

Reading *tarājim* with Bourdieu.
**Prosopographical traces of historical change in the South Asian
migration to the late medieval Hijaz¹**

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Abstract

This article presents a new analytical reading of one of the most popular genres in medieval Arabic historiography, biographical dictionaries, in order to address broader questions of historical change in transregional movements and scholarly group cultures. It builds on recent scholarship that focuses on shifting trade patterns across the Western Indian Ocean and in particular the intensification of commercial connections between the Red Sea region and South Asia during the 15th century to advance an argument on the sociocultural dimensions of a concomitant migration of ‘South Asians’ (al-Hindīyūn, sg. al-Hindī) from the subcontinent to the Hijaz. The case study is empirically grounded in the reading of prosopographical sources, biographical entries (*tarājim*, sg. *tarjama*) of South Asians as they appear in biographical dictionaries by the famous Mamlūk historians al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429), al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) and al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) from the late medieval period. Most importantly, Pierre Bourdieu’s (d. 2002) theoretical concepts of ‘field’, ‘capital’ and ‘habitus’ will provide for the heuristic tools to detect social and cultural significances within the narrative fabric of the historiographical texts. Interrelating these significances on an analytical level will allow the study of historical transformations on the basis of traces in the prosopographical archive. I argue that the appearance of these ‘South Asian *tarājim*’ in the biographical works can be read as a recording of an increased migration of South Asians during the late medieval period, bringing about a social broadening and cultural diversification of the South Asian community in the Hijaz.

Keywords: biographical dictionary, field, capital, habitus, historiography, Hijaz, South Asia, Mamluk,

Introduction

This article presents a new analytical reading of one of the most popular genres in medieval Arabic historiography, biographical dictionaries, in order to address broader questions of historical change in transregional movements and scholarly group cultures. In particular, the literary and social contexts of that genre help to explore the increasingly diversified presence of the South Asian community in the Red

¹ This article is based on my MA thesis, entitled “Analysing historiographical manifestations of historical change. The transformation of South Asian migrations to the late medieval Hijaz, 14th-15th centuries”. I thank Professor Konrad HIRSCHLER and Dr Roy FISCHER for their critique and comments, as well as Dr Stefan HANSS and Alice WILLIAMS who read earlier drafts of this paper and made valuable suggestions. Finally, I thank the anonymous reviewers for their suggestions. All mistakes remain mine alone.

Sea region in the late medieval period. During the 9th/15th century major realignments in commercial routes across the Western Indian Ocean went hand in hand with socio-cultural transformations in the transoceanic movement of people and left their mark on the historiographical compositions of this period.² Recent scholarship by Tarif KHALIDI and John MELOY has referred to an upsurge in the composition of biographical works across the Eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea region during the later medieval period, recording the lives of various sections of Muslim societies.³ On the basis of these prosopographies an increased movement of “Indians” (*al-Hindīyūn*) to the Hijaz is observable from the end of the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries due to Jidda’s emergence as a major entrepôt in the “India trade” between Mamlūk Egypt and various regions of South Asia.⁴ Apart from merchants and *mujāwirūn*⁵, most of the arrivals continue their journey onwards to Cairo and beyond, seeking knowledge (*ṭalab al-‘ilm*) along the intricate webs and networks of transregional scholarship. At the same time, in this period “Indians” are mentioned among the four ethnicities that were recruited to serve as eunuchs (*ṭawāshīyūn*, *khuddām*) at the Mamlūk court and at the grave of the prophet in Medina.⁶

² These economic and socio-cultural processes have to be understood within the framework of what John RICHARDS and Sanjay SUBRAHMANYAM have termed the “early modern” condition emerging during the 15th century. This term refers to the intensification of global connections and the merging of global trends, thereby linking quantitative changes in human movement and material shifts on a global scale with qualitative redefinitions in various spheres of human societies. John F. RICHARDS, “Early Modern India and World History,” *Journal of World History*, 8, no. 2 (1997): 197-209. Sanjay SUBRAHMANYAM, “Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia,” *Modern Asian Studies*, 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–762.

³ Tarif KHALIDI, *Arabic historical thought in the classical period*, Reprinted (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 208-210 and John MELOY, “Imperial power and maritime trade: Mecca and Cairo in the later Middle Ages (Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2010), 24-27.

⁴ William FACEY, “Jiddah: Port of Makkah, Gateway of the India Trade,” in *Connected Hinterlands. Proceedings of Red Sea Project IV held at the University of Southampton September 2008*, ed. Lucy BLUE [et al.] (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 165-176, esp. 170.

⁵ This term refers to ‘a person who, for a shorter or longer period of time, settles in a holy place in order to lead a life of asceticism and religious contemplation and to receive the *baraka* of that place. Such places are the Ka’ba in Mecca, the *ḥaram* in Jerusalem and the Prophet’s tomb in Medina [...]’ W. ENDE, “Mudjāwir”, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman [et al.] (Brill Online, 2014) School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).

http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/mud-j-a-wir-SIM_5307.

⁶ See e.g. Muḥammad AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *Al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa fī ta’rīkh al-madīna al-sharīfa*, 2 vols. Edited by NN. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīya, 1993), I:352. D. AYALON, “Mamlūk”, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman [et al.] (Brill Online, 2016) [Reference](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/mamluk-COM_0657). School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/mamluk-COM_0657.

The conception of the biographical dictionary stands out among the diverse genres in the writing of history (*ta'riḫh*), both in its currency in and peculiarity to the pre-modern Middle East. However, research so far has been mainly restricted to the formative period.⁷ In general, a biographical dictionary presents itself as “a prose work whose primary structure is that of a series of biographies,”⁸ each entailing normative data of an individual’s life. Such collective biographies constitute a narrative text that documents the history of a community through the social and cultural transactions of its *dramatis personae*.⁹ Thus, biographical dictionaries offer an intrinsic perspective

⁷ For earlier periods see Michael COOPERSON, *Classical Arabic Biography. The heirs of the prophets in the age of al-Ma'mūn* (Cambridge [et al.]: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Ibid, “Classical Arabic Biography: A Literary-Historical Approach”, in *Understanding Near Eastern Literatures. A Spectrum of Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. Verena KLEMM and Beatrice GRUENDLER (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2000), 177-188; Ibid, “Probability, Plausibility, and ‘Spiritual Communication’ in Classical Arabic Biography,” in *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*, ed. Philip F. KENNEDY (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 69-84; Ibid, “Biographical Writing,” in *Islamic cultures and societies to the end of the eighteenth century, The New Cambridge History of Islam, Vol. 4*, ed. Robert IRWIN (Cambridge [et al.]: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 458-473; Dale EICKELMANN, “Tardjama. In literature,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. BEARMAN [et al.] (Brill Online, 2014), [Reference: School of Oriental and African Studies \(SOAS\).](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tardjama-COM_1178)

[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tardjama-COM_1178.](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tardjama-COM_1178)

Susanne ENDERWITZ, “Der Einzelne und seine Gemeinschaft: Zur Entstehung der Sammelbiographie im mittelalterlichen Islam,” in *Biographie als Weltliteratur. Eine Bestandsaufnahme der biographischen Literatur im 10. Jahrhundert*, Susanne ENDERWITZ and Wolfgang SCHAMONI (Heidelberg: Mattes Verlag, 2009), 84-99; Hamilton GIBB, “Islamic Biographical Literature,” in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard LEWIS and Peter HOLT (London [et al.]: Oxford University Press, 1962), 54-58; for the *ṭabaqāt* genre, see Claude GILLIOT, “Ṭabaqāt,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. BEARMAN [et al.] (Brill Online, 2014), [Reference: School of Oriental and African Studies \(SOAS\).](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tabakat-COM_1132) [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tabakat-COM_1132.](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tabakat-COM_1132) Tarif KHALIDI, “Islamic Biographical Dictionaries: A Preliminary Assessment,” *Muslim World* 63, no. 1 (1973), 53-65; Wadād al-QĀDĪ, “Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance,” in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, George ATIYEH (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 93-122; Ibid, “Biographical Dictionaries as the Scholars’ Alternative History of the Muslim Community,” in *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World*, ed. Gerhard ENDRESS (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 23-75. M. YOUNG, “Arabic biographical writing,” in *The Cambridge history of Arabic Literature, Vol. III, Religion, Learning and Science in the ‘Abbasid Period*, ed. M. YOUNG and J. LATHAM [et al.] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 168-187. For the Middle period, see Konrad HIRSCHLER, “Studying Mamluk Historiography: From Source-Criticism to the Cultural Turn,” in *Ubi sumus? quo vademus? Mamluk studies, state of the art*, ed. Stephan CONERMANN (Bonn: Bonn University Press at V&R unipress, 2013), 159-186. R. Stephan Humphreys, *Islamic history: A framework for inquiry*, rev. ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); KHALIDI, *Arabic historical thought in the classical period*. Carl F. PETRY, *The civilian elite of Cairo in the later Middle Ages*, Princeton: 1981.

⁸ Al-QĀDĪ, “Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance,” 94.

⁹ Cf. HIRSCHLER, “Studying Mamluk Historiography”.

on aspects of social and cultural history, such as the formation of scholarly networks, professional career patterns and academic practices.¹⁰

At the same time, the increased output of biographical dictionaries across the Eastern Mediterranean and Red Sea region can provide the grounds for the study of changing transregional connections, e.g. the migratory movement of people from the subcontinent to the Middle East. Different biographical works account for a growing presence of South Asians during the 14th and 15th centuries, recognisable by their *nisba* (“affinity”) “al-Hindī”, especially in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina in the Hijaz.¹¹ Thus, while keeping in mind the formulated caveats for the examination of these biographical compositions, a focus on the “South Asian community”¹² can offer a micro-historical case study within a transregional field by combining the analysis of the socio-cultural dimensions of historiographical texts with the ways in which they captured historical change.

Over the last two decades, scholarship in the field of pre-modern Arabic Muslim historiography based inquiries on approaches from social history and literary studies.¹³ Tarif KHALIDI imposed a fourfold epistemic division on the development of Muslim historical writing from the 1st/7th to the 9th/15th centuries, setting up a chronological succession of socio-intellectual contexts to frame his analysis.¹⁴ T. EL-

¹⁰ For the reconstruction of migration patterns among learned communities see PETRY, *The civilian elite of Cairo*.

¹¹ In this paper, the term *al-Hindī* refers to the people who lived and migrated from *al-Hind*, a geographical and cultural term which, according to medieval geographers, refers to areas bordering China in the East and Khurasān in the West, as well as Tibet in the North, meaning the South Asian subcontinent within the *bahr al-hind* (Indian Ocean), although descriptions of boundaries in medieval geographical accounts differed. Cf. S. M. AHMAD, “Hind. The Geography of India according to mediaeval Muslim geographers,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. BEARMAN [et al.] (Brill Online, 2014), [Reference](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hind-COM_0290): School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hind-COM_0290 and A. WINK, *Al-Hind. The Making of the Indo-Islamic World. Vol. 1. Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam, 7th to 11th Centuries*. (Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 1996), 109ff, 189f..

¹² The term “community” will be used in the following to refer to the South Asians as a group, but does not imply any form of separation from other parts of society. S. FAROQHI, *Pilgrims and sultans. The Hajj under the Ottomans, 1517-1683* (London and New York: Tauris, 1994), 132, discusses the “smelly town quarter of the Indian pilgrims” of the later Ottoman times, referring to a huge amount of poor South Asians who came to the Hijaz in the 16th century and were apparently set apart from others. For the “Indian experience” of the *hajj*, cf. Michael PEARSON, *Pilgrimage to Mecca. The Indian experience, 1500 - 1800* (Princeton: Wiener, 1996).

¹³ For general contributions cf. Franz ROSENTHAL, *A History of Muslim Historiography. 2nd revised edition*, (Leiden: Brill, 1968); Chase ROBINSON, *Islamic Historiography*, (Cambridge [et al.]: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹⁴ Cf. KHALIDI, *Arabic historical thought in the classical period*, xi-xiii.

HIBRI offered a “literary-critical” reading of conflicting Abbasid historiographical accounts in terms of their meaningful contemporary ideological underpinnings.¹⁵ Similarly, B. SHOSHAN conducted the examination of AL-TABARĪ’s “History” with a focus on “narratological conventions and rhetorical strategies,” the “poetics” of an early Islamic historical narrative.¹⁶ More recently, Konrad HIRSCHLER has brought methods from literary studies and social history together thereby relating the complex narrative structure of historiographical works from the Ayyūbid (1169-1250s) and early Mamlūk periods (1250s-1517) to the intellectual and social environments of their authors.¹⁷ He thereby offered a synthesis for these two strands of investigation to fathom the referential space of their authorial agency and grasp the contextual meaning of these narrative texts. Overall, these studies provide for various points of departure beyond positivist readings of historical traditions, and pay attention to both the literary textual level and the social dimension of historiographical compositions.

Pursuing the lines of a socio-cultural historical inquiry, I will argue in the following that broad structural economic reconfigurations across the Indian Ocean intensified the exchange between the Red Sea region and the South Asian subcontinent in the late medieval period and can be correlated with a micro-level in the regional historiographical compositions. Generally, these narratives demonstrate a gradual increase and, simultaneously, a social broadening and cultural diversification of the South Asian community in the Hijaz from the late 14th into the 15th centuries. In order to concentrate on the qualitative aspects of the 15th century socio-cultural transformations, Pierre BOURDIEU’s sociological concepts of “field,” “capital” and “habitus” can provide strong heuristic tools for the analysis of biographical entries (*tarājim*, sg. *tarjama*) in biographical dictionaries.¹⁸

¹⁵ Tayeb EL-HIBRI, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography: Hārūn al-Rashīd and the narrative of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 13.

¹⁶ Boaz SHOSHAN, *Poetics of Islamic historiography: deconstructing Ṭabarī’s History*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), xxiv.

¹⁷ Cf. Konrad HIRSCHLER, *Medieval Arabic Historiography. Authors as actors* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 3.

¹⁸ For the general concepts see Pierre BOURDIEU, *The Logic of Practice*, translated by R. NICE (Cambridge, 1990).

BOURDIEU's "open concepts"¹⁹ have served in a whole variety of anthropological, historical and sociological studies.²⁰ Gadi ALGAZI has demonstrated the analytical validity of "habitus" to study early modern scholarly group cultures across Christian, Jewish and Muslim academic milieus.²¹ Michael CHAMBERLAIN and R. LOHLKER have used BOURDIEU's analytical tools to study contexts of social competition (*fitna*) among urban cultural elites of medieval Damascus, and explorations into the social meaning of teaching certificates (*ijāzāt*) respectively.²² However, they have so far not been utilised to probe the calibration and contents of such biographical works. In this paper, BOURDIEU's concepts will furnish the analysis with a level of abstraction that can serve as a mediating angle, linking various employed sources and identifying inherent significances. Most importantly, this will help to understand the supposed form of diachronic change in terms of a social broadening and cultural diversification of a South Asian presence, traceable from the later 14th through to the 15th centuries.

Starting with a historical and historiographical contextualisation I will explain the connection between the macro-economic reconfiguration and its ramifications in the historiographical accounts. This will be followed by an introduction of the three interrelated concepts by BOURDIEU in order to demonstrate their applicability for the case study. The case study will be conducted in two steps: the first is devoted to the analysis of relevant conditions of fields and forms in the accumulation of capital. The second step will use the notion of habitus to provide for a kaleidoscope of biographical trajectories that elucidate and illustrate social and cultural dimensions of historical change among the South Asians in the Hijaz. The conclusion will contain an outlook on

¹⁹ Pierre BOURDIEU/L. WACQUANT, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 95-96.

²⁰ This field is vast. For studies on early modern Europe see for example, Gabriele JANCKE, *Gastfreundschaft in der frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaft: Praktiken, Normen und Perspektiven von Gelehrten*, (Goettingen: V&R Unipress, 2013).

²¹ Gadi ALGAZI, "Habitus, familia und forma vitae: Die Lebensweisen mittelalterlicher Gelehrten in muslimischen, juedischen und christlichen Gemeinden - vergleichend betrachtet," in *Beitraege zur Kulturgeschichte der Gelehrten im spaeten Mittelalter*, ed. Frank REXROTH (Osterfildern, Jan Thorbecke verlag, 2010), 185-217.

²² Michael CHAMBERLAIN, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 8,21-23; R. LOHLKER, "Iğāza als ein Prozess der Akkumulation sozialen Kapitals," in *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources*, eds. Andreas GÖRKE and Konrad HIRSCHLER (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2001), 37-44: 37-39.

the broader socio-cultural changes that were taking place and how these effected the perception of the South Asian subcontinent in historiographical accounts of the 15th century Red Sea region.

Historical Contexts and Historiographies:

The Hijaz and “South Asian migrants” within the reconfiguration of the “India Trade”

During the “Islamic Middle Periods”²³ (1000-1500) the Hijaz region with the holy cities of Medina, Mecca and the latter’s sea-port at Jidda, became ever more embedded in an intricate web of transregional and transcontinental trading networks brought about through a series of structural economic reconfigurations.²⁴ More broadly, K.N. CHAUDHURI argued for a qualitative alteration of the long-distance trade from the West of the Indian Ocean to the East.²⁵ From the 10th century onwards the latitudinal routes changed into a “triple segmentation” integrating several trading networks from the focal points of Southern Arabia to the South Asian port cities from the Makran to the Malabar Coast, to Eastern India and the South-East Asian Archipelago and from there further on to the Far East.²⁶ At the same time, trading routes connecting the Red Sea (*Qulzūm al-‘Arab*) with the Hijaz gradually shifted. While in the period before the 10th century the Persian Gulf region, which extended to Abbasid Baghdad, dominated the commercial networks of the Western Indian Ocean, political turmoil repeatedly blocked the overland routes in Western Asia and the rise of the Fatimids (r. 969-1171) in Cairo led to the formation of new commercial networks.²⁷

The increasing transregional significance of the Red Sea region evolved due to its importance as an interlinking building-block for commercial transactions, which connected regional trading networks from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean with

²³ MELOY, *Imperial power and maritime trade*, 20. For the term ‘Middle Periods’ see M. HODGSON, *The Venture of Islam. Conscience and History in a World Civilization. II. The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974).

²⁴ MELOY, *Imperial power and maritime trade*, 2.

²⁵ K. CHAUDHURI, *Trade and civilisation in the Indian Ocean. An economic history from the rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 37-39.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 44-47; WINK, *Al-Hind. The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*, 53, 55-57.

intercontinental routes of the Indian Ocean. The Hijaz therefore formed an integral part of the so-called “India trade,” mainly in various kinds of spices, perfumes, woods and textiles imported from South Asia.²⁸ The Geniza papers, which originated at a synagogue of Fuṣṭāṭ (Old Cairo) as a collection of documents, letters and contracts, portray complex trading transactions principally of Jewish traders and their intermediaries from the 11th to the 13th centuries between the Malabar ports, Aden and North Africa.²⁹ Especially the *kārimī*-merchants dominated the intercontinental trade in spices (*bahār*) by conducting commercial transactions along the routes between Egypt, Yemen and South Asia.³⁰ During the Mamlūk period they consisted of an association of traders “headed by chief merchants” (*ra’īs al-tujjār*).³¹ This title was bestowed by Mamlūk sultans upon several wealthy merchants, thus showing their close relationship with the political sphere.³² The Yemeni port of Aden as the gateway to the Red Sea represented a crucial transit point for this kind of politically closely monitored transit trade well into the 14th century.³³

However, at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries changing political and trade patterns across the Indian Ocean region started to profoundly affect the economic environment of the Hijaz. Most importantly, this period witnessed the rise of Jidda and its hinterland, the pilgrimage centre of Mecca, as the new foremost entrepôt of the India trade,³⁴ to the detriment of Aden and other

²⁸ WINK, *Al-Hind. The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*, 53, 60.

²⁹ CHAUDHURI, *Trade and civilisation in the Indian Ocean*, 58-59. For various approaches to the Geniza collection see S.D. GOITEIN, 'The Cairo Geniza as a Source for the History of Muslim Civilisation'. *Studia Islamica*, 3 (1955), 75-91; *Ibid.*, “The Documents of the Cairo Geniza as a Source for Mediterranean Social History,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 80, no. 2 (1960), 91-100; *Ibid.*, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza. 6 Vols* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967-1993); *Ibid.* and M. FRIEDMAN, *India Traders of the Middle Ages. Documents from the Cairo Geniza ('India Book)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008). For a critique cf. Jessica GOLDBERG, “On reading Goitein's *A Mediterranean Society*: a view from economic history,” *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 26/2 (2011), 171-186;

³⁰ S. TSUGITAKA “Slave Traders and Kārimī Merchants during the Mamluk Period. A Comparative Study,” *Mamlūk Studies Review*, X/1 (Chicago: The Middle East Documentation Center, The University of Chicago: 2006), 141-142, 147-149; and J. BERKEY “Culture and society during the later Middle Ages,” in *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Vol. 1. Islamic Egypt. 640-1517*, ed. Carl PETRY (Cambridge [et al.]: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 375-411: 396.

³¹ TSUGITAKA, “Slave Traders and Kārimī Merchants during the Mamluk Period,” 155.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*; CHAUDHURI, *Trade and civilisation in the Indian Ocean*, 44-45.

³⁴ FACEY, “Jiddah, Port of Makkah, Gateway of the India Trade,” 170.

routes in the Red Sea, which started to decline at the beginning of the 15th century.³⁵ These tendencies were strengthened due to the post-Timurid political turmoil in Western Asia, which resulted in the insecurity of overland routes and the increase in sea trade after 1405.³⁶ W. FACEY furthermore stated the mutually reinforcing aspects of Mecca and Jidda as magnets for pilgrims as of pivotal significance for the intercontinental trade, especially since pilgrims participated in the commercial transactions to varying degrees as well.³⁷ The cities' growing importance, based on the additional incoming wealth from the Indian Ocean trade, fostered a contentious atmosphere in the relationship between the Mamlūk sultans and the Meccan sharifs.³⁸ While the "upwelling of long-distance commerce, during what may be called the long fifteenth century, empowered the sharifs of Mecca," the economic crisis in the early 15th century in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria pushed the rulers in Cairo to interfere in the increasing commerce of Jidda for their own benefit, thereby further contributing to the ascendancy of this port city.³⁹ Among the strategies to cope with these problems was the appointment of a financial supervisor (*nāẓir*) at Jidda by Sultan al-Ashraf BARSBĀY (r. 1422-1438) in order to skim commercial taxes from the growing intercontinental trade.⁴⁰ AL-MAQRĪZĪ (d. 845/1442) epitomised the structural shift from Aden to Jidda and the latter's rise to dominate the transit trade in an anecdote, demonstrating how the captain of a ship from Calicut began to avoid Aden in favour of the welcoming treatment at Jidda.⁴¹ Thus, at the turn to the 15th century, a seasonal trade dependent on the monsoon and wind currents in the Red Sea added a complex

³⁵ Patrick WING, "Indian Ocean Trade and Sultanic Authority. The *nāẓir* of Jedda and the Mamluk Political Economy," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 57 (2014), 55-75: 61. For the importance of Aden as a crucial entrepot during the medieval period see M. ROXANI,.....

³⁶ WING, "Indian Ocean Trade and Sultanic Authority," 61.

³⁷ FACEY, "Jiddah, Port of Makkah, Gateway of the India Trade," 165, 169.

³⁸ MELOY, *Imperial power and maritime trade*, 2, 18.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 19. The destruction of Egypt's port city of 'Aydhāb in the Red Sea by Sultan BARSBĀY (r. 1422-1438) in 1426 was apparently meant to divert the trade to Jidda even further. Cf. FACEY, "Jiddah, Port of Makkah, Gateway of the India Trade," 171. WING, "Indian Ocean Trade and Sultanic Authority," 56-60, gives a clear summary of the complex reasons for the economic crisis in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria that started out with agricultural decline after the outbreak of the plague and further aggravated due to the lack of precious metals for the political economy.

⁴⁰ WING, "Indian Ocean Trade and Sultanic Authority," 56.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 62. Quoted from Aḥmad AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāh 'ASHŪR (Cairo), IV: 681.

economic dimension to the religious importance of the Hijaz as a sacred landscape for Muslim pilgrims.⁴²

One of the major socio-economic symptoms of these relocated and intensified trading patterns was the appearance of new merchant groups in the Hijaz, which were connected to the intercontinental exchange networks of the Indian Ocean.⁴³ R. MORTEL accounted for a terminological change in the merchant category *khawājā* in sources from the late Mamlūk period.⁴⁴ According to him, the rise of the *khawājās* of Mecca, who were involved in the long-distance trade across the Indian Ocean as a merchant class until the middle of the 15th century, was paralleled by the gradual decline and substitution of the *kārimī*-groups.⁴⁵ MELOY links the term *khawājā* to the commercial activities of foreign merchant classes.⁴⁶ More significantly, he identifies the emergence of another group in the Hijaz, namely “Indian interlopers” (*mujawwirūn*).⁴⁷ They formed a part of the overall reconfiguration of the transoceanic trade during this period, realigning exchange patterns between the Red Sea region and the Indian Ocean World.⁴⁸

For the purpose of this study, the consequences of these intensified connections, apparent in the historical phenomenon of the “Indian interlopers,” has to be further analysed within the dynamic historical context of the Hijaz during the 15th century. Especially in the politico-cultural spheres various processes accompanied these structural economic changes. Based on a survey of the historiographical output from the 3rd/9th to the 13th/19th centuries, MELOY argued for a “scholarly boom” in the writing of local histories in Mecca at the turn of the 15th century, which featured

⁴² CHAUDHURI, *Trade and civilisation in the Indian Ocean*, 46; MELOY, *Imperial power and maritime trade*, 51-60.

⁴³ MELOY, *Imperial power and maritime trade*, 71.

⁴⁴ R. MORTEL, “The Mercantile Community of Mecca during the Late Mamlūk Period,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 4/1 (1994), 15-35: 17-20.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

⁴⁶ MELOY, *Imperial power and maritime trade*, 71-72.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* So far, no research has been conducted that could explain the possible change in political, social and economic conditions which might have stimulated commercial activities from the perspective of South Asia. The formation of regional sultanates during the late medieval period in Gujarat, Delhi, Bengal, Malwa, Jaunpur and the Bahmanis in Deccan might be one possible point of departure for future research. Cf. C. ASHER/C. TALBOT, *India before Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 84-97.

the city's emersion out of political isolation.⁴⁹ Among such historical treatises are the works by the famous Meccan historian Taqī al-Dīn AL-FĀSĪ (d. 832/1429), which stand out for their scope and detail.⁵⁰ The increased activity in the conceptualisation of chronicles and biographical dictionaries by fifteenth-century scholars added a new historical dimension to Mecca's "sacred past," which was meant to transcend the "spiritual gravity of the Holy City" and simultaneously account for the political and economic transactions through which generations of Meccans had shaped their urban environment.⁵¹ Besides the local traditions of recording the past, the exceptional symbolic status of Mecca, corresponding to its significance as a centre for learning, pilgrimage and religious contemplation, secured a permanent presence of, among others, scholars (*'ulamā'*) from the Mamlūk domains and beyond.⁵² Such learned groups added in various ways to the corpus of historical narratives and to a historiographical trend that consciously or concomitantly captured the social and cultural phenomena of this period.⁵³

Thus, the transregional reconfiguration of trade and the related social ramifications can be corroborated with traces left in the historiographical writings of the 15th century Hijaz and the Mamlūk domains. Several contemporary authors of the major biographical dictionaries accounted for a discernible amount of "South Asians" (*al-Hindīyūn*; sg. *al-Hindī*) as immigrants and residents in the Hijaz.⁵⁴ AL-FĀSĪ registered 17 *tarājim* (sg. *tarjama*, "biographical entry") in his *'Iqd al-thamīn fī ta'rīkh al-balad al-amīn* ("The precious necklace concerning the history of the faithful land") for the later

⁴⁹ MELOY, *Imperial power and maritime trade*, 24-27.

⁵⁰ W. MILLWARD, "Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī's sources for the History of Mecca from the Fourth to the Ninth Centuries A.H.," in *Studies in the History of Arabia. Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Studies in the History of Arabia, 1977. Vol. 1: Sources for the history of Arabia, Pt. 2*, ed. Abdelgadir Mahmoud ABDALLA [et al.] (NN, 1979), 37-49.

⁵¹ MELOY, *Imperial power and maritime trade*, 25.

⁵² W. ENDE, "Mudjāwir."

⁵³ See the survey in MELOY, *Imperial power and maritime trade*, 32-37. The Ibn Fahd family (14th-16th c.) was of particular importance as members contributed various historiographical works on the history of Mecca and its surroundings. Their business transactions led them as far as South Asia. Franz ROSENTHAL, "Ibn Fahd." in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman [et al.] (Brill Online, 2016). [Reference](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-fahd-COM_0320). School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-fahd-COM_0320>

⁵⁴ The corpora of "South Asian *tarājim*" are provided for reference in the appendix listed according to Volume and page number in the respective works.

14th and early 15th centuries.⁵⁵ A famous Egyptian contemporary, the historian Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad AL-MAQRĪZĪ (d. 845/1442)⁵⁶, listed 11 biographical entries of South Asians in his *Durar al-‘Uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-‘yān al-mufīda* (“The precious gems in the biographies of favourable notables”) in the same period.⁵⁷ Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Khayr Muḥammad AL-SAKHĀWĪ (d. 902/1497), an Egyptian historian and scholar of *ḥadīth*, composed a monumental centennial biographical dictionary, namely *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi’* (“The splendid light of the people of the ninth century”), counting 52 South Asians among those who died in the 9th/15th century, and thereby offers the broadest account for the period under consideration.⁵⁸

In bringing the “corpora of South Asian *tarājim*” from these three biographical dictionaries together it is possible to study cultural phenomena of transregional migration from the subcontinent al-Hind to the Hijaz as part of the larger economic changes taking place during the late 14th into the 15th centuries. These South Asians stayed in the cultural and religious contact-zone of the holy Muslim cities of Mecca and Medina for the purpose of study (*ṭalab al-‘ilm*), pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) and settlement (*mujāwara*). Although the link with trade (*tijāra*) only figures marginally in some of the individual biographies, the movement of al-Hindīs to the Hijaz can be seen as a form of “collateral migration.” The emergence of South Asian *mujawwirūn* in this period established intensified transregional economic connections, which provided the basis for a growing concomitant flow of South Asian scholars, *mujāwirūn* and pilgrims as well.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Ahmad AL-FĀSĪ, *Al-‘Iqd al-thamīn fī ta’rīkh al-balad al-amīn*. 7 vols., ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘AṬĀ’, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiya, 1998).

⁵⁶ Franz ROSENTHAL “al-Maqrīzī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, eds. P. BEARMAN [et al.] (Brill Online, 2014), [Reference](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mak-ri-zi-SIM_4838): School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mak-ri-zi-SIM_4838.

⁵⁷ Ahmad AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-‘ayān al-mufīda*. 4 vols., ed. Makhmūd AL-JALĪLĪ (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2002).

⁵⁸ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi’*. 12 vols., ed. NN (Cairo: Maktaba al-Qudsī, 1934-1937). A shorter work, *al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa fī ta’rīkh al-madīna al-sharīfa* (“The subtle gift concerning the history of the exalted city”), contains 9 biographies of al-Hindīs which were prominent in the history of Medina (cf. corpus D). These cases furthermore stress the importance of South Asian migratory movements to the Arabian Peninsula and underline their significance in different socio-cultural contexts.

⁵⁹ It is difficult to assess the concrete reasons in each case for travelling or migrating to the Hijaz, since they are not specifically stated in the prosopographical record. Different professional, religious, academic and economic incentives might have existed for these South Asian migrants. One possible and partial explanation relates their movements to the growing importance and fame of the scholars in the Hijaz, such as AL-SAKHĀWĪ in *ḥadīth*-scholarship, however, this cannot expound the social

The idea that the appearance of these collateral South Asian migrants in the chosen biographical works represents a gradual micro-historical change becomes further evident through a comparison with works from the 14th century. Ibn Ḥajar AL-‘ASQALĀNĪ’s (d. 852/1449)⁶⁰ *Durar al-kāmina fī a’yān al-mi’a al-thāmina* (“The hidden pearls on the notables of the 8th century”), a massive centennial dictionary listing noteworthy people who died during the 14th century, mentions 11 mainly politically and religiously prominent personae. Among them is the ruler of the Delhi sultanate Muḥammad b. Tughluqshāh AL-HINDĪ (d. 752/1351), the *shafī’ī* jurist (*faqīh*) Muḥammad Ṣafīy al-Dīn AL-HINDĪ (d. 750/1349), the *ḥanafī* judge (*al-qāḍī*) ‘Umar Sirāj al-Dīn AL-HINDĪ (d. 773/1372) and a few other dependants, eunuchs and craftsmen.⁶¹ Some of these figures also appear within other accounts, such as the latter jurist and judge in Jalāl al-Dīn AL-SUYŪṬĪ’s History of Egypt and Cairo, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī ta’rīkh al-miṣr wa-l-qāhira*.⁶² Furthermore, the massive biographical work *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* (“The comprehensive concerning the deceased”) and *A’yān al-‘aṣr wa-a’wān al-naṣr* (“The Notables of the age and the servants of the victory”) by AL-ṢAFADĪ (d. 764/1363)⁶³ only explicitly list 2 and 1 South Asian *tarājim* respectively for the 14th century.⁶⁴ Thus, already a first general approach to the most important collective

broadening and cultural diversification of the South Asian community in this period. AL-SAKHĀWĪ is venerated as an authority in ḥadīth during the 16th century according to the biographical work of AL-‘AYDARŪS which records the lives and events of the 10th century hijrī from the perspective of a member of the mobile ḥaḍramī kinship group and his academic and ritual transactions, based in Gujarat. Cf. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Shaykh AL-‘AYDARŪS, *Al-Nūr al-Ṣāfir ‘an akhbār al-qarn al-‘āshir* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2001), 40-42. For a more recent study of this biographical work cf. Engseng HO, *The graves of Tarim. Genealogy and mobility across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

⁶⁰ Franz ROSENTHAL, “Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, eds. P. BEARMAN [et al.] (Brill Online, 2014), Reference: School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-h-ad-j-ar-al-ask-ala-ni-SIM_3178.

⁶¹ Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar AL-‘ASQALĀNĪ, *Al-Durar al-kāmina fī a’yān al-mi’a al-thāmina*. 4 vols., (Hyderabad, 1929-1932). See corpus E.

⁶² Jalāl al-Dīn AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, I/470;I/544.

⁶³ Franz ROSENTHAL, “al-Ṣafadī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, eds. P. BEARMAN [et al.] (Brill Online, 2014), Reference: School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-s-afadi-SIM_6437.

⁶⁴ Khalīl b. Aybak AL-ṢAFADĪ, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*. 29 vols., eds. Aḥmad ARNĀ’ŪT and Turkī MUṢṬAFĀ (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 2000); see corpus F; Khalīl b. Aybak AL-ṢAFADĪ, *A’yān al-‘aṣr wa-a’wān al-naṣr*, 4 vols, ed. Fāliḥ Aḥmad BAKKŪR (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1998), II/174. In this case, it is possible to add that due to his location and purpose, AL-ṢAFADĪ’s biographical work had a more “restricted viewpoint” with the main focus on the bilād al-shām. Most South Asian travellers, however, never ventured as far as Mamlūk Syria.

biographies of the earlier period reveals a minor quantity of South Asians living in the Hijaz during the 14th century, when compared to the 15th century. Connected to this is the qualitative difference demonstrated in their limited focus on scholarly and politically distinguished personae.

Although these biographical works from both the 14th and 15th centuries cannot provide a comprehensive record for the various movements and lives of South Asians in the Hijaz and beyond, they might nonetheless indicate changing trends and emerging processes of migration. The quantitative contrast, especially between the *Durar al-kāmina* by IBN ḤAJAR and the *Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* by AL-SAKHĀWĪ, is one case in point. More importantly however, I will argue that there is a changing representation in the breadth of the societal spectrum, the latter work listing persons from various social groups, professions and academic backgrounds. This does not necessarily mean that AL-SAKHĀWĪ was socially more inclusive in his recordings than IBN ḤAJAR, since the latter also listed personalities who did not rank among the scholarly groups. Instead, it suggests the actual presence of a more numerous and diverse community of South Asian migrants in the Hijaz, presumably in the form of 'collateral migration' due to an intensified stream of goods and people to Jidda during the 15th century.

Reading biographical entries with BOURDIEU's concepts of "field," "capital" and "habitus"

A further analysis of this extracted corpus of biographical entries has to expound the historically contingent calibration of the *tarājim* within the narrative texts of the respective works. *Tarājim* contain very specific data and anecdotes of a person's life, articulated in literary idioms and schemata, emphasising a linguistic level of normative representation.⁶⁵ Most importantly though, the *tarājim* form an integral part of the narrative structure of these biographical dictionaries, which precludes positivist approaches of pure fact-mining, since the works do not offer objective accounts of their social environment. On the contrary, recent scholarship has reconsidered biographical dictionaries within the framework of the "cultural" and "archival turn," underscoring the historical subjectivity of these historiographical

⁶⁵ COOPERSON, "Biographical Writing," 464-466; Albrecht NOTH, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition. A Source-Critical Study*, trans. Michael BONNER (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1994), 62-63, 109-110.

texts, which renders any recorded knowledge biased and partial according to its historical contingency.⁶⁶

One important dimension of the historical subjectivity of these biographical works certainly corresponds to a discourse of achievement and prestige from which the practice of surveying entire sections of society originated.⁶⁷ KHALIDI specifically located the notion of establishing “a hierarchy of rank and merit” within the Mamlūk period which witnessed a considerable increase in the composition of collective biographies.⁶⁸ However, the fact that such taxonomies of achievement and prestige are exemplified with an enormous amount of *dramatis personae*, i.e. the individual figures of the *tarājim*, renders any broad generalisations redundant for the purpose of a thorough case study. Such abstractions are meant to rationalise and subsume the subtleties of social worlds and their agents under the label of discursive formations, concealing more than they actually reveal. Instead, the format of biographical dictionaries as historical agents that participate in cultural practices within a dynamic social world by simultaneously recording these societal transactions makes them conducive to an analysis based on some of BOURDIEU’s sociological approaches.

BOURDIEU’s notion of the “theory of practice” and the related concepts of field theory, forms of capital and habitus can be applied in subsequent stages to qualify the “opposition” between such subjective and objective “modes of knowledge” in the study of historiographical texts and especially biographical dictionaries.⁶⁹ The historical agency of biographical dictionaries poses a source-based conundrum for any historical analysis that looks beyond the historiographical dimension of the text. A quality of archive-as-subject, which a priori calibrates their aspect of archive-as-source, can be approached through the application of interrelated “objectifying instruments” that can decode subjective worldviews while avoiding the determinist trap of mechanic structuralism. Thus, BOURDIEU’s concepts can be combined to serve

⁶⁶ HIRSCHLER, “Studying Mamluk Historiography,” 170-171,175-177.

⁶⁷ Since a quantitative survey of catalogue entries can only provide a first indication, further research is necessary in order to assess the circulation of biographical dictionaries across Mamlūk Egypt, Syria, the Hijaz and the wider Western Indian Ocean world.

⁶⁸ KHALIDI, *Arabic historical thought in the classical period*, 205,210.

⁶⁹ M. GRENFELL, “Introduction to Part II,” in *Pierre Bourdieu. Key concepts*, ed. M. GRENFELL (Stocksfield: Acumen, 2008), 43-47: 43, quoted from BOURDIEU, *The Logic of Practice*, 25.

as heuristic tools in order to deduce partially objectively shared societal structures as they are embedded in subjectively configured narrative accounts.

First of all, a “theory of practice” can be applied in order to frame each author’s (*muşannif*) act of composing prosopographical accounts as an anthropological approach that objectifies social and cultural practices within a system of collective biography and thus translates a normatively perceived social world into coded literary idioms. “Theory of practice” considers the pivotal importance of the observer’s “viewpoint” and postulates an “epistemological and social break” in the relationship between the observer and his object.⁷⁰ Accordingly, the *muşannif* situates himself in an “order of intelligibility” imposing “on the object his own norms of construction” and thus constitutes it through his own hermeneutics.⁷¹ However, given the presupposition of the historical subjectivity of the biographical dictionary, and thereby the idea that its narrative composition inherits a performative aspect that carries a social and cultural logic in accordance with its historical context, the *muşannif* does not occupy an external position vis-à-vis his object. G. SPIEGEL argued that “particular instances of language use or textuality incorporate social as well as linguistic structures.”⁷² Corresponding to the prolegomena of the ‘theory of practice,’ the *muşannif* constitutes his objects of cognition himself by maintaining a “practical relation to the world,”⁷³ in other words, by participating in that social world through its “inscription” in a text.⁷⁴ The act of objectifying these practices can be seen as their selective translation into a schematic textual form, meaning a prioritised literary fixation of encoded practice subject to diachronic change.

Based on the assumption that the narrative text of a biographical dictionary can be read as an account of actual historical practice in a social world shared by the *muşannif*, the literary codification can be analysed in the next step by reading these narrative sources with the heuristic tools of “field” and “capital”. According to

⁷⁰ BOURDIEU, *The Logic of Practice*, 31.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁷² G.M. SPIEGEL, “History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text,” in *The Past as Text. Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*, ed. G.M. SPIEGEL (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 3-28: 25.

⁷³ BOURDIEU, *The Logic of Practice*, 52.

⁷⁴ The term “inscription” is used by SPIEGEL instead of a mere “recording” to denote the “fixation of meaning” in the moment of a certain “social reality” which represents the “social logic of the text.” See SPIEGEL, “History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text,” 25-28.

BOURDIEU, the societal arena is made up of multiple interrelated “fields” in which cultural practices and social transactions are embedded and executed by agents according to the specific logic of each field, similar to the rules of a game.⁷⁵ Social fields and fields of knowledge are pre-conditioned in the sense that they developed historically and require the social agent to appropriate strategies himself in order to compete with other agents. Therefore, “patterned, regular and predictable practices within each field” become discernible.⁷⁶ Crucially, agency and strategies as processes within these fields reveal themselves in the form of an “accumulation of capitals.”⁷⁷ BOURDIEU classified three forms, namely “economic capital” as all disposable material wealth, “social capital” as the sum of “durable networks” between humans, and “cultural capital” as professional skills or forms of knowledge of a social actor.⁷⁸ All these capitals are interchangeable as “symbolic capital” under the condition that this symbolic capital is “recognised” as such, meaning that despite the “arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation” it is accepted in its existence and validity across different fields.⁷⁹

The basic elements of these two conceptual categories, “field” and “capital,” can be applied to the *tarājim*. Each narrative framework of the *muṣannif*'s composition can be probed as a consistent interrelationship of several different fields, since all members of a collective biography are principally interconnected within the narrative fabric of the text. These fields are historically generated, determining and being themselves determined by the ways capital is accrued through participating social agents. By approaching the “corpus of South Asian *tarājim*” through these heuristic tools, it is feasible to detect cultural significances in the way that the *muṣannif* structured the social world of his objects on a normative level. Thus, patterns of accumulation of capital and conditions of societal fields can be studied as well as the changes that occur within them.

⁷⁵For this and the following cf. P. THOMSON, “Field,” in *Pierre Bourdieu. Key concepts*, ed. M. GRENFELL (Stocksfield: Acumen, 2008), 67-81: 67-71.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁷⁸ BOURDIEU/WACQUANT, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 118-119.

⁷⁹ BOURDIEU/WACQUANT, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 118-119.

In a further step, it is then possible to transcend this subjective perspective of the *muşannif* in order to read the accumulation of different forms of capital by each person as an – albeit partial – historical account of cultural practices and social transactions in a person’s life. The record of the *muşannif* is not simply a representation of the life of a person, but recounts within a normative literary framework events and processes that occurred in the social world and shaped the future biographical trajectory. This form of agency can then be the focus of further analysis which will concentrate on significant patterns and the regularity in the accumulation of various forms of capital.

Relating to the dictum that the concepts “field”, “capital” and “habitus” are an “inter-dependent and co-constructed trio [...] integral to understanding the social world,”⁸⁰ it is necessary to include the notion of habitus. Thereby, it is possible not only to transcend the antagonism between the subjectivity of the agents’ practices and their relationship with objectifying structures, but also to understand the latter through the analysis of the former.

*[Habitus describes] systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them.*⁸¹

The “habitus” is a “generative capacity” that internalises both historically produced “individual and collective practices” as well as historically developed structures.⁸² It contains an “objective intention” in the sense that it constantly regenerates assimilated principles of objectified practices conforming and structuring institutionalised structures.⁸³ In other words, the category of the “habitus” makes it possible to understand the historicity and perpetuation in the mutuality of structures and practices embodied by social agents.

⁸⁰ THOMSON, “Field,” 69.

⁸¹ BOURDIEU, *The Logic of Practice*, 53.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 54-55.

⁸³ BOURDIEU, *The Logic of Practice*, 56-57.

In sum, it is feasible to utilise these concepts for the present study in order to interrelate the recorded practices and the accumulation of capitals by social agents in their given fields. This will enable the reconstruction of several patterns of habitus that can simultaneously reveal the regularity and discontinuity of strategies as well as the underlying “objective” social and cultural imperatives to which the South Asian migrants conformed throughout their biographical trajectories. As heuristic tools, the interlinked notions of field, capital and habitus will serve to highlight relational significances within these biographical entries in order to eventually reconstruct the interplay of practices and structures of a historical past.

The socio-cultural world of the South Asians in the late medieval Hijaz:

The *muṣannif*, conditions of fields and forms of capital

The examination of the corpora of the South Asian *tarājim* will be conducted in two steps: AL-FĀSĪ and AL-MAQRĪZĪ for the period from the later 14th to the first half of the 15th centuries and AL-SAKHĀWĪ for the entire 15th century. This will serve to trace the gradually changing conditions of the South Asian community in the Hijaz from AL-FĀSĪ’s and AL-MAQRĪZĪ’s lifetime to AL-SAKHĀWĪ’s later generation based on a selection of exemplary cases.

Both AL-FĀSĪ’s and AL-MAQRĪZĪ’s inclusion of South Asians in their biographical dictionaries have to be understood against the background of their search for historical legacies and scholarly eminence. On the one hand, AL-FĀSĪ’s enumeration of ‘South Asian *tarājim*’ in the *ʿIqd al-thamīn*, corresponds to his general intention of filling the century-long historiographical void for Mecca.⁸⁴ He concentrated on crucial figures that featured in the immediate past of the holy city and its environs, often from his own social environment, integrated among 3500 personages to form a social history of Mecca up to the year 829/1426.⁸⁵ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, on the other hand, included a group of South Asians in his *Durar al-ʿuqūd* with similar biographical elements, and

⁸⁴ MELOY, *Imperial power and maritime trade*, 24.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 24; F. ROSENTHAL, “al-Fāsī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, eds. P. BEARMAN [et al.] (Brill Online, 2014), [Reference: School of Oriental and African Studies \(SOAS\), http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-fa-si-SIM_2311](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-fa-si-SIM_2311); and corpus A.

four identical personages that also appeared in his Meccan colleague's work.⁸⁶ However, a subtle distinction is visible in AL-MAQRĪZĪ's stronger focus on the performance of religious rituals. His documentation of South Asian *tarājim* appears to be related mainly to his own pilgrimages to Mecca (790/1388; 825/1422) and his extended stays (*mujāwara*) there in the years 783/1381, 787/1385, 834/1431, and 839/1436.⁸⁷ Common to both these corpora of South Asian biographical trajectories is their religious and cultural connection, mainly with the city of Mecca and in minor cases with additional ventures to Medina and Mamlūk domains such as Cairo. In sum, AL-FĀSĪ's corpus represents a well-rooted "South Asian presence" contributing to the socio-cultural development of Mecca, while AL-MAQRĪZĪ's zone of interest focused on distinguished personages, sometimes based on friendship (*ṣuḥba*) and personal acquaintance,⁸⁸ rendering the account of the South Asian community in the Hijaz selective in its calibration.

The conceptual framework of AL-SAKHĀWĪ's *al-Ḍaw al-lāmi'* differs to a substantial degree from the two former ones, since it is the academic result of documenting exceptional *dramatis personae* who died in the course of the 15th century. As a transregional biographical work, it features a corpus of 52 South Asian *tarājim* who were again mainly located in the Hijaz.⁸⁹ Their initial recording, among several ethnic and social groups of the *mashriq* (East) and *maghrib* (West), was very much linked to AL-SAKHĀWĪ's extended stays in Mecca and Medina for the purpose of study and pilgrimage.⁹⁰ While AL-SAKHĀWĪ might have been more inclusive in his recordings than AL-MAQRĪZĪ, AL-FĀSĪ's comparable social outlook on the immediate past of Mecca provides for a starting point to trace the gradual increase in South Asians, reflecting a historical change that transcends the historical subjectivity of the respective works.

⁸⁶ See corpus B, II/43;III/167-168;III/170-171;III/263. For the overlap with corpus A in the same order, III/415-416;II/361-362;II/393-394;II/380.

⁸⁷ See M. AL-JALĪLĪ, "Muqaddima," in *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-'ayān al-mufīda*. 4 vols., ed. Makhmūd AL-JALĪLĪ (Bayrūt: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2002), 35.

⁸⁸ See e.g., corpus B, I/364-365;II/356;III/170;III/170-171.

⁸⁹ For this and the following see corpus C.

⁹⁰ ROBINSON, *Islamic Historiography*, 68, and Carl PETRY, "al-Sakhāwī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, eds. P. BEARMAN [et al.] (Brill Online, 2014), Reference: School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-sakhawi-SIM_6503.

The South Asian *tarājim* yield a record of social and cultural activities in the environment of the late medieval Hijaz making it possible to detect a variety of “fields” of transaction. The three fields, transmission of knowledge, occupational or institutional affiliations,⁹¹ as well as religious rituals and virtues, figure most prominently in the *tarājim* of AL-FĀSĪ’s and AL-MAQRĪZĪ’s corpora. The reason for this threefold division is based on the fact that each field can show up irrespective of the other two in a *tarjama*, meaning that an agent can participate in a field’s logic of transactions independently from other areas in the social world.⁹² Certain themes signal the link of one element of a *tarjama* with such a particular field: for example, the dominant area of knowledge and its transmission is evoked through the reference to reading certificates (*samā’āt*) and teaching certificates (*ijāzāt*) together with the respective scholarly authorities as a list of teachers (*mashyakha*), just as the closely connected cosmos of religious rituals is textually constituted, for instance, by the reference to prayer practices and pilgrimages (*al-ḥajj*, *al-‘umra*).⁹³ Professional affiliations of personages become clear with specific occupations, often linked to the transactions of a sectarian community (*madhhab*, pl. *madhāhib*) and mosques, especially the *masjid al-ḥarām* in Mecca.⁹⁴

The relational format of these fields, each governed by a specific logic, binds the figure of each *tarjama* to other agents within the same field, sharing a web of societal conditions.⁹⁵ Since the structure of a biographical entry limits the analytical view on one single personage and his relationship with the social world, it prevents a broad examination of relations between multiple figures. However, the *muṣannif*’s mode of recording provides mediating points of reference in order to relate the different *tarājim* with each other.⁹⁶ The social logic of his recording is epitomised in

⁹¹ In this context, the term “institution” will be understood in correspondence with the implications discernible from the *tarājim*, i.e. a spatial concentration of offices and posts structured in their conduct through regular practices among personages with mutually dependent professional relationships.

⁹² Cf. corpus A, II/381, who only worked as an assistant and copyist and II/388, who was only engaged in the dissemination of knowledge.

⁹³ Cf. corpus A, e.g., II/344;II/393-394 and corpus B, e.g., III/170-171;III/263.

⁹⁴ Cf. corpus A, e.g., V/12;VI/275; corpus B, e.g., II/356;III/170.

⁹⁵ Cf. BOURDIEU/WACQUANT, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 96.

⁹⁶ Gabriele SPIEGEL, “Towards a Theory of the Middle Ground,” in *The Past as Text. Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*, ed. Gabriele SPIEGEL (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 44-56: 48ff., for the mediating potential of texts.

the use of the same literary scheme and idiom for a certain field and thus enables the correlation of fields and their conditions across the *tarājim*, because they originate from the same epistemological stand-point of the *muṣannif*'s societal participation. For example, the field of learning is marked by the use of established termini, such as *sami'a 'an* ("he listened to") and *ḥadatha 'an* ("he related from"), often supplemented by the name of the *shaykh*, as well as the studied discipline or book.⁹⁷ Since the recording of the *tarājim* is based on regularities in the use of linguistic codes for a certain field, the elements which point to fields and their conditions within the *tarājim* can be examined along the cross-section of these biographical entries.

In accordance with the complementarity of the concepts "field" and "capital," the fields of learning, professional occupations and religious rituals in the *tarājim* can only reflect the dynamic realms of the social world through the accumulation of different forms of capital by its agents. In principal, "a capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field."⁹⁸ At the same time, the interrelationship of fields is guaranteed through the transformability of capitals into its different forms, deploying it across many fields.⁹⁹ Conditions, forces and asymmetries within a field correspond to the allocation of capitals among its active participants, just as their transactions represent "the cumulative product of [the field's] particular history."¹⁰⁰ In AL-FĀSĪ's and AL-MAQRĪZĪ's corpora – similar to biographical entries in general – a variety of capitals are available to the South Asian personages.

The field of learning, which pervades AL-FĀSĪ's and AL-MAQRĪZĪ's *tarājim*, is significant in the way that it requires its agents to accumulate cultural capital in the form of a particular practice in the transmission of knowledge combined with social capital visible in the enumeration of teachers. Both AL-FĀSĪ's and AL-MAQRĪZĪ's corpora chiefly comprise the *tarājim* of "grand personages" with an exceptionally multifaceted portfolio of cultural and social capital. An exemplary "taxonomical recording" of such capitals is provided in the *tarjama* of Muḥammad al-'Allāma Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Hindī AL-ḤANAFĪ.¹⁰¹ Based on his writings, AL-FĀSĪ documents that

⁹⁷ Cf. e.g., corpus B, I/364-365.

⁹⁸ Cf. BOURDIEU/WACQUANT, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 101.

⁹⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 119.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁰¹ Cf. corpus A, II/361-362.

Muḥammad listened to al-Jamāl AL-MAṬARĪ reading the “Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, on the authority of Abū al-Yaman b. ‘ASĀKIR and AL-TAWZARĪ, and he [Muḥammad] recited to him [al-Jamāl AL-MAṬARĪ] the Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, on the authority of al-Ḥāfiẓ al-DAMYĀṬĪ and AL-TAWZARĪ [...]”¹⁰² After his studies in Medina he moved on to Cairo to continue his education.¹⁰³ AL-FĀSĪ received an *ijāza* from him on request of the Shaykh IBN SAKKAR.¹⁰⁴ Before getting into an argument with one of the local *amīrs* over matters of money, he spent two years in Medina, studying, issuing legal opinions and conducting trade.¹⁰⁵ Later on, he settled in Mecca, where he administered the teaching of the *al-Ḥanafīya* (the Ḥanafī school of law), which was set up by the Amīr Yalbughā al-Khāsakī AL-ATĀBAKĪ.¹⁰⁶ He remained in residence in Mecca until his death in 780/1378 and “was buried among the noble ones” (*dufina bi-l-ma’lāt*) or in the cemetery by the same name in Mecca.¹⁰⁷ He had certified eighty members of the Muslim community in his lifetime, leaving behind a great amount of wealth from his trading business.¹⁰⁸ All in all, this instance demonstrates the extent to which a *tarjama* provides a meticulous record of the differentiated methods in the field of learning, linking an unfolding web of knowledgeable disciplines and a complex social network across geographical spaces.

Closely linked to the field of knowledge and learning was a career within different judicial offices as the consequential continuation of one’s education. Yet, while the pursuit of such an institutional career depended on accumulated cultural capital in the first place, it subsequently features in the *tarājim* with a main emphasis on the social relationship with other colleagues. AL-MAQRĪZĪ presents the résumé of Aḥmad Shihāb al-Dīn [...] al-Hindī al-Makkī AL-ḤANAFĪ.¹⁰⁹ Born in 749/1348 in Medina, he attended numerous reading sessions of different scholars in Mecca and Cairo. Later on he started to deputise ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad AL-NUWAYRĪ in legal transactions and especially in issues of marriage contracts. He administered “legal responsibilities

¹⁰² Cf. corpus A, II/361.

¹⁰³ Cf. corpus A, II/361.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ For this and the following cf. *Ibid.*, 362.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. corpus A, II/362.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ For this and the following cf. corpus B, I/364-365.

of the Ḥanafīya” (*qaḍā’ al-Ḥanīfa*) in Mecca in 806/1404, was dismissed, deputised al-Jamāl Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ZUHAYRA, returned to the *qaḍā’ al-Ḥanīfa* in 807/1405, was dismissed again and returned to this post anew in 810/1407, working there until his death in 825/1422 with a final burial “among the noble ones.” His main achievement was that he was “the first who administered the *qaḍā’ al-Ḥanīfa*.”¹¹⁰ Significant in the case of the South Asians is their overall link with the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, either as a formal affiliation or an active involvement in their proceedings. Further six personages in both AL-FĀSĪ’s and AL-MAQRĪZĪ’s corpus had direct connections with institutions of the Ḥanafī community in Mecca.¹¹¹ In sum, these cases illustrate the principal shift in the primacy of cultural capital at the beginning of a career to the overall importance of the social relationship in an institutionalised setting at a later stage.

Religious rituals and virtues require the agents to accrue a special form of symbolic capital which is characteristic for its interchangeable nature. Among those already mentioned is the burial in the cemetery of Mecca that awards an aura of virtue to a person post-mortem. More importantly, the symbolic power of titles (*alqāb*, sg. *laqab*) of a person, such as *ḥajjī* for the pilgrimage to Mecca, entails prime information on the religious status.¹¹² On the one hand, symbolic capital can figure as a substitution for the absence of cultural capital, to an extent that the personage Najīb b. ‘Abd Allāh AL-HINDĪ, though devoid of an academic education, scholarly network and *madhhab*-affiliation, *alqāb* and an extensive *nasab* (“genealogy”), can nonetheless boast a variety of religious practices and rituals that put him on the map of AL-MAQRĪZĪ’s eminent figures.¹¹³ Apart from the daily performance of the lesser pilgrimage (*al-‘umra*) he also used to recite (*talā*) a third of the Quran.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, symbolic capital can also be the product of scholarly achievements, generated through a transformation of cultural capital, such as in the case of the title *‘allāma* (“most erudite”), awarded for remarkable scholarly faculties, referring back to the

¹¹⁰ Cf. corpus B, I/364-365.

¹¹¹ Cf. corpus A, II/361-362;II/344;II/380;II/393-394;III/415-416;VI/275; corpus B, I/364-365;II/436-439;III/167-168;III/263;III/359;III/505.

¹¹² For examples cf. corpus A and B.

¹¹³ Cf. corpus B, III/505.

¹¹⁴ Cf. corpus B, III/505.

field of learning while enhancing the perception of a person's virtues.¹¹⁵ Thus, symbolic capital is versatile in its origin and applicability, yet mainly features in the religious field. Additionally, the performance of religious practices enables an accumulation of symbolic capital that essentially remains an individual achievement. Although religious rituals are enacted collectively in some cases, symbolic capital does not necessitate a societal interaction with other agents. Eventually, it is presented as a distinguishing characteristic, bestowing an aura of religious virtue on a person and thus strengthening his scholarly authority.

Based on these analytical elaborations of fields and capitals in AL-FĀSĪ's and AL-MAQRĪZĪ's *tarājim*, it is possible in the next step to shift entirely to a "historiographical snapshot" of the 15th century, analysing differing significances within the South Asian *tarājim* as construable in AL-SAKHĀWĪ's *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*. Within the context of a more numerous presence of South Asians, mainly in Mecca and Medina, there are some additional elements in AL-SAKHĀWĪ's *tarājim* which point to changing conditions in the field of institutional affiliations, whereas the field of religious rituals ceases to have the same importance.¹¹⁶ Overall, there is an increasing plurality of institutions going beyond the reference to the *masjid al-ḥarām* in Mecca and the specific engagement with the *qaḍā' al-ḥanafīya*.¹¹⁷ In several cases, institutional careers are the achievements of eminent scholarly figures.¹¹⁸ A comparison of AL-SAKHĀWĪ's corpus with those of his two former colleagues reveals a certain degree of analogy, especially in the recording of *samā'āt* and *ijāzāt*, as well as the concurrent evolution of a transregional social network.¹¹⁹ However, while such an educational pathway almost logically leads up to an institutional position at a later stage, as it did with AL-FĀSĪ and AL-MAQRĪZĪ,¹²⁰ there is now a new type of affiliation with institutional bodies that does not require a previous cumulative study of related disciplines. AL-SAKHĀWĪ includes a few South Asian figures that were associated in

¹¹⁵ Cf. corpus A, V/112.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Corpus C.

¹¹⁷ Cf. corpus C for the reference to various mosques and *madāris*.

¹¹⁸ Cf. corpus C, e.g., II/166-167; II/167; II/179. Additional literature cf. Susanne ENDERWITZ, "From Curriculum Vitae to Self-Narration: Fiction in Arabic Autobiography," in *Story-telling in the framework of non-fictional Arabic Literature*, ed. Stefan Leder (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998) 1-19.

¹¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

¹²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

subaltern offices, such as the “cloth-keeper” (*jamdārīya*) in the domains of the Mamlūk sultan in Cairo,¹²¹ or the copyist (*mukattib*) in Mecca,¹²² or the member of a *ribāṭ* (“hospice”).¹²³ This points to modifications of relations in the occupational field, since it involves not so much a change in the social transactions and strategies of South Asians, but rather foreshadows different patterns of recruitment that were also open to South Asian groups.¹²⁴

AL-SAKHĀWĪ’s work also features crucial new aspects in terms of cultural practices within the field of learning and the symbolic arena. Corresponding to the established regularities, the aforementioned strategies in the accumulation of capital for a scholarly career still figure prominently in several *tarājim*.¹²⁵ Yet, again there are several personages among the South Asians which do not conform to the “archetype” of the grand scholar. While at least fourteen South Asians were in direct contact with AL-SAKHĀWĪ, particularly because they attended his reading sessions,¹²⁶ seven among them solely seemed to be included because of this personal relationship.¹²⁷ Characteristically, they are recorded with the standard literary schemata of either *laqīyanī bi-makkati* (“He met me in Mecca”), or *min man akhadha/sami’a ‘an-ī/min-ī bi-makkati* (“of those who took [knowledge] from/listened to me in Mecca”).¹²⁸ Certainly, this can be explained in one way by AL-SAKHĀWĪ’s academic activities in Mecca and the intention of recording his discipleship. Still, this comparatively large presence of South Asians points to an accumulation of capital which is not necessarily connected to a general scholarly career, otherwise AL-SAKHĀWĪ would have noted further credentials of these figures. Since they did not conform to common ‘curricula of accumulation’ of cultural and social capital, their cultural strategies might have been guided by non-scholarly objectives.

¹²¹ Cf. corpus C, VI/226.

¹²² Cf. *Ibid.*, III/264.

¹²³ Cf. *Ibid.*, III/134; IV/226a.

¹²⁴ In these *tarājim* there are no additional indications as to the workings of patronage networks and forms of recruitment both of which provide lines of further inquiry.

¹²⁵ Cf. corpus C, e.g., II/166-167; II/167; II/179;

¹²⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, I/193; I/208; I/316; II/44; II/71; II/166-167; III/15; III/87; IV/210; VI/180; VIII/272; X/53; X/156; XII/203.

¹²⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, II/44; II/71; III/15; IV/210; VIII/272; X/156; XII/203.

¹²⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, e.g., I/193; II/44; X/156 respectively.

In sum, the cross-section from the *tarājim* in AL-FĀSĪ's and AL-MAQRĪZĪ's works established common patterns and regularities in the fields of learning, institutional affiliations and religious rituals, together with the predominant Ḥanafī *madhhab* background as the peculiarity of a mainly learned South Asian presence in the Hijaz. Significant features in AL-SAKHĀWĪ's *tarājim* then indicated a pluralising tendency in the institutional field and additional one-dimensional learning strategies of a non-scholarly group of South Asians.

The South Asians in the socio-cultural world of the late medieval Hijaz:

Changing habitus and migratory patterns from the perspective of a regionalised al-Hind

The concept of “habitus” offers a perspective on both the continuation and the transformation of structures and practices in the social world. In its “generative capacity” it stands in a reciprocal relationship with contextual fields and is acted out through the accumulation of various forms of capital.¹²⁹ This means that it brings together the accumulated history of a person’s cultural and social transactions, predisposed within and further structuring a societal arena. Thereby, “habitus” enables the reconstruction of a person’s biographical trajectory based on actual practice in the social world. At the same time, the inherent “objective intention” allows a delineation of current “structuring structures” in the societal environment of the Hijaz.¹³⁰ A kaleidoscope of various habitus-pathways can then reveal comparable and discernible samples of such biographical trajectories among the South Asians linking them to broader migration patterns. Most significantly, the application of the notion of habitus makes it possible to trace historical change on a social and cultural level, encapsulated in these biographies.

The “corpus of South Asian *tarājim*” in AL-FĀSĪ's and AL-MAQRĪZĪ's biographical compendia can indicate two migratory paradigms for the late 14th and early 15th centuries. The one group concerns those who were “born and resident” (*al-mawlid wa-l-dār*) in a town of the Hijaz, mostly Mecca and Medina, with the *nisba* al-

¹²⁹ BOURDIEU, *The Logic of Practice*, 53-55.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

Hindī denoting the South Asian ancestry.¹³¹ The other group comprises those with a mid-term residency in the Hijaz (*mujāwirūn*, sg. *mujāwir*) as part of wider religious pilgrimage, study and trading purposes with occasional travels leading them as far as Egypt, Syria, Yemen and Sudan. The attribute *al-Hindī al-aṣl* (“of South Asian origin”) marks their birthplace on the subcontinent and necessarily points to an earlier transregional journey across the Indian Ocean. In some other cases, the missing information in the *tarājim* prevents the allocation to a certain type.

Several habitus-pathways are correlated with these migratory and settlement patterns, on the one hand, those of the well-established “grand scholar” with a versatile portfolio of capital and, on the other, the cluster of *mujāwirūn*. The first group, in particular, is best epitomised by Muḥammad [...] al-Hindī al-Makkī AL-ḤANAFĪ, judge of Mecca (*qāḍī makka*).¹³² Born in Mecca in 789/1387, he attended reading sessions in Mecca and Cairo and collected *ijāzāt* from several teachers, which made him proficient in *fiqh* (“jurisprudence”).¹³³ A long list of writings is given followed by the statement that “he administered the judicial affairs of the Ḥanafī school” (*waliya qadā’ al-ḥanīfa*).¹³⁴ This case suggests the link between the origins in Mecca and a long, diverse, transregional educational formation whereby both together could lead to a significant institutional post at a later stage, such as the office as judge of Mecca.

The more numerous *mujāwirūn*, compared to earlier periods,¹³⁵ often show a broad range of participation in the transmission of knowledge and a preference in the performance of religious rituals yielding an increase in symbolic capital.¹³⁶ However, a judicial office or post in the institutions of higher learning usually remains on a subordinate level. One case in point is Muḥammad al-Hindī al-Dilawī, al-Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn al-ḤANAFĪ, who came to Mecca and settled there for 35 years, attended readings, composed books and “excelled” (*bara’a*) in *fiqh*.¹³⁷ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, who

¹³¹ For this and the following cf. corpus A and B.

¹³² Cf. corpus B, III/359. For other figures from this group cf. corpus A, III/415-416;VI/275 and corpus B, I/364-365;III/170;II/436-439.

¹³³ Cf. corpus B, III/359.

¹³⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Cf. corpus, E and F.

¹³⁶ Cf. corpus A, II/344;II/393-394;III/255;V/12;V/112;V/369; corpus B, II/43;II/356;III/167-168;III/170-171;III/263;III/505.

¹³⁷ Cf. corpus B, III/170-171.

accompanied him in the year 787/1385, recorded his arrival at the *masjid al-ḥarām* in the pilgrim's state of consecration, the performance of the *'umra*, as well as his practice of regularly reciting the Quran.¹³⁸ The example of Tāj al-Dīn AL-HINDĪ, apparently from Cambay in Gujarat and a *nazīl* ("lodger") in Mecca for about 20 years, in turn illustrates the sole focus on religious rituals.¹³⁹ His attention to prayers and good conduct is registered, besides a pilgrimage to Medina and a burial in Mecca after receiving his blessings in the *masjid al-ḥarām*.¹⁴⁰

The scarcity of personages with other occupations in AL-FĀSĪ and their total absence in AL-MAQRĪZĪ is certainly characteristic of their principal historiographical outlook,¹⁴¹ but at the same time this underscores the dominance of the two aforementioned habitus-pathways among the South Asians for the late 14th and early 15th centuries. On the one hand, there were the "grand scholars," well-rooted in the institutions of higher learning in the Hijaz and especially the Ḥanafī school, yet, on the other hand, they were numerically superseded by *mujāwirūn*, figures with a crucial peripatetic element in their biographical trajectory, who sought knowledge and religious contemplation, in the meantime enriching the symbolic image of the multi-cultural "contact-zone" of Mecca and Medina.

A striking contrast presents itself with the multiple habitus-pathways among the South Asians in AL-SAKHĀWĪ's *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, reflecting on a new quantity as well as quality of migration connecting South Asia with the Hijaz. AL-SAKHĀWĪ recorded several figures who conform to the scholars and peripatetic figures of AL-FĀSĪ and AL-MAQRĪZĪ, some of them identical and appearing in similar fashion,¹⁴² raising questions of an intertextual nature.¹⁴³ However, there are three new samples of biographical trajectories recognisable through the differing history of accumulation of capital in their *tarājim*, namely, eminent scholars from South Asia, the discipleship of AL-SAKHĀWĪ and a community with various non-scholarly occupations.

¹³⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Cf. corpus A, III/255.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. corpus A, III/255.

¹⁴¹ Cf. corpus A, II/128, a painter and II/381, assistant to a scholar.

¹⁴² Cf. Corpus C, e.g., II/167; II/179; IV/53; IV/324; V/21; V/38-39.

¹⁴³ Cf. *Ibid.*, e.g., III/137-138; IV/103; X/53.

The eminent South Asian scholars are characteristic for their academic roots and scholarly presence in various regions of South Asia, due to the extensive and diverse portfolios of social and cultural capital.¹⁴⁴ For instance, Rājīḥ b. Dāwud [...] al-Hindī al-Aḥmadābādī AL-ḤANAFĪ, born 871/1467 in the city of Aḥmadābād in Gujarat received a versatile education, studying, among other subjects, grammar, logic and prosody with his countryman Maḥmūd al-Muqri' AL-ḤANAFĪ, *al-ma'ānī wa-l-bayān* ("rhetoric"), astronomy and theology with other 'ulamā', and excelling in the disciplines of *al-shi'r* ("poetry"), prior to his encounter with AL-SAKHĀWĪ in the year 894/1489 in Mecca.¹⁴⁵ After the performance of the *ḥajj* with his brother and both his paternal uncles, as well as the pilgrimage to the prophet's tomb in Medina, he continued his education with AL-SAKHĀWĪ, who documented the details of these transactions meticulously. In addition, anecdotes and extensive passages of praise (*madīḥ*) feature in the *tarjama*, demonstrating how academic fame continued to have an effect across other fields and was transformed into symbolic capital increasing the prestige for the *muṣannif* himself.¹⁴⁶ Another example, Aḥmad [...] b. al-Bahā' al-Hindī AL-ḤANAFĪ, born in 871/1467, educated by his father and uncle and endowed with *ijāzāt* for the purpose of issuing legal opinions (*iftā'*), made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 899/1494 and met with AL-SAKHĀWĪ who supplied him with multiple teaching certificates.¹⁴⁷ Beforehand, he was appointed by the sultan Maḥmūd Shāh b. MUḤAMMAD SHĀH¹⁴⁸ with the rank (*manṣab*) for expounding legal opinions in his realm.¹⁴⁹ While Rājīḥ represents a principal weight in scholarly affairs, Aḥmad exhibits the case of a politically well-entrenched *faqīh*, with a family connection to the learned communities of Nahrwāl, Gujarat,¹⁵⁰ who left for the purpose of pilgrimage and further study. These learned men, academically pre-disposed within the new regional

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Ibid., e.g.,II/166-167;III/222-223;VI/36

¹⁴⁵ For this and the following cf. corpus C,III/222-223.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Corpus C, III/222-223. The analysis of "anecdotes" in the *tarājim* according to the same analytical categories presents another venue for research that is beyond the scope of this paper.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Corpus C.,II/166-167.

¹⁴⁸ Presumably the sultan of Gujarat, Maḥmūd I, (r. 1459-1511). Cf. M. HASAN, "Maḥmūd," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, eds. P. BEARMAN [et al.] (Brill Online, 2014), Reference: School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/mah-mu-d-COM_0628.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Corpus C,II/166-167.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Ibid.

state formations of the subcontinent, can certainly be seen as carriers of “cultural exchange,” inserting new elements into the learned socio-cultural milieu of the Hijaz.

The second group comprises AL-SAKHĀWĪ’s disciples in Mecca,¹⁵¹ and were already mentioned as they exemplified a change in the accumulation of capitals across the field of learning. Besides their presence among AL-SAKHĀWĪ’s audience, no further cultural transactions are mentioned in the *tarājim*.¹⁵² The composition of the genealogical element (*nasab*) in their names shows that in most cases two previous generations are recorded and titles (*alqāb*) as indicators of scholarly achievement and symbolic capital are entirely absent.¹⁵³ This points to a group of South Asians whose primary concern in Mecca did not rely on a straightforward scholarly career. Instead, they enriched the field of learning by participating in those transactions which were based on a non-scholarly rationale.

The last sample of biographical trajectories presents the starkest contrast to the former groups, as it offers a perspective on non-academic occupational environments. These figures deviate almost entirely from standards of participating in fields of learning.¹⁵⁴ Thus, Ḥājjī b. Iyās AL-HINDĪ, the dependent (*mawlā*) of al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. ‘ALĪ, is listed among those who attended the reading sessions of AL-SAKHĀWĪ with his master.¹⁵⁵ The eunuch Kāfūr al-Hindī AL-ṬAWĀSHĪ, the aforementioned royal “cup-bearer,” presents another case of social subordination, albeit in Cairo.¹⁵⁶ Ḥusayn al-Hindī al-aṣl al-Makkī AL-BANNĀ’ (d. 860/1456) is simply mentioned as a “builder” (*bannā’*) who came from South Asia and settled in Mecca.¹⁵⁷ This last sample of habitus-pathways evolves within an occupational field that is conditioned by restrictive social hierarchies.¹⁵⁸ Simultaneously, these biographies illustrate aspects of a social broadening of the South Asian community in the Hijaz, offering a perfunctory glimpse into other occupational contexts. While the appearance of eminent scholars from South Asia, with their previous “academic

¹⁵¹ Cf. corpus C, II/44;II/71;III/15;IV/210;VIII/272;X/156;XII/203.

¹⁵² Cf. *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Cf. corpus C.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, I/316;III/86;III/87;III/153;III/290;VI/226;VI/226(a).

¹⁵⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, III/87.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, VI/226.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, III/153.

¹⁵⁸ Again it would be interesting to further study the effect of patronage networks and patterns on the accumulation of capital through a corroboration of the *tarājim* with other sources.

predisposition” and “institutional weight” suggests a substantial cultural exchange based on new types of individual cultural potential, a diachronic change simultaneously unfolds on a collective level. The social broadening of the South Asian community, especially visible in AL-SAKHĀWĪ’s discipleship and the new occupations encompasses a diversification of cultural practices and their social significance.

The historiographical manifestation of these changes has to be read through a change in the perception of the politico-cultural unit al-Hind that underlies AL-SAKHĀWĪ’s biographical dictionary. His transregional perspective captures the socio-cultural ramifications of the political fragmentation of the subcontinent over the course of the late 14th and early 15th centuries and the subsequent rise of multiple regional sultanates.¹⁵⁹ This process of regionalisation of political power had started in the middle of the 14th century with the emergence of the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan, but gained pace after Timur Tamerlane’s conquest of Delhi in 1398. The former capital’s symbolic importance vanished and from Gujarat, across Malwa, Jaunpur and further on to Bengal, former governors and militarised groups set in motion the “emergence of composite Indic-Islamic cultures in regional variety.”¹⁶⁰ Several of these newly crowned sultans are included in AL-SAKHĀWĪ’s biographical work for their exceptional virtues and the good deeds they performed for the transregional Muslim community.¹⁶¹ Most significantly though, while Ibn Ḥajar listed the famous sultan of Delhi, Muḥammad TUGHLUQSHĀH with his nisba al-Hindī, the 15th century regional sovereigns do not receive this marker. They rank among the mulūk al-hind, each with his own political realm dividing up the South Asian subcontinent.

At the same time, AL-FĀSĪ’s chronicle *Shifā’ al-gharam* adds important details of the transregional repercussions these political developments had for the “cultural contact-zone” of Mecca and al-Madīna.¹⁶² Several construction programs dedicated

¹⁵⁹ ASHER/TALBOT, *India before Europe*, 84-97. Simon DIGBY, “Before Timur Came: Provincialization of the Delhi Sultanate through the Fourteenth Century,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 47, no. 3, (2004), 298-356.

¹⁶⁰ ASHER/TALBOT, *India before Europe*, 85. For a growing field of studies on the emergence of these regional states see, SHEIKH, EATON, EATON, JYOTI-BALACHANDRAN,

¹⁶¹ See for example the Bahmani sultans I/209 and 210 and the sultans from Delhi VI/175, X/173.

¹⁶² AL-FĀSĪ mentions various embassies from South Asian rulers which contributed to increasing contacts, MELOY, *Imperial power and maritime trade*, 71. Cf. AL-FĀSĪ, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, IV,104,105,108. A continuative analysis could corroborate this tendency with evidence on the

to *madāris* of Indian sultans, among them those from Bengal, Gulbarga and Ahmedabad, established a growing scholarly and intellectual space in the holy cities which translated into a stronger awareness of Indian contributions to the learning environment of the Hijaz. AL-FĀSĪ provides an in-depth account of the endowment deeds for the construction and maintenance of these *madāris*, with their teaching capacities devoted to all four *madhāhib*.¹⁶³ Numerous important scholarly figures were employed in these academic institutions, among them AL-FĀSĪ himself. In sum, the establishment of the Banjaliyya, the Gulbarjiyya and the madrasa of the Sultan of Cambay diversified the perception of the subcontinent by putting its regional variety on the map of the Islamic world that gathered in the Hijaz.

More significantly, the process of regionalisation across India was mirrored in the attachment of additional local nisbas to Indian scholars in AL-SAKHĀWĪ's work, illustrating a new form of differentiation in the perception of Indians. Besides the *nisbas* al-Dihlawī, al-Ṣaghānī and al-Kābulī which specify the regional origin in AL-FĀSĪ's and AL-MAQRĪZĪ's corpora, and while *bilād al-hind* remained a valid category of geographical reference, AL-SAKHĀWĪ's group includes a bigger assemblage of South Asian regional affiliations.¹⁶⁴ The appearance of several al-Aḥmadābādīs, al-Laknawhī, al-Dakanī, al-Makrānī, al-Dillī, al-Kanbāyatī, al-Sindī and al-Kulbarjī, demonstrate a simultaneous increase in the plurality of provenance.¹⁶⁵ This local affiliation was suffixed to the nisba al-Hindī and thereby provided a new element that broke up the ethnic ascription of al-Hindī and transformed it into a further regionally divided or locally differentiated ethnic identity. Encoded in these new regional affiliations was

foundation of several *madāris* in Mecca during the 15th century by Muslim rulers from Bengal, Gulbarga (Deccan) and Cambay (Gujarat) as recorded in AL-FĀSĪ's chronicle of the history of Mecca: AL-FĀSĪ, *Shifā' al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*. 2 vols, ed. Lajnah min kibār al-'ulamā' wa-l-udabā' (Mecca: Maktaba al-Nahḍa al-Ḥadītha, 1956). For details cf. R. MORTEL, "Madrasas in Mecca during the Medieval Period. A descriptive study based on literary sources," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 60/2 (1997), 236-252: 244-246, 248-249). Furthermore, the same author mentions at least two *ribāṭs* which were intact during the 15th century in Mecca. Cf. R. MORTEL, "Ribāṭs in Mecca during the Medieval Period. A descriptive study based on literary sources," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 61/1 (1998), 29-50: 36, 46.

¹⁶³ See MORTEL, "Madrasas in Mecca during the Medieval Period," 244-249.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Corpora A, B, C. There are only two anomalies of personages who were recorded by AL-SAKHĀWĪ as born in Gulbarga and Calicut, but who only receive the nisbas al-Kulbarjī and al-Kalikūtī without the additional al-Hindī. Cf. AL-SAKHĀWĪ, III/127 and V/11 respectively.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*

the commensurable articulation of emerging and evolving regional identities across the South Asian subcontinent as they were perceived across Mamlūk Egypt and the Hijaz.

Conclusion

The historiographical manifestation of socio-cultural change added a distinctly transregional element to the compositional fabric of AL-SAKHĀWĪ's biographical dictionary. It accounted for micro-historical processes in the Hijaz by reflecting on socio-cultural ramifications on the subcontinent al-hind. In contrast to AL-FĀSĪ's social history of Mecca and AL-MAQRĪZĪ's collection of religious personae, AL-SAKHĀWĪ's work testifies to social and cultural transformations in the migratory movements of South Asians while displaying an awareness of the regionalisation of political power across al-hind during the 15th century. A transoceanic perspective thereby transcends a pure enumeration of his acquaintances in the Hijaz, rendering his biographical dictionary a work of transregional scholarship.

Moreover, the historiographical manifestations of socio-cultural processes could be studied based on a correlation of economic reconfigurations with migratory movements. More significantly, social and cultural dimensions of historical change were explored within this framework by applying BOURDIEU's concepts as heuristic tools to the genre of biographical dictionaries, fathoming relational significances among a diachronically transforming "South Asian community" in the Hijaz. Within the contact zone of the holy cities, a space shared with each *muṣannif*, the South Asians' presence was characterised, on the one hand, by their firm integration into the societal framework along the lines of academic cultural practices and learned social networks, as well as by their participation in religious rituals as *mujāwirūn*, on the other hand. While Mecca remained a magnet and sacred centre for religious contemplation and pilgrimage, new migratory pathways, which emerged as a "collateral migration" over the course of the 15th century, led to a social broadening of the South Asian community. This was observable with the arrival of South Asian scholars with a particular academic predisposition, AL-SAKHĀWĪ's large, primarily non-scholarly discipleship, and various new occupational realities.

Most significantly, this social broadening was paralleled by a cultural diversification. An enlargement of the institutional field was recognisable through the accommodation of curricula of non-scholarly groups, while these changing field conditions linked with new objectives in the accumulation of capital, demonstrated most visibly the emergence of new habitus-pathways. Finally, this reflects on an increasing currency of cultural transactions in the field of learning attached to a new social meaning, which was based on a non-scholarly purpose. These newly structured and structuring biographical trajectories can be read as a social pluralisation of the academic landscape of the Hijaz and a cultural diversification of their South Asian community. Still, while the studied South Asian community only comprised a small fraction of the society, further research would have to trace their alteration back to the vicissitudes in the social and cultural fabric of South Asia's new regional political formations in the late medieval period.

Appendix

Corpora of ‘South Asian tarājim’ in major biographical works, 14th-15th centuries¹⁶⁶

Corpus A – al-Fāsī (775-832/1373-1429): *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn fī ta’rīkh al-balad al-amīn*

Name	Date of death	Place	Reference
Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī al-Karrānī al-Hindī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī	790 h.	Cairo	II/128
Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. Maḥmūd al-‘Alawī II/333 al-Hindī al-aṣl al-Makkī al-mawlid wa-l-manshā’	773 h.	Medina	
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī al-Ṣaghānī al-‘Allāma Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	780 h.	Mecca	II/361-362
Muḥammad b. Kamāl b. ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Hindī al-Dihlawī Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī	793 h.	Mecca	II/344
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Hindī al-Kābulī al-Ḥanafī	-	-	II/380
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd II/381 al-Karrānī al-Hindī Abū l-Faḍl, al-ma‘rūf bi-b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥanafī	804 h.	Mecca	
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd II/381 al-Hindī	-	Mecca	
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd, al-Sharaf b. al-Ḍiyā’ al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	776 h.	Cairo	II/388
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Damrajī al-Hindī al-Dilawī, Najīb al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī	790 h.	Mecca	II/393-394
Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf al-Karrānī al-Hindī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī	-	Mecca	II/400

¹⁶⁶ The full bibliographical details of the biographical works, on which these corpora of ‘South Asian *tarājim* are based, appear in the footnotes. The South Asian *tarājim* here are listed according to their appearance in each work in ascending order of volume/page number.

Tāj al-Dīn al-Hindī	827 h.	Mecca	III/255
Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Hindī al-aṣl al-mawlid wa-l-dār, al-Shaykh Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī	824 h.	-	III/415-416
Name	Date of death	Place	Reference
‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Qurashī al-‘Umarī al-Hindī, Rājā	827 h.	Mecca	V/12
‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abī Bakr b. Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf al-Karrānī al-Hindī al-Makkī	790 h.	Mecca	V/16
‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd, Najm al-Dīn b. al-Qāḍī, Shihāb al-Dīn, b. al-‘Allāma Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn, al-Hindī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī	818 h.	Egypt	V/112
‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Manṣūr, Bahā’ al-Dīn, al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	758 h.	Mecca	V/369
Abū Bakr b. Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī al-Karrānī al-Hindī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī, al-Fajar	791 h.	Mecca	VI/275

Corpus B – al-Maqrīzī (766-845/1364-1442): *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a’yān al-mufīda*

Name	Date of death	Place	Reference
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Khayr b. Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Hindī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī	825 h.	Mecca	I/364-365
Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Hindī, al-Makkī	824 h.	-	II/43
‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. al-Shaykh Mubārak, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ma‘ālī Al-Hindī al-aṣl al-marūf bi-l-Ḥalawī, Al-Su‘ūdī	807 h.	Cairo?	II/356
‘Umar b. Ishāq b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad II/436-439 b. Ishāq b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd, qāḍī al-quḍāt, Sirāj al-Dīn, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ghaznawī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	773 h.	Cairo	
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī, ‘Allāma Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Ṣaghānī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	780 h.	Mecca	III/167-168
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-Ḍiyā’ al-Hindī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī	823 h.	Mecca	III/170
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Damrajī al-Ḥindī al-Dilawī, al-Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī	-	Mecca	III/170-171
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Ḥindī al-Kābulī al-Ḥanafī	770 h.	Mecca	III/263
Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣafawī al-Hindī, al-Dimashqī	776 h.	-	III/283-284
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Umar b. Yūsuf b. Ismā‘īl, Bahā’ al-Dīn Abū l-Baqā’, Shihāb al-Dīn, Abū l-Khayr b. Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh, al-ma‘rūf bi-b. al-Ḍiyā’ al-Ṣaghānī al-Hindī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī, Qāḍī Makka	-	Mecca	III/359

Najīb b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hindī	-	Mecca	III/505
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Corpus C - al-Sakhāwi (830-902/1427-1497): *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’ fī a’yān al-qarn al-tāsī’*

Name	Date of death	Place	Reference
Ibrāhīm al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	-	Mecca	I/190
Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Harūjī al-Hindī, al-qāḍī	-	Mecca	I/193
Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Shaykh Karīm al-Dīn b. Jalāl al-Dīn b. Sayf al-Dīn Abū al-Mayyāda al-Ḥasanī al-Awdahī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	-	Mecca	I/208
Aḥmad b. Sa’d al-Hindī al-Makkī	865 h.	-	I/304
Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Hindī	-	Mecca	I/311
Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Shaykh b. Abī Bakr al-Murshidī al-Makkī al-aṣl wa-l-manshā’ al-Hindī al-mawlid al-Shāfi’ī	-	Mecca	I/316
Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Hindī-		Mecca	II/44
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Hindī	-	Mecca	II/71
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qāḍī Khān b. Muḥammad b. Ya’qūb b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-‘Alā’ Abū al-‘Abbās b. al-Shams b. al-Ḥamīd b. al-Bahā’ al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	900 h.	Mecca	II/166-167
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kamāl b. ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ya’qūb b. Shihāb b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥman al-‘Allāma al-Shihāb b. al-Kamāl al-Dalwānī al-Hindī al-aṣl al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī	828 h.	Mecca	II/167
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa’īd b. ‘Umar b. Yūsuf b. Ismā’īl al-Shihāb Abū al-Khayr b. al-Ḍiyā’	825 h.	Mecca	II/179

al-Şaghānī al-Hindī al-aşl al-Madanī
al-mawlid al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī

Name	Date of death	Place	Reference
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī al-Shihāb Abū al-‘Abbās al-Karrānī al-Hindī, al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī	830h.	Mecca	II/207
al-Yās al-Hindī al-Shaykh al-Şālih	884 h.	Medina	II/321
Burha b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hindī	-	Mecca	III/15
Jawhar al-Yashbakī al-Hindī, Al-ma‘rūf bi-l-Turkmānī	873 h.	-	III/86
Ḥājjī b. Iyās al-Hindī, Mawlā al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. ‘Alī	-	-	III/87
Ḥasan b. al-Badr al-Hindī, Thumma al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī	833 h.	Ḥāmah	III/132
Ḥasan al-Hindī	873 h.	Mecca	III/134
Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Nāşir al-Badr Abū ‘Alī al-Hindī al-aşl al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī	824 h.	-	III/137-138
Ḥusayn b. ‘Umar Kūr al-Hindī al-aşl al-Makkī al-Bannā’ Abū ‘Umar al-Bannā’	860 h.	Mecca	III/153
Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Hindī, thumma al-Makkī	-	Cairo	III/155
Rājiḥ b. Dāwud b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā III/222-223 b. Aḥmad al-Hindī al-Aḥmadābādī al-Ḥanafī	-	Mecca	
Zāhid b. ‘Arif b. Jalāl al-Laknawhī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	-	Mecca	III/232
Sa‘īd al-Hindī al-Mālīkī	-	-	III/257

Sulaymān b. Dāwud al-Hindī al-Mukattib	886 h.	-	III/264
Shādhī al-Hindī, ‘atīq al-Sirāj ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, qāḍī al-Ḥanābila bi-makka	881 h.	Mecca	III/290
‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Malik Wajīh al-Dīn b. ‘Umda al-Dīn al-Qurashī al-‘Umarī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	827 h.	Mecca	IV/53
Name	Date of death	Place	Reference
‘Abd al-Raḥman b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zayn al-Hindī al-Wā‘iz	837 h.	-	IV/103
‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Imād b. Ibrāhīm al-Dakkanī al-Hindī	-	Mecca	IV/210
‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Abd Allāh b. As‘ad al-Yāfi‘ī al-Hindī al-mawlid al-Makkī	882 h.	Mecca	IV/271
‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Najm b. al-Shihāb b. al-Ḍiyā’ al-Hindī al-Makkī	818 h.	Egypt	IV/324
‘Abd Allāh b. Shīrīn al-Jamāl al-Hindī Al-Ḥanafī	809 h.	Cairo	V/21
‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Mubārik al-Jamāl Abū al-Ma‘ālī b. al-Sirāj Abī Ḥafṣ b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Hindī al-aṣl al-Qāhirī al-Azharī al-Ṣūfī al-Su‘ūdī	807 h.	Cairo	V/38-39
‘Alī b. Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Hindī al-aṣl al-Khānakī al-Shāfi‘ī	-	Mecca	VI/36
‘Umar b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī al-Hindī al-aṣl al-Makkī	863 h.	Mecca	VI/73
‘Umar b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sirāj al-Hindī	815 h.	Mecca	VI/98

Gharīb b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hindī al-Bankālī al-Ḥanafī	-	Mecca	VI/160-161
Qāsim b. Dāwud b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. Aḥmad al-Hindī al-Aḥmadābādī al-Ḥanafī	-	-	VI/180
Kāfūr al-Hindī al-Ṭawāshī, ra’s nūba al-Jamdāriyya	854 h.	Cairo	VI/226
Kāfūr al-Hindī al-Mu’ayyidī, shaykh	-	Mecca	VI/226(a)
Name	Date of death	Place	Reference
Mattā al-Hindī al-Mu’taqad	861 h.	-	VI/239
Muḥammad b. al-Tāj al-Hindī al-Maḥmūdān Bādī al-Ḥanafī	-	-	VII/207
Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Hindī, turabiyya ‘Alī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥijāzī	-	Mecca	VIII/272
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Abū al-Faḍl al-Makrānī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	804 h.	Mecca	X/21
Muḥammad b. Muḥadhdhib b. Mayrṣīd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Nūr Allāh al-Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsīn b. Abī al-Qasam al-Ḥusaynī al-Dillī al-aṣl al-Sayabīrī al-mawlid al-Ḥanafī	-	Mecca	X/53
Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Zayn wa-l-Kamāl Abū ‘Alī al-Hindī al-aṣl al-Saryaḡūsī al-Khānkī al-Mulyānī al-Shāfi’ī al-Ṣūfī	-	-	X/140
Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Hindī al-Aḥmadābādī al-Muqri’ al-Ḥanafī	891 h.	-	X/148
Makhdūm b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Hindī al-Aḥmadābādī al-Ḥanafī	890 h.	-	X/150
Mas’ūd b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Jamāl	-	Medina	X/156

al-Hindī al-Kanbāyatī

Makkī b. Sulaymān al-Sindī al-Hindī al-aşl al-Makkī al-mawlid wa-l-dār	898 h.	-	X/169
Ni‘am Allāh b. Ni‘ama Allāh b. Ḥabīb Allāh al-Kulbarjī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	-	Mecca	X/203
‘Ā’isha ibna ‘Umar Kūr al-Hindī al-Makkīya	885 h.	Mecca	XII/79

Corpus D - al-Sakhāwi (830-902/1427-1497): *al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa fī ta’rīkh al-madīna al-sharīfa*

Name	Date of death	Place	Reference
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Umar b. Yūsuf b. Ismā‘īl al-Shihāb Abū al-Khayr b. al-Ḍiyā’ al-Şaghānī al-Hindī al-aşl al-Madanī al-mawlid al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī	-	Mecca	I/146
Rayḥān al-Hindī	-	Medina	I/352
Sa‘īd al-Hindī	-	Medina	I/409
Şandal al-Hindī	-	-	I/458
‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Ibrāhīm al-Hindī	790 h.	Medina	II/116
‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Manşūr, al-Bahā’ al-Qamṭarī al-Hindī al Ḥanafī	-	Medina	II/352
‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī	-	-	II/355
Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Hindī al-aşl al-Madanī, al-mawlid al-manshā’ al-Ḥanafī	-	-	II/555
Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. Maḥmūd	773 h.	Medina	II/559

al-‘Alawī al-Hindī al-aşl al-Makkī
al-Madanī al-manshā’

Corpus E – Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī (773-852/1372-1449): *al-Durar al-kāmina fī a‘yān al-mi’a al-thāmina*

Name	Date of death	Place	Reference
Jūkū al-Hindī, al-Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Hindī	724 h.	-	II/94
Sunbul b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hindī al-Tājir	739 h.	-	II/315
‘Umar b. Ishāq b. Aḥmad al-Ghaznawī al-‘Allāma al-qāḍī Sirāj al-Dīn al-Hindī	773 h.	Cairo	IV/182-183
Kāfūr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hindī	-	-	IV/305
Muḥammad b. Tughluqshāh al-Hindī, Malik al-Hind	752 h.	Delhi	V/204
Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hindī, Shams al-Dīn al-Şafawī, mawlā al-Shaykh Şafiy al-Dīn	776 h.	-	V/237
Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. V/262-263 Muḥammad Şafiy al-Dīn al-Hindī, al-faqīh al-shāfi‘ī	715 h.	Mecca, Damascus, al-Rūm	
Muḥammad b. Qāḍī b. Sanad al-Hindī	-	Mecca	V/403-404
Muḥammad b. Mubārak b. ‘Abd Allāh	-	-	V/414

al-Hindī al-‘Aṭṭār

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Hindī al-aṣl al-Ḥanafī	780 h.	Mecca (?)	V/440
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Kābulī al-Hindī, thumma al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī	772/773 h.	Mecca	V/473

Corpus F –al-Ṣafadī - (696-764/1297-1363): *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*

Name	Date of death	Place	Reference
Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad al-Armawī al-‘Allāma al-Awḥad al-Shaykh Ṣafīy al-Dīn al-Hindī	715 h.	Damascus	III/197
Abū al-Hindī al-Riyāḥī	-	-	IX/163
Bakhtiyār b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hindī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ṣūfī	541 h.	Baghdād	X/54
Ratn al-Hindī, (al-Hindī al-Mu‘ammar)	8th c. h.	(peripatetic trader)	XIV/68