Hadith scholarship in Mongol Baghdad: al-Qazwīnī's transmission of al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*

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This article presents Baghdad as a site of Sunni hadith scholarship, and demonstrates its continuity under Mongol-Ilkhanid rule, both in known institutions such as the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa or the Caliphal Mosque, as well as in private homes. This ongoing hadith scholarship is exemplified by the *muḥaddith* Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Qazwīnī (d. 750 AH/1349 CE in Baghdad) and his transmission and teaching of al-Baghawī's (d. 516/1122) post-canonical hadith collection *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*. To this end, the article analyses and compares two sources: first, al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, i.e., his personal collection of books studied and the authoritative lines of transmission (*riwāyāt*) for them; and second, audition and reading certificates (*samāʿāt*, *qirāʾāt*) preserved in two Mongol-era manuscripts with the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* as the main text. Both sources illustrate al-Qazwīnī's networks within Baghdad, but also with scholars from Mamluk Damascus, a network that included mainly Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī scholars, and provides evidence for the central role of the two Sufi figures ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168) and his nephew ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) for the transmission of al-Baghawī's works from Khurasan to Baghdad. While both sources provide references to the networks, the audition and reading certificates bring to life hadith sessions in which two people recite the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* with the aforementioned manuscripts in front of al-Qazwīnī while he compares the text with his own private manuscript, thus allowing us to experience the teaching of hadith in Mongol Baghdad.

Keywords: Baghdad, Mongol, al-Qazwīnī, hadith, mashyakha, samāʿ, qirāʾa, riwāyāt

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Figure 1: The end of al-Baghawī's hadith collection Maṣābīḥ al-sunna *with colophon (fol. 241v), and the reading certificate (*qirāʾa*) issued by al-Qazwīnī in his own hand (fol. 242r). MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540. With the kind permission of the Presidency of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.*

In the winter of 734 AH/1333-1334 CE, over the course of about four months,[1] the entire hadith collection *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* of al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122) was read aloud in a number of sessions in the Jāmiʿ al-Khalīfa, the Caliphal Mosque, in Baghdad. These meetings were conducted by Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Qazwīnī (d. 750/1349 in Baghdad), who, born in Qazwīn and educated in Wāsiṭ, was a well-known hadith scholar in Baghdad. The Caliphal Mosque had been built more than three centuries before these reading sessions, on the eastern side of the Tigris, by the Abbasid caliph al-Muktafī bi-llāh (ruled 289-295/902-908). Even though other dynasties exercised political power in Baghdad during the following few centuries, the Abbasid caliph and Baghdad remained the religious center for the Muslim community worldwide.

By al-Qazwīnī's time, things had changed dramatically. In 1258, Baghdad was conquered by the Mongols, who put an end to the Baghdad-based Abbasid caliphate, establishing what was at least initially non-Muslim rule at the very heart of the Islamic world. By the time

1 The dates given are from Saturday 24 Rabīʿ I to 5 Rajab 734, that is 4 December (or possibly late November) 1333 to 13 March 1334. Note that 24 Rabīʿ I corresponds to Friday 3 December; we assume that the weekday is correct and the Hijra date off because of a delayed observation of the lunar crescent.

al-Qazwīnī conducted the reading sessions in the Caliphal Mosque some seventy-five years after the Mongol invasion, the Mongol-Ilkhanid dynasty had changed the cultural and political imprint of the region, creating a Turco-Iranian culture in art and sciences, and a merged pattern of nomadic and sedentary culture.

This article aims to present al-Qazwīnī as one example for the continuation of hadith scholarship during Mongol rule. More specifically, it presents al-Qazwīnī as a transmitter and teacher of works by the legal Shāfiʿī scholar and *muḥaddith* al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122), who was active in Marw al-Rūdh, east of Herat, in the Seljuq period.

First, hadith scholarship and al-Qazwīnī's life in Mongol Baghdad will be presented. The article will then zoom in on two types of sources for al-Qazwīnī's transmission of al-Baghawī's works, and particularly his hadith collection *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*: first, al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*; and second *qirāʾa* and *samāʿ* entries (audition and reading notes) with his own *riwāyāt* (lines of transmission) registered in two manuscripts, both copied in the Mongol period.

The transmission of hadith has always been very much grounded in oral teaching, despite written texts. Many of these practices of transmission were formulated during the first centuries of Islam, with al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rām[a]hurmuzī, also known as Ibn al-Khallād (d. before 360/971), and his al-*Muḥaddith al-Fāṣil* as an early key contribution to this field. Most valued was the hearing (*samāʿ*) of hadith. A shaykh would read individual hadiths, or an entire compilation, to an audience. Such sessions of audition (*samāʿāt*) could be noted within the manuscripts used for the session; for example, after chapters, or after the colophon, or on extra sheets of paper. These entries usually name the shaykh, the text read, the audience (or an individual listener), the date, and the place. An alternative scenario is when a student, or colleague, would read the relevant text aloud in front of the teacher (*qirāʾa*). In these cases, the documentary entry would also state the reader's name and the text recited. In some instances, a shaykh could specifically transfer the authority to transmit, or teach, the relevant text to the student or colleague (*ijāzat al-riwāya*, *ijāzat al-tadrīs*). Within these entries, the shaykh could also add his own authoritative lines of transmission for the relevant work (*riwāya*). That is, the transmission from the author of the work through a chain of transmitters covering decades, or centuries, to the scholar him- or herself. In our case, 14th century al-Qazwīnī added his *riwāyāt* in the *samāʿāt/qirāʾāt* preserved in the two Mongol manuscripts that connect him via generations of scholars back to the 12th-century author al-Baghawī.

Such *riwāyāt*, in return, were at times collected by scholars, or a student of theirs, as a kind of personal book that included their teachers and the works studied with them: their *mashyakha*.[2] All of these documents are a treasure trove for the reconstruction of teaching practices, the circulation of texts, the social formation of the audiences, and networks of scholars.

In his own *Mashyakha*, al-Qazwīnī listed all the works and hadiths he had studied with his lines of transmission (*riwāyāt*). While the *Mashyakha* helps us above all to reconstruct al-Qazwīnī's networks, the *qirāʾa* and *samāʿ* entries allow us in addition to glimpse his teaching activity in Mongol Baghdad.

2 The *mashyakha* is also called, at times with regional differences, *thabat*, *fihrist*, or *barnāmij*. On the practices of transmission and their impact, see Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*.

Tracing hadith transmission and teaching in the Mongol period is of importance in two respects. First, I know of no study dedicated specifically to Sunni hadith scholarship in this period and region. Research on hadith in Iran, or the wider Persianate region, usually concentrates either on the formative period up to the Seljuqs and the establishment of the madrasas in Khurasan in the 11th and early 12th centuries, or on Shiʿi scholarship (Twelver Shiʿi and Zaydī traditions alike). Research on Sunni hadith in the decades and centuries between the formative period and the Shiʿitization of Iran under the Safawid dynasty from the 16th century on, when Iran was still dominantly Sunni, is clearly neglected. Second, the dominant narrative that the Mongol invasion was of a purely destructive nature leading to a break in political, cultural, and intellectual terms evokes the misleading image of a void in hadith scholarship of this period.[3] To state that there was some continuity in hadith scholarship under Mongol and post-Mongol rule neither neglects the destruction of infrastructure nor the very real moving of scholars further to the west, to the Mamluk Empire, for example. But it does demand that we come to a more balanced picture of processes that involved both continuity and change.[4]

Baghdad and hadith scholarship

We have only begun to understand the real impact that the Mongol conquest of Baghdad had, the extent of destruction versus the sparing of infrastructure, the escape of Muslim scholars versus a continuity of scholarship and the coming of patronage, and the shock and awe in the Muslim population facing the end of the Abbasid caliphate versus pragmatic solutions for dealing with the new rulers.

What seems clear is that the once blossoming hadith scholarship in the eastern part of the Islamic Empire, with the cities of Khurasan as sought-after destinations for scholars of the entire empire, lost its pre-eminence due to the Mongol invasion. The massive destruction in this region, above all during the first Mongol invasion in the 1220s, together with the shift of patronage to the west, caused many scholars to move westwards. Hence, over time the major activities in hadith scholarship relocated to the territories stretching from Iraq to Egypt and Anatolia. In Iraq, Baghdad was the focal point of hadith scholarship. Regardless of destruction, partial destruction, spared infrastructure, or restoration after destruction, scholarly life continued or returned to Baghdadi institutions during and after the Mongol invasion.[5] A number of the famous pre-Mongol institutions were spared from destruction, or restored soon after the siege of Baghdad, and still functioned as places of scholarship. Key among these educational institutions were the Mustanṣiriyya, the Niẓāmiyya, and the Bashīriyya

3 N. Maʿrūf's study on the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa, including during the Mongol period, documents the vivid hadith scholarship in Baghdad in the Mongol and post-Mongol period (up to Timur's invasions); see Maʿrūf, *Mustanṣiriyya*.

4 For the general issue of continuity and change in the Mongol period, see De Nicola and Melville, *The Mongols' Middle East*.

5 See Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge; Arjomand, The law, especially 271-274; Maʿrūf, *Mustanṣiriyya*, 194-242 (hadith scholarship) and 219, fn. 94 (short biography of al-Qazwīnī); Biran, Baghdād under Mongol rule; Günther, Knowledge and learning in Baghdād.

madrasas. Despite receiving some damage during the siege of Baghdad, the Mustanṣiriyya and the Niẓāmiyya madrasas re-opened again soon after, and remained cultural centers of the city;[6] and we will see that the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa and the Caliphal Mosque played a central role in al-Qazwīnī's transmission and teaching of al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*. In addition, the Mongols themselves built educational institutions, including madrasas and institutions for the study of Qurʾan and hadith such as the Madrasa al-ʿIṣmatiyya (built in 671/1272), in which all four legal schools (*madhāhib*) were taught. It is not yet entirely clear what effect the conversion to Islam of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghazān Khān (r. 1295-1304) had on Muslim scholarship as compared to the decades before.[7] It is certain, though, that the patronage for religious scholars, the *ʿulamāʾ*, the restoration of old buildings, and new building activity had begun before this date. In general, the *ʿulamāʾ* kept their high-ranking positions during the Mongol period, and the Mongols exercised patronage with the aim of encouraging cultural production. Al-Qazwīnī might be seen as representative for this hadith scholarship during the Mongol period. His wide ranging network, his continuous teaching, and his affiliation to known Baghdadi institutions exemplify that hadith scholarship in Baghdad did not cease to exist because of the Mongol invasion, but that it was a thriving factor in the city instead.

In political terms, though, Baghdad lost part of its political centrality under Mongol rule. Not only did the Mongols maintain, to a certain degree, their nomadic lifestyle, they also shifted their attention away from the previous symbolic center of gravity for the Islamicate world to other regions much more suitable and beneficial for their way of life: the rich pastures of Adharbayjan. Apart from the short periods in which Maragha and Sultaniyya functioned as capitals, it was Tabriz, established as the Ilkhanid capital by Abaqa, that became the central spot for patronage; under Ilkhanid rule, but also during the post-Mongol 14th century, this city flourished, with an enormous building boom, patronage for artists and scholars, and an outstanding prosperity due to its role as a city of trade and important hub on the east-west route from China via Iran to Europe. Even though Tabriz faced economic and political crises at times, and even though it never had the central role that Baghdad had held as the capital, because of the general decentralized rule of the Mongols,[8] it was the most important city in this period.[9] The importance of Tabriz is also reflected in the commentarial activity on al-Baghawī's hadith collection *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*: although the most influential commentaries were produced in Shiraz, and Baghdad remained a city of hadith scholarship, the largest number of commentaries were written in Adharbayjan, particularly in Tabriz. Despite this quantitative dominance of commentaries composed in Tabriz (and other

6 Maʿrūf, *Mustanṣiriyya*, 11-12. Hülegü himself is said to have initiated restoration works on, e.g., the Dār al-Khilāfa and its mosque, so that scholarly activity came back to the madrasas and ribāṭs; see ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī's preface to al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, 9. See also Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge, 467-481.

7 On his conversion, see Amitai-Preiss, Ghazan, Islam and Mongol tradition; Melville, Pādshāh-i Islam.

8 Pfeifer, *Politics*.

9 Despite periodic political unrest and times of economic distress, it was another danger that hit Tabriz and killed thousands of its population in the 14th century: the plague, attested at the latest by 1346, with recurring waves in the decades after.

places in Adharbayjan), though, many of these works have been badly preserved in only a few manuscripts (if at all).

Biography of al-Qazwīnī

Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Khalīl al-Qazwīnī was a scholar trained in many fields, but best known in Iraq as an eminent hadith scholar (*muḥaddith*).[10] He was born in Rabīʿ II 683 (1284 CE) in Qazwīn, studied for a while in Wāsiṭ, and had settled by the year 700/1300-1301 in Baghdad, where he was active as a Shāfiʿī scholar.[11] Al-Qazwīnī was thus a younger contemporary of the well-known Baghdadi librarian, historian, and biographer Ibn Fuwaṭī (d. 723/1323). Al-Qazwīnī most likely died in Baghdad in 749 or 750 AH (1349 CE),[12] and his tomb was built in the eastern part of Baghdad, the al-Maʾmūniyya quarter. However, in his *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Ibn al-ʿImād says that al-Qazwīnī died during the pilgrimage and was buried in the Ḥijāz.[13] From a *qirāʾa* entry in one of the manuscripts discussed in this article, we learn that al-Qazwīnī also lived in al-Maʾmūniyya, and that he taught al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* there, in his private home.[14]

Al-Qazwīnī is said to have had three children, but only one of them is known by name, Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Qazwīnī, who himself was imam at the Friday Mosque in Baghdad and who died in 775/1354. That all three children attended lectures with their father becomes evident from al-Qazwīnī's preface to his *Mashyakha*, where he says that he wrote this work in two volumes, and lists all of his shuyūkh as well as the shuyūkh of his children, since they accompanied him in most of the sessions for transmission with *ijāza* and *samāʿ*.[15]

Al-Qazwīnī spent his entire life under Mongol rule. His lifespan thus encompasses the rules of Arghūn Khān (1284-1291), Gaykhatu (1291-March or April 1295), Baydu (March or April 1295-Oct 1295), Ghazān Khān (1295-1304), Öljaytü (1304-1316), and Abū Saʿīd (1316-1335). He witnessed the much contested period of rule of Arpa Khān (1335-1336), and the brief interim rule of Arpa's wife Sati Beg (1338-1339). The last years of al-Qazwīnī's life were lived in the chaotic decades marked by the power campaigns and localized reigns of the Jalayirids, Čupānids, Muẓaffarids, Injuids, Sarbadārifs, and Karts (Kurts). As al-Qazwīnī

10 Al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 5, 56-57.

11 Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 278, lists him as a Ḥanbalī scholar, possibly due to his close contacts to Ḥanbalī scholars in Damascus, or indicating a shifting affiliation.

12 Al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 5, 56-57; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam*, vol. 7, ed. Maktabat al-Muthannā, 300; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-Nihāya*, vol. 1, ed. Bergstraesser, 525; al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, vol. 3, unknown editor, 180, states that al-Qazwīnī died in Dhū l-Qaʿda 749 AH on the pilgrimage; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 278, also states that al-Qazwīnī died on the pilgrimage, specifying the date as 11 Dhū l-Qaʿda 749/1349. In Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 1480, the date of death is given as 745/1344-45.

13 Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 278.

14 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184, fols. 300r and 302r.

15 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 85 ("adhkuru fīhā jamīʿa shuyūkhī wa-shuyūkhi awlādī idh shārakūnī fī akthari marwiyyātī ijāzatan wa-samāʿan").

lived in Baghdad, he spent this period primarily under Jalayirid rule. Only after al-Qazwīnī's death were these reigns radically swept away by Timur's forces at the end of the 14th century.

That al-Qazwīnī was an acknowledged and respected scholar is evident from the places where he studied and taught, and the positions he held. He studied and taught at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa, the Bashīriyya madrasa (west Baghdad), the Thiqatiyya madrasa at the Bāb al-Azajj (today the Bāb al-Shaykh, in east Baghdad), and the Zumurrud Khātūn madrasa.[16] He was an imam and preacher at the Caliphal Mosque, and was assigned as a judge. Later in his life, he was apparently also involved as a political mediator for the Jalayirid Ḥasan Buzurg.[17]

Ibn Ḥajar reports that al-Qazwīnī studied hadith in Baghdad with Ismaʿīl b. al-Ṭibāl, the then *shaykh al-ḥadīth* at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa; with Ismaʿīl's successor, ʿAlī b. Abī l-Qāsim; and with ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Ibn al-Kharrāṭ [Ibn] al-Dawālībī.[18] He performed the pilgrimage several times and traveled to Damascus, conversing there with a number of Ḥanbalī scholars, among them the known traditionist, theologist, and jurist Ibn Taymiyya.[19] These contacts with and journeys to visit scholars in Damascus are remarkable insofar as the Mamluks and the Mongols were political adversaries. Ibn Taymiyya had issued controversial jihād fatwas against the Mongols, by then controlled by Ghazān Khān and nominally Muslims, in the context of their offensives in the Levant, and he also participated in the battle of Marj al-Ṣaffār in 702/1303 that put an end to Mongol expansion in that region.

In his *Mashyakha*, al-Qazwīnī mentions sixty-five shuyūkh who were his transmitters. These scholars primarily represent the Shāfiʿī, Ḥanafī, and Ḥanbalī schools, and they come mainly from Iran, Iraq, and Syria. This range can also be observed in terms of the transmitters of al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī, as presented below. Among al-Qazwīnī's students were the known travel writer Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770/1369), who heard al-Dārimī's *Musnad* from al-Qazwīnī in the Caliphal Mosque of Baghdad in the year 727 AH (1326 or 1327 CE), and the lexicographer al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415).

Al-Qazwīnī was trained in the fields of Qurʾan, hadith, law (*fiqh*), Islamic mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), history (*tārīkh*), literature (*adab*), and language (*naḥw* and *lugha*) – most of these subjects embodying the typical "canon" of a well-educated scholar. In his *Mashyakha*, he himself states that he had published on Qurʾan, hadith, *fiqh*, *tārīkh*, and *taṣawwuf*.[20] Unfortunately, only a few titles are known to us today. Best known is his own *Mashyakha* (see below), which is often the only work listed in a number of reference works.[21] The editor of the *Mashyakha*

16 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, preface, 18; Maʿrūf, *Mustanṣiriyya*, 219 (fol. 94).

17 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, preface 18-19.

18 On this last and his activity at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa, see Maʿrūf, *Mustanṣiriyya*, 220-226.

19 Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, vol. 3, unknown editor, 180 (no. 424); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 278.

20 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 81.

21 Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam*, vol. 7, ed. Maktabat al-Muthannā, 300; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 5, 56-57. This work is titled in both reference works as *al-Fihrist*, which is simply another term for *mashyakha* (and, to a certain extent, *thabat*, or *barnāmij*).

names a *takhrīj* volume and a "Forty hadith" collection (*arbaʿūn*).[22] There is a commentary (*ḥāshiya*) on al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* attributed to him.[23] And finally, we know about his treatise on weak hadiths in al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, called *al-Aḥādīth al-mawḍūʿa al-wāqiʿa fī kitāb Maṣābīḥ al-Sunna*, although only two manuscripts of this work are known today.[24] Importantly, this provides evidence that al-Qazwīnī engaged in the study of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* beyond merely orally transmitting its text.

In his own publications, but also for those works he studied and transmitted, al-Qazwīnī attached importance to the fact that these works were all in accordance with Sunni Islam (*ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa*), avoiding works from other Islamic schools (such as the Shiʿa). In the context of his transmission of al-Zamakhsharī, who was a Muʿtazilī, he stressed that he would only transmit those texts from al-Zamakhsharī that did not contradict Sunni dogma.[25] In terms of legal affiliation, both al-Baghawī and al-Qazwīnī were Shāfiʿīs.[26] Normally, we might then tend to assign al-Qazwīnī's commentarial work on al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* somehow to his legal affiliation. But, in fact, among the *transmitters* of al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī, we encounter – as well as Shāfiʿīs – a substantial number of Ḥanbalīs, although hardly any Ḥanafīs (or Mālikīs); among the *commentators* on al-Baghawī's hadith works, in contrast, we find – apart from the Shāfiʿīs – a number of Ḥanafīs, but seldom any Ḥanbalīs (and only one Mālikī commentator).[27] This illustrates that the legal boundaries were at times somewhat fluid, and that networks of legal affiliation could be determined by geographical conditions rather than ideology.

From Khurasan to Baghdad: The main paths of al-Baghawī's transmission from east to west

Before directing the spotlight onto al-Qazwīnī's Ilkhanid Baghdad, we need to go back in time and move eastwards to where al-Baghawī lived roughly two hundred years before al-Qazwīnī transmitted his works in Baghdad. The main objective of this is to show the geographical pattern of the transmission of al-Baghawī's work in general, and his *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in particular.

The Shāfiʿī scholar Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad [b.] al-Farrāʾ[28] al-Baghawī, Muḥyi al-Dīn[29] wrote his works in the fields of hadith, *fiqh*, and Qurʾan during the Seljuq period in Khurasan. He was mainly active in a minor city, Marw al-Rūdh, north-

22 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, preface, 19-20. The *takhrīj* volume is said to refer to hadiths transmitted by Najm al-Dīn al-Rabaʿī al-Baghdādī (d. 661/1262-1263). The Forty hadith collection is attested in one manuscript at the National Library (Dār al-Kutub) in Cairo.

23 This work is not mentioned in the edition of the *Mashyakha*, but in Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 1480.

24 Al-Ḥabashī, *Jāmiʿ al-shurūḥ*, vol. 3, 1719. Both are kept today in the Timuriyya Library. Unfortunately, I have not yet had access to these manuscripts.

25 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 533-534.

26 Recalling, though, that Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 278, mentions al-Qazwīnī as a Ḥanbalī scholar.

27 Brinkmann, *Commentary Tradition* [forthcoming].

28 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 19, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 439, has "b. al-Farrāʾ".

29 Also: Rukn al-Dīn; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, vol. 2, 136, is the only one that mentions Ẓahīr al-Dīn as a *laqab*.

east of Herat, and died there in 516/1122. Even though al-Baghawī's life seems to have been rather a local one, his works were transmitted to both the east and the west. This also holds true specifically for his hadith compilation *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* – a thematically organized (*muṣannaf*) selection of traditions from the six canonical Sunni collections (*al-kutub al-sitta*) and al-Dārimī's *Sunan*, with truncated *isnāds*.[30] In his preface, al-Baghawī states that he would not refer to weak (*mawḍūʿ*) traditions – this is where al-Qazwīnī's treatise comes in.

The first hub for commentarial activity on the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, as well as for its transmission, in the 12th century was Khurasan, above all the cities of Nishapur and Marw. The second and – in terms of its importance for the production of commentaries – key hub was Shiraz under Salghurid rule, especially under indirect Mongol rule. With the growing importance of Tabriz, the new capital of the Ilkhanids, commentary production on the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* mainly relocated to Adharbayjan in the late 13th and 14th centuries. As mentioned before, Baghdad did not match Adharbayjan in terms of the number of commentaries produced, but we know of two commentarial works produced there in the 14th century, one of which was al-Qazwīnī's treatise on weak hadiths in the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*.[31]

Within the networks of transmission for the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, we can detect some nodes, or key figures. While some transmission paths run via Fārs, there is also a direct connection from Khurasan to Baghdad that functions like a node within the network of al-Qazwīnī; this path of transmission runs through the two Baghdadi scholars ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168) and his nephew ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (632/1234).

A manifestation of knowledge and networks: Al-Qazwīnī's Mashyakha

In a *mashyakha*[32], a scholar, or shaykh, would register his teachers and the books studied with them. Sometimes, a *mashyakha* was not collected, or not entirely collected, by the shaykhs themselves, but by another person, such as a student, who wanted to honor the shaykh. *Mashyakhāt* were considered stand-alone books worth of transmission, as we will see later: al-Qazwīnī, for example, had the authority to transmit the *Mashyakha* of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī[33], one of the aforementioned key transmitters in al-Qazwīnī's network.

While *mashyakhāt* could be arranged by the names of scholars (as in the case of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī), others stress the books they have studied with certain scholars. The latter

30 While the highest organizational category in this hadith collection is related to topic, with chapters on faith, prayer, food, divorce, etc., the second principle of structure relates to the reliability of the hadiths: within each thematic chapter, the first section is dedicated to authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) traditions and include traditions from al-Bukhārī and Muslim; the following section on good (*ḥasan*) hadiths selects material from all compilations. Al-Baghawī also at times includes *gharīb* hadiths.

31 There are varying numbers of commentaries on the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* mentioned in reference works, such as in Ḥājjī Khalīfa's 17th century *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, vol. 2, 1698-1702, or Brockelmann's 19th-20th-century *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplementbände I, 620-621. Al-Ḥabashī's reference work on commentary literature, *Jāmiʿ al-shurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāshī*, lists fifty-two commentaries (vol. 3, 1713-1722); Akbaş, *Meṣābīḥu's-Sunne* Şerh Literatürü, has forty commentaries.

32 Hilali and Sublet, Masters' repertoire.

33 Al-Suhrawardī's *Mashyakha* was edited in 1425/2004 by ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī.

is the case with al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*.[34] He organized his *riwāyāt* with the titles of books, or specific hadiths, as highest category of order. Below each title, he gives his lines of transmission. By registering the books he studied and the scholars from whom he received certificates, and by elaborating on the fields of knowledge in which he excels and teaches, he displays the excellence of his knowledge and his high-ranking contacts.

From the detailed preface (*muqaddima*) in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, it becomes clear that he took care of his own *mashyakha*.[35] In a manuscript *qirāʾa* entry discussed below, he also refers to his own *Mashyakha* ("fī mashyakhatī") which implies that (at least this part of) his *Mashyakha* had been compiled and written by him already at the time of the recitation of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, which took place in his private home in east Baghdad in 737/1337.[36]

In al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* and the sessions of audition and reading registered therein, it becomes evident that Qazwīn, Wāsiṭ, and above all Baghdad were the main cities for his life and scholarship. But he also heard and read in other places, such as Damascus, Kufa, and the region of Mecca during his pilgrimages.

The transmission of al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī according to his Mashyakha*: The general pattern*

In the following, al-Qazwīnī's *riwāyāt* for the works of al-Baghawī will be reconstructed in order to map both local patterns and legal affiliation. Al-Qazwīnī himself structures his *riwāyāt* as follows:[37]

- *riwāyāt* given exclusively for the *Sharḥ al-sunna* (yellow lines in Figure 2)
- *riwāyāt* given exclusively for the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* (blue lines in Figure 2)
- *riwāyāt* given exclusively for the joint transmission of both the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* and the *Sharḥ al-sunna* (green lines in Figure 2)
- *riwāyāt* for all works of al-Baghawī

Of the many lines of transmission for all works of al-Baghawī, the only ones that will be analyzed in this article (the red lines in Figure 2) are those that al-Qazwīnī himself noted down in his reading notes in the two manuscripts Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540 and Fatih 1184; the remaining *riwāyāt* will only be summarized for comparative reasons. Al-Qazwīnī's decision to specifically mention these selected *riwāyāt* in his *qirāʾa* entries relates either to the extreme importance he attached to these lines or to the historical moments when the scholarly contacts took place. The scholarly formation of the audiences of these two reading sessions registered in Feyzullah 540 and Fatih 1184 might also have played a role.

34 Al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* was edited in 1426/2005 by ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī.

35 See the editor ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī in his preface to the *Mashyakha*, 64-65; and al-Qazwīnī in his own introduction (*muqaddima*), 80-88.

36 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184, fol. 301v.

37 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 319-325.

From a chronological perspective, we can roughly classify three layers or generations of transmitters: the first from the 12th and early 13th century, the second from the 13th century, and the third from the second half of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century.

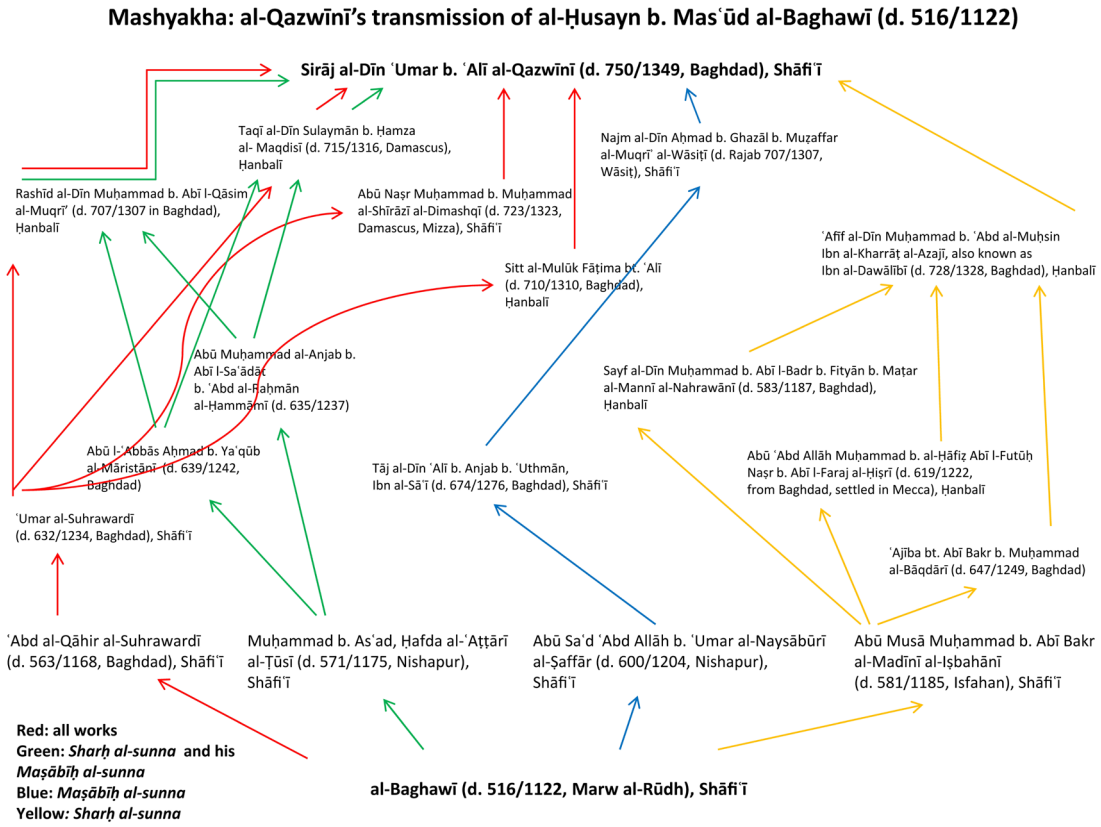

Figure 2: Al-Qazwīnī's transmission of al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Baghawī's (d. 516/1122) works according to his Mashyakha.

As can be seen in Figure 2, al-Qazwīnī's *riwāyāt* mention four scholars transmitting from al-Baghawī in the 6th/12th century. This first generation is still very much located in the east, that is, Khurasan and Fārs. The two scholars Muḥammad b. Asʿad Ḥafda al-ʿAṭṭārī (d. 571/1175) and Abū Saʿd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad al-Naysābūrī al-Ṣaffār (d. 600/1204) were known figures who were active in Nishapur. Ḥafda al-ʿAṭṭārī originally came from Ṭūs, but settled as a scholar in Nishapur. In Marw al-Rūdh, he studied with al-Baghawī, becoming a famous transmitter for al-Baghawī's works. Ḥafda al-ʿAṭṭārī stayed in Iraq, the Jazira, Adharbayjan, and Tabriz, where he died.[38] Abū Saʿd ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣaffār was a member of one of the prestigious notable families of Nishapur. He was a grandson of one of the Shāfiʿī

38 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 20, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 539 (no. 341).

scholars of Nishapur, Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī,[39] and was himself a scholar.[40] The third figure in this first generation recalls the region in which the earliest eminent commentaries on al-Baghawī's commentary were written, namely Fārs: Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 581/1185), active in Isfahan. While these three figures represent the early geographical center for the transmission of al-Baghawī in the east, it is the fourth transmitter who is a direct connection between Khurasan and Baghdad: ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168). As already pointed out, he is a key figure in al-Qazwīnī's network for the transmission of al-Baghawī's works, and will be discussed further below.

After this first generation of transmitters, Baghdad now becomes the focus in the 7th/13th century. Most of this second generation of transmitters, active in Baghdad, died before Hülegü's conquest of the city, such as ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), Aḥmad al-Māristānī (d. 639/1242), al-Anjab b. Abī l-Saʿādāt al-Ḥammāmī (d. 635/1237), and the female *muḥadditha* ʿAjība bt. Abī Bakr (d. 647/1249). But these scholars did experience the first wave of the Mongol invasion in the early 1220s. Slightly later scholars of this generation, such as ʿAlī b. Anjab b. ʿUthmān Ibn al-Sāʿī (d. 674/1276), were contemporary to Hülegü's invasion. While the first generation of transmitters clearly was Shāfiʿī, already in this next generation we encounter a number of Ḥanbalī scholars.

The third generation of transmitters is the one from whom al-Qazwīnī heard al-Baghawī's works. Most of these moments of transmission happened in Baghdad. Three of the scholars transmitting al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī were active in Baghdad and died there: Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrī' (d. 707/1307), ʿAfīf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Ibn al-Kharrāṭ al-Azajī, also known as Ibn al-Dawālībī (d. 728/1328), and the female scholar Sitt al-Mulūk Fāṭima bt. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī (d. 710/1310). All of them were Ḥanbalīs. The fourth transmitter in this generation, the Shāfiʿī Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ghazāl b. Muẓaffar al-Muqrīʾ al-Wāsiṭī, came from Wāsiṭ, where he died in 707/1307. Two other transmitters came from Damascus. In fact, in his *riwāyāt* for al-Baghawī's works, al-Qazwīnī does not specifically mention Damascus as a place of hearing or reading. But since he is known to have studied with a number of Ḥanbalī scholars there, it is possible that the transmission from the Damascene scholars Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Maqdisī (d. 715/1316) and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī al-Dimashqī (d. 723/1323) happened in Damascus. On the other hand we know that at least Taqī al-Dīn had *ijāzāt* from Baghdad, hence, these transmissions might equally have taken place in Baghdad.[41]

The transmission of all works of al-Baghawī according to the Mashyakha *(red arrows)*

We have to understand the *riwāyāt* for the specific works of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* and the *Sharḥ al-sunna* (green, blue, and yellow arrows) as *extra lines of transmission* in addition to the *riwāyāt* given for all works of al-Baghawī. Hence, these two hadith works were also

39 On the prominent position of the Qushayrī family for the establishment and spread of the Shāfiʿī legal school in Khurasan, and above all Nishapur, see Halm, *Ausbreitung*, 53-70.

40 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 21, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 403-404 (no. 206).

41 Another possibility is that these were certificates without direct contact; future studies of audition certificates might reveal concrete evidence for these contacts.

transmitted via the two Suhrawardīs and their network. The two Suhrawardīs are thus central to the transmission of al-Baghawī's works in Baghdad.

Al-Qazwīnī states that the *riwāyāt* for all works of al-Baghawīʾs would exceed fifty. ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī is the key transmitter of the first generation,[42] followed by his nephew ʿUmar as transmitter of the second generation. Both are linked to Baghdad.

• **ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī:** ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī was born in Suhraward west of Sultaniyya around 490/1096-97, and came to Baghdad at a young age.[43] Here, he was an active scholar for *taṣawwuf* and hadith, teaching at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa, but also withdrawing to live an ascetic life. For his Sufi path, he founded his own *ribāṭ* with an attached madrasa. ʿAbd al-Qāhir passed away in Baghdad in 563/1168 and was buried in his *ribāṭ*. He is best known for his Sufi *adab* work *Ādāb al-murīdīn*. But he also was the first to write a commentarial work on al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, which is often given as a lexicographic *gharīb al-ḥadīth*, but in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* is mentioned as *Kitāb mukhtaṣar al-Maṣābīḥ*.[44]

• **ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī:** ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī was ʿAbd al-Qāhir's nephew and most likely his most influential student in the field of Sufism. He wrote the popular *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, a handbook on Sufism that circulated widely and was translated into numerous languages. Apart from works on Sufi topics, ʿUmar also published in the fields of law and Qurʾan commentary, and we are fortunate to have his own *Mashyakha*. ʿUmar was also the founder of the Suhrawardiyya brotherhood. Born in 539/1144 in Suhraward, he later settled in Seljuq Baghdad and studied *fiqh*, sermon (*waʿẓ*), and *taṣawwuf* with his uncle ʿAbd al-Qāhir. At his uncle's madrasa in Baghdad, he also acted as preacher. He consorted with a number of famous scholars and Sufis of his time, in and beyond Baghdad. He died in Baghdad in 632/1234.

From ʿUmar, the transmission line is divided into four contacts. These are the four transmitters of the third generation that are specifically registered in the *Mashyakha* for the transmission of all works from al-Baghawī:

• **Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ:** Rashīd al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ al-Salāmī, who also carried the honorific title of *musnid al-ʿIrāq*.[45] He was a Baghdadi Ḥanbalī scholar, *muḥaddith*, and Sufi, who was born in 623/1226, and died in 707/1307 in Baghdad. As a Ḥanbalī, his tomb was in the graveyard of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in Baghdad. Rashīd al-Dīn al-Muqrīʾ also acted as a copyist, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī stresses in his *al-Durar al-kāmina* that Rashīd's handwriting must have been exceptionally beautiful. He was one of the scholars who experienced the

42 Parts of his transmission seem to be direct from al-Baghawī, parts of it are linked to a known scholar from Khurasan, Zāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Shaḥḥāmī al-Shurūṭī al-Naysābūrī (d. 533/1139), a leading Shāfiʿī hadith scholar from Nishapur.

43 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 20, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 476 specifies that he was ten years old when he arrived in Baghdad.

44 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 536 (no. 388).

45 Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, vol. 4, unknown editor, 150 (no. 392); Maʿrūf, *Mustanṣiriyya*, 213-216.

Mongol invasion of Baghdad, the end of the Abbasid caliphate, and the conversion of Ghazān Khān to Islam at the end of the 13th century, turning the Ilkhanids (at least nominally) into a Muslim dynasty. As we will see in the following, this scholar is a key transmitter both for the works of al-Baghawī and for the works of the two Suhrawardīs. What also brings him close to al-Baghawī is the very fact that he is transmitting, among others, from one of the early and highly influential commentators of al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, Faḍl Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tūrabushtī (or Tūrānpushtī; d. 661/1263). Rashīd al-Dīn taught at the *dār al-ḥadīth* in the Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriyya and transmitted to numerous Baghdadi scholars, but also to those visiting Baghdad from elsewhere on their quest for knowledge (*ṭalab/riḥla al-ʿilm*).

• **Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān b. Ḥamza al-Maqdisī:** The second source for al-Qazwīnī is Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Sulaymān b. Ḥamza b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī. Taqī al-Dīn was a Ḥanbalī *faqīh* from Damascus, and the *musnid al-Shām* of his time. He was born in Rajab 628 (May-June 1231) and died in Dhū l-Qaʿda 715 (January-February 1316).[46] His network, which extends to Baghdad and Isfahan, shows that despite all the political frontiers, scholarly transmission functioned across those borders, as it functioned across legal schools. Such networks of scholars from Iran, Iraq, and Syria are reflected in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* in general, and they seem to illustrate the main intellectual geographical range of hadith scholarship in the Mongol period.

• **Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī al-Dimashqī:** The third scholar transmitting al-Baghawī's work to al-Qazwīnī is the Shāfiʿī Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hibbat Allāh al-Shīrāzī al-Dimashqī, about whom not much is known. With a family originating from Shiraz, he was born in 629/1232 in Damascus, where he was active as *muḥaddith*, *faqīh*, and *qaḍī*. Later on, he was also active in Mizza (close to Damascus), hence his third nisba al-Mizzī. His network of transmission included, through his own travels, Egypt, as well as several contacts in Baghdad. One of his sources here was ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. He died in Mizza in 723/1323.[47]

• **Sitt al-Mulūk Fāṭima bt. ʿAlī:** The fourth transmitter is a female scholar: Sitt al-Mulūk Fāṭima bt. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Abī al-Badr al-Kātib. While Taqī al-Dīn and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī were scholars from Damascus, Sitt al-Mulūk was, like Rashīd al-Dīn al-Muqrīʾ, a Baghdadi scholar. She, too, was Ḥanbalī, born in Baghdad, where she died in 710/1310. She was buried, like Rashīd al-Dīn, in the graveyard of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. In the same vein as Rashīd al-Dīn, she lived in both pre-Mongol and Mongol Baghdad. Her teachers came from Baghdad, or were active in Baghdad – as a woman, she was undoubtedly more restricted when it came to traveling. Among her teachers was another female scholar: ʿAjība bt. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib al-Bāqdārī al-Baghdādī (d. Ṣafar 647 [May-June

46 Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, vol.2, unknown editor, 146-147 (no. 1837); al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, vol. 1, 267 (no. 186).

47 Al-Miknāsī (Ibn al-Qāḍī), *Dhayl Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, vol. 2, 255-256; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, eds. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 111-112.

1249]). ʿAjība, too, apparently had her own *mashyakha*,[48] and she was also a transmitter of al-Baghawī's works, so we have these two female scholars connected in the wider network of the Baghawī transmission.[49] Sitt al-Mulūk was a source of transmission to al-Qazwīnī for the works of al-Baghawī, as well as for the works of ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī and ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. We also know that al-Qazwīnī read the entire *Sunan* of al-Dārimī with Sitt al-Mulūk at the Bāb al-Marātib, a quarter of notables and merchants in east Baghdad, in Rajab 707 (December 1307-January 1308).[50]

The presence of two female figures, ʿAjība and Sitt al-Mulūk, in the *riwāyāt* of al-Qazwīnī reflects the influential standing of women in the Mongol period, but above all the active role of women in hadith scholarship – this has been attested and studied for the Mamluk period, particularly in Damascus, but much less so for pre-Mongol and Mongol Baghdad.[51]

As Figure 2 shows, the transmission via ʿAbd al-Qāhir and his nephew ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī is the node within this network. And as we will see later, a number of scholars appearing in the network after ʿUmar are also responsible for the transmission of the works of these two Suhrawardīs.

As well as the *riwāya* that runs through ʿAbd al-Qāhir and ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, there is a second *riwāya* that appears in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, as well as in the two manuscripts Istanbul, Süleymaniyya Library, Feyzullah 540 and Fatih 1184. This is the shortest *riwāya* (*al-aʿlā*) with only two generations between al-Baghawī and al-Qazwīnī.[52] In this case, the transmission takes place through Abū Saʿd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad al-Naysābūrī al-Ṣaffār (d. 618/1221-22), the above-mentioned scholar from Nishapur. The only link between the Shāfiʿī Abū Sa'd ʿAbd Allāh from Khurasan and al-Qazwīnī in Baghdad is Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī, also known as Ibn al-Bukhārī. This Ḥanbalī scholar from Damascus is known to have lived in or visited Bukhara, Baghdad, Ḥomṣ, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Cairo, and passed away in 690/1291.

Transmission of the **Sharḥ al-sunna** *and the* **Maṣābīḥ al-sunna** *according to the* **Mashyakha** *(green arrows)*

The additional *riwāyāt* given for these two works of hadith runs through Ḥafda al-ʿAṭṭārī, the above-mentioned scholar born in Ṭūs but active in Nishapur. While this line splits up to the two scholars al-Māristānī and Ibn Abī al-Saʿādāt in the next generation, it is again connected to the transmission network for all works of al-Baghawī, that is, the third generation transmitting from ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. Two of the previously mentioned third-generation scholars are the direct transmitters to al-Qazwīnī for the *Sharḥ al-sunna* and the *Maṣābīḥ*:

48 Al-Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar*, vol. 5, 194; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 5, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 238.

49 ʿAjība's network expanded to Mamluk Syria, too; she issued *ijāzāt*, e.g., for the Damascene female scholar Zaynab bt. Al-Kamāl (d. 740/1339); see Sayeed, *Women and Transmission*, 163, 169.

50 See Nadwi, *Muhaddithat*, 205; in general, also Sayeed, *Women and Transmission*.

51 On women in the Mongol period, see De Nicola, *Women in Mongol Iran*, and *idem*, Pādshāh Khatun; Quade-Reuter, *Herrschaftliche Damen*; on Sitt al-Mulūk, see Nā'if, al-Faqīha al-Baghdādiyya.

52 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 325.

Rashīd al-Dīn al-Muqrīʾ from Baghdad, and Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Maqdisī from Damascus (both Ḥanbalīs).

Transmission of the Maṣābīḥ al-sunna *according to the* Mashyakha *(blue arrows)*

Unlike the other *riwāyāt* that are split between a number of different transmitters at a certain link, the additional *riwāya* for the hadith compilation *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* is a single strand *isnād*: it starts in Nishapur with ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣaffār and runs through Tāj al-Dīn Anjab Ibn Sāʿī in Baghdad to Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī. All of these scholars were Shāfiʿīs.

Al-Qazwīnī had recited the entire *Maṣābīḥ* in Baghdad to al-Wāsiṭī. Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ghazāl b. Muẓaffar al-Muqrīʾ al-Wāsiṭī (d. Rajab 707/1307 in Wāsiṭ) was al-Qazwīnī's shaykh in Wāsiṭ, the city where he studied and was active before coming to Baghdad. Al-Wāsiṭī, in turn, had recited the *Maṣābīḥ* to the Shāfiʿī Baghdadi scholar Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Anjab b. ʿUthmān, Ibn al-Sāʿī (d. Ramaḍān 674/1276) who was a historian and librarian at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa in Baghdad.[53] Ibn al-Sāʿī ʿAlī b. Anjab had a written *riwāya* from al-Ṣaffār who had heard the *Maṣābīḥ* directly (*samāʿan*) from al-Baghawī.

Transmission of the Sharḥ al-sunna *according to the* Mashyakha *(yellow arrows)*

The *riwāyāt* for the hadith commentary *Sharḥ al-sunna* is again a multiple *isnād*, dominated by Ḥanbalī scholars. It starts with a transmitter from Fārs, the Shāfiʿī scholar from and active in Isfahan, Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ʿĪsā al-Madīnī al-Iṣfahānī (d. Jumāda I 581 [July-August 1185]). Al-Iṣfahānī was a direct transmitter from al-Baghawī. In turn, he is said to have transmitted the *Sharḥ* to three scholars: Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Mannī al-Nahrawānī (d. 583/1187), Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faraj al-Ḥiṣrī (d. 619/1222), and the female scholar ʿAjība bt. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Bāqdārī (d. 647/1249).[54] This part of the transmission process is already located in Baghdad.

Still in Baghdad, the transmission of the *Sharḥ al-sunna* continued through the reading of al-Qazwīnī to the Baghdadi Ḥanbalī scholar ʿAfīf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Azajī, also known as Ibn al-Kharrāṭ [Ibn] al-Dawālībī (d. 728/1328).

Summary of the transmission of al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī according to his Mashyakha

The transmission of al-Baghawī's works connects Khurasan with Baghdad through scholars active in Nishapur, Isfahan, Wāsiṭ, Damascus, and Baghdad, who had mainly Shāfiʿī

53 Ibn al-Sāʿī was already librarian at the Mustanṣiriyya library during the Abbasid caliphate and kept his position until 671/1272. He also served as librarian in the Niẓāmiyya. He compiled a biographical dictionary, *al-Durr al-thamīn fī asmāʾ al-muṣannifīn*, that, even though not entirely preserved, is a key source for Baghdadi scholars, beside Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's *Majmaʿ al-alqāb*. See also Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge.

54 The female hadith scholar ʿAjība also had a connection to al-Madīnī al-Iṣfahānī relating to the transmission of another work of al-Baghawī, namely the *Mushkil al-Qurʾān*; see Nadwi, *Muḥaddithāt*, 115; on ʿAjība in general, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 23, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 233.

and Ḥanbalī affiliations. It spans the moment of the first Mongol invasions into Khurasan and Iraq in 1220 and 1221, through Hülegü's invasion in the 1250s, to the beginning of the 14th century when Baghdad was still under Ilkhanid rule.

Even though we only analyzed five of the *riwāyāt* for al-Baghawī's works above – specific ones for individual works, and those for all works – the chronological, geographical, and legal frame outlined above is also valid for the remaining *riwāyāt* for all works of al-Baghawī. A few of the above-mentioned scholars re-appear in these lines, above all Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ from Baghdad, which proves that he was an important transmitter for al-Qazwīnī. But, unsurprisingly, more transmitters also emerge. On the one hand, they, too, mirror the regional transmission from today's Afghanistan, via Khurasan and Fārs, to Baghdad and Damascus. On the other hand, they add some additional information.

The first piece of information is simply that we find one Ḥanafī and one Mālikī scholar within these *riwāyāt*. Secondly, we can identify another "bundle" of transmission beside the one that runs through the two Suhrawardīs. In this case, it is a transmission arising from Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Madīnī al-Iṣfahānī, the Shāfiʿī scholar from Isfahan who died in 581/1185. Central for this transmission is the family of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (or al-Jīlī). Born in the province of Gilan, active until his death in Baghdad in 661/1166, this Ḥanbalī scholar and Sufi was the starting point for the Qādiriyya brotherhood. Within the *riwāyāt* in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, it is two of ʿAbd al-Qādir's grandsons who feature as most prominent transmitters: Faḍl Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlī and his brother Naṣr b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlī. With the Suhrawardīs as point of departure for a Sufi brotherhood, the Suhrawardiyya, we thus have another nucleus for a Sufi brotherhood within the *riwāyāt* for al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī, namely the Qādiriyya.[55] Then the third point that emerges from these additional *riwāyāt* is that both the al-Suhrawardī and the al-Jīlī "bundles" illustrate the impact of transmission within families. In one *riwāya* given in the *Mashyakha* for all works of al-Baghawī, the transmission starts with Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Iṣfahānī (see above), runs through two transmitters in the second generation, and finally reaches the great-grandson of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī: Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. It is this great-grandson of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, who transmitted the works of al-Baghawī to al-Qazwīnī in the Mongol period.

Due to the central role of ʿAbd al-Qāhir and ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī in the transmission of al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī, I compare in the following the lines of transmission of their works to al-Qazwīnī with the ones from al-Baghawī.

55 There were also ties between ʿAbd al-Qāhir and ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in Baghdad. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī passed away in 516/1166, ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī only two years later, in 563/1168. Known to each other, the former also acted as spiritual guide for ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, even if only for a shorter period. On their relationship, see Held, *ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī*, 96-108 (on ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī) and 142-161 (on ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī).

The transmission of works of ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī to al-Qazwīnī according to al-Qazwīnī's Mashyakha

Roughly one hundred and fifty years after ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī's death in 563/1168, al-Qazwīnī transmitted his works in Baghdad. Even though he was nearly a generation later than al-Baghawī, ʿAbd al-Qāhir still lived during the Seljuq period, and thereby the integration of a moderate Sufism into mainstream Sunnism. He, too, profited from the establishment of the madrasa by the Seljuq vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, and taught at the famous Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad.

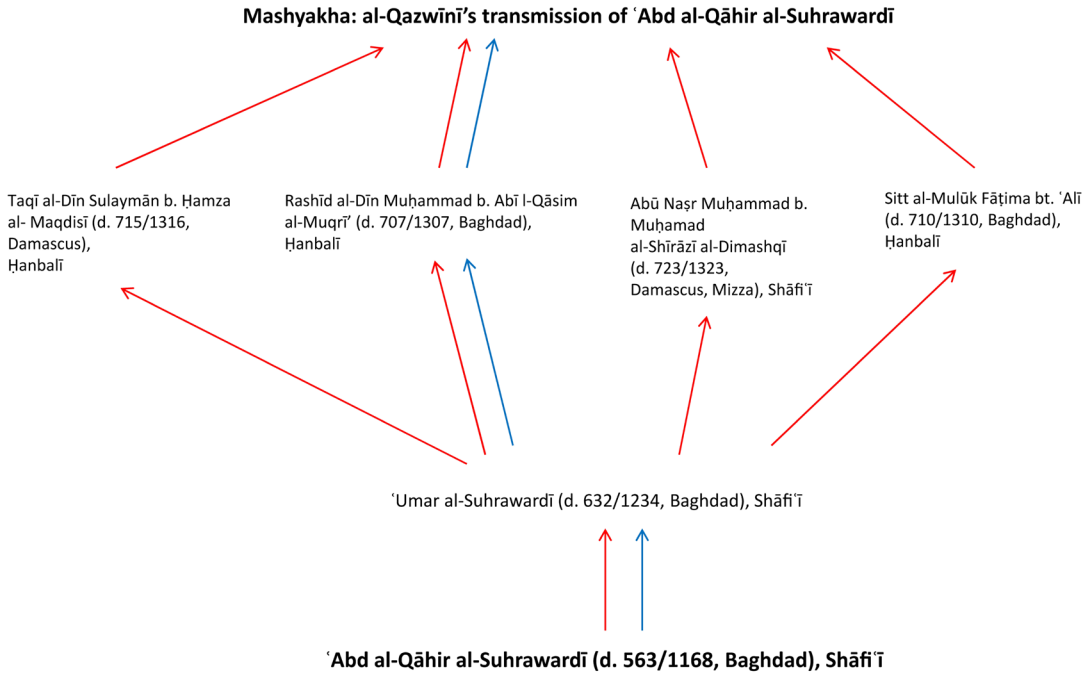

Figure 3: Al-Qazwīnī's transmission of ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī's (d. 563/1168) works according to his Mashyakha.

If we look at Figure 3, we can immediately see that once again we have the direct connection from ʿAbd al-Qāhir to his nephew ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. This was already the node for the transmission of the al-Baghawī's works. Al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* distinguishes between all works of ʿAbd al-Qāhir, and a specific additional one for *Muntakhab min al-amālī*.

The transmission of all works of ʿAbd al-Qāhir include his best known work *Ādāb al-murīdīn*, the *Imlāʾ*, but also his commentarial work on al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, which is mentioned here as *Kitāb mukhtaṣar al-Maṣābīḥ*.[56] All works are transmitted through the

56 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 536 (no. 388).

same figures as in the Baghawī transmission: the two scholars from Damascus, Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Maqdisī and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī al-Dimashqī; and the two scholars from Baghdad, Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Muqrīʾ and Sitt al-Mulūk. Again, we see the majority of Ḥanbalī scholars as the last transmitters to al-Qazwīnī. The additional transmission of the *Muntakhab* runs only through one *isnād*, albeit a known one. It was transmitted from ʿAbd al-Qāhir to his nephew ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (by *samāʿ*), and from ʿUmar (through *ijāza*) to Rashīd al-Dīn al-Muqrīʾ.

The transmission of works of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī to al-Qazwīnī according to the Mashyakha

Al-Qazwīnī had also heard and read the works of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234). In his *Mashyakha*, al-Qazwīnī elaborates on *riwāyāt* for all works of ʿUmar, and additional ones specifically for ʿUmar's *Mashyakha* and his *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*.

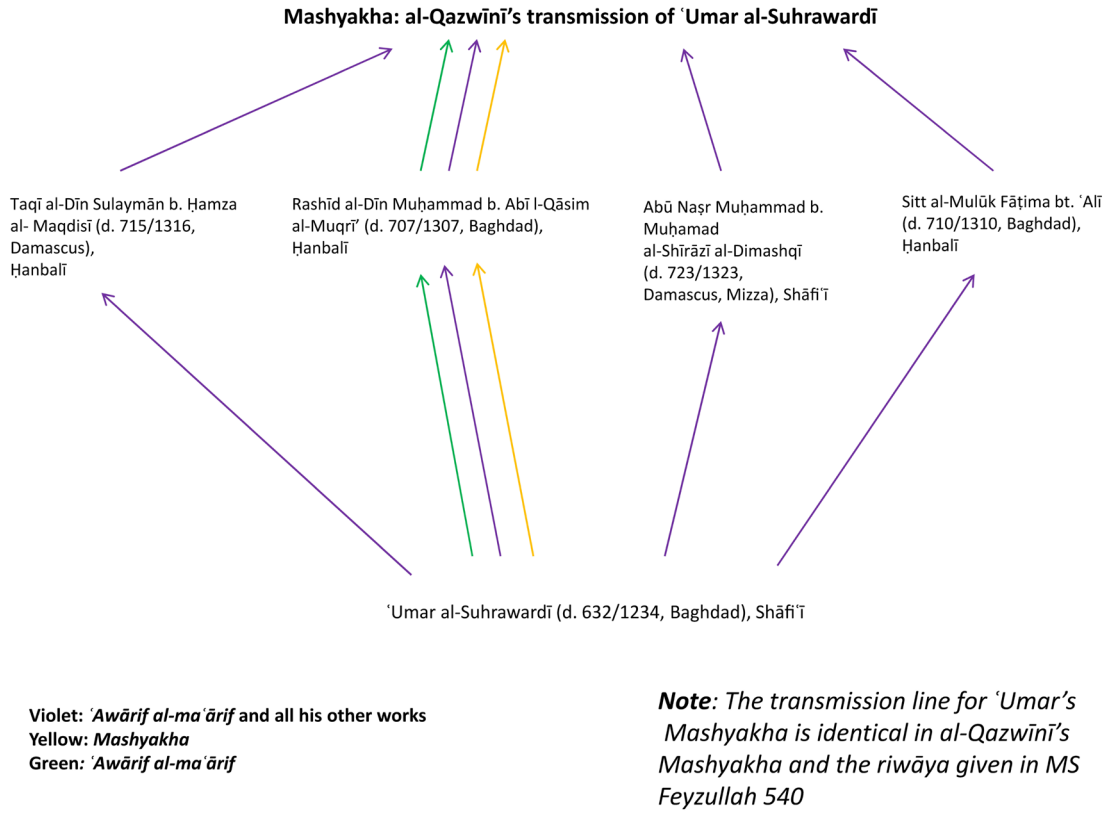

Figure 4: Al-Qazwīnī's transmission of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's (d. 632/1234) works according to his Mashyakha.

The violet arrows in Figure 4 are *riwāyāt* for the transmission of the *ʿAwārif*, but also all other works of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. What we see are the same lines of transmission that we have already encountered in the transmission of all works of al-Baghawī, and all works of ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī: four scholars gave an *ijāza* to al-Qazwīnī, and all of these four scholars had received the *ijāza* from ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (some of them also through *samāʿ*). The four scholars that connect ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī to al-Qazwīnī are, once again, our Baghdadi scholars Rashīd al-Dīn and Sitt al-Mulūk, and the Damascene scholars Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Maqdisī and Shams al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī.

As to ʿUmar's *Mashyakha* (yellow arrows), it was also transmitted by the above mentioned Baghdadi scholar Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ. Rashīd al-Dīn transmitted the text to al-Qazwīnī, beginning on the 19 Muḥarram 705 (11 August 1305). Rashīd al-Dīn passed away roughly two years after this reading. He had heard (*samāʿ*) the *Mashyakha* personally from ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī on the 26 Shaʿbān 628 (29 June 1231). If we recall that Rashīd al-Dīn was born in 623/1226, and that ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī died in 632/1234, this appears to be a typical example of an *ijāza* given to a child.

The second *riwāya* (green arrows) relates to ʿUmar's Sufi handbook *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*. As the graph shows, ʿUmar gave an *ijāza* to our Baghdadi scholar Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ who in turn transmitted it to al-Qazwīnī; or, more precisely, al-Qazwīnī read the entire *ʿAwārif* to Rashīd al-Dīn (*qirāʾa*).

Manuscript evidence for al-Qazwīnī's teaching of the Maṣābīḥ al-sunna

Two types of manuscript entries are central for the reconstruction of al-Qazwīnī's lines of transmission, and his concrete teaching activity on the relevant texts in Mongol Baghdad. Most important are the sessions of audition and recitation (*samāʿ*, *qirāʾa*).[57] However, there is the additional entry type of the collation note (*muqābala*). Collating, that is comparing different manuscripts containing the same work, was a crucial part of a severe critical revision process, intended to guarantee the proper transmission of texts, marking possible divergent versions within the manuscripts themselves.

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540

We can now finally turn back to the beginning of this article, and al-Qazwīnī's reading session with al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in the Caliphal Mosque in the winter of 734/1333-1334. This reading session in the Caliphal Mosque took place only a few months before Abū Saʿīd's death in 736/1335, often seen as end of the Ilkhanid period, which was to be followed by the post-Mongol decades of campaigning pretenders who had family or professional ties to the Ilkhanid dynasty.

The circumstances of this reading session in the Caliphal Mosque are noted down in a manuscript that contains al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* as the main text. The colophon of this manuscript (fol. 241v) dates its completion to Dhū l-Ḥijja 727 (October-November 1327), but it does not give a place of copying. Today it is kept at the Süleymaniyye Library in Istanbul, as part of the Feyzullah collection, under the shelf mark 540. On the page opposite the colophon, we see a one-page entry in which al-Qazwīnī himself registers the session in 734 in his own characteristic handwriting (fol. 242r).

57 See p. 70 in this article.



Figure 5: Audition and reading certificate of Abū al-Faḍl al-Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd al-Iṣbahānī [al-Iṣfahānī] issued by al-Qazwīnī in winter 734/1333-1334 in the Caliphal Mosque. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540, fol. 242r. With the kind permission of the Presidency of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.

What is the basic information that al-Qazwīnī gives us in this entry of audition and recitation? He tells us that a person called "Abū l-Faḍl al-Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Rajāʾī al-Iṣfahānī"[58] (who had the *laqab* ʿAzīz Mā Shādhdhah (عزيز ما شاذه)) read the entire *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* of al-Baghawī in his presence (lines 3-5). Al-Ḥasan's *nisba* tells us that he originated from and/or was active in Isfahan, and al-Qazwīnī presents him as a scholar trained in jurisprudence and philology. Al-Qazwīnī lets us know that the reading of the *Maṣābīḥ* took place over several sessions (*majālis*), of which the last occurred on Saturday (*yawm al-sabt*), 5 Rajab 734 (13 March1334), in the Caliphal Mosque in Baghdad (line 6).

Over the following lines, al-Qazwīnī additionally lists texts that al-Iṣfahānī had heard from him (*samāʿ*), books as well as individual hadiths. One of the texts that al-Qazwīnī reads for al-Iṣfahānī in those winter sessions was the *Mashyakha* of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (line 9), of which we have heard above. The basic content of the vast majority of lines from line 7 on are the books, or hadiths, that al-Qazwīnī read to al-Iṣfahānī, and al-Qazwīnī's own *riwāyāt* – at least those that he deemed important to mention. At the very end, we get al-Qazwīnī's

58 Given by al-Qazwīnī as al-Iṣbahānī on fol. 242r, by al-Iṣfahānī himself as al-Iṣfahānī on fol. 242v.

signature and the date of his entry, that is Tuesday (*yawm al-thulāthāʾ*), 8 Rajab 734 (15 March 1334).

Following the note where al-Qazwīnī mentions that al-Iṣfahānī had heard the entire *Mashyakha* of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, as well as some hadiths attached to it, from him (*min lafẓī*), he gives his own *riwāya* for the *Mashyakha*: namely that he, al-Qazwīnī, had the authority through his own reading (*bi-qirāʾatī*) in front of the *musnid al-ʿIrāq*, "Rashīd al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ", through his hearing (*samāʿ*) from the author himself, that is Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī (lines 10-11).

If we compare the information given in this manuscript entry with al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, we see that it is identical: al-Qazwīnī heard ʿUmar's *Mashyakha* from Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Muqrīʾ who had heard it from ʿUmar. The *Mashyakha* had given us some further information about this moment of transmission: Rashīd al-Dīn himself had heard the *Mashyakha* personally from ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī on the 26 Shaʿbān 628, that is 29 June 1231. As mentioned earlier in this article, this transmission between Rashīd al-Dīn al-Muqrīʾ and ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī must have taken place when Rashīd al-Dīn was a young child (see above).

The largest part of the text on the lower page is dedicated to al-Qazwīnī's *riwāyāt* for al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* (lines 19-34). He mentions four lines of transmission:

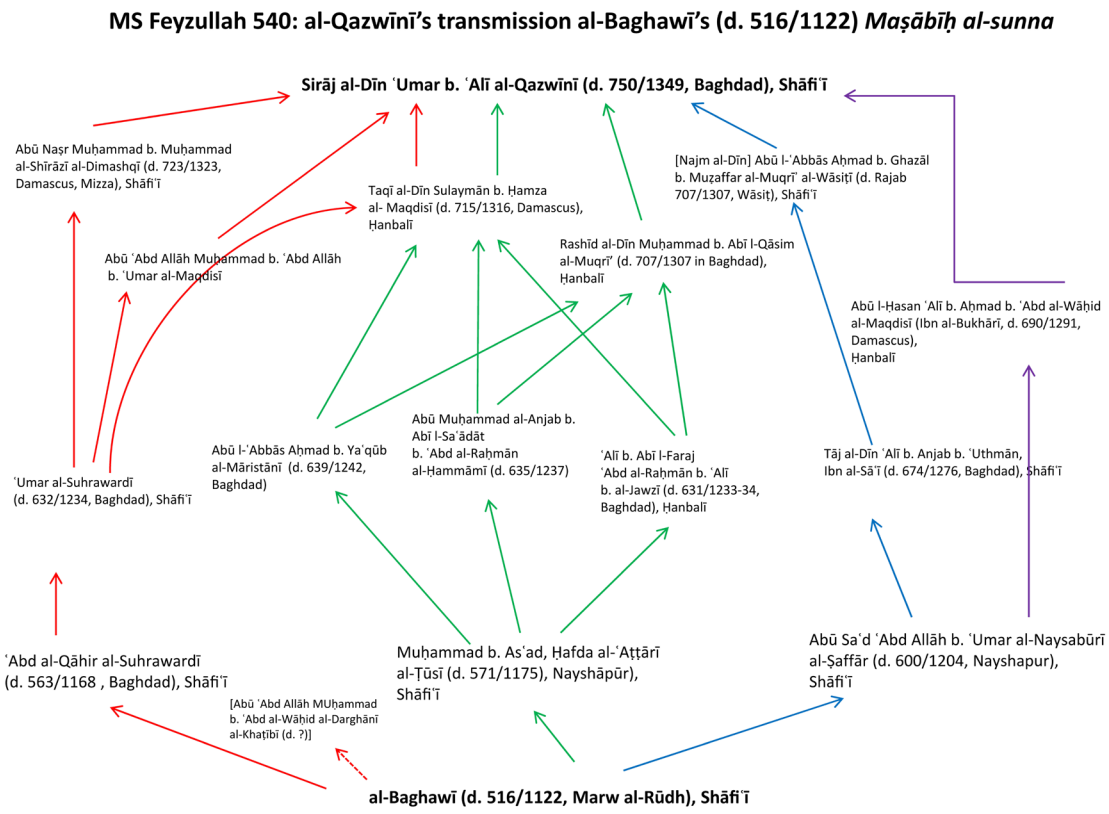

Figure 6: Al-Qazwīnī's transmission of al-Baghawī's (d. 516/1122) Maṣābīḥ al-sunna according to the samāʿ and qirāʾa entry in MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540, fol. 242r.

1. The first source (blue arrows) for al-Qazwīnī is his shaykh (*shaykhunā*) from the Friday Mosque in Wāsiṭ, "Aḥmad b. Ghazāl b. Muẓaffar al-Muqrīʾ", that is Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ghazāl b. Muẓaffar al-Muqrīʾ al-Wāsiṭī (d. Rajab 707 [December 1307-January 1308] in Wāsiṭ). The following line of transmission that runs from Aḥmad b. Ghazāl back to al-Baghawī is the same as given in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, and has the following scholars: the Shāfiʿī Baghdadi scholar Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Anjab b. ʿUthmān, Ibn al-Sāʿī, historian and librarian at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa and the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdad, who had a written *riwāya* from the Shāfiʿī *faqīh* and *muḥaddith* Abū Saʿd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad al-Naysābūrī al-Ṣaffār (d. 618/1221-22), who had heard directly (*samāʿan*) from al-Baghawī (lines 20-23).

2. The second riwāya (red arrows), too, runs mainly parallel to al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, but here, one name is new, and the female teacher Sitt al-Mulūk is missing.

The direct transmitters to al-Qazwīnī are the two scholars known to us from the other *riwāyāt*, namely the Damascene Ḥanbalī Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Maqdisī and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad [Hibbat Allāh] al-Shīrāzī [al-Dimashqī]. But to this name, al-Qazwīnī adds a new one: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Maqdisī.[59]

These three transmitters had the permission to transmit the *Maṣābīḥ* from ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, via ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī, back to al-Baghawī. The first transmitter, Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqdisī had this permission through *ijāza*, the other two scholars through *samāʿ* (lines 23-26).[60]

3. The third *riwāya* (green arrows) has two transmitters to al-Qazwīnī, both known figures again: the Baghdadi Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ, and the Damascene Ḥanbalī Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Sulaymān b. Ḥamza al-Maqdisī. These two scholars trace their transmission back to the following three scholars:

- Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥāfiẓ Abī l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Jawzī (d. 630/1233): Even though himself a scholar and transmitter, he is much more known for his father, the famous Baghdadi Ḥanbalī *muḥaddith* Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 597/1201). With ʿAlī b. Abī l-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī we have thus another Ḥanbalī transmitter in the network.

59 Apart from the information given by his *nisba*, I have not yet identified this person.

60 In the *riwāya* given in Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540, ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī is said to have transmitted from two shaykhs (*al-shaykhān al-imāmān*), but the following text mentions only ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī. There is a marker for missing text after ʿAbd al-Qāhir's name, and a second name is given in the margin of the page, outside of the golden frame that surrounds the *samāʿ* and *qirāʾa* entry. This person, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Darghānī al-Khaṭībī, could not be identified, and is therefore marked in Figure 6 in smaller script and with a dotted line. He appears as a transmitter from al-Baghawī to ʿUmar in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 322-323.

- Abū Muḥammad al-Anjab b. Abī l-Saʿādāt b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥammāmī al-Baghdādī (d. 635/1237).[61]
- Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Māristānī (d. 639/1242 in Baghdad).[62]

These three scholars received the permission to transmit from Muḥammad b. Asʿad Ḥafda al-ʿAṭṭārī, the known direct transmitter from al-Baghawī in Khurasan.

4. The fourth *riwāya* (violet arrows) is given through *ijāza* from Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī, also known as Ibn al-Bukhārī. His high reputation as a Ḥanbalī hadith scholar can be seen in the *laqab* given to him by al-Dhahabī: *musnid al-dunyā*, the *musnid* of the world. He traveled a lot and stayed in many places, among them Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. In 690/1291 he died in Damascus.[63] He, in his turn, had received the *ijāza* from Abū Saʿd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Ṣaffār, the Nishapuri scholar we know.



Figure 7: Title page of MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540, fol. 5r. With the kind permission of the Presidency of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.

61 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 23, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 14-15 (no. 7).

62 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 23, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 77-80 (no. 57).

63 Al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 4, 257.

If we turn the page containing al-Qazwīnī's note (fol. 242r), we see another entry, which stretches over three pages (fols. 242v to 243v). The person who wrote this entry is the one who was mentioned by al-Qazwīnī on fol. 242r as the one reciting the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in front of him: Abū l-Faḍl al-Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī. But al-Iṣfahānī was not only the reciter of this text. The title page (fol. 5r) mentions him as the owner of this manuscript, Feyzullah 540.

This would make Isfahan, or possibly Baghdad, a likely place of copy, even though in the end, we cannot tell for sure, since the colophon does not have a place of copy.[64] The title page is followed by a beautifully designed and annotated table of contents (up to fol. 11r), before the text of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* starts on fol. 11v.



Figure 8: The qirāʾa *entry of Abū al-Faḍl al-Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī in 734/1333-1334 in the Caliphal Mosque, lasting 66 sessions and being headed by al-Qazwīnī. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540, fols. 242v-243r. With the kind permission of the Presidency of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.*

64 As far as can be said on the basis of the digitized image of the manuscript, the title page and the table of contents seem to be most likely part of the original manuscript (appearance of the paper, partly the same scribal hands on all pages); but for a definite statement, the analysis of paper and quires would be required.

On fol. 242v, al-Iṣfahānī tells the story of the *Maṣābīḥ* reading sessions in front of al-Qazwīnī from his point of view ("I read the entire *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in front of al-Qazwīnī […]"). But al-Iṣfahānī adds more information. While al-Qazwīnī simply stated that the reading took place in the Jāmiʿ al-Khalīfa in Baghdad over a number of sessions (*majālis*), the last one on Saturday, 5 Rajab 734 (13 March 1334), al-Iṣfahānī gives us an unusually detailed picture of these events. On fol. 242v he says that the reading cycle of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in the Caliphal Mosque lasted over sixty-six sessions, starting on Saturday, 24 Rabīʿ I (4 December 1333[65]) and ending on Saturday, 5 Rajab (13 March 1334). While such notes on sessions of audition and recitation with date and place are rather common in hadith manuscripts of certain centuries, al-Iṣfahānī goes much further and opens up a vivid picture of a complete reading cycle of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in 8th/14th-century Baghdad. Below his note about his reading in front of al-Qazwīnī, we find sixty-six rectangles framed in red lines (fols. 242v-243v). In these, al-Iṣfahānī lists each session with a date, the passage of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* that was read, and the scholar(s) that registered the meeting. It is a view through a window onto the practice of the *Maṣābīḥ* transmission and the scholarly milieu in the Jāmiʿ al-Khalīfa in Baghdad in the winter of 1333 to 1334.

Both *qirāʾa* notes give us furthermore a vivid picture of the role that books played in such sessions: both al-Qazwīnī and al-Iṣfahānī describe how al-Iṣfahānī read the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* from his own copy, that is the Feyzullah 540 manuscript, while al-Qazwīnī was collating it with his own, personal copy, which he had written in his own hand.[66] From Baghdad, the Feyzullah 540 manuscript found its way to Shiraz where it was kept, albeit secretly in the house of a merchant during the Shiʿi rule of the Safawīds (r. 1501-1722),[67] before it somehow reached Ottoman Turkey.

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184

The personal manuscript of al-Qazwīnī that he had copied himself and that is referred to in the manuscript Feyzullah 540 analyzed above possibly appears again in another manuscript of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* kept at the Süleymaniyye Library: Fatih 1184. This manuscript was completed roughly ten years after Feyzullah 540, namely in Muḥarram 737 (August-September 1336). Al-Qazwīnī led a reading session with this manuscript as well. And this time, it was the copyist of the manuscript who recited the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in front of al-Qazwīnī – with the copy that he just had completed, Fatih 1184. Al-Qazwīnī is introduced in the collation note in this manuscript as imam of the Jāmiʿ al-Khalīfa.

65 On this date, see also footnote 1.

66 Al-Qazwīnī writes on fol. 242r that al-Iṣfahānī "read in front of me […] with this copy while I was collating [it] with my own copy written in my own hand" (*qaraʾa ʿalayya […] min hādhihi al-nuskha muqābilan bi-nuskhatī wa-hiya bi-yadī*). Al-Iṣfahānī says: "I read the entire *Maṣābīḥ* […] with this copy to […] ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Qazwīnī […] while he was collating this, my own copy, with his copy [that was] written in his own hand" (*qaraʾtu jamīʿ kitāb al-Maṣābīḥ […] min hādhihi al-nuskha al-mubāraka ʿalā […] ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Qazwīnī […] muqābilan nuskhatī hādhihi bi-nuskhatihi wa-hiya bi-yadihi*).

67 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540, fol. 1r.

While the completion of the manuscript Feyzullah 540 and the reading sessions of al-Qazwīnī and al-Iṣfahānī took place in what was still the late Ilkhanid period, we enter the post-Mongol scene with the Fatih 1184 manuscript, as it was copied in Muḥarram 737 (August-September 1336) and recited until Dhū l-Ḥijja 737 (July 1337). Abū Saʿīd had died in 1335, and even by this point Arpa's interim reign (1335-1336) was much contested; this was the beginning of the power struggles by former Mongol military commanders and administrators.



Figure 9: Colophon and collation note of MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184, fol. 300r. With the kind permission of the Presidency of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.

Again, no place of copying is given in the colophon (fol. 300r). However, the copyist of Fatih 1184 was ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Kūfī al-Hamdānī. He was the son of the scholar Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī al-Dimashqī (d. 755/1354), also known as Ibn al-Faṣīḥ, who originated from Hamadhān, grew up in Kufa, studied and heard in Baghdad, and finally settled in Damascus.[68] ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad, who had accompanied his father to Damascus, is said to have been a productive copyist. He passed away before his father, in 745/1344.[69] In Baghdad,

68 Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, vol. 1, unknown editor, 204-205 (no. 528).

69 Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, vol. 2, unknown editor, 245 (no. 2112).

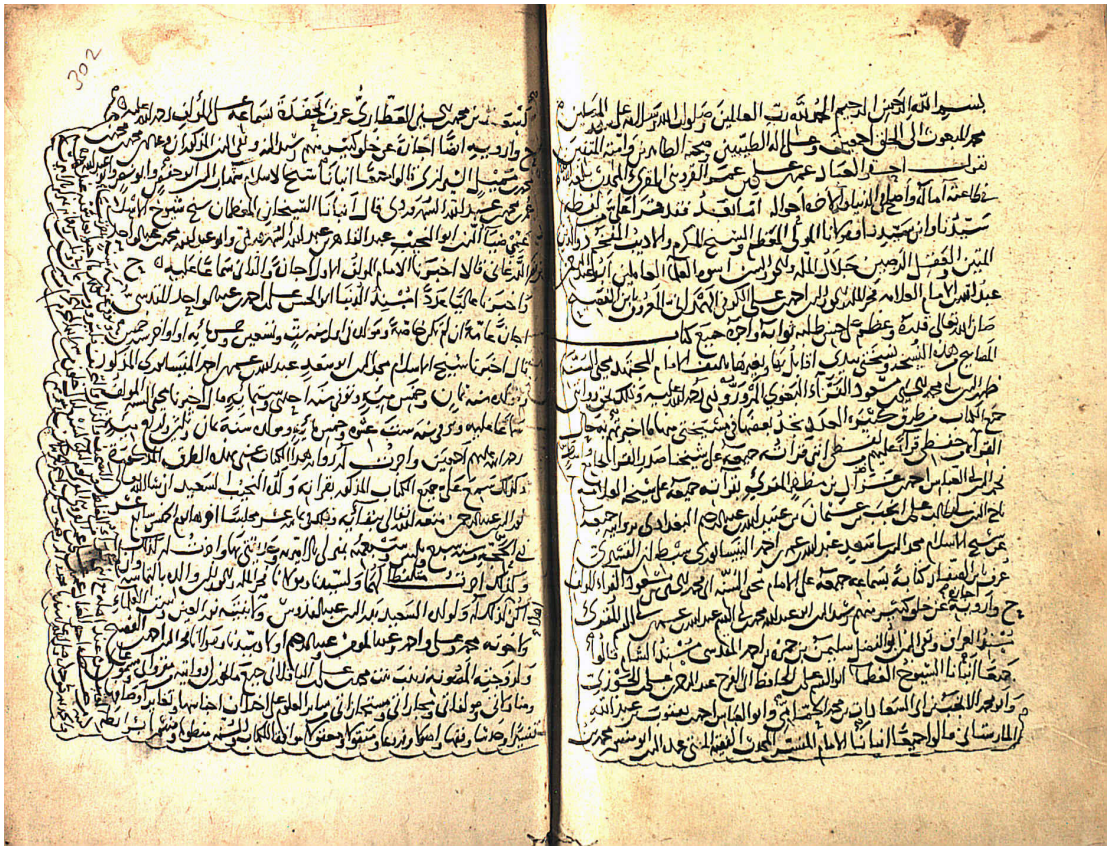

Figure 10: Qirāʾa *note of the copyist ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad, and the audition note of his father, in front of al-Qazwīnī in 18 sessions, the last one in 17 Dhū l-Ḥijja 737/17 July 1337, in al-Qazwīnī's home and its gardens in al-Amīriyya. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184, fols. 301v-302r. With the kind permission of the Presidency of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.*

ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad had heard (*samiʿa*), together with his father, from a number of scholars, among them Ibn al-Dawālībī. The sessions of reciting and hearing al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* that al-Qazwīnī registered in the manuscript Fatih 1184 bring to life these studies which father and son pursued together in Baghdad, as will be shown in the following. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad left a longer collation note around the colophon (fol. 300r), informing us that he collated the manuscript Fatih 1184 with three other manuscripts in Shawwāl 737 (May-June 1337), that is roughly ten months after the completion of the copy of Fatih 1184. In this collation note, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad highlights some notes (*ṭibāq*) in these three manuscripts, chosen names of those hearing the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* from the respective manuscript, those issuing the *samāʿ*, the date, and a scribe.[70] But the first manuscript that ʿAbd Allāh mentions is al-Qazwīnī's personal, collated and corrected copy of the *Maṣābīḥ*, a copy repeatedly used for the sake of collation with many other manuscripts. It is very likely, although not entirely established, that this personal copy of al-Qazwīnī is identical with the one that al-Qazwīnī

70 The third manuscript mentioned in this collation note apparently still showed al-Baghawī's own hand.

collated in winter 1333-1334 during the sixty-six reading sessions with al-Iṣfahānī, which is mentioned in the two *qirāʾa* entries in Feyzullah 540 (see above).

While ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad only briefly states in this note of collation that he heard the *Maṣābīḥ* from al-Qazwīnī's manuscript, we find a long entry in al-Qazwīnī's distinct handwriting only two pages later (fols. 301v-302r).

Here, al-Qazwīnī writes (fol. 301v):

[…] فقد فرا عليّ من لفظي عبدالله […] بن احمد بن علي الكوفي الهمْداني المعروف بابن الفصيح […] جميع الكتاب المصابيح من هذه النسخة ونسختي بيدي اقابلُ بها وبغيرها […] وذلك بحق روايتي جميع الكتاب من طرق كثيرة العَدد تجدُ بعضها في مشيختي […]

ʿAbd Allāh, son of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Kūfī al-Hamdānī, who was also known as Ibn al-Faṣīḥ, read the entire *Maṣābīḥ* in front of me according to my reading from this copy (*min hādhihi al-nuskha*) [that is Fatih 1184], while I [al-Qazwīnī] collated my own copy, written in my own hand, with it, and others (*wa-nuskhatī bi-yadī uqābilu bihā wa-ghayrihā*). […] And this on the authority of my transmission (*bi-ḥaqqi riwāyatī*) for the entire book [the *Maṣābīḥ*] based on numerous lines of transmission (*ṭuruq kathīrat al-ʿadad*) some of which can be found in my *Mashyakha*.

In what follows (fols. 301v-302r), al-Qazwīnī lists a number of these lines of transmission. He then issues the *ijāza* for ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Kūfī al-Hamdānī, and adds that also his, ʿAbd Allāh's, father had listened to him (*samiʿa*) (fol. 302r). Then he states (fol. 302r):

وذلك في ثمانية عشر مجلسًا آخرها يوم الخميس سابع عشر ذي الحجة من سنة سبع وثلثين وسبعمائة بمنزلي بالاميرية وحديقتي بها […]

And this happened over eighteen sessions, the last one on Thursday, 17 Dhū l-Ḥijja in the year 737 in my home in al-Amīriyya and my garden.

That is, the cycle of recitation with the copyist of Fatih 1184, in which the copyist's father also participated, finished on 17 Dhū l-Ḥijja 737 (17 July 1337).

The neighborhood of "al-Amīriyya" is specified in another, shorter entry by al-Qazwīnī on the left margin of the colophon (fol. 300r). In that note, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad is again mentioned as the one who recited, the date is given as 17 Dhū l-Ḥijja, and the place "in my home in al-Amīriyya" (*bi manzilī bi-l-Amīriyya*). But the small addition of "min al-Maʾmūniyya" informs us that al-Amīriyya was part of al-Maʾmūniyya, a city quarter in east Baghdad.

The lines of transmission given by al-Qazwīnī in Fatih 1184 are identical with the ones given in Feyzullah 540, with one exception: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Maqdisī is not mentioned here.

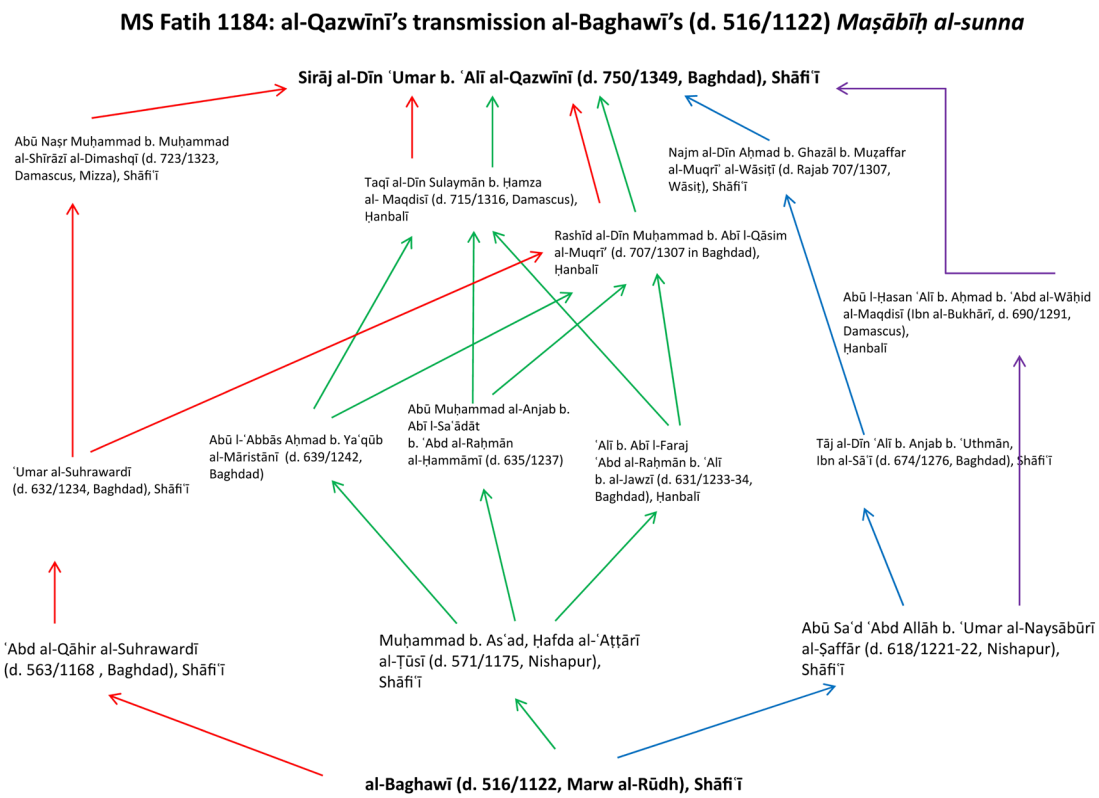

Figure 11: Al-Qazwīnī's transmission of al-Baghawī's Maṣābīḥ al-sunna *according to MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184, fols. 301-302r.*

Conclusion

We have cast a spotlight on one hadith scholar, Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Qazwīnī, in order to observe the extent to which we can trace a decrease of hadith scholarship, or even obvious breaks, through the Baghdad of the Ilkhanid and early post-Mongol periods. At this stage, it is too early to say anything general about hadith scholarship in this period, since there is hardly any research on it. But what the example of al-Qazwīnī illustrates is that there was a continuity in hadith scholarship after the Mongol invasion in 1258, and a continuity in transmission and teaching despite the turbulent political events before and after Abū Saʿīd's death in 1335. The impression we get from al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* and the two manuscripts discussed in this article is not that of a scholar detained from his work, but of far-reaching networks of scholars and operating institutions in Baghdad.

In the two manuscripts discussed above – Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540 and Fatih 1184 – we encountered al-Qazwīnī as a scholar teaching al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in Baghdad shortly before Abū Saʿīd's death in the winter of 734/1333-1334, and then again after Abū Saʿīd's death in 737/1336, during the short interim reign of Arpa Khān and the growing power struggles between different political contenders. Among those contenders were the Jalayirids, who determined much of al-Qazwīnī's later life in Baghdad until his death in 750/1349.

The places in Baghdad where al-Qazwīnī taught with these two manuscripts were the Caliphal Mosque and his private home in the city quarter of al-Maʾmūniyya in the eastern

part of Baghdad.[71] If we furthermore sift through his *Mashyakha*, we encounter al-Qazwīnī at a number of other educational institutions, above all the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa, but also the Niẓāmiyya and Bashīriyya madrasas. Many of the Baghdadi scholars of al-Qazwīnī's network were teaching at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa. For example, one of al-Qazwīnī's key transmitters for the works of al-Baghawī and of the two al-Suhrawardīs, Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ, was a teacher at the al-Mustanṣiriyya. But the Ḥanbalī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Ibn al-Kharrāṭ (or Ibn al-Dawālībī) is also said to have taught there. This implies that the Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriyya was a central place for al-Qazwīnī when it came to the transmission of the works of the Suhrawardīs and al-Baghawī. This madrasa, built by the Abbasid caliph al-Mustanṣir in 1227, can thus serve as an example of a certain continuation of scholarship despite the Mongol invasion in 1258, despite the end of the Abbasid caliphate, and despite the initially non-Muslim rule of the Ilkhanids. Ghazān Khān's conversion to Islam must surely have been a relief for Muslim scholars, but in fact, we cannot yet judge the exact impact this had on hadith scholarship in general.

Much of the process of transmission that is al-Qazwīnī's own hearing or reading, as well as his teaching, took place in Baghdad. Even the above-mentioned transmission from his shaykh from Wāsiṭ, where al-Qazwīnī was active before settling in Baghdad, took place in Baghdad. In a few instances we learn about Damascus, Kufa, and Mecca – or better, perhaps, the pilgrimage sites – as further locations in al-Qazwīnī's quest to acquire knowledge.

While the centrality of Baghdad for al-Qazwīnī's scholarly life does not come as a surprise, five other observations should be highlighted here. The first relates to the representation of the legal schools among al-Qazwīnī's transmitters in general, and for the works of the two Suhrawardīs and al-Baghawī in particular. As al-Baghawī, the Suhrawardīs, and al-Qazwīnī were Shāfiʿīs, one might expect a clear dominance of Shāfiʿī scholars. For the *Mashyakha* as a whole, this holds true, but is less clear-cut than expected. The second most represented school in al-Qazwīnī's network are the Ḥanbalīs, with the other schools hardly worthy of note in comparison to these two. Zooming in on the transmission of the works of the two Suhrawardīs and al-Baghawī, the ratio between Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs is much closer to balanced than it is for the entire *Mashyakha*. If we leave aside the author of the relevant work(s) – that is ʿAbd al-Qāhir, ʿUmar, and al-Baghawī – as Shāfiʿīs, and also the Shāfiʿī al-Qazwīnī, and concentrate purely on the transmitters between them, then there are nearly equal numbers of Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs.

The second observation relates to the places where the relevant scholars were active or from which they came. While the majority of scholars transmitting to al-Qazwīnī were active in Baghdad, it is also eye-catching that a number of direct transmitters for al-Qazwīnī came from Damascus (all of them Ḥanbalīs). This is true, for example, of Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān b. Ḥamza al-Maqdisī and of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī al-Dimashqī. This contact between scholars from Baghdad and Damascus is particularly noteworthy due to the otherwise adversary conflict between the Mamluk and Mongol Empires. It shows that despite such political borders, there was in fact an exchange among scholars. Future research

71 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye, Fatih 1184, fols. 300r, 301v-302r.

will hopefully cast more light onto these dynamics between the Mamluk Empire and the Ilkhanid and Post-Mongol Iraq and Iran.[72]

The third observation is the influence of (moderate) Sufism within hadith circles. Even though only a few *riwāyāt* were discussed above, they showed the participation of two Sufi schools in their formative period: ʿAbd al-Qāhir and ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī as the starting point for the Suhrawardiyya brotherhood, and Faḍl Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlī (al-Jīlānī) and his brother Naṣr as the starting point for the Qādiriyya. And even though the *riwāyāt* presented above relating to the Suhrawardīs and to the al-Jīlīs (or al-Jīlānīs) do seem to suggest two separate intellectual chains, there were ties in terms of teaching and studying, as well as spiritual guidance among these families: ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the grandfather of our two transmitters, were contemporaries and were in contact, and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī was, at least for a short period, a spiritual guide for the younger ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī.

Related to these transmitters again is the fourth observation, namely the impact of knowledge transmission within families. Not only are the two Suhrawardīs a knot in al-Qazwīnī's network of transmission, but one *riwāya* adds that a great-grandson of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī was directly transmitting to al-Qazwīnī. Furthermore, we saw the al-Jīlī brothers as transmitters, and al-Qazwīnī himself makes clear in the preface to his *Mashyakha* that he was oftentimes accompanied to sessions by his three children.

Still connected to the topic of the transmitters is the fifth observation, namely the fact that al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* contains four female teachers: Khadīja bt. ʿAbd Allāh al-Fakhrī, ʿĀ'isha bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Sitt al-Mulūk Fāṭima bt. ʿAlī, and Kawhar nasab bt. Dhī l-Fiqār Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasanī. When it comes to the transmission of the works of the Suhrawardīs and al-Baghawī, Sitt al-Mulūk appears repeatedly in al-Qazwīnī's *riwāyāt*. It is, though, interesting to observe that there is a clear distinction between al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* and the entries in the two manuscripts analyzed for this article: while Sitt al-Mulūk is listed in his *Mashyakha*, she is not mentioned in the *riwāyāt* in the two manuscripts Feyzullah 540 and Fatih 1184. This is even more noticeable since the *riwāyāt* given in the manuscripts mostly run parallel to those in the *Mashyakha*. Whether it was considered less important to mention Sitt al-Mulūk in the *samāʿ* and *qirāʾa* entries because she was a woman or because she was less famous than the other scholars remains an open question.

All in all, al-Qazwīnī's teaching serves as an example of the continuation of certain institutions and scholarly activities during and after the Mongol invasion and the contested period of the 8th/14th century. Despite the Mongol invasion, military conflicts, and economic crises in some parts of the Ilkhanid empire, all of which has dominated a narrative of the purely destructive power of the Mongols, we can see that there were continuities and indeed a blossoming of the arts, scholarship, and sciences during these centuries. Analyzing the networks of scholars of the Ilkhanid and post-Mongol period also shows the ongoing contact and dynamics of transmission beyond the political borders of the Mamluk and the Mongol Empires.

72 For diplomatic contacts see, e.g., Amitai-Preiss, Exchange of letters; *idem*, Ghazan, Islam and Mongol tradition; Little, Diplomatic missions.

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