DISTORTION OF FACTS AND HISTORY IN ‘MUSLIM STUDIES’ BY IGNAZ GOLDZIHER CHAPTER II AS A MODEL

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ABSTRACT

Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921) was the first orientalist who attended the lectures of several Muslim Scholars in different countries as well as in different disciplines, and then he continued his studies and research about different branches of Islamic Studies like Quran, Hadiths and History, due to his work he is considered the founder of modern Islamic Studies in Europe.

In 1890, when his famous work “Muslim Studies” published, he became the center of heat debate among Muslim and Western Scholars, due to his controversial theories about Islamic Studies, particularly Hadith.

In this paper, I evaluated only six examples, which he had given in “Chapter II”, and tried to elaborate to the readers, how he played with the facts, and presented a cloudy image of the Muslims rulers as well as Muslim Scholars like al-Zuhrī (d. 741-2 CE), who has a great contribution in the development of Hadiths and its Sciences.

Key words: Orientalism, Orientalist’s, Umayyad’s, Hadiths, ʿIlm al-Rijāl, History

INTRODUCTION

Before 19th century the concentrate of Orientalists were orient culture and languages, during second half of 19th century they started research about Islamic sciences, especially their target was the second prominent source of Islamic law Hadith and its sciences, and they pointed that Hadith criticism is unreliable because the Muslim scholars only concentrated on the Isnād chain of narration without focusing and giving sufficient attention to the Matan of Hadith.

In 1848 Gustav Weil (1808-1889) challenged the authenticity of Bukhārī and suggested the European Scholars to reject without any hesitation at least half of Bukhārī and Aloys Springer (1813-1893) also did the same thing and suggested that many of hadith material cannot be considered authentic. (1)

But the practical tendency of rejection and interrogation on hadith authentication started after the publishing of Ignaz Goldziher and J. Schacht’s (1902-1969) works (2) about Islamic Studies, both paved way of research to the young Orientalists. In fact, both were skeptical about the authentication of hadith literature, the difference between them was the area of interest, Ignaz Goldziher focused on the matan and J. Shacht on the isnād to evaluate prophetic traditions and promote scepticism.

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(2) Goldziher, Muslim studies especially volume (2) and Josef shacht, Origins of Muhammad’s Jurisprudence.
This study is related to the Ignaz Goldziher’s work “Muslim Studies” especially chapter II which contains on the cloudy image of “Umayyad’s” and pious Muslims like al-Zuhrī, that they were involved in fabrication of hadith.

He emphasized Mu‘awiya b. Abu Sufyān (602-680 CE) was the first person that fabricate hadiths for politically purpose, as well al-Zuhrī had the same role due to his good relation with “Umayyad’s”. He reported a lot of examples for it, but what is the reality of these examples? And how he defaces the facts? I will reveal it in the following lines, but before the evaluation of examples, I would like to discuss in a nutshell about the Umayyad’s period, and some major developments in it.

HADITH AND ITS SCIENCES IN UMAYYADS PERIOD:

According to Goldziher Umayyad’s hadn’t interest in religious knowledge but in fact ‘Ilm Ur Rijāl which is the uniqueness of the Muslims nor unparalleled at other nations, first time germinate in Umayyad’s period. The main reason for the establishment of this precious knowledge was the result of seditions which are witnessed by Umayyad’s period.⁴

During their period, different political sects appeared, and they were fabricating hadiths for the support of their views, it pushed the Muslim scholars to investigate the chain of narration from different aspects as Ibn. ‘Abbās (619-687 CE), and Ibn. Sirīn (653-733 CE) indicated to it.⁴

The main feature of Umayyad’s period is, was their interest in writing of hadith and its codification, despite Orientalists like Ignac Goldziher refused the authentication of information about writing and codification of hadith in that period. They believe that the collection of hadith begun in 2nd century.⁵

Some of the Umayyad’s rulers sought to collect hadith like Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (623-685 CE) he was the first governor, who wanted to preserve the knowledge of famous Companions and safeguard it from loss. As he invited Zaid b. Thābit (d. 665 CE) and its similar must be changed) may Allah be pleased with him - and asked him different questions his official writer were sitting behind the curtain and were writing down the answers.⁶

When his son Abdul Aziz b. Marwān (d. 705CE ) was the governor of Egypt, he wrote to Kusayir b Murrah al hadrami (d. 75) AH to write for him all the narrations that he heard

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⁵ Ibn. ‘Abbas said: We used to narrate hadith from Prophet Peace be upon him when (people did not) lie on prophet peace be upon him, but when people started following wrong ways, we left narrating hadith from him. And Ibn sirin says: they never used to ask about the isnad (chain of narration). Then when the fitnah occurred, they said: Name us your men (i.e, narrators). Then it would be look towards Ahl us-Sunnah and their hadith would be taken. And it would be look towards Ahl ul-Bid‘ah and their hadith would not be taken. Muslim bn.i Hajjaj, Sahih Muslim, Dar Ilyya al-Turath al-Arabi, Beirut, vol,1 p.(80-84), and al Jozjani, Ahwal ur Rijal.Dar al- Nashar, Faisal Abbad Pakistan, p (35-36)

⁶ - Goldziher Muslim Studies, London george allen & unwin ltd r u s k i n house museum street vol. 2 p19

⁷ Ibn.i Saad , al-Tabqaat. Maktaba Saddique Al-Ta’lf, Makkah, Saudi Arabia Vol 2 p 361
from the Companions of the Prophet except Abu Huraira (681 CE), because he had his all narrations.\(^7\)

And then his grandson Umar b. Abd al-ᶜAzīz (625-720 CE) became the caliph, he was a scholar himself and surrounded himself with great scholars like Muhammed b. Karb (d. 108) AH and Maymūn b. Mehrān (d. 117) AH. He offered stipends to teachers and encouraged education. He is credited with having ordered the first collection of hadith, or sayings & actions of the Noble Prophet Muhammad (sallalāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam) material in an official manner, fearing that some of it might be lost. Abu Bakr bn. Muhammad bn. Hazm (d.737 CE), and al-Zuhrī, are among those who compiled hadiths at ‘Umar II’s behest.\(^8\)

These efforts had significant impact on preservation of hadith and prevention of manipulation with it. It also paved way for those scholars, who are classified hadith in 2nd century. Anyhow, the credit of writing, collection and codification goes to the Umayyad’s period.

**APPRAISAL OF CHAPTER II IN “MUSLIM STUDIES”**

In this chapter he claimed that hadith were fabricated in Umayyad’s period. They were not interest in the promotion of social and religious life as well as they didn’t give sufficient attention to the religious life of the population, and that’s why most of the people were unaware of the basic obligations of Islam, and some of the ruler were involved in fabrication of hadith like Mu ᶜawiyah for the proof he reported a lot of examples, but the fact is that, a massive number of these examples haven’t substantiated his theory. In the following lines, I will evaluate his fake drew image of Umayyad’s and pious scholars in that period.

**Example (1)**

Goldziher stated that due to the insufficient attention of ruler to the religious life of the public\(^9\), that’s why most of them had no knowledge about simple and basic obligation of Islam, like fast-alms (zakāt al-фиṭr) and prayer (salat) he reported a hadith that :

> When Ibn. ḌAbbās asked the people in Basra to fulfil the duty of the fast-alms (zakāt al-фиṭr), they took counsel and sought to find Medinians who might inform them about their religious duty which was entirely unknown to them.\(^10\)

**Evaluation**

In the original source the narration exist in the following words.

> Al-Ḥasan said: Bn. ḌAbbās preached towards the end of Ramadan on the pulpit (in the mosque) of al-Basrah. He said: Bring forth the sadaqah relating to your fast. The people, as it were, could not understand. Which of the people of Medina are present here? Get up and teach your brothers, for they do not know. The Apostle of Allah (sallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam) prescribed this sadaqah as one sa’ of dried dates or barley, or half a sa’ of wheat payable by every freeman or slave, male or female, young or old. \(^11\)

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\(^7\) Ibn.i Saad ibid. vol. 7 p.448


\(^9\) The rulers of that time searched for precedents in the sunnah for such measures. They were little concerned about the religious life of the population. Goldziher . Muslim studies vol. 2 .p.38

\(^10\) Ibid vol.2 p, 39

1- According to the critics this hadith is Da’if, because the İsnād is Munqati, Hassan Basri (642-728 CE) never heard of Ibn. ʿAbbās .

2- The hadith doesn’t indicate that the people of Basra hadn’t knowledge about zakāt al-fitar as he claimed; in fact, if we look at the subject of the chapter in original source, we will understand the meaning and intend of hadith that Abu Dawud (817-889 CE) reported for it. Actually, there was conflict between the pious scholars about the quantity of zakāt al-fitar, especially in the wheat, so the people of Basra had knowledge about fast-alms, but hadn’t cleared about the quantity so, Bn. ʿAbbās elaborated them the abrogated quantity of everything according to him, and for that purpose Abu Dawud also reported the above hadith in his collection.

Example (2)

The second example for the illiteracy of public from basic Islamic obligation reported by Goldziher is the hadith of Abu Qilabah (d. 104) AH, which contains on the practical demonstration of Malik b. al-Huwayrith (d. 94) AH as he stated:

The same community in the first years of its existence had no inking of how to perform the saldt, and Malik b. al-Huwayrith (d. 94)AH had to give them a practical demonstration in the mosque of the actions accompanying the liturgy.

Evaluation

Abu Dawud reported this hadith in his collection of hadiths on the following words:

Abu Qilaba said, "Malik b. Huwairith came to us and led us in the prayer in this mosque of ours and said, 'I lead you in prayer but I do not want to offer the prayer but just to show you how Allah's Apostle performed his prayers.' I asked Abu Qilaba, 'How was the prayer of Malik b. Huwairith?' He replied, 'Like the prayer of this Sheikh of ours--i.e. 'Amr b. Salima.' That Sheikh used to pronounce the Takbir perfectly and when he raised his head from the second prostration he would sit for a while and then support himself on the ground and get up."

1- Malik b al Huwayrith was among those ambassadors of his tribe, that came to Madina to learn the basic obligation and teaching of the Prophet (Sallalahu Alayhi Wa Sallam) and then return to teach the same thing to those who had not

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(12) Shoaib al Arnaout, ibid, vol, 3 p, 64
(13) Babu Man Rawaa Nisf Sa Min Qamh Ibid, vol, 2 p,114.
(14) Shikh Abdul Muhsin also indicate to it, that dispute between the companions at that was exist, its better and preserve in religion to come out a sa’a instead of half sa’a . Abdul Muhsin bn Hamd, Sharh Sunnan Abu Dawud , http://www.islamweb.net lecture, 196, p.33
(15) Muslim studies, vol, 2 p, 39.
(16) Abu Dawud, vol 1 p, 222.
(17) Malik b al Huwayrith said: we came to the Prophet and we were (a few) young men of approximately equal age and stayed with him for twenty nights. Then he thought that we were anxious for our families, and he asked us whom we had left behind to look after our families, and we told him. He was kindhearted and merciful, so he said, "Return to your families and teach them (religious knowledge) and order them (to do good deeds) and offer your prayers in the way you saw me offering my prayers, and when the stated time for the prayer becomes due, then one of you should pronounce its call (i.e. the Adhan), and the eldest of you should lead you in prayer." Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad bn. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, Sahih al-Bukhari, Maktaba al-Maarif Riyadh (2002) vol,8 p,9.
found the blessing of live watching the actions of the prophet, so it was possible that he demonstrated it to his tribe, there is not any space for accusing Umayyad’s on insufficient attention to the religious life of the public, and doesn’t prove the illiteracy of common people from the Salat in their period, because its occurred in the time of the prophet (Sallalahu Alaihi Wa Salam), and he was alive among them.

2- If it was after the death of prophet (sallalāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam) as he claimed, then it doesn’t mean that those to whom, the Malik b al- Huwayrith demonstrated had no inkling of how to perform salat. Actually, these people were performing salat, but they didn’t exaggerate the tranquility in the lifting of bowing down (ruku) nor between the two prostrations (sajdah), he showed them on the demonstration that we have to make sure the exaggeration of tranquility in these places, because the prophet (sallalāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam) was performing the salat likewise.\(^{(18)}\)

Example (3)

According to Goldziher the people of that time al- Hajjaj (661-714CE) and Umar II had no idea of the proper times for prayer, as he stated:

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\text{At the time of al-Hajjaj and 'Umar II people had no idea of the proper times for prayer, and the most pious Muslims were unsure of the quite elementary rule} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{19}}
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Evaluation

After the tracking of hadith in the reference\(^{(20)}\) given by Goldziher, I didn’t find such a statement claimed by him, but the hadith that, he also indicated to it\(^{(21)}\) about the improper time is exist in more than one hadith collections,\(^{(22)}\) and it was one of those predictions, which have come true, and people in time of al-Hajjaj were not offering prayer at proper time, but it doesn’t mean that they had no idea of proper times of

\(^{(18)}\) Ibn. Battal said, that they didn’t exaggerate the tranquility in lifting kneeling (ruku) nor between the two prostrations (sajdah) like what mentioned in hadith from the Prophet, so both Annas and Malik b al- Huwayrith showed them on demonstration. Ibn. Battal, Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, Maktaba tul Rasheed Saudi Arabia (2003) vol,2 p, 420.

\(^{(19)}\) Muslim studies, vol, 2 p,40

\(^{(20)}\) Al-Nasa’i, I. p. 46-7.

\(^{(21)}\) The pious, however, endeavored to demand adherence to a fixed sunna in the name of the Prophet and, when they found that the government did not suport them in efforts which seemed unimportant to the latter, they produced the following Prophecy of Muhammed: ‘There will come emirs after me who will kill the salat(yumituna) Goldziher ibid, vol, 2 p, 40.

\(^{(22)}\) Abu Dharr reported: The Messenger of Allah (May peace be upon him) said to me: How would you act when you are under the rulers who would delay the prayer beyond its prescribed time, or they would make prayer a dead thing as far as its proper time is concerned? I said: What do you command? He (the Holy Prophet) said: Observe the prayer at Its proper time, and if you can say it along with them do so, for it would be a supererogatory prayer for you. Khalaf (one of the narrators in the above hadith) has not mentioned” beyond their (prescribed) time”

prayers, but it was due to rulers like al-hajjaj and al- waleed (d. 744 CE), that’s why the pious Muslims especially those companions who were alive in his period, offered a prayer in two times, as Abu Ummah (d. 700 CE) narrated about Annas bn. Malik (612-707CE), that when we offered Zuhr prayer and then visited him, he was offering Asr prayer.

Example (4)

Describing the early history of hadith fabrication Goldziher claimed that its started very early, and he accuses Mu‘awiya and his governor al-Mughira (d. 50 AH), that due to the official influence of Mu‘awiya his governor fabricated hadith for political purpose against Ali b. Abi Tälib (599-661 CE), and his companion as he stated:

Official influence on the invention, dissemination and suppression of traditions started very early. An instruction given to his obedient governor al-Mughira by Mu‘awiya I is in the spirit of the Umayyad’s: ‘Do not tire of abusing and insulting ‘All and calling for God’s mercifulness for ‘Uthman, defaming the companions of ‘All, removing them and omitting to listen to them (i.e. to what they tell and propagate as hadiths); praising, in contrast, the clan of ‘Uthman, drawing them near to you and listening to them.

Evaluation

For the above statement he cited al-Tabari (838-923 CE), so I would like to copy the original narration, that what al-Tabari exactly said?

When Mu‘awiya b. Abi Sufyün put al-Mughirah b. Shu'bah in charge of al- Kufah in Jumãdã 4 [AH], he summoned him. After praising and glorifying Allah, he said,"Although I have wanted to advise you about many things, I left them alone, trusting in your discernment of what pleases me, what helps my regime and what sets my subjects on the right path. I would continue to advise you about a quality of yours -do not refrain from abusing ‘All and criticizing him, nor from asking Allah’s mercy upon ‘Uthmãn and His forgiveness for him. Continue to shame the companions of ‘Ali, keep them at a distance, and do not listen to them. Praise the faction of ‘Uthmãn, bring them near, and listen to them.

There isn’t any word that we can translate into hadith, and there is nothing to suggest the invention, dissemination and suppression of traditions whether officially or unofficially. Actually, here is mistranslation or we can say misunderstanding in Goldziher’s work. He

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(23) Ibn. Hajar wrote, its true that al-Hajjaj and his Ameer were delaying the prayer beyond its time. Ibn. Hajar al-Asqalani, Fath al-Bari, Dar Al Maarifa - Beirut, Lebanon (1379) vol, 2p,14.

(24) Companions of the Prophet and their successors (Tabi’un) and Muslim scholars were ordering on it to do so, and they were doing it when Umayyad’s were delaying prayer beyond its times.Ahmad and Ishaq were offering prayer at their houses, and then come to Masjîd. Ibn. Rajab al-Hanbali, Fath ul-Bari fi Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, Maktaba tul al ghuraba al- assria (1996) vol, 4 p,183.

(25) Narrated Abu Bakr bin ‘Umar bin Sahil bin Hunaif: that he heard Abu Ummama saying: We prayed the Zuhûr prayer with ‘Umar bin ‘Abdul ‘Aziz and then went to Anas bin Malik and found him offering the ‘Asr prayer. I asked him, “O uncle! Which prayer have you offered?” He said The ‘Asr and this is (the time of) the prayer of Allah’s Apostle which we used to pray with him.” Sahih al-Bukhari, vol,1 p, 114.

(26) Muslim Studies, vol,2 p 44.

understood from the expression (Wa tarakk Al-aistimae Minhum) that Muawyah give advice to his governor (don’t listen to them what they tell and propagate as hadith).

In fact it does not specifically indicate that al-Mughirah should suppress the Prophetic hadiths narrated by the companions of ‘Ali, or even that he should not listen to them. It was only an instruction referred to him that don’t consult with the companions of Ali b. Abi Tālib, and take the advice and opinion of the companions of Uthman, and later on it’s proved that he was ignoring his companions. (28)

Example (5)

Goldziher believe that the pious theologian al-Zuhrī was also involved in fabrication of hadiths, and he was justifying everything of Umayyad’s, due to his good relationship with them. According to him, when the Umayyad caliph Abd al- Malik wished to stop the Syrian pilgrimages to Mecca, because he was worried that they will impress from Abd Allah b. Zubayr, so he provide them the same things in Jerusalem, and they performed Hajj there as Ka’ba, but al-Zuhrī was the person who justified that by narrating a fabricated tradition.

The pious theologian al-Zuhrī was given the task of justifying this politically motivated reform of religious life by making up and spreading a saying traced back to the Prophet, according to which there are three mosques to which people may make pilgrimages: those in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. (29)

Evaluation

Goldziher showed a cloudy and fake image of al-Zuhrī, which is so far from the reality. It is correct that Syrian performed Hajj in Jerusalem, but it’s wrong that al-Zuhrī justified their action by making up and spreading a saying traced back to the prophet (sallalāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam) because:

1- It’s a sound hadith and narrated by Bukhārī (810-870 CE) and Muslim (821-875 CE). (30)

2- Al-Zuhrī doesn’t narrate it alone that accused him on its fabrication. (31)

3- The Shikh of al-Zuhrī in this Hadith is Sa‘id Bn. Al-Musayyib (642-715 CE), and he was alive at that time, and his clash with Umayyad’s isn’t hide from anyone.

(28) Talal maloush, early hadith literature and the theory of Ignaz Goldziher, thesis presented for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the department of Islamic and middle eastern studies faculty of arts, university of Edinburgh, august 2000 p 177-183.

(29) Muslim studies, vol ,2 p, 44-45.


so how he was hearing a narration on his account, and wasn’t rejecting or informing people that its fabricated, and there isn’t any narration like that on my account. (32)

4- The Syrian people stopped from the hajj before killing of Abd Allah b Zubyr, and historically it’s proved that he killed by al-Hajjaj in (73) AH, (33) while al-Zuhri born in 50 AH, (34) So how it was possible, that Syrian people trusted on a young guy, and had left the Hajj and Umrah in Haram due to his fabricated narration. So it’s only accusation on him.

Example (6)

Goldziher has a list of charges on al-Zuhri, as he stated that al-Zuhri admitted that, these emirs forced people to write hadiths as he narrated from Ma’mar(d. 822 CE): The Ma’mar just mentioned preserved a characteristic saying by al-Zuhri: ‘these emirs forced people to write hadiths.’ (35) And then followed it by the following statement, which completely injustice and playing with reality.

This account can only be understood on the assumption of al-Zuhri’s willingness to lend his name, which was in general esteemed by the Muslim community, to the government’s wishes. (36)

Evaluation

Actually here Goldziher try to misguide the reader by taking a part of the narration which shows that he had role in fabrication of hadiths, so I would like to mention the complete narration, which contains on the full story. That when and why al-Zuhri said that, ‘these emirs forced people to write hadiths."


It was the reason that he never allowed to the students to write hadiths, but when Hisham bn. Abd al-Malik compelled him to dictate hadiths on his son, he changed his decision, and when he came out called to the students, and inform them from whole situation, then permitted to


(33) Abd al-Malik b Marwan sent al-Hajjaj to Makkah, to fight Abd Allah b Zubyr. So he headed to Makkah and besieged the Bn. al-Zubayr until killing him in (73)AH. Jamal al-Din Yusuf bin al-Amir Sayf al-Din Taghibirdi, Nujum al-zahira fi muluk Misr wa’l-Qahira, Dar Al-Kutub Egypt vol,1 p 188.


(35) Muslim Studies, vol, 2 p, 47.

(36) Ibid vol,2 p, 47.

them to write hadiths from him, in the same source the Author followed the above statement by the narration, that mentioned Goldziher:

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\text{An Ma’mmar Qal Samietu Al-Zuhrī Yaqul Kunna Nakrahu Al-kitab Hatta 'Akrahna Ealayhi Al-Umara' Far'aytu 'An La 'Amna’ahu Musliman}^{(38)}
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He never said that these emir forced people to write hadiths, he said we disliked the writing till these emirs forced us on it. So it doesn’t indicate that these rulers were forcing people for fabrication of hadith, nor prove the fabrication of hadiths by al-Zuhrī for them. But prove his honesty and loyalty that, he was not satisfied on doing something for the ruler, of what he prevented the common people.

CONCLUSION

No one can deny the fact, in the era of the best of generations “khayr al-qurūn” (i.e. the first three generations of Muslims), gave way to the era of falsehood and fabrications, as foretold by Allah’s Messenger. At that time people began fabricating hadiths willfully for the supporting and proving their point of views.

That is why many hadith scholars compiled books focused on fabricated hadiths to differentiate it from the authentic traditions. The theory that developed by Ignaz Goldziher or whom inspired by him based on the assumptions, and there isn’t any authentic, strong and acceptable evidence to prove their claims and accusation on a specific person.

The main problem in Orientalist’s especially Goldziher’s work is that, he doesn’t seem to the narration, wither its sound or not, but if it’s narrated by any Muslim scholar in his collection, he uses it as a weapon against Muslim community, hence foreground and generate a skeptical theory in the mind of reader about Islamic studies, which is not fair, because Muslim scholars pointed out the value of these narrations as well as its position for the Muslims.

In chapter II the target of Goldziher is Umayyad’s and Muslim Scholars commonly, Muwayyah and al-Zuhrī especially, but the study proved their position, and it’s clear, that he doesn’t want to differentiate the authentic and sounds hadiths from fabrication, but just paved way to the rejection and skepticism about Prophetic hadiths and its renowned collections.

\[(38) \text{Ibid vol, 55 p.333}\]
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