a very balanced way. They appreciated its significance, effect, and how to spend it. In terms of time management and respect of time, the students followed the footsteps of the Pious Predecessors. This awareness of the value of time was reflected in their high level of motivation and enthusiasm to attend the ḥadīth dictation sessions very early in the morning even though the place of teaching was at a great distance, there was no street lighting, and the means of transport were very basic (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:149; al-Samʿani 1993, 2:447; ʿAiyad 1970:51). According to the ḥadīth reported by ʿAbd Allāh b. Buraidah from his father, Muḥammad is reported to have said: "May God bless the early time of my nation" (*allāhumma bārik li-ummati fi bukuriha*) (Ibn ʿUdai 1999, 1:401).

#### 5.3.7.1.1. The Notion of Early Morning Time (*al-bukur*)

It is worth discussing the purpose of the early morning time and what it should be occupied with. In other words, whether it should be for everything or for specific matters. I believe any person who adopts the time management of early morning time should allocate this precious part of his/her day for the achievement of something valuable.

Let us consider the ḥadīth "May God bless the early time of my nation" (*allahumma bārik li-ummati fi bukuriha*) in order to decide its true meaning in connection with learning ḥadīth and the early morning attendance of ḥadīth dictation sessions. When Ibn ʿUmar was asked about the above ḥadīth, he said: "It means 'May God bless the early time of my nation when they seek the knowledge of ḥadīth during the early time of the day and when they go early to the mosque to occupy the first row of the group prayer.'" (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:150; al-Samʿani 1993, 2:449).

One can only appreciate how difficult it was to arrive early in the morning to attend the ḥadīth dictation sessions every day and preferably to sit in the first row very close to the ḥadīth scholar. For instance, a ḥadīth student reported how

he managed to read the dawn prayer (*ṣalat al-fajr*) for a thousand days with his ḥadīth teacher. This ḥadīth teacher used to hold his ḥadīth dictation sessions immediately after the dawn prayer. Thus, his ḥadīth student has managed to attend a thousand ḥadīth dictation sessions as a first row student. Such keen motivation, perseverance and eagerness to learn can be appreciated only when we take into consideration the difficulties such as the dark roads, the weather, the transport at that time, and the physical fatigue due to lack of sleep and long study hours every single day. Another ḥadīth student reported that he prayed the dawn prayer with his ḥadīth teacher for a thousand days without missing one day. Then after each dawn prayer, he used to be in the first row next to his ḥadīth teacher. (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:150; al-Samʿani 1993, 2:449).

In a story reported by Abu al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Jarir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Farḡhānī, we are told that while he was studying the ḥadīth in his teacher's house in the town of Balkh, someone knocked at the door violently and kept knocking several times. It was a while after the dawn prayer. The ḥadīth teacher, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. al-Faḍl, told one of his students to answer the door but also to find out whether it was an ordinary man or a ḥadīth student. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. al-Faḍl instructed him: "If it is an ordinary man, let him in, but if it is a ḥadīth student, do not open the door but tell him to go away." The students were surprised by their ḥadīth teacher's statement and thought that was unfair. They asked him about this matter and he told them: "I excuse the ordinary man because he is allowed to knock at my door at any time of the day. As for the ḥadīth student, he should attend his ḥadīth dictation sessions very early in the morning" (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:450).

One might wonder why ḥadīth scholars were sceptical about the ḥadīths collected by Ibn al-Aṣbahānī. In other words, his ḥadīth collection was classified as weak. When he was asked by a ḥadīth student about this matter, he replied: "Because I was busy with my *ʿaṣā'id* and, as a result, I used to attend the ḥadīth dictation sessions late." (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:450; al-Ramharmāzī, a manuscript, number 82:202). The expression "*ʿaṣā'id*" is the plural of *ʿaṣīdah*, which is a type of breakfast made of flour and oil which people used to cook in the early

morning. In other words, the reason why Ibn al-Aṣbahāni's ḥadīths were considered weak was because many ḥadīths were dictated to students and discussed by the ḥadīth scholar while Ibn al-Aṣbahāni was still at home having his breakfast (*ʿaṣā'id*) (Ibn Manẓur 1990, 4:282). For al-Mannawī (1946, 3:195), leaving home in the early morning enables one's objectives to be achieved, makes the day blessed, and brings sustenance. This, I believe, can also apply to leaving the home early for the sake of knowledge.

The eagerness of ḥadīth students to go very early in the morning to the ḥadīth dictation sessions, to reserve their places close to the ḥadīth teacher, and their perseverance can be summarised by the interesting anecdote reported by Jaʿfar b. Dārastawāih, who was studying ḥadīth with the well-known ḥadīth scholar ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī. Jaʿfar reported that he saw a student urinating into a vase so that he would keep his place which he would have lost had he gone out to relieve himself (al-Samʿānī 1993, 2:451). This illustrates how ḥadīth students would spend long hours waiting in the same place between each slot of ḥadīth dictation sessions. These sessions were usually held immediately after the dawn prayer and the afternoon prayer.

It is worthwhile noting that it was only during the summer that ḥadīth dictation sessions were held very early in the morning immediately after the dawn prayer. In contrast, during the winter, ḥadīth dictation sessions were usually held a few hours after sunrise when the weather was warmer (al-Samʿānī 1993, 2:452). This, I believe, was due to the fact that it was very cold during the winter in some parts of the Muslim world where ḥadīth dictation sessions were held.

#### **5.4. *Al-Wijādah* in Ḥadīth Studies**

Linguistically, the expression "*wijādah*" is derived from the verb "*wajāda*" (to find something) (al-Wadīʿī (1990:113). Thus, we can claim that the accurate

meaning of the expression "*wijadah*" in terms of ḥadīth studies is "ḥadīth self-study".

According to ḥadīth studies, it is not compulsory for a student to learn the ḥadīth directly from a ḥadīth scholar in a ḥadīth dictation session. In other words, if someone cannot find a ḥadīth scholar to learn from in a ḥadīth dictation session or to be supervised by a ḥadīth scholar on an individual basis, but instead he has acquired manuscripts or books of ḥadīth, the student can study by himself to learn the ḥadīth from the manuscripts or the books he has bought. It is also important to note that the ḥadīth manuscripts or books the student has acquired do not necessarily mean the manuscripts or the books have been given to him directly by a ḥadīth scholar.

I believe this self-learning approach to ḥadīth has become more common in our present time due to modern time learning needs, different personal circumstances, and most importantly, the lack of ḥadīth scholars who can hold ḥadīth dictation sessions in many different places, towns, and countries of the Muslim world. For these reasons, al-Wadī'ī (1990:ibid) suggests that anyone who is interested in learning ḥadīth but cannot find a ḥadīth scholar to attend his ḥadīth dictation sessions can establish a personal library at home and learn ḥadīth through ḥadīth self-study. Thus, if anyone can do self-study of ḥadīth through ḥadīth manuscripts or books, there is no need for a self-study ḥadīth student:

- (i) to be supervised or taught by a ḥadīth scholar,
- (ii) to be given a license (*ijāzah*) by a ḥadīth scholar, or
- (iii) to be given the ḥadīth manuscripts or book(s) directly by a ḥadīth scholar.

#### **5.4.1. The Self-Study Ḥadīth Student**

In his own time and in the leisure of his own home, the self-study ḥadīth student can read any ḥadīth manuscript or book to obtain ḥadīth knowledge. However, the major question is: Can such a self-study ḥadīth student be a

ḥadīth authority? Can he narrate ḥadīth and be part of the chain of authority of a ḥadīth? There are two views on this matter:

**(i)** A person who has learned ḥadīth through self-study is allowed to narrate ḥadīth. However, this self-study person should clearly specify in his narration of any ḥadīth that he has read the ḥadīth in a book or a manuscript. The normal expressions of such ḥadīth narrations are: "I have found", "I have read a manuscript copied by X", "I have read a manuscript written by X", or "I have found in the book written by X that it says: Y has narrated from Z, from . . . from . . .". In other words, the ḥadīth self-study student should not say in his narration: "*ḥaddathana/akhbarana*" (X narrated to me/I am told by X). This type of ḥadīth narration is called "*al-riwayah bil-wijādah*" (narration by a self-study person).

It has been customary among both ḥadīth students and ḥadīth scholars since the Successors' period to follow up the authenticity and accuracy of the ḥadīth chain of narration (*isnād al-ḥadīth*). For instance, Shu<sup>ʿ</sup>bah b. al-Hajjāj spent a considerable amount of time and made a hard effort travelling thousands of miles in order to verify the accuracy of the chain of narration of a single ḥadīth. In the end, he managed to obtain the full details of the chain of narration of the ḥadīth. However, after all the trouble he went through, Shu<sup>ʿ</sup>bah b. al-Hajjāj found out that one of the names in the ḥadīth chain of narration was Shahar b. Hawsahab, who was considered to be an unreliable person and not trustworthy. For this reason, Shu<sup>ʿ</sup>bah b. al-Hajjāj declined this ḥadīth and regarded it as a weak one, due to the fact that its chain of narration included a narrator (Shahar b. Hawshab) who was not trustworthy. Shu<sup>ʿ</sup>bah b. al-Hajjāj said his famous statement: "Shahar b. Hawshab has wasted my one-month journey. Shahar b. Hawshab has wasted the ḥadīth I have been looking for. Had I got this ḥadīth with a sound chain of narration, it would have been dearer to me than my family, wealth, children, and all people." (al-Khaṭīb 1969:155).

**(ii)** The student who has learned ḥadīth through self-study is not allowed to narrate ḥadīth.



I personally believe that a ḥadīth self-study person can narrate ḥadīth using the expressions mentioned in point (i) above. I would argue that point (i) is a fair condition of ḥadīth narration in our modern time since it is not possible for some people to find in their town a ḥadīth scholar to learn from. A personal library of major ḥadīth books can be sufficient to acquire the knowledge of ḥadīth. My claim is also supported by al-A<sup>ḥ</sup>ẓami (1999:522) and al-Wadī<sup>ḥ</sup>i (1990:113).

The self-study of ḥadīth (*al-wijādah*) saves people the trouble of travelling to different towns or abroad. Although the best means of learning ḥadīth is through the direct contact with a ḥadīth scholar in a ḥadīth dictation session, the personal library can also be a good source of ḥadīth knowledge and a substitute for ḥadīth scholars. However, the question to be raised here is: What type of manuscripts/books can one acquire? I believe the ḥadīth self-study student should acquire the six major books of ḥadīth, such as those by Muslim and al-Bukhāri, books on belief (*ḥaqīdah*), and major exegesis (*tafsīr*) books.

#### **5.4.2. Acting According to *al-Wijādah***

According to al-A<sup>ḥ</sup>ẓami (1999:522), the narration of ḥadīth based on a ḥadīth self-study person (*al-wijādah*) is classified as *munqaṭi<sup>ḥ</sup>* (not directly related to Muḥammad or to anyone else who directly narrates the ḥadīth). To accept a ḥadīth narration by *wijādah*, the following requirements have to be met:

- (i) We have to be absolutely sure about the author of the source, which can be a manuscript or a book. In other words, we are certain that the manuscript or the book quoted in the *wijādah* narration is in fact written by a ḥadīth scholar whom we know as the author and whose piety and encyclopedic ḥadīth knowledge are known to us.
- (ii) We have to be absolutely sure of the sound nature of the chain of narration of a ḥadīth (*ṣiḥḥat isnād al-ḥadīth*) by a ḥadīth scholar. One of the conditions for a sound ḥadīth is that the ḥadīth is directly linked to a narrator and the person narrated from (*al-rawi wal-marwi ḥanhu*) (al-A<sup>ḥ</sup>ẓami 1999:522).

## **6. Chapter Six: Characteristics of the Teaching Material of Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions**

### **6.1. Introduction**

This chapter will focus on (i) the common features of the ḥadīth scholar's teaching material, (ii) the general framework of the teaching material in relation to the chain of narration (*al-isnād*), (iii) the general framework of the teaching material in relation to the content of the ḥadīth (*al-matn*), (iv) the anecdotes and poetry mentioned during the ḥadīth dictation sessions.

### **6.2. What is the Teaching Material?**

The teaching material of ḥadīth dictation sessions is primarily derived from the information taken directly from the ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*). This claim is substantiated by the details found in ḥadīth dictation sessions which are either unpublished and still in manuscript form, or published and in book form.

The teaching material used in ḥadīth dictation sessions is information taken directly from the ḥadīth scholar. Such information is rich in different kinds of details which deal with the discipline of ḥadīth studies, the ḥadīth chain of narration (*isnād al- ḥadīth*), the content of ḥadīth (*matn al- ḥadīth*). Unfortunately none of this was organised into formal classifications of chapters or sections. The teaching material of the ḥadīth dictation sessions was usually verified by the teacher of the ḥadīth dictation sessions, prepared in advance, and the major sources were also checked before the session took place.

#### **6.2.1. Criteria of the Teaching Material**

The teaching materials of the ḥadīth dictation session were based upon two major criteria:

- (i) the ḥadīth chain of narration (*isnād al-ḥadīth*), and
- (ii) the content of the ḥadīth (*matn al-ḥadīth*).

However, there are also sub-criteria related to the above two criteria of the teaching material. These are:

- (iii) the different meanings of the chain of narration (*ma'āni al-isnād*),
- (iv) the methods of the chain of narration (*turuq al-isnād*),
- (v) the principles of the content of ḥadīth (*uṣul matn al-ḥadīth*)

### 6.3. The Pedagogical Plan (*al-khiṭṭah al-ta'limiyyah*)

The ḥadīth scholar took into account in his teaching plan the place, time and type of ḥadīth students. The major pedagogical plan of the teaching material of ḥadīth dictation sessions was based on the following criteria:

- (i) careful selection of the teaching material,
- (ii) the smooth and gradual introduction of the ḥadīth students to the discipline of ḥadīth studies,
- (iii) avoidance of teaching complicated issues which students could not comprehend at an early stage and which could confuse students in terms of belief,
- (iv) making the teaching material interesting to avoid students' boredom,
- (v) motivating students and maintaining their interest in learning and regular attendance.

#### 6.3.1. Objectives of the Pedagogical Plan

The major objective of such a plan is to enable the ḥadīth student from an early stage to be fully aware of a specific category of ḥadīths such as:

- (i) the ḥadīths which enhance the student's belief (*'aqidāh*),
- (ii) the ḥadīths which demonstrate the falsehood of misguided people,

(iii) the jurisprudential ḥadīths which are related to Islamic legal rulings such as acts of worship, or transactions,

(iv) the admonition-based ḥadīths, such as those which glorify the virtues of good deeds, asceticism (*al-zuhd*), the virtues of the acts of remembering God (*al-dhikr*), and the ḥadīths which encourage the doing of good deeds,

(v) the ḥadīths which refer to the glorification of the speaker of the ḥadīth, namely Muḥammad. Such ḥadīths urge Muslims to say the phrase: "Peace and blessing be upon him" if the name of Muḥammad is mentioned,

(vi) the ḥadīths which glorify the companions and which urge Muslims to say: "May God be pleased with him/her" if the name of a companion is mentioned.

The ḥadīth scholar also urges his students to avoid the exchange of anecdotes, jokes and the singing of poetry at the end of the ḥadīth dictation session (al-Riṣālāh 1990:16; al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:141; al-Khaṭīb 1980, 2:141).

#### **6.4. Major Features of the Teaching Material**

The teaching materials which were used in ḥadīth dictation sessions can now be found either in book form or still in manuscripts. Such materials were used by ḥadīth scholars in their teaching sessions. When the features of the teaching material are discussed here, what is in fact being discussed is the teaching method of the ḥadīth scholar. In other words, how he explains the ḥadīths to his students, whether he strays from the main point, and whether he deviates from the main objective of the lesson's subject matter. Therefore, the features of the teaching material are closely related to the pedagogical plan (*al-khiṭāh al-tadrisiyyah*). A close look at the major features of the teaching materials of ḥadīth dictation sessions allows one to make a list of their common characteristics, as follows:

##### **6.4.1. Digression (*al-istiṭrād*)**

The ḥadīth scholar might go off the main point he is discussing with his students and start dealing with other subject matters and ḥadīths not related to the original subject matter of his teaching session. Thus, if we compare different

ḥadīth dictation sessions of different periods of time in different centuries, we often encounter details and many ḥadīths in a ḥadīth dictation session which were not related to the teaching plan of the ḥadīth session. This means the ḥadīth dictation session did not follow a teaching methodology which the ḥadīth scholar followed consistently. However, by the end of each ḥadīth dictation session, we can find very useful details although some are irrelevant to the main subject matter. I believe the digression by the ḥadīth scholar was related to a number of factors, such as:

(i) The place of the ḥadīth dictation session.

(ii) The time (that is, the current month) of the ḥadīth dictation session. For instance, during the months of Ramadān, the last ten days of Ramadān, during the month of Dhu al-Ḥijjah, and during other religious or historical occasions, the ḥadīth scholar digressed in his teaching and referred to ḥadīths which were related to the virtues of such months or occasions. As such, although the teaching plan of the ḥadīth dictation session might have been to discuss the meanings or principles of *isnād*, the ḥadīth scholar digressed to talk about the ḥadīths related to the virtues of the month of Ramadān or the battle of Uḥud, and so on, if the ḥadīth session fell on such an occasion.

(iii) The current socio-political situation at the time of the ḥadīth dictation session. I believe the socio-political climate during the time of any ḥadīth dictation session could have had a major influence on the digression of the ḥadīth scholar during his teaching. The ḥadīth scholar digressed and referred to ḥadīths relevant to the then current socio-political circumstances. This shows that the ḥadīth dictation sessions had a socio-political objective in addition to their main academic objective.

#### **6.4.2. Isnād-based details (*tawthīq al-khabar bil-isnād*)**

All the information in the teaching material was based on a chain of narration (*isnād*). This chain consisted of a series of narrators of some speech which could have been spoken by anybody, such as Muḥammad, a Companion of Muḥammad, a Successor (*tabīʿi*) who was contemporary to a Companion or lived after the period of the Companions. The chain of narration also included the narration of a legal judgement (*fatwa*) issued by an Imām, the narration of poetry,

anecdotes, or linguistic details. All these needed a chain of narrators who heard the narrated information. Then, the narrated speech was documented and became an accepted quotation from the person who expressed it to the first narrator who heard it from the latter. This teaching method guaranteed the achievement of three objectives:

- (i) to maintain strict academic documentation of details given to students,
- (ii) an appreciation of the academic effort made by predecessor ḥadīth scholars,
- (iii) to maintain the value of the discipline of *isnād* (chain of narration).

Due to the above objectives, the ḥadīth teachers were very keen on the teaching of:

- (i) the ḥadīths which had a sound chain of narration,
- (ii) the ḥadīths which did not have defects in their chain of narration,
- (iii) the ḥadīths which did not have defects in their content (*matn*).

During the ḥadīth dictation session, the ḥadīth teachers did not deal with defective ḥadīths, rejected ḥadīths, and ḥadīths with unsound chains of narration. For these teachers, the chain of narration was the best method for guarantying the authenticity of the ḥadīth. In order to guarantee the accuracy of the content (*matn*) of any ḥadīth, to ensure that the content of a ḥadīth had been truthfully transferred by the narrator, and to maintain academic consistency, the motto of the ḥadīth teachers was: "Do not look at the ḥadīth, but look at its chain of narration." (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:140). When a ḥadīth teacher mentioned a defective ḥadīth, he would explain its defect in detail. We are told by °Amru b. Qaīs that "Those interested in the learning of ḥadīth should be like those who deal with the Dirham<sup>81</sup>, who usually doublecheck its true quality, make sure it is not fake, and are not attracted by its glitter. This applies precisely to ḥadīth." (al-Aṣbahani 1985, 5:103). In order to make sure that this objective was

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81 A unit of currency used in some Arab states. In the past, it was also a unit of weight.

achieved and to ensure that the *isnād* of a ḥadīth was thoroughly verified, the ḥadīth teacher always referred to his own ḥadīth teacher from whom he had learned the ḥadīth. Ḥadīth teachers were usually acclaimed for their truthfulness, encyclopaedic ḥadīth knowledge, justice, and moral and academic integrity. The ḥadīth teacher would never teach a ḥadīth narrated or taught by someone who practised an innovation (*bid'ah*) or someone who was known for his dishonesty, untruthfulness, or sinfulness (*fisq*) (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:118). Ḥadīth teachers used to explain the ḥadīth in detail in terms of whether it was a sound or unsound one and whether it had been verified as sound by ḥadīth scholars who were well-known for their extensive knowledge of ḥadīth studies. According to the ḥadīth scholar ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī (d. 198): "Someone cannot be a ḥadīth scholar if he blindly quotes ḥadīths narrated by anyone, and he cannot be a ḥadīth scholar if he does not know the narrators of the ḥadīth." (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:120).

Ḥadīth teachers were also keen on providing different sources that supported a particular chain of narration. This method could minimise error in *isnād*. They also used to teach ḥadīths which had an accurate chain of narration and a short content (*matn*). This method of teaching ḥadīth is supported by al-Sakhawī (1992, 2:304) who argues that "the teaching of ḥadīth should be based on a diversity of sources from different well-known ḥadīth scholars and on an accurate chain of narration."<sup>82</sup>

### **6.5. Major Features of the Teaching Material in Terms of Chain of Narration (*Isnād*)**

As mentioned earlier, the chain of narration (*isnād*) is defined as a series of narrators of a narrated speech, spoken by Muḥammad, a Companion, or a Successor (*tabīʿi*). The chain of narration also included the narration of a legal judgement (*fatwa*)

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<sup>82</sup> al-Sakhawī (1992, 2:304) claims that the ḥadīth teacher who relied on one ḥadīth scholar as the only source for his teaching material might one day need more details which were not provided by the ḥadīth scholar he relied on. Thus, the ḥadīth teacher needed to have more sources for his teaching materials.

issued by an Imām, or poetry, anecdotes, or linguistic details. All these needed a chain of narrators who had heard the narrated information. The narrated speech was then documented and became an accepted quotation from the person who expressed it to the first narrator who in turn narrated it to the next person. In fact, modern ḥadīth scholars, such as Muḥammad al-Dāddu al-Shinqīṭi, are still narrating until this present time. When al-Shinqīṭi discusses a ḥadīth, he lists the chain of narration starting with his own name, then that of his father, his grandfather, his great-grandfather, and so on, back to the first person who heard the ḥadīth from Muḥammad. The list of narrators he mentions can be 16-18 names before that of Muḥammad (al-Qudat 2003:21). According to Muslim scholars, the forgery of *isnād* amounts to disbelief (*kufr*) and the narrator who fabricates a ḥadīth deserves the death penalty.

Thus, through the literature of ḥadīth dictation sessions, the characteristics of the teaching material from an *isnād* point of view can be specified as follows:

#### **6.5.1. Reliance on the narration given by trustworthy narrators**

According to Ibn Mubārak, "the quality of a ḥadīth should not be measured by its short chain of narration but by the excellence of its narrators." (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:139). Similarly, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd advises: "Do not consider the ḥadīth but consider its chain of narration." (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:140).

#### **6.5.2. Avoiding the narration given by weak narrators and transgressors of a command (*mukhalif*)**

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdi says: "You cannot be a ḥadīth scholar if you quote anyone blindly." (al-Ramaharmazi, p.98). When Shuʿbah was asked: "Will you not quote X?", (X was a well-known liar), he replied: "I'd rather commit fornication than quote a ḥadīth from X." Shuʿbah is also reported to have said: "Whoever quotes a liar, must be a liar, too" (al-Khaṭīb 1989:112). Al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:121) argues that no one can narrate from anyone who is proved to be licentious (*fāsiq*) and a liar.

An interesting anecdote refers to the feature above. One day, the ḥadīthscholar Abu Mūsa b. al-Muthanna was criticised by his friend Ibn Maḥdi, who



accused Abu Mūsa of blindly quoting ḥadīths from anyone, such as Muḥammad b. Rashid al-Makhuli, without scrutinising the quality of the narrator's character. Abu Mūsa replied: "Please note that there are three categories of ḥadīth scholars: a ḥadīth scholar who is encyclopaedic and knows ḥadīth very well; no one disagrees about such a person. The second is wellknown for the sound ḥadīths he knows; thus, we cannot ignore his knowledge of ḥadīths because if we leave aside the ḥadīths he knows, all the sound ḥadīths would be lost. The third category is a ḥadīth scholar whose ḥadīths are characterised by suspicion; thus, we have to abandon the ḥadīths quoted by such a person." (al-Khaṭīb 1989, 143).

### **6.5.3. Explanation of ḥadīth defects (*al-<sup>c</sup>illah*)**

The defect (*al-<sup>c</sup>illah*) in a ḥadīth can be either in its chain of narration, in its *matn*, or in both (al-A<sup>c</sup>ẓami 1999:440). Ḥadīth defects is a subtle discipline in ḥadīth studies which can be taught by highly specialised ḥadīth scholars who had a long experience in ḥadīth teaching. According to Ibn Ḥajar (2000, 72), the explanation of ḥadīth defects could only be practised by encyclopaedic ḥadīth scholars who were knowledgeable in the biography of narrators, the chain of narration of ḥadīth, and the content of ḥadīth. For this reason, there are not many specialists in this specific discipline of ḥadīth studies. Although there exist some books which specifically deal with the defects of ḥadīth, I believe the most useful source of knowing the ḥadīth defects is the teaching material of ḥadīth dictation sessions. The teaching materials used by scholars in ḥadīth dictation sessions are a rich pool of information for investigating ḥadīth defects. To show how we can benefit from the teaching materials of ḥadīth dictation sessions in order to diagnose the defects in ḥadīth, some examples are given below:

"The content (*matn*) of this ḥadīth is sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) but its chain of narration (*isnād*) is strange (*gharīb*) and the only narrator in the chain of narration of this ḥadīth (*tafarrada bil-ḥadīth*) is Ma<sup>c</sup>ādh b. Ma<sup>c</sup>ādh. This ḥadīth is mentioned by

Muslim in his *ṣaḥīḥ* and is taken from the ḥadīth of Ḥisham b. Ḥassan"<sup>83</sup>. The meaning of *tafarrada bil-ḥadīth* 'the only narrator in the chain of narration of this ḥadīth is so-and-so'

"There is a strange ḥadīth taken from the ḥadīth of Abu Ishāq from al-A<sup>c</sup> mash and it has only one narrator in the chain of narration of this ḥadīth"<sup>84</sup>

"This is a very strange narration and I have only written it in this way"<sup>85</sup>

" In a ḥadīth dictation session, the ḥadīth scholar said: "This is known only through the ḥadīth of Khalaf b. al-Walid al-<sup>c</sup>Atki Abu al-Walid al-Baghdādi. Yet this ḥadīth has also been referred to by Zuhair Abu Zuhair and Abu Zar<sup>c</sup>a al-Rāzi who both mentioned the name Khalaf b. al-Walid al-<sup>c</sup>Atki Abu al-Walid al-Baghdādi".<sup>86</sup>

"This is a strange ḥadīth but has been only reported by the nice group ( Āl al-

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<sup>83</sup> *Āmālī Abu Mūsā al-Madīni*. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-*Zāhiriyyah* Library) in Damascus (number 3842, Qāf/20/Ba'/line 10). It is worth noting that the expression *tafarrada fil-ḥadīth* means that the narration of a ḥadīth is based on one person only who has taken it from one person only. When the second narrator narrates the ḥadīth based on the narration of the former narrator, the second narrator is said to be *tafarrada fil-ḥadīth* (the second and only narrator in a chain of narration). In the narration of a ḥadīth that is based on two narrators only (*al-tafarrud bil-ḥadīth*), the second narrator is said to be *tafarrada bil-ḥadīth* - the second and only narrator in a chain of narration).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* (number 3842, Qāf/22/Alif/line 15).

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.* (number 3842, Qāf/23/ Ba'/line 4).

<sup>86</sup> *Āmālī<sup>c</sup> Abd al-Wahhāb b. Mandah* by Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (d. 395/). This is a manuscript in the Copreli Library, and is part of a group of other manuscripts (number 252/4. Qāf 23/Ba'/line 7).

Bīet ) one generation after another".<sup>87</sup>

"This is a strange ḥadīth taken from the ḥadīth of Mālik b. Anas from al-Zuhri. The only narrator in the chain of narration of this ḥadīth (*tafarrada bihi*) is °Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad and the ḥadīth has also been narrated by a group of people from al-Zuhri. However, the well-known ḥadīth is the one which is reported to us."<sup>88</sup>

"The only narrator in the chain of narration of this ḥadīth (*tafarrada bihi*) is Ibrāhīm b. Sa°id from Abu Khālid al-Qurashi. The full name of Abu Khālid is °Abd al-Azīz b. Abān al-Amawī, from Kūfah. It has also been reported by °Ali b. Ishāq and Abu °Urubah al-Ḥarrabi and others from Ibrāhīm b. Sa°id."<sup>89</sup>

"This is a strange ḥadīth if we accept it from this narration. However, it can be a sound ḥadīth if we take it from °Aṣim b. Laqīṭ who received it from his father. . .  
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"The two Imāms, namely, Abu Dawūd and Abu °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā°i, have mentioned this ḥadīth in their two books from Qutaibah. Abu Dawūd says: "From Yaḥyā b. Sulaimān". Al-Nasā°i also says: From Yaḥyā b. Sulaimān". This ḥadīth has also been mentioned by al-Ṭabarāni, Ibn Jurāij, and Qurrah b. Khālid from Ismā°il b. Kathīr. It is also mentioned by Sufyān al-Thawri from Abu Hashim

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<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.* (number 252/4. Qāf 25/Ba'/line 6).

<sup>88</sup>*Āmālī °Abd al-Waḥḥāb b. Mandah* by Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (d. 395/). This is a manuscript in the Copreli Library, and is part of a group of other manuscripts (number 252/1/1. Qāf 28/Ba'/line 13).

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.* (Qāf 29/Ba'/line 4).

90 *Ibid.* (Qāf 28/Ba'/line 21).

from °Āṣim."<sup>91</sup>

"This ḥadīth is reported by °Ali in this particular chain of narration only and the only narrator in the chain of narration of this ḥadīth (*tafarrada bihi*) is Qaīs b. al-Rabī°."<sup>92</sup>

"This ḥadīth was narrated by Yazīd from Yazīd b. Abu Anīsah and the only narrator in the chain of narration of this ḥadīth (*tafarrada bihi*) was Yaḥyā b. Yu°la."<sup>93</sup>

"Only °Umar b. Hārūn reported this ḥadīth from Ibn Juraīj. Also, the only narrator in the chain of narration of this ḥadīth is Ibn al-Mūsaiyab."<sup>94</sup>

"The ḥadīth reported from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir is incomplete and has always been reported from him in this particular chain of narration and with these verses of poetry."<sup>95</sup>

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91 Ibid.( Qāf 30/Alif/line 5).

92 *Āmālī* Abu °Uthmān Ismā°īl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Millah al-Aṣfahāni. This is a manuscript in the Copreli Library.

93 *Āmālī* al-Ṭabarāni of Abu al-Qāsim Sulaimān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarāni (d. 360/). This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library (number 252/13/Qāf/114/Alif/line 6).

94 Ibid. (number 252/13/Qāf/115/Alif/line 14).

95 *Āmālī* Abu °Uthmān Ismā°īl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Millah al-Aṣfahāni. This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library (number 252/13/Qāf/64/line 20).

"Al-Ḥakim says it is a strange but sound ḥadīth narrated by Suhail b. Abu Ṣalih al-Ghaṭṭāni from his father from Abu Hurāirah. I do not know whether he narrated it from Abu Khaithamah Zuhair b. Mu'awiyah al-Ja'fi."<sup>96</sup> Also, see footnote 17 on "a strange but sound ḥadīth".

"This is a strange ḥadīth narrated by Abu 'Itab Ruh b. al-Qāṣim al-'Anbari from Abu Muḥammad Ibn al-Munkadir al-Taimi. I am not sure whether anyone has mentioned it other than Abu al-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Suwar b. 'Anbar al-Sudusi. Al-Bukhāri mentioned it from this particular narration."<sup>97</sup>

We can say that the defect is often in the chain of narration, being hidden that no one can detect it, except senior ḥadīth scholars. For example, the similarity of the names and that confuses them or chain of narration the narrator mentions that he did not mention one other. This does not discriminate and reveal only senior scholars.

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<sup>96</sup>*Āmālī al-Ḥākīm al-Kabīr* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Naisābūri (d. 378/). This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library (number 252/9/Qāf/88/line 11). In ḥadīth studies, the expression *gharīb ṣaḥīḥ* (strange and sound) means that there is only one narrator in the chain of narration. For instance, the *ḥadīthinnama al-a' mālu bil-niyyāt* (deeds are based on intentions) is regarded as a *gharīb* (strange) ḥadīth because only 'Umar heard this ḥadīth from Muḥammad and only one successor heard this ḥadīth from 'Umar; later on, three more successors heard this ḥadīth from the first successor. Thus, the chain of narration of this ḥadīth is called *gharīb* (strange). However, it is also classified as sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) because the narrators ('Umar, the first successor, then the other three successors) have the qualities of reliable and upright ḥadīth narrators. Therefore, the above ḥadīth is called strange and sound (*gharīb ṣaḥīḥ*).

<sup>97</sup>*Āmālī al-Ḥākīm al-Kabīr* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Naisābūri (d. 378/). This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library (number 252/8/Qāf/88/line 18).

#### 6.5.4. Making sure that the soundness of a particular ḥadīth is explained and the other categories of ḥadīth are mentioned

The ḥadīth scholar is required to make his students aware of the virtues of all the ḥadīths he mentions in his ḥadīth dictation session, explain the meanings unknown to his students, and most importantly, give the category of each ḥadīth; for instance, whether the ḥadīth is sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*), weak (*ḍaʿīf*) or defective (*maʿlūl*). (al-Samʿani 1993, 1:330). This is illustrated in the following examples:

"This is a sound ḥadīth and is agreed upon (*muttafaquun ʿalaihi*) mentioned by Muslim and al-Bukhāri from the ḥadīth of Hamrān who did not narrate it from Qatādah."<sup>98</sup>

"This is a sound ḥadīth of a high status from the ḥadīth of Abu Muḥammad Sufyān b. ʿUyainah al-Hilali al-Kufi from Ziyad b. ʿIlaqah from Jarir b. ʿAbd Allāh Abu ʿAmru al-Bajli. Muslim b. al-Hajjaj mentioned it in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abu Bakr b. Shaibah. All of them reported it from Ibn ʿUyainah, the same one whom we have mentioned and for us it is a ḥadīth of an elevated category."<sup>99</sup>

"This is a good ḥadīth (*ḥadīth hasan*) and deals with fate (*al-qaḍār*). It is also a sound ḥadīth and of an elevated category."<sup>100</sup>

"This ḥadīth is both good and sound (*hasan ṣaḥīḥ*) narrated by Mujāhid b. Jubair Abu al-Hajjaj from Abu ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd Allāh ʿAmru. This ḥadīth is

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<sup>98</sup>*Āmālī Abu Mūsā al-Madīni*. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3842, Qāf/25/Alif/line 6).

<sup>99</sup>*Āmālī Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī*. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 4519/4/Alif/line 10).

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.* (number 4519/4/Ba'/line 1).

strange, however, if taken from Abu ʿAli Faḍil b. ʿAiyad al-Zahid."<sup>101</sup>

"Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad al-Anṣari has not left one ḥadīth in his *Āmālī* without classifying it to a certain category. See, for instance, (4/Ba'/line 16), (5/Alif/line 11), (5/Alif/line 20), (5/Ba'/line 7), and (5/Ba'/line 16)"<sup>102</sup>

"This is a sound and agreed upon ḥadīth (*ḥadīthṣaḥīḥ muttafaqūn ʿalaīh*) from the ḥadīth of Yūnis b. Yazīd."<sup>103</sup>

"This is a sound ḥadīth mentioned by al-Bukhāri and Muslim."<sup>104</sup>

"This is a sound ḥadīth mentioned by Muslim."<sup>105</sup>

"This is a strange ḥadīth from the ḥadīth of ʿUrwah from Ibn al-Zubair."<sup>106</sup>

"This is a good ḥadīth mentioned by Aḥmad and al-Ḥamīdī in his *Musnad* from Sufyān. It is also referred to by al-Bukhāri in his *al-Adab al-Mufrad* from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bishr; thus, we absolutely agree with this ḥadīth and give it one degree (*muwafaqah ʿaliyah bidarajah*) with Aḥmad and al-Ḥamīdī. We also agree with al-Bukhāri and his ḥadīth two degrees. This ḥadīth is also mentioned by Abu Dawūd in

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<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.* (number 4519/4/Ba'/line 15).

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.* (number 4519/4/Ba'/line 15).

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.* (number 1178/Ba'/line 7).

<sup>104</sup>*Āmālī al-Lalkā'i* of Abu al-Ḥusain Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥasan. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3084/2/Alif/line 12).

<sup>105</sup>*Ibid.* (number 3084/2/Ba'/line 5).

<sup>106</sup>*Ibid.* (number 3084/2/Ba'/line 16).

his *Sunan* from Abu Bakr b. Abu Shaibah and Mūsaddad b. Mūsarhad. This ḥadīth is also mentioned by al-Tirmidhi in his *Jāmi*<sup>c</sup> from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-<sup>c</sup>Adli.

The three of them have taken it from Sufyān. Thus, I totally agree with this ḥadīth. It is also mentioned by Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhi but with some extra words (*ziyādah*) at its end. Both Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhi are mentioned by al-Ṭabarāni in his *al-Kabīr* from <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad from his father. This ḥadīth is also mentioned by al-Ḥakīm in his *Mustadrak* in the section on "respect and relations" from <sup>c</sup>Ali b. al-Madini and both of them have taken it from Sufyān. Thus, I totally agree with this ḥadīth that comes from al-Ḥakīm and give it two degrees. Al-Tirmidhi mentions this ḥadīth and says it is good and sound, and al-Ḥakim in his *Mustadrak* classifies it as a ḥadīth with a good chain of narration."<sup>107</sup>

"This ḥadīth is mentioned by Aḥmad and <sup>c</sup>Abd b. Ḥamid and al-Ṭabarāni with a good chain of narration. This ḥadīth also has anecdotes. Some scholars have given it the 'good' category. As for my own opinion on whether its chain of narration is good or not, I cannot pass judgment. Some of the names in its chain of narration are discontinued when this ḥadīth is taken from Sufyān."<sup>108</sup>

"The ḥadīth scholar (*al-mumli*) said: All the Imāms of ḥadīth have agreed upon the soundness of this ḥadīth. As for Abu Dawūd, he narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ṣalih from <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh b. Wahāb from Ibn Lahī<sup>c</sup>ah and Yaḥyā b. Aiyūb. Abu <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā'i also reported this ḥadīth from al-Qāṣim b. Zakariyya b. Dinār from Sa<sup>c</sup>id b. Sharḥabīl from al-Laith, as mentioned earlier. A group of people such as Ibn Jurāij and <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh also narrated this ḥadīth from Ibn Shihāb who took it from Salim. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Razzāq also mentioned this ḥadīth from Ibn Jurāij but he did not mention Ibn <sup>c</sup>Umar in the ḥadīth's chain of narration. Hajjaj b. Muḥammad also

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<sup>107</sup>*al-Āmālī al-Muṭlaqah* of Taqiy al-Dīn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Qalqashandi. This is a manuscript in the Tashtarbatī Library, (number 3467/2/Ba'/line 5).

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.* (number 3467/3/Alif/line 12).



mentioned this ḥadīth from Ibn Juraīj but he did not refer to Ḥafṣah in the ḥadīth's chain of narration. This ḥadīth has also been reported by Yunus, Ma<sup>°</sup>mar, Sufyān b. <sup>°</sup>Uyainah, and al-Zuhri, all of them from Ḥamzah b. <sup>°</sup>Abd Allāh b. <sup>°</sup>Umar from his father from Ḥafṣah. Mālik b. Anas mentions this ḥadīth from Ibn Shihab from <sup>°</sup>A'ishah and Ḥafṣah. <sup>°</sup>Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf and Ibn al-Qasam narrated it from Mālik b. Anas, who reported it from Nafi<sup>°</sup> from Ibn <sup>°</sup>Umar."<sup>109</sup>

"This is a good ḥadīth of an elevated status. Al-Naḍar b. Shamil is a well-established linguist. He moved to Khurasān and lived in an area called Maru. <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Munib al-Abyuri is a trustworthy person: Abu <sup>°</sup>Awanah al-Asfarayini says Ibn Munib al-Abyurdi was a trustworthy person and was a jurist. Ḥajib b. Aḥmad al-Tusi narrated from him."<sup>110</sup>

"This ḥadīth is sound and is mentioned by al-Bukhāri in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*."<sup>111</sup>

"This ḥadīth is sound and scholars are agreed upon its soundness. It is narrated by Imām al-Bukhāri and deals with prayer."<sup>112</sup>

"This ḥadīth is strange and is from Sāhil b. Abu Ṣalih al-Ghaṭfani from his

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<sup>109</sup>*Āmālī* <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Waḥhāb b. Mandah of Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (d. 395/). This is a manuscript in the Copreli Library, and is part of a group of other manuscripts (number 252/4. Qāf 23/Ba'/line 18).

<sup>110</sup>*Āmālī al-Farāwi* of Abu <sup>°</sup>Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Ṣā<sup>°</sup>idi (d. 503/). This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library (number 252/1/1/Qāf 27/Alif/line 3).

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.* (number 252/1/1/Qāf 27/Alif/line 18).

<sup>112</sup>*Āmālī Abu <sup>°</sup>Uthmān Ismā<sup>°</sup>īl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Millah al-Asfahāni*. This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library (number 252/13/Qāf/63/line 14).

father from Abu Hurairah."<sup>113</sup>

"This ḥadīth is strange and is from Abu ʿItab Ruḥ b. al-Qāsim al-ʿAnbari from Abu Muḥammad Ibn al-Munkadir al-Taimi."<sup>114</sup>

"This is a sound ḥadīth and has not changed. It is mentioned by al-Bukhāri from ʿAli from Sufyān from al-Zuhri."<sup>115</sup> The ḥadīth scholar was making sure that a particular ḥadīth was sound, explaining any unknown meanings to his students, and, most importantly, giving the reason why it was weak or defective.

#### **6.5.5. Mentioning details when reference is made to *isnād***

During the ḥadīth dictation sessions, ḥadīth scholars would explain what was involved in the chain of narration (*al-isnād*) in terms of anecdotes and names of individuals. Below are examples to illustrate this point:

"There is an interesting incident in this chain of narration which is that Muḥammad b. Sirin from . . . "<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> *Āmālī al-Ḥākim al-Kabīr* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Naisābūri (d. 378/). This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library (number 252/9/Qāf/88/Alif/line 11).

<sup>114</sup> *Āmālī al-Ḥākim al-Kabīr* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Naisābūri (d. 378/). This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library (number 252/9/Qāf/88/Alif/line 18).

<sup>115</sup> *Āmālī al-ʿAṭṭār* of Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAli (d. 466/). This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library, (number 252/12/Qāf/98/Alif/line 9).

<sup>116</sup> *Āmālī Abu Mūsā al-Madīni*. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3842, Qāf/20/Ba'/line 1).

"There are four people in his chain of narration: Abu Ishāq °Amru b. °Abd Allāh b. Abu Sa°īd al-Hamadani al-Subai°i. He was contemporary to more than twenty companions, and his narration from al-A°mash from the narration of the well-known to the less well-known scholars was . . . "117

"In his *al-Adab al-Kabīr*, al-Bukhāri mentions this ḥadīth from °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Bishr. I totally agree with Aḥmad and al-Ḥumaīdi and give this ḥadīth one degree in status. I also agree with al-Bukhāri and give the ḥadīth two degrees."118

"al-Ṭabarāni says: "In a ḥadīth whose chain of narration I cannot remember at the moment, I believe this man was °Abd al-Raḥmān b. °Awf."119

#### **6.5.6. Paying attention to biographical details and to impugment and vindication (*al-jarḥ wal-ta°dīl*)**

The details about the ḥadīth notion of impugment and vindication<sup>120</sup> were

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<sup>117</sup>*Ibid.* (number 3842, Qāf/22/Ba'/line 2).

<sup>118</sup>*al-Āmālī al-Muṭlaqah* of Taqiy al-Dīn °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Qalqashandi. This is a manuscript in Tashtarbaty Library, (number 3467/2/Ba'/line 5).

<sup>119</sup>*Āmālī al-Ṭabarāni* of Abu al-Qāsim Sulaimān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarāni (d. 360/). This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Ct /line 14).

<sup>120</sup> The introduction of impugment and validation (*al-jarḥ wal-ta°dīl*) in ḥadīth studies began after ḥadīth forgery (*tahrif al-ḥadīth*) began to spread in the year 41/661 after the assassination of °Uthmān b. °Affān and the ensuing civil war between °Ali and Mu°āwiyah. Therefore, there was an investigation mission by traditionists (*al-muḥaddithūn*) to eliminate forged ḥadīths. Impugment and validation (*al-jarḥ wal-ta°dīl*) is also called

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ḥadīth criticism (*naqd al-ḥadīth*). Historically, impugment and validation (*al-jarḥ wal-ta'dīl*) goes back to the lifetime of the Companions, who spoke of reliable or unreliable transmitters (Abdul-Raof 2011:; Kāmālī 2005:81-82; al-Suyūṭī 1996, 1:209ff; Ḥammādah 2003:26). For Ḥammādah (2003:28-34), the procedure of *al-jarḥ wal-ta'dīl* is related to Q49:6 "*ya aiyuha alladhīna āmanū in jā'akum fāsiqun binaba'in fatabaiyanū in tuṣībū qawman bijahālatin fatuṣbiḥū 'alā ma fa'altum nādīmīn*" (O you who have believed, if there comes to you a disobedient one with information, investigate, lest you harm a people out of ignorance and come to regret what you have done), which calls for careful consideration before accepting someone's claim or witness, and he states that Muḥammad practised this procedure, and that Abu Bakr, °Umar, °Ali, and Zaid b. Thābit also practised *al-jarḥ wal-ta'dīl*. It can also be argued that during the successors' phase, around 150/767, *al-jarḥ wal-ta'dīl* became an indispensable tool in ḥadīth studies and was widely practised by ḥadīth scholars, as a discipline in ḥadīth studies and a procedure that had to be observed because of the increase in the number of ḥadīth transmitters (*ruwāt al-ḥadīth*).

I believe that impugment and validation aims to achieve four objectives:

- (i) a guarantee that ḥadīths are only accepted from upright and trustworthy narrators,
- (ii) a guarantee that both the text and chain of authorities of ḥadīth are accurate,
- (iii) the ḥadīth transmitter enjoys an excellent character in terms of uprightness and reliability, and
- (iv) the ḥadīth transmitter is well-qualified.

Impugment and validation was started during the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century by traditionists (*al-muḥaddithun*) like al-Bukhari (d. 256/870) and his student Muslim (d. 261/875). In order to guarantee textual accuracy of a ḥadīth, traditionists began to compare and cross-examine the text of the ḥadīth.

According to Muslim scholars, the forgery of *isnad* amounts to disbelief (*kufr*) and the narrator who fabricates a ḥadīth deserves the death penalty.

thoroughly discussed during the ḥadīth dictation sessions since this was of importance to the accuracy of narration, the content of the ḥadīth, and most importantly, the character of the narrator; in other words, whether he was a trustworthy person or not. This is illustrated below:

"And Qallabah was called °Abd Allāh b. Zaid. He used to narrate from more than one person . . ."121

"And the name of Abu Yazīd al-Qaraṭisi was Yūsuf b. Yazīd Abu Kamil, the slave of Banu Umayyah, in the view of al-Shāfi'i. He died in . . ."122

"al-Nadar b. Shamil is a well-established linguist from the Baṣrah. He moved to Khurasān and lived in an area called Maru. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Munib al-Abyurdi is a trustworthy person. Abu °Awanah al-Asfarayini says: Ibn Munib al-Aburdi is a trustworthy person; you can trust him with anything. It is reported that he is a jurist. Ḥajib b. Aḥmad al-Tusi used to quote his narration a lot. Ibn Munib al-Abyurdi used to be one of the pious people and used to narrate from Ḥammad al-Abyurdi and Muḥammad b. Ḥammad."123

"The name of Abu al-Maghirah is al-Nadar b. Ismā'īl al-Bajli al-Qass. He is

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121 *Āmālī Abu Mūsā al-Madīni*. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3842, Qāf/25/Alif/line 10).

122 *Āmālī Abu Naṣr Aḥmad b. °Amr b. °Abd Allāh al-Ghāzi*. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 1178).

123 *Āmālī al-Farāwi* of Abu °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Šā'idi (d. 503/). This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library (number 252/1/1/Qāf 27/Alif/line 3).

from Kūfah and is the Imām of its mosque."<sup>124</sup>

"Abu Muslim is called Hārūn b. Muslim al-Basri from whom Yaḥyā b. Ḥammad and Saghdi b. Sinan have narrated this ḥadīth."<sup>125</sup>

"The name of Abu al-Siddiq al-Naji is Bakr b. °Amru b. Qais al-Basri. The name of Zaid al-°Ammi is Abu al-Jawari al-Baṣri the judge of Harawah. °Ali b. Mu°ab says that Zaid is known by this nickname because whenever he is asked, he usually replies: 'I'll ask my uncle (°amm)'."<sup>126</sup>

"°Amru b. Dinar is the only narrator in the chain of narration of this ḥadīth who took the narration from Abu Qabus. Al-Dhahabi in his *al-Mīzān* claims that Abu Qabus is an unknown person, but in his *al-°Adhab al-Salsabil* he claims that Abu Qabus is a successor (*tabi°i*) who narrated very little but was a trustworthy person, but because of his lack of knowledge, no one employs his name as evidence, and in his *al-Kāshif*, he says that Ibn Ḥibbān mentioned him as a trustworthy person."<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup>*°Amālī °Abd al-Wahhāb b. Mandah* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (d. 395/). This is a manuscript in the Copreli Library, and is part of a group of other manuscripts (number 252/1/1/Qāf 28/Ba'/line 19).

<sup>125</sup>*°Amālī Ibn Murdawaih* of Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsā (d. 410/). This is a published manuscript, p. 136.

<sup>126</sup>*°Amālī °Abd al-Wahhāb b. Mandah* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (d. 395/). This is a manuscript in the Copreli Library, and is part of a group of other manuscripts (number 252/1/1/Qāf 98/Ba'/line 16).

<sup>127</sup>*al-°Amālī al-Muṭlaqah* of Taqiy al-Dīn °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī. This is a manuscript in the Tashtarbatī Library (number 3467/2/Ba'/line 5).

## **6.6. Major Features of the Teaching Material in Terms of the Content of the Ḥadīth (*matn*)**

The expression "*matn*" in ḥadīth studies means "the content of the ḥadīth which starts immediately after the chain of narration" (al-Kafawi 1998, 4:308). The content of ḥadīth is sometimes called *nass al-riwāyah* (the text of the narration) or *nass al-ḥadīth* (the text of the ḥadīth) (al-Adlabi 1983:30). *Matn* studies, however, are concerned with distinguishing the acceptable from the unacceptable *matn* (Atr 1997, 321). Through the study of ḥadīth literature and the teaching material of the ḥadīth dictation sessions, a discussion can be provided of the major characteristics of the teaching materials of the ḥadīth dictation sessions, as shall now be addressed.

### **6.6.1. Paying attention to jurisprudential ḥadīths:**

Ḥadīth scholars pay special attention to the ḥadīths whose content (*matn*) deals with jurisprudential matters such as worship and transactions. For al-Samʿani (1993, 1:321), jurisprudential ḥadīths are of special value to ḥadīth students. Similarly, al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:150) highlights the importance of jurisprudential ḥadīths such as those on cleanliness, prayer, fasting, the payment of alms-giving (*al-zakat*). Ḥadīth scholars have based their opinion on the value of teaching jurisprudential ḥadīths on the ḥadīth narrated by Ibn ʿAbbās. When Muḥammad sent Muʿādh b. Jabal to the Yemen, Muḥammad is reported to have said to him: "You will be going to a nation who are the people of the Book. Thus, the first thing you need to call them for is the worshipping of God. If they are aware of God, you need to tell them that they have to perform the five daily prayers during the day and during the night. If they do this, you need to tell them that God has ordered them to pay the alms-giving which is taken from their wealth and which will be given back to their poor people. . ." (al-Bukhāri 2008, p109 (ḥadīth number 1395)).

### **6.6.2. Paying attention to the virtues of the Companions**

Ḥadīth teachers also focused on the ḥadīths which refer to the virtues of the Companions and the magnificent service and sacrifices they made for Islam and the Muslims. According to al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:64), God had chosen companions for His

prophet and had, therefore, made them with the best manners and the firmest belief. Through the Companions, Islam was supported, and thanks to them, the Muslims achieved victory. God has given a special reward for them in the hereafter and has urged us to mention their virtues with respectful words. However, the rejectors (*al-rāfiḍah*) (namely, the *Shi'is*) have disobeyed God's order with regard to the Companions' virtues and made every effort to wipe out the Companions' virtues and their service to Islam. In the view of Sufyān, if someone was in Syria, they would need to talk about the virtues of ʿAli, but if they were in Kūfah, they would need to talk about the virtues of ʿUthmān (al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:64). According to al-Sakhawī (1992, 2:308), each Companion was worthy of individual mention and in order of seniority. In other words, first Abu Bakr, then ʿUmar, then ʿUthmān, then ʿAli, according to their service and amount of sacrifice.

### **6.6.3. Paying attention to ḥadīths on the virtues of good deeds (*faḍā'il al-a'māl*)**

The teaching material of the ḥadīth dictation sessions also included the teaching of ḥadīths that encouraged the person to focus on the hereafter, do good deeds, be kind towards others, and practise asceticism. Among the ḥadīth scholars who were in support of this approach were al-Samʿani (1993, 1:313) and al-ʿAjli (1985, 2:183).

### **6.6.4. Paying attention to explaining ambiguous words in a ḥadīth**

The ḥadīths which have ambiguous words are called *gharib al-ḥadīth*. These words were not commonly used by the Arabs at the time (al-Sakhawī 1992, 3:45; al-Samʿani 1993, 1:315; al-Khattabī 2001, 1:70). During the ḥadīth dictation session, the ḥadīth scholar would make sure that ambiguous words in any ḥadīth were explained thoroughly. If the ḥadīth scholar did not know the meaning of a word in a ḥadīth, he was advised not to explain it randomly (al-Samʿani 1993, 1:318). The following are examples of some of the ambiguous words in ḥadīth (*gharib al-ḥadīth*):

"The meaning of *al-ba's* is "bravery in the battlefield"; that is, to be serious



in fighting the enemy. *Al-tadhammum* means "to observe the respect of the company of people and those who live next to you."<sup>128</sup>

"The meaning of *al-suḥmah* is "extreme Dārkness", and *sāqq khadlajah* means "a thick leg".<sup>129</sup>

Words which are theologically controversial (*al-mutashābihāt*) are also explained in detail if they occur in a ḥadīth. The *mutashābihāt* are the theological notions like the seeing of God in the hereafter, the hand of God, and so on, as shown in the following examples:

"The expression *yazīllu Allahu yawma al-qiyaamah* means that every Muslim should believe in the *zill* (shadow) and that God will have a shadow on the day of judgement."<sup>130</sup>

"This meaning has been accepted by all respected scholars and it is only rejected by the Muṣṭazili and the Shiʿis. This is related to the *ru'ya* of Allah (the seeing of God). Also, the ḥadīth "*ra'aitu rabbī fiṣūrat kadha wakadha . . .*" (I (Muḥammad) have seen my Lord in such and such shape . . .); "*ātāni rabbī al-bāriḥah fi ahsani ṣūratin . . .*" (My Lord came to see me yesterday in His best shape); and "*faqala li ya Muḥammad. . .*" (He said tome, 'O Muḥammad').<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>128</sup>*Āmālī Abu Mūsā al-Madīni*. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3842, Qāf/19/Ba'/line 16).

<sup>129</sup>*Āmālī al-Farāwi* of Abu ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Ṣāʿidi (d. 503/). This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library (number 252/1/1/Qāf 27/Alif/line 18).

<sup>130</sup>*Āmālī Abu ʿUthmān Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Millah al-Aṣfahāni*. This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library (number 252/13/Qāf/63/line 20).

<sup>131</sup>*Āmālī Abu ʿUthmān Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Millah al-Aṣfahāni*. This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the Copreli Library (number 252/13/Qāf/63/line 20).

### 6.6.5. Paying attention to the level of understanding of the students

During the ḥadīth dictation session, the ḥadīth scholar takes into account the level of understanding and amount of knowledge of his students so that he does not deal with matters that may confuse them, mislead them, or pollute their belief. Ḥadīth scholars like al-Samʿani (1993, 1:310) and al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:147) have pointed out this approach in teaching the ḥadīth. They have referred to theologically controversial notions such as the similarity in body parts and attributes of God and those of human beings, such as the eyes, seeing, hearing, face, hand, or sitting on the throne. The ḥadīth teacher needed to explain to his students that the attributes of God are only similar in word to the attributes of the human being but are completely different in meaning, and that a Muslim is required to believe in God's attributes as they are, without enquiring how. Otherwise, if the ḥadīth student did not believe in the surface meaning of God's attributes, he would reject the ḥadīths that included them.

The ḥadīth teacher used to urge his students to abandon the allegorical meaning (*al-maʿna al-majāzi*) of God's attributes. ʿAli b. Abi Ṭālib (al-Bukhārī 2008, p19) also urged scholars to observe the level of people's understanding, saying: "O people. Do you want God and His Prophet to lie? Speak to people according to their level of understanding." Ibn Masʿūd also says: "Someone will recite a ḥadīth the meaning of which is very difficult for some people to understand. This ḥadīth will misguide those people." (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:134). Imām al-Shāfiʿi narrates a story related to this problem. Someone told Mālik b. Anas: "Ibn ʿUyainah has ḥadīths from al-Zuhri which you do not know." Mālik b. Anas replied: "Do you expect me to tell people all the ḥadīths I know? If I do so, I will misguide them." (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:149). Furthermore, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdi points out: "You cannot be an Imām if you tell people every ḥadīth you know and have heard." (ʿAiyad 1970, 215). For the ḥadīth scholar Wahāb b. Munabbih: "The ḥadīth scholar should be like a clever cook (that is, he should not cook something they do not like). He cooks only what people like (in other words, according to their taste). Similarly, the ḥadīth scholar should tell people only the ḥadīths which match their minds and hearts." (al-Sakhawī 1992, 2:280).

## 6.7. Major features of the teaching plan in terms of anecdotes and poetry

Among the educational aspects of teaching which the ḥadīth scholars aimed to achieve during the ḥadīth dictation sessions was the balance between students' learning and their spiritual needs. These had to be reflected in the teaching material. There was another aspect which was also considered by the ḥadīth teachers in the ḥadīth dictation sessions. This aspect was to do with leisure and relaxation (*al-tarwīḥ<sup>c</sup>an al-nafs*). The relaxation of the students helped in their understanding, motivation and academic progress. Although the ḥadīth dictation session was a serious academic environment, ḥadīth scholars used to amuse their students with interesting educational anecdotes, verses of poetry, and innocent jokes. This teaching strategy is mentioned by al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani (1993, 1:338-344), al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:183), al-<sup>c</sup>Iraqi (2008:167) and Madelung (2011, 3:655). In fact, so much poetry used to be recited at the end of ḥadīth dictation sessions that now we have what is called "the ḥadīth scholars' literature" (*adab al-muḥaddithin*) which includes the admonition anecdotes, innocent jokes, and poetry. When verses of poetry were mentioned by the ḥadīth scholar, the poet's name was usually mentioned as well. Thus, this was another useful educational aspect through which students learned poetry and the names of poets, and most importantly, these verses were documented by a large number of students. This led to another educational value which is the documentation of poetry through the ḥadīth dictation sessions. al-Sakhawī (1992, 3:270) notes that when verses of poetry or anecdotes were mentioned during or at the end of the ḥadīth dictation session, they had to be relevant to the teaching material of the session. The following examples illustrate the above point:

### 6.7.1. Anecdotes for the purpose of admonition

The following admonition anecdotes and verses of poetry are taken from *Āmālī al-*

*Jurjāni*<sup>132</sup>:

(i) Abu ʿAli al-Ḥusain b. ʿAli from Muḥammad b. Zakariyya from Maḥdi b. Sabiq who said: "Take a lesson from what you have seen, from what you have heard, from what you have experienced in your present life, and take a lesson from how many years are left of your life." You need to know:

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<sup>132</sup>There are three copies of the manuscript *Āmālī al-Jurjāni*: (i) The first copy is available in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3810/Ta'/10). According to the al-Asad National Library index, this copy is complete and includes 41 ḥadīth dictation sessions. The copier has included in this manuscript some corrections and comparative notes with other manuscripts. This copy of the manuscript also has many *samāʿāt*, the oldest of which is from 601/. The expression *samāʿāt* is derived from the verb *samāʿa* (to hear someone, to listen to someone) which means the ḥadīth scholar had several students who were attending his ḥadīth dictation sessions, listening to his lectures and writing down what he was explaining to them. Thus, when a manuscript is described as having many *samāʿāt*, it means that the manuscript has been found in different information forms by different students about the same set of ḥadīth dictation sessions delivered by the same ḥadīth scholar. This copy of the manuscript is written in the Naskh form of writing, and has been seriously damaged by damp, which has affected the words of the manuscript. I have photocopied this copy of the manuscript and have found out that in fact it does not include all 41 of the ḥadīth dictation sessions: numbers 8, 20, 21, 22 and 23 are missing. Moreover, I have found out that this copy does not include some ḥadīths from some ḥadīth dictation sessions, and because this copy has suffered from negligence, the leaves of the manuscript are disordered. (ii) The second copy of the manuscript *Āmālī al-Jurjāni* is available in the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus but under a different number, 9406. (iii) The third copy of this manuscript is available in The British Library, London, List 16, number 07224, 5R. I have photocopied this third version of the manuscript from the King Faisal Centre for Research and Islamic Studies, Riyadh. This copy includes 173 leaves.

*Life is like a day                      Its light is false,  
 Your living is tender                Smooth and looks green,  
 When it is afflicted by time        It turns yellow,  
 Similarly, the night arrives        But the daylight comes and drives it away.*

بِغَالِ ذِي نَهْرٍ ضَوْسُورٍ  
 بَيْنَمَا طِينٌ نَمٌّ فِي يَجْعَرٍ  
 إِذَا مَلَأْتُمْهَا فَمَا فِيهَا فَيُفْرَأُ  
 وَكَأَلَيْهَا لَيْ خَيْرُهُ الرِّهَاءُ

(ii) Another admonition anecdote: Abu °Ali al-Ḥusain b. °Ali from Muḥammad b. Zakariyya from Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān, from Hisham b. Sulaimān who said: "When the people of Ḥijāz, Baṣrah and Kūfah met, they said they had never heard better and more useful verses of poetry than the following two verses which were inscribed on the grave of °Abd Allāh b. Ja°far b. Abi Ṭālib:

*You are resident here until God resurrects His creation        Your visit is not welcomed though you are close,  
 Your body decompose every day and night                      You are forgotten while you decompose although you have been much loved.*

مَقِيمٌ رَأَى يَجْلَسُ لَهُ  
 وَأَعْلَى جِوَارٍ تَقْدِيرُ  
 تَرَى يَدِي فِيكَ يَوْمَئِذٍ  
 وَتَسَى كَأَنَّ لِي وَتَحْبِي

(iii) A further admonition anecdote: Abu °Ali al-Ḥusain b. °Ali from Muḥammad b. Zakariyya from Abu °Uthmān al-Mazini Bakr b. Muḥammad who said: "I went to visit the Caliph al-Wathiq when he was ill. He asked me: 'O Bakr, do you have a

son?' I replied: 'No.' He asked: 'So, who did you live with in Başrah?' I replied: 'My sister.' He asked: 'Is she older or younger than you are?' I replied: 'Younger.' He asked: 'What did the poor girl say?' I said: 'She said what the daughter of the poet al-A<sup>c</sup>sha said to her father:

*'My daughter says when the time of departure has approached We are the same in what will take place,*

*O father, we are better off when you are with us If you do not want to leave,*

*When you will be far away from us We will be unhappy and our relationship will be cut off.'*

تقول ابنتي حين جد الرحيل أرنا سواء ومن قد يتم  
فيا أبت لا تزل عندنا فأنا بخير اذا لم ترم  
ترانا اذا اضمرتك نجفي وتقطع منا الرحم

Then, al-Wathiq asked me: 'What did you say to her after this?' I replied: 'Just what the poet Jarir said to his daughter:

*'Have faith in God who has no partner Have faith in the person who will be*

□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□

*successful when he is in the company of the Caliph.'*

The Caliph al-Wathiq laughed and gave me a generous cash present."

### **6.7.2. Verses of poetry for admonition purposes**

Among the verses of poetry used for admonition during or at the end of a ḥadīth dictation session are the following:

*Have you never heard of someone Who has been saved by a word of advice?*<sup>133</sup>

*If you think of losing your dignity due to asking for a favour You should lose it for a generous person.*<sup>134</sup>

More examples on admonition verses of poetry may be referred to for additional information.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> *Āmālī Ibn al-Ḥaṣīn* of Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaṣīn al-Baghdādi Abu al-Qāsim (d. 525/). This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (number 3834/Ta'1).

<sup>134</sup> *Āmālī Ibn Millah* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ja'far Abu Sa'īd Ibn Millah. This is a manuscript in al-Asad National Library, number 3817/Ta'.

<sup>135</sup> (i) *Āmālī Ibn al-Jarrāḥ* of 'Isā b. 'Alī b. 'Isā b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 391/). This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-*Zāhiriyyah* Library in Damascus) (number 3846/Qāf 186/Ba'/line 7). (ii) *Āmālī al-Qushairi* of 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin b. 'Abd al-Malik Abu al-Qāsim al-Šūfi al-Naisābūri al-Shāfi'i (d. 465/). He mentions more than 35 verses of his own poetry which he recited in his ḥadīth dictation sessions. This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-*Zāhiriyyah* Library in Damascus) (number 1135). See Qāf 116/Alif, Qāf 116/ Ba', Qāf 117/Alif, Qāf 117/Ba', Qāf 118/ Alf, and Qāf 118/ Ba'. (iii) *Āmālī al-Khatli al-Sukkari* of 'Alī b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarbi (d. 386/). This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-*Zāhiriyyah* Library in Damascus) (number 3725). See Qāf 239/Ba' and Qāf 247/ Ba'. (iv) *Āmālī al-Khajandi*. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-*Zāhiriyyah* Library in Damascus) (number 3798). See Qāf 150/Ba'. (v) *Āmālī Abu Ḥāmid al-Shujā'i* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sarkhi (d. 534/). This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-*Zāhiriyyah* Library in Damascus) (number 3856). See Qāf 45/Ba'/line 7, Qāf 47/Alif/line 8, Qāf 47/ Ba'/line 4, Qāf 48/ Alif /line 6, and Qāf 48/ Ba'/line 1. (vi) *Āmālī Rizq Allāh* of Abu Muḥammad b. Abu al-Faraj 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Tamimi (d. 488/). This is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-*Zāhiriyyah* Library in Damascus) (number 3428). See Qāf 54/ Ba'/line 9. (vi) *Āmālī al-Rūdhbāri* of Abu 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. 'Aṭā' b. Aḥmad al-Rūdhbāri (d. 369/). This

It is worthwhile noting that verses of poetry usually used to be read at the end of the ḥadīth dictation session. However, some ḥadīth scholars used to read the verses of poetry in the middle of their ḥadīth dictation sessions such as the *Āmālī* of Abu Bakr al-Anṣari,<sup>136</sup> and that of al-ṣaffār<sup>137</sup> and of Hazzar Murd.<sup>138</sup> Other ḥadīth scholars,

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is a manuscript within a group of other manuscripts in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3428). See Qāf 113/ Ba'/line 5 and Qāf 115/ Ba'/line 16. (vii) *Āmālī Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī*. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 4519). See Qāf 6/ Ba'/line 12, Qāf 8/Alif/line 17, Qāf 10/ Ba'/line 11, and Qāf 15/ Ba'/line 24. (viii) *Āmālī Abu Bakr al-Ṣaffār*. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3849). See Qāf 38/Alif/line 5. (ix) *Āmālī al-Ṣābūnī*. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3849). See Qāf 43/ Ba'/line 3. (x) *Āmālī al-Ṣābūnī*. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3849). See Qāf 43/ Ba'/line 3. (xi) *Āmālī °Abd al-°Azīz of °Abd al-°Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. °Ali b. Sulaimān al-Dimishqī al-Kittānī* (d. 466/). This is a manuscript in al-Asad National Library (formerly known as al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus), number 3846. See Qāf 64/ Ba'/line 10, Qāf 65/Alif/line 1, and Qāf 67/ Ba'/line 6. (xii) *Āmālī Abu al-Faṭḥ* of Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al-Makdisī. This is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3839). See Qāf 98/Alif/line 10, Qāf 98/ Ba'/line 1. Also, see Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al-Makdisī's ḥadīth dictation session number 121, Qāf 30/ Ba'/line 13, Qāf 31/Alif/line 12, Qāf 32/ Ba'/line 6.

<sup>136</sup>*Āmālī of Abu Bakr al-Anṣārī* is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 4519).

<sup>137</sup>*Āmālī of al-Ṣaffār* is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3849).

<sup>138</sup>*Āmālī of Hazzār Murdī* is a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3787).



such as al-Sarkhasi<sup>139</sup> and al-Sukkari,<sup>140</sup> used to read the verses of poetry in the middle and at the end of the ḥadīth dictation session.

There were ḥadīth dictation sessions during which there was no reference to verses of poetry by the ḥadīth scholar. There were also ḥadīth dictation sessions during which only verses of poetry were read by the ḥadīth scholar without any anecdotes, wise sayings, or innocent jokes. We can, therefore, claim that this was the practice of ḥadīth dictation sessions during the early centuries, as seen in *Āmālī al-Muzki*<sup>141</sup>, *Āmālī Abu Muslim al-Katib*<sup>142</sup>, *Āmālī Abu Naṣr al-Ghāzi*<sup>143</sup>, and *Āmālī Abu Mūsā al-Madīni*<sup>144</sup>, among others.

### 6.8. Time of Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions

The following sections discuss the number of days during which the ḥadīth dictation sessions were held, the specific day, the usual time of the sessions, and the most common places where they used to be held. These places included grand and small

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<sup>139</sup>*Āmālī al-Sarkhasi* is a manuscript available in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3798).

<sup>140</sup>*Āmālī al-Sukkari* is a manuscript available in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) number 3725.

<sup>141</sup>*Āmālī al-Muzki* is a manuscript available in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3790).

<sup>142</sup>*Āmālī Abu Muslim al-Kātib* is a manuscript available in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3840).

<sup>143</sup>*Āmālī Abu Naṣr al-Ghāzi* is a manuscript available in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 1178).

<sup>144</sup>*Āmālī Abu Mūsā al-Madīni* is a manuscript available in the al-Asad National Library (formerly known as the al-Zāhiriyyah Library in Damascus) (number 3842).

(local) mosques, roads, ḥadīth scholars' houses, public places (such as squares), palaces of rulers and governors, and the Ṣufi lodging places.

### **6.8.1. How Many Times a Week?**

Ḥadīth dictation session would take place at various times of the day across the week, (al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:252 and al-Suyuti (1994, 2:132). For al-Suyuti (1994, 2:132), based on al-Bukhāri (2008, p 8 (ḥadīth number 70)) as narrated by Abu Wā'il: "Ibn Mas'ud used to hold his ḥadīth dictation sessions once a week on Thursdays". This was due to the fact that if more ḥadīth dictation sessions were held during the week, people would have felt bored and would have lost interest in learning ḥadīth.

According to 'Ikramah, Ibn 'Abbās said: "Give ḥadīth dictation sessions on Fridays and do not teach more than twice a week, and the maximum is three days a week" (al-Bukhāri (2008, p 533(ḥadīth number 6337)). It is also noticeable that al-Ṣuyūṭī (1994, 2:132) appears to have contradicted himself, as once, as mentioned above, he considered that the ḥadīth dictation sessions should be held once a week but later he was of the opinion that they should be held more often than that.

The maximum number of times for holding ḥadīth dictation sessions was not to exceed three days a week, probably for a number of pedagogical and psychological reasons, such as:

- (i)** to avoid boredom among ḥadīth students,
- (ii)** to avoid errors during the recording of ḥadīth when dictated to students,
- (iii)** to give more time to the ḥadīth scholar to prepare his teaching materials well,
- (iv)** to give more time to the ḥadīth student to revise, prepare his ink, paper and other materials, do some work to earn financial support for his family, to have enough time for his family, and to become psychologically prepared for the next ḥadīth dictation session the following week,

(v) to allow more time for debate and questions after the end of the session, since a large number of students would continue their discussion with their ḥadīth teacher, and

(vi) to avoid overcrowding at a ḥadīth diction session. For instance, the ḥadīth diction session of the ḥadīth scholar Abu Bakr Ja<sup>c</sup>far al-Faryabi (d. 301/) was attended by more than 30,000 people and the number of repeaters (*mustamli*) required was 316 (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 7:201). Thus, it would be more reasonable to hold more ḥadīth diction sessions during the week on different days.

### 6.8.2. Which Day and What Time During the Day?

According to al-Suyuti (1994, 2:132), most major ḥadīth scholars, such as Ibn <sup>c</sup>Asākir, al-Khaṭīb, and al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani, used to hold their ḥadīth dictation sessions on Fridays immediately after the Friday sermon. Among scholars who claimed that the ḥadīth dictation sessions were held after the Friday sermon were al-Nasā'i (1994:51). Other sources also refer to the same time and day<sup>145</sup>.

However, based on my literature review of manuscripts, I believe the time was not immediately after the Friday sermon but following the afternoon prayer on Fridays. This is also based on the opinion of al-Buhaiqi in his *al-Shu<sup>c</sup>ab* (1986, 1:410, number 563). Holding ḥadīth dictation sessions on Fridays was the practice of the ḥadīth scholar Abu Ṭāhir Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Aṣbahāni of the al-<sup>c</sup>Adiliyyah School in Alexandria, Egypt, which was established in 564/ by King Abu al-Ḥasan <sup>c</sup>Ali b. al-Sallar who was known as "*al-Mālik al-<sup>c</sup>Ādil*" (the Just King) (Ibn al-Abar 1885:49 and Ibn Khalkan 1968, 1:105).

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<sup>145</sup>See, for example, manuscripts number 3756/Ta' 4, number 3725, and number 3782 in the al-Asad National Library.

Among the sources referring to the Friday ḥadīth dictation sessions as being after the afternoon prayer (*ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*) are the manuscript number 3761/Tā' 14, and Jarrar (2007, 7:228). Other scholars argue that the ḥadīth dictation sessions used to be held on Fridays but after the evening prayer (*ṣalāt al-ʿīsha'*) al-Shehri (2007, page 337); al-Aṣfahāni (1989, 3:58; al-Dhahabi (1955, 1:141).

Clearly Friday was not always the day on which the ḥadīth dictation sessions took place. For al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:71), Friday was the preferred day and the mosque was the preferred place for most ḥadīth teachers such as Muḥammad b. Zarqawaih, Abu al-Ḥasan, Abu al-Qāsim ʿAli, ʿAbd al-Mālik Ibn Bushran, Abu Bakr al-Hiri, Abu al-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Sarraj, Abu Bakr Ibn Iṣḥāq, and many others.

However, for al-Kittani (1986:159), the ḥadīth dictation sessions used to be held twice a week: on Fridays and Tuesdays. I believe this was quite reasonable in terms of the nature of teaching ḥadīth, since there is a time gap of three days (Saturday, Sunday, and Monday) after Friday and a time gap of two days (Wednesday and Thursday) after Tuesday. There is, I believe, a pedagogical value in this time gap arrangement. It was likely, therefore, that there used to be two kinds of ḥadīth dictation sessions:

**(i) General ḥadīth dictation sessions:** These were held on Fridays, and were held for the general public, whether literate and illiterate, from all walks of life and of various professions and social status. Usually, ḥadīth teachers used to teach general ḥadīths which were related to prayer, how to perform it, ablution, fasting, the good deeds and their benefits, and the bad deeds and their consequences. Thus, a Friday would have been the most appropriate day for such ḥadīth dictation sessions since different people of different age and status attended the mosque for Friday prayer.

**(ii) Specific ḥadīth dictation sessions:** These were held on Tuesdays, specifically for ḥadīth students. Usually, ḥadīth teachers used to teach specific ḥadīths which required a knowledgeable audience to understand and not become confused, such as

the ḥadīths on what was allowed and what was forbidden, matters related to consuming alcohol, the names and attributes of God (*ṣifāt Allāh*), ḥadīths related to the status of the Companions, and problems related to different opinions among people with regards to the four rightly guided Caliphs. Thus, Tuesdays were the most appropriate day for the ḥadīth teacher to hold his sessions on, since he had a three-day gap after his general sessions on Fridays.

Therefore, the difference between the above two types of ḥadīth dictation sessions was represented by the teaching material taught, the style of teaching, and the kind of discussion and questions raised by the audience.

It is worth noting that al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani (1993, 1:241) did not specify a particular day or time for holding the ḥadīth dictation sessions and left it open to the ḥadīth teacher to decide. However, most ḥadīth scholars preferred Fridays. Nonetheless, Thursdays were also used for ḥadīth dictation sessions, since in Islamic tradition the two days of Monday and Thursday are specifically preferred days of the week according to the ḥadīth which is believed to have been spoken by Muḥammad: "*uṭlubu al-ḥadīth yawm al-ithnain wal-khamīs fa'innahu muyassarun li-ṣaḥībihi*" (Learn the ḥadīth on Mondays and Thursdays because it will be made easy for you) (°Aiyad 1970:51).

Some ḥadīth scholars, preferred Mondays instead for holding their ḥadīth dictation sessions. For instance, Abu Sahl b. Ziyad al-Qaṭṭan used to hold his ḥadīth dictation sessions on Mondays (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:73), as did Abu Ishāq al-Muzakki Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Naisābūri (d. 362/) (manuscript number 3790/Tā' in the al-Asad National Library).

Al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:72) though maintains that ḥadīth dictation sessions were held on Sundays and Thursdays during the Successors' and the late Successors' lifetimes and that Abu °Abd Allāh al-Muḥamali used to teach ḥadīth on Sundays and Thursdays. °Aiyad (1970:51) and al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:71) are also of the opinion that Thursdays were the preferred days for holding the ḥadīth dictation sessions. This is supported

by Ibn Mājah in his *Sunan* (2008, p 2535 ḥadīth number 992) and Aḥmad (1969, 6:154-155), (manuscript number 1178, Tāʾ/ 8, in al-Asad National Library), (*Āmālīʿ Abd al-Wahhāb b. Mandah*, in Copreli Library, manuscript number 252/1/1, Qāf/28/line 6 and Qāf /31/Alif/line 7 and Qāf/99/Alif/line 18). Some ḥadīth scholars used to name their ḥadīth dictation sessions by the day, Thursday, and called them *al-Āmālī al-khamisiyyah* (The Thursday Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions), such as those of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusain al-SḤajari (al-SḤajari 1983).

However, according to al-Kittani (1986:159) and al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:72), ḥadīth scholars preferred Tuesdays for holding their ḥadīth dictation sessions. For instance, the ḥadīth scholar Abu Bakr al-Shāfiʿi. al-Khaṭīb (1997, 4:189) mentions that the ḥadīth scholar Aḥmad b. Salmān al-Najjād al-Ḥanbali (d. 348/) used to hold his ḥadīth dictation sessions on Tuesdays. According to Sabri (2002:98 and 120), the ḥadīth scholar Abu al-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. Samʿun also held his ḥadīth dictation sessions on that day.

According to al-Khaṭīb (1994, 2:72 and 1997, 9:388) and *Āmālī* al-SḤajari (1983, 1:226), ḥadīth scholars such as Abu MuḥammadʿAbd Allāh b. Ishāq al-Jawhari (d. 332/) used to hold their ḥadīth dictation sessions on Wednesdays, while according to Jarrar (2007, 5:92), ḥadīth scholars such as Abu al-Muzaffar ʿAbd Allāh b. Shabīb al-Ḍubbi would hold their ḥadīth dictation sessions on Saturdays.

Furthermore, the manuscript the ḥadīth scholar Rizq Allāh (d. 488) (date 63 of Qāf 51-54 among other manuscripts in the former al-Zāhirīyyah Library (now the al-Asad National Library)) mentions that the ḥadīth scholar Rizq Allah Abu Muḥammad b. Abu al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Tamimi al-Baghdādi also used to hold his ḥadīth dictation sessions on Saturdays. The manuscript (General, number 3823, among other manuscripts (87) in the former al-Zāhirīyyah Library (now the al-Asad National Library)) mentions that the ḥadīth scholar Abu Muḥammad Ibn Saʿid Yaḥyā b. Saʿid also used to hold his ḥadīth dictation sessions on Saturdays.

It has also been claimed that some ḥadīth scholars preferred Sundays for holding their ḥadīth dictation sessions. According to Ṣabri, page 83 (*Āmālī* Ibn Sam<sup>u</sup>n), the ḥadīth scholar Abu Bakr <sup>u</sup>Abd Allāh b. al-Ash<sup>u</sup>ath al-Sijistāni used to hold his ḥadīth dictation sessions on Sundays in the al-Raṣafah area of Baghdād. Moreover, the ḥadīth scholar Abu <sup>u</sup>Abd Allāh al-Muḥamali used to hold his ḥadīth dictation sessions on Sundays and Thursdays (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:72).

It is also worth noting that some ḥadīth scholars used to hold their ḥadīth dictation sessions only once a year, such as Abu al-Faraj Aḥmad b. Kamil b. <sup>u</sup>Umar al-Mu<sup>u</sup>dil (d. 405/) (al-Dhahabi 1992, 18:215).

Ḥadīth scholars also used to hold their ḥadīth dictation sessions in particular months. For instance, Ibn al-Shuhnah al-Saghir Muḥammad b. Ghazi al-Ḥalabi (d. 890/) used to give his ḥadīth dictation sessions in the month of Dhu al-Qi<sup>u</sup>dah of 718 and finished in Dhu al-Qi<sup>u</sup>dah of 877 (*Āmālī* al-Ḥurafi edited by Muḥammad al-Shahri 2007, 186), while Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-<sup>u</sup>Abbās al-Asfati did so in Dhu al-Qi<sup>u</sup>dah of 372 (*Āmālī* al-SḤajari 1983, 3385).

Some Ḥadīth scholars held ḥadīth dictation sessions in the month of Ṣafar; for instance, the ḥadīth scholar Abu Ḥafṣ<sup>u</sup>Umar b. Aḥmad b. Shahin, who taught ḥadīth in Ṣafar in 384 (Jarrar 2007, 3:378 *Āmālī* al-SḤajari). Others held their ḥadīth dictation sessions in the month of Jamadi al-Akhirah: Aḥmad b. <sup>u</sup>Abd Allāh Ibn al-Niri al-Bazzaz, for example, held his sessions in 318 (Jarrar 2007, 6:336), and the ḥadīth scholar <sup>u</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. <sup>u</sup>Abd Allāh al-<sup>u</sup>Aṭṭar did so in the month of Jamādi al-Akhīrah in 367 (Jarrar 2007, 1:307 *Āmālī* al-SḤajari), while Abu <sup>u</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad b. Shu<sup>u</sup>aib al-Nasā'i held his ḥadīth dictation sessions in the month of Jamādi al-Akhīrah in 303 (al-Nasā'i 1994:51).

Other ḥadīth scholars held their ḥadīth dictation sessions in the month of Rabi<sup>u</sup> al-Akhir: Abu al-Muzaffar <sup>u</sup>Abd Allāh b. Shabib al-Ḍubbi, for instance, did so in the month of Rabi<sup>u</sup> al-Akhir in 49 (Jarrar 2007, 5:92 *Āmālī* al-SḤajari).

Ḥadīth scholars also held ḥadīth dictation sessions in the month of Rajab, such as Abu Bakr Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>far b. Muḥammad al-Firyabi who held his in the month of Rajab in 297 (Jarrar 2007, 6:167 *Āmālī* al-SḤajari). Other ḥadīth scholars held their ḥadīth dictation sessions in the month of Ramdān; for instance, Sahl b. Salmān Abu al-Ṭaiyib who did so in the month of Ramdān in 399 (Jarrar 2007, 6:519 *Āmālī* al-SḤajari).

Some held their ḥadīth dictation sessions in the month of Shawwāl, such as Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. Salmān al-Najjād who held his sessions in the month of Shawwāl in 346 (Jarrar 2007, 5:345 *Āmālī* al-SḤajari).

Others held theirs in the month of Sha<sup>ʿ</sup>bān; for example, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sam<sup>ʿ</sup>un, who held his ḥadīth dictation sessions in the month of Sha<sup>ʿ</sup>bān in 387 (Ṣabri 2002:162 *Āmālī* Ibn Sam<sup>ʿ</sup>un), and the ḥadīth scholar Abu Bakr <sup>ʿ</sup>Abd Allāh b. Sulaimān b. al-Ash<sup>ʿ</sup>ath al-Sijistāni who held his in Sha<sup>ʿ</sup>bān of 314 in the mosque of al-Raṣafah in Baghdād (Ṣabri 2002:83 *Āmālī* Ibn Sam<sup>ʿ</sup>un).

## **6.9. Place of Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions**

For a variety of reasons, Ḥadīth scholars used to hold their ḥadīth dictation sessions in different places, such as mosques, ḥadīth scholars' own houses, and public places such as roads, market places and squares. Among the reasons that caused the ḥadīth dictation sessions to be held in places other than the mosque was the massive increase in the number of people attending to learn ḥadīth. In this section, we shall provide a discussion of the places where these sessions used to take place.

### **6.9.1. Mosques**

The mosque, as a place of worship, has been the most common place for teaching the ḥadīth and for ḥadīth dictation sessions. There are two types of mosques, and scholars hold their ḥadīth dictation sessions in both:



(i) The grand mosque (*al-masjīd al-jāmi<sup>c</sup>*), which is spacious enough for holding the five daily prayers as well as the Friday prayer. The main grand mosques in the Islamic world are the holy mosque of Makkah (known as *al-masjid al-ḥarām*), the holy mosque of Madīnah (known as the Prophet's mosque – *al-masjid al-nabawi*), and the mosque of Jerusalem (*al-masjid al-aqsā*). Grand mosques are usually built in towns and big cities rather than in villages.

(ii) The small mosque (*al-masjid al-maḥallī*) which is usually built in small areas or villages and used for performing the five daily prayers but not for the Friday prayer. For the latter, people from such areas usually go to the nearby grand mosques.

It is worthwhile noting that scholars used to hold their ḥadīth dictation sessions in both grand and small mosques. For instance, Abu Bakr al-Shāfi<sup>c</sup>i used to teach ḥadīth in his local mosque in Dārb al-Qaṣṣārīn on Tuesdays, and in the grand mosque on Fridays (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 4:189). Thus, the mosque has been the most popular and preferred place for ḥadīth scholars to hold their ḥadīth dictation sessions (ibid, 2:71 and al-Kittani 1986:159).

#### **6.9.1.1. Grand Mosques**

Among the ḥadīth scholars who held ḥadīth dictation sessions in the holy mosque of Makkah and the holy mosque of Madinah were Aḥmad al-Baghdādi (al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 1:181) and Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān al-sakhawi (d. 902/), who held his ḥadīth dictation sessions in the holy mosque of Makkah in 870/ ( al-Sakhawi 1996, 2:783; al-Shehhri 2007: 186 ).

Among the ḥadīth scholars who held their ḥadīth dictation sessions in the holy mosque of Madinah were: al-<sup>c</sup>Irāqī and his son Aḥmad al-<sup>c</sup>Irāqī, Abu al-Faraj Muḥammad b. Maḥmud al-Qizwīni, and Muḥammad al-Warrāq (Tadrib al-Rawi al-Ṣuyūṭī 1994, 2:132; al-SḤajari al-Ima' 2007, 7:73; Jarrar al-Aghrab by al-Nasā'i 2007, 6:44; Mis<sup>c</sup>id al-Sa<sup>c</sup>dani 1997:35; Fath al-Sakhawi 1992, 3:51).

Among those ḥadīth scholars who held their ḥadīth dictation sessions in the mosque of Jerusalem was Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al-Nābulṣī (Jarrar Fawa'id Tammam 2007, 4:282).

The ḥadīth scholar °Aṣim b. °Ali b. °Aṣim held his ḥadīth dictation sessions in al-Raṣafah grand mosque in Baghdād and his audience was estimated at 120,000 people including both students and non-students, such as ordinary people, government employees, cabinet members, and dignitaries (al-Sam°ani 1993, 1:155-156). The ḥadīth scholars Abu Bakr Yūsuf b. Ya°qūb al-Bahlul al-Azraq, Abu al-Ḥasan °Ali b. °Ubaid, and Abu °Umar Ḥamzah b. al-Qāsim al-Hashimi also held their ḥadīth dictation sessions in al-Raṣafah grand mosque in Baghdād. See Makdisi (1990, p 215), while al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdūn held his ḥadīth dictation sessions in Jarjaraya's grand mosque in 297/ (Jarrar *Āmālī* al-SḤajari 2007, 6:382).

The ḥadīth scholar al-Khatalli al-Sukkari °Ali b. °Umar al-Ḥarbi (d. 386/) held his ḥadīth dictation sessions in the al-Manṣūr grand mosque in Baghdād<sup>146</sup> The ḥadīth scholars Abu al-°A' Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl and Abu °Ali al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Labbad al-Warrāq held their sessions in Aṣbahān grand mosque (al-Sam°ani 1993, 1:608; Jarrar *Āmālī* al-SḤajari 2007, 5:498; Jarrar *Āmālī* al-SḤajari 2007, 2:228), and the ḥadīth scholar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ghāzi al-Ḥalabi (d. 890/) held his in the al-Mu'aiyadi grand mosque (*Āmālī* al-Ḥurfī edited by Muḥammad al-Shehhri 2007: 186 ).

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<sup>146</sup>*Āmālī al-Sukkari*, a manuscript in the al-Asad National Library (formerly al-*Zāhiriyyah* Library), within a group of other manuscripts (number 55, General 3791, Qāf 175-180).

### 6.9.1.2. Small Mosques

Small mosques are usually the local ones near the ḥadīth scholar's house. Among the ḥadīth scholars who held their ḥadīth dictation sessions in their local small mosques were Abu ʿAli al-Ḥasan b. Shadhan al-Bazzāz, Abu al-Ḥasan ʿAli b. Muḥammad . al-Qāsim, Aḥmad b. Sahl b. al-Fairazan al-Ashtani, al-Ḥasan Baqiyyah b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Zahid, and Abu al-Qāsim ʿAli b. al-Ḥasan known as Ibn Abu ʿUthmān al-Daqqāq (Jarrar 2007, 1:226; Jarrar 2007, 2:558; al-Ima' 2007, 3:85; Jarrar 2007, 4:413; Jarrar 2007, 6:429). see Makdisi (1990, 215).

### 6.9.1.3. Ḥadīth Scholars' Houses

Ḥadīth scholars also used to hold their ḥadīth dictation sessions in their own homes, such as al-Maqrizi (Kitab al-Khutāt 1998, 2:144). It is worthwhile noting that one of the major reasons that made ḥadīth scholars hold their ḥadīth dictation sessions at home was the oppressive rulers who silenced some ḥadīth scholars (Madelung 2011, 3:655). An example of this case was Imām al-Zinjani Abu al-Qāsim Saʿad b. ʿAli b. al-Ḥusain, the Imām of the holy mosque of Makkah (al-Dhahabi 1955, 3:1175-1176, Ibn al-Jawzi 1985 , 8:320, and al-Dhahabi 18:387). Generally speaking, ḥadīth scholars used to discuss ḥadīth in their own homes but when the number of people increased, the session used to extend to the garden and outside yard, as was the case with the ḥadīth dictation sessions held by Muḥammad b. Rafīʿ al-Qushairi (d. 245/) who used to teach ḥadīth while sitting under the tree in his garden, and leaning against it (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:531).

Members of the ḥadīth scholar's family also used to take part in the ḥadīth dictation sessions held at home and some of them even wrote ḥadīth books on the sessions given by their father, as for example ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the son of the ḥadīth scholar Abu Zarʿah al-Razi (d. 268/) (al-Dhahabi 1992, 13:215). This also applies to the family of the ḥadīth scholar Abu Muḥammad Sulaimān b. Mahran al-Aʿmash (d. 148/) (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 12:89-90).

Other ḥadīth scholars who held their ḥadīth dictation sessions at home were al-Ḥusain b. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad (d. 330/) (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 8:19), Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ṭallḥah b. Ibrāhīm (Jarrar 2007, 3:251), al-Ḥasan b. Shabab Abu ʿAli (Ṣabri *Āmālī* Ibn Samʿun 2002:291), and Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl who held his ḥadīth dictation sessions in his house in Aṣbahān (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:399).

#### **6.9.1.4. Roads**

Ḥadīth dictation sessions also took place on roads and in wide streets to accommodate the large number of those attending, and since the ḥadīth dictation session did not last more than 2-3 hours, no inconvenience was caused to people and businesses. Among the ḥadīth scholars who held their ḥadīth dictation sessions in roads and wide streets were Abu Bakr Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Faryabi in al-Kūfah (al-Samʿani 1993, 1:195) and Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAli al-Hajimi (al-Samʿani 1993, 1:160; al-Khaṭīb 1994, 2:53).

#### **6.9.1.5. Squares and Public Places**

Squares and public places were also made use of by ḥadīth scholars to deliver their ḥadīth dictation sessions to the general public and to ḥadīth students. Among those scholars who held their ḥadīth dictation sessions in public places and squares were Abu Muslim al-Kajji (d. 292/) (al-Khaṭīb 1992, 2:60) and Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Faryabi (d. 301/) (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 7:202).

#### **6.9.1.6. Rulers' Courts and Palaces**

Caliphs, governors and other rulers also showed an interest in learning ḥadīth. Thus, they invited ḥadīth scholars to their courts and palaces to teach ḥadīth to whoever worked in the palaces and courts, including the ruler himself as well as the dignitaries of the city (Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr 1992:108; Ibn al-Athīr 1997, 1:151; Ibn Ḥajar 1968, 1:71).

Abu Naṣr al-Ghāzi, for instance, held ḥadīth dictation sessions in the palace of the Minister Abu al-Qāsim in Aṣbahān (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:401; Manuscript in al-Asad

National Library, number 1178). Haiyān b. Bishir was a ḥadīth scholar but was also the Jurist of Baghdād and Aṣbahān. He held ḥadīth dictation sessions in his palace for dignitaries and all the people working with him (al-Samʿani 1993, 2:435). One of the most famous ḥadīth scholars who taught ḥadīth to rulers in their palaces was Anas b. Mālik (d. 93/) who taught ḥadīth in the Iraqī province of Wasit in the palace of the governor of Iraq (al-Khaṭīb 1997, 8:259).

Also, some rulers were themselves ḥadīth scholars and held ḥadīth dictation sessions. An example is the Abbāsīd Caliph al-Ma'mun (al-Samʿani 1993:162-163). There is no doubt that the Caliph defended the practice of this technique and this drew the attention of people around him to his power and leadership.

#### **6.9.1.7. Ṣufi Lodges (*al-khanqāh*)**

Ḥadīth dictation sessions were also held in the Ṣufī places of worship, called *al-khanqāh*. For instance, the ḥadīth scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhawī (d. 902/) held his ḥadīth dictation sessions in a Ṣufī lodge called Khanqat Saʿīd al-Suʿada', in Cairo (al-Maqrīzī kitab al-Khutāt 1998, 2:144; the Manuscript in al-Asad National Library, number 3761/Tāʾ/14). The ḥadīth scholar Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf b. Maṣṣūr al-Ghassanī al-Sanhurī also held ḥadīth dictation sessions in Khanqat Saʿīd al-Suʿada' in Cairo (Manuscript in al-Asad National Library, number 3761/Tāʾ/14). In Alexandria, the Ṣufī place of worship was called al-Madrasah al-ʿAdiliyyah, and was where the ḥadīth scholar Abu Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Salafī al-Aṣbahānī held his ḥadīth dictation sessions (Ibn Khalkān 1968, 1:105).

## 7. Chapter Seven: The Ḥadīth Student's Learning Aids

### 7.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the relationship between the ḥadīth student and the tools required for the ḥadīth dictation sessions. It provides a discussion of paper as the most important requirement in the recording of ḥadīth, and thus the paper industry is explained in detail. The factors that damaged manuscripts, such as moisture, heat, dust and sweat, are also discussed. The chapter also accounts for other learning tools used by ḥadīth students and traditionists (*al-muḥaddithūn*) such as the pen, the eraser and ink. The relationship between paper, ink and calligraphy, and the quality of typeface and that of the pen used in writing are also discussed in detail, as well as how these would affect the recording of ḥadīth, its text (*matn*), chain of narration, and the serious recurrent problems of semantic misrepresentation (*tashḥīf*) and distortion of the syntactic structure (*tahrīf*). This chapter also provides details on the rules of writing during the recording of ḥadīth by ḥadīth students.

### 7.2. The Paper Industry

The expansion of the Islamic conquests towards the East led Muslim conquerors to reach as far as the borders of China, which was the furthest eastern point at that time. In one of the battles in the summer of 751 AC, the Muslims took as captives a group of Chinese who were experts in the paper industry. With their support, the first paper factory was built in the City of Samarkand which after a short period of time became famed for paper production. Soon afterwards, the paper industry moved to Baghdād which was the greatest Islamic city at that time, with Al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmaki, the Minister of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, founding the first paper mill in Baghdād in 793. The use of paper spread fast, especially with the Caliph issuing an order for people to write only on paper. The publication of *Sobh al-ʿIsha fi Sinaʿat al-Insha'* (al-Qalqashandi 1922, 2:475) had a major impact on the

use of paper in writing. Afterwards, the paper industry spread from Baghdād to Damascus, Tripoli, Yemen, Egypt, Morocco, and Spain (the Andalus), with the first paper mills established in Egypt around 900 AC, in Marrakech about 1100 AC, the Andalus around 1150 AC in the city of Shāṭibah (Xatiba), from where it then moved to the city of Toledo in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Thus the paper industry became widespread in most Islamic countries. For example, in Morocco alone, there were 400 paper-producing factories in the year 1200. The flourishing movement of writing, literary scholarship and translation, as well as the large number of schools, the wide interest in science, and the increasing number of students had a major influence on the booming paper industry, and the ensuing increased consumption of paper, to the extent that paper became the most popular and plentiful product in the Muslim world. For instance, Egypt "was producing its own share of paper which was so abundant that shop keepers in Cairo were using it to wrap the vegetables and spices" (Korkis ʿAwad 1948, 13/357). It is worthwhile noting that the Muslims produced paper from different materials such as cotton, rice husks, leaves, berries and linen.

These developments took place at a time when Europe was going through a period of intellectual stagnation. "What the Europeans may have seen then did not even exceed a small rotten piece brought by one of the traders from the Orient, by way of being witty. Paper was not very popular in Europe due to the small number of people familiar with books. The paper industry did not come into existence in Europe until the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD. It was established in Italy in 1276" (Seigand 1958: 80).

### **7.3. The Writing Tools Used in Ḥadīth Dictation Sessions**

The development that took place in the paper sessions (*majālis al-waraq*) was reflected in the writing styles and tools during different periods of time. This section

will provide a definition of the most important writing tools in addition to the most important rules of writing.

The value of paper for the ḥadīth students who attended ḥadīth dictation sessions is evident. The scholarship process would not materialise unless an author used a pen, ink and paper. The ink and paper had a prominent role in maintaining the quality and soundness of the ḥadīth, its chain of narration, its content, and most importantly, the quality of the manuscripts of the ḥadīth dictation sessions. The quality of the ink rendered writing clearer and more resistant to natural factors such as humidity which was not always felt.

### 7.3.1. Factors Affecting Paper

These factors include the following:

(i) Moisture:

I will not forget the incident that happened to me during my stay in a house in the northern region of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. I bought several books in this city which was small and so high in altitude that temperatures used to take a dip during the summer. I once left a small bird-hunting gun exposed and did not cover it with anything. After nearly ten months, I found some rust on the gun similar to that on iron; thus, I sought the advice of some of my friends about it and they informed me that it was due to the moisture in the air. I realised then that if moisture can affect iron, a strong material, it certainly does so with paper.

(ii) Sweat: Among the other things affecting paper is sweat, as a result of holding on to paper with the hand. The manuscript can also be affected by sweat coming off the reader's forehead if he/she was in a humid place or during the summer because of the extreme heat which makes humans sweat.

(iii) Heat: Among other factors affecting the manuscripts is heat, which may cause the ink to become blurred, particularly if there is much of it on the paper. There are many types of paper:

- (a) *soggy paper*: This is where the ink percolates and the paper becomes heavy because of the absorbed ink.
- (b) *tough paper*: This is a kind of paper which does not absorb ink and has a tough material.



- (c) *poor quality paper*: This is where the ink can spread all over the paper because it is of poor quality and the ink does not hold to one place. Because of this, characters may overlap and this can spoil the whole manuscript. Also, the writing becomes blurred with letters from the alphabet being mixed up with each other, such as the letter *sin*) with the letter *sād*, and the letter *tā'* with the letter *kāf*, etc. As a consequence, the word may lend itself to several interpretations and readings, which paves the way for *taṣḥīf*(semantic misrepresentation) and *taḥrīf*(distortion of the syntactic structure). Thus, the meaning can be lost altogether
- (d) *Dust*: Dust has damaged many manuscripts from ḥadīth dictation sessions. I have witnessed the effect of dust on manuscripts during my visits to international libraries. Dust can also affect the paper and ink as well therefore the clarity of the calligraphy and damage quickly
- (e) *Light*: Light can affect the ink, and therefore the clarity of the calligraphy by causing the ink to fade in colour and become illegible. It can also affect the paper of the manuscript, causing it to become so dry over the years that it will eventually fall to pieces.

Despite these challenges, there are some classical manuscripts from ḥadīth dictation sessions which have been able to withstand the effects of heat, moisture, light, and dust and have managed to maintain their conspicuous calligraphy. This is largely attributed to the quality of the ink and paper used in these manuscripts.

#### **7.4. Paper, Ink and Calligraphy**

The traditionists (*al-muḥaddithūn*) took extra care when choosing the quality of their ink and writing paper in an attempt to achieve the following goals:

- (i) preserve the ḥadīth,
- (ii) avoid *taṣḥīf*(semantic misrepresentation),
- (iii) avoid *taḥrīf*(distortion of the syntactic structure), and
- (iv) enable the reader to enjoy reading the manuscript.

According to al-Khaṭīb, "it is preferable to use a bright ink and clear paper" (*kirṭās* – writing-material). This is narrated by ʿAlī b. Abu ʿAlī al-Baṣrī, Muhammad b. ʿAbd allāh b. Moṭṭalib al-Kufī, and Abu Saʿad Dawūd b. al-Haytham in Anbar (Iraq) on the authority of al-Mubarrad who said: "I saw al-Jāhiz smile whilst writing. Upon asking him why so, he replied: 'If the paper is of poor quality, if the ink quality is not so pure, if the pen is not well-prepared, and the heart is preoccupied with worldly affairs, then we expect the scholarly product to be of poor quality'" (al-Khaṭīb, 1994, 1:187-188). It is worth noting that al-Jāhiz was a reputable scholar in language and literature, and was also known for his writing and reading effort, so much so that he is reported to have been killed after a large number of books in his personal library fell on him. Explaining the above quotation of al-Jāhiz, this scholar advised the writers about the following:

- (i) that the paper should be clear, namely, one smooth piece of writing material, so that the pen would smoothly move across without scratching or scraping it.
- (ii) that the ink should be so pure, black and shiny that it should glow, due to its concentration,
- (iii) that the ink should not be diluted,
- (iv) that the pen should be made from an appropriate material, prepared beforehand, and wellsharpened.

Similarly, al-Jāhiz advised authors about the following:

- (i) that their mind should be carefree; in other words, free from any of life's concerns, preoccupations or burdens that would otherwise occasionally blur their focus and cripple the writer's stream of thinking,
- (ii) that their mind should be free from as many problems and responsibilities as possible, so that their scholarship could be creative and well-focused.

Traditionists and writers were keen to promote calligraphy and they discussed in their gatherings the major role calligraphy could play in making the readers either admire or loathe the book. High quality calligraphy, therefore, has a psychological impact on the reader; it helps him/her to dedicate more time for reading; it

encourages the reader to obtain the most benefit from the book, as opposed to poor quality calligraphy, which discourages readers from any attempt to read on, and makes them feel bored and displeased with the book.

According to al-Honaini, as reported by al-Sam'ani, Aḥmad b. Salamah al-Naisābūri and Muslim b. al-Ḥajjaj (al-Sam'ani 1993, 2:459), "Three things are not indispensable for the traditionists, namely; speed when walking, speed when eating, and speed when writing." As such, they were engaged in a race against time and strove hard in their lifetime to gain as much as they could from this interesting and thoroughly beneficial type of knowledge. Drawing on some personal experience while working on manuscripts, and as a result of following up the calligraphy of many author-scholars, it has become apparent to me that the authors who published several books developed low quality calligraphy. An example is Imām Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. 'Abdul Hadi al-Dimishqi, al-Makdisi al-Ḥanbali (died in 902 AH/1496), whose calligraphy still marks many of the manuscripts in the al-Zāhirīyyah Library in Damascus (known today as the al-Asad Library).

Though Jalāl al-Dīn Ṣuyuṭī and many others have also left behind a wide range of books and countless research, their calligraphy also exhibited such a low quality that it was difficult to verify the manuscript of Yūsuf b. Ḥasan known as Ibn al-Hadi. This is due to the speed and urgency with which this research material had to be copied by these scholars so as not to leave out anything while writing. One way of doing this was to select a student with a distinguished handwriting, which brings to the fore the issue of whether good handwriting is a talent that can be passed on by parents and grandparents, or an acquired skill as a result of learning and practising the skill of calligraphy.

Indeed, a large number of renowned calligraphers have been identified as inheriting this profession from their parents and proven equally skilled and occasionally even outperforming them. What is more, people's handwriting gradually develops with time, and there is no doubt that those who attend calligraphy training courses benefit most in terms of improving their skills in calligraphy, unlike those who inherit the ability to do wonders with their handwriting and thus are not in need to brush up

these inherent skills with additional courses. Interestingly, inheriting the art of calligraphy is often associated with large families. For example, within some families renowned for their knowledge and virtue, one might encounter a family known for high quality calligraphy, while another might frequently display a contrary writing behaviour with low quality calligraphy. This is a general feature of these families and has been widely witnessed by those closely related to the field.

#### **7.4.1. Features of Appropriate Calligraphy**

Calligraphy has to fulfil certain conditions and guidelines for it to be regarded as an art. For example, there has to be a certain degree of workmanship and a meticulous attention paid to each character when writing, as well as the size and style of the written items, and so on. One of the requirements is to write the text in a medium-sized and clear style as small lettering might make it difficult to discern the words or characters, or cause them to become muddled with each other. As such, it is important to take into account the size of the characters used, as the larger it is, the more the characters and words become visible and discernible.

In fact, one of the problems faced by the traditionists (*al-muḥaddithūn*) has been the miniature size of the characters used, which causes confusion when reading. Ḥanbal b. Ishāq (al-Khaṭīb 1994:190-191) reported that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, upon seeing him using small lettering, advised him against doing so, as it would make it unintelligible in the future when it would be most needed. In so doing, when reaching the review stage of the writing process, the writer would undoubtedly leave out crucial parts and valuable information due to the poor quality of the style and the miniature lettering. In the past, the majority of traditionists allowed the use of small-sized characters under one condition only, namely when paper was in short supply. In addition, paper was far from affordable for a large sector of society. Widespread as it is nowadays, paper was then like gold dust for many impoverished teachers and students, who found it extremely difficult to obtain their own supply. When travelling, students used to carry light ink and write with very small characters so that the books would not become an extra hindrance when carried with other travel kits. According to al-Khaṭīb (1994:190-191), "a student should not use small

lettering except in certain circumstances, such as when unable to afford paper or while travelling in order to lighten one's load. In fact, most travellers meet these two requirements."

It is also widely held that travellers tended to include a large number of ḥadīth students, which can be considered as a major achievement for students at that time. However, these knowledge seekers would have to make concessions by reducing the physical load in order to make it a comfortable and peaceful experience for themselves and their means of transport (such as camel or horse) for the duration of their journey. As stated by Imām al-Samʿani on the authority of Abu Zakariyyah Yazīd b. Muhammed b. Ayās al-Azdi (1993, 2:585), "upon the arrival of ʿAli Ibn Ḥarb Ṭāi to Muʿataz, the latter wrote something using his own calligraphic style with tiny lettering. Ali told Muʿataz that his calligraphy resembled that of the ḥadīth scholars, to which Muʿataz laughed in reply." It is also stated by al-Samʿani (1993, 2:586 and al-Sakhawi (1992, 2:169), who reported on the authority of Ismāʿīl b. Ṭāhir Nasafi, that "students of ḥadīth and other subjects are often asked for the reason behind their tightfistedness, which they would ascribe to the lack of paper and the load on their necks (when travelling)" (al-Fairuzābādī1951, 2:393: see the section on *qarmata* in this dictionary).

#### **7.4.2. The Quality and Perfection of the Handwriting Style**

The quality and meticulousness of inscription increase the clarity and intelligibility of the written content and leave no room for weakness and semantic misrepresentation (*taṣḥīf*). Therefore, the traditionists have not been in favour of *mashq* (writing very fast that leads to "scratching off" the paper) in writing and condemned it for the effects it can have on the general quality of the handwriting, such as the loss of calligraphic tracings and the potential of its exposure to several readings, even leading to the loss of the original meaning. According to Ibn Manzur (1900, 10:344), a scratched-off pen is one that scribbles wildly and goes fast on a paper. Therefore, to "scratch off" is to write in a rushed manner. Such a pen is also used for stabbing, hitting, eating food, as well as for writing.

According to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭab, the worst part of writing is *mashq* and the worst part of reading is *hathramah* (reading very fast with no focus) (Ibn Kathīr 1977, 5:256) while the finest handwriting style is the one that is clearly presented (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:191). As ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭab has identified, it can be noticed that the most serious issue in relation to writing lies in being hasty, as with reading, where speech becomes unintelligible and meaning is lost as a result. On the other hand, the finest writing is the one that shows clear and intelligible characters, which are well formed, as ample time is taken to do so. This helps in the smooth process of unscrambling the words and phrases embedded in the written content.

Another good example of how writing should be taken as a slow-paced meticulous process is that of ʿAli b. Abī Ṭālib, who ordered his writer Ibn Abī Rāfiʿ to pay particular attention to how he should use a pen, and to highlight those special features of the characters used in the Arabic alphabet (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:191-192).

Using well-maintained and high quality pens also plays a major role in the clarity of the handwriting.

The distinctive characteristics of the alphabet letters ascribe to each single character a musical intonation. For example, the letter *nūn* ن can have a musical impact when inscribed or engraved, and this musicality can even be enhanced with the concluding placement of a dot over the letter shape, with the diacritics (vowelling) used to denote the focus on the represented sound. Another example is that of the letter *kha* خ which has a sound similar to rippling water. An Arabic consonant letter like the letter *ṣād* ص can give the impression of a fortified shape, clearly shown in the large representation of the letter in writing. Even the letter *ʿain* ع, which is shaped like an eye (*ʿain*) in Arabic, is also translated as ‘eye’ with the open gap at the top of the graph as a logical representation or shape. With the letter *kāf* ك, it is important to split it open to leave a space for the *hamzah* vowel sound (ء). This subtle description, given by the fourth Caliph ʿAli b. Abī Ṭālib, emphasises the need to give each letter due attention in writing and to make it clearly distinguishable from other letters, as required by the Arabic language.

Among the most important factors helping the traditionist to perfect or enhance the quality of the script and to better present the final product is his choice of tools and materials; mainly a well-fashioned pen. The next section gives an overview of the most important writing tools used in ḥadīth dictation sessions (*majālis al-impla'*). In addition, it provides an outline of the most essential materials used in writing and whatever was deemed of use in the ḥadīth dictation sessions or the texts which included some specific tools to be clarified to the reader and those interested in ḥadīth dictation sessions. However, a number of questions need to be raised in this respect; in particular it is worth investigating how significant the role of writing tools was in terms of influencing the writing process. It is also important to identify whether the performance of these tools was the same or different from one script to another. In other words, were there well-fashioned and ill-fashioned tools, or were they similar at all times?

To a large extent, it can be said that writing tools play a significant role in the presentation aspect of writing, as they make it possible for readers to make out a discernible script. As for whether these tools themselves perform in a similar fashion, it can be stated that it is not the case. The reason for this is that throughout history, tools have often been elaborately prepared and decorated and even at times made of precious materials before engaging in such activity. The pens have been fashioned from reeds because of the flexibility of these plants. Initially, after harvesting and drying the hollow reeds, a tip is then cut to the shape, width and angle required by the writer so as to be the best match for the specific script to be used. It is often thought that the pen is the calligrapher's sword; indeed, the sharpness of a good pen is what makes the script look neater and perfect in its execution, just like a sharp sword. Therefore, the better shaped and cut a pen's nib is, the more clearly readable and artful the script is. In contrast, a poorly cut pen reduces the quality of writing and makes a calligrapher's job more difficult, as do low quality ink (particularly lack of brightness) and paper with poor saturation.

### 7.4.3. Calligraphers' Equipment

#### 7.4.3.1. A pen (*qalam*)

Using wellmaintained and high quality pens also plays a major role in the clarity of the handwriting. A pen can be defined as a tool used for the purpose of writing. According to Ibn Ḥajar (*al-Iṣāba fī Tamyīz al Ṣaḥābah* (Ibn Ḥajar 1910, 3:512-513), the poet Ibn al-ʿArabi, ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Salami (died around 81 AH) used to chant:

*Whenever I approached her to exchange some words,*

*Words she never exchanged with me,*

□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□

□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□

*So a message I secretly sent her with a man,*

*He knew nothing of what was traced with my pen*

□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□

لم يدرك ما خط فيها بالاقلام

The name given to the word 'pen' in Arabic is quite symbolic, as it virtually refers to the act of cutting and to a 'reed'; it can also refer to other objects made from reeds, such as fishing cane, sticks or bamboo. In fact, a cane is also referred to as a pen, as it is cut from a reed. As reported by Ibn al-ʿArabi, ʿAbbas b. Mirdas al-Salami, each cane which can be cut, whose nib can be sharpened, and which leaves a trace, is a pen (*al-Baghdādi* 1973: 49; Ibn Qutaibah 1989: 13).

ʿAbdĀllāh Bin Ḥansh Al-Awdi stated he had seen the *muḥaddithūn* write on their palms with the tips of reeds (al-Dārmi 1931, 1:128), while Sohail Qāsha (Sohail 1980, 13) reported that to write using this, the pen's nib should be dipped into the inkwell, and then the ink is used for writing. According to KorkisʿUwad (1946:95),



in their writings, Arab calligraphers used reeds, and this remained the prevalent custom amongst them for approximately forty years. These were then replaced by feather pens (Korkis °Uwad1946:98). Carved from a dry bamboo stalk, the reed pen has remained the primary instrument for senior calligraphers up until the present time as it is easy to use and is fashioned by writers who can cut it into the shape, width and angle they specifically require, as opposed to the factory-made feather, which though well-maintained and sharpened, is too stiff in the hand and therefore cannot meet the calligraphic requirements and criteria in a satisfactory manner (al-Kurdi 1939:98).

Thus the pen, in the primitive sense of the word, was the only available tool for the traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*) when writing the ḥadīth. However, the quality of the pens used varied according to the material from which they were made and the method of their manufacture. The pen was manufactured locally according to the requirements set out by the traditionists and their intended script. In addition, the traditionists stipulated that students of ḥadīth should make the appropriate decision when it came to selecting a pen that would enable them to write well, being malleable and flexible in the hands of the writer, otherwise it would be stiff and prevent the writer from writing smoothly and uninterruptedly.

According to al-Khaṭīb, a traditionist's pen had not to be stiff, as any stiffness could prevent the pen from gliding smoothly across the paper. It also had not to be ragged and loose, otherwise it would go flat; and finally, it had to be made from well-moistened cane (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:185; al-Sam°ānī 1993, 2:564).

Interestingly, a good pen had to have three characteristics; first, it had to be smooth, with no lumps or impurities, since a rough pen could be too difficult for its user to handle. The second feature was the pen's hole, as it needed to have a wide gap for ease of use and flexibility. Finally, the third aspect related to lengthening the slit, which was the part to be used for writing, to make it easy to dip into the inkwell. To avoid smudging the pen with ink and breaking the tip of the nib, the writer had to

make an oblique cut for the point of the reed pen; thus make the writing activity much easier and smoother.

In fact, there were some factors which contributed to letters occasionally either appearing similar to others or being jumbled up, and this could wipe out any physical trace of the letters and lead to semantic misrepresentation (*taṣḥīf*) during the reading process. These factors included the very nature of the pen being left unchanged, being locally produced or being different in terms of thinness or thickness, mode of use, and ink quantity used.

In preserving the Prophetic ḥadīth and the chain of narration, which represents the key to the validity and authenticity of the prophetic text, the traditionists therefore paid meticulous attention to their writing tools, and warned against the dangers of slipping into semantic misrepresentation. As such, they recommended careful selection choosing the right material to avoid blunders, and also good maintenance, taking care of these tools.

A good example of how a pen should be used is provided by Ibrāhīm b. °Abbās, who was reported by Ibn Qutaibah to have told one of his students: ‘Let your pen be solid yet at the same time a compromise between thin and thick, and do not sharpen it’ (Ibn Qutaibah 1989:14). Ibrāhīm b. °Abbās also advised his students not to write with a bent pen or a nib that was not flat. When the Persian and Bahri pens were in short supply, students were also advised to choose brownish pens if they had to write with the Nabaṭi (Arabic style) ones. A special knife also had to be used that was solely for the purpose of carving one’s pen, the point of which had to be sharper than a blade. It was also important to keep the pen under close scrutiny by ensuring it was well maintained at all time (ibid:15). On the other hand, the harder or more mature the bamboo, the fewer problems would arise once the pen was carved, and the straighter the line would look. Finally, lettering had to be given equal weight with reading; hence, just as the finest reading was the one that was most intelligible, so too the finest script was one that was most discernible (al-Khaṭīb, 1994, 1:186).

#### 7.4.3.2. An inkpot (*dawat*)

According to al-Fairuzabadi (1951, 4:168), an inkpot is a container or a bowl used for storing ink. The pen is normally dipped into the ink to soak, and then used to write. In addition, this inkpot can be used for a feather and/or a pen to absorb ink or just be stored away. Thus, the initial important kit for a writer is his/her inkwell and pen. As famously reported, "an inkwell does one third of the job, a pen does the next, and the hand the remaining third" (al-Baghdādi 1973:48).

The *dawat* (inkpot) is also mentioned in Ibn Manẓur's *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Arabic Dictionary) as the place where ink is stored. In traditional Arabic poetry, an inkwell is often compared to a deserted house, in the way ink leaves its dwelling to live on paper, while a non-returning resident of a house is controversially shown to resemble an ink that fades or disappears into the paper upon leaving an inkwell (al-Baghdādi 1973:48). Notably, during the pre-Islamic period (*Jāhiliyya*), the inkwell was seen as a wellpraised symbol or a token. It is metaphorically derived from *dawa'* (medicine); thus it can be said that it aimed to correct (literally, to heal the illnesses of) the writer's methods of writing (al-Zubaidi 2002).<sup>147</sup>

The inkwell was also mentioned in the poetry of early Muslims, with ʿAdī Ibn Ar-Reigāʿ, (died around 95 AH/713) comparing a baby deer's horn tip to "a needle as pointed as a pen hitting an inkwell" (Maḥmud Muḥammad Shakir: he explains this (al-Jumaḥī 2001 , 2:707).

In addition, inkwells were mentioned in some of the quotes of the Companions and the *Tābiʿīn* (Student of the Companions). For example, Abu Sarḥid Al-Khouthari narrated: "I saw a vision in my dream of myself writing *surah ṣād* (Q38), but when I

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<sup>147</sup>See section on *dawa'* in al-Zubaidi's *Tāj al-ʿArūs Arabic Dictionary* (2002).

reached prostration (*sajdah*), I saw the inkwell, pen, and all the other stuff around me performing prostration. I told the Messenger of Allāh, and he had never ceased to prostrate in that Qur'anic surah" ( Aḥmad 1969, 10:260 and 245, number 11680). As shown, there is an explicit association between the inkwell and the pen in this narration, proving that this term 'inkwell' (*midwat*) dates well back to ancient times when standard Arabic was the norm.

Unlike a sword, which is symbolic of authority and power, a pen signifies knowledge and is regarded as its first tool or weapon. It is worth investigating, though, which of the two is more important and to be prioritised. According to Imām al-Samʿani (1993, 2:568), most people prioritise and prefer the pen to the sword. This viewpoint is arguably more convincing and can be supported in the story reported by the same narrator. Al-Samʿani (1993, 2:568) citing Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Danuri, stated that some Greek kings had for long argued that matters in life and faith are under the influence of two things; namely, a sword and a pen, with the former giving way to the latter. In this way, a sword can but yield to the power of the pen, as the latter represents knowledge which in turn is responsible for developing swords. A sword is the language of power and physical might, but may still fall behind to the unparalleled and sublime force of the pen al-Samʿani (1993, 2:568). Makdisi referred to the lesson of the elements of the practical inkwell shortly. Makdisi (1990, 213)

#### 7.4.3.3. Ink (ḥibr)

Traditionally, *midād* referred not only to the ink which is poured into an inkwell, but also to any kind of refill (Abu Ḥaiyān 1993 7:233; al-Rāzi 1981 21:177). Another figurative meaning is clearly shown in Allāh's verse in the *Surah Al-Kahf* (Q18:109 The Cave): Say: "If the ocean were ink (wherewith to write out) the words of my Lord, sooner would the ocean be exhausted than would the words of my Lord, even if we added another ocean like it, for its aid".

As for ink (*ḥibr*), it was defined as ‘colour’. Hence, if someone had a brightly coloured ink, the word *ḥibr* indicated its special colour, in terms of its brightness, purity and features that distinguished it from other colours. A poetic description is provided by Ibn al-Aḥmar, who once romanticised his beloved by giving a vivid description of her very dark hair set in contrast to her pale skin that was so pure in *heber* (colour). As also argued by al-Asma<sup>ʿ</sup>aī, *ḥibr* was known as such because of its influence. For instance, a relevant idiomatic expression is the one that says someone has teeth with *ḥibr* all over them, as a result of going too yellow until they finally turn black. Another definition of *ḥibr* was given by Abu al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Abbās who ascribed the name to the manner in which books and scripts were written and prepared (Ibn Qutaibah 1989, 120). To support this, Al-Ṣuli (1994, 102) mentioned that the name *ḥibr* was chosen as it improved the line of writing, in other words, it made the line look neater and well-presented.

It should be noted that one of the characteristics of the ink used in those times was its high quality, which explains why it has kept its mark for more than seven centuries on many of the manuscripts with such degree of clarity and purity. Even more, this clearly evidences the swift development and high sophistication of the ink industry during those times.

#### **7.4.3.4. A Knife (Sikīn).**

The knife is a crucial tool in the cutting and carving of a reed or bamboo pen. Traditionally, a knife served to carry out several tasks, including the slaughter of a wide range of animals, such as cattle, camels, sheep, and birds, as well as for cutting other food stuffs and materials such as ropes. However, knives can also be classified as lethal weapons as they can be used insensibly and dangerously to attack, maim or kill other people. In this study, however, the focus is on the function of a knife in writing and the contribution it makes to the beautification of writing by being used to carve the very tool utilised when writing. As such, the sharper the knife, the better the impact on the end product; namely, the pen.

Looking into the literature, the knife should be small to enable the writer to cut easily and effectively. Nowadays, the small knife has been replaced by a sharpener that more or less performs the same job of cutting the edges. To demonstrate that a knife should be small, al-Khaṭīb (1994, 1:256); al-Samʿani (1993, 2:571); and al-Ṣuli (1994, 115) stated that a knife should only be used for pen sharpening, carving and cutting purposes, and before writing, the writer needs to ensure that the blade is very thin, sharp-edged, and not rusty. Other vivid descriptions of the knife are given, for example by al-Ḥasan Ibn Wahāb (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:256; al-Samʿani, 1993, 2/571) when offering it as a present to a friend and writing to him: “I have given you a gift; a knife sharper than sharpness”, and Mohammad b. ʿUbaid Allāh b. Tawbah al-Adib (al-Khaṭīb, 1994, 1:257; al-Samʿani, 1993, 2:572) who reported that as a result of an argument between a married couple, the wife supplicated God that her author husband be given a blunt pen, a rusty knife, a wretched paper, a glum day, and a fast-extinguishing lamp.

#### 7.4.3.5. An Eraser(Maḥa)

This is an essential tool in the writing process and relates very much to the ink. According to Ibn Fāris, the very letters constituting the word *maḥa* (erase) in Arabic can denote the act of leaving no trace (Ibn Manẓur1990, see section on *maḥa*). In addition, al-Ṣuli asserts that the act of erasing in language indicates the total effacement of any traces left as a result of writing, so that they are not identifiable anymore (al-Ṣuli 1994: 129). It is also known that erasing something leaves nothing of it in the end. A final note on this tool is in fact found in the Qur'an, "Allāh eliminates what He wills or confirms, and with Him is the Mother of the Book" (Thunder:39).

#### 7.4.3.6. The Paper (qirṭās)

The paper used was a wellknown material made from the papyrus plant in Egypt. The word used, *qirṭās*, can be inflected differently with consonant pointing, but preserves the same meaning in all instances. Thus, we have *qurṭas*, *qirṭās*, *qarṭas*, etc. A definition of *qirṭās*, which is the most accepted word form, is "a sheet of paper suitable for writing" (Abu Ḥaiyan 1993, 4:440-441). The word *qirṭāsh* has occurred

several times with this meaning in pre-Islamic poetry, as shown in the verses by Makhsh al-<sup>c</sup>Aqili:

*They left their own houses*

*Like lines of the Psalms written on a piece of qirtas*

□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□

□□□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□ □□

The poet thus described the traces and remnants of the house as if they were calligraphic representations of the Psalms on sheets of paper. Another explanation of this verse is given by Muhammed al-Anbari, who stated that the houses being deserted or left for a while resembled the lines of a book deserted for a long period of time. Even burntout houses can denote similar imagery, with the ashes left behind reminiscent of the blackness of the ink (al-Ḍubbi 2000: 743).

It seems that the use of *qirtās* was also widespread in Sham, as the Romans used to import it from Egypt (al-Juburi 1994: 266). Therefore, it was attributed by the famous pre-Islamic poet Ṭarafah b. al-<sup>c</sup>Abd to al-Sham (Syria), when he wrote a poem describing his camel:

*And a face it has as white as a qirtas from the Sham*

*Neat and hairless like a balm.*

□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□

□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□

As shown in the poetic verse, the poet compared the camel's cheek to a clear untouched *qirtās* before any writing had taken place. One might also suggest that the smoothness and sleekness of the camel's face is similar to that of the *qirtās*, while the lack of hair on the face is compared to the absence of impurities in the *qirtās* (Ibn al-Anbari 1963: 174; al-Tibrizi 1933,116; Schoeler 2006, 47). However, the

*qirṭās* may refer to papyrus here rather than the skin, because it is set in contrast to the tanned cow's skin (*sabt*); thus when he described the camel's cheek, he compared it to the *qirṭās* in terms of its purity and whiteness (al-Asad 1988: 92). It can thus be inferred that the Arabs in the pre-Islam period and early days of Islam had been acquiring this item through their successive trading trips to the Levant.

The *qirṭās* is also mentioned twice in the Qu'ran, with the first instance in Q6:7: "Had we sent down unto thee (Muḥammad) actual writing upon parchment, so that they could feel it with their hands, those who disbelieve would have said: This is naught else than mere magic."

Speaking of the papyri documents found in the world today, Qāsim al-Samārra'i confirmed that there was a large volume of papyri acquired from the time of the Caliphates. He states that many of these documents were quite ancient, from between the year 22 and 780 AH (al-Samrray 1983: 21). In fact, one of the most important tools aiming at perpetuating and recording ḥadīth was writing, which could only take place in the presence of a writer, who had to use a pen, ink and paper to accomplish the writing procedure. As such, paper and ink have played a prominent role in preserving the ḥadīth, in terms of both the text and the chain of transmission, when these were carefully chosen.

As reported by al-Mubarrad, upon seeing al-Jāḥiẓ smile while writing, he asked him why so; then al-Jāḥiẓ replied: "If the *qirṭās* is not as clear, and if the ink's quality is not so pure, and if the pen is not well-prepared, and the heart is preoccupied; then expect it (the writing) to be tired" (al-Khaṭīb, 1994, 2/257 and al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani, 1993, 2:574). In addition, as narrated by Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣari, a writer was asked what he wished for most, and the answer was "a pen as sharp and an ink as bright and a paper as white" (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:257 and al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani, 1993, 2:575).

Similarly, according to Imām al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani, a group from the righteous predecessors (*salaf*) stated that they would write on animal skin, slabs, porcelain, pottery, soles and slippers if they ran short of paper (*qirṭās*). Interestingly, in terms of using



anything other than paper, al-Sam<sup>ʿ</sup>ani (1993, 2:578) reported that while tracing ancient archaeological sites in the town where he used to live, he found some writing on several large black rocks known as basalt stones. The writing was in different Romanian languages, including that of the Sabaean (*al-ṣabi'ah*) language, which dates back more than three thousand years, and the Asyrian language in Iraq, as well as the parallel civilisation of the Pharaohs in Egypt. These early Egyptians wrote in the ancient hieroglyphic language, which represented the early phases of writing with paintings of animals, insects, birds and humans. From then on, writing has evolved tremendously with the introduction of symbols then letters and characters. Writing continued to develop in the Sassanian era, which was contemporary to the pre-Islamic period of *jāhilīyyah* when letters started to be written in Arabic, which was the language spoken by the inhabitant of the Arab peninsula. In addition, witnesses have discovered writing at the time of the Nabataeans in their capital Petra (which is also the name of their currency). While under the Roman rule, these Arabs would go trading abroad from Yemen. However, their writings and drawings remained firmly engraved on the rocks in such prominence that they have remained intact to the present days. This could also be due to the quality of the ink which has almost eternalised this writing. Even though the history of writing is of such importance, it is not a primary concern in this study, since the researcher is more preoccupied with the topic of what has been so far written by students and how their works have been passed on generation after generation.

According to al-Sam<sup>ʿ</sup>ani, writing would ideally be on paper. The availability of paper though, might pose an issue if it could not be acquired because of the high associated costs or the inability of students to purchase the material. One of these paper types is known as *al-tirs* which we would call a broadsheet (*al-Fairuzabadi* 1951, 2:234).

One piece of evidence for using paper to write on was accounted for by Abu <sup>ʿ</sup>AbdĀllah known as Ju<sup>ʿ</sup>al. He was told by <sup>ʿ</sup>Ubaid b. <sup>ʿ</sup>Abd al-Waḥid b. Sharik that upon attending an overcrowded study circle, the latter felt a scribble and a scratch.

As he was about to leave, someone sat him down and told him that he (the other person) was in the middle of noting down the lecture on Sharik's back, and requested him to wait till the study circle was over (*al-Fairuzabadi* 1951, 2:578-579).

In terms of pinpointing the main difference between paper and *qirtās*, one can safely say that in general, no difference can be traced. However, *qirtās* may refer to paper that has been already been used or contains a writing of some sort, while paper (*kazidh* in Arabic) refers to unused paper. This is clearly shown in the verse in Q6:7: "Had we sent down unto thee (Muḥammad) actual writing upon parchment, so that they could feel it with their hands, those who disbelieve would have said: This is naught else than mere magic."

Another important material, worthy of mention, used for writing was animal skins, which included tanned animal skins that were deemed clean and suitable for human use in the Qur'an and according to Islamic jurisprudence. It is, therefore, forbidden to use pig skin or dog skin, given the clear religious prohibition stated in the Qur'an. It is also prohibited to use goat skin if the animal died as result of a disease or from falling from a height, such as off a cliff, as opposed to being slaughtered in the traditional method. In such case, it is not permissible to make use of its skin; hence the prohibition is related to the manner of dying rather than the type of animal as previously shown with pigs and dogs. One of the most popular kinds of animal skin is *riq*, which is a thin skin used for writing (*al-Fairuzabadi* 1951, 3:244, see under section on *riq*). Other materials used for writing include wooden boards and also bones, especially the hipbone, which can be larger than other bones in animals. Also used in the writing process are porcelain, wet or burnt clay (pottery), shoe soles, and slippers.

### **7.5. Defining the Writing Rules**

If these tools were attained as mentioned in the above discussion, it was then possible for the traditionist to start writing and recording the ḥadīth in accordance with the rules referred to and agreed upon in the literature and works of the

traditionists. These rules were established and confirmed by the traditionists' actual practices in ḥadīth dictation sessions and ḥadīth books. These rules involved the following:

### 7.5.1. Setting the Ḥadīth in Terms of Vowelling (*tashkīl*) and Dotting Consonants (*iʿjām*)

In Arabic, *tashkīl* means the supplementary diacritics (*ḥarakat*) for short vowels (*fathāh*, *ḍammah*, *kasrah*) which provide a phonetic guide for accurate pronunciation. However, *iʿjām* refers to the dots used either on top of or under the consonants that have the same form, in order to distinguish between them, such as the *tāʾ* (ت), the *yāʾ* (ي), the *ḥāʾ* (هـ) and the (*khāʾ*) (خ) (al-Ramaharmazi 1984, 608-609).

After writing the ḥadīth and codifying it, the traditionists specified that the writer should pay meticulous attention to the *tashkīl* and *iʿjām*, so as to avoid confusion and for the reader, not to fall into semantic misrepresentation (*tashḥīf*) and distortion of the syntactic structure (*tahrīf*). Therefore, it is important to ensure that the process of *iʿjām* takes place as the lack of it often leads to the pitfalls of semantic misrepresentation in the narrated texts or chain of reporters. A major characteristic of the Arabic language is the way in which letters are represented. Each of these letters represents a sound and has a typical shape. Some letters may have dots to differentiate between them. importantly, the patterning of dots is never shared for more than one letter.

It should be noted that semantic misrepresentation (*tashḥīf*) is more identifiable with people's names in the narrated ḥadīths. According to ʿAli b. Madini, most instances of *tashḥīf* occurred with names (al-ʿAskari 1982, 1:12). As for Abu Ishaq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Najirmi (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:199), he stated that the first matter to be addressed is the names of people, because proper nouns could not be corrected by the application of *qiyās* (analogy) (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:199).

Over the years, the traditionists took extra care to present their works in the best form in terms of *tashkīl* and *iʿjām*, especially those issues that would be hard to

resolve. Not only were they meticulous with regard to the diacritical part of language, but they made every endeavour to keep the language clear of semantic misrepresentation, despite shortages of paper and the type of pens required for writing. The issue of jumbled writing and dots lost in between the lines had to be resolved by using conventions to achieve control and avoid confusion. These conventions included managing the book's footnotes, which faced the accented character; leaving the problematic letter of the word in the margin to be vowelised or adjusted; tracing a small character under the marginalised letter, such as the consonant ḥā' under the ح or a <sup>ʿ</sup>ain under the ع and placing a glottal stop (*hamzah*) under the letter to show it is being marginalised (ʿAiyāḍ, 1970:175; al-Suyūṭī 1994 2:72).

Additionally some of the traditionists used to resolve the issues with the *tashkīl* by using common sense. This would be approximate to the correct meaning. In fact, this was one of the most successful means to maintain the meaning as accurately as possible. For example, the word might be matched or substituted by a counterpart that would keep the meaning intact. As narrated by ʿAbdullah b. Idris Kūfī on the authority of Shuʿbah who reported the ḥadīth of Abu al-Ḥawra' al-Saʿdi as reported by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAli, the footnote had to be used to explain that "Abu al-Ḥawra'" is written with a ḥā' (no dots above or underneath the Arabic letter) so that it could be distinguished from *jawza'* with a *jīm*, which is a completely different name (al-Khaṭīb, 1994, 1:199). Therefore, to avoid semantic misrepresentation (*tashhīf*) and confusion with other names, the narrator's name, Abu al-Ḥawra', was mentioned in the margin with reference to a similar noun (*hūr*) to preserve the /h/ and /r/ sounds and not to risk distorting the original authority with other names, such as "Abu al-Jawza'", "Abu al-Jawra'" or "Abu al-Ḥawza'". Such pitfalls could make it difficult to identify the source narrator and could lead to a major issue of reliability and accountability. For example, a trustworthy source could be replaced, as a result of semantic misrepresentation (*tashhīf*), by a suspicious or unreliable narrator, which could weaken the chain of transmission and lead to the reference being abandoned altogether.

### 7.5.2. Connecting the Narrator to the Ḥadīth Scholar

Once the ḥadīth scholar had collected his ḥadīths into one volume and followed the adjustment processes of *tashkīl* and *i'jām*, another task no less important came into perspective; namely, counterchecking the narrator with the original Sheikh, or another narrator for the original authority. The purpose of this process was to correct what the ḥadīth scholar could have mistakenly done while reporting the ḥadīth, in terms of dropping, repeating or mistyping words or parts of words through the misplacement or wrong representation of some letters. In order to avoid such errors, the traditionist stipulated the need to link the peripheral narrator to the source Sheikh. If this process were not to take place, the book would have no academic value and the chain of transmission would not be generally accepted by the people conducting the validation process.

As reported by Hisham b. ʿUrwah, his father asked him if he had counterchecked what he had written, to which he replied that he had only written without counterchecking the original source. The father's response was that his son did not in fact write in the most reliable way (al-Khaṭīb, 1994, 1:205; al-Khaṭīb 1989: 237; ʿAiyāḍ 1970:160). As for al-Akhfash, he stated that "if one copies and does not countercheck or writes without counterchecking, the writing becomes unintelligible" (al-Khaṭīb 1989:237-238).

It should be pointed out this process of counterchecking is part of the scientific methodology that the traditionists adopted with the purpose of preserving the prophetic sayings and texts as well as the chain of narrators dating back to the Prophet, may Allāh's peace and blessings be upon him. As already shown, the semantic misrepresentation (*taṣhīf*) of people's names was as sensitive an issue as semantic misrepresentation of conversations and texts, due to the consequential impacts in terms of authenticating the weak ḥadīths or weakening the authentic ones, or even stopping the whole process of counterchecking.

The counterchecking took place when the student verified his account against his Sheikh's most authentic and documented text. Once he had completed doing so with one ḥadīth, he had to leave a dot or draw a line in the circle that separates this and the following ḥadīth, indicating that counterchecking had taken place (al-Khaṭīb, 1994, 1:202). It should be pointed out that upon the completion of one ḥadīth, a circle was drawn, and once counterchecking had been carried out, a dot was placed in the middle of that circle).

### **7.5.3. The Verification of ḥadīth (*takhrīj al-ḥadīth*)**

The purpose of the counterchecking tool, as already mentioned, was for the students of ḥadīth to identify errors and mistakes that could be committed during the writing or listening process since “the mind could lose concentration and the heart could lack attention, while the eye could deviate, and the pen might not be as straight” (°Aiyāḍ 1970:160).

As stated by al-Sakhawī, several sections of the ḥadīth text (*matn*) which had been read out all of a sudden were exposed to semantic misrepresentation (*tashif*) and errors that were not rectified until a later stage. This could also be at odds with the initial reading and risked misrepresenting the content if the reading did not correspond to the intended meaning (al-Sakhawī, 1992, 2/188). Being a systematic process within the framework of scientific documentation, *takhrīj* could have three meanings, as defined by experts of ḥadīth; first, it was related to researching the chain of narration (*sanad*) of the ḥadīth in the books of ḥadīth written by others, which was not the same as the chain of narration contained in the book, and this could be called *istikhrāj* (verification of ḥadīth). Second, it could be described as a text in which the ḥadīth that moved into a writer's work was also contained in the other works that stated the name of the constituent. Third, it could be seen as an effort to identify the level of the chain of narration and ḥadīth narrator that was not clarified by the writer of a book of ḥadīth. According to these ḥadīth experts, the more additions and clarifications that were added to the original text, the more it achieved in terms of scientific value, because it demonstrated the great care shown through the evaluation and review of its contents.

Imām al-Shāfi<sup>c</sup>i stated that if a book contained a large number of modifications and clarifications in the footnotes, then one should take it as valid (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:208). Similarly, Abu Zaid al-Naḥwi would not classify a book as sound until it "went dark" – as a result of corrections (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:207).

Therefore, the traditionists specified that clarifications or additions to the original were to be done through the drawing of a line with the subject matter in an upward position under the line above it; then this line curved to the point of *takhrīj* in the footnote in a way that referred back to it. In the footnote, the modifications are then introduced facing the curved parentheses between the two lines, and moving upward toward the top of the page, with the inclusion of a separate comment under 'corrected' or 'true'. Others may prefer to use the expression *muqabalah* (matched or matching); in other words, matching one ḥadīth text with another to verify the correct wording of a ḥadīth, or *laḥq* (adding, addition) (°Aiyāḍ 1970:162).

According to the above, *laḥq* is joining something to the original text, which should accompany it and not to be left out at all. Based on this statement, if someone had to add something to the original text, they had to draw a line from where the *laḥq* was supposed to be. As there was no place for the added content to be written, the traditionist had to draw a line between the words and extend it to the bottom, either on the left or right, and if possible in the footnote, where a space was available. In the footnote, the space could be used from right to left or left to right to fill in the missing details. Once done, concluding remarks such as *muqābalaḥ* (matched or matching), *saḥ* (correct) or *laḥq* (adding, addition) could be added. The latter might be seen as the most appropriate for the clarity evoked.

#### 7.5.4. The Corrections

A traditionist (*al-muḥaddith*) may have to contend in his writing with some grammar or spelling errors. Some of these errors, as previously shown, can occur with *tashkīl* and *ījām*, causing serious issues such as semantic misrepresentation (*tashḥīf*) and distortion of the syntactic structure (*tahrīf*). After scrutinising and dealing with

these errors, the traditionist is then allowed to write the wording ‘correct’ to confirm the accuracy of meaning and narration, so there is no risk of the reader falling into semantic misrepresentation or language errors upon coming across these problematic areas.

According to Judge ‘Aiyāḍ, writing the word ‘correct’ above the letter is there to confirm its meaning and narration, and should not be done except for that purpose as part of a corrective measure to resolve an issue pertaining to the *matn* (text) (1970:196). It is important therefore that when reviewing the ḥadīth books the traditionist should identify areas of concern and major debatable points, such as names of narrators, and rectify the problem accordingly. As narrators can be exposed to errors of judgement, mistakes, and forgetfulness, editing these errors has to be undertaken by writing ‘correct’ above the problematic word to signify that the issue has been resolved. However, al-Sakhawī (1992, 2/199) pointed out that correcting is a sign that the traditionist could have been suspicious about the word and had to investigate it until he ascertained its validity. He then wrote it to ensure he would have no qualms about it anymore. As such, the process of correction, which is a familiar and agreed upon term, was adopted by scholars of ḥadīth as another means of documentation to avoid the pitfalls of semantic misrepresentation (*taṣḥīf*) of the original work and those stopping to read. It is also used to overcome the problem of distrusting the problematic word and indecision on the part of the traditionist or others reading or reporting from this book.

#### **7.5.5. Incomplete Text of Ḥadīth(*taḍbīb*) and Ailment of Ḥadīth (*tamrīḍ*)**

In ḥadīth studies, the expression *taḍbīb* refers to a ḥadīth whose narration is sound but whose text is incomplete due to one word or more being missing due to carelessness, summary, or weak narration of the ḥadīth. The expression *tamrīḍ*, literally means "ḥadīth whose quality is ill" (*marīḍ*), that is, "poor". A close look at the original works which copied or quoted the narratives of the traditionists reveals the accuracy, judiciousness, honesty, and scholarly integrity that characterised the work of these scholars since the first instance of reporting the ḥadīth up to its



recording. In the process, they did not try to challenge what had been authenticated but lost any meaning since the term carried by the narrator could have been incorrectly conveyed in terms of nominal or adjectival suffixation or been exposed to semantic misrepresentation, alteration, and deletion of a word, as well as misplacements of words in the *matn* due to a deficiency in the narrator. If any of this occurred, the student entrusted with the ḥadīth had to write it as reported without applying any changes or modifications. The reason behind this was to ascertain the accuracy of the narration on that ground and to avoid misinterpreting what could initially have been correct. Instead, the student had to leave the opportunity for others to review the problematic terms and prove their authenticity. The most important part in the process was to write the words as they appeared and extend a line such as the *ṣād* (ص), known as *dabbah* in ḥadīth studies as a sign indicating that the ḥadīth narration was sound but there was a flaw in the wording of the text of the ḥadīth.

Judge °Aiyāḍ (°Aiyāḍ 1970:166-168) stated that if a word was not accurate in terms of its nominal and adjectival suffixation and statement, or when there was an imbalance evident in the semantic misrepresentation, change or omission of a word, that violated the true meaning, or a deletion of part of a speech that changed the meaning altogether, either as result of a failure to memorise the text, or because of abbreviating and explaining the core meaning using only a word or two as opposed to preserving the entire text (known for many as *al-aṭraf* - the beginnings and endings of a ḥadīth), or where a word was misplaced that could ultimately change the meaning; then the people in charge of the treatment of these texts had to draw a line similar to the *ṣād* that had to be unattached to the word so that it would not be mistaken for *ḍarb*, otherwise known as *dabba* or *tamrīḍ* (the *ṣād* of correction was written there with a long letter-form to differentiate between the letter itself and what had been validated in form and meaning). It was, thus, an indication that the narration was correct and sound, but the meaning was not, leaving the ḥadīth open to more interpretations. The insertion of this line showed that there was a weakness only as far as the text was concerned and that the narration was intact. As such, the practice of *tamrīḍ* was there to indicate that the reporter had come across an

authentic narration needing attention of some kind, which an authority would then render more meaningful, as we are told in the Qur'an (Yūsuf, Q12:76) “And over every lord of knowledge there is one more knowing”. Some of the contemporary corrections of these narrations prove the process of challenging previous accounts, with traditionists refuting what had been deemed true and rectifying what had been deemed wrong. In fact, those stopping on what had been noted in *Mashāriq Al-Anwār ʿala Şihāh al-Athār* could testify to the validity of the above claim (ʿAiyāḍ 1970:166-168).

In short, the traditionists unanimously agreed that when one of them suspected a word that was accurately reported but had lost its meaning in the process, it was possible for them to write a /صـ/ as an indication of *tamrīḍ* and *taḍbīb* in order to achieve a rational scientific approach. Many have actually benefited from this scientific approach adopted by the traditionists. Among those profiting are people involved in scientific investigation and observational work on Arabic manuscripts. These have gone as far as to suggest that it is not permissible to change or do anything else with the text received from the original author whose book should be preserved as it is, and commented on only in the margins (ʿAiyāḍ 1970:166-168).

#### **7.5.6. Deletion of Unwanted Content Detected in the Text of the *Muḥaddith***

It has happened that sometimes a traditionist (*al-muḥaddith*) could write more than the original speech or text entails. Where this was the case, he had to cross out the unwanted words by drawing a line that had to avoid losing any of the features of the unwanted material. The traditionists therefore advised against drawing such a line by means of erasing or scratching, as it could lead to accusations that the narrator intended to alter, modify, or falsify the content.

To delete the unwanted word(s), the traditionists saw the following as the most important part of a reliable scientific approach. A traditionist had to draw a line across the unwanted word(s). However, the line was not to completely obscure the

word(s) in a way that rendered them unintelligible. The word *qāla* (to say) would then look something like (قال) in Arabic. According to some scholars, scraping was an allegation, and the finest *ḍarb* was when someone ensured that the words at issue were not obscured. Therefore, a thin line had to be placed across the word(s) to indicate that they have been made redundant, but one could still read through that line (al-Ramaharmazzi, *al-Muḥaddith al-Fasil*:606; cf. al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:208). As for °Aiyāḍ (1970:171), he stated that the traditionist should place a curved line from the start of the word(s) to the end so that it can be differentiated from other words. While some traditionists tend to keep the unwanted material between two brackets or two half circles, as follows: [ ] / ( ), others write the word لا (no) at the beginning and the word إلى (to) at the end to indicate the start and finish stages of the *ḍarb* process or include the unwanted word(s) within two small circles or zeros, as follows: (0.... 0) (°Aiyāḍ 1970:171).

It is well documented that these traditionists used such symbols in order to retain the contents of the original message unambiguous in the belief that it could be authentic in a different story. It could also be ascribed to the fact that the narrator could have heard the text from a different scholar or sheikh who was reported to having stated such an ‘addition’; and if so, the traditionist was only to make a reference to that sheikh above the ‘added’ material.

### 7.5.7. The Circle Separating Two Ḥadīths

In spite of the acute shortage of adequate tools, the basic writing instruments (pens), and the nature of the ink, the traditionists (*al-muḥaddithūn*) had a particular approach to the organisation of the ḥadīth material. There were three measures to be taken:

- (i) The traditionists would separate two ḥadīths by using a circle like the capital letter "O".
- (ii) Once the process of copying was completed, it was followed by the counterchecking process whose aim was to correct the student’s own

mistakes, including semantic misrepresentation (*tashīf*), reporters' names, and ḥadīth texts (*matn*).

- (iii) As soon as the above two processes were completed, the traditionist would then place a dot or a line inside the circle (O ◌) to indicate that the writer's work had been reviewed, double-checked, and his errors corrected where relevant.

While reading a book of Abu ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmed Ibn Mohammed b. Ḥanbal, al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādi observed that the renowned Imām had left a circle between each couple of ḥadīths and placed a dot in the middle of some circles, while other circles had been left blank. Similar observations were also made with regard to the books of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbi and Muḥammad Ibn Jarir Ṭābari. Moreover, it was important that these circles were closed, so that for each comment a dot or a line could be drawn in the middle. Interestingly, some scholars would not take a book seriously unless it contained such observational work (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:202). However, one of the tips provided by early traditionists was to avoid wrong or unacceptable wording such as writing ʿAbd (servant) at the end of the line and the words *Allāh bin fulan* (God is the son of someone) at the start of the following line when writing the noun ʿAbd Allāh, so that it does not appear that Allah is part of the second combination rather than the first (God forbid), or writing ʿAbd on one line and *Raḥmān* (All Compassionate) in another followed by *Ibn* (son), which has to be avoided and taken into account by the writer (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:197). Another unacceptable practice is to write the word *rasūl* (the messenger of) at the end of one line, and start the next line with the rest of the sentence "Allah peace be upon him" which should surely be avoided (al-Khaṭīb 1994, 1:198).

#### **7.5.8. Recording What the Ḥadīth Student Heard**

One of the most important characteristics of Islamic studies is the discipline of the chain of narration (*isnād*). It was not only the ḥadīths of Muḥammad that were transferred to us through the chain of narration (*isnād*), but also the ḥadīth books which recorded these ḥadīths. Additionally, in their ḥadīth gatherings, the scholars

were concerned about writing the names of all those attending the ḥadīth circles and those hearing the Sheikhs' accounts, as well as the setting where these circles took place and their history.

According to al-Khaṭīb, upon hearing a book read out, the student should write above the title the names of others attending who heard it with him, and the date and time of hearing. He could in fact write that in the footnote of the first page of the book, as this had been the case with the majority of Sheikhs. The note 'delivered' also had to be left on the page. Al-Khaṭīb (1994, 1:198) gave witness that he saw a book written by Abu ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmed b. Muhammed b. Ḥanbal, which he heard from his son ʿAbd Allāh, and in a footnote there was a note saying: "delivered by ʿAbd Allāh".

As for the great scholar Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr, he noted that with ḥadīth books, the scholars are mostly interested in the listening and correction procedures, and their handwriting in these books can be seen as a living witness for those receiving it through hearing. None of the Islamic books have truly shown such a meticulous attention in this regard, with the scholars of ḥadīth glorifying its status, and upholding its values, as well as stating how it had been an underpinning of Islamic sciences and a cornerstone in religious endeavours (al-Yamani 1917, 1:16).

It is important to note that multiple 'hearings' were considered as a type of protection and an ongoing treatment of a ḥadīth book so that one could avoid additions, deletions, modifications and falsifications by the party claiming to have heard or received an *ijāzah* (license) in ḥadīth. For example, classical traditionists used to write what they heard and the names of those attending every ḥadīth dictation session; as such, those claiming to have heard when they had not because they missed that ḥadīth circle were suspect. In case they added their name with a line similar to that of the first hearer, it would then be referred to as "false" (al-Muʿallimi 1986, 1:234).

There were two authentic means of narrating or verifying a ḥadīth:

- (i) listening to ḥadīths directly from ḥadīth scholars (*al-samāʿ*); that is, through ḥadīth dictation sessions, and
- (ii) the ḥadīth licences (*al-ijāzah*).

Both of the above means played an important role in exposing some narrators who claimed to have heard what they had in fact missed out, and who narrated ḥadīths when these narrators had not been given a ḥadīth licence in that respect. Thus, they exposed their false identity. For example, a number of false narrators would report under the pretence that they had heard from the original source of ḥadīth so that people would endorse their narration. However, they would soon be exposed upon returning to the original sources. This happened to ʿAbd al-Razzaq al-Jili, who did not declare his ḥadīth license. Even Aḥmad b. Salmān al-Ḥarbi read out some ḥadīths to him, using the *ijāzah*(licence) of al-Marstan. When the system of ḥadīth license became popular and each person had to declare his license to people, ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Jili was found out as a false traditionist. His name was added in more than a thousand volumes. Thus, his narration was invalid (al-Dhahabi 1995, 1:339-340).

In conclusion, one can clearly observe the value of the ḥadīth dictation sessions, their impact, and the role they played in safeguarding the Prophetic Sunnah against alteration, distortion and semantic misrepresentation (*tashif*). Therefore, for those aiming to edit a ḥadīth dictation session among the several ḥadīth dictation sessions, they had to study the ḥadīths which had been heard directly from a ḥadīth scholar.

## 8. Research Conclusions

The method of dictation (*imlā'*) was considered in early Islam, and right through to the Middle Ages, the apex of transmission in Muslim scholarly circles. The respect – nay reverence – with which it was held had to do with the robustness of this method, which afforded greater authenticity to the information, traditions and sciences being conveyed via it. When the information being transmitted was as esteemed, sacred even, as Prophetic statements, this method would really stand apart from any other mode of transmission. The robustness being referred to here has been described at length in this study, availing any need to repeat it here. Unfortunately within the study of ḥadīth there has hitherto been no serious attempt to study this phenomenon historically, with a view to unearthing the idiosyncratic characteristics that marked it apart. This has been the primary purpose of the present study. A feature of this study is the microscopic detail with which, *inter alia*, the ḥadīth dictator (*mumli*), the repeater (*mustamli*), the tools of dictation and the setting has been described. The study to this extent is nothing less than an historical anthropology of the phenomenon of dictation, one which it is hoped fills the present void in scholarship on the subject. Despite the important contributions of Makdisi, Schoeler and Madelung, each of whom featured in the literature review, a fuller picture of the phenomenon has long been overdue. With it we are able to understand with greater clarity why the method was eventually adopted by Christian Europe in the form of the *ars dictaminis*, as Makdisi has taught us. There remains only to highlight the most important contributions that this study makes to the study of ḥadīth.

Among the findings of this study is that the ḥadīth dictation sessions went through the following three major phases:

- (i) The formative phase, which began during the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century and lasted to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century;

(ii) The growth phase, which began from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century and was led by the late successors (*awakhir al-tabī'in*). However, this phase culminated during the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century and began to decline during the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century; and

(iii) The stagnation phase, which began from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century or beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century and came to an end during the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, which marked the end of ḥadīth dictation sessions as a robust academic activity.

The ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions constituted an independent academic discipline which had its own valid reasons for evolving. These sessions had their own characteristic features and also had a special value as a discipline. The ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions have contributed positively towards the documentation and the preservation of the standard practice of Muḥammad (the Sunnah) and have become a unique educational process between the ḥadīth scholar and his students. Thus, these sessions represent a teaching and learning relationship. The ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions have become documentation based. This teaching process is based on three fundamental pillars: the ḥadīth scholar, the student, and the material; that is, the ḥadīths, dictated by the ḥadīth scholar,

Each pillar has its own specific procedures and characteristics. The ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions are a rich source for both the narration and the knowledge of ḥadīth. *Amālī* has made the ḥadīth dictation sessions worthy of methodological and critical studies. The study has shown that the increasing numbers of ḥadīth students made it impossible for the ḥadīth scholar (*mumli*) to make himself heard by students attending his ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions, particularly for those sitting at a distance from him. Therefore, there was a need for introducing the system of a 'repeater' (*mustamlī*), someone who would repeat what the ḥadīth scholar said. This 'repeater' had specific qualities and only specific individuals were qualified to undertake such a job. With the growth of the ḥadīth-*amālī* sessions, the etiquettes and moral aspects of these sessions developed, too, and became a major feature of the ḥadīth dictation sessions. According to al-Suyūṭī (1994, 2:139), the ḥadīth dictation sessions came to an end during the lifetime of the ḥadīth scholar Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ.



The study of ḥadīth dictation sessions provides a valuable contribution to:

- (i) Researchers who are interested in the study of Arabic manuscripts, in general, and ḥadīth manuscripts, in particular.
- (ii) Researchers who are interested in editing and publishing such manuscripts.
- (iii) Postgraduate research students who are interested in this field of research.

One of the central research questions was to understand why there is a lack of books on the ḥadīth dictation session from the second and third centuries. We are now in a position to answer this: they were written in what is known as the age of authorship, a period that produced the most important collections in the history of Islam. Such books as the Ṣaḥīḥ collections of al-Bukhāri and Muslim, the *musnads* and major dictionaries all found their way into dictation assemblies. These became relied upon as the authoritative books of scholars for generations.

The study concludes that ḥadīth dictation sessions played a significant role in the development of ḥadīth studies throughout the centuries. These sessions provided primary but rich and varied material which was of great significance to ḥadīth scholars and ḥadīth students in the past in terms of the ḥadīth text (*matn*) and its chain of authorities (*isnād*). Ḥadīth dictation sessions have also given us an insight into the recording of the standard practice of Muḥammad (*sīra*), as well as an insight into the recording of ḥadīth in the formative and growth phases.

The ḥadīth material collected during the ḥadīth dictation sessions were wellselected by the ḥadīth scholar (*mumli*). Thus, the ḥadīths he used to dictate can be considered as sound or acceptable since he would pay special attention to their selection and verification. The ḥadīth dictation sessions have provided a good scholarly tool to eliminate the omission in the chain and the text of ḥadīth (*al-saqt fi al-sanad wal-matn*).

These sessions have also provided:

- (i) a scholarly tool for differentiating between old and new narrations,
- (ii) scholarly insight into abrogating and abrogated ḥadīths,
- (iii) good scholarly insight in pinpointing the unauthentic names (*al-muhmal*) of ḥadīthnarrators when similar narrator names are encountered. Ḥadīthscholars pointed out to their students the authentic names of ḥadīthnarrators,
- (iv) good scholarly insight into marking and eliminating the unknown names of narrators in the text and in the chain of authorities of the ḥadīth,
- (v) good scholarly insight into how to eliminate additions to the text (*matn*) of the ḥadīth,
- (vi) detailed comments on the semantic ambiguity (*gharīb*) of ḥadīth expressions,
- (vii) good scholarly insight into the specific procedures that can eliminate strange narrations (*gharīb al-sanad*),
- (viii) invaluable discussion and explanation of unknown causes (*ʿilal*) of ḥadīth.

Although there were three major methods adopted by ḥadīth scholars in the dictation of ḥadīths to their students (dictation from memory, dictation from a book, and dictation from both memory and a book), it can be stated that regardless of which of these three methods was adopted, the dictation of ḥadīths to ḥadīth students under the supervision of their ḥadīth scholar remains the best and most reliable source of documentation of ḥadīth. The reason is that the ḥadīth scholar and his students were face to face and the ḥadīths were dictated to the students by a reliable ḥadīth authority.

Another conclusion arrived at in the present study is that the repeater (*al-mustamli* or *al-munādi*) was a knowledgeable and reliable source of ḥadīth. It follows then that one can classify the ḥadīth taken from a repeater as authentic and sound. Generally, one can conclude that the repeater constituted a reliable source of authority in ḥadīth studies. When ḥadīth students missed out a word in a

ḥadīthcontent or a name in a chain of authority, they used to enquire about it immediately by asking the repeater. Most importantly, the repeater was already supervised by the ḥadīth scholar who double checked the accuracy of the repeater's reading and comprehension skills and explained the ambiguities to the repeater and corrected him if he made any error. Furthermore, in most ḥadīth dictation sessions the repeater dictated to the audience from a ḥadīth book approved by the ḥadīth scholar which most probably was the codex of the ḥadīth scholar. To sum up, a level of trust can be afforded to the ḥadīths conveyed by the repeater provided he could hear the ḥadīth scholar.

To support our conclusion about the status of the repeater, we can conclude that the majority of ḥadīth scholars used to have repeaters who were wellknown for their knowledge of ḥadīth, as well as for their intelligence and trustworthiness. Based on ḥadīth literature, it can be concluded that the majority of ḥadīth scholars employed such a category of repeaters and most importantly, praised their repeaters and categorised them as *akhyār wa afāḍil* (the best, virtuous, honest people) (al-Sam<sup>c</sup>ani 1993, 2:396 (ḥadīth number 270)).

The ḥadīthstudent is the focal point of ḥadīthstudies and has always played a major role in the recording of ḥadīth. It is likely that the ḥadīthstudent was a would-be ḥadīthscholar. Therefore, it was imperative that he possessed specific character traits to qualify him for such an important task, such as moral etiquette, good manners, pure intention for knowledge, academic motivation and keenness to learn, willingness to travel to investigate the sound ḥadīths from ḥadīth scholars of good repute in remote places and countries, and most importantly, the ḥadīth student had to be morally and ethically upright.

The ḥadīth scholar (*muḥaddith*) also had to have specific features that qualified him to be in such a position. For instance, such a scholar was required to have ḥadīths of short chain of narration (*isnād<sup>c</sup>ali*) especially ḥadīths which had a very short number of narrators and the last person narrates directly from Muḥammad. According to the above, a knowledgeable ḥadīth scholar of good repute had to be accurate in his ḥadīth narration (*itqān al-isnād*) and also to be precise in

the content (*matn*) of the ḥadīth. If a ḥadīth scholar was to be a ḥadīth authority, he needed to be wellknown for being the only narrator of a ḥadīth in the chain of narration. I would also like to point out that the ḥadīthscholar needed to avoid hypothetical and personal opinion (*al-ijtihād*) when giving a legal judgement about a particular matter. In other words, he was required to provide conclusive evidence (*hujjah*) from the Qur'an, the Sunnah, or a Companion's opinion before passing a legal judgement.

The thesis can also conclude that the major sources on ḥadīth dictation sessions are represented by al-Khaṭīb's *al-Jāmi' li-Akhlāq al-Rāwi wa Adab al-Sāmi'*, al-Sakhawī's, *Fath al-Mughīth Bisharḥ Alfīyyāt al-Ḥadīth*, and al-Sam'ani's *Adab al-Imla' wal-Istimla'*. However, these major sources are characterised by incomprehensible details and lack of wellstructured, focused analysis. It is perhaps for this reason that they are not cited by Western scholars, with the exception of Schoeler. It is the hope that the present study, which relied substantially on these texts, will make available, sometimes for the first time, scholarship hitherto found only in Arabic sources.

The ḥadīthscholar al-Sam'ānī, who lived during the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> and part of the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century, was well aware of the ḥadīth dictation sessions and was an authority on ḥadīth studies. Although al-Sam'ani's *Adab al-Imla' wal-Istimla'* can be regarded as a major and very useful source on ḥadīth dictation sessions and for ḥadīth studies in general, it can be characterised as a descriptive book and does not provide analytical and critical assessment of ḥadīths. Al-Sam'ani mentions all the ḥadīths with their chain of narration, and sometimes expresses his opinion on the truthfulness or not, of the chain of narration of a particular ḥadīth. However, he does not appear to give his opinion on which ḥadīth is sound and which one is weak. Most importantly, he does not differentiate in his book between ḥadīth circles where ḥadīth is taught to people but not necessarily dictated, and ḥadīth dictation sessions where ḥadīth is taught and dictated by a ḥadīth scholar to ḥadīth students. It follows then that his book *Adab al-Imla' wal-Istimla'* can be characterised by lack of balance in terms of methodology. He has given too many unnecessary details on the students without giving enough details on the ḥadīth material such as content (*matn*) and chain of

narration (*isnād*). Thus, in Chapters 1-4, the book is not exclusively on ḥadīth dictation sessions.

The ḥadīth scholar al-Khaṭīb's *al-Jāmi' li-Akhlāq al-Rāwi wa Adab al-Sāmi'* can also be regarded as a major source in ḥadīth studies in general and in ḥadīth dictation sessions in particular. He was the first scholar who authored the ḥadīth dictation sessions. He lived a century before the ḥadīth scholar al-Sam'ani, and was also the teacher of the ḥadīth scholars whom al-Sam'ani relied on in terms of learning or quoting. However, it can be stated that al-Khaṭīb's book is characterised by the repetition of the same topics that had already been dealt with. Most importantly, however, the book deals with minor topics such as the etiquette required by the students during the ḥadīth dictation sessions, the relationship between the ḥadīth student and the ḥadīth scholar, and the ḥadīths in general in terms of their content (*matn*) and chain of narration (*isnād*). By focussing on minor topics, in my point of view, the book is not entirely on the ḥadīth dictation sessions which for me as a researcher is the major topic in my investigation. Additionally, his book *al-Jāmi' li-Akhlāq al-Rāwi wa Adab al-Sāmi'* is, to some extent, unbalanced in terms of methodology. He has given twenty-nine chapters to the minor topics while he has written only three brief chapters on ḥadīth dictation sessions. Thus, it can be stated that al-Khaṭīb's *al-Jāmi' li-Akhlāq al-Rāwi wa Adab al-Sāmi'* deals with ḥadīth dictation sessions in general, but not in great detail nor with much focus on them.

After a comprehensive reading of the edited versions of al-Sam'ani's *Adab al-Imla' wal-Istimla'* and al-Khaṭīb's *al-Jāmi' li-Akhlāq al-Rāwi wa Adab al-Sāmi'*, it can be concluded that these versions of the two sources are characterised by poor quality research and no critical assessment of the ḥadīth dictation sessions, the ḥadīths, or their chain of narration.

The major sources authored by ḥadīth scholars or ḥadīth specialists have not specifically dealt with ḥadīth dictation sessions only. Instead, these sources have included other topics such as Qur'anic exegesis, jurisprudence, and creed (*al-aqīdah*). As a result, ḥadīth dictation sessions have not been given enough consideration in terms of details and scholarship.

### 8.1. Recommendations for Future Research

Having discussed the above, I can propose the following recommendations:

1. To undertake further research on the ḥadīth dictation sessions.
2. To introduce ḥadīth dictation sessions as a module in the departments of Islamic Studies to benefit students from this interesting discipline.
3. To encourage researchers to edit the manuscripts on ḥadīth dictation sessions that are available in different international libraries.
4. Although al-Khaṭīb's *al-Jāmi' li-Akhlāq al-Rāwi wa Adab al-Sāmi'* and al-Sam'ani's *Adab al-Imla' wal-Istimla'* are the major sources in ḥadīth studies, it is recommended that the researcher dealing with ḥadīth dictation sessions should not rely on them heavily. Instead, it is recommended that he/she consult the manuscripts in international libraries.
5. To undertake research in the teaching and learning process involved in the ḥadīth dictation sessions so as to benefit from the pedagogical techniques adopted by ḥadīth scholars of the previous centuries and also benefit from their teaching techniques.
6. To provide a critical analysis of the claims made by different scholars in the ḥadīth literature.
7. To establish a *Ḥadīth Specialists Society (jāmi'iyāt al-mutakhassisīn bil-ḥadīth)* to coordinate research related to ḥadīth, organise conferences on ḥadīth, exchange information on ḥadīth manuscripts and publications on ḥadīth, and to be in contact with national and international libraries that have ḥadīth manuscripts.
8. To contact the Arab League and major international Muslim organisations through the *Ḥadīth Specialists Society* and alert them about the poor conditions and circumstances the ordinary and rare manuscripts are in and about the serious danger facing them, especially the rare ones.
9. During my visits to the al-Asad National Library in Damascus and the Manuscripts Centre in Cairo, I have experienced serious research difficulties in

obtaining or photocopying the manuscripts I needed for my research. I have found the two institutions were bureaucratic and some members of staff had an unfriendly or lukewarm attitude. Some of them openly asked for money in order to facilitate my research task. Therefore, I recommend that the Arab League and major international Muslim organisations through the *Ḥadīth Specialists Society* should contact the al-Asad National Library in Damascus and the Manuscripts Centre in Cairo so that they abandon their old policies and become more cooperative with researchers of all nationalities.

10. To establish a *Ḥadīth Manuscript Preservation Fund* (*sandūq ḥimāyāt makḥūṭāt al-ḥadīth*) so that care can be taken in terms of providing appropriate storage places for the ḥadīth manuscripts in their relevant libraries.

11. To copy for distribution the lone ḥadīth manuscripts and send them to other international libraries.

12. To encourage the owners of personal libraries to donate the ḥadīth dictation sessions manuscripts to national and international libraries for the sake of proper storage and safety of the manuscripts.

13. It is highly recommended that ḥadīth dictation sessions should be investigated separately in each century and a book should be published on a specific century only. This will allow more space and details for the study of ḥadīth dictation sessions during one century.

14. I believe that more research is required in the critical analysis of many manuscripts on the ḥadīth *Āmālī* sessions, many of which are still unedited in libraries across the world.

15. Based on my literature and manuscript review, I recommend that researchers investigating ḥadīth dictation sessions should not confuse such sessions with the other disciplines of:

(i) (*al-ʿard*) which means the reading aloud of ḥadīths to a ḥadīth scholar who verified their accuracy in terms of content and chain of narration, and

(ii) (*al-ijāza*) which means the ḥadīth licence which was granted to a ḥadīth student who could be trusted to narrate or teach ḥadīth.











فاني الجاحد فقال ابني ثلثه احراز فانتة بحسن زودته فاسمه بها فاخذ  
 الزودته فالتاها قال هذه رخص ثم بالحسن ولم يمش مساءه الذي  
 حسنا عبا بن الحسن بن علي الصقار ابو القاسم سوار يعني عند الله  
 عبد الوهاب يعني السفي عن محمد بن عمرو عن ابي سلمة عن ابي هريرة ان نبي الله صلى الله  
 عليه وسلم قال من ترك مالا ولاهله ومن ترك ضياعا فالي حسنا عبد الله  
 بن الحسن بن علي سوار بن عبا بن المعمر يعني سليمان بن ابي صالح عن عمرو  
 بن شعيب عن ابي بصير قال لما اتى جبريل اخبر عليه السلام بالوثة قال رسول الله  
 صلى الله عليه وسلم ان اللات زادكم صلاة حسنا ابو حنيفة عن عمر بن الحسن بن نصر  
 القاضي قاضي حلب ابو حنيفة مصعب بن سعيد بن عبد الرحمن بن الحسن بن علي  
 سعد البقال عن سعيد بن جابر عن ابن عباس قال اذا اجمع عيدان في يوم الاحد  
 اخذها حسنا ابو حنيفة العباس بن احمد بن السبتي عن عبد الله بن  
 معوية بن يحيى القيس بن الفضل بن محمد بن علي بن ابي سلمة قالت قال رسول الله صلى  
 الله عليه وسلم ان كل ضعيف حسنا العباس بن احمد بن السبتي  
 هتا وبن السري ابو السري ما وقع كما عن شعيب بن عبد الرحمن بن  
 سعيد بن عبد الرحمن بن اسوي عن ابيه ان السهله اللام كان يوتر فيسبح  
 ربك ليرد على وتل بالميا للكافرون وقل هو الله احد اخبرنا ابو بكر  
 عبا بن الحسن بن الاسود بن احمد بن جعفر حتى زاهر بن حمر بن حارثه  
 واربعين وسبعه

قول عبد الله بن  
 عمر وكعب بن العمير  
 ذر

سلع والبالش  
 بالكلمة في سنن ابي  
 واربعين وسبعه

السبعين حيازة كما منزل عن عبد الله بن مسعود عن نفع بن عبد الرحمن عن الله  
 عن ابن عمر قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من شهد مائة من  
 وكما ما في يوم ما في سبيل الله عز وجل واليوم سبع مائة يوم فمن  
 شهد جنازة امري مسلم فكما ما في يوم ما في سبيل الله واليوم سبع  
 مائة يوم ومن عاد من نيا فكما ما في سبيل الله واليوم سبع مائة  
 يوم ومن اعتل يوم الجمعة فكما ما في يوم ما في سبيل الله عز وجل  
 احبنا ابو الحسن علي بن عثمان الشكري قواه عليه رازة شازع دار  
 الدقيق مديف الحجاب ابو بكر محمد بن سليمان الباعدي ما في  
 بن عبد الملك بن الشوارب ابو عوانة ما عبد الملك بن عمر بن خالد  
 بن ربيع عن عبد الله بن مسعود قال سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول ان  
 حاجبك حليل الله عز وجل **ح** ثنا ابو بكر الباعدي ما في سبيل الله  
 الحمداني ما شفيان عن عبد الملك بن عمير والركن بن الزهر بن  
 ابيه قال سمعت من ابن مسعود **ح** ثنا ما سمعت بعد ايه من باب الله  
 حديثا عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم احسن منه يقول من راي منكم منكرا  
 فله استطع له غير انكي ان يعلم من اللطافة له كذا **ح** ثنا  
 الباعدي ما محمد بن حميد الزاوي الصالح بن حيارب ابو عثمان عن  
 الحق عن هبة عن عبد الله بن مسعود قال سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

ينظر  
 في  
 كتاب  
 الامور  
 الشرعية

صا  
 من  
 يوم  
 ما  
 في  
 سبيل  
 الله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الحمد لله رب العالمين  
والصلاة والسلام على  
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين  
الطاهرين

سنة ١٢٠٠  
في شهر ربيع الثاني  
في يوم الاثنين  
العاشر من الشهر

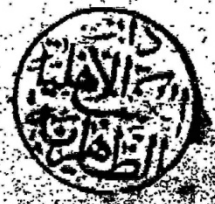
# الحرف من حديثك إمامنا محمد بن أبي بكر

دامت له من شجرة نفي أمه عنده

رواية القاسم السري في الخبرين عن علي بن محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسين بن أبي بصير  
رواية القاسم في الخبرين عن محمد بن عبد الله بن أبي بصير  
رواية ملا محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الله بن أبي بصير  
سماح محمد بن عبد الله بن أبي بصير

٢٧٥٥

وهو مؤيد من محمد بن أبي بصير  
الصالح بن محمد بن أبي بصير







وصلوا ولم يعف بعضهم على بعض **حسن** ما احسن ابن هبيرة ما رواه عن شيخنا الردي  
 حتى حصفه عن جيلده عن ابن عباس انهما طافا مع معوية بالبيت فحفل تسليم الوركين  
 كسما فقال له ابن عباس لم تسلم هذين الزكيتين ولم يكن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم  
 فقال له معوية ليس بشئ من التمس بمحور فقال ابن عباس لئلا كان لك في رسول الله  
 اسوة يستننه فقال معوية صدقت **حسن** ما احسن ابن هبيرة ما رواه عن شيخنا الردي  
 معاهد عن ابن عباس ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اراد ان يامر عرفان بن ابي  
 العطار بجمع الرمي اجره ان الرمي على اللام لم يزل يلبى حتى ربي حتى العتق و  
 كان بكر عطا وطاوس **حسن** ما احسن ابن هبيرة ما رواه عن شيخنا الردي  
 مسزون عن حصفه عن عكرمة عن ابن عباس ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لم يجمع بين  
 والحالة **حسن** ما احسن ابن هبيرة ما رواه عن شيخنا الردي  
 يونس عن الردي ان ابن كان يحدث ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال فوج  
 سبي وانما تمكثتم من اجل حبل عليه السلام ففوج صدري ثم غسله من مبارزته

ثم اطفئه **حسن** ما احسن ابن هبيرة ما رواه عن شيخنا الردي  
 اجرا من **حسن** ما احسن ابن هبيرة ما رواه عن شيخنا الردي  
 سجع حصة على الكسبي بكر الانصاري بعصاه ان نصرنا احسن محمد بن ابراهيم  
 للاصهار جماعة من بني عكرمة بن زهير بن ابي وهبة بن ابي اسحق بن ابي  
 بن هبيرة ما رواه عن شيخنا الردي

بلع في الحائض  
 بالطامية  
 ليعبوا الناس  
 بالاطمينة  
 ابن هبيرة ما رواه عن شيخنا الردي



عليه ويكتبون للجليلين ويحجون عند السليان  
 ويرفعون له الدعوات فقال سليمان الحمد لله باب  
 انب وامي رسول الله صلى الله عليك اجعل لي الرجل  
 بهذا الاسماء كمثل هذا فقال يا اعداء الله ما تبلغ ما  
 نتمتع به ام بسمره من الجبر الموفور والسعي  
 المشكور والنجاره التي لا تبور فقال سليمان طوبى  
 لراعبيها فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اغن  
 ثواب هذه الاسماء فقال علي بن ابي طالب رضي الله

عنه وليفيد عوايها ما سئ الله فقال قل الله انك  
 جلي محون وخالف لا تعاب وصبر لا يرباب وصادق  
 لا كتاب وقاهر لا تعاب وبيدي لا تنفذ وقريب  
 لا يبعد وقلاد لا يظام وغافر لا يظلم وصال لا تطعم  
 وقبوم لا ينام وصحيب لا ييسام وحيار لا يترام  
 وعليم لا يرام وعالم لا يضل وتوي لا يضعف  
 وعظم لا يوصف وروي لا يخلف وعدل لا يظلم  
 وغني لا يفتقر وكبير لا يهتز وحكم لا يجرؤ  
 ومنيع لا يفتقر ومعروف لا ينكر ووكيل  
 لا يفتقر وغالب لا يغلب ووتر لا يسنامز وفرد  
 لا يفتقر

عنه وليفيد عوايها ما سئ الله فقال قل الله انك  
 جلي محون وخالف لا تعاب وصبر لا يرباب وصادق  
 لا كتاب وقاهر لا تعاب وبيدي لا تنفذ وقريب  
 لا يبعد وقلاد لا يظام وغافر لا يظلم وصال لا تطعم  
 وقبوم لا ينام وصحيب لا ييسام وحيار لا يترام  
 وعليم لا يرام وعالم لا يضل وتوي لا يضعف  
 وعظم لا يوصف وروي لا يخلف وعدل لا يظلم  
 وغني لا يفتقر وكبير لا يهتز وحكم لا يجرؤ  
 ومنيع لا يفتقر ومعروف لا ينكر ووكيل  
 لا يفتقر وغالب لا يغلب ووتر لا يسنامز وفرد  
 لا يفتقر

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ رَبِّ يَسِّرْ لِي كَرِيمًا  
أَخْبَرَنَا السَّيِّدُ الْأَمَامُ الْعَلَّامَةُ نَاجِدُ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ بْنِ  
الْمُهَلَّبِيِّ أَبُو الْإِسْمَاعِيلِ الْكَلْبِيُّ أَحَدُ الْأَبْنَاءِ الَّذِينَ قَرَأَهُ عَلَيْهِ  
عَنْ أَبِيهِ وَأَنَا أَخْبَرْتُ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْهُ مِنْ بَيْنِ مَنْ جَمَعُوا فِي الْأَوَّلِيِّ سَنَةِ  
لِحَدِيثِهِ وَسَنَةِ دَهْرٍ وَأَمَّا فِي رِوَايَةِ الْأَوَّلِيِّ سَنَةِ عَشْرٍ وَتَمَّ  
مَنْزِلُ النَّجْدِيِّ الْعَجْمِيِّ السَّيِّدِ الْأَمَامِ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ  
عَلِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ سَبْطِ النَّجْدِيِّ مِنْ صُورِ الْخِطَّاءِ سَنَةِ عَشْرٍ  
سُئِلَ فِي سَنَةِ عَشْرٍ وَتَمَّ فِي رِوَايَةِ الْإِسْمَاعِيلِيِّ قَالَ أَبُو  
الْبُرْقَانِ أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ عَمْرٍو بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ  
عَلِيٍّ فِي خَيْرِ رُومٍ فِي حَدِيثِ الْأَخْبَرِ مِنْ سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَارْبَعِينَ  
فَكَانَ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْحُسَيْنِيُّ بْنُ عَلِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ  
بَابِ النَّبَاتِيِّ مَلَا فِي مَجْلِسِ الْجَامِعِ بِوَأَسْطُ بَوْمِ الْجُمُعَةِ سَنَةَ  
سَعْدَانَ مِنْ سَنَةِ سَبْعِ عَشْرَةٍ وَارْبَعِينَ قَالَ أَبُو الْوَكِيلِ  
ابْنُ جَعْفَرِ الشَّمْسِطِيِّ وَابْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْجَبَالِيُّ الصُّوفِيُّ فِي  
عِدَّةِ الْأَعْيَانِ مِنْ حَمَادَةَ لَوْ سَفَّ نَعْتُهُ فَتَنَاهُ وَمَطَّرَ  
الْوَرَقَ وَعَمِلَ اللَّهُ الدَّلَاجَ عَنْ أَيْشٍ مِنْ مَالِ زَيْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ  
رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَرَجَ مِنْ بَابِ الْبَيْتِ

أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ أَبِي الْخَيْرِ فِي سَمْعٍ فَمَا خَلَّفَ الْبَابَ يَأْتِيهِمْ  
أَبُو الْوَكِيلِ وَكَانَ فِي الْفَتْحِ يَقُولُونَ مَا يُقَالُ لِلَّهِ تَبَارَكَ  
وَعَالِيهِ كَيْفَ ذَلِكَ وَيَقُولُ الْخَيْرُونَ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ  
اللَّهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِالْحَجْرِ كَانَ فِي عَمَلِي وَجْهٌ  
حَسْبُ الْإِيمَانِ فَقَالَ يَوْمَ الْمَرْمَةِ أَوْ لَعَلَّكُمْ أَنَّهُمْ لَمْ يَكُنْ فِيكُمْ  
بِأَنْبِيَاءِهِمْ لَأَنْصُرُوا كَيْفَ كَانَ لِلَّهِ بَعْضُهُمْ بِبَعْضٍ مِنْكُمْ بِأَمْرِ  
فَانْعُودُوا بِهِمْ لَأَعْرِضُوا فَانْتَهَى وَافْتِخَرُوا بِشَيْءٍ مِنَ النَّاسِ لَعَلَّ الْخَلْقَ  
يُنْكِرُوا لِقَدْحِي كَانَ الْحَجَّ وَالْحَجَّ وَالْحَجَّ وَالْحَجَّ وَالْحَجَّ  
فَقَالَ الْحَجَّ الْحَجَّ الْحَجَّ الْحَجَّ الْحَجَّ الْحَجَّ الْحَجَّ الْحَجَّ الْحَجَّ  
ابْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْأَوْعِيَّةُ اللَّهُ الصُّوفِيُّ وَمِنْهُمُ ابْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ الْحَجَّ  
الْوَهَّابِيُّ عَطَاءُ بْنُ يَزِيدَ بْنِ يَزِيدَ بْنِ كَيْسَانَ بْنِ كَيْسَانَ بْنِ كَيْسَانَ  
ابْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ  
اللَّهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الْعَبَّاسِيُّ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ لِأَنَّ  
كَانَ عَلَيْهِ الْأَسْبَابُ فِي نَسَبِهِ وَكَانَ قَالَ فَعَلَّ وَفَعَلَّ وَفَعَلَّ  
مَعَهُ فَالْبَيْتَانِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَيْفَ قَالَ اللَّهُ  
أَغْفِرُ لِلْعَاصِي وَرَأَى مَغْفِرَةً طَاهِرَةً لِأَنَّ الْغَادِرَ ذَنْبًا  
اللَّهُ خَلَّفَهُ فِي ذَلِكَ حَسْبُ الْوَكِيلِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الْحَجَّ لِلْبَابِ  
الْوَأَسْطِيِّ وَابْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ

بشيرة

عبد الله بن محمد

١٦٦



حسن فبه مجلس من مالي ابي عبد الله الحسين بن علي  
 ابن احمد بن علي بن محمد المعروف بابن البناي رحمه الله  
 رواه في البركان احمد بن عثمان بن احمد بن شعيب بن عيسى عنه  
 رواه الامام الرازي في العرفان ابي محمد عبد الله بن علي عنه  
 رواه الامام العلامة محمد بن العزير في الحسن بن زيد بن الحسن  
 ابن زيد بن الحسن بن زيد بن الحسن الكندي عنه  
 سماع سند صاحب الشيخ الاجل الاديب محي الدين  
 ابو الفرج طاهر بن الفضل بن طاهر الخال  
 سماع سند الامام ابي عبد الله بن محمد بن  
 الانصاري ورجعه ليه

الرواق

ولا  
 عن علي بن ابي حمزة الثماللي  
 ورواه في...



منه  
 منه  
 منه  
 منه



عن ابيه عن سعد بن ابراهيم قال سئل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم دعوه في الشوق  
 اذ دعا بها الله عز وجل في بطن الجوف ٢ الله انت سبحانك لبي  
 كنت من الظالمين فان لم يدع بها رجل مسلم في شئ قط الا  
 استجاب الله له بها عز وجل ٣ سمع المحضر باسما محمد بن ابي  
 الجرجان محمد بن الفضل و ابو الفتوح بن ابي الفخار بن خلف العجلي  
 في جماعه قد كتبت في عبيد بن مسعود بن خلف العجلي  
 سمع و اول اصابه الكافه اسقطت عن ابينا عن ابينا  
 الاصل لكسر العالم العاطل من الكفر في الاسلام اما في  
 ابي السرح لسعد بن العاصيل بن جندب بن العدي اقام له بركة  
 و فضله كما هو طاهر اسقطت عن ابي العباس و ابو العباس  
 الامير عبد الله بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق  
 محمد بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق  
 خطه في جامع بن سفيان بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق  
 صدق و ترتيبها فانه عارضة في السبع العول  
 سمع هذه النسخ من لوط راد بها السبع اسم اعظم اعظم ابي اسحاق  
 سئل في الخبر و اجد العالبي عن ابي الفصح العملي عن محمد بن  
 عبد الرحمن بن اسحاق بن عبد الواحد بن ابي اسحاق بن محمد بن  
 خلف بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق  
 بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق بن ابي اسحاق

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وحسبكم الخ فظا أبو القاسم إمامنا في زجينة تلمذوا لغيره حباه إماما أحد  
 بن عبد الرحمن الزكواني كما أبو عبد الله محمد بن إبراهيم الخزازي كما  
 محمد بن يعقوب كما صرح به يزيد بن محمد بن عبد الصمد الرشتي بن مشفق  
 كما حكى في كتاب الوفا على حده في أواسد سيرة من السكون فان كنت  
 ما لك يقول سمعت أبا عبد الله بن محمد بن يعقوب يقول قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم  
 انه لم يبع من الدنيا آفة شر الزباة ثموت في جودها الله الله في جوانبكم  
 من أهل القبور فان أعمالكم تعرف عليكم اخبرنا أبو حفص عمر بن  
 الحسن بن سليمان عن علي بن محمد بن نصر اللبان الرينوري عن أبي بكر  
 أحمد بن محمد بن اسمعيل الجيني الساجي اخبرني محمد بن موسى بن خلف  
 عن جعفر بن عبد الله بن سعد بن جابر عن محمد بن الربيع بن سليمان  
 قال سمعت إسحاق بن إبراهيم النزار بمصر يقول طرقت الشيباني  
 بخر السدم فعلقته بها مسحة فجزيناها فلم نقدر عليها فخرنا جنتها  
 ان جوز رجلا فحملكها الخ السفينة فان سمعته يبغها فطر لها راع  
 بيا عنق من شيبز مكتوب على بطنها بالسواد كما ان محمد بن  
 حنك أحمد بن عبد الرحمن الزكواني كما أبو عبد الله محمد بن إبراهيم الخزازي  
 حنك محمد بن يعقوب كما صرح به علي بن ميمون الدردي عن النرباني  
 كما يونس بن أبي العوف عن أبي بكر بن محمد بن سعد عن

قال أبو عبد الله  
 في كتاب الوفا  
 على حده في أواسد  
 سيرة من السكون













سمعت من ائمة جمع هذه المسجيات على الخ الموقن الى الظاهر لمعمل  
 ان طغرل الما بلش في سنة الله تعالى في حجة بها فسمعت ما يسمي  
 ابن عبد الله الذي ولد للمهدي وهو ذلك فتدعي في سنة الله  
 في سنة الله في سنة الله وعمره في سنة الله في سنة الله في سنة الله  
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سمع هذا الخبر على الخ الامام ابي طاهر اسعيل بر طفا لابن عمير  
 محمد بن عمير براه عند الملك من عبد الحميد بن عبد الله بن عبد الله بن عبد الله  
 حظه في يوم الاطراف في سنة الله في سنة الله في سنة الله في سنة الله  
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فوات جمع الاما في الحافظ اسعيل العجلي  
 فوات جمع هذا الجرماء عند الشجر على الحافظ المنقر اسعيل  
 من طغرل احمد النا بلش في سنة الله في سنة الله في سنة الله في سنة الله  
 خليفة ولد المنصور والسمع الصالح ابو عبد الله محمد بن الوحيه  
 اسعيل بن محمد الضيق محمد بن عبد المنعم بن عمار بن همام الجسرافي  
 هذا خطه وذلك يوم الاثنين العشر الاوشر من ذي الحجة

في سنة الله في سنة الله في سنة الله في سنة الله في سنة الله في سنة الله

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