

RARE BOOK

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INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION
to the study of
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INTRODUCTION

In the opinion of the late 'Allāma Rashīd Riḍā of Egypt, the Indian Muslims are playing the leading role 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. 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 fore-fathers 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, 'Allāma Dr. Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī² and the late Ḥakīm 'Abd al-Ḥayy 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

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- (1) Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī, Miftāḥ Kumūz al-Sunna (Cairo, 1934); Muqaddima p ٢٠ ; al-Furqān, Shāh Wali Allāh Number (Bariely, 1940), pp.164, 222; Manāzīr Ahsan Gilānī, Nizām-i-Ta'līm wa Tarbiyat (Delhi, 1944), vol.i, p.106.
- (2) Ma'ārif, vols. XII, Nos. 4-6; XIII, No.2 art. Hindūstān men 'Ilm-i-Ḥadīth.
- (3) Ma'ārif al-'Awārif (MS)., s.v. al-Ḥadīth fī Bilād. al-Hind.

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 Hadith Literature' will, therefore, make a modest effort to give a survey of what Indians have contributed towards the Science of al-Hadith from the beginning of India's connection with the Muslim World down to the foundation of the Islamic University of Dār al-'Ulūm 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 Ṣahāba in 23/643, it was finally conquered in the early years of the Tābi'ūn when al-Hadith 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 Island. Nor had the State taken any initiative in the matter. But now with the accession of Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (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 Ahādith - the supreme need of the hour. This caliphal mandate infused a fresh life into Hadith 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-Hadith made its way to Sind. But before the foundation

of the independent Arab principalities in al-Manṣūra and Multān 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 'Ilm al-Ḥadīth of the Science of Ḥadīth literature was evolved. Nevertheless during this evolutionary period of al-Ḥadīth, a group of brilliant Tālibū 'l-'Ilm belonging to the tribes of Sind settled in al-'Irāq and to the families of the Indian war-prisoners who had embraced Islām and established themselves in Muslim lands, took an active part in the transmission of Ḥadīth. Of them al-Awzā'ī (d. 157) in Syria, Najīb al-Sindī (d. 170) in al-Madīna and Baghdad and Rajā' al-Sindī (d. 222) in Khurāsān attained great distinction as early collectors and codifiers of Ḥadīth. A grandson of Rajā' 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 Tālib al-'Ilm 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 Ḥadīth transmitted on the authority of Indian Ruwāt has been preserved in the Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta and the other compilations of Ḥadīth.

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 Talibū 'I-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 Ismā'ilites & towards the close of this century. The Ismā'elite coup de tat, thus, dealt a severe blow at the development of the study of al-Ḥadīth in Sind and this meant the abrupt end of the first stage of the growth of the study of al-Ḥadīth in India.

The second stage began with the accession of the Shāfi'ite Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī (388-421). Under him and his successors, Lahore became a seat of al-Ḥadīth, which turned out, among other Muḥaddithūn, Imām al-Ṣaghānī al-Lāhūrī (d. 650) who was one of the greatest Traditionists and the philologists of his age. His role as a Traditionist has been appraised in its proper place. Suffice it here to say that as the author of the Mashāriq al-Anwār and the editor of the text of the Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī as we have it in the present form and phraseslogy in the Muslim countries of Asia, al-Ṣaghānī has left an enduring name.

With the foundation of the Delhi Sultānate 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 Fuqaha who were so preoccupied with the function of Qadā', 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 Ṣūfī scholars of the eminence of Shaykhs Zakariyya al-Multānī (d. 666), Niẓām al-Dīn Awlīyā' (d. 725), Yahyā al-Manirī (d. 782) and Shihāb al-Hamadānī (d. 786) came forward to study Ḥadīth literature and introduced it among the disciples of their respective Khānqas. Thanks to their deep and abiding interest for Ḥadīth, the teaching of the Sihāh Sitta came in vogue in some of the Khānqas 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-Ḥadīth could not make any tangible progress in India. The Central Asiatic countries, particularly Transoxania, Khurāsān and al-'Irāq, 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 Sharī'a, 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 Sultānate was early thronged with Fuqahā' from Central Asia. In fact, with the exception of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ardbilī, 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-Ḥadīth 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 Bahmanīs in the Deccan and the Muzaffarshāhīs 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 Ismā'ilite coup de tat in Sind. Now, with the coming of Traditionists from al-Hijāz and Egypt, Ḥadīth 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 Ḥadīth 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 Mazāhir al-'Ulūm at Sahāranpūr at the end of the 13th century. The Dār al-'Ulūm and the Mazāhir al-'Ulūm, be it noted, marked the dawn of the modern progressive era of the ~~progressive era of the culture~~ and cultivation of the Science of al-Ḥadīth in India. Hitherto, Muslim India had no such centralised institution for higher studies in the subject, and the Indian students had to go abroad to al-Hijāz for specialisation in al-Ḥadīth. These two great institutions have, thus, supplied the Indian Musalmans 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 Sahāba in India

Al-Hadīth might well have been introduced into India by the Ṣahāba, the Companions of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (On him Peace & Blessings of Allāh) themselves, had 'Umar, the second Caliph, allowed the enterprising Arabs who invaded India in 23/643 by land & 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. 'Abd al-Malik (86-96/705-715) during whose Caliphate the conquest of Sind came about.

India, therefore, cannot be regarded among those Muslim lands where Hadīth was transmitted orally by the Companions themselves. But, fortunately for us, it was at least visited by some of these torch-bearers of Hadīth, 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 'Umar 13-23/635-43 .

India was invaded by the Arabs for the first time during the Caliphate of 'Umar. In 23/643 a campaign under al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr 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.

of soldiers in Persia under the leadership of the Companions. Thus Ahnaf b. Qais⁽¹⁾ was directed against Khurāsān; Mujāshī' b. Mas'ūd al-Sulamī,⁽²⁾ against Ardshīr Khurra and Shāpūr; 'Uthmān b. Abī 'l-Ās al-Thaqafī,⁽³⁾ against Ištakhr; Sāriya b. Janīb al-Kinānī,⁽⁴⁾ against Kirmān; 'Āsim b. 'Amr al-Tamīmī,⁽⁵⁾ against Sijistān and al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Taghlibī,⁽⁶⁾ against Mukrān.⁽⁷⁾

The first direct move towards India was made in 21/641. With a division of soldiers that attained fame in the battle of Nihāwand, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utbān, a Companion of the Prophet,⁽⁸⁾ marched against Iṣpahān,⁽⁹⁾ a south-eastern city of the Jibāl province. A fierce fighting took place near the city in which the veteran Persian general, Shahriyār, was killed. Meanwhile, reinforcements from al-Ahwāz under Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī⁽¹⁰⁾ arrived at Iṣpahān. The Persians were routed. Having declared the whole province a protectorate under the Arabs, a treaty was concluded with Fājusfān, the governor of Iṣpahān, to whom the conquered territory was restored.⁽¹¹⁾

Shortly after, 'Abd Allāh advanced to the province of Kirmān.⁽¹²⁾ Marching on the outskirts of the Great Desert, he joined the forces under command of Suhail b. 'Adī who had already been on his way to Kirmān.⁽¹³⁾ Thus strengthened, the Arabs launched an attack upon the province in 23/643. True to their traditional chivalry, the natives backed by the hardy Balūs of the Qufṣ mountains,⁽¹⁴⁾ put up a stiff resistance

to concentrate troops on the provinces of eastern Persia as Tabarī would have us believe (i. 2568-9). 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 'Umar and the implication involved, the year 17/639 appears to us to be improbable.

(1) Tajrīd, vol.i, p.10. (2) Ibid, vol.ii, p.66. (3) Ibid, vol.i, p.402. (4) Ibid, vol.i, p.217. (5) See *infra*, p. 14
 (6) Ibid. (7) Tabarī, vol.i, p.2569. (8) See *infra*, p. 14
 (9) Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p.202. (10) Tajrīd, vol.ii, p.219. (11) Tabarī, pp.2637-41. (12) Le Strange, *op.cit.*, Map, 1, p.1; pp.321-33.
 (13) Tabarī, p.2641. (14) Le Strange, p.339.

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. (1)

Traversing through the eastern side of the Great Desert, ʿĀsim b. ʿAmr marched towards Sijistān. Later on, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar joined him with reinforcements. Scarcely had the Arabs reached the frontiers of Sijistān, when the natives, realising the futility of resistance, overflooded the territory by breaking the dams of the Helmund. (2) 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. (3)

The difficulty to mobilise 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 and joined the army concentrated on the frontiers of Mukran.

The Arabs on the bank of the Indus

The Arabs employed a strong army led by several Companions of the Prophet, viz., ʿĀsim b. ʿAmr, al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh ʿUtbān and Suhail b. ʿAdī against Mukrān which was then being ruled over by Rāsīl, the king of Sind. The king in person commanded the army constituted (4)

(1) Ṭabarī, pp.2703-5. (2) Le Strange, p.339. (3) Ṭabarī, p.2705-6. (4) For different readings of this term, see Elliot, *The History of India* (London, 1869), vol.ii, p.417; Raverty, *Notes on Afganistan* (London, 1888), p.568; Ṭabarī, p.2707, note 1; Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*, ed. by De Goeje (Leiden, 1866) pp.396-402, 438 = Murgotten, *The Origins of the Islamic States* being a translation of the *Futūh al-Buldān* (New York, 1924) Part II, pp.222 sq; Hodivala, *Studies in Indu-Muslim History* (Bombay, 1939)

by Hindū warriors with numerous elephants, 'which were being daily augmented by fresh arrival of men from that country' (Sind)⁽¹⁾. The Mukrānīs, 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⁽²⁾ the Arabs reduced the entire valley of the Lower Indus.

The Arab General al-Ḥakam sent Ṣuḥār b. al-ʿAbdī, a Companion of the Prophet,⁽³⁾ to ʿUmar 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, Ṣuḥār described it thus: "Its plains are mountainous, water supply is scanty and dates are of inferior quality. The enemies are bold. The good (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."⁽⁴⁾ Thereupon, the Caliph ordered the General not to make any further advance.⁽⁵⁾ The progress of the Arabs was, therefore, arrested beyond the Indus.⁽⁶⁾

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 Ṭabarī (1,2707) as early as the year 23/643-4) (1) Raverty, loc.cit. (2) Ṭabarī, pp.2706-7. (3) See infra (4) Ṭabarī, Loc.cit. (5) Ibid, p.2708. (6) The following verses attributed to the General al-Ḥakam, state, in clear terms, that the Arabs overran the region upto the Indus which they called Mihrān (Cf. Yāqūt, 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 عمرو التغلبي :-
لقد شيع الأراذل غير فخر :- بفضي جاءهم من مكران
أناهم بعد مشغبة وجهد :- وقد صفر الشتاء من الدخان

Though the campaign was abandoned it resulted in their discovery of a land route to India through the ~~Mukran coast~~ ^{the Mukran Coast.} Naval Expedition ~~Mukran coast~~. The first and the earliest naval expedition of the Arabs to India was directed against Thānā, a sea port near Bombay. 'Uthmān b. 'Abī'l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī, ⁽¹⁾ a Companion of the Prophet, who was governor of al-Bahrain and 'Umān during the Caliphate of 'Umar, sent this expedition under the command of his brother al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī ⁽²⁾ who also was a Companion of the Prophet. The landing of the forces on the coast of Gujarat heralded the advent of the Sahāba in South India. ⁽³⁾ 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-Mughīra b. Abī'l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī, ⁽⁴⁾ another brother of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī. ⁽⁵⁾

فانى لا يذم الجيش فعلى . ولا سيفي يذم ولا سنانى
غداة ارفع الاوباش رفعا : الى السند العربية والمدانى
ومهران لنا فيما اردنا : مطيع غير مسترخى العنانى
فلولا ما نرى عند اميرى : قطعناه الى البدد الزوانى
طبرى ج ١ ص ٢٠١

(1) 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī accompanied the deputation from Taif that waited upon the Prophet in Ramadān, 9/December, 630, and embraced Islām. Although young, his fervour in the cause of Islām, was applauded by Abū Bakr. The Prophet appointed him 'Āmil of Taif. During the troublous days of Abū Bakr, 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī played a conspicuous part and prevented his tribe, the Thaqif from apostasy. He held the governorship of various provinces with success and died in 51/671 or 55/674 at al-Basra where he had settled and where the celebrated al-Ḥasan al-Basrī (d.110) learnt Hadīth from him (Ṭabarī, Tārīkh al-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk, ed. De Goeje, Leiden, 1879-88, vol.1, pp.1688 sq; Ibn Ḥajar, Isāba, Biblio. Indica, 1888, vol.1, pp.1098 sq; Tabrizī, al-Ikmāl fi Asmā' al-Rijāl lithographed with Mishkāt al-Masābih, ed. Delhi, p.606). Of the twenty nine ahādīth transmitted by 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī, three have been recorded in the Sahīh of Muslim (Ṣafī al-Dīn, Khulāsa Tahdhīb al-Kamāl, ed. Egypt, p.129) and the rest, in the Sunan works (Isāba, loc.cit). (2) Isāba, 1, pp.703, 708; Dhahabī, Tajrīd Asmā' al-Sahāba (Hyderabad, 1315 A.H.), 1, 144. (3) 'Abd al-Ḥavay Nadawī, Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir (Ms. in possession of Dr. 'Abd al-'Alī, M.B., B.S. of Lucknow) vol.1, الطبقة الاولى فمن قصد الهند فى القرن الاول. (4) Elliot, History of India, vol.1, p.416, has misread al-Mughīra as Mughaira. (5) Balādhurī, Kitāb Futūh al-

The date of the expedition

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-Thaqafī 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-Madā'inī. As the date of the Indian expeditions is contingent upon that of the appointment of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī in al-Bahrain and 'Umān, it remains for us to ascertain the correct date of the appointment. That the above two versions of al-Balādhurī is 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-Thaqafī was not transferred from Ṭāif where he had been appointed 'Amīl 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-Thaqafī 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-Thaqafī was

Buldān ed. De Goeje (Leiden, 1866), pp.431-2 = pp.209-10 of the English tr. by F.C.Murgotten (New York, 1924).

(1) 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-Thaqafī who sent the naval expeditions to India, is said to have been appointed governor of al-Bahrain and 'Umān (Balādhurī, loc.cit.). (2) Balādhurī, pp.81-2 = vol.i, p.125 of the Eng. tr. of the Futūḥ al-Buldān by P.K.Hitti (New York, 1913). (3) Balādhurī, p.431 = Murgotten, p.209. (4) Lut b. Yahyā better known as Abu Mikhnaf was a historian (أخباري). His death occurred before 170/786 (Dhahabī, Mizān, ed. Egypt, 1325 A.H., vol.ii, 360; Ibn Hajar, Lisān, ed. Hyderabad, vol.iv, 492). (5) 'Alī b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Saif commonly called al-Madā'inī was a pupil of Abū Mikhnaf. He died in 224/838 or 225/839 at the age of 93 years (Mizān, ii, 236; Lisān, iv, 492). (6) 'Allāma Sayyid Sulaimān Nadawī entertains doubt as to the appointment of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī in 15 A.H. Vide his Kitāb 'Arabūn ki Jahāzrānī (Aḥmadgarh, 1935), p.59,

note; Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, vol.XV, No.4, October, 1941 art Arab Navigation p.448, note. (7) Cf. Sam'ānī, Kitāb al-Ansāb, fol.84 b; Encyclopaedia of Islām, vol.i,

sent to al-Baṣra after he had been replaced at Ṭāif by his brother al-Ḥakam b. Abī'l-Āṣ al-Thaqafī. That the account of Abū Mikhnaf⁽²⁾ relating to the appointment of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī is erroneous, is also evident from the fact that 'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī who is said to have been replaced by 'Uthmān in al-Baḥrain and 'Umān, did not die in 14 A.H. or in the beginning of the year 15 A.H. as asserted by Abū Nikhnaf. For, according to al-Ṭabarī, 'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī was Āmil over al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma in 16/637, led a naval expedition against Fāris (modern 'Arabistān in Persia) in 17/638⁽⁴⁾ and died in 21/641⁽⁵⁾. Nor does it, further, appear probable that 'Utba b. Ghazwān was superseded by 'Alā' as a governor of al-Baṣra in 14 or 15 A.H. when the former was just accomplishing the preliminary tasks for the foundation of a military barrack there. Al-Ṭabarī, presumably on the authority of al-Balādhurī, places 'Uthmān during 14-15 A.H. in al-Baḥrain while, curiously enough, 'Uman which served as the base for Indian expeditions was, during the period, in charge of another governor, namely Ḥudhaifa b. Miḥsan. Again, al-Ṭabarī maintains that 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī was the governor of Ṭāif in the year 16 A.H. - a statement that corroborates Ibn Sa'd. Moreover, with the exception of al-Balādhurī, no other chronicler puts the provinces of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān under one Āmil till 23/643. After 'Uthmān's appointment in al-Baṣra in 17 A.H. al-Baḥrain

673; Hitti, Misak History of the Arabs (London, 1914), p.241. (1) Ibn Sa'd, Kitāb al-Tabāqāt al-Kabīr, ed. Edward Sachau (Leiden, 1915), vol.vii, part i, pp.36 sq. (2) As for the account of al-Madā'ini (Balādhurī, 431) it seems probable that he derived it from his teacher Abu Mikhnaf and as such there is practically no difference of opinion between the two. (3) Ṭabarī, i, 2481. (4) Ibid, 2545 sq. (5) Ibn al-Athīr, Tārīkh al-Kāmil (Egypt, 1301 A.H.), vol. iii, 10. cf. Dhahabī, Tajrīd, i, 409. According to a version of al-Balādhurī, (p. ~~31~~ 81 = Hitti, 124), 'Alā' died in 20/640. (6) Balādhurī, p.346 = Murgotten, p.60; Ency. of Islām, loc.cit. (7) Ṭabarī, i, 2388-9, 2426. (8) Ibid 2389, 2426. (9) Ibid, 2481. (10) ~~Tabarī~~ Vide above p.7

and al-Yamāma also came under his control⁽¹⁾, but 'Umān still continued to be governed by Ḥudhaifa b. Miḥṣān.⁽²⁾ So the despatch of a naval expedition to India under 'Uthmān till 17 A.H.,⁽³⁾ was out of question.

According to al-Ṭabarī, 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī assumed charge of al-Baḥrain and the outlying provinces, namely 'Umān and al-Yamāma in 23/643⁽⁴⁾ - a date which can be gleaned from al-Balādhurī also by chronologically arranging the tenures of the offices of the governors of al-Baḥrain up to the year 23 A.H. In 20/640 Qudāma b. Ma'zūn al-Jumāhī, Āmil over al-Baḥrain, was dismissed on the charge of drinking and Abū Huraira al-Dawsī was appointed in his place.⁽⁵⁾ That Abu Huraira held the ~~post~~ 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-Māl) on the part of Abu Huraira who was consequently discharged.⁽⁶⁾ 'Umar, thereupon", says al-Balādhurī, "assigned 'Uthmān b. Abī' l-Āṣ al-Thaqafī as governor (of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān) who still held the office at the death of 'Umar".⁽⁷⁾ In the

(1) Ibn Sa'd, loc.cit; Ṭabarī, 2570. (2) Ṭabarī, 2570. (3) Ibid, 2737. (4) Ibid, 2737. (5) Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 379; Balādhurī, pp.82 sq = Hitti, pp.125 sq. (6) Balādhurī, loc.cit. (7) Ibid. That 'Uthmān was appointed governor of both al-Baḥrain and 'Umān is known from the fact that while he was engaged in warfare in Fāris, his substitute over the provinces was his brother al-Mughīra or Ḥafs. Further, we have it in clear terms in the Mu'jam al-Buldān (vol.i, 509): "Then he ('Umar) appointed Uthmān al-Thaqafī governor of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān, who still held the office at the death of 'Umar".

circumstances, there is no contradiction or disagreement between al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī regarding the appointment between al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī regarding the appointment of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī in 23 A.H. It may, therefore, be accepted that the Indian expeditions were undertaken in 23/643 immediately after 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī had assumed charge of al-Bahrain and 'Uman. This date is, further, confirmed by the Chach-Nāma, our authority second only to al-Balādhurī 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. (1)

The result of the expeditions.

The Arab expedition against Thāna was a success and not a failure. For had it been a failure, it would have resulted in a 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-Thaqafī, who was responsible for the expedition. The Arabs did not proceed further, not because that 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 unparallel in world history, Caliph 'Umar did

(1) Chach-Nāma, pp.57-8. (Eng. Tr. by Mirzā Kalich Beg Fredum Beng, 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 'i-Ḥijja, 23/October, 644 (Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 26).

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 the forces of Islam; 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 'Alī' b. Al-Ḥaḍramī, the adventurous governor of al-Baḥrain. 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-Baḥra. This sad incident made a bad impression on 'Umar with regard to naval expeditions as a whole. And when Mu'āwiya, the governor of Syria and Egypt, sought the sanction of the Caliph

(1) Muir, *Caliphate* (Edinburgh, 1915), p.205. (2) Ḥakīm Ahmad Ḥusain, *Tarīkh-i-Ibn Khaldūn* (Allahabad, 1901) vol. iv, Bk. II, p.155. (3) Cf. Elliot, loc. cit. (4) Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī, 'Arabūn Ki Jahāzrānī', pp. 52-3 in *Islamic Culture*, vol. XV, Art. Arab Navigation, p.445. (5) Ṭabarī, vol. i, p.2545 sq.; Ibn al-Āthīr, vol. ii, pp.264-5. (6) Ṭabarī, vol. i, pp.2548-2549.

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"⁽¹⁾. The Arabs had yet hardly any time for to acquire efficiency in this art of fighting on account of their preoccupations elsewhere.

Taking it for granted that the Caliph's approval for naval expedition could not be had, 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī ventured upon the Indian expedition at his own risk. But even the successful termination of the expedition to Thana could not satisfy the Caliph who administered a sharp rebuke to 'Uthmān. "O brother of Thaqīf", 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~~⁽²⁾ 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⁽³⁾ 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 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī at Shaṭṭ 'Uthmān, on the shore of the Euphrates in al-Baṣra, where his house was built and was

(1) Ṭabarī, vol.i, p.2322 quoted in 'Arabūn Ki Jahāzrānī, p.53; also Islamic Culture, loc.cit. al-'Alā' was punished with dismissal from his office in-Bahrain (Ṭabarī, vol.i, p.2543). (2) Balādhurī, p.432 = Mur-gotten, p.209. (3) Cf. Mu'jam al-Buldān ed. Wustenfeld (Leipzig, 1866) Vol.III, 290-1 & v, 645.

(1)
known as Mughīratān. Thus the version of al-Balādhurī that
(2) (3)
al-Mughīra was victorious at Debal stands.

(1) 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī had four brothers: (i) al-Ḥakam, (ii) al-Mughīra, (iii) Ḥafṣ and (iv) Umayya. During the Caliphate of 'Uthmān, 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 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī and was known after his name as Shaṭṭ 'Uthmān or the coast of 'Uthmān. 'Uthmān gave each of his brothers a portion of this land to build his quarters therein. Each quarters bore a particular name after its owner. The quarters of al-Mughīra was thus called Mughīratān. Similarly, the quarters of other brothers were known after their names as Ḥakamān, Ḥafṣān and Umayyatān (Balādhurī, 351-2, 362 = Murgotten, 69, 86; Mu'jam al-Buldān, i, 645). The document authorising the grant of land on behalf of Caliph of 'Uthmān which was written on the 22nd of Jumādā II, 29/February, 650, reads as follows:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ، هَذَا كِتَابُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عُمَانَ بْنِ أَبِي الْعَاصِي، أَنِي
أَعْطَيْتُكَ الشَّطْرَ لِمَنْ ذَهَبَ إِلَى الْإِبِلَةِ مِنَ الْمَصْرَةِ وَالْمَقَابِلَةِ قَرِيَةَ الْإِبِلَةِ وَالْقَرِيَةَ الَّتِي كَانَتْ الْأَشْعَرُ
عَمَلُ نَهْرًا وَأَعْطَيْتُكَ مَا كَانَ الْأَشْعَرُ عَمَلُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَأَعْطَيْتُكَ بَرَاخَ ذَلِكَ الشَّطْرَ أَجْمَعَةَ وَ
سَبْخَةَ فِيمَا بَيْنَ الْحَرَارَةِ إِلَى دِيرِ جَابِلِ إِلَى الْقُبَيْرِ الَّذِي عَلَى الشَّطْرِ الْمَقَابِلِينَ لِلْإِبِلَةِ وَأَعْطَيْتُكَ
مَا عَمَلْتَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ أَنْتَ وَبَنُوكَ أَنْ وَأَمَّا أَنْعَطَهُ شَيْئًا مِنْ ذَلِكَ مِنْ أَخْوَتِكَ فَأَعْمَلَهُ
مِنْ عَطِيَّتِكَ وَأَمَرْتُ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ عَامِرَانَ لَأَمْنَعَكُمْ شَيْئًا أَخَذْتُمُوهُ تَرُونَ أَنْتُمْ تَسْتَطِيعُونَ
عَمَلَهُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ فَمَا كَانَ فِيهِ بَعْدَ مَا عَمَلْتُمْ وَأَخَذْتُمْ مِنْ فَضْلِ لَاتُرُونَكُمْ مَا عَمَلْتُمُوهُ فَلَيْسَ لَكُمْ
أَنْ تَتَحَلَّوْا دُونَهُ لِمَنْ أَرَادَ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْ يَعْمَلَ فِيهِ حِجْلَهُ وَأَعْطَيْتُكَ ذَلِكَ عَوَضًا
عَنْ أَرْضِكَ الَّتِي أَخَذْتَ مِنْكَ بِالْمَدِينَةِ الَّتِي اشْتَرَاهَا لَكَ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عُمَرَ بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ رَضِيَ
وَمَا كَانَ فِيهَا سَمِيَتْ فَضْلًا عَنْ تِلْكَ الْأَرْضِينَ فَانْهَارَ عَطِيَّتِكَ أَيَّهَا أَدْخَرْتِكَ عَنِ الْعَمَلِ
وَقَدْ كَتَبْتُ إِلَى عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَامِرَانَ يَعْينِكَ فِي عَمَلِكَ وَالْحَسَنُ لَكَ الْعَوْنُ فَأَعْمَلْ بِاسْمِ اللَّهِ
وَعَوْنَهُ وَأَمْسِكْ شَهْدَ الْمُغِيرَةَ بْنِ الْأَخْفَشِ وَالْحَارِثِ بْنِ الْحَكَمِ بْنِ أَبِي الْعَاصِي وَفِرَانَ
بْنَ أَبِي فَاطِمَةَ وَكُتِبَ وَتَارِيخُهُ ثَمَانُ بَعِينَ مِنْ جِهَادِي الْآخِرَةِ سَنَةَ ٢٩
بِعَمِّ الْبَلَدِ أَنْج ٣ ص ٩١ - ٢٩٥

(2) Balādhurī, 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-Balādhurī 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 Journal of Indian History, Madras, Vol. X, Part I art. The Arab Invasion of India, reprinted, Madras, 1931, pp. 28-9) and for the matter of that the historian Elliot (vide History of India, i, 415-6) regarding the powers of the Arabs and their Caliph, do not bear any scrutiny since they are based on the Chach-Nāma.

Sahāba in India during the Caliphate of 'Umar

We have just noticed how during the Caliphate of 'Umar the Arabs reached India by land and sea. This period synchronised with the golden age of the Companions of the Prophet. No faction - Shi'ite or Kharizite, no partisan spirit - Umayyad or Hāshimite - has yet disturbed the unity brought about by the Prophet in an erstwhile warring society of Arabia. The Companions to a man stood solid behind Islām. Their sole concern was to deliver the message of Islām 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 Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utbān, (2) 'Āṣim b. 'Amr al-Tamīmī, (3) Ṣuhār b. al-'Abdī (4) Suhail

(1) 'Abd Allāh was attached to the Banū-l-Ḥublā, a tribe of the Anṣārs in al-Madīna. He was one of the noblest of the Companions of the Prophet and leading members of the Anṣārs (Ṭabarī, I, 2635). In 21/641 he succeeded Sa'd as governor of al-Kūfa (Ibid, 2608-9). Towards the close of this year he was transferred to the governorship of al-Baṣra 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. Isāba, vol.ii, pp.817 sq; Tajrīd, vol.i, p.345; Uṣd al-Ghāba, vol.iii, p.199.

(2) A Companion of the Prophet, 'Āṣim b. 'Amr al-Tamīmī was one of the illustrious Arab soldiers of early Islām (Ṭabarī, I, 2569). He played a conspicuous part in the conquest of al-'Irāq where he fought under the celebrated Khālīd b. al-Walīd (I, 2027, 2058 sq). He was the first Arab general who overran the territory west of the Helmond. We also meet him on the Indus valley. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-Istīyāb (Hyderabad, 1336 A.H.) vol. ii, p.500; Isāba, vol.ii, p.614.

(3) Ṣuhār belonged to the tribe of 'Abd al-Qais. In 8/630 he arrived in al-Madīna with the deputation from Ḥujr and embraced Islām. During the Caliphate of 'Umar he came over to al-Baṣra where he settled down. He participated in the eastern campaign. From his description of the region west of the Indus as given above, it is evident that Ṣuhār was thoroughly acquainted with the topography of the place and also came in contact with the native people. He was a Nāsibī, pro-'Uthmānite and died in al-Baṣra probably in

(1) b. 'Adī, and (5) al-Ḥakam b. Abī'l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī. (2)

Sahāba 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 annual tribute. But the wild and war-like hill tribes could have hardly been subdued permanently. Evidently, therefore, as soon as the Arabs left the country they revolted and stopped tribute.

'Ubaid Allāh b. Ma'mar al-Tamīmī. Consequently, the next Caliph 'Uthmān sent 'Ubaid Allah b. Ma'mar al-Tamīmī who (3) (4) was a Companion of the Prophet to subdue them. On his arrival in Mukrān, 'Ubaid Allāh not only crushed the rebellion in the teeth of a stiff opposition but brought the territory extending upto the Indus under his control as

xxx in the later days of Mu'āwīya. Cf. Ibn Sa'd vol.vii, part I, p.61; al-Istīvāb, vol,1, p.322; Uṣd al-Ghāba, vol. ii, p.11; Tajrīd, i, 282; Isāba, ii, 472.

(1) Suhail belonged to the tribe of Azd and was attached to the Banū I-Ashhal. Of his suhbat, Companionship with the Prophet, we have no direct evidence. But since in 17/639 he was a leader of the military campaign in al-Jāzira (Tabarī, I, 2499), it may be assumed that during the life time 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-Ḥārith b. 'Adī, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Aadi and Thābit b. 'Adī fought in the battle of Uhud. What lends an additional support to our ascertainment is that a notice of him is seen in the principal works of the Companion. Cf. Istī'vāb, i, 578; Uṣd al-Ghāba, iii, 22; Tajrīd, i, 363; Isāba, iii, 22.

(2) Al-Ḥakam was one of those Sahāba who migrated to al-Basra (Ibn Sa'd, VII, 27). He transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of the Prophet, while Mu'āwīya b. Qurra al-Muzanī (d.113) had it from al-Ḥakam. He belonged to the tribe of Thaqīf. All the adult members of this tribe embraced Islām before 11 A.H. and participated with the Prophet in Ḥijjat al-Wādā', the farewell Pilgrimage (Isāba, I, 703). No reasonable doubt should, therefore, arise as to the bonafide of his being a Sahabi and counting his aḥādīth as Marfū'. Further, we have

(1) well. Henceforth Arab hold over the region appears to have taken a permanent footing. For, in 29/630 'Ubaid Allāh was transferred to Fāris and 'Umair b. 'Uthmān was appointed (2) in his place.

'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf was the next Saḥābī (3) who was mentioned in connection with the Indian campaign during

have it on the authority of al-Dhehabī that al-Ḥakam had companionship with the Prophet (^{أبو}). He was still living in 44/664 (Ṭabarī, II, 80). Cf. Tajrīd, I, 145; Uṣd al-Ghāba, II, 35; Istī'yāb, I, 118; Isāba, I, 707. (3) 'Ubaid Allāh who lived in al-Madīna, was a younger Companion of the Prophet. He transmitted Ḥadīth and was a man of vast fortune. Cf. al-Istī'yāb, II, 504; Uṣd al-Ghāba, III, 345; Tajrīd, I, 391, Isāba, III, 153 sq. (4) The date of 'Ubaid Allāh's appointment in Mukrān has not been mentioned. From the context of the events in al-Ṭabarī (I, 2829-9) it appears that immediately after his assuming office in 23/64 Caliph 'Uthmān sent him to Mukrān.

(1) Ṭabarī, ^{i.2829} loc. cit., Cf. supra, p.4 and note 6 of p.5. (2) Ibid, p.2830. (3) He belonged to the tribe of the Quraish and embraced Islām on the day of the conquest of Makka in 8/629 when the Prophet gave him the name of 'Abd al-Rahmān, his pre-Islāmic name being 'Abd Kilāl or 'Abd al-Ka'ba. In 9/630 he accompanied the Prophet to the battle of Tabūk. He transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of the Prophet and obtained the proud distinction of being Shaykh (teacher in Ḥadīth) of Ibn 'Abbās, Sa'īd b. al-Musaiyyab, Ibn sirīn, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Laila and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Of his ahādīth, one occurs in the Ṣaḥīḥān and another two in Muslim alone. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, vol. VII, Part II, p.101; Istī'yāb, vol.II, 393-4; Uṣd al-Ghāba, III, 297-8; Isāba, II, 963-4; Ibn Ḥajar Tahdhīb (Hyderabad, 1325), vol.vi, p.190; Khulāṣa, p.193

the Caliphate of 'Uthmān. He succeeded al-Rabī' b. Ziyād
 al-Hārithī as governor of Sistān 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~~ eastward from
 Zaranj and brought the region right upto the frontiers of
 India under subjection. Advancing on the lower waters of
 the Helmond, he came in conflict with the Indians near
 Rudbar on the frontier between modern Afghanistan and
 Balūchistān. Their first triumphal career led them as
 far as Bust. Three marches above Bust lay mountain contain-
 ing a temple of Surya (Arab. Zūr), an idol of gold with
 two rubies for the eyes. This mountain which became famous
 as al-Zūr 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 jewells 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-Rahmān retired to Zaranj.
 He died in 50/670 in his residence at al-Basra where Sikka
 Ibn Samura or the street of Ibn Samura was called after
 his name.

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- (1) Elliot, 1, loc.cit. (2) R.C.Majumdar, op.cit.,p.15.
 (3) Mu'jam al-Buldān, vol.ii, p. 956; Le Strange, p.345.
 (4) Balādhurī, p. 394. (5) Ibid, p.352.

Ṣahāba in India during the Caliphate
of Mu'āwiya (41-60/661-81)

Sinān b. Salma al-Hudhalī (8-52/629-73)

The last Companion of the Prophet we meet on the frontiers of India was Sinān b. Salma b. al-Muḥabbiq al-Hudhalī. Ziyād, the governor of al-'Irāq, appointed him commander for the Indian frontiers in 48/668. On proceeding to assume charge of his functions he conquered Mukrān, founded cities, set up his residence and organised the revenue system of the place - thus proved himself a capable general and good administrator. But for reasons unknown he was discharged. Rashīd b. 'Amr al-Judaidī of the tribē 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 Quṣḍār (mod. Khozdar in Balūchistān) in 53/673.

(1) He was born in 8/629 and was blessed by the Prophet who himself conferred the name Sinān upon him. Therefore, he was a Ṣahābī bonafide because the Prophet saw him in his infancy (Isāba, I, 4). Ibn Ḥajar recognises him as a junior Companion and as such includes his name in the second section - qism thānī - of his Isāba (II, 322-3). So the traditions transmitted by Sinān direct from the Prophet are Marāsīl. His aḥādīth have been preserved in the Ṣaḥīḥān, the Sunans of Abū Dāūd. Ibn Māja and al-Nasā'ī (Khulāsa p.132). Cf. Tajrīd, I, 258; Uṣd al-Ghāba, II, 357-8; Istī'yāb, II, 566. (2) Ibn al-Imād, Shadharāt al-Dhahab (Egypt, 1351 A.H.) vol.I, p.55. (3) Balādhurī, p.434 = Murgotson, p.213; Elliot, vol.I, p.424; Chach-Nama, p.65. (4) Chach-Nama, p.65. (5) Balādhurī, loc.cit.; Elliot, vol.I, p.425. Topography of the region: "On the North-eastern frontiers of Mukrān, and close to the Indian border the Arab geographers describe two districts: namely, Tūrān, of which the capital was Quṣḍār, and Budahah to the north of this, of which the capital was Kandābil (Le Strange, p.331). 'Kandābil has been identified with the present Gandava, lying south of Sibi and east of Kelat (Ibid, p.332). Budh is no doubt the same as Budha, and this principality seems to have been included the districts of Balis and Walistan. Cf. R.C.Majumder, Arab Invasion, p.55. (6) A little confusion is observed regarding the death date of Sinān. According to Ibn Sa'd (vol.VIII, Part I, p.154) who is corroborated by later authorities on the

Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra Al-Azdī (8-83/629-702)

(1)
Al-Muhallab who was a senior Tābi'ī, visited India during the Caliphate of Mu'āwiya. As a general 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

the Asmā' al-Rijāl, Sinān died during the latter days of al-Ḥajjāj (83-96/702-713). This seems to be absurd, for, both the Futūḥ al-Buldān and the Chach Nāma are at one to record the death of Sinān during ~~his~~ his campaign in the frontiers of India and that he died before the appointment of al-Mundhir b. Jārūd in his (Sinān's) place by 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād (Ibn Sa'd, Vol. VII, Part I, 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 (57-67/676-86) 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 50 A.H. Sinān ruled over the frontiers for two years. So his death must have occurred in 53 A.H. Further, had Sinān died during akhir walāyat al-Ḥajjāj, as asserted by Ibn Sa'd, the liqā', meeting between himself and Qatāda (d. 117), the Traditionist, would have been established in view of the fact that both of them lived in al-Baṣra (Cf. Tahdhīb s.v. Sinān b. Salma & Qatāda). But the critics of Rūwāt are of opinion that Qatāda did never meet him (lam yalqahū). Nor did he hear any Ḥadīth from Sinān (Ibid, IV, 241). Therefore, the fact remains that Sinān had been martyred in the frontiers of India some seven years before the birth of Qatāda in 61 A.H.

(1) As his name occurs in al Isti'fāyāb, Usd al-Ghāba, Tajrīd and Isāba (s.v. al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra), one is apt to look upon him as a Companion of the Prophet. But according to the consensus of opinion of the critics of the Asmā' al-Rijāl, al-Muhallab was a senior Tābi'ī, and not a Ṣahābī. He transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of the Companions of the Prophet, viz., 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Ās, Samura b. Jundab and Barā' b. al-'Ādhīb, while on his authority Abū Ishāq al-Sabiyy, Sammāk b. Ḥarb and 'Umar b. Saif al-Baṣrī narrated Ḥadīth. He was a reliable Rāwī. He was born in 8/629 and died at Rāghūl (Ṭabarī, II, 1082, has Zāghūl) in Narw al-Rūdh, a district of Khurāsān. vide Ṭabāqāt, vii, pt. 1, 94; Nawawī, Tahdhīb Asmā' al-Lughat, ed. Wustenfeld (Göttingen 1842-7), p. 582; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb (Hyderabad, 1325 A.H.), Vol. V, 328-9; Ibn Khallikān (Cairo, 1310 A.H.) Vol. II, 145. Sq. The Ḥadīth transmitted by al-Muhallab have been produced in the Sunans of Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasā'ī the Ḥāmi' of al-Tirmidhī and the Musnad of Ahmad b. Hanbal (Khulāsa, p. 333). For further particulars about him, see Ency. of Islām, vol. II, 640-1; Islamic Culture, ed. Hyderabad, vol. XVII No. 1 (January, 1943), pp. 1-14.

(2) Balādhurī, pp 396-7; Isāba, vol. II, 963.

(1)

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 available. Fortunately,
 Firishta gives us an important piece of information
 incidentally throwing light on a question relating to
Asmā' al-Rijal, namely that al-Muhallab carried away with
 him from India twelve thousand prisoners of whom some
 embraced Islām inasmuch as al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī has it
 that Khalef b. Sālim al Sīndī (d.231), a Mawla (client)

(1) Briggs in his translation of the Tārīkh-i-Firishta (Calcutta, 1908, vol. 1, 4) states that al-Muhallab 'penetrated as far as Mooltan'. But, ~~xxxx~~ curiously enough, no such account is found in the original Persian text of the work (Cf. Tārīkh-i-Firishta ed. Newul Kishore Press, Cawnpur, 1874, p.16). The translator must have derived the information from al-Balādhurī's Futūh 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

فاتی (المهلب) بنده والاهوار وهما بين الملتان وکابل

He i.e. al-Muhallab reached Banna and al-Ahwār towns between Multān and Kābul (Balādhurī 432 = Murgotten 210). It is unfortunate that owing to the incorrent rendering which has been freely quoted by historians and writers (e.g., Elliot, op.cit, vol.ii, 414-5; M.Titus, Indian Islām, Oxford, 1930, p.4. 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).

(2) Balādhurī, p.432 = Murgotten, p.210; Elliot, ii,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, Vol.P. 118), S.Sulaymān Nadwī (vide Futūh al-Baldān in possession of Dār-al-Muṣannifīn, A'zamgarh, marginal note on p.432) identify it with Lahore, whereas R. C. Majumdar (loc.cit.), failing to locate the spot, takes 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 Futūh al-Baldān, viz. al-Ahwāz, al-Ahwār and Luhāwur (Futūh al-Buldān, ed. De.Goeje, p.432 note), Luhur (Marāsīd al Ittilāf ref. by De Goeje) and Lāhūr (Mu'jam al-Buldān, vol.ii, 294 (sic))

Al-Ahwāz was the capital of Khūzistān (Le Strange, p.233) and as such has nothing to do with India. Omitting the dot on 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 Lāhūr with Luhawur. Both Yāqūt (loc.cit.) and cunningham (Ancient Geography of India ed. Patna, 1924, pp.226-7) support our assertion.

of the family of Al-Muhallab, was a distinguished Rāwī of Indian origin. In the light of the above, we can safely presume that Khalaf might have been a descendant of the afore-said War-prisoners.

Though a number of Ṣaḥāba 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 his 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.

CHAPTER II.

Hadīth 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,¹ the land-route issuing from al-Baṣra via Shīrāz, Kirmān and Mukrān coast to Sind, now came into use more and more.² 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 colonise the newly-conquered territory.³ They spread over the country, and almost all the harbours and important towns from Mukrān coast to Debal and thence right upto Multān were dotted with their settlements.⁴ 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.⁵

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

(1) Nicholson, A literary History of the Arabs (Cambridge, 1928), pp.4-5 quoting from A.Muller's Der Islām Im Morgen Und Abendland, vol.1, pp.24 sq; Sayyid Sulayman Nadawī, 'Arab wa Hind Ki Ta'lluqāt (Allahabad, 1930), p.7; Tara Chand, Influence of Islām on Indian Culture (Allahabad, 1936), p.29. (2) Vide Supra, p. 6 R.C.Majumder, op.cit., p. 45 (3) Balādhuri, p.437 = Murgottn, p.218. (4) Nadawī, op.cit. pp.304 sq; Elliot, vol.1, p.468. (5) Arnold, The Preachings of Islam (London, 1930) p.273; Elliot, 1, 467.

at Multān alone 'nearly 50,000 horsemen as a permanent force'¹. There were other places of the like military importance, viz. Manṣūra, 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 Manṣūra, Multān, Debal, Sindān, Quṣḍār and Qandābil.² 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, Tārān^ā and Budaha, 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 this there 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.

(1) Chach Nāma, p.192. (2) Nadawī, op.cit. pp.309 sq.; Elliot, i, 465.

al-Qāsim. We are told that among Arab soldiers were many readers of the Qur'ān (qurrā') on whom, al-Ḥajjāj enjoined 'to be busy reading it'¹. Nor was that all. Several men versed in the lore of the Qur'ān and the Sunna accompanied Muḥammad to Sind². 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. Mūsā b. Ya'qūb al-Thaqafī.

He accompanied Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim to Sind and was appointed Qādī of Alor by the latter. Al-Thaqafī who settled permanently in Sind, was highly learned in the Sunna of the Prophet³. 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, Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Thaqafī, 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'⁴.

2. Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha al-Saksakī al-Dimashqī. (d.97/715)

On his becoming Caliph, Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik (96-9/714-7) recalled Muḥammad b. Qāsim from Sind and appointed in his place Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha who, however, could not live long in Sind. On the eighteenth day of his arrival here, he died.⁵

(1) Chach Nāma, p.78. (2) Ibid, p.79; also infra, No.1.
 (3) Chach Nāma, pp.186-7; Elliot, vol.i, pp.134, 202.
 (4) Elliot, p.132. (5) Balādhurī, p.442 = Murgotten, p.225; Ibn al-Athīr, vol.iv, p.282.

Yazīd was a Tābi'ī. He received a good many aḥādīth from Abū Dardā¹, Ṣuḥābil b. Aws² and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the Companions of the Prophet. He has been reckoned as a thiqā, reliable authority by the critics of the Traditions. Amongst his pupils Abū Bishr, al-Ḥakam b. al-ʿUtaiba, ʿAlī b. al-Aqmar, Muʿāwiya b. Qurra al-Muazani and Ibrāhīm al-Saksakī were noted transmitters of Ḥadīth. His aḥādīth occur in the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī³, Kitāb al-Āthār by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī and al-Mustadrak by al-Ḥakim al-Naisāburī⁴.

3. Al-Mufaddal b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra (d. 102/721)

In 102/721, during the Caliphate of Circumstances that brought him to Sind. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (101-5/720-4), a ~~serious~~ serious rising headed by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, a former Governor of Khurāsān, was witnessed in al-ʿIrāq. In his anti-Umayyad designs, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab succeeded in gaining support from al-Kūfa and al-Basra. 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 Indus⁵, was overthrown and there Yazīd appointed his own men. In order to suppress the rebellion the Caliph sent his brother Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik. A hard fighting decided the day against Yazīd b. al-Muhallab who along with his sons were slain. The surviving members of his family fled by boat to Qandābil (modern Gandava), a north western⁶ province of the then Sind. But death pursued them thither. Waddāʿ b. Hāmid, the Governor of Qandābil who owed his

(1) Tajrīd, vol.ii, p.175. (2) Ibid, i, 273. (3) Ibid, i, 75. (4) Tahdhīb, vol.xi, pp.354-5; Ibn Ḥajar, Taḥrīb al-Tahdhīb, ed. Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p.399. (5) Khulāṣa p.373; cf. al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ, ed. Egypt, Kitāb al-Jihād, p.111. (6) Tahdhīb, loc.cit. (7) Elliot, i, 440. (8) For ~~the~~ their names, vide Ibn al-Athīr vol.v, p.41. (9) Balādhurī, p.441 = Murgotten, p.226 (10) Supra, p. 18.

office to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, proved treacherous when the Caliph's agent, Hilāl b. al-Ahwāz 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.¹

Among al-Muhallab's sons killed at Qandābil in Sind, al-Mufaḍḍal has been singled out as a transmitter of Ḥadīth.² Al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab, a Tābifī. He was a Tābifī and narrated Ḥadīth on the authority of al-Nuḥmān b. Bashīr, a Companion of the Prophet.³ His son Ḥājib, Thābit al-Bunānī (d 127) and Jarīr b. Hāzim narrated Ḥadīth on the authority of al-Mufaḍḍal.⁴

Al-Mufaḍḍal has been regarded by Ibn Hibbān and other critics of the Science of Tradition as sadūq, reliable.⁵

4. Abū Mūsā' Isrā'īl b. Mūsā' al-Basrī Nazīl al-Sind (d. circ 155/77).

He was a native of al-Baṣra. Perhaps as a trader he came to Sind and set up his residence there as is evident from his nick-name Nazīl al-Sind.⁶

Abū Mūsā was a reliable rāwī and transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110) and Abū Hāzim al-Ashja'ī (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. 'Uyaina (d.198) and Yahyā b. Sa'id al-Qaṭṭān (d.198) were among his pupils.⁷

Al-Bukhārī quotes one of Abū Mūsā's traditions in as many as four different places of his Ṣaḥīh. His ahādīth have also been preserved in the Sunan works.⁸

(1) Balādhurī, loc.cit; Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit. (2) His ahādīth have been recorded in the Sunans of Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasā'ī (Khulāṣa, p.330). (3) Tajrīd, vol.ii, p.116. (4) Tahdhīb, vol.x, p.275. (5) Ibid; Taqrīb, p.362. (6) Dhahabī, Mizān i, 97; Tahdhīb (i, 261) has Nazīl al-Hind. (7) Sam'ānī, fol.593a; Tahdhīb, loc.cit; Taqrīb, p.362; Nuzha, i, s.v., Isrā'īl b. Mūsā; Ma'ārif, XXII(4), p.251. (8) Khulāṣa, p.31.

5. 'Amr b. Muslim al-Bāhili (d.circ.123/740).

'Amr was a brother of Qutaiba b. Muslim al-Bāhili,¹ the famous conqueror of Transoxania. He came to Sind as a governor of Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (99-101/717-9) and is said to have conducted some successful raids into al-Hind.² 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.³

It is interesting to note that 'Amr, despite leading a hazardous life of a soldier, cultivated, to a certain extent, the Science of Tradition as he is credited to have narrated Hadīth on the authority of Ya'fā b. 'Ubaid, while Abū'l-Tāhir himself is said to have received it from him.⁴

'Amr's death-date is not known. He, however, died⁵ later than 120/738 as he was 'Āmil over Marw at the time.

6. Al-Rabī' b. Sabīh al-Sa'dī al-Basrī (d- 160/776).

A Traditionist and one of the early authors of Hadīth,⁶ al-Rabī' b. Sabīh⁷ surnamed Abū Bakr,⁸ came to India in 160/776 along with a naval squadron under 'Abd al-Malik b. Shihāb al-Misma'ī that attacked Barbad during the Caliphate of al-Mahdī¹⁰ (158-69/775-85). The Arabs conquered Barbad, then a flourishing port. 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-Rabī'¹¹

(1) Balādhurī, p.400 = Murgotten, 152. (2) Ibid
 (3) Ibid; Elliot, vol.i, p.440; Arnold, op.cit., p.272.
 (4) Tahdhīb, vol.viii, p.105. (5) Ṭabarī, vol.ii, p.1661.
 (6) Hājī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, ed. Fluegel (London, 1842), vol.iii, p.28. (7) His father's name has been variously represented as Subh (Balādhurī, p.369 = Murgotten, p.96; Yāqūt, vol.iii, pp.397-8), Sāhib (Tara Chand, op.cit. p.46) and Ibrāhīm (Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, ed. Egypt vol.iii, p.209). For the correct name and its reading see Taqrīb, p.77; Fattanī, al-Mughnī fī Dabṭ al-Rijāl (lithographed on the margin of Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb, Delhi, 1290), p.133.
 (8) Abū Hafs, according to Ibn Sa'd vol.vii, part I, p.36, which Tara Chand (loc.cit.) misreads as Abū Hifs. (9) Barbad (Elliot, i, 446, has Barada) has been identified with the present Bhārbhūt, near Broach in Gujarat (Nadawī, op.cit., p.18) (10) Ṭabarī, vol.iii, Ibn al-Athīf, vol.v, p.19; Ibn al-Khaldūn, loc.cit. (11) Shāharāt, vol.i, 247.
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was one of the many who fell victims to it.¹

Al-Rabī', a native of al-Baṣra, was a disciple of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110) under whom he studied Ḥadīth. He also acquired the Science from the leading Traditionists of his age, viz., Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl (d.142), Thābit al-Bunānī (d.127), Mujāhid b. Jabar (d.103) and others. Among his contemporary Rūwāt Ḥadīth, transmitters of Traditions, al-Rabī' occupied a high place. The celebrated 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d.181), Sufyān al-Thawrī, Waḳī' (d.197) Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d.203) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mahdī (d.198) were amongst his pupils transmitting Ḥadīth on his authority.² Further, he was one of the pioneers in the field of collecting and codifying aḥādīth in the second century A.H.³

(1) Tabari, loc.cit. Ibn Sa'd (vol.vii, part I, p.36) says

خرج (الربيع) غازياً إلى الهند في البحر فمات فدفن في جزيرة من جزائر البحر سنة ١٤٠

So, according to Ibn Sa'd al-Rabī' 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-Rabī' died while returning (في الرجعة). Al-Balādhurī (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-Rabī's Indian expedition by associating with it as its narrator al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110). (cf Murgotten p.96 = Baladhuri, p.396) who predeceased al-Rabī' by half a century. The fact however, is that al-Rabī' transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and this is conveyed by روى عن الحسن, the verb روى being in the active (معروف) and not in the passive (مجهول) as Murgotten would have believe. Cf Tahdhīb vol.iii, p.247.

Now, the statement of Ibn Sa'd that al-Rabī' died in the open sea is in conflict with that of al-Ṭabarī 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-Ṭabarī is corroborated by early authorities like Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā (d.252), (Tahdhīb, iii, 347) and Bukhārī (d.256). (Kitāb al-Du'arā' al-Saghīr, Agra, 1323, p.11) who state that al-Rabī' died in Sind proper (مات في أرض السند). (2) Tahdhīb, vol.iii, pp.247-8; Wizān & Lisān, s.v., al-Rabī' b. Sabīh. The aḥādīth narrated by al-Rabī' have been recorded in al-Ta'liqāt al-Bukhārī, the Sunans of Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Māja (Khulāṣa, p.98; cf. Sunan Ibn Māja, ed. Fārūqī Press, Delhi, Kitāb al-Jihād, p.204). (3) Ḥājī Khalīfa, op.cit. pp.80-1; Ibn Ḥajar Muqaddimat al-Fath (Cairo, 1347) vol.i, p.4; Ṭāhir al-Damashqī, Tawjīh al-Nazar (Cairo, 1910) pp.7-8; al-Khawfī, 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 Nūzh vol. 1. s.v. al-Rabī' b. Sabīh.

SECTION III. Centres of Hadith Learning and their Muḥaddīthūn.

Although introduced in the second century A.H., as shown above, the study of Ḥadīth 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 Ḥadīth learning in Sind during early centuries of Islamic rule may be attributed to 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 Abbassid Caliphs. As a matter of fact, the status of Sind in the eastern Caliphate was more of a frontier out-post (thaghr)² than that of a territory so as to draw the close attention of the central Government. (2) Sind could not come in contact with the seats of Islamic learning in Arabia, al-ʿIrāq 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-Maqdisī, the famous Syrian Geographer, complained of the difficulties facing a traveller to Sind.³

The foundation of the two independent Arab principalities in Multān and Mansūra 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

(1) H.C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India (Calcutta, 1931), vol. i, 11-3. (2) Al-Balādhurī, pp. 442, 445 = Murgotten, pp. 228-6, 230-1. (3) Al-Bashshārī, al-Maqdisī, Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fi Maʿrifat al-Aqālim, ed. De Goeje (Leiden, 1906), p. 474. (4) Nadawī, op. cit., pp. 309 sq., 345; Elliot, i, pp. 454-7.

land-mark 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 ¹ intinerants visiting the principalities from time to time. Now, whatever progress the study of Ḥadīth made was due, primarily, to the internal security brought ab out 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 Hadith 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 Ḥadīth from ² Abū 'Uthmān al-Ṣābūnī (373-449), the Shāfi'ite savant. This was not all. Hailing from Debal (Ar. al-Daybul), Manṣūra and Qusḍār, a band of ardent ṭalibū 'l-ʿilm travelled extensively in Arabia, Syria, al-ʿIrāq, Khurāsān and even Egypt in quest of Ḥadīth. And by the fourth century a halqa was established and oral transmission of Ḥadīth was in progress in ⁴ Sind. Even some exchange of Traditionists between ⁵ Debal and Baghdād, and ⁶ Manṣūra and Khurāsān were 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.

A celebrated harbour occupying a ⁷ site between the present Thatta and Karachi, Traditionists of Debal.

Debal during the Arab rule ⁸ had an extensive sea-borne trade with foreign countries. Its importance under Islām dated from the conquest of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (93-6/711-14) who built a mosque and settled 4000 ⁹ colonists there. A centre of trade and commerce, Debal

(1) Nadawī, op.cit., pp.309 sq., 345; Elliot, i, pp.454-7.
 (2) Sam'ānī, Ansab, foll.347a, 347b. (3) e.g. at Manṣūra, see infra, ³⁸ (4) e.g. at Debal. Vide Tārikh Baghdād, vol. viii, p.333. (5) Ibid. (7) Elliot, vol.i, pp.374 sq;
 (6) Mizān, vol.i, p.272. ~~(7)~~ Cunningham, Ancient geography of India ed.S.N.Majumdar (Patna, 1924), pp.340 sq.; Raverty, JASB, 1892, pp.317 sq;
 Haig, Indus Delta country (London, 1894), pp.44 sq.;
 Gazetteer of the Province of Sind (Bombay, 1919) B' vol.i, p.53; Nadawī, op.cit., pp.391-2. (8) Nadawī, loc.cit.
 (9) Balādhurī, p.337 - Murgotten, p.218.

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 earth-quake in 280/893 during the Caliphate of al-Mu'tamid (286-297/870-92), which was estimated at one lac and a half. Under the independent Arab rule, Debal was a port of the principality of Manṣūra 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 Ḥadīth literature had already been created at Debal resulting in the production of a number of Rūwāt whose names are as follows:-

1. Abū Ja'far al-Daybulī (d. 322/934).

The first Debalise who went out for higher studies in Ḥadīth literature was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Daybulī, surname Abū Ja'far. He repaired to Makka and read with some noted Makkan traditionists. The date of his arrival there has not come down to us. But from the death-dates of his shuyūkh (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.

(1) Nadawī, loc.cit. (2) R.C.Majumdar, op.cit, p.57.
 (3) Suyūṭī, Tārīkh al-Khulafā', ed. Calcutta, p.380;
 (4) Nadawī, loc.cit. (4) Maqdisī, p.479; Nadawī, loc.cit.
 (5) Mu'jam al-Buldān, vol.II, p.638. (6) See infra.

Apart from Ḥadīth, Abū Ja'far studied Ibn 'Uyaina's Kitāb al-Tafsīr¹ under the latter's disciple Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Makhzūmī (d.249) and Ibn al-Mubāarak's Kitāb al-Birr wa l-Sila² under his disciple al-Ḥusain al-Marwazī (d.242). He narrated Ḥadīth on the authority of Muḥammad b. Zambūr (d.248), a Makkan Traditionist, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ṣabīh and others.

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 Ḥadīth. Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Farrās of Makka, Abū 'l-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥajjāj (d. 368) and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Muqrī (d.381) transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of Abū Ja'far. He died at Makka in Jumādā I, 322/April, 934.

2. Ibrāhīm b. Md.al-Daybulī (d.circ 345/956).

A son of Abū Ja'far. Ibrāhīm was a Rāwī, transmitter of Ḥadīth. He narrated it on the authority of Mūsā b. Ḥārūn al-Bazzāz (d.294), the Mafīz⁴ of Baghdād, and Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣā'igh (d.291) a Traditionist of Makka.⁵

3. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Daybulī (d.343/954).

A Ṭālib al-'Ilm, par excellence, Aḥmad, a pupil of Abū Ja'far, was one of the widely travelled Traditionists of the fourth century.⁶ 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 Aḥmad's itinerary. Perhaps in the later half of the third century, he went out in quest of Ḥadīth learning and studied in Makka with his compatriot, Abū Ja'far al-

(1) Ibn al-Nadīm, Kitāb al-Fihrist (Egypt, 1348 A.H.), p. 316. (2) *Ibid*, p.319. (3) Ibn al-Muqrī was a great Traditionist (Sam'ānī, Ansāb, foll. 266b, 540b). (4) Khaṭīb, Tārīkh Baghdād, vol.iii, p.293; Sam'ānī, Ansāb, foll.237a; Muqdisī Kitāb al-Ansāb, s.v. Al-Daybulī; Mufjam al-Buldān. Vol.II, p.638. Tahdhīb, s.v. MD.b.Ibra^{him} Shadharāt, volii, p.295 (5) Sam'ānī, Ansāb, foll. 237a. (6) من الغرائب الرحالة من الغرائب الرحالة Sam'ānī, loc. cit.

al-Daybulī (322), already a Muḥadith of standing, and Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Janadī (308), a descendant of Shaʿbī (d.104)² In Egypt he heard Ḥadīth from ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Muḥammad b. Rayyān; in Damascus, from Aḥmad b. ʿUmair b. Jawṣā (d.320), the Hāfiẓ; at Bayrūt, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Mak-ḥula; at Ḥarrān, from al-Ḥusain b. Abī Maʿshar (d.318), the Hāfiẓ; in Baghdād, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Faryābī (d.301); in al-Baṣra, from Abū Khalīfa al-Qādī (d.305); at Askar Mukarram, from ʿAbdān b. Aḥmad al-Jawlaqī (210-306), the Hāfiẓ; at Tustar, from Aḥmad b. Zuhair al-Tustarī (d.312) and at Nishāpūr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Khuzaʿma (d.311). Besides, ~~xxx~~ he received Ḥadīth from many other contemporary traditionists.

Before the death of Ibn Khuzaʿma in 311/923 Aḥmad reached Nishāpūr of which cultural and religious life, particularly the Khānqa, convent, of al-Ḥasan b. Yaʿqūb al-Ḥaddād (d.336), thronged as it was with sūfīs and ascetics,³ attracted him. There he terminated his 'wanderjehre' and joined the Khānqa. Henceforth, he became preeminently an ascetic giving himself up to devotional prayers and abstemious practices. Nevertheless, he went on cultivating the science of tradition. The young al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī (321-405) took lessons in ḥadīth 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

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 Ḥadīth and ransack the treasures they offered.

(1) For the correct reading of the Nisba, Ibid, foll.137-8.
 (2) Ibid, foll.138a. (3) Samʿāni, fol.158a. (4) Ibid, fol.237a. (5) Ibid,

4. Muhammad b. Md. b. 'Abd Allāh al-Daybulī (d. 346).

Ahmad's compatriot and fellow-student, Muhammad al-Daybulī had a fair share of travelling (rihla) - though not so much as Ahmad's - in quest of Ḥadīth. He received instructions in the science from Abū Khalīfa al-Qāḍī (d. 305) of al-Baṣra; Ja'far b. Muhammad al-Faryābī (d. 301), of Baghdād; 'Abdān b. Ahmad (310-306) of Askar Mukarram; Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan of Faryāb and others. A copyist (Warrāq) of Ḥadīth literature, Muhammad distinguished himself as a teacher of al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī (d. 405). He died in 346/957.

5. Al-Ḥasan b. Muhammad b. Asad al-Daybulī (d. circ 350/961)

A disciple of Abu Ya'flā al-Mawṣilī (d. 307), al-Ḥasan transmitted Ḥadīth in 340/951 in Damascus, his isnād, chain of authorities going back to Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 78), the Companion of the Prophet. Tammām and others received Ḥadīth from him.

6. Khalaf b. Md. al-Daybulī (d. circ 360).

Khalaf had his training in Ḥadīth in his native town Debal under 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Daybulī.⁴ He repaired to Baghdād and lectured (Ḥaddatha) on Ḥadīth. Abū 'l-Ḥusain b. al-Jundī (306-96) of Baghdād and Ahmad b. 'Umair acquired Ḥadīth from Khalaf.⁵

7. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ḥārūn al-Daybulī (275-370).

Born at Debal in 275/888, Ahmad, surnamed Abū Bakr, migrated to Ravy and became famous as al-Rāzī accordingly. Afterwards he settled permanently at Ḥarbiya 'the great northern suburb of the west Baghdād' and hence he is called al-Ḥarbī.⁶

Abū Bakr studied Ḥadīth in Baghdād under Ja'far b. Muhammad al-Faryābī (d. 301) and also under Ahmad b. Sharīk

(1) In the middle age, Faryāb was a most important town of the district of Juzjān in Khurāsān (Le Strange, p. 425).
 (2) Ansāb, p. 237a. (3) Ibn 'Asākir, al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr (Dimashq, 1332), vol. iv, pp. 355-6. (4) A tradition received by Khalaf from his Shaykh 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Daybulī at Debal with isnad traced back to Anas runs:

كلام أهل السموات لآحول والاقوة، خطيب، ج ٨، ص ٣٣٣

of al-Kūfa. Besides being a transmitter of Ḥadīth, he was well-versed in the science of al-Qira'at. Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Bādā (d.420), 'Abū 'Alī b. Dumā al-Ni'ālī (346-431)¹ and al-Qāḍī Abū 'Alā al-Wāsiṭī (d.431) were his pupils. He died in 370/980.²

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 Baghdad. By his business he amassed a vast fortune and became a leading citizen of Baghdad 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"³. As a philanthropist, he built for the poor and indigent an asylum (Khān) at Darb al-Za'afraṅī in Baghdād, which came to be known as Khān Ibn Ḥāmid. Side by side with his commercial business, he carried on cultural activities. In Ḥadīth, he was a pupil of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Mawṣilī (d.359)⁵, Da'laj (d.351), Muḥammad al-Naqqāsh (d.351) and Abū 'Alī al-Ṭumārī (360). He was so devotedly attached to Ḥadīth that he would weep while narrating it⁶. 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 litterateur (ādīb). He died in Egypt in 407/1016.⁷

(8) Khaṭīb, loc.cit.

(6) Le Strange, p.51.

(1) Khaṭīb, v, 113-4. (2) Khaṭīb, v, 113-4. (3) 'الغالى هذه النسبة الى عمل النعال وبيعها' (4) Ibid, vol.vii, pp.303-4, (5) Ibid, vol.vii, pp.303-4, (6) 'لو كنت مادحانا جراً لمدحتك' (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid. (10) Ibid. (11) Ibid. (12) Ibid. (13) Ibid. (14) Ibid. (15) Ibid. (16) Ibid. (17) Ibid. (18) Ibid. (19) Ibid. (20) Ibid. (21) Ibid. (22) Ibid. (23) Ibid. (24) Ibid. (25) Ibid. (26) Ibid. (27) Ibid. (28) Ibid. (29) Ibid. (30) Ibid. (31) Ibid. (32) Ibid. (33) Ibid. (34) Ibid. (35) Ibid. (36) Ibid. (37) Ibid. (38) Ibid. (39) Ibid. (40) Ibid. (41) Ibid. (42) Ibid. (43) Ibid. (44) Ibid. (45) Ibid. (46) Ibid. (47) Ibid. (48) Ibid. (49) Ibid. (50) Ibid. (51) Ibid. (52) Ibid. (53) Ibid. (54) Ibid. (55) Ibid. (56) Ibid. (57) Ibid. (58) Ibid. (59) Ibid. (60) Ibid. (61) Ibid. (62) Ibid. (63) Ibid. (64) Ibid. (65) Ibid. (66) Ibid. (67) Ibid. (68) Ibid. (69) Ibid. (70) Ibid. (71) Ibid. (72) Ibid. (73) Ibid. (74) Ibid. (75) Ibid. (76) Ibid. (77) Ibid. (78) Ibid. (79) Ibid. (80) Ibid. (81) Ibid. (82) Ibid. (83) Ibid. (84) Ibid. (85) Ibid. (86) Ibid. (87) Ibid. (88) Ibid. (89) Ibid. (90) Ibid. (91) Ibid. (92) Ibid. (93) Ibid. (94) Ibid. (95) Ibid. (96) Ibid. (97) Ibid. (98) Ibid. (99) Ibid. (100) Ibid. (101) Ibid. (102) Ibid. (103) Ibid. (104) Ibid. (105) Ibid. (106) Ibid. (107) Ibid. (108) Ibid. (109) Ibid. (110) Ibid. (111) Ibid. (112) Ibid. (113) Ibid. (114) Ibid. (115) Ibid. (116) Ibid. (117) Ibid. (118) Ibid. (119) Ibid. (120) Ibid. (121) Ibid. (122) Ibid. (123) Ibid. (124) Ibid. (125) Ibid. (126) Ibid. (127) Ibid. (128) Ibid. (129) Ibid. (130) Ibid. (131) Ibid. (132) Ibid. (133) Ibid. (134) Ibid. (135) Ibid. (136) Ibid. (137) Ibid. (138) Ibid. (139) Ibid. (140) Ibid. (141) Ibid. (142) Ibid. (143) Ibid. (144) Ibid. (145) Ibid. (146) Ibid. (147) Ibid. (148) Ibid. (149) Ibid. (150) Ibid. (151) Ibid. (152) Ibid. (153) Ibid. (154) Ibid. (155) Ibid. (156) Ibid. (157) Ibid. (158) Ibid. (159) Ibid. (160) Ibid. (161) Ibid. (162) Ibid. (163) Ibid. (164) Ibid. (165) Ibid. (166) Ibid. (167) Ibid. (168) Ibid. (169) Ibid. (170) Ibid. (171) Ibid. (172) Ibid. (173) Ibid. (174) Ibid. (175) Ibid. (176) Ibid. (177) Ibid. (178) Ibid. (179) Ibid. (180) Ibid. (181) Ibid. (182) Ibid. (183) Ibid. (184) Ibid. (185) Ibid. (186) Ibid. (187) Ibid. (188) Ibid. (189) Ibid. (190) Ibid. (191) Ibid. (192) Ibid. (193) Ibid. (194) Ibid. (195) Ibid. (196) Ibid. (197) Ibid. (198) Ibid. (199) Ibid. (200) Ibid. (201) Ibid. (202) Ibid. (203) Ibid. (204) Ibid. (205) Ibid. (206) Ibid. (207) Ibid. (208) Ibid. (209) Ibid. (210) Ibid. (211) Ibid. (212) Ibid. (213) Ibid. (214) Ibid. (215) Ibid. (216) Ibid. (217) Ibid. (218) Ibid. (219) Ibid. (220) Ibid. (221) Ibid. (222) Ibid. (223) Ibid. (224) Ibid. (225) Ibid. (226) Ibid. (227) Ibid. (228) Ibid. (229) Ibid. (230) Ibid. (231) Ibid. (232) Ibid. (233) Ibid. (234) Ibid. (235) Ibid. (236) Ibid. (237) Ibid. (238) Ibid. (239) Ibid. (240) Ibid. (241) Ibid. (242) Ibid. (243) Ibid. (244) Ibid. (245) Ibid. (246) Ibid. (247) Ibid. 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(995) Ibid. (996) Ibid. (997) Ibid. (998) Ibid. (999) Ibid. (1000) Ibid.

9. Abū l-Qāsim Shu'ayb b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Daybulī (d.circ. 400/1009).

He was better known as Abū Qat'ān. He went to Egypt and established a halqa, study circle, where he lectured on Ḥadīth. Abū Sa'īd b. Yūnus was a pupil of Abū Qat'ān.¹

(ii) Study of Ḥadīth in Al-Manṣūra.

The great mound of ~~Bambhira~~ Bambhira-kā-thūb 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-Manṣūra² which, according to al-Balādhurī, was founded by 'Amr,³ the son of Muhammad b. al-Qāsim, the conquerer of Sind, between 110/728 and 120/738.⁴ With the establishment, in 270/883,⁵ of an independent Arab principality in Lower Sind, it steadily rose into prominence. By 340/951 - when al-Iṣṭakhrī visited it⁶ - al-Manṣūra was a flourishing city with an area of four square miles and was inhabited by the Muslims.⁷ Ibn Ḥawqal repeated the same account.⁸ "Al-Manṣūra", says al-Maqdisī 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 'Umān. The city had four gates, viz., Bāb al-Baḥr (the sea-gate), Bāb Ṭūrān (the Ṭūrān-gate), Bāb Sindān (the Sindān-gate) and Bāb Multān (the Multān-gate)"⁹

(1) Sam'ānī, loc.cit; Ma'ārif, xxiv(4);247. (2) The discovery of this interesting place was due to the zeal and painstaking labour of Mr.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, i, 374; Cunningham, 312-6). (3) Balādhurī, p.444 = Murgotten, p.229; Elliot Cunningham and others misread 'Amr as 'Amrū (Elliot, i, 371; Cunningham p.311). (4) Nadawī, p.335. (5) Ibid, pp.341-2. (6) Ibid, p.310. (7) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, Kitāb al-Masālik wa l-Mamālik (Elliot, i, 27). (8) Nadawī, op.cit., p.345 quoting Ibn Ḥawqal. (9) Maqdisī, op.cit., p.479 cf. Nadawī, p.346.

With regard to the religious and intellectual life of al-Mansūra, al-Maqdisī 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 priest-craft to intervene. The Dhimmīs freely worshipped their own gods. The majority of the Muslims were Ashāb Ḥadīth, adherents of Apostolic traditions, who were the followers of Imām Dāwūd al-Iṣbahānī (d.270), the Zāhirite (Literalist). In local townships Ḥanafite jurists were also in evidence, but no Mālikite, Ḥanbalite or Muʿtazilite; so that Islām was found in its pristine glory and native simplicity, virtue and chastity being at a premium everywhere.¹ Learning and the learned had seen their better days in al-Mansūra.² Since the bulk of the population was Ashāb Ḥadīth, cultivation of the science of tradition had naturally been recurred to. Here Traditionists engaged themselves in the pursuit of their own Science. Classes in Ḥadīth were held in different mosques of the city. Scholars were found to compile works on Ḥadīth literature. As an instance, the name of al-Qāḍī Abū l-Abbās al-Mansūrī,³ as a teacher and a compiler³ may be cited here.

TRADITIONISTS OF AL-MANŞŪRA.

1. Aḥmad b. Md. b. Sāliḥ al-Mansūrī. Aḥmad surnamed Abū l-Abbās al-Mansūrī had his education in Ḥadīth in Fāris under Abū l-Abbās b. al-Aṭṭar (d.336) and at al-Baṣra, under Aḥmad al-Hizzānī commonly called Abū Rawq⁴ (332). He then held the office of Qāḍī of Arrajān,⁵ the western-most district of Fāris.⁶ That on the occasion

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) See infra. (4) Samʿānī, fol. 544a Miẓān, i, 66; Lisān, i, 272. (5) Lisān.lic.cit. (6) Le Strange, p.268.

of his visit to Bukhārā in 360/970 al-Ḥākim (d.405) received aḥādīth from him, suggests that al-Manṣūrī had already established himself as a Traditionist of renown. Further, al-Ḥākim says that al-Manṣūrī was the most sharp-witted of the scholars he had ever seen¹. Towards the seventies of the fourth century when al-Maqdisī visited al-Manṣūra he found that al-Manṣūrī had been lecturing on Ḥadīth in the ḥalqa (study circle) set up by him³. He was an eminent author of the Zāhirite school of theologians and compiled several learned and voluminous works⁴ of which Kitāb al-Miṣbāh al-Kabīr, Kitāb al-Hādī and Kitāb al-Nayyir have been mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm in his Kitāb al-Fihrist⁵. He enjoyed the rank of an Imām of the Zāhirite school of thought⁶. Nevertheless, he was charged with coining Ḥadīth which he might have done obviously to strengthen his Madhhab⁷.

2. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūrī (d.circ.330). He was another traditionist of al-Manṣūra and studied Ḥadīth 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-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī (d.405). Aḥmad flourished in the fourth century A.H.

3. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. Murra al-Manṣūrī (d.cir 390). Himself a pupil of Ḥasan b. ~~xx~~ al-Mukarram, ʿAbd Allāh, like two other Traditionists of al-Manṣūra, distinguished himself as a teacher of al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, and as such he must also have been a Traditionist of the fourth century A.H. In complexion he was dark⁸, a fact suggestive of his

(1) Lisān.loc.cit. ^{ظرافة} كان منظرًا من رأيت من العلماء (1) seems to be misprint for ظراف pl. of ظريف Al-Samʿānī, without making any reference to al-Ḥākim, says وكان أظرف من رأيت من العلماء a statement which had led ʿAllāma Sayyid Sulaimān Nadawī (Maʿārif, xxiv, no.4, 247) to conclude that al-Manṣūrī was a contemporary of al-Samʿānī (d.562). But we ~~xx~~ are of opinion that this was the statement of al-Ḥākim and not of al-Samʿānī. Cf. Lisān, i, 272; Samʿānī, 544a. (2) This is apparent inasmuch as al-Manṣūrī was a Traditionist. (3) Maqdisī, p.481. (4) وله كتب جليلة حسنة كبار (4) Ibn al-Nadīm, op.cit., p.306. (5) p.306. (6) Maqdisī, loc.cit.; Samʿānī loc.cit. (7) Below is a specimen of a fabricated tradition narrated by al-Manṣūrī: اول من قام ابليس فلا تقيسوا

Indian origin.

(iii) Study of al-Hadīth at Quṣḍār.¹

Quṣḍār (modern Khozdar in Kalat State, Quetta) contains the grave of Sinān b. Salma al-Hudhalī, a companion of the Prophet, who, during the Caliphate of Mu'āwīya, died a martyr while leading an expedition against the Meds.² Since then Quṣḍār changed masters several times between the Arabs and the Meds.³ Finally, it was annexed to the eastern Caliphate by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsin.⁴

Under the Arab suzerainty, Quṣḍār was the head quarters of Tūrān,⁵ a region roughly comprising the southern part of the present Balūchistān.⁶ In the middle of the fourth century, an independent Arab chieftain, Mu'īn b. Ahmad, ruled here and recited khutba in the name of the then Abbasid Caliph.⁷ A stronghold of the Khārijites, Quṣḍār was occupied by Sultān Sabaktigīn (366-87/976-98) in about some time between 375/985 and 386/996.⁸

Quṣḍār was a centre of commerce and served as an artery of India's ~~kan~~ 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 Muḥlims.⁹

shaykh Abū Rawq, a Mālikite jurist, who was sadūq, reliable. Hence it was al-Mansūrī who was the fabricator and not his shaykh, Abū Rawq. Cf. Lisān, i, 272 and 256. (8) Sam'ānī, foll. 543b, 544a.

(1) Quṣḍār is the same as Quzdār (Mu'jam al-Buldān, iv, 86).
 (2) Supra, p. /8 (3) Balādhurī, 434, Murgotten 213.
 (4) Chāch Nāma. (5) Maqdisī, p.478; Nadawī, p.395; Le Strange, p.331. (6) R.C.Majumdar, op.cit., pp.54-5.
 (7) Ibn Hawqal ref. by Nadawī. (8) Nadawī, p.395, Firishta, Tārīkh (Cawnpore, 1874), vol.i, p.19. (9) Maqdisī, loc. cit.; Mu'jam al-Buldān, vol.iv, p.105.

Although we have no direct evidence of any cultural activities undertaken by the Arabs at Quşḍār, nevertheless it does not necessarily follow that they had altogether dispensed with religious sciences, that is, al-Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīth. The factor as it appears, that retarded the progress of those sciences at Quşḍār 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 Quşḍārī Muḥaddithūn until the fifth century A.H. We, can, therefore, safely presume that the study of Ḥadīth at Quşḍār must have been started in the fourth century with the establishment of an independent Arab principality here.¹

TRADITIONISTS OF QUŞḌĀR.

1. Ja'far b. al-Khattāb al-Quşḍārī (d. circ 450).

Ja'far surnamed Abū Muḥammad, a native of Quşḍār, settled at Balkh. He was a jurist as well as an ascetic. He took lessons in Ḥadīth from 'Abd al-Samad b. Muḥammad al-Āṣimī. He was a reliable Rāwī of Ḥadīth Abū'l-Futūḥ 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Kashgharī (d. 474), the Hāfiẓ² transmitted Ḥadīth on his authority.³ He flourished early in the 5th century A.H.

2. Sibawaih b. Ismā'īl b. Dāwūd al-Quşḍārī (d. circ 463).

Amongst his shuyūkh were al-'As Abū'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Husaynī, Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Makhūl and Rajāf b. 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Iṣbahānī. He migrated to Makka where he lectured on Ḥadīth. The Hāfiẓ Abū'l-Fityān 'Amr b. Abū'l-Ḥasari⁴ Al-Rawwāsī (d. 503), a Traditionist of Dihistān, in the province of Jurjān,⁵ narrated Ḥadīth on the authority of Sibawaih.⁶ He died in about 463/1070.

(1) See supra. (2) ابوالفتوح عبد الغافرن الحسن الكاشغرى كان حافظا كثيرا صدوقا
~~(3)~~ Samfānī, fol. 472b. (3) Ibid, fol. 261a. 456a.
 (4) Ibid, fol. 261a. (5) Le Strange, p. 379. (6) Samfānī, foll. 451a, 452b.

From the above discourse, it is evident how the study of Ḥadīth 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.

Towards the second half of the fourth century, the principalities of Multān and al-Mansūra¹ were usurped by the Ismāʿīlites. This was not merely a political change; it had a far-reaching effect on the life and faith of the Sunnis of Sind. Bent on destroying not only the structure of the states of the Sunnis, but also their religion and culture, the Ismāʿīlites left no stone unturned to attain their objective. The fact that the Ismāʿīlites closed down the Grand Mosque of Multān,² shows to what length they could have gone to annihilate all that the Sunnis stood for. Thus collapsed the religious organisation of Sunnis that grew up under the fostering care of their savants as also their rulers. In the sequel, the Ismāʿīlite coup de tat gave a death-blow to the centuries-old Sunnite Arab regime and what it built up in Sind.

Naturally, therefore, the study of Ḥadīth, the fountain-head of the religious laws of the Sunnis, received a great set back. Sind, under the Ismāʿīlites did not prove a congenial home for the Sunni 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 Sunni Muslims to perpetrate their acts of vandalism on the educational institutions of al-Mansūra and Debal which were contributing so

(1) Nadawī, pp.313 sq. (2) Al-Biruni, Kitāb al-Hind, ed. Sachau (London, 1887), p.501; Elliot, vol.I, 470; Nadawī, op.cit., p.315.

greatly towards the diffusion and dissemination of Islamic culture and learning in the country. This perhaps explains the reason why the study of Ḥadīth in Sind came to a standstill at the end of the fourth century. It is not unreasonable to believe that the Ismā'īlites, on the assumption of their power, suppressed the religious institutions of the Sunnīs. This hypothesis gains in strength from the fact that henceforward no student from Sind was found going abroad to study the Ḥadīth literature. Nor did the cultivation of the Science on the part of the Traditionist of al-Mansūra 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 Sunnī regime. Since then Sind did not and, as a matter of fact, could not, send any of her young learners to study Ḥadīth ~~abroad~~ abroad. Obviously, the Ismā'īlites were, thus, responsible for arresting the expansion of the religious and cultural activities of the Sunnis. True, Sultān Maḥmūd (388-421/998-1030) of Ghaznīn, a champion of the Sunnīs, did succeed in setting up his rule after having overthrown their Government and driven them out of the territory. ¹ 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 whole-sale extermination from the country of the Shi'ites 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 Sultān

(1) Nadawī, pp.314, 349-50.

¹ Mahmūd. Thus the Isma'ilites regained their hold which they appear to have maintained till 752/1351 when the Sammas ousted them, and usurped the Government.² Meanwhile, the province was, no doubt, conquered by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghurī (570-602/1174-1205) and was governed by his lieutenant Naṣir al-Dīn Qabācha,³ 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 Ismā'īlities, in some form or other, was continuous and uninterrupted in Lower Sind. In the circumstances, with the termination of the Sunnī Arab regime in Sind, the contact which the territory had maintained with the seats of Ḥadīth learning in other Islamic countries particularly with those of al-Ḥijāz, was cut off. Thus the revival of the study of Ḥadīth 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.

(1) Elliot, vol.i, pp.484 sq; Nadawī, p.358. (2) Elliot, i, 494 sq; Nadawī, #4 374 sq. (3) Cambridge History of India, vol.III, p.500.

CHAPTER III.

HADĪTH LITERATURE IN NORTHERN INDIA

From 388/998 to 900/1494.

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 Mahmūd of Ghaznī¹ who brought the Punjab under his sway. Within the next two hundred years the Muslim dominion was extended by the Slave Sultāns further afield in the region² reaching the Bay of Bengal. This phenomenal political conquest was attended with the expansion of Islam 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.

The Traditionist whose memory Shaykh Muḥammad Ismā'īl al-Lāhurī (d.448/1056) has been associated with the introduction of Ḥadīth into Lahore was Shaykh Ismā'īl al-Lāhurī, an eminent saint from Bukhārā. He came to India in 395/1004 and settled at Lahore - wherefrom he got the nisba of al-Lāhurī - while the city was not yet conquered by the Muslims.³ Highly versed in Ḥadīth and Tafsīr, Ismā'īl also distinguished himself as the first Muslim missionary to preach the faith of Islām in the city of Lāhore. 'Crowds flocked to listen to his sermons and the number of his converts swelled rapidly day by day, and it is said that no unbeliever ever came into personal contact with him without being converted to the faith of Islām.⁴ He died at Lahore in 448/1056.⁵

(1) Firishta, vol.i, p.27. (2) Cambridge History of India, ed. Haig (Cambridge, 1928), vol.iii, p.26. (3) Lahore was conquered by Mahmūd in 412/1021 (Firishta, i, 31). (4) Arnold, op.cit., pp.280-1. (5) Ghulām Sarwar, Khazīnat al-Asfiyā', ed. ~~New~~ Newul Kishore, Lucknow, 1902,

Shaykh Ismā'īl saw before him the plentitude of the Ghaznawid power under Sultān 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 Islām and its sciences Ismā'īl 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 Ḥadīth. Henceforth, Lahore grew into a seat of Ḥadīth 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'āni who in his Kitāb al-Ansāb records under the nisba al-Lāhurī, the names of those Muhaddithūn who flourished in, and were associated with, Lahore.

He was a native of al-Kūfa. His Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Kufī (d.589/1193). reputation as a scholar of Ḥadīth and Tafsīr, it is said, attracted the notice of Sultān Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghurī (570-602/1175-12) who made him one of his courtiers. But since the Sayyid had also in him the makings 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 in 589/1193² while Shihāb al-Dīn was advancing towards Benares, Sayyid Murtaḍā met Rājā Uday Pāl of Zafrābād,^a now in the district of Jawnpore, U.P., in an encounter in which he fell fighting as a martyr.³

vol.ii, p.230; Faqīr Muḥammad, Ḥadā'iq al-Hanafīyya, ed. Newul Kishore, 1886, p.194; Raḥmān 'Alī, Tadhkira 'Ulamā-i-Hind, ed. Newul Kishore, 1914, 2nd edition, pp.23, 179. Raḥmān 'Alī (op.cit., 179) has it that Ismā'īl came to Lahore in 395 A.H. during the reign of Mas'ūd (b. Mahmūd) Ghaznawī (121-32) which is evidently a mistake for Mahmūd Ghaznawī (388-421).

(1) Fol.497; Ma'ārif, vol.xxiv(4), p.248. (2) According to Ṭabāqat-i-Nāsirī (Elliot, ii, 297), 590/1194. (3) Tajālli-i-Nūr Tadhkira Mashāhir-i-Jawnpūr ed. Jādū Press, Jawnpore, p.29; Ma'ārif, vol.xxv(5) p.346!

TRADITIONISTS OF LAHORE

1. Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Lāhurī (d.529/1134).

He was at once a Traditionist, poet and litterateur. He studied Ḥadīth under Abū'l-Muẓaffar al-Sāidī, the Hāfiẓ. His fame as a Traditionist reached as far as Baghdād. As a result, Abū'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāsir al-Sulamī al-Baghdādī (467-550)¹ who was himself a Hāfiẓ received from him aḥādīth which he subsequently communicated to the distinguished Traditionist al-Sam'ānī so that the latter became a pupil of the pupil of Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Lāhurī². He was a man of genial temperament and died at Lahore in 529/1134.

2. Abū'l-Fatūḥ 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lāhurī (d.circ. 550/1058).

A disciple of Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Lāhurī, Abū'l-Fatūḥ³ was a lecturer of Ḥadīth at Samarqand where al-Sam'ānī heard from him the aḥādīth transmitted to him (Abū'l-Fatūḥ) by his Shaykh Abū'l-Ḥasan. He flourished towards the first half of the 6th century A.H.

3. Abū'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Lāhurī (d.circ.540/1048)

Abū'l-Qāsim migrated from Lahore to Isfarā' in and settled there. He read Fiqh and Ḥadīth with Abū'l-Muẓaffar al-Sam'ānī, the grand father of al-Sam'ānī⁴. He also received aḥādīth from some other Traditionists of his time. Besides being a Traditionist and jurist, Abū'l-Qāsim acquired some reputation as a munāẓir, controversialist. Al-Sam'ānī met him at Isfara'⁵ in and heard Ḥadīth from him. He died in about 540/1048.

(1) For notice of his biography, Shadharāt, vol.iv, pp.155-6. (2) Sam'ānī, fol.497; Ma'ārif vol.xxiv(4), p.243. (3) Ibid. (4) Margoliuth, Introduction to Kitāb al-Ansāb (Gibb Memorial Series), p.2. (5) Sam'ānī loc.cit.

Early
SECTION II. Delhi Sultānate (602-700/1205-1300)

Under the Ghaznawid Sultāns who were Shāfi'ites,¹ Lahore developed into a seat of Ḥadīth learning and continued shedding its lustre until the end of the sixth century.² But with the foundation of Delhi Sultānate in 602/1205, the study of Fiqh was introduced into India. Themselves Ḥanafites, the Sultāns of Delhi, naturally, attracted from al-ʿIrāq, Persia, Khurāsān and the Transoxania men versed in Fiqh and Maʿqūlāt.³ The advance of the Mongols under Chengīz Khān towards Central Asia carrying with it death and destruction,⁴ expediated 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 centre from where by the middle of the seventh century,⁵ they percolated as far as Bengal.⁶ Then there sprang up in Northern India schools and colleges through the munificent endowments of the Sultāns. Of them, the famous were the Fīrūz college at Uchh,⁷ the Muʿizzī ~~college of Bakhara~~ and the Naṣīrīyya colleges of Delhi⁸ and the Muʿizzī college of Badāwn.⁹ Besides instructions were also imparted in

(1) *Infra*, p. 209. (2) *Supra* pp. 45-6; cf. Ṣūfī, Al-Minhāj or the Evolution of Curriculum in the Muslim Educational Institutions of India (Lahore, 1941), pp. 13-14. (3) Al-Nadwa (Lucknow), February, 1909 art. Islāmī Niṣāb-i-Dars by ʿAbd al-Ḥayya Nadawī; February, 1941 art. Shīrāz-i-Hind Purab by S. Sulaimān Nadawī, p. 10; S. Sulaimān Nadawī, Ḥayāt-i-Shiblī (Aḏamgarh, 1943), pp. 2-3; Abū 'l-Ḥasanāt Nadawī, Hindūstān ki Qadīm Islāmī Darṣgāhīm (Aḏamgarh, 1936) pp. 35-6. Cf. Maʿārif vol. xxii (4), pp. 253-4. (4) Minhāj al-Sirāj, Ṭabāqāt-i-Nāsirī, pp. 339-41. (5) Ḥayāt-i-Shiblī, pp. 2 sq. (6) *Infra*, p. 52. (7) Ṭabāqāt-i-Nāsirī, p. 124; ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Ulugh-khānī, Zafar al-Wāliḥ bi Muzaf fer wa Aḥīh, ed. ~~Kanḥān~~ Denison Ross under the tittle of An Arabic History of Gujarāt (London, 1921), vol. ii, p. 695; (8) Ṭabāqāt-i-Nāsirī, pp. 188-9; Ulughkhānī, *op. cit.* p. 703; Abū 'l-Ḥasanāt, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-8; Elliot, vol. ii, p. 344; Narendrā Nath Law, Promotion of Learning in India during Muḥammadan Rule (London, 1916), p. 22. (9) Abū 'l-Ḥasanāt, p. 33.

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 Sultāns 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, Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Mantīq, Taṣawwūf, Tafsīr and Ḥadīth. Special stress was, however laid on Fiqh and Uṣūl al-Fiqh pari pass'u with Arabic grammar and literature. Ḥadīth and Tafsīr, the two principal branches of Islamic sciences, received but scant attention, the course of the former being only nominal. Save and except al-Ṣaghānī's Mashāriq al-Anwār and al-Baghawī's Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna,¹ no work on Ḥadīth, not even any of the Ṣiḥāḥ 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 x had the same objective behind them as they had in the feeder-countries of Central Asia, namely, to prepare a student for the qādīship.² Therefore, it is nothing unusual to find that among as many as forty six scholars who flourished during the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khwājī (695-715/1296-1316), only Shams al-Dīn Yahyā (d.747) had some interest in Ḥadīth. But the historian Baranī to whom we owe the above information has not³ included Ḥadīth among the subjects taught at the time. 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 popularise them in this country.

(1) Ibid, pp.90-2; Sūfī, op.cit. pp.16-7, 25. (2) Ma'arif, vol.xxii(4), p.253-4. (3) Dīyā' al-Dīn Baranī, Tārīkh Firūz Shāhī (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1862), pp.352-4.

But to his great dismay he came to know at Multān, on his way to Delhi, that Sultān '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 Sultān of Delhi. He then left it with Mawlānā Faḍl Allāh, a grand son of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyya 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 Alā' 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. Thus, with his departure 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 Ṣihāh Sitta, 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 Ṭabāqat-i-Nāsirī.²

Traditionists of the 7th 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

(1) Ibid, pp.29, 7-9; Ulughkhānī, vol.ii, pp.831-2, cf. p.810 and also vol.iii, XCVII; Ma'ārif XXII(4), p.252.

(2) Infra, p. 50.

a descendant of Habbār b. Aswad, a Companion of the Prophet.¹ He was born at Qila Kut Karūr, near Multān and received his education in Bukhārā and Khurāsān. He then went on a pilgrimage to the Haramayn and became a specialist in Ḥadīth, studying it for five years under the Madinian Traditionist, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yamanī. He died at Multān in Ṣafar, 666/October, 1267.²

2. Qādī 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 Qādī in the army of Hindūstān under Muhammad al-Ghurī (570-602/1175-1205), a good general education which fitted him to hold a number of high posts under Naṣīr al-Dīn Qubācha of Multān and under the Sultānate of Delhi which covered the regimes of Iltutmish (607-33/1210-36), Rādīyya Bahram (637-9/1240-2) & Naṣīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (644-64/1246-40) (634-64/1246-40).³ As a principal of Fīrūz College of Uchh and Naṣīrīyya College of Delhi, as a chief justice and a preacher, Juzjānī gave a brilliant account of himself. In 640/1242, he reached Lakhnawatī, in Bengal where he remained for two years. He died after 664/1266, but the exact date is not known.⁴ His quotation in his Tabāqat-i-Nāṣirī of several aḥādīth from the Sunan of Abū Dāwūd suggests that Juzjānī must have studied this work at least.⁵ 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 Traditionists as Mutwātir.⁶

(1) Tajrīd, vol.ii, p.126. (2) Āmīr Hasan, Fawā'id al-Fuād (Urdū tran. by Ghulām Aḥmad Khān, Ruhtak, 1313 A.H.) pp.152-3; Firishta, vol.ii, pp.404 sq. Habbār has been misprinted as Mahiyar; 'Abd al-Haqq Dihlawī, Akhbār al-Akhyār (Meerut, 1277), pp.26-8; Dārā Shikūh, Saḥīfāt al-Awliya; (Delhi, 1269), p.196; Ghulām Sarwar, Ḥadīqat al-Awliya, ed. Lahore, s.v., Bahā'al-Dīn Zakariyya; Khazīnat al-Asfiya, vol.ii, pp.19-26; Rahmān 'Alī, op.cit., p.33; Nadawī, op.cit., pp.339, 355; Ma'ārif, XXII(5), pp.328-9. (3) Urdū Fawā'id al-Fuād, p.269; Akhbār al-Akhyār, p.74. Juzjānī has been misprinted as Jurjānī. Tabāqat-i-Nāṣirī, p.172; Elliot, vol.ii, pp.259 sq; Ulughkhānī, vol.iii, LX(2), pp.325-6. (4) Ma'ārif, vol.XXIV(4), p.251. (5) Urdū Fawā'id al-Fuād, p.252-3. (6)

3. Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abī'l-Khayr As'ad al-Balkhī (d.687/1288).

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 sanad of the Mashāriq al-Anwār. He was the first Traditionist who initiated the study of the Mashāriq 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 Hawḍ-i-Samsī.¹

4. Kamāl al-Dīn Zāhid (d.684/1285).

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marḳilī, better known as Kamāl al-Dīn al-Zāhid, distinguished himself as a teacher in Ḥadīth of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliya (d.725). He read the Mashāriq al-Anwār with the two disciples of al-Ṣaghānī, viz., Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d.687) and the author of the Sharḥ Athār al-Nayyirayn fī Akhbār al-Ṣahīhayn. His exceedingly pious habits induced Sultan 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 684/1285²

5. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Badāwnī (d.ca. 700)

Among his contemporary scholars in Delhi Raḍī al-Dīn was said to have been well-versed in Ḥadīth literature.

(1) Ibid, pp.257-8; Mir Khurd, Siyar al-Awliya (Delhi, 1885) p.105. Akhbār al-Akhyār, p.68; Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīya, p.264; Raḥmān 'Alī, op.cit., p.33; Nuzha, vol.i, s.v. Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd. (2) Siyar al-Awliya, pp.104-6; Akhbār al-Akhyār, p.45; Khazīnat al-Asfiya', vol.i, p.314; Nuzha, vol.i, s.v., Md. b. Aḥmad b. Md. al-Marḳilī; Taḥkīra 'Ulamā'-i-Hind, p.45; Ma'ārif, vol.XXII(5), p.329.

He was a Qādī of Ku'īl (mod. Aligarh) and went to Makka, thence to Baghdād where, as a Traditionist, 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.

6. Abū Tawāma al-Bukhārī al-Ḥanbalī (d.circ.700).

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Tawāma 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 Tawāma was a teacher of great celebrity. As a Ḥanbalite 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 Makhdūm Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā al-Manirī (d.782), the celebrated saint-traditionist of Bihār. Abū Tawāma died at Sunārgāon towards the close of the seventh century A.H.

Later

SECTION III. Delhi Sultānate III (700-900/1300-1494).

Next to Fiqh, the subject that attracted attention of the 'Ulamā' was Ma'fūlāt 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 patronised Ma'fūlāt. 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. The Sultān was so much fascinated by Ma'fūlāt that he would personally conduct lectures on Ma'fūlāt which along with Fiqh constituted the subjects of popular interest

(1) Urdū Fawā'id al-Fū'ād, p.137-9. Radī al-Dīn has been confused with his name-sake Radī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Saghānī (d.650). cf. *Supra* p.204, also Nuzha, vol.i, s.v.Radī al-Dīn al-Radāwnī. (2) Nuzha, vol.i, s.v.Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dihlawī; Calcutta Review, LXXI (April-June, 1939) pp.196-7. (3) Tārīkh Fīrūz Shāhī, p.465.

during the period under review. While the study of the Qur'ān and the Sunna was neglected to an extent that Muḥammad b. Tughlaq's contemporary historian Dīyā' al-Dīn Baranī¹ attributes the former's cruelty and eccentricity to his study of Ma'qūlāt, metaphysics, at the cost of Manqūlāt.² How far the evil influence of philosophy and logic was responsible for his whims and idiosyncrasies still remains a moot question.³ But it can not be gain-said that sober minded men of that age deeply felt the absence of humanising effect of the teachings of the Qur'ān and the Sunna. The number of such men was, however, few and far between. The 'Ulamā', en masse, were affiliated to the Hanafite School. Their interest centred round Fiqh, the sure pass-port for government service. Having no wide outlook and independent judgement, they viewed the Sharī'a in terms of the Hanafite Fiqh. Any deviation from a recognised rite of this school, even if sanctioned by Traditions, was, therefore, opposed tooth and nail. This rigid attitude of the 'Ulamā' was strikingly illustrated in a familiar controversy on Samā' between Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliya on the one hand and the Fuqahā', on the other, during the Sultānate of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh (720-5/1321-25).⁴ Apparently adhering to the school of the Shāfi'ites, Nizām al-Dīn Awliya' cited aḥādīth in favour of

(4) Ibn Baṭūṭa, Tuḥfat al-Nuẓār fī Gharā'ib al-Amsār wa 'Ajā'ib al-Asfār, ed. K. Defremery with French tr. (Paris, 1922), iv, p. 343. The statement of Dr. Mahdī Husain (Vide his Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, London, 1938, p. 200) that Muḥammad b. Tughlaq gave up his study of philosophy (Ma'qūlāt) before the arrival in Delhi of Ibn Baṭūṭa and that the latter 'had seen none of it' (philosophy) with the Sultan, is wide of the mark inasmuch as Ibn Baṭūṭa himself maintains
 نقدر أيت ملك الهند يتذكرين يديه بعد صلوة الصبح في العلوم المعقولات خاصة
 ج ٢، ص ٢٢٣

Verily, I have seen the emperor of India holding after morning prayers discussions particularly of Ilm al-Ma'qūlāt or philosophical sciences. (1) Page 466
 از آن مساوت علم معقولات
 (2) Manqūlāt in contradistinction with Ma'qūlāt includes the sciences of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth and also the subjects primarily based on them. (3) The Cambridge History of India, vol. iii, 136-7. (4) Siyar al-Awliya', p. 531; Ulugh-khānī, III, pp. 855-7; Firishta, ii, p. 397-8; Ma'ārif, xxii(4), 254-5; xxii(5), 33.

Samā'. But the Fuqahā' rejected the Traditions, in the first place, because, the Shaykh, a Muqallid-i-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 Fiqhī riwāyat or the decision of the Hanafite jurists had greater legal value than Traditions themselves. Therefore, they insisted on his producing a definite opinion of Imām Abū Hanīfa on the matter. The hardi-hood of rejecting Apostolic Traditions on the part of the Fuqahā' shocked Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' so 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 aḥādīth." Therefore, from the remarks of Shams al-Dīn Turk and Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā', it is clear that the atmosphere obtaining in the circles of the 'Ulamā', 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 Ṣūfī scholars read the science themselves and also ~~instructed~~ 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 Ṣūfī scholars, viz., (i) Niẓām 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 Kāshmir and (iv) Zakariyya al-Multānī and his school of Muḥaddithūn at Multān. The Ṣūfī scholars of these schools carried on the culture of

Hadīth in Northern India until the end of the 9th century when the renaissance of the science was ushered ⁱⁿ the country.

I. NIZAM AL-DIN

1. Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' & his school of Muḥaddithūn.

Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (634-725/1236-1325).

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī, popularly known as Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā, was born in 634/1236 at Badā'ūn, United Province, where both of his grand fathers - paternal and maternal -, Shaykh 'Alī and Khawāja 'Arab had migrated from Bukhārā during the Mongol invasion. Having mastered Arabic literature and Fiqh at an early age of twenty under 'Ala al-Dīn al-Uṣūlī of Badā'ūn and Shams al-Dīn al-Khawārizmī, afterwards the Shams al-Mulk, a minister of Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, of Delhi, Nizām al-Dīn wanted to have a qādīship under Government. But at the instance of Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn al-Mutawakkil (d.781), a brother of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar (d.664) who saw in the young scholar the promise of a great saint, he went to the Ganj-i-Shakar at Ajūdahan or Pakpattan in the Punjab in 655/1257 for initiation. Thus a new chapter of life was opened for Nizām al-Dīn so that in course of time he became the khalīfa, representative, of the Ganj-i-Shakar and one of the greatest saints of India. He died in his Khānqa, convent, at Ghiyāthpur, which is now called Bastī Nizām al-Dīn, within three miles from Delhi, on Friday, the 13th Rabī', II 725/April, 1325 in the odour of sanctity.

(1) For Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-shakar, JASB, vol. iv, p. 635; Thornton, India Gazetteer, p. 757. (2) Urdū Fawā'id al-Fū'ād, p. 48; Khazīna, i, p. 229. (3) Urdū Fawā'id al-Fū'ād, pp. 95-6; Siyar al-Awliyā, pp. 94 sq; Firishta, ii, pp. 390 sq; Jāmi', Nafahāt al-Uns; pp. 452-3; Akhbār al-Akhyār, pp. 52 sq; Abū'l-Faḍl, 'Aīn-i-Akbarī (Niwaḥ Kishore, 1893), iii, 170; Safinat al-Awliyā, p. 92; 'Abd al-Rahmān Chishtī, Mir'at al-Asrār (Ms. Bankipore), foll. 372-34; 'Alī al-Qārī, al-Aṭmār al-Janiya (Ms. Bankipore) s.v. Md. b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Dihlawī; Khazīna, i, pp. 229 sq; Hadā'iq al-Ḥanafiyya, pp. 277 sq; Tadhkira 'Ulamā' p. 240; Nuzha pp. 122-3; Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, ed. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1881, p. 211; Encyclopaedia of Islam iii, 932.

Nizām al-Dīn and Ḥadīth. It is curious that Nizām al-Dīn became a student of Ḥadīth 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 learned the courses of studies obtaining in India in his days - courses of studies which were designed to suit the requirements of a qāḍī as had been stated above - Nizām 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 walī, 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 Ḥadīth. 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 which goes to show that the Shaykh had taken to the study of Ḥadīth after his initiation.

(1) Cf. below, note, 2.

(2) The sanad reads as follows :

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الحمد لمن له الاعتداء والاعطاء والصبح والرواح والمدح
 لمن له الالاء والنعاء والصبح والمداح والصلوة الفصاح على ذوى الفضائل والسماء والكلمة
 الكلام المفتاح والمناقب العلياء والاحاديث الصالح صلوة تدوم دوم الصبح والرواح
 وبعد فان الله وفق الشيخ الامام العالم الناسك السالك نظام الدين محمد بن احمد بن
 على مع وفور فضله في العلم وبلوغ قدرة ذرورة الحلم مقبول المشايخ الكبار منظور
 العلماء الاخير والابرار بان قرء هذا الاصل المستخرج من الصحيحين على ساطر هذه
 السطور في الزمان الحار وورود الامطار من اوله الى اخره قرأة بحت و
 اتقان وتنقيح معانيه وتنقيح مبانيه، وكاتب السطور يرويه قرأة وسماعا

Ḥadīth made a deep impression on Nizām al-Dīn'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 memorising forty Maqāmas of al-Ḥarīrī, he got by heart the shādīth of the Mashāriq al-Anwār. Further, the study of Ḥadīth so widened his out-look on life that he gave up the rigid conventionalism, taqlīd of the 'Ulamā' and fell in line with the Muhadathūn, as his opinion about the legality of samā', qir'at khalf al-imām and ṣalāt al-ḡanāza 'alā' al-ghā'ib amply demonstrates.

Nizām al-Dīn does not seem to have been a traditionist of great distinction as Nizām al-Dīn as a Traditionist. it appears from the perusal of his Malfūzāt, the Fawā'id al-Fū'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 Ḥadīth 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 Khānqa interest for Ḥadīth with the result that there grew up among his disciples and their successors a number of scholars who had acquired proficiency in the subject.

عن الشيخين الامين العالمين الكاملين احدهما الشيخين مؤلف شرح آثار النيرين في اخبار الصالحين و
الآخر صاحب الدرر المنيرين الامام الاجل الكامل مالك رقاب النظم والنثر برهان الملة والدين
محمود بن ابى الحسن اسعد البلخي رحمه عليه مارجمة واسعة كتابة و شفاضة وهما يرويان عن
مؤلفه واجزت له ان عنى كما هو المشروط في هذا الباب، والله اعلم بالصواب، وأوصيه ان لا
ينسيانى واولادى في دعواته في خلواته، وضح له القراءة والسماع في المسجد المنسوب الى نجم الدين
ابى بكر التواسى رحمه الله في بلدة دهلي صانها الله من الافات والعاهات، وهذه اخطا ضعف
عباد الله واحقر خلقه محمد بن احمد بن احمد المارلكى الملقب بكامل الزاهد والفراغ من القراءة
والسماع وكتب هذه السطور في الثانى والعشرين من ربيع الاول سنة تسع وسبعين وستمائة
حامد الله تعالى ومصليا على رسوله سيرة الاوليا؛ ص ١٠٢-٥

(1) Cf. Fawā'id al-Fū'ād, ed. Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1894, pp.99-100, 103-4, 115, 132.

TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF NIZAM AL-DIN.

1. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Awadī (d.747/1346).

He was a pupil of Farīd al-Dīn al-Shāfi'ī and Zāhīr al-Dīn al-Bhakkārī, the two renowned professors of their age. He also appears to have read the Mashāriq al-Anwār with his master Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā and became, in turn, a teacher of the royal institution of Delhi in the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī. In 724/1323, Nizām al-Dīn made him one of his Khalīfas. Then Muḥammad b. Tughlaq appointed him a preacher of Islam in Kashmir but before he could join his post, he died suddenly of boils in 747/1346 and was buried in Delhi.

Shams al-Dīn was the first Indian Traditionist who wrote a commentary on the Mashāriq al-Anwār and was otherwise the second Muslim to comment on the work. 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.

2. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Zarrād al-Samānūwī al-Dihlawī (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 in Ḥadīth literature. While teaching al-Hidāya in Delhi he would adduce from the Ṣaḥīḥān Ḥadīth parallel to those of al-Hidāya, strengthening thereby the basis of al-Hidāya itself. Numerous Ḥadīth are abundant in his two Arabic treatises on Samā, namely, the Uṣūl al-Samā and the Kashf al-Qinā'an Wujūh al-Samā, particularly the chapter VIII of the latter that has

(1) Akhbār al-Akhyār, pp.90-1; Mir'at al-Asrār, fol.247a; Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī, p.353; Khazīna, i, p.349; Subḥat al-Marjān, p.29; Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīyya, pp.284-5; Tadhkira-i-Ulamā, pp. 86-7; Nuzha, p.147. (2) Akhbār, p.90. (3) infra, p.216.
 (4) سألت العلامين أحياك حقا - قال العلم شمس الدين يحيى
 Nuzha, loc.cit. (5) Ma'ārif, XXII(5), 331. (6) For extracts from Uṣūl al-Samā, see Nuzha, 105-6. (7) 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, XXII(6), p.416).

been devoted to the justification of Samā' from the stand point¹ of Apostolic Traditions.

Fakhr al-Dīn participated in the famous munāzira on Samā' with his preceptor, Nizām al-Dīn Awliya. At the instance of Muḥammad b. Tughlaq, he went to Deogir (Dowlatabad) from where he proceeded to Makka, thence to Baghdad and attended the lectures of eminent Traditionists there. In 748/1347 on his way² home, he was drowned into the sea.

3. Dīyā' al-Dīn b. Mu'ayyid al-Mulk b. Barsag Barlas al-Baranī.

Ever since the commencement of his relationship with Nizām al-Dīn Awliya, Dīyā' al-Dīn Baranī, the famous author of the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī, lived at Ghiyāthpūr³ 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 Tradition⁴ may be had from the references of shādīth made in his Tārīkh⁵ particularly the brief but comparative study between Hadith and historiography (Tārīkh) he brings to bear upon its Muqaddima⁶. He observes that the study of the Qur'ān and the Apostolic precepts makes a man well-balanced and humane.⁷ He died some time after 758/⁸ 1357 when he completed his Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī.

4. Muḥiyy al-Dīn b. Jalāl al-Dīn b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kashānī (d. 719/1319).

He was one of those disciples of Nizām al-Dīn Awliya' who took lively interest in Hadīth literature. He attended the Hadīth classes of Nizām al-Dīn himself in which the latter

(1) (4) Ma'ārif, loc.cit. (2) Siyar al-Awliya, pp.273-5; Ulugh Khānī, III, 856; Akhbār, pp.85-6; Khazīna, I, 351; Tadhkira-i-Ulamā, pp.160-1, Nuzha, pp.103-6. (3) Akhbār 96-7; (4) Nuzha, 64; (5) pp.102, 511; (6) pp.9-11; (7) Ibid, p.465 (8) Ibid, p. 602 Khazīna, I, 346 gives his death-date at 738 A.H. which is evidently a mistake. His biographical notices will also be found in Khazīna, I, 346; Tadhkira-i-Ulamā, 97; and Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.288.

would explain difficult Traditions. We have it from the Khazīnat al-Aṣfiya² that Muḥiyy al-Dīn was a scholar of Ḥadīth Tafsīr and Fiqh. He belonged to a hereditary Qāḍī family of Oudh. But as a result of his taking to the life of a dāriwish, he was reduced to the lowest stage of poverty. A friend of his brought this to the notice of Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī who offered him the qāḍīship of Oudh. But Muḥiyy al-Dīn did not accept. He died in Delhi in 719/1319.³

5. Nizām al-Dīn 'Allāmī al-Ḥusaynī al-Zafarābādī (d.735/1334)

Nizām al-Dīn 'Allāmī was a scholar of great renown. His erudition in Ḥadīth literature earned for him the title of Zubdat al-Muḥaddithīn. He began his career as a disciple of Nizām al-Dīn Awliya 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, (661-793)⁴ a saint, who made 'Allāmī his Khalīfa. He compiled two treatises on Sufism, the one in Arabic called Zād al-Sulahā' and the other in Persian called Zād al-Sālikār.⁵ He died at Zafarābād in 735/1334.

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

Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Ḥusaynī al-Yazdī al-Awadī who became famous under his surname Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, the Light of Delhi, succeeded Nizām al-Dīn Awliya' in the spiritual hierarchy of Ghiyāthpūr. He read Islamic sciences with Muḥiyy al-Dīn al-Kashānī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Awadī and others. He was fairly conversant with Ḥadīth literature, as his malfūzāt, discourses, Khayr al-Majālis testifies.⁶ He died in Delhi on Friday, Ramaḍān, 13, 757/September, 1356.⁷

(1) Siyar al-Awliya, p.102. (2) Vol.1, p.325; (3) Siyar al-Awliya, pp.275 sq; Akhbār, pp.91-2; Ḥadā'iq, p.276; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā', pp.221-2; Nuzha, pp.163-4. (4) For his biography, see Faṣīh al-Dīn, Sharqī Monuments of Jawnpūr (Jawnpur, 1922), p.97. (5) Tajallī-i-Nūr, p.22; Ma'ārif, XXV(5), 346; Nuzha, p.175. (6) Ma'ārif XXII(5), p.331. The Khayr al-Majālis was compiled in the course of 755-6 A.H. by Poet Ḥanīd, a disciple of Nizām al-Dīn Awliya (Akhbār al-Akhyār, p.80); (7) Siyar al-Awliya; p.236 sq.; Akhbār, 74; Khazīna, i. 354. Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā' 86

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

Abū'l-Fath Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī 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 Khānqa of Ghiyāth-pūr. Born in Delhi in Rajab 4, 721/July, 1321, he read with Sharf al-Din al-Kathhilī, Tāj al-Din Muḥaddam and Qāḍī 'Abd al-Muqtadir (d.791). In 801/1399, he quitted Delhi on account of Timur's invasion and after spending several years in Gujarāt and Dawlatābād he reached Gulbarga in 815/1412 and was received with every mark of respect by Sultān Fīrūz shāh Bahmanī (800-25/1397-1422). Prince Aḥmad shāh became his disciple and built for him a fine house with a convent attached to it. He died there on Monday, Dhū'l-Qa'da 26, 825/October¹, 1422.

Sayyid Muḥammad Gisū Darāz is said to have written over one hundred books on different branches of Islamic learning. His works on Ḥadīth are as follows:

i. Sharḥ Mashāriq al-Anwār. The peculiar feature of this commentary is the interpretation of ḥadīth from the point of view of sufism.

ii. Tarjuma-i-Mashāriq al-Anwār, a Persian translation of the Mashāriq al-Anwār.

iii. Kitāb al-Arba'īn, a treatise of select forty Traditions. The author added to every Ḥadīth parallel sayings of the Ṣaḥāba, Tābi'ūn and Mashā'ikh.

iv. A treatise on Sīrat al-Nabī

8. Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn.

Another eminent disciple of Chirāgh-i-Dihlī who was well-versed in Ḥadīth literature, was Wajīh al-Dīn. He

(1) Firishta, i, 316; Akhbār, pp.123 sq; Khazīna, pp.381-2; Tadhkira-i-Ulamā, p.82; Nuzha, iii(Ms), s.v. Md.b.Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Dihlawī; Beale, op.cit., p.187; Rien, Persian Mss., i, p.347 b. (2) Nuzha, loc.cit. (3) Ibid, (4) Ibid, (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid.

flourished in the 8th century. His title to fame rests on his being the author of Miftāh al-Jinān¹ (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 Sahih, 'approved', treatise on Tradition and that is presumably the Mashāriq al-Anwār. A Ms. copy of this work transcribed in 1084/1673 is in the British Museum.³

9. Qādī Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī (d.849/1445)

Malik al-'Ulamā' Shihāb al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn b. 'Umar al-Zawūlī 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'in al-Dīn al-Imrānī (d.circ. 807), Mawlānā Khawajgī (d.819) and Qādī 'Abd al-Muqtadir al-Shuraihī (d.791) of whom the last mentioned scholar who was a disciple of Chirāgh-i-Dihlī,⁴ was his spiritual guide. During Timur's invasion, he migrated along with Mawlānā Khawajgī to Kalpī⁵ whence he came over to Jawnpore and settled there permanently. Shihāb al-Dīn enjoyed patronage of Sultan Ibrāhīm al-Sharqī (804-44/1401-40) who conferred on him the title of Malik al-'Ulamā', 'the Prince of the Scholars'. He died in Rajab 25, 849/October, 1445 and was buried beside the Atala mosque of Ibrāhīm Sharqī at Jawnpore.⁶

Shihāb al-Dīn left us, among other works, a treatise on the excellence of the Sayyids, entitled Manāqib al-Sādat⁷

(1) Hājī Khalīfa, op.cit., vol.vi, ii. (2) Rien, Persian Mss, i, 40-1. (3) ~~oxford~~ No.691, fol.344. (4) Nuzha, p.71. (5) Hunter, Imperial Gazetteer, Oxford(1908), vol.XIV, p.317. (6) Firishṭa, ii, 306; Akhbār, pp.156, 169-70; Subḥat al-Marjān 29; Mā'athar al-Kirām, 188-9; Nawwāb Siddiq Hasan, Abjad al-'Ulūm (Bhupāl, 1296) p.893; Fiqsār al-Juyūd (Bhupāl, 1298 A.H.), 164; Khazīna, i, 390-2; Sanā Ullāh, Tazkira 'Ulamā'-i-Jawnpūr (Calcutta, 1934), pp.19-23, Tajallī-i-Nūr, ii, 33; Hadā'iq, 319; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā', 88-9; Hayāt-i-Shibli, pp.11-3; Storey, Persian Literature (London, 1927), Section i, 9-10; Ency. of Islām, i, 932. (7) Brockelmann, Geschichte (Leiden, 1938) Sup. I, 309-10.

or Sharaf al-Sādat, where-in he quoted copiously verses from the Qur'ān and ahadith from the Mashāriq al-Anwār, Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna, Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ and Sharḥ Ma'ānī al-Athār by al-Tahāwī.¹

10. Mawlānā Khawajī al-Karawī (d.878/1473).

Shams al-Dīn Khawajī b. Ahmad b. Shams al-Dīn al-Uraydī al-Multānī al-Karawī traced his descent from Isma'īl b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d.148). He was a Ṣūfī scholar and compiled an Arb'īn with Traditions selected from the Mashāriq al-Anwār and committed it to memory. He died at his native place at Kara, near Allahabad, in Muḥarram 18, 878/May, 1473. His tomb² 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 Nizām 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 Nizām-al-Dīn, such as Shams-al-Dīn al-Awadī, Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī and others.⁴

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

Makhdūm al-Mulk Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī al-Biharī (661-782/1263-1381).

Sharaf al-Dīn Ahmad b. Yahyā al-Manirī, the celebrated saint of Bihar, was born on Friday, Shawwāl, 661/August, 1263 at Manir⁵ a village 60 miles off from the present Biḥār

(1) Infra, p. 72 (2) Nuzha, iii, s.v. Shams al-Dīn Khawājī.
(3) His tomb ensrined the following inscription composed by khawajgi himself:

برائے خدا ہی عز و شان ہے۔ نو سید بے گورمن ابن سخن
کہ چون خواجگان در تہی خاک شد۔ نیکو شد ز حکم جہان پاک شد

(4) Supra, p. 58 ; cf. Nuzha, p. 170, 269, p. 171, no. 272.
(5) Manir has been variously read as Munair, Maner and Mx Munayr (Calcutta Review, vol. LXXI (April-June), p. 195.)
For correct reading, 'Abd al-Ḥayy, Nuzha (Hyderabad, 1350), p. 9.

Sharif in Patna. He was educated at Sunārgāon under the fostering care of his teacher (afterwards, father-in-law) Abū Tawāma al-Ḥanbalī. On the conclusion of his studies in 691/1291, he proceeded to Delhi, had an interview with Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā¹ and then went to Lahore and became a disciple of Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn al-Firdawsī (d.733²). He subsequently spent the next thirty years of his life in the forests of Bihiya and Rajgīr in the meditation of and in holding common with, God. Sometime between 720-4/1320-4, he gave up the life of seclusion and started the career of a spiritual guide. His Khānqa 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 Rajgīr to meet its expenses. The monument stands to this day. The Makhdūm died at Manir in Shawwāl 6, 782/January, 1381³.

Sharaf al-Dīn, as a Traditionist.

Sharaf al-Dīn was an outstanding traditionist of this part of India. He was thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of Ḥadīth literature. viz. ʿIlm al-Taʿwīl al-Ḥadīth, ʿIlm Rijāl al-Ḥadīth and ʿIlm Mustalahāt al-Ḥadīth⁴. His maktūbāt and books on sufism are interspersed with aḥādīth both verbatim and reproduced. This is not all. At times he would devote pages of his works for the discussion

(1) Mir'at al-Asrar, fol. 462a. سعادت خدمت سلطان المشايخ نظام الدين اوليا در بايت، سلطان المشايخ: برگ تهنويل داد و رخصت فرمود.
also Nuzha, p.9; Ma'arif, XXIII(4), p.297. (2) He was a disciple of Rukn al-Dīn al-Firdawsī (d.724), the pioneer of the Firdawsī order in India (Khazīna, ii, 286).
(3) Akhbār, p.109; Mir'at Asrār, foll. 461a, 461b; Khazīna, ii, 290 sq; Tadhkira-i-ʿUlamā, 84; Nuzha, 8-10; Beale, 249, 254; Bankīpūr catalogue, XVI, 25; Ency. of Islām, —; S.K. Rahmān, — Calcutta Review, LXXI (April-June, 1939) pp.195-214 art. Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Ahmad Yahyā of Munayr; Ma'arif, XXIII(4), 297. (4) i.e. the sciences of interpretation, transmitters and techniques of Traditions. For details on these aspects of Ḥadīth literature, Vide Abjad al-ʿUlūm, pp.289, 384; Miftāh al-Sunna, pp.145, 160. (5) For his works, see Cal. Review, pp.210-11.

of the different aspect of the Science, e.g. Riwāyat bi 'l-Ma'f'nā (narration of the meaning of the Traditions and *not* the wordings thereof), Shurūt al-Rāwī (conditions for an approved transmitter) and soon and so forth. In his works references have been made of the Ṣaḥīḥān, the Musnad of Abū Ya'f'lā al-Mawṣilī, Sharḥ al-Waṣābīh and Mashāriq al-Anwār. Further, a copy of Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim by al-Nawawī (d.672) is believed to have been in his possession for the purpose of his study¹. He is credited to have, for the first time, introduced the teaching of the Ṣaḥīḥān in Bihār, nay in India². He was not merely well-conversant in Ḥadīth. 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 Islām had tasted it³. Last but not the least, he was an authority of the mystical teachings of both the Qur'ān and the Sunna⁴. As both Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' of Delhi and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī of Bihar were Ṣūfīs and contributed materially to the cause of Ḥadīth literature in this country, an estimate of their achievement in this regard may not be out of place here.

A comparative estimate of Sharaf al-Dīn and Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', as Traditionists.

Sharaf al-Dīn played the role of a leading spiritual guide in Bihār as did Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' in Delhi. Both were scholars of Islamic learning. As to their attainments in the field of Ḥadīth literature, the former seems to have carried away the palms. This was because of the fact that

(1) Ibid, pp.197, 211; Ma'ārif, XXII(5), pp.331-2; Shah Najm al-Dīn, Ma'ārif, XXIII(4), 295-8 art.

(2) See infra, p. 74 (3) Cf. his Khawān-i-Pūr-i-Ni'mat (Ahmadī Press, Patna, 1321 A.H.) 3rd Majlis, p.8. .
 (4) Nuzha, p.10.

Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā¹ 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-Anwār² whereas Sharaf al-Dīn had the advantage of being educated under the Ḥanbalite Abū Tawāma who must, of necessity, have laid stress on Ḥadīth. Naturally enough, he became more conversant with Ḥadīth literature. Further, unlike Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā³, Sharaf al-Dīn had access to quite a large number of works on Ḥadīth which he presumably collected from his teacher⁴ as also from his friends. The fact that Shaykh Zain al-Dīn of Dewa presented to him a copy of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim⁵, supports our contention.

Now a word about the Traditionists of his School.

1. Shaykh Muẓaffar al-Balkhī (d.786/1384).

Muẓaffar b. Shams al-Dīn al-Balkhī was the Khalifa, representative, of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī. Born and educated at Delhi, Muẓaffar was appointed by Firūz 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 Muẓaffar, too, were initiated by the Chirm Pūsh. Because the Chirm Pūsh was an unlettered saint, Muẓaffar preferred Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī to him. But owing to his official preoccupation in Delhi, he could not join the Khānqa of Sharaf al-Dīn until 25 years after his initiation during which period, however, Muẓaffar received instructions by correspondence. He then came over to Manir along with the members of his family. In recognition of his profound scholarship in Islamic sciences, Muẓaffar got the sobriquet of Imām from his teacher Sharaf al-Dīn.

(1) Supra, p. 65 (2) Ma'ārif, XXIII(4), loc.cit. (3) infra, p. 74-5. (4) He was a scholar of the 8th century (Nuzha, p.46). (5) Ibid, Ma'ārif, XXIII(4), p.296.

Muẓaffar, as a Traditionist:

He prepared a commentary on the Mashāriq al-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 Tawhīd as follows:

فرزند حسین سند حدیث برین فقیر کرده، صحیح مسلم و صحیح بخاری من اوله و اخره لفظاً برین فقیر تحقیق کرده،

I do hereby certify that Ḥusain has got sanad in Ḥadīth from me having read the Sahīf^h of Muslim and al-Bukhārī from the beginning to the end and scrutinising (every) word with me.¹

After the demise of his dearly beloved preceptor, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī, Muẓaffar migrated to Makka and eventually died at Aden in Jumādā I, 788/June, 1336.²

2. Ḥusain b. Mu'izz al-Bihārī (d.844/1441)

Ḥusain alias Nawsha-i-Tawhīd was a nephew and khalīfa of Muẓaffar al-Balkhī. He was a mystic of the Firdawsī order as well as a Traditionist. Brought up by Makhdūm Sharaf al-Dīn, Nawsha read the Sahīhān with his uncle Muẓaffar thoroughly well. His father Shaykh al-Islām Mu'izz al-Bihārī who was ~~x~~ himself a Traditionist of some distinction, made a present to him of a copy of the Sahīh of Muslim, transcribed on a silk brocade in beautiful Arabic calligraphy, as a token of the latter's great interest for Ḥadīth literature. He accompanied his uncle to al-Ḥijāz and further studied the science of Tradition at Aden under al-Khatīb al-ʿAdanī.³⁴

(1) Ma'ārif, vol. XXIII(4), p. 298. (2) Akhbār, p. 110; Mir'at-i-Asrār, fol. 520a; Khazīna, ii, 299; Ma'ārif XXIII(4) p. 298; Nuzha (Ms), iii, s.v. Ḥusain b. Mu'izz al-Bihārī; Waḥshī Nigrāmī, Wafayāt al-Akhyār (Lucknow, 1320, A.H.), p. 99. (3) Supra (4) Muḥammad Shu'aib, Manāqib al-Aṣfiyā, p. 150, quoted in Ma'ārif, vol. XXIV(4), p. 251.

Nawsha-i-Tawhīd added to the Khānqa of Manir a number of Ḥadīth works which were brought down from al-Ḥijāz. He wrote several books on mysticism, the famous being Ḥaḍarat-i-khams, and also a Diwān in Persian. His treatise called Risāla Awrād-i-Dah Faṣlī is full of aḥādīth not only from the Sibāh Sitta but also from the Sunan of al-Baihaqī and the Mustadrak of al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī. He died at Manir in Dhū' l-Ḥijja, 844/May, 1441¹.

3. Aḥmad Langar-i-Darīya b. Ḥasan b. Muḥaffar al-Bihārī (d.891/1486).

He succeeded his father in the Khānqa of Manir. He committed to memory the entire Maṣābīh al-Sunna within six months in order to get applause and approbation from his grand-father Muḥaffar al-Balkhī. In his Munis al-Qulūb, a collection of his Malfūzāt, discourses, Aḥmad freely quotes from the Ṣaḥīḥān, the Mashāriq al-Anwār and other Ḥadīth compilations. He died in 891/1486² and with him perhaps terminated the line of the reputed scholars of the house of Muḥaffar al-Balkhī who succeeded in the Khānqa of Manir.

III. ALĪ AL-HAMADĀNĪ AND HIS SCHOOL IN KASHMĪR

XXX

Ḥadīth was first brought to Kashmīr by Sayyid Amīr-i-Kabīr Ālī b. Shihāb al-Hamadānī, an itinerant darwish of Khurāsān, who entered the territory in 772/1371 with a retinue of seven hundred followers. He was a great success as a missionary in Kashmīr where he and his disciples were mainly responsible for the expansion of Islām³. So great was his influence over there that Sultān Quṭb al-Dīn, the ruler of Kashmīr (770-95/1368-92) took pride in accepting

(1) Akhbār, 114 sq; Nuzha (Ms), iii, s.v. Ḥusain b. Mu'izz al-Bihārī; Ma'ārif, XXIII(4), pp.298-9, XXIV(4), p.251, note 2. (2) Ma'ārif, XXIII(4), 299. (3) Arnold, Preachings of Islām, p.292.

his discipleship. Al-Hamadānī spent in that country the last years of his life and died in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 6, 786/January, 1385, while on his way to Persia. He was buried at Khutlān in the Transoxania.⁴

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

(1) Al-Sab'īn fi Fadā'il Amīr al-Mu'minīn, a collection of seventy Traditions dealing with excellences of Ahl bait, the descendants of the Prophet. The bulk of these ahādīth have been gathered from the ~~XXXX~~ Musnad of Firdaūs al-Daylamī, a book not considered reliable by the Traditionists.

(2) Arba'īn Amīriyya, 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)².

Besides, his Dhakhīrat al-Mulūk, a treatise on political philosophy, abounds with Traditions, furnishing proof of his mastery of Ḥadīth literature.³

Among the followers of 'Alī al-Hamadānī, Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn was a Muḥaddith whom Sultān Quṭb al-Dīn appointed as a teacher in Kashmīr.⁴

This Khānqa was built by Sultān Khānqa-i-Mu'allā in Kashmīr & Ḥadīth. Sikandar, the successor of Sultān Quṭb al-Dīn, in 799/1396 for Mir 'Alī al-Hamadānī's son Mir Muḥammad al-Hamadānī (d.809), who, on his father's

(1) Jāmi, Nafahāt, 399-400; Khawāja Afzam Shāh, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr (Lahore, 1303, A.H.), 36-7; Mir'at-i-Asrār, foll. 323 sq; Khazīna, ii, 293 sq; Ḥadā'iq, 297-8, Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā, 148; Nuzha, 87 sq; Firishta, ii, 339; Beale, 238; Newell, History of ~~Risshy~~ Cashmere JASSB, XXIII, 414; XXXIII, 278. For other references, vide Rieu, Persian Mss. vol.ii, 4476. (2) Brockelmann, Geschichte, ii, 211; Nuzha, o.89-90. (3) Cf. Bānkīpūr copy No.943, vol.ix, 194. (4) Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, p.32; Khazīna, ii, 297.

death, had come to Kashmir with three hundred disciples. It was a seat of learning until it developed into a semi-nary of Hājī Kashmīrī, a Traditionist of the 10th century. ¹ Qādi Husayn al-Shirāzī, A native of Shirāz, Husayn came to Kashmīr with his preceptor Mīr Muhammad al-Hamadānī. Sultān Sekandar appointed him judge in his dominion. ² Husayn collected ahādīth Ratanīyyā, ³ the forged Traditions emanating from Bābā Ratan al-Hindī, a master fabricator (waddā) of the early 7th century A.H., who had the audacity to give out that he had enjoyed subbat, companionship of the Prophet. ⁴

IV. SHAYKH ZAKARĪYYA AL-MULTĀNĪ & HIS SCHOOL OF MUHADDITHŪN AT MULTĀN.

Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyya (d.666) was a pioneer of Ḥadīth learning at Multān. After him his mantle fell on the shoulders of his sons and grand sons. 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-Muhaddīth. 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, Uch, where he taught the Mashāriq al-Anwār and the Maṣābīh al-Sunna. So devoted was he to the Sunna of the Prophet that he used to put on coarse garment as the Prophet did. Jamāl al-Dīn flourished in the first half of the 8th century A.H. ⁴⁵

(1) See below, p./28 (2) Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, p.39.
(3) Brockelmann, Supplement ii, 625-6. (4) Iṣāba, i, 1087-1101. (5) Khazīna, ii, 37; Nuzha, 24-5.

Makhdūm-i-Jahānīyān 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 Uch in 707/1307. After his education at his native town under Qāḍī Bahā' al-Dīn al-Uchī and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith,¹ he joined the school of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyya at Multān, which was then being conducted by Shaykh Abū 'l-Fath Rukn al-Dīn b. Ṣadr al-Dīn, (d.735) a grand² son of Bahā' al-Dīn. Here, on finishing within one year the existing courses of study comprising the Mashāriq al-Anwār and the Maṣābīh al-Sunna, Jalāl al-Dīn became a disciple of Rukn al-Dīn. He further received instructions in Sufism at Delhi from Shams al-Dīn al-Awadī and Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, in al-Madīna from 'Afīf 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 Fīrūz 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 aḥādīth impressed him, as did Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awlīyā', to practise gīr'at khalf al-Imām and Ṣalāt al-ī Janāza ala 'l-Ghā'ib.² He used to impart lesson on Ḥadīth literature, so that we find him lecturing on the Mashāriq al-Anwār and the Maṣābīh al-Sunna during his sojourn at Delhi in 775/³ 1375 and 781/⁴ 1379. He died at Uch in 785/1383.

(1) Nuzha, 25. (2) Nuzha, 29; Khazīna.
(3) Nuzha, vol.iii, s.v. 'Alā' al-Dīn b. 'Alī b. As'ad al-Dihlawī. (4) Akhbār, 133-5; Nuzha, 28-35.

Retrospect

Until the middle of the 9th century A.H., the only Ḥadīth compilations available at the great University-city of Jawnpūr¹ were the Mashāriq, the Maṣābīh, the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh and the Sharḥ Ma'ānī 'l-Athār by al-Ṭahāwī. This we gather from the perusal of the Sharaf al-Sādat,² a treatise written at Jawnpūr sometime between 807-49/1406-45, which contains aḥādīth not only from the afore-said works on Ḥadīth but also from al-Hidāya, Tafsīr al-Kashshāf, & Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī, Fatwā-i-Qaḍīkhān, Fatwā-i-Tātārkhānīya, al-Durr al-Manthūr, Sharḥ Farā'id Sirājīyya by al-Taftāzānī, al-Baḥr al-Muḥīt, Tārīkh al-Naṣab by Abū 'l-Qāsim, Akhbār al-Thimār, Farā'id al-Ḥalālīyya, etc. The quoting of aḥādīth from non-Ḥadīth works as mentioned above, points to the dearth of any comprehensive collection of Traditions like the Jawāmi'³ Masānīd⁴ or Sunan works⁵ during the period under review, at Jawnpūr. Now, as a result of Timur's invasion ~~(801-2/1398-9)~~ (801-2/1398-9) cultural centres of Delhi were mostly⁶ diverted to Jawnpūr, so that the latter became a replica of the former and as such the state of affairs of Ḥadīth 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 Ḥadīth learning, does not seem to have possessed any more Ḥadīth works than the Mashāriq, ~~and~~ the Maṣābīh and the Sharḥ Ma'ānī l-Athār. As for the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh we have no evⁱdence to show if it was available at Delhi at the time.

(1) Law, Promotion of Learning, p.102. (2) Cf. Ms. Bānkīpūr, No.1179 (Persian Mss). (3) i.e. Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī and Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī. (4) e.g. Musnad Ahmad b. Ḥanbal. (5) e.g., Sunan Abī Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī etc. (6) Al-Nadwa, March, 1941, Ḥayāt-i-Shiblī, pp.11-3.

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

(1) Sunan of Abū Dāwūd.

The earliest reference of aḥādīth from the Sunan of Abū ~~Rasūx~~ Dāwūd is noticed in al-Juzjānī's ¹ Ṭabāqāt-i-Nāṣirī written during the Sultānate of Naṣīr 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.

(II) Mashāriq al-Anwār.

The earliest available work on Ḥadīth in India was al-Ṣaghānī's Mashāriq al-Anwār which had been introduced into Delhi by Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 676), a ² pupil of al-Ṣaghānī, about the middle of the 7th century. By 679/1280 Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awlīyā' completed ³ his study of the work which he later committed to memory. Since then the Mashāriq al-Anwār began to be more and more popular among the Ṣūfī scholars of India. During the time of Sultān Muḥammad b. Tughlaq (725-52), it was the only available work on Ḥadīth in Delhi as is evident from the fact that the Sultān received bay'at, oath of allegiance, from his officials in the presence of the Qur'ān and a copy of the ⁴ Mashāriq al-Anwār only. While leaving Delhi for the Deccan on account of Timur's invasion (801-2), the only book on Ḥadīth Gīṣū Darāz (d. 825), the then representative of the spiritual hierarchy founded by Nizām al-Dīn, could lay his hand upon and did

(1) Pages 325-6; cf. Ma'ārif XXIV(4), 251. (2) Supra, p. 5/
 (3) Supra, h 56 (4) Tārīkh-Fīrūzshāhī, p. 495.

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, Uch and Manir. As a matter of fact, the Mashāriq was the most popular treatise on Ḥadīth then known.

(III) Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna.

Al-Baghawī's Maṣābiḥ 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 Uch by Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bukhārī (d.785) and the Traditionist Jamāl al-Dīn al-Uchī, respectively, and that it was referred to in the works of Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā al-Manirī (d.782¹).

(IV) Al-Ṣaḥīḥān:

Makhdūm al-Mulk Sharaf al-Dīn was the first scholar to have made reference of the Ṣaḥīḥān in his works compiled sometime between 741-86/1340-84². Of all places the presence of the Ṣaḥīḥān in the Khānca of Manir at this time seems to be a mystery that cannot be easily unravelled. May be that while a student at Sunārgāon, the Makhdūm al-Mulk had procured them from the collection of his teacher and father-in-law Abū Tawāma who must have brought ~~h~~ them with him when coming ov^{er} to India³. Further the Makhdūm had also an additional copy of the Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim presented to him by Zain al-Dīn of Dewa, a scholar of the 8th century.

(1) Supra, p. 65.

(2) Calcutta Review, LXXXI, p. 210.

(3) Supra, p. 52.

To add to that, Shaykh al-Islām Mu'izz al-Bihārī rewarded his son Nawsha-i-Tawhīd of the Khānqa with a further copy of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim.

(V) Sunan Arba'¹ Sunan al-Baihaqī and al-Mustadrak.

Until the death of Makhdūm Sharaf al-Dīn in 782/1381, the Khānqa of Manir possessed only the Ṣaḥīḥān, the Maṣābīḥ al-Sunna, the Mashāriq and the Musnad of Abū Ya'lī al-Mawṣilī. Subsequently the khānqa was enriched by the addition to it of the Sunan Arba', the Sunan of al-Baihaqī and the Mustadrak of al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī brought by Nawsha-i-Tawhīd from al-Ḥijāz.

(VI) Sharḥ Ma'āni 'l-Āthār.

The Ma'āni 'l-Āthār by al-Taḥāwī (d.320) was introduced ^{into Selhi} towards the middle of the 8th century as the work has been refered to in Sharaf Muḥammad al-'Aṭṭārī's Fawā'id-i-Firūzshāhī, a work on Fiqh dedicated to Sulṭān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq (652-90)². The work was also available at Jawnpūr.

(VII) Musnad Firdaws al-Daylamī.

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

(VIII) Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ.

The Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ 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.

(1) i.e. the Sunan of Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja and the Jāmi' of al-Tirmidhī. (2) Bānkīpūr Catalogue, vol.xiv, No.1225.

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

Sihāh Sitta, Masābih al-Sunna, Mashāriq al-Anwār, Mishkāt al-Masābih, Sharh Maʿānī 'l-Āthār, Sunan al-Baihaqī, al-Mustadrak li 'l-Ḥākim, the Musnad of Firdaws and the Musnad of Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawsilī.

CHAPTER IV.

RENAISSANCE OF ḤADĪTH LEARNING IN INDIA.

(820-992/1417-1584)

SECTION I. Transmission of Ḥadīth to India from al-Ḥijāz.

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 Ḥadīth 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 ~~xxx~~ these neighbouring Muslim kingdoms was a land mark in the domain of cultural activities. Enlightened and accomplished Sultāns 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 Fīrūz 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 Sultāns alone, but some of their viziers also distinguished themselves as educationists and patrons of learning. Mention in this respect may be made of Mahmūd

(1) Law, op.cit., pp.83-5. (2) Ibid, p.106.

Gāwān of Deccan 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 their incomes on the maintainance of the poor and famished litterateurs living in the different parts of the Muslim World. As a matter of fact, the Deccan, under the Bahmanīs, and Gujarāt under the Muzaffar Shāhīs, became a cynosure for the scholars, litterateurs, poets and talented persons desirous of obtaining patronage. As a result, the Muḥaddithūn from al-Hijāz 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 accross the Arabian Sea in place of long and hazardous land route hitherto used by the Indian Muslims. Hence—forth, 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 came to be then known as Bāb Makka,¹ the Gate of Makka. Further, as the commerce of the Arabs with South Indian ports that had long been established, now became extensive, sailings were² 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 Ḥadīth learning in India.

(1) Cambridge History of India, III, 312; Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 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).

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 introduced into the Muslim settlements of South India which had come into being under the auspices of the Arab traders and missionaries prior to 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 in Malabār Coast in the 3rd century of the Hijra, 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 two-fold purposes. It was, first, a place for congregational services (jamā'at) 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.² 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 Malabar Coast. Henceforward, with

(1) Muslim settlements were found in Malabār Coast, Ma'bar (Coromandal Coast) and Gujarāt. For details, see Nadawī, Arab wa Hind Ki Ta'arūqāt, pp.265, 302. (2) Zayn al-Dīn, Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn, ed. Hyderabad, pp.14-21; Tara Chand, Influence of Islām on Indian Culture, p.35; Preachings of Islām, p.265; Decca University Journal, XVI, 1942, p.82, art. Early Expansion of Islam in South India. (3) Ency. of Islam, III, 350-3.

the expansion of Islam and the establishment of Arab colonies there, there rose Chapels and splendid mosques on all sides ¹ which, evidently, developed into the seats of Islamic learning. Further, institution in the 4th century of the office of Qādī in the kingdom of Zamorin, ² shows the growing activities of the Islamic Sharī'a there.

That, having been introduced in the 3rd century, Islamic learning went on gaining in popularity in the Muslim colonies of South India, is abundantly clear from the account of Ibn Baṭūṭa. By his time i.e., the middle of the 8th century, religious learning was so much in evidence and the number of the 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, en masse were Hāfiẓāt, memorisers, of the Qur'ān - an extra-ordinary feature of the great popularity of religious learning seldom to be met with anywhere at the time. ³ At Manjarūr (Mangalore in South Kanara, Madras), Ibn Baṭūṭa saw a Shāfi'ite qādī, Badral-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. ⁴ In the Jāmi' of Hīlī, again, a number of students were found receiving instructions, while their board and lodge were supplied gratis. ⁵ The mosques he saw at Calicut likewise provided for religious teachings.

The foregoing lines amply demonstrate how wide spread religious education was among the Muslim settlements of South India on the eve of Muslim conquest. Whether with

(1) Mas'ūdī, Marūj al-Dhahab, ed. Meynard, Paris, vol. i, 382, ~~also~~ also Nadawī, pp. 269, 280-1, 283 sq. (2) Nadawī, p. 279, quoting from Ajā'ib al-Hind, by Buzarg b. Shahryār (Leiden, 1836), p. 144. (3) Ibn Baṭūṭa, op. cit., vol. IV, 65-7. (4) Ibid, pp. 79-80. (5) Ibid, pp. 81-2. Hīlī has been identified with Mount Dolly, 16 miles north of Cannanore in the province of Madras (Gibb, Ibn Baṭūṭa, Travels in Asia

the growth of religious learning the study of Ḥadīth was pursued alongside that of the Qur'ān remains yet to be seen.

Unlike the Muslims of Northern India who professed the Ḥanafite School of Law, those of the South were ¹ Shāfi'ītes, the former^s representing the religious learning of the Central Asia, viz., ² Fiqh, while the latter^s that of al-Ḥijāz, viz., Ḥadīth - a state of things that cannot but serve as an object lesson for our present query. After all, the Shāfi'ītes were more attached to Ḥadīth than the Ḥanafites who concerned ³ themselves more with Fiqh, as we have already observed. ⁴

The Moorish traveller Ibn Baṭūṭa to whom we owe some interesting side-lights 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 Shāfi'īte jurist (faqīh) in the Muslim colonies. ⁵ About fifty years after Ibn Baṭūṭa had visited the South, there were found in some towns of the Deccan a number of Muḥaddithūn who were recipients of endowments from Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī I (780-99/1378-97). ⁶ 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, in the true sense of

& Africa (London, 1929) vol.II, 296; Nadawī, p.292).

(1) Cf. Ibn Baṭūṭa, pp.66, 68, 80, 88; Nadawī, p.259. (2) Ma'ārif XXII(4), 253-4. (3) Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, *al-Inṣāf*, ed. Mujtaba'i Press (Delhi, 1909), pp.77, 79-80. (4) *Supra*, (5) Pages 66, 68, 78, 80, 88, 90. (6) Firishta, vol.1, 302.

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 Baṭūṭa of the Shāfi'īte scholars who may well be called Muḥaddithūn. We may, therefore, safely presume that the Shāfi'ī Fiqahā' of Ibn Baṭūṭa'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 Shāhīs came to power, Ḥadīth literature had already been introduced into South India by the Shāfi'īte scholars, although the 9th century marked the dawn of its new era.

The Schools of Muḥaddithūn through which aḥādīth were transmitted to India.

During the first quarter of the 9th century while

Ḥadīth 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 Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (773-852), one of the greatest Traditionists Islām has ever produced. This school produced among others 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sakhāwī (831-902) and Zaīn al-Dīn Zakarīyya al-Anṣārī (826-925), the two outstanding Traditionists of their time. Of them, the first had Ḥaramayn as the centre of his activities, while the other, al-Qāhira. It was Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī (909-974), a worthy pupil of Zakarīyya al-Anṣārī who was responsible for enhancing the reputation of Makka as a famous seat of Ḥadīth learning.

(1) Shadharāt, vol.VII, 270-3. (2) Ibid, vol.VIII, 15-7, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Idrūsī, al-Nūr al-Sāfir 'An Akhbār al-Qarn al-Āshir (Baghdād, 1934), pp.17-20. (3) Al-Nūr Al-Sāfir, pp.122-3; Shadharāt, VIII, 134-6. (4) Al-Nūr al-Sāfir, 287-92; Shadharāt, VIII, 370-1.

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 Ḥadīth literature to India.

Egypt: the Home of
Ḥadīth
Arabia: its transmitting
centre.

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-Qaṣṭalānī (d. 923). To the credit of Egypt, may it be said that most of the traditionists who transmitted Ḥadīth to India were either Egyptians or their disciples. Nevertheless, Arabia remained the transmitting centre from where Ḥadīth 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-Anṣarī in Egypt, could not command that amount of popularity as those of al-Sakhāwī and al-Haythamī in al-Ḥijāz did. Without minimising Arabia's contribution towards the transmission of Ḥadīth in India, in fairness to Egypt, it must be said that but for the Egyptians Muḥaddithūn, Ḥadīth 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-Damāminī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī who were the earliest immigrants to India.

Badr al-Dīn al-Damāmīnī (763-827/1361-1424).

Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Makhzūmī al-Iskandarī al-Mālikī al-Damāmīnī reached Gujarāt in Sha'bān, 820/September, 1417, during the reign of Sultān Aḥmad b. Muẓaffar Shāh (814-43/1411-43)¹. On the eve of his migration to India, he was a Professor in the Jāmi' Zabīd in al-Yaman². Here he prepared a Commentary upon the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī entitled Maṣābiḥ al-Jāmi'. While still at Zabīd, his dedication of this work to Aḥmad Shāh shows that al-Damāmīnī had already been impressed with the literary munificence of the Sultān. In Gujarāt al-Damāmīnī wrote his Ta'liq al-Farā'id, Tuḥfat al-Gharīb Sharḥ al-Mughnī 'l-Labīb and 'Ain al-Hayāt fī khulāsa Hayāt al-Hayawān by al-Damīrī all of which were consecrated to the memory of his patron Aḥmad Shāh. At this time, the Deccan had in Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī (800-25/1397-1422) and his successor Aḥmad Shāh (825-38/1422-34), two illustrious patrons of learning. The latter's patronage to the learned and the pious attracted al-Damāmīnī to Gulbarga, the capital of the Bahmanī Sultāns, where he spent the last days of his life until he died in Sha'bān, 827/July, 1424. He dedicated his al-Manḥal al-Ṣafī fī Sharḥ al-Wafī, a treatise on Arabic grammar to his Bahmanī patron, Aḥmad Shāh.⁷

(1) 'Abd al-Hayy Nadawī, Nuzha, III (Ms), s.v. al-Badr al-Damāmīnī; Loth, Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the India Office (London, 1877), p. 267 No. 964 (2) Al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw' al-Lāmi' (Cairo, 1353 A.H.) vol. VII, pp. 185-6. (3) Ḥājī Khalīfa vol. II, p. 529; Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, Ithāf al-Nubalā', ed. Bhupal, p. 53; al-Ḥiṭṭa (Cawnpore, 1283 A.H.), p. 93. From an old Ms. of the Maṣābiḥ al-Jāmi' it appears that the author completed the work at Zabīd in Rabī' I, 818 A.H. The date 828 A.H. as given in the Ithāf al-Nubalā', loc. cit. and al-Ḥiṭṭa, loc. cit., is evidently a mistake for 818 as al-Damāmīnī died in 827 A.H. (4) Nuzha, loc. cit., Yād-l-Ayyām, p. 36. (5) Al-Damāmīnī, al-Manḥal al-Ṣafī fī Sharḥ al-Wafī, al-Muḡaddima (Ms. in Aṣafiya Library, Hyderabad No. 50) fragments quoted in the Sultān Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī, a biographical treatise by Mawlawī-Zahīr al-Dīn (Hyderabad, 1936) pp. 132-5. (6) Al-Daw' al-Lāmi', vol. VII, 185-6; Shadharāt, vol. VII, 181-2; Shawkānī Ṣafī, loc. cit. (7) Al-Daw' al-Lāmi', loc. cit.

al-Badr al-Jāmi' (Cairo, 13118), vol. II, 150 sq.
(7) Al-Manḥal al-Ṣafī, loc. cit.

Born at Alexandria in 763/1361, Badr al-Dīn al-Damā-
mīnī, on finishing his studies under his grand father al-
Bahā' al-Damāminī, his cousin, the famous Ibn Khaldūn (d.
808) and some other teachers of al-Qāhira and Makka, held
the Professorship of the Jāmi' al-Azhar for several years.¹
He was an authority in Arabic lexicography and grammar² and
had been mentioned as such by al-Suyūṭī in his *Bughyat al-
Wu'āt*.³ He also wrote a few books on Ḥadīth literature. His
Maṣābiḥ al-Jāmi',⁴ a Ms. copy of which is in the Khadīwīyya
library of Egypt,⁴ is devoted pre-eminently to grammatical
intricacies of the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.⁵ Of his
two other works on the subject, viz., *al-Fath al-Rabbānī*⁶ and
Ta'liq al-Maṣābiḥ,⁷ the first is also preserved in the
Khadīwīyya,⁸ while the other is found to have been extant
in Arabia at the time of Ṣāhib b. Muḥammad (d.1218), a
Madinian traditionist, who was otherwise known as Fullānī.⁹

Abū l-Futūḥ Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shīrāzī
al-Tāwūsī.

Abū l-Futūḥ was born at Abarkūh¹⁰ in Fāris. He derived
his *nisba* of al-Tāwūsī from his connection with the shrine¹¹
of Tāwūs al-Ḥaramayn there. He came to Gujarāt probably
during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh (814-843/1411-43).¹² 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.¹³ With the last, he studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of

(1) Al-Daw' al-Lāmi', loc.cit. (2) For his works, see Brockelmann, *supplement*, i, 26-7. (3) *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, ed. Egypt, p.27. (4) *Fihris al-Khadīwīyya*, vol.1, 422. (5) Al-Daw' al-Lāmi', ~~pp.117-8~~. (6) *Qāmūs al-Tarājim*, vol.III, 872. (7) The full title of the book is *Ta'liq al-Maṣābiḥ 'ala' Abwāb Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ (Ithāf al-Nubalā'*, p.41). (8) *Fihris*, i, 376. (9) Fullānī, *Qaṭaf al-Thamār* appended to the *Rasā'il al-Asānīd*, parts I-IV (Hyderabad, 1328), p.34. (10) *Ibid*, p.15. (11) Le Strange, p.284. (12) *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p.34. (13) *Nuzha* iii, s.v. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shīrāzī.

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-Harawī and al-Bukhārī¹. Abū 'l-Futūḥ had his lessons of the Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ from Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm who in his turn had them from Imām al-Dīn, a disciple of the celebrated author al-Khatīb al-Tabrīzī² (d.739).

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

1. Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abī 'l-Khayr al-Hāshimī al-Shāfi'ī (789-843/1387-1439).

He came of a family of Makkan Traditionists who were known under their patronymic Ibn Fahd. In 830/1426-7, 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 Berar, in Jumādā II or Rajab, 843/November or December, 1439.

Ibn Fahd acquired the Science of Tradition from Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī and other contemporary Shuyūkh of Egypt, Makka and al-Madīna and had Ijāza (authority to teach Ḥadīth) from Zayn al-Dīn al-'Irāqī (d.806) and Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī (d.807)⁴.

2. Maḥmūd Gāwān (813-86/1410-81).

Khawāja 'Imād al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Md. b. Aḥmad al-Kilānī, commonly known in Indian history as Maḥmūd Gāwān, was the famous minister of the Bahmanīs. He came to the Deccan at the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn Shāh Bahmanī II (839-62/1434-1453)⁵.

(1) Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī, al-Amam (Rasā'il al-Asānīd), p.5; Qaṭaf al-Thamār, 13, 15; Muḥsin al-Tirhatī, al-Yānī' al-Janī' (Delhi, 1287 A.H.), 26-32. (2) Nuzha, iii, loc.cit. (3) in Bombay Presidency, lat.22:19N: Long.72.88 E. (4) Ibn Fakr Fahd, Mu'jam (Ms. Bankipore, No.2429), foll.298b, 299a; Sakhāwī, op.cit., X, 233. (5) See Maḥmūd Gāwān's Riyād al-Inshā' (Ms. Habībganj) letter, No.21 (vide Indian Historical Records Commission. Proceedings (Simla.1941) art. The Riyād

Born in 813/1410 of a house of princes in Gilān, a small province on the Caspian, ¹ Maḥmūd received education under his brother Aḥmad, a pupil of Ibn Ḥajar al-²Asqalānī. To pursue higher studies in Ḥadīth literature, he proceeded to al-Qāhira in 843/1439 and read the Ṣaḥīḥ's of al-Bukhārī and Muslim with Ibn Ḥajar and Zāin al-Dīn al-Zarkashī (d.845) respectively. He also read Ḥadīth with several Ā'imma, Professors of Ḥadīth of Syria. That Maḥmūd was well-versed in the Science of Tradition is gathered from the Munāwala granted to him by Ibn Ḥajar al-³Asqalānī. Excepting his quotation of aḥādīth ⁴ in his Riyāḍ al-Inshā', ⁵ a collection of letters addressed to different personages of India and outside, we have no other evidence of his proficiency in the Science of Tradition.

Maḥmūd Gāwān served the Bahmanī dynasty with conspicuous ⁶ ability for thirty five years. His celebrity was as much due to his administrative reforms as to his wide-spread literary munificence. He was a benefactor of humanity and mainstay of the poor litterateurs of merit and distinction. ⁷ As such the news of his unjustifiable murder by Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī II (867-87/1463-82) in Ṣafar, 5, 886/April, 1481, cast a gloom over the literary circles at Makka. ⁸

Two years before his death, Maḥmūd built a magnificent college at Bidar which he ^{equipped} ~~equipped~~ with his personal library

al-Inshā' as a source Book of Deccan History by H.K.Sherwani, p.171; Firista, i, 358; Ency. of Islām, iii, 135 sq.

() Le Strange, p.172.

(1) Le Strange, p.172. (2) Sakhāwī, ii, 94-B. (3) Ibid, X, 144-5; Nuzha, iii, s.v. Imād al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Kilānī. (4) Indian Hist. Record Commission, loc.cit. (5) Law (ex op cit., p.87) mistakes Rauzat al-Inshā' for Riyāḍ al-Inshā'. (6) Cambridge History of India, III, 420. (7) Ency. of Islām, loc.cit., Law, p.87; Firishta, vol.i, p.559. (8) Sakhāwī, X, 145.

containing 3,000 volumes or, according to another version,¹
 35,000 volumes,² and of which ruins are found to this day.
 As a Traditionist of the Shāfi'īte School,³ he naturally
 emphasised the teaching of Ḥadīth in his college. And his
 'splendid library' must have included some books on Ḥadīth
 literature.

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

1. Abū' l-Faḥḥ b. al-Ḥadī al-Makkī (d.886/1481).

He was born at Makka in Rabī' l-Awwal, 854/April,
 1450 and came in contact with and heard Ḥadīth from, al-
 Sakhāwī during the latter's sojourn in al-Ḥijāz in 870/1165
 Shortly after, he left for Mandū,⁴ the capital of Malwa,
 where he lived for about thirteen years. Then he returned
 to Makka and died in 886/1481.⁵

2. Aḥmad b. Sālih.

Another student of al-Sakhāwī who settled down at
 Mandū was Aḥmad b. Sālih. His father, a native of Makka,
 had migrated to India where Aḥmad was born. But he was
 brought up and educated at Makka. A Ḥāfiẓ of the Qur'ān,
 he read Ḥadīth literature with al-Sakhāwī. To secure a
 living Aḥmad came to Mandū during the latter days of Sulṭān
 Ghiyāth al-Dīn of Malwa (874-906/1469-1500). His death-
 date is not known.⁶

(1) Firishta, i, 360. (2) Murtaḍā Ḥusain, Ḥadīqat al-Aqālim
 (Ms. ASB). (3) Cf. Sakhāwī, X, 144 & II, 94. (4) Now in
 Dhar State, Central India, situated in 22.2 N. & 75.26 E,
 26 miles from Dhar town (Imp. Gez., XVII, 171). (5)
 (5) Sakhāwī, xi, 125. (6) Ibid, 1, 316.

3. 'Umar b. Muhammed al-Dimashqī Nazīl al-Kanbāyat (829-circ.900/1425-94).

'Umar who was born at Damascus, was at once a fellow student and a disciple of al-Sakhāwī. Along with al-Sakhāwī, he attended in Shawwāl, 853/November, 1449, the lectures of the lady Traditionist Sāra bint al-Jama'a (d.855) on Tabrānī's Mu'jam al-Kabīr in al-Qāhira. In 857/1453, he came to Cambay (Arabic Kanbāyat) as a merchant and subsequently accepted office under the local Government as Qādī of the Shāfi'ītes. While on deputation from the Governor of Cambay to that of al-Qāhira, he broke his journey at Makka in the winter of 886/1481 and studied Hadīth literature under al-Sakhāwī for one year. Then he went to al-Qāhira, and performed his business with which he had been commissioned. Before his sail back, he again heard Hadīth and obtained Ijāza from al-Sakhāwī who happened to be there at the time. 'Umar settled permanently at Cambay and accordingly came to be known as Nazīl Kanbāyat¹. His death-date has not come down to us.

4. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Maḥmūd al-Tūsī al-Shāfi'ī (836-circ. 910/1432-1504).

'Abd al-'Azīz was born at Tūs in Khurāsān in Ramadān, 836/March, 1432. He acquired Hadīth from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Aḥarī, a pupil of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī and Mīr Aḥīl al-Dīn b. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d.883). In 870/1465 he migrated to Makka and heard Musalsal Tradition from al-Sakhāwī. But he could not long enjoy the association of al-Sakhāwī as he had to leave Makka in search of his living elsewhere. Thus he came to the Deccan during the later days of Maḥmūd Gāwān who appointed him tutor for² his son-in-law al-Muḥarra, a work on the Shāfi'īte Fiqh.³

(1) Ibid, vi, 73. (2) Ibid, iv, 234. (3) Cf. Bankipore Catalogue, vol.v(2), 71.

5. Wajīh al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Mālikī (856-919/1452-1513).

Wajīh al-Dīn came of a family of the Mālikite jurist of Egypt where he was born in Shābān 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-Sakhāwī at Makka and engaged himself for a considerable period in the study of Ḥadīth literature. We next meet him in al-Yaman as a Lecturer in Ḥadīth at the college of Zayla¹ from where he sailed for Cambay en route to Ahmādābād. As for his arrival in Gujarāt, it could not have been later than 898/1492, as is evident from his correspondence from Gujarāt with his friends at Makka.

At the instance of the Governor of Cambay, Wajīh al-Dīn opened a Ḥadīth class there and taught among others the Shifā' of Qādī 'Iyād.² Soon his name³ spread far and wide. In recognition of his scholarship Sultān Mahmūd I (863-917/1458-1511) conferred upon him the title of Malik al-Muhaddithīn,³ the Prince of the Traditionists. The Sultān further appointed him as the chief of the Revenue Officers of his kingdom and lavishly showered his bounties upon him.⁴

In spite of his official duties, Wajīh al-Dīn could make time to cultivate Ḥadīth literature. For compiling books on the subject, he engaged experts on handsome remunerations. Thus, Jār Allāh b. Fahd, a Makkan Traditionist,⁵ compiled for Wajīh al-Dīn an Arba'īn entitled Fath al-Mubīn⁶ a treatise highly spoken of by contemporary scholars. His interest for Ḥadīth literature was so great that he would always be on the look out for new publication on the subject,

(1) Sakhāwī, VII, 287-8. (2) Ibid, IX, 90-1. (3) Al-Nūr al-Sāfir, pp.102-3. (4) Ulughkhānī, I, 118. (5) He was a pupil of al-Sakhāwī (shadharāt, viii, 301). (6) Ulughkhānī, p.117.

so that as soon as the copies of Ibn Ḥajar's Fath al-Bārī, the celebrated commentary on the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī, were ready for circulation he secured a copy for himself, which he presented to his friend Mukhātib 'Alī Khān, a noble of Gujarāt. The latter in his turn sent the book to the library of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh (917-38/1511-25). The Sultān was so much pleased with the presentation that he granted Mukhātib 'Alī Khān the fief of Broach.¹

Wajīh al-Dīn died at Ahmadābād in 919/1513.²

6. Ḥusain b. 'Ab d 'Allāh b. Awliyā' al-Kirmānī (d. circ. 930/1523).

A native of Makka, Ḥusain, who was known by his patronymic Asīl al-Dīn, read with al-Sakhāwī the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī, the Musnad of al-Shāfi'ī and the Mashāriq al-Anwār. He was a keen student of Ḥadīth literature and obtained al-Ijāza from al-Sakhāwī. In 896/1490, he came to Dāb'ūl (Dabil in Bijāpūr) where he lived for about four years and then went back to Makka in about 901/1495.³ 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 Ḥadīth literature.

7. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ḥadramī (869-930/1464-1524).

Jamāl al-Dīn who was famous as Bahraq, came to Gujarāt in 928/1522.⁴ He was a Traditionist as well as a jurist of the Shāfi'ite School.⁵ He distinguished himself as a teacher

(1) Ibid, p.118. (2) Nūr, p.102; Shadharāt, VIII, 94.
 (3) Al-Daw' al-Lāmi', iii, 147-8. (4) Nūr, 147 & cf. 132.
 (5) For his works on Shāfi'ite Fiqh, Brockelmann, Sup. i, 554-5.

of Sultān Muzaffar II of Gujarāt, who read Ḥadīth with him.¹ His unusual popularity in the Court of Muzaffar Shāh excited jealousy of the nobility as a result of which he was poisoned to death on the night of Sha'ḥbān 20, 930/June, 1524.²

Jamāl al-Dīn was born at Ḥadramaūt in 869/1464. Already a sound scholar, he came into contact with al-Sakhāwī in the pilgrimage season of 894/1489 and under him he gave a finishing touch to his education in Ḥadīth - a subject he long studied with Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Latīf al-Sharjī and Muḥammad al-Ṣā'igh, at Zabīd.³ He prepared a compendium of al-Mundhirī's al-Targhīb wa 'l-Tarhīb⁴ under the title of al-Taḡrīb wa 'l-Taḥdhīb - a Ms. copy of which is to be found in the State Library of Rāmpūr.⁵

8. Rafī' al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī (d.954/1547).

Al-Sakhāwī's pupil who carried on a pioneer work on Hadith at Agra, was Rafī' al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī.⁶ He traced his descent to Rafī' al-Dīn, the famous founder of the Ṣafawī Order in Persia, which under Shāh Ismā'īl (905-30/1499-1523) had assumed the militant Shī'ā character.⁷ Born at Shīrāz in about the third quarter of the 9th century, Rafī' al-Dīn, while yet a student under Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī (d.928), obtained, by mere correspondence, al-Ijāza for good many Hadith works from al-Sakhāwī.⁸ As towards the close of this century, the life and religion of the Sunnīs in Persia were daily being endangered by the Qizilbash,⁹ the father of Rafī'

(1) Ulughkhānī, 119; Yād-i-Ayyām, 13, 34. (2) Nūr, 143, 151.
 (3) Ibid, 146; Shadhadarāt, viii, 176-7; Ulughkhānī, 119.
 (4) Nur, 147. (5) Catalogue, vol.1, No.59. (6) Ma'ārif,
 xxi(4), 258. (7) Browne, Literary History of the Persians
 (London, 1931), vol. iv, pp. 18-20, 22. (8) Akhbār, 235-6;
Ḥadā'iq, 376. (9) 'Red-head' men (Qizil bash in Turkish or
Surkh sar in Persian) were the followers of the Ṣafawī
 Order (Browne, iv, 48).

al-Dīn migrated to the Haramayn.¹ This offered our young learner an opportunity of coming into close touch with, and mastering Ḥadīth literature under al-Sakhāwī. Probably after the death of al-Sakhāwī in 902/1496, Rafī' al-Dīn left for Gujarāt where he reached in the later period of the reign of Sultān Mahmūd I (863-917/1458-1511).² Thence he came to Agra which at this time through the liberality of Sultān Sikandar Lūdī (894-923/1488-15), developed into an important seat of learning. That the Sultān took keen interest for Ḥadīth literature is seen from the transcription under his orders of a part of the Sahīh of Muslim now preserved in the Oriental library at Bankipur.³ As expected Sultān Sikandar Lūdī built for the Traditionist a house in a quarter of the city, which was subsequently named after him.⁴ Here Rafī' al-Dīn taught Ḥadīth for about thirty four years and died full of honour in 954/1541.⁵

Rafī' 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-Ḥijāz by a pilgrim high-road.⁶

III. TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF ZAKARĪYYA AL-ANṢARĪ (d.925).

1. 'Abd al-Mu'tī al-Ḥaḍramī (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

(1) Badā'ūnī, Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh (Biblio. Indica, 1869), vol.iii, 126 = Haig's tr. (Calcutta, 1925), vol.iii, 184; Akhbār, 256; Browne, 19. (2) Or during the Sultanate of Sikandar Lūdī (894-923), as in the Akhbār al-Akhyār. (3) Bānkīpūr Catalogue, vol.v(2). (4) Law, op.cit., 73 sq. (5) Badā'ūnī, 129 = Haig, 183. (6) Ma'ārif, xxii(4), 258; Akhbār, 23.

al-Islām Zakariyya al-Anṣārī in al-Qāhira. Both attended the lectures of al-Anṣārī on the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī, the father playing the role of a qārī, reader of the text while the son of a sāmī, listener. He migrated to Ahmadabad prior to 963/² 1555, and was on terms of intimacy with the enlightened family of Idrusi settled in Ahmadābād. His chief occupation in Gujarāt had been the teaching of Ḥadīth, particularly the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī. He was also the author of the Kitāb Asmā' al-Rijāl al-Bukhārī. 'Abd al-Qādir makes mention of it in his al-Nūr al-Sāfir and says that the book though incomplete, was a voluminous one. He died at Ahmadābād in Dhū 'l-Ḥijja, 989/January 1581.²

2. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ābbāsī (d.992/1584).

Another student of Zakariyya al-Anṣārī who was devoted to the cause of Ḥadīth in Gujarāt, was Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad al-Ābbāsī. He was born in Egypt in 903/1497. He learnt by heart al-Maqdisī's Umda fī 'l-Ḥadīth and al-Nawawī'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-'Umudī of Ahmadābād was among his disciples. He died in Ṣafar, 992/³ February, 1584.

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

1. Shaykh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Īdrūsī (d.990/1582).

Shaykh was the father of our 'Abd al-Qādir al-Īdrūsī, the author of al-Nūr al-Sāfir.⁴ He was born at Tarīm in al-

(1) Nūr, 256. (2) Ibid, 364 sq.; Shadharāt, viii, 417-8; Yād-i-Ayyām, 34; Ma'ārif, xxii(4), 260. (3) Ulughkhānī, ii, 640; Nūr, 404-5; Shadharāt, viii, 426-7. (4) Shadharāt, 423.

Yaman in 919/1513 and early joined the School of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī at Makka and obtained al-Ijāza from him. He also read with 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dab¹ who was a famous pupil of al-Sakhāwī and the author of a commentary upon the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh. In 958/1551, he migrated to Ahmadābād. 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 scholar, Shaykh b. 'Abd Allāh was so popular and held in such esteem that on the conclusion of his lectures on Ihyā' al-'Ulūm by al-Gazālī and the Ṣaḥīh of al-Bukhārī in 981/1575 and 985/1577 respectively, a man of 'Abd al-Muṭṭī's standing recited poems as a mark of his great appreciation for him. He died at Ahmadābād in Ramaḍān, 990/September, 1582.

2. Abū 'l-Sa'ādāt Muḥammad al-Fākihī al-Hanbalī (d.992/1584).

Although a disciple of al-Haythamī, Abū 'l-Sa'ādāt had occasion to hear Ḥadīth from as many as ninety teachers of Makka, Hadramaut, and Zabīd including Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (d.952). He migrated to Ahmadabad before the year 957/1550. In 963/1555, he moved to Sūrāt where he died in Jumādā I, 992/May, 1584.

3. Mīr Murtaḍā Sharīf al-Shīrāzī (d. 974/1566).

He was a grand son of al-Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d.816). He studied Ḥadīth with Ibn Ḥajar at Makka and obtained al-Ijāza from him. From Makka Murtaḍā came to the

(1) Ibid, 256-8. The work has not been printed as yet but manuscript copies are available in Bombay and Sūrāt. (2) Nūr 350, 358. (3) Ibid, 372-9; Shadharāt, viii, 423-4. (4) Nūr, 409. (5) Ibid, 256. (6) Ibid, 407-9; Shadharāt, 427-8.

Deccan and thence, in 972/1562, to Akbarābād (Agra). 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.¹

Mīr Kalān Muḥaddith al-Akbarābādī (d.983/1575).

Muhammad Sa'īd b. Mawlānā Khawāja, commonly known as Mīr Kalān Muḥaddith, came to Akbarābād in about 981/1573 and was appointed by Akbar the first tutor of Prince Salīm (born Rabī' 1, 977/August, 1569), afterwards Emperor Jahāngīr. Mīr Kalān was a grandson of Khawāja Kūhī, an eminent saint of Khurāsān, and acquired Ḥadīth literature at Shīrāz from Nasīm al-Dīn Mirak Shāh b. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥaddith. Prior to his migration to India, he was a Professor of Ḥadīth at Makka - hence his title Shaykh al-Ḥaram al-Makkī - where amongst others Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī (d.1014) Ghadanfar b. Ja'far al-Nahrawālī (d.1000) read the Mishkāt al-Masābīh with him. He died at Akbarābād in Muḥarram, 983/April, 1575.

(1) Badā'ūnī, 320-1 = Haig, 442-4; A'īn-i-Akbarī, i, 540; Akbar Nāma, ii, 278; Tadhkira-i-Ulamā, 223-4. (2) Badā'ūnī, ii, 170 also Maṭhar al-Kirām, 207 (sic) جوں در مہنگشت اکبر بادشاہ برائے تعلیم شاہزادہ گردید Maṭhar, 208. (4) Jamāl al-Dīn, the famous author of the Rawdat al-Aḥbāb, was a disciple of his uncle Asīl al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d.883). Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī, al-Amam, p.69. (5) Ibid; 'Abd Allāh b. Sālīm al-Basrī, Kitāb al-Imdād (Rasā'il al-Asānīd, part iii), p.55; Qaṭaf al-Thamar, 28. (6) Basing his statement on the introduction of Mirqāt fi Sharḥ Mishkāt by Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī, Azād Bilgrāmī in his Subhat al-Marjān, p.67 and Maṭhar al-Kirām, p.207, purports to say that along with other Indians, Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī read the Mishkāt al-Masābīh with Mīr Kalān in India - a statement with which we do not concur. For, nowhere in the Muqaddima of his Mirqāt does 'Alī al-Qārī assert that he ever came to India and read Ḥadīth there. But reading between the lines of the pages of his Muqaddima what we gather is that he read the Mishkāt among others with Ibn Shaykh al-Muttaqī (d.975) and Mīr Kalān the last being called شیخ الحرم 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. Mirqāt (Cairo, undated) - a fact that establishes that 'Alī al-Qārī read Ḥadīth with Mīr Kalān at Makka and not in India as Azād would have us believe. In the light of

SECTION II. Growth and development of the centres of Ḥadīth learning in India.

Although the transmission of Ḥadīth 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 Ḥadīth learning in India may, conveniently, be divided into three parts, viz., pre-Sakhāwī (820-86/1417-81), Sakhāwī (886-954/1481-1547) and post-Sakhāwī (954-92/1547-84) periods.

I. DECCAN. It was in the pre-Sakhāwī period that several Muhaddithūn were found to have come to the Deccan. But as the country became un hospitable, no further migration of the Traditionists took place in the Sakhāwī period. The fact was that the dawn of the Sakhāwī period synchronised 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 upto 934/1527, the Kingdom had already broken into five principalities, viz., the 'Ādilshāhī at Bijāpūr,

what we have said above, we are unable to uphold the opinion of 'Allāma Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī that Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī came to India from his home at Hirat and read the Mishkāt al-Masābīḥ with Mir Kalān at Akbarābād since it is based on the authority of Azād Bilgrāmī (cf. Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 266-7.

(7) Al-Aman, loc.cit. (8) Subhat, 67; Ma'thar, 207; Abjad, 2 904; Ḥadā'iq, 385; Tadhkira-i-Ulamā, 230-1. But ac. to Badā'uni (p.151 = Haig, 211), 981 A.H. Bilgrāmī (cf. Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 266-7.

(1) ~~Shadharāt, VIII, 15-6.~~ (2) ~~Ency. of Islām, iii, 136.~~

the Nizāmshāhī at Ahmadnagar, the Qutbshāhī at Golkonda, the 'Imādshāhī at Berar and the Barīdshāhī at Bidar¹. The rulers of the first three which were, however, the major powers, adopted Shi'ism as their state religion. As to the small Sunnī Kingdoms of Bidar and Berar, the former was absorbed by ~~Rxx~~ Bijapur in 1028/1619 and the latter by Ahmadnagar in 982/1574². Thus the extinction of the Bahmanī rule eventually meant the end of the Sunnī regime of the Deccan, with which was inextricably bound up the growth and expansion of Ḥadīth literature there. After all, the Sunna was pre-eminently the heritage of the Sunnīs.

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 Sunnīs who, however, formed the bulk of the population of the country. Encouraged by the growing power of Shāh Ismā'īl (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 Sunnīs and what they stood for³. The anti-Sunnī movement of the Shi'ites was reflected in their replacement of the Sunnī formula of al-Adhān by a shi'ite one⁴. Not only that. Even al-Tabarrī or condemning Ḥadrat Abū Bakr and 'Umar, also was introduced into the Friday Khuṭba or sermons⁵. The Shi'a rulers persecuted the Sunnī scholars by confiscating their properties and benefices granted to them by the Bahmanīs. To quote a few instances, we have it on the authority of Firishta that Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar withdrew from the Sunnī 'Ulamā' all allowances - waḡā'if- and gave them away to the Shi'a 'Ulamā'⁶. Again, we have it on the same authority that

(1) Cambridge History of India, iii, 433, 425-6. (2) Ibid, 433. (3) Firishta, ii, 18-9, 21, 32, 61-2, 148-50.

(4) Ibid. (5) Ibid, 229(sic) سب الشیخین (6) Ibid, 151.

as soon as the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty came to power, the descendants of Gīṣū Darāz had to lose their lands which had been previously granted to them by Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī¹. Circumstanced as the Sunnīs were then their scholars could not have been expected to carry on their cultural activities unhampered. The ant-Sunnite feeling of the Shī'ites had its ~~rexxx~~ repercussion also on the cultivation of Ḥadīth 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 Shī'ites who, as we have just seen, were hostile to the Sunnī 'Ulamā'. In the sequel, the Traditionists did not proceed to the Deccan and, instead, settled down in Gujarāt and Northern India. Thus the history of Ḥadīth literature in Sind repeated ~~xxxxix~~ itself in the Deccan with this difference that whereas the Sunnī 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 Traditionists², 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 Ḥadīth learning as did its counterpart in Sind.

Before we close down the discussion of Ḥadīth 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 Maḥmūd Shāh I (780-99/1378-97) was the first Indian Prince who extended patronage to the Traditionists.

(1) Ibid, 1, 319-20. (2) Supra, pp 31sq.

He provided for them facilities to work for the cause of Hadīth literature. Thus, the big cities of the Deccan like Gulbarga, Bidar, Dawlatābād, Ilichpur, Jiwūl, and Dabūl¹ (Dabhol) became centres of heir activities. During the reign of his successor, Fīrūz Shāh (800-25/1397-1422), at Gulbarga a group of scholars were found ransacking the Ṣahīhān and the Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ with a view to issuing fatwā on the question of al-Mut'a.² From this incident, we can gather that standard works on Hadīth 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 Gīṣū Darāz, Sultān Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī I (825-838/1422-36) earned the name of Walī 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 Hadīth literature.³ Further, in 887/1473 a copy of the Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ was transcribed at Bidar by Abu Sa'īd b. Husayn, a scholar-merchant, who made a present⁴ of the volume to Sultān Maḥmūd II (887-924/1482-1518) probably on the occasion of the latter's accession to the throne.

Of the seven Muhaddithūn who came to India in the pre-Sakhāwī period, as many as four finally settled down in Deccan. This was undoubtedly due to the encouragement they must have received from the Bahmanī Sultāns. The migration of al-Damāmīnī and Ibn Fahd from Gujarāt to the Deccan⁵ further shows that as patrons of the Traditionists, the Bahmanīs surpassed the Muḥaffar Shāhī Sultāns. Indeed, the

(1) Firishta, i, 302. (2) Ibid, 307. (3) Ibid, 323; Zahr al-Dīn, 122, 124. (4) This MS. is in possession of the Hab ibganj Library (Ma'ārif, xl, 2, 99) (5) Supra, p. 86.

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 Bijāpūr made in this behalf.

Of the eight rulers of the House of ʿĀdil Shāh, Ibrāhīm I (941-65/1534-57) and Ibrāhīm II (988-1037/1580-1627) were Sunnīs; the rest were Shīʿīs. It was Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II, known popularly as Nawras, who brought about a reconciliation between his Shīʿa and Sunnī subjects by entering in the Khutba the names of all the four Khulafā Rāshidīn 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 Bijāpūr with inscriptions of aḥādīth drawn from the Sahīh of al-Bukhārī and the Mishkāt al-Masābih, bearing among others on the excellences of the ʿAsharat al-Mubashsharat. To enshrine the sacred relic of the Prophet, Ibrāhīm raised a famous construction known as Āthār Sharīf or Āthār Maḥal in which arrangements were also made for the teaching of Islamic learning. This institution was later developed by his son and successor Muḥammad ʿĀdil 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

(1) Firishta, ii, 56; Bashīr Aḥmad, Wāqīʿāt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpūr (Agra, 1915), i, 99, 222. (2) Bashīr Aḥmad, 209; Ibrāhīm Zubairī, Basatīn al-Salātīn quoted in Bānkīpūr Catalogue, v(1), 54. (3) Firishta, ii, 66. (4) Bashīr Aḥmad, op.cit., ii, 25, 28-31. (5) a Moustache. For details of its procurement, vide Bashīr Aḥmad, i, 207, ii, 34 sq. (6) Ibid, i, 274, ii, 34; Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings, xii (1940-1), 125.

Bijapur, a treasure-house of the books on Islamology and a worthy monument of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty¹. 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 10⁰/₄/1595 and 10²/₈/1618 respectively. As a matter of fact, from the inscriptions borne by the MSS. preserved in the libraries of India Office and Ḥabībganj³, it is evident⁴ that the MSS found their way to the Bijapur Library from Muḥammadābād-Bidar upon the latter's conquest by Ibrāhīm in 10²/₈/1618. That the books of Bidar, the capital of the Bahmanis till 934/1527, were bequeathed to the Barīd Shāhīs by the Bahmanī regime, can be gathered from the fact that among books entering the Bujapur Library from Bidar also included some of those works which had previously belonged to Maḥmūd Gāwān as the seal⁵ of Malik a-Tujjār or Maḥmūd Khawāja Jahān clearly indicated⁶. What further strengthens our conclusion is the lack of evidence to show that the Barīd Shāhīs had ever established a library at Bidar.

The following works on Ḥadīth belonging to the 'Ādil Shāhī Library at Bijapur, have come down to us as a remnant of the great interest Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh II and his son Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh evinced for the cause of Ḥadīth literature in Bijapur.

(1) 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). (2) For Asīrgarh, see *Firishta*, ii, 277, and for Bidar, *Cambridge History*, iii, 433. (3) Loth, Nos. 211, 222, 299, 426, 994, 995. (4) *Ma'ārif*, xl(2), 989. (5) i.e., Chief of the Merchant, a title of Maḥmūd Gāwān (*Cambridge Hist.*, iii, 396; *Ency. of Islām*, ii, 135). (6) Loth, Nos. 211, 426, 967, 994.

(1) A copy of the Ṣahīh of al-Bukhārī, ornamented, bearing an inscription to the effect that the Ms. entered the library of Ibrāhīm II in 1028/1618 as a part of spoils from the conquest of Muḥammadābād-Bidar.¹

(2) A third volume of Ibn Ḥajar's Fath al-Bārī, beginning from the chapter on Istisqā' and ending with al-Du'ā' fīnd al-Jumrataīn, having a seal bearing the name of Nawras Ibrāhīm (Ibrāhīm II).²

(3) Al-Nawawī's Hilyat al-Abrār dated 1033 i.e., the collection of Ibrāhīm II.³

(4) A copy of the Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī, bearing a seal of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh I (1037-68 A.H.), dated 1059.⁴

(5) Al-Nawawī's Riyād al-Ṣālihīn with a seal of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, dated 1059.⁵

(6) Kitāb al-Iydāh bi Takmilat Ibn al-Salāh by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, with a seal of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, dated 1046.⁶

(7) A copy of al-Baghawī's Maṣābīh al-Sunna, bearing a signature of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh.⁷

(8) A complete copy of the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh from Kitāb al-Nikāh, dated 1035. 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.⁸

Besides the above mentioned works which bear some inscription or other, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the Bijapur Library had also a number of unsealed and undated Ḥadīth works that are now available in the India Office Library, London.⁹

(1) Ḥabībganj Library (Ma'ārf, xl(2), 98-9). (2) Oriental Library, Bankipur, Catalogue, vol. v, part I, No. 165. (3) Loth, India Office Library, No. 340. (4) No. 120. (5) Ibid, No. 168. (6) Ibid, 198. (7) Ibid, No. 149. (8) Ibid, Nos. 152-3. (9) Cf. Loth, Preface, v-vi, Nos. 120-3, 125-6, 135-6, 151, 158, 164, 185, 188, 196 and 200.

II. GUJARĀT.

True, by 818/1415 the reputation of the Muzaffar-shāhī rulers as patrons of Ḥadīth reached beyond the confines of India as indicated by al-Damāmīnī's dedication at Zabīd of his commentary on the Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī to Ahmad Shah I (814-43/1411-43)¹. 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-Damāmīnī commentaries on several standard works on Arabic grammar.²

On the dissolution of the Sunnī 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~~ foreign Muḥaddithūn, but presumably also of those from the neighbouring Shī'a kingdoms. By conferring upon Wajīh al-Dīn al-Mālikī the title of Malik al-Muḥaddithīn,³ Maḥmūd publicly recognised 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, Ahmadābād, Cambay, Mahā'im, Sūrāt and Naharwāla, 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-Bārī 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 under-

(1) Supra, p. 84 (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

taken. To quote a few instances, the State Library of Rampur has a Ms. of the Sahīh of Muslim with a seal of Sultān Maḥmūd I affixed on it,¹ while a Persian translation of the Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn dedicated to this Sultān has been preserved in the Library of the India Office.²

Maḥmūd's successor Muẓaffar Shāh II (917-32/1511-25) who was himself a Traditionist, granted the fief of Broach to Mukhāṭīb 'Alī Khān in appreciation of the latter's presenting to him a copy of the Fath al-Bārī³ - an act that speaks a volume about his deep regard for Apostolic Traditions.

The pursuit of Ḥadīth literature in Gujarāt had no smooth sailing either. As a matter of fact, Humāyūn's invasion of the country in 941-2/1534-5 during the reign of Sultān Bahādūr Shāh (932-43/1526-37) lasting for 13 long months⁴ disturbed the serene literary life in Gujarāt. In the sequel, the leading Muḥaddithūn like 'Alī al-Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī (d.975), 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī (d.993) and others migrated to the Ḥijāz.⁵ '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-Muttaqī twice sojourned Aḥmadābād where on these occasions he imparted lessons on Ḥadīth literature. Further, Maḥmūd supported the scholars of the Ḥaramayn with stipends, and built a Madrasa at Makka⁶ evidently for the

(1) Ma'ārif, vol. XXVI(2), pp.126 sq. (2) Infra, p. 114
 (3) Supra, p. 9/ (4) Ulughkhānī, 1, 260 also Index, LI.
 (5) Ibid. (6) Ulughkhānī, 1, 313.

purpose of Ḥadīth learning. On the assassination of both this benevolent prince and his wise councilor Aṣaf Khān in 961/1553, the Muḥaffarshāhī kingdom gradually sank down and was ultimately annexed by Emperor Akbar in 980/1572. So far as the culture of Ḥadīth literature was concerned, the break-down of the Muḥaffarshāhī 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.

III. MALWA.

Shadīābād-Mandū¹, the capital of Malwa, became a centre of Ḥadīth learning during the reign of Maḥmūd Khaljī (839-74/1435-69) who was a patron of arts and letters². Two disciples of al-Sakhāwī noticed before, came to settle here. Of the products of this place, the names of Shaykh al-Muḥaddithīn Sa'd Allāh al-Mandūwī³ (d.902) and Mawlānā 'Alīm al-Dīn al-Mandūwī⁴ have been preserved for us. There can be no better expression of Maḥmūd's love for Ḥadīth than his establishment of a Madrasa with a Chair for Ḥadīth literature under the Traditionist Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī⁵ at the Bāb Umm Hānī in Makka.

IV. KHANDISH.

Burhānpūr, the seat of the Fārūqī dynasty of Khandesh owed its foundation to Naṣīr Khān al-Fārūqī who raised the principality 'to a high position in the literary world'.⁶ His Madrasa at Burhānpūr 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

(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, XVII, 171), (2) Firishta, I, 243; Law op.cit. 96-7. (3) Firishta, 257. (4) Nuzha, Vol. IV.

century by Makhdūm ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Abharī¹, a Traditionist who having migrated in 918/1512 from Hirat on account of the oppression of the Safawī rulers of Persia settled down at Kāhān, a small township situated then in Sīnd² but now forming a part of modern Balūchistān. Before his migration to India, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had been a Professor of the Madrasa-i-Mirza ʿUfī, the Madrasa-i-Sultāniyya and the Khānqa-i-Ikhlāsiyya at Hirat.³ As a Traditionist, he wrote, at the instance of the Prince Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlī Shir⁴ (d.906), who was a great patron of letters at Hirat, a commentary on the Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ entitled al-Minhāj al-Mishkāt which has been noticed by Ḥājī Khalīfa⁵ and a part of which was preserved in the library of Mīr Maʿsūm Bukkarī⁶ (d.1019), the author of Tārīkh-i-Sīnd.

For close upon a decade ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Abharī lectured at Kāhān on Ḥadīth and other branches of Islamic learning. He died there in 928/1528, leaving behind him his two accomplished sons, Mawlānās Athīr al-Dīn and Muḥammad⁷.

VI. LAHORE.

Lahore became an important centre of Ḥadīth learning under Mawlānā Muḥammad (Circ 900-1000), the Muftī and 'one of the most respected teachers' of the city, who taught for

(continued from page 104)

(6) Sakhāwī, X, 148. (6) Law, 99, 259. (7) infra, pp 122, 126, 129.

- (1) Abhar lay in the province of Jibal (Le Strange, 221-2).
 (2) Mīr Maʿsūm, Tārīkh-i-Sīnd, ed. Daudpota (x Poona, 1938), p.76; Elliot, i, 235. (3) Nuzha, Vol. IV, s.v. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Abharī. (4) For ʿAlī Shir, Rieu, Persian Cat., i, 366a.
 (5) Kashf al-Zunūn, ed. Fluegel, v, 503. (6) Page 77.
 (7) Tārīkh-i-Sīnd, p.76. Elliot, i, 235, has Asīl al-Dīn.

many years the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī and the Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ to a number of pupils of whom some had been 'the most learned men' of their time. At every concluding lecture on the afore-said works, the Mawlānā used to treat his audience to Bughra¹ ḥakhānīs (of which our Bākurkhānī may be the corrupted form who knows?) and sweet-meats.

VII. JHĀNSĪ & KALPĪ.

Sayyid Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, a Traditionist of Baghdād, came to India in about the middle of the 10th century and started Hadith classes first at Jhānsī and then at Kalpī 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) Niẓām al-Dīn Binkārī (d.981) came all the way to Jhānsī from Kākūrī (15 miles to the N. of Lucknow) to sit at his feet. The books on which Muḥammad lectured comprised of the Maʿālim al-Tanzīl, the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī, the Sunan of Abū Dāwūd and the Jāmiʿ al-Uṣūl.

VIII. AGRA.

In the 10th century, Agra could boast of as many as three institutions for imparting Ḥadīth learning, viz., (i) the Madrasa of Rafīʿ 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 Rafīʿ al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī in the heart of Agra became a seat of Ḥadīth learning as shown above. Here, on his death, his disciple Abu 'l-Fath al-Khurāsānī al-Thanesrī (d. Circ 1004) lectured on Ḥadīth for about fifty years. 'Many able and ready scholars'

(1) A dish invented by Bughra, king of Khurāsān. It consists of quadrangular section of paste, dressed with gravy or milk (Haig, p.215, n 4). (2) Badā'uni, 154 = Haig, p.215. (3) Tadhkira-i-Mashāhir-i-kākūrī, p.447; Nuzha, IV, s.v. Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Baghdādī. (4) Page 93.

like 'Abd al-Qādir al-Badā'ūnī (d.1004), the famous author of the Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh and Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Shīrazī (d. 1020) 'shared the benefit of being taught by this great man'¹.

(ii) The Madrasa of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm. Ḥājī Ibrāhīm al-Muḥaddith al-Akbarābādī learnt Ḥadīth in Arabia and was 'occupied in teaching divinity (علوم دینی) and especially the traditions of the Prophet' at Agra. While attending the 'Ib'ādatkhāna by the orders of Akbar, he would not observe the usual etiquette and ceremonies connected with it, traditionist that he was.²

(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.³ Sayyid Shāh Mīr who was a nephew (برادرزاده) of al-Ṣafawī⁴ lectured on the Mashāriq al-Anwār.⁵

IX. LUCKNOW.

Lucknow figured as a seat of Ḥadīth learning in the second half of the 10th century on the arrival at its suburb of Shaykh Dīyā' al-Dīn, a Madinian Traditionist. For over four years he taught Ḥadīth literature to a host of pupils, including our Makhdūm Bihkāri who read with him the Ṣaḥīh of al-Bukhārī and the Jāmi' al-Uṣūl. He died at Kakūrī probably towards the close of the 10th century.⁶

X. JAWNPŪR.

The seat of the Sharqī Sultānate, Jawnpūr 'became a famous University city' and far outshone Delhi of the time.⁷

(1) Badā'ūnī, 126, 129 = Haig, 187, 187-8; T. 'Ulamā', 6; Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 258-9. (2) Badā'ūnī, 139 = Haig, 196; T. 'Ulamā', 7; Ma'ārif, 265-6. (3) Haig, p.78, n 2. (4) Badā'ūnī, 109 = Haig, 162. (5) Ibid, 119-20 = 174-7. (6) Tadhkira-i-Mashāhīr-i-Kakūrī; Nuzha, vol.IV., s.v. Dīyā' al-Dīn. (7) Law, 99, 100, 259.

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-'Ulamā' Qādī 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 Sharqī Sulṭānate either from some Indian centres mentioned above or direct from Arabia. Incidentally, we meet a scholar from Jawnpūr, Ḥāfiẓ Muḥaddhab al-Jānfūrī al-Hindī 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 Sūfī scholars of Manir, were the torch-bearers of Ḥadīth in Bihar. 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 Mīnāj al-Dīn al-Rāstī, a disciple of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī,

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- (1) Brockelmann, Sup., i, 309. (2) Ma'ārif, XXV(5), 347.
 (3) Sakhāwī, op.cit., iii, 87. (4) Supra, pp. 63-64.
 (5) Ma'ārif, XXIII(5), 361.

no appreciable progress in 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-Şafawī¹, who acquired the Science at Gujarāt from Wajīh al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī (d.999) and also from some eminent Traditionists of al-Ḥijāz². Thanks to the labour of Sayyid Yāsīn, the Khānqa turned into a seat of Ḥadīth learning as is manifested in the sanad handed down to Shaykh ʿAtīq b. ʿAbd al-Samīʿ from Sayyid Yāsīn through the intermediary of three successive Fulwari Muḥaddithūn, viz., ʿAbd al-Maqtadir, his father, ʿAbd al-Nabī and ʿAbd al-Razzāq. It is worth recording in this connection that the last two Traditionists, namely, ʿAbd al-Nabī and ʿAbd al-Razzāq won for themselves the distinctions of Shaykh al-Waqt and Ḥāfiẓ al-Waqt respectively on account of their erudition in Ḥadīth literature, and that ʿAtīq was also a pupil of Nur al-Ḥaqq b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī (d.1070)³.

XII. BENGAL.

ʿAlā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh b. Sayyid Ashraf al-Makkī, the King of Bengal (900-24/1493-1518)⁴ whose memory has been associated as the earliest promoter of Bengali language and literature, was also responsible for the great advance, the study of the Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīth made in his dominions.⁵ 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

(1) Yāsīn was a cousin- (سید عالم) of Shāh-Mīr (Badā'ūnī, 120), the nephew of al-Şafawī (Ibid, 109 = Haig, 162.
 (2) Ibid, 120-1 = 166-7. (3) Ma'ārif, XXIII(5), 333.
 (4) Cambridge Hist. of India, iii, 270-2. (5) Dinesh Chandra Sen, History of Bengali Literature (Calcutta, 1911), 12-4, 222.

By Ramaḍān 1, 907/March, 1502, he erected an 'excellent Madrasah' at Gurra-i-Shahīd in Gaur (now in the 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 Qutb-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 Ikdala, of scholars as also of Ḥadīth compilations such as the ~~Six~~ Ṣaḥīh 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 Khawājgī Shirwānī, transcribed in 911/1503 for the Royal Treasury' at Ikdala the Ṣaḥīh of al-Bukhārī in three volumes - which in full, is, now a precious possession of the Oriental library of Bānkīpūr.

(1) Sunārgāon. After the Ḥanbalite Abū Tawāma (d. circ 700), Sunārgāon rose into prominence as a centre of learning during the rule of the Sādāt (900-45/1493-1538). As a head quarter of Eastern Bengal, it was a thriving town with 'Ulamā' 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 ~~xxxxxx~~ review. As a matter of fact, one mosque had been built by a leading Traditionist and jurist (Qudwat al-Fuqahā' wa'l-Muhaddithīn), 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 Sādāt, the teaching of Ḥadīth might have been in vogue at Sunārgāon.

(1) Law, p.110, n 3; Ravenshaw, Gour (London, 1878), p.80; Abu'l Hasanat, op.cit., 54-5. (2) Law, 109; Stewart, History of Bengal (London, 1813), p.113. (3) He was a native of Shirwan in Adharbyjan (Le Strange, 159). (4) Vol.V, part 1, Nos.

130.2. (5) Supra, p.52 (6) Maḥāṣirif XXXIII(2), pp.118-124.

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 Ḥadīth literature into this country. As a result, ardent and earnest learners undertook journies in quest of Ḥadīth learning - a state of things reminiscent of al-Riḥla fī Ṭalab 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-Ḥadīth grew wider, a tendency to acquire higher studies under distinguished Traditionists in the Ḥaramayn, 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-Ḥusaynī (d.968) down to Shāh Walī 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 Ḥadīth learning was Jamāl Allāh of Gūlbarga. He went to Makka in 845/1441 with his father Khawāja Shams al-Dīn, and learnt the Science from distinguished Makkan Traditionists, viz., Taqī al-Dīn b. Fahd, Zayn al-Dīn al-Amīūtī, Abū ʿl-Faṭḥ al-Maraghī and Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī. He died at Makka in Rabīʿ I; 29, 907/October, 1501.

Jamāl Allāh was followed by many others as would be evident from the following list of Indian students who read Ḥadīth in the Ḥaramayn under Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d.902)

1. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Awadī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī, a keen student of al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ, whom al-Sakhāwī granted a

(1) Ibn Fahd, Muʿjam (MS. Bānkīpur, No.2429), fol.261a; al-Ḍawʿ al-Lāmi, ix, 151.

- general Ijaza. (Ijāza Hāfila)¹.
2. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Hindī.²
3. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hindī.³
4. Al-Hāfiz b. Muḥadhḥab al-Jānfūrī (Jawnpūr)⁴
5. Hāfiz b. Ilyās al-Hindī.⁵
6. Zāhid b. 'Ārif b. Jalāl al-Lakhnawī al-Hindī. He read out to al-Sakhāwī the Arba'in of al-Nawawī at Makka in Ramaḍān, 894/1489.⁶
7. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kanbāyatī.⁷
8. 'Umar b. Bahā' al-Dīn al-Kanbāyatī.⁸
9. Qāsim b. Dāwūd al-Aḥmadābādī. He read the Ṣaḥīh of al-Bukhārī along with his brother Rajīh (q.v.).⁹
10. Muqbil al-Hindī: he is stated to have read profusely with al-Sakhāwī.¹⁰
11. Mas'ūd b. Aḥmad al-Kanbāyatī: he read with al-Sakhāwī at al-Madīna.¹¹
12. Ni'm Allāh b. Ni'fat Allāh al-Kulbarjī (i.e., of Gulbarga) Nazil Makka¹²
13. 'Atā' Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Muḥammadābādī. He heard Musalsal Traditions from al-Sakhāwī.¹³
14. Abū Bakr b. 'Alī b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Dihlawī. (d.873).¹⁴
15. Rajīh b. Dāwūd al-Aḥmadābādī. He was born at Aḥmadābād in 871/1466 and became a master of Māqūlāt and Arabic literature by 899/1493. Accompanied by his uncle Sulaymān 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, Ṣaḥīh al-Nawawī's Arba'in and also had¹⁵

(1) Al-Daw', i, 208. (2) Ibid, ii, 44. (3) Ibid, 71.
 (4) Ibid, iii, 87. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid, 232. (7) Ibid, v, 254.
 (8) Ibid, vi, 145. (9) Ibid, 180. (10) Ibid, x, 168.
 (11) Ibid, 156. (12) Ibid, 203. (13) Ibid, v, 146.
 (14) Ibid, xi, 61. (15) Ibid, iii, 216.

lessons on al-Sakhāwī's works such as ¹ Umda and Sharh al-Taqrīb li 'l-Nawawī. Al-Sakhāwī gave him a general Ijāza wherein he paid high tribute for his mastery ² over Islamic learning.

Although the Hajj 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 lectures of al-Sakhāwī, the fact remains that a new era for Ḥadīth 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 ³ the nisbas 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.

The tenth century of Hijra was a land mark so far as the services the Indian Musalmans rendered for the cause of Ḥadīth 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-Ḥadīth within the sacred precincts of the Ḥaramayn 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 Ḥadīth from Arabia, devoted themselves in India proper to teaching Ḥadīth and writing books on it. Thus the Indian Traditionists kept up the torch of Ḥadīth learning burning in India and Arabia simultaneously. And this they did well over two centuries.

(1) Full title of the work:- عمدة القارى والسامع فى حتم الصميح الجامع
(Shadharāt, VIII, 16). (2) Al-Daw', iii, 222; Tadhkira-
'Ulamā', 62; Yād-i-Ayyām, 54.
(3) i.e. al-Awadī (No.2), al-Jawnpūrī (No.4), al-Lakhnawī
(No.6) and al-Dihlawī (No.14).

until the foundation of the Dār al-'ULŪm at Deoband and the Mazāhir al-'ULŪm 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 recognised School of their own:

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

Abū Bakr was a Traditionist of Broach in Gujarat. He flourished during the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh I (863-917/1459-1511) of Gujarāt. He died probably in the first quarter of the tenth century A.H. His biographical notice¹ is not available.

(i) Tarjuma-i-Ḥiṣn Ḥasīn (Ethe, India Office, No.2641; Bānkīpūr, XVI, No.1418): a Persian translation with explanatory notes of al-Jazarī's (d.833) Ḥiṣn Ḥasīn, a collection of Traditions with special reference to prayers (ad'fiya) of the Prophet. The author compiled the present work for Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh I of Gujarāt in Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 24, 910/May, 1505.

(ii) 'Ayn al-Wafā Tarjuma-i-Shifā' (Aṣafiyya, I, 682, No.487) : a Persian translation of the Shifā' of al-Qāḍī ʿIyād.

2. Mīr Sayyid 'Abā al-Awwal al-Husaynī al-Zāidpūrī (d. 968/1560).

'Abā al-Awwal was a native of the Deccan where his forefathers who had originally belonged to Zāidpūr, a village near Jawnpūr, migrated. He studied Ḥadīth under

(1) Hermann Ethe, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (Oxford, 1903), vol.I, No.2641.

3. Khawāja Mubārak b. Makhdūm al-Arrajānī al-Ruhtakī al-Banārasī (d. 981/1573).

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 Fāris, as the nisba al-Arrajānī suggests. He was a disciple of his father Makhdūm Arrajānī, a noted Ṣūfī scholar, who gave his son Mubārak a good education in Islamic learning. Besides being a learned divine, Khawāja Mubārak possessed administrative abilities which secured him the post of minister under Sher Shāh Sūrī (946-52). He died in the fort of Chunār in 981/1573.

His work:-

Madārij al-Akhbār (Bankīpūr No.364 Tradition).

Following the arrangement of al-Baghawī's Maṣābīh al-Sunna, Khawāja Mubārak classified the Traditions of al-Ṣaghānī's Mashāriq al-Anwār according to subject matters and named it Madārij al-Akhbār (the gradation of Traditions), a title significant of its contents. Its Bānkīpūr MS. which is presumably a unique copy shows that the work has been divided into 25 kitābs, each kitāb has been subdivided into bābs and some of the bābs into fasls.

'Alā' as in the Akhbār, loc.cit. (4) Akhbār, loc.cit; (5) Ithāf, 56. (6) Ma'ārif, loc.cit. (7) Akhbār, loc.cit.; ASB, loc.cit., under the title of Risāla-i-Ahwāl-i-Paigambar. (8) Cf. Ulughkhānī, i, 260, III, li. (9) Ivanow, Catalogue ASB, No.996; Storey, op.cit. ii, 193.

(1) Le Strange, p.48; Suyūṭī, Lubb al-Lubāb, ed. P.J.Veth, p.9. (2) His grave is still to be seen at Bak'hara (Nuzha, IV, s.v. Shaykh Mubārak al-Banārasī). (3) Tajallī-i-Nūr, p.55; Ma'ārif, XXV(5), 347; Nuzha, loc.cit. (4) Cf. Tajallī-i-Nūr, loc.cit.; Ma'ārif, loc.cit.; Catalogue, Bānkīpūr, V(2), 93 (sic) وقد تمت هذه النسخة الشريفة المسمى بمدايج الاخبار وكان اسمها قبل الترتيب مشارق الانوار

(5) No.364, Tradition. As the compiler of the Catalogue, Bānkīpūr 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.

4. ¹Shaykh Bhikārī al-Kakūrūwī (890-981/1485-1573).

Niẓām al-Dīn b. Amīr Saif al-Dīn, popularly known as Makhdūm Bhikārī, a famous Ṣūfī scholar, was born at Kākūrī, near Lucknow in 890/1485. He read the Sahīh of al-Bukhārī, the Sunan of Abū Dāwūd and Jāmi' al-Uṣūl at Jhānsī and Lucknow under Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī and Dīyā' al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith al-Madanī respectively. He wrote a treatise on Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth entitled al-Minhāj MS. copy of which together with his Sanad-i-Ḥadīth is likely to ~~xxx~~ be available in the library of the Khānqa at Kākūrī where Makhdūm's descendants are still living. He died there in 981/1573.⁴

5. Shaykh 'Abd al-Malik al-Kujrātī al-'Abbāsī (d.circ.970/1562).

He read Ḥadīth with his brother Quṭb al-Dīn, a disciple of al-Sakhāwī. A Hāfiẓ, memoriser of the Qur'ān and the Sahīh al-Bukhārī, 'Abd 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 970/1562.⁵

6. Tāhir al-Fattanī (914-986/1508-78)

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Tāhir b. 'Alī al-Fattanī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī, the celebrated Malik al-Muḥaddithīn, the Prince of the Traditionists, was born at Naharwāla-pattan in North Gujarāt in 914/1508. Through his mother he

(1) Badā'ūnī, 24 (= Haig, 42) mistakes Bhikan for Bhikārī. Cf. Ḥaydar Kakūrūwī, Mashāhir-i-Kākūrī (Lucknow, 1927), p. 241.
 (2) Supra, p. 106-7. (3) 'Abd al-Ḥayy Nadawī, Ma'ārif al-Āwārif Ch. on الحديث في بلاد الهند (4) Badā'ūnī, 24 = Haig, 42; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā', 33; Ḥaydar Kakūrūwī, Mashāhir-i-Kākūrī, 441 sq; Nuzha, Vol. IV, s.v. Niẓām al-Dīn b. Saif al-Dīn; Ma'ārif, XXII(5), 332. (5) Yād-i-Ayyām, 55, (sic) وكان حافظ القرآن صحيح البخاري وكان يدرس عن ظهر قلبه
Nuzha, IV; Ma'ārif XXII(4), 259-60.

was a descendant of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (d.13), the first Caliph of Islām. Educated at Gujarāt under Shaykh Nāgūrī, Mullā Mahta, the Ustād al-Zamān and others, he joined the school of 'Alī al-Muttaqī al-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-Fattānī read with other Makkan Traditionists also notably Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī and Muftī Qutb al-Dīn al-Naharwālī. On his return to Gujarāt in about 950/1543 he concentrated his energies on three-fold tasks: (1) the popularisation 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 Buhiras who had become followers of a pretender Mahdī Maḥmūd al-Jawnpūrī. Though a promising reformer, he could not achieve much as his life was cut short through his murder in Shawwāl 6, 986/December, 1578 by the Mahdawīs at a place between Ujjain and Sarangpūr.² Al-Fattānī has, however, been immortalised by his invaluable works on al-Ḥadīth which are as follows:

(i) Al-Mughnī fī Daḥṭ al-Rijāl (Published). This is the first compilation of Ṭāhir al-Fattānī written immediately after his return from Arabīa, at Pattan in Dhū'l-Qa'ḍa,³ 952/January, 1546, and is otherwise a short but nonetheless

(1) Majma' Bihār al-Anwār, (Mewul Kishore, Lucknow, 1314 A.H.) Vol.1, 2 p.3; al-Mughnī (lithographed on the margin of Ibn Ḥajar's Taḥrīr ed. Delhi, 1290 A.H.), pp.3-4. (2) Nūr, 361-2; Akḥbār, 264; Ma'thar, 194-6; Subḥat, 43; Khazīna, 1, 436-7; Hada'id, 385-6; Ithāf, 397; Abjad, 895; Tiqṣar, 180; Lakhnawī, al-Ta'liqāt al-Saniyya (lithographed on the margin of his al-Fawā'id al-Bahīyya (Lucknow, 1895), p.67; Tadhkirat-ul-Ulamā, 195-6; Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 264; Bānkīpūr Cat. V(2) 32-4; Būhār Cat. II, 467; Brockelmann, Suppl. 1, 601-2. (3) For the correct title of the work, see author's Majma' Bihār, p.4. (4) Al-Mughnī (lithographed on the margin of Ibn Ḥajar's Taḥrīr, ed. Delhi, 1308 A.H.), p.352.

comprehensive work designed to supply us correct readings (ḍabt) of such names of the narrators (Rūwāt) of Ḥadīth, their fathers, grand-fathers and of their kunyas or laqabs as are liable to misreading. All such confused names (mush-tabiḥāt), the author arranges alphabetically. At the end of the discussion of the confused names under every alphabetical letter, he also gives the correct readings of all the confused nisbas that come under the letter concerned. This is not all. Occasionally short biographical notices of the rū'wāt and the ṭabqas to which they belong, have also been added. Names of Prophets and relevant places that are likely to give rise to confusion, have not also 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 Madhabib Arba' and the authors of the Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta.

The work has been lithographed twice over in Delhi, in 1290/1873 and 1308/1890 on the margin of Ibn Ḥajar's al-Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb¹.

(ii) Tadhkirat al-Mawḍū'āt (published). In this book, the author makes a collection of mawḍū' and daif ahādīth from works on al-Mawḍū'āt written by his predecessors, viz., al-Suyūṭī's Kitāb al-La'ālī, Kitāb al-Dha'īl and Kitāb al-Waif, al-Sakhāwī's al-Maqāsid al-Ḥasana, al-Firūzābādī's Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Mughnī li'l-Ḍarīfī, al-Ṣaghānī's al-Mawḍū'āt and others.² The Traditions have been arranged according to subject matters into as many as 226 bābs beginning with al-Kitāb al-tawhīd and ending with the bāb 'fi Sa'at Rahmatihī wa Shafā'at al-Nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alaihī wa sallām.⁴

(1) Bankipore Catalogue, xii, 68. (2) Cf. Tadhkirat al-Mawḍū'āt (Egypt, 1343 A.H.) 1st ed., p.4. (3) Ibid, p.11. (4) Ibid, p.226.

Every Tradition has been preceded by its source (ماخذ) and has been followed by author's own remarks, such as that the Tradition is unfounded, baseless or forged (باطل، ~~كاذب~~) or that one or other of the rūwāt is daif (weak), Kadhdhāb (liar) or waddāf (forger^{er}), or by those of the other critics, viz., Ahmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241), al-Bukhārī (d. 256), al-Nasā'ī (d. 303), al-Daraqūṭnī (d. 385) Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354), Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597), al-Ṣaghanī (d. 650), al-Dhahabī (d. 748), al-'Irāqī (d. 806) and Ibn Ḥajar (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 Bānkīpūr Library, 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'āt. It covers, in a short compass, the whole range of weak and apocryphal authorities (rūwāt) arranged alphabetically. The author does not give any detailed information of the rūwāt 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 (Bankipore, XII, No. 730). It is a biographical work on Rūwāt al-Ḥadīth, divided into three Faṣls 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 Faṣl

(1) Bankipur, Vol.V, Part ii, p.33.

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 (Tābī'ūn) and other Traditionists, all arranged¹ alphabetically.

(v) Majma' Bihār al-Anwār (published)²: a very popular and compendious dictionary of the Gharā'ib i.e. difficult and uncommon words in al-Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīth. The work comprises the Asl al-Kitāb (Main Book), a Khātima (Appendix) and a Takmila (Supplement). The author has collected in the ~~Asl~~ Asl al-Kitāb which is divided into three volumes almost all the Gharā'ib of the Qur'ān, the Sihāh Sitta and the Mishkāt al-Masābih and what yet remained³ 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-Ḥadīth and their interpretations, have been stated. Although Ibn al-Athīr's al-Nihāya has been his basic source, al-Fattānī has also utilised the following works: Sharḥ al-Bukhārī, by al-Qastallānī and by al-Kirmānī, Sharḥ Muslim by al-Nawawī, Sharḥ al-Mishkāt by al-Ṭibī, Sharḥ Jāmi' al-Uṣūl by Ibn al-Athīr, Nāzīr Āin al-Gharībayn, Mafātih Sharḥ al-Masābih, Hāshiat al-Bukhārī by al-Zarkashī, Madārik al-Tanzīl, Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī and⁴ others. As for the Khātima,⁵ he has devoted it to the dis-

(1) Bankipore Cat. XII, p.67. (2) The full title of the work is Majma' Bihār al-Anwār fī katakāt Latā'if al-Tanzīl wa Gharā'ib al-Akḥbār. (3) Majma' Bihār (Newul Kishore, 1314 A.H.) Vol.I. (4) Ibid, i, 3-4, iv, 2. (5) Ibid, iii, pp.506-51.

cussions of the Science of Tradition, i.e., the *Technique* of Hadīth literature, fabricators (Waddā) and fabricated Traditions abridged from his Tadhkira, correct reading (dabt) of the confused names of the Rūwāt, abridged from his al-Mughnī, chronological events (siyar) of the life of the Prophet from his birth down to his death, and lastly several famous Rūwāt al-Hadīth. In fine, the Majma' Bihār al-Anwār may well be regarded as a short commentary of both the Qur'ān and the Ṣiḥāh Sitta, and a hand-book of the Science of Tradition. This valuable compilation which had been begun during the life time of his teacher Alī 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 Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, by writing this book which met with universal approval and recognition of the scholars, al-Fattanī has placed the World of Islām under a deep debt of gratitude.

7. Shaykh Tayyīb al-Sindī (d. Circ. 999/1590).

Born and bred in Sind, Shaykh Tayyīb received his early education at his native place from Mawlānā Yūnus al-Sindī and then read Hadīth at Ahmadābād under 'Abd al-Awwal al-Ḥusainī (d. 968). He is credited to have taught the Science of Hadīth at Ilichpur in Berar 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 Ṣaḥīh of al-Bukhārī from start to finish with Shaykh Tayyīb at Burhānpūr.

(1) Ibid, i, 3; 450; iii, 506. (2) Abjad al-ʿUlūm, p.896.
 (3) Nuzha (MS), vol.IV, s.v., Mawlānā al-Tayyīb al-Sindī; Guljār-i-Abrār referred to in Nuzha; Yad-i-Ayyām, 35-6.
 (4) Nuzha, IV, s.v., al-Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Burhānpūrī.

His work:-

Taflīqat ¹Alā Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh, Glosses on the
Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh.

8. Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Sultānpūrī (d.990/1682).

A scholar and a Traditionist Shaykh 'Abd Allāh, ²famous as Wakhdūm al-Mulk, a title given him by Humāyūn (937-46/1530-39), was the chief of the 'Ulamā' during the successive reigns of the Afghan Rulers of Delhi. ³During 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'. ⁴While on pilgrimage to Makka, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was held in high esteem for his scholarship by no less a person than Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī himself. ⁵He breathed his last in Gujarāt in 990/1582 after his return from the holy city. ⁷He was born at Sultānpur, now in Kapurthala State, in 937/1530. ⁸

His works:-

(i) Sharḥ 'Alā Shamā'il al-Nabī, ⁹a Commentary on the Shamā'il al-Nabī of al-Tirmidhī.

(ii) 'Ismat 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 Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad Kamrān (d.964).

(1) Nuzha, loc.cit. (2) Badā'ūnī, 70 = Haig, 114. (3) I.e. Sher Shah, Salīm Shāh, Fīrūz Shāh and 'Adīl Shāh reigned from 946/1539 to 962/1554, cf. Haig, p.98, No 6. (4) Ibid; also p.113, No.2. (5) Nuzha, Vol.iv, s.v. al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Islāmpūrī. (6) 1006 A.H. according to Khazīna, vol.1, pp.447-8. (7) Badā'ūnī, 73 = Haig, 116. (8) 'Aīn-i-Akbarī and Ma'thar al-'Umarā', s.v. 'Abdullāh Sultānpūrī; T. 'Ulamā-i-Hind, p.103; Beale, p.6. (9) Badā'ūnī, 71 = Haig, 114.

9. Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī al-Gangūhī (d.990/1582).

Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī, a contemporary of Makhdūm al-Mulk and a grand son of the famous saint 'Abd al-Quddūs (d.945) of Ganguh, was a pupil in al-Ḥadīth of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī¹. 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 a Ṣūfī life in those days². He was a teacher of Akbar³ who appointed him Ṣadr al-Ṣudūr⁴ which exalted office 'Abd al-Nabī held till the year 986/1578 when, as a result of the machination of Faīdī⁵ (d. 1004), he fell from the grace. Along with 'Abd Allāh al-Sultānpūrī he was forced, on pain of death, to sign Akbar's Religious Decree⁶. He died at Agra on Rabī' I 12,⁷ 990/March, 1582.

His works:-

(1) Sunan al-Hudā fī Mutāba'at al-Muṣṭafā (Būhār No.132 Ar.; ASB No.500 Ar.; Rampur No.185 Ar)⁸. It is a collection of Traditions selected from authentic Hadith-works (Kutub al-shādīth al-Ṣabiha) having bearing on religious duties and observances.

The book comprises of a Muqaddima (introduction), three Parts (aqṣām) and a Khātima (conclusion); the parts

(1) Nuzha, IV, s.v. 'Abd al-Nabī al-Kankūhī. (2) Badā'ūnī, 80 = Haig, 127; Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 266. (3) Beale, 7-8. (4) 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, 122, No.2 quoting Aīn-i-Akbarī Vol.I, 270. (5) Haig, 412 note. (6) Badā'ūnī, 84 = Haig, 131. (7) Nūr, 370-80. Badā'ūnī gives his death-date variously in 991 A.H. (iii, 131) and 992 A.H. (ii, 312). Notices on his biography will also be found in Aīn-i-Akbarī, i, 490; Mir'at-i-Ālam, fol. 262b; Mā'thar al-Umarā'; Darbār-i-Akbarī, 320-8; 'Abd al-Hayy Lakhnawī, Tarb al-Amāthil, ed. Lucknow, p.218; Tadhkira-i-Ulamā', p.134; Catalogue, Buhār, ii, 146. (8) A MS. copy is also preserved in Dār al-Ulūm of Deoband.

again are subdivided into Faṣls (chapters).¹

(ii) Wazā'if al-Yawn wa'l-Lāila al-Nabūwiyya,² a collection of shādith on ad'fiya, or prayers.

10. Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn al-'Alawī al-Kuirātī (910-98/1504-1580).

A celebrated Professor of Ahmadābād, Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn was a pupil of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Tārimī (d.941) and Shaykh Gawth Gawaliyārī (d.870).³ He was born at Champanir in Muharram, 910/June, 1504 and founded at Ahmadābād a Madrasa which during his life time developed into a great seat of learning.⁴ He wrote annotations (hawāshī) and commentaries on as many as twenty three books varying from Sharh Jāmi' to Tafsīr al-Baidāwī. His commentary on Ibn Hajar's Nuzhat al-Nazar fī Sharh Nukhbat al-Fikar entitled

Sharh Sharh Nukhbat al-Fikar has been preserved in the libraries of Bānkīpūr,⁵ Rāmpūr⁶ and Nadwa at Lucknow.⁷

Wajih al-Dīn died at Ahmadābād in Muharram, 998/⁸ February, 1580.

10. Shaykh Tāhir b. Yūsuf al-Sindī al-Burhānpūrī (d.1004/1595).

Shaykh Tāhir was born at Patrī, near Cutch, in Gujarāt and took his early education from Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn al-Sindī. In 950/1543, he proceeded to Gujarāt and joined the Ḥadīth classes of 'Abd al-Awwal al-Ḥusainī at Ahmadābād. On completion of the course, he was ~~ixix~~

(1) For detailed description of the contents of the work, see Būhār Catalogue, Vol.ii, pp.446-50. (2) Brockelmann, Sup. 11, 602. This treatise appears to be the same as the Wazā'if al-Nabī fī Ad'fiyat al-Mathūra mentioned by 'Abd al-Ḥayy Nadawī in his Ma'ārif al-'Awārif s.v.

(3) For 'Imād al-Dīn al-Tarimī, Nūr, 204 and for Gawth Gawaliyārī, Badā'unī, 5 = Haig, 6. (4) Yād-i-Ayyām, 33; Abū 'l-Ḥasanāt, op.cit. 76. (5) Bānkīpūr, Vol.V, part ii, No.454. (6) Badā'unī, 44-5 = Haig, 70-3; Mir'at-i-Ahmadī, Supplement tr. by Nawab Ali (Bombay, 1924), 67-9; Subhat, 45; Ma'thar, 196; Hada'ig, 388-9; Abjad, 296; Tadhkira-i-ulama, 249; Bihar, ii, 188. (7)

initiated to Sufism by the famous saint Shaykh Gawth Gawāliyyārī (d.970). Accompanied by Maūlānā Ṭayyib al-Sindī¹, he entered Burhānpūr where he set up his reidence. He died there in 1004/1595.²

His works:-

(i) Talkhīs Sharh Asmā' al-Rijāl al-Bukhārī li 'l-Kirmānī³, a compendium of al-Kirmānī's Sharh Asmā' al-Rijāl al-Bukhārī.

(ii) Multaqat Jam' al-Jawāmi'⁴, a selection of al-Suyūṭī's Jam' al-Jawāmi'.

(iii) Sharh al-Bukhārī, a commentary on al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ based on al-Qastallānī's Irshād al-Sārī fī Sharh al-Bukhārī⁵.

(iv) Royād al-Ṣāliḥīn⁶, or the Gardens of the Pious. The work consists of three rawdāt (gardens) of which the first contains a selection of authentic Traditions, the second, essays on Sufism and the third or the last, discourses (malfūzāt) of eminent saints.

(Continued from page 125)

(6) No.16 (Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth). (7) Hand List No.704 (Nawādir) (8) Badā'ūnī, 44-5 = Haig, 70-3; Mir'at-i-Ahmadi, Supplement tr. by Nawab Ali (Bombay, 1924), 67-9; Subhat, 45; Ma'thar, 196; Ḥadā'iq, 388-9; Abjad, 896; Tadhkira-i-ulamā', 249; Būhār, ii, 188.

(1) Nuzha, IV, s.v. al-Ṭayyib al-Sindī. (2) Ibid, s.v. Ṭāhīr b. Yūsuf al-Sindī; Guljār-i-Abrār. (3) Ibid.

(4) Ma'ārif al-Āwārif, Ch. مصنفاة اهل الهند في الحديث

(5) Ibid, s.v. (6) Nuzha, loc.cit.

شروح البخاری

12. Shaykh Ya'qūb b. al-Hasan al-Ṣarfī al-Kashmīrī
(908-1003/1502-95).

Shaykh Ya'qūb became famous as a teacher of Ḥadīth of Ahmad al-Sarhindī, better known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī (d.1034)¹. Born in Kashmir in 908/1502, al-Ṣarfī came under the instructions of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī at Makka² in 964/1556 after he had been educated at his native place, as also, at Samarqand in Ma'qūlāt and Fiqh. In Persian poetry he was a pupil of Shah Ānī, a disciple of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jāmī (d.898), and composed poems under the nom de plume (takhallus) of al-Ṣarfī. Later, while he was a teacher in Kashmir, he paid a visit to al-Hijāz for the second time and stayed there for a year, procuring books on Tafsir, Ḥadīth and Fiqh which he introduced into his institution. He died in Kashmir in Dhū 'l-Qa'da, 18,³ 1003/July, 1595.

His works:-

(i) Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, a commentary on al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ, which does not seem to have a long survived.

(ii) Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, an incomplete commentary of the Qur'ān preserved in the library of Dār al-Muṣannifīn at Azamgarh.⁴

(iii) Risāla-i-Adhkār

(iv) Maghāzī al-Nabūwwat, a treatise (in verse) on the life of the Prophet.⁵

(1) *Infra*, p. /33. (2) Badā'ūnī, 12 = Haig, 20. (3) *Ibid*, xxxix 142-9 = 200-9, 260 = 360; Nuzha, iv, s.v., Ya'qūb b. al-Hasan; Hadā'iq, 394-5; A'zamī, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, 110-1; Tadhkirā-i-'Ulamā', 255. The date of his birth given by the last two books as 978 A.H. and which has been quoted in Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 261, is not correct. cf. Badā'ūnī, loc.cit. and also Storey, op.cit., 11, 193. (4) Ma'ārif, XXII(4). (5) Nuzha, loc.cit.

13. Hājī Muḥammad al-Kashmīrī (d.1006/1597).

Another devoted disciple of Ibn Ḥajar¹ from Kashmir, a contemporary of al-Ṣarfī, was Hājī Muḥammad al-Kashmīrī.² His ancestors had come to that country as entourage of 'Alī al-Hamadānī (d.786) whose Khānqa³ therein became afterwards a seminar for Hājī Muḥammad. Before joining the School of Ibn Ḥajar at Makka, he read in Delhi. He also learnt Hadīth from eminent Madinian Traditionists.⁴ A man of wide and varied learning, Hājī Muḥammad compiled as many as eighteen books including a commentary of the Qur'ān in Persian.⁵ His works on Hadīth are as follows:-

(i) Sharḥ Shamā'il al-Nabī (Bānkīpūr, No.1182 Pr.; Būhār No.159), a commentary, in Persian, on al-Tirmidhī's Shamā'il al-Nabī completed in Jumādā I, 988/June, 1580 at the Khānqa of 'Alī al-Hamadānī in Kashmir.⁶

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

(iii) Kitāb Khulāṣat al-Jāmi' fi Jam' al-Hadīth, a compendium of miscellaneous Traditions.⁷

(iv) Sharḥ Hisn Ḥasīn (Bānkīpūr, XVI, No.1419; ASB No. 993 Pr): a concise Persian commentary of al-Jazarī's Hisn Ḥasīn written in the above mentioned Khānqa. This work, as the author tells us, was his last compilation.⁸

14. Mawlāna Uthmān b. Isā b. Ibrāhīm al-Siddīqī al-Hanafī al-Sīndī (d.1008/1599).

A native of Buskān(?) in Sind, Shaykh Uthmān was educated in Gujārāt under Wajīh al-Dīn 'Alawī (d.998), Qadī

(1) Vide his Sharḥ Shamā'il al-Nabī (MS. Bānkīpūr, No.1182 Persian), fol.3. (2) For his name, see his Sharḥ Hisn Ḥasīn (MS Bankipur, No.1419 (Persian), khatima ^{الكاتب محمد الشاذلي بن المكي بن المديني الكندي} (3) Supra, p.69. (4) Tadhkira-i-Ulamā, 46; Catalogue, Bānkīpūr, XVI, p.51; Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 261; Storey, ii, 175 (5) The author enumerates his works in the khātima (end) of his Sharḥ-i-Hisn Ḥasīn. cf. MS. Bānkīpūr. (6) MS. Bankipur, fol.144. (7) Supra, n 5. (8) Bankipur, XVI, No.1419, copy transcribed at Chittagong in 1249/1833.

Muhammad al-Mawrī and Shaykh Husayn al-Baghdādī. In 983/1575, he had been to Burhānpūr and was cordially received by Muhammad Shāh b. Mubārak (974-94/566-76), the Fārūqī King who appointed him Professor and Muftī of his dominion which office 'Uthmān 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 Sha'bān, 1008/February, 1600. A scholar of Ma'qūlāt and Manqūlāt apart, 'Uthmān was skilled in Science of Medicine which earned him the title of al-¹Ḥakīm.

His works:-

(1) Ghāyat al-Tawdīh li 'l-Jāmi' 'al-Sahih,² a commentary on al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ preserved in the library of the India Office and the Asaffiyya Library (Vol.1, No.220).³

The author says in the preface that he compiled his work from the commentaries of al-Kirmānī, al-'Asqalānī, al-Qaṣṭallānī and also, in the first portion, from the Faiḍ al-Bārī, a commentary by Sayyid 'Abd al-'Awwal al-Ḥusainī. 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 ⁴قوله

(ii) Al-'Aqā'id al-Sunīyya: A dissertation of 50 pages published by the Fārūqī Press at Delhi in 1309 A.H. It discusses the 'aqā'id or the tenets of the Sunnīs as have been based on the Qur'ān and shādhīth supplementing them at times

(1) Nuzha, Vol.V, s.v. 'Uthmān b. 'Isa b. Ibrāhīm al-Sindī; Guljār-i-Abrār. (2) Ma'ārif al-'Awārif, s.v. سردوم البخاری
(3) Loth, No.129. (4) Ibid.

by the opinions of the doctors and theologians of early Islām. Among the authorities quoted in the treatise, the commentaries of the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī by al-Kirmānī & al-Qastallānī and the Manḥāj al-Ummāl by 'Alī al-Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī figure prominently. It has been divided into seventeen fasls or chapters.

15. Shaykh Munawwar b. 'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Abd al-Shakūr al-Lāhurī (d. 1010/1602).

Shaykh Munawwar, a native of Lahore, was a pupil of two noted teachers of his city, Sa'd Allāh Banī Isrā'īlī¹ (d. circ 1000) and Ishāq Kākū² (d. 996). He completed his education at the age of twenty. In 985/1577, Akbar appointed him Sadr of Malwa. In 995/1597 perhaps for his orthodox views, he was imprisoned into the fort of Gawaliyar whence after five years he was removed to Agra, his properties and books having been confiscated. Further, he was subjected to tortuous punishments until he died in Dhū 'l-Qa'da 12, 1010/April, 1602.

During his internment in Gawaliyar, Shaykh Munawwar compiled his book called al-Durr al-Nazīm fī Tartīb al-Āy wa'l-Suwar al-Karīm and also vocalised Qādī Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī's Commentary of the Qur'ān, al-Bahr al-Mawwāj. As for his contribution to Ḥadīth literature, he has to his credit Commentaries of al-Saghari's Mashāriq al-Anwār and al-Jazarī's Ḥisn Ḥaṣīn.³

16. Shaykh 'Ashiq b. 'Umar al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1032).

In Ḥadīth he was pupil of 'Abd Allāh Sultānpūrī (d. 990) and had great reputation as a Traditionist as well as a jurist. He wrote a commentary of al-Tirmidhī's Shamā'il al-Nabī.⁴

(1) Badā'ūnī, 53 = Haig, 87. (2) 52 = 86. (3) Nuzha, v, s.v. Munawwar b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāhurī; Ma'ārif al-Āwwārif, s.v. شروع مشرقین و شروع المشارق (4) Ḥadā'iq, p.404; Ma'ārif al-Āwārif, s.v. شروع سقائل النبى

17. Muḥīyy al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir b. Shaykh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Idrūsī al-Ḥadramī al-Hindī al-Aḥmadābādī (978-1037/1570-1627).

He was the famous author of al-Nūr al-Sāfir and came of the cultured family of 'Idrūsī which had migrated in the middle of the 10th century from Ḥadramawt to Aḥmadābād. Here 'Abd al-Qādir was born in Rabī' I, 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 Ahmadabad and lectured in Ḥadīth and Taṣawwūf. He died at Ahmadabad in Muḥarram 10, 1037/September, 1627.

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

(i) Al-Manḥ al-Bārī bi Khatm Sahīh al-Bukhārī.

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

(iii) Risāla fi Manāqib al-Bukhārī (Būḥār, No.454, III).

(iv) Al-Qawl al-Jāmi' fi Bayān al-Ilm al-Nāfi' (Būḥār No.457, II). In this treatise the author has explained the meaning of the Ḥadīth طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم to say that علم باطن or Sufism is obligatory to all.

(v) Kitāb al-Anmūdḥaj al-Latīf fi Ahl Badr al-Sharīf, a work depicting the merits of Ahl Badr or the Companions who dī'd martyrs in the battle of Badr (3/624).

(1) Supra, p. 95. (2) Autobiography: al-Nūr al-Sāfir, 334-43; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat al-Atḥar al-Egyptī (13—), Vol.ii, 44; Ta'liq al-Sanīyya, 36; Ḥadā'iq, 406-7; Tadhkira-i-Ulamā, 129. (3) Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīyya, p.407, enumerates eighteen of his works. Cf Brockelmann, Sup I, 617. (4) Nūr, 338. (5) His pupil Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Baskarī who read the Sahīh of al-Bukhārī with him also has a treatise of the same title (Būḥār Catalogue Vol.ii, No.454, IV). (6) Nūr, 338.

18. 'Abd al-Nabī al-Shattāri (d. Circ 1030/1621)

'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ārif al-'Uthmānī al-Hanafī al-Shattāri¹ commonly called 'Abd al-Nabī was a disciple of 'Abd Allāh al-Sūfī al-Shattāri² (d. 1010) of Agra. He wrote commentaries on a good many standard works on philosophy, logic, Quranic 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 Tadhkira 'Ulamā-i-Hind³ are as follows:-

(1) Dharī'at al-Najāt fi Sharḥ al-Mishkāt: a Commentary on the Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ.

(ii) Sharḥ Nukhbat al-Fikar.

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

(iv) Sharḥ Ḥadīth خير الاسماء عند الله وعبد الرحمن

(v) Lawāmi' al-Anwār fi Manāqib al-Sādat al-Athar: a work on the excellences of the Ahl Bait as described in ahadīth.

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

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

Shaykh Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Aḥad al-Fārūqī al-Sihrindī, popularly known as Mujaddid-i-Alf Thānī, or the Reformer of the Second Millennium, was the celebrated founder of the Mujaddidī ordination. He was born at Sihrind (commonly called Sirhind Sharif in the Patiala State in the Punjab) in Shawwāl, 971/May, 1564. He received his early education from his father. Then he went to Siyalkot, thence to Kashmir studying Ma'qūlāt⁴ and Manqūlāt under Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Kashmīrī (d. 1017)

(1) On Shattāri order, vide JASB, 1874, part 1, 216.
(2) Wafayāt al-Akhyār, 65. (3) Pages 134-5. (4) For him, see A'zamī, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, p. 119.

and Shaykh Ya'qūb al-Ṣarfī (d. 1003) respectively. Al-Ṣarfī granted him Ijāza for al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ, al-Tābrizī's Mishkāṭ and al-Suyūṭī's al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr. Ahmad obtained further Ijāza for the Ṣiḥah Sitta from Qādī Bahlūl al-Badakhshī who was a pupil of the famous Makkan Traditionist, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Fahd. In 1007/1578 he was admitted to the Naqshbandī order by Khawāja 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqshbandī (d. 1012). He died at Sahrind in Ṣafar 20, 1034/November, 1624 at the age of sixtythree. His tomb which exists to this day, is always frequented by visitors.

Although a profound scholar in the love of Ḥadīth as is seen from a perusal of his Maktūbāt, Shaykh Ahmad al-Sahrindī left us his only treatise on Arba'in. His role as a Traditionist and a Reformer consisted not in writing books on, or imparting lessons in Ḥadīth - though occasionally he did so - but in creating out of chaos and confusions that were rampant in the body polity of Islām in his time, an atmosphere congenial to the study and culture of the Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīth. As a result of Akbar's anti-Sunnite policy, the Shi'a dignitaries like the Persian Ministers in the 'Abbāsīd 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 Sūfis

(1) Nuzha, v, s.v. al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Mujaddid. The isnād of al-Badakhshī is as follows:-

القاضي بجلول البخشي عن الشيخ عبد الحسين بن محمد بن ابي اسحاق بن عبد القادر وعمر الشافعي جارا لله عن ابيها الشيخ زين الدين عبد العزيز بن جلاء الحافظ الرحلة لقي الدين محمد بن الطولي الهاشمي والحافظ صاحب الدين ابن حجر العسقلاني

cf Zubdat al-Maqāsīd (MS. Bankipur No.197 Pers), foll. 91a-93b. (2) The statement of Rahmān 'Alī (Tadhkira-i-Ulamā p.10) that 'Abd al-Rahmān was an Indian Traditionist is not correct. cf. Zubdat al-Muqāsīd, fol.92a. (3) Akhbār, 303; Khazīna, i, 607; Ḥadā'iq, 404-6; al-Yānī' al-Janī, 91-5; Tadhkira-i-Ulamā, 10-2. (4) Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 334-5. (5) Nuzha loc.cit. (6) Burhān al-Dīn, The Mujaddid's conception of Tawhīd (Lahore, 1940), pp.16 sq.

(المشكوة والنجارى)

in the name of sanctity, were preaching and practising all sorts of un-Islamic innovations (bid'ā) which were at once disrupting and disintegrating the body politic of Islām.¹ Against these and other abuses of the day,² 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 displeasure of the Government whereon Emperor Jahāngīr had him imprisoned in the fort of Gawāliyar. 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 Musālmans of his contemporary India. Millions of Muslims of all strata of society both from India and outside took bay'ā 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 Ahmad al-Sihriṇḍī not only saved Islām from disintegration but also brought about a much needed synthesis between Shari'ā and Tarīqa.

The secret of the Mujaddid's success, however, lay above all in his emphasising the study of the Qur'ān and Hadīth among his co-religionists.³ The noble work of reforms through the study of the Qur'ān and Hadīth started by him was ably carried on by generations of the scions of his family as will be noticed below:-

(1) al-Furqān Walī Allāh Number ed. Manzūr Nu'mānī (Bariely, 1941) 2nd ed. pp.172-3; Ma'ārif, loc.cit. (2) For details, see al-Furqān, 46-52; Burhān al-Dīn, op.cit, loc.cit. (3) Ma'ārif, loc.cit.

1. Shaykh Sa'īd b. Ahmad al-Sihrindī (1003-70/1594-1659).

Shaykh Sa'īd surnamed Khāzin al-Rahmat or the Treasure of Blessings, learnt the Science of Tradition from his father and also 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rūmī. At the advanced age of his father, Shaykh Sa'īd became a Professor of the Khānqā and taught Ḥadīth and other subjects until 1034/1624 when he left for the Haramayn. He returned to Sihrind in 1069/1658 and died in 1070/1659. He had to his credit a Hāshiya (glosses) on the Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ.

2. Shaykh Sa'īd's son Farrūkh Shāh (1038-1112), a versatile Traditionist, was said to have committed to memory as many as seventy thousand aḥādīth together with asānīd and thereby acquired the title of al-Ḥafīz.

3. Sirāj Ahmad al-Mujaddidī (1176-1230/1762-1815).

Sirāj Ahmad b. Murshid b. Arshad b. Farrūkh Shāh was born in 1176/1762 at Sihrind which was subjected to Sikh persecution for the third time in 1177/1762 when his father Shaykh Murshid (1117-1201) along with his family members migrated to Rāmpūr. Sirāj Ahmad read Ḥadīth literature with his father who was himself a scholar of the Science. He was a contemporary of Salām Allah (d.1229), the Traditionist of the house of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī (d.1235). He died in 1230/1815 at Lucknow whence his dead body was brought to Rāmpūr to bury by the side of his father.

(1) Al-Yānī' al-Janī, 95; Hadā'iq, 417; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā, 190; also Nuzha; Ma'ārif al-'Awārif; Pānipatī, Tadhkirat al-Ansāb, s.v. Sa'īd b. Ahmad al-Sihrindī. (2) Al-Yānī', loc.cit; Nuzha, s.v. Farrūkh b. Sa'īd. (3) For Shaykh Murshid see, Ahmad 'Alī Khān Shawq's Tadhkira-i-Kāmilān-i-Rāmpūr (Delhi, 1929) pp.389-91. (4) Ibid, p.389. (5) Ibid, 147-9. Ma'ārif, vol.XXXIII(6), pp.444.

His works:-

(i) Tarjuma-i-Fārsī Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim: a Persian tr. with explanatory notes of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim. An autograph copy of this work in three volumes ^{is} are available in the State Library of Rampur.

(ii) Sharḥ-i-Fārsī ʿala Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī: a concise Persian commentary of the Jāmiʿ of al-Tirmidhī published along with Majmūʿa Shuruh-i-Arbaʿ by Nizāmī Press at Delhi. The work was begun in Dhu'l-Hijja, 1220/Feb., 1806 and completed in Dhu 'l-Hijja, 1222/Jan., 1808. The author states in the preface that at the time of compilation he had not any commentary or translation of the Jāmiʿ 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 Ahādīth which have been referred to by al-Tirmidhī as في الباب عن فلان وفيد عن فلان. Further, he has given correct readings (qabt) of the uncommon names and nisba's occurred in the Jāmiʿ.

(iii) Risāla dar Dhikr-i-Taʿām wa Shurb (Rampur Persi MSS): a Persian treatise on the food and drink of the Prophet as described in Ahādīth.

4. Shaykh Maʿsūm b. Aḥmad al-Sīhrindī (d.1080/1669).

He was the second son of the Mujaddid Alf Thanī and a spiritual guide of Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAlamgīr (d.1119). He was well-versed in Hadīth literature and obtained sanad from Makkan Traditionists at the time of his pilgrimage to the Haramayn. His son Khawāja Sayf al-Dīn (d.1098) earned for

(1) Khazīna, i, 639 sq; Ḥadā'iq, 419; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā, 212; Bankipur Cat., XVI, 71-2; Ma'ārif, loc.cit.

him the title of Muhyiy al-Sunna or the Reviver of Sunna by dint of his life-long devotion to the cause of al-Ḥadīth. Further, Shaykh Ma'sūm entrusted him with the spiritual training of 'Ālamgīr.¹

5. Khawāja A'zam b. Sayf al-Dīn al-Sihrindī (1066-1114/1655-1702).

He was a distinguished Muḥaddith and flourished during the reign of 'Ālamgīr (1069-1119/1659-1707). He read Ḥadīth with his father Sayf al-Dīn and his uncle Farrūkh 'Shāh (d.1112). He died at Sirhind in 1114/1702 and was buried beside the grave of his father.²

His work:-

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

6. Shāh Abū Sa'īd b. Ṣafī al-Qadr al-Mujaddidī (1196-1250/1782-1835).

Shāh Abū Sa'īd, a great great grand-son of Saif al-Dīn, was the father of Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Mujaddidī (d.1296). He was born at Rampur in Dhu al-Qa'da, 1196/Oct., 1782 and read Ḥadīth with his uncle Sirāj Aḥmad and Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn al-Dihlawī (d. 1249) and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī (d.1239). He finally settled down at Delhi and succeeded his preceptor Ghulām 'Alī in the spiritual hierarchy founded by Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i-Jānān (d.1195). He died at Tonk in Shawwāl, 1250/Feb., 1835 on his return from the Ḥaramayn and was buried in Delhi beside the Jān-i-Jānān..⁴

(1) Ḥadā'iq, 424; Ma'ārif, loc.cit. (2) Nuzha; Ma'ārif, XXIII(6), 443. (3) Ma'ārif al-'Awārif, s.v., شروح البخاری. (4) Al-Yānī; 88-90; Ḥadā'iq, 471-2; Tadhkira 'Ulamā, 4; Tadhkir-i-Kāmilāw-i-Rāmpūr, 3-5. Muḥammad Zakariyyā Kāndh-luwi, Muḥaddima Awjaz al-Masālik fi Sharḥ Muwatta' Mālik ed. Saharanpur, 1348 A.H., pp.42-3.

7. Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Sa'īd al-Mujaddidī al-Dihlawī (1235-1296/1819-1878)

Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī was a teacher in Hadīth of Maulānā Qāsim al-Nānūtuwī (d.1297), the famous founder of the Dār al-'Ulūm at Deoband. He studied the Ṣiḥāh Sitta under his father on whose authority, 'Abd al-Ghanī transmitted them to his pupils. He also read a portion of the Ṣaḥīh of al-Bukhārī with Shāh Ishāq al-Dihlawī. In 1249/1833, he accompanied his father to the Haramayn and obtained ~~ḥadīth~~ al-Ijāza for the Ṣiḥāh Sitta from Shaykh 'Abid al-Sindī al-Madani (d. 1257). During the Sepoy Mutiny (1272/1857), 'Abd al-Ghanī migrated to al-Madīna where he taught Hadīth literature to a crowd of pupils until his death in Muḥarram, 1296/ Dec. 1878.

His Work:-

(i) Injāh al-Hāja fī Sharḥ Ibn Māja: annotations on the Sunan of Ibn Māja lithographed on the margin of the Sunan of Ibn Māja published by the 'Alimī Press at Delhi.

SECTION III. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Dihlawī & his School of Muḥaddithūm (1000-1229/1592-1814.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī (958-1052/1551-1642).

Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq b. Sayf al-Dīn b. Sa'd Allāh al-Turkī al-Bukhārī al-Dihlawī al-Hanafī traces his descent from 'Aghā Muḥammad Turk (d.739) who migrated to India from Bukhārā and rose to the rank of Amīr during the successive reigns of 'Alā-Dīn-Khaljī (695-715), Qutb al-Dīn (716-20) and Tughlaq Shāh (720-25). His grand father Shaykh Sa'd

(1) His Asānid of the Ṣiḥāh Sitta have been preserved by Muhsin al-Tirhatī in his al-Yānī' al-Janī (Delhi, 1287 A.H.).
 (2) Al-Yānī', 83-5; Ḥadā'iq, 491; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā, 126; Muḥaddīma Awjaz, 42; Ma'ārif, XXII(5), 347-8. (E)

Allāh (d.928) led a saintly life which was followed by his (ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq's) father Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn (d.990)¹. An author of several treatises on Sufism,² Sayf al-Dīn had a keen interest in Hadīth Literature as his possession of a copy of al-Dhahabī's al-Kāshif fī Rijāl al-Sitta demonstrated.³

The life of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq (b. Muḥarram, 958/January, 1551) falls under three ~~xxx~~ unequal periods: (i) 963-85/1556-77, (ii) 996-1000/1588-92 and (iii) 1000-52/1592-1642. The termination of the first period synchronised 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 Fuqahā' from the Transoxania settled in Delhi.⁴ As to his study of Hadīth 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 ~~x~~ had been a Traditionist of some reputation.

The second period (996-1000) he devoted exclusively to the study of Hadīth literature at Makka under Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Muttaqī (d.1010), a famous disciple and successor of ʿAlī al-Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī (d.975).⁵ Having obtained from his Shaykh Ijāza for the Ṣiḥāh Sitta, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq gave coup de grace to his education in Hadīth. This period was a turning point in the life of ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq as

(1) Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, Tiqsār, pp.183-4; Rieu, Persian MSS. i, p.14; JASS, XXII (1925), Hidāyat Ḥusain, Autobiography of Mawlānā ʿAbdu 'l-Ḥaqq, p.43-4. (2) Bankipore Catalogue, vi, pp.111-2. (3) This valuable MS. is in possession of Shifā' al-Mulk Ḥakīm Ḥabīb al-Rahmān of Dacca (Ma'ārif, XXXIII No.2 (1934), p.122). (4) Akhbār, p.242. (5) The duration of his study with ʿAbd al-Wahhāb had been near about three years (Shaykh al-Islām, Sharḥ-i-Bukhārī, MS. Bankipūr, No.1208 (Persian MSS), fol.26).

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 sometime the companion, in Fatehpur, of Faiḍī¹ and Mīrzā Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad (d.1003). But on his return from al-Hijāz, 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.² The third or the last period was one of compilation and giving instruction particularly in Ḥadīth literature at his Khānqa-i-Qādirīyya in Delhi.³ 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 Ḥaramayn 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-Fattānī's Majma' Bihār al-Anwār of which a lithograph edition was brought out by Newul Kishore Press at Lucknow, tells us that the copy of the Manuscript had been transcribed in 1019/1610 for the use of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī.⁵ It was during this period that he was at the peak height of his fame as a Muḥaddith as well as a personage of great

(1) Badā'ūnī, 113 = Haig, 167. (2) 115-6 = 170-1.
 (3) Bankipore Cat. V(2), 90. (4) Besides the Ṣiḥāh Sitta, the Muwatta' of Mālik, the Masnad of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Ḥadīth collections of al-Ṭabrānī, al-Baihaqī, al-Dāraqutnī and others, references of the following works are met with in his works:- al-Nawawī, Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, (Mā Thabata bi'l-Sunna, Lahore, 1307 A.H., pp.18, 25, 55); al-Marzī, Sharḥ Muslim (ibid, 66); Ibn Hajar, Tabyīn al-ʿAjāb (ibid, 71) on Mawqū'āt; 'Alī al-Muttaqī, Kanz al-ʿUmmal (ibid ~~xxx~~ 6), as al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr); Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī, al-Sawā'iq al-Muḥrīqa (ibid, 7); al-Sakhāwī, al-Maqāsid al-Ḥasana (ibid, 8); al-'Irāqī, Tanzīh al-Sharī'a (ibid, 9) on Mawqū'āt; Ibn al-Athīr, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl (ib. 1 Passim), al-Nihāya (ib.18) & Sharḥ Jāmi' al-Uṣūl (ib. 19); al-Kirmānī, Sharḥ al-Bukhārī (ib. 18), al-Ṭibī, Sharḥ Mishkāt (ib. 18), Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, Mashāriq al-Anwār (ib. 18); al-Tawrishtī, Sharḥ al-Masābih (p.19); 'Alī al-Qārī, Mirqāt al-Mafātīḥ (p.20); Ibn Hajar,

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 1028/¹ 1619. He died at Delhi in 1052/1642 and was buried in the Hawd-i-Shamsī in the tomb which he had himself built.²

Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī was a prolific author producing over hundred books on Ḥadīth, Taṣawwūf, History and biography of which 13 have been noticed by Brockelmann.³ Here is a list of his compilations on Ḥadīth literature:-⁴

(i) Al-Tarīq al-Qawīm fī Sharḥ al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm (published).⁵ This is a Persian commentary of al-Fūrūzābādī's Sifr al-Sa'āda also known as al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm, a collection of authentic Traditions relating to the life, character, practices and moral teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad (on him Peace and Blessings of Allāh). The Commentary which was written at Delhi in Jumādā I, 24, 1016/September, 1607, was published from Lucknow in 1885. It opens with a Muqaddima, Introduction divided into two parts of which ~~xxx~~ the first treats of the science of Traditions

Sharḥ Nukhba (p.28); Ibn Sa'id, Tabaqāt (p.30); al-Ḥākim, al-Mustadrak (32); al-Qastallānī, Irshād al-Sārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī (p.33); Ibn al-Athīr, Usd al-Ghāba (p.45); Yāfi'i, Mir'at al-Janān (p.68); Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bārī (Ashi'at al-Lam'āt, Lucknow, 1913, vol.1, p.11) etc. (5) Al-Fattānī, Majma' Bihār (Newul Kishore, 1314), Vol.III, p.551.

(1) Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī (London, 1909) p.16. (2) Akhbār, autobiography, pp.290 sq; Badā'ūnī, 113-7 = Haig, 167-72; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhurī, Pādshāh-i-Nāma (Biblo. Indica, 1867), i, 341-2; Subḥat, 51; Maṭhar, 200-1; Hadā'iq, 409-12; Khazīna, i, 164; Ithāf, 303-4; Sayyid Ahmad Khān, Athār al-Sanādīd (Cawnpur, 1904), p.63; T. 'Ulamā, 109-10; Nuzha, v, s.v. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Saif al-Dīn al-Dihlawī; Qāsim Nāgūrī, Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-Dihlawī, ed. Calcutta; Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 267-8; Elliot, VI, 175; JRASB, XXII (1926), pp.43-4; Ency. of Islām, i, 39; Rieu, i, 14a; Bankipur Cat, i, 490; Storey, ii, 194. (3) JRASB, XXII (1916), 43-60. (4) Sup. i, 603. (5) For MSS. copies, Bankipur, XIV, No.1186; India Office, No.2657; Rieu, i, 14-5.

and authentic collections and the second, of the Imāms of the Madhāhib Arbā'. 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 Ahādīth which had either been omitted or rejected as weak by al-Firūzābādī, Zāhirite that he was. The sources from which our Muḥaddīth derives his informations have been given in the ¹ preface.

(ii) Ashī'at al-Lam'āt fī Sharḥ al-Mishkāt, a popular and compendious Persian commentary of the Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ published in five volumes by Newul Kishore Press at Lucknow in 1913-15. Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Muḥaddīth al-Dihlawī began the work in the middle of 1019/1610 and completed it at Delhi by 1029/1020. As our Muḥaddīth puts it, the reason for the slow progress in the compilation of the Ashī'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 in Dhū 'l-Hijja, 13, 1019/February, 1611 and finished in Rabī' I, 24, 1025/⁵ March, 1616.

Like the Sharḥ Sifr al-Sa'āda, the Ashī'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 Istalāḥāt al-Ḥadīth or the ^{igne} Technology of the Science of Tradition, and the second, to the authors of

(1) JRASB, p.47 No.11; Fihrist-i-Musannifin-i-Dihlī, pp. 3 sq; Bankipore Cat., XIV, 46-7; Rieu, loc.cit. (2) For MSS. copies, Bankipore, XIV, 1193-4; Asafiyya, Vol.1, 83; Ex Ethe, No.2654; Rieu, 1, pp.14-5. (3) Ashī'at, ed. Newul Kishore, 1, p.1; Bankipore Cat. XIV, 52-3. (4) Fihrist-i-Musannifin, loc.cit. (5) Ashī'at, loc.cit.; Bankipore Cat. V(2), 90.

the Sihāh Sitta and nine other doctors of Ḥadīth, viz., Mālik, Ahmad b. Hanbal, al-Shāfi'i, al-Dāraqutnī, al-Baihaqī, Razīn al-'Abdī, al-Nawawī and Ibn al-Jawzī. In the main body of the Ashi''at, the author has reproduced in Persian the entire text of the Mishkāt peace meal and elucidated the Traditions and the questions having bearing on Madhāhib 'Arba'.

(iii) Lam'āt al-Tanqīh fī Sharḥ Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh (Bankipur Nos. 361-2, Aṣafiyya Nos. 83, 301-2 & 603). In this Arabic Commentary of the Mishkāt, the discussions on theological and juridical problems have been more elaborate than those in the Ashi''at although the fact remains that the Lam'āt is shorter in bulk than the Ashi''at, 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 Ashi''at has been taken up by its Persian translation of the original Arabic text. The Muqaddima of the Lam'āt which is identical with that of the Ashi''at, has been published in the beginning of the Indian editions of the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh and with which every student of Ḥadīth literature is pretty familiar.

(iv) Al-Ikmāl fī Asmā' al-Rijāl (Bankipore, No. 732; Dār al-'Ulūm, Peshwar): a biographical work on the Ruwāt mentioned in the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh. It was compiled after the completion of the Lam'āt. The main body of the work which has been arranged alphabetically is preceded by short life sketches of the four Khulafā' Rāshidīn and the

(1) JRASB, loc.cit. (2) The Arabic Muqaddima with a Urdu commentary has been published at Calcutta in 1927 by Qāsim Nagurī under the title of Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-Dihlawī and recently in 1357 A.H. a lithograph edition of the Muqaddima together with copious marginal notes in Arabic entitled al-Hawāshī al-Sa'dī was brought out in Calcutta by Muḥammad Amīn al-Iḥsān, a teacher of Madrasa-i-'Āliya. The Persian Muqaddima i.e. of the Ashi''at, has been published at Jawnpore in 1305/1887. (3) Vide Catalogue, p.61.

wives and the descendants of the Prophet. The alphabetical series begin with Abū 'l-Laḥam and ends in Yāsira. There is also an appendix (Tadhyyil) comprising of the notices of several eminent Traditionists beginning with Imām Mālik and ending with al-Ṭahawī¹.

(v) Jāmi' 'al-Barakāt Muntakhab Sharḥ al-Mishkāt. In this book, the author selected from every bāb of the Mishkāt one or two Aḥādīth 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 fī Ayyām al-Sana (Published): a collection of Traditions of all categories, viz., Sahīh, Hasan, Da'if and Mawḍū' dealing with prayers, fasting and other religious observances connected with each of the twelve months of the year, their days & nights. He has, in this book, considered every rite that has been sanctioned by genuine Aḥādīth 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 Rabi I, while the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusain claims the major portion of the space devoted to the month of Muharram. 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 Sufis 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 at Calcutta in 1253/1837 and at Lahore in 1307/1889.³

(1) Bankipore Cat. XII, 69-70. (2) JRASB, No.4.
(3) For MSS. copies, see Bankipore, V(2), No.404; Rampur, 1, Nos. 318-20.

(vii) Al-ahādīth al-Arba'īn fī Abwāb 'Ulūm al-Dīn: a¹
treatise of 40 Traditions about religious learning.

(viii) Tarjumat al-Ahādīth al-Arba'īn: a Persian translation of forty Ahādīth concerning admonitions to the²
kings and emperors.

(ix) Dastūr Faiḍ al-Nūr (Ethe, India Office, No.2658 ASB No.1004): a Persian treatise on the Prophet's dress based on Traditions. It is identical with the little tract styled Risāla Dar Adāb-i-Libās noticed in the Berlin³
Catalogue.

(x) Dhikr Ijāzat al-Ḥadīth fī 'l-Qadīm wa 'l-Ḥadīth.⁴

Abd al-Ḥaqq as a transmitter of al-Ḥadīth. It is stated that Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Muhaddith al-Dihlawī was the pioneer⁵ of Ḥadīth learning in India - a statement which has, to our mind, no basis.⁶ 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 Ahmad al-Sirīndī⁷ also contributed.

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

(1) JRASB, No.21. (2) JRASB, No.22. (3) Ethe, loc.cit.
(4) JRASB, No.7. (5) Ma'ārif, loc.cit.; Yād-i-Ayyām, 29.
(6) Cf. Yād-i-Ayyām, 29-30. (7) *Supra*, pp/32 Ag.

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.

1. Shaykh Nūr al-Haqq b. 'Abd al-Haqq al-Mashricī al-Muhaddith 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-Tawārikh, a general history of India commencing from Mu'izz al-Dīn b. Sām commonly known as Muḥammad Ghūrī (570-602/1175-1206), to the accession of Jahāngīr, 1014/1605, of which a part has been incorporated by Elliot 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 Jahān (1037-69/1628-59) appointed him Qādī of Akbarābād which office he long held with credit. He died at Delhi in 1073/1662 at the age of ninety.

His works:-

(i) Taysir al-Qārī fi Sharh Sahih al-Bukhārī, a compendious Persian commentary of al-Bukhārī's Sahih published in five volumes by the 'Alawī Press, Lucknow, 1305/1887.

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

2. Al-Hāfiz 'Abd al-Samed Fakhr al-Dīn b. Muhibb Allāh b. Nūr Allāh b. Nūr al-Haqq (d.circ. 1150).

He was the great great-grand son of Shaykh Nūr

(1) Subhat, 53; Ma'thar, 201; Hadā'iq, 418; Khazīna, i, 989; T. 'Ulamā, 246; Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 268; Elliot, vi, 182; Rieu, Persian MSS., i, 224; Ethe, India Office Catalogue, No.290; Bankipore Catalogue, XIV, 54. (2) Ma'ārif, loc.cit. For its MSS. copies, see Ethe, No.2659; Bankipore, Nos. 1195-9; Asfiyya, No.

¹
 al-Ḥaqq and received instructions in the Ṣiḥāh Sitta from his father Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh who, in his turn read them with ^{his} grand father Nūr al-Ḥaqq. Fakhr al-Dīn completed his father's Persian Commentary upon the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim entitled Manbaʿ al-ʿIlm fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim (Bankipore, No.1207; ASB. No.1007). In the preface of this work, Fakhr al-Dīn says that his father wrote it towards the fag-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 rescension of the Manbaʿ al-ʿIlm, Fakhr al-Dīn utilised the compilations of his great great-grand father Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī.²

(ii) Sharḥ ʿAyn al-ʿIlm (Bankipore, No.1390). This is a Persian Commentary of Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Balkhī's ʿAyn al-ʿIlm,³ 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 stiff and not accessible to Persian students, he wrote the present commentary with the help of al-Ghazālī's Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn of which the ʿAyn al-ʿIlm itself was a selection. He has introduced the passages from the Qurʾān and al-Ḥadīth under the abbreviations of ق and ح respectively. The names of the transmitting Ṣaḥāba together with the

(1) The statement of Abd al-Muqtadir (Bankipore, XIV, 62 also Maʿārif, XXII(4), 268-9) that Fakhr al-Dīn was a son of Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq, is not correct as it is clear from a genealogy given by Shaykh al-Islām b. Fakhr al-Dīn (q.v.) in the preface of his Sharḥ-i-Bukhārī (MS. Bankipore, No.1208, fol.27a (sic) ^{فخر الدين محمد بن نور الله بن نور الحق بن عبد الحق}) also Nuzha, vi, s.v. Shaykh al-Islām b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Dihlawī and as such the ascription of the Manbaʿ al-ʿIlm to Nūr al-Ḥaqq is a further mistake. (2) Bankipore Catalogue, XIV, 61-2 with necessary alterations in the light of the genealogy given above, n. (3) al-Balkhī was an Indian scholar (Loth, op.cit., p.190 cf. Ḥājī Khalifa, IV, 282). For copies of his ʿAyn al-ʿIlm, see Loth. Nos.680-2; Bankipore, No.1353 (Arabic Handlist, vol.1).

works in which the Traditions occur have been mentioned.¹
The work is divided into a Muqaddima, twenty Bābs and a
Khātima.²

(iii) Sharḥ-i-Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn, a Persian commentary of al-
Jazarī's Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn.³

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

He was a famous pupil of his father al-Ḥāfiẓ Fakhr al-Dīn and had Ijāza for the Ṣiḥāh Sitta and other Ḥadīth works from the latter.⁴ He flourished in Shāhjahānābād during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1131-61/1715-48) when the invasion of Nādir Shāh took place.⁵ Shaykh al-Islām was a contemporary of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d.1173). His works:-

(i) Sharḥ-i-Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī, a Persian Commentary of al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīh published at Lucknow in 1305/1887 on the margin of Nūr al-Ḥaqq's Taysīr al-Qārī under the title of Sharḥ-i-Shaykh al-Islām.⁶

The commentator has discussed in the preface (foll. 1-29), Bankipore MS.) Istalāḥat al-Ḥadīth or the Technique of the Science of Tradition, the soundness and otherwise of the Ruwāt, a short life sketch of al-Imām al-Bukhārī, the occasion that led him to compile his Ṣaḥīh, its place among the compilations on al-Ḥadīth its tarājim al-ābwāb, Ta'liqāt and other relevant points. Further, he has traced

(1) Cf. Bankipore MS. No.1390. (2) For contents of the work, see Bankipore Cat. XVI, 68-9. (3) Ḥadā'iq, 468. (4) Vide his Sharḥ Bukhārī (MS Bankipore) foll. 26b, 27a; Nuz. vol.VI, loc.cit.; Ḥadā'iq, loc. cit. (5) Bankipore Cat. XIV, 62-3; Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 269. (6) Bankipore, XIV, 62; Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 269. For MS. copy of the work, see Bankipore Nos. 1208-9.

therein his own Sanad upto Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (foll.26-7)

thus: شَيْخُ الْإِسْلَامِ عَنْ أَبِيهِ الْحَافِظِ فِي الدِّينِ عَنْ أَبِيهِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ نُورِ اللَّهِ عَنْ جَدِّهِ نُورِ الْحَقِّ
عَنْ أَبِي شَيْخِ الْمُحَدِّثِينَ الشَّيْخِ عَبْدِ الْحَقِّ الْمُحَرِّفِ الرَّهْلَوِيِّ

In compiling his work, Shaykh al-Islām has utilised, among other works, al-Nawawī's Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim (fo.18), Ibn Ḥajar's Fath al-Bārī (fol.27), 'Abd al-Ḥaqq's Commentaries on the Mishkāt (foll. 1 sq.) and Nūr al-Ḥaqq's Taysīr al-Qārī.

(ii) Risāla Kashf al-Ghitā' Ammā Lazima li 'l-Mawtā' 'Alā' l-'Abyā'

(iii) Risāla Tard al-Awhām 'an Athār al-Imām al-Humām.¹

4. Salām Allāh b. Shaykh al-Islām al-Muḥaddith al-Rāmpūrī (d.1229/1814).

Salām Allāh a contemporary of Sirāj Ahmad al-Sirhindī (d. 1220) and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī (d. 1235), appears to be the last luminary of the house of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī. He moved from Delhi to Rāmpūr and became famous as Muḥaddith-i-Rāmpūrī. He learnt the Science of Tradition from his own father Shaykh al-Islām and ably carried on the culture and cultivation of Ḥadīth learning, the proud heritage of his forefathers, as his following works show. He died at Rāmpūr in Jumādā II, 1229/1814 or² 1233/1818.

(i) Al-Muḥallā bi Asrār al-Muwatta' (Bankipore No.127 Traditions). It is an Arabic commentary of the Muwatta' of

(1) Ḥadā'iq, 468. (2) Ḥadā'iq, 468; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā', 74; Ma'arif, XXII(4), 269; Tadhkira-i-Kāmilān-i-Rāmpūr, p.159. (3) The Bankipore MS. is incomplete ending in a portion of Kitāb al-Hajj (op.cit., vol V(1), p.8). The State Library of Rāmpūr has a complete MS. of the Muḥallā (Tadhkira Kāmilān-i-Rāmpūr, p.159). The Library of Tonk possesses a complete work, whereas the library of Mazāhir al-'Ulūm Madrasa at Sahāranpūr has only the second half of the work (Muqaddima Awjaz al-Masālik, p.33).

Imām Mālik (d.179) devoted chiefly to juridical problems (masā'il-i-fiqhīyya) and the differences thereof among the Madhāhib Arba'¹. 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, Zūrqānī's Sharh not being extant here, and that till his time no Indian Traditionist did comment on this important Ḥadīth work. The Muhallā² was compiled at Rāmpūr in 1215/1800³. It appears that the author had no access to the commentaries on the Muwatta' by Ya'qūb al-Lāhūrī (d.1098)⁴ and Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1176)⁵ written in India before him.

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

(iii) Tarjuma-i-Fārsī Shamā'il al-Nabī.

(iv) Risāla fī Usūl al-Ḥadīth, a treatise on Usūl al-Ḥadīth in Arabic.⁶

5. Shaykh Sayf Allāh b. Nūr Allāh b. Nūr al-Ḥaqq al-Bukhārī al-Dihlawī.

Sayf Allāh, a grand son of Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq was equally versatile in Jurisprudence and Tradition. He prepared a commentary on the Shamā'il al-Nabī entitled Ashraf al-Wasā'il fī Sharh al-Shamā'il in 1091/1680 during the reign of 'Ālamgīr (1069-1119/1659-1707).⁷

(1) Bankipore, Catalogue V, part i, pp.8-9. (2) Ma'ārif, December, 1942, 421-2. (3) Bankipore, V(1), 9. (4) Supra, p. 157. (5) Infra, p. 168. (6) Hadā'iq, loc.cit. (7) Nuzha, VI, s.v. Sayf Allāh al-Bukhārī.

Group B. Disciples of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq and of his descendants.

1. Khawāja Khawand Mu'īn al-Dīn (d. 1085/1674).

A son of Khawāja Khawand Maḥmūd al-Naqshbandī (d.1052) of Kashmir, Mu'īn al-Dīn studied al-Ḥadīth, 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.

2. Khawāja Haydar Patlū b. Fīrūz al-Kashmīrī (d.1057/1647)

He first learnt al-Ḥadīth in his native province Kashmir from Baba Jawāhir Nāth al-Kashmīrī (d.1026), a pupil of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī. Then he joined the School of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq at Delhi and completed his education of Ḥadīth 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.

3. Bābā Dāwūd al-Mishkāṭī al-Kashmīrī (d.1097/1685)

In al-Ḥadīth he was a pupil of Ḥaydar al-Kashmīrī (d.1057) and in al-Taṣawwūf, of Khawand Maḥmūd (d.1052). He was called Mishkāṭī because he had committed to memory the entire Mishkāṭ al-Masābīḥ. He was the author of the Asrār al-Abrār, on the biography of the Mashā'ikh of Kashmir, a Ms. copy of which is in the library of Dār al-Muṣannifīn at A'zamgarh in the United Provinces. He died at Kashmir in 1097/1685.

(1) For Khawand Maḥmūd, see Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, 138.
 (2) Khazīna, i, 643; Hadā'iq, 421; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā, 229; Ma'ārif, 269. (3) Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, 103-4. (4) Ibid, 143; Hadā'iq, 408-9; Asrār al-Abrār (MS, Dār al-Muṣannifīn) quoted in Ma'ārif, 269; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā, 54. (5) Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, 176; Hadā'iq, 423-4; Khazīna, i, Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā, 60; Ma'ārif, 270.

4. Shaykh 'Ināyat 'Allāh Shāl-i-Kashmīrī (d.1125/1713)

He was a pupil of a son of Khawāja Haydar and a famous teacher of Kashmir. He taught the Sahīh of al-Bukhārī as many as thirty six times from beginning to end and died in Sha'ban, 1125/1713¹ at the age of sixty eight.

5. Mīr Sayyid Mubārak Bilgrāmī (1033-1115/1624-1703).

Mubārak al-Husaynī al-Wāsiṭī al-Bilgrāmī who belonged to the ancient family of the Wāsiṭī Sayyids settled since 614/1217² at Bilgram in the district of Hardoi in the United Provinces, was a pupil of Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī. While a student at Delhi he put up with 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 Ḥadīth learning at Bilgram until he died in Rabi I, 1115/July, 1703. He was born in Sha'ban, 1033/May, 1624. For his deep erudition in the Science of Tradition, Mīr Mubārak earned the title of Qutb al-Muhaddithīn.⁴

The School of Mubārak at Bilgram produced, among others, two noted scholars of Ḥadīth, viz., Sayyids Muḥammad Fayḍ b. Ṣādiq al-Bilgrāmī and 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Bilgrāmī. The first, a hereditary Zamīndār of Bilgram, made a Persian translation of the Shamā'il al-Nabī and the Hisn Ḥasīn.⁵ He died in 1130/1716.⁶

(1) Hadā'iq, 435; Tadhkira-i-Ulamā', 152; Ma'ārif, XXII(5), 333.
 (2) JKASB Vol. xxii, 1936, p. 119, n. (3) Imp. Gazetteer, viii, 235.
 (4) Ma'thar al-Kirām, 94; I. Ulamā', 174; Hayāt-i-Jalīl, i, 144, n. 124; Ma'ārif, XXII(5), 270. (5) Ma'ārif al-Awārii, s.v.
 (6) Hayāt-i-Jalīl, i, 149 n. 129.

شروع استنباط و شروع حسن حسین

6. Mir 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Bilgrāmī (1071-1138/1660-1725)¹

'Abd al-Jalīl b. Ahmad al-Husaynī al-Wāsitī al-Bilgrāmī who was the maternal grand father of our Azād al-Bilgrāmī, was a man of great culture and learning. He read al-Ḥadīth with Mir Mubārak and also with Mir Sa'd Allāh (d.1119),² Mir Tufayl (d. 1151) of Bilgram and Ghulām Naqshband (d.1126)³ of Lucknow. 'Abd al-Jalīl was a Mubaddith well versed in Asmā' al-Rijāl, and committed to memory a good number of Aḥādīth along with their isnāds.⁴ His love for Ḥadīth works may be gauged from the fact that even on relinquishing his office of Bakhshī and Waqā'i-i-Nigār (Pay-Master and News Writer)⁵ at Bhakkar in 1126/1714,⁶ 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 Sahīh⁷ which he had already transcribed at Bhakkar. His teacher Mir Mubārak gave him Ijāza in the form of a pamphlet which the latter preserved in his library.⁸ 'Abd al-Jalīl died at Delhi in Rabī' I, 1138/October, 1725.⁹

7. Mir Azād Bilgrāmī (1116-1200/1704-85).

Born at Maydānpura, a locality in Bilgram on the 25th of Ṣafar, 1116/May, 1704, Ghulām 'Alī Azād b. Nūh al-Husaynī al-Wāsitī al-Ḥanafī al-Bilgrāmī, after receiving sanad in al-Ḥadīth from his maternal grand father, set out in 1151/1738 for al-Ḥijāz and stayed there for two years in the course of which he read al-Bukhārī's Sahīh with Shaykh Hayāt al-Sindī (d.1163) at al-Madīna and some other Ḥadīth works with 'Abd.

(1) On his detailed biography, vide Maqbūl Ahmad Samdānī's Hayāt-i-Jalīl, vols. I-II (Allahabad, 1929). (2) He died at Ahmadābād while a teacher in the Madrasa of Nur al-Dīn at Ahmadābād (q.v. infra, p. 160). - Ibid, i, 143, n 121. (3) Ibid, n 123. (4) Ibid, 145, 160-1. (5) He was Bakhshī and Waqā'i Nigār first in Gujarāt and then in Bhakkar and Swīstan under Awrangzib (1069-1119) and the later Mughal Emperors from 1120/1708 to 1126/1714 - Ibid, 230 sq. (6) Ibid, 248. (7) Ibid, 167-9. (8) Ibid, 172-3. (9) Ibid, 271-2. Notices of his biography will also be found in Hadā'iq, 437; Ma'thar al-Kirām, 257-77; Sarw-i-Azād 253 s.v.; T. Ulama, 108-9; Ma'arifi, XXII(5), 270; Rieu, Persian Cat, iii, 963; JRASB, 119, n 5.

al-Wahhāb al-Ṭantawī (d.1157) at Makka. Shaykh Hayāt granted him Ijāza for the Ṣiḥāh Sitta. Azad died at Awrangabad in 1200/1785 at the age of eighty four.¹

Mīr Azād Bilgrāmī is a famous author of history, biography and criticism of Persian Poetry.² The following works of his will reveal to us his attainments as a Traditionist:-

(i) Daw'al-Dārī Sharh Sahīh al-Bukhārī. A commentary of the Sahīh al-Bukhārī up to Kitāb al-Zakāt based on Qaṣṭallānī's Irshād al-Sārī. Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Hasan Khān noticed the work in his Ithāf al-Nubalā.³

(ii) Shamānat al-'Anbar fī mā warada fī 'l-Hind min Sayyid al-Bashar. The author collects in this work all the Traditions of the Prophet referring to India.⁴

(iii) Subhat al-Marjān fī Athār Hindūstān. Published from Bombay in 1303 A.H. The introduction of this book dwells on al-Ḥadīth and the verses of the Qur'ān as have bearings on India.

(iv) Sanad al-Sa'āda fī Husn Khāṭimat al-Sādat (Published from Bombay): on the excellences of Ahl Bayt. In this Persian treatise, the author has shown from Ahādīth 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.⁵

(1) Subhāt, autobiography, 118-23; Ma'thar, autobiography, 161-4; Sarw-i-Azād, autobiography, 118-23; Khizāna-i-Amira, autobiography, 123-6; Hadā'iq, 445-6; Ma'ārif, 270-1; Ithāf, 303; T. Ulama, 154-6; Rieu, Persian Cat. i, 373a; Bankipore, iii, 252-3; Muslim Review, Calcutta, 1926, No.2, 25-36.
 (2) Brockelmann Suppl. i, 601. (3) Pages, 56, 107; Subhat, 122. (4) Brockelmann, loc.cit; Asafiyya, Nos.853, 857, 859.
 (5) JRASB, 127.

SECTION IV. TRADITIONISTS WHO FLOURISHED FROM THE MIDDLE
OF THE 11th TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 12th CENTURIES A.H.

xx

1. Muhammad Siddiq b. Sharif (d.Circ. 1040/1630).

He was a Muḥaddith of the eleventh century A.H. He died after the year 1032/1623 when he completed his Sharh al-Zawājir. His biographical notices are not available.

Muḥammad Siddiq is the author of a commentary of the Mishkāt al-Masābih entitled Nujūm al-Mishkāt (Bankipur No.363 Tradition) in which theological questions have been elucidated at some length.¹

2. Shaykh Husain al-Husayni 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 Sharh al-Shamā'il was written for Prince Salīm b. Akbar (b. 976 d.1037) and the other called Nazm al-Shamā'il for Prince Murād b. Akbar (b. 978 d.1007). Ḥakīm 'Abd al-Ḥayy Nadawī who personally read these two books, spoke highly of them.²

3. Sayyid Ja'far Badr-i-'Ālam (1023-1085/1614-75).

Ja'far b. Jalāl b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayni al-Bukhārī better known as Badr-i-'Ālam, 'the Moon of the World', was a descendant of the famous saint of Uchh, Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Sayyid Jalāl al-Bukhārī (d.785). His father, Sayyid Jalāl Maqṣūd-i-'Ālam (d.1059) who held a Mansab of six thousand horses under Emperor Jshāngīr (1014-37/1605-28), was an eminent scholar³ of Islamic learning. Ja'far was born at

(1) A MS. copy of the Nujūm al-Mishkāt is available in the library of Dār al-'Ulūm at Lucknow. Cf. Ma'ārif al-'Awārif s.v. شرح المشكاة. (2) For Maqṣūd-i-'Ālam, see Supplement to the Mir'at-i-Ahmad, Eng. tr. by Nawab 'Alī and Seddon (Baroda, 1924), pp.43-4.
(2) Nuzha, vi, s.v. Ḥusayn al-Harawī. (3) For Maqṣūd-i-'Ālam, see Supplement to the Mir'at-i-Ahmad, Eng. tr. by Nawab 'Alī and Seddon (Baroda, 1924), pp.43-4.

Ahmadābād in Sha'bān 12, 1023/September, 1614. He read with his father and was 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 Qur'ān. He refused a Governorship offered by the Emperor Jahāngīr himself. He died in Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 9, 1085/March, 1675 and was buried at Ahmadābād by the side of his father.¹

His works:-

(i) Al-Faiḍ al-Tārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī (Aṣaffiyya, I, No. 433-4 Traditions): an Arabic commentary on the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī in two volumes.

(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

4. Abū 'l-Majīd Maḥbūb-i-Ālam b. Ja'far Badr-i-Ālam (1047-1111/1637-99).

Born at Ahmadābād in Rabī' 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 Guj^arāt. 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 Bayt. He died at Ahmadābād in Jumādā II, 1111/³ November, 1699.

His work:-

Zīnat al-Nukāt fī Sharḥ al-Mishkāt. The author embodied

(1) Ibid, p.44; Tadhkira-i-ʿUlamā', p.216. (2) Ibid.
 (3) Supp. Mir'at-i-Ahmadi, 44-6; Yād-i-Ayyām, 61. s.v.
 Md. Raḍawī; Nuzha, vi, s.v. Md. b. Ja'far al-Kujrātī; T.ʿUlamā'
 214-5.

in this commentary the views of the principle Schools of
¹
 Jurisprudence.

5, Shaykh Yafqūb al-Bannānī al-Lāhurī (d.1098/1687).

Shaykh Yafqūb, surnamed Abū Yūsuf, was born and educated at Lahore. An accomplished Traditionist and philosopher, Abū Yūsuf was a Professor in Madrasa-i-Shāhjahānīyya in Delhi and subsequently accepted the office of the Mīr-i-ʿĀdil under Shāh Jahān (1037-69) and was elevated to the position of the Nāzir-i-Mahākīm during the reign of Awrangzib (1069-1119). His official duties apart, Abū Yūsuf used to deliver lectures on different aspects of Muslim learning. He died in Delhi in 1098/1687.²

His works:-

(i) Al-Khayr al-Jarī fī Sharh Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī.

(ii) Al-Muflim fī Sharh Ṣaḥīh Muslim.

(iii) Kitāb al-Muṣaffā fī Sharh al-Muwattaʿa³.

6. Mawlana Naʿīm b. Mā Fayd al-Siddīqī al-Awadī al-Jawnpūrī
 (d.1120//708).

His grand father Shaykh Pīr came to Oudh in the retinue of Salār Masʿūd⁴ and his father who settled down at Badī Sarā' or Baddū Sarāī, had been Muftī of Oudh. Nuʿīm was a pupil of ʿAbd al-Rashīd al-Jawnpūrī (d. 1083), the famous author of the Munāzira-i-Rashīdīya, lived over a century and died at Jawnpūr in Ṣafar, 1120/1708.

His work:-

Sharh Mishkāt al-Masābih. The work was compiled after⁵
 the eye-sight of the author had been defective.

(1) Maʿārif al-ʿAwārif, s.v. مترجم المشورة; T. 'Ulamā, 215.

(2) Nuzha, vi; Rīzq Allāh, al-Ufq al-Mubīn; Mirʿat-i-Ālam.

(3) These works have been referred to by ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Nadawī in his Nuzha and Maʿārif al-ʿAwārif. (4) He was a sister's son to Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn (Haig, tr. Munta-khab al-Tāwarikh iii, p.46, n 6). (5) Nuzha, vi, s.v. Muḥammad Akram b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sindī. *Na'im b. Fayd.*

7. Shaykh Muhammad Akram b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Hanafī al-Sindī (d. Circ 1130/1717).

He was a native of Naşrpūr in Sind and lived in the first half of the 12th century. He prepared an elaborate Commentary on Ibn Ḥajar's Nukhbat al-Fikar called Imfān al-Nazar fī Tawdīh Nukhbat al-Fikar, a MS. copy of which is in the library of the late Mawlānā 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī at Firingī Maḥal, Lucknow.

8. Shaykh Yaḥyā b. Amīn al-'Abbāsī al-Ilahābādī (1080-1144/1669-1731).

A disciple of his uncle Shaykh Afḍal b. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ilahābādī (d. 1124), Yaḥyā was popularly known as Khūb Allāh Ilahābādī. He was a scholar of varied learning and a good Traditionist. He died in Jumādā I, 1144/1731.

His works:-

(i) I'ānat al-Qārī fī Sharḥ Thulāthīyyat al-Bukhārī, an elaborate Arabic commentary on al-Bukhārī's Thulāthīyyat.

(ii) Arba'īn

(iii) Tadhkirat al-Ashāb.

(iv) Ma'khādh al-Ifticād fī Shān al-Sahābat wa Ahl al-Bayt (in Arabic).

(v) Sharḥ Ḥadīth ^{ملوة السنة}

(vi) Tarjuma Wazā'if al-Nabī

9. Shāh Muhammad Fākhīr al-Ilahābādī (1120-64/1708-50).

Fākhīr, a son of Shāh Yaḥyā al-Ilahābādī, was a well known poet who wrote poems with his nom de plume (takhallus) Zā'ir. He was also a Muḥaddith and studied Ḥadīth literature at al-Madīna with Shaykh Ḥayāt al-Sindī

(1) Nuzha, vi, s.v. Muḥammad Akram b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sindī.
 (2) Sarw-i-Azād, 210-2. (3) Ma'ārif al-Āwārif, s.v.
 (4) Nuzha, vi.

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(d.1163) first in the year 1150/1737 and then from 1156/1743 to 1158/1745. Back at Allahab^{ad} in 1159/1146, he reached Hooghly in the following year on boat via Azīmābād (Patna) and Murshidābād and embarked on a ship bound for the Hijāz. But due to a catastrophe in the Bay of Bengal, the vessel touched early in 1160/1748 the port of Chittagong where after staying for three or four months, Fākhir returned home. In Sha'f^bān, 1164/1750, he again started for the Haramayn, but on his way he fell ill and died at Burhānpūr on the 11th Dhū 'l-Hijja of that year. Fākhir had been intimate with Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī¹ (d.1172) and was a fellow-student of Azād al-Bilgrāmī.

The Madrasa of Fākhir at Allahabad had possessed a copy of the Sahih of Muslim from which Rūh al-Amīn Khān² (d.1151) made a reproduction³ which last is, now, preserved in the library of Habībganj.

His works on Hadith:-

(i) Qurrat al-Ain fī Ithbāt Rafī' al-Yadain.⁴

(ii) Risāla-i-Najātīya dar 'Aqā'id-i-Ḥadīthīya (published and to be had in the family library of ~~the~~ Mawlāna 'Abd Allāh al-Bāqī of Dinājpūr, Bengal). This Persian treatise was composed at Islāmābād (Chittagong) during his short stay there in 1161/1748. It enunciates the doctrines of the Sunnis from the view-point of Apostolic Traditions.⁵

(iii) Nazm 'Ib'ārat-i-Sifr al-Sa'āda.⁶

(iv) Mathnawī Dar Ta'ārīf 'Ilm Ḥadīth⁷

(1) Sarw-i-Azād, 212-8; Ithāf, 406-7; Ma'ārif, XXII(5), 339; Nawshahrawī, Tarājūm-i-'Ulamā'-i-Ḥadīth-i-Hind (Delhi, 1938), vol.1, pp.334-40; Tiqsār, pp.115. (2) Ma'thar, 287-9. (3) Ma'ārif, XXIII(2), 91-2. (4) Ithāf, 406. (5) Ibid, 84, 406. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid.

10. Mawlānā Amīn al-Dīn b. Mahmūd al-'Umarī al-Hanafī al-Jawnpūrī (1072-1145/1661-1732).

Born and educated at Jawnpore under Arshad b. 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Jawnpūrī, Amīn al-Dīn was a teacher highly learned not only in Tradition but also in Geometry, Arithmetic, Ustarlab 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 1135/1722-3. His death-date has not come down to us.

11. Mawlānā Nūr al-Dīn b. Sālih al-Ahmadābādī (1063-1155/1653-1742).

Nūr al-Dīn was an eminent teacher and a prolific author of Ahmadābād. He is credited to have compiled as many as 150 books chiefly commentaries and annotations (shurūh wa hawāshī). In al-Hadīth he was a pupil of Maḥbūb-i-'Ālam (q.v.); he also acquired the Science from Makkan Traditionist on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the Ḥaramayn in 1143/1730. His Madrasa at Ahmadābād known as the Hidāyat 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 thousands, had been a great educational institution. Nūr al-Dīn died at Ahmadābād on Monday, 9th Sha'bān, 1155/Sep., 1742, at the age of nintyone and was buried within the premises of his Madrasa.

His work:-

Nūr al-Qārī Sharh Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī.

(1) Nuzha, vi; Ganj-i-Arshadī. (2) Yād-i-Ayyām, 33.
 (3) Ibid, 61-2; Nuzha, vi; Ḥadā'iq, 443-4; T:Ulamā, 247-8; Ma'ārif XXII(5), 341; Supplement, Mir'at-i-Ahmadi, 56-8.
 (4) Ma'ārif al-Awārif, s.v. شرح البخاری

12. Mirzā Muḥammad b. Rustam al-Badakhshī (1098-1195/1687-1781).

Md. B. Rustam b. Qubbād al-Ḥārithī al-Badakhshī was born at Jalālābād (now in Afghānistān) on Friday 21, Jumādā I, 1098/April, 1687. His grand father, Qubbād Beg, who had received from Awrangzib the title of Diyānat Khān, died at Delhi in 1083/1672. While his father, Rustam, later on Mu'tamid Khān, served under Awrangzib and fell in the Deccan wars in ~~1117~~ 1117/1705. Our author Mirzā 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 'Aqā'id Ahl al-Sunna and with this work he was introduced to Awrangzib in 1115/1703 by Rūh Allāh Khān and received from the Emperor a Mansab of six hundred. Besides his compilations on Ḥadīth noted below, Mirzā Muḥammad is the author of two valuable historical works, viz., Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī and 'Ibrat-Nāma. He died after the year 1190/1776 when he completed his Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī.

His works:-

(i) Miftāh al-Najā fī Manāqib al-'Abā'; on the virtues and excellences of Ahl Bait, 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 Ramaḍān, 1123/1711 and was finished on the 17th Muḥarram, 1124/1712 at Lahore.

(ii) Tarājim al-Huffāz (Būhār Nos.252-3; for Dār al-'Ulūm, Deoband copy, see Burhān, ed. Delhi, 1940, p.378), a two-

(1) For MSS, copies of Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī, Ethe, 3889-90; Rieu, iii, 895a and a MS. copy of 'Ibrat-Nāma, Bānkīpūr, vii, No.623. (2) Rieu, loc.cit., Bānkīpore, loc.cit.; Buhār, ii, 245; Nuzha, vi, s.v. Md. b. Rustam al-Badakhshī; Storey, ii, 141; Brockelmann, Sup.I, 600. (3) For detail description of the contents, Būhār ii, 245-50.

volume biographical work on the eminent Traditionists (عنا Huffāz) arranged alphabetically and is based primarily on al-Samʿānī's Kitāb al-Ansāb. It was written at Delhi in Rabīʿ I, 1146/August, 1733.

(iii) Nuzūl al-Abrār bi mā Sabha Min Manāqib Ahl al-Bait al-Athār, a collection of Ahādīth giving correct estimate of the descendants of the Prophet. The treatise was composed for the Amīr al-Umarāʾ Hussain ʿAlī Khān al-Husaynī al-Barhūwī.²

(iv) Tuhfat al-Muhibbīn fī Manāqib al-Khulafāʾ al-Rāshidīn (Rampūr No.668):³ on the virtues and excellences of the Four Orthodox Calips.

13. Mirzā Jān ā-Birakī (d. circ. 1100)

Awhād al-Dīn Mirzā Jān al-Birakī al-Jalandharī was a native of Jullandhar in the Punjab. He was a Traditionist of the eleventh century.⁴ Nothing more about him is available. His works:-

Nazm al-Durar wa ʿl-Mariān (Bankipur, Vol.XV.No.1033):
Anabic work on Prophet's life, miracles, prerogatives
a comprehensive and distinctive merits as described in Ahādīth. The work was completed on the 2nd Dhū ʿl-Hijja,⁵ 1091/December, 1680. Sayyid ʿAlīm Allāh Jalandharī (d.1202) translated the work into Persian under the title of Nathr al-Jawāhir.⁶

(1) For detail description ~~of the work~~ *ibid*, 285-8.
(2) Nuzha, loc.cit. (3) Brockelmann, loc.cit.
(4) Ithāf, p.173. (5) Bānkipūr Catalogue, Vol.XV, pp.94-5. (6) Tadhkira-i-ʿUlamāʾ, p.147.

14. Muhammad Siddiq al-Lāhurī (1128-93/1716-79).

He learnt Ḥadīth in the Ḥaramaya under Shāykh Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ al-Makkī and Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Sindī of whom the second granted him Ijāza at al-Madīna in 1170/1756. Muhammad Siddiq was born in 1128/1716 and died in 1193/1779 at Lahore where his father who was a native of Kabul, had been Imām of the Masjid-i-Wazīrkhān.

His work:-

Izālat al-Fasādāt fī Sharḥ Manāqib al-Ṣādat, a commentary of Dawlatābādī's Manāqib al-Ṣādat (q.v. Supra, 62) with criticism.

SECTION V. SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH & HIS SCHOOL OF MUḤADDITHŪN.
(1146-1283/1734-

Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (1114-76/1703-62).

Quṭb al-Dīn Abū 'Abd al-'Azīz Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Umarī al-Ḥanafī al-Dihlawī, popularly known as Shāh Walī Allāh, the celebrated Indian Traditionist, traces his descent from Caliph 'Umar al-Fārūq. Born at Delhi on Wednesday, Shawwāl 14th, 1114/Feb, 1703 - four years before the death of Awrangzib Shāh Walī Allāh began his education at the age of five, learnt the Qur'ān by heart at his seven and completed the highest Madrasa course of the day at the age of fifteen. As regards his study of Ḥadīth, he read in India the Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ, the Shamā'il al-Nabī and a portion of the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī with Afdal al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1146) and his own father 'Abd al-Raḥīm (d. 1131), one of the editors of the Fatawā-i-'Ālamgīrī. In 1143/1730, he proceeded to the Ḥaramayn and stayed there for fourteen months, studying the Ṣiḥāh Sitta, the Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ and the Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn under Abū Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī al-Shāfi'ī al-Madanī (d. 1145) and the

(1) Ḥadā'iq, 451-2; T.'Ulamā', 194; Nuzha, vi, s.v. Siddiq al-Lāhurī.

Muwatta' of MĀlik under Waḥd Allāh al-MĀlikī al-Makkī¹. Also he read with Tāj al-Dīn al-Qaḥḥī al-Makkī and 'Umar b. Aḥmad al-Makkī². He returned to Delhi on Friday, Rajab, 14th, 1146/Dec. 1733, and opened a Ḥadīth class in Madrasa-i-Rahīmīyya 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 Sihah Sitta, the Muwatta', the Musnad al-Dārimī, the Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ, 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 k them. In the lectures of the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī held during the year 1159/1746, Khawāja Amīn Walī Allāhī had been one of the qāris, readers and Muḥammad Ilaḥābādī, one of the sāmī'ūn, listners⁴. In presenting the masā'il-i-fiqhīyya, as he did in his Muṣaffā and Musawwā, Shāh Ṣāhib's main endeavour had been not to accentuate but to minimise the differences existing in the Madhāhib-i-Arba', particularly those existing between the Ḥanafite and the Shāfi'ite schools. With that end in view, he would analyse all those masā'il-i-fiqhīyya emphasising 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 on 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 Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz excepted, who read Ḥadīth with the Shāh Ṣāhib, the names of Qādī Thanā' Allāh Panīpatī surnamed Baihaqī'l-Waqt, Muḥammad 'Ashiq Phultī, Khawāja Amīn Walī Allāhī, Kheyr al-Dīn Sūrātī Rafī' al-Dīn Murādābādī, Muḥammad Ilaḥābādī and others have come down to us.⁵

(1) Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī, Ujāla'-i-Nāfi'a (Lahore, 1302 A.H.), pp.22-30. (2) Muṣaffā Sarḥ-i-Muwatta' (Fārūqī Press, Delhi, 1293 A.H.), i, p.22. (3) Bankipore, Cat., V(1), p.22. (4) Ibid. (5) Nawshahrawī, Tarājīm-i-Ulamā'-i-Ḥadīth-i-Hind (Delhi, 1938), Vol.1, p.15.

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

(i) Ḥujjatu'llāh al-Bāligha: a work of encyclopaedic character, dealing with Islamic jurisprudence, theology, physics, metaphysics, domestic economy (تدبير المنزل), political 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 part² 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 ṭabaqāt, the gradations of the books on Traditions into the first rank of which Shāh Ṣāhib has, along with the Ṣaḥīḥān, included the Muwaṭṭa' of Imām Mālik and into the second, the Sunans of Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasā'ī and the Jāmi' of al-Tirmidhī only.³

Among the Shāh Ṣāhib's contributions, the Ḥujjatu' Ilāh al-Bāligha shall always stand out as a monumental work which the Muslim India has ever produced and which won for her applause and admirations from the rest of the Islamdom. In the opinion of Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Hasan, 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.⁴

(1) Al-Juz' al-Latif (autobiography) with Eng. tr. by M. Hidāyat Ḥusain, JRASB (1912), pp. 161-75; d-Yānī' al-Janī, 113-38; Hadā'iq, 447-8; Ithāf, 448; Abjad, 912 sq; T. 'Ulamā'-i-Hīnd, 250-2; Nuzha, VI, s.v. Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlāwī; Nawshahrawī, op.cit. 4-48; Ma'ārif, XXII(5), 341-3; al-Furqān, Walī Allāh Number (Bareilly, 1941) 2nd ed., pp.177-9, 236-8, 401-10; Ismā'il Gudharawī, Walī Allāh (Delhi nd); Mukhtār Ahmad, Khāndān-i-'Azīzī (Cawnpore, 2nd) pp.1-26; Ubaid Allāh Sindhī, Hizb (Lahore, 1942), 13, n 1, 43 n 1; Ency. of Islām, i, 1012; Storey, i, 20-2; Bankipore Cat., V(1), 5-6. (2) Ḥujjatu'llāh al-Bāligha (Cairo, 1322 A.H.), 1, p.3. (3) Ibid, pp.106-7. (4) Ithāf, p.71.

The work was first lithographed at the Siddiqī Press, Bareilly in 1285/1868 at the instance of Munshī Jamāl Khān of Bhopal¹. Its Egyptian edition was published in 1322-3/1904-5 from al-Matba'at al-Khairiyya, Cairo. The work has also been translated into Urdu by some Indian scholars.

(ii) Arba'īn: a selection of forty Ahādīth transmitted by 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and handed down to the posterity through his descendants. Its Urdu translation with marginal notes by Khurram 'Alī Balharī (d. 1271) was subsequently rendered into a metrical commentary by Hadī 'Alī of Lucknow in 1270/1853 under the title of Taskhīr which latter² was published from the Muṣṭafaī Press, Delhi in 1283/1866.

(iii) Wathīqat al-Akhira commonly called Chihil Hadīth: a Persian commentary of al-Nawāwī's Arba'īn accompanied by a Urdu interlinery translation. The same work with a Pushto metrical paraphrase by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Kākā-khel, was published from Delhi in 1308/1890.

(iv) Al-Durr al-Thamīn fi Mubashsharat al-Nabī al-Amīn: a collection of forty sayings that Shāh Sāhib and his Shuyūkh received direct from the Prophet in dreams. It was published from Delhi in 1890, with a Urdu translation⁴ by Zahr al-Dīn Ahmad.

(v) Al-Faḍl al-Mubīn fī'l-Musalsal min Hadīth al-Nabī al-Amīn⁵: a collection of Hadīth-i-Musalsal handed down by the groups of Huffāz, the Ḥanafite, the Shāfi'ite, the Mālikite, and the Ḥanbalite jurists, the Ahl Bait, 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

(1) Mukhtār Ahmad, op.cit., 18. (2) Taskhīr, pp.2-3. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Saḡhīr Ḥasan, M.A., Research Scholar, Dacca University, I could avail of the Taskhīr. (3) JRASB, p.169; Brockelmann, Sup. 1, 615. (4) Ibid; Ma'arif Decemb er, 1942, pp.425-6. (5) This treatise appears to be the same as al-Nawāwī noticed by Dr. Z. Ahmad (Ma'arif, 426-7).

al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ transcribed by Shaykh Muḥammad Ilaḥābādī, a pupil of the Shāh Ṣaḥīb before 1160/1747 and is preserved in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore.

(vi) Al-Irshād ila Muḥimmat al-Isnād: an account of his own Shuyūkh and of those through whom Hadīth had been transmitted to them from the Prophet. It was lithographed with Shāh Ṣaḥīb's Tarājim al-Bukhārī (q.v.) in Delhi, 1307/1889.

(vii) Tarajim al-Bukhārī: a brief notice of the scope and method of al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ.

(viii) Sharḥ Tarājim Abwāb al-Bukhārī: an exposition of the tarjamat al-abwāb, headlines of al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ printed by the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, Hyderabad, for the second time in 1357/1938 and also appended as muqaddima to the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī lithographed in the Aṣaḥḥ al-Maṭābi' Delhi in 1940.

(ix) Musaffā Sharḥ Muwaṭṭa': a concise two-volume Persian commentary of the Muwaṭṭa' of the Imām Mālik (d.179) published first from the Fārūqī Press, Delhi in 1293/1876. Shāh Ṣaḥīb has in this book given a Persian reproduction of every Hadīth together with its meaning where necessary and has stated, without giving preference to any school, the view-points of the Madhāhib-i-Arba', particularly those of the Ḥanafite and the Shāfi'ite schools, with discussions of masā'il-i-fiqhiyya here and there. The commentary opens with a muqaddima of twenty-two pages devoted to Imām Mālik and his Muwaṭṭa' which latter has been considered by the Shāh Ṣaḥīb as well as Imām al-Shāfi'ī (d.204) as the premier authentic work on Hadīth second only to the Qur'ān.

(x) Musawwā Sharḥ Muwaṭṭa' written in 1164/1751 and lithographed on the margin of Musaffā (q.v.) published from

(1) Bankipore Cat.V(1), No.134 also pp.23-4. (2) JRASB, loc.cit; Brockelmann, loc.cit. (3) Ibid. (4) Nashriyāt-i-Ilmīyya or Cat. Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif (Hyderabad, 1363), p.37; Furqān, p.408 No.13. (5) Musaffā, i, p.7.

the Fārūqī Press, Delhi, in 1293/1876. This is something like a Ta'liqāt, marginal notes in Arabic on the Muwaṭṭa' of Mālik, dealing primarily with the opinions of the Ḥanafite and the Shāfi'ite schools. Its bulk is about one-eighth of the Muṣaffā and as such is not as comprehensive as the Muṣaffā.¹

A note at the end of the Muṣaffā published at the Fārūqī Press, tells us that the Shāh Ṣāhib 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, Khawāja Amīn Walī Allāhī in Shawwāl, 1179/April, 1766, four years after the demise of the Shāh Ṣāhib.

(xi) Athār al-Muhaddithīn (Ms. Aṣafiyya)

(xii) Maktūbat ma' Manāqib-i-Imām al-Bukhārī and Ibn Taīmīyya in Persian published with a Urdu translation by Sayyid 'Abd al-Rawf of Nazīriyya literary, Delhi.²

Traditionists belonging to the School of
Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī

1. Qadī Thanā' Allāh al-Panīpatī al-Naqshbandī al-Mujaddidī al-Mazharī (circ. 1145-1225/1732-1810)

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 Mirzā Maḡhar Jān-i-Janān (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 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī. His Tafsir-i-Mazharī which embodies numerous Ahādīth, demonstrates his wide survey over Ḥadīth literature.⁴

(1) ~~Muzkffxxx~~ The statement of Dr. Z. Ahmad (Ma'ārif, p.420) that the Musawwā is more comprehensive (jāmi) than the Muṣaffā is beside the point. (2) Furqān, p.419, No.30. (3) For him see, 'Uthmānī, Syar al-Aqṭāb (Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1913), pp.197 sq. (4) Ithāf, 240-1; Tiqṣār, 113 Hadā'id, 465-6; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā, 38; Ma'ārif, XXIII(6), pp.444 sq; Nawshahrawī, op.cit., pp.206 sq.

His work on Ḥadīth:

(i) Al-Lubāb (Bānkīpūr, XV, No.1039): an abridgement of the third volume of the Subūl al-Hudā wa 'l-Rashād by Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣāḥihī (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 Qādī Thanā' Allāh wrote the present work at the suggestion of his preceptor Maḥzar Jān-i-Jānān. He used the following abbreviations for the authorities referred to in his al-Lubāb, viz., ع for al-Bukhārī, م for Muslim, د for Abū Dāwūd, س for al-Nasā'ī, ح for Ibn Māja, ك for Mālik, ف for al-Shāfi'ī, م for al-Ḥākim, ط for al-Ṭabrānī, م for al-Dārmī, ق for Dāraquṭnī and so on. An autograph copy of al-Lubāb is in possession of Mawlānā Fārūq of Madrasa Jamī' al-'Ulūm at Cawnpur.

(ii) Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī
(1159-1239/1746-1823).

He received his early education with two eminent disciples of his father, namely, Khawāja Amīn and 'Ashiq Fultī. Then he entered the seminary of his father and thoroughly read the Masābīh, the Musawwafī Shārh al-Muwatta', a portion of the Ṣaḥīḥān and the rest of the Ṣiḥāh Sitta. 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 over sixty years. That he contributed materially towards the diffusion and dissemination of Ḥadīth literature in India is borne out by his numerous pupils who started teaching of Ḥadīth at different centres of India as shown below:-

(1) Bankipur Cat., XV, pp.102-3. (2) Ma'ārif, loc.cit.
(3) Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā, p.122; Abjad, p.914; Ma'ārif, XXII(5), p.346; LIII(5), pp.345-6; Nawshahrawī, op.cit., pp.49 sq.

1. Shāh Rafīf al-Dīn al-Dihlawī (d.1249), a younger
brother of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz at Delhi. ¹
2. Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'īl Shāhīd (1193-1246) at Delhi. ²
3. Shāh Muḥammad Makḥṣūṣ Allāh (d.1273) at Delhi. ³
4. Muftī Sadr al-Dīn al-Dihlawī (1204-1258) at Delhi. ⁴
5. Ḥasan 'Alī al-Muḥaddith al-Lakḥnawī at Lucknow. ⁵
6. Ḥusain Ahmad (1201-75) at Malihābād near Lucknow. ⁶
7. Shāh Rawf Ahmad al-Mujaddidī (d.1249) at Bhūpāl. ⁷
8. Shāh Faḍl-i-Rahmān Ganj Murādābādī (d.1315) at
Murādābād. ⁸
9. Khurram 'Alī Balharī (d.1271), the Urdū translator of
al-Ṣaghānī's Mashāriq al-Anwār entitled Fuḥfat al-
Akhyār ¹⁰ and of the Arba'īn by Shāh Walī Allāh ¹¹ at Balhar
near Lucknow.
10. Shāh Abū Sa'īd (d.1250) at Rampur and Delhi. ¹²
11. Muḥammad Shakūr al-Ja'farī (1211-1300) at Machlīshahar
near A'zamgarh. ¹³
12. Shāh Zuhūr al-Ḥaqq al-Ḥalandarī at Fulwārī Sharīf
near Patna. ¹⁴
13. Awlād Husain, the father of Nawwāb Siddīq Ḥusain Khān,
(1210-57) at Qannūj. ¹⁵
14. Karm Allāh al-Muḥaddith (d. 1258) at Delhi. ¹⁶
15. Salāmat Allāh al-Badāwnī, at Cawnpur ¹⁷

His works:-

(i) Bustān al-Muḥaddithīn (published) ¹⁸: a popular and
informative Persian treatise dealing with important works

(1) Nawshahrawī, 65-6. (2) Ibid, 69-112. (3) Ibid, 113-114.
(4) Hadā'iq, 481. (5) Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā', 47. (6) Ibid, 50-1.
(7) Ibid, 66-7; Tadhkira-i-Kāmilān-i-Rāmpūr, 143-7.
(8) Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā', 162-3. (9) Ibid, 56-7. (10) Complete
in 1249/1833 and lithographed repeatedly at Cawnpore in
1917, 1925 & 1928. (11) *Supra*, p. 161 (12) *Supra*, p. 137
(13) Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā', 192. (14) Ma'ārif, XXIII(5), pp. 363-
(15) Nawshahrawī, 269 sq. (16) Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā', 172.
(17) Ibid, 77-80. (18) Lithographed at Delhi in 1898 and
subsequently.

on al-Ḥadīth beginning with the Muwatta' of Imām Mālik and ending with al-Masābīh by al-Baghawī together with short biographical sketches of their authors.

(ii) 'Ujāla'-i-Nāfi'a: a very useful ^{Persian} treatise on Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth lithographed at Lahore in 1302 A.H. and Delhi in 1212 A.H.

3. Shāh Ishāq b. Afdal al-Fārūqī al-Dihlawī (1192-1262/1778-1846).

On the death of Shāh 'Abd al-Āzīz in 1239/1823, the professorship of his Madrasa devolved on the shoulders of his famous pupil and grand son Shāh Ishāq 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.

In his Tarājūm-i-'Ulamā'-i-Ḥadīth-i-Hind, Nawshahrawī records the names of as many as 41 Muḥaddithūn from different parts of India who were pupils of Shāh Ishāq. Of them Mawlānās Mazhar al-Nānūtūwī and Aḥmad 'Alī al-Sahāranpūrī were the pioneers of the Ḥadīth learning at the Seminary of Sahāranpūr; Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī was the teacher of Mawlānā Qāsim al-Nānūtūwī, the founder of the famous Dār al-'Ulūm at Deoband; Mawlānā Sayyid Nadhīr Husain 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:-

4. Mazhar al-Nānūtūwī (d.1302/1884-5).

Over and above Shāh Ishāq, Mazhar al-Nānūtūwī read the Science of Tradition with Rashīd al-Dīn al-Dihlawī (d. 1249) and Muftī Sadr al-Dīn al-Dihlawī (d.1273). He

(1) Ibid, 178; Ma'ārif XXII(5), 347; LIII(5), 346-7.
 (2) Nawshahrawī, 119-20. 'Ubaid Allāh Sindhī, Hizb (Lahore, 1942) pp.121 sq; Awjaz al-Masālik, vol.1, Muqaddima, pp.45-6. (3) Both Dār al-'Ulūm, Deoband and Mazhīr al-'Ulūm, Sahāranpūr were founded in 1283/1866.

was the first Mudarris, teacher and Muḥaddith of Maḥzar^ā al-'ULŪm at Sahāranpūr.¹ The Shaykh al-Hind Mawlānā Maḥmūd Ḥasan b. Dhū 'l-Fiqar 'Alī al-Deobandī (1268-1339), a former Rector of Dār al-'ULŪm of Deoband and the Shaykh of the present Rector Mawlānā Ḥusain Ahmad al-Madanī, was a pupil of Mawlāna Maḥzar.²

5. Ahmad 'Alī b. Lutf Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Sahāranpūrī
(d. 1297/1880)

On receiving Sanad-i-Ḥadīth from Shāh Ishāq at Delhi, Ahmad 'Alī 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-Ahmadī, a lithograph press, at Delhi which for quite a number of years did commendable ^{services} series towards the spread of Ḥadīth literature in this country by publishing standard works. Mention in this connection may be made of his familiar Ta'liqāt (glosses) on the Ṣaḥīh 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 Ṣaḥīh.³ Further, he lives behind him a useful Hawāshī (marginal notes) on the Jāmi' of al-Tirmidhī lithographed at the Mujtaba-i-Press at Delhi in 1328 A.H. On the outbreak of the Mutiny of 1857, Mawlānā Ahmad 'Alī 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 Maḥzar al-'ULŪm- a post which he ably filled up until he died in 1297/1880.⁴

(1) Awjaz al-Masālik vol.1, 43; Ma'ārif, LIII(5), p.352.
(2) Vide Sanad-i-Ḥadīth of the Dār al-'ULŪm, Deoband.
(3) Ma'ārif, loc.cit. (4) Ḥadā'iq, 493; Awjaz, 1, 45.

6. Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Mujaddidī (1235-1296/1819-79).

See above p. /38.

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

He read the Darsiyyāt, the usual courses of Arabic and Persian with his uncle Mamlūk 'Alī, the first teacher of the Madrasa founded by the East India Company at Delhi, and Ḥadīth with Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Mujaddidī. After acting for sometimes as teacher of the afore-said Madrasa, he joined the Ahmadi Press at Delhi and work with his teacher Ahmad '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-Ghanī, Mawlānā Qāsim, founded at Deoband an Arabi^c Madrasa which shortly came to be known as Dār al-'Ulūm. Here the Shaykh al-Hind Mawlānā Maḥmūd Hasan, Fakhr al-Hasan al-Gangūhī, Ahmad Ḥusain al-Amrūhī read Ḥadīth with Mawlānā Qāsim. He died on Wednesday, the 4th Rabī' I, 1297/Feb., 1880 and was buried at Nānūta.

8. Miyān Ṣāhib Sayyid Nadhīr Ḥusain al-Bihārī al-Dihlawī
(1220-1320/1805-1902).

Born at Balthawa in the district of Monghyr in Bihār Miyān Ṣāhib had his lessons in the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh 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 Ishāq from whom on his passing the highest Examination

(1) Hadā'iq, 491-3; Hizb, p.186, note 1; Ma'ārif, loc.cit.

in Ḥadīth literature, he received a Sanad¹ in 1258/1842. Then he started at Masjid-i-Awraṅgābādī in Delhi a Madrasa which was subsequently removed to a building at Fatak-i-Ḥabash Khān where the institution together with a library called after the Mīyān Ṣāhib as the Nadhīriyya Library, exists to this day.

Like Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī, Mīyān Ṣāhib taught Ḥadīth literature for a period close upon sixty years. His fame as a Muhaddith spread through out Islamdom; ardent students from Afghānistān, Bukhārā, Samarqand, al-Ḥijāz and even from far off Sūdān came to Delhi to read ~~ka~~ Ḥadīth with him. In his biography, 'al-Ḥayāt ba'd al-Mamāt a list of 500 Traditionists who were pupils of the Mīyān Ṣāhib has been preserved for us. Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm al-Arawī, the founder of Madrasa-i-Ahmadīyya at Ara, Shams al-Ḥaqq at Diyānūwī al-'Azīmābādī, the famous author of the Āwn al-Ma'būd fī Sharḥ Abī Dāwūd², Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Mannān of the Punjab, Nawwāb Waḥīd al-Zamān of Hyderabad, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Raḥīmābādī of Bihār, Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd Allāh al-Gāzīpūrī (d.1322) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mubārakpūrī (d. 1353), the author of the Tuḥfat al-Aḥwadhī fī Shaḥ Jāmi'³ al-Tirmidhī - 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 Mīyān Ṣāhib.

A centenarian, Mīyān Ṣāhib died at Delhi on Sunday, 10th Rajab, 1320/Oct. 13, 1902 and was buried at the cemetery of Shidīpūra.⁴

(1) A copy of the sanad has been produced by Nawshahrāwī (op.cit., 132). (2) Published in 1323 AH - from Delhi. (3) Published in four volumes from Delhi in 1346-53 A.H. (4) Nawshahrāwī, 132 sq.

The foundation of the Dār al-'Ulūm at Deoband
and the Mazhahir al-'Ulūm at Sahāranpūr.

In chapter V, we have dwelt upon the Indian Traditionists belonging, among others, to the Schools of Aḥmad al-Sihrindī (1000-1296), 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī (1000-1299) and Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (1146-1283). The School of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq flourished in Delhi until the close of the twelfth century A.H. when it was shifted to Rāmpūr with Salām Allāh al-Muḥaddith al-Rāmpūrī as its head. The seat of the School of Aḥmad al-Sihrindī was at Sihrind in the Punjab which was subjected to Sikh vandalism since 1124/¹ 1710. In consequence this School too sought refuge in ² 1177/1762 at Rampur. Here, thanks to the royal munificence of the then rulers of the Rāmpūr State, the Traditionists of the Schools of al-Sihrindī and 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī were able to work unhampered for the cause of Ḥadīth literature until the twenties of the thirteenth century when with the death of Salām Allāh, the School of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq came to a close, while Shāh Abū Sa'īd al-Mujaddidī (d.1250), the head of the other School, migrated to Delhi and became a disciple of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī. The School of al-Sihrindī, thus, became merged in that of Shāh Walī Allāh. Shāh 'Abd al-Ghānī b. Abī Sa'īd al-Mujaddidī, the teacher of Mawlānā Qāsim al-Nānūtūwī, the founder of the Dār al-'Ulūm at Deoband, was the most outstanding member of this combined School of Muḥaddithūn. So, the Dār al-'Ulūm is as much a product of the School of Shāh Walī Allāh as of al-Sihrindī. In fact, it embodies the spirits of both. The

(1) Ency. of Islām, vol. IV, 421.

(2) Supra, p.135.

Mazāhir al-'Ulūm at Sahāranpūr, on the other hand, owed its growth to Mawlānā Mazhar al-Nānūtūwī, a pupil of Shāh Ishāq al-Dihlawī. Since their foundation, these two Madrasas have been, under learned doctors, providing among other Islamic sciences higher studies in Ḥadīth literature in India and have been drawing students not only from Indian provinces but also from other parts of Islamdom. Thus the centuries-old practice of sailing for the Ḥaramayn on the part of Indian students to ~~be~~ specialise in Ḥadīth literature, has naturally been discontinued. And the Dār al-'Ulūm and the Mazāhir al-'Ulūm, the two great institutions in this country, stand out to-day as the living monuments of the Mujaddid-i-Alf-Thānī and Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī.

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 Asmā' al-Rijāl, were Indians in descent. When and how they or their forefathers migrated to Islamic countries and embraced Islām 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 Islām, 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 Asmā' al-Rijāl.

SECTION I.

(a) Tribesmen of Sind Islamized.

Prior to Islām a contingent of the Indian soldiers recruited from the formidable Jāts (al-Zuṭṭ), the Sayābija and the Asāwira served in the Persian army. When during the

(1) Al-Balādhurī, p.373 pp - Murgotten, pp 105 sq. al-zuṭṭ = the Jat, a tribe from Sind (Lisān al-'Arab, s.v. al-Zuṭṭ); Balādhurī p.375 = Murgotten, p.109). Aghānī, vol. XIV, p.46, has Sayātiija; Ibn Athīr, vol.ii, p.281, Sabābija; cf. Ṭabarī vol. I, p.1961 (leiden).

The Sayābija 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). Saiyāh, the leader of the Asāwira (Balādhurī, p.373) was probably Sītāh 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 Sayābija and the Asāwira lived and worked together (Ṭabarī ed- Egypt, Vol. IX, p.327), an undoubted sign of attachment inherent among themselves. This

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 Islām. They established themselves in and around al-Baṣra and became allies of the Banū Tamīm. Nahr al-Asāwira at al-Baṣra called after the Asāwira further strengthens this statement. Again after the conquest of Sind by Muhammad b. al-Qāsim 'some of the Zutt 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 Kasker', the district of Wāsiṭ. 'They possessed themselves x in al-Baṭiḥa and multiplied therein'. /A part of the tribe, however, after the tribe, appears to have been shifted in Khuzistān and settled at Ḥawmah or 'the district of the Zutt' where on the river Tab stood a populous village called al-Zutt.

(b) War prisoners.

From the start of their Indian expeditions, the Arabs carried with them numerous captives who subsequently became converts to Islām 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 discomfitted; 'vast booty was captured, including many elephants, and a great number of captives were taken' by the Arabs. Muhallab b. Abī-Sufra

This fact supplements our identification, namely, that both the Asāwira and the Sayābiya belonged to the one and the same tribe, the Sodhas of Sind. Also Cf. Ma'ārif, Vol. XIII No. 5, p. 328. According to Gabriel Ferrand (Ency. of Islām, iv, 201), the Sayābiya were the descendants of the ancient Sumatran emigrants to India, then to 'Iraq and the Persian Gulf. (1) Balādhurī, p. 373 = Murgotten, pp. 106-107. Al-Suyūṭī (Lubb al-Lubāb, p. 15) mistakes Asāwira as batn (sub-tribe of the Banū Tamīm. Evidently 'batn' is here an error for 'halif' (ally) as in al-Balādhurī. Al-Sam'ānī (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 Sayābiya affiliated themselves with the Banū Hanthala (Balādhurī p. 374 = Murgotten 107). (2) Balādhurī, p. 373 = Murgotten, p. 106. (3) Le strange, p. 42. (4) Balādhurī, p. 375 = Murgotten, p. 109. (5) Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 930. (6) Le strange

launched an attack on the frontier of India in 44/664,¹ and carried with him a host of 12,000 war prisoners some of whom, we are told, admitted themselves to the faith of Islām.² In about 57/676 al-Mundhir b. Jārūd al-ʿAbdī conquered Quṣḍār (north-eastern part of Modern Baluchistan) and ^{took} many captives.³ 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-Mahdī (158-69/775, sent a naval squadron to India which attacked Barbad (Modern Bhārbbhūt) on the Gujarāt coast, and had a successful combat with the Indians. The prisoners of war taken over to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, wālī of al-Baṣra, included the princess of Barbad.⁴ That by the time of the next caliph al-Hādī (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.⁵ In the course of the fourth 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

p. 244. (1) See above, p.4 (2) Raverty, Notes on Afghānistān and part of Balūchistān (London, 1888), p.568.

(1) ~~Raverty, Notes on Afghānistān and part of Balūchistān~~
 (London, 1888), p.568. (2) Baladhuri, 432 = Murgotten, p.210.
 (3) Abu'l Qāsim Firishta, Tārīkh-i-Hind (Cawnpore, 1874),
 Vol. 1, p.16. (4) Baladhuri, p.432 = Murgotten, p.211.
 (5) Tabarī, iii, 476-7. (6) Ibn al-Imād, Shadharāt, vol.1,
 p.272.

came to be known as Hindūwān¹. 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 Kandahar. The women of Sind are noted for slim waist and long hair²'.

(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'āwīya concentrated them against the Romans in Syria, while 'Abd al-Malik removed a part of the Zutt to Antakiya and its environs³. During the Caliphate of 'Alī the Jats and the Sayābija were pro-'Alid in al-Baṣra. 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-Māl in al-Baṣra in the turmoils of the civil war during the time of 'Alī⁴. As many as four thousand soldiers from the Asāwira and the Sayābija strengthened the naval squadron we have just mentioned.

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

(1) Ansāb, fol. 593a; Le strange, p.422. The famous Hanafite jurist, Abū Ja'far al-Hindūwānī died in 362/972-3. (Lakhnawī, al Fawā'id al-Bahīyya, p.73). (2) Khoda Bakhsh & Margoliouth, The Renaissance of Islām (Patna, 1937), 99. 137. (3) Balādhurī, p.376 = Murgotten, pp. 110-111. (4) Balādhurī, loc.cit. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Kitāb al-Istī'yāb fi Ma'rifat al-Ashāb (Hyderabad, 133b) 2nd ed. vol. 1, 121-2.

SECTION II.

(a) Cultural activities of the tribesmen.

Conversion to Islām 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 Baḥt al-Māl in al-Baṣra Abū Salima, the Jat, was a man of pious habits (ṣāliḥ)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-Baṣra 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 Mawālī (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 cultural attainments, the Indian Neo-Muslims were second to none.

(1) Balādhurī, p.376 = Murgotten, p.110. (2) Ibid, pp.276 sq = Hitti, pp.435 sq; The Caliphate, pp.122-3. (3) Hitti, The History of the Arabs, pp.241 sq. (4) Ibn Sa'd (Tabāqat, vol. VIII, part I, pp.5-8) notices 150 Companions of the Prophet who migrated to al-Baṣra. (5) Ma'ārif, Vol.XLVII . No.6 (June, 1941) pp.414-5.

I. The great Imam Abū Ḥanīfa (80-150/699-767), the celebrated founder of the Ḥanafite School, is believed to have derived his descent from the Jāts of al-ʿIrāq.¹

II. Abū^{Jā} al-Uswarī (d. circa 125) who belonged to a family of the Asāwira of al-Baṣra was a Rāwī (transmitter of al-Ḥadīth) of high repute.² He was a Tābīʿī. He narrated Ḥadīth from the celebrated Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (d.74), Abd Allāh b. ʿUmar (d. 74) and also from Rufaʿ b. Mihrān surnamed Abū l-ʿĀliya (d. 93); while Thābit al-Bunānī (d. 127), Qatāda (d. 117) and ʿĀsim al-Aḥwal (d. 143)³ transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of Abū ʿĪsā al-Uswarī.³ His Ahādīth have been produced in the Sahīh of Muslim and Al-Adab al-Mufrad by al-Bukhārī.⁴

III. ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sindī al-Antākī was probably a descendant of the Jāts or the Sayābiya who were removed to Antākiya in the Caliphate of Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-Mālik.⁵ His nisba al-Antākī supports the hypothesis. ʿAbbās studied Ḥadīth literature under al-Ḥaytham b. Jamīl (d. 213) of Antākiya, Muḥammad b. Musalama (d. 221) of Makka, Saʿīd b. Manṣūr of Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. Kathīr (d. 216) of al-Yaman and Muslim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 222) and ʿAlī al-Madīnī (d. 234) of al-Baṣra. He was a reliable guarantor. Al-Nasāʿī (d.303), Abū ʿĀwāna (d. 310) and other

(1) Ibid, vol. xiii(5), p.330. If it is a fact that his grand father Zūtā (*جو*) was originally from Kābul (Tārīkh Baghdād, vol.xiii, pp.324 sq), then his being a Jat is not unreasonable inasmuch as Kābul had been the parent country of the Jāts (Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India (Simla, 1871), vol. ii, 54-5, or at least he was an Indian for culturally Kābul formed a part of India (Watters, Yuan Chwang, vol. i, 123; ii, 264).

(2) Suyutī, Lubb al-Lubāb, vol.1, 15; Ansāb, fol. 376. Cf. above p.180, n 2. (3) Ibn Ḥajar, Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb, p. 432. (4) Khulāsa, p. 393. (5) See above, p182.

Traditionists acquired Hadith from and transmitted it on the authority, of Abbās.¹ His Ahādith are found in the Sunan of al-Nasā'ī.² He died possibly in the second half of the third century A.H.³

IV. Abū 'l-Sindī al-Wāsiṭī (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-Batiḥa, settled down at Wāsiṭ.⁴ Hence is his nisba al-Wāsiṭī. Abū 'l-Sindī made himself famous as teacher of Hushaim (d. 181) and Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206) of Wāsiṭ. But as a Traditionist he was charged with falsehood and his Traditions were rejected. Ibn Hibbān, 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 undertake.

(1) Tahdhīb, V, 119. (2) Khulāṣa, p.160. (3) Taqrīb, cf. pp. 4 & 190. (4) See above, p.180. (5) Mizān, i, 432; Lisān iii, 124-5. (6) Vide Muslim, al-Ṣaḥīḥ; al-Bukhārī, Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ; Ahmad b. Hanbal, al-Musnad; Abū Dāwūd, Sunan, s.v. al-Bāb fi ḥaqq al-Mamlūk.

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 (jārīya). 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 even in early Islām. The illustrious Nāfi' (d. 117)¹ and Ikrīma (d. 104)², both famous as the mawlā of Ibn 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbās respectively, were great authorities in Apostolic Traditions.³ The celebrated al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) was a mawlā;⁴ Makhūl (d. 118), the jurist and Traditionist of Syria, was a mawlā.⁵ 'Abd 'Allāh b. Mubārak, 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

(1) He is said to have been a war-prisoner from Kabul (Nawawī p.589). (2) He was a Barbar from al-Waghrib (Mauritania). Ibid, pp. 431 sq. (3) The isnād consisting of Malik, Nāfi' and Ibn 'Umar is called Sālsala tu'l-dhahab or golden chain (Ibn Hajar, Nukhbat al-Fikar (Cawnpore, 1344 A.H.), p.32, n2) (4) He was a mawlā of Zaid b. Thābit (d. 54) (Nawawī, p.209) (5) He was a war-prisoner from Kabul (Nawawī, p. 577). (6) Ibid. pp. 365 sq.

privileges thrown open to their class as a whole and that coming as they did from India, the home of an ancient civilisation, 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-Sindī, a charitable institution established by some Indian mawālī in Baghdad, was a seat of Ḥadīth-learning where Traditionists of note would hold discourses on the subject.¹

1. Al-Awzā'ī (88-157/706-73)

Of the descendants of prisoners of war from India, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Amr b. Yuhmid² well known as al-Awzā'ī,³ attained immortal name. Born at Ba'lbik in 88/706, al-Awzā'ī, poor and orphan, was brought up by his mother.

(1) Khaṭīb, Tārīkh Baghdād, vol. xiii, p. 320. (2) For correct reading of this name, see Nawawī, op.cit, p. 382. (3) His nisba al-Awzā'ī 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 (Tabaqāt, vol. VII, part II, p.185) or of the Ḥimiyār, or from awza' signifying diverse tribes (قبائل شتى). Vide Nawawī, pp. 382-3; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, vi, 239. According to others, Awza' (so called because the tribe Awza' settled there) was a village (قرية) adjacent to Bāb al-Farādis in Damascus where 'Abd al-Rahmān migrated and was accordingly called al-Awzā'ī, i.e., a native of Awzā' (Nawawī p. 383; Ansāb, fol. 53b. Cf Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, i, 403). Now the latter view appears to be cogent. For, al-Awzā'ī was born and brought up at Ba'lbik and his connection with Awzā' was established only after his migration there. Apparently therefore, 'Abd al-Rahmān was associated with the village Awza' 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'a al-Dimashaqī (d. 281. For him, see Tahdhīb, vi, 236) who says, كان اسم الأوزاعي عبد العزيز يسمى نفسه عبد الرحمن وكان أصله من سبأ السند وكان ينزل الأوزاع فغلب ذلك عليه،

that al-Awzā'ī belonged to a family of Indian war prisoners and that he migrated to Awza' and became famous as al-Awzā'ī (Tahdhīb, loc.cit). The statement of Abū Zur'a is weighty. For, he was the native of the same city - Damascus - where al-Awzā'ī had flourished about a century ago. He is, thus, expected to have an intimate knowledge of al-Awzā'ī. Presumably for this reason, the Traditionist and historian al-Dhahabī (Tadhkira, ed. Hyderabad, Vol. 1, p.168 (sic) and al-Aẓnī (Umdat al-Qārī, ed. Egypt, vol. 1,

Before he was in his teens, al-Awzā'ī precociously acquired erudition in the sciences of al-Qur'ān, Tradition and rhetoric, and at his thirteenth, he was called upon to decide legal issues (fatwā). Al-Awzā'ī came down to Damascus and settled at Awzā' in the suburb of the city. Here he spent the best years of his life. Later at an advanced age, he removed to Bayrūt where in the bath he died on Sunday, the 28th Šafar, 157/773 as a frontier-guard (murābit). He maintained himself by his penmanship.¹

Al-Awzā'ī undertook journey in quest of knowledge (riḥla fi ṭalab al-ʿIlm). He proceeded to al-Bašra with a view to studying under the celebrated al-Ḥasan al-Bašrī (d. 110) but to his disappointment, the savant had died forty days before his arrival. There he met Muḥammad b. Sīrīn² (d. 110) at his death-bed.

A great Traditionist and an accomplished jurist (Faqīh) al-Awzā'ī was eloquently spoken of by his contemporary scholars. In Ḥadīth he was a pupil of Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124), Nāfi' (d. 117) and other distinguished Tābi'ūn, Followers.³ He was pioneer in the collection and codification of Ḥadīth in Syria.⁴ The fact that several of his Shuyūkh⁵ and the Traditionist of the eminence of Mālik

p. 465 sic (اصلة من سبى المنذر) have corroborated Abū Zurfa. See also Šaffī ud-Dīn's Khulāṣa Tahdhīb al-Kamāl (Egypt, 1322 A.H.), p. 197.

That al-Awzā'ī was an Indian in descent is, further, borne out by the name of his grand father Yuhmid which was probably equivalent to, or contracted from, Brahmadā or Brahmananda. Yuhmid appears to have been captured, by the Arabs in their expedition to India during the Caliphate of Umar (Vide supra, p. 180).

(1) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt (Egypt, 1310 A.H.) vol. I, 275; Nawawī, 332 sq; Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-ʿUffāz, vol. I, 168 sq; Ansāb, fol. 53b; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, vol. vi, 238 sq; Yafi'ī Mir'at al-Jinān, vol. I, 333; Shadharāt, vol. i, 242. (2) Tadhkira, p. 169. (3) Nawawī, pp. 333-4; Ibn Ḥajar, pp. 338-9. (4) Ibn Ḥajar, Muqaddimat al-Fath al-Bārī (Egypt, 1347 A.H.), vol. i, p. 4. (5) Viz. Qatāda, Zuhrī and Yahyā b. Abī Kathīr.

(d. 179), Sufyān al-Thawrī, Shu'fbā and 'Abd Allāh b. ~~xx~~ al-Mubārak read Ḥadīth literature with him, throws light on the great mastery he had in the science.

During his life time, al-Awzā'ī was a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of Ḥadīth literature. An accredited authority of 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 fī'l-Fiqh and Kitāb al-Nasā'il fī'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'ī, "consisted in a happy synthesis of Traditions and his wonderfully sharp legal acumen". Up to the middle of the fourth century, Awzā'iyāt 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 Mālikite systems, and does not seem to have survived later than the fifth century A.H.

Al-Awzā'ī had the courage of conviction. He denounced in no unequivocal terms al-Ṣaffā, the first 'Abbasid 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) Ency. of Islām, vol.I, p.524. (2) Nawawī, p.384; Ibn Hajar, p.242. (3) Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, p.318. (4) He ~~was~~ has been included among the early ascetics (Ibn al-Nadīm, p.280). (5) Tadhkira, p.172; Ibn Hajar p.242. (6) Ibid. (7) Maqdisī, Aḥsān al-Taḡāsīm, pp.27; Dhahabī, Tabaqat al-Huffāz (Ms. Bānkīpūr, Patna) fol. 194-96. (8) Tadhkira, pp. 170-1.

Al-Manṣūr (136-158/752-74) held al-Awzā'ī in high esteem and listened to his lectures with attention and respect.¹

2. Najīb 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sindī (d.170/786)

A contemporary and a fellow-student of al-Awzā'ī,² Najīb 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sindī, surnamed Abū Ma'shar, was originally a native of Sind.³ Kidnapped in boyhood, he was sold at the hand of a certain woman of the Banū Makhzūm in al-Madīna. During his surfdom, Abū Ma'shar sat at the feet of the distinguished Tābi'ūn of al-Madīna, viz. Nāfi' (d.117), Muḥammad b. Ka'ab al-Qurazī (d.108), Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir (d. 130), Sa'īd al-Muqbarī (d.125) and Hishām b. Ūrwa (d.146) and acquired proficiency in Ḥadīth and Maghāzī particularly⁴ in the latter in which he was reckoned as an authority.

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 Ḥadīth on his authority, mentioned may be made of his son Muḥammad (d. 222), Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-Laith b. Sa'd, Hushāim, Wakīf⁵ and Wāqidī.

Already by the middle of the second century, his reputation as a scholar had been established. For, al-Mahdī (158-69/774-85) on the occasion of his visit to Makka 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 Baghdad imparting instructions to the princes. Thus he bade adieu to al-Madīna and left for Baghdād⁶ in 161 A.H.

(1) Ibid, 172, (2) Ibn al-Imād (Shadharāt, i, 419) misreads al-Sindī as al-Sanadī - 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. 314 b; Taqrib, p.370. (3) Says Abū Nu'aim ^{كان ابی (ابی) معشر سندی} 'Abū Ma'shar was a native of Sind' (Khatīb, Tārīkh Baghdād, XIII, 458). Also cf. Ansāb, loc.cit.; al-Dūlābī, Kitāb al Kumā wa 'l Asmā' (Hyderabad, 1322 A.H.), ii, 120; Yāqūt, Mu'jam vol.III, 166; al-Maqdisī, Kitāb al Ansāb, pp.77; Tadhkira, i, 216; Tahdhīb, X, 419; Mizān, ii, 228 Ma'ārif, XXII(4), 251-2. (4) Khatīb, 457. (5) Ibid; Tahdhīb, 419-20

There, in the 'Abbasid court, Abū Ma'shar was a prominent figure among the learned.¹ He died in Ramaḍān, 170/786. His funeral service was led by Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd himself.² 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 Ḥadīth.

As a Rāwī of Ḥadīth, Abū Ma'shar has been critically judged by Yahyā b. Mu'īn, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī and others. The majority are of opinion that Maghāzī³ was his favourite subject; in Ḥadīth he could not fare well. While a few including Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Abū Zur'fa (d.281) regard him as fairly trustworthy. "I have not seen", says his pupil Hushaim, "one like him or more intelligent than he".⁵ But all the views have been very well summed up by al-Tirmidhī when he says: تکلم اهل العلم من قبل حفظه⁶ "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.⁷ To add to this, he had to deal with a vast mass of Traditions.⁸ No wonder, then, that he should have failed to control them effectively. Though he was declared Da'if, a weak authority,⁹ nevertheless, his Traditions were received and recorded by his pupils.¹⁰ Al-Nasā'ī, however, accepted him as guaranteed (Hujjat).¹¹

(1) Ency. of Islām, 1, 100. (2) Ansāb, loc.cit. (3) Ḥakā'ik Tahdhīb, loc.cit. (4) Tadhkira, loc.cit. (5) Tahdhīb, p.420. (6) Ibid, 421. (7) Khatīb, p.460.; Tahdhīb, loc.cit.; Tagrīb, p.372. (8) Ibn Sa'd, vol. V, p.309. (9) Ibid, Tahdhīb, Khatīb etc. (10) Tahdhīb, p.421. (11) Tadhkira, loc.cit.

Abū Ma'shar was the author of Kitāb al-Maghāzī,¹ noticed by Ibn al-Nadīm, which survives only in fragments numerous of which have been preserved by al-Wāqidī 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.²

The Ḥadīth transmitted on his authority are recorded in the four Sunans.³

An erstwhile Indian mawlā, 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 grand sons handed on the torch of knowledge for the hundred years to come. The legacy of Abu Ma'shar, therefore, calls for more than a passing notice.

3. Muhammad b. Abī Ma'shar al-Sindī (148-247/765-861)

A son of Abū Ma'shar, Muhammad was born in al-Madīna in 148/765. In his boyhood he attended the lectures of the celebrated Ibn Abī Dhī'b (d. 159). In al-Madīna he could not, however, live long. For while yet a youngstar, he accompanied his father to Baghdad in 161/777. Muhammad, therefore, could not receive instructions from other scholars of al-Madīna particularly Wālik b. Anas (d. 179).

Founded in 148/765 by al-Manṣūr (136-58/753-74), Baghdad the 'Abbāsīd capital, soon became a cynosure of glory and power and splendour.⁴ As an intellectual centre, it was up to the

(1) *Fihrist*, p. 136.

(2) *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, vol. I, p. 100.

(3) *Maqrīb*, p. 372;

(4) Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 301 sq

(2) *Tahdhīb*, p. 319.

time of al-Rashīd (170-93/786-808), an infant, and was no match for al-Madīna, 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 Ma'shar who personally took up the charge of his son's instruction. Soon Muḥammad acquired erudition in Ḥadīth and Maḡhāzī, 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 Histiographers came to Baghdād to study under him. Abū 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279), Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī (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 Tradition. His two sons, al-Ḥusain and Dāwūd Abū Ya'fā al-Mawṣilī, Ya'qūb b. Mūsā al-Balkhī (d. 240) and Muḥammad b. al-Laith al-Jawharī (d.242) also studied under him. For his monumental Universal history, al-Ṭabarī derived through his teacher Muḥammad vast wealth¹ of material from Abū Ma'shar.

Muḥammad is a trustworthy guaranter of Ḥadīth and has been refered to by Ibn Ḥibbān in his Kitāb al-Thiqāt. He accumulated the Ahādīth received time to time from his father in several books which were utilised 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 Jāmi' of al-Tirmidhī preserves his Traditions.³

(1) Vide supra, p.192. (2) Khaṭīb, iii, 329 sq; Ansāb, fol. 314b; Tahdhīb, ix, 437; Tagrīb, 340. (3) Khulāsa, p.309.

4. Al-Husain b. Muhammad b. Abī Ma'shar al-Sindī
(d.275/888).

Among his teachers he mentions his father Muḥammad Wakī' b. al-Jarrāh (d. 197) and Muḥammad b. Ḥabī'a (d.199). He was known as Ṣāhib Wakī', a pupil of Wakī'. 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, 275/888.¹

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

He transmitted the Kitāb al-Maghāzī of his grandfather, Abū Ma'shar, on the authority of his father. Aḥmad b. Kāmil, the Qādī of Baghdād, studied under him. Dāwūd ~~does~~ does not, however, seem to have taken a prominent part in cultural activities. His death-date is not known.²

6. Al-Qāsim b. al-'Abbās al-Ma'sharī (d.278/892)

Al-Qāsim, who seems to be the last luminary of the house of Abū Ma'shar, was at once a Traditionist, Jurist and an ascetic. He was the son of the daughter of Abū Ma'shar and, became famous as al-Ma'sharī. He studied under Abū 'l-Walīd al-Tayālīsī (d.277), Musaddād (d. 228) and other scholars. Khatīb al-Baghdādī (d.463/1070) states that al-Qāsim occupied a high place in Ḥadīth, Taṣawwūf and Fiqh and that inspite 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'.

Aḥmad b. Kāmil, Qādī of Baghdād, Abū Bakr al-Shāfi'ī and Abū 'Amr b. al-Sammāk transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of al-Qāsim. His death took place on Friday, the 2nd Shawwāl, 278/January, 892.³

(1) Khatīb, VIII, 91; Mizān, I, 256. (2) Ibid, p.396.

(3) Khatīb, vol. XIII, p.436; Ansāb, fol.537 a.

7. Khalaf b. Sālim al-Sindī al-Mukharrimī (162-231/778-845).

Khalaf b. Sālim al-Sindī al-Mukharrimī, a nawlā of al-Muhāliba, was Indian in origin. His nisba al-Mukharrimī was due to his residence at al-Mukharrim, a famous quarter of Baghdad, where he died on the 23rd Ramaḍān, 231/845.

Khalaf was a brilliant Tālib al-ʿIlm, student of Ḥadīth literature for the acquisition of which he ransucked all the treasures of al-Hijāz, al-Shām and al-ʿIrāq. A pretty long list of his Shuyūkh inhabiting different Muslim countries, gives us some idea of what painstaking labour Khalaf undergone on that account: viz., Hushaim (d. 183) and Yazīd b. Hārūn (d.206) of al-Wāsiṭ; Ibn ʿUlayya (d.193), Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān (d.198) and Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar Ghandar (d.193) of al-Baṣra; Maʿan b. ʿĪsa (d. 198) of al-Madīna; ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d.211) of al-Yaman; Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh (d.193), Abū Numair (d.199), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubairī (d.203) and Faḍl b. Dakīn (d.219) of al-kūfa and Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm (d.208) and Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm (d. 201) of Baghdad.

The following is the summary of judgement passed on Khalaf as a Traditionist by eminent critics:-

(1) Yahyā b. Muʿīn (d.233): Truthful (صدق); in another place he says, "There is nothing wrong with him on record".

(2) Yaʿqūb b. Abī Shayba (d.262): Reliable and steadfast (ثقة ثبت) He is more steadfast than Musuddad (d.228) or al-Ḥumaidī (d. 219).

(3) Al-Nasāʿī (d. 303): Abū Muḥammad Khalaf al-Mukharrimī is reliable (ثقة)

(1) 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. (2) Vide supra, pp.20-21. (3) Le Strange, pp.31, 33, (4) Khaṭīb, viii, 328 sq; Tahdhīb, iii, 152; Mizān, i, 310. (5) Khaṭīb, loc.cit. Tahdhīb, loc.cit.

(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 (حِزَاقُ الْمُتَّقِينَ)

(6) Ḥamzā' al-Kinānī: Most reliable from the rank of the Traditionists.¹

As a matter of fact, Khalaf was one of the erudite Huffāz of Baghdad.² His ḥalqa was a resort of Traditionists and scholars who attended his lectures and copies Ahādīth from him.³ Of his pupils 'Uthmān Al-Dārimī (d.280), Ya'qūb b. Abī Shayba (d. 261) Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythama (d. 278), Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Marwazī (d. 298) 'Abbās al-Dārf (d. 271) and Ismā'il b. Ḥārīth (d. 253) were noted Traditionists.⁴

Khalaf compiled a Musnad on Apostolic Traditions⁵ which is not however extant. On the equality of the companions of the Prophet, he collected a number of Ahādīth but he did not transmit them.⁶

8. Rajā' b. al-Sindī (d.221/837)

Rajā', a Traditionist of the early third century of Hijra, was the son of an Indian mawlā of the Banū Ḥanzala as would be evidenced from his nisba al-Ḥanzalī.⁷ He settled down at Isfarā'yīn, a northern district of Nishāpūr⁸ and became famous as al-Isfarā'yīnī accordingly.⁹

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,

(1) Ibid. (2) Tadhkira, p.59 (sic) من اعيان حفاظ بغداد
 (3) Ibn Sa'd, vol. VII, part II, p.92. Several of his ahadith are in the *Ṣinan* of al-Nasā'ī (Khulasa, p.90)
 (4) Khaṭīb loc.cit.; Tahdhīb loc.cit. (5) Ibn Sa'd, loc.cit.
 (6) Khaṭīb; Tahdhīb. (7) Ansāb, fol. 314 a, 314 b.
 (8) Le Strange, p. 391. (9) Tahdhīb, vol. III, pp.267-8; Taqrīb. p. 123.

however, spent at al-Kūfa where he studied under the eminent Traditionist like Ibn Idrīs (d. 192), Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh (d. 193), Haf's b. Ghiyāth (d.194) and Sufyān b. 'Uayna (d.198)¹.

Equipped with a fair share of knowledge in Ḥadīth literature, Rajā' retired to his home at Isfarāyin 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.² Soon his house became an object of Rihla fī ṭalab al-Ḥilm, and many an urdent student of Ḥadīth literature clustered round this son of an Indian mawlā. Among his contemporary Traditionists, the celebrated Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 241), Bīkr b. Khalaf (d. 241) and Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Rāzī (d.231) received Ḥadīth from him. His ~~grand~~ grand son Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Rajā' al-Sindī (d.236), Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277), Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (d.281) and Ja'far b. Muhammad b. Shākir al-Ṣā'igh (d.289) read Ḥadīth with him.³

During his life time Rajā' was a pillar of Ḥadīth literature;⁴ he took a prominent part in its oral transmission. A stainless and reliable Rāwī apart, Raja' was a master of Arabic diction. "I have not seen", says Bīkr b. Khalaf "a better eloquent speaker than he". He died in Shawwāl, 221/837.⁵

9. Muhammad b. Rajā' al-Sindī (d. circa 246/860)

Muhammad surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh was the son of Rajā' al-Sindī. Of his early education, we know but very little. Apparently after attaining some knowledge in Ḥadīth

(1) Ibid. (2) i.e. his son and grand son. (3) Tahdhīb, loc.cit. (4) ركن من اركان الحديث Ibid. (5) Ibid.

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 sometime and lectured on Ḥadīth. Meanwhile, Abū Bakr b. Abī 'l-Dunyā (d.281), the Hafiz, formerly a student of his father and Ahmad b. Bashr al-Murthidī received Ḥadīth from him¹— a fact that shows what an eminent position he held in the domain of the science.

At Isfarāyin Muḥammad devoted himself to cultural activities. He maintained the reputation of the halqa which had grown under his father. Of his pupils, most conspicuous were Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Dhuhfī 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.²

10. Muḥammad b. Muhammad b. Rajāf al-Sindī (206-286)

A distinguished scion of the house of Rajāf al-Sindī, 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 notice of him given by Dhahabī in his Tadhkirat al-Huffāz is well worth being reproduced. "Muḥammad b. Muhammad b. Rajāf b. al-Sindī, the Hāfiz and Imām, surnamed Abū Bakr of Isfarāyin, was the celebrated author of a Mustakhraj of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim. He studied³

(1) Khatīb. vol. V, pp.276-7; Ansāb, fol. 314b. (2) Ibid.

(3) The work does not seem to be extant.

(Ḥadīth) under Ishāq b. Raḥway (d.238), Ahmad b. Ḥanbal (d.241), 'Alī al-Madīnī (d.231), 'Abd Allāh b. Numair (d.199), Abū Bakr b. Abī Shaybs (d.235) and the like. He made an extensive tour (in quest of Ḥadīth). While Abu 'Awāna (d.310), Abū Ḥāmid al-Sharqī, Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥānī, Ibn al-Akhram, Abū 'l-Nadr and others transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of Abū Bakr. Al-Ḥākim says, "Honest and steadfast, per excellence, Abū Bakr was in the front rank among the Traditionists of his age". Abū Bakr's sphere of activity did not confine itself merely to Isfarāyīn as he was found narrating Ḥadīth in Makka where an eager audience including Abū Ḥātim (d. 277) gathered round him to receive them. He died in 286/899 at the age of eighty.

11. Al-Sindī b. 'Abdūwaih al-Dahakī (d. ca. 215/830).

Al-Sindī who was otherwise famous as al-Dahakī, that is, a native of Dahak, a village in Ray, was, as the patronymic al-Sindī suggests, an Indian mawlā. As an early Rāwī, al-Sindī transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of Abū 'Uwais al-Aṣbahī (d.169), a student of al-Zuhrī, and also on the authority of several other Traditionists of al-Madīna and al-ʿIrāq. Among his pupils mention has been made of Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Ṭīhrānī (d.271).

12. Sahl b. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Sindī (d ca. 225/839).

Sahl, a freed man of the Banū Dhuhl, was a scholar of Traditions. He narrated Ḥadīth from Zuhair b. Mu'āwīya (d. 172) Jarīr b. Ḥāzim (d. 170) Sharīk b. Ḥāzim and others. He was a Qādī of Hamadān and Qazwīn. 'Amr b. 'Az Rāfi' (d.237) and Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Ṭīhrānī (d.271) were among his pupils. Sahl seems to have flourished in the early third century of ~~the~~ Hijra.

(1) Tadhkira, vol. II, pp.230-1. (2) Ansāb, fol.314b; Tadhkira, loc.cit. (3) Ansāb, fol. 235 b. (4) His full name was 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uwais b. Mālik b. Abī 'Āmir al-Aṣbahī al-Madānī. Cf. Khulāṣa, p.172. (5) Ansāb, loc.cit. (6) Ibid. fol. 314 b.

13. Al-Fath b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī (d.ca.275/888)

Al-Fath, surnamed Abū Naṣr al-Sindī, was a freed man of the family of al-Ḥakam; he was at once a Jurist, a Theologian and a Traditionist. In Fiqh and Kalām, he was a student of Abu 'Alī al-Thaqafī, while he read Ḥadīth with al-Ḥusain b. Sufyān (d.303) and others. In what a high esteem Abū Naṣr al-Sindī was held by the men of his time may be judged from a train of admirers that followed him when walking

14. Ahmad b. Sindī b. Farrūkh (d. ca.275/888).

Ahmad was a disciple of Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dāūrī (d.252) of Baghdad who was a shaykh of al-Bukhārī (d.256) and Muslim. (d.262)² He resided in Baghdad and was found lecturing on Ḥadīth literature in al-Baṣra where 'Abd Allāh b. Adī al-Jurjānī (?) studied the subject with him. He supported himself with embroidery and became famous as al-muṭar riz, the embroiderer.³

15. Hubaish b. al-Sindī al-Qatī'ī (d. ca.280/893)

He was a pupil of the celebrated Ahmad b. Ḥanbal and also of 'Ubaid Allāh b. Muḥammad al-'Ayshī (?) Muḥammad b. Mukhallad⁴ narrated Ḥadīth from him.⁵

16. Al-Sindī b. Abbān (d. 281/894)

Al-Sindī b. Abbān surnamed Abū Naṣr was a ghulām, slave of Khalaf b. Hishām (d. 227), a scholar of Baghdad. He had some interest in Ḥadīth and was a pupil of Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Hāmid al-Ḥimmānī (d 228), a Traditionist of al-Kūfa. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī al-Ṭashtī received Ḥadīth from him. He died in the month of Dhū'l-Ḥijja, 281/984.⁶

(1) Ibid. (2) Khatīb, vol.XIV, p.277. (3) Khatīb, vol.IV, p.187; Ansāb fol. 314 b. (4) Mizān, s.v. Md. b.Mukhallad. (5) Khatīb, vol.VIII, p.282. (6) Ibid, vol.IX, p.234.

17. Abū'l-Fawāris Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Hasan b. al-Sindī
(d 244-349).

Ahmad as the patronymic al-Sindī suggests, was a great grand son 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-Sābūnī. Ahmad enjoyed a long life of one hundred and five years and died in Shawwāl, 349 A.H. Ahmad transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of al-Muzanī (d.264)¹ and Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Ālā (d.264), both Traditionists of Egypt, and Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Ṭihrānī (d 271)². Although al-Suyūṭī in his Huṣn al-Muhādīra speaks very highly of him as a respectable authority of Apostolic Traditions in Egypt³, but in the opinion of more critical scholars of Asmā' al-Rijāl, like al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar, Ahmad was hardly trustworthy. For, firstly he was responsible for giving circulation to a baseless (باطل) Ḥadīth from his shaykh, Muḥammad al-Ṭihrānī and secondly, he was found to have ~~xx~~ narrated in the Gharāib of Mālik a Ḥadīth⁴ with isnād consisting of al-Ābbās b. al-Faḍl b. 'Awn al-Tanūkhī and Sawāda b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣarī of whom the first was a liar⁵ and the other, a weak authority⁶ (ضعيف). To add to the above, in the opinion of Ibn al-Mundhir, Ahmad was a liar (كذاب)⁷.

18. Ahmad b. Sindī b. al-Hasan b. Bahr al-Haddād
(d 359/969).

Ahmad, surnamed Abū Bakr al-Ḥaddād (the blacksmith)⁸ settled at Qatī'ya Banī Jidār, a quarter in Baghdād. His

(1) Mizān, vol.I, p.71; Lisān, vol. I, p.296; Suyūṭī Huṣn al-Muhādīra fī Akhbār Misr wa 'l-Qāhira. (Cairo, 1321 A.H.), vol.I, p.173; Shādhārāt, vol.II, p.380. (2) He was a famous disciple of Imām al-Shāfi'ī (d.204) (Shādhārāt, II, 148). (3) Mizān, loc cit; Lisān, loc.cit. (4) النقد المعتمد لديار مصر. (5) Cf. Mizān, I, 433. (6) Mizān, vol.II, p.19. (7) Ibid, vol.I, p.433. (8) Lisān, vol.I, p.296. (9) Ansāb, foll. 124a, 314b. The name of the quarter is misprinted in Khatīb (Vol.IV, p.187), as Qatī'ya Banī Haddād.

teachers in Ḥadīth were Mūsā b. Hārūn, the Ḥāfiẓ (d.294), Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Muʿaddib(?) and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlūwiya al-Qaṭṭān(?). He was a reliable (thiqa) transmitter of Ḥadīth. Dāraqutnī (d.385) admitted him as such. Among his students, the famous was Abū Nuʿaim al-Iṣṭahānī. A saintly personage, Ahmad was reckoned as one whose prayers were granted (مجااب الدعوة). He died in 359/969¹. The nisba al-Sindī refers to his Indian origin.²

19. Naṣrū'llāh b. Ahmad b. al-Sindī (d.433/1041).

Naṣrū'llāh, who was the grand son of a Sindian slave purchased in Khurāsān, became famous as Ibn al-Sindī. He narrated Ḥadīth on the authority of Abū 'l-Qāsim b. Sabnak (?). Ibn al-Sindī had the privilege of being a shaykh of al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī (d. 463) who copied Ḥadīth from him and regarded him sadūq (truthful). He died in Dhū 'l-Qa'da, 433 A.H.

20. Abū Muḥammad Bakhtiyār b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hindī (d. 541/1049).

Abū Muḥammad al-Hindī was a freed man of Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Samʿāni, (466-510), the father of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿāni (506-66), the author of the Kitāb al-Ansāb. His nisba al-Hindī refers to his origin from India.

Abū Muḥammad studied Ḥadīth under his master Abū Bakr who took him with him for further education in the subject to al-ʿIrāq, al-Ḥijāz and al-Shām. Thus in Baḡhdād he acquired Ḥadīth from Jaʿfar b. Ahmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Sarrāj, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Anṣārī and others; at Hamadān, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ḥamd b. al-Ḥasan al-Dūwīnī; at Iṣṭahān, from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaddād. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī heard from him a few Traditions. He died at Marw in Ṣafar, 541/1049⁴.

(1) Khaṭīb vol. IV, p.187. (2) Yāqūt (vol. II, p.37) misprints al-Sindī as al-Sayyidī. For correct reading, Ansāb, loc.cit. Khaṭīb, loc.cit. (3) Khaṭīb, vol.XIII, p.302. (4) Ansāb, foll. 593 a, 593 b; Maʿārif, vol.XXIV, No.4, p.249.

21. Abū 'l-Ḥasan Bakhtiyār b. 'Abdūllāh al-Hindī (d.553/1051)

A contemporary and probably a brother of Abū Muḥammad al-Hindī just noticed, Abū 'l-Ḥasan was a Traditionist and an Ascetic (Sūfī). He was a freed man of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Ya'qūbī, a Qāḍī of Bushanj¹ and became famous as a teacher of 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī. Like Abū Muḥammad al-Hindī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan travelled with his master in Muslim lands hearing Ḥadīth from noted Traditionists, viz., al-Sharīf Abū Naṣr Muḥammad, Abū Fawāris Muḥammad b. 'Alī and Rizqu'llāh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Tamīmī of Baghdad; 'Alī b. Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Sitrī, 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Alī (b. Khalaf b. Shu'bā), the Hāfiz and Ahmad 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 Hirat. He died in 543 or 542/1051.²

(1) Le Strange, p. 431. (2) Ansāb, fol. 593 b; Ma'ārif, loc.cit.

CHAPTER II.

Al-Şaghānī and his works.

As al-Şaghānī, 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-Şaghānī al-Lāhurī (577-650/1181-1252)

Radī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥaydar al-Qurashī al-Ūmarī al-Ḥanafī popularly called al-Şaghānī, was born at Lahore on Thursday, Şafar, 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-Şaghānī¹ earned a reward of 1,000 dinars by committing to memory the Gharā'ib of Abū Ūbaid al-Qāsim b. al-Sallām (d.240) - a fact which speaks a volume about the extraordinary memory he possessed. While scarcely twenty-five, al-Şaghānī acquired a great proficiency in Ḥanafite Fiqh. Sultān Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak (602-7/1205-10) then offered him the Qādīship of Lahore which he, however, refused to² accept, and left for Ghaznīn in pursuit of higher studies. He subsequently travelled widely in al-Īrāq and al-Hijāz devoting himself assiduously to the acquirement of the sciences of Tradition and philology under distinguished professors. The exact duration of his wanderjahr in al-Īrāq where, in Baghdad, he read with al-Nazzām al-Maghīnānī and Sa'īd b. al-Razzāz (d. 616),³ cannot be ascertained. By

(1) The nisba al-Şaghānī suggests that al-Ḥasan's forefathers were originally the natives of Şaghānīyān, a district town in the Transoxania (Le Strange, p.440) from where they migrated to India. (2) 'Abd al-Hayy Nadawī, Nuzha (MS), vol.i, s.v. al-Ḥasan b. Md. al-Şaghānī. (3) Shadharāt, vol.v, 250.

610/1213 from which dates the beginning of his career as a Traditionist in al-Ḥijāz, 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 ¹ *shuyūkh* in Makka, the name of Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 618) has been preserved for us. On finishing his studies al-Ṣaghānī arrived in Ṣafar, 615/April, 1218 in Baghdad where a rousing reception was accorded him. Caliph al-Nāṣir (577-⁶²³6/1181-1226) himself invested him with a robe of honour. Al-Ṣaghānī finally settled down in Baghdad and enjoyed patronage from the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs. In 617/1220 Caliph al-Nāṣir appointed him ambassador for the court of Delhi under Iltutmish (607-33/1210-36) - an office which ³ al-Ṣaghānī held for twenty long years. He hastened back to Baghdad in 624/1227 presumably on the death of al-Nāṣir and was again appointed to the same post by Caliph al-Mustansir (624-45/1227-47) ⁴ in Sha'bān of that very year. The fact that the historian Minhāj al-Sirāj records in his Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī the arrival of the 'Abbāsīd ambassador in India in 625/1228, seems to further corroborated the above appointment. ⁵ Al-Ṣaghānī finally returned to Baghdad in

(1) Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, ed. Dr. Ahmad Farīd Rafa'ī (Cairo, 1936), vol. IX, 189-191. This shows that al-Ṣaghānī was quite familiar with Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626).

(2) *Shadharāt*, loc. cit. (3) *Nuzha*, loc. cit.; al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir al-Mudīyya fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanaḥīyya* (Hyderabad, 1332 A.H.), vol. I, 201-2. (4) Al-Qurashī, loc. cit.

(5) *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 174; *Ulughkhānī*, op. cit., ii, 698. It seems that there is something wrong either with the date 624 A.H. as given by al-Qurashī, or with 625 A.H. as given by Minhāj al-Sirāj. For al-Ṣaghānī could not possibly have taken more than a month to reach India from Baghdad overland (*Ulughkhānī*, loc. cit.)

637/1239. It may be that the chaotic and complicated situation arising at the Court out of the murder of Sultāna Radfiyya (634-7/1236-40) compelled the ambassador¹ to leave Delhi.

The remaining years of his life al-Ṣaghānī devoted exclusively to compilation and teaching Ḥadīth and x Philology. He always had a crowd of pupils to surround him. The Traditionist Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyātī (d.705), the shaykh of our al-Dhahabī (d.735), was one of the pupils of al-Ṣaghānī. He died at his residence at Ḥarīm al-Zāhirī in Baghdad in Sha'bān, 650/October, 1252. His body was removed to Makka according to a testament of his and was interred therein.² As a tribute to his memory al-Dimyātī says, "A devout professor seldom given to idle talks, al-Ṣaghānī was a great authority of Tradition, Philology and Jurisprudence".³ No greater testimony to his wide survey in ~~xxx~~ Ḥadīth literature could have been adduced than what he himself maintained in his al-Ābāb, "I have heard in Makka, India, al-Yaman and Baghdad musalsal traditions close upon four hundred which is a record number."⁴

(1) Cf. Cambridge History of India, iii, 60-1.

(2) Al-Qurashī, loc.cit.; Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz s.v. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī; Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutbī, Fuwāt al-Wafayāt, ed. Egypt, vol.I, 133; Tāsh Kuprīzādā, Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda (Hyderabad, 1328 A.H.), vol.I, 98-9; al-Suyūṭī, Bughyat (Cairo, 1326), pp.227-8; Azniqī, Madīnat al-'Ulūm (Ms. Bankipore), fol. 90b; 'Alī al-Qārī, Asmā' al-Ḥanafīyya (Ms. Bankipore, XII, No.763) foll. 77b, 78a; Qāsim Qaṭlūghā, Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya, p.17; Subḥat, p.29; Ma'athār pp.180-3; Abjad, pp.525, 890; Ithāf, p.243; Lakhnawī, Fawā'id, pp.29-30; Raḥmān 'Alī, T. Ulamā', Hadā'iq; pp.253-5; Ma'ārif vol. XXII(4), pp.252-3; vol. XXIV(4), pp.4-13. art. Imām Ṣaghānī by Sayyid Hasan Baranī, B.A., LL.B (Alig.); Būhār Cat., ii, 30-1; Bankipore Cat. V(2), 94-5; Idāra-i-Ma'ārif-i-Islāmīyya, Proceedings of the Session 1933 held at Lahore ~~xx~~ pp.326-7, Ency. of Islām s.v. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī. (3) Al-Qurashī, loc.cit.

(4) 'Alī al-Qārī, loc.cit.

Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī was a recognised authority of Ḥadīth and Philology. He has left for us thirty two works¹ of which as many as nine have been noticed by Brockelmann.² Although the bulk of these works is on Philology, those dealing with Ḥadīth literature are of special significance, purporting as they do, to popularise the genuine Aḥādīth 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 Hadith 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 Tālibū 'Ilm, the Science of Ḥadīth literature - 'Ilm al-Ḥadīth - was evolved.³ 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 Qur'an and the Sunna of the Islamic Sharī'a into four juridical systems, viz., the Ḥanafite, the Mālikite, the Shāfi'ite and the Ḥanbalite, of which the first three also recognise the locus standi of the 'Ijmā'⁴ (Consensus of the Community) and the Qiyās (Legal Analogy).

(1) Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda, 1, 98-9; Ma'ārif, xxiv(1), 12-3.
 (2) Geschichte, 1, 360. (3) Al-Khawli, Miftāḥ al-Sunna (Cairo, 1921), p.109; Guillaume, Traditions of Islām (Oxford, 1924), p.67; al-Khudrī Beg, Tārīkh Tashrī' al-Islāmī (Cairo, 1934), pp.192-4; Hitti, History of the Arabs, pp.393-5.
 (4) Kitāb al-Fiqh 'Alā al-Madhāhib al-Aṣba' (Cairo, 1931), pp. 40-1; al-Khudrī, pp.333, 337; Hitti, pp. 396-400.

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,¹ the Ḥanbalites or Aṣḥāb Ḥadīth, in Syria and Baghdad;² the Hanafites, in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate with the exception of Nishāpūr and parts of the ~~xx~~ Transoxania which were Shāfi'ite.³ Besides, the Shāfi'ites had their hold also over Egypt.⁴

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 devoted⁵ themselves to imparting lessons and writing books on Fiqh. In 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 Ghaznawids and the Ayūbids, the Ḥanafite, by the Turks and the Mālikite by the Spanish Amirate.⁶ 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.⁷ How the study of Fiqh was rapidly gaining in popularity would be evident from the fact that in the third century the phraseology, tafaqqaha 'alā was scarcely noticed; in the fourth it was seen side by side with that of haddatha'an and by the fifth century the

(1) Maqdisī, Aḥsan al-Taqaṣīm, p.30. (2) Ibid, 39, 124. (3) Ibid, 37. (4) Ibid, 180, 202. (5) For details see al-Khudrī, pp.246-74, 370-7. (6) Ibid, 342; al-Madhāhib al-Arba' 26-7, 32, 37. (7) Al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' (Egypt, 1322 A.H.), Vol.I, 13, 16, 31; Shāh Walī Allāh, al-Inṣāf (Delhi, 1909), p.80-1.

latter, namely, haddatha'an was practically overshadowed by the former, namely, tafaqqaha'alā¹. That nation-wide zeal and enthusiasm for Ḥadīth learning, Rihla fī Talab al-'Ilm, began to decrease² 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 Shāfi'ite Fiqh was instituted in the famous Nizāmiyya College of Baghdad, while al-Mustansiriyya³ provided for the instructions in all the four Schools. Egypt, too, did not lag behind in this direction in so far as it had to her credit al-Madrasat al-Suyūfiyya, al-Sālihiyya, al-Nāsiriyya and al-Salāhiyya⁴ for the study and cultivation of Fiqh. 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 Hanbalites 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 Ahādīth as were suited for the requirements of a particular Madhhab. But in their attempt to utilise Ahādīth to subserve their respective madhāhib, the Fuqahā' did more harm than good. For, the criteria to scrutinise 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 ~~being~~ sought to be given even for weak ones. Thus, many a weak Ḥadīth naturally crept into Fiqh literature. No wonder, then, that such a master-piece of the Hanafite jurisprudence like al-Hidāya should contain Traditions of ~~indistinct~~ ~~indistinct~~

(1) Cf. Shadharāt, Vol.III. (2) Renaissance of Islām, pp.190-1. (3) Hitti, op.cit., 410-1. (4) Al-Madhāhib al-Arba', i, 27, 37. (5) Al-Khudrī, 274.

indifferent authorities or which were spurious.⁴ But the greatest disservice done to Apostolic Traditions by the Fuqaha was that they encouraged inter-Madhhab rivalry particularly between the Ḥanafites and the Shāfi'ites. Towards the 5th century A.H. theological debate—munāzara ← 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 descency 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 ¹recriminations. 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'ī, will flood the surface of the earth with knowledge', are cases in point.² Thus, most of the ~~the~~ Fuqahā' remained so preoccupied with the formulation of their own madhāhib that they not only neglected the priceless Ḥadīth compilations such as the Ṣaḥīḥān 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'ammari, e.g., Naṣṭūr al-Rūmī, Abū'l-Duniyā al-Ashajj and Ratan ³al-Hindī, or the Qaramatans who legalised fabrication if it would tend to improve the morale of the people. This

(1) For details, see Ihyā', i, pp.31-6. (2) For more of these Traditions consult Tāhir al-Hindī's Tadhkirat al-Mawqū'āt (Cairo, 1343 A.H.) pp.111 sq. (3) Ibid, ~~102~~ 107-8.

(4) Cf. al-Maḥḥināmī, al-Hidāya, ed. Yūsufī Press, Lucknow, 1325 AH, vol. i, p.136 = Ibn Ḥajar, al-Bīrāyat, (Delhi, 1350 AH), p.124; p.144 = p.127; al-Hidāya, ii, 456 = p.332; p.459 = p.335.

was not all. To capture the imagination of the audience the gassās, or the story-teller, inter-wove false Ahādīth in the course of their story-telling. Likewise the Khāngas or the hospices of the ascetics became veritable hotbeds of fabrication inasmuch as every moralising saying that would encourage the inmates to lead contemplative lives, passed¹ for Hadith. 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 Suras of the Qur'ān.² Thus, like a mushroom,³ fabricated Ahādīth grew and multiplied. 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 is⁴ said to have included into it some Ḥasan and Ṣaḥīḥ Ahādīth. 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 intelligentia visa-vis Hadīth, states, "There have multiplied in our days Ahādīth Mawdū'a (fabricated traditions) which are being narrated by the gassās in the assemblies as well

(1) Ibid, 6-8. (2) Cf. Tafsīr al-Kashshāf and al-Baidāwī at the conclusion of every Sura. (3) Tāhir al-Hindī, pp.8 sq. (4) Ibid, 3-4; Lucknawi, Fawā'id al-Bahīyya, p.30; Sakhāwī, Fath al-Mughīth, ed. Lucknow, Anwār Muḥammadī Press, p.107.

as on the ~~xxx~~ pulpits and by fuqahā' (jurists) and fuqarā' (saints) in the Madrasas and the Khānqas respectively. Thus they (Mawdū'āt) 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 jeopardy¹. 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-Jawzī, al-Ṣaghānī² applied himself heart and soul to weed out Aḥādīth Mawdū'a. He was more systematic and his grasp of the problem more thorough than his compeer Ibn al-Jawzī. His treatises³ on al-Mawdū'āt 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 Muhammad and Ahmad, (ii) Traditions relating to rice, melon, garlic, egg-plant and onion, etc, (iii) Traditions relating to Maskh, metamorphosis of as many as

(1) Al-Ṣaghānī, *Risāla fī 'l-Mawdū'āt* (printed with Abū 'l-Mahāsīn's *al-Lū'lū 'al-Marṣū'*, ed. Egypt, undated), pp.1-2. (2) *Fath al-Mughīth*, p.107. (3) MSS copies of the treatises^{are} noticed in Lakhnawī's library at Firingī mahāl (cf. *Fawā'id al-Bahīyya*, p.30) and one in the library of Nadwa, Lucknow.

sixteen animals, viz., the tortoise, the bear, the hyena, the lizard, etc., as stated in some Tafsīrs, (iv) Traditions relating to the merit of the months, days and nights as mentioned in the Yawāqīt wa'l-Mawāqīt, (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 emphasised on the nature of the wording and the meaning of a Ḥadīth 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 Ḥadīth.³ He has also drawn up a list of the master-fabricators, namely, Abū 'l-Dunīya al-Ashajj, al-Kharrāsh, Ja'far b. Naṣṭūr al-Rūmī, Bishr, Yaghnām, Yakhshaf on the authority of Anas, Ratan al-Hindī and others.⁴ His books may, therefore, be regarded as an earliest attempt to enunciate the principles of Mawdū'āt.

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 Ḥadīth to be mawdū' 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 ~~xxx~~ fabrications. He did more. His greatest service for the cause of the

(1) Risāla fī'l-Mawdū'āt, pp.5, 9-10. (2) Ibid, pp.10-1. (3) Tāhīr al-Hindī, op.cit, p.8. (4) Risāla Fī'l-Mawdū'āt, pp.3-4, also p.12. (5) Ibid, pp.4, 12. (6) Al-Fawā'id, p.30.

Science, however, lay in his endeavour to popularise Aḥādīth Ṣaḥīḥa among the Muslims. As he felt that if, at the outset, he would present before the public the Ṣaḥīḥān 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-Misbāh al-Dujā min Ṣiḥāb Hadīth al-Ma'ṭhūra and al-Shams al-Munīra min al-Siḥāb al-Ma'ṭhūra, which evoked a wide-spread interest among his co-religionists. Thus encouraged, he compiled his epitome of the Ṣaḥīḥān which became famous under the name of the Mashāriq al-Anwār.¹

His Mashāriq al-Anwār

The Mashāriq al-Anwār embodies into it 2253 select Aḥādīth from the Ṣaḥīḥs of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, of which 327 belong to the former and 875, to the latter, while the rest 1051 are common to both.² He has selected only the Aḥādīth Qawliyya in preference to those of Fi'liyya and Taqrīriyya and also those called Mutāba'at, Shawāhid and Riwāyat bi'l-Ma'nā, as they (Aḥādīth Qawliyya) play a more vital part in the formulation of the principles of the Sharī'a. The selection of Aḥādīth, therefore, has not been arbitrary. As for the isnād, only the name of the Ṣaḥābīs are mentioned. The Traditions of al-Bukhārī are represented by ح those of Muslim, by م and those that are common to them both, by م.

(1) See Mashāriq al-Anwār (Egypt, 1329 A.H.), p.4. The full title of the work is Mashāriq al-Anwār al-Nabūwiyya fi Ṣiḥāb al-Akḥbār al-Muṣṭafawīyya (Ḥāji Khalīfa, v, 547). This Mashāriq al-Anwār should not be confused with the Mashāriq al-Anwār, a commentary of the Gharā'ib, difficult words of the Muwatta' and the Ṣaḥīḥān, by Qādī 'Iyād (d.544).
 (2) According to the commentator al-Kāzurinī (d.758), the total number of Aḥādīth contained in the Mashāriq is 2246 (Ḥāji Khalīfa, v, 547) as against 2253, in the recently published edition of the work under the auspices of Dar al-Fanūn at Qunīya (vide Maktabat Maḥmūdīya edition, Cairo 1329 A.H.).

The book is divided into twelve bābs, chapters, which again are subdivided into one or more faṣls, sections. Each bāb has a group of ahadith opening either with (i) grammatical regents (عوامل), such as ما , اذا , انت and so on, or with (ii) the words of the verbal tenses, such as امر , مضارع , ماضى and so on. As regards the Ahādith 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 'Āmil with different forces, e.g., شرط or موصول , استفهام من as من , or in combination with different pronouns, e.g., انك , انى or انت 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 Sharī'a, ethics, transactions, manumission of slaves, jihād (holy war) etc. It is for this reason that an Indian commentātor has compared it to a garden whose flowers resemble in colour but vary in fragrance¹. 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 Ṣaḥīhān.

(1) Khurram 'Alī Balharī, Tuḥfat al-Akhyār, Urdu tr. of the Mashāriq (Cawnpore, 1917), p.17.

Within seventy five years of the author's death, the first commentary of the Mashāriq al-Anwār by 'Alā al-Dīn Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qazwīnī was written at al-Mustan-¹ sīriyya in Baghdad. At about the same time, Shams al-Dīn al-Awadī (d. 749), a disciple of Nizām al-Dīn Awlīya'² (d.725), brought out the second commentary of the book.² 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 rolled on, the Mashāriq al-Anwar grew more and more popular so that by the 8th century journeys were undertaken and classes were held for its study.³ The part it played towards the propagation of Ḥadīth literature in Northern India during the pre-Renaissance period, we have already noticed.⁴ Suffice it to say here that it was the Mashāriq al-Anwār which kept ~~the~~ 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 Ḥadīth:

(i) Kashf al-Ḥijāb 'an Ahādīth al-Shihāb. Al-Ṣaghānī edited al-Qudā'ī's (d.454) Kitāb al-Shihāb with the symbols of Ṣaḥīḥ, da'īf and mawḍū' against each and arranged it on the lines of the Mashāriq al-Anwār.⁵

(ii) Sharḥ al-Bukhārī, a short commentary of the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī.⁶

(iii) Durr al-Sihāba fī Mawādi' Wafayāt al-Sahāba. (Khadiwiya, Vol. II, p. 52...); a collection of the places of the deaths of the Companions of the Prophet arranged alphabetically.⁷

(1) Ḥāji Khalīfa, v, 551. (2) Supra, p.58. (3) Ibn Ḥajar, al-Durar al-Kāmina, IV, 82. (4) Supra, pp.73-4. (5) Ḥāji Khalīfa s.v. Kashf al-Ḥijāb 'an Ahādīth al-Shihāb (6) Tāsh Kuprī, op.cit.; Qurashī, al-Jawāhir, 1, 202. (7) Fihris al-Khadiwiyya, s.v. Durr al-Sihāba; Tadhkirat al-Nawādir, ed. Hyderabad, p.82.

(iv) Mukhtasar al-Wafayāt, a general biographical treatise.

(v) Kitāb al-Du'afā' wa 'l-Matrūkīn, a book dealing with weak, rejected Transmitters of Ḥadīth.¹

Al-Ṣaghānī as an editor of the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī:

Al-Ṣaghānī's name shall always remain immortalised as an editor of the text of al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ. As a matter of fact, the edition of the Ṣaḥīḥ current all over Arabia, India, Persia and al-Iraq we owe to his master-mind and to no body else's²

(1) Al-Jawāhir, i, 202.

Mingana (2) Perhaps the first Orientalist to write on the history of the transmission of the text of the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī observ- es:- 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 days'. 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-Aṣḥī (d.392), al-Qābisī (d.403), Abū Dharr (d.434) and Abū Nu'aim (d.466), in the course of the 4th and the 5th centuries the text was well-nigh established. The process of systematisation 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), Ibn '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-Iraq 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, 25, 27, 29.

CHAPTER III

Indian Traditionists
(950-1257/1543-1841)

SECTION I. 950-1000/1543-1591

'Alī al-Muttaqī & his School of Muḥaddithūn

'Alī al-Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī (885-975/1481-1568).

'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Qāḍikhān al-Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī al-Madanī whose ancestors lived at Jawnpūr, was born at Burhanpur in 885/1481. Educated at his native town under Shaykh Bājin and his son 'Abd al-Ḥakīm and at Multān, under Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Multānī, al-Muttaqī was for sometimes a Qāḍī of Burhanpur. In 941/1534, he was in Gujarāt whence, on account of Humāyūn's invasion of the territory, he left for the Hijāz with a party of his pupils and settled down at Makka. Here he took further education in al-Ḥadīth from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (d. 952) and Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī (d. 974) and became an authority on the subject. His eminence as a Muḥaddith may be judged from the fact that his teacher Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī himself accepted his discipleship. A man of great sanctity and learning, 'Alī al-Muttaqī commanded respect not only from his contemporary scholars but also from the Ottoman Emperor Sulaymān I (1520-55) and the Muẓaffarshāhī Sultān Maḥmūd III (1537-53) who granted stipends for the pupils of his Madrasa. He died at Makka in 975/1568.

(1) Supra, p. 104a (2) Ulughkhānī, pp. 315, 368; Akhbār al-Akhyār, pp. 241 sq; Subḥat al-Marjān, p. 43; Ma'thar al-Kirām, pp. 192-4; Khazīna, i, 429-31; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā, pp. 146-7; Ithāf al-Nubalā, p. 326; Tiqṣār, 177; Abjad al-Ulūm, p. 895; Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīyya s.v. 'Alī Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī; Yād-i-Ayyām, pp. 35, 44; Bānkīpūr Catalogue, XVI, 61; Sha'rānī, Tabaqāt al-Kubrā, s.v. 'Alī al-Muttaqī; Ma'ārif, XXII(4), p. 262.

Al-Muttaqī evinced a keen interest for al-Suyūṭī's ~~al-Jam' al-Jawāmi'~~ al-Jam' al-Jawāmi', al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr and al-Ziyāda - works designed to serve the purpose of an Encyclopaedia of Ḥadīth literature - and himself to further facilitate the study of the books compiled the following six works:-

- (i) Manhaj al-'Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aqwāl wa 'l-Af'āl (Rāmpūr No.404: Khadīwīyya, I, p.433). In this work al-Muttaqī has classified according to the chapters of Fiqh the Ḥadīth of the Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr and al-Ziyāda arranged alphabetically. A commentary on the Manhaj al-'Ummāl by an anonymous author has been preserved in the Oriental Library at Bankipur.¹
- (ii) Ikmāl Manhaj al-'Ummāl (Khadīwīyya, I, 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 Fī'līyya of the Jam' al-Jawāmi'.
- (v) Kanz al-'Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aqwāl wa 'l-Af'āl: 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'ārif Press at Hyderabad in 1312-3 A.H.
- (vi) Muntakhab Kanz al-'Ummāl (Khadīwīyya, I, p.428; Rampur No.296; Asafiyya, I, No.676): An abridgement of the Kanz al-'Ummāl. An extensive commentary on this work in four volumes entitled Sullām al-Anwār by an anonymous author is available in the Bankipur Library²

(1). Vide Catalogue, Vol.V(2), No.426. (2) Vide Catalogue Vol.V, part II, Nos.432-5.

In addition to the above works, al-Muttaqī has written the following commentary and treatises on on al-Ḥadīth:-

(1) Sharḥ Shamā'il al-Nabī, a commentary on al-Tirmidhī's Shamā'il al-Nabī of which a Ms copy is available in the library of Dār al-'Ulūm at Peshwar.¹

(2) Al-Burhān fi 'Alāmat Mahdī Akhir al-Zamān (Loth, No.1031 II):- a rearrangement of the Aḥādīth contained in al-Suyūṭī's al-'Arf al-Wardī on the account of al-Mahdī together with additional material from the Jam' al-~~XXXX~~ Jawāmi'. In the preface, the author has proved the claim of Maḥmūd al-Jawnpūrī as the promised Messiah to be false.

(3) Jawāmi' 'l-Kalim fi 'l-Mawā'iz wa 'l-Ḥikam (Bankipur, XIII, Nos. 926-8; Loth, Ind. Office No.673): a treatise on Aḥādīth dealing with sermons and wise sayings.

(4) Al-Manhaj al-Tāmm fi Tabwīb al-Ḥikam (Brockelmann, Sup I, 519): a commentary of al-Nawawī's Misbāh al-Zulam.

(b) His pupils. Among al-Muttaqī's pupils Tāhir al-Fattānī (d.986) selected Gujarāt as the seat of his activities, while the following of his pupils, the Ḥaramayn:-

1. Qādī 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Sindī (d.955/1548).

He was a native of Darbila in Sind and read at Kāhān with Maḥdūm 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Abharī. In 954/1527, he proceeded to Aḥmadābād and became a disciple of al-Muttaqī. Then he migrated to the Ḥijāz along with al-Muttaqī, and settled down in al-Madīna where he died within two years of his residence.² His two sons, Raḥmat Allāh and Ḥamid - the former also a pupil of al-Muttaqī - were Traditionists.

(1) Catalogue, p.76, No.39. (2) Ma'ṣūmī, Tārīkh-i-Sind, p.202; Akhbār al-Akhyār, p.265.

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-Madīna and lectured in Ḥadīth literature. In 982/1574, he came to India along with Ḥājj Begam who had been on a pilgrimage to Makka, and visited Agra where 'Abd al-Qādir al-Badāwnī, the author of the Muntakhab al-Tāwārīkh read Ḥadīth with him. He next taught the subject at Ahmadābād for sometime, again went to Makka and died in Muharram, 993/January, 1585. He compiled a work on al-Mawdū'āt 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 Darbila 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-Madīna with his name-sake 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-Maṣābīh with copious annotations to prove the superiority of the Ḥanafite School.

4. Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muttaqī (d.1001/1592).

'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Walī Allāh, the successor of 'Alī al-Muttaqī at Makka, was born at Shadīfābād - Mandū in 943/1536. In 963/1556, he joined the School of al-Muttaqī 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-Muttaqī's death,

(1) Badāwnī, p.114 = Haig, p.168. (2) Akhbār, pp.264-5; Yād-i-Ayyām, p.36; Tadhkira 'Ulamā, p.102; Brockelmann, Sup I, p.524. (3) Akhbār al-Akhyār, pp.264-5; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā, p.102; Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīyya, p.388; Ma'sūmī, p.204; Ulughkhānī, p.638; al-Nūr al-Sāfir, p.357.

‘Abd al-Wahhāb took charge of his Madrasa - the then principal seat of Ḥadīth learning at Makka - and served it with great credit until his death in 1001/1592¹. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Muhaddith al-Dihlawī (d.1052) was a pupil of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muttaqī².

SECTION II.

Muftī Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī (917-90/1511-82).

The Indian Traditionist who long enjoyed the privilege of teaching Ḥadīth literature at the sacred Ḥaram of Makka was Muftī Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥādīkhān al-Ḥanafī al-Nahrāwālī al-Makkī³ who was otherwise an important author of Arabic literature and History³. He introduced into Arabia the Sanad al-‘Ajam⁴ of the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī which he had received from his father ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī (d.949)⁵, a pupil of Nūr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, and was himself a link between the non-Arab and the Arab transmitters of this sanad.

Born at Lahore in 917/1511, Quṭb al-Dīn migrated with his father to Makka and studied under ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sumbātī (d.931), ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Dayba’ (d.944) and several other professors of the Ḥijāz. He travelled in Egypt and Turkey visiting the famous seats of learning. In 954/1538, he was received in audience by the Ottoman Emperor Sulaymān I (1520-55), obtained Khil‘a, robe honour

(1) Akhbār, pp.253 sq; Ḥadā’iq, 292 sq; Tadhkira-i-‘Ulamā’, p.139; Wa’ārif, XXII(4), pp.263-4. (2) Supra, p.139. (3) Brockelmann, Sup. I, p.514. (4) So called because between Quṭb al-Dīn and al-Bukhārī, the transmitters of this sanad are all non-Arabs. (5) Vide supra, p.85

from him and was appointed the Superintendent of the theological institutions of Makka. He next became the Mufti of the holy city and died in 990/1582.¹

His work:-

Muftī Qutb al-Dīn is the author of a comprehensive work on Ḥadīth literature which incorporates into it the Aḥādīth of the Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta - a work highly praised for its treatment by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khawḷī.²

'Abd Allāh b. Mullā Sa'd Allāh al-Lāhurī (d.1083/1672).

Among the Traditionists who transmitted the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī in Arabia on the authority of Qutb 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-Kurdī (d.1102) was his pupil in al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ.³

SECTION III.

Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Sindī (d.1138/1726).

Abū 'l-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥādī al-Ḥanafī al-Sindī al-Madanī who was a native of Thath near Karachi, 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-Kurdī (1025-1102). He resided at al-Madīna and was appointed Professor of the Dār al-Shifā', the then famous school of Ḥadīth learning of the city. Al-Sindī was a recognised author

(1) Al-Nūr al-Sāfir, pp.383 sq; Shadharāt, VIII, 420 sq; Shawkānī, al-Badr al-Tāli', II, 57-8; al-Yanī, p.28; al-Imdad, p.57; al-Amam, pp.4-5; Qutb, pp.13-5; Ithāf al-Akḥābir, pp.61 sq; Zaidān, Adab al-Lughat al-'Arabīyya (Cairo, 1913), III, 309; Sarkis, p.1871; Huart, A History of Arabic Literature (London, 1903), pp.377-8; 'Abd al-Ḥayy, Yād-i-Ayyām, pp.56-7; Nuzha, Vol.IV, s.v. Qutb al-Nahrawālī. (2) Vide Miftāḥ al-Sunna, p.110. (3) Ithāf al-Akḥābir, 61-2; al-Imdad, p.74; al-Amam, pp.4-5; al-Yānī, p.33.

of Hadith literature and his popular Hawāshī, marginal notes on the Ṣiḥāh Sitta, display all through his vast study of the Science and a deep and critical insight in to the juridical problems. Further, he was the first Traditionist to write a commentary on the Musnad of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal. He died on the 12th Shawwāl, 1138/June, 1726 and was buried in the grave yard of al-Baqf'at al-Madīna.¹ His works:-

(i) Al-Hawāshī Sitta ḥalā 'l-Kutub al-Sitta: Marginal notes on the Six Canonical Collection of Aḥādīth. The manuscript copies of the work are in the Khadīwīyya library of Egypt.² The Hawāshī on the Ṣaḥīḥān have been published with the Egyptian edition of the works and those on the Sunan al-Nasā'ī, with the Indian edition.

(ii) Bahjat al-Nazar fi Sharh Nukhbat al-Fikar (ASB No.606/15 Arabic MSS): a commentary on Ibn Hajar's Nukhbat al-Fikar.

(iii) Sharh Musnad Ahmad b. Hanbal: This commentary on the Musnad which consists of as many as fifty juz'³ parts has been noticed by Nawwāb Siddīq Ḥasan Khān and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khawlī in their respective books.

His pupil:-

Shaykh Muhammad Hayāt al-Sindī (d.1163/1750).

Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī succeeded his teacher Abū 'l-Ḥasan as the Professor of the Dār al-Shifā' and

(1) Al-Jabratī, 'Ajā'ib al-Athār (Cairo, 1322), s.v. Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Sindī; I'lām al-Nubalā', iii, 938; Silk al-Durar IV, 66; Sarkis, Mu'jam al-Matbū'āt (Cairo, 1928), pp. 1056-7; Qaṭf al-Thamar, p.21; al-Yānī, pp.42-44; Ma'ārif XXII(5), p.338. (2) Vide Fihrist, Vol.I, p.331; also preserved in the Rampur State Library (Catalogue, II, 130). Cf. Kashf al-Zamūn, vols.II, 549, iii, 622, 625, 627. (3) Al-Ḥiṭṭa fī Dhikr Ṣiḥāh Sitta, s.v., Musnad Ahmad; Miftāh al-Sunna, p.37.

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 Adilpur in the district of Ra Bhakkar in Sind and died at Madīna in 1163/1750.¹

His works:-

- (i) Tuhfat al-Muhibbīn (Bankipur, V(2), No.286; Brock, Sup I, 522): a commentary on the Arba'īn by al-Nawawī.
- (ii) Risāla fi Bid'at al-Ta'zīa.
- (iii) Tuhfat al-Anām: a treatise refuting taqlīd.²
- (iv) Sharḥ Arba'īn li 'l-Harawī : a commentary on Mullā 'Alī al-Qarīs Arba'ūna Ḥadīthan, fī Jawāmī' al-Kalim.³

SECTION IV.

1. 'Umar al-Nahrawālī.

'Umar b. Muḥammad 'Ārif Tājkhān al-Nahrawālī al-Madani was a native of Nahrawala in Gujarāt. He migrated to al-Madīna and settled there permanently. 'Umar appear to have flourished in the 11th century of the Hijra. No notice of his biography is, however; available.⁴

His work:-

Al-Faid al-Nabūwī fi Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth wa Fahāris al-Bukhārī (Loth, No. ~~131~~ 131): The book has a Muqaddima and four Faṣls. The Muqaddima has been devoted to Iṣṭalāḥāt al-Ḥadīth or the technique of Ḥadīth literature and the Faṣls, to Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth. At the end of the book, there is a discussion on al-Bukhārī and his Sahīḥ.

(1) Nuzha, XII A.H.; Subḥat al-Marjān, 95; Ma'thar al-Kirām, 164-6; Ithāf al-Nubalā, 403-4; Abjad, 849; ʿĀ Tiqṣar, 224; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā; 186-7; al-Yānī, 43; Ma'ārif, XXII(5), 338-9. (2) Ithāf al-Nubalā, loc.cit. (3) Brockelmann, Supp I, 522, 539. (4) Cf. Loth, India Office, No.131.

2. Shaykh Abū 'l-Tayyib al-Sindī

Abū 'l-Tayyib Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ḥanafī al-Sindī al-Madani settled down in al-Madīna and was a pupil of Husain b. 'Alī al-'Ujaimī in the Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta and the Sunan works. He also read with Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī and Muḥammad al-Kawkanī. He lived in the 12th century A.H.¹

His work:-

Sharḥ 'alā Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī: an Arabic commentary on the Jāmi' of Abū 'Isā al-Tirmidhī lithographed at the Nizāmī Press, Delhi along with the Shurūḥ-i-Arba'.

3. Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Bilgrāmī (1145-1205/1732-91).

Abū 'l-Faiḍ Muḥammad Murtaḍā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāsiṭī al-Bilgrāmī al-Zabidī, the celebrated author of the Tāj al-'Arūs, belonged to the family of the Wasitī Sayyids of Belgram. He took his early education in India from Fākhir al-'Ilāhābādī (d.1164), Shah Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (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 Zabīd studying the sciences of Tradition and Philology. In 1167/1753, he went to Egypt where he finally settled down at 'Atfat al-Gassāl, a quarter in Cairo and died of plague in 1205/1791.²

Sayyid Murtaḍā taught Ḥadīth literature at the Jāmi' of Shaykhūn where his lectures were attended by the Professors of the Jāmi' & 'l-Azhar as well as by the

(1) Nuzha, XII A.H., s.v., Abū 'l-Tayyib al-Sindī.
 (2) Tāj al-'Arūs (Cairo, 1307), vol. X, pp.469-70 (autobiography); al-Jabratī, op.cit., vol. ii, 208-23; 'Abd al-Ḥayy, Fihris, 398-413; Ithāf al-Nubalā', 407; Tāqsār, 221; Abjad, 709-712; Sarkis, 1726-8; Maqbūl Ahmad Sāmdānī, op.cit., i, 21 n 30; Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā', 224-6; Ḥadā'iq, 458-61; Lane, Lexicon (London, 1863), p.xviii; Idāra-i-Ma'ārif-i-Islāmiyya, Proceedings, First Session, 1935, pp.332-3.

Traditionists of the different parts of Egypt and outside. Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I (1774-89) of Turkey who had keen interest in Ḥadīth literature secured an Ijāza of the Ḥadīth al-Rahmat¹ from him. I have myself found a Ms copy of the above historic Ijāza in the Nawwāb Siddiq Ḥusain Section of the library of Dār al-'Ulūm, Nadwa at Lucknow transcribed by the Nawwāb himself and am going to append it to the end of my thesis.

His works:-

- (i) 'Uqūd al-Jawāhir al-Munīfa fi Usūl Adillat Madhhab Abī Ḥanīfa (printed in 2 vols. at Alexandria in 1292 A.H.) a collection of Aḥādīth in support of the Ḥanafite School of Jurisprudence.
- (ii) Bulghat al-Arīb fi Muṣṭalah Athār al-Ḥabīb (printed in Egypt in 1326 A.H.): a treatise on Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth.
- (iii) Ghāyat al-Ibtihāj li Muntafī' Asanīd Muslim b. al-Hajjāj (Brock., Sup I, 399)
- (iv) Tabṣīr al-Muntabih bi Tahrīr al-Mushtabih (Ibid).
- (v) 'Iqd al-La'lī al-Muntathira fī Rifz al-Aḥādīth al-Mutwātira (Ibid).
- (vi) Mu'jam al-Mashā'ikh (Ibid).
- (vii) Alfiyat al-Sanad (Ibid).
- (viii) Musalsalat (Ibid).

4. Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abid al-Sindī (d.1257/1841).

'Abid b. Ahmad 'Alī b. Ya'qūb al-Anṣārī al-Ḥanafī al-Sindī al-Madanī 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

(1) i.e. الرحمن يرحمهم الرحمن تبارك وتعالى ارحموا من في الارض يرحمكم من في السماء
 (2) Al-Yānī' al-Janī', s.v. 'Abid * al-Anṣārī; Tadhkira-i-Ulamā', p.202; Ḥadā'iq, p.473.

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-Hijāz and was appointed by the Egyptian Government as the chief of the 'Ulamā' of al-Madīna. He died at al-Madīna in Rabī' I, 1257/April, 1841.

His works:-

(i) Al-Mawāhib al-Latīfa 'ala Musnad al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa (Ms, Ma'ārif vol. L(6), p.422, No.6): a commentary on the Musnad of Abū Ḥanīfa, where in the commentator has cited Aḥādīth ~~ḥ~~ from the standard works to support those in the Musnad itself.

(ii) Murattab Musnad al-Imām al-A'zam (Ms., Ibid, p.424, No.3): In this work, our author has classified the Aḥādīth of the Musnad according to the chapters of Fiqh.

(iii) Sharḥ Taysīr al-Uṣūl ila 'Aḥādīth al-Rasūl: on Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth.

(iv) Sharḥ Balūgh al-Marām: a commentary on Ibn Hajar's Balūgh al-Marām.

(1) Ḥadā'iq, loc.cit.

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صورة اجازة مرسله الى سلطان الزمان ابي القحح عبد الحميد خان
نصرة الله تعالى للسيد محمد مرتضى الزبيدي رحمه الله تعالى

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله الذي رفع مقام اهل الحديث مكانا عليا، واظهر محاسن احاديثهم الصليحة فلم يكن
شئ منها عن بلوغ شأوا الكمال الا حسنا بهيا، والصلوة والسلام على سيدنا محمد المبعوث الى كافة الخلق
بشيرا نذيرا، وداعيا الى الله باذنه وسراجا منيرا، وعلى آل وصحبه الذين تلاأت انوار مصابيح نبوته
في مشكاة قلوبهم فزادتهم ايمانا ونورا، وعلى خلفائه الذين سطع برهان جوامع احاديثهم في جياهم
فضت بدعوتهم المستجابة وجوههم وملاأت بلوامع بدائع حكمهم افئدتهم وصدورهم مادامت تسلسلة
الاسناد متسلسلة بانصال الحسن والاحسان الى يوم المعاد،

اما بعد: فان احسن الحديث كتاب الله جل جلاله الاعظم وخير الهدى هدى محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم
وفهما اعظم الوسائل والمقاصد السنية وبهما التوصل الى السعادة الابدية وقد استمسك منهما
بالعروة الوثقى التي لا انفصام لها، وكان لا محالة احق بها واهلها حضرة مولانا ملك العالم و
سلطان، وامام المسلمين الذي جلس على كرسى الخلافة فما كسرى وايوانه، اعظم سلاطين
الارض القام لله بوظائف النفل والفرض، ذي المحاسن التي اصيحت افكار البلاء عن
القيام بحق وصفها فحمة، والمراحم التي حققت عند الخلق انه ايده الله تعالى من اللذين
تواصوا بالمرحمة والبأس الذي اطفأ نار البغاة، واخذها، والمساعي التي المحمودة التي
فاق بها سلاطين الارض فكان هو على الحقيقة حميدها واحمدها، الامام الذي ثبت
له التقديم وذكر فضله بين اكابر الجماعة فكان له التكبير والتسليم، واظهر بالعظمة
التي تخضع لها اعناق الجبابرة وتتناقل الركبان احاديثها التي هي كالمثال السائرة،
وامتولى على غاية الفضل فلا مطعن للحاسد ولا مطمع وارفع حيث فعل الجميل، وكيف لا
وحق الفاعل ان يرفع، وخطبت مصالح الامة للقيام بامرها اذ لم تجد لها كفوا سواه،
ومقد له عليها عقد، لا ينتقض ولا تنحل قواه، حتى لقد وافتر بشائر السعد تهنيد،
واصبح لسان الحال ينشد ويغنيه، آتته الخلافة منقادة: اليه تجر اذيالها، فلم تك
تصلح الا له ولم يصلح الا لها، السلطان الذي غذى بحب العدل والاحسان وعجز
عن القيام بشكوة كل لسان فلم رحم مسكينا وآوى غريبا، وقالت همته الشريفه اذا استغظم

السلاطين معن الفضل، انهم يرون بعيدا ونراه قريبا، وكم عاف ظفر برجائه، اذ امتسك به واعتلق
 ووصل اليه فقطع ما بينه وبين انكسار الزمن من العلق طال ما بنى فعل سيفه الماضي على الفتح واعربت
 حركته السعيدة عن معاني المنى والمنح - وطارحت اخباره الحسنة كل مطار، وتعطرت بطيب التناء
 عليه سائر الاقطار، وتشفت الاذان بحسن سمعته وتواضع ادام الله تعالى علاه على فرط
 برفعته، حتى لقد تحيرت اهوى في الارض بدليل ان الهجر في يمينه ام في السماء بدليل ان القمر
 في جبينه، وقام بامر مد ايجها على الخلق متعينة وقال المدعي لتقدمه على سلاطين العصر، هذه
 دعواى ومحاسنه هي البينه هذا تنافى وها تيكمن مناقبه: يا ايها الناس ما بعدت اشهادى فهو
 حاسى حى الاسلام وما حى عبدة الاصنام، سلطان العالم، وامير المؤمنين ناصر الملة والحق
 والشرع والدين، ومجدد معالم السنن وهى شعارها ومقيم دروسها الواثق بالله المستعان
 نظام الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح عبد الحميد خان ادام الله تعالى سلطانه واعان انصاره
 ونصر اعوانه وخلد دولته واعلى على ممر الزمان كلمته، فلقد انام الانام فى محاد الخصب
 والامان، واقام رعاياه فى مقام السعادة امنين فى زمانه الزمان، وراح كالشمس فى افق
 هذه المملكة العاليتة فذهبت نفوس الاعداء فى الحسرات تجول عموت به ارجائها الحسنة حتى
 لقد قال القائل ما الناس الا هو، وما الدنيا الا استنبول، انا والله عاجز عن شكر مراحمة الشرف
 معترف بمجزيل فواضله التى تفيأت ظلالها الورى فيه وكيف لا وقد سبق امالى بيجاد مكارمه
 التى لا تحق، وواليت حضرت الشرفية حيث اعتنقنى من ريق الاعسار، وانما الولا لمن اعتنق
 وعمر خواطرى بمحبة فلم يبق لها الى غيره التفات وامطرها سحاب كرمه فاخرجت رياض
 المدائح مزهرة باحسن نبات واثقل عنقى بمنن ليس لي بشكرها من قبل وبلغنى ما اتمناه
 حتى صرت اصعب الدنيا بلا امله وكل نفس عن الايام راضية: بذلا عرفت بعد الرضا
 سخطا، وهذه صخيفة لطيفة ومجلة حسنة شريفة هى عنوان شرف وحكم وعلم وترجمان
 وصدق واناة وعلم يعرب حق اليقن بلسان عربى مبين، على ما يروع من عظيم المهابة
 والجلال على ما يروق من العواطف والمرام التى هى منتهى الآمال، فحق حقيق ان ينثر على
 بساط انعامه ولطفه وحنانه وجواهر شكره على توالى فضله واحسانه وامتنانه
 كالبحر لطيرة السحاب ولا له: ضير عليه لان من مائه، ولا بدع ان يروى عند جنابه
 الاعلى بعض مروياته ويهدى لحضرت ثمرة فذة من زاهرهباته وحسانته اقتداء بائمة
 الحديث فى القديم والحديث رجاء الانتظام فى فرائد عقودهم الباهرة الفاخرة فى الحياة الدنيا
 .. وفى الاخرة مع الذين انعم الله عليهم من النبيين والصدقيين والشهداء والصالحين
 وحسن اولئك رفيقا من الله تعالى بذلك وحققه تحقيقا آمين، وهذا اوان الشروع
 فى المقصود والياتان بالفرض الموعود، فاقول وبالله استعين، اياه ٢ سئل ان يوفقنا
 اجمعين،

حدثني جمع من الأئمة الاعلام بواهم الله دار السلام اعلاهم سندا واكثرهم مددا
 شيخنا الامام المحدث المسند الجليل السيد عمر بن احمد بن عقيل الحسيني الملكي وهو اول

حديث سمعته من حفظه ولفظه بالمدينة المنورة قرب باب الرحمة في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٢٤٠
قال حدثنا الامام المحدث المقرئ شهاب الدين احمد بن محمد بن عبد الغني الدمياطي، وهو اول
حديث سمعته منه قال حدثنا المسند المعمر شمس الدين محمد بن عبد العزيز المتوفى وهو اول حديث
سمعته منه قال حدثنا الشيخ العمراؤ الخبير عمر بن عموس الرشيدي وهو اول حديث سمعته منه، قال
حدثنا شيخ الاسلام زكريا بن محمد الانصاري وهو اول حديث سمعته منه، قال حدثنا الامام
الحافظ شهاب الدين ابو الفضل احمد بن علي القسطلاني وهو اول حديث سمعته منه، قال حدثنا
الحافظ الوقت زين الدين ابو الفضل عبد الرحيم بن الحسين العراقي وهو اول حديث سمعته
منه، قال حدثنا الامام المسند صدر الدين ابو الفتح محمد بن محمد الميذوي وهو اول حديث
سمعته منه، قال حدثنا الامام فحيب الدين ابو الفرج عبد اللطيف بن عبد المنعم الحراني وهو اول
حديث سمعته منه، قال حدثنا الامام الحافظ زين الدين ابو الفرج عبد الرحمن بن علي البغدادي
وهو اول حديث سمعته منه، قال حدثنا الامام ابو سعد اسمعيل بن احمد النيسابوري وهو اول
حديث سمعته منه، قال حدثنا والدي الامام ابو صالح احمد بن عبد الملك النيسابوري وهو اول
حديث سمعته منه قال حدثنا الامام ابو طاهر محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن محمش الزيادي وهو اول
حديث سمعته منه، قال حدثنا الامام ابو حامد احمد بن محمد بن يحيى بن بلال وهو اول حديث
سمعته منه قال حدثنا عبد الرحمن بن بشر بن الحكم العبدي وهو اول حديث سمعته منه قال حدثنا
سفيان بن عيينة وهو اول حديث سمعته منه عن عمرو بن دينار عن ابي قابوس عن عبد الله بن عمر
بن العاص رضي الله عنهما قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الراحمون يرحمهم الرحمن
تبارك وتعالى ارحموا من في الارض يرحمكم من في السماء، هذا اول حديث روى مسلسلا وقد
رواه الامام احمد وعبد بن حميد ومسدد وابو بكر بن ابي شيبة في مسانيدهم، وابو داود
والترمذي في سننهما والحاكم البيهقي في شعب الايمان، وهو حديث حسن صحيح عالي الاسناد،
بيننا وبين النبي صلعم تسعة عشر رجلا، معناه ارحموا من تستطيعون ان ترحموا برحمتكم المتجددة
المحاذرة المخلوطة لله تعالى بمحض فضله عليكم من شفقتة واحسانه ومواساة وشفاعته ودعاء
وتوجه الى الله تعالى على حسب ما يقتضيه الحال باتباع الكتاب والسنة بعد الاستطاعة والامكان
فان لكل مقام مقالاً وقولاً وكان النبي صلعم ارحم الخلق فما ضرب بخادمه ولا مملوكاً ولا انتقم لنفسه قط،
وكان يضرب بسيفه اعداء الله تعالى ويقيم الحدود كما امر الله قال الله تعالى في حق الصحابة رضي الله
عنهم اشداء على الكفار رحماء بينهم

هذا وقد روي بالاسانيد العالية الصحيحة الثابتة المتصلة الى الامام ابي الحجاج القشيرى
رحمه الله تعالى في صحيحه بسند الى الامام ابي رقية تميم بن اوس الدامري رضي الله تعالى عنه
ان النبي صلعم قال الدين النصيحة قلنا لمن قال لله ولكتابه ولسوله ولائمة المسلمين وعاقبهم
هذا حديث عظيم الشأن عليه مدار الاسلام، اما النصيحة لله فمعناها منصرف الى الايمان به
ونفي الشريك عنه وترك الاحاد في صفاته ووصفه بصفات الكمال والجلال كلها وتنزيهه سبحانه
عن جميع انواع النقائص والقيام بطاعته واجتناب معصيته وموالاة من اطاعه ومعاداة

من عادة وعصاه وجهاد من كفر به والاعتراف بعمته وشكره عليها والاخلاص في جميع الامور والدعاء
 الى جميع الاوصاف المذكورة والحث عليها والتلطف في دعاء جميع الناس او من امكن منهم عليها - واما النضيحة
 لكتاب الله فلا يمان بان كلام الله لا يشبهه شيء من كلام الخلق ولا يقدر على مثله احد منهم، وتكثيره
 وتلاوته وتحقق تلاوته والتصديق بما فيه والوقوف مع احكامه وتفهم علومه وامثاله والعلم بحكمته والتسليم
 لمشيئته، واما النضيحة لرسول الله صلعم فتصد يقف على الرسالة والايمان بجميع ما جاء به وحياء سننه
 ونشرها ونفي التهمة عنها، والتفكر في معانيها، والتلطف في تعلمها وتعليمها واعطائها واجلالها و
 الادب عند قرائتها واجلال اهلها الا نتسابهم اليها، واما النضيحة لائمة المسلمين فمعاوتهم على الحق
 وطاعتهم فيه وتبنيهم وتذكيرهم برفق ولطف واعلاهم بما غفلوا عنه اولم يبلغهم من حقوق المسلمين
 وتاليف قلوب الناس لطاعتهم واما النضيحة لعامة المسلمين فارشادهم لمصالحهم والشفقة عليهم
 وتوقير كبيرهم وحقيرهم والذب عن اموالهم واعراضهم وغير ذلك من احوالهم والاصحاحين عن
 ابن عمر رضي الله عنهما قال سمعت رسول الله صلعم يقول كلكم راع وكلكم مسئول عن رعيته، فالامام راع
 وهو مسئول عن رعيته، والرجل راع في اهله وهو مسئول عن رعيته والمرأة راعية في بيت زوجها وهي
 مسئولة عن رعيتها، والخادم راع في مال سيده وهو مسئول عن رعيته فكلكم راع وكلكم مسئول
 عن رعيته، وعن عائشة رضي الله عنها قالت سمعت رسول الله صلعم يقول اللهم من ولي من امر امة
 اتقى فشق عليهم فاشفق عليهم ومن ولي من امر امة اتقى شتيا فرفق بهم فرفق بهرواه مسلم والنسائي ومروان
 الاصبهاني في ترغيب عن ابي هريرة رضي الله عنه قال قال رسول الله صلعم يا ابا هريرة عدل ساعة خير
 من عبادة ستين سنة قيام ليلا وصيام نهارها وفي رواية عدل يوم واحد افضل من عبادة ستين
 سنة والآيات والاحاديث في ذلك كثيرة - وقد احاط بها علوم الحضرة الشريفة وسطر في الصحايف
 المطهرة المبرورة لكن قال الله تعالى وذكر فان الذكرى تنفع المؤمنين، ان في هذا البلاغ القوم
 عابدين، وقد جعلت ختام هذه الصحيفة مسكا ونظمت له بحجوا المفاخر سلكا فختمت كما
 بدأت بذكر اعظم سلاطين الزمان الخافض لكلمة الكفر والرافع لكلمة الايمان، عالم السلاطين
 وسلطان العلماء، ذي الحضرة العظمى التي نتصا غر اليها اكابر العظماء، امامنا الذي جعله الله تعالى
 قبلة المطلوب واجزانا من التوجه الى شطره على اجل اسلوب سيد سلاطين العجم والعرب الممانع
 من تسهيل الفوائد ما هو احلى من ارتشاف الضرب الذي هو البحر تحدثت الالسن عن محاسنه
 بالعجائب والاحرج ويلوذ به من نالت شدة الفقر فيدخل دار السعادة من باب الفرج به
 لدولة اسمى لها الله في الورى، مكانا واعلاها مقاما واعلاها، لقد اعربت من سيرة عميرت
 على العدل والاحسان اصبح مبناها - لها شرف باهى السنا وفضائل، امرى المسك يقوى نشرة
 عند رايها، واخبار عدل ابدعت في طباقها، فكم نزال حر الجور من برد ذكراها، فيا حبذا من
 سيرة جل ذكرها، ودرق على الابواب ادراك معناها، الا وهي سيرة مولينا امير المؤمنين وحامي
 حوزة الدين الواثق بالله المستعان، ناصر الدنيا والدين، ونظما معها على التعيين ابى الفتح عبد الحميد
 جعل الله تعالى اعنابه الشريفة قبلة القبل وانعامه المنيفة مصاد الجود وموارد الامل وجل الوجود
 ببقاء دولته العادلة وايامه وقرن سعيه الشريف بالظفر في مبدأ كل امر وختامه بمنه وكرمه،

وقد اجزت مولينا السلطان المشاء اليه نظر الله بعين عنايته اليه وخلصه جزيل نعمه عليه ان
يروى عنى هذا الحديث المسلسل بالاولية وسائر ما يجوز لى عنى رواية او تصح درايته ومن جملة
ذلك الكتب الستة الصراح التي هي صحيح البخارى ومسلم وسنن ابى داود والنزمدى النسائى و
ابن ماجه بشرطه المعتر عند اهل الاثر ملتسا منه الدعاء بظهور الغيب والا بهتمال به الى عالم
الغيب، فان دعاء مولينا السلطان مستجاب بلا ريب، اذ هو قطب العالم وسر غيب الغيب انار
الله برهانه، واعانه بالتوفيق لمصالح الامم ونصر اعوانه وانذرا لاجابته تجديرو على ما يشاء قد سير
قاله بفسه الفقير الى مولاة الشاكر على ما اولاه ابو الفيض محمد مرتضى الحسينى الحنفى خادم
علم الحديث بمصر، غفر الله له واصلح خله وتقبل عمله وبلغه اصله فى عاشر شوال سنة ١١٩٣
احسن الله تمامها، اسعد عاها وقدر فى خير ختامها، حامدا لله وحده ومصليا على نبيه وآله
وطحبا اجمعين، وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل، الحمد لله الذى دل على الخيرات،