INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION
TO THE STUDY OF
HADITH LITERATURE
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A SURVEY OF
THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF HADITH LITERATURE IN THE
SUB-CONTINENT OF PAKISTAN AND INDIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIME
DOWN TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

TOGETHER WITH
The lives and the works of the leading Muhaddithun of the time

BY

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INTRODUCTION

In the opinion of the late ʻAllāma Rashīd Riḍā of Egypt, the Indian Muslims are playing the leading rôle in the diffusion and dissemination of Ḥadīth learning in the world to-day. As a matter of fact, according to him, but for the painstaking labour of the Indian Muslims towards the cultivation of the Science of al-Ḥadīth, it would have well-nigh died down.¹ If the achievement of the moribund Muslim India, when she has fallen on evil days after the loss of her political power, has been such, it behoves us well to take stock of what our noble forefathers did for the cultivation of the sciences in general, and Islamic sciences in particular, during their palmy days which lasted for the better part of a thousand years. True, ʻAllāma Dr. Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawi³ and the late Ḥakīm ʻAbd al-Hayy of Nadwa³ have done some pioneer work as far as India’s contribution to Ḥadīth literature is concerned; but they have not, I am afraid, done full justice to the subject, partly because of lack of materials available in this connection, partly because of the range of their studies being generally wide and varied—a fact that might have precluded them from concentrating on a particular topic like this. Anyway, the small but very precious work they have done is enough to provoke the thoughts of our present-day youth to go forward in search of ‘fresh fields and pastures new.’ This thesis entitled ‘India’s Contribution to the Study of

1. Muḥammad Fuṭūḥ ʻAbd al-Bāqī, Miṣřīḥ Kunūr al-Sunna (Cairo, 1934); Muqaddima, p. 6; al-Furqān, Shāh Wali Allāh Number (Bareilly, 1940), pp. 164, 223; Manāṣir Aḥsan Gīhānī, Niẓām-i-Ta’līm wa Tarbiyat (Delhi, 1944), vol. I, p. 106.


Hadîth Literature' will, therefore, make a modest effort to give a survey of what Indians have contributed towards the Science of al-Hadîth from the beginning of India's connection with the Muslim World down to the foundation of the Islamic University of Dâr al-‘Ulûm at Deoband. We do not purposely like to deal with what has been, and what is being done after that, as that is a matter of common knowledge to all of us. The work has, for purposes of convenience and easy handling, been divided into two parts. The first part deals with Tradition and the Traditionists in India, and the second, with the Indian Traditionists outside India.

Although the invasion of Sind was first launched during the days of the Sahâba in 23/643, it was finally conquered in the early years of the Tabi‘în when al-Hadîth entered into a new phase of development. Up to that time no systematic attempt had been made to collect the vast mass of traditions lying scattered with the scholars in different parts of the Islamdom. Nor had the State taken any initiative in the matter. But now with the accession of Caliph ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azîz (99-101), things took a new turn. Himself a Traditionist of no mean repute, the Caliph issued an edict to his Governors directing the attention of the scholars to the collection and codification of Aḥâdîth—the supreme need of the hour. This Caliphal mandate infused a fresh life into Hadîth literature; the Muslim divines and doctors, therefore, devoted themselves to the task of piecing together the erstwhile scattered Apostolic traditions. Side by side with these developments, al-Hadîth made its way to Sind. But before the foundation of the independent Arab principalities in al-Manṣûra and Multân towards the close of the third century of the Hijra, no appreciable progress in its study was made in Sind. As a result, the territory could not keep pace with other Muslim
countries in the services of Ḥadīth literature during the second and the third centuries when ʿIlnal-Ḥadīth or the Science of Ḥadīth literature was evolved. Nevertheless during this evolutionary period of al-Ḥadīth, a group of brilliant Ṭālibuʾl-ʿIlm belonging to the tribes of Sind settled in al-ʿIrāq and to the families of the Indian war-prisoners who had embraced ʿIslām and established themselves in Muslim lands, took an active part in the transmission of Aḥādīth. Of them al-Awzāʾī (d. 157) in Syria, Najīḥ al-Sindī (d. 170) in al-Madīna and Baghdād and Rājāʾ al-Sindī (d. 222) in Khurāsān attained great distinction as early collectors and codifiers of Aḥādīth. A grandson of Rājāʾ al-Sindī, namely, Muḥammad al-Sindī (d. 286) compiled a Mustakhraj on the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim (d. 261), while Khalaf al-Sindī (d. 231), an ardent Ṭālib al-ʿIlm of the early third century, prepared a Musnad. Unfortunately, neither the Mustakhraj nor the Musnad could stand the ravages of time. If preserved, they would have added to the contribution of the Indian Traditionists to Ḥadīth literature during its formative period. Nevertheless, a fair number of Aḥādīth transmitted on the authority of Indian Ruwāt has been preserved in the Ṣihāḥ Sīttā and the other compilations of Aḥādīth.

While the Indian Ruwāt referred to above were working for the cause of al-Ḥadīth outside India, there sprang up in Sind, under the auspices of the independent Arab rulers of al-Manṣūra and Multān, seats of Ḥadīth learning that produced several good Muḥaddithūn and deputed a number of Ṭālibuʾl-ʿIlm outside India to acquire proficiency in the Science. As a matter of fact, Sindian Muḥaddithūn in the fourth century showed a great promise in the domain of Ḥadīth literature. Unfortunately, their cultural activities had to be transitory and short-lived as the principalities were usurped by the Ismāʿīlites towards the
close of this century. The Ismā'īlite coup d'etat, thus, dealt a severe blow at the development of the study of al-Hadīth in Sind and this meant the abrupt end of the first stage of the growth of the study of al-Hadīth in India.

The second stage began with the accession of the Shafi'ite Māhmad al-Ghaznavi (388-421 A.H.). Under him and his successors, Lahore became a seat of al-Hadīth, which turned out, among other Muḥaddithūn, ʿIṣām al-Ṣaghānī al-Lāhārī (d. 653) who was one of the greatest Traditionists and the philologists of his age. His rôle as a Traditionist has been appraised in its proper place. Sufficient it here to say that as the author of the Masharīq al-Anwār and the editor of the text of the Šaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī as we have it in the present form and phraseology in the Muslim countries of Asia, al-Ṣaghānī has left an enduring name.

With the foundation of the Delhi Sultāna in 602/1206 Ḥadīth literature in India entered into its third stage of development. The early centuries of the Turkish rule in India, particularly the seventh and the eighth centuries, were the age of the Fuqhā' who were so preoccupied with the function of Qaḍā', the administration of justice, that they did not think it worth their while to spread the teaching of Ḥadīth in the newly-founded Muslim kingdom of India. Nor did they generally appear to have borne in their hearts any soft corner for the Apostolic Traditions. In those gloomy days of Ḥadīth literature in India, the Ṣafī scholars of the eminence of Shaykhs Zakariyya al-Muṣṭañī (d. 666), Nizām al-Dīn Awdyā' (d. 725), Yahyā al-Manīrī (d. 782) and Shihāb al-Hamadānī (d. 786) came forward to study Ḥadīth literature and introduced it among the disciples of their respective Khāṅqāhs. Thanks to their deep and abiding interest for Ḥadīth, the teaching of the Šaḥīḥ Sittā came in vogue in some of the Khāṅqāhs of Northern India in the course of the
8th century of the Hijra. It is, however, a fact that so long as India's cultural relation remained confined to Central Asia, the study of al-Hadith could not make any tangible progress in India. The Central Asiatic countries, particularly Transoxania, Khurasan and al-'Iraq, were in those days the home of Fiqh and Ma'qūlāt. As India was conquered by the soldiers of Central Asia so was it influenced by the best brains of that region. Moreover, to administer justice as provided for by Islamic Shari'ah, the Fuqahā' were in great demand in the growing Muslim empire of India, whereas the Muḥaddithūn had no such scope. Hence the former, namely, the Fuqahā', found in India a rich and covetable soil which the latter, namely, the Muḥaddithūn, did not. As a result, the Delhi Sultanate was early thronged with Fuqahā' from Central Asia. In fact, with the exception of ʿAbd al-'Azīz al-Ardbili, no Traditionist worth the name was found to have migrated to India during the pre-Renaissance period.

The fourth stage of the study of al-Hadith in India, which we have termed as the Renaissance period, commenced early in the 9th century with the opening of India's cultural relation with Arabia by the sea after the independent Muslim kingdoms of the Bahmanis in the Deccan and the Muẓaffarshāhīs in Gujarāt had been set up. Thus was re-established after a lapse of four hundred years India's cultural relation with Arabia, which had remained suspended as a result of the Ismāʿīlī coup d'état in Sind. Now, with the coming of Traditionists from al-Hijāz and Egypt, Hadith literature became widely diffused in India towards the middle of the 10th century. The result was remarkable and phenomenal. Henceforth, Indian Traditionists were found in the services of Hadith literature as teachers, translators and compilers simultaneously in India and al-Hijāz—a state of things that continued until the foundation of the Dār
al-‘Ulūm at Deoband and the Mażāhir al-‘Ulūm at Sahāranpūr at the end of the 13th century A.H. The Dār al-‘Ulūm and the Mażāhir al-‘Ulūm, be it noted, marked the dawn of the modern progressive era of the culture and cultivation of the Science of al-Ḥadīth in India. Hitherto, Muslim India had no such centralized institution for higher studies in the subject, and the Indian students had to go abroad to al-Ḥijāz for specialization in al-Ḥadīth. These two great institutions have, thus, supplied the Indian Musulmans with a long-felt desideratum and have made them independent and self-supporting so far as the study of Ḥadīth literature is concerned.
PART I

INDIAN TRADITIONISTS IN INDIA
CHAPTER I

THE ADVENT OF THE ṢAḤĀBA IN INDIA

A L-ỊḤADĪTH might well have been introduced into India by the Ṣaḥāba, the Companions of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (on whom be peace and blessings of Allāh) themselves, had ʿUmar, the Second Caliph, allowed the enterprising Arabs who invaded India in 23/643 by land and sea to conquer the country during his Caliphate. There were, of course, important factors which, as we shall presently see, reacted on his decision regarding the Indian campaign. Although since then the frontiers of India were subjected to sporadic Arab raids, no serious attempt for territorial conquest was made until the time of the Umayyad Caliph Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (86-96/705-15) during whose Caliphate the conquest of Sind came about.

India, therefore, cannot be regarded among those Muslim lands where Ịḥadīth was transmitted orally by the Companions themselves. But, fortunately for us, it was at least visited by some of these torch-bearers of Ḥadīth, whose association with India it will be our humble endeavour in the following pages to trace. With that end in view, we propose to outline the early Arab expeditions to India.

CALIPHATE OF ʿUMAR [13-23/635-43]

India was invaded by the Arabs for the first time during the Caliphate of ʿUmar. In 23/643 a campaign under al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī advanced as far as the Indus while, in the same year, naval expeditions were launched on the coast of West India. These military operations of the Arabs did not result in any
permanent territorial conquest as they had to be called off quite abruptly by the orders of the Caliph.

While directing 'Utba b. Ghazwân, a Companion of the Prophet,’ to proceed towards Ubułla (modern al-Baṣra) in 14/634, Caliph ‘Umar observed, “Islam should occupy a place in the land of al-Hind.”² In his reference to ‘ard al-Hind,’ the Caliph had apparently Ubułla in mind, because in his days it was known by the name of ‘al-Hind.’³ Henceforth, the Arabs advanced steadily towards India reaching the Indus Valley in 23/643.

The victory of the Arabs in the battle of Nihāwand (21/641) could not make them masters of the Sassanid empire, nor was it decisive in bringing about the final collapse of the Government, although it dealt a severe blow to the power of Yazdjird III.⁴ As a result, the central authority became weak and the Marzubâns or the provincial governors assumed independence.

Apprehending that the fugitive emperor might in future rally round him his scattered forces and take a stand against the Arabs, Caliph ‘Umar, at the suggestion of Aḥnaf b. Qais,⁵ thought it necessary to conquer the independent provinces and, thus, remove the last vestiges of the Sassanid empire. Accordingly, in 21/641,⁶ he ordered a general mobilization of soldiers

6. Ibid., pp. 2634-35. A little confusion is noticed regarding the date of general mobilization of Arab soldiers in Persia. On the authority of Shu‘aib, Saif, Muhammad, Ṭalḥa and others, Ṭabarî (i, 2568) gives the date at 17/639. Again on the same authority he puts it at 21/641 (i, 2634). But the question is what is to be the correct date? It does not seem probable that Caliph ‘Umar who was following a policy of caution and circumspection about the expansion of Islamic empire should have ordered a general mobilization of troops in Persia as early as 17/639 when the Arabs had just achieved initial successes in Western Persia. As a
in Persia under the leadership of the Companions. Thus ʿAbd b. ʿQais was directed against Khurāsān; Mujāshi b. Masʿūd al-Sulami, against Ardhīr Khurrā and Shāpur; ʿUthmān b. Ἁbī ʿl-ʿĀṣ al-Thaqafi, against ʾĪstakhri; ʿSāriya b. Janim al-Kināni, against Kirmān; ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmi, against Sijistān and al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī, against Mukrān.

The first direct move towards India was made in 21/641. With a division of soldiers that attained fame in the battle of Nihāwand, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ἁtbān, a Companion of the Prophet, marched against Ispahān, a south-eastern city of the Jībāl province. A fierce fighting took place near the city in which the veteran Persian general, Shahrīyār, was killed. Meanwhile, reinforcements from al-Ḥwāz under Abū Mūsā al-Asʿhari arrived at Ispahān. The Persians were routed. Having declared the whole province a protectorate under the Arabs, a treaty was concluded with Fājusfān, the governor of Ispahān, to

matter of fact, after the victory of Nihāwand the Caliph `found that Yazджird would give him fight every year and that the affairs would not improve so long as the fugitive emperor was allowed to remain in Persia' (vīde Tabārī, i, 2634). So, the object of the mobilization, obviously, was to strike a death-blow at the power of Yazджird, and for this the year 17/639 appears to be premature. Moreover, the order of 17/639 was to reconnoitre (insiyāḥ) Fāris (mod. Arabistān in Persia) and not to concentrate troops on the provinces of Eastern Persia as Tabārī would have us believe (i, 2568-69). To reconcile between these two dates, Ibn al-Athīr (Tārīkh al-Kāmil, ed. Egypt, 1301 A.H., vol. ii, p. 273; vol. iii, pp. 8-9) states that the orders were issued in 17/639 but were not executed till 21/641 or 22/642. Ibn Khaldūn (Tārīkh, ed. Egypt, vol. iv, p. 122) supports Ibn al-Athīr. Considering the caution of ʿUmar and the implication involved, the year 17/639 appears to us to be improbable.

2. Ibid., vol. ii, p. 55.
3. Ibid., vol. i, p. 402.
4. Ibid., vol. i, p. 217.
6. Ibid.
whom the conquered territory was restored.¹

Shortly after, ʿAbd Allāh advanced to the province of Kirmān. Marching on the outskirts of the Great Desert,² he joined the forces under command of Suhail b. ʿAdī who had already been on his way to Kirmān.³ Thus strengthened, the Arabs launched an attack upon the province in 23/643. True to their traditional chivalry, the natives backed by the hardy Balūṣ of the Qufs mountains,⁴ put up a stiff resistance against the invaders, but, being unable to withstand the thrust, they retreated. Dividing the forces into two parts—one under al-Naṣair b. ʿAmr al-ʿIjlī and the other under ʿAbd Allāh—the Arabs pursued the retreating natives and overran the territory.⁵

Traversing through the eastern side of the Great Desert, ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr marched towards Sijistān. Later on, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmair joined him with reinforcements. Scarcely had the Arabs reached the frontiers of Sijistān, when the natives, realizing the futility of resistance, overflowed the territory by breaking the dams of the Helmund.⁶ This, too, was of no avail. The Arab soldiers took Zaranj, the capital, by storm and this weakened the morale of the people who came to terms. A treaty was made on the basis of regular payment of tribute provided that the Arabs did not lay any claim on the produce of the land. The Arabs are said to have most scrupulously abided by the terms of the treaty.⁷

The difficulty to mobilize troops through mountainous regions appears to have been a handicap for further advance of the Arabs in this part of the country, and this was, perhaps, why they retraced their march

1. Tabarî, pp. 2637-41.
3. Tabarî, p. 2641.
4. Le Strange, p. 323.
5. Tabarî, pp. 2703-05.
7. Ṭabari, pp. 2705-06.
and joined the army concentrated on the frontiers of Mukrân.

The Arabs employed a strong army led by several Companions of the Prophet, viz., ‘Aṣim b. ‘Amr, al-I‘jakam b. ‘Amr al-Taghibî, ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Utbân and Suhaîl b. ‘Adî against Mukrân which was then being ruled over by Râsil,¹ the king of Sind. The king in person commanded the army constituted by Hindu warriors with numerous elephants, ‘which were being daily augmented by fresh arrival of men from that country’ (Sind).² The Mukrânis, on their part, rose equal to the occasion —thus making the line of defence apparently impregnable. Nothing, however, could stem the tide of the Arabs. In their utter confusion caused by the lightning attack of the Arabs, the natives took to their heels. A hot pursuit followed for quite a number of days and the Indians were forced to beat retreat across the Indus. Thus the Arabs reduced the entire valley of the Lower Indus.³

The Arab General al-‘Hakam sent Suhaîr b. al-‘Abdî, a Companion of the Prophet, to ‘Umar with the message of victory and sought the Caliph’s permission to proceed further into India by crossing the Indus. On an enquiry about the nature of the land by the Caliph, Suhaîr described it thus: “Its plains are mountainous, water supply is scanty and dates are of inferior quality. The enemies are bold. The good

1. For different readings of this term, see Elliot, The History of India (London, 1869), vol. ii, p. 417; Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan (London, 1888), p. 568; Tabârî, p. 2707, note i; Balîdhuîrî, Kitâb Futûh al-Buldân, ed. by De Goeje (Leyden, 1860), pp. 396-402, 438 = Murgotten, The Origins of the Islamic States being a translation of the Futûh al-Buldân (New York, 1924) Part II, pp. 222 seq; Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History (Bombay, 1939) p. 175. [Hodivala is not, however, right when he states that the term occurred in the Arab chronicles since A.H. 43. For, we find it in Tabârî (i, 2707) as early as the year 23/643-44].
2. Raverty, loc. cit.
3. Tabârî, pp. 2706-07.
4. See infra.
(accruing from the land) is little but its evil is enormous. A large army appears to be small there and a small one will be lost. Beyond that region worse awaits."\(^1\) Thereupon, the Caliph ordered the General not to make any further advance.\(^2\) The progress of the Arabs was, therefore, arrested beyond the Indus.\(^3\)

Though the campaign was abandoned it resulted in their discovery of a land-route to India through the Mukrān coast.

The first and the earliest naval expedition of the Arabs to India was directed against Thāna, a sea-port near Bombay. 'Uthmān b. Abī l-'Aṣ al-Thaqāfī,\(^4\) a Companion of

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1. Ṭabarī, loc. cit.
2. Ibid., p. 2708.
3. The following verses (Ṭabarī, vol. i, p. 2708) attributed to the General al-Iṣâkam, state, in clear terms, that the Arabs overran the region upto the Indus which they called Mahrān (cf. Yaqūt, vol. iv, p. 697) and that if the Caliph did not forbid, they would have crossed the river to penetrate further into India.

قال الحكم بن عمر التغلبي
لقد شرع الأرامل غير فخر
أتهم بعد مشتهبه وجهد
فاني لاذمج الجيش فعلي
غداة ارفع الا وباشى رفما
و مهران لنا فيما اردنا
فولا ما نهى عنه امير

4. 'Uthmān al-Thaqāfī accompanied the deputation from Taif that waited upon the Prophet in Ramaḍān, 9/December, 630, and embraced Islam. Although young, his fervour in the cause of Islam was applauded by Abū Bakr. The Prophet appointed him 'Amīl of Taif. During the troublous days of Abū Bakr, 'Uthmān al-Thaqāfī played a conspicuous part and prevented his tribe, the Thaqīf, from apostasy. He held the governorship of various provinces with success and died in 51/671 or 55/674 at al-Ḥaṣira where he had settled and where the celebrated al-Ḥasan al-Ḥaṣira (d. 110) learnt Hadith from him (Ṭabarī, Tarikh al-Rusul wa-l-Muluk, ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1879-88, vol. i, pp. 1688 seq; Ibn Hajar, Isāba, Biblio Indica, 1888, vol. i, pp. 1098 seq; Tabrīzī, al-Ikhwāfi, Asma’ al-Riḍā, lithographed with Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh, ed. Delhi, p. 606). Of the twenty-nine Aḥādīth transmitted by 'Uthmān al-Thaqāfī, three have been recorded in the Sahīh of Muslim (Sāfī al-Dīn, Khulāsā Taḥdīb al-Kamāl, ed. Egypt, p. 120) and the rest, in the Sunan works (Isāba, loc. cit.).
the Prophet, who was the governor of al-Bahrain and 'Umān during the Caliphate of 'Umar, sent this expedition under the command of his brother al-Hakam b. Abī 'l-ʿĀṣ al-Thaqafi who also was a Companion of the Prophet. The landing of the forces on the coast of Gujarāt heralded the advent of the Sahāba in South India. Similar expeditions were also sent against Barwaṣ or Broach and to the gulf of al-Daybul, i.e., Debal. The latter was headed by al-Mughira b. Abī 'l-ʿĀṣ al-Thaqafi, another brother of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafi.5

Al-Balādhurī, who records the earliest Arab expeditions to India, does not mention their dates in so many words; but what appears from the context of the Futūḥ al-Buldān is that the Indian expeditions were undertaken at the instance of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafi immediately after his assumption of the governorship of al-Bahrain and 'Umān in 14/636 or 15/637 as given by Abū Mikhnaf and al-

1. Isāba, vol. i, pp. 703, 708; Dhahabi, Tajrid Asmāʾ al-Ṣaḥāba (Hyderabad, 1315 A.H.), vol. i, p. 144.
2. 'Abd al-Hayy Nadawi, Nuzhat al-Khwātir (MS. in possession of Dr. 'Abd al-Alī, M.B., B.S. of Lucknow) vol. i.
3. Elliot, History of India, vol. i, p. 416, has misread al-Mughira as Mughaira.
5. The popular date, i.e., 15 A.H. (637 A.D.), which has been generally quoted in connection with the early Arab invasion of India is, in fact, the date when 'Uthmān al-Thaqafi, who sent the naval expeditions to India, is said to have been appointed governor of al-Bahrain and 'Umān (Balādhurī, loc. cit.).
Madā'īnī. As the date of the Indian expeditions is contingent upon that of the appointment of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafi in al-Baḥrāin and 'Umān, it remains for us to ascertain the correct date of the appointment. That the above two versions of al-Balādhurī are incorrect can be seen from the statement of Ibn Sa'd that until the foundation of al-Baṣra in 16 or 17 A.H., 'Uthmān al-Thaqafi was not transferred from Ṭa'if where he had been appointed Āmil by the Prophet in 9/630. But when the necessity of a capable governor for the new city of al-Baṣra arose, the name of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafi was suggested to Caliph 'Umar who, however, refused to pass orders for the transfer of a governor who had been appointed by the Prophet himself. Nevertheless, the Caliph had to yield to the popular demand. Accordingly, 'Uthmān al-Thaqafi was sent to al-Baṣra after he had been replaced at Ṭa'if by his brother al-Hakam b. Abī 'l-Āṣ al-Thaqafi. That the account of Abū Mikhnaf relating to the appointment of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafi is erroneous, is also evident from the fact that Abū b. al-Ḥadramī, who is said to have been replaced by 'Uthmān in al-Baḥrāin and 'Umān, did not die in 14 A.H. or in the beginning of the year 15 A.H., as asserted by Abū Mikhnaf. For, according to al-Ṭabarī, 'Alā' b. al-Ḥadramī, was Āmil overall Baḥrāin and al-Yamāma in 16/637, led a naval expe-

1. 'Abū b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Saif commonly called al-Madā'īnī was a pupil of Abū Mikhnaf. He died in 224/838 or 225/839 at the age of 93 years (Mizān, vol. ii, p. 236; Lisān, vol. iv, p. 492).


5. As for the account of al-Madā'īnī (Balādhurī, 431) it seems probable that he derived it from his teacher Abū Mikhnaf and as such there is practically no difference of opinion between the two.

dition against Fāris (modern Arabistān in Persia) in
in 17/638\textsuperscript{1} and died in 21/641.\textsuperscript{2} Nor does it, further,
appear probable that 'Utba b. Ghazwān was supersed-
ed by 'Alā' as a governor of al-Baṣra in 14 or 15 A.H.
when the former was just accomplishing the prelimi-
nary tasks for the foundation of a military barrack
there.\textsuperscript{3} Al-Ṭabarī, presumably on the authority of al-
Balādhurī, places 'Uthmān during 14-15 A.H. in al-
Bahrāin\textsuperscript{4} while, curiously enough, 'Umān which served
as the base for Indian expeditions was, during the
period, in charge of another governor, namely Ḥudhai-
fa b. Miḥṣan.\textsuperscript{5} Again, al-Ṭabarī maintains that
'Uthmān al-Thaqafi was the governor of Taif in the
year 16 A.H.\textsuperscript{6}—a statement that corroborates Ibn Sa'd.\textsuperscript{7} Moreover, with the exception of al-Balādhurī,
no other chronicler puts the provinces of al-Bahrāin
and 'Umān under one 'Āmil till 23/643. After 'Uth-
mān's appointment in al-Baṣra in 17 A.H., al-Bahrāin
and al-Yamāma also came under his control,\textsuperscript{8} but
'Umān still continued to be governed by Ḥudhaiifa b.
Miḥṣan.\textsuperscript{9} So the despatch of a naval expedition to
India under 'Uthmān till 17 A.H.\textsuperscript{10} was out of question.

According to al-Ṭabarī, 'Uthmān al-Thaqafi assumed
charge of al-Bahrāin and the outlying provinces,
namely, 'Umān and al-Yamāma in 23/643\textsuperscript{11}—a date
which can be gleaned from al-Balādhurī also by chronologically arranging the tenures of the offices of
the governors of al-Bahrāin up to the year 23 A.H. In

\textsuperscript{1} Tabarī, vol. i, pp. 2545 seq.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibn al-Athīr, Tārīkh al-Kāmil (Egypt, 1301 A.H.), vol. iii, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{3} Cf. Dhahabi, Tajrīd, vol. i, p. 409. According to a version of al-
Balādhurī, (p. 81 = Hitti, p. 124), 'Alā' died in 20/640.
\textsuperscript{4} Balādhurī, p. 346 = Murgotten, p. 60; Ency. of Islām, loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{5} Tabarī, vol. i, pp. 2388-89, 2426.
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., pp. 2389, 2426.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., p. 2481.
\textsuperscript{8} Vide above, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{9} Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit.; Tabarī, p. 2570.
\textsuperscript{10} Tabarī, p. 2570.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. 2737.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
20/640 Qudama b. Ma'zun al-Jumali, 'Amil over al-Bahrain, was dismissed on the charge of drinking and Abü Huraira al-Dawsi was appointed in his place.\(^1\) That Abü Huraira held the post for a considerable length of time, is known from his establishment of a stable for breeding horses, which yielded him a sum of 12,000 dirhams. The accumulation of this money was viewed by Caliph 'Umar as amounting to misappropriation of the public revenue (Bait al-Mal) on the part of Abü Huraira who was consequently discharged.\(^3\)

"'Umar, thereupon," says al-Baladhuri, "assigned 'Uthman b. Abi 'l-As al-Thaqafi as governor (of al-Bahrain and 'Uman) who still held the office at the death of 'Umar."\(^4\) In the circumstances, there is no contradiction or disagreement between al-Tabari and al-Baladhuri regarding the appointment of 'Uthman al-Thaqafi in 23 A.H. It may, therefore, be accepted that Indian expeditions were undertaken in 23/643 immediately after 'Uthman al-Thaqafi had assumed charge of al-Bahrain and 'Uman. This date is, further, confirmed by the Chach-Nama, our authority second only to al-Baladhuri so far as the recording of the early Arab expedition to India is concerned inasmuch as it places the date of the naval attack against Debal shortly before the assassination of 'Umar," i.e., in 23 A.H.

The Arab expedition against Thana was a success and not a failure. For had it been a failure, it would have resulted in a

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1. Ibn al-Athir, vol. ii, p. 379; Baladhuri, pp. 82 seq = Hitti, pp. 125 seq.
2. Baladhuri, loc. cit.
3. Ibid. That 'Uthman was appointed governor of both al-Bahrain and 'Uman is known from the fact that while he was engaged in warfare in Faris, his substitute over the provinces was his brother al-Mughira or Hafs. Further, we have it in clear terms in the Mu'jam al-Buldân, vol. i, p. 509: "Then he ('Umar) appointed 'Uthman al-Thaqafi governor of al-Bahrain and 'Uman, who still held the office at the death of 'Umar."
4. Chach-Nama, pp. 57-58. (Eng. tr. by Mirza Kalich Beg Fredun Beg, Karachi, 1900). It places the event in 11/632 which is, evidently, wrong as 'Umar succeeded to the Caliphate in 13/634. He was assassinated on Tuesday, the 27th Dhū 'l-Ḥijja, 23/October 644 (Ibn al-Athir, vol. ii, p. 26).
disaster for the Arabs. Who knows that they would not have been killed to a man? But as it is, nothing of the kind took place. As a matter of fact, they returned home (evidently with flying colours) with not a single soul lost, as is clear from the speech of the Caliph to 'Uthmān al-Thaqafi, who was responsible for the expedition. The Arabs did not proceed further, not because their arms were not victorious, but because they were not allowed to proceed by Caliph 'Umar himself. The reason for Caliph’s action is not far to seek. An empire-builder and a statesman unparalleled in world history, Caliph 'Umar did not wish to play ducks and drakes with human lives. Once an expedition had been despatched, his sole concern was to send supplies for the strengthening of the forces of Islām; he instructed his Generals to keep him informed of the developments so that he might issue necessary directions. Thus every inch of ground that his soldiers gained was the outcome more of the strict adherence, on the part of the Generals, to the superb plan and method of the Caliph than of their individual skill and knowledge of strategy. Never did he venture upon an engagement which he could not reinforce with men and munitions regularly. This, perhaps, is the reason why, with all his military genius, the Caliph 'Umar fought shy of naval expeditions. The historical data given below will further clarify the point.

The Arabs were not as experienced in naval fighting as their counterparts, the Romans and the Persians, were. As a result, the naval expedition sent against Fāris proved unsuccessful. This was undertaken without the Caliph’s sanction in 17/639 by 'Ala’ b.

Al-Ḥadramī, the adventurous governor of al-Bahrain. The Muslim army sustained a heavy loss in this expedition which would have ended in a still greater disaster but for the timely arrival of reinforcements from al-Baṣra. This sad incident made a bad impression on ʿUmar with regard to naval expeditions as a whole. And when Muʿawiya, the governor of Syria and Egypt, sought the sanction of the Caliph to undertake a naval action against the Romans, he wrote, “You are well aware of the punishment inflicted, on this score, on ‘Alā’ b. al-Ḥadramī.” The Arabs had yet hardly any time for acquiring efficiency in this art of fighting on account of their pre-occupations elsewhere.

Taking it for granted that the Caliph’s approval for naval expedition could not be had, ʿUthmān al-Thaqafī ventured upon the Indian expedition at his own risk. But even the successful termination of the expedition to Thāna could not satisfy the Caliph who administered a sharp rebuke to ʿUthmān. “O brother of Thaqif,” wrote the Caliph, “thou hast put a worm upon the wood. By Allāh, I swear that if they had been smitten, I would have exacted from thy tribe the equivalent.”

As regards two other expeditions, the one against Debal ended, according to the Chach-Nāma, in discomfiture for the Arabs, their General al-Mughīra being killed in the encounter. This statement is not true as Yāqūt has it that al-Mughīra, the leader of the expedition, was alive as late as 29/650, if not later. For in that year he was allotted a plot of land by his brother ʿUthmān al-Thaqafī at Shaṭṭ ʿUthmān, on the

3. Ibid., p. 2822, quoted in 'Arabūn ki Ḥakāzrānī, p. 53; also Islamic Culture, loc. cit. Al-ʿAlā’ was punished with dismissal from his office in Bahrain (Tabarî, vol. i, p. 2548).
shore of the Euphrates in al-BAṣra, where his house was built and was known as Mughiratān. Thus the version of al-Balāḍhuri that al-Mughīra was victorious at Debal stands.

1. ʿUthmān al-Thaqafi had four brothers: (i) al-Ḥakam, (ii) al-Mughira, (iii) Ḥafṣ, and (iv) Umayya. During the Caliphate of ʿUthmān, they came over to al-BAṣra and settled down. A fairly big area of land in the neighbourhood of al-Ubullah on the shore of the Euphrates, was granted to ʿUthmān al-Thaqafi and was known after his name Shat ʿUthmān or the coast of ʿUthmān. ʿUthmān gave each of his brothers a portion of this land to build his quarters therein. Each house bore a particular name after its owner. The quarters of al-Mughīra was thus called Mughiratān. Similarly, the quarters of other brothers were known after their names as ʿIkamūn, Ḥafṣān and Umayyātān (Balāḍhuri, pp. 351-52, 362=Murgotten, pp. 69, 86; Muʿjam al-Buldān, vol. i, p. 645). The document authorizing the grant of land on behalf of Caliph ʿUthmān which was written on the 22nd of Jumada II, 29th February 650, reads as follows (Muʿjam al-Buldān, vol. iii, pp. 290-91):

2. Balāḍhuri, loc. cit.

3. As the Arabic original of the Chach-Nāma together with the name of its author has been lost beyond any hope of recovery, the value of the book as an authority becomes highly doubtful and consequently the authority of al-Balāḍhuri in contrast with that of the Chach-Nāma becomes at once indisputable and unassailable. In the light of the above, the depreciatory remarks of Dr. R.C. Majumdar (vide
We have just noticed how during the Caliphate of 'Umar the Arabs reached India by land and sea. This period synchronized with the golden age of the Companions of the Prophet. No faction—Shi'ite or Kharijite—no partisan spirit—Umayyad or Hashimite,—has yet disturbed the unity brought about by the Prophet in an earstwhile warring society of Arabia. The Companions to a man stood solid behind Islam. Their sole concern was to deliver the message of Islam to the mankind at large. So in the course of twelve years of the Prophet’s demise (i.e., 23 A.H.), they appeared, on the one hand, beyond the Nile and as far as the Indus, on the other. As a matter of fact, of the Companions who participated in the Indian Campaigns, the following names have come down to us: (1) ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Utban; (2) ‘Âsîm b. ‘Amr al-Tamîmî; (3) Šûhâr b. al-‘Âbdî; (4) Suhail b.

Journal of Indian History, Madras, vol. x, Part I, art. The Arab Invasion of India, reprinted, Madras, 1931, pp. 28-29) and for the matter of that the historian Elliot (vide History of India, vol. i, pp. 416-16) regarding the powers of the Arabs and their Caliph, do not bear any scrutiny since they are based on the Chuch-Nâma.

1. ‘Abd Allâh was attached to the Banû-l-Ḫublû, a tribe of the Anṣârs in al-Madîna. He was one of the noblest of the Companions of the Prophet and leading members of the Anṣârs (Tabârî, vol. i, p. 2635). In 21/641 he succeeded Sa’d as governor of al-Kûfâ (Ibid., pp. 2008-09). Towards the close of this year he was transferred to the governorship of al-Ǧašrâ and then he started his career of conquest in the Eastern Persia and in the frontiers of India. His death-date has not been mentioned. Cf. Isâba, vol. ii, pp. 817 seq; Tajrîd, vol. i, p. 345; Usd al-Ǧhâba, vol. iii, p. 199.


3. Šûhâr belonged to the tribe of ‘Abd al-Qais. In 8/630 he arrived in al-Madîna with the deputation from Ḫuṣr and embraced Islam. During the Caliphate of ‘Umar he came over to al-Ǧašrâ where he settled down. He participated in the eastern campaign. From his description
'Adī, and (5) al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafi.

ṢAḤĀBA IN INDIA DURING THE CALIPHATE OF 'UThMĀN [23-35/643-55]

After their first flush of victory in the region extending from Mukrān to that part of Sind which comprised the west of Indus, the Arabs retired after the natives had agreed to pay the usual tribute. But the wild and warlike hill tribes could have hardly been subdued permanently. Evidently, therefore, as soon as the Arabs left the country they revolted and stopped tribute.

Consequently, the next Caliph 'Uthmān sent 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ma'mar al-Tamīmī who was a Companion of the Prophet to

or the region east of the Indus as given above, it is evident that Suhār was thoroughly acquainted with the topography of the place and also came in contact with the native people. He was a Nāṣibī, pro-'Uthmānīte and died in al- Баṣra probably in the latter days of Mu'āwiyah. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, vol. viii, Part I, p. 61; al-Iṣṭī'yāb, vol. i, p. 322; Usd al-Ghāba, vol. ii, p. 11; Tajrīd, vol. i, p. 282; Iṣāba, vol. ii, p. 472.

1. Suhail belonged to the tribe of Azd and was attached to the Banū 'l-Ashhal. Of his suḥbat (companionship) with the Prophet, we have no direct evidence. But since in 17/639 he was a leader of the military campaign in al-Jazīra (Tabari, vol. i, p. 2199), it may be assumed that during the lifetime of the Prophet, he was sufficiently grown up to have the privilege of being a Companion particularly because of the fact that his brothers were very much loyal to the Prophet. Thus Sahal b. 'Adī, al-Hārith b. 'Adī, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Adī and Thābit b. 'Adī fought in the battle of Uḥud. What lends an additional support to our assertion is that a notice of him is seen in the principal works of the Companion. Cf. Iṣṭī'yāb, vol i, p. 578; Usd al-Ghāba, vol. iii, p. 22; Tajrīd, vol. i, p. 303; Iṣāba, vol. iii, p. 22.

2. Al-Ḥakam was one of those Suhāba who migrated to al- Баṣra (Ibn Sa'd, vol. vii, p. 27). He transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of the Prophet, while Mu'āwiyah b. Qurra al-Muzani (d. 113) had it from al-Ḥakam. He belonged to the tribe of Ṭaqqīf. All the adult members of this tribe embraced Iṣlām before 11 A.H. and participated with the Prophet in ʿIjījat al-Wadā', the farewell pilgrimage (Iṣāba, vol. i, p. 703). No reasonable doubt should, therefore, arise as to the bona fide of his being a Suhābī and counting his Ḥadīth as Marfū'. Further, we have it on the authority of al-Dhahabī that al-Ḥakam had companionship with the Prophet (Al-Wasai A). He was still living in 44/664 (Tabari, vol. ii, p. 80). Cf. Tajrīd, vol. i, p. 146; Usd al-Ghāba, vol. ii, p. 35; Iṣṭī'yāb, vol. i, p. 118; Iṣāba, vol. i, p. 707.

3. 'Ubaid Allāh, who lived in al-Madinah, was a younger Companion of the Prophet. He transmitted Ḥadīth and was a man of vast fortune.
subdue them. On his arrival in Mukrân, 'Ubaid Allâh not only crushed the rebellion in the teeth of a stiff opposition but brought the territory extending up to the Indus under his control as well. Henceforth Arab hold over the region appears to have taken a permanent footing. For, in 296/30 'Ubaid Allâh was transferred to Fâris and 'Umair b. 'Uthmân was appointed in his place.

'Abd al-Rahmân b. Samura b. Ḥabîb b. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Shams b. 'Abd Manâf was the next b. Samura. Ṣâḥâbi who was mentioned in connection with the Indian campaign during the Caliphate of 'Uthmân. He succeeded al-Râbi' b. Ziyâd al-Ḥârîthî as governor of Sistân in 31/650. The new governor was a soldier of great dash and drive. Immediately after he had taken over the charge, he pushed eastward from Zaranj and brought the region right up to the frontiers of India under subjection. Advancing on the lower waters of the Helmund, he came in conflict with the Indians near Rudbar on the frontier between modern Afghanistan and Baluchistân. Their first triumphal career led


1. The date of 'Ubaid Allâh's appointment in Mukrân has not been mentioned. From the context of the events in al-Ṭabarî (vol. i, pp. 2828-29) it appears that immediately after his assuming office in 23/644 Caliph 'Uthmân sent him to Mukrân.


3. Ibid., p. 2830.


5. Elliot, vol. i, loc. cit.

6. R.C. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 15.
them as far as Bust. Three marches above Bust lay a mountain containing a temple of Surya (Arab. Zûr), an idol of gold with two rubies for the eyes. This mountain which became famous as al-Zûr was then situated in the territory of Sind. Ibn Samura went into the temple and cut off a hand and took out the rubies. But the gold and the jewels were returned by him to the astonished governor of the place saying, "I only wanted to show you that it had no power whatsoever to harm or to help." Now after his successful penetration into the territory of Sind 'Abd al-Rahmân retired to Zaranj. He died in 50/670 in his residence at al- Başra where Sikka Ibn Samura or the street of Ibn Samura was called after his name.

**ṢAḤĀBA IN INDIA DURING THE CALIPHATE OF MUʿAWIYA** [41-60/661-81]

**Sinân b. Salma al-Hudhalî** [8-53/629-73]

The last Companion of the Prophet we meet on the frontiers of India was Sinân b. Salma b. al-Muḥabbiq al-Hudhalî. Ziyād, the governor of al-ʿIrāq, appointed him commander for the Indian frontiers in 48/668. On proceeding to assume charge of his functions he conquered Mukrân, founded cities, set up his residence and organized the revenue system of the

3. Ibid., p. 352.
4. He was born in 8629 and was blessed by the Prophet who himself conferred the name Sinân upon him. Therefore, he was Ṣaḥâbi bûna fida because the Prophet saw him in his infancy (*Isâba*, vol. i, p. 4). Ibn Ḥajar recognizes him as a junior Companion and as such includes his name in the second section—qism thâni—of his *Isâba* (vol. ii, pp. 322-23). So the traditions transmitted by Sinân direct from the Prophet are *Marâṣil*. His Ḥadîth have been preserved in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the *Sunâns* of Abû Dâwûd, Ibn Mâja and al-Nasâ’î (*Khulâṣa*, p. 132). Cf. *Taijrid*, vol. i, p. 258; *Usd al-Ghâba*, vol. ii, pp. 357-58; *Istiʿyâb*, vol. ii, p. 506.
place—thus proved himself a capable general and good administrator. But for reasons unknown he was discharged. Rāshid b. ‘Amr al-Judaidi of the tribe of Azd who superseded him, however, fell in action with the Meds. In 50/670 Sinān was recalled and confirmed to the post. He gave as before a good account of himself by conquering al-Qayqān and Budh where he ruled for two years. He was killed at Quṣdār (mod. Khozdar in Baluchistān) in 53/673.

Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra al-Azdi [8-83]/629-702

Al-Muhallab, who was a senior Tābi‘ī visited India during the Caliphate of Mu‘āwiyah. As a general

2. Chach-Nāma, p. 65.
3. Balādhurī, loc. cit.; Elliot, vol. i, p. 425. Topography of the region: “On the north-eastern frontiers of Makrān, and close to the Indian border the Arab geographers describe two districts; namely, Ṭūrān, of which the capital was Quṣdār, and Budahah to the north of this, of which the capital was Qandābil” (Le Strange, p. 331). “Qandābil has been identified with the present Gandava, lying south of Sibī and east of Kelat.” (Ibid., p. 332). Budahah or Budh is no doubt the same as Budha, and this principality seems to have included the districts of Balīs and Wālistān. Cf. R.C. Majumdar, Arab Invasion, p. 55.

4. A little confusion is observed regarding the death-date of Sinān. According to Ibn Sa‘d (vol. viii, Part 1, p. 164) who is corroborated by later authorities on the Asmā‘ al-Rijāl, Sinān died during the latter days of al-Hajjāj (83-96/702-713). This seems to be absurd, for, both the Futḥ al-Buldān and the Chach-Nāma are at one to record the death of Sinān during his campaign in the frontiers of India and that he died before the appointment of al-Mundhir b. Jarūd in his (Sinān’s) place by ‘Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād (Ibn Sa‘d, vol. vii, Part 1, p. 61; cf. Balādhurī, loc. cit.; Chach-Nāma, p. 65). Now al-Mundhir appears to be the first officer in charge of the Indian frontiers since ‘Ubaid Allāh’s appointment as governor of the eastern provinces (57/676-86) and as such al-Mundhir must have been appointed in 57 A.H. Hence Sinān died before 57 A.H. As a matter of fact, appointed second time in 60 A.H., Sinān ruled over the frontiers for two years. So his death must have occurred in 63 A.H. Further, had Sinān died during akhīr walāyat al-Hajjāj, as asserted by Ibn Sa‘d, the iliqā’, meeting between himself and Qatādā (d. 117), the Traditionist, would have been established in view of the fact that both of them lived in al-Baṣra (cf. Tahāḥib, s.v. Sinān b. Salma and Qatādā). But the critics of Ruwādī are of opinion that Qatādā did never meet him (lam yawqahu). Nor did he hear any ḫadīth from Sinān (ibid., vol. iv, p. 241). Therefore, the fact remains that Sinān had been martyred in the frontiers of India some seven years before the birth of Qatādā in 61 A.H.

5. As his name occurs in al-Isḥāyāb, Usd al-Ghābā, Tājrid and Iṣābā
under 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura, al-Muhallab came to Sijistān in 43/663. Having detached himself from the main army, he penetrated into the heart of India with a troop mostly picked from his own tribe, the Azd. Marching on the border land of Kābul, he advanced as far as Lahore and raided the country between it and Bannū in 44/664. The details of the raid are nowhere


2. Briggs in his translation of the Tārikh-i-Firishta (Calcutta, 1908, vol. i, p. 4) states that al-Muhallab 'penetrated as far as Mooltan'. But curiously enough, no such account is found in the original Persian text of the work (cf. Tārikh-i-Firishta, ed. Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1874, p. 16). The translator must have derived the information from al-Balādhurī's Futūḥ al-Buldān, the earliest source on the subject, but, we are afraid, he has not been able to follow the Arabic text which runs thus:

قاطئ (المهدب) بنة والاهاوية وهما بين اللتان وكابل

He, i.e., al-Muhallab reached Banna and al-Ahwār towns between Multān and Kābul (Balādhurī, p. 432=Murgotten, p. 210). It is unfortunate that owing to the incorrect rendering which has been freely quoted by historians and writers (e.g. Elliot, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 414-15; M. Titus, Indian Islām, Oxford, 1930, p. 48; in the last work, reference to Briggs' tr. is wanting) that the integrity of the historian Abū l-Qāsim Firishta has been exposed to unnecessary criticism (see R.C. Majumdar, op. cit, p. 18, note.)

3. Balādhurī, p. 432=Murgotten, p. 210; Elliot, vol. ii, p. 414. The raiding ground, according to al-Balādhurī, was Banna and al-Ahwār. Banna is no doubt the present Bannū in N.-W. Frontier Province, but the identification of al-Ahwār has given rise to difference of opinion among modern historians. Elliot (loc. cit), B. Meynard, Dictionnaire de la Perse, p. 118), S. Sulaymān Nadwī (vide Futūḥ al-Buldān in possession of Dār-al-Muṣannafīn, A'ẓamgarh, marginal note on p. 432) identify it with Lahore, whereas R. C. Majumdar (loc. cit.), failing to locate the spot, takes
available. Fortunately, Firishta gives us an important piece of information incidentally throwing light on a question relating to Asmā’ al-Rijāl, namely, that al-Muhallab carried away with him from India twelve thousand prisoners of whom some embraced İslam inasmuch as al-Khattīb al-Baghdādī has it that Khalaf b. Salīm al-Sindī (d. 231), a Mawla (client) of the family of al-Muhallab, was a distinguished Rawī of Indian origin. In the light of the above, we can safely presume that Khalaf might have been a descendant of one of the aforesaid war-prisoners.

Though a number of Ṣahāba visited India, as has been seen above, they could not do the work of Ḥadīth transmission to this country notwithstanding the fact that they must have had with them Aḥādīth, the Companions of the Prophet that they were, because either their stay here was too short or they did not find permanent Muslim colonists to whom they could bequeath the science. Anyway, the details to this effect are lacking. In the circumstances, the work of Ḥadīth transmission could not begin in right earnest—as a matter of fact did not begin—until the nineties of the first century of the Hijra when Sind was brought under the Muslim sway.

it to have been a town somewhere near Bannū. This difference may be explained away by variants in the reading of the place in the original MSS. of the Futūḥ al-Buldān, viz. al-Ahwāz, al-Ahwār and Luhawur (Futūḥ al-Buldān, ed. De Goeje, p. 432, note). Luhūr (Marāṣid al ʿItṣilāʿ ref. by De Goeje) and Lāhur (Mujāh al-Buldān, vol. i, p. 747).

وفي كتاب الفتوح غزا المهلب ابن أبي صفرة في سنة ۳۶۸ لم يام

معاوية تفر السيد فاتي بن دلي ولاهور

Al-Ahwāz was the capital of Khuzistān (Le Strange, p. 233) and as such has nothing to do with India. Omitting the dot on ‘j’ the oft-repeated al-Ahwār becomes the same as al-Ahwāz and is accounted for due to the slip of the scribe of the original MS. The identification of Ahwāz with Lahore, may, in our opinion, be safely dismissed. In the circumstances there is no other alternative left but to identify Luhawur with Lahore. Both Yaqūt (loc. cit.) and Cunningham (Ancient Geography of India, ed. Patna, 1924, pp. 226-27) support our assertion.
CHAPTER II

HADITH LITERATURE IN SIND UNDER THE ARABS

Section I. Arab Colonies in Sind

The foundation of an Arab principality in Sind in the nineties of the first century A.H. was an epoch-making event in that it threw the gates of the territory open to the Arabs. Besides the sea-route with which they had already been acquainted ever since their commercial relations with India, the land-route issuing from al-Baṣra via Shirāz, Kirmān and Mukrān coast to Sind, now came into use more and more. So, both by land and sea, Sind was linked up with Arabia and the communication between these neighbouring countries became very much facilitated. Through these routes numerous Arab immigrants poured into Sind since its conquest in 93/711 by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim who encouraged the Arabs to colonize the newly conquered territory. They spread over the country, and almost all the harbours and important towns from Mukrān coast to Debal and thence right up to Multān were dotted with their settlements. Like their compatriots in South India, these Arab settlers set up themselves as merchants and formed the via media of commercial intercourse between Sind and the neighbouring countries of India and the world outside.


2. *Vide supra*, p. 6; R.C. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 45.


Apart from the colonists there were also Arab soldiers who settled down in Sind, swelling the Arab population of the territory. The vastness of their number may be gauged from the fact that Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim stationed at Multān alone 'nearly 50,000 horsemen as a permanent force.' There were other places of the like military importance, viz., Maṃṣūra, Alor, etc., where evidently Arab forces were posted on a permanent basis.

Thus arose and flourished in the far eastern territory of the Caliphate several Arab colonies of which the principal were Maṃṣūra, Multān, Debal, Sindān, Qurṣdār and Ḥandābīl. These colonies early became seats of Islamic learning in Sind.

Section II. Transmission of Islamic Learning to Sind

In the wake of the advent of the Arab soldiers and immigrants, early Islamic learning, viz., al-Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīth, found its way to Sind. It was probably brought to the west of the Indus earlier than to the east and that as a result of the difference in the timings of the advent of the Muslims in those regions. In 23/643, during the Caliphate of 'Umar the Arabs overran Mukrān, Ṭūrān and Budaḫa, the territories comprising the west of the Indus and within a little more than two decades, these became a part of the eastern Caliphate, while the east was conquered at a later date in the days of Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (86-96/705-14). Further, several Companions of the Prophet, too, came to the region west of the Indus—a fact which strengthens our belief that Islamic sciences were at least brought, if not introduced, there. But to thist here is, however, no allusion.

The first direct recorded evidence of Islamic sciences being brought to Sind and their subsequent

dissemination there dates from the conquest of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim. We are told that among Arab soldiers were many readers of the Qurʾān (qurrāʾ) on whom al-Ḥajjāj enjoined ‘to be busy reading it.’ Nor was that all. Several men versed in the lore of the Qurʾān and the Sunna accompanied Muḥammad to Sind. Henceforth, with the influx of the Arabs, there came to be settled in Sind learned men also to whose labour and love of knowledge was probably responsible the growth of the seats of Islamic learning in the Arab colonies.

Now, a reference to some of the outstanding personalities of those learned men who carried with them Islamic sciences, particularly Ḥadīth literature, seems to be called for here.

1. Musā b. Yaʿqūb al-Thaqafi

He accompanied Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim to Sind and was appointed Qādī of Alor by the latter. Al-Thaqafi who settled permanently in Sind was highly learned in the Sunna of the Prophet. His family at Uchh appears to have long enjoyed reputation for learning and scholarship as is evidenced from the fact that as late as 613/1216, Ismāʿīl b. ‘Ali al-Thaqafi, a descendant of his, ‘was a mine of learning and a soul of wisdom, and there was no one equal to him in science, piety and eloquence.’

2. Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha al-Saksaki al-Dimashqī [ d. 97/715 ]

On his becoming Caliph, Sūlaimān b. ‘Abd al-Malik (96-99/714-17) recalled Muḥammad b. Qāsim from Sind and appointed in his place Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha

1. Chach-Nāma, p. 78.
2. Ibid., p. 79; also infra, No. 1.
4. Elliot, p. 132.
who, however, could not live long in Sind. On the eighteenth day of his arrival here, he died.1

Yazid was a Tābi‘ī. He received a good many Aḥādīth from Abū 'l-Dardā',2 Shurāhbih b. Aws3 and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam,4 the Companions of the Prophet. He has been reckoned as a thiqa, reliable authority, by the critics of the Traditions. Amongst his pupils Abū Bishr, al-Ḥakam b. al-‘Uṣaiba, ‘Alī b. al-Aqmar, Mu‘āwiyah b. Qurra al-Muzānī and Ibrāhīm al-Saksakī were noted transmitters of Ḥadīth.5 His Aḥādīth occur in the Ṣahīh of al-Bukhārī,6 Kitāb al-Athār by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī and al-Mustadrak by al-Ḥakim al-Naisābūrī.7

3. Al-Mufaddal b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [d. 102/721]

In 102/721, during the Caliphate of Yazid b. ‘Abd al-Malik (101-05/720-24), a serious rising headed by Yazid b. al-Muhallab, a former Governor of Khurāsān, was witnessed in al-‘Irāq. In his anti-Umayyad designs, Yazid b. al-Muhallab succeeded in gaining support from al-Kūfah and al-Ṭabar. He achieved remarkable initial successes. For, the rule of the Caliph in the provinces of Fāris, al-Ahwāz, Kirmān and Qandābil (part of Sind) as far as the banks of the Indus was overthrown and there Yazid appointed his own men. In order to suppress the rebellion, the Caliph sent his brother Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik. A hard fighting decided the day against Yazid b. al-Muhallab who along with his sons was

3. Ibid., vol. i, p. 273.
4. Ibid., p. 75.
7. Tahdhib, loc. cit.
slain. The surviving members of his family\(^1\) fled by boat to Qandābil\(^2\) (modern Gandava), a north-western province of the then Sind.\(^3\) But death pursued them thither. Waddāf b. Ḥāmid, the Governor of Qandābil who owed his office to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, proved treacherous when the Caliph’s agent, Hilāl b. al-Tamīmī, appeared there in pursuit of them. The brave sons of al-Muhallab, however, did not surrender themselves and most of the leading members fell fighting to the bitter end.\(^4\)

Among al-Muhallab’s sons killed at Qandābil in Sind, al-Mufaddal has been singled out as a transmitter of Ḥadīth. He was a Tābī’ī and narrated Ḥadīth\(^5\) on the authority of al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr, a Companion of the Prophet.\(^6\) His son Ḥājib, Thābit al-Bunānī (d. 127) and Jarīr b. Ḥāzim narrated Ḥadīth on the authority of al-Mufaddal.\(^7\)

Al-Mufaddal has been regarded by Ibn Ḥībbān and other critics of the Science of Tradition as ṣādūq, reliable.\(^8\)


He was a native of al-บาṣر. Perhaps as a trader he came to Sind and set up his residence there as is evident from his nickname Nazīl al-Sind.\(^9\)

Abū Mūsā was a reliable rāwī and transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-บาṣرī

\(^1\) For their names, vide Ibn al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 41.
\(^2\) Balādhurī, p. 441=Murgotten, p. 226.
\(^3\) Supra, p. 18.
\(^4\) Balādhurī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.
\(^5\) His Aḥādīth have been recorded in the Sunans of Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasā’ī (Khulāsa, p. 330).
\(^7\) Tahdhīb, vol. x, p. 275.
\(^8\) Ibid.; Taqrib, p. 362.
\(^9\) Dhabābī, Mizān, vol. i, p. 97; Tahdhīb (vol. i, p. 261) has Nazīl al-Hind.
(d. 110) and Abū Hāzim al-Ashjaʿī (d. 115). His rank as a traditionist may be had from the fact that such master traditionists as Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161), Sufyān b. ʿUyaina (d. 198) and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Ḳaṭṭān (d. 198) were among his pupils.1

Al-Bukhārī quotes one of Abū Mūsā's traditions in as many as four different places of his Ṣaḥīḥ. His Aḥādīth have also been preserved in the Sunan works.2

5. ʿAmr b. Muslim al-Bāhili [d. circ. 123/740]

ʿAmr was a brother of Qūṭaiba b. Muslim al-Bāhili, the famous conqueror of Transoxania.3 He came to Sind as a governor of Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (99-101/717-19) and is said to have conducted some successful raids into al-Hind.4 It was during his tenure of office that many kings including Jaisinha, son of Dahar, accepted Islam in response to an appeal made to them by the Caliph.5

It is interesting to note that ʿAmr, despite leading a hazardous life of a soldier, cultivated, to a certain extent, the Science of Tradition as he is credited to have narrated Ḥadith on the authority of Yaʿlā b. ʿUbayd, while Abū ʾl-Ṭāhir himself is said to have received it from him.6

ʿAmr's death-date is not known. He, however, died later than 120/738 as he was ʿĀmil over Marw at the time.7


A Traditionist and one of the early authors of

2. Khulāṣa, p. 31.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. ; Elliot, vol. i, p. 440 ; Arnold, op. cit., p. 272.
Hadith,\(^1\) al-Rabi\(^2\) b. Šabīh\(^2\) surnamed Abū Bakr\(^3\) came to India in 160/776 along with a naval squadron under 'Abd al-Malik b. Shihāb al-Mīsmār that attacked Barbad\(^4\) during the Caliphate of al-Mahdī\(^5\) (158-69/775-85). The Arabs conquered Barbad, then a flourishing port.\(^6\) But they had to pay very dearly for the success. For, prior to their sailing homeward, they halted there for sometime in the expectation of favourable weather. In the meantime, plague broke out in the coastal places, taking a heavy toll of the Arabs. Al-Rabi\(^4\) was one of the many who fell victims to it.\(^7\)


3. Abū Ḫafṣ, according to Ibn Sa'd, vol. vii, Part I, p. 36, which Tara Chand (loc. cit.) misreads as Abū Ḫifṣ.

4. Barbad (Elliot, vol. i, p. 446, has Barada) has been identified with the present Bhūrbhūt, near Broach in Gujarāt (Nadawī, op. cit., p. 18).


7. Ṭabarī, loc. cit. Ibn Sa'd (vol. vii, Part I, p. 36, says نَزَعَ (الربعة) غازياً إلى الهند في السفر فدفن في جزيرة من جزائر البصرة سنة 190) So, according to Ibn Sa'd, al-Rabi\(^4\) died in the open sea and was buried in an island. It is not, however, explicit from the text quoted above whether the death occurred on the way to or back from the Indian expedition. But Ibn 'Imād (*Shadharāt*, loc. cit.), presumably on this authority, goes a step forward and asserts that al-Rabi\(^4\) died while returning (في الربع) to India.

Al-Balādhrī (p. 369) corroborates Ibn Sa'd verbatim. Unfortunately, Murgotten in his translation of the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* has confused the entire text devoted to al-Rabi's Indian expedition by associating with it as its narrator al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) (cf. Murgotten, p. 96=Balādhrī, p. 390) who predeceased al-Rabi\(^4\) by half a century. The fact, however, is that al-Rabi\(^4\) transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and this is conveyed by روي من الحسن بن المقدوس (تمعون) and not in the passive (مجهول) as Murgotten would have us believe. Cf. *Tahdhib*, vol. iii, p. 247.
Al-Rabi', a native of al- Başra, was a disciple of al-Hasan al- Başri (d. 110) under whom he studied Hadith. He also acquired the Science from the leading Traditionists of his age, viz., Hamīd al- Ţawīl (d. 142), Thābit al- Bunānī (d. 127), Mujāhid b. Jabar (d. 103) and others. Among his contemporary Ruwat Hadith, transmitters of Traditions, al-Rabi' occupied a high place. The celebrated 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181), Sufyān al- Thawrī, Wakī' (d. 197), Abū Dāwūd al- Ţayālāsī (d. 203) and 'Abd al- Raḥmān b. al-Mahdī (d. 198) were amongst his pupils transmitting Hadith on his authority. Further, he was one of the pioneers in the field of collecting and codifying Aḥadith in the second century A.H. 2

Section III. Centres of Hadith Learning and their Muḥaddithūn

Although introduced in the second century A.H., as shown above, the study of Hadith in Sind does not appear to have made much headway until the fourth century when great enthusiasm prevailed among native students to seek higher knowledge of the subject abroad. The slow growth of Hadith learning in Sind during early centuries of Islamic rule may be attributed to

Now, the statement of Ibn Sa'd that al-Rabi' died in the open sea is in conflict with that of al-Tabarī who holds that his death took place at Barbad. Of the two statements, the latter is circumstantial and as such better entitled to be accepted. Further al-Tabarī is corroborated by early authorities like Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā (d. 252), (Tādhīḥ, vol. iii, p. 347) and Buhārī (d. 256) (Kitāb l- Du'afā' al- Saghar, Agra, 1323, p. 11) who states that al-Rabi' died in Sind proper (مات في أرض السند).

1. Tādhīḥ, vol. iii, pp. 247-48; Mīzān & Lisān, s.v., al-Rabi' b. Sabīh. The Aḥadith narrated by al-Rabi' have been recorded in al- Ta'liqāt al-Buhārī, the Sunans of Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Māja (Khulāsa, p. 98; cf. Sunan Ibn Māja, ed. Faruqī Press, Delhi, Kitāb al- Ḥiḥād, p. 204).

2. Ḥājj Khalīfa, op. cit., pp. 80-81; Ibn Hajar, Muqaddimat al- Feth (Cairo, 1347), vol. i, p. 4; Tāhir al- Dimashqī, Taʾrīh al- Naʾār (Cairo, 1910), pp. 7-8; al- Khawwī, Miftāḥ al- Sunna (Cairo, 1921), p. 21. Notices of his biography will also be found in Bilgrāmī's Subḥat al- Marjān (Bombay, 1303) and Ḥakīm 'Abd al- Ḥayy's Nuzhā, vol. i, s.v. al- Rabi' b. Sabīh and Yād- i- Ayyān, ed. Lucknow, pp. 5-6. In the last named book, the author misrepresents al- Rabi’ as a Tābi’ī and this has been widely quoted by later writers. Cf. Maʿarīf, vol. xxii, No. 4, p. 251.
two reasons: (1) The circumstances were not favourable for the cultivation of art and literature, because the internal security of the country—so essential a factor for their growth—could not have always been maintained due to the lack of stable and strong Government under the Umayyad and the 'Abbasid Caliphs. As a matter of fact, the status of Sind in the eastern Caliphate was more of a frontier outpost (thaghdr) than that of a territory so as to draw the close attention of the central Government; and (2) Sind could not come in contact with the seats of Islamic learning in Arabia, al-'Irāq or other places of the Caliphate, as it lay at a great distance with no easy means of communication. Save enterprising tradesmen and adventurous colonists, nobody dared undertake the hazards of sea or land-routes leading to the territory. Even in the fourth century al-Ma'mūn, the famous Syrian Geographer, complained of the difficulties facing a traveller to Sind.

The foundation of the two independent Arab principalities in Multān and Manṣūra towards the second half of the third century ushered in an era of good Government in Sind. The period of this independent Arab rule was a landmark in the history of their three hundred years' suzerainty over Sind. Peace and prosperity reigned everywhere in the country as evidenced by the accounts of the itinerants visiting the principalities from time to time. Now, whatever progress the study of Ḥadīth made was due, primarily, to the internal security brought about by these Governments. As a matter of fact, during this period great enthusiasm was marked among the Sindian students to seek abroad higher studies in Ḥadīth literature. We have it on

the authority of al-Sam‘ānī (d. 566) that scholars from India (bilād al-Hind) went to Nishāpūr to hear Hadīth from Abū ‘Uthmān al-Ṣābūnī (373-449), the Shafi‘ite savant.  

This was not all. Hailing from Debal (Ar. al-Daybul), Manṣūra and Qusdār, a band of ardent talibū 'l-‘ilm travelled extensively in Arabia, Syria, al-‘Irāq, Khurāsān and even Egypt in quest of Hadīth. And by the fourth century a ḥalqa was established and oral transmission of Hadīth was in progress in Sind.  

Even some exchange of Traditionists between Debal and Baghda‘d, and Manṣūra and Khurāsān was noticed. Thanks to the indefatigable labour of al-Sam‘ānī, we have, in his Kitāb al-Ansāb, a list of the Sindian students reading abroad in Muslim lands.

(I) STUDY OF ḤADĪTH AT DEBAL

A celebrated harbour occupying a site between the present Thatta and Karachi, Debal, during the Arab rule, had an extensive sea-borne trade with foreign countries. Its importance under Islam dated from the conquest of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (93-96/711-14) who built a mosque and settled 4,000 colonists there. A centre of trade and commerce, Debal gradually became largely populated by the Arabs. It was a city of considerable area. Some idea of its population may be had from the number killed by an earthquake in 280/893 during the Caliphate of al-Mu‘taḍid (279-89/892-902), which

1. Sam‘ānī, Ansāb, foll. 347a, 347b.
2. E.g. at Manṣūra, see infra, p. 38.
4. Ibid.
10. R.C. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 57.
was estimated at one lac and a half. Under the independent Arab rule, Debal was a port of the principality of Maṇṣūra and had one hundred villages attached to it.

Side by side with the commercial and administrative activities of the Arabs, there went on the dissemination of Islamic learning. The position of Debal was suitable for the purpose inasmuch as it was linked up by the sea-route with Muslim lands from where scholars of enterprise arrived there. The local institutions apparently housed in mosques provided for instructions in religious sciences. Although prior to the third century the cultural activities of the Arabs do not seem to have developed to any appreciable extent, nevertheless an interest for Hadith literature had already been created at Debal resulting in the production of a number of Ruwat whose names are as follows:

TRADITIONISTS OF DEBAL

1. Abu Ja‘far al-Daybuli [d. 322/934]

The first Debalene who went out for higher studies in Hadith literature was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Allāh al-Daybuli, surnamed Abū Ja‘far. He repaired to Makka and read with some noted Makkān traditionists. The date of his arrival there has not come down to us. But from the death-dates of his shuyukh (teachers), all of whom died by the forties of the third century A.H., it can be reasonably presumed that he must have reached Makka before that time.

Apart from Hadith, Abū Ja‘far studied Ibn ‘Uyainā’s Kitāb al-Tafsir under the latter’s disciple Sa‘īd b. Abī al-Rahmān al-Makhzūmi (d. 249) and Ibn al-Mubārak’s Kitāb al-Birr wa ‘l-Ṣila under his disciple

4. See infra.
6. Ibid., p. 318.

Abū Ja’far became *Muḥaddith*, well-versed in the science of tradition. He did not come back to his native land. He stayed on at Makka, devoting himself to the services of Hadith. Abū 'l-Ḥasān Āḥmad b. Ibrahim b. Farrās of Makka, Abū 'l-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ilajjāj (d. 368) and Muḥammad b. Ibrahim al-Muqri (d. 381) transmitted Hadith on the authority of Abū Ja'far. He died at Makka in Jumādā' 1, 322/April, 934.¹

2. Ibrahim b. Muḥammad al-Daybūlī [d. circ. 345/956]

A son of Abū Ja'far, Ibrahim was a Rawi, transmitter of Hadith. He narrated it on the authority of Mūsā b. Ḥārūn al-Bazzāz (d. 294), the Hāfiz of Baghdad,² and Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣā‘igh (d. 291), a Traditionalist of Makka.³

3. Āḥmad b. 'Abd Allah al-Daybūlī [d. 343/954]

A *tālib al-‘ilm, par excellence*, Āḥmad, a pupil of Abū Ja'far, was one of the widely travelled Traditionists of the fourth century.⁴ Practically the whole of the Middle East from the Oxus to the Nile he trotted singly, hearing Ḥadīth from eminent Traditionists.

With material available, we cannot exactly follow Āḥmad’s itinerary. Perhaps in the later half of the

¹ Ibn al-Muqrī was a great Traditionalist (Sam‘ānī, Ansāb, foll. 266b, 540b).
³ Sam‘ānī, Ansāb, fol. 237a.
⁴ من الغرباء الرحالة المتقدمين في طلب العلم ومن الزهار. Sam‘ānī, loc. cit.
third century, he went out in quest of Hadith learning and studied in Makka with his compatriot, Abū Ja'far al-Daybulī (d. 322), already a Muḥaddith of standing, and Muaddal b. Muḥammad al-Janadī (d. 308),¹ a descendant of Shā‘bī (d. 104).² In Egypt he heard Hadith from ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Muḥammad b. Rayyān; in Damascus, from Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Jawsā, (d. 320), the Ḥāfiz; at Bayrūt, from Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Makhūla; at Harrān, from al-Husain b. Abī Ma‘shar (d. 318), the Ḥāfiz; in Baghdād, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Fārīyābī (d. 301); in al-Baṣra, from Abū Khalīfa al-Qādi (d. 305); at ‘Askar Mukarram, from ‘Abdān b. Aḥmad al-Jawlaqī (210-306), the Ḥāfiz; at Tustar, from Aḥmad b. Zuhair al-Tustarī (d. 312) and at Nishāpūr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Khuḍaima (d. 311). Besides, he received Ḥadith from many other contemporary Traditionists.

Before the death of Ibn Khuḍaima in 311/923 Aḥmad reached Nishāpūr of which cultural and religious life, particularly the Khānga, convent, of al-Ḥasan b. Ya'qūb al-Ḥaddād (d. 336), thronged as it was with sūfis and ascetics,³ attracted him. There he terminated his wanderjahre and joined the Khānga. Henceforth, he became pre-eminently an ascetic giving himself up to devotional prayers and abstemious practices. Nevertheless, he went on cultivating the science of tradition. The young al-Ḥakim al-Nisābūrī (321-405) took lessons in Ḥadith from him.⁴

Aḥmad died at Nishāpūr in 343/954 and was buried in the cemetery of al-Ḥira. He was wont to put on sūf, wool, and was often seen walking bare-footed.⁵

¹. For the correct reading of the Nisha, ibid., foll. 137-38.
². Ibid., fol. 138a.
³. Sam’ānī, fol. 158a.
⁴. Ibid., fol. 237a.
⁵. Ibid.
It is worth our while to recall the time when an Indian scholar could go to such distant places as Nishāpūr, Baghdād, Damascus, Bayrūt and even Egypt in quest of Ḥadith and ransack the treasures they offered.


Aḥmad’s compatriot and fellow-student, Muḥammad al-Daybuli, had a fair share of travelling (riḥla)—though not so much as Aḥmad’s—in quest of Ḥadith. He received instructions in the science from Ābu Khalīfa al-Qāḍī (d. 305) of al-ʿAṣr; ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī (d. 301), of Baghdād; ‘Abdān b. Aḥmad (210-306) of ʿAskar Mukaram; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan of Fayyāb1 and others. A copyist (warrāq) of Ḥadith literature, Muḥammad distinguished himself as a teacher of al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī (d. 405). He died in 346/957.2

5. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Asad al-Daybuli [d. circ. 350/961]

A disciple of Ābu Yaʿlā al-Mawṣūlī (d. 307), al-Ḥasan transmitted Ḥadith in 340/951 in Damascus, his ʿismād, chain of authorities, going back to Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 78), the Companion of the Prophet. Tammām and others received Ḥadith from him.3

6. Khalaf b. Muḥammad al-Daybuli [d. circ. 360]

Khalaf had his training in Ḥadith in his native town Debal under ‘Ali b. Mūsā al-Daybuli.4 He repaired to Baghdād and lectured (ḥaddatha) on Ḥadith.

1. In the middle age, Fayyāb was a most important town of the district of Juzān in Khurāsān (Le Strange, p. 425).
4. A tradition received by Khalaf from his Shaykh ‘Ali b. Mūsā al-Daybuli at Debal with ʿismād traced back to Anas runs (Khaṭīb, vol. viii, p. 333)
Abū 'l-Husain b. al-Jundi (306-96) of Baghdād and Abī Ḥamīd b. 'Umair acquired Ḥadīth from Khalaf.


Born at Debal in 275/888, Abī Bakr, surnamed Abū Bakr, migrated to Rayy and became famous as al-Rāzī accordingly. Afterwards he settled permanently at Harbiya 'the great northern suburb of the west Baghdād' and hence he is called al-Ḥarbī.

Abū Bakr studied Ḥadīth in Baghdād under Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Faryābī (d. 301) and also under Abī Ḥamīd b. Sharīk of al-Kūfah. Besides being a transmitter of Hadīth, he was well-versed in the science of al-Qirāʾat. Abī Ḥamīd b. 'Alī al-Badā (d. 420), Abū 'Alī b. Dūmā al-Niʿāli (346-431) and al-Qādī Abū ʿĪsā al-Wāsiṭī (d. 431) were his pupils. He died in 370/980.

8. Al-Ḥasan b. Ḥāmid al-Daybulī [d. 407]

Al-Ḥasan b. Ḥāmid, a Debalese, unlike his other compatriots, went abroad as a trader and established himself in Baghdād. By his business he amassed a vast fortune and became a leading citizen of Baghdād as is evidenced by the fact that the poet al-Mutannabī (d. 354), while paying a visit to the city, stayed with him. The unique combination of his being a scholar and a commercial magnet impressed the poet so much that he remarked, "Had I eulogized any merchant, I would have certainly eulogized you." As a philanthropist, he built for the poor and indigent an asylum (Khān) at Darb al-Zaʿfrānī in Baghdād, which came to be known as Khān Ibn Ḥāmid.

2. Le Strange, p. 51.
3. التعالي، هذه النسبة إلى مهل التعال وبيعها
5. Ibid.
mercial business, he carried on cultural activities. In Ḥadīth, he was a pupil of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Mawsīlī (d. 359),1 Da‘īj (d. 351), Muḥammad al-Naqqāsh (d. 351) and Abū ‘Alī al-Tumarī (d. 360). He was so devotedly attached to Ḥadīth that he would weep while narrating it.2 His erudition in the science of tradition may be conceived from this that he went to Damascus and Egypt to lecture on Ḥadīth. He was also a poet and a litteratour (adīb). He died in Egypt in 407/1016.3


He was better known as Abū Qatān. He went to Egypt and established a ḥalqa, study circle, where he lectured on Ḥadīth. Abū Sa‘īd b. Yūnus was a pupil of Abū Qatān.4

(II) STUDY OF ḤADĪTH IN AL-MANṢŪRA

The great mound of Bambhra-kā-thul, or the ‘Ruined Tower,’ situated near an old bed of the Indus at a distance of 47 miles to the north-east of modern Hyderabad in Sind, represents the ruined city of al-Manṣūra, which, according to al-Balādhuri, was founded by ‘Amr, the son of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, the conquerer of Sind,5 between 110/728 and 120/738.6 With the establishment, in 270/883,7 of an independent Arab principality in Lower Sind, it steadily rose into

1. Khaṭīb, vol. xii, p. 82.
2. Ibid.  ‘کان یسعد ویکی’
3. Ibid.
5. The discovery of this interesting place was due to the zeal and painstaking labour of A.F. Bellasis, late of the Bombay Civil Service. The coins found were those of Manṣūr b. Jamhūr, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Umar (Elliot, vol. i, p. 374; Cunningham, pp. 312-16).
8. Ibid., pp. 341-42.
prominence. By 340/951—when al-Iṣṭakhrī visited it—al-Manṣūra was a flourishing city with an area of four square miles and was inhabited by the Muslims. Ibn Hawqal repeated the same account. "Al-Manṣūra," says al-Maqdisi who visited the city in 375/985, "is the metropolis of Sind and resembles well with Damascus. The buildings are constructed of timber and plaster. The big cathedral mosque, standing at the busy market place, is built of brick and stone and roofed with teak like the mosque of 'Uman. The city had four gates, viz., Bāb al-Bahr (the sea-gate), Bāl Tūrān (the Tūrān-gate), Bāb Sindān (the Sindān-gate) and Bāb Multān (the Multān-gate)."

With regard to the religious and intellectual life of al-Manṣūra, al-Maqdisi says, "The people were generally intelligent and given to pious habits. Islām was held in high esteem and its principles were strictly adhered to with no priestcraft to intervene. The Dhimmīs freely worshipped their own gods. The majority of the Muslims were Aṣḥāb Ḥadīth, adherents of Apostolic traditions, who were the followers of Imām Dāwūd al-Isbahānī (d. 270), the Zāhirīte (literalist). In local townships Hanafite jurists were also in evidence, but no Malikite, Ḥanbalite or Mu'tazilite; so that Islām was found in its pristine glory and native simplicity, virtue and chastity being at a premium everywhere." Learning and the learned had seen their better days in al-Manṣūra. Since the bulk of the population was Aṣḥāb Ḥadīth, cultivation of the science of tradition had naturally been recoursed to. Here Traditionists engaged themselves in the pursuit of their own Science. Classes in Ḥadīth were held in

1. Ibid., p. 310.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
different mosques of the city. Scholars were found to compile works on Hadith literature. As an instance, the name of al-Qādi Abū 'l-Abbās al-Manṣūri as a teacher and a compiler may be cited here.

TRADITIONISTS OF AL-MANŠŪRA

1. Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Manṣūri

Ahmad surnamed Abū 'l-Abbās al-Manṣūri had his education in Hadith in Fāris under Abū 'l-Abbās b. al-Athram (d. 336) and at al-Baṣra, under Ahmad al-Hizzānī commonly called Abū Rawq (d. 332). He then held the office of Qādi of Arrajān, the westernmost district of Fāris. That on the occasion of his visit to Bukhārā in 360/970 al-Ḥākim (d. 405) received Aḥadith from him, suggests that al-Manṣūri had already established himself as a Traditionist of renown. Further, al-Ḥākim says that al-Manṣūri was the most sharp-witted of the scholars he had ever seen. Towards the seventies of the fourth century when al-Maqdisī visited al-Manṣūra he found that al-Manṣūri had been lecturing on Hadith in the ḥalqa (study circle) set up by him. He was an eminent author of the Zāhīrite school of theologians and compiled several learned and voluminous works of which Kitāb al-Miṣbāh al-Kabīr, Kitāb al-Hādi and Kitāb al-Nayyir have been men-

1. See infra.
3. Lisān, loc. cit.
4. Le Strange, p. 268.
5. و كان من ظرافته من رائت من العلماء جزيف seems to be misprint for pl. of ظراف. Al-Samā'ī, without making any reference to al-Ḥākim, says و كان ظرف من رائت من العلماء a statement which has led 'Allāma Sayyid Sulāmān Nadawi (Ma'ārif, vol. xxiv, No. 4, p. 247) to conclude that al-Manṣūrī was a contemporary of al-Samā'ī (d. 562). But we are of opinion that this was the statement of al-Ḥākim and not of al-Samā'ī. Cf. Lisān, vol. i, p. 272 ; Samā'ī, fol. 544a.
6. This is apparent inasmuch as al-Manṣūrī was a Traditionist.
7. Maqdisī, p. 481.
8. و له كتب جليلته حسننته كبار
tioned by Ibn al-Nadim in his Kitāb al-Fihrist. He enjoyed the rank of an Imām of the Zāhirite school of thought. Nevertheless, he was charged with coining Hadith which he might have done obviously to strengthen his Madhhab.

2. Āḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūrī [d. circ. 380]

He was another traditionist of al-Manṣūra and studied Hadith in al-Fāris and at al-Baṣra under Abū ‘l-‘Abbās b. al-Athram (d. 336) and others. He was also an Imām of the Zāhirite school and was a shaykh of al-Ḥakim al-Nisābūrī (d. 405). Āḥmad flourished in the fourth century A.H.


Himself a pupil of Hasan b. al-Mukarram, ‘Abd Allāh, like two other Traditionists of al-Manṣūra, distinguished himself as a teacher of al-Ḥakim al-Nisābūrī, and as such he must also have been a Traditionist of the fourth century A.H. In complexion he was dark, a fact suggestive of his Indian origin.

(III) STUDY OF AL-ḤADĪTH AT QUṢDĀR

Quṣdār (modern Khozdar in Kalat State, Baluchistan) contains the grave of Sinān b. Salma al-Hudhali, a Companion of the Prophet, who, during the Caliphate of Mu‘awiya, died a martyr while leading an expedition against the Meds. Since then Quṣdār changed

1. P. 306.
3. Below is a specimen of a fabricated tradition narrated by al-Manṣūrī: اول من قام ابليس فلا تنقيسوا. Al-Manṣūrī rests this tradition on his shaykh Abū Rawq, a Mālikite jurist, who was sadīq, reliable. Hence it was al-Manṣūrī who was the fabricator and not his shaykh, Abū Rawq. Cf. Līsān, vol. i, pp. 272, 256.
4. Samʿānī, f. 543b, 544a.
5. Quṣdār is the same as Quzdār (Muʿjam al-Buldān, vol. iv, p. 86).
masters several times between the Arabs and the Meds. Finally, it was annexed to the eastern Caliphate by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim.

Under the Arab suzerainty, Qoṣdār was the headquarters of Tūrān, a region roughly comprising the southern part of the present Baluchistān. In the middle of the fourth century, an independent Arab chieftain, Muʿīn b. ʿAḥmad, ruled here and recited khutba in the name of the then ‘Abbāsid Caliph.' A stronghold of the Khārijites, Qoṣdār was occupied by Sultan Sabaktigin (366-87/976-98) sometime between 375/985 and 386/996.

Qoṣdār was a centre of commerce and served as an artery of India’s land-trade with Kirmān, Fāris and Khurāsān. Merchants from those countries as also Indians settled here, and had their houses in the business centre of the town which had mosques for the Muslims.

Although we have no direct evidence of any cultural activities undertaken by the Arabs at Qoṣdār, nevertheless it does not necessarily follow that they had altogether dispensed with religious sciences, that is, al-Qurʾān and al-Ḥadith. The factor, as it appears, that retarded the progress of those sciences at Qoṣdār as also elsewhere in Sind, lay, as has been stated above, in the absence of a stable and strong Government during the early centuries of Arab sway over the country. This is borne out by the fact that we have been able to meet only two Qoṣdārī Muḥaddithūn until the fifth century A.H. We can, therefore, safely presume that the study of Ḥadith at Qoṣdār must have been started

2. Chaḥ-Nāma.
5. Ibn Hawqal, ref. by Nadawī.
6. Nadawī, p. 395; Firishta, Tārīkh (Cawnpore, 1874), vol. i, p. 10.
in the fourth century with the establishment of an independent Arab principality here.¹

TRADITIONISTS OF QUŞDAR

1. Ja'far b. al-Khuttâb al-Quşdârî [d. circ. 450]

Ja'far surnamed Abû Muḥammad, a native of Quşdâr, settled at Balkh. He was a jurist as well as an ascetic. He took lessons in Ḥadîth from 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Muḥammad al-'Aṣîmî. He was a reliable Râwi of Ḥadîth. Abû 'l-Futûh 'Abd al-Ghâfir al-Kâshghâri (d. 474), the Ḥâfiz,² transmitted Ḥadîth on his authority.³ He flourished early in the 5th century A.H.

2. Sibawaih b. Ismâ'îl b. Dâwûd al-Quṣdârî [d. circ. 463]

Amongst his shuyukh were al-'Aṣ Abû 'l-Qâsim 'Ali b. Muḥammad al-Husaynî, Yahyâ b. Ibrâhîm al-Makhûl and Rajâ b. 'Abd al-Wâhîd al-Iṣbahânî. He migrated to Makka where he lectured on Ḥadîth. The Ḥâfiz Abû 'l-Fityân 'Amr b. Abû 'l-Hasan al-Rawwâsî (d. 503), a Traditionist of Dihîstân,⁴ in the province of Jurjân, narrated Ḥadîth on the authority of Sibawaih. He died in about 463/1070.⁵

From the above discourse, it is evident how the study of Ḥadîth in Lower Sind was making long strides in the fourth century under a number of devoted Traditionists. We are now going to discuss below the causes of the sudden check the study of the Science, then, met with due to a cataclysm that overwhelmed the country.

¹. See supra.
². Abul-Fath Abu al-Hasan al-Kashgari can be found in Sam’ani, fol. 472b.
³. Ibid., fol. 466a.
⁴. Ibid., fol. 261a.
⁵. Le Strange, p. 379.
⁶. Sam’ani, foll. 451a, 452b.
Towards the second half of the fourth century, the principalities of Multān and al-Manṣūra were usurped by the Ismā'īlites. This was not merely a political change; it had a far-reaching effect on the life and faith of the Sunnīs of Sind. Bent on destroying not only the structure of the states of the Sunnīs, but also their religion and culture, the Ismā'īlites left no stone unturned to attain their objective. The fact that the Ismā'īlites closed down the Grand Mosque of Multān, shows to what length they could have gone to annihilate all that the Sunnīs stood for. Thus collapsed the religious organization of Sunnīs that grew up under the fostering care of their savants as also their rulers. In the sequel, the Ismā'īlite coup d'état gave a death-blow to the centuries-old Sunnite Arab regime and what it built up in Sind.

Naturally, therefore, the study of Hadith, the fountain-head of the religious laws of the Sunnīs, received a great setback. Sind, under Ismā'īlites, did not prove a congenial home for the Sunnī scholars. It was quite likely that the Traditionists might either have been obliged to quit the country or, in case of their stay, they had to suspend their cultural activities so near and dear to them. Nor was it improbable on the part of the fanatics who closed down the Grand Mosque against the Sunnī Muslims to perpetrate their acts of vandalism on the educational institutions of al-Manṣūra and Debal which were contributing so greatly towards the diffusion and dissemination of Islamic culture and learning in the country. This perhaps explains the reason why the study of Hadith in Sind came to a standstill at the end of the fourth century. It is not unreasonable to believe that the Ismā'īlities, on the assumption of their power, suppressed the religious in-

1. Nadawī, pp. 313 seq.
stitutions of the Sunnis. This hypothesis gains in strength from the fact that henceforward no student from Sind was found going abroad to study the Ḥadith literature. Nor did the cultivation of the Science on the part of the Traditionists of al-Manṣūra seem to have made any further advance. Moreover, the fact that the last batch of ardent Ṭalib al-ʿIlm who had been peregrinating throughout the Muslim lands to master the science of tradition died by the close of the fourth century, shows that they were the products of the Sunni regime. Since then Sind did not and, as a matter of fact, could not send any of her young learners to study Ḥadith abroad. Obviously, the Ismāʿīlites were, thus, responsible for arresting the expansion of the religious and cultural activities of the Sunnis. True, Sulṭān Maḥmūd (388-421/998-1030) of Ghaznin, a champion of the Sunnis, did succeed in setting up his rule after having overthrown their Government and driven them out of the territory. But his career of conquest was cut short before he could restore Sind to her cultural glories of the past. Nor could he effect a wholesale extermination from the country of the Shīʿites whose secret propaganda was very active among the natives and who, thereby, succeeded in converting to their own faith, a powerful Indo-Arab tribe who became famous in history as the Sumras. Now, these Sumras, again, captured for themselves the Government of Lower Sind in 443/1051 from the weak successors of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Thus the Ismāʿīlites regained their hold which they appear to have maintained till 752/1351 when Sammas ousted them and usurped the Government. Meanwhile, the province was, no doubt, conquered by Muʿīzz al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghūrī (570-602/1174-1205) and was governed by his lieutenant

Naṣīr al-Dīn Qabācha,1 nevertheless, Delhi Sultanate could not control it effectively and the real power was still retained by the Sumras. From their usurpation of the territory in the second half of the fourth century down to the middle of the eighth, the influence of the Isma'īlites, in some form or other, was continuous and uninterrupted in Lower Sind. In the circumstances, with the termination of the Sunni Arab regime in Sind, the contact which the territory had maintained with the seats of Hadith learning in other Islamic countries, particularly with those of al-Ḥijāz, was cut off. Thus the revival of the study of Hadith in India was delayed until the rise, in the ninth century, of the Bahmanīs and the Muẓaffar Shāhīs in the Deccan and Gujarāt, respectively. In the meantime flickering light of Sunna was visible in Northern India with the advent of the scholars from Central Asia ever since the Muslim conquest began to take shape in that region.

CHAPTER III

ḤADITH LITERATURE IN NORTHERN INDIA [388-900/998-1494]

Section I. Ghaznawids [388-582/998-1186]

The later part of the fourth century A.H. saw the penetration of the Muslims into Northern India under Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn ¹ who brought the Punjāb under his sway. Within the next two hundred years the Muslim dominion was extended by the Slave Sultāns further afield in the region reaching the Bay of Bengal.² This phenomenal political conquest was attended with the expansion of Islām and the transmission of Islamic sciences all over Northern India by the labour and personal influence of the scholars, saints and missionaries who poured into the country from the neighbouring Muslim countries of the north-west, the gates of India being now wide open to them.

Shaykh Muḥammad Ismāʿīl al-Lāhūrī [d. 448/1056]

The Traditionist whose memory has been associated with the introduction of Ḥadīth into Lahore was Shaykh Ismāʿīl al-Lāhūrī, an eminent saint from Bukhārā. He came to India in 395/1004 and settled at Lahore—wherefrom he got the nisba of al-Lāhūrī—while the city was not yet conquered by the Muslims.³ Highly versed in Ḥadīth and Tafsīr, Ismāʿīl also distinguished himself as the first Muslim missionary to preach the faith of Islām in the city of Lahore. Crowds flocked to listen to his sermons and the number of his converts swelled

1. Firishta, vol. i, p. 27.
3. Lahore was conquered by Maḥmūd in 412/1021 (Firishta, vol. i, p. 31).
rapidly day by day, and it is said that no unbeliever came into personal contact with him without being converted to the faith of Islam.\(^1\) He died at Lahore in 448/1056.\(^2\)

Shaykh Isma'il saw before him the plenitude of the Ghaznavid power under Sultan Mahmūd and its subsequent decay due to the weak and incapable successors who followed him. But he did not care to meddle into politics. To propagate Islam and its sciences Isma'il worked hard for a period well over half a century. We do not, however, know the part played by his disciples—whose number presumably have been a legion—to carry on the noble task he had begun except that they were imbued with love and devotion for Hadith. Henceforth, Lahore grew into a seat of Hadith learning that produced during the next hundred years several noted Traditionists. That already in the sixth century its reputation as a centre of culture reached beyond the bounds of India is borne out by al-Sam‘ānī who in his Kitāb al-Ansāb\(^3\) records under the nisba al-Lāhūrī, the names of those Muḥaddithūn who flourished in, and were associated with, Lahore.

Sayyid Murtada al-Kūfī [d. 589/1193]

He was a native of al-Kūfā. His reputation as a scholar of Hadith and Tafsīr, it is said, attracted the notice of Sultan Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghūrī (570-602/1175-1206) who made him one of his courtiers. But since the Sayyid had also in him the making of a soldier, he later entered the military service under him and was raised to the rank of a commander. On his conquest of Kanauj

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in 589/1193 while Shihāb al-Dīn was advancing towards Benares, Sayyid Murtaḍā met Rāja Uday Pāl of Zafarābād, now in the district of Jawnpore, U.P., in an encounter in which he fell fighting as a martyr.²

**TRADITIONISTS OF LAHORE**

1. **Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Lāhūrī [d. 529/1134]**

   He was at once a Traditionist, poet and litterateur. He studied Hadīth under Abū ʾl-Muẓaffar al-Saʿīdī, the Ḥāfīz. His fame as a Traditionist reached as far as Baghdād. As a result, Abū ʾl-Fadl Muhammad b. Naṣīr al-Sulamī al-Baghdādī (467-550)³ who was himself a Ḥāfīz received from him Aḥādīth which he subsequently communicated to the distinguished Traditionist al-Samʿānī so that the latter became a pupil of the pupil of Abū ʾl-Hasan al-Lāhūrī. He was a man of genial temperament and died at Lahore in 529/1134.⁴

2. **Abū ʾl-Futūh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Lāhūrī [d. circ. 550/1158]**

   A disciple of Abū ʾl-Hasan al-Lāhūrī Abū ʾl-Futūh was a lecturer of Ḥadīth at Samarqand where al-Samʿānī heard from him the Aḥādith transmitted to him (Abū ʾl-Futūh) by his Shaykh Abū ʾl-Hasan. He flourished towards the first half of the sixth century A.H.⁵

3. **Abū ʾl-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Lāhūrī [d. circ. 540/1148]**

   Abū ʾl-Qāsim migrated from Lahore to Isfārāʾīn and settled there. He read Fiqh and Ḥadīth with

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5. Ibid.
Abu 'l-Mużaffar al-Sam'ānī, the grandfather of al-Sam'ānī. He also received Ḥadīth from some other Traditionists of his time. Besides being a Traditionist and jurist, Abū 'l-Ḳāsim acquired some reputation as a munāzir, controversialist. Al-Sam'ānī met him at Isfarā'īn and heard Ḥadīth from him. He died in about 540/1148.2

Section II. Early Delhi Sultanate [602-700/1205-1300]

Under the Ghaznavid Sulṭāns who were Shāfi‘īs, Lahore developed into a seat of Ḥadīth learning and continued shedding its lustre until the end of the sixth century.4 But with the foundation of Delhi Sultanate in 602/1205, the study of Fiqh was introduced into India. Themselves Ḥanafites, the Sulṭāns of Delhi, naturally, attracted from al-‘Irāq, Persia, Khurāsān and the Transoxania men versed in Fiqh and Ma‘qūlāt.5 The advance of the Mongols under Chengiz Khān towards Central Asia, carrying with it death and destruction,6 expedited migration of the scholars to India. Soon places like Multān, Lahore, Bhakkar, Hānsī and Thaneswar were thronged with scholars so as to well make them rivals of Balkh and Bukhārā. Thence cultural activities gradually found their way to the eastern zone with Delhi as their rallying centre7 from where by the middle of the seventh century, they per-

2. Sam'ānī, loc. cit.
7. Ḥayāt-i-Shibli, pp. 2 seq.
colated as far as Bengal. Then there sprang up in Northern India schools and colleges through the munificent endowments of the Sultans. Of them, the famous were the Firuz College at Uchh, the Mu‘izzî and the Naṣirîyya Colleges of Delhi and the Mu‘izzî College of Badayûn. Besides instructions were also imparted in different cities and townships of the country by the individual scholars who were subsidized by the state. With the growth and expansion of their political power in India, the Sultans of Delhi promoted the cause of the Islamic sciences more and more.

In the seventh century the syllabus of studies comprised Arabic literature, grammar, rhetoric, Fiqh, Usul al-Fiqh, Manṭiq, Taṣawwuf, Tafsîr and Ḥadîth. Special stress was, however, laid on Fiqh and Usul al-Fiqh pari passu with Arabic grammar and literature. Ḥadîth and Tafsîr, the two principal branches of Islamic sciences, received but scant attention, the course of the former being only nominal. Save and except al-Ṣaghâni’s Mashâriq al-Anwar and al-Baghawi’s Maṣâbiḥ al-Sunnah, no work on Ḥadîth, not even any of the Shi‘ah Sitta, was included in the curriculum. Circumstances being what they were at the time, nothing more than this could be expected. For, the courses of study followed in India had the same objective behind them as they had in the feeder-countries of Central Asia, namely, to prepare a student for the qâdîship. Therefore, it is nothing unusual to find that among as many as forty-six scholars who flourished

1. *Infra*, p. 52.
5. Ibid., pp. 90-92; Sûfî, op. cit., pp. 16-17, 25.
during the reign of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khaljī (695-715/1296-1316), only Shams al-Dīn Yahyā (d. 747) had some interest in Ḥadīth. But the historian Barānī to whom we owe the above information has not included Ḥadīth among the subjects taught at the time.¹ So, it is highly doubtful if the works on Ḥadīth were read at all or at any rate with any seriousness. Our assertion is borne out by the following incident. In 700/1300 Shams al-Dīn Turk, an eminent Egyptian Traditionist, came to India with a mass of compilations in Ḥadīth in order to popularize them in this country. But to his great dismay he came to know at Multān, on his way to Delhi, that Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn had not been regular in his daily prayers, nor would he attend the Friday congregation. This mortified him so much so that he abandoned the project of working for the dissemination of Ḥadīth literature. But before returning to his home, he wrote a treatise on Ḥadīth and dedicated it to the Sultan of Delhi. He then left it with Mawlawā Fāḍl Allāh, a grandson of Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakariyyā al-Multānī (d. 666) along with a letter addressed to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khaljī. Shams al-Dīn stated in the letter that the ‘Ulamā’ of ‘Ala’ al-Dīn’s regime had already dispensed with Ḥadīth confining themselves to Fiqh and that out of sheer disgust he was now leaving the country although he had gone there to spread Ḥadīth literature.² Thus, with his departure a great opportunity for the cultivation of Ḥadīth literature in India was lost.

Though in the seventh century the general tendency of the ‘Ulamā’ towards Ḥadīth remained what we have outlined above, there were, however, a few scholars who had some proficiency in, and interest for, the science. Further, of the Siḥāḥ Sītta, a copy of the

Sunan of Abū Dāwūd,—perhaps the only copy then available in India,—was found in possession of Minhāj al-Sirāj al-Juzjānī, the author of the Tabaqat-i-Nāṣiri.  

TRADITIONISTS OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

1. Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyya al-Multānī  
[ d. 666/1267 ]

Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakariyya, the famous saint of Multān and a disciple of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 632), was a descendant of Habbār b. Aswad, a Companion of the Prophet. He was born at Qila’ Kut Karur, near Multān, and received his education in Bukhārā and Khurāsān. He then went on a pilgrimage to the Haramayn and became a specialist in Hadith, studying it for five years under the Madinan Traditionist, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yamanī. He died at Multān in Ṣafar, 666/October, 1267.

2. Qāḍī Minhāj al-Sirāj al-Juzjānī  
[ d. circ. 668/1270 ]

He belonged to a cultured family of Juzjān in Khurāsān which he left in 623/1228. He had from his father, who was a Qāḍī in the army of Hindūstān under Muḥammad al-Ghūrī (570-602/1175-1205), a good general education which fitted him to hold a number of high posts under Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubācha of Multān and under the Sultanate of Delhi which covered the regimes of Iltutmīsh (707-33/1210-36), Raḍīyya

1. Infra, p. 60.
(634-37/1236-40), Bahrām (637-39/1240-42) and Nāsir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (614-64/1216-66). As a principal of Fīrūz College of Uchh and Nāṣirīyya College of Delhi, as a chief justice and a preacher, Juzjānī gave a brilliant account of himself. In 640/1242, he reached Lakhnawati, in Bengal, where he remained for two years. He died after 664/1266, but the exact date is not known.¹ His quotation in his Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri² of several Āhādīth from the Sunan of Abū Dāwūd suggests that Juzjānī must have studied this work at least.³ He does not, however, seem to have been very much acquainted with the Science of Tradition inasmuch as he took a few forged and weak Traditions as Mutawātīr.⁴


Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who flourished during the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (664-86/1266-86), was a disciple of al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650) from whom he obtained a sanaḍ of the Mashārīq al-Anwār. He was the first Traditionist who initiated the study of the Mashārīq al-Anwār in Delhi. Burhān al-Dīn had the privilege of meeting in his early years, at Marghīnān, Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī (d. 593), the famous author of al-Hidāya. He was much respected by Balban who used to visit him on Fridays for his blessings. He died in Delhi in 687/1288 and was buried on the eastern quarters of the Hawd-i-Shamsī.⁵

1. Urdu Fawā'id al Fu'ād, p. 269; Akhbār al-Akhvār, p. 74. Juzjānī has been misprinted as jurjānī. Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri, p. 172; Elliot, vol. ii, pp. 259 seq; Ulughkhānī, vol. iii, LX.
5. Ibid., pp. 257-68; Mir Khurd, Siyar al-Awliya (Delhi, 1885), p. 105; Akhbār al-Akhvār, p. 68; Haddā'iq al-Hanafīyya, p. 264; Rahmān 'All, op. cit., p. 85; Nuzha, vol. i, s.v. Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd.
4. **Kamāl al-Dīn Zāhid** [d. 684/1285]

Muḥammad b. Ḵālid b. Muḥammad al-Marikī, better known as Kamāl al-Dīn al-Zāhid, distinguished himself as a teacher in Ḥadīth of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awlīya (d. 725). He read the Mashāriq al-Anwār with the two disciples of al-Ṣaghānī, viz., Buḥān al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 687) and the author of the Sharḥ Āthār al-Nayyirayn fi Aḥbār al-Ṣahīḥayn. His exceedingly pious habits induced Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban to appoint him Imām or leader of prayers—an office which Kamāl al-Dīn refused to accept. He died in Delhi in 684/1285.¹

5. **Raḍī al-Dīn al-Badāyūnī** [d. circ. 700]

Among his contemporary scholars in Delhi Raḍī al-Dīn was said to have been well-versed in Ḥadīth literature. He was a Qaḍī of Ku‘īl (mod. Ḵalīj) and went to Makka, thence to Baghdād where, as a Traditionalist, he was granted an audience by the reigning Caliph [?]. He returned to India and died at Lahore. The date of his death is not known.²

6. **Abū Taw‘āma al-Bukhārī al-Ḥanbali**

[d. circ. 700]

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Taw‘āma, who was a native of Bukhārā, migrated to Delhi early in the 7th century. During the Sultānate of Iltutmish (607-33/1210-36) he came over to Sunārgāon in Bengal where he settled down permanently. Abū Taw‘āma was a teacher of great celebrity. As a Hanbalite scholar, he was evidently deeply learned in the science of Tradition. Under him, Sunārgāon early developed into a seat of Ḥadīth in Bengal, which claims among its alumni

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Makhdūm Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Manīrī (d. 782), the celebrated saint-traditionist of Bihār. Ābū Tawʿama died at Sunārgāon towards the close of the 7th century A.H.¹

Section III. Later Delhi Sultanate
[700-900/1300-1494]

Next to Fiqh, the subject that attracted attention of the 'Ulama' was Maʿqūlāt which in the time of Muḥammad b. Tughlaq (725-52/1325-51) was vigorously pursued in Delhi. Himself a scholar of no mean order, the Sultān patronized Maʿqūlāt. His circle of learned men consisted, among others, of the erudite philosopher, Mawlānā 'Alīm al-Dīn, with whom he used to hold regular discussions on the subject.² The Sultān was so much fascinated by Maʿqūlāt that he would personally conduct lectures on Maʿqūlāt³ which along with Fiqh constituted the subjects of popular interest during the period under review. While the study of the Qurʾān and the Sunna was neglected to such an extent that Muḥammad b. Tughlaq’s contemporary historian Diyāʾ al-Dīn Barānī⁴ attributes the former’s cruelty and eccentricity to his study of Maʿqūlāt, meta-

3. Ibn Baṭṭūta, Tuḥfat al-Nuzūr fī Sharh 'ib al-Ampsār wa 'Ajā'ib al-Asfar, ed. Defremery with French tr. (Paris, 1922), vol. iv, p. 343. The statement of Dr. Mahdi Ḥusain (vide his Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, London, 1938, p. 200) that Muḥammad b. Tughlaq gave up his study of philosophy (Maʿqūlāt) before the arrival in Delhi of Ibn Baṭṭūta and that the latter 'had seen none of it' (philosophy) with the Sultān, is wide of the mark inasmuch as Ibn Baṭṭūta himself maintains:

"Verily, I have seen the emperor of India holding after morning prayers discussions particularly of 'ilm al-Maʿqūlāt or philosophical sciences" Ibn Baṭṭūta, op. cit. (vol. iv, p. 349).
4. Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, p. 400.  

azāʾir qaṣawāt 'ilm muqūlāt wa ʿāzāʾir qaṣawāt 'ilm muqūlāt  

"verily, i have seen the emperor of india holding after morning prayers discussions particularly of 'ilm al-maʿqūlāt or philosophical sciences" ibn baṭṭūtā, op. cit. (vol. iv, p. 349).
physics, at the cost of *Manqūlāt*. How far the evil influence of philosophy and logic was responsible for his whims and idiosyncrasies still remains a moot question. But it cannot be gainsaid that sober-minded men of that age deeply felt the absence of humanizing effect of the teachings of the Qur’ān and the Sunna. The number of such men was, however, few and far between. The ‘Ulama’, *en masse*, were affiliated to the Hanafite School. Their interest centred round Fiqh, the sure passport for government service. Having no wide outlook and independent judgment, they viewed the *Shari‘a* in terms of the Hanafite Fiqh. Any deviation from a recognized rite of this school, even if sanctioned by Traditions, was, therefore, opposed tooth and nail. This rigid attitude of the ‘Ulama’ was strikingly illustrated in a familiar controversy on *Sama‘* between Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliya on the one hand and the Fuqahā’, on the other, during the Sultanate of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh (720-25/1321-25). Apparently adhering to the school of the Shafi‘ites, Niẓām al-Dīn Awliya cited Aḥādīth in favour of *Sama‘*. But the Fuqahā’ rejected the Traditions, in the first place, because the Shaykh, a *Muqaddim Abū Hanīfa* (follower of the Hanafite School) as he was, had nothing to do with Traditions, and, secondly, because the Aḥādīth themselves were pro-Shafi‘ite and, as such, they did not commend to their acceptance. Further they asserted that here in India *Fiqhi rīwayat* or the decision of the Hanafite jurists had greater legal value than Traditions themselves. Therefore, they insisted on his producing a definite opinion of Imam Abū Hanīfa on the matter. The hardihood of rejecting Apostolic Traditions on the part of the Fuqahā’ shocked Niẓām al-Dīn Awliya’ so

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1. *Manqūlāt* in contradistinction with Ma‘qūlāt includes the sciences of the Qur’ān and Ḥadith and also the subjects primarily based on them.  
much that he was obliged to remark, "How long will the Muslims of a land survive where the judgment of an individual is considered superior to Ahādith." Therefore, from the remarks of Shams al-Dīn Turk and Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', it is clear that the atmosphere obtaining in the circles of the 'Ulama', who represented intelligentsia of the day, was not congenial for the cultivation of the science of Tradition in India. As the matter stood, the future of the science seemed to be very gloomy. Happily, there was a silver lining on the clouded horizon. Inspired by the love of the Prophet and his Sunna, several Şūfī scholars read the science themselves and also inculcated its study amongst their disciples. As a result, four schools of Ḥadīth learning came into being in Northern India under the leadership of the four Şūfī scholars, viz., (i) Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and his school of Muḥaddithūn in Delhi, (ii) Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī and his school of Muḥaddithūn in Bihār, (iii) ‘Alī al-Hamadānī and his school of Muḥaddithūn in Kashmir and (iv) Zakariyya al-Multānī and his school of Muḥaddithūn at Multān. The Şūfī scholars of these schools carried on the culture of Ḥadīth in Northern India until the end of the 9th century when the renaissance of the science was ushered in in the country.

I. NIZĀM AL-DĪN AWWLIYĀ’ AND HIS SCHOOL OF MUḤADDITHŪN

Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awwliyā’ [634-725/1236-1325]

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qadir ‘Ali, popularly known as Nizām al-Dīn Awwliyā’, was born in 634/1236 at Badayūn, United Provinces, where both of his grandfathers—paternal and maternal—Shaykh ‘Ali and Khwāja ʿArab had migrated from Bukhārā during the Mongol invasion. Having mastered Arabic literature and Fiqh at an early age of twenty under ‘Alā al-Dīn
al-Uṣūlī of Badāyūn and Shams al-Dīn al-Khwārizmī, afterwards the Shams al-Mulk, a minister of Sūltān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, of Delhi, Niẓām al-Dīn wanted to have a qādīship under government. But at the instance of Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn al-Mutawakkil (d. 681), a brother of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd Ganj-i-Shakar (d. 664), 1 who saw in the young scholar the promise of a great saint, he went to the Ganj-i-Shakar at Ajūdahān or Pākpatan in the Punjab in 655/1257 for initiation. 2 Thus a new chapter of life was opened for Niẓām al-Dīn so that in course of time he became the Khalifa, representative, of the Ganj-i-Shakar and one of the greatest saints of India. He died in his Khāngā, convent, at Ghiyāthpūr, which is now called Bastī Niẓām al-Dīn, within three miles from Delhi, on Friday, the 18th Rabi` 11, 725/April, 1325, in the odour of sanctity. 3

Niẓām al-Dīn and Hadith It is curious that Niẓām al-Dīn became a student of Hadīth not during his educational career but while his fame as a saint of eminence had been established. The reason for this is not very far to seek. Having learnt the courses of studies obtaining in India in his days—courses of studies which were designed to suit the requirements of a qādī as has been stated above—Niẓām al-Dīn had no occasion to read Ḥadīth. As a matter of fact, no occasion to cultivate the science of Tradition would have arisen at all, if he

were a qāḍī, an office for which he aspired. Destiny, however, willed him otherwise. He became a wali, saint, and a famous one at that. Now, the deeper he traversed in the realm of spiritualism, the greater he felt for the need of Ḥadith. With all the accomplishments of a scholar and saint, he sat at the feet of Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Zāhid and took lessons from him in the Mashāriq al-Anwār. He made a thorough and critical study of the work and, on its completion in 679/1280, he received from Kamāl al-Dīn a sanad.

2. The sanad reads as follows. (Siyar al-Awliyā', p. 104-05):  

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم: التحديد لمن له الاهتمام وإعطاء الصباح والرواح والمهد لمن له الآلاء والأمهام والصباح والمباح والصلاة والصباح على ذي الفضائل والسماوات والكلام المفتاح والبيان المعبأ، وإحاوس الصباح صلوات تدوم روام الصباح والرواح. وبعد فان الله وفق الشيخ الإمام العالم الناقد السلك الذي هديد أحمد بن علي مع وفور فضله في العلم وبلغ قدراً دورة العلم مقبولاً مشائخ الكبار من طور العلماء الأكابر والابرار بنك فرص الاصول المستخرج من الصاعدين على ساطر هذه السطور في الزمان المحصور وورود الأثمار من اوله الى آخر، قرأ بالبحث والتفنن وتفنن معانيه وتفسير معانيه وكتاب السطور يرويه قراءة وسماً من الشيوخين الإماميين العالمين. أحد الشيوخين مؤلف شرح آثار الأخبار في اختبار الصاعدين والأخر صاحب الدرن المثيرين الإمام الكامل مالك رقاب النظم والنشر برهان البلاء والدين، جعفمن بن عبد القادر إسعد البلاغي رحمه عليهما رحمة واسعة كتابه وشفاهه وهم يقولان عن مؤلفه، واجزته له أيديها كي لا يرود من هذا البلد، واتهمل الصواب، ووضيعه أن لا ينسيني وواولذي في حفواته. ووضع له القراءة والسماع في المساجد المنسوب إلى تهج الدين ابي بكر التواسي رحمه الله في بلدة رهل تابع أهل من الآف والآلاف، و هذا خط أضعه الإمام، وأخرج خلفه محمد بن أحمد بن أحمد المبارك، وقال زاهد والفراغ من القراءة والسماع وكتب هذه السطور في الثانى والعشرين من ربيع الأول سنة تسع وسبعين وسبتة، حامداً الله تعالى ومصلياً على رسوله.
which goes to show that the Shaykh had taken to the study of Hadith after his initiation.

Hadith made a deep impression on Nizām al-Din’s mind. This was not all. By way of kaffāra, expiation, for the sin which he thought he had committed in his school days as a result of his memorizing forty Maqāmas of Al-Ḥarīrī, he got by heart the Aḥādith of the Mashāriq al-Anwār. Further the study of Hadith so widened his outlook on life that he gave up the rigid conventionism, taqlid of the ‘Ulama’ and fell in line with the Muhaddithūn, as his opinion about the legality of samā’, qir’at khalf al-imām and ṣalāt al-janāza ‘alā’ al-ghā’ib amply demonstrates.

Nizām al-Din does not seem to have been a Nizām al-Din as Traditionist of great distinction as it appears from the perusal of his Malfūzāt, the Fawā’id al-Fu’ād which contains, inter alia, many fabricated Traditions.¹ This might have been due to the fact that he had no access to any standard work on Hadith literature save and except the Mashāriq al-Anwār. Be that as it may, it redounds to his credit that he could create for the people of his Khānqāh interest for Hadith with the result that there grew up among his disciples and their successors a number of scholars who had acquired proficiency in the subject.

TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF NIZĀM AL-DIN

1. Shams al-Din Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Awadi
   [d. 747/1346]

He was a pupil of Fārid al-Din al-Shafi‘i and Zahir al-Din al-Bhakkārī, the two renowned professors of their age. He also appears to have read the

Mashāriq al-Anwar with his master Niẓām-al-Dīn Awlīya' and became, in turn, a teacher of the royal institution of Delhi in the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī. In 724/1323, Niẓām al-Dīn made him one of his Khalifās. Then Muḥammad b. Tughlaq appointed him a preacher of Islām in Kashmir but, before he could join his post, he died suddenly of boils in 747/1346 and was buried in Delhi.¹

Shams al-Dīn was the first Indian Traditionist who wrote a commentary on the Mashāriq al-Anwar² and was otherwise the second Muslim to comment on the work.³ Unfortunately, the commentary has not come down to us. The tribute paid to him by his distinguished pupil, the Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, shows what an eminent educationist Shams al-Dīn was.⁴

2. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Zarrād al-Samānūwi al-Dihlūwi [d. 748/1347]

He read with Shams al-Dīn al-Awadī and other reputed teachers of Delhi. He was both a jurist as well as a traditionist. He possessed a deep and wide knowledge of Hadith literature. While teaching al-Hidāya in Delhi he would adduce from the Ṣaḥīḥān Aḥadīth parallel to those of al-Hidāya, strengthening thereby the basis of al-Hidāya itself.⁵ Numerous Aḥadīth abound in his two Arabic treatises on Samā', namely, the Uṣūl al-Samā'⁶ and the Kashf

2. Akhbār, p. 90.
3. Infra, Part II, Chap. II, Sec. III.
4. سألت العلم من أحباه حقاً قال العلم شمس الدين يعلي Nuzha, loc. cit.
6. For extracts from Uṣūl al-Samā', see Nuzha, pp. 105-06.
al-Qinā'an Wujūh al-Samā', particularly the chapter VIII of the latter that has been devoted to the justification of Samā' from the standpoint of Apostolic Traditions.

Fakhr al-Dīn participated in the famous munāzara on Samā' with his preceptor, Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā'. At the instance of Muḥammad b. Tughlaq, he went to Deogir (Dowlatābād) from where he proceeded to Makka, thence to Baghdād and attended the lectures of eminent Traditionists there. In 748/1347 on his way home, he was drowned at sea. 


Ever since the commencement of his relationship with Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā', Diyā' al-Dīn Barāni, the famous author of the Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhi, lived at Ghiyathpūr and thus had an opportunity to be in close contact with him. He was a cultured and widely read man of his contemporary India. The idea of his knowledge of the science of Tradition may be had from the references of Aḥādith made in his Tārīkh particularly the brief but comparative study between Ḥadith and historiography (Tārīkh) he brings to bear upon its Mugaddima. He observes that the study of the Qur'ān and the Apostolic precepts makes a man well-balanced and humane. He died some time

1. A Ms. copy of this treatise is in the library of ASB under No. 457 (Persian Mss.) and another is with Mawlānā 'Abd al-Majīd of Dariyābād, near Lucknow (Ma'ārif, vol. xxii, No. 6, p. 416).
2. Ma'ārif, loc. cit.
5. Nusha, p. 64.
6. Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī, pp. 102, 511.
7. Ibid., pp. 9-11.
8. Ibid., p. 465.
after 758/1357 when he completed his *Tārikh-i-Firuz Shahī*. ¹


He was one of those disciples of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ who took lively interest in Hadīth literature. He attended the Hadīth classes of Niẓām al-Dīn himself in which the latter would explain difficult Traditions. ² We have it from the *Khażīnat al-Asfīyā’* that Muḥiyy al-Dīn was a scholar of Hadīth, Tafsīr and Fiqh. He belonged to a hereditary Qādī family of Oudh. But as a result of his taking to the life of a daruish, he was reduced to the lowest stage of poverty. A friend of his brought this to the notice of Sulṭān ‘Ala’ al-Dīn Khaljī who offered him the qādīship of Oudh. But Muḥiyy al-Dīn did not accept. He died in Delhi in 719/1319.⁴


Niẓām al-Dīn ‘Allāmī was a scholar of great renown. His erudition in Hadīth literature earned for him the title of Zubdat al-Muḥaddithin. He began his career as a disciple of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ but, presumably on his death, completed the course of mystical training at Sayyidwāda in Zafarābād, near Jawnpūr, under Makhdūm Asad al-Dīn Aftāb-i-Hind

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¹ *Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, p. 602. *Khażīna*, vol. i, p. 346, gives his death-date at 738 A.H. which is evidently a mistake. His biographical notices will also be found in *Khażīna*, vol. i, p. 346; *Tadhkira-i-‘Ulamā’*, p. 97; and Beale’s *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 288.

² *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, p. 102.

³ Vol. i, p. 315.

⁴ *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, pp. 276 seq; *Akhbār*, pp. 91-92; *Ḥadā‘iq*, p. 276; *Tadhkira-i-‘Ulamā’*, pp. 221-22; *Nuzha*, pp. 163-64.
(661-793), a saint, who made 'Allāmī his Khalīfa. He compiled two treatises on Şūfīsm, the one in Arabic called Zad al-Şulaḥā' and the other in Persian called Zad al-Salikān. He died at Šafarābād in 735/1334.

6. Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī
   ([ d. 757/1356 ])

Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Husaynī al-Yazdī al-Awādī who became famous under his surname Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, the Light of Delhi, succeeded Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' in the spiritual hierarchy of Ghiyāthpūr. He read Islamic sciences with Muḥiyy al-Dīn al-Kāshānī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Awādī and others. He was fairly conversant with Ḥadīth literature, as his Malfūżat, discourses, Khayr al-Majālis, testifies. He died in Delhi on Friday, Ramaḍān 18, 757/September, 1356.

7. Sayyid Muḥammad Gisū Darāz
   (721-825/1321-1422)

Abū 'l-Fath Šadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Husaynī al-Dihlawī commonly called Gisū Darāz, 'the Long Locked,' was a saint of great renown. He was a disciple of Chirāgh-i-Dihlī and succeeded him in the Khāṇqā of Ghiyāthpūr. Born in Delhi on Rajab 4, 721/July, 1321, he read with Sharf al-Dīn al-Kathhīlī, Tāj al-Dīn Muqaddam and Qādir 'Abd al-Muqtadīr (d. 791). In 801/1399, he quitted Delhi on account of Timūr’s invasion and after spending several years in Gujarāt and Dawlatābād he reached Gulbargā in 815/1412 and was received with every mark of

1. For his biography, see Faṣīḥ al-Dīn, Sharqi Monuments of Jawnpūr (Jawnpur, 1922), p. 97.
2. Taʿjarīs-i-Nūr, p. 22; Ma‘ārif, vol. xxv, No. 5, p. 346; Nuzha, p. 175.
respect by Sultan Firuz Shah Bahmani (800-25/1397-1422). Prince Ahmad Shah became his disciple and built for him a fine house with a convent attached to it. He died there on Monday, Dhul-Qa‘da 26, 825/ October, 1422.¹

Sayyid Muhammed Gişū Darāz is said to have written over one hundred books on different branches of Islamic learning.² His works on Ḥadith are as follows:

(i) Sharḥ Mashāriq al-Anwār. The peculiar feature of this commentary is the interpretation of Aḥādīth from the point of view of Ṣūfism.³

(ii) Tarjumā-i-Mashāriq al-Anwār, a Persian translation of the Mashāriq al-Anwār.⁴

(iii) Kitāb al-Arba‘in, a treatise of select forty Traditions. The author added to every Ḥadīth parallel sayings of the Ṣaḥāba, Ṭabi‘ūn and Mashā‘ikh.⁵

(iv) A treatise on Sīrat al-Nabi.⁶

8. Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn

Another eminent disciple of Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, who was well-versed in Ḥadīth literature, was Wajih al-Dīn. He flourished in the 8th century. His title to fame rests on his being the author of Miftah al-Jinān (the Key to Paradise), a Persian dissertation containing directions regarding prayers (awrād), religious observances and moral conduct. The book, as the author states in the Muqaddima, is based on the Qur‘ān and the most Ṣāḥīh, ‘approved,’ treatise on Tradition⁷ and that is presumably the Mashāriq al-Anwār. A Ms.

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
copy of this work transcribed in 1084/1673 is in the British Museum.1

9. Qādi Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī 
   [d. 849/1445]

Malik al-‘Ulama’ Shihāb al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn b. ‘Umar al-Zāwūlī al-Ghaznawī al-Dawlatābādī, a celebrated scholar of the early 9th century A.H., was born at Dawlatābād in the Deccan. He was educated in Delhi under distinguished professors like Mu’īn al-Dīn ‘Imrā’ī (d.circ. 807), Mawlānā Khawājgī (d. 819) and Qādi ‘Abd al-Muqtadīr al-Shuraiḥī (d. 791) of whom the last mentioned scholar, who was a disciple of Chirāgh-i-Dihlī,2 was his spiritual guide. During Timūr’s invasion, he migrated along with Mawlānā Khawājgī to Kalpī3 whence he came over to Jawnpūr and settled there permanently. Shihāb al-Dīn enjoyed patronage of Sultān Ibrāhīm al-Sharqī (804-44/1401-40) who conferred on him the title of Malik al-‘Ulama’, ‘the Prince of the Scholars.’ He died on Rajab 25, 849/October, 1445, and was buried beside the Atala mosque of Ibrāhīm Sharqī at Jawnpūr.4

Shihāb al-Dīn left us, among other works,5 a treatise on the excellence of the Sayyids, entitled Manāqib al-Sādāt or Sharaf al-Sādāt, wherein he quoted copiously verses from the Qur‘ān and Ḥadīth from the Mashāriq al-Anwār, Maṣābih al-Sunna,

1. No. 691, fol. 244.
Mishkāt al-Mašābiḥ and Sharḥ Maʿānī al-Āthār by al-Ṭahāwī.¹

10. Mawlānā Khawājgī al-Karawī  [d. 878/1473]  

Shams al-Dīn Khawājgī b. Aḥmad b. Shams al-Dīn al-ʻUraydī al-Multānī al-Karawī traced his descent from Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148). He was a Šūfī scholar and compiled an Arbaʿīn with Traditions selected from the Mashāriq al-Anwar and committed it to memory. He died at his native place at Kara, near Allāhābād, on Muḥarram 18, 876/May, 1473.² His tomb³ which was on the bank of the Ganges has been washed away as late as 1940. Though we have no evidence connecting him with the Traditionists of the School of Niẓām al-Dīn, nevertheless we presume him to be one of them inasmuch as he flourished in Oudh which was under the sphere of influence of the disciples of Niẓām-al-Dīn, such as Shams al-Dīn al-Awādī, Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī and others.⁴

II. SHARAF AL-DĪN AL-MANIRĪ AND HIS SCHOOL OF MUḤADDITHĪN

Makhḍum al-Mulk Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manīrī al-Bihārī  [661-782/1263-1381]  

Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Manīrī, the celebrated saint of Bihār, was born on Friday, Shawwal, 661/August, 1263, at Manīrī,⁵ a village 60 miles off from 

1. Inṣafra, Retrospect, VI.
3. His tomb enshrined the following inscription composed by Khawajağī himself:

برائخ خدا ای عزیزان نواسید بر گور مرن این گنگ
کبجو خواجگی قرتشاغی چاکشند

the present Bihār Sharīf in Patna. He was educated at Sunārgāon under the fostering care of his teacher (afterwards, father-in-law) Abū Tawāma al-Ḥanbālī. On the conclusion of his studies in 691/1291, he proceeded to Delhi, had an interview with Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ and then went to Lahore and became a disciple of Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn al-Firdawsī (d. 733). He subsequently spent the next thirty years of his life in the forests of Bihīya and Rājgīr in the meditation of and in holding communion with God. Sometime between 720-24/1320-24, he gave up the life of seclusion and started the career of a spiritual guide. His Khānqā at Manir, which had originally been built up by his friends and admirers, was, later, extended and rebuilt by Sultān Muḥammad b. Tughlaq who, also, assigned the Pargana of Rājgīr to meet its expenses. The monument stands to this day. The Makhdūm died at Manir on Shawwal 6, 782/January, 1381.

Sharaf al-Dīn was an outstanding Traditionist of this part of India. He was thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of Hadīth literature, viz., ‘Īlm Ta’wil al-Ḥadīth, ‘Īlm Rijāl al-Ḥadīth and ‘Īlm Muṣṭalāhāt al-Ḥadīth. His

1. *Mir’at al-Asrār*, fol. 462a

2. He was a disciple of Rukn al-Dīn al-Firdawsī (d. 724), the pioneer of the Firdawsī order in India (*Khāzīna*, vol. ii, p. 286).


Maktubat and books on Şūfism¹ are interspersed with Ahādīth both verbatim and reproduced. This is not all. At times he would devote pages of his works for the discussion of the different aspects of the science, e.g., Riwāyat bi‘l-Ma‘nā (narration of the Traditions and not the wordings thereof), Shurūt al-Riwi (conditions for an approved transmitter) and so on and so forth. In his works references have been made of the Sahīhān, the Musnad of Abū Ya‘lā al-Māwṣili, Sharḥ al-Maṣābīḥ and Mashāriq al-Anwār. Further, a copy of Sharḥ Sahih Muslim by al-Nawawi (d. 672) is believed to have been in his possession for the purpose of his study.² He is credited to have, for the first time, introduced the teaching of the Sahīhān in Bihār, nay in India.³ He was not merely well-conversant with Hadith. As a matter of fact, he practised it to such an extent that he did never in his life taste melon simply because there was nothing to show that the Prophet of Islam had tasted it.⁴ Last but not the least, he was an authority of the mystical teachings of both the Qur‘ān and the Sunna.⁵

As both Nizām al-Dīn Awliya’ of Delhi and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Maniri of Bihār were Şūfis and contributed materially to the cause of Hadith literature in this country, an estimate of their achievement in this regard may not be out of place here.

Sharaf al-Dīn played the role of a leading spiritual guide in Bihār as did Nizām al-Dīn Awliya’ in Delhi. Both were scholars of Islamic learning. As to their

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1. For his works, see Cal. Review, pp. 210-11.
Dīn Awliyā', as attainments in the field of Ḥadīth literature, the former seems to have carried away the palms. This was because of the fact that Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' began the study of Ḥadīth late in life, and had no access to any standard work on the subject, besides al-Ṣaghānī’s Mashāriq al-Anwār¹ whereas Sharaf al-Dīn had the advantage of being educated under the Ḥanbalite Abū Taw’āma who must, of necessity, have laid stress on Ḥadīth. Naturally enough, he became more conversant with Ḥadīth literature. Further, unlike Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, Sharaf al-Dīn had access to quite a large number of works on Ḥadīth² which he presumably collected from his teacher³ as also from his friends. The fact that Shaykh Zain al-Dīn of Dewa⁴ presented to him a copy of the Šahih of Muslim⁵ supports our contention.

Now a word about the Traditionists of his school.

1. Shaykh Mużaffar al-Balkhī [d. 786/1384]

Mużaffar b. Shams al-Dīn al-Balkhī was the Khalīfa, representative, of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Maniri. Born and educated at Delhi, Mużaffar was appointed by Fūrūz Shāh Tughlaq (752-90/1351-80) a Professor of Kushk La’l College in Delhi. As his father Shams al-Dīn was a disciple of Ahmad alias Chirm Pūsh (skin-dressed), a saint of Bihār, he naturally desired that his son Mużaffar, too, were initiated by the Chirm Pūsh. Because the Chirm Pūsh was an unlettered saint, Mużaffar preferred Sharaf al-Dīn al-Maniri to him. But owing to his official preoccupation in Delhi, he could not join the Khānqā of Sharaf al-Dīn until 25 years after his initiation during which period, however, Mużaffar recieved instructions by

1. Supra, p. 59.
3. Infra, pp. 76-77.
4. He was a scholar of the 8th century (Nuzha, p. 46).
5. Ibid., Ma‘ārif, vol. xxiii, No. 4, p. 296.
correspondence. He then came over to Manir along with the members of his family. In recognition of his profound scholarship in Islamic sciences, Mużaffar got the sobriquet of lmām from his teacher Sharaf al-Dīn.

He prepared a commentary on the Mashāriq al-Mużaffar, as a Traditionist Anwār, which, however, does not seem to have long survived his death. His role as a Traditionist can be had from the fact that he issued a sanad to his nephew and disciple Ḥusain Nawsha-i-Tawḥīd as follows:

 Francesco Scheme, Sunduq Ḥadīth, Brīm, Fiqīr, Čukri, Ǧumāl & Ǧumāł, Ǧumāl al-Bukhārī from the beginning to the end and scrutinizing (every) word with me.]

After the demise of his dearly beloved preceptor, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Maniri, Mużaffar migrated to Makka and eventually died at Aden in Jumādā I, 788/June, 1384.

2. Ḥusain b. Muʿizz al-Bihārī [d. 844/1441]

Husain alias Nawsha-i-Tawḥīd was a nephew and Khalifa of Mużaffar al-Balkhi. He was a mystic of the Firdawsi order as well as a Traditionist. Brought up by Makhdūm Sharaf al-Dīn, Nawsha read the Sahihān with his uncle Mużaffar thoroughly well. His father Shaykh al-İslām Muʿizz al-Bihārī, who was

1. Maʿarif, vol. xxiii, No. 4, p. 298.
3. Supra.
himself a Traditionist of some distinction, made a present to him of a copy of the Šaḥīḥ of Muslim, transcribed on a silk brocade in beautiful Arabic calligraphy, as a token of the latter's great interest for Ḥadith literature.¹ He accompanied his uncle to al-Hijāz and further studied the science of Tradition at Āden under al-Khaṭīb al-‘Adanī.

Nawsha-i-Tawḥīd added to the Khānqā of Manir a number of Ḥadith works which were brought from al-Hijāz. He wrote several books on mysticism, the famous being Ḥaḍarāt-i-Khams, and a Diwān in Persian. His treatise called Risāla Awrād-i-Dah Fuṣli is full of Ahlāḏīth not only from the Šīhāḥ Sitta but also from Sunan of al-Baihaqī and the Mustadrak of al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī. He died at Manir in Dhū ’l-Ḥijja, 844/May, 1441.²

3. Aḥmad Langar-i-Dariyā b. Ḫasan b. Muẓaffar al-Bihārī [d. 891/1486]

He succeeded his father in the Khānqā of Manir. He committed to memory the entire Maṣābiḥ al-Sunnāt within six months in order to get applause and approbation from his grandfather Muẓaffar al-Balkhī. In his Munis al-Qulub, a collection of his Malfuṣāt, discourses, Aḥmad freely quotes from the Šaḥīḥān, the Mashāriq al-Anwār and other Ḥadith compilations. He died in 891/1486³ and with him perhaps terminated the line of the reputed scholars of the house of Muẓaffar al-Balkhī who succeeded in the Khānqā of Manir.


². Akhbār, pp. 114 seq. ; Nuzha (Ms.), vol. iii, s.v. Ḫusain b. Mu‘izz al-Bihārī ; Ma‘arif, vol. xxiii, No. 4, pp. 298-99 ; vol. xxiv, No. 4, p. 261, note 2.

³. Ma‘arif, vol. xxiii, No. 4, p. 299.
III. 'ALĪ AL-HAMADĀNĪ AND HIS SCHOOL IN KASHMĪR

Ḥadīth was first brought to Kashmir by Sayyid Amīr-i-Kabīr 'Alī b. Shihāb al-Hamadānī, an itinerant darwish of Khurāsān, who entered the territory in 773/1371 with a retinue of seven hundred followers. He was a great success as a missionary in Kashmir where he and his disciples were mainly responsible for the expansion of Islam. So great was his influence over there that Sulṭān Qutb al-Dīn, the ruler of Kashmir (770-93/1368-92), took pride in accepting his discipleship. Al-Hamadānī spent in that country the last years of his life and died on Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 6, 786/January, 1385, on his way to Persia. He was buried at Khulān in the Transoxania.

Al-Hamadānī has to his credit the following dissertations on Ḥadīth:

(1) Al-Sabʿīn fī Faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʿminīn, a collection of seventy Traditions dealing with excellences of Ahl bāit, the descendants of the Prophet. The bulk of these Ḥādīth have been gathered from the Musnad of Firdaus al-Daylamī, a book not considered reliable by the Traditionists.

(2) Arbaʿīn Amiriyya, a collection of forty Traditions which al-Hamadānī transmitted from Anas b. Mālik on the authority of his Shaykh Najm al-Dīn al-Adhkānī (d. 778).

Besides, his Dhakhirat al-Mulık, a treatise on political philosophy, abounds with Traditions, furnishing proof of his mastery of Ḥadith literature.¹

Among the followers of 'Alī al-Hamadānī, Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn was a Muḥaddith whom Sulṭān Quṭb al-Dīn appointed as a teacher in Kashmir.²

Khānqā-i-Muḍallā in Kashmir & Ḥadith.—This Khānqa was built by Sulṭān Sikandar, the successor of Sulṭān Quṭb al-Dīn, in 799/1396 for Mīr ‘Alī al-Hamadānī’s son Mīr Muḥammad al-Hamadānī (d. 809), who, on his father’s death, had come to Kashmir with three hundred disciples. It was a seat of learning until it developed into a seminary of Ḥājī Kashmirī, a Traditionist of the 10th century.³

Qādī Husayn al-Shīrāzī.—A native of Shīrāz, Husayn came to Kashmir with his preceptor Mīr Muḥammad al-Hamadānī. Sulṭān Sikandar appointed him judge in his dominion.⁴ Husayn collected Aḥādīth Ratanīyya,⁵ the forged Traditions emanating from Bābā Ratan al-Hindi, a master fabricator (wadīther), of the early 7th century A.H., who had the audacity to give out that he had enjoyed ṣulḥbat, companionship of the Prophet.⁶

IV. SHAYKH ZAKARIYYA AL-MULTĀNĪ AND HIS SCHOOL OF MUḤADDITHŪN AT MULṬĀN

Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakariyya (d. 666) was a pioneer of Ḥadith learning at Multān. After him his mantle fell on the shoulders of his sons and grandsons. The Traditionist Jamāl al-Dīn al-Uchī and Makhdūm-i-Jahānīyān Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bukhārī were the products of this centre.

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith.—He was a disciple of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. 684), a son and successor of Bahā’ al-Dīn. For many years he was a Professor at his native town, Uchh, where he taught the Masāriq al-Anwār and the Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna. So devoted was he to the Sunna of the Prophet that he used to put on coarse garments as the Prophet did. Jamāl al-Dīn flourished in the first half of the 8th century A.H.¹

Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bukhārī (707-85/1307-83).—Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Bukhārī al-Uchī was born at Uchh in 707/1307. After his education at his native town under Qāḍī Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Uchī and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith,² he joined the school of Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakariyya at Multān, which was then being conducted by Shaykh Abū Ḥ-Fath Rukn al-Dīn b. Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. 735), a grandson of Bahā’ al-Dīn. Here, on finishing within one year the existing courses of study comprising the Masāriq al-Anwār and the Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna, Jalāl al-Dīn became a disciple of Rukn al-Dīn. He further received instructions in Ṣūfism at Delhi from Shams al-Dīn al-Awadī and Naṣir al-Dīn Chiragh-i-Dīhli, in al-Madīna from ‘Asif al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh al-Maṭarī and also from some other Mashā’ikh of al-‘Irāq and Egypt. Then he was made Shaykh al-Islām of Sind by Muḥammad b. Tughlaq whose successor Firūz Shāh himself accepted discipleship under him. Besides being a saint and scholar of great eminence, Jalāl al-Dīn was also a Muḥaddith. His deep insight into Aḥadith impressed him, as did Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, to practise qir‘at khalf al-Imām and Ṣalāt al-Jānāsa ‘ala ‘l-Ghā’ib.³ He used to impart lessons on Ḥadith literature, so that we find him lectur-

1. Khaṣīna, pp. 11, 37; Nuzha, pp. 24-25.
2. Nuzha, p. 25.
ing on the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* and the *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunnā* during his sojourn at Delhi in 775/1375 and 781/1379.¹ He died at Uchh in 785/1383.²

**Retrospect**

Until the middle of the 9th century A.H., the only Ḥadith compilations available at the great University city of Jawnpūr³ were the *Mashāriq*, the *Maṣābiḥ*, the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* and the *Sharḥ Maʿānī l-Āthār* by al-Ṭahāwī. This we gather from the perusal of the *Sharaf al-Sādāt*,⁴ a treatise written at Jawnpūr sometime between 807-49/1406-45, which contains Aḥādith not only from the aforesaid works on Ḥadith but also from *al-Hidāya*, *Tafṣīr al-Kashshāf*, and *Tafṣīr al-Baidāwī*, *Fatwa-i-Qādikhān*, *Fatwa-i-Tātārkhanīya*, *al-Durr al-Manthur*, *Sharḥ Farāḍal Sirājīyya* by al-Taftāzānī, *al-Bahār al-Muḥīṭ*, *Tārikh al-Nasab* by Abū ʾl-Qāsim, *Akhbār al-Thimār*, *Farāḍal al-Halāliyya*, etc. The quoting of Aḥādith from non-Ḥadith works as mentioned above points to the dearth of any comprehensive collection of Traditions like the *Jawāmiʿ Masāniḍ*⁶ or *Sunan* works⁷ during the period under review, at Jawnpūr. Now, as a result of Timūr’s invasion (801-02/1398-09) cultural centres of Delhi were mostly diverted to Jawnpūr,⁸ so that the latter became a replica of the former and as such the state of affairs of Ḥadith literature at Delhi was not likely to be any different from what now obtained at Jawnpūr. As a matter of fact, during the period under review Delhi, as a centre of Ḥadith learning, does not seem to have possessed any more Ḥadith works than the *Mashāriq*,

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5. *I.e., Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī and Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*.
6. *e.g., Musnad Ahmad b. Ḥanbal*.
7. *e.g., Sunan Abī Dāwūd, al-Nasāʿī*, etc.
the Maṣāḥīḥ and the Ṣharḥ Maʿānī ʿl-Āthār. As for the Mishkāt al-Maṣāḥīḥ, we have no evidence to show if it was available at Delhi at the time.

Below is an attempt to trace the advent of the standard works on Hadith literature in Northern India during the period under review.

1. **Sunan** of Abū Dāwūd.

The earliest reference of Aḥādīth from the Sunan of Abū Dāwūd is noticed in al-Juzjānī’s Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri1 written during the Sulṭānate of Nasir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (644-64) and as such the Sunan must have been brought to Delhi by the middle of the 7th century. As no trace of the work was found in Delhi subsequently, we may presume that it had either been lost or removed elsewhere.

2. **Mashārīq al-Anwār**.

The earliest available work on Ḥadīth in India was al-Ṣaghānī’s Mashārīq al-Anwār which had been introduced into Delhi by Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 676), a pupil of al-Ṣaghānī, about the middle of the 7th century.2 By 679/1280 Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ completed his study of the work which he later committed to memory.3 Since then the Mashārīq al-Anwār began to be more and more popular among the Šūfī scholars of India. During the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughlāq (725-52), it was the only available work on Hadith in Delhi as is evident from the fact that the Sulṭān received bay’a, oath of allegiance, from his officials in the presence of the Qur’ān and a copy of the Mashārīq al-Anwār only.4 While leaving Delhi for the Deccan on account of Timūr’s invasion

2. Supra, p. 62.
3. Supra, p. 69.
4. Tarikh-Firūz Shāhī, p. 495
(801-02), the only book on Hadith Gisū Darāz (d. 825),
the then representative of the spiritual hierarchy found-
ed by Nizām al-Din, could lay his hand upon and did
carry with him was a copy of the Mashāriq al-Anwār
on which he commented afterwards. This book, i.e.,
the Mashāriq al-Anwār, was in evidence not only in
Delhi, as shown above, but was also found in other
educational centres of India, viz., Multān, Uchh and
Manir. As a matter of fact, the Mashāriq was the
most popular treatise on I ḥadith then known.


Al-Baghwai’s Maṣābih al-Sunna was probably
introduced into India by the middle of the 8th century
as it appears from the fact that the book was taught in
Delhi and Uchh by Makhdūm-i-Jahānīyān Jalāl al-Din
al-Bukhārī (d. 785) and the Traditionist Jamal al-Din
al-Uchā respectively, and that it was referred to in the
works of Sharaf al-Dìn Yaḥyā al-Maniri (d. 782).¹

4. Al-Ṣaḥīḥān.

Makhdūm al-Mulk Sharaf al-Din was the first
scholar to have made reference of the Ṣaḥīḥān in his
works compiled sometime between 741-86/1340-84.²
Of all places the presence of the Ṣaḥīḥān in the Khān-
gā of Manir at this time seems to be a mystery that
cannot be easily unravelled. Maybe that while a
student at Sunārgāon, the Makhdūm al-Mulk had pro-
cured them from the collection of his teacher and
father-in-law Abū Taw’ama who must have brought
them with him when coming over to India.³ Further
the Makhdūm had also an additional copy of the Ṣaḥīḥ
Muslim presented to him by Zain al-Din of Dewa, a
scholar of the 8th century. To add to that, Shaykh

¹. Supra, p. 68.
³. Supra, p. 53.
al-Islām Mu‘izz al-Bihārī rewarded his son Nawsha-i-Tawḥīd of the Khānqā with a further copy of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim.


Until the death of Makhdūm Sharaf al-Dīn in 782/1381, the Khānqā of Manir possessed only the Ṣaḥīḥ, the Maṣāḥīḥ al-Sunna, the Mashāriq and the Musnad of Abū Ya‘lā al-Mawṣili. Subsequently the Khānqā was enriched by the addition to it of the Sunan Arba', the Sunan of al-Baihaqī and the Mustadrak of al-Ḥakīm al-Nisābūrī brought by Nawsha-i-Tawḥīd from al-Ḥijāz.


The Ma‘ānī ‘l-Āthār by al-Taḥāwī (d. 320) was introduced into Delhi towards the middle of the 8th century as the work has been referred to in Sharaf Muḥammad al-‘Atṭār’s Fawā’id-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, a work on Fiqh dedicated to Šūltān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq (752-90). The work was also available at Jawnpūr.


This work was brought to Kashmir by Amīr-i-Kabīr Shīhāb al-Hamadānī (d. 786) but does not seem to have been utilized by anybody excepting himself utilizing it as he did in compiling his al-Sab‘īn.


The Mishkāt al-Maṣāḥīḥ by al-Ṭabrīzī (d. 739) appears to have been introduced into India in the beginning of the 9th century, if not earlier, as the works were available at Jawnpūr at this time.

To sum up, the following works on Hadith literature were found extant in different cultural seats of Northern India during the period under review:

Șiḥāḥ Sitta;
Maṣāḥiḥ al-Sunna;
Mashāriq al-Anwār;
Mishkāt al-Maṣāḥiḥ;
Sharḥ Maʿāniʾ ʾl-Āthār;
Sunan al-Baihaqi;
Al-Mustadrak liʾl-Ḥākim;
Musnad of Firdaws; and
Musnad of Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣili.
CHAPTER IV

RENAISSANCE OF HADITH LEARNING IN INDIA [820-992/1417-1584]

Section I. Transmission of Hadith to India from al-Hijāz

The rise of the Bahmanīs in the Deccan and the Muẓaffar Shāhī dynasty in Gujarāt towards the middle of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century respectively ushered in the millennium for the cultivation of Hadith literature in that part of the country from where the science subsequently made its way to Northern India. The period of one hundred and eighty years covered by the rule of these neighbouring Muslim kingdoms was a landmark in the domain of cultural activities. Enlightened and accomplished, Sulṭāns of both these houses displayed marvellous zeal for the promotion of learning in their respective dominions. With that end in view, they invited to their capitals men of letters from far and near, and extended to them their lavish munificence. Few dynasties during the Muslim hegemony in India could produce a ruler of the attainments of Firūz Shāh Bahmanī (800-25/1397-1422) or Muẓaffar II (917-32/1511-25), the royal Maecenas of Gujarāt. A good linguist, the former used to send ships every year from the ports of Goa and Chaul to different countries, particularly to invite to his court men celebrated for their learning.1 Whereas the latter promoted learning with great zeal, and men of letters from Persia, Arabia and Turkey found it worthwhile to settle in Gujarāt in his liberal reign.2 Not the Sulṭāns alone but some of their viziers also distinguished themselves as educationists and patrons of learning. Mention in this respect may be made of Maḥmūd Gāwān of Deccan

2. Ibid., p. 106.
and Aṣaf Khān of Gujarāt. They were both traditionists and scholars, and, in spite of their onerous state duties, devoted themselves to literary activities, and spent most of their incomes on the maintenance of the poor and famished litterateurs living in different parts of the Muslim World. As a matter of fact, the Deccan, under the Bahmanis, and Gujarāt under the Muẓaffar Shāhis, became a cynosure for the scholars, litterateurs, poets and talented person desirous of obtaining patronage. As a result, the Muḥaddithūn from al-Ḥijāz and Egypt began to flock to their kingdoms. This mass movement of traditionists was due as much to the love and reverence shown to the Apostolic tradition by the Sultāns as also to the easy means of communications, now available, by the opening of the pilgrim-route across the Arabian Sea in place of the long and hazardous land-route hitherto used by the Indian Muslims. Henceforth, regular sailings were arranged under the orders of the Sultāns during the pilgrimage season from the ports of South India particularly from those of Gujarāt which then came to be known as Bāb Makka, the Gate of Makka. Further, as the commerce of the Arabs with South Indian ports, that had long been established, now became extensive, sailings were undertaken more frequently. The intimate relationship, which thus subsisted between India and Arabia, coupled with liberal patronage extended to the Traditionists by the aforesaid royal houses, played a vital part in the diffusion of Hadīth learning in India.

Before going into details of the migration of the Traditionists just referred to, it will not be out of place here to find out whether religious learning was

1. Cambridge History of India, III, p. 312; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 256.

2. Many a Traditionist, too, came to India for the purpose of trade but finding great scope for carrying on cultural activities in the Deccan and Gujarāt, they permanently settled there (Infra, p. 89).
introduced into the Muslim settlements of South India which had come into being under the auspices of the Arab traders and missionaries prior to the Muslim conquest.¹

The history of the introduction of religious learning into South India is shrouded in darkness. The erection of as many as eleven mosques on the Malābār Coast in the 3rd century of the Hijra,² however, suggests that with the progress of missionary activities in that part of the country religious learning must have been introduced there. For, after all, the neo-Muslims had to be given instructions in the rudiments of Islamic rites and rituals. As a matter of fact, the Arabs were as much solicitous for new converts as for turning them into good Muslims. With this end in view, they built mosques wherever they found some converts. Ordinarily, a mosque served a twofold purpose. It was, first, a place for congregational services (jāmāʿat) and, secondly, an institution for imparting religious instructions; so that religious education flourished side by side with conversion. Thus, the raising of a mosque in the early Islām necessarily meant the foundation of a religious institution.³ We can, therefore, reasonably hold that the introduction of religious learning into South India dated as far back as the 3rd century A.H. when mosques were founded on the Malābār Coast. Henceforward, with the expansion of Islām and the establishment of Arab colonies there, there rose chapels and splendid mosques on all sides⁴ which,

¹. Muslim settlements were founded on the Malābār Coast, Maʿbar (Coromandal Coast) and Gujarāt. For details, see Nadawi, ʿArab wa Hind ke Taʿlluqāt, pp. 266, 302.
evidently, developed into seats of Islamic learning. Further, institution in the 4th century of the office of Qādi in the kingdom of Zamorin\(^1\) shows the growing activities of the Islāmic Shari’ā there.

That, having been introduced in the 3rd century, Islāmic learning went on gaining in popularity in the Muslim colonies of South India, is abundantly clear from the account of Ibn Baṭṭūta. By his time, \textit{i.e.}, the middle of the 8th century, religious learning was so much in evidence and the number of learners increased so vastly in the Muslim settlement of Honawar (modern Honavar in the district of Kanara, Bombay Presidency) that as many as thirteen schools for the girls and twenty-three for the boys had to be built there. The ladies of this settlement, \textit{en masse}, were ḥāfizât, memorisers, of the Qur’ān—an extraordinary feature of the great popularity of religious learning seldom to be met with anywhere at the time.\(^2\) At Manjarur (Mangalore in South Kanara, Madras), Ibn Baṭṭūta saw a Shāfi‘ī qādī, Badr al-Dīn al-Ma‘barī by name, who, over and above his official duties, used to carry on teaching work at a school in the city.\(^3\) In the Jāmi‘ of Hīlī, again, a number of students were found receiving instructions, while their board and lodging were supplied \textit{gratis}.\(^4\) The mosques he saw at Calicut likewise provided for religious teachings.

The foregoing lines amply demonstrate how widespread religious education was among the Muslim settlements of South India on the eve of the Muslim

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\(^1\) Nadawi, p. 279, quoting from ‘\textit{Ajā‘ib al-Hind}, by Buzarg b. Shahriyār (Leiden, 1830), p. 144.
\(^3\) Ibid., pp. 79-80.
conquest. Whether with the growth of religious learning the study of Ḥadith was pursued alongside that of the Qurʾān remains yet to be seen.

Unlike the Muslims of Northern India who professed the Hanafite School of Law, those of the South were Shāfiʿites, the former representing the religious learning of the Central Asia, viz., Fiqh, while the latter that of al-Ḥijāz, viz., Ḥadith—a state of things that cannot but serve as an object lesson for our present query. After all, the Shāfiʿites were more attached to Ḥadith than the Ḥanafites who concerned themselves more with Fiqh, as we have already observed.

The Moorish traveller Ibn Baṭṭūta to whom we owe some interesting sidelights on the religious and cultural life of the Muslims of South India, does not, however, refer to have seen any Muḥaddith there. Incidentally, he came across many a Shāfiʿite jurist (faqih) in the Muslim colonies. About fifty years after Ibn Baṭṭūta had visited the South, there were found in some towns of the Deccan a number of Muḥaddithūn who were recipients of endowments from Sūltān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī I (780-99/1378-97). Who were these Muḥaddithūn, is the question that naturally presents itself to us. Firishta, who furnishes this piece of information, does not give us any details. One thing that emerges out of it is that these Traditionists were not foreigners. For, in that case we would have some of their names at least preserved in the biographical literatures of the 8th or the 9th century scholars who had evidently migrated to the Deccan. Nor did they belong to Northern India either, where Muḥaddith,

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5. Pages 66, 68, 78, 80, 88, 90.
in the true sense of the term, was scarcely known at the time. Hence, in all probability, they were the natives of South India. This hypothesis gains in strength from the presence in South India at the time of Ibn Baṭṭūta of the Shāfiʿite scholars who may well be called Muḥaddithūn. We may, therefore, safely presume that the Shāfiʿi Fuqahāʾ of Ibn Baṭṭūta's description were the self-same persons who were later identified as Muḥaddithūn by Firishta—Muḥaddithūn who then came to settle in the Deccan under the patronage of the Bahmanī Sultāns. This hypothesis, further, leads us to conclude that before the Bahmanīs and the Muẓaffar Shahis came to power, Ḥadith literature had already been introduced into South India by the Shāfiʿite scholars, although the 9th century marked the dawn of its new era.

During the first quarter of the 9th century while Ḥadith literature was just in the process of being transmitted to India, a new school of Muḥaddithūn sprang up in Egypt under the leadership of Ibn Ḥajār al-ʿAsqalānī (773-852), one of the greatest Traditionists Islām has ever produced. This school produced among others ʿAbd al-ʿRahmān al-Sakhāwī (831-902) and Zain al-Dīn Zakariyya al-Anṣārī (826-925), the two outstanding Traditionists of their time. Of them, the first had Ḥaramayn as the centre of his activities,2 while the other, al-Ḳāhira.3 It was Ibn Ḥajār al-Haythamī (909-974), a worthy pupil of Zakariyya al-Anṣārī who was responsible for enhancing the reputation of Makka as a famous seat of Ḥadith learning.4 Thus right through the first quarter of

the 9th century down to the third quarter of the 10th century, there flourished, in succession, in both Egypt and the Haramayn four schools of Muḥaddithūn which served as the *via media* for the transmission of Ḥadith literature to India.

A noteworthy feature about the founders of these schools was that all of them belonged to Egypt. Indeed, during the period under review, Egypt was particularly rich with Muḥaddithūn. In addition to the traditionists above referred to, it also produced in this period al-Suyūṭī (d. 911) and al-Qaṣṭallānī (d. 923). To the credit of Egypt, may it be said that most of the Traditionists who transmitted Ḥadith to India were either Egyptians or their disciples. Nevertheless, Arabia remained the transmitting centre from where Ḥadith literature eventually made its way to India. This was because Arabia was linked up with India in more ways than one and, consequently, the Schools of Muḥaddithūn of the former became intimate with the latter. As such, the Schools of al-ʿAsqalānī and al-Anṣārī in Egypt, could not command that amount of popularity as those of al-Sakāhī and al-Haythamī in al-Ḥijāz did. Without minimising Arabia’s contribution towards the transmission of Ḥadith in India, in fairness to Egypt, it must be said that but for the Egyptian Muḥaddithūn, Ḥadith literature in this country could not have made that much progress as it really did.

**Migration of the Traditionists**

Before we discuss the migration to India of the Muḥaddithūn of the above four schools, it is in the fitness of things to say a few words about Badr al-Damāmīnī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī who were the earliest immigrants to India.
Badr al-Din al-Damāmīn (763-827/1361-1424)

Badr al-Din Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Mākhūmī al-Iṣkandarī al-Mālikī al-Damāmīn reached Gujarāt in Shaʿbān, 820 September, 1417, during the reign of Sultān Ahmad b. Muẓaffar Shāh (814-43/1411-43).¹ On the eve of his migration to India, he was a Professor in the Jāmiʿ Zābid, in al-Yaman.² Here he prepared a commentary upon the Ṣaḥīh of al-Bukhārī entitled Maṣābīḥ al-Jāmiʿ.³ While still at Zābid, his dedication of this work to Ahmad Shāh shows that al-Damāmīn had already been impressed with the literary munificence of the Sultān. In Gujarāt al-Damāmīn wrote his Taʿliq al-Faraʿīd, Tuḥfat al-Gharīb Sharḥ al-Mughnī ‘l-Labīb and ‘Ain al-Ḥayāt fi khulāsa Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān by al-Damīrī all of which were consecrated to the memory of his patron Ahmad Shah.⁴ At this time, the Deccan had in Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī (800-25/1397-1422) and his successor Ahmad Shāh (825-38/1422-34), two illustrious patrons of learning. The latter’s patronage to the learned and the pious attracted al-Damāmīn to Gulbarga,⁵ the capital of the Bahmani Sultāns, where he spent the last days of his life until he died in Shaʿbān, 827/July, 1424.⁶

4. Nuzha, loc. cit.; Yād-i-ʾAyyām, p. 36.
He dedicated his *al-Manhāl al-Šafi fī Šarḥ al-Wafi*, a treatise on Arabic grammar to his Bahmani patron, Aḥmad Shāh.¹

Born at Alexandria in 763/1361, Badr al-Dīn al-Damāmī, on finishing his studies under his grandfather al-Baha' al-Damāmī, his cousin, the famous Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808) and some other teachers of al-Qāhirah and Makka, held the Professorship of the Jāmi’ al-Azhar for several years.² He was an authority on Arabic lexicography and grammar³ and had been mentioned as such by al-Suyūṭī in his *Bughyat al-Wu‘āt*.⁴ He also wrote a few books on Ḥadīth literature. His *Mašābih al-Jāmi’*, a MS. copy of which is in the Khadiwiyya library of Egypt,⁵ is devoted preeminently to grammatical intricacies of the text of the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī.⁶ Of his two other works on the subject, viz., *al-Fath al-Rabbīni*⁷ and *Ta‘liq al-Mašābih*,⁸ the first is also preserved in the Khadiwiyya,⁹ while the other is found to have been extant in Arabia at the time of Ṣāḥib b. Muḥammad (d.1218), a Madinian traditionist, who was otherwise known as Fullānī.¹⁰

*Abūl-Futūḥ Nur al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allah al-Shirāzī al-Tawūsī*

*Abūl-Futūḥ* was born at Abarqūh¹¹ in Fāris. He

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3. For his works, see Brockelmann, supplement, i, pp. 28-27.
10. Fullānī, *Qaṭaf al-Thamār* appended to the *Rasā’il al-Asānīd*, parts I-IV (Hyderābād, 1328), p. 34.
11. Ibid. p. 15.
derived his *nisbu* of al-Ṭawūsī from his connection with the shrine of Ṭawūs al-Iḥramayn there. He came to Gujarāt probably during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh (814-844/1411-43). He was a pupil of Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī (d.817), Shams al-Dīn al-Jazarī (d. 833), Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 822) and Bābā Yūsuf al-Harawī. With the last, he studied the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī and received from him ‘*sanad ‘alī*’, high sanad, so called because between al-Harawī and al-Bukhārī the number of transmitters was fewer than that existed between any other contemporary of al-Hārawī and al-Bukhārī. Abū l-Futūḥ had his lessons of the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* from Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm who in his turn had them from Imām al-Dīn, a disciple of the celebrated author al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī (d.739).

I. TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF IBN ḤAJAR AL-‘ASQALĀNĪ (d. 852)


He came of a family of Makkan Traditionists who were known under their patronymic Ibn Fahd. In 830/1426-27, he landed at Cambay and after his stay there for two years, he went to Gulbarga apparently with a view to enjoy the patronage of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī I. He died at Mahur, in South Berār, in Jumādā II or Rajab, 843/November or December, 1439.

1. Le Strange, *p. 284*.
2. *Yād-i-Ayyām*, *p. 34*.
6. In Bombay Presidency, lat. 72: 19N; Long. 72, 88, E.
Ibn Fahd acquired the Science of Tradition from Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī and other contemporary Shuyukh of Egypt, Makka and al-Madina and had Ijāza (authority to teach Hadith) from Zain al-Dīn al-'Irāqī (d. 806) and Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥaythamī (d. 807).  

2. Maḥmūd Gāwān (813-86/1410-81)  

Khawāja 'Imād al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Md. b. Aḥmad al-Kīlānī, commonly known in Indian history as Maḥmūd Gāwān, was the famous minister of the Bahmanis. He came to the Deccan at the time of 'Ala' al-Dīn Shāh Bahmanī II (838-62/1434-1458).  

Born in 813/1410 of a house of princes in Gīlān, a small province on the Caspian, 3 Maḥmūd received education under his brother Aḥmad, a pupil of Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī.  

To pursue higher studies in Hadīth literature, he proceeded to al-Qāhirah in 843/1439 and read the Šāhiḥs of al-Bukhārī and Muslim with Ibn Ḥajar and Zain al-Dīn al-Zarkashī (d. 845) respectively. He also read Hadīth with several A'īmā', Professors of Hadīth of Syria. That Maḥmūd was well-versed in the Science of Tradition is gathered from the Munāwala granted to him by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī.  

Excepting his quotation of Aḥadīth in his Riyāḍ al-Insāḥ, 7 a collection of letters addressed

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3. Le Strange, p. 172.  
7. Law (op. cit., p. 87) mistakes Rauza al-Insāḥ’ for Riyāḍ al-Insāḥ’.
to different personages of India and outside, we have no other evidence of his proficiency in the Science of Tradition.

Maḥmūd Gāwān served the Bahmani dynasty with conspicuous ability for thirty-five years.¹ His celebrity was as much due to his administrative reforms as to his widespread literary munificence. He was a benefactor of humanity and mainstay of the poor litterateurs of merit and distinction.² As such, the news of his unjustifiable murder by Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani II (857-87/1463-82) on Ṣafar 5, 886/April, 1481, cast a gloom over the literary circles at Makka.³

Two years before his death Maḥmūd built a magnificent college at Bidar which he equipped with his personal library containing 3,000 volumes⁴ or, according to another version, 35,000 volumes,⁵ and of which ruins are found to this day. As a Traditionist of the Shāfiʿite School,⁶ he naturally emphasized the teaching of Ḥadith in his college. And his ‘splendid library’ must have included some books on Ḥadith literature.

II. TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-SAKHĀWĪ (d. 902).

1. Abūl-Fath b. al-Raḍī al-Makki (d. 886/1481)

He was born at Makka in Rabīʿ-Awwal, 854/April, 1450, and came in contact with, and heard Ḥadith from al-Sakhāwī during the latter’s sojourn in al-Ḥijāz in 870/1465. Shortly after, he left for Mandū,⁷

5. Murtaḍā Ḥusain, Hadīqat al-Aqālim (MS ASB).
the capital of Mālwā, where he lived for about thirteen years. Then he returned to Makka and died in 886/1481.¹

2. ʿAbdād b. Ṣāliḥ

Another student of al-Sakhāwī who settled down at Mandū was ʿAbdād b. Ṣāliḥ. His father, a native of Makka, had migrated to India where ʿAbdād was born. But he was brought up and educated at Makka. A Ḥāfīz of the Qurʾān, he read Ḥadīth literature with al-Sakhāwī. To secure a living ʿAbdād came to Mandū during the latter days of Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn of Mālwā (874-906/1469-1500). His death date is not known.²

3. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Dimashqī Nazīl al-Kanbāyat (829-circ. 900/1425-94)

ʿUmar who was born at Damascus, was at once a fellow-student and a disciple of al-Sakhāwī. Along with al-Sakhāwī, he attended in Shawwal, 853/November, 1449, the lectures of the lady Traditionist Sārā bint al-Jamaʿa (d. 855) on Ṭabrānī’s Muʿjam al-Kabīr in al-Qāhirā. In 857/1453, he came to Cambay (Arabic Kanbāyat) as a merchant and subsequently accepted office under the local government as Qādī of the Shāafiʿīites. While on deputation from the Governor of Cambay to that of al-Qāhirā, he broke his journey at Makka in the winter of 886/1481 and studied Ḥadīth literature under al-Sakhāwī for one year. Then he went to al-Qāhirā, and performed his business with which he had been commissioned. Before sailing back, he again heard Ḥadīth and obtained Ḳaḍa from al-Sakhāwī who happened to be there at the time. ʿUmar settled permanently at Cambay and, accordingly, came to be

known as *Nasîl Kanbâyat*. His death-date has not come down to us.


‘Abd al-‘Azîz was born at Ṭûs in Khurâsân in Ramadân, 836/March, 1432. He acquired Hadîth from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azîz al-Abhari, a pupil of Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqâlânî and Mir Aṣîl al-Din b. Ḥâjî al-Dîn al-Shirâzî (d. 883). In 870/1463 he migrated to Makka and heard *Musâlal* Tradition from al-Sakhâwî. But he could not long enjoy the association of al-Sakhâwî as he had to leave Makka in search of his living elsewhere. Thus he came to the Deccan during the later days of Maḥmûd Gâwân who appointed him tutor for teaching his son-in-law al-Muḥarrâr, a work on the Shâfî‘ite Fiqh.


Wâjih al-Dîn came of a family of the Mâlikî jurists of Egypt where he was born on Sha‘bân 6, 856/August, 1452. He received early education under his father Muḥammad, a jurist, who had the privilege of reading with Ibn Ḥajar. In 886/1481, he joined the School of al-Sakhâwî at Makka and engaged himself for a considerable period in the study of Hadîth literature. We next meet him in al-Yaman as a Lecturer in Hadîth at the college of Zayla‘ from where he sailed for Cambay *en route* to Al-madâbâd. As for his arrival in Gujarât, it could not have been later than 898/1492, as in evident from his correspondence from Gujarât with his friends at Makka.

1. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 73.
2. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 234.
At the instance of the Governor of Cambay, Wajih al-Din opened a Hadith class there and taught among others the Shifa’ of Qadi ‘Iyad. Soon his name spread far and wide. In recognition of his scholarship Sultan Mahmud I (863-917/1458-1511) conferred upon him the title of Mulik al-Muhaddithin, the Prince of the Traditionists. The Sultan further appointed him as the chief of the Revenue Officers of his kingdom and lavishly showered his bounties upon him.

In spite of his official duties, Wajih al-Din could make time to cultivate Hadith literature. For compiling books on the subject, he engaged experts on handsome remunerations. Thus, Jar Allah b. Fahd, a Makkan Traditionist, compiled for Wajih al-Din an Arba‘in entitled Fath al-Mubin, a treatise highly spoken of by contemporary scholars. His interest for Hadith literature was so great that he would always be on the lookout for new publications on the subject, so that as soon as the copies of Ibn Hajar’s Fath al-Bari, the celebrated commentary on the Sahih of al-Bukhari, were ready for circulation, he secured a copy for himself, which he presented to his friend Mukhathib Ali Khan, a noble of Gujarat. The latter in his turn sent the book to the library of Sultan Muzaaffer Shah (917-38/1511-25). The Sultan was so much pleased with the presentation that he granted Mukhathib ‘Ali Khan the fief of Broach.

Wajih al-Din died at Ahmedabad in 919/1513.

1. Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 90-91.
2. Al-Nur al-Safir, pp. 102-03.
4. He was a pupil of al-Sakbuwi (Shadharat, Vol. VIII, p. 301).
5. Ulughkhani, p. 117.
6. Ibid., p. 118.
(d. circ. 930/1523)

A native of Makka, Husain, who was known by his patronymic Aṣîl al-Dîn, read with al-Sakhâwî the Sahîh of al-Bukhârî, the Musnad of al-Shâfi‘î and the Mashâriq al-Anwâr. He was a keen student of Hadîth literature and obtained al-Ijâza from al-Sakhâwî. In 896/1490, he came to Dabûl (Dabil in Bijâpûr) where he lived for about four years and then went back to Makka in about 901/1495.¹ Though records do not mention anything about his academic activities here, during his sojourn extending over a period of four years, nevertheless, we can presume that as a Traditionist he did carry on the work of the diffusion of Hadîth literature.

(869-930/1464-1524)

Jamâl al-Dîn who was famous as Bahraaq, came to Gujarât in 928/1522.² He was a Traditionist as well as a jurist of the Shâfi‘ite School.³ He distinguished himself as a teacher of Sultan Muẓaffar II of Gujarât, who read Hadîth with him.⁴ His unusual popularity in the Court of Muẓaffar Shâh excited jealousy of the nobility as a result of which he was poisoned to death on the night of Sha‘bân 20, 930/June, 1524.⁵

Jamâl al-Dîn was born at Ḥâdramaût in 869/1464. Already a sound scholar, he came into contact with al-Sakhâwî in the pilgrimage season of 894/1489 and under him he gave a finishing touch to his education in Hadîth—a subject he long studied with Muḥammad b.

² Nur, p. 147 and cf. p. 132.
³ For his works on Shâfi‘ite Fiqh, Brockelmann, Sup., i, pp. 554-55.
⁴ Ulughkâni, p. 119; Yâd-i-Ayyâm, pp. 13, 34.
⁵ Nur, pp. 143, 151.
"Abd al-Latif al-Sharji and Muhammad al-Sa'igh at Zabid. He prepared a compendium of al-Mundhiri's al-Targhib wa'l-Tarhib under the title of al-Taqrīb wa'l-Tahdhib—a MS. copy of which is to be found in the State Library of Rāmpūr.

8. Rāfi' al-Din al-Ṣafawi (d. 954/1547)

Al-Sakhawi's pupil who carried on a pioneer work on Ḥadith at Agrā, was Rāfi' al-Din al-Ṣafawi. He traced his descent to Ṣafi al-Din, the famous founder of the Ṣafawi Order in Persia, which under Shāh Ismā'īl (905-930/1499-1523) had assumed the militant Shi'a character. Born at Shirāz in about the third quarter of the 9th century, Rāfi' al-Din, while yet a student under Jalāl al-Din al-Dawwānī (d. 928), obtained, by mere correspondence, al-Ijāza for good many Ḥadith works from al-Sakhawi. As towards the close of this century, the life and religion of the Sunnis in Persia were daily being endangered by the Qizilbash, the father of Rāfi' al-Din migrated to the Haramayn. This offered our young learner an opportunity of coming into close touch with and mastering Ḥadith literature under al-Sakhawi. Probably after the death of al-Sakhawi in 902/1496, Rāfi' al-Din left for Gujarāt where he reached in the later period of the reign of Sultan Mahmūd I (863-917/1458-1511). Thence he came to Agrā which at this time, through the liberality of Sultan Sikandar

1. Ibid., p. 146; Shadharāl, Vol. viii, pp. 176-77; Ulughkhāni, p. 119.
2. Nār, p. 147.
7. ‘Red-head’ men (Qizilbash in Turkish or Surkh sar in Persian) were the followers of the Šalawi Order (Browne, Vol. IV, p. 48).
9. Or during the Sultanate of Sikandar Lūdī (894-923), as in the Akhbar al-Akhyyar.
Lūdī (894-923/1488-15), developed into an important seat of learning. That the Sultan took a keen interest for Hadith literature is seen from the transcription under his orders of a part of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim now preserved in the Oriental Library at Bankipur. As expected Sultan Sikandar Lūdī built for the Traditionist a house in a quarter of the city, which was subsequently named after him. Here Rafi' al-Dīn taught Ḥadīth for about thirty-four years and died full of honour in 954/1541.

Rafi' al-Dīn was also intimate with Sher Shāh Sūrī (946-52/1539-45) whose premature death frustrated his project of deputing the Traditionist to the then Ottoman Emperor with a view to put down the Shī'a menace in Persia and to connect India with al-Ilijāz by a pilgrim highroad.

III. TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF ZAKARIYYA AL-ANŠARĪ (d. 925)

1. 'Abd al-Muṭi' al-Ḥadrāmī (d. 989/1581)

He was born at Makka in Rajab, 905/February, 1500, and joined along with his father al-Ḥasan the School of Shaykh al-Īslām Zakariyya al-Anṣārī in al-Qāhirah. Both attended the lectures of al-Anṣārī on the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī, the father playing the role of a qāri', reader of the text, while the son of a sāmi', listener. He migrated to Ahmadābād prior to 963/1555, and was on terms of intimacy with the enlightened family of 'Aidarūsī settled in Ahmadābād. His chief occupation in Gujarāt had been the teaching of Hadīth, particularly the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī. He was also the author of the Kītāb Āsmā' al-Rījāl al-Bukhārī.

2. Law, op. cit., pp. 73 seq.
'Abd al-Qadir makes mention of it in his *al-Nur al-Sāfīr* and says that the book, though incomplete, was a voluminous one. He died at ‘Āhmadābād in Dhū’l-Ḥijja, 989/January, 1581.1

2. *Shiḥāb al-Dīn al-‘Abbāsī* (d. 992/1584)

Another student of Zakariyya al-Anṣārī, who was devoted to the cause of Ḥadīth in Gujarāt, was Shiḥāb al-Dīn ‘Āhmad al-‘Abbāsī. He was born in Egypt in 903/1497. He learnt by heart al-Maqdisi’s *Umda fi ‘l-Ḥadīth* and al-Nawawi’s *Arba’in*. He was a strict observer of the *Sunna* even in the day-to-day affairs of his life. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Umūdi of ‘Āhmadābād was among his disciples. He died in Ṣafar, 992/February, 1584.2

IV. TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF IBN ḤAJAR AL-HAYTHAMI

1. *Shaykh b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Aidarusi,* (d. 990/1582)

Shaykh was the father of our ‘Abd al-Qadir al-‘Aidarūsi, the author of *al-Nur al-Sāfīr.*3 He was born at Tarīm in Hadramaut in 919/1513 and early joined the School of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami at Makka and obtained *al-Ijāza* from him. He also read with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dayba4 who was a famous pupil of al-Sakhāwī and the author of a commentary upon the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ.*4 In 958/1551, he migrated to ‘Āhmadābād. His family enjoyed reputation for learning and scholarship. His home, which was a seat of Taṣawwūf and Ḥadīth learning, was a resort of scholars of all grades. As a

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1. Ibid., pp. 364 seq.; *Shadharāt,* vol. viii, pp. 417-18; *Yād-i-Ayyām,* p. 34; *Ma‘ārif,* vol. xxii No. 4, p. 260.
4. Ibid., pp. 266-58. The work has not been printed as yet but manuscript copies are available in Bombay and Surat.
scholar, Shaykh b. ‘Abd Allāh was so popular and held in such an esteem that on the conclusion of his lectures on Ihya’ al-Ulūm by al-Ghazālī and the Ṣāḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī in 981/1575 and 985/1577 respectively, a man of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭi’s standing recited poems as a mark of his great appreciation for him.¹ He died at Aḥmadābād in Ramaḍān, 990/September, 1582.²

2. Abu ’l-Saʿādat Muḥammad al-Fākīhī al-Ḥanbālī (d. 992/1584)

Although a disciple of al-Haythami, Abū ’l-Saʿādat had occasion to hear Ḥadith from as many as ninety teachers of Makka, Ḥadrāmāḥt and Zabīd including Abū’l-Ḥasan al-Bakri (d. 952). He migrated to Aḥmadābād before the year 957/1550.³ In 963/1555, he moved to Sūrat⁴ where he died in Jumādā I, 992/May, 1584.⁵

3. Mir Murtaḍā Sharīf al-Shirāzī (d. 974/1566)

He was a grandson of al-Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816). He studied Ḥadith with Ibn Ḥajar at Makka and obtained al-Ijāza from him. From Makka Murtaḍā came to the Deccan and thence, in 972/1562, to Akbarābād (Agrā). Here in the court of Emperor Akbar, he attained high position and ‘employed himself in giving instructions in arts and sciences’ until his death in 974/1566. He had Shī‘a proclivities.⁶

4. Mir Kalān Muḥaddith al-Akbarābādī (d. 983-1575)

Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Mawlānā Khawāja, commonly known as Mir Kalān Muḥaddith, came to

¹ Nūr’ pp. 350, 358.
³ Nūr, p. 409.
⁴ Ibid., p. 266.
Akbarabād in about 981/1573 and was appointed by Akbar the first tutor of Prince Salīm\(^1\) (born Rabī\(^1\) I, 977/August, 1569), afterwards Emperor Jahāngīr. Mir, Kalān was a grandson of Khawāja Kūhī, an eminent saint of Khurāsān, and acquired Hadīth literature at Shīrāz from Nasim al-Dīn Mirāk Shāh b. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥaddith.\(^2\) Prior to his migration to India, he was a Professor of Hadīth at Makka—hence his title Shaykh al-Haram al-Makki\(^3\)—where amongst others Mulla ‘Ali al-Qārī\(^4\) (d. 1014) and Ghādansfar b. Ja’far al-Nahrawālī (d. 1000) read the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ with him\(^5\). He died at Akbarabād in Muḥarram, 983/April, 1575\(^6\).

1. Badā‘ūnī, vol. ii, p. 170, also Ma’thar-al-Kirām, p. 207 (sic) \(\text{چون در هند گشته اکبر بار شاه برای تعلیم شاهزاده گرديد Ma’thar p. 208.}\)

2. Jamāl al-Dīn, the famous author of the Rawdat al-Akhāb, was a disciple of his uncle Aṣīl al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 883). İbrāhīm al-Kurdi, al-Amām, p. 69.


4. Basing his statement on the introduction of Miftāḥ fi Sharḥ Mishkāt by Mulla ‘Ali al-Qārī, Azād Bilgrāmī in his Subḥat al-Marjān, p. 67 and Ma’thar al-Kirām, p. 207, purports to say that along with other Indians, Mulla ‘Ali al-Qārī read the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ with Mir Kalān in India—a statement with which we do not concur. For, nowhere in the Muqaddima of his Miftāḥ does ‘Ali al-Qārī assert that he ever came to India and read Ḥadīth there. But reading between the lines of the pages of his Muqaddimā we gather is that he read the Mishkāt among others with Shaykh ‘Atīya al-Sulāmī, ‘Alī al-Muttaqī (d. 975) and Mir Kalān the last being called شیخ العين الحكيم on account of his long residence at Makka as a Professor—all of them were the Shuyūkh of Makka and were more or less contemporaries (cf. Miftāḥ, Cairo, undated)—a fact that establishes that ‘Alī al-Qārī read Ḥadīth with Mir Kalān at Makka and not in India as Azād would have us believe. In the light of what we have said above, we are unable to uphold the opinion of Allāma Sayyid Suleyman Nadawi that Mulla ‘Alī al-Qārī came to India from his home at Hirāt and read the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ with Mir Kalān at Akbarabād since it is based on the authority of Azād Bilgrāmī (cf. Ma‘āri‘ī, vol. xxii, No. 4), pp. 266-67.

5. Al-Amām, loc. cit.

Section II. Growth and development of the centres of Ḥadith learning in India.

Although the transmission of Ḥadith in India commenced in 820/1417, it did not make much headway, considering the small number of the Traditionists who migrated to India in the 9th century, until after the foundation in 886/1418 of the School of al-Sakhāwī in the Ḥaramayn.¹ Henceforth an era of regular migration of the Traditionists set in and continued till the close of the 10th century. The period of transmission that played such a vital part in the growth and development of the centres of Hadith learning in India may, conveniently, be divided into three parts, viz., pre-Sakhāwī (820-86/1417-81), Sakhāwī (886-954/1481-1547) and post-Sakāwī (954-92/1547-84) periods.

I. DECCAN

It was in the pre-Sakhāwī period that several ṭMuḥaddithūn were found to have come to the Deccan. But as the country became inhospitable, no further migration of the Traditionists took place in the Sakhāwī period. The fact was that the dawn of the Sakāwī period synchronized with the decay and downfall of the Bahmanī kingdom as a result of the murder in 886/1481 of Maḥmūd Gāwān, the able minister who could hold the hostile elements in check.² Although the House survived in name up to 934/1527, the Kingdom had already broken into five principalities, viz., the 'Ādilshāhī at Bijapur, the Niẓāmshāhī at Aḥmadnagar, the Qūṭbshāhī at Golkonda, the 'Imādshāhī at Berar and the Barīdshāhī at Bidar.³ The rulers of the first three which were, however, the major powers, adopted Shi'ism as their state

religion. As to the small Sunni Kingdoms of Bidar and Berar, the former was absorbed by Bijapur in 1028/1619 and the latter by Ahmadnagar in 982/1574. Thus the extinction of the Bahmani rule eventually meant the end of the Sunni regime of the Deccan, with which was inextricably bound up the growth and expansion of Hadith literature there. After all, the Sunna was pre-eminently the heritage of the Sunnis.

The Shi'a regime that was now installed in the Deccan was not on the whole quite congenial to the religion and culture of the Sunnis who, however, formed the bulk of the population of the country. Encouraged by the growing power of Shah Isma'il (905-30/1499-1523) of Iran, the champion of Shi'ites, the Shi'a rulers of the Deccan pushed up the cause of Shi'ism to the great detriment of the Sunnis and what they stood for. The anti-Sunni movement of the Shi'ites was reflected in their replacement of the Sunni formula of al-Adhān by a Shi'ite one. Not only that. Even al-Tabarri, or condemning Hadrat Abu Bakr and 'Umar, also was introduced into the Friday Khutba or sermons. The Shi'a rulers persecuted the Sunni scholars by confiscating their properties and benefices granted to them by the Bahmanis. To quote a few instances, we have it on the authority of Firishta that Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar withdrew from the Sunni 'Ulama' all allowances—waqā'if—and gave them away to the Shi'a 'Ulama'. Again, we have it on the same authority that as soon as the 'Adil Shahi dynasty came to power, the descendants of Gisū Darāz had to lose their lands which had been previously granted to them by Ahmad

1. Ibid., p. 433.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 229, (sic)
5. Ibid., p. 151.
Shāh Bahmanī I\(^1\). Circumstanced as the Sunnīs were then their scholars could not have been expected to carry on their cultural activities unhindered. The anti-Sunnī feeling of the Shi‘ites had its repercussion also on the cultivation of Hadith literature in the Deccan. For, the bulk of the foreign Muḥaddithūn came to India in the Sakhāwī and the post-Sakhāwī periods when the Deccan had been under the domination of Shi‘ites who, as we have just seen, were hostile to the Sunni ‘Ulāma’. In the sequel, the Traditionists did not proceed to the Deccan and, instead, settled down in Gujarāt and Northern India. Thus the history of Hadith literature in Sind repeated itself in the Deccan with this difference that whereas the Sunni regime of the former lasted for over two hundred and fifty years so that it was possible for it to turn out a batch of Traditionists,\(^2\) that of the latter lasted for only about a century and a half so that it could not render as much service to the promotion of Hadith learning as did its counterpart in Sind.

Before we close down the discussion of Hadith literature in the Deccan, it will be worth our while to take stock of the contribution the Bahmanīs made to the cultivation of the Science.

Sultān Mahmūd Shāh I (780-99/1387-97) was the first Indian Prince who extended patronage to the Traditionists. He provided for them facilities to work for the cause of Hadith literature. Thus, the big cities of the Deccan like Gulbarga, Bidar, Daulatabad, Iltichpur, Jiwul, and Dabul (Dabhul) became centres of their activities.\(^3\) During the reign of his successor, Firūz Shāh (803-25/1397-1442), at Gulbarga a group of scholars were found ransacking the Sahihān and the

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1. Ibid., vol. i, pp. 319-20.
2. Supra, pp. 33 Seq.
Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh with a view to issuing fatwā on the question of al-Muṭ'a.\(^1\) From this incident, we can gather that standard works on Ḥadīth literature were not merely existing in the Deccan, but were also in great demand—a state of things which was unknown to the contemporary Northern India. A devoted disciple of Gisū Darāz, Sultān Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī I (825-838/1422-36) earned the name of Wāli Bahmanī, or the Saint Bahmanī by virtue of his strict observance of the Sunna of the Prophet. Over and above his knowledge of Fiqh and Kalām, he was quite conversant with Ḥadīth literature.\(^2\) Further, in 887/1473 a copy of the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh was transcribed at Bidar by Abū Saʿīd b. Ḥusayn, a scholar-merchant, who made a present of the volume to Sultān Maḥmūd II. (887-924/1482-1518)\(^3\) probably on the occasion of the latter's accession to the throne.

Of the seven Muhaddithun who came to India in the pre-Sakhāwī period, as many as four finally settled down in the Deccan. This was undoubtedly due to the encouragement they must have received from the Bahmanī Sultāns. The migration of al-Damāmīnī and Ibn Fāhūd from Gujarāt to the Deccan\(^4\) further shows that as patrons of the Traditionists, the Bahmanīs surpassed the Muẓaffar Shāhī Sultāns. Indeed, the history of Ḥadīth literature in the Deccan would have been more glorious, if the Bahmanīs could retain their hold longer.

Our survey of the none-too-bright history of Ḥadīth literature in the Deccan is bound to remain incomplete unless and until we touch upon the peculiar contribution Bijāpur made in this behalf.

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1. Ibid, p. 307.
2. Ibid., p. 323; Zāhīr al-Dīn, pp. 122, 124.
3. This MS. is in possession of the Ḥabībganj Library (Maʿārif, vol. xi, No. 2, p. 99).
4. Supra, pp. 87, 89-90.
Of the eight rulers of the House of ‘Ādil Shāh, Ibrāhīm I (941-65/1534-57) and Ibrāhīm II (988-1037/1580-1627) were Sunnis; the rest were Shi’as. It was Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II., known popularly as Nawras, who brought about a reconciliation between his Shi’a and Sunni subjects by entering in the Khutba the names of all the four Khulafa’ Rashidin along with the Imāms. As a Muslim, Ibrāhīm was a strict observer of the Sunna. No better proof of his great regard for the Prophet and his Companions can there be than his decoration of grand mosque at Bijapur with inscriptions of Aḥādith drawn from the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī and the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ, bearing among others, on the excellences of the ‘Asharat al-Mubashsharāt. To enshrine the sacred relic of the Prophet, Ibrāhīm raised a famous construction known as Āthār Sharīf or Āthār Mahal in which arrangements were also made for the teaching of Islamic learning. This institution was later developed by his son and successor Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh (1037-68/1627-57) into two sister Madrasahs for imparting lessons on Ḥadīth, Fiqh and other subjects. A bibliophile, Ibrāhīm II was the real founder of the Royal Library of Bijāpūr, a treasure-house of the books on Islamology and a worthy monument of the ‘Ādil Shāhī dynasty. Apart from the collections of Ibrāhīm and his successors, the Library was supplemented with books found at Asīrgarh and Bidar when these places were conquered by Ibrāhīm in

7. The remnant of the works of this library has been removed to, and preserved in the Library of the India Office (Loth, Catalogue, Preface, v).
1004/1595 and 1028/1618 respectively. As a matter of fact, from the inscriptions borne by the MSS. preserved in the libraries of India Office and Ḥabībganj, it is evident that the MSS. found their way to the Bijāpūr Library from Muhammadābād-Bidar upon the latter's conquest by Ibrahim in 1028/1618. That the books of Bidar, the capital of the Bahmanis till 934/1527, were bequeathed to the Barid Shāhīs by the Bahmani regime, can be gathered from the fact that among books entering the Bijāpūr Library from Bidar also included some of those works which had previously belonged to Mahmūd Gāwān as the seal of Malik a-Tujjār or Mahmūd Khawāja Jahān clearly indicated. What further strengthens our conclusion is the lack of evidence to show that the Barid Shāhīs had ever established a library at Bidar.

The following works on Hadīth belonging to the 'Ādil Shāhī Library at Bijāpūr have come down to us as a reminiscent of the great interest Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh II and his son Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh evinced for the cause of Iḥadīth literature in Bijāpūr:

(1) A copy of the Ṣahīḥ of Al-Bukhārī, ornamented, bearing an inscription to the effect that the MS entered the library of Ibrāhim II in 1028/1618 as a part of spoils from the conquest of Muhammadābād-Bidar.

(2) A third volume of Ibn Hajar's Fath al-Bārī, beginning from the chapter on Istīṣqā and ending with al-Du‘ā inda al-Jumrātāin, having a seal bearing the name of Nawras Ibrāhim (Ibrāhim II).

2. Loth, Nos. 211, 299, 426, 994, 995.
5. Loth, Nos. 211, 426, 967, 994.
(3) Al-Nawawi's *Hilyat al-Abrār* dated 1033, *i.e.*, the collection of Ibrāhīm II.¹

(4) A copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, bearing a seal of Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh I (1037-68 A.H.), dated 1059.²

(5) Al-Nawawi’s *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* with a seal of Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh, dated 1059.³

(6) *Kitāb al-Iyāḍ bi Tākmilat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ* by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, with a seal of Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh, dated 1046.⁴

(7) A copy of Al-Baghawi’s *Maṣāḥīḥ al-Sunna*, bearing a signature of Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh.⁵

(8) A complete copy of the *Mishkāt al-Maṣāḥīḥ* from Kitāb al-Nikāḥ, dated 1085. An inscription on the second volume says that the copy was transcribed by Jalāl al-Dīn b. ‘Alī, a student at the Mausoleum of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II.⁶

Besides the above-mentioned works which bear some inscription or other, the Bijāpūr Library had also a number of unsealed and undated Ḥadīth works that are now available in the India Office Library, London.⁷

**II. GUJARĀT**

True, by 818/1415 the reputation of the Muẓaffar-shāhī rulers as patrons of Ḥadīth reached beyond the confines of India as indicated by al-Damāmīnī’s dedication at Zābīd of his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-

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2. Ibid., No. 120.
3. Ibid., No. 168.
4. Ibid., No. 198.
5. Ibid., No. 149.
6. Ibid., Nos. 152-53.
Bukhārī to Aḥmad Shāh I (814-43/1411-43). Nevertheless, the study of Ḥadīth in Gujarāt did not make much progress in the pre-Sakhāwī period when the scholars were devoted chiefly to Arabic literature and this elicited from the pen of al-Dānāmīnī commentaries on several standard works on Arabic grammar.

On the dissolution of the Sunni regime in the Deccan early in the Sakhāwī period, Gujarāt became the natural resort, thanks to the munificence of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarha I (863-917/1458-1511), not only of the foreign Muḥaddithūn, but presumably also of those from the neighbouring Shi'a kingdoms. By conferring upon Wājih al-Dīn al-Mālikī the title of Malik al-Muḥaddithin, Maḥmūd publicly recognized the status of the Traditionists of his kingdom as a class. Henceforth, with the progress of the teaching of Ḥadīth at different centres, such as Aḥmadābād, Cambay, Mahā'īm, Sūrat and Naharwālā, standard works on the subject were gradually being imported into Gujarāt. How quickly books were procured from the outside world in those days may be gathered from this fact that the Fath al-Bāri which entered in al-Yaman only in 901/1495 made its way to Gujarāt as early as 918/1514 if not earlier. Further, works of transcribing and also translating popular Ḥadīth collections into Persian were undertaken. To quote a few instances, the State Library of Rāmpūr has a MS of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim with a seal of Sultān Maḥmūd I affixed on it, while a Persian translation of the Hisn Ħasīn dedicated to this Sultān has been preserved in the Library of the India Office.

Maḥmūd's successor Muẓaffar Shāh II (917-32/1511-25), who was himself a Traditionist, granted the
fief of Broach to Mukhāṭib ‘Alī Khān in appreciation of the latter’s presenting to him a copy of the *Fath al-Bāri*¹ an act that speaks a volume about his deep regard for Apostolic Traditions.

The pursuit of Ḥadith literature in Gujarāt had no smooth sailing either. As a matter of fact, Ḥumāyūn’s invasion of the country in 941-42/1534-35 during the reign of Sultān Bahādur Shāh (932-43/1526-37) lasting for 13 long months² disturbed the serene literary life in Gujarāt. In the sequel, the leading Muḥaddithūn like ‘Ali al-Muttaqi al-Burhānī (d. 975), ‘Abd Allāh al-Sindī (d. 993) and others migrated to the Ḥijāz.³ ‘Abd al-Awwal al-Ḥusaynī (d. 968), however, stayed on and continued his researches at Aḥmadābād. Sultān Maḥmūd the Third’s (944-61/1537-53) liberality and patronage was responsible for rehabilitating Gujarāt with Traditionists many of whom then came to settle there from al-Ḥijāz. It was at the invitation of Sultān Maḥmūd that ‘Alī al-Muttaqi twice sojournered at Aḥmadābād where on these occasions he imparted lessons on Ḥadith literature. Further, Maḥmūd supported the scholars of the Haramayn with stipends, and built a Madrasa at Makka⁴ evidently for the purpose of Ḥadith learning. On the assassination of both this benevolent prince and his wise councillor Aṣaf Khān in 961/1553, the Muẓaffarshāḥī kingdom gradually sank down and was ultimately annexed by Emperor Akbar in 980/1572. So far as the culture of Ḥadith literature was concerned, the breakdown of the Muẓaffarshāḥī power was a great loss to Gujarāt inasmuch as the great and ceaseless activities of the Muḥaddithūn declined so that we have very few noted Traditionists from Gujarāt after the tenth century A.H.

1. Supra, p. 94.
2. Ulughkhānī, vol. I, p. 260 also Index, LI.
3. Ibid.
III. MALWA

Shādiābād-Mandū,¹ the capital of Malwa, became a centre of Hadith learning during the reign of Maḥmūd Khaljī (839-74/1435-69) who was a patron of arts and letters.² Two disciples of al-Sakhāwī, noticed before, came to settle here. Of the products of this place, the names of Shaykh al-Muḥaddithin Saʿd Allāh al-Mandūwī³ (d. 902) and Mawlānā ʿAlīm al-Dīn al-Mandūwī⁴ have been preserved for us. There can be no better expression of Maḥmūd’s love for Hadith than his establishment of a Madrasa with a Chair for Hadith literature under the Traditionist Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī at the Bāb Umm Īlānī in Makka.⁵

IV. KHANDISH

Burhānpūr, the seat of the Fārūqi dynasty of Khandesh owed its foundation to Naṣīr Khān al-Fārūqī who raised the principality ‘to a high position in the literary world’. His Madrasa at Burhānpūr⁶ which continued to flourish for two centuries or thereabout, must have contributed to the diffusion of Ḥadīth learning, as will be seen presently.⁷

V. SIND

After a lapse of five hundred years, the study of Ḥadīth in Sind was revived in the first half of the tenth century by Makhdūm ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Abhari,⁸ a Traditionist who having migrated in 918/1512 from Hirāt on account of the oppression of the Šafawī

1. Now in Dhar State, Central India, situated in 22.21° N and 75.26° E, 22 miles from Dhar town (Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XVII, p. 171).
3. Dirishta, p. 257.
8. Abhar lay in the province of Jibāl (Le Strange, pp. 221-22).
rulers of Persia settled down at Kāhān, a small township situated then in Sind¹ but now forming a part of modern Baluchistān. Before his migration to India, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz had been a Professor of the Madrasa-i-Mirzā ‘Ufi, the Madrasa-i-Sultāniyya and the Khānqa-i-Ikhlaṣiyya at Hirāt.² As a Traditionist, he wrote at the instance of the Prince Nīzām al-Dīn ‘Alī Sher³ (d. 906), who was a great patron of letters at Hirāt, a commentary on the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ entitled al-Minḥāj al-Mishkāt which has been noticed by Ḥāji Khalīfa⁴ and a part of which was preserved in the library of Mīr Maṣūm Bhaṅkarī (d. 1019), the author of Tārikh-i-Sind.⁵

For close upon a decade ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Abhari lectured at Kāhān on Hadith and other branches of Islamic learning. He died there in 928/1523, leaving behind him his two accomplished sons, Mawlānās Athīr al-Dīn and Muḥammad.⁶

VI. LAHORE

Lahore became an important centre of Hadith learning under Mawlānā Muḥammad (circ. 900-1000), the Mufti and one of the most respected teachers of the city, who taught for many years the Sahih al Bukhārī and the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ to a number of pupils of whom some had been ‘the most learned men’ of their time. At every concluding lecture on the aforesaid works, the Mawlānā used to treat his audience to Bughrakhānīs⁷ (of which our Bakur-

5. Page 77.
7. A dish invented by Bughra, king of Khurāsān. It consists of quadrangular section of paste, dressed with gravy or milk (Haig, p. 216, n. 4).
khání may be the corrupted form who knows?) and sweetmeats.¹

VII. JHANSI & KALPI

Sayyid Muḥammad Ibráhím, a Traditionist of Baghdād, came to India in about the middle of the 10th century and started Ḥadīth classes first at Jhānsi and then at Kālpi on the bank of the Jumna. His reputation as a Traditionist must have spread far and wide as is evident from the fact that Shaykh (afterwards Makhdūm) Nizām al-Dīn Bihkārī (d. 981) came all the way to Jhānsi from Kākūrī (15 miles to the N. of Lucknow) to sit at his feet. The books on which Muḥammad lectured comprised of the Maʿalīm al-Tanzīl, the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, the Sunan of Abu Dawūd and the Jāmiʿ al-Uṣūl.²

VIII. AGRA

In the 10th century, Agrā could boast of as many as three institutions for imparting Ḥadīth learning, viz., (i) the Madrasa of Rafiʿ al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī (d. 954), (ii) the Madrasa of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm al-Muḥaddith al-Akbarābādī (d. 1010), and (iii) the Madrasa of Sayyid Shāh Mīr (d. circ. 1000).

(i) The Madrasa of al-Ṣafawī. The house of Rafiʿ al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī in the heart of Agrā became a seat of Ḥadīth learning as shown above.³ Here, on his death, his disciple Abū Ī-Fath al-Khurāsānī al-Thanesrī (d. circ. 1004) lectured on Ḥadīth for about fifty years. ‘Many able and ready scholars’ like ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Badāʿunī (d. 1004), the famous author of the Muntakhab ut-Tawārikh and Kamāl al-Dīn

2. Tadhkira-i-Mashāhir-i-Kākūrī, p. 447; Nuzha, IV, s.v. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Baghdādī.
Husayn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1020) 'shared the benefit of being taught by this great man.'

(ii) The Madrasa of Ḥāji Ibrāhīm. Ḥāji Ibrāhīm al-Muḥaddith al-Akbarābādī learnt Hadith in Arabia and was 'occupied in teaching divinity (عَلَوم دَينِي) and especially the traditions of the Prophet' at Agrā. While attending the 'Ībādatkhāna by the orders of Akbar, he would not observe the usual etiquette and ceremonies connected with it, traditionist that he was.

(iii) The Madrasa of Shāh Mīr. This Madrasa stood in the locality of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Muftī on the eastern side of the Jumna. Sayyid Shāh Mīr who was a nephew (بَنَادِر زاده) of al-Ṣafawi lectured on the Mashāriq al-Anwār.

IX LUCKNOW

Lucknow figured as a seat of Hadith learning in the second half of the 10th century on the arrival at its suberb of Shaykh Diyā' al-Dīn, a Madinian Traditionist. For over four years he taught Ḥadith literature to a host of pupils, including our Makhdūm Bihkārī who read with him the Ṣāḥīḥ al-Bukhārī and the Jāmi‘ al-Uṣūl. He died at Kākūrī probably towards the close of the 10th century.

X. JAWNPUR

The seat of the Sharqi Sultanate, Jawnpūr 'be-

3. Haig, p. 78, n. 2.
5. Ibid pp. 119-20 = 174-77.
came a famous University city' and far outshone Delhi of the time. The situation here so far as the subjects of study were concerned had been analogous with that of Gujarāt at the pre-Sakhāwī period (820-86/1417-81) in that Ḥadīth occupied a minor place in the curriculum. To substantiate this, we may quote the works of the Malik al-ʿUlama' Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī (d.849), which were mainly on Jurisprudence and Arabic literature—non-Ḥadīth works as that. Gujarāt, however, had the advantage, by reason of its geographical position, of having the Science introduced by foreign Muḥaddithūn, which Jawnpūr had not. As a result, no appreciable activity was noticed until the 10th century when, however, Ḥadīth was likely to have been introduced here at Jawnpūr as the title of Zubdat al-Muḥaddithīn borne by certain local scholars indicated. Possibly Ḥadīth was transmitted to the Sharqi Sultanate either from some Indian centres mentioned above or direct from Arabia. Incidentally, we meet a scholar from Jawnpūr, Ḥafīz Muhadhdhab al-Jānūrī al-Hindi hearing Ḥadīth from al-Sakhāwī (d.902) at Makka, but the reference is too meagre to establish the real connecting link.

XI. BIHĀR

Until the close of the 9th century, the Sufi scholars of Manir were the torch-bearers of Ḥadīth in Bihār. Then the centre of Ḥadīth learning moved away to Fulwārī Sharīf. Although Ḥadīth had been introduced into the Khānqa of Fulwārī in the 8th century by Sayyid Minhāj al-Dīn al-Rāstī, a disciple of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Maniri, no appreciable progress in

1. Law, pp. 99-100, 259.
2. Brockelmann, Sup., i, p. 309.
5. Supra, pp. 66 seq.
its study seems to have been made till the advent here, in the 10th century, of Sayyid Yāsīn, a nephew of Rafī’ al-Dīn al-Ṣafawi,¹ who acquired the Science at Gujarāt from Wajīh al-Dīn al-ʿAlawi (d.999) and also from some eminent Traditionists of al-Hijāz.² Thanks to the labour of Sayyid Yāsīn, the Khānqā h turned into a seat of Ḥadīth learning as is manifested in the sanad handed down to Shaykh ‘Atīq b. ‘Abd al-Sāmī from Sayyid Yāsīn through the intermediary of three successive Fulwārī Muḥaddithūn, viz., ’Abd al-Muqtadir, his father, ’Abd al-Nabī and ’Abd al-Razzāq. It is worth recording in this connection that the last two Traditionists, namely, ’Abd al-Nabī and ’Abd al-Razzāq won for themselves the distinctions of Shaykh al-Waqt and Ḥāfīz al-Waqt respectively on account of their erudition in Ḥadīth literature, and that ’Atīq was also a pupil of Nūr al-Ḥaqq b. ’Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dīhlawī (d. 1070)³.

XII. BENGAL

‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh b. Sayyid Ashraf al-Makki, the King of Bengāl (900-24/1493-1518)⁴, whose memory has been associated as the earliest promoter of Bengali language and literature,⁵ was also responsible for the great advance, the study of the Qur’ān and al-Ḥadīth made in his dominion. On his accession to the throne of Bengal, in 905/1499, Ḥusayn Shāh invited scholars from far and near to come and settle down in his Kingdom and under his liberal reign. By Ramadān 1, 907/March, 1502, he erected an ‘excellent Madrasah’ at Gurra-i-Shāhid in Gaur (now in the

1. Yāsīn was a cousin (بنی اعجام) of Shāh Mīr (Badā’ūnī, p. 120), the nephew of al-Ṣafawi (Ibid., p. 109-Haig, p. 162.
2. Ibid., p. 120-1 = p. 166-67.
district of Malda) 'for the teaching of the sciences of religion.' He also 'founded a College' at Panduwa in Malda as a memorial to the famous saint Nūr Qūṭb-i-'Ālam and settled a grant of land for its support. That Ḥadīth formed an integral part of the curricula in these institutions may be gathered from the presence, at the capital of Ikdālā, of scholars as also of Ḥadīth compilations such as the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī. As a patron of Apostolic Traditions, Ḥusayn Shāh ranked himself with the contemporary rulers of Gujarāt. At his instance, Muḥammad b. Yazdān Bakhsh, famous as Khwājāgī Shīrwānī, transcribed in 911/1503 for 'the Royal Treasury' at Ikdālā the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī in three volumes—which in full is now a precious possession of the Oriental Library of Bānkīpūr.

(i) Sunārgāon. After the Ḥanbalite Abū Taw’ama (d. circ. 7006), Sunārgāon rose into prominence as a centre of learning during the rule of the Sādat (900-45/1493-1538). As a headquarter of Eastern Bengal, it was a thriving town with 'Ulāmā' and seats of Islamic learning. Inscriptions on mosques and mausoleums here point to the existence not only of scholars but also of Traditionists during the period under review. As a matter of fact, one mosque had been built by a leading Tradītionist and jurist (Qudwat al-Fuqahā‘ wa l-Muḥaddithīn), Taqī al-Dīn b. 'Ayn al-Dīn in 929/1522 at the time of Naṣrat b. Ḥusayn Shāh (924-39/1518-33). So, we may safely presume that during the rule of the Sādat, the teaching of Ḥadīth might have been in vogue at Sunārgāon.

1. Law, p. 110, n. 3; Ravenshaw, Gour (London, 1879), p. 80; Abū l-Ḥasanāt, op. cit., pp. 54-55.
3. He was a native of Shīrwān in Adharbyān (Le Strange, p. 169).
5. Supra., p. 53.
CHAPTER V

INDIAN TRADITIONISTS

THE ADVENT of the Muḥaddithūn in India during the period extending over 820-992/1417-1584, gave a fillip to the culture and cultivation of Hadith literature in this country. As a result, ardent and earnest learners undertook journies in quest of Hadith learning—a state of things reminiscent of al-Riḥla fi Ṭabāb al-ʿIlm so common a feature among Ṭālib al-ʿIlm of olden days. At the outset, the journey was confined to India, but ere long as interest in al-Ḥadith grew wider, a tendency to acquire higher studies under distinguished Traditionists in the Haramayn developed involving among other hardships the hazards of sea voyage in those days of sailing ships. Nothing could damp the spirits of the seekers after knowledge of Apostolic Traditions, and almost all our outstanding Traditionists beginning from ʿAbd al-Awwal al-Husaynī (d. 968) down to Shāh Wali Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1172) had had to undergo the ordeal in their student career.

The first Indian student of this epoch who sailed for Arabia in quest of Ḥadith learning was Jamāl Allāh of Gulbarga. He went to Makka in 845/1441 with his father Khwāja Shams al-Dīn, and learnt the Science from distinguished Makkān Traditionists, viz., Taqī al-Dīn b. Fahd, Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿAmīṭī, Abū ʾl-Fath al-Marāğhī and Ahmad al-Wāsiṭī. He died at Makka on Rabiʿ I 29, 907/October, 1501.¹

Jamāl Allāh was followed by many others as would be evident from the following list of Indian

students who read Hadith in the Haramayn under Shams al-Din al-Sakhawi (d. 902).

1. Ahmad b. Ibrahim al-Awadi al-Hindi al-Hanafi, a keen student of al-Bukhari's Sahih, whom al-Sakhawi granted a general Ijaza. (Ijaza Hafila).\(^1\)

2. Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Hindi.\(^2\)

3. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Hindi.\(^3\)

4. Al-Hafiz b. Muhadhhab al-Jafuri (Jawnpuiri).\(^4\)

5. Hafiz b. Ilyas al-Hindi.\(^5\)


7. 'Ali b. 'Abd Allâh al-Kanbâyati.\(^7\)

8. 'Umar b. Bahâ al-Din al-Kanbâyati.\(^8\)

9. Qasim b. Dawud al-Ahmadabadi. He read the Sahih of al-Bukhari along with his brother Rajih (q.v.).\(^9\)

10. Muqbil al-Hindi: he is stated to have read profusely with al-Sakhawi.\(^10\)

11. Mas'ud b. Ahmad al-Kanbâyati: he read with al-Sakhawi at al-Madina.\(^11\)

12. Ni'm Allâh b. Ni'mat Allâh al-Kulbarji (i.e., of Gulbarga) Nazil Makka.\(^12\)

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1. 'Al-Daw', vol. i, p. 208.
2. Ibid., vol. ii, p. 44.
3. Ibid., p. 71.
4. Ibid., vol. iii, p. 87.
5. Ibid.
8. Ibid., vol. vi, p. 145.
10. Ibid., vol. x, p. 168.
11. Ibid, p. 156.
12. Ibid., p. 205.
13. 'Aṭa' Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Muḥammadābādī. He heard Musalsal Traditions from al-Sakhāwī.\(^1\)


15. Raḥīm b. Dāwūd al-Aḥmadābādī. He was born at Aḥmadābād in 871/1466 and became a master of Maʻqūlāt and Arabic literature by 899/1493. Accompanied by his uncle Sulaymān\(^3\) and his brother Qāsim, he met al-Sakhāwī at Makka in 899 A.H., and read out to him (qara' 'alaih) the major part of al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ, al-Nawawī's Arba‘īn and also had lessons on al-Sakhāwī's works such as 'Umda' and Sharḥ al-Taqrīb li 'l-Nawawī. Al-Sakhāwī gave him a general Ījāza wherein he paid high tribute for his mastery over Islamic learning.\(^4\)

Although the Ḥajj might have been a great factor in attracting some of the above students to the Ḥaramayn where they did avail themselves of the opportunity to listen to the lecturers of al-Sakhāwī, the fact remains that a new era for Hadīth learning had been opened, by the close of the 9th century, not only in the coastal places of West and South India, but also in the up-country centres as would the nisbas\(^5\) indicate; so that some of the above-mentioned students might have been primarily actuated to go to al-Ḥijāz for the sake of acquiring knowledge of al-Ḥadīth.

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1. Ibid., vol. v, p. 146.
3. Ibid., vol. iii, p. 216.
5. Al-Daw', vol. iii, p. 222; Tadkhira-i-'Ulamā', p. 62; Yūd-i-Ayyām, p. 54.
6. I.e., al-Awadī (No. 2), al-Jawnpūrī (No. 4), al-Lakhnawī (No. 6) and al-Dīhlawī (No. 14).
The tenth century of Hijra was a landmark so far as the services the Indian Musalmans rendered for the cause of Ḥadith literature are concerned. Two groups of students applied themselves to this noble task. The first group included those students who permanently migrated to Arabia with a view to pursuing the study of al-Ḥadith within the sacred precincts of the Haramayn as also coming in contact with eminent Traditionists and standard works over there. The second group who were either local products, or those who having acquired proficiency in Science of Ḥadith from Arabia, devoted themselves in India proper to teaching Ḥadith and writing books on it. Thus the Indian Traditionists kept up the torch of Ḥadith learning burning in India and Arabia simultaneously. And this they did until the foundation of the Dār al-ʿUlūm at Deoband and the Māẓāhir al-ʿUlūm in Sahāranpūr at the end of the 13th century—a period that covers well over two centuries. The Traditionists of the first group will be noticed together with their works in the second part of our thesis. As for those of the second, we are going to discuss here below:

Section I. (875-1030/1470-1621)
TRADITIONISTS THAT FLOURISHED FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 9TH DOWN TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 11TH CENTURY AND THAT COULD NOT CLAIM TO HAVE FOUNDED ANY RECOGNIZED SCHOOL OF THEIR OWN:

1. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Bahrūjī
   (d. circ 915/1509)

Abū Bakr was a Traditionist of Broach in Gujarāt. He flourished during the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh I (863-917/1459-1511) of Gujarāt. He died probably in the first quarter of the 10 century A.H. His biographical notice is not available.1

(i) *Tarjuma-i-Ḥiṣn Ḥasīn* (Ethe, India Office, No. 2541; Bankipur, XVI, No. 1418): a Persian translation with explanatory notes of al-Jazari's (d. 833) *Ḥiṣn Ḥasīn*, a collection of Traditions with special reference to prayers (*adʿiyya*) of the Prophet. The author compiled the present work for Sultān Mahmūd Shāh I of Gujarāt and completed it on Dhū al-Ḥijja 24, 910/May, 1505.


‘Abd al-Awwal was a native of the Deccan where his forefathers who had originally belonged to Zaidpūr, a village near Jawnpūr, migrated. He studied Hadīth under his grandfather ‘Alā al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, a pupil of al-Ḥusain al-Fathī who, in his turn, was a pupil of Shams al-Dīn al-Jazari (d. 833). By the first quarter of the 10th century, ‘Abd al-Awwal moved to Gujarāt probably on account of Shiʿa disturbances, and subsequently spent several years in the Haramayn pursuing higher courses of Hadīth learning. Back to Aḥmadābād before 941/1534, he worked very hard for the cause of al-Hadīth and other branches of Muslim learning until he devoted himself exclusively to the contemplative life of a Ṣūfī in his advanced years. At the invitation of Bayram Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān, he went to Delhi in 966/1558 and died there two years

2. Ivanow, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, ASB (Calcutta, 1924), No. 996.
later.

His works:

(i) Faid al-Bāri fi Sharḥ al-Bukhāri. This commentary of the Ṣaḥīḥ, the first of its kind ever written in India, does not appear to have survived down to our times in full, only some extracts from the first part of the commentary having been preserved in the Ghāyat al-Tawdīḥ li ’l-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ by ‘Uthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Sindi (q.v.).

(ii) Muntakhab-i-Kitāb-i-Sifr al-Saʿada (ASB No. 996 Per). A collection of Traditions relating to the person of the Prophet selected from the Sifr al-Saʿada by al-Firuzābādī (d. 817) and translated into Persian. The work is divided into ten bāhs. It was composed at Aḥmadābād in 941/1534 with a view to achieving twofold purposes, namely, averting the invasion of Ilmāyūn who was then marching towards Gujarāt from Delhi and avoiding the plague that was raging there at the time.


Khawāja Mubārak was born at Bak’hara, south of Benares where some of his ancestors had come from Ruhtak, his family originally hailing from Arrajān in

2. Akhbār, loc. cit.; Istāḥf, p. 50.
4. Infra.
5. Akhbār, loc. cit.; ASB, loc. cit., under the title of Risāla-i-Akwāl-i-Paighambar.
Faris\(^1\), as the *nisba* al-Arajâni suggests. He was a disciple of his father Makhdûm Arrajâni, a noted Şûfi scholar\(^2\), who gave his son Mubârak a good education in Islamic learning. Besides being a learned divine, Khwâja Mubârak possessed administrative abilities which secured him the post of minister under Sher Shâh Sûri (946-52). He died in the fort of Chûnâr in 981/1573\(^3\).

His works:

*Madâris al-Akhbâr* (Bankipur No. 364 Tradition). Following the arrangement of al-Baghawi’s *Maṣâbih al-Sunna*, Khwâja Mubârak classified the Traditions of al-Şaghâni’s *Masâriiq al-Anwâr* according to subject matters and named it *Madâris al-Akhbâr*\(^4\) (the gradation of Traditions), a title significant of its contents. Its Bankipur MS.\(^5\) which is presumably a unique copy shows that the work has been divided into 25 *kitâbs*, each *kitâb* has been subdivided into *bâbs* and some of the *bâbs* into *fasâls*\(^6\).

4. Shaykh Bhikâri\(^7\) al-Kâkûrûwi (890-981/1485-1573).

Niżâm al-Dîn b. Amîr Saif al-Dîn, popularly

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2. His grave is still to be seen at Bak’hara (*Nuzha*, IV, s. v. Shaykh Mubârak al-Banârasî).
4. Cf. *Tajallî-i-Nûr*, loc. cit.; Ma‘ârif, loc. cit.: *Catalogue*, Bankipur, V (2), 93 (sic) وقد تمت هذه النسخة الشريفة المسحي مدارج الأخبار، و كان اسمها قبل الترتيب مشارق الانوار -
5. No. 364, Tradition. As the compiler of the Catalogue, Bankipur Library (Vol. V, part II, p. 92) has not been able to correctly identify the present work and its author, his opinion in this connection cannot carry any weight.
6. Ibid.
known as Makhdūm Bhikārī, a famous Ṣūfī scholar, was born at Kākūrī, near Lucknow in 890/1485. He read the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī, the Sunan of Abū Dāwūd and Jāmiʿ al-ʿUsūl at Jhānsī and Lucknow under Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī and Diya’ al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith al-Madānī respectively. He wrote a treatise on ʿUsūl al-Ḥadīth entitled al-Minhāj MS. copy of which together with his Sanad-i-Ḥadīth is likely to be available in the library of the Khānqāh at Kākūrī where Makhdūm’s descendants are still living. He died there in 981/1573.  


He read Ḥadīth with his brother Qutb al-Dīn, a disciple of al-Sakhawī. A Ḥāfiẓ, memoriser of the Qur’ān and the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, ʿAbd al-Malik devoted his whole life for the cause of al-Ḥadīth of which he had been a teacher in Gujarāt until he died in about 970/1562.

6. Ṣāhir al-Fattanī (914-936/1508-78).

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣāhir b. ʿAli al-Fattanī al-Hindi al-Hanafī, the celebrated Malik al-Muḥaddithīn, the Prince of the Traditionists, was born at Nahrwāla-Pattan in North Gujarāt in 914/1508. Through his mother he was a descendant of Abū Bakr al-Siddīq.

1. Supra, p. 112.
2. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Nadawī, Maʿārif al-ʿAwārif Ch. on al-Ḥadīth in Madīnah in the land of the Hindūs.
Indian Traditionists

Al-Ṣiddīq (d. 13), the first Caliph of Islam. Educated in Gujarāt under Shaykh Nāgūrī, Mullā Mahta, the Ustād al-Zamān and others, he joined the school of ‘Alī al-Muttaqī at Makka in 944/1537 and read Ḥadīth over there for about six years. Besides his beloved teacher ‘Alī al-Muttaqī whom he mentions with gratitude in the introduction of his works,1 al-Fattanī read with other Makkan Traditionists also notably Ibn Ǧājar al-Haythamī, Abū Ǧl-Hasan al-Bakrī and Muḥī Ṭūb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī. On his return to Gujarāt in about 950/1543 he concentrated his energies on threefold tasks: (1) the popularization through his school at Pattan of the science of Tradition in Gujarāt, (2) compilation of books on al-Ḥadīth and (3) reclamation of the members of his own community, the Buhras who had become followers of a pretender Mahdi Maḥmūd al-Jawnpūrī. Though a promising reformer, he could not achieve much as his life was cut short through his murder on Shawwāl 6, 986/December, 1578 by the Mahdawis at a place between Ujjain and Sarangpūr.2 Al-Fattanī has, however, been immortalized by his invaluable works on al-Ḥadīth which are as follows:

(i) Al-Mughni fi Dabt-al-Rijāl3 [published]. This is the first compilation of Tāhir al-Fattanī written immediately after his return from Arabia, at Pattan in Dhū ǧl-Qaʿda, 952/January, 1546,4 and is otherwise a short but nonetheless comprehensive work designed to


3. For the correct title of the work, see author’s Majmaʿ Bihār, p. 4.

supply us correct readings (qiṣab) of such names of the 
narrators (ruwāt) of Ḥadith, their fathers, grandfathers 
and of their kunyas or lagabs as are liable to mis-
reading. All such confused names (mushtabihāt), the 
author arranges alphabetically. At the end of the 
discussion of the confused names under every al-
phabetical letter, he also gives the correct readings of all 
the confused nisbas that come under the letter con-
cerned. This is not all. Occasionally, short biographi-
cal notices of the ruwāt and the tabaqas to which they 
belong have also been added. Names of prophets and 
relevant places that are likely to give rise to confusion, 
also have not been left out. The last few pages have 
been devoted to the brief life-sketches of the Prophet, 
his four Caliphs, the Imāms of the Madhāhib Arba'ī 
and the authors of the Ṣiḥāḥ Sittā.

The work has been lithographed twice in Delhi, in 
1290/1873 and 1308/1890 on the margin of Ibn Ḥajar’s 
al-Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb.1

(ii) Tadhkīrat al-Mawduʿāt [published]. In this 
book the author makes a collection of mawduʿa and 
qa‘if Ahādīth from works on al-Mawduʿāt written by 
his predecessors, viz., al-Suyūṭī’s Kitāb al-Lā‘lī, Kitāb 
al-Dhail and Kitāb al-Wajīz, al-Sakhāwī’s al-Maqaṣid 
al-Hasana, al-Firūzābādī’s Mukhtāṣar Kitāb al-Mughnī 
li l-‘Iraqī, al-Ṣaghānī’s al-Mawduʿāt and others.2 The 
Traditions have been arranged according to subject-
matters into as many as 226 bābs beginning with al-
Kitāb al-Tawḥīd3 and ending with the bāb ʿfi Sa‘at 
Rahmatihi wa Shajāʿat al-Nabi ṣallā Allāh ‘alaihi 
wa sallām.4 Every Tradition has been preceded by 
its source (makāna) and has been followed by author’s own 
remarks, such as that the Tradition is unfounded, base-

3. Ibid., p. 11.
4. Ibid., p. 226.
less or forged (باطل, لا أصل له, موضوع) or that one or other of the ruwāt is da'if (weak), Kadhdhāb (liar) or waṣṣār (forgerer), or by those of the other critics, viz., Aḥmad b. Hanbal (d. 241), al-Bukhārī (d. 256), al-Nasa’ī (d. 303), al-Dārāqūṭnī (d. 385), Ibn Ḫibbān (d. 354), Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597), al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650), al-Dhahabī (d. 748), al-‘Irāqī (d. 806) and Ibn Ḥajar al-Ḥaiṭhamī (d. 952) together with the opinion of his own Shaykh, ‘Ali al-Muttaqī (d. 975), as قال شيخنا. The work was completed in Dhū ’l-Qa‘da, 958/November, 1551, as is evident from a MS. in the Bānkīpur Library,¹ and was first published in Egypt in 1343/1924 along with the author’s Qānūn al-Mawdū‘āt.

(iii) Qānūn al-Mawdū‘āt wa ’l-Du‘afā’ is a supplement to the Tadhkirat al-Mawdū‘āl. It covers, in a short compass, the whole range of weak and apocryphal authorities (ruwāt) arranged alphabetically. The author does not give any detailed information of the ruwāt by way of biographical notice as has been done in the Mizān al-I’tidāl or the Lisān al-Mizān, but merely puts after every name the verdicts of the critics regarding him.

(iv) Asmā‘ al-Rijāl (Bānkīpur, XII, No. 730). It is a biographical work on Ruwāt al-Hadīth, divided into three Fašls of which the first, consisting of several anwā‘ has been devoted, in the main, to a short life-sketch of the Prophet. The second, extending over only two folios, contains some accounts of other prophets. The third Fašl has been divided into two naw‘ of which the first deals chiefly with the ten most eminent Companions of the Prophet, called al-‘Asharat al-Mubashsharat, and the second which forms the major part of the work, comprises of notices of other male and female Companions, their successors (Tābi‘ūn) and

other Traditionists, all arranged alphabetically.  

(v) Majma' Bihār al-Anwār [published]: a very popular and compendious dictionary of the Gharā'ib, i.e., difficult and uncommon words in al-Qur'ān and al-Hadīth. The work comprises the Aṣl al-Kitāb (Main Book), a Khātima (Appendix) and a Takmila (Supplement). The author has collected in the Aṣl al-Kitāb which is divided into three volumes almost all the Gharā'ib of the Qur'ān, the Shiḥāh Sitta and the Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ and what yet remained has been covered by the Takmila. The words have been arranged alphabetically and that according to their roots. Under each root all its derivatives along with the relevant passages of the Qur'ān and al-Hadīth and their interpretations have been stated. Although Ibn al-Athīr's al-Nihāya has been his basic source, al-Fatṭānī has also utilized the following works: Sharḥ al-Bukhārī, by al-Qaṣṭallānī and by al-Kirmānī, Sharḥ Muslim by al-Nawawī, Sharḥ al-Mishkāt by al-Ṭibī, Sharḥ Jāmi' al-Uṣūl by Ibn al-Athīr, Nāzir 'Ain al-Gharibayn, Maḥāthīr Sharḥ al-Maṣābiḥ, Ḥāshiat al-Bukhārī by al-Zarkashi, Madārik al-Tanzil, Taṣfīr al-Bayḍāwī and others. As for the Khātima, he has devoted it to the discussions of the Science of Tradition, i.e., the Technique of Ḥadīth literature, fabricators (Waddā'ī) and fabricated Traditions abridged from his Tadhkira, correct reading (Daḥī) of the confused name of the Ruwāt, abridged from his al-Muğhni, chronological events (siyār) of the life of the Prophet from his birth down to his death, and lastly several famous Ruwāt al-Hadīth. In fine, the Majma' Bihār al-Anwār may well be regarded as a short commentary of both the

1. Bānḵīpūr Cat. xii, p. 67.
2. The full title of the work is Majma' Bihār al-Anwār fī Laṣṭā'īf al-Tanzil wa Gharā'īb al-Akhbār.
3. Majma' Bihār (Newul Kishore, 1314 A.H.) vol.i:
Qur'an and the Siḥāḥ Sitta, and a handbook of the Science of Tradition. This valuable compilation, which had been begun during the lifetime of his teacher 'Ali al-Muttaqī, i.e., before 975/1567, took the author about seven long years to finish it. It was lithographed at the Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, for the second time in 1314/1896. In the opinion of Nawwāb Siddīq Hasan, by writing this book which met with universal approval and recognition of the scholars, al-Fattānī has placed the World of Islām under a deep debt of gratitude.

7. Shaykh Ṭayyib al-Sindi (d. circ. 999/1590).

Born and bred in Sind, Shaykh Ṭayyib received his early education at his native place from Mawlānā Yūnus al-Sindi and then read Ḥadīth at Ahmadābād under 'Abd al-Awwal al-Husaynī (d. 968). He is credited to have taught the Science of Ḥadīth at Ilichpūr in Berār and also at Burhānpūr for a period of fifty years and died in the nineties of the 10th century. The Traditionist Jamāl al-Dīn al-Burhānpūrī read the Šaḥih of al-Bukhārī from start to finish with Shaykh Ṭayyib at Burhānpūr.

His work:


8. Shaykh 'Abd Allah al-Anṣārī al-Sulṭānpurī (d. 990/1582).

A scholar and a Traditionist, Shaykh 'Abd Allah, famous as Makhdūm al-Mulk, a title given him by

1. Ibid., vol. I, p. 3; p. 450; vol. III, p. 506.
3. Nuzha (MS), vol. IV, s.v., Mawlānā al-Ṭayyib al-Sindi; Gulpīrī-Abrār referred to in Nuzha; Yād-i-ʿAyyām, pp. 35-36.
5. Nuzha, loc. cit.
Humayun (937-46/1530-39), was the chief of the 'Ulamā' during the successive reigns of the Afghan Rulers of Delhi. During the time of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605), he was the leader of the orthodox party and had, on that account, to suffer a great deal along with his fellow 'Ulamā'. While on pilgrimage to Makka, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was held in high esteem for his scholarship by no less a person than Ibn Ḥajar al-Ḥaythami himself. He breathed his last in Gujarāt in 990/1582 after his return from the holy city. He was born at Sulṭānpūr, now in Kapurthala State, in 937/1530.

His works:


(ii) 'Iṣmat al-Anbiyā' (Bānkīpūr, Vol. X, No. 569): The work is divided into a Muqaddima and three Faṣls. The author dedicated the present work to Prince Muizz al-Dīn Muḥammad Kāmrān (d. 964).


Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabi, a contemporary of Makhdūm al-Mulk and a grandson of the famous saint 'Abd al-Quddūs (d. 945) of Gangūh, was a pupil in al-Ḥadīth of Ibn Ḥajar al-Ḥaythami. The study of Ḥadīth influenced him so greatly that he altogether 'discarded Samā' in which he had been trained according to the tradition of his family as a necessary concomitant of

3. Ibid.; also p. 113, No. 2.
5. 1006 A.H. according to Khazīna, vol. i, pp. 447-8.
7. ʿAin-i-Akbārī and Maʿṭhar al-Umarā', s. v. 'Abdullāh Sulṭānpūrī T. Ulamā‘-i-Hind, p. 103; Beale, p. 6.
a Şafi life in those days. He was a teacher of Akbar who appointed him Şadr al-Şudur which exalted office 'Abd al-Nabi held till the year 986/1578 when, as a result of the machination of Faiqi (d. 1004), he fell into disgrace. Along with 'Abd Allah al-Sultanpurī he was forced, on pain of death, to sign Akbar's Religious Decree. He died at Agra on Rabīʿ I 12, 990/March, 1582.

His works:

(i) Sunan al-Hudāfi; Mutābaʿat al-Muṣṭafā (Būghār No. 132 Ar.; ASB No. 500 Ar.; Rāmpūr No. 185 Ar.). It is a collection of Traditions selected from authentic Hadith works (Kutub al-Āhādīth al-Ṣaḥīḥa) having bearing on religious duties and observances.

The book comprises of a Muqaddima (introduction), three Parts (aqṣām) and a Khātima (conclusion); the parts again are subdivided into Fāṣls (chapters).

(ii) Waṣā'if al-Yawm wa'l Laila al-Nabuwiyya, a collection of Ahādīth on adʿiya, or prayers.

3. The Superintendent of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes and also the highest law officer having powers similar to those of the present-day Administrators-General (Haig, p. 122, No. 2 quoting Aḥn-i-Akbārī, Vol. I, p. 270).
5. Badāʾūnī, p. 84 = Haig, p. 131.
7. A MS. copy is also preserved in Dār al-ʿUlām of Deoband.
9. Brockelmann, Sup. II, p. 602. This treatise appears to be the same as the Waṣā'if al-Nabi fi Adʿiyat al-Maṭhūra mentioned by 'Abd al-Ḥayy Nadawī in his Maʿārif al-ʿAwārif s. v.
10. Shaykh Wajih al-Din al-'Alawi al-Kujratii
(910-98/1504-1580).

A celebrated Professor of Ahmadabad, Shaykh Wajih al-Din was a pupil of 'Imad al-Din al-Tarimi (d. 941) and Shaykh Ghawth Gawaiyari (d. 970). He was born at Champanir in Muharram, 910/June, 1504, and founded at Ahmadabad a Madrasa which during his life-time developed into a great seat of learning. He wroteAnnotations (hawashi) and commentaries on as many as twenty-three books varying from Sharh Jami' to Tafsir al-Baidawi. His commentary on Ibn Hajar's Nuzhat al-Nasir fi Sharh Nukhbat al-Fikar entitled Sharh Sharh Nukhbat al-Fikar has been preserved in the libraries of Bankipur, Rampur and Nadwa at Lucknow.

Wajih al-Din died at Ahmadabad in Muharram, 998/February, 1580.

10. Shaykh Tahir b. Yusuf al-Sindi al-Burhanpuri
(d. 1004/1595).

Shaykh Tahir was born at Patri, near Cutch in Gujarat, and took his early education from Shaykh Shihab al-Din al-Sindi. In 950/1543, he proceeded to Gujarat and joined the Hadith classes of 'Abd al-Awwal al-Husaini at Ahmadabad. On completion of the course, he was initiated to Sufism by the famous saint Shaykh Ghawth Gawaiyari (d. 970). Accompanied by Maulana

1. For 'Imad al-Din al-Tarimi, Nur, p. 204, and for Ghawth Gawaiyari, Badanii, p. 5 = Haig, p. 6.
2. Yad-I Ayyam, p. 33; Abu'l-Islam an, op. cit., p. 76.
4. No. 10 (Usul al-Hadith).
Tayyib al-Sindi,¹ he entered Burhānpūr where he set up his residence. He died there in 1004/1595.²

His works:—

(i) Talkhiš Sharḥ Asmā' al-Rijāl al-Bukhārī li 'l-Kirmānī,³ a compendium of al-Kirmānī's Sharḥ Asmā' al-Rijāl al-Bukhārī.


(iii) Sharḥ al-Bukhārī, a commentary on al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ based on al-Qaṣṭallānī's Irshād al-Sārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī.⁵

(iv) Riyāḍ al-Sālīḥīn, or the Gardens of the Pious. The work consists of three ṭawḍāqaṣ (gardens) of which the first contains a selection of authentic Traditions, the second, essays on Sufism and the third or the last, discourses (malfūẓat) of eminent saints.⁶


Shaykh Yaʿqūb became famous as a teacher of Ḥadīth of Ahmad al-Sarhindi, better known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī (d. 1034).⁷ Born in Kashmir in 908/1502, al-Ṣarfi came under the instructions of Ibn Hajar al-Ḥaythamī at Makka in 964/1556⁸ after he had been educated at his native place, as also at Samarqand in Maʿqūlāt and Fiqh. In Persian poetry he was a pupil of Shāh Ṭāhir, a disciple of 'Abd al-

1. Nuzha, Vol. IV, s. v. al-Ṭayyib al-Sindī.
2. Ibid., s.v., Tāhir b. Yūsuf al-Sindī; Guljār-i-Abrār.
3. Ibid.
4. Maʿārif al-ʿAwārif, Ch. مصنفات اهل الهند في التحديث
5. Ibid, s. v. شرح البخاري
7. Infra, p. 140.
Rahman al-Jami (d. 898), and composed poems under the nom de plume (takhallus) of al-Sarfi. Later, while he was a teacher in Kashmir, he paid a visit to al-Hijaz for the second time and stayed there for a year, procuring books on Tafsir, Hadith and Fiqh which he introduced into his institution. He died in Kashmir in Dhul-Qa’da 18, 1003/July, 1595.¹

His works:—

(i) Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, a commentary on al-Bukhari’s Sahih, which does not seem to have long survived.

(ii) Tafsir al-Quran, an incomplete commentary of the Quran preserved in the library of Dar al-Mu’annifin at Azimgarh.²

(iii) Risala-i-Adhkar.

(iv) Maghazi al-Nabawiwal, a treatise (in verse) on the life of the Prophet.³

13. Hajj Muhammad al-Kashmiri (d. 1006/1597).

Another devoted disciple of Ibn Hajar al-Haythami from Kashmir, a contemporary of al-Sarfi, was Hajj Muhammad al-Kashmiri. His ancestors had come to that country as entourage of Ali al-Ilamadani


4. Vide his Sharh Shamail al-Nabi (MS. Banhipur, No. 1182 Persian), fol. 3.

5. For his name, see his Sharh Hisn Hasin (MS Banhipur, No. 1419 (Persian), khattima. حاجي نهج الكشميري ثم الملك ثم المدني ثم - الكشميري
(d. 786) whose Khānga therein became afterwards a seminar for Ḥāji Muḥammad. Before joining the School of Ibn Ḥajar at Makka, he read in Delhi. He also learnt Ḥadith from eminent Madinan Traditionists. A man of wide and varied learning, Ḥāji Muḥammad compiled as many as eighteen books including a commentary of the Qur’ān in Persian. His works on Ḥadith are as follows:—


(ii) Shārḥ Mashāriq al-Anwār (in Persian).

(iii) Kitāb Khulāṣat al-Jāmi‘ fi Jam‘ al-Ḥadith, a compendium of miscellaneous Traditions.

(iv) Shārḥ Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn (Bānkīpūr, XVI, No. 1419; ASB No. 993 Pr.) : a concise Persian commentary of al-Jazari’s Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn written in the above mentioned Khānga. This work, as the author tells us, was his last compilation.


A native of Buskan (?) in Sind, Shaykh ‘Uthmān was educated in Gujarāt under Wajiḥ al-Dīn ‘Alawi

1. Supra, p. 73.
3. The author enumerates his works in the khātima (end) of his Shārḥ-i-Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn : cf MS. Bānkīpūr.
4. MS. Bānkīpūr, fol. 144.
5. Supra, n. 3.
(d. 998), Qādi Muḥammad al-Mawrī and Shaykh Ḥuṣayn al-Baghdādī. In 983/1575, he had been to Būrnānpūr and was cordially received by Muḥammad Shāh b. Mubārak (974-84/1566-76), the Fārūqī King who appointed him Professor and Muṣṭi of his dominion which office ʿUthmān filled up for a period of seventeen years. While living a retired life at his village home at Buskān, he was murdered along with seventeen members of his family by a gang of dacoits in Shaʿbān, 1008/February, 1600. A scholar of Maʿqūlāt and Manqūlāt apart, ʿUthmān was skilled in the Science of Medicine which earned him the title of al-Ḥakīm.¹

His works :


The author says in the preface that he compiled his work from the commentaries of al-Kirmānī, al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Ḍaṣṭallaṇī and also, in the first portion, from the Faʿīl al-Bārī, a commentary by Sayyid ʿAbd al-Awwal al-Husainī. Then follows (foo. 2-6) an introduction in nine sections (فصل) treating in general of the Science of Tradition, of al-Bukhārī, of the names and chronology of Traditionists, etc. The Commentary itself consists of annotations on single passages of the text, the first word of which is only given, introduced by قوله.⁴

(ii) Al-ʿAqāʾid al-Suniyya: A dissertation of 50 pages published by the Fārūqī Press at Delhi in 1309

2. *Maʿārif al-Awārīf*, s. v. شروح البخاري
4. Ibid.
A.H. It discusses the 'aqā'id or the tenets of the Sunnis as have been based on the Qur'ān and Aḥādīth supplementing them at times by the opinions of the doctors and theologians of early Islam. Among the authorities quoted in the treatise, the commentaries of the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī by al-Kirmānī and al-Qaṣṭal-lānī and the Manhāj al-ʿUmmāl by ʿAlī al-Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī figure prominently. It has been divided into seventeen fasls or chapters.


Shaykh Munawwar, a native of Lahore, was a pupil of two noted teachers of his city, Saʿd Allah Banī Isrāʿīlī (d. circ. 1000) and Ishāq Kākū (d. 996). He completed his education at the age of twenty. In 985/1577, Akbar appointed him Ṣadr of Mālwā. In 995/1587, perhaps for his orthodox views, he was imprisoned in the fort of Gawāliyār whence after five years he was removed to Āgrā, his property and books having been confiscated. Further, he was subjected to tortuous punishment until he died on Dhū ʿl-Qaʿda 12, 1010/April, 1602.

During his internment in Gawāliyār, Shaykh Munawwar compiled his book called al-Durr al-Naṣīm fi Tartīb al-ʿĀy waʾl-Suwar al-Karīm and also vocalized Qādi Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī’s Commentary of the Qur’ān, al-Bahr al-Mawwaj. As for his contribution to Hadith literature, he has to his credit commentaries of al-Ṣaghānī’s Mashārīq al-Anwār and al-Jazari’s Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn.

2. p. 52 = p. 86.
3. Nuzha, v. s.v. Munawwar b. ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Lāhūrī; Maʿārif al-ʿAwarif, s.v. شروح حصن حصين و شروح المشارك

In Hadith he was pupil of 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī (d. 990) and had great reputation as a Traditionist as well as a jurist. He wrote a commentary of al-Tirmidhī’s Shama'il al-Nabi.¹


He was the famous author of al-Nūr al-Sāfīr and came of the cultural family of 'Aidarūsī which had migrated in the middle of the 10th century from Ḥadramawt to Aḥmadābād.² Here 'Abd al-Qādir was born on Rabī' 1 10, 978/August, 1570. At once a scholar, a mystic and a Traditionist, 'Abd al-Qādir succeeded his father as teacher of their family school at Aḥmadābād and lectured in Hadith and Taṣawwūf. He died at Aḥmadābād on Muḥarram 10, 1037/September, 1627.³

'Abd al-Qādir wrote a number of books⁴ on different branches of Islamic learning of which the following are on Ḥadīth:

(i) Al-Manḥ al-Bāri bi Khātīm Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī.⁵

(ii) 'Iqd al-La’l fi Faḍā'il al-Āl (Buhār vol. II, No. 453, 11): a treatise on the excellences of the descendants of the Prophet based on Aḥādīth.

1. Ḥadā‘iq, p. 404; Ma‘ārif al-'Awārif, s. v.- شروح شمائل النبي -
2. Supra, p. 98.
5. Nūr, p. 338,
(iii) *Risāla fi Manāqib al-Bukhārī* (Buḥār, No. 454, III).\(^1\)

(iv) *Al-Qawāl al-Jāmi‘ fi Bayān al-‘Ilm al-Nāfī* (Buḥār No. 457, II). In this treatise the author has explained the meaning of the Ḥadīth طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم or Ṣūfism is obligatory to all.

(v) *Kitāb al-Anmūdhaj al-Latif fi Ahl Badr al-Sharīf*, a work depicting the merits of Ahl Badr or the Companions who died martyrs in the battle of Badr (2/623).\(^2\)

18. ‘*Abd al-Nabi al-Shattārī* (d. *cerc*. 1030/1621)

‘*Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad ‘Arif al-‘Uthmānī al-Ḥanāfī al-Shattārī* commonly called ‘*Abd al-Nabi* was a disciple of ‘*Abd Allāh al-Sūfī al-Shāṭṭārī* (d. 1010) of Agra.\(^3\) He wrote commentaries on a good many standard works on Philosophy, Logic, Qurānic sciences and Ḥadīth. He lived at Agra as late as the year 1020/1611. His death-date has not come down to us. His works and treatises on Ḥadīth as have been referred to by Rahmān *‘Alī* in his *Tuhkira ‘Ulāma’-i-Hind*\(^5\) as follows:—

(i) *Dhā’irat al-Najāt fi Sharḥ al-Mishkāt*: a commentary on the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*.

(ii) *Sharḥ Nukkhbat al-Fīkar*.

(iii) *Sharḥ Ḥadīth* الصلوة مراجع المؤمنين: a treatise on the meaning of the Ḥadīth.

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1. His pupil Ahmad b. ‘Ali al-Baskarī who read the *Ṣahīḥ* of al-Bukhārī with him also has a treatise of the same title (*Buḥār* Catalogue, Vol. II, No. 454, IV).


(iv) Sharḥ Ḥadīth خير الأسماء عبد الله و عبد الرحمن

(v) Lawāmiʿ al-Anwār fi Manāqib al-Sādat al-Āthār: a work on the excellences of the Ahl Bait as described in Aḥādīth.

SECTION II. Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sihrindi & his School of Muḥaddithūn (1000-1296/1592-1878).

Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sihrindi (971-1034/1564-1624).

Shaykh Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥad al-Fāruqi al-Sihrindi, popularly known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani, or the Reformer of the Second Millennium, was the celebrated founder of the Mujaddidi ordination. He was born at Sirhind (commonly called Sirhind Sharif in the Patialā State in the (E. Pūnjāb) in Shawwāl, 971/May, 1564. He received his early education from his father. Then he went to Siyālkot, hence to Kashmir studying Maʿqūlāt and Manqūlāt under Mullā Kāmal al-Dīn al-Kashmīrī (d. 1017)1 and Shaykh Yaʿqūb al-Ṣarṣī (d. 1003) respectively. Al-Ṣarṣī granted him Ijāza for al-Bukhārī's Sahīh, al-Ṭabarzī's Mishkāt and al-Suyūṭī's al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr. Ahmad obtained further Ijāza for the Siḥāh Sittā from Qāḍī Bahlūl al-Badakhshi2 who was a pupil of the famous Makkān Traditionist, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Fahd.3 In 1007/1598 he was admitted to the Naqsh-

1. For him, see Aʿzāmī, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, p. 119.

2. Nuzhā, v. s. v. al-Shaykh 'Aḥmad al-Mujaddid. The isnād of al-Badakhshi is as follows:—

alcayxib3 phal abdul baddxshi imn shayx ṣubd rihxim inr fihd in
abīh shayx ṣubd tālār inm shayx jār allah in abīhī ishāq mzdīn
abdulalxrī fmn jhm mhfqul rihxle ttcn dlīn fihd in ulwī yahshī
mhfqul shhbd dlīn inr ḥjjbr mstqln

Cf. Zubdat al-Magāṣīd (Ms. Bankipur No. 197 Pers), fol. 91a-93b.

3. The statement of Raḥmān 'Ali (Tadhkira-i-Ulamā, p. 10) that 'Abd al-Raḥmān was an Indian Traditionalist is not correct. Cf. Zubdat al-Magāṣīd, fol. 92a.
bandī order by Khawāja 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqshbandī (d. 1012). He died at Sirhind on Şafar 20, 1034/November, 1624 at the age of sixty-three. His tomb which exists to this day is always frequented by visitors.

Although a profound scholar in the lore of Hadith as is seen from a perusal of his Maktubāt, Shaykh Ahmad al-Sirhindī left us his only treatise on Arba‘īn. His role as a Traditionist and a Reformer consisted not in writing books on, or imparting lessons in, Hadith though occasionally he did so but in creating out of chaos and confusions that were rampant in the body politic of Islām in his time, an atmosphere congenial to the study and culture of the Qur‘ān and al-Hadīth. As a result of Akbar’s anti-Sunnite policy, the Shia dignitaries like the Persian Ministers in the ‘Abbāsid court, who had become all in all in the Mughul administration, were out to undermine the religion of the Sunnis. While, on the other hand, the Sufis, in the name of sanctity, were preaching and practising all sorts of un-Islamic innovations (bid‘a) which were at once disrupting and disintegrating the body politic of Islām. Against these and other abuses of the day, the Mujaddid rose in an open revolt and began to preach the true import of Islām to all and sundry by delivering sermons as well as by writing down tracts and epistles—activities for which he incurred the

3. و كان يدرس في هنوم شتى من الفقه و الأصول والمحدث (Nuzha, loc. cit.
5. Al-Furqān, Wali Allah Number, ed. Manṣūr Nu‘mānī (Barielly, 1941) 2nd ed. pp. 172-3; Ma‘ārif, loc. cit.
6. For details, see al-Furqān, pp. 46-52; Burhān al-Dīn, op. cit., 10c. cit.
displeasure of the government whereon Emperor Jahāngīr had him imprisoned in the fort of Gāwāliyār. After suffering incarceration for two long years, he was finally released. His piety and steadfastness to the truth of Islām, however, impressed Jahāngīr to an extent that he was persuaded to have his son Prince Khurram initiated by the Mujaddid. Thus at long last his life’s mission received the recognition of the royalty and steadily met with success in bringing about reforms among the Musalmans of his contemporary India. Millions of Muslims of all strata of society both from India and outside took bay‘a from him and thereby paved the way for their moral and spiritual regeneration. By his correct interpretation of Islām as also by setting a noble example of his forceful personality, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sirhindī not only saved Islām from disintegration but also brought about a much needed synthesis between Shari‘a and Ṭariqa.

The secret of the Mujaddid’s success, however, lay above all in his emphasizing the study of the Qur‘ān and Ḥadith among his co-religionists. The noble work of reforms through the study of the Qur‘ān and Ḥadith started by him was ably carried on by generations of the scions of his family as will be noticed below.


Shaykh Sa‘īd surnamed Khāzin al-Rahmat, or the Treasurer of Blessings, learnt the Science of Tradition from his father and also ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Rūmī. At the advanced age of his father, Shaykh Sa‘īd became a Professor of the Khānga and taught Ḥadith and other subjects until 1034/1624 when he

left for the Haramayn. He returned to Sirhind in
1069/1658 and died in 1070/1659. He had to his
credit a Ḥāshiyya (glosses) on the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh.¹

2. Shaykh Saʿīd’s son Farrukh Shāh (1038-1112), a
versatile Traditionist, was said to have committed to
memory as many as seventy thousand Aḥādīth
together with asānid and thereby acquired the title of
al-Ḥafīz.²

3. Sirāj Aḥmad al-Mujaddidi (1176-1230/1762-
1815).

Sirāj Aḥmad b. Murshid b. Arshad b. Farrukh
Shāh was born in 1176/1762 at Sirhind which was
subjected to Sikh persecution for the third time in
1177/1763 when his father Shaykh Murshid (1117-
1201)³ along with his family members migrated to
Rāmpūr.⁴ Sirāj Aḥmad read Ḥadīth literature with
his father who was himself a scholar of the science.
He was a contemporary of Saʿīd Allah (d. 1229),
the Traditionist of the house of ʿAbd al-Haqq al-
Dīhlawī and Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Dīhlawī (d. 1235).⁵
He died in 1230/1815 at Lucknow whence his dead
body was brought to Rāmpūr to bury by the side of
his father⁶.

His works:—

(i) Tarjuma-i-Fārsi Sahih Muslim: a Persian tr.
with explanatory notes of the Sahih of Muslim. An

¹ Al-Yāni: ʿl-Jamiʿ, p. 95; Ḥudāʾiq, p. 417; Tadhkira i-Ulamāʾ,
p. 190; also Nuzha; Maʿārif al-ʿAwārīl; Panīpatī, Tadhkirat al-
Anṣāb, s. v. Saʿīd b. Ahmad al-Sihrindī.
² Al-Yāni, loc. cit.; Nuzha, s. v. Farrukh b. Saʿīd.
³ For Shaykh Murshid see, Aḥmad ʿAli Khān Shawq’s Tadhkira-i-
Kāmilān-i-Rāmpūr (Delhi, 1929) pp. 389-91.
autograph copy of this work in three volumes is available in the State Library of Rāmpūr.

(ii) Sharḥ-i-Fārsi `alā Jāmi `al-Tirmidhī: a concise Persian commentary of the Jāmi" of al-Tirmidhī published along with Majmu‘a Shuruh-i-Arba" by Niẓāmī Press at Delhi. The work was begun in Dhu ’l-Ḥijja, 1220/Feb, 1806, and completed in Dhu ’l-Ḥijja, 1222/Jan., 1808. The author states in the preface that at the time of compilation he had not any commentary or translation of the Jāmi" before him to consult. So the work is the result of his independent labour and vast scholarship in the science of Tradition. A special feature of the commentary is that the author has been able to trace in the majority of the cases the isnād of those Aḥādīth which have been referred to by al-Tirmidhī as (و في الباب عن فلان، و فيده عن فلان). Further, he has given correct readings (qābd) of the uncommon names and nisbās occurring in the Jāmi”.

(iii) Risāla dar Dhikr-i-Ṭa‘ām wa Shurb (Rāmpūr, Persian MSS): a Persian treatise on the food and drink of the Prophet as described in Aḥādīth.

4. Shaykh Ma‘ṣum b. Ahmad al-Sirhindi (d. 1080/1669)

He was the second son of the Mujaddid Alf-i-Thānī and a spiritual guide of Muḥiyy al-Dīn ‘Alamgīr (d. 1119). He was well-versed in Ḥadīth literature and obtained sanad from Makkān Traditionists at the time of his pilgrimage to the Ḥaramayn. His son Khawāja Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1098) earned for him the title of Muḥiyy al-Sunna or the Revivor of Sunna by dint of his life-long devotion to the cause of al-Ḥadīth.

Further, Shaykh Maṣūm entrusted him with the spiritual training of 'Alamgīr.¹

5. Khawāja Aʿzam b. Sayf al-Dīn al Sirhindī
(1066-1114/1655-1702)

He was a distinguished Muḥaddith and flourished during the reign of 'Alamgīr (1669-1119/1659-1707). He read Ḥadīth with his father Sayf al-Dīn and his uncle Farrukh Shāh (d. 1112). He died at Sirhind in 1114/1702 and was buried beside the grave of his father.²

His work:—

(a) Faid al-Bārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: a commentary of the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī.³

(1196-1250/1782-1835).

Shāh Abū Saʿīd, a great-great-grandson of Saif al-Dīn, was the father of Shāh ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Mujaddidi (d. 1296). He was born at Rāmpūr in Dhū 'l-Qaʿda, 1196/Oct., 1782, and read Ḥadīth with his uncle Sirāj Ahmad and Shāh ʿRafiʿ al-Dīn al-Dihlawī (d. 1249) and Shāh ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Dihlawī (d. 1239). He finally settled down at Delhi and succeeded his preceptor Ghulām ʿAlī in the spiritual hierarchy founded by Mīrzā Maẓhar Jān-i-Jānān (d. 1195). He died at Tonk in Shawwal, 1250/Feb., 1835 on his return from the Haramayn and was buried in Delhi beside the Jān-i-Jānān.⁴

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¹ Ḥadāʾiq, p. 424; Maʾārif, loc. cit.
² Nuzha; Maʾārif, Vol. XXIII No. 6, p. 443.
³ Maʾārif al-ʿAwārif, s. v. شروح البعار

Shāh ‘Abd al-Ghani was a teacher in Hadith of Ma‘ūlānā Qāsim al-Nanūtūwī (d. 1297), the famous founder of the Dār al-‘Ulūm at Deoband. He studied the Sīhāh Sītta under his father on whose authority ‘Abd al-Ghani transmitted them to his pupils. He also read a portion of the Šaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī with Shāh Isḥāq al-Dīhlawī. In 1249/1833, he accompanied his father to the Haramayn and obtained al-Ijāza for the Sīhāh Sītta from Shaykh ‘Abid al-Sindi al-Madānī (d. 1257). During the Sepoy Mutiny (1272/1857), ‘Abd al-Ghani migrated to al-Madīnah where he taught Hadith literature to a crowd of pupils until his death in Muḥarram, 1296/Dec., 1878.

His work:


Section III. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dīhlawī and his school of Muḥaddithūn (1000-1229/1592-1814 gap.
Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Muḥaddith al-Dīhlawī (958-1052/1551-1642)

Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Sayf al-Dīn b. Sa‘īd Allāh al-Turkī al-Bukhārī al-Dīhlawī al-Hāfiz traces his descent from Aghā Muḥammad Turk (d. 739) who migrated to India from Bukhārā and rose to the rank of Amir during the successive reigns of ‘Alā’ al-

1. His Ṭasānid of the Sīhāh Sītta have been preserved by Muḥsin al-Tirhatī in his al-Ṭanī ‘l-Fānis (Delhi, 1287 A.H.).

Dīn Khaljī (695-715), Qūṭb al-Dīn (716-20) and Tughlaq Shāh (720-25). His grandfather Shaykh Sa'd Allāh (d. 928) led a saintly life which was followed by his (‘Abd al-Ḥaqq's) father Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn (d. 990). An author of several treatises on Ṣūfīṣm, Sayf al-Dīn had a keen interest in Ḥadīth literature as his possession of a copy of al-Dīhābī's al-Kāshif fi Rijāl al-Sitta demonstrated.

The life of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (b. Muḥarram, 938/January, 1551) falls under three unequal periods: (i) 963-85/1556-77, (ii) 996-1000/1588-92 and (iii) 1000-52/1592-1642. The termination of the first period synchronized with the completion of his education of Persian, Arabic, Jurisprudence and Maʿqūlāt in Delhi. His principal teachers during the period were his father Sayf al-Dīn and several other distinguished doctors including Fuqāḥā from the Transoxania settled in Delhi. As to his study of Ḥadīth literature during the period, we have no record though it may reasonably be believed that he became conversant with the subject inasmuch as his father himself had been a Traditionist of some reputation.

The second period (996-1000) he devoted exclusively to the study of Ḥadīth literature at Makka under Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muttaqī (d. 1010), a famous disciple and successor of 'Alī al-Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī (d. 975). Having obtained from his Shaykh Ijāza for the Sīhāḥ Sitta, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq gave coup de grâce to his education in Ḥadīth. This period

3. This valuable MS. is in the possession of Shīfā' al-Mulk Ḥakīm Ḥabīb al-Rāhmān of Dacca [Ma'ārif, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (1934), p. 122].
5. The duration of his study with 'Abd al-Wahhāb had been near about three years [Shaykh al-Islām, Sharḥ-i-Bukhārī, MS. Bānkīpūr., No. 1208 (Persian MSS), fol. 26].
was a turning-point in the life of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq as it determined his future career as a Traditionist and author of great standing. It is interesting to note that prior to his taking to the study of Ḥadīth literature 'Abd al-Ḥaqq had some fascination for court-life inasmuch as he was for some time the companion, in Fatehpūr, of Faiḍī and Mirzā Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 1003). But on his return from al-Ḥijāz, he was quite a changed man preferring to anything else the solitary life of a savant and even refusing to meet his former friend Faiḍī at Lahore despite the latter's deep and repeated requests. The third or the last period was one of compilation and giving instruction particularly in Ḥadīth literature at his Khānqah-i-Qādiriyya in Delhi. He built up a big library containing among other works a rich collection of Ḥadīth literature which he evidently procured from Arabia while studying in the Haramayn and from other places as well. He employed calligraphers for the transcription of rare works on al-Ḥadīth. An inscription on the MS. copy of al-Fattani’s Majma‘ Bihār al-ʾAnwār, of which a lithograph edition was brought out by Newul Kishore Press at Lucknow, tells us that the

4. Besides the ʿṢikāḥ Sīla, the Muṣaffa' of Mālik, the Masnad of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Ḥadīth collections of al-Ṭabarānī, al-Baiḥaqī, al-Dāraquṭnī and others, references of the following works are met with in his works:—al-Nawawī, Sharḥ Ṣaḥḥ Muslim, (Mā Thabata bi’ l-Sunnah, Lahore, 1307 A. H., pp. 18, 25, 55); al-Marzā, Sharḥ Muslim (ibid.), p. 66; Ibn Ḥajir, Ṭabyun al-ʾAjab (ibid. p. 71) on Mawdūʿāt; ‘Alī al-Muttaqī, Kanz al-ʾUmmāl (ibid.), p. 6, as al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabar); Ibn Ḥajir al-Haythānī, al-Ṣawāqiq al-Muḥriqa (ibid., p. 6), al-Sakhāwī, al-Maqāṣid al-Ḥasana (ibid., p. 8); al-ʿIrāqī, Tānzah al-Sharīʿa (ibid., p. 9) on Mawdūʿāt; Ibn al-Athīr, Ǧāmiʿ al-ʾUṣūl (ibid. 1 l’assim), al-Nihāya (ib. p. 18) and Sharḥ Ǧāmiʿ al-ʾUṣūl (ib. p. 19); al-Kirmānī, Sharḥ al-Bukhārī (ib., p. 18), al-Tibī, Sharḥ Mishkāt (ib., p. 18), Qāḍī ʾIyād, Mashāʿir al-ʾAnwār (ib., p. 18); al-Tawrīshī, Sharḥ al-Masābīḥ (p. 19); ‘Alī al-Qārī, Mirqāṭ al-Mafāštah (p. 20); Ibn Ḥajir, Sharḥ Nukḥba (p. 28); Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabagāt (p. 30); al-Ḥakim, al-Wusūdīrak (p. 32); al-Qāḍīallānī, Irshād al-Sānū fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī (p. 33); Ibn al-Athīr, Usd al-Ghābā (p. 46); Yaḥyī, Mirʿat al-ʾJanān (p. 68); Ibn Ḥajir, Fath al-Bārī (Ashīʿat al-ʾLamānī, Lucknow, 1913, vol. I, p. 11) etc.
copy of the manuscript had been transcribed in 1019/1610 for the use of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Muḥaddith al-Dīhlawi. It was during this period that he was at the height of his fame as a Muḥaddith as well as a personage of great sanctity so much so that even the Emperor Shāh Jahān felt called upon to pay homage to him and seek his benediction on the eve of his departure from Delhi to Kashmir in 1028/1619. He died at Delhi in 1052/1642 and was buried in the Ḥawd-i-Shamsī in the tomb which he had himself built.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dīhlawi was a prolific author producing over a hundred books on Ḥadīth, Taṣawwuf, History and Biography of which 13 have been noticed by Brockelmann. Here is a list of his compilations on Ḥadīth literature:

(i) *Al-Tāriq al-Qawīm fi Shārī al-Sirāt al-Mustaqīm* [published]. This is a Persian commentary of al-Firuzabādī's *Sīr al-Sāda* also known as *al-Širāt al Mustaqīm*, a collection of authentic Traditions relating to the life, character, practices and moral teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad (on him be peace and blessings of Allah). The commentary which was completed at Delhi on Jumādā I 24, 1016/September,

4. JRASB, XXII (1916), pp 43-60.
5. Sup. i, p. 603.
1607, was published from Lucknow in 1885. It opens with a *Muqaddima* (introduction), divided into two parts of which the first treats of the science of Traditions and authentic collections and the second, of the Imāms of the *Madhāhib Arba'*. The commentator has translated the Arabic texts with necessary explanations here and there. The value of the commentary has been enhanced by the addition to it of a good number of genuine Ḥadīth which had either been omitted or rejected as weak by al-Firuzābādi, Zāhirite that he was. The sources from which our *Muhaddith* derives his informations have been given in the preface.

(ii) *Asḥi‘at al-Lam‘āt fi al-Mishkāt*, a popular and compendious Persian commentary of the *Mishkāt al-Maṣāḥīḥ* published in five volumes by Newul Kishore Press at Lucknow in 1913-15. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Haqq al-Muhaddith al-Dihlawi began the work in the middle of 1019/1610 and completed it at Delhi by 1029/1620. As our *Muhaddith* puts it, the reason for the slow progress in the compilation of the *Asḥi‘at* was that he started writing down two Commentaries of the *Mishkāt* simultaneously, the one in Persian as referred to above and the other in Arabic, entitled *al-Lam‘āt* (q.v.) which was taken up on Dhūl-Hijja, 13, 1019/February, 1611, and finished on Rabi‘ I, 24, 1025/March, 1616.

Like the *Shirah Sifr al-Sa‘āda*, the *Asḥi‘at al-Lam‘āt* begins with a *Muqaddima* divided into two parts of which the first has been devoted to a short but very useful discourse on *Iștalāḥāt al-Hadith* or the

1. JRASB, p. 47 No. 11; *Fihrist-i-Muṣannifin-i-Dihlī*, pp. 3 sq.; Bānkīpur Cat., XIV, pp. 46-47; Rieu, loc. cit.
Technique of the Science of Tradition, and the second, to the authors of the Șiḥāḥ Sīṭṭa and nine other doctors of Ḥadīth, viz., Mālik, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Shāfiʿī, al-Dāraquṭnī, al-Baḥāqī, Razīn al-ʿAbdī, al-Nawawī and Ibn al-Jawzī. In the main body of the Ashiʿat, the author has reproduced in Persian the entire text of the Mishkāt piecemeal and elucidated the Traditions and the questions having bearing on Madhāhib Arbaʿ.

(iii) Lamʿat al-Tanqīḥ fi Sharḥ Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ (Bānkīpur Nos. 361-62, Aṣāfiyya Nos. 83, 301-02 & 603). In this Arabic Commentary of the Mishkāt, the discussions on theological and juridical problems have been more elaborate than those in the Ashiʿat although the fact remains that the Lamʿat is shorter in bulk than the Ashiʿat, the former containing 80,000 lines while the latter 130,000 lines. This is because of the fact that much of the space of the Ashiʿat has been taken up by its Persian translation of the original Arabic text. The Muqaddima of the Lamʿat, which is identical with that of the Ashiʿat, has been published in the beginning of the Indian editions of the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ and with which every student of Ḥadīth literature is pretty familiar.

(iv) Al-Ikmāl fi Asmāʾ al-Riṭāl (Bānkīpur, No. 732; Dār al-ʿUlām, Peshawar): a biographical work on the Ruwāt mentioned in the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ. It was compiled after the completion of the Lamʿat. The main body of the work which has been arranged
alphabetically is preceded by short life-sketches of the four Khulafā’ Rashidin and the wives and the descendants of the Prophet. The alphabetical series begin with Abū ’l-Laham and ends in Yāsira. There is also an appendix (Tadhkīl) comprising of the notices of several eminent Traditionists beginning with Imām Mālik and ending with al-Ṭahāwī.¹

(v) Jāmi‘ al-Barakāt Muntakhab Sharḥ al-Mishkāt. In this book, the author selected from every bab of the Mishkāt one or two Aḥadīth and then made a scholarly discussion in Persian on the substance of the rest. Its bulk was 32,000 lines.²

(vi) Mā thabata bi’l-Sunna fi Ayyām al-Sana [published]: a collection of Traditions of all categories, viz., Sahih, Ḥasan, Da‘if and Mawdū‘ dealing with prayers, fasting and other religious observances connected with each of the twelve months of the year, their days and nights. He has, in this book, considered every rite that has been sanctioned by genuine Aḥadīth to be valid and the rites which have not been so sanctioned, have been rejected as invalid. The biographical sketch of the Prophet claims the major portion of the space devoted to the month of Rabī‘ I, while the martyrdom of Imām ʿUsain claims the major portion of the space devoted to the month of Muḥarram. On the whole, this treatise is a supplement to one of the Persian books of the author which dealt with the controversies between the Traditionists and the Sūfis in respect of the rites to be observed in each month of the year together with his own verdict as to their validity or otherwise. The Mā thabata was published in Calcutta in 1253/1837 and at Lahore in 1307/1889.³

2. JRASB, No. 4.  
3. For MSS. copies, see Bānkīpūr, V (2), No. 404; Rāmpūr, i, Nos. 318-20.
INeAN TRADITIONISTS

(vii) Al-Ahādith al-Arba‘īn fi Abwāb ‘Ulūm al-Dīn: a treatise of 40 Traditions about religious learning.1

(viii) Tarjumāt al-Ahādith al-Arba‘īn: a Persian translation of forty Ahādīth concerning admonitions to the kings and emperors.2

(ix) Dastur Faiḍ al-Nur (Ethe, India Office, No. 2658; ASB No. 1004): a Persian treatise on the Prophet’s dress based on Traditions. It is identical with the title of the tract styled Risāla dar Adab-i-Libās noticed in the Berlin Catalogue.3

(x) Dhiḳr Ijāzat al-Ḥadīth fi l-Qadīm wa l-‘Abd al-Haqq al-Muhāddith al-Dihlawī was the pioneer of Ḥadīth learning in India—a statement which has, to our mind, no basis.4 The truth is that al-Ḥadīth had been introduced all over India at least a century before ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, by Traditionists whom we have already noticed in the foregoing pages. But it must be said to ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq’s credit that it was his life-long devotion to the cause of the Science that it became so popular in Northern India. This was not all. He was responsible for the production of a long line of Traditionists who handed on the torch of the Sunna from generation to generation. Undoubtedly this was by itself a grand achievement to which his older contemporary Shaykh ʿAḥmad al-Sirhindī also contributed5.

Two groups of Muhaddithūn were turned out from the seminary of ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq: the one comprising the

1. JRASB, No. 21.
2. JRASB, No. 22.
3. Ethe, loc. cit.
4. JRASB, No. 7.
5. Maʿārif, loc. cit.; Yād-i-Ayyām, p. 29.
7. Supra, pp. 140 seq.
members of his house and the other, his own disciples
together with the disciples of the Traditionists of his
house.

GROUP A. TRADITIONISTS OF THE HOUSE OF
‘ABD AL-HAQQ.

al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī (983-1073/1575-1662).

An accomplished Traditionist, jurist and historian,
Nūr al-Haqq was a famous disciple of his own father
Shaykh ‘Abd al-Haqq and the author of the Zubdat al-
Tawāriḥ, a general history of India commencing from
Muʿizz al-Dīn b. Sām commonly known as Muḥammad
Ghūrī (570-602, 1175-1206), to the accession of Jāhāngīr,
(1014/1605), of which a part has been incorporated by
Eliot into the sixth volume of his History of India.
Nūr al-Haqq was said to have worked all through his
life for the cause of Ḥadīth literature. In recognition
of his scholarship Emperor Shāh Jāhān (1037-69/1628-
59) appointed him Qīdi of Akbarābād which office he
long held with credit. He died at Delhi in 1073/1662
at the age of ninety.¹

His works:—

(i) Taysir al-Qāri fi Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, a
compendious Persian commentary of al-Bukhārī’s
Ṣaḥīḥ published in five volumes by the ‘Alawi Press,
Lucknow, 1305/1887.²

(ii) Sharḥ Shamā’il al-Nabī (Rāmpūr, No. 194),
a Persian commentary of al-Tirmidhī’s Shamā’il al-
Nabī.

¹. Subḥat, p. 53; Maʾthor, p 201; Ḥadāʾiq, p. 418; Khazina, Vol.
I, p. 989; T. ‘Ulamā’, p. 246; Maʿarif, Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 258-268;
Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 182; Rieu, Persian MSS, Vol. 1, p. 224; Ethe, India
Office Catalogue, No. 290; Bānkīpūr Catalogue, XIV, p. 54.
². Maʿarif, loc. cit. For its MSS. copies, see Ethe, No. 2659; Bānkī-
pūr, Nos. 1195-99.

He was the great-great-grandson of Shaykh Nur al-Ḥaqq and received instructions in the Siḥāḥ Sītta from his father Shaykh Muḥībb Allāh who, in his turn, read them with his grandfather Nur al-Ḥaqq. Fakhr al-Dīn completed his father's Persian commentary upon the Sahih of Muslim entitled Manbaʿ al-ʿIlm fi Sharḥ Sahih Muslim (Bānkipūr, No. 1207; ASB, No. 1007). In the preface of this work, Fakhr al-Dīn says that his father wrote it towards the end of his life and could not find time to revise it and that he revised the commentary and improved upon it by making suitable additions and alterations. In this recension of the Manbaʿ al-ʿIlm, Fakhr al-Dīn utilized the compilations of his great-great-grandfather Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Muhaddith al-Dihlawī.

(ii) Sharḥ ʿAyn al-ʿIlm (Bānkipūr, No. 1390). This is a Persian commentary of Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Balkhī’s ʿAyn al-ʿIlm, a work on asceticism based on the Qurʾān and al-Ḥadīth. The Commentator says in the preface that the Arabic original of the ʿAyn al-ʿIlm being very difficult and not accessible to Persian students, he wrote the present commentary with the help of al-Ghazālī’s Iḥyā’ Ulūm al-Dīn.

1. The statement of ʿAbd al-Muqtadir (Bānkipūr, XIV, p. 62 also Maʿārif, Vol. XXII No. 4, pp. 268-69) that Fakhr al-Dīn was a son of Shaykh Nur al-Ḥaqq, is not correct as it is clear from a genealogy given by Shaykh al-Isām b. Fakhr al-Dīn (q. v.) in the preface of his Sharḥ-i-Bukhārī (MS. Bānkipūr, No. 1208, fol. 27a (sic.)

فأَخَرُ الْدِّيْنِ بِنِ مَنْصِبِ الْلَّهِ بِنِ دُورِ الْلَّهِ بِنِ نُورِ الْعَلَّقِ بِنِ عَمْدَالْعَلَّق

also Nuzha, vi. s. v. Shaykh al-Isām b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Dihlawī and as such the ascription of the Manbaʿ al-ʿIlim to Nur al-Ḥaqq is a further mistake.


3. Al-Balkhī was an Indian scholar (Loth. op. cit., p. 190 cf. Ḥājj Khalīfa. IV, p. 282). For copies of his ʿAyn al-ʿIlim, see Loth. Nos. 680-2; Bānkipūr, No. 1353 (Arabic Hand-list, Vol. 1).
of which the 'Ayn al-'Ilm itself was a selection. He has introduced the passages from the Qur'ān and al-Hadith under the abbreviations of ١ and ٢ respectively. The names of the transmitting Ṣaḥaba together with the works in which the Traditions occur have been mentioned. The work is divided into a Muqaddima, wenty Bābs and a Khātima.

(iii) Sharh-i-Hīṣn Ḥasīn, a Persian commentary of al-Jazari's Ḥīṣn Ḥasīn.

3. Shaykh al-Islām b. Ḥāfīz Fakhr al-Dīn
(d. circ. 1180).

He was a famous pupil of his father al-Hāfīz Fakhr al-Dīn and had Ijāza for the Ṣīhāb Sitta and other Hadith works from the latter. He flourished in Shāhjahānābād during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1131-61/1715-48) when the invasion of Nādir Shāh took place. Shaykh al-Islām was a contemporary of Shāh Wāli Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1173).

His works:

(i) Sharh-i-Sāḥīh al-Bukhārī, a Persian commentary of al-Bukhārī's Ṣāḥīh published at Lucknow in 1305/1887 on the margin of Nūr al-Haqq's Tawsīr al-Qārī under the title of Sharḥ-i-Shaykh al-Islām.

The commentator has discussed in the preface (foll. 1-29, Bānkīpūr MS.) Iṣlāḥaḥat-al-Hadīth or the Technique of the Science of Tradition, the soundness and otherwise of the Ruwāt, a short life-sketch of al-

2. For contents of the work, see Bānkīpūr Cat. XVI, pp. 58-69.
3. Ḥaddā’iq, p. 468.
4. Vide his Sharḥ Bukhārī (MS Bānkīpūr) foll. 26b, 27a; Nuzkā, Vol. VI, loc. cit.: Ḥaddā’iq loc. cit.
6. Bānkīpūr, XIV, p. 62; Maʿārif, Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 269. For MS copy of the work, see Bānkīpūr Nos. 1208-09.
Imám al-Bukhári, the occasion that led him to compile his Ṣaḥīḥ, its place among the compilations on al-Hadith, its tarajim al-abwâb, Ta'liqât and other relevant points. Further, he has traced therein his own Sanad up to Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (foll. 26-27) thus:

شیخ الإسلام عن ابن الحافز فخر الاعالين عن ابن محب الله ينور الله عن جده
نور الحق عن ابن شیخ المحدثين الشيخ عبد الحق المحدث الدهلوي

In compiling his work, Shaykh al-Islám has utilized, among other works, al-Nawawi's Sharh Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim (fol. 18), Ibn Ḥajar’s Fath al-Bāri (fol. 27), 'Abd al-Ḥaqq’s Commentaries on the Mishkāt (foll. 1 seq.) and Nūr al-Ḥaqq’s Taysir al-Qāri.


(iii) Risāla Ṭard al-Awhâm ‘an Āthâr al-Imâm al-Humâm.¹


Salâm Allâh, a contemporary of Sirâj Aḥmad al-Sirhindî (d. 1220) and 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Dihlawî (d. 1235), appears to be the last luminary of the house of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawî. He moved from Delhi to Rampûr and became famous as Muḥaddith-i-Râmpûrî. He learnt the science of Tradition from his own father, Shaykh al-Islâm and ably carried on the culture and cultivation of Hadith learning, the proud heritage of his forefathers, as his following works show. He died at Rampûr in Jumâdâ II, 1229/1814 or 1233/1818.²

1. Ḥadâ‘iq, p. 468.
2. Ḥadâ‘iq, p. 468; Tadhkira-i-'Ulâmâ, p. 74; Ma‘ârif, Vol. XXII No. 4, p. 269; Tadhkira-i-Kâmilân-i-Râmpûr, p. 159.
(i) Al-Muhallā bi Asrār al-Muwatta (Bānkīpūr No. 127 Traditions). It is an Arabic commentary of the Muwatta’ of Imām Mālik (1. 179) devoted chiefly to juridical problems (masā’il-i-fiqhīyya) and the differences thereof among the Madhāhib Arba’. The author says in the Muqaddima which opens with a short life-sketch of al-Imām Mālik and a critical estimation of the Muwatta’, that he wrote the present work in order to supply the long-felt need for a commentary of the Muwatta’ in this country, Zurqānī’s Sh.trh not being extant here, and that till his time no Indian Traditionist did comment on this important Hadith work. The Muhallā was compiled at Rāmpūr in 1215/1800. It appears that the author had no access to the commentaries on the Muwatta’ by Ya‘qūb al-Lāhūrī (d. 1098) and Shāh Wali Allāh al-Dīhlawī (d. 1176) written in India before him.

(ii) Tarjuma-i-Fārsī Sahiḥ al-Bukhārī.

(iii) Tarjuma-i-Fārsī Shamā’il al-Nabi.

(iv) Risāla fi Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth, a treatise on Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth in Arabic.


Sayf Allāh, a grandson of Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq was equally versatile in Jurisprudence and Tradition.

1. The Bānkīpūr MS. is incomplete ending in a portion of Kitāb al-Ḥajj (op. cit., Vol. V (1), p. 8). The State Library of Rāmpūr has a complete MS. of the Muḥallā Tadkhira Kāmilān-i-Rāmpūr, p. 169). The Library of Tonk possesses a complete work whereas the Library of Maẓāhir al-‘Ulūm Madrasa at Sahāranpūr has only the second half of the work Muqaddima Awjaz al-Masālik, p. 33).


5. Infra, p. 165.

6. Infra, p. 177.

7. Ḥadā‘iq, loc. cit.
He prepared a commentary on the *Shama'il al-Nabi* entitled *Ashraf al-Wasa'il fi Sharh al-Shama'il* in 1091/1680 during the reign of 'Alamgir (1069-1119/1659-1707).¹

**GROUP B. DISCIPLES OF 'ABD AL-ḤAQQ AND OF HIS DESCENDANTS**

1. **Khawāja Khawānd Mu'in al-Dīn** (d. 1085/1674).

A son of Khawāja Khawānd Maḥmūd al-Naqshbandī (d. 1052) of Kashmir,² Mu'in al-Dīn studied al-Hadith, al-Tafsīr and al-Fiqh under Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī. He flourished in the 11th century and died in Kashmir in 1085/1674.³

2. **Khawāja Ḥaydar Patlū b. Firūz al-Kashmirī** (d. 1057/1647).

He first learnt al-Hadith in his native province Kashmir from Bābā Jawāhir Nāth al-Kashmirī (d. 1026), a pupil of Ibn Ḥajjar al-Haythamī.⁴ Then he joined the School of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq at Delhi and completed his education of Hadith literature. The Governor of Kashmir repeatedly offered him the office of Qāḍī but he refused to accept it preferring, as he did, the life of a saint to anything else. He died in Kashmir in 1057/1647.⁵

3. **Bābā Dāwūd al-Mishkātī al-Kashmirī** (d. 1097/1685)

In al-Hadith he was a pupil of Haydar al-Kashmirī (d. 1057) and in al-Taṣawwūf of Khawānd

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¹ *Nuzha*, VI, s.v. Sayf Allāh al-Bukhārī.
² For Khawānd Maḥmūd, see *Ṭārīkh-i-Kashmir*, p. 138.
⁴ *Ṭārīkh-i-Kashmir*, pp. 103-04.
⁵ Ibid, p. 143; Ḥadā'īq, pp. 408-09; *Asrār al-Abrār*, (MS. Dār al-Muṣannifīn) quoted in Maʿārif, p. 269; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā*, p. 54.
Maḥmūd (d. 1052). He was called Mishkati because he had committed to memory the entire Mishkat al-Maṣābiḥ. He was the author of the Asrār al-Abrār, on the biography of the Mashāʾikh of Kashmir, a MS. copy of which is in the library of Dār al-Muṣannifin at Azamgarh in the United Provinces. He died at Kashmir in 1097/1685.¹

4. Shaykh 'Inayat Allah Shāl-i-Kashmīrī (d. 1185/1713).

He was a pupil of a son of Khawāja Ḥaydar and a famous teacher of Kashmir. He taught the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī as many as thirty-six times from beginning to end and died in Shaʿbān, 1125/1713 at the age of sixty-eight.²


Mubārak al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāṣitī al-Bilgrāmī, who belonged to the ancient family of the Wāṣitī Sayyids settled since 614/1217 at Bilgram³ in the district of Hardoi in the United Provinces,⁴ was a pupil of Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī. While a student at Delhi he resided in the home of his teacher and thus came into an intimate contact with him. In 1064/1654, he obtained a Sanad from Nūr al-Ḥaqq and since then he worked indefatigably for the spread of Hadith learning at Bilgram until he died in Raʾīṣ I, 1115/July, 1703. He was born in Shaʿbān, 1033/May, 1624. For his deep erudition in the

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² Ḥadāʾiq, p. 435; Tadhkira-i-ʿUlamāʾ, p. 152; Maʿārif, Vol. XXII, No. 5, p. 333.
Science of Tradition, Mīr Mubārak earned the title of *Quṭb al-Muḥaddithin*.¹

The School of Mubārak at Bilgrām produced, among others, two noted scholars of Ḥadīth, viz., Sayyids Muḥammad Fayḍ b. Ṣādiq al-Bilgrāmī and ʿAbbās al-Jalīl al-Bilgrāmī. The first, a hereditary zamīndār of Bilgrām, made a Persian translation of the *Shāmāʾil al-Nābi* and the *Ḥisn Ḥasīn*.² He died in 1130/1716.³


ʿAbbās al-Jalīl b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Wasiṭī al-Bilgrāmī, who was the maternal grandfather of our Azād al-Bilgrāmī, was a man of great culture and learning. He read al-Ḥadīth with Mīr Mubārak and also with Mīr Saʿd Allāh (d. 1119),⁵ Mīr Ṭufayl (d. 1151) of Bilgrām and Ghulām Naqshband (d. 1126)⁶ of Lucknow. ʿAbbās al-Jalīl was a *Muḥaddith* well-versed in *Asmāʾ al-Rijāl*, and committed to memory a good number of Ḥadīth along with their *isnād*.⁷ His love for Ḥadīth works may be gauged from the fact that even on relinquishing his office of Bakhshī and Waqāʾī-Nīgār (Paymaster and News-writer)⁸ at

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6. Ibid, n. 123.


8. He was Bakhshī and Waqāʾī-Nīgār first in Gujarāt and then in Bhakkar and Swuistan under Āwrangzīb (1069-1119) and the later Mughal Emperors from 1120/1708 to 1126/1716. — Ibid, p. 230 seq.
Bhakkar in 1126/1714, he stopped on his way home with all his retinue at Nawshahar in Sind, for six long months with a view to comparing and correcting the copy of al-Bukhārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ which he had already transcribed at Bhakkar. His teacher Mīr Mubārak gave him Ijāza in the form of a pamphlet which the latter preserved in his library. ‘Abd al-Jalīl died at Delhi in Rabī‘ I, 1138/October, 1725.


Born at Maydānpūra, a locality in Bilgrām, on the 25th of Ṣafar, 1116/May, 1704, Ghulām ʿAlī Azād b. Nūḥ al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāṣīṭi al-Hanafi al-Bilgrāmī, after receiving sanad in al-Hadīth from his maternal grandfather, set out in 1151-1738 for al-Ḥijāz and stayed there for two years in the course of which he read al-Bukhārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ with Shaykh Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d. 1163) at al-Madīna and some other Ḥadīth works with ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ṭāntāwī (d. 1157) at Makka. Shaykh Ḥayāt granted him Ijāza for the Ṣīhāḥ Sittā. Azād died at Awrangbād in 1200/1785 at the age of eighty-four.

Mīr Azād Bilgrāmī is a famous author of history, biography and criticism of Persian poetry. The following works of his will reveal to us his attainments as a Traditionist:—

1. Ibid., p. 248.
2. Ibid., pp. 167-69.
3. Ibid., pp. 172-73.
4. Ibid., pp. 271-72. Notices of his biography will also be found in Ḥadāʾiq, p. 437; Maʾthar al-Ḳirām, pp. 257-77; Sarw-i-Azād, p. 253 s.v.; Ṭ. Ulanā, pp. 108-09; Maʿārif, Vol. XXII, No. 5, p. 270; Rieu, Persian Cat., Vol. III, p. 963; JRASB, p. 119, n. 5.
(i) *Daw' al-Dāri Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*: a commentary of the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī up to Kitāb-al-Zakāt based on Ḥaṣṣālānī's *Irshād al-Sārī*. Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān notices the work in his *Ithāf al-Nubalā*.

(ii) *Shamāmat al-ʿAnbar fī maʿwarada fī l-Hind min Sayyid al-Bashar*. The author collects in this work all the Traditions of the Prophet referring to India.

(iii) *Subḥat al-Marjān fī Āthār Hindūstān*: [published at Bombay in 1303 A.H.] The introduction of this book dwells on al-Ḥadīth and the verses of the Qurʾān as have bearings on India.

(iv) *Sanad al-Saʿāda fī Ḥusn Khātimat-al-Sādat*. [published at Bombay]: on the excellences of Ahl-i-Bayt. In this Persian treatise, the author has shown from Āḥādīth and the sayings of some eminent saints that the end of the descendants of the Prophet will be good and that their entry into Paradise is pretty sure.

Section IV. Traditionists who Flourished from the Middle of the 11th to the Middle of the 12th Century A.H.

1. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq b. Sharif (d. circ. 1040/1630)

He was a Muḥāddith of the eleventh century A.H. He died after the year 1032/1623 when he completed his *Sharḥ al-Zawājir*. His biographical notices are not available. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq is the author of a commentary of the *Mishkāt al-Masābīḥ* entitled *Nujūm al-Mishkāt* (Bāṅkīpūr, No. 363 Tradition) in which theological questions have been elucidat-

3. JRASB, p. 127.
ed at some length.¹

2. Shaykh Husain al-Ḥusaynī al-Harawi
   (d. circ. 1045/1635).

He flourished in the first half of the 11th century
A.H. and compiled commentaries on the Shamā’il al-
Nabi in Persian, of which the one called Sharḥ al-
Shamā’il was written for Prince Salīm b. Akbar
(b. 976 d. 1037) and the other called Naẓm al-Shamā’il
for Prince Murād b. Akbar (b. 978 d. 1007). Ḥakīm
ʿAbd al-Hayy Nadvī who personally read these two
books spoke highly of them.²

3. Sayyid Jaʿfar Badr-i-ʿĀlam
   (1023-1085/1614-75).

Jaʿfar b. Jalāl b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-
Bukhārī better known as Badr-i-ʿĀlam, ‘the Moon of
the World,’ was a descendant of the famous saint of
Uchh, Makhdūm-i-Jahāntīyān, Sayyid Jalāl al-Bukhārī
(d. 785). His father, Sayyid Jalāl Maqṣūd-i-ʿĀlam
(d. 1059) who held a Maḥsūb of six thousand horses
under Emperor Jahāngīr (1014-37/1605-28), was an
eminent scholar of Islamic learning.³ Jaʿfar was born
at Aḥmadābād on Shaʿbān 12, 1023/September, 1614.
He read with his father and became an accomplished
scholar and a specialist in al-Ḥadīth and Tafsīr. He
used to copy out the manuscripts himself, and was a
quick copyist, so much so that in fifty-four hours he
would complete the whole of the Qurʾān. He refused
a Governorship offered by the Emperor Jahāngīr him-

¹ A MS. copy of the Nujūm al-Mishkāt is available in the library

² Nusha, Vol. VI, s.v. Ḥusayn al-Harawi.

³ For Maqṣūd-i-ʿĀlam, see Supplement to the Mirʾat-i-Aḥmādī,
   Eng. tr. by Nawāb ʿAlī and Seddon (Baroda, 1924), pp. 43-44.
self. He died on Dhū’l-Ḥijja 9, 1085/March, 1675 and was buried at Aḥmadābād by the side of his father.¹

His works:—


(ii) Rawḍat al-Shāh: This work consisted of as many as twenty-four volumes of which the first dealt with memoirs of the saints and the last four, with Traditionists and commentators of the Qur’ān.²


Born at Aḥmadābād on Rabi’ I 30, 1047/July, 1637, Maḥbūb-i-Ālam (the Beloved of the World) read with his father, Ja’far Badr-i-Ālam and some other distinguished Professors of Gujarāt. Besides his works on al-Ḥadīth noted below, he compiled two commentaries of the Qur’ān, one in Arabic and the other in Persian. The latter was unique in this that it had been based on Traditions, handed down by the Ahl-i-Bayt. He died at Aḥmadābād in Jumāda II, 1111/November, 1699.³

His work:—

Zinat al-Nukūt fi Sharḥ al-Mishkāt: The author embodied in this commentary the views of the principal Schools of Jurisprudence.⁴

5. Shaykh Ya’qūb al-Bannānī al-Lāhūrī (d. 1098/1687).

Shaykh Ya’qūb, surnamed Abū Yusuf, was born

¹ Ibid. p. 44; Taḏkkira-i-‘Ulamā‘, p. 216.
² Ibid.
⁴ Mo‘ārif al-‘Awārif, s.v. شروح المشكوة; T. ‘Ulamā‘; p. 216.
and educated at Lahore. An accomplished Traditionist and philosopher, Abū Yūsuf was a professor in Madrasa-i-Shāhjahanīyya in Delhi and subsequently accepted the office of the Mīr-i-ʿAdil under Shāh Jahān (1037-69) and was elevated to the position of the Naẓir-i-Maḥākīm during the reign of Awrangzīb (1069-1119). His official duties apart, Abū Yūsuf used to deliver lectures on different aspects of Muslim learning. He died in Delhi in 1098/1687.¹

His works:—

(i) Al-Khayr al-Jāri fi Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī.
(ii) Al-Muʿlim fi Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim.
(iii) Kitāb al-Muṣaffā fi Sharḥ al-Muwatta'.²

   al-Awādi al-Jawnpūrī
   (d. 1120/1708).

His grandfather Shaykh Pīr came to Oudh in the retinue of Sālār Maṣʿūd³ and his father who settled down at Bāḍīʿ Sārāʾ or Baddū Sarāʾ, had been Muftī of Oudh. Naʿīm was a pupil of ʿAbd al-Rashīd al-Jawnpūrī (d. 1083), the famous author of the Manazira-i-Rashidiyya, lived over a century and died at Jawnpūr in Şafar, 1120/1708.

His work:—

Sharḥ Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ: The work was compiled after the eyesight of the author had become defective.⁴

1. Nuzha, Vol. VI; Rizq Allāh, al-Uṣq al-Mubīn; Mīr-i-ʿĀlām.
2. These works have been referred to by ʿAbd al-Ḥayyy Nadawī in his Nuzha and Maʿārif al-ʿAwārif.
3. He was a sister's son to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn (Haig, tr. Munīkahab al-Tawāriḵh, Vol. III, p. 46, n. 6).
7. Shaykh Muḥammad Akram b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥanafi al-Sindi (d. circ. 1130/1717).

He was a native of Naṣrāpur in Sind and lived in the first half of the 12th century. He prepared an elaborate commentary on Ibn Ḥajar’s Nukhbah al-Fikar called Imān al-Naṣar fī Tawād̄iḥ Nukhbhat al-Fikar, a MS. copy of which is in the library of the late Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawi at Firingī Maḥal, Lucknow.¹


A disciple of his uncle Shaykh Afḍal b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ilahābādi (d. 1124), Yaḥyā was popularly known as Khūb Allāh Ilahābādi. He was a scholar of varied learning and a good Traditionist. He died in Jumādā I, 1144/1731.²

His works:—

(i) Iʿānat al-Qāri fī Sharḥ Thulāthiyāt al-Bukhāri, an elaborate Arabic commentary on al-Bukhāri’s Thulāthiyāt.³

(ii) Arbaʿin.

(iii) Taḥkhirat al-ʿAṣhab.

(iv) Maʾkhaḍh al-Iʿtiqad fī Shāh al-Ṣaḥābat wa Ahl al-Bayt (in Arabic).

(v) Sharḥ Ḥadīth

(vi) Tārjuma Wazāʿif al-Nabī.⁴

2. Sarw-i-Aṣād, pp 210-212.
3. Maʿārif al-ʿAwārif, s.v.
4. Nuzha, Vol. VI.

شروح ثلاثيات البخارى
9. Shah Muhammad Fakhir al-Ilahabadi
(1120-64/1708-50).

Fakhir, a son of Shah Yahya al-Ilahabadi, was a well-known poet who wrote poems with his nom-de-plume (takhallus) Za’ir. He was also a Muḥaddith and studied Hadith literature at al-Madīna with Shaykh Hayat al-Sindi (d. 1163) first in the year 1150/1737 and then from 1156/1743 to 1158/1745. Back at Allahabad in 1159/1746, he reached Hooghly in the following year on boat via ‘Aẓīmābād (Patna) and Murshidābād and embarked on a ship bound for the Hijaz. But due to a catastrophe in the Bay of Bengal, the vessel touched early in 1161/1748 the port of Chittagong where after staying for three or four months, Fakhir returned home. In Sha‘bān, 1164/1750, he again started for the Ḥaramayn, but on his way he fell ill and died at Burhānpūr on the 11th Dhūl-Hijja of that year. Fakhir had been intimate with Shah Waﬁ Allah al-Dihlawi (d. 1172) and was a fellow-student of Azad al-Bilgrāmī.¹

The Madrasa of Fakhir at Allahabad had possessed a copy of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim from which Rūḥ al-Amīn Khān (d. 1151)² made a reproduction which last is, now, preserved in the library of Ḥabibganj.³

His works on Ḥadith:—

(i) Qurrat al-‘Ain fi Ithbāt Raﬁ’ al-Yadain.⁴

(ii) Risala-i-Najatiya dar ‘Aqā’id-i-Ḥadithiya (published and to be had in the family library of Mawlana ‘Abd Allah al-Baql of Dīnājpūr, Bengal). This Persian treatise was composed at Islamābād (Chittagong) during his short stay there in 1161/1748. It

enunciates the doctrines of the Sunnīs from the viewpoint of Apostolic Traditions.¹

(iii) Nazm 'Ibārat-i-Sifr al-Saʿāda.²

(iv) Mathnawi dar Taʿrif 'Ilm Ḥadīth.³


Born and educated at Jawnpūr under Arshad b. 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Jawnpūrī, Amin al-Dīn was a teacher highly learned not only in Tradition but also in Geometry, Arithmetic, Uṣṭarlāb and the Law of Inheritance (Mawārith). He made a synopsis, Mulakhkhas of Ashi'at al-Lama'at of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Dihlawī (d. 1052). He lived as late as the year 1135/1722-23. His death-date has not come down to us.⁴


Nūr al-Dīn was an eminent teacher and a prolific author of Aḥmadābād. He is credited to have compiled as many as 150 books chiefly commentaries and annotations (shurūḥ wa ḥawāshī). In al-Ḥadīth he was a pupil of Maḥbūb-i-ʿĀlam (q. v.); he also acquired the Science from Makkī Traditionists on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the Ḥaramayn in 1143/1730. His Madrasa at Aḥmadābād known as the Hidayat Bakhsh which was housed in a palatial construction built for him in 1111/1699 by his disciple Nawwāb Ikrām al-Dīn, a Ṣadr of Gujarāt with a huge sum of rupees one lac and twenty-four thousand, had

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¹ Ibid, pp. 84, 406.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Nusha, vol. VI; Ganj-i-Arshadī.
been a great educational institution.¹ Nūr al-Ｄīn died at Aḥmadābād on Monday, 9th Sha‘bān, 1155/Sept., 1742, at the age of ninety-one and was buried within the premises of his Madrasa.²

His work:—

Nūr al-ʿQari Sharḥ Ṣāḥīḥ al-Bukhārī.³

12. Mīrzā Muḥammad b. Rustam al-Badakhshi
(1098-1195/1687-1781).

Md. b. Rustam b. Qubbād al-Ḥārithī al-Badakhshī was born at Jalalābād (now in Afghānistān) on Friday 21, Jumādā I, 1098/April, 1687. His grandfather, Qubbād Beg, who had received from Awrangzib the title of Diyaʾanat Khān, died at Delhi in 1083/1672. While his father, Rustam, later on Muʿtamid Khān, served under Awrangzib and fell in the Deccan wars in 1117/1705. Our author Mīrzā Muḥammad read with his father who was ‘a man of great erudition.’ At the age of fifteen he wrote his Risāla Radd al-Bid’ā wa ʿAqaʾid Ahl al-Sunna and with this work he was introduced to Awrangzib in 1115/1703 by Rūḥ Allāh Khān and received from the Emperor a Manṣab of six hundred. Besides his compilations on Hadith noted below, Mīrzā Muḥammad is the author of two valuable historical works, viz., Tārikh-i-Muḥammad and ‘Ibrāt-Nama.⁴ He died after the year 1190/1776 when he completed his Tārikh-i-Muḥammad.⁵

1. Yād-i-Ayyām, p. 33.
3. Maʿārif al-ʿAwāris, s.v. شرح البخاري.
His works

(i) **Miftāḥ al-Najā fi Manaqib al-'Abā**: on the virtues and excellences of Ahl-i-Bayt, the descendants of the Prophet, chiefly based on Traditions together with a short account of their births and deaths. The book is divided into five parts which are again subdivided into chapters. It was taken up in Rāmāḍān, 1123/1711 and was finished on the 17th Muḥarram, 1124/1712 at Lahore.

(ii) **Tarājim al-Ḥuffāz** (Būhār Nos. 252-3; for Dār al-ʿUlūm, Deoband copy, see Burhān, ed. Delhi, 1940, p. 378), a two-volume biographical work on the eminent Traditionists (Ḥuffāz) arranged alphabetically and is based primarily on al-Samʿānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb*. It was written at Delhi in Rabī’ I, 1146/ August, 1733.

(iii) **Nuzūl al-Abrār bi ma Ṣaḥḥa min Manaqib Ahl al-Bayt al-Aṯār**, a collection of Aḥadith giving correct estimate of the descendants of the Prophet. The treatise was composed for the Amīr al-Umarā Ḥusain Ṭalī Khān al-Ḥusaynī al-Barhūwī.

(iv) **Tuḥfat al-Muḥibbin fi Manaqib al-Khalafā’ al-Rāshidin** (Rāmūpūr No. 668): on the virtues and excellences of the Four Orthodox Caliphs.

13. **Mīrzā Jān al-Biraki** (d. circ. 1100).

Awḥad al-Dīn Mīrzā Jān al-Biraki al-Jālandhari was a native of Jullandhar in the Punjāb. He was a Traditionist of the eleventh century. Nothing more about him is available.

1. For detailed description of the contents, Būhār vol. II, pp. 245-50.
2. For detailed description ibid, pp. 285-88.
His work:

\textit{Naẓm al-Durar wa'l-Marjān} (Bānkīpūr, Vol. XV. No. 1033): a comprehensive Arabic work on the Prophet’s life, miracles, prerogatives and distinctive merits as described in \textit{Aḥādīth}. The work was completed on the 2nd Dhūl-Ḥijja, 1091/December, 1680.\textsuperscript{1} Sayyid ‘Alīm Allāh Jalandharī (d. 1202) translated the work into Persian under the title of \textit{Nathr al-Jawāhīr}.\textsuperscript{2}


He learnt Ḥadīth in the Ḥaramayn under Shaykh Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ al-Makki and Abū’l-Ḥasan al-Sindi of whom the latter granted him \textit{Ijāzā} at al-Madīna in 1170/1756. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq was born in 1128/1716 and died in 1193/1779 at Lahore where his father, who was a native of Kābul, had been \textit{Imām} of the Masjid-i-Wazīr khān.

His work:

\textit{Izālat al-Fasādāt fi Sharḥ Manāqib al-Sādat}, a commentary of Dawlaūbādī’s \textit{Manāqib al-Sādat} (q.v. supra, 65) with criticism.\textsuperscript{3}

Section V. \textit{Shāh Wali Allāh and his School of Muḥammadīthūn} (1146-1283/1734-1866).

\textit{Shāh Wali Allāh al-Dihlawī} (1114-76/1703-62).

Qutb al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-‘Umarī al-Ḥanafi al-Dihlawī, popularly known as Shāh Wali Allāh, the celebrated Indian Traditionist, traces his descent from Caliph ‘Umar

\textsuperscript{1} Bānkīpūr Catalogue, vol. XV, pp. 94-95.
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Tadkhīrāt al-‘Ulamā}, p. 147.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Hadā’iq}, pp. 451-52; \textit{T. ‘Ulamā}, p. 194; \textit{Nuzha}, vol. VI, s.v. Ṣiddīq al-Lāhūrī.
al-Fārūq. Born at Delhi on Wednesday, Shawwal 14, 1114/Feb., 1703—four years before the death of Avrangzib, Shāh Wali Allāh began his education at the age of five, learnt the Qur‘ān by heart when seven and completed the highest Madrasa course of the day when he reached the age of fifteen. As regards his study of Hadīth, he read in India the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ, the Shamā’il al-Nabī and a portion of the Šaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī with Afḍāl al-Siyāḥkūṭī (d. 1146) and his own father ‘Abd al-Raḥīm (d. 1131), one of the editors of the Fatāwā-i-‘Ālamgīrī. In 1143/1730, he proceeded to the Haramayn and stayed there for fourteen months, studying the Šīḥāḥ Šīṭta, the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ and the Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn under Abū Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrdī al-Šāfī‘ī al-Madānī (d. 1145) and the Muwaṭṭa‘ of Mālik under Wafī Allāh al-Mālikī al-Makki.1 Also he read with Tāj al-Dīn al-Qal‘ī al-Makki and ‘Umar b. Ahmad al-Makki.2 He returned to Delhi on Friday, Rajab 14, 1146/Dec. 1733, and opened a Hadīth class in Madrasa-i-Raḥīmiyya founded by his father, which, as number of students grew rapidly, was subsequently removed to a spacious building given for the purpose by Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1131-61/1719-48). Here he lectured on the Šīḥāḥ Šīṭta,3 the Muwaṭṭa‘, the Musnad al-Dārimī, the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ, etc., for a quarter of a century. The method of his imparting instructions was that he would first make his students read out their daily lessons for themselves and then he would discourse upon them. In the lectures of the Šaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī held during the year 1159/1746, Khawāja Amin Wali Allāh had been one of the qāris,4 or readers, and

4. Ibid.
Muḥammad Ilahābādī, one of the sāmiʿūn, listeners.¹ In presenting the masāʾil-i-fiqhiyya, as he did in his Muṣaffā and Musawwā, Shah Şahib's main endeavour had been not to accentuate but to minimize the differences existing in the Madhāhib-i-Arba‘, particularly those existing between the Hanafite and the Shāfī‘ite schools. With that end in view, he would analyze all those Masāʾil-i-fiqhiyya emphasizing over their points of agreement only, without giving preference to one school over the other—a process that not only helped to broaden the vision and outlook of the young learners but also inculcated in them a spirit of respect and large-hearted toleration for all the four Imāms and the systems they sponsored.

Of his distinguished pupils, his eldest son Shah ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz excepted, who read Ḥadīth with the Shah Şahib, the names of Qaḍī Thanaʿ Allah Pānīpatī surnamed Bāihaqī al-Waqī, Muḥammad ‘Ashiq P’hūki, Khawāja Amīn Wali Allāhī, Khayr al-Dīn Sūrajtī, Rasī al-Dīn Murādābādī, Muḥammad Ilahābādī, and others have come down to us.²

Shāh Wali Allāh died on the 29th of Muḥarram, 1176/July 1762, in Delhi where at Mahandiyan, adjacent to the Khūnī Darwāza, his grave along with those of his family members exists to this day.³ His works on Ḥadīth:—

(i) Ḥujjatu’llāh al-Bāligha: a work of encyclopædic character, dealing with Islamic jurisprudence,

1. Ibid.
theology, physics, metaphysics, domestic economy (السياسة المدنية) and the last but not the least asrār al-Dīn, the philosophical expositions of the rites and rituals of Islām, the most important part of the science of Tradition and the quintessence of the science of epistemology, with copious quotations from the Qur'ān and Aḥādīth. A chapter of the work has been devoted to the discussions of the tabaqāt, the gradations of the books on Traditions into the first rank of which Shāh Sāḥib has, along with the Şahīḥān, included the Muwat'ta' of Imām Mālik and into the second, the Sunans of Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasa'i and the Jāmi' of al-Tirmidhī only.  

Among the Shāh Sāhib's contributions, the Ḥujjatu'llāh al-Balīgha shall always stand out as a monumental work which the Muslim India has ever produced and which won for her applause and admiration from the rest of the Islāmdom. In the opinion of Nawwāb Şiddīq Ḥasan, our Indian Suyūṭī, this book is unique in its kind, the like of which none of the 'Ulamā' of 'Arab and 'Ajam has ever been able to produce for the last twelve hundred years.

The work was first lithographed at the Şiddīqī Press, Bareilly, in 1285/1868 at the instance of Munshi Jamāl Khān of Bhopāl. Its Egyptian edition was published in 1322-23/1904-05 from al-Maṭba'a at al-Khairiyyya, Cairo. The work has also been translated into Urdū by some Indian scholars.

(ii) Arba'īn: a selection of forty Aḥādīth transmitted by 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib and handed down to the posterity through his descendants. Its Urdū translation with marginal notes by Khurram 'Ali Balharī

1. Ḥujjatu'llāh al-Balīgha (Cairo, 1322 A.H.), 1, p. 3.
(d. 1271) was subsequently rendered into a metrical commentary by Ḥāḍī ʿAlī of Lucknow in 1270/1853 under the title of Taskhīr which latter was published from the Muṣṭafāī Press, Delhi, in 1283/1866.¹

(iii) Wathiqat al-Ākhira commonly called Chihīl Ḥadīth: a Persian commentary of al-Nawawī’s Arbaʾīn accompanied by an Urdu interlinery translation. The same work with a Pushto metrical paraphrase by ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Kākākhel was published from Delhi in 1303/1890.²

(iv) Al-Durr al-Thamin fi Mubahsharat al-Nabi al-Amin: a collection of forty sayings that Shāh Şāhīb and his Shuyūkh received direct from the Prophet in dreams. It was published from Delhi in 1890, with an Urdu translation by Zahir al-Dīn Aḥmad.³

(v) Al-Faḍl al-Mubīn fi'l-Musalsal min Ḥadīth al-Nabi al-Amin: a collection of Ḥadīth-i-Musalsal handed down by the groups of Ḥuffāz, the Ḥanafite, the Shaḥīfīte, the Malikite, and the Ịḥānbalite jurists, the Ahl-i-Bayt, the Spanish Traditionists, the Mashāriqa or the Traditionists of the Eastern Provinces, the poet-Traditionists and other groups of interest in the science. This very rare treatise was appended to the end of the second volume of al-Bukhārī’s Şāhīh transcribed by Shaykh Muḥammad Ịḥābādī, a pupil of the Shāh Şāhīb before 1160/1747 and is preserved in the Oriental Public Library at Bānkīpūr.⁴

(vi) Al-Irshād ila Muhimmāt al-Isnād: an account of his own Shuyūkh and of those through whom Ḥadīth had been transmitted to them from the

¹ Taskhīr, pp. 2-3. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr. (now Dr.) Şaghīr Ḥasan of Dacca University, I could avail of the Taskhīr.
² JRASB, p. 169; Brockelmann, Sup. I, p. 615.
⁴ This treatise appears to be the same as al-Nawādīr noticed by Dr. Z. Aḥmad (Maʿārif, pp. 426-27).
⁵ Bānkīpūr Cat. V (1), No. 134, also pp. 23-24.
Prophet. It was lithographed with Śāh Ṣaḥīb’s Tarājīm al-Bukhārī (q.v.) in Delhi, 1307/1889.¹

(vii) Tarājīm al-Bukhārī: a brief notice of the scope and method of al-Bukhārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ²

(viii) Sharḥ Tarājīm Abwāb al-Bukhārī: an exposition of the tarjamat al-abwāb, headlines of al-Bukhārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ printed by the Dā'irat al-Ma‘ārif, Ḥyderābād, for the second time in 1357/1938 and also appended as muqaddima to the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, lithographed in the Aṣaḥīṣ al-Maṭābi, Delhi, in 1940.³

(ix) Muṣaffā Sharḥ Muwatta’: a concise two-volume Persian commentary of the Muwatta’ of Imām Mālik (d. 179) published first from the Fāruqī Press, Delhi, in 1293/1876. Śāh Ṣaḥīb has in this book given a Persian reproduction of every Ḥadīth together with its meaning where necessary and has stated, without giving preference to any school, the viewpoints of the Madhāhib-i-Arabā, particularly those of the Hanafite and the Shāfī‘ite schools, with discussions of masā’il-i-fiqhīyya here and there. The commentary opens with a muqaddima of twenty-two pages devoted to Imām Mālik and his Muwatta’ which latter has been considered by the Śāh Ṣaḥīb as well as Imām al-Shāfī‘i (d. 204) as the premier authentic work on Ḥadīth second only to the Qur‘ān.⁴

(x) Musawwa Sharḥ Muwatta’: written in 1164/1751 and lithographed on the margin of Muṣaffā (q.v.) published from the Fāruqī Press, Delhi, in 1293/1876. This is something like a Ta‘liqāt, marginal notes in Arabic on the Muwatta’ of Mālik, dealing primarily

1. JRASB, loc. cit.; Brockelmann, loc. cit.
2. Ibid.
3. Nashriyāt-i-‘Ilmiyya or Cat. Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif (Hyderābād, 1363), p. 87; Furgān, p. 408 No. 13.
with the opinions of the Ḥanafite and the Shāfi‘ite schools. Its bulk is about one-eighth of the Musaffā and as such is not as comprehensive as the Musaffā.¹

A note at the end of the Musaffā, published at the Farūqi Press, tells us that the Shāh Ṣaḥib compiled this work towards the latter part of his life but due to his pressing literary preoccupations could not find time to revise its first draft and that the book was subsequently edited by his pupil, Khwāja Amin Walī Allāhi in Shawwal, 1179/April, 1766, four years after the demise of the Shāh Ṣaḥib.

(xi) Āthār al-Muḥaddithīn (MS. Aṣafīyya).

(xii) Maktubat ma‘ Munāqib-i-Imām al-Bukhārī wa Ibn Taimiyya in Persian published with an Urdu translation by Sayyid Ḥabib al-Ra‘ūf of Nadhīrīyya Literary Society, Delhi.²

TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH AL-DIHLAWĪ


He was tenth in descent from Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Kabīr al-Awliya’.³ In Ḥadīth he was a pupil of Shāh Walī Allāh and in mysticism of Mīrzā Maẓhar Jān-i-Jānān (d. 1105). As a mark of his deep erudition in Ḥadīth literature he was designated Baihaqī ‘l-Waqt or the Baihaqī of his time by Shāh Šaykh ‘Abd al-Azīz al-Dihlawī. His Tafsir-i-Maẓharī, which embodies

1. The statement of Dr. Z. Aḥmad (Ma‘ārif, p. 420) that the Musawwā is more comprehensive (jāmi‘) than the Musaffā is beside the point.
2. Qurqūn, p. 419, No. 30.
3. For him see, ‘Uṭhānī, Syar i-Aqṣāb (Newul Kishore, Lucknow, 1913), pp. 197 seq.
numerous Aḥadīth, demonstrates his wide survey over Hadīth literature.¹

His work on Hadīth:

(i) Al-Lubāb (Bānkīpūr, XV, No. 1039): an abridgement of the third volume of the Subul al-Huda wa 'l-Rashād by Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣaḥīḥī (d. 942) dealing chiefly with the Prophet's noble qualities, business transactions and the manner of his living together with a collection of his prayers, commandments, decisions, etc. It has been stated in the preface that Qāḍī Thāna` Allāh wrote the present work at the suggestion of his preceptor Maẓhar Jān-i-Jānān. He used the following abbreviations for the authorities referred to in his al-Lubāb, viz., خ for al-Bukhārī, م for Muslim, د for Abū Dāwūd, س for al-Nasa`ī, چ for Ibn Māja, ل for Mālik, گ for al-Shāfi`ī, گ for al-Hākim, ط for al-Ṭabrānī, م for al-Dārī, ن for Dāraquṭnī and so on.² An autograph copy of al-Lubāb is in possession of Mawānā Fāruq of Madrasa Jāmī` al-‘Ulūm at Cawnpūr.³


He received his early education with two eminent disciples of his father, namely, Khawāja Amin and `Ashīq Fultī. Then he entered the seminary of his father and thoroughly read the Maṣābīh, the Musawwā fi Sharḥ al-Muwattā`, a portion of the Ṣaḥīḥan and the rest of the Šiḥāḥ Sittā. In 1174/1760, while still in his teens, `Abd al-‘Azīz completed his education. In 1176/1762 on his father's demise, he succeeded him as a Professor of his Madrasa and taught primarily the Sciences of al-Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīth for a period well

¹ Ithāf, pp. 240-41; Tiqṣūr, p. 113, Ḥadā'iq, pp. 465-68; Tadhkira-i-‘Ulāma`, p. 38; Maṣārif, vol. XXIII, No. 6, pp. 444 seq; Nawshahrawī, op. cit, pp. 206 seq.
² Bānkīpūr Cat., XV, pp. 102-03.
³ Maṣārif, loc. cit.
over sixty years. That he contributed materially towards the diffusion and dissemination of Hadith literature in India is borne out by his numerous pupils who started the teaching of Hadith at different centres of India as shown below:

2. Shah Muhammad Isma‘il Shahid (1193-1246) at Delhi.
3. Shah Muhammad Makhshus Allah (d. 1273) at Delhi.
6. Husain Ahmad (1204-75) at Malihabad near Lucknow.
7. Shah Rauf Ahmad al-Mujaddidi (d. 1249) at Bhupal.
8. Shah Faqil-Rahman Ganj Muradabadi (d. 1315) at Muradabad.
9. Khurram ‘Ali Balhari (d. 1271), the Urdu translator of al-Saghani’s Mashariq al-

2. Ibid., pp. 65-66.
3. Ibid. pp. 69-112.
4. Ibid., pp. 113-115
6. Tadhkira-i-Ulamā‘, p. 47.
7. Ibid. p. 50-51.
8. Ibid., pp. 66-67; Tadhkira-i-Kāmilân-i-Rampur, pp. 143-47.
10. Ibid., pp. 76-7.
Anwar entitled Tuhfat al-Akhyar and of the Arba‘in by Sháh Wáli Alláh at Balhar near Lucknow.

10. Sháh Abú Sa‘íd (d. 1250) at Rámpúr and Delhi.


13. Awlád Ḥusain, the father of Nawwáb Siddíq Ḥasan Khán, (120-157) at Qánnúj.

14. Karm Alláh al-Muḥaddith (d. 1258) at Delhi.

15. Salámat Alláh al-Badáwní at Cawnpúr.

His works:—

(i) Bustán al-Muḥaddithin [published]: a popular and informative Persian treatise dealing with important works on al-Hadith beginning with the Muwatta' of Imám Malik and ending with al-Maṣábiḥ by al-Baghawí together with short biographical sketches of their authors.

(ii) ‘Ujála‘-i-Nafí‘a: a very useful Persian treatise on Usūl al-Hadith lithographed at Lahore in 1302 A.H. and Delhi in 1212 A.H.

1. Completed in 1249/1833 and lithographed repeatedly at Cawnpore in 1917, 1925 and 1928.
2. Supra, p. 175.
8. Ibid., pp. 77-80.
9. Lithographed at Delhi in 1898 and subsequently.

On the death of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz in 1239/1823, the professorship of his Madrasa devolved on the shoulders of his famous pupil and grandson Shāh Išāq who then ably carried on the teaching of al-Ḥadīth for a period of 20 years. In 1259/1843, he migrated to Makka where he died in Rajab 1262/June 1846.¹

In his Tarājim-i-‘Ulamā’-i-Ḥadīth-i-Hind, Nawshahrwālī records the names of as many as 41 Muḥaddithūn from different parts of India who were pupils of Shāh Išāq². Of them Mawlānās Maẓhar al-Nanūṭūwī and Aḥmad ‘Alī al-Sahāranpurī were the pioneers of the Ḥadīth learning at the Seminary of Sahāranpur; Shāh ‘Abd al-Ghanī was the teacher of Mawlānā Qāsim al-Nanūṭūwī, the founder of the famous Dār al-‘Ulūm at Deoband³; Mawlānā Sayyid Nadhīr Ḥusain founded the School of Muḥaddithūn of Ahl-i-Ḥadīth. A notice of the above Traditionists outstanding as they are seems to be in place here.


Over and above Shāh Išāq, Maẓhār al-Nanūṭūwī read the Science of Tradition with Rashīd al-Dīn al-Dīhlawī (d. 1249) and Muṣṭī Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Dīhlawī (d. 1273). He was the first Mudarris, teacher and Muḥaddith of Maẓhār al-‘Ulūm at Sahāranpur.⁴ The Shaykh al-Hind Mawlānā Maḥmūd Ḥasan b. Dhū’l-Fiqār ‘Alī al-Deobandī (1268-1339), a former Rector of

¹. Ibid., p. 178; Maʿārif, vol. XXII, No. 5, p. 347; vol. LIII, No. 5, pp. 346-47.
³. Both Dār al-‘Ulūm, Deoband, and Maẓhār al-‘Ulūm, Sahāranpur, were founded in 1283/1866.
Dār al-‘Ulūm of Deoband and the Shaykh of the present Rector Mawlānā Husain Aḥmad al-Madani, was a pupil of Mawlānā Maẓhar.¹

5. Aḥmad ‘Ali b. Lutf Allāh al-Anṣāri
   al-Sahāranpūri (d. 1297/1880)

On receiving Sanad-i-Ḥadīth from Shāh ʿIṣḥāq at Delhi, Aḥmad ‘Ali performed Ḥajj and further studied al-Ḥadīth with Traditionists of the Ḥaramayn. Back from al-Ḥijāz, he started under his own editorship and with his distinguished pupil Mawlānā Qāsim as his collaborator the Maṭba‘-i-Aḥmadī, a lithograph press, at Delhi which for quite a number of years did commendable services towards the spread of Ḥadīth literature in this country by publishing standard works. Mention in this connection may be made of his familiar Ta‘līqāt (glosses) on the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī which gives in a nutshell all that is required for a student to understand the sanad (chain of authorities) and matn (text) of the Ṣaḥīḥ.² Further, he leaves behind him a useful Ḥawāshi (marginal notes) on the Jāmi‘ of al-Tirmidhī lithographed at the Mujtabā-i-Press at Delhi in 1328 A.H. On the outbreak of the Mutiny of 1857, Mawlānā Aḥmad ‘Ali dissolved his press, left Delhi and went over to his native place Sahāranpūr and subsequently became a Professor of Ḥadīth in the then newly-founded Madrasa Maẓhārī al-‘Ulūm—a post which he ably filled up until he died in 1297/1880.³

6. Shāh ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Mujaddidi
   (1235-1296/1819-79)

See above p. 146.

7. **Qāsim b. Asad b. Ghulām Shāh al-Nanūtuwi**  
(1246-97/1830-80).

He read the *Darsiyyāt*, the usual courses of Arabic and Persian, with his uncle Mamālūk ‘Alī, the first teacher of the Madrasa founded by the East India Company at Delhi, and Ḥadīth with Shāh ‘Abd al-Ghānī al-Mujaddidī. After acting for some time as teacher of the aforesaid Madrasa, he joined the Aḥmādī Press at Delhi and worked with his teacher Aḥmad ‘Alī in editing and annotating Ḥadīth works until the Sepoy Mutiny broke out in 1857. In 1277/1860, he performed Ḥajj and became a disciple of Ḥājī Imdād Allāh (d. 1317) then domiciled at Makka. In 1283/1866, at the instance of his preceptor Ḥājī Imdād Allāh and his teacher Shāh ‘Abd al-Ghānī, Mawlānā Qāsim founded at Deoband an Arabic Madrasa which shortly came to be known as Dar al-‘Ulūm. Here the Shaykh al-Hind Mawlānā Mahmūd Hasan, Fakhr al-Ḥasan al-Gangūḥī, Aḥmad Husain al-Amrūḥī read Ḥadīth with Mawlānā Qāsim. He died on Wednesday, the 4th Rabī' I, 1297/February, 1880 and was buried at Nanūta.1


Born at Balthawa, in the district of Monghyr in Bihār, Miyān Ṣāḥib had his lessons in the *Mishkat al-Maṣābiḥ* and the exegesis of a portion of the Qur’ān under Shāh Muḥammad Ḥusain at Ṣādiqpur near Patna. In 1243/1827, he proceeded to Delhi and joined the Ḥadīth class of Shāh Iṣḥāq from whom on his passing the highest examination in Ḥadīth literature, he received a *Sanad* in 1258/1842. Then he

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1. *Ḥadāʾiq*, pp. 491-93; *Ḥizb*, p. 186, note 1; *Maʿārif*, loc. cit.
2. A copy of the *Sanad* has been produced by Nawshahrawī (op. cit. 122).
started at Masjid-i-Awrangābādī in Delhi a Madrasa which was subsequently removed to a building at Fatakh-i-Habash Khān where the institution together with a library called after the Miyan Šāhib as the Nadhīrīyya Library exists to this day.

Like Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dihlawī, Miyan Šāhib taught Ḥadīth literature for a period close upon sixty years. His fame as a Muḥaddith spread throughout IslāmDDDom; ardent students from Afghanītān, Bukhārā, Samarqand, al-Ḥijaz and even from far off Sudān came to Delhi to read Ḥadīth with him. In his biography, al-Ḥayāt ba’d al-Mamāt, a list of 500 Traditionists who were pupils of the Miyan Šāhib has been preserved for us. Ḥafiz Ibrāhīm al-Arawī, the founder of Madrasa-i-Aḥmadiyya at Ara, Shams al-Ḥaqq at Diyanūwī al-‘Azīmābādī, the famous author of the ‘Awn al-Ma‘būd fi Sharp Abī Dāwūd,¹ Ḥafiz ‘Abd al-Mannān of the Punjab, Nawwāb Waḥīd al-Zamān of Hyderābād, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Raḥimābādī of Bihār, Ḥafiz ‘Abd Allah al-Ghāzīpūrī (d. 1322) and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mubārakpūrī (d. 1353), the author of the Tuḥfat al-Aḥwādhi fi Sharḥ Jāmi‘ al-Tirmīḍī²—Traditionists who dedicated their lives for the spread of Ḥadīth learning and who sent out hundreds of their own pupils all over India—belonged to the school of the Miyan Šāhib.

A centenarian, Miyan Šāhib died at Delhi on Sunday, 10th Rajab, 1320/October 13, 1902, and was buried at the cemetery of Shidīpūrā.³

THE FOUNDATION OF THE DĀR AL-‘ULŪM AT DEOBAND AND THE MAẒĀHIR AL-‘ULŪM AT SAḤĀRANPŪR.

In chapter V, we have dwelt upon the Indian

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1. Published in 1323 A.H. from Delhi.
2. Published in four volumes from Delhi in 1346-53 A.H.
Traditionists belonging, among others, to the Schools of Ahmad al-Sirhindi (1000-1296), 'Abd al-Haqq al-Dihlawi (1000-1229) and Shah Wali Allah al-Dihlawi (1145-1233). The School of 'Abd al-Haqq flourished in Delhi until the close of the twelfth century A.H., when it was shifted to Rampur with Salam Allah al-Muhaddith al-Rampuri as its head. The seat of the School of Ahmad al-Sirhindi was at Sirhind in the Punjab which was subjected to Sikh vandalism since 1124/1710. In consequence this School too sought refuge in 1177/1762 at Rampur. Here, thanks to the royal munificence of the then rulers of the Rampur State, the Traditionists of the Schools of al-Sirhindi and 'Abd al-Haqq al-Dihlawi were able to work unhampered for the cause of Hadith literature until the twenties of the thirteenth century when, with the death of Salam Allah, the School of 'Abd al-Haqq came to a close, while Shah 'Abu Sa'id al-Mujaddidi (d. 1250), the head of the other School, migrated to Delhi and became a disciple of Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dihlawi. The School of al-Sirhindi thus became merged in that of Shah Wali Allah. Shah 'Abd al-Ghani b. Abi Sa'id al-Mujaddidi, the teacher of Mawlana Qasim al-Nanuttawi, the founder of the Dar al-Ulum at Deoband, was the most outstanding member of this combined School of Muhadithun. So, the Dar al-Ulum is as much a product of the School of Shah Wali Allah as of al-Sirhindi. In fact, it embodies the spirits of both. The Mazahir al-Ulum at Saharanpur, on the other hand, owed its growth to Mawlana Mazhar al-Nanuttawi, a pupil of Shah Ishaq al-Dihlawi. Since their foundation, these two Madrasas have been under learned doctors providing, among other Islamic sciences, higher studies in Hadith literature in India and have been drawing students not only from Indian

2. Supra, p. 143.
provinces but also from other parts of Islamdom. Thus the centuries-old practice of sailing for the Haramayn on the part of Indian students, to specialize in Hadith literature, has naturally been discontinued. And the Dar al-'Ulûm and the Mazâhir al-'Ulûm, the two great institutions in this country, stand out to-day as the living monuments of the Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thânî and Shah Wali Allah al-Dihlawî.
PART II

INDIAN TRADITIONISTS OUTSIDE INDIA
CHAPTER I

EARLY INDIAN RUWĀT

FROM the second century onwards we meet at the seats of Islamic learning particularly in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate Traditionists and scholars of outstanding reputation who, as has been mentioned in Asma' al-Rijāl, were Indians in descent. When and how they or their forefathers migrated to Islamic countries and embraced Islam excites our curiosity. The biographical literature responsible for this interesting reference does not give us any detail whatsoever. Fortunately, however, we possess some historical evidences on the conversion of certain tribes of Sind to Islam, who afterwards settled down in al-`Irāq. We have also a few isolated accounts of the Indian war-prisoners being taken to Muslim lands at different times of the early Arab expeditions to India. These are some of the facts that throw added light on the scant information supplied by our Asma' al-Rijāl.

Section I

(a) Tribesmen of Sind Islamized.

Prior to Islam a contingent of the Indian soldiers recruited from the formidable Jāts (al-Zuṭṭ), the Sayābijja and the Asāwira served in the Persian army.¹


The Sayābijja may be identified with the Sameja of the Beglar Nāma, which was again a branch of the Sodhas. While Asāwira was probably identical with Wairsa, the chief clan among the Sodhas (Elliot, Vol. I, p. 531). Siyāh, the leader of the Asāwira (Balādhurī, p. 373) was probably Siṭāh or Siyāh=black, a designation signifying 'Black Indian.' It would be noticed that even up to the time of the `Abbasid al-Mahdī (158-69=775-89), the Sayābijja and the Asāwira lived and worked together (Ṭabarī
When during the caliphate of 'Umar the mighty Sassanide empire was laid low before the onrush of the Arabs, these Indians, taking stock of the situation, went over to the victors and embraced Islam. They established themselves in and around al-Baṣra and became allies of the Banū Tamīm.\(^1\) Nahr al-Asāwira at al-Baṣra called after the Asāwira further\(^2\) strengthens this statement. Again after the conquest of Sind by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim 'some of the Zuṭṭ of as-Sind and a number of other tribes from that province, accompanied by their families, their children and their buffaloes,' were brought to al-Ḥajjāj who 'settled them in the lower parts of Kaskar', the district of Wāṣīṭ.\(^3\) 'They possessed themselves in al-Baṭīḥa and multiplied therein'.\(^4\) There the canal Zuṭṭ became famous after the tribe.\(^5\) A part of the tribe, however, appears to have been shifted to Khuzistān and settled at Hawmāh or 'the district of the Zuṭṭ' where on the river Ṭab stood a populous village called al-Zuṭṭ.\(^6\)

(b) War prisoners.

From the start of their Indian expeditions, the Arabs carried with them numerous captives who

\[Continued\]

\(^1\) Balādhrī, p. 373=Murgotten, pp. 108-107. Al-Suyūṭī (Lubb al-Lubāb, p. 18) mistakes Asāwira as baṭn (sub-tribe) of the Banū Tamīm. Evidently 'baṭn' is here an error for 'ḥalif' (ally) as in al-Balādhrī. Al-Samānī (fol. 37 b) has a lacuna for this word. Later on, the Asāwira became allies of the Banū Sa'd, while the Jāts and the Sayābija affiliated themselves with the Banū Hanthala (Balādhrī, p. 574=Murgotten, p. 107).

\(^2\) Balādhrī, p. 373=Murgotten, p. 106.

\(^3\) Le Strange, p. 42.


\(^6\) Le Strange, p. 344.
subsequently became converts to Islam and settled in Muslim countries. In 23/743, during the caliphate of ‘Umar, the Arabs for the first time came in conflict with the Indians on the bank of the Indus. The Indians became discomfited; vast booty was captured, including many elephants, and a great number of captives were taken by the Arabs. Muhallab b. Abī-Ṣufra launched an attack on the frontiers of India in 44/664, and carried with him a host of 12,000 war prisoners some of whom, we are told, admitted themselves to the faith of Islam. In about 57/676, al-Mundhir b. Jārūd al-‘Abdī conquered Qusdár (north-eastern part of modern Baluchistān) and took many captives. During the next three decades and a half preceding the conquest of Sind in 93/711, Indian frontiers suffered sporadic raids by the Arabs which evidently brought them many captives. Again, early in 160/776, al-Mahdi (158-69/775-85) sent a naval squadron to India which attacked Barbad (modern Bārbhūt) on the Gujarāt coast, and had a successful combat with the Indians. The prisoners of war taken over to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, wāli of al-Baṣra, included the princess of Barbad. That by the time of the next caliph al-Ḥādī (169-70/785-6) the Indian slaves drawn from war prisoners were scattered throughout the Caliphate is apparent from an edict said to have been issued by the Caliph to punish, for a grievous offence committed by one of them, the slaves en masse wherever they were found in his dominion. In consequence, the price of the Indian slaves fell down appreciably. In the course of the fourth

5. Baladhuri, p. 433=Murgotten, p. 211.
century, Khurāsān was flooded with imported Indian slaves. For, already before 362 A.H. (972 A.D.), a quarter in Balkh where they usually alighted came to be known as Hindūwān. 1 Ibn Buṭlān, the well-known physician of the early fifth century A.H. (XI A.D.), writing about the art of purchasing of slaves, states: “The (Indian) men are good house-managers and experts in fine handicrafts but they are apt to die from apoplexy at an early age. They are mostly brought from Kandahār. The women of Sind are noted for slim waist and long hair.” 2

(c) Indian tribesmen in Muslim Army.

The Jāts and their compatriots formed the fighting elements of Islām and became a valuable addition to the Muslim army. Caliph Mu'āwiya concentrated them against the Romans in Syria, while ‘Abd al-Malik ‘removed a part of the Zuṭṭ to Anṭākiya and its environs.’ 3 During the caliphate of ‘Alī the Jāts and the Sayābiya were pro-‘Alid in al-Ḩaṣra. Their valour and fidelity appeared to have been proved as evidenced by the fact that a body of the Jāts were on sentry duties of the Bait al-Mal in al-Ḩaṣra in the turmoil of the civil war during the time of ‘Alī. 4 As many as four thousand soldiers from the Asāwira and the Sayābiya strengthened the naval squadron we have just mentioned.

These Indian neo-Muslims constituted by the Jāts, the Asāwira and the Sayābiya living in small communities, maintained their racial integrity for

1. Ansāb, fol. 593a; Le Strange, p. 422. The famous Hanafite jurist, Abū Ja'far al-Hindūwānī died in 362 972-73. (Lakhnawi, al-Fawā'id al-Bahiyya, p. 73).
some time before they identified themselves with the general body of the Muslims; while the Indian slaves referred to above remained scattered throughout Arabia and the neighbouring Muslim lands and became merged with the Muslims almost immediately.

Section II

(a) Cultural activities of the tribesmen.

Conversion to Islam and the association with the Arabs brought about a change of outlook among these Indian tribes. We have it from the Futūḥ al-Buldān that the leader of the guards of the Bait al-Mal in al-Baṣrā, Abū Sālima, the Jāt, was a man of pious habits (ṣalih)\(^1\)—a fact that testifies to their transformation already at work. Now on they were not all for fighting career. They betook themselves to cultural activities and became elevated intellectually and spiritually. Al-ʿIrāq was in her rising splendour when the first Indian tribes settled there. Early in the caliphate of ʿUmar arose al-Baṣrā and al-Kūfa which became the two metropolises of the Eastern Caliphate.\(^2\) These two cities soon became seats of government as also of learning and culture.\(^3\) Since their foundation, the Companions of the Prophet came down to settle there,\(^4\) and opened classes for instructions in theology which attracted students from far and near.\(^5\) Now, these Indian Mawāli (clients) saw before their eyes the growing activities for learning in which they participated with success. It is refreshing to note that as in the sphere of fighting so also in

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cultural attainments, the Indian neo-Muslims were second to none.

I. The great İmam Abû Ḥanîfa (80-150/699-767), the celebrated founder of the Ḥanafite School, is believed to have derived his descent from the Jâts of al-İraq.¹

II. Abû 'İsâ al-Uswârî (d. circ. 125) who belonged to a family of the Asâwîra of al-Baṣra was a Rawî (transmitter of al-Ḥadîth) of high repute.² He was a Tabî‘î. He narrated Ḥadîth from the celebrated Abû Sa‘îd al-Khudîr (d. 74), ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Umar (d. 74) and also from Rufâ‘î b. Mihrân surnamed Abû ’l-‘îlyâ (d. 93); while Thâbit al-Bunâî (d. 127), Qatâda (d. 117) and ‘Âsim al-Ahwâl (d. 143) transmitted Ḥadîth on the authority of Abû 'İsâ al-Uswârî.³ His Aḥâdîth have been produced in the Şâhiḥ of Muslim and Al-Adâb al-Mufrad by al-Bukhârî.⁴

III. ‘Abbâs b. ‘Abd Allâh al-Sîndî al-Antâkî was probably a descendant of the Jâts or the Sayâbiya who were removed to Anṭâkiya in the caliphate of Mu‘awîya and ‘Abd al-Malik.⁵ His nisba al-Antâkî supports the hypothesis. ‘Abbâs studied Ḥadîth literature under al-Haytham b. Jamîl (d. 213) of Anṭâkiya, Muḥammad b. Musâlama (d. 221) of Makka, Sa‘îd b. Maṣûr of Khurāsân, Muḥammad b. Kathîr (d. 216) of al-Yaman and Muslim b. Ibrâhîm (d. 222) and ‘Alî al-Madînî (d. 234) of al-Baṣra. He was a reliable guarantor.

1. Ibid., Vol. XIII(5), p. 330. If it is a fact that his grandfather Zûbî (زیب) was originally from Kâbul (Ṭārîkh Baghîdâd, Vol. XIII, pp. 324 seq.), then his being a Jât is not unreasonable inasmuch as Kâbul had been the parent country of the Jâts (Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India (Simla, 1871), Vol. II, pp. 54-55) or at least he was an Indian for culturally Kâbul formed a part of India (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 128; Vol. II, p. 264).
5. See above, p. 194.
Al-Nasāʾī (d. 303), Abū `Awāna (d. 310) and other Traditionists acquired Hadith from and transmitted it on the authority of `Abbās.¹ His Aḥādīth are found in the Sunan of al-Nasāʾī.² He died possibly in the second half of the third century A.H.³

IV. Abū `l-Sindī al-Wāṣīṭī (d. circa 165). Suhail b. Dhakwān surnamed Abū `l-Sindī, belonged probably to a family of the Jāts who, after being separated from their compatriots in al-Batīha, settled down at Wāṣīṭ.⁴ Hence is his nisba al-Wāṣīṭī. Abū `l-Sindī made himself famous as teacher of Hushaim (d. 181) and Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206) of Wāṣīṭ. But as a Traditionist he was charged with falsehood and his traditions were rejected. Ibn Ḥibbān, however, notices him in his Kitāb al-Thiqāt under the name of Sahl b. Dhakwān.⁵

(b) Cultural activities of the War-prisoners.

War prisoners other than those ransomed were treated as slaves whose manumission was reckoned as an act of high merit. The Prophet is reported to have said, “They (the slaves) are your brethren; Allāh subjects them under you. One whose brother is under his subjection should feed him that which he himself eats, and clothe him with that which he himself wears. He should not impose upon him a task that which is beyond his power. If he is to do that he should be helped in.”⁶ In adherence to this and other Apostolic precepts, the Muslims generally meted out to the slaves kind and brotherly treatment. They were given ample to eat and wear, and were hardly called upon to

4. See above, p. 182.
6. Vide Muslim, al-Ṣaḥīḥ; al-Bukhari, Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, al Musnad; Abū Dāwūd, Sunan, s.v. al-Bāb fi ḥaqqa al-Mamlūk.
undertake physical labour beyond their capacity. But what constituted the brightest chapter in the Muslim treatment to the slaves was the facilities the former provided for the development of the faculties of the latter. For a master, to educate his slave was his prime concern. Apart from humanitarian stand-point, to educate a slave had its economic value. For, the price of the slaves was usually determined by their accomplishments and the more the accomplishment the higher the bargain. Therefore, side by side with freemen, the bondmen also were trained up in reading and writing and in arts and crafts. Education was not denied even to a female slave (jāriya). Now whatever might have been the motive—religious or economic—it undoubtedly contributed to the amelioration of the conditions of the slaves. Given opportunity, the slaves proved their worth and often enough excelled freemen. For a bondman to become a savant was but a common feature in the early Islām. The illustrious Nāfi' (d. 117)¹ and 'Ikrima (d. 104),² both famous as the mawlā of Ibn 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbās, respectively, were great authorities on Apostolic Traditions.³ The celebrated al-Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) was a mawlā;⁴ Makhlūl (d. 118), the jurist and Traditionist of Syria, was a mawlā.⁵ 'Abd Allāh b. Mubāarak, the master-traditionist, was again a mawlā.⁶

It stands to reason, therefore, that the slaves recruited from the Indian war prisoners too enjoyed all the privileges thrown open to their class as a whole

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1. He is said to have been a war-prisoner from Kābul (Nawawī, p. 586).
2. He was a Barbar from al-Maghrib (Mauritania). Ibid., pp. 431 seq.
3. The isnād consisting of Mālik, Nāfī and Ibn 'Umar is called Sīsilī tu 'I-Dhahab or golden chain (Ibn Ḥajar, Nukhbat al-Fikar (Cawnpore, 1344 A.H.), p. 32, n2).
4. He was a Mawla of Zaid b. Thābit (d. 54) Nawawī, p. 209).
5. He was a war-prisoner from Kābul (Nawawī, p. 577).
6. Ibid., pp. 365 seq.
and that coming as they did from India, the home of an ancient civilization, they were naturally predisposed to quickly pick up Islamic learning which destiny placed before them. As a matter of fact, a number of the descendants of Indian captives distinguished themselves as savants and scholars, a manifest testimony to the cultural activities displayed by these Indian neo-Muslims. Already in 240/854 in the Khān al-Sindi, a charitable institution established by some Indian mawāli in Baghdād, was a seat of Hadith-learning where Traditionists of note would hold discourses on the subject.¹

1. Al-Awsā’i (88-157/706-73)

Of the descendants of prisoners of war from India, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Amr b. Yūhmid,² well known as af-Awsā’i,³ attained immortal name. Born at Ba’lībik

2. For correct reading of this name, see Nawawi, op. cit. p. 382.
3. His niṣba al-Awzā’i has given occasion for different interpretations. A section of the scholars including Ibn Sa’d (d. 230/844) holds that it is derived from Awzā’, the sub-tribe of the Hamdān (Ṭabagāt, Vol. VII, Part II, p. 185) or of the Ḥimiyār, or from awza’ signifying diverse tribes (تفاصل شتى). Vide Nawawi, pp. 382-83; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, Vol. VI, p. 239. According to others, Awaṣa’ (so called because the tribe Awaṣa’ settled there) was a village (قرية) adjacent to Bāb al-Farādis in Damasc where ‘Abd al-Rahmān migrated and was accordingly called al-Awzā’i, i.e., a native of Awaṣa’ (Nawawi, p. 383; Ansāb, fol. 53b. cf., Yāqūt Mu’jam al-Buldān, Vol. I, p. 403). Now the latter view appears to be cogent. For, al-Awzā’i was born and brought up at Ba’lībik and his connection with Awaṣa’ was established only after his migration there. Apparently, therefore, ‘Abd al-Rahmān was associated with the village Awaṣa’ and not with the tribe of that name, and as such his being a Hamdānī or Ḥimiyārī is beside the point. The mystery shrouding his origin has, however, been unknotted by the Traditionist Abū Zur’ā al-Dimishqi (d. 281). For him see Tahdhib, Vol. VI, p. 236) who says, کان اسم الازوأمي ميدالحرز فسمى نفسه عبد الرحمون و كان أصله من سبأ السند و كان يتزول الازوأ فغلبه زلك عليه،

that al-Awzā’i belonged to a family of Indian war-prisoners and that he migrated to Awaṣa’ and became famous as al-Awzā’i (Tahdhib, loc. cit.). The statement of Abū Zur’ā is weighty. For, he was the native of the same city—Damascus—where al-Awzā’i had flourished about a century ago. He is thus expected to have an intimate knowledge of al-Awzā’i. Presumably
in 88/706, al-Azwā'ī, poor and orphan, was brought up by his mother. Before he was in his teens, al-Azwā'ī precociously acquired erudition in the sciences of al-Qur'an, Tradition and rhetoric, and, at his thirteenth, he was called upon to decide legal issues (fatwā). Al-Azwā'ī came down to Damascus and settled at Awzā'ī in the suburb of the city. Here he spent the best years of his life. Later, at an advanced age, he moved to Bayrūt where in the bath he died on Sunday, the 28th Šafar, 157/773 as a frontier-guard (murābiṭ). He maintained himself by his penmanship.¹

Al-Azwā'ī undertook journey in quest of knowledge (riḥlā fi ṭalāb al-'Ilm). He proceeded to al- Başra with a view to studying under the celebrated al-Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) but, to his disappointment, the savant had died forty days before his arrival. There he met Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110) at his death-bed.²

A great Traditionist and an accomplished jurist (Faqīh) al-Azwā'ī was eloquently spoken of by his contemporary scholars. In Ḥadīth he was a pupil of Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124), Naṣīr (d. 117) for this reason, the Traditionist and historian al-Dhahabi [Tadhkira, ed. Hyderābād, Vol. I, p. 168 (sic)] and al-'Alīnī 'Umdat al-Qārī, ed. Egypt, Vol. I, p. 465 (sic) have corroborated Abū Zur'a. See also Šaff ud-Dīn's Khulasā Tahdhib al-Kāmil (Egypt, 1322 A.H.), p. 197.

That al-Azwā'ī was an Indian in descent is, further, borne out by the name of his grandfather Yuḥmīd which was probably equivalent to, or contracted from, Brahmad or Brahmaṇa. Yuḥmīd appears to have been captured, by the Arabs in their expedition to India during the Caliphate of 'Umar (vide supra, p. 198).


2. Tadhkira, p. 169.
and other distinguished Tabi‘un, Followers. He was pioneer in the collection and codification of Hadith in Syria. The fact that several of his Shuyukh and the Traditionists of the eminence of Malik (d. 179), Sufyān al-Thawrī, Shu‘bā and ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubarak read Ḥadith literature with him, throws light on the great mastery he had in the science.

During his life-time, al-Azwā‘ī was a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of Ḥadith literature. An accredited authority on Sunna of Syria, he offered the decision of 7,000 or 8,000 legal points extempore. He also compiled two works in Fiqh, namely, Kitāb al-Sunna fi 'l Fiqh and Kitāb al-Masa’il fi 'l Fiqh. As a matter of fact, his accomplishments in religious and legal matters, his piety and asceticism elevated him to the rank of an Imām, and his school flourished in Syria and Spain during his life-time and after. “The salient feature of his system”, says Imām al-Shāfi‘i, “consisted in a happy synthesis of Traditions and his wonderfully sharp legal acumen.” Up to the middle of the fourth century, Azwā‘yiāt was a living order in Damascus; there was provision for imparting lessons on, and publishing Fatwā in accordance with, his Madhhab. His school, however, was gradually eclipsed by the growing popularity of the Ḥanafite and the Malikite systems, and does not seem to have survived later than the fifth century A.H.

7. He has been included among the early ascetics (Ibn al-Nadīm, p. 260).
9. Ibid.
Al-Awzā'ī had the courage of conviction. He denounced in no unequivocal terms al-Ṣaffā, the first ‘Abbāsid Caliph (132-6/750-3), for his lust of Umayyad blood, and incurred his wrath. The Caliph was, however, later, pleased with his uprightness.¹

Al-Maṇṣūr (136-158/753-74) held al-Awzā'ī in high esteem and listened to his lectures with attention and respect.²

2. Najīḥ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sindī (d. 170/786)

A contemporary and a fellow-student of al-Awzā'ī, Najīḥ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sindī,³ surnamed Abū Ma'shar, was originally a native of Sind.⁴ Kidnapped in boyhood, he was sold into the hands of a certain woman of the Banū Makhzūm in al-Madina. During his servitude, Abū Ma'shar sat at the feet of the distinguished Ṭūbī'ūn of al-Madina, viz. Nāfī' (d. 117), Muḥammad b. Ka'āb al-Quraẓī (d. 108), Muḥammad b. al-Munkadīr (d. 130), Sa'id al-Muqbarī (d. 125) and Hishām b. 'Urwa (d. 146), and acquired proficiency in Ḥadīth and Maghāzī, particularly in the latter on which he was reckoned as an authority.⁵

Soon Abū Ma'shar purchased his freedom and curved out a ḥalqa (study-circle) of his own in al-Madīna where he lectured on Ḥadīth, Maghāzī and Fiqh. Amongst his devoted pupils who transmitted

2. Ibid., p. 172.
3. Ibn al-'Īmād (Shadharāt, Vol. I, p. 419) misreads al-Sindī as al-Sanādī—a reading that has been followed by Ahmad Sa'id in his Ghulāmān-i-Islām (Delhi, 1940), p. 350. For correct and popular reading, vide Ansāb, fol. 314b; Tāqrīb, p. 370.
Hadith on his authority, mentioned may be made of his son Muhammad (d. 222), Sufyan al-Thawri, al-Laith b. Sa‘d, Hushaim, Waki and Wāqidi.

Already by the middle of the second century, his reputation as a scholar had been established. For, al-Mahdi (158-69/774-85), on the occasion of his visit to Makkah in 160/776, made a present of 1,000 dinars to Abū Ma‘shar in recognition of his scholarship. Further, the Caliph invited him to reside in Baghdād imparting instructions to the princes. Thus he bade adieu to al-Madīna and left for Baghdad in 161 A.H.

There, in the ‘Abbasid court, Abū Ma‘shar was a prominent figure among the learned. He died in Ramāḍān, 170/786. His funeral service was led by Caliph Harūn al-Rashīd himself. With a bulky figure of grey-white complexion, Abū Ma‘shar was a stammerer; he pronounced Muḥammad b. Ka‘ab as Qa‘ab.

Abū Ma‘shar as a Transmitter of Hadith.

As a Rawi of Hadith, Abū Ma‘shar has been critically judged by Yaḥyā b. Mu‘īn, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā‘ī and others. The majority are of opinion that Maghāzi was his favourite subject; in Hadith, he could not fare well. While a few including Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Abū Zur‘a (d. 281) regard him as fairly trustworthy. “I have not seen,” says his pupil Hushaim, “one like him or more intelligent than he.” But all the views have been very well summed up by al-Tirmidhī when he

1. Ibid.; Tahdhib, pp. 419-20.
4. Ansāb, loc. cit.
5. Tahdhib, loc. cit.
6. Tadhkira, loc. cit.
says: “His memory has been subjected to criticism.” As a matter of fact, in his old age Abū Ma‘shar was a doomed man, his brain being deranged and memory confused. To add to this, he had to deal with a vast mass of Traditions. No wonder, then, that he should have failed to control them effectively. Though he was declared Da‘if, a weak authority, nevertheless, his Traditions were received and recorded by his pupils. Al-Nasā’ī, however, accepted him as guaranteed (Ḥujjat).

Abū Ma‘shar was the author of Kitāb al-Maghāzī, noticed by Ibn al-Nadīm, which survives only in fragments numerous of which have been preserved by al-Wāqidi and Ibn Sa‘d in their works. Al-Ṭabarī has taken from him information on Biblical history and on the life of the Prophet and especially chronological statements, these latter going down to the very year of his death.

The Aḥādīth transmitted on his authority are recorded in the four Sunans.

An erstwhile Indian Mawla, Abū Ma‘shar achieved great success in life. He was one of the early Islamic scholars who was intimately associated with the growth of Arab historiography and oral transmission of Ḥadīth. It is significant that by his own elevation he raised the status of his house; and his son and grandsons handed on the torch of knowledge for the hundred years to come. The legacy of Abū Ma‘shar, therefore, calls for more than a passing notice.

1. Ibid., p. 421.
2. Khaṭīb, p. 480; Tahdhib, loc. cit; Taqrib, p. 372.
4. Ibid., Tahdhib, Khaṭīb, etc.
5. Tahdhib, p. 421.
6. Taḏkira, loc. cit.
3. Muḥammad b. Abī Maʿshar al-Sindi
(148-247/765-861)

A son of Abū Maʿshar, Muḥammad was born in al-Madinah in 148/765. In his boyhood he attended the lectures of the celebrated Ibn Abī Dhiʿb (d. 159). In al-Madinah he could not, however, live long. For, while yet a youngster, he accompanied his father to Baghdaḍ in 161/777. Muḥammad, therefore, could not receive instructions from other scholars of al-Madinah particularly Malik b. Anas (d. 179).

Founded in 148/765 by al-Manṣūr (136-58/753-74), Baghdaḍ, the 'Abbāsid capital, soon became a cynosure of glory and power and splendour.¹ As an intellectual centre, it was up to the time of al-Rashīd (170-93/786-808), an infant, and was no match for al-Madinah, al-Kūfa or al-Baṣra. Nor did migrate thither many scholars of fame. This was probably the reason why save his father no distinguished scholar has been mentioned amongst Muḥammad's teachers. The want of a good tutor was, however, compensated by Abū Maʿshar who personally took up the charge of his son's instructions. Soon Muḥammad acquired erudition in Ḥadīth and Maghāzī, the pet subjects of his father.

A scholar-son of a scholar-father, Muḥammad was the custodian of the latter's learning. Students and would-be Traditionists and Historiographers came to Baghdaḍ to study under him. Abū ʿIsā al-Tirmiḍī (d. 279), Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzi (d. 277), Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (d. 288) and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310) were among his pupils who need no introduction to the students of Islamic history and Traditions. His two sons, al-Ḥuṣain and Dāwūd, Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣili, Yaʿqūb b. Musā al-Balkhī (d. 240) and Muḥammad b. al-Laith al-Jawharī (d. 242) also studied under him. For his

¹ Hitti, The History of the Arabs, p. 301 seq.
monumental Universal History, al-Ṭabarî derived through his teacher Muḥammad vast wealth of material from Abū Maʿshar.¹

Muḥammad is a trustworthy guarantor of Ḥadīth and has been referred to by Ibn Hibbān in his Kitāb al-Thiqāt. He accumulated the Aḥādīth received time to time from his father in several books which were utilized by scholars during his life-time. He died in 247/861 at the ripe age of 99 leaving two fairly educated sons—al-Ḥusain and Dāwūd.² The Jāmiʿ of al-Tirmidhī preserves his Traditions.³


Among his teachers he mentions his father Muḥammad, Wakiʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197) and Muḥammad b. Rabīʿa (d. 199). He was known as Şāḥib Wakiʿ, a pupil of Wakiʿ. Al-Ḥusain maintained, to some extent, the reputation of his house by imparting lessons in Ḥadīth. Unfortunately, he was not found worthy for transmission of Ḥadīth. Hence his traditions were not accepted.

Al-Ḥusain transferred his residence from Baghdād to Khurāsān where he died on Monday, the 21st Rajab, 275/888.⁴

5. Dāwūd b. Muḥammad (d. ca. 280/893).

He transmitted the Kitāb al-Maghāzi of his grandfather, Abū Maʿshar, on the authority of his father. Aḥmad b. Kāmil, the Qāḍī of Baghdād, studied under him. Dāwūd does not, however, seem

¹ Vide supra, p. 204.
³ Khuṣṣās, p. 309.
to have taken a prominent part in cultural activities. His death date is not known.¹


Al-Qāsim, who seems to be the last luminary of the house of Abū Maʿshar, was at once a Traditionist, Jurist and an ascetic. He was the son of the daughter of Abū Maʿshar and became famous as al-Maʿsharī. He studied under Abūʾl-Walīd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 277), Muṣaddād (d. 228) and other scholars. Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1070) states that al-Qāsim occupied a high place in Ḥadīth, Taṣawwūf and Fiqh and that in spite of his age he was as sound as ever. Indeed, he was a fairly reliable Transmitter of Ḥadīth. Says al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385): ‘There is nothing against him.’

Ahmad b. Kāmil, Qāḍī of Baghdād, Abū Bakr al-Shafiʿī and Abū ʿAmr b. al-Sammāk transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of al-Qāsim. His death took place on Friday, the 2nd Shawwāl, 278/January, 892.²


Khalaf b. Sālim al-Sindī al-Mukharrimi, a mawla of al-Muhāliba,³ was Indian in origin.⁴ His nisba al-Mukharrimi was due to his residence at al-Mukharrim, a famous quarter of Baghdād,⁵ where he died on the 23rd Ramaḍān, 231/845.⁶

¹. Ibid. p. 396.
³. Muḥallab b. Abī Ṣufra (d. 82) and his descendants are styled as al-Muhāliba (Al-Mubarrad, Kāmil, quoted in Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, February, 1934.)
⁵. Le Strange, pp. 31, 33.
Khalaf was a brilliant **Tālib al-'Ilm**, student of Hadith literature for the acquisition of which he ransacked all the treasures of al-Hijāz, al-Shām and al-'Irāq. A pretty long list of his **Shuyūkh**, inhabiting different Muslim countries, gives us some idea of what painstaking labour Khalaf underwent on that account: **viz.**, Hushaim (d. 183) and Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206) of al-Wāṣīṭ; Ibn ‘Ulayya (d. 193), Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān (d. 198) and Muḥammad b. Ja‘far Ghandar (d. 193) of al-Baṣra; Ma‘ān b. ‘Īsā (d. 198) of al-Madīnā; ‘Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211) of al-Yaman; Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh (d. 193), Abū Numair (d. 199), Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zubairī (d. 203) and Faḍl b. Dākīn (d. 219) of al-Kūfah and Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm (d. 208) and Sa‘d b. Ibrāhīm (d. 201) of Baghdād.¹

The following is the summary of judgment passed on Khalaf as a Traditionist by eminent critics:—

(1) Yaḥyā b. Mu‘īn (d. 233): Truthful (مصدق); in another place he says, “There is nothing wrong with him on record.”

(2) Ya‘qūb b. Abī Shayba (d. 262): Reliable and steadfast (**ثقة لبت**). He is more steadfast than Musuddad (d. 228) or al-Ḥumaidī (d. 219).

(3) Al-Nasā‘ī (d. 303): Abū Muḥammad Khalaf al-Mukharrimī is reliable (**ثقة**).

(4) Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241): His fidelity cannot be doubted.

(5) Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354): One of the consummate masters in the science of Tradition (**حذاق المتقنين**).

(6) Hamza al-Kinānī: Most reliable from the rank of the Traditionists.²

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1. Ḳhaṭīb, loc. cit.; Taḥdīḥ, loc. cit.
2. Ibid.
As a matter of fact, Khalaf was one of the erudite Ḥujjāz of Baghdad. His ḥalqa was a resort of Traditionists and scholars who attended his lectures and copied Aḥādīth from him. Of his pupils ‘Uthmān al-Dārīmī (d. 280), Ya‘qūb b. Abī Shayba (d. 261), Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythama (d. 278), Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Marwazı (d. 298), ‘Abbās al-Dārī (d. 271) and Ismā‘īl b. Ḥarīth (d. 253) were noted Traditionists.

Khalaf compiled a Musnad on Apostolic Traditions which is not, however, extant. On the equality of the Companions of the Prophet, he collected a number of Aḥādīth but he did not transmit them.

8. Rajā’ b. al-Sindi (d. 221/837)

Rajā’, a Traditionist of the early third century of Hijra, was the son of an Indian mawlā of the Banū Hānẓala as would be evidenced from his nisba al-Ḥanẓali. He settled down at Isfārā’yīn, a northern district of Nishāpūr and became famous as al-Isfārā’yīnī accordingly.

In his native province Khurāsān, Rajā’ took lessons in Ḥadīth from the celebrated ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181) of Marw. The greater part of his educational career was, however, spent at al-Kūfa where he studied under the eminent Traditionists like Ibn Idrīs (d. 192), Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh (d. 193), Hafṣ b. Ghiyāth (d. 194) and Sufyān b. ‘Uayna (d. 198).

1. Tadhkira, p. 59 (sic)
4. Ibn Sa‘d, loc. cit.
5. Khaṭīb; Takhkhib.
6. Ansāb, fol. 314a, 314b.
La Strange, p. 391.
Takhkhib, Vol. III, pp. 267-68; Tagrib, p. 133. Ibid.
Equipped with a fair share of knowledge in Hadith literature, Rajā' retired to his home at Isfarā'yin where, first of all, he introduced the learning into his own family which was destined to produce two other noted Traditionists of the third century. Soon his house became an object of Rihla fi talab al-'Ilm, and many an ardent student of Hadith literature clustered round this son of an Indian mawla. Among his contemporary Traditionists, the celebrated Āḥmad b. Hanbal (d. 241), Bikr b. Khalaf (d. 241) and Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Ṭāzī (d. 231) received Hadith from him. His grandson Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Rajā’ al-Sindi (d. 286), Abū Ḥātim al-Ṭāzī (d. 277), Ibn Abī al-Dunya (d. 281) and Ja’far b. Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Ṣa’īgh (d. 289) read Ḥadīth with him.

During his life-time Rajā’ was a pillar of Ḥadīth literature; he took a prominent part in its oral transmission. A stainless and reliable Rāwī apart, Rajā’ was a master of Arabic diction. “I have not seen,” says Bikr b. Khalaf, “a better eloquent speaker than he.” He died in Shawwāl, 221/837.

9. Muḥammad b. Rajā’ al-Sindi (d. circ. 246/860)

Muḥammad, surnamed Abū ‘Abd Allāh, was the son of Rajā’ al-Sindi. Of his early education we know but very little. Apparently after attaining some knowledge of Hadith under his father, he went to Balkh where at Barjumin, he read with Makkī b. Ibrāhīm (d. 215). On finishing his studies, he made a pilgrimage to Makka and availed himself of the opportunity to gather Traditions from Makkan scholars. In the course of his homeward journey, he halted in Baghdad for some time and lectured on

1. I.e. his son and grandson.
2. Tahāhib, loc. cit.
3. ركن من أركان الحديث Ibid.
4. Ibid.
Hadīth. Meanwhile, Abū Bakr b. Abī 'l-Dunyā (d. 281), the Ḥāfīz, formerly a student of his father and Ahmad b. Bishr al-Murthidi received Hadīth from him—a fact that shows what an eminent position he held in the domain of the science.

At Isfara’yin Muḥammad devoted himself to cultural activities. He maintained the reputation of the ḥalqa which had grown under his father. Of his pupils, most conspicuous were Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī al-Dhuḥlī and his own son Muḥammad. He was in the habit of carefully noting the Traditions received from his Shuyūkh and transmitting them accordingly. He died probably about the middle of the third century. The date is not known."

10. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Rajā’ al-Sindi
(206-286 A.H.).

A distinguished scion of the house of Rajā’ al-Sindi, Muḥammad was born in 206 A.H. His deep erudition in Apostolic Traditions, his fidelity, and critical insight and above all his insatiable thirst for knowledge made him an outstanding Traditionist of the third century of the Hijra. The brief biographical note about him given by Dhahabī in his Tadhkīrat al-Ḥuffāz is well worth being reproduced. "Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Rajā’ b. al-Sindi, the Ḥāfīz and Imām, surnamed Abū Bakr of Isfara’yin, was the celebrated author of a Mustakhraj of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim. He studied (Ḥadīth) under Ishāq b. Raḥway (d. 238), Ḥāmed b. Ḥanbal (d. 241), ‘Alī al-Madānī (d. 231), ‘Abd Allāh b. Numair (d. 199), Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235) and the like. He made an extensive tour (in quest of Ḥadīth). While Abū

2. Ibid.
3. The work does not seem to be extant.
'Awâna (d. 310), Abû Hâmid al-Sharqî, Muḥammad b. Ṣâliḥ b. Ḥânî, Ibn al-Akhram, Abû 'l-Nâḍr and others transmitted Hadîth on the authority of Abû Bakr. Al-Ḥâkim says, "Honest and steadfast, par excellence, Abû Bakr was in the front rank among the Traditionists of his age." Abû Bakr's sphere of activity did not confine itself merely to Isfârâ'yîn as he was found narrating Aḥâdîth in Makka where an eager audience including Abû Ḥâtim (d. 277) gathered round him to receive them. He died in 286/899 at the age of eighty.²

11. **Al-Sindi b. 'Abduwâîh al-Dahâkî**
   (d. circ. 215/830).

   Al-Sindi who was otherwise famous as al-Dahâkî, that is, a native of Dahâkî, a village in Ray, was, as the patronymic al-Sindi suggests, an Indian mawâlî.³ As an early Râwî, al-Sindi transmitted Hadîth on the authority of Abû 'Uwâ'îs al-Âšbaḥî (d. 169),⁴ a student of al-Zuhrî, and also on the authority of several other Traditionists of al-Madîna and al-ʿIrâq. Among his pupils mention has been made of Muḥammad b. Ḥammâd al-Ṭâhirî (d. 271).⁵

12. **Sahl b. 'Abd-al-Raḥmân al-Sindi**
   (d. circ. 225/839).

   Sahl, a freed man of the Banû Dhuqlî, was a scholar of Traditions. He narrated Hadîth from Zuhâr b. Muʿâwiya (d. 172), Jarîr b. Ḥâzîm (d. 170), Sharîk b. Ḥâzîm and others. He was a Qâdî of Hamadân and Qâzînî. 'Amr b. Râfî' (d. 237) and

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2. Ansâb, fol. 314b; Tâdhîhî, loc. cit.
3. Ansâb, fol. 235b.
5. Ansâb, loc. cit.
Muḥammad b. Hammād al-Ṭehrānī (271) were among his pupils. Sahl seems to have flourished in the early third century of Hijra.¹

13. **Al-Fath b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sindi**  
(d. ca. 275/888).

Al-Fath, surnamed Abū Naṣr al-Sindi, was a freed man of the family of al-Hakam; he was at once a Jurist, a Theologian and a Traditionist. In Fiqh and Kalām, he was a student of ‘Abū ‘Alī al-Thaqaftī, while he read Ḥadīth with al-Ḥusain b. Sufyān (d. 303) and others. In what a high esteem Abū Naṣr al-Sindi was held by the men of his time may be judged from a train of admirers that followed him when walking.²


Aḥmad was a disciple of Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Daurqī (d. 252) of Baghdād who was a shaykh of al-Bukhārī (d. 256) and Muslim (d. 262).³ He resided in Baghdād and was found lecturing on Ḥadīth literature in al-BAṣra where ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Adi al-Jurjānī (?) studied the subject with him. He supported himself with embroidery and became famous as al-muṭarriz, the embroiderer.⁴

15. **Ḫubaish b. al-Sindi al-Qāṭiʿī** (d. circ. 280/893).

He was a pupil of the celebrated Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and also of ‘Ubaid Allāh b. Muḥammad al-ʿAyshī (?). Muḥammad b. Mukhallad⁵ narrated Ḥadīth from him.⁶

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1. Ibid., fol. 314b.  
2. Ibid.  
16. **Al-Sindi b. Abbān** (d. 281/894).

Al-Sindi b. Abbān surnamed Abū Nasr was a ghulām, slave, of Khalaf b. Hishām (d. 227), a scholar of Baghdād. He had some interest in Hadith and was a pupil of Yahyā b. ‘Abd al-Ḥāmid al-Himmānī (d. 228), a Traditionist of al-Ḳūfa. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī al-Ṭashtī received Hadith from him. He died in the month of Dhū ’l-Ḥijja, 281/894.1

17. **Abu ’l-Fawāris Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. al-Sindi** (244-349 A.H.).

Aḥmad, as the patronymic al-Sindi suggests, was a great grandson of a certain Indian slave. He was born in Egypt in 244 A.H. and was probably connected with a soap manufacturing business which gave him the nisba al-Ṣabūnī. Aḥmad enjoyed a long life of one hundred and five years and died in Shawwal, 349 A.H.2 Aḥmad transmitted Hadith on the authority of al-Muzanī (d. 264)3 and Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-‘Alā (d. 264), both Traditionists of Egypt, and Muḥammad b. Ḥammad al-Ṭibrānī (d. 271).4 Although al-Suyūṭī in his Ḥṣn al-Muḥaddara speaks very highly of him as a respectable authority of Apostolic Traditions in Egypt,5 but in the opinion of more critical scholars of Asmā’ al-Rijāl, like al-Dhahabi and Ibn Ḥajar, Aḥmad was hardly trustworthy. For, firstly he was responsible for giving circulation to a baseless (باطل) Ḥadith from his shaykh, Muḥammad al-Ṭibrānī and, secondly, he was found to have narrated in the Gharā’ib of Malik a Hadith6 with isnad consisting of

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1. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 234.
3. He was a famous disciple of Imām al-Shāfi’i (d. 204) (Shādhārāt, Vol. II, p. 148).
5. الثقة المعبر مسند دربار مصر.
al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl b. 'Awn al-Tanūḥi and Sawaḍa b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī of whom the first was a liar¹ and the other,² a weak authority (ضيِيف). To add to the above, in the opinion of Ibn al-Mundhir, Aḥmad was a liar (كذاب).³


Aḥmad, surnamed Abū Bakr al-Ḥaddād (the blacksmith) settled at Qaṭṭiya bani Jīdār, a quarter in Baghdād.⁴ His teachers in Hadīth were Mūsā b. Hārūn, the Hāfīz (d. 294), Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Muaddib (?) and al-Ḥasan b. 'Alūwīya al-Qaṭṭān (?)⁵. He was a reliable (thīqa) transmitter of Ḥadīth. Dāraquṭnī (d. 385) admitted him as such. Among his students, the famous was Abū Nuʿaim al-Iṣfahānī. A saintly personage, Aḥmad was reckoned as one whose prayers were granted (مبارك الدعوة). He died in 359/969.⁶ The nisba al-Sindi refers to his Indian origin.⁷


Naṣrūʾ-Ilāh, who was the grandson of a Sindi slave purchased in Khurāsān, became famous as Ibn al-Sindi. He narrated Ḥadīth on the authority of Abū 'l-Qāsim b. Sābnak (?). Ibn al-Sindi had the privilege of being a shaykh of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463) who copied Aḥādīth from him and regarded him ṣāduq (truthful). He died in Dhū 'l-Qaʿda, 433 A.H.⁸

⁴ Ansāb, fol. 124a, 314b. The name of the quarter is misprinted in Khaṭīb (Vol. IV, p. 187), as Qaṭṭiya Bani Ḥaddād.
⁶ Yāqūt (Vol. II, p. 37) misprints al-Sindi as al-Sayyidī. For correct reading, Ansāb, loc. cit, Khaṭīb, loc. cit.
20. **Abū Muḥammad Bakhiyār b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hindi (d. 541/1149).**

Abū Muḥammad al-Hindi was a freedman of Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Samʿāni, (466-510), the father of ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Samʿāni (506-66), the author of the *Kitāb al-Ansāb*. His *nisba* al-Hindi refers to his origin from India.

Abū Muḥammad studied Ḥadith under his master Abū Bakr who took him with him for further education in the subject to al-ʿIrāq, al-Hijāz and al-Shām. Thus in Baghdād he acquired Ḥadith from Jaʿfar b. ʿAhmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Sarrāj, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Anṣārī and others; at Hamadān, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥamd b. al-Ḥasan al-Duwini; at Isfahān, from Muḥammad b. al-Haddād. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Samʿāni heard from him a few Traditions. He died at Marw in Safar, 541/1149.

21. **Abū ʿl-Ḥasan Bakhiyār b. ‘Abdullāh al-Hindi (d. 543/1151).**

A contemporary and probably a brother of Abū Muḥammad al-Hindi just noticed, Abū ʿl-Ḥasan was a Traditionist and an Ascetic (Ṣufi). He was a freedman of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Yaʿqūbi, a Qāḍī of Bushanj, and became famous as a teacher of ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Samʿāni. Like Abū Muḥammad al-Hindi, Abū ʿl-Ḥasan travelled with his master in Muslim lands hearing Ḥadith from noted Traditionists, viz., al-Sharif Abū Naṣr Muḥammad, Abū ʿl-Fawāris Muḥammad b. ‘Alī and Rizqu ʿIlāh b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb

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1. *Ansāb*, fols. 593a, 593b; *Maʿārif*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, p. 249.
al-Tamīmī of Baghdād; ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Aḥī al-SitIrī, ‘Abd al-Mālik b. ‘Alī (b. Khalaf b. Shu‘ba), the Ḥafīz and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-‘Abdī of al-Baṣra. Besides, a number of contemporary Traditionists of Iṣpahān, al-Jabāl and Khuzistān were also included among his teachers. Al-Sam‘ānī states that he received Ḥadīth from him at Qawshanj and Herāt. He died in 543 or 542/1151.¹

1. Ansāb, fol. 593 b; Ma‘ārif, loc. cit.
CHAPTER II
AL-ȘAGHĀṆĪ AND HIS WORKS

As al-șaghānī, by his unique contribution to Ḥadīth literature, forms a class by himself, we have thought it proper to devote one whole and independent chapter to him.

Section I
HIS SHORT BIOGRAPHY.

Al-Ḥasan al-Șaghānī al-Lahūrī (577-650/1181-1252)

Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥaydar al-Qurashī al-‘Umarī al-Ḥanafī, popularly called al-Șaghānī, was born at Lahore on Thursday, Șafar 10, 577/July, 1181. He was first educated under his father Muḥammad, a scholar of distinction. It is said that during his early years al-Șaghānī earned a reward of 1,000 dinārs by committing to memory the Gharāʿib of Abū ʿUbaid al-Qāsim b. al-Sallām (d.240)—a fact which speaks a volume about the extraordinary memory he possessed. While scarcely twenty-five, al-Șaghānī acquired a great proficiency in Ḥanafite Fiqh. Sultān Ḥuṭh al-Dīn Aybak (602-7/1205-10) then offered him the ʿAdīshīp of Lahore which he, however, refused to accept, and left for Ghaznīn in pursuit of higher studies. He subsequently travelled widely in ʾIrāq and al-Ḥijāz devoting

1. The ḥisba al-Șaghānī suggests that al-Ḥasan’s forefathers were originally the natives of Șaghānīyān, a district town in the Transoxania (Le Strange, p. 440) from where they migrated to India.

himself assiduously to the acquirement of the sciences of Tradition and philology under distinguished professors. The exact duration of his wanderjahr in al-ʿIrāq where, in Baghdād, he read with al-Nazzām al-Marghinānī and Ṣāʿīd b. al-Razzāz (d. 616), cannot be ascertained. By 610/1213 from which dates the beginning of his career as a Traditionist in al-Hijāz, al-Ṣaghānī became popular in the learned circles. For, in that year as he entered al-Yaman, he was received very warmly. Here at Aden he studied until he reached Makka in 613/1216 where he met the famous Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626) for the last time. Of his shayūkh in Makka, the name of Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥusrī (d. 618) has been preserved for us. On finishing his studies al-Ṣaghānī arrived in Ṣafar, 615/April, 1218 in Baghdād where a rousing reception was accorded him. Caliph al-Nāṣīr (577-623/1181-1226) himself invested him with a robe of honour. Al-Ṣaghānī finally settled down in Baghdād and enjoyed patronage from the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs. In 617/1220 Caliph al-Nāṣīr appointed him ambassador for the court of Delhi under Iltutmish (607-33/1210-36) an office which al-Ṣaghānī held for twenty long years. He hastened back to Baghdād in 624/1227 presumably on the death of al-Nāṣir and was again appointed to the same post by Caliph al-Mustansīr (624-45/1227-47) in Shaʿbān of that very year. The fact that the historian Minhāj al-Sirāj records in his Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣīrī the arrival of the ʿAbbāsid ambassador in India in 625/1228, seems to further

2. Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Udabā′, ed. Dr. Aḥmad Farīd Rifaʿī (Cairo, 1936), Vol. IX, pp. 189-191. This shows that al-Ṣaghānī was quite familiar with Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626).
5. Al-Qurashī, loc. cit.
corroborate the above appointment. 1 Al-Ṣaghānī finally returned to Baghdād in 637/1239. It may be that the chaotic and complicated situation arising at the Court out of the murder of Sulṭāna Raḍīyya (634-37/1236-40) compelled the ambassador to leave Delhi. 3

The remaining years of his life al-Ṣaghānī devoted exclusively to compilation and teaching Hadith and philology. He always had a crowd of pupils to surround him. The Traditionist Sharaf al-Din al-Dimyāṭī (d. 705), the shaykh of our al-Dhahābī (d. 735), was one of the pupils of al-Ṣaghānī. He died at his residence at Harīm al-Zāhirī in Baghdād in Shaʿbān, 650/October, 1252. His body was removed to Makka according to a testament of his and was interred therein. 4

As a tribute to his memory al-Dimyāṭī says, \"A devout professor seldom given to idle talks, al-Ṣaghānī was a great authority of Tradition, Philology and Jurisprudence\". 4 No greater testimony to his wide survey in Hadith literature could have been adduced than what he himself maintained in his al-’Abāb, \"I have heard in Makka, India, al-Yaman and Baghdād

1. Ṭabqāt-i-Nāṣirī, p. 174; Ulughkhānī op. cit., Vol. II, p. 698. It seems that there is something wrong either with the date 624 A.H. as given by al-Qurashi, or with 625 A.H. as given by Minhāj al-Sirājī. For al-Ṣaghānī could not possibly have taken more than a month to reach India from Baghdād overland (Ulughkhānī, loc. cit.)


4. Al-Qurashi, loc. cit.
musalsal traditions close upon four hundred which is a record number.\(^1\)

Al-Hasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī was a recognized authority on Ḥadīth and Philology. He has left for us thirty-two works,\(^2\) of which as many as nine have been noticed by Brockelmann.\(^3\) Although the bulk of these works is on Philology, those dealing with Ḥadīth literature are of special significance, purporting, as they do, to popularize the genuine Ahādīth of the Prophet, which since the beginning of the fifth century had been gradually falling into disuse and disrepute among the Muslims particularly in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate. To understand the state of al-Ṣaghānī's contemporary Ḥadīth literature, a preamble seems to be called for.

Section II

Ḥadīth Literature before al-Ṣaghānī

The fourth century of the Hijra witnessed the culmination of the great epoch for the growth and development of Ḥadīth. Then as a result of researches on the part of the Tālibu 'Ilm the Science of Ḥadīth literature—Ilm al-Ḥadīth—was evolved;\(^4\) while, in the course of the third century, Ijtihād, par excellence, of the Muslim divines and doctors, was responsible for the evolution out of the Qurān and the Sunna of the Islamic Shari‘a into four juridical systems, viz., the Ḥanafite, the Mālikite, the Shāfī‘ite and the Ḥanbalite, of which the first three also recognize the

1. 'Alī al-Qārī, loc. cit.
locus standi of the Ijma' (Consensus of the Community) and the Qiyas (Legal Analogy).

The four schools (Madhāhib) were not evenly distributed in the Sunnite World. In the fourth century the distribution was as follows: The Mālikites were found in al-Maghrib, the Ḥanbalites or Aṣḥāb Ḥadīth, in Syria and Baghdād; the Ḥanafites, in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate with the exception of Nīshāpūr and parts of the Transoxania which were Shāfi‘īte. Besides, the Shāfi‘ites had their hold also over Egypt.

Every Madhhab was a unit by itself, as it were. For guidance of its followers as also for preservation of its individuality, the study of Fiqh became essential. Thus, a group of scholars known as Fuqahā' (sing. Faqīh, Jurist) grew up from every Madhhab and devoted themselves to imparting lessons and writing books on Fiqh. In the course of time these Fuqahā, became responsible officials of their respective governments as heads of the department of Law and Ecclesiastics. Thus the Shāfi‘ite School of Law was adopted by the Ghaznavids and the Ayābids, the Ḥanafite, by the Turks, and the Mālikites by the Spanish Amīrate. This served as a great momentum for the study and culture of Fiqh. It was, now, not merely an academic pursuit but a passport for government service. Fiqh, therefore, opened up a new avenue for ambitious young men. How the study of Fiqh was rapidly gaining in popularity would

3. Ibid., pp. 39, 124.
4. Ibid., p. 37.
5. Ibid., pp. 180, 202.
6. For details see al-Khudrī, pp. 246-74, 370-77.
be evident from the fact that in the third century the phraseology *tafaqqa‘a alā* was scracely noticed; in the fourth it was seen side by side with that of *haddatha‘an* and by the fifth century the latter, namely, *haddatha‘an* was practically overshadowed by the former, namely, *tafaqqa‘a alā*.\(^1\) That nationwide zeal and enthusiasm for Ḥadīth learning, *Riḥla fi Ṭalab al-‘Ilm*, began to decrease\(^2\) and instead the craze for higher knowledge in *Fiqh* and all that it stood for increased. As a result, centres for the learning of *Fiqh*, jurisprudence, sprang up all over the Muslim World. Later, a Chair for the Ṣaḥīḥite *Fiqh* was instituted in the famous Niẓāmīyya College of Baghdād, while al-Mustanṣirīyya provided for the instructions in all the four schools.\(^3\) Egypt, too, did not lag behind in this direction in so far as it had to her credit al-Madrasat al-Suyūṭīyya, al-Ṣāliḥīyya, al-Nāṣirīyya and al-Ṣalāḥīyya for the study and cultivation of *Fiqh*.\(^4\) As a matter of fact, the Muslims, *en masse*, rose equal to the occasion so far as the culture of the Science of *Fiqh* was concerned. Even the Ḥanbalītes themselves started writing down brochures on *Fiqh*, of course, based on the Qur‘ān and the Sunna.\(^5\) Interest for Ḥadīth, therefore, lessened or was restricted to such Ḥadīth as were suited for the requirements of a particular *Madhhab*. But in their attempt to utilize Ḥadīth to subserve their respective *Madhahib*, the Fuqahā‘ did more harm than good. For, the criteria to scrutinize the soundness of a Ḥadīth could not have always been maintained with the result that almost every Ḥadīth, sound or otherwise, that went to support the view-point of a particular *Imām*, was accepted and that justification was sought to be given even for weak

5. Al-Khudrī, p. 274.
ones. Thus, many a weak Ḥadith naturally crept into Fiqh literature. No wonder, then, that such a masterpiece of the Ḥanafite jurisprudence like al-Hidāya should contain Traditions of indifferent authorities or which were spurious.¹ But the greatest disservice done to Apostolic Traditions by the Fuqahā’ was that they encouraged inter-Madhhab rivalry particularly between the Ḥanafites and the Shāfi‘ites. Towards the 5th century A.H. theological debate, munāṣara, between the Fuqahā’ of the two rival schools, usually presided over by a high government official, was very common. To establish the superiority of one school over that of the other, both the parties put forward their arguments, but rules of decency and decorum could not always be maintained. As a matter of fact, it was more often than not that a debate degenerated into brawls and mutual recriminations.² During this time traditions were coined right and left. That the so-called traditions, e.g., Abū Ḥanīfa is the light of the nation, Umma’, and ‘a Qurashite savant, meaning al-Shāfi‘i, will flood the surface of the earth with knowledge’, are cases in point.³ Thus, most of the Fuqahā’ remained so preoccupied with the formulation of their own madhāhib that they not only neglected the priceless Ḥadith compilations such as the Saḥīḥan or the Sunan works but also aided and abetted the circulation of weak or forged traditions, if they answered their purpose. Accordingly, in those days forces were let loose to give circulation of forged traditions or coin equally had ones in the persons of the so-called Mu‘ammārin, e.g., Nastūr al-Rūmī, Abū ‘l-Dunyā al-Ashajj and Ratan al-Hindi,⁴ or the Qaramaṭans who legalized fabrication

². For details, see Iḥyā‘, Vol. I, pp. 31-33.
³. For more of these Traditions consult Ṭāhir al-Hindi’s Tadhkira al-Mawḍū‘ī (Cairo, 1343 A.H.) pp. 111 seq.
⁴. Ibid., pp. 107-08.
if it would tend to improve the morale of the people. This was not all. To capture the imagination of the audience the *qassās*, or the story-teller, interwove false Ahādīth in the course of their story-telling. Likewise the *Khānqās* or the hospices of the ascetics became veritable hot-beds of fabrication inasmuch as every moralizing saying that would encourage the inmates to lead contemplative lives, passed for Ḥadīth.¹ The commentators also passed off in their *Tafsīrs* many ill-founded sayings as Traditions with special reference to the extraordinary merits attached to the different *Sūras* of the Qur'ān.⁴ Thus, like a mushroom, fabricated Ahādīth grew and multiplied.³ To counteract this evil tendency the Traditionists like Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597), al-Ṣaghānī and others took up the cudgels. Ibn al-Jawzī’s *al-Mawdū‘āt al-Kubrā*, a comprehensive collection of manufactured Ahādīth, will always remain a classic in this branch of the Science of Tradition. But he is accused as a rigorist (*mutashaddid*) inasmuch as his *al-Mawdū‘āt* is said to have included into it some *Hasan* and *Ṣaḥīḥ* Ahādīth.⁴ In the face of the ever-increasing influx of the fabricated traditions of the day, if Ibn al-Jawzī, out of his exuberance of the process of purging, has included some genuine Traditions he cannot be much blamed. Withal things did not much improve. For al-Ṣaghānī, writing within fifty years after Ibn al-Jawzī on the attitude of the intelligentsia *vis-a-vis* Ḥadīth, states, ‘There have multiplied in our days Ahādīth *Mawdū‘a* (fabricated traditions) which are being narrated by the *qassās* in the assemblies as well as on the pulpits and by *fuqaha‘* (jurists) and *fuqara‘* (saints) in the Madrasas and the Khānqās,

2. Cf. *Tafsir al-Kashshāf* and al-Baidawi at the conclusion of every *Sūra*.
3. Tāhir al-Hindi, pp. 8 seq.
respectively. Thus they (Mawḍuʿāt) are being handed down to the posterity. Nothing but the sheer ignorance of the knowledge of the Sunna can be accounted for this state of things. As a matter of fact, Traditionists are nowhere to be met with save and except in the barren tract of Arabia. Forged traditions and so-called sayings of the Prophet are being freely circulated in books without paying any heed to their objectivity. Because of the reputation of the authors, these books are well received by the posterity with the result that the religion itself is now in jeopardy.". No picture could have been more vivid and realistic than the one just portrayed by al-Ṣaghānī speaking as he does from his personal experience and authority.

Section III.

His role as a Traditionist.

Next to Ibn al-Jawī, al-Ṣaghānī applied himself heart and soul to weed out ʿĀḥadith Mawḍuʿā. He was more systematic and his grasp of the problem more thorough than his compeer Ibn al-Jawzī. His treatises on al-Mawḍuʿāt recount the topics in which fabrication was usually taken recourse to. They are as follows:

(i) Traditions relating to christening a person after the name of Muḥammad and Aḥmad; (ii) Traditions relating to rice, melon, garlic, egg-plant and onion, etc., (iii) Traditions relating to Naksh, metamorphosis of as many as sixteen animals, viz., the tortoise, the bear, the hyena, the lizard, etc., as stated in some Tafsīrs; (iv) Traditions relating to the merit

3. MSS copies of the treatises are noticed in Lakhnawi’s library at Firingī Mahal (cf. Fawāʾid al-Baḥiyya, p. 30) and one in the library of Nadwa, Lucknow.
of the months, days and nights as mentioned in the *Yawāqit wa ʿl-Mawāqit*; (v) Traditions relating to the merit of the month of Rajab and (vi) Traditions relating to the merit of the lamps, candle-sticks and mats used in mosques.¹

Al-Ṣaghānī is perhaps the first critic who has particularly emphasized on the nature of the wording and the meaning of a Hadīth to be attributed to the Prophet apart from the usual conditions stipulated for a genuine Tradition.² He has, therefore, held that the phrase *qāla al-Rasūl* should in no circumstances be associated with a report other than a true Hadīth.³ He has also drawn up a list of the master-fabricators, namely, Abū ʿl-Dunya al-Ashajj, al-Kharrāsh, Jaʿfar b. Nasṭūr al-Rūmī; Bishr, Yaghnam, Yakhshaf on the authority of Anas, Ratan al-Hindi and others.⁴ His books may, therefore, be regarded as an earliest attempt to enunciate the principles of *Mawdūʿāt*.

Al-Ṣaghānī also makes a fair collection of false traditions.⁵ The later researches have revealed that, like the rigorist Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Ṣaghānī has taken a number of Ahādīth to be *mawdūʿ* which are not actually so.⁶ The reason seems to be this that as the atmosphere was surcharged with fabrications, he was only too cautious.

Al-Ṣaghānī was not rest satisfied merely with the act of purging the Apostolic traditions of fabrications. He did more. His greatest service for the cause of the Science, however, lay in his endeavour to popularise *Aḥadīth Şahiḥa* among the Muslims. As he felt that if, at the outset, he would present before the public the

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¹ *Riṣāla fi ʿl-Mawdūʿāt*, pp. 5, 9-10.
² Ibid., pp. 10-11.
³ Tāhir al-Hindi, op. cit, p. 8.
⁴ *Riṣāla Fi ʿl-Mawdūʿāt*, pp. 3-4, also p. 12.
⁵ Ibid., pp. 4, 12.
⁶ *Al-Fawāʾid*, p. 30.
Sahih or any other collection of authentic traditions, they were not likely to be well received because of their bulk, he prepared two of his earliest compendia on the subject, namely, al-Mishbah al-Dujay min Sahih al-Hadith al-Mathura and al-Shams al-Munira min al-Sahih al-Mathura, which evoked a wide-spread interest among his co-religionists. Thus encouraged, he compiled his epitome of the Sahih which became famous under the name of the Mashariq al-Anwar.¹

His Mashariq al-Anwar

The Mashariq al-Anwar embodies into it 2,253 select Ahadith from the Sahih of al-Bukhari and Muslim, of which 327 belong to the former and 875 to the latter, while the rest 1,051 are common to both.² He has selected only the Ahadith Qawliyya in preference to those of Fi’liyya and Taqrijyya and also those called Mutabat, Shawahid and Riwayat bi’l-Ma’na, as they (Ahadith Qawliyya) play a more vital part in the formulation of the principles of the Shari’a. The selection of Ahadith, therefore, has not been arbitrary. As for the isnad, only the name of the Sahabis are mentioned. The Traditions of al-Bukhari are represented by ج, those of Muslim by م, and those that are common to them both, by د.

The book is divided into twelve bab, chapters, which again are subdivided into one or more fasls, sections. Each bab has a group of Ahadith opening either with: (i) grammatical regents (عوامل), such as


² According to the commentator al-Kazurini (d. 758), the total number of Ahadith contained in the Mashariq is 2,246 (Hajji Khalifa, Vol. V, p. 547) as against 2,253, in the recently published edition of the work under the auspices of Dar al-Funun at Qunia (vide Maktabat Mahmudiya, edition Cairo, 1329 A.H.).
and so on, or with (ت) the words of the verbal tenses, such as امر ‘مضايع’ ماضي and so on. As regards the Aḥādīth collected under the one or the other of the ‘Awāmil, they have been arranged alphabetically. As for the traditions collected according to tenses, they, too, have been arranged alphabetically. Again, each faṣl serves as a line of demarcation between the uses of the same Ḥāmil with different forces, e.g., موصول ‘استفهام من or شرط or in combination with different pronouns, e.g., ان ’ انک’ ان or between a series of opening words having various denominations. In the sequel, every bāb provides for diverse topics of interest such as principles of the Shari‘a, ethics, transactions, manumission of slaves, jihād (holy war) etc. It is for this reason that an Indian commentator has compared it to a garden whose flowers resemble in colour but vary in fragrance.1 So it appears that al-Ṣaghānī followed the above arrangements as against the stereotyped ones of the Sunan, Jāmi‘, Musnad and Mu‘jam works only to make his work attractive and interesting. Further, the above arrangement is otherwise useful in so far as it may be regarded as a sort of catalogue of the Ṣahihān.

Within seventy-five years of the author’s death, the first commentary of the Mashāriq al-Anwār by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Laṭif al-Qazwini was written at al-Mustanṣirīyya in Baghdād.2 At about the same time, Shams al-Dīn al-Awādī (d. 749), a disciple of Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ (d. 725), brought out the second commentary of the book.3 Since then many commentaries, compendia and abridgements of the Mashāriq by scholars of the different Muslim countries among whom several have been of Turkish and Indian nationalities, saw the light of the day. As the years

3. Supra, p. 60.
rolled on, the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* grew more and more popular so that by the 8th century journies were undertaken and classes were held for its study. The part it played towards the propagation of Hadith literature in Northern India during the pre-Renaissance period, we have already noticed. Suffice it to say here that it was the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* which kept aloft the banner of the Sunna in the Fiqh-ridden countries of India and Central Asia of the day.

Al-Ṣaghānī’s other works on Hadith:

(i) *Kashf al-Hijāb ‘an Aḥādīth al-Shihāb*. Al-Ṣaghānī edited al-Qudā‘i’s (d. 454) *Kitāb al-Shihāb* with the symbols of Shaikh, da‘if and mawdu against each and arranged it on the lines of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*.

(ii) *Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, a short commentary of the *Shaikh al-Bukhārī*.


(iv) *Mukhtāṣar al-Wafayāt*, a general biographical treatise.


Al-Ṣaghānī as an editor of the *Shaikh al-Bukhārī*.

Al-Ṣaghānī’s name shall always remain immortalized as an editor of the text of al-Bukhārī’s *Shaikh*. As

2. Supra, pp. 76-77.
a matter of fact, the edition of the Ṣaḥīḥ current all over Arabia, India, Persia and al-‘Irāq we owe to his master-mind and to nobody else’s.¹

1. A. Mingana, perhaps the first Orientalist to write on the history of the transmission of the text of the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, observes: ‘Before the 4th century, the text of al-Bukhārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ was ‘in a fluid state and not definitely fixed in the form in which we have it in our day.’ In the opinion of Mingana, there was little likelihood of the whole text of the Ṣaḥīḥ being extant in a systematically written form at the time. Thanks to the efforts of the Traditionists like al-‘Aṣilī (d. 392), al-Qābisī (d. 403), Abū Dharr (d. 434) and Abū Nuʿaim (d. 466), in the course of the 4th and the 5th centuries the text was well-nigh established. The process of systematization thus began continued until it was finally completed towards the early part of the 6th century by Abū ‘l-Waqt (d. 553) who might be called the last true editor-transmitter of the text of the Ṣaḥīḥ. But the Traditionists, namely, al-Sam‘ānī (d. 562), Iba‘ Asākir (d. 571), al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650) and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī (d. 701) also contributed materially in this direction in so far as they co-ordinated the early variants of the text and handed them down in the form in which we see them in numerous MSS. of the Ṣaḥīḥ. The mantles of these editors, however, fell on the shoulders of al-Ṣaghānī and al-Yūnīnī who gave the finishing touch to the text exactly as we have it in respect of its form, order and phraseology. The edition of the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī current in Arabia, India, Persia and al-‘Irāq are generally based on the text edited by al-Ṣaghānī, while al-Yūnīnī’s edition is popular in Morocco, Algeria, Egypt and Syria. Vide A. Mingana: An Important Manuscript of the Traditions of Bukhārī (Oxford, 1936), pp. 1-2, 14, 16, 20, 26, 27, 29.
CHAPTER III

INDIAN TRADITIONISTS
(950-1257/1543-1841)

Section I. 950-1000/1543-1591

'ALI AL-MUTTAQİ & HIS SCHOOL OF MUHADDITHÜN

(a) 'Ali al-Muttaqi al-Burhānpūrī
(885-975/1481-1568).

'Alá' al-Dîn 'Alî b. Husâm al-Dîn b. 'Abd al-Mâlik b. Qadîkhân al-Muttaqi al-Burhānpūrī al-Madani whose ancestors lived at Jawnpūr, was born at Burhānpūr in 885/1481. Educated at his native town under Shaykh Bājin and his son 'Abd al-Ḥakîm and at Multân, under Husâm al-Dîn al-Muttâni, al-Muttaqi was for some time a Qâdî of Burhānpūr. In 941/1534, he was in Gujarât whence, on account of Humâyûn's invasion of the territory, he left for the Ḥijâz with a party of his pupils and settled down at Makka.¹ Here he took further education in al-Ḥadîth from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sakhâwi, Abû 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrî (d. 952) and Ibn Ḥajar al-Mâkki (d. 974), and became an authority on the subject. His eminence as a Muhaddith may be judged from the fact that his teacher Ibn Ḥajar al-Mâkki himself accepted his discipleship. A man of great sanctity and learning, 'Ali al-Muttaqi commanded respect not only from his contemporary scholars but also from the Ottoman Emperor Sulaymân I (1520-55) and the Muzaffarshâhî Sulṭân Maḥmûd III (1537-53) who granted stipends for the pupils of his

¹ Supra p. 109.
Madrasa. He died at Makka in 975/1568.¹

‘Al-Muttaqī evinced a keen interest for al-Suyūṭi’s al-Jami’ al-Jawāmi’, al-Jāmi’ al-Ṣaghir and al-Ziyāda—works designed to serve the purpose of on Encyclopaedia of Ḥadith literature—and himself, to further facilitate the study of the books, compiled the following six works:—

(i) Manhaj al-'Ummāl fi Sunan al-Aqwāl wa 'l-Afal (Rāmpūr No. 404: Khadiwīyya, i, p. 433). In this work al-Muttaqī has classified, according to the chapters of Fiqh, the Ḥadīth of the Jāmi’ al-Ṣaghir and al-Ziyāda arranged alphabetically. A commentary on the Manhaj al-'Ummāl by an anonymous author has been preserved in the Oriental Library at Bānkīpūr.²

(ii) Ikmāl Manhaj al-'Ummāl (Khadiwīyya, X, p. 271): a supplement to the Manhaj al-'Ummāl.

(iii) Ghāyat al-'Ummāl: the Ḥadīth of the above two books have been collected into the Ghāyat al-'Ummāl.

(iv) Al-Mustadrak: In this work al-Muttaqī has arranged, according to the chapters of Fiqh, the Ḥadīth Fi‘līyya of the Jami’ al-Jawāmī.

(v) Kanz al-'Ummāl fi Sunan al-Aqwāl wa'l-Afal: the Ghāyat al-'Ummāl and al-Mustadrak have both been again embodied into the Kanz al-'Ummāl, a popular and encyclopaedic collection of Ḥadīth published in eight volumes by the Dā'irat al-Ma‘ārīf Press at Hyderabad in 1312-13 A.H.


In addition to the above works, al-Muttaqi has written the following commentary and treatises on al-Hadith:

1. *Sharḥ Shamā'il al-Nabī*, a commentary on al-Tirmidhi’s *Shamā'il al-Nabī* of which a Ms. copy is available in the library of Dar al-'Ulūm at Peshawar.

2. *Al-Burḥān fi 'Alāmat Mahdi Ākhir al-Zamān* (Loth. No. 1031 II): a rearrangement of the Aḥādith contained in al-Suyūṭī’s al-‘Arf al-Wardī on the account of al-Mahdī together with additional material from the *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘*. In the preface, the author has proved the claim of Māḥmūd al-Jawnpūrī as the promised Messiah to be false.


(b) His pupils: Among al-Muttaqi’s pupils Tāhir al-Fattānī (d. 986) selected Gujrat as the seat of his activities, while the following of his pupils, the Ḥaramayn:

1. ʿQāḍī ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Sīndī (d. 955/1548).

He was a native of Darbila in Sind and read at Kāhan with Makhdūm ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Abhari. In

934/1527, he proceeded to Ḥmadābād and became a disciple of al-Muttaqī. Then he migrated to the Ḥijāż along with al-Mattaqī, and settled down in al-Madīnah where he died within two years of his residence. His two sons, Rahmat Allāh and Ḥamīd—the former also a pupil of al-Muttaqī—were Traditionists.

2. Rahmat Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sindī
   (d. 993/1585)

On finishing his studies at Makka under al-Muttaqī, Rahmat Allāh repaired to al-Madīnah and lectured in Ḥadīth literature. In 682/1574, he came to India along with Ḥāji Begām who had been on a pilgrimage to Makka, and visited Agrā where ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Bada‘ūnī, the author of the Muntakhab al-Tawārikh, read Ḥadīth with him. He next taught the subject at Ḥmadābād for some time, again went to Makka and died in Muḥarram, 993/January, 1585. He compiled a work on al-Muwīlī‘ūl which, however, has not come down to us.

3. Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d Allāh al-Sindī
   (d. 984/1577).

He was a native of Darbīl in Sind and migrated with his teacher al-Muttaqī to Makka where he also read Ḥadīth with Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī. He finally settled down in al-Madīnah with his namesake and fellow-citizen, Qāḍī ‘Abd Allāh with whose son Rahmat Allāh he became very intimate. He died at Makka in Dhū’l-Ḥijja, 984/March, 1577.

‘Abd Allāh edited the Mishkāt al-Maṣāḥīḥ with copious annotations to prove the superiority of the

3. Akhbār, pp. 264-65; Yād-i-Ayyām, p. 36; Tadhkira ‘Ulāmā, p. 102; Brockelmann, Sup I, p. 524.
Hanafite School.¹


‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Wālī Allāh, the successor of ‘Alī al-Muttaqi at Makka, was born at Shadiābād—Mandā—in 943/1536. In 962/1556, he joined the School of al-Muttaqi and soon became one of his favourite pupils. He rendered a yeoman’s service to his teacher by copying, comparing and arranging his writings. After al-Muttaqi’s death, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb took charge of his Madrasa—the then principal seat of Hadith learning at Makka—and served it with great credit until his death in 1001/1592.²

Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥaq al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī (d. 1052) was a pupil of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muttaqi.³

Section II

Muftī Qutb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī (917-90/1511-82).

The Indian Traditionist who long enjoyed the privilege of teaching Hadith literature at the sacred Haram of Makka was Muftī Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qaḍīkhān al-Hanafī al-Nahrawālī al-Makki who was otherwise an important author of Arabic literature and history.⁴ He introduced into Arabja the Sanad al-‘Ajam of the Sahih of al-Bukhārī which he had received from his father ‘Alā al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī (d. 949),⁵ a pupil of

2. Akbar, pp. 253 seq; Ḥadīth, pp. 252 seq; Tadhkira-i-‘Ulamā’, p. 139; Ma‘ṣūrī, Vol. XXII, No. 4, pp. 263-64.
3. Supra, p. 147.
5. So called because between Qutb al-Dīn and al-Bukhārī, the transmitters of this sanad, are all non-Arabs.
Nūr al-Dīn al-Shirāzī, and was himself a link between the non-Arab and the Arab transmitters of this sanad.

Born at Lahore in 917/1511, Ḍūlāb al-Dīn migrated with his father to Makkā and studied under ‘Abd al-Hāqq al-Sumbāṭi (d. 931), ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Dayba‘ (d. 944) and several other professors of the Hijāz. He travelled in Egypt and Turkey visiting the famous seats of learning. In 954/1548, he was received in audience by the Ottoman Emperor Sulaymān I (1520-55), obtained Khil‘a, robe of honour from him and was appointed the Superintendent of the theological institutions of Makkā. He next became the Mufti of the holy city and died in 990/1582.¹

His work:—

Muftī Ḍūlāb al-Dīn is the author of a comprehensive work on Ḥadith literature which incorporates into it the Aḥādīth of the Ṣihāḥ Sitta—a work highly praised for its treatment by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Khawāli.²


Among the Traditionists who transmitted the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī in Arabia on the authority of Ḍūlāb al-Dīn, was ‘Abd Allāh an Indian. He was born at Lahore and died at al-Madīna in 1083/1672. The famous Madinian Traditionist Ibrāhīm al-Kurdi (d. 1102) was his pupil in al-Bukhārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ.³

2. Vide Mījāb al-Sunna, p. 110.
Section III

Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Sindi (d. 1138/1726).

Abū'l-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd-al-Hādī al-Ḥanafi al-Sindi al-Madani who was a native of Thath near Karāchī, was educated at Tustar (mod. Shustar in Persia) and al-Madīna. He took Ḥadīth literature from two Madinian Traditionists, namely, Sayyid Muḥammad al-Barzanjī (1040-1103) and Ibrāhīm al-Kurdi (1025-1102). He resided at al-Madīna and was appointed Professor of the Dār al-Shifa', the then famous school of Ḥadīth learning of the city. Al-Sindi was a recognized author of Ḥadīth literature and his popular Ḥawāshi, marginal notes, on the Ṣīḥah Sitta, display all through his vast study of the Science and a deep and critical insight into the juridical problems. Further, he was the first Traditionist to write a commentary on the Musnad of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanbal. He died on the 12th Shawwāl, 1138/June, 1726 and was buried in the graveyard of al-Baqī' at al-Madīnā.

His works:

(i) Al-Ḥawāshi Sitta 'alā 'l-Kutub al-Sitta: Marginal notes on the Six Canonical Collections of Aḥadīth. The manuscript copies of the work are in the Khadiwiyya library of Egypt. The Ḥawāshi on the Ṣahihān have been published with the Egyptian edition of the works and those on the Sunan al-Nasāʾi, with the Indian edition.

(ii) Bahjat al-Naẓar fi Sharḥ Nukhbat al-Fikar

(ASB No. 606/15 Arabic MSS): a commentary on Ibn Ḥajar's Nukhbat al-Fikar.

(iii) Sharḥ Musnad Ahmad b. Ḥanbal: This commentary on the Musnad which consists of as many as fifty juz', parts, has been noticed by Nawwāb Siddiq Ḥasan Khān and 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Khawlī in their respective books.¹

His pupil:—

Shaykh Muhammad Ḥayāt al-Sindi (d. 1163/1750).

Muhammad Hayāt al-Sindi succeeded his teacher Abū 'l-Ḥasan as the Professor of the Dār al-Shifā' and spent his life in the services of Ḥadīth literature. He had al-Ijāza from 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī (d. 1134), Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī (d. 1145) and Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-'Ujaimī. He was a native of 'Adilpūr in the district of Bhakkar in Sind and died at Madīna in 1163/1750.²

His works:—

(i) Tuhfat al-Muḥibbin (Bānkīpūr, V (2), No. 286; Brock. Sup. I, 522): a commentary on the Arba'īn by al-Nawawī.

(ii) Risāla fi Bidʿat al-Taʿzia.

(iii) Tuhfat al-Anām: a treatise refuting taqīlīd.³

(iv) Sharḥ Arba'īn li 'l-Harawi: a commentary on Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī's Arba'īna Ḥadīthān fi Jawāmī' al-Kalīm.⁴

1. Al-Hiṭṭa fi Dhihr Shīḥāq Sitta, s.v., Musnad Ahmad; Miftāḥ al-Sunna, p. 37.
Section IV

1. 'Umar al-Nahrawālī

'Umar b. Muḥammad 'Ārif Tājkhan al-Nahrawālī al-Madani was a native of Nahrawāla in Gujarāt. He migrated to al-Madīna and settled there permanently. 'Umar appears to have flourished in the 11th century of the Hijra. No notice of his biography is, however, available.1

His work:—

Al-Fa'al al-Nabūwi fī Usūl al-Hadith wa Fahāris al-Bukhārī (Loth, No. 131): The book has a Muqaddima and four Faṣls. The Muqaddima has been devoted to Iṣṭalāḥāt al-Hadith or the technique of Hadith literature and the Faṣls, to Usūl al-Hadith. At the end of the book, there is a discussion on al-Bukhārī and his Ṣaḥīḥ.

2. Shaykh Abū 'l-Ṭayyib al-Sindi

Abū 'l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḳadir al-Hanafi al-Sindi al-Madani settled down in al-Madīna and was a pupil of Husain b. 'Alī al-'Ujaimī in the Shiḥṣaṣa Sīta and the Sunan works. He also read with Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdi and Muḥammad al-Kawkānī. He lived in the 12th century A.H.2

His work:—

Sharḥ 'alā Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī: an Arabic commentary on the Jāmi' of Abū 'Isā al-Tirmidhī lithographed at the Niẓāmī Press, Delhi along with the Shurūḥ-i-Arba'.


Abū 'l-Faqīḍ Muḥammad Murtaḍā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Iʿnāfī al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāṣitī al-Bilgrāmī al-Zabīdī, the celebrated author of the Ṭāj al-ʿArūs, belonged to the family of the Wāṣitī Sayyids of Bilgrām. He took his early education in India from Fākhir al-Ḥahābādī (d. 1164), Shāh Wāḥī Allāh al-Dīhlawī (d. 1176) and Khayr al-Dīn al-Sūrātī (d. 1206). In about 1160 1747, young Murtaḍā made a pilgrimage to the Ḥaramayn and spent the next four or five years at Zabid studying the sciences of Tradition and Philology. In 1167/1753, he went to Egypt where he finally settled down at 'Atfāt al-Gassāl, a quarter in Cairo and died of plague in 1205/1791.¹

Sayyid Murtaḍā taught Ḥadīth literature at the Jāmiʿ of Shaykhun where his lectures were attended by the Professors of the Jāmiʿ 'l-Azhar as well as by the Traditionists of the different parts of Egypt and outside. Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid I (1774-89) of Turkey who had keen interest in Ḥadīth literature secured an Ijāza of the Ḥadīth al-Rahmat² from him. I have myself found a MS copy of the above historic Ijāza in the Nawwāb Siddiq Ḥasan Section of the Library of Dār al-ʿUlūm, Nadwa at Lucknow transcribed by the Nawwāb himself and am going to append it to the end of my thesis.

His works :


2. I.e. اللهمون يرحمهم الرحمن تبايز و تعالوا ارحموا من في
الارض يرحمهم من في السماء -


(iii) Ghāyat al-Ibtihāj li Muntafi' Asānīd Muslim al-Ḥajjāj (Brock., Sup. I, 399).

(iv) Taḥṣīr al-Muntabih bi Taḥrīr al-Mushtabih (ibid).

(v) 'Iqā al-La'li al-Muntathira fi Ḥīfẓ al-Ḥādīth al-Mutwātira (ibid).

(vi) Mu'jam al-Masha'ikh (ibid).

(vii) Alfiyat al-Sanad (ibid).

(viii) Musalsalat (ibid).

4. Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abid al-Sindi
   (d. 1257/1841).

'Abid b. Ahmad 'Ali b. Ya'qūb al-Anṣārī al-Ḥanāfī al-Sindi al-Madani was born at Siwan, a village in Sind on the bank of the Indus. Educated at Zabīd, he married a daughter of the then minister of San'a and was appointed by the Imām of al-Yaman as his ambassador of Egypt. He then had a sojourn to his native land where after staying for a while, he left for al-Ḥijāz and was appointed by the Egyptian government as the chief of the 'Ulamā' of al-Madina. He died at al-Madina in Rabī' 1, 1257/April, 1841.¹

His works:—

(i) **Al-Mawāhib al-Lātīfa ‘alā Musnad al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa** (MS, Ma'ārif vol. L(6), p. 422, No. 6): a commentary on the *Musnad* of Abū Ḥanīfa, wherein the commentator has cited Ḥādīth from the standard works to support those in the *Musnad* itself.

(ii) **Murattab Musnad al-Imām al-Aʿẓam** (MS., ibid, p. 424, No. 3): In this work, our author has classified the Ḥādīth of the *Musnad* according to the chapters of Fiqh.

(iii) **Sharḥ Taṣṣir al-ʿUṣūl ilā Aḥādīth al-Rasūl**: on ʿUṣūl al-Ḥadīth.

(iv) **Sharḥ Balūgh al-Marām**: a commentary on Ibn Ḥajar’s *Balūgh al-Marām*.

1. Ḥadāʾiq, loc. cit.
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APPENDIX

Copy of Sayyid Murtaḍa Bilgrāmi’s Ijāza granted to Sultān ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd I of Turkey (1774-89) transcribed from the MS. of an Anthology by Nawwāb Šiddiq Ḥasan Khān of Bhūpāl preserved in the Dār al-‘Ulūm of Nadwa, Lucknow.
صوره اجازة مرسلة الى سلطان الزمان اب الفتى عبدالحليم خان
نصره الله تعالى لسيد جد مرتضى الزيدى رحمة الله تعالى
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي رفع مقام اهل الحديث مكانا علينا، و أظهر محاسن
احديهم الصحيحة فلم يكن شئ منا عن نبلوغ شاوالكمال
الحسناء بهياء، والصورة والسلام على سيدنا عبد المبعوث الى
كافة الخلق بشيرا نذيرا و داعيا لله باذنه و سراجا مثيرا، و على
آلنا و صحبه الذين تألقت انوار مصابيح نبوته في مشاقة قلوبهم
فزاتهم إيمانا و نورا، و على خلفانى الذين سطع برهان جواجع
احديهم في جياعهم فنضت بدعوته المستجابة وجوهم و ملأت
بلوامض بداع حكمه اتفادتهم و صدورهم ما ذات سلسلة الاسناد
متنفسة باتصال الحسن والحسنان الى يوم المعاد،

اما بعد: فإن احسن الحديث كتاب الله جل جلاله الاعظم و
خير الهدى هدى مصلى الله عليه وسلم، و هما اعظم الوسائل
و المقاصد السنية و بما التوصل الى السعادة الأبدية، و قد
استمسك منها بالعروة الوثقى التي لنفصم لها و كان لا محالة
احق بها و اهلها، حضرت مولينا ملك العالم و سلطانه، و امام
المسلمين الذي جلس على كرسي الخلافة فما كسرى و ايوانه، اعظم
سلاطين الأرض القائم لله بوظائف النذل و الفرض، ذو المحاسن التي
اصبحت انها رالبلغاء عن القيام بحق وصفها مفيدة، و المراحم التي حققت عند الخلق أنه أابه الله تعالى من الذين تواصوا بالمرحمة و الايمان الذي اطفا نار البغاء، و اخدها، و المساكن المحدودة التي فاق بها سلاطين الأرض فكان هو على الحقيقة حميدة و اخدها،

الابن الذي ثبت له التدقيق و ذكر فضله بين بأكبر الجماعة فكان له التكبر و التسليم، و الأظهر بالعظمة التي تخفع لها اعتناق الجبارة و تناقل الركبان راحلتها التي هي كالامثال السائرة، و استولى على غاية الفضل فلا مطعن للحاسد ولا مطمع و ارتفع حيث فعل الجميل، و كيف لا وحق الفاعل ان يرفع، و خطبة مصالح الأمة للقيام بامرها إذ لا معدة لها كنها سواء و عقد لها عليها عقد لا ينقطع و لا تنجل قوته حتى لقد وافته بفائر السعد تهنيه، و أصبح لسان الحال ينشد و يغنيه انته الخلافة منقادة، اليد تجرر ذميالها، فلم تك تصلح الا له و لم يك يصلح الالها - السلطان الذي غذى بحب العدل والاحسان و عجز عن القيام بشكره كل لسان فكم رحم مسكينا و آوى غربا، و قالت همه الشريفه اذا استمعت السلاطين ممنى الفضل، انهم يرون بعده و نراه قريبا، وكم عاف ظفر برجائه اذاتمسك به واعتلق و وصل إليه قطع مابينه و بين اناك الزمن من العلق طال ما بنى فعل سيفه الماضى على الفتح واعربت حركاته السعيدة عن معاني الجنين و المناج – و طارت اخبار الحسنة كل مطار، و تعطرت بطيب الثناء عليه سائر الاقطار و تشتفت الاذان بحسن سمته
و توافق ادام الله تعالى علاه على فرط رفعته، حتى لقد تجبرت
اهو في الأرض بدأ ين الهجر في يمينه حم في السماء بدأ ين
القم في جبينه، و قام باصور مدايحها على الخلق متهيما وقال
المدعى لتقدمه على سلطنين العصر، هذه دعويا و محاسنه هي
البينة هذا ثنائى و هاتيكم مناقبه، ياليها الناس ما ابعدت اشهادى
فهو حامى حمى الإسلام و ماجى مصلى الاصنام، سلطان العالم،
و امير المؤمنين ناصرالمالفة والحق والشرع والدين، مجد معالم
السنة و مجي شعاعرها و مقيم دروسها الوائق بانه المستعان
نظام الدنيا و الدين أبوفتح عبدرحمان خان ادام الله تعالى
سلطانه و اعان انصاره و نصر اعوانه و خلد دولته و اعلي على
ممر الزمان كامته فقد امام الاناث في مهاد الخصب و الاوان،
و اقام رعاياه في مقام السعادة امين في زمانه الزمان، ولاح
كالمش في أفق هذه الملكة العالية فذبحت نفوس الاعداء في
الحرسات تجول و عمت به ارجاها الحسنة حتى لقد قال القائل
ملاذ الناس الا وهو، و مالدننا الا استنبل، و اذا وان الله عاجز عن شكر
مراحمة الامام معترف بجذيل فواضله التي تثبت تلافها الوريثة،
وكيف لا وقد سبق آل جمال مكارمها التي لا تلحق، و وليت
حضرة الامام حيث اعتقني من رق الاعمار، انما الولاء لمن
اعتق و عمر خواطرة بمحبه فلم يبق لها الا غيره اللفتات و
امطرها سحائب كريمه فاخرجت رياض الدفائع مرحة باحسن
نبات و اتقن عقني بمن يشدرها من قبل و بلغني ما
المناهج حتى صرت صاحب الدنيا بلا ملل، وكل نفس عن الأيام راضية، به فلا عرفت بعد الرضا سحتا، وهذه صحيحة لطفة و مجلة حسنة شريفة هي عنوان شرف و حكم و علم و ترجمن صدق و انتاعة و علم يعرب حق اليتين بلسان عربي مبين، على ما يروى من عظيم الجهابة و الإجلال على ما يروى من العواطف و المراحم التي هي منتهى أمالن، فحقق حقان يشر على بساط انعابه و لطفه و حنانه و جواهر شكره على توالي فضله و حسانه و امتانه كالبحر لمطيره السحاب و لا له عين عليه لا نه من مائه، ولا يدع يروى عند جنبه الأعلى بعض مروياته و يهدى لحضتته شمس فذة من زاهر هباته و حسناته اقتداء باينة الحديث في القديم و الحديث رجاء النظام في فرائد عقودهم الباهرة الفاخرة في الحياة الدنيا و في الآخرة مع الذين انعم الله عليهم من النجيب و الصديقين الشهداء و الصالحين و حسن أولئك رفيق من الله تعالى بذلك، و حققه تحقيقاً آمين، و هذا أوان الشروع في المقصود و الأتيان بالفرض الموعود، فقول و بالله استعين، يا إمساك، يا يوقنا أجمعين، حديثي جمع من الأئمة الأعلام باوبع الله دار السلام أعلاهم، سند واكثرهم مدا، شيخنا الإمام المحدث المسند الجليل السيد عمر بن أحمد بن عقيل الحسيني الكي و هو أول محدث سمعته من حفظه و لفظه بالمدينة المنورة قرب باب الرحمة في شهور سنة 976 و ه قال حدثنا الإمام المحدث المقرى شهاب الدين أحمد بن حمد بن
عبدالفتاح الدمياطي وهو أول حديث سمعته منه قال حدثنا المسند
المعمر شمس الدين هشام بن عبد العزيز المتولي وهو أول حديث
سمعته منه قال حدثنا الشيخ المعمر أبو الطاهر عمر بن عموس الرشيد
و هو أول حديث سمعته منه قال حدثنا شيخ الإسلام زكريا بن
شهاب الدين أبو الفضل أحمد بن علي القسطلاني وهو أول حديث
سمعته منه قال حدثنا حافظ الوقت زين الدين أبو الفضل عبد الرحمن
بن الحسين العراقي وهو أول حديث سمعته منه قال حدثنا الإمام
المستدركالدين أبو الفتح هشام بن هشام الميدوني وهو أول حديث
سمعته منه قال حدثنا الإمام نجيب الدين أبو الفرج عبد الله الطيف بن عبدالمنعم
النوراني وهو أول حديث سمعته منه قال حدثنا الإمام الحافظ زين الدين
أبو الفرج عبد الرحمن بن علي البغدادي وهو أول حديث
سمعته منه قال حدثنا الإمام أبو سعد اسماعيل بن أحمد النيسابوري وهو أول حديث
سمعته منه قال حدثنا والدي الإمام أبو صالح أحمد بن عبد الملك
النيسابوري وهو أول حديث سمعته منه قال حدثنا الإمام أبو طاهر
هشام بن هشام الزيداني وهو أول حديث سمعته منه قال
حدثنا الإمام أبو حامد أحمد بن هشام بن يحيى بن بلال وهو أول
حديث سمعته منه قال حدثنا عبد الرحمن بن بشر بن الحكم العبدي
وهو أول حديث سمعته منه قال حدثنا سفيان بن عيينة وهو أول
حديث سمعته منه عن عمرو بن دينار عن أبي قايوس عن عبدالله
بن عمرو بن العاص رضي الله عنهما قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه
 وسلم الراحمون يرحمهم الرحمن تبارك و تعالى أرضوا من
في الأرض يرحمكم من في السماء، هذا أول حديث روى مسلمًا
وقد رواه الإمام احمد وعبد بن حميد ومسدد وأبو بكر بن أبي شيبة
في مسانيدهم، و أبو داود والترمذي في سننها واحماك و
البيهقي في شعب الإيمان، وهو حديث حسن صحيح على الأساند،
بينما بين النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم تسع عشرة، معناه ارتحوا من
تستطيعون أن ترحموه برحمة الله، المهدهدة الحادية المخلوقة،
تعالى بمحض فضله عليكمن شفقة وحب واجد../ وسماحة وشفاعة
و دعاء، ووجه إلى الله تعالى على حسب ما يقتضيه الحال باتباع
الكتاب والسنة بقدر الاستطاعة، وبلغ فان لكل مقام مقال، وقد
كان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أرحم الأباخ، فما ضرب خادم ولا
لم الشماحة رضي الله عنهم أشدا على الكفار رحما بينهم، هذا و قد
روينا بالأسماء العالية الصحيحة الثابتة المتصلة إلى الإمام أبي الحجاج
مسلم بن الحجاج الظهيري رحمه الله تعالى في صحيحه بسنده إلى الإمام
أبي رقية تميم بن أوس الدارى رضي الله تعالى عنه أن النبي صلى الله
قال الدين النصيحة قلنا لمن قال الله وكتابه ورسوله ولائمة
المسلمين وعامتهم هذا حديث عظم الشان عليه مدار الإسلام،
اما النصيحة الله فمعناها منصرف إلى الإيمان به ونفي الشريعة
عنده وترك الإعدد في صفاته ووصفه بصفات الكمال والبلاء كلها
و تنزيه سببانه عن جميع أنواع التنافص والقيام ببطاطيه
و اجتتاج معصيته وموالة من اطاعه و mưaة من عاداه و عصاه
و جهاد من كفر به والاعتراف بتعتته و شكره عليها والإخلاص
في جميع الأمور والدعاء إلى جميع الأوصاف المذكورة والحدث عليها والتثليج في دعاء جميع الناس أو من أمكمن منهم عليهم و أما النصيحة لكتاب الله فالإيمان بأنه كلام الله لا يشبهه شيء من كلام الخلق ولا يقدر على مثله أحد منهم وتعظيمه وتلاوته حق تلاوته والتصديق بما فيه و الوقوف مع احکامه و تنمهم علومه و امثاله والعلم بمحكمه و التسليم لمتشابهه و عفان النصيحة لرسول الله صلعم فتصديقه على الرسالة والإيمان لجميع ما جاء به و أحياء نسنه و نشرها و نفي الظلم عنها و التفقة في معانيها و التثليج في تعلمها و تعليمها و اعظامها و إجلاؤها والأدب عنه قرأتها و اجلال اهلها لانقسامهم إليها و أما النصيحة لأئمة المسلمين فiauxوتهم على الحق و طاعتهم فيه و تنبيهم و تذكيرهم برفع و لطف و اعلامهم بما غفلوا عنه اولم يبلغهم من حقوق المسلمين و تأليف قلوب الناس لطاعتهم و أما النصيحة لعامة المسلمين فارشادهم لمصالحهم و الشفقة عليهم و توقيف كبيرهم و رحمة صغيرهم والذب عن اموالهم و اعراضهم و غير ذلك من احوالهم و في الصحفين عن ابن عمر رضي الله عنهما قال سعت رسول الله صلعم يقول لكم راع و كلكم مسؤول عن رعيته فالايمان راع و هو مسؤول عن رعيته والرجل راع في أهل وهو مسؤول عن رعيته و من رعيته و المرأة راعية في بيت زوجها وهي مسؤولة عن رعيتها و الخادم راع في مال سبيده وهو مسؤول عن رعيته فكلكم راع و كلكم مسؤول عن رعيته و عن عايشة رضي الله عنها قالت سمعت رسول الله صلعم يقول لهم من ولي من أمرائتي شيئا فشاق عليهم فاشق عليهم
و من ولى من أمرائتي شيئا فرقت بهم فرقت به رواه سلم والنسائي و روي الإصبهانى في ترغيبه عن أبي هريرة رضي الله عنه قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يا ابا هريرة عدل ساعة خير من عبادة ستين سنة قيام ليلة و صيام نهارها و في رواية عدل يوم واحد أفضل من عبادة ستين سنة و اليات و الاحاديث في ذلك كثيرة و قد احاط بها علوم الحضرة الشرعية و سطر في الصحائف المطبوعة لكن قال الله تعالى و ذكرى فنفع المؤمنين، ان في هذالبلاغا لقوم عابدين وقد جعلت ختام هذه الصحيفة مسكا و نظمته له بجوهر المفاخر سلكا فصمتت كما بدأت بذكر أعظم سلاطين الزمان الخافض لكلمة الكفر و الرافع لكلمة الامان، عالم السلامين، و سلطان العلماء، ذي الحضرة العظمى التي تتصاغراليها أكبار العظام، امانتا الذي جعله الله تعالى قبلا المطلوب و اجازا من التوجه إلى شطره على اجمل اسلوب سيد سلاطين العجم و العرب المائين من تسهيل الفوائد ما هو أهلى من ارتشاف الضرب الذي هو البحر تحدث الالسن عن مهانه بالعجائب ولا حرج ويلوذ به من نالته شدة الافتقار ليدخل دار السعادة من باب الفرج له دولة اسمى لها الله في الورى، مكانا وعلاها مقاما وعلاها، لقد أعربت من سيرة عمرية، على العدل و الاحسان أصبح مبنها، لها شرف باهي السما وفضلات، اري المسكن يتوى نشره عند رياها، و اختيار عدل ابدعت في طياتها، فكم زال حر الجور من برد ذكرها، فيا بيدها.
من سيرة جل ذكرها، و دق على الالباب ادراك معناها،
الأ و هي سيرة مولينا أمير المؤمنين و حامي حوزة الدين الواثق
بادله المستعان، ناصر الدين والدين و نظمهما على التعيين ابي الفتح
عبدالحمد خان جعل الله تعالى اعاقته الشريفة قبيل القبل و
انعهائه المنيفة مصادر الجود و موارد الامل و جمل الوجود
نبئه دولته العادلة و ايامه و قرن سعية الشريف بالظهر في مبدأ
كل امر و ختانه بمنه و كرمه،

وقد اجتذب مولينا السلطان المشار إله نظرا لإله يعين
عنايته إله و خلد جذيل نعمة عليه ان يروي عن هذا الحديث
المسلسل بالاولياء و سائر ما يجوز و عن روايته أو تصح
درايته و من جملة ذلك الكتب السفحة الصحاح التي هي صحيح
البخاري و مسلم و سنن ابن داود والترمذي و النسائي و ابن
ماجع بشرط المعتبر عند اهل الاثر ملمسا منه الدعاء بظاهر الغيب
و الابتهال به ان عالم الغيب فان دعا مولينا السلطان
مستجاب بلربيع اذهو قطب العالم و سرغي الغيب اثار الله
برهانه، و اعاته بالتوقيع لمصالح الامة و نصر اعوانه و انه
لإجابة جدير و على ما يشاء قادر، قاله بفمه الفقيه الى مولاه
الشاطر على ما اولاه ابوفليض. قد مرضى الحسيني الحنفي
خادم علم الحديث بمصر غفر الله زاله و أصلح خللها و تقبل عمله
و بلغه امته في عاصر شوال سنة 999 و أحسن الله تسامها اسعد عامها.
قدر في خير ختامها، حمدة الله وحده وعедин وصلى عليه نبيه وآله
صحابه جميعاً وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل، الحمد لله الذي دل
هن الخيرات -