

## A Pioneer of Sıra Literature: Ma'mar b. Rāshid

### *Siyer'de Bir Öncü: Ma'mer b. Râşid\**

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## A Pioneer of Sira Literature: Ma'mar b. Rāshid

### Abstract

*Ma'mar b. Rāshid, one of the earliest Muslim scholarly authorities, was a versatile scholar. He studied several branches of Islamic sciences, primarily ḥadīth and sira (the life of Prophet Muḥammad). Ma'mar was born in Basra, and to expand his knowledge, he travelled to several important scholarly centers in Yemen and Hījāz. He took courses from the prominent scholars here. What makes Ma'mar distinguished is that he did not classify choose his teachers or shaykhs on the basis of based on their religious sects or political preferences. He benefited from the shaykhs, that were said to be Shī'ites or Mu'tazilites. Among Ma'mar's shaykhs, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) holds a special place. Ma'mar met him in Medina for the first time and then became his student when al-Zuhrī became affiliated with the Umayyad Court. After al-Zuhrī's death, Ma'mar moved to and settled in Yemen, where he would spend the last period of his life. He resumed his studies in Yemen until his death. Ma'mar's most significant work in the field of sira is al-Maghāzī. Compared to his contemporary Ibn Ishāq, certain shortcomings appear in Ma'mar's work. First of all, al-Maghāzī lacks a chronological order. However, it is a very valuable scholarly reference, as it is one of the oldest examples of the maghāzī genre and a primary source that gives information about that period. al-Jāmi' (The Compendium) written by Ma'mar is one of the oldest ḥadīth sources that have survived to the present day. Ma'mar is one of the earliest scholars who classified works in Yemen and holds an important function in the transmission of ḥadīths. At the same time, his Jāmi' is regarded as the earliest example of the works of the jāmi' literature in ḥadīth studies. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/826), one of his students, made important contributions to bringing Ma'mar's written works to the present day.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ma'mar b. Rāshid, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, al-Maghāzī, al-Jāmi', Ḥadīth.

### Siyer'de Bir Öncü: Ma'mer b. Rāşid

#### Öz

*Erken dönem İslâm âlimlerinden Ma'mer b. Rāşid çok yönlü bir âlimdir. Başta siyer ve hadis alanları olmak üzere İslâmî ilimlerin pek çok dalıyla meşgul olmuştur. Basra'da doğup büyüyen Ma'mer, ilim tahsili için Hicaz ve Yemen bölgelerindeki önemli ilmî merkezlere yolculuklar gerçekleştirmiştir. Burada bulunan önemli hocalardan dersler almıştır. Ma'mer'i ilmî anlamda ayrıcalıklı kılan önemli hususlardan biri, hocalarını mezhebi ve siyasî görüşlerine göre tasnif etmemesidir. Bu nedenle Şif ve Mu'tezilî hocalardan da istifade ettiği bilinmektedir. Ma'mer'in hocaları arasında İbn Şihāb ez-Zuhrī'nin özel bir yeri vardır. İlk defa Medine'de tanıştığı hocasından asıl istifadesi Zührī'nin Emevî sarayı ile irtibatlı olduğu dönemde gerçekleşmiştir. Hocasının ölümünden sonra yaşamının son dönemini geçireceği Yemen'e taşınan Ma'mer, ilmî faaliyetlerini burada sürdürmüştür. Ma'mer'in siyer alanında önemli eseri el-Megāzī'dir. Çağdaşı İbn İshak ile mukayese edildiğinde eserin bazı eksikleri dikkat çekmektedir. Özellikle kronoloji konusunda bir düzenin olmaması eserdeki bu eksikliklerden birisidir. Bununla birlikte megāzî türünün en eski örneklerinden ve o döneme ilişkin bilgileri veren ilk elden kaynak olması bakımından değerlidir. Yine Yemen'de ilk defa eser tasnif edip hadislerin naklinde önemli bir yere sahip olan Ma'mer'in hadis alanındaki çalışması el-Cāmi', günümüze ulaşan en eski hadis kaynaklarından birisidir. Aynı zamanda bu eser, cāmi' türüne ait çalışmaların da ilk örneğini teşkil etmektedir. Ma'mer'in yazılı eserlerinin günümüze ulaşmasında talebesi Abdürrezzāk es-San'ānī'nin önemli katkısı olmuştur.*

**Keywords:** Ma'mer b. Rāşid, İbn Şihāb ez-Zührī, Abdürrezzāk es-San'ānī, el-Megāzī, el-Cāmi', Hadis.

## Introduction

The most fruitful works in the fields of *sīra* and *maghāzī* started to appear by the first half of the second hijri year. As a matter of fact, it is possible to track the first examples of these works down to the *Ṣaḥāba* (the Companions of the Prophet) period. Their hard efforts to get to know the Prophet; the data about what they heard and observed became the core of the *sīra* literature that came into existence in later periods. Especially in the aftermath of the death of the Prophet, the children of the *Ṣaḥāba* and the offsprings of the *Tābi'ūn* (the Followers) extended this core literature and prepared some short written works like a *ṣaḥīfa* (collection of ḥadīths) and *risāla* (collection of ḥadīths which deals with one particular topic). As a confirmation of this fact, Zayn al-Ābidīn (d. 94/712), son of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 61/680), said: "We would consider learning the *maghāzī* of the Prophet as important as learning a *sūra* from the Qur'ān."<sup>1</sup> Another outstanding feature of the period is that a piece of *sīra* that was recorded then was mostly inseparable from ḥadīth. As a result, the majority of the *sīra* scholars who were active in the first period also took an active role in recording ḥadīth.<sup>2</sup>

However, the literature that was built up in cooperation in the first century of Islam was driven into a different path during the following periods. The second hijri year was a time when *sīra* and *maghāzī* formed into a specific structure, and also it was during this time period that the first complex writings came into existence. Benefitting from the first written works of their predecessors, scholars of this period produced new works. The most important feature of these works, which finalized the form of *sīra* and *maghāzī*, was that they categorized the reports chronologically and thematically. Particularly, the recording of the reports that had not been registered in the previous periods contributed both to the development of *sīra* literature and methodology and also led to the production of genuine works.<sup>3</sup>

Among the most significant authors of the second hijri year when the *sīra* literature developed are Mūsā b. 'Uqba (d. 141/758), Ibn Ishāq (d. 151/768), Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 154/771), Abū Ma'shar al-Sindī (d. 170/787), and al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823). This study concentrates on Ma'mar b. Rāshid's life as a scholar and his contributions to *sīra* literature.

<sup>1</sup> Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi' li-akhlāq al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmi'*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān (Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, 1403/1983), 2/195.

<sup>2</sup> Mustafā Fayda, "Siyer ve Megāzī", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Access 10 November 2021).

<sup>3</sup> Şaban Öz, *İlk Siyer Kaynakları ve Müellifleri* (İstanbul: İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültürünü Araştırma Vakfı [İSAR], 2008), 199.

## 1. His Life and Identity as a Scholar

Ma'mar b. Rāshid was born in Basra.<sup>4</sup> His birth date is reported to be the year 95 (714) or 96 (715).<sup>5</sup> If it is taken into account that Ma'mar is one year older than Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778)<sup>6</sup> and that he was 14 years old<sup>7</sup> when he attended the funeral of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (110/728), so his birthdate could be estimated to be the year 96 (715). Being a Persian client (*mawlā*)<sup>8</sup> to 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abd al-Quddūs,<sup>9</sup> Ma'mar's full name was Abū 'Urwa b. Abī 'Amr.<sup>10</sup> Ma'mar had been referred to as al-Ṣan'ānī on the basis of the fact that he studied in Yemen for a long period of time and as al-Azdī on account of the fact that he was a member of the Ḥuddān clan of the Azd tribe.<sup>11</sup>

In relation to the early life of Ma'mar b. Rāshid, the information available is limited to the scarce content in the resources. Most probably Ma'mar started studying in Basra where he spent the early years of his life. At the age of 14, he joined Qatāda b. Di'āma's (d. 117/735) teaching sessions for scholars. He kept on having those lessons until Qatāda's death.<sup>12</sup> To earn his life, as a servant of al-Azdī Arabic tradesmen, he also engaged in trading fabric and decorative items. Despite that workload, Ma'mar kept persistent about studying. What is more, he had the chance to meet several scholars in different regions where he travelled for business. Thanks to these business trips, he was able to get to know about Ḥijāz, which was

<sup>4</sup> Even though Ibn al-Nadīm claims that Ma'mar is from Kūfa, other scholarly resources do not verify him. Therefore, this argument must be approached carefully. See Muḥammad b. 'Ishāq b. al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1417/1997), 123.

<sup>5</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān al-Dhababī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1427/2006), 6/471.

<sup>6</sup> Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Rāzī b. Abī Hātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yahyā al-Mu'allimī (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1371/1952), 8/256.

<sup>7</sup> Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-tārīkh al-kabīr*, ed. Hāshim an-Nadwī (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, ts.), 7/378; Ibn Abī Hātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, 8/256.

<sup>8</sup> Abū Hātim Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Thiqāt*, ed. Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1395/1975), 7/484.

<sup>9</sup> 'Abd al-Salām is also reported to be a mawlā of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qays al-Azdī, brother of Muḥallab b. Abī Ṣufra. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, 7/484.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Abī Hātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, 8/256; Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Abū Sa'īd 'Umar b. Gharāma al-'Amrawī (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1415/1995), 59/390; al-Dhababī, *Siyar*, 6/471.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Abī Hātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, 8/256; Ibn Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 59/394; al-Dhababī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-wafāyāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-a'lām*, ed. Bashḥār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1424/2003), 4/223; Abu'l-Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad B. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* (Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Nizāmīya, 1326/1908), 10/243.

<sup>12</sup> Ma'mar mentioned that he "tugged whatever he heard in the teaching session (*majlis*) of Qatāda at his heartstring", i.e. he always remembered them. On another report, Ma'mar confessed that he joined Qatāda's *majlis* at an early age but did not succeed in memorizing the chains of transmission. See Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Zuhayr b. Ḥarb B. Abī Khaythama, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, ed. Ṣalāh Faṭḥī Halal (Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadītha, 1427/2006), 3/327. Most probably this is why in his book al-Dāraqutnī states that Qatāda and al-'A'mash describe Ma'mar to have a weak memory (Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān B. Rajab, *Sharḥ 'Ilal al-Ṭirmidhī*, ed. Hammām 'Abd al-Raḥīm Sa'īd (al-Zarqā': Maktabat al-Manār, 1407/1987), 698.). For further information see Bünyamin Erul, "Hicrî II. Asırda Rivayet Üslubu (I) I. Rivayet Açısından Ma'mer b. Râşid'in (ö. 153) el-Câmî'i", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 43/1 (01 Nisan 2002), 41.

the cultural and religious center of the Muslim community, and also Syria, which was the political center of the Umayyads. Once, he was again on a trip, and he saw a group of people learning from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, and he joined them.<sup>13</sup> Ma'mar was deeply impressed with this short encounter al-Zuhrī, and he was surely going to keep learning from him. Actually, in Medina, there was not a mutual relationship between Ma'mar and al-Zuhrī. He was only a curious young man following his shaykh. al-Ruṣāfa, which was located on the eastern coast of the Tigris, was where Ma'mar actually benefited from al-Zuhrī's knowledge.<sup>14</sup>

al-Zuhrī's moving into the Umayyad Palace as the teacher of the Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik's (r. 105-124/724-743) children marked the starting point of a new period in Ma'mar's life of study. It was because al-Zuhrī recorded the views of the Medina school; also he was meticulous about the methodology of transmitting reports; he preferred to write down his narrations. Those not only led Ma'mar to have a sound basis for his studies but also secured the historical records of the early period.<sup>15</sup> Ma'mar particularly had a great effect in conveying al-Zuhrī's reports and scholarly heritage to the following generations.<sup>16</sup> He received the traditions from his shaykh by way of hearing (*samā'*) and presenting (*'ard*) them to the shaykh. During their lessons, Ma'mar would ask several questions in order to benefit from the great knowledge of his shaykh.<sup>17</sup> Even so, Ma'mar thought that he did not benefit from his shaykh that much when he saw the number of his shaykh's books loaded on mules<sup>18</sup> in the aftermath of al-Zuhrī's death.

Apparently, Ma'mar did not travel back to Basra for studying. The only visits he made to Basra were to see his mother. Whenever he went to Basra to see his mother, he would not take his books along with him, as he was there for a visit. Therefore, he reported from his memory, and this caused him to make mistakes at times.<sup>19</sup> For this reason, al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), even though he knows that Ma'mar is a reliable transmitter (*thiqa*), mentions that Ma'mar made certain mistakes because of his groundless fear that he might be remembering the reports incorrectly.<sup>20</sup>

In different phases of his life, Ma'mar had the chance to meet and learn from

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 59/393; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 4/223.

<sup>14</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. 'Ali Muḥammad 'Umar (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī 1421/2001, 7/435; Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Sufyān b. Jawwān (Jawān, Juwān?) al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-tārīkh*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-'Umarī (Beirut: Muassasa al-Risāla, 1401/1981), 1/639.

<sup>15</sup> Abdülaziz ed-Dûrî, "İbn Şihâb ez-Zührî ve İslâm Tarih Yazıcılığının Başlamasındaki Rolü", çev. Casim Avcı, *Sakarya Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 4/6 (15 Aralık 2002), 76.

<sup>16</sup> Mahmut Kelpetin, "İbn Şihâb ez-Zührî ve Tarihçiliği", *Hicri Birinci Asırda İslâmî İlimler I-II* (İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 2020), 2/674-676.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, Sufyān al-Thawrī states that due to his financial problems and vast knowledge he already bore, Ma'mar could not benefit from al-Zuhrī much. See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 6/473.

<sup>18</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 3/499.

<sup>19</sup> Erul, "Hicrî II. Asırda Rivayet Üslubu (I)", 40.

<sup>20</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 6/475.

scholars of different sciences like *fiqh*, *tafsīr* (exegete), history, and of *ḥadīth* in central scholarly places like Ḥijāz, Kūfa, Basra, al-Jazīra<sup>21</sup> and Yemen.<sup>22</sup> Among the scholars he learned from were the ones who were known to be from Shī'ite and Mu'tazilite sects. Ma'mar did not approach his shaykhs and their ideas from a conservative point of view and he kept unbiased during these encounters. Likewise, he avoided categorizing them in accordance with their faith or political views.<sup>23</sup> In the end, he came up with a distinguished knowledge which reflected as substantiality in his reports. As a matter of fact, this is one of the reasons that makes Ma'mar different from others. It is because Ma'mar, without being influenced by his shaykhs' political and belief-related ideas and inclinations,<sup>24</sup> not only did he organize and secure the knowledge he acquired from different environments but also enabled them to be conveyed to the following generations.<sup>25</sup>

Ma'mar b. Rāshid kept staying in Syria at least for two more years following the death of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. In the meantime, al-Walīd II (r. 125-126/743-744) was killed upon the seizure of the throne by Yazīd III (r. April 126/744-October 126/744) and Ma'mar left Syria, as he felt insecure there.<sup>26</sup> First, he travelled to Ḥijāz and then to Yemen, where he settled in Ṣan'ā'. Keeping on his studies here, Ma'mar joined 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭawūs's (d. 132/749-750)<sup>27</sup> teaching circle upon the recommendation of his teacher Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (d. 131/748-749).<sup>28</sup> What Ma'mar studied there was essentially about collecting ḥadīths (*tadwīn*). Likewise, Ma'mar was one of the ḥadīth scholars<sup>29</sup> who taught the traditions of the Prophet and his Companions for the first time.<sup>30</sup> His rich knowledge was so much appreciated that the locals did not want to miss out on learning from him, and they married him to a Yemeni woman so that he would stay in Yemen.<sup>31</sup> The eight years that

<sup>21</sup> Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1400/1980), 28/307.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Abī Hātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, 8/256-257.

<sup>23</sup> Muḥammad Ra'fat Sa'īd, Ma'mar b. Rāshid al-Ṣan'ānī: *Maṣādiruhu wa-manhajuhu wa-atharuhu fī riwāyat al-Ḥadīth* (Riyād: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1403/1983), 214, 215.

<sup>24</sup> Unlike his contemporaries Mālik b. Anas, Abū Yūsuf, and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, Ma'mar did not reflect any of his ideas about a sect on his reports. See Bünyamin Erul, "Hicri II. Asırda Rivayet Üslubu (II) Dirayet Açısından Ma'mar b. Rāshid'in (ö. 153) el-Cāmī'i", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 43/2 (01 Ağustos 2002), 83.

<sup>25</sup> Sa'īd, *Ma'mar b. Rāshid*, 65-66; Sean W. Anthony, "Ma'mar b. Rāshid", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Access 16 July 2021).

<sup>26</sup> Ma'mar b. Rāshid, *The Expeditions: an Early biography of Muḥammad*, ed. and trans. Sean W. Anthony (New York: New York University Press, 2015), XXV.

<sup>27</sup> Expressing his praise about his shaykh, Ma'mar said "I've never seen another *faqīh* like him." See al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-tārīkh*, 1/710.

<sup>28</sup> al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-tārīkh*, 1/710; Ibn Abī Hātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, 5/89.

<sup>29</sup> Anthony, "Ma'mar".

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 59/401; Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa-l-lughāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996), 2/410; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 28/307.

<sup>31</sup> Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-'Ijlī, *Ma'rifat al-thiqāt*, ed. 'Abd al-'Alīm al-Bastawī (Medina: Maktabat al-Dār, 1405/1985), 2/290; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 28/309. Additionally, Ma'n b. Zā'ida, governor of Yemen, sent him golden coins. However, Ma'mar turned down this gift. See al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-ittidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍwān 'Irqūsī et al. (Beirut: Muassasa al-Risāla,

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he spent with 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, one of his students, was the most productive time of Ma'mar in Yemen. 'Abd al-Razzāq narrated around ten thousand ḥadīth reports from his shaykh and played a primary role in both Ma'mar's becoming acknowledged and his knowledge being transmitted to the following generations.<sup>32</sup>

Spending the last twenty years of his lifetime in Yemen, Ma'mar b. Rāshid passed away at the age of 58<sup>33</sup> in the month of Ramaḍān.<sup>34</sup> He was buried in a graveyard next to the Mosque of Ibn Abī Bakr. Ma'mar was the first scholar to be buried in this way in Yemen.<sup>35</sup> This indicates that the locals had bounded up with Ma'mar and cared dearly about him.<sup>36</sup> The resources cite various information about the year of his death, such as 150 (767),<sup>37</sup> 152 (769),<sup>38</sup> 153 (770)<sup>39</sup>, or 154 (771)<sup>40</sup>. However, when Ma'mar's birth year is taken as 96 (715) and he passed away at the age of 58, it could be said that he died in 154 (771).

## 2. Views About Him

Ma'mar b. Rāshid was a scholar considered to be reliable (*thiqa*) and described as a scholar of *fiqh*,<sup>41</sup> a decent, gentle, dignified and kind person<sup>42</sup> by other scholars.<sup>43</sup> Especially his tireless efforts and motivation about learning and studying were repeatedly mentioned by them.<sup>44</sup> For instance, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) described Ma'mar to be above all other scholars (in scholarly terms);<sup>45</sup> Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820) told that Ma'mar incorporated scholars who had expertise in different fields and located in different regions like Medina, Kūfa, Basra; al-Awzā'ī (d. 157/774) mentioned that in terms of knowledge Ma'mar was equal to the imams like Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, Qatāda, Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī (d. 127/745);<sup>46</sup> Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767) said that he had not seen anyone more knowl-

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1430/2009), 4/362.

<sup>32</sup> Rāshid, *The Expeditions*, XXVI.

<sup>33</sup> al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-tārīkh al-kabīr*, 7/378.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8/105.

<sup>35</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, *Tārīkh Ṣan'ā'*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥabashī (Ṣan'ā': Maktabat al-Sanḥānī, n.d.), 182.

<sup>36</sup> Anthony, "Ma'mar".

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8/105; al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-tārīkh al-kabīr*, 7/378.

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, 7/484; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 28/310.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8/105; al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-tārīkh al-kabīr*, 7/378.

<sup>40</sup> 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Madīnī, *Ilal*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-A'zamī, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1980), 39.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, 7/484. It is seen that Ma'mar is mentioned as "*faqīh*" to refer to his competence in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) in addition to ḥadīth. Ma'mar, issued fatwa based on what he heard rather than his viewpoint. For further information see Sa'id, *Ma'mar b. Rāshid*, 179-235.). Likewise, when his shaykh Ayyūb was asked to issue a fatwa in Basra, he directed him to Ma'mar. This also indicates Ma'mar's competence in Islamic jurisprudence. See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 6/473.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8/105.

<sup>43</sup> al-'Ijlī, *Ma'rīfat al-thiqāt*, 2/290; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 28/309, 310.

<sup>44</sup> al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 28/307-309.

<sup>45</sup> al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-tārīkh*, 2/200; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 6/474. For further information see Öz, *İlk Siyer Kaynakları*, 282-283.

<sup>46</sup> al-Khalīl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khalīlī, *al-Irshād fī ma'rīfat 'ulamā' al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥammad Idrīs (Riyāḍ: →

edgeable than Ma‘mar.<sup>47</sup>

Despite all such praises he received, Ma‘mar b. Rāshid was also criticized. Most of the criticism is related to his method of ḥadīth narration. Ma‘mar, was a scholar who almost always included the transmission chain of ḥadīths. Like other scholars of ḥadīth, he reports the ḥadīth narrations together with their transmission chain and text. Most of the time Ma‘mar avoids commenting on what he reported; and making jurisprudential inferences from the narrations. However, he sometimes includes brief explanations relating to some of his narrations.<sup>48</sup> Rarely though, it is also seen that Ma‘mar directly narrates ḥadīths from the Prophet Muḥammad (*marfū‘*) and ḥadīths going back only to a Companion (*mawqūf*) and reports by not mentioning the chain of transmission.<sup>49</sup>

Ma‘mar was also criticized because when he was in Basra, he made mistakes in narrating the reports from memory, as he did not have his books with him at the time;<sup>50</sup> he narrated Qatāda’s tafsir reports with a broken-chained (*munqaṭi‘*) transmission chain;<sup>51</sup> he narrated several reports with incomplete transmission chain (*mursal*) like al-Zuhrī did;<sup>52</sup> he was not that critical about choosing whom to narrate from;<sup>53</sup> some of his narrations included unacceptable (*munkar*) reports;<sup>54</sup> the reports that he narrated from Thābit al-Bunānī (d. 127/744), ‘Āṣim al-Ahwal (d. 142/759) and Hishām b. ‘Urwa (d. 146/763) are counted to be<sup>55</sup> disrupted (*muḍṭarib*).<sup>56</sup>

The biggest criticism directed at Ma‘mar b. Rāshid is by Abū Usāma (d. 282/895) who accused him of being a Shī‘ite.<sup>57</sup> However, neither is there a proof of this claim in the resources, nor it is possible to make such a decision on the basis of Ma‘mar’s narrations. Particularly, considering several reports that he narrates from his shaykh al-Zuhrī, it could be understood that the claim about his being Shī‘ite is not true. Also, al-Zuhrī, after spending around thirty years in Medina, had to go to Damasqus because of financial problems (82/701) and got in touch with

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Maktabat al-Rushd, 1409/1988), 1/197.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Abi Hātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta‘dīl*, 8/256.

<sup>48</sup> For instance, after narrating the information (*khābar*), “Upon seeing a man wearing sparkling clothes in his presence, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ordered the clothes be ripped.”, Ma‘mar makes a short comment that “it was most probably because the cloth was of silk”. See Ma‘mar b. Rāshid, *al-Jāmi‘*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A‘zamī, (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1403/1982), 11/80.

<sup>49</sup> For more information see here. Erul, “Hicrī II. Asırda Rivayet Üslubu (II)”, 70-72.

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Abi Hātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta‘dīl*, 7/257.

<sup>51</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 6/474.

<sup>52</sup> al-Fasawī, *al-Ma‘rifa wa-l-tārīkh*, 1/686.

<sup>53</sup> al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāsil bayna al-rāwī wa-l-wā‘ī*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Ajāj al-Khaṭīb, (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1404/1984), 418.

<sup>54</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Man tukullima fīhi wa-huwa muwaththaq aw ṣāliḥ al-Ḥadīth*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh b. Dayfallāh al-Ruḥaylī, (Medina, 1426/2005), 501.

<sup>55</sup> For further information see Öz, *İlk Siyer Kaynakları*, 283.

<sup>56</sup> Abū’l-Qāsim al-Ka‘bī al-Balkhī, *Qabūl al-akḥbār wa-ma‘rifat al-rijāl*, ed. Hüseyin Hansu (İstanbul: Kuramer Yayınları, 2018), 236; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 6/475.

<sup>57</sup> al-Balkhī, *Qabūl al-akḥbār*, 236.

the Umayyad governors.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, it would be more reasonable for Ma‘mar to be accused of being an Umayyad supporter rather than Shī‘ite. Most probably, the Shī‘ite claim must have resulted from the fact that Ma‘mar narrated reports from scholars who are considered to be Shī‘ite.

Among Ma‘mar b. Rāshid’s students are Sufyān al-Thawrī, Ḥammād b. Zayd (d. 179/795), Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna (d.198/814), Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776), ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī, Ghundar b. Ja‘far (d. 193/809), ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī and Hishām b. Yūsuf (d. 197/813). The most important ones of these are ‘Abd al-Razzāq and Hishām b. Yūsuf who narrated more than ten thousand reports from Ma‘mar.<sup>59</sup>

### 3. His Works

Ma‘mar b. Rāshid is considered to be among the first-generation scholars who wrote books organized in chapters.<sup>60</sup> Ma‘mar’s works that have reached the present day are as follows:

**1) *al-Jāmi‘ (The Compendium)*:** This work of Ma‘mar b. Rāshid is indispensable for two reasons. Firstly, it is one of the oldest ḥadīth resources that has reached the present day. Secondly, it indicates how ḥadīth literature developed. Finally, this work serves as the first example of the genre that encompasses ḥadīth about several different topics.<sup>61</sup>

Being a prototype of books in that genre, *al-Jāmi‘* serves valuable information about classification of ḥadīth in that period. Additionally, it is an essential resource for several ḥadīth collections that were written afterwards, the six canonical ḥadīth collections being in the first place. A confirmation of this is that Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī (d. 261/875) both cite Ma‘mar’s narrations and also benefited from his topical chapter headings (*bāb*).<sup>62</sup> The interest of ḥadīth resources in Ma‘mar’s work is not limited to this. Other scholars that own *Muṣannaf* and *Sunan* works also benefited from Ma‘mar’s work. Especially ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī not only did he cite many of Ma‘mar’s narrations in his work *al-Muṣannaf fī al-ḥadīth*, which is classified according to *fiqh* chapter headings (*bāb*) but he also added his teacher’s *al-Jāmi‘* to the end of his work.<sup>63</sup>

Ma‘mar’s work has been organized according to topics<sup>64</sup> and it consists of

<sup>58</sup> Kelpetin, “İbn Şihāb ez-Zührī”, 2/671-672.

<sup>59</sup> al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 28/305-308. See also Öz, *İlk Siyer Kaynakları*, 285-286.

<sup>60</sup> al-Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāsil*, 611.

<sup>61</sup> M. Yaşar Kandemir, “Câmi’”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Access 10 July 2021).

<sup>62</sup> M. Fuad Sezgin, “Hadis Musannefâtının Mebdeî ve Ma‘mer b. Râşid’in Câmi’i”, *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 12/ (1955), 115-116, 120-121, 126-127.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A‘zamī, 12 Volumes, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1403/1983.

<sup>64</sup> M. Fuad Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘Arabī*, trans. Maḥmūd Fahmī Ḥijāzī (Riyād: Jāmi‘at al-Imām

282 chapter headings (*bāb*) and 1614 reports.<sup>65</sup> 57 of those reports do not belong to him. Most of the narrations in the work are *mursal* and *munqaṭi*<sup>66</sup>. The number of unbroken chains of transmission (*muttaṣil*) is less than the others. Also, several of the transmission chains include unknown and ambiguous narrators. Moreover, the book states *marfū*<sup>67</sup> ḥadīths alongside *mawqūf* and *maqṭū*<sup>68</sup> reports.<sup>66</sup>

**2. Kitāb al-Maghāzī:** Majority of the work consists of the notes that Ma‘mar took in the lessons of his shaykh Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. What actually makes *al-Maghāzī* special is that it involves reports from al-Zuhrī who is a pioneering scholarly authority in the field. In this regard it could be understood that Ma‘mar seemed contented with narrating the reports, in a traditional way, without making any contributions to the text. However, this does not relieve him of the responsibility of the text that came out in result.<sup>67</sup> Ma‘mar had combined his knowledge with the lessons he learned from his teachers and passed it onto his students. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī,<sup>68</sup> one of his students, put it down on paper.<sup>69</sup> Thus, Ma‘mar’s *al-Maghāzī* has reached the present day.

*al-Maghāzī* covers the events that started with the digging up zamzam well and the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and a part of occasions in the time of *al-Khulafā’ al-Rāshidūn* (the Rightly Guided Caliphs). Sean W. Anthony published this work in Arabic together with its English translation.

While arranging the content of his work, Ma‘mar b. Rāshid did not follow the method of his contemporary Mūsā b. ‘Uqba. Instead, he used the arranging method of ḥadīth scholars.<sup>70</sup> Additionally, it is notable that he organized the content according to their topics. It is also noteworthy that he preferred to use headings to narrate the content. Although some of these headings seem to be insignificant in the first place, this method plays an important role in differentiating between the reports narrated from al-Zuhrī by Ma‘mar and those of others.<sup>71</sup>

In other respects, two things in *al-Maghāzī* stand out. Firstly, while reporting the events, chronological order of the events is disregarded. In his work, the only events that Ma‘mar narrates chronologically are the ones that took place in the Meccan period.<sup>72</sup> Secondly, despite the name of the work being *al-Maghāzī*, its

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Muḥammad b Sa‘ūd al-Islāmīya, 1411/1991), 1(2)/93.

<sup>65</sup> Majority of those reports are taken from the four main resources that are trusted by those ḥadīth scholars: al-Zuhrī (%16), Qatāda b. Di‘āma (%13), Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (%12,5) ve Ibn Tāwūs (%6,2). For further information see Mohammad Saeed Mitwally Alrahawan, “The Jāmi‘ of Ma‘mar b. Rāshid: One of the Earliest Ḥadīth Anthologies -A Source Critical Study-” *Hadis ve Sıyer Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5/2 (2019), 382-383.

<sup>66</sup> Erul, “Hicrî II. Asırda Rivayet Üslubu (I)”, 34-37.

<sup>67</sup> Rāshid, *The Expeditions*, XX, XXIV.

<sup>68</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī followed hearing (*samā’*) method for ḥadīth narration and also brought along a scribe to make a record of the lessons. See Ibn Abī Khaythama, *al-Tārīkh*, 3/330.

<sup>69</sup> Rāshid, *The Expeditions*, XX, XXVII.

<sup>70</sup> Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘Arabī*, 1(2)/92.

<sup>71</sup> Rāshid, *The Expeditions*, XXIX.

<sup>72</sup> The first incident stated under the heading of the Medina Period being the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya in

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content is not limited to the period of the Prophet, and it includes some events from *al-Khulafā’ al-Rāshidūn* period as well as the life of other prophets.<sup>73</sup> The main point that should be focused is the extent to which the criticisms about the work relate to Ma‘mar himself. However, the available resources cannot provide an answer to this question.

In conclusion, Ma‘mar b. Rāshid’s *al-Maghāzī* is valuable despite its certain deficiencies. Its importance stems from the fact that this text is both a reflection of early written records in the second hijri century and also one of the earliest examples of the *maghāzī* genre. Likewise, it is a valuable work because it sheds light on social and cultural history and also contributes to acknowledging the viewpoint of the Companions in understanding the Prophet Muḥammad.

**3. *al-Ṣaḥīfa (The Collection of Ḥadīths)*:** *al-Ṣaḥīfa* being one of the earliest written ḥadīth texts of Hammām b. Munabbih (d. 132/750) that has reached the present day is a chronicle that involves the reports which were narrated by Ma‘mar to his student ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī. Ma‘mar had learned these reports from Hammām when they met during the time he spent in Mecca.<sup>74</sup>

**4. *al-Tafsīr*:** A work with this name is referred to be of Ma‘mar in resources.<sup>75</sup>

## Conclusion

Ma‘mar b. Rāshid, one of the Muslim scholarly authorities of the early Islamic period, is a versatile scholar. Ḥadīth and *sīra* being in the first place, he studied and mastered several different branches of Islamic sciences. Born and raised in Basra, Ma‘mar travelled to important scholarly centers located in Ḥijāz and Yemen for learning. He took lessons from distinguished scholars in those places, so he benefited from several Muslim scholars of the early period. One of the most essential points that distinguishes Ma‘mar as a scholar is that he never discriminates his shaykhs against their sect or political views. His shaykhs’ being Shī‘ites or Mu‘tazīlites was of no significance for him. He always focused on benefitting from their knowledge. His attitude on this issue is also verified by the fact that the number of scholars he benefited from is around 100. Alongside these, among his shaykhs, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī had a special significance. They met in Medina for the first time, and the time when he learned from him coincides with the time when al-Zuhrī got affiliated with the Umayyad Palace. Moving to Yemen where he would spend the last years of his life after the death of his teacher, Ma‘mar kept studying

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the sixth hijri year (628) and the latest incident being the marriage of Fāṭima indicates the chronological order. See Rāshid, *The Expeditions*, XXVII.

<sup>73</sup> For instance, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb being appointed caliphate and the Battle of al-Qādisiyya. See Rāshid, *The Expeditions*, 211, 267.

<sup>74</sup> Anthony, “Ma‘mar”.

<sup>75</sup> Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-turāth al-‘Arabī*, 1(2)/93.

and teaching there.

Ma'mar's most important work in the field of *sirā* is *al-Maghāzī*. Compared to his contemporary Ibn Ishāq, the work has some flaws. One of them is that it is not presented in chronological order. However, it is a valuable work, as it is one of the earliest examples of the *maghāzī* genre and also a primary resource that provides data about the period. Similarly, *al-Jāmi'*, Ma'mar's work in the field of ḥadīth is one of the earliest ḥadīth resources that have survived to present day. This work also makes the first example of the texts in the *jāmi'* genre. His student 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī made a great contribution in securing Ma'mar's written work and delivering it to the present day.

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