the authority of al-Sam'ānī (d. 566) that scholars from India (bilād al-Hind) went to Nishāpūr to hear Hadith from Abū 'Uthmān al-Šābūnī (373-449), the Shāfi‘ī savant. This was not all. Hailing from Debal (Ar. al-Daybul), Mansūra and Qusdār, a band of ardent ṭalibī 'l-ilm travelled extensively in Arabia, Syria, al-Iraq, Khurāsān and even Egypt in quest of Hadith. And by the fourth century a ḥalqa was established and oral transmission of Hadith was in progress in Sind. Even some exchange of Traditionists between Debal and Baghdād, and Mansūra and Khurāsān was noticed. Thanks to the indefatigable labour of al-Sam'ānī, we have, in his Kitāb al-ʻAnsāb, a list of the Sindian students reading abroad in Muslim lands.

(I) STUDY OF ḤADITH AT DEBAL

A celebrated harbour occupying a site between the present Thatta and Karachi, Debal, during the Arab rule, had an extensive sea-borne trade with foreign countries. Its importance under Islam dated from the conquest of Muhammad b. al-Qasim (93-96/711-14) who built a mosque and settled 4,000 colonists there. A centre of trade and commerce, Debal gradually became largely populated by the Arabs. It was a city of considerable area. Some idea of its population may be had from the number killed by an earthquake in 280/893 during the Caliphate of al-Mu’tāsid (279-89/892-902), which was estimated at one lac and a half. Under the independent Arab rule, Debal was a port of the principality of Mansūra and had one hundred villages attached to it.

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

TRADITIONISTS OF DEBAL

1. Abū Ja'far al-Daybulī [d. 322/934]

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

Apart from Hadith, Abū Ja'far studied Ibn 'Uyainās Kitāb al-Tafsīr under the latter's disciple Šādır b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Makhzumī (d. 249) and Ibn al-Mubārak's Kitāb al-Birr wa' l-Šīdā under his disciple

4. See infra.
6. Ibid., p. 319.
third century, he went out in quest of Hadith learning and studied in Makka with his compatriot, Abū Ja'far al-Daybuli (d. 322), already a Muḥaddith of standing, and Muqāḍal b. Muhammad al-Janadi (d. 308), a descendant of Sha'bān (d. 104). In Egypt he heard Hadith from Abū ‘Ali b. Abī al-Ḥamra’ and Muhammad b.-Rayyān; in Damascus, from Ahmad b. ‘Umair b. Jawsā (d. 320), the Ḥāfiz; at Bayrūt, from Abū ‘Abd al-Ḥamra’ Makḥūla; at Harrān, from al-Ḥusain b. Abī Ma’shar (d. 318), the Ḥāfiz; in Baghdad, from Ja’far b. Muhammad al-Fāryābī (d. 301); in al- Başra, from Abū Khālid al-Qāṭi (d. 305); at ‘Askar Mukram, from Ahmad b. ‘Abdān b. ‘Abdāl al-Jawlaqī (210-306), the Ḥāfiz; at Tustar, from Ahmad b. Zuhair al-Tustari (d. 312) and at Nishāpur, from Muhammad b. Ḥishāq b. Khuzaima (d. 311). Besides, he received Hadith from many other contemporary Traditionists.

Before the death of Ibn Khuzaima in 311/923 Ahmad reached Nishāpur of which cultural and religious life, particularly the Khänqa, convent, of al-Ḥasan b. Ya’qub al-Haddād (d. 336), thronged as it was with sūfis and ascetics, attracted him. There he terminated his wanderjahre and joined the Khänqa. Henceforth, he became pre-eminently an ascetic giving himself up to devotional prayers and abstemious practices. Nevertheless, he went on cultivating the science of tradition. The young al-Hakim al-Nisābūri (321-405) took lessons in Ḥadith from him.5

Ahmad died at Nishāpur in 343/954 and was buried in the cemetery of al-Hira. He was wont to put on sūf, wool, and was often seen walking barefooted.6

1. For the correct reading of the Nisa, ibid., fol. 137-38.
2. Ibid., fol. 138a.
4. Ibid., fol. 276a.
5. Ibid.
It is worth our while to recall the time when an Indian scholar could go to such distant places as Nishapur, Bagdad, Damascus, Bayrut and even Egypt in quest of Hadith andransack the treasures they offered.


Abd’s compatriot and fellow-student, Muhammed al-Daybili, had a fair share of travelling (rihla)—though not so much as Abd’s—in quest of Hadith. He received instructions in the science from Abu Khalifa al-Qadi (d. 305) of al-Basra; Ja’far b. Muhammad al-Faryabi (d. 301), of Baghdad; ‘Abd Dan b. Abhmad (210-306) of Askar Mukarram; Muhammed b. al-Hasan of Faryabi and others. A copyist (warraq) of Hadith literature, Muhammed distinguished himself as a teacher of al-Hakim al-Nisaburi (d. 405). He died in 346/957.


A disciple of Abu Ya’lla al-Mawshili (d. 307), al-Hasan transmitted Hadith in 340/951 in Damascus, his isnad, chain of authorities, going back to Jabir b. ‘Abd Allah (d. 78), the Companion of the Prophet. Tamman and others received Hadith from him.

6. Khalaf b. Muhammed al-Daybili [d. circ. 360]

Khalaf had his training in Hadith in his native town Debal under ‘Ali b. Musa al-Daybili. He repaired to Baghdad and lectured (haddathga) on Hadith.

1. In the middle age, Faryab was a most important town of the district of Jujin in Khurasan (Le Strange, p. 459).
5. Monad al-uswa bi-hul, Gharib, 491.
mercional business, he carried on cultural activities. In Hadith, he was a pupil of 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Sa'id al-Mawsili (d. 359),1 Da'īj (d. 351), Muḥammad al-Naqqāṣī (d. 351) and Abū 'Ali al-Tumārī (d. 360). He was so devotedly attached to Hadith that he would weep while narrating it.2 His erudition in the science of tradition may be conceived from this that he went to Damascus and Egypt to lecture on Hadith. He was also a poet and a litterateur (adhīb). He died in Egypt in 407/1016.3

9. Abū 'l-Qāsim Shu'āib b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Daybūli [d. circ. 400/1009]

He was better known as Abū Qatān. He went to Egypt and established a ḥalqa, study circle, where he lectured on Hadith. Abū Sa'id b. Yūnus was a pupil of Abū Qatān.1

(II) STUDY OF ḤADĪTH IN Al-MANŠURA

The great mound of Bambhra-ka-thul, or the 'Ruined Tower,' situated near an old bed of the Indus at a distance of 47 miles to the north-east of modern Hyderabad in Sind, represents the ruined city of al-Manṣūra4 which, according to al-Balādhuri, was founded by 'Amr, the son of Muhammad b. al-Qāsim, the conqueror of Sind,5 between 1170/728 and 120/738.6 With the establishment, in 270/883,7 of an independent Arab principality in Lower Sind, it steadily rose into prominence. By 340/951—when al-Iṣṭakhri visited it—al-Manṣūra was a flourishing city with an area of four square miles and was inhabited by the Muslims.8 Ibn Hawqal repeated the same account.9 “Al-Manṣūra,” says al-Maqdīṣī 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 tiles like the mosque of ‘Umn. The city had four gates, viz., Bāb al-Bāhr (the sea-gate), Bāb Turān (the Turān-gate), Bāb Sindān (the Sindān-gate) and Bāb Mūltān (the Mūltān-gate).”10

With regard to the religious and intellectual life of al-Manṣūra, al-Maqdīṣī says, “The people were generally intelligent and given to pious habits. Islam was held in high esteem and its principles were strictly adhered to with no priestcraft to intervene. The Dhimmis freely worshipped their own gods. The majority of the Muslims were Aṣḥāb Ḥadīth, adherents of Apostolic traditions, who were the followers of Imam Dāwūd al-Isbāhānī (d. 270), the Zāhirī (literalist). In local townships Hanafite jurists were also in evidence, but no Malikite, Hanbalite or Mu'tazilite; so that Islam was found in its pristine glory and native simplicity, virtue and chastity being at a premium everywhere.”11 Learning and the learned had seen their better days in al-Manṣūra. Since the bulk of the population was Aṣḥāb Ḥadīth, cultivation of the science of tradition had naturally been recourse to. Here Traditionists engaged themselves in the pursuit of their own Science. Classes in Hadith were held in

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1. Khāṭīb, vol. xii, p. 82.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
5. The discovery of this interesting place was due to the zeal and painstaking labour of A.F. Bellasis, late of the Bombay Civil Service. The coins found were those of Mansūr b. Jamhūr, 'Abd al-Rahmān, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh and 'Umar (Elliot, vol. i, p. 374; Cunningham, pp. 312-16).
6. Baladhuri, p. 444=Murgotten, p. 229; Elliot, Cunningham and others misunderstand 'Amr as 'Amrūn (Elliot, vol. i, p. 371; Cunningham, p. 311).
8. Ibid., pp. 341-42.
12. Ibid.
different mosques of the city. Scholars were found to compile works on Hadith literature. As an instance, the name of al-Qādi Abū l-Abbās al-Manṣūri as a teacher and a compiler may be cited here.

**TRADITIONISTS OF AL-MANṢŪRA**

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

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

tioned by Ibn al-Nadīm in his Kitāb al-Fihrist. He enjoyed the rank of an Imam of the Zāhirite school of thought. Nevertheless, he was charged with coining Hadith which he might have done obviously to strengthen his Madhab.

2. Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūri [d. circ. 380]

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


Himself a pupil of Ḥasan b. al-Mukarram, ‘Abd 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 dark, a fact suggestive of his Indian origin.

**III STUDY OF AL-HADITH AT QUSDĀR**

Qusdār (modern Khozdār in Kalat State, Baluchistān) contains the grave of Sinān b. Salma al-Hudhali, a Companion of the Prophet, who, during the Caliphate of Muʿāwiya, died a martyr while leading an expedition against the Turks. Since then Qusdār changed

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1. See infra.
2. Samānī, fol. 544a; Miṣb. vol. 1, p. 66; Liṣān, vol. 1, p. 272.
3. Liṣān, loc. cit.
4. Le Strange, p. 288.
5. طریف: "وَكَانَ مِنْ شَرِفَتِهِ مِنْ رَأْيِ مِنْ عَلَمِ" seems to be misprint for طریف, not a word in Arabic. All-Samānī, without making any reference to al-Ḥākim, says: "وَكَانَ أَطْرِفَ مِنْ رَأْيِ مِنْ عَلَمِ".
6. A statement which has led Allama Sayyid Sulaimān Nadawi (Maʿārif, vol. xxiv, No. 4, p. 247) to conclude that al-Manṣūri was a contemporary of al-Samānī (d. 582). But we are of opinion that this was the statement of al-Ḥākim and not of al-Samānī. Cf. Liṣān, vol. 1, p. 272; Samānī, fol. 544a.
7. This is apparent inasmuch as al-Manṣūri was a Traditionist.
8. مَدَّهَا جَانِبَتُهُ حَصْنُهُ كَبَار.
masters several times between the Arabs and the Meds. Finally, it was annexed to the eastern Caliphate by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim. Under the Arab suzerainty, Quşdār was the headquarters of Tūrān, a region roughly comprising the southern part of the present Baluchistān. In the middle of the fourth century, an independent Arab chieftain, Muʿīn b. Aḥmad, ruled here and recited khatba in the name of the then Abbāsid Caliph. A stronghold of the Khārijites, Quşdār was occupied by Sultān Sabaktigîn (366-87/976-98) sometime between 375/985 and 386/996. Quşdār was a centre of commerce and served as an artery of India’s land-trade with Kirmān, Fāris and Khurāsān. Merchants from those countries as also Indians settled here, and had their houses in the business centre of the town which had mosques for the Muslims.

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

TRADITIONISTS OF QŬŞDÂR
1. Jaʿfar b. al-Khattab al-Quşdārī [d. circ. 450]
Jaʿfar surnamed Abū Muḥammad, a native of Quşdār, settled at Balkh. He was a jurist as well as an ascetic. He took lessons in Hadīth from 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAṣimī. He was a reliable Rāïṣ of Hadīth. Abū ʿl-Futḥ ʿAbd al-Ghaḍir al-Ḵaṣṣāḥ (d. 474), the Ḥafṣī, transmitted Hadīth on his authority. He flourished early in the 5th century A.H.

2. ʿAbd b. Ismāʿil b. Dāwūd al-Quşdārī [d. circ. 463]

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

1. See supra.
2. See supra.
Towards the second half of the fourth century, the principalities of Multan and al-Manṣūra were usurped by the Ismaʿilites. 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 Ismaʿilites left no stone unturned to attain their objective. The fact that the Ismaʿilites closed down the Grand Mosque of Multan, shows to what length they could have gone to annihilate all that the Sunnis stood for. Thus collapsed the religious organization of Sunnis that grew up under the fostering care of their savants as also their rulers. In the sequel, the Ismaʿilite coup d'état gave a death-blow to the centuries-old Sunnite Arab regime and what it built up in Sind.

Naturally, therefore, the study of Hadith, the fountain-head of the religious laws of the Sunnis, received a great setback. Sind, under Ismaʿilites, 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-Manṣūra and Debal which were contributing so greatly towards the diffusion and dissemination of Islamic culture and learning in the country. This perhaps explains the reason why the study of Hadith in Sind came to a standstill at the end of the fourth century. It is not unreasonable to believe that the Ismaʿilites, on the assumption of their power, suppressed the religious ins-

1. Nadawi, pp. 313 seq.
Naṣir al-Dīn Qābāchā, nevertheless, Delhi Sultānate 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 Ismāʿīlīs, in some form or other, was continuous and uninterrupted in Lower Sind. In the circumstances, with the termination of the Sunni Arab regime in Sind, the contact which the territory had maintained with the seats of Hadith learning in other Islamic countries, particularly with those of al-Ḥijāz, was cut off. Thus the revival of the study of Hadith in India was delayed until the rise, in the ninth century, of the Bahmanis and the Muḥaffar Shāhīs in the Deccan and Gujarāt, respectively. In the meantime flickering light of Sunna was visible in Northern India with the advent of the scholars from Central Asia ever since the Muslim conquest began to take shape in that region.


CHAPTER III

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

Section 1. Ghaznavids [388-582/998-1186]

The later part of the fourth century A.H. saw the penetration of the Muslims into Northern India under Maḥmūd of Ghaznī 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 region 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.

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

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

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

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

Sayyid Murtada al-Kufi [d. 589/1193]

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


TRADITIONISTS OF LAHORE


He was at once a Traditionist, poet and litterateur. He studied Hadith under Abu'l-Muzaffar al-Sa'di, the Haafiz. His fame as a Traditionist reached as far as Baghdad. As a result, Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad b. Nasir al-Sulami al-Baghdadi (467-550) who himself a Haafiz received from him Ahadith which he subsequently communicated to the distinguished Traditionist al-Sam'ani so that the latter became a pupil of the pupil of Abu'l-Hasan al-Lahuri. He was a man of genial temperament and died at Lahore in 529/1134.

2. Abu'l-Futuh Abu'l-Hasan al-Lahuri [d. 550/1158]

A disciple of Abu'l-Hasan al-Lahuri Abu'l-Futuh was a lecturer of Hadith at Samarqand where al-Sam'ani heard from him the Aahadith transmitted to him (Abu'l-Futuh) by his Shaykh Abu'l-Hasan. He flourished towards the first half of the sixth century A.H.3

3. Abu'l-Qasim Muhammad b. Khalaf al-Lahuri [d. 540/1148]

Abu'l-Qasim migrated from Lahore to Isfarai and settled there. He read Fiqh and Hadith with
Abū 'l-Muqaffār al-Sam'ānī, the grandfather of al-Sam'ānī. He also received Ahādīth from some other Traditionists of his time. Besides being a Traditionist and jurist, Abū 'l-Qāsim acquired some reputation as a mudāhir, controversialist. Al-Sam'ānī met him at Isfārā'īn and heard Hadith from him. He died in about 540/1148.

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

Under the Ghaznavid Sultanṣ, who were Shāffīites, Lahore developed into a seat of Hadith learning and continued shedding its lustre until the end of the sixth century. But with the foundation of Delhi Sultanate in 602/1205, the study of Fiqh was introduced into India. Themselves Ḥanafītes, the Sultanṣ of Delhi, naturally, attracted from al-ʿIrāq, Persia, Khurāsān and the Transoxiana men versed in Fiqh and Maqṣūlat. The advance of the Mongols under Chingiz Khan towards Central Asia, carrying with it death and destruction, expedited migration of the scholars to India. Soon places like Muḥāj, Lahore, Bhakkar, Hānsī and Thaneswar was thronged with scholars so as to well make them rivals of Bahlk 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, they per-

2. Samānī, loc. cit.
7. Ḥayāt-i-Shāhid, pp. 2 seq.