SAKHAWIANA

A STUDY BASED ON THE
CHESTER BEATTY MS. ARAB. 773

BY
A. J. ARBERRY

LONDON
EMERY WALKER LIMITED
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CHESTER BEATTY MONOGRAPHS
No. 1

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I

AN IJĀZA OF AL-SAKHĀWI

During the years 885–7/1480–2 the eminent Egyptian polymath, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Khair Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Sakhawī (d. 902/1497), resided at Mecca: so we learn from the very interesting autobiographical notice which he included in his most important work, al-Dau' al-lāmi'. Among the many scholars with whom he associated in this period of his most productive life was a certain Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Naṣr b. 'Umar al-Ḥishī al-Ḥalabī al-Shāfī al-Bistāmī, known as Ibn al-Ḥishī. The grandfather of Ibn al-Ḥishī, who claimed descent from 'Amr b. Ma'dī-Karib the minor poet who perished at the battle of Nihāwand in 20/641, was born at Ḥish, a village near al-Ma‘arra in the district of Ḥamāt, whence he removed to Aleppo in 816/1413 to reside there until his death at the age of about ninety in 846/1442. His home was the Dār al-Qur’ān al-‘Asha‘iriya; a disciple in Ṣūfism of 'Abd Allāh b. Khalīl al-Asadābādī al-Bistāmī (d. 785/1383), he was widely reputed for his learning and saintliness and attained recognition as the undisputed head of the Bistāmīya fraternity in Syria. Ibn al-Ḥishī’s father was born at Ma‘ārrat al-Nu‘mān in 799/1397, and eventually succeeded his father as Shaikh of the Dār al-Qur‘ān al-‘Asha‘iriya; he died at Aleppo in 875/1471. Ibn al-Ḥishī himself was born at Aleppo in 848/1444 and succeeded his father in what was evidently a family appointment; he met al-Sakhawī

2 Ibid. xi. 75.
3 Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shīr wal-shu‘ara‘, 219–22.
7 The institution was presumably founded by the Ibn 'Ashā'ir who was an ancestor of Ibn al-Ḥishī, see below.
at Mecca in 886/1481 and 887/1482 and transcribed to his great satisfaction several of al-Sakhawi’s works; al-Sakhawi informs us that he wrote for him an *ijāza* in his own hand: 1

It is satisfactory to report the existence of a manuscript which strikingly confirms in every detail the accuracy of al-Sakhawi’s foregoing statement. MS. Arab. 773 in Mr. Chester Beatty’s wonderful collection is a volume transcribed at Mecca during the year 886/1481 by the aforementioned Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. al-Hishi; he gives his name in full (foll. 37b) as Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Hishī b. Naṣr b. ‘Umar b. Hīlāl b. Ma’dī b. Zaid b. Abī Yazīd b. ‘Ashā’ir b. Ishlābiya b. ʿAḥmad b. Abī ‘l-Karam b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Ghaffār b. Muḥalhil b. ‘Urwa b. ‘Amr b. Ma’dī-Karib b. Zaid al-Khair al-Ṭā’ī the Companion. It contains a number of works by al-Sakhawi not otherwise preserved, of which a fuller account is given later in this monograph; these works were read by the copyist before the author. An attestation of the reading of the first of these treatises, the *Kitāb al-Buldānīyat*, 2 is inscribed in al-Sakhawi’s own hand on fol. 37b–38a.

1 al-Dau’ al-lāmi’, xi. 74–5.
2 The authorship of this work is claimed by al-Sakhawi in his autobiography, see Ibid. viii. 15.
From this interesting entry, which is written in a very characteristic cursive hand, for the most part unpointed, we learn that Ibn al-Hishi was accompanied on his visit to Mecca by three sons, Qiwm al-Dīn Muḥammad, Diyāʾ al-Dīn Āḥmad, and Fāṭ al-Dīn Ĕmar, and a daughter, Umm Ėn’ Ėisha; it is worth noting that al-Sakhāwī does not expressly state that the daughter was present during the readings, though as she is included in the ĭjāza it may be presumed that she was, at any rate, sometimes in attendance with her father.

It is not, however, the foregoing authorization to which al-Sakhāwī refers in al-Dāu’ al-lāmī’, but rather to a much longer and more important entry made by him in this same manuscript. Foll. 92b–103b contain a very full and elaborate ĭjāza, again in al-Sakhāwī’s own hand, which lists all the books read with him by Ibn al-Hīshī during this association, his own and others’ alike; in listing the latter titles al-Sakhāwī has named the shaikhs under whom he himself studied them, together with their isnāds going back to the original authors. These pages thus constitute a miniature curriculum studiorum of an eminent 9/15th-century scholar and his circle. The following paragraphs summarize the contents of this historical document.

The materials and books studied under al-Sakhāwī by Sharaf al-Dīn Ėbū Bakr b. Shams al-Dīn Ėbū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn Ėbū Bakr al-Hīshī al-Ĥalābī al-Shāfī’ī al-Bīstāmī were:

1. al-Ḥadīth al-musalsal bi’l-auwālīyāt, i.e. the first tradition al-Sakhāwī heard from a number of scholars, among them being his distinguished teacher Shihāb al-Dīn Ėbū ’ī-Fāḍl Ėḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ėbn Ḥajar al-ʾAsqalānī (d. 852/1449). He also received it in writing from Ėbū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ėḥmad al-Tadmūrī al-Khalīlī (d. 838/1435). Ibn Ḥajar’s isnād mounted through Zain al-Dīn Ėbū ’ī-Fāḍl

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1 Brockelmann, ii. 67–70, Suppl. ii. 72–6.


\[
\text{امتن علينا رسول الله في كرم فآتآك المرء نرجوه ونتتظر}
\]

On hearing these verses, the Prophet said:

\[
\text{ما كان لي ولبّي عبد المطلب فهو لكم}
\]

1 Brockelmann, ii. 65–6, Suppl. ii. 69–70.
2 This tradition is particularly associated with the name of Abû Qâbûs, see Ibn Ḥajar, \textit{Tahdîhib al-Tahdîhib}, xii. 203.
3 Brockelmann, ii. 17, Suppl. ii. 11.
5 Ibid. xii. 78–9.
5. *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim.

9. *Musnad* of al-Shāfī‘ī, received (among others) from Ibn Ḥajār, Abu ‘l-Ma‘ālim Muḥammad b. Āḥmad al-Bakrī (d. 858/1454), and Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Raṣḥīdī (d. 854/1450), their chains of authority being given.


12. *al-Tahdhib* (sc. Tahdhib al-asnām wa’l-lughāt) of al-Nawawī, received from (among others) Abū Hurairah the aforementioned with his chain.


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1 See Brockelmann, i. 359, Suppl. i. 612.
2 The isnāds of this and the four following works are contained in a separate risāla described below.
5 Brockelmann, i. 397, Suppl. i. 682.
6 *al-Dau‘ al-lāmī‘*, xii. 131–2.
7 Ibid. xii. 11–12.
8 Ibid. iv. 113–14.
9 Brockelmann, ii. 197, Suppl. ii. 267.
10 Ibid. i. 397, Suppl. i. 684.
11 Ibid. i. 369, Suppl. i. 630.
12 *al-Dau‘ al-lāmī‘*, xii. 18; daughter of the famous Zain al-Dīn al-‘Irāqī aforementioned.

15. *al-Burda* (of al-Būṣīrī) 5 and


17. *Qaṣīda* of Abū Ḥaiyān, 7 received from Ibn Ḥajar > Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs al-Bulqīnī > the author.


19. *Qaṣīda* of Ibn Ḫābir, 9 received from Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Khaḍīr al-Ḥalabī Ibn al-Miṣrī in writing.

20. *Sunān* of al-Nāṣīrī. 10


23. *Sunān* of Ibn Mājā. 13


In addition to the foregoing works, al-Sakhāwī read with Ibn al-Ḥiṣnī the following books of his own composition:

27. *al-Buldāniyyāt al-ʿalīyāt*. 14

1 Brockelmann, i. 364, Suppl. i. 621.

2 Ibid. Suppl. ii. 225.


5 Brockelmann, i. 264, Suppl. i. 467.

6 Ibid. i. 267, Suppl. i. 472.

7 Ibid. ii. 110, Suppl. ii. 136.

8 Ibid. i. 38, Suppl. i. 68.

9 Ibid. ii. 13, Suppl. ii. 6.

10 Chains given in the separate *risāla*.

11 Brockelmann, i. 268, Suppl. i. 473.

12 Ibid. ii. 66, Suppl. ii. 70.

13 Chains given in the separate *risāla*.

14 Unique copy in foll. 1–37 of this manuscript.
Such were the books studied in al-Sakhawi's circle at Mecca during those two years. It now remains to extract from the ijaza the names of those who were from time to time associated with Ibn al-Hishi in receiving instruction from the great teacher. We have referred above to

1 Unique copy in foll. 38–92 of this manuscript; mentioned in al-Dau' al-lāmī', viii. 16; wrongly ascribed by Hajji Khalifa to 'Alam al-Din 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Sakhawi (d. 643/1245, see Brockelmann, i. 410, Suppl. i. 727).
2 Ibid., Suppl. i. 680.
3 No copies appear to be recorded. The work is mentioned in al-Dau' al-lāmī', viii. 16; al-'Aidarūsī, al-Nūr al-sāfīr, 18; al-Shaukānī, al-Badr al-tālī', ii. 185. For al-Nawawi's al-Arba'īn, see Brockelmann, i. 396, Suppl. i. 682–4.
4 Ibid., Suppl. i. 680.
5 No copies appear to be recorded. Mentioned in al-Dau' al-lāmī', viii. 18.
6 Brockelmann, ii. 35.
7 Ibid. Suppl. ii. 33.
8 No copies recorded. Mentioned in al-Dau' al-lāmī', viii. 18.
9 No copies recorded. Mentioned ibid. as al-Kalām 'alā 'l-maidān.
10 No copies recorded. Mentioned ibid.
11 Brockelmann, ii. 35, Suppl. ii. 32.
12 Ibid. Suppl. ii. 33.
13 Ibid. i. 359, Suppl. i. 612.
14 Ibid. ii. 35, Suppl. ii. 32.

15 Ibid. ii. 68, Suppl. ii. 73.
the attendance of Ibn al-Ḥīshi’s three sons and his daughter. The eldest son, Qiwām al-Dīn Muḥammad, is described by al-Sakhāwī as deputy-Imām of the Great Mosque (at Aleppo), and as author of some feeble poetry; he could not have been of any great age when they met, for he had only committed to memory the Ḥīr al-amān of al-Shāṭibī three years earlier.1 Dziyā’ al-Dīn Ahmad and Umm Hāni’ ‘Ā’isha escape mention in al-Dau’ al-lāmi’; there is a very brief entry for Fath al-Dīn ‘Umar.2 The children only attended the lectures occasionally; al-Sakhāwī records the exact parts of books which they studied, and it is evident that he must have kept a register of attendance judging by the completeness with which he recounts these trivial details.

Others named as sharing in these studies from time to time are:

1. Badr al-Dīn Ḥusain b. Ṣiddiq b. Badr al-Dīn Ḥusain al-Yamanī al-Ahdal, known like his father as Ibn al-Ahdal. Born at Abyāṭ Ḥusain in 850/1446 and receiving his early education in law and grammar in those parts, he moved in 868/1464 to Zabid where he extended his studies to include literature. He first performed the pilgrimage in 872/1468, and later joined al-Sakhāwī’s group when he was residing at Mecca for the third time, transcribing some of his works in his own hand. He composed a poem in honour of al-Sakhāwī, who in return wrote him a comprehensive ijāza. At the time when al-Sakhāwī was writing al-Dau’ al-lāmi’ he received news that Ibn al-Ahdal had given up his former studies and become a Şūfī; he received affectionate and flattering letters from him down to the year 899/1494.3 A mystical treatise by him entitled Irtiyāḥ al-arwāh fī dhikr Allāh al-Karīm al-Fāttah is extant in a single copy.4 He died at Aden in 903/1498.5 His grandfather Badr al-Dīn al-Ahdal (d. 855/1451) was a noted historian and was Muftī of Abyāṭ Ḥusain; several of his works have survived.6


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1 See al-Dau’ al-lāmi’, vii. 191. This renowned poem on the Readings of the Qur’an (see Brockelmann, i. 409, Suppl. i. 725) was always one of the first books studied by schoolboys.
2 al-Dau’ al-lāmi’, vi. 76.
3 Ibid. iii. 144–5.
4 Brockelmann, Suppl. ii. 251.
5 Ibn al-‘Imād, Shadharīd al-dhahab, viii. 20.
6 Brockelmann, ii. 185, Suppl. ii. 238–9.
member of a learned family resident in Mecca. He was born in 845/1441 or 846/1442 and studied grammar, law, theology, and exegesis under his kinsmen, and other distinguished scholars visiting Mecca including al-Sakhawi himself, who wrote an ijāza for him. He was an excellent calligrapher and a paragon of virtue.1

3. Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Makārim Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Rāfī'i b. Jalāl al-Dīn Abi 'l-Sa'ādat Muḥammad Ibn Ṣāhirā. His grandfather (d. 888/1483) was the author of a local history of Cairo, an autograph copy of which is still extant.2 He was born, son of the Ḥanafi Qādi of Mecca, in 875/1471 and attended al-Sakhawi’s classes as well as those of his father.3

4. 'Īzz al-Dīn Abū Fāris 'Abd al-ʿAzīz b. Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn Fahd al-Hāshimi al-Makkī, member of a family of very eminent scholars. His grandfather, Taqī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fadl Muḥammad, was born in Upper Egypt but came with his father to Mecca and died there in 871/1466; a learned traditionist, he wrote several works which have survived.4 His father, also a traditionist and an author, died in 885/1480.5 'Abd al-ʿAzīz himself was born at Mecca in 850/1447, studied in Medina, Egypt, and Syria, and travelled extensively; he wrote some books which are extant, and died in 921/1516.6 He first studied under al-Sakhawi at Cairo in 884/1479, and later joined his circle at Mecca; he was a man of every excellence, one of the graces of his native city.7

5. Murshid b. Naṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Miṣrī al-Makkī. A fine calligrapher, binder, and illuminator, he made many copies of al-Sakhawi’s al-Qaūl al-baḥīt. He earned his living by calligraphy, but produced little because of his frequent journeys to India in search of a livelihood.8

6. Nur al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ṣiddīq al-Yamanī al-Shāfī'i, called al-Fāṭi, and Ibn Abī Tīna. A brilliant student of law, theology, grammar, and mathematics, he joined al-Sakhawi’s study-group and distinguished himself by his intelligence and earnestness; but

1 al-Ḍauʿ al-lāmi', v. 12.
2 Brockelmann, Suppl. ii. 40.
3 al-Ḍauʿ al-lāmi', ix. 271.
4 Brockelmann, Suppl. ii. 225.
5 Ibid. ii. 175, Suppl. ii. 225.
6 Ibid. Suppl. ii. 224.
8 Ibid. x. 154.
he was so poor that he died of want in 888/1483 when just over thirty years of age, a loss which al-Sakhāwī greatly regretted.  

7. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭūḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan Ibn Suwaid al-Miṣrī al-Mālikī. Born in 856/1452 and brought up in a pious environment, on his father’s death he gave himself over to frivolity and wasted his inheritance, acquiring an unmentionable reputation. He was nevertheless persistent in attending al-Sakhāwī’s classes at Mecca, and even pursued him to Medina; in both places al-Sakhāwī besought him to mend his ways. For all that, his vicious practices continued to be a public scandal down to the year 898/1493. Ibn Suwaid subsequently joined the service of Ṣaḥḥat Shāh at Aḥmadābād (Gujerat), under whose rule he enjoyed high preferment; when Muḥaffar Shāh succeeded to the throne he became the victim of a palace intrigue and lost much of his influence. He had no sons, but adopted one after the Indian fashion, and on his death in 919/1513 he left all his money to him and his widow. His daughter, who lived in Cairo, received nothing of his fortune.  

8. Qūṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī al-Sanā‘ al-Iṣbahānī al-Shirāzī al-Shāfī‘ī. Born at Shiraz a little after 820/1417, he studied widely under a number of eminent teachers, and preached in the Old Mosque at Shiraz and elsewhere. He resided at Mecca for about eight years, and joined al-Sakhāwī’s circle in 886/1481, receiving a comprehensive ijāza from him. On returning to Shiraz he is said to have become rich and prosperous; he again visited Mecca and met al-Sakhāwī there in 897/1492 and 898/1493. His son Muḥammad was present with him at the study-group in 886/1481.  

9. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sulaimān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kinānī al-Ḥaurānī al-Ghazzī al-Ḥanafī al-Muqrī‘ī. A specialist on grammar and the variant readings of the Qur’ān, he received an ijāza from al-Sakhāwī and recited to him some of his verses. In 889/1484 he proceeded to Cairo by sea, and sent al-Sakhāwī an autograph copy of two poems which he composed describing a fire at Medina and a flood at Mecca. He died at Gaza his native city in 930/1524.  

2 Ibid. ix. 91–2.  
5 Ibid. ix. 164.  
6 Ibid. i. 309.  
7 Shadhārāt al-dhahab, viii. 170–1.
So from this precious *ijāza* we get a remarkable picture of the great scholar, surrounded by his circle of earnest and—with one exception—pious students, some of whom were themselves distinguished authors, passing the months between one pilgrimage and the next in serious attention to some of the fundamental works of Muslim learning, and receiving from al-Sakhāwi’s lips a number of his own compilations. No doubt it is a picture which typifies the scene at Mecca whenever scholars and students from various parts of the Muslim world gathered together, to perform in common the ancient rites of the Pilgrimage, and to exchange such goodly knowledge as they had acquired from their teachers in the remote provinces which gave them birth. It is certainly not a picture of intellectual stagnation; rather it constitutes a very favourable testimony to the vitality of Islamic studies at the end of the 9/15th century.

II

THE TRAVELLING TRADITIONIST

To travel in search of knowledge was, according to a well-known Tradition of the Prophet, a duty incumbent upon every Muslim; to travel in quest of Traditions was furthermore a necessity, as soon as collecting *ḥadīth* became important to the development of the Islamic sciences, for the great wars of conquest had taken the Prophet’s early followers and their successors to the remotest corners of the civilized world, and it was the laudable ambition of every self-respecting traditionist to receive his materials from the actual lips of those who had either heard the Prophet utter the cherished words, or could point to an unbroken chain of local transmission from one who had been so privileged. It thus befell that the mark of the really great traditionist was that he should have qualified to be called *rahḥala*—a traveller; it is well known that the prince of them all, Muḥammad b. Ismā’il al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), journeyed sixteen years through Persia, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt in gathering the voluminous matter which he sifted to make into *al-Ṣān`i al-ṣaḥīh.*

According to Ḥājjī Khalīfa, the first scholar to combine Traditions with travel-talk in a single book was Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad

1 See, for instance, P. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 395.
al-Silafī al-İşbahānī (d. 576/1181), the renowned Shāfi‘ī scholar who wrote an arba‘īnbuldāniya—that is to say, a collection comprising forty select Traditions each one of which had been first heard by him from a different authority in a different town. Three copies of this curious work have been preserved; its title is Kitāb al-Arba‘īn al-mustaghfī bī-ta‘yin mā fihi min al-mu‘īn.3 Hajji Khalifa names, among others who composed similar works, Abu ’l-Qāsim Ḥamza b. Yūsuf al-Sahmī, but does not give the date of his death; actually this took place in 427/1036,4 so that it is clear that to him properly belongs the credit, so far as our sources of information indicate, for having invented this interesting variety of tradition-book.

Still relying on Hajji Khalifa, we learn that al-Silafī’s example was presently followed by the illustrious Damascene historian Ibn ‘Asākir (d. 571/1176); perhaps one copy of his buldāniya is extant.5 Thereafter two others imitated the same model—Abu ’l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Zāhirī al-Ḥalabī (d. 696/1297) and Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Wānī (d. 749/1348). To this brief catalogue may be added the name of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 656/1258),6 a solitary copy of whose treatise is in Tübingen.7

Thus far we are carried by hitherto available reference works. But, as recorded in the preceding chapter, the Chester Beatty Arabic MS. 773 contains in fol. 1–37 the unique copy of a treatise by Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhawī, his Kitāb al-Buldāniyāt, which presents a far more detailed picture of this out-of-the-way by-path of the science of hadith, while at the same time supplying new details of its author’s life as a student. In his prefatory remarks al-Sakhawī furnishes a long list of the names of scholars who had trodden this road before him; the dates of their death are recorded upon the margin of the transcript. They are as follows:

1 Ibn Khallikān no. 43; al-Subki, Tabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iya, iv. 43–8; al-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-huffāz, iv. 90–6.
2 Kashf al-zunūn, i. 233 (no. 397).
3 Brockelmann, i. 365, Suppl. i. 624.
4 He is best known for his history of Gurgān, see Brockelmann, Suppl. i. 571.
5 Ibid. i. 331.
6 Tadhkirat al-huffāz, iv. 233.
7 Brockelmann, Suppl. i. 610.
1. 'Atiq b. 'Ali b. Dāwud al-Samanṭārī al-Šaqaḷī (d. 464/1072), a pupil of the eminent historian and biographer Abū Nu'aim al-Iṣbahānī.1
2. Abū Tāhir Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī (the above-mentioned), who claimed to be the first to adventure in this field:

وَقَالَ إِنَّهُ نَوْعٌ لَا يُسِيِّرُ مَوْلَٰفٍ فِيهِ فَيُظْنَ الْيَمِّ لِمَثْلِهِ مَثَلَهُ وَمِنْهُ الْيَمِّ لَا يَقَدِرُ عَلَيْهِ كَلِّ أَحَدٍ إِلَّا مِنْ عِرْقٍ بِالْيَمِّ الْوَافِرَةَ وَالرَّحْلَةَ المَتَوَافِرَةَ مِنْ بَلْدَةٍ إِلَّا بَلْدَةٍ عَنْفَانٍ شَيْابِهِ وَابْنِاءَ طَلَبَهُ لِعَلِيْهِ وَانْتِصَابِهِ نَائِبًا كَانَ المُقَدَّصَ أَوْ قَرِيبًا وَلَمْ يَبَالِ بِمُوتِهِ غَرِيبًا وَلَا بِأَهْلِهِ وَلَا كَيْفَ قَدْ خَلَفَ مِنْ مَالِهِ

3. Ibn ‘Asākir (the above-mentioned).

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1 Yāqūt, Muḥjam al-ḥullān, iii. 144–5.
3 Šabqāt al-Shāfī’ī, v. 19 gives the date 609/1213.
5 See Brockelmann, i. 478.
6 Ibid. ii. 73, Suppl. ii. 79.
7 Brockelmann, i. 335, Suppl. i. 573–4.


16. Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān al-Dhahabī, the celebrated historian and biographer (d. 748/1348); al-Sakhāwī states that he had seen a list in al-Dhahabī’s own hand naming the forty-four towns where he had studied and the shaikhs who had taught him.


22. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449); al-Sakhāwī states that he had seen a list in Ibn Ḥajar’s own hand naming the thirty-nine towns where he had studied and the shaikhs who had taught him.

These were the predecessors whose example al-Sakhāwī proposed to emulate. He himself had heard traditions (or, in some cases, verses) in eighty different localities; he would arrange his account in alphabetical order of the places named, giving precedence, however, to Jedda, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Hebron. The following is a brief extract of his book, naming the places and scholars with brief notes on the latter.


Born before 790/1388 at Ta‘izz in Yemen, he had memorized the Qurʾān by the age of eight as well as other books, including about forty towns...
of al-Hariri’s *Maqāmāt*. He performed the pilgrimage many times, first in 805/1403, and also visited Medina, first in 808/1406, meeting numerous eminent scholars on these occasions. Later he travelled in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, returning to Mecca full of good learning in about 840/1437. Besides Jedda, al-Sakhāwī also studied under him at Mecca and Mina. For all his piety and scholarship he was possessed of a lively wit, though given to drowsiness, probably because of his nightly vigils.1


Born in 775/1374 at Medina, he studied under a number of eminent scholars alike in his birthplace, during his travels with his father from 793/1391 to 795/1393, and at Cairo which he visited in 799/1397. He repeatedly journeyed to Mecca, first in 800/1398, and lived there from time to time, finally adopting it as his place of residence in 840/1437; he was head of the Zamānīya Khānqāh, and later of the Jamāliya Khānqāh, being in his elder years devoted to the mystical life and withdrawn from the world. He was an admirer of the teachings of Ibn ʿArabī, on account of which he encountered much criticism; he was finally murdered at the very gate of the Kaʿba, and prayers were said for him in absentia in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus and elsewhere. He wrote a four-volume commentary on the *Minḥāj al-ṭālibīn* of al-Nawawī entitled *al-Mašrāʿ al-raʾūʿī fi sharḥ Minḥāj al-Nawawī*, as well as a four-volume epitome of Ibn Hajar’s *Fath al-Bārī* entitled *Talkhīṣ Abī ʿl-Faṭḥ li-maqaṣid al-Faṭḥ*.2


Born at Medina in 777/1375 of a noble and learned house, he had his education there. He succeeded his brother Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad as Mālikī Qādī of Medina in 822/1419, was removed from office in 856/1452, and then restored the following year to continue in the appointment until his death.3

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2 Ibid. vii. 162–5.
3 Ibid. v. 55–6.
4. Jerusalem: Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Qalqashandī (d. 867/1463), and his sister Asmā’ (d. between 865/1461 and 867/1463).

Abū Bakr, also called ’Abd Allāh, was born at Jerusalem in 783/1382 and was educated there; he also studied at Hebron, Mecca, Nablus, and Damascus. In Cairo he associated with the leading scholars and was invested with the Şūfī khirqa; at Mecca he is said to have read the whole of al-Bukhārī in three days. He held various teaching and Şūfī appointments; he received al-Sakhāwī at Jerusalem with great consideration, and gave him useful introductions to scholars in Safad. In his later years he attained a high position under the patronage of the Mamlūk ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf, and was the undisputed Head of Jerusalem, though keeping to his house most of the time because of bad feet.\(^\text{1}\)

Asmā’ was born in 779/1377, and acquired considerable learning as a traditionist; al-Sakhāwī read traditions with her in a very loud voice, because she was so hard of hearing.\(^\text{2}\)


Born at Hebron in 788/1387, he was educated there and in Cairo. He taught Qur’ān-reading in the mosque at Hebron, where al-Sakhāwī studied under him for a while.\(^\text{3}\)


Born at Alexandria in 790/1388 and educated under distinguished scholars, he taught traditions in Cairo; al-Sakhāwī heard him both there and at Alexandria. He also had a taste for literature and knew a good deal of poetry by heart, as well as himself composing verses from time to time.\(^\text{4}\)


Born at Baalbek in 777/1375, he studied the Qur’ān, grammar, and law there before removing to Tripoli in 819/1416 to be deputy-Qāḍī and,

\(^{1}\) *al-Dau’ al-lāmi*, xi. 69–71. \(^{2}\) Ibid. xii. 7. \(^{3}\) Ibid. iii. 193. \(^{4}\) Ibid. ii. 105–6. His father, a noted philologist, died at Gulbarga (India) in 827/1424, see Brockelmann, ii. 26, Suppl. ii. 21.
five years later, Qāḍī, a position which he occupied almost without inter­mission until his death. He performed the pilgrimage several times, and visited Jerusalem; he taught traditions in Tripoli. A handsome man, he is said to have been captured by the Franks and then to have escaped from them, on account of which he lost his teeth.¹


Born at Munya ʿUqba ca. 768/1367, he read the Qurʾān there and then moved into Cairo for his general education, which he completed at Anbaba. He studied at Mecca in 805/1403, and taught traditions and Qurʾān-reading. Becoming a Şūfi, he lived for a while in seclusion at the tomb of Yusuf al-Anbābi. A man of true piety and abstinence, he died a martyr to his faith by falling down the ladder of an ablution-tank.²


Born at Alexandria in 788/1386 where his father was Qāḍī, he was brought up after his father's death by his maternal grandmother, a Moorish woman who knew much of the Qurʾān by heart. With her he moved to Cairo to continue his education, later returning to complete it at Alexandria; he was a master of all sciences, and had a fine voice. After visiting Aleppo he came home to hold various teaching appoint­ments in Cairo, culminating in a professorship at the Ashrāfīya Madrasa in 829/1426, a position which he held until 833/1430 when he lost favour and withdrew into retirement. He was recalled by al-Malik al-Zahir Jaqmaq in 847/1443 to the headship of the Shaikhūnī Khānqāh. Later he lived for some time at Mecca and drank the waters of Zemzem, returning to Cairo in poor health to die there within a few days. He was a considerable author, and a number of his works are extant.³


Born at Damascus in 789/1387, he received his education there, specializing in law and philology. He wrote a little poetry, as well as an

¹ Ibid. xi. 90.
² Ibid. ii. 212–13.
³ Ibid. viii. 127–32; Brockelmann, Suppl. ii. 91–2.
epitome of the *Sīra Rasūl Allāh* of Ibn Hīshām and a number of other works, including biographies of Tamīm (*Tuḥfat al-sārī ilā ziyāra Tamīm al-Dārī*) and Abū ʿAmr al-Aузāʾī (*Maḥāsin al-masāʿī fi manāqib Abī ʿAmr al-Auzāʾī*); al-Sakhawī copied some of his poetry when he met him. He was a popular teacher and was sought out even by Shāfiʿī students, despite the animosity between the two schools in Damascus.\(^2\)


Born in 792/1390, he had a wide general education under the best teachers, and was for a long time from 811/1408 a member of Ibn Ḥajar’s circle. He recited at the Azhar Mosque and preached at other mosques; his accuracy made him one of the leading traditionists of his time, while his fine voice was admired from his early years. He taught al-Sakhawī some traditions, and later attended his classes regularly, being one of his keenest appraisers. Much of his clothes, money, and books was stolen, a calamity which affected his health so that he fell into a decline; al-Sakhawī attended his funeral.\(^3\)


Born at Cairo in 790/1388 and brought up there, he studied under the most eminent teachers including Zain al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī, whose daughter Zainab he married. He held a number of judicial appointments, and was one of the most intellectual yet unassuming men of Cairo, despite his high office; he was, moreover, cheerful and witty, devoted to religion, and generous to the poor. He made the pilgrimage several times, and accompanied Ibn Ḥajar to Syria. His funeral was attended by a throng of judges, scholars, students, and men of piety; the terms in which he was eulogized were fully deserved.\(^4\)


\(^1\) Published as an anonymous work, see Brockelmann, Suppl. i. 308.
\(^3\) Ibid. iv. 50–2.
\(^4\) Ibid. ii. 245.
Born in 783/1381 at Baalbek, he studied the Qur’ān and law there; al-Sakhāwī met him twice. A quiet, dignified man of a learned family, he taught in several schools at Baalbek.1


Born after 770/1369 at Bulbais, he studied there and, from 792/1390, in Cairo. He acted as deputy-Qāḍī of Bulbais, and became a leading authority in his district.2


Born in 790/1388 at Cairo, he studied law and philology, performed the pilgrimage in 844/1441, and acted as deputy-Qāḍī of Damietta. He constructed some buildings in Boulak which were for the most part destroyed by fire. His character was beyond reproach.3


Born in 803/1401 in the Ḥusainiyya quarter of Cairo, he had a general education there, and among his friends was Ibn Ḥajar, whose Fath al-Bārī he transcribed twice. He travelled to Syria, Palestine, and Mecca many times, and won a reputation as an earnest student, but made no fortune out of his legal career. He also taught law and traditions in a number of establishments, and was a Ṣūfī. He wrote an epitome of Ibn al-Athīr’s Kitāb al-Ansāb which he entitled Mu’īn al-ṭullāb bi-ma’rifat al-Ansāb. He was very slow in his movements, and of a humble and unpretentious character, bearing his domestic difficulties with fortitude; God blessed him with a number of daughters, all of whom he got married. He was an old acquaintance of al-Sakhāwī’s father, and was much attached to al-Sakhāwī himself, treating him with indescribable respect. In his later years he withdrew from one appointment after another and gave up his books, dying after a long illness.4


Not traced.

1 Ibid. iv. 248.
2 Ibid. ix. 28–9.
3 Ibid. ii. 41.

Born at Jibrin in 805/1403, he lost his father at an early age and was brought up by his brother, learning writing, archery, and horsemanship. He succeeded his brother as shaikh of the za'wiyah at Jibrin, where al-Sakhawi met him.\(^1\)


Born at Cairo in 790/1389 where he studied under famous teachers, he learned chanting and music and was a Sâ'î; he was an associate of Ibn Hajar. He wrote his autobiography in more than fifty volumes, as well as a number of other works, some of which are still extant. He was an unaffected and congenial man, readily given to tears, witty, and quick of repartee.\(^2\)


Born at Cairo in 798/1396, he had a general education there under excellent teachers, as well as at Mecca, becoming an authority on law. He rose to be professor at the Qubbat al-Shâfi'i, and was later Shâfi'i Qâdi of Cairo; he conceived a great admiration for al-Sakhawi. Altogether he was one of the finest characters of his time, being unassuming, genial, and generous to the poor, even giving away the clothes he was wearing and getting into debt for charity's sake. He was strictly orthodox, and disassociated himself from the teachings of Ibn 'Arabi; yet he had his enemies and traducers, especially towards the end of his life. His funeral was the most impressive seen since the death of Ibn Hajar.\(^3\)


Born at Mecca in 778/1377 where he had his early education, he went

\(^1\) al-Daw' al-lami', vii. 197.
\(^2\) Ibid. ii. 146-9; Brockelmann, ii. 18, Suppl. ii. 11-12.
\(^3\) al-Daw' al-lami', x. 254-7; Brockelmann, ii. 77, Suppl. ii. 84-5.
to Cairo after his father's death and studied at the Azhar Mosque under famous scholars; al-Sakhawī met him in Cairo and at Mecca.\footnote{1}


   Born at Cairo in 784/1382, the son of the Commander of the Citadel, he was orphaned at the age of six, yet had quite a good education, and taught traditions.\footnote{2}


   Born at Aleppo in 771/1369, he studied under his grandfather the Musannid of Aleppo. He loved traditions, and was a patient teacher.\footnote{3}


   Born at Hamat in 807/1405, a descendant of Ibn al-Bārizī the well-known Shāfi‘ī scholar,\footnote{4} he was educated in his native town and at Cairo. He was appointed deputy-Qādī and later Qādī of Hamat where he also taught; he was made secretary of Aleppo in 867/1463, a post which he held for a little over a year. He went many times to Cairo, last of all in 860/1456 with his two sons, the younger of whom died there to his immense grief. He was very fond of literature, and wrote an epitome of the Maṣāʿīr al-ʿushāq of al-Sarraj which he called al-Fāʾiq min al-Maṣāʿīr, as well as an anthology of ten poets entitled Inshirāḥ al-ṣadr, and another book named al-Ḥasan al-jamil min akhbār al-Qaisain wa-Jamil.\footnote{5}


   Born at Homs in 777/1375, he was educated there and later taught traditions; he was a man of great strength.\footnote{6}

\footnote{1} {al-Ḍauʿ al-lāmiʿ}, iv. 166–7.
\footnote{2} Ibid. iii. 194–5.
\footnote{3} Ibid. v. 94.
\footnote{4} Died in 738/1338, see Brockelmann, ii. 86, Suppl. ii. 101.
\footnote{5} {al-Ḍauʿ al-lāmiʿ}, x. 24–5.
\footnote{6} Ibid. iv. 129–30.

Born at the Nāṣirī Khanqah in 766/1364 where he was educated, he made the pilgrimage in 811/1409 and 817/1415, residing and studying at Mecca on the latter occasion; he also visited Jerusalem, Hebron, and Alexandria. Later he returned to be deputy-Shaikh of his native khānqāh, and al-Sakhāwī met him there frequently. He died while at Mecca for the pilgrimage.¹

Not traced.

Not traced.


Born at Şāliḥīya (Damascus) in 796/1394, he was educated there and taught traditions; al-Sakhāwī met him at both Şāliḥīya and Dārīyā.²


Born at Abū Durra (Buhaira) ca. 775/1373, he was orphaned as a child, and received his education in Cairo. He lived at Dusūq from 812/1409, succeeding to the headship of the Ibrāhīmī Maqām in 834/1431. He visited Mecca, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, and al-Sakhāwī met him in Cairo as well as at Dusūq. He had many children, and was nicknamed Sannān because of a prominent tooth.³


Born at Qābūn (Damascus) in 784/1382, he was educated at Damascus, Cairo, Hebron, and elsewhere. He became a Şūfī, and taught traditions;

¹ al-Ḍauʾ al-lāmiʿ, x. 140-1. ² Ibid. i. 202. ³ Ibid. v. 319.
al-Sakhawi heard him in Cairo and at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. He wrote an extant work inveighing against chess and backgammon.1

Born at Munya Badrān in 782/1380, he was educated there and, after 795/1393, in Cairo, later returning to his birthplace until his father’s death. He then moved to Damietta, and paid several visits to Cairo; he taught at Damietta and was also preacher at the Zākī Mosque there; al-Sakhawi met him both in Cairo and at Damietta. His recitations of the Qur’ān were most affecting.2

Born at Dunjaih a little after 800/1398, he had his education in Damietta and Cairo. He was later appointed Shāfiʿi Qādī of his native village.3

Not traced.

Not traced.

Born in 778/1376, he committed the Qur’ān to memory and did a little work; he was a good, quiet man, a friend of scholars.4

37. Ramleh: Umm al-Khair (Fāṭima) bint ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ḥanafī (d. after 860/1456).
Studied al-Bukhārī’s al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ and lived with her husband at Ramleh, dying at over 90.5

Not traced.

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1 Ibid. iv. 76; Brockelmann, ii. 97, Suppl. ii. 115.
3 Ibid. iv. 52–3.
4 Ibid. iv. 142.
5 Ibid.xii. 144.


Born at Salamiya (Hamat) in 771/1370, he moved to Sarmln to complete his education. He lived for a short time in Damascus, visited Jerusalem and Cairo, and then returned to Sarmln whose Qāḍī he was for a while. He wrote some verses, including a poem in 300 couplets entitled Durar al-afrād fi ma‘rifat al-aḍḍād.¹


Born at Siryāqūs in 782/1380 and there educated, he worked a little and made the pilgrimage a number of times.²


Born at Maḥalla in 801/1399 where he was first educated, he made the pilgrimage several times, beginning as a small boy in 805/1403 when his father and brother resided with him at Mecca for a time. He was deputy-Qāḍī of Samannūd under Ibn Ḥaḍjar; some spoke ill of his character.³


Not traced.

44. Šālīḥiyā (Damascus): Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm (b. Muḥammad) al-Qāḍī (al-Rāmīnī al-Šālīḥī al-Ḥanbalī) (d. 872/1467).⁴

Born at Šālīḥiyā in 781/1379 or 782/1380, the grandson of Ibn Muṣliḥ al-Qāẓūnī,⁵ he was educated there and in Cairo, and was appointed deputy-Qāḍī of Damascus under his father in 801/1399, then deputy-Qāḍī of Cairo, and four years later Qāḍī of Gaza, succeeding to the Ḥanbalī Qāḍīship of Syria in 833/1430. He founded a fine school near his residence in Šālīḥiyā, and taught and preached in many cities.⁶

¹ al-Ḍau‘ al-lāmī”, v. 276. ² Ibid. v. 94-5. ³ Ibid. xi. 49. ⁴ Ibid. vi. 66–7. ⁵ Died 763/1362, see Brockelmann, ii. 107, Suppl. ii. 129. ⁶ al-Ḍau‘ al-lāmī”, vi. 66–7.

Born at Maʿarra in 811/1409, he was educated at Hamat, Damascus, and Cairo under the best teachers including Ibn Ḥajar; he also visited Mecca, Jerusalem, and Aleppo, finally settling in Cairo. He had a fine library to which he was jealously attached, taking his books with him even on his journeys; al-Sakhāwī had known him for many years, and was much admired by him. He married many times, and yet left no son; he died of internal boils.¹

Not traced.

Not traced.

Not traced.

Not traced.


Born at Cairo in 799/1397 or 800/1398 and there educated, he earned his livelihood like his father before him in the spinners’ market. A man of the utmost piety, he was easily moved to tears; he was a member of the Bābarsiyya Ṣūfī community, and was there buried with great pomp.²


Born at Cairo in 792/1390 or 793/1391, he was there educated in grammar and law, and rose to become a deputy-Qādī under Ibn Ḥajar.³

Not traced.

¹ Ibid. ix. 305–6. ² Ibid. iv. 124–5. ³ Ibid. i. 258.

Born at Hebron in 793/1391 or 795/1393 where he was educated, he made the pilgrimage in 824/1421 and frequently visited Cairo; he taught traditions and exegesis in his native town. A facile poet, he versified the Asbāb al-nuzūl of al-Ja‘barī (calling his poem Madad al-Rahmān fi asbāb nuzūl al-Qur'ān); he also wrote a work on traditions called al-Ilshāba fīmā rawāh al-Sādat al-Sahāba, collected his Divān, and compiled a Qur’ān-commentary entitled Durar al-naqā‘is fī mulah al-majālis. He claimed to have seen the Prophet Abraham seventeen times, and Muḥammad twenty-five times, in dreams.¹


Born at Cairo ca. 790/1388, he read the Qur’ān there and then returned to his father’s birthplace, Fāraskūr, where he earned his living as a bath-attendant. He was an accomplished poet and wrote a number of panegyrics on the Prophet Muḥammad; he lost the sight of an eye, but the Prophet appeared to him in a dream and cured him, though he still remained hard of hearing.²


Born at Cairo in 776/1374 and there broadly educated under the leading scholars, he held several appointments in the city and taught and preached at the Madrasa of Ibn Suwaid. He was invited to Fuwa in 840/1437 and taught in the Mosque of Ibn Naṣr Allāh. He died while at his prayers.³


Not traced.

Cairo: Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449).

The celebrated polymath.⁴

¹ al-Dau’ al-lāmi, iv. 95-6. ² Ibid. x. 325-6. ³ Ibid. vii. 83-4. ⁴ Brockelmann, ii. 67, Suppl. ii. 72 with references.
Born at Cairo in 779/1378 and there educated, he performed the pilgrimage and studied at Mecca; he lived in retreat by a tomb in the Qarāfa cemetery.¹

Not traced.

60. Kalyub: Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Khaṭīb.
Not traced.

Born at Damascus in 781/1379, he was educated there and taught traditions in his native city and at Jerusalem and elsewhere; he made the pilgrimage twice and died at Jerusalem.²

Not traced.

Born at al-Majdal in 809/1406 and there educated, he travelled to Gaza, Ramleh, Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo, and Mecca, where he resided in 844/1440–1, attending many famous teachers including Ibn Ḥajar. He taught in Jerusalem at al-Masjid al-Aqṣā and became wealthy from his sermons, having an exceptionally quick memory and a wide range of knowledge, though he was something of an exhibitionist and not a true scholar; there was a sordid affair in which he swindled his friend al-Biqa'i. He slipped in the baths and broke his leg, an accident—regarded by some as a mark of Divine wrath—which led to his death.³

64. al-Mahalla (western Egypt): Āmina bint Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā b. Aḥmad al-Damhūjī (d. after 860/1456), and Ḥanīfa her sister.

² Ibid. ii. 41.
³ Ibid. i. 363–6.
Amina was born at Cairo before 790/1388. She was a well-bred, pious woman.¹

Hanifa attended the same teacher as her sister.²


Born at Marg in 795/1393, he had his education there and in Cairo. He enjoyed a good local reputation, and visited Damietta, Alexandria, and other places. He became feeble-minded shortly before his death.³


Born at Baalbek in 789/1387, he was there educated. A man of a learned family, he was grandson of Ibn Kathīr⁴ the eminent historian.⁵


The distinguished author and member of a learned family.⁶


Not traced.


Born ca. 790/1388 at Cairo where he studied, he composed poetry and preached, his meetings being attended by eminent scholars; al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq patronized him before his accession.⁷


Born a little before 800/1398 at al-Manṣūra, he studied there under good teachers, and after residing in Cairo from time to time he was appointed Qāḍī of his native town, and also of Damietta for a while—indeed of the whole district for some days. A sagacious and experienced man, he died of elephantiasis.⁸

¹ al-Dau’ al-lāmī’, xii. 5. ² Ibid. xii. 23. ³ Ibid. v. 267.
⁴ Died in 774/1373, see Brockelmann, ii. 49, Suppl. ii. 48.
⁵ al-Dau’ al-lāmī’, i. 73. ⁶ See Brockelmann, ii. 96, Suppl. ii. 114–15 with references.
Born at Manūf ca. 793/1391 and there educated, he rose to become Qāḍī of his birthplace, but was not a praiseworthy character.¹

Not traced.

Born in 760/1359 or 766/1365 at Munyat al-Rudīnī, he was educated there and in Cairo and made his mark as a law-student, being appointed Qāḍī of Bulbais and later Governor of his native district, where he acquired a great reputation; al-Sakhāwī met him both there and at Ibn Ḥajar’s classes.²

Born in 811/1409 at Munyat 'Assās, he was educated at Samannūd; al-Sakhāwī met him there as well as in Cairo and at his birthplace, where he acted as Qāḍī from time to time and preached in its Azhar Mosque. He went blind in his old age.³

75. Munyat 'Uqba (Giza): Abū 'l-As‘ad b. Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī.
Not traced.

Born before 790/1388 at Samannūd where he was educated, he made the pilgrimage in 818/1416 and also visited Medina; he occasionally went to Cairo on business. He became blind, and then regained his sight, but lost his memory in his old age.⁴

Born in 796/1394 at Mecca, he studied there and travelled to Cairo, Aleppo, and elsewhere in Syria.⁵

¹ Ibid. ix. 190. ² Ibid. x. 18–19. ³ Ibid. iv. 158. ⁴ Ibid. iv. 220–1. ⁵ Ibid. viii. 297.
Son of the naqib of the Shāfī‘ī Qādi of Nablus, he studied at Jerusalem and made a living in judges’ offices.¹

Not traced.

Not traced.

The original transcription of the Kitāb al-Buldānīya, in forty-six sessions, was completed by the author’s brother at the Ghamrī Mosque on 18 Muharram 883 (21 April 1478), it comprising sessions 469–514 of al-Sakhāwī’s complete Amālī.

III

TRANSMISSION BY SUCCESSION

It must have been a very elaborate card-index of traditions and traditionists that al-Sakhāwī kept, with such excellent cross-references that he was obviously able at very short notice to compile a new treatise on the subject to satisfy one or other of the eccentric demands made of him by his friends and pupils. In the preceding chapter we described his geographical dictionary of places where he heard traditions; we shall now analyse another curious compilation, a unique copy of which is contained in fol. 38–92 of the Chester Beatty Arabic MSS. 773.

This treatise, entitled al-Jawdhir al-mukallala fi d-akhbār al-musalsala, is a collection of 101 traditions heard throughout the descent under certain circumstances or from certain categories of informants—‘Transmission by Succession’ so to speak. As far as I am aware, it is unparalleled of its kind, and full of interest for the light it sheds on these affairs. The matter is arranged under headings, as follows.

1. al-Musalsala bi ’l-auwalīya: first tradition heard from an informant, successively back to a Companion of the Prophet.
This tradition, the text and isnād of which has been given in the first

¹ al-Ḍau’ al-lāmi‘, iii. 197–8.
chapter of this monograph, was heard by al-Sakhawī from a number of scholars including:

(i) Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fath Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Umar) al-Madanī (775–859/1374–1455),¹ at Mecca.


2. al-Muṣalsalā bi‘l-ākhiriyā: last tradition heard from an informant before his death. This tradition was received from:


3. al-Muṣalsal bi-qass al-asfūr yaum al-khamīs: tradition transmitted by an informant while paring his nails on a Thursday. Received from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Khażīn.⁵

4. al-Muṣalsal bi-yaum al-‘id: tradition transmitted on a festival day. Received from a number of scholars including:

(i) Ibn Ḫajar.


(iii) Taqī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḫāshīmī.

5. al-Muṣalsal bi-ijābat al-du‘ā’ fi 'l-Muṭṭam: tradition received at the Ka‘ba. Received from:


(ii) Umm Muḥammad bint 'Alī al- 富.tell.

7. al-Musalsal bi’l-ḥuffāz: tradition transmitted by a chain of ḥuffāz. Received from:
   (i) Abu 'l-Na'īm (Riḍwān) b. Muḥammad (al-‘Uqbi) al-Muqri’ (769–852/1368–1448).2

8. al-Musalsal bi’l-fuqahā: tradition transmitted by a chain of lawyers. Received from:

9. al-Musalsal bi’l-fuqahā: ditto. Received from:
   (i) Ibn Ḥajar.


Al-Sakhawī adds that among the many under whom he studied law were:
   (ii) Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥusainī al-Nassāba.7

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1 *al-Ḍau’ al-lāmi’,* i. 86–7.
2 Ibid. iii. 226–9.
3 Ibid. vi. 66–7.
4 Ibid. iii. 312–14.
5 Ibid. v. 51–2.
6 Ibid. i. 43–7.
7 Ibid. viii. 4.
8 Ibid. vi. 135.
9 Ibid. xi. 254–7.


13. *al-Musalsal bi‘l-Ṣūfiyya* : tradition transmitted by a chain of Ṣūfis. Received from:
   (iii) Umm Muḥammad bint ʿAlī.

   Al-Sakhāwī adds that he was invested with the Ṣūfī *ṭāqiya* by (among others) Zain al-Dīn Riḍwān al-Muqri’, Mufīd of Cairo, whose *silsila* he reproduces for good luck (*tabarruḳan*), and not because he believes it to be authentic, for the chain is broken in more than one place; in particular it is an obvious lie to allege that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib invested al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī with the *khirqa*, for the traditionists have not asserted that the latter even ‘heard’ the former, much less that he stood in such a relationship to him as the Ṣūfīs pretend.

14. *al-Musalsal bi‘l-muḥāṭ* : tradition transmitted by a chain of grammarians. Received from:
   (iv) Sharaf al-Dīn Abū ʿl-Fath al-Madānī.

1  Ibid. ix. 139–40.
2  Ibid. iv. 186–8.
3  Ibid. xi. 335.
4  Ibid. ii. 69–70.
15. _al-Musalsal bi'l-shu'ara_: tradition transmitted by a chain of poets. Received from (Shihāb al-Dīn) Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib Ahmad b. Muḥammad (b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan) al-Ṣūfī (al-Ḥijāzī al-Khazraji) (790–875/1388–1471),¹ who wrote:

\[
\text{لا تحسن الشعر فضلاً بارعاً}
\]

…and who had it from Majd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fida' Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm (b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī) al-Ḥanāfī (al-Bilbaisī) (728 or 729–802/1328 or 1329–99),² who wrote:

\[
\text{فلا تبلغنا في اللوم شرًى فتعدل}
\]

and who had it from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū Sa'id (Khalil) b. Kaikaldi al-'Alā'ī al-Dimashqī (694–761/1295–1359),³ who wrote:

\[
\text{وقدا في الشمس غرّته}
\]

and who had it from Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī (630–705/1233–1306),⁴ who wrote:

\[
\text{kJJ}
\]

and who had it from 'Alam al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Sakhawi (558 or 559–624/1163 or 1164–1237),⁵ who wrote:

\[
\text{kJJ}
\]

¹ *al-Dau' al-lāmi*, ii. 147–9.
² Ibid. ii. 286–8.
³ Brockelmann, ii. 64–5, Suppl. ii. 68.
⁴ *al-Durar al-kāmina*, i. 89.
⁵ Brockelmann, i. 410, Suppl. i. 727–8.
and who had it from Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafi (472-576/1079-1180), who wrote:

κατά τὸν τρόπον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρόνον καὶ μεν ἡ ἡμέρα, εἰς τὸ χρό

and who had it on two converging chains, viz.


The verse is defective; for variants see Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shīr wa-l-shuʿara, 158.

Ibid. i. 365, Suppl. i. 624. 2 Ibid. i. 85, Suppl. i. 137.
3 Ibid. i. 78, Suppl. i. 121-2. 4 Ibid. i. 75-6, Suppl. i. 114-18.
5 Ibid. Suppl. i. 115 with reference. 6 Ibid. i. 63, Suppl. i. 96-7.
6 Ibid. i. 53-6, Suppl. i. 84-5. 8 Ibid. Suppl. i. 97-8. 9 Ibid. Suppl. i. 92-3.
10 The verse is defective; for variants see Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shīr wa-l-shuʿara, 158.
The line is quoted in another isnād as:

وإنّا لنجو فوق ذلك مظهرا

and in a third isnād as:

علونا السماء عقبة وتكربا


18. al-Musalsal bi'l-'Irāqīyīn fi aktharihi: tradition transmitted for the most part by a chain of Iraqīs. Received from:
   (i) 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad (b. al-Furāt) al-Ḥanāfī.

19. al-Musalsal bi'l-ābā’ fi aktharihi: tradition transmitted for the most part by a chain of traditionists known by kunya. Received from:

20. al-Musalsal bi'l-Muḥammadīn: tradition transmitted by a chain of Muḥammads. Received from (among others):
   (i) Taqī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāshīmī.


22. al-Musalsal bi'l-Muḥammadīn aidan fi aktharihi: ditto for the most part. Received from (Shams al-Dīn) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥābīb (al-Maqdisī, called Ibn Dāmis) (ca. 780–ca. 860/1378–1456).3

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2 Ibid. xii. 52.
3 Ibid. vi. 301.
23. al-Musalsal bi-ḥarf al-ʿain: tradition transmitted by a chain of traditionists whose names began with ʿain. Received from ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥāfīm b. Muḥammad (b. al-Furāt) al-Ḥanafī.

24. al-Musalsal biʿl-ʿain aṣaʿidān: ditto. Received from the same authority.

25. al-Musalsal biʿl-ʿain aṣaʿidān: ditto. Received from the same authority.

26. al-Musalsal bi-ḥarf al-nūn: tradition transmitted by a chain of traditionists whose names or styles ended with nūn. Received from Abu ʿl-Ḥāḍir (Ibn Ḥajar) of ʿAsqalān.

27. al-Musalsal biʿl-kunā ʿmaʿa bayān al-asma: tradition transmitted by a chain of traditionists whose kunyas and full names are given. Received from Umm Hānī bint al-Hūrīnī called Maryam (778-871/1379-1466).¹

28. al-Musalsal bi-taʿyīn nisbat al-rāwā wa-naḥwiḥā: tradition transmitted by a chain of traditionists specified by nisba or the like. Received from Abu ʿl-Fath Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Marāghī.

29. al-Musalsal bi-man zāda ʿalā ʿl-sabaʿīn: tradition transmitted by a chain of over-seventies. Received from Umm Muḥammad (Ṣāra) bint ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jamāʾa.

30. al-Musalsal bi-man zāda ʿalā ʿl-thāmānīn: tradition transmitted by a chain of over-eighties. Received from Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad (al-Shāwi) al-Ḥanafī (766-851/1364-1447).²

31. al-Musalsal biʿl-ḥusn: tradition transmitted by a chain of traditionists either having al-Ḥasan in their names or described as ḥasan.

32. al-Musalsal biʿl-wasf biʿl-thiqa: tradition transmitted by a chain of traditionists described as thiqāt.

33. al-Musalsal biʿl-wasf biʿl-taqaddum: tradition transmitted by a chain of traditionists described as the leading authorities of their times.

34. al-Musalsal bi-qirāʿa Sūrat al-Šaff: tradition transmitted when reciting the Sūrat al-Šaff.

35. al-Musalsal bi-qirāʿa at Āyat al-Kursī: tradition transmitted while reciting the ʿThrone-Verse’.

36. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ʿQul ʿaʿdhu biʾllāhi min al-shaitān al-rajīm: tradition transmitted while quoting, ‘Say, I take refuge with God from the stoned satan’.

¹ Ibid. xii. 156–7.

² Ibid. v. 108. After this point the entries have been briefly summarized.
37. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Innī uḥibbuk’ : tradition transmitted while saying, ‘Verily I love thee’.

38. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘ Раḥima ’llāh fulānan kaifa lau adraka zamā-nā’ : tradition transmitted while saying, ‘God have mercy on so-and-so (the previous transmitter), how would it have been if he had been alive to-day!’

39. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Inna fi ’l-uzla salāmatan’ : tradition transmitted while saying, ‘Verily in solitude there is safety’.

40. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Ashhadu bi’l-lāh’ : tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘I bear witness by God.’

41. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Ashhadu ’alā fulānīn’ : tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘I bear witness regarding so-and-so (the previous transmitter).’

42. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Ashhadu bi’l-lāh wa-ashhadu lillāh’ : tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘I bear witness by God and I bear witness for God.’

43. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Bi’l-lāh al- ‘Azīm’ : tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘By Almighty God.’

44. al-Musalsal kadhdlika : ditto.

45. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Wāllāhī innahu la-ḥaqqun’ : tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘By God it is true.’

46. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Wāllāhī’ : tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘By God!’

47. al-Musalsal kadhdlika : ditto.


49. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Wa-halafa ai’dan’ : tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘And he (sc. the previous transmitter) also swore on oath.’

50. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Ṣammat udhunāya’ : tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘May I be struck deaf!’ (sc. if what I say is not true).

51. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Ṣammat udhunāya wa-‘amiyat ‘aināya’ : tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘May I be struck deaf and blind!’

52. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Mā kadhabtu’ : tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘I have not lied.’

53. al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Wa-‘a’ja’bāni ḥadīthuhu’ : tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘And his tradition astonished me.’
54. *al-Musalsal binaḥw alladhi qablah*: tradition transmitted with a similar phrase.

55. *al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Jarraytuḥu’*: tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘I made trial of it (and found it to be so)’.

56. *al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Mazaltu bi’l-ashwāq’*: tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘I still yearn (after such-and-such a tradition)’.

57. *al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Habsuka’*: tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘Let it suffice thee’.

58. *al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Sa’altu ‘an kadhā’*: tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘I asked about such a thing’.


60. *al-Musalsal bi-qaul ‘Katabtu huwa fi jaibī’*: tradition transmitted with the phrase: ‘I wrote it down, and look, here it is in my pocket’.


64. *al-Musalsal bi-kitābat al-shaikh bi’l-marwīy*: tradition transmitted by one who wrote down the tradition while transmitting it.


68. *al-Musalsal bi’l-muṣāfaḥa*: tradition transmitted while clasping the recipient’s hand.

69. *al-Musalsal bi’l-muṣābaḥa*: tradition transmitted while intertwining fingers with the recipient.


73. *al-Musalsal bi-akhdh al-sha‘r*: tradition transmitted while laying hand on hair.


75. *al-Musalsal bi-l-‘i‘d bi‘l-yad*: tradition transmitted while laying hold of the beard.

76. *al-Musalsal bi-l-‘add bi‘l-yad*: tradition transmitted while counting (the prayers of a formula of blessing) upon the recipient’s hand.

77. *al-Musalsal bi‘l-akhdh bi‘l-yad*: tradition transmitted while laying hold of the recipient’s hand.

78. *al-Musalsal bi-mash al-ard bi‘l-yad*: tradition transmitted while stroking the earth with the hand.


86. *al-Musalsal bi‘l-talqīm luqmatan luqmatan*: tradition transmitted while feeding the recipient mouthful by mouthful.

87. *al-Musalsal bi-‘akl al-jary (nau‘in min al-samak)*: tradition transmitted while eating jary (a kind of fish).

88. *al-Musalsal bi-‘dukhul al-ḥammām*: tradition transmitted while entering the bath.

89. *al-Musalsal bi‘l-watr bi-thalāthin*: tradition transmitted by one who prayed thrice over (like the Prophet).

90. *al-Musalsal bi-ṣigha ‘Sam‘itu*: tradition transmitted with the formula ‘I heard (so-and-so say)’.
91. al-Musalsal bi-hādhihi 'l-sigha aīdān: ditto.
92. al-Musalsal bihā aīdān: ditto.
93. al-Musalsal bihā aīdān: ditto.
94. al-Musalsal bihā aīdān: ditto.
95. al-Musalsal kadhālīkā: ditto.
96. al-Musalsal kadhālīkā: ditto.
97. al-Musalsal bi-sigha 'Qāla wa-sāmi tū’: tradition transmitted with the formula: ‘He said, And I heard’.
98. al-Musalsal bi-sigha ‘Qara’tu’: tradition transmitted with the formula: ‘I read’.
99. al-Musalsal bi-sigha ‘Anshādān’: tradition transmitted with the formula: ‘(So-and-so) quoted to me’.
100. al-Musalsal kadhālīkā: ditto.
101. al-Musalsal kadhālīkā: ditto. The final entry transmits the following set of verses ascribed to (Thiqat al-Dīn) Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan (b. Hibat Allāh b. 'Asākir) al-Dimashqī (al-Shāfī'i) (499-571/1106-76), the celebrated historian, biographer, and traditionist:¹

¹ See Brockelmann, i. 331, Suppl. i. 566-7.
IV

CHAINS OF AUTHORITY

In the course of the *ijāza* in favour of Ibn al-Ḥīshāb which was analysed in the first chapter of this monograph al-Sakhāwī refers explicitly to a separate *kurrāsa* containing the chains of authority by which he received the six canonical collections and certain other important treatises on Traditions. This valuable and interesting essay is contained uniquely in fol. 104–17 of Chester Beatty Arabic MS. 773. We conclude this series of essays by enumerating the texts named in this *kurrāsa*, some of which are no longer extant, and by reconstructing in tabular form a few characteristic specimens of the *isnāds* which al-Sakhāwī very fully quotes.

The following texts on Traditions were received by al-Sakhāwī from his teachers and transmitted to his pupils.

1. *al-Ṣānī* *al-saḥīh* of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī al-Ju'fī (d. 256/870): see Brockelmann, i. 157–9, Suppl. i. 260–4. Received from more than 120 teachers, of whom ten are named.

2. *al-Ṣānī* *al-saḥīh* of Abu 'l-Ḥusain Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushairī al-Nisābūrī (d. 261/875): see Brockelmann, i. 160, Suppl. i. 265–6. Received from more than twenty teachers, of whom eight are named.

3. *al-Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd Sulaimān b. al-Ash'ath al-Azdi al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889): see Brockelmann, i. 161, Suppl. i. 266–7. Received from many teachers, of whom six are named.

4. *al-Ṣānī* of Abū 'Isa Muḥammad b. 'Isa b. Sahl al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892): see Brockelmann, i. 161–2, Suppl. i. 267–8. Received from many teachers, of whom seven are named.

5. *al-Sunan al-ṣughrā* of Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Shu'āib al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915): see Brockelmann, i. 162–3, Suppl. i. 269–70. Received from a number of teachers, of whom seven are named.

6. *al-Sunan* of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Māja al-Qazwīnī (d. 273/886): see Brockelmann, i. 163, Suppl. i. 270. Received from several teachers, of whom six are named.

7. *al-Muwaṭṭa* of Abū 'Abd Allāh Mālik b. Anas al-Āṣbahī (d. 179/795): see Brockelmann, i. 175–6, Suppl. i. 297–9. Received from many
teachers, of whom four are named. The book has been transmitted in the following recensions:

(a) Abū Muhammad Yahyā b. Yahyā b. Kathīr al-Laithī al-Masmūdi (d. 234/848), the vulgate: see Brockelmann, i. 176, Suppl. i. 297.


(h) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī (d. 189/804): see Brockelmann, i. 176, Suppl. i. 298.


11. *al-Āthār* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī (d. 189/804): see Brockelmann, i. 172, Suppl. i. 291.


13. *al-Sunan al-ma’thūra* of al-Shāfī’ī: the book has been transmitted in two recensions, viz.:

(a) Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā’īl b. Yahyā b. Ismā’īl al-Maẓanī al-Miṣrī (d. 264/878) (see al-Subki, *Ṭabaqūt al-Shāfī’īya*, i. 238–9), and by him passed on to Abū Ja’far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Azdi al-Ṭahāwī (d. 321/933): see Brockelmann, i. 179, Suppl. i. 304.

(b) Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī (d. 262/875) (see Brockelmann, Suppl. i. 228): apparently not extant.
14. *Ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth* of al-Shāfi‘ī: see Brockelmann, Suppl. i. 305.

15. *Risāla* of al-Shāfi‘ī: see Brockelmann, i. 179, Suppl. i. 304.


20. *al-Šaḥīḥ* of Abū ʿAwāna Yaʿqūb b. Ishaq b. Ibrāhīm al-Isfā‬arī (d. 310/922): see Brockelmann, i. 160–1, Suppl. i. 266.


23. *al-Sunan* of Abu ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Dārāqūtnī (d. 385/995): see Brockelmann, i. 165, Suppl. i. 275.


**AL-SUNAN OF ABŪ DĀWUD AL-SIJISTĀNĪ**

(d. 275/889)

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Abū Dāwūd
### AL-JAMI' AL-SAHIH OF ABU 'ISA AL-TIRMIDHI

(d. 279/892)

**al-Sakhawi**

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<td>Abu 'l-Fidā</td>
<td>Ibrāhīm b. Aḥm.</td>
<td>'Abd al-Wāhid al-Muqrī</td>
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<tr>
<td>'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥmūd b. al-Abdār</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abu 'l-Fath</td>
<td>'Abd al-Malik b. Abī 'l-Qāsim b. Sahl al-Karūkhi</td>
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AL-SUNAN OF IBN MĀJA
(d. 273/886)
al-Sakhawī

Ibn Hājar  'Alī b. Aḥm. al-Bukhtārī
Aḥm. b. 'Umar al-Jauhari
Abū 'l-Ḥajāj al-Mizzī
Iṣmā‘il b. Jauzālīn al-Ba‘lī
Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. Muḥ. al-Ba‘lī
al-Ḥanbālī
Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Ṣāliḥī
al-Anjāb b. Abū 'l-Sa‘ādīt
al-Ḥammāmī
Abū Talīb b. al-Qubbātī
Abū Zur‘a Tāhir b. Muḥ. b. Tāhir al-Maqdisī
Muḥ. b. al-Ḥusain b. Aḥm. al-Muqawwīmī al-Qazwīnī
Abū Ta‘līb al-Qāsim b. Abī ‘l-Mundhir al-Khaṭīb
Ibn Māja

Ibn al-Furāt
Zain al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Lakhmī
Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zaytāwī
Abū Ḥāshim b. Muḥ. b. ‘Umar b. Ḥabīb
Sunqūr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Quḍā‘ī al-Zainī
'Abū al-Latīf b. Yūsuf b. Muḥ. al-Baghdādī

Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī 'l-Ḥayāt b. al-Miṣrī
Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī 'l-Ḥayāt b. al-Miṣrī
AL-SUNAN AL-ŠUGHRĀ OF ABŪ 'ABD AL-RAHMĀN AL-NASĀ'I
(d. 303/915)
al-Sakhāwi

'Abd Allāh b. Muḥ. b. Jamā'a

Ibrāhīm b. Ahm. al-Sha'ami

Abū 'l-Šabr al-Kabīr

Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Ḥajjār

Isnā'ī b. Ahm. al-'Irāqi

Abū 'l-Ṭahir al-Silafi

Abū Muḥ. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥamd
b. al-Ḥasan al-Duní

Abū Naṣr Ahm. b. al-Husain b. Muḥ. b. al-Kassār al-Dinawārī
in 433/1041-2

Abū Bakr Ahm. b. Muḥ. b. Ishaq
b. al-Sūnī in
363/973-4

Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nasā'i
in 302/914-15

Ibn Ḥajār

Ḥalima bint Abi 'l-'Abbās

Sāra bint Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar

'Abd al-Wāhid b. Ṣādaqa

Muḥ. b. al-Ḥasan al-Kātib

Salāḥ al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Ahm. al-Ḥanbali

'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥ. al-Qurashi

Ahm. b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Muraḥḥil

Ibn al-Šauwāf

Ibn al-Qāyim

Ibn al-Tūnisī

Ibn al-Sham'a 'Āzūn

Abū 'l-Fath Mansūr b. Ahm. al-Barrāj

Ṭāqī al-Dīn Abū Ḥishāq al-Wāṣitī

Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Ḥujjār

Abū al-Ṭahir b. Muḥ. b. Ṭahir al-Maqdisī

Abū Zara' Ṭahir b. Muḥ. b. Ṭahir al-Maqdisī
AL-SUNAN OF MUḤ. B. IDRĪṢ AL-SHĀFĪṬ

1. Riwaṭya of al-Mazani

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Rashidi
Abu 'l-Faraż b. al-Shaikha
Abū 'l-Fath b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Makhzūmī
Abū 'Īsā b. 'Allaḳ
Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Būṣīrī
'Alī b. 'Umar b. al-Husain al-Mausūlī al-Farrā'
'Abd al-Bāqī b. Fāris b. 'Abm. al-Muqrī
al-Ma'mūn b. Ḥamza al-Hussainī
Abm. b. Muḥ. b. Salāma al-Ṭahāwī
Isma'īl b. Yāḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Mazani

2. Riwaṭya of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam

Abū 'l-Ṭayyib Abh. b. Muḥ. al-Miṣri
Abu 'l-Khair al-Baghdādī
'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Azhari
Yahyā b. Yūṣuf b. al-Miṣrī al-Maqdisī
'Alī b. Hībat Allāh al-Lakhmī b. al-Hīmyarī
'Abd al-Ḥaq b. 'Abd al-Khāliq b. Yūsuf
Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Narsī Ubaiy
al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Jauhārī
Muḥ. b. al-Muẓaffar al-Ḥāфиż
Abm. b. Muḥ. b. Maḥmūd al-Thaqafī
Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. al-Muqrī al-Ḥāфиż
Abm. b. Maṣūd al-Zanbarī
Muḥ. b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Hakam

al-Muḥ. b. al-Šāfī'ī