the *Mašâbiḥ* and the *Sharh Ma‘ānī l-Ātâr*. As for the *Mishkât al-Mašâbiḥ*, we have no evidence to show if it was available at Delhi at the time.

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


The earliest reference of Aḥādith from the *Sunan* of Abū Dawūd is noticed in al-Juzjānī’s *Tabaqat-i-Nasîr* written during the Sultanate of Naṣīr al-Dīn Mahâmûd (644-64) and as such the *Sunan* must have been brought to Delhi by the middle of the 7th century. As no trace of the work was found in Delhi subsequently, we may presume that it had either been lost or removed elsewhere.

2. *Mashāriq al-Anwâr*.

The earliest available work on Hadith in India was al-Saghâni’s *Mashâriq al-Anwâr* which had been introduced into Delhi by Burhân al-Dīn Mahâmûd (d. 676), a pupil of al-Saghâni, about the middle of the 7th century. By 679/1280 Shaykh Niẓâm al-Dīn Awlîyâ’ completed his study of the work which he later committed to memory. Since then the *Mashâriq al-Anwâr* began to be more and more popular among the Sûfî scholars of India. During the time of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlaq (725-52), it was the only available work on Hadith in Delhi as is evident from the fact that the Sultan received bayâ’a, oath of allegiance, from his officials in the presence of the Qurâ’n and a copy of the *Mashâriq al-Anwâr* only. While leaving Delhi for the Deccan on account of Timūr’s invasion (801-02), the only book on Hadith Gisâ Darâz (d. 825), the then representative of the spiritual hierarchy founded by Niẓâm al-Dīn, could lay his hand upon and did carry with him a copy of the *Mashâriq al-Anwâr* on which he commented afterwards. This book, i.e., the *Mashâriq al-Anwâr*, was in evidence not only in Delhi, as shown above, but was also found in other educational centres of India, viz., Multân, Uchh and Manîr. As a matter of fact, the *Mashâriq* was the most popular treatise on Hadith then known.


Al-Baghawî’s *Mašâbiḥ al-Sunna* was probably introduced into India by the middle of the 8th century as it appears from the fact that the book was taught in Delhi and Uchh by Makhdûm-i-Jahânîyân Jâîî al-Dîn al-Bukhârî (d. 785) and the Traditionist Jamal al-Dîn al-Uchî respectively, and that it was referred to in the works of Sharâf al-Dîn Yâhiyâ al-Manîrî (d. 782).

4. Al-Ṣâhihân.

Makhdûm al-Mulk Sharâf al-Dîn was the first scholar to have made reference of the Ṣâhihân in his works compiled sometime between 741-86/1340-84. Of all places the presence of the Ṣâhihân in the Khânqâh of Manîr at this time seems to be a mystery that cannot be easily unravelled. Maybe that while a student at Sunârgâon, the Makhdûm al-Mulk had procured them from the collection of his teacher and father-in-law Abû Tawâma who must have brought them with him when coming over to India. Further the Makhdûm had also an additional copy of the Ṣâhih Muslim presented to him by Zain al-Dîn of Dewâ, a scholar of the 8th century. To add to that, Shaykh

2. Supra, p. 52.

1. Supra, p. 68.
al-Islām Mu‘izz al-Bihārī rewarded his son Nawsha-i-Tawhid of the Khāngā with a further copy of the Şahih of Muslim.

5. **Sunan Arba'**, Sunan al-Baihaqi and al-Mustadrak.

Until the death of Makhdūm Sharaf al-Dīn in 782/1381, the Khāngā of Manir possessed only the Şahihān, the Maṣābih al-Sunna, the Matharīq and the Musnad of Abū Ya’lā al-Mawsīlī. Subsequently the Khāngā was enriched by the addition to it of the Sunan Arba', the Sunan of al-Baihaqi and the Mustadrak of al-Ḥākim al-Nisabūrī brought by Nawsha-i-Tawhid from al-Ḥijāz.

6. **Sharḥ Ma‘ānī ’l-Āthār**.

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

7. **Musnad Firdaws al-Daylānī**.

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

8. **Mishkāt al-Maṣābih**.

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


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

Şihāh Sītta;
Maṣābih al-Sunna;
Matharīq al-Anwār;
Mishkāt al-Maṣābih;
Sharḥ Ma‘ānī ’l-Āthār;
Sunan al-Baihaqi;
Al-Mustadrak li ’l-Ḥākim;
Musnad of Firdaws; and
Musnad of Abū Ya’lā al-Mawsīlī.
CHAPTER IV
RENAISSANCE OF HADITH LEARNING IN INDIA [820-992/1417-1584]

Section I. Transmission of Ḥadith to India from al-Ḥijāz

The rise of the Bahmanis 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 Ḥadith literature in that part of the country from where the science subsequently made its way to Northern India. The period of one hundred and eighty years covered by the rule of these neighbouring Muslim kingdoms was a landmark in the domain of cultural activities. Enlightened and accomplished, 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 Firūz Shāh Bahmanī (800-25/1397-1422) or Muẓaffar II (917-32/1511-28), 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. 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. Not the Sultāns alone but some of their viziers also distinguished themselves as educators and patrons of learning. Mention in this respect may be made of Maḥmūd Gāwān of Deccan

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

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

1. Cambridge History of India, III, p. 312; Ma’rīf, Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 123.
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 (Ijra, p. 89).
introduced into the Muslim settlements of South India which had come into being under the auspices of the Arab traders and missionaries prior to the Muslim conquest.\footnote{1}

The history of the introduction of religious learning into South India is shrouded in darkness. The erection of as many as eleven mosques on the Mañibar Coast in the 3rd century of the Hijra,\footnote{2} however, suggests that with the progress of missionary activities in that part of the country religious learning must have been introduced there. For, after all, the neo-Muslims had to be given instructions in the rudiments of Islamic rites and rituals. As a matter of fact, the Arabs were as much solicitous for new converts as for turning them into good Muslims. With this end in view, they built mosques wherever they found some converts. Ordinarily, a mosque served a twofold purpose. It was, first, a place for congregational services (jama'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 Islam necessarily meant the foundation of a religious institution.\footnote{3} We can, therefore, reasonably hold that the introduction of religious learning into South India dated as far back as the 3rd century A.H. when mosques were founded on the Mañibar Coast. Henceforward, with the expansion of Islam and the establishment of Arab colonies there, there rose chapels and splendid mosques on all sides which, evidently, developed into seats of Islamic learning. Further, institution in the 4th century of the office of Qadi in the kingdom of Zamorin\footnote{4} shows the growing activities of the Islamic Shari'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 Baťūta. By his time, i.e., the middle of the 8th century, religious learning was so much in evidence and the number of learners increased so vastly in the Muslim settlement of Honawar (modern Honavar in the district of Kanara, Bombay Presidency) that as many as thirteen schools for the girls and twenty-three for the boys had to be built there. The ladies of this settlement, en masse, were hādīāt, memorisers, of the Qur'an—an extraordinary feature of the great popularity of religious learning seldom to be met with anywhere at the time.\footnote{5} At Manjarur (Mangalore in South Kanara, Madras), Ibn Baťūta saw a Shafi'ite qādī, Badr al-Dīn al-Ma'bāri by name, who, over and above his official duties, used to carry on teaching work at a school in the city.\footnote{6} In the Jami\footnote{7} of Hīb, again, a number of students were found receiving instructions, while their board and lodging were supplied gratis.\footnote{8} The mosques he saw at Calicut likewise provided for religious teachings.

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

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{1}{Muslim settlements were founded on the Mañibar Coast, Ma'bar (Coromandel Coast) and Gujarāt. For details, see Nadawi, 'Arab wā Hind ke Tālluqāt', pp. 265, 267.}
\footnote{2}{Zayn al-Dīn, Tabaqat al-Muṣṭādi, ed. Hyderabad, pp. 14-21.}
\footnote{3}{Tara Chand, Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, p. 35: Teaching of Islam, p. 266; Dacca University Journal, vol. xvi, 1962, p. 82, art. Early Expansion of Islam in South India.}
\footnote{4}{Mādū, Mizār al-Dhakāb, ed. Menard, Paris, Vol. 1, p. 382; also Nadawi, pp. 269, 280-81, 283 seq.}
\footnote{5}{Ibid., p. 279, quoting from 'Aja'ib al-Hind, by Buzurg b. Shahriyar (Leiden, 1634), p. 144.}
\footnote{6}{Ibn Baťūta, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 66-67.}
\footnote{7}{Ibid., pp. 79-80.}
\footnote{8}{Ibid., pp. 81-82. Hīb has been identified with Mount Dolly, 16 miles north of Cannanore in the Province of Madras (Glob, Ibn Baťūta, Travels in Asia & Africa (London 1929), Vol. II, p. 296; Nadawi, p. 292).}
\end{footnotes}
conquest. Whether with the growth of religious learning the study of Ḥadith was pursued alongside that of the Qurʾān remains yet to be seen.

Unlike the Muslims of Northern India who professed the Hanafi School of Law, those of the South were Ṣafāʾīites,1 the former representing the religious learning of the Central Asia, viz., Fiqh,2 while the latter that of al-Hijāz, viz., Ḥadith—a state of things that cannot but serve as an object lesson for our present query. After all, the Ṣafāʾītes were more attached to Ḥadith3 than the Hanafites who concerned themselves more with Fiqh, as we have already observed.4

The Moorish traveller Ibn Baṭṭāta to whom we owe some interesting sidelights on the religious and cultural life of the Muslims of South India, does not, however, refer to have seen any Muḥaddith there. Incidentally, he came across many a Ṣafāʾī jurist (faqih) in the Muslim colonies.5 About fifty years after Ibn Baṭṭāta had visited the South, there were found in some towns of the Deccan a number of Muḥaddithūn who were recipients of endowments from Sultān Māḥmūd Shâh Bahmanī I (780-99/1378-97).6 Who were these Muḥaddithūn, is the question that naturally presents itself to us. Fīrishtâ, 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 Muḥaddithūn, in the true sense of the term, was scarcely known at the time. Hence, in all probability, they were the natives of South India. This hypothesis gains in strength from the presence in South India at the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa of the Ṣafāʾī scholars who may well be called Muḥaddithūn. We may, therefore, safely presume that the Ṣafāʾī Fuqahāʾ of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa’s description were the self-same persons who were later identified as Muḥaddithūn by Fīrishtâ—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, Ḥadith literature had already been introduced into South India by the Ṣafāʾī scholars, although the 9th century marked the dawn of its new era.

During the first quarter of the 9th century while Ḥadith literature was just in the process of being transmitted to India, a new school of Muḥaddithūn sprang up in Egypt under the leadership of Ibn Ḥajār al-‘Aṣqalānī (773-852), one of the greatest Traditionists Islam has ever produced.1 This school produced among others ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sakhāwī (831-903) and Zain al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī (826-923), the two outstanding Traditionists of their time. Of them, the first had Haramayn as the centre of his activities,2 while the other, al-Qāhira.3 It was Ibn Ḥajār al-Haythami (909-974), a worthy pupil of Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī who was responsible for enhancing the reputation of Makkah as a famous seat of Ḥadith learning.4 Thus right through the first quarter of

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

A noteworthy feature about the founders of these schools was that all of them belonged to Egypt. Indeed, during the period under review, Egypt was particularly rich with Muḥaddithūn. In addition to the traditionists above referred to, it also produced in this period al-Suyūṭi (d. 911) and al-Qastallānī (d. 923). To the credit of Egypt, maybe it be said that most of the Traditionists who transmitted Hadith to India were either Egyptians or their disciples. Nevertheless, Arabia remained the transmitting centre from where Hadith 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-Anṣāri in Egypt, could not command that amount of popularity as those of al-Sakhāwī and al-Haythāmī in al-Ḥijāz did. Without minimising Arabia’s contribution towards the transmission of Hadith in India, in fairness to Egypt, it must be said that but for the Egyptian Muḥaddithūn, Hadith 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-Din al-Damāmīnī and Nār al-Din al-Shirāzī who were the earliest immigrants to India.

Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Bakt al-Makhdūmī al-Iskandarī al-Mahli al-Damāmīnī reached Gujarāt in Shaʿbān, 820/September, 1417, during the reign of Sultan ʿAlī ad-Dawḥa Muḥaṣṣīb Shāh (814-43/1411-43). On the eve of his migration to India, he was a Professor in the Jāmīʿ Ṭabāṭabāʾ, in al-Yaman. Here he prepared a commentary upon the Shabīḥ al-Ḥurrārī entitled ʿAdāʾ al-Damāmīnī. While still at Ṭabāṭabāʾ, his dedication of this work to ʿAlā al-Dawḥa Shāh shows that al-Damāmīnī had already been impressed with the literary munificence of the Sultan. In Gujarāt al-Damāmīnī wrote his Tarāʾī al-Baraʾid, Taḥqīq al-Gharīb Sharḥ al-Mughnī 'l-Ṭabāṭabāʾ and 'Ain al-Ḥayāt fi Ṭāḥ go Ṣayf al-Ḥākam al-Damāmīnī all of which were consecrated to the memory of his patron ʿAlā al-Dawḥa Shāh. At this time, the Deccan had in Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī (808-25/1397-1422) and his successor ʿAlā al-Dawḥa 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 Bahmani Sultāns, where he spent the last days of his life until he died in Shaʿbān, 827/July, 1424.

He dedicated his *al-Manḥal al-Ṣafi fi Ṣarḥ al-Waḥi*, a treatise on Arabic grammar to his Bahmānī patron, Ahmad Shah.¹

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

Abu‘l-Fūṭūḥ Nur al-Dīn Ahmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Shirāzī al-Ṭawṣūṣ

Abū‘l-Futūḥ was born at Abarqūh¹¹ in Fāris. He derived his *niṣba* of al-Ṭawṣūṣ from his connection with the shrine of Tawūṣ al-Haramayn there.¹² He came to Gujarāt probably during the reign of Ahmad Shah (814-844/1411-43).¹³ He was a pupil of Majd al-Dīn al-Firuzabādī (d. 817), Shams al-Dīn al-Jazari (d. 833), Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 822) and Bābā Yūsuf al-Harawī.¹⁴ With the last, he studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and received from him *ṣanad* *‘ārā‘*, 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-Bukhārī.¹⁵ Abū‘l-Futūḥ had his lessons of the *Mishkāt al-Maṣāḥīḥ* from Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahīm who in his turn had them from Imām al-Harawī, a disciple of the celebrated author al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrizī¹⁶ (d. 739).

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


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

1. Le Strange, p. 284.
2. Yāḏ-e-Aṣyūn, p. 34.
6. In Bombay Presidency, lat. 72; 19N; Long. 72, 85, E.